

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

by

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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.

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CHRONOLOGY

Shang Dynasty	商	ca. 1600-1050 BCE
Zhou Dynasty	周	ca. 1050-256 BCE
		Western Zhou 西周 (ca. 1050-771 BCE)
		Eastern Zhou 东周 (770-476 BCE)
		Spring and Autumn Period 春秋 (770-476 BCE)
		Warring States Period 战国 (476-221 BCE)
Qin Dynasty	秦	221-206 BCE
Han Dynasty	汉	206 BCE-220 CE
		Western Han 西汉 (206 BCE- 9 CE)
		Eastern Han 东汉 (25-220 CE)
Three Kingdoms	三国	220-265 CE
Jin Dynasty	晋	265-420 CE
Southern Dynasties	南朝	420-589 CE
Northern Dynasties	北朝	386-581 CE

Southern Dynasties 南朝 (420-589 CE)	Northern Dynasties 北朝(386-581 CE)	
Song 宋 (420-479 CE)	Northern Wei 北魏 (386-534 CE)	
Qi 齐(479-502 CE)	Western Wei 西魏 (535-556 CE)	Eastern Wei 东魏 (534-550 CE)
Liang 梁 (502-557CE)		
Chen 陈 (557-589 CE)		Northern Qi 北齐 (550-577 CE)
	Northern Zhou 北周 (557-581 CE)	

Sui Dynasty	隋	581-618 CE
Tang Dynasty	唐	618-907 CE

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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.

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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 Xianyang² 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.³ 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.⁴ 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.

³ Xing Fulai and Li Ming 邢福来 李明, "Xianyang Faxian Bei Zhou Zuigao Dengji Muzang--Zaici Zhengming Xianyang Beiyuan Wei Bei Zhou Huangjia Muznagqu 咸阳发现北周最高等级墓葬--再次证明咸阳北原为北周皇家墓葬区" *Zhongguo wenwubao* 中国文物报, May 2nd, 2001.

⁴ Judith A. Lerner, "Aspects of Assimilation: The Funerary Practices and Furnishings of Central Asians in China," *Sino-Platonic Papers*, no. 168 (2005); Linduff and Wu, "The Construction of Identity: Remaining Sogdian in Eastern Asia in the 6th Century"; Xinjiang Rong, "The Illustrative Sequence on An Jia's Screen: A Depiction of the Daily Life of a *Sabao*," *Orientalism* 34, no. 2 (Feb. 2003). Sofukawa Hiroshi 曾布川寛, "中國出土のソグデ石刻画像試論 (Discussions on Images of Sogdian Stone Carvings Excavated in China)," in *Chu Goku Bijutsu No Zuzō to*

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 1993.⁵ 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

Yō Shiki Kenkyū 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, (Tōkyō 東京: Chū ō ronbijutsushuppan 中央公論美術出版, 2006).

⁵Shaanxisheng 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 Xiao Mausoleum of Emperor Wu of the Northern Zhou)." *Kaogu yu wenwu* 考古与文物, no. 2 (1997).

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 Horing, Inner Mongolia) in 258 CE. Later, they moved to Pingcheng (modern Datong, Shanxi) in 398 CE, and then moved their capital again to the heart land 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 steppe 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.

⁸ Wang Zhongluo 王仲魯, *Bei Zhou Liu Dian* 北周六典 (Beijing 北京: 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, 1979). Scott Pearce, "The Yu-Wen Regime in Sixth Century China" (Princeton University, 1987), p. 457.

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.⁹ The *fu-bing* organization was established in 542 CE and recruited members from several powerful local families.¹⁰ 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.¹¹ The restoration of Xianbei heritage to some in the military organization served to centralize military power under the ruling Yuwen family.¹² 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.

⁹ Chen Yinke 陈寅恪, "Fubing Zhi Qianqi Shiliao Shiyi 府兵制前期史料试释," *Lishi yuyan yanjiusuo jikan* 历史语言研究所集刊 7, no. 3 (1937), pp. 275-286.

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.

¹¹ Albert E Dien, "The Bestowal of Surnames under the Western Wei/Northern Chou: A Case of Counter-Acculturation," *T'oung Pao* (1977).

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.¹³ 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.¹⁴ 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 568.¹⁵ 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.¹⁶ 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.¹⁷ 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.

¹³ Dorothy C. Wong, "Ethnicity and Identity: Northern Nomads as Buddhist Patrons During the Period of the Northern and Southern Dynasties," in *Political Frontiers, Ethnic Boundaries and Human Geographies in Chinese History*, ed. Nicola Di Cosmo and Don J. Watt (London, New York: Routledge Curzon, 2003).

¹⁴ Paul Demieville, "Philosophy and Religion from Han to Sui," in *The Cambridge History of China*, ed. Denis Twitchett and John K. Fairbank (Cambridge [Eng.]; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1978), pp. 853-857.

¹⁵ Linghu Defen 令狐德棻, *Zhou Shu* 周書 (*The Book of Zhou*) (Beijing 北京: 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), p. 75.

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.¹⁸ 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.¹⁹ 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.”²⁰ 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.²¹ In 2007, Dien published a book entitled “*Six Dynasties Civilization*,” providing

¹⁸ Chen Yinke 陈寅恪. "Sui Tang zhidu yuanyuan luelungao 隋唐制度渊源略论稿 (Manuscript of the Origins of Sui and Tang Institutions)." In *Sui Tang Zhidu Yuanyuan Luelungao* 隋唐制度渊源略论稿, 5-158. Shijianzhuang 石家庄: Hebei Jiaoyu Chubanshe 河北教育出版社, 1940 (reprint 2002).

¹⁹ See the bibliography.

²⁰ Albert E. Dien, "The Bestowal of Surnames under the Western Wei/Northern Chou: A Case of Counter-Acculturation," *T'oung Pao* (1977).

²¹ Albert E. Dien, "A New Look at the Xianbei and Their Impact on Chinese Culture," in *Ancient Mortuary Traditions in China* (Los Angeles County Museum of Art, 1991).

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.²² 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.²³

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.²⁴ Yang Hong, an archaeologist specializing in the period of Six

²² Dorothy C. Wong, "Ethnicity and Identity: Northern Nomads as Buddhist Patrons During the Period of the Northern and Southern Dynasties," in *Political Frontiers, Ethnic Boundaries and Human Geographies in Chinese History*, ed. Nicola DiCosmo and Don J. Watt (London, New York: Routledge Curzon, 2003).

²³ Ibid.

²⁴ Zheng Yan 郑岩, *Wei Jin Nan Bei Chao bihua 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 Quyxing 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.²⁵ 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.²⁶ 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.²⁷ 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.²⁸ 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

²⁵For these publications see Bibliography.

²⁶ Bonnie Cheng, "Fabricating Life out of Death: Sixth Century Funerary Monuments and the Negotiation of Cultural Traditions" (University of Chicago, 2003).

²⁷ 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).

²⁸ Annette L. and Judith A. Lerner Juliano, *Monks and Merchants : Silk Road Treasures from Northwest China Gansu and Ningxia 4th-7th Century* (New York, N.Y.: Harry N. Abrams with the Asia Society, 2001).

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 Valerie 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

²⁹ Jian Li, and Valerie Hansen, "The Glory of the Silk Road: Art from Ancient China," (Dayton, Ohio: Dayton Art Institute, 2003).

³⁰ Judith A. Lerner, "Aspects of Assimilation: The Funerary Practices and Furnishings of Central Asians in China," *Sino-Platonic Papers* 168(December, 2005), p. 32.

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 unearthed 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.

³² Sofukawa Hiroshi 曾布川寛, "中國出土のソグデ石刻畫像試論 (Discussions on Images of Sogdian Stone Carvings Excavated in China)," in *Chūgoku bijutsu no zuzō toyoōshiki. kenkyū* 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, (Tōkyo東京: Chūōkōronbijutsushuppan中央公論美術出版, 2006).

³³ Kwang-chih Chang. *Shang Civilization*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1980

³⁴ Cho-yun Hsu and Katheryn M. Linduff. *Western Chou Civilization*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1988.

³⁵ Li Xueqin and Kwang-chih Chang. *Eastern Zhou and Qin Civilizations*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1986.

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

³⁶Marcia-Anne Dobres, and John E. Robb, "Agency in Archaeology: Paradigm or Platitude?," in *Agency in Archaeology*, ed. Marcia-Anne Dobres and John E. Robb (London; New York: Routledge, 2000).

³⁷Ian Hodder, "Economic and Social Stress and Material Culture Patterning," *American Antiquity*, no. 44 (1979).

³⁸H. Martin Wobst, "Agency in (Spite of) Material Culture," in *Agency in Archaeology*, ed. Marcia-Anne Dobres and John E. Robb (New York and London: Routledge 2000).

³⁹Dobres, "Agency in Archaeology: Paradigm or Platitude?," p.11.

⁴⁰Jones, Sian, *The Archaeology of Ethnicity: Constructing Identities in the Past and Present*. London; New York: Routledge, 1997. Shennan, S. J. (ed.), *Archaeological Approaches to Cultural Identity*, London and New York: Routledge, 1989. Wells, Peter *Barbarians Speak: How the Conquered Peoples Shaped Roman Europe*, Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1999. Wells, Peter *Beyond the Celts: Germans and Scythians: Archaeology and Identity in Iron Age Europe*, London: Duckworth, 2001.

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.

⁴¹ Peter S Wells, *Beyond Celts, Germans and Scythians: Archaeology and Identity in Iron Age Europe*, Duckworth Debates in Archaeology (London: Duckworth, 2001).

⁴² Andrew Gardner, ed, *Agency Uncovered: Archaeological Perspectives on Social Agency, Power, and Being Human* (London: UCL Press, 2004), Sian Jones, *The Archaeology of Ethnicity: Constructing Identities in the Past and Present* (London; New York: Routledge, 1997), Sian Jones, "Discourses of Identity in the Interpretation of the Past," in *Cultural Identity and Archaeology: The Construction of European Communities*, ed. Sian Jones Paul Graves-Brown, Clive Gamble (London; New York: Routledge, 1996), S. J. Shennan, ed, *Archaeological Approaches to Cultural Identity* (London and New York: Routledge, 1989), Wells, *Beyond Celts, Germans and Scythians: Archaeology and Identity in Iron Age Europe*.

⁴³ Justin Morris, "'Agency' Theory Applied: A Study of Later Prehistoric Lithic Assemblages from Northwest Pakistan," in *Agency Uncovered: Archaeological Perspectives on Social Agency, Power, and Being Human*, ed. Andrew Gardner (London: UCL Press, 2004), p. 62.

⁴⁴ Tracy L. Sweely, "Introduction," in *Manifesting Power: Gender and the Interpretation of Power in Archaeology*, ed. Tracy L. Sweely (London; New York: Routledge, 1999).

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.⁴⁵ 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.”⁴⁶ Archaeological and anthropological theories concerning visualization

⁴⁵Lynn Meskell, "Archaeologies of Identity," in *Archaeological Theory Today*, ed. Ian Hodder (Cambridge, UK: Polity Press, 2001), p. 189.

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 (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 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.

2.0 CONQUERORS IN A CHINESE LAND

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.⁴⁸ 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 1994.⁴⁹ 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.⁵⁰ Counter examples are the looted Northern Qi imperial tomb of

⁴⁸Bonnie 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). Zhang Xiaozhou 张小舟, "Lun Bei Zhou Shiqi De Muzang 论北周时期的墓葬(A Discussion on Tombs of the Northern Zhou Periods)," in *Han Tang Zhi Jian De Shi Jue Wen Hua Yu Wu Zhi Wen Hua* 漢唐之間的視覺文化與物質文化 (*Between Han and Tang: Visual and Material Culture in a Transformative Period*), ed. Hung Wu (Beijing 北京: Wenwu Chubanshe 文物出版社, 2003).

⁴⁹ Shaanxisheng kaoguo yanjiusuo and Xianyangshi kaoguo yanjiusuo 陕西省考古研究所 咸阳市考古研究所, "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)," *Kaogu yu wenwu* 考古与文物, no. 2 (1997).

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

⁵¹ Cixian wenhuaju 磁县文化局. "Hebei Cixian Bei Qi Gao Run mu 河北磁县北齐高润墓 (The Northern Qi Tomb of Gao Run at Ci County, Hebei)." *Kaogu* 考古 3 (1979): 234-243.

⁵² Zhongguo shehui kexue yuan, 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. *Ci Xian Wanzhang Bei Zhao Bihua Mu* 磁县湾漳北齐壁画墓. Beijing 北京: Kexue chubanshe 科学出版社, 2003, p. 199.

⁵³ As Zhao Yonghong points out, in the *Book of Northern Qi (Beiqishu)*, the Emperor Wenxuan of the Northern Qi asked to follow the Han Dynasty burial custom. Zhao Yonghong 赵永洪, "You mushi dao mu dao--Nanbeichao muzang suojian 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观于丧葬空间的变化 (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.

⁵⁴ Albert E. Dien, "A New Look at the Xianbei and Their Impact on Chinese Culture," in *Ancient Mortuary Traditions in China* (Los Angeles County Museum of Art, 1991), p. 41.

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.⁵⁶ 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

⁵⁶Dien, "A New Look at the Xianbei and Their Impact on Chinese Culture," p. 54.

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 traditions⁵⁷ 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*),⁵⁸ and the time that “Five Barbarians brought trouble to China (*Wuhu luanhua*).” 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.

⁵⁸The title “Six Dynasties” comes from two different sources:

1. Six dynasties with capitals in Jiankang 建康 (the 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 (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).⁵⁹

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.⁶⁰ 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.⁶¹ Agency theories of self-identification emphasize the role played by agents, the mourners and the deceased, who

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

⁶⁰Mu-chou Poo, *Enemies of Civilization: Attitudes toward Foreigners in Ancient Mesopotamia, Egypt, and China* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2005).

⁶¹Mike Parker Pearson, *The Archaeology of Death and Burial* (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 1999, reprint 2002), Peter S Wells, *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.⁶² Moreover, the diversity and manifestations of social power in archaeological data also demonstrate different burial traditions and values.⁶³

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.⁶⁴ 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

⁶²Justin Morris, "'Agency' Theory Applied: A Study of Later Prehistoric Lithic Assemblages from Northwest Pakistan," in *Agency Uncovered: Archaeological Perspectives on Social Agency, Power, and Being Human*, ed. Andrew Gardner (London: UCL Press, 2004), p. 62.

⁶³Tracy L. Sweely, "Introduction," in *Manifesting Power: Gender and the Interpretation of Power in Archaeology*, ed. Tracy L. Sweely (London; New York: Routledge, 1999).

⁶⁴Wang Zhongluo 王仲犛, *Bei Zhou Liu Dian* 北周六典 (Beijing 北京: Zhonghua shu ju 中華書局: Xinhua shudian Beijing faxingsuo faxing 新華書店北京發行所發行, 1979); Scott Pearce, "The Yu-Wen Regime in Sixth Century China" (Princeton University, 1987), p. 457.

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

⁶⁵ Albert E Dien, "The Bestowal of Surnames under the Western Wei/Northern Chou: A Case of Counter-Acculturation," *T'oung Pao* (1977).

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 北京: 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

⁶⁸This 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.

⁶⁹The 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.

⁷⁰Shaanxisheng 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 Zhou⁷²

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, *yi*, 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

⁷¹Zhongguo shehui kexue yuan 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, *Ci Xian Wanzhang Bei Zhao Bihua Mu* 磁县湾漳北朝壁画墓 (Beijing 北京: Kexue chubanshe 科学出版社, 2003), pp. 192-199. The deceased of this tomb is still debated. *Hebei sheng kaogu wenji*. (Beijing: Wenwu Press, 1998), pp.449-459.

⁷²The epitaphs of the imperial family of the Northern Zhou are collected in Appendix A.

⁷³Shaanxisheng 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. 26-27.

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.

⁷⁴ Shaanxisheng Kaoguo Yanjiusuo 陕西省考古研究所, "北周宇文冢清理发掘简报," 考古与文物, no. 3 (2001), pp. 37-38. "率由古礼,不封不树,恐季世绵远,陵谷贸迁,式刊玄石,置诸泉户."

⁷⁵ Kathryn M. Linduff, and Mandy Jui-man Wu, "The Construction of Identity: Remaining Sogdian in Eastern Asia in the 6th Century," *Proceedings of the Seventeenth Annual UCLA Indo-European Conference October 27 - 28, 2005, Journal of Indo-European Studies*, Monograph, Series No. 52 (2006), pp. 228-230, 245-246.

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).⁷⁶ The tomb structure of the Northern Dynasties generally consists of a long sloping passageway, airshafts, an antechamber, and a main chamber.⁷⁷ The earliest examples of tombs with airshafts were two Eastern Han tombs near Luoyang (25-220 CE).⁷⁸ 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).⁷⁹

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

⁷⁶ Luo Zongzhen 罗宗真, *Weijin Nan Bei Chao Kaogu* 魏晋南北朝考古 (*The Archaeology of the Six Dynasties*) (Beijing 北京: Wenwu Chubanshe 文物出版社, 2001), pp. 75- 128.

⁷⁷ 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", p.176.

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.

⁷⁹ Zheng Yan 郑岩, "Lun 'Ye Cheng Guizhi'--Han Tang zhijian muzang bihua de yige jiedian 论邳城規制--汉唐之间墓葬壁画的一个接点," *Yishu shi yanjiu* 艺术史研究 3 (2002), p. 300.

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.

⁸¹ Yun Anzhi. 袁安志, *Zhongguo Bei Zhou Zhengui Wenwu: Bei Zhou Muzang Fajue Baogao* 中國北周珍貴文物: 北周墓葬發掘報告 (*Precious Relics of the Northern Zhou: Report on the Excavation of Northern Zhou Tombs*) (Xi'an 西安: Shanxi Renmin Meishu Chubanshe 陝西人民美術出版社, 1993), pp. 172-173.

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.⁸³ 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.⁸⁴ 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.⁸⁵ 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

⁸³Dien, *Six Dynasties Civilization*, p.218; Juliano, *Art of the Six Dynasties: Centuries of Change and Innovation*, pp.14-18.

⁸⁴The 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.

⁸⁵Albert E. Dien, "Six Dynasties Tomb Figurines: A Typological Survey and Analysis," in *Integrated Studies of Chinese Archaeology and Historiography, Symposium Series of the Institute of History and Philology*, ed. Cheng-hwa Tsang (Taipei: Academia Sinica, 1994); Dien, *Six Dynasties Civilization*, pp. 218-232.

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.⁸⁶ 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, armored 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.⁸⁷ 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, 1680 (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.

⁸⁶The placement of the figurines might be significant, and could be the subject of future research.

⁸⁷Yang 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,⁸⁸ 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.⁸⁹ 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.⁹⁰ I will discuss them in the following chapters. The absence of murals in the tomb of Emperor Wu indicates a diversion from Chinese

⁸⁸Dien, "Six Dynasties Tomb Figurines: A Typological Survey and Analysis.";Dien, *Six Dynasties Civilization*, p.229.

⁸⁹Zhao Yonghong 赵永洪, "You mushi dao mudao--Nanbeichao muzang suojian zhi yizhang biao xian 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).

⁹⁰Zheng Yan 郑岩, *Wei Jin Nan- Bei Chao bihua mu yanjiu* 魏晋南北朝壁画墓研究 (*A Study on the Murals in the Tombs of the Six Dynasties*) (Beijing 北京: Wenwu Chubanshe 文物出版社, 2002), pp. 130-137.

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

⁹¹Qi Dongfang, "Xianbei jinyinqi yanjiu 鲜卑金银器研究 (A Study of Xianbei Gold and Silver Objects)," in *Between Han and Tang: Cultural and Artistic Interaction in a Transformative Period*, ed. Hung Wu (Beijing: Cultural Relics Publishing House, 2001).

⁹²Yang Hong, "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)," Yun, *Zhongguo Bei Zhou Zhengui Wenwu: Bei Zhou Muzang Fajue Baogao 中國北周珍貴文物: 北周墓葬發掘報告(Precious Relics of the Northern Zhou: Report on the Excavation of Northern Zhou Tombs)*; Li Meitian 李梅田, "Guanzhong diqu Wei Jin Bei Chao Muzang Wenhu Yinsu Fenxi 關中地區魏晉北朝墓葬文化因素分析 (An Analysis on the Cultural Components of the Tombs of the Periods- Wei-Jin and the Northern Dynasties)," *Kaogu yu wenwu 考古与文物*, no. 2 (2004).

⁹³Shaanxisheng, "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)," pp.12-18.

⁹⁴Zhongguo 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.

⁹⁵Ibid, 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.⁹⁶ 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.

⁹⁶Dien, *Six Dynasties Civilization*, pp. 229-230; Liu Lanhua 刘兰华, "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," *Jingdezhen Taoci* 景德镇陶瓷 4, no. 1 (1994).

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.

⁹⁹ Lin Yin 林尹注译. *Zhouli Jinzhu Jinyi* 周礼今注今译. Beijing 北京: Shumu wenxian chubanshe 书目文献出版社, 1985, p. 193. 《周礼·春官·大宗伯》：“以玉作六器，以礼天地四方：以苍璧礼天，以黄琮礼地，以青圭礼东方，以赤璋礼南方，以白琥礼西方，以玄璜礼北方。”

The six ritual jades are used in the worship of heaven, earth, and the four directions. Dark green *bi* disk is used in the worship of heaven. Yellow *cong* is used in the worship of earth. Green *gui* is used in the worship of East. Red *zhang* is used in the worship of South. White *hu* (jade tiger) is used in the worship of West. Black *huang* (pieces of jade pendants) is used in the worship of the North. (in Zongbuo, Chungguan, Zhouli)

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).

