MORTUARY ART IN THE NORTHERN ZHOU CHINA (557-581 CE): VISUALIZATION OF CLASS, ROLE, AND CULTURAL IDENTITY

by

Jui-Man Wu

BA, Tunghai University, 1993
MA, Taipei National University of the Arts, 2000
MA, University of Pittsburgh, 2003

Submitted to the Graduate Faculty of Arts & Sciences in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

University of Pittsburgh

2010
The period of Six Dynasties (221-581CE) has traditionally been thought of as a time when “the Five Barbarians brought disorder to China.” During this period, present-day Northern China was ruled by non-Han leaders, including the Xianbei, a pastoral people from China’s northern frontier who founded the Northern Zhou Dynasty. In addition, Chinese historical texts from the Six Dynasties refer to “merchant barbarians” generally assumed to be Sogdians, who lived in oasis states in Central Asia in present-day Uzbekistan and came to China across the Silk Road. Most scholarship has assumed that the period of Northern Zhou ruled by non-Chinese leaders was “sinicized,” and the adoption of Chinese features in burial and artifacts in foreigners’ tombs is evidence of that acculturation process.

This dissertation, however, uses newly excavated materials from tombs dated to the Northern Zhou period, including the tombs of Xianbei leaders, Xianbei and Chinese generals, and Sogdian merchants, and proposes that visual arts and mortuary ritual played a role in creating and/or maintaining multiple sociopolitical and cultural identities for these residents of Northern Zhou. The theorization of power, agency, and cultural identity in recent publications has helped me analyze the processes involved in the construction of individual identity, group boundaries, and the interrelationships between socio-cultural groups. Theories of agency have helped me focus on choices made by different social and occupational groups.
This dissertation has explored how the patterns of use of mortuary objects documented multiple identities for these three classes listed above with specific ethnic backgrounds: the sovereigns who were Xianbei; the military class of Xianbei and Han-Chinese; and the merchant class of Sogdians. I have discussed how aspects of political, military, and merchant life in the Northern Zhou period created a setting that contributed to multiple roles and identities in each group. My study has demonstrated the construction of multiple identities among elites and how they consistently distinguished themselves from other members of society. This dissertation will be the first contextual analysis focused on the visualization of class, social roles and cultural affiliation by examining mortuary art in the Northern Zhou.
# TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES ......................................................................................................................XI

CHRONOLOGY ....................................................................................................................... XII

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS ....................................................................................................... XIII

1.0 INTRODUCTION ........................................................................................................ 1

1.1.1 Material Evidence: Tombs dated during the Northern Zhou ..................... 3

1.1.2 Textual Evidence ...................................................................................................... 5

1.2 HISTORICAL CIRCUMSTANCES DURING THE NORTHERN DYNASTIES ......................................................................................................................... 5

1.2.1 Political History ....................................................................................................... 5

1.2.2 Military Organization and Military Culture .................................................... 7

1.2.3 Political Policy on Buddhism and Confucianism ........................................... 8

1.3 PREVIOUS SCHOLARSHIP ..................................................................................... 9

1.3.1 The Issue of Acculturation .................................................................................. 9

1.3.2 Mortuary Art during the Six Dynasties ............................................................... 10

1.4 THIS DISSERTATION AND THE METHOD OF ANALYSIS ..................................... 14

1.5 DEFINITION OF TERMS .......................................................................................... 17

2.0 CONQUERORS IN A CHINESE LAND ...................................................................... 19

2.1 DEFINITIONS AND METHODOLOGY ................................................................... 22
2.2  HISTORICAL BACKGROUND AND THE TOMBS ........................................... 24
2.2.1 Epitaphs of Imperial Members of the Northern Zhou ......................... 27
2.3  DYNASTIC CHINESE BURIAL TRADITION ............................................. 29
2.3.1 Tomb Structure ..................................................................................... 29
2.3.2 Burial Goods Related to the Dynastic Chinese Tradition ......................... 30
2.3.2.1 Pottery ................................................................................................. 30
2.3.2.2 Jade .................................................................................................... 35
2.3.2.3 Ritual Musical Instruments: Zhong Bells and Stone Chimes .......... 38
2.4  NON-CHINESE BURIAL TRADITION ..................................................... 39
2.4.1 Niches in Tombs in the Northern Areas .................................................. 39
2.4.2 Burial Goods and Cultural Context ....................................................... 43
2.4.2.1 Pottery ................................................................................................. 43
2.4.2.2 Bronze ................................................................................................. 46
2.4.2.3 Gold ..................................................................................................... 49
2.4.2.4 Other Material .................................................................................... 51
2.5  BURIAL GOODS IN CHINESE AND NON-CHINESE CONTEXTS ...... 52
2.5.1 Bronze Mirrors ....................................................................................... 52
2.5.2 Iron Objects ............................................................................................. 53
2.6  DISCUSSION ............................................................................................... 53
2.6.1 Archaizing Reforms in Politics and Culture ......................................... 54
2.6.2 Restoration of Xianbei Surnames and Military System ....................... 56
2.6.3 Various Cultural Elements in the Tomb of Emperor Wu ...................... 57
2.6.3.1 Tomb Structure .................................................................................... 58
3.3.2 Xianbei Generals

3.3.2.1 The Tomb of Chiluo Xie

3.3.2.2 The Tomb of Dugu Zang

3.4 CONCLUSION

4.0 MERCHANT CLASS: SOGDIANS UNDER THE NORTHERN ZHOU

4.1 THE SOGDIANS: PEOPLE AND HISTORY

4.2 CULTURAL AFFILIATION AND OCCUPATION

4.2.1 Location: Chang’an, Center of Metropolitan Cultures

4.2.2 Social Organization and Institutionalized: Sabao and Datianzhu

4.2.3 Political Status and the Merchant Class: Tomb Structure

4.2.4 Burial Goods

4.2.4.1 Bronze Belt Buckles and Plaques

4.2.4.2 Byzantine Coin and Gold Finger Ring

4.2.4.3 Clay Lamp

4.3 CONSTRUCTED MEMORIES OF INDIVIDUAL LIVES: THE TREATMENT OF BODY AND ILLUSTRATED FURNITURE

4.3.1 Treatment of the Body

4.3.2 Stone Couch and Stone Sarcophagi

4.3.2.1 Form

4.3.2.2 Contents of the Illustrations

4.3.3 Historical Events and the Choice of Subject Matter and Style

4.4 CONCLUSION

5.0 CONCLUSION
# LIST OF TABLES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Table 1</td>
<td>Data from the Tombs of Northern Zhou and Northern Qi</td>
<td>171</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Table 2</td>
<td>Pottery Figurines from the Tomb of Emperor Wu of N. Zhou and Imperial Tomb of N. Qi at Wanzhang</td>
<td>173</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Table 3</td>
<td>Belts from the Tombs of N. Zhou</td>
<td>174</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Table 4</td>
<td>Pottery figurines, pottery vessels, and models of equipments</td>
<td>175</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Table 5</td>
<td>Domesticated Animals</td>
<td>178</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Table 6</td>
<td>Three Types of Vessels</td>
<td>179</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Table 7</td>
<td>Pottery Vessels from the Tombs of N. Zhou</td>
<td>180</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Table 8</td>
<td>Jade Objects</td>
<td>181</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Table 9</td>
<td>Hairpins</td>
<td>182</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Table 10</td>
<td>Traditional Chinese Burial Goods in the Tombs of Wang Deheng, Wang Shiliang, and Cui Fen</td>
<td>183</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Table 11</td>
<td>The Sogdians of the Northern Zhou: Size of the Tombs, Burial Goods, and the Treatments of Body</td>
<td>184</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
## CHRONOLOGY

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dynasty</th>
<th>Period</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Shang Dynasty</td>
<td>ca. 1600-1050 BCE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zhou Dynasty</td>
<td>ca. 1050-256 BCE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Western Zhou</td>
<td>(ca. 1050-771 BCE)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eastern Zhou</td>
<td>(770-476 BCE)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spring and Autumn Period</td>
<td>(770-476 BCE)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Warring States Period</td>
<td>(476-221 BCE)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Qin Dynasty</td>
<td>221-206 BCE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Han Dynasty</td>
<td>206 BCE-220 CE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Western Han</td>
<td>(206 BCE- 9 CE)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eastern Han</td>
<td>(25-220 CE)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Three Kingdoms</td>
<td>220-265 CE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jin Dynasty</td>
<td>265-420 CE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Southern Dynasties</td>
<td>420-589 CE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Northern Dynasties</td>
<td>386-581 CE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Song 宋 (420-479 CE)</td>
<td>Northern Wei 北魏 (386-534 CE)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Qi 齐 (479-502 CE)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Liang 梁 (502-557CE)</td>
<td>Western Wei 西魏 (535-556 CE)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chen 陈 (557-589 CE)</td>
<td>Eastern Wei 东魏 (534-550 CE)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Northern Zhou 北周 (557-581 CE)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Northern Qi 北齐 (550-577 CE)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sui Dynasty</td>
<td>581-618 CE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tang Dynasty</td>
<td>618-907 CE</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I would like to express my gratitude to many people who have given me support and advice during this project. First and foremost, I wish to express my deepest gratitude to my advisor, Professor Katheryn M. Linduff, who has consistently encouraged, guided, and inspired my thinking throughout my study at the University of Pittsburgh. She has opened a new world for me to look at visual materials and introduced me to thinking on gender roles played in mortuary display in a Neolithic society. This approach has led me to work on this project, although material culture in the sixth century China is very complicated. I thank her adventurousness for leading and directing me to a dissertation topic so little known to both of us before. Without her consistent help and support throughout the years, this dissertation would not have been possible. My gratefulness toward her is beyond words. Her enthusiastic attitude toward education and to her students will be my model of a scholar and a teacher.

My gratitude extends to my dissertation committee: Professors Anne Weis, Anthony Barbieri-Low, Karen M. Gerhart, and Barbara McCloskey. They are all critical readers and have given insightful comments to me throughout my annual committee meetings. Professor Weis has always raised constructive questions and provided parallel information on the context of the ancient Western world. Professor Barbieri-Low has always guided me in the use of textual sources. Professor Gerhart’s study on material culture of death in Medieval Japan has been very useful. Professor McCloskey’s insight on modern European art has provided some parallels in
methodology which have been instructive. I owe special thanks to Professor Cho-yun Hsu whom I consulted many times during the writing of my dissertation. His wide knowledge of world history has been an invaluable source which guided my thinking. My particular thanks go to my previous advisor in Taiwan, Professor Tsui-mei Huang, the first student of Professor Linduff, who introduced me into the world of ancient Chinese art and archaeology. I owe special thanks to my husband, Professor Xiaolong Wu, who have given critical comments throughout the project. His encouragement and support carried me through hard times to the end of this project.

My dissertation research has been supported by the Chiang Ching-kuo Foundation Dissertation Fellowship (Chiang Ching-kuo Foundation), the Andrew Mellon Predoctoral Fellowship (Andrew W. Mellon Foundation), and China Times Cultural Foundation Young Scholar Award (China Times Cultural Foundation). I greatly acknowledge their support and thank them for their interest in my research and confidence in my work. My research has benefitted from three trips to China, and made with the generous support of institutions who made travel possible: the Friends of Frick Fine Arts Travel Grant (Department of Art and Architecture at the University of Pittsburgh); China Council Graduate Student Pre-Dissertation Fellowship (Asian Studies Center at University of Pittsburgh); and the Metropolitan Center Predoctoral Travel Grant (Metropolitan Center for Far Eastern Art Studies). While in China, Professor Zhang Jianlin at the Shaanxi Provincial Institution of Archaeology kindly shared with me his insightful thoughts, provided unpublished materials from the tomb of Emperor Wu of the Northern Zhou discussed in this work, and offered help rethinking the tombs of the Northern Zhou. The same gratitude goes to Professors Xing Fulai and Li Ming at the Shaanxi Provincial Institution of Archaeology, who offered me unpublished materials on the imperial tombs of Northern Zhou. I would also like to express my gratitude to following individuals who have
given me valuable advice and assistance during my visits to China: Professors Han Rubin at University of Science and Technology at Beijing, Qi Dongfang and Rong Xinjiang at Beijing University, Zhu Yanshi at Institute of Archaeology, Chinese Academy of Social Science, Zhang Qingjie at Shanxi Provincial Institution of Archaeology, Luo Feng at Ningxia Provincial Institution of Archaeology, and Yang Junkai at the Institute of Archaeology of Xi’an.

I am indebted to many friends I met in Pittsburgh. The friends in the zone include Sheri Lullo, Leslie Wallace, Han Jiayao, Ding Xiaolei, Yong Ying, Jiang Yu, Lai Lei, Sun Yan, Wang Ying, Hsu Mao, Sue Zitterbart, Francis Allard, Adriana Maguina-Ugarte, and Mrea Csorba. The friends in the Art History Department include Kristen Harkness, Shalmit Bejarano, Morishima Yuki. Friends in other departments at the University of Pittsburgh include Lois William, Wu Hongyu, Tang Hao, Qu Dan, and Yu Fei. I am grateful for their help and encouragement. My thanks also go to Linda Hicks, Emily Schantz, Natalie Swabb at the History of Art and Architecture Department, Haihui Zhang and Lotus Liu at East Asian Library, and Marcia Rostek at the Frick Arts Library. During my years in Pittsburgh, they have provided help. In particular, I would like express my thanks to Jane Vadnal and Sue Zitterbart for reading and editing my dissertation. Jane edited and gave comments on the first draft of dissertation. Sue offered me thoughtful advice and edited the final draft of dissertation. The errors and oversights in this thesis are my responsibility.

Finally, I extend my deepest gratitude to my family and friends for their patient support during my academic pursuit. I thank my grandfather and parents for educating me with the Hakka spirit of perseverance. I would like to thank my uncle, aunt, sisters and brother for their consistent support. I also thank Professor Hsu’s wife, Ms. Sun Manli, who has carried me through hard times when I lost family members. I thank my son, Nathan (Wu Xiuqi), for providing me thinking on constructed identities of emigrants in a foreign land. This dissertation is dedicated to my grandfather and father, who pass away during my years in Pittsburgh.
1.0 INTRODUCTION

During the period between the breakup of the Han Empire (202 BCE-220 CE) and the unification of the Sui (581-617 CE), Northern China was ruled by non-Han leaders. Traditionally, the period of Six Dynasties (386-581 CE) has been thought of as a time when “the Five Barbarians brought disorder to China” (wuhu luanhua) in Chinese historical and text books. One of the “Five Barbarians” was the Xianbei, a pastoral people from China’s northern frontier who founded the Zhou Dynasty (557-581 CE), called the Northern Zhou by later historians. Chinese texts from this period also refer to “merchant barbarians,” generally assumed to be Sogdians, who lived in oasis states mostly in Central Asia in present-day Uzbekistan, until they came to China around the fourth century CE and became subjects of the Xianbei. Most scholarship has assumed that the period of the Northern Zhou ruled by non-Chinese leaders was one of “sinicization,” and that the adoption of Chinese features in burial and artifacts in foreigners’ tombs was a visual expression of that acculturation process.

This dissertation,¹ however, uses newly excavated materials from tombs dated in the Northern Zhou period, including the tombs of Xianbei leaders, Xianbei and Chinese generals, and Sogdian merchants, and proposes that the visual arts and mortuary ritual played a role in creating and/or maintaining multiple sociopolitical and cultural identities for these residents of

---

¹ All images from this dissertation have been omitted upon final submission to the University of Pittsburgh. For images, including maps and figures, please contact Mandy Jui-Man Wu (mandy2258@hotmail.com).
Northern Zhou. Anthropological theories of agency have helped me focus my dissertation on choices made by different social and occupational groups. My study will analyze the construction of multiple identities among elites and how they consistently distinguished themselves from other members of the society. In this sense, they were not wholly, or even largely ‘sinicized’.

Burial of the dead in ancient societies involved multi-dimensional displays of identity. Seventeen tombs dating from and located in the territory of the Northern Zhou (557-581 CE) have been excavated in northern China in the past twenty years: seven identified as those of Xianbei, three as Sogdian, six as Chinese and one as an Indian Brahmin. The burial objects from these tombs contain arts that follow different aesthetic traditions, such as ones found along the Silk Road, the Eurasian steppe and dynastic China. Based on information recorded on their epitaphs, these tombs can be seen to represent three different social groups and specific ethnic backgrounds: first, the Xianbei as non-Chinese sovereigns; second, Xianbei and Chinese warriors; and third, Sogdian merchants (Table 1). In this dissertation, I have located various patterns that were expressed in the burial goods found in tombs of the three classes and what these patterns can tell us about the ways these men and their families presented their status and wealth to the rest of society. This dissertation is constructed on two types of comparisons. First, diachronically, I compare the tombs of the Northern Zhou with those of its neighboring state, the Northern Qi, to identify the tombs by social class. Second, I divide this study into three chapters by social class: the Xianbei conquerors; the Xianbei and Han-Chinese warriors; and Sogdian merchants. This will be the first contextual analysis of class, social roles and cultural affiliation through examination of mortuary art in the Northern Zhou Dynasty.
1.1 EVIDENCE

1.1.1 Material Evidence: Tombs dated during the Northern Zhou

In the past twenty years, archaeologists have excavated seventeen tombs dating from the Northern Zhou (557-581CE): seven Xianbei, four Chinese with Xianbei surname, three Sogdians, two Han Chinese, and one Indian Brahmin. The seventeen tombs of the Northern Zhou period were found in three different locations: three Sogdian tombs near Xi’an, the capital of the Northern Zhou, Shaanxi; nine tombs at Xianyang Shaanxi, and three tombs at Guyuan, Ningxia, an important military station on the trade road (Table 1). According to Xing Fulai and Li Ming, Xianyang, the royal cemetery of the Northern Zhou, was northwest of the ancient capital of the Northern Zhou at Chang’an. Although many of these tombs were pillaged, they are still highly valuable for the study of the monarchy as well as the warrior, and merchant classes of Northern Zhou society.

The three Sogdian merchants dated to the Northern Zhou found in Xi’an in the past ten years have been discussed by many scholars. Thirteen of them were Northern Zhou generals,

---

2 Owing to the construction of an international airport in Xianyang during 1986-1990, archaeologists found 12 tombs of high-ranking officials’ tombs of the Northern Zhou.
including eight tombs at Xianyang, Shaanxi and three tombs at Guyuan, Ningxia. The double burial tomb of Emperor Wu of the Northern Zhou and his wife, Empress Ashina, was excavated at Xianyang city Shaanxi Province in 1993. Although it had been looted, the burial goods in niches in the passageway were still intact, and many telling artifacts in the inner chamber were left. The tombs of the generals and imperial family members at Xianyang, Shaanxi, excavated and published by the Chinese excavators in the 1980s-1990s have not received much notice by Chinese and Western scholars.

I compare seventeen tombs of the Northern Zhou with five tombs of its neighboring state, the Northern Qi: two Northern Qi imperial tombs, Gao Run and possibly attributed Gao Yang and the tomb of general, Xu Xianxiu were looted. There are two intact tombs of generals Fan Cui and Cui Fen (Table 1). I include secondary studies on the Northern Qi to examine patterns of use of burial goods within the mortuary contexts of the Northern Dynasties.

I will argue that the royal family of the Northern Zhou created and manipulated their identity for political and economic advantage through analysis of their burials in Chapter Two. In Chapter Three, I will explore the representational characteristics of the military class in the Northern Zhou period and will focus on cultural and political relationships between ethnic Xianbei and Han-Chinese generals and the Xianbei sovereign who served in the same military organizations in this period. In Chapter Four, I will explore the three Sogdians and explain inconsistencies in burial display among the three Sogdian tombs. Studying these Northern Zhou...

---

Yo’shiki Kenkyu’ 中国美術の図像と様式研究篇 (Studies on Patterns and Iconography of Chinese Art), ed. Sofukawa Hiroshi 曾布川寛 (Tokyo: Chuōronbijutsushuppan, 2006).

tombs together provides a unique opportunity to understand the role that mortuary art played in creating identities in understanding social classes within this special historical context.

1.1.2 Textual Evidence

Textual evidence includes funerary epitaphs, contemporary literature, and later official historical documents written by mostly Tang official scholars. It is my position that the funerary epitaphs are primary sources,\(^6\) constructed by contemporary writers. Most epitaphs of these contain biographies, which are very useful when reconstructing individual histories. The official documents written in the Tang Dynasty, the *Book of Zhou* (*Zhouzhu*) and the *Book of the Northern Dynasties* (*Beishi*), are most valuable resources, as both records of historical events as well as of the official Chinese view of the Xianbei and Sogdians.

1.2 HISTORICAL CIRCUMSTANCES DURING THE NORTHERN DYNASTIES

1.2.1 Political History

The period between the breakup of the Han Empire (202 BCE-220 CE) and the unification of the Sui (581-617 CE) is known as the Southern and Northern Dynasties (386 CE-589 CE). This was a time when the former Chinese territory fell into political disunity. Northern China was ruled by leaders who were not ethnically Han Chinese, including the Xianbei, a pastoral people who

\(^6\) Rubbings of the covers of epitaphs, epitaphs, and transcriptions of the Northern Zhou are collected in Appendices A, B, C.
moved in from China’s northern frontier. Southern China was ruled by Han-Chinese leaders. In both the south and north, there was a series of short-lived dynasties.

The Northern Wei (386-543 CE) was ruled by the Tuoba Xianbei who originally built their capital at Shengle (north of Horinger, Inner Mongolia) in 258 CE. Later, they moved to Pingcheng (modern Datong, Shanxi) in 398 CE, and then moved their capital again to the heartland of China to Luoyang in 494-495 CE. The fall of the Northern Wei created the Western Wei (535-556 CE) and the Eastern Wei (534-550 CE) dynasties. These dynasties were controlled by two powerful military families called the Yuwen Tai of Xianbei ethnic lineage, and the Gao Huan of Han-Chinese ethnic lineage. The Yuwen later proclaimed themselves to be the Great Zhou Dynasty as recorded in their epitaphs, and established their capital in Chang’an reusing the traditional Han Chinese capital site. The Gao renamed themselves the Qi and built their capital at Ye (modern Cixian, Hebei).

Pearce has pointed out that Yuwen Tai, a Xianbei, tried to legitimate himself by reusing the political system of ancient Zhou.\(^7\) The political revival of the ancient Zhou began during the last decades of the Western Wei under the power of Yuwen Tai. In the 550’s, Yuwen Tai appointed Su Chuo, a Han-Chinese, to oversee the adoption of the ancient Chinese bureaucratic system recorded in the *Rites of Zhou (Zhouli)*.\(^8\) In Chapter Two, I discuss how this political archaizing reform affected the rulers of the Northern Zhou who adopted Chinese funeral customs and chose certain artifacts to symbolize their authority to rule the state, while still retaining their steppic burial traditions and warrior identity by including specific kinds of bronze belts with attached knives and gold objects in their burials.

---

\(^7\) Pearce, "The Yu-Wen Regime in Sixth Century China", p. 472.
1.2.2 Military Organization and Military Culture

Yuwen Tai, a Xianbei warrior who was posthumously honored by a bestowal of the title Emperor Wen of the Northern Zhou, created a military organization, or *fu-bing* militia. This militia was modeled on nomadic tribal organizational systems. The *fu-bing* organization was established in 542 CE and recruited members from several powerful local families. Yuwen Tai was aware of both the traditions of the local elites and of their contemporary situation as non-Chinese because he restored Xianbei surnames to those Xianbei warriors who had taken Chinese surnames, and also bestowed Xianbei surnames on ethnic Chinese military leaders and administrative officials. The restoration of Xianbei heritage to some in the military organization served to centralize military power under the ruling Yuwen family. These political decisions had a great impact on both military and sociopolitical development during the Northern Zhou period. I will discuss how the military culture of the Northern Zhou affected how both Xianbei and Chinese generals were buried in Chapter Three.

---


10 Gu Jiguang 谷霁光, "Xi Wei Bei Zhou Shiqi Fu-Bing Zhidu De Xingcheng 西魏北周时期府兵制度的形成 (The Formation of Fu-Bing System During the Periods of Western Wei and Northern Zhou)," in *Fubing Zhidu Kaoshi 府兵制度考释* (Examination and Explanation of the Fu-bing System) (Shanghai 上海: Shanghai renmin Chubanshe 上海人民出版社, 1962), pp. 27-34.


12 Gu Jiguang 谷霁光, "Xi Wei Bei Zhou Shiqi Fu-Bing Zhidu De Xingcheng 西魏北周时期府兵制度的形成 (The Formation of Fu-Bing System During the Periods of Western Wei and Northern Zhou)," pp. 34-37.
1.2.3 Political Policy on Buddhism and Confucianism

Buddhism came to China through Central Asia and became the state religion during the Northern Wei. The imperial family of the N. Wei supported Buddhism and commissioned the famous Buddhist caves at Yungang and Longmen. There was, however, an anti-Buddhist sentiment within the court during this time, and the Emperors Tai Wu of Northern Wei and Wu of Northern Zhou both thought that the clergy were gaining too much power and that the tithes the monks collected took away from the imperial coffers. As a result, Confucianism was revived in the Northern Zhou court, especially during the reign of the emperor of Wu. According to the Book of Zhou (Zhoushu), in 568 Emperor Wu of the Northern Zhou called his subjects together and held a lecture on the Book of Rites (Liji) in 568. Later, in 573, he gathered his officials, Buddhist monks, and Daoists together and ranked Confucians (ru) first, the Daoists (dao) second, and Buddhists (fo) last. The next year in 574 CE, the Emperor promulgated an interdict that returned monks, nuns and Daoists to lay status, and destroyed holy images, temples, and books. In Chapter Four, I discuss how these political policies influenced Sogdian choices of styles and iconography of their funerary furniture because they were sensitive to the political atmosphere.

16 Ibid, p. 83.
17 Ibid, pp. 63-86.
1.3 PREVIOUS SCHOLARSHIP

1.3.1 The Issue of Acculturation

Scholars who concentrate on the period of the Northern Zhou have addressed the issue of acculturation as part of the context of the Six Dynasties (221-581 CE). Chen Yinke (1890-1969), a famous historian, had a great influence on Chinese historians who study this period. Chen Yinke traced three different origins of Sui and Tang institutions from the Northern Dynasties. In discussing interaction among different groups of people, he argued that because identity is culturally constructed, Non-Chinese who adopted Chinese culture were “sinicized” (hanhua), while Chinese who adopted non-Chinese culture were “barbarianized” (huhua). This proposition has influenced many Chinese scholars until the present time.

Albert Dien, a historian of the Six Dynasties, has published many articles on sociopolitical and military history of the Northern Zhou in the past thirty years. He argues that during the periods of Western Wei and Northern Zhou the bestowal of Xianbei surnames to both Xianbei and Han-Chinese officials was a “Xianbei-ization.” He further argues that the Xianbei retained their own identity during the period of Six Dynasties and that the Xianbei nomadic culture had a great impact on Chinese culture during the subsequent periods of the Sui and Tang. In 2007, Dien published a book entitled “Six Dynasties Civilization,” providing

---

19 See the bibliography.
comprehensive data on the material culture of the periods as part of his historical analysis. My research has benefitted greatly from Professor Dien’s research and this book in particular.

Dorothy Wong, an art historian of Buddhist art, has examined the ethnicity and identity of the non-Chinese Buddhist art patrons who dominated commissions in north China from the 4th through the 6th centuries. She is interested in how Buddhism impacted the nomadic and Chinese cultures, and has studied illustrations of donors, which exhibit a great variety of different “ethnicities.” Wong examines how donors constructed and promoted their identity and ethnicity. She argues that, on the one hand, nomadic rulers adopted Chinese dress and had Chinese names as the most obvious way of identifying with their newly conquered Chinese cultures, while, on the other hand, the nomadic rulers of the Northern Wei adopted Buddhism as the state religion in order to consolidate the power of the state and to differentiate themselves from the Chinese Confucian governmental model.

1.3.2 Mortuary Art during the Six Dynasties

Chinese scholars have employed formal analysis and regional contextualization to certain artifacts and/or murals dated during the Six Dynasties period. For example, Zheng Yan and Li Meitian used this approach to understand the subject matter and iconography of murals in tombs from the Six Dynasties period. Yang Hong, an archaeologist specializing in the period of Six

---

23 Ibid.
24 Zheng Yan 郑岩, Wei Jin Nan Bei Chao bihuahu mu yanjiu 魏晋南北朝壁画墓研究 (Research on the Murals in the Tombs of the Six Dynasties) (Beijing 北京: Wenwu Chubanshe 文物出版社, 2002); Li Meitian 李梅田, "Bei Chao Mushi Huaxiang De Quyuxing Yanjiu 北朝墓室画像的区域性研究 (A Study on the Regional Analysis of the Paintings in the Tomb of Northern Dynasties)," Gugong bowuyuan yuankan 故宫博物院院刊, no. 3 (2005).
Dynasties, has studied the development of pottery figurines, armor, and mural painting found in the tombs of the Six Dynasties. These studies catalogued useful materials, and form the base corpus for my study.

Bonnie Cheng, an art historian, has done decontextualized studies and geo-temporal analysis of four case studies of the tombs dated to the six century. She analyzes the change of location of tomb figurines in the tomb of Sima Jinlong of the Northern Wei, mural paintings in the tomb of the Ruru princess of the Western Wei-Northern Qi, tomb structures of the Northern Zhou and the tomb of Li Xian, and sarcophagus of Li He of the Sui. In each chapter, she provides an excellent analysis of one particular type of media. For example, she uses the tomb of Li Xian as an example of the adherence to the modest burials recorded in Emperors’ edicts in the Book of Zhou (Zhoushu). She also explores the biography of Li Xian and argues that his close relationship with Emperor Wu of Northern Zhou was the reason he could bury luxury items in his tomb. Her detailed examination of each case study has provided a useful picture of the sixth century.

Two exhibition catalogues related to the period of the Northern Zhou are important to this study. Monks and Merchants, edited by Juliano and Lerner in 2001, focused on Gansu and Ningxia from the 4th to the 7th centuries, corresponding approximately to Northern Dynasties up to the early Tang. As the title implies, this exhibition concentrated on the patronage of monks and merchants on the Silk Road. The authors have successfully demonstrated that Gansu and

---

25 For these publications see Bibliography.
Ningxia were important corridors where monks and merchants transmitted religions and artistic traditions. They also discussed issues of ethnic identity, adaptation, assimilation, and “sinicization” from an art historical point view. They concluded that many ideas, styles, and motifs were transmitted during this period and suggest that they were assimilated and transformed by the Tang to create a new, national style that defined the dynasty for the three centuries of its rule. The authors assumed that those art objects that displayed any Chinese motifs signaled the assimilation of the patron into Chinese culture.

In *The Glory of the Silk Road* exhibition catalog edited by Li Jian and Valérie Hansen, a different perspective on the objects from the Silk Road is presented.29 Li Jian’s introduction is a review of the history of the ancient sites on the Silk Road, and discusses the history of ancient kingdoms/cities on the Silk Road. She also reconstructs the ancient trade routes through excavated sites along the Silk Road. This catalog contains five essays mainly focused on textiles, Buddhist relics, and gold and silver items found in the ancient sites such as Niya or Chang’an.

Two other studies have focused on mortuary art in the three Sogdian tombs of the Northern Zhou. Judith Lerner examines burial customs of the Sogdians, and argues that the Sogdian retained “their physical if not cultural and religious ethnicity.” 30 She further states that “the adoption of Chinese burial forms and artistic conventions by these men of foreign origin seems as much the result of their acceptance by Chinese society as of their own individual need to integrate into it.” 31 Sofukawa Hiroshi proposes that the Sogdians’ adoption of the Chinese tomb structure was a compromise, and that the use of stone furniture was borrowed from the

31 Ibid, p. 34.
burial customs found in the Northern Dynasties. The images carved on the stone furniture, however, reflected Sogdian ideas of religion and death.\(^{32}\) He argues that the mortuary furniture in the three Sogdian tombs represents a temporal evolution from the Chinese-style images on Kang Ye’s stone couch in the tomb of Kang Ye, dated in 571 CE, to the Sogdian images on the tomb furniture in the tombs of An Jia and Shi Jun, both dated in 579 CE.

Albert Dien’s book, “Six Dynasties Civilization,” in 2007 marks a milestone of the study of the Six Dynasties. It is actually one of the Yale University Press ancient Chinese civilization series. It is important to point out that in the 1980s, “Shang Civilization,”\(^{33}\) “Western Chou Civilization,”\(^{34}\) and “Eastern Zhou and Qin Civilizations,”\(^{35}\) were all published by Yale University press. Modern scientific excavations at Anyang from the 1920s to 30s, as well as oracle bone inscriptions and ritual bronzes vessels have supported the Chinese historiographical tradition of looking to ancient civilizations to construct a Chinese national identity. Scientific excavation of the Northern Dynasties had not been the focus of Chinese archaeology until the 1970s when new construction nearthed remains from the period. Publications on the tombs of the Northern Dynasties have been available only since the 1990s. Dien’s book provides a larger picture of social, political and cultural aspects of the Six Dynasties.

In contrast, my study focuses on issues of class signification, social roles, and cultural affiliation drawn from available archaeological materials dated to the Northern Zhou period.

---


Building on the previous scholarship, I am able to argue a more detailed analysis of the construction of multiple identities through both social and personal levels.

1.4 THIS DISSERTATION AND THE METHOD OF ANALYSIS

Anthropological theories of agency and cultural identity as well as art historical approaches to space and place have been most useful to my research. The theory of agency has been discussed since the 1960s, and reflects attempts to understand how people act in society.36 Some scholars have considered individuals,37 while some have concentrated on group-level agency.38 Others have argued that agency is “a cultural process through which personhood and a sense of “groupness” are constructed, negotiated and transformed.” These theorists argue that the emphasis should be on the “agency of social collectivities.”39 They also emphasize the processes involved in the construction of group boundaries as well as the interrelations among socio-cultural groups. Mortuary evidence, such as artifact assemblages seen within a contextual framework is thought of as important evidence of identity, and distinct patterns of styles and forms in different contexts display an expression of identity.40

39 Dobres, "Agency in Archaeology: Paradigm or Platitude?,” p.11.
As Wells argues that patterns of use in archaeological contexts tell us about how identities were embedded in the way agents saw their world and interacted with others.41 This study will examine Northern Zhou tombs and analyze the patterns of use and placement of artifacts, as well as the images decorating them. I will discuss variations in mortuary practice and art in the context of contemporary (500-581 CE) society and the rituals and symbolism associated with individual cultural groups.

Agency theories of self-identification emphasize the role played by agents, i.e. the mourners and the deceased, who actively made decisions and chose what was to be remembered through the funerary ritual. Theorists show that identity is dynamic, fluid, and constructed in a special historical context which is related to the social, economic, and political atmosphere.42 The mixed assemblages in mortuary practices may signify the intentionality and choice-making of the individual.43 Moreover, the diversity and manifestations of social power found in archaeological data also demonstrate different burial traditions and values.44 My research has shown that burial goods were specific to some classes. For instance, the tomb of Emperor Wu of Northern Zhou contained a large jade bi disc, a metaphor in the representation of legitimacy of ancient Zhou, and a gold crown and bronze belts with specific designs, recalling a northern steppe custom.

The theory of multiple agencies is useful in structuring my approach. That is, I will examine the archaeological evidence on two levels: individuals and their family, and the social level upon which these foreigners and the Chinese situated themselves in the predominantly Chinese cultural society. The cultural variations in mortuary practice and art from the Northern Zhou tombs signify the existence of choices for individual actors, groups, and the society in which they lived. I have analyzed the distribution and styles of artifacts from the tombs of the Northern Zhou and compared them to artifacts from those from their neighboring state, the Northern Qi. I will also examine the function of the artifacts in mortuary practice and analyze both historical texts and mortuary epitaphs. My goal is to present an integrated study of this art and to suggest how it constructs an identity for the deceased. I will situate mortuary practices of these Chinese and Non-Chinese of the Northern Zhou in a broad historical context, a method which has not yet been applied to this material.

Patterns of use of burial goods are shown to follow socio-political organization and individual experience. I will show that there are at least two levels of interpretation associated with the construction of identity: a larger social level in which identities are constructed by official organizations related to occupation, class, and cultural affiliation; and a personal level, in which identities are constructed by individual experience, including family background, religion, class, and gender. As Lynn Meskell points out, “the latter (personal level) is more contingent, immediate, and operates at a greater frequency, whereas society’s categories and constraints take longer to reformulate.” Archaeological and anthropological theories concerning visualization

---

46 Ibid.
of power, agency, and cultural identity will help me analyze the processes involved in the
construction of group boundaries and the interrelationships among socio-cultural groups.

This dissertation examines seventeen tombs of the Northern Zhou period and compares
them with those of the Northern Qi, and proposes that mortuary arts played a role in creating
and/or maintaining multiple sociopolitical and cultural identities for residents of Northern Zhou.
Within the limits of these seventeen tombs of the Northern Zhou, six intact and eleven looted
tombs (Table 1), my conclusion is tentative and could be changed with reporting of newly
excavated materials.

1.5 DEFINITION OF TERMS

Time Period:

Six Dynasties: the years between the fall of Han and rise of the Sui-Tang Dynasties
(221-581 CE).47

Geographical location:

Northern region: northern region here refers to the areas of the territory of Northern
Zhou and Northern Qi, including modern day Shaanxi, Shanxi, Ningxia, Henan, Hebei, and
Shandong provinces.

47 This period has been called the Wei-Jin Northern and Southern Dynasties (Wei Jin Nan Bei Chao), and the Six
Dynasties (Liuchao). The title “Six Dynasties” comes from two different sources: Liuchao. 1. Six dynasties with
capitals in Jiankang 建康 (modern day Nanjing 南京) from the book, Jiankang shilu 建康实录, written by Tang
scholar, Xu Song 许嵩. Six Dynasties with the same capitals include Eastern Wu (222–280), Eastern Jin Dynasty
2. Six Dynasties with legitimate lineage refer to the period of Wei-Jin Northern and Southern Dynasties which
comes from the book, Zizhi tongjian 资治通鉴 written by Northern Song scholar, Sima Guang 司马光. In most
western scholarship, Six Dynasties is used as a generic name for the period between the fall of Han to the rise of the
Sui Dynasty.
**Northeastern region**: northeastern region here refers to the areas of the Three Yan Cultures, including the sites excavated in the Liaoning province.

**Southern region**: southern region here refers to the territory of the Southern Dynasties. The excavated sites include those in the Nanjing, Jiangsu province.

**Northern Steppe**: northern Steppe here refers to the Eurasia Steppe.

**Western Regions**: the Western Regions here refers to Central Asia.
The death ritual for an emperor’s burial provided to a public audience an event that displayed identity on a state level. Many scholars have proposed that the Northern Zhou Xianbei, a pastoral people from China’s northern frontier who founded the Northern Dynasty (557-581 CE), followed traditional ancient Chinese death rituals and used simple burial practices. This belief is mainly based on the edicts of Emperors Ming and Wu as recorded in the Book of Zhou (Zhoushu). In this chapter, I will examine several royal tombs of the Northern Zhou to see if this proposal is accurate. The most important of the tombs is the joint burial of Emperor Wu and Empress Ashina, which was excavated in 1994. This tomb had been pillaged, but several niches containing burial goods in the passageway leading into the tomb were intact. Other royal tombs of the Northern Zhou that I will also discuss include those of Emperor Wu’s brothers, Yuwen Tong and Yuwen Jian. Counter examples are the looted Northern Qi imperial tomb of

---

50 The epitaphs of the imperial family of Northern Zhou are collected in Appendix A.
Gao Run⁵¹ and the second looted tomb that has been identified as possibly belonging to Gao Yang.⁵² Based on this evidence, I argue that both the burial practices themselves and the ways in which they developed were much more complex than is usually presumed. I argue that the rulers of the Northern Zhou retained nomadic burial traditions and maintained their warrior identity, adopted funeral customs of both China itself and of the local northwestern people whom they had conquered, and chose certain artifacts to symbolize their power to rule the state. A large jade *bi* disc, symbol of Heaven recorded in the *Book of Rites*, and specific kinds of bronze belts with knives and the use of gold thread woven in textile followed the steppic tradition. In contrast, the imperial tomb of Northern Qi at Wanzhang continued a Han-Dynasty burial tradition recorded in the text,⁵³ and used 1805 pottery figurines and elaborated mural painting to demonstrate his social status.

Originally the Xianbei tribesmen lived far to the northeast of China, in present day northern Manchuria. They moved into steppe land and became nomadic pastoralists during the first century CE.⁵⁴ The Murong clan of the Xianbei founded the Former Yan Dynasty (337 – 370 CE) and established their capital at Longcheng, (modern Chaoyang, Liaoning).⁵⁵ Later, the

---


⁵³ As Zhao Yonghong points out, in the *Book of Northern Qi (Beiqishu)*, the Emperor Wenxuang of the Northern Qi asked to follow the Han Dynasty burial custom. Zhao Yonghong 赵永洪, "You mushi dao mu dao--Nanbeichao muzang suoijian zhi yizhang baixian yu sangzang kongjian de bianhua 由墓室到墓道--南北朝墓葬所见之仪仗表现于丧葬空间的变化 (from Tomb Chamber to Passage Way-- Representations of Guards to Honor in Northern and Southern Dynasties Tombs and Changes in Funerary Space)," in *Between Han and Tang: Cultural and Artistic Interaction in a Transformative Period*, ed. Hung Wu (Beijing: Cultural Relics Publishing House, 2001), p. 437.


⁵⁵ Three Yan include Former Yan (337-370 CE), Later Yan (384-409 CE), and Northern Yan (407-436 CE). Both Former Yan and Northern Yan had their capitals located at Longcheng, modern Chaoyang, Liaoning, in northeastern China.
Tuoba clan of the Xianbei founded the Northern Wei Dynasty (386-534 CE), placed their capital at Pingcheng, (modern Datong), and then moved to Luoyang (modern Luoyang) in the Central Plain, where the Eastern Zhou and Eastern Han had also established capitals. The Yuwen clan of the Xianbei founded the Northern Zhou Dynasty (557 - 581 CE) and put their capital at Chang’an (modern Xi’an), the site of the capital of previous Chinese dynasties, including ancient Zhou, Qin, and Han.

Albert Dien emphasized that the Xianbei maintained their own identity throughout most of the Six Dynasties period. For instance, he noted that in the mural painting in from the tomb of Lou Rui, a high-ranking Xianbei warrior of Northern Qi, the Xianbei warriors wore traditional Xianbei clothing. Dien also believes that contemporary texts proved that the Xianbei still maintained their warrior identity. However, since Dien published his study in 1991, there have been many new excavations of elite Xianbei warriors of the Three Yan (349 – 436 CE) in northeastern China, in Liaoning area and the high-ranking generals of Northern Zhou (557 - 581) near modern Xi’an. The mortuary remains of the Xianbei of the Three Yan culture and those of the Northern Zhou bear a strong resemblance. These newly excavated materials provide us with a good chance to examine the mortuary remains in order to understand the actual roles of those warriors as well as their social behavior in life.

The primary objective of this chapter is to explore the construction of identities and power as it is manifested in the tombs of the Northern Zhou sovereigns. I will first define some of the most important terms and methodologies used here and throughout the discussion and give a very brief summary of the historical background of the Northern Zhou period. I will analyze all features available from these burial settings. These will include burial assemblages, patterns of

use of burial goods, and decoration and type of burial goods within the cultural context. I will analyze several tombs of the elites of the Northern Zhou, and compare them to the contemporary royal tomb of Northern Qi leaders of Chinese heritage (the Gao Family), in which Chinese burial traditions were practiced. I will group the evidence into three categories: 1. dynastic Chinese burial traditions and their relation to the Chinese sociopolitical status; 2. non-Chinese burial traditions and their relation to Xianbei warrior class; 3. burial goods that display both Chinese and non-Chinese traditions. Finally, I will discuss what the mixture of burial practices in the tomb of Emperor Wu shows about the society and culture of the Northern Zhou and how it is related to the construction of identity.

2.1 DEFINITIONS AND METHODOLOGY

I will first address what name should be used to describe the period: the years between the fall of Han and rise of the Sui-Tang Dynasties (220-589 CE). In both Chinese and English, there are several names for this time. It has been called the Wei-Jin Northern and Southern Dynasties (Wei Jin Nan Bei Chao), the Six Dynasties (Liu Chao), and the time that “Five Barbarians brought trouble to China (Wu Hua).” Because “Six Dynasties” is accepted most often by

57 Dynastic Chinese burial tradition here means the traditional burial customs in China throughout history. Regional style will not be considered here.
58 The title “Six Dynasties” comes from two different sources:
1. Six dynasties with capitals in Jiankang (the modern day Nanjing 南京) from the book, Jiankang shilu 建康实录, written by Tang scholar, Xu Song. Six Dynasties with the same capitals include Eastern Wu (222–280), Eastern Jin Dynasty (265–420), Song Dynasty (420–479), Qi Dynasty (479–502), Liang Dynasty (502–557), Chen Dynasty (557–589).
2. Six Dynasties with legitimate lineage refer to the period of Wei-Jin Northern and Southern Dynasties which comes from the book, Zizhi tongjian 资治通鉴 written by Northern Song scholar, Sima Guang 司马光. In most western scholarship, Six Dynasties, is used as a generic name for the period between the fall of Han to the rise of the Sui Dynasties.
Western scholars, I will use it in the following text for discussion of the period of the Northern Zhou Dynasty (557-581 CE).  

It is important to outline how the question of identity has been framed in the past and how different kinds of evidence can be used to evaluate it. Chinese governments have been eager to acculturate non-Han peoples throughout history, making the process part of an official program adopted by leaders who imposed the Confucian ideology long embedded in classical literature. The history of the Northern Zhou, for example, was written as if it were a history of the Chinese. Similarly, Linghu Defen, an official historian of the Tang Dynasty (618-907 CE), alleged in the Book of Zhou (Zhoushu) that the Northern Zhou lineage was the same as that of the Chinese people. According to Linghu Defen, Yuwen Tai, the father of the founder of the Northern Zhou, could trace his lineage back to the great mythic progenitor of the Chinese people, Yandi or Shennongshi. Actually, the Yuwen family was a member of the Xianbei group from China’s northern frontier. Archaeological materials now provide an opportunity to examine the role that these figures played as creators of their own cultural identity through the study of mortuary practice, information not recorded in Chinese official documents.

