

RITUAL CONCEPTS AND POLITICAL FACTORS IN THE MAKING
OF TANG DYNASTY PRINCESS TOMBS (643-706 A.D.)

A THESIS SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT FOR THE DEGREE OF
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

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ABSTRACT

The thesis examines the art and epitaphs of five princess tombs of the Chinese medieval Tang Dynasty (618-907 A.D.) against the background of the historical period and ritual concepts. The thesis discovers that the tomb of a princess did not depict her former life but that its scale, epitaph, and art reflected the status that the tomb builders planned for the deceased, the current political situation, and contemporary concepts of death and burial. Ritual is the grammar with which image and text built their representation of the princess's last abode.

The first chapter provides a survey of the field, theoretical perspective and research methodology, and a broad narrative account of the five tombs using archaeological reports and firsthand fieldwork observation. Chapter Two explores the historical background of the sixty-four year period (643-706 A.D.) in which these tombs were built, the conflicts over the extent of princess influence and prestige and the relationship between status and representation. Chapter Three uses ritual texts to reconstruct the possible structure of the transition of the princesses from life to death and the codification of their commemoration, beginning from the living household of the princess and ending at the tomb, her new abode-in-death. The preparations and the burial itself could take anywhere from one to seven months. I argue that these ritual actions and concepts created a space in which the classic stages of rites of passage—separation, liminality, and re-incorporation—occur. Chapter Four shows how princess identities were codified at death by epitaphs which followed a ritually-prescribed plan in describing the princesses' lives. Chapter Five discusses how murals, pottery figurines, and the line engravings on stone together contribute to a coherent program depicting the entry and settlement of the deceased into her new home.

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Time line of Tang Emperors and reign dates

Temple name	reign year title	western
Gaozu 高祖	Wude 武德	618
Taizong 太宗	Zhenguan 貞觀	627
Gaozong 高宗	Yongwei 永徽	650
	Xianqing 顯慶	656
	Longshuo 龍朔	661
	Linde 麟德	664
	Qianfeng 乾封	666
	Zongzhang 總章	668
	Xianheng 咸亨	670
	Shangyuan 上元	674
	Yifeng 儀鳳	676
	Tiaolu 調露	679
	Yonglong 永隆	680
	Kaiyao 開耀	681
	Yongchun 永淳	682
	Hongdao 弘道	683
Zhongzong 中宗	Sisheng 嗣聖	684
Ruizong 睿宗	Wenming 文明	684
Wuhou 武后	Guangzhai 光宅	684
	Chugong 垂拱	685
	Yongchang 永昌	689
	Daichu 戴初	689
	Tianshou 天授	690
	Ruyi 如意	692
	Changshou 長壽	692
	Yanzai 延載	694
	Zhengsheng 證聖	695
	Tiancewansui 天冊萬歲	695
	Wansuitongtian 萬歲通天	696
	Shengong 神功	697
	Shengli 聖歷	698
	Jiushi 久視	700
	Dazu 大足	701
	Chang'an 長安	701
Zhongzong 中宗	Shenlong 神龍	705
	Jinglong 景龍	707
Ruizong 睿宗	Jingyun 景雲	710
	Taiji 太極	712
	Yanhe 延和	712

Xuanzong 玄宗	Kaiyuan 開元	713
	Tianbao 天寶	742
Xiaozong 肅宗	Zhide 至德	756
	Qianyuan 乾元	758
	Shangyuan 上元	769
	Baoying 寶應	762
Daizong 代宗	Guangde 廣德	763
Dezhong 德宗	Yongtai 永泰	765
	Dali 大曆	766
	Jianzhong 建中	780
	Xinyuan 興元	784
	Zhenyuan 貞元	785
Shunzong 順宗	Yongzhen 永貞	805
Xianzong 憲宗	Yuanhe 元和	806
Muzong 穆宗	Changqing 長慶	821
Jingzong 敬宗	Baoli 寶歷	825
Wenzong 文宗	Yonghe 永和	827
	Kaicheng 開成	836
Wuzong 武宗	Huichang 會昌	841
Xuanzong 宣宗	Taizhong 太中	847
Yizong 懿宗	Xiantong 咸通	860
Xizong 僖宗	Qianfu 乾符	874
	Guangming 廣明	880
	Zhonghe 中和	881
	Guangqi 光啓	885
	Wende 文德	888
Zhaozong 昭宗	Longji 龍紀	889
	Dashun 大順	890
	Jingfu 景福	892
	Qianning 乾寧	894
	Guanghua 光化	898
	Tianfu 天復	901
	Tianyou 天祐	904
Zhaoxuandi 昭宣帝 (Aizong 哀宗)	Tianyou 天祐	905

Table of princesses

Imperial sibling	Princess	Marital situation	Dates	Age	Location of tomb	Builder of tomb
Taizong	Fangling	Married Dou Fengjie 竇奉節 at age of 3 in 621. Married Helan Sengjia 賀蘭僧伽 at the age of 36 in 654.	618-673, buried 673	55	Qiaoling (buried as satellite tomb to father's mausoleum)	Gaozong, her nephew
Gaozong	Changle	Married Zhangsun Chong 長孫沖 at the age of 13, in 633.	620-643, buried 643	23	Zhaoling (buried as satellite tomb with father's mausoleum)	Taizong, her father
	Linchuan	Husband: Zhou Daowu 周道務. At least 4 sons.	624-683, buried 643	59	Zhaoling (buried as satellite tomb with father's mausoleum)	Gaozong, her brother
	Xincheng	Married Zhangsun Quan 長孫詮 at the age of 16, in 649.	633-663, burial date unknown	30	Zhaoling (buried as satellite tomb to father's mausoleum)	Gaozong, her brother
Zhongzong	Yongtai	Married Wu Yanji 武延基 at the age of 16, in 700. No children.	689-705, re-buried 706	17	Qianling (buried as satellite tomb to grandparents' mausoleum)	Zhongzong, her father

Princess	# of house holds given	Mother	Type of tomb	# of light shafts	Length of tombs (in meters)	# of weapons on weapon rack	Origins, as recorded on the MZM
Changle (buried 643)	3,000	Empress Wende	SCBT	5	48.18	None	Not clear
Xincheng (buried 663?)	5,000	Empress Wende	SCBT	5	50.8	6+6=12	隴西狄道人
Fangling (buried 673)	MZM does not mention	unknown	DCBT	4	57.8	unknown	隴西西城人
Linchuan (buried 684)	3,000	Consort Wei	SCBT	4	48	unknown	Does not mention
Yongtai (buried 706)	1,000	Empress Wei	DCBT	6	87.5	6+6=12	Does not mention

INTRODUCTION

It has been almost forty years since the tomb of Princess Yongtai (re-buried 706) was first excavated¹, marking the beginning of a series of finds of Tang elite tombs. In the 1970's two tombs of imperial men, Crown Prince Zhanghuai (re-buried 711 and 717) and Crown Prince Yide (re-buried 706), were excavated and published. Their beautiful murals have attracted the attention of the world.² Despite the attention these large, beautifully decorated tombs have drawn, detailed studies of the meaning of the art and structure of the tombs have been lacking.

Scholarly treatment of Tang tombs usually involved the periodization of various objects in the tomb, or identification of clothing and other objects depicted in the tomb. These are useful studies for changes in typology. They do not, however, delve into the meaning behind the creation of such art, or query whether the tomb reflects the previous life of the deceased. These assumptions are questionable simply because they have not been tested rigorously. In fact, studies which present regulatory patterns in tombs often ignore exceptions.

Instead of trying to fit tombs into a set of regulations, detailing, for example, the number of objects, the number of chambers, or the presence of a sarcophagus, I propose an alternative way of understanding tombs, taking a group of people with the same social and political status and studying their tombs, including murals, figurines, line-engravings on stone, and above-ground structures.

The question is whether the tomb is a reflection of real life or a construction. I argue that the tomb is a construction more often determined by historical circumstances

¹ The excavation began on the fourth of August 1960. Shaanxisheng wenwu guanli weiyuanhui 1964: 7.

² For example, a copy by a modern artist of Crown Prince Zhanghuai's mural "The Ambassadors" (dated 711-717) graces the lobby of the international studies building at Columbia University.

and contemporary ideas about the relationship between life and death than by regulatory laws set down in texts. By way of explaining the layout, I shall delve into the historical context, funeral ritual texts and practices, and epitaphs. And in the case of the imperial family--political factors were also quite important.

Texts record two hundred and eleven imperial kinswomen with the title of “princess” (*gongzhu* 公主) during the Tang dynasty. For my purposes in understanding tomb construction, I have made a case study of five Tang (618-907 A.D.) princesses, all daughters of Tang emperors. Their five excavated and published tombs were built within a sixty-three year span, from 643 to 706 A.D. This research will serve as a case study for examining the nature and meaning of tomb art and artifacts of the Tang dynasty and their relationship to identity and status. I intend to look at the art, archaeological and textual evidence in a composite way against the background of the historical period.

Princesses Changle 長樂 (buried 643), Xincheng 新城 (663), Fangling 房陵 (673), Linchuan 臨川 (684), and Yongtai 永泰 (706) comprise a social group of people with the same gender and status. In this case, the title *gongzhu* 公主 specifically refers to daughters of the Emperor. The *gongzhu* status is first rank, first class External Lady of the Court (*waimingfu* 外命婦). In medieval China, status was marked by differences in dress, honor guards, and types of vehicles driven. Given the regulations set down for persons of different rank in the Tang dynasty, one might expect similarities in the tombs of persons with the same status. However, contrary to our expectations, there are differences among the five princess tombs. How do we explain these differences?

An in-depth investigation of princess tomb murals and contents, above-ground structures, and epitaph texts reveals myriad ways to commemorate and to provide for the deceased. The princess “tomb” involves a system consisting of underground and surface structures constructed outside the city and a commemorative temple set up

within the capital city. Murals, figurines, grave goods, and spirit path figures remain at the original tomb sites. I would argue that none of these grave media or the above-ground structures faithfully depicted the previous lives of the princesses but that instead they served a ritual or provisional purpose. Good or bad, praise or condemnation--what, exactly, is being shown or represented and how the visual program of the tomb works will be the central questions.

The thesis is structured in five chapters. Chapter One, "The Discovery and Interpretation of Tang Tombs," provides a broad narrative account of the tombs. Using archaeological reports and firsthand fieldwork observation, I describe in detail the princess tombs. Additionally, I place them in context within the tombs of other elite persons, such as princes and ministers, around the capital city of Chang'an. After this introduction to the princess tombs in the first chapter, the remaining four chapters offer analysis and interpretation.

Chapter Two, "Myth and Reality," investigates the controversies surrounding the role of the Tang princess at court in the sixty years in which the princess tombs were built. During this time, the role of the princess at the Tang court came under dispute. According to historical texts, princesses endeavored to increase their prestige in court and to increase their wealth in the capital city of Chang'an at large. In doing so, they often clashed with ministers who feared powerful princess consorts as threats to the continuous rule of the royal patrimonial line (the Li clan). The first part of the chapter explores the conflicts over the extent of princess influence and prestige. The second part of Chapter Two looks at the relationship between status and representation. How was princess status represented? During this time, status was often represented by a specified set of honor guards, vehicles, and clothing. The deceased's status was often elevated for purposes of commemoration, her life encapsulated into ritually acceptable terms.

Chapter Three, “Funeral Rituals and Concepts” uses ritual texts to re-construct the structure of the transition from living to dead princesses and the codification of their commemoration. The transition, I would argue, takes place over a long expanse of distance and time, beginning from the Chang’an household of the princess (where she is moved) and ending at the tomb, her new abode-in-death, almost fifty kilometers north of Chang’an. The preparations and the burial itself could take anywhere from one to seven months.³ The chapter traces several key elements of funeral rituals. The first element is the pattern of movement and cessation of movement in funerary rituals; the second element is the idea of auspicious, *ji* and inauspicious, *xiong*. I would argue that these ritual actions and concepts created a space in which the classic stages of rites of passage—separation, liminality, and reincorporation—occur. And, in this particular case, this passage is the movement of the deceased from the identity of a princess to the identity of an ancestress. The tomb decorations were created to manifest the latter part of the passage of death. After the transition, physically enacted by the movement of the body from the original home in Chang’an to the grave, the body becomes incorporated into the tomb while the spirit tablet is installed in the commemorative temple in Chang’an.

Chapter Four “Epitaphs and the Construction of Remembrance” shows how princesses’ identities were codified at death. Epitaphs follow a ritually-prescribed plan in describing the life of the princess. She is described in terms of her impeccable imperial pedigree, her outstanding obedience to instruction and regulations, her beauty, and her filial piety. She is compared variously to the famous princesses of the Zhou and Han dynasties and we are told that she outshines them by far. The epitaph praises her

³ Exceptionally, five years passed between Princess Yongtai’s death in 701 and her burial at Qianling in 706. However, she was first buried somewhere else then moved, following the death of Empress Wu in 705. The usual ritual time should be less.

attributes and marvels at the wealth the Emperor showers upon her. However, the last part of the epitaph laments her decay and death. Thus, the epitaph may be divided into two parts. The first half discusses the constructed “glory (*rong* 榮)” of the princesses and the second half offers “lamentations (*ai* 哀)” for her death. In this way, epitaphs provide a kind of transition from the living to the dead. The structure of this transition is depicted by the iconographical program.

While Chapter Four discusses how the conflicts of princess identity become codified in the death of the princess, Chapter Five begins to examine archaeologically excavated tomb art—mainly murals, figurines, and line engravings on stone—and compares it to textual evidence in order to decipher the meaning of the tomb’s iconographic program. The chapter demonstrates that the murals depict the residence-in-death of the deceased princess. It does so by showing that the so-called “procession,” as often identified by earlier scholars, on the sloping path is really a depiction of honor guards stationed in front of the main gates of the new residence to welcome the deceased princess.

The conclusion traces and discusses the reading of the progress of the princess tomb from the living princess to her final codification in death. The thesis discovers that there is no one-to-one correspondence between the princess’s former life and the tombs *per se*. The meaning of Tang tomb iconographic programs may be understood as a representation of underlying Tang concepts of death and burial. These concepts may be exemplified by the epitaph stone, which speaks of the deceased’s former glory, but also the circumstances of death and burial. In the various constructs of the princesses’ identity, ritual becomes a language in which to articulate the “correct” representation of the princess, either in text or in images.

Chapter One: The Discovery and Interpretation of Tang Tombs

1.1 Past interpretations: the reading of archaeological material

The study of Tang tombs has developed in three distinct stages: 1) The traditional study of inscriptions on stone and metals (*jinshixue* 金石學); 2) Studies of tomb objects made popular by foreign scholars who ignored traditional taboos related to death; and 3) Full-scale excavation of tombs by Chinese archaeologists carried out after 1949. Of the three stages, the last one is the most important to my study and the one I will discuss most fully.

1.1.1 First stage: Sui to the present

Traditional scholars since the Sui (581-619) and Tang (618-907) collected epitaphs and other mortuary stone rubbings in epigraphical collections. The primary concern in these collections was often calligraphy rather than the content. Other objects in the tomb were not collected. Tomb robbers, on the other hand, were only interested in the valuable metals or jewelry buried in a tomb. Thus, burial items such as pottery figurines and finely carved sarcophagi were often left inside the tombs. In the late Qing, the scholar and revolutionary Kang Youwei 康有為 (1858-1927) and others made famous the epitaphs of the Northern dynasties recently uncovered at Luoyang. At the time, one of these celebrated stones would fetch a price of several hundred gold pieces. In contrast, Tang epitaphs were ignored or even carelessly damaged. The scholar Zhang Fang 張鈞 (1886-1966) recognized the value of the latter and began to collect these stones at his own home in the outskirts of Luoyang in the summer of 1931. This search, with the help of several friends, created the important repository of Tang epitaph stones

later named the “Thousand Tang Epitaph Studio (*qiantangzhizhai* 千唐志齋).”⁴ This collection of rubbings was published in 1983, and other important collections of Tang epitaphs were published in the 1980’s and 1990’s.⁵

1.1.2 Second stage: Western incursion

The second phase began when Western scholars began to be interested in the mortuary items of China in the early twentieth century. Unlike Chinese collectors, they did not hesitate to buy objects made for the dead (*mingqi* 明器). In response to the new market, tomb robbers also began to take and sell tomb objects that had until then been unmarketable. In this way, stone beds, pottery figurines, decorated tiles, and other tomb items were broken-up, sold, and shipped to various museums in the West. For example, one famous Northern Qi coffin bed with Sogdian themes was sectioned off and sold piecemeal, with pieces now in the Freer Gallery of Art in Washington, D.C., the Museum für Ostasiatische Kunst, Köln (Fig. 5.25a-b), the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, and the Musée Guimet in Paris.⁶

Western scholars of the early twentieth century such as Hentze, Hetherington, Hobson, Fuchs, Laufer, and Mahler⁷ published studies of burial goods. Cheng Te-k’un (Zheng Dekun 鄭德坤), a Chinese archaeologist and historian, also broke with tradition. His 1933 *A Brief History of Mortuary Objects* contains many literary references to ancient Chinese ideas about death and a general introduction to tomb items. The great

⁴ Wu Zhiyuan and Guo Jianbang 1983.

⁵ Beijing tushuguan jinshizu 1989; Mao Hanguang 1984-1994; Jao Tsung-I [Rao Zongyi] 1981; Wu Gang et al. 1993; Zhang Hongxiu 1992; and Zhou Shaoliang and Zhao Chao 1992.

⁶ Scaglia 1958: 9. The confronted gates are registered under Bc11 and Bc12 in Köln. The dais and two cornices are registered as 15.110 in the Freer. Two rectangular panels are in Boston and one panel is in the Guimet.

⁷ Hentze 1928, Hetherington 1922, Hobson 1915, Fuchs 1924, Laufer 1914, and Mahler 1959.

strength of such studies is that they included details about contemporary excavations of Tang tombs. However, Cheng's observation that "...mortuary objects and epitaph from the same tomb were rarely sold together at the market..."⁸ underlines the limitation of such approaches. These scholars could not study the original tomb as a whole, because after the tomb was opened by tomb robbers, it was often destroyed and its objects sold separately. Thus, when the objects came from tomb robbing, only studies of each individual object, without context, could be made.

Epitaphs and objects, as they were studied in previous times, were just pieces of the puzzle. Until large-scale excavations of the tombs were conducted, leading to discoveries of murals, tomb structure, and so on, one could not ascertain for sure the *position* and *meaning* of the figures in the tomb.

1.1.3 Third Stage: large-scale excavations in modern China

After the founding of the People's Republic of China in 1949, the Institute of Archaeology of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences (CASS) carried out extensive excavations in the western and eastern suburbs of Xi'an in the 1950's and early 1960's. The Xi'an Team of the CASS Institute of Archaeology excavated thirty-nine Tang tombs in the western suburbs during the years 1955-1961. They also excavated 136 tombs of the eastern suburbs in the two years from 1956 to 1957. In 1966, CASS published the results of these excavations in a 142-page volume (with illustrations) entitled *Sui Tang Tombs of Xi'an City Suburbs (Xi'an jiaoqu Sui Tang mu 西安郊区隋唐墓)*.⁹ This book is not only the first book on the excavation of Tang tombs, it also set a standard for the kinds of information about a tomb which came to be considered essential for a modern excavation report, e.g. the shapes of the tombs, sizes and

⁸ Cheng 1933: 59.

⁹ Zhongguo kexueyuan kaogu yanjiusuo 1966.

measurements, rubbings and transcriptions of the epitaphs.

The second book, *Excavation of the Sui and Tang Tombs in the suburbs of Tang Chang'an* (*Tang Chang'an chengjiao Sui Tang mu* 唐長安城郊隋唐墓), features one Sui tomb and five Tang tombs from the western and eastern sections of Xi'an that were excavated between 1956 and 1958. All these tombs contained epitaphs and exceptional burial items. This volume differs substantially from the 1966 book: the 1966 book contained a great deal of data from 175 tombs arranged under uniform categories. The 1980 book reported on only six tombs in great detail.¹⁰

Other non-CASS excavations of Shaanxi Tang tombs in the 1950's uncovered the completely new component of tomb murals, and brief archaeological reports of such Tang tombs began to appear. However, most of the tombs were pits with objects in the ground. Only the very few elite tombs were lined with bricks and equipped with higher grades of funerary objects. Against this backdrop, the 1960 excavation of Princess Yongtai was a landmark. Filled with beautiful murals, ceramic figurines and objects, and a large stone sarcophagus, it was the first Tang royal tomb to be excavated. Though it was not a comprehensive book detailing the excavation, the short report (*jianbao* 簡報) on the excavation of Princess Yongtai's tomb was quite detailed. The Wenwu Publishing Company even issued an album of mural highlights in 1963.¹¹

1970's and 1980's

Excavations of the tombs of Crown Princes Yide and Zhanghuai tombs began on July 2nd, 1971. Short excavation reports were simultaneously published in the seventh

¹⁰ Zhongguo kexueyuan kaogu yanjiusuo 1980.

¹¹ Renmin meishu chubanshe 1963. Another important tomb, that of Wei Jiong 韋洞, younger brother of the Empress Wei (buried on the nineteenth day of the eleventh month, second year of Shenlong, December 28th of the year 706) was excavated in 1959 and published in the eighth issue of *Wenwu* of the same year. Shaanxisheng wenwu guanliweiyuanhui (1959): 8-18.

issue of *Wenwu* in 1972. The two albums of the Yide tomb and Zhanghuai tomb murals were both published in 1974.¹²

In 1984, *Archaeological Discoveries and Research in New China* was published, providing an important account of archaeological excavations in China before the 1980's. The author of the chapter on Sui-Tang archaeology, Duan Pengqi, divides Tang tombs into five geographic regions: Xi'an, Chaoyang, Hunan, Guangdong, and Fujian. Duan stated that over 2,000 tombs near Xi'an had been excavated.¹³ However, this report is somewhat outdated. Since the late 1970's, many more Tang tombs in other areas such as Astana, Beijing, Bohai, Hebei, Ningxia/Guyuan, and Henan/Luoyang, Shanxi--have been discovered.

Full scale excavations of royal Tang tombs have continued to this day, the most important being the Shaanxi Institute of Archaeology excavations in the 1990s of the tombs of Princess Xincheng 新城 (663), Prince Jiemin 節愍 (710), Crown Prince Huizhuang 惠莊 (724) and the Emperor Xizong's Jingling 僖宗靖陵 (888 A.D.). In 1998, a book of original mural photos was published.¹⁴

Although no official report of the totals up until the year 2001 has yet been published, the number of excavated Tang tombs has probably increased significantly since the 1980's, if tombs with murals are any indication. In 1982, Su Bai reported that some twenty Tang tombs with murals had been excavated. The chart of Shaanxi Tang murals in the 1991 catalogue of the Shaanxi History Museum show some sixty tombs with murals.¹⁵ This is a three-fold increase in one decade.

¹² These albums, along with Yongtai's album (Renmin meishu chubanshe 1963), are important because they contain actual photographs of murals, not copies. See Shaanxisheng bowuguan 1974 for both Zhanghuai and Yide murals.

¹³ Duan Pengqi 1984: 581-590.

¹⁴ Han Wei and Zhang Jianling 1998.

¹⁵ Shaanxi Lishi Bowuguan 1991(Ed): charts. The chart entitled "A list of Tang tombs from which

Also, theories regarding characteristics of tombs in different parts of the Tang empire have also been revised. Originally, it was thought that only the Tang tombs in or near Xi'an and Astana in Xinjiang were decorated with murals. Now tombs with murals have also been found in Beijing and Luoyang.

Exhibitions and Catalogues

Most exhibitions on Tang tombs feature works of stone, ceramic, and metal. *Chinas Goldenes Zeitalter*¹⁶ is the most important exhibition in the West to have been devoted entirely to the Tang dynasty (held at Dortmund, Germany from 22 August to 21 November 1993). Earlier, a catalogue of an exhibition of mural copies from Han to Tang at the Boston Museum of Fine Arts was published in 1976.¹⁷ There are two other major Japanese Tang dynasty exhibitions: *The Glory of Her Court: Tang Dynasty Empress Wu and Her Times*¹⁸ and *Flowers of the Great Tang Empire: Women of the City of Chang'an*.¹⁹

The significance of large scale excavations

In a general way, the scientific excavation of Tang tombs since the early 1900's has opened up a vast source of new materials for historical and other studies of the Tang dynasty: epitaphs for the historians,²⁰ genuine Tang paintings for the art historians, and so on. More specifically, the discovery of murals made possible the study of the interior

frescoes are unearthed in Shaanxi province" listed 44 tombs, 20 of which were discovered in the course of the unpublished 1988 excavations at the Xianyang airport.

¹⁶ Kuhn 1993.

¹⁷ Fontein and Wu Tung 1976.

¹⁸ Matsumoto 1998.

¹⁹ Hyōgo Kenritsu 1996.

²⁰ Twitchett 1979: 38-47.

iconographic programs. Murals are not movable, and untouched niches have been discovered; hence, the position of each image is confirmed *in situ*. From this, one may reconstruct the interior of the tombs.

1.1.4 Art Historical Studies

Of all tomb art, murals have received the most scholarly attention in the last thirty years. Mary H. Fong wrote the most comprehensive corpus of articles about Tang murals from the 1970's to the 1990's. She is most concerned with re-constructing Tang painting on the basis of extant funerary material—for example, Tang murals (though acknowledged to be from the hand of second-class craftsmen) and Tang line engravings on stone. The value of such authentic, if second-rate art, she argues, show paintings traditionally attributed to the Tang to be later copies. The painting figures are stiff and lifeless in comparison to the tomb mural figures. Thus the murals, not later handscrolls, give a better indication of great figure painting by Tang painters. The subject matter and pictorial style of murals in the tombs of Yongtai, Zhanghuai, Yide, and Wei Jiong, especially, contribute greatly to the study of figure painting, iconography, and painting technique.²¹ She also includes line engravings on stone as authentic materials from which to study Tang paintings.

For Fong, line engravings on stone also preserve mural painting style just as inscriptions carved in stone perpetuate the great calligraphic styles of former masters.²² Her primary materials from the Tang thus established, she compares them with traditional art historical writings on paintings. More recently, she has dealt with other issues of the burial practices—tomb structures, epitaph tablets (decorations only), tomb

²¹ Fong 1973 and Fong 1984.

²² Fong 1987: 49.

guardian figures—and their precedents, in Shaanxi.²³

1.1.5 Identification of clothes, vehicles, and other material culture

Another approach, the identification of tomb iconography, is fundamental to studying tomb art. Yoshihito Harada 原田淑人 in 1970 made a systematic study of apparel as regulated by the Wude Regulation (*Wude Ling* 武德令).²⁴ He also included description of objects from the Shōsōin, Tang tombs, and Dunhuang finds. In essence this is the basic matching of terms from literary sources to the objects. Shen Congwen 沈從文 published in 1988 his *magnum opus*, the *Study of Ancient Chinese Apparel* (*Zhongguo gudai fushi yanjiu* 中國古代服飾研究).²⁵ Sun Ji 孫機's publication, *Essays on Clothing and Vehicles in Ancient China* (*Zhongguo guyufu luncong* 中國古輿服論叢) in 1993 is another important contribution to the field.²⁶ Sun Ji brings together an impressive range of miscellanea from literary texts and demonstrates a keen eye for details in images. He illustrates his texts and presents the many variant names for each part of either clothing or vehicle, authoritatively choosing one at last.

Sun Ji's collaborations with Yang Hong --*Wenwu congtan* 文物叢談,²⁷ *Xunchang de jingzhi* 尋常的精緻²⁸ --and also his own book of essays *Zhongguo shenghuo* 中國聖火 (on east-west exchanges)²⁹ actively engage in what is called art historical archaeology (*meishu kaogu* 美術考古) in which the authors combine the data of archaeology with a limited set of art historical issues. Though the studies of Sun Ji and

²³ Fong 1991.

²⁴ Harada 1970.

²⁵ Shen Congwen 1988.

²⁶ Sun Ji 1993.

²⁷ Sun Ji 1991.

²⁸ Yang Hong and Sun Ji 1996.

²⁹ Sun Ji 1996.

Yang Hong have the beginnings of material cultural studies, they, for the most part, focus on the matching of terms from texts to archaeological finds.

Zhong Shaoyi and Wang Yuanchao's (1995) article on the restoration of stone figures unearthed from Yang Sixu's Tang tomb marks a new willingness to seriously debate the issue of already identified iconography. Zhong and Wang note that these stone figures have become a "well-known research resource for studying the clothing and weapons of the Tang dynasty." However, the crescent-shaped objects held by the figures have long been mistakenly identified as a blade and scabbard (and restored as such). But in carefully comparing the object to other similar excavated objects and using literary references, Zhong and Wang make the case that it is actually a bow sack. This article marks a new willingness to question already "settled" issues.³⁰

The American scholar Edward Schafer should be included under this category because his works, precise and elegant translations of Chinese prose and poetry, paint a vivid picture of the former Tang and its animals, exotics, and material goods—often giving a name to visual representations. Beginning with *The Golden Peaches of Samarkand* in 1963, Schafer's work effectively began the study of the material culture of the Tang.³¹

1.1.6 Periodization of tomb features: studies from the 1980's to the present

Despite the lack of publications of a sizeable number of excavated tombs and in spite of museum objects being exhibited without context, Chinese scholars have written analyses of artifacts in an attempt to distinguish the characteristics of certain periods—generally divided into early, middle, and late Tang. Significantly, these monographs often contain some tantalizing pieces of unpublished material though they

³⁰ Zhong Shaoyi and Wang Yuanchao 1995.

³¹ Schafer 1962.

are most often based on published materials. The most important studies, discussed below, differ in content—murals, figurines, shapes of tombs, and so on—and they also differ in their divisions of periods.³²

In 1987, Wang Renbo published an article dividing Tang figurines in Shaanxi province into four periods, using information from published articles in *Kaogu*, *Wenwu cankao ziliao*, and *Wenwu*,³³ the two CASS studies of Xi'an suburban tombs,³⁴ and Sui Tang materials in the Shaanxi Provincial museum and the Association for Culture Management (Wenguanhui 文管會). For Wang, the first period (557-618) consists of honor guards with the ox cart as the centerpiece. The second period (618-711) consists of the honor guards with the riding horse as the centerpiece. The third period (710-805) consists of servant figurines, house models, and imitation mountains. The fourth (806-907) period consists of metal and wood figurines. Also, during the time of Wu Zetian (690-705), figurines engaged in more secular, leisure activity became more dominant. Instead of armored guards (which gradually disappeared from the figurine sets), figurines playing ball and musicians on horses increased. The Heavenly Guardian *tianwang yong* / Guardian Beast *zhenmu shou* combination took the place of the warrior/*zhenmushou* combination. In general, emphasis shifted from the military to secular enjoyment.³⁵ Wang wrote about this theme in an earlier 1984 article on the

³² For murals, see Su Bai 1982, He Zicheng 1959, and Wang Renbo et al. 1984 (Parts One and Two). For figurines see Wang Renbo 1987. For the shape of the tomb see Sun Binggen 1986 and Su Bai 1995.

³³ Wang Renbo 1987.

³⁴ The two Tang tomb excavation reports, *Zhongguo kexueyuan kaogu yanjiusuo* 1966 and *Zhongguo shehuikexueyuan kaogu yanjiusuo* 1980, differ in style. The former reports on the basic data for 175 tombs—most of which were ordinary one chamber or earthen pit tombs. There was one elite double chamber brick tomb. Though the report contains not much detail on each individual tomb, the database is comparatively large in number. The 1980 report describes six aristocratic tombs in detail. The Institute of Archaeology (*Kaogu yanjiusuo*) branched off from the Chinese Academy of Sciences (*Kexue yuan*) to become part of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences (*Shehui kexue yuan*) after 1966.

³⁵ Wang Renbo 1987.

periodization of Tang tomb murals; he sees the period from 618 to 709 as one of hunting and procession scenes, and later periods with more domestic and palace themes.³⁶ This transition from military might to secular pleasures is his major conclusion about Tang tombs.

Su Bai provided a somewhat more refined analysis of the content of murals in 1985. According to Su, the first period of tomb murals (631-651/675³⁷) mostly inherited the style and content of earlier periods, and continued the practice of dividing the wall into two parts, upper and lower, for painting murals. In addition, there were mural themes of granaries, monasteries, and even Daoist temples, which were throwbacks to murals of earlier times. The special style and content of Tang murals began to form in the second period of tombs (653/675-675). However, it was not until the third period (706-729) that the fully developed characteristics of Tang tomb murals emerged. Most common tombs eliminated honor guards altogether, though they were retained in the tombs of prince and princesses. What all tombs of the third period share is the increase of pleasure scenes with Central Asian features. The fourth (745-787) and the fifth (806-907) periods witnessed the erosion of the themes from the first three periods and the emergence of screens as well as the “painting” of real objects. In short, craftsmen painted screens on the walls instead of using real screens to surround the coffin bed.³⁸

In 1986, Su Binggen, using two hundred dated tombs from Xi'an, published the most comprehensive study on tomb structures to date. He divided the tombs into four basic types:

³⁶ Wang Renbo 1984, Parts One and Two.

³⁷ Su Bai dated his periods by the date that each sample tomb was constructed and finally closed. In this case, the Ashi Nazhong couple tomb was built in 653 but was re-opened, and possibly refurbished, to receive the second deceased in 675. Thus the date is written 653/675.

³⁸ Su Bai 1982: 137-153.

土洞單室	<i>tudong danshi</i>	single chamber earthen tomb
土洞雙室	<i>tudong shuangshi</i>	double chamber earthen tomb
磚砌單室	<i>zhuanqi danshi</i>	single chamber brick tomb
磚砌雙室	<i>zhuanqi shuangshi</i>	double chamber brick tomb

Using these classifications, he shows how they are related to the status or prestige of the tomb occupant. For example, the double chamber brick tomb is usually reserved for the most important personages of the land at that time, the single chamber brick tomb for the less important, and so forth.

Su Bai wrote again on this topic in 1995, making significant refinements to Su Binggen's arguments. His article draws the following conclusions: 1) The double trapezoidal chamber brick tomb was reserved for royalty of first rank and above and important ministers with special treatment; 2) The single chamber trapezoidal or square chamber brick tomb was made for ministers of first to fifth class; 3) Single chamber square earthen tombs were made for those ministers below fifth class and special commoners; 4) The single chamber rectangular tomb was made for commoners.³⁹

However, this kind of categorization cannot explain the many exceptions. Qi Dongfang had already pointed out five years earlier (1990) that the double chamber brick tomb only existed in the first ten years of the eighth century. Not many double chamber tombs have been found before or after this period,⁴⁰ and therefore the "double chamber" characteristic may not signify the status of the tomb occupant.

1.1.8 Reading the tomb's iconographical program

Wang Renbo wrote about the entire east wall mural program for the Prince Yide tomb.⁴¹ Fu Xinian compared the similarities between the Princess Yongtai tomb and a

³⁹ Su Bai 1995: 41-49.

⁴⁰ Qi Dongfang 1990: 286-310

⁴¹ Wang Renbo 1979.

princess residence, the Prince Yide tomb and the Crown Prince residence.⁴² Their studies inform in different ways the methodology I will employ in interpreting the tomb.

⁴² Fu Xinian 1987.

1.2 Sources and Methodology

1.2.1 Methodological limitations

In the past, Tang tombs were rarely treated as a whole. Scholars studied the murals of the tombs, the figurines and the stone line engravings of Tang tombs separately. They categorized the objects by material, created periodizations of types, or simply identified motifs in the iconography. Other scholars set up systematic classifications of status based on tomb features—skyshafts, the length of the tomb, the number of burial chambers. These are useful ways of looking at a tomb. However, there are many flaws to these theories, which may be partially corrected by looking at tombs of individuals with the same status as a whole.

Few question the practice of taking these tomb objects as representatives of material culture in their time. Indeed, the assumption of these studies is that the tomb faithfully reproduces contemporary society (see especially 1.1.5 clothing and vehicles). In tracing changes of content and style in periodization charts of mirrors, figurines, murals, and tomb architectural style, they sought to trace corresponding changes in cultural, societal, or political histories. I would suggest that they did not acknowledge evidence, which suggests that the tomb objects are largely symbolic, rather than accurate depictions of the lives of their occupants.

The other assumption of the correspondence tomb and status fails to explain those tombs or parts which do not conform. The theory has not been tested carefully against the examples of elite tombs from Shaanxi. And, as this thesis will show, there are more exceptions than examples that follow the rule.

1.2.2 Archaeological Sources and Their Limitations

Since the dawn of western-style, “scientific,” excavations of Tang tombs in the

beginning of the twentieth century, scholars have drawn most of their information about entire Tang tombs from short, summary excavation reports called “*jianbao* 簡報.”

Although most acknowledge that these short archaeological reports lack full details and clear pictures, thereby falling short of providing a dependable database, no Tang tomb has yet been fully documented.⁴³

The primary archaeological materials are relatively centralized—short excavation reports in journals like *Wenwu* 文物, *Wenbo* 文博 and *Kaogu* 考古, the two CASS books about Sui and Tang tombs in the suburbs of Xi’an, various albums of murals and other art. Yet, unlike tombs from other historical periods such as the Han, there has never been a complete archaeological report of even one of the tombs, and sometimes even the present whereabouts of the excavated tomb objects remain unclear.

The quality of the short reports is varied. The most troublesome problem is that often color photos of original murals are not published and even the order of the mural program is sometimes not clear. Line sketches present one wall but not the other side. The Princess Xincheng report is one of the more complete efforts in recent years. Yet even this report lacks any mention of the murals in the second corridor, second lightshaft, third corridor, third lightshaft, fourth lightshaft, fifth lightshaft, part of the southern wall of the chamber, and the entire western wall (excluding the sloping tomb path, first lightshaft, and first corridor).⁴⁴

Ink rubbings of stone line engravings and inscriptions are included sporadically.

⁴³ See 1.1.3 “Third Stage: Large-scale excavations in China.”

⁴⁴ The Princess Yongtai tomb report (Shaanxisheng wenwu guanliweiyuanhui 1964) is the earliest, most detailed, and most complete. Princess Linchuan’s report (Shaanxisheng wenguanhuai 1977) emphasized mostly the written material excavated from the tomb. The Princess Changle report (Zhaoling bowuguan 1988) was an important contribution of an early Tang princess tomb from Zhaoling. The Princess Fangling (An Qingdi 1990) report gave some important details about the structure of the tomb as well as some murals. The Princess Xingcheng report (Shaanxisheng kaogu yanjiusuo 1997) is the most recent addition to the reports on the excavation of princess tombs.

Often the report will show one leaf of a stone door--for example in Xincheng the right leaf--and say "the left side is the same," leaving the left leaf out of the report altogether. The archaeological reports emphasize different things and are not written to one specification. Excavators write extensively about the Princess Linchuan epitaph and two other stone tablets, but only summarize other tomb contents. Other articles reveal original details that were at first thought insignificant and so were unpublished. For example, the Yongtai report never mentioned that they found traces of a "house rooftop" that was only as high as a person's head flanking the sloping path. It was almost forty years later when Princess Xincheng's murals showed a sedan that archeologists realized that the "house rooftop" in Yongtai's murals was actually the rooftop of a sedan. Only then did they refer to this unpublished detail.⁴⁵ References to other unpublished murals can only be found in essays written by archaeologists who have had access to the material. The most notorious instance of this occurred when local authorities illegally excavated some thirty satellite tombs of Taizong's Zhaoling in the 1980's.

The line drawings in the articles are often not very detailed. But they are sufficient for capturing poses, basic iconography, rough sizes and direction. For additional photographs of the murals, stone engravings, and pottery figurines one uses various collections and albums from Japan and China.

Sometimes, publication of the excavated tomb may be delayed—perhaps even permanently delayed. For example, Princess Tangguo's tomb was excavated in 1953. But today, we can only get glimpses of the original, unpublished report through secondary publications such as Wang Renbo (1984) on page 55 of the murals chart,⁴⁶ or

⁴⁵ Shaanxisheng kaogu yanjiusuo 1997: 36.

⁴⁶ Wang Renbo 1984.

the epitaph separately published by Zhang Hongxiu (1992), plates 79-81.⁴⁷

The archaeological reports were written up in many different ways, with different terms used by different authors for the same things. For the sake of clarity, this thesis will choose one term to be used consistently. Alternate terms may show up in the glossary but the definition will direct them to the one chosen term. More details of the tombs will appear in those chapters in which they are relevant. The first part of this section will set temporal and geographic parameters. The second part will explain my approach. The third part, the argument, begins with discrepancies between textual evidence and visual materials and continues with discussions of representation and images, and ritual structures. Finally, the fourth and final part will introduce and discuss sources and materials.

1.2.3 Textual Sources

I will use the following texts to describe historical context, regulations for people of status and rank, and ritual codes. Most of the history comes from the dynastic histories, the *Jiu Tangshu* 舊唐書 and the *Xin Tangshu* 新唐書. The regulations for the princess's vehicles, honor guards, clothing, and staff are taken from the "Record of vehicles and clothes (*Yufuzhi* 輿服志)" in the *Jiu Tangshu*, the *Da Tang Kaiyuanli* 大唐開元禮 (*DTKYL*), the *Tongdian* 通典 (*TD*), the *Tangliudian* 唐六典 (*TLD*). I will also use the *Xin Tangshu*' "Yiweizhi 儀衛志" carefully and only if it corresponds with some of the other texts because of questions of authenticity surrounding it. The ritual codes are derived mostly from the *Yuanling* commentaries left in the *Tongdian* and the regulations for the ministers from rank one to three in the *Da Tang Kaiyuanli*. For a thorough history of the compilation of these texts, see Twitchett 1992.

⁴⁷ Zhang Hongxiu 1992.

1.2.4 Parameters

This dissertation focuses on five tombs built in a sixty-four year period, from 643 to 706 A.D. The dates are determined by the date of the first princess tomb--Changle (643) and the last princess tomb Yongtai (706). This period was also an active, fast-changing time particularly politically and culturally.

Politically, this period enclosed the career of the Empress Wu Zetian and her ascent to power. It has been shown that even in her pre-emperor days she actively nurtured proto-feminist activities at court.⁴⁸ For art and culture, this was also a particularly active period. Though the periodization of the different kinds of art, figurines, murals, and shapes of tombs, all differ, they also show a particularly decisive break in style between the seventh and eighth centuries. Changle's tomb, the earliest excavated princess tomb was built in the styles current before the Tang dynasty, and Yongtai's tomb, the last of the group is part of the mature Tang style which had evolved through the seventh century and had come to fruition in the beginning of the eighth. The early eighth century was a time when the Tang imperial family and aristocrats built lavish tombs, forming a "golden period" for Tang elite tombs that continues until the An Lushan rebellion of 755.

According to Sun, the years from 618-703, and from 705-758—were the most intensive periods of large elite tomb building in Xi'an. Out of the entire Tang dynastic period, only twenty-eight single brick chamber tombs had been found at the time when he was writing. Of these twenty-eight, seven were built during the first period, and twelve in the following fifty years. Of the eight most elaborate double brick chamber tombs, two were found in the first period, while six followed between 705 and 758.

⁴⁸ Chen Jo-shui 1994.

None have been found after 758.⁴⁹ That is to say, the most elaborate tombs seem to have been built for those who had been active and prominent in society during the reigns of Gaozong and Wu Zetian and who died in the first decade of the eighth century (700-710), during the time of the uneasy transfer of power from Wu Zetian to her successors.

From this one can see that though there were many chronologies with different periodizations, most scholars agree upon an early style—from about 618-707 A.D.—(“Early Tang”) and a mature style from about 708 to 758 (“High Tang”). The High Tang is generally defined as coinciding with the reign of Xuanzong (713-755).

All found princess tombs lay in the imperial cemetery areas to the north of Xi'an. Thus Shaanxi province marks the geographic boundaries of our study.

1.2.5 A New Approach

This thesis hopes to avoid, by studying the entire tomb, the omissions and sometimes misconceptions that arise because of exclusive study of only one or two aspects of the tombs. However, the subjects involved in a complete study of all aspects of the Tang tomb—murals, figurines, offerings, epitaphs, ritual, history, kinship and art—are enormous topics which cannot be appropriately covered in any one thesis. As a result, it was necessary to limit the number of tombs studied. To further identify and solve problems of status and tomb art, I chose a group of tombs with occupants of the same status. Princess tombs became my case study. I shall examine only those aspects of the Tang tomb that pertain to this group of tombs and as they instruct us on the intent and motivations behind the construction of the monuments.

In the course of examining the entire tomb, I interpret traditional as well as

⁴⁹ See Sun Binggen 1986: 169-70 and Qi Dongfang 1990.

previously ignored tomb features, such as epitaphs, in light of Confucian ritual concepts, political factors of the day, Tang concepts of boundaries, and Tang modes of tomb construction. This thesis assumes that tomb components, even if not made by the same craftsmen, were parts of an overall plan. I assume the tomb was made as a whole and should be understood as a whole. The strength of such an approach is that one can see how the different components of the tomb fit into the whole. In this way, the tomb is interpreted as an integrated piece of art. As this thesis will show, one cannot explain the deeper meanings of the tomb without seeing all its components.

While this thesis deals with specific ritual requirements and political factors in the making of the princess tombs, it does not cover supernatural beliefs and geomantic (*fengshui* 風水) elements of the tomb. The omission is deliberate because of the overwhelming wealth of information about such subjects. Such topics have been the object of much scholarly discussion and publication already. Secondly, early Tang tombs contain comparatively few traces of supernatural elements. In fact, the secular nature of Tang tomb art marks a decisive break from previous funerary iconography.⁵⁰

In the 1960's, the discovery of the Tang princess Yongtai's tomb with its accompanying murals, followed by the discovery of the tombs of the Crown Princes Zhanghuai and Yide (published in 1972), initiated a new academic debate about Tang tombs and their iconography. Murals provided an insight into the programs inside the tombs. Previously, one could only examine the spirit paths set out before the great tumuli and analyze the exterior programs. However, the interior of tombs was a mystery. Now, excavations, with resulting information about the murals, funeral goods, and underground structure of the tomb provide essential clues to the overall meaning of the tombs.

⁵⁰ Tombs from the Northern dynasties, for example, are often covered with small genii and sometimes flying devas.

The thesis proposes an alternative way of understanding tombs, taking into account the whole of the tomb system, including both underground and above-ground structures, the historical background of the occupants, the funeral ritual texts and practice, and the epitaphs. I begin by putting the tomb into the historical context of the period and uncovering the dialectic between political events and changes in princess tomb building. The study then attempts to understand the meaning of princess tombs through their content, historical context, and ritual texts. Here, the princess tomb is a case study of the large, elite Tang tomb.

The thesis limits its materials to princess tombs in order to scrutinize the relationship between status and tomb. To do this, the tomb's occupants must be of the same status. A second consideration is to choose tombs that could show more of their whole, not partial, contents. In general, the princess group, though relatively small in number, has been better documented than other types of tombs. Of all imperial tombs, the contents of the Yongtai princess tomb are the most fully published—mainly because most of the line engravings on the stone sarcophagus in the Yongtai tomb have been published (the line-engravings on the stone sarcophagi of Yide and Zhanghuai are not). Moreover, excavated princess tombs appear to show a certain regularity in tomb size throughout the designated sixty-four year period, with the exception of the Princess Yongtai tomb.⁵¹ The methods used in Western cultural studies will be adopted in this research, including careful art-historical, anthropological and archaeological analysis of each tomb.

⁵¹ The tombs of Princess Yongtai and the Prince Yide are much longer than the other tombs for reasons that will be discussed in Chapter Two.

1.3 The Documentation and Components of Princess Tombs

Six princess tombs have been excavated and published in the twentieth century: those of princesses Changle (643), Xincheng (663), Fangling (673), Linchuan (684), Yongtai (706), and Tang'an (784). Of these six princess tombs, Tang'an's (784) alone lay outside the sixty-four year period of my study. Tang'an's tomb style, moreover, represents another, more radically different period of time, which began after An Lushan's rebellion. The appearance, in this tomb, of one of the first "flower and bird" motif paintings, foreshadows the blossoming of this genre in the Song. And thus, the style of the paintings in this tomb are of the latter half of the Tang rather than the first, and thus I have excluded this tomb on grounds of content and style.⁵²

This chapter begins with a summary of commemorative structures dedicated to princesses in the city of Chang'an, its very brevity enforced by the lack of materials. The remainder of the chapter is divided into two parts: the first part gives an initial overview of the five princess tombs; the second part identifies each of the major components of a Tang tomb—the passages, lightshafts, niches, chambers, and so on. The data extant for the tombs is systematically explored, with the caveat that the reporting's evenness is undermined by problems with sources, as discussed in section 1.2.2.

1.3.1 Monasteries and temples in the city

Textual sources cite only six nunneries, monasteries, and temples dedicated to princesses. They are the Chongjing 崇敬 Nunnery (established for Princess Chang'an 長安 in 662, see Fig. 1.1);⁵³ the Jianfu 建福 Monastery (established for Princess

⁵² WW 9 (1991): 15-91.

⁵³ TLJCFK 2:11, THY 48: 846, CAZ 7: 12.

Xincheng in 662, see Fig. 1.2);⁵⁴ the Yongtai 永泰 Monastery (established for Princess Yongtai in 705-6, see Fig. 1.3);⁵⁵ the Yongshou 永壽 Princess Monastery (established for Princess Yongshou in 709, see Fig. 1.4);⁵⁶ the Hanguo Zhengmu 韓國正穆 Gongzhu Temple (established for Princess Hanguo Zhengmu, formerly Tang'an 唐安 in 801, see Fig. 1.1);⁵⁷ and the Zheng'guo Zhuangmu 鄭國莊穆 Gongzhu Temple (established for Princess Zheng'guo Zhuangmu, formerly Princess Yizhang 義章 in 801, see Fig. 1.5).⁵⁸ Often they were not buildings constructed for the benefit of the deceased princess, but rather earlier buildings re-dedicated. This is not unusual for the great mansions and monastic architecture of Chang'an. Ho Puay Peng writes the following:

It is also very clear that the formal aspect of monastic architecture is probably not unlike that of the palaces, or large mansions of high officials or even residences of wealthy merchants as there are many statements about how a residence was turned into a monastery and sometimes vice versa, or a palace into a monastery and vice versa. What changed was [sic] possibly the main objects in the central hall, which might be Buddhist images or ancestral tablets.⁵⁹

Ho makes the point that 41 monasteries in Chang'an were founded by the donation of aristocratic mansions and their conversion into a monastery, that is, 40% of the 110 monasteries listed in *The cities and wards of the two Tang capitals* (Tang liang jingcheng fang kao 唐兩京城坊考, otherwise known as *TLJCFK*) were originally secular buildings.⁶⁰ During the Xianqing period (656-661) alone, Gaozong set up more

⁵⁴ *TLJCFK* 3:26.

⁵⁵ *TLJCFK* 4:21, *CAZ* 10:7.

⁵⁶ *TLJCFK* 4: 16 and *THY* 48: 846 locates a Yongshou building, dedicated in 709, in the Yong'an ward. However, *CAZ* 7: 8 and *CAZ* 7: 11 locate Yongshou buildings in the Guangfu and Yong'le wards, respectively. The *TLJCFK* and *THY* references are probably more reliable.

⁵⁷ *TLJCFK* 2: 12, *THY* 19: 386, *CAZ* 7: 12.

⁵⁸ *CAZ* 11: 8. Many Daoist belvederes were also dedicated to princesses. See *THY* 50: 871-878.

⁵⁹ Ho Puay Peng 1992: 222.

⁶⁰ Ho 1992: 217.

than twenty Buddhist monasteries in Chang'an for his sons and daughters.⁶¹

Two of the Buddhist monasteries in Chang'an mentioned above were set up by Gaozong's son, Zhongzong for *his* daughters, the Princess Yongtai and her younger sister Yongshou.⁶² Prayers for the princesses in the afterlife (*qifu* 祈福) were provided for in the buildings.

Yongtai's monastery was located in the Changshou 長壽 ward of Chang'an.⁶³ Several sources from the period contain information about this monastery, its history, and various murals. One of the most informative passages is found in chapter four of the volume, “唐兩京城坊考 (Studies of the *fang* from the two metropolises of the Tang).”

[On the south Changshou ward] East of the southern gate is the Yongtai monastery. Originally it was the residence of Xiao Cen, Prince of Wu, and Liang dynasty Grand Guardian (one of the three Dukes).

In the fourth year of Kaihuang [584 A.D.], the Emperor [Sui Wendi] established the Yanxing Monastery for the śramana Tanyan.

The eastern cloister (of the monastery) was originally the residence of Duke Xiao Zong of Lu, which was donated to the monastery after the fall of the Sui dynasty. During the Shenlong era, Zhongzong re-named the monastery “Yongtai *si*” in order to bring blessings to the deceased Princess Yongtai. In the cloister to the east inside the Monastery

⁶¹ They are Zijie 資戒, Chongjing 崇敬, Zhaofu 招福, and Ximing 西明. Xiong 2000: 259 quotes *FYZL* 100: 30.

⁶² Zhongzong had four daughters with Empress Wei. They are, in order of oldest to youngest, Yongtai 永泰, Yongshou 永壽, Changning 長寧, and Anle 安樂. *JTS* 51: 2171-72. Yongshou married Wei Hui 韋鐵, but died early. She was given the title Princess Yongshou, presumably posthumously, at the beginning of the years of Chang'an (701-704). *XTS* 83: 3654.

⁶³ The Tang capital of Chang'an was divided in a grid-like fashion. Each rectangular unit, with its own walls and gate, was called a ward (*fang* 坊). Each ward had a name. The Changshou ward was the fourth ward west of the main thoroughfare, the Zhuquemen. It was the second ward south of the Western market. The ward is divided into four equal sections by streets perpendicular to each other intersecting at in the middle of the ward. Thus the monastery was presumably east of the South Gate. See Fig. 1.3. After Xiong 2000: Fig. 2.1 & p. 210. See Peng 1992 “Chapter 8 Monastic architecture of Chang'an”: 212-252 for an account of important monasteries in the city.

is a scene of the nirvana of Śākyamuni painted by the Sui Grand Master of the Palace Zheng Fashi. Li Ya, Prince of Teng painted Sage monks in the left cloister. There are also Yang Qitan paintings.

南門之東，永泰寺，本梁太尉吳王蕭岑宅。隋開皇四年，帝爲沙門曇延立爲延興寺。寺東院莒公蕭瑒宅。當隋亡捨入寺。神龍中，中宗爲永泰公主追福爲永泰寺。寺內東精舍有隋中大夫鄭法士畫釋迦滅度之變。左廊有滕王庫直李雅畫聖僧之跡，又有楊契丹畫。[punctuation mine]⁶⁴

There are also passages about this temple from chapter three, section four—“The wall paintings of the Buddhist and Taoist monasteries of the Western capital Chang’an” in *A Record of the Famous Painters of all the Dynasties* (*Lidai minghua ji* 歷代名畫記) completed in 847 A.D. Here, however, the author, Zhang Yanyuan 張彥遠 gives a more laconic description of the art in Yongtai’s monastery. He writes:

Yongtai Monastery: In the hall and the western cloister corridor are paintings of the Sage monks by Li Ya.⁶⁵ On the hanging door in the eastern cloister corridor are paintings by Yang Ch’i-tan. In the vihara to the east is an Annihilation Scene painted by Cheng Fa-shih⁶⁶

永泰寺 殿及西廊李雅畫聖僧。校：王本作「聖像」。東廊懸門，楊契丹畫。東精舍，鄭法士畫滅度變相。⁶⁷

From these descriptions, the Yongtai *si* must have been a monastery of some size and grandeur, filled with paintings from famous painters such as Yang Qidan and imperial amateurs, such as Prince Teng.

There were, seemingly three structures for Princess Yongshou. One structure, recorded in the *TLJCFK* and *THY*, was in the Yong’an ward, established in the third year of Jinglong (709). “Next is the Yongshou Monastery in the Yong’an ward, according to the *Record of monasteries and towers*, “ It is east of the three gates.

⁶⁴ *TLJCFK* 4: 21. Also see account in *CAZ* 10: 11

⁶⁵ In the original Chinese, there is remark, “According to the reading of the Jiaqing and Wang editions the translation would be ‘are portraits of the Sages painted by Li Ya.’” For more discussion on the difference between this point see Acker 1954: 301

⁶⁶ After Acker 1954: 300-301.

⁶⁷ *LDMHJ*: 3: 65.

Painted by Wu Daozi. The Buddha hall is called huixian (“meeting of immortals”) and was originally the purification hall in the imperial palace. 次永安坊/永壽寺/《寺塔記》：寺三門東。吳道子畫佛殿，名會仙。本是內中梳洗殿。”⁶⁸

Another monastery of exactly the same name was recorded by the CAZ to be in the Yongle ward, east of the Qingdu Belvedere. It was also dedicated in 709. The third building, called Princess Yongshou Temple (*miao* 廟 as opposed to monastery *si* 寺) was in the south east corder of the Guangfu ward.⁶⁹

The function of the monasteries for the two princesses Yongtai and Yongshou is analogous to the function of the temples used to pray for the afterlife happiness of princesses Tang’an and Yizhang. Their respective fathers, Zhongzong (r. 684, 705-709) and Dezong (r. 765-804), posthumously established the monasteries and temples for their daughters in their capacity as emperors when they won the throne after a period of contention and chaos. Yongtai and Yongshou died in the latter part of the reign of the Empress Wu (690-705 A.D.). Their father Zhongzong only came to the throne after a coup.

Dezong was forced to flee Chang’an to a small northwestern town called Fengtian in 783 by the revolt of troops in the capital. Only after extensive negotiating with former enemies was he able to return with his family and officials to the capital.⁷⁰ The Princess Tang’an died on the way back and was buried summarily.⁷¹ On the fifteenth day of the seventh month of the fifteenth year of Zhenyuan (799), Dezong gave Princess Tang’an the title of Hanguo Zhengmu princess and the former Princess Yizhang the title of Zheng’guo Zhuangmu princess. Two years later, two temples were

⁶⁸ TLJCFK 4: 16

⁶⁹次南光福坊/坊東南隅舊有永壽公主廟/公主中宗女。景雲(710-711)中廢，賜姜皎為鞠場，皎宅在廟北隔街。舊贊懷貞宅。懷貞誅後，賜皇后妹夫竇庭芳。CAZ 7: 8

⁷⁰ See Twitchett 1979: 582-9.

⁷¹ WW 9 (1991): 15-27.

dedicated to the two princesses.⁷²

In view of the scraps of evidence available of buildings dedicated to deceased princesses, a pattern seems to emerge. Princess monasteries and temples were far and few in between. Unlike Crown Prince temples, which were considered part of the system and thus had recordings of standardized offerings and payments,⁷³ it is unclear how princess monasteries were maintained. If it were true that the emperor was paying out of his own resources to have prayers said for his daughters, this would have stopped at the end of his reign. In any event, the relationship of the princess tomb to these other memorial monuments is not very clear.

Only in two instances, the Buddhist shrine of Princess Jinyang and the monastery of Princess Anding, does one get a sense of how each was funded and what role they played in the scheme of things within the tomb.

Princess Jinyang was a favorite daughter of Taizong and a favorite sister for Gaozong. When she died at the age of 12, Taizong stopped eating regularly for three days and mourned for more than 10 days. He ordered that the remainder of the princess's fiefdom be used to construct a Buddhist shrine next to her tomb. [太宗] 詔有司薄主湯沐餘貨，營佛祠墓側。⁷⁴ Here, the princess's own wealth was used to create a Buddhist shrine for her next to her tomb. (See section 1.3.3 "Above-ground structures")

Not much is known about Princess Anding. Gaozong (or in some sources, Gaozu⁷⁵) re-dedicated an old Sui monastery as Chongjing nunnery in her honor in the Jing'an *fang* in 662.⁷⁶ There is one passage from the Old History of the Tang which says

⁷² TLJCFK 2: 12, THY 19: 386, CAZ 11: 18. See also Fig. 1.1 and Fig. 1.5 .

⁷³ THY: 417.

⁷⁴ XTS 83: 3648-9.

⁷⁵ THY 48: 846

⁷⁶ TLJCFK 2: 11 and CAZ 7: 12

that Princess Anding's funerary accoutrements were transferred from a monastery inside the palace grounds, the Deye monastery (Deye si 德業寺)⁷⁷ to the Chongjing monastery in the east city.

...On February 4th, 664, there was a great ceremony of forgiveness. On February 20, Gaozong gave his eldest deceased daughter the title of Princess Anding, and her *shi* "thought (思 *si*)."⁷⁸ Her procession, fifes, drums, and all that were needed for burial--provided as if for a prince--were transferred from Deye Monastery to Chongjing Monastery.

...三月辛亥，展大射⁷⁸禮·丁卯，長女追封安定公主⁷⁹，諡曰思，其鹵簿鼓吹及供葬所須，並如親王之制，於德業寺遷于崇敬寺。⁸⁰

Evidently, these memorial buildings were also used for the storage of those accoutrements of the funeral procession which were not placed in the tomb. Perhaps these places served as ancestral temples for those princesses who would not have found a place within their husband's family temples. There were imaginably, many circumstances under which this could have happened. For example, if the princess was not married or if their husbands died in disgrace. This seemed to be the situation for all the princesses for which memorial structures were dedicated.

1.3.2 The Five Princess Tombs

The five princess tombs were satellite tombs of three early imperial tombs, namely Xianling, Zhaoling, and Qianling. Each of these imperial tombs differs in its

⁷⁷ The Deye monastery (later called the Helin monastery 鶴林寺) seemed to have served as a palace Buddhist chapel and was associated with one nun in particular, Baocheng 寶乘, who had been a concubine of Tang emperor Gaozu (r. 618-626). *DCSZ* 8: 15-16.

⁷⁸ Note 13 of the *JTS* 4: 88 showed that this "*she* 射" was actually "*she* 赦."

⁷⁹ There is another Princess Anding in the Tang histories, but she was not the eldest daughter of Gaozong. This second Princess Anding was originally titled Princess Qianjin 千金, and is listed as one of the 19 princesses of Gaozu in the *XTS* (*XTS* 8: 3645).

⁸⁰ *JTS* 4: 85.

spatial relations to its satellite tombs. For example, the Xianling satellite tombs cluster to its northeast; the Zhaoling satellite tombs are located mostly to its south; and the Qianling satellite tombs are mostly to its southeast. The five princess tombs were made at different times, belonging to periods spaced either ten or twenty years apart. A brief summary of the five princess tombs in chronological order follows.

Princess Changle 長樂 (643)

In February 1986, robbers disturbed a tomb in the grounds of Zhaoling, now Lingguang village 陵光村 in Liquan county 禮泉縣. As a result, archaeologists from the Zhaoling Museum carried out an excavation of the tomb from October 30th to November 10th, 1986. The occupant, Princess Changle 長樂, was the fifth daughter of Emperor Taizong 太宗 (Li Shimin 李世民) and the Empress Changsun 長孫, making her a “princess of the Empress” (*dixi* 嫡系, in distinction to the children of concubines or consorts).

The tomb is of the single chamber brick tomb (SCBT) type, oriented in a north-south direction, with the sloping path in the south and the chamber in the north. The tomb is situated on the slope of a hill in front of Jiuzong Mountain, site of the imperial tomb of her father, Taizong (see Fig. 1.8 and Fig. 1.9). Her tomb is extraordinary among princess tombs in having three stone doors along the corridor leading to the burial chamber (see Fig. 1.43); the tombs of the other princesses have only one stone door. The one brick chamber does not contain a stone sarcophagus, just a raised stone platform. The chamber is roughly square, 4.6 meters from east to west and 4.2 meters from north to south.⁸¹ The tomb was made in about forty days, beginning the

⁸¹ Information on the Changle tomb is published in a short excavation report, Zhaoling bowuguan 1988: 10-30. Murals from her tomb have been published in various books and catalogues, for example Shaanxisheng lishi bowuguan 1991 and Asian Art Museum of San Francisco and the F.W. Kimbell Art

tenth day of the eighth month (her death date).⁸²

Of the six instances in the *Xin Tangshu* and *Jiu Tangshu* where Princess Changle is mentioned, five excerpts concern the size of her marriage dowry. She married her cousin, the eldest son of Changsun Wuji 長孫無忌, Changsun Chong 長孫沖. Her uncle Changsun Wuji was the elder brother of her mother, the Empress Changsun and a favored comrade-in-arms of Taizong. Changle was a favorite of Taizong's. He wanted to give her the same dowry as he had given his aunt, the Princess Fangling. The minister Wei Zheng objected vigorously, and the dowry was greatly reduced. The historical story was invoked to show how Confucian principles won over imperial favoritism.

Princess Xincheng 新城 (663)

This most recently excavated tomb, situated in Dongping village 東坪村 in the countryside of Yanxia 煙霞鄉 of Lichuan county 禮泉縣, was uncovered in the period from October 1994 to June 1995. Funded by the Paris-based “Shaanxi Iibo zhi you 陝西歷博之友 (Friends of the Shaanxi History Museum),” the excavation was carried out by a team made up of members of the Shaanxi Archaeological Institute, Shaanxi Historical Museum and Zhaoling Museum. Although Xincheng was buried with the rites of an Empress, her tomb was not called a *ling* (which normally only an Emperor or his Heir could have). Unlucky in matrimony, Xincheng's biography states that she was deserted by one husband who was then exiled for crimes against the state. She married

Museum 1994. Pictures of her refurbished tomb have been published in Hyōgo Kenritsu 1996: 79. However the photo of the chamber is inaccurately decorated with palace ladies. These murals are a recent creation. This is immediately noticeable when one compares the original line drawings from the 1988 excavation report, which show the chamber murals to have largely peeled away to blank walls.

⁸² See Fig. 4.18, Transcription of Princess Chang'le's epitaph, characters 20/27-24/2. See p. 177-78 for key to transcription.



again, to Wei Zhengzu, who in turn was, at least, partially responsible for her death.⁸³ Gaozong tried Wei Zhengzu in court and then executed him. Her tomb lies to the northeast of Zhaoling, and is very close to the main tumulus. The layout of the structures outside her tomb is very similar to that of the Yongtai tomb.

Princess Fangling 房陵 (673)

Princess Fangling is the sixth daughter of the founding Tang emperor, Gaozu, who is buried at Xianling. In 1975, a farmer spreading fertilizer in his fields found the Princess Fangling tomb on level ground, with no trace of a tumulus or other structures. However, it was located amongst a cluster of satellite burials about 2.5 miles northeast of Xianling (see Fig. 1.12).

The tomb contained a stone sarcophagus and parts of the murals were intact. Not much else was left, however, in the tomb, which had been robbed repeatedly. What is especially interesting to study is its wealth of sacrificial items—a round altar in the tomb, a sacrificed ram in one of the lightshafts, etc. Her tomb is of the double chamber brick tomb type (DCBT). Only Princess Yongtai's tomb shares this type.⁸⁴ Of all the princesses uncovered, she lived far longer than anyone else, and was actually the aunt of Emperor Gaozong when she was buried in 673. This may account for her more elaborate tomb type. References to her life history can be found both under her title in youth, Princess Yongjia 永嘉⁸⁵, and her later title, Princess Fangling 房陵.⁸⁶

⁸³ The phrase here was *buli* 不禮, which can mean “rudeness.” However the phrase would be used only in serious breaches of etiquette, and here it might have even implied that he abused her. *JTS* 78: 3649 and *XTS* 3: 63.

⁸⁴ An Qingdi 1990: 2-6.

⁸⁵ *JTS* 61: 2367, *JTS* 62: 23843, *JTS* 71: 2549, *XTS* 83: 3643, *XTS* 95: 3846, *XTS* 100: 3928.

⁸⁶ *XTS* 83: 3643.

Princess Linchuan 臨川 (684)

This tomb was excavated March-April 1972 in the outer confines of Zhaoling, more than five kilometers away from the center, the tomb of the Emperor Taizong (see Fig. 1.7). The entire tomb is 48 meters long, with four lightshafts. The Linchuan tomb is also unusual because it contained two stone *zhaoshu* 詔書 (certificates). The only comparable example with someone with similar rank comes from the tomb of the prince Li Feng (675). His tomb produced five blocks of carved stone, which the archaeological report called *cwen* 冊文, but they are actually *zhaoshu* 詔書, like that of Princess Linchuan.⁸⁷ Three of Li Feng's *zhaoshu* can be found in the *Zhaolingji* 詔令集.⁸⁸ The other two texts have never been seen before. The epitaph text from Princess Linchuan's tomb is also unusually long and detailed—giving specific instances from the princess' life. It was written by a noted literary man called Guo Zhengyi 郭正一.⁸⁹ The report makes no mention of murals, but seems to indicate that none remain. Some stone carvings on door leaves, *huabiao* 華表 (stone pillars), figurines, and metal locks were excavated.⁹⁰

Princess Yongtai 永泰 (706)

The tomb, some miles southeast of Qianling, was excavated from August 4, 1960-April 16, 1962. It is very close to the tomb of Prince Zhanghuai. (Fig. 1.13 and 1.14) The princess's name was Li Xianhui 李仙蕙, with the official title name of Yongtai 永泰. Yongtai was the daughter of Zhongzong, who was then the crown prince, and accordingly her title was "countess" *junzhu* 郡主 not "princess" *gongzhu* 公主. On

⁸⁷ The texts on both Linchuan's stones quote themselves as "*zhaoshu* 詔書," which are basically certificates of status. (Shaanxisheng wenguanhui et. al. 1977: 53)

⁸⁸ Fupingxian Wenhuaquan et al. 1977: 322-325.

⁸⁹ Guo Zhengyi has biographies in both *JTS* 190: 5009-10 and *XTS* 106: 4042-43.

⁹⁰ Shaanxisheng wenguanhui 1977: 50-59.

the fourth day of the ninth month of first year of Dazu (9/9/701), she died at the age of seventeen. The epitaph does not specify the cause. According to official histories, she was killed along with her husband, Wu Yanji 武延基,⁹¹ and her brother Crown Grandson Li Chongrun 李重潤 (Prince Yide) because they had been complaining about the Empress Wu's favorites, brothers Zhang Changzhong 張昌宗 and Zhang Yizhi 張易之. An unfortunate dispute amongst them may have caused them to talk to others, and the Empress, discovering their dissatisfaction and possible conspiracy, had them all killed.⁹²

Four years later, in 705, the Crown Prince ascended the throne after a *coup* forcing the empress to abdicate. The new Emperor, known posthumously as Zhongzong 中宗, wasted no time in honoring his dead children, Yongtai and Yide. He reburied “Countess” Yongtai as “Princess” Yongtai. Furthermore, she and her husband Wu Yanji were buried together in a *ling* 陵. The term *ling* refers to an earthen mound. During the Qin dynasty, the emperor's tomb was called a *shan* [山] (mountain), and it was not until the Han that the emperor's tomb was called a *ling* 陵. Thus it was an unusual honor for a princess to be buried in a *ling*, which was usually reserved for the Emperor or his heir.

At first, Emperor Zhongzong contracted a ghostly wedding for his son, Chongrun 重潤, who was only nineteen at death, with a minister's dead daughter. Their remains

⁹¹ Wu Yanji had inherited his father's title of Duke of Wei, but he was called later, the Inheriting Duke of Wei (*ji Wei wang* 繼魏王)

⁹² There are several versions of this story. Some say that the three had a quarrel and that was the beginning of their discovery by the empress. Sources have them caned to death (*JTS*: 2835), hanged (*JTS*: 2707), or forced to commit suicide (*JTS*: 4730, *XTS*: 5838). Princess Yongtai's epitaph is also not so clear on this point. Instead, it first says that her husband had died first—possibly with foul play. Then it hints at a forced abortion, the poison administered by two “boys” which might possibly be a reference to the Zhang brothers, Zhang Changzhong 張昌宗 and Zhang Yizhi 張易之. Princess Pingcheng introduced Changzong and his twenty-something older brother Yizhi to Empress Wu in 697, when she was 73 years old. (*JTS* 78: 2706). Fifty years younger, they are “boys” when compared to Wu Zetian. See Chapter Four section on “Illness and Death”. Subsequently, the Countess Yongtai died in 701.

were buried together in another *ling* 陵 further to the west of Yongtai's tomb of the Qianling cemetery. The body of the elevated "Crown Prince" Yide (the former Li Chongrun) set off for his new burial site on the 23rd day of the fourth month in the second year of Shenlong 神龍 (8 June 706).⁹³ The newly titled princess was buried on the 18th day of the fifth month of the same year (1 July 706). Thus, their tombs, both *ling*'s 陵 were completed at about the same time, and they were buried less than a month apart from one another. Another closely associated tomb in the same area, that of the Crown Prince Zhanghuai, was completed on August 13, 706. The Yongtai tomb, therefore, has close connections with that of her brother Yide and also with her uncle Zhanghuai.

Yongtai's tomb is by far the largest of excavated princess tombs at 87.5 meters, outstripping the others by some 30-40 meters. Its stunning murals, stone engravings, and objects have excited great interest. It was the first Tang princess tomb to be scientifically excavated.⁹⁴ As Princess Yongtai had died in 701 and had been summarily buried elsewhere in Luoyang, according to one source,⁹⁵ so there was time to build an elaborate tomb.

All of the other princesses were buried in satellite tombs to their father's tombs, except for Yongtai. Yongtai was buried as a satellite tomb of Qianling, her grandparents' imperial tomb (see p. 14, Table of princesses).

Information on these princess tombs has been published in short excavation reports in journals. Pictures of their murals and various items have also been published in albums about Tang artifacts. One album of the murals and one booklet of the line

⁹³ *TDZJ*: 128.

⁹⁴ The main report is Shaanxisheng wenwu guanliweiyuanhui 1964: 7-18.

⁹⁵ Guojia wenwuju (ed.) 1998, Vol. II: 469.

engravings on her stone sarcophagus have been published in China.⁹⁶ Rubbings of the line engravings on Yongtai's stone sarcophagus were shown in the Japanese exhibition *Nisen nen no bi* 二千年の美 (catalogue)⁹⁷ and were reproduced on a large scale in the large album *Seian Hirin* 西安碑林 (catalogue).⁹⁸

1.3.3 A Comparison of the Basic Components of Tang Tombs

“Commemoration of the past was taken care of, with a few late exceptions, by the decorations of temples and palaces, to be seen by everybody; whereas the admirable products of funerary art, revealed to us by archaeological grave robbing, were never destined to be seen by human eyes.”⁹⁹

The three components of the funerary tomb commemoration of an individual can be divided generally into two categories—the visible and the not visible. The first component are the visible structures at the site. The second component is the part which is not seen by anyone but the deceased—an object of provision rather than commemoration. The third component, the dedicated monastery or temple in the city, is the most public and accessible part of the funerary commemoration as a whole.

The interaction of the tomb's unseen and visible parts is crucial for an understanding of how funerary art works. The idea of “identity” also plays a role in both visible and unseen components of the tomb. These ideas will be taken up in later interpretative chapters.

Above-ground structures at the tomb site

There are indications that in the past there were above-ground structures for the princess tombs—both for commemorative altars and also housing for the people who

⁹⁶ Renmin meishu chubanshe (ed.) 1963 and Shaanxisheng bowuguan (ed.) 1985, respectively.

⁹⁷ See Mainichi Shimbunsha Chūgoku kōryūkyōkai 毎日新聞社中國交流協會 (ed.) 1965.

⁹⁸ See Miyakawa Torao 1979.

⁹⁹ Panofsky 1992: 16.

were to take care of the tombs. These commemorative structures next to the tombs are different from those monasteries in the cities used to commemorate the princesses discussed in the previous section, “monasteries and temples in the city” (section 1.3.1). Instead, “Above-ground structures” refer *only* to structures built at the tomb. In one instance, the texts mention that Taizong (r. 627-49) built a Buddhist shrine by the tomb of his daughter, the twelve-year-old princess Jinyang 晉陽公主. However, the texts then are silent on any kind of structures next to the tomb until the 800’s.

In 813 A.D., the mayor of Chang’an, Yuan Yifang 元義方, asked the court for regulations regarding the shrine of Princess Yongchang 永昌¹⁰⁰ according to “ritual rules” (禮令).¹⁰¹ He cited a precedent in 785, when Emperor Dezong (r. 780-805) built shrines of 120 *jian* beside the tombs of his daughters the princesses Yiyang 義陽 and Yizhang 義章.¹⁰² However, though these shrines may have been built, there were no real regulations stipulating structures next to princess tombs. Taking advantage of this absence and pointing out that such projects cost much money, Li Jipu successfully defeated an imperial plan for building memorial shrines by Princess Yongchang’s grave.¹⁰³

In the modern era, the contours of the spirit path are defined by the physical remains of stone animals and people. Walled enclosures have deteriorated, leaving behind only rammed earth ramparts which served the base of watch towers. The above-ground surface features of the tombs of the five princesses are greatly damaged. Fangling’s surface structures had been completely destroyed and the excavation report

¹⁰⁰ Princess Yongchang was a beloved daughter of Xianzong (r. 806-820). Her burial cost 30,000,000 units of money. *XTS* 83: 3667.

¹⁰¹ *JTS* 96: 3994.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*

¹⁰³ “Your servant thinks that establishing this shrine has no precedent in the books of ritual. 臣以祠堂之設，禮典無文” *JTS* 148: 3995.

of Linchuan's tomb does not mention surface structures. The Changle, Xincheng, and Yongtai spirit paths have been reported as relatively intact. However, they are damaged anew year after year. Fig. 1.15 presents the features both as reported by their excavation reports and when I visited the sites in a 1999 field trip.

Existing above-ground features include spirit path, tumulus, and walled enclosures. Most tombs are oriented from north to south. In the underground tomb this means that the chamber is north and the sloping path and corridors in the south. For the above-ground structures, this means that the tumulus is at the northern part while the spirit path is to the south. And thus, as Ann Paludan has pointed out, the above-ground features are roughly analogous to the tomb below.

The plan of the above-ground structures is generally organized within a rectangular enclosure, with four corner watchtowers (*que*), and two watchtowers for the southern gates. Both Changle and Xincheng tomb sites show traces of eight watchtowers each. The Changle tomb shows two corner watchtowers in the north, two corner watchtowers in the south and two entrance towers. The Xincheng tumulus is slightly larger than that of Changle at the base. Xincheng's base is approximately 40 by 40 meters while Changle's base is 30 by 30 meters.