¹⁰¹ Ibid, p. 48.

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.

¹⁰² Yun Anzhi 袁安志, *Zhongguo Bei Zhou Zhengui Wenwu: Bei Zhou muzang fajue baogao* 中國北周珍貴文物: 北周墓葬發掘報告 (*Precious Relics of the Northern Zhou: Report on the Excavation of Northern Zhou Tombs*).

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.¹⁰⁴ 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.¹⁰⁵ 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.¹⁰⁶ According to the excavation report, the deceased of this tomb might have been an officer of the Han.¹⁰⁷ A set of clay *bianzhong* and clay *bianqing*, totaling about 54 objects, was found in the imperial Wanzhang tomb,¹⁰⁸ 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.

¹⁰⁴ Wang Zhongluo 王仲犛, *Bei Zhou Liu Dian* 北周六典 (Beijing 北京: Zhonghua shu ju 中華書局: Xinhua shudian Beijing fa xing suo fa xing 新華書店北京發行所發行, 1979), pp. 290-291.

¹⁰⁵ Xi'an shi 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), pp. 112, 118-120.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid, p. 224.

¹⁰⁸ 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. 137-138.

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-CHINESE 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.¹⁰⁹ 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.¹¹⁰ 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).¹¹¹ 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.¹¹² In addition, there were niches in the two stone-slab tombs of Feng Sufu

¹⁰⁹Shehui Kexueyuan Kaogu Yanjiusuo Zhongguo, *Dadianzi: Xiajiadian Xiaceng Wenhua Yizhi Yu Mudi Fajue Baogao* (*Dadianzi: Excavation Report on a Lower Xiajiadian Culture Habitation Site and Cemetery*) (Beijing: Kexue Chubanshe, 1996); Kathryn M. Linduff, "An Archaeological Overview," in *Ancient Bronze of the Eastern Eurasian Steppes from the Arthur M. Sackler Collections*, ed. Emma C. Bunker, Trudy S. Kawami, Kathryn M. Linduff, and Wu En (New York: The Arthur M. Sackler Foundation: Harry N. Abrams, 1997), p. 26.

¹¹⁰Ningxia, 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).

¹¹¹Tian Likun 田立坤, "Sanyan Wenhua muzang de leixing yu fenqi 三燕文化墓葬的类型分期 (Typology and Periodization of Tombs of the Three Yan)," in *Han Tang Zhi Jian Wen Hua Yi Shu De Hu Dong Yu Jiao Rong* 漢唐之間文化藝術的互動與交融 (*Between Han and Tang: Cultural and Artistic Interaction in a Transformative Period*), ed. Hung Wu (Beijing 北京: Wenwu Chubanshe 文物出版社, 2001); Kim Söng-sook 金成淑, "Murong Xianbei Cuizang Xisu Kao 慕容鲜卑随葬习俗考 (A Study on the Burial Customs of Murong Xianbei)," *Renwen zazhi* 人文杂志 (2005).

¹¹²Liaoningsheng 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 朝阳王子坟山墓群

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.¹¹³ 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.¹¹⁴ 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.¹¹⁵ Some of these tombs had wall niches where animal sacrifices or pottery jars, or some precious objects were placed (M109).¹¹⁶

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

1987、1990 年度考古发掘的主要收获 (Main Achievements from 1987 and 1990 Seasons of Excavation of the Tombs at Wanzifenshan, Chaoyang, Liaoning)," *Wenwu* 文物, no. 11 (1997).

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. 3 (1973).

¹¹⁴ Ibid, p. 2.

¹¹⁵ Shanxisheng kaogu yanjiusuo Shanxi daxue lishi wenhua xueyuan, Datong Shi bowu guan 山西大学历史文化学院, 山西省考古研究所, 大同市博物馆编著, *Datong Nan Jiao Bei Wei Mu Qun* 大同南郊北魏墓群 (*A Northern Wei Cemetery in the southern outskirts of Datong*) (Beijing 北京 2006: Kexue Chubanshe 科学出版社, 2006).

¹¹⁶ Ibid, pp. 235-238.

pottery vessels, such as clay *li* tripod vessels or *hu*, and *ding*.¹¹⁷ 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.¹¹⁸

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.¹¹⁹ 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.

¹¹⁷Ding Lan 丁兰, "Shilun Hubei diqu de daikan Chu mu 试论湖北地区的带龕楚墓 (Tentative Discussion of Chu Tombs with Niches in Hubei Areas)," *Jinaghan Kaogu* 江汉考古, no. 2 (2004).

¹¹⁸Bowuyuan 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).

¹¹⁹Gideon Shelach, *Leadership Strategies, Economic Activity, and Interregional Interaction: Social Complexity in Northeast China* (New York: Kluwer Academic/ Plenum, 1999); Rowan Flad, "Ritual or Structure? Analysis of Burial Elaboration at Dadianzi, Inner Mongolia," *Journal of East Asian Archaeology* 3, 3-4 (2001), Jui-man Wu, "The Late Neolithic Cemetery at Dadianzi, Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region," in *Gender and Chinese Archaeology*, ed. Katheryn M. Linduff and Yan Sun (Walnut Creek: Altamira Press, 2004).

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).¹²⁰ 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.¹²¹ Figurines of armored men either on foot or riding armored horses became common during the Northern Dynasties (386-581 CE).¹²² 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.¹²³ Dien has pointed out, Xianbei clothing and horse gear were common in the Northern Dynasties.¹²⁴ Yang Hong has also suggested that armored horse

¹²⁰Qi Dongfang 齐东方, "Xianbei jinyinqi yanjiu 鲜卑金银器研究 (A Study of Xianbei Gold and Silver Objects)", p. 559.

¹²¹Su Zhe 苏哲, "Xi'an Chaochangpo Yihao Mu De Jiegou Yiweiyong Zuhe Ji Niandai 西安草场坡 1 号墓的结构, 仪卫俑组合及年代 (The Tomb Structure of M1 at Chaochangpo, Xi'an and Its Date and Processional Tomb Figurines)," in *Su Bai Xiansheng Bazhi Huadian Jinian Wenji* 宿白先生八秩华诞纪念文集, ed. Su Bai xiansheng bazhi huadian jinian wenji bianji weiyuanhui bian 宿白先生八秩华诞纪念文集编辑委员会编 (Beijing 北京: Wenwu Chubanshe 文物出版社, 2002). Su Zhe examines the assemblage of these figurines and their arrangement in the tomb, and suggests that they were the product of the Sixteen Kingdoms, where the warfare happened frequently. In addition, he proposes that the idea of procession was recorded in the text as *lubu* 卤簿.

¹²²Yang 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 汉唐美术考古和佛教艺术 (北京: 社科学出版社, 1986, reprint 2000);Dien, "A New Look at the Xianbei and Their Impact on Chinese Culture."

¹²³Dien, "A New Look at the Xianbei and Their Impact on Chinese Culture."

¹²⁴Ibid.

figurines in the Emperor Wu's tomb might represent the famous Xianbei cavalymen 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 cavalymen 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.

¹²⁵ Yang Hong 杨泓, "Bei Zhou de jiaqi juzhuang 北周的甲骑具装," in *Yuan Wang Ji: Shaanxi Kaogu Yanjiusuo Huadan Sishi Zhounian Jinian Wenji* 远望集: 陕西考古研究所华诞四十周年纪念文集, ed. Yuan wang ji" bian wei hui (Xi'an 西安: Shanxi Renmin Meishu Chubanshe 陕西人民美术出版社, 1998), p. 680.

¹²⁶ Chaoyangshi bowuguan 朝阳市博物馆, "Liaoning Chaoyang Tiancaogou Jin mu 辽宁朝阳田草沟晋墓 (Excavation of a Jin Dynasty Tomb at Tiancaogou, Chaoyang, Liaoning)," *Wenwu* 文物, no. 11 (1997), Zhang Keju and Tian Likun 张克举 田立坤, "Liaoning Fajue Beipiao Lamodong Xianbei Guizu Mudi 辽宁发掘北票喇嘛洞鲜卑贵族墓地(The Xianbei Elite Cemetery Excavated at Lamadong, Beipiao, Liaoning)," *Zhongguo Wenwu Bao* 中国文物报 1996.

¹²⁷ Zhang Keju 张克举, "Qian Yan Chutu De Mazhou Ji Qi Yuanliu 前燕出土的马冑及其源流 (Horse Fittings Excavated in the Tombs of Former Yan and Its Origin)," in *Qing Guo Ji: Jilin Da Xue Kao Gu Xi Jian Xi Shi Zhou Nian Ji Nian Wen Ji* 青果集: 吉林大学考古系建系十周年纪念文集, ed. 吉林大学考古系编. Jilin da xue. Kao gu xue xi. (Beijing 北京: 知识出版社 Zhishi Chubanshe, 1998).

b. Grey Pottery Jars

Pottery vessels found in tombs may be indicators of patterns of everyday life.¹²⁸ Grey pottery jars (*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.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.¹³⁰ Ceramic *guan* and *hu* jars were very common in Xianbei tombs since first millennium BCE.¹³¹ No traditional Chinese pottery vessels such as *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 *ding*, (26cm-28 cm), 4 *hu* (48cm), 16 jars, and 16 ear cups (*erbei*).

¹²⁸Martin Pitts, "The Emperor's New Clothes? The Utility of Identity in Roman Archaeology," *American Journal of Archaeology* 111, no. 4 (2007).

¹²⁹Sun Wei 孙危, *Xianbei Kaogu Xue Wenhua Yanjiu* 鲜卑考古学文化研究 (*A Study on the Xianbei Archaeological Culture*) (Beijing 北京: Kexue Chubanshe 科学出版社, 2007).

¹³⁰*Ibid.*

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.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.

2.4.2.2 Bronze

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.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 periods¹³⁴ 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."¹³⁵ Three complete bronze belt sets

¹³²Liu, "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."

¹³³Jenny F. So, "Belt Ornaments and Fasteners," in *Traders and Raiders on China's Northern Frontier*, ed. Jenny F. So, and Emma C. Bunker (Seattle: Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, Smithsonian Institution, in association with University of Washington Press, 1995), p. 77.

¹³⁴Wang 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.

¹³⁵So, "Belt Ornaments and Fasteners", p. 77.

(*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.¹³⁶ 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.¹³⁷ 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),¹³⁸ and the gilded bronze belt set at Wangzifenshan, Chaoyang (M9001).¹³⁹ 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

¹³⁶Zhang Jianlin, personal communication, July 2007.

¹³⁷ Linghu, *Zhou Shu* 周書, p. 529.

¹³⁸Liaoningsheng wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo 辽宁省文物考古研究所. "Liaoning Beipiao Lamadong mudi 1998 nian fajue baogao 辽宁北票喇嘛洞墓地 1998 年发掘报告 (Excavation Report of the Cemetery at Lamadong, Beipiao Liaoning in 1998)," *Kaogu xuebao* 考古学报, no. 2 (2004).

¹³⁹Liaoningsheng, "Chaoyang Wangzifenshan muqun 1987、1990 niandu kaogu fajue de zhuyao shouhuo 朝阳王子坟山墓群 1987、1990 年度考古发掘的主要收获 (Main Achievements from 1987 and 1990 Seasons of Excavation of the Tombs at Wanzifenshan, Chaoyang, Liaoning)," p. 15.

wives.¹⁴⁰ 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.¹⁴¹ Their small size suggests that they were made for funerary use (*mingqi*) 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."¹⁴² 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,¹⁴³ 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.¹⁴⁴ 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

¹⁴⁰Liaoningsheng, "Liaoning Beipiao Lamadong mudi 1998 nian fajue baogao 辽宁北票喇嘛洞墓地 1998 年发掘报告 (Excavation Report of the Cemetery at Lamadong, Beipiao Liaoning in 1998)," p. 237, 239, note 11.

¹⁴¹ The report of Yuwen Tong's tomb has not been published, only a brief report in *Zhongguo Wenwu Bao*, 2001, May second, section 1. The information and images were from the excavators, Xin Fulian and Li Min.

¹⁴²So, "Belt Ornaments and Fasteners," p. 81.

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)

¹⁴⁴Shaanxisheng, "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. 24.

objects.¹⁴⁵ Bronze cauldrons were used as sacrificial ritual objects in shamanistic practices by the pastoral peoples in the northern steppe¹⁴⁶ 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.¹⁴⁷ Examples of such caldrons 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.¹⁴⁸ This bronze stem-footed vessel (*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 *hu* or *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

¹⁴⁵Emma C. Bunker, Trudy S. Kawami, Katheryn M. Linduff, and Wu En, ed, (New York: The Arthur M. Sackler Foundation: Harry N. Abrams, 1997), p. 178; Guo, Wu 郭物, "Dierqun qingtong (Tie) *fu* yanjiu 第二群青铜 (铁) 鍑研究 (A Study of the Second Group of Bronze/ Iron *Fu* Cauldrons)," *Kaogu xuebao* 考古学报, no. 1 (2007), pp.85-86.

¹⁴⁶ Ibid.

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

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.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.”¹⁵⁰

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 (*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),¹⁵¹ two were found at Tiancaogou, Chaoyang (M1: 05 and M2: 22)¹⁵² and one was in the tomb of Feng Sufu.¹⁵³ According to Su Ji, gold head ornaments were worn not only by women but also by high status

¹⁴⁹Wells, *Beyond Celts, Germans and Scythians: Archaeology and Identity in Iron Age Europe*, p. 25.

¹⁵⁰Emma C. Bunker, "Gold in the Ancient Chinese World: A Cultural Puzzle," *Artibus Asiae* 53, no. 1/2 (1993), p. 48.

¹⁵¹Liaoningsheng, "Chaoyang Wangzifenshan muqun 1987、1990 niandu kaogu fajue de zhuyao shouhuo 朝阳王子坟山墓群 1987、1990 年度考古发掘的主要收获 (Main Achievements from 1987 and 1990 Seasons of Excavation of the Tombs at Wanzifenshan, Chaoyang, Liaoning)," p. 15.

¹⁵²Chaoyangshi 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.

¹⁵³Li 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 (*shihuiizhen*) 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.

¹⁵⁴Sun Ji 孙机, "Buyao buyaoguan yu yaoye shipian 步摇、步摇冠与摇叶饰片 (Gold-Leaf Crown and Ornamental Gold Leaves)," *Wenwu* 文物, no. 11 (1991), p. 63.

¹⁵⁵The 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.

¹⁵⁶Zhang Wenling 张文玲. "Gudai caoyuan shijie de guizu fushi 古代草原世界的贵族服饰 (Clothing of the Elite in the Steppic World during Ancient Time)." *Gugong wenwu yuekan* 故宫文物月刊 213 (December, 2000), pp. 4-11.

¹⁵⁷Shanxisheng kaogu yanjiusuo Shanxi daxue lishi wenhua xueyuan, Datongshi bowuguan 山西大学历史文化学院, 山西省考古研究所, 大同市博物馆编著, *Datong nan jiao Bei Wei muqun* 大同南郊北魏墓群 (A Northern Wei Cemetery in the Southern Outskirts of Datong) (Beijing 北京 2006: Kexue Chubanshe 科学出版社, 2006), p. 488.

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.¹⁵⁸ 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.¹⁵⁹ Karen Robinson 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.”¹⁶⁰ Bronze mirrors were rare in the north during the period of Northern Dynasties.¹⁶¹ 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.

¹⁵⁸Annette L. Juliano, "Possible Origins of the Chinese Mirror," *Source: Notes in the History of Art* IV, no. 2/3 (1985).

¹⁵⁹I. V. Filippova, "Chinese Bronze Mirrors in the Hunnu Culture," *Archaeology, Ethnology and Anthropology of Eurasia* 3, no. 3 (2000).

¹⁶⁰Karen Robinson, "Through the Looking Glass: Reflections on Mirrors, Gender, and Use among Nomads," in *In Pursuit of Gender: Worldwide Archaeological Approaches*, ed. Sarah Milledge Nelson and Myriam Rosen-Ayalon. (Walnut Creek, CA: AltaMira Press, 2002), p. 72.

¹⁶¹Dien, *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 family¹⁶² 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 possibly 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

¹⁶³John C. Barrett, "Agency, the Duality of Structure, and the Problem of the Archaeological Record," in *Archaeological Theory Today*, ed. Ian Hodder (Cambridge, UK: Polity Press, 2001), pp. 146-147.

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.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.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.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.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

¹⁶⁴ Scott Pearce, "The Yu-Wen Regime in Sixth Century China" (Princeton University, 1987), pp. 454-477.

¹⁶⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶⁶ Defen 令狐德棻 Linghu, *Zhou Shu* 周書 (Beijing 北京: 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), p.45.

¹⁶⁷ Scott Pearce, "Form and Matter: Archaizing Reform in Sixth-Century China," in *Culture and Power in the Reconstitution of the Chinese Realm, 200-600*, ed. Scott Pearce, Audrey G. Spiro, and Patricia Buckley Ebrey, *Harvard East Asian Monographs 200* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Asia Center: Distributed by Harvard University Press, 2001), p. 176.

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.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.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.¹⁷⁰ For example, in the book *Family Instruction for the Yan Clan* (*Yanshi*

¹⁶⁸ Linghu Defen 令狐德棻, *Zhou Shu* 周書, pp. 63-86.

¹⁶⁹ Pearce, "The Yu-Wen Regime in Sixth Century China", p. 473.

¹⁷⁰ Albert E Dien, "The Bestowal of Surnames under the Western Wei/Northern Chou: A Case of Counter-Acculturation," *T'oung Pao* (1977), p. 140.

Jiaxun),¹⁷¹ 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.¹⁷² 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.

¹⁷¹ Wang liqi 王利器. *Yanshi Jiaxun Jijie 顏氏家訓集解* (Commentaries and Notes on the Family Instructions for the Yen Clan). Beijing 北京: Zhonghua shuju 中華書局, 1993. p. 21.

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.

¹⁷³ Flad, "Ritual or Structure? Analysis of Burial Elaboration at Dadianzi, Inner Mongolia," p. 36.

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,¹⁷⁴ 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.¹⁷⁵ 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.¹⁷⁶

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.¹⁷⁷ 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*),¹⁷⁸ 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.¹⁷⁹ Yang Hong has also pointed out that the armored horse figurines in the Emperor Wu's tomb might represent the famous Xianbei cavalymen recorded in the Book of Song (*Songshu*) and the Book of Sui (*Suishu*).¹⁸⁰ 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."

¹⁷⁸ Lin Yin 林尹注译. *Zhouli Jinzhu Jinyi* 周礼今注今译. Beijing 北京: Shumu wenxian chubanshe 书目文献出版社, 1985, p. 193.

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 Wenxuan of the Northern Qi asked to follow the Han Dynasty burial custom.¹⁸¹ 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

¹⁸¹Zhao Yonghong 赵永洪, "You mushi dao mu dao--Nanbeichao muzang suojian 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.

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.

3.0 WARRIOR CLASS UNDER THE NORTHERN ZHOU

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 sinized. 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”.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.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-Chinese¹⁸⁴ 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 a 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

¹⁸² Albert E. Dien, "The Bestowal of Surnames under the Western Wei/Northern Chou: A Case of Counter-Acculturation," *T'oung Pao* (1977).

¹⁸³ Albert E. Dien, "A New Look at the Xianbei and Their Impact on Chinese Culture," in *Ancient Mortuary Traditions in China* (Los Angeles County Museum of Art, 1991).

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 Xianbei generals of the Northern Zhou.

mortuary epitaphs and Chinese official texts.¹⁸⁶ 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 system¹⁸⁹ (*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

¹⁸⁷ Nicola Di Cosmo, "Introduction," in *Military Culture in Imperial China*, ed. Nicola Di Cosmo (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 2009), p. 4.

¹⁸⁸ Albert E. Dien, "The Role of the Military in the Western Wei/ Northern Chou State," in *State and Society in Early Medieval China*, ed. Albert E. Dien (Stanford, Calif: Stanford University Press, 1991), p. 363.

¹⁸⁹ Albert E. Dien "Six Dynasties Civilization." 2007, p. 9.

¹⁹⁰ Chen Yinke 陈寅恪, "Fubing zhi qianqi shiliao shiyi 府兵制前期史料试释," *Lishi yuyan yanjiusuo jikan* 历史语言研究所集刊 7, no. 3 (1937), pp. 275-286.

¹⁹¹ 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 Fubing System*) (Shanghai 上海: Shanghai renmin Chubanshe 上海人民出版社, 1962), pp. 27-34.

leaders and administrative officials.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.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.”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 hierarchy¹⁹⁵ were largely derived from the Xianbei officer organization,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

¹⁹² Albert E. Dien, "The Bestowal of Surnames under the Western Wei/Northern Chou: A Case of Counter-Acculturation," *T'oung Pao* (1977).

¹⁹³ 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.

¹⁹⁴ Dien, "The Bestowal of Surnames under the Western Wei/Northern Chou: A Case of Counter-Acculturation," pp. 169-170.

¹⁹⁵ ———, "The Role of the Military in the Western Wei/ Northern Chou State," p. 363.

¹⁹⁶ Scott Pearce, "The Yu-Wen Regime in Sixth Century China" (Princeton University, 1987), p. 590.

rewarded the position of “Lord of Guanchang County.”¹⁹⁷ 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.¹⁹⁸ But, in his study of Six Dynasties civilization, Dien argues persuasively that the

¹⁹⁷ Yun Anzhi 袁安志, *Zhongguo Bei Zhou zhengui wenwu: Bei Zhou muzang fajue baogao* 中國北周珍貴文物: 北周墓葬發掘報告 (*Precious Relics of the Northern Zhou: Report on the Excavation of Northern Zhou Tombs*), pp.126-130.

