

**Emotional Death:
Tombs and Burial Practices in the Ming Dynasty, 1368-1644**

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Abstract

In this dissertation, I used both archaeological and historical evidence to discuss why the function of tombs changed in the Ming dynasty. This change reflects the changes in the way people envisioned the afterlife and in the relationship between the living and the deceased.

My research question starts with a set of miniaturized pewter utensils displayed in tombs. The forms of these miniaturized utensils are similar to that of utensils used for ancestral worship in the ancestral temple or the family shrine. These utensils first appeared in the Ming ritual code on a list of burial gifts bestowed from the emperor to his ministers. Archaeologists have found the utensils in tombs of northern and southeastern China belonging to occupants of different social classes. The dissemination – the validation by the Ming government and the acceptance among various social classes – distinguishes these pewter utensils from preceding practices of burying sacrificial utensils in tombs.

According to Confucian prescriptions, Chinese families should make offerings in sacrificial utensils to honor their ancestors and to maintain a connection between the dead and the living in the temple or the shrine, not in the tomb. These pewter utensils, in contrast, suggest that sacrificial rites were conducted in tombs. Their miniaturized sizes indicate that their function is not practical, but is used in symbolic sacrifices continuing even after the tomb was sealed for good. Offerings, as well as the connections between the living and the dead, therefore lasted perpetually through these utensils in tombs. In order to understand this practice, I studied other changes in death rituals in texts, such as the layout of imperial mausoleums in Ming capitals. These changes all reveal emotional attachments to the buried dead because the body was regarded as the authentic presence of the beloved one. I connected this sentiment to the cult of *qing* in Ming society, which stressed the expressions of emotions. I argue that, in the Ming dynasty, the buried deceased were not separated from the living, but were welcomed by their descendants to be part of the living world through conducting sacrificial rituals.

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Introduction

My dissertation is an interdisciplinary project which articulates the changing concepts about death through analyzing tomb designs and historical documents from the Ming Dynasty (1368-1644) in China. Decorations and burial objects displayed in a Chinese tomb generally contain messages about how people constructed the afterlife, envisaged the needs of the deceased, and defined their relationship to the dead family members. These archaeological findings are precious sources for us to study the diverse burial practices and the meanings behind them, both of which are largely understated in historical texts.

Archaeological evidence shows us a trend in the Ming dynasty that tombs were less decorated with murals and the types of burial items changed. However, such seemingly boring elements widely found in Ming tombs, as the lack of arrangements for protecting the buried soul, or the loss of interest in depicting assumptions of the afterlife, should not stop our inquiries about the development through this period. What these changes bring out is the question why the concepts about death changed in the Ming dynasty.

As the old traditions waned, a new practice of displaying a set of miniaturized pewter utensils, including incense burners, candle stands, flower vessels, and food and

wine containers, appeared in Ming tombs. My study shows that they are sacrificial utensils used to offer sacrifices to the deceased, and that their size implies their function as symbolic, not practical. What is worth noticing is that, in Confucian classics, conducting sacrificial rites through making offerings by taking use of ritually legitimate utensils is an important way to bridge the relationship between the ancestor and their descendants in an ancestral temple (*miao* 廟) or a family shrine (*citang* 祠堂).¹

According to the *Liji* 禮記 (*The Book of Rites*), a tomb is built for burial, not for sacrifice.² Different functions of an ancestral temple and a tomb in Confucian definition explain why Confucian classics only prescribe how to sacrifice to ancestors in ancestral temples but give no instructions on performing sacrificial rites at tombs.³

Therefore, this set of pewter utensils is an unorthodox adoption of Confucian sacrificial rites in ancestral temples or family shrines for the usage in tombs.

¹ According to pre-Qin Confucian ritual prescriptions, only emperors and officials with ranks can build the ancestral temple(s) to honor their ancestors. Commoners can only conduct ancestral worship in their own household. See Sun Xidan, *Liji jijie* 禮記集解 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1989), vol.1, 343. According to Neo-Confucians of the Song dynasty, the term *citang* (family shrine) was used to refer to the “ancestral temple” built by people without official ranks. The function of a family shrine is similar to that of an ancestral temple. Neo-Confucians encouraged commoners to show their reverence to the ancestors, but they also realized that the canonical protocol provides no instructions on how commoners should build their “ancestral temple(s).” Song Neo-Confucians then used the term *citang* to refer to the compound that functioned similarly to an ancestral temple, but was built by commoners.” Ho, Shu-Yi, *Xianghuo: Jiangnan shiren yu Yuan Ming shiqi jizu chuantong de jiangou* 香火:江南士人與元明時期祭祖傳統的建構 (Taipei: Daoxiang chubanshe, 2009), 83-93.

² Sun, *Liji jijie*, vol.1, 227.

³ Sun, *Liji jijie*, vol.3, 1219, 1221. Michael Puett, “The Offering of Food and the Creation of Order,” in *Of Tripod and Palate: Food, Politics, and Religion in Traditional China*, ed. Roel Sterckx (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), 82-85. Wu Hung, *Monumentality in Early Chinese Art and Architecture* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1995), 301-302 (note 133-134).

I argue that this new set of sacrificial utensils and its symbolic function project a different way of understanding the nature of soul residing in the tomb and the religious function of tombs because these pewter utensils would indicate a unique attempt to keep a connection with the deceased buried underground. By finding evidence from examining historical documents such as epitaphs, ritual handbooks, and gazetteers, and other changes in death rituals, I propose that the deceased in a Ming tomb became as important as the deified soul worshipped in an ancestral temple or a family shrine, given that the way to honor either also came to be similar. Furthermore, my study shows that the driving force behind this religious phenomenon, especially towards new interpretations of souls and tombs, is the strong emotional attachment or *qing* 情 to the deceased family members buried in tombs. My research not only deepens our understanding of the concepts about death in the Ming times by using excavated archaeological sources, but also broadens the scholarly discussion on the cult of *qing* (emotion, affection, passion) in the familial sphere in Ming society.

Research Questions

My research questions begin with the transitions in burial practices in tombs of the Ming dynasty. Archaeological evidence shows that people in the Ming dynasty

seemed to lose interest in imagining the afterlife from the ways they constructed tombs and arranged burial items. Why did murals depicting the motifs such as a celestial heaven, entertaining scenes, and terra-cotta tomb guards defending the tomb occupants against underground evil vanish almost completely during the Ming? What was the impetus behind the transitions? Archaeological evidence demonstrates that, despite some regional variations, this “lack of interest” became a trend in interment practice in tombs belonging to people of a wide range of social classes and geographical regions. Even the emperor’s tomb was plain. Wu Hung describes Dingling 定陵, the Ming imperial mausoleum of the Wanli Emperor (1573-1620), in the following manner: “While the tomb’s scale is impressive and its construction impeccable, the plain walls and echoing chambers evoke no imagination of a tantalizing afterlife.”⁴

My initial questions can be answered from my study on the miniaturized pewter utensils that are frequently found in imperial mausoleums, in officials’ and commoners’ tombs throughout the Ming dynasty. This practice first originated with the Ming founder, the Hongwu Emperor (1368-1398), and his most trusted subordinates. These pewter utensils were funerary gifts bestowed from the emperor to his ministers, and descriptions of the practice of bestowal are recorded in Ming ritual codes. By the end of

⁴ Wu Hung, *The Art of the Yellow Springs: Understanding Chinese Tombs* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2010), 84.

the Ming dynasty, burying such implements had become prevalent in both elites' and commoners' tombs. What are the differences between the pewter utensils and other sacrificial utensils buried in tombs in previous times? What is the purpose of burying these utensils in tombs? What is the relationship between the imperial practice and practice carried out by those who did not receive (and were not eligible to receive) the imperial bestowal of the utensils? Did these people implement this practice for same or different reasons? What kind of beliefs about death can be extracted from this new burial culture and why was it accepted by different social classes?

Pewter is the material prescribed in Ming ritual codes to make these utensils for the eligible recipients. However, archaeological evidence shows that even people who were not eligible to receive the implements through imperial bestowal were also buried with these utensils made of pewter. These miniaturized pewter utensils can be found in the southeast coastal region such as today's Shanghai, the northern border such as Liaodong, and around the two Ming capitals of Nanjing and Beijing. Similar types of utensils made in porcelain, iron, and clay have also been found in other regions, though in a scattered distribution. What is the relationship between those pewter utensils and utensils made in other materials? Can they demonstrate same kind of practice and understanding? How do we understand the regional distribution? Does the materiality

matter, especially when the Ming government defined pewter to be the material to make the utensils? Does the size matter? The miniaturized size cannot contain real offerings such as wine, food, incense, and flowers to perform actual sacrifice. In other words, these utensils embody symbolic performance. Why did people perform symbolic sacrifices in tombs? What are the differences between symbolic and practical sacrificial display in tombs?

My study shows that this set of pewter utensils demonstrates a concept borrowed from Confucian ritual practice. By analyzing Neo-Confucian⁵ ritual texts such as Zhu Xi's (1130-1200) *Family Rituals*, we can see that these miniaturized pewter utensils resemble the set of sacrificial utensils used for ancestral veneration in ancestral temples or family shrines. However, using sacrificial utensils in tombs is not an orthodox Confucian practice. How can this contradiction tell us about the shift of people's interest in making arrangements in tombs? How can this new choice of burial objects show people's agency in balancing the appropriateness in ritual and the way they want to treat the dead in tombs? How can we tell the ways in which people define their relationship to the deceased through this new practice in tombs?

⁵ Neo-Confucians is a modern term that refers to scholars who identified themselves as part of the intellectual movement started in the eleventh century. Neo-Confucians claimed to recover the true meanings in pre-Qin Confucian texts and were eager to find a balance between canonical rituals and contemporary needs. Peter Bol, *Neo-Confucianism in History* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Asia Center, 2008), 1-5, 78-83.

The dual nature of souls in Confucian ritual text, such as the *Liji*, provides a helpful approach for us to understand the nature of these pewter utensils. Confucian ritual prescribes that after death, the two souls divide. One soul, the *po* soul, resides in the tomb with the body of the deceased; the other one, the *hun* soul, resides in the ancestral tablet which is kept in the ancestral temple or the family shrine. The *hun* soul is important in terms of Confucian ritual because this spiritual being of the deceased continues to exist as part of the family. The family and the *hun* soul could communicate through sacrificial rituals, which features sacrifices made in the types of sacrificial utensils prescribed in ritual handbooks. The *po* soul would return to the ground with the body, so no rites are necessarily conducted for the *po* soul.

Scholars have pointed out that the ways people understood souls were more complicated than this dual nature.⁶ However, the dualist nature of souls still allows me to investigate why the rites and utensils designed for the soul staying in the ancestral temple or the family shrine were adopted to treat that residing in the tomb. Furthermore, the ancestral temple or the family shrine and the tomb were the two sites for people to reveal their reverence to the ancestors. Different functions of these two sites serve the

⁶ Kenneth Brashier, "Han Thanatology and the Division of Soul," *Early China* 21 (1996): 125-158. Anna Seidel, "Tokens of Immortality in Han Graves," *Numen* 29 (1982): 107. Anna Seidel, "Traces of Han Religion in Funeral Texts Found in Tombs," in *Dokyō to shūkyō bunka* 道教と宗教文化, ed. Akizuki Kan'ei (Tokyo: Hirakawa Shuppansha, 1987), 21-57.

basis of my discussion. The ancestral temple or the family shrine is located close to or within the household, where descendants can conduct sacrificial rites and visit on a frequent basis. The tomb, on the other hand, is separated from the family home and is a space which physically blocks the communication between the dead and the living.

Archaeological evidence shows us that before the Ming dynasty, the treatment of the souls in the ancestral temple or the family shrine and the tomb differed, whereas beginning with the early Ming, the treatment became more similar. What are the differences in performing sacrificial rituals in the ancestral temple or the family shrine and the tomb? Why did this change happen? How does this change inform us of a different interpretation on the functions of a tomb and the nature of soul residing in the tomb? How did people define their relationship to the ancestors in the tomb and in the ancestral temple or the family shrine?

Very limited historical sources address the questions I have posed. In order to understand the new sacrificial practice in tombs, I focus on two threads to tie my arguments together. One is to find how people defined their relationships to the deceased in other arrangements for death rites, such as funeral rituals or layout of burial ground. My study shows that these arrangements also share similar concerns about death, so they are crucial references for us to explore the preparation of in-tomb

sacrificing. Another thread is the roles that sacrificial rites play in death rituals, especially in the cases when people conduct them at times which differ from the Confucian prescriptions. These two threads help us to treat this in-tomb sacrificing not as an isolated case, but as part of changing thought about death and emotions in the Ming dynasty.

Scholarly Context and Contributions

My dissertation contributes to scholarship in the fields of archaeology, history, and art history. By incorporating sources such as archaeological evidence, death ritual records, and funeral writings, my goal is to answer a historical and religious question about life, death and the afterlife, rather than separating those sources into different categories as has been the tendency in existing scholarship.

The number of excavated tombs of the Ming dynasty has reached more than a thousand. The ways in which archaeologists study these tombs are to classify them into categories based on geographical locations and the social classes of the occupants. This research method, called typology, helps archaeologists to analyze the development of styles of tomb chamber(s), motifs of tomb murals, and burial objects in given time frame. This kind of development shows the diversity of regional burial practices and

the ways in which different social classes practiced death rituals, both of which disclose abundant messages about death practices that are understated in historical documents.

The limit of typological studies is that the research scope is confined by these categories and the connections between these categories as well as the comprehensive understanding on archaeological phenomena are ignored. Also, archaeologists are interested in the changes of tomb formats and burial objects, but rarely give equal attention to explain why the changes happened in a historical context.

Ming imperial mausoleums have attracted scholarly attention both in China and the west. Scholars like Liu Yi, J.J.M. de Groot, and Ann Paludan give detailed descriptions on the layout of Ming imperial mausoleums and compare them to earlier mausoleums.⁷ Since Dingling is the only Ming imperial mausoleum that has been excavated, the tombs of Ming princes serve as an important reference to inform us of the structure of the Ming imperial mausoleums.⁸

⁷ Liu Yi, *Mingdai diwang lingmu zhidu yanjiu* 明代帝王陵墓制度研究 (Beijing: Renmin chubanshe, 2006). J.J.M. de Groot, *The Religious System of China* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1892), vol.3. Ann Paludan, *The Ming Tombs* (Hong Kong, New York: Oxford University Press, 1991). Ann Paludan, *The Imperial Ming Tombs* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1981).

⁸ Wang Jichao, “Mingdai qinwang zangzhi de jige wenti” 明代親王葬制的幾個問題, *Wenwu*, no.2 (2003): 63-65, 81. Jiangxisheng wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo, “Nanchang Mingdai ningjing wang furen Wushi mu fajue jianbao” 南昌明代寧靖王夫人吳氏墓發掘簡報, *Wenwu*, no.2 (2003):19-34. Dong Xinlin, “Mingdai zhuhouwang lingmu chubu yanjiu” 明代諸侯王陵墓初步研究, *Zhongguo lishi wenwu*, no.4 (2003): 4-13. Xu Fanzhi, “Jiangxi Mingdai fanwang mu kaogu shouhuo” 江西明代藩王墓考古收穫, *Zhongguo lishi wenwu*, no.4 (2003): 14-23. Yuan Bangjian, “Jiangxi Mingdai fangwang muzang wenhua tanjiu” 江西明代藩王墓藏文化探究 (MA thesis, Jiangxi Normal University, 2011). Huo Wei, “Lun Jiangxi Mingdai huoqi fangwang muzang de xingzhi yanbian” 論江西明代後期藩王墓

There have been a lot of studies of tombs in the area that is now Jiangsu Province.⁹ This concentration is for several reasons. First, the most prominent early Ming generals were buried in the first capital of the Ming dynasty, Nanjing. Their tombs were built and their burial objects were prepared in accordance with the Ming ritual codes.¹⁰ Second, a large number of Ming tombs have been excavated in this region; therefore, the sources are rather sufficient to conduct research. These tombs belong to prominent generals, officials, and commoners; the diversity in social classes allows scholars to compare the distinction between the practices such as different styles of tomb structures caused by occupants' social classes.¹¹

葬的形制演變, *Nanfang wenwu*, no.1 (1991): 96-101. Han Quan, "Mingdai Jiangxi zongfan muzang xuangong zhidu qianlun" 明代江西宗藩墓葬玄宮制度淺論, *Nanfang wenwu*, no.4 (2010): 88-92, 87. Jin Laien and Tian Juan, "Mingchao Gandi fangwang jiqi muzang" 明朝贛地藩王及其墓葬, *Nanfang wenwu*, no.3 (2004): 67-71. Jiangxisheng bowuguan, ed., *Jiangxi Mingdai fanwang mu* 江西明代藩王墓 (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 2010) 166-170. Hu Hansheng, "Ming Dingling xuangong zhidu kao" 明定陵玄宮制度考, *Gugong bowuyuan yuankan*, no.4 (1989): 25-36. Liu, *Mingdai diwang linqin zhidu yanjiu*, 144, 317. Craig Clunas, *Screen of Kings: Royal Arts and Power in Ming China* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2013), 141.

⁹ In the past decade, there are some Masters' theses regarding Ming tombs found in regions other than Jiangsu province, but they are still typological studies. Liu Yujie, "Wushan tujiaba yizhi Mingdai jiazhu mu fajue yu chubu fenxi" 巫山涂家壩遺址明代家族墓發掘與初步分析 (MA thesis, Chongqing Normal University, 2013). He Wenjing, "Mingdai zhiguan yu pinmin mu leixing chubu yanjiu" 明代職官與平民墓類型初步研究 (MA thesis, Anhui University, 2015). Xie Hao, "Sanxia kuqu Mingdai muzang yanjiu" 三峽庫區明代墓葬研究 (MA thesis, Jilin University, 2012).

¹⁰ Xia Han, "Mingdai Jiangnan diqu muzang yanjiu" 明代江南地區墓葬研究 (PhD diss., Nanjing University, 2006), chapter 1. He Yunao, "Jiangsu Mingdai muzang de faxian ji leixingxue fenxi" 江蘇明代墓葬的發現及類型學分析, *Nanfang wenwu*, no.2 (2001): 53-65. Wu Jun, "Mingdai Mushi jiazhu muzang yanjiu" 明代沐氏家族墓研究 (MA Thesis, Nanjing University, 2012).

¹¹ He Jiying, *Shanghai Mingmu* 上海明墓 (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 2009). Xia Han, "Nanjing diqu Mingdai daxing zhuanshimu xingzhi yanjiu" 南京地區明代大型磚室墓形制研究, *Dongnan wenhua*, no.1 (2007): 40-48. Ma Xiaoguang, "Changjiang xiayou diqu Yuan Ming muzang" 長江下游地區元·明墓葬 (Master thesis, Jilin University, 2008).

In these studies, scholars have noticed some of the shifts I described, such as the new practice of burying the pewter utensils, the loss interest of decorating tombs, and the changes of the imperial mausoleum layouts.¹² But the scholarly interpretations of these shifts are either assumptions without support of textual evidence, especially in the cases where there are no historical texts directly related to the shift, or oversimplified analysis, which takes archaeological evidence as a proof of historical records. For example, scholars like Xia Han and He Jiying both notice that the burial of the pewter utensils was a new trend in the Ming dynasty. Their research focuses on validating the records about these utensils in Ming ritual texts with these excavated ones, rather than further exploring relevant issues based on these utensils.¹³

In my dissertation, I argue that these shifts are all related, and only through transcending the categories of regions and social classes can we find out how a new concept and practice had been spread. Also, strong evidence can be found in historical

¹² Xia Han, “Shilun Jiangnan Ming mu chutu zhi moxing mingqi” 試論江南明墓出土之模型明器, *Jiangnan kaogu*, no.2 (2012): 95-96. Wang Xiaoyang, “Zhongguo mushi bihua shuituiqi yanjiu” 中國墓室壁畫衰退期研究, *Mingsu yishu* 05 (2014): 54. Yang Aiguo, “Mingdai mushi jianzhu zhaungshi tanxi” 明代墓室建築裝飾探析, *Guizhou daxue xuebao yishuban*, no.1 (2013): 54-62. Wang Xiaoyang, ed., *Zhongguo mushi bihua yanjiu* 中國墓室壁畫研究 (Shanghai: Shanghai daxue chubanshe, 2010): 287. Wang Yudong, “Mengyuan shiqi mushi de zhuangshihua qushi yu Zhongguo gudai bihua de shuiluo” 蒙元時期墓室的裝飾化趨勢與中國古代壁畫的衰落, *Meishu xueba*, no.4 (2012): 25. Liu, *Mingdai diwang lingmu zhidu yanjiu*, 486-487. Paludan, *The Ming Tombs*, 7-9. Yang Kuan, *Zhongguo gudai lingqin zhidushi yanjiu* 中國古代陵寢制度史研究 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1985), 65.

¹³ He Jiying, “Shanghai Mingdai muzang chutu xiqi” 上海明代墓葬出土錫器, *Shanghai wenbo*, no.4 (2011): 57-65. Xia, “Shilun Jiangnan Ming mu chutu zhi moxing mingqi,” 95-101.

texts, which have been ignored by archaeologists, to support my argument.

Death rituals are used by historians to study kinship and Confucian ritual practices in Chinese society. Historians use gazetteers, genealogies, collected works, and Ming ritual codes to articulate how sacrificial practices at ancestral temples or family shrines or at burial grounds construct cohesiveness and networks of families and lineages during the Ming dynasty.¹⁴ Scholarly interest also focuses on how Neo-Confucian ritual instructions in the Song dynasty such as the *Family Rituals* were adjusted by Ming literati under social, economic, and political changes in this given time frame.¹⁵ Special attention has been given to literati's endeavors to balance the prescribed rituals and the "improper" customs such as belief in geomancy and Buddhist and Daoist practices.¹⁶ These studies are based on historical documents composed by

¹⁴ Ho, *Xianghuo*. Chang Jianhua, *Mingdai zongzu zuzhijia yanjiu* 明代宗族組織化研究 (Beijing: Gugong chubanshe, 2012), 38, 63-64. Keith Hazelton, "Patrilineal and the Development of Localized Lineages: The Wu of Hsiu-ning City, Hui-chou, to 1528," in *Kinship Organization in Late Imperial China 1000-1940*, ed. Patricia Ebrey and James Watson (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986), 137-169. David Faure, *Emperor and Ancestor: State and Lineage in South China* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 2007) David Faure, "Citang yu jiamiao-cong Song mo dao Ming zhongye zongzu liyi de yanbian" 祠堂與家廟-從宋末到明中葉宗族禮儀的演變, *Lishi renlaixue xuekan* 1, no. 2 (2003): 1-20. David Faure and Liu Zhiwei, "Zongzu yu defang shehui de guojia rentong" 宗族與地方社會的國家認同, *Lishi yanjiu*, no.3 (2000): 3-14.

¹⁵ Hazelton, "Patrilineal and the Development of Localized Lineages," 137-169. Chang Jianhua, *Zong zu zhi* 宗族志 (Shanghai: Shanghai renmin chubanshe, 1998). Chang Jianhua, *Mingdai zongzu yanjiu* 明代宗族研究 (Shanghai: Shanghai renmin chubanshe, 2005). Feng Erkang, *Zhongguo gudai de zongzu yu citang* 中國古代的宗族與祠堂 (Beijing: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1996).

¹⁶ Timothy Brook, "Ritual and the Building of Lineages in Late Imperial China," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 49, no.2 (1989): 465-499. Ho, Shu-Yi, *Mingdai shishen yu tongsu wenhua- yi sangzang lisu weili de kaocha* 明代士紳與通俗文化-以喪葬禮俗為例的考察 (Taipei: Taiwan shifan daxue lishisuo, 2000). Ho, Shu-Yi, "Yi li hua su- wan Ming shishen de sangsu gaige sixiang jiqi shijian" 以禮化俗-晚明士紳的喪俗改革思想及其實踐, *Xin shi xue* 11, no.3 (2000): 49-100. Chang, So-an, "Shiqi

Confucian-trained literati; therefore, as Evelyn Rawski has questioned: “to what extent were these texts the guide to actual ritual practice?”¹⁷ Although scholars like Michael Szonyi have been aware of this limit and have attempted to explore agency of non-literati groups,¹⁸ by relying on such sources, most historical studies tend to reflect the practices of literati and their point of views of perceiving the practices of other social classes. In this case, my research also covers the practices in commoners’ tombs which serve as a precious record regarding their understandings about the deceased and death because they left few written records to present themselves, in contrast to the literati, who left copious documentation.

Historians discuss the burial rituals based on textual evidence as well.¹⁹ Burial practices, especially cremation which had been criticized by literati, are addressed by historians in discussions of the governmental recovery of Confucian orthodoxy by banning the “barbaric” cremation custom of the Yuan dynasty, and of the cultural

shiji Zhongguo ruxue sixiang yu dazhong wenhua jian de chongtu – yi sangzang lisu weili de tantao” 十七世紀中國儒學思想與大眾文化間的衝突-以喪葬禮俗為例的探討, *Hanxue yanjiu* 11, no.2 (1993): 69-80. Nicolas Standaert, *The Interweaving of Rituals: Funerals in the Cultural Exchange between China and Europe* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2008), 18-22.

¹⁷ Evelyn Rawski, “A Historian’s Approach to Chinese Death Ritual,” in *Death Ritual in Late Imperial and Modern China*, ed. James Watson and Evelyn Rawski (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988), 20.

¹⁸ Michael Szonyi, *Practicing Kinship: Lineage and Descent in Late Imperial China* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 2002). Donald Sutton, “Death Rites and Chinese Culture: Standardization and Variation in Ming and Qing Times,” *Modern China* 33, no.1 (2007): 125-153.

¹⁹ Evelyn Rawski, “The Imperial Way of Death: Ming and Ching Emperors and Death Ritual,” in *Death Ritual in Late Imperial and Modern China*, ed. James Watson and Evelyn Rawski (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988), 228-253.

conflict between Buddhism and Confucianism.²⁰ Historians are also interested in how Ming imperial mausoleums became a symbol to coalesce identity and nostalgia in the Qing dynasty and the Republican era.²¹ Current scholarship shows that death rituals described in historical documents evoke questions beyond the matter of death; however, historians rarely respond the questions generated by actual tombs.²²

As do archaeologists, historians also emphasize the importance of variations in practicing death rituals, which include different regional customs and the ways in which different social classes understood the meanings of ritual practices.²³ In addition to the studies of variation, Evelyn Rawski points out that, along with various social and economic changes, in the Ming and Qing dynasties, the simplified rituals propagated by the state and Confucian literati led to uniformity in ritual performance – the difference

²⁰ Feng Xianliang, *Taihu pingyun de huanjing kehua yu chengxiang bianqian* (1368-1912) 太湖平原的環境刻畫與城鄉變遷 (1368-1912) (Shanghai: Shanghai Translation Publishing House, 2008). Zhang Jia, *Xin tianxia zhi hua* 新天下之化 (Shanghai: Fudan daxue chubanshe, 2014), 148-162.

²¹ Jonathan Hay, “Ming Palace and Tomb in Early Qing Jiangning: Dynastic Memory and the Openness of History,” *Late Imperial China* 20, no.1 (1999):1-48. Rebecca Nedostup, “Two Tomb: Thoughts on Zhu Yuanzhang, the Kuomintang, and the Meanings of National Heros,” in *Long Live the Emperor! Uses of the Ming Founder across Six Centuries of East Asian History*, ed. Sarah Schneewind (Minneapolis: Society of Ming Studies, 2008), 355-390. Charles D. Musgrove, “Monumentality in Nanjing's Sun Yat-sen Memorial Park,” *Southeast Review of Asian Studies* 29 (2007): 1-19.

²² Zhang Chuanyong's research discusses how environment influenced people's choices of how to build a tomb. Zhang Chuanyong, “Yin tu cheng su-Ming Qing jiangnan diqu de ziran dili huanjing yu zangsu” 因土成俗-明清江南地區的自然地理環境與葬俗, in *Zhongguo shehuishi pinglun* 中國社會史評論, ed. Chang Jianhua (Tianjin: Tianjin guji chubanshe, 2008), vol. 9, 258-283.

²³ Standaert, *The Interweaving of Rituals*, 14. Lu, Miaw-Fen, *Xiao zhi tian xia: “Xiao jing” yu jin shi Zhongguo de zheng zhi yu wen hua* 孝治天下: 《孝經》與近世中國的政治與文化 (Taipei: Lianjing chubanshe, 2011), 22. David Faure, *Emperor and Ancestor*, 363-366. Chang Jianhua, *Song yihou zongzu de xingcheng ji diyu bijiao* 宋以後宗族的形成與地域比較 (Beijing: renmin chubanshe, 2013).

between how the upper class and the lower class performed death rituals was diminished.²⁴ My observations about in-tomb sacrificing lead me to focus on both variations and uniformity. While I take the variations of regional practices and social classes into account, I also focus on the similarity – the burial of the pewter utensils – which indicates that this new concept about death was widely accepted by contemporaries, and on the role the imperial bestowal played in disseminating this way of practicing death rituals.

Most research using murals, burial objects and architectures in tombs to illustrate the philosophy of the afterlife or issues related to death has been done by art historians.²⁵ With more limited murals and burial objects than in previous eras, Ming tombs have rarely attracted scholarly attention in terms of articulating afterlife beliefs and death concepts. In Hong Jeehee's recent research on tombs from the tenth to the thirteenth centuries, she argues that tombs of the post-Tang era underwent

²⁴ Rawski, "A Historian's Approach," 29-34.

²⁵ Michael Loewe, *Ways to Paradise: The Chinese Quest for Immortality* (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1979). Lai Guolong, *Excavating the Afterlife: The Archaeology of Early Chinese Religion* (Seattle: University of Washington, 2015). Guo Qinghua, *Mingqi Pottery Buildings of Han Dynasty China 206 BC - AD 220: Architectural Representations and Represented Architecture* (Brighton: Sussex Academic Press, 2010). Constance Cook, *Death in Ancient China: The Tale of One Man's Journey* (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2006). Wu, *The Art of the Yellow Springs*. Albert Dien, *Six Dynasties Civilization* (New Haven Conn: Yale University Press, 2007). Shi Jie, "My Tomb Will Be Opened in Eight Hundred Years': Another View of the Afterlife in the Six Dynasties China," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 72, no.2 (2012):117–157. Hong Jeehee, *Theater of the Dead: A Social Turn in Chinese Funerary Art, 1000-1400* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2016). Nancy Steinhardt, "Liao Archaeology: Tombs and Ideology along the Northern Frontier of Chin," *Asian Perspectives* 37, no.2 (1998): 224-244.

“socialization,” which is an important concept that will be adopted in my dissertation when looking at the changes which happened in the Ming dynasty. Hong defines the term “socialization” as envisioning the function of tombs through the perceptions of the living. She argues that, since the tenth century, tombs built for the dead had intensively manifested visions of the living world such as building a theater for the dead in their tombs.²⁶ Therefore, she proposes that “the living gained an important presence and role within the burial space during the middle period.”²⁷ The changes in the tenth century are different from those in the Ming dynasty; however, the concept of “socialization” applies to the practice of borrowing the utensils used in ancestral temples or family shrines to be displayed in tombs. By adopting Hong’s insight, I position the interment of the pewter utensils in a long-term Chinese burial culture as an extension of “socialization” progress since the tenth century. On the other hand, I use the pewter utensils to distinguish a different concern about death from the tenth century because the ways in which “socialization” was demonstrated in a growing interest in performing symbolic in-tomb sacrificing in the Ming dynasty.

Furthermore, my dissertation speaks to the substantial scholarship articulating the

²⁶ Hong Jeehee and T.J Hinrichs, “Unwritten Life (and Death) of a “Pharmacist” in Song China: Decoding Hancheng Tomb Murals,” *Cahiers d'Extrême-Asie* 24 (2015): 262-263. Hong Jeehee, “Mechanism of Life for the Netherworld: Transformations of Mingqi in Middle-Period China,” *Journal of Chinese Religions* 43, no.2 (2015): 161-189. Hong, *Theater of the Dead*, 138-139.

²⁷ Hong, “Mechanism of Life for the Netherworld,” 189.

cult of *qing* in late imperial China, and extends the discussion of emotional expression to its influence upon burial practices. Through the studies on intellectual reflections on human nature and literatures, scholars agree that late-Ming society witnessed a growth of emphasizing self-expression, which deeply appreciates human nature, self, senses, and emotions.²⁸ As Maram Epstein, Martin Huang and Halvor Eifring's research has suggested, the Chinese term *qing* is a spontaneous expression of *xing* (human nature) and a matter of moral discussions in Chinese history on whether human beings should act by following one's nature and *qing*.²⁹ Before the late Ming, Confucian scholars, especially the Neo-Confucians, urged that *qing* should be supervised by propriety because overflowed *qing* was "regarded as dangerously subjective and selfish and thus in need of monitoring and regulation" through rituals.³⁰ As Confucian rituals held a dominant role in Chinese society, social norms such as familial relationship and gender roles had been shaken as the stress of *qing* became pervasive, even among those literati

²⁸ Halvor Eifring, "Introduction: Emotions and the Conceptual History of *Qing*," in *Love and Emotions in Traditional Chinese Literature*, ed. Halvor Eifring (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2004), 1-36. Wm. Theodore de Bary, "Individualism and Humanitarianism in Late Ming Thought," in *Self and Society in Ming Thought*, ed. Wm. Theodore de Bary (New York: Columbia University Press, 1970), 146-47. Richard Wang, "The Cult of *Qing*: Romanticism in the Late Ming Period and in the Novel *Jiao Hong ji*," *Ming Studies*, no.1 (1994): 13. Dorothy Ko, *Every Step a Lotus: Shoes for Bound Feet* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001). Dorothy Ko, *Cinderella's Sisters: A Revisionist History of Foot Binding* (Berkeley, Calif.: University of California Press, 2005).

²⁹ Halvor, "Introduction," 5. Martin W. Huang, *Desire and Fictional Narrative in Late Imperial China* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Asia Center, 2001), 6-27. Maram Epstein, *Competing Discourses: Orthodoxy, Authenticity, and Engendered Meanings in Late Imperial Chinese Fiction* (Cambridge, Mass.: Published by Harvard University Asia Center, 2001), 61-69.

³⁰ Epstein, *Competing Discourses*, 61.

who were trained by Confucian teachings. Even though rituals and *qing* seem to be opposing terms, current studies disclose that they are not always contradicting to each other. The exaltation of expressing *qing* was often demonstrated in the original structure of rituals.³¹ This pattern allows me to situate my argument on adopting Confucian sacrificial utensils for unorthodox usage in the ways in which contemporaries deal with rituals and *qing*.

This literature review reveals limited crossover between the two disciplines of history and archaeology in the discussion of death practices during the Ming dynasty. Archaeologists are less interested in contextualizing the changes of burial culture in a comprehensive historical background. Historians rarely treat archaeological findings as self-sufficient evidence, but rather as supplements to historical records. This research approach inhibits scholars of the two disciplines in responding to issues generated from each other's sources, even though both literary records and material culture reveal clues about death practices.

³¹ Maram Epstein, "Writing Emotions: Ritual Innovation as Emotional Expression," *NAN NÜ* 11, no.2 (2011):155-195. Huang Ko-wu, *Yan bu xie bu xiao: Jindai Zhongguo nanxing shijie zhong de xienv, qingyu yu shenti* 言不褻不笑: 近代中國男性世界中的諧謔、情慾與身體 (Taipei: Lianjing chubanshe, 2016), 18.

Research Methods

Tombs and the pewter utensils are my most important primary sources. Typology is an effective way for me to analyze the development and distribution of this new burial culture in regional and chronicle orders. Unlike current scholarship in Chinese archaeology, my research downplays the demarcations of regions and social classes, but rather seeks the similarity shared by different regional practices and those who practiced the new ritual in tombs. This approach does not overlook the distinctiveness in regional burial cultures and the role that social classes play to influence people's choice of burial practices. I discuss these diversities as a way to explore how people of different social classes understood this practice differently, why these people adopted the burial of the pewter utensils, and in some cases, how people adjusted this new practice to fit into their regional traditions. The transcendence of space and social classes indicates that this new burial practice was widely shared, as was the notion about death presented behind it, but people's intention of adopting it can be varied, which shows us the complexity of acceptance of a new concept.

Archaeological evidence allows me to see changes of burial practice that are not evident in textual sources. In order to understand the meanings of the change and to position the change in a broad social context, I consult historical sources such as

epitaphs, funerary writings, gazetteers, ritual manuals compiled by the Ming government, and the burial manuals composed by Ming literati. Inspired by Qi Dongfang's research, I analyze these sources by considering different stages of death rituals as a whole. In Chinese tradition, funeral, burial, and sacrifice are three phases of death rituals practiced by descendants in a sequence. In Qi's study of burial practice of the Tang dynasty, he argues that these three rites shared the same concerns about death; therefore, changes in one rite can shed light on that of the other.³² To use this method in my research, I do not take the transitions in tombs as isolated changes, or as changes that can be only understood in archaeological context. The new burial practice informs me of the emphasis on sacrificial rituals in tombs. Therefore, I am also interested in the ways in which sacrificial rituals performed during the stages of funeral and sacrifice in the Ming dynasty are described in historical texts. This method avoids the danger of taking archaeological evidence only as the supplement of historical texts, and vice versa. To discern these different texts manifesting similar concerns about death, I treat them as equally important evidence to map how the concepts about death changed in the Ming dynasty.

³² Qi Dongfang, "Tangdai de sangzang guannian xisu yu liyi zhidu" 唐代的喪葬觀念習俗與禮儀制度, *Kaogu xuebao*, no.1 (2006), 73.

Chapter Outline

My dissertation is structured into six chapters, which can be categorized into four thematic topics: transitions in tomb space and burial objects, imperial practices surrounding death, the roles of sacrificial rites in death rituals, and a debate about gravesite rites.

In chapter one, by analyzing excavated tombs of various social classes and regions, I compare Ming burial practices with those of preceding times from the perspectives of tomb space and burial objects. This chapter serves as a context for us to understand some transitions in burial culture in the Ming dynasty.

I will start with the function of tombs in my first chapter. Before the Ming dynasty, the lavish mural decorations and burial objects suggest that a tomb could be an underground residence equipped with the necessities required by the deceased in the afterlife, or could be a space which helps the soul transcend to immortality, or could project a promising vision of the next life depicted in tomb murals. These features declined in the Ming dynasty, and these changes suggest that people perceived the function of tombs differently. By analyzing the structure of well-preserved Ming tombs and consulting the burial manuals and gazetteers, I agree with current scholarship that preserving the corpse from being ruined by water and insects became an important

concern in the Ming dynasty.

I argue that this emphasis on emotional attachment to the corpse is caused by an awareness of the materiality of body, which vividly reminds descendants the memory of the beloved deceased. This concern can be the reason that shifts people's interest in designing and arranging the space of tomb. The care for the dead in tombs further raise my major question – how people in the Ming dynasty understood and treated the soul residing in the tomb.

The changes of burial objects can provide the answer to my question, especially those categorized as *mingqi* 明器 or 冥器 (spirit article), in the Ming dynasty. Defined by philosophers of the pre-Qin era, spirit articles are made for the deceased. A spirit article has form but no function in human's world. For example, a cooking pot was made in a material that cannot boil on fire, so it cannot be used in the living world. The feature that spirit articles possess no function in this world further implies that the deceased belong to the world that separates from the living. In different time periods, we find different types of spirit articles that were buried with the deceased; and the diversity suggests that people envisioned the needs of the deceased differently. For example, archaeological excavations show that people in Ming times had less interest in burying spirit articles that function for exorcism than in preceding times. In other

words, Ming people seemed to be less concerned about the fear that the deceased would be harassed by underground evil spirits.

The set of miniaturized pewter utensils came to the scene in the Ming dynasty, and they were categorized as spirit articles in the governmental ritual handbooks such as the *Ming ji li* 明集禮 (A Collection of Court Rituals of the Ming Dynasty) and the *Da Ming huidian* 大明會典 (Collected statutes of the Great Ming). Although Zhu Xi's *Family Rituals* is a text these handbooks use as a fundamental reference, intriguingly enough, this set of pewter utensils is prescribed in the *Family Rituals* as sacrificial utensils used for sacrifices conducted in ancestral temples or family shrines, not as spirit articles used in tombs. This reinterpretation in Ming ritual codes challenged the function of tombs, the concepts about the souls and the ways to treat them in Confucian ritual texts; yet opens a window for us to explore the ways in which Ming people redefined their relationship to the deceased family members by adjusting Confucian rituals. This new practice of burying miniaturized sacrificial utensils is rarely mentioned in historical texts except a few lines in Ming ritual codes. In order to understand the meaning and the cause of this practice, I spend the next three chapters exploring other changes in death rituals performed by different social classes, which contribute to my discussion on the pewter utensils in chapter five.

I shift my focus to Ming imperial mausoleums in the second and third chapters.

Since the early Ming dynasty, we find dramatic changes in capital-mausoleum relationship, mausoleum layout, and mausoleum rites. I argue that these transformations indicate a strong emotional tie to the deceased buried in tombs and the way to honor them is the same way as worshipping the soul presented by the ancestral tablet in the Imperial Ancestral Temple.

In chapter two, I discuss a new capital-mausoleum city planning launched during the reign of the Hongwu Emperor, the first Ming emperor. This plan challenges Confucian tradition that a grave should be separated from the space of the living. This separation keeps a filial son from seeing the tomb and presumably thus gradually appeases his grief of loss. The Hongwu Emperor unprecedentedly built the mausoleum of his parents and his own and that of his empress within the confines of his two capitals, Fengyang and Nanjing. There is almost no textual evidence which shows us the Hongwu Emperor's intention of initiating such new spatial plan. By looking into Confucian prescriptions, I argue that this capital-mausoleum plan demonstrates a strong longing that the deceased is never be far away from the life of the living. Further, I draw evidences from the relationship between fashioning the imperial ancestral line and dynastic building by comparing the Hongwu Emperor's strategy with precedents in the

Tang and Song dynasties. Unlike preceding emperors, the Hongwu Emperor attributed his success to the blessings of his ancestors and never concealed the fact that they were peasants. To find the sites where they were hastily buried during the war times and to rebuild these sites into the imperial mausoleums were his major task when declared himself the founder of a new dynasty. In later Ming political discourses, we find that these ancestral mausoleums were believed to possess auspicious geomancy that contributed to the longevity of the Ming dynasty. In this chapter, an examination of the spatial arrangement and the treatment to Ming imperial ancestors allows us to explore the strong tie between the deceased, their tombs, and the fates of their descendants.

In chapter three, I will talk about new institutions, new layouts, and new buildings of Ming imperial mausoleums. These topics are essential for us to further understand the relationship between the deceased emperor and his successor, and to position the role that sacrificial rites play in the mausoleum ceremonies. I use the cases of a military institution called *lingwei* 陵衛 (mausoleum garrisons) and *shi jiyān* 石几筵 (stone table and mat, i.e. stone altar) erected at Ming imperial mausoleums to extend my discussion of the tie between the deceased and the living that I made in previous chapters. The mausoleum garrisons are the first standard armies that served the mausoleums in Chinese history. A mausoleum garrison was granted and dispatched to

guard the mausoleum by the new emperor as part of funeral procedure that he hosted for the past emperor, usually his father. Although the mausoleum garrisons were responsible for protecting the tombs of the deceased emperors, they were under the direct commands of the new emperor. I argue that this transferring of military power not only validates the importance of the deceased emperor and his grave by endowing a standard army, but also indicates an inheritable connection between the two worlds. The stone altar serves similar function. With limited texts about the stone altar, I first study *jiyan* 几筵 (table and mate or altar) in funerary texts and find that an altar suggests the metaphor of “serving the deceased parents as if they were still alive.” Scholars have agreed that the gigantic size of the stone altars indicate that they were used to perform symbolic sacrificial rites. My study further suggests that this symbolic service embodies the new emperor’s personal reverence to his ancestors at their mausoleums. Both the mausoleum garrisons and the stone altars highlight a connection to the deceased buried in tombs.

According to current scholarship, the new layout of Ming imperial mausoleums shows that the function of the mausoleum serves as a site of the performance of sacrificial rituals.³³ My study on the new sacrificial offerings and a new building called

³³ Zhang Jiegu, *Zhongguo sang zang shi* 中國喪葬史 (Taipei: Wenjin chubanshe, 1995), 250. Yang,

zaisheng suo 宰牲所 (the slaughterhouse) further contribute to our understanding on the messages behind the new mausoleum layout and rites. I argue that the soul staying in the mausoleum was as important as that in the Imperial Ancestral Temple because the Ming government regulated the mausoleum rites by offering sacrificial victims slaughtered on-site at the slaughterhouse. In the Chinese ritual context, the freshly cut raw meats were offered to the most sacred spirits such as the gods of Heaven and Earth and the ancestral souls in the Imperial Ancestral Temple. The new offerings and new building at Ming imperial mausoleums suggest a new attitude and treatment toward the soul in the imperial mausoleum.

In the fourth and fifth chapters, I will discuss two kinds of new funerary gifts granted from the emperor to his most trusted subordinates. The gifts are bestowal of sacrificial necessities and burial costs, and bestowal of the pewter utensils, both of which allow us to see an emphasis on sacrificial practices in death rituals.

In my fourth chapter, I explore a systematic transition in funerary gifts conferred from the emperor to the bereaved family of a deceased official, known as *ci jizang* 賜祭葬 (bestowal of sacrificial necessities and burial essentials). Providing funerary gifts to bereaved families to prepare the funeral had been a kind of community support fulfilled

Zhongguo gudai lingqin zhidushi yanjiu, 65.

by different social classes of the last two thousand years. The emperor granting such gifts is not only a political gesture of showing his solicitude but also an honor to the deceased. Before the Ming dynasty, the emperor usually bestowed clothes, rice, and a cart, as suggested in the *Yili* 儀禮 (the *Ceremonials*), to the bereaved family as funerary gifts. Beginning with the Hongwu Emperor, burial costs, money for tomb building, and sacrificial necessities, such as incense, meat and wine, were added to the earlier gift lists. However, according to the *Yili*, items for burial and sacrificial procedures should only be prepared by the bereaved hosts because a funeral is a domestic affair. Friends and relatives should not become involved in the preparation of these items. Therefore, I argue that the new gifts demonstrate the Ming emperors' strong intention in perceiving their roles as the hosts instead of the guests in the death rituals of their subordinates, which extended the reach of imperial power beyond the living into the realm of the dead as an intensive way of fostering the emperor-subordinate connection. Further, this new gift list suggests an emphasis on sacrificial rites in the process of death rituals, which explains why the sacrificial necessities gradually won over the original gifts prescribed in the *Yili*.

We can also see a model of adjusting the orthodox rituals in Confucian texts to be used in flexible ways, which sheds light on our understanding of the pewter utensils

discussed in my next chapter. In the case of the new gifts, the sacrificial necessities were the orthodox items prepared for death rituals, but were given by the emperor who overstepped his role in his ministers' funerals. Even though the emperor's assuming the role as a host violated ritual, he still followed the prescriptions of how to be a host. This case suggests that Confucian prescriptions still served as a guideline for people to abide by, but the actual practices were flexible because people adopted the teaching based on their needs.

My chapter five elaborates on points made in chapters one and four. In this chapter, I focus on the dissemination of the pewter utensils among different geographical regions and social classes, and the meanings of how they were displayed in tombs. The pewter utensils are not only part of the burial essentials bestowed from the emperor to high ranking officials, but are also widely found in tombs of those who were ineligible for the bestowal. I argue that the pewter utensils were used for symbolic and perpetual sacrificial rites to the deceased buried in tombs because they were made in the form of spirit articles. In many tombs buried with the pewter utensils, archaeologists found that they were displayed in the sacrificial scene, as suggested in the *Family Rituals*, in front of the coffin or on top of the coffin. What is worth noticing is that sacrificial utensils involve interactive usages – descendants present the offerings in these utensils to

sacrifice to their ancestor and the soul of the ancestor accepts those sacrifices. Since Chinese tombs were rarely reopened for sacrificial purposes, burying such sacrificial utensils in symbolic form substitutes the descendants' presence to perform sacrifices to the deceased without interruption. This practice allows us to understand how Ming people contemplated the needs of the deceased and how they integrated the functions of ancestral temples or family shrines and tombs. From archaeological evidence, the bestowal of the pewter utensils appeared earlier in tombs of eligible nobles than that of those ineligible people such as commoners. However, the evidence is not sufficient for us to conclude that the imperial practice initiated this new burial culture. Through studying the pewter utensils, we can see the importance of bridging the living and the dead through sacrificial rites was also adopted in tombs – an unorthodox site to perform sacrificial rites. The strong emotional bond to the beloved deceased and the fear that they would no longer receive sacrifices from descendants in their underground space are probably the cause of this reinterpretation of death rites.

In my last chapter, I will discuss a debate about interpreting whether there were “no graveside rites in antiquity” (*gu wu muji* 古無墓祭) among Confucian scholars since the Han dynasty.³⁴ This debate shows a negotiation between abiding by

³⁴ Antiquity refers to the time periods before the Xia, Shang, and Zhou dynasties. Zhu Kongyang, *Lidai*

Confucian ritual and following one's emotion presented by performing sacrificial rites at the burial ground, which I call graveside rites. Since in Confucian classics of the pre-Qin era, only the *hun* soul represented by the ancestral tablet should receive sacrifices in ancestral temples. However, as time went by, Confucian scholars began to argue that the tomb and the body were stronger emotional triggers of recalling the beloved than a tablet that was inscribed only the name of the ancestor, even though the later was the orthodox Confucian practice. Although this debate refers to sacrificial rituals performed at the burial ground not within the tomb, I argue that it still reflects people's attitude toward the deceased buried underground. By studying the ways in which Confucian scholars discuss this topic over time, we can see those who were trained by and took orthodox Confucian rites as their standard of behaving became more supportive to the emotional side, and appraised it as a demonstration of true feelings. I argue that this scholarly attitude can serve as a reference for us not only to understand the appearance of the burial manuals in the late Ming, but also to presume how popular this emphasis on emotions could be shown by in-tomb sacrificing among many social classes.

lingqin beikao 歷代陵寢備考 (Shanghai: Jiangsu guangling guji keyinshe, 1990), 96. Zhao Yi, *Gai yu cong kao* 陔餘叢考 (Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1957), 676.

To conclude, death sets the two worlds apart, through sacrificial rituals, they are reconnected again. In the Ming dynasty, archaeological evidence shows that, the tomb, the soul, and the body were incorporated into this ancestral sacrificial system because they are closely associated with memory and emotions to the deceased. Therefore, they cannot be excluded from the life of the living. Sacrificial rites not only fasten this abstract linkage between descendants and their ancestors in tombs, but also reshape the ways in which contemporaries envisaged the needs of the deceased. Before the Ming dynasty, the lavish arrangements made tombs a self-sufficient space for the deceased to dwell in. New burial practices in the Ming dynasty suggest that this physically isolated site was made open in terms of bridging the communications of the two worlds, much as happened in the ancestral temple or the family shrine. In this dissertation, I argue that emotions play a key role in this transition of adopting orthodox rituals in unorthodox ways. The “socialization” in tombs of the Ming dynasty therefore features the most authentic way to honor, to communicate, and to retain the ancestors in the living world.

Chapter One

Transitions in Ming Tombs

Since ancient times, the tomb had been called a netherworld residence (*yo zhai* 幽宅). This term suggests that a tomb is not only a place to store the corpse, but also a space designed for the soul to continue another stage of life. The ways in which this residence was built and the burial objects which were arranged in this underground space display people's imagination about what the deceased may need in the afterlife. The history of the development of Chinese tombs tells how understandings about death, and the afterlife had changed over times. We can see some continuations of burial traditions, as well as innovations in peoples' practices.

