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Studies

Archaeological Remains of the Chin Dynasty (1115-1234)

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During the spring of 1977 while at the Radcliffe Institute (now the Bunting Institute), I drafted a chapter on the art and archaeology of the Chin period for the Chin Dynastic History project. This task was inherited from Jan Fontein, then Acting Director of the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston, and a set of bibliographic entries had been supplied by Herbert Franke, the editor of the project. These entries were augmented by Dr. Fontein and myself to cover recent archaeological finds. With some updating, the present report is a revision of the section of the chapter on archaeological remains, listed for convenience under four separate headings. A summary of the bibliography relevant to Chin art - Buddhist art, pottery, painting and calligraphy - is given separately at the end. This material has been covered more thoroughly by Western scholars. I should like to express my appreciation to Dr. Fontein and Wu Tung of the Museum of Fine Arts for reading the original manuscript and for suggesting certain additions and revisions.

I. Sites in the Northeast and in Inner Mongolia.

Archaeological studies of what was then called Manchuria were initiated in the 1930s and 1940s when the Japanese controlled the region. These reports generally consisted of surveys of historical remains such as noted sites of funerary monuments. Under the People's Republic of China more systematic investigation of various sorts of finds has shed light on the daily life of the period and uncovered material for economic history. Since some of the earlier articles contain useful information and photographs of remains not reproduced elsewhere, they will usually be discussed first.

A focal point of interest for Japanese archaeologists and art lovers was the abandoned site of Hui-ning, the Chin Supreme Capital (from 1138-1153 and again from 1173 on), in the Sungari River Valley in present Heilungkiang Province. These ruins, which were known as Pai-ch'eng 白城, "White City," conceivably from pagodas formerly white-washed in the Liao fashion or possibly

because the character pai sounds like "defeated," were some thirty kilometers southeast of Harbin just south of the county seat of A-ch'eng-hsien by the A-shih River. The first archaeological report of the Pai-ch'eng ruins was given in a Russian article of 1925 by V.I. Tolmatcheff (Tolmachev) in Vestnik Man'chzhuri.¹ From the remnants of pounded earthen walls, mounds up to seven feet high occasionally topped with fortifications and fronted with moats, and from the traces of double gates lined with bricks, he reconstructed the unique L-shaped plan of the city, about three kilometers long on its western edge. The gates, distributed unevenly on the four sides, had additional semi-circular outer walls of brick with deflected entrances to one side for protection. The city walls, defended by moats, originally had round towers at each corner and semi-circular fortified projections spaced out along the tops at regular intervals of about one hundred meters on most sides. Text illustrations indicate that the walls were steeper on the outer face than on the inside, and constructed of separate layers of brownish and yellowish clay or raw bricks that are visible in alternating strips. An inner wall effectively defined two approximately equal cities of rectangular shape, a northern one on a north to south axis and a southern one on a west to east axis. Since the main gate and some embankments on the inner wall faced southward, Tolmatcheff assumed that the northern city had been built first, a point that was to be disputed by later archaeologists.

However, he noted that mounds of various sizes in the southwestern corner of the southern city were said to mark the traditional site of the palace, where remains were still to be found. Several kinds of objects turned up by the plough within the city walls - fragments of pottery, bricks or tiles, and articles of bronze or glass - often showed signs of fire. Of the seven hundred and forty-seven coins discovered by Tolmatcheff, the majority dated between 714 and 1189; only twenty-two of them dated between 1667 and 1850. This suggests that the site was sparsely inhabited from the time of the Mongol sack until the Ch'ing period, when nearby settlements grew and the city of A-ch'eng-hsien was built with rubble and stones from the Pai-ch'eng ruins. As the sequence of coins indicates, there was a possibility of later intrusions among the objects uncovered at the site, Tolmatcheff illustrated various articles of bronze, some pottery fragments, and a few objects of jade, glass, and iron. The most interesting bronze pieces, then in a Harbin collection, were the small, non-Buddhist figurines that were evidently suspended as amulets. One such mannikin was discovered by Tolmatcheff at the site, and two comparable

1. V.I. Tolmatcheff, "Historic Manchurian Relics: The Pai Ch'eng Ruins" (in Russian), Vestnik Man'chzhuri 1925 (1-2): 19-30. I am indebted to Elena Zarudnaya Levin for her translation of this article.

miniature bronzes (5.5 and 4.2 centimeters tall) were unearthed in 1962 at the Chin ruins of the ancient city of P'ien-lien in Kirin Province (to be discussed below).

Other objects that the local inhabitants claimed to have unearthed from the ruins were discussed in two articles of 1935 by Toriyama Kiichi.² A rounded tile end decorated with a dragon and a clay Bodhisattva head were illustrated in the Mammō article. A Buddhist temple was thought to be located in the southeastern part of the southern city where a tortoise base of a stele was found, and in 1909 a stele honoring a Buddhist Master of the Law had been discovered northwest of the city wall. (Historical records indicate that the Supreme Capital was a Buddhist center for the region during the mid twelfth century, when the sandalwood Udyāna image of the Buddha was kept there for nearly two decades after 1143.³)

The unique form of the Pai-ch'eng ruins continued to puzzle Japanese archaeologists in the last half of the 1930s. When were the city walls first constructed? Was the northern city indeed built before the southern city, despite the presence of palace ruins in the south? (No such ruins were evident in the northern city.) Were the original palaces of the early emperors totally destroyed by Hai-ling-wang as recorded for 1157, when he moved the capital to Yen-ching (modern Peking)? And where was the site of Shih-tsung's new palace built for his visit to the restored Supreme Capital in 1184?

Relevant early descriptions of the city were analyzed in two articles of 1936 and 1937 by Murata Jirō.⁴ Like the majority of writers, he favored an earlier date for the southern city where the palace complex was traditionally located. He argued effectively against the opinion that the Chin Supreme Capital's walls were constructed in 1124 under the supervision of Lü Yen-lun 盧彥倫, and noted that in 1125 when Hsü K'ang-tsung 許亢宗 arrived on an embassy the city walls were not in evidence. The first earthen mound that

2. Toriyama Kiichi 鳥山喜一, "Kin no Jōkyōshi no shutsudohin ni tsuite 金の上京址の出土品について," Seikyō Gakusō 青丘學叢 19 (1935): 148-156; "Kin no Jōkyōshi 金の上京址," Mammō 滿蒙 16 (9) (1935): 192-201.
3. Torii Ryūzō 鳥居龍藏, "Chin Shang-ching-ch'eng fu-ssu k'ao 金上京坊佛寺考," Yen-ching Hsüeh-pao 燕京學報 34 (1948): 107-132; esp. pp. 107-110.
4. Murata Jirō 村田治郎, "Kin Jōkyō ishi no ichi mondai 金上京遺址の一回題," Mammō 17 (1) (1936): 114-129; "Kin Jōkyō ishi tsukō 金上京遺址通考," Mammō 18 (9) (1937): 110-114.

he encountered in front of T'ai-tsung's palace was presumably the main gate of the outer wall of the imperial precinct, then under construction. Walls covered with tiles were not mentioned in literature until 1183 during Shih-tsung's reign, but earthen walls were already in existence by 1146 under Hsi-tsung. Other theories were substantiated or disproved by archaeological investigation.

The first concrete piece of evidence was a tile with a molded relief inscription dateable to 1138 unearthed from the palace ruins in the southern city.⁵ (This was then presumably the site of Hsi-tsung's palace erected by Lü Yen-lun at that date.) In 1939, Sonoda Kazuki published a report of the methodical survey of the Pai-ch'eng ruins carried out in 1937.⁶ He gave the exact dimensions of the city walls and plotted the number of projecting semi-circular parapets to each side. There were fewer on the eastern side of the city walls, less than half on the east side of the northern city as compared to the west side, no doubt because the A-shih River then flowed to the east of the city and prevented an effective attack from that direction. In discussing the problematical inner dividing wall, he noted that although the central gate faced southward with its defensive skirting, there was new evidence of two unfortified gates to either side and some northern inclination of the original wall. Thus he suggested that the walls of the southern city were built first and that the northern city was added shortly later as the capital expanded. The central gate was thought to have been constructed after the Mongol conquest when the city was still used as a post station. At this time, a moat would have been dug and the wall fortified on its southern side. (These views of Sonoda's constitute the orthodox Japanese position, and were accepted by Murata with the reservation that the central gate might have been built for a siege before the Mongol sack.⁷)

In addition, Sonoda surveyed the palace site and resolved the question of where Shih-tsung stayed during the visit of 1184. The imperial precinct consisted of a walled enclosure six hundred meters long and five hundred and forty-six meters wide with inner walls flanking the remnants of palace foundations, five mounds of different shapes and heights aligned on a north to south axis with the ruins of a ceremonial entrance gate. A sixth mound was