¹⁹⁸ Jessica Rawson, "Creating Universes: Cultural Exchange as Seen in Tombs in Northern China between the Han and Tang Periods," in *Between Han and Tang: Cultural and Artistic Interaction in a Transformative Period*, ed. Wu Hung (Beijing: Cultural Relics Publishing House, 2001); Judith A. Lerner, "Aspects of Assimilation: The Funerary Practices and Furnishings of Central Asians in China," *Sino-Platonic Papers* 168 (December, 2005).

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

¹⁹⁹ Albert E Dien, *Six Dynasties Civilization*, Early Chinese Civilization Series (New Haven, Conn: Yale University Press, 2007), p. 428.

²⁰⁰ Ibid, p. 429.

²⁰¹ Zheng Yan 郑岩, *Wei Jin Nan Bei Chao bihua 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 Tombs of Northern Dynasties)," *Gugong bowuyuan yuankan* 故宫博物院院刊, no. 3 (2005).

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.²⁰⁴ 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.²⁰⁵ 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.²⁰⁶

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).

²⁰⁶ Andrew Gardner, "Social Identity and the Duality of Structure in Late Roman-Period Britain," *Journal of Social Archaeology* 2(2002); ———, "Agency and Community in 4th Century Britain: Developing the Structurationist Project," in *Agency Uncovered: Archaeological Perspectives on Social Agency, Power, and Being Human*, ed. Andrew Gardner (London: UCL Press, 2004); Chris Fowler, *The Archaeology of Personhood: An Anthropological Approach* (London: Routledge, 2004); Bettina Arnold, "The Limits of Agency in the Analysis of Elite Iron Age Celtic Burials," *Journal of Social Archaeology* 1(2001).

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.²⁰⁷ 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.²⁰⁸ The tendency toward modest burials is found in several different regions.²⁰⁹

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.

²⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, p 101.

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*).²¹⁰ 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.

²¹⁰ Shaanxisheng kaoguo yanjiusuo and Xianyangshi kaoguo yanjiusuo 陕西省考古研究所 咸阳市考古研究所, "Bei Zhou Wudi Xiaoling fajue jianbao 北周武帝孝陵发掘简报 (Brief Report on the Excavation of the Xiao Mausoleum of Emperor Wu of the Northern Zhou)," *Kaogu yu wenwu* 考古与文物, no. 2 (1997), p. 28.

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.²¹¹ They generally consisted of a long sloping passageway, airshafts, an antechamber, and a main burial chamber.²¹² Although most scholars believe that both the shape and size of graves are related to the social status of the deceased,²¹³ 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,²¹⁴ although there are some exceptions.²¹⁵ 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

²¹¹ Luo Zongzhen 罗宗真, *Wei Jin Nan Bei Chao kaogu* 魏晋南北朝考古 (*The Archaeology of the Six Dynasties Period*) (Beijing 北京: Wenwu Chubanshe 文物出版社, 2001), pp. 75- 128.

²¹² 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", p.176.

²¹³ Parker Pearson, *The Archaeology of Death and Burial*, p. 5.

²¹⁴ Yun Anzhi 袁安志, *Zhongguo Bei Zhou zhengui wenwu: Bei Zhou muzang fajue baogao* 中國北周珍貴文物: 北周墓葬發掘報告 (*Precious Relics of the Northern Zhou: Report on the Excavation of Northern Zhou Tombs*) (Xi'an 西安: Shanxi Renmin Meishu Chubanshe 陝西人民美術出版社, 1993), pp. 172-173.

²¹⁵ 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", p. 196.

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, this 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

²¹⁶ Ni Run'an 倪润安, "Bei Zhou muzang de dixia kongjian yu sheshi 北周墓葬的地下空间与设施 (The Arrangement and Decoration of the Subterranean Areas of Northern Zhou Dynasty Graves)," *Kugong buwuyuan yuankan* 故宫博物院院刊, no. 1 (2008), p. 62.

²¹⁷ Luo Zongzhen 罗宗真, *Weijin Nan BeiChao kaogu* 魏晋南北朝考古 (*The Archaeology of the Six Dynasties Period*) (Beijing 北京: Wenwu Chubanshe 文物出版社, 2001), p. 99.

²¹⁸ Yang Xiaojun 杨效俊, "Dongwei, Bei Qi muzhang de kaoguxue 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)," *Kaogu yu wenwu* 考古与文物, no. 5 (2000), pp. 70-71.

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

²¹⁹ Zheng Yan 郑岩, *Wei Jin Nan Bei Chao bihua mu yanjiu* 魏晋南北朝壁画墓研究 (*A Study on the Murals in the Tombs of the Six Dynasties*) (Beijing 北京: Wenwu Chubanshe 文物出版社, 2002), pp. 130-137; 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. 96.

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 anti-chamber, walls and musicians are on four sides of the main chamber's walls.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.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.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.²²³ During the Northern Qi period (550-577 CE), a mural format similar to a long scroll painting began to appear in passageways.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.²²⁵ In the imperial Wangzhang tomb of Northern Qi (discussed in Chapter Two) the ritual procession that occupies a large

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)," *11 Wenwu* 文物(1985), p. 3-4.

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.

²²² Yang Xiaojun 杨效俊, "Dongwei, Bei Qi muzhang de kaoguxue 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.

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

²²⁴ Zheng Yan 郑岩, *Wei Jin Nan Bei Chao bihua mu yanjiu 魏晋南北朝壁画墓研究 (Research on the Murals in the Tombs of the Six Dynasties)*, p. 196.

²²⁵ Yang Hong 杨泓, "Nanbei Chao mu de bihua he pinxiang zhuan 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 ".

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 1986.²²⁶ Cui Fen came from an upper class family and was a lower ranking general.²²⁷ 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.²²⁸ 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.²²⁹ 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 Painting Tomb of Cui Fen of the Northern Qi*) (Beijing 北京: 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 bowuguan 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 Painting 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," *Orientalism*, no. 6 (1998).

²²⁹ Shandongsheng wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo and Linqu Xian bowuguan 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 Painting Tomb of Cui Fen of the Northern Qi at Linqu, Shandong)," p. 25; 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)" in *Bei Qi Cui Fen bihua mu* 北齐崔芬壁画墓, ed. Linqu Xian bowuguan 临朐县博物馆 (Beijing: Wenwu Chubanshe 文物出版社 2002); Lin Sheng-chih 林聖智, "北朝時代における貴族の墓葬の圖像——北齊崔芬墓を例として." In *中國美術の圖像學*, edited by 曾布川寬, 27-95: 京都大學人文科學研究所報告書, 2006, 65-69.

several Buddhist caves such as that in the central Binyang Cave at Longmen.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.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.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.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.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.²³⁵

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.

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.

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.

²³³ ———, "Nanbeichao muzang zhong Zhulin Qixian Yu Rong Qiqi huaxiang de hanyi 南北朝墓葬中竹林七贤与荣启期画像的含义 (The Meaning of Painting of the Seven Sages of the Bamboo Grove and Rong Qiqi in the Periods of Northern and Southern Dynasties)," in *Wei Jin Nan Bei Chao Bihua mu yanjiu 魏晋南北朝壁画墓研究 (A Study on the Murals in the Tombs of the Six Dynasties)* (Beijing 北京: Wenwu Chubanshe 文物出版社, 2002), pp. 209-236.

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.

²³⁵ Lin Sheng-chih 林聖智, "北朝時代における貴族の墓葬の圖像——北齊崔芬墓を例として." In *中國美術の圖像學*, edited by 曾布川寬, 京都大學人文科學研究所報告書, 2006, p. 85.

The Northern Qi tomb of Xu Xianxiu (ca. 571 CE), located at Taiyuan, Shanxi Province, was excavated in 2000.²³⁶ 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.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, *Xiyu*, in Kucha.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.²³⁹ Musical instruments like the *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.

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)," *Wenwu* 文物, no. 10 (2003).

²³⁷ Dien, *Six Dynasties Civilization*, p. 427.

²³⁸ Luo Shiping 罗世平, "Taiyuan Bei Qi Xu Xianxiu mu bihua zhong 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)," *Yishushi yanjiu* 艺术史研究 5(2003).

²³⁹ Rong Xinjiang 荣新江, "Luetan Xu Xianxiu mu bihua de pusa 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)," *Wenwu* 文物, no. 5 (2003).

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.²⁴⁰ 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.)

²⁴⁰Shaanxisheng, "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)," pp.12-18.

than the Northern Zhou figurines.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.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 320²⁴³ 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 found 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).

²⁴¹Zhongguo 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.

²⁴²Dien, "Six Dynasties Tomb Figurines: A Typological Survey and Analysis."; Dien, *Six Dynasties Civilization*, p.229.

²⁴³For example, around 320 pottery figurines were found in the south side of tomb chamber in the tomb of Xu Xianxiu.

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

²⁴⁴ Yun Anzhi 袁安志, *Zhongguo Bei Zhou zhengui wenwu: Bei Zhou muzang fajue baogao* 中國北周珍貴文物: 北周墓葬發掘報告 (*Precious Relics of the Northern Zhou: Report on the Excavation of Northern Zhou Tombs*), pp. 12-14, 28.

²⁴⁵ Ningxia Huizu zizhiqiu 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)," pp. 10-11; Yuanzhou lianhe kaogudui 原州聯合考古隊編, *Bei Zhou Tian Hong Mu* 北周田弘墓 (*Hokushu DenkōBō*) (*The Northern Zhou Tomb of Tian Hong*) (Tōkyō Bensei Shuppan 勉誠出版, 2000), pp. 39-40.

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

²⁴⁶ Feng Xianming 冯先铭, *Zhongguo Taoci* 中国陶瓷 (*Chinese Ceramics*) (Shanghai 上海: Shanghai guji Chubanshe 上海古籍出版社, 1994), pp. 238-252.

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.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.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.²⁵⁰ Some of their decorations (for example the lotus petal motif) were inspired by Buddhist art.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.

²⁴⁸Yun Anzhi 袁安志, *Zhongguo Bei Zhou zhengui wenwu: Bei Zhou muzang fajue baogao* 中國北周珍貴文物: 北周墓葬發掘報告 (*Precious Relics of the Northern Zhou: Report on the Excavation of Northern Zhou Tombs*), p. 168.

²⁴⁹Dien, *Six Dynasties Civilization*, pp. 233-251.

²⁵⁰Jessica Rawson, "Central Asian Silver and Its Influence on Chinese Ceramics," *Bulletin of the Asia Institute* 5(1991).

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 (*chai* and *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).

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 (*heng*), two semicircular pieces (*huang*), one circular piece (*huan*), and two round parts (*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

²⁵²Dien, *Six Dynasties Civilization*, p. 273.

²⁵³Zuo Jun 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)," *Gugong bowu yuan yuankan* 故宫博物院院刊, no. 6 (2007), p. 60.

²⁵⁴The jade *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)," *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.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*).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,²⁵⁷ it is possible that pendants and hats formed part of a complete official burial costume.²⁵⁸

b. Jade Hairpins

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

²⁵⁵Zuo Jun 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)."

²⁵⁶Wei 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), p. 3.

²⁵⁷Yuanzhou lianhe kaogudui 原州聯合考古隊編, *Bei Zhou Tian Hong mu* 北周田弘墓 (*Hokushū DenkōBō* (*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).

²⁵⁸Two 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.

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 Dynasty²⁶² 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

²⁵⁹Li 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.

《礼记·曲礼上》“女子许嫁，笄而字。” When a girl becomes marriageable, a hairpin ceremony is performed for her, and she would be betrothed. (in the Summary Rules of Propriety (*Quli*) chapter in the Book of Rites [*Liji*])

²⁶⁰Li 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) (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, p. 1014.

《礼记·内则》“十有五年而笄。郑玄注：“其未许嫁，二十则笄。” When a girl reaches the age of fifteen, she performs the hairpin ceremony. Zheng Zhuan comments: if the parents are not ready to marry the daughter, she would perform the hairpin ceremony at age of twenty.

²⁶¹Jessica Rawson, *Mysteries of Ancient China: New Discoveries from the Early Dynasties* (London: British Museum Press, 1996).

²⁶²Hunansheng 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* 长沙馬王堆一號漢墓 (*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.

²⁶³Hunansheng bowuguan 湖南省博物馆, "Hunan Hengyang Xian Daozi Ping Dong Han Mu Fajue Jianbao 湖南衡阳道子坪东汉墓发掘简报," *Wenwu* 文物, no. 12 (1981), p. 37.

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 Rugan 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 Rugan Yun in a later section of this chapter.

²⁶⁴Yun Anzhi 袁安志, *Zhongguo Bei Zhou zhengui wenwu: Bei Zhou muzang fajue baogao* 中國北周珍貴文物: 北周墓葬發掘報告 (*Precious Relics of the Northern Zhou: Report on the Excavation of Northern Zhou Tombs*), p. 69.

²⁶⁵Xi'an shi 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

²⁶⁶ Colin Machenzie, "Tripod (Jiaodou)," in *Monks and Merchants : Silk Road Treasures from Northwest China Gansu and Ningxia 4th-7th Century*, ed. Annette L. Juliano and Judith Lerner (New York, N.Y.: Harry N. Abrams with the Asia Society, 2001), p. 95.

²⁶⁷ Ibid, p. 95.

practical use.²⁶⁸ 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 to 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.²⁶⁹ 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 Run²⁷⁰ and Kudi Huiluo,²⁷¹ including three legged vessels (*jiaodou*), pots, and containers (*he*).²⁷² 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).²⁷³ Based on their size, these bronze vessels were probably daily utensils.

²⁶⁸Yun Anzhi 袁安志, *Zhongguo Bei Zhou zhengui wenwu: Bei Zhou muzang fajue baogao* 中國北周珍貴文物: 北周墓葬發掘報告 (*Precious Relics of the Northern Zhou: Report on the Excavation of Northern Zhou Tombs*), pp. 49-52.

²⁶⁹Guo Wu 郭物, "Dierqun qingtong (*tie*) fu yanjiu 第二群青銅 (鐵) 鍍研究 (A Study of the Second Group of Bronze/ Iron *Fu* Cauldrons)." *Kaogu xuebao* 考古學報, no. 1 (2007), pp 61-96.

²⁷⁰Gao Run was the fourteenth son of the Gao Yang, the Emperor of the Northern Qi.

²⁷¹Kudi Huiluo was the Xianbei general of the Northern Qi.

²⁷²Yang Xiaojun 楊效俊, "Dongwei, Bei Qi muzhang de kaoguxue yanjiu 東魏、北齊墓葬的考古學研究 (Archaeological Studies on the Tombs of Eastern Wei and Northern Qi Periods)," p. 73.

²⁷³Wang Kelin 王克林, "Bei Qi Kudi Huiluo mu 北齊庫狄迴洛墓 (The Northern Qi Tomb of Kudi Huiluo)."

b. Bronze Coins

It was a common Han-Chinese practice to place coins in tombs²⁷⁴ and they are generally thought to have symbolized the wealth of the deceased that would continue into the afterlife.²⁷⁵ The Han Dynasty *wuzhu* coin (weighing five *zhu*, 3.5 grams) was the main denomination used during the Han period in mortuary settings.²⁷⁶ 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).²⁷⁷

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);²⁷⁸ 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).

²⁷⁶ Anthony J. Barbieri-Low, "Coins and Coin Molds." In *Recarving China's Past: Art, Archaeology and Architecture of the 'Wu Family Shrines'*, edited by Cary Y. Liu, Anthony J. Barbieri-Low, and Michael Nylan, New Haven, Conn.: Princeton Univ. Art Museum / Yale University Press, 2005, p. 464; Liu Jianguo and Gao Lan 刘建国 高岚, "Shilun Liu Chao Qianbo Huobi De Lishi Dewei 试论六朝钱帛货币的历史地位 (Discussion on the Historical Position of the Money and Currency of the Six Dynasties)," *Jianguan kaogu* 江汉考古, no. 2 (1989), p. 95.

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," *Baike 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 Yong'an 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 原州联合考古队编, *Bei Zhou Tian Hong mu* 北周田弘墓 (*Hokushū Dōkō Bō*) (*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 Shubin'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.

²⁸⁰ Annah Krieg, "Striking Gold: The Lives of Byzantine Coins Along the Silk Roads," *Sino-Platonic Papers* 142(2004).

²⁸¹ Anthony J. Barbieri-Low, "Coins and Coin Molds," in *Recarving China's Past: Art, Archaeology and Architecture of the 'Wu Family Shrines'*, ed. Cary Y. Liu, Anthony J. Barbieri-Low, and Michael Nylan (New Haven, Conn.: Princeton Univ. Art Museum / Yale University Press, 2005), p. 465. 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* 长沙马王堆一号汉墓 (*Han Tomb Number One at Mawangdui, near Changsha*), vol. 1, p. 126.

²⁸² 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)."

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.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.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 *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.²⁸⁵ Belt buckles with a single movable tongue were found in the Han-Chinese tombs: Li Xian and Wang Shiliang

²⁸³ Dien, *Six Dynasties Civilization*, p. 331.

²⁸⁴ Ibid, p. 337.

²⁸⁵ Jenny F. So, "Belt Ornaments and Fasteners," in *Traders and Raiders on China's Northern Frontier*, ed. Jenny F. So, and Emma C. Bunker (Seattle: Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, Smithsonian Institution, in association with University of Washington Press, 1995).

and, the Sogidan Shi Jun.²⁸⁶ 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.²⁸⁷ 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.

²⁸⁷ Guo Wu 郭物, "Dierqun qingtong (*tie*) fu yanjiu 第二群青铜 (铁) 鍍研究 (A Study of the Second Group of Bronze/ Iron *Fu* Cauldrons)," *Kaogu xuebao* 考古学报, no. 1 (2007), p. 85.

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 Sassanian 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

²⁸⁸ Jiayao An, "Glass Plate," in *China Dawn of a Golden Age, 200-750 AD*, ed. James C. Y. Watt (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2004), pp. 159-160.

²⁸⁹ An Jiayao 安家瑶, "Bei Zhou Li Xian mu chutu de boliwan -- Sashan boli qi de faxian yu yanyiu 北周李贤墓出土的玻璃碗--萨珊玻璃器的发现与研究 (The Glass Bowl Excavated from the Tomb of Li Xian of the N. Zhou)," *Kaogu* 考古 2(1986), p. 180.

²⁹⁰ Wu Zhuo 吴焯, "Bei Zhou Li Xian mu chutu liujin yinhu kao 北周李贤墓出土鎏金银壶考 (Examination of the Gilded Silver Ewer Unearthed from the Northern Zhou Tomb of Li Xian)," *Wenwu* 文物 5(1987); Wu Zhuo, "Notes on the Silver Ewer from the Tomb of Li Xian," *Bulletin of the Asia Institute* 3(1989).

object documented Li Xian's wealth and social status because it was exotic.²⁹¹ 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.

²⁹¹ Alexandra Carpino and Jean M. James. "Commentary on the Li Xian Silver Ewer," *Bulletin of the Asia Institute* 3(1989).

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 of 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 ²⁹²--the Great General of Cavalryman (*piaoqi dajiangjun*) and a ninth-ranking official (*kaifu yitong sanci*)²⁹³--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.

²⁹³ Yan Buke 阎步克, "Zhou Qi junjie sanguan shidu yitong lun 周齐军阶散官制度异同论 (Discussion on the Similarities and Differences between the Military and Official Ranking Systems of the Northern Zhou and Qi)," *Lishi yanjiu* 历史研究, no. 2 (1998).

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.²⁹⁴ 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 41.²⁹⁵ 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.

²⁹⁴ Yun Anzhi 袁安志, *Zhongguo Bei Zhou zhengui wenwu: Bei Zhou muzang fajue baogao* 中國北周珍貴文物: 北周墓葬發掘報告 (*Precious Relics of the Northern Zhou: Report on the Excavation of Northern Zhou Tombs*), p. 69.

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.²⁹⁶ 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.²⁹⁷ 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.²⁹⁸ 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.

²⁹⁷ James C. Y Watt, "Flask with Dancer and Musicians," in *China Dawn of a Golden Age, 200-750 AD*, ed. James C. Y Watt (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2004), pp. 148-149.

²⁹⁸ ———, "Bottle," in *China Dawn of a Golden Age, 200-750 AD*, ed. James C. Y Watt (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2004), p. 151.

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.

²⁹⁹Guo Xuelei and Zhang Xiaolian 郭学雷 张小兰, "Bei Chao jinianmu chutu ciqi yanjiu 北朝纪年墓出土瓷器研究 (A Study of the Glazed Earthenware Objects in the Tombs of Northern Dynasties)," *Wenwu shijie* 文物世界, no. 1 (1997), p89.

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.³⁰³ 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.³⁰⁴ 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.³⁰⁵

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.

³⁰⁴ Linghu Defen 令狐德棻, *Zhou Shu* 周書 (*The Book of Zhou*) (Beijing 北京: Zhonghua shuju 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. 638-639.

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.³⁰⁶ 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.³⁰⁷

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 Painting 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.³⁰⁸ 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.³⁰⁹ 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."

³⁰⁹ 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. 29-33.

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 “Chineseness.” 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 Tian 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

³¹⁰The 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 令狐德棻, *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.³¹³ 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 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.³¹⁴ 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*,³¹⁵ his mortuary

³¹³ The Northern Zhou period: the fourth year of Baodin reign 北周保定四年 in 564 CE.

³¹⁴ Linghu Defen 令狐德棻, *Zhou Shu* 周書 (*The Book of Zhou*), pp. 416-418.