My research subject is tombs of the Ming dynasty (1368-1644). Archaeological evidence shows us that burial culture had its own developmental track and did not change with the replacements of political regimes. However, politics did have an influence on burial culture. Every dynasty had its own policies stipulating the ways in which people should perform burial practices based on their social status. In these policies, the scale of tomb and the number of burial objects permitted were allotted according to social status, and this classification became one of the ritual standards to form a hierarchical society. In actual practice, these policies sometimes influenced

people's choice in building a tomb, but my research shows flexibility in how these policies were followed and enforced. New features that evolved in tombs of the Ming dynasty can not only be found in the burial regulations defined by the Ming government, but also shown by new arrangements in tombs revealed by archaeology.

The transitions in tombs of the Ming dynasty are evident in tomb space, mural depictions, and burial objects. Archaeologists who study Ming tombs often discuss the changes in these three aspects separately.¹ This research method ignores the design of a tomb as an entire project, which reflects related concepts of death and the afterlife. I propose that the changes in the use of tomb space, tomb murals, and burial items were correlated and reflected new ways to treat the deceased buried in tombs.

Before the Ming dynasty, delicate tomb murals and fantastic burial objects suggest the function of a tomb could be an eternal residence, a shrine, a base for the deceased to transcend to immortality, a protective zone that blocks off the harassment of evil spirits underground.² Because the trend to decorate tombs with murals waned and the types of

¹ Wang, "Zhongguo mushi bihua shuitui qi yanjiu," 50-70. He, "Jiangsu Mingdai muzang de faxian ji leixingxue fenxi," 53-65. Xia, "Nanjing diqu Mingdai daxing zhuanshimu xingzhi yanjiu," 40-48. Xia, "Shilun Jiangnan Ming mu chutu zhi moxing mingqi," 95-102.

² Wang Xiaoyang, "Handai muzang huihua 'yanyintu' kaoshi" 漢代墓葬繪畫'宴飲圖'考釋, *Yishu baijia*, no.4 (2008): 72-77, 85. Wilma Fairbank and Masao Kitano, "Han Mural Paintings in the Pei-Yuan Tomb at Liao-Yang, South Manchuria," *Artibus Asiae* 17, no. 3-4 (1954): 238-264. Michèle Pirazzoli-t' Serstevens, "A Second-century Chinese Kitchen Scene," *Food and Foodways* 1, no.1-2 (1985): 95-103. Poo Mu-Chou, *Muzang yu shengsi: Zhongguo gudai zongjiao zhi xingsi* 墓葬與生死: 中國古代宗教之省思 (Taipei: Liaojing chubanshe, 1983). Lukas Nickel, "Some Han Dynasty Paintings in the British Museum," *Artibus Asiae* 60, no.1 (2000): 59-78. He Xilin, *Gumu danqing: Handai mushi bihua de*

burial objects changed in the Ming dynasty, I argue that tombs had been rendered with new meanings by contemporaries.

In chapter one, I will discuss the changes in the use of tomb space and the types of burial objects in the Ming dynasty. The space of a tomb housed the coffin(s) and was equipped with necessities prepared for the deceased. The decline in the tomb murals, such as scenes of entertaining, domestic living, and celestial bodies, was one great change in the usage and understanding of tombs in the Ming dynasty. Fewer than forty Ming mural tombs have been found among more than a thousand excavated Ming

faxian yu yanjiu 古墓丹青: 漢代墓室壁畫的發現與研究 (Xian: Shanxi renmin meishu chubanshe, 2001). Huang Peixian, *Handai mushi bihua yanjiu* 漢代墓室壁畫研究 (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 2008). Wang Xiaoyang, *Hanmu bihua de zongjiao Xinyang yu tuxiang biaoxiang* 漢墓壁畫的宗教信仰與圖像表現 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2012). Zheng Yan, *Shizhe de mianju: Han Tang muzang yishu yanjiu* 逝者的面具: 漢唐墓葬藝術研究 (Beijing: Beijing daxue chubanshe, 2013). Chauncey S. Goodrich, "Riding Astride and the Saddle in Ancient China," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 44, no. 2 (1984): 279-306. Susan Bush, "Floral Motifs and Vine Scrolls in Chinese Art of the Late Fifth to Early Sixth Centuries A.D.," *Artibus Asiae* 38, no. 1 (1976): 49-83. Zheng Yan, *Wei Jin Nanbei chao bihua mu yanjiu* 魏晉南北朝壁畫墓研究 (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 2002). Audrey Spiro, "Shaping the Wind: Taste and Tradition in Fifth-Century South China," *Ars Orientalis* 21 (1991): 95-117. Patricia Karetzky, "The Representation of Women in Medieval China Recent Archaeological Evidence," *Tang Studies* 17, no.1 (1999): 213-271. Tonia Eckfeld, *Imperial Tombs in Tang China, 618-907* (London; New York: Routledge Curzon, 2005). Li Xingming, *Tangdai mushi bihua yanjiu* 唐代墓室壁畫研究 (Shaanxi: Shaanxi renmin meishu chubanshe, 2005). Cheng Yi, *Guanzhong diqu Tangdai muzang yanjiu* 關中地區唐代墓葬研究 (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 2012). Nancy Steinhardt, "Yuan Period Tombs and Their Inscriptions: Changing Identities for the Chinese Afterlife," *Ars Orientalis* 37 (2009): 140-174. Li Qingquan, "Muzhu xiang yu Tang Song muzang fengqi zhi bian: yi Wudai Shiguo shiqi de kaogu faxian wei zhongxin" 墓主像與唐宋墓葬風氣之變: 以五代十國時期的考古發現為中心, *Meishu xuebao*, no.4 (2014): 5-20. Li Ling, "Zhongguo gudai de muzhu huaxiang kaogu yishushi biji" 中國古代的墓主畫像考古藝術筆記, *Zhongguo lishi wenwu*, no.2 (2009): 12-20. Lin Shengzhi, "Zhongguo zhonggu shiqi de muzang kongjian yu tuxiang" 中國中古時期的墓葬空間與圖像, in *Zhongguo shi xinlun: Meishu kaogu fence* 中國史新論:美術考古分冊, ed. Yan Juanying (Taipei: Lianjing chubanshe, 2010), 200-201. Yin Wu, "Meanings of Worship in Wooden Architecture in Brick" (Ma thesis, University of North Carolina, 2016), 29, Hong, "Mechanism of Life for the Netherworld," 188-189.

tombs.³ Scholars therefore assume that the decline in Ming mural tombs reflects a loss of imagining the afterlife.⁴ I will not discuss these Ming mural tombs; their limited number and scattered distribution mean that information on them is not adequate for a comprehensive discussion. However, I will consider this decline when I discuss how people understood the functions of tombs. For example, a tomb was no longer viewed by people as a site of a home for the afterlife, or of a preparation for the journey to either heaven or hell.

In the meantime, we see strong concerns of preventing the buried corpse from the damages caused by underground water, insects, and tomb robbery in both texts and archaeological evidence. As my subsequent discussion will show, the reasons people chose the way to build a tomb varied, but in the Ming dynasty, the factor of protecting the corpse became one of the major concerns. This concern, I argue, shows us a changed focus of people's emotions toward the buried dead itself because the methods to construct a concrete tomb was emphasized and the methods became pervasive. This emotional concern further contributes to our understanding of a new type of burial objects – a set of miniaturized pewter utensils – in tombs of the Ming dynasty.

³ Wang, "Zhongguo mushi bihua shuitui qi yanjiu," 50.

⁴ Wu, *The Art of the Yellow Springs*, 83-84. Wang, "Zhongguo mushi bihua shuitui qi yanjiu," 50-53. Yang, "Mingdai mushi jianzhu zhuangshi tanxi," 54-62. Wang, *Zhongguo mushi bihua yanjiu*, 287. Wang, "Mengyuan shiqi mushi de zhangshihua qushi yu Zhongguo gudai bihua de shuailuo," 25.

Burial objects are rich material sources for us to study what the deceased may need in tombs. The types of burial objects range from clothes, accessories, favorite items of the deceased, to *mingqi* made to substitute the real things, such as animal and human figurines, models of kitchen, and models of courtyard. The focus of my research is a set of miniaturized pewter utensils that appear for the first time among burial objects in the Ming dynasty. My study shows that the forms of these utensils resemble sacrificial utensils used in ancestor worship. Sacrifice was a way of continuing the relationship between the living and their ancestors in Chinese culture. However, Confucian ritual texts prescribe that sacrifices should be performed before ancestral tablets in an ancestral temple or a family shrine, not in the tomb. The emergence of these pewter utensils suggests the care for the buried deceased in the same way the ancestors were honored in the ancestral temple or the family shrine. More importantly, the size of these utensils suggests that the sacrifices were meant to be in symbolic form. As I will discuss in chapter five, such form indicates that the sacrifices would be performed perpetually even after the tombs were sealed for good.

These new practices in Ming tombs allow us to examine what death and tombs meant to Ming people. My argument does not suggest that Ming people had no belief in the afterlife since tombs were less used as a preparation for a journey that people could

not foresee. In the Ming dynasty, tombs became a space where people demonstrated their care for the deceased through preserving the corpse in better condition and offering symbolic sacrifices for the deceased to enjoy.

Tomb Space: Vertical Pit Tombs and Horizontal Tombs

The functions of tombs are closely related to the ways of constructing them. As early as in the Han dynasty, horizontal chamber-style tombs (thereafter horizontal tombs) and vertical pit tombs were popular options for tomb buildings. Current scholars have shown that, in different time periods, the types of tombs embodied different symbols that influence people's choice of tomb designs. For example, in the Tang dynasty, the number of tomb chambers corresponded to the ranks of officials.⁵ In the Ming dynasty, horizontal tombs and vertical pit tombs were still used, though they were given new meanings, which included demonstrations of social status, concerns of environmental conditions and corpse protection, and the concept of filial piety.⁶

Vertical pit tombs (*shuxue mu* 豎穴墓) feature “a box-like timber structure buried at the bottom of a vertical shaft (Figure 1-1),” which demonstrates the way of

⁵ Poo Mu-Chou, “Preparation for the Afterlife in Ancient China,” in *Mortality in Traditional Chinese Thought*, ed. Amy Olberding and Philip Ivanhoe (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2011), 13-36.

⁶ Cremation was also an important burial practice in the Ming dynasty. My study does not include cremation because this kind of burial rarely left remains that can be found by archaeologists.

loading the coffin vertically down from above to a timber structure built in the pit.⁷

Horizontal chamber-style tombs (*hengxue mu* 橫穴墓), also called room graves (*shi mu* 室墓) by archaeologists, are a house-like space with “architectural decoration, a flat, arched or domed roof over the tomb chamber(s) and a side entrance equipped with a door and connected with an entryway (Figure 1-2).”⁸ In other words, horizontal tombs resemble a real residential space, whereas the vertical pit tombs can only accommodate the coffin(s). What needs to be pointed out is that both vertical pit tombs and horizontal tombs were available for people who could afford to build a tomb. For the poor or low-income commoners, to have a thin coffin buried in a shallow pit would be luxurious.⁹

Horizontal tombs appeared later than vertical pit tombs, but since the second century the former enjoyed a dominant favor for a thousand years.¹⁰ These two kinds of tomb spaces featured different ways of practicing burial rituals. Instead of lowering the coffin from above in vertical pit tombs, horizontal tombs allow mourners to escort

⁷ Huang Xiaofen, *Hanmu de kaoguxue yanjiu* 漢墓的考古學研究 (Hunan: Yuelu shushe, 2003): 26-42. Zhao Huacheng, “Zhou dai guanguo duo chong zhidu yanjiu” 周代棺槨多重制度研究, *Guoxue yanjiu*, no.5 (1998): 27-74. Luan Fengshi, “Shiqian guanguo de chansheng, fazhan he guanguo zhidu de xingcheng” 史前棺槨的產生, 發展和棺槨制度的形成, *Wenwu*, no.6 (2006): 49-55. Li Yujie, “Shilun woguo gudai guanguo zhidu” 試論我國古代棺槨制度, *Zhongyuan wenwu*, no.2 (1990): 83-86.

⁸ Wu, *The Art of the Yellow Springs*, 25.

⁹ Leung Ki Che, *Shi shan yu jiao hua: Ming Qing de cishan zuzhi* 施善與教化: 明清的慈善組織 (Shijiazhuang shi: Hebei jiaoyu chubanshe, 2001), 300.

¹⁰ Huang Zhanyue, “Handai zhuhou wang mulunshu” 漢代諸侯王墓論述, *Kaogu xuebao*, no.1 (1998): 11-34. Lai, *Excavating the Afterlife*, 55-97.

the coffin into the tomb through the entryway and to host sacrificial rites in the tomb before it was sealed.¹¹ Adequate space in horizontal tombs is also a key factor that contributes to the development of mural paintings, which vividly demonstrate people's imaginations toward what to prepare for the deceased in the afterlife.¹²

In the Ming dynasty, horizontal tombs continued to be popular, even though few tomb murals have been found. In other words, horizontal tombs in the Ming dynasty still maintained a house-like space, but were unlikely to be fully ornamented as a residence. Also in the Ming dynasty, vertical pit tombs gained their “revival moment”¹³ because vertical pit tombs were believed to be the most effective approach to protect the corpse. These changes in the usages of tomb spaces and in the choices of tombs help us to understand the functions and meanings of tombs for people of the Ming dynasty.

¹¹ Wu, *The Art of the Yellow Springs*, 25-26.

¹² Assumptions made by scholars about why the tomb space had shifted from vertical pit tombs to horizontal tombs. See Robert Thorp, “The Qin and Han Imperial Tombs and the Development of Mortuary Architecture,” in *The Quest for Eternity* ed. Susan Caroselli (California: Los Angeles County Museum of Art, 1987), 30-31. Huang Xiaofen, “Hanmu xingzhi de biange: shixi shuxueshi guomu xiang hengxueshi shimu de yanbian guocheng” 漢墓形制的變革-試析豎穴式槨墓向橫穴式室墓的演變過程, *Kaogu yu wenwu*, no.1 (1996):49-69. Huang, *Hanmu de kaoguxue yanjiu*, 257-260. Wu, *The Art of the Yellow Springs*, 26, 29-34. Poo, “Preparation for the Afterlife in Ancient China,” 14-17. Lai, *Excavating the Afterlife*, 55-97.

¹³ The term of “revival moment” is from Wu Hung. See Wu, *The Art of the Yellow Springs*, 83.

Vertical Pit Tombs and Filial Piety: A Conceptual Legacy of the Song Dynasty

Since the Northern Song dynasty, vertical pit tombs expressed the meaning of filial piety by Neo-Confucians, and this concept had a great influence in the Ming dynasty. Neo-Confucians Sima Guang (1019-1086) and Cheng Yi (1033-1071) proposed that vertical pit tombs serve as a better protection to the corpse.¹⁴ For example, Sima Guang argues that horizontal tombs bear a high risk of smashing the coffin and the corpse.¹⁵ These suggestions were adopted and revised by Zhu Xi in his *Family Rituals*, which is an instruction of household ritual practices that became the most authoritative ritual guideline in the Ming dynasty.

In the chapter of funeral ceremonies in the *Family Rituals*, Zhu Xi suggests

“making the cement liner” (*zuo huige* 作灰隔) to build a vertical pit tomb:

Making the cement liner: after the grave is dug, spread out charcoal fragments on the bottom of it and pound them down, making a layer about two or three inches thick. Next spread out cement made of a mixture of lime, fine sand, and yellow earth on top of it. The proportions should be three parts lime and one part each of the other two. Ram it down hard so it is two to three feet thick. Add a thin board to separate the cement, the shape of the coffin, coated with pine resin on the inside, about three inches thick. In the middle take an empty coffin with walls over four inches higher than the coffin and put it on top of the cement. Then on the four sides go around and put down the cement, again separating it with a thin board, the charcoal remnants on the outside, the cement on the inside, as thick as it is at the bottom. Pound it until it is solid, then pull out the boards. Near the top, again put down charcoal and the cement and pound them until level with the walls.¹⁶

¹⁴ Cheng Hao and Cheng Yi, *Er Cheng Ji* 二程集 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1981), vol.2, 623. Qin Dashu, “Songdai sangzang xisu de biange jiqi tixian de shehui yiyi” 宋代喪葬習俗的變革及其體現的社會意義, in *Tang yan jiu* (Beijing: Beijing daxue chubanshe, 2005), vol. 11, 325-327.

¹⁵ Sima Guang, *Simashi shuyi* 司馬氏書儀 (Beijing: Shangwu yinshu guan, 1966), 79.

¹⁶ Translated by Patricia Ebrey. Patricia Ebrey, *Chu Hsi's Family Rituals: A Twelfth-Century Chinese*

Zhu Xi explains that these materials constitute a concrete protection that shields the corpse:

Charcoal protects against tree roots, water, and ants. Lime mixed with sand becomes solid, and mixed with dirt it becomes sticky. Neither ants nor robbers will be able to enter.¹⁷

And the reason for making such grave for beloved one is that:

Nowadays even curiosities are carefully packed tight to prevent injury. Don't the bones of one's parents deserve the same treatment?¹⁸

The method of “making the cement liner” was not Zhu Xi's innovation. Archaeological evidence shows that this approach can be traced back to the Western Han dynasty, and had been practiced again in the southern areas of China, such as today's Shanghai and Jiangsu, since the Northern Song dynasty.¹⁹ Zhu Xi's contribution was to make the method of “making the cement liner” a filial way of burying the beloved one, especially parents. This concept had appeared again in the writings of literati since the middle of the Ming dynasty. As the use of vertical pit tombs revived, those writings as well as archaeological evidence demonstrate to us that protecting the corpse was crucial for

Manual for the Performance of Cappings, Weddings, Funerals, and Ancestral Rites (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1991), 107-108.

¹⁷ Translated by Patricia Ebrey. Ebrey, *Chu Hsi's Family Rituals*, 108.

¹⁸ Translated by Patricia Ebrey. Ebrey, *Chu Hsi's Family Rituals*, 108.

¹⁹ Hunan sheng bowuguan, ed., *Changsha Mawangdui yi hao Han mu* 長沙馬王堆一號漢墓 (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1973). Zou Houben, ed., *Jiangsu kaogu wushi nian* 江蘇考古五十年 (Nanjing: Nanjing chubanshe, 2000), 279-305. Quan Kuaishan, “Zhongguo nanfang Sui Tang mu de fenqu fenqi” 中國南方隋唐墓的分區分期, *Kaogu xuebao*, no.2 (1992): 147-184. Jiangsu bowuguan, ed., “Jiangyin bei Song Ruichang xianjun siniangzi mu” 江陰北宋瑞昌縣君孫四娘子墓, *Wenwu*, no.12 (1982): 28-36. Wang Zhengshu, “Shanghai Jiading Song Zhao Zhu fufu mu” 上海嘉定宋趙鑄夫婦墓, *Wenwu*, no.6 (1982):89-90. Guo Yuanwei, “Zhang Shicheng mu cao shi mu qingli jianbao” 張士誠母曹氏墓清理簡報, *Kaogu*, no.6 (1965): 289-300.

Ming people.

Vertical Pit Tombs: Environmental Conditions and Filial Piety

The relationship between filial piety and the use of vertical pit tombs becomes complicated if we consider the factor of different environmental conditions. In Wang Shixing's 王士性 (1547-1598) travel notes, he describes different types of soil and water level in the north and the south. These differences show that the appropriateness of burial defined by the *Family Rituals* was not universal:

The water level in Nanjing is high and often appears above the ground. Low-lying areas only one to two *chi* lower than the ground are easily flooded by the water and become ponds...²⁰

[In Guangdong and Fujian] the whole coffin interred underground will soon be filled with water.²¹

The northern region had fewer environmental threats than in the south, as Wang

Shixing describes:

Luoyang has thick soil and the water level which is deep; digging four to five *chi* for burial can hardly reach to the water level...Millet and wheat stored in a pit underground will not turn bad because there is no moldy humidity as in the south.²²

If we compare the account of Wang Shixing with that of Lu Kun, a famous Confucian scholar from the north, Lu showed a minor interest in vertical pit tombs when he

²⁰ Wang Shixing, *Guang zhi yi* 廣志繹 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1981), 23.

²¹ Wang, *Guang zhi yi*, 94.

²² Wang, *Guang zhi yi*, 38-39.

discussed burial methods.²³ Archaeological evidence also confirms to the descriptions in literati writings. Xia Han's research shows that vertical pit tombs have been mostly found in the southeastern regions; only limited cases have been excavated in the north, such as in today's Hebei, Henan, and Shandong provinces.²⁴

Since the late sixteenth century, southern Confucian scholars like Wang Wenlu 王文祿 (1532-1605), Chen Longzheng 陳龍正 (?-1645), and Chen Que 陳確 (1604-1677) composed burial manuals based on the *Family Rituals* to revive orthodox and appropriate ways of burial, including the building of vertical pit tombs. However, these scholars did more than repeat the instructions in the *Family Rituals*. They elaborated on their own research on the ideal formula for making cement liner, on the methods of tomb construction, and on the choice of wood to build a fully-sealed vertical pit tomb within their burial manuals.²⁵ These improvements to the *Family Rituals* suggest an enthusiastic attitude toward the protection of the corpses.

²³ Lu Kun, *Si li yi* 四禮疑 (Jinan: Qilu chubanshe, 1997), 66.

²⁴ Xia, "Mingdai Jiangnan diqu muzang yanjiu," 38.

²⁵ The purpose of writing these burial manuals was to change the trends which had been prevalent since the mid-Ming, such as being superstitious about auspicious geomancy or exhausting the family wealth to host a funeral or to build a tomb. Timothy Brook, "Funerary Ritual and The Building of Lineages in Late Imperial China," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 49, no.2 (1989): 466-471. Wang Fansen, "Qingchu lizhi shehui sixiang de xingcheng" 清初禮治社會思想的形成, in *Zhongsuo shi xin lun: Sixiang shi fence* 中國史新論 思想史分冊, ed. Chen Ruoshui (Taipei: Lianjing chubanshe, 2012), 381-389. Chang, "Shiqi shiji Zhongguo ruxue sixiang yu dazhong wenhua jian de chongtu," 69-80. Ho, *Mingdai shishen yu tongsu wenhua*, 60-72, 156-168.

The major concerns of these southern Confucian scholars were the damages caused by water, insects, and tomb collapse. In 1539, Wang Wenlu wrote *Zangdu* 葬度 (*Regulations for Burials*), in which he criticized inappropriate burial practices including building a chamber tomb. The hollow space and tomb tunnel made a horizontal tomb vulnerable because it could easily collapse or be filled by water, so he suggested that this method should be abandoned.²⁶ Wang Wenlu further criticizes several ways of building a tomb that resembles the living residence, which also led to the danger of collapse. One of the examples is the practice of boring a hole called “the opening of filial piety” (*xiaoshun dong* 孝順洞) on the wall that divides the chambers in which the husband and wife’s coffins were separately placed. People believed that the souls of the couples could communicate through the hole.²⁷ “How silly is it? It damages the structure of the cement liner!” Wang Wenlu said.²⁸ Chen Longzheng and Chen Que also denounced the expense of building spacious chamber tomb or burying treasures in tombs that did not benefit the dead.²⁹ These criticisms suggest the deceased do not

²⁶ Wang Wenlu, *Zang du* 葬度 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1991), 12.

²⁷ Wang, *Zang du* 11-14. Xu Man, *Crossing the Gate: Everyday Lives of Women in Song Fujian (960-1279)* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2016), 227-230

²⁸ Actual practices of “the opening of filial piety.” See Dali shi bowuguan, ed., “Yunnan Dali Cangshan Ming mu” 雲南大理蒼山明墓, *Wenwu*, no.7 (1989): 60-64. Nanjing shi wenwu baoguan weiyuan hui, ed., “Nanjing jiangning xian Ming Mu Sheng mu qingli jianbao” 南京江寧縣明沐晟墓清理簡報, *Kaogu*, no.9 (1960): 31-36. Hubei sheng wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo, ed., “Hubei xiaochang shibandi Ming mu fajue jianbao” 湖北孝昌石板地明墓發掘簡報, *Jiangnan kaogu*, no.4 (2003): 25-29.

²⁹ Chen Que, *Chen Que ji* 陳確集 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1979), vol.2, 496-497. Chen Longzheng,

need a space resembling the life of living. The function of a tomb is protection, so the corpse would not be immersed in water, be eaten by insects, or smashed into pieces.

This concern to the materiality of bodies comes from “the heart of loving one’s parents” and a “prudent way of treating the deceased.”³⁰ For these Confucian scholars, vertical pit tombs that provide better protection to the corpse are what the deceased need, and the concern to protect the body is a true expression of one’s filial piety.

These scholarly views serve as precious records for us to understand several dimensions of this choice of vertical pit tombs, even though these statements cannot stand for those who used vertical pit tombs but left no words explaining why. Since vertical pit tombs became very popular in the Ming dynasty, these concerns expressed by scholars were not just theories on paper.

Hierarchy Defined by Tomb Forms in the Ming Dynasty

The uses of horizontal tombs and vertical pit tombs imply a hierarchical order, which was stipulated in the burial policy issued by the Ming government. The *Ming ji li*, the most comprehensive early Ming ritual code, was issued one year after the first Ming

Jiting quanshu 幾亭全書 (Beijing: Beijing chubanshe, 2000), 150.

³⁰ Wang, *Zang du*, 1. Chen, *Jiting quanshu*, 150.

emperor, the Hongwu Emperor, declared his Mandate of Heaven.³¹ This ritual collection included rituals of the previous dynasties and launched new ritual guides of the Ming dynasty. This political gesture manifested Ming's legitimate inheritance of historical legacy and announced a new social order established by the new dynasty.³² According to the preface of "Inauspicious Rituals" in the *Ming ji li*, Zhu Xi's *Family Rituals* was referred to as the primary reference in stipulating death rituals for Ming people.³³ As the *Ming ji li* has prescribed, social hierarchy categorized by social status was demonstrated in the burial rites such as the scale of the burial ground, and the types and number of burial objects. Another hierarchical feature was that the imperial household members and officials above the fifth rank received burial gifts such as coffins, tomb construction, and burial objects from the emperor as an honor; whereas low-ranking officials and commoners were not eligible for the bestowal.³⁴

In the *Ming ji li*, vertical pit tombs built with cement liner were allotted to be the method for commoners to construct their tombs. Although the concept of "making the cement liner" was borrowed from the *Family Rituals*, this burial method was to require

³¹ Ho, *Mingdai shishen yu tongsu wenhua*, 42.

³² Ho, *Mingdai shishen yu tongsu wenhua*, 29-56.

³³ Xu Yikuai et al., *Ming ji li* 明集禮 (Taipei: Taiwan Shangwu chubanshe, 1983), juan 37, 141.

³⁴ Li Dongyang et al., *Da Ming huidian* 大明會典 (Taipei: Dongnan shubaoshe, 1963), juan 98, 1525-1535; juan 101, 1555-1562; juan 230, 2730-2737.

commoners to use vertical pit tombs, rather than to emphasize one's filial piety. The *Ming ji li* prescribes that "Commoners are not allowed to use *guo* (outer coffin), so they use *huige* (cement liner)."³⁵ The outer coffin(s) had been another privileged burial method for upper classes since the pre-Qin era.³⁶ The *Family Rituals* was the outcome of Zhu Xi's endeavor to make rituals more accessible to commoners,³⁷ which could be the reason why vertical pit tombs were assigned for commoners to use in the *Ming ji li*.

Vertical pit tombs built with cement liners have been widely found in Ming tombs in today's Shanghai, and these graves showcase how the burial methods were practiced. Archaeological excavations show that people used stone slabs or bricks to build a pit that accommodated only the coffin(s). After the coffin was loaded into the pit, the pit would be covered with another stone slab. And then, the outside of the stone or brick pit was filled up with cement in order to resist water and insects (Figure 1-3).³⁸

The *Ming ji li* does not specify the type of tombs the imperial household members and officials should use. Fortunately, archaeological excavations have confirmed that, especially in the early Ming, these tombs were mostly chamber tombs and were built by

³⁵ Xu, *Ming ji li*, juan 37, 162.

³⁶ Ho, *Mingdai shishen yu tongsu wenhua*, 48.

³⁷ Ebrey, *Chu Hsi's Family Rituals*, xxi. Ho, *Mingdai shishen yu tongsu wenhua*, 153-154.

³⁸ He, *Shanghai Mingmu*, 5-169.

the Ministry of Works, the bureau in charge of all constructions for the government.³⁹

The gigantic interior space of horizontal tombs reflected the honored or wealthy status of the occupant; therefore, horizontal tombs had long been favored by emperors, nobles, and wealthy commoners before the Ming dynasty.

Before the fifteenth century, the Ministry of Works would build tombs for the imperial household members and eligible officials. After that period, the costs of building the tomb were bestowed by the emperor for the bereaved family to build the tomb themselves, rather than had the Ministry of Works build the tomb.⁴⁰ This transition could be an adjustment to simplify the procedure of purchasing materials, such as bricks, and of organizing laborers for tomb building and to lessen the work load of the Ministry of Works. Archaeological evidence shows that this new way of

³⁹ Epitaphs found in tombs of the imperial household members and officials contain the phrase *gongbu zaofen* 工部造墳 or *gongbu yingfen* 工部營墳, both of which mean “this tomb was constructed by the Ministry of Works.” Some tombs were built with bricks made for the construction of Nanjing’s walls. The manufacture of these bricks was superintended by the Ministry of Works; and the manufacturers’ names were inscribed on the bricks to ensure the quality of the bricks. Nanjing shi bowuguan, ed., “Nanjing Ming dai Wu Zhen mu fajue jianbao” 南京明代吳禎墓發掘簡報, *Wenwu*, no.9 (1986): 35. Also see Nanjing shi bowuguan, ed., “Jiangsu Nanjing shi Tangjiao Ming dai Zhang yun mu” 江蘇南京市唐家凹明代張云墓, *Kaogu*, no.10 (1999): 27-30. Nanjing shi bowuguan, ed., “Jiangsu Nanjing shi nanjiao liangzuo daxing Ming mu de qingli” 江蘇南京市南郊兩座大型明墓的清理, *Kaogu*, no.10 (1999): 31-38. Yang Guoqing, “Ming Nanjing chengqiang yingzao zhong de guanli tizhi yu zhuanwen” 明南京城牆營造中的管理體制與磚文, in *Nanjing chengqiang zhuanwen* 南京城牆磚文, ed. Nanjing shi Ming chengyuan shi bowuguan (Nanjing: Nanjing shifan daxue chubanshe, 2008), 328. Guo Jinhai, “Mingdai Nanjing chengqiang zhuan mingwen luelun” 明代南京城牆磚銘文略論, in *Nanjing chengqiang zhuanwen*, 346-349. He, “Jiangsu Mingdai muzang de faxian ji leixingxue fenxi,” 53-65. Xia, “Nanjing diqu Mingdai daxing zhuanwenshi xingzhi yanjiu,” 40-48.

⁴⁰ Li, *Da Ming huidian*, juan 230, 2731-2732. Zhu Qinmei, *Wangguo dianli* 王國典禮 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1995), 446-447. Institute of History and Philology, Academic Sinica, ed., *Mingshizongshilu* 明世宗實錄 (Taipei: Institute of History and Philology, Academic Sinica, 1964-1966), juan 47, 1207.

bestowal relaxed the standard of building horizontal tombs for eligible occupants because the amount of the bestowal could be used to construct a tomb based on the preference of the deceased or his or her family members.⁴¹ These cases help us understand people's preference in choosing the types of tombs in contrast to those built by the Ministry of Works.

The burial policy in the *Ming ji li* aims to shape a hierarchical order. No punishments are prescribed to penalize those who adopt the tomb style that is not in accordance with their social status. However, the ritual standard set up by the government did contribute to the impression that tomb types were associated with social class. Furthermore, in actual practices, people's choices are more complicated than regulations. In exploring subsequent cases, we can discern how the governmental ritual prescriptions, environmental conditions, and the concept of filial piety were mingled in people's decision making about tomb construction.

⁴¹ Huo, Lun Jiangxi Ming dai houqi fanwang muzang de xingzhi yanbian," 96-100. Yuan Shengwen, "Jiangxi Ming mu de leixing he fenqi" 江西明墓的類型和分期, *Nanfang wenwu*, no.3 (2015): 154-160, 153. Liu, *Mingdai diwang lingmu zhidu yanjiu*, 316. Dong, "Mingdai zhuhou wang lingmu chubu yanjiu," 11. Han, "Mingdai Jiangxi zongfan muzang xuangong zhidu qianlun," *Nanfang wenwu*, 92.

Case Study: Horizontal Tombs and Family Tradition

Mu Ying 沐英 (1345-1392) was one of the most influential generals who assisted the Hongwu Emperor to build the Ming dynasty. His tomb and his descendants' tombs serve as examples that demonstrate how an honor bestowed by the emperor had been transformed into a family tradition that lasted for more than two hundred years.⁴²

After the Ming dynasty was established, Mu Ying was assigned to govern today's Yunnan Province and eventually passed away there. Mu Ying's coffin was escorted by officials back to the capital of Nanjing for interment. In Mu Ying's epitaph, the government was in charge of the burial, which was considered as a prestigious honor.⁴³

Mu Ying's tomb, which was excavated in 1959, is a typical horizontal tomb built by the Ministry of Works in the early Ming dynasty. His horizontal tomb has a narrow front room and a middle room that connects three back rooms which house the coffins of Mu Ying and his two wives (Figure 1-4).⁴⁴

Mu Ying's descendants inherited the title of governor and the office in Yunnan until the end of the Ming dynasty, though many of them still chose to be buried near

⁴² Wu, "Mingdai Mushi jiazhu muzang yanjiu," 19.

⁴³ Shao Lei, "Nanjing chutu Mingchu xungui jiqi jiazhu chengyuan muzhi kao" 南京出土明初勳貴及其家族成員墓志考, *Wenxian*, no.6 (2014): 61-68. Cheng Minzheng, ed., *Huang ming wen heng* 皇明文衡 (Shanghai: Shanghai shangwu shuju, 1936), 577.

⁴⁴ Nanjing shi wenwu baoguan weiyuan hui, ed., "Nanjing jiangning xian Ming Mu Sheng mu qingli jianbao," 34-35.

Mu Ying's tomb in Nanjing. Eight tombs of members of Mu Ying's family have been excavated in Nanjing, the latest one was interred in the year of 1609. Another two have been found in Yunnan. These tombs of Mu Ying's descendants are similar in style to his tomb. Epitaphs found in these tombs show that the government granted burial bestowals to Mu Ying's descendants as well.⁴⁵ However, as granting the costs of the tomb became the new way of bestowal, it is exceptional that the Mu family chose to build their tombs in the similar chamber structure as Mu Ying's tomb, especially when vertical pit tombs had become pervasive in the southeastern regions since the middle of the Ming dynasty. Studies on Ming family tombs have shown that the concerns about water and borers in the southeastern regions made descendants of the princes or prominent generals chose vertical pit tombs, instead of horizontal tombs.⁴⁶

The consistency in choosing the same tomb structure in Nanjing and Yunnan suggests that Mu Ying's descendants cherished the honor demonstrated by tomb style, and this honor had been internalized as a familial tradition, especially after the governmental involvement waned and vertical pit tombs became more popular. While Mu Ying and his descendants valued the glory bestowed by the emperor, Jin Ying 金

⁴⁵ Wu, "Mingdai Mushi jiazuzang muzang yanjiu," 16.

⁴⁶ Wu, "Mingdai Mushi jiazuzang muzang yanjiu," 18-19. Huo, "Lun Jiangxi Ming dai houqi fanwang muzang de xingzhi yanbian," 96-100. Yuan, "Jiangxi Ming mu de leixing he fenqi," 154-160, 153. Liu, *Mingdai diwang lingmu zhidu yanjiu*, 316. Dong, "Mingdai zhuhou wang lingmu chubu yanjiu," 11. Jiangxi sheng bowuguan, ed., *Jiangxi Ming dai fanwang mu*, 87-88, 122-123, 131-148, 156-163.

英's (1394-1457) case tells how this concept of honor and tomb style influenced a man to represent his past glory through an extraordinary grave.

Case Study: Horizontal Tombs and Identity

Jin Ying was the most powerful eunuch trusted by the Xuande Emperor (1399-1435). In 1450, Jin was imprisoned because of corruption; after his imprisonment, we have fewer sources on his political life.⁴⁷ His tomb was built in Nanjing where he had been assigned “so as to live in a life of retirement.”⁴⁸ Since the capital moved to Beijing in 1420, Nanjing became the second capital as “a place of exiled for disfavored officials” and “a sinecure for superannuated officials.”⁴⁹ However, Jin Ying's gigantic tomb seems incompatible with his demotion as an exile minister.

Through typological analysis, Xia Han's research shows that Jin Ying's tomb has a unique structure and a marble stand to hold his coffin, both of which mimic the

⁴⁷ Zhang Tingyu et al., *Ming shi* 明史 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1974), 7769-7770. Chen Xuelin, *Mingdai renwu yu shiliao* 明代人物與史料 (Hong Kong: Hong Kong Zhongwen daxue, 2001), 225-226.

⁴⁸ Huadong wenwu gongzuodui, “Nanjing Nanjiao yingtaisi shan Ming Jin Ying mu qinli ji” 南京南郊英臺寺山明金英墓清理記, *Wenwu cankao ziliao*, no.12 (1954): 70.

⁴⁹ Fang Jun, *China's Second Capital-Nanjing under the Ming, 1368-1644* (Abingdon, Oxon; New York, NY: Routledge 2014), 74-79.

imperial mausoleum and princes' tombs.⁵⁰ The scale of Jin Ying's tomb is large if we compare his tomb with tombs of other high-ranking officials in Nanjing. The dimensions of Jin Ying's tomb are 13.6 meters in length, 3.8 meters in width, and 3.64 meters in height, which is twice as large as the average of other prominent officials' tombs.⁵¹

According to Jin Yin's epitaph, his tomb was built by his family members, who could be younger eunuchs adopted by him as his sons, not the Ministry of Works.⁵² Although textual evidence reveals limited clues about the construction of his tomb, his family would not have known the imperial tomb structure better than him as a eunuch who had a close relationship with the emperor and would not intent to build such a giant tomb without his request. Therefore, I argue that Jin Ying's tomb was a way that he intended to represent himself. Even though he lost his political influence and the chance to receive the imperial bestowal, Jin Ying chose neither a vertical pit tomb that was prevalent in the south nor a horizontal tomb built for high-ranking officials in Nanjing. The messages behind the construction of this tomb not only reveal Jin Ying's

⁵⁰ Xia, "Nanjing diqu Mingdai daxing zhuanshimu xingzhi yanjiu," 46-47.

⁵¹ He, "Jiangsu Mingdai muzang de faxian ji leixingxue fenxi," 57-62.

⁵² Huadong wenwu gonzuodui, ed., "Nanjing nanjiao yingtaisishan Ming Jin Ying mu qinliji" 南京南郊英臺寺山明金英墓清理記, *Wenwu cankao ziliao*, no.12 (1954): 69-70.

resistance of being labeled as an exile official but also demonstrate his identity of past glory.

Jin Ying's tomb and Mu Ying's family tombs show that, even if built without the involvement of the Ministry of Works, horizontal tombs still were an honor for many people. The symbol of representing higher social status was emphasized when people considered building a horizontal tomb; however, the interior designs of these horizontal tombs show little interest in garnishing these tombs as residence for the afterlife, similar to the lack of decor in most vertical pit tombs. This trend was not only found in the cases I discussed, but also in the only imperial mausoleum, Dingling, that has been excavated. Dingling, a magnificent horizontal tomb equipped with five chambers, has a dimension of almost twelve hundred square meters. Dingling has never been robbed, but this tomb built for the emperor was rather empty.⁵³ The resemblance in the usages of tomb space in vertical pit tombs and horizontal tombs suggests that to make tombs vivid underground residences was no longer a major concern of Ming people.

⁵³ Zhongguo shehui kexueyuan, ed., *Dingling* 定陵 (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1990), vol.1, 22.

Case Study: Vertical Pit Tombs beyond the Southeast Regions

In this section, I will discuss vertical pit tombs in the north. As previously discussed, the humid environment in the south is the primary reason why vertical pit tombs were more popular and were believed to be the most ideal way of burial by southern Confucian scholars. Current scholars are also interested in exploring vertical pit tombs in the southeastern regions. However, archaeological excavations have shown that several tombs found in the north were constructed as vertical pit tombs or as in a similar way to vertical pit tombs. I argue that these cases show a dissemination of the concerns of corpse protection beyond humid regions.

Let us start with the second Ming capital Beijing. Most Ming tombs found in Beijing are horizontal tombs belonging to emperors and their family members, officials, and eunuchs;⁵⁴ vertical pit tombs are rare.⁵⁵ Taking the example of a military general named Zhao Sheng 趙勝 (1419-1487) who was buried in 1487.⁵⁶ Although his tomb

⁵⁴ Wang Yanling, “Haidian Xiangshan junkeyuan taizi mu fajue jianbao” 海淀香山軍科院明太子墓發掘簡報, *Beijing wenwu yu kaogu*, no.00 (2002): 68-71. Kaogu yanjiusuo tonbxunzu, ed., “Beijing xijiao dongsicun Ming mu fajue ji-di yi hao mu” 北京西郊董四墓村明墓發掘記—第一號墓, *Wenwu*, no.2 (1952): 78-87. Zhongguo kexueyuan kaogu yanjiusuo jingjiao fajuetuan tongxunzu, ed., “Beijing dongsicun Ming mu fajue ji-di er hao mu” 北京董四墓村明墓發掘續記—第二號墓, *Wenwu*, no.2 (1952): 88-100. Beijingshi wenwuju, ed., *Beijing aoyun changguan kaogu fajue baogao* 北京奧運場館考古發掘報告 (Beijing: Kexue chubanshe, 2007), 474-664.

⁵⁵ Beijingshi wenwu gongzuodui, ed., “Beijing nanyuan weizikeng Mingdai muzang qili jianbao” 北京南苑葦子坑明代墓葬清理簡報, *Wenwu*, no.11 (1964): 45-47.

⁵⁶ Liu Fengliang and Zhang Zhonghua, “Beijingshi chaoyangqu Ming Zhao Sheng fufu hezang mu fajue jianbao” 北京市朝陽區明趙勝夫婦合葬墓發掘簡報, *Wenwu*, no.9 (2008): 40-46. Jia Limin and Zhang Zhonghua, “Ming Zhao Sheng muzhi kao” 明趙勝墓誌考, *Wenwu*, no.9 (2008): 61-64. Zhang, *Ming shi*,

was built under the command of the emperor, it was not a spacious chamber tomb like those in Beijing. Zhao Sheng's grave is a brick tomb with three chambers. The structure of his tomb is worth noting because the height is only 1.3 meters, which means it is impossible to walk in it as one would in a horizontal tomb.⁵⁷ In addition to its space, the construction methods are also similar to vertical pit tombs, such as a stone slab covered the top of the tomb. What was missing is the use of cement to seal all the space between the coffin and the tomb pit. Although we are unable to tell why Zhao Sheng or his family chose to build his tomb in this way, the construction methods suggest that water and insects seemed not to be an intense concern for them, because the cement liner was not used. Similar ways of construction have also been found in the northern regions, such as Liaoning, Gansu, Henan, and the southwestern regions, such as Sichuan.⁵⁸

Vertical pit tombs have also been found in other northern regions, such as today's Henan, Gansu and Shandong Provinces.⁵⁹ The epitaph of Zhu Yangxing 朱陽

4628.

⁵⁷ Wang, "Haidian Xiangshan junkeyuan taizi mu fajue jianbao," 68.

⁵⁸ Nanzhaoxian bowuguan, ed., "Henan Nanzhaoxian yunyangzhen Mingdai jinian mu" 河南南召縣雲陽鎮明代紀年墓, *Huaxia kaogu*, no.4 (2013): 23-26. Feng Yongqian, "Anshan nijiatai Cui Yuan zumu de fajue" 鞍山倪家台明崔源族墓的發掘, *Wenwu*, no.11 (1978): 11-24. Gansusheng wenwu guanli weiyuanhui, ed., "Lanzhou shangxiyuan Ming Peng Ze mu qili jianbao" 蘭州上西園明彭澤墓清理簡報, *Kaogu*, no.1 (1957): 46-49.

⁵⁹ Gansusheng wenwu guanli weiyuanhui, ed., "Lanzhoushi langongpeng Ming Dai Tingren fufu mu" 蘭州市蘭工坪明戴廷仁夫婦墓, *Wenwu*, no.8 (1998): 59-63, 82. Zhao Shigang, Qixian gaogaoshan

(1453-1524), one of the great-grandsons of first Prince of Lu who received lands in Shangdong, discloses why an imperial family member living in the north chose a vertical pit tomb. Only Zhu Yangxing's epitaph has been found. On the reverse side of his epitaph, Zhu had a short announcement to tomb robbers:

Lazy old man Yangxing speaks to those gentlemen who rob tombs...I had already known that there are no tombs underground have never been robbed, and that there are no households in the world that have not divided. So, I did not use a single slice of stone slab and a single block of brick, and I built a cement pit in advance. Only wooden *guan* [inner coffin] and *guo* [outer coffin] were placed in the pit. They are filled with pine resin and cement in order to prevent water from seeping in.⁶⁰

According to Zhu Yangxing's description, his tomb was probably a vertical pit tomb.

As he “turned down the benevolence of granting tomb construction, and arranged laborers and materials to construct [his own] tomb in advance,”⁶¹ we see concerns of water as well as tomb robbery that made him decide to use the method of “making the cement liner,” constructing a vertical pit tomb rather than a chamber tomb as his ancestor did.⁶² Zhu used a light tone by saying he was aware that tombs were target of

Ming mu qili jianbao” 杞縣高高山明墓清理簡報, *Wenwu*, no.8 (1957): 67-70. Gansusheng bowuguan, ed., “Lanzhoushi shangxiyuan Ming mu qili jianbao” 蘭州市上西園明墓清理簡報, *Kaogu*, no.3 (1960): 42-44.

⁶⁰ Shangdong bowuguan, ed., *Lu huang wang mu* 魯荒王墓 (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 2014), vol.2, 255.

⁶¹ Shangdong bowuguan, *Lu huang wang mu*, vol.2, 255.

⁶² The tomb of the first Prince of Lu is a horizontal tomb. His tomb is the one among his lineage that has been excavated. Another prince, the Prince of De, was also granted land in today's Shangdong province. So far, only the Zhuang prince of De's tomb has been excavated, which is also a horizontal tomb. See Jinanshi wenhuaju wenwu chu, ed., “Shangdong Changqing xian Ming Dewang muqun fajue jianbao” 山東長清縣明德王墓群發掘簡報, *Kaoguxue jikan* (Beijing: Zhongguo dabaik chubanshe, 1997),

tomb robbers; therefore, he thought nothing mattered except building a concrete protection for his corpse.

With limited textual evidence, we are unable to tell the various considerations behind each choice. From the cases in this section, these two occupants were eligible to build horizontal tombs, but they or their family chose not to do so. Their perception on the function of tombs became very practical because historical lessons about tomb robbery and environmental threats alerted people when they made the choices of tomb designs. In the northern region where the environment was suitable for building horizontal tombs, the choice of building vertical pit tombs reinforced the concerns of southern Confucian scholars that a spacious tomb did harm to the deceased. Although the kinds of threats in the northern and southern regions were slightly different in the sources I used, the common ground of building vertical pit tombs in both regions is the same, which is to provide better protection to the corpses.

Complexity in the Concerns of the Afterlife

It is difficult to generalize the motivations behind people's choices of tomb designs. Environmental conditions, filial piety, financial ability, social status, family

vol.11, 221-241. Shangdong bowuguan, *Lu huang wang mu*, 13-21.

tradition, and regional practices often cross-influence these choices. Even if the influences are diverse, in both archaeological and textual evidence, we see that people had similar perceptions on the functions of tombs. To use a vertical pit tomb to protect the corpse was essential in humid regions, but this design was adopted by the northerners as well. To make tombs airtight, roomy spaces that had contained depictions of tomb murals and ample burial objects were eliminated. The priority of body protection became apparent. In the case of horizontal tombs, the attempt of preserving the corpse is less strong. However, these spacious tombs were no longer the space imbedded in people's imaginations about the afterlife; the lack of interest in decorations was similar to the usage of space in vertical pit tombs. In the Ming dynasty, tombs seemed less to be a netherworld residence, then, what are they? The changes in the functions of tomb space only show one dimension of the ways people envisioned the afterlife in the Ming dynasty. In the following sections, I will discuss the shift in the types of burial objects in Ming tombs. The decline of the traditional burial objects and the emergence of the new ones indicate peoples' new understandings of what the deceased may need in the afterlife world and of how people define their relationship to the deceased.

Transitions in the form of *Mingqi*

Burial objects range from objects used or favored by the deceased to objects exclusively made for the deceased to use in the afterlife. Since the choices of used items depended on personal preference, in this chapter, I will only discuss items made for burial called *mingqi*.⁶³ *Mingqi* can be translated as “spirit article,”⁶⁴ which emphasizes these objects’ spiritual feature – “the spirit was the sole activator of the functionality incipient in *mingqi*.”⁶⁵ *Mingqi* was made in miscellaneous forms; the most popular types were wooden or clay servant figurines and animals. One of the functions of burying *mingqi* is to replace the interment of the real things such as human beings.⁶⁶ For example, because of the spiritual potency, *mingqi* servants can only serve the deceased, not the living. Therefore, the usage of *mingqi* also suggests that the deceased belong to a world that is different from the living.⁶⁷

Archaeological evidence demonstrates that the types of *mingqi* varied from region to region and throughout different time periods. Studying what had been

⁶³ Hong, “Mechanism of Life for the Netherworld,” 164, 183.

⁶⁴ Wu, *The Art of the Yellow Springs*, 87-91.

⁶⁵ Hong, “Mechanism of Life for the Netherworld,” 164.

⁶⁶ Wu Hung, “On Tomb Figurines,” in *Body and Face in Chinese Visual Culture*, ed. Wu Hung and Katherine Tsiang (Cambridge: Harvard University East Asian Publication, 2005), 13-48. Huang Zhanyue, *Zhongguo gudai de rensheng renxun* 中國古代的人牲人殉 (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1990), 293. Wu, *The Art of the Yellow Springs*, 99-102.

⁶⁷ Lai, *Excavating the Afterlife*, 51-52. Wu, *The Art of the Yellow Springs*, 87-99. Cook, *Death in Ancient China*, 11.

discarded, what had been kept, and what had been created shows us how the imaginations about the netherworld changed and how the needs of the deceased altered.

Defining *Mingqi*

The philosophical meanings of *mingqi* were defined by pre-Qin scholars like Confucius and Xunzi 荀子 (310-238 B.C.), even though the actual practice of burying *mingqi* had appeared prior to the scholarly discussions.⁶⁸ Both Hong Jeehee and Xu Man's research show that the definition of *mingqi* and the practice of using *mingqi* had changed throughout Chinese history; sometimes all kinds of items used to send off the dead were included in the category of *mingqi*.⁶⁹ Despite *mingqi*'s diverse meanings, the essence of *mingqi* in pre-Qin texts is crucial to my study of *mingqi* category defined by the Ming government, because these early concepts were adopted in Zhu Xi's *Family Rituals*.⁷⁰ Similar to the burial method of "making the cement liner," Zhu Xi's instructions on *mingqi* became the basic reference when the Ming government stipulated the types of *mingqi* to be used. In the *mingqi* section of Ming ritual code, we

⁶⁸ Lai, *Excavating the Afterlife*, 51. Wu, *The Art of the Yellow Springs*, 87.