Examining mortuary practice and art provides a different outlook at the construction of identity. The patterns of archaeological evidence can inform us about how identities were embedded in the way agents saw their world and interacted with others. Agency theories of self-identification emphasize the role played by agents, the mourners and the deceased, who

\[\text{\textsuperscript{59}}\text{Albert E Dien, }\textit{Six Dynasties Civilization, Early Chinese Civilization Series} (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 2007), Annette L. Juliano, \textit{Art of the Six Dynasties: Centuries of Change and Innovation} (New York: China House Gallery, 1975).\]

\[\text{\textsuperscript{60}}\text{Mu-chou Poo, }\textit{Enemies of Civilization: Attitudes toward Foreigners in Ancient Mesopotamia, Egypt, and China} (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2005).\]

\[\text{\textsuperscript{61}}\text{Mike Parker Pearson, }\textit{The Archaeology of Death and Burial} (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 1999, reprint 2002), Peter S Wells, \textit{Beyond Celts, Germans and Scythians: Archaeology and Identity in Iron Age Europe, Duckworth Debates in Archaeology} (London: Duckworth, 2001).\]
actively make decisions and choose what they wish to be remembered by in the funerary ritual. The mixed assemblages in mortuary practices may signify the intentionality and choice-making of the individual. Moreover, the diversity and manifestations of social power in archaeological data also demonstrate different burial traditions and values.

2.2 HISTORICAL BACKGROUND AND THE TOMBS

The Northern Zhou Dynasty was established on the foundation of the Western Wei (535-556) polity during the career of Yuwen Tai. Yuwen Tai, the father of the founder of the Northern Zhou, was an influential Xianbei general who controlled the Emperors of Western Wei. Yuwen Tai made several fundamental changes in the political and social structure of the Western Wei. He appointed Su Chuo (498-546 CE), a native Chinese, to reform the ancient Chinese text describing the political system that was very influential on the structuring of the bureaucracy in the 550s. The Book of Rites (Zhouli) described a complicated and idealized political system that gave a great deal of power to the emperors. Yuwen Tai created the military organization, or fu-bing militia, based on nomadic tribal organizational systems of the peoples who had conquered the region that formed the basis of the Northern Zhou. In addition, he restored the

Xianbei surnames and bestowed them on local military leaders and administrative officials.\(^{65}\) These political decisions had a great influence on the sociopolitical history of the Northern Zhou. Historians have discussed the importance of these issues; but art historians and archaeologists have sometimes focused on one single aspect or have ignored the broader context altogether. In this analysis, I will consider these crucial historical trends when investigating how the imperial family of the Northern Zhou constructed their personas as seen in the tombs they created for themselves and the grave goods that were interred within them.

Evidence of the tombs of the Xianbei royal family members, as well as those of Xiabei military generals, have been found in present-day Xianyang, Shaanxi. The fact that these tombs were near their capital followed the Chinese dynastic custom. Close analysis of shapes and sizes of tombs, as well as careful analysis of the tomb contents, can make clear the mixing of customs determined by culture or lifestyle.

For instance, the tomb of Emperor Wu of the Northern Zhou and his consort, Empress Ashina is located southeast of the Chengma village, at Xianyang City, Shaanxi Province.\(^{66}\) The Empress Ashina was a princess of the Turkish Empire and the daughter of the Mugan Khan, Qijin.\(^{67}\) According to their epitaphs, the Emperor died in 578 CE and the Empress died four years later, in 582, which was the second year of Kaihuang reign of the Sui Dynasty. Their large tomb, excavated in 1994, contained a long sloping passageway with four niches, an antechamber, a large main chamber, and a rear chamber. The tomb had been looted and many artifacts in the

---


\(^{66}\) Shaanxisheng, "Bei Zhou Wudi Xiaoling fajue jianbao 北周武帝孝陵发掘简报 (Brief Report on the Excavation of the Xiaoling of Emperor Wu of the Northern Zhou)."

\(^{67}\) Linghu Defen 令狐德棻, *Zhou Shu 周書* (Beijing: Zhonghua shu ju 中華書局: Xin hua shu dian Beijing fa xing suo fa xing 新華書店北京發行所發行, 1971), pp-143-144.
main chamber were stolen.\(^{68}\) Fortunately, artifacts in the four niches in the walls of the passageway were intact.\(^{69}\) Zhang Jianlin, the excavator of this tomb, reported that the niches were sealed only one time, which suggests that they were created when Emperor Wu died and that they were not opened again when the Empress was interred. Therefore, the artifacts found in the niches were probably associated with the burial rituals and ceremonies for the Emperor Wu.

According to Zhang Jianlin, the coffin in the west side of the main chamber was that of Emperor Wu. Three gold tube-shaped covers with some wood remain inside, three jade beads, 60g of gold thread, and one plaster pillow were found near it. The coffin in the east side of the main chamber was the Empress. A broken pearl, three gold flower petals, and a miniature seated Buddha were discovered nearby. The rear chamber was probably made for the Empress. In it were found bronze flower petals, a bronze tripod (jiaodou), a lacquer box, and few other bronze objects, including two triangular objects and five clips.\(^{70}\)

In order to distinguish the distinctive features of the tomb of the Emperor Wu of the Northern Zhou, I will compare it with a contemporary imperial tomb in the neighboring state of Northern Qi. The Northern Qi period, Gao family were of Chinese heritage and this tomb was dated around the same time. This tomb is located at Wanzhang, Cixian, Hebei, and was excavated in three stages in 1987, 1988, and 1989. Its structure is similar to that of the tomb of Emperor Wu -- it has a long passageway, an antechamber, and a single brick chamber. Lavish

\(^{68}\) This tomb was looted many times. Robbers exploded this tomb, and they destroyed original earth of the supporting structure on the top of the main chamber. When the archaeologists excavated this tomb, they had taken over the top of the chamber and wrapped the burial goods in the wall niches and chambers by casting first.

\(^{69}\) The artifacts in the niches were all wrapped by the archaeologists when they were under rescue excavation. The restoration work was done by German restorers, who have cooperated with the Archaeological Institute of Shaanxi Province and have an laboratory at this institute in Xi’an.

\(^{70}\) Shaanxisheng Kaoguo Yanjiusuo 陕西省考古研究所, "Bei Zhou Wudi Xiaoling fajue jianbao 北周武帝孝陵发掘简报 (Brief Report on the Excavation of the Xiaoling of Emperor Wu of the Northern Zhou)," p. 12.
artifacts remain in the main chamber, including 1,805 ceramic objects. The reporter suggests that this tomb is that of the Emperor Wenxuan of Northern Qi, Gao Yang (529-559 CE).\(^{71}\)

### 2.2.1 Epitaphs of Imperial Members of the Northern Zhou\(^{72}\)

In the tombs of the Northern Dynasties (386-581 CE), it was very common to have epitaphs written on two stones. One stone, which served as the cover stone of the epitaph, recorded the deceased’s official title and a separate stone contained a longer biographical inscription. The cover stone in the tomb of Emperor Wu was unusual because it was without an inscription of his title. The biographical epitaph was also unusually brief, and contained only nine Chinese characters which can be translated “The Xiao Ling (mausoleum of filial piety) of Martial Emperor Gaozhu of the Great Zhou” (Appendix A: 1). In contrast, the title inscription on the tomb cover stone of the Empress Wude of the Zhou, contained seven characters and her biographical inscription recorded that she died in the second year of reign of Kaihuang during the Sui (582 CE).\(^{73}\) It states in her epitaph that the state over which she reigned was called “Zhou” rather than “Great Zhou” named in Emperor Wu’s epitaph (Appendix A: 2).

The biographical epitaph stone of the Empress Ashina was not made carefully. For example, one character, \textit{yì}, was carved using an incorrect character. Also, two of the 48 characters in the inscriptions seem to have been re-carved. These incorrect characters and re-carvings indicate that this epitaph was not considered an important work even though Empress

---


\(^{72}\)The epitaphs of the imperial family of the Northern Zhou are collected in Appendix A.

Ashina was a person of the highest status. A brief report on the tomb of Yuwen Jian, Emperor Wu’s brother was published in 2001, but others have not. Yuwen Jian’s biographical epitaph recorded his official titles and that he died at age 28 (Appendix A:3). The last section of his epitaph says: “following the ancient rites, no tumulus and no trees are to be raised over the tomb. I am afraid that time will never cease, and the hills and valleys can easily change. But, the stone inscription will be carved and put in the tomb.”\(^74\) This description and its emphasis on the change of landscape and time, and the phrases about everlasting time on the inscription were similar to the records in the epitaph of An Jia, a Sogdian who worked for the Northern Zhou government.\(^75\) This might be associated with Confucian moral beliefs as a lament on one’s death. Unfortunately, no epitaph was found in the imperial Wanzhang tomb so it is not possible to compare the titles of the persons interred in these two imperial tombs and how they were described.


2.3 DYNASTIC CHINESE BURIAL TRADITION

2.3.1 Tomb Structure

The overall spatial structure of the Xianbei elites' tombs is similar to that of aristocratic Chinese burials during the Northern Dynasties (386-581 CE). The tomb structure of the Northern Dynasties generally consists of a long sloping passageway, airshafts, an antechamber, and a main chamber. The earliest examples of tombs with airshafts were two Eastern Han tombs near Luoyang (25-220 CE). A major change in tomb structure from multi-chamber type used during the Han dynasty (202 BCE-220 CE) to a single chamber type occurred during the Jin period (265-316 CE).

Both the tomb of Emperor Wu and Empress Ashina of the Northern Zhou and the imperial Northern Qi tomb at Wanzhang included a long sloping passageway, an antechamber, and a main chamber. In Emperor Wu’s tomb, the total length of the tomb structure is 68.4 meters. It contained five airshafts, five tunnels and four niches in the passageway. The main chamber is 5.5 x 3.8 meters and the height is not clear. The rear chamber is trapezoidal: the width of the entrance is 1.96 meters, the rear wall is 2.36 meters wide, and it is 1.3 meters high, the length of the chamber is not recorded. The total length of the imperial Wanzhang tomb is 52

---

78 Zhongguo shehua kexueyuan kaogu yanjiusuo 中國科學院考古研究所編, Luoyang Shaogou Han Mu 洛陽燒溝漢墓 (Han Tombs Excavated at Shaogou, Luoyang) (Beijing 北京: Kexue Chubanshe 科學出版社, 1959), pp. 47-51, 59-63.
meters. It consists of a long passageway, an antechamber, and a main chamber that is 7.56 x 7.4 meters; there were no airshafts and no niches in this tomb. In summary, both tombs follow the same general plan based on the Chinese model of tomb structure. The passageway of the Northern Zhou tomb is longer and more complex than that of the Northern Qi tomb at Wanzhang, but the Northern Qi tomb has a larger main chamber.

Most scholars believe that the shapes and sizes of graves are related to the social status of the deceased.\(^ {80}\) Several studies have shown that the overall size of the tombs and numbers of airshafts and niches within them are strongly associated with the social rank of the deceased during the Northern Zhou period.\(^ {81}\)

### 2.3.2 Burial Goods Related to the Dynastic Chinese Tradition

Many scholars studying funerary practice believe that burial goods are carefully chosen by the deceased and the members of the family and that they probably have many different associations.\(^ {82}\) Some of the burial goods found in the two tombs compared in this chapter are clearly related to those found in Chinese contexts-- these goods include pottery vessels, jade objects, and musical instruments.

#### 2.3.2.1 Pottery

Pottery is the most common material used as burial goods since the Neolithic period in tombs in China. During the Six Dynasties (220-589 CE), the forms of the pottery goods found in

---

\(^ {80}\) Parker Pearson, *The Archaeology of Death and Burial*, p. 5.


\(^ {82}\) Parker Pearson, *The Archaeology of Death and Burial*, p. 11.
imperial tombs (usually figurines and pottery models of household goods and tools) were continuations of forms found in elite burials created during the Han Dynasty (206 BCE-220 CE). Though the forms of these pottery objects were the same, however the style became much more realistic during the Six Dynasty period. In the tomb of Emperor Wu and his consort, one hundred and eighty one pottery objects were found in the four small niches in the passageway leading into the main chamber. These include figurines, clay vessels, and clay models of household goods and tools. The size, shape and decorations of the pottery and the clothing and/or armor on the figurines reflect cultural affiliation. For example, both armored male figurines and pottery jars with simple patterns on their bellies were strongly associated with the conquerors who came from northeastern China. In addition, according to Dien’s study, tomb figurines were very common in the northern China areas during the Six Dynasties, but the tombs in the southern areas of China contained fewer figurines than those in the north. Dien argues that in the north, using large numbers of tomb figurines was both a sign of status and a confirmation of the legitimized power of the deceased. This is particularly true in the Northern Qi state, but, as discussed below, it does not appear to be applicable to the figurines in the Northern Zhou tombs.

**a. Pottery Figurines and Murals**

The interment of pottery figurines and use of mural painting in tombs is a Chinese burial custom. In the tomb of Emperor Wu, one hundred and fifty ceramic human figurines were found

---

84 The niche on the west side near the forth shaft was empty. The archeologists who excavated the tomb believe that this niche was unfinished before it was sealed. Shaanxisheng Kaoguo Yanjiusuo 陕西省考古研究所, "Bei Zhou Wudi Xiaoling Fajue Jianbao 北周武帝孝陵发掘简报 (Brief Report on the Excavation of the Xiaoling of Emperor Wu of the Northern Zhou)", p. 9.
in the niche on the east wall of the passageway close to the fourth airshaft (4E). In contrast, one thousand, eight hundred and five ceramic figurines were found in the east side of the chamber of the imperial Wanzhang tomb. The difference between the numbers of figurines found in these two tombs is striking and probably indicates a major difference in burial customs between the dynastic Chinese and non-Chinese (Table 2). The types and functions of figurines may have been associated with the Chinese tradition of ritual funeral processions.

According to Yang Hong, Chinese imperial ritual processions consisted of mounted cavalrymen, armed mounted warriors, imperial guards, mounted musicians, and civil officers. At the center of the ritual procession was an ox cart, which replaced the chariot that had been the center of earlier Han Dynasty processions. A clay cart was found in the Wanzhang tomb, which, along with the large number of figurines, reinforced the idea that they represented the ritual procession as described in classical Chinese literature. These figures probably referenced the ritual procession enacted when the deceased was placed in the tomb. Of the 1,805 figurines found in the Wanzhang tomb, 1,680 (89%) were consistent with the numbers of Chinese imperial funeral processions. On the other hand, only 117 of the 150 figurines (78%) found in Emperor Wu’s tomb were consistent with a Chinese funeral procession (Table 2). The large number of figurines used in ritual processions in imperial Northern Qi tomb indicates the high status of the deceased.

86 The placement of the figurines might be significant, and could be the subject of future research. 87 Yang Hong 杨泓, "Bei Chao Taoyong De Yuanliu Ji Yingxiang 北朝陶俑的源流，演变及其影响 (Evolution of the Pottery Figurines of the Northern Dynasties and Its Influence),” in Zhongguo Kaoguxue Yanjiu -- Xia Nai xiangsheng kaogu wushi nian jinian lunwen ji 中国考古学研究--夏鼐先生考古五十年纪念论文集 (文物出版社, 1986).
Dien has pointed out that in the northern areas, the use of large numbers of tomb figurines was both an indication of status and a confirmation of their legitimized power,\(^8^8\) and the Wanzhang tomb is a good example demonstrating this display of power. However, this custom apparently was not employed in the tomb of Emperor Wu. In addition to the sculpted figurines, Zhao Yonghong argued that murals of processional (yizhang) imagery on the passageway in the tombs of Northern Dynasties were probably adopted from tombs in southern China where ritual processions were depicted on painted bricks in the tomb chambers. There are pictorial and sculptural figurines that represent a ritual procession in the Northern Qi imperial tomb at Wanzhang.\(^8^9\) The tomb of Emperor Wu has no murals in the passageway and chambers. In contrast, the Northern Qi imperial tomb at Wanzhang has intricate murals on the passageway with sacred animals such as a dragon, a tiger, a phoenix, and also guardian spirits (weishou) on the top. Scenes of four groupings of honor guards in a procession are on the bottom.

Human figurines and mural paintings in the Wanzhang tomb suggest a close connection with traditional Chinese burial customs. In contrast, most tombs of the imperial family and high ranking generals of Northern Zhou do not have ritual processional imagery, except for a broad band of red color and standing figures in the passageway or in the chamber. Four tombs of the Northern Zhou that have preserved murals include the three Chinese generals’ tombs of Li Xian, Yuwen Meng, Tian Hong, and one Sogdian, An Jia.\(^9^0\) I will discuss them in the following chapters. The absence of murals in the tomb of Emperor Wu indicates a diversion from Chinese

---


\(^{89}\)Zhao Yonghong 赵永洪, "You mushi dao mudao--Nanbeichao muzang suojian zhi yizhang biaoxian yu sangzang kongjian de bianhua 由墓室到墓道--南北朝墓葬所见之仪仗表现于丧葬空间的变化 (From Tomb Chamber to Passage Way-- Representations of Guards to Honor in Northern and Southern Dynasties Tombs and Changes in Funerary Space)," in *Between Han and Tang: Cultural and Artistic Interaction in a Transformative Period*, ed. Hung Wu (Beijing: Cultural Relics Publishing House, 2001).

burial customs. Scenes of ritual processions were not the way the high-ranking elites of the Northern Zhou showed their status.

Not a single ceramic figurine was found in the Xianbei tombs from before 494 CE. Qi Dongfang has pointed out that burying ceramic figurines was not a traditional burial custom of Xianbei people before they moved their capital to Pingcheng (494 CE). 91 Many scholars who use style and technique as the basis of their analyses suggest that the figurines from the imperial tombs of the Northern Zhou were similar to a local tradition from the Guanzhong area, mostly in Shaanxi province. On the other hand, the style of the figurines in the imperial tombs of the Northern Qi was similar to those found in Northern Wei tombs in Henan province. 92 For instance, the heads and bodies of the figurines found in the Northern Zhou tomb were made in an open mould (*banmou*), leaving the front of the figures in high relief, and the back side flat. The sizes of the figurines in Emperor Wu’s tomb were small, 13-17 cm in height. 93 In contrast, the figurines found in imperial Northern Qi’s tomb were both much more delicate and much larger, 15-30 cm in height. 94 In addition, the Wanzhang tomb had two huge figurines guarding the front door, 142.5 cm in height. 95 Unlike large-sized and finely designed pottery figurines in the imperial Northern Qi tombs, the small size and rough design of pottery figurines in the imperial

---

94 Zhongguo shehui kexueyuan and Hebei sheng wenwu yanjiusuo 中国社会科学院考古研究所, 河北省文物研究所编著, Cixian Wanzhang Bei Chao Bihua Mu 磁县湾漳北朝壁画墓 (Cixian Wanzhang Mural Tomb of the Northern Dynasties) (Beijing: Kexue Chubanshe 科学出版社, 2003), pp. 33-83.
95 Ibid, p. 52.
Northern Zhou tombs suggest that the use of pottery figurines was not a way for them to demonstrate the social status.

**b. Clay Models of Structures, Tools and Household Goods**

Clay models of houses, goods, and tools, (mills, wells, storehouses [cang]), domesticated animals, (chickens and dogs), were found in tombs of the Han Dynasty and continued into the Six Dynasties period. In general, the sizes of these pottery objects in the Northern Zhou tombs were smaller than those in the Northern Qi tombs. For example, the model of a storehouse (cang) in Emperor Wu’s tomb is 8.8 centimeters in height, and the store house in the Wangzhan tomb is 31.3 centimeters in height.

In sum, the type, quantity, and size of the ceramic objects found in the imperial Wanzhang tomb does suggest that they were regarded as status markers in the Northern Qi where the Han burial tradition was followed. However, based on the indications found in this preliminary research, it is not surprising that fewer than 200 ceramic artifacts were found in the tomb of Emperor Wu and Empress Ashina. It can be proposed, until further data is discovered, that the quantity of ceramic grave goods was not a major factor for demonstrating the power of the Xianbei monarchy during the Northern Zhou Dynasty.

**2.3.2.2 Jade**

Jade objects were highly valued grave goods in Chinese tombs of the social elite from as early as the Neolithic periods. Large numbers of jade objects were found in these tombs from the ancient period to the Han Dynasty, but only a few were found in the tombs of the Six Dynasties.

---

Only five jade objects were found in the niches in Emperor Wu’s tomb. One large, thick jade bi disk (wrapped with red textile, 29.5 cm in diameter and 1.2 cm thick) was found in the 5E niche on the east wall of the passageway.97 Four jade pendants--two jade huang and two jade pei--were found in the west wall niche close to the fifth airshaft (5W). In the tomb of Yuwen Jian, the brother of Emperor Wu, two jade bi disks were found. There were no jade bi disks found in the Wanzhang tomb. Only three jade pei pendants (10.2 cm in length) and one jade stick (8.9 cm in length).98

During the Neolithic and early dynastic periods, jade bi disks played an important role in the mortuary practice in China. According to the Book of Rites, jade bi discs were used in rituals to worship Heaven.99 These jade disks probably also carried a symbolic political meaning. Their ritual power and role as a political symbol in the Neolithic changed during the Han Dynasty100 when they were affected by the Daoist mythology and functioned as talismans to preserve the body, such as the jade suit of Dou Wan, (consort of the king of Zhongshan Jing, Liu Sheng), and the 15 jade bi were found under and above the skeleton.101 The role of jade disks might have changed through time, but they were still only found in the tombs of social elite. During the time from the Neolithic period through the Han Dynasty, jade bi disks found in tombs were put under

97 The dimension of the jade is still unpublished. The information here is based on the personal conversations with the excavator, Zhang Jianlin.
98 Zhongguo shehui kexueyuan, Cixian Wanzhang Bei Chao Bihua Mu 磁县湾漳北朝壁画墓 (Cixian Wanzhang Mural Tomb of the Northern Dynasties), pp. 138.
100 Tsuimei Huang, "From the Tomb No.3 at Sidun to the Tomb of Nan Yue King: On the Transition of Jade’s Role During the Prehistoric to the Han Periods," The Journal of Chinese Jade 1 (1996).
or on top of the body inside the coffin. Jade *bi* disks were only found in the tombs of the imperial family of the Northern Zhou. Tombs of high-ranking Northern Zhou generals’ did not contain them.\(^{102}\) The jade *bi* in the Emperor Wu’s tomb is nephrite and its plain decoration and size are similar to the ones found in tombs of the Liangzhu culture. The large jade *bi* disk in Emperor Wu’s tomb was wrapped in a red textile and found in a niche with a bronze mirror, a bronze belt set, a bronze sword, 14 grey pottery jars, and one figurine. The placement of the jade disc in Emperor Wu’s tomb suggests it could have been a gift or an item from a personal collection.

Jade *huang* and *pei* were used to form sets of pendants as early as the Western Zhou period (1046-771 BCE).\(^{103}\) Four pieces were found in Emperor Wu’s tomb—two *huang* and two *pei*. There are four holes in each jade *pei* and two holes at the bottom of each *huang*. Based on the position of the holes, it is possible to project that originally these four jade pendants belonged to a single set of the jade pendants, similar to the one found in the Tang tomb of Dugu Sizhen at Xi’an. Jade pendants were found in other tombs of Northern Zhou period as well. The function of these jade pendants needs to be further researched. The Wanzhang tomb also contained a few other pieces of jade—three broken jade *pei* pendants and one jade stick. The *pei* pendants were shaped like dragon heads on one side, the other sides were decorated with comma patterns. They are close in style to jade pendants found in tombs of the Warring States period. This suggests that antique jade objects were collected by the deceased and imperial family of Northern Qi, an indicator of their Han-Chinese heritage.


\(^{103}\) Sun Ji 孙机, "Zhou Dai De Zuyu Pei 周代的组玉佩 (Jade Pendants of Zhou)." *Wenwu* 文物, no. 4 (1998), pp. 4-14.
2.3.2.3 Ritual Musical Instruments: Zhong Bells and Stone Chimes

No musical instruments, such as zhong bells and stone chimes (bianzhong and bianqing) were found in the tomb of Emperor Wu. However, according to Wang Zhongluo, such instruments were known and used during the Emperor Wu’s reign where Chinese bells and stone chimes were played at the court in the Hall of Chongxin. In China, the custom of burying bianzhong and bianqing can be traced back to Zhou Dynasty (ca. 1045-256 BCE). A set of the bronze bianzhong and bianqing were found in the tomb of Marquis of Zeng (Zeng hou yi) at Leigudun, Hubei, Warring States period (dated around 433 BCE). During the early part of the Han Dynasty (206 BCE-220 CE), this custom was continued, although the material was different. For example, clay bells and stone chimes were found in the high ranking officials’ tombs at Xi’an Longshouyuan. Such as in tomb number 92 (M92) located at Longshouyuan near Xi’an which contained the remains of five pottery bells and 19 stone chimes, some 20.4 to 34 cm in length. According to the excavation report, the deceased of this tomb might have been an officer of the Han. A set of clay bianzhong and clay bianqing, totaling about 54 objects, was found in the imperial Wanzhang tomb, indicating its owner’s high status and its adherence to Chinese burial tradition.

In the previous section, I compared some of the features of tomb structure and burial goods in the tomb of Emperor Wu and Empress Ashina with that of the imperial Northern Qi.

105 Xi’anshi wenwu baohu kaogusuo, Xi’an Longshouyuan Han Mu (Xian city: Xibei daxue Chubanshe 西北大学出版社, 1999), pp. 112, 118-120.
106 Ibid.
These show that the Northern Qi used Chinese burial customs to display their status and power. The Northern Zhou of Xianbei heritage, however, adopted some of the features that were borrowed from the local Han Chinese, such as the tomb structure, the interment of jade *bi* disk, and pottery figurines and models of structures.

## 2.4 NON-CHEHSE BURIAL TRADITION

Though the nature of Northern Zhou borrowing from traditional Chinese burial practices can probably never be known in full detail, it can be shown that the Chinese traditions were not the only ones adopted by the Northern Zhou. Much of the structure and many burial goods found in the tomb of Emperor Wu can be traced back to types representative of the Xianbei culture of the Three Yan period. I will now discuss structure of the Northern Zhou tomb of Emperor Wu, and then describe the burial goods within the context of the Xianbei culture.

### 2.4.1 Niches in Tombs in the Northern Areas

There are three Northern Zhou tombs with niches in the passageway: the tomb of Emperor Wu and Empress Ashina, the tomb of Li Xian and his wife, and the tomb of Xianbei General, Chiluo Xie. There are two related questions that must be considered when evaluating the role of niches in Chinese tombs. The first question is whether a tomb had them, and if so, what were their sizes and locations within tombs of different periods. The second question is what niches contained and how they functioned. Sometimes they held very precious burial goods, at other times they
held what seems to be bones and other items left over from what may have been a funeral ceremony or feast.

Niches were not common in dynastic Chinese tomb structures. They were, however, common in the northern areas as early as the Neolithic period. For example, the tombs of Lower Xiajiadian culture excavated at the large cemeteries at Dadianzi, Inner Mongolia dated around 1600 BCE had niches. The fact that these tombs were created about 2,000 years before the tomb of Emperor Wu shows that niches were a very old and venerable tradition in northern tomb structure. There were also tombs with wall niches dated to the middle of the Western Han period located in the Daodunzi cemetery in Tongxin, Ningxia (ca. 118 BCE), that are commonly associated with the Xiongnu. Niches were also very common in the northern areas of China during the early centuries CE, especially among the Three Yan culture burials (349-436 CE). For example, niches were found in 16 out of 21 Murong Xianbei tombs excavated at Wangzifenshan, Chaoyang, Liaoning (ca. third-fourth centuries). In these tombs, pottery and animal sacrifices were placed in wall niches and many gold, silver and bronze objects were found in the coffins. In addition, there were niches in the two stone-slab tombs of Feng Sufu

---

110 Ningxia, wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo 宁夏文物考古研究所"Ningxia Tongxin Daodunzi Xiongnu Mudi 宁夏同心倒墩子匈奴墓地 (Xiongnu Cemetery at Tongxin Daodunzi, Ningxia)," Kaogu xuebao 考古学报, no. 3 (1988).
112 Liaoningsheng wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo and Chaoyangshi bowuguan 辽宁省文物考古研究所; 朝阳市博物馆, "Chaoyang Wangzifenshan Muqun 1987、1990 Niandu Kaogu Fajue De Zhuyao Shouhuo 朝阳王子坟墓群".
and his wife of the Northern Yan (409-36 CE) that were excavated near Beipiao, Liaoning Province. Feng Sufu was a member of the ruling family of the Northern Yan (409-36 CE). He was an ethnic Chinese by birth but had adopted Xianbei customs during the time his family reigned over the Xianbei. According to the excavators’ report, there was a niche on the western wall of the main chamber of the tomb pit of Feng Sufu’s tomb, which contained one gray clay *guan* jar, one pottery *hu* and remains of legs and ribs of oxen, perhaps sacrificed and consumed at a funeral feast. There were many burial goods in this tomb including bronze cauldrons, iron weapons, horse trappings, official Chinese seals, and lacquer utensils.

Closer in date to the tombs of the Northern Zhou were Northern Wei tombs located near Datong, the second capital of the Northern Wei (ca. 492). One hundred sixty-seven Northern Wei tombs were found in a cemetery near Datong. Ninety-eight of them were constructed with a long ramped passageway and a chamber. The passageway of tomb number 109 (M109), for instance, is about six meters long. Some of these tombs had wall niches where animal sacrifices or pottery jars, or some precious objects were placed (M109).

Some tombs in southern China had wall niches as well. According to Ding Lan, there were Chu-culture commoners’ tombs in Hubei areas with wall niches which dated from the Eastern Zhou period (ca. 770-221 BCE). The niches in most of these tombs contained a few

113 Li Yaobo 黎瑶渤, "Liaoning Beipiaoxian Xiguanyingzi Bei Yan Fen Sufu Mu 辽宁北票县西官营子北燕冯素弗墓(The Northern Yan Tomb of Fen Sufu at Xiguanyingzi, Beipiao District, Liaoning)," *Wenwu* 文物, no. 11 (1997).
114 Ibid, p. 2.
pottery vessels, such as clay li tripod vessels or hu, and ding. Similar examples have been excavated in Hunan as well. Another example is a tomb with three wall niches found near Nanjing (dated in the Liang Dynasty [502-557 CE]) built not long before the tomb of Emperor Wu was constructed. According to the excavation report, no burial goods were found in the three niches built next to each other in the rear wall of the tomb. There were lotus pattern bricks in the floor in front of them. It is probable that these niches were made to imitate the niches in Buddhist caves such as caves at Dunhuang.

There are three Northern Zhou tombs with niches in the passageway: the tomb of Emperor Wu and Empress Ashina, the tomb of Li Xian and his wife, and the tomb of General Chiluo Xie, the longest one among the excavated Northern Zhou tombs. Although there were only three tombs with niches dated to the Northern Zhou period, the niches were one of the most conspicuous features in them. Unlike the tombs with niches in the southern area of China, these tombs were neither those of commoners’ nor ones associated with Buddhism. Therefore, it can be argued that niches were probably associated with local burial traditions in the north. Niches were relatively common in elite tombs in the northern areas; the burial goods in them usually displayed the social status of the deceased. In the Xiongnu and Xianbei tombs, the niches always contained animal sacrifices and pottery vessels. In southern Chinese tombs, niches were rare. When they were present, they were either found in tombs of commoners or in tombs associated with Buddhist traditions.

---

118 Bowuyuan 南京博物院 Nanjing, "Nanming Xishanqiao Nan Chao mu 南京西善桥南朝墓 (Tombs at Xishanqiao, Nanjing of the Southern Dynasties)," Dongnan Wenhua 东南文化, no. 1 (1997).
2.4.2 Burial Goods and Cultural Context

2.4.2.1 Pottery

a. Figurines with Xianbei Clothing

As discussed above, pottery figurines were common in Chinese tombs for a long period of time. They were not popular, however, in the tombs of pastoral people until the period of the Sixteen States (304-439 CE), and they did not appear in the Xianbei tombs until the Xianbei of the Northern Wei moved their capital to Luoyang in the Central Plain (494-534 CE). The earliest example found thus far was in a tomb dated from the Sixteen States period (ca. 300-440 CE) at Caichangpou, near Xi’an. Figurines of armored men either on foot or riding armored horses became common during the Northern Dynasties (386-581 CE). Even though the Xianbei people adopted the tradition of placing such figurines in tombs, they used them to emphasize their warrior status. Figurines created during the Northern Dynasties wore Xianbei clothing, including hooded caps. Dien has pointed out, Xianbei clothing and horse gear were common in the Northern Dynasties. Yang Hong has also suggested that armored horse...
figurines in the Emperor Wu’s tomb might represent the famous Xianbei cavalrymen recorded in the Book of Song (Songshu) and the Book of Sui (Suishu).125

Yang points out that there were two different types of armored horse fittings: one was a scale-pattern which represented iron armor and the other was a striped patterns representing leather armor. Leather armor was used by the famous Xianbei armored tiger cavalrymen recorded in the texts. In addition to the armored figurines, three sets of iron armor and horse fittings were excavated in tombs dating from the Three Yan at Chaoyang and Beipiao, in Liaoning.126 According to Zhang Keju, the earliest examples of horse armor and iron fittings were probably associated with Xianbei people.127 Although the Xianbei people adopted the tradition of using pottery figurines, the function of pottery figurines in the Xianbei tombs of the Northern Zhou was different from those in the Northern Qi tombs. They did not use large numbers of pottery figurines for displaying their social status, rather, they used armored figurines and horses to emphasize their warrior status and role.

b. Grey Pottery Jars

Pottery vessels found in tombs may be indicators of patterns of everyday life.\textsuperscript{128} Grey pottery jars (\textit{guan}) found in the Northern Zhou tomb of Emperor Wu whose shapes reflected the traditional types made locally in northeastern China from which the Xianbei rulers originally had come. An assemblage of and types of pottery vessels may also show cultural affiliation. Burying ceramic vessels has a very long tradition in China, and using ceramic jars in burials was also very popular in the northern regions.\textsuperscript{129} There is a remarkable difference between the types of pottery vessels found in the two tombs. The clay vessels in the Wanzhang tomb very often imitated the forms of Chinese bronze ritual vessels. By contrast, the simple grey jars in Emperor Wu’s tomb were buried in the fourth and fifth niches on the east side wall of the passageway. Fourteen of them were in the fourth niche -- they were around 19 centimeters tall, with round shoulders, and string patterns on their bellies. Another 14 jars were in the fifth niche and were 17.7 centimeters tall, had round shoulders and lacked surface decoration. This kind of jar was very popular in Xianbei tombs in the northeast frontier.\textsuperscript{130} Ceramic \textit{guan} and \textit{hu} jars were very common in Xianbei tombs since first millennium BCE.\textsuperscript{131} No traditional Chinese pottery vessels such as \textit{ding} were found in Emperor Wu’s chamber. Since these were pottery vessels, they probably had not been looted. In contrast, 46 traditional Chinese ceramic pottery vessels were found in the Wanzhang tomb chamber. There pottery vessels imitated in the form of bronze ritual vessels, including 20 \textit{ding}, (26cm-28 cm), 4 \textit{hu} (48cm), 16 jars, and 16 ear cups (\textit{erbei}).

\textsuperscript{128}Martin Pitts, "The Emperor's New Clothes? The Utility of Identity in Roman Archaeology," \textit{American Journal of Archaeology} 111, no. 4 (2007).
\textsuperscript{129}Sun Wei 孙危, \textit{Xianbei Kaogu Xue Wenhua Yanjiu} 鲜卑考古学文化研究 (\textit{A Study on the Xianbei Archaeological Culture}) (Beijing 北京: Kexue Chubanshe 科学出版社, 2007).
\textsuperscript{130}Ibid.
\textsuperscript{131}Ibid, p. 46.
According to Liu Lanhua’s study, ceramic vessels modeled after bronze ritual vessels were used in the commoners’ tombs during the Late Shang period (ca. 1200-1046 BCE) and became popular during the middle of the Spring and Autumn periods (ca. 600 BCE). During the Western Han period (ca. 206 BCE-25 CE), these ceramic tripod ding vessels were still popular, but they gradually vanished after the late Eastern Han period.\textsuperscript{132} Comparing the types of ceramic vessels from these two tombs, it shows clearly that unlike the imperial family of Northern Qi who chose ceramic vessels that imitated the shapes of ritual bronze vessels and were tied to a Han-Chinese historic tradition, the ruling family of Northern Zhou included grey guan pottery jars whose shapes reflected the traditional types made locally in northeastern China.

\subsection*{2.4.2.2 Bronze}

\textit{a. Bronze Belt Buckles and Ornamental Plaques}

Belt ornaments and fasteners attached to leather or cloth belts were common both in Chinese and in non-Chinese tombs.\textsuperscript{133} Belt fasteners, such as belt hooks (daigou) were very common in Han-Chinese tombs from the Zhou period through Han and the Six Dynasties periods\textsuperscript{134} while ornamental belt plaques and buckles were more popular in tombs of non-Han, pastoral people in the northern areas. According to Jenny So, “northern belt ornaments and plaques are rich in religious and tribal symbolism.”\textsuperscript{135} Three complete bronze belt sets

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{enumerate}
\item \cite{Liu, "Cong muzang chutu taoqi de bianhua kan Shang Zhou Liang Han shiqi cangzang wenhua de yanbian 从墓葬出土陶器的变化看商周两汉时期丧葬文化的演变."
\item \cite{Wang Renxiang 王仁湘, "Gudai daigou yongtu kaoshi 古代带钩用途考实 (A Study of the Function of Ancient Belt Hooks)," Wenwu 文物, no. 10 (1982). So, "Belt Ornaments and Fasteners," p. 81.}
\item \cite{So, "Belt Ornaments and Fasteners", p. 77.}
\end{enumerate}
\end{footnotesize}
(diexiedai) with buckles, plaques and rings with knives attached were found in the niches in Emperor Wu’s tomb. None were found in the Northern Qi Wanzhang tomb.

Belt buckles found in the Northern Zhou tombs in Shaanxi and Ningxia were like modern belt buckles and had a movable tongue placed in a frame. Although ten out of 18 Northern Zhou tombs were pillaged, eight out of the 18 tombs contained belt buckles in gold, gilded bronze, jade, or bronze (Table 3). Most of these belt plaques had a plain design. But, one was one of the three found in Emperor Wu’s tomb and was decorated with a seated lion and an animal-like figure. According to Zhang Jianlin, this was originally a double belt with a movable attachment on one plaque which allowed the addition of two sets of 13 rings. In the Book of Zhou (Zhoushu), a gold belt with 13 rings was listed part of the Emperor’s costume and was a sign of office. The second set of bronze belt fittings found in the Emperor’s tomb was in the east niche close to the fifth airshaft (5E) along with a bronze ring-pommel knife that was similar to one found in Yuwen Tong’s tomb. The third set was plain and was similar to one found in Rugan Yun’s tomb. The design of this third set of belt fittings was comparable to the designs of several sets found in Xianbei tombs in the Liaoning areas. For example, the gilded bronze belt set at Lamadong, Beipiao (M 196), and the gilded bronze belt set at Wangzifenshan, Chaoyang (M9001). According to forensic tests performed on the human skeletons found in the cemetery of Lamadong, 155 out of the 174 deceased were young or middle aged males and females. The excavator has suggested that the dead buried at Lamadong were Xianbei warriors and their

---

137 Linghu, Zhou Shu 周書, p. 529.
wives. Many bronze belts were also found in the Xianbei tombs of the Three Yan culture, so it is possible that this type of belt set was associated with Xianbei elite warriors because of the similar design of belt.

In the tomb chamber of Yuwen Tong, the brother of the Emperor Wu, there were two miniature gilded belt sets that were 1-1.7 centimeters in width. Their small size suggests that they were made for funerary use (mingqì) as was common in Chinese burial customs. Further research is needed on this funerary burial tradition in the steppe region. A jade belt was found in Rogan Yun’s tomb, which I will discuss in chapter three.

According to So, “ornamental belt plaques… have meaning far beyond their basic functions.” Of the many belt sets found in Northern Zhou tombs, the only one with decorated belt plaques was found in Emperor Wu’s tomb. It contained two figures: one of a seated lion, a very popular motif in Western Asia and Sogdian art, and a fantastic creature with a bear’s head, shoulder-length hair, a bare chest, long nails on its fingers and toes, and wearing a pair of net-patterned pants. It is difficult to determine the origin of the image of seated lion since it was a very popular motif both in Western Asian and in Buddhist art.

b. Bronze Cauldrons (fu)

Bronze cauldrons were very popular in the Eurasian steppe from the late first millennium BCE until the late sixth century CE. They functioned both as ceremonial and utilitarian

141 The report of Yuwen Tong’s tomb has not been published, only a brief report in Zhongguo Wenwu Bao Zhongguo Wenwu Bao, 2001, May second, section 1. The information and images were from the excavators, Xin Fulian and Li Min.
143 In An Jia’s tomb, a Sogdian, there was a pair of seated lion stood in front of the stone door, 28 centimeters in height. (Shaanxi 2003: 18) In addition, the image of a seated lion was decorated in the bottom of a twelve-lobed silver bowl, which was associated with Sogdian metal work. (Marshak 2004: 53-54, 1991: 101-10)
objects.\textsuperscript{145} Bronze cauldrons were used as sacrificial ritual objects in shamanistic practices by the pastoral peoples in the northern steppe\textsuperscript{146} and remained popular in northern China in Shaanxi and Ningxia during the Six Dynasties. Some scholars suggest that the type of bronze cauldrons with two rounded handles and openwork on the ring foot was characteristic of Xianbei cauldrons.\textsuperscript{147} Examples of such cauldrons were found in the Liaoning area, in Feng Sufu’s tomb, and in the nearby Beipiao tombs of Three Yan (349-436 CE), (M266).

One miniature bronze cauldron was found in the Northern Zhou tomb chamber of Yuwen Tong.\textsuperscript{148} This bronze stem-footed vessel (\textit{fu}) with a round bowl and two rounded handles placed opposite each other on the rim had a short stem foot. It is relatively small—only 6.9 centimeters in height. The size of this miniature bronze cauldron suggests that it was made for funerary use like the miniature belt buckle discussed above. In Northern Zhou tombs, there were two other miniature cauldrons made in bronze and silver, although they were categorized as a \textit{hu} or \textit{you} vessels in the reports. I will discuss them in the next chapter.

2.4.2.3 Gold

Few objects made of gold were found in the coffins of Emperor Wu and Empress Ashina. It is possible, however, that there were other gold objects taken when the tomb was looted. But even the gold fragments that remained are very important because gold objects indicate status and identity because of the rarity of the metal and the shapes of items that it adorned. These


\textsuperscript{146}Ibid.

\textsuperscript{147}Shang Xiaobo 尚晓波, "Dalinghe liuyu Xianbei wenhua shuanger loukong quanzu fu ji xiangguan wenti kao 大凌河流域鲜卑文化双耳镂孔足釜及相关问题考(A Discussion on Fu Cauldrons from Daling River Areas, Xianbei Culture)," \textit{Liaohai wenwu xuekan 辽海文物学刊}, no. 1 (1996).

\textsuperscript{148}Personal email communication with the excavators, Xing Fulai and Li min, in October 2007.
precious personal objects not only express the personal identity of the deceased but also indicate their high status.\textsuperscript{149} In addition, as Emma Bunker points out, “many small gold artifacts among the minority peoples were more than just status symbols. Gold harness fittings and personal ornaments displayed sacred designs which reflected the owner’s mythological beliefs, clan membership and rank. In so many words, the gold crowns, plaques and jewelry may have been royal regalia by which a chieftain displayed his right to rule.”\textsuperscript{150}

\textbf{a. Gold crown}

Gold burial goods were fairly common in northern and northeastern China. Few golden artifacts remained in coffins belonging to Emperor Wu and Empress Ashina after the tomb was looted. Three golden tube-shaped objects (2.3 cm tall and 0.9 cm in diameter) were found near the Emperor’s coffin in the west side of the tomb, and nine gold flower petals were found near the Empress’s coffin on the east side. According to the excavation report, the golden flower petals and flowers may have been parts of a head ornaments (\textit{buyao}). No golden objects were reported in the imperial Wanzhang tomb.

Gold head ornaments were found in many tombs of the Three Yan culture in Liaoning. For example, one was found at Wangzifenshan, Chaoyang (M8713),\textsuperscript{151} two were found at Tiancaugou, Chaoyang (M1: 05 and M2: 22)\textsuperscript{152} and one was in the tomb of Feng Sufu.\textsuperscript{153} According to Su Ji, gold head ornaments were worn not only by women but also by high status

\textsuperscript{149} Wells, \textit{Beyond Celts, Germans and Scythians: Archaeology and Identity in Iron Age Europe}, p. 25.
\textsuperscript{152} Chaoyangshi bowuguan, "Liaoning Chaoyang Tiancaogou Jin mu 辽宁朝阳田草沟晋墓 (Excavation of a Jin Dynasty Tomb at Tiancaogou, Chaoyang, Liaoning),” p.37.
\textsuperscript{153} Li Yaobo 黎瑶渤, "Liaoning Beipiaoxian Xiguanyingzi Bei Yan Fen Sufu mu 辽宁北票县西官营子北燕冯素弗墓(The Northern Yan Tomb of Fen Sufu at Xiguanyingzi, Beipiao District, Liaoning)."
men, including the Emperor and high-ranking military officers in northeast China, Korean, and Japan during Northern Dynasties. This practice implies that head ornaments were not only used for adornment, but also associated with either ritual or political status.\(^{154}\)

**b. Gold thread**

About sixty grams of gold thread supposedly woven into the textiles were found in Emperor Wu’s tomb near the emperor’s coffin.\(^{155}\) The gold threads were wavelike in shape. Zhang Jianlin suggests that textiles with gold threads might have been used to cover the top of the coffin or gold threads might also have been woven into the robe worn on the deceased. The use of gold thread in burial cloth was not derived from Chinese tradition, but from the northern steppe.\(^{156}\)

**2.4.2.4 Other Material**

Pillows made of a plaster-like material (shihuizhen) were common in tombs found in the northern areas during the period of Six Dynasties.\(^{157}\) A plaster pillow was found in the main chamber of Emperor Wu’s tomb, but its size and location were not recorded in the excavation report. Its function is not clear, either.