³¹⁵ Ibid, pp. 449-452.

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 (Zhou shu)* 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 dajiangjun 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* 全北齐文, 全后周文, ed. Yan Kejun 严可均 (Beijing 北京: Shangwu yinshuguan 商务印书馆, reprint in 1999), pp. 237-239.

³¹⁷ Dien, “The Bestowal of Surnames under the Western Wei/Northern Chou: A Case of Counter-Acculturation,” pp. 156-171.

³¹⁸ Yuanzhou lianhe kaogudui 原州聯合考古隊編, *Bei Zhou Tian Hong mu* 北周田弘墓 (*Hokushū DenkōBo*) (*The Northern Zhou Tomb of Tian Hong*), p. 57.

³¹⁹ The sixth year of Tianhe’s reign as Emperor of the Northern Zhou.

³²⁰ Linghu Defen 令狐德棻, *Zhou Shu* 周書 (*The Book of Zhou*), p. 450.

³²¹ Yu Xin 庾信, “Zhou Zhuguo dajiangjun 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

³²² 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)," pp. 37-38.

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 Weiyan 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 (高車泣伏利氏) to Li 李 during the N. Wei Dynasty.

³²⁴ Wu Zhou 1987, Carpino, "Commentary on the Li Xian Silver Ewer." Annette L. and Judith A. Lerner Juliano, *Monks and Merchants : Silk Road Treasures from Northwest China Gansu and Ningxia 4th-7th Century* (New York, N.Y.: Harry N. Abrams with the Asia Society, 2001), pp. 97-113. James C. Y Watt, ed. *China Dawn of a Golden Age, 200-750 Ad.* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2004).pp. 256-257.

³²⁵ Chen Suzhen 陈苏镇, "Bei Zhou Sui Tang de sanguan yu xuguan 北周隋唐的散官与勋官," p. 30.

the chamber.³²⁶ 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.³²⁷ 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's 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.³²⁸ 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 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)," p. 5.

³²⁷ Boris I. Marshak, "Sword in Its Scabbard," in *Monks and Merchants : Silk Road Treasures from Northwest China Gansu and Ningxia 4th-7th Century*, ed. Annette L. Juliano and Judith Lerner (New York, N.Y.: Harry N. Abrams with the Asia Society, 2001), pp. 102-103.

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.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.

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

³²⁹ Yuanzhou lianhe kaogudui 原州聯合考古隊編, *Bei Zhou Tian Hong mu* 北周田弘墓 (*Hokushu 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.³³⁰ 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,³³¹ who was killed by the Emperor Wu in

³³⁰ Yun Anzhi 袁安志, *Zhongguo Bei Zhou zhengui wenwu: Bei Zhou muzang fajue baogao* 中國北周珍貴文物: 北周墓葬發掘報告 (*Precious Relics of the Northern Zhou: Report on the Excavation of Northern Zhou Tombs*), p. 32.

³³¹ 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.³³² 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.

³³² Ibid, p. 168.

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).³³³ 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.³³⁴ Unlike his father, Dugu Zang had no military career, but gained his title through his father's position as the County Duke of Wuping (*Wuping xian kaiguogong*) at age eight,³³⁵ according to his epitaph (Appendix B: 7).³³⁶ 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.³³⁷ 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.³³⁸ 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.³³⁹ 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

³³⁴ Arthur Wright, *The Sui Dynasty* (New York: Knopf, 1978), p. 56; Dien, "The Role of the Military in the Western Wei/ Northern Chou State," p. 331. Linghu Defen 令狐德棻, *Zhou Shu* 周書 (*The Book of Zhou*), pp. 263-268.

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.

³³⁶ Yun Anzhi 袁安志, *Zhongguo Bei Zhou zhengui wenwu: Bei Zhou muzang fajue baogao* 中國北周珍貴文物: 北周墓葬發掘報告 (*Precious Relics of the Northern Zhou: Report on the Excavation of Northern Zhou Tombs*), pp. 89-93.

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.

³³⁸ Yun Anzhi 袁安志, *Zhongguo Bei Zhou zhengui wenwu: Bei Zhou muzang fajue baogao* 中國北周珍貴文物: 北周墓葬發掘報告 (*Precious Relics of the Northern Zhou: Report on the Excavation of Northern Zhou Tombs*), p. 92.

³³⁹ Linghu Defen 令狐德棻, *Zhou Shu* 周書 (*The Book of Zhou*), p. 195.

Prince of Qi, *Qiwang*. The deaths of Ruogan Yun³⁴⁰ 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 581.³⁴¹ 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 family³⁴² 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.

³⁴¹ Albert E. Dien, "Observations Concerning the Tomb of Master Shi," *Bulletin of the Asia Institute* 17(December, 2003), p. 114, note 43.

³⁴² Linghu Defen 令狐德棻, *Zhou Shu* 周書 (*The Book of Zhou*), p. 268.

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.

4.0 MERCHANT CLASS: SOGDIANS UNDER THE NORTHERN ZHOU

This chapter focuses on three recently excavated Sogdian tombs from the Northern Zhou period located in modern Xi'an. Sogdians spoke an Iranian language and originally lived in oasis states between two rivers, the Amu Darya and Syr Darya, in modern day Uzbekistan and Tajikistan³⁴⁴. They came to China as early as ca. 300 CE via the Silk Road, as merchants, craft workers, translators, missionaries.³⁴⁵ In Chinese texts, “merchant barbarians” *shanghu* refer to the Sogdians, who had been merchants for centuries.³⁴⁶ 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).

³⁴⁵ È. de la. Vaissière, James Ward (trans.), *Sogdian Traders: A History* (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2005).

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.³⁴⁸ Research has increased both on the diversity of religions practiced by the Sogdians³⁴⁹ 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.³⁵⁰

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.³⁵¹

³⁴⁸ Ibid.

³⁴⁹ Frantz Grenet, "Religious Diversity among Sogdian Merchants in Sixth-Century China: Zoroastrianism, Buddhism, Manichaeism, and Hinduism," *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East* 27, no. 2 (2007).

³⁵⁰ Rong Xinjiang, "The Illustrative Sequence on An Jia's Screen: A Depiction of the Daily Life of a *Sabao*," *Orientalism* 34, no. 2 (Feb. 2003); Yang Junkai 杨军凯, "Xi'an Bei Zhou Shi Jun mu shiguo tuxiang chutan 西安北周史君墓石椁图像初探 (Preliminary Study on the Iconography on the Stone Sarcophagus in the Northern Zhou Tomb of Shi Jun in Xi'an)," in *Cong Samaergen dao Chang'an: Sute Ren zai Zhongguo de wenhua yiji 从撒馬爾干到長安: 粟特人在中國的文化遺迹*, ed. Rong Xinjiang and Zhiqing Zhang 榮新江 張志清 (Beijing 北京: Beijing tushuguan Chubanshe 北京圖書館出版社, 2004).

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 SOGDIAN: 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.

³⁵²Mariko Namba Walter, "Sogdians and Buddhism " *Sino-Platonic Papers* 174(November, 2006), pp. 3-4.

³⁵³ Boris I. Marshak, "Sogdiana --Part One Sughd and Adjacent Regions," in *History of Civilizations of Central Asia*, ed. B. A. Litvinsky and co-editors: Zhang Guang-da and R. Shabani Samghabadi (Paris: UNESCO, 1996), p. 235.

³⁵⁴ The content of this paragraph is taken directly from the published article, Linduff, Katheryn M, and Mandy Jui-man Wu. "The Construction of Identity: Remaining Sogdian in Eastern Asia in the 6th Century." *Proceedings of the Seventeenth Annual UCLA Indo-European Conference October 27 - 28, 2005, Journal of Indo-European Studies*, Monograph, Series No. 52 (2006), p. 225.

³⁵⁵ de la. Vaissière, *Sogdian Traders: A History*, p. 199-209.

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 Bukhārā), *Shi-guo* (Shi state, modern Kish or Kesh), *Ho-guo* (He state, modern Kushāniya), *Mi-guo* (Mi state, modern Māimargh), and *Cao-guo* (Cao state, modern Kabudhān).^{357, 358} Therefore, the Sogdians were called the “Nine Surnames of Zhaowu” (*zhaowujiuxing*) 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.

³⁵⁶ Wei Shou 魏收. *Weishu* 魏書. Beijing 北京: Zhonghua shuju 中華書局, 1974, vol. 6, p. 2270.

³⁵⁷ Edwin G. Pulleyblank, “A Sogdian Colony in Inner Mongolia,” *T’oung Pao* 41(1952), p. 320.

³⁵⁸ According to O. И. Смирнова, 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.³⁵⁹ 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*)³⁶⁰ 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.³⁶¹ 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.³⁶²

³⁵⁹ de la. Vaissière, *Sogdian Traders: A History*.

³⁶⁰ Cheng Linquan Zhang Xiangyu and Yamashita Shoji 程林泉 张翔宇 山下将司, "Bei Zhou Kang Ye muzhi kaolue 北周康业墓志考略 (Preliminary Study on the Epitaph of Northern Zhou Tomb of Kang Ye)," *Wenwu* 文物, no. 6 (2008), p. 83.

³⁶¹ Xi'an shi 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 *Datianshu*

The government of the Northern Zhou bestowed the official titles of *sabao* and *datianshu* 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'rtip'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

³⁶³Albert E. Dien, "Observations Concerning the Tomb of Master Shi," *Bulletin of the Asia Institute* 17 (December, 2007), pp. 109-111. Discussion on *sabao* see Albert Dien, "The 'sa-p'ao' Problem Revisited," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* (1962) 82:335-46. Rong Xinjiang, "The Illustrative Sequence on An Jia's Screen: A Depiction of the Daily Life of a *Sabao*," *Orientalism* 34, no. 2 (Feb. 2003): 32-35.

³⁶⁴Three epitaphs are translated in English see Appendix C.

³⁶⁵Albert E. Dien, "The Tomb of the Sogdian Master Shi: Insights into the Life of a *Sabao*," *The Silk Road* 7(2009), p. 45.

Sogdian, but one unfamiliar with Chinese characters.³⁶⁶ 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.³⁶⁷ 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.³⁶⁸ 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'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), 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, *datianzhu*, 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.³⁶⁹ Similarly, An Jia was the *sabao* of Tongzhou and had a close relationship with the Turkish Empire as was depicted on his funerary couch.³⁷⁰ 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).³⁷¹ 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."³⁷² Luo Feng and Sofukawa Hiroshi, however, suggest that it was a compromise for living in China to accept a local burial tradition in Han-

³⁶⁹ Grenet, "Religious Diversity among Sogdian Merchants in Sixth-Century China: Zoroastrianism, Buddhism, Manichaeism, and Hinduism."

³⁷⁰ Rong Xinjiang, "The Illustrative Sequence on An Jia's Screen: A Depiction of the Daily Life of a *Sabao*."; Katheryn M. Linduff, and Mandy Jui-man Wu, "The Construction of Identity: Remaining Sogdian in Eastern Asia in the 6th Century," *Proceedings of the Seventeenth Annual UCLA Indo-European Conference October 27 - 28, 2005*, *Journal of Indo-European Studies*, Monograph, Series No. 52(2006); Grenet, "Religious Diversity among Sogdian Merchants in Sixth-Century China: Zoroastrianism, Buddhism, Manichaeism, and Hinduism."

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'an shi 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)

³⁷² Judith A. Lerner, "Aspects of Assimilation: The Funerary Practices and Furnishings of Central Asians in China," *Sino-Platonic Papers* 168(December, 2005); Wang Weikun 王维坤, "Luo Xi'an Bei Zhou Suteran mu He Jibiren mu di zangzhi he zangsu 论西安北周粟特人墓和尉宾人墓的葬制和葬俗 (Discussion on the Burial Arrangement and Burial Custom of the Sogdians and Kashmiris in the Northern Zhou at Xi'an)," *Kaogu* 考古 10(2008), p. 74.

Chinese style.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 *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 *sabao*, but also from his military victory in an important battle against the Northern Qi in 576-577.³⁷⁴ 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

³⁷³ Luo Feng 罗丰, "Bei Zhou Shi Jun mu chutu de baizhanting jinbi fangzhi pinxi 北周史君墓出土的拜占庭金币仿制品析 (Some Remarks on an Imitation of the Byzantine Gold Coin from the Tomb of Shi Jun of the Northern Zhou)," *Wenwu* 文物, no. 3 (2005), pp. 62-63. Sofukawa Hiroshi 曾布川寛, "中國出土のソグデ石刻畫像試論 (Discussions on Images of Sogdian Stone Carvings Excavated in China)," in *Chū Goku Bijutsu No Zuzō to Yōshiki Kenkyū* 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, (Tōkyō 東京: Chū ōkōronbijutsushuppan 中央公論美術出版, 2006), pp. 101-102.

³⁷⁴ Dien, "Observations Concerning the Tomb of Master Shi," pp. 109- 111.

burial chamber,³⁷⁵ 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.³⁷⁶ 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 finger 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

³⁷⁷ Marshak, "Sogdiana --Part One Sughd and Adjacent Regions," p. 251.

³⁷⁸ Grenet, "Religious Diversity among Sogdian Merchants in Sixth-Century China: Zoroastrianism, Buddhism, Manichaeism, and Hinduism."

³⁷⁹ Aleksandr Naymark, "Sogdiana, Its Christians and Byzantium: A Study of Artistic and Cultural Connections in Late Antiquity and Early Middle Ages" (Indiana University, 2001), pp. 99-125.

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).³⁸⁰ 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.³⁸¹ 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.³⁸²

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,³⁸³ 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 Sogdians were segregated in certain areas and not integrated into either the Chinese or Xianbei community. It was not until

³⁸⁰ Wang Weikun 王维坤, "Luo Xi'an Bei Zhou suteran mu he jibiren mu di zangzhi he zangsu 论西安北周粟特人墓和罽宾人墓的葬制和葬俗 (Discussion on the Burial Arrangement and Burial Custom of the Sogdians and Kashmiris in the Northern Zhou at Xi'an)," p. 77, 81.

³⁸¹ de la. Vaissière, *Sogdian Traders: A History*, p. 173.

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)," 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,

³⁸⁴ de la. Vaissière, *Sogdian Traders: A History*, pp. 155-157.

³⁸⁵ 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),” p. 21.

³⁸⁶ Wei Zheng [et al.] 魏徵等撰. *Suishu* 隋書. Edited by Sun Yongchang 孫雍長, Ershisishi Quanyi 二十四史全譯. Shanghai 上海: Hanyu dacidian chubanshe 漢語大詞典出版社, 2004.

隋書/志/卷七 志第二/禮儀二 – 149: 後周欲招來西域，又有拜胡天制，皇帝親焉。其儀並從夷俗，淫僻不可紀也。 The passage concludes, “Ceremonies followed those of the ‘barbarian’ customs, and the excessive unconventional behaviors are more than can be recorded.

³⁸⁷ de la Vaissière, *Sogdian Traders: A History*, pp. 199-299.

like An Jia and Shi Jun, were retained as outsiders or foreigners, so stressed their distinctive Sogdian merchant and religious identities in order to retain their jobs.³⁸⁸

4.3 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 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).³⁸⁹ 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

³⁸⁸ Kathryn M. Linduff and Mandy Jui-man Wu. "The Construction of Identity: Remaining Sogdian in Eastern Asia in the 6th Century." *Proceedings of the Seventeenth Annual UCLA Indo-European Conference October 27 - 28, 2005, Journal of Indo-European Studies*, Monograph, Series No. 52 (2006).

³⁸⁹ Sarah Tarlow, "The Aesthetic Corpse in Nineteenth-Century Britain," in *Thinking through the Body: Archaeologies of Corporeality*, ed. Yannis Hamilakis and Mark Pluciennik (New York: Kluwer Academic/Plenum Publishers, 2002), p. 87.

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.³⁹⁰ 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.³⁹¹ 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.³⁹² 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.³⁹³ 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* 西安北周安伽墓 (*Excavation of the Northern Zhou Tomb of An Jia at Xi'an*) (Beijing 北京: Wenwu Chubanshe 文物出版社, 2003), pp. 92-120.

³⁹¹ Ibid, p. 12.

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.³⁹⁴ One can assume that in the Zoroastrian 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 Sogdians 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.³⁹⁵

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.³⁹⁶ 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.

³⁹⁵ Tarlow, "The Aesthetic Corpse in Nineteenth-Century Britain," p.87.

³⁹⁶ Zhang Qingjie 张庆捷, "Ruxiang suisu yu nanwang gutu - ruhua Sute Ren shizangju gaiguan, 入乡随俗与难忘故土-入华粟特人石葬具概观,," in *Cong Samaergan Dao Chang'an: Sute Ren Zai Zhongguo De Wen Hua Yiji* 从撒马爾干到長安: 粟特人在中國的文化遺迹, ed. Zhiqing Zhang 張志清 Rong Xinjiang 榮新江 (Beijing 北京: Beijing tushu guan chu ban she 北京圖書館出版社, 2004).; Yang Junkai 杨军凯, "Xi'an Bei Zhou Shi Jun mu shiguo tuxiang chutan 西安北周史君墓石椁图像初探 (Preliminary Study on the Iconography on the Stone Sarcophagus in the Northern Zhou Tomb of Shi Jun in Xi'an)."; Lerner, "Aspects of Assimilation: The Funerary Practices and Furnishings of Central Asians in China."; Wu Hung, "A Case of Cultural Interaction: House-Shaped Sarcophagi of the Northern Dynasties," *Orientalism* 34, no. 5 (2002).

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,³⁹⁷ and have

³⁹⁷ Zhang Qingjie 张庆捷, "Ruxiang suisu yu nanwang gutu - ruhua sute ren shizangju gaiguan, 入乡随俗与难忘故土-入华粟特人石葬具概观," pp. 9-10; Lerner, "Aspects of Assimilation: The Funerary Practices and Furnishings of Central Asians in China."; Wu Hung, "A Case of Cultural Interaction: House-Shaped Sarcophagi of the Northern Dynasties."

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.

³⁹⁸ Zhang Qingjie 张庆捷, "Ruxiang suisu yu nanwang gutu - ruhua sute ren shizangju gaiguan, 入乡随俗与难忘故土-入华粟特人石葬具概观."; Judith A. Lerner, "Aspects of Assimilation: The Funerary Practices and Furnishings of Central Asians in China " *Sino-Platonic Papers*, no. 168 (2005), p. 8.

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.⁴⁰³ Scenes 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.⁴⁰⁴

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 jianxuxing 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*⁴⁰⁵ and the religious theme of the journey of soul to a Zoroastrian paradise.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.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."

⁴⁰⁷ Dien, "Observations Concerning the Tomb of Master Shi," p. 107.

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.

⁴¹² Yang Junkai 杨军凯, "Xi'an Bei Zhou Shi Jun mu shiguo tuxiang chutan 西安北周史君墓石椁图像初探 (Preliminary Study on the Iconography on the Stone Sarcophagus in the Northern Zhou Tomb of Shi Jun in Xi'an)"; Grenet, "Religious Diversity among Sogdian Merchants in Sixth-Century China: Zoroastrianism, Buddhism, Manichaeism, and Hinduism," p. 471.

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.⁴¹³ The scenes of the journey of the souls are based on the Zoroastrian texts: the *Zadspram*, and Pahlavi.⁴¹⁴ In addition to these Zoroastrian images, Manichaean iconography appeared on the first panel of the western wall of Shi Jun's sarcophagus.⁴¹⁵ 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.⁴¹⁶

Several scholars have pointed out the painted images of Sogdian merchants in Buddhist caves.⁴¹⁷ 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*.⁴¹⁸ 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

⁴¹³Grenet, "Religious Diversity among Sogdian Merchants in Sixth-Century China: Zoroastrianism, Buddhism, Manichaeism, and Hinduism," pp. 471-72.

⁴¹⁴ Ibid, pp. 472-73.

⁴¹⁵ Ibid, pp. 475-76.

⁴¹⁶ Ibid, pp. 475-76. ;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 Lunwen 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.

⁴¹⁸ Rong Xinjiang 荣新江, "Sabao and Safu: fojiao shiku bihua zhong de sute shangdui shouling 萨保与萨薄：佛教石窟壁画中的粟特商队首领(Sabao and Safu: Sogdian Caravan Leaders in Buddhist Cave Murals)," in *Suteren Zai Zhongguo : Lishi, Kaogu, Yuyan De Xintansuo* 粟特人在中国——历史、考古、语言的新探索 *Les Sogdiens En Chine : Nouvelles Recherches Historiques, Archéologiques Et Philologiques*, ed. Rong Xinjiang Lan Hua Zhiqing Zhang 荣新江 华澜 张志清主编 (Beijing 北京: Zhonghua shuju 中华书局, 2005), p. 60.

traditions.⁴¹⁹ 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.⁴²⁰

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 Dunhuang 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.⁴²¹ 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.

⁴¹⁹ Frantz Grenet 葛乐耐, "Suteren de zihuaxiang 粟特人的自画像 (L'image De Soi Des Sogdians)," in *Suteren Zai Zhongguo : Lishi, Kaogu, Yuyan De Xintansuo* 粟特人在中国——历史、考古、语言的新探索 *Les Sogdiens En Chine : Nouvelles Recherches Historiques, Archéologiques Et Philologiques* (法国汉学 第十辑), ed. Rong Xinjiang Lan Hua Zhiqing Zhang 荣新江 华澜 张志清主编 (Beijing 北京: Zhonghua shuju 中华书局, 2005), p. 312.

⁴²⁰ Rong Xingjiang 荣新江, "Bei Zhou Shi 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).