⁶⁹ Hong, "Mechanism of Life for the Netherworld, 161-164.

⁷⁰ Wu Hung, "Mingqi de lilun he shijian: Zhanguo shiqi liyi meishu zhong de guannianhua qingxiang" 明器的理論和實踐-戰國時期禮儀美術中的觀念化傾向, *Wenwu*, no.6 (2006): 77-78. Zhu Xi, *Jia li* 家禮, in *Zhuzi quan shu*, ed. Zhu Jieren and Yan Zuozhi and Liu Yongxiang (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2002), vol.7, 917.

find that *mingqi* prescribed for the use of the imperial household members and high-ranking officials includes two kinds – *mingqi* defined by Zhu Xi and the new *mingqi* innovated by the Ming government. As my research will show, although the new types of *mingqi* had no origin to previous practices, the basic concept of creating the new *mingqi* in the Ming dynasty was itself a legacy.

For Xunzi and Confucius, the purpose of burying *mingqi* reflects an appropriate way of treating the deceased. In the *Liji*, Confucius says:

In dealing with the dead, if we treat them as if they were entirely dead, that would show want of affection, and should not be done; or, if we treat them as if they were entirely alive, that would show want of wisdom, and should not be done. On this account the vessels of bamboo (used in connection with the burial of the dead) are not fit for actual use; those of earthenware cannot be used to wash in; those of wood are left unfinished; the lutes are strung, but not evenly; the pan pipes are complete, but not in tune; the bells and musical stones are there, but they have no stands. They are called vessels to the eye of fancy [*mingqi*]; that is, (the dead) are thus treated as if they were spiritual intelligences.⁷¹

According to Confucius and Xunzi, the living should respect the deceased with sincerity; however, they should treat the living and the dead differently. The manufacture of *mingqi* reflects such divergence. *Mingqi* is functionless in human's world but has the form of real objects. The purpose is to show the prudent attitude to prepare necessities for the deceased which are similar to those they used when alive,

⁷¹ Translated by James Legge. James Legge, *The Li Ki* (Oxford Clarendon Press, 1885), vol.1, 148. Ruan Yuan, *Shisanjing zhushu* 十三經注疏 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1980), vol.1, 1289.

but the lack of function suggests that *mingqi* can only be used by the dead. In actual burials, as Wu Hung's research has shown, *mingqi* was manufactured by distorting "the form and mechanism of the standard vessel" or through miniaturizing to present the feature of "with shape but no function."⁷²

Figurines in the shapes such as human beings and animals were the most popular *mingqi* found in Chinese burial culture, as Confucius said: "carts, figurines, and horses made by grasses and wood are a tradition with long history, and that is the central concept of *mingqi*."⁷³ As the types of *mingqi* gradually expanded, during the Tang and Song dynasties, we find an increase in burying *mingqi* for exorcism and *mingqi* was recognized by the government in ritual policies.⁷⁴ In the next section, I will use tomb guardians (*zhen mu shou* 鎮墓獸) to illustrate the fearful afterlife in people's religious beliefs before the Ming dynasty. The decline of burying such *mingqi* in tombs in the Ming dynasty suggests a change in the way people envisioned the netherworld.

⁷² Lai, *Excavating the Afterlife*, 52. Wu, *The Art of the Yellow Springs*, 94-96.

⁷³ Sun, *Liji jijie*, vol.1, 265.

⁷⁴ It is important to point out why I emphasize *mingqi* prescribed by the governments. As Hong Jeehee's research has suggested, the actual practices were not always conforming to the policies. However, we can still see some similarity between the practices of people and the regulations of the government. For example, although the types of tomb guardians found in tombs are more diverse than in the prescriptions, what had been shared is the need to bury tomb guardians. To focus on *mingqi* stipulated by the governments is not to ignore actual burial cultures, but to see how the government's attitude toward what should be buried in tombs had changed. To know the definition of *mingqi* defined by the governments is especially important in this dissertation because Ming ritual code is the only record of the pewter utensils. Governmental ritual policies are precious records for us to decode the terms of *mingqi* buried underground and to conduct further research. Hong, "Mechanism of Life for the Netherworld," 161-164.

Tomb Guardians

The practice of burying monster-like figurines in tombs can be dated back to the Spring and Autumn period of these days.⁷⁵ Before the Ming dynasty, these figurines were an important component of burial objects and since then they have attracted a broad scholarly attention.⁷⁶ Due to their appearances and the ways in which they were placed in tombs, most scholars agree that these figurines were used to protect the occupants against the harassment from unknown underground evils. In the Tang

⁷⁵ Shang Chengzuo, *Changsha guwu wenjian ji* 長沙古物聞見記 (Taipei: Wenhai chubanshe, 1938), 100-102. Yang Kuan, “Changsha chutu de mudiao guishenxiang 長沙出土的木雕怪神像,” in *Yang Kuan gushi lunwen xuanji* 楊寬古史論文選集 (Shanghai: Shanghai renmin chubanshe, 2004), 410-413.

⁷⁶ Zhengzhoushi wenwu kaogusuo, ed., *Zhongguo gudai zhenmu shenwu* 中國古代鎮墓神物 (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 2004), 6-7, 56, 58. Tang Jinyu, “Shaanxi Mianxian hongmiao Dong Han mu qili jianbao” 陝西勉縣紅廟東漢墓清理簡報, *Kaogu yu wenwu*, no.4 (1983): 32. Luoyangshi dier wenwu gongzuodui, “Luoyang huashan lu xijin mu fajue jianbao” 洛陽華山路西晉墓發掘簡報, *Wenwu*, no.12 (2006): 21. Wei Zheng, “Liu chao zaoqi yong de diyu tezheng he xiangguan wenti” 六朝早期俑的地域特徵和相關問題, in *Nanfang mingzu kaogu* (Beijing: Kexue chubanshe, 2011), vol.7, 258-266-269. Albert Dien, *Six Dynasties Civilization*, 208-212. Zhang Wenxia and Liao Yongmin, “Sui Tang shiqi de zhenshou shenwu” 隋唐時期的鎮墓神物, *Zhongyuan wenwu*, no.6 (2003):64-70. Hao Hongxing, ed., “Zhongyuan Tang mu zhong de mingqi shensha zhidu” 中原唐墓中的明器神煞制度, *Huaxia kaogu*, no.4 (2000): 100-107. Qi Dongfang, “Sui Tang huandao wenhua de xingcheng yu fazhan: yi Chaoyang Sui Tang mu yanjiu wei zhongxin” 隋唐環島文化的形成與發展-以朝陽隋唐墓研究為中心, in *Sheng Tang shidai yu Dongbeiya zhengju* 盛唐時代與東北亞政局, ed. Wang Xiaofu (Shanghai: Shanghai cishu chubanshe, 2003), 133-160. Cui Shiping, “Tang Song muzang suojian yiyu yu zangsu chuanbo” 唐宋墓葬所見儀魚與葬俗傳播, *Dongnan wenhua*, no.4 (2013): 81-86. Wang Ming, “Tang Song muzang zhong de qianqiu wansuiniào yu guanfengniao de butong-xingxiang bianxi, lishi laiyan ji xiangzheng yiyi” 唐宋墓葬中的千秋萬歲鳥與觀風鳥的不同-形象辨析 歷史來源及象徵意義, *Jiangnan Kaogu*, no.1 (2014): 94-101. Quan Kuaihan, “Zhongguo nanfang Sui Tang mu de fenqu fenqi” 中國南方隋唐墓的分區分期, *Kaogu xuebao*, no.2 (1992): 147-184. Yi Li, “Luelun Chengdu jinjiao Song mu zhong de longxingyong” 略論成都近郊宋墓中的龍形俑, *Sichuan wenwu*, no.2 (2009): 84-86. Cheng Yi, “Hanzhong Songdai zhenmu shenwu shizheng” 漢中宋代鎮墓神物釋證, *Sichuan wenwu*, no.5 (2009): 43-48. Bai Bing, “Leishen yong kao” 雷神俑考, *Sichuan wenwu*, no.6 (2006): 66-75. Bai Bing, “Sichuan Wudai liang Song muzang zhong de zhushou renshen yong” 四川五代兩宋墓葬中的豬首人身俑, *Sichuan wenwu*, no.3 (2007): 56-60. Xu Pingfang, “Tang Song muzang zhong de mingqi shensha yu muyi zhidu” 唐宋墓葬中的明器神煞與墓儀制度, *Kaogu*, no.2 (1963): 87-106. Hao Hongxing, “Zhongyuan Tang mu zhong de mingqi shensha zhidu” 中原唐墓中的明器神煞制度, *Hua Xia Kaogu*, no.4 (2000): 100-107.

dynasty, the official burial prescription includes a set of four divines (*si shen* 四神), named *danguang* 當壙, *dangye* 當野, *zusi* 祖思, and *zuming* 祖明, as *mingqi*.⁷⁷

Archaeologists found monster-like figurines inscribed with the name *zuming* written in Tang ritual code.⁷⁸ Although the other three names have not yet been verified by archaeological evidence,⁷⁹ this match between textual records and actual artifacts on *zuming* conforms to its function as *mingqi* and allows us to trace more textual evidence by using their names.

A twelfth-century geomantic handbook, the *Classic of the Secrets of Burials of the Original Sepulchers of the Great Han* (*Dahan yuanling mizangjing* 大漢原陵密葬經, thereafter *mizangjing*), is the only surviving text that categorizes the four divines as *mengqi shensha* 盟器神煞 (spiritual articles used for exorcism).⁸⁰ This text also explains why people should bury these spiritual articles used for exorcism:

If there were no *mingqi* divines placed in tombs after the burial, the deceased spirits will be restless, the heavenly gods will abandon them, and underworld will

⁷⁷ Li Linfu et al., *Tang liu dian* 唐六典 (Taipei: Wenhai chubanshe, 1962), 412. Wang Qufei, “Sishen, jinzi, gaoji” 四神, 巾子, 高髻, *Kaogu tongxun*, no.5 (1956): 51-52.

⁷⁸ Zhang and Liao, “Sui Tang shiqi de zhenshou shenwu,” 64-70. Hao, ed., “Zhongyuan Tang mu zhong de mingqi shensha zhidu,” 100-107.

⁷⁹ Studies of other three deities can be found in Zhang and Liao, “Sui Tang shiqi de zhenshou shenwu,” 69. Shen Ruiwen, “Tang zhenmu tianwang yong yu pishamen xinyang tuilun” 唐鎮墓天王俑與毗沙門信仰推論, in *Qianling wenhua yanjiu* 乾陵文化研究, ed. Fan Yingfeng (Xi'an: Sanqin chubanshe, 2010), vol.5, 138. Wang, “Sishen, jinzi, gaoji,” 51. Xu, “Tang Song muzang zhong de mingqi shensha yu muyi zhidu,” 90. Hao, “Zhongyuan Tang mu zhong de mingqi shensha zhidu,” 101-105. Bai, “Leishen yong kao,” 68. Cheng, “Hang zhong Songdai zhenmu shenwu shizheng,” 47-48.

⁸⁰ Xu Pingfang argues the *mengqi* equals to *mingqi*. Xu, “Tang Song muzang zhong de mingqi shensha yu muyi zhidu,” 87-106

not accept them. The spirits will feel lost; the descendants will suffer from inauspicious affairs. These all result from not burying *mingqi* in tombs.⁸¹

The *mizangjing* fails to clarify why the deceased would be uneasy without the protection of *mingqi* divines. Well-preserved tombs that maintain the original arrangements of these figurines fill the gap in textual records. An early eighth-century tomb excavated in Chang'an, the capital of the Tang dynasty, contains four figurines that were used as a standard set for burial in Chang'an and Luoyang.⁸² Two kneeling monster-like figurines, in the height of 92-95 centimeters, with hair standing on end, wings and fangs, and fierce appearances stand in a row to guard the tomb gate. Another two human-like heavenly kings line-up behind the monster figurines. They are in the height of 80 centimeters, standing on bulls, (Figure 1-5).⁸³ This spatial arrangement strongly suggests that these figurines were defending the occupants against invaders who broke into the tomb through the gate. Presumably, these defenders prevented the deceased from being "restless."

⁸¹ Xie Jin et al., *Yongle da dian* 永樂大典 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1986) vol.4, 3829.

⁸² Xianshi wenwu baohu kaogu yanjiusuo, ed., "Xian Majiaan Tang Taizhou sima Yan Shiwei fufu mu fajue jianbao" 西安馬家溝唐太州司馬閻識微夫婦墓發掘簡報, *Wenwu*, no.10 (2014): 25-48.

⁸³ The tradition of burying this combination can be traced back to the Western Jin Dynasty. The combination is two monsters and two warriors, and this set of tomb guardians had been used in tombs until the early Tang. According to typological analysis, after the mid-Tang dynasty, the warriors were replaced by heavenly kings. Scholars argue that heavenly kings may have multiple origins, including Buddhism. See Zhengzhoushi wenwu kaogusuo, ed., *Zhongguo gudai zhenmu shenwu*, 12, 16, 19. Shen, "Tang zhenmu tianwang yong yu pishamen xinyang tuilun," 138-153. Yang Jie, "Tangdai zhenmu tianwang yong de fojiao shisuhua yinsu kaolue: jian tan liangjing diqu de chayi" 唐代鎮墓天王俑的佛教世俗化因素考略-兼談兩京地區的差異, *Sichuan wenwu*, no.5 (2009): 37-42.

Iron cows or pigs are another type of tomb guardians, which were often placed at the corners of tombs from the late Tang to the Yuan dynasties.⁸⁴ In the *Datang xinyu* 大唐新語 (New Words of the Great Tang), a ninth-century collection of anecdotes, and the author Liu Su recorded the following story:

Tombs should be built deep and narrow. The advantage of building a deep grave is because it will be quiet and isolated, and that of constructing a narrow one is because it will be solid and firm. One *zhang* and two *chi* from the surface of the ground is the boundary of soil, another one *zhang* and two *chi* from the soil boundary is the water boundary. These two boundaries are both guarded by dragons. The soil dragon causes a disturbance every six years, the cycle for the water dragon is twelve years. Tombs built close to the residences of dragons make the occupants restless. So, tombs should only be built below two *zhang* four *chi*...The statues of cows and pig cast by iron help to repress the dragons.⁸⁵

Liu Su's narrative demonstrates more vivid threats – the dragons – than in the description of the *mizangjing*, though the same concern is reflected in these two texts – the deceased without protection would be restless. More importantly, as in the *mizangjing*, “The spirits will feel lost; the descendants will suffer from inauspicious affairs.” This concern had existed since the Han dynasty. The dead themselves, even though they were once the beloved family members, were a potential threat to the living and may harass them, if their needs were not satisfied.⁸⁶ People's imaginations

⁸⁴ Meng Yuanzhao, “Tang zhi Yuandai muzang zhong chutu de tieniu tiezhu” 唐至元代墓葬中出土的鐵牛鐵豬, *Zhongyuan wenwu*, no.1(2007): 72-79.

⁸⁵ Liu Su, *Da Tang xin yu* 大唐新語 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1984), 195.

⁸⁶ Gao Ming, *Ren shen zhi qi: Song dai maidiquan yanjiu* 人神之契: 宋代買地券研究 (Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe, 2011), 151-158. Zhongguo kexueyuan kaogu yanjiusuo, ed.,

about the afterlife, therefore, include not only the fear of underground evils but also the anxiety that the unsatisfied deceased may return.

In the Ming dynasty, this kind of unease about the afterlife became less apparent in tombs. Only isolated cases of iron pig statues (Figure 1-6) and tomb guardians have been found in today's Fujian and Hainan.⁸⁷ The new *mingqi* that I will discuss in subsequent section show the attempt of bridging the two worlds, rather than separating them. In Ming tombs, we still see burial objects that offer protection to the dead, such as talismans featuring the eight trigrams,⁸⁸ stamps of Daoist deities,⁸⁹ or Daoist amulets.⁹⁰ The difference between these religious amulets and tomb guardians is that the former was an adoption of religious practices used in daily life and was not exclusively designed for the dead. These religious amulets may reflect the thought that the deceased would encounter same problems as they did when they were alive, and the issues could be solved in a similar way as during their life time. The demarcation

Luoyang shaogou Han mu 洛陽燒溝漢墓 (Beijing: Kexue chubanshe, 1959), 154.

⁸⁷ Fuzhoushi wenwu kaogu gongzuodui, ed., “Fuzhoushi xindian Zhu Huanqi Ming mu fajue jianbao” 福州市新店祝恒齊明墓發掘簡報, *Fujian wenbo*, no. 1(2015): 11 Fuzhoushi wenwu kaogu gongzuodui, ed., “Fuzhoushi yuanzhong Ming mu qingli jianbao” 福州市園中明墓清理簡報, *Fujian wenbo*, no.4 (2011): 28-29. (28-32). Zhongguo kaogu xuehui, ed., *Zhongguo kaoguxue nianjian 1995* 中國考古學年鑑 1995 (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1997), 210.

⁸⁸ Jiangxi sheng bowuguan, *Jiangxi Ming dai fanwang mu*, 64, 88, color plate 25.

⁸⁹ Changzhou shi bowuguan, ed., “Changzhou shi Guangcheng lu Ming mu de qingli” 常州市廣成路明墓的清理, *Dongnan wenhua*, no.2 (2006): 45. Changzhou shi bowuguan, ed., “Jiangsu Changzhou Huide nan lu Ming mu fajue jianbao” 江蘇常州懷德南路明墓發掘簡報, *Wenwu*, no.1 (2013): 74.

⁹⁰ Guizhou sheng bowuguan, ed., “Guizhou Sinan Mingdai Zhang Shouzhong fufu mu qingli jianbao” 貴州思南明代張守宗夫婦墓清理簡報, *Wenwu*, no.8 (1982): 29-35. Sichuan sheng wenguanhui, ed., “Sichuan pingwu Ming Wang Xi jiazhu mu” 四川平武明王璽家族墓, *Wenwu*, no.7 (1989): 1-42.

between the living and the dead is not presented as apparent as in these religious amulets, whereas we compare them to *mingqi* solely made for exorcism. This new attitude toward the relationship between the living and the dead find similar counterpart in the burial of the pewter utensils.

An Unorthodox Combination

In the Ming dynasty, the *mingqi* category defined by the government had changed, and my interest goes to one kind of government-approved *mingqi*, that is a set of pewter utensils. By consulting the *Family Rituals*, my research shows that this assemblage is a set of sacrificial utensils used for ancestral worshipping in the family shrine. Wu Hung's analysis of the *Liji* and the *Yili* leads him to the conclusion that *mingqi* cannot include *jiqi* (sacrificial utensils), also called *guiqi* 鬼器 (ghost utensils), because *mingqi* is used by the deceased. Sacrificial utensils, called *renqi* 人器 (human utensils), are used by the living to sacrifice to their ancestors.⁹¹ Another important segregation between *mingqi* and *jiqi* is that, in pre-Qin texts and hereafter, the rituals related to the deceased have been categorized as inauspicious rites, whereas those for

⁹¹ Wu, *The Art of the Yellow Springs*, 77-78, 88. Lai Guolong's research shows that many pre-Han tombs were found containing sacrificial utensils. Lai argues that these utensils were prepared for the deceased to perform sacrificial rites to their ancestors in tombs. Lai, *Excavating the afterlife*, 60, 63.

the ancestors in the ancestral temple or the family shrine had been considered as auspicious rites. The pewter utensils, therefore, are an unorthodox combination of *mingqi* and *jiqi* and are a mixture of auspicious and inauspicious rites.

The Ming ritual handbooks are the only textual sources that provide information about the pewter utensils. In the *Da Ming huidian*, the pewter utensils are prescribed as part of burial essentials bestowed from the emperor, but only the imperial family members and ministers with exceptional noble titles (*gong*, *hou*, and *bo*) were eligible to receive them.⁹² These ritual texts clearly define the types of pewter utensils to be given, and most importantly, categorize them as *mingqi*. This earliest list which contains the types of *mingqi* is a burial gift list dated around 1369. The list was designed for the burial of Chang Yuchun 常遇春 (1330-1369), a prominent general, and afterwards the items on that list constituted the standard bestowal for high-ranking officials.

Mingqi in Chang's burial gift list can be categorized into weapons, pewter utensils, containers for wine and food, furniture, clothes, wooden figurines in the types of servants, warriors, grooms, armored guards. Most of the items on this list are in accordance with Zhu Xi's instructions of what to prepare for the burial, which can be

⁹² Li, *Da Ming huidian*, juan 230, 2734.

found in two sections in his *Family Rituals*. In the section of “Making *mingqi* [Grave Goods],” Zhu Xi describes the production of *mingqi* as “Carve wood to make carts and horses, male and female servants, and all the things needed to care for the deceased. The objects should resemble those used in real life but be smaller.”⁹³ In the section “Prepare the lower-world [underworld] furnishings,” Zhu Xi says the furnishings should be “the bed curtains, cushions, armrests, tables, and the like. These should also resemble those used in life but be smaller.”⁹⁴ The “lower-world furnishings” are also a type of traditional burial objects, but are not necessarily made in *mingqi* form.⁹⁵ Zhu Xi’s separating “the lower-world furnishings” and “*mingqi*,” however, the notion – “used in life but be smaller” – conforms to the concept of “with form but no function,” which is the feature of *mingqi* suggested by pre-Qin thinkers. In the usage of Ming ritual code, “*mingqi*” and “the lower-world furnishing” are not distinguishable but are both incorporated in the *mingqi* category. Through the comparison between these two sections in the *Family Rituals*, we can see that the selection of *mingqi* on Chang’s gift list corresponds to Zhu Xi’s classifications.

⁹³ Translated by Patricia Ebrey. Ebrey, *Chu Hsi’s Family Rituals*, 109. The original Chinese term for “Making Grave Goods” in the *Family Rituals* is *zao mingqi* 造明器.

⁹⁴ Translated by Patricia Ebrey. Ebrey, *Chu Hsi’s Family Rituals*, 110.

⁹⁵ Ruan Guolin, “Tan Nanjing Liuchao muzang zhong de weizhangzuo” 談南京六朝墓葬中的帷帳座, *Wenwu*, no.2 (1991): 86-90. Zhang Yun, “Qian tan xiazhang” 淺談下帳, *Kaogu yu wenwu*, no.6 (2009): 46-48.

The pewter utensils, however, are not categorized as *mingqi* in the *Family Rituals* but are included as *mingqi* in the gift list. The types of pewter utensils on the gift list reads;

Those made of pewter gilded with gold are one water jar, a suit of armor, one helmet, one tea cup with holder dish, one scoop, one wine urn, one saliva cup, one water basin, one incense burner, one pair of candle stands, one incense box, one incense spoon, two incense chopsticks, one incense scoop and one chopstick bottle, one tea pot, one tea cup, two chopsticks, one scoop, one scoop and chopsticks in vessel, two bowls, ten plates, two bellows.⁹⁶

The gift list does not classify these utensils as being for sacrificial purpose. However, in the chapter of “Sacrifice for the Four Seasons” in the *Family Rituals*, we find the types of these pewter utensils similar to that of the sacrificial utensils used in ancestral ceremonies conducted in the ancestral temple or the family shrine. As Zhu Xi describes the sacrifice:

On it [the incense stand] are put an incense burner and incense box. A bundle of reeds and piles of sand go in front of the incense table and on the ground in front of each of the ancestors’ places. Set a wine rack at the top of the eastern steps and also set a table to the east of it, on which place a wine decanter, a cup for making the libation of wine, a plate, another plate for holding the meat offerings, a spoon, a cloth, a box of tea, a tea whisk, a tea cup, a salt saucer, and a bottle of vinegar. The brazier, hot-water pitcher, incense spoon, and tongs go at the top of the western steps. Put a table to the west of them and set the prayer board on it.⁹⁷

The types of pewter utensils and that of the sacrificial utensils in Zhu Xi’s prescription are not exactly the same; the common pieces include an incense burner, vessels with

⁹⁶ Xu, *Ming ji li*, juan 37, 143-144.

⁹⁷ Translated by Patricia Ebrey. Ebrey, *Chu Hsi’s Family Rituals*, 157.

scoop and chopsticks, bowls, plates, different sizes of pots, bottles and cups. Among these utensils, the incense burner is a crucial component in ancestor worship.⁹⁸ Serving the ancestors with incense is a way to achieve a harmonious relationship between the heavenly realm and the human world and to present filial piety of the descendants. The tableware like bowls, plates, and cups were used to offer food, such as fruits, meat, vegetables, and wine to the ancestors.⁹⁹ Pewter plates in the form of *mingqi* found in the Wanli Emperor's imperial mausoleum were inscribed with characters, such as “plate for vegetables (*cai die* 菜碟)” and “plate for fruits (*guo die* 果碟).” (Figure 1-7)¹⁰⁰ These types of food follow the guidelines for ancestral worshipping in the *Family Rituals*.¹⁰¹

Tableware and the incense burner represent two types of offerings – food and incense. Josh Yiu categorizes the offering of food such as wine and meat as the traditional way of sacrificing to ancestors in China. In contrast, incense offering has a Buddhist origin but was deeply “sinicized” and became an indispensable practice in

⁹⁸ Yiu Josh, “The Display of Fragrant Offerings: Altar Sets in China” (PhD diss., University of Oxford, 2005), 36-39.

⁹⁹ Hsieh, Yu-Chen, “Mingchu guanfang qiyong fushi wenyang de xianzhi: Mingchu guizu muzang de suizangpin weli” 明初官方器用 服飾文樣的限制: 明初貴族墓葬的隨葬品為例, *Mingdai yanjiu* 9 (2006): 116.

¹⁰⁰ Zhongguo shehui kexueyuan, *Dingling*, vol.1, 181-182.

¹⁰¹ Zhu, *Zhuqi quanshu*, 937.

Chinese ancestral worshipping during the Tang and Song dynasties.¹⁰² Even Zhu Xi, who referred orthodox Confucian rituals to make these rites more accessible for his contemporaries, was not opposed to the use of incense.¹⁰³ The importance of discerning the functions of these utensils is that tableware can be used by the living in everyday life as well;¹⁰⁴ the incense burner is the key that turns the set of utensils a sacrificial assemblage that is used to bridge the connection between the ancestors and the descendants. In Zhu Xi's *Family Rituals*, we find that burning the incense is a way to make announcements to the ancestors or to invite them to enjoy the sacrifices.¹⁰⁵ A similar scene is also described in an episode of *the Plum in the Golden Vase*.¹⁰⁶

Because of its function of bridging the world of the living and that of the ancestors, Yiu called the incense burner the core of *wugong* 五供 (the five offerings).¹⁰⁷

Wugong is the combination of one incense burner, two flower vases, and two

¹⁰² Yiu, "The Display of Fragrant Offerings," 35-39.

¹⁰³ Yiu, "The Display of Fragrant Offerings," 38-39

¹⁰⁴ In ancient China, food and wine were offered to the ancestors in bronze vessels (or ceramic and lacquer) in the types such as *jue* 爵, *bian* 簋, and *gui* 簠. These types of vessels became an orthodox way to serve their ancestors in subsequent dynasties. The use of this traditional types of utensils had changed in the Ming dynasty. The Hongwu Emperor argued that since his ancestors had never used this kind of ancient vessels in their lifetime, it is meaningless to adopt the antique forms to offer sacrifices to them after they died. He further confirmed his stand that using the utensils that are used in daily life is enough, because Confucius once said, "to serve the dead as if they were still alive." Zhang, *Ming shi*, 1315. Yu Ruji et al., *Libu zhigao* 禮部志稿 (Taipei: Taiwan Shangwu yinshuguan, 1983), juan 83, 480-481. Institute of History and Philology, Academic Sinica, ed., *Mingtaizu shilu* 明太祖實錄 (Taipei: Institute of History and Philology, Academic Sinica, 1964-1966), juan 43, 848. Yiu, "The Display of Fragrant Offerings: Altar Sets in China," 15-17.

¹⁰⁵ Zhu, *Zhuzi quanshu*, 936.

¹⁰⁶ Xiaoxiaosheng, *The Plum in the Golden Vase*, trans. David Tod Roy (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1993), vol. 5, 157.

¹⁰⁷ Yiu, "The Display of Fragrant Offerings," 43

candle stands, all of which became a standard set of sacrificial utensils in the Ming dynasty. In Chang's gift list, we only see three out of five – one incense burner and two candle stands, but in actual burial, all five of them were often presented in Ming tombs. A brief history of the development of *wugong* helps us understand the divergence in textual records and archaeological evidence. Like the incense offering, presenting flowers and candles to honor the deities or the deceased was not an indigenous practice in China but rather this tradition originated in Buddhism. When the offerings of incense, flowers, and candles were internalized as part of the Chinese practice to revere the ancestors, the set of utensils used to present these offerings were gradually standardized as well. According to Yiu and Yuan Quan's studies, in the Tang and Song times, the combination of one incense burner and two candle stands or one incense burner and two flower vases had formed.¹⁰⁸ Although Zhu Xi only accepted the use of incense, archaeological and visual evidence show us that the set of three utensils enjoyed great popularity. Yiu's research further demonstrates that the concept of *wugong* had been developed in the Yuan dynasty, but it was not until the late fifteenth century that the

¹⁰⁸ Yuan Quan, "Xinan chenchuan chushui fanggu qiwu taolun: yi ping lu zhi shi wei zhongxin" 新安沉船出水仿古器物討論:以爐瓶之事为中心, *Gugong bowuyuan yuankan*, no.5 (2013): 84-87. Yiu Josh, "Ming Qing liangdai lingmu de shigongzhou" 明清兩代陵墓的石供桌, in *Guidai muzang meishu yanjiu* 古代墓葬美術研究, ed. Wu Hung (Changsha: Hunan meishu chubanshe, 2013): 362-363. Yiu, "The Display of Fragrant Offerings," 52-53.

combination of these five utensils became a stable and recognizable set.¹⁰⁹ We can see this in the case of Chang Yuchun's burial in 1369, and his gift list was probably drafted around the same time. The timing may explain why the flower vases were not included on his gift list, because the standardized five utensils had not become popular. Another important reference can be found in Qiu Jun's 丘濬 (1421-1495) *Wen gong jiali yi jie* (Rituals of Wen gong's [Zhu Xi] Family Rituals 文公家禮儀節), in which Qiu revised Zhu Xi's *Family Rituals* to make it suitable for Ming society. In Qiu's revision, candle stands were incorporated as the utensils used for ancestral ceremonies.¹¹⁰ This developmental history of *wugong* helps us better understand the combinations we find in actual burials.¹¹¹ They are not always in the combination of five, but these utensils possess the same meaning when performing sacrifices.

Displaying sacrificial offerings in tombs did not originate in the Ming dynasty.¹¹²

¹⁰⁹ Yiu, "The Display of Fragrant Offerings," 23-25, 43, 47.

¹¹⁰ Qiu Jun, *Wengong jiali yijie* 文公家禮儀節 (Jinan: Qilu shushe chubanshe, 1997), 433.

¹¹¹ Some excavations show that *wugong* had been used in burial practices much earlier than textual evidence would suggest. Huebisheng wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo, ed., "Wuchang Longquanshan Mingdai Chu Zhao wang mu fajue jianbao" 武昌龍泉山明代楚昭王墓發掘簡報, *Wenwu*, no.2 (2003): 9.

¹¹² Li Rusen, "Handai musi xintan" 漢代墓祀新探, *Beifang wenwu*, no.1 (1998): 28-33. Li Rusen, *Handai sangzang zhidu* 漢代喪葬制度 (Jilin, Jilin daxue chubanshe, 1995), 62. Shi Jie, "Jiao tong you ming: Xi Han zhouhouwang mu zhong de jisi kongjian" 交通幽明: 西漢諸侯王墓中的祭祀空間, in *Guidai muzang meishu yanjiu*, ed. Wu Hung and Zhu Qingsheng (Hunan: Hunan neishu chubanshe, 2013), 83, 73-93. Huang, "Hanmu xingzhi de bianqian," 49-69. Yang Hong, "Tan Zhongguo Han Tang zhi jian zangsu de yanbian" 談中國漢唐之間葬俗的演變, *Wenwu*, no.10 (1999): 64, 60-68. Gansu sheng bowuguan, ed., "Gansu Wuwei Mozuizi Han mu fajue" 甘肅武威磨嘴子漢墓發掘, *Kaogu*, no.9 (1960): 15-28. Suzhou bowuguan, "Jiangyin Bei Song Ruichang xianjun Sun si niangzi mu," 28-35. Yuan Quan, "Luelun Luowei liuyu Meng Yuan muzang de quyu yu shidai tezheng" 略論“洛-渭”流域蒙元墓葬的區域與時代特徵, *Huaxia kaogu*, no.3 (2013): 113. Datong shi bowuguan, ed., "Datong Jindai Yan Deyuan

However, in most of these early tombs, people used real food and containers to offer sacrifices to the deceased. This custom could be performed as a one-time sacrifice before the tomb was sealed for good.¹¹³ *Mingqi* sacrificial utensils contain no real offerings, which highlights the distinctiveness of Ming practice. Furthermore, this practice was unprecedentedly recognized by the government and had been fulfilled by people of different social classes across broad regions.

However, as Wu Hung's research on pre-Qin texts has shown, using *mingqi* in the form of sacrificial utensils is problematic to Confucian orthodoxy. This contradiction attracts similar criticisms even until the Qing dynasty. Fang Bao (1668-1749) commented on the *mingqi* section in the *Yili* by saying:

The *mingqi* category does not consist of *jiqi* [sacrificial utensils], and this definition is the same to both upper and lower classes. The reason for burying *yongqi* [utensils to be used] and *yueqi* [musical instruments] in the tomb is because the filial son cannot bear [the death of] his parents. *Jiqi* are used to sacrifice to one's ancestors. To bury them in tombs demonstrates a

fajue jianbao” 大同金代閻德源墓發掘簡報, *Wenwu*, no.4 (1978): 1-7. Nanjingshi bowuguan, ed., “Nanjingshi qixiaqu dongyangfang Nanchao mu” 南京市棲霞區東洋坊南朝墓, *Kaogu*, no.6 (2008): 36-42. Datongshi wenwu chenlieguan, “Shanxisheng Datongshi Yuandai Feng Daozhen, Wang Qing mu qingli jianbao” 山西省大同市元代馮道貞 王青墓清理簡報, *Wenwu*, no.10 (1962): 35. Datongshi wenhuaju wenwuke, ed., “Shanxi Datong dongjiao Yuandai Cui Ying Lishi mu” 山西大同東郊元代崔瑩李氏墓, *Wenwu*, no.6 (1987): 87-90. Le Lin, “Tuxiang mingji yu jidian kongjian” 圖像銘記與祭奠空間, *Yishu yansuo* 27, no.4 (2013): 29-36. Dai Chunyang, *Dunhuang Foyemiaowan Xi Jin hua xiang zhuan mu* 敦煌佛爺廟灣西晉畫像磚墓 (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1998), 41. Geng Shou, “Cong shuangshi dao danshi: Weijin muzang xingzhi zhuanbian guocheng zhong de yige guanjian wenti” 從雙室到單室:魏晉墓葬形制轉變過程中的一個關鍵問題, in *Wenwu, wuxian yu wenhua*, ed. Wang Yu (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2017), 28-43.

¹¹³ Some exceptions found in tombs of the Han dynasty. See Shi, *Jiaotong you ming*, 79. Wu, *The Art of the Yellow Springs*, 31-32.

misunderstanding [of ritual] as well as a profanity [to the ancestors]...It is obvious why the emperor's *mingqi* does not include *jiqi*.¹¹⁴

Fang Bao clearly indicates that sacrificial utensils should only be used for sacrificial rites at ancestral temples or family shrines, not in tombs. His commentary highlights the uniqueness of bestowing the new *mingqi* in the Ming dynasty, and an unorthodox way of interpreting and adapting Confucian rituals for burial practice. As prescribed in the governmental ritual manuals, these utensils were recognized by the government to be an essential part of *mingqi*. Although this new *mingqi* violated the ritual prescriptions and were reiterated by scholars like Fang Bao, in chapter five, we will see how this policy may even influence burial practices of those who were not qualified for the bestowal.

The unorthodox combination of *mingqi* and sacrificial utensils illuminates new interpretation of in-tomb sacrificing. The nature of *mingqi* confirms that these utensils were not used for actual sacrifices in tombs before the tombs were sealed as had happened earlier. According to Hong Jeehee's research, as early as in the pre-Qin era, it was recognized that the function of *mingqi* can only be triggered by the deceased; therefore, only the deceased can use *mingqi*.¹¹⁵ However, sacrificial utensils involve

¹¹⁴ Fang Bao, *Yili xiyi* 儀禮析疑 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1987), 213.

¹¹⁵ Hong, "Mechanism of Life for the Netherworld," 162.

interaction with the living – descendants present the offerings in these utensils to sacrifice to their ancestor and the soul of the ancestor accepts those sacrifices. As Chinese tombs were rarely reopened for sacrificial purpose, burying such sacrificial utensils suggests the needs of the deceased, which their descendants envisioned were to receive symbolic and consistent offerings in tombs. This practice allows us to understand how Ming people defined their relationship to the buried deceased and how they distinguished the difference between the soul staying in the tomb and that residing in the ancestral temple or the family shrine.

Conclusion

Scholars have proposed that Chinese tombs feature a combination of dynamic assumptions and solutions about the afterlife.¹¹⁶ In the Ming dynasty, as the interest of decorating tombs as underground residence had faded, new practices show that the preservation of the body and the sacrifices to the buried deceased became new concerns when people prepared for burial. By studying the arrangements in Ming tombs, the care for the buried deceased suggests an emotional attachment to them, not the fear of their

¹¹⁶ Wu, *The Art of the Yellow Springs*, 35. Jue Guo, “Concepts of Death and the Afterlife Reflected in Newly Discovered Tomb Objects and Texts from Han China,” in *Mortality in Traditional Chinese Thought*, 104.

returning to haunt the living. It is the physical existence of the body that stimulates memory and sentiment; the orthodox way of presenting the ancestors through tablets failed to satisfy such needs. The tombs therefore became a site of memory, and the burial arrangements reveal the attempt of fastening a connection between the deceased and the descendants. As the sequent chapters will discuss, the longings of keeping the deceased in the life of the living is also demonstrated in other changes in death rituals in the Ming dynasty.

Chapter Two

Mapping the Capital and the Imperial Mausoleum in Nanjing: The Deceased are Never Far Away

Starting with Ming founder, the Hongwu Emperor, Ming imperial mausoleums underwent a series of transitions presented by their relationship to the capital, mausoleum layout, administrative institutions, and ritual practices, which I will discuss in this chapter and the next. I argue that these changes in burial practices on the imperial level inform us of the ways in which the Hongwu Emperor had adjusted Confucian death rituals to satisfy his grief to beloved deceased family members. Confucian ritual defines the appropriateness of acts of individuals and of their interrelationship to others, which includes the relationship to the deceased. Chinese rulers believe that a harmonious society could be achieved if everyone followed rituals and behaved accordingly; therefore, in most dynasties, the emperors portray themselves to be the highest Confucian. The Hongwu Emperor was no exception to this tradition. However, intriguingly enough, what he actually did in situating the mausoleum had challenged what the Confucian ritual has prescribed that the dead and their tombs should be separated from the living space of the living. These new practices on the imperial burial rituals suggest a new way of interpreting the relationship between

descendants and their ancestors, and this relationship was recognized by the highest authority.

In this chapter, I will discuss how this new relationship to the deceased was manifested through the spatial arrangement between Xiaoling, the imperial mausoleum of the Hongwu Emperor and his empress, and the first Ming capital Nanjing.

Traditionally, imperial mausoleums were not far from the capitals for reasons such as needs for timely maintenance and protection from the government.¹ However, Xiaoling's position is exceptional – Xiaoling was encircled by the city wall of Nanjing, which makes it the first and only case in Chinese history that an imperial mausoleum was part of the capital. The causes of this unique arrangement were poorly documented; therefore, I investigate evidence such as the precedents of other capital-mausoleum plans, and the Hongwu Emperor's relationship to his parents and ancestors to come to several reasons for this arrangement. By analyzing the spatial arrangement and textual evidence, I argue that the Hongwu Emperor's strong emotional attachment to his ancestors is a crucial element for us to understand the capital-mausoleum plan in the

¹ Shen Runwen, *Tangling de buju: kongjian yu zhixu* 唐陵的佈局: 空間與秩序 (Beijing: Beijing daxue chubanshe, 2009), 14. Liu, 362-363. Sun Xiangkuan, "Mingtaizu zhongdu xingge kaolue" 明太祖中都興革考略, in *Mingshi lunwenji: Diliujie mingshi guoji xueshu yantaohui*, ed. Chen Huairan (Anhui: Huangshan shushe chubanshe, 1997), 685. Xu Weimin, *Qinhan lishi dili yanjiu* 秦漢歷史地理研究 (Xi'an: Sanqin chubanshe, 2005), 340. Qin Jianming, "Jiang Baolian, Tang chu zhu ling yu Daming gong de kongjian buju chutan" 唐初諸陵與大明宮的空間布局初探, *Wenbo*, no.4 (2003): 43-48.

early Ming. This emphasis on emotions validates the longings that transcend Confucian teaching. The deceased are not separated from the world of living and are never far away from the living in the state of mind as well as in the physical presence.

Literature Review and Research Approaches

Xiaoling and Nanjing have been well studied by scholars; however, only a few studies have addressed the reason why the capital and the mausoleum were designed in relation to one another. Because of limited textual evidence, scholars who try to answer this question use the concept of geomancy – a belief in the auspicious natural landscape or the correspondence between landscape and architecture that has an impact on the fortune of people. Scholars like Xiang Yangming propose that the logic behind the design of Xiaoling and Nanjing was based on the principles of *Taiji* 太極. The basic concept of *Taiji* is that the balance between the positive energy (*yang* 陽) and the negative energy (*yin* 陰) in the universe is essential to the harmonious relationship between human beings and that between human beings and the cosmos. On the one hand, the capital is the living space of the emperor, so the capital Nanjing represents *yang*. On the other hand, Xiaoling is the residence for the deceased emperor, so the mausoleum represents *yin*. The adjacency between Xiaoling and Nanjing, therefore,

manifests the interplay of *yang* and *yin* in capital planning.² This argument sheds light on our understanding on this capital-mausoleum plan, though it brings out further questions. If incorporating the imperial mausoleum into the confines of the capital conforms to such ideal plan of geomancy, why is it the only case in Chinese history? Does this Nanjing-Xiaoling arrangement suggest any distinctive nature of the relationship between the imperial mausoleum and the capital in the Ming dynasty?

In this chapter, I treat geomancy differently from the way current scholarship has investigated the early Ming capital-mausoleum pattern. When using geomancy to discuss the chosen sites for the capital(s) and mausoleum(s) in the early Ming dynasty, scholars usually credit the auspicious geomancy of these sites to the natural terrain and historical legend. My research has landed my emphasis on the imperial mausoleums themselves, which were believed to make the land auspicious for building the capital and for contributing to the fortune of the Ming dynasty. Such belief, I argue, derived from the Hongwu Emperor's emotions toward the ancestors, so the ancestors and their mausoleums were highly valued as being part of living world and of being the origin of

² Xiang Yangming, "Liu Ji yu Nanjing de minggugong he mingxiaoling" 劉基與南京的明故宮和明孝陵, *Mingshi yanjiu* (2012): 96-99. Wang Yubin, "Luelun Nanjing mingchengqiang yu mingxiaoling lingqiang de guanxi" 略論南京明城牆與明孝陵陵牆的關係, in *Chengqiang kexue baohuluntan lunwenji*, ed. Yang Xinghua (Nanjing: Fenghuang chubanshe, 2008), 142-44. Xia Yurun, "Ming xiaoling de buju jiqi wenhua neihan: jianxi mingnanjingcheng de buju" 明孝陵的佈局及其文化內涵-兼析明南京城的佈局, in *Dishijie mingshi guoji xueshu taolunhui lunwenjin*, ed. Zhongguo mingshi xuehui (Beijing: Renmin ribao chubanshe, 2005), 514-525.

dynastic good fortune. With limited textual evidence, I look for similar logic manifested in how the Hongwu Emperor arranged the imperial mausoleums of his ancestors and his earliest capital planning before Nanjing.

I will start with looking into the relationship between the Middle Capital (Zhongdu 中都) and Huangling, the imperial mausoleum of the Hongwu Emperor's parents, in Fengyang which is in today's Anhui Province. The Middle Capital was located close to Huangling, similar to the physical relationship between Nanjing and Xiaoling. Fengyang is the Hongwu Emperor's birthplace and his parents' burial site. The Middle Capital was the capital-to-be, though it was eventually replaced by Nanjing as the first Ming capital. Why was Fengyang chosen as the site of the Middle Capital? Why was the Middle Capital built close to Huangling? Answers to these two questions help us to understand the logical connection between the capital, the imperial mausoleum, personal sentiment, and the dynastic fortune all fastened together in this spatial design.

Fengyang and the Middle Capital

In this section, I will discuss why Fengyang was selected in the first place as the site of the capital. The process of decision making reveals that being the Hongwu

Emperor's birthplace and his parents' burial site made Fengyang an attractive candidate, even though Fengyang is deficient in defensibility and historical legacy to serve the role of a capital. Although the plan was eventually terminated, I argue, this capital-mausoleum arrangement that went along with the Middle Capital construction brings light to the later planning for Nanjing and Xiaoling. This precedent allows us to trace the rationale of this spatial adjacency and to avoid the assumption that Nanjing-Xiaoling plan was only an isolated practice.

When the Ming dynasty was established in 1368, the Hongwu Emperor had three locations in mind for his capital.³ They are Nanjing, his military base since 1356; Kaifeng, the old capital of the Northern Song dynasty; and Fengyang.⁴ In 1369, Fengyang was assigned as the site of the future capital, the Middle Capital.⁵ Extravagant construction had begun to turn Fengyang, a backwater in Chinese history, into a magnificent imperial city.⁶ All of a sudden, in 1374, the Middle Capital plan was halted and Nanjing was appointed as the capital. Scholars propose that the tremendous costs and labors exhausted in building the Middle Capital are the major reasons why

³ Wu Han, *Zhu Yuanzhang zhuan* 朱元璋傳 (Hong Kong: Zhuanjin wenxueshe, 1949), 143.

⁴ Edward Farmer, *Early Ming Government: The Evolution of Dual Capitals* (Cambridge, MA: East Asian Research Center, 1976), 51. Nancy Steinhardt, *Chinese Imperial City Planning* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1990), 166. Frederick Mote, "Transformation of Nanking, 1350-1400," in *The City in Late Imperial China*, ed. William Skinner (California: Stanford University Press, 1977), 129.

⁵ Institute of History and Philology, Academic Sinica, *Taizu shilu*, juan 45, 880-881.

⁶ Farmer, *Early Ming Government*, 46. Frederick Mote, and Denis Twitchett, ed., *The Cambridge history of Chinese*, vol.7, *The Ming dynasty, 1368-1644* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 118.

the construction that had lasted six years was ended.⁷ To read the message behind the cessation of the Middle Capital plan in another way, I argue, the construction demonstrates that the Hongwu Emperor had a strong motivation to transform Fengyang into the political center of his empire regardless of its fragile defensive capacity and the costly expenses. The Hongwu Emperor's attempt serves as a reference for us to evaluate his intense interest in building his capital in Fengyang.

None of these three sites is perfect. Kaifeng gained superiority through its historical legacy but had been ruined during wars.⁸ Nanjing possessed the most prominent natural landscape for military defenses, though was limited because of its peripheral position.⁹ Therefore, current studies show us that Fengyang was chosen because it stands at the center of the Ming territory, and this central position made the control of the entire empire more accessible.¹⁰ My follow-up question is that Fengyang was not the only city situated in the central region of Ming territory, when the Ming government looked for a central land, why was Fengyang chosen to compete with Kaifeng and Nanjing?

⁷ Wang Jianying, *Mingzhongdu yangjiu* 明中都研究 (Beijing: Zhongguo qingnian chubanshe, 2005), 34. Farmer, *Early Ming Government*, 42, 49, 53. Wu, *Zhu Yuanzhang zhuan*, 146. Institute of History and Philology, Academic Sinica, *Taizu shilu*, juan 99, 1684.

⁸ Farmer, *Early Ming Government*, 45-46, 50.

⁹ Farmer, *Early Ming Government*, 45. Xu Hong, "Mingchu Nanjing de chengshi guihua yu renkou bianqian" 明初南京的城市規劃與人口變遷, *Shihuo yuekan* 10, no.3 (1980): 89.

¹⁰ Farmer, *Early Ming Government*, 45.

The suggestions of Liu Ji 劉基 (1311-1375), the most influential consultant trusted by the Hongwu Emperor, show that, aside from the consideration of Fengyang's central position, the emperor's birthplace is a key factor to finalize the decision.¹¹ According to Liu Ji's epitaph, his last suggestion before his resignation is that "although Fengyang is the hometown of the imperial family, it is not a suitable place for building the capital."¹² The reason Fengyang was considered unsuitable by Liu Ji is unclear in his epitaph and other historical records, such as the *Ming shilu* and the *Ming shi*, in which Liu's words were cited.¹³ In a memorial of 1557 collected in *Fengyang xin shu* 鳳陽新書 (*The New Book of Fengyang*), an early seventeenth-century gazetteer of Fengyang, Liu Ji's words were quoted to show that Fengyang's natural defense is weak, thus the locals would need to build walls to protect people and their properties. The text cites Liu Ji as saying, "although Fengyang is your majesty's home county, it is not a suitable place for building the capital,"¹⁴ and "the heart of your majesty misses the imperial home county and is longing to stay in Fengyang for good."¹⁵ We cannot affirm that the memorial of 1557 explains why Fengyang was an inappropriate place in

¹¹ Farmer, *Early Ming Government*, 50. Sun, "Mingtaizu zhongdu xingge kaolue," 684.

¹² Jiao Hong, *Guochao xianzheng lu* 國朝獻徵錄 (Taipei: Mingwen chubanshe, 1991), vol.1, juan 9, 287. Institute of History and Philology, Academic Sinica, *Taizu shilu*, juan 99, 1689. Zhang, *Ming shi*, 3780.

¹³ Institute of History and Philology, Academic Sinica, *Taizu shilu*, juan 99, 1689. Zhang, *Ming shi*, 3780.

¹⁴ Yuan Wenxin, *Fengyang xin shu* 鳳陽新書 (Shanghai: Shanghai cishu chubanshe, 2013), vol. 9, 272.

¹⁵ Yuan, *Fengyang xin shu*, vol. 9, 278. Farmer, *Early Ming Government*, 53.

the way that Liu Ji opposed it almost two hundred years earlier. However, these voices from the ministers show that being the emperor's hometown gives Fengyang privileged prerequisite to be considered and to be selected as the capital. The Hongwu Emperor's investment in building the Middle Capital further discloses his eagerness to start his new dynasty with where he was from. This yearning to his hometown matters when we zoom in to investigate the location where the palaces of the Middle Capital were selected; another nostalgic attachment of the Hongwu Emperor – his parents' burial site – plays a decisive role.

Huangling and the Middle Capital

The adjacency between Huangling and the palaces of the Middle Capital is described as an embracing proximity in the *New Book of Fengyang*.¹⁶ Although Huangling was not encircled by the wall of the Middle Capital as the case of Xiaoling and Nanjing, this spatial intimacy between the imperial mausoleum and the capital is still rare in Chinese history. More importantly, these two capital-mausoleum projects were constructed under the command of the same man – the Hongwu Emperor. Therefore, this arrangement is a unique case for us to investigate the causes of such

¹⁶ Yuan, *Fengyang xin shu* vol. 9, 256.

proximity, which brings light to the possible similarities to the Nanjing-Xiaoling design.