5. Yamada Funihide 山田文英, "Hakujōshi yori kinda kakumei no kawaro o hakken 白城址より金代刻銘の磚を發見", *Manshū Shigaku* 滿洲史學 2(3) (1939): 64.
6. Sonoda Kazuki 園田一雄, "Kin no Jōkyōshi Hakujō ni tsuite 金の上京址白城に就いて", *Kōkogaku Zasshi* 考古學雜誌 29(27) (1939): 411-443.
7. Murata Jirō, *Manshu no shiseki* 滿洲の史蹟, Tokyo, 1944, p. 76.

placed behind the others slightly off-center in a northeasterly direction. Tiles decorated with dragons were found in this mound and there were traces of destruction by fire. The square type of brick used to cover the platform of this raised foundation differed from the rectangular bricks on the first layer of platform topping from the five mounds in front, thus indicating a different date of construction. Similar square bricks were also found in the ruins of Hsiao-ch'eng-tzu, the "Little Town," built to the east of the northern city and identifiable as Shih-tsung's summer retreat on the A-ch'eng River. Hence the sixth mound in the palace complex was presumably the foundation of the Kuang-hsing Palace built for Shih-tsung's stay and modestly placed in an asymmetrical Chinese fashion behind the row of restored palaces dedicated as temples to his ancestors in 1181. Sonoda tentatively identifies the ruins of the second mound, a double foundation, as T'ai-tsung's Ch'ien-yüan Hall in which he received Hsü K'ang-tsung in 1125, when a palace compound conceived on a large scale was under construction. The highest and largest fourth mound, again a double foundation, would then presumably be Hsi-tsung's Ch'ing-yüan Palace, which was built in 1137 as the highest elevation in the complex. The condition of these foundations at least suggests that they had not been razed to the ground by Hai-ling-wang in 1157. (In a recent dissertation Nancy Shatzman Steinhardt suggests that the line-up of the first five palaces and gates on a single south to north axis may be in the northern tradition of the Po-hai palace cities. She also discusses the plan of the imperial city in the Chin Central Capital, at Yen-ching after 1157, as it is known from historical records.⁸)

Sonoda's survey supplied answers to the important question about the palace ruins in the imperial precinct in the southern city, but it did not settle the controversy about the construction of the city walls. An alternative view of the northern and southern problem was given by Torii Ryūzō in an article of 1948 in Chinese, hence this variant opinion is still expressed in modern scholarly work dependent on Chinese sources.⁹ Torii's suggestion was that the walls of the northern city were built in 1124 during T'ai-tsung's reign and those of the southern city enlarged in 1146 under

8. Nancy Shatzman Steinhardt, "Imperial Architecture under Mongolian Patronage: Khubilai's Imperial City Daidu," Harvard University Ph.D. dissertation, March 1981, esp. pp. 125-133; see Chu Hsieh 朱傑, "Liao Chin Yen-ching ch'eng-kuo kung-yüan t'u-k'ao 遼金燕京城郭宮苑圖考," *Wen-che Chi-k'an* 文哲季刊 6(1) (1936): 49-81.

9. Torii Ryūzō, "Chin Shang-ching-ch'eng chi ch'i wen-hua 金上京城及其文化," *Yen-ching hsüeh-pao* 35 (1948): 194-204. For Torii, Hsü K'ang-tsung's encircling mounds were foundations for city walls, not for the walls of the imperial compound.

Hsi-tsung, as small-scale imitations of the walls of the Northern Sung capital, Pien-liang (K'ai-feng). He drew these conclusions from various historical sources, despite his familiarity with the Sonoda article. The texts are for the most part quoted by Murata, whose articles are not mentioned, and the first point is based on the reference to the new walls constructed under Lü Yen-lun's supervision in 1124 at the Supreme Capital. However, as pointed out by Murata, in early Chin times up to 1138 "Supreme Capital" was still the designation of the Liao capital, Lin-huang-fu. A close reading of the biographies of Lü Yen-lun and his superior, the Jurchen general Wan-yen Hsi-ku-nai, or Shih-ku-nai 完顏習古迺 (實古迺, 石古乃) and of other relevant references in the Chin History indicates that this was indeed the case. There would seem to be no reliable textual evidence that city walls were built at Pai-ch'eng in 1124. (The one reference to the establishment of a Hui-p'ing-chou in the entry under the Chin Supreme Capital in the geographical treatise must then be an error as Murata suggests, and refer instead to a rebuilt Khitan city in the region of Lin-huang-fu furnished with Lü Yen-lun's "new walls."¹⁰

These academic arguments do have some bearing on any conception of the Chin capital in its early stages and may also underline the initial Liao (or Sung Chinese) influence on Chin fortifications. Certain features of the Pai-ch'eng city walls are paralleled in other recently excavated ruins likely to date from the Chin period. The ancient city of P'ien-lien, one of the largest early sites in the western part of Kirin Province, was a parallelogram rather than a square in plan with a circumference of four thousand three hundred and eighteen meters. Like the capital, its unusually high city walls were built with alternative layers of yellow clay and dark earth, its corners were equipped with round towers and its gates had horse-shoe shaped skirting with deflected entrances. The last two features both occurred at the Chin type site, the square city of Pa-li-ch'eng in Heilungkiang Province, where semi-circular projecting battlements also lined the walls. These battlements, called chih-tieh 雉堞 or parapets by the Japanese, are labelled "horse-faced constructions" by the Chinese archaeologists. The reason for this designation is clear from a photograph of the city walls of T'a-hu-ch'eng in Kirin Province, a Liao-Chin site. There they appear as separate earthen mounds placed on top of the wall, conceivably as later additions to an existing earthen foundation. They evidently provided semicircular platforms on the outer edge

10. See Murata, "Kin Jōkyō ishi no ichi mondai," pp. 120-122; Chin shih 金史 (Chung-hua ed.) 3, p. 50; 24, p. 561 (compare p. 550); 72, p. 1666; 75, pp. 1715-1716.

of the walls, and would have been lined with parapets to protect the defending archers. These type of battlements and the defensive outer walls of the city gates were hallmarks of Liao-Chin wall construction. (It should be noted that the screening walls with one side entrance, a type that already appears in Han fortifications, are far simpler in design than the yang-ma ch'eng 羊馬城 or "sheep-horse wall" in an illustration from the Northern Sung text, Wu-ching tsung-yao 武經總要 reproduced by Murata. However, this well-known woodblock print is now thought to date after 1400.¹¹)

Battlements or parapets are also present on the Chin stretches of the Great Wall on the eastern side of Inner Mongolia. The Liao were only responsible for a relatively short defensive wall that ran through central Manchuria above Nung-an-fu to the banks of the Sungari where fortifications were built to repel the Jurchen in 1026. However, the Chin attempted to defend their northwestern border against western nomads and the Mongols by constructing a long wall, in the vicinity of the Greater Khingan Range, sections of which still exist. In 1954 Shimada Masao published a study of Liao and Chin construction on the Great Wall, listing the decrees of work initiated under Shih-tsung in 1165 and 1181, and the urgent efforts over the decade from 1192 to 1203 in Chang-tsung's reign.¹² He noted the characteristic projecting battlements and walled entranceways, discussed the distinctive use of the terrain for defensive purposes, and presented ground plans of certain fortified towns or military posts near the Kao-li Wall to the west of the former Liao Supreme Capital, Lin-huang-fu (near modern Lin-tung in Barin Left Banner, Inner Mongolia). Most of these sites had been founded in Liao times but were used or expanded by the Jurchen when they were constructing the border defenses, which may explain some of the irregularities in shapes.