---


\(^{155}\)The Shaanxi Archaeological Institute holds unpublished materials of the tomb of Emperor Wu and Empress Ashina include gold threads. The excavator, Zhang Jianlin gave me access to see those materials in the summer of 2007.

\(^{156}\)Zhang Wenling 張文玲. "Gudai caoyuan shijie de guizu fushi 古代草原世界的貴族服飾 (Clothing of the Elite in the Steppic World during Ancient Time)." *Gugong wenwu yuekan* 故宮文物月刊 213 (December, 2000), pp. 4-11.

2.5 BURIAL GOODS IN CHINESE AND NON-CHINESE CONTEXTS

2.5.1 Bronze Mirrors

Bronze mirrors have been found in many tombs both inside and outside of China. The origin of the bronze mirror is complex. Using stylistic analysis, Juliano argues that the mirrors found in tombs from the Neolithic through the late Shang and Zhou periods were probably imported or copied from mirrors manufactured in the northern steppe. The function of bronze mirrors varied at different places and during different time periods. Filippova suggests that Chinese bronze mirrors were used in a ritual cult in the Xiongnu culture. Karen Rubinson suggests that it is important to examine “the entire archaeological/cultural group…to understand the function or functions of the mirrors among the Eurasian nomads.” Bronze mirrors were rare in the north during the period of Northern Dynasties. But there was one bronze mirror in niche 5E of Emperor Wu’s tomb and one in Yuwen Jian’s tomb. None was found in the Wanzhang Northern Qi’s tomb. The function of these mirrors needs further study.

161 Dien, Six Dynasties Civilization, p.266.
2.5.2 Iron Objects

In Emperor Wu’s tomb, 11 ornamental iron objects were found in 5E niche. Zhang Jianlin suggests, based on their shapes, that the iron objects in the 5W could be the components of a palanquin. There were some iron tools in the Wanzhang tomb.

2.6 DISCUSSION

The tombs of the Northern Zhou imperial family\(^{162}\) contain elements of mortuary practices and art from several different cultures. This cultural variety implies that individual actors, their groups, and the society in which they lived all had several options when the time came for them to construct their public and personal identities. Broadly speaking, the patterns of burial customs show at least two different traditions – dynastic Chinese and non-Chinese traditions. However, some burial practices and goods, for example, the figurines described above, were not as much choices of one or another tradition but a combination of several traditions. Some scholars suggest that the burials of the Northern Zhou followed the edicts of Emperors Ming and Wu in order to be modest and to follow Chinese burial traditions. However, I argue that burials of the Northern Zhou imperial family did not follow these injunctions, but instead combined mortuary practices from different cultures that were current and particularly those which maintained Xianbei warrior identity.

\(^{162}\) Although the Emperor Wu and his consort were buried in the same tomb, gender differentiation is not clear beyond this one tomb. I will not discuss this issue in this dissertation. Furthermore, according to the excavator, Zhang Jianlin, it is possible that burial goods in the wall niches on the passageway were buried for the Emperor Wu since there was no sign of re-opening even when the Empress died four years later. The wall niche in the rear chamber was possible made for the Empress Ashina.
2.6.1 Archaizing Reforms in Politics and Culture

In order to understand these burial practices and goods, it is important to analyze the complex context of politics, culture, religion and literature in the Western Wei-Northern Zhou period (535-581). John Bartlett believed that “society wrote its identity upon the archaeological record through the actions of its members.” He also thought that “archaeologists could now consider the material record of ‘economic,’ ‘religious,’ and ‘social’ behavior, and they could then proceed to analyze the interrelationship which had once operated between different subsystems.”\(^{163}\)

One of the most important features of the period illustrates that this interaction was a reform implemented during the Northern Zhou period to restore both the politics and culture of the ancient Zhou period (ca. 1046 BCE -221 BCE). Literature played an important role in this revival even though it had very different roles in South and North China. The aristocratic elite in the Southern Dynasties prized “art for art’s sake,” while the West Wei-Northern Zhou Dynasties used classical Chinese literature to support ideas of Confucian morality which, in turn, served to support both their power and the construction of their identities. They used traditional Confucian notions of morality to emphasize the legitimacy of their new, military regime. Yuwen Tai, who initiated these reforms, was a non-Chinese Xianbei general of the Northern Wei and Western Wei period (535-556 CE). He appointed Su Chuo, a native Chinese, to reform the political system as described in the Rites of Zhou (Zhouli) a treatise on political theory which had been traditionally ascribed to the Duke of Zhou (trad. d. 1104 BCE). Even though modern scholars believe that it was compiled during the Warring States period (around the third century BCE), this book was valued by the bureaucracy in the 550s, and Su Chuo took almost 10 years to

compose his version of the work. Politically, the Zhouli reforms provided an effective method for eliminating the uneasiness of the indigenous Chinese political establishment toward the Xianbei, their nomadic warrior conquerors.\textsuperscript{164}

Literature was used in other ways as well. In 545, Su Chuo composed the “Great Announcement” (Dagao) which quoted from the Book of Documents (Shangshu) and which was read aloud by the Emperor when he visited the Temple of the Imperial Ancestors.\textsuperscript{165} Additionally, the Book of Zhou (Zhoushu) recorded that before Emperor Xiaomin, the first emperor of Northern Zhou, became the emperor, he was appointed as the Duke of Zhou of Qiyang by the emperor of Western Wei. In general, the Yuwen family employed the idea of the Mandate of Heaven in the same way that the ancient Zhou did in order to legitimate their heritage.\textsuperscript{166} Pearce has argued that the political reforms of the Western Wei-Northern Zhou had three levels of function. First, the Yuwen family acquired the power and controlled the Western Wei court. Secondly, they revised the Zhouli system, which provided an authoritative foundation for establishing their power both in the court and in local Chinese society. Third, the Yuwen family tried to place themselves within an established political setting through the idealization of the ancient Zhou. All of these attempts were linked to the traditional notion of morality.\textsuperscript{167}

Another related activity which promoted the authority of the new rulers of the Northern Zhou was the prominence and respect they bestowed on traditional Confucian philosophy. In the Book of Zhou (Zhoushu), the Emperor Wu of Northern Zhou was described as a Confucian

\textsuperscript{164} Scott Pearce, ”The Yu-Wen Regime in Sixth Century China” (Princeton University, 1987), pp. 454-477.
\textsuperscript{165} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{166} 韩令狐德棻, Zhou Shu 周書 (Beijing: Zhonghua shu ju 中華書局: Xin hua shu dian Beijing fa xing su o fa xing 新華書店北京發行所發行, 1971), p.45.
practitioner. He called his subjects together and gave a lecture on the Book of Rites (*Liji*) in 568. Later, in 573, he gathered his officials, Buddhist monks, and Daoists to discuss the ranking of the Three Religions. It was a strong suggestion that the most important were the Confucians (*ru*); second were the Daoists (*dao*); and the last were the Buddhists (*fo*). But, the next year, the Emperor promulgated an order that Buddhist monks and nuns had to give up their religious status and return to laity. In the same year, holy images, temples, and books were destroyed.\textsuperscript{168} Pearce suggests that the Rites of Zhou (*Zhouli*) reforms were only “cosmetic” and “frivolous”, and that Yuwen Tai initially hoped to use them to revoke locally “engrained political habits,” while he tried to form a new Guanzhong polity.\textsuperscript{169} It is certain that archaizing reforms in the Northern Zhou were, to some degree, a political strategy. The cultural and political interactions were especially complex because the Xianbei needed to decrease conflict between themselves (as foreign conquerors) and the local Chinese society that they ruled. To do this, the “non-dynastic” rulers of the Northern Dynasties embraced Chinese political institutions in order to legitimate their inheritance of the prestigious and long established authority of the Chinese dynasties.

### 2.6.2 Restoration of Xianbei Surnames and Military System

High-ranking Xianbei generals may have been dissatisfied with the policy of Sinicization followed by the Tuoba Xianbei rulers of the Northern Wei political establishment. Dien suggests that the Xianbei customs and language were revived during the Eastern and Western Wei to appease this group.\textsuperscript{170} For example, in the book *Family Instruction for the Yan Clan* (*Yanshi...

---

\textsuperscript{168} Linghu Defen 令狐德棻, *Zhou Shu* 周書, pp. 63-86.
\textsuperscript{169} Pearce, "The Yu-Wen Regime in Sixth Century China", p. 473.
Jiaxun), Yan Zhitui (550-577), a Chinese high official in the Northern Qi, described how one official of the Northern Qi taught his son the Xianbei language and showed him how to strum a *pipa*, a stringed instrument from Eurasia. Although the social conditions seemed to favor Xianbei customs, Yuwen Tai encouraged the trend even more by issuing an edict ordering the official restoration of Xianbei surnames in 549 CE. He later bestowed the Xianbei surname on local military leaders and administrative officials. In addition, Yuwen Tai created the military organization, the *fu-bing* militia, which derived from nomadic tribal organizational systems in the 550s. These policies were perhaps designed to encourage Xianbei leaders and generals to restore Xianbei customs and to maintain their warrior identity. I will discuss the *fu-bing* militia and the bestowing of Chinese generals with Xianbei surnames in the next chapter.

### 2.6.3 Various Cultural Elements in the Tomb of Emperor Wu

The Xianbei leaders combined customs and artifacts that followed ancient Chinese traditions with those from their own nomadic heritage and created a new set of identifiers that appealed to their culturally varied constituency and allowed them to rule the area in northern China that they had conquered. Tomb structure, variation in mortuary practice and art, and the placement of artifacts evidenced in the tomb of Emperor Wu of the Northern Zhou would seem to be manifestations of this mixed heritage.

---


172 Dien, "The Bestowal of Surnames under the Western Wei/Northern Chou: A Case of Counter-Acculturation."
2.6.3.1 Tomb Structure

The most basic element of a tomb is its overall structure. As discussed above, the structure of the tombs of the Xianbei leaders was similar to that of aristocratic Chinese burials, presumably, they displayed the same cultural sophistication and status indicators as those of the Chinese for political reasons. The niches in the passageway to the tomb chamber, however, marked their natal association with northern traditions.

2.6.3.2 Spatial Analysis on Burial goods

After examining the patterns of activity at Dadianzi cemetery, Lower Xiajiadian Culture (ca. 1600 BCE), Rowan Flad has argued that “the objects deposited in the [main tomb] chamber are associated with the social identity of the deceased, whereas objects placed in the niches or in the fill are linked to the social actions of the living during the funeral activities.”¹⁷³ I agree that the death ritual involved both construction of an identity for the dead and recorded social behavior of the living, probably both fictive and actual. Based on the display of burial goods in the Emperor Wu’s tomb, I believe that different areas within the tomb allowed different ideas to be expressed during the Emperor’s last rites. The niches functioned as an “outer quarter” where objects were put while funeral ceremonies were performed. The main burial chamber functioned as an “inner quarter” where the coffin of the deceased resided forever--it probably contained those objects which expressed the identification of self. This rule was, however, not absolute--sometimes the goods in the niches expressed public images presented for the community, and the goods in the coffin contained more personal objects which were associated with individual significance.

a. Burial Goods in the Niches on the Passageway to Emperor Wu’s Tomb

In niche 4E in the passageway to Emperor Wu’s tomb, 150 clay figurines, models and animals, and 14 grey pottery jars were found. Niche 5E contained a large thick jade bi disk wrapped in a textile, a bronze mirror, a set of bronze belt fittings, a bronze sword with sheath (30.6 cm in length), and an armored figurine. In niche 5W (no image available) were four pieces of a jade pendant (huang and pei), eleven iron objects, two sets of bronze belt fittings with a bronze knife, lacquer remains, iron nails, and remains of several wooden objects decorated with pigment. Niche 4W was unfinished and no contents were found in it.

The unusual mixed assemblages of burial goods in the niche 5E and 5W, which had never been found before, might suggest that the family members of the Emperor Wu had put objects from personal collections, owned either by themselves or by the deceased, into the niches. Even though these objects were personal, they might simultaneously have been material expressions of social ideology and constructed identities. Many studies have shown that a person’s personal, social, economic and political identities often merged together and blurred to form a corporate identity for the individual.

To some degree, these goods might possibly have connoted social value recognized by the public. For example, jade bi disks were usually found on the body of the deceased in the coffin in Chinese tombs, but in Emperor Wu’s tomb they were found in niches. In the same manner, the jade bi disk’s ritual power and political symbolism in the Neolithic period became

174 29 centimeters in diameter.
175 Zhang Jianlin suggested that the iron objects in the 5W could be the components of the palanquin. If this hypothesis is correct, the burial goods in the 5W might be worn by the Emperor Wu when he was in public, such as the bronze belt with the ornamental plaques decorated with a seated lion and a monster, and jade pendants. But, without further evidence for support, this interpretation is still hypothetical.
176 Sweely, "Introduction."
talismans to preserve the body by the time of the Han Dynasty. The political archaisms promoted by the Northern Zhou allowed such jade bi disks to be symbols of Heaven. They were described as objects to aid in the worship of Heaven in the Rites of Zhou (Zhouli), a collection dated to a past era that the Xianbei rulers wished to promote as an ideal time of harmony and prosperity. The bi disk also might have emphasized the idea that the emperors of Northern Zhou received the Mandate of Heaven inherited from the ancient Zhou. The previous value and symbolic meaning of the jade bi disk prized by the ancient Chinese served to validate its use as a political statement during the Northern Zhou dynasty.

The assemblage of burial goods in niche 4E of Emperor Wu’s tomb is more general, resembling that found in the tomb of Chiluo Xie, a Xianbei general of Northern Zhou. For instance, pottery guan and hu jars were the most popular objects in both tombs -- they might have been associated with their natal burial traditions, as discussed above. Unlike the pottery in the imperial Wanzhang tomb of Northern Qi which contained 1805 figurines, fewer than 200 pottery figurines were found in the tomb of Emperor Wu. This suggests that such figurines were not used by the Xianbei to demonstrate their social status, but their warrior status. However, as many scholars have pointed out, Xianbei clothing and horse gear were depicted in figurines found in the tombs of the Northern Dynasties. Yang Hong has also pointed out that the armored horse figurines in the Emperor Wu’s tomb might represent the famous Xianbei cavalrymen recorded in the Book of Song (Songshu) and the Book of Sui (Suishu). These

177 Huang, "From the Tomb No.3 at Sidun to the Tomb of Nan Yue King: On the Transition of Jade’s Role During the Prehistoric to the Han Periods."
179 Dien, "A New Look at the Xianbei and Their Impact on Chinese Culture."
180 Yang Hong 杨泓, "Bei Zhou de jiaqi juzhuang 北周的甲骑具装", p. 680.
armored figures and horses could represent the specific role of those Xianbei generals in life, since at this time warfare was intense among the northern Chinese states. In the Book of Zhou (Zhoushu), Emperor Wu was recorded as the leading General in the final battle that conquered the Northern Qi, confirming his warrior status in life.

One of the most characteristic objects in the Xianbei tombs of Northern Zhou was bronze belts. Although 10 out of 18 excavated Northern Zhou tombs were pillaged, six of the 18 tombs contained belt buckles in gilded bronze, jade, and bronze. In the tomb of Emperor Wu, there were three complete bronze belts (diexiedai) with buckles, plaques and rings with knives attached. Two bronze belts and one bronze sword were in the niche 5E of Emperor Wu’s tomb. Bronze belts and swords were found in the elite Xianbei warrior’s tombs in the northeastern areas of the Three Yan culture. Belts and swords that might have been markers of the Xianbei warriors’ identity were represented in the Emperor Wu’s tomb and his ancestors’ tombs as well.

b. Burial Goods in the Main Burial Chamber

Gold objects such as gold thread, remains of gold crowns, and gold tube-shaped covers were found in the coffins in the tomb chamber of Emperor Wu and Empress Ashina. As Sun Ji points out, gold crowns were not just personal ornaments -- they both signified high social status and were ritual objects in Xianbei culture. Although it was recorded in the Book of Zhou that the Emperor Wu of the Northern Zhou had used the bronze zhong bells and stone chimes at the court, in Emperor Wu’s tomb, bronze musical instruments were not found. There were two explanations for this. If they were there, they were taken by the tomb robbers, or they were not chosen for interment with him. Chinese ritual vessels and musical instruments, however, such as pottery in the shape of bronze ding and clay zhong bells and clay chimes were found in the Northern Qi imperial Wanzhang tomb. Consistently, clay objects were left behind in all these
looted tombs. For instance, in the looted Northern Qi imperial tomb at Wanzhang, clay zhong bells and chimes were left. The Yuwen family of the Northern Zhou could have chosen to bury clay zhong bells and chimes, like those found in the imperial Wanzhang tomb of Northern Qi, but did not since they were not found in the looted tomb. As Zhao Yonghong points out, in the Book of Northern Qi (Beiqishu), the Emperor Wenxuang of the Northern Qi asked to follow the Han Dynasty burial custom. The set of musical instruments found in imperial Wanzhang tomb suggest its revival of the Han tradition. By comparison, the gold objects in the Emperor Wu’s chamber not only recorded his social distinction from other members of the society, but they also displayed his outsider identity.

2.7 CONCLUDING THOUGHTS

The evidence above has shown that that burial practices displayed in the tomb of Emperor Wu and Empress Ashina of the Northern Zhou did not simply followed the traditional Chinese death practices as recorded in the Book of Zhou (Zhoushu). The archaeological evidence has challenged the statement recorded in the text and was much more complex than what was described, especially in related to the proper death practices for an emperor’s burial.

The construction and transformation of multiple identities for the Northern Zhou imperial family came from both recognition of individual status and from the specific social historical context. The process of constructing identities was mediated through interaction with local

---

Chinese people. For strategic political reasons, the Xianbei leaders probably took on several Chinese burial traditions, such as tomb structure, and pottery household models. On the other hand, the Xianbei conquerors had to display their power to rule the state. Significantly, a large jade bi disc, symbol of Heaven recorded in the Rites of Zhou (Zhouli) was found in the tomb of Emperor Wu of the Northern Zhou. This jade disc might be seen as a metaphor of a fictive heritage from the ancient Zhou.

Unlike their enemy, the imperial tombs of the Northern Qi preferred the style of Han Dynasty burial traditions. Various artifacts with either dynastic Chinese or pastoral referents have been found in the tomb of the Emperor Wu of the Northern Zhou. Objects in the tombs of Xianbei sovereigns included burial customs that were not derived from Chinese tradition, but from the steppic tradition: for example, specific kinds of bronze belts with knives and gold crowns, and the use of gold thread woven in textile. As discussed above, the Empress Ashina was a Turkic princess. It is possible that the audience of the death rituals included Turkic people, Xianbei warriors, Chinese and Sogdians. It would be strategic for the family of Emperor Wu to use artifacts associated with natal culture to create an image of him as a leader of both non-Chinese and Chinese. At death, they were documenting both their natal and cultural heritage as well as their current Chinese political circumstances.
This chapter explores the representational features of the military class in the Northern Zhou period (557-581 CE). I will focus here on cultural and political relationships between the ethnic Xianbei and Han-Chinese generals and the Xianbei sovereign who served in the same military organizations. I analyze various dimensions of cultural difference as it was negotiated and displayed in the tombs of the Northern Zhou. The Xianbei leaders were a warrior class that recruited Han-Chinese warriors to serve in their military. As discussed in Chapter Two, they not only adopted Chinese tomb structure and interred a large jade bi disc for political reasons, but also included references to their pastoral background by choosing particular personal artifacts to be interred in their tombs. Examples of these are gold thread supposedly woven into textiles and belt sets with special designs on the plaques to symbolize their ruling status and power. Personal objects used to display the status of the deceased were associated with the burial customs from steppic traditions. In contrast, the rulers of Northern Qi, their neighboring-state enemy and a successor of a Han-Chinese state, practiced traditional Chinese burial customs such as the placing of a large number of pottery figurines in tombs and the painting of ritual processions on the tomb passage walls.

Albert Dien has rejected the assumption that the Xianbei became sinizied. Through examining the bestowal of Xianbei surnames to both Xianbei and Han-Chinese officials, he argues that the period of Western Wei and Northern Zhou under the Yuwen Xianbei was one of
“Xinbei-ization”.\textsuperscript{182} Dien also argued that the Xianbei people retained their cultural traditions as well as played an important role in the formation of “Chinese” culture.\textsuperscript{183} Using recently excavated evidence dated from the Northern Zhou period, it was possible for me to carry out a contextual analysis in a comprehensive way. In this chapter, I will examine the tombs of Xianbei and Han-Chinese\textsuperscript{184} generals of the Northern Zhou (Table 1). I will examine patterns of use of burial settings in relation to dynastic Chinese cultures and non-Chinese cultures. In the discussion, I will first compare the tombs of Han-Chinese generals of the Northern Zhou with the tombs of contemporary Northern Qi Han-Chinese leaders. I will then compare the tombs of Xianbei generals with the tomb of Emperor Wu of the Northern Zhou and with the Han-Chinese generals of the Northern Zhou.

I argue that the warriors of the Northern Zhou constructed identities in mortuary settings within a larger social and military cultural context, and, that on an personal level, they were influenced by their class, cultural affiliation and life histories as well as family members who proceeded and survived them. I will look at two levels of display. First, from the perspective of a larger social context, I argue that the military culture of the Northern Zhou period affected the way in which these generals and/or their families displayed identity in their burials. Second, from the context of personhood, I argue that the personal objects or collections found in the coffins or chambers in the Northern Zhou generals’ tombs were associated either with their military achievements or their living family members’ social, economic, and cultural role and status. The

\textsuperscript{182} Albert E. Dien, "The Bestowal of Surnames under the Western Wei/Northern Chou: A Case of Counter-Acculturation," \textit{T'oung Pao} (1977).
\textsuperscript{184} The identification of Han-Chinese here is recognized by their Chinese surname recorded in their epitaphs.
interment of personal objects or collections is significant in their tombs, which was associated with the burial customs from the steppic traditions.

The evidence for this enquiry is available, but limited since only a few tombs of major Northern Zhou military leaders have been discovered. Each of these tombs, however, has a complex structure and those intact contained large numbers of grave goods. In addition, all the tombs discussed in this chapter contained epitaphs that provide the name of the deceased, their biography, and in most cases, their lineage (Appendix B). Four elite Xianbei warrior tombs have been identified. The burial goods in the three of the four were almost completely looted and one was intact.185 Three out of six Northern Zhou tombs of Han-Chinese generals excavated from this period were undisturbed. The burial goods in their tombs are in better condition than the fragmentary ones found in the tombs of Xianbei generals. The variety of mortuary goods found in these tombs shows that artifacts the deceased or surviving family members chose artifacts that were used to construct a particular social identity. I will first discuss the military culture of the Northern Zhou period to provide a context for the rest of the chapter, then will describe prior scholarship regarding these military tombs and explain my method of approaching the material. Finally a detailed description of the structure of the tombs and their murals, and the patterns of grave goods found in them will be detailed.

I will use seven case studies to analyze the implications of this evidence as it relates to the above and discuss how it reflects on the process of identity construction, based on the following: location of the tombs, their structure and contents, and written documents, including

185 Among the three looted Xianbei tombs, the burial goods in the niches in the tomb of Chiluo Xie were not disturbed. The intact one is the tomb of Dugu Zang. In discussion, I will use the tombs of Chiluo Xie and Dugu Zang as examples to discuss the Xainbei generals of the Northern Zhou.
mortuary epitaphs and Chinese official texts. Among the case studies, five are Han-Chinese and two are Xianbei generals of the Northern Zhou. The five Han-Chinese generals are Ruogan Yun, Wang Deheng, Wang Shiliang, Li Xian, and Tian Hong. Located at Xianyang, Shaanxi, the Northern Zhou tomb of Ruogan Yun contained a jade belt. Ruogan Yan, a general with a Xianbei surname, married a princess of the Northern Zhou. The second Han-Chinese example is of mixed type and contents that can be seen in the Northern Zhou tombs of Wang Shiliang and Wang Deheng, a father and son from the Northern Qi who surrendered to the Northern Zhou. The tombs of Li Xian and Tian Hong, local elites from the northwest, were located on the northern frontier along the Silk Road and contained exotic goods. I will compare each of these tombs with counter examples--the Northern Qi tombs of Han-Chinese officials.

The Northern Zhou tombs of Xianbei generals include those of Chiluo Xie and Dugu Zang, both located at Xianyang, Shaanxi. Chiluo Xie, a Xianbei general of the Northern Zhou, had the largest tomb among those examined here from the Northern Zhou period. Dugu Zang, the fourth son of Dugu Xin, had few burial goods in his tomb, although his father, Dugu Xin, was the powerful Great General of Western Wei and Northern Zhou periods. I will compare their tombs with those of the Emperor Wu of the Northern Zhou and with those of Han-Chinese generals of the Northern Zhou. Finally, I will explain these tombs within the complex social and political circumstances of the warrior class in this period.

186 The epitaphs of the Northern Zhou generals are in Appendix B.
3.1 THE MILITARY CULTURE OF THE NORTHERN ZHOU PERIOD

Nicola Di Cosmo has pointed that out, “Military culture can be understood as the set of values that determine a society’s inclination for war and military organization.” 187 The military culture of the Northern Zhou period became more aggressive with the rise of certain individual leaders through the military hierarchy and was based on their military achievements in the Western Wei/Northern Zhou periods. These military elites formed the highest level of both the social and the political hierarchy. 188

The centralized military system 189 (fu-bing) was created by Yuwen Tai, a Xianbei warrior who was posthumously honored with the title of Emperor Wen of the Northern Zhou. This militia was modeled on nomadic tribal organizational systems. 190 According to Gu Jiguang, the military organization (fu-bing) militia was reorganized in 542 CE and recruited members from several powerful local families. 191 Yuwen Tai seems to have been aware of both the traditions of the local elites and of their contemporary situation as non-Chinese. He restored the Xianbei surnames to those Xianbei warriors who had Chinese surnames during the previous dynasty, the Northern Wei period, and he also bestowed Xianbei surnames on ethnic Han-Chinese military

191 Gu Jiguang 谷霽光, "Xi Wei Bei Zhou shiqi fu-bing zhidu de xingcheng 西魏北周时期府兵制度的形成 (The Formation of Fu-Bing System During the Periods of Western Wei and Northern Zhou)," in Fubing Zhidu Kaoshi 府兵制度考释 (Examination and Explanation of the Fubing System) (Shanghai 上海: Shanghai renmin Chubanshe 上海人民出版社, 1962), pp. 27-34.
leaders and administrative officials.\textsuperscript{192} Gu Jiguang also argues that Yuwen Tai needed to use his Xianbei heritage to consolidate the weakened and fragmented clans at that time in order to strengthen and centralize his own power. He suggests that the restoration of Xianbei heritage as part of the military organization served to centralize military power under the ruling Yuwen family.\textsuperscript{193} Dien agrees, but he argues for other purposes for this change. He proposes that one of its primary goals was to restore a traditional nomadic organization comprised of “the confederacy of clans and tribes.”\textsuperscript{194} These political decisions had a great impact on the military and sociopolitical development during the Northern Zhou period.

Dien argues that the rise of individual leaders through the military hierarchy was based on their military achievements in the periods of Western Wei and Northern Zhou. The military elites who formed the highest level of both social and political hierarchy\textsuperscript{195} were largely derived from the Xianbei officer organization,\textsuperscript{196} but the Han-Chinese generals served the Northern Zhou in several different ways. Li Xian and Tian Hong, stationed in the northwest regions, were local Chinese leaders recruited directly by Yuwen Tai. In addition to military leaders, the Northern Zhou military recruited high-ranking Northern Qi generals who commanded important citadels such as Jinyang (modern Taiyuan), a strategic location at the border between the Northern Qi and the Northern Zhou states. Wang Shiliang, for example, a surrendered Northern Qi general, was

\begin{thebibliography}{99}
\bibitem{Gu1997} Gu Jiguang 谷霽光, "Xi Wei Bei Zhou shiqi fu-bing zhidu de xingcheng 西魏北周时期府兵制度的形成 (The Formation of Fu-Bing System During the Periods of Western Wei and Northern Zhou)," pp. 34-37.
\bibitem{Dien1986} ———, "The Role of the Military in the Western Wei/Northern Chou State," p. 363.
\end{thebibliography}
rewarded the position of “Lord of Guanchang County.” Han-Chinese warriors held important military positions under the Northern Zhou and gradually became more powerful. The military system of the Northern Zhou (fu-bing), had a significant influence on the construction of the social identities of the both the Xianbei and the Han-Chinese generals during this period and probably lead to the inclusion of steppic style items in their tombs.

The burial customs of the warrior class of the Northern Zhou were affected by the military culture. The interment of personal objects mostly related to their military exploits was derived from the steppic traditions. As discussed in Chapter Two, in the double burial of Emperor Wu and Empress of Ashina of the Northern Zhou, personal artifacts such a gold crown and a robe (or textile) woven with gold threads in the coffin point to their authority to rule. I will discuss the patterns of use of burial goods in the Northern Zhou generals’ tombs in the following discussion.

3.1.1 Scholarship and Method

Many modern scholars view either the presence of Chinese goods or adoption of Chinese burial tradition in the tombs of non-Chinese peoples as a sign of their assimilation into Chinese culture. But, in his study of Six Dynasties civilization, Dien argues persuasively that the

material culture of the period of Six Dynasties demonstrates “a hybridization of cultures”\(^{199}\) and “a record of the wide range of regional cultural differences.”\(^{200}\) He proposes two important trends in the societies of the Northern and Southern Dynasties: first, the intermingling of material cultures both in the north and the south, and, second, the interactions between regions during a time of political disunity. These two ideas will be explored in the discussion below.

Chinese studies of the Six Dynasties period focus on regions in order to characterize the cultural interactions.\(^{201}\) For example, Zheng Yan and Li Meitian explore the subject matter and iconographies of tomb murals from the Six Dynasties period in order to examine patterns within and between regions. Li Meitian examines the paintings in the tombs in the five regions of Yudai, Luoyang, Yecheng-Jinyang, Guangzhong and Qing Qi. According to the layout, subject matter, and iconography of these paintings, Li Meitian identifies those features that were either shared or differed between regions. He emphasizes the importance of interactions between southern and northern China and with the Western Regions through the Silk Route.\(^{202}\) The author notes the patterns popular in certain regions, and then concludes that these were regional features.\(^{203}\)

Some studies assume that written texts document precise burial practices during the Northern Zhou period. For example, much has been written about how the edicts, which mandated modest burials, during the reigns of Emperors Ming and Wu of the Northern Zhou


\(^{200}\) Ibid, p. 429.


\(^{202}\) Li Meitian 李梅田, "Bei Chao mushi huaxiang de quyuxing yanjiu 北朝墓室画像的区域性研究 (*A Study on the Regional Analysis of the Paintings in the Tomb of Northern Dynasties)*."

\(^{203}\) Ibid.
influenced Northern Zhou funerary practices. Bonnie Cheng uses the tomb of Li Xian as an example to argue for the adherence to the modest prescription for burial contained in these edicts to show how certain elements of the burial practices used in this tomb were exceptional. She examines the size and structure of the tomb, including comparing the number of airshafts with other Northern Zhou tombs. She explores the life history of Li Xian and argues that because he had a close relationship with the Emperor Wu of Northern Zhou, he was permitted to bury luxury items in his tomb. Her detailed examination of Li Xian has provided a useful study of the Northern Zhou, but I argue that the Emperor’s edicts were not the first criterion that the deceased and surviving family members followed, rather the living families negotiated, displayed and constructed multiple identities in mortuary settings. I will show that the evidence demonstrates they were more interested in a personal expression rather than conforming to mandated practices laid down by Emperor Wu.

In this chapter, I analyze the patterns of use of burial goods found in the tombs of Northern Zhou generals and what they can tell us about the way these men and their families presented their status and wealth. Agency theory has provided a method to analyze how experiences and social, political background and family groups as well as individual social actors can affect choice in burial practice.

204 Bonnie Cheng, "Chapter Three: Housing the Dead: Modest Burials & the Ascription of a Hierarchical Tomb Structure in Fabricating Life out of Death: Sixth Century Funerary Monuments and the Negotiation of Cultural Traditions" (University of Chicago, 2003).
205 Cheng Bonnie 郑如珀, "Muzang, meishu he zhengzhi -- Ningxia Guyuan Bei Zhou Li Xian mu zai sikao 墓葬、美术与政治 -- 宁夏固原北周李贤墓再思考 (Tomb, Art, and Politics -- Rethinking the Northern Zhou Tomb of Li Xian at Guyuan, Ningxia)," Yishu yu kexue 艺术与科学 5(2007).
3.2 EVIDENCE

In this portion of the chapter, I describe physical aspects of the burials such as structures of tombs, murals painted on their walls, and types of grave goods found within them. This description will give the reader a general understanding of the evidence and will form the basis of my discussion in following sections. In general, it will show that there was great diversity in both material culture and pattern of use of burial goods in the tombs of the Northern Zhou and Northern Qi military leaders.

3.2.1 Burial Systems

Two important features of the burial systems of the Six Dynasties period are important for my argument. First, the attendant tombs at the district of the imperial tombs (peizang mu) were more elaborate during the Han Dynasty than during the Six Dynasties (220-581 CE), but burials of the family members of the elite (jiazuzang) were more ornate. This suggests that the power of the royal family weakened, while power of upper class families had increased. Second, modest burial practices became common during the Six Dynasties period. This was characterized by a shortened period of mourning, absence of tumuli, and a decrease in the number of burial goods. The tendency toward modest burials is found in several different regions.

207 Han Guohe 韩国河, "Lun Qin Han Wei Jin shiqi de jiazu mudi zhidu 论秦汉魏晋时期的家族墓地制度 (Discussion on the System of Family Cemetery During the Periods of Qin Han and Six Dynasties)," Kaogu yu wenwu 考古与文物, no. 2 (1999), p. 35.
208 ———, "Lun Qin Han Wei Jin shiqi de houzang yu bozang 论秦汉魏晋时期的厚葬与薄葬 (Discussion on the Luxuriant Burial and Modest Burial During the Periods of Qin Han Wei Jin Dynasties)," Zhengzhou daxue xuebao 郑州大学学报, no. 5 (1998), p. 100.
The cemetery of the Northern Zhou at Xianyang, Shaanxi contains tombs of both Han and non-Han generals. There are also those of members of the imperial family of the Northern Zhou. These include Emperor Wu and Empress Ashina, and his brothers Yuwen Jian and Yuwen Tong. Zhang Jianlin, the excavator of the tomb of Emperor Wu, suggests that this cemetery might reveal two of the burial systems of the Northern Zhou. Either the public burial system (gongmuzhi) recorded in the Rites of Zhou (Zhouli), or the system based on Xianbei customs that centered on clan burial system (zuzangzhi). In either case, the burial practices at Xianyang seem to differ from practices in southern China during the Six Dynasties period. The burial system of Northern Zhou suggests a specific sociopolitical situation which was shaped by a mix of Chinese and Xianbei features.

During the Qin and Han Dynasties, huge tumuli were often built above both imperial tombs and those of officials with high social status. Although the edicts of the Emperors of the Northern Zhou proclaimed that no tumulus should be built above ground, two tombs located at Guyuan, Ningxia, had tumuli about 4.5-5 meters high and one tomb located at Xianyang had tumulus about 20 meters high (Table 1). The owners of the three tombs, Li Xian, Tian Hong, and Chiluo Xie, were high-ranking generals, and their Northern Zhou tombs document that builders ignored the emperors’ edicts.

---

3.2.2 Tomb Structure and Decoration: Social status and Power

The spatial organization of the Xianbei elites' tombs was similar to that of aristocratic Chinese burials during the Northern Dynasties period. They generally consisted of a long sloping passageway, airshafts, an antechamber, and a main burial chamber. Although most scholars believe that both the shape and size of graves are related to the social status of the deceased, as several studies have shown that, during the Northern Zhou period, the overall size of the tombs and the number of airshafts and niches within them were also associated with the social rank of the deceased, although there are some exceptions. The length, size, and shape of some tombs were not entirely restricted to their owner’s status. They could have been equally influenced by the rank and wealth of the deceased, local customs, and even by political changes over relatively short time periods. For example, the length of the tomb of Chiluo Xie (71 meters) is greater than that of the tomb of Emperor Wu of Northern Zhou (68 meters) (Table 1). I will return to this later in my discussion.

Fifteen out of the sixteen Northern Zhou tombs in Shaanxi and Ningxia had a sloping passageway, only the tomb of Wang Shiliang had a vertical shaft. A traditional feature of ancient burials in China was a pit tomb usually containing a deep shaft. The single example of a pit tomb

of a military leader in the Northern Zhou during this period was the triple burial of Wang Shiliang, (a Han-Chinese general), his wife, and a concubine. Although Wang Shiliang died in 584 (the Sui period [581-618 CE]), he was buried in Xianyang, the cemetery of the Northern Zhou. He was a general of the Northern Qi, who had surrendered to the Northern Zhou. Although the excavator categorizes it as a pit tomb, his is not a typical pit tomb. It is large and complex, consisting of a deep shaft (11 meters), a tunnel, an antechamber (1.4 meters tall and 1.74 meters long), an earthen sealed door, a square, vaulted and domed chamber (3.3 x 3.2 meters), and a rear chamber (3.04 x 1.4 meters). I will discuss why this tomb was built in this way in the discussion below.

The structure of the Northern Zhou tombs resembled those of the Han-Chinese. The Northern Zhou tomb chambers, however, were generally smaller and constructed with different materials. Although most of the Northern Zhou tombs were earth pit tombs, the tombs of An Jia (Sogdian) and Li Dan (Brahmin) had brick chambers,216 a form popular since the Eastern Han period that continued to be used in the southern areas during the Six Dynasties (220-589).217 The best known examples are the imperial tombs of the Southern Dynasties, located outside of modern Nanjing, which had a large rectangular brick tomb chamber and a short corridor. Northern Qi tombs 54.2% were brick tombs and 18.2% of them were earthen tombs.218

---

3.2.2.1 Murals: Belief Systems and Social Status

Murals which reflected belief systems were commonly painted in Eastern Han tombs. They may reflect burial rituals carried out in specific areas of the tombs and/or it was believed they aided in transporting the deceased between this world and the next. These practices and beliefs may have differed among social classes and changed over time.

There is little evidence of the relationship between these murals and ritual practice in the Northern Zhou society. As discussed in Chapter Two, there were no murals in the tomb of the Northern Zhou Emperor Wu. In contrast, the imperial tomb of the Wanzhang Northern Qi had intricate murals on the walls of the passageway, containing sacred animals (such as a dragon, a tiger, and a phoenix), guardian spirits (weishou) in the top register, and four groupings of honor guards in the lower procession. Tomb walls of high-ranking Northern Zhou generals were also painted with murals. Unfortunately, their subjects cannot be determined because of their lack of preservation. All that remains are that broad bands of red and/or black were painted in the passageways and in the chambers. Tombs that have better preserved murals are: the tombs of Li Xian, Tian Hong, Yuwen Meng, an ethnic Chinese bestowed with a Xianbei surname, located at Guyuan, Ningxia Province, and the tomb of the Sogdian An Jia, located in Xi’an, Shaanxi Province.²¹⁹ The murals in these four tombs all have a broad red band and standing guardian figures on the walls in the passageway as well as in the burial chamber. The murals in the Northern Zhou tomb of Li Xian are in the best condition. Two standing guardian figures on each side of the passageway are especially well preserved. Warrior figures were also painted on the first and second tunnel walls. Although the clothing and posture of the warrior figures differ

slightly from each other, most are holding a weapon such as a sword or a knife with a curved handle. Depictions of gate towers were painted along the tops of both the tunnel and antechamber, walls and musicians are on four sides of the main chamber’s walls.\textsuperscript{220} Li Meitian suggests that the guardians, gate towers, and broad bands were regional features popular in Guanzhong, modern Shaanxi and Gansu corridor in tombs dated to the Han and Jin Dynasties.\textsuperscript{221}

Northern Qi tombs are better preserved and contain more elaborate murals than those in the Northern Zhou tombs. The murals in the passageway and chamber generally consisted of two registers—on the top are sacred animals (a dragon, a tiger, and a phoenix) and guardian spirits, and on the bottom are scenes of ritual processions. Northern Qi murals often combined elements of this world, the afterlife, and the cosmos.\textsuperscript{222} Embodied in these images were beliefs inherited from the system that had been prevalent in both northern and southern China since the Warring States (475-221 BCE) and Han (206 BCE-220 CE) periods.\textsuperscript{223} During the Northern Qi period (550-577 CE), a mural format similar to a long scroll painting began to appear in passageways.\textsuperscript{224} Many scholars have pointed out that the murals in the Northern Qi tombs used motifs or subject matter from the south, i.e. dragons and tigers.\textsuperscript{225} In the imperial Wangzhang tomb of Northern Qi (discussed in Chapter Two) the ritual procession that occupies a large

\textsuperscript{220} Ningxia Huizu zizhiqu bowuguan and Ningxia Guyuan bowuguan 宁夏回族自治区博物馆 宁夏固原博物馆, "Ningxia Guyuan Bei Zhou Li Xian fufu mu fajue jianbao 宁夏固原北周李贤夫妇墓发掘简报 (Brief Report on the Northern Zhou Tomb of Li Xian and His Wife at Guyuan, Ningxia)," \textit{Wenwu} (1985), p. 3-4.

\textsuperscript{221} Li Meitian 李梅田, "Bei Chao mushi huaxiang de quyuxing yanjiu 北朝墓室画像的区域性研究 (A Study on the Regional Analysis of the Paintings in the Tomb of Northern Dynasties),” p. 97.

\textsuperscript{222} Yang Xiaojun 杨效俊, "Dongwei, Bei Qi muzhang de kaoguxeu yanjiu 东魏、北齐墓葬的考古学研究 (Archaeological Studies on the Tombs of Eastern Wei and Northern Qi Periods),” pp. 71-73.

\textsuperscript{223} Bonnie Cheng, "Fashioning a Political Body: The Tomb of a Rouran Princess " \textit{Archives of Asian art} 57(2007), p. 41.


\textsuperscript{225} Yang Hong 杨泓, "Nanbei Chao mu de bihua he pinxiang zhuang hua 南北朝墓的壁画和拼镶砖画," in 汉唐美术考古和佛教艺术 (科学出版社, 2000); Bonnie Cheng, "Fashioning a Political Body: The Tomb of a Rouran Princess ".

78
portion of the wall is an indicator of the high social status of the deceased. Here, I will focus on two examples, the tomb of Cui Fen located at Qinghe, Shandong and the tomb of Xu Xianxiu located at Taiyuan, Shanxi to show that various styles and contents of mural paintings were chosen by the agents and displayed in the Northern Qi tombs. I will compare these two Northern Qi tombs with those of Northern Zhou below.

The tomb of Cui Fen (ca. 551 CE) located at Linqu, Shandong Province was excavated in 1986. Cui Fen came from an upper class family and was a lower ranking general. The tomb structure has a traditional Chinese form with a short passageway, an anti-chamber, and an inner chamber. The Seven Sages of the Bamboo Grove and Rong Qiqi was painted on the east wall in the chamber and a ritual procession was shown on the center of west wall. The style, composition and subject matter of these two scenes were very similar to those popular in the southern areas during the Southern Dynasties. Many scholars have pointed out that the format and style of the procession of the deceased on the west wall in Cui Fen’s chamber was similar to the painting, “The Nymph of the Luo River” by Gu Kaizhi. Similar processions were carved in

---

226 Linquxian bowuguan 临朐县博物馆, *Bei Qi Cui Fen bihua mu 北齐崔芬壁画墓 (The Mural Paiting Tomb of Cui Fen of the Northern Qi)* (Beijing: Wenwu Chubanshe 文物出版社, 2002). The Northern Qi tomb of Cui Fen was not looted, but disturbed by a construction worker while the location was being prepared for construction.

227 Cui Shiping 崔世平, "Cui Fen muzhi yu nanbei zhengzhan xia de Qingzhou Cui Shi 崔芬墓志与南北争战下的青州崔氏 (The Epitaph of Cui Fen and the Cui Family at Qingzhou under the Warfare During the Northern and Southern Dynasties)," *Nanjing Xiaozhuang xueyuan xuebao 南京晓庄学院学报*, no. 1 (2005), p.37.