In this section, I will focus on the original burial site of the Hongwu Emperor's parents because it embodies their presence of them whom the Emperor attributed his success of establishing a new dynasty and the grief of losing them to. Therefore, the original burial site plays a determining role in locating the site of the Middle Capital – the political site that runs the dynasty inherited from his parents' benevolence. This argument is based on Sun Xiangkuan's research,¹⁷ but where I disagree with Sun's argument is that the Huangling-the Middle Capital case conforms to other historical patterns. For example, Sun takes for granted that the mausoleums are always close to the capitals, and the emperor's birthplace is always considered as an auspicious site. Such oversimplified analysis neglects how the concepts of geomancy and the chosen sites for the capital and the imperial mausoleum were manipulated and interpreted in different ways in different dynasties. My research is to scrutinize the differences that feature the sentimental attachment of the Hongwu Emperor to his parents.

Throughout Chinese history, the distance between the capital and the imperial mausoleum is not solidly defined in either historical records or existing scholarship. In

¹⁷ Sun, "Mingtaizu zhongdu xingge kaolue," 684-686.

the Tang dynasty, the area where Tang mausoleums was located is approximately fifty miles from the capital Chang'an, whereas the Northern Song capital and its mausoleum valley is about seventy-five miles apart.¹⁸ In the case of the Middle Capital and Huangling, scholars like Edward Farmer and Liu Yi agree that, being only 12 *li* (6 miles) away from the Middle Capital, Huangling can be considered as part of the capital planning.¹⁹ If one exits the southern gate of the Middle Capital, Huangling can be seen a few miles away (Figure 2-1).²⁰ In addition to the distance, their architectural correspondence is another piece of evidence used by scholars to argue that the Middle Capital and Huangling are one entity. The *New Book of Fengyang* contains a memorial composed in 1533 saying: "The emperor then built the imperial city (the Middle Capital) in the shape of half-moon to embrace Huangling."²¹ Huangling's main gate faces a northeasterly direction, which contradicts the tradition of facing south in many

¹⁸ Wang Shuanghuai, "Guanzhong tangling de dili fenbu jiqi tezheng" 關中唐陵的地理分布及其特徵, *Xi'an lianhe daxue xuebao* 4, no.1 (2001): 65. Henansheng wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo, ed., *Beisong huangling* 北宋皇陵 (Zhengzhou: Zhongzhou guji chubanshe, 1997), 3.

¹⁹ Farmer, *Early Ming Government*, 49. Steinhardt, *Chinese Imperial City Planning*, 167. Ann Paludan, *The Chinese Spirit Road: the Classical Tradition of Stone Tomb Statuary* (New Haven Conn: Yale University Press, 1991), 157. Liu, *Mingdai diwang lingmu zhidu yanjiu*, 63. Sun Xiangkuan, "Fengyang minghuangling muxiang yanjiu" 鳳陽明皇陵墓向研究, in *Zhongguo zijincheng xuehui lunwenji*, ed. Jin Hongkui (Beijing: Gugong chubanshe, 2012), vol.7, 308-09. Gu yanwu, *Zhaoyuzhi* 肇域志 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2004) vol. 1, 11. Chen Huairan and Xia Yurui, "Shixi Minghuangling de tedian" 試析明皇陵的特點, in *Shoujie mingdai diwang lingqin yantaohui lunwenji* (Beijing: Kexue chubanshe, 2000), 25.

²⁰ Wang, *Mingzhongdu yangjiu*, 146.

²¹ Yuan, *Fengyang xin shu*, vol. 9, 256.

other imperial mausoleums in Chinese history.²² The main gate of Huangling thus faces the southern gate of the Middle Capital in the “embracing” design as described in the memorial (Figure 2-1).²³ The distance and the architectures suggest that Huangling and the Middle Capital were a related compound, and the timeline of when these two compounds began to be built indicates another layer of relationship.

As Sun Xiangkuan’s research has suggested, this timeline shows that the site of Huangling was identified earlier than the construction of the Middle Capital. This order makes the assumption – the location of Huangling could be an influential element to finalize the site to build the Middle Capital – possible. In the spring of 1366, before the Ming dynasty was established, Zhu Yuanzhang who later became the Hongwu Emperor dispatched Fengyang locals who served in his army to search for his parents’ grave and then to begin initial repairs.²⁴ Soon after Zhu declared his Mandate of Heaven, his parents’ tomb was entitled as the imperial mausoleum in the second month of 1369.²⁵ Followed by elevating the status of his parents’ grave, the Hongwu Emperor

²² Yang Kuan, *Zhongguo gudai ducheng zhidushi yanjiu* 中國古代都城制度史研究 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1993), 186. Liu, *Mingdai diwang lingmu zhidu yanjiu*, 62.

²³ Scholars argue that fengshui is the reason why the direction of Huangling’s major gate shifted for the Middle Capital. Liu, *Mingdai diwang lingmu zhidu yanjiu*, 62-64. Wang Jianying, “Mingzhongdu” 明中都, *Gugong bowuyuan yuankan*, no.2 (1991): 61-69. Sun, “Fengyang minghuangling muxiang yanjiu,” 308-309.

²⁴ Liu Ying, *Chenghua zhongduzhi* 成化中都志 (Shanghai: Shanghai shuju, 1990) vol.1, 392.

²⁵ Institute of History and Philology, Academic Sinica, *Taizu shilu*, juan 39, 788.

commanded the stone stele and the stone figurines to be implemented, which turns the scale of their ordinary tomb into a mausoleum for the imperial ancestors.²⁶ Seven months later, in the ninth month of 1369, the edict naming Fengyang as the site of the future Middle Capital was issued.²⁷ This timeline shows a possible connection that the chosen site of the Middle Capital palaces is relevant to where Huangling was located, but a question to be answered is why the site of Huangling is relevant.

I argue that it is because the Hongwu Emperor believed the site of Huangling was a land with auspicious geomancy. The fact that people attribute their success to the geomancy of their ancestral tombs is not uncommon in Chinese society. However, if we compare the relocations of imperial mausoleums for political purposes in preceding times, the Hongwu Emperor valued the original burial sites of his parents and ancestors in a more reverential manner. Honoring the original burial sites is significant to my argument, because it validates that the auspicious geomancy was directly related to his ancestors, not made-up reinterpretations as I will discuss in the next section.

A stone stele erected at Huangling in 1378 contains a commemorative essay, which shows how the Hongwu Emperor positively perceived his impoverished past and

²⁶ *Fengyang xin shu* has similar records. See Yuan, *Fengyang xin shu*, vol.8, 475

²⁷ Institute of History and Philology, Academic Sinica, *Taizu shilu*, juan 45, 880.

his parents' status as peasants after he ascended to the throne.²⁸ This essay has two versions. The first version was drafted on the emperor's behalf by his minister, Li Shanchang 李善長 (1314-1390) in 1369.²⁹ The Hongwu Emperor turned down Li's version and composed one himself in 1378, because he believed Li's writing embellished what he and his family had suffered.³⁰ Even though Li's version was criticized by the Hongwu Emperor for being too flashy, these two texts both present a humble story rather than a fashioned one wrapped with lofty ancestral line or mysterious legends. The same kind of tone in these two essays thus shows the Hongwu Emperor's attitude for not evading the connection between his true past, including the death and burial of his parents, with the dynasty he built. In the narrative of the Hongwu Emperor's own version, he said,

In the past, my imperial father traveled around to earn a living. The farming work was harsh; the life was restless days and nights. At the time, scourges were frequent, and our family was in disastrous circumstances. My imperial father passed away at the age of sixty-four; my imperial mother died at fifty-nine; my oldest brother also died early. The whole household mourned their deaths. Our landlord mercilessly drove us away, roaring arrogantly. He was not willing to

²⁸ Institute of History and Philology, Academic Sinica, *Taizu shilu*, juan 118, 1926. Fengyangxian luyou fazhan youxian gongsi, ed., *Fengyang minghuangling jianzhi yu shike yishu* 鳳陽明皇陵建制與石刻藝術 (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 2012), 52.

²⁹ Institute of History and Philology, Academic Sinica, *Taizu shilu*, juan 39, 788. Jiao, *Guo chao xian zheng lu*, juan 11, 379.

³⁰ Institute of History and Philology, Academic Sinica, *Taizu shilu*, juan 118, 1926. Institute of History and Philology, Academic Sinica, ed., *Mingrenzong shilu* 明仁宗實錄 (Taipei: Institute of History and Philology, Academic Sinica, 1964-1966), juan 10, 313. Lang Ying, *Qi xiu lei gao* 七修類稿 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1959), 114. Long Wenbin, *Ming hui yao* 明會要 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1956), juan 17, 269.

give us the land [for the interment], and the neighbors were all grieved about that. Unexpectedly, his brother was generously enough to offer this yellow ground out of benevolence. They were buried without coffins and only covered with filthy clothes. [We] shallowly buried them three *chi* under the ground; no sacrifices of food or wine were offered to them.³¹

With regrets and sorrows, the Hongwu Emperor was eager to rebury his parents in a glorious way after he came to the throne. His enthusiastic attempt was rebuked by geomancy specialists, because “if the grave is unearthed, the auspicious energy stored in the nearby mountain and river would be sabotaged and [my] parents’ spirits would be disturbed.”³² Therefore, Huangling was built as an expanded compound based on the original burial site. The motivation of the reburial matters. For the Hongwu Emperor, the reburial is to honor his parents in the way they deserved, rather than other calculated reasons such as political or geomantic purposes. Their modest background was not obliterated as they were incorporated into the imperial ancestral line. Their original burial site therefore was esteemed as a ground with auspicious geomancy, which may be ideal for building the capital.

Another piece of evidence about the decision to build the capital at the emperor’s birthplace comes from the records in the Huangling stele manuscripts and the *Ming shilu*, in which the Hongwu Emperor often attributed his success to the blessings and

³¹ Lang, *Qi xiu lei gao*, 117.

³² Lang, *Qi xiu lei gao*, 115-116. Long, *Ming hui yao*, 132. Zhang, *Ming shi*, 1445.

the protection of his ancestors.³³ The original burial sites were among the crucial places for the Hongwu Emperor to convey his gratitude and respect, and this site became a token of the ancestral blessings through the interpretation of geomancy.³⁴ This connection between the imperial ancestors, their tombs, and the dynasty gradually became rooted in the political discourses of the Ming dynasty. In records since the middle of the Ming dynasty, we find statements such as “Huangling is the basis of million-year longevity of the Ming dynasty.”³⁵ I argue that this statement shows that the ancestral burial site as a contribution to the establishment of the Ming dynasty and as the guarantee of the dynastic longevity had been accepted by the Hongwu Emperor’s successors.

³³ Two more examples also demonstrate how the Hongwu Emperor valued his ancestral line. First, the Hongwu Emperor traced his maternal ancestors and rebuilt his maternal grandfather’s tomb named *yangwang fen* 揚王墳 (the tomb of the King Yang) in Sizhou County, which is in today’s Jiangsu Province. Although this tomb was only titled as tomb rather than imperial mausoleum, the sacrificial arrangement was the same as his paternal ancestor mausoleum. Second, in the year of 1378, the Hongwu Emperor assigned his ancestors to be the companions of the deities of the Heaven and Earth and of the Soil and Grains during the sacrificial ceremonies. John D. Langlois’ study shows that this act was to promote the status of his ancestors and to make them resemble that of the heavenly gods. See Zeng Weicheng, *Di xiang ji lue* 帝鄉紀略 (Taipei: Chengwen chubanshe, 1985), 122-124, 128. Zhang, *Ming shi*, 1266-1267, John Langlois, “The Hung-wu reign 1368–1398,” in *The Cambridge History of China, vol. 7: The Ming Dynasty, 1368-1644*, ed. Frederick Mote and Denis Twitchett (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 137. Institute of History and Philology, Academic Sinica, *Taizu shilu*, juan 23, 329.

³⁴ Lang, *Qi xiu lei gao*, 116. Institute of History and Philology, Academic Sinica, *Taizu shilu*, juan 14, 190; juan 20, 282, and juan 98, 1671.

³⁵ Zhu, *Lidai lingqin beikao*, 313. Chen Zilong, ed., *Huangming jingshi wenbian* 皇明經世文編 (Taipei: Guolian tushu chuban youxian gongsi, 1964), juan.9, 542. Zeng, *Di xiang ji lue*, vol. 4, 1256. Yuan, *Fengyang xin shu*, vol. 8, 213. Institute of History and Philology, Academic Sinica ed., *Mingyingzong shilu* 明英宗實錄 (Taipei: Institute of History and Philology, Academic Sinica, 1964-1966), juan 211, 4534. Institute of History and Philology, Academic Sinica ed., *Mingshenzong shilu* 明神宗實錄 (Taipei: Institute of History and Philology, Academic Sinica, 1964-1966), juan 343, 6359. Institute of History and Philology, Academic Sinica ed., *Mingxizong shilu* 明熹宗實錄 (Taipei: Institute of History and Philology, Academic Sinica, 1964-1966), juan 77, 3719.

The Hongwu Emperor's strong sentiment toward his parents and ancestors was not only present in his attitudes toward their interment, but also in other ritual reforms. One of these reforms that also manifests a spatial proximity is the building of the Fengxian Palace 奉先殿 (the Hall for Offerings to the Imperial Forebears) in Nanjing. As described by John Langlois as "perhaps the emperor's most significant innovation in 1370,"³⁶ this Hall replaced some of the functions of the Imperial Ancestral Temple. In terms of spatial proximity, the Imperial Ancestral Temple was located outside the palace city, whereas the Hall was built within the palace city which housed the residential palaces of the imperial family members (Figure 2-2).³⁷ The distance is more accessible for the imperial household members to serve their ancestors day and night in familial way.³⁸ This arrangement speaks to the Hongwu Emperor's desire of serving his parents, as he said, "The happiness of serving them [my parents] was not enough when they were alive; the pain of missing my dear parents is deep after they died."³⁹ Traditionally, ancestral worshipping ceremonies took place in the Imperial Ancestral Temple and were managed by state officials on designated dates because the imperial

³⁶ John Langlois, "The Hung-wu reign 1368–1398," 124.

³⁷ Zhang, *Ming shi*, 1331. Xu Hong, "Ming chu Nanjing de dushi gui Hua yu renkou bianqian" 明初南京的都市規劃與人口變遷, *Shihuo yukan* 10, no.3 (1980), 92.

³⁸ Institute of History and Philology, Academic Sinica ed., *Mingtaizhu baoxun* (Taipei: Institute of History and Philology, Academic Sinica, 1964-1966), juan 1, 31.

³⁹ Institute of History and Philology, Academic Sinica, *Taizhu baoxun*, juan 1, 31.

ancestors were honored as the root of the entire dynasty, not just of the single imperial household. The Hongwu Emperor was unsatisfied with such physical and ritual distance, so he built this Hall. A monthly offering with seasonal fresh food to the ancestors called *jianxin* 薦新 was no longer conducted at the Imperial Ancestral Temple but at the Hall offered by the imperial household members. The purpose of offering seasonal food to the ancestors is to serve them as if they were still alive; thus, they were believed to enjoy the fresh food in the same way as the living.⁴⁰ To switch this rite to the Hall and to have it performed by the imperial household members, not state officials, manifests the familial bond with strong emotional basis.

From evidence given above, we can see that the Hongwu Emperor's sentimental attachment to his parents explains a dream he had five days after the plan of building the Middle Capital at Fengyang had been announced. This dream brings us back to the relationship between Huangling and the Middle Capital. The Hongwu Emperor's dialogue with his minister(s) on the ninth month and eighteenth day was recorded as:

I lost my parents during the hard time. Now I am so rich that I own the four seas, but I can no longer serve them for one day. This is the pain of my whole life. Last night, I dreamed that my parents and I met with joy, as if they were still alive. In the beginning, parents and descendants share the same breath and their spirits are

⁴⁰ Institute of History and Philology, Academic Sinica, *Taizu shilu*, juan 59, 1151-1152; juan 61, 1187-1189. Li, *Da Ming huidian*, juan 89, 1411. Zhang, *Ming shi*, 1331.

connected. How could the netherworld be a different path [from the living world]?⁴¹

This dream reflects the Hongwu Emperor's regret for not being able to serve his parents in their life time and his wish to have the reunion with them again. The timing that he had this dream may not be in a coincidence with the announcement of the Middle Capital plan. From his dream, to build his capital in Fengyang where his parents' tomb was located could be a way for the Hongwu Emperor to make up "the pain of his whole life," especially since he states that the world of dead was not completely separated from the living's world. The adjacency between the Middle Capital and Huangling could reflect the desire behind this dream as well as the motivation of the building of the new Hall – that is to make the ancestral worshipping physically accessible as the ancestors were still living in the household.

Imperial Mausoleums and Dynasty Building

Lang Ying 郎瑛 (1487-1566), a mid-Ming bibliophile, made comments on the two versions of the Huangling stele manuscripts. His comments exhibit the function of

⁴¹ Institute of History and Philology, Academic Sinica, *Taizhu baoxun*, juan 1, 30. Similar case found in Qian Qianyi, *Lie chao shi ji* 列朝詩集 (Beijing: Zhonhua shuju, 2007), vol.1, 2.

imperial ancestral line in building the dynasty, and he compared the Hongwu

Emperor's distinctive perspectives to the previous emperors:

As honored as being an emperor, as rich as owning the four seas, none of them [previous emperors] avoided overstating their ancestral backgrounds in order to bring light to the future of their dynasties. Therefore, there were even cases of fabricating the ancestral line. Who would be like my Taizu [the Hongwu Emperor] illustrating his humble background? This shows his heroic and divine nature, which cannot be compared to ordinary people.⁴²

Lang Ying's comments reveal that the Hongwu Emperor had no intention to hide his modest background from a peasant family. As he believed his success originated from the blessings of his ancestors, their original burial site thus serves as a token that the Hongwu Emperor could extend the ancestral blessings to the fortune of the Ming dynasty. Following Lang's comparison, I explore the mechanisms behind selecting burial sites for the imperial ancestors in the Tang and Song dynasties, as a way to highlight the Hongwu Emperor's uniqueness in honoring the true line and the original burial sites.

The Tang dynasty had two mausoleum valleys. Most Tang emperors were buried in the Guanzhong valley near the capital, in today's Shaanxi Province. Only the great grandfather and the great great grandfather of Tang founder were reburied in the

⁴² Lang, *Qi xiu lei gao*, 114. Lang Ying is not the only person who admired the Hongwu Emperor's humble background and his achievement. See Edward Isaac Luper, "Lord and Minister Like Fish and Water: Xu Wei's Poems on Emperors Past and Present," *Ming Studies* 75 (2017): 8-10. Harry Miller, "Wishful Thinking About Zhu Yuanzhang in Late Ming Historical and Political Discourse," in *Long Live the Emperor!* ed. Sarah Schneewind (Minneapolis: Society for Ming Studies, 2008), 107-135.

Zhaoqing valley in today's Hebei Province.⁴³ According to Shen Ruiwen's study, the "reburial" of the forefathers in Hebei, rather than in Shaanxi, was a political strategy to embellish the ancestral line of the Tang imperial house and to gain support from the Hebei area.⁴⁴ Hebei had a distinctive regional culture and was the birthplace of many prominent and well-educated clans since the Han dynasty.⁴⁵ Numerous Tang officials were recruited from the Hebei area.⁴⁶ Current scholarship has shown that Hebei's distinctiveness in its regional identity and cultural pride made this region strong enough to contend with imperial authority. In order to win support from the powerful clans in Hebei, the Tang imperial house portrayed their ancestral line as one of the clans originating from there. However, the truth is that these forefathers were not Hebei natives, but only served their official obligations there.⁴⁷ The strategy of this "reburial" acts as a strong gesture to conceal the fact that Tang ancestors were a non-Han ethnic group from the west, and to fabricate a blood-tie connection with the Hebei area in the

⁴³ Wang Pu, *Tang hui yao* 唐會要 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1991), 1-2. Shen, *Tangling de buju: kongjian yuzhixu*, 11. Li Lanke, "Longyao tangling, guangyesibei yu litang zhujì" 隆堯唐陵 光業寺碑與李唐祖籍, *Wenwu*, no. 4 (1988): 55-65.

⁴⁴ Shen, *Tangling de buju: kongjian yu zhixu*, 23-25.

⁴⁵ Qi Dongfang, "Suitang huandao wenhua de xingcheng yu fazhan," 133-160. Cui Shiping, "Tangsong muzang suojian yiyu yu zangsu chuanbo," 81-86.

⁴⁶ Nicolas Tackett, "Wantang hebeiren dui songchu wenhua de yingxiang- yi sangzangwenhua yuyin yiji xinxing jingyin fengmao weili" 晚唐河北人對宋初文化的影響-以喪葬文化、語音以及新興菁英風貌為例, *Tangyanjiu* 19 (Beijing: Beijing daxue chubanshe, 2013), 262-265.

⁴⁷ Chen Yinque, *Chen yinqueji: jinmingguan conggao chubian* 陳寅恪集 金明館叢稿初編 (Beijing: Sanlian shuju, 2009), 279. Patricia Ebrey, *The Aristocratic Families of Early Imperial China* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1978), 15-49. Tackett, "Wantang hebeiren dui songchu wenhua de yingxiang," 262-65.

east.⁴⁸ This case in the Tang dynasty shows the ways in which the ancestral line could be concocted for political purposes, but the Hongwu Emperor's actions manifest his inclination to keep it real.

In the Northern Song dynasty, the imperial forefathers were reburied at the mausoleum valley located in today's Gongyi County, Henan Province, because of its auspicious geomancy.⁴⁹ A geomantic doctrine called *wuyin xing li* 五音姓利 (the five tones that benefit the fortune of the families with associated surnames) played a crucial role for Song imperial house to choose Gongyi County to be the mausoleum valley.⁵⁰ The principle of *wuyin xing li* is to categorize all surnames into five tones and then to match the five tones to the five directions.⁵¹ Each surname group has a direction associated with it. The choice of an auspicious burial site should be based on this direction, so the family would gain the good fortune. Archaeological investigations

⁴⁸ Shen, *Tangling de buju: kongjian yu zhixu*, 23.

⁴⁹ Liu Yi, "Songdai huangling zhidu yanjiu" 宋代皇陵制度研究, *Gugong bowuyuan yuankan*, no.1 (1999): 67. Xu Song, *Songhuiyao jigao* 宋會要輯稿 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1957), juan 2, 1320, 1370. Li You, *Songchao shishi* 宋朝事實 (Taipei: Taiwan shanwu yinshuguan, 1968), juan 1, 2. Xu, *Songhuiyao jigao*, juan1, 15.

⁵⁰ Zhao Yanwei, *Yunmu manchao* 雲麓漫鈔 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1996), 150. Xu, *Songhuiyao jigao*, juan 2, 1337. Qin Dashu, *Songyuanming kaogu* 宋元明考古 (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 2004), 132-35. Liu, "Songdai huangling zhidu yanjiu," 77.

⁵¹ Wang Shu, *Chongjiaozheng dili xinshu* 重校正地理新書 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1995), 12-16.

have shown that *wuyin xing li* was employed to determine the sites of Song imperial mausoleums.⁵²

Unlike Tang and Song precedents, no evidence shows that the reburials of the imperial ancestors were ever considered by the Hongwu Emperor to fabricate his past or to pursue auspicious geomancy. Huangling is not the only case. Zuling 祖陵, the mausoleum where the three generations of the Hongwu Emperor's ancestors were buried, also followed the same track.

The case of Zuling shows us how geomancy works in a way opposite to Song imperial mausoleums. The locations of Song imperial mausoleums were determined by geomancy, whereas Zuling's geomancy was fashioned after it became "the basis of the Ming dynasty" in the middle of the Ming dynasty. Zuling is located in today's Sihong County, Jiangsu Province, where the Hongwu emperor's grandparents had lived and had been buried.⁵³ In 1386, the Hongwu Emperor first sent his successor, Zhu Biao 朱標 (1355-1392), to sacrifice to the ancestors and to repair Zuling.⁵⁴ Late Ming gazetteers and collected works disclose the reason why Zuling was built almost twenty

⁵² Henansheng wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo, *Beisong huangling*, 4.

⁵³ Zhang Zhengxiang, "Mingzuling" 明祖陵, *Kaogu*, no.8 (1963): 437. Ye Lan et al., *Si zhou zhi* 泗州志 (Taipei: Chengwen chubanshe, 1985), juan 1, 138.

⁵⁴ Institute of History and Philology, Academic Sinica, *Taizu shilu*, juan 179, 2706-2707. Zhang, *Ming shi*, 1446. The actual time of when Zuling was built debatable. See Li Shiyuan, "Mingzuling jianzao shijiankao" 明祖陵建造時間考, *Dongnan wenhua*, no.1 (1988): 122-130. Long, *Ming hui yao*, 132.

years later than Huangling. That is because the Hongwu Emperor took more than a decade to find his grandparents' original burial site.⁵⁵ Since the Hongwu Emperor had never been to Sihong County, he needed the help of locals to locate the burial site of his grandparents.⁵⁶ What should be emphasized is that this site suggested by the local people may not be the real original burial site; however, the effort spent to find it is what matters in my discussion.

The endeavor of searching for the site and the recognition of its importance demonstrate the fact that locating the original burial site was crucial to the Hongwu Emperor, even though this site was not an ideal geomantic choice. Liu Yi's research shows how the geomancy of Zuling had been mythologized since the mid-Ming dynasty.⁵⁷ One of the legends recorded in a Qing gazetteer, the *Sizhou zhi*, says, one day, Zhu Yuanzhang's grandfather was lying on a small hill. Two Daoists passed by and told him that if someone died and was buried at this site, a future emperor would be born in his household. Zhu's grandfather kept this in mind and requested his family to bury him there after he died. Half year after his burial, Zhu Yuanzhang was born.

People in the county therefore believed this site was imbued with royal aura – *wang qi*

⁵⁵ Zeng, *Di xiang ji lue*, vol.4, 1314. Sun Chengze, *Chun ming meng yu lu* 春明夢餘錄 (Taipei: Shangwu yinshuguan), juan 70, 26

⁵⁶ Zeng, *Di xiang ji lue*, vol.4, 1313. Sun Chengze, *Tian fu guang ji* 天府廣記 (Beijing: Beijing guji chubanshe, 1982), juan 2, 618. Lang, *Qi xiu lei gao*, 183.

⁵⁷ Liu, *Mingdai diwang lingmu zhidu yanjiu*, 384-387.

王氣, a geomantic force that breeds the future emperor.⁵⁸ However, in reality, the geomancy of Zuling was not promising. In Zhang Han's 張瀚 (1510-1593) collected work *Song chuang meng yu* 松窗夢語, he says, "when viewing Zuling [from the northern gate of Sizhou City], it looks like an obscure tiny place surrounded by water."⁵⁹ A low land near water is not an ideal geomantic site for burial because the low terrain bears high risk of flooding which poses threat to the corpses buried underneath. As early as the middle Ming dynasty, many officials in Sihong County sent out memorials to request building of embankments to prevent floods from the nearby Hongze Lake. Their proposals had been denied because of the fears of ruining the geomancy of Zuling.⁶⁰ Decades after the collapse of the Ming dynasty, Zuling was eventually submerged in water and was only rediscovered in the 1960s when the water level of the Hongze Lake was low.⁶¹ The case of Zuling further manifests the Hongwu Emperor's emphasis on the original burial site in addition to the case of Huangling.

The strong emotional attachment to his parents and the gratitude for the blessings of his ancestors strengthened the importance of their original burial sites and the

⁵⁸ Ye, *Si zhou zhi*, vol.1, 138.

⁵⁹ Zhang Han, *Song chuang meng yu* 松窗夢語 (Beijing: Zhonghuashuju, 1985), 37.

⁶⁰ Zeng, *Di xiang ji lue*, vol.4, 1226, 1256.

⁶¹ Zhongguo dabaike quanshu chubanshe, ed., *Zhongguo dabaike quanshu (Kaogu juan)* 中國大百科全書 考古卷 (Beijing: Xinhua shuju chubanshe, 1994), 334. Zhang Zhengxiang, "Mingzuling" 明祖陵, *Kaogu*, no.8 (1963): 437. Chen Yi, *Jinling gujin tukao* 金陵古今圖考 (Nanjing: Nanjing chubanshe, 2006), 200. Ye, *Si zhou zhi*, 138, 151.

auspicious geomancy of the nearby landscapes. The Hongwu Emperor demonstrated the confidence of neither relying on the forged ancestral stories nor geomancy to consolidate his status as a new emperor and the fortune of his dynasty. The ways in which the Hongwu Emperor revered his ancestors and their graves allow us to explore this capital-mausoleum model that had been applied to his second capital, Nanjing, and Xiaoling, the imperial mausoleum built for himself and his wife the Empress Ma.

Xiaoling in the Wall of Nanjing

When the Kangxi Emperor (1661-1722) of the Qing dynasty visited Xiaoling, he wrote a poem that reveals a visual experience and the sense of distance similar to the case of Huangling as it can be seen outside the southern gate of the Middle Capital. The poem reads, “The mausoleum is only three *li* from the city. When I look up, I can see its wooden roofs and pillars.”⁶² Although Xiaoling and Huangling share a resemblance in their relationship to the capitals, the concept of “the mausoleum is part of the capital” is more strongly presented in the layout of Nanjing and Xiaoling, because Xiaoling is encompassed by the wall of Nanjing. By looking into Confucian prescriptions and other city planning in Chinese history, I argue that the

⁶² Ann Paludan, foreword to *The Imperial Ming Tombs* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1981), xi. Lu Yanzhao et al., *Xinxiu jiangning fuzhi* 新修江寧府志 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2002), 31.

Xiaoling-Nanjing layout manifests a fusion of two contrasting practices – the desire to keep the deceased in the life of the living and the fulfillment of Confucian orthodoxy. This argument suggests the understanding of the relationship between the dead and the living had undergone changes in the imperial burial practices in the Ming dynasty.

When discussing the transformation of Nanjing, Frederick Mote has pointed out:

But eventually he [the Hongwu Emperor] decided that the vast new city he was building at Nanking [Nanjing] would serve. He continued to build it, he had his own tomb erected beyond its walls, and he expected it to remain the principal political center of his dynasty.⁶³

Mote's observation reflects a traditional pattern that a capital would not be easily moved if the site of the imperial mausoleum was settled. This pattern indicates that the imperial household members residing in the capital were responsible to protect and to sacrifice to their ancestors buried in the mausoleums.⁶⁴ However, the spatial relationship between a capital and the imperial mausoleums prescribed in Confucian discussions allows us to scrutinize the distinctiveness of Nanjing and Xiaoling. A text from the *Baihu tongyi* 白虎通義 (*Comprehensive Discussions in the White Tiger Hall*), a government-commissioned collection recording discussions on topics in Confucian classics among the emperor and scholars of the Eastern Han dynasty, shows the

⁶³ Frederick Mote, "Transformation of Nanking, 1350-1400," in *The City in Late Imperial China*, ed. William Skinner (California: Stanford University Press, 1977), 129.

⁶⁴ Ordinary families also had similar concerns. See examples from Feng Xianliang, *Taihu pingyun de huanjing kehua yu chengxiang bianqian* (1368-1912) 太湖平原的環境刻劃與城鄉變遷(1368-1912) (Shanghai: Shanghai renmem chubanshe, 2008), 164. Chen, *Jiting quanshu*, 138.

appropriate spatial arrangement between tombs and city:

Why [is it that man is] buried outside the *cheng* 城 and *guo* 郭? The dead and the living should have different dwellings, the end and the beginning should occupy different places. The *I* says: “[In ancient times the dead were] buried in the open country (*ye* 野).” This is the way to end the reverential thoughts [which had constantly been cherished] by the filial son.⁶⁵

As Sen-Dou Chang, Edward Farmer, and Nancy Steinhardt’s studies have shown, walls are a crucial concept in defining a city in Chinese history.⁶⁶ *Cheng*, *guo*, and *ye* are spatial terms, and the space of *cheng*, *guo*, and *ye* is demarcated by walls. *Cheng* can be translated as a walled city, which includes city and the wall that enclosed the city.⁶⁷ *Cheng* is usually encircled by *guo*; therefore, *guo* is the outer walled city and the outer city wall.⁶⁸ Another Eastern Han text, the *Wuyue chunqiu* 吳越春秋 (*Spring and Autumn Annals of Wu and Yue*) that discusses warfare in the pre-Qin era, also reads, “Build *cheng* in order to guard the monarch, whereas construct *guo* in order to protect the people.”⁶⁹ In other words, *cheng* and *guo* are built for the monarch on the one hand

⁶⁵ Translated by Tjan Tjoe Som. See Tjan Tjoe Som, *Po Hu T'ung: The Comprehensive Discussions in the White Tiger Hall* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1949), 650. Archaeological excavation shows that this concept had been implemented in some cities of the Shang and Xia dynasties. See Liu Xujie, ed., *Zhongguo gudai jianzhu shi* 中國古代建築史 (Beijing: Zhongguo jianzhu gongye chubanshe, 2003), vol.1, 175, 202.

⁶⁶ Sen-Dou Chang, “The Morphology of Walled Capitals,” in *The City in Late Imperial China*, ed. William Skinner (Stanford University Press, 1977), 75. Nancy Steinhardt, “Representations of Chinese Walled Cities in the Pictorial and Graphic Arts,” in *City Walls: The Urban Enceinte in Global Perspective*, ed. James Tracy (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 419-460. Edward Farmer, “The Hierarchy of Ming City Walls,” in *City Walls*, 461-487. Steinhardt, *Chinese Imperial City Planning*, 26-27.

⁶⁷ Farmer, “The Hierarchy of Ming City Walls,” 463. Steinhardt, *Chinese Imperial City Planning*, 27.

⁶⁸ Steinhardt, *Chinese Imperial City Planning*, 26-27.

⁶⁹ Xu Jian, *Chu xue ji* 初學記 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1962), 565.

and the people on the other. According to archaeological evidence, this concept had been put into practice as early as the Shang and Zhou dynasties and became very typical in capital planning since the Northern Wei dynasty. This legacy was employed in Ming capitals as well.⁷⁰

Ye 野, another spatial term in the *Baihu tongyi*, means “a small town with a few households” or rural area outside *cheng* and *guo*.⁷¹ The deceased should be buried in *ye* which separates them from the living. The reason why “this is the way to end the reverential thoughts [which had constantly been cherished] by the filial son” is because, with such spatial segregation, the filial son could appease his grief and bring himself back to normal life from not seeing the tomb(s) of his parents. What needs to be clarified is that, in addition to an emotional solution as this text has emphasized, the choice of burying the dead in a separated space also involves practical issues such as the need of adequate space to build a tomb, or hygiene. Even though the causes of choices varied, archaeological evidence still shows that, during most of the times in

⁷⁰ Seo Tatsuhiko, “Chengshi de shenghui yu wenhua 城市的生活與文化,” in *Weijin Nanbei chao Sui Tang shi xue de jiben wenti* 魏晉南北朝隋唐史學的基本問題, ed. Michio Tanigawa (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2010), 322, 328. Liu, Shu-Fen, *Liuchao de chengshi yu shehui* 六朝的城市與社會 (Taipei: Taiwan xuesheng shuju, 1992), 409-440. Institute of History and Philology, Academic Sinica, *Shizong shilu*, juan 264, 5236. Liu, *Zhongguo gudai jianzhu shi*, vol.1, 175, 202. Wang Qi, *San cai tu hui* 三才圖會 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1988), vol.2, 1021.

⁷¹ Steinhardt, *Chinese Imperial City Planning*, 27. Yang, *Zhongguo gudai lingqin zhidushi yangjiu*, 31.

Chinese history, tombs were built outside of a city.⁷² The second Ming capital, Beijing and the Thirteen Mausoleum Valley where the Yongle Emperor and subsequent Ming emperors were buried were no exception to this spatial precedent. In other words, Xiaoling is a unique case and needs to be studied through the Hongwu Emperor's own pattern in order to understand the Ming concept of boundary between the living and the dead.

The walls of Nanjing define Xiaoling as part of its *guo* area. Nanjing is famous

⁷² Some exceptions can be found in the cases of nobles' tombs in the pre-Qin era, especially the Spring and Autumn period and Warring States period. These nobles' tombs sometimes located on the city wall or within the corner of the city. See Liu, *Zhongguo gudai jianzhu shi*, vol.1, 205, 214, 217 218, 220, 223, 266. Yang Baocheng, *Yinxu wenhua yanjiu* 殷墟文化研究 (Wuhan: Wuhan daxue chubanshe, 2003), 26-27. Cases of tombs were built outside of a city. See Yang Kuan, *Zhongguo gudai ducheng zhidushi yanjiu*, 10-12, 129. Hui Ying, "Cong chutu muzhik an Tang Chang'an jumin zangdi" 從出土墓志看唐長安居民葬地, (MA thesis, Northwest University, 2006). Tu Zongcheng, "Shenhun, shihai yu zongmu – Tangdai liangjing de siwang changing yu sangzang wenhua" 神魂、屍骸與塚墓 – 唐代兩京的死亡場景與喪葬文化 (PhD diss., National Taiwan University, 2012), 145-152. Kang yunmei, "Tangdai xiaoshuo zhong de chengshi kongjian changing yu xushi zhi guanxi" 唐代小說中長安的城市空間場景與敘事之關係, *Chengda zhongwen xuebao* 32 (2011), 21. SEO Tatsuhiko, "唐長安の都市生活と墓域," *Higashi Ajia no kodai bunka* 123(2005): 51-60. Liu, *Zhongguo gudai jianzhu shi*, vol.1, 92, 130, 204, 212, 219-220, 225, 227, 257, 266, 270, 399, 439-443. Fu Xinian, ed., *Zhongguo gudai jianzhu shi* 中國古代建築史 (Beijing: Zhongguo jianzhu gongye chubanshe, 2009) vol.2, 150. Song Caiyi and Yu Gao, "Tan Henan Huaxian faxian Bei Song de luzeyuan" 談河南滑縣發現北宋的漏澤園, *Henan Daxue xuebao*, no.4 (1986): 53. Shang Minjie, "Changan chengjiao Tang huangshi mu ji xiangguan wenti" 長安城郊唐皇室墓及相關問題, *Tang yan jiu* 9 (2003): 403-426. Sanmemxiashi wenwu gonzuodui, ed., *Bei Song Shanzhou lou ze yuan* 北宋陝州漏澤園 (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1999): 388-389. Wang, The-Yi, *Songdai zaihuang de jiuji zhengce* 宋代災荒的救濟政策 (Taipei: Taiwan Shangwu chubanshe, 1970), 95, 99. Feng, *Taihu pingyun de Huanjingkehua yu Chengxiang Bianqian* (1368-1912), 141, 154, 155, 159-160, 166, 168-170. He, *Shanghai Mingmu*, 216-217. Wang Yanling, "Haidian Xiangshan junkeyuan Ming taizi mu fajue jianbao" 海澱香山軍科院明太子墓發掘簡報, *Beijing wenwu yu kaogu* (2002): 68-71. Beijingshi wenwu gonzuodui, ed., "Beijing Xiangshan Ming taijian Liu Zhong mu" 北京香山明太監劉忠墓, *Wenwu*, no.9 (1986):42-47. Kawakatsu Mamoru, *Min Shin Kōnan shichin shakaishi kenkyū: kukan to shakai keisei no rekishigaku* 明清江南市鎮社会史研究—空間と社会形成の歴史学 (Tōkyō: Kyūko Shoin, 1999), 510-530. Endo Takatoshi, "Song Yuan zongzu de fenmu he citang" 宋元宗族的墳墓和祠堂, in *Zhongguo shehui lishi pinglun* 中國社會歷史評論, ed. Chang Jianhua (Tianjin: Tianjin guji chubanshe, 2008), vol.9, 65.

for its four layers of city walls, which divided Nanjing into three parts (Figure 2-3).⁷³

The innermost wall is the palace-city wall, and the next wall is the imperial-city wall. These two walls formed the heart of the political center called *huang cheng* 皇城 or *gong cheng* 宮城 (imperial palaces), which enclosed the palaces for imperial audiences and for the residence of the imperial family household, the official bureaus and the Imperial Ancestral Temple and Altars of Soil and Grain.⁷⁴ The third layer wall is the major city wall, which encircles the space called *du cheng* 都城 or *jing cheng* 京城 (capital city).⁷⁵ Within the capital city are the dense residences of officials, commoners, and the commercial districts of Nanjing.⁷⁶ The fourth layer wall is the *wai cheng* 外城 (outer city wall) or *wai guo cheng* 外郭城 (outer *guo* city wall), which encompasses the *guo* area of Nanjing.⁷⁷ Bell Mountain 鍾山 where Xiaoling was

⁷³ Fan Jinmin, ed. *Nanjing tongshi (Mingdai juan)* 南京通史 (明代卷) (Nanjing: Nanjing chubanshe, 2012), 85.

⁷⁴ Ministry of Rites, ed. *Hongwu jingcheng tuzhi* 洪武京城圖志 (Nanjing: Nanjing chubanshe, 2006), 15. Zhang, *Ming shi*, 910. Louis J. Gallagher, trans. *China in the Sixteenth Century: The Journals of Matthew Ricci: 1583-1610* (Random House, New York, 1953), 269. Steinhardt, *Chinese Imperial City Planning*, 163-166. Xu, “Mingchu Nanjing de chengshi gui Hua yu renko bianqian,” 90-92.

⁷⁵ Zhang, *Ming shi*, 910. Chen, *Jinling gujin tukao*, 90. Li, *Da Ming huidian*, juan 187, 2549. The United States Army Map Service map of Nanking shows the major city wall of Nanjing is about 23.3 miles. See Mote, “Transformation of Nanking, 1350-1400,” 121-122.

⁷⁶ Guo Qiyuan, *Ke zuo zhui yu* 客座贅語 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1987), 58-59, 64. Lao Gan, “Duiyu Nanjing chengshi de jidian renshi” 對於南京城市的幾點認識, *Campus scientiae*, no.9 (1949): 66. Xu, “Mingchu Nanjing de chengshi gui Hua yu renko bianqian,” 93-95. Luo Xiaoxiang, “Mingdai Nanjing guanfang kao” 明代南京官房考, *Nanjing daxue xuabao*, no.6 (2014): 64-67. Luo Xiaoxiang, “Mingdai Nanjing de fangxiang yu zipo-difang xingzheng yu chengshi shehui” 明代南京的坊廂與字鋪-地方行政與城市社會, *Zhongguo shehui jingjishi yanjiu*, no.4 (2008): 49-57.

⁷⁷ Farmer, *Early Ming Government*, 56. Chen, *Jinling gujin tukao*, 193. *Zhongguo dabaiké quanshu chunbanshe*, *Zhongguo dabaiké quanshu (Kaogu juan)*, 335. Zhang, *Ming shi*, 910. Li, *Da Ming huidian*, juan 187, 2549. Chen, *Jinling gujin tukao*, 90.

located, scattered residential districts and the Ministry of Justice were enclosed within the outer *guo* city wall.⁷⁸

Xiaoling has its own outer wall surrounding the area of Bell Mountain. Although Xiaoling's outer wall was destroyed during either the Manchu conquest in the seventeenth century or the Taiping uprising in 1853,⁷⁹ archaeological ground surveys and some Ming collections of maps indicate that this wall was connected to the major city wall of Nanjing.⁸⁰ The relationship between these two walls suggests that even though Xiaoling was part of Nanjing, Xiaoling still had its own confine which demarcates a space within Nanjing for the dead. Within Xiaoling's outer wall, the southern side of Bell Mountain locates Xiaoling, the tomb of the Hongwu Emperor's first son Zhu Biao, and the tombs of the Hongwu Emperor's concubines, on its northern side were buried the Hongwu Emperor's most trusted military generals.⁸¹ Visual evidence further renders a strong sense of proximity between Xiaoling and Nanjing.

Chen Yi's 陳沂 (1469-1538) *Jinling gujin tukao* 金陵古今圖考 (Historical and

⁷⁸ Lao, "Duiyu Nanjing chengshi de jidian renshi," 66. Xu, "Mingchu Nanjing de dushi guihua yu renko bianqian," 95-96.

⁷⁹ Wang, *Ming Xiaoling zhi*, 93. Luo Zongzhen, "Ming Xiaoling" 明孝陵, *Dongnan wenhua*, no.1 (1997): 50. Nanjing bowuyuan, ed., *Ming Xiaoling* 明孝陵 (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1981), 1.

⁸⁰ Nanjingshi bowuguan, ed., *Xiaolingzhi xinbian* 孝陵志新編 (Haerbin: Heilongjiang renmin chubanshe, 2002), 167. Wang Yubin, "Luelun Nanjing mingchengqiang yu mingxiaoling lingqiang de guanxi," 143. Chen, *Jinling gujin tukao*, 89.

⁸¹ Zou Hoben, *Jiangsu kaogu wushinian*, 400.

Contemporary Atlas of Jinling [Nanjing]), a map drawn in 1516, shows us part of Xiaoling's outer wall between the Red Gate and the Golden Gate, and the Red Gate is very close to Nanjing's major city wall (Figure 2-3).⁸² A late Ming literatus Zhu Zhifan's 朱之蕃 (1546-1624) *Jinling tuyong* 金陵圖詠 (*Illustrated Odes on Nanjing*) contains a pictorial scene called "Sunny Clouds in Bell Mountain" (Zhongfu qingyun 鍾阜晴雲).⁸³ This scene vividly guides its readers showing that, after leaving the Chaoyang Gate of the major city wall, the Little Red Gate (probably the same one as the Red Gate) of Xiaoling's outer wall is nearby (Figure 2-4). These visual demonstrations echo the Kangxi Emperor's poem, both in conflict with the Confucian prescription – "to end the reverential thoughts by the filial son" by not seeing his parents' grave(s). What can the walls tell us about the separated yet connected relationship between Xiaoling and Nanjing? Did the yearning of not being far away from the burial site of the beloved ever play a role in demarcating the capital space for the living and the dead in the case of Nanjing?

Historical records disclose no information about why Xiaoling was located in the *guo* area, nor do they tell us about the precise timeline that would show the sequence of

⁸² Cheng, *Jinling gujin tukao*, 89.

⁸³ Zhu Zhifan, *Jinling tuyong* 金陵圖詠 (Taipei: Chengwen chubanshe, 1983), 7.

when these walls and the mausoleum were built. However, we can extract information about the approximate time of construction from historical texts and archaeological surveys. What needs to be kept in mind is that historical evidence does not reveal whether the construction of Nanjing was under a comprehensive plan; therefore, any hypothesis that suggests Xiaoling was designed to be in the *guo* area would be too excessive. With such limited sources, the cases of Huangling and Zuling, and the concern about the defense of the city are crucial references for us to explore this spatial arrangement and the order of constructions.

As Edward Farmer and Xu Hong have pointed out, Nanjing's status as the capital was uncertain in the early Ming; hence, its construction can be broken down into several stages due to this pending condition that lasted years.⁸⁴ By using archaeological surveys and textual sources, scholars propose that the construction of the major city wall could have been started in 1366 because Nanjing was the Hongwu Emperor's military base, but large scale construction did not begin until 1375 when Nanjing was announced to be the capital.⁸⁵ From 1377 to 1386, the main part of the

⁸⁴ The Hongwu Emperor inaugurated the first dual capital system for the Ming Dynasty. In the ninth month of 1368, Kaifeng was named as the Northern Capital and Nanjing was named the Southern Capital. In 1369, when Fengyang was titled as the Middle Capital, Nanjing remained to be one of the dual capitals. According to Farmer, "the relationship between Nanking (Nanjing) and the Middle Capital reminded to be clarified." See Farmer, *Early Ming Government*, 44, 51. Li Weiran, "Lun Mingdai Nanjing cheng" 論明代南京城, *Dongnan wenhua*, no.7 (2001): 37.

⁸⁵ Zhang, *Ming shi*, 910, 978. Xu Hong, "Mingchu Nanjing huangcheng gongcheng de guihua, pingmian

major city wall had been built and completed,⁸⁶ and the outer city wall was built after 1390.⁸⁷ Scholars also make assumptions about when the site of Xiaoling was chosen, which could have been as early as 1369 or as late as 1381.⁸⁸ We know for certain that the site had been located by 1382 because this is the year the Empress Ma was interred.⁸⁹ I agree with Mote's statement, which says building Xiaoling meant that the Hongwu Emperor took Nanjing as his permanent capital. Therefore, I propose that the site of Xiaoling was decided at the earliest after 1375 when Nanjing was confirmed to

buju jiqi xiangzheng yiyi” 明初南京皇城宮城的規劃、平面布局及其象徵意義, *Guoli Taiwan daxue jianzhu yu chengxiang yanjiu xuebao*, no.7 (1993): 79-82. Lao, “Duiyu Nanjing chengshi de jidian renshi,” 65. Scholars such as Li Weiran and Yang Guoqing argue that the actual building of the major city wall could have started earlier and could have lasted longer than the records in the *Ming shi* and the *Da Ming huidian*. See Li, “Lun Mingdai Nanjing cheng,” 32-34. Yang Guoqing, “Mingdai Nanjing chengqiang jianzao niandai kaolue” 明代南京城牆建造年代考略, *Dongnan wenhua*, no. 8 (2000): 45-49. Zhang, *Ming shi*, 910. Li, *Da Ming huidian*, juan 187, 2549.

⁸⁶ Li, “Lun Mingdai Nanjing cheng,” 32-34.

⁸⁷ Zhang, *Ming shi*, 910. Ministry of Rites, *Hongwu jingcheng tuzhi*, 15. Zhongguo dabeike quanshu chubanshe, *Zhongguo dabeike quanshu (Kaogu juan)*, 335. Tan Qian, *Guoqu* 國權 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1958), 706. Gu Yanwu, *Jiankang gujinji* 建康古今記 (Taipei: Chengwen chubanshe, 1983), 4. Although the *Da Ming huidian* shows the construction of wall was done in 1393, Yang Guoqing argues that small scale constructions still continued. See Yang Guoqing, *Nanjing Mingdai chengqiang* 南京明代城牆 (Nanjing: Nanjing chubanshe, 2002), 51.

⁸⁸ According to current scholarship, the possible years when the location of Xiaoling was decided include 1369, 1376, 1379, and 1381. 1369 is the first time that the Hongwu Emperor visited Bell Mountain. 1376 and 1381 are the times when two religious sites were removed from their original grounds; and these two sites were later enclosed in the confines of Xiaoling. Xia Han argues that after 1379 the most prominent generals were recorded to be buried in the northern side of Bell Mountain. Therefore, this was probably the time when the Hongwu Emperor had decided his own burial site to be in the southern side of Bell Mountain. The assumption on 1369, see Nanjingshi bowuguan, *Xiaolingzhi xinbian*, 217. The assumption on 1376 and 1381, see Zhao Zhongnan, *Mingdai gongting dianzhishi* 明代宮廷典制史 (Beijing: Zijincheng chubanshe, 2010), 525. Liu, *Mingdai diwang lingmu zhidu yanjiu*, 70. Ge Yinliang, *Jinling fanchazhi* 金陵梵剎志 (Taipei: Guangwen chubanshe, 1976), vol.1, 227. Ding Hongwei, “Mingxiaoling shendao yanbiankao” 明孝陵神道演變考, *Dongnan daxue xuebao(ziran kexue ban)* 26, no. 6 (1996):130-131. Luo, “Mingxiaoling,” 46. Zo Hoben, *Jiangsu kaogu wushinian*, 399. The assumption on 1379, see Xia Han, “Mingchu gongchen zangdikao” 明初功臣葬地考, *Xuehai*, no.4 (2007):169-170.

⁸⁹ Zhang, *Ming shi*, 3508. Institute of History and Philology, Academic Sinica, *Taizu shilu*, juan 148, 2343.

be the capital.