The Xincheng and Changle stone steles are located south of their tumuli though their exact positions can no longer be determined. However, their dimensions seem to be standard: approximately 3 meters tall, 1 meter wide, and 30 centimeters thick. They both have the "dragon" top and rest upon a turtle. The Yongtai tomb has no stone stele.

Xincheng and Changle spirit paths display two guards, two rams, two lions, and two *huabiao* 華表 (columns) in their spirit roads. The Yongtai spirit path has four guards, no rams, two lions, and two *huabiao* columns.

State of tombs, September 1999

Such was the state of the princess tombs according to their respective excavation reports. However, in September of 1999 I had the opportunity to visit all three of these princess tombs, and found the spirit paths (especially Princess Changle) to be in a state of great disrepair or irrevocably damaged by tourism. The following is a report of what I saw:

Princess Changle

All of the spirit path sculptures appear to be missing—or reburied. I found only one guard in the storage yard of the Zhaoling Museum (Fig. 1.18-20). Fortunately, the stone stele and its turtle base has been relocated to the “stone forest” *beilin* of the Zhaoling museum (Fig. 1.16-17). The tumulus is still there, but a museum has been built over the site (including the old *que* and walls) so tourists can visit the underground tomb (Fig. 1.9).

Princess Xincheng

The Xincheng tomb has been basically untouched since 1994. The excavators carved into the tumulus, and even now the room-wide hole is still visible (Fig. 1.10). Its eight *que* are still intact, and two stand to the east and west of the entrance to the spirit path into tomb grounds (Fig. 1.22). The stone stele and its base are still at the site on the west side of the spirit road (Fig. 1.26-27). The excavation report states that two stone persons were found five and seven meters south of the tumulus on either side of the spirit path. The more complete guard on the west is missing. The guard on the east has been partially reburied at the site (Fig. 1.28). A square base is also now visible north of the *que* (Fig. 1.25).

The Zhaoling Museum rebuilt Consort Wei’s tomb in hopes of attracting tourists. Xincheng’s spirit road stone *huabiao* (Fig. 1.23-24), lion (Fig. 1.29-30), and rams (Fig. 1.31) were consequently removed and placed in front of Consort Wei’s tomb entrance.

Princess Yongtai

The entrance to the Yongtai underground tomb rears up like a gaping mouth from the earth. The tumulus lies directly behind it. After crossing the threshold, a visitor passes, on either side, the two souvenir shops hawking fake ink rubbings of the Yongtai epitaph and various other Tang tomb memorabilia. The sloping tomb path takes one steeply down from the level plane of the shops into the northern depths of the tomb. Our modern day visitor could then retrace the solemn steps of the ministers of the workshops who brought in the pottery items and offerings on funeral carts on the long journey from Chang'an into their designated places in the tomb.¹⁰⁴

In the late twentieth century, the two *que* on either side of the spirit path have been flattened to make way for a modern courtyard construction with wings on the north, east, and west sides. The entrance to the Yongtai underground tomb complex is in the middle of the north wing. An exhibition of the interior goods—the stone sarcophagus rubbings, figurines, mural copies—is on display in the west wing.

Although the earthen enclosure may have been damaged by modern day commerce (for the previous appearance of the site, see Fig. 1.32), the Yongtai spirit road figures comprising four stone persons, two lions, and two *huabiao* (Fig. 1:33-34) are still the most complete princess spirit path figure set extant. Yongtai's stone figurines are larger and more carefully carved than the figures from other princess tombs. The stone persons are carved naturally with realistic details. The west side guards show uneven sleeves where one hand crosses just slightly over the other (Fig. 1.35-36, 1.39). The ones on the east side have a smaller area of the inner garment exposed (Fig. 1.37-38, 1.40). The lion on the west side sits with its tail curled to its left,

¹⁰⁴ My trip from Xi'an to Qianling by car in October 1998 took the better part of an afternoon; the distance is about 95 kilometers. Yongtai's epitaph seems to indicate that the journey would have taken an entire day in her day, from dawn till dusk.

pointing north towards the tomb (Fig. 1.41). The lion on the east side sits with its tail curled to its right, pointing north towards the tomb (Fig. 1.42). They are bigger and heavier than the lions at the tombs of the previous princesses.

The main shapes of underground tombs

The Shaanxi elite Tang tomb is usually situated from north to south, with the chamber of the tomb in the northernmost part of the tomb directly below the tumulus and the rest of the tomb extending south of the tumulus, aligned with the spirit road. The princess tombs in general follow this pattern with different variations.

Three of the princess tombs are single chamber brick tombs (SCBT). Because their level corridor and the chambers are brick-lined, they are considered to be brick tombs though the rest of the tomb may be made of earth. The SCBT is a common tomb for high-ranking ministers and members of the imperial family. The other two princess tombs are double chamber brick tombs (DCBT). The two extraordinary DCBTs are also much longer than usual, 57.8 meters for the Princess Fangling tomb and 87.5 meters for the Princess Yongtai tomb. The lengths of other princess SCBT's lengths hover just below fifty meters (see p. 14, Table of princesses).

Ministers also used the double-chamber form. In fact, as one can see from the charts, as many ministers as princesses were using this type of tomb. Thus, while some ministers submitted petitions condemning expensive funerals for princesses, others were staging elaborate funerals for their close kin. Depending on political circumstances, some were criticized. Crown Princes also alternated between the single chamber and double chamber types.

The princess tombs are comparable in size and type to those of princes and the highest-ranking ministers. Yet this did not mean that princesses were beyond either official or unofficial rules that would be devised for their tombs. First of all, the

princesses consistently had much bigger and more elaborate tombs than the other ladies (*waimingfu*) of the same rank. Therefore, I would argue initially that, after all, they were following some kind of rules, though the latter may be unspoken and habitual. There are no written texts that contain directives on building tombs. Thus, in the absence of literary sources, this study attempts to derive some rules from the material objects of the tomb. The five princess tombs share the following characteristics: 1) full lengths of not less than fifty meters from the top of the slope to the end of the burial chamber, 2) four to five air shafts, 3) four to five passages between lightshafts, 4) four to eight niches, 5) at least one stone door, one wood door and one brick wall (collapsed), and 6) one to two [successive] brick chamber[s].

The underground components

The below-ground structure of the princess tomb can be divided into three parts: 1. the sloping path (from the surface to the first sloping passage), 2. the sloping passages with air shafts, and niches, and 3. the level corridors (*yongdao*) and the burial chamber(s). Each part is made of different materials, and this affected the production method. The sloping tomb path was completely dug out. The sloping passages were built by sinking ever-deeper holes in a straight line north of the sloping path, letting in light and fresh air.¹⁰⁵ As each shaft was opened, workers would dig a tunnel to continue the sloping path to the next lightshaft, creating the passages between them.¹⁰⁶ The horizontal corridor forming the third part was sometimes brick-lined after being dug out (as was the burial chamber). The roof of the stone sarcophagus or coffin-shrine was probably not placed upon the structure until all burial goods were in their places. When the funerary rituals were over, stone and wooden doors were put in place along the

¹⁰⁵ The lightshafts would also have served to let in light for the workmen.

¹⁰⁶ Fu Xinian 1987.

brick-lined chamber(s) and level corridor(s). In Princess Yongtai's tomb, the sloping path and lightshafts passages were sealed with brick, then the remaining space filled with earth and tamped down. The horizontal corridor and burial chamber behind the stone door were not filled with earth.¹⁰⁷

Doors and space

There are three kinds of partitions in princess tombs: the stone door, the wooden door, and brick walls. There is usually only one stone door, and it tends to be placed at a key location in the tomb, dividing the tomb into two spaces, inner and outer. The stone door may be located in the level corridor (*yongdao*) south of the burial chamber in a SBCT. In a DBCT the stone door lies between the two chambers. These seem to be the rules with the exception of Prince Yide's tomb, in which the stone door is south of the southern chamber, with a wooden door south of the northern chamber. Also exceptional are the three stone doors in Changle's *yongdao*, making it unique amongst the imperial tombs that have been excavated to date.

Wooden doors were presumably a less expensive alternative to stone doors. Sometimes they replace stone doors, as in the tombs of Yide and Yongtai (Fig. 1.47). At other times, a wooden door was built right before the stone door, as a first line of partition. This occurs in Princess Linchuan's tomb.¹⁰⁸

Locks

It is also possible that the niche doors at the base of the lightshafts on either side of

¹⁰⁷ The following data are taken from Appendix 1, which was compiled from the following excavation reports: Zhaoling bowuguan 1988: 10-11; Shaanxisheng wenwu guanliweiyuanhui 1964: 7-9; An Qingdi 1990: 2-3; Shaanxisheng wenguanhui et al. 1977: 50; Shaanxisheng kaogu yanjiusuo 1997: 3-6.

¹⁰⁸ See Appendix A.

the sloping passages had locks. The archaeological report for Princess Yongtai's tomb mentioned finding three locks, length 29-37.5 cm., width 5-5.5 cm., found to the north of the wooden door remains and beside the openings to the pair of niches at the base of the first lightshaft. Eight keys (length 17-21 cm.) were found in the southern part of the front chamber and north of the area below the robber hole, which was dug down the second lightshaft and northwards into the tomb proper, leaving the first lightshaft and its niches undisturbed.¹⁰⁹ The fact that the niches at the base of the first lightshaft were found with intact locks may suggest that all the niches originally had wooden doors fastened with iron locks.

Sloping tomb path

The first part of the sloping path was completely open during construction. In princess tombs, the length of this part ranges from fifteen to twenty-three meters, with most approximately sixteen meters. The path was made of tamped earth. And indeed, it may have had a painted floor, just as in Eastern Wei and Northern Qi tombs.¹¹⁰ The southern end of the slope in the Yongtai tomb is almost a meter wider than the northern end (4.5 to 3.4 meters).

The side walls of the sloping path provide large spaces for mural paintings. Here, the murals, often of waiting guards and prancing horses, depict a scene outside the walls of the castle keep. There is a similarity between the above ground spirit path and the below ground sloping path. The mural at the northern end of the first part of the sloping tomb path often depicts a gate tower—e.g. in the tombs of Changle, Wei Jiong, Zhanghuai, Yide, and Li Shou.

¹⁰⁹ Shaanxisheng wenwu guanli weiyuanhui 1964: 13.

¹¹⁰ Cixian wenhuaguan 1984: 1 and Zhongguo shehui kexueyuan kaogu yanjiusuo and Hebei sheng wenwu yanjiusuo (ed.) 2000: 185-6, pl. 3.

Lightshafts

Though the princess tombs seem to vary in the size of lightshafts, they actually all have four “real lightshafts.” Changle has five nominally. One is bricked off above the *yongdao*; it was probably only used during the actual construction, and once the tomb was built, filled up again. Xincheng has five lightshafts. However, the first one, like the fifth in Changle was probably also only used during the construction of the tomb. It is the only lightshaft not decorated with murals and contains no niches. Yongtai’s tomb originally had six lightshafts, but two of them are blocked-off by the brick ceiling of the *yongdao*.

The lightshaft, once used to construct the tomb, was used to direct the attention of the viewer *up* as they bring light into the tomb. The four lightshafts of Fangling become progressively higher as they draw closer to the chambers (6.76, 8.11, 9.73, 10.43 meters. See Appendix I). Wide on top, lightshafts become smaller as they deepen, finally ending in a rectangular base. For example, the drawing of Yongtai’s tomb shows that the lightshafts are wider on top. Linchuan’s excavation report contains the measurements for the top and bottom of the lightshafts: the top of the lightshaft is about 0.25 meters longer than the bottom and 0.2 meters wider.¹¹¹ Structures have been indicated on its walls above the level of the passages. For example, in Yongtai’s tomb, red brackets were drawn around the upper part of its lightshaft walls. The Changle tomb had real wooden brackets fastened onto the earthen walls of its third and fourth lightshafts. The brackets in the fourth lightshaft are 4.25 meters up are higher than in

¹¹¹ These results were obtained by taking the averages of the rim and base measurements of the lightshafts and then comparing them. The difference in length is about 0.25 meters; the difference in width is around 0.2 meters. Please see Appendix I.

the third, where they are about 3.94 meters up.¹¹²

Sloping passages

The sloping passages form the second part of the sloping tomb path connecting it to the southern end of the level corridor. The passages were probably created by tunneling between the lightshafts which were dug down first. In Yongtai's tomb the passages are approximately three meters long, and five of them, including the one between the sloping path and the first lightshaft, have a brick wall at each end. Thus there are ten brick walls altogether. The wooden door is at the south end of the passage.

Niches

The *Tang Huiyao* credits a Tang minister, Wei Ji, with the invention of niches. Wei Ji, the story goes, inherited the grandiose project of constructing an Emperor's tomb for the former Crown Prince, Li Hong. At the time, the corvée laborers' release was long past the agreed dates of completion because the burial chamber was to be destroyed and rebuilt to accommodate so many funeral goods. Desperate, the laborers attacked the officials at night, burned the camps and fled. When Wei took over, he began to dig out niches on "the east and west sides of the tomb path" for the overflow of goods. Wei Ji also did not rebuild the burial chamber but instead economized on the number of ritual objects/gifts according to construction needs. By adopting such strict measures, Wei did manage to finish on schedule.¹¹³

Thus, at least in the early years of Gaozong's reign, niches were used to absorb an overflow of goods. Mary Fong points out, however, that the niches did not originate in

¹¹² Zhaoling bowuguan 1988: 10.

¹¹³ *THY* 21: 417.

the Tang period; earlier prototypes had appeared in both the Han and the Sui.¹¹⁴ “The only difference is that the Tang storage chambers are neatly structured and consist of more than one pair.”¹¹⁵ Tang niches, moreover, had even more distinct characteristics such as wooden doors, corbelled domes, and whitewashed walls.

In both Changle and Xincheng reports, the niches are described as having cupola-like corbelled domes, square bases, wooden doors, and whitewashed walls and ceilings.¹¹⁶ These niches resemble nothing so much as little chambers. From various archaeological reports it seems clear that all the openings to the niches originally had wooden doors. The evidence is as follows: in Princess Changle’s tomb, the niche is 1.75 meters long in width and length, forming a square base. The door seems to have been set just within the opening. The outer edge was closed off by a layer of brick.¹¹⁷ The Xincheng Princess tomb simply reports that “the outer mouth of the niche was recessed into a square frame, originally fitted with wooden doors.”¹¹⁸ There are substantial traces of wood doors in the princesses’ and princes’ tombs.

The Princess Changle report finds sealing bricks in front of niche doors. The report had said, “A wooden door was installed along the inner edge of the niche opening; rows of bricks were set horizontally along the outer edge [of the niche opening] in order to seal it 龕口內沿原設木門，外沿原順磚平砌封口。”¹¹⁹ Other reports, like that of Prince Li Feng’s tomb, described “sealing bricks” (*fengmenzhuan* 封門磚) for each

¹¹⁴ Namely, the Han tombs of Prince Jing of Zhongshan, Hebei (*Zhongguo kexueyuan kaogu yanjiusuo* 1972: 8-10, Prince Lu of Qufu, Shandong (*Shandongsheng bowuguan* 1972: 39-41), Sui tomb of Ji Wei at Guojiatan in Xian, Shaanxi (*Shaanxisheng wenwu guanli weiyuanhui* 1959: 4-5), Sui tomb of Zhang Sheng, Henan (*Kaogu yanjiusuo Anyang fajuedui* 1959: 541). References from Fong 1991: 154.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁶ whitewashed floor also reported for Xincheng.

¹¹⁷ *Zhaoling bowuguan* 1988: 10-11.

¹¹⁸ *Shaanxisheng kaogu yanjiusuo* 1997: 4.

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.* 10-11.

niche.¹²⁰

Unusual niches may help to explain their function. An excavation in 1978 uncovered a tomb of the niece of Taizong, Duan Jianbi 段簡璧. The most unusual aspect of the construction of this tomb is that in the niche there is another niche extending to the North or South from the niche itself. The opening is barrel-roofed (*gong xing* 拱形,) and the base is roughly rectangular in shape (see Fig. 1.44). Whether the door was centered or not is not clear (Fig. 1.44). Archaeologists discovered the nine-centimeter-tall wooden head of a figurine in the second niche. Though so heavily corroded that the face is indistinguishable, the head has an unmistakable tall hairdo. Woven material and a few pieces of rotted wood lay nearby on the earthen platform. Archaeologists likened the bed to that of a sarcophagus platform.¹²¹

It is still not clear what these niches were supposed to represent. Human figures are drawn on either side, facing the niche as if it were a door in Changle's tomb and also, to a lesser degree, in that of Xincheng's. Yet in Xincheng's tomb, a central cloud design is drawn on top of the fourth eastern niche, thus identifying it as an opening of some kind with a top decoration. The fact that the builders took the trouble to give the niche an architectural form—including a corbelled roof, square foundation and whitewashed walls—probably meant it was not a simple recess used to keep burial items; rather, the content and placement of the figurines conveyed ritual meaning. The first lightshaft niche in Yongtai's tomb¹²² show much the same formation as in the niches for the tomb of Dugu Sizhen (696)¹²³ in the eastern Xi'an suburbs. The figures are arranged either as facing the tomb path or from the point of view of someone looking towards the niche

¹²⁰ Fupingxian Wenhuaquan 1977: 313-326.

¹²¹ Zhaoling bowuguan 1989: 3-4.

¹²² See 1 Shaanxisheng wenwu guanli weiyuanhui 1964: 9. fig.3

¹²³ Zhongguo shehuikexueyuan kaogu yanjiusuo (ed.) 1980: 29-35.

from the tomb path.

Level Corridors

Level corridors were the beginning of the inner part of the tomb. Their floors were usually lined with bricks, whereas the previous structures—the sloping tomb path, the sloping passages, the lightshafts, the niches, were made from earth. This part of the tomb, the level corridor and the chambers, was constructed of brick, usually with a stone door and also some with wooden doors.

The individual sections of the level corridor are mostly rectangular in plan, with some variation in length and width, but averaging about the same—2.20-2.25 meters in length, width and height. The tombs of Linchuan and Changle have four sections. Those of Xincheng, Fangling, and Yongtai have five sections. Thus these numbers seem to be standard for princesses.

Chambers

Chambers are of certain dimensions—the average is about 4.4 meters square. If there are two chambers, then the first chamber is usually smaller than the second. Of course there are still variations in the proportions. For example, Xincheng's chamber is almost exactly a square with dimensions of 4.74 x 4.7 x 4.84 meters, but Changle's chamber is slightly longer rather than wide (4.2 by 4.6 meters)--giving more of a sense of depth. All chambers have the cupola-like corbelled dome.

1.4 Conclusion

The occupants of these five tombs are all of equal status: princesses (*gongzhu* 公主) of the Tang imperial house. Many scholars believe that there is a kind of strict hierarchy of regulated tombs. Mary Fong writes that “privileged burials consist mainly of two groups: family members of the royal house, and meritorious statesmen who were decorated with the highest honors of the nation. The difference between them is shown not only in the size of the tomb structure, the content of burial objects, and the paintings on the walls, but also in the quantity of the line-engraved tomb furnishings.”¹²⁴

In fact, as this thesis shows, the quality of the mural paintings and the figurines often had very little to do with the status of the deceased. For example, the figurines from non-elite, often nameless tombs in Shaanxi¹²⁵ could arguably be of the same quality as figurines from royal tombs. Mural paintings in the tombs of ministers often had more similarities to princess tombs and vice versa than can be seen through a comparison between princess and prince tombs. There is, finally, some consistency of designated status and tomb art. However, the idea of a strict hierarchy of tombs must be seriously reconsidered.

Fong writes that royal tombs had three types of line-engraved stones--door, sarcophagus, and epitaph--while the tombs of high-ranking ministers generally did not have a stone coffin casket.¹²⁶ Materials from elite Chang'an tombs show this idea to be questionable. Data from princess tombs (see Appendix I) show that of the five tombs considered, only two have stone sarcophagi. And, contrary to Fong's opinion, some ministerial tombs also contained sarcophagi. In fact, the number of stone sarcophagi in

¹²⁴ Fong 1987: 41.

¹²⁵ For example, there are some excellent figurines from the early and middle Tang from tombs at Zhongbao village (*Zhongbaocun* 中堡村) or Hansen settlement (*Hansenzhai* 韓森寨). Shaanxisheng bowuguan 1990b: 104-124.

¹²⁶ Fong 1987: 41.

both royal and ministers' tombs rose in the period from the late 600's to the early 700's. Thus the inclusion of the stone sarcophagus in the tomb would seemingly have not much to do with the status of the deceased but more to do with burial practices of the time.

In addition, we can see from the data an obvious discrepancy between the living status and the status in death of the occupant. In short, the status in death does not always correspond to the status in life. Instead, the tomb displays a constructed status which serves the purpose of commemoration.

In real life Princess Yongtai was actually Countess Yongtai. She only became a princess posthumously after her death, owing to the ascension of her father Zhongzong. Because of this posthumous ennoblement, her tomb displayed a kind of residence for a princess, not a countess. The scale of the tomb and the lavishness of its art show a constructed persona which was meant to show Yongtai as the richest, most favored princess in the history of the Tang dynasty. Thus, the evidence shows a wide gap between the tomb occupant's living status and her "tomb" status.

Consequently, I would argue that the iconographic program may or may not reveal the true living status of the tomb owner. We are also able to judge the iconographical programs in their historical context and not rely entirely on the archaeological material because we know the princesses' backgrounds, circumstances of their death, and political power from contemporary historical documents. The objects of the tomb--the epitaph, the murals, the pottery, the line-engravings on stone and the murals--all show the kinds of imagery which were *supposed* to be associated with the occupant. And, in the case of the princess tombs, there were already literary modes of how to be a princess dating from poetry collected in the *Shijing* 詩經 of which expressive phrases were also copied in Tang epitaphs.

The tombs are multi-layered and individual constructions of symbols based upon

ritual. I will argue that, instead of realistic depictions, the tomb art forms certain essential motif components of the funerary ritual, which, in some way, represents the image of a “princess.” In Tang times, issues of identity were tied up with views of status and with regulations regarding dress and vehicles. The idea of individual identity did not permeate mainstream Tang thought. Instead the idea of proper dress and mode according to rank was more commonly accepted. This concept still forms the backbone of many ideas of the representation of “princess” during this time. First of all, there is the construction of the image of a princess according to the regulations regarding her dress and processions; secondly, there is the image of the princess in the official histories, thirdly, there is the image of the princess from epitaph texts; lastly, art in the tomb shows a kind of image of the princess.

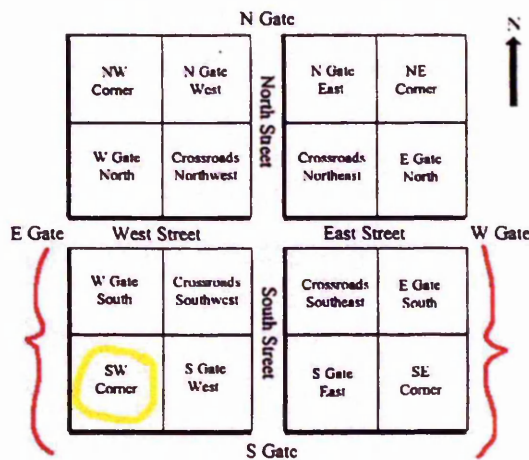
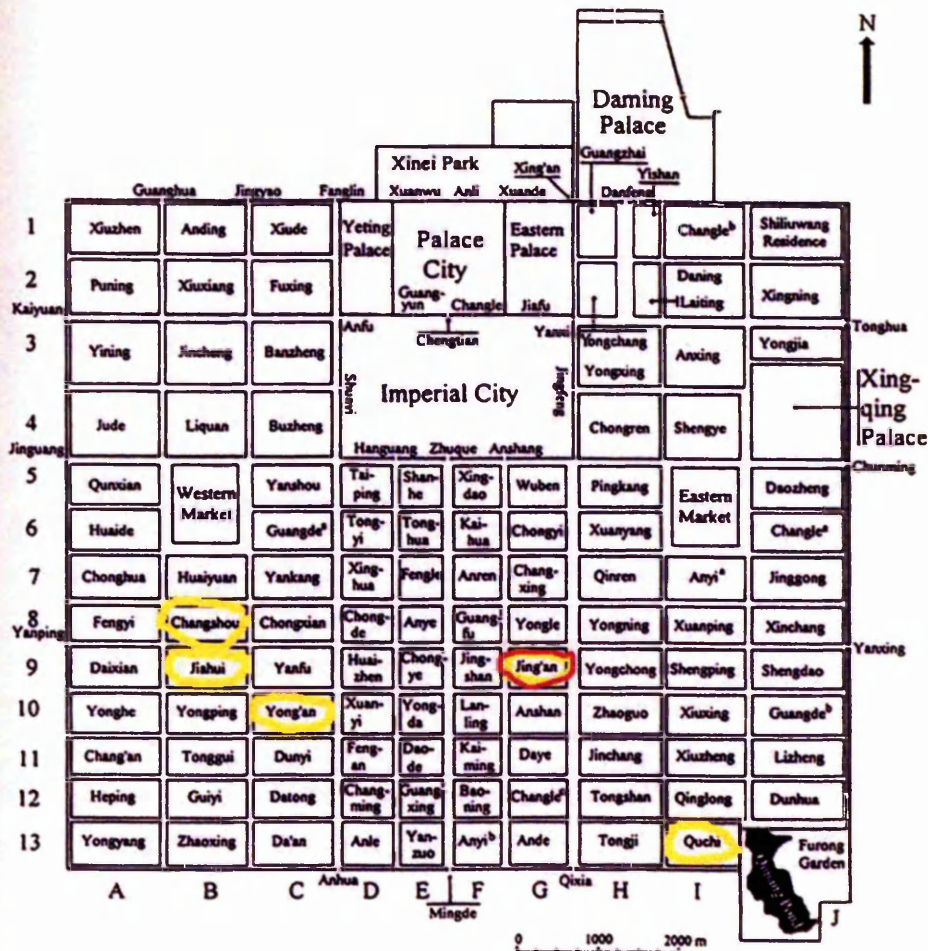


Fig. 1.1 Two commemorative buildings for two princesses in the Jing'an ward. The Chongjing nunnery (yellow) in the southwest corner of the Jing'an ward was dedicated to the deceased Princess Chang'an in 662. The Hanguo Zhenmu Princess Temple (pink outlined), dedicated to the former Princess Tang'an in 801, was located in the southern part of the ward, but its exact location is not known (after Xiong 2000: fig. 2.1 & 8.3).

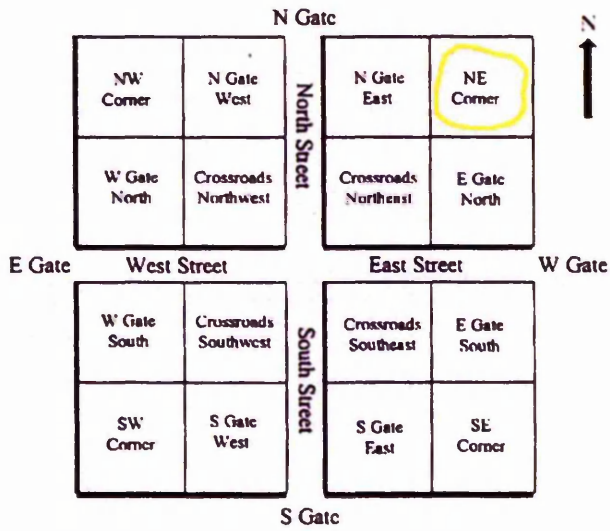
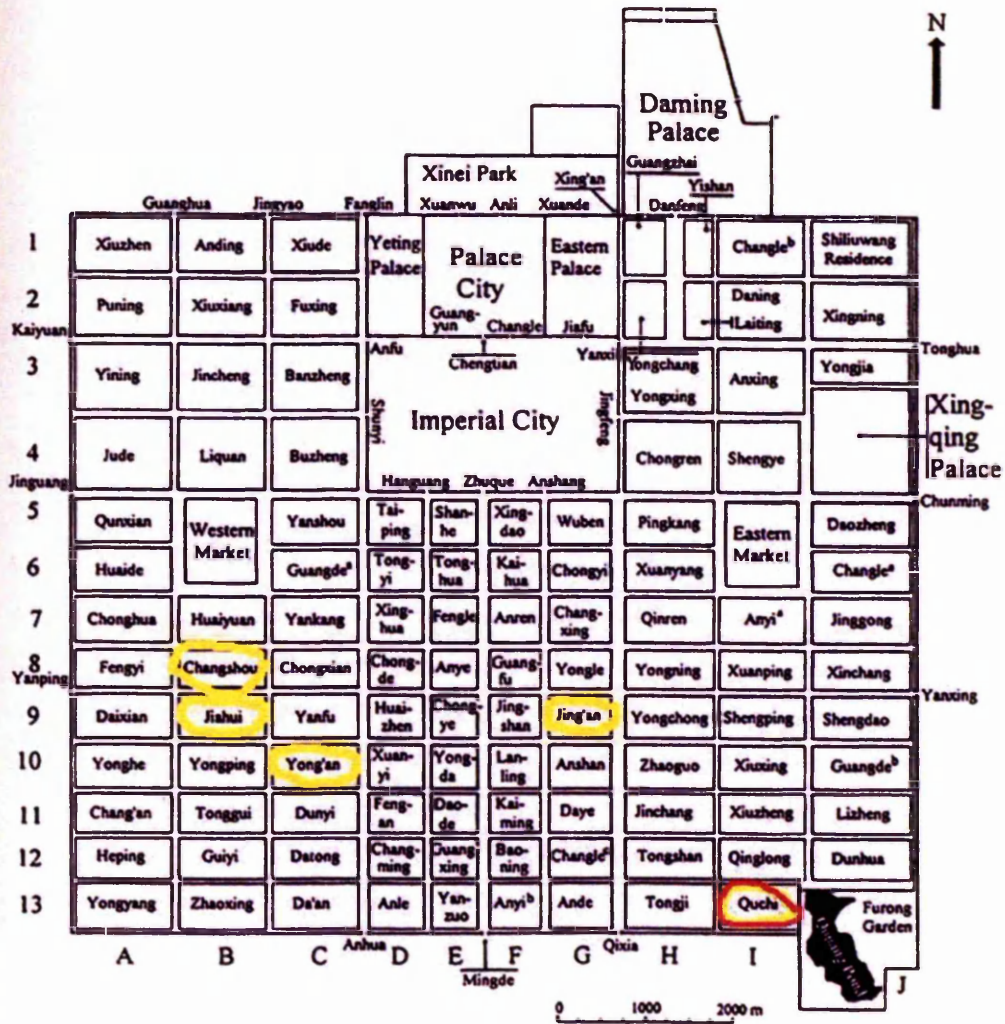


Fig. 1.2 The Jianfu Monastery dedicated to the Princess Xincheng in 662, located in the northeast corner of the Quchi ward (after Xiong 2000: fig. 2.1 & 8.3).

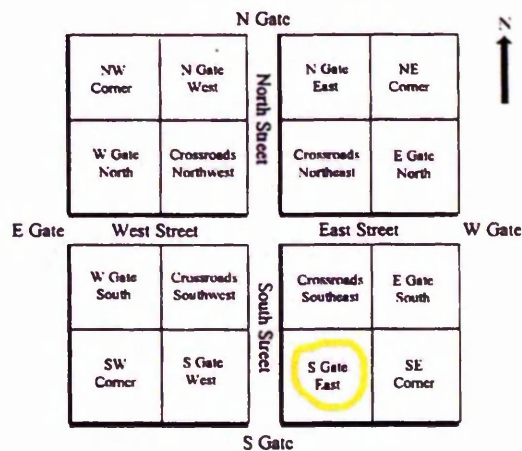
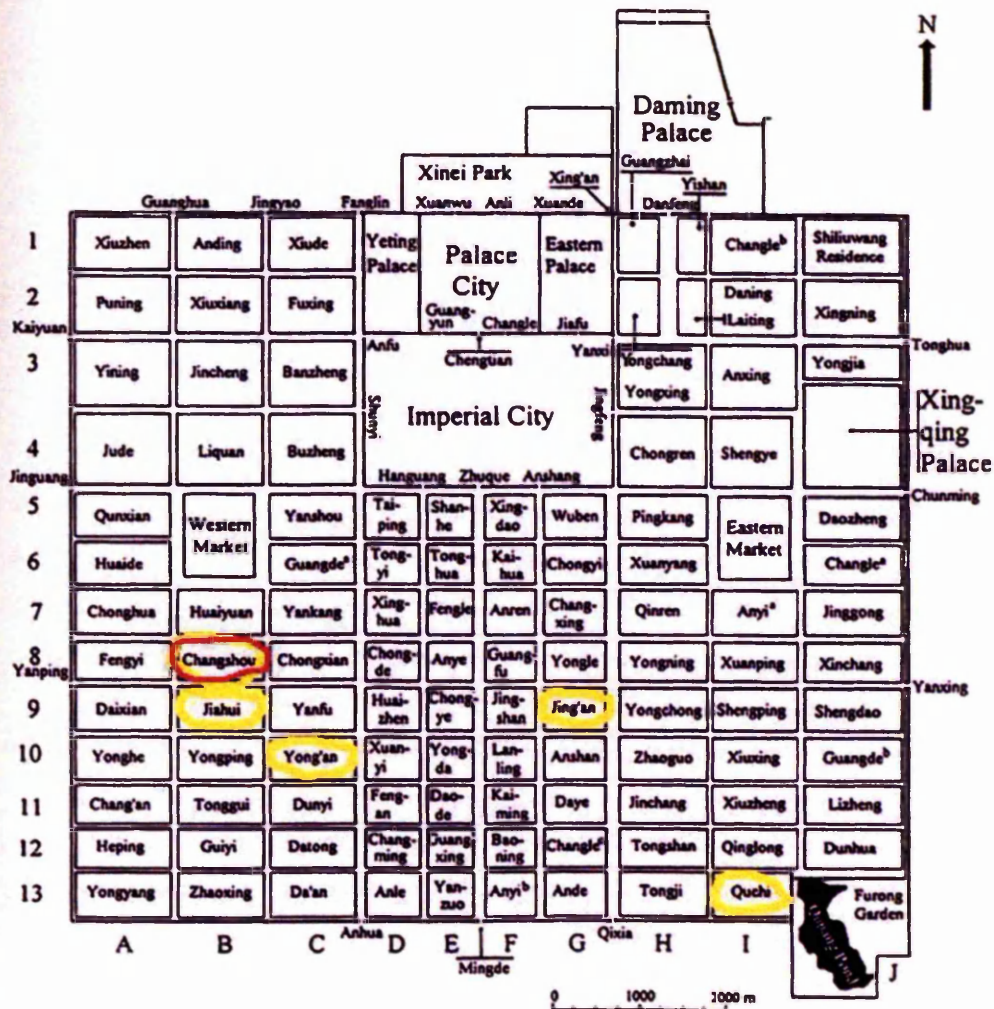


Fig. 1.3 The Yongtai Monastery dedicated to the Princess Yongtai in 705-6, located in the quarter east of the southern gate of the Changshou ward (after Xiong 2000: fig. 2.1 & 8.3).



Fig. 1.4 Three locations for buildings dedicated to Princess Yongshou in 709 (after Xiong 2000: fig. 2.1 & 8.3).

The Yongshou Monastery was located, according to *TLJCFK*, in the Yong'an ward. According to the *CAZ*, it was located in the Yongle ward. Both texts give the date of establishment as 709. A third establishment, called Yongshou Temple, was Princess Temple, located in the southeast corner of the Guangfu ward, was discontinued in 710-711. The other Yongshou Monastery has been located by various sources in the Yong'an and Yong'le ward.

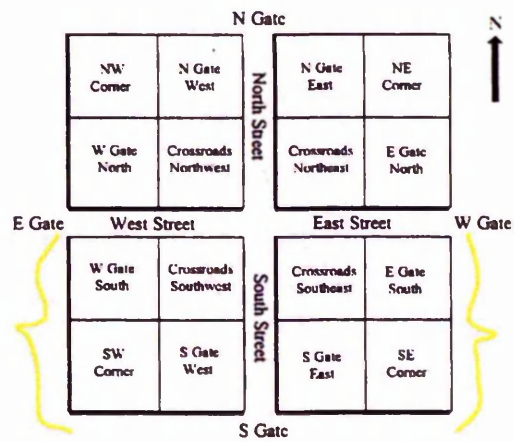
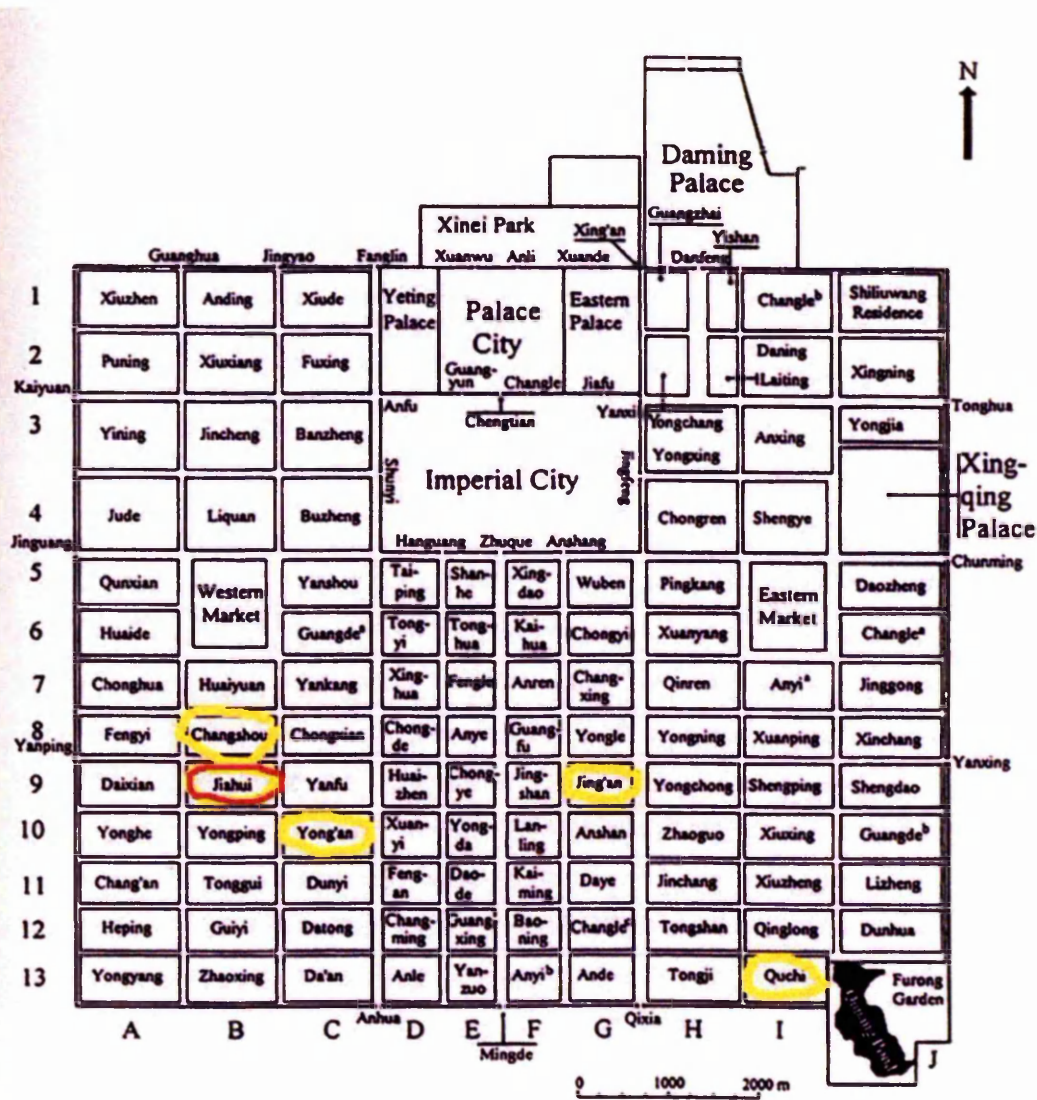


Fig. 1.5 The Jiahui Monastery established for the Princess Yizhang in 801, located in the southern portion of the Jiahui ward (after Xiong 2000: fig. 2.1 & 8.3).



Fig. 1.6 Mount Jiuzong towers over Zhaoling grounds (photograph by the author). Royal Concubine Wei's tomb was tunneled into the small hill on the right side. On the left, Princess Chang'le's tomb nestles at the foothills of Mount Jiuzong. Photograph taken by author from south slightly east position, on Princess Chenyang's mound. [See map below].

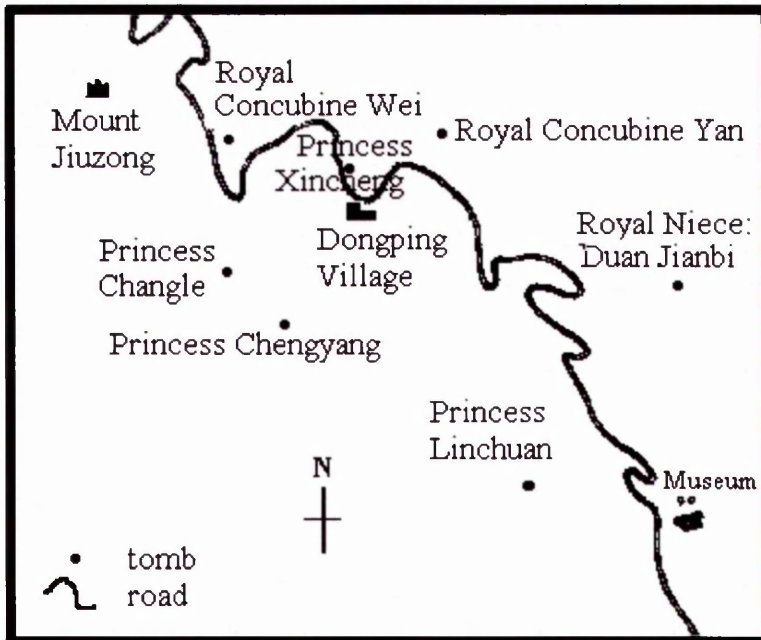


Fig. 1.7 Locations of the tombs of Princesses Changle, Xincheng, and Linchuan in Zhaoling (after KGYWW 3 (1997): 3.)

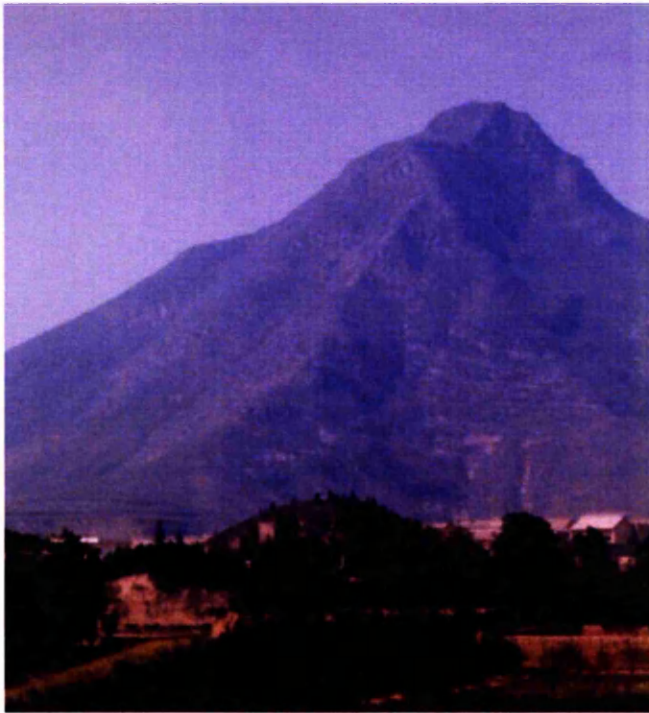


Fig. 1.8 Mount Jiuzong and Princess Chang'le's tumulus. (photograph by the author).. Mount Jiuzong towering over Princess Changle's smaller tomb mound seems to symbolize their father/daughter relationship



Fig. 1.9 A view of Jiuzong Mountain by Changle's tomb (photograph by the author). A mourner standing on the southeast corner of Changle cemetery grounds would be able to see the top of Mount Jiuzong just above Changle's mound (the walls and building are modern).



Fig. 1.10 Princess Xincheng's tomb (photograph by the author).
Though further away than Changle's tomb to the southeast, also has a clear view to Mount Jiuzong.
The 1995 excavation hole (Shaanxi Institute of Archaeology) is visible on the right.



Fig. 1.11 Princess Linchuan's tomb (photograph by the author).
The tumulus, currently enclosed by orchards, lies approximately seven kilometers from Mount Jiuzong.
Faint outlines of a mountain range can be seen in the distance.

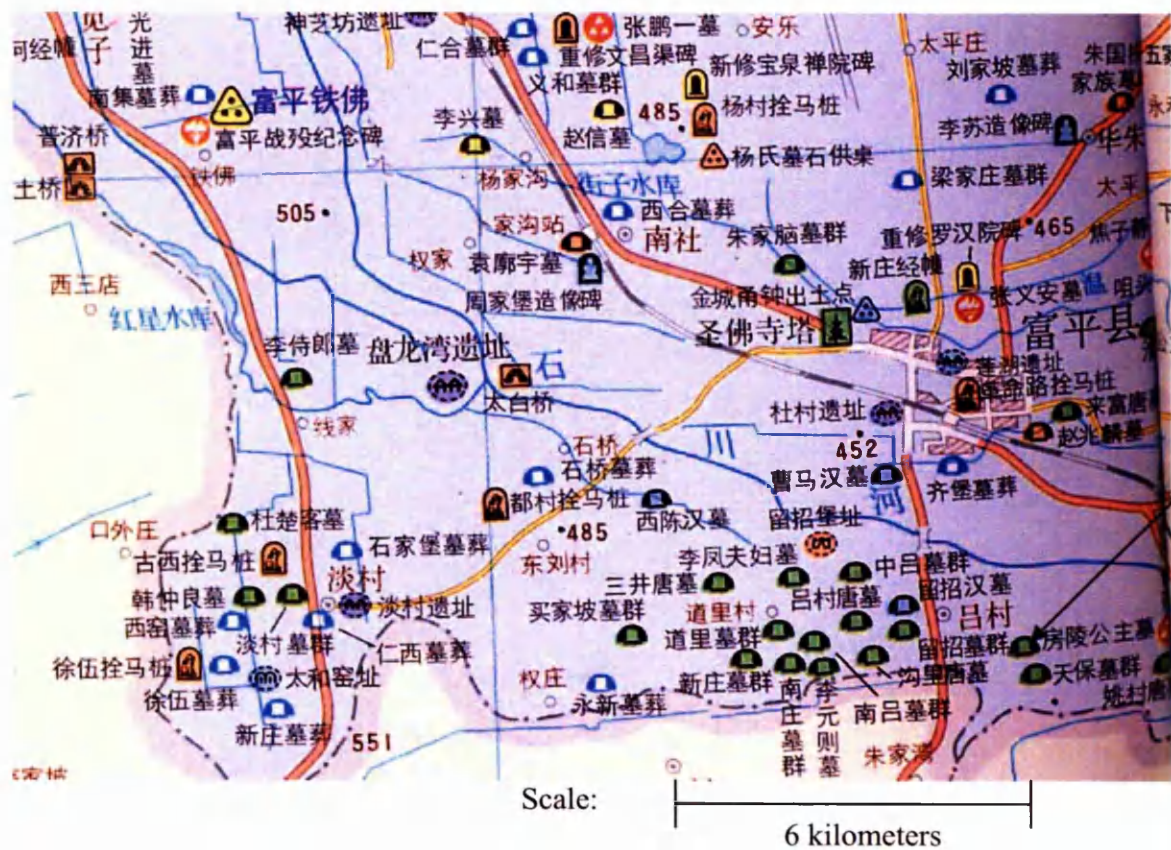


Fig. 1.12 Location of Princess Fangling's tomb (after Guojia wenwuju 1998: 242). Princess Fangling's tomb (arrow lower right) lies to the northeast of Xianling, the imperial mausoleum of Gaozu, her father, and is considered to be one of its accompanying tombs. Today the mausoleum and its satellite tombs lie in two counties. Xianling is in Sanyuan county while these accompanying tombs belong to Fuping county. The cemetery is 4 kilometers east-west and 1.5 kilometers north-south. The cemetery contains some 30 tombs, according to a 1970's investigation, including the tomb of Prince Li Feng and his wife .



Fig.1.13 An early photograph of Yongtai's tomb. (after *TYBJ*: 3).
This tomb is now completely built over with modern buildings and courtyards.

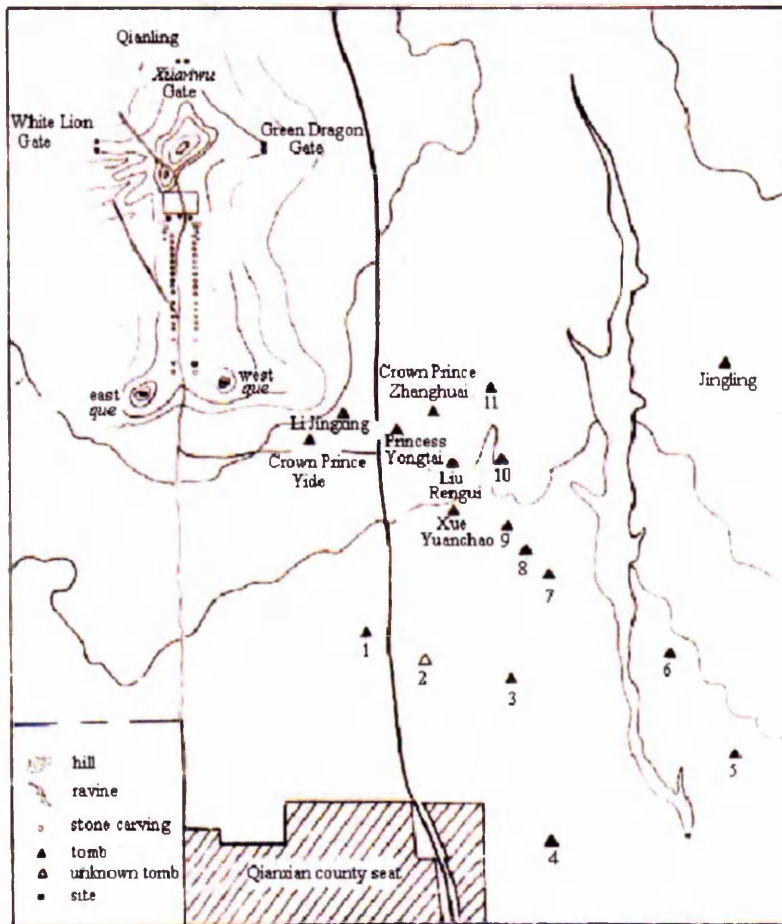


Fig. 1.14 Map of Qianling with Yongtai's tomb (after the map of Qianling in Fang 1999).

Fig. 1.15 Table: Spirit paths of the tombs of princesses

Princess	Changle (643)	Xincheng (probably 663)	Yongtai (706)
features			
<i>que</i>	Four in the south; originally four in the north—now only the two eastern ones left in the northern group	Four in the south, 60 metres from tumulus; four in the north, 38 metres from tumulus. Report speculates that the north and south middle two are the <i>que</i> for the gates (they are 11-16.5 meters apart) and the others form four corners of the enclosure	Two seen south of the tumulus, four corner towers
Spirit path			
persons	Originally two, one left	Two: found 5 and 7 metres south of tumulus on either side of the spirit path. the eastern stone man is broken above. The western stone man is 1.94 metres high. He is wearing a small hat, a long beard, wearing a broad shouldered <i>pao</i> , tied to his waist. His hands are crossed holding a sword. Base is 0.6 by 0.64, 0.28-0.32 thick.	Four: two pairs 14.75 metres south of the lions, 29.5 metres N-S from each other. Height is 2.41 metres wearing broad sleeved <i>pao</i> , tied to waist, face “serious” expression. The hats on the four are slightly different. Holding a sword
rams	Two (missing)	Two (moved to Wei Guifei’s tomb. Presently southeast from the mouth of the tomb.)	NR
lions	Two (missing)	Two (one has been moved to the front of the entrance to the Wei Guifei tomb, southeastern direction from the tomb, the other is missing.)	Two: 14 meters south of the double <i>que</i> . Height: 1.85 m.
Column (hua biao)	Originally two, one left (moved to Wei Guifei’s tomb. Presently southeast from the mouth of the tomb.)	1 (moved to Wei Guifei’s tomb. Presently southeast from the mouth of the tomb.)	Two, with line-engravings on stone, flower patterns
Stone stele	8 meters south of tumulus	40 meters south of tumulus, slightly west of the central axis from tumulus	NR
Base: length x width x height	turtle	Turtle: 1.42 x 1.1 x 0.63 m.	NR
head	Six dragons	Six dragons	NR
stele: height x width x thickness	3 x 1.02 x 0.3 m.	3.22 x 1-1.1 x 0.3 m.	NR
tumulus	Truncated pyramid Square base Sides 30 m. at base The top is a rectangle that is 8 meters E-W and 5 meters N-S	Foundation--North-South length: 40 m. at base East-West length: 42 m. at base Height (south): 15 m.	60 m. (estimated)

NR: not reported

Fangling’s surface structures were all destroyed. Linchuan’s excavation report do not mention the surface structures



Fig. 1.16 Frontal view of the stele from Changle's spirit path (photograph by the author)

Bolted to the floor and wall in the Zhaoling museum, the Princess Changle stele has no remaining inscription on its body. The gap between top and body has been filled with concrete, and the base is missing.

Fig. 1.17 Top inscription of Changle's stele (photograph by the author).

Carved in the *Zhuan* 篆 style, the title inscription reads "The Stele of the Former Princess Changle of the Great Tang (*DaTang gu Changle gongzhu zhi bei* 大唐故長樂公主之碑)."





Fig. 1.18 Side view of Changle's spirit road stone figure (photograph by the author)

The lone stone figurine remaining from Princess Changle's original spirit path measures 180 cm. from head to base. It is currently lying on the broken stele of Prince Li Fu 李福 of Zhao 趙 in the Zhaoling museum yard.



Fig. 1.19 Frontal view of Changle's spirit road stone figure (photograph by the author).

The front reveals a discernible sword rod, and the long sleeves of the top coat form a decisive hem two thirds of the way down the body. The shoes have all but disappeared, but the stone stemon at the bottom shows that there was a base to the figure.



Fig. 1.20 Frontal view of the visage of Changle's spirit road stone figure (photograph by the author).

The figure had a beard, and his hands were held over the sword. He seemed to have been smiling, lips closed, with a small cap on his head.

Fig. 1.21 View of profile of Changle's spirit road stone figure (photograph by the author)

A side view of the stone figure's head and shoulders, with the hands in long sleeves clasping the sword handle before the chest.





Fig. 1.22 Frontal view of Xincheng's tomb (photograph by the author).

On two sides are the two *que* that stand to the east and west of the main gate into Xincheng's main tomb complex. There are two corner *que* just out of view. This would be the frontal view of the spirit path.



Fig. 1.23 *Huabiao* and stand from the Xincheng spirit road (photograph by the author).

This *huabiao* and its stand were found underground on one side of the Xincheng spirit path (information given by Mr. Chen Zhiqian) It now stands on the east side of the entrance to the Wei Guifei tomb. Unlike the Yongtai spirit road, the Xincheng stone carvings were mostly found on the ground north of the two *que*. It is no longer clear if this was the original setting or if it was moved later by either natural or human means.



Fig. 1.24 Close up of Princess Xincheng's *huabiao* (photograph by the author).

There are faint floral design carvings on the surface of the octagonal pillar. The deep cut seems to indicate that a rope was used to drag it along.

Fig. 1.25 Base of unknown object found in the grounds of Princess Xincheng's tomb north of the two *que*'s (photograph by the author).





Fig. 1.26 The spirit road stele of Princess Xincheng's tomb (photograph by the author).
No characters survive on the surface. The stele and its seat was found west of the north-west axis.



Fig. 1:27 The turtle seat of the Princess Xincheng stele on the spirit path (photograph by the author).
This was found close to the stele, southwest of the southern entrance of the tomb.



Fig. 1.28 Half of a stone guard partially re-buried in the ground in front of the tumulus (photograph by the author).



Fig. 1.29 One of a pair of lions from Princess Xincheng's tomb (photograph by the author).



Fig. 1.30 Back view of Princess Xincheng's lion. The tail is curled towards the right haunch. One of the rams is visible beyond (photograph by the author).



a	b
c	d

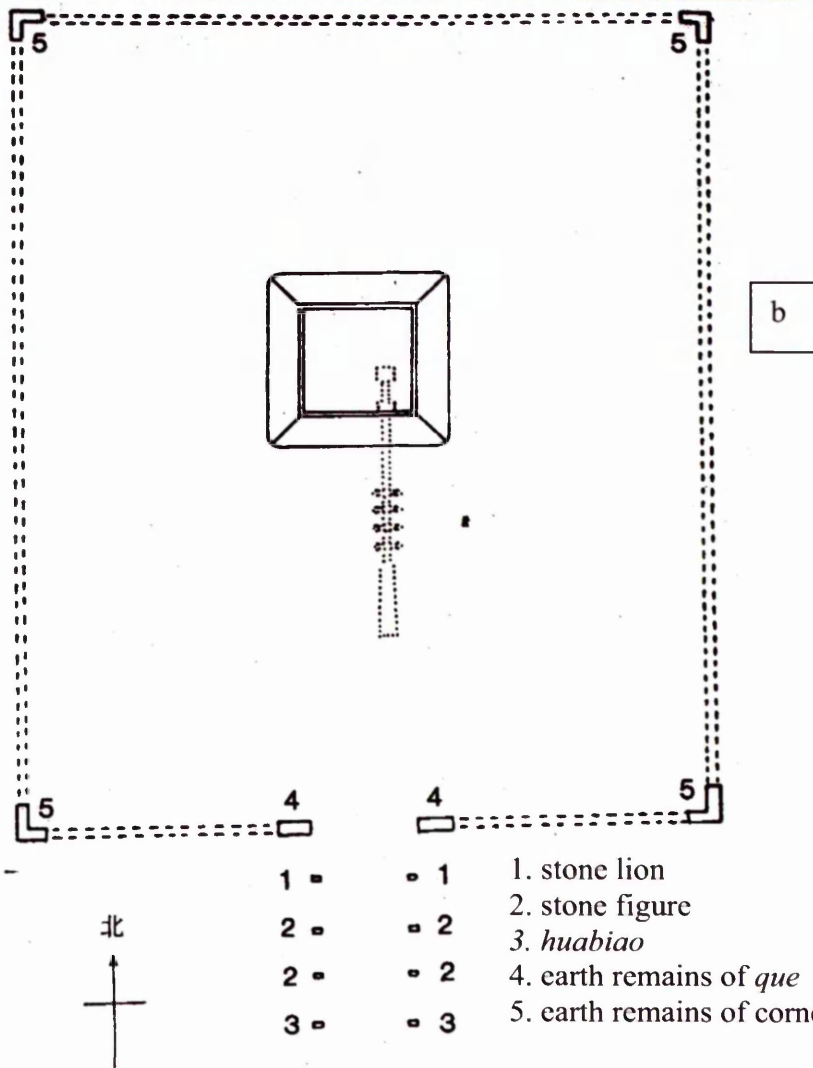


Fig. 1.31 Princess Xincheng rams (photographs by the author).
 a. front view of the ram now on the northeast corner in front of Wei Guifei's tomb. Its head is lifted, as if in a cry
 b. back view
 c. The other ram, with closed mouth. These rams are smaller than the ram (d) at the tomb of Empress Wu Zetian's mother, Shunling, and they seem much less imposing and majestic.





a



b

Fig. 1.32 Frontal view and plan of Princess Yongtai's tomb.

a. An early photograph of Yongtai's tomb (after *TYBJ*: 3)

b. The layout of Yongtai's tomb and environs. After Luo Zhewen 1993: 88.



a	b
c	



Fig. 1.33 West side *huabiao* from Princess Yongtai's tomb (photograph by the author).

- a. full view. The top is missing.
- b. Design on the side. This stone carving is similar to the stone carved design on the joints of the sarcophagus. The bird standing on the pillow within an interlocking pattern.
- c. lotus base

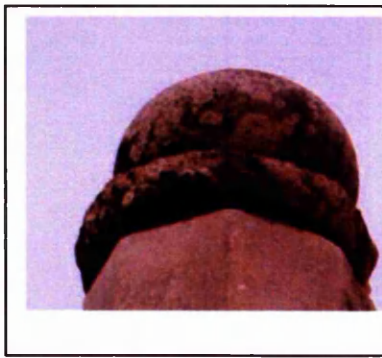
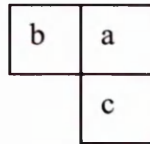


Fig. 1.34 East side *huabiao* of Princess Yongtai's tomb (photographs by the author).



- a. Full view
- b. The original top of the *huabiao* is a flame on on a braided base. The top of the other huabiao (west) is modern
- c. Lotus base.





Fig. 1.35 Guard at the southwest corner of the tomb grounds, side view (photograph by the author).



Fig. 1.36 Guard at the southwest corner of the tomb grounds, frontal view (photograph by the author).



Fig. 1.37 Guard at the southeast corner of the tomb grounds, frontal view (photograph by the author).



Fig. 1.38 Guard at the southeast corner of tomb grounds, side view (photograph by the author).



Fig. 1.39 Guard in the center of the west side spirit road (photographs by the author).
a. side view with the viewer looking north
b. front view

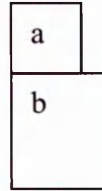
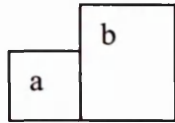


Fig. 1.40 Guard in the center of the east side spirit road (photographs by the author).

- a. side view with the viewer looking south
- b. front view



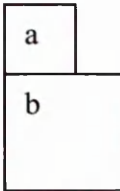


Fig. 1.41 Lion on the west side of the spirit road (photographs by the author).

- a. side view, viewer looking south
- b. frontal view





a	b	c
d		

Fig. 1.42 Lion on the east side of the spirit road (photographs by the author).

- a. back
- b. side view, viewer looking south
- c. side view, viewer looking north
- d. frontal view

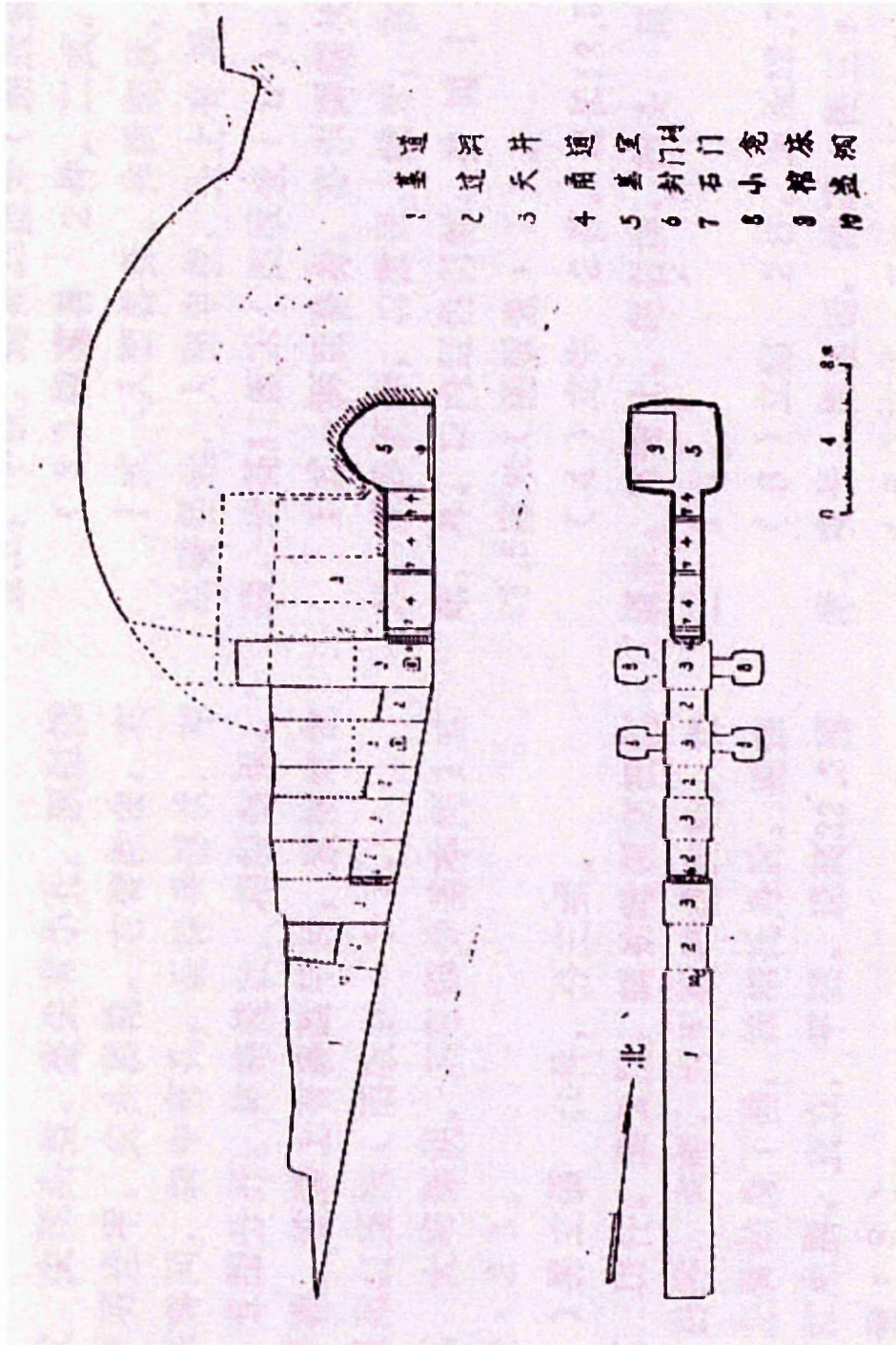


Fig. 1.43 Plan and section of Princess Changle's tomb (after Zhaoling bowuguan 1988: 11)

1. sloping path tomb, 2. sloping passage, 3. light shaft, 4. level corridor, 5. tomb chamber, 6. stone door, 7. stone door, 8. niches, 9. coffin bed, 10. hole of tomb robbers

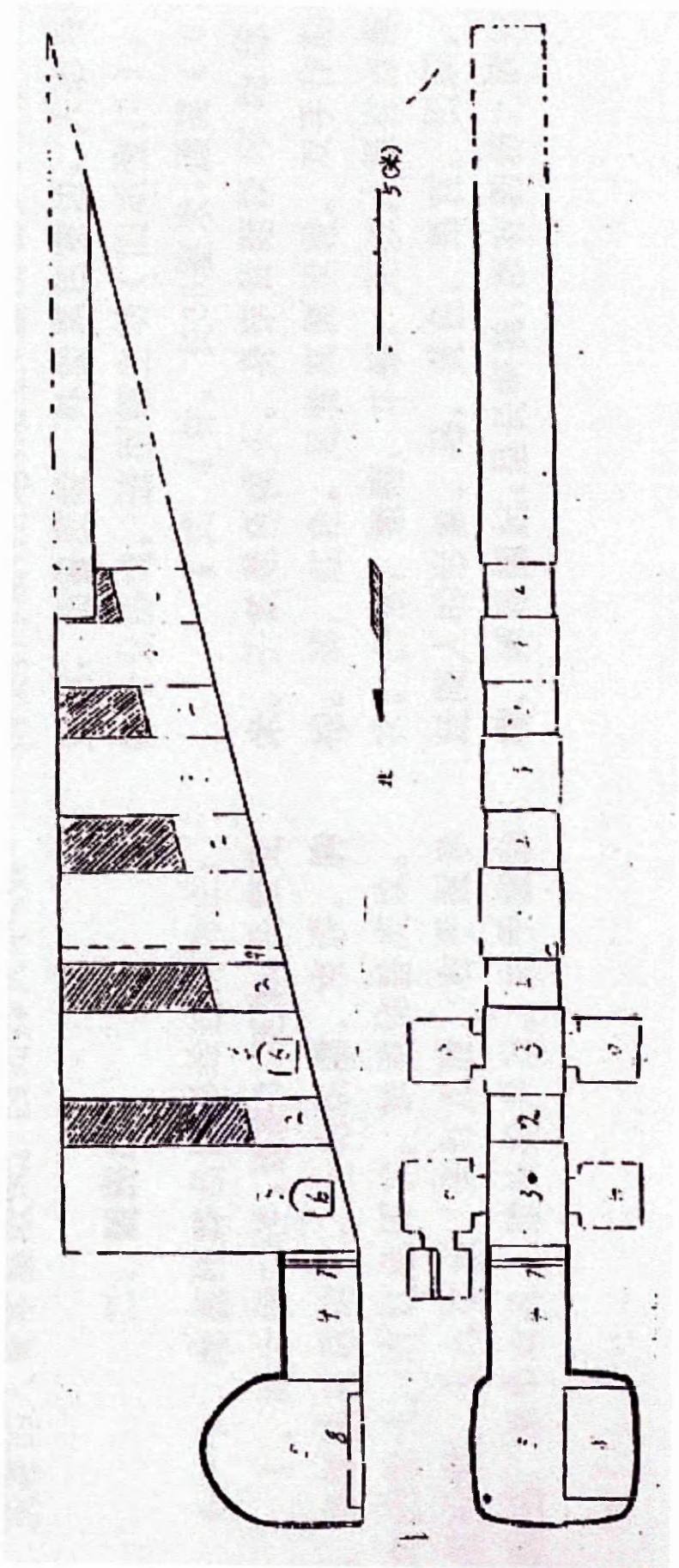


Fig. 1.44 Plan and section of Duan Jianbi's tomb (after Zhaoling bowuguan 1989: 3).
 1. sloping path, 2. sloping passages, 3. lightshafts, 4. level corridor, 5. tomb chamber, 6. niches, 7. stone door, 8. coffin bed, 9. hole of tomb robbers

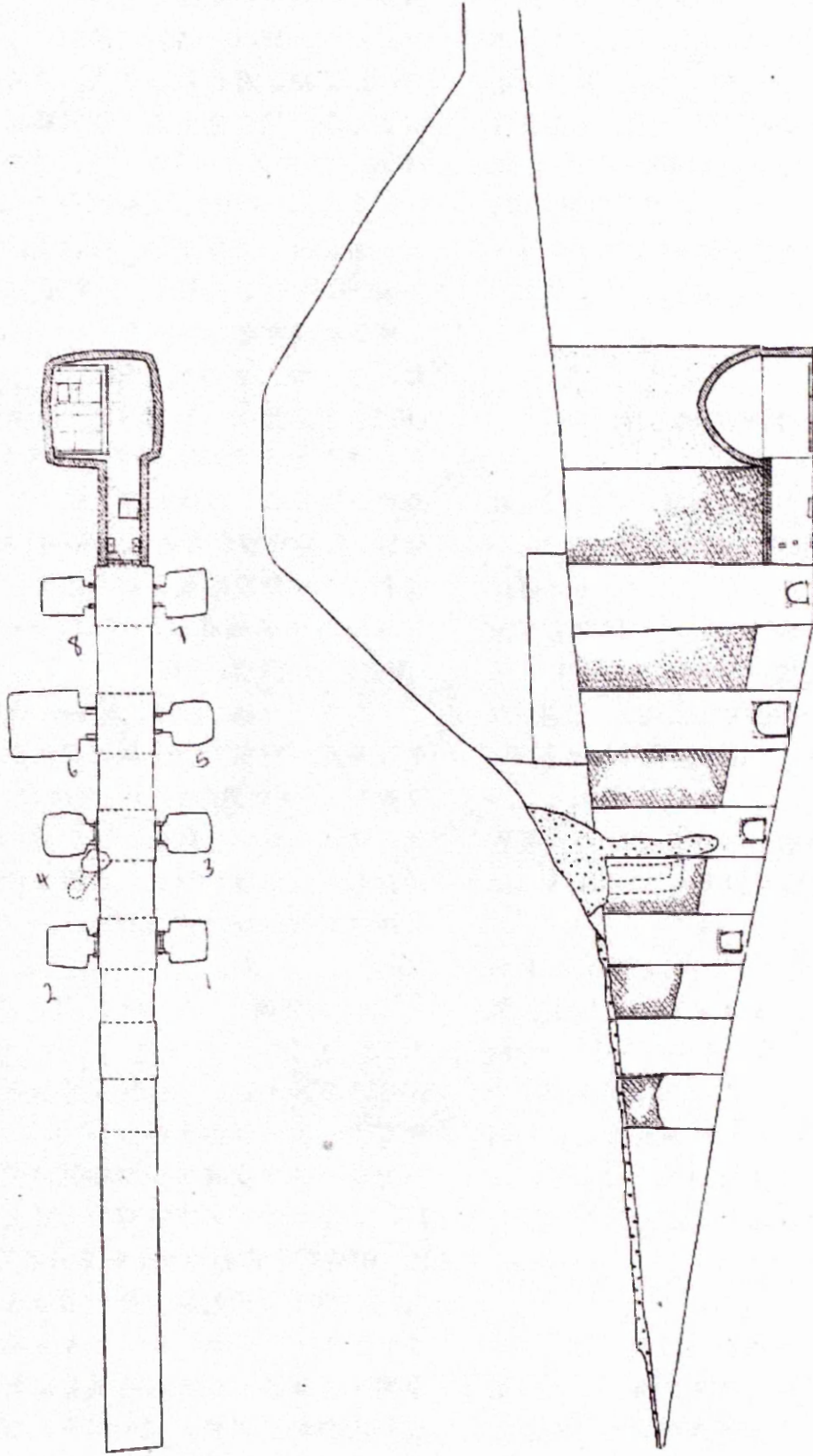


Fig. 1.45 Plan and section of Princess Xincheng's tomb (after Shaanxisheng kaogu yanjiusuo 1997: 5)

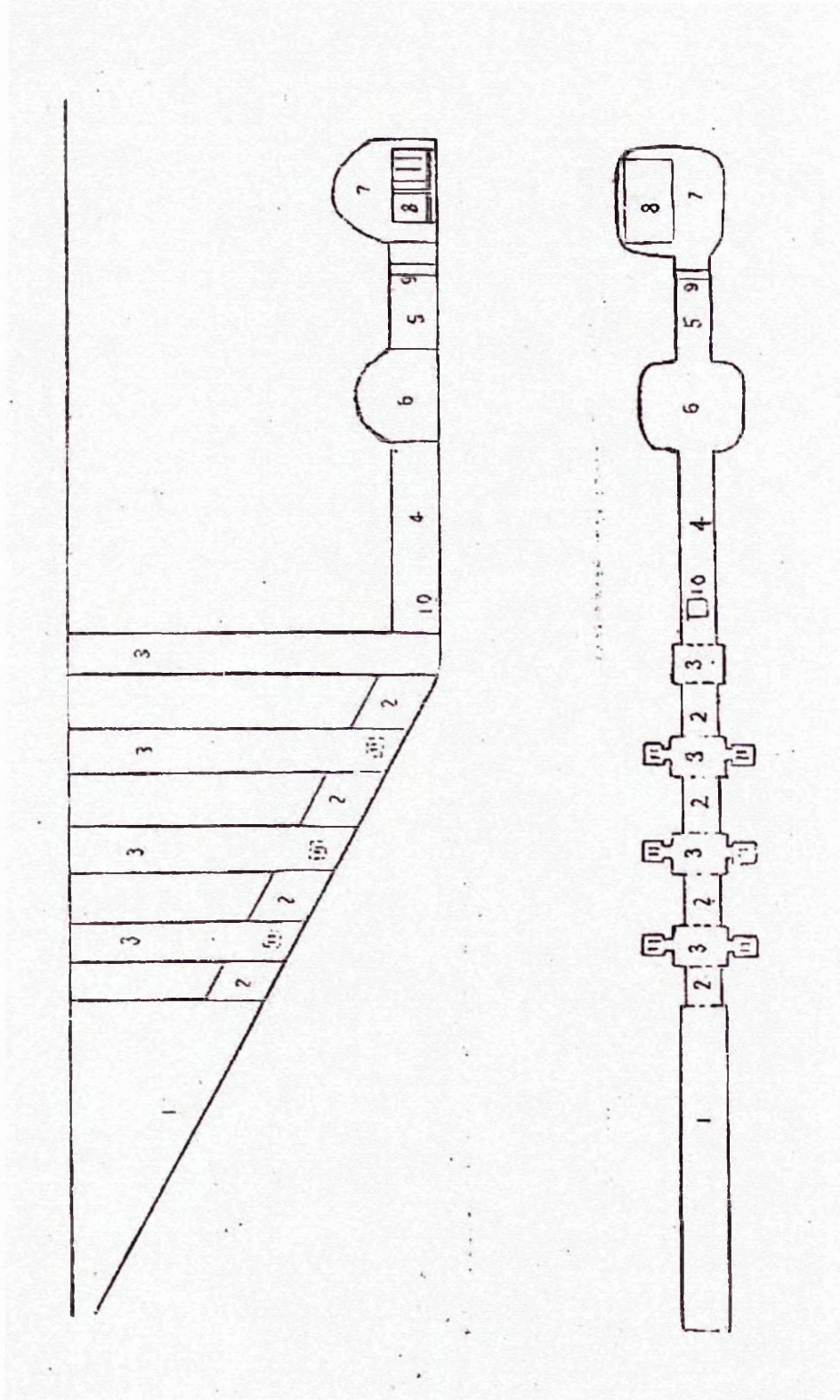


Fig. 1.46 Plan and section of Princess Fangling's tomb (after An Qingdi 1990: 3).
 1. sloping path, 2. sloping passages, 3. lightshafts, 4. front level corridor, 5. rear level corridor, 6. front tomb chamber, 7. rear tomb chamber, 8. coffin bed, 9. stone door, 10. stone epitaph, 11. niches

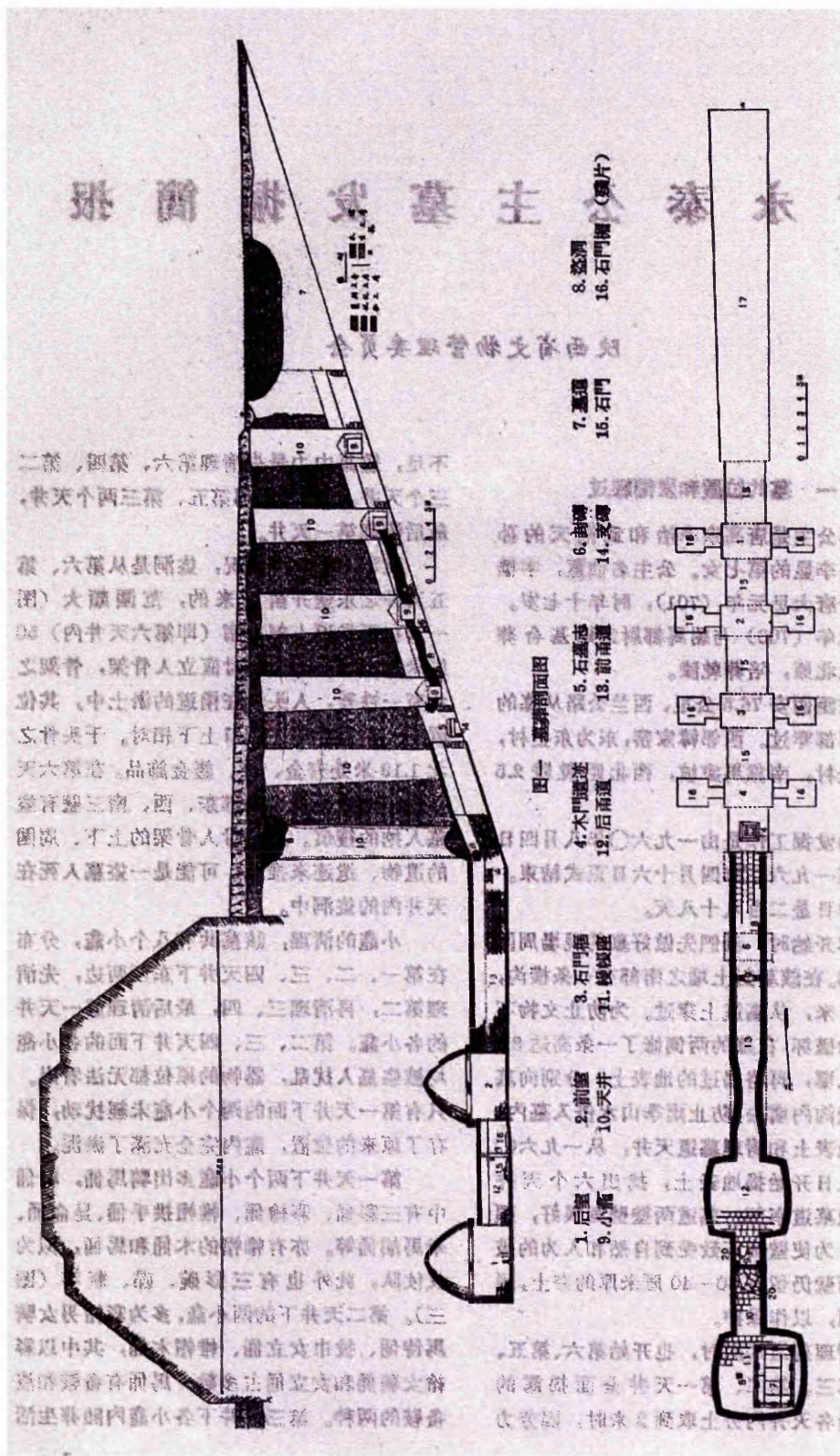


Fig. 1.47 Plan and section of Yongtai's tomb (after Shaanxisheng wengwu guanliweiyuanhui 1964:8)
 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6 light shafts, 7. stone sarcophagus, 8. stone stand, 9. stone lintel, 10. rear level corridor, 11. rear chamber, 12. front chamber, 13. front level corridor, 14. stone epiaph, 15. sloping passage, 16. niches, 17. sloping path, 2. sloping passages, 3. lightshafts, 4. front level corridor, 5. rear level corridor, 6. front tomb chamber, 7. rear tomb chamber, 8. coffin bed, 9. stone door, 10. stone epitaph, 11. niches

Chapter Two: Myth and Reality

The five princesses buried in the tombs under study cannot be taken as representative of all 210 princesses in the entire Tang dynasty (618-907).¹²⁷ However, I would argue that the group was deeply representative of the fates and lives of the 32 Li imperial princesses between 643-706.¹²⁸ This chapter focuses on how the five princesses's burials and tombs were influenced by politics at court, the fortunes of their husbands' families (their marriages were normally arranged to families which would support the Li imperial clan), and their relationship to the emperor. During this period, the rulers were Taizong (r. 627-49), Gaozong (r. 650-683), and Wu Zetian (r. 690-705); politics in their courts influenced directly the size and type of decoration of the princess tombs.