In general, it is hard to distinguish what is early Chin from what is later Liao, since the Chin empire was subjected to Liao and Northern Sung influences from the time of its founding. Thus it should be noted that a recent Soviet publication describes the late tenth- and eleventh-century culture of the predynastic Jurchen in the Amur region and illustrates the pottery, iron weapons, tools and horse trappings found in graves west and northeast of Kharbarovsk.¹³ Chinese archaeological surveys have provided illustrations of

11. See Murata, Manshū no shiseki, p. 177; L. Carrington Goodrich and Feng Chia-sheng, "The Early Development of Firearms in China," Isis 36 (1) (1945-1946): 114, note 3. I am indebted to Robin Yates for this reference. For the Ta-hu-ch'eng walls, see Kaogu 考古 1964. 1, 47, pl. 3.
12. Shimada Masao 島田正郎, "Ryokin no chōjō 遼金の長城," Sundai Shigaku 駿臺史學 4 (1954): 46-64; also in Soshūjō 祖州城 Tokyo, 1956. Also see Kaogu 考古 1961. 5, 251-258, 280.
13. V.E. Medvedev, "The Civilization of the Amur Jurchen, Late 10th-11th Centuries (in Russian) (publication of the Academy of Science of the U.S.S.R. Siberian Department), Novosibirsk, 1977.

typical Chin remains in the former Manchurian region. Small walled towns with square ground plans on the right bank of the Lalin River in northern Kirin Province are thought to date from the early Chin period.¹⁴ An important site to the north for Chin material is the squared city of Pa-li-ch'eng in Chao-tung County, Heilungkiang Province, which was surveyed in 1958.¹⁵ The most significant remains were cast-iron implements of various sorts. The Jurchen were hunters, fishers and stockbreeders, who practised agriculture intensively and took up iron casting in the early eleventh century. A javelin-type of fork with barbed prongs found at the site indicates that the inhabitants of Pa-li-ch'eng ate fish as well as the meat derived from their livestock. The range of their weapons, tools and gear was thought to be impressive by the excavators. They noted that there were two sizes of composite ploughs, and three varieties of sickles for harvesting. One tool, a distinctively shaped lever-knife for chopping straw, is a hallmark of Jurchen culture, since it appears at several other Chin sites. There were also horse trappings such as stirrups and bits, and carriage gear such as axle and wheel parts, all testifying to a fairly high level of culture. Iron technology developed in this region under the Chin as can be seen in sites of mines and foundries in Heilungkiang Province.¹⁶

Similarities have been noted between the fortifications at Pa-li-ch'eng and those of the Chin Supreme Capital, Pai-ch'eng. Parallels can also be drawn between some kinds of pottery found at these sites, such as the sherds of decorated white stoneware of a Ting-ware type with a yellowish tinge produced for upper class use. Another quality ware present at both sites was molded grey pottery with vessel shapes based on the pre-Han bronzes and a decoration of archaistic animal band imagery. This type is distinctively post-Liao and is comparable to the pottery found in Chin tombs at Lin-tung in Barin Left Banner.¹⁷ Other pottery vessels and dark-glazed stoneware jugs from Pa-li-ch'eng seem relatively crude by Liao standards. Certain objects quite evidently hark back to Liao artistic traditions: for example, the round-ended tiles impressed with monster masks and at times encircled with a ring of dots

14. Kaogu 1964.12, 603-606.

15. Hsin Chung-kuo te k'ao-ku shou-huo 新中國的考古收穫 (K'ao-ku- "shüeh chuan-k'an 考古學專刊 no.6), Peking, 1961, p.113; Kaogu 1960.2, 36-41.

16. Kaogu 1965.3, 124-130; also Wenwu 文物 1977.4, 27-39.

17. See Jan Fontein and Tung Wu, Unearthing China's Past, Greenwich, 1973, pp.194-196; For archaistic vessels of sherds in various media, see Tolmatcheff, "Historic Manchurian Relics," pl.I, nos.2-3; Wenwu 1978.12 figs. 37-38

or the rather stiff bronze standing Buddha.¹⁸ As at other Chin sites, the majority of coins unearthed were of Sung date and there were only a few Chin pieces from the reigns of Hai-ling-wang and Shih-tsung.

A similar variety of remains occurs at the ancient city of P'ien-lien in Li-shu County, Kirin Province. For instance, small painted pottery whistles with comic or pig-like faces are common to both sites as are the bronze images of a Buddhist type with knobs for suspension (?) on their backs.¹⁹ The P'ien-lien finds also contained the even smaller miniatures in mannikin form of the Chin Supreme Capital reproduced by Tolmatcheff. Drawings or illustrations are also given of an elegant bronze bell with an ogive cut to the rim, stone mortars and grinding basins, plough parts and different types of pottery. Other sites in Kirin Province labelled Liao-Chin are T'a-hu-ch'eng in Ch'ien-kuo County, notable for its fortified square ground plan, its clean-cut iron tools, and accomplished dark-glazed pottery, and the ancient city of Ch'in-chia-t'un in the suburbs of Huai-te, on the route between the Northern Sung capital and the Chin Supreme Capital, which yielded fine copper utensils, molded stoneware, and a small, bronze Kuan-yin.²⁰

As for the Chin contributions to pottery in the Manchurian area, the Liao traditions were initially strong but Sung influence gradually became predominant. Of the kiln sites discovered in the region of the Liao empire, those at Chiang-kuan-t'un in Liao-yang County, Liaoning Province continued to operate during the Chin dynasty and produced inferior versions of white stoneware of a Ting type and pieces decorated in black or dark-glazed vessels of a Tz'u-chou type. The first two kinds of pottery were also found at the Chin kiln site of Ta-kuan-t'un in Fu-shun County. A type of ovoid wine jar with loop handles and dark brown decoration of a calligraphic nature on a white ground has been found in a Liao-yang tomb and in Chin ruins in Lan-hsi County, Heilungkang Province.²¹

18. Compare Kaogu 1960.2, 39, figs. 4-6, 11 and Wenwu 1961.9, 37, fig. 6.

19. Fontein and Wu, *Unearthing China's Past*, p.191; Kaogu 1963.11, 615, fig. 4, nos. 1-2; see Kaogu 1960.2, 39, fig. 11.

20. See Kaogu 1964.1, 46-48, pl. 8; 1964.2, 79-82, pl. 7.

21. For Manchurian sites, see Kuroda Genji 黒田源次, "Ryōkin tōji 遼金陶磁," *Sekai Toji Zenshū* 世界陶磁全集 10 (1955): 242-244, 257-258; Yutaka Mino and Patricia Wilson, *An Index to Chinese Ceramic Kiln Sites from the Six Dynasties to the Present*, Toronto, 1973, p. 65. For the wine jars, see Kaogu 1962.1, 31; Jan Wirgin, "Sung Ceramic Designs," *Bulletin of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities* 42 (1970): 112

II. Miscellaneous Finds of Metal Objects in the Northeast, Inner Mongolia, and North China

Caches or single finds of objects placed in the Chin period are occasionally recorded. A large iron pot filled with a few pottery objects and various iron tools and utensils, including four types of sickles, turned up in 1961 at Chung-hsia Village in Chi-an County, Kirin Province. Various Chin-Yüan sites have been surveyed in Liaoning Province, where the most civilized branch of the Jurchen lived. Far south at Chin-hsien in Lü-ta Municipality, several finds of coin caches and iron tools were unearthed, and in 1958 the site of a foundry with bronze molds for a composite plough was discovered at Tung-t'ien Village. In North China, at Hsin-an County, Honan Province, a group of iron tools and utensils along with some pieces of pottery and porcelain, which were uncovered by a heavy rainfall at Chao-yü Village in 1962, were identified as Chin because of their similarities with the Pa-li-ch'eng finds.²² These could be remains from the Jurchen immigration into North China.

Apart from the cast-iron agricultural implements, tools and utensils labelled as Jurchen, various kinds of bronze objects such as small images (noted above), mirrors and coins were discovered in sites in the Northeast. Mirrors were held by women in Jurchen dances according to the report of Hsü K'ang-tsung. Those found in the ruins of the Supreme Capital or inscribed with its name could indeed have been cast there, since artisans had been imported from China by the early Chin emperors. Because of the shortage of bronze, private casting of these objects was prohibited in 1168 during Shih-tsung's reign, and inscriptions to indicate legitimacy became mandatory. Chin mirrors were decorated with the traditional Sung good-luck symbols of paired birds or fishes as well as with pictorial designs. A copy of a large mirror with a design of fishes in relief on its back was on display in 1977 in the Museum of Chinese History, and the original was found in A-ch'eng County (the location of the Supreme Capital).²³ Tolmatcheff illustrated a mirror of greyish bronze alloy containing antimony from this site with the familiar design of two back-turned parrots hanging from boughs. They compare with the paired phoenixes on a mirror illustrated by Toriyama Kiichi in 1935 with the incised inscription mentioning an artisan (?) of "the Supreme Capital's Bureau of Admonishment." Also

22. Kaogu 1963.11, 616-617, 620, pl.5. 1966.2, 98; 1965.1. 46-48. For other iron tools unearthed from Liaoning Province of Chin-Yüan date, see 1960.2 43-44, pl.5; compare pp.41-42. Comparable iron sickles, lever-knives, and ploughshares from the vicinity of Peking are labelled Chin: see 1963.3, 140-144, pls.4-6.