With my adjustment, between 1375 and 1386, the major city wall had been built and finished; and the site of Xiaoling had been decided and constructed before the Empress Ma's interment in 1382. Then, since 1390, the outer *guo* city wall was established to encompass Xiaoling and Nanjing. This timeline prompts some questions. The sources available to us may not help us to answer these questions precisely, though through investigating these questions we can find some clues to understand this spatial arrangement.

The first question is why was the site of Xiaoling chosen in such close distance to Nanjing when the area encircled by the major city wall was almost confirmed? In other words, from 1375 to 1382, the confines of Nanjing's capital city space had been gradually formed and built; why was the site of Xiaoling still selected to be near the city, which found rare precedents in the past? If we consider the case of Huangling and the Middle Capital, could Xiaoling and Nanjing be a coincidence or did these two capital-mausoleum plans consistently reveal the Hongwu Emperor's understanding of defining the space for the living and the dead?

The next question is why was Bell Mountain excluded from the major city wall? Scholars agree that defensibility is one of the major reasons why Nanjing was chosen

as the capital.⁹⁰ Also, Nanjing's major city wall is a brick-stone wall, which is probably be the strongest defensive wall in fourteenth century China.⁹¹ This wall was built in an irregular contour that incorporates nearby high terrain to enhance the defensive advantage of Nanjing. For example, the northern part of the major city wall was stretched out to encircle Lion Hill for military purposes (Figure 2-3).⁹² Bell Mountain is 486.6 meters in height, at least five times higher than Lion Hill. Xu Hong's research has shown that, in China's military history, to control Bell Mountain is the key to win battles in the vicinity of Nanjing.⁹³ This highest mountain close to Nanjing was excluded from the most concrete defensive line of the capital, but was encircled by Xiaoling's own wall.⁹⁴ Could the cost of encircling Xiaoling and Bell Mountain in the major city wall be the reason? A clue in Qing texts suggests the answer to be no.

Although Xiaoling's wall no longer exists, the *Kangxi Jiangning fuzhi* 康熙江寧府志 (*Kangxi-era Jiangning Prefectural Gazetteer*) shows that Xiaoling's wall is two-thirds

⁹⁰ Lao, "Duiyu Nanjing chengshi de jidian renshi," 62. Frederick Mote, *Imperial China, 900-1800* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1999), 568. Farmer, *Early Ming Government*, 43. Qin, *Songyuanming kaogu*, 83. Li Xian, *Daming yitongzhi* 大明一統志 (Taipei: Wenhai chubanshe, 1965), 491.

⁹¹ The major city wall of Nanjing had huge stones as its basis and was built by laying bricks. The average height of the wall was from 45 to 68 feet. Each brick weighed around 44 pounds and was 17 inches in length, 8 inches in width, and 4 inches in thickness. See *Zhongguo dabaiké quanshu chunbanshe, Zhongguo dabaiké quanshu (Kaogu juan)*, 335.

⁹² Mote, *Imperial China*, 568.

⁹³ Xu, "Mingchu Nanjing de chengshi guihua yu renko bianqian," 83. Lu, *Xinxiu jiangning fuzhi*, 69.

⁹⁴ Chen, *Jinling gujin tukao*, 13. Wang Huanbiao, *Shouduzhi* 首都志 (Shanghai: Shanghai shuju, 1996), vol.1, 231. Wang Huanbiao, *Ming Xiaoling zhi* 明孝陵志 (Nanjing: Nanjing chubanshe, 2006), 2. *Hongwu Jingcheng tuzhi* records that Bell Mountain is 158 *zhang*, while Lion Hill is 30 *zhang*. See Ministry of Rites, *Hongwu jingcheng tuzhi*, 18-19.

the length of Nanjing's major city wall.⁹⁵ In some late Qing memorials discussing the repair of Xiaoling's wall, Qing ministers reported to the emperor that the "old method" used by the Ming dynasty was costly.⁹⁶ Although we do not know what the "old method" was and the exact cost to build both walls, this Qing survey suggests that the Ming emperor was willing to spend a massive amount of money on building Xiaoling's wall. In other words, the choice of not including Xiaoling and Bell Mountain in the major city wall was probably not because of financial concerns.

I propose that the case of Huangling and the concept in the *Baihu tongyi* that the space for the living and the dead should be divided provide an angle to answer my questions. This Nanjing-Xiaoling plan suggests an attempt to keep the deceased close to the living. When the Hongwu Emperor chose Bell Mountain for his own burial ground, presumably, he wished to create an intimate connection with his descendants similar to the design of Huangling and the Middle Capital. The visual demonstrations in Ming atlas collections, gazetteers, and literary works by both Ming authors and the Kangxi Emperor further suggest that this plan successfully conveyed the impression that Xiaoling was part of Nanjing. However, why situate Xiaoling in the *guo* area but

⁹⁵ Wang, *Ming Xiaoling zhi*, 15. Yu Chenglong et al., *Kangxi Jiangning fuzhi* 康熙江寧府志 (Nanjing: Nanjing chubanshe, 2011), juan 25, 499.

⁹⁶ Wang, *Ming Xiaoling zhi*, 106.

confine it with its own wall not Nanjing's major city wall? As the timeline and the concerns about defensibility suggest that Bell Mountain could have been included within the major city wall, the choice of not doing so is worth thinking about. The demarcations of the space for the living and the dead as discussed in the *Baihu tongyi* help us understand the spatial plan of Xiaoling and Nanjing. After 1390, the construction of the outer city wall demonstrates that Xiaoling was considered as part of Nanjing, not excluded in the *ye* area where the filial sons could calm the grief by not seeing the grave(s). The placement of locating Xiaoling in the *guo* area echoes the same physical proximity as in the cases of Huangling and the Hall for Offerings to the Imperial Forebears. These walls in Nanjing and Xiaoling thus show us that even though the living and the deceased had their own confines marked by walls, the deceased and Xiaoling were still considered as city component of Nanjing.

Studies have also shown that the auspicious geomancy of Bell Mountain was the reason why Xiaoling was built there.⁹⁷ My analysis above is not to overlook the role that geomancy played for selecting burial sites. Historical precedents suggest that Bell Mountain was a promising location for burial because emperors in the third and fifth

⁹⁷ Liu, *Mingdai diwang lingmu zhidu yanjiu*, 374. He Baoshan, "Lun Mingdai diling de gengzhi yu shangbian" 論明代帝陵的更制與嬗變, in *Diqijue Mingshi guoji xueshu taolunhui lunwenji*, ed. Zhao Yi (Changchun, Dongbei shifan daxue chubanshe, 1999), 673.

centuries who took Nanjing as their capitals also chose to be buried in Bell Mountain.⁹⁸

However, their mausoleums were not part of their Nanjing capitals. In the next section, I will investigate the relationship between Bell Mountain, Xiaoling, and the fashioning of auspicious geomancy of Bell Mountain in the Ming dynasty. This analysis again speaks to how the imperial mausoleums were treated as the origin of the dynastic fortune, as I have discussed in the cases of Zuling and Huangling.

The Making of the Royal Aura

The Nanjing-Xiaoling plan was implemented by the Hongwu Emperor, and the legacy of “the deceased are never far away” shown in this plan was further presented in later Ming political discourses and literary works.⁹⁹ My research shows that this abstract legacy was embodied in the process of making auspicious geomancy the royal aura of Bell Mountain. In late Ming literary works and gazetteers, Bell Mountain is often depicted as the foundation of the Ming Empire and its royal aura is portrayed as bringing fortune to the dynasty. Curiously, Bell Mountain was not often recorded as a

⁹⁸ Yu, *Kangxi Jiangning fuzhi*, juan 25, 497-498.

⁹⁹ Luo Xiaoxiang argues that Xiaoling made both itself and Bell Mountain dynastic symbols in the political discourses of the Ming dynasty. Nanjing, where these two symbols were located, thus became the basis of the dynasty. Luo’s research jumps into this conclusion without examining it with convincing textual evidence. Furthermore, Luo discusses Nanjing, Bell Mountain and Xiaoling as a whole, which is different from my analysis. Luo Xiaoxiang, “Jinling genben zhongdi: Mingmo zhengzhi yujingzhong de fengshuiguan” 金陵根本重地-明末政治語境中的風水觀, *Zhongguo lishi dili congkan* 23, no.3 (2008): 22-29, 74.

habitat that nurtured the royal aura before the Hongwu Emperor was interred there, which supports my argument that the imperial ancestors and their tombs were highly valued in the Ming dynasty, not only by the Hongwu Emperor, but also by his descendants and many of his people even after the Ming dynasty came to an end.

I have used the pictorial scene “the Sunny Clouds of Bell Mountain” in Zhu Zhifan’s *Illustrated odes on Nanjing* to examine the visual proximity of Xiaoling and Nanjing. The ode of this scene also sheds light on my discussion on the royal aura. The *Illustrated odes on Nanjing* is an urban guidebook that praises the scenes of Nanjing with odes and pictorial scenes and was published twice in 1623 and 1624.¹⁰⁰ Zhu Zhifan was a late Ming official as well as a Nanjing native. For him, Bell Mountain was probably his top choice to represent Nanjing because “the Sunny Clouds of Bell Mountain” was listed as the first scene in his book. Fei Si-Yen’s research shows that the *Illustrated Odes on Nanjing* is a combination of a city guide and the “imagined Nanjing” in the eyes of local literati.¹⁰¹ Fei’s argument shows that this “imaged Nanjing” had been spread widely because the *Illustrated odes on Nanjing* was quite popular – it was reprinted a year after the first print.¹⁰² The ode of “the Sunny Clouds

¹⁰⁰ Fei Si-Yen, *Negotiating Urban Space: Urbanization and Late Ming Nanjing* (Cambridge: Harvard University Asia Center, 2009), 124.

¹⁰¹ Fei, *Negotiating Urban Space*, 124, 186.

¹⁰² Fei, *Negotiating Urban Space*, 126, 127.

of Bell Mountain” reads,

[Bell Mountain] is now the forbidden land where Xiaoling is located, which cannot be visited. Only the metamorphosis of the nature in the day and night witnesses the favor of the royal aura [of Bell Mountain]...The dynasty was established here and its longevity stretches eternally; the lush green and the delicate scene encompasses the imperial prefecture.¹⁰³

In Zhu’s narrative, he refers to Bell Mountain, rather than Nanjing the capital, as the base of the Ming dynasty and the land encompassed with the royal aura. A similar description is found in Zhang Dai’s 張岱 (1597-1689) *Tao’an mengyi* 陶庵夢憶 (*The Dream Recollections of Tao’an*), which was composed after the Ming dynasty ended.

This text is often used by scholars to strengthen their argument that Bell Mountain was chosen to build Xiaoling because of its auspicious royal aura:

Up on Bell Mountain, cloud vapors drift back and forth, now red and now purple. People call it “royal vapor” [royal aura] and say that a dragon’s shedded skin is hidden therein. The founding emperor Taizu, with the help of Liu Ji, Xu Da, and Tang He, settled on the emperor’s final resting place here. Each wrote down the location of his choice and put the note away in his sleeve. The three men were in accord, and the tomb was thus established.¹⁰⁴

This text was composed almost two hundred and fifty years after the site was chosen.

Instead of taking Zhang Dai’s description as an accurate description of what really happened, I am interested in how the belief of Bell Mountain’s royal aura had been

¹⁰³ Zhu, *Jinling tuyong*, 8.

¹⁰⁴ Translated by Philip Kafalas. See Philip Kafalas, *In Limpid Dream: Nostalgia and Zhang Dai’s Reminiscences of the Ming* (Norwalk, CT: EastBridge, 2006), 23. Original text is in Zhang Dai, *Taoan mengyi* 陶庵夢憶 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2002), 5.

shaped, spread, and recorded within two hundred and fifty years. If we look back to historical documents composed in earlier dynasties, Bell Mountain was not regarded as a landscape with royal aura; the royal aura was recorded as belonging to Jinling 金陵, the old name of Nanjing.

Bell Mountain had another name, Mount Jiang 蔣山, which is related to the legend of Jiang Ziwen 蔣子文 in the third century. Jiang Ziwen was an infamous official who was beaten to death by robbers at the foot of Bell Mountain. The spirit of Jiang became a hungry ghost who wreaked havoc to the society, as a means to threaten Sun Quan 孫權 (182-252), the king of the state of Wu, to bestow a title upon him – Zhongdu hou 中都侯 (marquis of Zhongdu) and to erect a shrine for him at Bell Mountain. In order to suppress his evil spirit, his requests were eventually satisfied; thereafter, Bell Mountain was often called Mount Jiang.¹⁰⁵ In the records of many gazetteers in the fifth and sixth centuries when Nanjing was taken as capital for several brief dynasties, records of Bell Mountain only recounted stories about Jiang Ziwen and Mount Jiang.¹⁰⁶

¹⁰⁵ Gan Bao, *So shen ji* 搜神記 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1979), 57. Lin Fushi, “Zhongguo Liuchao shidai de Jiang Ziwen xinyang” 中國六朝時代的蔣子文信仰, in *Zhongguo Zhonggu shiqi de zongjiao yu yilian* 中國中古時期的宗教與醫療 (Taipei: Liaojing chubanshe, 2008), 467-498. Stephen Owen, “Place Meditation on the Past at Chin-ling,” *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 50, no.2 (1990): 422.

¹⁰⁶ Shen Yue, *Song shu* 宋書 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1974), 782. Zhou Yinghe, *Jingdin jiankangzhi* 景定建康志 (Taipei: Chengwen chubanshe, 1983), 916-918. Zhang Xuan, *Zhizheng jinling xinzhì* 至正

In these gazetteers, the legend about Nanjing's royal aura often starts with the First Qin Emperor's journey to the east. When he was crossing the Yangtze River, he saw cloudy aura floating up to the sky from the direction of Nanjing and said "Jinling [Nanjing] will have the royal aura after five hundred years." In other words, someone would come to the throne in Nanjing after five hundred years. To strangle this potential threat from the south, the First Qin Emperor commanded that Bell Mountain be trenched to drain off the royal aura of Nanjing.¹⁰⁷ This story is probably fabricated by the southern regimes that occupied Nanjing as their capital in the fifth and sixth centuries, as a way to compete with the political entities in the north. These records show us that Bell Mountain was not believed to possess the royal aura from the very beginning but only acquired it later.¹⁰⁸

By comparing three government-commissioned gazetteers in different periods of the Ming dynasty, we see how Bell Mountain's royal aura was gradually generated from the perspective of the Ming government. The earliest gazetteer is the *Hongwu Jingcheng tuzhi* 洪武京城圖志 (Atlas Gazetteer of Hongwu's Imperial City), which

金陵新志 (Taipei: Chengwen chubanshe, 1983), 1581. Xu Song, *Jiankang shilu* 建康實錄 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1987), 2. Stephen Owen, "Place Meditation on the Past at Chin-ling," 424, 431, 437.

¹⁰⁷ This event was not recorded in *Shiji*. Sima Qian, *Shi ji* 史記 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1959), 260. Xu, *Jiankang shilu*, 2.

¹⁰⁸ Zhou, *Jingdin jiankangzhi*, 916. Zhang, *Zhizheng jinling xinshi*, 1581.

was composed in 1395 by the Ministry of Rites. 1395 is thirteen years after Xiaoling was built for the Empress Ma's interment. At this moment, the Hongwu Emperor was still on the throne. The anecdote of excavating Bell Mountain in order to drain off the royal aura of Nanjing was preserved in this gazetteer, which highlights the "fact" that Nanjing was destined to be a legitimate capital.¹⁰⁹ The royal aura of Bell Mountain was not mentioned in this early Ming gazetteer.¹¹⁰ As the bureau in charge of executing propriety, the Ministry of Rites represents the most authentic attitude of the Ming government to define what matters to Ming legitimacy. From the episodes about Bell Mountain in the *Hongwu Jingcheng tuzhi*, who the occupant was is also a decisive factor that contributes to fashioning Bell Mountain's royal aura. The Empress Ma's interment did not stimulate the legend of the royal aura; in that case, the Hongwu Emperor is the key man.

Almost half-century later, the *Huanyu tongzhi* 寰宇通志 (*Comprehensive Records of the Universe*) and the *Daming yitongzhi* 大明一統志 (*Unified Gazetteer of the Great Ming*) were two more official gazetteers composed during the reigns of the

¹⁰⁹ Ministry of Rites, *Hongwu jingcheng tuzhi*, 7.

¹¹⁰ Also in literary works, see Sun Fen, *Xi an ji* 西菴集 (Beijing: Shumu wenxian chubanshe, 1988), 57, 62. Qian, *Lie chao shi ji*, vol.1, 2, 4, 8, 201, 371; vol.2, 1059. An exception that I have found is in Liu Ji's epitaph. Some consultants of Zhu Yuanzhang offered strategies to fight against Chen Youliang; one of the strategies is to occupy Bell Mountain because has the royal vapor. See Jiao, *Guo chao xian zheng lu*, juan 11, 379.

Jingtai Emperor (1450-1456) and the Tianshun Emperor (1457-1464).¹¹¹ The plot of digging Bell Mountain was discarded in these two versions; presumably, this episode began to be seen as disrespectful after the Hongwu Emperor's burial. Both gazetteers indicate that "the imperial palaces of Nanjing were built in the southern side of Bell Mountain in order to receive its royal aura."¹¹² In this narrative, the royal aura was from Bell Mountain and this auspicious aura was believed to bring fortune to the dynasty that was run by the emperor and his ministers in the imperial palaces. Furthermore, these two gazetteers magnify the role of royal aura in choosing the site for the imperial palaces, even though in several early Ming texts such as the *Ming shilu*, this choice was not involved with the consideration of the royal aura.¹¹³ Also around the fifteenth century, literary works composed by ministers and literati such as Wen Zhenming 文徵明 (1470-1559) and Li Dongyang 李東陽 (1441-1516) began to incorporate the royal aura into their narratives about Bell Mountain and Xiaoling.¹¹⁴ These fifteenth-century sources and the *Hongwu Jingcheng tuzhi* suggest that the impressions and the connections of Bell Mountain, Xiaoling and the royal aura had been gradually developed after the Hongwu Emperor's interment.

¹¹¹ Zhang, *Ming shi*, 2405.

¹¹² Li, *Daming yitongzhi*, 491. Chen, *Huanyu tongzhi*, 8.

¹¹³ Institute of History and Philology, Academic Sinica, *Taizu shilu*, juan 21, 295, 311.

¹¹⁴ Qian, *Lie chao shi ji*, vol. 5, 2766, 3424; vol.7, 3503, 3568; vol.8, 4638.

The symbol of the royal aura was still vivid in the political discourse until the very end of the Ming Dynasty. During the reign of the last emperor, irreverent behaviors of commoners and officials, such as logging in the Xiaoling area and passing by Xiaoling without paying respects to the Hongwu Emperor, had been reported to the court. A stele was then erected to prohibit those intolerable conducts in Xiaoling because “Bell Mountain has had the royal aura since ancient times and Xiaoling is the basis of the Ming dynasty.”¹¹⁵ This stele ironically discloses the inability of the court to keep basic maintenance of their imperial foundation at the time when domestic troubles and border invasions caused tension. Nearly twenty years later, the Ming dynasty was terminated by the Manchu conquest. Xiaoling still existed as a nostalgic term, but the legend of its royal aura was no longer recorded.

The ways in which Xiaoling became the symbol of the Ming dynasty under the rule of the Manchus, and even in the Republic of China, has been well studied.¹¹⁶ My

¹¹⁵ Nanjingshi bowuguan, *Xiaolingzhi xinbian*, 255-257.

¹¹⁶ Craig Clunas, *Empire of Great Brightness: Visual and Material Cultures of Ming China, 1368-1644* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2007), 221. Su Derong, Chang xiyong, and Su Dongpeng, “Mingxiaoling yu wanming de kangqing douzheng” 明孝陵與晚明的抗清鬥爭, in *Dishijie mingshi guoji xueshu taolunhui lunwenji* (Beijing: Renmin ribao chubanshe, 2004), 503. Zhu Hong, “Qingxi zhongshan: Qingdai huangdi ji shiren baiye Mingxiaoling de huodong” 情繫鍾山: 清代皇帝及士人拜謁明孝陵的活動, in *Mingtaizu de zhiguo linian jiqi shijian*, ed. Zhu Honglin (Hong Kong: Xianggang zhongwen daxue chubanshe), 345-370. Li Gongzhong, “Kangxidi yu Mingxiaoling: guanyu zuqun zhengfu he wangchao gengti de jiyi chonggou” 康熙帝與明孝陵: 關於族群征服和王朝更替的記憶重構, *Nanjing daxue xuebao*, no.2 (2014): 126-160. Jonathan Hay, “Ming Palace and Tomb in Early Qing Jiangning: Dynastic Memory and the Openness of History,” *Late Imperial China* 20, no.1 (1999):1-48. Kafalas, *In Limpid Dream*, 22-35.

discussion in this section traces the root of this outcome. My research shows that it is the Hongwu Emperor's burial that made Xiaoling and Bell Mountain connected to the fortune of the Ming dynasty. Therefore, Xiaoling was used as a symbol of dynastic identity in the writings of late Ming literati and the adherents of the Ming. In subsequent Qing dynasty, the description of Bell Mountain's royal aura vanished in gazetteers because Nanjing was neither the foundation nor the capital of the Manchu emperors.¹¹⁷ Gan Xi 甘熙 (1798-1853), a Nanjing native, explained the metamorphosis of clouds at Bell Mountain as merely a natural phenomenon, which captures a sharp contrast to Zhu Zhifan's "Sunny Cloud in Bell Mountain."¹¹⁸ This contradiction further manifests how the auspicious geomancy was created by politics. We are uncertain about whether Bell Mountain was chosen to build Xiaoling because of its auspicious geomancy, but historical evidence shows that the Hongwu Emperor and Xiaoling did promote the making of royal aura of this mountain.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I argued that the Hongwu Emperor's emotional bond to his

¹¹⁷ Chen Shi, *Shangyuan xianzhi* 上元縣志 (Taipei: Chengwen chubanshe, 1983), 335. Mo Xiangzhi and Gan Shaopan, *Shangjiang liangxianzhi* 上江兩縣志 (Taipei: Chengwen chubanshe, 1970), 81-85.

¹¹⁸ Gan Xi, *Baixia soyan* 白下瑣言 (Taipei: Guangwen chubanshe, 1970), 12.

parents and ancestors allows us to explore the undocumented spatial arrangements of these early Ming mausoleums and capitals. His desire to serve the deceased family members in a physical proximity had been demonstrated in his innovations of the imperial compounds. This personal sentiment had often been concealed by geomantic discourses in historical records. To unfold what makes the geomancy auspicious, I consult the precedents that show how previous emperors used their ancestral lines and the imperial mausoleums to embellish the origin of the dynasties they built. The Hongwu Emperor firmly attributed the success of building the Ming dynasty to his humble ancestors; therefore, the landscapes close to their original burial sites were fashioned with auspicious geomancy. This logic had been inherited by the followers of the Hongwu Emperor, even after the capital was moved to Beijing. When a late Ming minister Jiang Jingde 蔣璟德 (? -?) reported his survey at Huangling to the Chongzhen Emperor (1611-1644), the last emperor of the Ming dynasty, his cheerful tone ironically contradicts to the internal and external plights that soon brought the dynasty to the end:

China has three dragon veins. The flourishing aura of the middle vein is in the Middle Capital, which gathers at the ancestral mausoleums in Fengyang and Sizhou; the prosperous aura of the southern vein is in Nanjing, which aggregates at Xiaoling in Bell Mountain; the affluent aura of the northern vein is in Beijing, which clumps at the imperial mausoleums in Mount Tianshou. Our dynasty exclusively possesses these three dragon veins all together. What an eternal and

auspicious fortune for your majesty.¹¹⁹

Beijing and the Thirteen Mausoleum Valley in Mount Tianshou were no longer presented by such adjacency as early Ming capital-mausoleum pattern. However, the same belief, here again sugarcoated with geomantic terms, was repeated in Jiang's memorial. The notion of "the deceased are never far away" therefore had transcended physical capital-mausoleum planning and became a conceptual belief in political discourses throughout the Ming dynasty. By uncovering political symbols and geomantic metaphors in these historical records, we find the core of these narratives is expressions of strong affection.

¹¹⁹ Wang, *Ming Xiaoling zhi*, 85.

Chapter Three

The Tomb as a Crucial Sacrificial Site: The New Imperial Burial Practices

In chapter two, I discussed the spatial arrangement between Xiaoling and Ming capital Nanjing, and how their adjacency suggests a concern of keeping the deceased in the life of the living. This chapter is an extension of the last one, and the focus will turn to the mausoleums. Scholars have already noticed several fundamental changes in the layout and the administrative institutions of Ming imperial mausoleums. These transitions indicate an emphasis that Ming imperial mausoleums were important sites to perform ancestral sacrificial rites, rather than merely the burial grounds of the deceased emperors. This argument is largely based on the new layout of Ming imperial mausoleums. In this chapter, I will further explore the following three transformations in the mausoleum rites. Since the early Ming dynasty, the Ming emperor established a new military institution and dispatched it to guard the imperial mausoleums. In the meantime, historical records show us a new schedule for and a new type of sacrificial offerings in the performance of the mausoleum sacrificial rites. This new timetable and the offerings help us better understand the new mausoleum architectural settings and their functions. These changes allow us to study the meanings behind the governmental

approval of the mausoleums' ritual significance from the angles of emotional attachment and institutional validation that have been insufficiently discussed in current scholarship.

In canonical Confucian prescriptions such as the *Liji*, the Imperial Ancestral Temple situated in the confines of the Imperial Palace is the only legitimate place to perform ancestral sacrificial rites.¹ Although throughout Chinese history, people, including imperial household members, also conducted sacrificial rites at tombs, this act was treated by Confucian ritualists as inappropriate. However, the institutional and architectural changes in Ming mausoleums suggest that the ritual importance of mausoleums was no longer regarded as inferior to that of the Imperial Ancestral Temple. This point of view further indicates that the equal significance of the souls – the soul resides in the tomb and the one in the Temple – was recognized by the Ming government. The Confucian canons that stress the authentic temple rites were adjusted by the Ming government to accommodate the mausoleum rites in order to meet the new understanding of the souls and the ways in which the descendants interacted with them.

¹ Yang, *Zhongguo gudai ducheng zhidushi yanjiu*, 114, 143, 209, 352-353, 517. Steinhardt, *Chinese Imperial City Planning*, 14.

***Lingwei*: Authorizing the Deceased Emperor with an Army**

Lingwei 陵衛 (mausoleum garrison) is an innovative military establishment at Ming imperial mausoleums, starting with the Hongwu Emperor.² This was the first time in Chinese history that the mausoleums were guarded by standard armies, but this new institution is still understudied. By exploring the development of the mausoleum garrison system, I argue that the mausoleum garrison serves as a piece of evidence that allows us to position the ritual importance of Ming imperial mausoleums on an institutional and a ritual level.

Current scholarship tends to concentrate on *lingwei*'s military acts because it is part of Ming military system. *Lingwei* is composed of two Chinese characters. *Ling* means mausoleum and *wei* is translated as local garrison. *Wei* is the basic unit of Ming military system; and each garrison was affiliated with a prefecture or a sub-prefecture.³ *Lingwei* was named after the mausoleum where it was deployed.⁴ For example, the garrison that guarded Xiaoling was named as Xiaoling wei. Except for Zuling, every Ming mausoleum was assigned one garrison. Because of their proximity to the northern

² *Lingwei* is one of the three on-site institutions designated to be in charge of the mausoleum affairs in the Ming dynasty. The other two were *shengong jian* 神宮監 (the board of mausoleum management) and *ciji shu* 祠祭署 (the bureau that is responsible for the sacrificial ceremonies at the mausoleums). Both *shengong jian* and *ciji shu* had counterparts in preceding times, but *lingwei* was a new institution in the Ming dynasty. Zhang, *Ming shi*, 1446. Li, *Da Ming huidian*, juan 90, 1421.

³ Zhang, *Ming shi*, 2157. Farmer, "The Hierarchy of Ming City Walls," 467.

⁴ Zhang, *Ming shi*, 2204-2205.

border, the mausoleum garrisons that served at the Thirteen Imperial Mausoleum Valley have attracted more scholarly attention than the ones that guarded Xiaoling in Nanjing and Huangling in Fengyang. The Thirteen Imperial Mausoleum Valley is situated on the southern side of Mount Tianshou, about fifty miles from the second capital Beijing. Mount Tianshou was the last natural landscape to defend Beijing if an alien incursion came from the north. Therefore, research regarding *lingwei* has been focused on the mausoleum garrisons of the Thirteen Imperial Mausoleum Valley and their military performance.⁵ However, I argue that the process of granting a mausoleum garrison to guard the mausoleum also sheds light on our understanding that the Ming imperial mausoleums act as a crucial site to connect the emperor and his forefathers.

Elevating a Local Garrison to the Prime

To protect the mausoleums with defensive forces is not unusual in Chinese

⁵ Kawagoe Yasuhiro, A Study of Hu-ling-wei in the Ming Period 明代護陵衛考—とくに長陵衛・獻陵衛とその軍事活動を中心に, 人文研紀要 82 (2015): 61-94. Wang Xiuling, “Ming ling bianqian shankou jiqi junbei” 明陵邊牆山口及其軍備, in *Shoujie Mingdai diwang lingqin yantaohui lunwen* 首屆明代帝王陵寢研討會論文, ed. Shisanling tequ banshechu (Beijing: Kexue chubanshe, 2000), 73-80. Hu Hansheng, “Mingdai tianshou shan de lingjun” 明代天壽山的陵軍, in *Shoujie Mingdai diwang lingqin yantaohui lunwen*, 81-83. Wang Xiong, “Ming Changping lingqin yu beibian fangwei” 明昌平陵寢與北邊防衛, in *Ming Changling yingjian 600 zhounian xueshu yantaohui lunwenji* 明長陵營建 600 周年學術研討會論文集, ed. Zhongguo Mingshi xuehui (Beijing: Shehui kexue wenxian chubanshe, 2010), 418-430. Hu Hangsheng, *Ming shisanling yanyiu* 明十三陵研究 (Beijing: Beijing Yangshan chubanshe, 2012), 365-374.

history, but only the Ming dynasty dispatched standard armies on a regular basis.⁶ The deployment of a standard army indicates that the deceased emperor deserved protection and treatment as if they were alive. This concept explains J.J.M. de Groot's conclusion, that Zuling was probably considered less important than other Ming mausoleums because it had no mausoleum garrison.⁷ My research builds on this statement and explores further. By exploring how the level of the mausoleum garrisons had been upgraded from a local garrison to an imperial one, I argue that the mausoleum garrisons not only symbolized the recognition of the deceased emperor's authority as if he were still alive but also bridged the connection between the deceased emperor and his successors through the establishment of the military institutions.

Lingwei's military affiliation discloses clues about their ritual significance related to the current emperor. In the military system of the Ming dynasty, most local garrisons were superintended by the Regional Military Commissions (*duzhihui shisi* 都指揮使司),

⁶ The tradition of deploying guards for imperial mausoleums started as early as the Han dynasty. There were two ways to protect the mausoleums. First, the government offered weapons to *linghu* 陵戶 (household that served the mausoleum affairs). *Linghu* were recruited from households near the mausoleum, and they were responsible for cleaning and guarding the imperial burial ground. The numbers of *linghu* for each mausoleum were around three hundred to four hundred men, or sometimes fewer. They were under the commands of *lingtai ling* 陵台令 (Official of the mausoleum management). The second way is to dispatch an army to protect the mausoleums, but the records are scant in the Tang and Song texts, which indicate that this deployment was probably not common. Five-hundred soldiers, referred in Song texts as *fengxian jun* 奉先軍 (Army that serves the imperial ancestors), were assigned to protect several mausoleums during the Northern Song dynasty, yet it is not clear whether every mausoleum had its own army. Liu, *Zhongguo gudai jianzhu shi*, 445. de Groot, *The Religious System of China*, vol.2, 427-436. Li, *Tang liu dian*, 283-284. Xu, *Song hui yao jigao*, vol.2, 1333. Toqto'a et al., *Song shi* 宋史 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1977), 2884.

⁷ de Groot, *The Religious System of China*, vol. 3, 1273.

which were commanded by the highest military institution – the Five Chief Military Commissions (*wujun dudufu* 五軍都督府) at the capital.⁸ Some garrisons that served the capital area were designated as the imperial garrisons (*qin jun* 親軍), which means their highest commander would be the emperor, rather than the head of the Five Chief Military Commissions. What is important to keep in mind is that most mausoleum garrisons were categorized as imperial garrisons, even if the mausoleums where they were deployed were not geographically or administratively associated with the capital.⁹

The history of the mausoleum garrisons shows us the progress of how they were elevated to the imperial garrisons, and this progress indicates that the bond between the deceased emperor and the current emperor was institutionalized through military establishment. The first mausoleum garrison was established by the Hongwu Emperor in 1369 to guard his parents' mausoleum Huangling.¹⁰ At this time, the mausoleum garrison of Huangling was classified as a local garrison.¹¹ According to the *Ming shi*, the mausoleum garrison assigned for Xiaoling was not under the command of the Five Chief Military Commissions, but it is unclear whether this mausoleum garrison was

⁸ Charles Hucker, *A Dictionary of Official Titles in Imperial China* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1985), 78-79.

⁹ Zhang, *Ming shi*, 2196, 2204-05.

¹⁰ Yuan, *Fengyang xinshu*, juan 8, 475. Liu, *Chenghua zhongduzhi*, juan 1, 318.

¹¹ Zhang, *Ming shi*, 2200.

part of the imperial garrisons at the point when it was established.¹² After 1421, following the establishment of mausoleum garrison of the Yongle Emperor's Changling, the mausoleum garrisons that were granted to the later emperors were all categorized as imperial garrisons.¹³ The reasons to establish a mausoleum garrison and to elevate the garrison from the local to the imperial level are not clear in historical texts. However, I argue that the administrative affiliation between the mausoleum and the capital allows us to understand the military relationship between the mausoleum garrison and the emperor on the throne.

The administrative affiliation of Beijing and the Thirteen Imperial Mausoleum Valley was quite close, despite their geographical distance of approximately thirty miles. This administrative relationship between Beijing and the Valley manifested the concept of "mausoleum is part of the capital" in a different way from the spatial intimacy of Nanjing and Xiaoling. Geographically, the site of the Thirteen Imperial Mausoleum Valley belongs to Shuntian Prefecture (Shuntian fu 順天府), not the capital. However, in the *Da Ming yitong zhi*, an officially commissioned gazetteer, the Valley

¹² According to the *Ming shi*, the Xiaoling wei was established during the reign of the Jianwen Emperor, whereas in Xu Qianxue's *Duli tongkao*, this assignment happened when the Yongle Emperor replaced Jianwen's rule. The mausoleum garrison of Xiaoling was categorized as one of the imperial garrisons affiliated with Nanjing after Nanjing was no longer the capital. Zhang, *Ming shi*, 1865, 2195. Li, *Da Ming huidian*, juan 124, 1789. Xu Qianxue, *Du li tong kao* 讀禮通考 (Taipei: Taiwan Shangwu yinshuguan, 1983), juan 93, 240.

¹³ Zhang, *Ming shi*, 2204-2205.

is classified as an administrative component of the capital and the mausoleum garrisons who guard the Valley are also categorized as imperial garrisons even though their cantonments were physically located in Shuntian Prefecture.¹⁴

This case is different from Nanjing and Xiaoling. The geographical adjacency of Nanjing and Xiaoling makes the elevation of Xiaoling's mausoleum garrison as natural as their united administrative relationship.¹⁵ Although the historical texts fail to clarify whether Xiaoling's mausoleum garrison belongs to the imperial garrison, the fact that this garrison was not supervised by the head of the Five Chief Military Commissions indicates its direct association with the emperor. Since the administrative level of the mausoleum and the mausoleum garrison is closely related to the capital, in both Nanjing and Beijing, the reason why the first mausoleum garrison in the Ming dynasty is only a local garrison becomes clear. When the mausoleum garrison was assigned to protect Huangling in 1369, the Hongwu Emperor had not finalized the decision of where to build his capital. Furthermore, it was not until 1393 that the local garrison system was fully established, including the imperial garrison institution.¹⁶ This is probably the reason why the first mausoleum garrison started with a low rank. However,

¹⁴ Li, *Daming yitongzhi*, 68, 96-97.

¹⁵ Li, *Daming yitongzhi*, 497, 533.

¹⁶ Zhang, *Ming shi*, 2196.

its low position of origin does not conceal its importance and influence of being the first standard army to guard the mausoleum. Even though the Hongwu Emperor's intention of granting the mausoleum garrison was not shown in historical records, the way the later emperors executed the dispatch of the mausoleum garrison as discussed below illuminates the nature of this system and, perhaps from later documents we can infer something of the intention of the Hongwu Emperor.

The Timing that Bonds the Two Worlds

The timing to assign and to dispatch a mausoleum garrison defines the significance and essence of this garrison. The Ming emperors chose their burial sites and built their own mausoleums during their reigns; however, the mausoleum garrisons were almost always assigned by the succeeding emperors after the interment of the late emperor was completed.¹⁷ Both the Hongwu Emperor and the Yongle Emperor's empresses were buried in Xiaoling and Changling before the death of the emperors; however, the mausoleum garrisons were not dispatched until the interments of the

¹⁷ The only exception happened during the Jiajing Emperor's reign. His mausoleum was named as Yongling 永陵 when his empress was interred. And the Yongling wei was assigned after her funeral. Zhang, *Ming shi*, 250, 3532. Institute of History and Philology, Academic Sinica, *Shizong shilu*, juan 336, 6143.

emperors.¹⁸ This timing challenges current scholarship that focuses on the militarily and defensive functions of the mausoleum garrisons because these studies fail to explain why the empresses did not require protection.¹⁹ I argue, through the study of dispatch, the mausoleum garrisons also fastened the relationship between the deceased emperor and his successor in an institutional and a ritual manner.

Funeral rites mark a transitional timing to farewell the dead and to establish a new order. One of the primary tasks for the new emperor when he succeeded the throne was to bury his predecessor in the mausoleum within a month after his death. Soon after the internment, the title of an imperial garrison would be changed to a mausoleum garrison, and this garrison would be dispatched to guard the mausoleum.²⁰ By making these changes, the new emperor declared his legitimacy to succeed the throne and started his reign as a new era. Turning an imperial garrison that was used to serve the deceased emperor when he was alive into his mausoleum garrison is a replica of the living pattern that applied to the sphere of the dead. The military power of the deceased emperor was symbolically validated by designating one mausoleum garrison out of

¹⁸ Zhang, *Ming shi*, 2204-2205.

¹⁹ Hu, *Ming shisan ling yanjiu*, 369-372

²⁰ Zhang, *Ming shi*, 104-105, 181, 196. Institute of History and Philology, Academic Sinica, *Renxong shilu*, juan 1, 33. Institute of History and Philology, Academic Sinica, ed., *Mingxiaozong shilu* 明孝宗實錄 (Taipei: Institute of History and Philology, Academic Sinica, 1964-1966), juan 4, 79. Institute of History and Philology, Academic Sinica, ed., *Mingwuzong shilu* 明武宗實錄 (Taipei: Institute of History and Philology, Academic Sinica, 1964-1966), juan 3, 109.

hundreds of imperial garrisons commanded by him in his life time. Although the mausoleum garrison was to honor the deceased emperor by authenticating his military authority, the recognition is through the bestowal process endowed by the new emperor. Moreover, the mausoleum garrison of the late emperor was under the command of the new emperor as part of his imperial garrisons. The number of mausoleum garrisons accumulated as the emperors passed away, and these garrisons were all inherited by the new emperor as the dynastic legacy. Therefore, the relationship between the deceased and new emperors in the Ming dynasty was further fostered through military designation across the spheres of the living and the dead.

By granting a mausoleum garrison to the deceased emperor and having this garrison under the new emperor's command, the deceased are still incorporated in the system managed by the descendants. The logic behind this military allotment is similar to the that behind the spatial and administrative arrangements of Ming mausoleums and the capitals. These institutional and spatial contiguities between the realm of the dead and that of the living strengthen the attempt to keep the deceased in the life of the living. In the next section, I will turn the focus to the new mausoleum layout and the new principle rites performed at the mausoleums, both of which reflect a new way of honoring the dead.

The Innovative Mausoleum Layout and the Principal Rites

Beginning in the Hongwu Emperor's reign, the mausoleum layout underwent several transformations, and the resulting new layout shows that the rites practiced at Ming mausoleums had also changed. As scholars like Liu Yi have pointed out, these transitions indicate the ritual significance of Ming mausoleums was unprecedentedly elevated.²¹ This significance challenges Confucian instructions in which a tomb is only a place to bury the corpse and the sacrifices offered to the deceased should be conducted at the ancestral temple or the family shrine.²² Studying the new layout and ritual practices is crucial for us to analyze how the soul of the deceased emperor who resides in the imperial mausoleum was treated. Furthermore, these changes show us how the mausoleum rites are different from or similar to the ones performed in the Imperial Ancestral Temple. The comparison between the temple rites and the mausoleum rites helps us position the role of the latter in the system of imperial ancestral worship because the status of the mausoleum rites was always ambiguous in historical texts.

²¹ Liu, *Mingdai diwang lingmu zhidu yanjiu*, 494-497.

²² Zhang, *Song chuang meng yu*, 120

An Ambiguous Ritual Site

Until the late Ming dynasty, the mausoleum rites had been excluded from a hierarchical system that ranks the significance of the imperial sacrificial rites, regulated in the *Zhouli* 周禮 (*Rites of Zhou*).²³ Since the Zhou dynasty, this system had been used by subsequent dynasties to categorize the levels of the sacrificial rites based on criteria such as the status of the subject who receives the sacrifices, the ranks of sacrificial offerings and of participants at the ceremony.²⁴ The exclusion of the mausoleum rites, presumably, is related to the fact that the mausoleums had never been acknowledged as a formal site to practice ancestral worshipping in Confucian ritual texts.

In contrast to the mausoleum rites, the temple rites almost always ranked in the highest level. This system consists of three levels of categorizations – Major Sacrifices (*Da si* 大祀), Middle Sacrifices (*Zhong si* 中祀), and Minor Sacrifices (*Xiao si* 小祀).²⁵ In the Ming dynasty, for example, the sacrificial ceremony conducted to honor the

²³ Toqto'a, *Song shi*, juan 98, 2425-2426. Liu Xu et al., *Jiu Tang shu* 舊唐書 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1975), juan 21, 819. Ruan Yuan, *Shisan jing zhu shu* 十三經註疏 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1980), vol.1, 768.

²⁴ Yu, *Libu zhigao*, juan 25, 463-464. Zhang, *Ming shi*, 1235. Li, *Da Ming huidian*, juan 81, 1265.

²⁵ The ranking system has a long history since the pre-Qin era, and each dynasty had slightly adjustments to the ranks of deities. Wang, *Tang hui yao*, 493-494. Liu, *Jiu Tang shu*, 819. Zhang, *Ming shi*, 1225-1226.

Heaven and the Earth was one of the Major Sacrifices.²⁶ The rites performed in the Imperial Ancestral Temple were also categorized as Major Sacrifices because the imperial ancestors were the basis of the dynasty;²⁷ therefore, the veneration to them was not inferior to veneration offered to the Heaven and the Earth. Although the mausoleum is another venue to present the emperor's reverence to his ancestors, in most Ming ritual texts, the mausoleum rites were only marked as special dispatch (*te qian* 特遣).²⁸ By the end of the Ming dynasty, the mausoleum rites were admitted as one of the Major Sacrifices in the ritual manual *Taichang xukao* 太常續考.²⁹ The *Taichang xukao* was composed by officials of Taichang si, the Court of Imperial Sacrifices, which was responsible for the “affairs of sacrifices, rites and music” and enforced ritual prescriptions regulated by the Ministry of Rites.³⁰ Therefore, the importance of mausoleum rites was officially elevated.

The record in the *Taichang xukao* does not explain why the mausoleum rites

²⁶ Zhang, *Ming shi*, 1225.

²⁷ Zhang, *Ming shi*, 1225.

²⁸ In the *Libu zhigao*, during the reign of the Jiajing Emperor, the contents of the ranking system had been adjusted, though mausoleum was still not included in any of the categories. However, in the *Da Ming huidian*, a section entitled “Looting Logs in the Mausoleums” issued during the reign of the Jiajing Emperor, shows that the punishment of the crime of looting logs in the mausoleum is equivalent to that of the crimes of robbing sacrificial items prepared for the Major Sacrifices. Therefore, the importance of mausoleums to a certain degree resembles those categorized as the Major Sacrifices, even though they were not officially sorted into the category. Yu, *Libu zhigao*, juan 25, 463. Li, *Da Ming huidian*, juan 168, 2338. Long, *Ming hui yao*, juan 17, 273.

²⁹ *Taichang xukao* 太常續考 (Taipei: Taiwan Shangwu yinshuguan, 1983), vol. 1, 5.

³⁰ Zhang, *Ming shi*, 1795-1798.

proceeded to the category of Major Sacrifices. Although this change marks an official recognition, I argue that the ritual significance of the mausoleum rites had been present since the early Ming dynasty, which can be proven by exploring the evidence of the new mausoleum layout and of the reforms of the mausoleum rites.

The New Plan

A Chinese mausoleum is a compound that consists of halls and palaces. Each hall or palace serves unique sacrificial practices or services conducted for the deceased emperor and empress. Therefore, different functions of these buildings and their spatial arrangement are sources for scholars to explore the needs that contemporaries believed the deceased may require. Any rearrangement of these buildings, including elimination, alteration, and reallocation of certain halls and palaces, indicates that some services or ritual practices were no longer needed or that they were newly emphasized. Scholars have previously noticed that Ming mausoleums had a layout different from that of preceding dynasties and have agreed that these changes turn the function of the mausoleums from a residence of the deceased to a sacrificial site.³¹ My study speaks to this current scholarly understanding. Moreover, I argue that if we study the new

³¹ Yang, *Zhongguo gudai lingqin zhidushi yanjiu*, 65. Liu, *Mingdai diwang lingmu zhidu yanjiu*, 486-487. Zhang, *Zhongguo sang zang shi*, 250.

sacrificial schedule and the rearranged offerings along with the new layout, we can discern how these ritual and spatial modifications reflect a different attitude toward the buried deceased.

It is necessary to consider the historical development of the mausoleum layout in order to understand the meanings of the new layout in the Ming dynasty. As early as the pre-Qin era, the mausoleum layout was influenced by the designs of the Imperial Ancestral Temple, and the layout of the Imperial Ancestral Temple resembled that of the Imperial Palace.³² A hall of audience (*chao* 朝) was the front compound of the Imperial Palace and was a public space where the emperor managed the governmental affairs with his ministers. A residential hall (*qin* 寢) was the rear compound and was a domestic space for the emperor and his family to live. Therefore, the Imperial Ancestral Temple, a building built for the deceased emperor, employed the same spatial arrangement as the Imperial Palace. The front part of the Imperial Ancestral Temple is called *miao* (廟 temple palace), in which the tablet of the deceased emperor was placed and worshipped. This temple palace resembles the hall of audience in the Imperial Palace and is the orthodox space to practice ancestral sacrificial rites as defined by Confucian classics. The rear part of the Imperial Ancestral Temple is still called the

³² Yang, *Zhongguo gudai lingqin zhidushi yanjiu*, 6-38, 100-102, 171-183. Wu Hung, "From Temple to Tomb: Ancient Chinese Art and Religion in Transition," *Early China* 13 (1988): 78-115.

residential palace and is where the apparel and the utensils used by the deceased emperor were displayed as if he were still living in his palace. The ritual practices conducted in the temple palace and residential palace in the Imperial Ancestral Temple were different. As the space that houses the tablets of the late emperors, the temple palace manifested the imperial line and dynastic basis. Therefore, the ritual ceremonies performed in the temple palace were carried out by the emperor and his ministers. The residential palace, an imitation of the living space for the deceased emperor, was served by palace servants to fulfill the rite of offering four meals to the soul of the emperor every day.³³ As early as the Qin dynasty, the residential palace was separated from the compound of the Imperial Ancestral Temple and was built adjacent to the mausoleums.³⁴ Scholars agree that this replacement reflects the belief that the souls of the deceased would travel from the tomb to the residential palace to enjoy the daily service as if they were alive.³⁵

The reform of Ming imperial mausoleum layout began in the Hongwu Emperor's reign. The most distinctive feature of Ming imperial mausoleums is the elimination of the residential palace and the daily ministrations for the deceased emperors and

³³ Qiu Jun, *Daxue yanyi bu* 大學衍義補 (Taipei: Taiwan shangwu yinshuguan, 1971), juan 59, 8b-9a.

³⁴ Yang, *Zhongguo gudai lingqin zhidushi yanjiu*, 14-33. Wang, *Tang hui yao*, 419. Zhang, *Ming shi*, 1472.

³⁵ Yang, *Zhongguo gudai lingqin zhidushi yanjiu*, 132-133.

empresses. Furthermore, the Hall of Heavenly Favors was built at the center of the mausoleum and became the site where the emperor or his designated representatives hosted sacrificial ceremonies (Figures 3-1, 3-2).³⁶ Current scholarship has reached the consensus that, in the Ming dynasty, the mausoleums serve as a sacrificial area rather than as a residence where the spirit dwells.³⁷

Scholars have explored the reasons why the mausoleum layout was changed.

Yang Kuan states that it was a way to centralize the imperial power by emphasizing the rites practiced by the emperor at the mausoleums.³⁸ Liu Yi argues that the Hongwu Emperor's background as a peasant prevented him from retaining the cumbersome rituals of preceding times.³⁹ Ann Paludan proposes that the new plan situated the deceased emperor in the similar layout as the Forbidden City where he resided when alive, which turned the tomb into "a meeting place between this world and next."⁴⁰

Zhang Zhongming suggests that the changes reflect the ebb of traditional worship of souls and the emphasis of ritual practices.⁴¹

³⁶ Paludan, *The Ming Tombs*, 7. Yang, *Zhongguo gudai lingqin zhidushi yanjiu*, 62-65. Liu, *Mingdai diwang lingmu zhidu yanjiu*, 75-79, 338, 484-485. Zhang, *Zhongguo sang zang shi*, 250.

³⁷ Zhang, *Zhongguo sang zang shi*, 250. Yang, *Zhongguo gudai lingqin zhidushi yanjiu*, 65.

³⁸ Yang, *Zhongguo gudai lingqin zhidushi yanjiu*, 65.

³⁹ Liu, *Mingdai diwang lingmu zhidu yanjiu*, 486-487.

⁴⁰ Paludan, *The Ming Tombs*, 7-9.

⁴¹ Pan guxi, *Zhongguo guodai jianzhu shi* 中國古代建築史 (Beijing: Zhongguo jianzhu gongye chubanshe, 2009), vol.4, 200.

These arguments are based solely on the spatial arrangement of Ming imperial mausoleums.⁴² My study will further explore the kinds of sacrificial offerings prepared for the rites performed at the Hall of Heavenly Favors and the new schedule for conducting these rites. This line of analysis not only sheds light on why the mausoleum sacrificial rites were gradually recognized as one of the Major Sacrifices, but also helps us understand the function of a new edifice called *zaisheng ting* 宰牲亭 (the slaughterhouse) in Ming mausoleums that is rarely discussed by scholars.

New Schedule, Raw Meat and the Slaughterhouse

The reform of Ming mausoleum rites suggests that the importance of the mausoleum rites similar to that of temple rites. These changes reflect treatments alike between the soul residing in the mausoleum and the soul which was worshipped in the Imperial Ancestral Temple.

In addition to the daily ministrations offered by the palace servants in the residential palace, pre-Ming mausoleum rites also included sacrificial ceremonies conducted by officials.⁴³ The reform of the mausoleum rites in the Ming dynasty

⁴² Liu Yi and Hu Hansheng's research shows the content of the major rites performed at the Ming mausoleums, yet they do not fully expand a discussion on these rites. Liu, *Mingdai diwang lingmu zhidu yanjiu*, 483. Hu, *Ming shisan ling yanjiu*, 342-362.