228 Shandongsheng wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo and Linqu Xian bowguan 山东省文物考古研究所 临朐县博物馆, "Shandong Linqu Bei Qi Cui Fen bihua mu 山东临朐北齐崔芬壁画墓 (The Mural Paiting Tomb of Cui Fen of the Northern Qi at Linqu, Shandong)," *Wenwu 文物*, no. 4 (2002); Wenqi Wu, "Mural in the Tomb of Cui Fen of Northern Qi," *Orientations*, no. 6 (1998).

several Buddhist caves such as that in the central Binyang Cave at Longmen.\textsuperscript{230} The patrons of these Buddhist caves were emperors and empresses from Northern and Southern Dynasties. Wei Zheng suggests that the theme, Seven Sages of the Bamboo Grove and Rong Qiqi, was chosen because the deceased admired the reputation of the Seven Sages of the Bamboo Grove and Rong Qiqi who were literati, regarded as the spiritual leaders during the Northern and Southern Dynasties.\textsuperscript{231} Zheng Yan, however, argues that the murals in the tomb of Cui Fen did not reflect Cui Fen’s personal taste but followed a standardized format.\textsuperscript{232} He proposes that the images of the Seven Sages of the Bamboo Grove and Rong Qiqi in the tombs functioned as immortal beings (shengxian) who accompanied the spirit of dead to the other world.\textsuperscript{233} Evidence for other traditions is also present in these tombs and Zheng Yan has observed that the posture of the dancing figure under a tree is similar to that of a Central Asian dancer, a motif common in the Northern Dynasties.\textsuperscript{234} Lin Sheng-chih also argues that the features of mural painting in Cui Fen’s tomb reflected the processes of interactions among the cultures of Northern Dynasties, Southern Dynasties, and foreign cultures from the Western Regions.\textsuperscript{235}

\textsuperscript{230} Zheng Yan 郑岩, "Cui Fen bihua mu chutan 崔芬墓壁画初探 (A Preliminary Study on Murals in the Tomb of Cui Fen)", p. 29.
\textsuperscript{231} Wei Zheng 韦正, "Dixia de mingshi tu--Lun Zhulin Qixian Yu Rong Qiqi mushi bihua de xingzhi 地下的名士图--论竹林七贤与荣启期墓室壁画的性质 (The Images of Interlectual in the Underground--Discussion on the Characters of the Mural Painting of the Seven Sages of the Bamboo Grove and Rong Qiqi)," Minzu yishu 民族艺术, no. 3 (2005), p.89-96.
\textsuperscript{232} Zheng Yan 郑岩, "Cui Fen Bihua mu chutan 崔芬墓壁画初探 (A Preliminary Study on Murals in the Tomb of Cui Fen)", pp. 31.
\textsuperscript{234} ———, "Cui Fen bihua mu chutan 崔芬墓壁画初探 (A Preliminary Study on Murals in the Tomb of Cui Fen) ", p. 27.
The Northern Qi tomb of Xu Xianxiu (ca. 571 CE), located at Taiyuan, Shanxi Province, was excavated in 2000.\textsuperscript{236} Like the tomb of Cui Fen, it has a traditional Han-Chinese structure. A mural in the burial chamber reveals cultural in-mixing of iconography that is characteristic of China’s northwestern frontier. The overall theme of the mural was traditionally Chinese, with scenes from this world, such as a banquet at home. On either side of the mural are depictions of a saddled horse and an oxcart, apparently the vehicle that transported the soul of the deceased to the other world.\textsuperscript{237} But the colors of the mural and the style of presentation were non-Han Chinese. The orange and yellowish color on the faces of the figures and the use of pecan oil as toner were very like those used in the Western Regions, \textit{Xiyu}, in Kucha.\textsuperscript{238} Most of the figurines were dressed in non-Chinese costumes. For example, the continuous pearl pattern on the hem of the clothing is similar to costumes portrayed in Western, Persian and Buddhist murals.\textsuperscript{239} Musical instruments like the \textit{pipa} and the angular harp depicted in the burial chamber mural were also non-Chinese. In the discussion below, I will compare this tomb with the Northern Zhou tombs of Li Xian and Tian Hong, both located in the northwestern frontier region at the center of the Silk Road, and also dated in the mid-sixth century. This comparison will show that members of this hybrid society chose mixtures of elements from different cultures to parallel the cultural mix in the society.

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{236} Shanxisheng kaogu yanjiusuo and Taiyuan wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo 山西省考古研究所 太原市文物考古研究所, "Taiyuan Bei Qi Xu Xianxiu mu fajue jianbao 太原北齐徐显秀墓发掘简报 (Brief Report on the Excavation of the Northern Qi Tomb of Xu Xianxiu at Taiyuan)," \textit{Wenwu 文物}, no. 10 (2003).
\item \textsuperscript{237} Dien, \textit{Six Dynasties Civilization}, p. 427.
\item \textsuperscript{238} Luo Shiping 罗世平, "Taiyuan Bei Qi Xu Xianxiu mu bihuazhong de huhua yingsu --Bei Qi huihua yanjiu zhaji 太原北齐徐显秀墓壁画中的胡化因素--北齐绘画研究札记 (The Western Elements in the Murals in the Northern Qi Tomb of Xu Xianxiu at Taiyuan)," \textit{Yishushi yanjiu 艺术史研究} 5(2003).
\item \textsuperscript{239} Rong Xinjiang 荣新江, "Luetan Xu Xianxiu mu bihuadepusa lianzhuwen 略谈徐显秀墓壁画的菩萨联珠纹 (Brief Discussion on the Motif of Bodhisattva surrounded by Pearl Roundels )," \textit{Wenwu 文物}, no. 5 (2003).
\end{itemize}
\end{footnotesize}
3.2.3 Burial Goods in Dynastic Chinese Cultural Context

In this section, the grave goods in these tombs will be described, and organized into categories according to material: objects made of ceramic, jade, and bronze, as well as objects made of several other materials. This organization reflects the fact that ceramic objects are most numerous, while bronzes and objects of mixed materials were less common. They will be organized in this manner because I found that material was an indicator of cultural affiliation. The weapons and other military gear found in the tombs will be considered objects made of various materials, and they are especially important because they confirm that the deceased were military leaders. Because most hairpins were made of jade, and only a few were gold and silver, all will be discussed in the “Hairpins” section of the “Jade” category.

3.2.3.1 Ceramics

a. Figurines

Ceramic figurines are the most common items found in the tombs during the period of the Northern Dynasties. The sizes of the figurines in Northern Zhou tombs are similar to those in the tomb of Emperor Wu of Northern Zhou, both were 13-17 cm. tall. In contrast, the figurines found in the Northern Qi tombs are similar to those in the imperial Northern Qi tomb at Wangzhang. These figurines are both more delicate and much larger (at least 15-30 cm. tall.)

---

than the Northern Zhou figurines.\textsuperscript{241} As discussed in Chapter Two, Dien suggests that in the northern areas, the use of large numbers of tomb figurines was an indication of status and of the legitimized power of the deceased and their families.\textsuperscript{242} The Imperial Northern Qi tomb at Wanzhang is a good example demonstrating this display of power through thousands of figurines, but this custom was apparently not employed in the generals’ tombs of the Northern Zhou.

In Northern Zhou generals’ tombs from 70 to 250 pottery figurines were found. The smallest number is 11 in the tomb Wang Shiliang and the largest number is 255 in the tomb of Li Xian (Table 4). As discussed in Chapter Two, pottery figurines are not common in tombs of the Xianbei people. In contrast, in the imperial tombs of the Northern Qi, thousands of figurines have been found. The rough style of these figurines made in a single mould is similar to those found in the Emperor Wu of the Northern Zhou. In the tombs of Northern Qi generals, there is a variable number of figurines between 10 and 320\textsuperscript{243} and the elaborate style of the figurines made in the round is similar to those found in the imperial tomb of Northern Qi. The numbers of figurines in the general’s tomb of Li Xian (255) are more than those und in the tomb Emperor Wu of the Northern Zhou (150), so the number of figurines in the Northern Zhou tombs does not seem to have been a sign of social status (Table 4).

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{itemize}
\item[241] Zhongguo shehui kexueyuan and Hebeisheng wenwu yanjiusuo 中国社会科学院考古研究所, 河北省文物研究所编著, Cixian Wanzhang Bei Chao bihua mu 磁县湾漳北朝壁画墓 (Cixian Wanzhang Mural Tomb of the Northern Dynasties) (Beijing 北京: Kexue Chubanshe 科学出版社, 2003), pp. 33-83.
\item[243] For example, around 320 pottery figurines were found in the south side of tomb chamber in the tomb of Xu Xianxiu.
\end{itemize}
\end{footnotesize}
b. Vessels and Models of Agricultural Buildings

During the Northern Dynasties period, it apparently was common for tombs to contain pottery vessels and ceramic models of agricultural equipment (mills, wells and storehouses [cang]) and of domesticated animals (chickens and dogs) (Table 5). Most of the Northern Zhou tombs contain pottery vessels, but tombs with fewer pottery vessels usually contain more vessels of bronze or glazed earthenware (Table 6). Only three Sogdian tombs of the Northern Zhou had no pottery vessels (Table 6). The Imperial Northern Qi tomb at Wanzhang contained 56 Chinese pottery vessels imitated the forms of traditional bronze ritual vessels. It included 20 ding, (26cm.-28 cm.), four hu (48cm.), 16 jars, and 16 ear cups (erbei). In contrast, 28 grey pottery jars (17-19 cm. tall) with simple line patterns on their bellies were found in the niches of Emperor Wu’s tomb, a tomb which resembled with Xianbei tombs in northeastern China. This is fitting because the emperor came from Northeastern China. A similar style of grey pottery vessels, including jars and bottles, was found in the tombs of the Northern Zhou generals Chiluo Xie, Tian Hong and Li Xian (Table 7). Twelve pottery jars found in the tomb of the Xianbei general, Chiluo Xie located at Xianyang have three similarities with those found in the tomb of Emperor Wu: the location, niches, size (around 17 cm), and line patterns on bellies.244 The Li Xian and Tian Hong tombs, both located at Guyuan, Ningxia, contained the remains of millet in grey pottery guan jars.245 In contrast, few grey pottery vessels have been found in the Northern Qi tombs, although many other types of glazed earthenware vessels have been discovered. The grey

pottery vessels in the Northern Zhou tombs were associated with the traditional types made locally in northeastern China from where the Xianbei rulers originally had come.

**c. Glazed Earthenware Objects**

Glazed earthenware objects (*qingci*) were not produced in southern areas such as in Zhejiang province until the Eastern Han period (25-220 CE).\(^{246}\) According to Wei Zheng, during the Jin period (265-316), such vessels became popular items in the elite tombs in these areas.\(^{247}\) Glazed earthenware vessels, some with appliquéd patterns, were also popular in the tombs of the Northern Qi, but fewer glazed earthenware vessels were found in the Northern Zhou tombs. Two types of glazed earthenware vessels were found in the tombs of the Northern Zhou. First, a globular type of glazed earthenware such as *hu* vessels and bowls were found in the four tombs of the Northern Zhou that include three Han-Chinese and one Xianbei generals. They were daily utensil popular in the territories of the Southern Dynasties and in the Northern Qi. Glazed earthenware items were not often found in the Northern Zhou tombs. The second type can be seen in the utensils found in the tomb of Yuchi Yun (a Xianbei general) and his wife. These are four white glazed wares and one green one, a *xun* brazier, a *pin* bottle, and a fragment of a candle bottom.

Many kilns have been found in both the territory of Southern Dynasties and in the north in the territory of the Northern Qi at Zibo, Shandong, at Gongxian and Anyang in the Henan province, and at Ci Xian, Hebei province. On the basis of the shapes, colors, and technology of the glazed earthen wares in the tombs of Northern Zhou at Xianyang, Shaanxi Province, Yun


\(^{247}\) Wei Zheng 韦正, "Jianlun Xi Jin shiqi de nanbei shizu muzang 简论西晋时期的南北士族墓葬 (Brief Discussion on the Burial Practices of the Elite in the North and South During the Western Jin Period)," *Dongnan wenhua* 东南文化, no. 4 (1994), p. 69.
Anzhi argues that glazed earthenware objects in this region were not made locally, but imported from Anyang, Henan, indicating their high value.\textsuperscript{248}

Glazed earthenware vessels which appear to have been used in everyday life came to be included in the tombs during the Six Dynasties period.\textsuperscript{249} Some types of glazed wares, such as ewers decorated with appliqué decoration, were adopted from western metalwork or from the glass vessels imported from the West through the Silk Road.\textsuperscript{250} Some of their decorations (for example the lotus petal motif) were inspired by Buddhist art.\textsuperscript{251} Glazed wares with appliqué decoration have been found in the Northern Qi tombs of Lou Rui and Xu Xianxiu, at Taiyuan, Shanxi.

Ceramic figurines were common both in southern China and among the Northern Qi, but they were less common in the tombs of Xianbei people. Pottery vessels have been found in tombs of all regions, but they differ in number, shape and function, as well as in the glazes and decorations. Glazed earthenware vessels were often found in the southern regions and in the Northern Qi, but are found far less often in those of the Northern Zhou. This might suggest that burial practices using pottery figurines and glazed earthenware objects were associated especially with the Chinese tradition. Objects like glazed wares were not popular in the Northern Zhou tombs. Those found in Northern Zhou tombs may have been imported from outside the state, perhaps from Henan.

\textsuperscript{249} Dien, Six Dynasties Civilization, pp. 233-251.
\textsuperscript{251} Ibid.
3.2.3.2 Jade Objects

As discussed in Chapter Two, jade objects were highly valued among the elite of all cultural backgrounds. Large numbers of jade objects have been found in the elite tombs from the Neolithic to the Han Dynasty, but only a few were found in tombs of the Six Dynasties. Dien’s data shows that only 3.05 percent of the known tombs contained any jades at all.\(^{252}\) Surprisingly, jade objects, including pendants, hairpins (\textit{chai} and \textit{zhan}), and a belt, were found in five of the sixteen tombs of the Northern Zhou generals: four Chinese (Li Xian, Ruogan Yun, Tian Hong, and Wang Shiliang) and one was a Xianbei general (Yuchi Yun and his wife) (Table 8).

\textit{a. Jade Pendants}

Jade pendants were placed in the tombs of Chinese elites as early as the ancient Zhou period (ca.1050-256 BCE). Plain jade pendants were placed in the coffins of Han-Chinese military leaders, including Li Xian, Tian Hong, and Wang Shiliang. They were found on the chest of Li Xian and Tian Hong. Those found in the tombs of Northern Zhou included two horizontal pieces called (\textit{heng}), two semicircular pieces (\textit{huang}), one circular piece (\textit{huan}), and two round parts (\textit{zhu}).\(^{253}\) By comparison, more elaborate jade pendants were found in tombs of Northern Qi, including the tombs of Luo Rui, Kudi Huiluo,\(^{254}\) and the imperial tomb at Wangzhang. Several jade pendants in the tomb of Luo Rui, a Xianbei warrior, were found in the southeastern side of the chamber along with other ceramic objects. They are unusual because the margins of these pendants are decorated with gold foil. This use of gold foil on jades can also be

\(^{254}\) The jade \textit{huang} in the Northern Qi tomb of Kudi Huiluo (a Xianbei general) were found in the coffin on the chest of the deceased, decorated with a phoenix on one side and flame on the other side; Wang Kelin 王克林, "Bei Qi Kudi Huiluo mu 北齐库狄迴洛墓 (The Northern Qi Tomb of Kudi Huiluo)," \textit{Kaogu xuebao 考古学报} 3(1979), pp. 385, 393.
seen on the jade earrings found in the Xiongu tombs at Xigoupan M4. This decoration is not common among Han-Chinese, but probably indicates that non-Chinese people used the embellishment of gold foil on jade objects.

Zuo Jun has analyzed the styles and forms of jade huang or pei, focusing on the question of the evolution of jade pendants. Looking at the contemporary murals in the tomb of Luo Rui and Buddhist cave temples at Dunhuang and other Buddhist sculptures, he has provided a convincing reconstruction of the arrangement of the jade pendants excavated from tombs of Six Dynasties.\textsuperscript{255} Although the function of these sets of jade pendants within the burial context remains unclear, Wei Zheng suggests that the jade pendant sets placed in the coffin were ornamental objects of officials buried in formal court dress (chaofu zang).\textsuperscript{256} I think that the possibility of dressing the corpse in the court garb for the burial cannot be excluded, but it is difficult to confirm that jade pendants were part of court attire. On the other hand, because the remains of a silk court hat made with lacquer parts (qishaguan) were found in Tian Hong’s chamber along with 533 glass beads,\textsuperscript{257} it is possible that pendants and hats formed part of a complete official burial costume.\textsuperscript{258}

\textbf{b. Jade Hairpins}

Hairpins were an important part of the Chinese hair embellishment. In the Book of Rites (\textit{Liji}), it is stated that when a girl reached the age of fifteen, she was considered an adult, became

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{enumerate}
\item Zuo Jun \textit{左骏}, "Wei-Jin Nanbeichao yupei yanjiu 魏晋南北朝玉佩研究 (Research on Sets of Jade Pendants of the Six Dynasties)."
\item Wei Zheng \textit{韦正}, "Dong Han Luichao de chaofu zang 东汉、六朝的朝服葬 (Burial of Court Dress During the Period of Eastern Han and Six Dynasties)," \textit{Wenwu 文物}, no. 3 (2002), p. 3.
\item Yuanzhou lianhe kaogudui 原州联合考古隊編, \textit{Bei Zhou Tian Hong mu 北周田弘墓 (Hokushu DenkōBo) (The Northern Zhou Tomb of Tian Hong)}, pp. 35, 54. As the archaeologist suggests in the excavation report, there were several examples of silk court hats in scroll paintings, such as Gu Kaizhi’s painting (Fig. 12).
\item Two more tombs that found both the remains of hat and a set of jade pendant were the Northern Zhou tomb of Wang Shiliang, and the Northern Qi tomb of Kudi Huiluo.
\end{enumerate}
\end{footnotesize}
marriageable, and a hairpin ceremony was performed. \(^{259}\) According to the Book of Rites in
Zheng Xuan’s commentary (ca. 127-200 CE), if the parents are not ready to marry the daughter,
a hairpin ceremony would perform for her at the age of twenty. \(^{260}\) In written texts, it seems that
only female used hairpins, although hairpins were found near the heads of both males and
females in Northern Zhou tombs.

Made of various materials, hairpins have been found in many early Chinese tombs. As
early as the Shang Dynasty, single-pronged hairpins made of jade, ivory, and bone with carved
animals or geometric designs at their upper ends were placed in tombs. In the Shang Dynasty,
they were used by women and probably also by men. \(^{261}\) Single-pronged hairpins (zan) were
found in the tombs of the Han Dynasty \(^{262}\) and used throughout the Northern Zhou period
(557-581 CE). Double-pronged hairpins (chai) were also made during the Han Dynasty
(206BCE-220 CE). \(^{263}\)

Hairpins were found in five of the sixteen tombs of Northern Zhou generals, including
tombs of four Han Chinese and one Xianbei general (Table 9). A double-pronged jade hairpin

---

\(^{259}\) Li Xueqin, Gong Kangyun and Lu Guangming eds 李學勤 主編, 龔抗雲 盧光明 副主編, *Shisan jing zhushu (zhengli ben) (12) Liji Zhengyi 十三經注疏 (整理本) 礼记正义 (12).* edited by "Shisanjing zhushu" zhengli weiyuanhui 十三經注疏整理委員會. Beijing 北京: Beijing daxue chubanshe 北京大学出版社, 2000, p. 64.


\(^{262}\) Hunansheng bowuguan and Zhongguo kexueyuan kaogu yanjiusuo 湖南省博物馆 中国科学院考古研究所, *Changsha Mawangdui yihao Han mu 長沙馬王堆一號漢墓 (Han Tomb Number One at Mawangdui, near Changsha)* (Beijing 北京: Wenwu Chubanshe 文物出版社, 1973), p. 28. Three single-pronged hairpins were found on the head of the female deceased in the tomb Number one located at Mawangdui, dated in the Western Han.

was found in the coffins of the wives of Tian Hong and Wang Shiliang. Four jade hairpins were found in the tomb of Yuchi Yun and his wife, but the location within the tomb is not clear. Hairpins from these Northern Zhou tombs were made of jade, gold, and silver. Two double-pronged hairpins of gold were found on the head of the deceased in the tomb of Rugan Yun, a Han-Chinese general with a Xianbei surname, and one double-pronged gold hairpin and two silver single-pronged hairpins (zan) were found near the heads of the deceased in the tomb of Wang Deheng, a Chinese general. Two silver, double-pronged hairpins and one jade hairpin were found near the head of the wife of Wang Shiliang. In the tomb of Yuchi Yun and his wife, one silver and four jade hairpins were found together, but their position in the tomb is unclear.

c. Jade Belts

Only one jade belt was found in the tombs focused on in this study. It was found inside Ruogan Yun’s coffin and placed around his waist, a Chinese general with a Xianbei surname. 264 It was made of eight rectangular pieces of jade backed with gilded bronze with small jade rings attached, nine individual jade rings, a jade belt buckle, a belt plaque, and two attached knives with ivory handles. According to the excavator Zhang Jianling, it resembled a set of bronze belts in the Northern Zhou tomb of Emperor Wu, and was also similar to a bronze belt found in the tomb of the Sogdian, Kang Ye. 265 It is possible that wearing this type of belt was common among the elites in the Northern Zhou period. I will discuss why and how this belt was buried in the tomb of Ruogan Yun in a later section of this chapter.

265 Xi'anshi wenwu baohu kaogusuo 西安市文物保护考古所, "Xi'an Bei Zhou Kang Ye mu fajue jianbao 西安北周康業墓發掘簡報 (Brief Report on Excavation of the Tomb of Kang Ye of the Northern Zhou in Xi'an, Shaanxi) " Wenwu 文物, no. 6 (2008), p. 34.
In summary, during the Six Dynasties, jade objects were rare and were used as adornment to show social status.

### 3.2.3.3 Bronze Objects

#### a. Bronze Vessels

Ritual bronze vessels were the main burial goods in the elite tombs during the Shang and Zhou Dynasties, but the number of bronze vessels used in tombs gradually decreased during the Han period.\(^{266}\) Bronze vessels were rarely found in the tombs of the Six Dynasties. Dien offers three reasons why the bronze objects were fewer during this time period. First, glazed earthenware became the most common material for utensils used in daily life and found in tombs, which was reflected in grave goods. Second, the volatility of the political situation caused a shortage in the supply of metal. Third, as Buddhism became more widespread, the use of bronze for casting Buddhist sculptures increased, which in turn decreased the amount of bronze available for other purposes. The most common type of bronze vessel during this period is the wine warmer (jiaodou).\(^{267}\)

Only one of the sixteen Northern Zhou period tombs contained bronze vessels, the Northern Zhou tomb of general, Wang Deheng. Ten bronze vessels were found in the tomb of Wang Deheng, including one ding, one he, one yan, one pen, one cauldron categorized as you by the archaeologist in the report, two hu, three pan. The sizes of the bronze vessels ranges from about 1.5 to 8 centimeters tall, Yun Anzhi suggests that they were made for the burial and not


\(^{267}\) Ibid, p. 95.
practical use. Six follow traditional Shang or Zhou models of ritual bronze vessels (yan, pen, hu, and pan), one pan had a round-ring foot, one had four animal feet for legs, and one had five animal feet as legs. Four of the vessels (ding, he, a cauldron [you], and hu) have some unusual features which were seemingly inspired by vessels used by pastoral peoples who lived in the northern China. The ding and he were traditional bronze shapes and each had a handle that would have made the ding more portable, which is not Chinese tradition, but perhaps inspired by cauldrons. The bronze cauldron with openwork on the ring foot found in Wang Deheng’s tomb is categorized as you in the excavation report. Cauldrons, found in large numbers in the northern and northeastern steppe, are associated with pastoral customs. The ten bronze objects in the tomb of Wang Deheng (Northern Zhou) document the practice of mixing objects common to more than one culture. I will return to the significance of this point later in the discussion.

Bronze vessels were also found in the Northern Qi tombs of Gao Run and Kudi Huiluo, including three legged vessels (jiaodou), pots, and containers (he). Sixty-four bronze vessels were found in the tomb of Kudi Huiluo, including a tripod or jiaodou (7 cm. in height), an iron (dou) (8.9 cm. in diameter), three bottles (18.2 cm. in height), two spittoons (10 cm. in height), one cup, one container or he, and fifty-three bowls (around 4.6 cm in height). Based on their size, these bronze vessels were probably daily utensils.

270 Gao Run was the fourteenth son of the Gao Yang, the Emperor of the Northern Qi.
271 Kudi Huiluo was the Xianbei general of the Northern Qi.
272 Yang Xiaojun 杨效俊, "Dongwei, Bei Qi muzhang de kaoguxeu yanjiu 东魏、北齐墓葬的考古学研究 (Archaeological Studies on the Tombs of Eastern Wei and Northern Qi Periods)," p. 73.
273 Wang Kelin 王克林, "Bei Qi Kudi Huiluo mu 北齐库狄迴洛墓 (The Northern Qi Tomb of Kudi Huiluo)."
b. Bronze Coins

It was a common Han-Chinese practice to place coins in tombs and they are generally thought to have symbolized the wealth of the deceased that would continue into the afterlife. The Han Dynasty wuzhu coin (weighing five zhu, 3.5 grams) was the main denomination used during the Han period in mortuary settings. Bronze coins found in Northern Zhou tombs include, however, several Chinese types that include those with inscriptions: the buquan (weighing 4.3 grams), the wuxing dabu (4-4.3 grams), and the yongan wuzhu (weighing 3 grams).

Bronze Chinese coins were found in four of the sixteen tombs of Han-Chinese generals. These are: Ruogan Yun (6 wuzhu coins), Tian Hong (3 wuzhu coins, 1 yongan wuzhu coin, and 9 buquan coins), Wang Deheng (1 wuzhu coin, and 13 buquan coins); and Wang Shiliang (15 wuzhu coins, 16 buquan coins). Only the Xianbei tomb of Dugu Zang contained bronze Chinese coins (3 wuxing dabu coins). The Sogdian tomb of Kang Ye also contained a Chinese bronze coin (one buquan coin). In addition to the coins made in China, five Byzantine solidi were found.

---

274 Dien, Six Dynasties Civilization, p. 216. In addition, in the tombs of Sogdians in Shaanxi and Ningxia found Byzantine coins. I will discuss this in the fourth chapter.
275 Zheng Shubin 郑曙斌, "Luelun Mawangdui Han Mu qianche jizai de tuzhi mingqi 略论马王堆汉墓遣策记载的土质明器 (Discussion on the Earthen Burial Goods Recorded in the Inventory in the Han Tomb at Mawangdui)," Hunansheng bowuguan guankan 湖南省博物馆馆刊 3(2006).
277 Zhang Zhizhong 张志中, "Zhongguo guqianbi shoucan yu jianshang (zhi shier) --Liuchao shiguan Bei Zhou qian 中国古钱币收藏与鉴赏（之十二）--六朝之冠北周钱," Baidex zhishi 百科知识, no. 12 (1997). The buquan coin and the wuxing dabu coin were cast during the reign of Emperor Wu of the Northern Zhou. The yongan wuzhu coins 永安五铢 were cast in the second year of Yongan of Emperor Xiaozhuan of Northern Wei in 529 CE.
278 There were 75 imitation coins of clay were found near the coffin of Ting Hong’s wife. The reporter suggests that there were buried for her second burial. Yuanzhou lianhe kaogudui 原州聯合考古隊編, Bei Zhou Tian Hong mu 北周田弘墓 (Hokushu Dako’Bo) (The Northern Zhou Tomb of Tian Hong), pp. 52-53.
in Tian Hong’s tomb and one Byzantine coin in the Sogdian tombs of Kang Ye and Shi Jun. Four of the five Byzantine *solidi* coins found in the coffin of Tian Hong were pierced.\(^{279}\) Annah Krieg has shown that some Byzantine coins found along the route of the Silk Road and in China were not for commercial use, but were treated as highly precious and valued objects.\(^{280}\) I will discuss the Byzantine coins found in Sogdian tombs in the fourth chapter.

Coins were also found in the tombs of Northern Qi. The tomb of Cui Fen contained 69 bronze *wuzhu* coins of the Eastern Han period and 32 imitation coins made of clay were found in the tombs of the Han Dynasty. Thousands of clay coins were discovered in the Mawangdui Tomb No.1. In the tomb inventory, imitations of bronze coins were called *tuqian*, which means “earthen coins”.\(^{281}\) According to Zheng Shubing’s study, clay coins were found in many tombs of the Western Han period, but were not placed in one tomb along with the bronze coins. During the Eastern Han period, bronze coins and clay coins were found together.\(^{282}\) The interment of bronze coins and imitation clay coins in the Northern Qi tomb of Cui Fen documents a strong continuity of Han practice in the Northern Dynasties period.

In summary, there were relatively few bronze objects in these tombs. Ten miniature bronze vessels in the tomb of Wang Deheng reveal a desire for continuation of using Chinese ritual vessels, while interment of bronze coins display the wealth of the deceased.

---

\(^{279}\) Ibid, p. 46.


\(^{282}\) Zheng Shubin 鄭曙斌, "Luelun Mawangdui Han mu qianche jizai de tuqian mingqi 略论马王堆汉墓遣策记载的土质明器 (Discussion on the Earthen Burial Goods Recorded in the Inventory in the Han Tomb at Mawangdui)."
3.2.4 Objects Made of Various Material

3.2.4.1 Swords, Arrowheads and Other Military Gear

Although the Northern Dynasties was a period of frequent warfare, tomb furnishings of the military leaders during this period did not include a large amount of weaponry or military gear.\textsuperscript{283} Weapons were found in four of the sixteen Northern Zhou tombs of Li Xian, Wang Deheng, Wang Shiliang, and Yuwen Meng. The longest iron sword was found in the tomb of Li Xian (86 cm.). Other swords were in fragments, measuring 13 cm, 20 cm, and 24.5 cm. According to Dien, the iron swords were in poor condition and many in fragments.\textsuperscript{284} In addition to the sword, an iron arrowhead was found in the passageway of the tomb of Yuwen Meng. Military goods also include belts, and other portable objects, and will be surveyed below.

3.2.4.2 Belt Buckles

Bronze belts and belt buckles were often associated with Xianbei warriors and a pastoral life style. Belt ornaments and fasteners attached to leather or cloth belts were common in both Han-Chinese and non-Han tombs. Belt fasteners, such belt hooks or \textit{daigou} were common in Han-Chinese tombs. Ornamental belt plaques and buckles were more popular in tombs of both the non-Chinese, and those of pastoral peoples in areas to the north of the empire.\textsuperscript{285} Belt buckles with a single movable tongue were found in the Han-Chinese tombs: Li Xian and Wang Shiliang

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{283} Dien, \textit{Six Dynasties Civilization}, p. 331.
  \item \textsuperscript{284} Ibid, p. 337.
\end{itemize}
\end{footnotesize}
and, the Sogidan Shi Jun. No buckles were found in the intact tombs of Wang Deheng and Dugu Zang—a circumstance which raises an interesting question. It seems that most Northern Zhou tombs contained a set of bronze belts or at least a belt buckle. The absence of belt buckles or bronze belts may reflect the different status of these two persons in comparison with other generals of the Northern Zhou. I think that their military titles were probably inherited through their fathers because their written epitaphs did not mention any of their own military exploits. The father of Wang Deheng was Wang Shiliang, a general of Northern Qi stationed at Taiyuan. The father of Dugu Zang was Dugu Xin, an extremely powerful man who was the Great General of Western Wei. I will analyze the examples of Wang Deheng and Wang Shiliang in the discussion section of this chapter.

3.2.4.3 Cauldrons

Bronze cauldrons were practical containers used by pastoral peoples who lived in China’s northern and northeastern frontier. A miniature silver cauldron 5.5 cm. high with a handle was found in Li Xian’s tomb and a bronze cauldron 7 cm. high with a handle was found in the tomb of Wang Deheng. The excavators categorized both cauldrons as types of traditional Chinese bronze vessels—either hu or you. Based on their features including a round bowl and a round foot with three rectangular openings, they are more appropriately called cauldrons. Guo Wu identifies that Li Xian as a Xianbei and the use of the cauldron is due to his Xianbei affiliation. He does not discuss the cauldron from the tomb of Wang Deheng. These two bronze cauldrons are

\(^{286}\) A complete set of bronze belt was found in the Sogdian tombs of Northern Zhou, including An Jia and Kang Ye. A complete set of jade belt was found in the tomb of Ruogan Yun. Three complete set of bronze belt was found in the tomb of Emperor Wu of Northern Zhou.

smaller than those found in the frontier areas. As mentioned in Chapter Two, a gilded miniature cauldron, 3.9 cm. high, was found in the tomb of Yuwen Tong, Emperor Wu’s brother. Why were these miniature cauldrons made and buried in these tombs? The size of the cauldrons suggests that they had no practical function, but were made for the afterlife either as an indicator of status or lineage, or both.

3.2.4.4 Exotic Goods

A transparent yellow glass plate with Sasanian style decoration and two rows of oval facets on its body was found in the tomb of Wang Shiliang and may have been imported from outside.288 A Sasanian green glass bowl,289 a gold finger ring set with an engraved blue stone, and a gilded silver ewer decorated with a continuous scene of Greco-Roman figures in relief, 37.5 cm. tall, were found in the Northern Zhou tomb of Li Xian at Guyuan, Ningxia. A gold finger ring set with an engraved blue stone was found in the Northern Qi tomb of Xu Xianxiu located in Taiyuan, Shanxi. These two sites were both located at the northern frontier. Based on the style and form of these objects, scholars generally agree that they were imported from outside.

The gilded silver ewer found in Li Xian’s tomb has created great debate. Wu Zhuo thinks that on the basis of style it was made in Persia during the Sassanian dynasty and presented to Li Xian because of his military position.290 Alexandra Carpino and Jean James argue that the shape of the ewer and its relief style were a mix of Roman and Sassanian models and that this

object documented Li Xian’s wealth and social status because it was exotic. Nevertheless, they all agree that this ewer documents Silk Road connections during the fifth and sixth century CE. It appears that western style ornaments and vessels were more accessible, and perhaps more desirable, in northern rather than southern China during the Northern Dynasties.

### 3.3 CASE STUDIES: HAN-CHINESE VS XIANBIE GENERALS

As described above, the material culture produced in the border regions dating from the Northern Dynasties period reveals a society in which art works, ritual objects and symbols of social status from several cultures intermingled. This can be seen in the tombs of Han-Chinese generals dating from the period around 565-584 CE. The exception is Wang Shiliang’s tomb, which dates from 584 CE (the fourth year of the Sui Dynasty [581-618]). All these Han-Chinese generals’ tombs contained traditional Chinese burial goods such as coins, glazed earthenware vessels, jade pendants, and bronze vessels. Some of them also included goods typical of the pastoralists such as cauldrons, grey pottery, and a gilded silver ewer and glass bowls that were western Asian imports. The assemblages in the tombs of the generals of the Northern Zhou are not the same, and their differences can help us understand the range of choices made by these individuals and their families.

3.3.1 Han-Chinese Generals

3.3.1.1 The Tomb of Ruogan Yun

The first example is a tomb that is part Han-Chinese, but also contains a few non-Chinese features or items. Tombs of this type are mostly found near the capitals of the Northern Zhou and Northern Qi. To explain this type, I will compare the tomb of Ruogan Yun (537-578), a general of the Northern Zhou, with that Fan Cui (550-576) from the Northern Qi. These two men were alike in many ways. Both died in early middle age: Ruogan Yun (537-578) at 41 and Fan Cui at 27. Both held the same military and official rank the Great General of Cavalryman (piaoqi dajiangjun) and a ninth-ranking official (kaifu yitong sanci)--and both were Han-Chinese. Both tombs were scientifically excavated and were not looted, although the tomb of Fan Cui has been disturbed by a flood. The structure of their tombs and the collection of burial goods found within them, however, were very different. Perhaps this was the result of the political and communal affiliations of Ruogan Yun with the Northern Zhou which had Xianbei leadership, and of Fan Cui with the Northern Qi, that had Han-Chinese leadership.

Ruogan Yun’s tomb was found undisturbed at the Northern Zhou royal cemetery at Xianyang. The shape of his tomb is the same as other Northern Zhou tombs. It consists of a long, sloping passageway (22.6 meters), three airshafts, an antechamber (1.3 meters), a main chamber, and a rear chamber. One hundred and thirty-eight pottery objects were found along the two sides

292 In the fourth year of Jiande, (575 CE), the Emperor of Northern Zhou had changed the title piaoqi dajiangjun kaifu yitong sanci to kaifu yitong dajiangjun. So the title for Ruogan Yun and Fan Cui was the same, both belong to a ninth-ranking official. Chen Suzhen 陈苏镇, "Bei Zhou Sui Tang de sanguan yu xunguan 北周隋唐的散官与勋官," Beijing daxue xuebao 北京大学学报, no. 2 (1991), p. 30.
of the main chamber. The seventeen pottery bottles found in the rear chamber were probably used during the ritual interment ceremony. One of the most spectacular items in this tomb, however, was the complete jade belt found around the waist of the deceased. This belt was made of eight rectangular jade pieces attached with gilded bronze and engaged jade rings, and nine individual jade rings and a jade belt end. Two knives with ivory handles were attached to this belt. Xianbei warriors used a similar type of belt, but theirs were mostly made of bronze or gilded bronze. Ruogan Yun’s nomadic style belt suggests that the status of a Han-Chinese general was reaffirmed by using a prestigious belt associated with Xianbei warriors.

The biographical epitaph of Ruogan Yun is an important source of information about his personal history (Appendix B: 1). According to his epitaph, his father, Wang Xing, was given a Xianbei surname, Ruogan, by the honored Emperor Wen of the Northern Zhou, Yuwen Tai. Ruogan Yun brokered a political and diplomatic marriage between Emperor Wu of Northern Zhou and a daughter of a Turkic khan, (later became the Empress Ashina) at a time when the emperor of the Northern Qi also wanted to marry her. Ruogan Yun and other officers negotiated with the leader of the Turkish Empire four times before a marriage deal was struck. As a reward, Emperor Wu gave a Xianbei princess of the Northern Zhou to Ruogan Yun in marriage when he was 31. He died at age 41. Ruogan Yun had multiple roles and personas associated with his age, status, political affiliation and social community, which included both his Chinese family and his imperial Xianbei marriage families. The jade, nomadic-style belt in Ruogan Yun’s tomb emphasizes these multiple affiliations—the jade material of the belt marks him as Chinese, while the belt form indicates his marital connections to the cultural practices of the Xianbei.

295 Ibid, p. 76. His death perhaps associated with his father, Wang Xing’s involvement with the purge of connected to Yuwen Xian in 578 by the Emperor Xuan of the Northern Zhou.
Fan Cui (550-576) died at age 27 at Tiangong at Ye, the capital of Northern Qi with a military title of the Great General of Cavalryman. The tomb of Fan Cui is located at the modern city of Anyang, Henan Province, close to the modern Cixian, the capital of Northern Qi. The tomb structure is similar to that of Northern Qi tombs and consists of a sloping passageway (11.1 meters long) and a square tomb chamber (2.88x 2.7x2.26 meters) (Table 1). Most burial goods were made of clay, including sixty eight pottery figurines, 14 glazed earthenware vessels, and two bronze coins, each with a changping wuzhu inscription. Pottery figurines wearing armor and guardian animals were found near the entrance, pottery vessels were at the south side of the coffin, and the remaining figurines were at the east side of chamber. Both the arrangement of burial goods and the style of rounded figurines were similar to those found in the Northern Qi.

Fourteen glazed earthenware vessels were found in the tomb of Fan Cui. Their materials, glazes, and shapes are related to pottery vessels identified with several cultures. These include four yellow glazed flasks, two guan (wine pitchers) with three lugs, two guan with four lugs, three white glazed bottles with thin necks, two bowls, and one pot (hu). The pear-shape of the yellow glazed flasks, their foreign motifs and depictions of foreign dancers and instruments are elements derived from the Western Regions. The shape of a globular white glazed guan with a short neck and three or four lugs parallels those in the southern China. The shape of the white glazed bottle was derived from bronze vessels popular in the northern China. White glazed

296 The tomb was disturbed by a flood, but archaeologists could still recognize the probable locations of the burial goods. Henansheng bowuguan 河南省博物馆. "Henan Anyang Beiqi Fan Cui mu fajue jianbao 河南安阳北齐范粹墓发掘简报 (Brief Report on the Northern Qi Tomb of Fan Cui at Anyang, Henan Province)." Wenwu 文物, no. 1 (1972): 48-51, 8.
wares have only been found in elite tombs during the Northern and Southern Dynasties. ²⁹⁹ The variety of glazed earthenware vessels in the tomb of Fan Cui suggests his high social status.

A comparison of the tombs of Ruogan Yun and Fan Cui, shows that their burial goods were associated with their cultural affiliation and relations to the communities where they lived and with their personal experience. Ruogan Yan’s Chinese birth family and imperial Xianbei marriage family created multiple identities associated with his status, and social community. The variety of mortuary goods found in the tomb of Ruogan Yun shows how artifacts mirrored the contemporary intermingling of cultural practices between the Chinese and their Xianbei rulers. Both Emperor Wu, a Xianbei, and Ruogan Yun, a Han-Chinese, used items such as belts to mark military prowess and pastoral heritage which, in turn, had references to the commemoration of military association of nomads and warriors.

Ruogan Yun and Fan Cui held the same military title, but their personal experiences and social contexts were somewhat different. Ruogan Yun had a close relationship to the court, Fan Cui’s personal experiences, on the other hand, were limited to being a general and local leader. The traditional Chinese burial goods held in whose tomb, including two bronze coins, pottery figurines, and glazed earthenware vessels, follow Han-Chinese traditional practice. The precious and rare white glazed earthenware vessels and yellow glazed flasks in Fan Cui’s tomb mark a high status. The representation of foreigners playing foreign musical instruments on the yellow glazed flask reflects cross-cultural interaction during the mid six century.

3.3.1.2 The Tombs Wang Shiliang and Wang Deheng

In this section, I will focus on how Han-Chinese warriors and civilians in the border lands of the states negotiated a social and cultural identity in a rapidly changing political climate between Han and non-Han regimes. This is reflected in the structure and burial goods found in tombs which had a greater mixture of goods than the first example given above. Two tombs of a family from the Northern Zhou will be compared with one tomb from the Northern Qi.300 The Northern Zhou family tombs were the tombs of Wang Shiliang (507-584 CE) and his son and Wang Deheng (546-576 CE) excavated at Xianyang, Shaanxi, the royal cemetery of Northern Zhou. According to their epitaphs (Appendix B: 2, 3), Wang Deheng died at age 31 in 576 CE. Eight years later in 584 C.E.301, his father Wang Shiliang died at age 77. Although Wang Shiliang died in the Sui period, his autobiography was recorded in both the History of Northern Dynasties (Beishi) and the Book of Zhou (Zhoushu). Wang Shiliang served the Northern Qi, but surrendered to the Northern Zhou. The Northern Qi tomb belonged to Cui Fen (503-550), a member of the upper class from Heqing, Shandong Province.302

From the epitaphs and biographies known from written texts, we can reconstruct the histories of the Wang and the Cui families: Wang Shiliang’s epitaph states that his family was from Jinyang, modern Taiyuan, Shanxi province. According to his biography in the Book of Zhou (Zhoushu), he was born in Northern Wei period, his family members were generals

300 These three tombs were not looted. Two skeletons, including one male and one female, were found in the tomb chamber of Wang Deheng. The report did not clarify who this female was and what the relationship between Wang Deheng and the female was, but she probably was his wife. Three skeletons were found in Wang Shiliang’s tomb, including Wang Shiliang, his wife, and a concubine. Here I will only discuss the burial goods in the tomb and coffin of Wang Shiliang. The Northern Qi tomb of Cui Fen was not looted, but disturbed by a construction worker when the tomb was discovered.

301 It was the third year of the reign of Kaihuang of the Sui Dynasty.

302 This tomb was intact, but was disturbed by construction work while the tomb was being excavated.
stationed in the northern areas. During the reign of the Northern Wei, his great grandfather served the Northern Wei as a local general at Duhuang. Wang Shiliang’s family lived in the Heyou, an area in Shaanxi and the Gansu corridor. During the reigns of the Eastern Wei and Northern Qi, Wang Shiliang was a general in the western border with the Northern Zhou. In the fourth year of the Baoding reign of the Northern Zhou (564 CE), Yuwen Hu, the leading general of the Northern Zhou, had a battle with the Northern Qi at Yuzhou. In the course of this battle, Wang Shiliang surrendered to the Northern Zhou who bestowed on him the title, Lord of Guangchang Prefecture. Wang Shiliang served both the non-Han regime like the Northern Wei and the Northern Zhou of the Xinabei and the Han-Chinese regime, the Northern Qi Dynasty and the Sui Dynasty. Both regimes desired the service of Wang Shiliang because Taiyuan was a major strategic location on the border between Northern Qi and Northern Zhou and was on the route where the nomadic groups, such as Turkish and Ruru, came down from the north.

During the rapid changing political period of the Six Dynasties, the Shandong area had been occupied by many different ethnic groups, including the Jin (265-316 CE) (Han-Chinese regime), Former Qin (351-394CE) (non-Chinese, Di people), Southern Yan (398-410 CE) (non-Chinese, Xianbei), the Song of the Southern Dynasty (420-479 CE) (Han-Chinese), the Northern Wei (386-533 CE) (non-Chinese, Xianbei), and the Northern Qi (550-577 CE) (Han-Chinese). The epitaph of Cui Fen states the Cui family at Linqu, Shandong Province and that he had mostly

---

303 During the turmoil of the Jin Dynasty (265-316 CE), the Wang family moved to the state of Liang, in modern Wuwei, in the Gansu corridor.
305 Wang Zhenfang 王振芳, "Lun Taiyuan zai Dong Wei Bei Qi shiqi de zhanlue diwei 论太原在东魏北齐时期的战略地位 (Discussion on the Strategic Position of Taiyuan During the Periods of Western Wei and Northern Qi)," *Shanxi daxue xuebao* 山西大学学报, no. 4 (1991), p. 57.
served in Han-Chinese regimes during the periods of political chaos. His epitaph states that Cui Fen’s great grandfather was a local official who served the Jin Dynasty (265-316 CE), and his grandfather, also a ranked official, served the Song of the Southern Dynasty (420-479 CE). On the premise that the Northern Wei of the Xianbei regime was a desirable political situation, both Cui Fen’s father and Cui Fen himself both served in the court. Although many different regimes held this area, Cui’s service for the Han-Chinese regime, like that of his grandfather and great grandfather, were worth recording in his epitaph. Cui Fen was a local official with a lower-ranking title, General of Weilie, but with power in a local region.