⁴²¹ Huo Xuchu and Wang Jianlin 霍旭初 王建林, "Danqing banbo qianqiou zhuangguan--Kizil shiku bihua yishu ji fenqi gaishu 丹青斑驳 千秋壮观--克孜尔石窟壁画艺术及分期概述 (The Art of Mural Paintings in Kizil Caves and Division of Periods.)." In *Zhongguo Bihua Quanji- 8 Kerzier* 中国壁画全集 8-- 克孜尔, edited by Duan Wenjie 段文傑, 1-25. Tianjin 天津: Tianjin Renmin Meishu Chubanshe 天津人民美術出版社 1992, p. 7.

The overall composition of illustrations on Shi Jun's sarcophagus is probably derived from Buddhist caves at Kezier, Kizil, in Xinjiang and from the Dunhuang caves.⁴²² 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 569.⁴²³ 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.⁴²⁴

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.

⁴²³ 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," in *Suteren Zai Zhongguo : Lishi, Kaogu, Yuyan De Xintansuo* 粟特人在中国——历史、考古、语言的新探索 *Les Sogdiens En Chine : Nouvelles Recherches Historiques, Archéologiques Et Philologiques* (法国汉学第十辑), ed. Rong Xinjiang Lan Hua Zhiqing Zhang 荣新江 华澜 张志清主编 (Beijing 北京: Zhonghua shuju 中华书局, 2005), pp. 342-343.

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.⁴²⁵ 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 Marshak⁴²⁶ 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.⁴²⁷ 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,⁴²⁸ 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

⁴²⁵ 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).

⁴²⁶ Boris I. Marshak, "La Thématique Sogdienne Dans L'art De La Chine De La Seconde Motié Du Ive Siècle," *Comptes rendus de l'Academie des Inscriptions & Belles-Lettres* (2001), pp.227-264.

⁴²⁷ Rong Xinjiang, "The Illustrative Sequence on An Jia's Screen: A Depiction of the Daily Life of a *Sabao*."

⁴²⁸ Shaanxisheng 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.

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.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.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

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

⁴³⁰ Both Juliano and Steinhardt take up spatial order, but with different observations and to other ends. Juliano, Annette L. "Chinese Pictorial Space at the Cultural Crossroads." In *Eran Ud Aneran: Webfestschrift Marshak*, edited by Paola Raffetta Matteo Compareti, Gianroberto Scarcia: <http://www.transoxiana.org/Eran/Articles/stavisky.html>, 2003; Steinhardt, Nancy Shatzman. "Structuring Architecture at the Cultural Crossroads: Architecture in Sogdian Funerary Art." *Oriental Art* vol. XLIX, no. 4, 2003/2004 (2004), pp. 48-62.

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 beasts 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.⁴³¹ Visual repetition of such a constructed space takes place in that space.⁴³² 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

⁴³¹Max 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: Cambridge University Press, 1990).

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 England; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1990), p. 46.

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.⁴³³ Clearly both top and bottom representations document important activities of a professional *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 often 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

⁴³³ G.A. Pugachenkova, "The Form and Style of Sogdian Ossuaries," *Bulletin of the Asia Institute* 8 (1994).

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.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.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.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,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.⁴³⁸ In addition,

⁴³⁴Lerner, "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)," *Wenwu* 文物, no. 11 (2008).

⁴³⁵Xi'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)," *Wenwu* 文物, no. 6 (2008), pp. 19-27.

⁴³⁶ Zheng Yan divides the contents of Kang Ye couch into three groups. The first group includes the front three panels on the right side (numbers 7, 8, and 9): the rideless horse, a male seated on a couch with screens in a Chinese pavilion with the servants dressing in Sogdian clothing standing outside of the pavilion, and an ox cart with Sogdian servant. The second group includes the front panel of number 4 and 5. Number 4 is a male riding on a horse with the fan holders behind. Number 5 is female, probably the wife of the deceased, with the female servants. The third group includes the panels on two sides and the left side one on the front panel (number 3). The third group is a seated figure on a platform at a river bank with servants around.

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.

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 The

⁴³⁹Kageyama Etsuko 影山悦子, "粟特人在龟兹: 从考古和图像学角度来研究," in *Suteren Zai Zhongguo : Lishi, Kaogu, Yuyan De Xintansuo* 粟特人在中国——历史、考古、语言的新探索 *Les Sogdiens En Chine : Nouvelles Recherches Historiques, Archéologiques Et Philologiques*, ed. Rong Xinjiang Lan Hua Zhiqing Zhang 荣新江 华澜 张志清主编 (Beijing 北京: Zhonghua shuju 中华书局, 2005), p. 192.

⁴⁴⁰ 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.

⁴⁴¹Ibid.

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," *Orientalism* 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's 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

⁴⁴⁴One more example, "*The Nymph of the Luo River*" by Gu Kaizhi shows that a central figure is surrounded by landscape and fan holders.

⁴⁴⁵ Boris I. Marshak. "The Miho Couch and the Other Sino-Sogdian Works of Art of the Second Half of the 6th Century." *Miho Museum Kenkyu Kiyo* 4 (2004), p. 20.

⁴⁴⁶Sofukawa Hiroshi 曾布川寛, "中國出土のソグデ石刻畫像試論 (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* in 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 craftsmen to work for non-Buddhist patrons.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.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

⁴⁴⁹Angela 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.

⁴⁵⁰Grenet, "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 *apsara*, and Manichaean Mani. The Sogdian *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.

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.

5.0 CONCLUSION

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 society⁴⁵² and has focused on individual and group-level agency.⁴⁵³ 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.⁴⁵⁴ It has been assumed that the Northern Zhou society which was ruled by non-Chinese leaders was

⁴⁵²Marcia-Anne Dobres, and John E. Robb, "Agency in Archaeology: Paradigm or Platitude?," in *Agency in Archaeology*, ed. Marcia-Anne Dobres and John E. Robb (London; New York: Routledge, 2000).

⁴⁵³Ian Hodder, "Economic and Social Stress and Material Culture Patterning," *American Antiquity*, no. 44 (1979); H. Martin Wobst, "Agency in (Spite of) Material Culture," in *Agency in Archaeology*, ed. Marcia-Anne Dobres and John E. Robb (New York and London: Routledge 2000).

⁴⁵⁴Lynn Meskell, "Archaeologies of Identity," in *Archaeological Theory Today*, ed. Ian Hodder (Cambridge, UK: Polity Press, 2001).

“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.⁴⁵⁵ 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.⁴⁵⁶ 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

⁴⁵⁵ 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 Idealology on Nation)," *Minzu Yanjiu* 民族研究, no. 6 (1995). Mu-chou Poo, *Enemies of Civilization: Attitudes toward Foreigners in Ancient Mesopotamia, Egypt, and China* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2005), p. 150-151.

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 Idealology 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.”⁴⁵⁷

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,⁴⁵⁸ 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

⁴⁵⁷ Marc Samuel Abramson, *Ethnic Identity in Tang China* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008), p. xiv.

⁴⁵⁸ Sian Jones, *The Archaeology of Ethnicity: Constructing Identities in the Past and Present* (London ; New York: Routledge, 1997), p. 85.

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.⁴⁵⁹ 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,

⁴⁵⁹ Albert E. Dien, "A New Look at the Xianbei and Their Impact on Chinese Culture," in *Ancient Mortuary Traditions in China* (Los Angeles County Museum of Art, 1991).

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.⁴⁶⁰ 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

⁴⁶⁰Chen Yinke 陈寅恪, "Fubing zhi qianqi shiliao shiyi 府兵制前期史料试释," *Lishi yuyan yanjiusuo jikan* 历史语言研究所集刊 7, no. 3 (1937); Thomas J. Barfield, "The Collapse of Central Order: The Rise of Foreign Dynasties," in *The Perilous Frontier: Nomadic Empires and China, 221 BC to AD 1757* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Blackwell, 1989).

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

⁴⁶¹Judith A. Lerner, "Aspects of Assimilation: The Funerary Practices and Furnishings of Central Asians in China," *Sino-Platonic Papers* 168(December, 2005).

⁴⁶² Katheryn M. Linduff and Mandy Jui-man Wu, "The Construction of Identity: Remaining Sogdian in Eastern Asia in the 6th Century," *Proceedings of the Seventeenth Annual UCLA Indo-European Conference October 27 - 28, 2005, Journal of Indo-European Studies*, Monograph, Series No. 52(2006).

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

⁴⁶³ Albert E Dien, *Six Dynasties Civilization*, Early Chinese Civilization Series. New Haven, Conn: Yale University Press, 2007, p. 424-429.

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 1. Data from the Tombs of Northern Zhou and Northern Qi

Northern Zhou Group	Tomb /Deceased	Title	Disturbed	Location	Sex	Age	Date	Tumulus-H	Tomb-L	Passage-L	Anti- chamber	Size of the tomb	chamber-L	chamber-w	chamber-D	Air-shaft	Niche	Reference
Xianbei	Chiluo Xie 叱罗协	Great General of Cavalryman 驃骑大将军	Yes	Shaanxi, Xianyang	M	75	499-574	20	71	27.4	2.5	36	3.8	3.8	2.5	6	4	Yun Anzhi 1993, pp. 10- 35, 172
Xianbei	Yuwen Yong and Ashina 宇文邕 阿史那氏	Emperor Wu of the N. Zhou 北周武帝	Yes	Shaanxi, Xianyang	M&F	36	543-578	0	68.4		3.9	?	5.5	3.8		5	0	Shaanxisheng kaoguo yanjiusuo 1997
Chinese	Tian Hong and his Wife 田弘及妻	Pillar of State Great General 柱国大将军	Yes	Ningxia, Guyuan	M&F	65	511-575	0	56	45.3	2.16	?	3.14	3.18	?	5	0	Yuanzhou lianhe kaogudui 2000,
Chinese	Yuwen Meng 宇文猛	Great General 大将军大都督	Yes	Ningxia, Guyuan	M	69	497-565	0	53		2.55	?	3.6	3.5		5	0	Ningxia wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo 1994
Xianbei	Yuwen Jian 宇文俭	Pillar State of Governor 上柱国大冢宰	No	Shaanxi, Xianyang	M	28	551-578		50	20	2.4	?	3.6	3.7		5	0	Shaanxisheng kaoguo yanjiusuo 2001
Chinese	Li Xian, Wu Hui 李贤, 吴辉	Pillar of State Great General 柱国大将军	Yes	Ningxia, Guyuan	M&F	66	504-569	H:5, D:12.5	48	42	2.2	28	4	3.9	1.8	3	0	Ningxia Huizu zizhiqu bowuguan 1985
Sogdian	Shi Jun and his wife 史君及妻	Sabao 萨保	Yes	Shaanxi, Xi'an	M&F	86	494-579	0	47.26	16.3	2.8	?	3.5	3.7	?	5	0	Xi'an shi wenwu baohu kaogusuo 2005
Xianbei	Yuchi Yun, Heba Shi 尉迟运 贺拔氏	Pillar State of Great General 柱国大将军	Yes	Shaanxi, Xianyang	M&F	41	539-579	0	46.4	43	2.4	?	3.4	3.7	?	5	0	Yun Anzhi 1993, pp. 93- 108, 172
Chinese	Wang Deheng 王德衡	Great General of Yitong 仪同大将军	No	Shaanxi, Xianyang	M	31	547-576	0	39.66	35.7	1.24	27	4.34	3.1	2.04	3	0	Yun Anzhi 1993, pp. 36- 59, 172.
Sogdian	An Jia 安伽	Sabao 萨保, Dadudu 大都督	No	Shaanxi, Xi'an	M	62	518-579	0	35	8.1	2.56	44	3.64	3.7	3.3	5	0	Shaanxisheng kaoguo yanjiusuo 2003

Northern Zhou Group	Tomb/Deceased	Title	Disturbed	Location	Sex	Age	Date	Tumulus-H	Tomb-L	Passage-L	Anti-chamber	Size of the tomb	Chamber-L	Chamber-w	Chamber-D	Airshaft	Niche	Reference
Xianbei	Dugu Zang 独孤藏	<i>Dadudu</i> 大都督	No	Shaanxi, Xianyang	M&F	35	544-578	0	29.9	23.8	0.7	16	2.7	2.8	2.1	3	0	Yun Anzhi 1993, pp. 76-92, 173.
Chinese	Ruo Ganyun 若干云	Great General of Cavalryman 骠骑大将军上开府大将军	No	Shaanxi, Xianyang	M	41	538-578	0	28.2	22.6	1.8	9	2.2	2.2	1.9	3	0	Yun Anzhi 1993, 60-75, 172.
Chinese	Wang Shiliang 王世良	First Great General 上大将军	No	Shaanxi, Xianyang	M&F&F	77	508-584	0	13	4.9	1.74	27	3.3	3.3	2.5	0	0	Yun Anzhi 1993, 126-130, 172.
Chinese	Hou Ziqin 侯子钦		Yes	Shaanxi, Chang'an	M	75	510-584	0		11.2	2.8	10	2.7	2.6	1.4	3	0	Yun Anzhi 1993, 146-146, 172.
Sogdian	Kang Ye 康业	<i>Datianzhu</i> 大天主	Yes	Shaanxi, Xi'an	M	60	512-571	0			2.16	18	3.3	3.4	1.6	0	0	Xi'an shi wenwu baohu kaogusuo 2008
Xianbei	Tuoba Hu, and Wife 拓跋虎及妻	Great General of Cavalryman 骠骑大将军	Yes	Shaanxi, Xianyang	M	38	527-564	?	?	?	?	?	?	?		3	?	Yun Anzhi 1993, pp. 1-9, 172.
Xianbei	Yuwen Tong 宇文通		Yes	Shaanxi, Xianyang	M	17	555-571	?	?			?				5	?	Unpublished material
Northern Qi Group	Tomb/Deceased	Title	Disturbed	Location	Sex	Age	Date	Tumulus-H	Tomb-L	Passage-L	Anti-chamber	Size of the tomb	Chamber-L	Chamber-w	Chamber-D	Airshaft	Niche	Reference
N. Qi Chinese	Gao Run 高润	左丞相文昭王	Yes	Hebei, Cixian	M	0			63.16	50	5.6	118	6.4	6.45	2.85	0		Cixian wenhuaju 1979
N. Qi Chinese	Imperial tomb of Wanzhang	(Emperor of the N. Qi 北齐帝?)	Yes	Hebei, Cixian	M	0	-559		52	37	6.7 (2)	660	7.56	7.4	11.8	0	0	Zhongguo shehui kexue yuan 2003
N. Qi Chinese	Cui Fen 崔芬	<i>Weilie</i> General 魏威烈将军行台府长史	No	Shandong, Linqu	M	48	504-551	0		9.4	0.64	43	3.6	3.6	3.32	0	0	Shandongsheng wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo 2002
N. Qi Chinese	Fan Cui 范粹	Great General of Cavalryman 骠骑大将军开府仪同三司	No	Henan, Anyang	M	27	550-576			11.35	0.5	18	2.88	2.7	2.26	0	0	Henansheng bowuguan 1972
N. Qi Chinese	Xu Xianxiu 徐显秀	<i>Taiwei</i> 太尉公尚书令武安王	Yes	Shanxi, Taiyuan	M	70	502-571	H: 5.2, D: 13.6*7	30	15.2	2.75	339	6.65	6.3	8.1	1	0	Shanxisheng kaogu yanjiusuo 2003

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

Tomb	Type	Emperor Wu of the N. Zhou	Imperial Tomb of Northern Qi at Wanzhang
I. Tomb Guards	镇墓兽 tomb-quelling beasts	2	
	镇墓俑 Guardian warriors	2	4
	大门立俑 Attendant at the front door		2
	兜甲士兵/武 Armored Warriors	1	
II. Ritual Procession	按盾武士俑 Shield-bearing Guards		4
	装甲士骑俑 Armored Cavalrymen	12	90
	甲冑骑兵团 Armored Mounted Figurines		39
	仪卫俑 Imperial Guards		176
	仪卫骑俑 Imperial Mounted Guards	22	34
	步行兵俑 Guards on foot		785
	步行风帽俑 Hooded Guards on foot	60	342
	骑马鼓吹俑 Mounted Musicians	2	39
	击鼓俑 Drumming Guards		95
	文官俑 Civil Officials		29
	笼冠俑 Guards with basket hats	21	64
III. Attendants Figurines	侍从俑 Attendants		37
	小冠俑 Guards with ordinary headgear	15	
	女侍 Female Attendants	10	8
	胡帽俑 Foreign Hooded Guards		1
	跽坐俑 Squatting Figurines	1	41
	执箕俑	1	2
	舞俑 Dancing Figurines		16
	Total of Figurines	150	1805
	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)

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

Table 4. Pottery figurines, pottery vessels, and models of equipments

(blank in the table represents 0 or uncertain)

		models of equipments	Pottery vessels	Dancing Figurines	Holding Duspian Figurines	Squatting Figurines	Kneeling Figurines	Foreign Hooded Guards	Attendants	Drumming Guards	Mounted Musicians	Male Attendant	Female Attendant	Civil Officials	Guards on foot	Guards with ordinary headgear	Guards with basket hats	Hooded Guards on foot	Hooded Cavalrymen	Foreigner	Musician	Imperial Mounted Guards	Imperial Guards	Attendant at the front door	Armored Mounted Figurine	Armored Cavalrymen	Armored Warrior	Shield-bearing Guards	Cavalrymen	Guardian-warriors	quelling beasts	Total number of Figurine	Tomb/ Deceased	
N. Zhou	李贤, Wu Hui 吴辉	16	21								9		28	44	32		25	43		38					6				11	2	2	255		
N. Zhou	叱罗协				2	2					3		16	3			8	10	4		1		39			26	20				4	206		
N. Zhou	宇文俭	6	24		1		1				4	1		17		12	1	8				1			13	2					2	156		
N. Zhou	宇文邕, Ashina 宇文邕	7	28			1					2		10			15	21	60							12					2	2	150		
N. Zhou	若千云		28				2				5	9		8			8	8									2				2	138		
N. Zhou	王德衡										4	8		16		18	13	13				8				7	2				2	108		
N. Zhou	宇文猛	6	6		1						3			10				9	9	6					7	22				2	2	77		

models of equipments						
Pottery vessels				2		
Dancing figurines						
Holding Dustpan figurines						
Squatting figurines						
Kneeling figurines						
Foreign Hooded Guards						
Attendants						
Drumming Guards						
Mounted Musicians						
Male Attendant						
Female Attendant						
Civil Officials	2					
Guards on foot						
Guards with ordinary headgear						
Guards with basket hats						
Hooded Guards on foot		0				
Hooded Cavalrymen						
Foreigner						
Musician						
Imperial Mounted Guards		3				
Imperial Guards	7	1				
Attendant at the front door						
Armored Mounted Esquire						
Armored Cavalrymen		1				
Armored Warrior						
Shield-bearing Guards						
Cavalrymen						
Guardian-warriors						
quelling beasts						
Total number of figurine	0	8	4	1	1	
Tomb/Deceased	Hou Ziqin 侯子钦	Dugu Zang 独孤藏	Tuoba Hu, and Wife 拓跋虎及妻	Wang Shiliang 王世良及妻	Yuchi Yun, Heba Shi 尉迟运 贺拔氏	Tian Hong, Wife 田弘及妻
	N. Zhou	N. Zhou	N. Zhou	N. Zhou	N. Zhou	N. Zhou
						Shi Jun and his wife 史君及妻
						N. Zhou

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Table 5. Domesticated Animals

(blank in the table represents 0 or uncertain)

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

Table 6. Three Types of Vessels

(blank in the table represents 0 or uncertain)

	Tomb/ Deceased	Pottery vessels	Models of Building	Bronze vessel	Glazed Earthenware Vessels
N. Zhou	Tian Hong, Wife 田弘	30			
N. Zhou	Yuwen Yong and Ashina 宇文邕 阿史那氏	28	7	1	
N. Zhou	Yuwen Jian 宇文俭	24	6		
N. Zhou	Ruo Ganyun 若干云	22	6		1
N. Zhou	Li Xian, Wu Hui 李贤 吴辉	21	16		
N. Zhou	Chiluo Xie 叱罗协	13	30		
N. Zhou	Lou Rui 娄睿	13			76
N. Zhou	Wang Shiliang 王世良, Dong Shi	9	3		2
N. Zhou	Yuwen Meng 宇文猛	6	6		
N. Zhou	Yuchi Yun, Heba Shi 尉迟运 贺拔氏	3	1		5
N. Zhou	Dugu Zang 独孤藏		21		14
N. Zhou	Hou Ziqin 侯子钦		4		
N. Zhou	Wang Deheng 王德衡	0	6	10	15
N. Zhou	Yuwen Tong 宇文通				
N. Zhou	An Jia 安伽(Sogdian)				
N. Zhou	Kang Ye 康业(Sogdian)				
N. Zhou	Li Dan 李诞(Brahmin)				
N. Zhou	Shi Jun and his wife 史君及妻(Sogdian)				
N. Zhou	Tuoba Hu, and Wife 拓跋虎				
N. Qi	Xu Xianxiu 徐显秀				200
N. Qi	(Bei Qi) Gao Run 高润	10	4	8	17
N. Qi	(Bei Qi) Gao Yang 高洋?	46	21		11
N. Qi	Cui Fen 崔芬				5
N. Qi	Fan Cui 范粹	3	6		13