⁴³ In the Han dynasty, the sacrificial ceremonies conducted by officials were held in the residential

eliminated the rites fulfilled by the servants and reinforced the ceremonies practiced by the emperor's designated representatives.

Before the Ming dynasty, the schedule of practicing the mausoleum rituals was similar to the timetable followed in the Imperial Ancestral Temple, but the level of sacrificial offerings presented at the mausoleum sacrificial ceremonies was inferior to the ones provided for the temple rites. The old schedule and offerings reflect the ambiguous ritual status of the mausoleum rites. Canonical Confucian texts prescribe no instructions on the mausoleum rites because the mausoleum is not an orthodox site to perform the sacrificial ceremonies. The government therefore referred the practices of the temple rites to conduct sacrificial rites at the mausoleums because these two sites were both relevant to ancestral veneration. However, the rank of the mausoleum rites could not compete with the orthodox temple rites, which could be the reason why the schedule was similar, but the offerings were lower in rank.

In the Ming dynasty, the new schedule for executing the mausoleum rites suggests that the mausoleum rites were no longer considered an inferior copy of the Imperial

palace. In the Tang and Song dynasties, a set of palaces called the upper palace was built to conduct these ceremonies, whereas the lower palace was the residential palace. Scholars argue that the Hall of Heavenly Favors in the Ming dynasty became the upper palace in the Tang and Song dynasties. A major difference is that the Hall of Heavenly Favors is located at the center of the mausoleum complex, but in the Tang and Song dynasties, the center is the tombs. Therefore, scholars believe that the primary function of the Ming imperial mausoleums is to perform sacrificial ceremonies. Yang, *Zhongguo gudai lingqin zhidushi yanjiu*, 1, 34-36, 49, 56-58. Liu, *Mingdai diwang lingmu zhidu yanjiu*, 75-79, 338, 484-485.

Ancestral Temple.⁴⁴ At the same time, the level of the offerings prepared for the mausoleums was raised to match those at the Imperial Ancestral Temple.⁴⁵ These features mark the distinctiveness and the significance of Ming imperial mausoleums as a site to convey reverence to the imperial ancestors.

In Ming mausoleum rites, the timetable was no longer a copy of the temple rites but was replaced by the customary festivals – the Tomb-Sweeping Day (the Qingming festival 清明), the Ghost Festival (the Zhongyuan festival 中元) and the Winter Solstice

⁴⁴ Every dynasty has a different schedule to perform mausoleum sacrificial practices. Distinction even existed among mausoleums because sometimes the emperor made special commands to grant additional sacrifices. Before the Ming dynasty, the principal rites were similar to the ones performed at the Imperial Ancestral Temple – the seasonal sacrifice, the sacrifice on the first and the fifteenth days of the month, and the offerings of the seasonal foods monthly. These rites found their origins in Confucian ritual classics such as the Book of Rites and the Rites of Zhou. Every Ming mausoleum has a slightly different schedule from one another. The timetable set up in the early Ming for Zuling and Huangling still followed preceding timetables, such as the sacrifice on the first and the fifteenth days of the month, but the sacrificial victims – *shaolao* – were unprecedentedly used on this occasion. The Hongwu Emperor's wife Empress Ma passed away earlier than him and was buried in Xiaoling. Sacrificial ceremonies held for her at Xiaoling had similar timeline to Zuling and Huangling, which reflects the early stage of Ming mausoleum rites. The dates to perform sacrificial ceremonies at Xiaoling in the *Da Ming huidian* should be the practice regulated after the Hongwu Emperor's death. Wang, *Tang hui yao*, 471-475. Ouyang Xiu et al., *Xin Tang shu* 新唐書 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1975), juan 14, 362-365. Toqto'a, *Song shi*, juan 107, 2579; juan 109, 2624; juan 122, 2851; juan 123, 2881-2885. Li, *Da Ming huidian*, juan 90, 1421. Institute of History and Philology, Academic Sinica, *Taizu shilu*, juan 152, 2386, 2388; juan 155, 2412; juan 157, 2433; juan 158, 2445; juan 162, 2520; juan 169, 2574, 2580. Xiao Song et al., *Da Tang kai yuan li* 大唐開元禮 (Taipei: Taiwan Shangwu yinshuguan, 1983), juan 37, 203. Zhang, *Ming shi*, 1322. Qin Huitian, *Wu li tong kao* 五禮通考 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1987), 2. Xu, *Ming ji li*, juan 4, 135-136. Wang, *Tang hui yao*, 473-474.

⁴⁵ Before the Ming dynasty, mausoleum sacrificial rites were also conducted on the Tomb-Sweeping day and the Winter Solstice, though it was the first time in the Ming times that the significance of these festivals were validated by offering *tailao*. In the Ming dynasty, in addition to the sacrificial ceremonies practiced on the three major festivals, minor events such as the anniversaries of the birthday and of the death of the deceased emperor, the first day of the year, the second month of the winter are also part of regular mausoleum rites, but only wine, fruit and incense were offered. Travel notes written by late Ming or early Qing literati who had visited or heard about the mausoleum rites show that the actual sacrificial offerings were more flexible and diverse than what the *Da Ming huidian* had regulated, but using sacrificial victims was still essential for these rites. See Li, *Da Ming huidian*, juan 90, 1421 and 1422; Wang, *Tang hui yao*, 473-474. Zhang Dai, *Tao an meng yi* 陶庵夢憶 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2002), 7. Ji Wen, *Si ling ji* 思陵記 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1960), 248.

(Dongzhi 冬至), all of which were greatly popular in the Ming dynasty among all of social classes.⁴⁶ These customary festivals were the occasions when people show their care and respect to their ancestors. Even though these festivals were not the occasions defined by canonical Confucian rites, they were recognized by the Ming government to be the major festivals to perform sacrificial rites at the mausoleums. The types of sacrificial offerings prepared for the rituals conducted on these dates further demonstrate that the importance of these customary festivals was validated by the Ming government.

The sacrificial offerings at Ming mausoleums were elevated to the level of half-cooked sacrificial victims. The types of sacrificial offerings embody symbolic

⁴⁶ Since Medieval China, these customary festivals became popular. See Donald Holzman, "The Cold Food Festival in Early Medieval China," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 46, no.1 (1986): 51-59. Beata Grant and Wilt Idema. *Escape from Blood Pond Hell* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2011), 6. Chang Jianhua, *Suishi jieri li de zhongguo 歲時節日裡的中國* (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2006), 165. Stephen Teiser, *The Ghost Festival in Medieval China* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1988) 3-15, 35-40. Derk Bodde, *Festivals in Classical China: New Year and Other Annual Observances during the Han Dynasty, 206 B.C.-A.D. 220* (Princeton, N.J. : Princeton University Press, 1975), 165. Patricia Ebrey, "The Early Stages in the Development of Descent Group," in *Kinship Organization in Late Imperial China 1000-1940*, ed. Patricia Ebrey and James Watson (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986), 20-34. Keith Hazelton, "Patrilines and the Development of Localized Linages: The Wu of Hsiu-ning City, Hui-chou, to 1528," in *Kinship Organization in Late Imperial China 1000-1940*, 152. One piece of evidence that shows the pervasiveness of these holidays is the reform of the imperial rituals. In 1368, the year when the Ming dynasty was established, seasonal sacrifices performed in the Imperial Ancestral Temple followed the orthodox schedule, which instructs the dates of the Seasonal Sacrifices to conduct sacrificial ceremonies – on the first month of each season. In 1369, an alternation was made to change the orthodox schedule. According to the new schedule, the rites were performed on the Tomb-Sweeping day for the spring season, on the Duanwu festival for the summer season, on the Ghost Festival for the fall season, and on the Winter Solstice for the winter season. Although this new version soon switched back to the orthodox one, the 1369 modification indicates that these customary festivals were more popular than the orthodox ones. See Li, *Da Ming huidian*, juan 86, 1357.

messages such as the ranks of the worshipped or the relationship between the worshipper and the worshipped. A record in the *Tang huiyao* 唐會要, a handbook of governmental institutions in the Tang dynasty, identifies the types of sacrificial offerings presented at the mausoleums before the Ming dynasty:

The Imperial Ancestral Temple use *bian* 簋, *dou* 豆, and *shenglao* 牲牢 as the same offerings from the three dynasties in order to demonstrate the sincere attitude toward the ancestors. The offerings for the mausoleum are ordinary food. Offering the taste of food flavors is a temporary solution adopted from the Qin and Han eras.⁴⁷

Bian and *dou* are ritual vessels to contain sacrificial offerings. *Shenglao* (the sacrificial victims) refers to the cattle selected for the sacrifices. These sacrificial vessels and the sacrificial victims were used for the authentic ritual practices at the Imperial Ancestral Temple and served as an orthodox legacy since the pre-Qin era.⁴⁸ In contrast, offering ordinary food such as sweet gruel at the mausoleum ceremonies was an expedient approach to carry on this unorthodox practice without any historical and ritual references.⁴⁹ Before the Ming dynasty, the sacrificial victims were almost only presented at the mausoleum rites when the emperor visited the mausoleums or under special commands of the emperor.⁵⁰ This was changed in the Ming dynasty when the

⁴⁷ Wang, *Tang hui yao*, 419.

⁴⁸ Sun, *Liji jijie*, vol.2, 710.

⁴⁹ Ouyang, *Xin Tang shu*, juan 14, 364. Sun, *Liji jijie*, vol.2, 654.

⁵⁰ Only the Han and the Ming dynasties offered sacrificial victims to the deceased emperor at the mausoleums on a regular basis. According to Wu Hung's research, Han imperial mausoleums enjoyed

sacrificial victims were offered on major occasions at the imperial mausoleums as well as at the Imperial Ancestral Temple.⁵¹

The sacrificial victims were only offered to the spiritual beings that were honored the most, such as the Heaven and the Earth and the spirits of the deceased emperors residing in the Imperial Ancestral Temple.⁵² The sacred nature of these spiritual beings distinguishes them from human beings because they do not consume ordinary food. Those spirits would only be attracted by and come to enjoy the bloody smell generated from blood, raw meat, and *xian* 燻 (half-cooked meat) that are freshly cut off from the bodies of the sacrificial victims at the sacrificial site.⁵³ Slaughtering the sacrificial

equal ritual significance as the Imperial Ancestral Temple, and this could be the reason why the high ranking sacrificial victims were used at the mausoleums rites in the Han dynasty. Wang, *Tang hui yao*, 468, 474. Toqto'a, *Song shi*, juan123, 2881. Wang Qinruo and Li Sijing, ed., *Ce fu yuan gui* 冊府元龜 (Hong Kong: Zhonghua shuju, 1960), vol.1. juan 181, 323, and vol. 2, juan 181, 1523, 2099. Dong Gao et al., *Quan Tang wen* 全唐文 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1982), vol.11, 10578-10579. Zhang, *Ming shi*, 1472. Wu, "From Temple to Tomb," 78-115.

Yang Kuan and Liu Yi's research both articulate that sacrificial victims were used in the mausoleum sacrificial rites during the Song dynasty. However, the sources that Yang and Liu used were the occasions when the emperors were presented at the mausoleum ritual ceremonies. I argue sacrificial victims were probably not used in the mausoleum rites on a regular basis in the Song times for two reasons. First, the process of previewing the condition of sacrificial offerings was a crucial procedure before the sacrificial ceremony. In the *Zhenghe wuli xinyi* 政和五禮新儀, there is a very clear distinction between the previewing processes for the Imperial Ancestral Temple rites and the mausoleum rites. For the Imperial Ancestral Temple rites, "previewing sheng 省牲" was the part of the preparation process before the ceremonies, whereas the mausoleum rites only required "previewing food 省饌." Second, *zaisheng ting* 宰牲亭 (the slaughterhouse) did not appear in the layout of the Song mausoleums, but the Ming imperial mausoleums were all equipped with the slaughterhouses to go through the sacrificial victims slaughtering process. See Liu, *Mingdai diwang lingmu zhidu yanjiu*, 337. Yang, *Zhongguo gudai lingmu zhidushi yanjiu*, 56-59. Zheng juzhong and Ji Yun, ed., *Zhenghe wuli xin yi* 政和五禮新儀 (Taipei: Taiwan Shangwu yinshuguan, 1983), juan 647, 564, 606-610. Henan sheng wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo, ed., *Bei Song huang ling* 北宋皇陵 (Zhengzhou shi: Zhongzhou guji chubanshe, 1997). Xu, *Song hui yao jigao*, 1333.

⁵¹ Zhang, *Ming shi*, 1472.

⁵² Sun, *Liji jijie*, vol.2, 654-655.

⁵³ Sun, *Liji jijie*, vol.2, 711.

victims on-site demonstrates the utmost honor to the spiritual beings by showing them that the sacrificial victims are intact and are raised with special care before being slaughtered for the sacrifice.⁵⁴ Corresponding to the offerings of the sacrificial victims at Ming imperial mausoleums, a new building, the slaughterhouse, was part of the mausoleum compound in the early Ming dynasty.⁵⁵ Zhang Dai, a late Ming literatus, left a precious record that describes the preparation of sacrificial victims at the slaughterhouse in Xiaoling for the Ghost Festival in 1642,

On the day before the sacrifice the Administrator of Sacrifices opened the center doors of the sacrificial grounds. Led by drums and music, banners and pennants, the ox and sheep came forth covered with dragon cloths. When they reached the slaughtering spot [slaughterhouse], the ox's hooves were bound with four ropes. The Administrators of Sacrifices [the officials of the Court of Imperial Sacrifices] then went there and the ox stood facing him squarely. The Administrator then made a low bow to the sacrificial animal, and before he straightened up, the ox's head was already in the scalding pot [*xian* pot]. Once scalded, the ox was borne into the sacrifice hall. The next day at the fifth drum the Duke of Wei (Xu Hongji) arrived to head the rites, and the Administrator of Sacrifices then yielded his direction of them, merely standing at attention in the Sacrificial Hall. When the rites were over the ox and sheep were already so rancid that one could be bear smelling them.⁵⁶

⁵⁴ Sun, *Liji jijie*, vol.2, 717. Institute of History and Philology, Academic Sinica, *Wuzong shilu*, juan 181, 3508-3509.

⁵⁵ All the Ming mausoleums equipped with the slaughterhouses, except for the mausoleum of the last Ming emperor, the Chongzhen Emperor. Zhang Zhengxiang, "Ming zu ling" 明祖陵, *Kaogu*, no.8 (1963): 440, Yuan, *Fengyang xinshu*, juan8, 481, Gu Yanwu, "Changping shanshui ji," in *Gu Yanwu quanji* (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2011), vol.4, 10. *Taichang xukao*, 167. Zhang, *Ming shi*, 1476.

⁵⁶ Zhang, *Tao an meng yi*, 6-8. This text is translated by Philip Kafalas. See Kafalas, *In Limpid Dream*, 25. The original term of "the slaughtering spot" in Kafalas' translation is *xisheng suo* 犧牲所, which is likely to be *zaisheng tin* 宰牲亭 in Ming mausoleum compound. Kafalas' translation does not specify this location, which is important to my argument.

Zhang Dai's narrative shows that Ming imperial mausoleums were designed to perform this respectful practice. Offering the half-cooked sacrificial victims further indicates that the nature of the soul residing in the mausoleum was believed to be similar to the one in the Imperial Ancestral Temple.⁵⁷ In the hierarchy of the sacrificial offerings, cooked food – “the taste of food flavors” as in the description of the *Tang huiyao* – are the lowest and were offered to the spiritual beings with much less holy nature because they consume the same diet as human beings. In the Ming dynasty, the changes from ordinary food to sacrificial victims in the mausoleum rites marked a solution to the expedient status of the mausoleums and the souls dwelling in them – they possess the ritual significance as the ones honored in the Imperial Ancestral Temple.

The use of the sacrificial victims not only defines the status of the worshipped but also that of the worshipper.⁵⁸ This metaphor represented by the sacrificial victims sheds light on the relationship between the emperor on the throne and the mausoleums.

Tailao 太牢, which consists of one cow, one sheep, and one pig, are the sacrificial victims to be used for the mausoleum major rites in the Ming dynasty.⁵⁹ Traditionally,

⁵⁷ Kafalas' translation doesn't show that the sacrificial victims were offered in the condition of medium raw as it is in the original text. The original term of “the scalding pot” is *xian suo* 爓所. *Xian* 爓 is a key term because it means a half-cooked state.

⁵⁸ Vincent Goossaert, “The Beef Taboo and the Sacrificial Structure of Late Imperial Chinese Society,” in *Of Tripod and Palate: Food, Politics, and Religion in Traditional China*, ed. Roel Sterckx (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), 242.

⁵⁹ According to the ranks of *shenglao* in the Ming ritual codes, *sheng* are divided into four ranks. The

only the emperor had the privilege to use *tailao* for sacrifices.⁶⁰ However, the Ming emperors rarely visited the mausoleums in person. One of the reasons is that the emperors were expected by the civil officials to stay in the palace to protect their safety because they were the heart of a dynasty.⁶¹ As both Zhang Dai's note and records in the *Da Ming huidian* indicate, representatives act on the emperor's behalf to offer *tailao* to the soul of the deceased emperor.⁶² I argue that *tailao* symbolically manifests the emperor's sincere reverence to his forefathers on a regular and standard basis, even though the emperor did not attend the ceremonies.

The new layout and the new mausoleum rites suggest that the sacred nature of the deceased emperors was recognized by the Ming government and was implemented through offering the highest level of sacrificial victims. The consistency of this practice

first is *du* 犢 (calf); the second is *niu* 牛 (cow); the third is *tailao* 太牢; the fourth is *shaolao* 少牢. Calf was often used in the highest level of sacrificial rites, such as sacrifice to the gods of the Heaven and the Earth. *Tailao* was traditionally the offerings for the sacrificial rites at the Imperial Ancestral Temple. *Tailao* began to be used for mausoleum sacrificial practices at Zuling and Huangling. See Zhang, *Ming shi*, 1236. Li, *Da Ming huidian*, juan 90, 1421. Institute of History and Philology, Academic Sinica, *Taizhu shilu*, juan 111, 2320.

⁶⁰ Sun, *Liji jijie*, vol.1, 352-353. Actual practices varied in different dynasties. In Tang ritual codes, even the emperor was not present at the rites performed at the Imperial Ancestral Temple, *tailao* were still used. On the contrary, only at the emperor's presence could *tailao* be used for mausoleum ritual ceremonies. The Song dynasty had similar *tailao* policy for mausoleum rites to the Tang dynasty, yet for the Imperial Ancestral Temple rites, no *tailao* could be used without the emperor's presence. The Ming ritual codes do not have a clear distinction on whether *tailao* should be used when the emperor was not participating in the rites. See Xiao, *Da Tang kai yuan li*, juan 45, 337-340. Xu, *Ming ji li*, juan 4, 139-140. Zheng and Ji, *Zhenghe wuli xin yi*, juan 647, 576.

⁶¹ Ray Huang, *1587- A Year of No Significance* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1981), 121-124. The Ming emperors did not always visit the imperial mausoleums on the sacrificial occasions. Long, *Ming hui yao*, juan 17, 278-281

⁶² Zhang, *Tao an meng yi*, 6-8. Li, *Da Ming huidian*, juan 90, 1422.

reflects the reason why the mausoleum rites were categorized as one of the Major Sacrifices in the late Ming and were not special dispatches anymore. In this section, I discussed the mausoleum rites performed by governmental ministers and the emperor's envoys. In subsequent discussion, another new aspect of mausoleum design – the stone altar – shows us the yearning of the emperor to his deceased parents and a personal, perpetual, and symbolic offering to them.

The Stone Altar: A New Mausoleum Design

This section explores the significance of erecting a *shi jiyān* 石几筵 (stone altar) in front of the emperor's tomb. I argue that this new design reflects the ways in which the Ming emperors perceived their relationship to the deceased emperors, and this relationship enables us to observe the sacrifices at the mausoleums, both intimate and symbolic.

Changling, the mausoleum of the Yongle Emperor and his consort, is the first Ming mausoleum in which a stone altar was erected. Since that time, the stone altar became a standard component of the mausoleum compounds throughout the Ming dynasty.⁶³ The stone altar is a marble table on which stand the five offerings (Figures

⁶³ *Taichang xukao*, 167. Erecting a stone altar was not the privilege of the emperors. According to

3-3, 3-4, 3-5). Because the size made it unsuitable for practical use, scholars suggest that the stone altar serves as a symbolic way of performing sacrifices to the deceased emperor.⁶⁴ In this section, I will further explore why this symbolic presence matters.

Limited records regarding the establishment of the stone altar reveal scant information for us to understand this new design. Therefore, I explore the function and the meaning of *jiyan* 几筵 (altar) in the context of death rituals in order to understand why the stone altar was erected at the burial ground. In funerary texts, *jiyan* is a temporary altar set up by the bereaved family to place daily meals for the newly dead as though he or she were still alive. The temporary altar would be removed after the mourning period was ended, which indicates the deceased no longer possess a human nature but rather become the ancestor with divine essence. Therefore, in funerary writings, an altar bears the metaphor of a strong emotional bond between the deceased and the living, as if death did not set the two worlds apart. Compared to the provisional nature of the temporary altar, the stone altar was erected and remained at the site

archaeological ground survey, Ming novels, and Ming travel notes, other social classes including kings, generals, and commoners also set stone altars at their burial grounds. Xiaoxiaosheng, *The Plum in the Golden Vase*, trans. David Tod Roy (Princeton University Press, 1993), vol.3, 154. Huebisheng wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo, “Wuchang Longquanshan Mingdai Chu Zhao wang mu fajue jianbao,” 5. Jingzhou bowuguan, ed., “Hubei jingzhou Ming Xiangxian wang mu fajue jianbao” 湖北荆州明湘獻王墓發掘簡報, *Wenwu*, no.4 (2009): 43-44. Li Xinyu, *Yan xing ri ji* 燕行日記, in *Yan Xing lu quan bian* 燕行錄全編 (Guangxi: Guangxi shifan daxu chubanshe, 2010), vol. 6, 468-469.

⁶⁴ Take Changling for example, the stone altar is “six metres and six tenths by one metre eighty-three centimetres.” de Groot, *The Religious System of China*, vol.3, 1220.

forever. This feature indicates that mausoleums were a site where the emperor demonstrated his longings to serve the deceased with symbolic and perpetual offerings as a way to keep the deceased in the life of the living.

Bonding the Living and the Deceased with an Altar

Shi jiyān was used by officials of the Court of Imperial Sacrifices to indicate the stone altar.⁶⁵ Therefore, I argue that this term best represents the ritual significance and the function of the stone altar in the sacrificial context, which shows us the relationship between the mausoleum, the deceased emperor, and the new emperor, which is otherwise underrepresented in historical texts.

Jiyan has two components, *ji* is a table and *yan* is a mat to place on this table.⁶⁶

⁶⁵ In the records of the Ming and Qing dynasties, the Chinese terms used to refer to the stone altar are varied. In novels and travel notes written by late Ming and Qing literati, the stone altar was often called *shi tai* 石台, the stone platform. See Gu Yanwu, “Changping shanshui ji,” in *Gu Yanwu quanji* (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2011), vol.4, 602. The earliest record of *shi jiyān* is found in Xiao Yan’s *Taichang ji* 太常紀, which was probably written in the late sixteenth century when Xiao Yan served the position of *Taichang si shaoqing*, Vice Minister of the Court of Imperial Sacrifices. See Yiu, “Ming Qing liangdai lingmu de shi gongzhuo,” 367 (note.36). The term *shi jiyān* was also adopted in the *Taichang xukao*, another governmental ritual handbook completed in 1643 by a group of Taichang officials using the archives of the the Court of Imperial Sacrifices. The *Taichang xukao* was appraised by Qing officials as the handbook that covers rites from the early Ming to its end and includes practices that are not recorded in other Ming ritual handbooks such as the *Ming ji li* and the *Da Ming huidian*. It is possible that the term *shi jiyān* was adapted from the *Taichang xukao* to describe the layout of Ming mausoleum in the *Ming shi* compiled by the Qing government. See Ming ren zhuanji ziliao suoyin, vol.2, 906, *Taichang xukao*, 1, Institute of History and Philology, Academic Sinica, *Shenzong shilu*, juan 103, 2915, Zhang, *Ming shi*, 1476. Sun, *Chunming mengyu lu*, 1044.

⁶⁶ Yiu, “Ming Qing liangdai lingmu de shi gongzhuo,” 367. Nie Chongyi, *Sanli tu jizhu* 三禮圖集註 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1987), vol.8, 113-114. In the *Liji*, an altar is used in the funeral, but the timing of using an altar is different from the practices in the Ming dynasty. In Song ritual handbooks such as Sima Guang’s *Shu Yi* (*Letters and Rituals*) and Zhu Xi’s *Family Rituals*, an altar is not mentioned

An altar is a temporary setup to hold the tablet and the sacrificial offerings for the newly dead during the mourning period that is about three years long.⁶⁷ The transition of the newly dead from becoming the ancestor of the household is represented by the rite of shifting the tablet from the temporary altar to the ancestral temple or the family shrine. After this, the temporary altar would be removed.⁶⁸ Zheng Ji 鄭紀 (1433–1508) describes the distinctions between worshipping the deceased at the temporary altar and at the family shrine,

When the parents die, [the filial son] weeps and places offerings day and night at the altar. [The filial son] offers [his parents] food at each meal and shows [his] grief to the extreme. After the parents are buried and [their tablets] were moved to the family shrine, [the filial son] visits [the ancestral temple or the family shrine] and bows every morning and night, performs seasonal sacrificial rites, and offers [the parents] seasonal food. This is to show sincerity of commemorating them to

in the funeral rites, but can be found in the template of letter of condolence for the guests to present it to the bereaved family when they participate in the funeral. The term that Sima Guang and Zhu Xi used is *zuozi* 桌子 (table), which functions similarly to an altar. The usage of the table and the altar finds reference in the Tang dynasty. Meng Xi, a Tang official, once said *shi* 士 family often use the table to replace the altar to perform the inauspicious rites. The Ming ritual handbooks that adopted Sima Guang and Zhu Xi's manuals show using the table in the same way as the altar. Ruan, *Shisan jing zhu shu*, vol.1, 1313. Qiu, *Wengong jiali yijie*, 622. Song Minqiu, *Chunming tui chao lu* 春明退朝錄 (Taipei: Yiwen yinshu guan, 1965), vol.2, 4.

⁶⁷ In the *Libu zhigao*, wine, food, and the tablet would be placed on the emperor's altar. Yu, *Libu zhigao*, juan 27, 513, 579. The *Xing li da quan shu* cites Zhu Xi's saying that the altar should be removed after three years, but there are another timing recorded in the same book, which says the altar should be removed after the *da xiang* 大祥 (the twenty fifth months since the death). The *Ming ji li* has a different schedule to maintain the altar compared to the record in the *Libu zhigao*. In the section of commoner's funeral in the *Ming ji li*, the altar is used throughout the rites of *xiao xiang* 小祥 (the thirteenth month since the death), *da xiang* (the twentieth month since the death), and *dan* 禫 (the twentieth seven month since the death). Hu Guang, *Xing li da quan shu* 性理大全書 (Taipei: Taiwan Shangwu yinshuguan, 1983), 457-458. Li, *Da Ming huidian*, juan 96, 1489. Xu, *Ming ji li*, juan 37, 168-169.

⁶⁸ As in last footnote, the timings to remove the altar as well as that to move the tablet to the ancestral shrine are varied in different Confucian ritual handbooks. According to Xue Qianxue, the confusions in the timings were caused by adopting the ancient ritual practices to contemporary society. Xu, *Du li tong kao*, juan 49, 225-233.

the extreme.⁶⁹

As Zheng Ji says, the purpose of setting the temporary altar is to offer the deceased meals regularly, because at this point in the mourning process the newly dead is still treated as though he or she were alive.⁷⁰ The mood of the filial son should be one of mourning because he has lost his beloved parents. Moving the tablet to the ancestral temple or the family shrine marks the moment that the deceased are now the ancestors who no longer require necessities to maintain life as human beings because they have achieved spiritual existence. Therefore, the way to show one's respect for his ancestors is to provide seasonal sacrifices, not daily meals. By this time, the filial son should shift his mood from the grief of losing his parents to the sincerity of respecting them as ancestors.

The transition of the mood is as important as the treatment of the deceased as they become ancestors. These transitions made the temporary altar an ideal subject for us to explore why the stone altar was established at the mausoleum, especially in the context that unlike the temporary altar, the stone altar would not be removed. In Confucian prescription, the funeral procedure, including the setup of the temporary altar, is categorized as an inauspicious rite whereas performing ancestral practices at the

⁶⁹ Zheng Ji, *Dong yuan wen ji* 東園文集 (Taipei: Taiwan Shangwu yinshuguan, 1972), juan 6, 12b.

⁷⁰ Xu, *Du li tong kao*, juan 49, 226-227.

ancestral temple or the family shrine is classified as an auspicious one.⁷¹ During the inauspicious mourning period, one's life style should be different than is routine in order to present one's grief more sincerely, for example, wearing the mourning garments, avoiding from meat and wine, not performing entertainment and listening to music.⁷² At the end of the mourning period, the descendants should return to their normal life style and begin to treat the new ancestor in a sincere manner. However, in actual practices, people could not always overcome their grief after the prescribed mourning period was over. Therefore, in funerary writings, descriptions such as "one cannot bear to remove altar" and "altar cannot exist long" all indicate yearnings that the beloved deceased should still reside in the household to enjoy the daily service offered by the descendants.⁷³

⁷¹ According to the *Yili*, after the burial, *yu* 虞 rite would be perform. *Yu* means to calm. Confucian ritualists believed the newly dead would be restless, so the *yu* rite is designed to pacify it. Followed by the *yu* rite is the rite of *zuku* 卒哭. Although at this point the mourning period is not over, *zuku* means *chengshi* 成事 (the completion of the work). Therefore, the subsequent rites will be classified as auspicious rites, which serve as a transformation that aims to release the pain of the bereaved family members. *Zhaoxi dian* 朝夕奠 (The placement of food in day and night) is also terminated after *yu* rite, but the bereaved family still cries day and night. Food is only offered at *zuku*, *da xiang*, and *xiao xiang*. These concepts were adopted by the Song and Ming Confucian scholars. Ruan, *Shisanjing zhushu*, vol.1, 1173-1176. Zhu, *Jia li*, 924. Hu, *Xing li da quan shu*, 454. Qiu, *Wengong jiali yijie*, 564. Zhang, *Ming shi*, 1450.

⁷² Li, *Da Ming huidian*, juan 96, 1490. Hu, *Xing li da quan shu*, 455, 457-458, Zhu, *Jia li*, 925, 927, 928. Institute of History and Philology, Academic Sinica, ed., *Mingtaizong shilu* 明太宗實錄 (Taipei: Institute of History and Philology, Academic Sinica, 1964-1966), juan 94, 1244. Institute of History and Philology, Academic Sinica, *Xiaozong shilu*, juan 11, 256. Institute of History and Philology, Academic Sinica, *Shizong shilu*, juan 341, 6204. Jiao, *Guochao xianzheng lu*, vol.1, juan 17, 619, 670.

⁷³ Zheng, *Dong yuan wen ji*, juan 6, 13a. Gui Youguang, *Zhen chuan ji* 震川集 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1993), 388. Wang Shenzhong, *Zun yan ji* 遵巖集 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1993), 470, 486, 497.

The Altar in the Imperial Practice

In funerary texts, the temporary altar bears two meanings – serving the deceased with daily ministrations as though they were still part of the family and the suffering grief of the filial descendants. The imperial practices follow the same meanings but reveal more information about the relationship between the stone altar and the mausoleum. Records in the *Ming shilu* provide details of how the temporary altar was used in the imperial household. A temporary altar would be set up in front of the coffin of the deceased emperor or empress in the altar palace (*jiyan dian* 几筵殿).⁷⁴ After the burial, a tablet would be inscribed with the titles of the deceased emperor and empress in order to provide a resting place for the soul.⁷⁵ During the mourning period, the tablet would be placed on the temporary altar, and the emperor would perform offerings and make announcements to the deceased emperor or empress in front of the temporary altar.⁷⁶ This spatial arrangement of the temporary altar and the coffin in the altar palace reflects a similar arrangement of the stone altar and the tomb where the emperor was buried in the imperial mausoleum.

⁷⁴ Li, *Da Ming huidian*, juan 97, 1505, 1513. Institute of History and Philology, Academic Sinica, *Taizu shilu*, juan 147, 2320. Institute of History and Philology, Academic Sinica, *Taizong shilu*, juan 136, 1656; juan 274, 2471. Institute of History and Philology, Academic Sinica, *Yingzong shilu*, juan 1, 7; juan 344, 6959. Institute of History and Philology, Academic Sinica, ed., *Mingxuanzong shilu* 明宣宗實錄 (Taipei: Institute of History and Philology, Academic Sinica, 1964-1966), juan 8, 203.

⁷⁵ Institute of History and Philology, Academic Sinica, *Taizu shilu*, juan 148, 2342.

⁷⁶ Yu, *Libu zhigao*, juan 27, 513; juan 31; 579, 586.

What is worth noting is that the new emperor would only set up a temporary altar for his deceased parents and empress, but not for members of the younger generations. According to the *Da Ming huidian*, the temporary altar set up for the princes is called *an* 案, not *jiyan*.⁷⁷ When the emperor's death was announced to the provincial governments, officials would then set up an *an* to perform sacrifices to the deceased emperor.⁷⁸ The hierarchical usage of *jiyan* and *an* specifies *jiyan* as a connection between only the new emperor, his parents, and the empress. In this context, we often find descriptions of *gao jiyan* 告几筵 (making an announcement at the altar) to refer to proclaiming grand events, such as the ceremony of enthronement to the deceased imperial members, at their temporary altars.⁷⁹ The announcements at the temporary altar were often carried out by the emperor in person. The temporary altar could also serve as a location that facilitates communication between the emperor and the deceased. I therefore assume that the stone altar performed a similar function in maintaining the connection between the deceased emperor and his descendants.

The Jiajing Emperor (1507-1567) once said, "I cannot bear to leave the altar even

⁷⁷ Li, *Da Ming huidian*, juan 98, 1527, 1529. In the *San cai tuhui*, *an* is also used for sacrifices to deities, sacrifices at the Imperial Ancestral Temple and the family shrines. Wang, *San cai tu hui*, vol.3, 1940-1955, 1960-1962.

⁷⁸ Li, *Da Ming huidian*, juan 96, 1489-1490.

⁷⁹ *Taichang xukao*, 117. Institute of History and Philology, Academic Sinica, *Renzong shilu*, juan 6a, 206. Institute of History and Philology, Academic Sinica, *Xuanzong shilu*, juan 1, 20. Institute of History and Philology, Academic Sinica, ed., *Mingmuzong shilu* 明穆宗實錄 (Taipei: Institute of History and Philology, Academic Sinica, 1964-1966), juan 6, 164; juan 17, 468.

for a moment;”⁸⁰ suggesting that presence at the temporary altar demonstrated the emperor’s emotional connection to the deceased emperor and empress. Memorials from ministers show that sometimes even after the tablet was moved to the Imperial Ancestral Temple, the emperor still kept the temporary altar of his deceased parents at the altar palace. The ministers often made pleas to the emperor, who refused to remove the temporary altar, for the reason that the emperor should recover from the pain of loss when the mourning period was over in order to govern the country as usual.⁸¹ In the imperial practices, on the day when the tablet was moved from the altar palace to the Imperial Ancestral temple,⁸² the altar would be burned in a clean outdoor space.⁸³ Therefore, both the rituals performed in front of the temporary altar and the materiality of its disappearance mark a phase of temporary transformations to appease and to adjust one’s chaotic pain of loss. This context brings up a primary question about the existence of the stone altar that was built and remained forever at the mausoleum.

⁸⁰ Institute of History and Philology, Academic Sinica, *Shizong shilu*, juan 219, 4510.

⁸¹ Institute of History and Philology, Academic Sinica, *Xuanzong shilu*, juan 159, 3059, 3063.

Yan Song, *Nan gong zou yi* 南宮奏議 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2002), 314.

⁸² Institute of History and Philology, Academic Sinica, *Taizu shilu*, juan 148, 2342. Institute of History and Philology, Academic Sinica, *Xuanzong shilu*, juan 9, 226. Institute of History and Philology, Academic Sinica, *Yingzong shilu*, juan 6, 124; juan 346, 6981. Institute of History and Philology, Academic Sinica, ed., *Mingxianzong shilu* 明憲宗實錄 (Taipei: Institute of History and Philology, Academic Sinica, 1964-1966), juan 5, 120. Institute of History and Philology, Academic Sinica, *Xiaozong shilu*, juan 7, 122. Institute of History and Philology, Academic Sinica, *Muzong shilu*, juan 5, 130.

⁸³ Institute of History and Philology, Academic Sinica, *Xuanzong shilu*, juan 19, 502. Institute of History and Philology, Academic Sinica, *Yingzong shilu*, juan 351, 7050. Institute of History and Philology, Academic Sinica, *Xiaozong shilu*, juan 28, 620. Institute of History and Philology, Academic Sinica, *Shizong shilu*, juan 23, 661; juan 173, 3757.

The Stone Altar: A Perpetual and In-Person Service

How can the temporary altar inform us of the purpose of establishing the eternal stone altar at the burial ground? The imperial practice shows one function of the temporary altar that was not found in the practice of commoners. This point illuminates the connection between the mausoleum and the altar. The Ming emperors rarely visited mausoleums in person; therefore, the emperor would dispatch his representative to perform sacrificial rites on his behalf at the mausoleum during the mourning period or at the occasions such as the anniversary of the late emperor's death. In the meantime, the emperor himself would also conduct sacrificial rites at the temporary altar in the palace.⁸⁴ Historical texts reveal very little information about the simultaneous practices of the two rites to answer our questions as to why the emperor did this and what the distinctions between these two sacrifices are.

Perhaps we can extract similar logic from the level of sacrificial offerings dedicated to the deceased emperor at the mausoleum. As I discussed in the previous section, the rank of the sacrificial offerings symbolized the importance of mausoleum

⁸⁴ Institute of History and Philology, Academic Sinica, *Taizu shilu*, juan 158, 2445. Institute of History and Philology, Academic Sinica, *Yingzong shilu*, juan 13, 229; juan 26, 515; juan 122, 2450. Institute of History and Philology, Academic Sinica, *Xianzong shilu*, juan 5, 119, 282; juan 57, 1169; juan 68, 1360. Institute of History and Philology, Academic Sinica, *Xiaozong shilu*, juan 7, 149; juan 17, 421, 443; juan 222, 4179. Institute of History and Philology, Academic Sinica, *Wuzong shilu*, juan 3, 101; juan 11, 341, 393. Institute of History and Philology, Academic Sinica, *Shizong shilu*, juan 12, 431.

sacrificial ceremonies, as they represented the way the emperor was presented at the rites. As a temporary altar serves as a direct communication and an emotional bond between the emperor and the deceased, performing sacrifices at the altar while the mausoleum sacrificial ceremonies were being carried on is probably a compensation for the absence of the emperor at the mausoleum. These simultaneous practices manifest the efforts that had been made for the emperor to demonstrate his respectful sorrow to the deceased parents at the mausoleum, though the emperor was discouraged by his civil officials to be presented on a regular basis.

The location of the stone altar in the mausoleum further demonstrates its close connection to the burial spot of the deceased emperor, and this closeness informs us of its function similar to the way a temporary altar was set up at the altar palace. The layout of Ming imperial mausoleums resembles those of the Imperial Palace, which are based on the symmetrical principle of organizing buildings within courtyards on a north-south axis. Most Ming imperial mausoleums have three courtyards, while the others have two. No matter how many courtyards were built in the compound, the stone altar is always situated in the most interior courtyard. In this interior courtyard, the stone altar stands in front of Stele Tower and Pavilion that were built as part of the

emperor's tomb (Figures 3-3, 3-5).⁸⁵ In other words, the stone altar was erected in front of the whole grave compound. This spatial layout appears in the same arrangement of the temporary altar and the emperor's coffin or tablet in the altar palace, at which the new emperor expressed his filial yearnings through the temporary altar at its front.

Scholars have proposed various suggestions about the functions of the stone altar. Josh Yiu proposes that the stone altar is to prevent the invasion of evil spirits; Liu Yi states that the stone altar is only an architectural design that aims to make the Stele Tower and Pavilion behind it look even more magnificent, whereas Miao Wenhua suggests that the stone altar is used to guard the grave entrance that is situated beneath the stone altar.⁸⁶ Many other scholars such as J.J.M. de Groot and Xu Guangyuan argue that the stone altar was used for both symbolic performance and perpetual sacrificial rites to the deceased emperor, due to the presence of the five offerings on the altar.⁸⁷

⁸⁵ Paludan, *The Ming Tombs*, 7-8. For the size of stone altar, see de Groot, *The Religious System of China*, vol.3, 1220.

⁸⁶ Yiu Josh, "Ming Qing liangdai lingmu de shi gongzhuo," 369-370. Liu, *Mingdai diwang lingmu zhidu yanjiu*, 338, 483-484. Miao Wenhua, "Bei ling zhi lue" 北陵志略, in *Zhongguo shijie wenhua he ziran yichan lishi wenxian congshu* 中國世界文化和自然遺產歷史文獻叢書, ed. Li Yongxian and Fan Guoqiang (Shanghai: Shanghai jiaotong chubanshe, 2011), 361.

⁸⁷ Xu Guangyuan, "Qianxi Qingling shi wugong de yanbian" 淺析清陵石五供的演變, in *Qingdai huanggong lisu* 清代皇宮禮俗, ed. Zhi Yunting (Shenyang shi: Liaoning minzu chubanshe, 2003), 491. de Groot, *The Religious System of China*, vol.3, 1220. Victor Segalen, *The Great Statuary of China* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1978), 178. Paludan, *The Ming Tombs*, 10-11. Paludan, *The Imperial Ming Tombs*, 47-51. Wang Chaoxia, "Ming Qing diling zhong shi wugong de liyi zhidu chutan" 明清帝陵中石五供的禮儀制度初探, in *Bei lin* 20 (2014): 207.

My study of the symbolic meaning of the altar in death rituals leads my understanding of the stone altar to conform to Xu's; however, I further argue that the evidence can be drawn from broader context in addition to the presence of the five offerings. By looking into the meaning of a temporary altar in the context of funerary writings and death procedures, we found that the stone altar also serves as an emotional connection to the deceased from the perspective of the living.⁸⁸ This bond suggests the reason why the symbolic and perpetual sacrifices were expected to be presented at the burial ground.

If the stone altar is used to present symbolic and perpetual sacrifices, how should we understand its relationship to the mausoleum sacrificial rites conducted at the Hall of Heavenly Favors? The feature of the interior courtyard can probably answer this question. Ann Paludan argues that the interior courtyard is the regime of the dead because the structure of this courtyard does not find its counterpart in the Imperial Palace like other courtyards in the mausoleum.⁸⁹ No sacrificial rites were actually performed in the interior courtyard because they were conducted at the Hall of

⁸⁸ Institute of History and Philology, Academic Sinica, *Renzong shilu*, juan 6a, 200. Institute of History and Philology, Academic Sinica, *Xuanzong shilu*, juan 19, 505. Institute of History and Philology, Academic Sinica, *Wuzong shilu*, juan 17, 507; juan 159, 3059-3060, 3063. Institute of History and Philology, Academic Sinica, *Shizong shilu*, juan 219, 4510; juan 223, 4632; juan 258, 5173. Institute of History and Philology, Academic Sinica, *Shenzong shilu*, juan 532, 10047.

⁸⁹ Paludan, *The Ming Tombs*, 9-10.

Heavenly Favors, which situated in the courtyard that is external to the interior one.⁹⁰

Josh Yiu's study shows that not only did the Ming emperors rarely visit the mausoleums; according to historical records they almost never went to the interior courtyard during their visits.⁹¹ I argue that ritual practices performed at the Hall of Heavenly Favors were completed by the collaborations of the emperor's envoy, officials of the Court of Imperial Sacrifices, and eunuchs, which indicate the nature of these rites as government-dominated.⁹² The veneration to the deceased emperor, therefore, was in the way of honoring the ancestor of the entire dynasty, not of the imperial household. The interior court was not designed to be a space for the living to visit. The analogy of the temporary altar sheds light on the symbolic meaning of the stone altar as personal and familial connections between the emperor and his forefathers. My analysis shows the establishment of the stone altar in the interior courtyard manifests the emperor's in-person service indicatively.

This metaphoric bond of closeness presented by the stone altar further illuminates the importance of the mausoleum from the perspective of the mausoleum ritual reform in the Ming dynasty. Xu Guangyuan proposes that the stone altar replaced the function

⁹⁰ Paludan, *The Ming Tombs*, 8, Liu, *Mingdai diwang lingmu zhidu yanjiu*, 85-86.

⁹¹ Yiu, "Ming Qing liangdai lingmu de shi gongzhuo," 368-370

⁹² *Taichang xukao*, 175-192

of the residential palace, at which palace servants served daily meals to the deceased emperor.⁹³ In other words, the symbolic service was substituted for the actual one. This prompts an intriguing question of why the altar was chosen to present the symbolic sacrifices to the deceased emperor. Perhaps it was because a temporary altar took on an intimate communication between the emperor and the deceased. Through the temporary altar, the emperor could still serve the deceased parents daily in person as they were never far away. As prescribed by Confucian rituals, the altar would have to be removed and the grief of the filial son should end. However, ritual appropriateness often fails to satisfy emotional needs. The Jiajing Emperor once said, “The temple is more important than the mausoleum because the rituals applying to (the temple) are more restrictive.”⁹⁴ His statement serves as a counter-evidence that suggests the practice of the mausoleum rites has fewer ritual restrictions; therefore, there is more freedom to design the layout of the mausoleum that meets the way people imagined the needs of the deceased at the burial ground. By building a stone altar that would never be removed, the emotional bond and service from the new emperor to the deceased emperors symbolically existed forever. Gu Yanwu 顧炎武 (1613-1682), a late Ming and early Qing literatus, once praised the Ming government for abolishing the building of the inappropriate

⁹³ Xu, “Qianxi Qingling shi wugong de yanbian,” 491.

⁹⁴ Zhang, *Ming shi*, 1475.

residential palace at the mausoleums.⁹⁵ Ironically, the innovative establishment of the stone altar in the Ming dynasty otherwise highlights the in-person service of the emperor to the deceased emperor, not merely through the palace servants at the residential palace.

Conclusion

Liu Yi's research uses several historical events to support his argument that, in the Ming dynasty, the mausoleums became more important than the Imperial Ancestral Temple in terms of ancestral veneration. When Zhu Di, who later became the Yongle Emperor, subverted the throne of the Jianwen Emperor and went straight ahead into the Imperial Palace in Nanjing, he was questioned by a minister named Yang Rong. Yang satirized Zhu Di's reckless act to declare his Mandate of Heaven in the Imperial Palace before showing his veneration to the Hongwu Emperor at Xiaoling. As Liu argues, by referring to Xiaoling, not the Imperial Ancestral Temple, Yang Rong's statement suggests that the mausoleum was the primary site to conduct ancestral worshipping in the Ming dynasty.⁹⁶

⁹⁵ Gu Yanwu, *Rizhi lu* 日知錄, in *Gu Yanwu quan ji* 顧炎武全集 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2011), vol. 18, 598-603.

⁹⁶ Liu, *Mingdai diwang lingmu zhidu yanjiu*, 493-494.

Liu Yi's argument is too oversimplified by only using several cases. My research leads me to respond to the same topic from the perspectives that the importance of imperial mausoleums was gradually recognized and that the emphasis on the sacrificial functions of the mausoleums elevated their ritual significance in the Ming dynasty. In chapters two and three, I explored the imperial practices that show the efforts of maintaining the connections between the living and the dead. The tomb where the body was buried stimulates stronger emotional memory to the beloved deceased than the ancestral temple or the family shrine where the ancestral tablet was housed, even though the latter one was the orthodox practice. This emotional tie was demonstrated in the aspects of spatial and administrative intimacy between the mausoleums and the capitals, the dispatch of the mausoleum garrisons, the new offerings of sacrificial victims, the design of the slaughterhouses, and the stone altars. The importance of the buried deceased was acknowledged through positioning his burial site nearby the space of the living, granting his military authority, venerating him with the emperor's in-person service, and so forth. Furthermore, offering sacrificial victims reveals the message – the soul that resides in the mausoleum presumably possesses similar nature and importance to the one worshipped in the Temple. These changes explain why the mausoleum rites were eventually categorized as one of the Major Sacrifices in late

Ming.

Chapter Four

The Emperors' New Gifts Bestowing Sacrificial Necessities and Burial Essentials

This chapter explores a systematic transition in funerary gifts conferred from the emperor to the family of a deceased official, known as the bestowal of sacrificial necessities and burial essentials (*ci jizang* 賜祭葬). I argue, the new gifts show that the role of sacrificial rites to bridge the world of the living and the world of the dead was emphasized in the Ming dynasty more than in earlier times.

Granting funerary gifts is a political gesture of showing the emperor's sorrow at the death of his close subordinates. Before the Ming dynasty, the emperor bestowed clothes, rice, and a cart to the bereaved family of select officials as funerary gifts that helped in the preparations of the funeral ceremonies. These bestowals were prescribed as gifts prepared by the guests who participated in a funeral in the *Yili*. Beginning with the Hongwu Emperor, things essential for burial (*mingi*, laborers, materials, and money for tomb building) and sacrificial necessities (incense, meat, and wine) were added to the old gift lists. Bestowal of the new gifts continued throughout the Ming and the subsequent Qing (1644-1912) dynasties.¹

¹ The bestowal of sacrificial necessities and burial essentials were also made at the death of parents and wives of eligible officials. See *Zhusi zhizhang* 諸司職掌, in *Zhongguo zhenxi falv dianji xuanbian*, ed.

According to the *Yili*, the old gifts were prepared by guests who attend the funeral. In contrast, the new gifts, items for burial and sacrificial rites, should be prepared by the bereaved family, because these ceremonies are defined as a domestic affair.² Guests should not become involved in the preparations of these items. Therefore, I argue that the new gifts demonstrate the Ming emperors' intention to take the role as the hosts instead of the guests in the death rituals of their officials. The gifts used for sacrificial rites became one of the approaches to extend the reach of imperial power beyond the living into the realm of the dead as an intensive way of fostering the emperor-minister connection.

In this chapter, I will use the study of the new gifts to show the role sacrificial rites play in generating new rituals and the flexible adjustments of Confucian rites in Ming imperial practices. These two angles contribute to the discussions about another bestowal gift by the emperor, the pewter utensils – *mingqi* sacrificial utensils to be buried in tombs – in my next chapter. By exploring these gifts used for sacrificial rites, I propose, the emphasis on securing the relationship between the living and the deceased through sacrificial rites was not only confined to the practices at the Ming

Yang Yifan (Haerbin: Heilongjiang renmin chubanshe, 2002), 229-230. Li, *Da Ming huidian*, juan 101, 1555-1562. Here I will discuss only cases involving the officials themselves.

² Ruan, *Shisanjin zhushu*, vol.1, 1146-1156.

imperial mausoleums, but was also disseminated to the death ritual fulfillments of prominent ministers through the bestowal of honor.