2.1 Brief Historical Background

Tang princesses had a dual heritage from the Han and the non-Han sides of the Li imperial family. The Li family, traditionally, is considered Han Chinese. However, the imperial family had three successive generations of Hu (barbarian) women as their matriarchs. Gaozu's (r. 618-626) mother of the Dugu clan, Gaozu's wife of the Dou clan, and Taizong's empress of the Zhangsun clan were all of non-Han ethnicities,¹²⁹ and their origins perhaps account for their fierce independence.

¹²⁷ Wang Shouan 1982: 151

¹²⁸ The number of princesses during this period is open to debate. Most of the Emperors had numerous daughters, but we do not have exact figures on who was alive during this time. The New Histories record the emperors' daughters as the following--Taizong (21 daughters), Gaozong (3 daughters), Zhongzong (8 daughters)—and with a total of 32 princesses. (Wang Shouan 1982: 151) Taking into account early deaths and political executions mentioned in the histories and explicated in this chapter, it seems reasonable to hypothesize that fewer than 30 princesses were active during this period.

¹²⁹ Chen Yingke 1994: 1.

Empress Taimu of the Dou clan, the aforementioned wife of Gaozu, was the niece of the the first Northern Zhou (561-578) emperor, Zhou Wudi 周武帝 (r. 561-578). When she heard that the Sui emperor Wendi (r. 581-604) had defeated her uncle's family, she loudly lamented her inability to take vengeance because she was female. At the time, such words were enough to get her entire clan executed.¹³⁰

On the other hand, the Tang regime had always taken the previous golden period, the Han dynasty (206 B.C.-A.D. 220), with its Confucian emphasis on propriety and ritual, as its model. Thus, one of the most important duties of the daughter of the emperor was to undertake marriage for the sake of political alliances on behalf of the imperial family. To this end, offering a princess in marriage was a way to appease enemies and confirm alliances. In fact, since the Han dynasty, the Chinese have used *heqin* 和親 marriages to set up alliances with “barbarian” leaders.¹³¹ During the Tang, at least one imperial kinswoman not of the emperor's issue given the status of *gongzhu* (princess) was then given into far away lands as princess bride to a leader of an important tribe to ensure peace at the border.

2.1.1 The early Heroine model

The period from the founding of the Tang empire in 618 until the death of Taizong in 649 can be characterized as the height of ideal princess prestige. Tang princesses at this time played critical roles in the political and cultural life of the time by serving as generals and ambassador-brides to foreign leaders.

The Princess of Pingyang 平陽 (third daughter of Gaozu and Empress Taimu), for example, served as a model princess not only by marrying Zhai Shao 柴紹, an

¹³⁰ *JTS* 51: 2163.

¹³¹ For a comprehensive overview of marriage alliances in the Han, Wei Jin Nanbei chao, and the Tang, please see Pan 1997.

important military ally for her natal family, but also for upholding the fierce and independent female model from her mother's side of the family. Pingyang carried out her mother's wish to vanquish the Sui dynasty when she raised an army to aid her beleaguered husband and younger brother Li Shimin in capturing the Sui capital, Daye. Urging her husband Zhai Shao to join her brothers and father in their uprising, Pingyang escaped alone from the capital with some slaves. She made her way to Hu County (Hu xian 鄠縣) in Shaanxi, where she persuaded local bandits to join in the rebellion. Pingyang strictly forbade her troops to pillage and loot the surrounding countryside. Historians later called this army the *niangzijun* 娘子軍 (“The Lady's Army”). Numbering more than 70,000, the Lady's Army joined Zhai Shao's and Li Shimin's (Pingyang's younger brother) forces at Weibei 渭北, north of the Sui capital of Daye. The three leaders' armies surrounded and later took the capital.¹³² Li Shimin (r. 627-49) eventually became the second Tang emperor, known posthumously as Taizong. After her death, Gaozu insisted that the Princess Pingyang's funeral procession was to be supplied with fifes and drums, an honor previously reserved for military men with great deeds.¹³³ Interestingly, the Princess herself commissioned a self-portrait from Yuchi Yiseng 尉遲乙僧, a native of Tuhuoluo 吐火羅, which was described as the likeness of the princess astride a horse, bow and arrow sacks by her side.¹³⁴ No trace or copies of the portrait remain, but we know that the Princess wished to be portrayed in a military manner.

¹³² *JTS* 58: 2315, *XTS* 83: 3642.

¹³³ *JTS* 58: 2316.

¹³⁴ This passage was cited in chapter ten of the *Weilue* 緯略, and is now collected and punctuated in the collection of anecdotal materials of Tang individuals, the *Tangren yishi* 唐人軼事: “Yuchi Yi-seng painted a portrait of Princess Pingyang in the her saddle with the containers for bow and arrow by her side. He is one of the most remarkable painters at the beginning of the Tang, especially good at painting horses. He is better than Han Gan [in the matter of painting horses] 尉遲乙僧畫平陽公主像，據鞍佩

Other paragons who handled their dual heritage with aplomb were imperial kinswomen who were made “princesses” (though they were not daughters of the emperor) and sent as brides to foreign rulers as an important part of Tang foreign policy. During this period, there were two important instances of such marriage alliances. Princess Honghua 弘化 married the king of the Tuyuhun in 640. Princess Wencheng 文成 married the Tibetan king in 641. Wencheng’s marriage alliance was one of the most successful diplomatic missions in Tang history.¹³⁵ Today, this Tang princess is still celebrated as the patroness saint of crafts in Tibet for bringing hundreds of texts on the classics, medicine, manufacture, and crafts as part of her dowry to Tibet. She also brought samples of carved jade, worked gold, bolts of silk, a statue of Siddharta, and musical instruments.¹³⁶ The Siddharta, musical instruments, and a statue of the princess are still preserved in the Dazhaosi 大昭寺 Temple in Lhasa.¹³⁷

To sum up, such heroine princesses were significant models for the Li imperial princesses. Pingyang played an important part in the founding of the Tang dynasty.

囊鍵，唐初奇筆，畫馬尤精好，在韓幹上。” *TRYS*: 298.

¹³⁵ On the 15th day of the first month (March 2nd) 641, the Prince of Jiangxia 江夏, President of the Board of Rites Li Daozong 李道宗 accompanied Princess Wencheng to the Tibetans. (*JTS* 3: 52). Princess Wencheng was important as a cultural ambassador. She is still worshipped today in Tibet as the patroness saint of its arts and crafts. According to the *Records from Tibet*, she took the following with her: “treasures, golden and jade book cases, 360 chapters of the Classics, all kinds of gold and jade ornaments as her dowry. She also gave many kinds of cooked food, all kinds of drinks, golden saddles and jades, silk bolts with designs of lion, phoenix, trees, and treasures, 300 different kinds of prognostication, texts on knowing right from wrong, 60 kinds of works on manufacture and craftsmanship, 104 kinds of remedies, five kinds of diagnosis methods, six kinds of medical instruments, four kinds of medical theories....She also brought, and used a vehicle to transport a statue of Siddharta, and used a big team of mule carts to move treasures, bolts of silk, clothes, and articles of daily use [into Tibet].” *Xizang difang lishi xuanji* 西藏地方歷史選輯: 6, as cited in Zhao 1984: 261.

¹³⁶ *Xizang difang lishi xuanji* 西藏地方歷史選輯: 6, as cited in Zhao 1984: 261.

¹³⁷ Hu Jia (1959): 5-8.

Wencheng helped to both forge political ties between China and Tibet and also brought sinicizing influences such as skills and crafts to her adopted state. She successfully balanced her obligations to her natal family and the interests of her husband's domains. Pingyang used her more fierce non-Han heritage in fulfilling her filial obligations to help her natal family. However, they were extraordinary. Most strong-willed princesses did not fare so well and might well have heeded Taizong's call for all remiss princesses to emulate his eldest daughter Princess Xiangcheng who was "elegant and graceful, with great reverence for ritual and regulations."¹³⁸

2.1.2 Trouble in the system

In fact, the realities of the lives and deaths of most princesses were very different from the approved models of heroic princesses. Historical records show that while the populace had a relatively peaceful and prosperous time during this time (643-705), the Li imperial family was racked with internecine strife concerning the succession. In regard to court upheavals, princesses were more often victims, and only sometimes—rarely—victors. All five princesses married into the most important families of the day. Their husbands sometimes became embroiled in the succession struggle and their families, including their princess wives, suffered greatly as a consequence.

The Tang system had set *gongzhu* (referred to in this thesis as "princesses") apart from the wives of imperial men, who were called *fei* ("consorts"). Princesses were at the very top of the Tang female elite hierarchy *outside* the inner palace structure. The emperor's concubines and consorts, made up an internal female hierarchy called the *neimingfu* 內命婦 "internal ladies of the court." In contrast, the princesses headed

¹³⁸ *JTS* 63: 2404.

the *waimingfu* 外命婦 “external ladies of the court:”

...The title system for the external ladies of the court 外命婦¹³⁹ is as follows: The aunt of the emperor will be titled *dazhang gongzhu* 大長公主 (great elder princess), the emperor's sisters given the titles of *zhang gongzhu* 長公主 (elder princess), his daughters will be titled *gongzhu* 公主 (princess)—and all princesses are ranked first rank, first class (1a) 正一品. The daughter of the crown prince 皇太子 will be titled *junzhu* 郡主 (lit.: mistress of the commandery)¹⁴⁰ and is ranked as second rank, first class (1b) 從一品. The daughter of a prince 王 will be titled *xianzhu* 縣主 (lit.: mistress of the county)¹⁴¹ and ranked first rank, second class (2a) 正二品. The prince's mother and wife will be called *fei* 妃 (Consort). Those mothers and wives of first class ministers 一品 and dukes 國公 will be called *guofuren* 國夫人 (Consort of the State). Those mothers and wives of ministers of third class 三品 will be called *junfuren* 郡夫人 (lit.: lady of the commandery).

凡外命婦之制，皇之姑，封大長公主，皇姊妹，封長公主，皇女，封公主，皆視正一品。皇太子之女，封郡主，視從一品。王之女，封縣主，視正二品。王母妻，爲妃。一品及國公母妻，爲國夫人。三品已上母妻，爲郡夫人。¹⁴²

The external ladies of the court are divided strictly into their classes within the noble ranking system.¹⁴³ The princesses are of higher degree than the daughters of the crown prince, though they are of the same class. For example, in the past I have used the acronym “N1a” for the princess' rank. The “N1a” means “noble ranking system, first class, first degree.” The daughter of the crown prince, *junzhu*, would be, “N1b” as in “noble first class, second degree.” These distinctions were used to define status, thus the kinds of vehicle, number and kinds of honor guards, and types of clothes, of each class and degree of noblewoman.

¹³⁹ *Tongdian* (hereafter *TD*) defines the *neimingfu* 內命婦 system as that which orders the consorts of the emperor and the court ladies, and the *waimingfu* 外命婦 as the hierarchical system which orders great ladies “outside” the court—namely princesses and princes's consorts and other ladies married to ministers. See *TD*: 949-50.

¹⁴⁰ *junzhu* is roughly the equivalent of a duchess in the British peerage system

¹⁴¹ *xianzhu* is roughly the equivalent of a countess in the British peerage system

¹⁴² *JTS*: 821.

¹⁴³ More research has focused on the ministerial nine-rank system *jiupin* 九品. However, there was also a ranking system applied to the imperial family and the noble families that were attached to the court. See Liu 1994:14-15 for the differentiation and mixing between official and noble ranking systems. While official ranking was based on merit or examination, noble designations of rank were probably a formal realization of kinship patterns. For a discussion of female *neiguan* 內官 “inner officials” at the Tang court, see Chen Jo-shui 1995: 80-82.

Tang princesses, as the passage above shows, were placed in the same category as wives of ministers of classes one through three. Their dual ranks—External Lady of the Court of the first degree first rank or Consort of the State (if their husbands were ministers of first class) indicate the dual roles they had to play in balance. In any case, they were important to their natal family at the same time that they were to be good wives and daughters-in-law to other families. Princesses struggled between their obligations to their husbands and their natal families, just as they struggled between their heritages of powerful female and obedient daughter/wife. Most of the time, in the period that followed, in the time of our five imperial princesses (buried between 643 and 706), the princesses were victims, not mistresses, of their dual heritages and dual roles.

2.2 Five Tang Princesses and their Times

The period of 643-706 witnessed the succession struggle before and after Taizong's death in 649 and the career of Empress Wu Zetian, the only woman ever to have become emperor (r. 690-705). Both events spawned long-ranging political factors which affected, amongst other things, the marriages and lives of the study's five princesses, with the exception of Fangling. Here are their summaries:

2.2.1 Princesses and Succession struggles, 643-651

In the last years of the Zhenguan reign, Taizong could not decide between his first-born, Crown Prince Li Chengqian 李承乾, and his third son, the Prince Li Tai 李泰, as his heir. In the fourth month of the year 643, an abrupt insurrection begun by Prince Qi revealed a plot against the throne involving Crown Prince Chengqian. When confronted with his crimes, Chengqian insisted that he acted out of a sense of

insecurity about his expected accession because he felt threatened by his younger brother, Li Tai.

Taizong rejected both Li Chengqian and Li Tai and set up his fourth son, Li Zhi 李治, as the Heir Apparent. Though his father considered him weak, Li Zhi was backed by most of Taizong's powerful ministers. Mindful of his own personal tragedy in gaining the throne by killing his brothers and forcing his father to abdicate, Taizong banished the Crown Prince Chengqian on the seventh day of the ninth month in 643 (in the 17th year of Zhenguan) and Prince Li Tai from the capital on the 18th day of the ninth month, 643,¹⁴⁴ to secure the succession for his fourth son, Li Zhi, the new Heir Apparent.

Princesses as political players: remains at the Buddhist caves of Luoyang

One of the material remains of the Li Tai/Li Zhi succession struggle are the inscriptions of patronage at the Buddhist caves of Longmen 龍門 and also at Shentongsi 神通寺. According to a stele composed by Cen Wenben 岑文本, Prince Li Tai refurbished the Central Binyang Cave in Longmen to commemorate his deceased mother, the beloved Empress Wende of Taizong. This cave had been begun by Emperor Xuanwu of the Northern Wei in remembrance of his late parents, Emperor Xiaowen and the Dowager Empress Wenzhao.

From Tang inscriptions in the Longmen caves in Henan and also in the Shentongsi in Shandong, one also knows that the princes and princesses of this period also used the construction of Buddhist works to demonstrate their filial piety. Such demonstrations of filial piety may then be used as a device for political advancement.¹⁴⁵ Furthermore, such demonstrations also showed the prestige of the

¹⁴⁴ *ZZTJ* 11: 53.

¹⁴⁵ For more on this, please see Amy McNair, "Early Tang Imperial Patronage at Longmen," in *As*

sponsors. Li Tai had taken up the work to show his claim to the throne and stopped the work when he lost the political struggle. Later, the winner of the struggle, Gaozong, completed the cave.

Various princesses also dedicated niches in the caves. For example, the Princess Yuzhang 豫章 dedicated niche statues in the same cave at the same time as Li Tai, which may or may not be an indication that they were in the same faction. This further seems to indicate that princesses at this time were involved in important power struggles at court, such as naming the Heir Apparent. Various princesses at other times--for example the Princess Huainan 淮南 and the Princess Pingnan 平南 (Also Nanping; and her consort Liu Xuanyi)--also dedicated inscriptions in the Binyang Cave.

Purges

The third emperor, Gaozong (r. 649-683 A.D.), came to power due to the support of important ministers, including his maternal uncle, Zhangsun Wuji 長孫無忌. However, the first years of Gaozong's court were still plagued with political intrigue. Although both his older brothers Li Chengqian and Li Tai were banished, the court was still troubled by factions supporting other candidates. Prince Li Ge 李格 of Wu 吳, a half-brother favored by Taizong, was still at court.

Gaozong and his faction took steps which profoundly affected two princesses, Nanping 南平 and Gaoyang 高陽, and their husbands. Gaozong's half-sister, the Princess Nanping married Wang Jingzhi 王敬直, the son of the important minister Wang Gui 王珪. Taizong had made Wang Gui the teacher of Prince Li Tai, and Jingzhi sided with Li Tai during the succession struggle and was later executed.

Orientalis 24 (1994), pp. 65-81. Also see Li Wensheng 1980: 1-5, Gong Dazhong 1980: 6-14, Zhang Ruoyu 1980: 19-24, Li Yukun 1980: 25-33.

Princess Nanping married again, and her second husband, Liu Xuanyi 劉玄意 dedicated a statue at Longmen in 650, a year after Gaozong's coronation. Gaozong promptly made him the Governor of Ru Province (Ruzhou 汝州), close to Luoyang, the Eastern Capital. In any case, Liu Xuanyi seemed to have avoided successfully any implication in the plot scandal of 652, as described below.

Princess Gaoyang was married to Fang Yi'ai 房遺愛, the second son of the important minister Fang Xuanling 房玄齡. The Princess accused the elder son, Yizhi 遺直, of making improper advances towards her, fueling further bad feelings between the brothers. Yi'ai was already unhappy about Yizhi being the sole heir to their father's official titles. Gaozong dispatched Zhangsun Wuji to investigate the affair. Wuji "discovered" and reported in the tenth month of 652 A.D. that the Princess Gaoyang and Fang Yi'ai were at the center of a plot against the throne. Gaozong promptly executed Fang Yi'ai, forced Princess Gaoyang to commit suicide, and banished Prince Ge of Wu.¹⁴⁶ Prince Ge was the son of Consort Yang, who was the daughter of the Sui Emperor Yangdi. Consort Yang was a rival to Empress Wende for Taizong's affections. Whether trumped up or not, Zhangsun Wuji's allegations effectively rid Gaozong's court of any potential opponents.¹⁴⁷

2.2.2 *The Ascendancy of Empress Wu*

Zhangsun Wuji, in addition to being the older brother of the Empress Wende (the wife of Taizong and mother of Gaozong)¹⁴⁸ was Taizong's trusted comrade-in-arms, maternal uncle of all the princes involved in the succession struggle from 643-651, and one of the most important ministers of the realm. Zhangsun had supported

¹⁴⁶ The XTS records Gaoyang's involvement with Buddhist magicians. XTS 83: 3648.

¹⁴⁷ JTS 76: 2650.

¹⁴⁸ JTS 65: 2441.

Gaozong's candidacy from the very beginning. However, the prestige of the Zhangsun clan was not to outlast the ascendancy of Empress Wu.

Once Gaozong was securely on the Tang throne, he repudiated Empress Wang, who had been chosen for him by his father, in favor of an unknown former palace lady, Wu Zetian, from Taizong's former court.¹⁴⁹ Zhangsun Wuji adamantly opposed Wu Zetian becoming Empress in lieu of Empress Wang. Despite how much Zhangsun Wuji had interceded on Li Zhi's behalf for his throne, Gaozong eventually ousted the old minister. In the tenth month of 655, Empress Wu replaced Empress Wang as the wife of Gaozong. In 657, Zhu Suiliang 褚遂良, Zhangsun Wuji's staunch ally, was demoted to the outer provinces. He died two years later at his post.

In 660, Zhangsun Wuji was forced to commit suicide at his own post in exile. A year later, his sons and nephews, including the husbands of the (already deceased) Princess Changle and the (still living) Princess Xincheng, were exiled. Wuji's eldest son, Zhangsun Chong 長孫沖, was stripped of his titles (Director of the Palace Library, rank 3a, Commandant-escort) and banished to Lingbiao 嶺表 despite his status as the widower-husband of the beloved Princess Changle.¹⁵⁰ Empress Wu Zetian became a member of Gaozong's household around 651; ousted Empress Wang and became empress in 655; became one of the two *de facto* rulers at court after 660, when emperor Gaozong fell prey to a chronic migraine which rendered him incapacitated for periods of time. Gaozong, died in 683, and their son, the Emperor Zhongzong took power in 684. Less than a year later, Empress Wu dismissed her son

¹⁴⁹ Empress Wang had initially welcomed the idea of re-introducing the Lady Wu back into the court. She had counted on Wu Zetian as an ally against the Consort Xiao, Gaozong's favorite consort at the time. By the time that the Empress and Consort Xiao both realized that Wu Zetian was their greatest threat for Gaozong's affections, the latter had already established an unshakable position at court. Wu eventually disposed of both opponents. *JTS* 6: 115-134.

¹⁵⁰ Roughly present day Guangzhou, also known as Lingnan 嶺南.

and became emperor *de facto* in 684. However, it was not until 690 when she declared herself emperor *de jure*. She presided over her Zhou dynasty (690-705 A.D.) until her enforced abdication and death in 705 A.D. Empress Wu was probably the most powerful political force of this time. All five princesses were affected by her reign just as they had been by the great succession struggle that brought her husband, Gaozong, to power in 650 A.D.

2.2.3 *The Height and End of Princess Power*

Whereas the princesses described above were involved in the political intrigues of the court because of their husbands, the following princesses were political players which emerged during the ascendancy of the Empress. As an example, the glory *rong* 榮 part of Princess Linchuan's epitaph (written in 683) included many tributes to the Empress Wu. In 690 at Luoyang, Princess Qianjin 千金, a daughter of Gaozu (618-626),¹⁵¹ petitioned Wu Zetian to adopt her as her daughter. According to historical records, she was given great favor, the new title of Great Elder Princess of Yan'an (延安大長公主), and a rich appanage. She was given the surname Wu (the same surname as the Empress Wu Zetian) and her son married the daughter of Wu Chengsi 武承嗣, Prince of Wei 魏.¹⁵²

The power of princesses arguably reached a zenith during this time. After Zhongzong came to the throne in 705, some princesses were given disproportionately large appanages. They were also given ministers of ranks which had previously been reserved for the retinues of princes. Many of these privileges were withdrawn after the

¹⁵¹ In addition to the title of Yan'an, Princess Qianjin was also later named Princess of Anding. *XTS* 83: 3644.

¹⁵² *JTS* 183: 4742.

demise of Zhongzong and especially of Empress Wei in 710, but members of the bureaucracy were still quite sensitive to any abuses that might occur.

Aside from beginnings of political institutional power, princesses also seemed to be at the center of high society and culture. Poetry from this period contained many pieces composed in honor of an occasion when ministers or courtiers visited the new residence or mountain home of a princess. This evidence suggests that the princesses were entertaining important ministers, courtiers, and princes of the realm in their lavish residences.

Princess Taiping, the only daughter of Gaozong and Wu Zetian to survive infancy, was especially beloved. Her spectacular career spanned the reigns of three emperors and ended only in 713. She was an important advisor to all three emperors--her mother (r. 690-705), her brothers Zhongzong (r.684. 705-109) and Ruizong (r. 710-712). This princess, indisputably the most important of the Tang princesses, had honor guards “just as a prince’s” in her life time. It is unfortunate for archaeologists that she was executed in the prime of her life by her nephew Xuanzong (r. 713-755) and summarily buried as a commoner. Her obscure and undiscovered tomb is a testament to the influence politics had on the building of princess tombs. However, in her heyday she was as honored as the most important princes and ministers of the realm.¹⁵³

Her nieces, Princesses Anle and Changning followed her example and also had princely honor guards. Compared to a prince’s entourage, the only official they lacked in their entourage was the *changshi* 長史 (lit. senior scribe, in the Tang, the chief executive officer in a princely establishment, rank 4b1 in the Tang dynasty).¹⁵⁴

¹⁵³ There are over one hundred references to her in the Xin and Jiu Tangshu. More important accounts include *JTS* 183: 4738-4743 and *XTS* 83: 3650-52.

¹⁵⁴ Hucker 1995: 113.

Princess Anle notoriously induced her father Zhongzong to sign documents without reading them over first. This, to the ministers' collective horror, he laughingly did. She also asked to become the Crown Princess. The emperor did not agree to this but did not dutifully chastise the wayward princess. In emulation of such behavior, other princesses sold government positions for money. They managed numerous large estates.¹⁵⁵ The princesses played hostess to fashionable poetry parties for the capital's rich, famous, and powerful.

In the latter half of the seventh century and the early part of the eighth century, Empress Wu's daughter, the Princess Taiping, led all princesses in power and prestige. Taiping wielded even more power in the court after her brothers, Zhongzong (r.705-9) and Ruizong (r. 710-713), respectively came to power after 705. In each coup d'état', the astute Taiping always managed to pick the winning side. However, she chose to make an enemy of the future Xuanzong 玄宗 (r. 713-756) and he had her commit suicide before his coronation in 713 A.D.

The death of Princess Taiping thus marked the end of the involvement of princesses in politics. Because of their status, princesses were afforded powers in courtly circles which could constitute a political threat, especially in conjunction with the powers of their consorts, who were usually scions from prominent families. From the histories, one is not sure whether the princesses were victims, accomplices of ambitious husbands, or aggressive political players. However, during Empress Wu's reign, princesses increasingly sought honors that would bring them on a par with princes.

¹⁵⁵ *JTS* 51: 2172.

The 640's: Changle (princess tomb #1, buried in 643)

Changle's death and burial came in the midst of the great succession struggle to Taizong's throne. The Princess Changle died on the tenth day of the eighth month during the seventeenth year of Zhenguan (September 28, 643 A.D) and was buried on the twenty-first day of the ninth month of the same year (November 6 of 643). The seventeenth year of Zhenguan was the same year that Emperor Taizong banished two of his sons and set up a third to be Heir Apparent. However, none of these momentous affairs were recorded in her epitaph, perhaps demonstrating her father's care in not allowing her to be involved in the political upheavals.

Unlike her aunt (the fierce Princess Pingyang who led an army) or her cousins (the brave Princesses Honghua and Wencheng who married foreign leaders in faraway lands), and her sisters (the plotting Princess Yuzhang and Huinan), Princess Changle (620-643) seems to have remained well out of the limelight and died early at the age of 23. Wei Zhen, the upright Confucian minister, once reprimanded Taizong who wished to give her a dowry twice the size of that given to her aunt, the Elder Princess Fangling (then called Princess Yongjia 永嘉).¹⁵⁶ Other than that one incident in which she was no more than a passive participant, she seems to have uneventfully married Zhangsun Chong 長孫冲, her cousin and eldest son of Zhangsun Wuji.

Changle was given a large, beautifully decorated tomb in the Northern dynasties style right at the foothills of Jiuzongshan. Hers was one of the tombs closest to that of her imperial parents, a privilege granted only to the extremely favored. The Zhaoling Museum team excavated Changle's tomb in 1985. They found no trace of her husband's remains, though the large size of the sarcophagus platform has led

¹⁵⁶ *JTS* 71: 2549.

excavators to speculate that his body was expected to join the remains of the princess. However, political banishment and death in exile may have ended such plans.

The 660's: Xincheng (princess tomb #2, buried in 663)

Zhangsun Quan 長孫銓, a younger cousin of Zhangsun Wuji, and Princess Xincheng's husband, was also stripped of his titles (including Commandant-escort) in the purge on the Zhangsun clan and banished to Juanzhou 雋州.¹⁵⁷ After his banishment, the Princess Xincheng married again, to Zhou Wengui 周文規. However, she died suddenly around 663. Gaozong put him on trial and executed him.¹⁵⁸

Then Gaozong buried Xincheng with special honor, as an Empress. Both in historical texts¹⁵⁹ and in the Xincheng epitaph--“*tei* [blank][blank] *yi dian qi zhangshi yi yi hou li* 特□□彝典其葬事宜依后禮 (exceptionally, the rituals and the concurrent funeral preparations should follow the rites befitting an empress)”¹⁶⁰-- tells us that the tomb has been differentiated in this way.

By Gaozong's orders in the ninth month of 674, Zhangsun Wuji was reburied in Zhaoling, using the old tomb structures that had already been erected for this use. His great-grandson, Zhangsun Yi 長孫翼, was allowed to take over the title of Duke of Zhao (Zhao guogong 趙國公).¹⁶¹ But the illustrious Zhangsun clan never regained its position it had enjoyed as one of the greatest clans in the early Tang.

¹⁵⁷ ZZTJ: 6314.

¹⁵⁸ JTS: 3649.

¹⁵⁹ The *Xin Tangshu* says that Princess Xincheng “...was buried beside Zhaoling with the rites of an empress ...以皇后禮葬昭陵旁.” See XTS 83: 3649.

¹⁶⁰ See figure 4.19, line beginning at column 24/row 25 and ending at column 25/row 1.

¹⁶¹ XTS 5: 99.

The 670's: Fangling (princess tomb #3, buried in 674)

The Princess Yongjia (618-673), a daughter of Gaozu, the founder of the Tang dynasty. She did not dabble in politics, but her turbulent love life made her famous. She was enfeoffed Princess Yongjia 永嘉 and married to Dou Fengjie 竇奉節 of the powerful Dou clan¹⁶² at the tender age of three in 621.¹⁶³ The marriage proved to be unhappy, for later she conducted a tragic affair with Yang Yuzhi 楊豫之, son of Yang Shidao 楊師道. Yuzhi at that time was married to the Countess Shouchun 壽春縣主 (the daughter of Prince Chaoci 巢刺王). The story goes that Yang Yuzhi was at home during the time of the mourning for his mother's death, where he met and had an affair with the princess. Dou Fengjie hunted down his wife's lover, tortured¹⁶⁴ and eventually killed him.¹⁶⁵ Princess Yongjia was re-enfeoffed as Princess Fangling 房陵, and married Helan Senjia 賀蘭僧伽 in 654.¹⁶⁶ She was thirty-six at the time of her second marriage. She eventually lived to the comparatively old age of fifty-five years. Fangling could be said to have been a political pawn of the Li family, but the historians have her pegged as a playgirl type.

¹⁶² Biographies of several members of this remarkable family producing military and civil officials from Sui to Tang can be seen in "biographies (liezhuan 列傳)". Dou Fengjie's father, Gui 軌, was especially notorious for his heavy-handed punishments, including decapitating subordinates for not obeying the curfew. Princess Yongjia's mother, the Empress Dou, was also a member of this family. *JTS* 61: 2364-72.

¹⁶³ The dates of these events and of her ... marriages are inscribed on her epitaph. See figure 4:20 (p.250), line beginning at column 8/row 23 and ending at column 10/row 16.

¹⁶⁴ The term here is the five punishments (*juwuxing* 具五刑). According to the Tang laws, the five punishments followed stipulations of Qin 秦 laws. These extreme, cruel punishments were "tattooing (*jing* 鯨)"; "cutting off the nose (*yi* 剕)"; "cutting off the left and right toes (*zhan zuoyou zhi* 斬左右趾)"; "whipping (*chi* 笞)"; "chopping up the body and [exhibiting] the bone and meat remains at markets (*zu qi gurou yu shi* 俎其骨肉於市)." *TLSY*: 597, *HS*: 1104.

¹⁶⁵ *JTS* 62: 2384.

¹⁶⁶ *JTS* 131: 3643.

In conclusion, Princesses Xincheng, Changle, and Fangling were the victims, in one way or another, of politics at court. Changle's tomb shows the origins of her husband's family but also her husband's banishment. Xincheng's elaborate tomb showed perhaps the guilt the emperor felt in banishing and killing her first husband then leaving her prey to the second one. Fangling's tomb, equal in size to most other princess tombs of her time, show that she redeemed herself in the public's eye, and even, it may be, became quite celebrated for her notoriety.

The 680's: Linchuan (princess tomb 4, buried in 684)

Taizong's daughter, Linchuan, borne in 627 to his favorite consort Wei Guifei (Precious Consort Wei),¹⁶⁷ was married to Zhou Daowu, the governor of Ying Province (present day Liaoning). Zhou was not from a preeminent family like the Zhangsun. This may possibly be because Linchuan was not a princess of the first order, her mother being a consort and not empress. Linchuan went with him, and at least two of their four sons followed their father into military service, the fourth serving in the Left Imperial Guards at the capital and the eldest the Personnel Manager of Long Prefecture.

Unlike the other princesses, she was venerated and honored in her lifetime, and a particular favorite of the Empress Wu. Linchuan is an example of how a prominent imperial woman connected to the growing power of the Empress Wu, became increasingly similar to imperial males of the same ranking. When Gaozong ascended the throne in 649, Princess Linchuan specifically wrote a laud of "Filial Piety and Virtue," dedicated to him, which greatly touched the young emperor.¹⁶⁸

¹⁶⁷ After Empress Zhangsun's death in 638 Taizong never remarried. *JTS* 51: 2166.

¹⁶⁸ *XTS* 83: 3646.

Princess Linchuan died of illness on the twenty-first day of the fifth month in the first year of Yongchun (June 21, 683). Less than six months later, Gaozong died on the last day of the twelfth month in the first year of Hongdao (January 2, 684). His son, Zhongzong, ascended the throne the next day (January 3, 684). Fourteen days later, the Princess Linchuan was buried on the twenty-fifth day of the twelfth month, first year of Yongchun (Jan. 17th, 684). Empress Wu deposed her son Zhongzong on the sixth day of the second month, year of Sisheng (February 26, 684) and his younger brother Ruizong became emperor the following day. Ruizong ruled for a less than a year, when he abdicated in favor of his mother and took the name of Imperial Heir.

In other words, this tomb was completed during the time of Empress Wu's consolidation of power, after her husband's death. The impact of Empress Wu's ascension can be seen in the presence of the *gaoshen* 告身 (certificate of titles) placed in the tomb. Linchuan's epitaph also makes several references to the Empress Wu and their personal relationship. Instead of formulaic praise of the princess's beauty and intelligence, the stone provides anecdotal accounts of both Taizong's and Empress Wu's appreciation of her literary skills.

The 700's: Yongtai (tomb #5, buried 706)

If only the tomb of the Princess Yongtai, without historical references, remain to the present day, one might infer from the tomb-- 80 meters, almost twice the size of all the other princess and prince tombs (see tables 1:1 and 1:2)-- that Yongtai was one of the most prestigious and important princesses of the Tang dynasty, not a sixteen-year-old girl, a Countess in political exile with her family, who had died an early, almost obscure death.

On the eighteenth day of the fifth month, second year of Shenlong 神龍 (July 1, 706 A.D.), the Empress Wu Zetian was buried next to her husband in the imperial tomb of Qianling. Before this day, various ministers objected vigorously to her burial in the same mausoleum, claiming that the superior (Gaozong) should not open his grave to accommodate the inferior (Wu Zetian) in the same burial.¹⁶⁹ Zhongzong, however, pushed forward with plans to bury his parents together. Gestures of peace were much needed in the years after the remarkable reigns of Gaozong and Wu Zetian, a period spanning nearly fifty years in the course of which a woman ascended the throne of China amidst much acrimony and uncertainty--bitterness scarcely diluted throughout the fifteen years of female rule (Zhou dynasty, 690-705 A.D.).

Nearby, a hill away, the re-burial of Princess Yongtai (died 701) took place on the same day. Historical texts would have us believe that Empress Wu murdered her own granddaughter Yongtai just short of her seventeenth birthday. Yet the two burials proceeded apace on the same spring day.¹⁷⁰ The grandmother and grandchild, authority and victim, were both led to rest.

They were both buried in the royal tombs called *ling*, normally reserved for emperors and their heirs. Though they may be buried in tombs of the same denomination, there were very different reasons why the two had been given the honor of being buried in a *ling*. For the successor Emperor Zhongzong (r. 705-710), this was a compromise solution to the embarrassment of his mother's usurpation of the throne through the reinstatement of his disgraced daughter and son-in-law Wu

¹⁶⁹ ZZTJ 208: 6597. Ministers had objected to the co-burials of both the Empress Wu and her grand daughter Yongtai as part of their efforts to contain the influence of female power at court and therefore regain control. Thanks to Prof. McMullen for his insights into the period, personal communication.

¹⁷⁰ The full date recorded is “二年歲次景午五月癸卯朔十八日庚申” in Yongtai's epitaph. The eighteenth day of the fifth month, according to an annotated Dunhuang calendar of the year 877 A.D., was an auspicious day for filling in the grave “*sai xue* 塞穴.” Deng Wenkuan 1999: 207.

Yanji back into the royal family. The year 706 was a year of reparations: the Countess Yongtai was re-buried as Princess Yongtai; Crown Prince Yide and Crown Prince Zhanghuai were moved from their original burials and re-buried with great pomp and ceremony. It was as if Emperor Zhongzong, in burying his daughter, son, and brother (respectively) so close to the mausoleum of the previous emperors, Gaozong and Wu Zetian, sought to bring the imperial family, racked by internecine battles over the question of succession, back together..

In fact, memorializing Princess Yongtai and the Prince Yide was so important to Zhongzong that he commanded that the former Yanxing monastery (with murals from masters such as Zheng Fashi, Li Ya, and Yang Qitan) in the Nanchangshou ward, of the southeast quarter of Chang'an, should be re-named Yongtai monastery. Monies were appropriated for monks to pray for the princess every day. (See Fig. 1:3 and section 1.3.1 for princess monasteries and temples in Chang'an).

Such sentimentality also disguised other issues, such as high-ranking bureaucrats seeking to regain their control on governance by preventing imperial women from gaining power in the years after Wu Zetian's rule. XX

Zhongzong had scarcely buried his beloved daughter Yongtai, five years after her death in 701, when the court was again imperiled by an attempted take over from the heir, Crown Prince Jiemin, who opposed the growing power of the Empress Wei and her family faction. Jiemin was born to a different woman than Empress Wei, but being the oldest son of Zhongzong, was next in line for the throne. But Empress Wei's growing power could be seen by the way that she buried her own family's dead, in parallel to the burials of Princess Yongtai and the former Crown Prince Yide. Her brothers Wei Jiong¹⁷¹, Wei Hao¹⁷², and Wei Ci were buried as princes and her two

¹⁷¹ Wei Jiong died in the first year of Ruyi (692 A.D.), was given the title of the Prince of Huaiyang (淮陽王) and re-buried in 708 (Shaanxisheng wenwu guanli weiyuanhui 1959).

sisters were buried as *xianzhu* (Mistress of Weinan County¹⁷³ and Mistress of Weicheng County¹⁷⁴ respectively). In this conflict, Jiemin was ultimately defeated, but he had come very close to succeeding, and he killed the husband of his half sister Princess Anle, Wu Chongxun—who was a scion of the Wu family. The histories narrate the following:

Afterwards Princess Anle's husband Wu Chongxun 武崇訓 was killed by Crown Prince Jiemin, and was specially given the title Prince of Lu [in death], and [Zhongzong] commanded Zhao Lüwen 趙履溫, the vice president of the Court of National Granaries to supervise and protect the funeral. Lüwen suggested to the princess to build a *ling* for Chongxun, according to the precedent of Princess Yongtai. [The emperor] commanded that it be so.

Lu Can¹⁷⁵ countered this edict and said:

I bow down in search of what is meant by the term *ling* [and find] that it belonged originally to the Emperor and his Heir. Ever since there was an imperial family, the tombs of the princes and princesses have never been called *ling*. Only the Princess Yongtai received great beneficence and special burial, this affair going beyond the orthodox way. Thus surely it cannot be seen as a model. The Annals of the Spring and Autumn period and *Zuozhuan* of the Chunqiu reads: "Sun Hengzi 孫桓子 of the Wei 衛 fought the Kingdom of Qi 齊. The Wei rebuilds, the Grand Master of Xinzhu, Chongshu Yuxi 冲叔子奚 saves Sun Hengzi from death. The people of the Wei rewarded him with a city. Yuxi refused, and asked for instead the three directional musical instruments (though he himself was a

¹⁷² Wei Hao died in the first year of Ruyi (692 A.D.), was given the title of the Commandery Prince of Wuling (武陵郡王) and re-buried in 708. *DTBH*: 77.

¹⁷³ Weinan *xianzhu* 衛南縣主, described in her epitaph as the eleventh younger sister of the Empress Wei, was buried, according to her epitaph, on the twenty-seventh day of the eighth month of the second year of Jinglong (September 15, 708). Recorded by the author on a fieldtrip in October 1998, epitaph stone stored in the field station (*gongzuozhan* 工作站) of the Shaanxi Institute of Archaeology.

¹⁷⁴ Weicheng *xianzhu* 衛城縣主 was buried on the fourteenth day of the eleventh month of the second year of Jinglong (December 30, 708). Date and title recorded by author on field trip in October 1998, epitaph stone stored in the field station (*gongzuozhan* 工作站) of the Shaanxi Institute of Archaeology.

¹⁷⁵ Lu Can 盧粲

Grand Master, a class below Duke)¹⁷⁶ and gold-decorated harnesses for his horses¹⁷⁷. He was given permission. When Confucius heard of this, he said, “What a shame. It would have been better to give him the city. Only appellations and vessels cannot be lent to others. If these things are allowed to be borrowed, the principle will also be used in government. If the government perishes the country will follow.” Sages know insignia and rules. There is a need to be careful. The ceremony of the lament and glory of the Prince of Lu should, in fact, receive special favor. However the appellations and vessels of the nation should not be so easily and carelessly borrowed. The tomb should not borrow [the precedent] of Princess Yongtai as a model; please use the old examples of the princes since the Zhenguan period, these will be sufficient in abundance.

An edict in the emperor’s own hand declared, “Princess Anle is no different from Princess Yongtai. The idea of burying [husband and wife] in the same pit has not changed from antiquity to the present. The Prince of Lu has, by chance, become eligible for the regulations of *ling*. There is no need for fretting and stubbornness.”

[Lu] Can still further admonished:

This minister has heard that the *ling* is only given to those of the greatest prestige, and certainly not belonging to holders of titles like Princes and Dukes or below. In terms of closeness in terms of kinship the Prince of Lu is no closer in bloodline than the Prince of Yong¹⁷⁸. The Prince of Yong’s tomb was not called *ling*. The Prince of Lu cannot add to his titles simply because he has married a princess. When the emperor wishes to conduct affairs, it should be as recorded in the regulation texts, or as found in past texts, or as can be studied from court precedents. This minister has examined all examples since the Zhenguan period, and the Princess Consort tomb was never called *ling*. . . . If Your Highness extends your love of your daughter to her husband and give the rites of gifts, prepares fully the laments and glory, how can there be distinction between what is superior and what is inferior? The emperor and the minister would be the same. Also the Princess Anle receives the light of both [emperor and empress], based on luck and long life. To point to the Southern Mountain in order to sugar-coat the year, to admire the Northern Star and forever be protected. There are normal numbers for the preparation, regulations for vehicles and clothes, and rites for adding status. The name of the tomb should not borrow the name of Princess Yongtai. This is not what is meant to be an example for the future, or a principle for the princes and ministers.

The Emperor at last complied with what Can had advised. The princess was in a rage, and Can was exiled as the Governor of Chen Province because of his going against an edict. After a number of transfers, he became the vice director of the Imperial Library. He died at the beginning of Kaiyuan.

¹⁷⁶ Here the reference is to exhibiting instruments in ancient times. According to the *Zhouli* and the *Yuefu Zalu* 樂府雜錄, that the elite in the past used to hang bells (*zhong* 鐘) and chimes (*qing* 磬) to exhibit them. The emperor has musical instruments hanging in four directions; the Duke has instruments on three sides (minus the south side); the Grand Master has musical instruments hanging on two sides (minus the north and south sides); and the Service man (*shi* 士) has musical instrument hanging on the east side, or not at all. *ZWDCD* 8: 1686, *TD*: 3684.

¹⁷⁷ *fanyin* is a horse’s girth strap that is richly decorated with gold. *Kongzi jiyu*: 101.

¹⁷⁸ Crown Prince Zhanghuai, for whom Lu Can once worked.

後安樂公主婿武崇訓爲節愍太子所殺，特追封爲魯王，令司農少卿趙履溫監護葬事。履溫諷公主奏請依永泰公主故事，爲崇訓造陵。詔從其請。粲駁奏曰：伏尋陵之稱謂，本屬皇王及儲君等，自皇家已來，諸王及公主墓，無稱陵者。唯永泰公主承恩特葬，事越常塗，不合引以爲名。春秋左氏傳云：「孫桓子與齊戰，新築大夫仲叔于奚救孫桓子，桓子以免，人賞之以邑，于奚辭，請曲懸、繁纓以朝，許之。仲尼聞之，曰：『惜也，不如多與之邑。唯名與器，不可以假人。若以假人，與之政也，政亡則國家從之。』」聖人知微知章，不可不慎。魯王哀榮之典，誠別承恩，然國之名器，豈可妄假！又瑩兆之稱，不應假永泰公主爲名，請比貞觀已來諸王舊例，足得豐厚。手敕答曰：「安樂公主與永泰公主無異，同穴之義，古今不殊。魯王緣自特爲陵制，不煩固執。」粲又奏曰：臣聞陵之稱謂，施於尊極，不屬王公已下。且魯王若欲論親等第，則不親於雍王。雍王之墓，尙不稱陵，魯王自不可因尙公主而加號。且君之舉事，則載於方冊，或稽之往典，或考自前朝。臣歷檢貞觀已來，駙馬墓無得稱陵者。且君人之禮，服絕於傍期，蓋爲不獨親其親，不獨子其子。陛下以膝下之恩愛，施及其夫，贈賻之儀，哀榮足備，豈得使上下無辨，君臣一貫者哉！又安樂公主承兩儀之澤，履福祿之基，指南山以錫年，仰北辰而永庇。魯王之葬，車服有章，加等之儀，備有常數，瑩兆之稱，不應假永泰公主爲名，非所謂垂法將來，作則群辟者也。帝竟依粲所奏。公主大怒，粲以忤旨出爲陳州刺史。累轉秘書少監。開元初卒。¹⁷⁹

Thus, politics at court caused Princess Yongtai to be buried in a lavish tomb fit for an emperor. However, when Yongtai's sister Anle asked the same honor for her husband, essentially for herself, since she would be buried in the same tomb as her husband, she was eventually refused. From 710 onwards the political power of the princesses declined, never to regain the apogee it had reached in that year.

2.3 Conclusions

The sixty-four year period (643-706 A.D.) in which these tombs were built encompassed the career of Empress Wu Zetian, whose remarkable reign and life have been the subject of many studies.¹⁸⁰ The purpose of the chapter is to look at the effect

¹⁷⁹ *JTS* 189: 4972-4974

¹⁸⁰ The best account in English remains that of Guisso 1978. Forte 1988 wrote better and in greater

of court politics during this period on princess tombs. Do the identities of the Tang princesses show up in the tombs? What is the connection, if any, between Tang tomb iconography and the status and/or identity of the tomb owner?

The history of the lives of princesses and the material evidence from the tombs tell very different stories. The scale of the princess tombs has very little to do with the status of the princesses in their lifetime, but owes most to their relationship to the power at court during the time of the burial. This is especially true for those princesses who were entangled in court politics. For them, political factors determine the scale and location of their tombs. Then, there are those princesses were merely pawns or innocents at court, and their tombs tend to be relatively standard. The best influence of the power of politics on Princess tombs of course, is the tomb of Princess Yongtai, which was designated an imperial *ling*, a tomb usually reserved for emperors and their heirs.

In conclusion, the histories describe the various vibrant, fierce, powerful, scheming, and sacrificed princesses. The next chapter (Chapter Three) will explicate concepts of death and commemoration which show a very different, ritually standard way of describing princesses in the epitaphs (Chapter Four) and which order tomb structure (Chapter Five).

detail about the coming of Wu Zetian to power.

Chapter Three: Funeral Rituals and Concepts

Because of its unique functions, sacred art must be researched using different methodologies than those employed in the study of other works of art. *Not only the images themselves but also the ritual texts associated with them must be considered and analyzed*, for only then can we grasp the true significance of art works... that have attracted so much attention but have been so little understood. [emphasis added]¹⁸¹

Three portions of the funeral rites of Tang princesses survive--words of the dirges sung at the burial rites of Princess Yongtai,¹⁸² debates on the tomb of the Princess Anle's husband (and therefore on tombs of princesses in general),¹⁸³ and information on the make-up of funeral processions.¹⁸⁴ Although no full record of a particular princess funeral exists, the portions extant indicate that the rites for a princess were probably similar in structure to those of princes, ministers of the third class or above, or even emperors. Ritual concepts, found in various Tang codes and debates, are closely connected to the material culture inside and above the elite (i.e., one- or two- chamber brick tombs). And there *are* detailed accounts of emperor's and minister's rites. Using the *Yuanling yizhu* and the *Kaiyuanli*, I will describe the full schema of the funerary ritual sequence.¹⁸⁵

¹⁸¹ Katz 1993: 59.

¹⁸² *QTS* 101: 1082.

¹⁸³ *JTS* 189: 4972-4974, see pp. 77-79 of Chapter Two.

¹⁸⁴ See Chapter Five 5.1 "The two processions of the princess."

¹⁸⁵ The *Yuanling yizhu* 元陵儀注 "Yuanling Ritual Directives" (779) is a work that deals with the death and burial of the Tang emperor Daizong (r. 763-79) and is specific to this one emperor. Emperor funeral directives are not allowed to remain in existence but had to be written anew every time an emperor died. See section 3.3 "Tang ritual codes" in this chapter. The *Kaiyuanli* (732) deals with the burial rituals of officials, grade seven and above; this dissertation is chiefly concerned with the sections on officials of the third grade and above. Both documents form the basis for this discussion. See McMullen 1999 for an in-depth, thorough analysis of the *Yuanling yizhu*. With a few exceptions, I follow his translation of ritual terminology.

For further understanding I also compare Van Gennep's general theory of "the rites of passage"¹⁸⁶ with the Chinese concepts of inner/outer, auspicious/inauspicious, and the transformation of identities as they are played out in the ritual structure. Most funerary rituals took place above ground--in the house of the dead, on the way to the tomb, and above ground at the tomb, and therefore had less to say explicitly about the tomb itself below ground. Nevertheless, ritual concepts and the structure they construct, shed light on the structure, orientation, program, and content of tombs.

3.1 Van Gennep's Rites of Passage

The Belgian anthropologist Van Gennep published *Les rites de passage* in 1908 and introduced the term "rites of passage" to the world. Since its translation into English in 1960, the term has become a classic anthropological tenet and has even made its way into the popular consciousness. Van Gennep originally wanted to show that at each crucial stage in our lives-- that is, birth, initiation, marriage, and death--both the individual and society needs a kind of ritual to underscore the new position of the individual that develops, a series of rites that underscores the steps of separation, transition, and re-incorporation. The passage involves doors and thresholds, and that "rites should be understood as direct and physical rites of entrance, of waiting, and of departure--that is, as rites of passage."¹⁸⁷ For death rituals, this means that the living must formally separate the deceased from the living and ease it into the new group of deceased. Burial is only part of this process, as the deceased is reincorporated into the world of the living as an ancestress in a temple.

¹⁸⁶ Van Gennep 1960.

¹⁸⁷ Van Gennep 1960: 25.

3.2 Pre-Tang Chinese concepts of death rituals and tombs

Death rituals for a princess mark the transport of the corpse to its last abode¹⁸⁸ and transforming the deceased into an ancestress worshipped in familial temples. Both rites of passage (tomb and temple) require a series of transfers in place and time. This was the basis on which the Chinese created a complex ritual scheme. Rituals mark this kind of transfer by repeating sequences and drawing boundaries in space and time. Artisans in every period responded creatively to this ritual schema with different works of art. Thus, though the ideas are old, the artistic response is ever renewed.

3.2.1 Xunzi's and concepts on death rituals

Concepts concerning funerary rites from ancient antiquity were most clearly delineated in the writings of Xunzi (ca.335-ca.238 BC),¹⁸⁹ a philosopher from the Warring States period. Curiously, writings attributed to sayings by Confucius, who was intensely associated to ritual, are unusually reticent on death. Xunzi fills in this gap in the Confucian corpus of writings and thought:

...perhaps because of the advantage he enjoyed in being able to survey the entire range of thought, Hsun Tzu's [Xunzi's] work represents the most complete and well-ordered philosophical system of the early period...The core of it is the ethical and political teachings of Confucius and his disciples, but around this core cluster areas of investigation and speculation that were hardly touched upon in earlier Confucian writing.¹⁹⁰

Xunzi took up the topic of death and ritual in his essay, "A Discussion of Rites (*lilunpian* 禮論篇):"

To bury the dead in the same general manner that one would send off the living, but to make certain that both living and dead, beginning and end are attended to in the most

¹⁸⁸ The burial ground was called in in magical folklore the *yin* abode *yinzhai* 陰宅 as opposed to the *yang* abode *yangzhai* 陽宅 for the living. Wang Yude 1992: 163-176.

¹⁸⁹ Loewe 1993: 178.

¹⁹⁰ Watson 1963: 4.

appropriate and fitting fashion—this is the rule of ritual principle and the teaching of the Confucian school.¹⁹¹

大象其生以送其死，使死生終始莫不稱宜而好善，
是禮義之法式也，儒者是矣。¹⁹²

This pioneering work on death ritual was later incorporated into the *Book of Rites, Li ji* 禮記, which became one of the compulsory texts (five classics *wujing* 五經) in the civil service examination system. Thus, I would suggest that Xunzi's writings on death and ritual may have had an influence on generations of political elites who memorized it as part of their scholarly training.¹⁹³ Hence the examination of some of Xunzi's main ideas about death rites -- ornamentation, identity, and the separation of form from spirit.

3.2.2 A Problem of Ornamentation

Ritual is used to “ornament” death. What that means exactly, varies greatly.

The first most important usage is the one for funeral rituals:

In the funeral rites, one adorns the dead as though they are still living, and sends them to the grave with forms symbolic of life. They are treated as though dead, and yet as though still alive, as though gone, and yet as though still present. Beginning and end are thereby unified.¹⁹⁴ [emphasis added]

喪禮者，以生者飾死者也，大象其生以送其死也。故如事死如生，如事亡如存，終始一也。¹⁹⁵

¹⁹¹ Watson 1963: 105.

¹⁹² XZ 13: 17.

¹⁹³ One of the areas that Xunzi touched upon in greater length than the works attributed to Confucius is death rites.

¹⁹⁴ Watson 1963: 103. Another translation by Knoblock offers similar understanding, “In the funeral rites, one uses objects of the living to adorn the dead and sends them to their grave in a fashion that resembles the way they lived. Thus one treats the dead like the living and one treats their absence just as one treated them when they were still present, so that end and beginning are as one. Knoblock 3 (1994): 67.

¹⁹⁵ XZ 13: 14.

This passage is almost exactly the same as the one previously quoted in section 3.2.1. Thus the dead is treated as a living person, but is sent to his grave with “forms symbolic of life.” Here, the character *xiang* 象 (“symbolic of”) is used in exactly the same way. What, indeed, are “forms symbolic of life”? And how is adornment used in funerary ritual?

As is the common standard for the funerary rituals, with each change [the gentleman] adorns the corpse, whereby he disguises its hideousness. With each move he takes it farther away, whereby he ensures continued respect. With the passage of time he resumes the ordinary course of life, whereby he cares for the needs of the living.¹⁹⁶

喪禮之凡，變而飾，動而遠，久而平。故死之爲道也。不飾則惡，惡則不哀。尠則翫，翫則厭，厭則忘，忘則不敬。一朝而喪其嚴親。而所以送葬之者不哀不敬，則嫌於禽獸矣。君子恥之，故變而飾，所以滅惡也；動而遠，所以遂敬也；久而平，所以優生也。¹⁹⁷

Thus, *shi* 飾 is not only a representative, symbolic thing (*xiang* 象), it also has a function to make the corpse more pleasant and acceptable to the living. Thus, ornamentation also has the function hiding ugliness or corporeality which may instill disgust. The body is further moved away from the living space in order to continue respect from the living. In this general movement to the tomb, there are many stops. At each stop, ornamentation, which could mean that the body is washed and dressed, or that the entourage accompanying it to the tomb is given some figures of retainers as symbols of life, occurs. *Shi* thus means “ornamentation” in the usual sense of the word. And in the case of corpses, it also means to hide the ugliness.

In fact, Xunzi in his essay “A Discussion of Rites,” at one point considers ornamentation the purpose of ritual:

It is true of all rites that, when they deal with the living, their purpose is to ornament joy, when they deal with the dead, to ornament grief, when they pertain to sacrifices, to

¹⁹⁶ Knoblock 3 (1994): 65.

¹⁹⁷ XZ 13: 12. Punctuation mine.

ornament reverence, and when they pertain to military affairs, to ornament majesty.

This is true of the rites of all kings, an unchanging principle of antiquity and the present, though I do not know when the custom began.¹⁹⁸

凡禮，事生，飾歡也；送死，飾哀也；祭祀，飾敬也；
師旅，飾威也。是百王之所同，古今之所一也，未有知
其所由來者也。¹⁹⁹

Here, the purpose of ritual is to augment the appearance of specific and appropriate emotions. In funerals, grief is ornamented by rituals. In military affairs, majesty is ornamented by rituals. Ornamentation seems to mean here to give a shape or the appearance of a specific emotion or action. In fact, a very close homophone for “*shi* 飾” is “*shi* 示,” which means, “to show.”²⁰⁰ In other words, the ritual was meant not merely to hide the sober fact of death, but also provide the appropriate movement or presentation of the occasion.

Another homophone, *shi* 諡, is a third example of the ornamentation of the deceased. *Shi* 諡 is the name given to important officials and the imperial family in death which sums up their reputations. Xunzi’s writing addresses this point, “In serving the living, one ornaments the beginning; in sending off the dead, one ornaments the end...(事生，飾始也；送死，飾終也...)”²⁰¹ What exactly does it mean to “ornament the end”? In the *Jiu Tangshu*, it was said that “the *shi* (諡) is the appellation for ornamenting (飾) the end of life. 諡者，飾終之稱也²⁰².” On the one hand, this “appellation for ornamenting the end of life” could mean a white-wash of the occupant’s previous life. However, the name-in-death (諡) given to the deceased also often implies judgement. Elements of both judgement and

¹⁹⁸ Watson 1963: 290-1

¹⁹⁹ XZ 13: 16.

²⁰⁰ I am very grateful to Professor Poo Mu-chou, who first suggested to me the relationship between *shi* 飾 and *shi* 示.

²⁰¹ XZ 13: 17.

²⁰² JTS 82: 2765.

praise infuse such ornamentation, as will be explained in the next sections. Thus, *shi* 飾 “to ornament” has affinities with concealing, representation (*shi* 示), and name-in-death (*shi* 諡).²⁰³

3.2.3 Name-ornamenting the end of the deceased

Write out the name [of the deceased] and place it in the wrappings, then the name cannot be seen, but will be clear [to the deceased in] the coffin alone.

書其名，置於其重，則名不見而柩獨明矣。²⁰⁴

As noted above, *shi* 諡 has been called the “appellation for ornamenting the end [of life] 諡者，飾終之稱也。”²⁰⁵ Its function was to gild the deceased’s reputation²⁰⁶ and to “promulgate [the deceased’s] goodness.”²⁰⁷ This sentiment was carried out to its logical conclusion in the epitaph “...by means of inscriptions, eulogies, and genealogical records one reverently hands down his name to posterity.” This inscriptional part is clearly manifested by the stele above ground, the *muzhiming* below ground, and also family records, either as simple inscriptions on spirit tablets (variously called *shenzhu* 神主, *banwei* 版位, or *shenwei* 神位) or in the form of family genealogies. As such, the monuments to the dead, such as tombs, relate to the name that was given. Names and naming can constitute the metaphor for the tomb.

The passage below, from the *Weishu*, tells us why.

According to ritual--*shi* comes from actions; *hao* is the proclamation of achievements; vehicles and clothes are the emblems of one’s position. And thus while great acts (death) would receive a great name, little acts receive little name. Actions come from the self;

²⁰³ There are four main ways of honoring the dead, especially for officials—1.) satellite burial, 2.) posthumous promotion, 3.) More elaborate offerings at the temple, and 4.) the addition of a *shi* name. Prof. David McMullen, personal communication.

²⁰⁴ XZ 13: 15.

²⁰⁵ JTS 82: 2765.

²⁰⁶ JTS 6: 119.

²⁰⁷ JTS 125: 4537.

repute comes from others, and that is why the *shi* is determined at the closing of one's coffin. It has accumulated all that was good and bad during one's lifetime, and thus it serves as encouragement or warning to future generations. Though the body may perish, it ensures that the name will always endure.

案禮：諡者，行之迹也；號者，功之表也；車服者，位之章也。是以大行受大名，細行受細名。行生於己，名生於人，故闔棺然後定諡。皆累其生時美惡，所以為將來勸戒，身雖死，使名常存也。²⁰⁸

And thus the epitaph, with its recordings of the history of the deceased, also seems to endure, as a sentinel against the advent of time. Furthermore, Van Gennepe suggests that his rite-of-passage tripartite arrangement is really about two different identities. It is the movement from one identity to another that took a tripartite form. This seems to fit the Chinese story as well. In death, the ministers held grander official titles than they had had in their previous lives. Sometimes Countesses, like Yongtai, became Princesses in death.

In essence, the deceased were sent, with their chosen belongings and other accoutrements, “moving” from their own residence to the new and also “moving” from their old status to a new one. The new identity, in the case of the elite deceased, is called the *shi* 諡.

The Tang educated elite could have as many as four different names in their life time. The most common forms are *ming* 名, *zi* 字, *hao* 號, *hui* 諱, and sometimes *shi* 諡. *Ming* is the name given at birth. At the age of twenty, one comes of age, in the “capping” *guan* 冠 ceremony, and is given a second name, the *zi* 字, whose meaning should be mindful of the *ming*. For example, the architect Yan Rang 閻讓 had the style, Lide 立德. Thus, Yan Lide is how most people knew him throughout his adult life. His *hui*, when he dies, is his given name, *ming* “Rang 讓.”

²⁰⁸ WS 68: 1515-6

After death, the word *hui* 諱 (meaning taboo) is usually written before any direct reference to the name *ming* to show respect. In addition, in recognition of his achievements, he was granted the *shi* 諡 “*kang* 康.”

The process of *shi*

Shi 諡 is another Zhou dynasty concept used in the Tang. The history of the princess in her previous life determines the title *shi* 諡 she is given on her death. Thus, the *shi*, an additional name for the princess, may function as part of her re-incorporation back into the Li family as a female ancestress after death.

There was a set procedure for identification and giving of the *shi* 諡, for those deceased ministers who were third class and those with *sanguan* 散官, prestige titles of second class and above. This is described in the *THY* as “old regulations (*jiuzhi* 舊制).” First, an assistant clerk *zuoshi* 佐史 records the deceased ministers’ doings. This record of merits and faults (*gongkao zeli* 功考責歷) is then verified and submitted to the Taichangsi 太常寺, the Court of Imperial Sacrifices. The Court then decides on an appropriate *shi* 諡. This *shi* is then discussed by the *neisheng guan* 內省官²⁰⁹ in a gathering at the executive office of the department of state affairs (*shangshu sheng* 尚書省). Finally, after discussion and agreement, the *shi* is submitted to the throne.²¹⁰

Some *shi* 諡 had standard meanings reflecting the conduct of the individual in his or her previous life. Some of these set meanings are set down in the *THY* 唐會要. The following story will give some idea of the way *shi* was regarded in the Tang.

²⁰⁹ *Neisheng* here maybe short for *bishu neisheng* 秘書內省, Literally, an official of the Inner Ministries (perhaps the Chancellery). See For further reading please consult Hucker 1995: 377 and Twitchett 1992: 20. HYDCD 1: 1006.

²¹⁰ *THY* 79: 1720.

For example, the *shi*, “Min 愍,” means mainly “chaos and disorder in the empire.” The full translation is as follows:

“*min*”: when the nation is experiencing disturbances, this is called *min*. When there is disaster and chaos this is called *min*. When the empire undergoes calamities is called *min*, making the people desperate is called *min*. This (*shi*) was given to the Duke of Hengshan (Li) Chengqian.”

愍 · 在國遭憂曰愍 · 禍亂方作曰愍 · 在國逢難曰愍 · 使民悲傷曰愍 · 贈恆山郡王承乾 · ...”

The former Crown Prince Li Chengqian 李承乾 was not the only imperial family member to receive this *shi*. The Crown Prince Li Chongjun 李重俊, who led an uprising against Zhongzong, but targeting specifically the Empress Wei and Princess Anle also acquired “Min” as part of his *shi*. However, his *shi* is what is called a *fuzishi* 復字諡 (a double-word *shi*). Li Chongjun was eventually given the *shi*, Jiemin taizi 節愍太子. The additional *shi* “Jie 節” is described as the following:

“self-controlled is called *jie*; imposing control [on others] is also called *jie* 好廉自克曰節 · 巧而好度曰節 · ”²¹¹ In other words, within this double word *shi* context, “Jie min” (each character as defined above) was a good *shi* which would leave a good reputation for the former Crown Prince throughout the centuries.

Ministers such as Wei Cou 韋湊 objected to such a favorable *shi* in 710 A.D. and said that no matter what the consequences, Li Chongjun was a regicide who also wanted to destroy the Empress Wei who was his mother in name, and thus did not deserve such a *shi*. However, under Ruizong and Xuanzong, the *shi* stood.

Since the reviewers of the death name *shi* and the historians of the dynastic annals are one and the same people, the importance of *shi* in terms of historical judgements on the persons is very clear. This is a strictly public process—rather like the process for the making of the tomb, or funeral rituals of transformation. This is the

²¹¹ *THY* 79: 1723.

mark of immortality, the name in history. *Muzhiming* 墓誌銘 (epitaphs) placed in the tombs and their counterparts, the *shendaobei* 神道碑 on the spirit road are a direct consequence of this type of ritual evaluation and renaming (*shi*) of the deceased. The size and level of luxury of the tomb when it is built corresponds also more closely with the *shi* than with the individual's identity in life.

3.2.4 Forms without spirit

Xunzi had some very definite ideas about the kinds of objects which should be placed in tombs and were “symbols of life”. Whereas Confucius said only that one should not sacrifice humans in tombs,²¹² Xunzi explains in much greater detail his thoughts on tomb objects and the ideas they were supposed to represent:

...As for the articles placed in the coffin, the hats have bands but no strings to tie them to the head; the jars and wine flacons are empty and have nothing in them; there are mats but no couches or armrests. The carving on the wooden articles and the moulding of the pottery are left unfinished, the rush and bamboo articles are such as cannot be used; the reeds and pipes are complete but cannot be sounded; the lutes and zithers are strung but not tuned. A carriage is buried with the coffin but the horses are taken back home, indicating that the carriage will not be used.

Articles that belonged to the dead when he was living are gathered together and taken to the grave with him, symbolizing that he has changed his dwelling. But only token articles are taken, not all that he used, and though they have their regular shape, they are rendered unusable. A carriage is driven to the grave and buried there, but it has no bells or leather fixtures, no bits or reins attached. All this is done to make clear that these things will not actually be used. The dead man is treated as though he had merely changed his dwelling, and yet it is made clear that he will never use these things. This is all done in order to emphasize the feelings of grief. Thus the articles used by the dead when he was living retain the form but not the function of the common article, and the spirit articles prepared especially for the dead man have the shape of real objects but cannot be used.²¹³ [emphasis added]

²¹² This was quoted in the *Li Ji*, in the chapter “Tan’gong ^{檀弓} part one,” p. 18. *Li ji zhu zi suo yin* ^{禮記逐字索引} edited by Liu Dianjue ^{劉殿爵}, and Chen Fangzheng ^{陳方正}. Taipei: Taiwan shangwu yinshuguan, 1992.

²¹³ Watson 1963: 290-1

劉殿爵

陳方正

薦器：則冠有釵而毋紕，簠廡虛而不實，有篔席而無床第，木器不成斲，陶器不成物，薄器不成內，笙竽具而不和，琴瑟張而不均，輿藏而馬反，告不用也。具生器以適墓，象徙道也。略而不盡，貌²¹⁴而不功，趨輿而藏之，金革轡鞞而不入，明不用也。象徙道，又明不用也，是皆所以重哀也。故生器文而不功，明器貌而不用。²¹⁵
[emphasis added]

Influenced by these writings, an important Tang concept of the tomb view it as a place filled with “shapes” as opposed to real objects. For example, in the second year of Jinglong (708), Tang Shao 唐紹, an Erudite of the Court of Imperial Sacrifices (*taichang boshi* 太常博士) explained, “Once a tomb is sealed and buried, no offerings are to be made there, as according to ritual (*li* 禮). This is what is known as ‘to deliver the shape to the mausoleum, a palace of profound quiet; to welcome the spirit back to the ancestral temple, the chamber of sacrifices and offerings. 自安宅兆，禮不祭墓。當謂送形而往，山陵爲幽靜之宮；迎精而返，宗廟爲享薦之室。” (see Fig. 3.3) This early eighth-century view stems from Xunzi 荀子 who had written the following in his essay on “Ritual”:

The funeral rites have no other purpose than this: to make clear the principle of life and death, to send the dead man away with grief and reverence, and to lay him at last in the ground. At the internment one reverently lays his form away; at the sacrifices one reverently serves his spirit, and by means of inscriptions, eulogies, and genealogical records one reverently hands down his name to posterity.²¹⁶ [emphasis added]

故喪禮者，無它焉，明死生之義，送以哀敬，而終周藏也。故葬埋，敬藏其形也；祭祀，敬事其神也；其銘誄繫世，敬傳其名也。²¹⁷

Here, Watson uses “lay” to translate “*cang* 藏”. However *cang* 藏 originally has the meaning of “to hide away or to store.” And what is to be hidden, is the form,

²¹⁴ This character is slightly different from the original character, which had “頁” as the right side radical, but is exchangeable. *CH*: 4528.

²¹⁵ *XZ* 13: 16.

²¹⁶ Watson 1963: 105.

²¹⁷ *XZ* 13: 17.

or, in other words, the corpse. This echoes the need for “ornamentation” in order to conceal the decomposing corpse. One of the ideas in this passage (and in Tang Shao’s) is the clear distinction between form (*xing* 形) and spirit (*shen* 神). The form (body) is respectfully “hidden” in the tomb and the spirit (tablet) is respectfully “served” in the ancestral hall with rites of sacrifice. One is in the darkness of the tomb and the other in a public sphere.

As such, this is how Xunzi takes the idea of putting *xing* or “form” into the tomb. This concept not only refers to the body of the deceased, but also to the accoutrements accompanying the body. All the objects are heavily symbolic, meant to be of form and not for actual use. Also, only selected items were chosen because these items represented the symbolic move from the house to the tomb.

There are two categories of objects placed in tombs—*shenqi* 神器 and *mingqi* 明器. *Shenqi* are objects used by the deceased in his or her lifetime and *mingqi* are the objects made especially for the tomb. *Mingqi* can be easily identified by their somewhat inferior quality in production. To satisfy the needs of the dead, vast amounts of vessels—such as pots, plates, figures of attendants—were placed in imperial tombs. Most of the time, these vessels, or *mingqi*, that archaeologists find are clearly inferior to items that would have been used in the occupant’s lifetime. The fine quality of original imperial ware can be seen in the porcelains, glass and silver-gilt vessels from the reliquary deposit at Famen Temple, which was filled with offerings from the court. Thus, the inferior quality of some Tang imperial tomb objects can only be explained by Xunzi’s ideas, originally written down in the Warring States period but handed down and articulated by ritual supervisors even in the eighth century. Careful to differentiate between items for the dead (*mingqi*) and those for use by the living, craftsmen produced work that was significantly inferior or of no possible use.

Shenqi, or the few token items from the occupant's former life moved to the tomb, signal the settling of the deceased in their new abode. They account for some of the significantly beautiful, personal items found in tombs from time to time. Many beautiful objects obviously of personal use found in the undisturbed tomb of Li Jingxun.²¹⁸

Lastly, from Xunzi's passage on articles in the tomb, one can discern that the movement of the articles, both *shenqi* and *mingqi*, from the living residence to the tomb signified that "The dead man is treated as though he had merely changed his dwelling. 象徙道 (i.e. 移居之道)." And thus we know that the tomb is to be a dwelling for the deceased.

3.2.5 Xiong/ji, xing/shen, tomb/temple dichotomies

"Rites are strictest in dealing with auspicious and inauspicious occasions, making certain that they do not impinge upon each other."²¹⁹

禮者，謹於吉凶不相厭者也。”²²⁰

The previous ritual concepts, of the Confucius school of thought as articulated by Xunzi, are of limited use in looking at funerary art. However, dichotomies, such as auspicious vs. inauspicious, form vs. spirit, and tomb vs. temple, are much more useful. Funeral rites were usually characterized by the Chinese as "inauspicious (*xiong* 凶)." However, in fact there were auspicious *ji* 吉 objects and processions. In a funeral context, things of the *ji* are things used by the deceased in their former life.

One important theme in the ritual which affects the iconographic programme is the idea of duality between the **spirit** and the **form**.²²¹ This concept provides a persuasive reason why there are two visions that are evident in the tombs,

²¹⁸ Zhongguo shehuikexueyuan kaogu yanjiusuo 1980: 3-28, color pl. 1, plates 1-27.

²¹⁹ Watson 1963: 98.

²²⁰ XZ 13: 10.

²²¹ This concept has been analyzed by Wu Hung. Wu 1994: 58-71.

with the differentiation of *ji* 吉 (auspicious) and *xiong* 凶 (inauspicious) spheres of a funeral. There is a succinct discussion of this in Zhang Zhanztai's dissertation.²²² One vision is a selective version of the past life of the occupant; the other is a version of the burial. Thus, the western wall of the sloping tomb path is often occupied by the *xiong* procession, with the ox chariot that perhaps contained the body.

The dichotomies of life/death, auspicious/inauspicious, spirit/form underlie the objects and murals uncovered. In order to understand this better, one could separate out, rather formally at first, the dichotomy. Later, one can see how this dichotomy merges and separates at crucial intervals. (see Fig. 3.7, 3.8)

This bifurcation of vision begins in the beginning of journey, the coffin lying in state at the palace, and continues throughout the journey, and ends only at the tomb when the contents of the inauspicious procession are placed in the tomb. Essentially, the division between the inauspicious and the auspicious procession is the difference between the deceased's body and the spirit tablet. The spirit tablet heads the auspicious part of the procession while the dead body in its coffin serves as the center of the inauspicious part of the funeral procession.