23. See Explanatory Notes to Chinese History Exhibition, Museum of Chinese History, Peking, 1976, pl.6. Also see Wenwu 1979.8, 39. For the use of mirrors in dances, see Edouard Chavannes, "Voyageurs choisis chez les Khitan et les Joutchen II," Journal Asiatique, 9th ser., 11 (1898): 434-435.

reproduced were two mirrors with pictorial ornament of auspicious significance, one of a pair of deer looking up at monkeys in a textured tree over layered rocks. Such mirrors may have imitated contemporary decorative paintings, and their inscriptions, ending with the characters for "artisan" or "made" indicate that they were officially manufactured after 1168.²⁴ A similarly inscribed mirror from the P'ien-lien site carried a different kind of decoration that was also popular under the Chin, geometric patterns derived from the pre-Han animal bands on the early bronzes.²⁵

Jurchen interest in the ancient bronzes and imitations of their styles was stimulated by the art and connoisseurship of the late Northern Sung court. Recent finds at Peking of remnants from the Yüan capital Ta-tu also included a bronze lei that was discovered in the region of the Chin Central Capital. The bottom of the vessel was inscribed with a date in accordance with 1122, and it contained pieces of Sung Ting-ware and celadon fragments as well as some Northern Sung and Chin coins. It was thus suggested that the bronze had been looted from the Northern Sung capital, Pien-liang, and taken 1127 to Yen-shan, which became the Chin Central Capital thirty years later. The ten stone drums, famous for the study of seal script, were other objects of antiquarian interest that were taken from Pien-liang but left at Yen-shan.²⁶

Similarly, the Jurchen are known to have seized the bronze tripods that served as insignia of government as well as the ritual instruments of music cast in an antique mode in the Ch'ung-ning era (1102-1107), and transported them to Yen-shan or to the Supreme Capital. The bronze bells and stone chimes, which were not used until 1141, bore an inscription Ta-sheng 大晟, in which the last character violated the personal name of Chin T'ai-tsung. Hence when music was performed on the bells at the Chin Central Capital (Yen-ching) in 1174, their inscriptions were removed by scraping to be replaced by the engraved designation T'ai-ho (Ta-ho) 太和. In 1948, Richard Rudolph identified a reinscribed bronze bell of this set in the Royal Ontario Museum, cast in imitation of an Eastern Chou type. A similar bell from the set, which is now in the Liaoning Provincial Museum, was discussed by Li Wen-hsin in 1963. This second example, which had been taken to the northern-most capital,

24. See Toriyama, "Kin no Jōkyōshi no shutsusohin ni tsuite," pp.152,154; "Kin no Jōkyōshi," p.199.

25. For the mirror inscribed "Chin-ch'eng chi-kuan ya" 金成記官押, see Kaogu 1958.3, 30. For a discussion of inscribed mirrors found in Heilunkiang Province, see Wenwu 1977.4, 34.

26. Kaogu 1972.6, 31.

retained its cast Ta-sheng label in seal script as well as an identification of pitch to one side. Since a later inscription on its rim mentions the Registry of Metropolitan Monks at the Supreme Capital, this bell must have been in use at a Buddhist temple there and was presumably brought in to be registered when the private casting of bronze objects was prohibited and inscriptions required on existing pieces.²⁷ Thus archaistic bronze bells of Northern Sung date were appreciated and used under the Chin.

In this connection, it should be noted that these sets of hanging bells of Eastern Chou type are quite different from the large single temple bells of the period, of which again there are extant examples. In an article of 1943, Murata discussed the history of a bronze bell at modern Shen-yang in Liaoning Province that was recast in 1151 under the Chin after it had been damaged in a siege. Its design evidently duplicated the Five Dynasties original of 958 from a Hopei site looted by the Liao, since it was simpler in type than other iron temple bells in North China that date from 1154 to 1202 and prefigure Ming examples.²⁸

The shortage of bronze and the issuing of paper money called chiao-ch'ao 交鈔 under Hai-ling-wang encouraged hoarding, which may explain some of the finds of coin caches in various areas of the Chin empire. The Jurchen did not begin to cast their own coins on the Chinese model until 1157 under Hai-ling-wang, hence they used pre-Sung, Sung or Liao currency in the early reigns. The majority of coins found at Chin sites in the Northeast are Northern Sung or earlier in date, with only a few Chin or Southern Sung pieces scattered among them. This is also generally true of the caches found at Lü-ta Municipality or in North Chinese sites at Peking or in Shensi Province.²⁹ As far as bullion is concerned, in 1974 a hoard of late Chin silver ingots and jewelry was discovered in Chien-ch'eng County, Shensi Province. The ingots were labelled as payment for salt taxes and other types of levies, and are important primary material for Chin economic history. Their round-ended shape differs from the silver ingots apparently sent as tribute to the Liao that were

27. Richard C. Rudolph, "Dynastic Booty: An altered Chinese Bronze," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 11 (1948): 174-180; Li Wen-hsin 李文信 "Shang-ching k'uan 'Ta-sheng' 'Nan-lü pien-chung 上京觀大晟南呂編鐘," *Wenwu* 1963.5, 42-44; Ch'en Meng-chia 陳夢家, "Sung 'Ta-sheng' pien-chung k'ao-shu 宋大晟編鐘考述," *Wenwu* 1964.2, 51-53, pl.4.
28. Murata Jirō, "Kindai no ichi dōshō 金代の一銅鐘," *Seikan* 清閑 16 (1943); 15-21.
29. For a discussion of Chin currency in general, see *Wenwu* 1959.9, 65; 1959.11, 33; 1965.1, 35. For hoards, see *Kaogu* 1966.2, 96-98; *Hsin Chung-kuo* TKKSH, pp. 115-116.

unearthed at Barin Left Banner in Inner Mongolia.³⁰

Bronze official seals are among the remains discovered at Chin sites, and many of them have only been illustrated recently in Chinese periodicals. In form these seals are square with relatively long, tapering handles squared off at the end. Their backs are often engraved with the date of casting and sometimes with the name of the district in question. The inscriptions on the front are carved in Chinese seal script forms. It is known that the Jurchen also used Liao and Sung seals. One of the former in the small Khitan script was unearthed in the Jerim League in Inner Mongolia in association with a Chin seal of a Mou-k'e 謀克 (a military leader of a hundred men) that was dated to 1170. Similar Jurchen military titles are usually inscribed on the Chin seals found in the Northeast, hence the seal of 1162 from Kirin Province with the earlier Chinese title of a district governor, Han-chou tz'u-shih 韓州刺史, was an unusual find.³¹

Cheng Shao-tsung had made a study of Sung to Yüan official seals found in Inner Mongolia or Hopei Province. He notes that a type of Five Dynasties or early Sung military seal, with uneven characters in unaligned rows, has been found in lesser numbers in North China than in Inner Mongolia at Ta-ming-ch'eng (the former Chin Northern Capital). This suggests that these seals were seized as spoils of war first by the Liao and then by the Chin. By comparison with the Northern Sung examples, Chin military seals tend to be somewhat larger and have well-spaced characters aligned within and framed by a heavier rim. In this class of objects, the superior quality of the Chin design is clearly discernable. The Yüan official seals that are illustrated date into the fourteenth century and are all in the 'Phags-pa script. Of the Chin seals, there are a series with the title Yüan-shuai 元帥 (Marshall), the earliest of which could not predate the introduction of the Chinese term in 1125. Incised inscriptions on such seals occasionally convey new information about a specific office. There are also those of a Tu-t'ung 都統, a Fu-t'ung 副統 and a Wan-hu 萬戶 (commander of ten-thousand households), a title so common that distinctions in classifications were made by adding characters from the Thousand Character Classic to the seal itself.³² Similar examples of the early thirteenth century have been found in Honan and Chekiang Province, and seals with

30. Wenwu 1975.8, 73-81; compare Kaogu 1965.12, 643-644, p1.9

31. Wenwu 1961.9, 64-65; Kaogu 1958.2, 79-80. Also see the discussion of seals as well as inscribed tallies from Heilungkiang Province in Wenwu 1977.4, 31-34.

32. Cheng Shao-tsung 鄭紹宗, "Chieh-shao chi-fang Sung, Chin, Yüan te kuan-yin 介紹九方宋金元的官印", Wenwu 1973.11, 22-25; also see 1965.4, 58.

other military titles have been published from Hopei and Anhwei Provinces.³³ In the case of the latter finds in the Fu-yang region, the majority of the seals dated to 1232 and had classifying characters incised on their sides as was common when military offices proliferated at the end of the Chin dynasty. Some seals impressed with the names of districts turned up in other locations, perhaps as a result of the fortunes of war, and three seals with the military title of Tu-t'i-k'ung 都提控 that had classifying characters close in sequence were found together, which may indicate that they were never distributed for use. Thus these seals are primary evidence for the history of the period, as well as proof of the care taken under Jurchen rule in the designing of objects for military service.

III. Graves and Commemorative Steles in the Northeast.

Funerary monuments, another type of archaeological material, are highly relevant to studies of Chin history and culture. Certain sculptures or stone engravings evidently display figures in Jurchen costume, and steles commemorate influential men of formative events. Again the historical monuments were first surveyed and discussed by the Japanese archaeologists, and a wider range of information about Chin culture has recently been unearthed by the Chinese.