The Old Gifts and the New Gifts

Providing financial support that helped the bereaved family prepare the funeral had been a form of mutual help between the bereaved family, their relatives and communities since the Zhou dynasty.³ The bestowal of funerary gifts (called *fengfu* 贈賻) from the emperor was an extension of this mutual help model that applied to the relationship between the monarch and his officials.⁴ *Fengfu* gifts originated in the Zhou dynasty, and the Ming emperors kept bestowing them following traditions practiced since the Zhou dynasty. The *Ming ji li* quotes the Zhou rites as saying that *fengfu* includes three parts, *fu* 賻, *feng* 賻, and *sui* 襚.⁵ *Fu* is the money given to the bereaved family to organize the funeral; *feng* are the cart and horses that carry the coffin to the burial ground; *sui* are the clothes for the deceased to wear which will be

³ Cao Wei, “Dongzhou shiqi de fengfu zhidu” 東周时期的贈賻制度, *Kaogu yu wenwu*, no.6 (2002): 39. Liu Kewei, “Zhongguo gudai fengfu zhidu yanjiu” 中國古代贈賻制度研究 (PhD diss., Kyushu University, 2014), 5-26.

⁴ The term *ci jizang* was not used as a category of funerary gifts until the *Ming shi*, which was composed in the Qing dynasty. In the Ming time, ritual handbooks, such as the *Zhusi zhizang*, and the *Da Ming huidian*, did not use the term *ci jizang* to indicate the policy regarding the bestowal of sacrificial necessities and burial essentials. However, in the *Ming shilu*, this term began to be used to refer to the bestowal during the Yongle Emperor’s reign. See Zhang, *Ming shi*, 1483-1485. *Zhusi zhizang*, 229-230, 319-320. Li, *Da Ming huidian*, juan 101, 1555-1562; juan 203, 2734-2737. Institute of History and Philology, Academic Sinica, *Taizong shilu*, juan 246, 2309.

⁵ Ruan, *Shisanjin zhushu*, vol.1, 1146-1156. Xu, *Ming ji li*, juan 37, 146-147.

buried with him or her in the coffin.

What was a Ming innovation is the imperial bestowal of sacrificial necessities and burial essentials. The old and the new gifts were often offered to the bereaved family simultaneously, as we can see from evidence in epitaphs (*muzhi ming* 墓誌銘). Receiving the funerary gifts from the emperor represented achievements reached by the deceased while alive that families recorded and celebrated it in epitaphs.⁶

I argue that the old and new gifts represent different ways the emperor perceived his role in the family life of his officials. And the Ming emperors, starting from the Hongwu Emperor, emphasized the new gifts. Scholars like Edward Farmer have pointed out that we can better understand the Hongwu Emperor's adaptations of Confucian orthodoxy if we take into account the role of emotions.⁷ In addition to expressing his emotional connections with officials, the new funerary gifts show the ways in which the emperor became involved in the domestic spheres of eligible officials, both when they were alive and after they died. The relationship between the emperor and his officials was often parallel to that of father and son in Confucian

⁶ Beijing shike yishu bowuguan, ed., *Xinzhongguo chutu muzhi: Beijing* 新中國出土墓志 北京 (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 2003), 94-95, 98-99, 103, 108-109.

⁷ Edward Farmer, "Social Regulations of the First Ming Emperor: Orthodoxy as a Function of Authority," in *Orthodoxy in Late Imperial China*, ed. Kwang-Ching Liu (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990), 103-104. Also see Norman Kutcher, *Mourning in Late Imperial China: Filial Piety and the State* (Cambridge, U.K.; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 36-44.

prescriptions; in other words, the dynasty is conceptually an extension of a family.⁸

The new gifts representing the emperor's role in the death rituals as a host allow us to scrutinize how this political concept was fulfilled on a practical level and how the gifts both fulfilled and challenged Confucian rituals.

Who does What When

“Who does what when” is crucial for us to understand the meanings of the old and new gifts in terms of the emperor-minister relationship. Zhou ritual texts divide death rituals into three successive stages: funeral, burial, and sacrifice. Funeral invites relatives and friends to mourn the deceased; burial includes a procession that escorts the coffin to the burial ground and the ceremony of interment; sacrifice aims to calm the newly deceased soul and to gradually turn the soul into an ancestor of the household. Each stage has different procedures and sacrificial ceremonies to be completed. The relationship between the deceased and the descendants is defined by different mourning degrees, such as different types of mourning garments people should wear and different roles they should play.

⁸ The emperor-minister and father-son relationships are two among the Five Relationships in Confucian prescription. The fulfillment of the Five Relationships, father-son, husband-wife, emperor-minister, older brothers-younger brothers, and friends, bring harmony to the society. Ruan, *Shisanjing zhushu*, 182. Hwang Kwang-Kuo, “Filial Piety and Loyalty: Two Types of Social Identification in Confucianism,” *Asian Journal of Social Psychology* 2, no.1 (1999):163-183.

The complicated Zhou death rituals were simplified by Zhu Xi in his *Family Rituals* in the Song dynasty. The *Family Rituals* not only served as a major reference for Ming ritual handbooks, but was frequently cited in encyclopedias for popular and daily use.⁹ In other words, the rituals as modified by Zhu Xi were probably familiar to many literate people of the Ming dynasty.

Gu Qiyuan's 顧起元 (1565-1628) criticizes the practice of the guests taking over the duties of the host in funerals.¹⁰ Although the custom that Gu criticized was one practiced by ordinary people in the Nanjing area during late Ming dynasty, his statement sheds light on the similar practice began with the Hongwu Emperor. In an essay entitled Seven Ritual Practices (*Lizhi qize* 禮制七則), Gu writes,

All the sacrificial practices after the stage of *chengfu* 成服¹¹ are fulfilled by the host family. As for affines and friends, their coming to the ceremony with *fu*, *sui* and *feng* is enough. *Fu* is money and silk; *sui* is clothing; *feng* are a cart and horses. These are the gifts for helping the *lian* 殮 rite, which is placing the body into the coffin, and the *bin* 殯 rite, which is escorting the coffin to the graveyard. Guests who come to the house of the bereaved family should only weep, mourn,

⁹ Zhongguo shehui kexueyuan, ed., "Xinbian shiwen leiju hanmou quanshu" 新編事文類聚翰墨全書, in *Mingdai tongsu riyong leishu jikan* 明代通俗日用類書集刊, vol.1, ed. Zhongguo shehui kexueyuan, Lishi yanjiusuo, Wenhua she (Chongqingshi: Xinan shifan daxue chubanshe; Beijing: Dongfang chubanshe, 2011), 68. Although "Xinbian shiwen leiju hanmou quanshu" was written in the Yuan dynasty, it had been reprinted and circulated in the Ming dynasty as well, See Liu Yingli, "Xinbian shiwen leiju hanmou quanshu," 19. Zhongguo shehui kexueyuan, ed., "Xinkan tianxia minjia bianyong wanjin quanshu" 新刊天下民家便用萬錦全書, in *Mingdai tongsu riyong leishu jikan* 明代通俗日用類書集刊, vol.13, ed. Zhongguo shehui kexueyuan, Lishi yanjiusuo, Wenhua she (Chongqingshi: Xinan shifan daxue chubanshe; Beijing: Dongfang chubanshe, 2011), 55. Zhang, *Ming shi*, 1224. Ebrey, *Chu Hsi's Family Rituals*.

¹⁰ Gu Qiyuan, *Kezuo zhuyi* 客座贅語 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1987), 287-290.

¹¹ *Chengfu*, translated as putting on the mourning garments, was an early stage of a funeral. Ebrey, *Chu Hsi's Family Rituals*, 66.

and offer those gifts. *Dian* 奠 means to place those gifts in the front. Today, the rituals of *fu* and *sui* are rarely fulfilled; *feng* is even unknown in the Jiangnan area. What the guests are doing today is to sacrifice to the dead in place of the bereaved family – butchering lambs and pigs, delicately decorating fruit and squash, and placing crackers and spirit money in the courtyard. Guests also pour wine on the ground to show their respect to the dead. However, pouring the wine on the ground should be the responsibility of the funeral host; the guests who practice this ritual are acting on behalf of the host. Those who know rituals will say that the appropriate way is to bring the funeral clothes, to offer them to the dead, and no more.¹²

A crucial timing of demarcating the duties of the host and the guests in Gu's criticism is *chengfu*. *Chengfu*, putting on the mourning garments, marks the moment that the role and obligations of each bereaved family member are defined, and the bereaved family is ready to receive condolences from other relatives and friends who will bring offering gifts and contributions to weep and place the gifts (*dian* 奠).¹³ However, the new gifts from the emperors were mostly bestowed after the stage of *chengfu* – the phase when “all the sacrificial practices after the stage of *chengfu* are fulfilled by the host family.”

Echoing the *Family Rituals*, Gu Qiyuan also pointed out that the guests should only bring the gifts in the types of *fengfu*, then weep and leave. Sacrificial necessities should only be prepared, and the rites should only be completed by the bereaved family members who were within the prescribed degrees of mourning,¹⁴ even if the guest is an

¹² Gu, *Kezuo zhuiyu*, 288-289.

¹³ Zhu, *jia li*, 903. Gu, *Kezuo zhuiyu*, 288-289. Ebrey, *Chu Hsi's Family Rituals*, 66. Xu, *Du li tong kao*, juan 59, 429-431; juan 61, 461-466.

¹⁴ In Confucian prescription there are five mourning grades, which project the degree of kinship between

emperor. Therefore, the old gifts *fengfu* bestowed by the emperor defined the role of the emperor as a funeral guest and an outsider to the mourning procedures, whereas the new gifts demonstrated the intention of an emperor to become involved in the domestic death ritual arrangement as a host.

Sacrificial Necessities

In order to understand the extent to which the emperor became involved in domestic rituals, we need to discuss the types of the sacrificial necessities. The *Zhusi zhizhang* 諸司職掌 (Handbook of Government Posts), the most important early Ming administrative and legislative handbook, prescribes that sacrificial items will be offered, but does not describe specific kinds of items.¹⁵

An order issued in 1571, from the Ministry of Rites to the Provincial Administration Commission, quotes an edict from the Longqing Emperor (1567-1573) requesting that provincial officials purchase the sacrificial necessities and conduct sacrificial rites for Mao Bowen 毛伯溫 (1482-1545) who had earlier served as the

the deceased and the mourner. The first grade is called “untrimmed sackcloth” (*zhancui*) and involves obligations into the third year. The second grade is called “even sackcloth” (*zicui*), which is worn for three years, for a year with staff, a year without the staff, five months, or three months. The third is called “greater processed cloth” (*dagong*) and is worn for nine months. The fourth, “lesser processed cloth” (*xiaogong*), for five months. The fifth one is “fine hemp” (*sima*), for three months. The translations of terms and descriptions of the five grades are from Nicolas Standaert’s work. See Nicolas Standaert, *The Interweaving of Rituals* (Seattle & London: University of Washington Press, 2008), 12.

¹⁵ *Zhusi zhizhang*, 229-230, 319-322.

Minister of Wars. It says,

Items listed as follow,

Sacrificial items

Every *tan* has one pig; one lamb; five pieces of steamed bread; five bowls of *fen* soup; five kinds of fruits (five *jin* for each kind); five platters of food to accompany wine; one *feng* (phoenix) chicken; one boiled bone; one boiled fish; shortcakes and pastry (four of each); one chicken soup; one fish soup; one bundle of *jiangzhen* incense; one pair of candles; one hundred sheets of spirit money; two bottles of wine.¹⁶

Tan is a table on which the sacrificial items are placed. Orders of the gift bestowals from the Ministry of Rites and the emperors' edicts show that *tan* was the unit of measuring how many sacrificial necessities were given to the deceased official. In Mao Bowen's case, he received nine *tan* from the emperor.¹⁷ The number of *tan* to be given became a way of the honor due an official as the meanings of the new gifts changed over time.

The list of sacrificial necessities for Mao Bowen's funeral shows that sacrificial items in one *tan* include sacrificial animals, cooked food, incense, and wine, which conforms to the practice that Gu Qiyuan criticized. Even though the nature of the new gifts violated the Zhou prescriptions, my study shows that the new gifts were more important than the old gifts for the givers, the recipients, especially those civil officials

¹⁶ "Libu jizang kanhe 禮部祭葬堪合" in Mao Bowen, "Mao Xiangmao xiansheng rongai lu" 毛襄懋先生榮哀錄, in *Siku quanshu cunmu congshu jibu* 四庫全書存目叢書 集部 (Jinan: Qilu shushe chubanshe, 1997), vol.63, 167-168.

¹⁷ Mao, "Mao Xiangmao xiansheng rongai lu," 128.

who were trained by and familiar with the orthodox Confucian teachings, and their families, as discussed below.

Burial Essentials

Burial essentials include different forms of burial bestowals, such as a tomb constructed by the government, or the costs of building a tomb, or the reimbursement of the costs. In the Ming dynasty, burial essentials were usually granted with sacrificial necessities, which is why the term *cijizang* was used in the bestowal records. In early Ming, the burial bestowal included the service of laborers and materials, such as bricks and lime to build the tomb. The number of laborers and the amount of material corresponded to the official rank of the deceased. In the early sixteenth century, the direct bestowal of tomb materials was replaced by grants to pay for burial costs or reimbursements of the burial costs.¹⁸

According to the *Family Rituals*, guests can arrange some placements of sacrifices (*she dian* 設奠) along the way to the burial ground on the burial day and then follow the bereaved family members who escort the coffin to the burial site. Before the coffin is lowered to the grave pit, the guests bow and then take their leave and return

¹⁸ Li, *Da Ming huidian*, juan 203, 2736.

home.¹⁹ Liu Lin 劉麟 (1475-1561), a Minister of Works during the Jiajing Emperor's reign, states that "people should participate in the ceremonies of escorting the coffin to the burial ground and interment of their neighbors."²⁰ However, tomb construction should only be prepared and completed by the bereaved family.

Unlike the bestowal of sacrificial necessities, the bestowal of burial essentials had precedents in history;²¹ the Hongwu emperor's revival of this practice reflects the emperor-minister relationship and the emperor's sincere concerns to his family-like subordinates.

The Emperor's Solicitude

Extraordinary honor shown by granting a burial site, building a tomb, and offering sacrificial necessities was rare before the Ming time because these preparations were regarded as domestic ritual obligations. Breaking the line between the guest and the host projects the huge grief of the emperor toward the death of his subordinates; therefore, the emperor took over the private obligation as his own.²² The Hongwu

¹⁹ Ebrey, *Chu Hsi's Family Rituals*, 67.

²⁰ Liu Lin, *Qinghui ji* 清惠集 (Taipei: Taipei shangwu chubanshe, 1973), vol. 2, 6-8.

²¹ A government-built tomb was part of the funerary bestowal given to officials above the fifth rank in addition to *fengfu* in the Tang dynasty, yet was rarely found in the Song and Yuan dynasties. Li, *Tang liu dian*, 352.

²² Tianyige and Zhongguo shehui kexueyuan, ed., *Tianyige cang Mingchaoben Tianshengling jiaozheng: fu Tangling fuyuan yanjiu* 天一閣藏明鈔本天聖令校證:附唐令復原研究 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju,

Emperor's background as a peasant, his flexible attitude toward redefining Confucian orthodoxy, and his emphasis on emotions in terms of ritual practice are presumably the causes of this transition in the system of funerary gifts.²³

Military men enjoyed unparalleled respect in the early Ming dynasty, because of their achievements and sacrifices on the battle fields that assisted the Hongwu Emperor in establishing the Ming dynasty.²⁴ The *Zhusi zhizhang*, composed in 1393, clearly indicates that only military men who sacrificed their lives for the dynasty would be eligible for the bestowal of funerary gifts. Civil officials would not be eligible.²⁵ A record in the *Ming shilu* shows the details of how the Hongwu Emperor expressed his sincere solicitude to those military generals even before the Ming dynasty was established.

In the year of 1367...the emperor's benevolence and awards to the generals were very profound. When a general was ill, the emperor either sent envoys to express his solicitude, or went to see the general in person. When a general died, the emperor led hundreds of officials to host a commemorative ceremony in the palace for him or went to the dead general's residence in a sedan to mourn him in person. The gifts of condolence, *fengfu*, and the necessities for his funeral and burial rituals were provided by officials [*guan*] so that his family did not need to

2006), 680. Guoli Taiwan shifan daxue lishi xi, ed., *Tianshengling lunji: Xinshiliao, Xinguandian, Xinshijiao* 天聖令論集: 新史料·新觀點·新視角 (Taipei: Yuanzhao chunbanshe, 2011), vol.1, 173. Wu Liyu, *Zhongji zhi dian: Zhonggu sangzang zhidu yanjiu* 終極之典: 中古喪葬制度研究 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2012), vol.2, 572-705.

²³ Farmer, "Social Regulations of the First Ming Emperor," 103-104. Kutcher, *Mourning in Late Imperial China*, 36-44.

²⁴ Langlois, "The Hung-wu reign, 1368-1398," 107.

²⁵ *Zhusi zhizhang*, 229-230, 319-322.

worry about them.²⁶

The Hongwu Emperor's way of honoring his military partners has precedents in the past. Both Wu Liyu and Pi Qingsheng have shown that in the Tang and Song dynasties, the emperor's presence at a death bed or funeral was an enormous honor to the deceased because the emperor's presence revealed his true emotions and concerns toward the sick or dead officials as his family or friends.²⁷ Sending an envoy to express the condolence in his place might simply be done out of politeness. What is worth noticing is that although the emperor's presence was extraordinary, his presence at a death bed still shows his participation as a guest not domination as a host in his ministers' death rituals.

The Hongwu Emperor's presence is not just conforming to Tang and Song precedents. What the record in 1367 tells more is that the bestowal of sacrificial necessities and burial essentials had started along with the dynasty building. Further, the Hongwu Emperor's strong emotional reaction to the illness and death of his close subordinates suggests why he crossed his ritual obligation as a guest and took the role of the host. Early Ming eulogies written for prominent generals reveal the vivid

²⁶ Institute of History and Philology, Academic Sinica, *Taizu shilu*, juan 23, 332-333.

²⁷ Pi Qingsheng, "Songdai de chejia lindian" 宋代的車駕臨奠, *Taida lishi xuebao* 33 (2004): 43-69. Wu Liyu, "Linzong guanhuai yu gaobie zhiyi" 臨終關懷與告別之儀, in *Sui Tang Song Jin Yuan shi luncong* 隋唐宋金元史論叢 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2012), vol.2, 10-34. Wu Liyu, "Tangchao de sangzangling yu sangzangli" 唐朝的喪葬令與喪葬禮, *Yanjing xuebao* 25 (2008): 89-122. Wu, *Zhongji zhi dian*, vol. 2, 572-705.

emotions of the Hongwu Emperor upon hearing of the death of a close subordinate, which provides clues to help us understand the bestowal of the new gifts.

Chang Yucun and Deng Yue were two such subordinates. Chang and Deng followed the Hongwu Emperor early in the military uprising which ultimately overthrew the Yuan dynasty.²⁸ Chang Yuchun was praised in the *Ming shi* as “the general who never lost a battle.”²⁹ When the Hongwu Emperor received the announcement of Chang Yuchun’s death, he was so overwhelmed by grief that he suspended a meeting with his officials. “When the cart carrying Chang Yuchun’s coffin crossed the Dragon River, His Majesty went to the river bank and placed the sacrificial offerings in person.”³⁰ The Hongwu Emperor selected a burial site for Chang’s interment and personally wrote Chang’s funeral oration (*jiwen* 祭文).³¹ “All the necessities for his death rituals were provided by officials [*guan*] so that his family did not need to worry about them.”³² Similar funeral arrangements were also noted in the eulogy for Deng Yue. Further, after choosing a site on a spacious plain for Deng’s burial, the Hongwu Emperor “ordered that Deng’s mother, neé Wang, and his brother,

²⁸ Zhang, *Ming shi*, 3732-3737, 3748-3751.

²⁹ Zhang, *Ming shi*, 3736.

³⁰ Institute of History and Philology, *Taizu shilu*, juan 44, 857-858.

³¹ Institute of History and Philology, *Taizu shilu*, juan 46, 912-916.

³² Xu Hong, *Huangming mingchen wanyan lu* 皇明名臣琬琰錄 (Taipei: Wenhai chubanshe, 1970), 29.

Han, be reburied at this chosen site,”³³ so Deng Yue would not be alone underground.

The key in those eulogies is the role of the Hongwu Emperor as the host who carries the major responsibility of organizing the death ceremonies for the beloved family member, which means he defined himself, at least metaphorically, as a family member of the deceased. The background of the Hongwu Emperor as a peasant probably illuminates his actions on the bestowal. Gu Qiyuan argued that the misunderstanding of Confucian prescription was the cause of the confusion of the host-guest roles. Gu Qiyuan didn't trace the cause of this inappropriate custom, but in the Hongwu Emperor's case, it was out of his emotional concern. His background as a peasant, unlike a literatus trained by Confucian teachings as Gu Qiyuan, explains the possibility that he reacted to the death by following his heart, not the rituals. And the bestowal of the new gifts was not an isolated case of the Hongwu Emperor's emendations on Confucian rituals.³⁴ As time went by, “the emperor was shocked and sad, and decide to bestow the gifts” became a common phase in epitaphs; however, in many cases the later Ming emperors probably barely knew the deceased official.

Therefore, the bestowal gradually became an outcome of standard ritual procedure, not

³³ Xu, *Huangming mingchen wanyan lu*, 54. Zhu Yuanzhang, *Mingtaizu ji* 明太祖集 (Hefei: Huangshan shushe, 1991), 410.

³⁴ Farmer, “Social Regulations of the First Ming Emperor,” 103-104. Kutcher, *Mourning in Late Imperial China*, 36-44.

always out of the emperor's sincere solicitude.

Frederick Mote's research suggests that the Ming emperors understood "dynasty" in the terms of their private possession. In other words, the dynasty was a part of the imperial household. This argument was used by Mote to explain the root of conflicts between the Ming emperors and their officials because "this privatizing of the 'dynasty,' ...made it difficult for officials to know where the boundaries of their official duties should lie."³⁵ The family-like intimacy shown by the bestowals of the new gifts is twofold. Not only did this intimacy demonstrate in contradictions and confusions of the emperor-minister relationship as Mote argued, but also did it present in solicitude that bonded the emperor and his ministers as a family, at least in the beginning of the Ming dynasty. And this solicitude transformed into an influential policy. However, the ways of bestowing had gradually changed, which indicates the changes in the meanings of the new gifts.

The Timetable as the Ritual Breaker

Ritual handbooks compiled by the Ming government reflect the shifts in the forms and the meanings of the new gifts from early Ming to its end. The *Zhusi zhizhang*

³⁵ Frederick Mote, *Imperial China 900-1800* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1999), 590.

is the first Ming handbook which gives a clear timetable of when the emperor sends envoys to bring the sacrificial necessities to sacrifice to the deceased general on the emperor's behalf. The timetable is crucial evidence which shows how deeply the emperor had become involved in domestic death affairs. The timing of dispatching envoys and the ranks of the envoys varied according to the rank of the deceased general. For example, generals who were granted the title of *gong* or *hou*, the highest titles in the Ming dynasty, received the condolences from the government from the beginning of the funeral to the end of the mourning that is signified by the phase of taking off the mourning garments. The whole procedure takes about three years:

From the beginning of the funeral to the day to take off the mourning garment, envoys are sent to conduct sacrificial rites at each occasion: receiving the announcement of death, placing the corpse into the coffin, the "first seven" day to the "seven seven" day,³⁶ the day of interment, the first one hundredth day since the death, the first winter since the death, the one-year anniversary of his death, the second-year anniversary, the day to take off the mourning garments.³⁷

The timetable prescribed by the *Zhusi zhizhang* shows a mixture of salvation ritual dates in Buddhism, such as the "seven seven" dates and Confucian ritual dates, such as

³⁶ The "first seven" day to the "seven seven" day are derived from the belief in purgatory in Buddhism that has been present since Medieval China. "During the first forty-nine days after death the dead person passes a critical juncture every seven day," which are the "first seven" day, the "two seven" day, the "three seven" day, the "four seven" day, the "five seven" day, the "six seven" day, and the "seven seven" day. On each seventh day, the merits and sins of the deceased are judged in a trial. The bereaved family will practice salvation rites, such as burning spirit money and inviting monks to recite the sutras, to help the deceased undergo the trials. Stephen Teiser, *The Scripture on the Ten Kings and the Making of Purgatory in Medieval Chinese Buddhism* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1994), 1-2.

³⁷ *Zhusi zhizhang*, 229.

the day to take off the mourning garments. Even with fusions of the Buddhist dates, Gu Qiyuan's statement on "all the sacrificial practices after the stage of *chengfu* are fulfilled by the host family" is still useful in terms of understanding the emperor's role shown by the timetable. Placing the corpse into the coffin preceded putting on the mourning garments. Between the stage of placing the corpse into the coffin and that of putting on the mourning garments, only close and personal friends can enter the hall where the coffin was placed and to weep according to the *Family Rituals*.³⁸ This timetable shows that the bestowals of sacrificial necessities from the emperor were not only started before *chengfu* but also extended until the end of sacrificial stage represented by the rite of taking off the mourning garments.

The last stage of death rituals is the sacrificial stage, which is a domestic practice compared to funeral and burial, because the deceased are gradually becoming the ancestors of the household. Only men with the same family name, their wives, and their descendants are eligible to make oblations to their ancestors-to-be. The bestowal from the emperor violated Confucian prescription even more than the ordinary customs criticized by Gu Qiyuan.

The above example was for the highest-ranking generals. As the ranks went down,

³⁸ Ebrey, *Chu Hsi's Family Rituals*, 65.

there were reductions in the frequency of dispatching envoys, which suggests the intimate relationship between the emperor and his subordinates was based on their achievements.³⁹ Even though achievements mattered, the way of bestowal, especially comparing to the later period, shows the step-by-step involvements of the emperor, which represents the active solicitude from the emperor as part of the bereaved family.

The burial essentials as well as the sacrificial necessities were categorized by the rank of the deceased. Generals with the title of *gong* or *hou* were eligible to receive burial items, coffin, laborers and materials such as bricks and stones to build the tomb, whereas the lower ranked military men were only bestowed with laborers and materials.⁴⁰ However, after the sixteenth century, providing funds to pay for the tombs gradually replaced providing the materials. The new way of bestowal shifts the personal involvement of the emperor into calculations on the deceased's lifetime performance.

³⁹ The lowest military rank that qualified for the bestowal is the Guards of Defense Commands. They were only eligible to receive official oblations in two stages, pacifying the spirit and interment. The official oblations would not carry out until the end of sacrificial stage. All other ranks received sacrificial necessities from the day of announcing the death to the day of taking off the mourning garments. See *Zhusi zhizhang*, 229-230.

⁴⁰ The *Da Ming huidian* cites an edict of 1394, which says only military men who died on the battlefield are eligible to be bestowed with tomb constructions; officials with other achievements have no such privilege. However, epitaphs show that this policy had not been strictly enforced. Eunuchs, wives of officials, civil officials who did not sacrifice their lives on the battlefields still received the bestowals of tomb buildings. *Zhusi zhizhang*, 229-230. Li, *Da Ming huidian*, juan 203, 2734. *Xinzhongguo chutu muzhi: Beijing*, 68, 75-76.

From Solicitude to Effort

The new gift policy prescribed in the *Da Ming huidian* demonstrates the changes in the bestowal after the Hongwu Emperor's reign. The transitions in the forms and the criteria of bestowing the new gifts from the reign of the Hongwu Emperor to the year of 1587 were included in a chapter called "Benevolence" under the subheading of "Inauspicious Rituals." This chapter starts with a line saying that,

The exceptional generous grace was granted to military men at early stage of the dynasty because of their contributions to the establishment of the Ming. Afterward, more restrictions have applied. The bestowal to civil officials is prescribed below.⁴¹

New ways of bestowing the new gifts beginning with the third Ming emperor, the Yongle Emperor, include the eligibility of both military men and civil officials, and enumeration of the sacrificial necessities in the unit of *tan*. These changes indicate that military men no longer enjoyed the unique privilege of being considered as being like members of the emperor's family. Furthermore, I argue that the *tan* system shifted the intention of bestowing the sacrificial necessities from supporting the bereaved family to a way of evaluating the achievements of the deceased. The numbers of *tan* correspond to the ranks of officials, though flexibility existed according to their contributions. For example, officials who inherited the title *gong* or *hou* from their ancestors and died of

⁴¹ Li, *Da Ming huidian*, juan 101, 1555.

illness would only receive two *tan*. But if they had contributions, such as leading a garrison in Nanjing, they would receive sixteen *tan*.⁴² The Yongle Emperor's reform of the gift policy shows that the official's achievements, rather than the emperor's sincere concerns, became the core of the bestowal system. Several amendments issued by subsequent emperors on the gift policy indicate that the achievements had been described more and more in details in each of the amendments.⁴³

The timing of bestowing a *tan* is crucial for understanding the purpose of bestowing it. However, the "Benevolence" chapter does not mention the timing of using a *tan*. A crucial reference found in a chapter about the funerals of imperial concubines, also in the "Inauspicious Rituals" section in the *Da Ming huidian*. The case, dated 1420, tells us that when the death announcement was received, the Yongle Emperor sacrificed to his concubine with one *tan* of sacrificial goods. Afterward, on the "seven seven" dates, the one hundredth day, the one-year anniversary of her death, and the second-year anniversary, one *tan* was given on each of these dates to sacrifice to the concubine.⁴⁴ These dates are the same ones recorded in the *Zhusi zhizhang* that the Hongwu Emperor sent envoys on his behalf to sacrifice to the most honored generals.

⁴² Li, *Da Ming huidian*, juan 101, 1556.

⁴³ Li, *Da Ming huidian*, juan 101, 1555-1562.

⁴⁴ Li, *Da Ming huidian*, juan 98, 1525.

Therefore, *tan* should be given in the order of the death rituals as the emperor or the envoy presented at each sacrificial occasion. However, the timing of bestowing a *tan* was no longer mentioned in the Yongle emperor's modification to the bestowal policy applied to his ministers, but only the total number of *tan* to be given.

Tan was also used in carrying out the sacrificial ceremonies in death rituals during the Hongwu Emperor's reign.⁴⁵ However, both the *Zhusi zhizhang* and early Ming epitaphs show that, from the perspective of the giver as well as the recipients, the quantity of sacrificial necessities was not the focus. The primary concern was the action of sending envoys on the emperor's behalf in the order of death rituals. The concubine's case in 1420 demonstrates that the royal family members still received *tan* by the order of death procedure under the Yongle Emperor's gift policy reform, whereas his officials probably did not. The epitaph of Zhu Youbin 朱祐檣 (1479-1539), the fourth son of the Chenghua Emperor (1464-1487), states the same timetable of using *tan* as in the concubine's case, which suggests the continuity of practice in the imperial family.⁴⁶ However, the allotment between the total number of *tan* and the timing of the sacrifices was not mentioned in the Yongle Emperor's modification. I

⁴⁵ Zhu, *Mingtaizu ji*, 419-420. Long, *Ming hui yao*, 86.

⁴⁶ Jiangxisheng bowuguan, ed., *Mingdai Jiangxi fanwang mu* 明代江西藩王墓 (Beijing: Beijing wenwu chubanshe, 2010), 63, 76.

argue that the omission indicates that giving *tan* on the tracks of timetable in order to support the death rituals was no longer the core of the gift policy. Further, the discrepancy between the imperial family members and officials indicates the family-like bond between the emperor and his subordinates was loosened.

Another dramatic change in the content of burial essentials happened during an early stage of the Jiajing Emperor's reign. In 1527, an amendment shows that the outright gifts of burial essentials are replaced by tomb laborers and grants to pay for burial costs. Early in the Jiajing Emperor's reign, tomb building budgets for civil officials are as follows:

Officials of the first rank are eligible to receive three hundred taels of silver [*yin*] as a tomb building budget and two hundred laborers to build the tomb. The salary for one laborer is one tael of silver.

Officials of the second rank are eligible to receive two hundred and fifty taels of silver and one hundred and fifty laborers.

Officials of the third rank are eligible to receive two hundred taels of silver and one hundred laborers.

Later addendum

Officials of the fourth and fifth ranks, under extraordinary benevolence [because the bestowal was not ordinary grant on officials on these ranks], are eligible to receive eighty taels of silver and thirty laborers.⁴⁷

The amount of grants to pay for burial costs and laborers diminished as the rank of the deceased decreased.⁴⁸ At the same time, the *quan zang* 全葬 (whole burial) and the

⁴⁷ Li, *Da Ming huidian*, juan 203, 2736.

⁴⁸ The Jiajing Emperor's amendment only applied to civil officials. Military men were not included until

ban zang 半葬 (half burial) were frequently mentioned in the bestowal documents.⁴⁹

The two types of bestowals are closely related to the bureaucratic evaluation system called *kaoman* 考滿 (completed rankings).⁵⁰ Those who had passed the triennial assessment for three times were eligible for the whole burial grant, whereas those who had not yet held the position for this long, therefore did not qualify for the assessment and were only eligible for half the expense and laborers.⁵¹ Under this principle, flexibility of bestowal still existed. If the official had made extraordinary contributions to the government, such as serving as lecturer to the emperor, the level of bestowal could be elevated. However, if he had committed a crime, the bestowal could be revoked.⁵²

Reforms made by the Yongle Emperor and Jiajing Emperor probably reflect the necessity of simplifying the process of the bestowal since civil officials were also

the reign of the Longqing Emperor. Here we can see the status of military men decreased as a result of the new adjustment on the bestowal policy. Furthermore, military men needed to be above the fourth rank, which is one degree higher than civil officials who were eligible to receive the bestowal with the fifth rank with contributions such as lecturing to the emperor. See Li, *Da Ming huidian*, juan 203, 2736. Institute of History and Philology, Academic Sinica, ed., *Ming Muzong baoxun* 明穆宗寶訓 (Taipei: Institute of History and Philology, Academic Sinica, 1964-1966), vol.21, 96-100.

⁴⁹ Institute of History and Philology, *Ming Muzong baoxun*, juan 1, 96-99.

⁵⁰ Zhang, *Ming shi*, 1721.

⁵¹ Nine years is the maximum tenure for an official post in the Ming dynasty. Every three years, the performance of each official was rated by his superiors, and the official could be reassigned according to the result of this rating. After nine years, the ratings were completed, which means he had served the position for nine years and received three ratings. This report was then sent to the Ministry of Personnel at the capital for evaluation of his performance, which might result in his promotion, demotion, or punishment. Li, *Da Ming huidian*, juan 203, 2736. Hucker, *A Dictionary of Official Titles in Imperial China*, 82.

⁵² Yan, *Nan gong zou yi*, 294. Li, *Da Ming huidian*, juan 101, 1558.

eligible.⁵³ Personal involvement of the emperor followed by the timetable of ritual progress became less possible as the number of cases grew. As the bestowal gradually became quantified by *tan*, the whole burial, and the half burial, the gifts served more as a posthumous evaluation standard, which deviated from the Hongwu Emperor's initial intention. Although the nature of the new gifts still defined the role of the emperor as the host, introducing the bureaucratic evaluation system strengthened the emphasis on service fulfillments and the hierarchy between the giver and the recipients. With all the changes, the following discussion shows that the new gifts were cherished by the recipients and their families as a crucial way of honoring the dead even if the emperor's personal solicitude was hardly shown in the new practice anymore.

Applying for the Honor

The mechanism for the bestowal of gifts also changed. By the late fifteenth century, the gifts needed to be requested through standardized procedures.⁵⁴ It is not

⁵³ A document sent to the Ministry of Rites for reviewing Wang Xijue's case includes an order in 1511, which says for saving time and reducing workload of ordinary people, simplifying the practice is necessary. The Ministers decided that officials who died of illness and who were eligible for joint reburial would be bestowed with fifty laborers without distinction on ranks and contributions. See Li, *Da Ming huidian*, juan 203, 2731. Wang Xijue, "Wang wensu gong rongai lu" 王文肅公榮哀錄, in *Siku quanshu cunmu congshu jibu* 四庫全書存目叢書 集部 (Jinan: Qilu shushe chubanshe, 1997), vol.136, 460-461.

⁵⁴ Institute of History and Philology, Academic Sinica, *Muzong shilu*, juan 40, 995-1000. Zhu Dingling and Lu Guoqiang, ed., *Tianyige Mingdai fangzhi xuankan xubian* 天一閣藏明代方志選刊續編 (Shanghai: Shanghai shudian, 1990), vol. 40, 300.

clear why the bestowal needed to be requested by the descendants or colleagues of the deceased official. I assume it is because by the late fifteenth century the emperor did not know most of the eligible officials and their contributions; therefore, documents need to be submitted for the emperor to make decisions as to who would be regarded as meritorious enough to receive the bestowal. Although the emperor was still acting as the host, the application eliminates his active role of organizing the necessities when receiving the announcement of death. Furthermore, this new mechanism also reflects how the honorable meaning of the bestowal was highly valued by the recipients and their families because the application procedures often took years, which made the bestowal unable to support the ceremonies.

The reviewing procedure was one factor that changed the meaning of the bestowal. According to Song Jigang, the request for the sacrificial necessities was received by the Ministry of Rites, whereas the request for tomb building or grants to pay for burial costs was sent to the Ministry of Works.⁵⁵ Officials who were in charge of reviewing the applications first referred to the precedents belonging to those who had similar ranks and contributions as the applicant, and then drafted a proposal

⁵⁵ Song Jigang and Zhao Kesheng, “Mingdai wenguan sangzang gongwen yu sangli zhidu jianshe” 明代文官喪葬公文與喪禮制度建設, *Gudai wenming* 8, no.2 (2014): 85.

suggesting the amount of the bestowal. The emperor would then make the final decision about how lavish the bestowal should be. The emperor's decision could uphold or modify the suggestions made by the Ministries. The edicts were sent back to the Ministries to issue the order and to start the allotments. The Ministry of Rites was responsible to send the order to the Provincial Administration Commission where the hometown of the deceased official was located. The Provincial Administration Commission then sent out personnel to purchase the sacrificial necessities and to conduct sacrificial rites for the deceased official. The Ministry of Works was in charge of recruiting tomb-building laborers, of dispatching personnel to supervise the tomb-building, and of offering the coffin to the bereaved family. Copies of these orders were preserved in the archive of the Ministry of Rites, which became another precedent. The orders were also frequently gathered in the recipient's collected works. The numbers of sacrificial items and burial essentials were carefully listed in the recipient's epitaph as a posthumous honor.⁵⁶

I argue that because the application procedure sabotaged the original timetable of death rituals, the necessity of applying for the new gifts further explains the change in meanings of the funerary gifts from a support of death rituals to a posthumous honor

⁵⁶ Beijing shike yishu bowuguan, ed., *Xinzhongguo chutu muzhi: Beijing*, 71-76, 108-109, 131-132, 140-141, 153-154, 189, 193. Wang, "Wang wensu gong rongai lu," 463.

validated by the emperor. The following examples give a better understanding in terms of the timetable, and the importance of this bestowal for the bereaved family.

Wang Xijue 王錫爵 (1534-1614) was the Senior Grand Secretary during the Wanli Emperor's reign. All the documents regarding to his application are preserved in his collected works, *Wang Wensu gong wenji* 王文肅公文集 (Collected Works of Mr. Wang Wensu). These documents give us a clear idea of the progress of the decision making about the burial gifts. Wang died at the end of 1610. Two to three months later, his colleagues submitted the application for the funerary bestowal. Approximately a month later, the emperor's comments were sent back to the Ministry of Rites, and Wang was bestowed with thirteen *tan*. Nine *tan* out of thirteen were bestowed based on his rank; the other four *tan* were to recognize his extraordinary contributions to the government. A month later, the Ministry of Works received the order of tomb construction along with the bestowal of fifty laborers, and one coffin.⁵⁷ Another month later, Suzhou Prefecture, Wang Xijue's home town and the site of his burial ground, received the order to prepare the sacrificial necessities. Eventually, two years later,

⁵⁷ Wang Xijue's wife died before him, and her tomb was built by the government. Wang Xijue's profile shows a practical way of bestowing of burial essentials on eligible officials and their wives. In order to avoid duplicate bestowals for the husband and wife who would be eventually buried together, an isolated tomb pit was built and saved for Wang Xijue next to his wife's when her tomb was built. When Wang Xijue died, the saved pit was opened. Therefore, laborers for building a new tomb were not bestowed in Wang Xijue's case. See Wang, "Wang wensu gong rongai lu," 459-462.

Wang Xijue was buried in the tomb built under the supervision of the Ministry of Works.⁵⁸ Wang Xijue's case shows us that the length of time for the government to process the case of bestowal defined the progress of his funeral.

Song Jigang's study shows that there were both expected and unexpected delays in the transmission of documents that might postpone decision making. Some delays, such as those due to distance, were to be expected. It took more than a half a year to transmit an application from a peripheral area to the capital. Other delays might be unexpected, such as rejections of the applications or struggles between factions that prompted a member of one faction to ignore an application from a member of another faction.⁵⁹ Compared to the cases discussed in Song Jigang's article, Wang Xijue's application had been processed in a compact tempo, which means no expected or unexpected delays obviously affected the procedure.

Even though there were no delays, the sacrificial necessities of thirteen *tan* were offered five months after his death. In other words, they were too late to be useful in preparing sacrificial ceremonies, especially the early ones, such as the stage of receiving the announcement of death, as the initial intention of bestowing the sacrificial necessities.

⁵⁸ Wang, "Wang wensu gong rongai lu," 452-462.

⁵⁹ Song and Zhao. "Mingdai wenguan sangzang gongwen yu sangli zhidu jianshe," 88.

Mao Bowen's case further demonstrates the gifts as a way of redressing the dismissed official.⁶⁰ Mao Bowen, the Minister of War I discussed above, was dismissed by the Jiajing Emperor. Therefore, the application was submitted by Mao Bowen's son twenty-four years later when the new emperor succeeded the throne. The review process took two years. Eventually, in 1571, the Longqing Emperor decided nine *tan* and grants to pay for burial costs for the first rank official were bestowed to Mao Bowen. Those details were included in Mao Bowen's epitaph dated 1573, written when he was reburied and honored by the new emperor. The orders from the Ministry of Rites and the Ministry of Works, and the content of his epitaph, all of which stated bestowals to Mao Bowen, were compiled in his collected works.⁶¹

Given twenty-eight years after Mao's death, the sacrificial necessities of nine *tan* can no longer help any sacrificial practices in standard death rituals as was the Hongwu Emperor's initial intention. However, the bestowal representing the governmental validation reconnects Mao's relationship to the emperor, which was a crucial way to

⁶⁰ A similar situation can be found in Yang Jisheng's case. See Institute of History and Philology, Academic Sinica ed., *Ming Xizong baoxun* 明熹宗寶訓 (Taipei: Institute of History and Philology, Academic Sinica, 1964-1966), vol.121, 64-66. Kenneth Hammong's research shows that the Longqing Emperor launched a 'reversal of verdicts' on ministers who had been accused of misdemeanors during the 1550s and early 1560s, which is the period when political conflicts related to Yang Song's leadership reached its peak. Granting Yang Jisheng the honor of bestowal is part of the "reversal of verdicts." Kenneth Hammong, *Pepper Mountain: The Life, Death and Posthumous Career of Yang Jisheng* (London: Kegan Paul, 2007): 104-107. Yang Peilin, ed., *Yao Jiaoshan shi wen ji* 楊椒山詩文集 (Long xi Li shi zu ji Lintao lian li yan jiu hui, 2000), 133.

⁶¹ Mao, "Mao Xiangmao xiansheng rongai lu," 128, 153-168, 221.

rehabilitate him in the eyes of his descendants. Furthermore, the documents of bestowal serve as an evidence of honor in the collected works that was not only preserved as a family record but was also circulated within the circles of close friends and colleagues.

Ming ritual handbooks prescribe that officials should be buried within three months after death.⁶² In early Ming, the gifts were offered according to a set timetable. Therefore, the burial dates meet the ideal three months or shorter.⁶³ But the later Ming cases of both Mao Bowen and Wang Xijue show that parts of the death ritual procedure were delayed by the bestowal. This posthumous honor was so important that it was worth waiting. Moreover, the honor is a crucial component to be written in the content of an epitaph, not only in the paper version in collected works, but also inscribed on a stone slab buried with the dead.

A question which needs to be answered is why the ritually inappropriate new gifts were not criticized by Confucian-trained officials. Norman Kutcher's research on how the Ming emperors became involved into the mourning period fulfilled by officials to their parents suggests how we might approach this question. Kutcher argues that the Hongwu Emperor modified many Confucian practices by emphasizing emotional

⁶² Zhang, *Ming shi*, 1490. Xu, *Ming ji li*, juan 37, 153.

⁶³ Institute of History and Philology, *Taizu shilu*, juan 44, 857-858; juan 46, 912-916. Xu, *Huangming mingchen wanyan lu*, 54, 61, 71.

expression, rather than ritual accuracy. His reforms caused confusion and collective oblivion, among both subsequent emperors and their officials, to the original orthodox Confucian rituals.⁶⁴ Kutcher's argument of emotional expression explains why the new gifts peacefully substituted for the old ones and did not attract controversy. Gu Qiyuan's criticism shows that the classic orthodoxy had not been forgotten by Confucian-trained literati, though it was the vulgar custom that triggered the discussion on the accurate ritual practices, rather than the imperial bestowal sugarcoated with posthumous honor.

Conclusion

The old and new gifts shed light on how the classic dynasty-household relation was fulfilled at a practical level. The old gifts, which represent the emperor's role as an outsider to his officials' domestic rituals, demarcate dynasty and household as separated spheres. By bestowing the new gifts, the imperial and governmental involvements penetrated directly into domestic practices through granting sacrificial and burial items, as ways of showing solicitude and fostering the emperor-minister relationship. The Hongwu Emperor's modifications of the gift bestowal specified the concept that the

⁶⁴ Kutcher, *Mourning in Late Imperial China*, 69-70.

dynasty served as an extended household; therefore, the emperor acted himself as the host of his officials' death rituals. Although the new criteria and new forms of the bestowal changed the original intention of the bestowal since the reign of the Yongle Emperor, the new gifts became a type of validation. On the one hand, by integrating the bureaucratic evaluation system with the bestowal eligibility, the dynasty-household relationship was strengthened at the level of governmental administration. On the other hand, officials were also used to the governmental involvements seeping into their domestic practices.

Through studying the Hongwu Emperor's new gifts, I argue that the bestowal of sacrificial necessities reflects the importance of sacrificial rites in expressing the Hongwu Emperor's solicitude to his family-like subjects. More importantly, this study on the new gifts illuminates the flexibility of Confucian rituals that eventually led to a collective oblivion on the traditional meaning of the bestowal system. In this chapter, I argue that the new gifts manifest an unorthodox explanation on the practice of orthodox rites. This adoption sheds light on our understanding on the pewter utensils bestowed by the Ming emperors, which I will discuss in the next chapter. This new practice demonstrates a filial and orthodox act at a ritually inappropriate site – to conduct the symbolic sacrificial rites to the deceased in tombs.

Chapter Five

The Spread of Pewter Utensils: A New In-Tomb Practice of Honor, Identity, and Faith

In Ming burial practice, a set of miniaturized pewter utensils became the new *mingqi* – objects made exclusively for the deceased to use in the netherworld. As I discussed in chapter one, the types of pewter utensils correspond to sacrificial utensils used for ancestral sacrificial rites in ancestral temples or family shrines. By serving the deceased in tombs with the authentic way conducted in ancestral temples or family shrines, I argue that these two sites and the souls residing in there share similar ritual significance. In other words, tombs were also an important site for people to show ancestral veneration. This argument also speaks to the meanings behind those spatial, administrative, and ritual changes in Ming imperial mausoleums.

In this chapter, I will discuss the distributions of these pewter utensils according to the regions they were found and the social classes of the occupants who owned them. This approach shows us the disseminations of this new burial practice to a broad region in Ming territory and the multiple reasons why people adopted it. Although the popularity of this practice helps us understand the trend of performing in-tomb sacrificing, I also intend to show the complexity behind peoples' acceptance of a new

ritual.

Scholarship on the Pewter Utensils

Ritual prescriptions in Ming ritual handbooks only record the types of the pewter utensils, but do not mention the usages of them. Fortunately, tombs unearthed by archaeologists broaden our understandings of how the textual prescription was put into practice. Archaeologists have noticed that burying pewter sacrificial utensils was a new burial practice in the Ming dynasty. However, they often take the excavated utensils as evidence that validates the textual prescriptions in Ming ritual handbooks.¹ This research approach fails to answer the fruitful information embedded in the diverse demonstrations of pewter utensils in tombs.

Why were these pewter utensils displayed in various ways in tombs? What are the meanings of the different displays? Who were the people who chose to bury the pewter utensils and why did they make such a choice? How are these utensils related to other similar sacrificial practices in tombs or at the burial grounds? Since these pewter

¹ Xia, "Shilun Jiangnan Mingmu chutu zhi moxing mingqi," 98-101. Hsieh, "Mingchu guanfang qiyong fushi wenyang de xianzhi," 110-120. Feng, "Anshan nijiatai Ming Cui Yuan zumu de fajue," 21-22. Zhao Xiaogang, "Shenyang diqu Mingdai muzang chutan 瀋陽地區明代墓葬初探," *Dongbei shidi*, no.3 (2012): 16. Ningxia wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo, ed., *Yanchi fengjiquan Mingmu* 鹽池馮記圈明墓 (Beijing: Kexue chubanshe, 2010), 121-125. He, "Shanghai Ming dai muzang chutu xiqi," 57- 65.

utensils were sometimes made in different materials and forms in different regions, what is the significance of the regional variations?

To answer these questions, I will discuss the materiality of pewter in the Ming dynasty, the distributions of these utensils and the social status of the occupants who are found buried with them. My study will show how this practice was understood and fulfilled in dynamic ways and will map how the practice of burying sacrificial utensils was transferred, adapted, and recreated among different social classes during the Ming dynasty.

Materiality of Pewter

Pewter is the material prescribed in Ming ritual handbooks to make *mingqi* sacrificial utensils. The materiality of pewter possesses ritual, technical, and religious meanings in Ming times. Bearing these features in mind is important for us to better understand the diverse meanings and the ways in which pewter utensils displayed in tombs that belonged to people of various classes and regions.

Pewter is also prescribed as the material commoners should use to make daily-use vessels.² Why does this order in the *Ming ji li* and the *Da Ming huidian* prescribe that

² Zhang, *Ming shi*, 1672. Li, *Da Ming huidian*, juan 61, 1075.

the nobles adopt the material used by commoners to make their *mingqi*? Scholars have argued that classifying social classes through a series of hierarchical ritual practices designated to each class was the primary task for the Hongwu Emperor to establish order in the society.³ And defining the materiality of pewter to be used by commoners in their daily life was part of this social reform. Therefore, to use a non-precious and commoner-used metal like pewter to make *mingqi* for the upper classes supports Josh Yiu's assumption that "the use of pewter may have reflected a court policy, for the Hongwu Emperor advocated frugal burials."⁴ Although using pewter implies thrifty funerary preparation for nobles, the fact that the pewter utensils were gifts from the emperor gilds this cheap material with imperial benevolence. As we will see in the following sections, this symbol of honor may turn the pewter utensils into attractive objects to be imitated by people who were ineligible to receive the imperial bestowals.

New technology made pewter more accessible in the Ming times. A late- Ming technical encyclopedia, the *Tian gong kai wu* 天工開物 (*The Exploitation of the Works of Nature*), reports details of how to forge pewter, which suggests a mature process of turning the raw ore into objects.⁵ Pewter utensils found in early Ming tombs show that

³ Ho, *Mingdai shishen yu tongsu wenhua*, 39-49. Hsieh, "Mingchu guanfang qiyong fushi wenyang de xianzhi," 101-130.

⁴ Yiu Josh, "The Display of Fragrant Offerings," 54.