The ritual instructions for the *Yuanling* call for the setting up of two enclosures: one is the auspicious *ji wo* 吉幄; the other is the inauspicious *su wo* 素幄 (plain, possibly white, tent). The inauspicious procession ends when the body goes into the tomb. The auspicious part of the procession never goes into the tomb, but remains outside the spirit gates in tents, receiving sacrifices, until it is time to go back to the city, to the ancestral temple, where the tablet is placed in the ancestral temple, and "reincorporation" takes place. Thus, the following section lays out Tang ritual codes, as they manifest the ritual concepts above.

²²² Zhang Zhanztai 1990: 168-9.

3.3 Tang ritual codes: Yuanling yizhu and Kaiyuanli

Throughout the seventh century and until the beginning of the eighth, the Tang court lacked a concrete, unified ritual code. Ritual codes for imperial family rituals, especially, were not laid out in clear terms. There were two attempts before the universally accepted *DaTang Kaiyuanli* 大唐開元禮.²²³ The first, the *Zhenguanli* 貞觀禮,²²⁴ was presented to the throne in 138 sections divided into 100 chapters (Wechsler assumes that it was basically the same as the Sui code, which was based upon the ritual codes of the Southern Liang and Northern Qi rather than the archaic *Zhouli*),²²⁵ released and promulgated in the first month of 633. Its chief compilers were Fang Xuanling 房玄齡 and Wei Zheng 魏徵. However, there were complaints that the texts were not complete enough.

A new ritual code, the *Xianqingli* 顯慶禮, compiled in 130 chapters by a consortium of scholars, was presented to the throne in 658, and was officially in use until 676. At the time of presentation, Xu Jingzong 徐敬宗 and Li Yifu 李義府 cut out the *Xianqingli*'s chapter (“*guo xu* 國恤”) on the rites for the emperor's mausoleum.²²⁶ After its official release, it was judged to be inferior to the *Zhenguanli*. Though it was markedly different from the *Zhenguanli*, both codes continued to serve, in parts, ritual events. The following situation was common:

...the ritual officials were not better off with following standards. Every time there were ritual celebrations, they would all study past and present ritual texts on the spot, and select those appropriate. Thus, *Zhenguanli* and *Xianqingli* were both used simultaneously during this period and neither was made obsolete.

...自是禮司益無憑準，每有大事，皆參會古今禮文，臨

²²³ hereafter *Kaiyuanli* (DTDTKYL)

²²⁴ For the period between Wude and Zhenguan, please see Gao 1993.

²²⁵ Wechsler 1985: 42.

²²⁶ Jiang 1996: 443-4

時撰定。然貞觀、顯慶二禮，皆行用不廢。²²⁷

Those who presided over ceremonies would take items piecemeal from both ritual codes to make their own particular selections. Most of them would also know such sources as the texts for, for example, the *mingjing* 明經 civil service exams.²²⁸ Thus, sections of each were used for each ceremony, juggled and juxtaposed according to the understanding of the ritual expert (*lisi* 禮司) in charge. An example of this would be Wei Shuxia 韋叔夏 who along with Jia Taiyin 賈太隱 and Pei Shouzhen 裴守貞 sketched out the basic ritual design for Emperor Gaozong's mausoleum. For this, Wei Shuxia was awarded the post of assistant director of the Ministry of Rites. He presided over many other important rituals, such as Wu Zetian's visits to the *Mingtang* 明堂, and was vice-director of the Court for Imperial Sacrifices in the first year of Shenlong (705).²²⁹

However, this situation, that ministers would make up texts as they went along on different ceremonies, was judged intolerable during the fourteenth year of Kaiyuan (726).

The solution for the rites of ministers of all grades, first through seventh, was the compilation *DaTang Kaiyuanli* 大唐開元禮, which was put to use in 732. It had the complete death rituals for ministers of all grades (divided into three sections—third grade and up, fourth and fifth grades, sixth grade and below—in other words, high grade officials, middle class officials and lower class officials, respectively). For members of the imperial family, however, there were still no explicit codes. Imperial family members usually relied on ritual experts to tell them

²²⁷ *JTS* 21: 818.

²²⁸ Texts to be known thoroughly in this examination of rites included the *Zhouli* 周禮, the *Yili* 儀禮, and the *Liji* 禮記.

²²⁹ *JTS* 189: 4960. For a succinct and clear description of the early ritual codes, see Wechsler 1985: 40-4.

what was allowed or not allowed in ritual codes. Any questions of the scale, size and grandeur of the tomb would sometimes be simply decided by the emperor in court after some debate amongst ministers.²³⁰

3.3.1 The *Yuanling yizhu* 元陵儀注

The *Yuanling yizhu* 元陵儀注 “Commentary to the Yuanling Regulations” is one such piece of work. Written in 779 by Yan Zhenqing 顏真卿, it was meant to be an individual set of instructions for the funeral rituals of Daizong (r. 763-779), conducted in 779 A.D.²³¹ The text survives mainly as a series of sections in *Tongdian* 通典’s “*xiongli* 凶禮” chapters. They are mostly headed with the phrase “According to the Tang Yuanling Ritual Directives:… (大唐元陵儀注. . .)” From these ritual codes one can then reconstruct a Tang emperor’s funerary ritual.

Apart from the difference in scale, the rites for the emperor and the rites for a minister are not all that different. Hence, it is rather useful to examine and compare the ritual texts of both the *Yuanling yizhu* (769), which was written for an emperor’s funeral, and sections of the *Kaiyuanli* (732) which was written for ministers of the third grade and above. We find the ritual sequence almost exactly alike. However, where the *Kaiyuanli* is fairly complete in terms of ritual sequences, the *Yuanling yizhu* is more specific in terms of who the participants were and exactly where the ritual events took place. In short, the latter may be likened to an action script, with specific and detailed instructions where appropriate, whereas the *Kaiyuanli* is comparable to a complete sequence of scene summaries.

It is exactly this quality of the *Yuanling yizhu*, this blow-by-blow account, which

²³⁰ An example of this was when the emperor decided that Princess Anle’s husband could not be buried in a *ling*. *JTS* 189: 4972-4974.

²³¹ See discussion of this and other rituals in Jiang 1996: 442-454.

is of particular interest to this study, for it manifests the extraordinary symmetry between the palace and tomb complex, and to a somewhat lesser degree, the ancestral temple.

3.3.2 Death sequence in terms of auspicious/ inauspicious

Death rites were normally regarded as unlucky affairs, usually listed under headings of chapters called “inauspicious rituals” *xiongli* 凶禮. Originally, *ji* 吉 was meant to be for ceremonies of the living—such as weddings and other celebrations, and accordingly, its rites were called “auspicious rituals” *jili* 吉禮.

However, it is clear, even from a cursory examination of the death rituals of both the *Kaiyuanli* 開元禮 and the *Yuanling yizhu* 元陵儀注, that both elements of *xiong* 凶 and *ji* 吉 are evident in funeral rites. Even during the Jin 晉 dynasty (265-419 A.D.), *xiong* and *ji* aspects both existed in funerary ritual codes, and arguments were waged about their exact correct relationship. The funerary ritual, the construction of the tomb and other related structures, the making of objects for the tombs can all be considered to be products of the complex relationship between the two aspects of death in the Tang. Simply, there is a dichotomy between the corpse—which is certifiably dead (i.e. after the *fu* 復 “calling back the spirit ceremony”) and possibly noxious to the living and which therefore must be put away but treated well—and the living ancestor spirit which was preserved at family temples and pandered to in order to secure success for the line. This dichotomy is most clearly delineated by the notions of *xiong* 凶 and *ji* 吉 in the funerary ritual.

The Jin (265-419 A.D.) dynastic histories *Jinshu* 晉書 recorded that *ji* would be included with the *xiong* rites in funerary arrangements “According to the precedent

set in the Han and Wei dynasties...”²³² The Jin had inherited a series of debates from the *Zhouli*, with its descriptions of the *xiangche* 祥車²³³. And from that period onward, there were a series of debates about the *xiong* and *ji* rites: whether *ji* rites belonged in a funerary service; which rites would have musical groups; how the two interacted; how the two should never mix seriously in a ceremony. There was always fear of contamination.

The Tang scholar Fang Xuanling 房玄齡 had finished compilation of the early Tang ritual code, the *Zhenganli*, in 633 A.D. Seven years later, he completed the *Jinshu*. It is highly likely that Fang and other like-minded Tang scholars pondered these following issues in ritual procession in the *Jinshu*:

According to the precedent set in the Han and Wei dynasties, one would at burial set up separately the auspicious (*ji* 吉) and inauspicious (*xiong* 凶) processions, both of which included fifes and drums. The New Rites--[noting] that there is no record in the Rituals [*Zhouli*] of auspicious vehicles, leading or following--holds that it is not proper for ministers to change from traditional funeral clothes to the wearing of colorful silks, so as to eliminate the auspicious procession altogether. Also, [the New Rites notes] that the inauspicious procession should not have music, the eight music[al instruments]²³⁴ being silenced [when the emperor dies], thus eliminating the inauspicious fifes and drums. Zhi Lu 摯盧 supposes, “At the funeral there is the

²³² JS 20: 626

²³³ *Xiangche* is the name of the vehicle which was used by the tomb occupant in his or her lifetime. After death, it was used as the “spirit vehicle” *hunche* 魂車 (where the spirit rides) in the *ji* 吉 section of the funeral procession. CY: 2278.

²³⁴ This phrase means when the emperor dies, but literally, the “eight musics” refer to instruments in eight media-- metal *jin* 金, stone *shi* 石, silk *si* 絲, bamboo *zhu* 竹, and gourd *pao* 匏, pottery *tu* 土, leather *ge* 革, and wood *mu* 木. Metal are bells (*zhong* 鍾); stone are chimes (*qin* 磬); silk are the seven-stringed zither *qin* 琴 and the twenty-five stringed zither *se* 瑟, bamboo are the vertical flutes *xiao* 簫 and *guan* 管, gourd are the reed pipe instruments *sheng* 笙 and *yu* 竽; pottery are the egg-shaped, wind instruments *xun* 埙; leather are drums (*gu* 鼓), wood is the wooden lacquer box struck at the beginning of performances (*zhu* 祝) and the tiger-shaped vessel brushed by a bamboo handle to signal the end of performance (*yu* 敔). CH: 298.

xiangche 祥車 on the left ground. It is today's *rongche* 容車.²³⁵ After the burial, when at midday the offerings of return²³⁶ are done, one reverses the auspicious procession to return. In the *Chunqiu*, when a high minister of the Zheng, Gongsun Chai, died, the Son of Heaven gave him posthumously a large *lu* 輅 (state carriage) in order to expedite his passage. During a gentleman's funerary rituals, the burial uses a covered chariot in order to move the clothing used in life. Not all of these [vehicles] were used for conveying the coffin and there is clear textual evidence for the auspicious (*ji*) vehicles. When planning an auspicious retinue, it is best to have guides and followers, because this portrays the [deceased's] former life.²³⁷ Those ministers and sons who cannot obtain shrouds and hemp cannot be explained by their examples. Yet as the Imperial Patriarch there is nothing impossible. The essay on *guming* 顧命 is sufficient to make this clear. It is thus fitting that the New Rites install guides and followers for the auspicious clothes as before, and the drums and fifes for those of inauspicious dress should be eliminated." Proclaimed: Let it be so.

漢魏故事，將葬，設吉凶鹵簿，皆以鼓吹。新禮以禮無吉駕導從之文，臣子不宜釋其衰麻以服玄黃，除吉駕鹵簿。又，凶事無樂，遏密八音，除凶服之鼓吹。摯虞以爲：「葬有祥車曠左，則今之容車也。既葬，日中反虞，逆神而還。春秋傳，鄭大夫公孫薑卒，天子追賜大輅，使以行。士喪禮，葬有藁車²³⁸乘車，以載生之服。此皆不唯載柩，兼有吉駕之明文也。既設吉駕，則宜有導從，以象平生之容，明不致死之義。臣子衰麻不得爲身而釋，以爲君父則無不可。顧命之篇足以明之。宜定新禮設吉服導從如舊，其凶服鼓吹宜除。」詔從之。²³⁹

The Tang *Tongdian* contains a different version of the same debate.²⁴⁰ Here, the *ji* 吉 ("auspicious") procession, at one time nearly eliminated, is reinstated and representative of the deceased's former life. The auspicious, not the inauspicious procession, used fifes and drums. The deceased's former clothes and ornaments are

²³⁵ Rongche vehicle used to transport the deceased's clothing and hats, portraits, etc. Commonly known as *hunjiao* 魂輅.

²³⁶ "yuji 虞祭" are offerings after the burial to calm the spirit of the dead in the *bingong* 殯宮.

²³⁷ 義=容止. *CY*: 2496.

²³⁸ *gaoche*, vehicle with a roof to ward off rain, possibly a thatched roof.

²³⁹ *JS* 20: 626

²⁴⁰ See *TD* 79: 2143.

brought to the tomb, seemingly in the auspicious procession.

The dynastic histories of the Chen (557-587)²⁴¹ also contained discussions of the *xiong* and *ji*. During the discussions, it was said, “The coffin is an offering to the imperial tomb; the mat on which things were placed is offered in the ancestral temple. This kind of division is to manifest auspiciousness *ji* or inauspiciousness *xiong*. 梓宮祔山陵，靈筵祔宗廟，有此分判，便驗吉凶。”²⁴² The main points of the argument were whether the retinue for the *xiong* or *ji* should be wearing normal or mourning clothes.²⁴³ Another account of this same discussion was also recorded in the *Nanshi*.²⁴⁴ Significantly, one of the main points made in these discussions was that *ji* and *xiong* should not be mixed together.

Though these texts were about earlier times, they were still the same issues that ministers must have thought and written about in the Tang. The minister Fang Xuanling 房玄齡 presented the *Jinshu* 晉書 in 644 A.D., right between the dates of the two most important ritual texts of the seventh century, the *Zhenguanli* 貞觀禮 (633 A.D.) and the *Xianqingli* 顯慶禮 (658 A.D.), and he is representative of Tang scholars who researched ancient histories for the building blocks of a new Tang ritual code. In doing so, they must have had the debates about *xiong* and *ji* in mind. This is further evidenced by a passage in the *Tongdian*:

According to old regulations, every year during the [last] month of [each of] the four seasons, an envoy was sent to the various imperial mausolea to look after [the well-being (*qiju* 起居) of the former emperors as ancestors]. One day, an Erudite of the Court of Imperial Sacrifices, Tang Shao, submitted a memorandum which said, “Once the residence tomb is founded, according to ritual there are no offerings and sacrifice at

²⁴¹ The Chen dynastic histories were compiled and edited (traditionally) by Wei Zheng 魏徵 (580-643) and Yao Silian 姚思廉 (557-637).

²⁴² *CS* 16: 230

²⁴³ *CS* 16: 229-230.

²⁴⁴ *NS* 68: 1667.

the tomb. 'Going out' accompanies the body to the imperial tomb in the hills, a place of profound quiet; 'the return' welcomes the spirit to the ancestral temple, a hall for auspicious offerings. Envoys sent to inspect the mausolea during the second and seventh month of the year would prepare the necessary honor guards, clothes, crown and rites. Ever since the years of Tianshou (690-691), from time to time *qiju* occurs. And this practice continues to this day, becoming a regular occurrence.

舊制，每年四季之月，常遣使往諸陵起居。是日太常博士唐紹上疏曰：「自安宅兆，禮不祭墓。當謂送形而往，山陵爲幽靜之宮；迎精而返，宗廟爲享薦之室。但以春秋仲月，命使巡陵，鹵簿衣冠，禮容必備。自天授以後，時有起居，因循至今，乃爲常事。」²⁴⁵

Besides the two spheres discussed above—i.e. the palace and the tomb—there are also the two ritual differences—*xiong* 凶 and *ji* 吉—which manifest themselves in different directional quadrants. For example, the *Kaiyuanli* maintains that "...The manager *zhangshizhe* 掌事者 prepares the auspicious and inauspicious tents *weimu* 帷幕 that will be set up at places of rest (along the way to the tomb). The *xiong* enclosure *wei* 帷 is in the west and the *ji* enclosure *wei* is in the east; both face south. The spirit seat (*lingzuo* 靈座) is made up in the *ji* enclosure, just as in the normal circumstances."²⁴⁶ The *Yuanling yizhu* indicates that both tents were set up already during the initial offerings at the deceased's palace and home.

The dichotomy begins with the ritual ceremony of *jian chema mingqi ji shiguan* 薦車馬明器及飾棺 ("Offering the vehicles, funerary equipment, and decorated coffin") continuing with the ritual *zudian* 祖奠 (ancestral offerings) in the courtyard in front of the main gates of the imperial palace, the Taijidian 太極殿. The ritual instructions in the Tang *Yuanling yizhu* call for the setting up two enclosures: one is the auspicious *jiwo* 吉幄; the other is the inauspicious *suwo* 素幄 (plain, possibly white, tent).

²⁴⁵ TD 52: 1451.

²⁴⁶ DTKYL 139: 664.

3.4 The Sequence of Events for Tang funerary Ritual

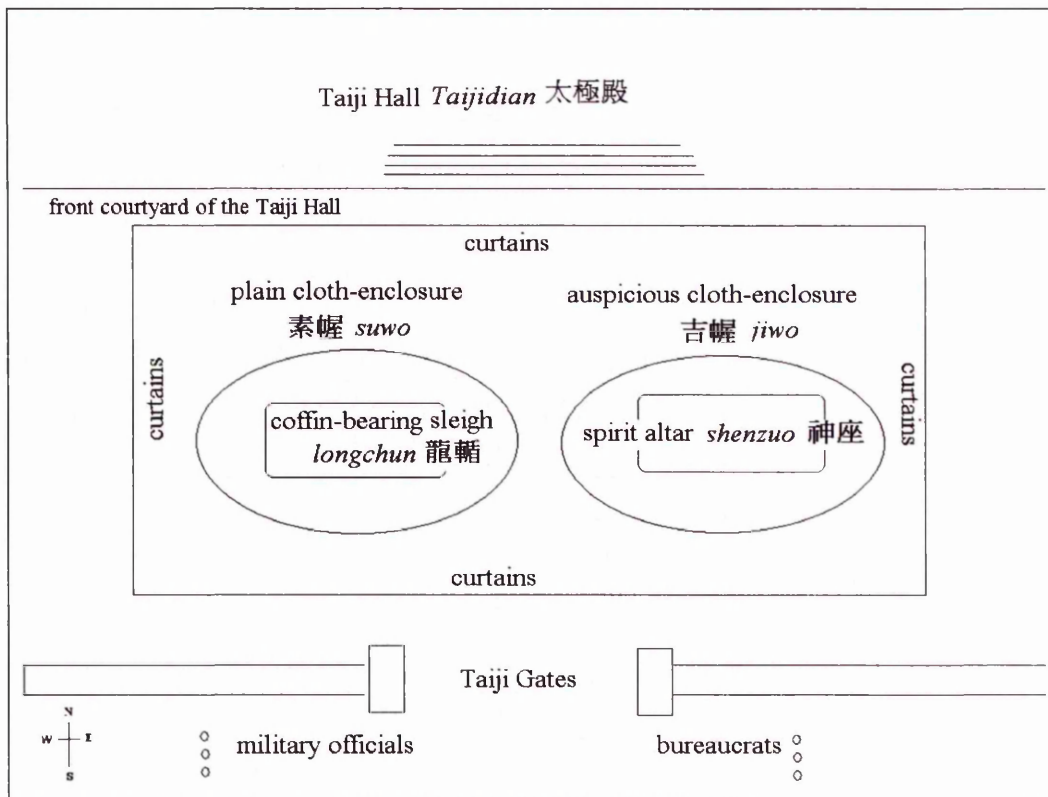
3.4.1 Introducing the Vehicles, Grave goods, and Decorated Coffin *jian chema mingqi*

ji shiguan 薦車馬明器及飾棺 (part one)²⁴⁷

According to the Tang *Yuanling yizhu*:

Two days before [departing for the cemetery], the pertinent officials place the officials of the military and bureaucracy outside the Taiji Gate (Taijimen 太極門), below the east and west corridors. They also set up drapes in the courtyard of the [Taiji] Hall. Inside the drapes they set up the auspicious tent (*jiwo*), within which they set up the spirit tablet facing south. And they set up the plain tent (*suwo*) with the coffin-bearing sleigh on the right side (west) of the *jiwo*, also facing south...

大唐元陵儀注：「前二日，所司設文武群官次於太極門外，東西廊下。又設帳殿庭，帳內設吉幄，幄內設神座，南向。又設龍輜素幄於殿庭吉幄之右。」²⁴⁸



²⁴⁷ Please see the following figure for a reconstruction of the arrangement described in the *Yuanling yizhu*.

²⁴⁸ TD 86: 2327.

Fig. 3.1 Introducing the Vehicles, Grave Goods, and Decorated Coffin *jian chema mingqi ji shiguan* 薦車馬明器及飾棺 (part one). Both the coffin-bearing vehicle and spirit altar are to be facing south.

This is a part of the ceremonies that begin the gathering of the materials to be moved to the tombs. Here, the worship is clearly divided into the “body” and the “spirit.” For example, the succeeding emperor weeps bitterly at the coffin-bearing vehicle and the spirit vehicle, as a contrast, is served by attendants exactly as if this were a normal day in an emperor’s life. From even the beginning of departure, there were always two visions—one of past life (on the east side), one of the future death identity (on the west side).

3.4.2 Introducing the Vehicles, Grave Goods, and Decorated Coffin *jian chema mingqi ji shiguan* 薦車馬明器及飾棺 (part two)

The relevant passage in the *Yuanling yizhu* is as follows:

The director of the Shaofu moves the *chun* vehicle under the western steps. The special Commissioner for Ceremonial Propriety kneels and reports, “The emperor makes sacrifices to the imperial hearse,” and after the report is done comes away. The nearby attendants support the emperor to the front of the coffin-bearing vehicle, where he cries and stamps his feet; exhausting his grief, he then returns to his place. Those who officiate first guide with the *dao* 纛 and the *zhao* 旒 banners. One of the ritual officials wearing courtly clothing guides the head of the sedan-chair service who leads the waist-high vehicles (*yaoyu* 腰輿), umbrella, and fans to the front of the spirit tablet. The attendants are as they dress during the usual ceremonies. The palace attendants offer up a small table (*ji* 几) to the vehicle, the umbrella and fans attendants go forth to the front of the spirit tablet below the tent palace, and kneeling, place them on the plinth. Palace receptionists command the eunuchs in setting up an incense burner in front of the tablet, the umbrella and fan attendants are as the rites dictate.

少府監進輜車於西階下，禮儀使跪奏『皇帝奉寧龍輜』，奏訖降出，近侍扶皇帝就龍輜前，哭踊盡哀，乃復位，執事者以纛旒及重先導，禮官一人朝服，贊尚輦奉御，帥腰輿繖扇至神座前，侍奉如常儀，內侍捧几置輿

上，繖扇侍奉至殿庭帳殿下神座前，跪置座上。內謁者帥中官設香案於座前，繖扇侍奉如儀。²⁴⁹

This kind of ceremony was performed three times, first in front of the Taiji Gate inside of the Taiji Palace (the ceremonial palace), then at Chengtian Gate (the south gate of the imperial palace), and finally, at the southern gates of the imperial tomb. Thus, this ceremony is performed in front of the residences of the emperor when he was alive and when he is dead, thus establishing parallels between the two residences.

3.4.3 Offerings for Despatch, *qiandian* 遣奠

There were sacrifices to the ancestors (*zudian* 祖奠) after the “introduction” of tomb objects and of ornamenting the coffin *jian chema mingqi ji shiguan* 薦車馬明器及飾棺. After this, gifts from storage (*fengfu* 贈賻)²⁵⁰ were presented, and the entire entourage moved outside Chengtianmen, with much the same ceremony. In addition, this set-up was repeated at the gates of the departure, at Chengtianmen.

According to the *Yuanling Yizhu*:

“...three days previous (to departure), on that day, the Guards of Imperial Insignia (*Jinwuzhang* 金吾仗) should appear as they usually are. The processional officer halts the jade vehicle (*yulu* 玉輅) on the southeast side outside the Chengtian Gate, sedans, drums and fifes, the auspicious mount (吉駕 *jijia*) and procession (輅簿 *lubu*) are placed before the jade vehicle. The enclosed coffin-bearing vehicle (溫輅車 *wenliangche*) is placed in the middle and just to the south of Chengtian Gate. Those funeral items (*mingqi* 明器) for the inauspicious (*xiong* 凶) rituals are placed in order before the coffin-bearing vehicle. One quarter of an hour before the offerings (*dian* 奠) begin, the Court Gentleman for Ceremonials (*fenglilang* 奉禮郎) parades the bureaucrats and military officers outside Chengtian Gate, repeating an operation like the ceremony in the Taiji courtyard, but in a different place. The Chief Minister of the Court of Imperial

²⁴⁹ TD 86: 2327.

²⁵⁰ There is a similar ceremony in *DTKYL*: 660

Entertainments (*guangluqing* 光祿卿)²⁵¹, equipped with the food for the funerary offerings, the administrative officials (*zhishiguan* 職事官) take their places to the east outside the [Chengtian] Gates. When the coffin-bearing sled called *longchun* 龍輜 (lit. Dragon vehicle) reaches the outside of Chengtian Gate, the Erudite (*liguan* 禮官) leads the ceasing of crying; all those inside and outside stop weeping. The Palace Attendant (*shizhong* 侍中) comes to the front of the *longchun*, kneels, and says, “please lift [the coffin] onto the *wenliangche*.” He bows, then stands up. Then the Minister of Education (*Situ* 司徒) leads the officials-for-the-lifting-of-the-coffin (*shengziguanguan* 昇梓宮官) and other appropriate ministers in raising the coffin onto the *wenliangche*. [emphasis added]

大唐元陵儀注：「前三日，所司設皇帝奉辭次於承天門外之左，西向。其日，金吾仗如常儀。鹵簿使先進玉輅於承天門外東偏稍南，輿輦、鼓吹、吉駕、鹵簿並序列於玉輅前。又進輜輶車當承天門中稍南，凶儀明器序列於輜輶車前。奠前一刻，奉禮郎布文武官位於承天門外，異位重行，如太極庭中儀。光祿卿具遣奠之饌以俟。執事官位並先俟於門外之東。龍輜至承天門外，禮官贊止哭，內外皆止哭。侍中進龍輜前，跪奏稱『請升輜輶車』，俛伏，興。司徒帥昇梓宮官及所由奉梓宮升輜輶車。」²⁵²

The offering goods for the tomb, including the *mingqi*, are gathered in the court in front of Chengtianmen. The ritual set-up can be illustrated by the diagram below. The set up was served with sacrificial foods followed by weeping rituals involving the new emperor, princes, consorts, and princesses.²⁵³

²⁵¹ The Court of Imperial Entertainments (*guanglusi* 光祿寺) was in charge of catering for the imperial household. Hucker 1985: 288, entry 3348.

²⁵² *TD* 86: 2336.

²⁵³ *TD* 86: 2336

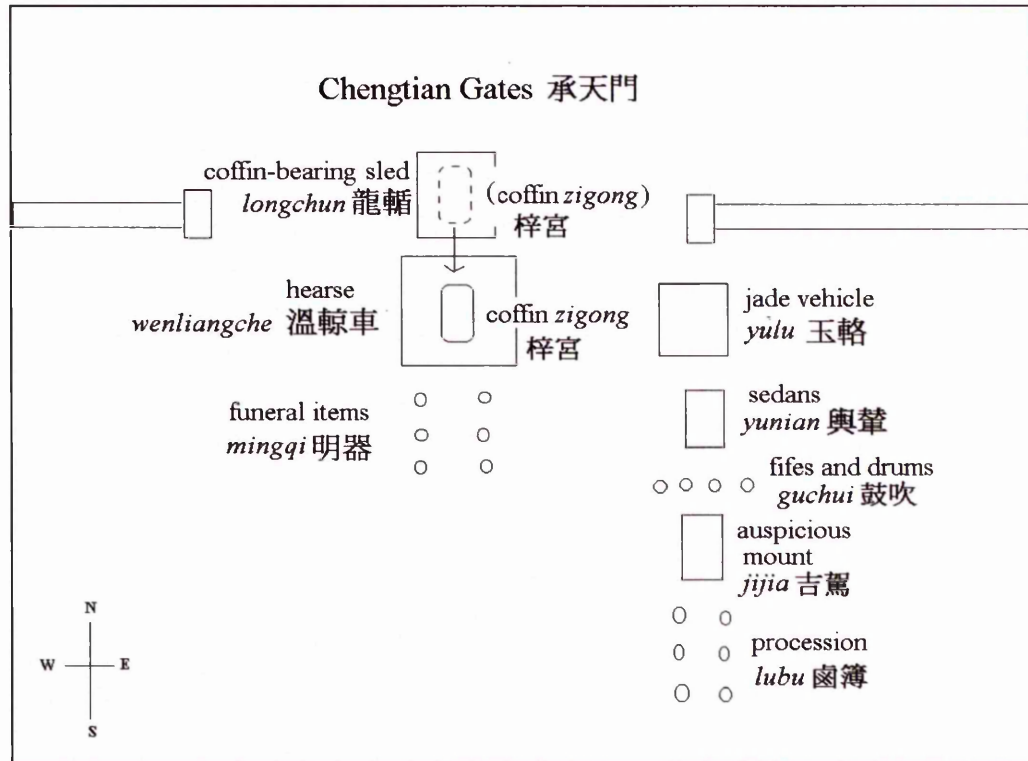


Fig. 3.2 "Offerings for the Despatch."

3.4.4 The order of the vessels' procession *qihangxu* 器行序

The *Yuanling yizhu* gives rather detailed descriptions of the ceremonies up to the point of departure of the procession. It becomes rather laconic on the journey itself, picking up the detailed narrative upon arrival at the mausoleum. To remedy this blank, I will draw on the *Kaiyuanli* description of its parallel ceremony, called "Order of the vessels' procession" which at this particular stage, is more detailed. The paragraph stipulated what was to be transported to the burial grounds. After the ceremony where the coffin was transferred to the hearse (*erche* 輓車), which was still inside the main door, there was a small ceremony of presenting only the fore limbs only of sacrificed animals. This was to symbolize the word for "to go" (*xing* 行), rather like the prow figure of a ship. The order and types of the vehicles in the funeral procession are worth noting. The *Kaiyuanli* account is as follows:

The Order of the Vessels' Procession: [for ministers of third class and above]: The *qiandian* sacrifices are cleared. The spirit hearse (*ling che*) moves, the followers are as usual, the fifes and drums follow and make their sound. First the Spirit Vehicle, then the Demon-dispeller Vehicle (*fangxiang che*), then the Epitaph Vehicle (*zhishi che*), then the Coffin-shrine Vehicle (*daguan che*) (commentary: those burials in which the epitaph and the coffin shrine were first set up in the tomb would not have such vehicles in the procession), then the Coffin Sled *chun che*, then the Mortuary Vessels Vehicle *mingqi che*, then the Canopy Vehicle *xiazhang yu*, then the Rice Vehicle *mi yu* (The five grains were solidly stored in five *shao*, each containing two *sheng* of rice.²⁵⁴ The covers are of rough cloth *shubu*), then the Wine and Dried Meats Vehicle *jiufuhai che* (Wine fills the bottles, five liters each. White cloth *gongbu* is used. The dried meats are stored in two vats, three *sheng* each, covered with rough cloth *shubu*), next the Sacrificial Vehicle *baosheng che*, next the Food Vehicle *shi yu* (in the food vehicle sufficient plates and bowls are supplied. Those persons below the rank of Fangxiang--riders, coachmen, holders of *mingqi* and canopy all wear cloth headdress and dark clothes), next the Name Flag *mingjing*, next the streamers *dao*, next the bell ringers *duo* (the bell ringers were divided into left and right), and next the hearse carriage *er che*.

器行序: 撤遣奠，靈車動，從者如常，鼓吹振作而行。先靈車後次方相車、次誌石車，次大棺車、次輜車 誌石與大棺車若先設者不入陳布之次，次明器輿、次下帳輿、次米輿 五穀米實以五笱各斗二升幕用疏布、次酒脯醢輿 酒實以壺各五升幕用功布醢實於二甗各三升幕用疏布、次苞牲輿、次食輿 食輿盤碗俱足方相以下駕士馭士昇明器下帳等人介幘深衣，次銘旌、次纛、次鐸 鐸分爲左右、次輜車。²⁵⁵

²⁵⁴ *Shao* are bamboo baskets which contain two *sheng* of grain. One Tang *sheng* is 0.594 of one liter. *Dou* here merely indicates measure, otherwise one *dou* = 10 *sheng*. *HLS*: 498.

²⁵⁵ *KLY*, “器行序” 139: 665.

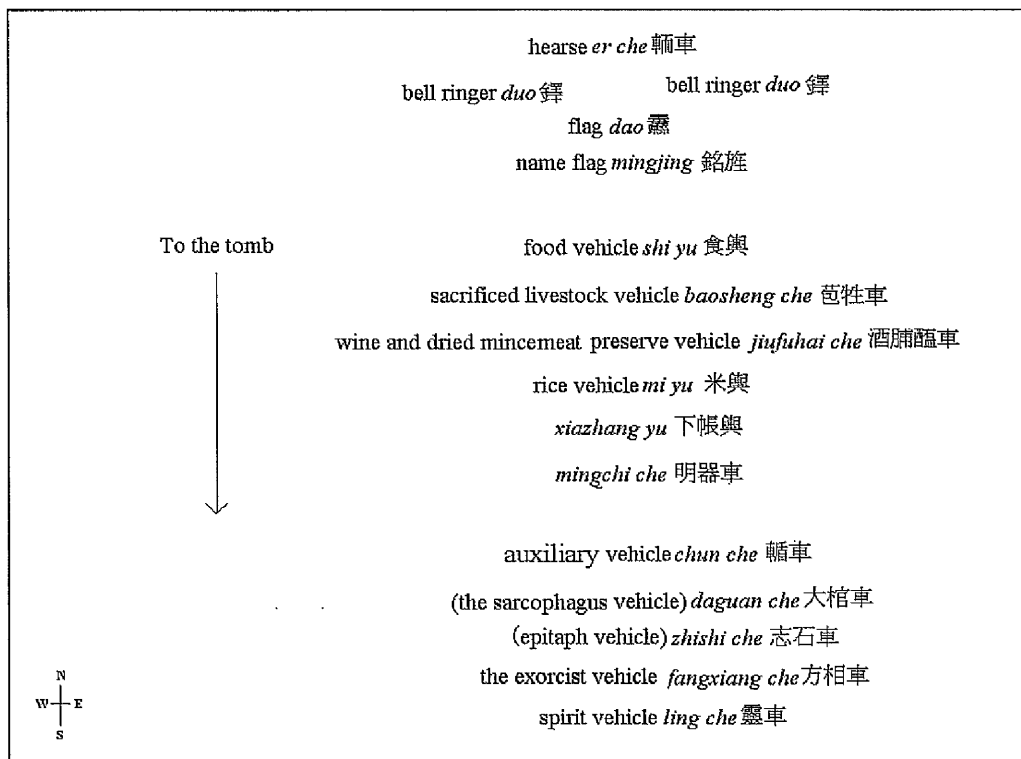


Fig. 3.3 “The Order of the Vessels” Procession. (Arrow indicates movement)

From this passage, one can see that the vehicle with the spirit tablet leads the funeral procession. The hearse brings up the rear of the procession.

3.4.5 Burial Rites, *zangyi* 葬儀

According to the Directives of the Yuanling rituals, the emperor’s procession travels to the Mausoleum, where, at the Nanshen Gate, it sets up for another ceremony, similar to the one in front of Chengtian Gate (see 3.3.2). This time, however, the trajectory of the coffin is in reverse, as its goal is to enter the gates rather than depart from them. The passage is as follows:

According to the schedule on the Day of the Mausoleum, the two processions, auspicious (*ji* 吉) and inauspicious (*xiong* 凶), prepare their rank and file.

The Sedan-chair Foreman (*shangnian* 尙輦) commands the waist-height vehicles (*yaoyu* 腰輿), umbrella and fans to the front of the spirit altar (*shenzuo* 神座).

The eunuchs (*neishi* 內侍) hold the small tables (*ji* 几); the palace receptionists (*neiyezhe* 內謁者) hold the incense burners. They are placed on the vehicles (*yu* 輿). The eunuchs command their subordinates to raise the clothes chests up and out. The Spirit vehicle (*shenyu* 神輿) proceeds to the back of the great-jade vehicle (*yuluo* 玉輅). The palace eunuch attendants-in-ordinary (*neichangshi* 內常侍) put the small table (*ji* 几) on the [great-jade] *luo*. Then, the [waist-high/spirit vehicle] *yu* and others back up to join the lines. The eunuchs pass the clothes chests to the Director of the Imperial Clothing Service (*shangyi* 尙衣) who places them on the great-jade vehicle and supporting vehicles.

The *shenjia* 神駕²⁵⁶ moves; the *jingbi* 警蹕 (herald to clear the roads when the emperor left or entered his residence for a tour) is arrayed as usual. The Commanders of the Personal Guard (*qianniu jiangjun* 千牛將軍) surround the *luo* and go forward to the place where the attendants and ministers mount their horses. The Ritual Apprentices (*lisheng* 禮生) assist the attending ministers in mounting their horses. After the attending ministers mount their horses, they surround the attendants in the front. The Ritual Apprentices go amongst the company of offering officials. The officials of each palace guard direct their own men. The left and right flanks go forward; the *shenjia* 神駕 moves. The officials of the procession use yellow flags. The fifes and drums start up, the heralds to clear the roads are as always.

Once at the mausoleum gates, red flags come out and the fifes and drums cease. The attending ministers get off their mounts and guide their horses forward as they walk. The *shenjia* goes to the auspicious enclosure palace, and turn its vehicles southward. The Sedan-chair Foreman leads the waist-high vehicles, umbrella, and fans to the back of the *luo*; the eunuchs carrying the *ji* place them on the vehicle; the umbrella-fan attendants take up their places under the palace tent; the eunuchs (*neishi* 內侍) place the *ji* on the altar; the Palace Receptionists place the incense burners before the altar, and the vehicles go back in line. The officials of the *yuluo* and procession guards stop, in formation, outside the tent palace entrance.

The *jijia* 吉駕²⁵⁷ leads. Ritual officials assist the Palace Attendant (*shizhong* 侍中) in approaching the *lingjia* 靈駕²⁵⁸ on the enclosed coffin-bearing vehicle (*wenliangche* 輓輦車), and ask permission from the *lingjia* 靈駕 to move, bows—kneeling, with his head to the ground, stands up, and backs out. The Adjutant (*sima* 司馬) with a proclamation bell (*duo* 鐸), the towers with their ropes, the dirge singers start up, and pull to advance. Those of the internal and external ranks at court follow, weeping, on their way to the mausoleum. The *lingjia* 靈駕 arrives at the

²⁵⁶ The vehicle in the procession transporting the spirit tablet of the emperor.

²⁵⁷ The vehicle in the procession transporting his former clothes and ornaments.

²⁵⁸ The vehicle in the procession transporting the material remains of the emperor.

inauspicious (*xiong* 凶) palace enclosure west of the mausoleum gate and turns back towards the south. The princesses and internal officials dismount from their carriages, blocked from view with moving screens. They weep on the west side of the inauspicious tent palace, facing east, north being the superior. The ministers and imperial kin weep, standing outside the tent palace, facing both east and west, north being the superior.

大唐元陵儀注：「山陵日，依時刻，吉凶二駕備列訖，尚輦帥腰輿繖扇入詣神座前，內侍捧几，內謁者捧香爐，各置輿上。中官帥其屬舁衣箱以出。神輿至玉輅後，內常侍捧几置輅中，輿等退就列。中官以衣箱傳授尚衣奉御，置於玉輅及副車中。神駕動，警蹕如常，千牛將軍夾輅而趨。至侍臣上馬所，禮生贊侍臣上馬，侍臣上馬訖，夾侍於前，禮生在供奉官內。諸侍衛之官，各督其屬，左右翊神駕動，鹵簿官以黃麾麾之，鼓吹振作，警蹕如常。當陵門，以赤麾麾之，鼓吹不作。侍臣下馬，步導於前，神駕至吉帷宮，迴車南向。尚輦帥腰輿繖扇至輅後，內常侍奉几置輿上，繖扇侍奉至帳殿下，內侍捧几置座上，內謁者捧香爐置座前，輿等退就列。玉輅及鹵簿侍衛之官，停列於帷宮門外。吉駕引，禮官贊侍中進輻輳車靈駕前，奏請靈駕發引，俛伏，興，退。司馬執鐸，挽郎執紼，挽歌振作；及挽以進，內外哭從，以赴山陵。靈駕至陵門西凶帷帳殿下，迴駕南向。。。。。²⁵⁹

²⁵⁹ TD 86: 2346-2347.

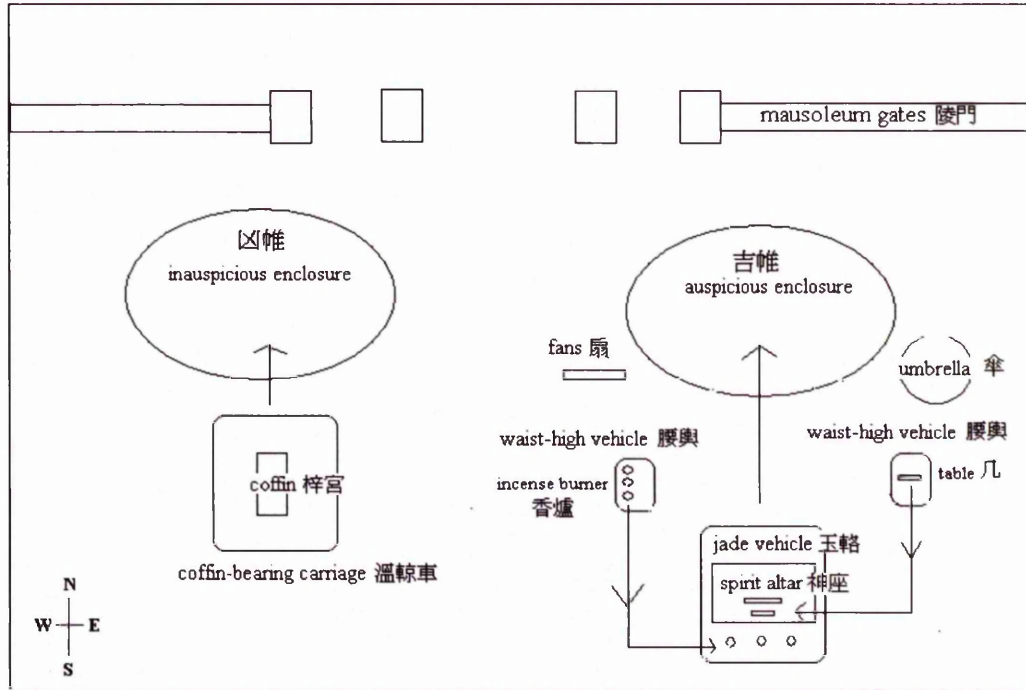


Fig. 3.4 Burial Rites *zangyi* 葬儀 (YLYZ). Setting up of the temporary inauspicious enclosure in the west and the temporary auspicious enclosure in the east before the mausoleum gates. (Arrows indicate movement). See also Fig. 3.9.

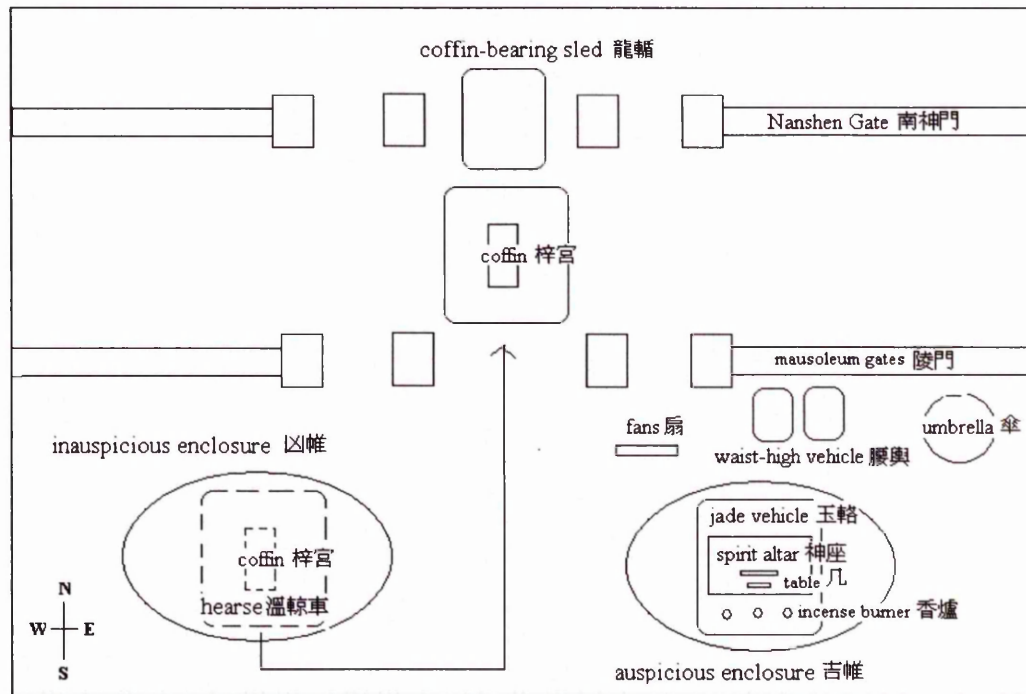


Fig. 3.5 Burial Rites *zangyi* 葬儀 (YLYZ). The hearse moves further in to a stop before the Nanshen Gates, close to the coffin-bearing sled. (Arrows indicate movement.). See also Fig. 3.10.

The [hearse] is pulled to Nanshen Gates. The Directorate for the Palace Buildings pull the coffin-bearing sled to the front of the hearse. [The official] kneels and announces, "Please lower the host unto the coffin-bearing sled." Bows to the ground, stands up, and retires. Those responsible guide the coffin towards the sled. The officials for the elevation of the coffin bear it. The Minister of Work uses a cloth to wipe the coffin. ? The Imperial Manufactories officials bind it on the sled with ropes. The Ritual officers and the eunuchs go to the front of the sled and say, "Please pull the sled to the tomb chamber." They bow to the ground, stand, and retire.

。發引，至南神門，將作監進龍輓於靈駕之後。禮官贊侍中進溫輓車靈駕前，跪，奏稱『請降靈駕，御龍輓』，免伏，興，退昇梓宮。所由迺奉遷梓宮至龍輓，昇梓宮官左右捧從。司空以巾拭梓宮，并拂夷。少府屬縛於龍輓。禮官贊侍中進龍輓前跪奏稱『請引龍輓即玄宮』免伏，興，退。²⁶⁰

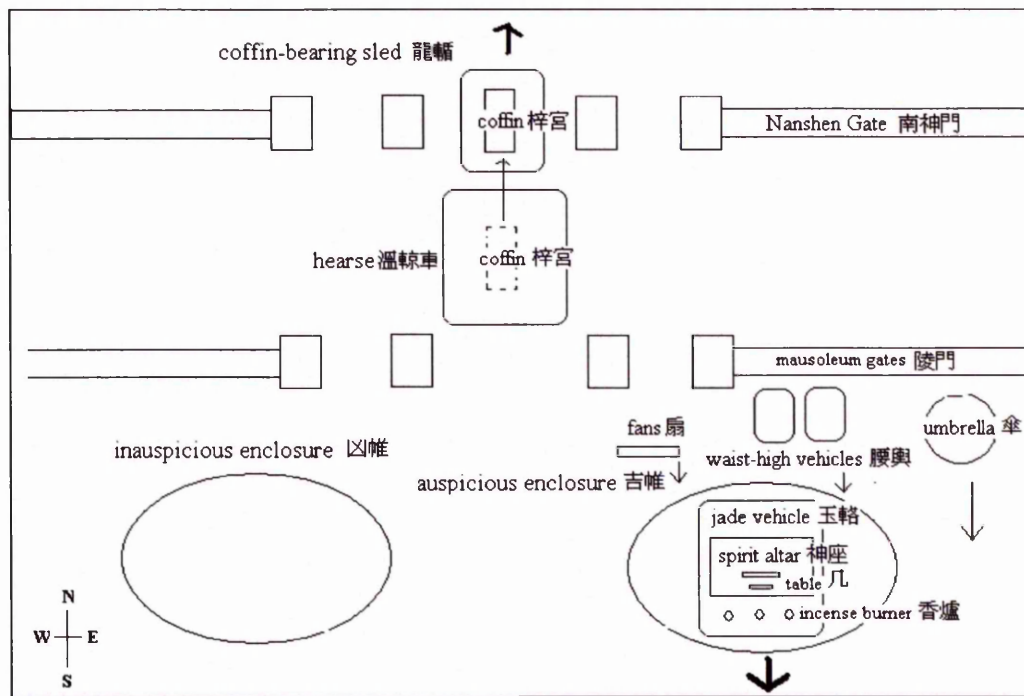


Fig. 3.6 Burial Rites *zangyi* 葬儀 (YLYZ). The coffin is transferred to the coffin-bearing sled, which will take it to the entrance of the tomb. (Arrows indicate movement). See also Fig. 3.11.

²⁶⁰ TD 86: 2346-2347.

3.5 Chinese ritual concepts and Van Gennep's Rites of Passage

It seemed to me reasonable to apply Van Gennep's rites of passage to the Chinese case, and in my opinion it fits extremely well onto the imperial model. The structure of imperial funerary ritual is at first, like a bell bar, with the tomb and palace as balls on both sides and the journey as the handle.

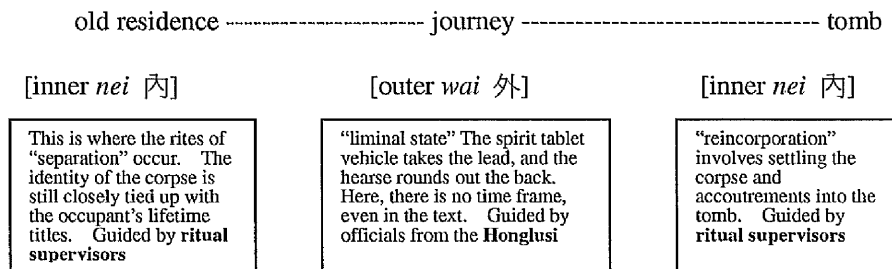


Fig 3.7 The two ends of the funerary ritual and the journey between.

The designation of the kinds of supervisors for each stage suggests a closed structure. Ritual specialists from the Department of Rituals (Libu 禮部) guided ceremonies at the residence and at the tomb. However, for the journey-in-between, officials from the Court of State Ceremonials (Honglusi 鴻臚寺) took over. This would suggest that the tomb and the old residence were the same kinds of space and the journey in between was another. Van Gennep's division of the rites of passage-- "separation" "liminality" and "re-incorporation," I would suggest, also fits the case of Tang funeral rites. Tomb and former residence are inner spaces, or *nei* 內. The journey in between these two inner spaces is the outer space, or *wai* 外.

The structure of ritual principles was suggested to me by the classification of participants at each stage: residence, journey, and tomb. In each case the players etched out the kinds of space in the ritual and thus its structure. I will illustrate this thesis with three points:

Firstly, the tomb and former residence are two opposite points which are really similar inner spaces paralleling each other. The rite of separation takes place at the palace and the rite of reincorporation takes place at the tomb and at the palace in a double circle structure. That is to say, the body is incorporated into the tomb, and the spirit is reincorporated into the ancestral temple back in the capital, after parallel rites at the palace. The journey can be traced as a circle with the palace and tomb as respective opposite points on the circle. (See Fig. 3.8)

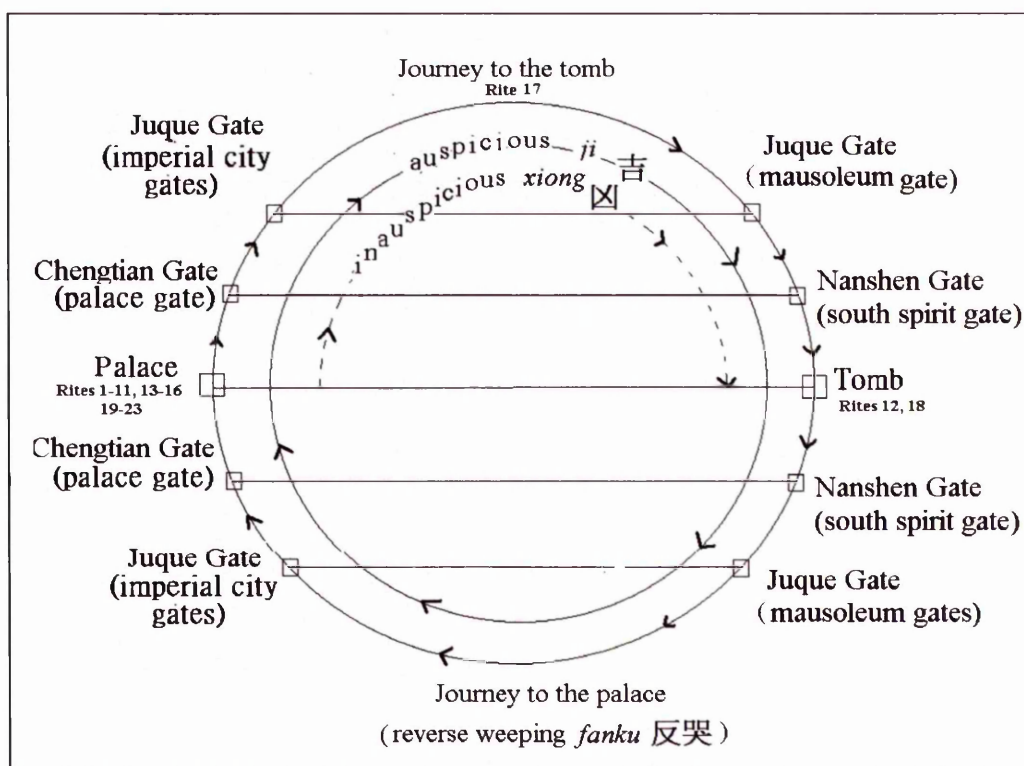


Fig. 3.8 Journey to the tomb and reverse weeping (*fanku* 反哭)²⁶¹

Gate for gate, each point of departure from the palace corresponds to a parallel point of entry for the tomb. This points to the symmetry of the living world (the palace) balanced against the other world (the tomb). After the body and accoutrements are deposited into the tomb, there is another journey, from the tomb

²⁶¹ See KYL: 667-668.

back to the imperial palace, where the spirit tablet is deposited into the imperial temple for worship. Again here, gate for gate, each point of departure from the tomb corresponds to a parallel point of entry for the palace. In essence, the journey back from the tomb is a mirror image of the journey to the tomb.

Here I differ from Wu Hung's conclusions on the mirror-image inscriptions on the spirit pillars at the tomb of the Liang emperors.²⁶² In 1994, Wu Hung published a seminal article called, "The Transparent Stone: Inverted Vision and Binary Imagery in Medieval Chinese Art." For Wu, binary vision is "a form should be seen from both the front and the back." He explored various versions of reversed writing, such as those which are true mirror images but including others, one is to write the characters backwards while keeping the standard right to left sequence of writing and reading and the other, writing the characters in the normal way but in an inverted sequence (from left to right, such as in English). These are the three ways to invert characters. In any case, such variations in vision caused the stone to become "transparent," as our visions travel through the stone and back again.

I do not think that such characters were a fanciful result of artistic imaginings of the point of view for the ghost viewing the beyond. I would rather suggest that it is a visual prop for the ritual of return, an inherent part of funerary rituals. I may even go as far to suggest that they are physical markers which show the mourners their general positions. One represents the view of the deceased going into the tomb. The other shows the vision of those on the way out, to the temples. And thus this reason fits Wu Hung's analysis, "Their vision may be called a 'binary vision' because they look in the opposite directions of life and death at the same time."²⁶³

²⁶² Wu 1994: 58.

²⁶³ Wu 1994: 67.

This theory fits even better when one thinks of the dichotomy of the two ritual perspectives — *xiong* 凶 and *li* 吉 — which manifest themselves in different directional quadrants. These important concepts will be explicated below.

3.6 Conclusion

Seen in this light, the tomb becomes the end point of a journey, but it is also the half-way point on a circular journey which will convey the tablet to the ancestral hall, close to the “liminal” journey of the body and the spirit in between. The funeral procession halts at thresholds to perform certain rituals, of separation at the former residence, then of reincorporation at the tomb and the ancestral temple, step by step, with transfers, until the reincorporation is done and the new identity is achieved. The change in identity for the deceased is fraught with dangers and so it needs to be safeguarded by loud sounds, human guards, and supernatural creatures. The destination, the tomb, is a new home for the deceased, an identity which is different from the living identity, clearly proclaimed by the stone epitaph stone in the front of the tomb structure. The deceased’s spirit is bound up in one of the two processions, the “auspicious (*ji* 吉)” procession, whose vehicles carry the spirit tablet. Their journey is circular. They lead the “inauspicious (*xiong* 凶)” procession to the tomb. But they are parked in front of the auspicious enclosure, facing south, while the items of the *xiong* procession are unloaded and placed in their proper locations in the tomb. Once the burial is done, and the tomb sealed, the auspicious procession completes the journey by returning to the ancestral temple, where the spirit tablet would be displayed. For the spirit of the deceased, then, the tomb is only the furthest point on a circle from which it circles back to the ancestral temple. In this way, it has come back to its starting-point but in a new form, as an ancestor. Having come home, it begins a new existence.

The sequence of events can be set out as follows (and illustrated schematically in fig. 3.9, 3.10, and 3.11):

1. Hastening to the the Obsequies (*chusang* 初喪)²⁶⁴
2. Calling Back the Soul (*fu* 復)²⁶⁵
3. Washing (*muyu* 沐浴)²⁶⁶
4. Placing in the Mouth (*han* 含)²⁶⁷
5. Setting Up the Inscribed Funeral Banner (*sheming* 設銘)²⁶⁸
6. Suspending the Temporary Banner (*xianchong* 懸重)²⁶⁹
7. Lesser Dressing (*xiaolian* 小斂)²⁷⁰
8. Offering at the Lesser Dressing (*xiaolian dian* 小斂奠)²⁷¹
9. Greater Dressing (*dalian* 大斂)²⁷²
10. Offering at the Greater Dressing (*daliandian* 大斂奠)²⁷³
11. Encoffining (*bin* 殯)²⁷⁴
12. Divining the Abode When About to Inter (*jiangzang shizhai* 將葬筮宅)²⁷⁵
13. Revealing the Coffin and Making Offering at the Temple (*qibin chaomiao* 啓殯朝廟)²⁷⁶
14. Introducing the Vehicles and Grave Goods and the Decorated Coffin (*jian chema mingqi ji shiguan* 薦車馬明器及飾棺)²⁷⁷
15. Offering for Departure (*zudian* 祖奠)²⁷⁸
16. Offering for Despatch (*qiandian* 遣奠)²⁷⁹
17. Drawing Song (*wan'ge* 挽歌)²⁸⁰
18. Burial Rites (*zangyi* 葬儀)²⁸¹
19. Sacrifice of Repose (*yuji* 虞祭)²⁸²
20. Offering at the Placing of the Tablet (*fuji* 祔祭)²⁸³
21. Changes at the Lesser Auspicious Sacrifice (*xiaoxiang bian* 小祥變)²⁸⁴
22. Changes at the Greater Auspicious Sacrifice (*daxiang bian* 大祥變)²⁸⁵
23. Changes at the Sacrifice at the Close of Mourning (*tanbian* 禫變)²⁸⁶

²⁶⁴ The Tongdian heading is more exactly “Hastening to the Great Obsequies (*bendasang* 奔大喪).” TD “*xiongli* 凶禮 5” ch. 80: 2174. Hereafter, chapter number after TD, and page number follows colon. I follow closely McMullen 1999’s translations for the ritual terminology.

²⁶⁵ TD 83: 2249.

²⁶⁶ TD 84: 2267-8.

²⁶⁷ TD 84:2270.

²⁶⁸ TD 84:2275.

²⁶⁹ TD 84: 2276-7.

²⁷⁰ TD 84: 2284-5.

²⁷¹ TD 85: 2298.

²⁷² TD 85: 2301.

²⁷³ TD 85:2305-6.

²⁷⁴ TD 85: 2307.

²⁷⁵ TD 85: 2309-10.

²⁷⁶ TD 85: 2311-13.

²⁷⁷ TD 86: 2326-8.

²⁷⁸ TD 86:2330-2.

²⁷⁹ TD 86: 2336-7.

²⁸⁰ TD 86: 2340.

²⁸¹ TD 87: 2346-9.

²⁸² TD 87: 2368-70.

²⁸³ TD 87: 2375-81.

²⁸⁴ TD 87: 2382-3.

²⁸⁵ TD 87: 2383-4.

²⁸⁶ TD 87: 2385-6.

Fig. 3.9 Location schematic of the ritual movement of “separation” and “journey.”

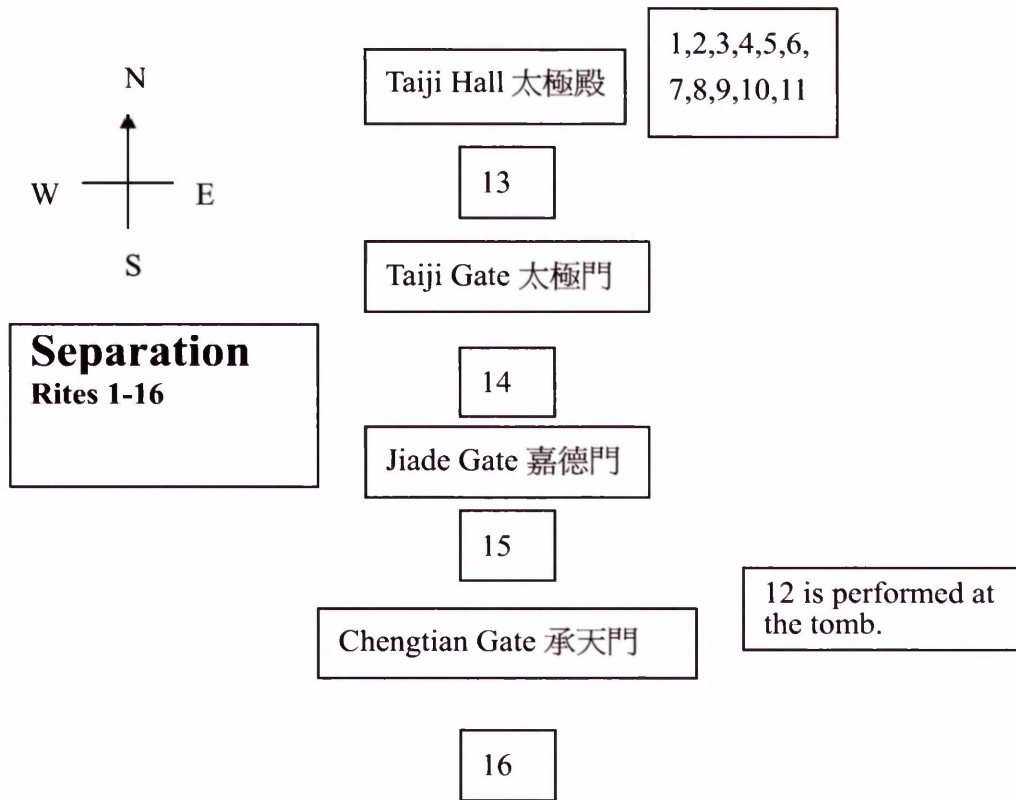
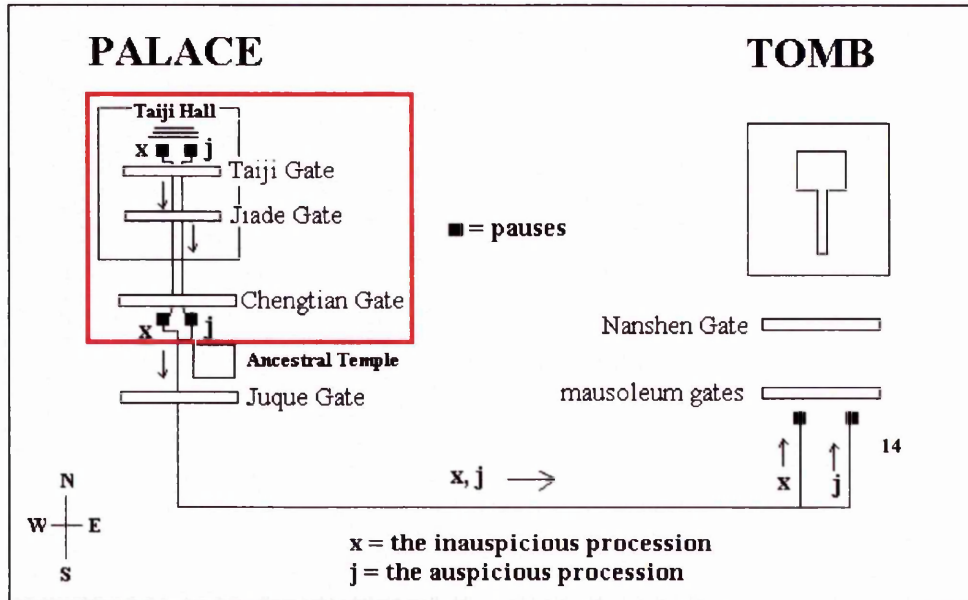


Fig. 3.10 Location schematic of the ritual movement of the Sacrifice of Repose and part of the Offerings at the Placing of the Tablet.

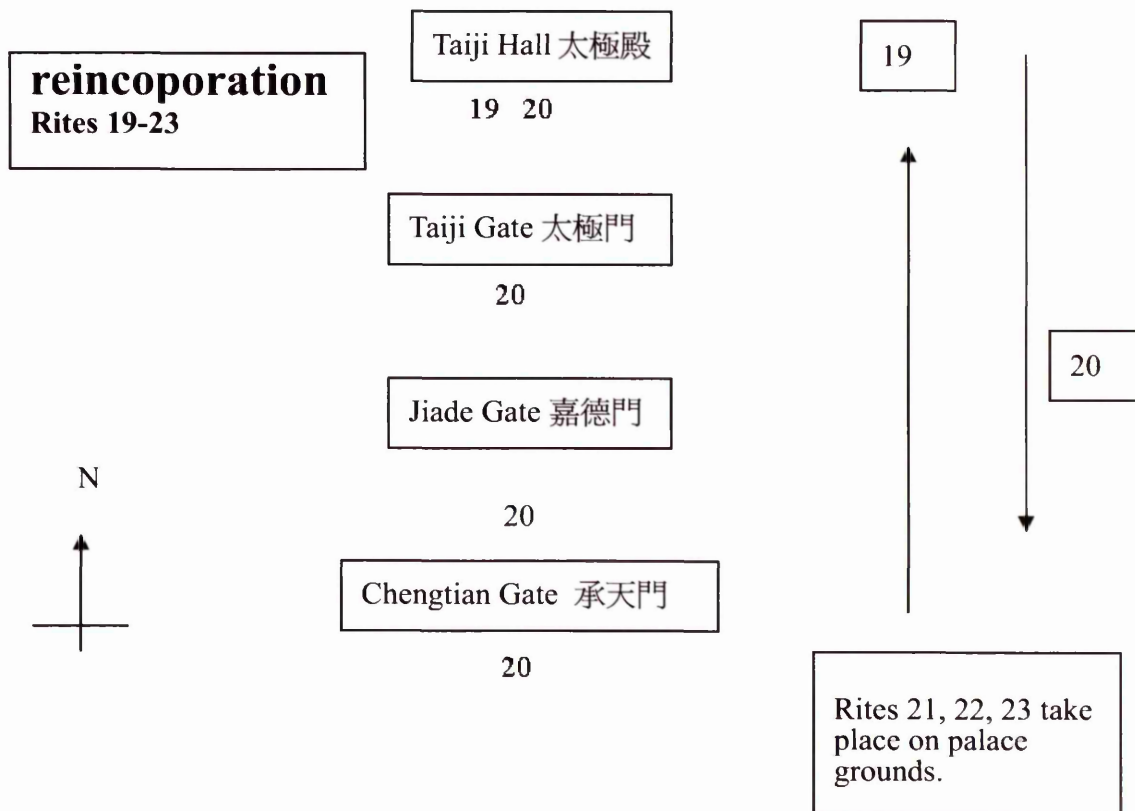
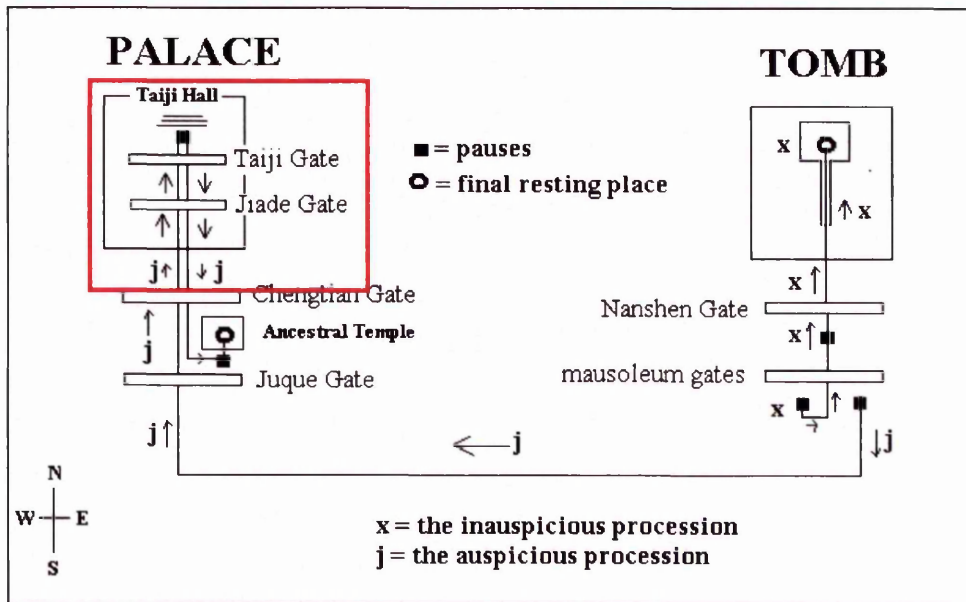
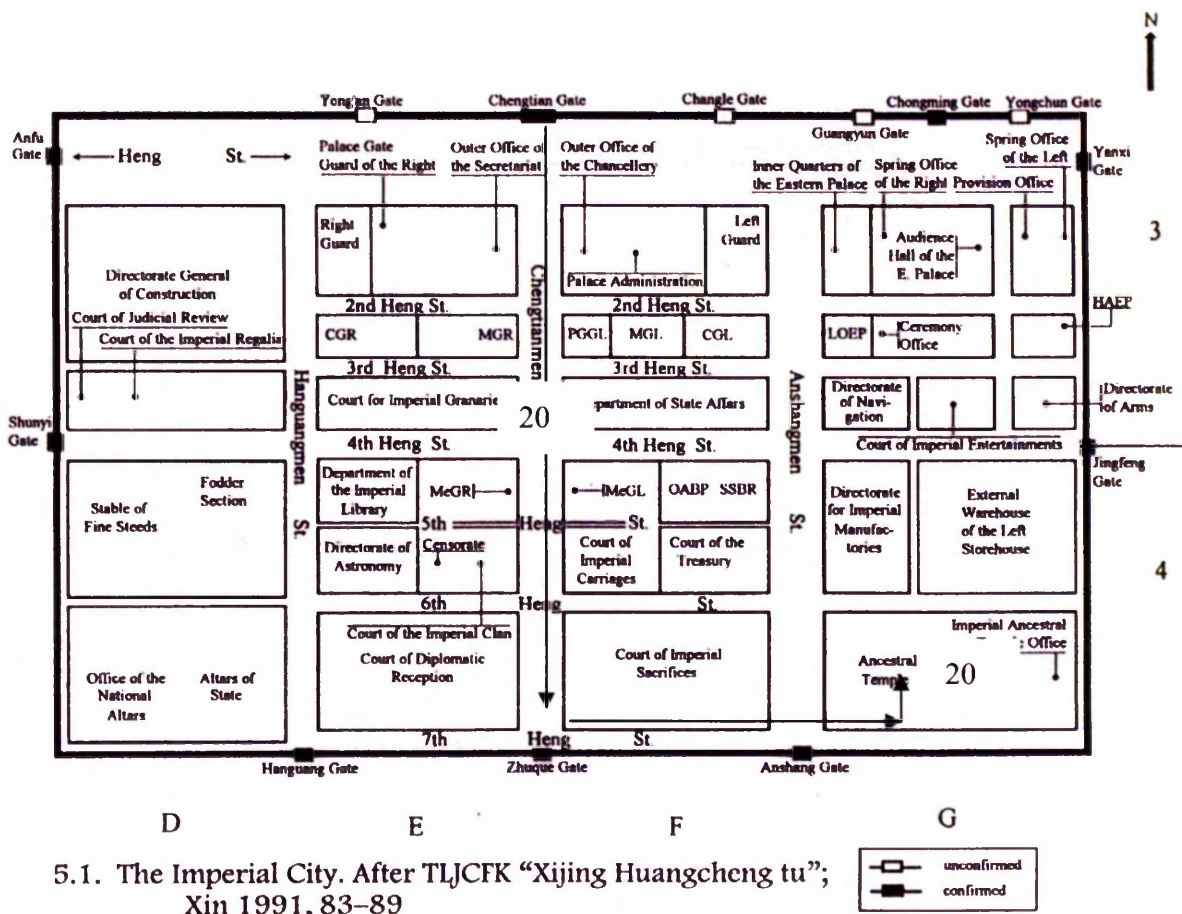
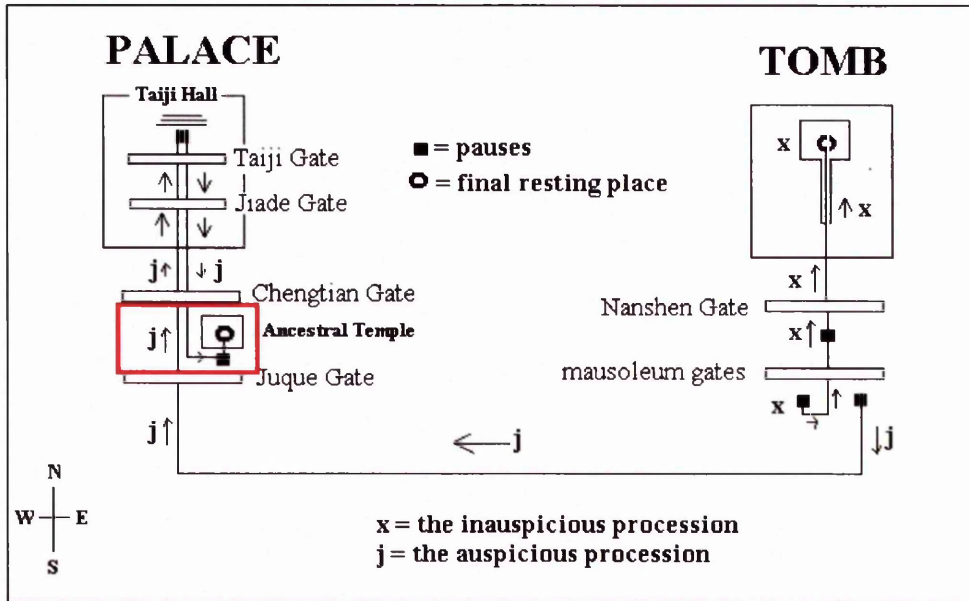


Fig. 3.11 Location schematic of the last part of the Offerings at the Placing of the Tablet.



5.1. The Imperial City. After TLJCFK "Xijing Huangcheng tu"; Xin 1991, 83-89

Chapter Four: Epitaphs and the Construction of Remembrance

Chapter two recounted the ways by which princesses were described in life; this chapter will examine the way princesses were commemorated in epitaph texts. Epitaph texts differ significantly from biography not only because they included descriptions of lamentations and death, but also because of their style. Both are prose works; both are written by the same literate class. However, the biography was written in a lucid, simple, and precise language, while the epitaph (*muzhiming*) was written in a metaphoric, abstract and flowery style tightly crafted into parallel formations reminiscent of poetry.

Both Chinese and non-Chinese scholars have long been interested in these texts. As noted in Chapter One, epigraphical material has been used in the past and present as sources of history. Recently, scholars have written critiques about using the epitaphs to “fill in” historical information given by traditional historical texts. Indeed information about famous individuals in the epitaphs may even correct the biases written into state-sponsored National Histories.²⁸⁷ Details from a *muzhiming* about a person’s private life are probably more accurate than official accounts since the former was interred with the deceased at the time of the burial, while the Histories were compiled years after the events, often under a different dynasty. However, the *muzhiming* is also a “constructed” text, and can be fabricated to fit the needs of the situation. For example, the second son of Emperor Gaozong and Empress Wu Zetian, Li Xian 李賢, had two epitaphs in his grave, one for his living status as Prince of Yong (雍王), and the other for his title-after-death, as Crown Prince Zhanghuai (章懷太子). Lastly, most of the epitaph tends to be standard praise, which seems not to be useful for historical studies. It may prove otherwise, as below.

²⁸⁷ McMullen 1989 and Lu 1997.

The epitaph also records the passage of the living princess to princess-in-death. It records not only the biography of the deceased, but narrates it in an impressively ritual way. For example, the epitaph would often contain the phrase “*li ye* 禮也” which I would translate “So it is according to ritual.” To translate *li* as simply decorum does not convey its full sense. At that time, *li* ordered life. People knew their places because of ritual ordering. Thus the commemoration of the princess is codified: not only recording the living glories of the deceased, but also the funeral preparations and lamentations on the passage of time and the ephemeral nature of life.