Among the early evidence of this sort is the stone engraving of two figures on a cliff face at Ta-yen-kou in A-ch'eng County, Heilungkiang Province, on a hill southeast of the Supreme Capital site. The male is seated with one leg drawn up and the other touching the ground, and his right hand holds what has been identified as a whip. His costume is non-Chinese, and consists of a short tunic, pants and boots with a scarf or cloak draped over his left shoulder. To judge from the bejewelled helmet, he is conceived as a warrior-king, and its flying flaps add to the effect of vigor given by his broad face and strong eyebrows. The female figure, less clearly discernible, is seated with both legs drawn up and covered by a long robe with cuffs and a lining that crosses over to the left in front. On her head is a rounded cap with a border from which ties flutter over her left shoulder. Sketches of these figures were published by Torii in 1948, and he identified them as images of A-ku-ta, or T'ai-tsu, and his empress, sited where they can look towards the capital that he founded, on what is presumable the Hu-k'ai Hill where their tombs were located. The fact that portraits of A-ku-ta were painted at the Supreme Capital in the twelfth century makes this hypothesis more likely.³⁴ To the

33. For the seals from these provinces in order, see Wenwu 1965.5, 60; 1959.4, 74; 1963.2, 52-53; 1976.7, 93-94. For two unusual official seals, see Kaogu 1961.6, 333; Wenwu 1966.4, 54.

northwest of the Supreme Capital at Hu-lan in the Park of the Stone Men are two busts of bearded figures that are thought to represent Jurchen. One is a warrior in a peaked helmet with ear covering, apparently similar to the type in the cliff engraving, and the other a civil official in a simple squared hat and a robe.³⁵ The beards are significant features, since the Jurchen were relatively hirsute compared to the Khitan.

The graves of the early Chin emperors in the vicinity of the Supreme Capital have not survived, and the later emperors' tombs on Mount Fang near Peking were destroyed in late Ming times. However, in Kirin Province and in Siberia, funerary monuments remain from the tombs of important members of the imperial clan at the beginning of the dynasty. At all these sites, steles were set up by Shih-tsung after 1168 as a move to honor meritorious officials of T'ai-tsu's reign. A rather crudely geometric tortoise-base marks the "spirit path" of the tomb of Wan-yen Chung 完顏忠 (d. 1136) near the Sui-fen River in the former Chin district of Hsü-p'in, now in the Soviet Union.³⁶ The grave of Wan-yen Lou-shih 完顏婁室, who captured the last Liao emperor in Shansi in 1125 and died in 1130, is on the Stone Stele Ridge in the eastern suburb of Hsin-ching in Kirin Province. According to Shimada Sadahiko's article of 1938, all that remained at the site was a small sacrificial house and two tortoise bases: a small stele fragment had been taken to Kyoto National University, and a stone sheep and civil officials set up in front of the Dairen Library. One of the latter, as illustrated by Murata, was a squatly proportioned figure in a court official's cap with a tablet held in the Chinese manner, but dressed in a heavily girded robe with lapels.³⁷

34. Torii, "Chin Shang-ching ch'eng chi ch'i wen-hua," pp. 140-144, drawings facing pp. 204 and 205.
35. Mikami Tsugio 三上次男, *Kinshi kenkyū* 金史研究三 III, Tokyo, 1973, pl. facing p.385, no.4. For a photograph of the "A-ku-ta" image of n.35, see no.5. While the Khitan had minimal moustaches and goatees, and shaved their heads so as to leave only fringes in back and front and braids or long sidelocks by their cheeks, the Jurchen are reported to have had beards occasionally, and long queues to their shoulders conceivably like the Hsiung-nu. See *Wenwu* 1964.5, 43-44. For an illustration of Jurchen hairstyles, see the Chin handscroll illustrating Wen-chi's return to China in the Kirin Provincial Museum: Su Hsing-chün 蘇興鈞, "Chi Chin-jen 'Wen-chi kuei Han t'u-chüan' 記金人《文姬歸漢圖》," *Wenwu* 1964.3, 34-35. pls.1-2; Kuo Mo-jo 郭沫若, "T'an Chin-jen Chang Yü ti 'Wen-chi kuei Han t'u' 談金人張瑄的《文姬歸漢圖》," *Wenwu* 1964.7, 1-6. This point is also discussed in a thesis on this painting: Linda Cooke Johnson, "The Art of the Jurchen Revival, a Court Movement in Chin Dynasty China," M.A.diss., San Jose State University, 1974.

36. *Wenwu* 1976.4, 29-33.

The contents of the tomb, contained in what was then the Lü-shun Museum, included a silver net crown, golden bracelets and knotted ornaments, gilt spiral earrings, carved white jade ornaments, and iron knives with white stone handles. This material can now be compared to the spectacular jewelry in gold, silver and jade including a composite girdle ornament, earrings and plaques appropriately enough on display on the north wall of the Pao-ho Tien of the Peking Palace Museum in 1977. These were selected finds unearthed in 1973 and 1974 from late Chin tombs near the ancient city of Chung-hsin in Sui-pin County, Heilungkiang Province.³⁸

Another important Chin tomb in Kirin Province, at Hsiao-ch'eng-tzu in Shu-lien County, is the grave of Wan-yen Hsi-yin 完顏希尹, who was ordered by T'ai-tsu to create the large Jurchen script on the model of Khitan writing in 1119. Hsi-yin died in 1140 and was reburied at this site with other members of his clan in 1170. Shih-tsung set up a large stele to honor him in 1180 with the inscription written in the hand of Jen Hsün 任詢 (ca.1110 - ca. 1188.) This stele, described as about ten Chinese feet tall, is the largest Chin monument of its kind in the former Manchurian region, and the inscription, which has been studied for the early use of the term tā-ta 韃達 (tatar), is also an important exemplar of Jen Hsün's calligraphy in the standard script.³⁹ Since the Ch'ing records evidently mislocated Hsi-yin's grave, the spirit path with its stone lion, sheep and guardian official remains unspoiled. The stone figure grasping a sword is now clothed in a Chinese robe with rather stiffly patterned folds. The sheep and lion are in more of a Six Dynasties mode than comparable types found at the Northern Sung imperial mausoleums at Kung-hsien in Honan Province.⁴⁰ Another type of stele, in modern Fu-yü County, Kirin Province, is of historical importance as a monument to Shih-tsung's Jurchen revival. He had it erected in 1185, on his return from visiting the

37. See Murata, *Manshū no shiseki*, p.38; Shimada Sadahiko 島田貞彦, "Manshū Kirinsho Sekihirei hakken Kindai ibutsu ni tsuite 滿洲吉林省石碑發見金代遺物について," *Kōkogaku Zasshi* 28 (4): 16-22, 1938. The stele of Wan-yen Lou-shih, which was inscribed in Jen Hsün's calligraphy and set up in 1176, was still extant in 1684 but has not been preserved: see Sonoda Kazuki, "Yō Hin to Wanyan Ruhitsu hi ni tsuite 楊賓と完顏叟室碑に就いて," *Manshū Shigaku* 2 (1938): 29-31.

38. See Wenwu 1977.4, pls. 6 & 7.

39. Ts'ai Mei-piao 蔡美彪, "Liao Chin shih-k'o chung chih Ta-tan 遼金石刻中之韃靼," *Hsüeh-yüan* 學原 3 (3-4) (1951): 59-63.

40. Sonoda Kazuki, "Kin Wanyan Kiin no funbo ni tsuite 金完顏希尹の墳墓に就いて," *Kōkogaku Zasshi* 29 (2) (1939): 73-86. Compare figs. 3 & 4 with Kaogu 1964.11, pl.7

Supreme Capital, to commemorate the site of A-ku-ta's victory over a Liao army. The eulogy, Te-sheng-t'o sung 得勝陀頌 is inscribed on the front in Chinese and on the back in the Jurchen small script that was widely used by 1145. Material of this sort may contain some historical information, but is primarily of use for the study of the Jurchen script.⁴¹

When one turns from funerary monuments in the northern and central provinces to pictorial tomb decorations in Liaoning Province to the south, something of the same progression from barbarian images of a telling crudeness to rather still imitations of Chinese themes is discernable. The earliest representations to be discussed are relief engravings on painted stone tombs of the type described by Torii in 1942.⁴² Recently discovered examples are not dated by inscriptions, and have been placed at the end of the Liao dynasty, or in the Liao-Chin period, or said not to be earlier than the twelfth century. The earliest of these graves is from Chin-ch'ang in Liao-yang County, an area where the "civilized" Jurchen settled under the Liao. Among the figures dressed in Khitan costume are a few armed warriors seated sword in hand on a dais under a banner or riding an armored horse. Representations of filial paragons and historical themes were identified by Torii in other tombs of this sort. In North China, filial paragons were revived as funerary decoration at the end of Northern Sung, as is evidenced by an engraved stone coffin dated 1123, and they remained quite popular in graves of the Chin period.⁴³ It is most unusual, however, to find such scenes portrayed in a warlike context as in the Chin-ch'ang tomb.