Not surprisingly, many traditional Chinese burial goods were found in the tombs of these three Han-Chinese officials, including pottery figurines, coins, bronze mirrors, and glazed earthenware vessels. The number of the goods in the categories of pottery, glazed earthenware vessels, jade, and coins are what differentiates each tomb (Table 10).

Few pottery figurines were found both in Wang Shiliang (11) and Cui Fen’s (9) tombs. In Wang Deheng’s tomb (108) there were about the average number found in the Northern Zhou tombs (Table 10). The glazed earthenware vessels found in both tombs were of mostly traditional Chinese types, such as hu, guan, and bowls, and were most likely as daily utensils. Coins were found in all three tombs, although the number of bronze coins in the tomb of Cui Fen (N. Qi) was higher than in the Northern Zhou tombs. Cui’s tomb contained 69, and the tombs of the each Wang contain 14. There were 32 clay imitation coins in Cui Fen’s tomb. As discussed

---

306 Shandongsheng wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo and Linqu Xian bowguan 山东省文物考古研究所 临朐县博物馆, “Shandong Linqu Bei Qi Cui Fen bihua mu 山东临朐北齐崔芬壁画墓 (The Mural Paiting Tomb of Cui Fen of the Northern Qi at Linqu, Shandong),” p. 25.
307 Cui Shiping 崔世平, "Cui Fen muzhi yu nanbei zhengzhan xia de Qingzhou Cui Shi 崔芬墓志与南北争战下的青州崔氏 (The Epitaph of Cui Fen and the Cui Family at Qingzhou under the Warfare During the Northern and Southern Dynasties),” p. 37.
above, the use of bronze coins and imitation coins made of clay in the tomb of Cui Fen indicates a strong continuation of Han practice in the Northern Dynasties.

The structure of Cui Fen’s tomb is traditionally Chinese, and the painted decorations on the walls are like those in tombs in the Southern Dynasties. The Seven Sages of the Bamboo Grove and Rong Qiqi were painted on the east wall in the chamber and a ritual procession appeared on the center of the west wall. The style, composition and subject matter of these two scenes are like with those that were popular in the southern areas during the Southern Dynasties. In Cui Fen’s case, it is clear that he or his surviving family members chose themes that were generally used only by the emperors, such as famous literati and ritual processions. The tomb was located in a border area and the restriction was not apparently strongly enforced, since a lower ranking general and his family could use subject matter in order to present himself both as a literati and as a person who had a high social status.

The Wang family of the Northern Zhou chose a different kind of burial assemblage. The vertical shaft instead of a sloping passageway used to construct Wang Shiliang’s tomb is unique among the other fifteen tombs in this study. The use of the vertical shaft followed the Chinese traditional burial. Otherwise, the composition of this tomb is quite similar to other Northern Zhou tombs. In comparison, the tomb structure of Wang Deheng (son of Wang Shiliang) is similar to the standard Northern Zhou type, consisting a sloping passageway, an antechamber, and a inner chamber. Wang Deheng died in 576 CE, during the reign of Emperor Wu of Northern Zhou. It is possible that Wang’s father intended to build his tomb to

308 Wenqi Wu, "Mural in the Tomb of Cui Fen of Northern Qi."
imitate the generals of the Northern Zhou. In these two tombs, there are remains of murals, but they are so badly preserved that only a red broad band is present today.

A gold hairpin and two bronze mirrors were found near the head of Wang Deheng. Both of these objects belonged to Chinese traditions known from the earlier date and valuable during the Northern and Southern Dynasties. The most extraordinary objects in the tomb of Wang Deheng were ten miniature bronze vessels that measure between about 1.5 - 7 centimeters high. Their small size suggests that they were made for mortuary purposes. Bronze was a rare and precious material during the period of the Six Dynasties because most of it was used for Buddhist sculpture and coins. This set of miniature bronze vessels was probably commissioned by his father, Wang Shiliang, who had high social status and political power. Sets of bronze vessels like this have not been found at any other extant tombs of this period. Since six of them were modeled on traditional Chinese ritual bronze vessels, it is likely that they created a collective memory of “Chinessness.” The Han-Chinese practice of honoring the dead by dedicating and placing bronze vessels in one’s tomb was reproduced by a Han-Chinese family in a period of non-Chinese rule. This is particularly important because in Wang Deheng’s epitaph, it states that his father and he surrendered to the Northern Zhou, and perhaps their history as generals of the enemy state, Northern Qi, was a burden on their reputations. The set of ritual bronze vessels could have been an attempt to reassert their Chinese affiliation and status.

Many valuable objects were included in Wang Shiliang’s coffin. These included eight jade pendants likely placed on his chest, one iron mirror near his head, one bronze button, one gilded bronze buckle and one bronze plaque, forty-seven agate beads, a glass bowl, and the top of a hat ornament. The jade pendants, bronze buckle, hat ornament, were probably worn on the
body, indicating that they were associated with the individual status of the deceased. As discussed above, jade pendants were only found in three Han-Chinese Great Generals’ coffins. This Chinese tradition was carried out by the high-ranking officials in the period of non-Han regime. Wang Shiliang died in the Sui Dynasty, during the reign of a Han-Chinese ruler, Yang Jian. The precious jade pendants were found together with a hat ornament, probably indicating that the deceased was buried in formal court dress. The bronze buckle likely references his warrior role and status. A yellow glass bowl imported from outside must document Wang Shiliang’s station at Taiyuan. The exotic goods were perhaps gifts from a foreigner and intended to indicate Wang Shiliang’s high social status and wealth.

From the examples of the Wang family of the Northern Zhou and Cui Fen of the Northern Qi, we can see that regional interconnections were documented in their burial goods as well through the style and subject matter of the tombs’ murals. As a local general, Cui Fen and his family chose a literati subject for the mural to decorate his tomb, even though this subject matter was usually used only by the emperor. In contrast, Wang Deheng and his family chose an Chinese burial custom mixed with some pastoral attribute such as a cauldron. Although Wang Shiliang surrendered from the Northern Qi to the Northern Zhou, he still maintained his high status. The variation from standard Chinese models of burial customs among the Wang family seems largely to have followed changes in the societal position along with their experiences as warriors in a military culture. The current social context shaped the class and cultural affiliations expressed in the Wang family tombs.

3.3.1.3 The Tombs of Li Xian and Tian Hong

The third example explored in this study is the tombs located at Guyuan and Taiyuan. These were areas known both for their resident ethnic populations and for their military activity
resulting from competitive commercial activities along the Silk Road. Guyuan and Taiyuan tombs were as rich as those in the second example, and contained goods from both the Chinese and the pastoral cultures. In addition, they also contained goods affirming the military prowess of the deceased and a number of rich and exotic items probably imported from the trade routes. I will discuss how the Han-Chinese generals stationed at the trade centers on the Silk Road created their cultural identity and social status. I will focus on the Northern Zhou tombs of Li Xian (503-569 CE) and of Tiang Hong (510-575 CE) both at Guyuan, Ningxia, and compare them with the Northern Qi tomb of Xu Xianxiu at Taiyuan, Shanxi. All three tombs belonged to high-ranking warriors.\(^{310}\) Li Xian had a posthumous title, Pillar of the State Great General (zhuguo dajianjun), Tian Hong held the military title of Pillar of the State Great General (zhuguo dajiangjun) and Xu Xianxiu, the King of Wuan, held a prestigious title, Head of Military Affairs (taiwei). In addition to their service in proximity to the Silk Road, all three of these military elites died between the ages of 65 and 70.

Advancement through the ranks of the military during the Northern Zhou period was based on military achievement.\(^{311}\) Li Xian’s and Tian Hong’s military successes were recorded in their epitaphs, biographies and histories.

The military life of Li Xian (503-569 CE) can be divided into three stages based on the three dynasties for which he served Northern Wei, Western Wei, and Northern Zhou.\(^{312}\) He came from a military family from the Kaoping area, in modern Guyuan, Ningxia. Early in his career, he served the Northern Wei and helped to suppress ‘rebels’ (ca. 529 CE). He was promoted and became a local official of the Gaoping district. In the second stage of his career during the

\(^{310}\) The three tombs were looted, but some valuable objects, such as exotic goods, remained in each.

\(^{311}\) Dien, “The Role of the Military in the Western Wei/ Northern Chou State.”

\(^{312}\) Linghu Defen 令狐徳棻, Zhou Shu 周書 (The Book of Zhou), pp. 415-418.
Western Wei period (535-557), Li Xian assisted Yuwen Tai in containing Homou Chenyue and foreign groups, such as the Rouran. At age 48 (551 CE), he had risen to the rank of the “Commissioner Holding an [imperial] tally (shichijie) and Great General of Cavalry” (piaoqi dajiangjun). Before this, Yuwen Tai asked Li Xian and his wife, Wu Hui, to bring up his two sons because the court had become too dangerous for them. One of these sons, Yuwen Yong, later became Emperor Wu of the Northern Zhou. This reinforced the relationship between the Li family and the Xianbei leaders. In 557 CE, he was removed from this office over a scandal involving his nephew, but his position was restored in 562 CE and he was appointed to the office of Prefect in the Gua Prefecture. During the last stage of Li’s career, in 564 CE, Emperor Wu of the Northern Zhou entered into a conflict with the Northern Qi. He ordered Li Xian to defend the southwestern borders with the Qiang and Tuyuhun tribes. Li Xian was appointed to the New Post of Prefect of three states and Commander of Hezhou area (near modern Lanzhou in the Gansu corridor), in order to govern a strategic area. Li Xian suppressed the rebellious tribes, and they did not cross the border again for five years. Li Xian died at age 66 in 569 CE at the capital of the Northern Zhou, Chang’an. According to both his epitaph (Appendix B: 4) and the biography of his life recorded in the Book of Zhou, after his death Emperor Wu of the Northern Zhou awarded him a posthumous title as Pillar of the State Great General and as the Prefect of Ten Prefectures. It was through military exploits that Li Xian rose from a low ranking official to one of the highest status.

Tain Hong (510-575 CE) came from the Yuanzhou (Kaoping area) where Li Xian was also born. His military merits were recorded in three sources—the Zhoushu, his mortuary

313 The Northern Zhou period: the fourth year of Baodin reign 北周保定四年 in 564 CE.
epitaph (Appendix B: 5), and an epitaph written by Yu Xin (513-81 CE.), a famous poet of the
Northern Zhou. The epitaph by Yu Xian was entitled “The Epitaph of Hegan Hong, the Pillar of
the State Great General of Zhou.”316 It cited Tian Hong’s Xianbei surname, Hegan. The three
sources provide similar descriptions of Tian Hong’s career. Two features were emphasized.
First, Tian Hong had demonstrated his military merits at very young age and continued to show
them throughout his long life. For example, he was appointed as the Commander of the local
region (shuai dudu) at age 27. A Xianbei name, Hegan, was bestowed on Tian Hong after his
many achievements during battles with the Eastern Wei from 538 to 548 CE. As Dien points out,
Tian Hong was given his Xianbei surname because he was stationed at strategic areas along the
Wei River and the bank of the Yellow River.317 In 548 CE he rose to be the Prefect of Yuanzhou
at age of 38.318 In 571 CE319 Tian Hong had risen to the top military rank, the Pillar of the State
Great General. Tian Hong was a brave and intelligent warrior who was always in the front of the
battle according to both the Book of Zhou (Zhoushu) and his epitaph, and at one time he was hit
by “hundreds of arrows.”320 The epitaph by Yu Xin says that he fought in 106 battles during his
45 year long military career.321

The epitaph of the Northern Qi general Xu Xianxiu states that he was from Zhongyi
County (in northern Hebei Province). His grandfather and father, officials of the Northern Wei,

---

316 Yu Xin 庾信, “Zhou Zhuguo driangjun Hegan Hong shendaobei 周柱国大将军纥干弘神道碑 (The Epitaph of
Hegan Hong, Pillar State of Great General of the Northern Zhou),” in Quan Bei Qi Wen, Quan Hou Zhou Wen 全北
237-239.
156-171.
318 Yuanzhou lianhe kaogudui 原州联合考古队编, Bei Zhou Tian Hong mu 北周田弘墓 (Hokushu DenkōBo) (The
Northern Zhou Tomb of Tian Hong), p. 57.
319 The sixth year of Tianhe’s reign as Emperor of the Northern Zhou.
321 Yu Xin 庾信, “Zhou Zhuguo driangjun Hegan Hong shendaobei 周柱国大将军纥干弘神道碑 (The Epitaph of
Hegan Hong, Pillar State of Great General of the Northern Zhou),” p. 238.
were stationed in the same northern border region. Xu Xianxiu himself served for the Northern Qi, following the Gao Huan. His rank was raised to the Head of Military Affairs (taiwei). Xu Xianxiu died at age of 70 in 571 CE at Jinyang, or modern Taiyuan.322

The tombs of Li Xian, Tian Hong, and Xu Xianxiu had the remains of a tumulus measuring approximately 5 meters high. The Northern Zhou tombs of Tian Hong and Li Xian were structured alike. The tomb of Tian Hong was 56 meters long and had five airshafts; the tomb of Li Xian was 48 meters long and had three airshafts (Table 1). Based on their military rank, it is clear that Tian Hong’s social status was higher than that of Li Xian. Tian Hong was a Pillar of the State Great General; Li Xian was only honored with that title after his death. The tombs of both generals had standing warriors painted on their walls, which displayed their warrior status and military identity.

In contrast, the Northern Qi tomb of Xu Xianxiu was shorter in length (30 meters) but had a much bigger tomb chamber: (6.6 by 6.3 by 8.1 meters) (Table 1). The murals in the passageway and chamber of his tomb showed elaborate scenes of ritual processions and of banquets, and included patterns from the Western Regions. In Northern Qi tombs, the function of the elaborate mural paintings and a large main chamber was to indicate the prestige and high social status of the deceased.

**a. Li Xian**

Based on Li Xian’s epitaph and the presence of exotic goods in his tomb, I once assumed that Li Xian’s ancestors were not Chinese.323 I now think that the burial settings, the

---

epitaph, and his biography in the *Zhoushu* indicate that Li Xian probably had multiple identities shaped by the larger social context, the military culture of the Northern Zhou period and his personal history.

The few foreign objects in the tomb of Li Xian and his wife included a gilded silver ewer, a green Sassanian glass bowl, and a gold ring with an engraved blue stone. These items have been the focus of modern scholarship.\(^{324}\) Generally, scholars agree that because these foreign goods document long distance connections from the Silk Road during the fifth and sixth century C.E., they are proof of Li Xian’s high social status. Like other tombs examined in this dissertation, traditional Chinese goods were also found in this tomb. These included 255 pottery figurines, jade pendants and two stone oval-shaped beads found on his chest, and more than one hundred of agate beads spread over the upper part of the body. The positioning of jade pendants on the body was strongly associated with the Chinese tradition and used only by the highest status generals, those with the title of Great General with the Ninth Rank.\(^{325}\)

The tomb of Li Xian also contained objects associated with the pastoral tradition. These are two bronze belt buckles (unclear about their location in tomb), a sword in its scabbard found between the inner and outer coffins, and a silver cauldron with a handle found in the east side of

---

\(^{323}\) Jui-man Wu, "Exotic Goods as Mortuary Display in Sui Dynasty Tombs--a Case Study of Li Jingxun’s Tomb," *Sino-Platonic Papers* 142(2004). Luo Feng 罗丰, "Li Xian fufu muzhi kaolue 李贤夫妇墓志考略 (A Brief Examination on the Epitaph of the Couple of Li Xian)," *Meishu yanjiu 美术研究*, no. 4 (1985). Luo Feng suggests that Li Xian was Xianbei; Yao Weiyuan 姚薇元, *Bei Chao Hu Xing Kao 北朝胡姓考 (Study on Foreign Surnames During the Northern Dynasties)* (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju 中华书局, 1962).pp, 299-300. Yao suggests that Li Xian’s family changed their surname from Chili 叱李 (叱李) to Li 李 during the N. Wei Dynasty.


\(^{325}\) Chen Suzhen 陈苏镇, "Bei Zhou Sui Tang de sanguan yu xunguan 北周隋唐的散官与勋官," p. 30.
According to Boris Marshak, the sword found between Li Xian’s coffins was a type of sword named “sword of the Huns,” which was popular across Eurasia from Hungary to China, Japan. It had two unusual features, a pommel ring and two P-shaped mounts on one side of the scabbard which could be suspended on the swordsman’s belt. This foreign feature increases the value of the sword and was an indicator of Li Xian’s military prowess.

One part of his epitaph that alludes to a distant connection with the Xianbei is seen in his burial assemblage that includes various sources from the past. The most significant indications of his warrior role are revealed in his epitaph, the burial setting and the burial goods such as the swords, a set of jade pendants on the body, bronze belt buckles, and the exotic goods from the trade route, point to Li Xian is great military achievements and a close relationship with Emperor Wu of Northern Zhou. The long sword placed between Li Xian’s coffins certainly commemorated his warrior identity as recorded in his biography and may have been used by Li Xian in his battles.

b. Tian Hong

The five Byzantine coins in the tomb of Tian Hong have been another focus of modern scholarship. The Byzantine solidi were found in Tian Hong’s coffin, and are thought to have been highly valued exotic goods that indicate Tian Hong’s high status as the Pillar of State Great General. Many traditional Chinese goods were found in Tian Hong’s coffin, including a set of....

---

326 Ningxia Huizu zizhiqu bowuguan and Ningxia Guyuan bowuguan 宁夏回族自治区博物馆 宁夏固原博物馆, "Ningxia Guyuan Bei Zhou Li Xian fufu mu fa jue jianbao 宁夏固原北周李贤夫妇墓发掘简报 (Brief Report on the Northern Zhou Tomb of Li Xian and His Wife at Guyuan, Ningxia),” p. 5.
328 Krieg, "Striking Gold: The Lives of Byzantine Coins Along the Silk Roads."
jade pendants on his chest, six Chinese bronze coins, and nine hundred glass beads.\textsuperscript{329} Parts of a lacquer framed hat with hundreds of glass beads were found both in the main chamber and the fifth airshaft since his tomb was disturbed. The hat was probably worn by Tian Hong in his lifetime. Six pottery figurines were found in his tomb and thirty grey pottery vessels containing the remains of millet were found in the northwest side of main chamber and the fifth airshaft in the passageway. This type of pottery vessel was associated with the Xianbei culture. Interestingly, no glazed earthenware vessels were found in the tombs of Li Xian, Tian Hong, and Yuwen Meng, (all of them were located at Guyuan), probably because such vessels were not available in the northwest regions.

Based on the burial goods in his tomb, it seems that Tian Hong had a strong sense of Chinese cultural affiliation. Though he had a Xianbei surname, served the Xianbei leaders, and was stationed at the northern edge of the Silk Route, he chose to use his Chinese surname to record on his epitaph. As a high-ranking military leader (Pillar of State Great General of Northern Zhou), Tian Hong and his family chose to bury him in an official hat and with a set of jade pendants. The Byzantine coins, which might from a personal collection gained from when he was stationed at Guyuan, also mark his high status.

\textit{c. Xu Xianxiu}

In contrast to the Northern Zhou tombs of Li Xian and Tian Hong, a large number of pottery figurines (320) and glazed earthenware vessels were found in the Northern Qi tomb of Xu Xianxiu, at Taiyuan, Shanxi province. It is clear from evidence in both the mortuary settings and his epitaph that Xu Xianxiu was a high-ranking official. Flamboyant and well-structured

\textsuperscript{329} Yuanzhou lianhe kaogudui 原州聯合考古隊編, \textit{Bei Zhou Tian Hong mu 北周田弘墓 (Hokushū DenkōBo) (The Northern Zhou Tomb of Tian Hong)}, pp. 45-52.
murals decorated the passageway and extended to the large burial chamber. The numbers of figurines and murals were strongly associated both with the status of the deceased and with Han-Chinese heritage. An imported gold finger ring with a carved blue stone was found in Xu Xianxiu’s coffin also marks his high status. Much of his power probably was based on the fact that he was stationed at the center of several trade routes and as the Head of Military Affairs (taiwei).

3.3.2 Xianbei Generals

3.3.2.1 The Tomb of Chiluo Xie

The Xianbei general’s tomb of Chiluo Xie (499-574 C.E.) provides an example of how the Xianbei general gained a high social status through military exploits as recorded in his epitaph. Based on Chiluo Xie’s epitaph (Appendix B: 6) and biography in the Book of Zhou (Zhoushu), he had outstanding military exploits. He had fought in many battles with Yuwen Tai and helped with the establishment of the state. He was given a royal Xianbei surname, Yuwen, by Yuwen Tai after conquering the Shu (modern Sichuan) in 556 CE, but later revived his original Xianbei surname, Chiluo, in 566 CE. He was appointed as the State Pillar of Great General, the highest rank of the military in 571 CE. Chiluo Xie was stripped of the titles in 572 CE, because Chiluo Xie was too close with Yuwen Hu, who was killed by the Emperor Wu in

\[\text{Reference:}\]
\[\text{Yuwen Hu was Yuwen Tai’s nephew. After Yuwen Tai died in 556, Yuwen Hu set Yuwen Jue, the third son of Yuwen Tai, in 557. Yuwen Hu killed Yuwen Jue eight months later in 557 and set Yuwen Yu, the first son of Yuwen Tai, in throne in 557 again. Three years later, Yuwen Hu killed Yuwen Yu again, and set Yuwen Yong, (The Emperor Wu of Northern Zhou) in 560. The Emperor Wu had waited for 12 years and killed Yuwen Hu in 572.}\]
572 CE. Two years later, his ranks were restored as the Great General of Cavalryman. Chiluo Xie died at age 75 in 574 CE.

The structure of Chiluo Xie’s tomb was similar to that of the Emperor Wu of the Northern Zhou. It has a long passageway, niches in the passageway, airshafts, and a tomb chamber. But the length of his tomb (71 meters long) is longer than that of Emperor Wu’s tomb (68 meters) and the number of airshafts (six in his tomb) is one more than those of Emperor Wu’s (five). The tomb’s tumulus is about 20 meters in height. It is significant that his tomb is larger. The use of niches was also a significant feature that indicates a non-Chinese burial custom. Unfortunately, most burial goods in his tomb chamber were pillaged. But those in the niches in passageway were intact. Only 12 grey clay jars, 206 pottery figurines, 10 clay building, and 8 animals were found in the niches of Chiluo Xie, unlike precious burial goods in niches in the Emperor Wu’s tomb. The decorations on grey clay jars, however, were similar to those found in Emperor Wu’s tomb, suggesting that Xianbei type of clay jars were used. Some remnants of glazed earthenware objects have been found in his chamber, and some of them can be recognized as parts of *hu*, bottle, and bowls. Since glazed earthenware objects were imported from the Northern Qi, from Henan. This suggests that they were valued objects.

The size of tomb of Chiluo Xie likely indicates his high military status. This suggests that a warrior could have a larger tomb than the emperor but only under special circumstances. This is probably because the Northern Zhou rulers promoted the value of military exploits.

3.3.2.2 The Tomb of Dugu Zang

The second example of a Xianbei general is the Northern Zhou tomb of Dugu Zang (544-578). This tomb shows how military culture and personal history affected the ways in which a Xianbei general was buried. Dugu Zang, the fourth son of Dugu Xin (503-557), was an outstanding general who helped Yuwen Tai to found the Western-Wei and Northern Zhou. He had three daughters who were married to the emperors of the three dynasties, the Northern Zhou, Sui, and Tang. Unlike his father, Dugu Zang had no military career, but gained his title through the his father’s position as the County Duke of Wuping (Wuping xian kaiguogong) at age eight, according to his epitaph (Appendix B: 7). The tomb of Dugu Zang was found intact, but only a few objects, (nine glazed earthenware bowls, one earthenware dish, and 68 pottery figurines), have been found in his tomb chamber. Three glazed earthenware hu were put near his head and 357 beads near his neck. Dugu Zang died at age 35 from “melancholy” probably due to the execution of Yuwen Xian ordered by Emperor Xuan of the Northern Zhou in 578 CE. Yuwen Xian, the fifth son of Yuwen Tai and the brother of the Emperor Wu, was ordered to death by the new Emperor Xuan (the eldest son of Emperor Wu) in 578 CE. In their epitaphs, both Ruogan Yun and Dugu Zang were served on the staff of Yuwen Xuan, the

---

333 Dien suggests that the tomb of Dugu Zang was a reburial in the Sui. based on the title of County Duke of Wuping recorded in the Beishi was later th
335 Based on the records in the Beishi (Book of Northern Dynasties) that Dugu Zang had a title as the Duke of Wuping county after the Northern Qi was conquered.
337 There were two coffins found in the tomb chamber, one is for Dugu Zang, and the other is for his wife, a non-Chinese with a surname of Helan.
Prince of Qi, Qiwang. The deaths of Ruogan Yun and Dugu Zang were probably associated with the execution of Yuwen Xian by the Emperor Xuan of the Northern Zhou in 578 CE.

Objects in his tomb include three glazed earthenware hu, probably imported from the neighbor state of Henan, indicating his high social status. Dugu Zang gained his official title from his father’s position and he had no military exploits recorded in his epitaphs. It is also possible that the Dugu family had lost power at this particular moment so that his burial setting was humble.

Dien has suggested that the tomb of Dugu Zang could be a later reburial in the Sui Dynasty, because he thinks that the records in the Book of Zhou (Zhoushu) and the Book of Northern Dynasties (Beishi) could be correct in stating that Dugu Zang had a title of a country baron (Yining xianhou) at age four because of his father’s position, and was given a posthumous award after Yang Jian became the emperor of the Sui in 581. I think that the tomb of Dugu Zang most likely dates to the Northern Zhou period for two reasons. First, his epitaph recorded that he was buried on the twentieth day of the tenth month in 578 C.E. Second, if he was reburied in the Sui, he would be reburied according to his status as a county duke and the burial setting would be more embellished, since the Emperor Wen of the Sui, Yang Jian, restored honors to the Dugu family because Yang Jian’s wife was the seventh daughter of Dugu Xin. But his intact tomb only contained a few valuable goods. Dugu Zang’s scarce burial probably indicates his shortage of military merits and lost power of the Dugu family at that moment.

---

340 In the Zhoushu, it is recorded that Ruogan Yun’s father, Wang Xin died because of the association with the purge of Yuwen Xian by the Emperor Xuan of the Northern Zhou. Ibid., p. 195.
Xiebei generals’ tombs were most likely affected by the military culture of the Northern Zhou period. As a Xianbei general, Chiluo Xie revived his own Xianbei surname, the use of local grey clay jars, and chose to build niches for containing his burial goods. These non Han-Chinese traditions align him with Han-Chinese generals and reinforce his natal affiliation. Dugu Zang’s tomb provides an example of a more modest burial setting, indicating scarce personal achievements and a prominent family that lost power because of a political scramble for office.

3.4 CONCLUSION

The kingdom of the Northern Zhou was located between the areas controlled by nomads and the Northern Qi kingdom which had close economic and political ties to other Chinese kingdoms to their south. Both areas were deeply affected by traditional Chinese culture. The centralized military system of the Northern Zhou (fu-bing) was led by warriors from the pastoral Xianbei cultures, but it also recruited members from several powerful local Chinese families. Northern Zhou society was faced with the problem of creating a viable military organization led by officers from different cultures. One choice was to address this problem on a political level. For example, the Northern Zhou rulers bestowed Xianbei surnames on both Xianbei and Han-Chinese military leaders, which marked them both as having served the Xianbei leadership. Much of this reconciliation, however, must have been carried out on a social level. Exactly how this was done is difficult to explore since much of it was never recorded. But it is possible to infer some of the characteristics of this process from the physical evidence presented in the tombs of the Northern Zhou generals.
Dien has argued that the Xianbei culture played a significant role in the formation of the Chinese culture during the Sui and Tang periods, and also suggested the Chinese were “Xinbei-ized” under the periods of Western Wei-Northern Zhou under the rulers of Yuwen Xianbei.\(^{343}\) I think that the process of acculturation would take a very long time, and the situation during the period of the Northern Zhou was much more complex than assuming it was a period of “Sinicization” or “Xinbei-ization.” I think that the construction of multiple identities by the generals of the Northern Zhou can be examined at two levels of interaction: social and personal, as discussed above.

I have shown that some Han-Chinese officials’ tombs in the Northern Qi, very often chose long-held Chinese funerary customs, such as the presence of murals, pottery figurines and glazed earthenware vessels. The tomb of Cui Fen, a lower-ranking official at Shandong, contained a mural painting with a topic associated with the literati from the south. The tomb of Xu Xianxiu, a high-ranking official of the Northern Qi has a flamboyant mural painting and 320 pottery figurines. By contrast, pottery figurines or mural paintings were less important in the Northern Zhou tombs.

Within the larger social context, the military culture of the Northern Zhou period effected the ways in which these generals and/or their families built their tombs and displayed artifacts for viewing by members of their society and in the afterlife. The structure of these tombs and the assemblages of burial goods in them incorporated goods and practices not just from one but several very diverse cultures. The tomb of Chiluo Xie is the largest of the tombs found in the Northern Zhou. His tomb is also longer than that of Emperor Wu of the Northern Zhou, reflecting the value of military culture in the Northern Zhou. The choice of making niches may

\(^{343}\) Dien, “A New Look at the Xianbei and Their Impact on Chinese Culture.”; Dien, “The Bestowal of Surnames under the Western Wei/Northern Chou: A Case of Counter-Acculturation.”
be a way that he distinguished himself from Han-Chinese burial practice, indicating his affiliation with his natal culture.

From a personal perspective, the objects or collections found inside the coffins or chambers the Northern Zhou generals’ tombs were associated with their military achievements or their living family members’ social, economic, cultural identities, and positions. From the seven cases studied in this chapter, the burial practices were strongly influenced by the personal background of the generals. Evidence of different societal taste and practices can sometimes be seen within the same artifact. For instance, a belt set was found in most of the generals’ tomb of the Northern Zhou, making it both a mark of both his military prowess as well as his pastoral heritage that defined his warrior status.

As was shown in their epitaphs, the taking of a surname had a major effect on the process of creating identity. For example, in the case of Ruogan Yun, “Ruogan” was the Xianbei surname which Yuwen Tai had bestowed on his father. Married to a Xianbei princess and having a Xianbei name, Ruogan Yun apparently identified more with his Xianbei affiliation than with his ethnic Chinese background, since a belt made of jade, the quintessential Chinese material, was made of a steppic design.

In the case of Wang Deheng, an ethnic Chinese from the Northern Qi who surrendered to the Xianbei leaders of the Northern Zhou, it seems that reproduction of the sense of Chinese culture through making the ritual bronze objects became a way to connect with his natal cultural identity. In the cases of Li Xian, Wang Shiliang, and Tian Hong, personal objects and exotica were placed in their coffins on or near their bodies, revealing the life or history of the deceased, also recorded in their epitaphs or biographies. A long sword of foreign style in the tomb of Li Xian not only marks his warrior identity, but also indicates his high social status by owning this
exotic weapon. In contrast, Dugu Zang was buried with only few glazed earthenware objects in his tomb. This is suggestive of his lack of merit and army rank and that his family had lost power during a period of rapid political change.

The processes of interaction among the generals of different backgrounds are recognizable in burial shape and its embellishment, where they as signifiers of warrior’s class, role, and cultural affiliation. These markers were generated at a specific historical moment associated both with the military culture of the Northern Zhou and personal history of the deceased family’s social, economic, and cultural identity.
This chapter focuses on three recently excavated Sogdian tombs from the Northern Zhou period located in modern Xi’an. Sogidans spoke an Iranian language and originally lived in oasis states between two rivers, the Amu Darya and Syr Darya, in modern day Uzbekistan and Tajikistan. They came to China as early as ca. 300 CE via the Silk Road, as merchants, craft workers, translators, missionaries. In Chinese texts, “merchant barbarians” shanghu refer to the Sogdians, who had been merchants for centuries. In this chapter, I am especially interested in how these foreigners situated themselves in the society that was ruled by non-Han Xianbei leaders and what their tombs can tell us about Sogdian identity in the larger sociopolitical context of the Northern Zhou regime. I have explained that warrior classes of the Northern Zhou were affected by the military culture and that their burial settings and burial goods were associated with the military achievements of the deceased and/or the living family members’ social, economic, and cultural affiliation.

Unlike the Xianbei and Chinese that I discussed in Chapters Two and Three, the burial settings for Sogdian merchants were inconsistent, but it is still possible to identify them as Sogdians through one means or another. The question is why these sets of tomb furnishings are so different, since they were all known to be ethnically Sogdian. I think that the merchant

---

344 Boris Marshak, "The Archaeology of Sogdiana," The Silk Road 1, no. 2 (2003).
346 Ibid.
culture of the Northern Zhou affected the way in which these specific Sogdians and/or their families buried them so as to distinguish themselves from other members of Xianbei and Han-Chinese society. Each individual’s rank, family background, and specific or personal beliefs affected the ways in which they were buried. Their individuality was displayed with distinctive burial furniture. The emphasis on each individual was publicly made known through epitaphs and the display of biographical narrative scenes on burial furnishings.347

Unlike the richly furnished Xianbei and Han-Chinese tombs, each Sogdian tomb contains primarily stone furniture with narrative scenes carved into their surfaces, and leather belts with buckles and plaques made of bronze, and Byzantine coins near the bodies (Table 11). They do not contain ceramic figurines, ceramic models of daily utensils or wooden coffins, objects usually found in Xianbei and Han-Chinese tombs. The overall organization of tombs dated within the Northern Zhou period, however, is similar to aristocratic Chinese burial style. Each tomb is of considerable size, with a long arched ramp, antechamber, and vaulted burial chamber. The three Sogdians died in the same decade and were buried in proximity to each other at the capital of the Northern Zhou, Chang’an. Each tomb reflects different concepts of death, both in the treatment of the body and in the subject matter and styles of the carving on the stone funerary furniture. The complexity of the burial settings in these tombs reveals two important aspects of Sogdian culture during the Northern Zhou. First, the deceased and their family members strove to create a sense of individuality by incising illustrations that memorialized the life and/or religion of the deceased on the stone furniture. Second, variations of subjects and styles in stone furniture illustrations shows that throughout the period of the Northern Dynasties Sogdians interacted with the Chinese, Hephthalites, and Turks.

347 The epitaphs of the Northern Zhou Sogdians are in Appendix C.
Sogdian texts unearthed in the modern Chinese territories of Dunhuang and Turfan have been studied since the 1960s. The recent discovery of the three Sogdian tombs, the focus of this chapter, has led to a flurry of research. Extensive scholarship has provided important information about the history of the Sogdians and trade between China and Central Asia. Research has increased both on the diversity of religions practiced by the Sogdians and their death rituals. Scholarship has focused on the iconography of the illustrated stone couches and sarcophagi in these tombs as it relates to religion, trade, and the social activity of these three officials appointed by the Northern Zhou court, as sabao, who managed the settlement of the foreign peoples and supervised the trade and ritual activities in the Western Region.

These rich studies frame my discussion of more theoretical issues concerning class and cultural identity in this period. A discussion of the Sogdian tombs in their commercial and religious context during the Northern Zhou period will expose the ways in which these Sogdians and their families displayed identity in burial as compared to other members of the Northern Zhou.

348 Ibid.
351 In Chapters Two and Three, I compared the tombs of the Northern Zhou with those of the Northern Qi to distinguish the features of the Northern Zhou. Although there are two other stone monuments related to the Sogdians in museums that are believed to date from the Northern Qi, for (one in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, and the other in the museum in Miho, Japan), without dates, epitaphs, and other related tomb information, I am not able use them in this comparison.
4.1 THE SOGDIANS: PEOPLE AND HISTORY

The background of the Sogdians and their history allows us to explain the Sogdian position and role in Northern Zhou society and to explain the particular contents of their burials. The Sogdians originally came from Sogdiana, an area located between the Amu Darya and Syr Darya rivers, in modern day Uzbekistan. Sogdiana was continuously occupied by neighboring empires of Achaemenid Persia, Alexander the Great, the Bactrian kingdom, the Kushan, Hephthalite, Turkish Empires, and the Arabs.\(^{352}\) The Hephthalite Empire ruled the Central Asia from the mid-fifth to the mid-sixth century and the conquered Sogdiana ca. 509 CE.\(^{353}\) In mid-sixth century CE, the Turks conquered huge territories in Central Asia, creating a mixed cultural community there among the ruling strata.\(^{354}\) The establishment of the Turkish Empire thrust the hitherto discreet commercial presence of the Sogdians into the forefront of the local political situation. Economic exchange was affected by both extremely variable political circumstances and attempts to balance military forces. The Northern Zhou and Northern Qi vied with each other for political control of northern China between 550 CE and 580 CE. Both saw the Turks as a valuable military presence as well as trading partners. Military contests between the Zhou and the Qi and their desire for horses on the one hand, and the necessity for both to appease the Turks with silk on the other, lead to commercial and economic expansion for the Sogdians.\(^{355}\)

Exchange of power and goods continued until the Sui Dynasty unification of China in 581 CE.

Although the Sogdians had intermingled with the Hephthalite, Turks and the Xianbei, they retained an identity separate from them.

The Sogdians were identified by various names in official Chinese texts. In the Book of the Wei (Weishu), the country of the Sogdians is as suteguo.\(^{356}\) In the Book of the Northern Dynasties (Beishi) and the Book of the Sui (Suishu), “zhaowu,” was the surname of the rulers of the small kingdoms in Sogdiana, including Kang-guo (Kang state, modern Samarkand), An-guo (An state, modern Buhara), Shi-guo (Shi state, modern Kish or Kesh), Ho-guo (He state, modern Kushan), Mi-guo (Mi state, modern Maimargh), and Cao-guo (Cao state, modern Kabudan).\(^{357,358}\) Therefore, the Sogdians were called the “Nine Surnames of Zhaowu” (zhaowujuxing) or “Hu of the Nine Surnames (jiuxinghu).” The collective name Sogdian or sute was used to refer those Central Asian people from Sogdiana, but they knew where they came from as the State of An, the State of Shi, or the State of Kang, as recorded in the epitaphs of the three Sogdians, discussing in the following section.

### 4.2 CULTURAL AFFILIATION AND OCCUPATION

The three Sogdian tombs of An Jia, Shi Jun, and Kang Ye were located in modern Xi’an in proximity to each other. The deceased were identified by the biographical epitaphs found in their tombs. Unlike the generals of the Northern Zhou, the Sogdians did not have Xianbei surnames.

\(^{358}\) According to O. H. Cmufphoba, the name of kings: Jamuk, al-Jamukin was close to the pronunciation of “zhaowu” in ancient time (tsiau-miu).
Rather, their surnames reflect their Central Asian origins in Sogdiana. They were from different regions, but all spoke an Iranian language. In this section, discussion of their official titles, of the officials of the Sogdian community (*sabao*) and of a Zoroastrian priest (*datianzhu*) recorded in their epitaph will aid in understanding the structure of their tombs and burial goods.

### 4.2.1 Location: Chang’an, Center of Metropolitan Cultures

The three Sogdian tombs were found near Xi’an, Chang’an, the capital of the Northern Zhou. Chang’an was a cosmopolitan city which connected the East and the West, a metropolitan area where merchants gathered and mixed cultural activities and interactions. Although An Jia was appointed *sabao* of Tongzhou (modern Tali, Shaanxi) and Shi Jun was the *sabao* of Liangzhou, (modern Wuwei, Gansu), both died in their homes and were buried in Chang’an. We know that they were political and religious leaders of the Sogdians who held the official title of *sabao*, but when they retired from the position and died in their home locales, they were buried near the capital.

---

361 Xi'anshi wenwu baohu kaogusuo 西安市文物保护考古所, "Xi'an Bei Zhou Liangzhou Shi Jun mu fajue jianbao 西安北周凉州萨保史君墓发掘简报 (Brief Report on the Excavation of the Tomb of the Sabao Shi Jun of the Northern Zhou at Xi'an )," *Wenwu* 文物, no. 3 (2003), p. 30
362 Su Hang 苏航, "Bei Chao mouqi de sabao pinwei 北朝末期的萨保品位 (The Ranking Position of sabao during the Late Period of the Northern Dynasties)," *Xiyu yanjiu 西域研究*, no. 2 (2005), p. 23.
4.2.2 Social Organization and Institutionalized: Sabao and Datianzhu

The government of the Northern Zhou bestowed the official titles of sabao and datainzhu to the Sogdians, but they were not recorded in Northern Zhou texts. They have been extensively studied by scholars and there is a great deal of agreement about their significance. The title of sabao was derived from the Sogdian term s’rtp’w which was originally the Sanskrit word sarthavaha meaning ‘the leader of merchants’ or ‘the caravan leader’. The title sabao was bestowed by the Northern Zhou government for its own purposes.363

In all of the three tombs, a biographical epitaph carved in stone was found in the tomb chambers.364 Their epitaphs record their origins in the Western Regions Xiyu, their official titles, and biographical details in their lives, such as the dates that they received official positions. For example, Shi Jun was appointed as sabao of Liangzhou at age 45 in 539 CE.365

The epitaphs of An Jia and Kang Ye were carved in a square stone stele very similar to others found in the Northern Zhou tombs. The epitaph of Shi Jun written in Chinese and Sogdian and was hung above the door of a house-shaped sarcophagus (Appendix C: 1), the epitaphs of An Jia (Appendix C: 2) and Kang Ye (Appendix C: 3) were written in elegant Chinese in four-character phrasing. In contrast, because Shi Jun’s Chinese epitaph had some incorrect and mis-written Chinese characters, the excavators suggest that the slate was probably carved by a literate

364 Three epitaphs are translated in English see Appendix C.

130
Sogdian, but one unfamiliar with Chinese characters. The epitaph of Shi Jun records that his ancestors were from the Shi state originally from the Western Regions, Xiyu, and then moved to Chang’an. Kang Ye was descended from kings of the Kang state in Samarkand (modern Samarkand). An Jia’s epitaph records that he was member of one branch of the descendants of Huangdi, the Chinese legendary Yellow Emperor. His surname, An, indicates that his family’s original hometown was the An State (modern Bukhara).

The titles sabao and datianzhu were inherited through family lineage and the three epitaphs mentioned the names and titles of the grandfathers or fathers. According to Su Hang, the sabao of the local state owned 2000 households in the area and their political status was the same as seventh ranking officials on the county or xian level. On the other hand, Grenet points out that the illustrations on Shi Jun’s sarcophagus suggest a close relationship with the Hephthalite Empire. He argues that before Shi Jun became sabao, he had spent many years

366 Xi’anshi wenwu baohu kaogusuo 西安市文物保护考古所, "Xi’an Bei Zhou Liangzhou sabao Shi Jun mu fajue jianbao 西安北周凉州萨保史君墓发掘简报 (Brief Report on the Excavation of the Northern Zhou Tomb of Shi Jun, the Sabao of Liangzhou, in Xi’an)," Wenwu 文物, no. 3 (2005), p. 23.
367 Both Shi Jun and Kang Ye had the same positions that their family members held. Shi Jun’s grandfather, A-shi-pan-tuo in Chinese and Rashtvantak in Sogdian, was sabao of his home country. Shi Jun was appointed sabao of Liangzhou by imperial order in 565 CE at the age of 72 (he died at age 86). Kang Ye was appointed datianzhu in 566 CE at the age of 55 (he died at age 60). Kang Ye’s father was a datianzhu and luozhou cishi. His three sons all had Sogdian names- Fang-xiu-yan, Pan-tuo, and Huo-zhu. The first half of Kang Ye’s epitaph recorded the career of his father, who died in 563 CE when Kang Ye was 52 years old. Three years later, Kang Ye was appointed datianzhu by the order of the Emperor Wu of the Northern Zhou. Five years later, Kang Ye died at the age of 60 in 571 CE. Kang Ye might not have built a very successful career, but he gained a title, datainzhu, which had been held by his father. After he died, he was bestowed the title of Kanzhou cishi. Shi Jun came from a wealthy family. His Sogdian epitaph records that his family members were among the elite in his hometown. Shi Jun’s grandfather, A-shi-pan-tuo, was a sabao, a ‘leader of the caravan’, in the country where he was born. Shi Jun’s wife was from the Kang state, Samarkand. Shi Jun died in the fifth month of 579. His wife died in the sixth month of the same year. Shi Jun and his wife were buried together in the first month of 580. An Jia was appointed sabao of Tongzhou at unknown date. An Jia’s father was named Tujian held the titles of Guanjun General and the prefectural governor of Meizhou (modern-day Meishan County, Sichuan Province). Like his father, An Jia held a military title, he was appointed Dadudu (Grand Commander).
368 Su Hung 苏航, "Bei Chao mouqi de sabao pinwei 北朝末期的萨保品位 (The Ranking Position of sabao during the Late Period of the Northern Dynasties)," Xiyu yanjiu 西域研究, no. 2 (2005), p. 15-18.
trading with the Hephthalites. Similarly, An Jia was the sabao of Tongzhou and had a close relationship with the Turkish Empire as was depicted on his funerary couch. Although the men holding the title of sabao in the Northern Zhou held a local official rank, their original merchant status perhaps based on wealth allowed them to build a larger tomb.

### 4.2.3 Political Status and the Merchant Class: Tomb Structure

The structure of the Sogdian tombs is similar to that of other Northern Zhou tombs in that they are large, with long arched ramps, antechambers, and vaulted burial chambers (Table 11). As discussed in Chapters Two and Three, the size and length of the tombs are roughly associated with the sociopolitical status of the deceased. But there are some exceptions since length, size, and shape of some tombs were not restricted by the owners’ social status, but rather could be influenced by either the wealth of the deceased or by local customs.