Table 7. Pottery Vessels from the Tombs of N. Zhou

Tomb/ Deceased	Total number	Type		
Tian Hong 田弘	30	30 <i>guan</i> jars		
Yuwen Yong, Emperor Wu 宇文邕	28	28 <i>guan</i> jars		
Li Xian 李贤	21	18 <i>guan</i> jars	2 <i>pen</i>	1 <i>po</i>
Ruogan Yun 若干云	21		17 <i>pin</i> bottle	4 <i>po</i>
Chiluo Xie 叱罗协	13	12 <i>guan</i> jars	1 dish	
Wang Shiliang 王世良	9	6 <i>guan</i> jars	3 <i>pin</i> bottle	

Table 8. Jade Objects

(blank in the table represents 0 or uncertain)

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

Table 9. Hairpins

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

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

Table 10. Traditional Chinese Burial Goods in the Tombs of Wang Deheng, Wang Shiliang, and Cui Fen

Tomb/ Deceased	Pottery figurines	Pottery vessel	Green ware	Jade	Coin	mirror	Bronze vessel	hairpin
Wang Deheng (N. Zhou)	108	0	1 hu and 14 bowls	2 jade hairpin	14 bronze coins on the body	2 bronze mirror near head	10 miniature bronze vessels	1 gold hairpin
Wang Shiliang (N. Zhou)	11	6 <i>guan</i> , 3 <i>pin</i>	2: 1 guan, 1 hu	8 Jade pendants	14 (bronze)	1 iron mirror	0	
Cui Fen (N. Qi)	9	0	5: 1 guan, 1 hu, 2 dou, 1 bowl	0	69 bronze coins, 32 clay coins	1 bronze mirror	0	1 silver

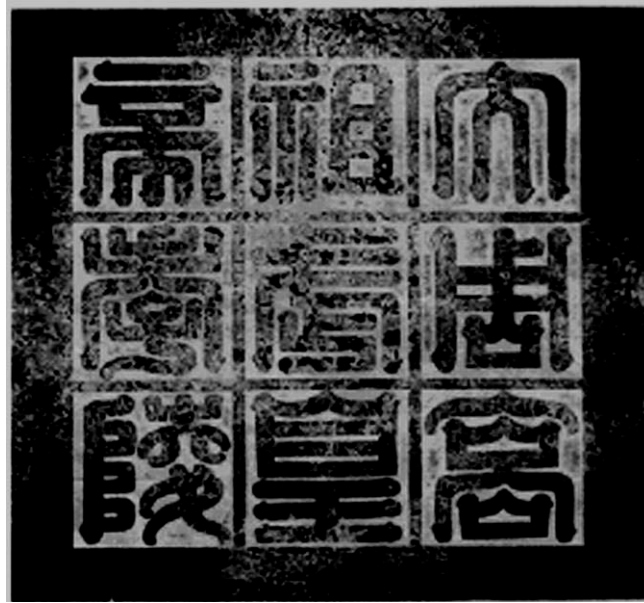
Table 11. The Sogdians of the Northern Zhou: Size of the Tombs, Burial Goods, and the Treatments of Body

Tomb/ Deceased	Title	Disturbed	Sex	Age	Date	Tomb-L	Passage-L	Anti- chamber	Size of the tomb	Chamber- L	Chamber- W	chamber-D	Air-shaft	Burial- Goods	Treatment of Body
Shi Jun and his wife 史君及妻	<i>Sabao</i>	Yes	M&F	86	494- 579	47.26	16.3	2.8	?	3.5	3.7	?	5	1 gold finger ring, 1 gold ear ring, 1 gold coin, gilded bronze belt buckle, 1 pottery lamp, 1 stone sarcophagus	With remains of bones, male and female, and animal remains, inside the coffin
An Jia 安伽	<i>Sabao</i>	No	M	62	518- 579	35	8.1	2.56	44	3.64	3.7	3.3	5	1 bronze belt, 1 stone coffin bed	Burned by the fire ritual, found at the entrance
Kang Ye 康业	<i>Da- tian- zhu</i>	Yes	M	60	512- 571	?	?	2.16	18	3.3	3.4	1.6	0	1 bronze coin, 1 gold coin, 1 bronze belt with 1 buckle and 4 plaques, 1 stone coffin bed	Lying on the coffin bed dressed in silk robe, with a bronze belt

APPENDIX A

EPITAPHS OF THE IMPERIAL FAMILY OF THE NORTHERN ZHOU

A: 1



(Rubbing from the Epitaph of Emperor Wu of Northern Zhou)

大周高祖武皇帝孝陵

(After Shaanxisheng kaoguo yanjiusuo and Xianyangshi kaoguo yanjiusuo 1997, p. 25)

A: 2



Rubbing from the Cover of the Epitaph of Empress Ashina
(After Shaanxisheng kaoguo yanjiusuo and Xianyangshi kaoguo yanjiusuo 1997, p.26)



Rubbing from the Epitaph of Empress Ashina

周武德皇后志铭

大隋开皇二年岁
次壬寅四月甲戌
朔廿三日乙(甲)未周
武帝皇后阿史那
氏 **但** 谥曰武德皇
后其月廿九日壬
寅合葬于孝陵

Transcription of the Epitaph of Empress Ashina
(After Shaanxisheng kaoguo yanjiusuo and Xianyangshi kaoguo yanjiusuo 1997, pp.26-27)

A: 3



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諡忠孝王墓志。

王諡俭，字候矩突。太祖文皇帝第八子也。初封諡国公，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、冀、赵、沧、瀛、恒、潞、洺、贝十五州刺史。諡王谥曰忠孝。其年三月戊辰朔十七日甲申，葬于雍州泾阳县西乡始义里。率由古礼，不封不树。恐年世绵远，陵谷贸迁，式刊玄石，置诸泉户。

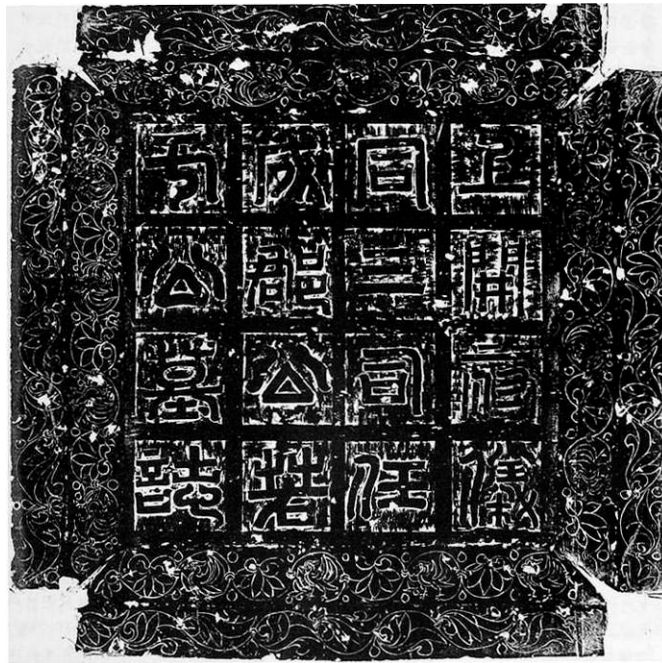
世子乾懌，第二子绎，第三子绪，第四子，女适显武公叱罗金刚。”

Transcription of the Epitaph of Yuwen Jian ,
(After Shaanxisheng kaoguo yanjiusuo 2001, pp. 37-39)

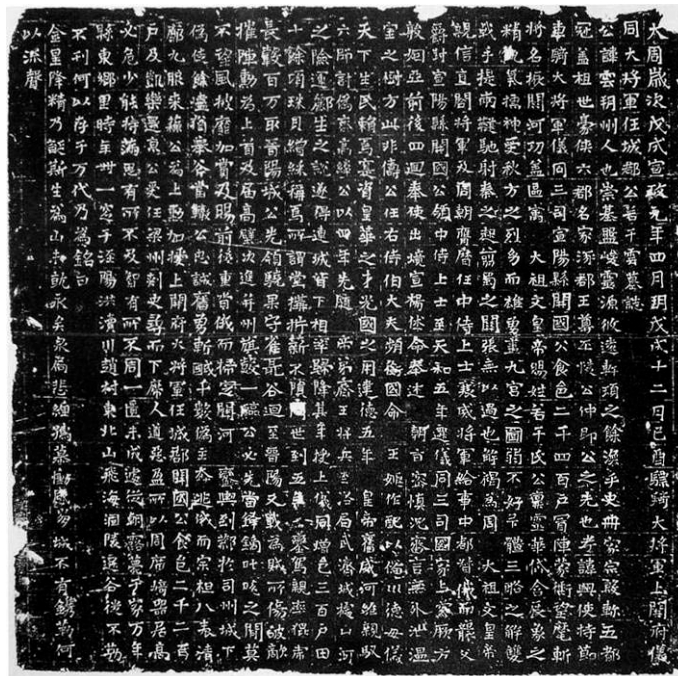
APPENDIX B

EPITAPHS OF THE GENERALS OF THE NORHTENR ZHOU

B: 1



Rubbing from Cover of the Epitaph of Rugan Yun
(After Yun Anzhi 1993, p. 74.)



Rubbing from the Epitaph of Rugan Yun
(After Yun Anzhi 1993, p. 75)

上开府仪同三司任城郡公若干公墓志

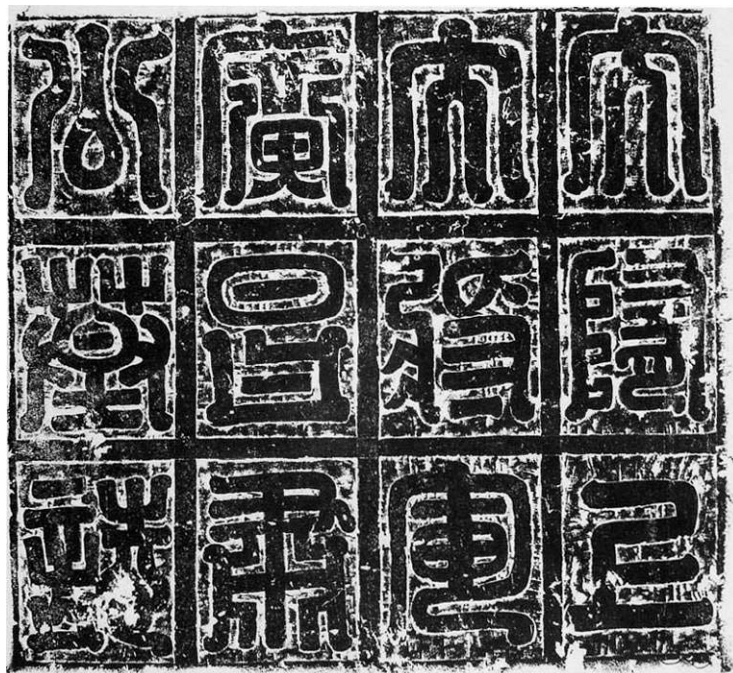
大周岁次戊戌宣政元年四月朔戊戌十二月己酉驃骑大将军上开府仪同大将军任城郡公若干公墓志

公讳云，朔州人也。崇基盘峻，灵源攸远，轩頊之余，唤乎史册，家宗殷轸，五都冠盖。祖世豪侠六郡，名家涿郡王尊、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，食邑二千四百户。冒阵蒙冲，望麾斩将，名振关河，功盖区寓。太祖文皇帝赐姓若干氏。公禀灵华岱，含辰象之精；锐气嫖神，受秋方之烈。幼而雄勇，画九宫之图；弱不好弄（弔）。体三略之解。双戟手提，两鞬驰射，秦之起、翦，蜀之关、张。无以过也。解褐，为周太祖文皇帝亲信，直阁将军及周朝膺历任中侍上士、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。至开和五年，迁仪同三司。国家与突厥方敦姻亚，前后四迴，奉使出境，宣扬休命，奉述朝旨。密慎沉审，言无外泄，温室之树，方此非传。公任右侍伯大夫，频銜国命，王姬作配，以备坤德，母仪天下，生民赖焉。宴资皇华之才，光国之用。建德五年，皇帝旧威河雒，亲驱六师，讨伪齐高纬。公以四年，先随帝弟齐王将兵至洛，屈武济城，据山河之险，运酈生之说。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。珠贝缁綵称焉。所谓堂构析薪，不陨问世。至五年，銮驾亲率貔虎、长毂百万，取晋阳城。公先领骁果守雀覆谷，迴至晋阳又战。为贼所伤，破敌摧阵，动为上首，及居高壁，次进并州，旗鼓一临，公必先当锋鏖，叱咤之间，莫不望风披靡。加赏及赐，前后重沓。俄而扫定关河，銮輿到邺，於司州城下，伪徒余烬，犹举斧当辙。公忠诚奋勇，斩馘千数，伪主奔逃。俄而宗杌八表清廓，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）埒器居高必危，少能持满。思有所不及，智有所不周。一匮未成，遽从朝露，薨于家，万年县东乡里。时年卅一，窆于泾阳洪读川赵村东北。山飞海涸，陵迁谷从，不勒不刊，何以存于万代。乃为铭曰：

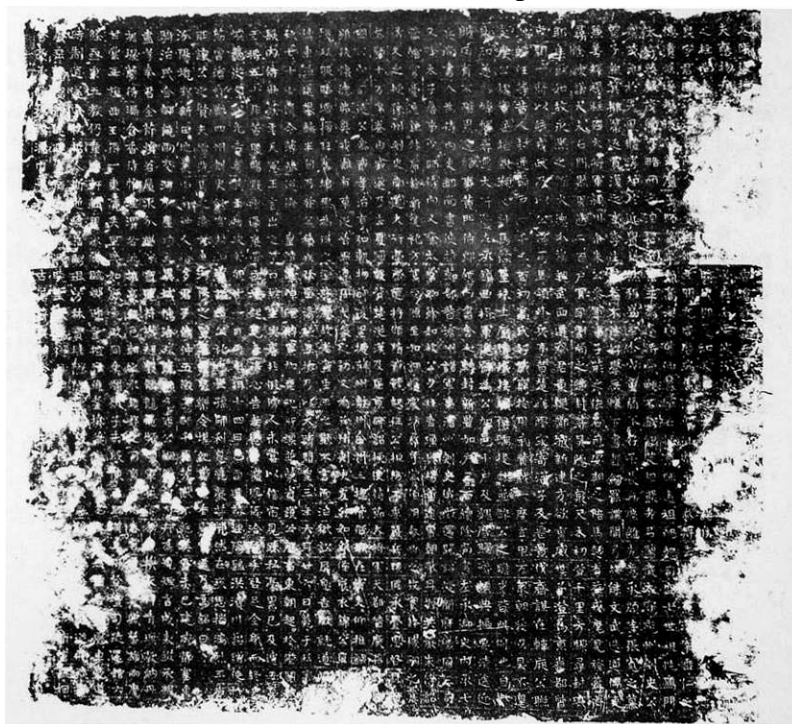
金星降精，乃诞斯生，为山未就，永矣泉扃。悲缠孺慕，恻感崩城，不有镌勒，何以流声。

Transcription of the Epitaph Ruogan Yu
(After Yun Anzhi 1993, 72-73)

B: 2



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)

大隋上大将军广昌肃公墓志

大隋使持节上大将军本州并州曹沧许郑五州刺史行台三总管广昌肃公王使君墓志

夫应物产灵，皆由胜地降神诞德，必在名区彼汾旧基。实因唐故哲人，虽英雄图在目，安于练铜之柱，尚表晋阳，无恤口宝之山，犹临代郡，是知天下之士。幼在太原，诸侯之风，唯高康叔。公讳士良，字君明，并州晋阳人也。受姓姬年开元周历，瑞鸟流火，仙鹤乘云。秦将去杀之慈；汉宰垂仁之惠，遗馥遂繁，后苗兹广。子师皋卓，勋高海内，孺促慕党，名振京师。远祖祖、魏司空。七世祖忱，雁门太守。英声茂绩，可略而言。洎于近叶，并为边将，骨鲠不亏，银艾相袭。考名，壮陵太守，兖州刺史。公禀茂气于先风；体淳知于近胄。巍然稚齿，卓彥成童。弱不好弄（予），长无尘杂。先意承颜，等张宽之慕，曾子执箕拥箒，匹（还）贾复之事，李生请益不休。好学无倦，下书击（鞞）剑，罢讲开弓。故能文武迭通，儒吏兼善。解褐，柱国、大将军、颍川尔朱公参军事，子蒨之佐，石包安期之陪。马越有益戎麾见旌幕府。寻除谏议大夫、石门县男，邑二百户。官同刘向之职，封等吴隐之泉。尺木初登，千里方骤。寻封琅耶侯，余如故。方熙之际，火德分崩，魏武西迁，齐君东从。邺城新建，方欲重威。世子澄为京畿都督，专开一府，以统戎政。

乃以公为司马，领外兵事，昔楚庄侵宋，寄谋子反；晋景伐齐，谋在韩厥。公联此任职等昔人，封通前户一千五百，初高氏好战，穷在用武，黄钺一麾，玄甲万众，朝发夕具，不遑支度。公据案屈指执鞭，心计马余，茎秣士厌，传殄挟纆，俱瞞投醪并醉。公之瞻才，皆自例也。自此见知遂参帷幄。寻迁大行台，左承镇西将军。进爵为公，加邑千户。及魏历归齐，频典枢要，清途近职，罔有不阶。累迁给事、黄门侍郎，领内书舍人，转封新豐，加户三百。续除尚书、左承御史，内承七兵尚书，入为侍内、吏部尚书，使持节、都督，沧州诸军事、沧州刺史。俄徵还阙，诏授开府仪同三司，又除太子詹事，少师侍内。又除太常卿，余如故。公又拜青璫与杨董连曹朝奉丹墀，共严朱待，诏管辖云台，连鑣叔虎銓衡建礼，方驾巨源至如调获震坊，寻序宗伯，明春殍之故，实体稷嗣之旧仪，久之，授豫州刺史、南道大行台，齐运将倾，猜貳竟起任公，拒防不委，严兵强国，承豐思启，封略秦师十万，度卷由威，遂乃去夏归殷，背楚从汉，及届京师。诏授使持节、大将军、大都督、广昌郡开国公、少司徒，公参貳孝治，有弘轨物。前后累授荆州、敷州、金州三总管。俗（佻）歌在宥，吏仰推诚，风口虽伏，怀德弗爽戎难有革，从善无违。周大象之初，又为并州刺史。爰发如丝，备褰不锦。公单车入境，私服临坛，扫拜旧坟，极为复之恟，愍愍故老，尽生平之欢，不言而治，狱讼屏息，吉徵就道，口俨传车，泣送攀辕，半旬乃发。公积疾弥留，汤砭无损。乃以大隋开皇三年六月廿六日，薨于私第。春秋七十七。遗令薄葬从俭。皇情追悼，贖贖累加，丧礼所须，并蒙资获。公历事东朝，起于阶闥，

Transcription of the Epitaph of Wang Shiliang

(After Yun Anzhi 1993, pp. 126-127)

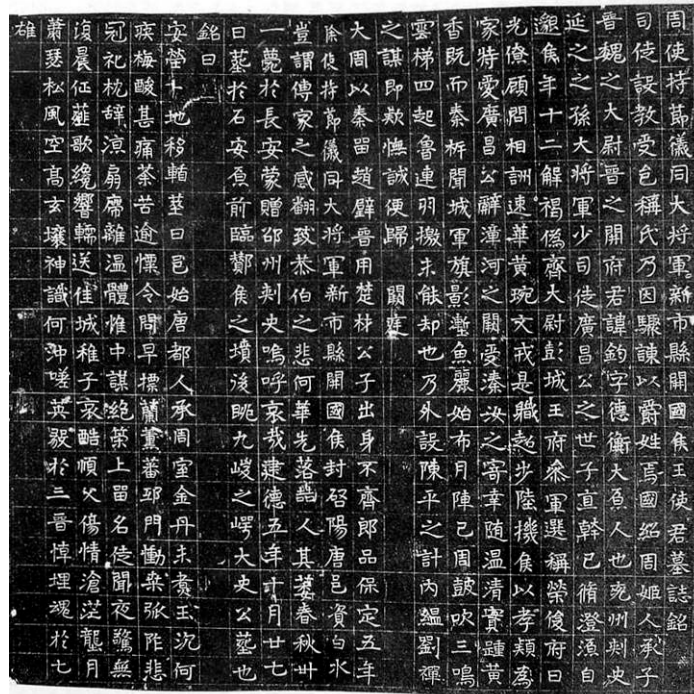
结发内侍，卅余年，天宪王言出之予口，杀生与夺，非假傍人，未当以信宿见踈私豪，累已及遭母忧，年将五十，非苦腹肠。毁瘠过度，骨立扶起，见者伤心，告老悬车，礼赐优洽，启手启足，全身而终，史协龜从，人谋允吉。粤以其年岁次癸卯十一月丙申朔十四日己酉，迁葬泾阳县洪渎川。诏赠使持节、曹、沧、许、郑四州刺史。余官封如旧。谥肃公，礼也。世孙师、利、息、德褒等，梵然在疚，思鸿鸿烈，平原明让。公之贤夫擅洗马之清文，有河阳之丽藻，足哀乐令堪纪载，有慮贤迁，及为铭曰：

汾阳境寂，亲田地美，山有神人，俗多君子。孺仲五徵，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，言成表缀，承亲尽孝，奉君全节。慎若履冰，分犹怀雪，运符鹊起，数偶龙飞。频频军幕，蜜勿戎机，交拜青璫，献纳丹墀。握蘭待漏，含香侍帷，泾渭各流，拥豪斂色。朝之水镜，郅之司直，荣傅春官，通整变职。蕃旃两麾，甘棠再植，西王得一，东邻失旦。民如鹿走，政同鱼烂，微子去殷，陈平归汉。上将登坛，司徒还馆，六条亟秉，五都仍章。乘轩轼里，衣锦临乡，迎童控竹，侯耄携浆。庶应难老，永锡无疆，告满悬车，是遵时制。逍遥申杖，哲人斯逝，峻岳亏琨，芳林贾桂。隐隐怀墙，哀哀溷袂，气移礼变，葬吉龜从。飞旆拂蜃，垂辔摇龙，途迴旧陌，纛引亲蹤。晓云昏暝，夜月明松，瞻言百行，空余一封。仰铭国士，俯愴嘉姻，含豪承睫，掺翰濡巾。千秋交辟，万古传薪，式镌金礎，长于玉人。