A later, more civilized version of the banquet and illustrations of historical figures or paragons are carved in low relief with touches of red in two octagonal tombs at Ta-wo-p'u in Chin-hsi County to the southwest. Here multiple scenes are still illustrated in one slab with the figures stiffly placed

41. Tamura Jitsuzo 田村實造, "Daikin Tokushōda shōhin no kenkyū 大金得勝陀頌碑の研究," *Tōyōshi Kenkyū* 東洋史研究 2 (5) (1937): 1-33; 2 (6): 30-54; also 3(6) (not seen). The Ao-t'un Liang-pi stele of 1206 from Shantung Province also bore bilingual inscriptions: see Shimada Yoshimi 島田女子, "Jōshin moji Ōton Ryōhitsu Senin hi 女貞文字奥屯良弼漢飲碑," *Shokoku* 蜀道 59 (1934): 685. Certain epitaph tablets written in the Khitan script during the Chin dynasty have been discovered recently. One of them may be that of a loyal Liao official, Hsiao Chung-kung 蕭仲恭 (1090-1150), and was unearthed in Hsing-lung County, Hopei Province: see Kaogu 1973.5, 310-312; also 300-309.

42. Ryūzō Torii, *Sculptured Stone Tombs of the Liao Dynasty*, Peking, 1942.

43. For illustrations of the Chin-yang grave, see Kaogu 1960.2, 25-28. For the theme of paragons of filial piety in North China, see Kaogu 1960.8, 42-45.

at different levels, but conventionalized trees and parts of houses are now used to set the stage. Appropriately enough, considering the location, there are several representations of Wang Hsiang 王祥, the paragon who lay down naked on the ice to thaw it so that fish could be caught. The costume worn by these figures can best be seen in a drawing of a deceased couple feasting. There women wear round caps with ties to one side or pile up their hair on their heads. They are dressed in long robes that cross over the lefthand side and are girded with sashes fastened in front. The men, who have soft caps with ties that fall in front, wear boots and pants under long tunics or robes with round necks and heavy belts.⁴⁴ In one grave, a row of musicians is depicted, a theme popular in contemporary North Chinese tombs.

More Chinese influence appears in the grave of a certain Ma Ling 馬分 of 1184 at Ch'ao-yang to the northwest.⁴⁵ This is a square brick tomb of a sinicized type with damaged wall paintings done in ink and painted in three colors, red, green and grey or tan. Here the cut of the robes and the stiff, black hats reflect the Chinese mode, but one attendant apparently has the shaven head of the Khitan. In keeping with the Chinese styles in costumes and furniture, the style is also imported from the south, since figures are placed in depth around the tall, heavily laden tables and framed by the conventional curtain fringes above and hangings to the side. If one can judge from the drawing of the composition, the last device was not totally understood by the artist, hence the official cap of the figure in the background is shown in front of the framing fringe. It is instructive to compare this scene with a similar mural of robed and capped attendants behind a laden table in the important Liao tomb of 1116 at Hsuan-hua in northwestern Hopei Province recently published with color illustrations in 1975.⁴⁶

IV. North Chinese Graves and Temple Murals

In the past quarter of a century, Chinese archaeologists have studied many late Northern Sung and Chin brick tombs with carved or painted decoration

44. Kaogu 1960.2, 29-33, pl.4. The Jurchen costume was based on the Khitan, but in a Wen-chi illustration attributed to Hu Kuei 胡瑗 the ladies in a banqueting scene wear peaked caps with trim and robed girded with long sashes in contrasting colors that are supposed to be typically Chin: see Shen Ts'ung-wen 沈從文, "T'an-t'an 'Wen-chi kuei Han t'u 談談《文姬歸漢圖》," Wenwu 1959.6, 34-35, fig.3.

45. Kaogu 1962.4, 182-185. The burial of cremated ashes and the stoneware with floral decoration of Tingware type are comparable to other Chin finds: see Wenwu 1959.7, 63-64.

46. Wenwu 1975.8, 31-39, pl.1-5.

in the provinces of Hopei, Honan and Shansi. Much of this material has been included in a recent article in English by Ellen Laing that deals with the main types of decoration found in graves of Northern Sung to Yüan date from different regions.⁴⁷ Hence this survey will focus only on the most significant finds that are or are likely to be of Chin date.

An important pair of Shih family graves were investigated at Pai-yang Village in Hsin-ch'eng County (Cho-chou) to the southwest of Peking.⁴⁸ In the tomb of Shih Feng 時丰 and his wife, scenes were sketched on plaster, colored, and then touched up with ink in sweeping lines. The figures are quite elongated and their loose drapery emphasizes the turns of the body as in the case of the bending guard holding a weapon by the entrance. A female who carries a basin on the east wall is elegantly dressed in Chinese fashion with a low neckline and a high hairdo. The aristocratic men, who turn to look at each other, wear court dress with ritual aprons over robes and have stiff caps. An impressively illusionistic, if difficult to decipher still-life decorates the north wall. Under double layers of purple curtains, an iron, scissors and cloth are set out on a table that appears to be bordered by a balustrade that projects into space. Irons and scissors, shown together in contemporary graves, symbolized the appropriate occupations of the women's quarters, occupations that were also occasionally depicted on walls. In the background of the mural are four scrolls with garden scenes of rocks and flowering plants done in broad ink strokes. The conceit of painting within painting is to be found in other tombs of the period, but not in a form that compares with the sketchy quality of later thirteenth century painting scrolls.⁴⁹ The subject matter and style of these murals is of considerable interest, since the deceased came from a high-ranking Chinese family who held posts under the Chin. Shih Feng served in the Jurchen army and died in 1127, but the epitaph found in his tomb mentions the date of his father's burial early in 1144, which suggests that the painted murals in fact postdate 1127. The father Shih Li-ai 時立愛 was buried nearby with his wife in a grave with rounded side chambers of a Liao type that has traces of painting on bricks.

47. Ellen Johnston Laing, "Patterns and Problems in Later Chinese Tomb Decoration," *Journal of Oriental Studies* 16 (1-2) (1978): 3-20.

48. Kaogu 1962.12, 646-650, pl.6.

49. This style is somewhat reminiscent of the treatment of certain trees in a late thirteenth century illustration of T'ao Ch'ien's "Returning Home" by a Hopei artist, Ho Ch'eng 何澄: see Hsieh Yung-nien 薛永年, "Ho Ch'eng ho t'a te 'kuei chuang 't'u' 何澄和他画的《归庄图》," *Wenwu* 1973.8, 26-29, pl.3-6. Also note the handscroll signed T'ai-ku i-min in the Cleveland Museum of Art: *Eight Dynasties of Chinese Painting*, Cleveland, 1980, no.25.

Shih Li-ai, who died at the age of 82 sui in 1143, was one of the Northern Chinese from the Yen region who supported the Chin invasion and held office through the reign of Hai-ling-wang. He was evidently enfeoffed as a prince at one time, but this title was abolished in 1157 and hence deleted from the family epitaph tablets. It does not appear in the stele set up on the grave path to honor him in 1195 nor in the official biography in Chin shih 78. These tombs are thus of interest for the information contained in the epitaph tablets as well as for Shih Feng's murals and Shih Li-ai's stele inscription. The latter was composed by Li Yen 李晏 (1123-1197) with a heading written in the seal script of Tang Huai-ying 黨懷英 (1134-1211) and the body of the text in the standard script of Chao Feng 趙風.⁵⁰

Farther southwest in Hopei at the sites of Shih-chuang and Pai-ku-t'ai in Ching-hsing County a large number of brick tombs were excavated in 1960, and many of them may date into the Chin period because of the types and measurement of the architecture that they imitate. The graves are of different shapes but generally contain brick tomb chambers that are ornamented with simulations of wooden architecture. In a few instances the domes are painted with star maps or cranes and clouds, and the walls are covered with furniture sets carved of brick or with painted scenes of everyday life. Ornamental bricks on the exterior of the domes are sometimes engraved with floral motifs or animals in imitation of woodcarving. Buddhist influence appears in the square or hexagonal structures resembling stupa bases that top the domes of certain chambers, or in the types of warrior guardians with flaming auras that stand to either side of the chamber entrance inside Tomb no.2 at Shih-chuang. These images are done on a white ground with vigorous brushstrokes in a style that differs considerably from the more controlled, colored paintings of agricultural scenes and the deceased couple on other walls. Carved brick sculpture used in conjunction with painting in this tomb chamber adds to the varied effect of the decoration. No epitaph tablets were unearthed by the excavators, hence the occupants of these graves were presumably commoners, but men of substance, as is suggested by certain luxury items depicted on the walls. The few pottery pieces and ornaments that were left behind by grave robbers give some idea of the type of objects in daily use.⁵¹

50. See Kaogu 1962.12, pl.6. For biographies of these scholar officials, see Chin shih 96, 125, 126: pp. 2125-2127, 2726-2727, 2729.