Lerner and Wang Weikun suggest that the adoption of Chinese tomb design in the Northern Zhou was a sign of “sinicization.” Luo Feng and Sofukawa Hiroshi, however, suggest that it was a compromise for living in China to accept a local burial tradition in Han-

---

371 The tomb passageway of Kang Ye was destroyed when it was excavated. The height of the tomb chamber is not clear since the vaulted burial chamber was clasped. Xi'anshi wenwu baohu kaogusuo 西安市文物保护考古所, "Xi'an Bei Zhou Kang Ye mu fajue jianbao 西安北周康业墓发掘简报 (Brief Report on Excavation of the Tomb of Kang Ye of the Northern Zhou in Xi'an, Shaanxi) " *Wenwu 文物*, no. 6 (2008), p. 14
Chinese style.\textsuperscript{373} I think that the former one is an over-simplification of a complex situation, and the latter theory is closer to historical circumstances. This adoption of tomb structure resulted from negotiation and was a symbol of sociopolitical status. This probably was especially the case for those who were the \textit{sabao}, the high-ranking officials appointed by the rulers of Northern Zhou, for example, An Jia and Shi Jun.

Albert Dien has compared the size of Sogdian tombs with other Northern Zhou tombs and argues that the large size of the tombs of An Jia and Shi Jun probably reflected that their merchant status was found by different regulations than the Chinese. In addition, he suggests that both the luxurious couch furniture and large size tomb of An Jia indicates that the tomb occupant was a person who gained status and wealth not only from the position as \textit{sabao}, but also from his military victory in an important battle against the Northern Qi in 576-577.\textsuperscript{374} The large size of the tomb of Shi Jun was also an indicator of the wealth and social status.

A comparison of the three Sogdian tombs with contemporary Northern Zhou tombs will help us to understand more about their significance and the questions Dien raises about the relationship between tomb size and official status.

Shi Jun and An Jia’s Sogdian tombs were much larger and more elaborate than tombs of others who held the same official rank. Shi Jun and An Jia’s tombs had five airshafts, while only the tombs of imperial family members and of Great Generals of the Northern Zhou had five airshafts (Table 11). Kang Ye’s tomb includes a passageway, an antechamber, and an inner


\textsuperscript{374} Dien, "Observations Concerning the Tomb of Master Shi," pp. 109-111.
burial chamber, but there were no airshafts. The tomb chamber is 3.3 x 3.4 meters, a bit smaller than those of Shi Jun, (3.5 x 3.7 meters) and An Jia (6.4 x 3.7 meters) (Table 11). Perhaps the organization and size of the tomb of Kang Ye is closer to his social position, but those of Shi Jun and An Jia are larger when compared to others with their official position. Also, the dates of their deaths suggest that it might be possible that the large size of the tomb and lavish mortuary items in tombs of An Jia and Shi Jun were because the power of the central government of the Northern Zhou had lessened. These wealthy merchants could afford to build lavish tombs with five airshafts, long passageways, and stone furniture decorated with gold foil either because of the weakness of the traditional political control of the foreigners or because their role in bringing exotic goods into the region was so important.

4.2.4 Burial Goods

Burial goods in the three Sogdian tombs include bronze belt buckles and plaques, Byzantine coins, gold finer rings, and a pottery lamp. Other than these, there was illustrated stone funerary furniture in each tomb. The placement and the use of the objects reveal their significance to the deceased and the family members both in the life and afterlife.

4.2.4.1 Bronze Belt Buckles and Plaques

The three Sogdian tombs contain belt buckles and plaques. A complete bronze belt was found on the waist of Kang Ye while lying on his couch; a complete gilded bronze belt was

375 Kang Ye’s tomb was destroyed, but the organization of the tomb is discernable.
376 The Emperor Xuan of the Northern Zhou gave his throne to his son, the Emperor Jing of the Northern Zhou in 579, but the power of the government actually fell to Yang Jian, the maternal grandfather of the Emperor Jing, who became the prime minister in 580 and later overthrew the Northern Zhou and established the Sui Dynasty in 581.
found with the collected bones of An Jia at the entrance of his tomb chamber; a gilded bronze buckle was found in the chamber of Shi Jun. As discussed in the chapters Two and Three, bronze belts that were found in the generals’ tomb of the Northern Zhou period signifies their warrior status. Images in An Jia and Shi Jun’s funerary furniture show the Sogdian males wearing boots and a leather belt with bronze buckles and bronze plaques, a costume and belt close to their lifestyle as horseriders. As Marshak has pointed out that, “belts decorated with gold plaques were the mark of noble rank.”377 If this is the case, then, the gilded bronze belt sets found in the tombs of An Jia and Shi Jun were an indicator of elite status within the Sogdian community. On the other hand, in the images women are shown wearing traditional Chinese clothes. Grenet suggests that the Sogdian wives of sabao, wear Chinese clothes to differentiate them from common Sogdian women, usually regarded as dancers or musicians with a lower social status.378 In the illustrations on Kang Ye’s couch, Kang Ye dressed in Chinese style robes as well, and was surrounded by male servants dressed in Sogdian clothing. Other females in the illustrations were dressed in Chinese-style clothing. The costume and gilded bronze belt sets in the illustrations reveal their lifestyle as merchants often travelling on horseback on the trade routes and possessing high social status.

4.2.4.2 Byzantine Coin and Gold Finger Ring

According to Aleksandr Naymark, Byzantine coins and the imitation ones were found in the tombs dating to the periods of the sixth to eighth centuries in Sogdiana.379 A Byzantine coin was inserted into the mouth of Kang Ye. An imitation of a Byzantine coin and a gold finger ring

were found inside of the sarcophagus of Shi Jun. Wang Weikun argues that the custom of putting coins in the mouth is a sign of Sinicization since this was a burial tradition from China as early as the Shang Dynasty (ca. 17th-11th century BCE). The interment of coins in the burial was a tradition in Sogdiana. During the sixth to the eight centuries in Sogdiana, Byzantine coins were not the main currency. Rather, Sasanian silver coins were used in major commercial activities. Furthermore, Lin Ying argues that the interment of Byzantine coins in the Sogdian tombs located within China in the seventh century is associated with their merchant identity. The use of Byzantine coins or imitation coins was a reference to their home land.

4.2.4.3 Clay Lamp

Only Shi Jun’s tomb contains a clay lamp that resembles a big basin. The dark grey remains of ashes left on the bottom of pottery vessel, suggest that it was a lamp, perhaps used during a ritual ceremony.

The three Sogdian tombs shared similar patterns of use of burial goods, suggesting some burial customs were followed by all Sogdians. Their jobs as officials in Sogdian communities as sabao or as religious priests, (datianzhu), were needed by the Xianbei leaders to maintain the integrity of the Sogdian community, which may suggest that the Sogidans were segregated in certain areas and not integrated into either the Chinese or Xianbei community. It was not until

382 Lin Ying 林英, "Solidi in China and Monetary Culture Along the Silk Road," The Silk Road 3, no. 2 (December 2005).
383 Xi'an shi wenwu baohu kaogusuo 西安市文物保护考古所, "Xi'an Bei Zhou Liangzhou sabao Shi Jun mu fajue jianbao 西安北周凉州萨保皇君墓发掘简报 (Brief Report on the Excavation of the Northern Zhou tomb of Shi Jun, the Sabao of Liangzhou, in Xi'an),” p. 19, 23. The size of pottery lamp is about 9.4 centimeters in d of the top, 3.1 centimeters in height, and 4.6 centimeters at the bottom.
the mid seventh century that Sogdians were incorporated into the Tang Dynasty society.384

As discussed above, An Jia and Shi Jun were appointed as sabao and Kang Ye as datianzhu. Because official titles were granted by the emperor of the Northern Zhou (based on the Kang Ye’s epitaph), this suggests the importance of the position. However, as Su Hung has pointed out, the title of sabao was never recorded in the any texts of Northern Zhou period. He suggests that, although the official ranking of sabao was equal to that of a seventh-ranking local official, it had never been included in the official bureaucratic system and Sogdians were still regarded as uncivilized.385 The Book of Sui (Suishu), records that the government of the Northern Zhou wanted to attract the people from the Western Regions (Xiyu), they had regulations for the worship of hutian, “barbarian Heaven,” a ritual in which the Emperors of the Northern Zhou also participated.386 De la Vaissière points out that the diplomatic role the Sogdian played between the states was very important.387 It is possible that the Northern Zhou government needed the Sogdians for various purposes, but did not accept them into the Chinese institutionalized system.

Although the burial goods in tombs of the Xianbei political leaders are similar to those of the Chinese, the Sogdian tomb goods are less so. These two responses may reflect different relationships to Chinese models, presumably based on their official associations with Chinese society. The Xianbei leaders created a bureaucracy from within Chinese society, but Sogdians,

385 Su Hung, “Bei Chao Mouqi De Sabao Pinwei 北朝末期的萨保品位 (The Ranking Position of sabao during the Late Period of the Northern Dynasties),” p. 21.

4.3 \textbf{CONSTRUCTED MEMORIES OF INDIVIDUAL LIVES: THE TREATMENT OF BODY AND ILLUSTRATED FURNITURE}

In this section, I will examine the three Sogdian merchants by studying the treatment of their bodies and use of mortuary stone furniture in each tomb. Although the three Sogdian individuals died in the same decade and were buried near one another, their burial settings, treatment of their corpses and the content and style of illustrations on their funerary furniture were very different. What can these differences tell us about the intentional construction of individual identity by the deceased and by their family members, and to what extent does this reflect the character and rank of the deceased? The treatment of the body probably reflects different concepts of death, whereas images on their stone furniture reflect personal identity, and memorized the life and religion of the individuals and their families.

4.3.1 \textbf{Treatment of the Body}

The treatment of the corpse in the three Sogdian tombs differs and might relate to social significance of the individual deceased (Table 11).\footnote{Sarah Tarlow, "The Aesthetic Corpse in Nineteenth-Century Britain," in \textit{Thinking through the Body: Archaeologies of Corporeality}, ed. Yannis Hamilakis and Mark Pluciennik (New York: Kluwer Academic/Plenum Publishers, 2002), p. 87.} Even though the tomb of Shi Jun was looted and is not complete, male and female human bones as well as animal remains were found...
inside and outside of the sarcophagus. In the intact tomb of An Jia, the bones of the deceased were found in the entrance of chamber. Han Kangxing analyzed the bones and estimated that the deceased was a Caucasian male more than 50 years of age. The author of the archaeological report suggests that the deceased was An Jia, the individual recorded in the epitaph. Some bones had traces of burning, but the reason for this remains a mystery. In the intact tomb chamber of Kang Ye a complete body was lying on the stone couch dressed in silk garments with a leather belt and bronze buckles.

In Xianbei and Chinese tombs the body was placed inside a wooden coffin in the tomb chamber. All the Xianbei and the Chinese tombs during the Northern Zhou period follow this burial tradition. Generally speaking, Buddhist practitioners cremated the body and put the ashes in reliquaries. The Zoroastrian practice was to expose the body so that the flesh was stripped off, then the bones were collected and buried. These practices might reflect the role of the individual in relation to religion and will figure in later discussion.

The authors of archaeological report stress the Zoroastrian aspects of An Jia’s case. They believe that the burial treatment of An Jia followed Zoroastrian practice, and suggest that the bones showed traces of burning were probably scorched during a Zoroastrian fire ritual. Lin Wushu, however, proposed that the body of An Jia was not collected after exposure outside because a bronze buckle and plaques were found with the bones. He further argued that it is necessary to distinguish the burial custom of An Jia from that of the Zoroastrians of the Persia

390 Shaanxisheng Kaoguo Yanjiusuo 陕西省考古研究所, *Xi' an Bei Zhou An Jia mu 西安北周安伽 (Excavation of the Northern Zhou Tomb of An Jia at Xi’an)* (Beijing: Wenwu Chubanshe 文物出版社, 2003), pp. 92-120.
392 Ibid, pp. 86-87.
393 Lin Wushu 林悟殊, "Xi'an Bei Zhou An Jia mu zangshi de zai sikao 西安北周安伽墓葬式的再思考 (Rethinking of the Burial Type of the Northern Zhou Tomb of An Jia)," *Kaogu yu wenwu 考古与文物*, no. 5 (2005), p. 61.
and of the Central Asia. In the tradition of Persian Zoroastrians vultures ate the flesh of the deceased, the bones were collected and then put in a tower. The Zoroastrians of the Central Asia collected bones of the deceased and placed them in ossuaries. One can assume that in the Zoroastiran burial tradition objects other than ossuaries and that burial customs differed over time and across regions.

Treatment of the bodies in the three Sogdian tombs of the Northern Zhou period does not follow one single burial practice. They did not follow Zoroastrian, Buddhist, or Chinese customs exclusively. These immigrants’ concepts of death differed from both indigenous groups of the Northern Zhou and the customs in their homelands. The corpses of the Sogidans of the Northern Zhou were placed at the entrance of chamber, lying on a stone couch, or inside a sarcophagus. Choices made for presentation of the body are either dependent the contemporary political tension or commemorative practices preferred by each individual.

4.3.2 Stone Couch and Stone Sarcophagi

Some scholars have suggested that the use of a stone couch and house-shaped burial furniture is a Chinese burial custom popular during the Han Dynasty. Although the shape of the 

---

394 Ibid. Lin Wushu assumes that the body An Jia should be lying on the stone couch as the corpse of Kang Ye. Although the excavators did not find any looted holes in the antechamber and inner chamber, Li Wushu suggests that the holes might be sealed by the looters.


sarcophagi of the Han Dynasty was similar to those in Sogdian burials, the decorations on them were quite different. To understand the significance of these pieces, it is important to discuss three aspects.

1. the shape of these pieces of burial furniture
2. the content of the decorations on them
3. the style and composition of these decorations.

This discussion is made more complex by the fact that content, style, and composition on the stone furniture in the three Sogdian tombs differ. These differences, however, can also be very valuable because they demonstrate that each family constructed specific memories of individuals after death rather than following any prescribed models. These factors relate both to the ways in which the personality and beliefs of the deceased were expressed and to the historical circumstances and ideologies that shaped the society in which the deceased and their family members lived.

4.3.2.1 Form

Couch and house-shaped stone furniture were used to hold the bodies of the deceased in these Sogdian tombs. Some scholars suggest that these two forms became popular in China during the Han Dynasty and reappeared in tombs of the Northern Dynasties, and have

---

suggested that their use is a sign of assimilation or “Sinicization.” 398 I think that the choice made by the deceased and the family member was related to their lifestyle or religion.

Other scholars argue that the couch form was associated with the Sogdian tradition. 399 The Persian text (Handarz i Xosroy i Kawadan) states that King Kusahe ordered that “when my soul leaves my body, you (my subjects) have to lift my chair (or couch) to the place where I rest”. 400 In the biographies of the Western Region in the Book of Sui, (Suishu, Xiyu Zhuan) the King of the An State (modern Bukhara) sat in a chair in the shape of a gold camel...the King of the He state (Kushaniyah) sat on a bed shaped like a goat made of gold, and the King of Persia wore a gold flower crown and sat on a gold chair (couch) in the shape of a lion. 401 Zhang Guangda suggests that in Central Asia a chair or couch made of precious material was used as an indicator of social status. 402 This is evidence that the use of a chair, couch or bed was common in both China and the Sogdian regions. The significance of the couch-shaped furniture is found less in their materials and shapes than in illustrations on the couch side and back panels which tell the story of the life of the deceased and express religious ideas.

House-shaped stone burial furniture is found in the tomb of Shi Jun. Based only on its shape, scholars have connected it with the stone house-shaped shrines of the Han Dynasty. The Buddhist Heavenly Kings carved on the two sides of the door of the sarcophagus are similar to Buddhist images on the front doors of Chinese Buddhist temples. A closer example is the cave four at Maijishan, one of the major Buddhist sites dated around the Northern Zhou period.

399 Zhang Guangda 张广达, Wenben Tuxiangyu Wenhua Liuchuan 文本、图像与文化流传 (Text, Icon, and Cultural Tradition) (Guilin 桂林: Guangxi shifan daxue Chubanshe, 2008), pp. 54-55.
400 Ibid.
401 Ibid.
402 Ibid.
According to Shi Jun’s Chinese inscription, his sarcophagus is called stone hall (*shitang*) and the Sogdian inscription states that this hall was a place where gods lived, the paradise for the deceased. Scenarios of the journey of the deceased’s souls to a Zoroastrian paradise were also depicted on the east wall of the sarcophagus. The house-shaped sarcophagus in the tomb of Shi Jun is not based on Han Dynasty stone shrines or Chinese house structures, but probably is closer to Chinese Buddhist temples, which adopted Chinese palace architecture. A contemporary example of a similarly shaped structure can be seen at the Buddhist site at Maijishan. Located on the trade routes near the modern city of Tianshui in southeastern Gansu China, Maijishan is an extraordinary range of Buddhist cave temples which contain many sculptures, stone stele, painted fragments, and inscriptions. Cave Four at Maijishan is dated around the Northern Zhou period and contains eight Buddhist guardian statues (*Tianlong babu*), carved in low relief on two sides of its seven doors. Cave Four is a Chinese house-shaped structure. Many scholars have pointed out that when Buddhism came to China, Buddhist buildings adopted the structure of Chinese residential construction. For example, in murals in the Dunhuang caves, the Buddha or Buddhist deities always are seated in a building with a tiled roof structure. The form of a house-shaped sarcophagus appears to be inspired by the Buddhist temple structure and then was transformed into a Zoroastrian paradise.

403 Xi’an shi wenwu baohu kaogusuo 西安市文物保护考古所. "Xi’an Bei Zhou Liangzhou sabao Shi Jun mu fajue jianbao 西安北周凉州萨保史君墓发掘简报 (Brief Report on the Excavation of the Northern Zhou tomb of Shi Jun, the Sabao of Liangzhou, in Xi’an)." *Wenwu* 文物, no. 3 (2005), pp. 4-33.

404 One example is a Zoroastrian ossuary which has a Chinese house-shaped structure acquired by the Beijing National Palace museum in 1957. It is usually dated around the Tang Dynasty. According to Shi Anchang, this ossuary with six seated god images inside niches might depict religious architecture, possibly modeled after a Zoroastrian temple. See Shi Anchang 施安昌, "Bei Qi sute guizu mu shike kao—Gugong bowuyuan cang jianzuxing chengguwong chutan 北齐粟特贵族墓石刻考——故宫博物院藏建筑型盛骨瓮初探 (A Preliminary Study on a Architectural Shaped Ossuary Collected by the National Palace Museum—the Stone Carving of the Northern Qi Tomb of the Elite Sogdian)," *Gugong bowuyuan yuankan* 故宫博物院院刊, no. 2 (1999), pp. 76-77. It is possible that this was modeled after Chinese architecture, for example, the Great Mosque in Xi’an built during the Tang dynasty.
4.3.2.2 Contents of the Illustrations

In general, the illustrations on the Sogdian stone furniture are of secular activities and religious themes. Secular scenes include whirling dancing (*huxuanwu*), banqueting, and commercial activities, such as caravans with camels loaded with goods.

Scholarship on the furniture carvings has concentrated on iconography, which in turn has formed the groundwork of the study of Sogdian funerary monuments. My focus here will be on the variations found in these illustrations and why the different subject matter and style were chosen by the deceased and their families. The subject matter of the three funerary monuments commemorates the lives of individuals and the choice of style was probably affected by contemporary political events.

**a. Shi Jun**

The sculpted panels on the furniture in the tomb of Shi Jun show two different themes: the secular theme of the life of a *sabao*\(^\text{405}\) and the religious theme of the journey of soul to a Zoroastrian paradise.\(^\text{406}\) These themes are similar to those found in the two epitaphs in his tomb: the Chinese one concerns the life of a *sabao*, and the Sogdian one is more about the religious concept of life and afterlife.

According to Albert Dien, parts of the illustrations on Shi Jun’s sarcophagus are a biographical narrative. Starting from the second panel on the western wall that displays the life of Shi Jun begins with his birth. The baby Shi Jun is held by his grandfather, also a *sabao*, who wears a crown that indicates his importance.\(^\text{407}\) Proceeding to the left, the next panel depicts a

\(^{405}\) Dien, "Observations Concerning the Tomb of Master Shi."

\(^{406}\) Grenet, "Religious Diversity among Sogdian Merchants in Sixth-Century China: Zoroastrianism, Buddhism, Manichaeism, and Hinduism."

hunting scene in the upper section and a caravan with camels at the bottom. This depicts his life as a merchant before he was appointed as *sabao*.\(^{408}\) In the next panel a crowned male and female, Shi Jun and his wife, with musicians and attendants sit in a pavilion placed on a stone base and decorated with a floral pattern on the roof suggesting Shi Jun’s promotion to the *sabao* of Liangzhou at the age of 45.\(^{409}\) In the next panel the Shi family members sit on a rug. This scene is likely of his retirement in Chang’an.\(^{410}\) The final panel on the north wall is the depiction of the death of Shi Jun and his wife.\(^{411}\)

Religious themes are depicted on the front and on the east wall of sarcophagus. The first panel on the front shows two Buddhist Heavenly Kings with four arms stepping on the demon-like figures on each side of the door. On the top of the two side panels, were musicians dressed in Sogdian clothing with instruments. In the center of the side panels are carved windows. In the left and right below is a masked Zoroastrian priest, a half-man and half-bird figure, holding a stick to a fire altar.

Three panels of Zoroastrian religious themes associated with the journey of the soul after death form the eastern wall of the sarcophagus. They are a continuous narrative divided into three sections by architectural pillars and read from right to left. The souls of the deceased couple crossing the Chinwad Bridge to heaven are shown in panel 1 and 2 on the fourth morning after death.\(^{412}\) In the upper register, a god is seated cross-legged above three bulls. In the lower register, there were camels, dogs, horses, and four figures on the bridge. Above them are two

\(^{408}\) Ibid.
\(^{409}\) Ibid.
\(^{410}\) Ibid.
\(^{411}\) Ibid, pp. 106-108.
flying figures and two flying winged horses to the right. In the scene of the souls of the deceased couple entering into the heaven, a male is riding on a winged horse and a female is riding on a winged horse to his left surrounding by the winged musicians. The scenes of the journey of the souls are based on the Zoroastrian texts: the Zadspram, and Pahlavi. In addition to these Zoroastrian images, Manichaean iconography appeared on the first panel of the western wall of Shi Jun’s sarcophagus. A Buddha-like figure on the top register is Mani, pointed out by de la Vaissière, the “Buddha of Light” with a specific mudra, forefinger and little finger extended.

Several scholars have pointed out the painted images of Sogdian merchants in Buddhist caves. Zhang Qingjie first notes that the Sogdian merchants were often depicted in Buddhist murals, for example, in the Kizil cave 114. Furthermore, Rong Xinjiang argues that the images of Indian safu, the leaders of the Indian merchants, depicted in the Buddhist murals were not Indian, but Sogdian sabao. The best example showing a caravan and merchants is from the Buddhist mural in Dunhuang, cave 296, dated around the Northern Zhou period. Grenet has pointed out that the illustrations of merchant caravans were not part of Sogdian artistic

415 Ibid, pp. 475-76.
416 de la Vaissière, Sogdian Traders: A History.
417 Zhang Qingjie 张庆捷, "Bei Chao Sui Tang De Hushang Yong, Hushang Tu Yu Chutu Hushang Wenshu 北朝隋唐的胡商俑、胡商图与出土胡商文书," in Gudai Zhongwei Guanxi Shi: Xin Shiliao Yanjiu Guoji Huiyi Luwen Ji 古代中外关系史: 新史料研究国际会议论文集, ed. Beijing daxue zhonggushi yanjiu zhongxing 北京大学中古史研究中心 (Kexue Chubanshe 科学出版社, 2003). Zhang Qingjie examines the foreign Sogdian merchants in China through the tomb figurines of merchant foreigners, descriptions of foreign merchants in the Buddhist caves and murals in the tombs during the periods of Northern Dynasties and Sui-Tang Dynasties. ———, "Bei Chao Sui Tang de hushang yong, hushang tu yu chutu hushang wenshu 北朝隋唐的胡商俑、胡商图与出土胡商文书." He provides rich images and data on the three parts of evidence on foreign merchants: figurines, illustrations, and texts.
traditions. It is possible that the public sites where images of Buddhist jataka tales, narratives of the previous life of Buddha, were easily accessible were the inspiration for scenes where Sogdian emigrants portrayed themselves and commemorated their lives on funerary monuments. Rong Xinjiang who has focused on the representation of Sogdian caravan in Buddhist murals and on Shi Jun’s sarcophagus, argues that the illustrations of caravans on the sabao’s mortuary furniture are social memories of their merchant life in the past and that these images would have passed down through several generations.

The arrangement of the narrative scenes on Shi Jun’s sarcophagus can be compared to the Buddhist pictorial composition in both the Kerzier (Kizil) caves in Xinjiang and the Dunhunag caves in the Gansu corridor. The diagonal composition of the illustrations on Shi Jun’s sarcophagus is striking and is comparable to Buddhist murals of the cave 114 in Kerzier (Kizil) Kucha, Xinjiang, dating from the mid fourth century to late fifth century. In Kerzier cave 114, there are narrative scenes of Buddha’s previous life, each lozenge telling a story. This kind of composition is seldom seen in Chinese art. In addition, similar depictions of water in the Shi Jun and Kizil murals are both composed of five or six curve lines intertwined with each other and are very unique.

420 Rong Xinjiang 荣新江, "Bei Zhou Si Jun mu shiguo suojian zhi sute shangdui 北周史君墓石椁所见之粟特商队 (A Study on the Sogdian Caravan as Seen on the Relief of the Sarcophagus from the Shi Jun's Tomb of the Northern Zhou Period)," Wenwu 文物, no. 3 (2005).
The overall composition of illustrations on Shi Jun’s sarcophagus is probably derived from Buddhist caves at Kizil, Kizil, in Xinjiang and from the Dunhuang caves. Images of caravans, merchants, and hunting were common in Buddhist murals, which were also shown in the illustration on the sarcophagus. The high relief carving in cave number 4 at the Buddhist site at Maijishan provides one example of style used in carving Buddhist images. Angela Sheng points out that the craftsmen who carved Buddhist caves were free to include non-Buddhist subjects. This policy had been in place since the anti-Buddhism movement initiated by the Emperor Wu of the Northern Zhou around 569. It is possible that the Shi family hired Buddhist craftsmen to make funerary furniture for them in order to make images of Buddhist temple-like architectural monuments and to create a Zoroastrian paradise based on Buddhist iconography.

*b. An Jia*

The content of the panels described on An Jia couch are culturally specific activities. The overall setting in which this synthetic iconography was carved continues to emphasize the diverse cultural environment in which An Jia lived and worked, in very subtle ways. In a manner similar to the intellectual framing of the epitaph, the overall organization of the panels would seem to be set in a traditional Chinese fashion, emphasizing centrality and enclosure.

---

422 Grenet mentioned that de la Vaissiere has shown the composition of the first panel on the west wall derives from Buddhist art in Dunhuang. Grenet, "Religious Diversity among Sogdian Merchants in Sixth-Century China: Zoroastrianism, Buddhism, Manichaeism, and Hinduism," p. 476.


424 The issue of who actually carved the couch is an intriguing, important, and vexing question not addressed here, or elsewhere to my knowledge.
The individual subject matter and narrative organization of the panels, on the other hand, are displayed according to the cultural settings depicted that are evidently not derived from Chinese models.

Several scholars have already examined various aspects of the panels. Some have discussed the contents and the sequence or placement of the panels based on pictorial features.\footnote{Rong Xinjiang, "The Illustrative Sequence on An Jia's Screen: A Depiction of the Daily Life of a Sabao."; Annette Juliano, "Chinese Pictorial Space at the Cultural Crossroads," in Eran Ud Aneran: Webfestschrift Marshak, ed. Paola Raffetta Matteo Compareti, Gianroberto Scarcia (http://www.transoxiana.org/Eran/Articles/stavisky.html, 2003); Nancy Shatzman Steinhardt, "Structuring Architecture at the Cultural Crossroads: Architecture in Sogdian Funerary Art," Oriental Art vol. XLIX, no. 4, 2003/2004(2004).} Jiang Baojing and Han Wei think that the sequence starts from right to left as if one were reading a Chinese text, but it is not a continuous narrative and the program is almost certainly more complex than that. Boris Marshak\footnote{Boris I. Marshak, "La Thématique Sogdienne Dans L'art De La Chine De La Seconde Motié Du Iive Siècle," Comptes rendus de l'Academie des Inscriptions & Belles-Lettres (2001), pp.227-264.} first introduced the idea that the two panels in the center of the set on the back served as an iconographic focal point. Rong Xinjiang agrees and further suggests that the illustrations on An Jia’s screen are depictions of life of an ordinary sabao official.\footnote{Rong Xinjiang, "The Illustrative Sequence on An Jia's Screen: A Depiction of the Daily Life of a Sabao."} Since the epitaph tells us that An Jia held an administrative office as a sabao at the service of the Northern Zhou and was a leader of the Sogdians in Tongzhou, or modern Tali county in Shaanxi,\footnote{Shanxisheng Kaoguo Yanjiusuo 陕西省考古研究所, "Xi'an faxian de Bei Zhou An Jia mu 西安发现的北周安伽墓 (Excavation of the Northern Zhou Tomb of An Jia at Xi'an)," Wenwu 文物, no. 1 (2001), p. 21; ———, Xi'an Bei Zhou An Jia Mu 西安北周安伽墓 (Excavation of the Northern Zhou Tomb of An Jia at Xi'an), p. 62.} this explanation makes sense. That context was described by placing Sogdian and Northern Zhou/Han Chinese subjects equally in the center. The addition of a third group, the Türk, completes the contemporary references.

The presence of Chinese style architecture in the central left panel constructs a “Chinese” cultural backdrop as adopted in the Northern Zhou for the scene much as the Confucian rhetoric
frames the epitaph of An Jia. Whereas on the side panels another notion of organization dictates the placement of double scenes of dancing, drinking, hunting, and discussion set in spaces without clear boundaries. The content of these panels depict culturally specific activities. The same kind of architectural framing of sculptural and painted scenes was used in Sogdiana. Perhaps the most obvious is the use of the arch to outline scenes as in this example found in the imagery of another sixth-century scene of a royal investiture at the Sasanian Large Grotto at Taq-I Bustan.\textsuperscript{429} Representations from both settings make use of the center as well as architectural settings for emphasis in meaning.

The iconography of the panels shows a preference for Sogdian-derived subjects that underscore ritual and ceremonial celebrations of a traditional Sogdian type. The dress, activity and architectural setting are consciously constructed to create a multi-cultural visual setting. But peoples other than Sogdians occupy space in several scenes—Chinese female servants, pavilion-style architecture, and carts pulled by oxen appear as do longhaired Türks and steppe-style yurts. Interestingly, none of the cultures dominates any one scene, although there are many more ‘outsider’ activities represented overall. The open-ended spatial construction creates a narrative space, one in which a story is told. This type of structure is mimetic, derived from a worldly observation identified as distinctively Northern Zhou/Chinese, Türkic and/or Sogdian.

Taken as a whole, however, the arrangement of the An Jia couch panels can be compared to Chinese pictorial compositions.\textsuperscript{430} The most obvious comparison is that of the Han tomb shrines of the Wu family in Shandong (c.150 CE) As a narrative, the organization uses the

\textsuperscript{429} Sasanian Empire (3-7\textsuperscript{th} c. CE). http://www/hp.uab.edu/image_archive/ugo/

bottom register to represent this-worldly activities such as processions of carriages bringing
attendees to funerals; in the central register is a scene that describes notable worthies in what
could be called an historical space; and in the top register is the realm of flying beasties and
mythological space. Although pictorial depiction at this early second century date is relatively
limited, we can see the importance of inclusivity of scenes, visual boundedness of represented
action, and the importance of the center to establish social and historical importance and
hierarchy. The use of architecture to delineate important space and activities that take place in it
is also clearly tied to a ranked sense of space and time in which the pavilion in the middle
register encloses and reinforces the central significance of the activity taking place there.

The use of architectural structures to mark meaningful places, making them specific and
unique, has been argued extensively. Visual repetition of such a constructed space takes place
in that space. This visual device is employed in the An Jia couch panels as well. Architectural
depiction is well illustrated in the two center panels and shows the central
significance of these to the overall narrative program. Two different styles of architecture are
depicted on the two panels. On the left, is depicted a Chinese–style pavilion with a tile roof,
stone base and stone stairs. The only narrative, a banquet meeting of An Jia and his wife, takes
place in the pavilion. Action is limited and is entirely contained within the frame of the panel.
On the right, on the other hand, there are two scenes on the panel, both of which depict meetings
between An Jia and foreign ambassadors. At the top the meeting is off-center, and describes a

431 Max Robinson, "Place-Making: The Notion of Centre a Typological Investigation of Means and Meanings," in
Constructing Place : Mind and Matter, ed. Sarah Menin (London ; New York: Routledge, 2003), p. 146; Sarah
Menin, ed. Constructing Place: Mind and Matter (London; New York: Routledge,2003);Susan Kent, ed. Domestic
Architecture and the Use of Space: An Interdisciplinary Cross-Cultural Study (Cambridge England, New York:

432 Donald Sanders, "Behavior Conventions and Archaeology: Methods for the Analysis of Ancient Architecture," in
Domestic Architecture and the Use of Space: An Interdisciplinary Cross-Cultural Study, ed. Susan Kent (Cambridge
particular moment, one including a horse, for instance, cut off by the edge of the frame on the left. On the lower register of the same panel another activity takes place in a square, tent-like structure with continuous pearl-like motifs on three sides and a symbol of the sun and crescent moon on the top. This structural framework is well-known from the shapes of ossuaries and many other images, including Zoroastrian religious practice.\textsuperscript{433} Clearly both top and bottom representations document important activities of a professional \textit{sabao} such as An Jia.

These two panels are located in the center of the overall composition and juxtapose the Chinese/closed against the Sogdian/open spaces. On the left there is one incident described and the scene is enclosed. On the right no story is told in its entirety, for people and animals are only partly included inside the pictorial frame. The structures appear to identify and distinguish Northern Zhou/Chinese style from Zoroastrian/Sogdian spaces. But the compositions within each are quite distinct. In the Northern Zhou/Chinese setting, we find closed space and non-specific time represented. In the other examples we oft en find open space filled with narratives caught at a particular moment: the dancer twirls, the horse enters the scene. This treatment of time and space would seem to reflect different cultural attitudes toward what is significant action and what is appropriate for burial contexts. This pattern, where what is described dictates the presentation of space and the sense of time, is repeated throughout the panels on the An Jia couch.

c. Kang Ye

The contents of the panels and thin-line carving style on Kang Ye couch are very different from those on An Jia and Shi Jun. Activities of whirling dancing, caravans, or hunting

were not depicted. Instead, the illustrations on Kang Ye couch are static and with a central figure set in a closure composition with a landscape background. Many scholars have pointed out the contents and styles of illustrations on the Kang Ye couch were close to Chinese tradition of thin-line carving and enclosed within landscape.\textsuperscript{434} The thin-line carving style and composition is very close to traditional Chinese renderings, which were very popular during the Six Dynasties in southern China and in the late period of the Northern Wei. Since the only archaeological report is a short 2008 publication, the content of the Kang Ye couch has yet to be discussed.\textsuperscript{435} Zheng Yan has examined the illustrations on Kang Ye couch and suggests that the carving technology is close to what is seen in funerary images of the late Northern Wei period at Luoyang.\textsuperscript{436} He compares parts of illustrations on Kang Ye couch with other sixth-century images to find the shared features of the six century. Zheng Yan thinks that Zoroastrian themes were not presented on Kang Ye couch,\textsuperscript{437} Lerner, on the other hand, sees a similarity between some Zoroastrian motifs and other Sogdian funerary art. A censor or altar set in front of the pavilion where Kang Ye sits, and the scenes of a riderless horse and an ox cart.\textsuperscript{438} In addition, \textsuperscript{436}Zheng Yan 郑岩, "Bei Zhou Kang Ye Mu Shita Huaxiang Zhaji 北周康业墓石榻画像札记 (Reading Notes on the Images on the Stone Couch in the Northern Zhou Tomb of Kang Ye)," \textit{Wenwu 文物}, no. 11 (2008). \textsuperscript{435}Xi'an shi wenwu baohu kaogusuo 西安市文物保护考古所, "Xi'an shi Bei Zhou Kang Ye mu fajue jianbao 西安北周康业墓发掘简报 (Brief Report on the Northern Zhou Tomb of Kang Ye at Xi'an)," \textit{Wenwu 文物}, no. 6 (2008), pp. 19-27. \textsuperscript{434}Lerner, "Aspects of Assimilation: The Funerary Practices and Furnishings of Central Asians in China," p. 33; Zheng Yan 郑岩, "Bei Zhou Kang Ye Mu Shita Huaxiang Zhaji 北周康业墓石榻画像札记 (Reading Notes on the Images on the Stone Couch in the Northern Zhou Tomb of Kang Ye)," \textit{Wenwu 文物}, no. 11 (2008). \textsuperscript{437}Zheng Yan 郑岩, "Bei Zhou Kang Ye mu shita huaxiang zhaji 北周康业墓石榻画像札记 (Reading Notes on the Images on the Stone Couch in the Northern Zhou Tomb of Kang Ye)," p. 67. \textsuperscript{438} These scenes were appeared on other Sogdian funerary monuments, like the one collected by Miho museum (Lerner 2005: 25, Table 2); Lerner, "Aspects of Assimilation: The Funerary Practices and Furnishings of Central Asians in China," p. 27.
Kageyama Etsuko notes that the shape of a hat worn by Kang Ye is similar to the Sogdian *sabao* hat worn by An Jia.\(^{439}\)

Scholars have pointed out that the composition of the illustration on the Kang Ye couch is mostly closer to those on Northern Wei mortuary art.\(^{440}\) Zheng Yan suggests that the technology of carving used is close to that used on the funerary images of the late Northern Wei period at Luoyang area.\(^{441}\) The closer example is a Northern Wei stone sarcophagus with the stories of filial sons collected by the Nelson Atkins Museum of Art in Kansas City. Two panels on the Kang Ye couch will be compared with the Northern Wei sarcophagus: panel number 3 and 8.

Panel number 3 is probably modeled after the right section of the story of the filial son, Guo Ju,\(^{442}\) depicted in two scenes. On the right-hand side, Guo Ju’s mother is sitting on a platform holding her grandson, and Guo Ju and his wife are standing in the front. The whole scene is surrounded by a forested landscape and a mountain is in the far background. Similarly, panel number three on Kang Ye couch is also in a landscape setting with mountains in the background and a female is sitting on a platform with her servants in the back and to right side. The right side panel number 8 is likely modeled after the story of the filial son, Wang Lin.\(^{443}\)


\(^{441}\) Ibid.

\(^{442}\) “The story goes “Guo Ju’s father dies when Guo Ju is young. While his two brothers divide the inheritance between themselves, Guo Ju chooses to support his mother by laboring instead. Soon his wife gives birth to a baby. Fearing that it might take away food from his mother, Guo Ju resolves to bury the baby. While digging, he finds a cauldron with a cinnabar-coloured note in it saying: ‘Guo Ju, the filial son: this cauldron of gold is a reward for you’ (Suoshen Ji 11:82)” from Eugene Yuejin Wang, "Coffins and Confucianism—the Northern Wei (386-534) Sarcophagus at the Minneapolis Institute of Arts," *Orientations* 30 (June 1999), p. 58.

\(^{443}\) The story is about Wang Lin saved his brother from bandits.
image depicts the moment when the bandits released Wang Lin’s brother. One rider is seated on a horse seen from a rear view. Likewise, panel 8 of the Kang Ye couch shows a rear view with a riderless horse in the center and fan holders in front of the horse. The background is filled with a landscape scene including tall mountains surrounded by various kinds of trees.444 Although the composition of panel 8 is similar to that of filial son, the meaning of the riderless scene may be specific to the Sogdians. According to Marshak, a saddled riderless scene could be religious, for example, “A saddled riderless horse dedicated to Mithra, the judge of the dead, is placed between two Zoroastrian priests in the Samarkand mural of the mid-7th century. In the 6th century mural in Panjikent there are sword-bearers kneeling in front of the procession of men leading a red (bay) saddled but riderless horse.”445

The thin-line carving style and similar composition of Kang Ye’s couch suggest that the craftsman hired by Kang Ye’s family was a Chinese artisan who was familiar with filial son’ story. Sofukawa suggests that the illustrations on the Kang Ye couch were based on the models in tombs of the Northern Dynasties, and especially from the period of Northern Wei. He argues that since the Kang Ye couch was the earliest of the Sogdian examples and was is a transitional style from the Northern Dynasties.446

444 One more example, “The Nymph of the Luo River” by Gu Kaizhi shows that a central figure is surrounded by landscape and fan holders.
446 Sofukawa Hiroshi 曾布川寛, "中国出土のソグデ石刻像図論 (Discussions on Images of Sogdian Stone Carvings Excavated in China),” p. 158.
4.3.3 Historical Events and the Choice of Subject Matter and Style

The subject matter and styles of the illustrations on Sogdian funerary furniture show different choices among the patrons who died in the same decade (571-581) and were buried in a proximate cemetery. The choices made by them were surely affected by significant historical events in the decade.

Several significant historical events occurred during the years between 568 CE and 581 CE. First, Emperor Wu of the Northern Zhou promoted Confucian ideology in the court from 568 CE to 574 CE. Second, in 574 CE, Emperor Wu promulgated an order that Buddhist monks and nuns gave up their religious status and return to the lay status. In 574, Buddhist images, temples, and books were destroyed.447 Third, in 581 CE, Yang Jian overthrew the Northern Zhou Dynasty and established the Sui Dynasty. These important events must have affected the patrons of these tombs when they had their tombs built and funerary furniture made.

Kang Ye’s choice was certainly associated with the promotion of Confucianism at court. The political ideology during the years between 568 to 574 CE was extremely favorable to Confucian ideology. Emperor Wu of the Northern Zhou called his subjects to court and read the Book of Rites (Liji). Kang Ye was appointed a Grand Zoroastrian priest, datianzhu in 566 at age of 56, and died in 571 CE at the age of 60. It is possible that the political atmosphere affected Kang Ye and his family when preparing the death ritual and funerary objects for him. Eugene Wang argues that the filial sons on Northern Wei sarcophagi were related to Confucian filial paragons and that the Northern Wei rulers promoted Confucian ideology.448 The Kang family

447 Linghu Defen 令狐德棻, Zhou Shu 周書, pp. 63-86.
448 Wang, "Coffins and Confucianism—the Northern Wei (386-534) Sarcophagus at the Minneapolis Institute of Arts."
were foreign merchants and were likely sensitive to the political atmosphere since they worked for the court and lived in the capital. The death robe worn by Kang Ye was of Chinese-style silk garment that made him look more Chinese.

The Shi Jun sarcophagus is associated with religious iconography because of his family background. Shi Jun’s grandfather was a sabao from his home country. Shi Jun died in the fifth month of 579 and his wife died in the sixth month of 579. They were buried in the first month of 580. The persecution of Buddhism by Emperor Wu in 574 freed the Buddhist craftworkers to work for non-Buddhist patrons.\textsuperscript{449} It is possible that Shi Jun and his family members hired Buddhist artisans who were familiar not only with Buddhist images but also Manichean and Zoroastrian models.\textsuperscript{450}

The An Jia couch is more focused on secular scenes of specific cultural activities. Unlike Shi Jun’s family background, An Jia and his father had military titles. The scenes of hunting, dancing, and horse riding emphasized this aspect more than what is depicted on the Shi Jun and Kang Ye panels. An Jia died in the fifth month of 579 CE and was buried in the tenth month of 579 CE. At this time, there was no anxiety about showing “Chineseness.” In addition, by that time the power of court had weakened, and, therefore, the luxurious burial couch made for An Jia was not regulated by imperial laws.

Some scenes on the panels of the stone furniture in the Sogdian tombs of the Northern Zhou displayed the merchant role that the Sogdians filled. Grenet pointed out that Shi Jun had links to the Hephthalite King and that An Jia was also in contact with the Turkish Empire. He argues that before Shi Jun became sabao, he spent many years trading with the Hephthalites. The

\textsuperscript{449}Angela Sheng 盛余韵, “从石到丝：公元475-650 年前后粟特、鲜卑、汉、朝鲜与日本等各民族间葬具的文化转换,” pp. 342-343.
\textsuperscript{450}Grenet, "Religious Diversity among Sogdian Merchants in Sixth-Century China: Zoroastrianism, Buddhism, Manichaeism, and Hinduism."
territory of the Hephthalite Empire included northwest India which might explain why various religious images appeared on illustrations in Shi Jun’s tomb.\(^{451}\) These images include Zoroastrian scenes of the journey of souls to paradise, Buddhist guardians and \textit{apsara}, and Manichaean Mani. The Sogdian \textit{sabao} of the Northern Zhou were very rich merchants. Although their official ranking was not as high as that of a Great General, their tombs were as large those of Great Generals (Table 1). The role they played in trade within the nomadic empire probably made them rich and raised their already significant status in society.

For Sogdians, the priest-bird image perhaps represented a historical connection to the Central Asia where it was a popular theme in the Zoroastrian religion. Grenet points out, the priest-bird image appeared in the most important position, on the stone tympanum above the doorway of the tomb of An Jia, and on two sides of the Shi Jun sarcophagus and its panels.

The contents and iconography of the Sogdian tombs were related to religious themes as well as the role and lifestyle of the deceased. It is possible that maintenance of ‘foreignness’ was required in order to preserve their jobs, so the unique stone furniture and its decoration demonstrate a Sogdian choice based on how the deceased and family members wanted to commemorate their heritage and contribution to Northern Zhou economic well-being.

\section*{4.4 CONCLUSION}

The unusual Sogdian burials in Northern Zhou China reveal the complexity of the culture and the historical background of that region. The Northern Zhou government’s foreign policies attracted

\(^{451}\) Ibid, p. 468.
Sogdian elites to China, a country that was new to them. Not only did the Sogdian elites come, but also many merchants, craftsmen, monks, and women traveled on caravans through the Silk Road to northern China. Sogdians played an important role in maintaining trade among nomadic empires, including Hephthalites and Turks as well as the governments in Northern China. These interactions are seen in illustrations on An Jia’s couch and Shi Jun’s sarcophagus. The three case studies examined in this chapter show that the Sogdians--Kang Ye, Shi Jun, and An Jia--originally came from different states in the region of Central Asia. Although they had slightly different backgrounds, they died in the same decade and were buried close to one another.