Wong (1979) and Chiu-Duke (1995) explored other avenues of interpretation, recognizing that the conventional phrases of praise contained not only historical truth but also historical ideals. Wong (1979) first explored the discrepancies and overlaps between “Confucian Ideal and Reality” in the transformation of the institution of marriage in the Tang dynasty. Chiu-Duke (1995) found and analyzed the changes in Confucian ideals of “good” and “ethical” for Tang women in their epitaphs. Both approaches show effectively the “ideal” for women in the Tang.

I too am interested in the “ideal” princess and how such epigraphical ideals differ from history. However, I am most interested in the question of *how* such a personage is constructed. It is precisely the conventional forms themselves which interest me, the necessary “ritual” steps which are taken to compile the text itself and to form a kind of structure. This structure echoes the motivations behind the visual art of the tomb (Chapter five). To this end, I am comparing the themes of epitaphs uncovered at the five princess tombs.

Of the 211 princesses buried in the Tang,²⁸⁸ eleven epitaphs have so far been found.²⁸⁹ I will use five epitaphs, one each from the tombs of Changle (Fig. 4.2,

²⁸⁸ Wang Shouan 1982: 151-161. See also footnote 2 on p. 151.

²⁸⁹ Aside from the five princesses whose tombs are discussed here, the other six are Ru’nan 汝南

4.3), Xincheng (Fig. 4.4, 4.5), Fangling (Fig. 4.6, 4.7), Linchuan (Fig. 4.8, 4.9), and Yongtai (Fig. 4.10a, 4.10b) as particular examples, but will also draw upon other Tang epitaphs for comparison. A full discussion of Princess Xincheng's epitaph, the fifth, is excluded because too many characters are missing. However, I am able to use some discernible phrases here and there and interested readers may consult what remains of the epitaph text transcribed in Fig. 4.19. As this chapter attempts to show how epitaph texts were structured, an analysis of the textual content, physical form, and location of epitaphs follows.

4.1 Origins of the epitaph stone in the grave

The Chinese characters for epitaph -- *mu* 墓, *zhi* 誌,²⁹⁰ and *ming* 銘 -- mean literally, the tomb's (*mu*) record (*zhi*) and inscription (*ming*). Princesses' *muzhiming*, similar to those for other members of the Tang elite, were engraved on two stones, upper and lower. The upper stone is a trapezoidal cover with carved decorations on the four sloping edges and the *xiaozhuan*-style title of the deceased inscribed within the square panel in the center. The epitaph text is carved on the upper surface of the lower stone, a square block whose four sides are also decorated (see figure 4.1). The cover fits snugly over the epitaph stone and, as a result, completely hides the text once placed in position in the tomb. The two-part *muzhiming* thus serves as marker and container in elite tombs.²⁹¹

Memorial steles became popular in the Qin (221-207 B.C.) and Han (202 B.C.-

(637), Huainan 淮南 (689), Jinxian 金仙 (732), Tang'an 唐安 (784), Tanguo 鄴國 (786), Wen'an 文安 (849).

²⁹⁰ This is sometimes written as the character *zhi* 志.

²⁹¹ Only the rich and powerful would have these elaborately carved epitaph stones inside their tombs. Common graves sometimes had simple one or two line inscriptions on brick, but more often contained nothing. See Hou Can 2002.

220 A.D.) dynasties and were erected on spirit roads, near temples, on mountains, and so on. Simple bricks and tiles with the names and positions of the deceased were placed in the tombs during this time. In the Western Han, it was called the “Brick for Reporting to the Earth” (*gaodizhuan* 告地磚).²⁹² In the last years of the Western Han, inscriptions written on stone pictorial tiles, which were then placed into tombs, marking the beginning of the practice of putting stone inscriptions into graves.²⁹³

Han stone steles rather than the *gaodizhuan*, however, exerted the most direct influence on the concept of the *muzhiming*. During the Jin dynasty (265-316), sumptuary laws restricting commemorative steles above ground compelled mourners to carve memorial texts on smaller bits of stone which were then hidden in tombs. These steles were usually no taller than one meter high, replicating in miniature the shape of above-ground steles. Some even carefully imitated the carved dragon headstones and turtle bases of the steles.²⁹⁴ However, after the Taihe reign years of the Northern Wei (477-499), this type of stele-like burial stone became less common. The square epitaph stone was first used in the Southern dynasties. An example is the Liu Huaimin 劉懷民 epitaph of the year 464, which was also the first stone to identify itself as a *muzhi* 墓誌.²⁹⁵ This type of *muzhiming* without a cover was also found in the Northern Wei (386-535). The 474 epitaph of the Lady Jichen 姬辰 (the wife of Sima Jinlong 司馬金龍) in the northern capital of the Northern Wei capital, present day Datong was almost square, measuring 30 by 28 cm.²⁹⁶ This is an early example of the epitaph stone in its square form.

Though the Southern dynasty epitaphs (like Liu Huaimin’s) remained without a

²⁹² Zhao Chao 1992: 6-7.

²⁹³ *WW* 8 (1974): 74, fig. 2, *WW* 5 (1982): 69, fig. 26.

²⁹⁴ Liu Fengjun 1988: 74-79.

²⁹⁵ Liu Fengjun 1988: 79; Zhao Chao 1992: 8, 22.

²⁹⁶ Liu Fengjun 1988: 79.

cover for more than a hundred years, the Northern Wei epitaph stones began to appear with covers. Most of these epitaph stone and cover pairings seem to appear after Emperor Xiao Wendi moved the Northern Wei capital to Luoyang. The earliest stone with matching cover is dated 496 and belonged to Yuan Zhen 元楨, the great-uncle of the Northern Wei Emperor Xiaowen. After this, the *muzhiming* with cover soon became standard.²⁹⁷ Tang epitaphs directly inherited this tradition, with slight differences, the stones being fuller and more like a casket, the lid in a trapezoidal shape.

4.2 The Epitaph Text

There are three parts to the epitaph texts, the inscription on the cover (*ti* 題, see Fig. 4.1a and 4.1b), the foreword (*xu* 序), and the inscription (*ming* 銘). According to Ye Guoliang, the *ti* 題 refers to the characters on the cover of the epitaph, which state the name of the occupant or sometimes his title.²⁹⁸ The *ming* is the main inscription while the *xu* is a long introduction.²⁹⁹

The *ming* is the main inscription though it is shorter in length than the *xu*. It consists of four characters per line and follows the *xu* immediately. The *ming* has stayed mostly the same length since Han times while the *xu* (foreword) has become longer since the Western Jin. Lu Jianrong is of the opinion that this is due to the development of a true aristocracy in the north and south at the end of the Eastern Han.³⁰⁰ The *xu* increased because the descendants wished to exhibit their ancestors' achievements. I agree in substance with Lu's view but would differ slightly in that

²⁹⁷ Liu Fengjun 1988: 79.

²⁹⁸ Ye Guoliang 1989: 49-77.

²⁹⁹ McMullen 1989: 29.

³⁰⁰ Lu Jianrong, personal communication.

there was also a desire for more detail and more narration.³⁰¹ Why this need began is not clear, but it may be concurrent with the development of the novel during the Tang.

The *xu* is not a foreword so much as it is a narrative account which is later written in stylized form in the *ming*. There are even two examples of epitaphs from Dahe reign (827-835) in which “foreword (*xu* 序)” was replaced by “narration (*xu* 敘).”³⁰² On the other hand, the *ming* imitates *Shijing* poetry in its four character parallel prose, often rhymes like poetry and could be described as a condensed paraphrase of the *xu*.

Although the *xu* and *ming* almost invariably order their platitudes about the princess in a similar thematic structure, the *xu* gives details that are not possible within the stricter format of the *ming*. Also, while the *xu* varied in style and details according to the deceased and the time period, the style and content of the *ming* has stayed much more constant. One may say that the *ming* embodied the epitaph’s lapidary quality of steadfast endurance.

In the tables of the transcribed epitaph texts, each Chinese character has been assigned a number, written as n/n. The first number denotes column; the second denotes row. For example, the number 1/3 refers to the character *yong* 永, which is in the *first* column/*third* row. The character *tai* 泰 follows *yong*, and its number is 1/4, and so forth.

³⁰¹ Perhaps this was an overall movement in the culture of court writing. Stephen Owen writes this about early Tang poetry, “The disruption of the continuity of court poetry, begun in the middle of the seventh century, inevitably resulted in the intrusion of individuality into court poetry. Earlier court poetry, with its rigid codes of decorum and normative convention, demanded technical skill and abhorred individuality...Another factor was that during this period an increasing amount of personal poetry and informal occasional poetry appeared. This in turn influenced the taste of the court.” Owen 1977: 229.

³⁰² Zhou Shaoliang and Zhao Chao (ed.) 1992: 2097.

4.3.1 The Princess Yongtai Epitaph

The Yongtai epitaph text (both *xu* and *ming*) will be used here as an example of a princess epitaph. Thereafter I will take up each of the nine themes particular to princess epitaphs, using the passages from Yongtai and other princess's epitaphs to illustrate how each of the themes were taken up in turn. Interested readers can follow the Chinese in the original rubbing (Fig: 3.10b) and/or the transcribed text (Fig. 4.17) for Yongtai:

<p>The Epitaph of Princess Yongtai of the Great Tang dynasty. Written, under imperial command, by the Vice-Director of the Court of Imperial Sacrifices and Official Historian, Xu Yanbo.</p>	<p>大唐永泰公主志石文 太常少卿兼修國史臣徐 彥伯奉敕撰 [Fig. 4.17, 1/1-1/26]</p>
<p>This Minister³⁰³ has heard of the following: At the southern islets of the Milky Way, the Heavenly</p>	<p>臣聞: 絳河南澳，</p>

³⁰³ A polite way of referring to Xu Yanbo himself.

³⁰⁴ Tiannü 天女 is the clearly visible star Vega beside the Milky Way from the three-star constellation of the weaving maid, 織女 α (Lyra). It belongs to the female constellation *nǚsu* 女宿, the 10th of the 28 lunar lodges. “According to Sima Qian she is a weaving princess of the celestial court.” Sun Xiaochun (1997): Appendix I. See note 71.

³⁰⁵ *Wei* 緯 refers to the Milky Way.

³⁰⁶ Xiang and Yan are rivers that flow into the Dongtinghu 洞庭湖, the large lake south of the Changjiang.

³⁰⁷ Common term for the children of the emperor, the term as well as the “northern islets” comes from the first two lines of Qu Yuan’s 屈原 Nine Songs 九歌, “The Lady of the Hsiang *xiangfuren* 湘夫人:” “帝子降兮北渚，目眇眇兮愁予，” where it specifically refers to the Zhou princess E Huangying 娥皇英. (CY 974). For more explanation see the following section on “General Prologue” in this chapter.

³⁰⁸ Here the word should be 莪, not 莪 “luxuriance.” This phrase and the next refer to the poem *Hebi nongyi* in the *Shijing*. Legge 1994, “Odes of Shaou and the South”: 35-36.

³⁰⁹ These two phrases also refer to *Hebi nongyi* 何彼濃矣. See another translation “Gorgeous in Their Beauty” Waley 1996: 21. See also the explanation in the section on “Enfeoffment and marriage” in this chapter.

<p>Lady³⁰⁴ floats at the bright divide.³⁰⁵ At the northern islets of the Rivers Xiang and Yan,³⁰⁶ The imperial daughters³⁰⁷ are adorned with fragrant clouds. Hence, how great is the luxuriance of the Tang blossoms,³⁰⁸ praising rituals reverent and harmonious.³⁰⁹ They clang the beating drums, lavishly celebrating the rite of pairing.³¹⁰ Thus, the glorious halo of the <i>wangji</i> [princess] glows with radiance; so it has ever been since ancient times.</p>	<p>天女懸於景緯， 湘巖北渚， 帝子結於芳雲。 是以彼莪者唐 贊肅雍之禮： 坎其擊鼓， 殷作配之儀。 則王姬之寵靈光赫， 其所由來者尙矣。 [Fig. 4.17, 2/1-3/25]</p>
<p>The princess's taboo name is Xianhui, and her style is Nonghui. The great-great-granddaughter of Shenyao Emperor Gaozu. The great-granddaughter of Wenwusheng Emperor Taizong. The granddaughter of Tianhuang Great Emperor Gaozong. The seventh daughter of the [present] Emperor.</p>	<p>公主諱仙蕙， 字穉輝。 高祖神堯皇帝之玄孫， 太宗文武聖皇帝之曾孫， 高宗天皇大帝之孫， 皇上之第七女也。 [Fig. 4.17, 3/26-8/9]</p>
<p>Lofty, the imperial Tang; beautiful, god-like and wise; hence their overwhelming kingly manner, the luxuriant flourishing of the realm's Heir.</p>	<p>倬矣帝唐，麗哉神聖， 故以躡轡於王表， 葳蕤於國[儲]³¹¹矣。 [Fig. 4.17, 8/8-9/3]</p>
<p>The princess emits light of the jade pavilion, contains the fragrance of the pearl-like trees. She nurtures a joyful spirit wherewith to continue the good; By harmonizing waiting and sequence she inaugurates the auspicious.</p>	<p>公主發瑤臺之光， 含珠樹之芳， 蓄兌靈以纂懿， 融須編而啓祥。 [Fig. 4.17, 9/4-9/27]</p>

³¹⁰ The rite of pairing is the same as marriage.

³¹¹ Mao suggests *chu* 儲 as a possible character in this space (Mao Hanguang 1984-1994: 11).

<p>The gods have granted her the four womanly virtues,³¹² at birth she knew the hundred comportments, pleasant, beautifully sustained, luminous, bright, and fragrant.</p>	<p>神授四德， 生知百行， 郁穆韶潤， 清明爽烈。 [Fig. 4.17, 9/28-10/11]</p>
<p>The jade flowers of sparkling colors ornament the Sparrow-plum;³¹³ The kingfisher feather of stilled freshness adorn the leaves of the Fragrant Begonia.</p>	<p>瓊蕤泛綵， 拂穠李之花； 翠羽凝鮮， 綴香茗之葉。 [Fig. 4.17, 10/12/-10/29]</p>
<p>Hence, She honored the words of the Instructress, [and] received the lessons of the purple apartments. She adroitly learned the music of Yao and Shao, [and] sculpted her phrases [like] rich brocade. Singing the unparalleled Air of the Shu Wife;³¹⁴ Chanting the enlightened teachings of her Governess.³¹⁵ She acted only according to <i>li</i>, perfecting the manner of Chaperone and Tutor; Her words can be taken as a standard, exciting the admiration of the empress and emperor.</p>	<p>是以奉言彤史， 承訓紫闈， 敏學雲[韶]， 雕詞錦繡 歌庶姜之絕風， 吟師氏之明誥。 動必由禮， 備保傅之容； 言斯可則， 興后皇之歎。 [Fig. 4.17, 10/30-12/19]</p>

³¹² The four female virtues are the following: virtues of the mistress 婦德, the words of the mistress 言, the visage of the mistress 婦容, and the merits of the mistress 婦功.

³¹³ Here is a reference to the Princess Yongtai. The sparrow-plum contains two characters *nong* 穠 and *li* 李. *Nong* is the same character as the second character for the Princess's Yongtai's name (see Fig. 4.17, 3/32), and Li of course, is the imperial last name.

³¹⁴ Reference not found.

³¹⁵ This phrase alludes to "I will go to tell my nurse 言告師氏" from the *Shijing* ode Getang 葛覃, which describes *guining* 歸寧, returning home to visit parents for the first time after marriage 回家省親. *Shijing*, *Getan* 葛覃 CY: 1679.

<p>Her will for wisdom was never violated; [to] the Shao music³¹⁶, [she] was true and sincere; A heavenly light gathered from great distances; the peachwood tablets were swiftly opened. Favor piled up [in the form] of hair pins and earrings a district was provided for her shower and shampoo. On greatly inaugurating the Garden of Pingyang, at once we heard of the Earl of Shan's³¹⁷ escort [mission].</p>	<p>慧志罔渝， 韶音允塞， 天光誕集， 楸冊選開。 寵盛簪濯， 邑延湯沐， 大啓平陽之園， 俄聞單伯之送。 [Fig. 4.17, 12/20-13/16]</p>
<p>An edict on the sixth day of the ninth month of the first year of Jiushi (700) dubbed her Countess Yongtai with an entitlement of one thousand households.</p>	<p>以久視元年九月六日， 有制封永泰郡主，食邑一千戶。 [Fig. 4.17, 13/27-13/18]</p>
<p>The Heir to the Prince of Wei, Wu Yanji,³¹⁸ is a leaping dragon amongst the handsome relations, an able and good man who has gathered great repute [X]good things center on his personal self; the great jewel is the best of the group of gems. The son who has no father, alone he has contracted a royal wedding; the imperial home would still be the main residence.</p>	<p>嗣魏王武延基， 濯龍英戚， 嘉魚碩望， 口樂攢於厥躬； 琳琅奪於群寶。 闕父之子， 獨預王姻； 齊侯之家， 仍爲主第。 [Fig. 4.17, 14/19-15/28]</p>

³¹⁶ *Shao* is the title of a piece of music attributed to the legendary Emperor Shun 舜. When Confucius heard the *Shao* music in the kingdom of Qi, he did not taste meat for three months. *LY* 7 “Shu'er 述而”: 129.

³¹⁷ *Shanbo* is the emissary who brought the daughter of the King of Zhou in marriage to the Duke of Qi. *CQZZ*: 136.

³¹⁸ See p. 52, footnotes 91 and 92.

To marry with a star spirit, [X] the rivers and the islands. ³¹⁹	結褵星精， 口粹河洲，
Precious bows stored in cases multiply above the bubbling springs.	寶弓藏櫝， 紛泌泉之上；
The wondrous pearls collected in the square casket, sparkle in the court of the brilliant treasury.	神璫蘊笥， 爍炎庫之庭。
The purple yarn hangings on the laden chariots; The yellow tablet and the hanging sash; ³²⁰	紫罽盈拑， 黃珪委綬，
glimmer[X][X] lock; the fragrant cosmetics casket and the still mirror.	澤口口鎖， 香奩凝鏡，
Making ample store of gold and kingfisher feathers in the Western Palace;	蔚金翠於西城， 降歌鐘於北闕。
conferring singers and bells at the Northern Portal.	[Fig. 4.17, 15/29-17/18]

³¹⁹ This phrase refers to the phrase “‘Fair, fair,’ cry the ospreys, On the island in the river. Lovely is this noble lady, Fit bride for our lord.../關關雎鳴，在河之洲，窈窕淑女，君子好逑...” (English translation, Waley 1986: 81) in the *Shijing* Ode Guanju 關雎.

³²⁰ A silk ribbon or sash used by officials. One can tell the difference in their ranks by the different colors.

<p>Ever since the dragon died by the male sword,³²¹ the phoenix, alone, has been sad Before the fire had been changed,³²² the empty cedar raft³²³ afloat. The pearl in the womb is destroyed;³²⁴ Such lament for the lack of fragrance for ten miles. The jade flower wilts, and (one is) angry at the secret medicine of the twin children.³²⁵ Nüwa's flute tunes ride the emerald smoke, leaving suddenly; The flute sound of Nongyu³²⁶ go into the colored clouds and do not return. Oh woe! Alas and Alack! [The Princess Yongtai] passed away on the fourth day of the ninth month in the first year of Dazu (October 9, 701), her springs and autumns numbering only seventeen.</p>	<p>自蛟喪雄鏢， 鸞愁孤影， 槐火未移， 柏舟空泛， 珠胎毀月， 怨十里之無香； 瓊萼凋春， 忿雙童之祕藥； 女娥篴曲， 乘碧煙而忽去； 弄玉簫聲， 入綵雲而不返。 嗚呼哀哉！ 以大足元年九月四日 薨，春秋十有七。 [Fig. 4.17, 17/19-19/30]</p>
<p>The emperor then was stewarding the country, in the right moment built the palace for marriage,³²⁷ Lamenting the inhumanity of the Heavens, Sighing at the unluckiness of the imperial glory. His Royal Plans have just begun; the mandate from heaven brand new,</p>	<p>皇帝在昔監國， 情鍾築館， 悲蒼昊之不仁， 嘆皇瑩之無祿。 寶圖伊始， 天命惟新，</p>

³²¹ See pp. 51-52, 139 above.

³²² This refers to kindling in winter, and the changing of the fire signals the changing of the season. So this refers to the change from winter to spring.

³²³ A cedar raft is a metaphor for a widow.

³²⁴ Destroyed moon is a metaphor for a failed pregnancy.

³²⁵ This may be a reference to the *ershu* 二豎 (a source of illness) or to the two Zhang brothers, favorites of Empress Wu Zetian who were eventually executed by the forces of the coup that brought Zhongzong to power. See footnote 92.

³²⁶ Nongyu 弄玉 was the daughter of Duke Mu of Qin 秦穆公 of the Spring and Autumn period. She was married to a man called Xiaoshi 蕭史 who was greatly skilled in playing the vertical flute *xiao* to such an extent he could make phoenix calls on it, and they lived in the phoenix pavilions 鳳臺. One day, he called forth phoenixes, and the couple ascended to the heavens.

³²⁷ This refers to the residence Duke Zhuang of Lu built outside the city, some say outside the palace, for the daughter of the Zhou king before the marriage ceremony.

He considers the concept of a dynastic revival, pursues a standard of loftiness	顧復興念， 追崇峻典。 [Fig. 4.17, 20/1-21/9]
Copper crags slope up to the north; the Sword River ³²⁸ sweeps to the east. Offerings arrayed in a thousand carts, sent by ten thousand households To grant the good lands of red earth, to grant the origins of the [X] spring. Reading the eulogy of <u>Pingyuan</u> , one already understands her god-like perspicacity; According to the text of <u>Xungu</u> , one finally hears of [burial in] a shared pit. In the first year of Shenlong (705), she was posthumously honored as “Princess Yongtai.” On the eighteenth day of the fifth month of the second year (July 1, 706), the edict commanded the officials to prepare the rites to bury her together with the late Commandant-Escort in the northern plateau of the county of Fengtian ³²⁹ , as an accompanying burial of Qianling. So it is according to ritual.	銅巖北麓， 劍水東湍。 賦列千乘， 家開萬井， 疏彤壤之瞻映， 賜口泉之首命， 讀平原之誄， 已徹神明； 循穀也之篇， 竟聞同穴。 以神龍元年追封爲永秦 公主。 粵二年歲次景午五月癸 卯朔十八日庚申，有制 令所司備禮，與故駙馬 都尉 合窆於奉天之北原，陪 葬乾陵，禮也。 [Fig. 4.17, 21/10-25/4]

³²⁸ The place Jianshui 劍水 is mentioned in the chapter on geography in the *JTS*, “*dilizhi* 地理志” 44: 1148-1149. According to this passage, Jianshui is close to Laoshan 牢山 and the settlements of the Jiankun 堅昆 peoples. Tang Taizong set up the Jiankun as a superior prefecture (*fu* 府) which is today west of Hami in Xinjiang Province. The other possibility is that this phrase refers to Jiannan Dongchuan 劍南東川. Jiannan was a *dao* (province) which included parts of Sichuan, Gansu, and Yunnan. The Changjiang River marked its northern borders. Dongchuan was the eastern part of this province and it included the prefecture (*zhou* 州) of Jian (劍). *ZWDCD* 2: 1214.

³²⁹ In 684 AD, the Empress Wu Zetian set aside the following five counties: Liquan 醴泉, Shiping 始平, Haozhi 好畤, Wugong 武功, Yongshou 永壽 for the use of the mausoleum of Emperor Gaozong; the whole area was thus called Fengtian 奉天. Fengtian formerly belonged to the capital district Jingzhaofu 京兆府 and is now a part of Qian County 乾縣。

The multitude of white chariots, the tips of red flags sweep the clouds.	縞駕紛紛， 赭旌掃雲，
The fragrant cassia has been [X] destroyed, the dirge scatters in the wind.	香桂口滅， 哀挽風分，
The red lichen grows thickly; the characters of the stele are old.	紅癩濃兮碑字古， 蒼松合兮山道[嘿]，
Hoary pines grow into arches; the mountain paths grow dark.	珠襦玉匣竟何向， 石馬陵邊皇女墳。
Where have the pearled garment and jade casket gone? To the Imperial Daughter's tomb beside the Mausoleum of Stone Horses.	[Fig. 4.17, 25/5-26/19]
The inscription reads:	其銘曰：
The precious lineage enfolding lights, abundant, clear and bright.	寶系重光。 葳蕤焜煌。
Endless august presence, The emperor who understands and sees clearly.	於穆不已， 明明天子。
The born princess, visage like plums	克誕王姬， 顏如桃李。
The plums are thick; the princess is dignified in composure.	桃李伊穠， 王姬肅雍。
Her virtue is soft and excellent; her demeanor is pliant and quiet.	柔嘉其德， 婉嫻 ³³⁰ 其容，
Such [X] gentleness, both warm and serious	其口允淑， 既溫而肅。
The gold mirror holds elegant flowers; the precious flowers are cuppable (in one's hands).	銚鏡含葩， 瓊蕤可掬。
Elegant and easy in her movements, she is as stately as a mountain and as majestic as a river ³³¹	委委蛇蛇， 如山如河。
A phoenix comes to roost on the tower post; a dragon curls on the weaving shuttle.	鳳棲樓柱， 龍盤織梭。

³³⁰ Pliant and quiet 順靜也。 This phrase has been used to describe Empress Yang of the Jin. *ZWDCD* 4:166.

³³¹ “Companion of her lord till death, The pins of her wig with their six gems, Easy and stately, Like a mountain, a river...君子偕老，副笄六珈·委委佗佗·如山如河...” is the first line of *Junzi jielao* 君子偕老 in the *Shijing*. (Text Legge 1994 : 76; English translation Walcy 1996: 77).

The hundred deeds are not lacking The princess bride ³³² ascends the moon.	百行無闕， 降嬪登月。
The double knots tying together, the six locks of jade decorated hair ³³³ .	雙帶結襜， 六珈環髮。
The spirit sword is hard to halt; The immortal clouds easily cease.	神劍難駐， 仙雲易歇。
The immortal clouds cease, oh! The Emperor grieves. The jade flute's notes are blown soundlessly away.	仙雲歇兮慟睿情。 玉管飄颺無留聲。
The long-legged spider flies, oh! The brocade casket is destroyed. The lizard runs, oh! The silver stairway tilts.	蠨蛸飛兮錦笥滅， 蠃蜒去兮銀墀傾。
White shroud songs, oh! The dew [X] vanishes. The funeral carts follow, oh! The day's light lessens	哀縞挽兮露口解， 徂靈輜兮日少晶。
Outlines of Fengtian Mountain--vast . The green pines and the dark junipers line up in the forest.	奉天山兮茫茫， 青松黛栝森作行。
In her underworld apartments and darkened towers, secluded and deep. When, in a thousand autumns or ten thousand years, will it be dawn?	泉閨夜臺相昏篠， 千秋萬歲何時曉？ [including all <i>ming</i> phrases above, Fig. 4.17, 26/20-32/10]

4.3.2 Headings

The covers ((*ti* 題) of all five epitaph stones have survived and read as follows:

The Text of the Epitaph Stone of 大唐永泰公主志石文
Princess Yongtai of the Great
Tang

The Epitaph of the Former 大唐故長樂公主墓誌銘
Princess Changle of the Great
Tang

³³² “*Bin* 嬪” is the term for an emperor’s daughter marrying. “*Xiang* 降” is a term often used to describe the act of the princess marrying.

³³³ Refers to *Shijing*’s *Junzi jiela* 君子偕老 in footnote 331, page 185.

The Epitaph and Foreword of the 大唐故新城長公主墓志并序
Former Elder Princess Xincheng
of the Great Tang

The Epitaph and Foreword of the 大唐房陵大長公主墓誌銘并序
Great Elder Princess Fangling of
the Great Tang

The Epitaph and Foreword of the
Former Elder Princess of 大唐故臨川郡長公主墓誌銘并序³³⁴
Linchuan Prefecture.

Of the five princess epitaphs, Only Yongtai is called a “text” (*wen* 文) rather than an “inscription” (*ming* 銘). The small differences between the epitaphs of the five princesses show geographical rather than temporal boundaries. The three epitaphs (Changle, Xincheng, and Linchuan) from tombs of different periods in Zhaoling have the word *gu* 故, “former” or “deceased.” Fangling (Xianling) and Yongtai (Qianling) do not. Only two of the epitaphs have their writers named (Xu Yanbo for Yongtai and Guo Zhengyi for Fangling). The Yongtai text is the only one written “under imperial command.” The writer, Xu Yanbo 徐彥伯, was the Vice-Director of the Court of Imperial Sacrifices, Official Historian, Vice Director of the Palace Library, and Acting Secretary 太常少卿兼修國史臣祕書少監檢校中書. Princess Fangling’s epitaph was written by Guo Zhengyi 郭正一, Vice Director of the Palace Library, Acting Member of the Secretariat, Vice Director, Scholar of the Hongwen Academy, Supreme Pillar of State 侍郎弘文館學士上柱國.

4.3 Thematic Interpretation

Stylistically the epitaph is full of metaphors and allusions that affect the meaning of the stones as a whole. As Lattimore observed, “...allusions like metaphors need not

³³⁴ For how the characters are arranged on the epitaph cover lid, see Figure 4.1b. (p. 232).

merely decorate a poem; they can be crucial to its meaning; they can even, joined in a series, supply its main thread of meaning.”³³⁵ Thus in this section I will first examine the style, then the structure of themes.

The text was written in *pianwen*, or parallel prose. It is highly ornate, full of covert allusions and overt references. Traditional Chinese poetic theory distinguishes two different kinds of allusions, *bi* 比 and *xing* 興. *Bi* or comparison, is an overt analogy between the natural image and the human condition. *Xing* is when the natural image was more mysteriously associated with the human situation. Stephen Owen has translated this as “stirring” or “affective image.” In some poetry, the alternations involve some human activity in the first part of the stanza and a feeling or thought in the second part of the stanza. But whether the first part of the stanza is a natural image or a human activity, the pattern always suggests a correspondence between seemingly unrelated things.³³⁶ The major sources of the allusions and references in the Yongtai epitaph are poetry in the *Shijing* and the *Chuci* and stories taken from *Zuo zhuan* and the *Lixian zhuan*.

In these princess epitaphs, nine major themes follow one another in the epitaph texts roughly in the following order:

1. General Prologue
2. Imperial Lineage
3. Glory of Imperial Power and Family
4. Beautiful, Virtuous Qualities of the Princess
5. Enfeoffment and Marriage
6. Respect and Relationship
7. Illness and Death
8. Public Death and Funerary Ritual
9. Laments on the transience of life

These nine themes dominate the *xu*, albeit in different ways. Some passages are

³³⁵ Lattimore 1973: 406.

³³⁶ Owen 1996: 34.

very similar in their expression of the same themes; others use different words, content, and styles to verbalize the same theme. Not all epitaphs have all nine themes. Yongtai's epitaph lacks the passage on her wifely virtues. Changle and Linchuan do not have a Lament on the Transience of life. Fangling and Linchuan have the nine themes in roughly the same order. For some idea of how the themes proceed in detail, I have outlined the themes occurring in four epitaphs in **bold**. (table 4.6) Almost all the epitaphs follow the numerical order without many changes in the sequence. Thus, the princesses--though they died at different ages at different times and led very different lives-- were all described in texts with similar metaphors and the same allusions and their epitaphs were even composed with the same structure.

The *ming* also had a thematic structure which followed the *xu* structure closely (themes 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 9). These particular themes were first set out in the narrative *xu*, then paraphrased in poetic lines in the inscription *ming* (Fig. 4.23). There is one new theme in the *ming* which is not so important in the *xu*, what I call "bleak, sad scenes" which describe scenes of desolation seemingly not directly connected to the epitaph but which effectively conjure up the mood of lamentation. Thus, the structure of the *ming* is in the following order (please note that the numbering is the same for the *ming* as it is for the *xu* themes):

- 3.** Glory of Imperial Power and Family
- 4.** Beautiful, Virtuous Qualities of the Princess
- 5.** Enfeoffment and Marriage
- 6.** Respect and Relationship
- 7.** Illness and Death
- 9.** Laments on the transience of life
- 10.** Bleak, sad scenes

The analysis of each theme for the four epitaphs follows.

4.4.1 General Prologue

Yongtai's epitaph's general prologue about princesses (characters 2/1 to 3/25) follows immediately after the title of the epitaph, preceding the rest of the text. It skillfully evokes the past, weaving in many allusions to classical texts. From the beginning, "Beizhu 北渚" and "Dizi 帝子" in the first line allude to the famous first stanzas of the "The Lady of the Xiang 湘夫人," one of the Nine Songs attributed to the tragic poet patriot Qu Yuan 屈原. The poem begins thus:

The Child of God, descending the northern bank, Turns on me her eyes that are dark with longing. Gently the wind of autumn whispers; On the waves of the Dong-ting lake the leaves are falling. ³³⁷	帝子降兮北渚， 目眇眇兮愁予。 嫋嫋兮秋風， 洞庭波兮木葉下。
--	--

This stanza is full of longing and waiting for the Goddess. The poem goes on to describe the preparations for the Goddess, including a flower-filled room. Usually, the Lady of the Xiang was thought to be Ying, the daughter of Yao, who is technically a princess because Yao was one of the mythical Emperors of China. I would also say that this opening passage may also be a welcome to the dead princess who is entering the tomb, setting the scene of arrival and burial.

Next, the phrase, "是以彼蒹者唐，贊肅雍之禮," refers to the "Hebi Nongyi 何彼襪矣" poem of the "Songs of Shao and the South (召南)" in the Odes (*Shijing* 詩經). This poem is one of the most important references for the princess epitaphs. The complete poem reads:

How great is that luxuriance
Those flowers of the Sparrow-plum!
Are they not expressive of reverence and harmony

何 彼 襪 矣 ·
唐 棣 之 華 ·
曷 不 肅 雝 ·

³³⁷ Hawkes 1985: 108.

³³⁸ Legge 1994, "Odes of Shaou and the South": 35-36.

The carriages of the king's daughter?	王 姬 之 車 。
How great is that luxuriance, The flowers like those of the peach-tree or the plum!	何 彼 禮 矣 。
[See] the grand-daughter of the tranquilizing king, And the son of the reverent marquis	華 如 桃 李 。
	平 王 之 孫 。
	齊 侯 之 子 。
What are used in angling? Silk threads formed into lines.	其 釣 維 何 。
The son of the reverent marquis, And the grand-daughter of the tranquilizing king! ³³⁸	維 絲 伊 緝 。
	齊 侯 之 子 。
	平 王 之 孫 。

Shijing's "Little Preface (*Xiaoxu* 小序)" describes the poem as "in praise of some daughter of the royal House. Though she was thus of royal birth, in descending to marry one of the princes, she was not restricted in her carriages and robes by her husband's rank, and they were only one degree inferior to the queen's, yet she was firmly observant of wifely duty, and displayed the virtues of reverence and harmony."³³⁹ This idea, that the imperial princess conforms to the standards of her husband's class, is one of the most important virtues and ideas for a princess.

Fangling's epitaph is the only other one to have a general prologue on princesses. It refers specifically again to "Dizi."

She was like the beaded stars of God's Children that formed images in the Heavens; And the lotus-towering peak of the Heavenly Grandchildren that formed shapes on the earth. Hence, she left her lingering fragrance on plain tablets, accumulated excellence in pictorial volumes. ³⁴⁰ In the past, it must be such a one	若夫 在天成象，珠連帝子之星。 在地成形，蓮聳天孫之岳。 固乃垂芳素簡， 韞美緝圖， 仙鳳發其嘉獻， 河鯉揚其淑問者矣。 [Fig. 4.20, 2/1-3/16]
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³³⁹ Legge 1994, "Prolegomena": 41.

³⁴⁰ Appears to be book 書 or scroll 軸 of pictures 圖籍. Examples include: "To inscribe the jade tablets as a model to the future; to record in the pictorial volumes in order to spread the fragrance. 書玉牒以垂範，紀緝圖而播芳." *ZWDCD* 7: 510

whose fair gifts the immortal phoenix proclaimed ³⁴¹ and whose good name ³⁴² the river carp spread.	
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Here Dizi not only refers to the “Child of God” in the Lady Xiang poem but also to a star.

The Princess Changle epitaph has one part on princesses in general. It is not a “General Prologue” like the other two and in fact it was placed, not at the beginning, but rather at the end of a long line of descriptions of the beauty and glory of the Tang princess. However, I include it because it shows, like the General Prologues, a conscious awareness of the office of “princess” that stretches back to the Zhou dynasty. In fact, it is similar to the end section of Yongtai’s general prologue, “Thus, the glorious halo of the *wangji* 王姬 (princess) glows with radiance; so it has ever been since ancient times.”[Fig. 4.17,3/11-25]. However, it waxes even more hyperbolic. It compares Tang princesses to other princesses of previous dynasties and finds the latter inferior:

The Zhou <i>wangji</i> (princesses) vainly revived the song of the sparrow-plum; the Han princesses in the end became the butt of <i>boliang</i> . ³⁴³ Only she [Changle], the rare scion of goodness, has no peer.	周室王姬，徒興穠李之詠；漢 朝公主，終致柏梁之譏。惟懿 德之鮮儔，校往圖其誰侶。 [Fig. 4.18, 9/6-10-4]
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³⁴¹ Good and beautiful offerings. 嘉美之獻物也。ZWDCC 2: 911.

³⁴² A good name. 善名也。ZWDCC 5: 1323.

³⁴³ This refers to the Boliang Pavilion (Boliang *tai* 柏梁臺), which the Han Emperor Wu (141-87 B.C.) built in 115 B.C. and which later burned down in a fire in 104 B.C. HS 6: 182, 199.

4.4.2 Imperial Lineage

The Princess Yongtai epitaph follows the General Prologue with a definition of the status of the princess in the patrilineal line. The order is as follows:

taboo name³⁴⁴
 style
 relationship to founder (great-great-grandfather),
 Taizong (great-grandfather),
 Gaozong (grandfather)
 Zhongzong (father) [Fig. 4.17, 3/26-8/9]

The other epitaphs are quite similar in following the order of name followed by lineage. However, Changle, Xincheng, and Fangling state their place of origin, which, one would assume, are the same place, since they are all from the same family. However, two places of origin are stated. The Princess Changle epitaph section is as follows:

<p>The Princess' taboo name is Lizhi [beautiful qualities]-- a native of Didao county in Longxi Prefecture, the grandchild of Gaozu, Emperor Taiwu, Fifth daughter of the Emperor (Taizong), Elder sister of the Crown Prince.</p>	<p>公主諱麗質， 隴西狄道人， 高祖太武皇帝之孫， 皇帝之第五女， 東宮之姊也。 [Fig. 4.18, 2/1-4/12]</p>
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Thus the order for the Changle epitaph is very similar to Yongtai's:

taboo name
 place of origin (Didao)
 relationship to founder Gaozu (grandther)
 emperor (father)
 Crown Prince (younger brother—possibly Li Chengqian still)
 Zhongzong (father)

Changle did not have a style, but her name, interestingly, meant “Beautiful Quality.” Next in chronology, the Princess Xincheng epitaph below follows exactly the same order:

³⁴⁴ The taboo name was the name of the person in real life, which became forbidden upon death.

The Princess's taboo name, style ³⁴⁵ —a native of the County Didao in Longxi Prefecture.	公主諱字， 隴西[狄]道人
The grandchild of Gaozu, Emperor Taiwu [Gaozu],	高祖太武皇帝之孫 太宗文皇帝之女
Daughter of the Wen Emperor Taizong,	皇帝之 X 母妹[也]
Full sister of the Emperor [Gaozong]	[Fig. 4.19, 2/1-3/7]

taboo name (not carved)

style (not carved)

place of origin (Didao)

relationship to founder Gaozu (grandfather)

Taizong (father)

Gaozong (older brother)

Fangling's section is also exactly the same but for one difference, that her place of origin is Chengji, not Didao:

The princess's taboo name is <i>mou</i> [so and so]. ³⁴⁶ She is from the area of Chengji in Longxi.	公主謂某 隴西城紀人也 景皇帝之孫
The grandchild of the Emperor Jing	太武皇帝之第六女也
The sixth daughter of the Emperor Taiwu [Gaozu].	[Fig. 4.20, 3/20-4/17]

taboo name

place of origin (Chengji)

relationship to Emperor Jing (grandfather)

Emperor Taiwu (father)

The Princess Linchuan did not have the place name of her ancestors but added the identity of her mother:

³⁴⁵ Her taboo name and style were both left out either deliberately or as the result of an oversight.

³⁴⁶ Here, the word *mou*, meaning "so and so," probably functioned only as a filler.

The latter two points show how political factors can be seen in the epitaphs, though the format for recording imperial lineage is basically identical.

4.4.3 *Glory of Imperial Power and Family*

Two lines in the Yongtai epitaph pay tribute to the imperial family as a kind of Olympian family—uncontestedly lofty [Fig. 4.17, 8/8-9/3]. Written earlier, the Changle epitaph takes an even more aggressive style. According to this section taken from Changle’s epitaph, the Tang dynasty far surpasses the dynasties of the past:

<p>Now, its jade-like origin is a model to earth; its precious mandate is prior to Heaven. Moving the <i>ding</i> of Fenyin,³⁵⁰ achieving merit as lofty as the Creator of all things; [silently?] carving the stones of Taishan; the benevolence echoes throughout China. It is not only that the years legitimate the lands, surpassing the royal chronology of the Shang and Zhou; It is also that the [imperial kin] trunk and branches’ numerous accomplishments exceed the protective of Lu and Wei.³⁵¹</p>	<p>若夫瑤源紀地，寶命先天。 遷汾陰之鼎，功高造物，聳刻太山之石，德洞函夏。 豈直載祀無疆，軼商周之御歷； 本支多藝，邁魯衛之作屏而已哉。 [characters 4/13-5/33]</p>
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Linchuan’s epitaph also celebrates the Imperial lineage, but in a more metaphorical way:

<p>How great is the lineage they founded! How far the rays of auspiciousness penetrate due to generations of goodness. The run-away comet grants auspiciousness upon the fair isles;³⁵² the</p>	<p>開基發系之隆， 積慶重光之遠。 奔星降祥於華渚， 飛雲錫瑞於高丘，</p>
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³⁵⁰ Fenyin, place named for being south of the Fen River. Han Wudi once found a precious *ding* tripod here, and changed his reign era to Yuanding 元鼎 (116 BC). The district was re-named Baoding 寶鼎 in the 10th year of Kaiyuan (722).

³⁵¹ The rulers of Lu and Wei were cousins and their politics were similar and therefore brother kingdoms. This is an analogy for the imperial family. *LY*: 262.

³⁵² The “fair isles” are again references to Qu Yuan’s “Lady of the Xiang.”

<p>flying clouds bestow auspiciousness upon the high mounts. The Immortal plants footprints upon the shifting sand; the star of Shangjiang passes on its name by the reclining stone. Originally, the immortal structures are steep and thus the Kunlun Mountains inherit the Heavens; and the immortal spirit was broad and thus the dark waves surrounded the land.³⁵³</p>	<p>真人播跡於流砂， 上將馳名於一寢石。</p> <p>故巖巖仙構，崑岳所以承天； 淼淼神輪，溟波以之括地。</p> <p>[Fig. 4.21, 3/5-4/23]</p>
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4.4.4 Beautiful and Virtuous Qualities of the Princess

The passage describing the princess alternate with descriptions of her beauty and virtue, direct references to various virtuous women in history and *xing* 興—affective metaphors of the moon, the Wu star, flowers, a fine book, a mirror, and so on. The Yongtai Princess epitaph begins by describing the princess as radiant and fragrant. Then it describes a colorful, delicate jade flower with emerald leaves, an affective image of the princess. She is virtuous in character, speech, visage, and deed. She also studies assiduously the former histories in order to emulate especially the former Empresses and Consorts—references to the *Shijing* and to the *Zhenshun Zhuan* 貞順傳 (“Biographies of the Chaste and Submissive”). By the two characters *bao* 保 (Chaperone) and *bo* 博 (Tutor), the epitaph makes a reference to the story of the widow Boji 伯姬, whose tale make clear the principles of chastity. Boji was married to Duke Gong of Song (宋恭公) for over ten years until his death. One night a fire broke out. Boji resisted all suggestions of leaving her quarters until both her Chaperone and Tutor had arrived. The Chaperone arrived in time, but the Tutor did not. Boji refused to escape, saying, “According to rules for ladies, one should not leave one’s apartments without accompaniment of the Tutor. It is far better to die and

³⁵³ *Hainei Shizhouji* 海內十洲記 refers to the outer boundaries of Penglai mountain, where a round sea surrounds the mountain. The sea water is black, and so is called *minhai* 冥海. The great waves were one hundred *zhang* tall, making it impossible to broach the land. *ZWDCD* 5: 1424.

obey the just rules rather than live and disobey the just rules.” Thus, she awaited her death by fire, according to propriety.

The Princess Changle epitaph refers not only to Boji, but also to Zhenjiang 貞姜, the wife of King Zhao of Chu. King Zhao had undertaken a trip, leaving his wife on the Yi pavilion. The king Zhao later heard that the river had flooded and sent an envoy to warn and accompany her. However, the envoy forgot to take a *fu* 符 (tally), and Zhenjiang refused to leave the platform because she had agreed with her husband that if he summoned her he would use a *fu*. She said, “I have heard that the principle of a chaste woman is not to break one’s vows. The valiant fears not death in order to adhere to moral integrity. I know that if I follow the messenger I will live and if I stay I must die. But rather than abandoning my vows and principles to survive, I would rather stay to die.” The envoy hastened to go back to retrieve a *fu*. But by the time he returned, the platform had flooded over her and the Lady had perished. To commemorate her, King Zhao gave her the appellation (*hao*) of Zhen “chaste,” and so she was known to posterity as Zhenjiang.³⁵⁴ Thus Boji and Zhenjiang were both alluded to in the Changle epitaph (see next page).

The Fangling epitaph mentions Banji, a famous Han imperial consort who lost favor and wrote a famous *fu* bemoaning her fate. She was so virtuous, it was said, that she refused to ride in the same sedan as the Emperor. When asked for a reason why, she said, “When I view the ancient pictures and paintings, the good and sagely emperors all had famous ministers at their sides. Only the last emperor of the three dynasties had females accompanying him. Today if I do thus, would I not be like

³⁵⁴ There is a Yuan painting of this story in the Guangzhou Art Museum. See *ZHHQJ* vol. 9: 24, 122-123. Many thanks to Professor Whitfield who brought it to my attention and Dr. Sung Ho-mei who gave me its exact location.

those females of the last dynasty?”³⁵⁵

The following passage is Changle’s text on the virtues and beauties of the princess. The first part refers to stories described above. The second part begins to describe the princess, using metaphoric and affective language:

<p>The princess’s goodness comes from the Throne. She receives her radiant lessons from the consort star³⁵⁶. Her actions are soft and compliant, thus she has the mind of <u>Boji</u>; Her virtues are equipped with soft grace, and has surpassed the integrity of <u>Zhenjiang</u>. Her words form a model, her behavior and composure corresponds to the portents.</p>	<p>公主資淑靈於宸極， 稟明訓於軒曜。 行歸柔順，因得伯姬之心； 德備幽閑，有踰貞姜之節。 發言垂範，動容應圖。</p>
<p>[emphasis added] Bright as the nightly moon’s shining upon a jade forest, glorious as the aurora’s illuminating reflects pearly banks. To which were added sound understanding and inner beauty.</p>	<p>皎若夜月之照瓊林， 爛若晨霞之映珠浦。 加以惠心開朗，沉識韶令。</p>
<p>Scattering the jade scrolls amongst the pale green strips, the hanging mirror is ashamed of its brightness [or lack thereof]. The silver book gleams amongst the color strips, the spring flower hides their beauty.</p>	<p>散玉軸於縹條，懸鏡慚明； 耀銀書於綵牋，春葩掩麗。 [Fig. 4.18, 6/1-9/5]</p>

“Jade scrolls,” “silver book” are used as metaphors for the princess. The Changle epitaph further characterizes the princess as “Bright as the nightly moon that shines upon a jade forest, glorious as the aurora which reflects on pearly banks.” The moon was a consistently important image for princesses. In most of the other epitaphs, it was coupled with the Wu star.³⁵⁷ For example, in Fangling:

³⁵⁵ Zhang Jing 1994: 330. The story of Banji is illustrated both in the British Museum *Admonitions of the Instructress to the Court Ladies* scroll attributed to Gu Kaizhi (OA 1903.4-8.1, see McCausland 2003: 68-71) and on the lacquer screen from the Northern Wei tomb of Sima Jinlong 司馬金龍 (died 484, see Watt 2004: 158-159).

³⁵⁶ The Consort star, whose Chinese name is Xuanyuanxing 軒轅星.

³⁵⁷ *Wunii* 嫠女 is another name for Zhintü or the weaving maid. See note 19.

<p>She shows the style of the Wu star; she exemplifies the qualities of the moon—the gold nurtured by the River Li,³⁵⁸ the jade spread by the beautiful spring.³⁵⁹</p>	<p>稟神婺之姿，挺仙娥之質。 孕麗水之金府，播瑤池之玉英。 [Fig. 4.20, 4/19-5/9]</p>
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The Linchuan epitaph uses a slightly different way to style the metaphors of the moon and of the Wu star for the princess:

<p>The Princess inherited her spirit from the Most High, cultivated her purity at the seat of the emperor.³⁶⁰ She possessed the beautiful style of the precious Wu star, and shows the qualities of Jin'e.³⁶¹</p>	<p>公主稟靈霄極，毓粹宸樞， 含寶婺之韶姿，挺金娥之秀質。 [Fig. 4.21, 4/24-5/2]</p>
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The princesses were also celebrated for their cultivation and talents. The epitaph goes on to tell many more anecdotes of the literary exploits of the Princess Linchuan. When she was a child she won praise from her father, Taizong, for her calligraphy. According to the epitaph, even Wu Zetian was impressed by Linchuan's literary talents. In fact, the epitaph text shows Linchuan's intimate connections to the Empress (see also p. 68, chapter 2). Furthermore, the unusual cloud motifs which are the main decorative element on the epitaph cover are, Roderick Whitfield argues, especially relevant to the political agenda of Empress Wu at this time, and appear on a miniature embroidered skirt from Famensi which might have been offered by the Empress herself.³⁶² Thus, the princesses were praised for their attributes of virtue, beauty, and talent. The praise, common to all princesses, in this case highlighted the details in the

³⁵⁸ Li-shui was the name of an ancient river of the south in which gold was discovered, and stolen by passersby. It was mentioned in the *Hanfeizi* 韓非子. *HYDCD* 12: 1295.

³⁵⁹ 瓊華 “*qionghua*”, or the best kind of jade.

³⁶⁰ This might be a reference to the Emperor Gaozong and Wu Zetian.

³⁶¹ Jin'e refers to the moon, by association with Chang'e, wife of Archer Yi, who fled to the moon.

³⁶² Please see Whitfield 2004: 407-9.

history of the Princess Linchuan.

4.4.5 *Enfeoffment and Marriage*

Enfeoffment and Marriage can easily be separate categories. However, their proximity in the epitaph text seemed to indicate that the former took place right before the latter—therefore the two are interlinked. They are two defining moments in a princess's life. A Tang princess, when she comes of age, is given an official title, --Yongtai, Changle, and Fangling are all titles of this sort. Along with this the taxes from households in a region were dedicated to her private use. This appanage is called “*shiyi* 食邑.”

Further gifts of land and sometimes even the enfeoffment itself are called “shower and shampoo (*tangmu* 湯沐).” The reference alludes to Zhou times when the Emperor would give each Duke grounds for purification. Various sources during and before the Han also stated that meritorious ministers had a lodging site (*chaosu zhi yi* 朝宿之邑) in the capital and a bathing site (*tangmu zhi yi* 湯沐之邑) near Taishan. Later emperors also gave such sites to Empresses and princesses, and *tangmu* became a kind of land for the private sustenance of imperial retainers.³⁶³

Princesses were important to the imperial family for the marriage alliances they secured. They married into other clans of distinction in order to secure the latter's loyalty to the throne. Tang princesses also forged bonds between the Tang government and neighboring powers by marrying “barbarian” leaders.³⁶⁴ The celebrated princess Wencheng 文成 who was married to the Tibetan ruler in 641 is one. Thus, this type of princess, self-sacrificing, noble in the face of duty to the country, is a notable type of the early Tang period. Though they, “like all women, ceased to belong

³⁶³ *ZWDCD* 5: 1401

³⁶⁴ For the importance of princess marriage alliances to foreign leaders see Pan 1997: 109-126.

to their family of birth as soon as they were married, and became part of their husbands' households."³⁶⁵ Yet princesses remained especially close to their natal families. Even married, they still received their dues from their fiefs, granted by the Emperor. When they died, it was the emperor who gave them the necessary funeral goods, granted land in the imperial cemetery, and created the crypt. Their husbands were sometimes even interred in the same satellite tomb to the Emperor's tomb, not in their own family plots.

For princess marriages, the authors of the epitaphs often refer to Shanbo 單伯 or Lu guan 魯館. Shanbo (the "Earl of Shan") is the envoy for marriage who accompanied the daughters of the Zhou Kings to the homes of their new husbands:

元年春王正月
三月夫人孫于齊
夏單伯送王姬
秋築王姬之館于外

Both "[It was] the [duke's] first year, the spring, the king's first month.
In the third month, the [late duke's] wife retired to Qi.
In summer, the Earl of Shan escorted the king's daughter.
In autumn, a reception house was built for the king's daughter outside [the city wall]."³⁶⁶

Lu Lodge refers to the reception hall Duke Zhuang of Lu (魯莊公) built for his new bride outside city walls. Thus, it was a lodge built for a Zhou princess. Duke Zhuang's father, Duke Heng (桓公) died in another kingdom, the Kingdom of Qi 齊.

Ceremonies in the Kingdom of Lu were suspended until the funeral ceremonies had been concluded and Duke Zhuang could ascend the throne. Thus, the princess, called *wangji* 王姬 at this time, had to wait. Because she was not yet married to the Duke, a special lodge was built for her outside the city walls, as was proper. The Lodge, because it was built by Duke Zhuang of Lu, was called the Lodge of Lu (Lu guan 魯

³⁶⁵ Twitchett 1994: 50.

³⁶⁶ Legge 1994: 72-73.

館). This reference is often seen in passages for the marriages of princesses.

The Yongtai and Changle epitaphs show the basic forms of the descriptions of princess enfeoffment and marriages. The Yongtai epitaph section concerning the enfeoffment and marriage can be divided into three parts. The first part [characters 12/20-13/18] is about her enfeoffment and her appanage. The second part is about her husband. The third part is some description of the wedding, the dowry, the musicians, and so on.

The Changle epitaph also has an extended section on enfeoffment and marriage, interesting for its progression from the enfeoffment of the princess to the wedding. The first part is about her enfeoffment and appanage (about 3,000 households); the second about plans for the wedding and her role in becoming part of a noble family; the third section is about her husband, Changsun Chong; and the fourth part about the wedding ceremony and rituals. There are also very lyrical passages about the wedding, where she is described as being like a goddess on “phoenix mount with slow wheels and willowy silver candles,” characterized as a Princess Bride descending from the Milky Way.

In the [X] year of Zhenguan, she was given the title and rank of Princess of Changle <i>jun</i> , and the taxes of 3,000 households for her support.	貞觀口年，詔封長樂郡公主、食邑三千戶。
Ritual privileges her jade and silk; her appanage is the acme of abundance. The lands encompass Chengyang, the Han Emperors would be shamed next to its abundant register. Her estate was invoked at Changle, ³⁶⁷ and the imperial sound would be shamed next to its symbols.	禮優珪組，賦極膏腴。 地兼城陽，帝劉愧其茂冊； 邑啓長樂，皇音惡其徽章。 然則

³⁶⁷ Tang territory in Gansu. *ZWDCD* 9: 917. One of the residential wards in the fashionable northeast sector of Chang'an. Xiong 2000: map 5.1, 217-219.

<p>This being the case, the Yao [Emperor] was called truly respectful³⁶⁸ and passed down the edicts for the marriage text.</p> <p>Emperor Wu was called perfect³⁶⁹ and promulgated the traditions of marriage.</p> <p>And using these, she descended in marriage to the country of Xuanping,³⁷⁰ and became a part of the Gui and Lü.³⁷¹ She selects [as husband] someone like Zijing,³⁷² and becomes a part of families such as Liang and Dou.³⁷³</p>	<p>堯曰允龔，垂敕降之典； 武稱盡美，著下嫁之風。 是以歸宣平之國， 既屬於媯呂； 選子敬之流， 亦俟於梁竇。 [Fig. 4.18, 10/5-12/26]</p>
<p>In the seventh year,³⁷⁴ she descended in marriage to Zhangsun Chong of Henan, Vice President of the Imperial Clan, Eldest son of Wuji, the Duke of Zhao, Minister of Education, and Grand Preceptor of the Crown Prince.</p>	<p>七年，降嬪於宗正少卿、 河南長孫沖，即司徒、太 子太師、趙國公無忌之長 子也。</p>
<p>Her pheasant robes rustles its brilliance, clinking jade pendants, she leaves the immortal [X]³⁷⁵; her phoenix mount with slow wheels is arrayed with willow silver candles, she descends from the Milky Way.³⁷⁶</p>	<p>翟衣振采鏘玉佩而出仙 口； 鳳駕徐輪羅銀燭而下長 漢。</p>

³⁶⁸ Respectful. 信然恭謹 *ZWDCD* 1: 1293-4.

³⁶⁹ These phrases come from the *HHS*, the chapter on the intellectuals who would not serve the empire and remained at large. “是以堯稱則天，不屈穎陽之高；武盡美矣，終全孤竹之絜。” *HHS*: 2755.

³⁷⁰ Xuanping was the name of the northernmost eastern gate of Han Chang’an. *HYDCD* 4: 1406. Possibly a reference to the Changsun clan, which came from east of Chang’an.

³⁷¹ Gui, a place where the mythological Shun 舜 lived with the two daughters of Emperor Yao, the name of the waters in Shanxi where it joins the Yellow River. *ZWDCD* 4: 211. Lü was a small state on the Fen 汾 river.

³⁷² The style 字 of several possible people through the dynasties, the most likely being Lusu 魯肅, of the Jin calligrapher Wang Xizhi 王獻之 (344-386). *ZWDCD* 4: 252-3.

³⁷³ Liang refers to Liang Ji 梁冀. Dou refers to Dou Xian 竇憲. They were both famously powerful and arrogant ministers of the later Han dynasty. They were also imperial in-laws. *ZWDCD* 5: 216. *HYDCD* 4: 1069.

³⁷⁴ The seventh year of Zhenguan runs from Feb.14, 633 to Feb.3, 634 in the western calendar.

³⁷⁵ Probably “realm” here.

³⁷⁶ Milky Way. 天河 *CY*: 3227.

In eminent status, she matched the harmony of <i>se</i> and <i>qin</i> . She fulfilled the period for cultivating purity in advance of nuptial rites. ³⁷⁷	在貴符瑟琴之好， 居滿脩蘋繁之潔。
Metal mirrors ³⁷⁸ were worn on her sash in the Orchid Room; ³⁷⁹ her womanly virtues [X] praised. Working the jade shuttle on the Spring Loom in order to rectify the Way of the family.	佩金燧於蘭室， 婦德口稱； 弄玉梭於春機，家道以正。
She explored the histories for long standing taboos; she questioned the rituals about established practices for progeny.	訪史佇戒，問禮貽則。
Her Chaperones and Tutors in ceremonial pairs as if on the Road of the Bronze Camels. ³⁸⁰ Her carriages ³⁸¹ and path beaters [X] the Gardens of the Leaping Dragon. ³⁸²	保傅相儀，儼銅駝之路； 輜駟警[策]，口濯龍之苑。
She spread harmony and forthrightness throughout the palace. She disseminated softness and pliancy to the fiefdoms and countries.	播肅雍於閨闈， 流婉嫕於邦國。 [Fig. 4.18, 10/5-16/18]

There are more references to wedding ceremonies. According to Waley, the wedding ceremony only occurs when the lady is introduced to her husband's ancestors. There are two special terms for the ceremony alluded to above as "wedding," *ping* and *fan*. These refer to two Odes in the *Shijing*, *Cai ping* and *Cai fan*.³⁸³ Both refer to the

³⁷⁷ *Pin* is duckweed and refers to the *Shijing* ode "Gathering Duckweed" *Cai pin* 采蘋. See section on enfeoffment and marriage. *Fan* is the white aster refers to the *Shijing* ode "Gathering White Aster" *Cai fan* 采繁. Both *Cai pin* and *Cai fan* refer to the bride's participation in worshipping in her husband's ancestors. These rituals are first part of the wedding ceremony and later one of the bride's main duties. See section on enfeoffment and marriage. See Waley 1996: 14-16.

³⁷⁸ Torch, mirror used in antiquity to start fires. *CY*: 1958.

³⁷⁹ A fragrant elegant abode..

³⁸⁰ There were two ancient bronze camels cast at Luoyang, and they became a famous sight, even in antiquity. Thus, in Tang poetry, bronze camels were often used to refer to Luoyang. The road to Luoyang is called the Road of Bronze Camels. *QTSDGCD*: 1870.

³⁸¹ *zi* 輜 and *ping* 駟 are covered vehicles usually used to carry women.

³⁸² In the *HHS*, the leaping dragon was used to refer to Eastern Han imperial family gardens, and later was used to refer to imperial kin or palaces. Here it probably refers to the imperial gardens.

³⁸³ See fn 377.

ceremony of serving ancestors. At the end of this section, there is a final sentence for summing up the virtue and beauty of the princess and the concept of marriage:

Although the Wu Star is bright, you who shone upon the Lu Lodge steal all splendor;	雖復 昭昭嫫女，映魯館而奪輝；
Although Chang'e is radiant, you who came up on the Qin Platform blot out all other colors.	皎皎常娥，臨秦臺而掩色。 [Fig. 4.18, 18/11-18/30]

Here the metaphors of the Star Wu and Chang'e (which stands for the moon), are used in conjunction with the Lu Lodge and the Qin Pavilions. Lu Lodge is as explicated above. The Qintai is a pavilion that Duke Mu of Qin had built for his daughter, who had the style of Nongyu 弄玉. Playing the Jade [Shuttle], her husband Xiaoshi 蕭史 played the vertical flute *xiao* 簫 so skillfully that he caused peacocks and white cranes to fly into the courtyard. He taught Nongyu to make the call of the phoenix, and after several years the phoenix would come to the house. The Duke made for them the Phoenix Pavilion. The couple stayed up there and did not come down for several years. One day, they flew away with the phoenix. Thus, this passage refers also to this story of transformation and immortality.³⁸⁴ Thus, in the end the Wu Star is paired with Lu Lodge (referring to political marriages of alliance) and the moon is paired with the Qin pavilion (referring to stories of princess couples becoming immortals). Both the political implications and transformation to another state are alluded to.

Fangling's epitaph contains a more complicated history of marriage and enfeoffment. As far as we know from history, she divorced once, married twice, and had at least one lover. Surely her epitaph writer must have struggled with the dilemma of conveying her story truthfully while at the same time attributing to her proper Confucian virtues:

³⁸⁴ Wang (1995). *Liexianzhuan*: 80-84.

And so, The Duke Lu built the Lodge, his favor extends to the “shower and shampoo” [estates]. The Marquis of Qi holds the <i>zu</i> , his ritual crown of utmost luxury.	於是 魯[莊]築館，寵兼湯沐， 齊侯執組，禮冠穠華。
On the second day of the 11 th month of the fourth Year of Wude [December 20 th , 621], she was given the title of Princess Yongjia and given to the Dou clan in marriage. After this, the <i>qin</i> and <i>se</i> became out of tune, and the guest-like affair [marriage] respectfully ceased.	武德四年歲次辛巳十一月甲申朔二日乙酉，封永嘉公主，降于竇氏。既而琴瑟調乖，如賓敬闕。
In the fifth year of Yongwei (654), her title was changed to “Great Elder Princess Fangling” and given to the Helan clan in marriage.	永徽五年，改封房陵大長公主降于賀蘭氏。 [Table 4. 8/5-10/16]

In terms of structure, the Fangling passage shows how marriage is always constructed: first enfeoffment as “Princess Yongjia;” then marriage to the Dou clan. Following the collapse of the first marriage, the second marriage was constructed similarly. First the second enfeoffment as “Princess Fangling;” then the second marriage to the Helan clan.

Later, there is a passage describing the wedding of Fangling:

Her luxurious, beautiful residence occupies the best spot amongst the other non-agnate imperial kin residences. ³⁸⁵	甲第華[豐] ³⁸⁷ ，擅戚里之貴； 魚軒鳳轄，叨下嫁之榮。
The phoenix linchpin on the fish scale vehicle clasps in its mouth the splendors of marriage. ³⁸⁶	[Fig. 4.20, 12/1-12/18]

This short description of her splendid marriage residence and magnificent carriage is not so different from the other princess epitaphs. Thus, following this basic structure,

³⁸⁵ *Qili* 戚里 is the area in Chang’an where the kin of the emperors are gathered.

³⁸⁶ The fish-scale decorated vehicle in which the wives of the nobility rode 諸侯夫人所乘之車. In this case, the linchpins were also decorated with phoenixes. *ZWDCD* 10: 596, 707. Birds ornamenting carriages are often depicted with something in their mouths. See British Museum’s scroll of the *The Goddess of the Luo River (Luoshen Fu Tujian 洛神賦圖卷)*. OA 1930.10-15.02 (Chinese Painting Add. 71).

³⁸⁷ This character is suggested by Prof. Lu Jianrong.

the epitaph writer gracefully carried out the task of describing the turbulent love life and marriages of the Princess Fangling, without too much detail on her failings.

In contrast, Linchuan's epitaph on her marriage used much more elaborate terms though it followed the same structure. The Lu Lodge and the Qin Pavilions are again invoked:

<p>She was given the title of Princess of the Linchuan Commandery. She received taxes of three thousand households as her domain. As for her husband Zhou Daowu, his status tops them all; his family great and honorable. His excellence surpasses those of the Chen family. [X] light shines on the chamber of Xun family³⁸⁸ And so she accepts marriage; he can marry a princess, being one of middle rank.³⁸⁹</p>	<p>尋封臨川郡公主，食邑三千戶。 駙馬周道務，地隆冠冕，門盛羽儀，英望逸於陳庭，口光照乎荀室。爰膺下嫁，克尙中行。</p>
<p>The Qin Pavilions³⁹⁰ released the radiance of the daughter of the Emperor. The Lu Lodge³⁹¹</p>	<p>秦臺紆帝女之瑩，魯館飾王姬之禮。</p>

³⁸⁸ Chen 陳 and Xun 荀 were two prestigious families in the Han dynasty which produced numerous famous men from the latter part of the Eastern Han until the Jin dynasty. Later, people mentioned “Chen” and “Xun” to connote well-respected, prestigious families.

³⁸⁹ middle rank. *CH*: 85, *ZWDCD* 1: 414, *HYDCD* 1: 589.

³⁹⁰ See footnote 326, p. 183.

³⁹¹ See p. 202.

ornamented the ritual of the Zhou Princess.	
In the seventeenth year (of Zhenguan, 643), the Hong Prefecture was added to her taxable domains and she held a fief of 350 households. She was given a great mansion, ³⁹² and [the Emperor] ordered a minister of fifth grade to act as her <i>menhe</i> . ³⁹³ The books of prognostication called it great fortune and auspiciousness; The Odes praised reverence and harmony. ³⁹⁴ The brilliance of Pingyang was the greatest of the Western Capital; Guantao's favors were broadly granted during the Eastern Han. Not surpass? [X][X][X][X].	十七年，加食洪州實封三百五十戶，賜甲第一區，仍令五品一人檢校門閤。易稱元吉，詩美肅雍，平陽之盛極西京，館陶之恩洽東漢，不之過口口口口。 [Fig. 4.21, 8/16-10/41]

The construction of Linchuan's epitaph is first appanage and enfeoffment, remarks about her Commandant-Escort's family, and some general metaphors for the marriage. Then the fact that she was given an extra appanage of 350 households to add to her original 3,000, official state servants, and a great residence in the city was noted. Though the praising of a princesses' mansion seems to be formulaic and mandatory, from textual accounts of how Princess Anle appropriated Linchuan's old mansion for her own in 706, one may infer that the Linchuan residence in the capital, though the couple spent much of their lives in the frontiers, was one of the larger and more beautiful residences there. "[When the princess] took for her own the residence of her aunt Princess Linchuan and cleared the people's huts nearby, the complaints rang loud and raucous. When the [new] residence was completed, the palace treasury was

³⁹² There were references to this great mansion when the Princess Anle tried to take it over in 706 AD. Please see passage following the translation.

³⁹³ Usually written as the Hemenshi 閤門使. The Hemenshi oversees access to the doors. Sometimes shown as holding a key of some kind. Later, in the Song, the Hemenshi became important also in overseeing ritual observances and festivities.

³⁹⁴ This is another reference to the poem "How great is that luxuriance (*Hebi nongyi*)," in the *Shijing*, especially to the line "Are they not expressive of reverence and harmony? (*he bu su yong* 曷不肅雍)." Legge 1994, "Odes of Shaou and the South": 35-36.

emptied, and the palace's ten thousand ceremonial cavalry and musical bands were borrowed to settle the princess into her residence. The emperor then honored the residence, giving a banquet for those intimate ministers."³⁹⁵ At the time, Princess Anle was the most powerful princess in the capital. And for her to take Linchuan's former residence means that it must have originally been very grand indeed. Thus, details about the princesses may be teased out when one knows the basic structure of epitaph writing.

4.4.6 Respect and Relationship: Serving the Husband's family

It was important to show the princess as being humble and amenable to the rules of the husband's family. There were several ways to show this in the epitaph. Some highly symbolic acts are serving food, pouring water for cleansing, and weaving. In addition, filial piety to both the natal and the husband's family were also characteristic of a good wife. Although the Yongtai epitaph lacks such a passage (she was probably not a wife for very long), Changle's epitaph explicates the expectations for a wife:

And yet, filial piety is inspired by the Heavens; kindness and love are inspired by the Earth. ³⁹⁶	然而孝友天發， 仁愛冥感。
Returning to the Vermilion [door] ³⁹⁷ to her parents' home. ³⁹⁸ Childhood ³⁹⁹ [X][X].	歸寧丹掖， 總笄口口，
Nurtured in the Purple Courts, given her cloth at the Golden Steps, she serves jade-like delicacies. ⁴⁰⁰	紫庭就養；金墀授巾； 而奉玉饌。
Such a standard!	比夫，
The filial daughter of Yi'bu [Yi'an in Sichuan] is	益部孝女非有帝子之尊；

³⁹⁵ XTS 84: 365.

³⁹⁶ Xiaoyou 孝友 is to honor one's parents and to love one's siblings. 孝順父母與友愛兄弟. CY: 783.

³⁹⁷ 1. side door to the palace, 2. side annexes of the palace, where the Emperor's concubines and consorts lived, *yingting* 掖庭. CY: 1268.

³⁹⁸ This phrase alludes to "guining 歸寧" in the *Shijing* ode *Getan* 葛覃, which means to return home to visit parents for the first time after marriage. *Shijing*, *Getan*. Legge1935: 7.

³⁹⁹ Literally, bound hair with hairpieces, an allusion to childhood. HYDCD 9: 995.

⁴⁰⁰ HYDCD 4: 522.

not possessed of the dignity of an Emperor's Child; The marriage[X][X] of the Kingdom of Qi [X][X] pavilion's simplicity.	齊國娶□□□閣之簡。 [Fig. 4.18, 16/19-18/8]
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Thus, the Changle epitaph first recounts her filial piety towards her parents and responsibility to her siblings. Then, when she returns to her natal home, she serves her parents with delicacies, taking care to remain filial and respectful. The princess correctly shows humility and does not flaunt her elevated birthright. The Fangling epitaph shows even more virtues for a princess wife:

She prepared the food and wine ⁴⁰¹ in a stately and sincere manner; ⁴⁰² she truly illuminated the foundation of the house.	允穆中饋， 寔光治誼。
True to her word and consistent in conduct, how can she [not] be called a model? ⁴⁰³	踐言履行，豈曰師資。 磬周折旋，必貽來範。
Perfect in her every motion and turn, ⁴⁰⁴ she must be an example for future generations.	
In raising the tray to her eyebrow level, ⁴⁰⁵ She did not deviate from the rites of Heaven.	而舉案齊眉，移天之義 無爽。
Holding the <i>yi</i> ⁴⁰⁶ and pouring water over the hands, ⁴⁰⁷	捧迤沃盥，巾櫛之禮不

⁴⁰¹ Wine and food 酒食也. Usually the duty of the women, especially to prepare food and wine for ritual. *ZWDCD* 1: 439.

⁴⁰² Sincere, natural, harmonious and solemn 誠然和穆也. *ZWDCD* 1: 1294.

⁴⁰³ Someone either to emulate or to cite as a lesson. *CY* 979.

⁴⁰⁴ Bent like a stone Chinese *qing* 磬, to symbolize humility.

⁴⁰⁵ To raise the food tray on the same level as the eyebrows. This is used to describe how wives respect their husbands. It originated from a Han story in which the wife of Liang Hong 梁鴻 served her husband food, raising the tray level with her eyebrows as a sign of her respect. See the painting *Gaoshitu* 高士圖 (10th century) by Wei Xian 衛賢 in Beijing's Palace Museum. See Hall 1989: 32-33.

⁴⁰⁶ Usually, this is written as the word *yi* 匜 (shallow oval ewer with spout, handle, cover and usually four feet).

⁴⁰⁷ *wo* 沃 means to pour. *Guan4* 盥 means to wash hands by cupping the water first. This phrase means literally, to pour water from the *yi* into cupped hands for cleaning. *ZWDCD* 4: 624.

⁴⁰⁸ *jin* 巾 is used for wiping the hands, *ji* is used for combing the hair, thus the phrase *ji jin* refers to washing equipment. In the past amongst aristocracy, the ladies in waiting and maids were supposed to hold such equipment, which later became the humble way of referring to a wife. *CY*: 967.

she observed the properties of towel and comb. ⁴⁰⁸	違。
Even those of old considered good and wise could not have added to this.	古稱賢哲，無以加也。 [Fig. 4.20: 11/7-13/7]

Later in the epitaph, there is more praise for her behavior. This time, it highlights her significance to the clan in general.

Additionally, she has the gift of generosity to her relations. She brings together her husband's and her natal kin. The way in which she teaches children is of great righteousness and of moral lessons.	加以 調親之施，載洽宗姻。 教子之方，義弘芳訓。 [Fig. 4.20, 15/4-15/11]
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In the Fangling passages, her strength in the greater family seemed to be just as well-regarded as her virtues as a wife. She seemed to be important as a teacher of morals to children, despite her two marriages.

Linchuan's epitaph also contains a description of her wifely virtues, mostly of filial piety:

Exceeding the repute of Lujiang, surpassing the discipline of Qimeng, ⁴⁰⁹ the princess bows to the ways of a wife, her will surpassing others in her family. ⁴¹⁰ Having displayed the joy of the nuptial event, she fulfilled even more the rituals of filial inheritance.	聲軼魯姜，訓超齊孟。 公主躬循婦道，志越家人， 既申迨事之歡，彌罄親承之禮。
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⁴⁰⁹ I could not find any historical references to Lujiang and Qimeng, but presumably they are virtuous ladies of antiquity.

⁴¹⁰ Members of the same family or servant or a commoner's home.

<p>And the Princess Consort [X][X] sees[X]pain overfills as if hearing thunder.⁴¹¹ The princess served [the mother-in-law] in death as she did in life. She bears her grief as regret.⁴¹² In words she first defers to the former mother-in-law. She makes no move disobedient to old customs. As for her solemnly paying respects to the Sesame Palace; her hastening to bow to the inner compartments [empress?]; her carrying out [X][X][X]; [X] were all in harmony with the precepts. Having decorum and principles, she was greatly skilled and greatly talented.</p>	<p>及駙馬口口覩口痛溢聞雷， 公主送終如始，銜悲若疾， 語必奉於先姑，動無違於舊則。 至於， 肅朝芝殿，趨拜椒闈， 行口口口，口皆協順， 有儀有則，多藝多才。 [Fig. 4.21, 15/12-17/16]</p>
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4.4.7 Illness and Death

The Illness and Death sections are standard components of the text, but sometimes they reveal political factors of the time. In the Yongtai epitaph [Fig. 4.17, 19-17 to 30-19] Xu Yanbo writes that Princess Yongtai’s husband had died previously but hints darkly that it was by a “male sword” and that within a year Princess Yongtai herself had died because of the “secret medicine of the twin children (*shuangtong* 雙童).” Furthermore, the Chinese scholar Wu Bolun, pointing to the phrase “The pearl in the womb is destroyed,” says that Yongtai had probably died of a miscarriage.⁴¹³ Further analysis of the characters Xu used in the epitaph seems to support this conclusion.

Epitaphs do often refer to illness as “the twin erects 雙豎,” alluding to a story in the *Zuozhuan*. In this story the Duke of Jin, who was very ill, dreamed of two young boys (*er shuzi* 二豎子). One boy feared the “good doctor” who comes tomorrow

⁴¹¹ A shocking event is referred to in Chinese “as if hearing thunder 聞雷.” The event in this case should be the death of the mother-in-law of the princess.

⁴¹² Literally, she feels her grief so keenly that she bears regret.