51. Kaogu Xuebao 考古學報 1962.2, 31-73. For dating, see pp. 68-70; for relevant illustrations, see pls. 3-5; for pottery remains, see pls. 25-26.

Architectural decoration of tombs in carved brick may have originated in the Hopei region and was developed further in the Honan area to the south in Northern Sung times. Three graves at Pai-sha in Yü County, Honan Province, which dated from 1099 to 1123, have been intensively studied and well photographed.⁵² In them carved and painted decoration combine to create illusionistic effects and illustrate the life-style of wealthy commoners in a concrete fashion. Perhaps this was a popular version of an official style, since an early Northern Sung imperial mausoleum at Kung-hsien, the Yung-hsi ling 永熙陵 of 998, had both carved simulations of architectural bracketing and eaves and a mural depicting a palace of the immortals.⁵³ As noted by Ellen Laing, the decoration of many Northern Sung of Chin tombs is organized as if one were standing in the inner courtyard of a house, viewing its architecture as well as the inner furnishings of its chambers. This is particularly evident in graves ornamented solely by carved brick. In the western suburb of Lo-yang, two brick tombs discovered in the 1950s make an interesting comparison.⁵⁴ The one that is thought to date from late Northern Sung has plain relief depictions of furniture and latticed panel simulations with simple floral motifs carved in the lower section. The one that is placed in the Chin period is far more intricately treated. The bricks lining the inside of the dome are set out in petal patterns to simulate an open lotus blossom, and the bracketing below the ceiling has been elongated by the addition of at least one other tier. The latticed panels are now divided into three sections carved in various designs including hexagonal diapering, and the peony motifs below are inset in ogival frames. There is an undoubted progression in refinement and elaboration.⁵⁵

Brick tombs with architectural decoration were widespread over contemporary North China,⁵⁶ but southern Shansi Province became a major center for

52. Su Pai 宿白 ed., Pai-sha Sung-mu 白沙宋墓, Peking, 1957. For illustrations relevant to illusionistic representation, see pls.21-22, 27-29.
53. See Kaogu 1964.11, pl.10, nos.7-8.
54. Compare Wenwu 1955.9, 98-103 and Kaogu 1959.12, 690, pl.8.
55. A recently excavated Honan grave in Wu-chih County is placed in the Chin dynasty because of its lavish brick carving of motifs such as fu lions, floral arrangements, and latticed screens frequently decorated with hexagonal diapering: see Wenwu 1979.2, 74-78. Also see Wenwu 1979.8, 1-11, pls.1-3 and comments in the Addendum.
56. A grave of the 1190s with inset carvings of paragons of filial piety and peonies was discovered at Chung-shan-lin in Lan-chou, Kansu Province: see Wenwu 1957.3, 76-78. A tomb excavated in the municipality of Han-chung in Shensi Province is of the period but the Chin did not control this region: see Kaogu 1965.10, 511-512, pl.7.

this type of construction under the Chin. Such graves are the most tangible manifestation of a developing bourgeois culture in the Fen River Valley. A tomb dated by inscription to 1183 at Tung-p'u Village in Yüan-ch'ü County represents an early phase. It is quite simply ornamented with simulated architecture and furniture, but also has inset carvings of floral motifs and historical subjects such as paragons of filial piety.⁵⁷ Most typical of what is said to be a Sung-Chin style on the lower Fen River are two brick graves from San-lin-chen, Hsin-chiang County. They contain imitation furniture and latticed paneling that is similar to the decoration found at Lo-yang, while the motifs of the girl peeping out from behind a door and entertainers making music were also depicted at Pai-sha. The caryatid monsters that appear here in the dadoses were present in a dome topping at Shih-chuang in Hopei, but the corbelled, octagonal ceiling with several layers of bricks placed at angles to ornament the bottom levels appears to be a distinctive regional feature.⁵⁸ As the description suggests, decoration is beginning to crowd the wall surfaces, but it is as nothing compared to what follows. In an octagonal tomb dated to 1198 by an inscription mentioning a "modeler-artisan," Shih Kuei 史貴, in Hsia-t'u-ching, Chang-chia-chuang (Fen-chou), latticed paneling flanks niches simulating rooms or bed chambers, and painting heightens three-dimensional effects. Dark grounds covered with floral patterns set off the foreground sculpture, and painted imitations of scrolls are placed in carved panels. There is a vivid sense of everyday busyness in the portrait bust of the wry-faced deceased writing with a brush or his numerous children shown in realistic poses, looking in a mirror or being helped to walk by several women. A bourgeois household comes to life with all its richly patterned surface and bustling cosiness. A moustached guardian figure with a bow is painted on the west side of the entrance passage seated on a stool and dressed in a coat with lapels open at the neck.⁵⁹

The best-known graves in this series are those of the Tung 董 brothers more to the southeast at Hou-ma, which are dated by inscription to 1208-1210. One of the tombs was damaged but the other was well preserved and has been widely illustrated. Here the sculptor's art has taken over to an amazing degree, as evidenced by the round-faced attendants who pop out from crowded corners.⁶⁰ Furnishings and latticed panels are still discernable, now overgrown

57. Kaogu 1956.1, 44-48, pl.7.

58. Kaogu 1958.6, 36-39, pls.9-10.

59. Kaogu 1960.7, 57-59, pls.7-9; Hsin Chung-kuo te k'ao-ku shou-huo, pl.cxxv.

60. Kaogu 1959.5, 227, pls.5-6; Wenwu 1959.6, 50-55; 1959.8, 71; Hsin-Chung-kuo te k'ao-ku shou-huo, pl. cxxvi.

with deeply-cut carving of great skill but debatable taste. A stiff peacock with a club-like tail is almost lost in a jungle of flowers, bulbous caryatids protrude from the dado, and the lower sections of latticed panels are filled with armored horsemen lunging with weapons. The eight-sided ceiling is decorated with triangular panels enclosing scenes of Taoist immortals or cranes, perhaps an indication of the increasing influence of popular Taoism at this time. Moreover figures of paragons are still to be seen in the lower regions of the tomb.⁶¹ An architectural stage setting with a dragon-bedecked roof is placed below the ceiling on the northern wall, simulating a temple courtyard stage, and in it five well-known figurines of actors are shown in different poses. From left to right, they illustrate yüan-pen 院本 types such as the leader, the heavy, the stiff scholar, the dancer and the whistler, and hence are of great significance for the study of Northern drama. Three of these figurines were exhibited in Europe and America, and since they were not colored as were the original five, it seems likely that they came from the damaged tomb of the second Tung brother.⁶²

There are also a few undated Shansi tombs placed in the Chin period that are mainly decorated with painting. One of these is near Ch'ang-chih, south-east of Hou-ma. It contains some bricks carved with floral designs, but there are images of attendants and a cat painted on the walls, and designs of peonies and convincing still-lives of vessels inset in the carved and painted brick architectural ornament.⁶³ Another at Fei-chia-pao in Chiang County on the lower Fen has a variety of scenes. Not only are there images of the deceased couple and their attendants, but also rather stilted illustrations of paragons of filial piety with inscribed cartouches. These again contrast with straightforward depictions of implements such as a pestle and mortar or a grain huller, and realistic sketches of a cook near an oven and a water carrier by a well treated in a continuous perspective.⁶⁴ The revived interest in genre themes

61. Paragons of filial piety appear on Taoist sarcophagi of the mid-thirteenth century at Yung-lo Kung in southern Shansi possibly as an example of the syncretic approach of Ch'üan-chien Taoism: see Kaogu 1960.8, 42-45; Laing, "Patterns," p.15.

62. I am grateful to Prof. Robert Maeda for drawing my attention to this point. Also see his article: "Some Sung, Chin and Yüan Representations of Actors," Artibus Asiae 41 (1979): 138, n.27. For a discussion of these well-known figurines, see Chou I-pai 周貽白, "Hou-ma Tung shih mu chung wu-ke chuan yung te yen-chiu 侯馬董氏墓中五个俑的研究", Chung-kuo hsi-ch'u lun-chi 中國戲曲論叢, Peking, 1960, 384-390; also Wenwu 1973.3, 63, fig.4. (Again Wenwu 1979.8, 8-9, figs. 13-15.)

63. Kaogu 1965.7, 352-356, pls.7-8.

64. Kaogu 1955.4, 58-60, pls.5-8.

of a Han type such as banquet preparations and the rather stark, undecorated aspect of the figural images seem to foreshadow certain Shansi murals of Yüan date.