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



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)

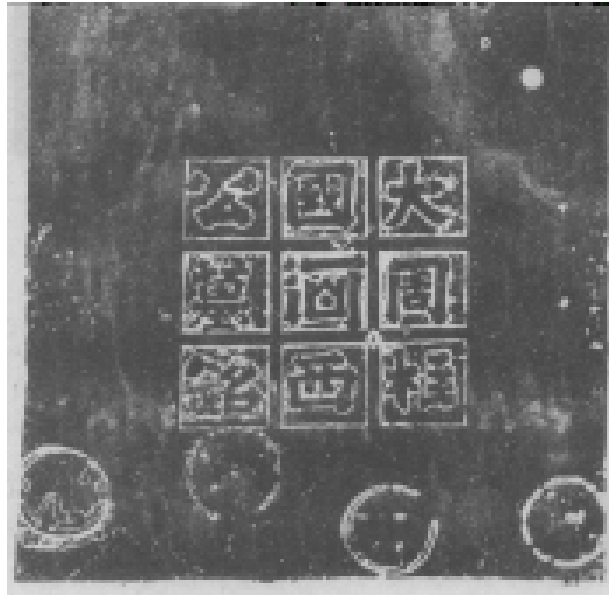
太原王使君墓志之铭¹

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，乃因骤谏以爵姓焉。国绍周姬，人承子晋，魏之太尉，晋之开府。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，澄源自邈。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。相酬速华黄琬文戎是职，超步（岁）陆机，侯以孝颖为家，特爱广昌公。辞漳河之阙，受湊汝之寄。幸随温清，实踵黄香。既而秦折闻城，军旗影暂，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；内缙刘禅之谋。即款怵诚，便归阙庭。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。封启阳唐邑资白水。岂谓传家之感，翻致恭伯之悲。何华先落，哲（喆）人其萎。春秋卅一，薨於长安。蒙赠邵州刺史。呜呼哀哉，建德五年十月廿七日葬於石安原。前临鄴侯之墳，后眺九峻之嶠。太史公葬曰：安莹十地，移辅茎曰，邑始唐都，人承周室。金丹未煮，玉沉何疾，梅酸甚痛，荼苦逾慄。令闻早標，兰薰蕃邛，门恻桑弧，阼悲冠礼。枕辞凉扇，席离温体，惟中谋绝，策上留名。徒闻夜惊，无复晨征，薤歌纔响，輶送佳城。稚子哀酷，顺父伤情，沧茫垒月，萧瑟松风。空高玄壤，神识何冲，嗟英毅於三晋，悼埋魂於七雄。

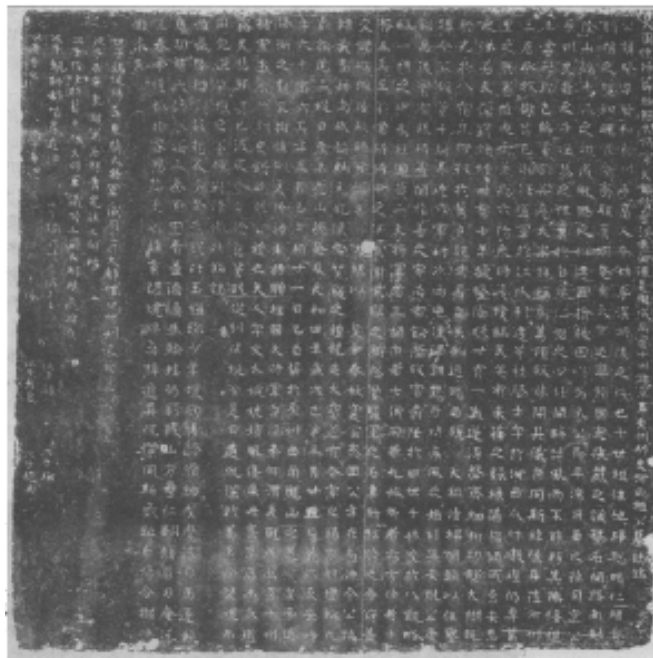
Transcription of the Epitaph of Wang Deheng
(After Yun Anzhi 1993, p. 57)

B: 4



Rubbing from Cover of the Epitaph of Li Xian

(After Ningxia Huizu zizhiqiu bowuguan and Ningxia Guyuan bowuguan 1985, p. 16, Figure 46)



Rubbing from the Epitaph of Li Xian

(After Ningxia Huizu zizhiqiu bowuguan and Ningxia Guyuan bowuguan 1985, p. 17, Figure 47)

李贤墓志铭录文

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。十世祖俟地归聪明仁智，有则哲之。监知魏圣帝齐圣广渊，奄有天下，乃率诸国定扶戴之议。凿石开路，南越阴山。竭手爪之功，成股肱之任。建国拓拔，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，非关师奖。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，同斯铉望；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，每有来苏之咏；秩满旋阙，咸垂去思之涕。若夫弹冠结绶，卅有七年；披坚陷敌，廿有一战。遂得声齐细柳，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，以俟銮趾。令公轻董千骑，奉迎六军。行次西中，便得朝覲。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，故官爵隆于四世，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，剑珮陆离，胡可称矣。太祖以皇帝春秋实富，齐国公年在幼冲，令公挟辅，义高师尚。故始纳元妃，便当贺褰之礼；龙飞大宝，遂有合冢之锡。方欲盐梅九鼎，论道三槐，日车未悬，山颓奄及。天和四年岁次己丑三月廿五日薨于长安，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足。皇帝追保弼之勋，不拘恒例，爰降神笔，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。夫人宇文氏，婉婉嫔风，优柔母德。草尘未永，薤露先悲；朝云已没，夜台多稔。龟筮既从，别开塋莹。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。方金为铉，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，潋潋朱轮；桂仍舒馥，山方垒仁。翻颓百刃，奄落三春。帝忆枌榆，客思乡里。枢辞京阙，魂归桑梓。迁其伉俪，同斯岩趾。白杨合拱，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

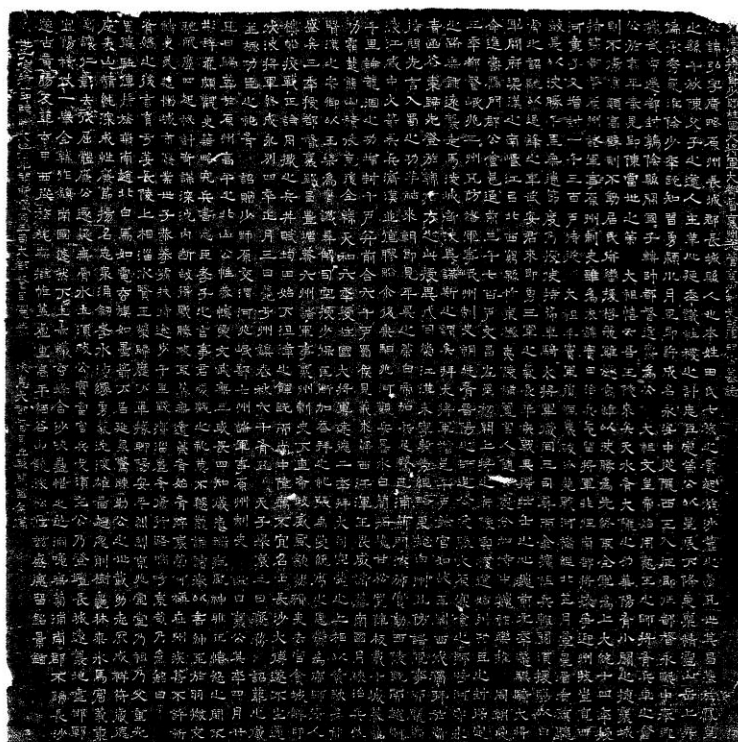
次子吉平东将军右银青光禄大都督 次子隆使持节
车骑大将军仪同三司大都督适乐侯 次子轨帅都督升
迁伯 次子询都督左侍上士 次子湮 次子纶
次子孝忠 次子孝礼 次子孝依 次子孝良 次
子抱□

Transcription of the Epitaph of Li Xian

(After Ningxia Huizu zizhi qu 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)

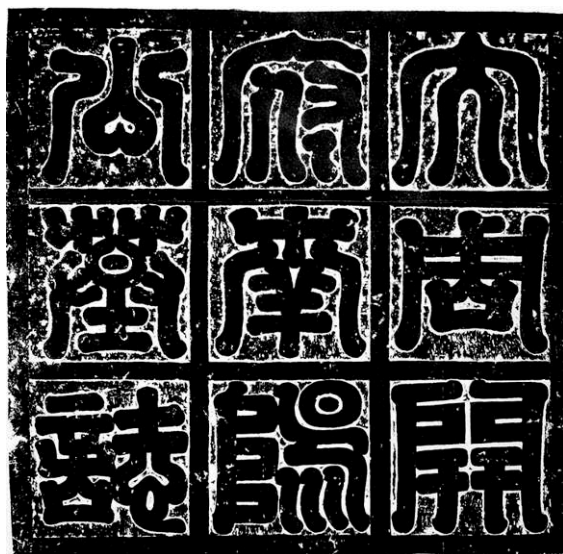


Rubbing from the Epitaph of Tian Hong
(After Yuanzhou lianhe kaogudui 2000, Figure 70)

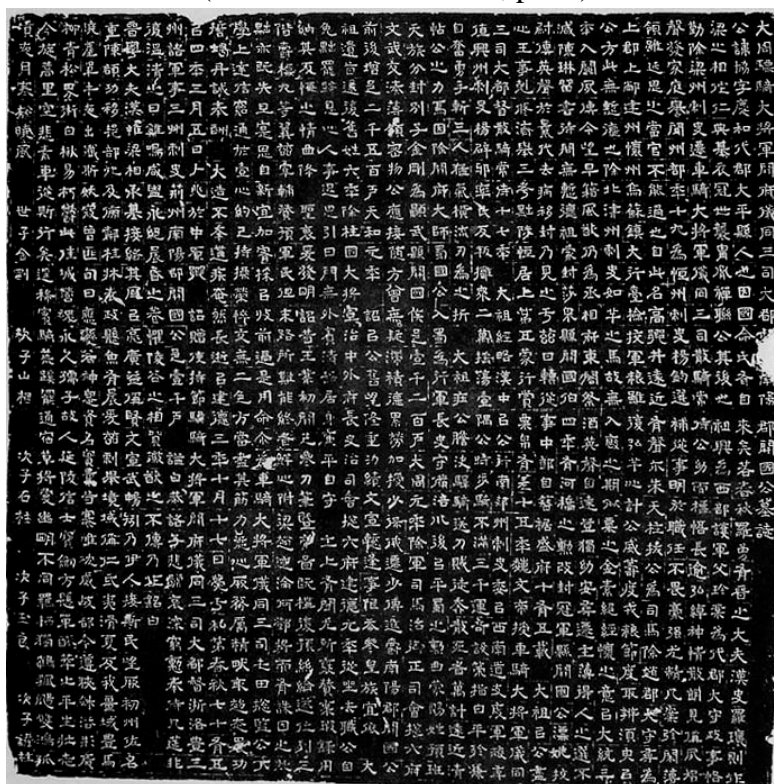
二、墓志录文

- 1、大周使持節少師、柱國大將軍、大都督、襄州總管、襄州刺史、故雁門公墓志
- 2、公諱弘，字廣略，原州長城郡長城縣人也。本姓田氏，七族之貴，起於沙麓之卯；五世其昌，基於鳳凰。
- 3、之繇。千秋陳父子之道，人主革心；延年議社稷之計，忠臣定策。公以星辰下降，更稟精靈，山岳上昇。
- 4、偏承香氣。淮陰少年，既知習勇；潁川月旦，即許成石。永安中從隴西王入征，即任都督。永熙中，奉迎。
- 5、魏武帝遷都，封鵠陰縣開國子，轉帥都督，進爵爲公。太祖父皇帝始用勤王之師，將有兵車之會。
- 6、公於高平奉見，即陳當世之策。太祖喜云：「吾王陵來矣」。天水有大隴之功，華陽有小關之捷。襄城
- 7、則不傷噍類，高壁則不動居民。轡援桴，飛雞燧象。雖以決勝爲先，終取全軍爲上。大統十四年，授
- 8、持節都督、原州諸軍事，原州刺史。雖爲衣錦，實曰治兵。乞留將軍，非但南部將校；爭迎州牧，豈直西
- 9、河童子。又增封一千三百戶。侍從太祖平竇軍，復弘農，破沙苑，戰河橋，經北平，月量星眉，看旗聽
- 10、鼓。是以決勝千里，無違節度。乃授使持節，車騎大將軍，儀同三司。尋而金墪阻兵，軹關須援，賜以白
- 11、虎之詔，馳以追鋒之車。武安君來，即勇三軍之氣；長平侯戰，果得壯士之心。魏前元年遷驃騎將
- 12、軍，開府梁漢之南，岷江以北，西窮縣竹，東極夷陵，補置官人，隨公處分，加侍中。魏祚樂推，周朝受
- 13、命，進爵雁門郡公，食邑通前三千七百戶。文昌左星，初開上將之府；陵雲複道，始列功臣之封。保定
- 14、三年，都督岷，兆二州五防諸軍事，岷州刺史。朝廷有晉陽之師，追公受賑，太原寒食之鄉，呼河守冰
- 15、之路，無鐘遺襲，走馬凌城，奇決異謀，斯之謂兵。拜大將軍，增邑千戶，餘官如故。玉關西城，獨拜於衛
- 16、青、函谷東歸，先登於韓信。方之此授，異代同榮。江漢未寧，麴勞經略，更總四州五防諸軍事。而龐德
- 17、待問，先言入蜀之功；羊祜來朝，即見平吳之策。白帝加兵，足驚巴浦；荊門流旆，實動西陵。既西越舸
- 18、凌江，咸中火箭，吳兵濟漢，並值膠船。爾後乘駟兆河，觀兵墨水，白蘭拓境，甘松置陣，板載十城，蕃籬
- 19、千里。論龍涸之功，增封千戶，並前合六千戶。蜀侯見義，求靜西江，渾王畏威，請蕃南國。月硤治兵，收
- 20、功霸楚，熊山積仗，剋復全韓。天和六年，授柱國大將軍。建德二年拜大司空。楚之上相，以黃歇爲能
- 21、賢，漢之宗卿，以王梁爲膺讖。尋解司空，授少保，匡衡加答拜之禮，張禹受絕席之恩，鬱爲帝師，得人
- 22、盛矣。三年授都督襄、郢、昌、豐、塘、葵六州諸軍事，襄州刺史。下車布陣，威風欽然。猾吏去官，貪城解
- 印。
- 23、樓船校戰，正論舟楫之兵；井賦均田，始下沮漳之。既而，南中障癘，不宜名士，長沙太傅，遂不生還。
- 24、伏波將軍，終成永別。四年正月三日薨於州鎮，春秋六十有五。天子舉哀，三日廢務，詔葬之儀，
- 25、並極功臣之禮。有詔：贈少師、原、交、渭、河、兆、岷、鄯七州諸軍事，原州刺史。諡曰：襄公。其年四月
- 廿
- 26、五日歸葬原州高平之北山。公性恭慎，愛文武，無三惑，畏四知。儀表端莊，風神雅正，喜怒之間，不
- 27、形辭氣，頗觀史籍，略究兵書。忠臣孝子之言，事君愛親之禮，莫不殷勤誦讀，奉以書紳。至於羽檄交
- 28、馳，風塵四起，秘計寄謀，深沉內斷，故得戰勝攻取，籌無遺策，有始有卒，哀榮可稱。在州疾甚，不許祈
- 29、禱，吏民悲慟，城市廢業。世子恭攀號伏侍，徒步千里，殷瘠淄塵，有傷行路，嗚呼哀哉。乃爲銘曰
- 30、有媯之後，育育于姜。長陵上相，淄水賢王。榮歸曆下，單據聊陽。安平烈烈，京兆堂堂。乃祖乃父，重先
- 31、累德。軀傳揚旌，燕南趙北。白馬如電，玄旗如墨。箭下居延，泉驚疏勒。公之世載，幼志夙成。祥府歲德，
- 32、應表山精。純深成性，廉節揚名。忠泉涌劍，孝水沾纓。勇氣沈深，雄圖超忽。削樹龜林，乘冰馬窟。義秉
- 33、高讓，仁彰去伐。屈體廉公，還疑無骨。水土須政，公實當官。兵戈須生，公乃登壇。長城遠襲，地盡邯鄲。
- 34、宣陽積仗，一舉全韓。作鎮南國，悠然下土。赤蟻玄鋒，含沙吹蠱。惜乏芝洞，嗟無菊浦。南郡不歸，長沙
- 35、遂古。黃腸反葬，玄甲西從。旌旄寂擁，帷蓋虛重。高平柏谷，山繞旅松。惟茲盛德，留銘景鍾。
- 36、世子使持節、驃騎大將軍、開府儀同三司、大都督、司憲恭、次息大都督、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

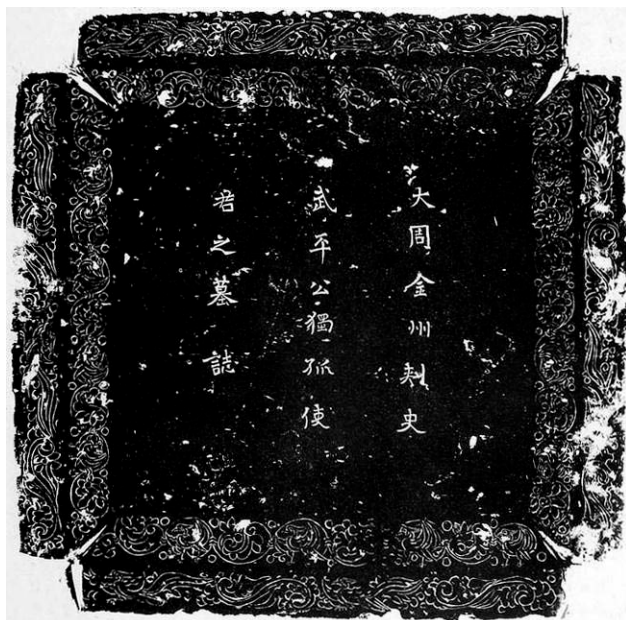
大周骠骑大将军开府仪同三司大都督南阳郡开国公墓志

公讳协，字庆和，代郡太平县人。因国命氏，有自来矣。若春秋罗勇，有晋之大夫；汉史罗怀，则作梁之相。佗仁典基，衣冠世袭。曹胤禅联，公其后也。祖兴，为西部护军，父珍业，为代郡太守。政事恪勤，除梁州刺史，迁车骑大将军、仪同三司、散骑常侍。公幼而标悟，长逾弘绰，神情散朗、见称夙智。声发家庭，誉闻州郡。年十九，为恒州刺史。杨钧选补从事，明于任职，不畏豪强，尤精几案，弥闻薄领，虽延思之当官不能过也。自此，名高乡井，远近有声，尔朱天柱拔公为司马。除赵郡太守，寻为上郡、上鄯、建州、怀州、乌苏镇大行台。检校军粮，虽复弘羊，心计公威，筹度戎粮，节度取辨。须臾，以公方此无惭德也。除北津州刺史。如羊之马，故无入廐之期；似粟之金，素绝经怀之意。以(吕)大统三年入关，夙传令望，早籍风猷，仍为丞相府东阁祭酒。英声自远，岂独幼安。寻迁主簿。得人之选，不减陈琳；留书待向，无惭(慙)德祖。蒙(蒙)封莎泉(泉)县开国伯。四年，有河桥之勋，改封冠军县开国公，溧姚校尉。传英声于曩代，去病移封，乃见之于兹日。转从事中郎。自簪裾盛府十有五载，太祖以公尽心王事，剋修济举。三考黜陟，恒居上第；五蒙行赏，粟帛有差。十五年，魏文帝授车骑大将军、仪同三司、大都督、散骑常侍。十七年，太祖经略汉中，以公行南岐州刺史。委以西南道支度军粮，寻值兴州刺史，杨辟邪率民反叛，拥众二万，摇荡壹隅。公时步骑不满三千，运奇设策，指日平殄，一兼自奋勇，手斩三人。猛气模流，刃为之折。太祖庄(症)公胆决驿骑送刀，贼徒奔散，死者万计。远近清帖，公之力焉。因除开府太师蜀国公。入蜀为行行军长史，守备涪水。后以平蜀之勋，曲蒙赐姓，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。文武交湊，薄领密物。公应接随方，曾无疑滞，积德累劳。加授少保，俄迁少傅。进爵南阳郡开国公。前后增邑二千五百户。天和元年，诏以公旧望隆重，功绩文宣，暨逢事限，叅参皇族，宜依太祖遗旨，还复旧姓。六年除柱国大将军，治中外府长史，治司会，总六府。建德元年，从坐去职，公自免黜罢归，息心人事，退思引曰，门无外宾，清静居身，廉平自守。主上有闻，尤所褒赞，叶瑕录用，纳其反悔之情。曲降圣衷，爰发明诏，昔王业初开，已参刀笔，暨帝图既构，后预丝纶，逐位列三阶，爵标九等。翼兹宰辅，赞预军民。但末路所难，能终者鲜。心附梁赵，迹沦何邓。将而有诛，因之贬黜，亦既失旦，实思自新，宜加宥采，以收前过，是用命尔(尔)。为车骑大将军、仪同三司、屯田总监。公下学上达，信穷通于壹心；约已持操，荣悴交无二色。方当尽其筋力，悉心厥务，历精晷最，超交口功，誓竭丹诚，奉酬大造。不幸遭疾，奄然长逝。以建德三年十月十七日，死于私第。春秋七十有五。以四年三月五日，十兆于中原乡。诏赠使持节、骠骑大将军、开府仪同三司、大都督、浙洛、丰三州诸军事、三州刺史、荊州南阳郡开国公。邑一千户。谥曰：恭。诸子悲号，哀深穷恻(慙)，奉侍几筵，非复温清之日；鸡鸣咸盥，永绝晨昏之养。懼陵谷之相贸，徽犹之不傅，乃作铭曰：