⁴¹³ Wu Bolun 武伯綸 1963: 59-62.

would hurt them and wanted to flee. The other replied that if they stayed and occupied the vital *huang gao* region⁴¹⁴, no one could cure the malady. Accordingly, the Duke of Jin proved to be incurable and died shortly after. Hereafter the term twin erects (*shuang shu* 雙豎) were often used to refer to an incurable illness. This was used, for example, in the Changle (Fig. 4.18) epitaph. The illness becomes incurable, and the princess dies, though first uttering virtuous sentiments for a simple burial:

Alas and alack! The year hurries the four seasons, [X][X] the two erects.	悲夫，年催四節， 口口二豎。
Visited the Qin Palace but could not find the Mirror of the Covered Heart ⁴¹⁵ , Prayed to the Queen Mother but could not reach the Drug of Long Life.	掩心之鏡， 訪秦宮而莫逢； 長生之藥， 祈王母而不至。
The Yue River overturn in the the Valley of Night; The candle in the wind flickers and dies in the [X][X].	閩水翻於夜壑， 風燭翳於口口。
The word by which the daughter of Jin declined was firmly solid. The will of Mujiang ⁴¹⁶ for a simple burial was clear.	晉女辭口之言惟幾彌固； 穆姜簿葬之志將絕踰明。
On the tenth day of eighth month, 17 th year of Zhenguan (September 28, 643) she died at 23 years of age.	以十七年八月十日奄然薨 謝，春秋廿三。 [characters 18/31-21/9] ⁴¹⁷

Thus, Changle shows that the term *er shu* “the two erects” were used in Tang epitaphs as a metaphor for a terminal illness. However, in the Yongtai epitaph (Fig. 4.17), the character *tong* 童 “children”, was used instead of *shu* 豎 “erect.” Xu may have used

⁴¹⁴ *Huang* and *gao* are the regions below the heart and above the diaphragm, the vitals. (Mathews 2274, 3296)

⁴¹⁵ This surely refers to the mirror owned by Qin Shihuangdi. There was an account in *Xijing Zaji* in which Han Gaozong found a magical square mirror. Amongst its powers, it was able to shine into the bodies of patients and find the source of illness. This worked if the patient covered their heart, “*yanxin er zhaozhi* 掩心而照之.” *HYDCD* 8: 65.

⁴¹⁶ Story in *CQZZ*, Year Nine of the Duke Xiang of Lu, 襄王.

⁴¹⁷ Fig. 4.18, p.248

the word *er tong* “twin children” to hint that the “twin children” rather than illnesses were actually the cause of Yongtai’s death. According to historical texts, Empress Wu Zetian killed the Crown Prince Yide, Princess Yongtai and her husband for their criticism of her young favorites, the Zhang brothers Yizhi 張易之 and Changzong 張昌宗. It was never clear how exactly Yongtai was killed.

However, it is a fact that the Zhang brothers were children compared with the eighty-year-old Empress. Wei Yuanzhong, a chief minister of Empress Wu’s court, even called them, “these two young children (*er xiao er* 二小兒)”⁴¹⁸ before his banishment. Xu cannot be insensible to the momentous events that divided the court before the death of Empress Wu and it would be feasible to think that, when commissioned to write the epitaph of the Princess Yongtai, who had suffered such a great wrong, tried to hint at the facts by inserting the character “child” (*tong*) rather than “erect” (*shu*). If the two children alluded in the epitaph were in fact the Zhang brothers, the statement that “(one is) angry at the secret medicine of the twin children” makes much sense. Thus, it may have been widely believed that the Zhang brothers secretly gave a drug to Yongtai, who then may have been killed by the resulting miscarriage. The full truth remains unclear. Nevertheless, the passages that follow mention again the affective image of “jade flower” from an earlier passage in praise of Yongtai’s virtue and beauty. This time, however, the jade flower does not blossom in radiance, but wilts in death.

Princess Fangling’s death occurred less violently, in fact while attending the Emperor and Empress at the summer palace Jiuchenggong 九成宮:

[She was] in the entourage of the	屬鸞駕龍旂，涼宮清暑。
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⁴¹⁸ ZZTJ 7: 6566.

⁴¹⁹ The vehicle decorated with fish skin traditionally ridden by the aristocratic ladies of ancient times. CY: 3503.

the simurgh's mount [the empress] and dragon banner [the emperor's vehicle, also standing for the emperor himself]. The cool palace for a lucid summer. The fish vehicle ⁴¹⁹ with the crane lid, the retainers from Qiyang.	魚軒鶴蓋，扈從歧陽。
Truly, she was said to preserve forever the hundred years, ⁴²⁰ extending her radiant features from childhood. ⁴²¹ How could she understand the evening rays of the sunset, when the shortened day was driven into the solar court. In great pain the wind-ruffled branches, in sadness one ascends the bare mountain. ⁴²²	實謂永保期頤，延慈顏於膝下。 豈悟高春落照，促日馭於曦庭。 痛切風枝， 哀經陟屺。
On the third day of the fifth month in a leap year, the fourth year of Xianheng, [the princess] passed away in her mountain residence in the Palace Jiucheng. Her springs and autumns numbered 55. Oh Woe! Alas and alack!	以咸亨四年閏五月三日薨於九成宮之山第。春秋五十有五。嗚呼哀哉。
The Cassia moon ⁴²³ lingers, forever cut off from the shadow of the Golden Moon. The Elm star ⁴²⁴ shines and glimmers, long sinking the light of the jade Wu [star]. Oh Woe! Alas and Alack!	桂月徘徊， 永絕金娥之影。 榆星曜彩， 長淪瑤婺之暉。 嗚呼哀哉。 [Fig. 4.20,15/16-18/25]

The last part of Fangling's passage has an interesting twist, in that the moon and the

⁴²⁰ 期頤 *qiyi* is someone who is 100 years old. *ZWDCD* 4: 1563.

⁴²¹ Childhood, when one lingers by the parents' knees. Love of parents for child. *CY*: 2570.

⁴²² These are all metaphors to a younger member of the family. The "wind-ruffled branches" signifies the pain of a filial son who could not fulfill his duties (*ZWDCD* 10: 107). The ascension of mountains, either *zhi qi* 陟屺 (ascending a bare mountain looking for mother) or *zhi hu* 陟岵 (ascending a bare mountain looking for father) refers to *Zhi hu* 陟岵 in the *Book of Songs* ("Airs of Wey"), where a young soldier climbs a mountain, missing his parents and older brother. See Waley 1996: 86-87.

⁴²³ The moon, or eighth month. *CY*: 1559.

⁴²⁴ Name of star, part of the constellation 玉衡星 in the *Chunqiu* star manual 春秋運斗樞. In Tang poetry, 奔榆 was often paralleled to 空桂. *HYDCD* 4: 1186.

star is again mentioned, however, this time they are seen as waning or sinking, and thus the metaphors carry on even into death and illness.

Linchuan's passage follows essentially the same pattern, but it has a more detailed account of her illness and death, including the honor of the Emperor personally sending medical personnel and medicines to her bedside:

<p>Ever since the princess reached the borderlands, she was increasingly ill with sickness of the wind.⁴²⁵</p> <p>The Edict of Mercy sent the oldest son, the Personnel Manager of Long Prefecture [X][X][X]⁴²⁶ and later the fourth son Jitong of the Left Personal Guards at the Capital⁴²⁷ riding quickly between post stations,⁴²⁸ bringing imperial medical attendants and medicines for her sickness.</p>	<p>公主自屆邊垂， 增動風疾， 恩敕遣長子隴州司功 □□□， 四子左千牛季童， 前後馳驛，領供奉醫人 及藥看療。</p>
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⁴²⁵ Literally, “activating illness of the wind.” Wind is one of the six basic illness categories and occur much to women.

⁴²⁶ *Sigong* 司功: “Personnel Manager: a prefix commonly found attached to the titles of Administrators (*canjunshi* 參軍事) and lesser members of Personnel Evaluation Sections (*gongcao* 工曹) in units of territorial administration. Hucker: 450. The three missing characters are probably his name.

⁴²⁷ The *Qianniu* guards were one of the sixteen guards at the dynastic capital. Hucker says “after mid T’ang a sinecure for members of the imperial family or other favored dignitaries.” Hucker: 153.

⁴²⁸ This term refers to officials summoned to or sent out of the capital hastily and thus able to obtain fresh fodder and horses from the posts in between. *CY*: 3451.

<p>In 679, the Commandant-Escort of the Princess was summoned to the capital for his role in pacifying border disputes. The princess followed [X][X][X] became ill.</p> <p>A blessed edict commanded her placement in the You Prefecture. Another commanded Jitong to bring the medical attendants and medicine for her illness. However, He and Bian⁴²⁹ themselves would not have been effective, the medicines were of no use.</p>	<p>調露元年，駙馬以克清邊難，驛召入京，公主隨從口口口中大漸。恩敕便令於幽州安置，又令息季童馳驛領醫藥看療，而和扁莫驗，藥劑無徵。</p>
<p>The vermilion ink attests to [X][X][X] character of the Sparrow Plum; The cold frost melts in the summer, to no avail is preserved only the name of the Divine Grass.</p> <p>She died in her residence in You prefecture on the 21st day of the fifth month, first year of Yongchun 永淳 (June 21st, 683 AD). She was of fifty- nine springs and autumns.</p>	<p>丹虹書口口口穠桃之節； 清霜夏殞，空留神草之名。 以永淳元年五月廿一日，薨於幽州公館，春秋五十有九。 [Fig. 4.19, 24/23-27/38]</p>

Under a generally similar structure, the Linchuan epitaph gives individual details about the princesses' illness and death. However, as was the case in other sections, the Linchuan epitaph gave many more details.

4.4.8 Public Grief and Funerary Rituals

The Yongtai epitaph [Fig. 4.17, 20/1-25/4] described the reburial as part of a mid-dynastic revival began by Zhongzong after the reign of Empress Wu Zetian; the Yongtai tomb was one of the symbols he employed to promote this program. In this way, the public grief for Yongtai (and Crown Prince Yide) was part of a political program promoted by their father. The Changle tomb, in contrast, tells of a father's very real grief. By historical accounts, Princess Changle was her father's favorite princess, and her passage must have saddened him enormously.

⁴²⁹ Refers to the famous doctors of antiquity Yihe 醫和 and Bianque 扁鵲. *HS* 100: 4233.

<p>Tenth day of eighth month, 17th year of Zhenguan (September 28, 643) she died at 23 years of age.</p> <p>The emperor deeply mourned the early death.⁴³⁰ He howled the three cries⁴³¹ and still could not vent his feelings.</p> <p>The Heir sorrowfully concluded the siblings' parting of ways,⁴³² in searching through [his] ten thousand sorrows he gained even more admiration [for her].</p> <p>The entire palace⁴³³ was [X]...The succession of emperors⁴³⁴ too lamented.</p>	<p>以十七年八月十日奄然薨謝，春秋廿三。</p> <p>皇帝悼深天蕙，懷三號而猶感；儲后痛結分荆，尋萬恨而增慕。</p> <p>闔宮惟口，列辟同哀。</p> <p>[Fig. 4.18, 20/27-22/11]</p>
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The public grief and burial shown in the Changle epitaph was extended and impressive. First of all, the political struggle between the second (Li Tai) and fourth (Li Zhi) princes for the throne had almost concluded by this time, as can be seen in the passage above, “The Heir sorrowfully concluded the siblings’ parting of ways.” Two ministers of the high rank were ordered to direct Changle’s funeral.

<p>On the 21st day of the ninth month, 17th year of Zhenguan (November 6, 643) she was laid to rest in an accompanying tomb of [Zhao]ling. Wei Ting, [X][X][X] Director of the Court of State Ceremonies⁴³⁵ and Dynasty-founding Baron of Fuyang County, supervised and</p>	<p>粵以其年歲次癸卯九月丁丑朔廿一日丁酉陪于[昭]陵。□□□[臚]⁴³⁶卿、扶陽縣開國男韋挺監護守，鴻臚少卿崔仁師爲副。</p> <p>[Fig. 4.18, 23/11-24/29]</p>
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⁴³⁰ orchid 佩蘭.

⁴³¹ Three ceremonial calls; one call each to sky, ground, middle in *Liji*, ritual records 三號呼也.

ZWDCD 1: 262.

⁴³² Metaphor for siblings to part ways, from the metaphor of a plant with three branches. *CY*: 341.

ZWDCD 1: 1641.

⁴³³ The entire palace. *HYDCD* 12: 143.

⁴³⁴ The succession of emperors. *ZWDCD* 1: 162.

⁴³⁵ However, it may be possible that Wei Ting was actually the head of the Court of Imperial Sacrifices, because there are references to him as such, but not as the head of Honglusi (or the Court of State Ceremonies).

⁴³⁶ This missing character 臚, referring to the Honglusi (Court of State Ceremonies) was supplied by Wu Gang 1994: 109.

protected. Cui Renshi, the acting vice director of the Court of State Ceremonies was his second.	
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Fangling's passage is shorter—the emperor's grief, the command for burial, the imperial gifts, the ceremony, and the honor of accompanying her father, the Emperor Gaozu's tomb--are all dispatched in a few lines:

Grief was deep in tasseled screens [the Emperor's throne]; favour lofty in the decree for burial. Funeral gifts included additions (to the usual); truly illuminating the eternal ceremony. And so on the fourth day of the tenth month [November 17, 673] of the same year she is to be buried to accompany Xianling [Gaozu].	悼深旒宸，恩隆詔葬。 贈贈有加，寔光恒典。 即以其年十月四日陪葬於獻陵。 [Fig. 4.20, 18/26-19/30]
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Linchuan's epitaph has a more detailed description of events, but it follows the same sort of content as that for Fangling.

[X][X]longing for the [Princess] Luyuan stirs grief, thinking of [Princess] Huyang leads to brush away weeping. Court was suspended for three days. [Imperial] Grief moved the ministers.	口口懷魯元以興悼， 想湖陽而掩泣， 廢朝三日，哀感群臣。
Thus [from the Emperor] unusual favor descended; to the eternal ceremony were added. One fifth-rank Capital official was sent, carrying the Imperial Seal to mourn and worship, to [X] confer secret vessels from the Eastern Gardens, and report thus to the spirit vehicle [the dead princess] and ship [it] back to the capital. The things of inauspiciousness, sadness, and burial were all ordered to be supplied at official cost, with the supplement of five hundred bolts of silk cloth and grain. And then Liu Xingman, Vice Director of the Palace Library, Acting President of the Court of State Ceremonial, was commanded to serve and to guard [the funeral]. Yin Chongrong, the Advisor to the Court of Prince Bo, was his assistant.	爰降殊私，式加恆典， 遺京官五品一人齋靈書弔祭， 口賜東園祕器，兼告靈輿， 逮運還京， 凶喪葬事，並令官給， 賜絹布五百段，米粟副焉。 仍令祕書少監柳行滿攝鴻臚卿監護， 柏王府諮議殷仲容爲副。

On the day of the burial, [the emperor] sent a servant from the court to give a set of clothing, added to the farewell for the departed as a further display of beneficence. The ceremonies were prepared to decorate the end [X][X][X][X] abundant today and in the past.	將葬之日，又遣內給使齋衣裳一副，重申臨訣。恩加送往，禮備飾終，□□□□我隆今古。 [Fig. 4.21, 28/1-31/7]
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4.4.9 Laments on the transience of time

The Princess Yongtai passage on the transience of time [characters 25/5-26/19 in Fig. 4.17] , although brief, runs through many conventions of laments over time. It talks about the tomb at a later date, when the characters of the stele are old, and the pines planted at the time of the burial would have grown into arches.

The Fangling epitaph also has a passage on the transience of time:

Witnessing the paleness of the sun setting; listening to the sadness of the winds blowing through the pines; fearful of the collapse of the known world. One hopes that this will be preserved by the great enterprise. ⁴³⁷ We carve metal and stones at the White Doors ⁴³⁸ and offer orchid and chrysanthemum ⁴³⁹ without end. Oh Woe! Alas and alack!	睹落日之蒼茫， 聽松風之悽切。 恐陵谷之遷變， 庶長存於芳烈， 勒金石於白門， 與蘭菊而無絕。 嗚呼哀哉。 [Fig. 4.20, 21/1-22/9]
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The discussion of the thematic interpretation of the princess epitaphs has shown that they have the same structure, though each of the nine themes is expressed in different ways and with different details.

⁴³⁷ *fanglie* is great and glorious work. *ZWDCD* 7: 1343.

⁴³⁸ Baimen are city gates, usually to the south west. *ZWDCD* 6: 852.

⁴³⁹ *ZWDCD* 8: 256

4.4 The Physical *muzhiming*

As noted above (section 4.1), what is called the *muzhiming* in Tang tombs usually consists of two pieces. One piece is the cover, which resembles greatly the lid of a religious *han* 函 casket (see figs. 4.1a, 4.2, 4.4, 4.6, 4.8, and 4.10a). The *muzhiming* has also been likened to a *he* 盒, a *lian* 奩⁴⁴⁰ or a *lu* 盞 shaped object⁴⁴¹ (see figs. 4.11, 4.12, 4.13). The epitaph stone itself is a square stone. Every side of the *muzhiming* is usually covered by carving with the exception of the undersides of both the cover and the stone (see figs. 4.1a and 4.1b). The size of princess epitaph stones varies from 60 to more than 100 cm. square. The cover fits over the square base exactly so that the epitaph text was completely hidden (see chart 4.1).

Sometimes, a piece of silk cloth was inserted between the two stones, presumably to protect the writing on the bottom stone.⁴⁴² Zhaoling excavation workers told me about the sheet of gold dust discovered on the top of the epitaph text when they excavated the tomb of the Precious Consort Wei 韋貴妃 at Zhaoling, which was probably all that remained of a luxurious protecting cloth.⁴⁴³ The excavation bulletin of the Princess Fangling tomb also reported a gray substance with a mixture of yellow and white shiny dust about 4 mm thick sandwiched between the stones.⁴⁴⁴

4.5 Implications of the shape: epitaph as record

The epitaph stone (with text) itself is a simple square reminiscent of marker stones for buildings; for example, the marker stone for the polo fields of the Daminggong 大明宮. During the 1957-59 excavations of the Tang palace, an

⁴⁴⁰ Cheng (1999): 16.

⁴⁴¹ Shaanxisheng kaogu yanjiusuo 1997: 32.

⁴⁴² *TCJSTM*: 40.

⁴⁴³ Zou Gui Hua, interview at Zhaoling, October 1997.

⁴⁴⁴ An Qingdi 1990: 5.

inscribed square stone was found about 1.2 meters below the present surface and 1.1 meters below the palace layer. Covered by a square brick, it had a polished center measuring 31 by 31 cm. and inscribed with elegant calligraphy, “Hanyuan Hall’s 含元殿 polo fields were built in the eleventh month of 831. 含光殿及毬場等大唐大和辛亥歲乙未月建”⁴⁴⁵ (see Fig. 14). The audience for this inscription is unclear, since it was buried, sealed with bricks below the floor of the palace, seemingly never to be seen again by the people who built or used the palace complex. I would argue that this square stone is not dissimilar to the *muzhiming*. The palace stone is a square slab with comparable dimensions to the epitaph stones (53.5 cm. by 53.5 cm.) The meaning of these square stones is perhaps to claim land—for the earth is full of strange creatures, not all of them friendly.

Another possible function of the epitaph stone is to mark a burial space. In 707, Zhongzong, Empress Wei, Prince Wen, the Princesses Changning and Anle, and the Consorts of State Chengguo 成國 and Chongguo 崇國 all cut off a lock of their hair for sacrifices to the sarira that was then buried beneath the pagoda of the Famensi Temple (See figure 4.15). A tablet was inscribed to mark this occasion and buried near the Famensi sarira treasure trove.⁴⁴⁶ This tablet looks exactly the same as the cover of a *muzhiming*. Thus, these are the possible functions of the *muzhiming* as a recording, a marker of things in the ground or as a foundation for palaces (like Daminggong) above ground. However, there may be other possibilities for the shape of the epitaph stone, which will be discussed below.

4.5.1 The Casket of Precious Things

Though various scholars have commented that epitaphs after the Northern Wei

⁴⁴⁵ *TCDMG*: 51-52.

⁴⁴⁶ Famensi bowuguan (ed). 1994: 24.

imitated the forms of other *mingqi* in the tomb, they almost never talk about the meaning of such a shape. The epitaph stones were shaped to resemble a beautiful casket, with a trapezoidal cover and flat square base. Liu Fengjun argues that the trapezoidal cover symbolizes the heavens and the square stone epitaph symbolizes the earth.⁴⁴⁷ However, this argument is questionable. Traditionally, the Heavens are associated with a round shape, and the cover is not round at all, but rather like a truncated pyramid. This lid shape has been referred to as a chamfered top (*lu ding* 盞頂). In the Song, the emperor laid the Treasure of the Mandate of Heaven in such a *xiao lu* (“little *lu*”).⁴⁴⁸ Visually, however, the epitaph cover resembles more the lid of a sarira (reliquary) casket. The reliquary box is usually square with truncated pyramid lid, generally called a *han* 函 (See Fig. 4.3) or a *xia* 匣. A *xia* referred to the case of flat objects, such as mirrors or swords.⁴⁴⁹ Other terms associated with this shape are *du* 匱 (small coffin) or *gui* 匱 (casket or small cabinet).⁴⁵⁰

Another clue to the shape comes from the *Tongdian* in a passage on spirit tablets:

In ancient customs, the spirit tablet is contained in a stone casket (*han* 函)...In Zhiyu's *Jueyi* it is written, “The temple tablet is hidden in the western wall outside the entrance. There is a stone *han* called *zongyou* 宗祐. There is a *si* 笱 inside the *han* which contains the spirit tablet.”⁴⁵¹

A *si* is normally a rectangular willow or bamboo container for clothes or food. A *zongyou* is also a small stone room used to house the spirit tablet.⁴⁵² According to this passage, the spirit tablet is placed in a *si*, then both the *si* and the spirit tablet were

⁴⁴⁷ Liu 1988: 80.

⁴⁴⁸ *ZWDCD* 6: 1001.

⁴⁴⁹ For example the mirror casket (*jing han* 鏡函) or the sword casket (*jian han* 劍函). *CY*: 336.

⁴⁵⁰ As cited in the *Jiyun* 集韻, “The *han* is a *du*. 函，匱也.”(*ZWDCD* 1: 1616) The *du*, interestingly enough, is defined as a small coffin. This is also interchangeable with *gui* 匱, a casket or small cabinet. (*ZWDCD* 2: 133)

⁴⁵¹ *TD*: 1348.

⁴⁵² This is the name of the stone room which contains the spirit tablet. (See glossary)

placed inside a stone casket called *zongyou*. I would conjecture that the shape of the *zongyou*, as a *han*, would not have been so different from the truncated pyramidal shape. Thus, this shape is traditionally used to contain the spirit remains of the deceased. Later, its shape was appropriated for the sarira box, which contains the physical remains of the deceased.⁴⁵³ Thus, it is possible that at some time before the Tang, the *muzhiming* stone may have been shaped to resemble such a casket which encased either the spirit tablet of the deceased or the physical remains of the deceased. Similarly, the *muzhiming* stone could be regarded as a casing for the biographical record, the literary remains of the deceased. (see figure 4.1a).

4.5.2 Decorative motifs

Fig. 4.17b shows that patterns on the borders of the epitaph stones vary from flower scrolls to apotropaic figures. Changle and Yongtai have all types, flower decorations, the twelve animals of the zodiac, and the animal deities of the four directions. Xincheng and Fangling have flower patterns and fantastic beasts. Linchuan has a rare three-cloud pattern on all sides.⁴⁵⁴ Thus, the border decorations vary, though the textual structure remains essentially the same.

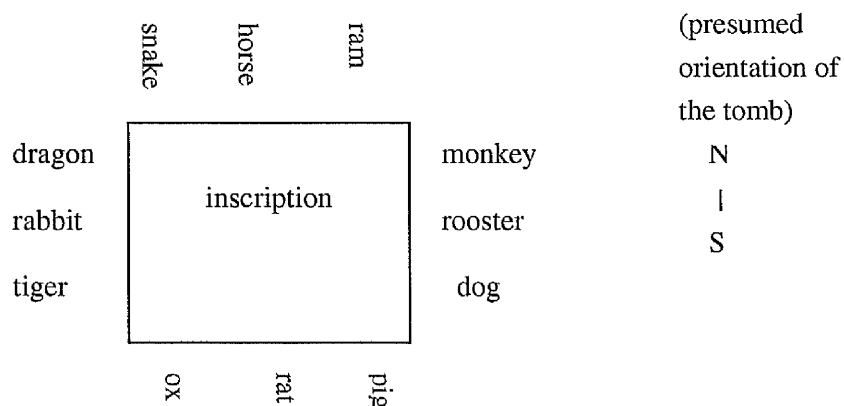
4.5.3 Orientation

It would seem that the twelve animals correlate to certain directions, signs, and times. For example, the rat is usually correlated to *zi* 子, and to the north. Thus, the usual arrangement for the epitaph, as seen below, seems to wrongly place the rat on the south side. Here it must be said that from a photograph of the excavation of the

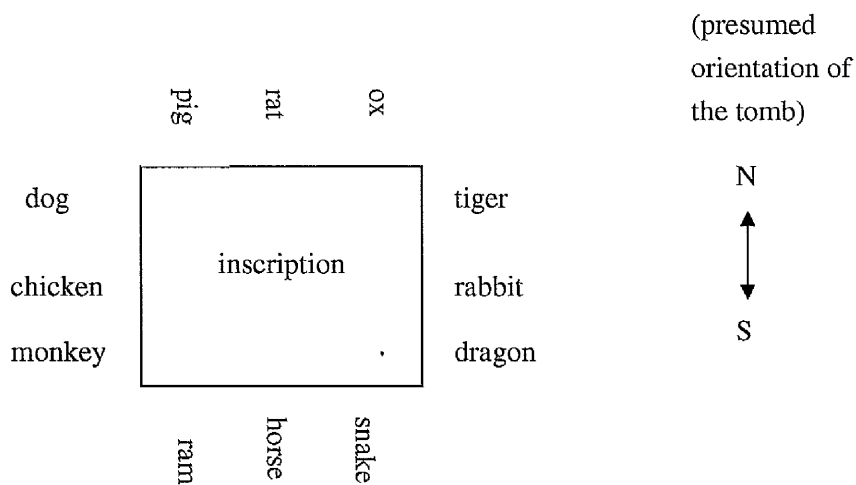
⁴⁵³ For similarities between the *sarira* deposit and the secular burial please see Whitfield 1989: 133-135.

⁴⁵⁴ For the possible significance of the cloud motif, see pp. 200-201 above.

Tang tomb of Duhu sizhen 獨狐思貞, the *muzhiming* is, as one would expect, placed so that one can read it walking *into* a tomb. (Fig. 4.16). Most Tang tombs, like that of Duhu sizhen, are oriented south (entrance) to north (chamber). Thus an epitaph that can be read the right side up upon entering the tomb should be top=north and bottom=south. Yet, in some epitaphs that have the twelve animals, for example, Yongtai, Yuchi Jingde, and so on, the rat--animal of the north--is usually carved on the *south* side of epitaph (the bottom center):



Compare this to some others, for example the Tang epitaph of Situ Mafu 司徒馬府:



In other words, each animal is carved on the side with which they were normally associated. Perhaps the epitaph was meant to be placed upside down. Or maybe Situ Mafu's tomb was for some reason oriented to the north instead of to the south. It was possible for this to happen. For example, Princess Gaomi had said before she died that though she could not be buried with her parents at Xianling (she was to be buried at Zhaoling), she wished her tomb to be facing eastward, towards Xianling (which was east of Zhaoling) instead of in the traditional north south orientation. The archaeologists excavating the tomb of Duan Jianbi reported that they had indeed discovered a tomb with an east-west corridor entrance (with murals) which they took to be the Gaomi tomb.⁴⁵⁵ The *muzhiming* is a microcosm of the tomb, for not only does it indicate the directions, but also its floral patterns match the decorative patterns that appear on stone doors, and even murals.

The shape, size, decoration, and orientation of the epitaph stones show a “boxing” effect. The epitaph stones are a microcosm of cosmic significance within the tomb. This is not monumentality on a grand scale, but purely one of concept.

4.6 Conclusion: *muzhiming* as literary body

From the analysis above, one can see that the epitaph text serves at least three functions: 1. It serves as a kind of “label” and record for the tomb, 2. The text themes “construct” an ideal princess in form, varying only in details of the content, 3. the epitaph is the site in which the “literary” identity of the princess resides.

The *muzhiming* is a kind of “label” and record for the tomb. First of all, it gives a name to the occupant of the tomb and records his or her biography. Also, it gives the date and sometimes the overall rationale for the making of the tomb. It also identifies the tomb in the sense that it tells one what kind of tomb it really was. For example, it

⁴⁵⁵ Zhaoling bowuguan 1989: 12.

would distinguish between the three different kinds of burials. Ritually correct (*li ye* 禮也) means “so it is done according to ritual.” Ritual, or “*li*” here means everything is followed according to Confucian ritual. Similarly, “according to Buddhist Dharma,” “*fa ye* 法也” means that everything is followed according to Dharma, and is usually used for the epitaphs of Buddhist monks. Thirdly, there is “*quan ye* 權也” which refers to a temporary burial intended for later reburial at the home cemetery.⁴⁵⁶ Some times, the epitaph records directly, “This burial is not permanent, they are still waiting to bury the body nearer the home county.” Other times, the epitaph says “Thus the inscription reads: [blank].” Presumably the space was left blank deliberately. The *muzhiming* would not be finished until all the procedures were completed and the burial was done.⁴⁵⁷ In this way, it belongs underground as an integral part of the tomb, in a sense, as its marker. It gives the tomb an identity by recording information about the tomb and the occupant.

Secondly, the epitaph text is a construction. It structures factual details about the deceased, metaphors, and allusions in a strict and formal way. Thus the commemoration of the princess is codified: it not only records the living glories of the deceased, but also the process of travel and burial, and finally, the final destination of the tomb itself.

The scholars who wrote the histories of the period also composed epitaphs. The function of epitaphs, however, is very different from that of the histories or biographies. The writings of concerning the princess when she was alive and the writings for the deceased princess are both constructions. The living princess divides into stereotypes like the heroine, political players, or innocents (see Chapter Two).

⁴⁵⁶ Many thanks to Professor Liu Shufen who first alerted me to “*fa ye*” and “*quan ye*” terms in Tang epitaphs.

⁴⁵⁷ Nakasuna 1994: 393.

The dead princesses were described with set hagiographic thematic constructions. In short, the structure of the epitaph constructs image of the deceased princess.

Thus the *muzhiming* preserves the *literary* body if not the *literal* body of the deceased in its inscription. The rhymed couplets at the end seem to reinforce this concept. First of all, in the *xu*, one is introduced for the first time to the life of the deceased. The prose form renders it story-like and relatively free in form. The *ming* goes through the same history again, except this time the same steps, the same facts are subjected to a strict poetic meter and device. By making the original story into a rhymed summary, in effect the literary self is ritualized into a form more permanent, no doubt, than mere prose. The language of the *xu*, anyway, was also far closer to poetry than to prose. It was usually written in the four-character or six-character style of the *pianwen*, which was by nature highly poetic. Thus, the style of the *xu* and *ming* both determine the *muzhiming* as a formal and perhaps ritually correct document. Thus, the epitaph can be described as the intended permanent container of the literary construction of the deceased princess in the tomb.

Thirdly, the decorations and position of the epitaph in the tomb give some clues to their function in the burial. Its decorations--the four gods and the twelve animals--are quite similar to the decorations on the sarcophagus. And the similarity in iconography may argue for a similarity for meaning.

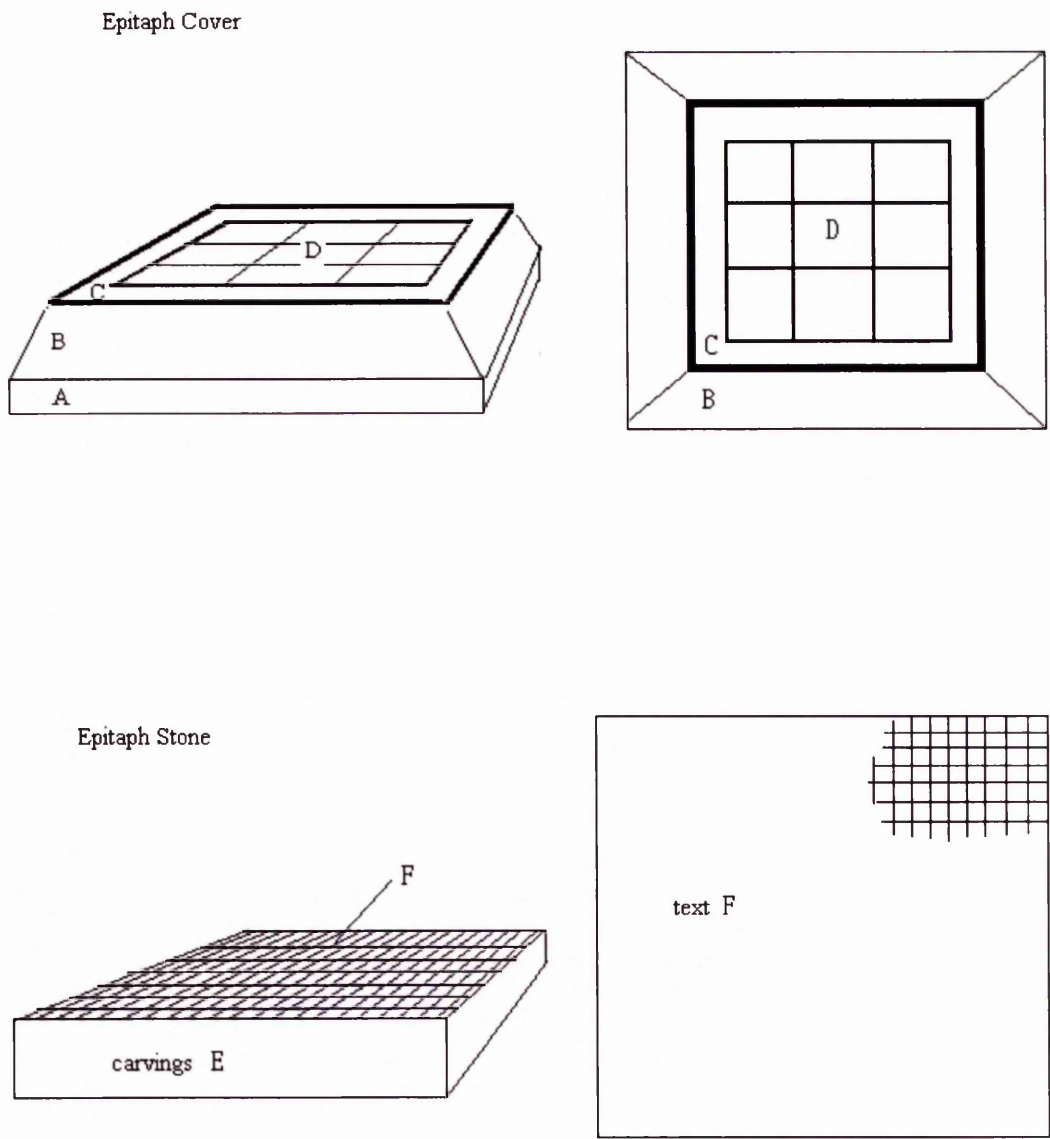
Judy Chungwa Ho's view, that the tomb acts as a mandala "which enabled the tomb occupant to be 'in the sacred center,' a locus of perfect balance and harmony with the cosmic forces in infinite space and time,"⁴⁵⁸ explains why the tomb was decorated with the twelve animals of the zodiac, the animal deities of the four directions four gods, and other *fengshui*/cosmological factors. I would like to point

⁴⁵⁸ Ho 1991: 63.

out that both these criteria fit some *muzhiming* and sarcophagi. And sometimes, the *muzhiming* even has cosmological symbols such as the 946 stone epigraph from Jiangsu, Yangzhou Museum which feature the twelve animals, three on each of the four sides.⁴⁵⁹ What I argue is that the tomb may be viewed as a greater container which contained both the physical body of the princess and her literal identity. The physical body was placed inside sarcophagus, the literal identity lay hidden, covered, in the *muzhiming*. As containers, the sarcophagus and the epitaph stones are the same, thus the similarity in iconography. I will take up the task of explaining meaning of this iconography in Chapter five.

⁴⁵⁹ Zhongguo shehui kexueyuan kaogu yanjiusuo ed. 1980: plate 72.

Fig: 4.1a Diagrams of the epitaph stone and cover (see also Fig. 4.1b)



- A narrow vertical edge with incised decorations
- B bevelled edge with incised decorations
- C decorated floral border
- D *ti*—title space with large characters in *zhuanshu* (sometimes in relief)
- E vertical edges of the base stone with incised decorations
- F upper surface of the base stone with grid rating for the text in *kaishu*.

Fig. 4.1b Chart of epitaph sections and diagram of the complete epitaph.

Name	Cover				Base Stone	
	A	B	C	D	E	F
Changle	scrolling patterns	dragon, tiger, black warrior, and bird	flower and scroll patterns	主墓誌 長樂公 大唐故	twelve animals	see transcription in Fig. 4.18
Xincheng	scrolling patterns	acanthus scroll	acanthus scroll	誌之銘 公主墓 新城長 大唐故	fantastic beasts, three to one side	see transcription in Fig. 4.19
Fangling	rubbing does not show	scrolling pattern	scrolling pattern	墓誌銘 長公主 房陵大 大唐故	scrolling pattern	see transcription in Fig. 4.20
Linchuan	several smaller cloud formation	three cloud flower formation	does not have a frame design	墓誌銘 長公主 臨川郡 大唐故	three cloud pattern	see transcription in Fig. 4.21
Yongtai	flowers	twelve animals	flowers	主墓誌 永泰公 大唐故	fantastic beasts, three to one side	see transcription in Fig. 4.17

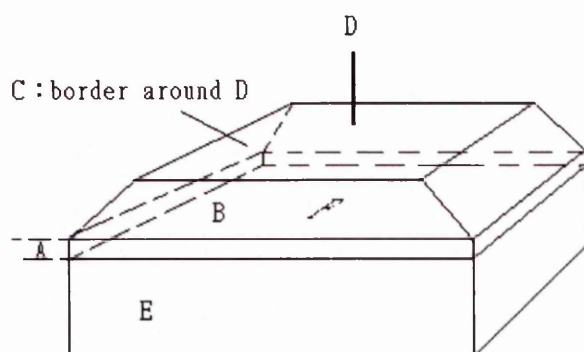


Fig. 4.2 Rubbing of Princess Changle's epitaph cover (after Wu Gang et. al. 1993: 7).

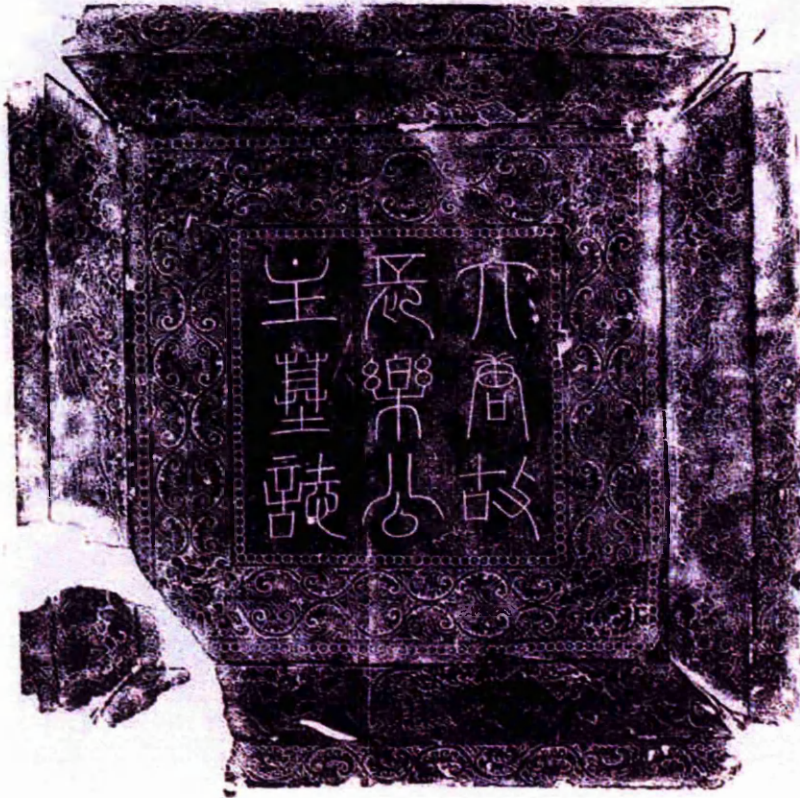


Fig. 4.3 Rubbing of Changle's epitaph stone (after Wu Gang et. al. 1993: 7).

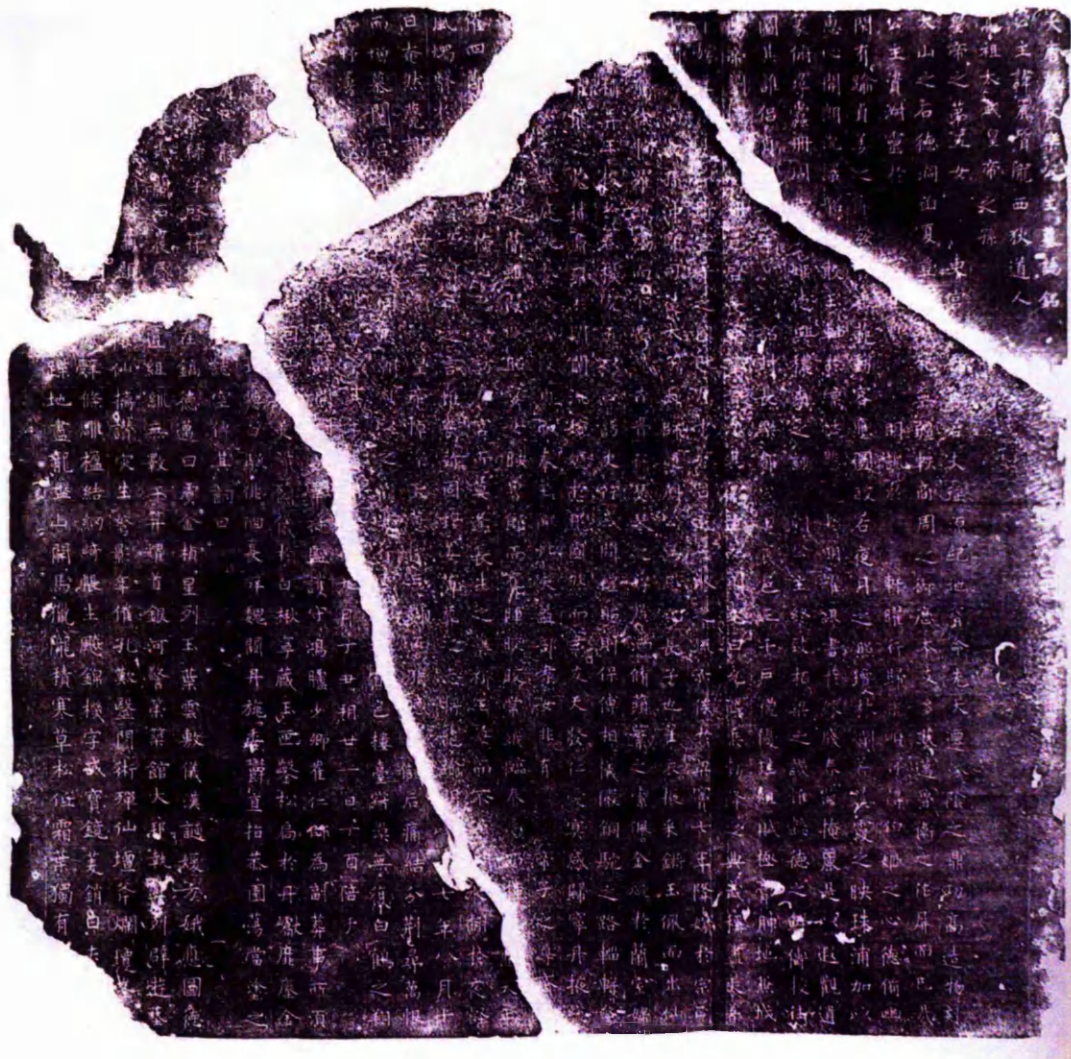


Fig. 4.4 Xincheng epitaph cover (after Shaanxisheng kaogu yanjiusuo 1997: 35, pl. 29).

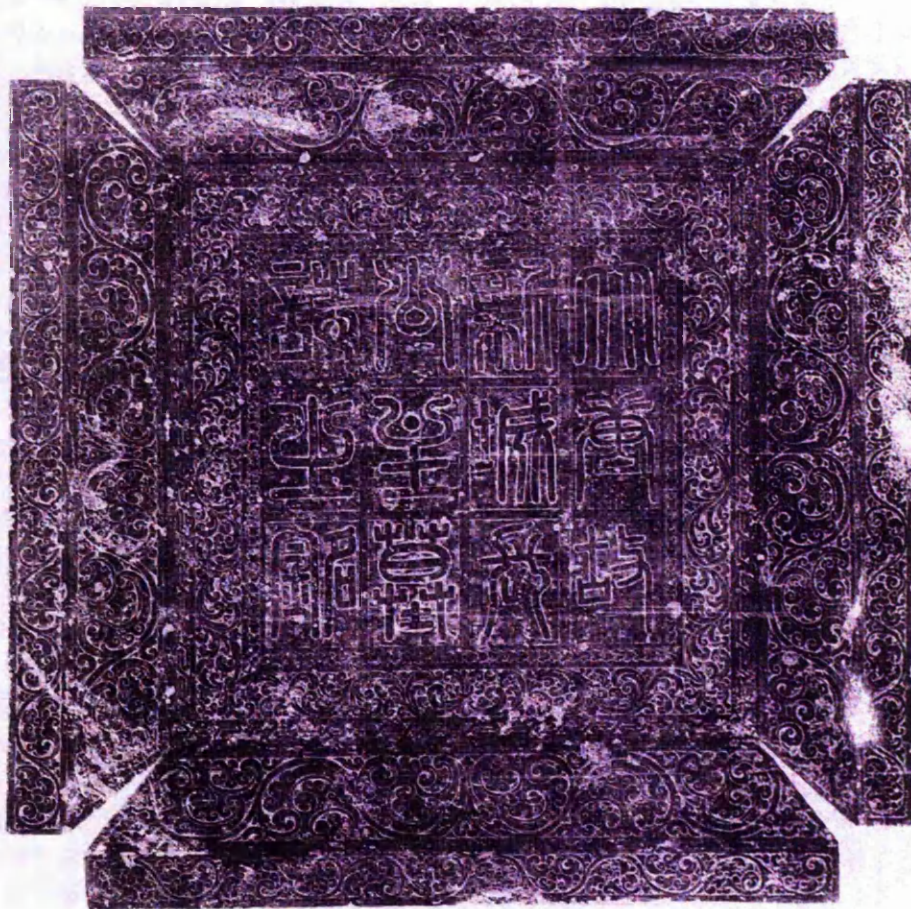


Fig. 4.5a Xincheng's epitaph stone, text and side designs (after Shaanxisheng kaogu yanjiusuo 1997: 33-34, pl. 27-28).



Fig. 4.5b carved sides of the Xincheng stone

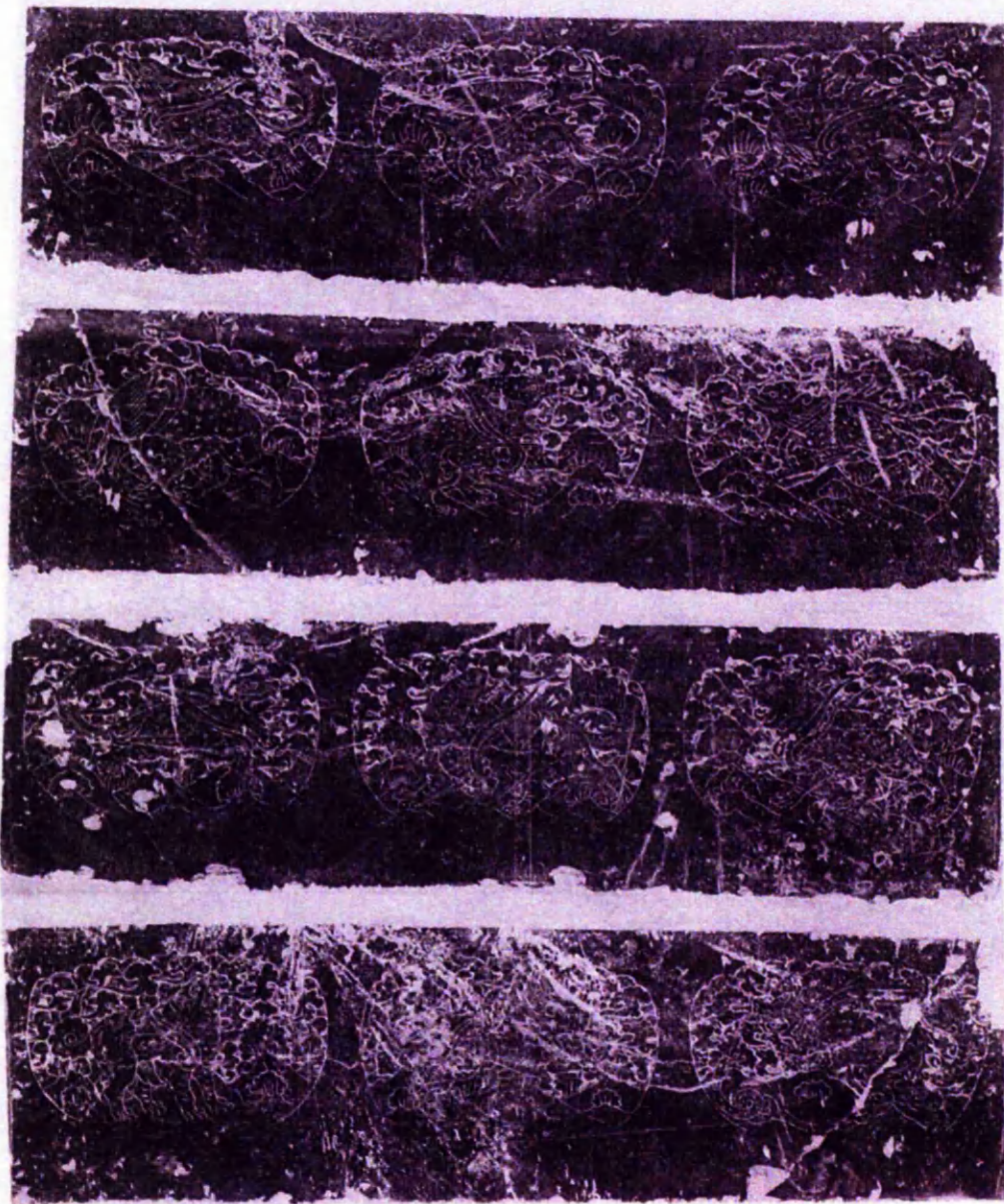


Fig. 4.6 Fangling epitaph cover (after Zhang Hongxin 1992: pl. 19).

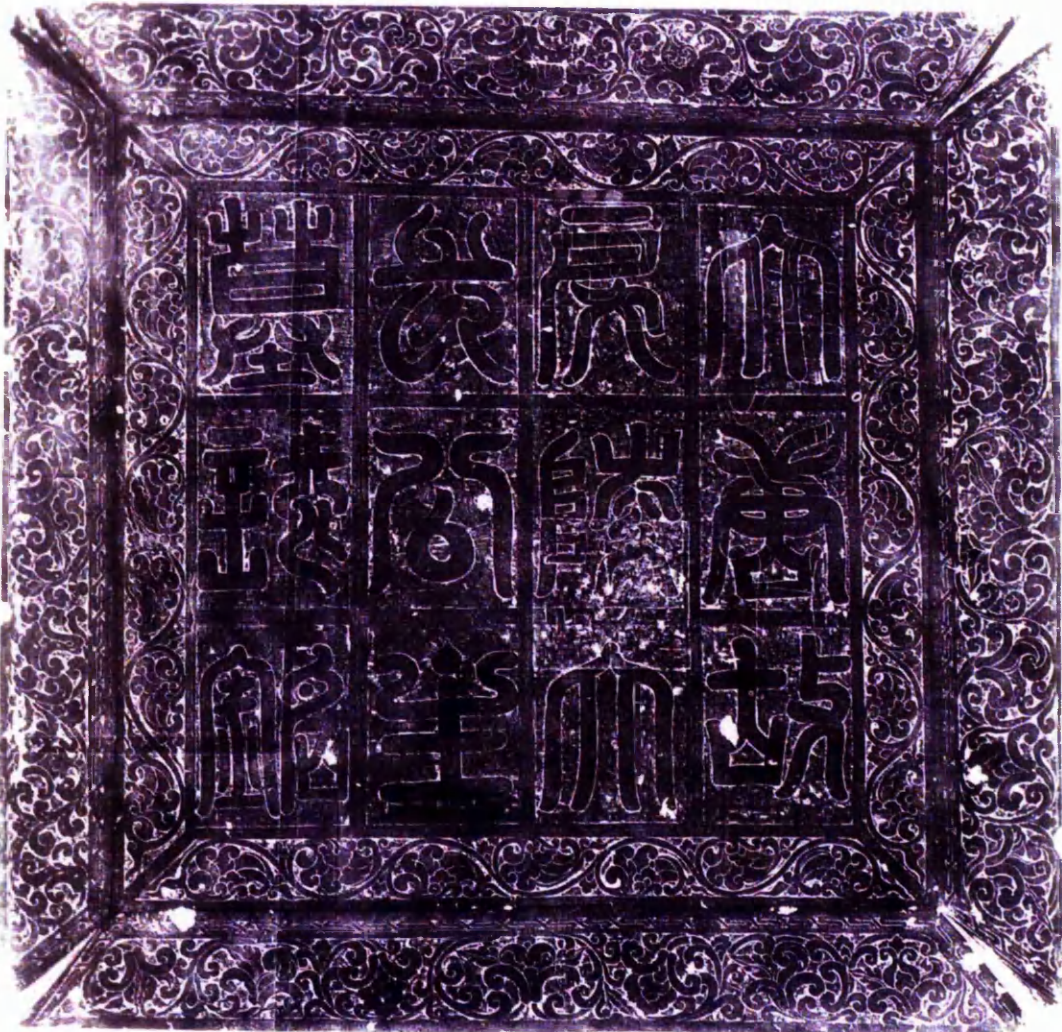
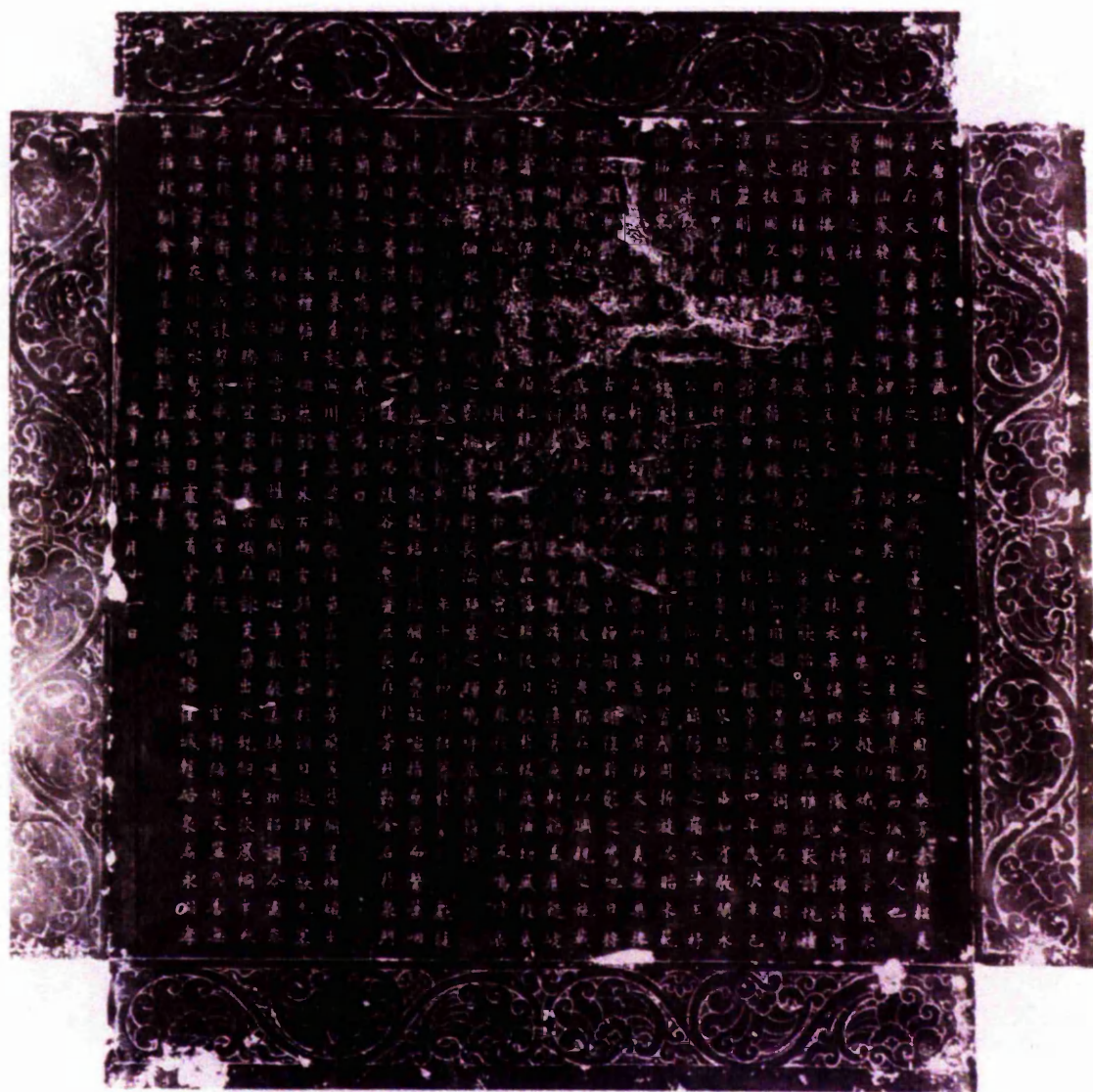


Fig. 4.7 Fangling epitaph stone with side decorations (after Zhang Hongxin 1992: pl. 20).



20. 房陵大長公主墓誌

20. Princess Fangling's Memorial Tablet

Fig. 4.8 Linchuan epitaph cover (after Zhang Hongxin 1992: pl. 24).

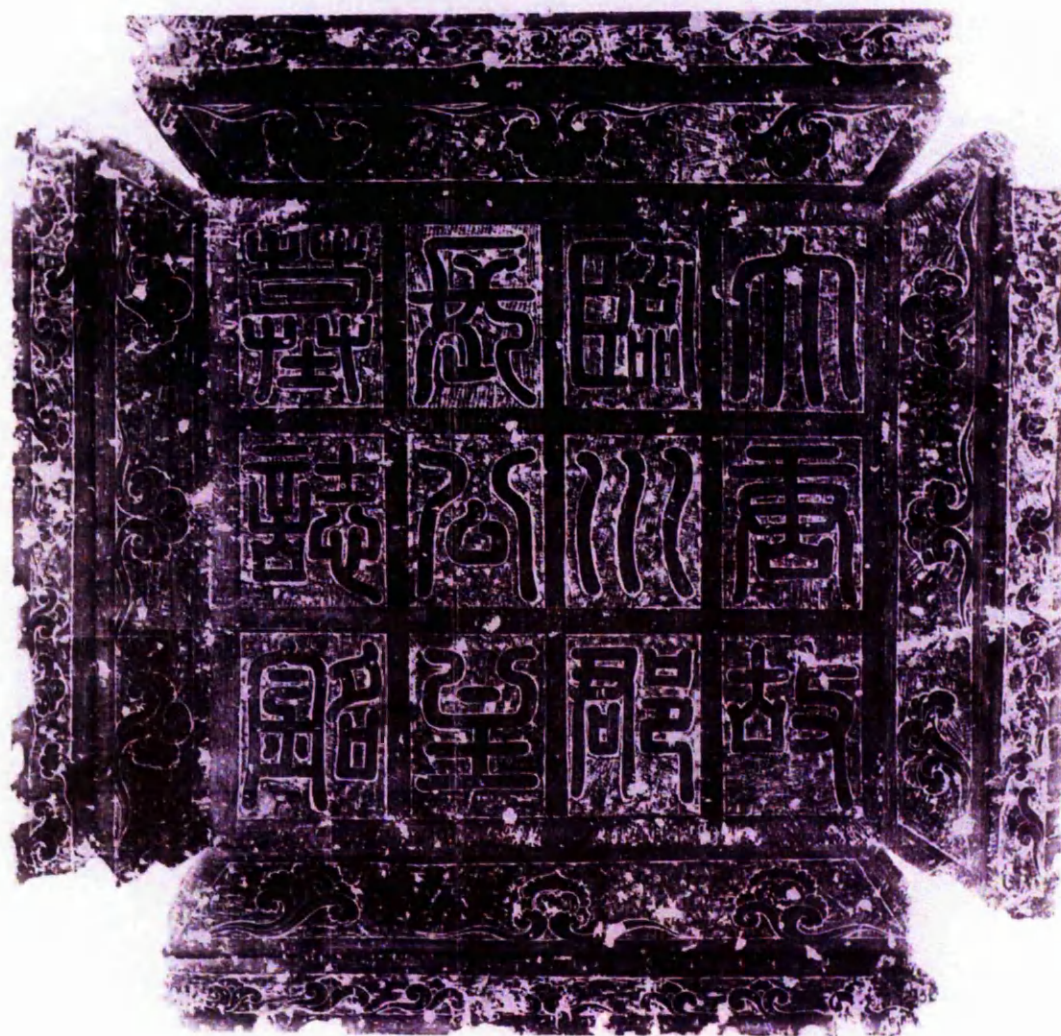
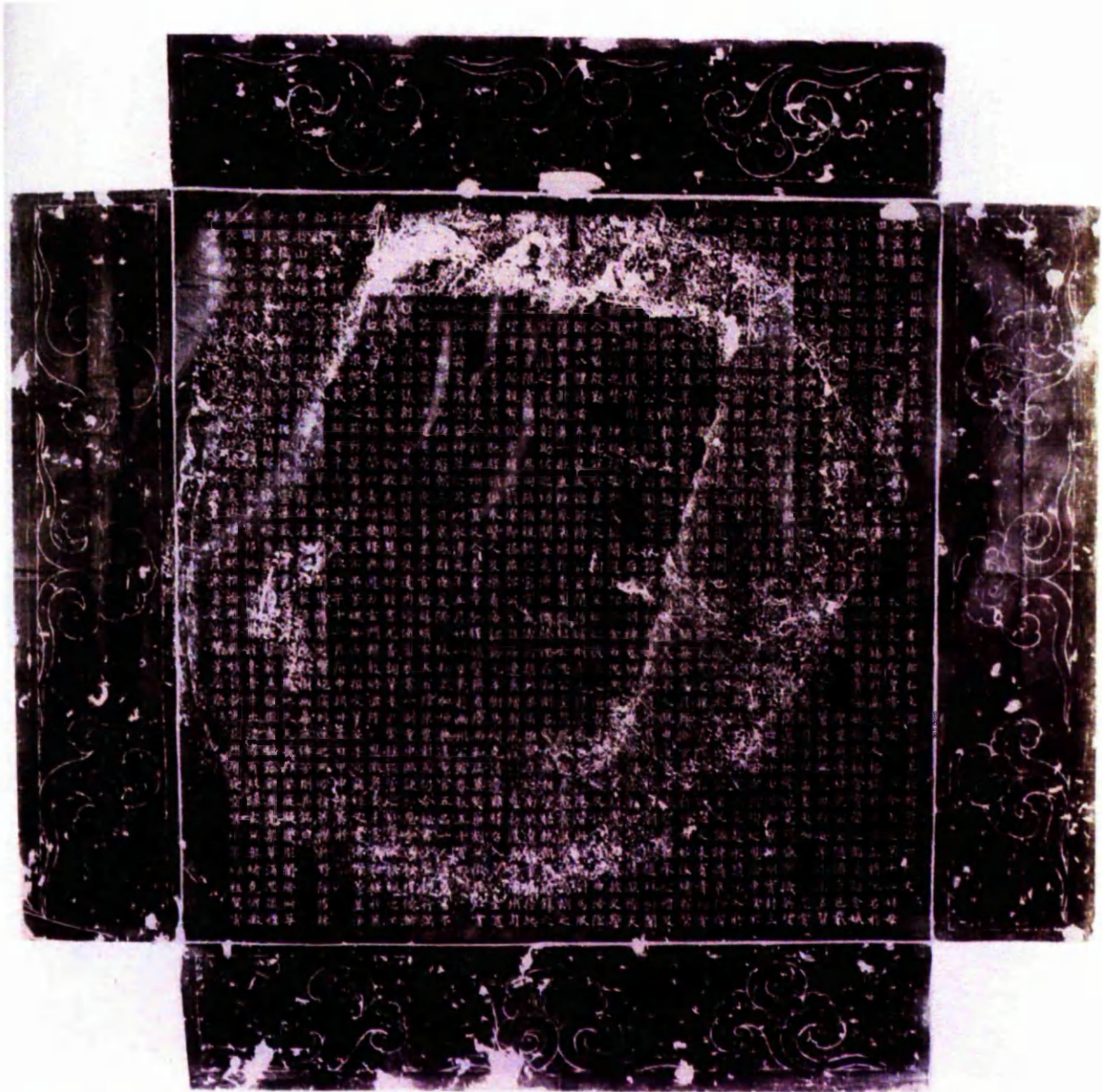


Fig. 4.9 Linchuan epitaph stone (after Zhang Hongxin 1992: pl. 25).



25. 臨川公主墓誌

25. Princess Linchuan's Memorial Tablet

Fig. 4.10 Yongtai epitaph cover (after Miyakawa 1979: pl. 190).



Fig. 4.11 Yongtai epitaph stone (after Miyakawa 1979: pl. 191).

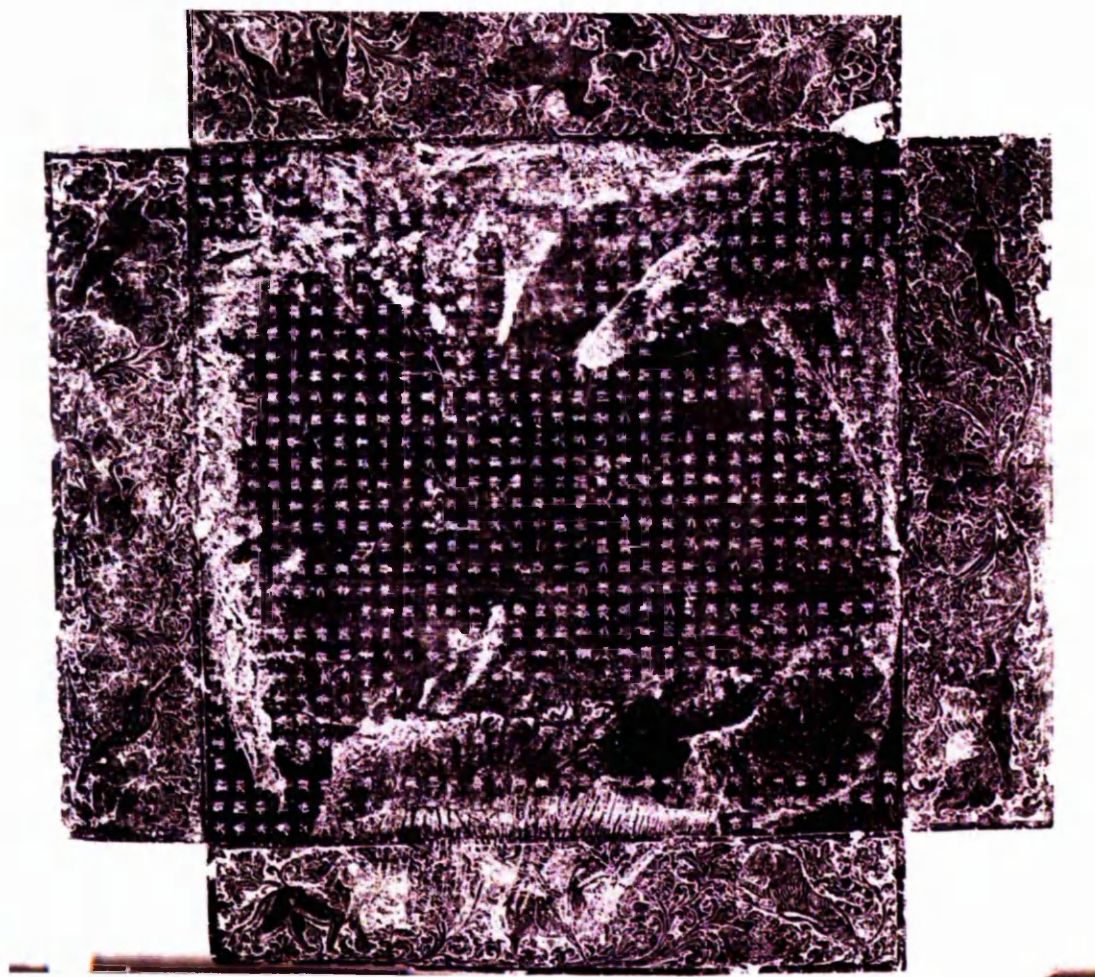


Fig. 4.12 Sarira box and interior objects (after Watt 2004: 299, pl. 191).

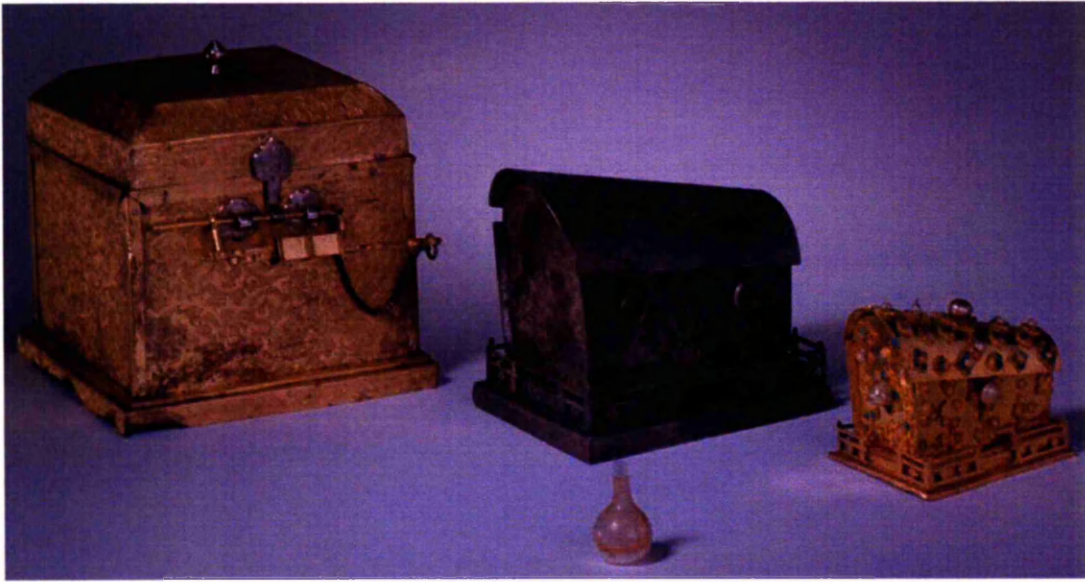


Fig. 4.13 Sarira box from Famensi (after Famensi bowuguan, ed. 1994: 132).



Fig. 4.14 Location stone from the Hanguang Hall and polo fields. After *TCDMG* 1959: 52, pl. 28.

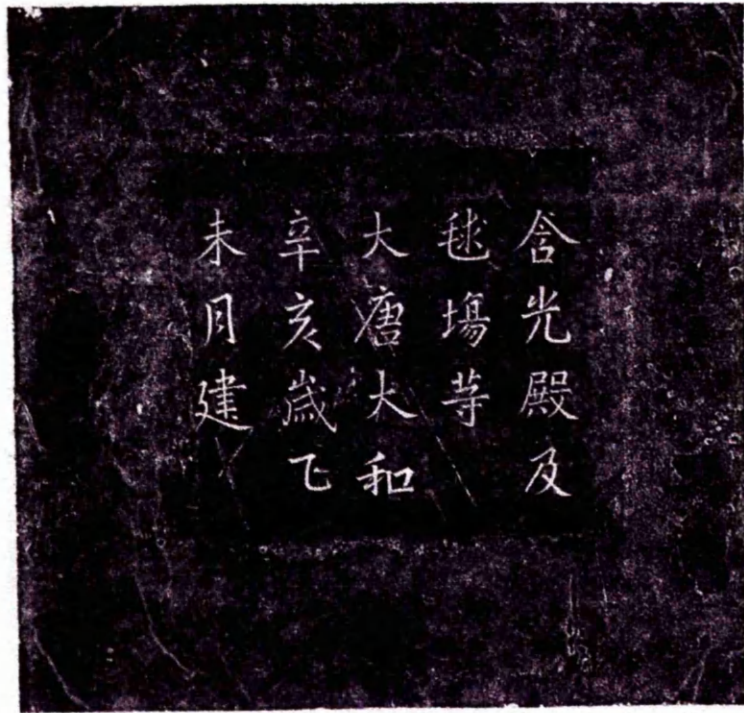


Fig. 4.15 The cover of the hair casket at Famensi (after Famensi bowuguan, ed. 1994: 24, pl. 1).

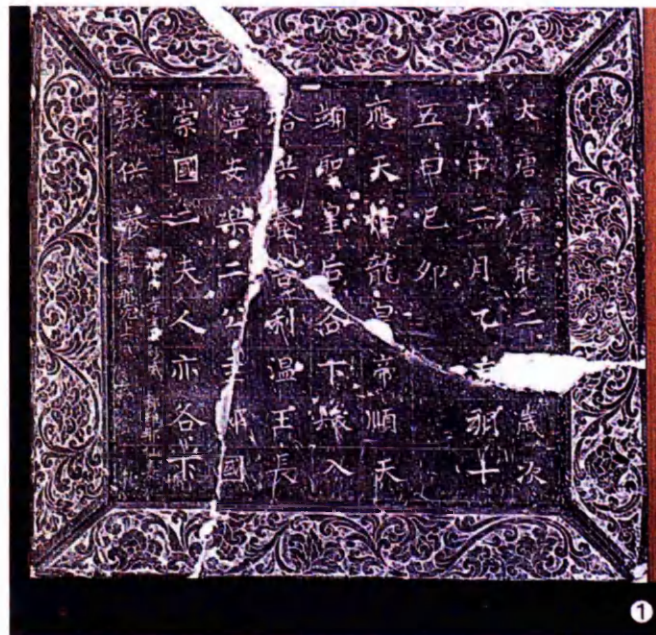


Fig. 4.16 Position of epitaph in the Duhu Sizhen tomb. After *TCJSTM*: pl. 29.

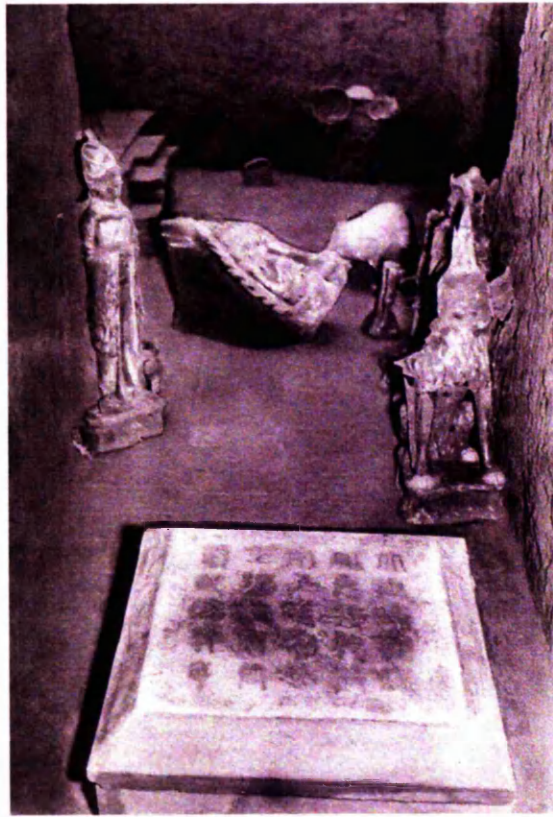


Fig. 4.17 Transcription of Yongtai's epitaph text.