From a larger social perspective, the merchant and religious cultures practiced in the Northern Zhou period affected the way in which Sogdians and/or their families differentiated themselves from others. Some scholars have suggested that the Sogdians had been “sinicized” or assimilated to Chinese culture. Using the epitaphs, written texts and archaeological evidence, we have seen that the Sogdians maintained an outsider status, probably because the Northern Zhou government segregated the groups by ethnic background. Their official title, sabao, was derived from their own language, not Chinese. They lived in Sogdian communities organized by their own Sogdian leaders. Their jobs and official titles were not included into the Northern Zhou bureaucratic system. Rather, the Northern Zhou government used certain occupations and official titles to maintain them as foreigners. Although the structure of their tombs is similar to the tombs of other members of the Northern Zhou, that is probably due to their sociopolitical status, rather than as an imitation of Chinese burial practice. Furthermore, the large size of the tombs and their lavish burial furniture showed the wealth of the merchant class in a period of political chaos at the time of a change in dynastic leadership.
The individualized identity of each deceased was shown in the different treatments of the bodies and the contents and styles of illustrations on the stone furniture in their tombs. The story of each individual was constructed through epitaphs and the biographical narrative scenes displayed on burial furnishings. The three Northern Zhou Sogdian tombs show how the interaction created individual difference. Shi Jun’s epitaph records that he was a member of the Sogdian elite, and emphasized his cultural affiliation through the use of Sogdian language. His burial furnishings profess of his Sogdian religious affiliation and merchant experience. For An Jia, secular scenes such as hunting, whirling, dancing and feasting were used to commemorate his life. Kang Ye, had a lower sociopolitical status as a datainzhu, but claimed descendancy from kings of the Kang State in Sogdiana. He or his family chose to bury him in a more “Chinese” fashion in accordance with Emperor Wu’s promotion of Confucianism in the court in 568-571 CE.

The dynamics of Sogdian individual expression of and cultural identity was complex and multifaceted in relation to Chinese political and social history. The merchant cultures of the Northern Zhou affected the way in which these Sogdians and/or their families buried them. Each individual identity was displayed with distinctive burial furniture through epitaphs and in the display of biographical narrative scenes on burial furnishings. Differences in rank, occupation, family background, and beliefs each affected the ways in which they were buried. Unlike the military class of the Northern Zhou, the style of subject matter in mortuary art in the Sogdian tombs reflected the local sociopolitical atmosphere. The deceased and their family members commissioned illustrated stone furniture in order to memorialize the life and/or belief of the deceased. The variations of subject matter and styles on stone furniture show that the Sogdians adjusted the subject matter as a result of interactions with the Chinese, Hephthalite, and Turks.
This study has explored how the patterns of use of mortuary objects documented multiple identities for three classes with specific ethnic backgrounds: the sovereigns who were Xianbei; the military class who were both Xianbei and Han-Chinese, and the merchant class who were Sogdians. I have discussed how aspects of political, military, and merchant life in the Northern Zhou period created a setting that suggested multiple roles and identities in each group.

Agency theory has suggested a way to understand how people or groups chose to represent themselves in the society and has focused on individual and group-level agency. My analysis has shown that there are at least two levels of interpretation associated with the construction of identity: a larger social level in which identities are constructed by official organizations related to occupation, class, and cultural affiliation; and a personal level, in which identities are constructed by individual experiences, including family backgrounds, religion, class, and role. The personal level is more situational, immediate, and may change at a greater frequency, while the social categories take longer to recreate and restrict to the social order. It has been assumed that the Northern Zhou society which was ruled by non-Chinese leaders was

---

“sinicized.” This study has demonstrated that each group constructed multiple identities and consistently distinguished themselves from other groups and individuals. In this sense, they were not wholly, nor even largely ‘sinicized.’

5.1 “SINICIZATION” RECONSIDERED

Confucian ideology was the official ideology in the court throughout Chinese history. The Chinese government adopted a Confucian inspired ideology that acculturated foreigners and documented the policy in official written documents. Ideas of cultural assimilation of foreigners appeared in Confucian ideology as early as the periods of the Spring and Autumn (771-221 BCE), when the Confucian texts were first codified. Historically, some outsider groups were eager to create a fictive Chinese lineage, one way in which this conception was manifested. For example, the epitaph discovered in the tomb of Sogdian An Jia, who came from the Western Regions, was written in Chinese and claimed that he descended from the great mythic ancestor of the Chinese people (Huangdi). In another example, the lineage of the Yuwen family, the imperial family of Northern Zhou, was traced back to the great mythic progenitor of the Chinese people (Yandi or Shennongshi) recorded in the Book of Zhou (Zhouzhu). The use of Chinese genealogy in cases of the Xianbei Yuwen family and Sogdian An Jia was probably associated with their political ambitions. Although the biography of Yuwen was written by a Tang official, Linhu

456 Zhou Weizhou 周伟洲, "Rujia sixiang yu Zhongguo chuantong minzhuguan 儒家思想与中国传统民族观 (Confucious Thinking and Traditional Chinese Idealogy on Nation)."; Poo, Enemies of Civilization: Attitudes toward Foreigners in Ancient Mesopotamia, Egypt, and China, p. 150-151.
Defen, the epitaph of An Jia was probably written by a contemporary literate Chinese scholar familiar with Classic texts. As Abramson has suggested, during the period of Northern and Southern Dynasties through to the Sui and early Tang (350-650) “the use of genealogical and political discourse reflected the interplay and fluidity of ethnic and political boundaries and the centrality of claims of ancestry and geography in the quest of both Han and non-Han states for legitimacy.”

The creation of a Chinese genealogy for non-Han people on the one hand shows how the adoption of Chinese ancestry could be a way for a non-Chinese to become “Chinese.” On the other hand, the ancient Chinese ancestors, both Yandi and Huangdi were mythic figures. In the case of An Jia, the acceptance of Chinese ancient lineage, probably added a level of the “Chineseness” for him, however, his surname “An” signified his origins in the An State in Central Asia (modern Bukhara), and his burial setting indicated multiple ways of identifying himself also as Sogdian, a Zoroastrian and an official in the Chinese system, as discussed in Chapter Four.

5.2 MULTIDIMENSIONAL ANALYSIS

Issues of identity are here explained as tied to politics, culture, and class, and burials often displayed multidimensional ways of identifying any one person or group. The three different cultural groupings recognized here also existed during the Northern Zhou within powerful

---

hierarchical relationships determined both by governmental structure as well as within fluctuating cultural, economic and religious settings. Each person was affected by their class, role, and cultural affiliation when defining themselves in the society of Northern Zhou during the late six century.

Most previous scholarship focused on the single aspect of acculturation and assumed that the result of the interaction among the groups was assimilation or Sinicization which I have found to be an oversimplification. Based on written documents, Chen Yinke argued that as identity was culturally constructed, and that non-Chinese who adopted Chinese culture were “sinicized” (*hanhua*), while Chinese who adopted non-Chinese culture were “barbarianized” (*huhua*). Albert Dien provided a different view. Based on archaeological data, he argued that the Xianbei retained their own identity during the period of Six Dynasties and that the nomadic culture of the Xianbei had a great impact on the Chinese culture during the period of Sui and Tang. I have found that when discussing this issue in light of rich archaeological materials now available suggests that multiple levels of identity were actively constructed by each agent in a particular historical context, with reference to contemporary social, economic, and political conditions.

This attention to choice of the deceased and their families has helped me focus my dissertation on choices made by different social and occupational groups. As discussed in all Chapters, the patterns of choice and use of burial goods follows socio-political organization as well as individual desires. This analysis of materials in burial and their disposition there constructed desired views of the place in it. I have found three important patterns in the burials. First, certain types of objects were consistently used by all three classes—the belt. Second,

---

certain types of objects were chosen by groups create a social and cultural identity and burial goods were specific to some classes. For instance, in the tomb of Emperor Wu of Northern Zhou a large jade bi disc, a metaphor in the representation of legality of ancient Zhou, was included along with and a gold crown and bronze belts with steppic designs, following a Eurasian custom. Third, none of the mortuary sets in one tomb were exactly repeated in another tomb. For example, the inconsistency of burial settings in the tombs of the three Sogdians was particularly unique, as described in Chapter Four. The variation in burial goods, iconography and style represented in the tombs support the idea that conformity even within one's class was not required.

5.2.1 Social Perspectives of Politics, Office, and Power

When the Yuwen Xianbei became the rulers of the Northern Zhou, it was urgent for them to create an authentically political legitimacy and to unite the Chinese and non-Chinese people under their rulership. As Chen Yin-ke and Barfield both point out, a dual organization model that mixed the Chinese bureaucratic system and the nomadic military organization was created by non-Chinese rulers. The funerary ceremony for a state leader, like the Emperor Wu of the Northern Zhou, could certainly have been used to commemorate state-level ideals, displayed in tomb construction and burial goods. Unlike their enemy the imperial tomb of the Northern Qi at Wanzhang, continued Han-Dynasty burial tradition, the Xianbei leaders of the Northern Zhou, probably for strategic political reasons, took on only selected Chinese burial traditions, such as


165
tomb structure and a selection of some objects. In this way, these Xianbei conquerors could show their power to rule in a Chinese land. Conspicuously, for instance, a large jade bi disc was found in the tomb of Emperor Wu of the Northern Zhou. The revival of ancient Zhou political models had probably allowed such a large jade disc to represent metaphorically the heritage of the ancient Zhou to the audience during the death ritual ceremony. In addition, objects in the tombs of Xianbei leaders represented pastoral burial customs from the northeastern areas: specific kinds of bronze belts with knives attached and gold crowns. It is possible that a wide range of people attended the death ceremony, including the Turkic people, Xianbei warriors, Chinese and Sogdians. It would be wise for the family of the Emperor Wu to use nomadic objects to show himself as a leader of both non-Chinese and Chinese. These precious objects were quite likely mediums for expression of both insider (jade bi) and outsider identity (belts and crown) for the imperial family of the Northern Zhou.

Within the larger social context, the military culture of the Northern Zhou period effected the ways in which these generals and/or their families built their tombs and displayed artifacts for viewing by members of their society and in the afterlife. The structure of these tombs and the assemblages of burial goods in them incorporated goods and practices from not just one but several very diverse cultures. The tomb of Chiluo Xie is the largest of the tombs found yet dating from the Northern Zhou. His tomb is also longer than that of Emperor Wu of the Northern Zhou, reflecting the value of military culture in the Northern Zhou. When comparing these Northern Zhou tombs to those of the Northern Qi, it was clear that long-held Chinese funerary customs, such as the presence of murals and large numbers of pottery figurines were very often chosen by the officials of the Northern Qi. In contrast, pottery figurines, and murals were less important to the Northern Zhou peoples. The objects or collections found inside the tombs of Northern Zhou
generals were associated with their military achievements or their living family members’ social, economic, cultural identities, and positions. For instance, a belt of nomadic design could be made of jade, the quintessential Chinese material, as was the one found in the tomb of Rogan Yun, a Chinese general with a Xianbei surname. The long sword placed between Li Xian’s coffins certainly commemorated his warrior identity as recorded in his biography and may have been used by Li Xian in his battles. Both belts mark military prowess as well as pastoral heritage as a commemoration of warriorhood.

The merchant and religious cultures of the Northern Zhou period shaped the way in which these Sogdians and/or their families differentiated themselves in their burials from other groups of the societies. Although some scholars have suggested that the Sogdians of the Northern Zhou had been “sinicized” or assimilated to Chinese culture,461 after consulting the epitaphs, written texts and archaeological evidence, I have found that the Sogdians in China continued to declare an outsider status. Their jobs as a sabao and official titles were not included as part the Northern Zhou bureaucratic system, but were set up by the Northern Zhou government for foreigners. Although the structure of the tombs is similar to these of other members of the Northern Zhou, it is probably a symbol of their sociopolitical status. Their lavish burial furniture displayed the wealth of the merchant class and recorded their merchant life as distinguished from other members of the society. For example, An Jia’s tomb, retained his Sogdian identity by including clear Zoroastrian imagery. For political reasons, he used Chinese tombs construction perhaps to legitimate his role to his employees.462

The Xianbei leaders bestowed surnames on Xianbei and Chinese leaders, but the Sogdians kept their surnames. This policy tied the Xianbei rulers and generals and Chinese elites together as a “we-group,” with shared political and military power. Meanwhile, the Sogdians of the Northern Zhou were a “they-group,” whose job was to maintain foreignness. They could not become citizens, and so were perpetually outsiders.

5.2.2 Personal Perspective on Commemoration of the Lives of the Individuals

At a personal level, identity is more situational and flexible than at the social level. Burial practices were strongly influenced by personal experiences, including their careers. The official relationship between the generals and the Xianbei leaders also affected the ways they constructed their personas. In the case of Li Xian, the most significant indications of his warrior role are revealed in his epitaph, the burial setting and the burial goods such as the swords, a set of jade pendants on the body, bronze belt buckles, and the exotic goods from the trade route, point to Li Xian’s great military achievements and a close relationship with Emperor Wu of Northern Zhou.

In the case of Wang Deheng, an ethnic Chinese from the Northern Qi who surrendered to the Xianbei leaders of the Northern Zhou, included antique style ritual bronze objects in his tomb, presumably as a way to claim himself as “Chinese,” while also acknowledging a nomadic artifact, for example, including a nomadic style bronze cauldron. The mixed burial goods in the Northern Zhou tombs reveal a hybridization of society.463

The three Northern Zhou Sogdian tombs show how the processes of interaction in Northern Zhou multi-cultural society created individual differences among them. Shi Jun, as a

---

member of the Sogdian elite emphasized his ethnic identity through use the Sogdian language in his epitaph and evidence of Zoroastrian religious tradition and merchant experience in the burial furnishings. For An Jia, a Sogdian sabao with a military background, secular scenes such as hunting, whirling, dancing and feasting were used to commemorate his life. Kang Ye, in contrast, had a lower sociopolitical status, as a datainzhu, but claimed he to be a descendant of the kings of the Kang State in Central Asia. He or his family chose to bury him in a more “Chinese” style--this was probably affected by the political events and the promotion of Confucianism in the court at the time of his death.

The material remains from the tombs of the Northern Zhou reveal significant variation in burial customs, iconography, and style of objects and patterns. The variety of mortuary goods found in these tombs shows how artifacts mirrored the contemporary intermingling of cultural practices. The processes of interaction among peoples of differing backgrounds are recognizable in the burial assemblages and served as signifiers of multiple affiliations. These signifiers were generated in and reflect a specific historical moment that connected these diverse peoples within the Northern Zhou State during the late sixth century.

A few words remain to be said about the contribution that this dissertation might make to an understanding of multidimensional analysis on issues of construction of identities through examining mortuary arts in a specifically historical context. This study provides a case study with a theoretical framework for examining how a non-local group created a sociopolitical agenda for groups with distinctive cultural and occupational backgrounds and tolerated a variety of ways to display that in death. This complex ongoing process of interaction was manifested in the archaeological evidence from the tombs of the Northern Zhou.
Future development of this dissertation will benefit from further consideration of theories of death and memory within ritual practice, which this dissertation has not covered. Among others, the book, *Death and Memory in Early Medieval Britain*, by Howard Williams will provide a guide to examine how mortuary ritual has practiced in funerals in order to allow the deceased to be remembered.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Northern Zhou Group</th>
<th>Tomb Deceased</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Disturbed</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Sex</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Tombline-H</th>
<th>Passage-L</th>
<th>Anti-chamber-L</th>
<th>Size of the tomb chamber-L</th>
<th>chamber-w</th>
<th>chamber-D</th>
<th>Air-shaft</th>
<th>Niche</th>
<th>Reference</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Xianbei</td>
<td>Chiluo Xie</td>
<td>Great General of Cavalryman</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Shaanxi, Xianyang</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>499-574</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>27.4</td>
<td>2.5</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>3.8</td>
<td>3.8</td>
<td>2.5</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Xianbei</td>
<td>Yuwen Yong and Ashina</td>
<td>Emperor Wu of the N. Zhou</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Shaanxi, Xianyang</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>543-578</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>68.4</td>
<td>3.9</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>5.5</td>
<td>3.8</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>Shaanxisheng kaoguo yanjiusuo 1997</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chinese</td>
<td>Tian Hong and his Wife</td>
<td>Pillar of State Great General</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Ningxia, Guyuan</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>511-575</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>45.3</td>
<td>2.16</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>3.14</td>
<td>3.18</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chinese</td>
<td>Yuwen Meng</td>
<td>Great General</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Ningxia, Guyuan</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>497-565</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>2.55</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>3.6</td>
<td>3.5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>Ningxia wenwu kaoguo yanjiusuo 1994</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Xianbei</td>
<td>Yuwen Jian</td>
<td>Pillar of State Great General</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Shaanxi, Xianyang</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>551-578</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>2.4</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>3.6</td>
<td>3.7</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>Shaanxisheng kaoguo yanjiusuo 2003</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chinese</td>
<td>Li Xian, Wu Hui</td>
<td>Pillar of State Great General</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Ningxia, Guyuan</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>504-569</td>
<td>H:5, D:12.5</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>2.2</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3.9</td>
<td>1.8</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sogdian</td>
<td>Shi Jun and his wife</td>
<td>Sabao</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Shaanxi, Xianyang</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>494-579</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>47.26</td>
<td>16.3</td>
<td>2.8</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>3.5</td>
<td>3.7</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Xianbei</td>
<td>Yuchi Yun, Heba Shi</td>
<td>Pillar of State Great General</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Shaanxi, Xianyang</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>539-579</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>46.4</td>
<td>2.4</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>3.4</td>
<td>3.7</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Yun Anzhi 1993, pp. 93-108, 172</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chinese</td>
<td>Wang Deheng</td>
<td>Great General of Tong</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Shaanxi, Xianyang</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>547-576</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>39.66</td>
<td>35.7</td>
<td>1.24</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>4.34</td>
<td>3.1</td>
<td>2.04</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sogdian</td>
<td>An Jia</td>
<td>Sabao</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Shaanxi, Xianyang</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>518-579</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>8.1</td>
<td>2.56</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>3.64</td>
<td>3.7</td>
<td>3.3</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Group</td>
<td>Deceased</td>
<td>Title</td>
<td>Disturbed</td>
<td>Location</td>
<td>Sex</td>
<td>Age</td>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Tumulus-Ⅱ</td>
<td>Tomb-L</td>
<td>Passage-L</td>
<td>Anti-chamber</td>
<td>Size of the tomb</td>
<td>Chamber-L</td>
<td>Chamber-W</td>
<td>Chamber-D</td>
<td>Airshaft</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------</td>
<td>---------------------</td>
<td>----------------------------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
<td>----------</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>------</td>
<td>------------</td>
<td>---------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>----------------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
<td>----------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Northern</td>
<td>Dugu Zang</td>
<td>鄒孤叢</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Shaanxi, Xianyang</td>
<td>M &amp; F</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>544-578</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>29.9</td>
<td>23.8</td>
<td>0.7</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>2.7</td>
<td>2.8</td>
<td>2.1</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chinese</td>
<td>Ruo Ganyun</td>
<td>若干云</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Shaanxi, Xianyang</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>538-578</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>28.2</td>
<td>22.6</td>
<td>1.8</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>2.2</td>
<td>2.2</td>
<td>1.9</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chinese</td>
<td>Wang Shiliang</td>
<td>王世良</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Shaanxi, Xianyang</td>
<td>M &amp; F &amp; F</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>508-584</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>4.9</td>
<td>1.74</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>3.3</td>
<td>3.3</td>
<td>2.5</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chinese</td>
<td>Hou Ziqin</td>
<td>侯子钦</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Shaanxi, Chang’an</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>510-584</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>11.2</td>
<td>2.8</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>2.7</td>
<td>2.6</td>
<td>1.4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sogdian</td>
<td>Kang Ye</td>
<td>康业</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Shaanxi, Xian</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>512-571</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2.16</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>3.3</td>
<td>3.4</td>
<td>1.6</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>Xi’anshi wenwu baohu kaoguxuuo 2008</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N. Qi</td>
<td>Gao Run</td>
<td>高润</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Hebei, Cixian</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>63-16</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>5.6</td>
<td>118</td>
<td>6.4</td>
<td>6.43</td>
<td>2.85</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>Cixian wenhuaju 1979</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N. Qi</td>
<td>Imperial tomb of Wanzhang</td>
<td>(Emperor of the N. Qi 北齐)?</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Hebei, Cixian</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>-559</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>6.7 (2)</td>
<td>660</td>
<td>7.56</td>
<td>7.4</td>
<td>11.8</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>Zhongguo shehui kexue yuan 2003</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N. Qi</td>
<td>Cui Fen</td>
<td>崔芬</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Shandong, Linqi</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>504-551</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>9.4</td>
<td>0.64</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>3.6</td>
<td>3.6</td>
<td>3.32</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N. Qi</td>
<td>Fan Cui</td>
<td>范粹</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Henan, Anyang</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>550-576</td>
<td>11.35</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>2.88</td>
<td>2.7</td>
<td>2.26</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>Henan sheng bowuguan 1972</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N. Qi</td>
<td>Xu Xianxiu</td>
<td>徐显秀</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Shuixi, Taiyuan</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>502-571</td>
<td>H: 5.2</td>
<td>D: 13.6*7</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>15.2</td>
<td>2.75</td>
<td>339</td>
<td>6.65</td>
<td>6.3</td>
<td>8.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

172
Table 2. Pottery Figurines from the Tomb of Emperor Wu of N. Zhou and Imperial Tomb of N. Qi at Wanzhang

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tomb</th>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Emperor Wu of the N. Zhou</th>
<th>Imperial Tomb of Northern Qi at Wanzhang</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I. Tomb Guards</td>
<td>镇墓兽 tomb-quelling beasts</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>镇墓俑 Guardian warriors</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>大门立俑 Attendant at the front door</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>钜甲士兵/武 Armored Warriors</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II. Ritual Procession</td>
<td>披盾武士俑 Shield-bearing Guards</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>装甲士骑俑 Armored Cavalrymen</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>甲胄骑兵俑 Armored Mounted Figurines</td>
<td>39</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>仪卫俑 Imperial Guards</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>仪卫骑俑 Imperial Mounted Guards</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>步行兵俑 Guards on foot</td>
<td>785</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>步行风帽俑 Hooded Guards on foot</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>342</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>骑马鼓吹俑 Mounted Musicians</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>击鼓俑 Drumming Guards</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>文官俑 Civil Officials</td>
<td>29</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>笼冠俑 Guards with basket hats</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>侍从俑 Attendants</td>
<td>37</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III. Attendants Figurines</td>
<td>小冠俑 Guards with ordinary headgear</td>
<td>15</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>女侍俑 Female Attendants</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>胡帽俑 Foreign Hooded Guards</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>跪坐俑 Squatting Figurines</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>执箕俑</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>舞俑 Dancing Figurines</td>
<td>16</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total of Figurines</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>1805</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Reference
- Shaanxisheng kaoguo yanjiusuo 1997
- Zhongguo shehui kexue yuan 2003
Table 3. **Belts from the Tombs of N. Zhou**

*(blank in the table represents 0 or uncertain)*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tomb/Deceased</th>
<th>Bronze Belt</th>
<th>Jade Belt</th>
<th>Bronze Buckle</th>
<th>Gilded Bronze Belt</th>
<th>Gilded Bronze Buckle</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yuwen Yong and Ashina 宇文邕 阿史那氏</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wang Shiliang 王世良, Dong Shi</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>An Jia 安伽</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kang Ye 康业</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shi Jun 史君</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yuwen Tong 宇文通</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Li Xian, Wu Hui 李贤吴辉</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ruo Ganyun 若干云</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chiluo Xie 叱罗协</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dugu Zang 独孤藏</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wang Deheng 王德衡</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tian Hong, Wife 田弘</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tuoba Hu, and Wife 拓跋虎</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yuchi Yun, Heba Shi 尉迟运,贺拔氏</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yuwen Jian 宇文俭</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yuwen Meng 宇文猛</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hou Ziqin 侯子钦</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 4. Pottery figurines, pottery vessels, and models of equipments

(blank in the table represents 0 or uncertain)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tomb/Deceased</th>
<th>Total number of Pottery figurines</th>
<th>Quelling beasts</th>
<th>Guardian-Warriors</th>
<th>Cavalrymen</th>
<th>Shield-bearing Guards</th>
<th>Armored Warrior</th>
<th>Armored Mounted</th>
<th>Attendant at the Front Door</th>
<th>Imperial Guards</th>
<th>Foreigner</th>
<th>Headed Mounted</th>
<th>Mounted Attendant</th>
<th>Drumming Guard</th>
<th>Attendants</th>
<th>Foreign Hooded Guards</th>
<th>Mounted Equipment</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>N. Zhou Li Xian</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N. Zhou Xie Chiluo</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N. Zhou Yuwen Jian</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N. Zhou Yuwen Yong and Ashina Yong</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N. Zhou Ru Guoyun</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N. Zhou Wang Deheng</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tomb/Deceased</td>
<td>Total number of</td>
<td>Tomb/Deceased</td>
<td>Total number of</td>
<td>Tomb/Deceased</td>
<td>Total number of</td>
<td>Tomb/Deceased</td>
<td>Total number of</td>
<td>Tomb/Deceased</td>
<td>Total number of</td>
<td>Tomb/Deceased</td>
<td>Total number of</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------------</td>
<td>----------------</td>
<td>---------------</td>
<td>----------------</td>
<td>---------------</td>
<td>----------------</td>
<td>---------------</td>
<td>----------------</td>
<td>---------------</td>
<td>----------------</td>
<td>---------------</td>
<td>----------------</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N. Zhou</td>
<td></td>
<td>Tomb/Deceased</td>
<td></td>
<td>Tomb/Deceased</td>
<td></td>
<td>Tomb/Deceased</td>
<td></td>
<td>Tomb/Deceased</td>
<td></td>
<td>Tomb/Deceased</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hou Ziqin</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>Tomb/Deceased</td>
<td></td>
<td>Tomb/Deceased</td>
<td></td>
<td>Tomb/Deceased</td>
<td></td>
<td>Tomb/Deceased</td>
<td></td>
<td>Tomb/Deceased</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dugu Zang</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>Tomb/Deceased</td>
<td></td>
<td>Tomb/Deceased</td>
<td></td>
<td>Tomb/Deceased</td>
<td></td>
<td>Tomb/Deceased</td>
<td></td>
<td>Tomb/Deceased</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>拓跋虎及妻</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Tomb/Deceased</td>
<td></td>
<td>Tomb/Deceased</td>
<td></td>
<td>Tomb/Deceased</td>
<td></td>
<td>Tomb/Deceased</td>
<td></td>
<td>Tomb/Deceased</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>尉迟运贺拔氏</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Tomb/Deceased</td>
<td></td>
<td>Tomb/Deceased</td>
<td></td>
<td>Tomb/Deceased</td>
<td></td>
<td>Tomb/Deceased</td>
<td></td>
<td>Tomb/Deceased</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>王世良及妻</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Tomb/Deceased</td>
<td></td>
<td>Tomb/Deceased</td>
<td></td>
<td>Tomb/Deceased</td>
<td></td>
<td>Tomb/Deceased</td>
<td></td>
<td>Tomb/Deceased</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>史君及妻</td>
<td></td>
<td>Tomb/Deceased</td>
<td></td>
<td>Tomb/Deceased</td>
<td></td>
<td>Tomb/Deceased</td>
<td></td>
<td>Tomb/Deceased</td>
<td></td>
<td>Tomb/Deceased</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tomb/ Deceased</td>
<td>Total number of</td>
<td>Tomb/ Deceased</td>
<td>Total number of</td>
<td>Tomb/ Deceased</td>
<td>Total number of</td>
<td>Tomb/ Deceased</td>
<td>Total number of</td>
<td>Tomb/ Deceased</td>
<td>Total number of</td>
<td>Tomb/ Deceased</td>
<td>Total number of</td>
<td>Tomb/ Deceased</td>
<td>Total number of</td>
<td>Tomb/ Deceased</td>
<td>Total number of</td>
<td>Tomb/ Deceased</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------------</td>
<td>----------------</td>
<td>----------------</td>
<td>----------------</td>
<td>----------------</td>
<td>----------------</td>
<td>----------------</td>
<td>----------------</td>
<td>----------------</td>
<td>----------------</td>
<td>----------------</td>
<td>----------------</td>
<td>----------------</td>
<td>----------------</td>
<td>----------------</td>
<td>----------------</td>
<td>----------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N. Zhou</td>
<td>An Jia</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N. Zhou</td>
<td>Kang Ye</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N. Zhou</td>
<td>Li Dan</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N. Qi</td>
<td>Gao Yang</td>
<td>8 0 5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N. Qi</td>
<td>Gao Run</td>
<td>8 1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N. Qi</td>
<td>Xu Xianxiu</td>
<td>2 0 3 0</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N. Qi</td>
<td>Fan Cui</td>
<td>7 0 1 0 5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Tomb/ Deceased: An Jia, Kang Ye, Li Dan, Gao Yang, Gao Run, Xu Xianxiu, Fan Cui

Table: Total number of Tomb/ Deceased

- Tomb/ Deceased: An Jia, Kang Ye, Li Dan, Gao Yang, Gao Run, Xu Xianxiu, Fan Cui
- Total number of Tomb/ Deceased: 8 0 5, 8 1, 2 0 3 0, 7 0 1 0 5

177
Table 5. **Domesticated Animals**

(Blank in the table represents 0 or uncertain)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tomb/Deceased</th>
<th>Camel</th>
<th>Horse</th>
<th>Chicken</th>
<th>Dog</th>
<th>Donkey</th>
<th>Goat</th>
<th>Pig</th>
<th>Ox</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Li Xian, Wu Hui 李贤 吴辉</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chiluo Xie 叱罗协</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yuwen Jian 宇文俭</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yuwen Yong and Ashina 宇文猛 阿史那氏</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ruo Ganyun 若干云</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wang Deheng 王德衡</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yuwen Meng 宇文猛</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hou Ziqin 侯子钦</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dugu Zang 独孤藏</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tuoba Hu, and Wife 拓跋虎</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wang Shiliang 王世良, Dong Shi</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yuchi Yun, Heba Shi 尉迟运 贺拔氏</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tian Hong, Wife 田弘</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shi Jun and his wife 史君及妻</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>An Jia 安伽</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kang Ye 康业</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Li Dan 李诞</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gao Yang 高洋</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Bei Qi) Gao Run 高润</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Xu Xianxiu 徐显秀</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fan Cui 范粹</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cui Fen 崔芬</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 6. Three Types of Vessels

(blank in the table represents 0 or uncertain)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tomb/Deceased</th>
<th>Pottery vessels</th>
<th>Models of Building</th>
<th>Bronze vessel</th>
<th>Glazed Earthenware Vessels</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>N. Zhou Tian Hong, Wife 田弘</td>
<td>30</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N. Zhou Yuwen Yong and Ashina 宇文邕 阿史那氏</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N. Zhou Yuwen Jian 宇文俭</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N. Zhou Ruo Ganyun 若干云</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N. Zhou Li Xian, Wu Hui 李贤 吴辉</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>16</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N. Zhou Chilo Xie 叱罗协</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>30</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N. Zhou Lou Rui 娄睿</td>
<td>13</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N. Zhou Wang Shiliang 王世良, Dong Shi</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N. Zhou Yuwen Meng 宇文猛</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N. Zhou Yuchi Yun, Heba Shi 尉迟运 贺拔氏</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N. Zhou Dugu Zang 独孤藏</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N. Zhou Hou Ziqin 侯子钦</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N. Zhou Wang Deheng 王德衡</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N. Zhou Yuwen Tong 宇文通</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N. Zhou An Jia 安伽(Sogdian)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N. Zhou Kang Ye 康业(Sogdian)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N. Zhou Li Dan 李诞(Brahmin)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N. Zhou Shi Jun and his wife 史君及妻(Sogdian)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N. Zhou Tuoba Hu, and Wife 拓跋虎</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N. Qi Xu Xianxiu 徐显秀</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N. Qi (Bei Qi) Gao Run 高润</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N. Qi (Bei Qi) Gao Yang 高洋?</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>11</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N. Qi Cui Fen 崔芬</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N. Qi Fan Cui 范粹</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Table 7. Pottery Vessels from the Tombs of N. Zhou

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tomb/Deceased</th>
<th>Total number</th>
<th>Type</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tian Hong 田弘</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>30 guan jars</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yuwen Yong, Emperor Wu 宇文邕</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>28 guan jars</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Li Xian 李賢</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>18 guan jars</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ruogan Yun 若干云</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>17 pin bottle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chiluo Xie 叱罗協</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>12 guan jars</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wang Shiliang 王世良</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>6 guan jars</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 8. Jade Objects

(blank in the table represents 0 or uncertain)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tomb/Deceased</th>
<th>looted</th>
<th>huan</th>
<th>pei</th>
<th>huang</th>
<th>zhu</th>
<th>belt</th>
<th>chai</th>
<th>bi</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>N. Zhou Wang Shiliang 王世良, Dong Shi</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N. Zhou Tian Hong, and his wife 田弘</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N. Zhou Li Xian, Wu Hui 李贤吴辉</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N. Zhou Yuwen Yong 宇文邕 and Ashina 阿史那氏</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N. Zhou An Jia 安伽</td>
<td>No</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N. Zhou Chiluo Xie 叱罗协</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N. Zhou Dugu Zang 独孤藏</td>
<td>No</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N. Zhou Hou Ziqin 侯子钦</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N. Zhou Kang Ye 康业</td>
<td>No</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N. Zhou Li Dan 李诞</td>
<td>?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N. Zhou Ruo Ganyun 若干云</td>
<td>No</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N. Zhou Shi Jun and his wife 史君及妻</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N. Zhou Tuoba Hu, and Wife 拓跋虎</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N. Zhou Wang Deheng 王德衡</td>
<td>No</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N. Zhou Yuwen Jian 宇文俭</td>
<td>No</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N. Zhou Yuwen Meng 宇文猛</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N. Qi Gao Rung 高润</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N. Qi Gao Yang 高洋</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N. Qi Fan Cui 范粹</td>
<td>No</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N. Qi Cui Fen 翟芬</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N. Qi Xu Xianxiu 徐显秀</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 9. **Hairpins**

*(chai*—pronged hairpins, *zan*—single-pronged hairpin) *(blank in the table represents 0 or uncertain)*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tomb/Deceased</th>
<th>Jade <em>chai</em></th>
<th>Gold <em>chai</em></th>
<th>Silver <em>zan</em></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>N. Zhou Yuchi Yun, Heba Shi 贺拔氏</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N. Zhou Tian Hong, Wife 田弘</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N. Zhou Wang Shiliang, Dong Shi 王世良, 杜弘</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N. Zhou Ruo Ganyun 若干云</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N. Zhou Wang Deheng 王德衡</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N. Zhou An Jia 安伽</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N. Zhou Chiluo Xie 叱罗协</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N. Zhou Dugu Zang 独孤藏</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N. Zhou Hou Ziqin 侯子钦</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N. Zhou Kang Ye 康业</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N. Zhou Li Dan 李诞</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N. Zhou Li Xian 李贤, Wu Hui 吴辉</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N. Zhou Shi Jun and his wife 史君及妻</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N. Zhou Tuoba Hu 拓跋虎</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N. Zhou Yuwen Jian 宇文俭</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N. Zhou Yuwen Meng 宇文猛</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N. Zhou Yuwen Tong 宇文通</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N. Zhou Yuwen Yong 宇文邕 and Ashina 阿史那氏</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N. Qi Cui Fen 崔芬</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N. Qi Xu Xianxiu 徐显秀</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N. Qi Fan Cui 范粹</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N. Qi Gao Rung 高润</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N. Qi Gao Yang 高洋</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tomb/Deceased</th>
<th>Pottery figurines</th>
<th>Pottery vessel</th>
<th>Green ware</th>
<th>Jade</th>
<th>Coin</th>
<th>mirror</th>
<th>Bronze vessel</th>
<th>hairpin</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Wang Deheng (N. Zhou)</td>
<td>108</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1 hu and 14 bowls</td>
<td>2 jade hairpin</td>
<td>14 bronze coins on the body</td>
<td>2 bronze mirror near head</td>
<td>10 miniature bronze vessels</td>
<td>1 gold hairpin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wang Shiliang (N. Zhou)</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>6 guan, 3 pin</td>
<td>2: 1 guan, 1 hu</td>
<td>8 Jade pendants</td>
<td>14 (bronze)</td>
<td>1 iron mirror</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cui Fen (N. Qi)</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5: 1 guan, 1 hu, 2 dou, 1 bowl</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>69 bronze coins, 32 clay coins</td>
<td>1 bronze mirror</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1 silver</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tomb/L</td>
<td>Title</td>
<td>Disturbed</td>
<td>Sex</td>
<td>Age</td>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Passage-L</td>
<td>Tomb-L</td>
<td>Anti-chamber</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------</td>
<td>-------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
<td>--------</td>
<td>-------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shi Jun and his wife 史君及妻</td>
<td>Sabao</td>
<td>Yes M&amp;F</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>494-579</td>
<td>47.26</td>
<td>16.3</td>
<td>2.8</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>An Jia 安伽</td>
<td>Sabao</td>
<td>No M</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>518-579</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>8.1</td>
<td>2.56</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kang Ye 康业</td>
<td>Da-tian-zhu</td>
<td>Yes M</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>512-571</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>2.16</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
APPENDIX A

EPITAPHS OF THE IMPERIAL FAMILY OF THE NORTHERN ZHOU
(Rubbing from the Epitaph of Emperor Wu of Northern Zhou)

(After Shaanxisheng kaoguo yanjiusuo and Xianyangshi kaoguo yanjiusuo 1997, p. 25)
RUBBING FROM THE COVER OF THE EPIGRAPH OF EMPRESS ASHINA
(After Shaanxisheng kaoguo yanjiusuo and Xianyangshi kaoguo yanjiusuo 1997, p.26)

RUBBING FROM THE EPIGRAPH OF EMPRESS ASHINA

TRANSCRIPTION OF THE EPIGRAPH OF EMPRESS ASHINA
(After Shaanxisheng kaoguo yanjiusuo and Xianyangshi kaoguo yanjiusuo 1997, pp.26-27)
Rubbing from Cover of the Epitaph of Yuwen Jian
(After Shaanxisheng kaoguo yanjiusuo 2001, pp. 37)

Rubbing from the Epitaph of Yuwen Jian
(After Shaanxisheng kaoguo yanjiusuo 2001, pp. 39)
“大周使持节上柱国大冢宰谯国忠孝王墓志。”

王讳俭，字侯勃突。大祖文皇帝第八子也。初封谯国公，历位开府使持节大将军，宁州刺史，宁州总管。同州刺史，柱国。益州总管，益州刺史，进爵为王，拜大冢宰。建德七年岁次，戊戌二月五日癸卯，寝疾薨于洛阳。春秋二十有八。诏赠使持节上柱国大冢宰，并、晋、朔、燕、幽、青、齐、梁、赵、沧、瀛、恒、定、济、兖、贝十五州刺史，谥王谥曰忠孝。其年三月戊辰朔十七日甲申，葬于雍州泾阳县西乡始昌里。率由古礼，不封不树。属年世远，陵谷变迁，式刊玄石，置诸泉户。”

Transcription of the Epitaph of Yuwen Jian,
APPENDIX B

EPITAPHS OF THE GENERALS OF THE NORTHERN ZHOU
Rubbing from Cover of the Epitaph of Rugan Yun
(After Yun Anzhi 1993, p. 74.)