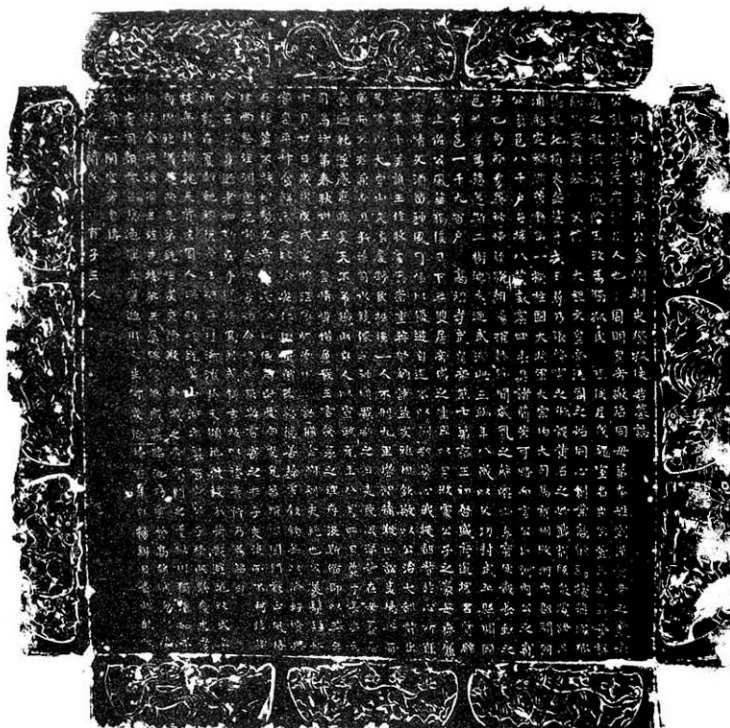
晋奥大夫，汉惟梁相，承基接绪，其风以亮。广益称贤，文宣武畅，矧乃伊人，接斯民望。
厥初州佐，名重陈颜，功移邦都，化及傍邻。桂林表政，悬鱼有展，爰兹刺举，境域称仁。
氏夷滑夏，反我疆域，豊马晓尘，单牛夜出。殄斯妖寇，曾匪旬日，应变若神，寔资名实。
曩昔褰帷，枕威岐部，令遵狭斜，潜形广柳。青松界术，白楸易朽，鬱此佳城，营魂永久。
孺子故人，延陵信士，宝剑方悬，单醪萃止。平生壮志，今旋蒿里，空悲素车，从斯行矣。
迺稀宾骑，荒蹊罢通，宿草将蔓，幽明不同。羈栖独鹤，飏飏双鸿，孤坟夜明，寒松晓风。
世子金刚 次子山相 次子石柱 次子玉良 次子铁(罐)柱

Transcription of the Epitaph of Chiluo Xie
(After Yun Anzhi 1993, pp. 31-32)

B: 7



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)

大周金州刺史武平公独孤使君之墓志

周大都督武平公金州刺史独孤使君墓志

公讳藏，字达磨，朔州人也。周明皇帝敬后母弟。本姓刘，汉景帝之裔，赤眉之乱，流寓陇阴，因改为独孤氏。祖俟尼，伐魏室，名臣位登三吏，器量详深，识度雄举。父信，太祖文皇帝造周之始，同心创业，高欢鸩据燕城孤鸣，赵地权火，每逢干戈日，寻乃张绛官之术；设黄石之妙。战据阪泉，濮踰丹浦，划定祸难，策动第一。授柱国、大将军、大宗伯、大司马、雍州牧、河内郡开国公，食邑八千户。名播八国，威震四表，俱诸简策，可略而言。公即河内公之宠子也。幼而秀异，神情颖脱。朝阳擢干，即闻威凤之声；崑山孕宝，便散长虹之色。为孝为慈，遵斯二树；迺文迺武，洞此三端。年八岁以父功，封武平县开国公，食邑一千九百户。高祖孝武皇帝第七弟齐王，初启盛府，选择名贤，辟为上佐。公风华独俊，日下无双。居帝戚之重，擢卑以自牧；处公子之豪，每存廉让。寄情文酒，留神风月。恒以优游自退，不以州郡劳心。俄授都督，非心所愿。帝第十弟譙王，作牧庸蜀，崇重英贤，纳诸益友，雅相钦敬。以公治大都督，出为隆山太守。山夫狼户（扈），野民倔强，一人不刑，九里增润，蒲鞭正讼麦穗兴哥。威而不猛，柔而且断。清同水镜，俨若神明。罢郡之日，吏民流涕。昔在母忧，居丧过礼，遂感旧疾，昊天不吊，殀此良人。以宣政元年八月四日，薨于长安大司马坊第。春秋卅五。皇情悼惜，仄发王言，荣哀之埋，存没斯备。即以其年十月廿日，岁次戊戌空於泾阳胡渎川。诏赠金州刺史，礼也。公美鬚髯，好容貌（皂）。平叔食饼，未足比伦；安仁掷果，犹为惭德。善隶书，银钩无以渝；好坟典，石经莫不谈。妙制文章，口长咏咏，便口射爱，朋友兄弟，缉熙闺门，严正风格，标尚思理，渊邈光家，令德善始，令终何取，斯言寄之君子，夫没而不朽，非谓金石其身，逝者如斯在乎。闾扬风烈，式镌玄板，以旌素行，乃为铭曰：

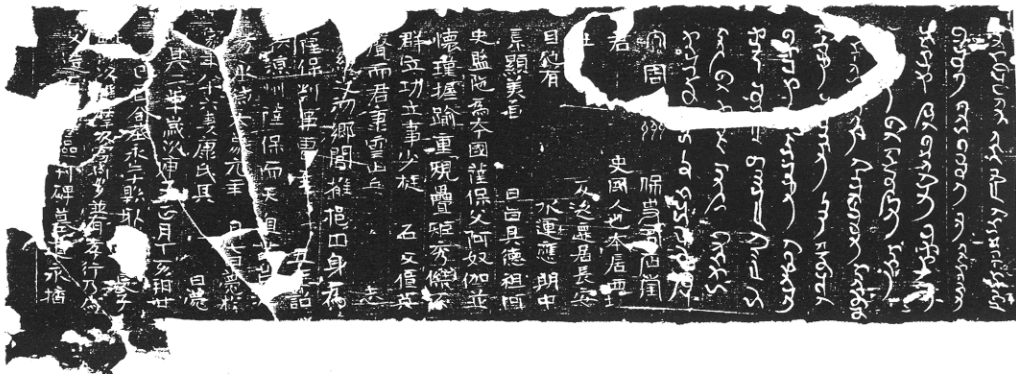
御龙在夏，斩蛇称汉，帝王洪弈，珪璋璀璨。天倾地垂，枝分叶散，避地改氏，本枝无绝。辅魏天赞，匡周人傑，黼黻既糜，山河亦裂。猗歟公子，积此余庆，忠孝两极，礼仪双映。兄弟既怡，友交踰敬，帝戚之贵，高门之重。似川独濬，如芥自竦，金符后佩，玉珪先捧。英王屡辟，俊僚咸慕，临池巧画，登高能赋。忽此梦山，奄同朝露，吕悲过隙，丘嗟逝川。人生何几，徒论百年，白杨斜日，青松乱烟。孤坟一闭，空芳自得。

夫人贺兰氏 有子三人

Transcription of the Epitaph of Dugu Zang
(After Yun Anzhi 1993, p. 89, 92)

APPENDIX C

EPITAPHS OF THE SOGIDANS OF THE NORHTENR ZHOU



Rubbing of Chinese Epitaph and part of Sogdian epitaph of Shi Jun
(After Xi'an shi wenwu baohu kaogusuo 2005, p. 30, Figure 51)

The Epiraph of Shi Jun (d. 579)⁴⁶⁴

大周[凉]州[萨]保史君石堂⁴⁶⁵

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[][][][][]永运应期, 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。而君秉灵山[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;

⁴⁶⁴This English translation is translated by Jui-Man Wu and Xiaolong Wu.

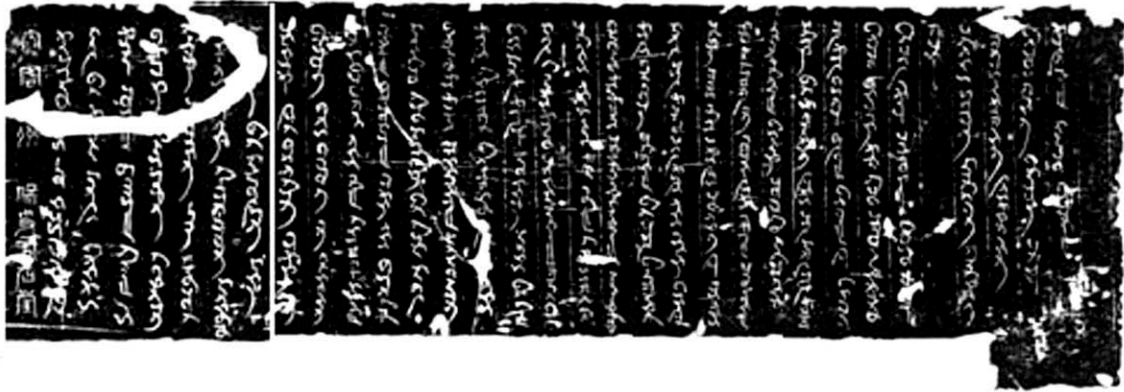
⁴⁶⁵A slightly different translation is available. See Albert Dien 2003, pp. 105-106.

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.

而天道芒芒，[沉]芳永岁。大象元年[五]月七日，薨于家，年八十六。妻康氏，其[][][][][][]日薨以其二年岁次庚子正月丁亥朔廿[三][日]己酉，合葬永[]县界。[礼也]。长子毗沙，次维摩，次富[]多，并有孝行，乃为父造石[堂][一]区，刊碑墓道，永播[][]

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'an shi wenwu baohu kaogusuo 2005, p. 30, Figure 51)

Sogdian inscriptions⁴⁶⁶

[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 23rd (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 (16th June 579 CE).

[lines 17-20] And again his wife died in the 6th month, on the seventh day, on the day of the rabbit, in this *given year, in this month, on this day (15th 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

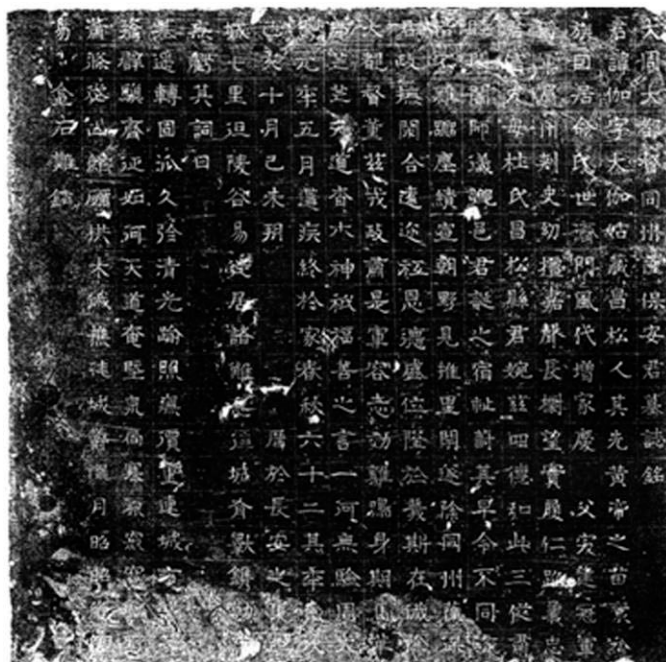
⁴⁶⁶The English translation is published in Yoshida Yutaka 2005: 59.

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.

[lines 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)

The Epitaph of An Jia (d. 579)⁴⁶⁷

大周大都督同州萨保安君墓志铭

Epitaph of His Honor An: *dadudu*⁴⁶⁸ of the Great Zhou and *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| 履仁蹈义| 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 descendents 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] *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.⁴⁶⁹ The surname of his mother was Du; she was a countess from Changsong. [She was] complaisant to the Four Virtues⁴⁷⁰ and promoted the Three

⁴⁶⁷ This English translation is published in Linduff and Wu 2006.

⁴⁶⁸ *Dudu* is the title of an official that was used as early as the late Han Dynasty. During the Three Kingdoms period, *Dudu* was a state military official. Among military officials, *Dadudu* and *Dudu* had the highest military authority. After Jin and Southern and Northern Dynasties, the title of *Dudu* was changed slightly so that it signified those in charge of military affairs or ones who were stationed at the frontier.

⁴⁶⁹ A reference to Confucius: Zhizhang asked about getting by in the world (*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) 論語·衛靈公：子張問行。子曰：「言忠信，行篤敬，雖蠻貊之邦行矣。」

⁴⁷⁰ The Four Virtues were propriety in behavior, speech, demeanor and employment. From *Zhouli. Tianguan. Jiubien*.

四德：妇德·妇言·妇容·妇功。周禮·天官·九嫔：九嫔掌妇学之法·以教九御·妇德·妇言·妇容·妇功。

Obediences.⁴⁷¹ [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|绩宣朝野|见推里閭|遂除同州萨保|君政抚闲
合|远迩祇恩|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|佳城有歆|镌勒
□无亏

His Honor was born in this blessed family and developed a good [reputation] early. In order to not follow licentious customs⁴⁷², he did not mingle with the noisy and dusty world⁴⁷³. [His] merits were proclaimed in the court and among the people; [he was] selected in his neighborhood and thereupon was appointed the *sabao*⁴⁷⁴ 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 ambition⁴⁷⁵ and dedicated his

⁴⁷¹ The Three Obediences were: obedience to one's father before marriage, one's husband after marriage, and one's son if widowed.

三從：舊禮教中婦女應遵守的從父、從夫、從子三個規範。儀禮·喪服：“婦人有三從之義，無專用之道，故未嫁從父，既嫁從夫，夫死從子。”

⁴⁷² 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.)

流行於社會上的風俗習慣。礼记禮記·射义射義：“幼壯孝弟·耆耄好礼·不从流俗·修身以俟死，者不在此位也。”

⁴⁷³ 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.)

喧鬧多塵土。左传·昭公三年：初，景公欲更晏子之宅，曰：“子之宅近市，湫隘嚣尘，不可以居，请更诸爽垲者。”

⁴⁷⁴ The title is related to Manichean practice where it is used to describe a lay person who leads prayer.

⁴⁷⁵ 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.)

life to the battlefield.⁴⁷⁶ How boundless is the way of Heaven⁴⁷⁷! 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,⁴⁷⁸ and time will never cease⁴⁷⁹. [An Jia's] burial ground⁴⁸⁰ 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.)

語出後漢書卷二十四馬援傳：“方今匈奴、烏桓尚擾北邊，欲自請擊之。男兒要當死於邊野，以馬革裹屍還葬耳，何能臥床上在兒女子手中邪？”

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. http://www.galileolibrary.com/ebooks/as02/shuching_page_14.htm James Legge (trans.) *Shu Ching* (The Book of History).

天理、自然的法則。書經·虞書·大禹謨：三句，苗民逆命。益贊于禹曰：“惟德動天，无远弗届满招损，谦受益，时乃天道。”

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.)

陵谷：山嶺與深谷。詩經·小雅：“十月之交十月之交：烨烨震电，不宁不令。百川沸腾，山冢峯崩。高岸为谷，深谷为陵。哀今之人，胡惨莫惩？”

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.)

居諸：借指光陰。語本詩經·邶風·日月：“日居月諸，東方自出。父兮母兮，畜我不卒。胡能有定？报我不述。”

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.cdpa.nsysu.edu.tw/ccw/01/cc.htm>) *Jiacheng* means graveyard.

佳城：墓地。刘歆，西京杂记卷四。滕公驾至东都门。马鸣局不肯前。以足跑地久之。滕公使士卒掘马所跑地。入三尺所。得石椁。滕公以烛照之有铭焉。乃以水洗写其文。文字皆古异。左右莫能知。以问叔孙通。通曰科斗书也以今文写之曰佳城郁郁。三千年见白日。吁嗟滕公居此室。滕公曰嗟乎天也。吾死其即安此乎。死遂葬焉。

其词曰| 基遥转固| 派久弥清| 光愈照庠| 价重连城| 方鸿等鹭 辟驥齐征| 如何天道| 奄
墜泉扃| 寒原寂寞| 旷野萧条| 岱山终砺| 拱木俄樵| 佳城郁陇| (缺一字) 月昭昭| 缣绢易□
金石难销

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 cities⁴⁸².

Swan geese and waterfowl are equal.

Stallions⁴⁸³ 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. Tai⁴⁸⁴ will one day become gravel, and tall trees⁴⁸⁵ 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* 廉頗藺相如列传 (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 赵 acquired Ch'u 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 赵, 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.)

典出史記·卷八十一·廉頗藺相如傳。戰國時，趙國有塊寶玉叫和氏璧，秦昭王願以十五個城池來換取。後以價值連城形容東西十分珍貴。

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 *Hualiu*, fine horses can run thousands of miles in a day."

驥: 千里馬。說文解字: "驥，千里馬也。" 莊子·秋水: "騏驥 驊騮，一日而馳千里。"

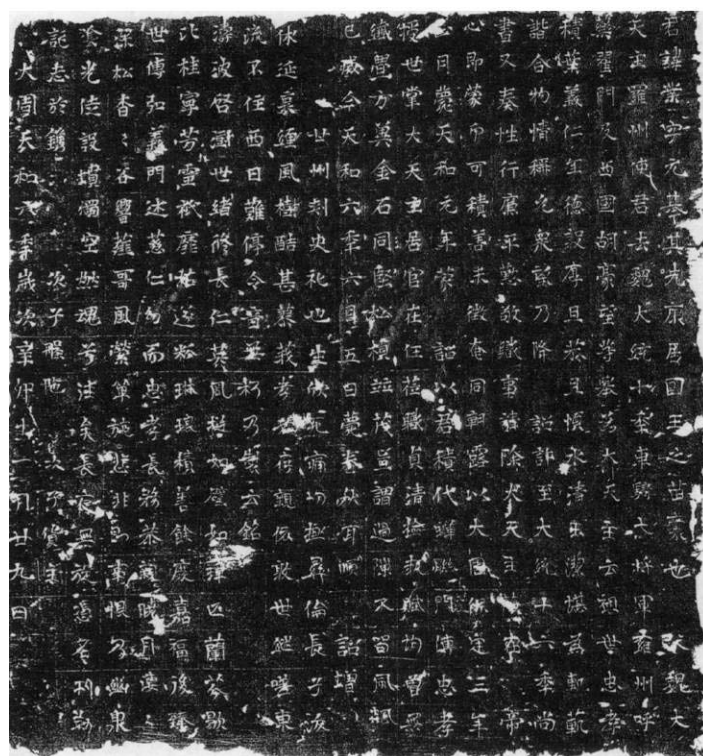
⁴⁸⁴ *Daishan* is a reference to Mount Tai (Taishan). The other name for Taishan is Daishan, Daizhong. *Dai* is an abbreviated term.

岱山: 泰山別稱為"岱山"，"岱宗"，簡稱為"岱"。

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!" (Zuoqiu, Ming Li Shibiao et al (trans.) 2000: 183.)

拱木: 粗細約當兩手合抱的樹木。左傳·僖公三十二年: 公使謂之曰: "尔何知? 中寿, 尔墓之木拱矣。"

C: 3



Rubbing from the Epitaph of Kang Ye

(After Xi'an shi wenwu baohu kaogusuo 2008, p. 25, Figure 23)

The Epitaph of Kang Ye⁴⁸⁶

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。蘭在帝心，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，曾无纤亶方异。金石同坚，松栢并茂。岂谓过隙不留，风飘已灭。

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，切极升伦。长子汭休延，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。灵祇靡祐，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，风萦单旒。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。次子槃陀，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 蹀躞带

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 鍍

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 纥干

heng 珩

Heyou 河右

hezang 合葬

he 盂

Hou Ziqin 侯子钦

huang 璜

huan 环

Huxuanwu 胡旋舞

hu 壶

jiaodou 鐃斗

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

qinqci 青瓷

qishaguan 纱冠

Qiwang 齐王

Ruo Ganyun 若干云

ru 儒

sabao 萨保

Shaanxi 陕西

shanghu 商胡

shangkai fu 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 天龍八部

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 甌

yi 乙

Yining xianhou 义宁县候

yizhang 仪仗

yongan wuzhu 永安五铢

you 卣

Yuchi Yun 尉迟运,

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 簪

zhaowujiuxing 昭武九姓

Zhouli 周礼

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

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