32	31	30	29	28	27	26	25	24	23	22	21	20	19	18	17	16	15	14	13	12	11	10	9	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	1		
相	傾	雲	山	姬	寶	道	乾	駙	秦	黃	新	皇	去	舟	X	X	X	月	誕	由	言	知	國	皇	高	太	高	輝	禮	臣	大	1	
官	哀	易	如	肅	系	曠	陵	馬	公	泉	顧	帝	弄	空	鎖	粹	樂	六	集	禮	彤	百	儲	上	宗	宗	祖		坎	聞	唐	2	
篠	綺	歇	河	雍	重	珠	禮	都	主	之	復	在	玉	泛	香	河	攢	日	懌	備	史	行	矣	之	天	文	神		其	絳	永	3	
千	挽	仙	鳳	柔	光	襦	也	尉	粵	首	興	昔	簫	珠	壺	洲	於	有	冊	保	承	郁	公	第	皇	武	堯		擊	河	泰	4	
秋	兮	雲	棲	嘉	葢	玉	縞	合	二	命	念	監	聲	胎	凝	寶	厥		端	傳		穆	主	七	大	聖	皇		鼓	南	公	5	
萬	露	歇	樓	其	蕤	匣	駕	窈	年	讀	追	國	入	毀	鏡	弓	躬		開	之		韶	發	女	帝	皇	帝		殷	澳	主	6	
歲	X	兮	柱	德	焜	竟	紛	於	歲	平	崇	情	綵	月	蔚	藏	琳		寵	容		潤	瑤	也	之	帝	之		作	天	誌	7	
何	解	慟	龍	婉	煌	何	紛	奉	次	原	峻	鍾	雲	怨	金	積	琅	制	盛	言	訓	清	臺	俾	孫	之	玄		配	女	石	8	
時	徂		盤	嫵	於	向	頰	天	景	之	典	築	而	十	翠	紛	奪	封	簪	斯	紫	明	之	會	孫			之	儀	於		10	
曉	靈		織	其	穆	石	旌	之	午	誅	銅	館	悲	返	之	西	泉	郡	延	興	學	瓊	珠						則	景	太	11	
	兮	情	百	其	已	陵	雲	原	月	徹	北	蒼	鳴	無	城	之	寶	郡	延	興	學	瓊	珠							王	緯	常	12
	日	玉	行	X	明	邊	香	陪	癸	神	麓	昊	呼	香	降	上	關	主	湯		雲	蕤	樹	帝					姬	湘	少	13	
	少	管	無	允	明		桂	葬	卯	明	劍	哀	瓊	歌	神	父	食	沐		X		泛	之	唐					之	巖	卿	14	
	晶	韻	闕	淑		X		朔	循	水	不	哉	尊	鐘	瑞	之	邑	大		雕	綵	芳	麗						龍	北	兼	15	
	率	颺	降	既		減		十	穀	束	仁	以	凋	於	蘊	子	一	啟	后	詞	拂	香							靈	滄	修	16	
	天	無	嬪	溫		皇	哀	八	也	湍	嘆	大	春	北	筍	獨	千	平	皇	錦	穠	兌							光	帝	國	17	
	山	留	登	而	天	女	挽	日	之	賦	皇	足	忿	闕	鑠	預	戶	陽	之	歎	歌	之						赫	子	史	18		
	兮	聲	月	肅	子	墳	風	庚	篇	列	瑩	元	雙	自	炎	王	嗣	之	歎	歌	之	以						其	結	臣	19		
	茫	蠟	雙	銑	克	其	分	申	竟	千	之	年	童	蛟	庫	姻	魏	園	慧	庶	花	纂	神					所	於	徐	20		
	茫	蛸	帶	鏡	誕	銘	紅	有	聞	乘	無	九	之	喪	之	齊	王	俄	志	姜	翠	懿	聖					由	芳	彥	21		
	青	飛	結	含	王	曰	癘		同	家	祿	月	祕	雄	庭	侯	武	間	罔	之	羽	融	故					來	雲	伯	22		
	松	兮	襍	葩	姬	濃			穴	開		四	藥	鐳	紫	之	延	單	渝	絕	凝	須	以					者	是	奉	23		
	黛	錦	六	瓊	顏	兮			以	萬	日	女	鸞	愁	盈	仍	濯	之	伯	韶	風	鮮	編	鞞				尚	以		24		
	栝	筍	珈	蕤	如	碑	制	神	井	寔	春	篋	孤	駢	為	龍	送	以	塞		吟	綴	而	鞞				矣	彼	敕	25		
	森	滅	環	可	桃	字	令	龍	疏	寶	春	篋	孤	駢	為	龍	送	以	塞		吟	綴	而	鞞				公	裁	選	26		
	作	蠟	髮	掬	李	古	所	元	彤	圖	秋	曲	影	黃	主	英	以	塞		吟	綴	而	鞞					主	者		27		
	行	艇	神	委	桃	蒼	司	年	壤	伊	十	乘	槐	珪	第	威	久		明	葉	之	神	表					諱	唐		28		
	泉	去	劍	委	李	松	備	追	之	始	有	碧	火	委	結	嘉	視		明	葉	之	神	表					仙	贊		29		
	閨	兮	難	蛇	伊	合	禮	封	瞻	天	七	煙	未	綬	濟	魚	元		誥	是	四	蕤						蕤	肅		30		
	夜	銀	駐	蛇	穠	兮	與	為	腴	命	惟		忽	柏	X	精	望		天	動	必							字	雍		31		
	臺	擗	仙	如	王	山	故	永	錫																				穠	之		32	

Fig. 4:20 Transcription of Princess Fangling's epitaph text.

30	29	28	27	26	25	24	23	22	21	20	19	18	17	16	15	14	13	12	11	10	9	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	1			
	笱	驗	孝	嘉	月	搆	蘭	曙	卜	旒	哉	經	陽	洽	昇	迤	甲	俯	微	十	深	照	之	之	景	緇	若	大				
	摧	返	行	聲	桂	天	蘭	曙	遠	旒	哉	經	陽	洽	昇	迤	甲	俯	微	十	深	照	之	之	景	緇	若	大				
	枝	魂	作	飛	榮	光	慶	而	戒	恩	隆	詔	永	保	期	以	威	亨	永	絕	金	延	慈	弘	峰	古	軒	寒	光	嘉		
	馴	寧	諡	脩	既	湯	承	無	袖	贊	葬	贈	有	加	寔	恒	典	耀	彩	於	九	春	落	照	促	日	暉	鳴	呼	哀		
	禽	實	銜	稱	賢	禮	繫	聽	松	撤	容	衛	夜	警	虞	歌	曉	結	背	城	闕	而	壘	存	於	芳	喧	指	原	勒		
	棲	夜	哀	盛	正	賢	繫	聽	松	撤	容	衛	夜	警	虞	歌	曉	結	背	城	闕	而	壘	存	於	芳	喧	指	原	勒		
	墓	川	成	位	賢	禮	繫	聽	松	撤	容	衛	夜	警	虞	歌	曉	結	背	城	闕	而	壘	存	於	芳	喧	指	原	勒		
	空	閱	誅	位	賢	禮	繫	聽	松	撤	容	衛	夜	警	虞	歌	曉	結	背	城	闕	而	壘	存	於	芳	喧	指	原	勒		
	餘	水	聲	亦	王	誕	哀	哉	乃	銘	曰	谷	之	遷	變	庶	長	存	於	芳	喧	指	原	勒								
	懿	驚	芳	宜	高	行	子	於	幽	百	兩	言	心	孝	敬	出	水	雲	軒	陪	遊	泉	局	永	固	孝						
	傳	風	威	里	譽	播	美	性	幽	百	兩	言	心	孝	敬	出	水	雲	軒	陪	遊	泉	局	永	固	孝						
	四	年	諸	靈	飛	美	性	幽	百	兩	言	心	孝	敬	出	水	雲	軒	陪	遊	泉	局	永	固	孝							
	十	月	素	駕	蘭	室	蠶	閑	因	心	孝	敬	出	水	雲	軒	陪	遊	泉	局	永	固	孝									
	月	廿	一	塗	虞	從	詠	美	敬	出	水	雲	軒	陪	遊	泉	局	永	固	孝												
	日			歌			美	敬	出	水	雲	軒	陪	遊	泉	局	永	固	孝													
				唱			美	敬	出	水	雲	軒	陪	遊	泉	局	永	固	孝													
				路			美	敬	出	水	雲	軒	陪	遊	泉	局	永	固	孝													
				佳			美	敬	出	水	雲	軒	陪	遊	泉	局	永	固	孝													
				城			朝	蘭	芳	喧	指	原	勒																			
				暫			朝	蘭	芳	喧	指	原	勒																			
				啓			朝	蘭	芳	喧	指	原	勒																			
				泉			朝	蘭	芳	喧	指	原	勒																			
				局			朝	蘭	芳	喧	指	原	勒																			
				永			朝	蘭	芳	喧	指	原	勒																			
				固			朝	蘭	芳	喧	指	原	勒																			
				孝			朝	蘭	芳	喧	指	原	勒																			

Fig. 4:21 Transcription of Linchuan's epitaph text

41	陳	靈	驂	曉	發	隴	唯	新	隱	山	多	古	闕	凜	凜	郊	風	蒼	蒼	野	月	寒	暑	交	說	群	芳	靡	歎	長	悲	厚	夜	空	嗟	小	年	祖	駕	宵																																		
40	猷	長	昭	勸	沮	備	涉	魏	但	燕	吉	往	凶	旋	哺	仁	奚	謬	福	善	終	捐	淪	光	景	吳	殞	藹	秋	先	清	孝	有	純	跡	玄	無	與	緒	克	俾	宵																																
39	無	闕	言	容	畢	星	榮	照	下	姻	道	光	中	饋	郁	朝	風	聿	寄	邦	訓	滋	佇	駕	鳳	辭	臺	藹	牛	出	盡	祕	露	彩	垂	無	與	緒	克	俾	宵																																	
38	景	月	津	含	輝	虹	陸	金	相	玉	振	桂	芬	蘭	郁	早	映	運	寄	幼	承	湯	佇	駕	鳳	辭	臺	藹	牛	出	盡	祕	露	彩	垂	無	與	緒	克	俾	宵																																	
37	大	電	擒	光	流	路	發	祥	郊	馬	仍	著	猶	龍	酒	彰	靈	基	輸	幼	聖	業	沐	昌	武	藝	窮	觀	圖	盡	祕	露	紫	庭	毫	泉	華	緒	思	俾	宵																																	
36	貌	於	山	左	楊	也	迴	而	郊	風	切	松	庭	深	而	華	威	低	載	遠	挺	美	迥	陪	撰	取	文	觀	圖	盡	祕	露	紫	庭	毫	泉	華	緒	思	俾	宵																																	
35	昭	陵	之	禮	九	聖	推	我	護	秘	以	節	漸	千	牛	所	歸	限	道	南	備	五	言	札	規	藝	終	魯	寫	進	鎮	一	嫁	侍	之	居	兼	女	手	繕	孟	寫	容	輪	帝	祕	書	少	監	檢	校	中	書	文	書	待	郎	聖	弘	文	館	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40	41	42

Fig. 4.22 Detailed breakdown and order of themes for the *xu* 序.

Changle	Fangling	Linchuan	Yongtai
Title	Title	Title	Title
Taboo name (2)	Writer	Writer	Writer
Place of origin (2)	General Prologue for princesses (1)	Taboo name (2)	General Prologue for princesses (1)
Imperial Lineage (2)	Taboo name (2)	Style (2)	Inheriting goodness
Glory of Imperial power (3)	Place of origin (2)	Imperial Lineage (2)	Taboo name (2)
Glory of Imperial family (3)	Imperial Lineage (2)	Leaving a mark in time	Style (2)
Inheriting goodness	Inheriting goodness	Imperial power (3)	Imperial Lineage (2)
Moral (4)	Virtuous (4)	Inheriting goodness	Imperial power and glory (3)
Gentle (4)	Moral (4)	Beauty (4)	Radiant (4)
Model behavior and speech (4)	Talented in literary pursuits (4)	Softness (4)	Fragrant (4)
Beauty (4)	Marriage (first) (5)	Virtuous (4)	Virtuous (4)
Good nature (4)	Enfeoffment and title	Filial* (4)	Talented (4)
Comparisons to princesses of previous dynasties (1/4)	Divorce (5)	talented* (4)	Beautiful (4)
Enfeoffment (5)	Marriage (second) (5)	education* (4)	Education (4)
Marriage/husband (5)	Wifely virtues (6)	Titles and Enfeoffment (5)	Model behavior and speech (4)
Good wife (6)	Occasion of the marriage (5)	Husband (5)	Enfeoffment (5)
Filial daughter-in-law (6)	Death of second husband (5)	Husbands' family (5)	Husband (5)
Illness & death (7)	Widowhood (5/6)	Marriage (5)	Husbands' family (5)
Circumstances of burial (8)	Importance in the greater family (6)	Further gifts and Enfeoffment (5)	Marriage (5)
	Accompanying the Emperor and Empress to the summer palace	Allusion to princesses of previous dynasties (1/5)	Widowhood (5)
	Health	Reside in north with General husband*	Sickness/death (7)
	Illness and Death (7)	Grief at death of parents*	Emperor's grief
	Circumstances of the burial (8)	Writings and paintings*	Giving new title and lands in death (8)
	Lament on the transience of life (9)	Good wife/filial daughter-in-law (6)	Circumstances of burial (8)
		Relationship with Empress Wu*	Lament on the transience of life (9)
		Travels in northern and southern China	
		Great deeds of the Consort (6)	
		Illness of princess/efforts of Sons (7)	
		Return and death	
		Circumstances of funeral preparations (8)	
		Recount of princess's eventful life and talents*	
		Circumstances of burial (8/9)	

*anecdotes and/or specific details included

Table 4:23 Breakdown and order of themes for the *ming* 銘.

The number in parenthesis (n) are the theme number for *xu*. A number followed by a slash n/ means that this was enumerated in the *ming*. Both the epitaph text for Princess Xincheng and Princess Linchuan had numbered items for *ming*.

Changle	Xincheng	Fangling	Linchuan	Yongtai
Imperial family (3)	1/Imperial family (3)	Imperial family (3)	1/imperial glory (3)	Imperial glory (3)
Princess glory (4)	2/Princess glory (4)	Princess glory (4)	2/princess glory (4)	Princess glory (4)
Marriage (5)	3/	Marriage (5)	3/marriage (5)	Marriage (5)
Virtues (4/6)	4/	Virtues (4/6)	4/Virtues and talents (6)	Matronly virtues (6)
Illness (7)	5/	Illness (7)	5/illness&death (7)	Lamentations of passage (9)
Death? □□□ (7)	6/illness&death (7)	Death? □□□ (7)	6/bleak sad scenes (10)	Bleak sad scenes (10)
Lamentations of passage (9)	7/	Lamentations of passage (9)		
Bleak sad scenes (10)	8/	Bleak sad scenes (10)		

Chapter Five: Meaning of the Tomb

...the dead man is treated as though he had merely changed his dwelling....⁴⁶⁰
...象徒道...⁴⁶¹

In the funeral rites, one adorns the dead as though they were still living, and sends them to the grave with forms symbolic of life. They are treated as though dead, and yet as though still alive, as though gone, and yet as though still present. Beginning and end are thereby unified.⁴⁶²

喪禮者，以生者飾死者也，大象其生以送其死也。故如事死如生，如事亡如存，終始一也。⁴⁶³

Jaguar tamers, lofty pavilions, beautiful maid servants carrying plates--these are but a few images of the rich range of art in Tang imperial tombs. This chapter's goal is to resolve the meaning of the murals on the sloping path, and from this base to further interpret the meaning and function of art in the tomb. The sloping path motifs may have depicted the former status of the deceased, ritual processions, or an imagined retinue just before their journey in the nether world. But as I show in this chapter, the retinues in Tang tombs are honor guards which are a part of the residence-in-death.

⁴⁶⁰ This quotation comes from a complex discussion about vessels for tombs. Cf. the discussion in Chapter three "3.1.3 Forms without spirit." Watson 1963: 290-1.

⁴⁶¹ XZ 13: 16.

⁴⁶² Watson 1963: 103. Another translation by Knoblock offers similar understanding, "In the funeral rites, one uses objects of the living to adorn the dead and sends them to their grave in a fashion that resembles the way they lived. Thus one treats the dead like the living and one treats their absence just as one treated them when they were still present, so that end and beginning are as one." [Underlining mine]. Knoblock 3 (1994): 67.

⁴⁶³ XZ 13: 14.

5.1 The two processions of the princess

The sloping path (*mudao* 墓道) mural sequence, depicting guards and vehicles, is a good place to begin a discussion of whether tomb art depicted the life of the deceased princess or not. Texts give a relatively detailed description of the princess retinue (or at least, how it *should* be composed), in both the processions of the princess in life and in death.

The vehicles and honor guards were painted on the east and west walls of the sloping foot path at the southernmost end of the tomb. Of the entire mural program, the *mudao* section is the best preserved and best published. Unlike stone figures on the spirit path or pottery figures in niches, the order of the mural figures is undisturbed.

Thus, one can compare the “ideal” retinue and transportation vehicles of princess processions as gleaned from various Tang historical and ritual texts with the mural figures. Further examples of everyday vehicles of princesses mentioned in historical accounts also provide exemplars for depicted vehicles not found in the regulations.

Texts make evident two types of the princess processions: auspicious (*ji* 吉) and inauspicious (*xiong* 凶). The auspicious procession imitated exactly the procession of the living princess. In funeral rites, this procession was supposed to include the retinue that the deceased had in her lifetime and the vehicle which carried the spirit tablet of the princess. The inauspicious procession included the vehicle carrying the body of the princess and a separate inauspicious retinue. As chapter three “rituals” described, there are two parts of a funeral procession from the city to the tomb: the auspicious vehicle and retinue lead the funeral procession while the inauspicious vehicles and retinues bring up the rear (see chart 5.1). Whether this matches any of the depictions along the sloping path will be noted in later sections.

5.1.1 *The vehicles and retinue of the living princess* (also used for the auspicious funeral procession to the tomb)

The Tang texts *Xin Tangshu*, *Jiu Tangshu*, *Tangling Shiyi*, and the *Tang huiyao* all included regulations for the princess procession. A synthesized summary of all the accounts describes what the procession might have looked like. My reconstruction is as follows:

The princesses and imperial consorts, of the rank and class N1a, N1b, respectively, could ride the *yandiche* 厭翟車.⁴⁶⁴ *Yandi* is a kind of mountain pheasant with long tail feathers;⁴⁶⁵ and “*che*” is vehicle.”⁴⁶⁶ The Tang *yandiche* was painted red and had a “violet oil-cloth lid,⁴⁶⁷ a cover-all canopy with vermilion lining, red-brocade braided ropes, and screens 赤質，紫油纒，朱裏通幟，紅錦絡帶及帷。”⁴⁶⁸

Historical accounts seem to suggest that the *diche* (a more general name for the pheasant vehicle) was used for very important rituals. On the other hand, litters (*nian* 輦) were the popular everyday transport for imperial ladies, probably because they were a smaller and more practical means of transport inside palace grounds. For example, the Princess Taiping, daughter of the indomitable Empress Wu, rode in a *diche* for her wedding,⁴⁶⁹ but otherwise seemed to use mostly litters.⁴⁷⁰ Empress Wu

⁴⁶⁴ *JTS* 45: 1935; *XTS* 23: 507; *XTS* 24: 513; *TLSY* 19: 456-7 (*THY* 31).

⁴⁶⁵ See *zhi* 雉 in the Glossary.

⁴⁶⁶ According to the Zhouli 周禮, the *yandiche* was one of “five *lu* 輅 (large vehicles) of the Empress.” The Tang inherited this concept of including the *yandiche* from Zhou times. In Tang times, the Empress rode the *yandiche* for the Imperial ceremony of harvesting silk worms. The *diche* 翟車 (a general term for this type of vehicle) was also used for the Empress to return to her natal family.

⁴⁶⁷ According to Sun Ji *youxun* 油纒 was later rendered as *youzhuang* 油幢. *Youzhuang* is the cover made from water-proofed oil cloths for a vehicle. Sun 1993: 260.

⁴⁶⁸ *XTS* 24: 512.

⁴⁶⁹ *XTS* 8: 3650.

also favored litters for short distance travel between palaces.⁴⁷¹ Her husband, the Emperor Gaozong, even used imperial litters to travel to and forth from important ritual events.⁴⁷² This was probably because towards the end of his life he was often ill and could not ride a horse, as was ritually prescribed.

For the princesses, the *yandiche* was their central vehicle in a formal procession. It required two horses and coachmen/grooms ranging in number from four⁴⁷³ to eight⁴⁷⁴. According to 738 A.D. regulations set down in the *Tangling Shiyi*, the full retinue of the Tang princess consisted of the following:

...two Clearers of the Way⁴⁷⁵, six “blue cloth” *qingyi* 青衣 servants, sixteen accessory fans, sixteen round fans, sixteen square fans, three sets of ambulatory screens, two sets of sitting screens, one *yandiche* vehicle drawn by two horses, eight drivers (those first class ladies who are not princesses or imperial consorts ride in ox chariots decorated by *baitong* 白銅⁴⁷⁶ and driven by four people), sixteen retainers, six accessory vehicles, one parasol, one “large” fan (*dashan* 大扇), two round fans, and sixty ceremonial spears *ji* 戟.

外命婦鹵簿：一品，清道二人，青衣六人，偏扇、團扇、方扇各十六，行障三具，座障二具。厭翟車，駕二馬，馭人八(非公主、王妃，即乘白銅飾犢車，駕牛，馭人四)，從人十六，夾車，從車六乘，傘一，大扇一，團扇二，戟六十。⁴⁷⁷

According to this account, the princess retinue had at least 155 followers. This is assuming that each fan equipment had its own carrier, as is the case in traditional

⁴⁷⁰ *JTS* 96: 3031; *JTS* 183: 4743; *XTS* 124: 4391.

⁴⁷¹ *XTS* 122: 4349-4350. In this case, she was traveling to the Xingtai Palace 興泰宮.

⁴⁷² *JTS*: 1933.

⁴⁷³ According to *XTS* 23: 507, there were four coachmen and grooms.

⁴⁷⁴ According to *TLSY* 19: 456, there were eight coachmen and grooms, but only four for those External Ladies of first class who was not a princess or Imperial Consort. (see ¶109-110 for the external and internal court lady system)

⁴⁷⁵ This term is from Hucker 1985: 174.

⁴⁷⁶ White bronze alloy.

⁴⁷⁷ *KYL* 2: 20.

Chinese figural painting at this time. This is also assuming that each vehicle had at least one driver. Yet, as if such numbers of followers were not sufficient to represent the exalted station of her position, princesses sometimes exceeded their assigned number of vehicles and retinue. For example, Princess Anle used an Empress's regalia for her own wedding:

On the twenty-first day of the eleventh month (January 6th, 709 A.D.), Princess Anle was to be married, and she borrowed the honor guards of an empress from the palace in order to add to the splendor of the ceremonies.

冬十一月...己卯，以安樂公主出降，假皇后仗出於禁中以盛其儀⁴⁷⁸

This probably reflected the fact that in the beginning of the eighth century princesses were exceedingly powerful. Their borrowed trappings reflected their growing real powers in terms of their ability to influence political appointments.⁴⁷⁹

Those of first rank but who were not princesses or imperial concubines were supposed to ride ox chariots with a type of white bronze alloy called *baitong* 白銅 as decoration. I mention in passing, because, interestingly, ox chariots are depicted as part of the retinue in princess tombs. Thus, it seems that princesses could downgrade in their choice of vehicle as well as upgrade. The ox chariot had no pheasant feathers but kingfisher blue covers made of oil-cloths, a cover-all vehicle roof with vermilion lining, a net canopy cover-all threaded together with red silk. It required four coachmen/grooms.⁴⁸⁰ External Ladies of the Second Class and Third Class⁴⁸¹ also rode on ox-drawn vehicles but without oil-cloth covers or net canopies. Ladies of the Fourth Class had kingfisher blue half-canopies (in front) of their vehicles.⁴⁸²

⁴⁷⁸ *JTS* 7: 146.

⁴⁷⁹ *JTS* 51: 2172.

⁴⁸⁰ *XTS* 23: 507 and *XTS* 24: 513.

⁴⁸¹ See pp. 109-110 for the class system.

⁴⁸² *JTS* 45: 1935.

5.1.2 *The vehicles and retinue of the inauspicious funeral procession to the tomb*

The previous section described the procession for the princess in life; this section deals with the procession used for the conveyance of the body and accoutrements to the tomb. The *Kaiyuanli* prescribed a funeral procession for ministers of the third class and above which was translated and illustrated in chapter three, “The order of the vessels’ procession.” This is the basis from which I reconstruct the princess funeral procession, because the third rank minister seems to share the same “tomb rank” as the princess; such as, each has altogether twelve weapons on their respective weapon rack.⁴⁸³ The main vehicles for the funeral procession can be seen in their places in Fig. 5.31. According to the *XinTangshu* account, these vehicles may be divided into three groups:

1. *Che* 車 Commemorative group (with retainers from the previous life)
2. *Yu* 輿 Vehicles of offerings
3. *Che* 車 Body coffin group⁴⁸⁴

The grouping (reconstructed in chart 5.1) is based on a passage from the *XinTangshu*, which called the offering vehicles the six *yu* 輿. The front (spirit) and back (body) parts of the procession were called *che* 車.⁴⁸⁵ Thus, I have grouped all the *yu* together in the middle group.

In 708, Tang Shao’s comments about excesses in funeral arrangements reveal what princess funeral accoutrements are:

“According to the regulations, the funeral processions of princesses, consorts and other ladies of lower rank were accompanied by round fans, square fans, colourful silk screens and brocade screens. The addition of fifes and drums to the procession is unheard of....”

⁴⁸³ Princess Yongtai and Xincheng each had weapon racks with twelve spears painted in their tombs. According to the *TLD* and the *XTS*, ministers of the third class and above have twelve spears in their weapon rack. *TLD* 4: 23 and *XTS* 38: 1249.

⁴⁸⁴ *XTS* 21: 452.

⁴⁸⁵ *XTS* 21: 452.

準式，公主王妃已下葬禮，惟有團扇、方扇、綵帷、錦障之色。加至鼓吹，歷代未聞....”

He goes on to strenuously object against the addition of what he refers to as “marks of military valor,” the fifes and drums, to a women’s procession. The attributes of martial music, he said, did not suit women. It is not clear how many people staffed the funeral procession. However, since with the commemorative auspicious retinue (numbered more than 155 persons), the funeral processions together must have numbered more than 200 people.

5.1.3 Irregularities in the princess processions

Fifes and drums, men with decorated swords, and the imperial vehicle, the *lu* 輅 belonged, by regulation, to the funeral processions of princes and high ministers. However, some Tang princesses had already had these characteristics in their funeral processions since Gaozu’s time.

In 623, Gaozong added fifes and drums to the funeral procession of his daughter, the Princess Pingyang, and justified his special favors to her by reminding the ministers of her role in the creation of the Tang empire, and indeed, of her role in leading armies in the Li family rebellion. “Fifes and drums,” he said, “are military music” and therefore appropriate to the princess, as an army leader in her own right:

In the sixth year [of Wude]⁴⁸⁶ (Feb.5, 623-Jan.25, 624), she [Princess Pingyang] passed away and was buried. The edict commanded that feathered-capped rods at the front and back of the procession, fifes and drums, a large *lu*, round canopy, forty men with decorated swords, and soldiers with tiger ornament armor be added to the funeral procession. The Chamberlain for Ceremonials said that according to ritual, women had no fifes and drums. Gaozu said, “fifes and drums belong to military music. In the past the princess had commanded the bamboo standard, raising soldiers to join the righteous army. She held the golden drum herself, and has the merit of conquering and

⁴⁸⁶ The “sixth year of Wude” is confirmed by the *XTS* account “*liezhuan*,” 83: 3643.

pacification....The princess has merit in the establishment of the mandate of heaven, and is not to be matched by any ordinary woman. Why can she not have fifes and drums?” He proceeded to add especially such things, in order to proclaim her unusual talents. He further asked those in charge to name her posthumously according to the *shi* [posthumous name] rules: “clear and with merit is called ‘Zhao 昭.’” [Accordingly] the princess’ *shi* is “Zhao.”

六年，薨。及將葬，詔加前後部羽葆鼓吹、大輅、麾幢、班劍四十人、虎賁甲卒。太常奏議，以禮，婦人無鼓吹。高祖曰：「鼓吹，軍樂也。往者公主於司竹舉兵以應義旗，親執金鼓，有克定之勳。周之文母，列於十亂，公主功參佐命，非常婦人之所匹也。何得無鼓吹！」遂特加之，以旌殊績；仍令所司按諡法「明德有功曰昭」，諡公主為昭。⁴⁸⁷

There were other examples of going beyond the norm for princess funerals during the Tang. In 664, a princess’s funeral procession was assembled according to the regulations for a *prince*’s funeral procession.

...On February 4th, 664, there was a great ceremony of forgiveness. On February 20, Gaozong gave his eldest deceased daughter the title of Princess Anding, and her *shi* name “thought (思 *si*).” Her procession, fifes, drums, and all that were needed for burial--provided as if for a prince--were transferred from Deye Monastery to Chongjing Monastery.

...三月辛亥，展大射⁴⁸⁸禮。丁卯，長女追封安定公主⁴⁸⁹，諡曰思，其鹵簿鼓吹及供葬所須，並如親王之制，於德業寺遷于崇敬寺。⁴⁹⁰

Things came to such a pass that around 708 A.D., the Empress Wei suggested that fifes and drums would be applied for women of fifth rank and above:

“...For the Consorts, Princesses, wives and mothers above grade five who did not obtain their titles because of their husbands or sons, that they, from this day

⁴⁸⁷ *JTS* “*liezhuan*,” 58: 2316

⁴⁸⁸ Note 13 of the *JTS* 4: 88 showed that this “*she* 射” was actually “*she* 赦.”

⁴⁸⁹ There is another Princess Anding in the Tang histories, but she was not the eldest daughter of Gaozong. This second Princess Anding was originally titled Princess Qianjin 千金, and is listed as one of the 19 princesses of Gaozu in the *XTS* (*XTS* 83: 3645).

⁴⁹⁰ *JTS* 4: 85.

forth, be specially given fifes and drums for their day of burial. The officers of the court are also permitted this.”

景龍二年，皇后上言：「自妃主及五品以上母妻，并不因夫子封者，請自今遷葬之日，特給鼓吹，宮官亦準此。」⁴⁹¹

Thus, irregularities for princesses involved illegal borrowings of the trappings of the princes or of women of higher rank, like the Empress. Items included fifes and drums, guards with decorated swords, and the *lu* vehicle.

Next, we turn our attention to a more specific examination of the vehicles and figures painted on the walls of the sloping path. Three tombs of princesses -- Changle 長樂 (buried 643), Xincheng 新城 (buried 663) and Yongtai 永泰 (buried 706)--have at least one wall with undamaged murals on sloping paths. Though Fangling's and Linchuan's honor guards are lost, these three princess tombs with sloping path murals encompass the entire sixty-four years under study.

5.2 Changle murals (643)

The Changle murals, painted in 643 A.D., are among the earliest Tang murals found. They depict no vehicles, horses with empty saddles, or weapon racks. They show two sets of differently dressed honor guards on each wall, preceded by a smaller but beautifully painted “vehicle in the clouds” identified as the *lu*.

5.2.1 The *Lu*

From south to north, the west wall begins with a chariot driven by two men looking forward, drawn by two galloping horses (Fig. 5.1). The chariot, identified by its two tasseled flags, one large and one small, is a *lu* 輅.⁴⁹² The passage of the chariot breaks the clouds into swirls of agitation. They rise and crest much like waves

⁴⁹¹ *JTS* 28: 1050-1051.

⁴⁹² Sun Ji discusses the identifying characteristics of the *lu* and its various manifestations from the Eastern Jin (317-420) to the Jin (1115-1234) dynasties. Sun 1993: 69-77.

on a turbulent sea. On such a crest lies a great finned, scaly creature. It opens its mouth wide, exposing a sharp row of teeth on the upper jaw, and sharp incisors⁴⁹³ on the lower jaw. A large red tongue curls outward, while curly beard-like tendrils, similar to those of a stone lion, lie just below the chin. The creature's mouth emits rays of brownish light, visible just behind the chariot and almost parallel to where its wheel should be. Such is its speed that its crimson fins lie flattened on its side and its tail fin stretches out to its full extent. A sheen of green highlights its scaly back.

The archaeological report says that the horses are alternately auburn in colour and light green, both with braided tails. Between the two horses there is a man with bound hair whose right hand holds the reins; he wears a white wide sleeved, long *jiaoren* 交衽 robe.⁴⁹⁴ At the horses' right side there are two people, both with bound hair, looking back towards the north, towards the burial chamber. The front man is wearing the white *jiaoren* robe, the second one is wearing a red wide-sleeved *jiaoren* long robe, a white tie at the waist. On the left side of the chariot there is a lower compartment with two people. One man with a lotus hat has a sparse long beard,⁴⁹⁵ on the right side in the higher compartment there is another man. The three all wear pink wide-sleeved *jiaoren* long robes. All of them have bound hair.

We do not have a published picture of the *lu* on the eastern wall, however, the report indicates that it is much the same as the western wall, except in some small

⁴⁹³ From the large colour plate in *MSBH*, I can see three front molars and three incisors on the top jaw, while the bottom jaw sports three incisors, spaced apart.

⁴⁹⁴ Double breasted, but with one collar overlapping the other, no buttons.

⁴⁹⁵ The archaeological report says that it is close to the hat worn by the Southern Chen (557-589) Emperor Chen Houzhu 陳後主 (Shubao 叔寶, r. 582-589) in "The Thirteen Emperors" attributed to Yan Liben (MFA, Boston 31.643. See Wu Tung 1996: pl. 1). However, the Chen Houzhu's hat is taller and bunched together like a tight lotus blossom. The figure in the chariot has a hat that looks more like a lotus in full bloom, in fact more like the lotus base of Tang columns. On the other hand, the emperor as a tomb icon occurs also in the Bei Qi tomb of Cui Feng in Shandong. *MSBH*: pp. 52, appendix 22-3.

details, the groom is positioned before the two horses, wearing a red wide-sleeved double-breasted shirt, with a white belt, and his eyebrows form a 丿 shape. The two passengers of the right lower compartment and one passenger of the left lower compartment wear white wide-sleeved *jiaoren* long robes, with collar and cuffs trimmed in blue; the creature looks backwards. Other features show that the horses' tails are tied into different designs and that there is a *ya* 亞 design on the flags.

According to Sun Ji, the *lu* can be identified by two important criteria: namely, wings on the vehicle body and two flags (one large tasseled flag with the number of tassels relating to the status of the rider and a smaller flag which had the character *ya* 亞). Based on these criteria the Changle chariot in the clouds is definitely a *lu*. Next the question is whether the Changle *lu* is a human or divine one. It shares characteristics of both the vehicle of the Goddess (Fig. 5.2) and that of the poet Cao Zhi (Fig. 5.3) in the scroll of the Goddess of the Luo River, attributed to Gu Kaizhi 顧愷之 (364-407), the latter being human and the latter, divine. The Changle *lu* has a *mojie* fish and billowing clouds just as the Goddess *lu* (Fig. 5.2) and the Queen Mother of the West *lu* in the Sui Dunhuang cave 305 (Fig. 5.4). In fact, this *mojie* fish motif seems to appear when the rider of the *lu* is a supernatural figure.⁴⁹⁶ In contrast, a human *lu* usually does not have the *mojie* nearby, is drawn by normal horses, not dragons and often sheds the decorative wings. Examples of this kind include the Yide *lu* and Cao Zhi's *lu* (Fig. 5.3).

The two *lu* in Changle's tomb have characteristics both of the human and the divine. They have the character for *ya* on the small flag, the *mojie* fish motif, but have

⁴⁹⁶ The *mojie* fish appears in the scene depicting the Queen Mother of the West on a Northern Wei sarcophagus. On the left side, if one were looking towards the larger end of the coffin, there is a carving of a lady riding a tiger creature led by two immortals. Directly beside the path, facing forwards, is this fish-like creature. Huang Minglan 1987: 18-19, see plates 20 and 21. It appears again on the Sui sarcophagus of Li He. Shaanxisheng wenwu guanli weiyuanhui 1966: fig. 40.

no wing decoration and are drawn by horses instead of dragons. Nevertheless, their positions--on the west and east walls--seem to give a crucial clue to their meaning. Dunhuang cave 249 (Western Wei) has two *lu* on opposite slopes of the four-sided ceiling of the cave. (Fig. 5.5) As the entrance to this and other Mogao caves is in the east wall (instead of the south as usual in Chinese buildings), the south and north walls of the cave represent west and east, respectively. They are on either side of the main Buddha image, which is below the standing *asura* at the far end. The Sui Caves 305, 419, 417, 423 all have similar arrangements. In these caves, the two *lu* are unmistakably those of the Queen Mother of the West and King of the East.⁴⁹⁷ (Fig. 5.5)

These *lu* are indeed very similar to those in Changle's tomb; they all share the characteristics of the two flags, the *mojie* fish, and the double canopy. Thus, one may hypothesize that the two Changle *lu* depict the Queen Mother of the West and the King of the East in their respective *lu*. A further proof is that the Changle *lu* were placed in the positions where the White Tiger and the Green Dragon were usually painted. Thus, instead of the Dragon and the Tiger, these two other deities of East and West directions were depicted.

The research of Chen Zhiqian, the excavator of the Changle tomb, seems to coincide with such conclusions. In September 1999 he showed me the reconstructions of the two *lu* where the *lu* on the eastern wall portrayed the King of the East and that on the west wall depicted the Queen Mother of the West. The originals were unfortunately not accessible, the sections of wall having been removed and awaiting conservation in the Museum store room.⁴⁹⁸

⁴⁹⁷ Dunhuang Mogaoku, vol. 2: pl. 101.

⁴⁹⁸ Chen September 1999: interview.

5.2.2 The Guards

Two groups of figures, each about 135 cm tall,⁴⁹⁹ follow the slightly smaller *lu*, thus appearing more immediately in the foreground of the mural wall. The first group of guards wear *jaoren* cloth robes, black *putou* and a light “green” (according to the excavation report) collared cape fastened at the neck. The second group of guards are wearing *mingguangjia* 明光甲 armor like guardian figures of the Sui or the Northern dynasties.

The leader of the first group (Fig. 5.6) is larger than his men. He stands impressively, emphasizing the solemnity of his office, feet shoulder-length apart, toes pointing outwards. His left hand firmly grasps the hilt of a sword, and he stands in a three-quarter pose so that the other hand and arm is hidden behind his solid frame. He wears the same black *putou* as his men and a tight-sleeved white gown with a round collar called *kuapao*. All the men wear a black belt with white plaques around their waist. A sword and a long black stick with sharpened ends hang to their left and a quiver holder to their right. Whether the long black stick is a bow sack or not is still not certain.⁵⁰⁰ The guards, aside from the leader, grasp flagpoles with both hands, left over right. The first guard’s flag depicts a black bird in flight, and the tail feathers hung from it seem to be pheasant *zhi* 雉 feathers. This is most likely to be one of the feather-capped ceremonial rods called *yubao* 羽葆. The other guards hold red flags with tassels. The *yubao* is not one of the prescribed accoutrements for a princess procession, but rather one of the irregular features as described in section 5.1.3 above.

⁴⁹⁹ *MSBH* (Notes for plates 93 and 94): 35.

⁵⁰⁰ These sticks are described as bows by Jie 1990: 60, 63. The same long black sticks, evident in the hands of honor guards standing behind the display of halberds in the murals on the east wall of the fourth airshaft of Li Shou’s tomb are identified as unstrung bows “弓（無弦）” by Shaanxisheng lishi bowuguan 1991: 39.

The leader of the second group (Fig. 5.7), the armored guards, places his left hand on the hilt of his sword, and holds his right hand with palm forward, three of his middle fingers up and the thumb and little finger curled. His mouth is slightly open. His men, holding red banners in their left hands, are similarly dressed. The first of the guards holds his right hand in front of him, palm outward, the second and third finger curled downwards, and thumb, fourth and fifth finger held up. This guard seems to be making some kind of salute. The other guards' right hands are not visible; their left hands grasp the poles of the red banners.

Within their full body armor with shoulder pads and helmet, the undergarment is red and trimmed with fur, and a blue or green fabric. The first and fifth guards had skirts visibly trimmed with cheetah fur, and the third guard has a cheetah fur collar. Their helmets, fitting snugly around their heads, were pieced together using "S"-shaped metal fittings. A small tuft of red graces the pointed top. Two oval ear pieces fit into the "S"-shaped metal fittings. Armored guards are rarely depicted in murals. They appear in Changle's tomb and in the tomb of the Royal Concubine Yan 燕 (see the location of her tomb in Zhaoling, Fig. 1:2).⁵⁰¹ Wang Renbo also speculates that Prince Yide's tomb originally had armored figures depicted on its west wall based on fragments of mural wall showing parts of armor found nearby.⁵⁰²

The murals on the east wall of the tomb were also mostly preserved at the time of excavation, but two-thirds of them have yet to be published. From the line sketch made at the time of excavation, one sees that it is similar to the west wall. There is a *lu* in front, one group of guards wearing *kuapao* and *putou* and a captain, followed by another captain and his group, all in full armor. The second group of guards has been

⁵⁰¹ I saw a part of the sloping path mural of an armor guard in the Zhaoling store room. I was told that it was from Consort Yan's tomb. Zhou October 1997: interview.

⁵⁰² *KG 6* (1973): 381.

published (Fig. 5.8). Like the corresponding group on the west wall, the six guards are in full armor. The leader also extends his right arm with three fingers outstretched, palm up, much like his west wall counterpart, but this time he turns back, facing his soldiers as if addressing them. Thus the groups on opposite walls mirror each other but the leaders face in different directions. These soldiers are strangely elegant, with their svelte, black-belted waists and slender pointed black boots.

The excavation report includes a black and white picture of the head of the leader of the east wall first group. He has an elegantly curled mustache, and remarkable large ears with oval lines. Most of the leaders on the two walls have beards, mustaches, or bristles of different types.⁵⁰³

The *lu* and two sets of guards line up on either side of the path to the entrance of the first corridor (Fig. 5.9). There is a gate tower painted above the northern wall of the *mudao* above the entrance to the corridor (Fig. 5.9a). Thus the combined effect is one of entering a great residence, its gate high overhead, as one approaches and passes by the guards (Fig. 5.10).

The first corridor, without murals, then opens out to the first airshaft, where a group of five guards and a leader is painted on both the east and the west walls. In each case, the viewer descending the sloping path meets the leader first, with his men drawn up in a rank behind him. All face towards the entrance of the tomb, as if greeting those who enter. These guards are wearing the taller *liangguan* 梁冠 caps⁵⁰⁴ fastened with a pin, long purple-red robes, and black boots.⁵⁰⁵ They hold with both hands a large upright sword with a round ring handle and segmented sheath. Another

⁵⁰³ *WB* 3 (1988): plates 4:3, 4:4. The plates seem to be photographs of copies, not of the actual mural.

⁵⁰⁴ These caps are usually associated with civil officials, in contrast to the *putou*, which was associated with the military.

⁵⁰⁵ *WB* 3 (1988): 22.

gate tower is painted on the northern wall of the airshaft, and thus this effect is as if one has entered the main gates into the next “courtyard,” further into the private space of the tomb-mansion. (Fig. 5.11) Thus, Changle has three types of guards, all in different uniforms.

5.3 Xincheng murals (665)

Like Changle’s guards depictions, Xincheng’s *mudao* (sloping path) murals are symmetrical, with similar mural depictions on the west and east walls. However, the centerpiece of the east wall is a litter and that of the west wall is an ox cart.

5.3.1 East Wall *mudao* murals

The east wall begins (from south to north) with the claws of what probably was a dragon, followed by two standing guards, of which only the shoes, robe hem, and sword were left. One may deduce from the position of the feet and the upright position of the sword that the guards are similar to the crimson-robed guards in the first airshaft in Changle’s tomb. The base of what was described as “a vermilion gate opening to the north”⁵⁰⁶ comes after, separating the two front guards from the rest of the honor guards.

Directly behind the door a leader and four banner bearers follow. The leader, whose upper body is missing, is wearing baggy trousers, black boots, and a sword. The rest of the banner carriers wear black *putou*, light green, brown or white tight-sleeved robe with a round collar fastened at the waist with a black belt. They all wear swords on the left and carry banner poles (the banners are missing) with both hands. The last man looks back to a retinue of two grooms and two saddled horses, with a man amongst them carrying a thick pole (probably either an umbrella or fan),

⁵⁰⁶ KGYWW 3 (1997): 16.

one horse is white the other is chestnut (Fig. 5.12). A beautiful *nian* (litter) with four carriers follows next. The *nian* is similar to stone coffin shrines with cut-out cloud pattern stands and a sloping roof (Fig. 5.13). Eight men follow, seven of them carrying poles. It is not clear what is at the head of each pole. At the northern end of the passage are two smaller eunuch-like (*neishi* 内使) men, but the figures are unclear, the murals having peeled away in this area.⁵⁰⁷

5.3.2 West wall *mudao* murals

The western wall seems to show much the same iconography, but an ox carriage follows the two saddled horses instead of the litter. The two grooms seem to be of foreign origin. One is wearing earrings and the other has curly hair (Fig 5:14). All the guards wear simple cloth *kuapao*. Though the year is 673, almost exactly halfway between the period of the Changle princess tomb and the Yongtai princess tomb, the style of the guards' garb is much closer to Princess Yongtai's guards rather than to Changle's.

On the northern wall of the *mudao*, above the entrance, are pavilions, like those of Changle. On the eastern side of the pavilions a woman appears, sitting below a rolled up curtain and behind bannisters. She is facing east (Fig. 5.15). On the west side of the same wall are the remains of a window and curtains.

Next five men in *kuapao* and *putou* facing inwards appear, towards what looks like a weapon rack. (Fig. 5.16) The position of the weapon rack in a Tang residence is very clear. It stands just outside the main gate. As a mural (Fig. 5.17) from Mogao cave 172 at Dunhuang shows, the weapon rack is just outside the gate, two guards stand before it, and ministers or officials face inward, making obeisance.⁵⁰⁸ In fact,

⁵⁰⁷ KgyWw 3 (1997): 15-16.

⁵⁰⁸ I am grateful to Professor Whitfield who brought this mural to my attention.

the number of weapons in the rack is in texts related to the status of the building outside which it stands. For example, both Xincheng and Yongtai have six weapons in the racks shown on both walls, making 12 altogether. The depictions of guards in the Xincheng murals, like those in Changle's tomb, also extend past the sloping path into the first corridor and first airshaft.

5.4 Yongtai murals (699-705)

5.4.1 The Eastern Wall murals

According to the archaeological report, the western sloping path mural had mostly peeled away with the exception of one figure, a leader of the guards. The eastern wall, in contrast, was in relatively good condition. I will describe the extant part of the eastern wall of the sloping path. According to the archaeological report and also according to my own notes when I visited the tomb, the murals have now been repainted for the benefit of tourists while the original murals are kept in the Shaanxi Museum. The beginning of the southern end of the tomb show four pairs of feet, cut off, but obviously pointing southwards, followed by a dragon that may have been 10 meters long, now only with the tail, three clawed feet, and clouds visible. The dragon is followed by a *que* tower, in front of which stands the first of five groups of guards (Fig. 5.18). Each group has five guards, dressed in white, and a leader dressed in green, red, or violet. So altogether there are 30 guardsmen all facing towards the entrance at the top of the sloping path. Two grooms hold two horses in front of the weapon rack. Behind them is a wall that runs from the *que* tower to north of the *ji* weapon rack.

5.4.2 The *que*

From the album we can find a picture of the five guards standing by the *que* tower (Fig. 5.18). The *que* is built with three courses as foundation. The bottom layer is shown as a serrated edge. The second and third courses are bricks (some wedge-shaped) laid as headers—forming a ledge at the base of the tower. The sloping walls of the tower then rise from this foundation with alternating white and colored bricks all laid as stretchers.

5.4.3 The Guards

The leader of the first group of guards standing beside the *que* is wearing a purple⁵⁰⁹ *kuapao* and black *putou*. His group of five guards (Fig. 5.18), three in front and two behind, are wearing green *kuapao* fastened with a black belt, pale trousers, black *putou* and black boots. The front row contains three men facing south towards the entrance, their left hands clearly grasping their sword hilts. The first guard has his right hand clearly raised to chest level in a closed fist salute. The northernmost guard on the left in the back row faces towards the viewer; the others face the entrance. It looks like they all are grasping the hilts of their swords with their left hand while making a fist salute with the right.

The second visible group is the fourth five-man group counting from south to north (Fig. 5.19). The five guards are also in a three-in-front two-in-back formation, grasping their swords by the hilt, and making a closed fist salute. They are much like the first group (Fig. 5.18). However, their leader is wearing a red *kuapao* while the guards wear green. The most interesting thing is that some of the faces are unblemished enough to show some details. For example, the northernmost guard in

⁵⁰⁹ Most of the published pictures of these figures are black and white. When I talk about colours, I normally follow the description in the original excavation report. *WW 1* (1964): 17.

the front row has whiskers, and the guard next to him is older, as shown by creases around the eye.

Next are one leader and his five guards. They are the fifth set of the sloping path murals. The leader (Fig. 5.20) is larger than the others, to the extent that his stomach bulges over his belt. He is wearing a green *kuapao* with the left hand resting on the hilt of his sword and his right hand raised in a closed fist salute. Five guards in white follow this leader (Fig. 5.21). All but one face towards the entrance (south). They are of different builds. Two at the right in front are broad, with bulging stomachs. Two at the back have short beards; the fifth appears slim. Each guard, though wearing the same outfit, has a distinct personality that is shown by the expression on his face. The guard on the left in the back row looks back at the horses and weapon rack is exquisitely drawn. Wearing a *putou*, he has a sparse mustache and beard following his chin line to the jaw. Hair escaping from the *putou* lightly covers part of his ear. His eyes, with dark pupils, look directly backwards. He has a large and straight nose, full small lips, line eye-brows and almond-shaped eyes.

The artist lavishes most attention on this figure, which is the one that breaks the order and provides visual variation to the composition.

Next, and as the last part of the procession are the two saddled horses led by two grooms in front of a *ji* (weapon) rack. (Fig. 5.22) The horses seem to be handsome, sturdy beasts, and an elegant saddle is visible on the horse closer to the viewer. The stirrups are gilded. The protective cloth wrapped around the saddle is called the *anfu* 鞍袱, saddle cover. According to Sun Ji, the *anfu* is only used when the horse is not being ridden.⁵¹⁰ So these are horses saddled and ready for future use. This is rather like the wrapped fans and musical instruments in Yide and Zhanghuai's tombs,

⁵¹⁰ Sun 1993:88.

respectively. The material of the fender (called in ancient China *jian* 鞮) is not clear, but appears to have embroidered floral decorations, red flowers on white. The pad (*zhangni* 障泥) seems to be made of a brown fur material. Six decorative saddle strings (*qiao* 鞞) dangle from the saddle.

One of the two grooms is largely hidden between the two horses. The other is well preserved. Like the guards, he is wearing a brown *kuapao*, black shoes, and *putou*. However, he is obviously a foreigner with bushy mustache and beard. His irises are of a light colour around the pupils. Lines were drawn around the eye to emphasize the foreign “round and deep-set” characteristic.⁵¹¹ He has unusually thick lips and a large nose. Foreign grooms were common in the Tang period.

One guard survives on the west wall (Fig. 5.23). He is similar to the guard leaders on the east wall and wears a red *kuapao*.⁵¹² His body faces three quarters forward, but he is looking backwards, with a right hand raised in the closed fist salute. He has a luxuriant beard and slanted “Chinese” eyes rather than round foreign ones. The sword, worn at his left side, is shown in full view, since he is standing in *contra posto* with his body turned towards the entrance, but looking back over his left shoulder at the guards behind him. The scabbard is divided into four sections, alternating black/white, with black at the end. At the mid-point, where it is black, there is a suspension loop, as also seen in the bronze sword and scabbard uncovered from the Li Ji tomb.⁵¹³

⁵¹¹ They may also be the original sketch lines etched into the earthen wall before the artist or artists painted the man in ink. Other sketch lines etched on the walls was observed by the author in Prince Yide’s tomb, Qianling, Shaanxi, in September 1999.

⁵¹² The album of Yongtai murals mentions the color. See *Renmin Meishu* 1963, p. 4.

⁵¹³ See plates on page 13 of *Zhaoling Bowuguan* 1991.

5.5 What do the sloping path murals represent?

What do the images on the sloping foot path mean? These images include groups of guards and their leaders, vehicles (litters and oxen) and bridled horses, *que* towers, pavilions and weapon racks, all seemingly having to do with rank. In the Tang world view, riding the vehicles, having the retinues, and wearing the clothes appropriate to rank had an importance unimaginable today. Ministers spent their time at imperial audiences speaking about these matters, how “禮 li” (ritual/propriety) dictated how one behaved; in effect, how one’s identity and station in life was to be represented. They quoted Confucius, “[Of all things] only appellations and vessels can not be lent to others. 唯名與器，不可以假人。”⁵¹⁴ Vessels and names are all representations of one’s status and identities. And just as they should not misappropriated, one should not misrepresent one’s status.

According to written sources, infractions of these regulations were discussed repeatedly. Thus, since there were prescribed features for both the princess procession in life and her funeral procession, one would expect the figures of the sloping path to be the same, or similar. However, although the Princesses Changle, Xincheng, and Yongtai all have the same ranking, External Lady of the Court, first class, their murals on the sloping path have different contents (Fig. 5.32). Not only do they not resemble each other, the contents--the kinds and numbers of vehicles, retainers--of their sloping path murals more often resemble the tombs of other members of the Tang elites (ministers and princes) built in the same period. The princess tombs show that the iconographical programs of the tombs were based more on the time and place of construction rather than on the ranking of the deceased. As symbols they did not need to resemble what they represented. But what, exactly, did they represent? Some art

⁵¹⁴ *SSJZ(Zuozhuan)* 25: 1893-1894, and quoted repeatedly throughout the centuries in the *HouHanshu* (11: 472) to the *JTS* (37: 1356, 74: 2614, 145: 3852).

historians have recently tried to unravel the mystery of the iconography of ancient Chinese tombs. Wu Hung, one of the most influential voices in this genre, has written the following about the images of vehicles in Han tomb art:

Images of chariots are abundant in Han period (206 BCE-CE 220) tombs and serve different purposes. Some indicate the official rank of the tomb occupant or pertain to events in his life, while others depict funerary processions as well as imaginary tours taken by the soul.⁵¹⁵

Thus, according to Wu, there are probably at least three possible meanings of the mural figures on the sloping path:

1. Indication of the deceased's former official status or reference to "events in his [or her] life."
2. The funerary procession
3. Imaginary tours of the soul

I would suggest a fourth possibility: They are stationary honor guards posted at the gates of the residence-of-death, waiting for the funeral procession to arrive. I will argue each case in turn below.

5.5.1 The case for the retinue from the previous life of the princess

One possible explanation of the differences observed between princess tombs is that the figures are not the same due to changes in art fashions or possibly in the material culture itself. Another possible explanation is that the murals depicted the actual retinues of the princesses. One could argue that the depictions of the sloping path for each of the three princess tombs are different because in real life, each princess retinue differed from the others and from prescribed regulations, especially since the tombs date from different decades of the period—for example, the 640's, the 660's and the 700's.

⁵¹⁵ Wu 1998: 22.

However, the tomb of Princess Yongtai provides an important argument against the portrayal of the mural being the retinue of the princess in real life. Yongtai's tomb, accoutrements, and retinue, taken collectively, show her to be the richest and most powerful princess in the history of the Tang, because her tomb is the most magnificent of all the princess tombs, and the sloping path murals are the most intricate with the greatest number of attendants. In real life, however, Yongtai was only a Countess, never a princess. Her father bestowed the title "princess" on the deceased Countess after he himself became Emperor. The present Yongtai tomb is a reburial.

Wang Renbo began in 1973 to decode the iconographical programme of Tang murals. His 1973 article, "Analysis of the subjects of the murals in the tomb of the Crown Prince Yide (*Tang Yide taizi mubihua ticao de fenxi*)," dealt with the entire mural programme of the Prince's tomb. He outlines some basic assumptions for combining textual and material evidence and came to the following conclusions about the retinues of sloping path murals (Fig. 5.10):

The coming out of the honor guards is an important theme of the first period⁵¹⁶ of Tang tomb murals and ceramic figurines. When one examines relevant textual passages about it, one can further analyze and understand the Tang dynasty honor guards system. However, one should acknowledge that the honor guard system constructed by the Tang ruling class is quite different from its actual execution. The entire honor guard for the occupant's lifetime cannot be completely shown in murals and ceramic figurines. Thus, all the different kinds of honor guards recorded in textual sources are very different from the scenes on murals and ceramic figurine groups. The honor guards of the murals and of figurines are symbolic."⁵¹⁷

Wang, in this passage, admits two discrepancies: 1. discrepancy between the honor guard system and real life and 2. discrepancy between textual sources and

⁵¹⁶ For Wang, there are three definitive periods for murals 618-709, 710-756, 756-907.

⁵¹⁷ Wang 1984: 43. [underlining mine]

themurals/figurines found in tombs. The first is hard to prove, since one does not have full accounts of the processions in real life, but the second discrepancy is very clear, especially in princess tombs. The difference between the textual “ideal” princess procession (Fig. 5.31) and what is depicted on the murals is evident (Fig. 5.32).

However, while Wang explains both discrepancies by emphasizing the symbolic nature of the murals and figurines, arguing that “the entire honor guard for the occupant’s lifetime cannot be completely shown in murals and ceramic figurines,” I would argue for a more complex relationship between the retinue of the princess in life and her funeral procession and of the mural to the ceramic figurines, and their relationship to the textual regulations.

First, I would note that according to the ritual concepts as outlined in chapter three, the funeral procession included both the retinues of life (auspicious) and of death (inauspicious). This is clear for princesses, as seen in Fig. 5.31. It is also clear, according to “Burial Rites” in chapter three, that the processions divide into two camps, east and west, right outside the southern spirit gate of the tomb grounds. An auspicious tent, with the vehicle for the spirit tablet before it, with the living procession, was set up in the east. The inauspicious tent was set up to the west, north of the coffin carriage with its sacrificial altar to the south, with the tomb behind it. After the ritual sacrifices, the coffin was transferred from the vehicle to a smaller sled to go inside the tomb grounds directly to the southern entrance of the tomb.

In other words, the living procession, along with the spirit tablet and its vehicle, was never meant to go into the tomb. After the burial of the coffin and the tomb furnishings, they returned to the capital city Chang’an, where the spirit tablet was set up with due honors in a memorial or family temple.

When the ritual regulations sent the dead to the grave with “forms symbolic of life,”⁵¹⁸ this did not mean that these forms would necessarily go into the grave. Rather, what went into the grave were those “articles used by the dead when he was living [that] retain the form but not the function of the common article, and the spirit articles prepared especially for the dead man [that] have the shape of real objects, but cannot be used.”⁵¹⁹

These things, the *mingqi*, indeed were placed on vehicles, which were a part of the funeral procession and placed in the tombs. These are symbolic of the deceased’s former life. However, the figures in the murals are not symbols of life; they belong to the tomb as the guards of the residence-in-death.

5.5.2 *The case for processions of departure and/or of return*

There are three places where retainers are depicted in a tomb:

1. The sloping path murals, sometimes extending to the first corridor or first airshaft (see Fig. 5.11 for Changle’s first airshaft and Fig. 5.16 for the position of the Xincheng weapon rack).
2. The ceramic figurines which came with the ritual procession to the tomb
3. Murals or stone engravings in the inner parts of the tomb.

These scenes in different parts of the tomb may depict four kinds of retinue:

1. The former status-oriented retainers of the deceased princess.⁵²⁰
2. The funeral procession that was meant to go into the grave
3. The imagined tomb procession waiting to go on a journey.
4. The honor guards of the residence-in-death.

⁵¹⁸ Watson 1963: 103. Cf. section “A Problem of Ornamentation” in chapter three.

⁵¹⁹ Watson 1963: 290-1. Cf. section “Forms without spirit” in chapter three.

⁵²⁰ This is a very popular explanation, as noted by Wu Hung.

Wu Hung deals with the third category in his article and divided the figures in the procession (#3), according to the side they were facing, into two types:

In those earlier tombs, a single group of chariots pertained to two stages of a posthumous journey--the first starting from the ancestral temple and ending at the tomb, and the second beginning at the tomb and reaching, it was hoped, immortal paradise. The shift in the two stages was realized by changing the chariots' orientation from facing inside to facing outside the tomb.⁵²¹

Basically the Han chariots had the "the dual function of representing actual ritual events and a fictional time/space after death."⁵²² Wu Hung used, for example, the Northern Qi Lou Rui (531-570) sloping path murals, to prove his point. The Lou Rui murals, discovered in 1982 south of Taiyuan, Shanxi, are important examples of tomb murals. The processions on the east and west sloping paths are, quite obviously, entering and moving out of the tomb, respectively.⁵²³ But as one compares these earlier murals to Tang murals, an important difference becomes apparent. In Changle's tomb, for example, the retinues on the sloping path are all facing outwards. There is no other procession facing inwards. This is the same for the sloping path for Xincheng and for Yongtai and for all Tang murals so far excavated that show retinues.⁵²⁴ Secondly, just as the Lou Rui figures on the sloping path are obviously

⁵²¹ Wu 1998: 29-30.

⁵²² Wu 1998: 22.

⁵²³ "The painting surface [of the sloping path] is divided into three registers. Running hound, cavalry guards, groups of horses, and camels were painted on the top register. A departing cavalry artillery group was painted on the middle register. The lower register contained saddled horses, guards, drums and horns. The contents of the east and west walls were mostly the same, except that the people on the west wall rode their horses out of the tomb; the east wall had people walking their horses, returning to the tomb." Jin 1985: 20.

⁵²⁴ There are no exceptions. The Zhanghuai Crown Prince, the Jiemin Crown Prince, and Li Shou tombs do have sloping path murals that depict moving figures. But in Zhanghuai's case, one is a group of smaller figures playing polo and another a group of hunters. The Jiemin murals depict some polo players and those in Li Shou's tomb show hunters on the upper register of the sloping path. In addition to these smaller figures, all these tombs also have larger figures showing stationary honor guards.

moving, the Tang figures are also just as obviously standing still. The princess retinues seem to be neither the processions of departure nor of return.

It is, however, possible, that the retinues waiting in the first courtyard⁵²⁵ in front of the painted gates of the sloping path tomb are processions waiting to leave. However, most of the guards in Yongtai's retinue (Fig. 5.18-5:21) are holding their right hand in a fist salute, possibly waiting to greet the entourage which will come through the opening of the tomb and enter the "courtyard." The two leaders of the Changle first and second groups of guards on the west sloping path hold their right hand out, fingers outstretched, as if they were addressing someone coming towards them (Fig. 5.6, 5:7). Thus, one must consider the possibility that the retinues depicted are not processions at all but stationary honor guards of the residence-in-death.

5.5.3 *The case for non-moving symmetrical models*

If the vehicles and retinues on the sloping path are not part of the processions, what are they? Tang vehicles and retinues seem to be different from earlier types. Han processions are clearly *moving*. Tang retinues remain stationary. A close examination of the feet of the guards, for example, reveal that they are planted firmly on the ground. There is no indication that movement is planned for the moment or in the future. Most of the guards are turned three quarters towards the entrance of the sloping path, as if they are expecting and waiting for someone. I would suggest that instead of two processions, one going towards something outside the tomb and one coming inside the tomb, the walls depict two rows of honor guards, one on the east side and one on the west side. In structure it is similar to the *mudao* path murals of

⁵²⁵ I call this area between the painted gate pavilion above the entrance to the first corridor and the *que*'s a courtyard because there is a wall connecting these two entrances, thus forming a small courtyard before the main gates into the tomb.

Eastern Wei Princess Ruru (buried 550) (Fig. 5.24) and the Northern Qi (c. 550-577) stone *que* gates (Fig. 5.25). Here, the guards face frontally, legs planted at attention in a row.

Symmetrical model

Rather than simultaneously depicting processions of arrival or departure, the retinues of Changle show different guards (to the east and west) at the same time. They may be waiting for the return, but they may also conceivably be the waiting-retinue, honor guards for the departure.

I would suggest that they provided the prototype for later procession scrolls extant. For example the Ming dynasty handscroll in the National Palace Museum entitled “*Mingren chujing rubi tu* (An Imperial Procession Departing from and Returning to the Palace)” show ceremonial guards at the gates of the city, where they were posted to welcome the return of the emperor (Fig. 5.26). There, guards were also lined up before the gates to await the ruler’s return. I would therefore conclude that the Changle retinues depicted the honor guards of the abode, rather than the moving procession.

The line engraving on stone on the Sui stone sarcophagus of the Sui minister Li He also shows this spatial arrangement (Fig. 5.27). Here, what would have been the two inside walls of the Tang tomb sloping path are, as it were, flipped out, and the two rows of guards are engraved on the outside of the sarcophagus side panels. One can see that the guards are standing to one side. An immortal, riding a dragon moves past them. This is very clear, because the right paw of the dragon (close up in Fig. 5.27b) is closer to the viewer than the guards.⁵²⁶ I would suggest that the inauspicious

⁵²⁶ WW 1 (1966): 27-40.

vehicles, loaded with the epitaph stone, offerings, and the figurines passed the sloping path murals in just the same way. They constitute the procession that these mural figures are waiting for, and they are welcomed into a complex compound of increasingly private (*nei*) space.

The ox carriage and other symmetrical depictions

Xincheng's vehicles, an ox carriage to the west and a litter to the east, follow conventions dating from the Han. There is an Eastern Han stone door excavated from Mizhixian City 米脂縣城 in which the ox carriage and the horse chariot are carved in relief on the door frame (Fig. 5.28).⁵²⁷ The horse chariot is on the right column and just above it is the Green Dragon. The ox carriage is on the left opposite of the horse chariot. Above it the White Tiger is depicted in a mirror position to the Green Dragon. Thus here the ox cart is on the west side and the horse chariot is on the east side. This pattern continued in later periods wherever there was a symmetrical pairing of an ox carriage with another mount.

This other mount could be a saddled horse or a horse chariot. For example, in the Dao Gui tomb (buried 571, see Fig. 5.29), there is a portrait of the tomb owner before his nine-panel-screen. To his right (the west side) is the ox carriage. To his left (the east side) is the saddled horse, replacing the horse chariot, which was more popular in the previous Han dynasty. Also in Lou Rui's tomb murals (d. 570), the ox carriage is situated on the west wall of the tomb chamber (Fig. 5.30), and the saddled horse on the east wall of the tomb chamber, whereas processions occur in three registers on the walls of the sloping path.⁵²⁸

⁵²⁷ Shaanxisheng bowuguan 1990: pl. 101.

⁵²⁸ The excavators describe the east wall of the chamber as portraying a saddled horse followed by rows of feather-capped rods and flags. *WW* 10 (1983): 18.

Thus, this model, though with different mounts and vehicles, is very similar to the symmetrical model. They have east and west sides which are not exactly the same, but symmetrical in that they have ox carriages to the west and horses to the east; just as in Changle's tomb, the west sloping path mural depicted Queen Mother of the West and the east sloping path wall depicted the King of the East; or as in Xincheng's and Yongtai's tombs, the Green Dragon of the West and White Tiger of the East were painted on either side.

5.6 Conclusion

Contrary to expectation, the princess tomb murals on the sloping path are not only different to textual descriptions of the retinues and processions suitable to the status of a princess, but are also different from each other as well. There may be several reasons for this. For one, the details of the murals seem to suggest that this is not a procession at all but an honor guard for the residence-in-death of the deceased. The few men pictured are the guards and retainers outside the residence of death waiting to welcome the procession of the dead princess into the tomb. Thus they would not equal the number and type of the princess procession described in the texts. In fact, the figurines that were brought on the funeral vehicles should be closer to the textual descriptions.⁵²⁹

Moreover, the art in the tomb seems not to resemble the previous life of the occupant, but designed to represent kind of home that the deceased *ought* to have. The scale and location of these princess tombs are subject to decisions by the makers. In these cases, the makers would be the reigning emperor. Yongtai's tomb was

⁵²⁹ In fact, 777 figurines were counted in the tomb of Princess Yongtai, of these male riders, pottery and *sancai*, alone accounted for more than 200. There were almost 100 female riders and 26 musicians on horseback. Shaanxi sheng wenwu guanli weiyuanhui 1964: 7-33.

constructed to be the home-in-death of a great Tang princess, though she never achieved such status in her lifetime. Her tomb, almost 100 meters long, was the result of directives given by Zhongzong (r. 684, 705-10) to re-bury his children, Yongtai and Yide, in grand and elaborate tombs and as Crown Prince and Princess. Yide's tomb was styled an "Emperor's" tomb though his highest rank in life was Crown Grandson. Zhongzong also re-buried his older brother Li Hong 李弘, who never assumed the throne and died in exile as a commoner, as a crown prince.

In this way, tomb art is similar to epitaph representations. The epitaph represents the deceased in her new identity; the tomb represents the residence-in-death of the deceased in that new identity. This new identity was not represented by symbolic figures derived from regulation texts, but by craftsmen's practices of putting together pictures on the walls of the tomb. Sometimes the pictures corresponded more or less to the status of the tomb owner, but this was not done precisely according to the textual regulations on ranking, but rather by assembling the types and quantities of the appropriate objects or figures. What is "appropriate" was ultimately decided by a combination of attention to ritual forms and political circumstances, as these five princess tombs show.



Fig. 5.1a Changle tomb: *lu* on the west wall of the sloping path (after *MSBH*: 86, pl. 92).

Line drawing of the west side sloping path mural

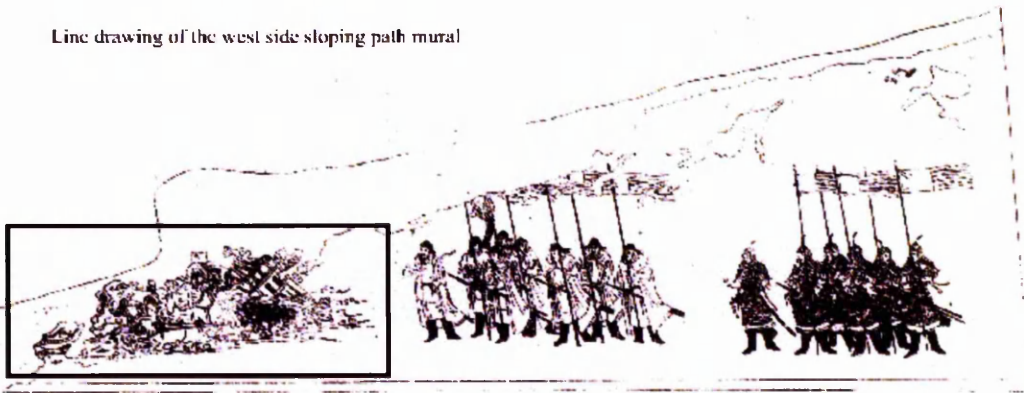


Fig. 5.1b Changle tomb: the position of the *lu* on the west wall of the sloping path (after *WB* 3 1988: 21).



Fig. 5.2 Section of the handscroll “The Goddess of the Luo River (*Luoshentu*)” attributed to Gu Kaizhi (c. 346-c.407). Ink and color on silk, Palace Museum, Taipei (after Guoli Gugong bowuyuan bianji weiyuanhui 1996: 63).



Cao Zhi’s vehicle, as depicted in the Liaoning scroll (Fig. 5.23) shows much the same characteristics as the Goddess’s *lu* vehicle (Fig. 5.2), but has wheels instead of wings and is drawn by horses instead of dragons.

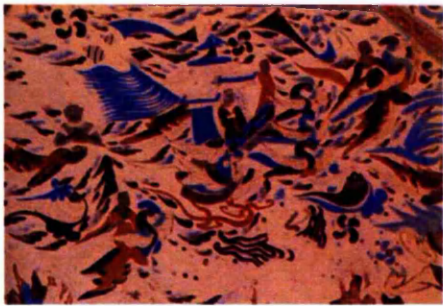
Fig. 5.3 Cao Zhi’s vehicle, detail from the handscroll “The Goddess of the Luo River.” Ink and colors on silk, Liaoning Museum (after *YNCH*: 141)



Fig. 5.4 Detail of a *lu* drawn by birds in Mogao cave 305, Sui (after *DM 2*: pl. 25). This chariot, identified as that of the Queen Mother of the West, is very similar to that of the Goddess of the Luo River.



lu on south slope of ceiling Top of niche above main Buddha *lu* on north slope of ceiling



Queen Mother of the West



King of the East



Fig. 5.5 View of the ceiling in Mogao cave 249, Western Wei (after *DM* 1: pl. 101). Prof. Whitfield has brought to my attention that at Magao, since the cliff faces east, the north and south walls of each cave shrine are conventionally used to represent east and west, respectively.



Fig. 5.6a Changle tomb: the first group on the west wall of the sloping path (after *MSBH*: pl. 94).

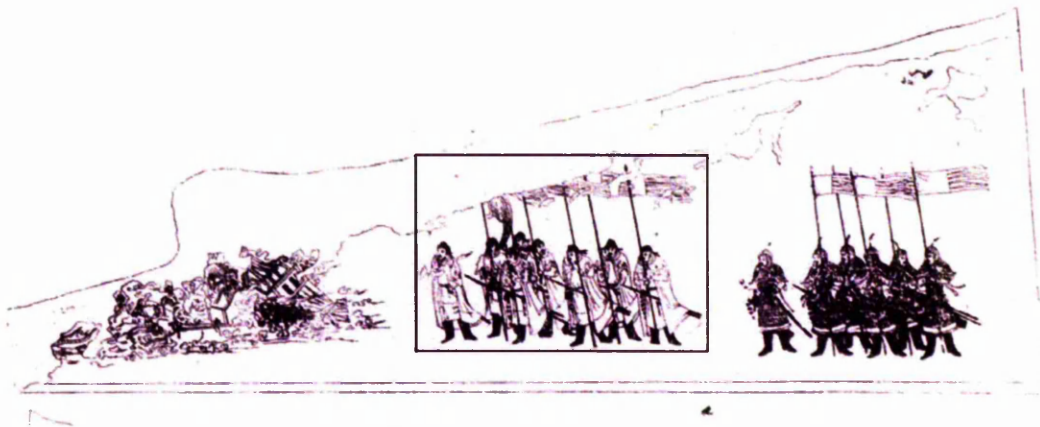


Fig. 5.6b Changle tomb: the position of the first group of guards on the west wall of the sloping path (after *WB* 3 1988: 21).

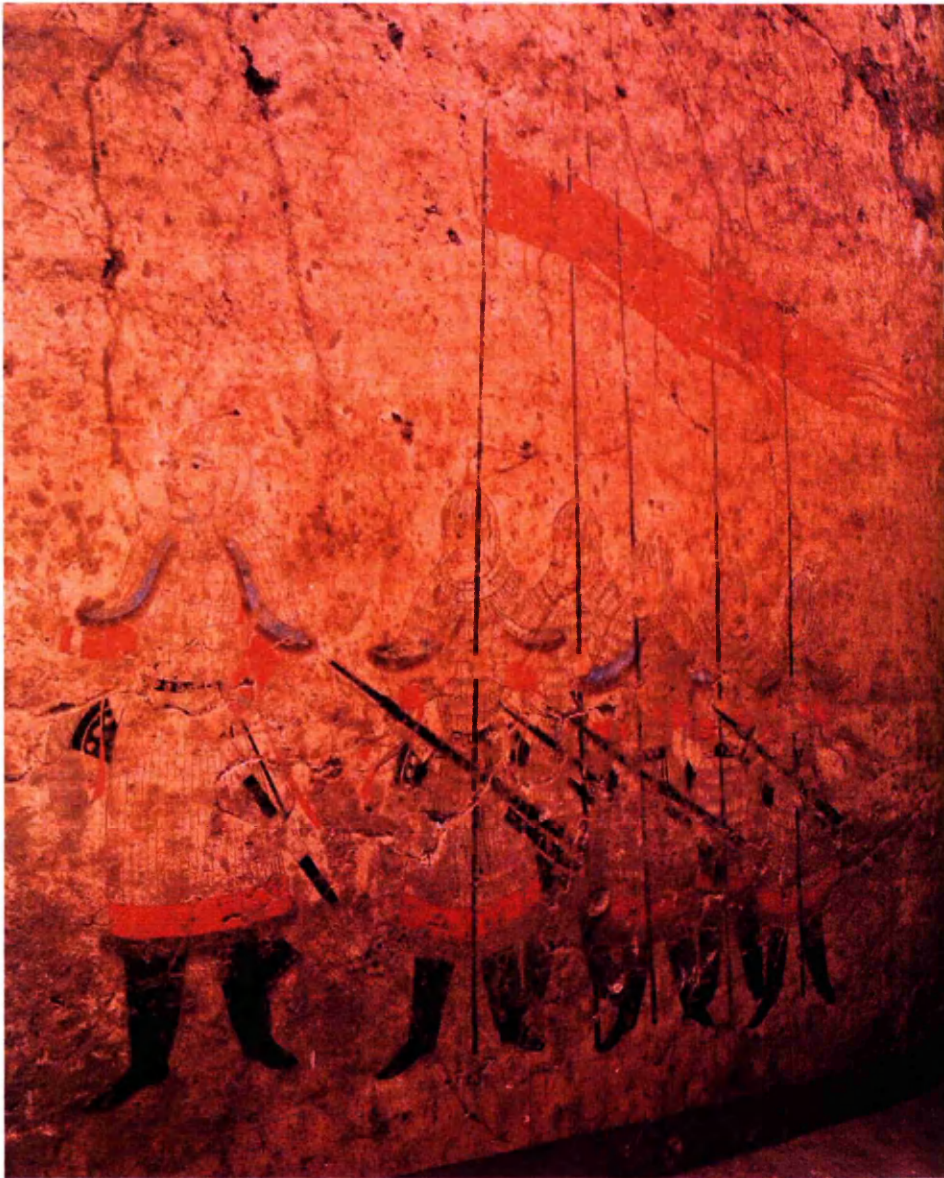


Fig. 5.7a Changle tomb: the second group of guards on the west wall of the sloping path (after *MSBH*: plate 94).



Fig. 5.7b Changle tomb: the position of the second group of guards on the west wall of the sloping path (after *WB 3* 1988: 21).



Fig. 5.8a Changle tomb: the second group of guards on the east wall of the sloping path (after Wang Renbo 1990: 83, pl.5).



Fig. 5.8b Changle tomb: position of the second group of guards on the east wall of the sloping path (after *WB* 3 (1988): 21).

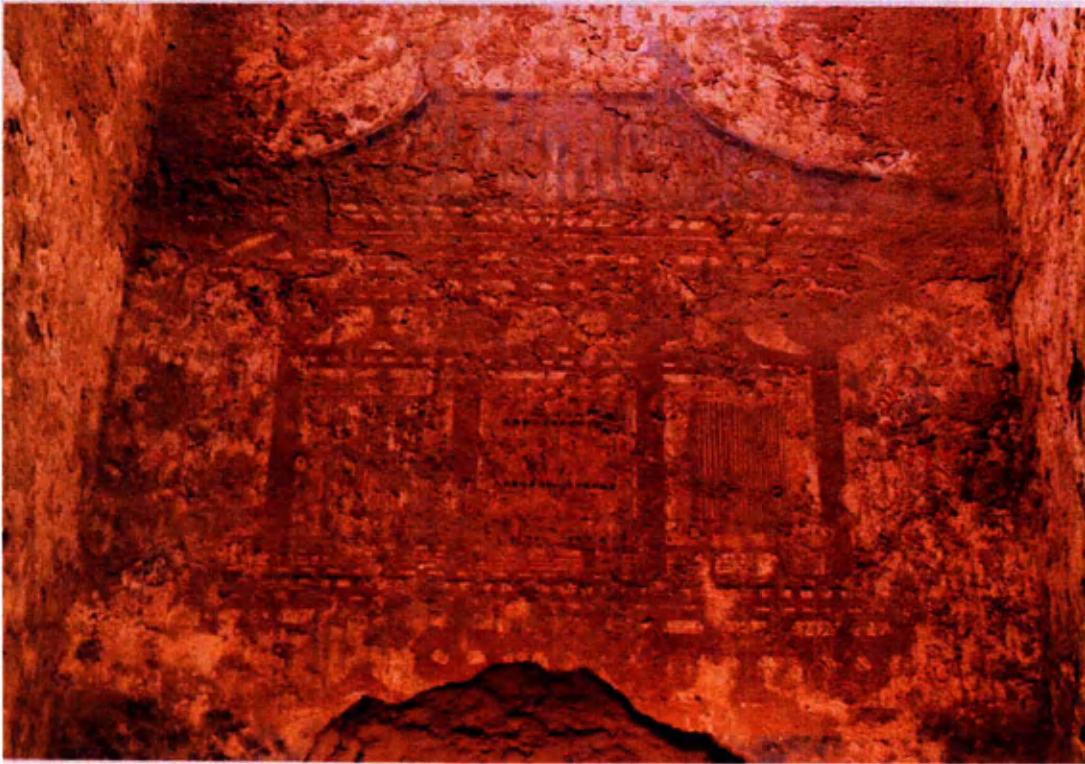


Fig. 5.9a Changle tomb: mural (original) of the pavilion over the entrance of the first corridor (after *MSBH*: 89, pl. 95).