Rubbing from the Epitaph of Ruogan Yun
(After Yun Anzhi 1993, p. 75)
上开府仪同三司任城郡公若干公墓志

大周岁次戊戌宣政元年四月朔戊戌十二月己酉赠大将军上开府仪同大将军任城郡公若干公墓志

公讳云，陇州人也。承基厚峻，灵源攸远，轩顼之余，戛乎史册，家宗殷积，五都冠盖。祖世豪侠，六郡，名家庆于尊，平陵公仲，即公之先也。考讳兴，使持节、车骑大将军、仪同三司、宣阳县开国公，食邑三千四百户。冒难经冲，望魔斩将，振旅河关，功盖区密。太祖文皇帝赐姓若干氏。公纂灵华岳，蓄志高简，英气熛烈，受秋方之烈。幼而雄勇，初九宾之宾；幼不好弄（少）。体三略之解。双捉手搏，两足驰射，秦之起，剪，蜀之关、张。无以过也。解褐，为周太祖文皇帝亲信，直阁将军及周朝屡历位中侍上士、襄威将军、给事中、都督。俄而袭父爵，封宣阳县开国公，领中侍上士。至开皇五年，迁仪同三司。国家与突厥方教灭洛，前后数道，亲使出境，宣扬休命，奉述朝旨。密慎沉审，言无外泄，温室之树，方北服从。公任右侍中大夫，兼行国事，王姬作配，以备坤德，母仪天下，生民赖焉。宴贺华之才，光国之用。建德五年，皇帝旧威河维，亲征六师，讨伐齐高纬。公以四年，先随帝弟齐王将兵至洛，屈武济城，据山河之险，运郡生之说。遂得连城，皆下相率归降。其年，授上仪同，增邑三百户，田十余顷。珠贝缯纨称焉。所谓堂构析薪，不stinence问候。至五年，銮驾亲率昆底、长驱百万，取晋阳城。公先领骁果守雀石谷，候至晋阳又战。为贼所伤，破敌挫阵，动为上首，及居高垒，次进并州，旗鼓一临，公必先当锋镝，北土之间，莫不望风披靡。加赏及赐，前后重叠。俄而扫定河关，銮舆到邺，於司州城下，伪徒尽烬，犹举斧当都。公忠诚奋勇，斩馘千数，伪主奔逃。俄而宗矩八表清廓，九服来苏。公为上勋，加授上开府大将军，任城郡开国公，食邑二千二百户，及凯乐还京，公受任梁州刺史。寻而下席人道恶盈，所以周庙（庙）峙器居高必危，少能持满。恩有所不及，智有所不周。一匿未成，遂从朝露，薨于家，万年县东乡里。时年廿一，遂于泾阳洪渎川赵村东北。山飞海走，陵迁谷从，不勤不刊，何以存于万代。乃为铭曰：

金星降精，乃诞斯生，为山未就，永矣泉扃。悲缠草墓，恸感庙城，不有镌勒，何以流声。

Transcription of the Epitaph Ruogan Yu
(After Yun Anzhi 1993, 72-73)
Rubbing from Cover of the Epitaph of Wang Shiliang
(After Yun Anzhi 1993, p. 128)

Rubbing from the Epitaph of Wang Shiliang
(After Yun Anzhi 1993, p. 129)
大隋破大将军广昌肃公墓志

大隋使持节上大将军本州并州曹州刺史行台三总管广昌肃公王君墓志

夫应物天灵，皆由胜地降神诞德，必在名区彼汾旧基。实因唐故令公，虽基雄图在目，安于珠洞之柱，尚表晋阳，无恤口口之山，犹临代郡，是知天下之士。幼在河源，诸侯之凤，唯高康叔，公姬出良，自君明，并州晋阳人也。受姓姬年开元周历，端鸟流火，仙鹤乘云。遂将去杀之患，汉宰垂仁之惠，遗策速繁，后运兹广。子师亮，勋高海内，播氓慕党，名振京师。远祖祖，魏司空。七世祖独，阳门太守。英声茂绩，可略而言。诸于远叶，并为边将，骨鲠不亏，仪鬓相考。考名，壮陵大守，光州刺史。公墓茂气于光风，体淳于近胄。巍然稚齿，卓尔成童。弱不好弄，于长无尘杂。先是承颜，承张宽之基，曾叔执亲，亲之焉，兰之祖。行之以礼，上书击（释）剑，屡讲开弓，故能文武进通，儒吏兼善。解褐，柱国。大将军。颖川朱光公参军事，子亮之俊，石苞安郡之荫。马越有百战长俎之谋，率以议大夫，石门岳勇，邑二百户。官守刘向之职，封郡吴防之泉。尺木初登，千里乘方。寻封琅琊侯，余如故。方相之际，火德分盟，魏武西迁，齐君东从。郎城新定，方欲备政。世子澄为京畿都督，专开一府，以统成政。

乃以公为司马，领外兵事，昔楚悼收宋，客泛子反，晋景伐齐，谋在郑献。公联此籍任等间人，封通前户一千五百，初简氏好战，穷在内武，黄钛一统，玄甲万万，朝发羽勺，不达克度。公据委国指孰者，心计马余，监校士子，传名毛陵，侯信宾畅。公之蔽才，皆自武也。自此见识遂参帷幄。寻还大行台，左承事西将军。进爵为公，加邑千户。及魏历归齐，拜大将军，继迁职并，及有有别。累迁给事，黄门侍郎，领内书舍人，转封新星，加户三百。除尚书、左承事，内承七兵尚书，入为侍内、吏部尚书，使持节、都督，沧州诸军事、刺史。俄征还都，诏授开府仪同三司，又除太傅侍中，小尚书内。又除太常卿，余如故。公又拜青琅与杨守连封为朝奉郎，共严伟侍，诏管籍云台，连侯叔父休建礼，方勤巨源之如汤沐伫符，寻序宗伯，明昌出之故，实体模嗣之旧仪，久之。授豫州刺史，南道大行台。齐运将倾，猜贰竟起公，拒防不委，严兵强国。承膺思命，封爵秦河十万，度为有威。遂乃去夏归殷，自楚从汉，及庆京师。诏授使持节、大将军、大都督、昌郡开国公、少司徒、公参事孝治，有弘轨物。前累授荆州、数州、金州三总管，俗称为在留，仕于安刘，凤口虽佳，怀德勇勇难有生，从善无违。大佐分初，又为并州刺史。夏发如丝，备足不驾。公单车入境，私服临坛，扫起义坟，极而复之，隐然故老，尽生平之欢，不言机变，饮玳席度，吉凶致数，口张传车，自适乃发。公积废弥留，汤液无损。乃以大隋开皇三年六月廿六日，居于私第。春秋七十有七。遗命葬从俭。皇帝追悼，顺赐加装，丧礼所须，并蒙封获，公以事期唐，起于阶阎，

Transcription of the Epitaph of Wang Shiliang
(After Yun Anzhi 1993, pp. 126-127)
结发内侍，卅余年，天宠王言出之子口，杀生与夺，非假傍人，未当以信宿见蹂私豪，累已及遭母忧，年将五十，非苦肠胃。毁瘠过度，骨立扶起，见者伤心，告老悬车，礼赐优洽，启手启足，全身而终，史协龟从，入葬先吉。事以其年岁次癸卯十一月丙申朔十四日己酉，迁葬泾阳县洪渎川。诏赠使持节、常州、沧州、许州、郑州四州刺史。余官封如故。谥肃公，礼也。世孙师、利、思、德襄等，联床在疚，思鸿浩烈，平原明让。公之贤夫德ixed马之清文，有河阳之丽藻，足哀乐令于德搭载，有虚妄迁，及为铭曰：

汾阳塼寂，亲田地美，山有神人，俗多君子。蒲仲裁正，子师千里，芳猷不绝，英灵未已。建威静塞，车骑治民，合乡饶雨，交河少尘。功宣异域，德洽为邻，显允肃公，嗣徽前烈。行为规矩，言成表端，承亲尽孝，奉君全节。慎若履冰，分犹怀雪，运符鹊起，数倡龙飞。频烦军幕，蜜勿戒机，交拜青泉，献纳丹墀，登朝侍御含香侍雉，泾渭沧流，拥象鼓色。朝之永命，卿之司直，荣辱春官，遇整差职。爰风两麾，甘棠再植，西风得一，东邻失旦。民如鹿走，政同鱼烂，徽子去殿，陈平归汉。上将登坛，司徒还馆，六条必乘，五都仍章。乘轩轼里，衣锦临乡，望重控竹，侯王携浆。庶应难老，永锡无疆，告满悬车，是遵时制。道遥申杖，哲人斯逝，峻岳亏环，芳林贾桂，隐隐怀揔，哀哀泪袂，气移礼变，葬言藏从。飞锗拂麾，番籍指龙，途迥阳陌，藉引乘蹏。晓云昏淡，夜月明松，瞻言百行，空余一笑。仰铭烈士，翛翛暮霭，含薰承睫，掺缙朝巾。千秋交辟万古传薪，式铸金绰，长于玉人。

Transcription of the Epitaph of Wang Shilliang
(After Yun Anzhi 1993, p. 127)
B: 3

Rubbing from Cover of the Epitaph of Wang Deheng
(After Yun Anzhi 1993, p. 58)

Rubbing from the Epitaph of Wang Deheng
(After Yun Anzhi 1993, p. 59)
太原王使君墓志之铭

周使持节仪同大将军新市县开国侯王使君墓志铭

司徒设教受邑称氏，乃因邃进以爵姓焉。国绍周姬，人承子晋，魏之太尉，晋之开封。君讳钧，字德衡，太原人也。兖州刺史延之之孙；大将军、少司徒、广昌公之世子。直翰已修，澄源自越。侯年十二，解褐，伪齐太尉彭城王府参军，选称荣俊府曰光僚顾问。相酬优华文武是职，超步（步）陆机，侯以孝颖为家，特爱广昌公。辞漳河之阅，受凑汝之寄。幸随温清，实踵黄香。既而秦折韩城，军旗影蹙，鱼丽始布，月阵已周，鼓吹三鸣，云梯四起，鲁连羽檄，未能却也。乃外设陈平之计，内缉刘禅之谋。即兹永诚，便归国庭。大周以秦留赵壁，晋用楚材，公子出身不齐郎品。保定五年，除使持节、仪同大将军、新市县开国侯。封吕阳广邑资白水。岂谓传家之感，翻致恭伯之悲。何华先落，哲（哲）人其萎。春秋卅一，葬於长安。蒙赠徐州刺史。呜呼哀哉，建德五年十月廿七日葬於石安原。前临郑侯之坟，后眺九嵕之}/>
B: 4

Rubbing from Cover of the Epitaph of Li Xian
(After Ningxia Huizu zizhiqu bowuguan and Ningxia Guyuan bowuguan 1985, p. 16, Figure 46)

Rubbing from the Epitaph of Li Xian
(After Ningxia Huizu zizhiqu bowuguan and Ningxia Guyuan bowuguan 1985, p. 17, Figure 47)
李贤墓志铭文
大周使持节柱国大将军大都督原泾秦河渭夏陇成豳灵十州诸军事原州刺史河西桓公墓志铭
公讳贤，字贤和，原州平高人。本姓李，汉将陵之后也。十世祖俈地归聪明仁智，有则哲之。监知魏圣德，齐圣广渊，奄有天下，乃率诸国定扶戴之议。凿石开路，南越阴山。竭手伐之功，成殷肱之任。建国拓业，因以为氏。公即平凉府君之孙，司空公原州史君之子。温恭之性，禀于自然，仁恕之心，非关师教。风雨不能移其操，喜愠未尝形于色。乡党许其远大，宗族称为万顷，故能开其仪府，同斯疆望。再莅河州，三居本牧。拥节巴湘，作监军于江外，利建茅社，启土宇于河西。分竹敦煌，仍专万里之务；褰帷兆岳，兼总六防之师。践境临民，每有乘风之咏，秋满旋辞。咸垂去思之涕。若夫通冠结绶，册有七年，授命陷敌，计有一战。遂得声绩，细柳，功超大树。既联光于八宿，亦何殊于万户。魏武君臣失和，乃眷西顾，太祖清扫关辅，以俟鸾跸。令公轻车千骑，奉迎六军。次次西中，便得朝觐。于时疾风之始，非无去就，公受诏居后，实有殿功。盖闻积善之家，必有余庆，故公爵隆于四世，子孙茂于八凯。略叙一门之中，为柱国者二，大将军者三，开府者七，仪同者九，孤卿者六，方伯者十，有五焉。至于常侍、侍中之任，武卫、武率之职，总管、监军之名，车骑、骠骑之号，冠盖交错，剑履陆离，胡可称矣。太祖以皇帝春秋富实，齐国公年在幼冲，令公抚辅，义高师尚。故始纳元妃，便当贺赐之礼：龙飞大宝，遂有合家之锡。方欲盐梅九鼎，论道三槐，日车未奕，山倾海撤。天和四年岁次己丑三月廿五日葬于长安，时年六十有六。其年五月己丑朔廿一日己酉葬于原州西南陇山之首。皇帝追保弼之勋，不拘恒例，特赠柱国大将军，原泾秦河渭夏陇成豳灵十州诸军事、原州刺史，谥曰
桓公。礼也。夫人字文氏，婉婉嫔风，优柔母德。草尘未永，薤露先悲；朝云已没，夜台多秽。龟鉴既从，别开埏垒。是日迁伉俪于蒿里，合双魂而同穴。惧黄壤之不恒，勒清徽于铭志。

惟岳降神，诞兹哲人。方金为锐，比玉称珍。少年提剑，弱龄缙绅。戈麾落日，马逐秋尘。功扬六辅，声溢三秦。团团青盖，锵锵朱轮。桂仍舒馥，山方垒仁。翩翩百刃，奄落三春。帝忆枊榆，客思乡里。柩辞京阙，魂归桑梓。

迁其伉俪，同斯岩趾。自杨合拱，清徽永矣。

世子端使持节车骑大将军仪同三司大都督甘州刺史怀德公

次子吉平东将军右银青光禄大都督

次子隆使持节车骑大将军仪同三司大都督燕乐侯

次子轨帅都督平

次伯

次子徇都督华阳侯

次子理

次子纶

次子孝忠

次子孝礼

次子孝依

次子孝良

次子抱□

Transcription of the Epitaph of Li Xian
(After Ningxia Huizu zizhiqu bowuguan and Ningxia Guyuan bowuguan 1985, pp. 19-20)
Rubbing from Cover of the Epitaph of Tian Hong
(After Yuanzhou lianhe kaogudui 2000, Figure 70)

Rubbing from the Epitaph of Tian Hong
(After Yuanzhou lianhe kaogudui 2000, Figure 70)
二、墓志录文

1. 大周使持節守侍中、柱國大將軍、大都督、襄州總管、襄州刺史、廣州牧、開府儀同三司、莊公墓志
2. 公諱弘，字廣略，原州長城郡長城縣人也，本姓田氏，七世為貴，起於沙隴之陽，五世為良，至於風華。
3. 之敘，千秋陳子之遜，人主榮心，延年譏飲之計，恥臣之定。公以綿綿下，清袞精靈，岳山於上。
4. 傳承百輔，淮陰年少，既知名，媯川月旦，即常成石，永安中居趙西人之征，即與冉駪，永熙中，委任。
5. 華山武帝遣使，封魏徵為國子，轉侍中書令，進爵為公。　　太祖以黃帝詔問其為，將有兵車之應。
6. 公於高平奉表，即陳當世之策，太祖曰：“朕唯陵末見之，天下有大喪之變，華陰有小喪之變，潛誠
7. 則不適喪葬，高望則不動門墳，常援援之難，則以決勝為先。　　統三軍於上。　　大統十四年，授
8. 持節都督、原州諸軍事、原州刺史，寵為全職，為厚賞，為首將校，爭迎州郡，至當西。　　前之子，
9. 子子童，國父又封為千三百戶。　　侍從太祖平齊軍，復率眾以討沙苑，進河橋，與北齊，月餘星辰，著聲望。
10. 騎之，是以乘勝千里，無違節度，乃授使持節、車騎大將軍、儀同三司，尋有金帛之賜，領民
11. 之部，轉為以追諫之車。　　武安宮子，即有三軍之智，長江之勇，果為壯士之才。　　魏齊元年，遷諫議
12. 軍，創安京漢之南。　　踞河之北。　　西討突厥，東討高麗，破敵宜人，隨公處事，加侍中。　　魏齊署職，周朝受
13. 命，進開府儀同三司，食邑三千二百戶。　　文成左光，初開上將之府，陵變復，始班以臣之時。　　保定
14. 三年，都督岷、洮二州五防諸軍事，岷州刺史。　　朝廷有明將之任，遣公出鎮，太原寒食之鄉，呼河守冰
15. 之路，無遠不孩。　　走馬岷城，治法嚴謹，新之講兵。　　兵大將軍，增邑千戸，給公故故。　　五月齊城，則拜於萬
16. 青、岷谷東陽，先登於衛，方之士授，異代同功，江漢平未，覽春略略，更據四州五防諸軍事。　　而復
17. 業，為開閣之難，先聲東朝，則見平昊之策，白帝加兵，足驚巴浦，荆楚流離，實務西登，既西徇
18. 江陵，成中流之，吳兵波浪，並會如狂，聲後乘船三江，戰爭雲水，自舉風流，甘松會軍，並圍廣寒。　　移授
19. 之西，論衰之之，糧食千戸，並前合千戸。　　僕侯見義，求理西江，渾玉畏威，請諸南郡，月庭治兵，攻
20. 之晉，漢之康，以王義為國諫。　　尋解司空，授少保，匡勵加春拜之，張順克簡不志，鬱為帝者，得人
21. 盛矣，三年授都督襄、郢、兗、陳、淮、吳六州諸軍事、襄州刺史。　　下車布政，威風旋凝，清望去官，為職更
22. 印。　　三載。　　開府信義之兵，井陘均田，始下弘流之，既而，南中歸順，不宣名土，長沙太守，遂不生還。
23. 伏波將軍，終永水尉，四正年三日葬於州，春秋六十有五。　　天子舉哀，三日廢政，詔贈諡之。
24. 並恊功臣之禮，有詔，贈少卿、原、交、揚、河、邕、陽、其州七州諸軍事、原州刺史，諡曰：襄公，其年四月
25. 二日葬焉。　　原州高平之北山，公性恭儉，愛文武，無三惑，畏知之，儀表端壯，風神雅正，喜怒之，不
26. 形鮮藻，儀儀素業，略起兵事，忠臣孝子之言，事務歸敬之禮，恐不動言其論，奉以書信，至於羽檄交
27. 驚，為風塵四起，秘計密謀，深沉內斷，故得戰勝，取義無遺。　　有始有終，哀榮可稱，州州疾疫，不許許
28. 之，更見悲懷，城市薦薦，世子恭載而伏，上車十里，詩書浩瀚，有傷行路，呼呼哀哉，乃為銘曰
29. 有僕之陵，言青青者，長陵上相，滔滔賢聖，榮歸於下，感嘆今朝，安平烈烈，京兆堂堂。　　乃祖乃父，重先
30. 世德，揮揚揚，燕南趙北，白馬如電，玄旗如雲，討討南民，泉鱗流，公之世載，幼志如庚，祥福盤蜿，
31. 上業創，純純成性，簡節揚名，忠泉開創，孝子沾沾，勇氣俠海，珥嵨嵐嵐。　　削樹林，林乘雲雲，義義
32. 家譜，仁義伐，即任昇，有位無，水土相須，公實當官，兵戈所生，公乃登舉，長城遠遠，地盡節節，
33. 宜陽復一，一變全勝。　　赤膚赤膚，含含含含，矢在芝洞，吹在雲雲。　　南南不離，長沙
34. 逝古，黃陽反莽，玄甲西從，施施寂寂，韓童當當，高平柏谷，山巖岩岩，松 cosas 賞，留名餘聲。
35. 之子使持節，駕車大將軍，開府儀同三司，大都督，司農右，次質大都督，具丘縣開國侯備。　　

Transcription of the Epitaph of Tian Hong
(After Yuanzhou lianhe kaogudui 2000, pp. 57-58)
Rubbing from Cover of the Epitaph of Chiluo Xie
(After Yun Anzhi 1993, p. 33)

Rubbing from the Epitaph of Chiluo Xie
(After Yun Anzhi 1993, p. 34)
大周开府南阳公 墓志
大周骠骑大将军开府仪同三司大都督南阳郡开国公墓志
公讳协，字兴和，代郡太和县人也。因国氏在，有自未矣。若春秋勇，有晋之大夫；汉史罗 discovering,则作梁之相。佗仁典基，衣冠世袭。曹胤禅灵，公其后也。祖兴，为西部护军，父珍业，为代郡太守。政事修整，除梁州刺史，迁车骑大将军、仪同三司、散骑常侍。公幼而标悟，长逾弘肆，神情敏朗，见称风雅。声发庭朱，声誉闻州郡。年十九，为恒州刺史。杨钧选补从事，明于取任，不畏豪强，尤精几案，弥阔簿领，虽延思之当官不能过也。自此，名高乡里，远近有声。尔朱天柱授公为司马。除赵郡太守，寻为上郡、上党、建州、怀州、乌苏镇大行台。检校军粮，虽复弘荩，心计公威，筹度戎粮，节度取给。须臾，以公方在舞德也，除北平州刺史，如往之马，故无入蜀之期；似不之金，素绝经怀之意。以（□）大统三年入关，反传望望，早籍风风，仍为上郡、上党、建州、怀州、乌苏镇大行台。检校军粮，虽复弘荩，心计公威，筹度戎粮，节度取给。须臾，以公方在舞德也，除北平州刺史，如往之马，故无入蜀之期；似不之金，素绝经怀之意。

正考功郎中、 según the 审查

妙作轼上，五弄行赏，策有差。十七年，太祖经略汉中，以公行南岐州刺史。委以西南友度军粮，寻置兴州刺史，杨晖率民反叛，拥众二万，振荡关南。公时步骑不满三千，运奇设策，指日平殄，一收自奋勇，手斩三人。猛气横流，刃为之折。太祖宠信，倍决释骑送刀，贼徒奔散，死者万计。远近清重，公之力焉。因除开府仪同开国公。入蜀为行军长史，守备涿水。后以正考之勋，曲赐赐姓，预班天族，分封别子金刚，为显武县开国侯，邑一千二百户。大周元年，除军司马，治御正司会，总六府。文武交修，军国秘，公应接，皆有疑滞，积得累劳。加授少保，徙迁少傅。进爵南州郡开国公。前后增邑二千五百户。天和元年，诏以公旧望隆重，功绩文宣，遂至司事，掌大司，宜依太祖遗旨，还复旧姓。六年除柱国大将军，治中书内外长史，治司会，总六府。建德元年，从至去职，公自免黜，恳心人事，退思引弓，门无外宾，清静居身，廉平自守。主上有闻，无所避讳。叶漏采用，纳其犯过，曲降圣恩，爰发明诏，昔王业初开，已参刀笔，暨帝图 ila the 后，率舍生，遂位望，三名，爵号等，翼从宰相，总督有寄。建德五年，以四月三日，卒于朝廷。诏赠使持节、骠骑大将军、开府仪同三司、大都督、浙东、置三州诸军事、三州刺史、荆州南阳郡开国公。邑一千户。谥曰：恭。诸子皆号，哀深痛悼，奉侍几筵，非复温清之日。鸣鸡啣盟，永绝晨昏之养。隆陵谷之相赠，敬犹之不倦，乃为铭曰：

204
Transcription of the Epitaph of Chiluo Xie
(After Yun Anzhi 1993, pp. 31-32)
Rubbing from Cover of the Epitaph of Dugu Zang
(After Yun Anzhi 1993, p. 90)

Rubbing from Epitaph of Dugu Zang
(After Yun Anzhi 1993, p. 91)
Transcription of the Epitaph of Dugu Zang

(After Yun Anzhi 1993, p. 89, 92)
APPENDIX C

EPITAPHS OF THE SOGIDANS OF THE NORTHERN ZHOU
The Epitaph of Shi Jun (d. 579)\textsuperscript{464}

The Stone Hall of His Honor Shi, [Sa]bao of [Liang]zhou of the Great Zhou

君[讳][ ], [其先]史国人也。本居西[域], 土[ ][ ][ ][ ][ ]及延[派?], 迁居长安。目[自?]他有[ ][ ][ ][ ][ ]永久应期，中原显美。[ ][ ][ ][ ]日昌[?]具德。祖阿史盘陀，为本国萨保；父阿奴伽，并怀瑾握瑜，重规叠矩。秀杰不群，立功立事。少挺[ ]石，又擅英声。而君乘灵山[岳], [ ][ ][ ]志，[大][统]之初，乡闾推挹，出身为萨保判事曹主。[ ][ ]五年，诏[授]凉州萨保。

His Honor's formal name was [ ]. [His ancestors] came from the state of Shi (modern Uzbekistan) and he originally lived in the Western [Regions]. [6 missing characters] Later, they migrated to Chang'an. He had [ ][ ][ ][ ], a perpetual reputation that met expectations; and his virtues were noticed in the Central Plain. [ ][ ][ ][ ] gained prosperity day by day, [ ] and had a moral character. [His] grandfather, A-shi-pan-tuo (Rashtvantak) was a sabao in his own state;

\textsuperscript{464}This English translation is translated by Jui-Man Wu and Xiaolong Wu.
\textsuperscript{465}A slightly different translation is available. See Albert Dien 2003, pp. 105-106.
and his father, A-nu-jia (Wanuk) kept a good character and followed regulations. [He was] excellent and outstanding, and [he] undertook great affairs and achieved great merits. (He) was [ ] when he was young [ ] and he could already claim an excellent reputation. His Honor possessed the spirit of mountains (?), [ ][ ][ ] (his) ambition. At the beginning of [the reign of Datong], (he was) recommended by his hometown community as the sabao panshi chaozhu. In the fifth year of [ ][ ], he was given the title of the sabao of Liangzhou by an edict.


How boundless is the way of Heaven, (his) good name (is buried) forever. At the seventh day of the [fifth] month of the first year of Daxiang, [he] died at home, and was eighty-six sui (years old). His wife, Kang (her natal surname) died [ ][ ][ ][ ][ ]. Next year, the year of gangzi, in the first month, the first day of which was a dinghai day, on the twenty-third day which was a jiyou day, [Shi Jun and his wife] were buried together at [ ] county. [It was the rite.] His eldest son, Pisa, the second son, Weimo, and the third son, Fu [ ] duo all had qualities of filial piety, and built a stone [shrine] for their father and engraved inscriptions on a stone tablet in the tomb to spread [ ][ ] forever.
Rubbing of Sogdian and Chinese Epitaph of Shi Jun
(After Xi'anshi wenwu baochu kaogusuo 2005, p. 30, Figure 51)

Sogdian inscriptions\textsuperscript{466}

[lines 1-3] (It was in the period) Tay Zan of Great Chu (Dazhou Daxiang). The year two. In the first month of the year of the mouse. On the 23\textsuperscript{rd} (day).

[lines 3-13] Thus, there was a man of a family from Kish [domiciled?] in (a city called) Kachan. He [obtained?] a [title?] sabao of Kachan from the Emperor )and was) a *grandee in the Sogdian land. [8] He is named Wirkak, Wanuk’s son. Wanuk, sabao Rashtvandak’s son. His wife was born in Senpen and was named Wiyusi. [11] Wirkak married his wife in Senpen in the year of the pig, in the sixth month, on the seventh day (which was) the day of the rabbit.

[lines 15-17] Then, here in Khumtan (Chang’an), he himself died in the year of the pig, in the fifth month, on the seventh day (16\textsuperscript{th} June 579 CE).

[lines 17-20] And again his wife died in the 6\textsuperscript{th} month, on the seventh day, on the day of the rabbit, in this *given year, in this month, on this day (15\textsuperscript{th} July 579 CE)

[lines 20-28] There is no such living being who would be born and would not be owing death ( Nobody cannot avoid the fate to die.) [22] It is also difficult to complete a period of time in the living world. (It is difficult to live out one’s natural span of life.) However, this is even

\textsuperscript{466}The English translation is published in Yoshida Yutaka 2005: 59.
more difficult that in the world of men (i.e. life on earth) a husband and a wife see each other (i.e. live together?) without recognizing (it) (i.e. unintentionally or by accident) during these (same) years, these (same) months, and these (same) days, and that they would have life together during this (same) period of time also in the paradise.

[line 29-32] This tomb (i.e., god-house) made of stone was constructed by Vreshmanvandak, Zhematvandak, and Protvantak (or Parotvandak) for the sake of their father and mother in the suitable place.
Rubbing from Cover of the Epitaph of An Jia
(After Shaanxisheng kaoguo yanjiusuo 2003, p. 60, Figure 52)

Rubbing from Epitaph of An Jia
(After Shaanxisheng kaoguo yanjiusuo 2003, p. 61, Figure 53)

213
The Epitaph of An Jia (d. 579)\textsuperscript{467}

大周大都督同州萨保安君墓志铭

Epitaph of His Honor An: \textit{dadudu}\textsuperscript{468} of the Great Zhou and \textit{sabao} of Tongzhou (near modern-day Dali County, Shaanxi Province).

君讳伽| 字大伽| 姑藏昌松人| 其先黄帝之苗裔分族| 因居命氏| 世济门风| 代增家庆| 父突建| 冠军将军| 眉州刺史| 幼擅嘉声| 长标望实| 忠君信友| 母杜氏| 昌松县君| 婉兹四德| 弘此三从| 肃睦闺闱| 师仪乡邑

His Honor’s formal name was Jia; his courtesy name was Da Jia, a man of Changsong, Guzang (modern-day Wuwei, Gansu Province). His ancestors were a branch of the descendants of Yellow Emperor. His family name assigned based on their former place of residence. The moral standards of the house were enhanced through time, and family fame increased by generation. [His] father [was named] Tujian, [and was granted the titles of] \textit{Guanjun} General and the prefectural governor of Meizhou (modern-day Meishan County, Sichuan Province). As a child [already named An Jia] had a good reputation. After growing up, [he was] marked by solid prestige. [He] followed the path of benevolence and righteousness; [He was] loyal to his ruler and faithful to his friends.\textsuperscript{469} The surname of his mother was Du; she was a countess from Changsong. [She was] complaisant to the Four Virtues \textsuperscript{470} and promoted the Three

\textsuperscript{467} This English translation is published in Linduff and Wu 2006.
\textsuperscript{468} \textit{Dudu} is the title of an official that was used as early as the late Han Dynasty. During the Three Kingdoms period, \textit{Dudu} was a state military official. Among military officials, \textit{Dadudu} and \textit{Dudu} had the highest military authority. After Jin and Southern and Northern Dynasties, the title of \textit{Dudu} was changed slightly so that it signified those in charge of military affairs or ones who were stationed at the frontier.
\textsuperscript{469} A reference to Confucius: Zhizhang asked about getting by in the world (\textit{xing}). The master replied, “In your speech, be dutiful and trustworthy, and in your conduct be sincere and respectful. In this way, you will always get by in the world, even if you find yourself in some barbarian state.” Confucius. Edward G Slingerland (trans.) 2003: 176)
\textsuperscript{470} The Four Virtues were propriety in behavior, speech, demeanor and employment. From \textit{Zhouli. Tianguan. Jiubien}.
Obediences.\footnote{The Three Obediences were: obedience to one’s father before marriage, one’s husband after marriage, and one’s son if widowed.} [She was] respectful and kept harmonious relations inside the family, and was exemplary as a model in her neighborhood and hometown.

君诞之宿祉| 蔚其早令| 不同流俗| 不杂嚣尘| 绩宜朝野| 见推里閈| 卒除同州萨保| 君政抚闲合| 远迩祗恩| 德盛位隆| 于义斯在| 俄除大都督| 董兹戎政| 肃是军容| 志效鸡鸣| 身其马革| 而芒芒天道| 杳杳神祇| 福善之言| 一何无验| 周大象元年五月遘疾于家| 春秋六十二| 其年岁次己亥十月己未朔| 厝于长安之东| 距城七里| 但陵谷易徙| 居诸难息| 佳城有斁| 镌勒□无亏

His Honor was born in this blessed family and developed a good [reputation] early. In order to not follow licentious customs\footnote{This is a direct reference to the Liji: “Are the young and strong (here) observant of their filial and fraternal duties? Are the old and men of eighty (here) such as love propriety, not following licentious customs, and resolved to maintain their characters to death? (If so) they may occupy the position of guest! (Confucius, James Legge et al., 1967: 450.)}, he did not mingle with the noisy and dusty world\footnote{This is a reference to the Zuo Zhuan: Previously, Duke Jing of Qi had wished Yan Zhi to change his residence, saying: “Your house is near the market, small, damp and cramped, and the neighbourhood is noisy and dusty. You cannot continue living in such a place. You should move into one which is larger and more salubrious.” (Zuoqiu, Ming, Li Shibiao et al (trans) 2000: 531.)}. [His] merits were proclaimed in the court and among the people; [he was] selected in his neighborhood and thereupon was appointed the sabao\footnote{The title is related to Manichean practice where it is used to describe a lay person who leads prayer.} of Tongzhou. [His Honor made] administration nurturing and regulations harmonious. [People] from near and far [showed] respect and gratefulness. His virtue was abundant and his position significant, all due to his righteousness. He was soon appointed Dadudu (Grand Commander). [He] supervised military affairs, and strengthened army discipline. He aspired to people of ambition\footnote{This is a quote from the Shijing: The wind and rain make it like darkness, the cocks crow unceasingly, but since I have seen my lord, how should I not be joyous! (Bernhard Karlgren 1974: 59.)} and dedicated his
life to the battlefield. How boundless is the way of Heaven! How abstruse are the deities! [Useless are] the words of blessing and fortune, why were none [of them] applied [to him]? [He was] stricken with sickness at home in the fifth month of the first year of the Daxiang reign during the Zhou, and was sixty-two sui (years old) [when he died] in the year of Jihai in the tenth month, the first day of which was a Jiwei day. [An Jia] was buried to the east of Chang’an, seven li from the city. However, the hills and valleys can easily change, and time will never cease. [An Jia’s] burial ground can possibly be damaged, [but] the stone inscriptions will never be harmed.

诗经风雨: “风雨如晦，鸡鸣不已，既见君子，云胡不喜？”
476 This is a reference to the Biography of General Ma Yuan, from the Hou Han Shu (Book of Latter Han): "Xiongnu and Wuhuan are creating disturbance on the northern frontier now. I want to devote myself to fight them. A real man dies on a battlefield, and his body is wrapped in horsehide. Who can lie in bed and be surrounded by his wife and children?" (Translated by the author.)

477 This is a reference to the Shujing: At the end of three decades, the Miao people continued to rebel against the commands (issued to them), then Yi came to the help of Yü, saying, ‘It is virtue that moves Heaven; there is no distance to which it does not reach. Pride brings loss, and humility receives increase; this is the way of Heaven.’

478 This is a reference to the Shijing: Flashing is the lightning of the thunder; things are not peaceful, not good; all the streams bubble up and rise, the mountain tops break and collapse; high banks become valleys, deep valleys become hills; alas for the men of this time; why has nobody stopped (the disorders)? (Bernhard Karlgren. (trans.) Shi Jing (The Book of Odes), pp. 138-139.)

479 This is a reference to the Shijing: Juzhu indicates time, quoted from the ShiJing. (Shijing Beifeng, Riyue: Oh sun, oh moon! From the eastern regions you come; oh father, oh mother! He does not support me to the end; how can there be a settlement, he requites me in an improper way. (Bernhard Karlgren. (trans.) Shi Jing (The Book of Odes), p. 18.)

480 This is a reference to Xi Jing Za Ji written by Liu Xin, Han dynasty in Han Wei Ts’ung Shu 汉魏丛书 (Collected Works of the Han and Wei Dynasties), vol. 14, page 3 of the Chapter 4. (Liu Xin, 1925) (also http://ef.edpa.nysyu.edu.tw/ccw/01/cc.htm) Jia Cheng means graveyard.
The *ci*\(^{481}\) goes:

The base of the family is remote but was later firmly established;

The family lineage is long and became even more pure.

Glory shines on the house of [An], highly valuable and worth many cities.\(^{482}\)

Swan geese and waterfowl are equal.

Stallions\(^{483}\) and ordinary horses run together on the battlefield.

How could the way of Heaven be so?

[He] suddenly [went to] rest in the underworld.

The cold plain is lonely, and the open fields are desolate.

Mt. Tai\(^{484}\) will one day become gravel, and tall trees\(^{485}\) will soon turn into firewood.

The graveyard was luxuriant, and the [sun] and moon shine brilliantly;

Fine and tough silk will easily [decompose].

Only metal and stone [ie. the epitaph] will not perish.

---

\(^{481}\) A form of Tang poetry.

\(^{482}\) This is a reference to *Shi Ji* in *Lian Po Lin Xiangru Liezhuan* (Lien P’o and Lin Hsiang-ju, Memoir 21) in *Shiji* written by Sima Qian, Han dynasty. “During the time of King Hui-wen惠文, Chao昭王 acquired Ch’楚’s Jade of the Ho Clan和氏璧. King Chao昭 of Ch’in秦 (r. 306-251 BCE) heard of this and sent a messenger to deliver a letter to the King of Chao趙, saying that he wished to offer fifteen walled cities in exchange for the jade.” (Sima, Qian, William H. Nienhauser, and Tsai Fa Cheng (trans). 1994: 263.)

\(^{483}\) In the *Shuowen Jiezi* (Explaining Simple and Analyzing Compound Characters), *ji* means stallions that can run thousands of miles (*li*). And from the *Zhongzi Qiushu*: “*Qiji* and *Huali*, fine horses can run thousands of miles in a day.”

\(^{484}\) *Daishan* is a reference to Mount Tai (Taishan). The other name for Taishan is Daishan, Daizhong. *Dai* is an abbreviated term.

\(^{485}\) This is a reference to the *Zuo Zhuan*: Duke Mu of Qin sent word to him, saying, “What do you know about this affair? If you had died at the age of 40 to 50, the trees on your grave mound would be an arm’s span around by now!” (Zuoqu, Ming Li Shibiao et al. (trans.) 2000: 183.)
Rubbing from the Epitaph of Kang Ye
(After Xi'anshi wenwu baohu kaogusuo 2008, p. 25, Figure 23)
The Epitaph of Kang Ye

君讳业，字元基，其先康居国王之苗裔也。父魏大天主，罗州使君，去魏大统十年（544年），车骑大将军、雍州呼药翟门及西国胡豪望等举为大天主，云祖世忠孝，积叶义仁，年德敦厚，且恭且慎，水清玉洁，堪为轨范，谐合物情，称允众望。乃降诏许。

His Honor’s formal name was Ye; his courtesy name was Yuanji. His ancestor was the descendant of the kings of State of Kangju (modern Samarkand). His father was Datianzhu ("Great Heavenly Master", [possible Zoroastrian priest]) of the Wei Dynasty and was the envoy of Luo Prefecture. In the tenth year of Datong Era (544 CE) of the former [Western] Wei Dynasty, the Chief General of Chariot and Calvary and Huyao of Yong Prefecture, Zhai Men, and renowned nobles from the Western Regions recommended him (Ye’s father, to the emperor) as Datianzhu, saying that his family is loyal and obedient for generations, generous and kind-hearted, respected widely but still submissive and cautious, pure and noble, and he himself could be regarded as a model, and (must be able to) harmonize the things and situations and get public confidence. [The Emperor] then issued an edict to accept this recommendation.

至大统十六年（550年），尚书又奏，性行廉平，勤敬职事，请除大天主。兰在帝心，即蒙可。积善未征，奄同朝露。以大周保定三年（563年）正月薨。

Up to the sixteenth year of Datong Era (550 CE), shangshu [the Secretary Minister] suggested to the Emperor that because [Ye’s father’s] character and behavior was honest and unbiased and he was diligent and careful on his duty. He was suitable for the position of Datianzhu. The Emperor agreed. His accumulated good deeds did not get repaid, and [his life] is like dew at dawn. He passed away in the first month of the third year of Baoding Era (563 CE) of the Great Zhou Dynasty [Northern Zhou].

天和元年（566年），蒙诏以君积代蝉联，门传忠孝，授世掌大天主。居官在任，莅职贞清。检执赋均，曾无纤疎方异。金石同坚，松桢并茂。岂谓过隙不留，风飙已灭。

In the first year of Tianhe Era (566 CE), the Emperor issued an edict saying because Kang Family was famous for being loyal and obedient for generations, Kang Ye was assigned to

486 The English translation is translated by Ding Xiaolei.
succeed the position of Datianzhu, and could hand this position down to his descendants. When he was on his position, he was upright and honest, and did his job justly and rationally, no tiny flaws were made. As strong as metal and stone, and as sturdy as pines and privets. How could it be expected that a narrow seam passes without staying, (as) a gale stops suddenly.

今天和六年（571年）六月五日薨，春秋耳顺。诏增甘州刺史，礼也。生欣死痛，忉极升伦。长子汳休延，哀缠风树，酷甚蓼莪，孝女存亲，依敦世继。嗟东流不住，西日难停。令音无朽，乃制云铭。

He passed away on the fifth day, the sixth month, the sixth year of Tianhe Era (571 CE) at age of sixty. The Emperor issued an edict to give him a posthumous title of the governor of Gan Prefecture, which was according to the ritual rules. [When he was] born, [the people were] happy; [when he] died, [the people were] sad; his first son, whose name was Bianxiuyan, was so sad that could stand by himself as tree in wind; ……It is pitiful that the eastward flowing [of the rivers] could not be held back and the westward [moving of] the sun is hard to stop. To allow his good fame forever, here we make this epitaph.

涛波启澍，世绪修长；仁恭夙挺，如璧如璋。□蘭芬歇，比桂宁芳。灵祗靡祐，遂粉琳琅。积善馀庆，嘉福后臻。世传弘义，门述慈仁。幼而忠孝，长务恭亲。晓月凄凄，深松杳杳。谷響薤哥，风萦单旐。悲非即事，恨乃幽泉。阴光徒设，坟烛空燃。魂兮往矣，长夜无旋。凭名刊勒，记志于镌。次子槃陁，次子货主。大周天和六年岁次辛卯十一月廿九日
GLOSSARY

An Jia 安伽
Anyang 安阳
Ashina 阿史那
banmou 半模
bianqing 编磬
bianzhong 编钟
buquan 布泉
buyao 步摇
cang 仓
chai 钗
changping wuzhu 常平五铢
chaofu zang 朝服
Chaoyang 朝陽
Chengmacun 陈马村
Chiluo Xie 叱罗协
Chongxin 崇信殿
Ci Xian 磁县
Cui Fen 崔芬
Dagao 大诰
daigou 带钩
daigou 带钩
dao 道
datianzhu 大天主
diexiedai 践躞带
ding 鼎
dou 斗
Dugu Sizhen 独孤思贞
Dugu Zang 独孤藏
Emperor Tai Wu of N. Wei 北魏太武帝
Emperor Wenxuan of Northern Qi 北齐文宣帝
Emperor Wu of N. Zhou 北周武帝
Empress Wude of the Zhou 周武德皇后
erbei 耳杯
Fan Cui 范粹
Fan Cui 范粹
fo 佛
fu 錫
221
fu-bing 府兵

fu-bing 府兵
Gao Huan 高欢
Gao Run 高润
Gao Yang 高洋
gongmuzhi 公墓制
Gongxian 巩县
Guangchang Prefecture 广昌郡
Guyuan 固原
Heba Shi 贺拔氏
Hebei 河北
Hegan 纚干
heng 瑄
Heyou 河右
hezang 合葬
he 盅
Hou Ziqin 侯子钦
huang 璟
huan 璇
Huxuanwu 胡旋舞
hu 壶
jiaodou 镢斗
jiazuzang 家族葬
Jinyang 晋阳
jiu ming 九命
jiuxinghu 九姓胡

kaifu yitong sanci 开府仪同三司
Kaihuang 开皇
Kang Ye 康业
Li Xian 李贤
Lianing 遼寧
Liji-Liqu 礼记·曲礼
Liji 礼记
Linghu Defen 令狐德棻
Liuchao 六朝
Longcheng 龍城
Longshouyuan 龙首原
Mugan Khan 木杆可汗
Ningxia 宁夏
pan 盘
pei 佩
peizang 陪葬
pen 盆
piaoqi dajiangjun 骠骑大将军
Qiang 羌
Qijin 俟今
qingci 青瓷
qishaguan 纱冠
Qi wang 齊王
Ruo Ganyun 若干云
ru 儒
sabao 萨保

222
Shaanxi 陕西
shanghu 商胡
shangkaifu dajiangjun 上开府大将军
Shennongshi 神农氏
Shi Jun 史君
shichijie 使持节
shihuizhen 石灰枕
Su Chuo 苏绰
suteguo 粟特国
taiwei 太尉
Tian Hong 田弘
Tiangong 天宫坊
Tianlong babu 天龙八部
Tuoba Hu 拓跋虎
Tuoba Xianbei 拓跋鲜卑
tuohu 唾壶
tuqian 土钱
Tuyuhun 土谷浑
Wang Deheng 王德衡
Wang Shiliang 王世良
Wanzhang 湾漳
Wei jin nabeichao 魏晋南北朝
Weilie jiangjun 威烈将军
weishou 畏兽
Wu Hui 吴辉
Wuan 武安

Wuhu luanhua 五胡乱华
Wuping xian kaiguodong 武平县开国公
wuxing dabu 五行大布
wuzhu 五铢
Xi’an 西安
Xianbei 鲜卑
Xianyang 咸阳
Xiyu 西域
Xu Xianxiu 徐显秀
Yandi 炎帝
Yanshi Jiaxun 颜氏家训
yan 颜
yi 乙
Yining xianhou 义宁县候
yizhang 仪仗
yongan wuzhu 永安五铢
you 邑
Yuchir Yun 延迟运
Yuwen Jian 宇文俭
Yuwen Meng 宇文猛
Yuwen Tai 宇文泰
Yuwen Tong 宇文通
Yuwen Yong 宇文邕
zan 箏
zhaowujiuxing 昭武九姓
Zhouli 周礼

223
Zhoushu 周书
zhuguo dajiangjun 柱国大将军
zhu 珠
Zibo 淄博
zuzangzhi 族葬制
Wanzhang 湾漳
Cixian 磁县
Hebei 河北
BIBLIOGRAPHY


Cui Shiping 崔世平. "Cui Fen muzhi yu nanbei zhengzhan xia de Qingzhou Cui Shi 崔芬墓志与南北争战下的青州崔氏 (The Epitaph of Cui Fen and the Cui Family at Qingzhou under the Warfare During the Northern and Southern Dynasties)." Nanjing Xiaozhuang xueyuan xuebao 南京晓庄学院学报, no. 1 (2005): 36-41.


———. "Observations Concerning the Tomb of Master Shi." Bulletin of the Asia Institute 17 (December, 2003): 105-15


Fillippova, I. V. "Chinese Bronze Mirrors in the Hunnu Culture." Archaeology, Ethnology and Anthropology of Eurasia 3, no. 3 (2000): 100-08.


Gu Jiguang 谷霽光. "Xi Wei Bei Zhou shiqi fu-bing zhidu de xingcheng 西魏北周时期府兵制度的形成 (The Formation of Fu-Bing System During the Periods of Western Wei and Northern Zhou)." In Fubing Zhidu Kaoshi 府兵制度考释 (Examination and Explanation of the Fubing System). Shanghai 上海: Shanghai renmin Chubanshe 上海人民出版社, 1962.


———. "Lun Qin Han Wei Jin shiqi de jiazu mudi zhidu 论秦汉魏晋时期的家族墓地制度 (Discussion on the System of Family Cemetery During the Periods of Qin Han and Six Dynasties)." Kaogu yu wenwu 考古与文物, no. 2 (1999).


Hunansheng bowuguan and Zhongguo kexueyuan kaogu yanjiusuo 湖南省博物馆 中国科学院考古研究所. Changsha Mawangdui yihao Han mu 長沙馬王堆一號漢墓 (Han Tomb Number One at Mawangdui, near Changsha.). Beijing 北京: Wenwu Chubanshe 文物出版社, 1973.


Li Meitian 李梅田. "Bei Chao mushi huaxiang de quyuxing yanjiu 北朝墓室画像的区域性研究 (A Study on the Regional Analysis of the Paintings in the Tombs of Northern Dynasties)." Gugong bowuyuan yuankan 故宫博物院院刊, no. 3 (2005): 75-103, 60.


——. Shisan jing zhushu (zhengli ben) (14) Liji zhengyi 十三經注疏(整理本) 礼记正义(14), edited by "Shisanjing zhushu" zhengli weiyuanhui 十三經注疏整理委員會. Beijing 北京: Beijing daxue chubanshe 北京大学出版社, 2000


Linquxian bowuguan 临朐县博物馆. Bei Qi Cui Fen Bi Hua Mu 北齐崔芬壁画墓 (The Mural Paiting Tomb of Cui Fen of the Northern Qi), Beijing 北京: Wenwu Chubanshe文物出版社, 2002.


Shi Anchang 施安昌. "Bei Qi sute guizu mu shike kao--Gugong bowuyuan cang jianzuxing chengguwong chutan 北齐粟特贵族墓石刻考——故宫博物院藏建筑型盛骨瓮初探 (A Preliminary Study on a Architectural Shaped Oussary Collected by the National Palace Museum--the Stone Carving of the Northern Qi Tomb of the Elite Sogdian)." Gugong bowuyuan yuankan 故宫博物院院刊, no. 2 (1999): 70-78.


238


Wang Zhenfang 王振芳. "Lun Taiyuan zai Dong Wei Bei Qi shiqi de zhanlue diwei 论太原在东魏北齐时期的战略地位 (Discussion on the Strategic Position of Taiyuan During the Periods of Western Wei and Northern Qi)." Shanxi daxue xuebao 山西大学学报, no. 4 (1991): 53-58.


Wei Zheng 韦正. "Dong Han Luichao de chaofu zang 东汉、六朝的朝服葬 (Burial of Court Dress During the Period of Eastern Han and Six Dynasties)." *Wenwu 文物,* no. 3 (2002): 72-78.

———. "Jianlun Xin jin shiqi de nanbei shizu muzang 简论西晋时期的南北士族墓葬 (Brief Discussion on the Burial Practices of the Elite in the North and South During the Western Jin Period)." *Dongnan wenhua 东南文化,* no. 4 (1994): 59-74.

———. "Dixia de mingshi tu --Lun Zhulin Qixian Yu Rong Qiqi mushi bihua de xingzhi 地下的名士图--论竹林七贤与荣启期墓室壁画的性质 (The Images of Intellectual in the Underground--Discussion on the Characters of the Mural Painting of the Seven Sages of the Bamboo Grove and Rong Qiqi)." *Minzu yishu 民族艺术,* no. 3 (2005): 89-97.


Xi'anshi wenwu baohu kaogusuo 西安市文物保护考古所 Han, Baoquan, Linquan Cheng, and Guohe Han 韩保全,程林泉,韩国河编著. *Xi'an Longshouyuan Han mu 西安龍首原漢墓*. Xian city 西安市: Xibei daxue Chubanshe 西北大学出版社, 1999.


———. "Xi'an Bei Zhou Liangzhou sabao Shi Jun mu fajue jianbao 西安北周凉州萨保史君墓发掘简报 (Brief Report on the Excavation of the Northern Zhou tomb of Shi Jun, the *Sabao* of Liangzhou, in Xi'an)." *Wenwu 文物*, no. 3 (2005): 4-33.


Yang Hong 杨泓. "Nanbei Chao mu de bihua he pinxiang zhuanhua 南北朝墓的壁画和拼镶砖画 (The Murals and Brick Paintings in the tombs of Northern and Southern Dynasties)." In *Han Tang meishu kaogu he fojiao yishu 汉唐美术考古和佛教艺术 (Between Han and Tang: Art, Archaeology and Buddhist Art)*, 84-102. Beijing 北京: Kexue Chubanshe 科学出版社, 2000.


Zhongguo bihua quanji bianji weiyuanhui (Duan Wenjie and Qing Baiyin eds.) 中國壁畫全集 編輯委員會編 (主編段文傑, 副主編清白音). Zhongguo Bi Hua Quan Ji (8) Kezier 中國壁畫全集. 8 克孜爾 (Collections of Chinese Mural Paintings Vol. 8 Kizil). Tianjin 天津: Tianjin renmin meishu chubanshe 天津人民美術出版社, 1992.