In general the quality of Yüan graves in this region diminishes and painting is often substituted for carving.⁶⁵ A special set of painted tombs has been found in northernmost Shansi Province to the west of Ta-t'ung. The recently discovered grave of the Taoist priest Yen Te-yüan 閔德源 (d. 1190) contained notable examples of wooden furniture and the complete regalia of a priest, including his silk costume and his seals. An interesting feature of this burial was that two large standing screens had covered the side walls in place of the usual murals in contemporary tombs of the region.⁶⁶ Well-known murals reproducing screen paintings were used later in the nearby grave of another Taoist, Feng Tao-chen 馮道真 (d. 1265), and the early Yüan landscape on the northern wall has frequently been compared to Chin and/or Southern Sung paintings. The sophisticated arrangement of paired scenes with Taoist content in the Feng tomb has been pointed out by Ellen Laing, and can serve as evidence for progressive development in this type of northern Shansi grave.⁶⁷

Of the recent finds in Shansi Province, the Tung brothers' tombs at Hou-ma are the most important in historical terms, since they shed light on the theatrical tradition known to have flourished in the nearby city of P'ing-yang from the eleventh century on. P'ing-yang, a cultural center for the middle Fen Valley, was also the site of a government printing office and several private presses. Woodblock prints offer other evidence of the quality of life in this wealthy region. One Chin woodcut illustration of four beauties that was found at Kharakhoto was printed by the Chi 姬 family of P'ing-yang. Another large print, which served as a New Year's picture and was mounted as a hanging scroll, was signed by the Hsü 徐 family of P'ing-shui and depicted the popular dramatic subject of Kuan Yü, the God of War. Chieh-chou, in the lower Fen region below Chiang County, was the city where the Chin edition of the Tripitaka was printed between 1148 and 1173 with the support of donations from

65. For other late Chin and Yüan carved brick graves at Hou-ma, see Kaogu 1961.12, 681-683, pls.7-9. For a study of carved and painted tombs from Sung through Yüan in the western suburb of T'ai-yüan to the north, see Kaogu 1965.1, 25-30, pls.6-7. Note the realistic portrayal of a genre scene of banquet preparations in a painted tomb at Tung-chiung village, P'ing-ting County in northeastern Shansi: see Wenwu 1954.12, 94-98.

66. See Wenwu 1978.4, 1-13, pls.1-2, especially fig.12.

67. See Laing, "Patterns," pp.18-19; Wenwu 1962.10, 34-46. The well-known landscape mural is reproduced in a composite photograph that slightly distorts the composition as can be judged from the angles of the coffin bed below.

individuals of the Buddhist faith.⁶⁸ This area was also a center of Buddhist art and is particularly noted for its painted wooden images. A surprising glimpse of everyday life is afforded by recently published Buddhist murals from the northern site of Yen-shang ssu to the north of Wu-t'ai shan in Fan-chih County in the region of T'ai-yüan. A stele indicates that this temple was established in 1158, and, to judge from an inscription on the west wall dated to 1167, the murals were worked on for a decade by a court artist Wang K'uei 王逵 and his chief assistant Wang Tao 王道. On the west wall are scenes from the early life of the historical Buddha, then Prince Siddhartha, and on the east wall are illustrations of *jātaka* tales, legends of his earlier existences, all presented in a contemporary mode.⁶⁹ From court to marketplace, all types of life are shown, and both figures and architecture are skillfully drawn. These murals have already been compared with the masterpiece of genre painting, the *Ch'ing-ming shang ho t'u* (Ascending the River at the Ch'ing-ming Festival) in Peking. Since they indicate the high quality of a certain type of Chin professional painting, further comparisons with Sung and Yüan scrolls will undoubtedly be made in the future.⁷⁰ Such material is of great value for understanding of Chin art.

68. See K. T. Wu, "Chinese Printing under Four Alien Dynasties," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 13 (1950): 447-523; Chang Hsiu-min 張秀民, "Liao Chin Hsi-hsia K'o-shu chien-shih 遼金西夏刻書簡史," *Wenwu* 1959.3, 11-16; Higuchi Hiroshi 樋口弘, *Chugoku hanga shusei 中國版畫集成*, Tokyo, 1967, vol.1, additional plate, also pls.18: no.19; 19: nos.22,23. I am indebted to Wu Tung for this reference. For information on the P'ing-yang region, see Ting Ming-i, "Sung and Yüan Stages in the South-central Part of Shansi," tr. by Stephen H. West, *Chinese Studies in Archeology* 1 (1) (1979): 89-90.
69. P'an Hsieh-tzu 潘絮茲, "Ling-yen ts'ai pi tung hsin p'o - Yen-shang ssu Chin-tai pi-hua hsiao chi 靈岩彩壁動心魄 - 岩上寺金代壁畫小記," *Wenwu* 1979.2, 3-10, pls.2-5.
70. The treatment of figures and architecture in these murals has already been discussed in connection with Yüan court painting: see Marsha Smith Weidner, "Aspects of Painting and Patronage at the Mongol Court of China," (a paper presented at the ACLS Workshop on Chinese Painting, Kansas City, 1980), pp.8,15. For a full coverage of these murals in English, see Patricia Eichenbaum Karetsky, "The Recently Discovered Chin Dynasty Murals Illustrating the Life of the Buddha at Yen-shang-ssu, Shansi," *Artibus Asiae* 42 (1980), 245-260.

Addendum: Short Bibliography for Chin Art

For surveys of Buddhist sculpture in wood, clay, and lacquer, and of architecture, mainly Buddhist, the best source remains Laurence Sickman and Alexander Soper, *The Art and Architecture of China*, Baltimore, 1960. For a report on the Marco Polo Bridge of 1189 to 1192 in current use outside Peking, see *Wenwu* 1975.10,70. For Chin Buddhist sculpture in stone dated to

1192 and 1202 at the Shansi Provincial Museum, see Shan-hsi shih-tiao i-shu 山西石雕塑藝術, Peking, 1962, pls. 57-63. Rubbings of Chin Buddhist designs are discussed in Susan H. Bush and Victor H. Mair, "Some Buddhist Portraits and Images of the Lü and Ch'an Sects in Twelfth- and Thirteenth-Century China," Archives of Asian Art 31 (1977-1978): 32-51.

In the area of pottery, an important study attempts to distinguish Chin decorative styles from those of Northern Sung of Yüan in the light of dated pieces or relevant archaeological investigations: see Jan Virgin, "Sung Ceramic Designs," Bulletin of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities 42: 3-272, 1970. Relevant archaeological finds for one type of ware in the Chin period are given in Yutaka Mino, Freedom of Clay and Brush through Seven Centuries in Northern China: Tz'u-chou Type Wares, 960-1600 A.D., Indianapolis Museum of Art, 1980. For a recent survey of Chin kiln sites, see Kaogu 1979.5, 461-471.

Some sources relevant to Chin painting have been mentioned in notes 35 and 49 above. A list of possible Chin paintings with some excellent illustrations is given in Richard M. Barnhart, Tō Gen, Kyonen (Tung Yüan, Chü-jan) 董源, 巨然 (Iriya et al. ed., Bunjinga suihen 文人畫粹編, vo.2), Tokyo, 1977. For a recent discussion of some paintings attributed to the Chin period in the light of historical sources, see Chiang I-han, "A Study of Three Untitled Narrative Landscape Scrolls of the Twelfth Century" (in Chinese), Ku-kung Chi-k'an (The National Palace Museum Quarterly) 13(4) (1979): 25-54; 14(1): 45-58. For broader interpretation, see Stephen Little, "Travellers among Valleys and Peaks: A Reconsideration of Chin Landscape Painting," Artibus Asiae 41 (1979): 285-308.

For summary of the styles of Chin calligraphers, see Marilyn Wong Fu, "The Impact of the Reunification: Northern Elements in the Life and Art of Hsien-yü Shu (1257?-1302) and Their Relation to Early Yüan Literati Culture," in China under Mongol Rule, ed. by John D. Langlois, Jr., Princeton, 1981, pp.371-433.

A valuable recent survey of archaeological discoveries province by province is Wen-wu k'ao-gu kung-tso san-shih nien 文物考古工作三十年 1949-1979, Peking, 1979. Currently it is the most useful secondary source for archaeological materials. Our knowledge of the range of decoration possible in Chin graves has been expanded by the publication of finds at Chia-tso Municipality, Honan Province. They include a stone grave with pictorial engravings dated by inscription to 1199, a brick tomb with well preserved paintings of female attendants, and a carved brick grave with elegant latticework and furniture sets and amazingly lively figures of attendants and entertainers. The last can be compared to the carvings in a tomb at Nan-tung, Hsiang-fen County, Shansi Province: see Wenwu 1979.8, 1-11, pls.1-2 and pp. 18-25, pl.4.