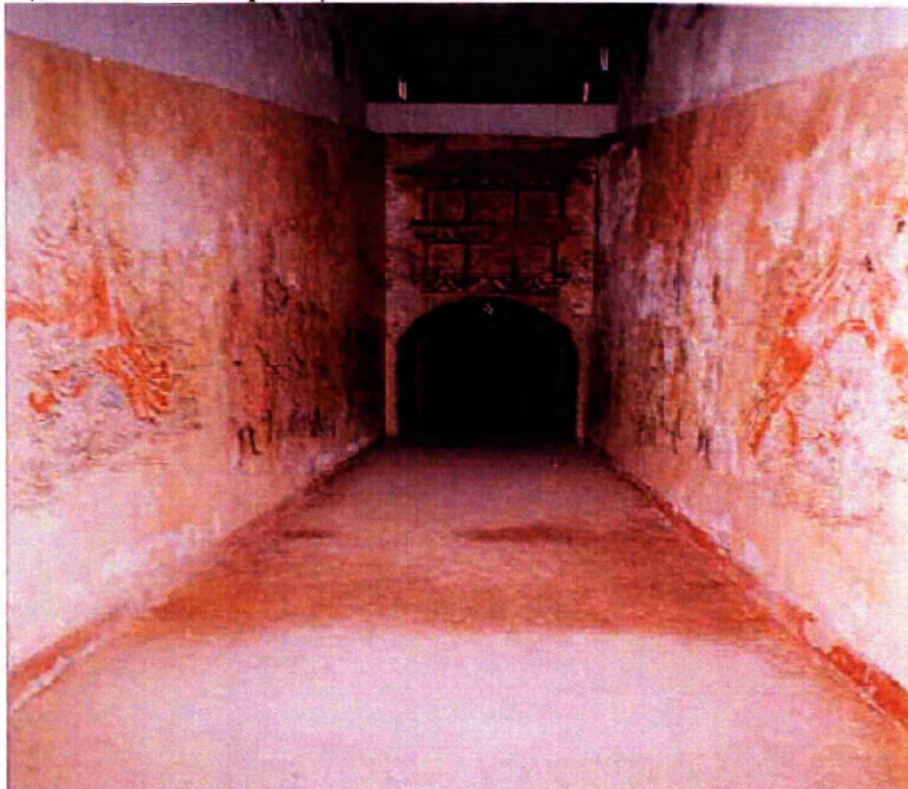


Fig. 5.9b Changle tomb: murals (copies) in place on the sloping path and the pavilion above the entrance of the first corridor (after Hyogo Kenritsu 1996: 79, pl.43).

Although the murals painted over the original tomb walls are copies, they mark the approximate positions of the original murals. The arrow marks the place where the pavilion (Fig 5.9a) above would have gone.

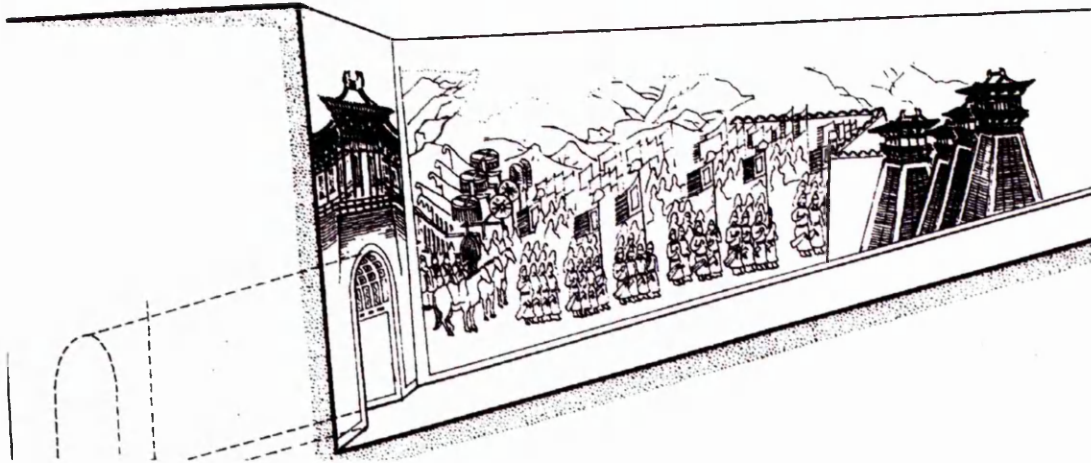
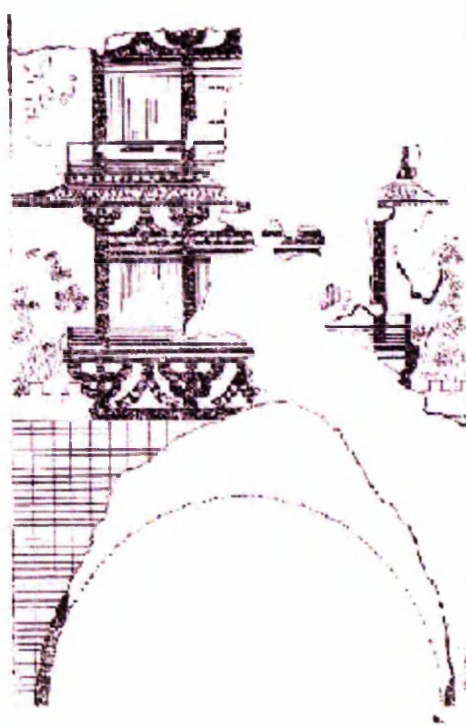
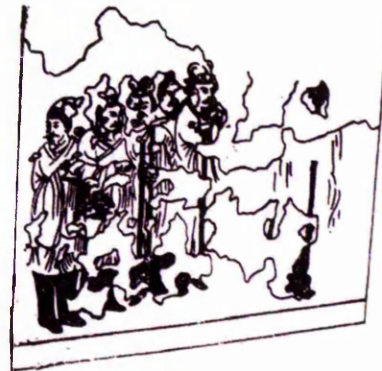


Fig: 5.10 Yide tomb: layout of the east wall of the sloping path and the pavilion above the entrance of the first corridor. This spatial layout is typical of Tang imperial tombs (see Fig 5.9a & b) (after Fu Xinian 1987: 5).

Fig. 5.11 Changle tomb: the two groups of guards on the east and west walls of the first airshaft at the entrance of the second corridor (after *WB* 3 (1988): ill. 19, 20, 35). This kind of spatial arrangement is similar to the sloping path, except now the space seems to be a “courtyard” inside rather than being completely outside the abode.



east wall guards



west wall guards



Fig. 5.12a Xincheng tomb: two saddled horses with two grooms and a guard holding a pole (flag?) on the east wall of the sloping path (after *SXTB*: pl. 14).



Fig. 5.12b Xincheng tomb: sketch of the east wall of the sloping path (after *KGYWW* 3 (1997): 17).



Fig. 5.13a Xincheng's tomb: palanquin on the east wall of the sloping path (after *SXTB*: 31, pl. 20).

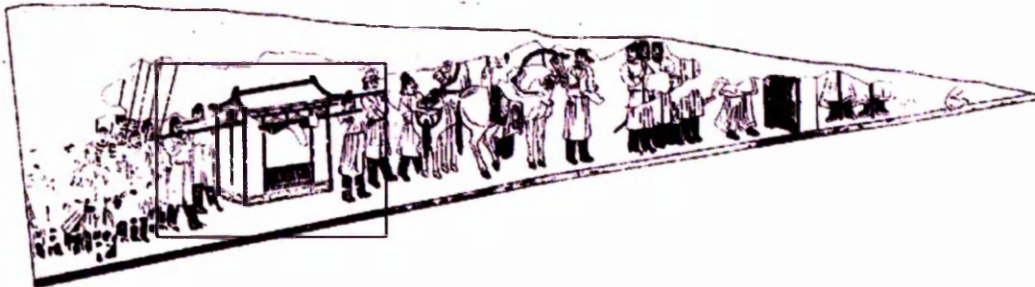


Fig. 5.13b 5.12b Xincheng tomb: sketch of the east wall of the sloping path (after *KGYWW* 3 (1997): 17).



Fig. 5.14a Xincheng's tomb: ox chariot with one groom, and two oval-fan holders on the west wall of the sloping path. After *SXTB*: pl. 28

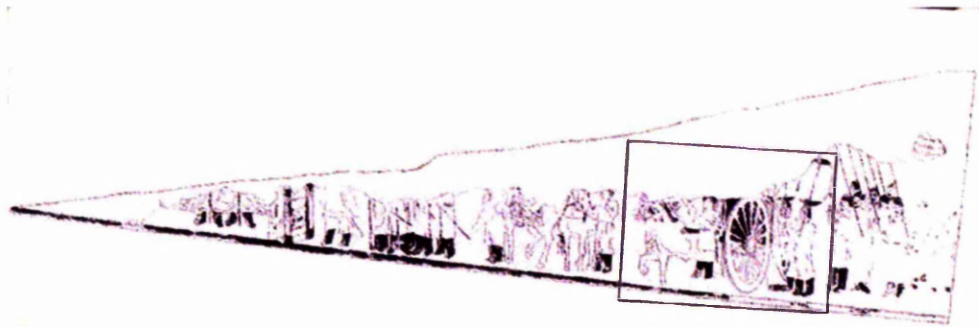


Fig. 5.14b Xincheng's tomb: sketch of the west wall of the sloping path (after *KGYWW* 3 (1997): 17).

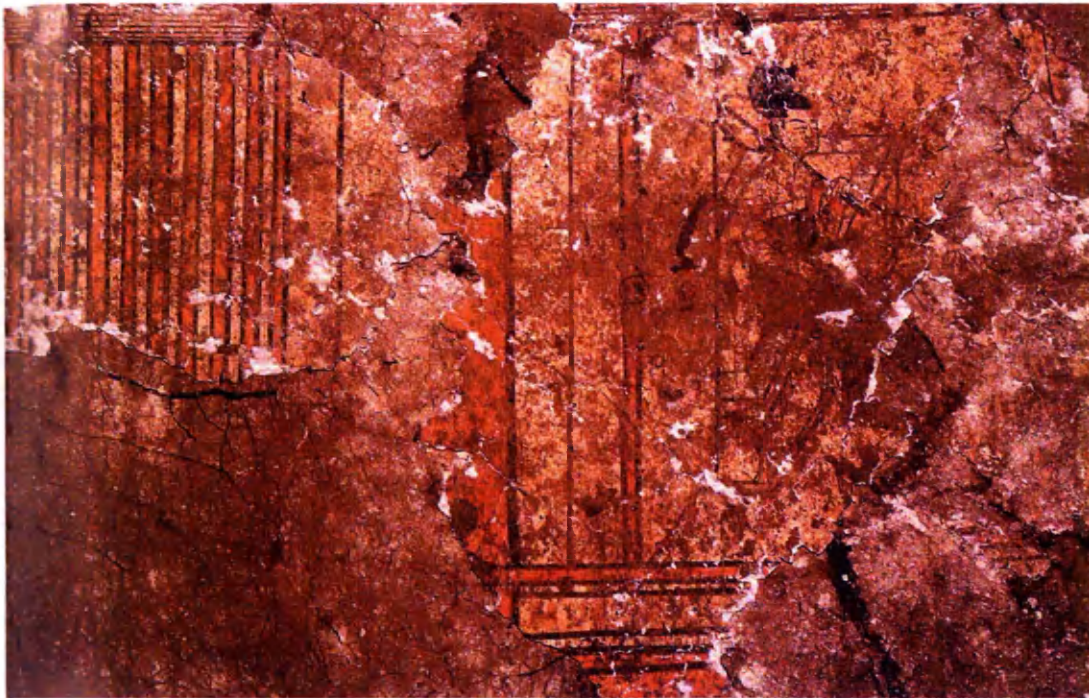


Fig. 5.15a Xincheng's tomb. Eastern portion of the entire pavilions mural (after *SXTB*: 31, pl. 20; further information is from *KGYWW* 3 (1997): 18)

The portion shows rolled curtain, and red banisters. A female figure (in the sitting position 10 cm. high) sits on the edge of what looks like a bed. She is carrying an oval fan slung over her left shoulder.

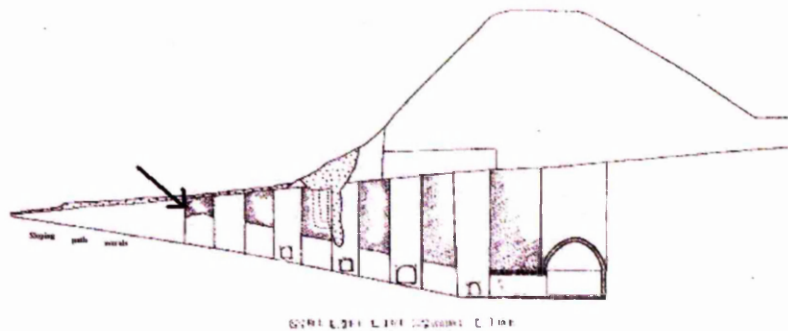


Fig. 5.15b Xincheng tomb: section showing the west wall (after *KGYWW* 3 (1997): illus. 2).

This pavilion scene is a fragment of the mural right above the entrance after the sloping path murals.



Fig. 5.16a Xincheng tomb: weapon's rack with six *ji* from the first airshaft on the west wall of the sloping path (after *SXTB*: pl. 21).

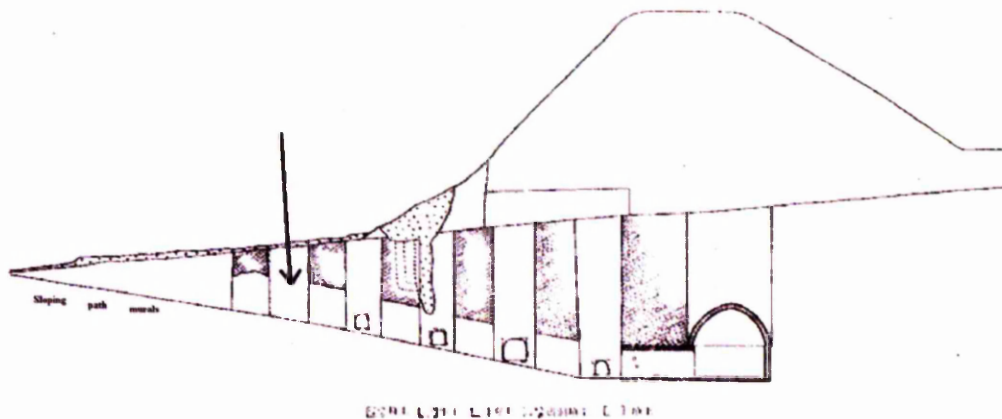


Fig. 5.16b Xincheng tomb: section showing the west wall (after *KGYWW* 3 (1997): illus. 2).

The weapon's rack is right after the first corridor, where there were four male servants in various poses of obeisance

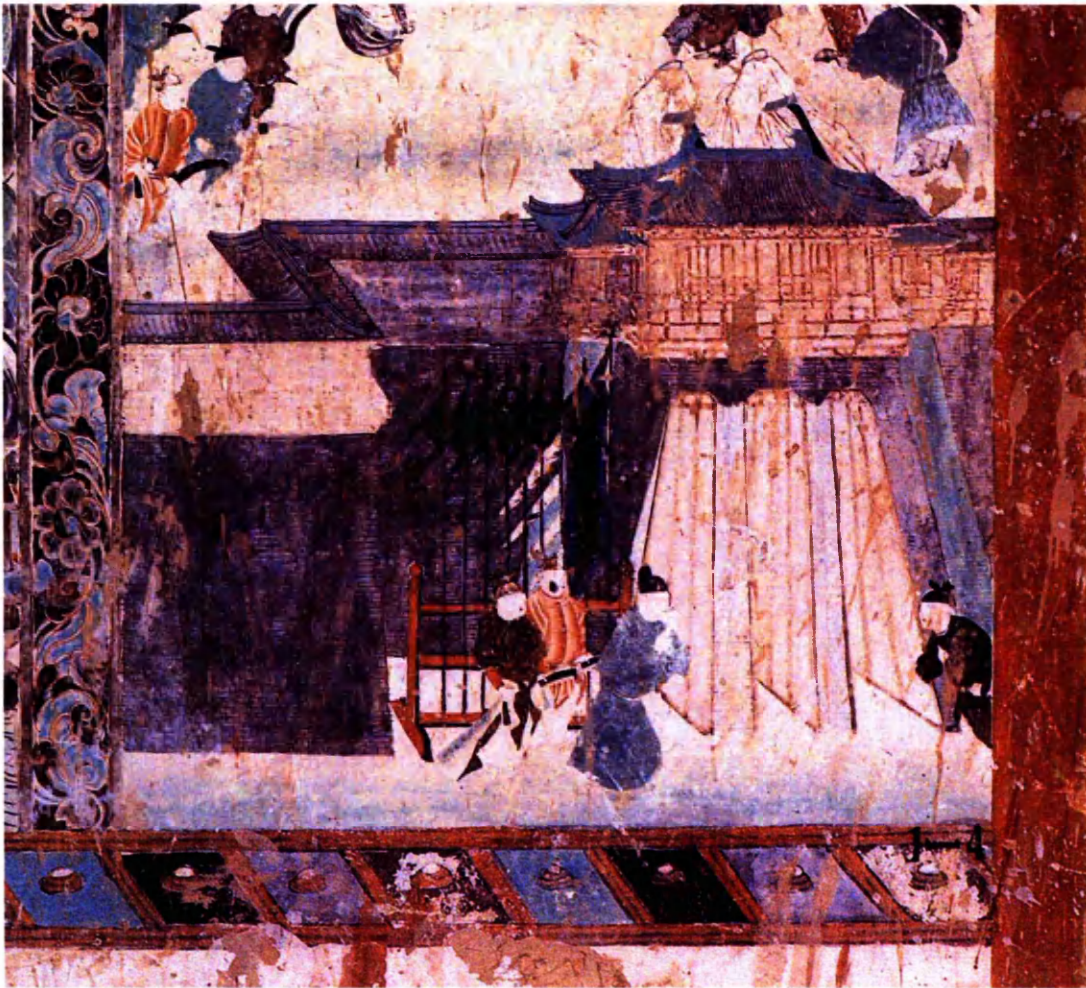


Fig. 5.17 Mural of a flag rack on the south wall of Dunhuang Mogao cave 172 (after Whitfield 1992: 211, pl. 310).

The mural shows the rack with one large and eight small flags in front of the city gate, with two guards and two officials bowing. The scene is from the story of King Bimbisara and his son Ajatasatru.



Fig. 5.18a Yongtai's tomb: the *que* tower and the first group of five guards on the east wall of the sloping path (after Renmin meishu chubanshe (ed.) 1963: pl. 5).



Fig. 5.18b Yongtai's tomb: sketch of the mural on the east wall of the sloping path (after *WW* 1 (1964): illus. 4.)



Fig. 5.19a Yongtai's tomb: the fourth group of guards (without their captain in front) on the east wall of the sloping path (after *Renmin meishu chubanshe*, ed.: pl. 7). They are doing a closed fist salute.



Fig. 5.19b Yongtai's tomb: sketch of the east wall of the sloping path (after *WW 1* (1964): illus. 4).



Fig. 5.20a Yongtai's tomb: the captain of the fifth group of guards on the east wall of the sloping path (after *Renmin meishu* 1963: pl. 11 & *WW* 1 (1964): illus. 4).

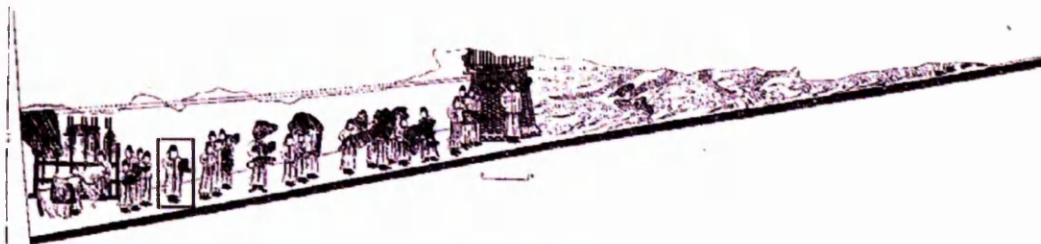


Fig. 5.20b Yongtai's tomb: sketch of the east wall of the sloping path (after *WW* 1 (1964): illus. 4).



Fig. 5.21a Yongtai's tomb: the fifth group of guards (without their captain Fig. 5.20 in front) on the east wall of the sloping path (after *Renmin meishu chubanshe* 1963: pl. 13).

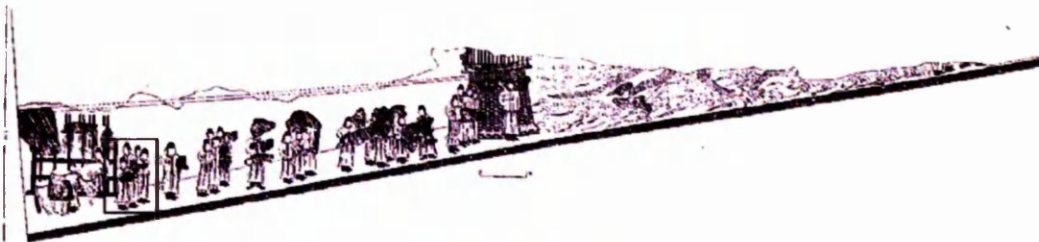


Fig. 5.21b sketch of the east wall of the sloping path (after *WW* 1 (1964): illus. 4).



Fig. 5.22a Yongtai's tomb: the weapon rack behind the fifth group of guards (Fig. 5.19), approximately 1.58 x 2 meters (after *Renmin meishu chubanshe* 1963: color pl. 5).

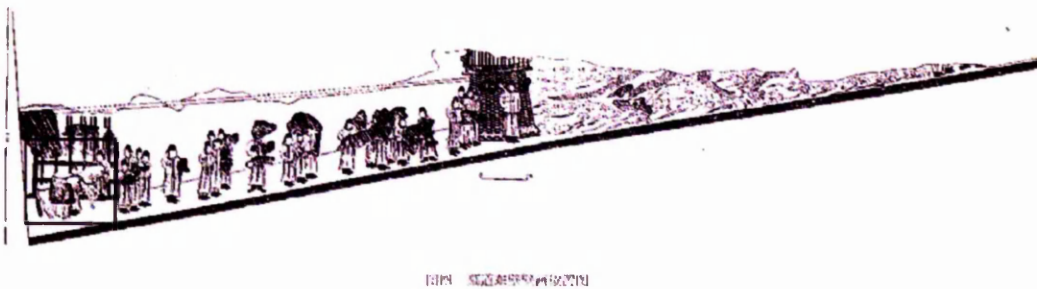


Fig. 5.22b Yongtai's tomb: sketch of the east wall of the sloping path (after *WW* 1 (1964): illus. 4).

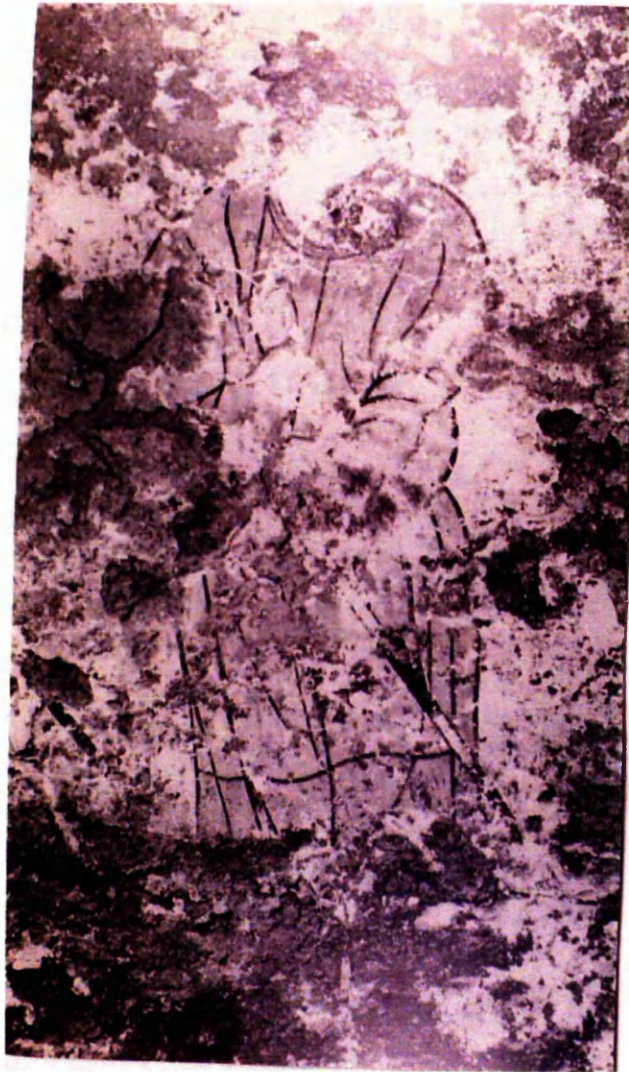


Fig. 5.23 Yongtai's tomb: the captain of the guards on the west wall of the sloping path (after *Renmin meishu chubanshe* 1963: color pl. 5).

He is about 1.65 m tall, and turns his head to look backwards at the tomb chambers, striking a pose similar to that of Zhong Kui the Demon Queller drawing on his sword in later times. His sword sheath is alternately black and white.

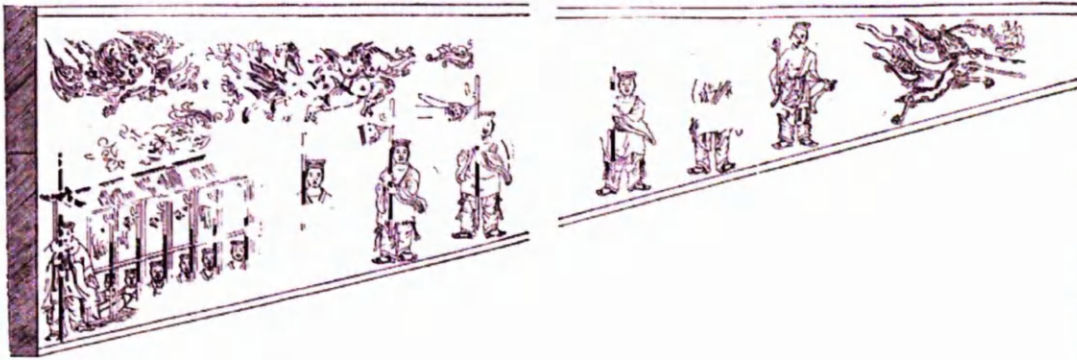


Fig. 5.24 Princess Ruru tomb (dated 550): sketches of the east wall of the sloping path, Hubei (after *WW* 4 (1984): illus.3).

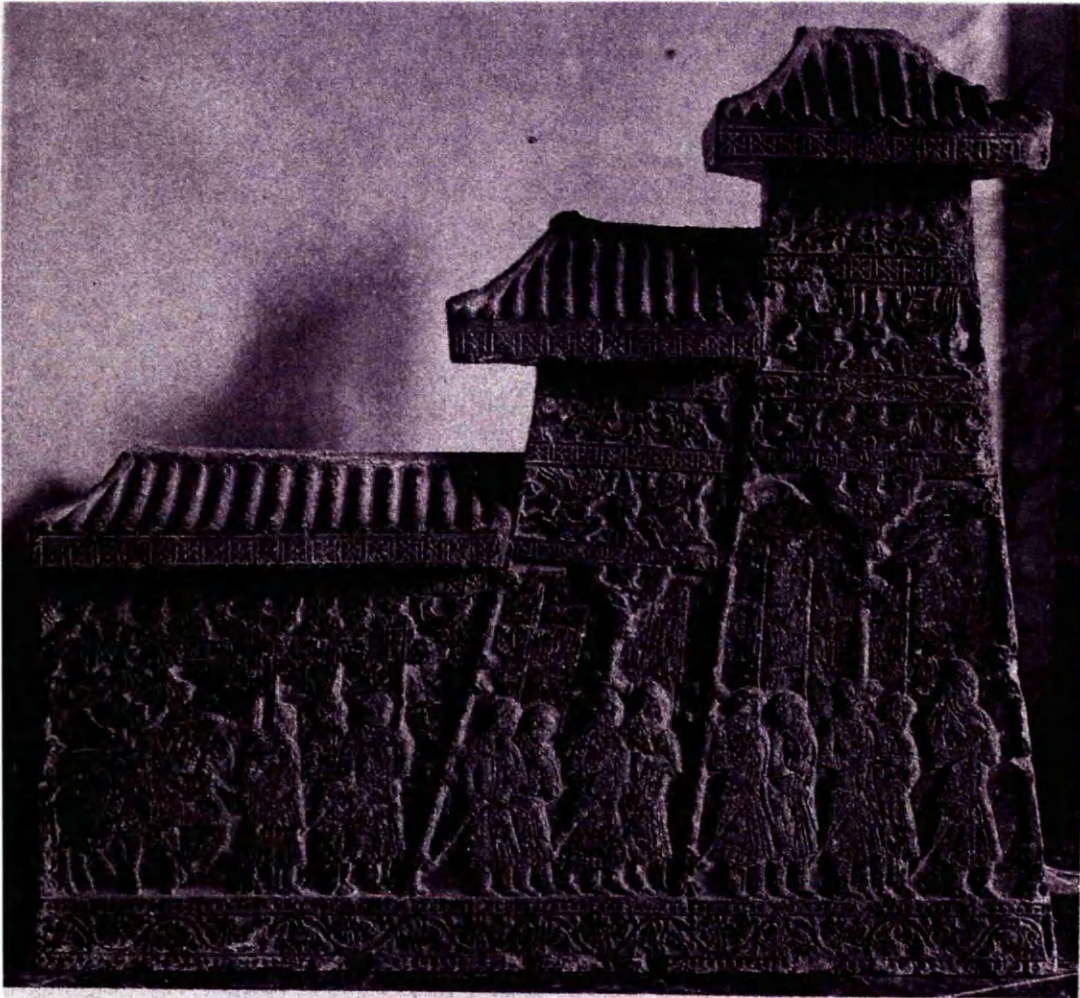


Fig. 5.25ab Northern Qi (c. 550-577) stone gates of Sogdian tomb in Köln (after Salmony 1922: pl. 46).

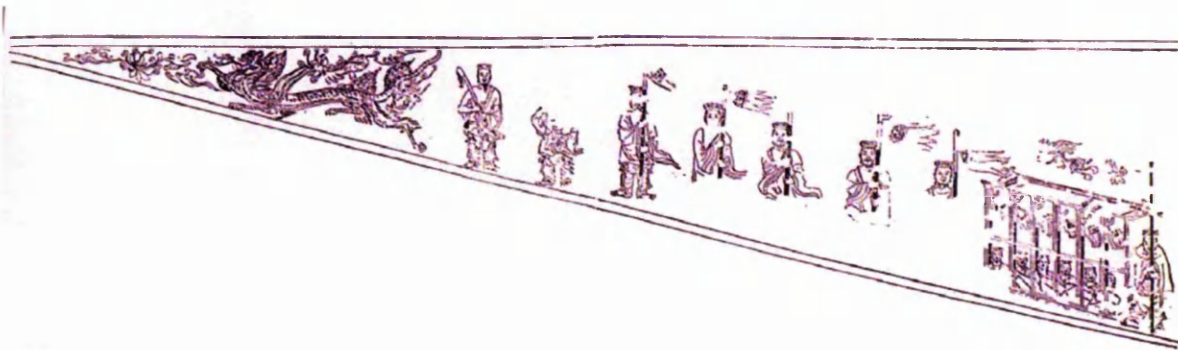


Fig. 5.24b The west wall mural of the sloping path in Princess Ruru's tomb (dated 550)

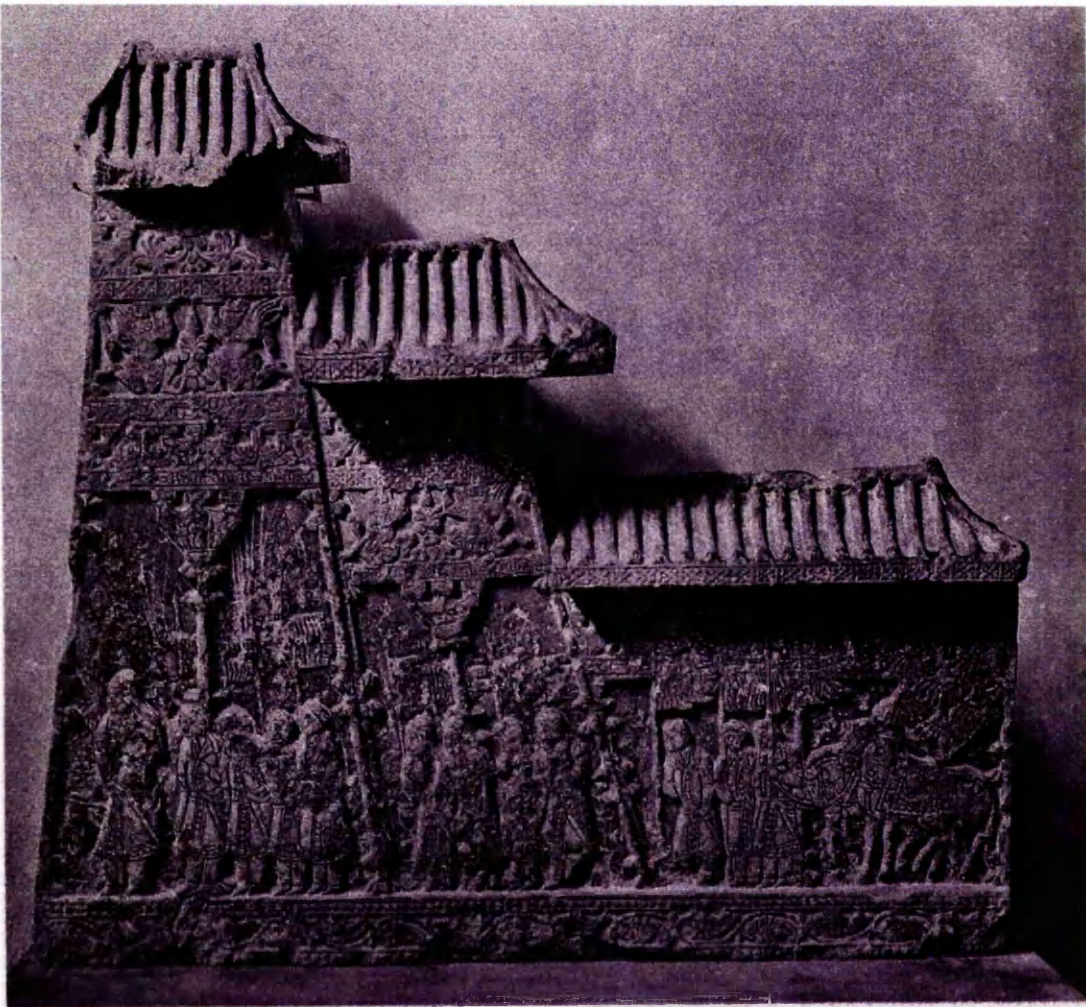


Fig. 5.25b



Fig. 5.26 Detail from an anonymous Ming handscroll in the National Palace Museum, Taipei: “Guards in Front of the City Gate to Welcome the Emperor” (after Na 1970: 11, pl. 5).

Fig. 5.27 : Side panel and detail of the sarcophagus from the tomb of Li He (dated 582, after *WW 1* (1966): illus. 40).

The line engraving shows an immortal riding on a dragon and they are passing the guards lined up to their right.

The right paw of the dragon clearly is made in the space before the guards. The other side panel is the same, except that the immortal rides on a tiger. After *WW 1* (1966): illus. 40.

a.)



b.)





Fig. 5.28 Eastern Han stone door from tomb in Mixian City, H: 181 cm., w: 200 cm.
(after Shaanxisheng bowuguan 1990: pl. 101).

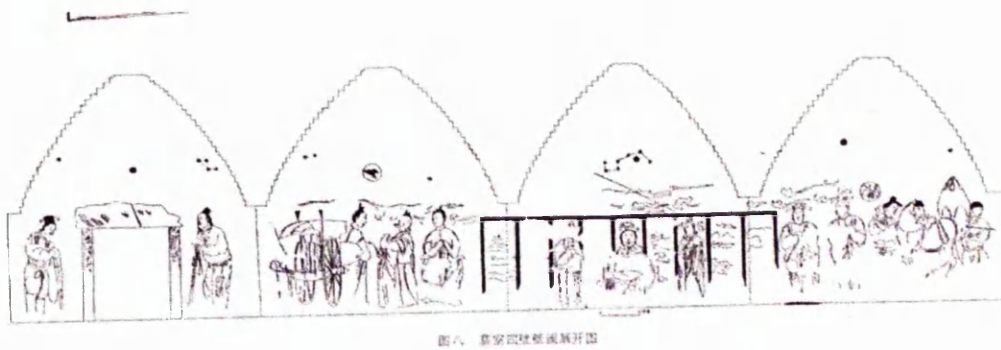


Fig. 5.29a Dao Gui's tomb: sketch of murals in the tomb chamber (after *WW* 10 (1985): 45, Illus. 45)



Fig. 5.29b After *MSBH*: 63, pl. 69

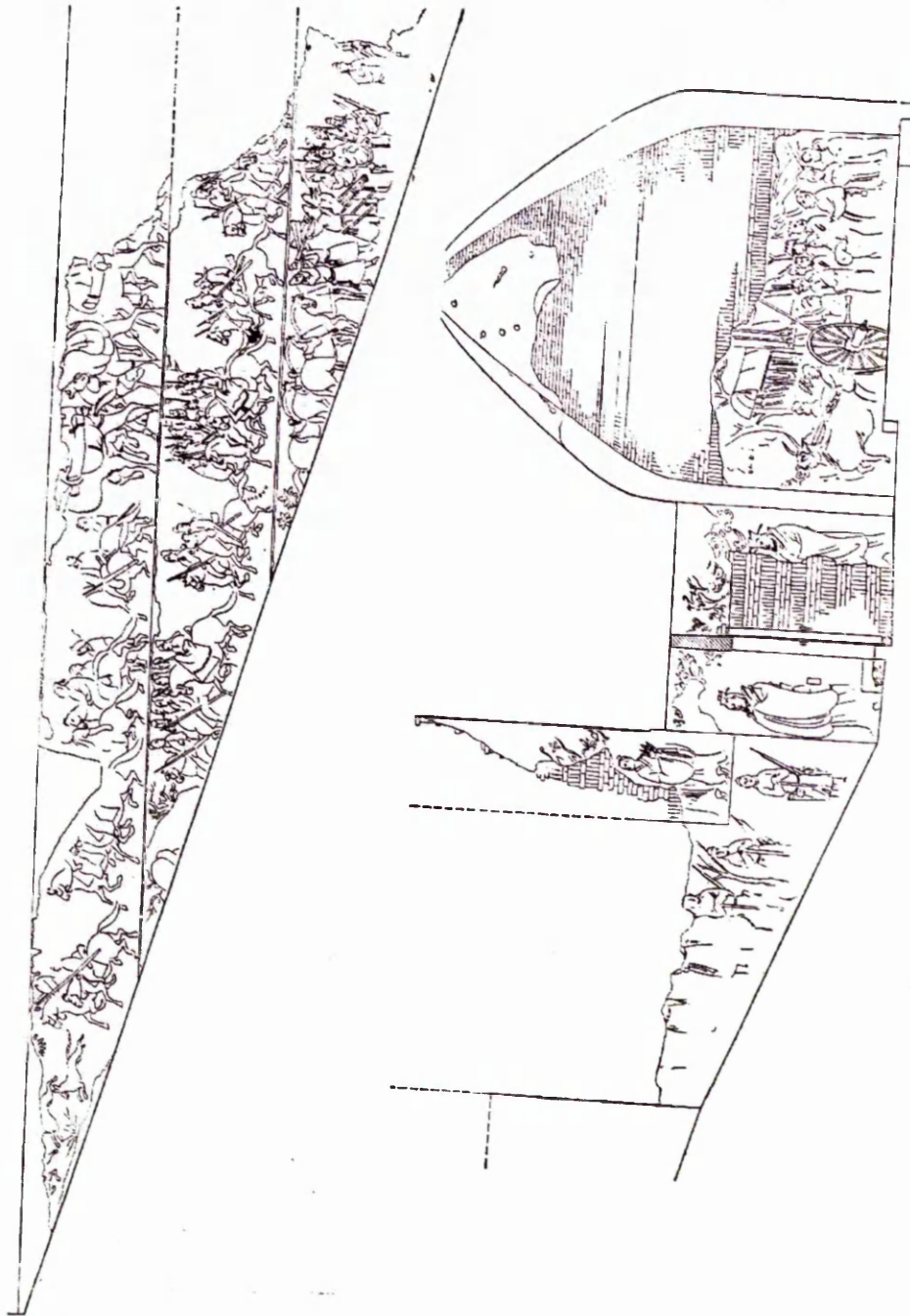


Fig. 5.30 Lou Rui's tomb: sketch of the murals on the west wall of the sloping path and in the burial chamber (after *WW* 10 (1983): 3, illus.4).

Fig. 5. 31 Possible arrangement for the “ideal” funeral procession for the princess, including accoutrements. Cf. Chapter three “Order of the vessels’ procession.”

To the tomb

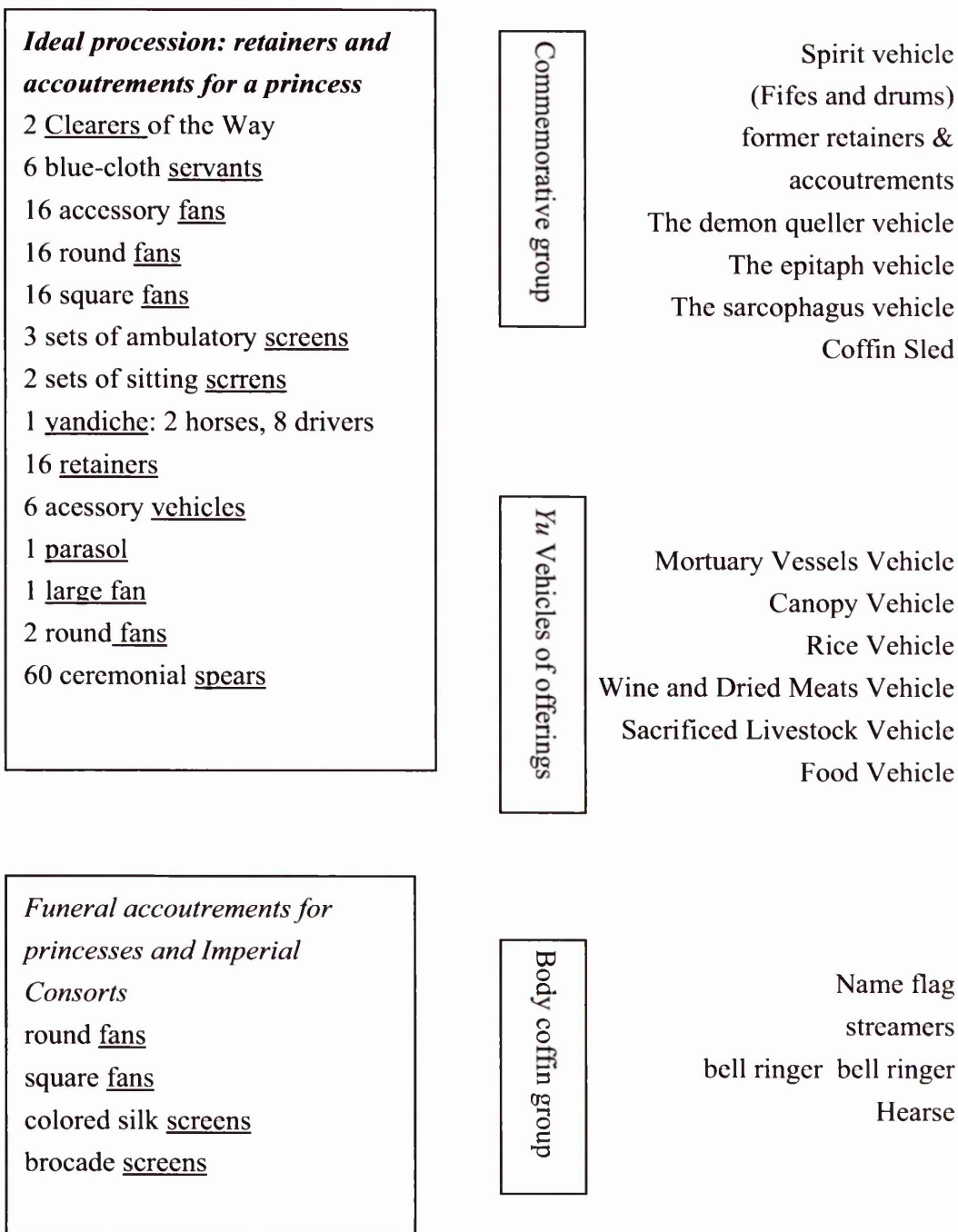
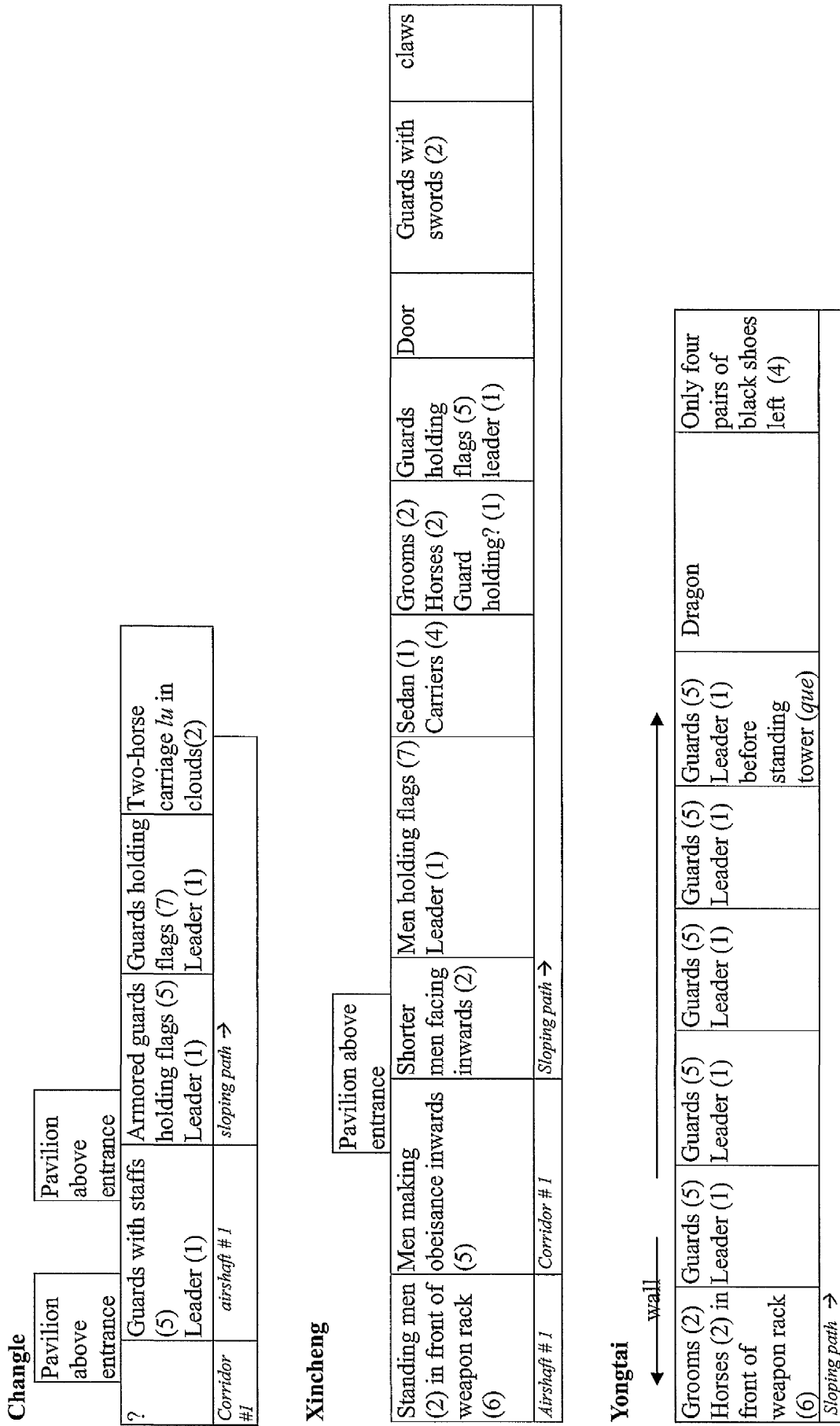


Fig. 5.32 Compendium of east wall murals for three Princess tombs



* Guards: men with weapons, usually with at least a sword at the side, sometimes with bow and quiver pouch.

* Yongtai archaeological report (p. 16) says that traces of the wall ran from the *que* to behind the weapon rack, and that outside the wall there were mountains, water, and forests.

CONCLUSION

"...fundamental questions of meaning still remain to be resolved, a task involving the disciplines of art history, ethnography, religious studies and textual analysis."⁵³⁰

The thesis is an investigation into the extent of the effect of ritual concepts and political factors in the making of Tang princess tombs. It has been difficult, if not impossible, for art historians to *prove* that one is explaining the meaning of art in ancient Chinese tombs correctly. In 1983, Jerome Silbergeld showed how the Han dynasty Mawangdui banners had as many interpretations as the number of scholars who penned them.⁵³¹ Each treatise, furthermore, had its own supporting textual evidence. "If these forced conclusions," Silbergeld writes, "represent an incautious desire to illuminate, then the best alternative to them is the acceptance of educated uncertainty as a perfectly respectable state of knowledge."⁵³² Countering this criticism, Wu Hung, in 1992, used Han ritual texts to conclude that the tomb was divided into "four different realms of the dead: the universe, the underworld, the immortal paradise, and the underground household."⁵³³ Yet even Wu Hung could not perceive a coherent system for the representation of these four realms as they are manifested in the tomb.⁵³⁴ For others, ritual texts remain unhelpful in either identifying art in tombs or knowing what to expect to find in tombs.⁵³⁵

To solve at least some of these problems, the thesis focuses on a group of people with the same rank and studies their tombs, temples, lives, historical context, burial rites, and epitaphs. By recording all the information about five princess tombs built

⁵³⁰ Whitfield 1993: 5

⁵³¹ Silbergeld 1982-3: 86-7.

⁵³² Silbergeld 1982-3: 86-7.

⁵³³ Wu Hung 1992: 142.

⁵³⁴ Wu Hung 1992: 142.

⁵³⁵ Rawson 1996: 23

during the period of 643-706 A.D., the thesis builds a solid foundation for a change in the discourse on the meaning of tombs. It argues for a shift away from matching textual material on regulations towards a direct examination of the tomb's material remains⁵³⁶ to an understanding of the tomb explained through beliefs on death described by ritual texts. In the traditional way, a passage like the following would be taken literally:

The Pottery Office (*zhenguanling* 甄官令)⁵³⁷ was to provide all funeral goods for those who were buried by imperial command. The rest of the ministers had to prepare for themselves. Those of third rank and above could have ninety items, those of fifth rank and above seventy items, those of ninth rank and above forty items. They were given *dangye* 當野 (?), *zuming* 祖明 (a deity that ate ghosts), *dizhou* 地軸 (?), and *danma* 𩇑馬 (horse with reins, to guard against laziness while walking "...徒嬾反..."), figurines each one *chi* high, the rest—the musical teams, and the servants were represented by dress and insignia given according to their stations in life.⁵³⁸

As the thesis shows, even as early as chapter one, the old assumptions—that tomb size and number of objects are related to rank—can be disproved by comparing the tombs of people of the same status (and, therefore, according to regulation, the same number and kind of objects in tombs, etc.). Regulatory laws, it seemed, predicted very little. Other kinds of textual material, ritual codes, epitaphs, histories, had very little direct information about burial, even less the burial of a princess.

And yet, the historian's depictions of the princesses from this period, the concepts behind the ritual codes of death, and the epitaphs from each princess tomb all aid in making iconological sense of the art of the tombs. Taken as a whole, they

⁵³⁶ These included the number of objects, the number of chambers, or the presence of sarcophagus.

⁵³⁷ This was a manufactory which was headed by a Director (*ling* 令), rank 8b2 in the Tang dynasty. It was part of the Directorate for the Palace Buildings (*Jiangzuojian* 將作監) Hucker 1985: 121.

⁵³⁸ "Figurines, each one *chi* high. The rest of those who are of musical group and servants, dress and insignia are all presented as according to their rankings in life. 偶人，其高各一尺。其餘音聲隊與僮僕之屬，威儀服翫，各視生之品秩。" *TD* 86: 2326-2328.

show the place of the tomb in the ritual of death. Chapter Two shows how political circumstances affected tomb building. For most of the seventh century, when politics of the Tang empire was relatively stable, princess tombs reached a stable length of 50 meters, with one brick chamber. Significant changes arrived in the 680's, when the Empress Wu Zetian came into her full power. Princess Linchuan's epitaph showed much more detail and anecdotal information, characteristics particular to the decade of the 680's as well as the unusual cloud motif, which was associated with the Empress Wu. When Yongtai was re-buried in 706, the grandeur of her 88.7 meter long tomb, with its two brick chambers, represented the zenith of imperial tomb building for those of the rank of princess, external lady of the court, first class.

In chapter Three, one discovers that a tomb becomes the end point of one journey but also only a point on another, circular journey. The journey of the deceased has two parts, the auspicious and the inauspicious. The auspicious journey is symbolized by the spirit tablet, which eventually returns to an appropriate place, often a temple, in the city; the inauspicious is symbolized by the corpse, which leaves the world to go into the tomb. Thus, most things found in the tomb are things from the inauspicious journey, which were newly made for the dead, and not from his or her previous life. These things, as Xunzi notes, are forms that do not function. Meanwhile, the auspicious procession, which carried all of the deceased's former possessions in life as well as the spirit tablet *never* entered the tomb. Thus, one would not look for remains of the deceased's old life in the tomb.

And yet, the people of Tang times thought of the earth as full of strange and devilish creatures, thus all the accoutrements of death, the epitaph, the objects, the paintings, were also in one sense, an attempt to place a civilizing influence on the uncharted territory in the earth. The epitaph (chapter Four) for example, so full of the "past" and of the "history" of the princess, introduces her, in the best light, to this

unknown state. Ceramic candles light up the dark space, where the ancients knew that things from the world were not usable, but that their forms should be placed there.

The art is this attempt to establish a base for the princess in her new state, as the tomb is also a place of transformation, perhaps back to the primordial element (*zhen* 真). Tomb art, if not a kind of sacred art, is certainly a kind of art of transformation. There is a passage in the *Xin Tangshu* which calls the burial grounds “The Pit of Quiet Residence (*ji ju xue* 寂居穴);” the grave “The Hall of Returning to the True Form (*fu zhen tang* 復真堂);”⁵³⁹ the raised earth inside the grave called “The Transformation Platform (*hua tai* 化臺).⁵⁴⁰ Thus at death, one goes through not only a move from one realm to the next, but in turn, in the new realm, one experiences transformation.

This kind of magical residence, which must be meticulously prepared by the living is, after all, a residence (*ju* 居)⁵⁴¹ but also a vehicle (*ju* 車). There is a pertinent passage in the *Xin Tangshu*, “In ancient times [During the mythical Xia, Shang, and Zhou dynasties (ca. 210-256 B.C.)], palace chambers and carriage vehicles are used for habitation 古者，宮室車輿以爲居.”⁵⁴² In the Tang, the chamber is the place of habitation for the stationary person; the vehicle is the place of habitation for the traveling person.⁵⁴³ I would conjecture that the tomb embodies the characteristics of both a vehicle and a residence simultaneously rendered livable and movable. Thus, Xunzi had written the following about how the tomb should be simultaneously the imitation of a house and also of a carriage:

⁵³⁹ Please refer to Zhuangzi (ZZ) chapter six “The Great and Venerable Teacher (*da zong shi* 大宗師).” ZZ 6: 120-121.

⁵⁴⁰ XTS 124: 4388-4389.

⁵⁴¹ Translated by Dudbridge 1995: 195. Also the story of “Zheng Wang 鄭望” in the *Xuanguailu* 玄怪錄.

⁵⁴² XTS 11: 307.

⁵⁴³ Liu Tseng-kuei 1993: 374-375 discusses the prevalence of this idea since the Han dynasty and earlier.

The grave and grave mound in form imitate a house; the inner and outer coffin in form imitate the sideboards, top, and front and back boards of a carriage; the coffin covers and decorations and the cover of the funeral carriage in form imitate the curtains and hangings of a door or room; the wooden lining and framework of the grave pit in form imitate railings and roof.⁵⁴⁴

故壙壘、其貌[貌]象室屋也；棺槨[槨]、其貌[貌]象版蓋斯象拂也；無幃絲黐縷嬰，其貌[貌]以象菲帷幃尉也。抗折，其貌[貌]以象椁茨番闕也。⁵⁴⁵

Rather than processions, which were common in the previous periods, chapter Five reveals the tomb murals on the sloping path as honor guards stationed in front of the main gates of the new residence to welcome the deceased princess. Further research on the roles that the clay figurines and the line-engravings-on-stone play in the depiction of the tomb is already underway.

And thus the tomb is shown to house different aspects of function. It has the form of a house and grounds, but it is an illusion composed of murals, clay, and stone. For the deceased, this is the last abode of his or her material body, yet it is also the stage of his or her material transformation into the basic elements, as his or her spirit is honored in the temple back in the city.

⁵⁴⁴ Watson 1963: 105

⁵⁴⁵ XZ 13: 16-17.

Appendix I: Essential measurements of the structure of the tombs of princesses

	<i>Chang'le</i> (643)	Xincheng (663)	<i>Fangling</i> (673)	<i>Linchuan</i> 682)	<i>Yongtai</i> (705)	<i>Tang'an</i> (784)
Location	Zhaoling	Zhaoling	Xianling	Zhaoling	Qianling	Eastern suburbs of Xi'an, Wangjiawen 王家坟, Changying Rd., east 長纓路東段
Type of tomb	SCBT	SCBT	DCBT	SCBT	DCBT	SCBT
Total length (metres)	48.18	50.8	57.8	48	87.5	NR
mudao Length	16.9	14.8	17.5	16	23.35	Unknown because only the chamber, the <i>yongdao</i> , and a small section of the <i>mudao</i> , including the two niches, were excavated
width	2.31	2.5	2.56	2.4	4.5 (S) 3.4 (N)	1.25
slope	13 degrees	10 degrees	slope: NR	slope: NR	slope: NR	Slope: NR
corridors	4	5	5	4	5	Not excavated

(Chang'le) (Xincheng) (Fangling) (Linchuan) (Yongtai) (Tang'an)

length	1.98-2.40	2.4-2.8	2.29(1) 2.49(2) 2.30(3) 1.49(4) 1.76(5)	1.9-2.4	NR	“”
width	2.12-2.18	2.4-2.45	2.30(1) 2.36(2) 2.33(3) 2.20(4) 2.11(5)	1.8-1.86	2.7	“”
height	2.44-2.47	2.4-2.5	2.40(1) 2.40(2) 2.43(3) 2.41(4) 2.40(5)	2.4	2.1	“”
lights shafts	5 (1 blocked)	5	4 (by number)	4	6 (2 blocked)	“”
Length	2.20-2.60	2.3-3.3 x	1.99(1) 2.22(2) 2.20(3) 2.14(4)	2.5-3.3 (upper) 2.4-2.9 (lower)	2.1	“”
Width	2.30-2.35	2.5	2.55(1) 2.56(2) 2.55(3) 2.49(4)	2.3-2.8 (upper) 2.3-2.4 (lower)	3.3	“”
height	6.15(1) 7.00(2) 7.05(2) 6.0(4)	NR	6.76(1) 8.11(7)	3.1-8.9 (north wall)	NR	“”
(Chang'le)	(Xincheng)	(Fangling)	(Linchuan)	(Yongtai)	(Tang'an)	
niches	4	8	6	NR	8	2

location	3 rd +4 th lightshaft only	2 nd - 5 th lightshafts	1 st -3 rd lightshafts	NR	1 st -4 th lightshafts	In the <i>mudao</i>
width	1	1.8-2.2 (most) 3 (4)	0.94(1E) 0.92(1W) 1(2E) 1.01(2W) 0.95(3E) 1(3W)	0.6 (M) 1.45-1.75 (I)	2.1	0.65
depth	1.75	1.8-2 (most) 3.3(4)	1.52(1E) 1.52(1W) 2.03(2E) 2.01(2W) 2.10(3E) 1.76(3W)	0.3-0.32 (M) 1.5-1.8 (I)	3.3	0.5
height	0.93	1.4-1.6 (most) 1.85 (4)	0.9(1E) 0.91(1W) 1.2(2E) 0.95(2W) 1.30(3E) 1.05(3W)	0.85 (M) 1.1 (I)		0.85
<i>yongdao</i>	1	1	2	part dirt (S) / part brick (N)	2	1
Length (SN)	8.25	4.86	8.76(S)	1.9 (S)	13(I)	3.8
Width (EW)	(Chang'le)	(Xincheng)	(Fangling)	(Linchuan)	(Yongtai)	(Tang'an)
height	NR	1.98-2.05	1.43(N) 2.21(S) 2.21(N)	1.03-1.2 (N) 2-2.4 (N & S)	4(2)	1.84
chamber	1	1	2	1	2	1

Length (SN)	4.2	4.74	3.60 (S) 4.10(N)	4	4.7 (S) 5.3(N)	4.4
Width (EW)	4.6	4.7	3.54 (S) 0.17-0.19 more (S greatest width) 4.16(N) 0.30 more (N greatest width)	8.4	4.9 (S) 5.45(N)	4.4
height	NR	4.84	2.62(S) 4.44(S centre) 2.68(N) 5.20(N centre)	1.9 (straight wall)	5.35(S) 5.5(N)	2.1 (straight wall)
partitions	3	3	1	1	1	2
stone	3 stone doors 0.78, 3.86, 6.77 north of the south end of <i>yongdao</i>	1 stone door appr. 5.4 metres south of the chamber, end of <i>yongdao</i>	1 stone door situated 2.6 metres south of chamber (N)	1 stone door in brick <i>yongdao</i>	1 stone door 3.4 metres south of chamber (N)	1 stone door appr. 1 metre south of the chamber
brick	One brick seal right in front of thick brick wall close the fitting, south of the	One 0.52 metres thick brick wall close fitting, south of the	NR	1 brick pile, .44 thick (SN), located in earth <i>yongdao</i>	Two sealing brick piles each on the N and S sides of	1 brick pile immediately before the niches, appr. 1.2 metres
	(Chang'le)	(Xincheng)	(Fangling)	(Linchuan)	(Yongtai)	(Tang'an)
wood	(originally wood doors for niches)	(originally wood door for niches)	NR	1 wood door right before the stone door in brick <i>yongdao</i>	1 wood door 10 metres south of chamber (S)	NR

Coffin/bed						
Stone	12 pieces of stone slabs made coffin bed, 3.8X2.1X0.17	1 carved stone coffin bed	1 stone coffin shrine and 1 stone coffin bed	NR	1 stone coffin shrine, filled with line carvings of palace ladies, flora, and fauna	1 stone bed, made with slabs of stone, 2 layers—the top layer with 8 slabs. carvings of peonies on the exterior
Brick	NR	NR	NR	NR	NR	NR
wood	NR	NR	NR	NR	1 wood coffin inside the stone coffin shrine	Metal nails found with report speculates there were wood coffins

Appendix 2: Essential measurements of the tombs of princes (*taizi* 太子 and *wang* 王)

	Li Feng (675)	Zhanghuai* (706/711)	Yide* (706)	Wei Xun (708)	Wei Jiong (708)	Li Ren (710/726)	Li Zhen (717)	Li Chenqiang* (738)	Huizhao* (811)
Location	Xianling	Qianling	Qianling	Wei family cemetery, NE of Chang'an, nanliwangu n 南里王村	Wei family cemetery, NE of Chang'an, nanliwangu n 南里王村	Hongqingcu n 洪慶村, eastern suburbs of Chang'an	Zhaoling	Zhaoling	West of Lintong county 臨潼縣, xiqian xiang 西 泉鄉, zhuangshu cun 椿樹村
Type of tomb	SCBT	DCBT	DCBT	DCBT	DCBT	DCBT	SCBT	SCET	SCBT
Total length	63.38	71	100.80	NR	35 (calc.)	69 (partial & calc.)	46.10	35.4	NR
Mudao length (SN)	16.8 (flat)	20	26.3	17.5 (flat), a wall built on N, E, W sides	15.3, a wall built on N, E, W sides (see figure?)	30 (partial)	14.6	12	35 (partial)
Width (EW)	2.62	2.5-3.3	3.9	2.15	1.6 (south) 2.5 (north)	1.35	1.6	1.4	2.5-3.2
slope	Slope: NR	Slope: NR	Slope: 28 degrees	Slope: NR	Slope: NR	Slope: 16 degrees	Slope: NR	Slope: 22 degrees	Slope: NR
Corridor sections	4	4	6	NR	Includes the lightshafts	4	5	5	NR

	Li Feng (675)	Zhanghuai* (706/711)	Yide* (706)	Wei Xun (708)	Wei Jiong (708)	Li Ren (710/726)	Li Zhen (686)	Li Chenqiang* (738)	Huizhao* (811)
Length (SN)	2.43(1) 2.4(2) 2.4(3) 1.07(4)	2.7-3.4	3.72	NR	4.6	NR	2.1(1) 2.1(2) 2.2(3) 2.2(4) 2.0(5)	1.92-1.6 m	NR
Width (EW)	2.13(1) 2.13(2) 2.13(3) 2.2(4)	2.2-2.4	2.44	NR	1.45	NR	1.46 (average)	1.1-1.4 m	NR
height	2.74(1) 2.65(2) 2.55(3) 2.38(4)	2.8-3	3.15	NR	2	NR	1.6 (straight wall)2.2 (centre)	NR	NR
Lightshaft sections	3	4 (one on top of <i>yongdao</i>)	7	2	2	5	5	5	NR
length (SN)	2.41(1) 2.28(2) 2.63(3)	1.8-2	varies	1.5(1) 1.7(2)	1.8(1 rim) 1.6(1 base) 2(2 rim) 1.8(2 base)	1.75-2.20	1.75(1) 1.9(2) 1.8(3) 1.8(4) 1.8(5)	1.57-1.8 m	NR
width (EW)	2.47(1) 2.47(2) 2.47(3)	3	NR	1.9(1) 1.8(2)	2(1 rim) 1.8(1 base) 2(2 rim) 1.8(2 base)	1.45-1.60	1.64(1) 1.6(2) 1.6(3) 1.6(4) 1.6(5)	a spade shape: 0.58-0.64 (top) 1.32-1.4 (bottom)	NR

	Li Feng (675)	Zhanghuai* (706/ 711)	Yide* (706)	Wei Xun (708)	Wei Jiong (708))	Li Ren (710/726)	Li Zhen (686)	Li Chenqiang* (738)	Huizhao* (811)
height	6.1 (1) 7.3 (2) 8.6 (3)	2.1	NR	NR	NR	NR	5.8 (1) 6.9 (2) 8.2 (3) 9.5 (4) 10.6 (5)	NR	NR
niches	8	6	8	4	4	6	2	6	NR
location	1 st &2 nd lightshaft; 2.84 &14 meters south from the southern end of the yongdao	2 nd -4 th lightshafts	Sloping corridors	In corridors, specifics NR	Corridors 1 & 2	1 st -3 rd corridors	2 nd corridor	3 rd -5 th lightshafts	NR
width (SN)	NR	NR	About 1.8 m. on each side	1.5-2	.70-.90	0.8-1.15	0.7 (E) 0.6 (W)	0.8 (M) 1-1.17 (I)	NR
depth (EW)	NR	NR	“ ”	1-1.5	.80-.90	1-1.25	0.7 (E) 0.7 (W)	0.8-1.1 (I)	NR
height	NR	NR	“ ”	1	Roof collapsed	0.95-1.12	1 (E) 1 (W)	0.7-1.07 (M) 0.9-1.15 (I)	NR
Yongdao sections	1 section	2 sections	2 sections	2	2 sections, brick parts	2 sections	1 section	1 section	NR
length (SN)	27.4	14 (S) 9 (N)	20.30(S) 8.45 (N)	7.4 (S) NR	7.3 (S) 4.7 (N)	4 (S) 4.70 (N)	7.4	3.6	NR
width (EW)	1.27	1.7 (S) 1.7 (N)	1.60 (S) 1.68 (N)	1.5 (S) NR	1.45 (S) 1.4 (N)	1.35 (S) 1.35 (N)	1.4	1.3	NR

	Li Feng (675)	Zhanghuai* (706/ 711)	Yide* (706)	Wei Xun (708)	Wei Jiong (708)	Li Ren (710/726)	Li Zhen (686)	Li Chenqiang* (738)	Huizhao* (811)
height	2.03	2.1 (S) 2.1 (N)	2.39 (S) 2.29 (N)	2.15 (S) NR	0.5-1.5 (S) 2 (N, part.)	2.40 (S) 2.15 (N)	2.7	1.4 (straight wall) 1.8 (centre)	NR
chamber	1	2	2	2	2	2	1	1	1
length (NS)	4-4.36	4.5 (S) 5 (N)	4.45 (S) 5 (N)	3.5 (S) 4.2 (S)	3.3 (S) 4.3 (N)	3.15 (S) 4.50 (N)	4.5	2.8 3.1 (greatest)	4.8
width (EW)	4-4.36	4.5 (S) 5 (N)	4.54 (S) 5.3 (N)	3.6 (S) 4.5 (N)	3.4 (S) 4.2 (N)	3.30 (S) 4.50 (N)	4.5	2.6 2.8 (greatest)	4.6
height	5.35	6 (S) 6.5 (N)	6.3 (S) 7.1 (N)	4.8 (S) 5.1 (N)	4.5 (S) 5.5 (N)	Collapsed roofs	5.5	2.56	8.5
partitions	2	1	2	2	1	2	1	1	1
stone	One door 2.1 metres south of chamber; One door 7.45 south of the chamber	one stone door 1 metre north of the chamber (S)	One stone door appr. 13 meters south of chamber (S)	one carved-on- both sides stone door on yongdao (N)	one stone door 1 metre north of the chamber (S)	One stone door 0.6 metres north of sealing bricks	One stone door 3 metres south of the chamber but only 4 metres south of the epitaph stones	NR	Remains of stone door near the southern entrance of chamber

brick	(in front of niches)	NR	NR	Sealing bricks at southern end of yongdao (S)	NR	Brick seal approximately 3 metres south from chamber	NR
Coffin/bed							
stone	4-4.36X2.37-2.4 X.22 coffin bed made of stone slabs	NR	4X3X2 sarcophagus	1 sarcophagus on west side of chamber (N)	1 sarcophagus on west side of chamber	NR	Carved tone strips lining the sides of the coffin bed on the west side, then filled with stamped earth and a layer of brick placed on top
brick	NR	NR	NR	NR	1 layer brick bed	2.5X1.4X0.6 coffin bed	A layer of brick on the coffin bed
wood	Pieces of coffin wood	NR	NR	NR	NR	A few pieces of coffin wood	NR

<p>Surface structures</p>	<p>Tumulus, base: 90X30X13.3 Rim: 7X5</p>	<p>One pair of stone rams, One tumulus Original parameters 180 (SN) 143 (EW)</p>	<p>One pair of stone lions, guard stones, <i>hua biao</i>. One tumulus. Original parameters 256.5 (SN) 214.5 (EW)</p>	<p>Traces of outer wall of cemetery</p>	<p>Traces of outer wall of cemetery</p>	<p>NR</p>	<p>Tumulus destroyed, remaining stela broken in half (originally placed 52 metres from tumulus)</p>	<p>NR</p>	<p>one tumulus 30x30 at base</p>
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Table Four: Record of essential measurements of ministers' tomb

ministers components	Li Shou (d. 630)	*Ashi Nazhong & wife 653/675	*Zhang Shigui (d. 658)	*Weichi Jingde & wife (658)	*Zheng Rentai (d. 663)	Li Shuang (d. 668)	*An Yuanshou & wife (d. 683)
Location		Zhaoling	Zhaoling	Zhaoling	Zhaoling		Zhaoling
Type of tomb	SCBT	SCBT	DCBT	DCBT	DCBT	SCBT	DCBT
Total length	44.4	55	57	56.3	53		
<i>Mudao</i> length (SN)	16.8	19	21	16.5	17	20.6	17
Width (EW)	2.3	2.7-3.15	2.4	2.67-3	2.5	NR	2.6
slope	Slope: NR	Slope: NR	Slope: NR	Slope: 13 degrees	Height of northern wall: 5.2	NR	Slope: 16 degrees
corridors	4	5	5	4, arched vaulted roofs	5	3	5
Length (SN)	1.8-2.6	2.7	2.7	NR	2.9 (calc.)	NR	2.65-2.8
Width (EW)	2	1.8 (1,2,3) 2.2 (4,5)	2-2.4	2.35	2.5 (calc.)	NR	2.3
height	2.46	1.8 (1,2,3-wall) 2.35 (4,5-ceiling)	2.35-2.5 (top of arch)	2.1	1.3 (calc.)	NR	2.24
lightshafts	5	5	5	4	5	3	5

length (SN)	1.1-2.24	2.4-3.3	2-2.8	2.7	NR	NR	2.55-2.65
width (EW)	2.4	2.6	2.4-2.8	2.55	NR	NR	2.6-2.75
ministers (lightshafts)	Li Shou (d. 630)	*Ashi Nazhong & wife 653/675	*Zhang Shigui (d. 658)	*Weichi Jingde & wife (658)	*Zheng Rentai (d. 663)	Li Shuang (d. 668)	*An Yuanshou & wife (d. 683)
height	5.5-9.5	7.7-12.7 (north wall)	NR	Filled in		NR	NR
niches	2	2	4	4	5 sets	2	4
location	In fourth corridor	In fourth lightshaft	In third and fourth lightshaft	Two in the 3 rd corridor	In the northern sides of the five corridors	In lightshaft 3	In the lightshafts 8 and 9.
width (SN)	1.08-1.6 (east) 1.05-1.90 (west)	0.7 (mouth) 2.1 (body)	0.86-0.88 (mouth) 1.7 (body)	NR	1.8	NR	.84 (mouth) 1.32 (body)
depth (EW)	1.3 (east) 1.90 (west)	1 (mouth) 2 (body)	0.4 (mouth) 1.5 (body)	NR	1.36	NR	0.35 (neck) 1.35 (body)
height	1.6-2.5 (east) 1.5-1.96 (west)	1 (mouth) 1.36 (body)	1.18-1.28 (body)	NR	1.4	NR	.95 (mouth) 1.49 (body)
<i>Yongdao</i> sections	2 (before and after stone door)	1	2, one earth (S), one brick (N), divided by a stone door	2, before and after the first chamber	1. between the first and second chamber	1	3, two southern sections divided by a stone door, S1 is earthen, S2 is brick
length (SN)	4 (before) 2.8 (after)	4.2	1.7 (S) 4.9(N)	3.4 (1) 6 (2) –stirway like	5 (calc.)	NR	1.82 (S1) 2.15 (S2) 5.96 (N)

width (EW)	1.86 (before) 1.4 (after)	1.4	1.9 (S) 1.7 (N)	1.8 (1) 1.8 (2S) 2.2 (2N)	1 (calc.)	NR	2 (S1) 1.34 (S2) 1.16 (N)
ministers (Yongdao)	Li Shou (d. 630)	*Ashi Nazhong & wife 653/675	*Zhang Shigui (d. 658)	*Weichi Jingde & wife (658)	*Zheng Rentai (d. 663)	Li Shuang (d. 668)	*An Yuanshou & wife (d. 683)
height	2.3 (before) 1.9 (after)	2.2 (partial height)	NR	2.3 (1)	2.7 (calc.)	NR	2.27 (S1) 2.2 (S2) 1.6 (N)
chamber	1	1	1	2	2	1	2
length (NS)	3.8	3.7	4.3	2.6 (1) 5.1 (2)	2.7 (S) 4.7 (N)	3.9	2.64 (S) 4.4 (N)
width (EW)	3.95	3.7	4.05	2.5 (1) 5.1(2)	2.3 (S) 5.3 (N)	4.3	2.74 (S) 4.1 (N)
height	Roof collapsed	Roof collapsed	2.3 (Straight walls) 4.7 (top)	3.7 (1 top) 5.35 (2 top)	3.7 (S) 7 (N)	6.5	Roof collapse (S)
sarcophagus	Stone sarcophagus		Stone sarcophagus	Stone sarcophagus	Stone sarcophagus		Sarcophagus bed
partitions					NR		
stone	Door on yongdao		One door	Door between first and second chamber			Door 1.35 meters from the northern end of the Southern chamber
Coffin/bed	1		1	1	1		1
stone	One sarcophagus		One sarcophagus	One sarcophagus	One sarcophagus		One sarcophagus

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