⁵ Pan Jixing, *Tian gong kai wu yizhu* 天工開物譯注 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2008),

this maturity in technology had been approached earlier than what is recorded in the encyclopedia. This technical success made possible for pewter to become a widely used non-precious metal. The cheapness of pewter explains why it was chosen to correspond to the statues of lower social class.⁶

Archaeologists argue that, because using pewter for making daily-use utensils was so popular, pewter utensils began to be widely adopted to make burial items in the Ming dynasty.⁷ However, as my subsequent discussion shows, this argument simplifies the complexity of why pewter was frequently chosen to make *mingqi* sacrificial utensils for internment, especially in the cases that the occupants were not qualified to receive the bestowal of the utensils or in the regions where pewter was not often used. Paying attention to the materiality of pewter unfolds the connections between this imperial bestowal and the regional practices fulfilled by those who were ineligible to receive the imperial benevolence.

Furthermore, the materiality of pewter also informs us of the significance of using this non-perishable material to make utensils for sacrificial use, especially since

151-154.

⁶ Ningxia wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo, *Yanchi fengjiquan Mingmu*, 123.

⁷ Xia, “Shilun Jiangnan Mingmu chutu zhi moxing mingqi,” 99. Liaoningsheng bowuguan wenwudui and Anshanshi wenwuju wenwuzu, “Anshan nijiatai Ming Cui Yuan zumu de fajue,” 21-22. Zhao, “Shenyang diqu Mingdai muzang chutan,” 16. Ningxia wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo, *Yanchi fengjiquan Mingmu*, 121-125.

the trend of using paper *mingqi* also thrived at this time. An episode in a Ming novel, the *Plum in the Golden Vase*, pictures how pewter utensils, such as antique bronze, incense burners, and vases from the Shang and Zhou dynasties (*Yilu shangping* 彝爐商瓶), candlesticks (*zhutai* 燭臺), and incense cases (*xianghe* 香盒) as well as paper *mingqi*, were used in a funeral:

Lai-hsing had already obtained from a shop that specialized in burial objects for the dead gold-flecked effigies of four maidens to wait on her, bearing a chamber pot, a towel, a washbasin, and a comb, respectively. They wore pearl necklaces and enchased silver pendant earrings that look just like the real thing, and they were dressed in clothes of variegated satin. Two of them were placed to each side of the body. Before her spirit tablet there were arrayed antique bronze incense burners and vases from the Shang and Chou dynasties, as well as candlesticks and incense cases, made to order by pewterers, that graced the table on which they were placed.⁸

The four maidens in this episode are probably the paper figurines that were made to burn for the deceased to use in the netherworld.⁹ According to current scholarship, since the Tang dynasty, paper *mingqi* that were burned for use had significantly replaced the tradition of clay *mingqi* that were buried in tombs.¹⁰ Although paper *mingqi* enjoyed great popularity, this episode in the *Plum in the Golden Vase* highlights

⁸ Xiaoxiaosheng, *The Plum in the Golden Vase*, trans. David Tod Roy (Princeton University Press, 1993), vol.4, 89.

⁹ Su Bai, *Baisha Song mu* 白沙宋墓, 2nd edition (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 2002), 94-95 (note 39). Ho, "Yi li hua su," 57.

¹⁰ Qi Dongfang, "Tangdai de sangzang guannian lisu yu liyi zhidu" 唐代的喪葬觀念禮俗與禮儀制度, *Kaogu xuebao*, no.1(2006):77. Hong, "Mechanism of Life for the Netherworld," 162. Qin Dashu, "Songdai sangzang xisu de biange jiqi tixian de shehui yiyi," 330, 332.

the choice of using pewter in manufacturing *mingqi* sacrificial utensils, presumably, because they are durable. I argue that the materiality of pewter may reflect the expectation of how these sacrificial utensils should function in tombs. As those pewter utensils excavated from tombs have suggested, their durability to stay in this world reflects the anticipation to symbolize perpetual offerings as long as the grave is sealed for good.

These characteristics of pewter featuring imperial honor and durability will be crucial elements for us to explore why the pewter utensils were chosen in each case discussed below. My discussion will show that some people chose to bury the pewter utensils for sacrificial purpose whereas others had different reasons, of such variation we can scrutinize how people perceived a new burial trend in dynamic ways.

Imperial Honor: Pewter Utensils Bestowed as Gifts

According to Ming ritual handbooks, imperial family members and ministers with honorary titles were two groups eligible to receive the pewter utensils. By adopting the sacrificial utensils described in the *Family Rituals* into the *mingqi* list of imperial gifts, the Ming government presumably recognized the concept of symbolic in-tomb sacrificing. Even though the bestowal of the pewter utensils suggests such a

conclusion, Ming ritual handbooks do not explicitly explain how to use these utensils in tombs. The following cases will demonstrate how this gap in ritual prescriptions is filled by recipients with their own understandings of how to use the pewter utensils. Some only regard receiving the vessels as an honor; some transformed this honor into a family identity and tradition; and some recognized the sacrificial function of these pewter utensils yet further adjusted this practice to fit their needs better.

The Prominent Military Nobles

Chang Yuchun, the general who “never lost a battle,” lost his life in the second year after the Ming dynasty was established.¹¹ As I discussed in chapter one, his burial gift list is the first and the only governmental document that stipulates the specific kinds of pewter utensils bestowed by the emperor. This list is collected in early Ming texts such as the *Zhusi zhizhang* and the *Ming ji li* and serves as a standard list of details, enumerating all kinds of *mingqi* given by the emperor, including the pewter utensils.¹² As my previous discussion has shown, most of *mingqi* on the list are similar to Zhu Xi’s regulation on *mingqi* for burial rites; only the pewter utensils were an

¹¹ Zhang, *Ming shi*, 3736.

¹² *Zhusi zhizhang*, 321. Xu, *Ming ji li*, juan 37, 143-144. Institute of History and Philology, *Taizu shilu*, juan 46, 912-916.

adoption of actual sacrificial utensils prescribed for the sacrificial rites in the *Family Rituals*. As late as the sixteenth century, the *Da Ming huidian* still prescribes that *mingqi* will be conferred to the emperor's exceptional subordinates, but no longer specifies the types of *mingqi*.¹³ Fortunately, through archaeological excavations, we are assured that Chang's burial gift list served as a crucial reference of *mingqi* assemblage until the very end of the Ming dynasty.

Prominent early Ming generals who sacrificed their lives on the battlefields for the establishment of the Ming dynasty were the most privileged group to receive the bestowal of *mingqi*. Their family-like relationship to the Hongwu Emperor explains why the emperor granted them *mingqi*, sacrificial necessities, and other burial essentials, all of which would normally be prepared by the family of the deceased. Furthermore, *mingqi* sacrificial utensils embody the core familial value – to connect to the deceased through sacrificial rituals. By emphasizing this Confucian value, the Hongwu Emperor's benevolent gesture sought to strengthen the tie between himself and subordinates who had served a prominent role in building the Ming dynasty.

Most of the early Ming generals were buried close to the first Ming capital

¹³ Li, *Da Ming huidian*, juan 230, 2732, 2734.

Nanjing, and Chang Yuchun was one of them.¹⁴ Chang's tomb has not been excavated, but other generals' tombs that have been unearthed bring light to our understandings of how the policy was fulfilled in the early stage.

Wu Liang 吳良 (? -1381) and Wu Zhen 吳禎 (1328-1379) are brothers who followed the Hongwu Emperor when he first began to recruit soldiers at his hometown Fengyang to overthrow the Yuan dynasty, and the Wu brothers played crucial roles in conquering the southern territory.¹⁵ Wu Liang and Wu Zhen's chamber tombs shared a similar layout. Wu Liang's pewter utensils were placed in a niche embedded in the wall of his tomb chamber (Figure 5-1).¹⁶ Niches in a tomb were often used for storing burial objects, and some scholars argue that the display of burial objects in the niches possesses ritual significance under certain circumstance.¹⁷ Most of the pewter utensils in the niche of Wu Zhen's tomb perished as did those in Wu Liang's; only pewter plates, spoons, chopsticks, and a pair of candlesticks are recognizable.¹⁸ Therefore, we are

¹⁴ Zhang, *Ming shi*, 3736.

¹⁵ Zhang, *Ming shi*, 3813-3815, 3840-3842.

¹⁶ Nanjingshi wenwu baoguan weiyuanhui, "Nanjing taipingmen wai ganazicun Ming mu" 南京太平門外崗子村明墓, *Kaogu*, no.6 (1983): 572-574.

¹⁷ He Yunao proposes that the number of niches may correspond to the ranks of the deceased, especially in the early Ming tombs. See He, "Jiangsu Mingdai muzang de faxian yu leixingxue fenxi," 57-58. Wu Jun's argument is based on Mu Ying's family tombs. He argues that in some cases the niches may work for storage of burial objects; in other cases, some niches installed windows, which allow souls of couples, to communicate with each other from their own chambers. Wu, "Mingdai Mushi jiazou muzang yanjiu," 30-31.

¹⁸ Nanjingshi bowuguan, "Nanjing Ming dai Wu Zhen mu fajue jianbao," 35-41.

unable to tell if they were displayed in any meaningful arrangement.¹⁹ These utensils in Wu Zhen's tomb are small. For example, the plates are of three different sizes, 10.4 centimeters, 9.5 centimeters, and 8.3 centimeters in diameter, four of each size; and the chopsticks are 13.3 centimeters in length. The miniaturized sizes of these utensils suggest that they function as *mingqi*.

Mu Ying and his descendants' tombs show a different way of presenting these utensils. Mu Ying was the Hongwu emperor's adopted son and was famous for conquering and then governing Yunnan in southwestern China until he died in 1392.²⁰ Mu Ying's coffin was transported back to Nanjing and he was "buried with *mingqi* fit for a royal (*zangyong wangzhe mingqi* 葬用王者明器)."²¹ Mu Ying's descendants inherited his title and the governorship in Yunnan as an imperial honor until the Ming dynasty ended in 1644. Although the Mu family was based in Yunnan, many of the family members chose to bury their dead in Nanjing – the family cemetery where Mu

¹⁹ Pewter utensils, especially in those early Ming tombs, are not always intact when the tombs are excavated. In many cases, archaeologists find tracks of disintegrated pewter utensils, but are not able to distinguish what kind of utensils they might have been. See Nanjingshi bowuguan, "Jiangsu Nanjingshi nanjiao liangzuo daxing Ming mu de qingli," 31-38. Shandong bowuguan and Shangdongsheng wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo, *Lu huang wang mu*, 166-167. In other cases, the early Ming generals were buried with similar utensils in either miniatures or regular sizes, but made in silver. See Xia, "Shilun Jiangnan Mingmu chutu zhi moxing mingqi," 99. Hsieh, "Mingchu guanfang qiyong fushi wenyang de xianzhi," 117. Banfushi bowuguan zhanlanguan, ed., "Ming Tang He mu qingli jianbao" 明湯和墓清理簡報, *Wenwu*, no.2 (1977): 35-39. Nanjingshi bowuguan, ed., "Jiangsu Nanjingshi Ming Jianguogong Kang Maocai mu" 江蘇南京市明蕪國公康茂才墓, *Kaogu*, no.10 (1999):11-17.

²⁰ Zhang, *Ming shi*, 3756-3766. Li, *Mingdai Yunnan Mushi jiazu yanjiu*, 1-354.

²¹ Institute of History and Philology, *Taizu shilu*, juan 222, 3242.

Ying's tomb is at the center. Eight tombs of the Mu family have been found in Nanjing and two in Yunnan. Among these ten tombs, eight contained pewter utensils.

Mu Ying's tomb was robbed; therefore, no tracks remain for us to know what the "mingqi fit for a royal" look like. Fortunately, Chang Yuchun's burial gift list is still a helpful reference because similar types of pewter utensils stipulated in Chang's list have been found in the Wanli Emperor's mausoleum and the Prince of Yi's tomb.²² Findings in Mu Ying's family tombs further indicate that burying pewter utensils became a family tradition, and this tradition is probably related to the honorific bestowal granted to Mu Ying. Since the Yongle Emperor's reign, fewer records reported the bestowal of *mingqi* to prominent ministers than in the early Ming.²³ However, evidence in Mu Ying's family tombs shows that, as late as in the sixteenth century, pewter utensils were still interred in the tombs, including tombs of family members who were not eligible for the bestowal. For example, Mu Xiang 沐詳 (1465-1496) was one of Mu Ying's great great grandsons. Mu Xiang's cousin Mu Zong 沐琮 (1448-1496) inherited Mu Ying's noble title and official position; therefore, Mu Xiang was not a

²² These pewter utensils prescribed in Chang Yuchun's gift list can be categorized into 23 types, whereas the ones found in Dingling are classified by archaeologists into 35 types. The additional types found in Dingling include seats, flowers, flower leafs and caps. See Zhongguo shehui kexueyuan, *Dingling*, vol.1, 178-183. Jiangxisheng bowuguan, Nanchengxian bowuguan, Xinjianxian bowuguan, Nanchangshi bowuguan, *Jiangxi Mingdai fanwang mu*, 121,

²³ According to the *Ming shilu*, only the imperial family members were bestowed with *mingqi* since the Yongle Emperor's reign.

qualified recipient of the bestowal.²⁴ However, Mu Xiang's tomb in Yunnan contained the pewter utensils.²⁵ Wu Jun argues that Mu Ying's family tombs show a consistent tradition for two hundred years, in terms of both burial objects and tomb layout, which were rarely presented in other family tombs of Mu Ying's contemporaries.²⁶ Therefore, Mu Ying's family tombs showcase how the imperial honor was gradually internalized and became a familial tradition. This tradition in the Mu family tombs and the record that Mu Ying was buried with the "*mingqi* fit for a royal" both suggest that Mu Ying was buried with the pewter utensils.²⁷

It seems that the Mu family had ideas about placing these utensils that are different from those of the Wu brothers. This phenomenon further suggests diverse ways of understanding the meanings and usages of these utensils, which were not defined in the bestowal policy. In those well-preserved tombs, we can see that the Mu family often placed the pewter utensils on a table or an altar situated in front of the coffin(s) or at the tomb chamber near the coffin(s), or, in some cases, both (Figure

²⁴ Yunnansheng wenwu gongzuodui, "Yunnan chengong Wangjiaying Ming Qing mu qingli baogao," 186. Li Jianjun, *Mingdai Yunnan Mushi jiazhu yanjiu* 明代雲南沐氏家族研究 (Shenyang: Liaoning renmin chubanshe, 2002): 155-159. Wu, "Mingdai Mushi jiazhu muzang yanjiu," 20.

²⁵ Yunnansheng wenwu gongzuodui, "Yunnan chengong Wangjiaying Ming Qing mu qingli baogao" 雲南呈貢王家營明清墓清理報告, *Kaogu*, no.4 (1965): 186.

²⁶ Wu, "Mingdai Mushi jiazhu muzang yanjiu," 18-19.

²⁷ Wu Jun also agrees that Mu Ying's tomb was buried with pewter utensils, but his argument is based on the fact that these utensils were widely found in the early Ming tombs. See Wu, "Mingdai Mushi jiazhu muzang yanjiu," 27.

5-2).²⁸ The Mu family shared a tomb layout similar to the early Ming Nanjing style.

The layout is a compound with a front chamber and rear chamber(s), sometimes with another middle chamber in between.²⁹ Gates were set between those chambers; the rear chamber is where the coffin was placed. Although the preservation of these utensils in the Mu family tombs reveals limited information about how they were organized on the table or the altar, I argue that they were on display in the state to be used. The table or the altar was placed in front of the coffin or of the chamber that housed the coffin; therefore, the position suggests that this display has meaningful connection to the deceased.

The Imperial Family Members

Another group of elites who were eligible to receive the bestowal of the pewter utensils are the members of imperial family – the princes (*qin wang* 親王), the

²⁸ Nanjingshi bowuguan and Nanjingshi Jiangningqu bowuguan, ed., “Nanjing Jiangning Jianjunshan Mingdai Mu Bin furen Meishi mu fajue jianbao” 南京江寧將軍山明代沐斌夫人梅氏墓發掘簡報, *Wenwu*, no.5 (2014): 39-55. Nanjingshi bowuguan and Jiangningqu bowuguan, ed., “Nanjing Jianjunshan Mingdai Mu Ang ceshi Xingshi ji M21 fajue jianbao” 南京將軍山明代沐昂側室邢氏墓及 M21 發掘簡報, *Dongnan wenhua*, no.2 (2013): 64-69. Nanjingshi bowuguan and Jiangningqu bowuguan, ed., “Nanjing Jiangjunshan Mingdai Mu Bin fufu hezang mu faju jianbao” 南京將軍山明代沐斌夫婦合葬墓發掘簡報, *Dongnan wenhua*, no.4 (2013): 70-83. Nanjingshi bowuguan, ed., “Jiangsu Nanjingshi Ming Qianquogong Mu Changzuo, Mu Rui Mu” 江蘇南京市明黔國公沐昌祚、沐睿墓, *Kaogu*, no.10 (1999): 45-56. Nanjingshi wenwu baoguan weiyuanhui, “Nanjing Jiangningxian Ming Mu Sheng mu qingli jianbao,” 31-35. Guojia wenwuju, ed., *2005 Zhongguo zhongyao kaogu faxian 2005 中國重要考古發現* (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 2006): 169-172.

²⁹ Wu, “Mingdai Mushi jiazhu muzang yanjiu,” 17-19. Hsieh, “Nanjing diqu Mingdai daxing zhuanshimu xingzhi yanjiu,” 40-48. He, “Jiangsu Mingdai muzang de faxian yu leixingxue fenxi,” 53-65.

commandery princes (*jun wang* 郡王), and their wives.³⁰ Sons of the emperor who did not inherit the throne were conferred the title of prince. The first son of a prince would inherit his father's title, and the rest of the prince's sons were granted titles as commandery princes. Prescriptions in the *Da Ming huidian* are unclear about whether *mingqi* were bestowed to the descendants of commandery princes, but archaeological evidence shows that these imperial gifts are rarely found in tombs belonging to occupants with a rank lower than commandery prince.³¹

The pewter utensils found in the princes' tombs are varied in size, number, decorations, and display, which suggests a flexible practice of the bestowal policy.³² In today's Jiangxi Province, excavation shows that the Prince of Ning, Zhu Quan 朱權 (1378-1448), the sixteenth son of the Hongwu Emperor, was buried with 28 pewter utensils gilded with gold, which were found in a niche at the back chamber of his tomb. Zhu Quan's utensils include incense burners, candlesticks, chopsticks, pots, vases, and

³⁰ Li, *Da Ming huidian*, juan 203, 2732.

³¹ Two exceptions are found in tombs of a Defender-general of the State (Zhenguo jiangjun) and a Bulwark-general of the State (Fuguo jiangjun) in current Shanxi Province. Shanxisheng kaogu yanjiusuo, ed., "Xian Mingdai qinfan fuguo jiangjun Zhu Bigju jiazumu" 西安明代秦藩輔國將軍朱秉樞家族墓, *Wenwu*, no.2 (2007): 24-38.

³² In the late fifteenth century, *mingqi* bestowal policy that applies to kings, commandery kings, and their wives had changed. According to the new policy, *mingqi* was no longer made by the *junqi ju* 軍器局 and then sent to the bereaved family. The new policy stipulates that the bereaved family would be given the money to make *mingqi* based on the format of *mingqi* issued by the Ministry of Works, presumably as a way to simplify the bestowal procedure. This new policy maybe the cause of the diverse numbers, the styles of pewter utensils, or the utensils made of other metal found in those tombs. However, even in the early Ming while *mingqi* was made and sent to the bereaved families, we can still see the variety of pewter utensils. Institute of History and Philology, Academic Sinica, *Xianzong shilu*, juan 42, 1351-1352. Li, *Da Ming huidian*, juan 203, 2731.

plates, most of which are less than 5 centimeters in height or diameter (Figure 5-3).³³

The tomb of the Prince of Yi, Zhu Houye 朱厚燁 (1498-1556), contained 45 utensils smaller than 12 centimeters, though they were made of lead rather than pewter (Figure 5-4).³⁴ In Hubei Province, tombs of the Prince of Xiang, Zhu Bo 朱柏 (?-?), the Prince of Liao, Zhu Zhi 朱植 (1378-1424), the Prince of Chuzhao, Zhu Zhen 朱楨 (?-1424) and his son Zhu Mengzhao 朱孟炤 (?-1447), and the Prince of Liang, Zhu Zhanji 朱瞻埈 (1411-1441) have been found.³⁵ The numbers of the buried pewter utensils varied from 16 to 65 pieces in those tombs. Some of the pewter utensils in Zhu Bo and Zhu Zhen's tombs are decorated with ornaments and golden powder.³⁶

In most of the princes' tombs, the pewter utensils were placed in wall niches or on the ground of the back chamber. Because of their deteriorated condition, we cannot tell whether these utensils were displayed for sacrificial purpose. Exceptional but

³³ Jiangxisheng bowuguan, *Jiangxi Mingdai fanwang mu*, 12.

³⁴ Jiangxisheng bowuguan, *Jiangxi Mingdai fanwang mu*, 121.

³⁵ Jingzhou bowuguan, ed., "Hubei jingzhou Ming Xiangxian wang mu fajue jianbao" 湖北荊州明湘獻王墓發掘簡報, *Wenwu*, no.4 (2009): 43-60. Jingzhou diqu bowuguan and Jianglingxian wenwuju, ed., "Jiangling balingshan Mingdai Liaojian wang mu fajue jianbao" 江陵巴嶺山明代遼簡王墓發掘簡報, *Kaogu*, no.8 (1995): 702-712. Wuhanshi wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo and Wuhanshi Jiangxiaqu bowuguan, ed., "Wuhan Jiangxia erfei shan Ming Jingling wang Zhu Mengzhao fuqi mu fajue jianbao" 武漢江夏二妃山明景陵王朱孟炤夫妻墓發掘簡報, *Jiangnan kaogu*, no.2 (2010):46-55. Fu Shouping, "Mingdai Chuzhao wang Zhu Zhen mu fajue jianxun" 明代楚昭王朱楨墓發掘簡訊, *Jiangnan kaogu*, no.1 (1992): 40. Huebisheng wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo, "Wuchang Longquanshan Mingdai Chu Zhao wang mu fajue jianbao," 4-18. Liang Zhu, ed., *Liangzhuang wan mu* 梁庄王墓 (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 2007), vol.1, 110-118.

³⁶ Huebisheng wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo, "Wuchang Longquanshan Mingdai Chu Zhao wang mu fajue jianbao," 9. Jingzhou bowuguan, "Hubei jingzhou Ming Xiangxian wang mu fajue jianbao," 49.

isolated arrangements have been found in tombs of Zhu Mengzhao's wife and Zhu Zhanzi. An additional pit was found above the tomb tunnel in Zhu Mengzhao's wife's tomb, and her pewter utensils were placed in the pit (Figure 5-5). The archaeology report does not record the arrangement of the utensils when the tomb was excavated.³⁷

Zhu Zhanji's case is an example that shows the complexity in deciphering the message left by the display of burial objects. When Zhu Zhanji's tomb was excavated, the pewter utensils were arrayed against the western wall of the front tomb chamber; and this display is unique (Figure 5-6). By taking the remains of a wooden table found near these pewter utensils in to considerations, we can conclude that these utensils were probably placed on this table when Zhu Zhanji was buried. However, this display was removed for extra space when his wife's coffin was moved in.³⁸

Although it is unclear whether these pewter utensils were used to perform symbolic sacrificial rites in these princes' tombs, a set of full-sized "five offerings"

³⁷ Wuhanshi wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo, "Wuhan Jiangxia erfei shan Ming Jingling wang Zhu Mengzhao fuqi mu fajue jianbao," 47-48, 55. There is a similar case found in Shanghai, which is one of the family tombs of Shen Fu. The Shen family is a commoner family. He, *Shanghai Mingmu*, 46-49.

³⁸ This tomb had never been robbed before the scientific excavation. According to the archaeology report, this tomb should be designed for the king only. However, when his wife Consort Wei died, the emperor ordered them to be buried together. When reopening the tomb that had been sealed for good, archaeologists found evidence that shows some structures of the tomb were sabotaged when his wife's coffin was moved in. What was left in the front chamber is not only the pewter utensils lined up against the west wall, but also remains of a wooden table. Therefore, it is possible that the utensils were placed in the front of the back-chamber gate as in tombs of Mu Ying's family members, but they then removed to the west wall in order to carry the coffin of his wife to pass through the back-chamber gate. See Liang, *Liangzhuang wan mu*, 16, 21-22, 110-118, 120.

appeared in burial practices since the early fifteenth century. They were sometimes buried with the miniaturized pewter utensils, which suggest a possible adjustment to the sacrificial function of the pewter utensils. In some of the spacious tombs, the miniaturized pewter utensils were stored in wall niches, whereas the regular or large size sacrificial utensils were displayed in a sacrificial scene. This adjustment shows that the pewter utensils are probably too small to exhibit a sacrificial display in such spacious graves, so the regular size utensils replaced the function of these miniaturized utensils. However, the pewter utensils were not discarded, presumably because they were gifts from the emperor.

The tomb of Zhu Zhen, the Hongwu Emperor's sixth son who died in 1423, is equipped with two such sets of sacrificial vessels.³⁹ 72 utensils made of pewter and lead alloy that can be categorized into 24 types, such as plates, ewers, an incense burner, and candle stands. They are all found in the niche located at the northern back chamber wall (Figure 5-7). In addition to that, a stone altar was placed in front of the coffin. Along with Zhu Zhen's royal seal and the certificate of conferral as a prince, one copper incense burner, two candle stands, two vases with dual ears, spoons, and

³⁹ Yiu Josh has also noticed that there are two sets of sacrificial utensils in Zhu Zhen's tomb, but he uses them to discuss the meanings of why different materials were chosen to make these two sets of utensils. Yiu, "The Display of Fragrant Offerings," 53-54.

chopsticks were also placed on the stone altar (Figure 5-8).

While Zhu Zhen's pewter-lead utensils are less than 5 centimeters in height (Figure 5-9), the five sacrificial utensils on the stone altar are in full-sized but they were still made based on the concept of *mingqi*. The vases are 15.6 centimeters in height. One of the vases contains four lotus flowers made of gilded copper (Figure 5-10). The height of the candle stand with the candle is 28.4 centimeters. The candle stand was also made of copper and the candle was represented by a stick of wood painted with red coating (Figure 5-11).⁴⁰ The imperishable lotuses and the nonflammable candles convey the essence of the flower vases and candle stands, as well as this whole set of *wugong*, as *mingqi*. This display of five offerings shared resemblance to those in the Mu family tombs (Figure 5-2), in which perpetual and symbolic rites are performed for the deceased.

The pattern in Zhu Zhen's tomb was also found in other princes' tombs in Henan and Sichuan Provinces, and became especially prevalent in Beijing, the second capital of the Ming dynasty, where the most powerful imperial elites were buried.⁴¹ These

⁴⁰ Hubeisheng wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo, "Wuchang Longquanshan Mingdai Chu Zhao wang mu fajue jianbao," 9-13.

⁴¹ Wang Yanling, "Haidian Xiangshan junkeyuan Ming taizi mu fajue jianbao" 海淀香山軍科院明太子墓發掘簡報, *Beijing wenwu yu kaogu* (2002): 68-71. Beijingshi wenwu gongzuodui, "Beijing Xiangshan Ming taijian Liu Zhong mu" 北京香山明太監劉忠墓, *Wenwu*, no.9 (1986): 42-47. Kaogu yanjiusuo tongxunzu, ed., "Beijing xijiao dongsicun Ming mu fajue ji-di yi hao mu" 北京西郊董四村明墓發掘

occupants buried near Beijing include eunuchs, the emperor's concubines, prince, and the emperor himself.⁴²

Dingling, the mausoleum belonging to the Wanli Emperor and his two consorts, is the only Ming imperial mausoleum that has been excavated. Dingling was built with three chamber rooms and two side rooms (Figure 5-12). The coffins and 370 pewter utensils stored in boxes were all placed in the back chamber (Figure 5-13), whereas the larger *wugong* were situated in the middle chamber.⁴³ The Wanli Emperor's middle chamber is 32 meters in length, 6 meters in width and 7.2 meters in height.⁴⁴ Such giant tomb space accommodates only three marble spirit seats, and a set of glazed pottery *wugong* in front of them (Figure 5-14). These *wugong* are about twice size of the ones in Zhu Zhen's tomb.⁴⁵ Archaeologists suggest that these *wugong* are also *mingqi* because the vase mouth is blocked, which means no flowers can be put in these

記-第一號墓, *Wenwu*, no.2 (1952):78-87. Zhongguo kexueyuan kaogu yanjiusuo jingjiao fajuetuan tongxunzu, ed., "Beijing xijiao dongsicun Ming mu fajue ji- di er hao mu" 北京西郊董四村明墓發掘記-第二號墓, *Wenwu*, no.2 (1952): 88-100. Zhongguo kaogu xuehui, ed., *Zhongguo kaoguxue nianjian 1997* 中國考古學年鑑 1977 (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1999), 91. Beijingshi wenwuju and Beijingshi wenwu yanjiusuo, ed., *Beijing aoyun changguan kaogu fajue baogao* 北京奧運場館考古發掘報告 (Beijing: Kexue chubanshe, 2007), vol.2, 489-490.

⁴² Sichuansheng wenwu guanli weiyuanhui, ed., "Chengdu Baimasi diliuhao Mingmu qingli jianbao" 成都白馬寺第六號明墓清理簡報, *Wenwu*, no.10 (1956): 42-49. Jiang Xueli, "Chengdu Liangjiexiang faxian Ming mu" 成都梁家巷發現明墓, *Kaogu*, no.8 (1959):429. Henansheng bowuguan and Xinxiangshi bowuguan, ed., "Xinxiangshijiao Ming Luojian wang mu jiqi shike" 新鄉市郊明潞簡王墓及其石刻, *Wenwu*, no.5 (1979): 7-13.

⁴³ Zhongguo shehui kexueyuan, *Dingling*, vol.1, 42, 178-183.

⁴⁴ Zhongguo shehui kexueyuan, *Dingling*, vol.1, 19.

⁴⁵ Zhongguo shehui kexueyuan, *Dingling*, vol.1, 185-186, 189-190.

vases.⁴⁶

The displays of the pewter utensils in these elite' tombs indicate the ways in which the recipients or their families interpreted the meanings of these utensils. Some of the pewter utensils were buried in the boxes that carried them. As those boxes were left in the niches or on the ground, the act suggests that these utensils were only a gift. Those who chose to display these utensils in a sacrificial scene in front of the coffin show their understanding of intermingling the bestowal utensils with in-tomb sacrificing. Although some of the choices reveal no sense of sacrificial intention, we should not ignore the fact that the bestowal itself is an embodiment and a spread of such idea that in-tomb sacrificing is necessary.

Tomb space is another factor that affects the ways pewter utensils are displayed. The larger sacrificial utensils could be a supplement to the functions of the pewter utensils.⁴⁷ The combinations of the regular and miniaturized sets are slightly different, though I argue they possess the same function. The pewter utensils are a complete set of sacrificial utensils including *wugong*, whereas the larger set only contains these five pieces. *Wugong* are the essential component that makes a set of daily-use utensils such

⁴⁶ Zhongguo shehui kexueyuan, *Dingling*, vol.1, 185-186.

⁴⁷ Yiu Josh also analyzes these two sets of utensils demonstrated in tombs, but he doesn't discuss the phenomenon that the two sets co-existed in one tomb. He draws more focus on the meanings of the chosen materials and the ways of the displays. See Yiu, "The Display of Fragrant Offerings," 55-57.

as spoon, plates, and wine ewers possess sacrificial meanings; therefore, I argue that either *wugong* or the whole set of pewter utensils on display presents the same sacrificial purpose.⁴⁸ The co-existence of the two sets further stress the importance of the in-tomb sacrificing and the significance of the pewter utensils. Even though the pewter utensils were sometimes too small to be visually impressive in spacious tombs, they were still preserved, and a solution had been made to carry on the sacrificial purpose.

Military Identity? Pewter Utensils Found in the Nine Defense Areas

Archaeological evidence shows that the practice of burying the pewter utensils was not confined to those who were qualified for the bestowal. Why these people adopted this ritual and how they understood the meaning of such burial custom requires a close study of the social background of these occupants, the historical context of this region, and the regional burial practice. By studying these military men in the peripheral regions, I suggest that their practices show their political identity to the Ming government through imitating the burial rituals prescribed and issued by this highest

⁴⁸ Hsieh, Yu-Chen discusses the larger *wugong* in Dingling and Zhu Zhen's tomb, and she argues that they share same function(s). However, she doesn't specify what the function(s) is (are). Hsieh, "Mingchu guanfang qiyong fushi wenyang de xianzhi," 117 (note. 70).

political authority.

Pewter utensils have also been found in the Nine Defense Areas (*jiubian* 九邊), which stretch along Ming northern borders from Manchuria to Inner Asia. The Nine Defense Areas are a defense zone that shielded Ming proper against invasions from northern ethnic groups such as Mongols.⁴⁹ From the east to the west, the Nine Defense Areas include today's Liaodong, Jizhou, Xuanfu, Datong, Shanxi, Yansui, Ningxia, Guyuan, and Gansu Provinces. Military elites, soldiers, and their families constituted the major populations of the Nine Defense Areas. The military posts were inheritable from father to son.⁵⁰

Kenneth Swope's research on military institutions in Liaodong sheds light on my question of why people who were not qualified for the bestowal still chose to bury the pewter utensils in the Nine Defense Areas. Swope argues that the military-oriented

⁴⁹ Zhang, *Ming shi*, 2235. Charles Hucker, "The Ming Government," in *The Cambridge History of China, vol.8: The Ming Dynasty, 1368-1644, Part 2*, ed. Frederick Mote and Denis Twitchett (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 13. Liu Jingchun, *Mingdai jiubian shidi yanjiu* 明代九邊史地研究 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2014): 1-2.

According to Liu Jingchun's research, the establishments of the Nine Defense Areas had begun since the reign of the Yongle Emperor, but the concept of "jiubian" as a military entity integrity started around the early sixteenth century. See Liu, *Mingdai jiubian shidi yanjiu*, 2.

⁵⁰ Hucker, "The Ming Government," 62-63. Liu, *Mingdai jiubian shidi yanjiu*, 76. Cao Shuji, *Zhongguo renkou shi* 中國人口史 (Shanghai: Fudan daxue chubanshe, 2000), 44.

This hereditary system applied only to military officers as a privilege, not civil officials in the Ming, and it may have the origin from the Yuan tradition. See Yu Zhijia, *Mingdai junhu shixi zhidu* 明代軍戶世襲制度 (Taipei: Taiwan xuesheng shuju, 1987), 141. Romeyn Taylor, "Yuan Origins of the Wei-so System," in *Chinese Government in Ming Times*, ed., Hucker Charles (New York and London: Columbia University Press, 1969), 35-39. Other research on military institution at *jiubian*, see Zhao Xianhai, *Mingdai jiubian changchen junzhen shi* 明代九邊長城軍鎮史 (Beijing: Shehui kexue wenxian chubanshe, 2012). Wang Yuquan, *Mingdai de juntun* 明代的軍屯 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1965).

needs and developments in Liaodong resulted in a hereditary power held in hands of certain prominent military elite families. Their local, social, and military bonds then turned them “largely independent” from the control of the Ming court.⁵¹ These features in the peripheral areas constitute a special context for us to explore the different purposes of adopting the pewter utensils compared to the imperial bestowals.

I will discuss three cases found in the Nine Defense Areas. Their common ground is that the occupants were all committed to military service or related to military elite families. However, their noble titles were not high enough to receive the bestowal of *mingqi* from the emperor. Their ineligibility leads us to trace how an imperial practice was spread and accepted by military elites who lived under loose political control in the peripheral area as described by Kenneth Swope.

Let’s take the example of Cui Yuan’s 崔源 family. Five generations of Cui Yuan’s family are buried in the family cemetery in Liaodong. Seven tombs have been excavated; four of them contain pewter utensils. Archaeological evidence shows that the tradition of burying pewter utensils had at least lasted three generations in the Cui family. Cui Yuan (1392-1450) was the first-generation occupant buried in this family cemetery. His tomb has been robbed; therefore, it is uncertain whether this family

⁵¹ Kenneth. Swope, “A Few Good Men: The Li Family and China’s Northern Frontier in the Late Ming,” *Ming Studies* 1(2004): 40-41.

tradition had started with him. According to his epitaph, Cui Yuan's last military position was Assistant Commander with the noble title of the General of Brightness and Courageousness (Zhaoyong jiangjun 昭勇將軍) that converts to a position of third rank. Cui Yuan's son Cui Sheng 崔勝 (1426-1499) was the first generation found buried with the pewter utensils. Cui Sheng inherited his father's position and was finally granted the noble title of the General of Dragon and Tiger (Longwu jiangjun 龍虎將軍), a position of second rank. This is the highest ranking among those Cui family members who were buried with the pewter utensils.⁵² Most of the occupants buried in the Cui family cemetery had their names recorded in local gazetteers under the subheading of "Prominent Families of the Dynasty."⁵³ However, their noble ranks and the records in their epitaphs show no governmental involvements in the funerary preparations.

The Cui family all used vertical pit tombs, in which limited space can only accommodate the coffin(s). Pewter utensils were all found in wall niches, which may serve as an extra space to place burial items (Figure 5-15). Archaeologists report that, in Cui Jian's (1448-1511)'s tomb, 23 pewter utensils were found in a wall niche which measures 18 centimeters in height, 44 centimeters in width, and 40 centimeters in

⁵² Feng, "Anshan nijiatai Ming Cui Yuan zumu de fajue," 11-34.

⁵³ Bi Gong, ed., *Liaodong zhi* 遼東志 (Shanghai: Shanghai shuj, 1994), 693-696.

depth,⁵⁴ suggesting that these pewter utensils are very tiny. Photographs show these miniaturized utensils were placed in rows in the wall niche, from which we can see a combination of a candlestick, a vase, some plates, and a cup (Figure 5-16).⁵⁵ The arrangement in rows is reminiscent of the arrangement on a table, as suggested by Zhu Xi in his *Family Rituals*. Even without an actual table, the narrow space of a vertical pit tomb brings a physical closeness to these utensils and the occupant who receives the symbolic sacrifices embodied in these utensils.

In Ningxia, three tombs belonging to occupants with the surname Yang all contain the pewter utensils. One epitaph and a coffin cover inscribed with honorary title of the occupant suggest that they were members of a military elite family.⁵⁶ The Yang family chose the style of horizontal tombs, in which the display similar to Mu Ying's family tombs in Nanjing. In one of the Yang family tombs, tomb no.3, two coffins were found side by side in the chamber and two regular-size wooden tables painted in red were set in front of the coffins (Figure 5-17).⁵⁷ The utensils such as incense burners, candle stands, spoons, plates, and so forth were placed on each of the tables. Their

⁵⁴ Liaoningsheng bowuguan wenwudui, "Anshan nijiatu Ming Cui Yuan zumu de fajue," 14-15.

⁵⁵ Liaoningsheng bowuguan wenwudui, "Anshan nijiatu Ming Cui Yuan zumu de fajue," 32.

⁵⁶ Ningxia wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo, *Yanchi fengjiquan Mingmu*, 118, 126, 137-144.

⁵⁷ The table placed in the front of the coffin of the male is 79 centimeters in height, 96.5 centimeters in length, and 42 centimeters in width. The one in front of the coffin of the female is 77 centimeters in height, 87.5 centimeters in length, and 52 centimeters in width. See Ningxia wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo, *Yanchi fengjiquan Mingmu*, 86.

display, their miniaturized sizes with an average height around 5 centimeters, and the rough craftsmanship of cutting, rolling, and welding thin pewter sheets to make these utensils all suggest that the concept of *mingqi* – “with form but no function” – in Ming ritual handbooks had disseminated to the far western reaches of Ming territory (Figure 5-18).⁵⁸

Peng Ze’s official career shows a path to the military service different from previous two cases. Peng was born in Lanzhou, the Gansu Command. He passed the civil service examination in 1490; in other words, he entered the government as a civil official. As early as in the Zhengde Emperor’s reign, Peng Ze was frequently dispatched to military appointments at the frontier.⁵⁹ His long-term military experience made him ideal to reconcile a complex crisis between Turfan and Hami.⁶⁰ Peng Ze’s failure in this mission, along with factional conflicts, eventually ended his political career as the Minister of War in 1523.⁶¹ According to the *Ming shi*, “Ze was deprived of his official title and became a commoner again; he stayed home and died in

⁵⁸ Ningxia wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo, *Yanchi fengji quan Mingmu*, 75-84, 124-125.

⁵⁹ Zhang, *Ming shi*, 5235. Xue Yangjing, ed., *Lanzhou gujin beike* 蘭州古今碑刻 (Lanzhou: Lanzhou daxue chubanshe, 2002), 27-31.

⁶⁰ Zhang, *Ming shi*, 5236-5237. James Geiss, “The Chia-Ching Reign, 1522-1566,” in *The Cambridge History of China*, vol. 7, 450-456. Morris Rossabi, “The Ming and Inner Asia,” in *The Cambridge History of China*, vol. 8, 251-252. The background of the relations between Ming China, Turfan and Hami, See Morris Rossabi, “Ming China and Turfan, 1406-1517,” *Central Asiatic Journal* 16, no.3 (1972): 206-225.

⁶¹ Zhang, *Ming shi*, 5238-5239, Tian Shu, “Pengze yu Gansu zhi bian” 彭澤與甘肅之變, *Xiyu yanjiu* (2004):11-16. Xue, *Lanzhou gujin beike*, 31-33.

depression” in 1531.⁶² Not until the Longqing Emperor’s reign did Peng Ze receive a posthumous title as an imperial recognition of his diligence and loyalty to the court.⁶³

Peng Ze was buried with his wife, neé Wu, in today’s Lanzhou, Gansu Province. The pewter utensils were situated in the space between the northern side of their tomb chamber and the coffins. Some wooden remains found in this space suggest a table was probably once there to hold the utensils.⁶⁴ Neé Wu died in 1521 when Peng Ze was still serving as the Minister of War.⁶⁵ She was conferred with a title of first rank and was eligible for the funerary bestowal from the court, though, as a gesture of humility, Peng Ze declined the honor.⁶⁶ Peng himself died as a commoner. In the epitaph that he himself composed two years before he died, Peng Ze asked his descendants not to “request the bestowal of sacrificial necessities and burial essentials or manage to clear off my blame after the coffin is sealed.”⁶⁷ Both Peng Ze and his wife’s epitaphs show that, whether the pewter utensils were buried during his wife’s or his own interments, this arrangement had little involvement from the government. In other words, as the Cui and Yang families, Peng Ze or his family chose to bury the pewter utensils even

⁶² Zhang, *Ming shi*, 5239.

⁶³ Zhang, *Ming shi*, 5239.

⁶⁴ Gansusheng wenwu guanli weiyuanhui, ed., “Lanzhou Shangxiyuan Ming Peng Ze mu qingli jianbao” 蘭州上西園彭澤墓清理簡報, *Kaogu*, no.1 (1957): 46-49.

⁶⁵ Xue, *Lanzhou gujin beike*, 22-23.

⁶⁶ Xue, *Lanzhou gujin beike*, 32.

⁶⁷ Xue, *Lanzhou gujin beike*, 33-34.

though they were not imperially bestowed.

These three cases found in the Nine Defense Areas bring new light to study the pewter utensils as non-bestowed burial objects. The occupants in these cases were not qualified to receive bestowals of *mingqi*. However, this ineligibility indicates more freedom in choosing what people want to bury in tombs. The reason why they chose to bury the pewter utensils is probably different from the reasons of those who received the utensils because of their status. The questions generated from above assumptions include: Why did they choose the pewter utensils? Does the materiality of pewter matter? How did the imperial practice spread and transmit from the dynastic center to the peripheral regions? What kinds of messages can be drawn from the backgrounds of these occupants and this specific region for us to understand the distributions of these pewter utensils?

These questions need to be answered in the context of the Nine Defense Areas. The transmission of pewter utensils may have a different path in the Nine Defense Areas than in the southeastern coastal regions as I will discuss in the next section. Archaeological evidence shows that burying objects made of pewter was not a traditional or popular custom in the Nine Defense Areas.⁶⁸ People used utensils made

⁶⁸ Zhao Xiaogang, “Shenyang diqu Mingdai muzang chutan” 瀋陽地區明代墓葬初探, *Dongbei shidi*,

of clay for burial instead. Since the practice of burying pewter utensils was not local, switching our attention to the similar background of these occupants and their choices provides another perspective to explore these pewter utensils.

Archaeologists often use burial practices, including the choices of tomb styles, the directions of placing the coffin, and the assemblage of burial items, as evidence to demonstrate political, ethnic, and social class identities of the people they are studying.⁶⁹ This research approach allows us to analyze the choice of these military elites in this peripheral area. Although study shows that the Ming government was unable to control this remote region effectively because of the powerful military

no.3 (2012): 12-17. Shenyangshi wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo, ed., “Shenyang renaolu tianzhuojiao xiunvuyuan gudai muqun 2006 niankaogu fajue baogao” 瀋陽熱鬧路天主教修女院古代墓群 2006 年考古發掘報告, in *Shenyang kaogu wenji* 瀋陽考古文集 (Beijing: Kexue chubanshe, 2007), vol.1, 56. Shenyangshi wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo, ed., “Shenyang Sujiatun tongjiafengou Mingdai muzang fajue baogao” 瀋陽蘇家屯佟家墳溝明代墓葬發掘報告, in *Shenyang kaogu wenji*, vol.1, 154-159. Shenyangshi wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo, ed., “Shenyang Ganquanlu Mingdai muzang 2006 nian fajue jianbao” 瀋陽甘泉路明代墓葬 2006 年發掘簡報, in *Shenyang kaogu wenji*, vol.1, 169-172. Shenyangshi wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo, ed., “Shenyang bawangsi Ming Qing muzang 2006 nian fajue jianbao” 瀋陽八王寺明清墓葬 2006 年發掘簡報, in *Shenyang kaogu wenji*, vol.1, 173-177. Shenyangshi wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo, ed., “Shenyang shifuguangchang nan Mingdai Qingdai muzang fajue baogao” 瀋陽市府廣場南明代 清代墓葬發掘報告, in *Shenyang kaogu wenjin* 瀋陽考古文集 (Beijing: Kexue chubanshe, 2009), vol.2, 182-191. Objects made of pewter were found in this region, but these utensils were not buried in a set but in single pieces that did not manifest the sacrificial scene prescribed in the *Family Rituals*. See Zhao Xiaogang, “Shenyang diqu Mingdai muzang chutan,” 15-16. Wu Dexu, Chen Dongping and Xu Gongyuan, “Gansusheng wenxian huyiba Mingmu qingli suojian” 甘肅省文縣鵠衣塋明墓清理所見, *Gansu zhongyi xueyuan xuebao*, no.2 (1987) : 54-56.

⁶⁹ Qi Dongfang, “Shilun Xian diqu Tangdai muzang de dengji zhidu” 試論西安地區唐代墓葬的等級制度, in *Jinian Beijing daxue kaogu zhuanysanshi zhounian lunwenji* 紀念北京大學考古專業三十周年論文集, ed. Beijing daxue kaoguxi (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1990), 286-310. Shen Ruiwen, “Lun muzhi yu muzhu guojia he mingzu rentong de guanxi – yi kanye, anjia, shijun, yuhongmu weili” 論墓制與墓主國家和民族認同的關係--以康業、安伽、史君、虞弘諸墓為例, in *Xiyu wenshi* 西域文史, ed. Zhu Yuqi (Beijing: Kexue chubanshe, 2011), vol.6, 207-234. Hong Jeehee, “Changing Roles of the Tomb Portrait: Burial Practices and Ancestral Worship of Non-Literati Elite in North China (1000-1400),” *Journal of Song-Yuan Studies* 44 (2014): 203-264. Hong, *Theater of the Dead*. Steinhardt, “Liao Archaeology,” 224-244.

families, archaeological evidence reveals another side of the story. In addition to the use of the pewter utensils, other practices found in these three cases show us how the identity of being Ming subordinates was embedded in the minds of these military elites. Their identity was demonstrated through their practicing rituals defined by the Ming government. Examples include stone statues in the shapes of horse, civil officers, and tigers that have been found in Cui Yuan and Peng Ze's family cemeteries (Figure 5-19).⁷⁰ These statues were not funerary gifts from the government. According to the *Da Ming huidian*, they are part of cemetery design used by officials with noble ranks, as a way to distinguish their prominent social status.⁷¹ A hierarchical system was prescribed; in other words, officials should only use the stone statues that correspond to their ranks. Peng Ze and many members in the Cui family were officials who met the criteria for using stone statues. The stone statues at Peng Ze's grave were probably erected when his wife passed away, because he was then serving the position of the Minister of War. The choice of erecting these stone statues reflect how these military elites demonstrated themselves as the emperor's subjects by using Ming ritual symbols and how they recognized the symbolic meanings presented by these statues through

⁷⁰ Liaoningsheng bowuguan wenwudui, "Anshan nijiatu Ming Cui Yuan zumu de fajue," 11. Gansusheng wenwu guanli weiyuanhui, "Lanzhou Shangxiyuan Ming Peng Ze mu qingli jianbao," 46.

⁷¹ Li, *Da Ming huidian*, juan 203, 2733.

taking the funerary ritual designed for their ranks seriously.

Unlike the stone statues, the pewter utensils were not the burial objects these occupants in the Nine Defense Areas should have because of their ranks. The Hongwu Emperor classified social classes as a way to create order in the society and then he established a set of hierarchical ritual practices designated to each class for them to follow. However, the fact that people practiced the level of ritual that exceeds the designated one corresponding to their status was not uncommon in the Ming dynasty.⁷² These acts reflect the interest of imitating life style of higher class, and were often denounced in governmental documents as “arrogating themselves to rites and violating the laws” which sabotaged the social roles. Instead of interpreting these records in a negative tone as current scholarship does, Qi Dongfang’s research suggests that these actions declare the effectiveness of defining social classes through coded rites in governmental ritual manuals. The relationship between social status and its corresponding ritual symbols had successfully modeled the way people manifest themselves.⁷³

⁷² Xia Han proposes that the practice of using pewter utensils by ineligible classes is an arrogation of ritual, but she only refers to those cases found in Nanjing, such as Jin Yin. Xia, “Shilun Jiangnan Mingmu chutu zhi moxing mingqi,” 101. Wu Jen-Shu, *Pin wei she hua- Wan Ming de xiaofei shehui yu shidafu* 品味奢華-晚明的消費社會與士大夫 (Taipei: Lianjing chubun shiye youxian gongsi, 2007), 23-65, 119-176. Zhang, *Song chuang meng yu*, 123.

⁷³ Qi, “Tangdai de sangzang guannian xisu yu liyi zhidu,” 65.

This phenomenon helps us to further understand the choice of burying pewter utensils. Two occupants of the Yang family tombs were found wearing gowns embroidered with the patterns of qilin 麒麟, a mythical animal, and lion (Figure 5-20).⁷⁴ According to the *Da Ming huidian*, the hierarchical order also applied to the use of patterns of these auspicious animals; and qilin and lion can only be used by officials with noble titles above the second rank.⁷⁵ The two members from the Yang family were granted the third rank only. The patterns on their gowns, the same as the pewter utensils, disclose a vision of portraying themselves in a more elevated way compared to their real status. The pewter utensils were probably given a special metaphor due to the exceptional honor to military generals in the early Ming. These utensils were bestowed only to ministers with the highest noble titles, and in the early Ming, only military elites were qualified for such honor. Peng Ze's service at the Ming court may have made him familiar with the funerary rituals of the upper class. Members of the Cui and Yang family had less direct connections with the central government than Peng Ze. Textual evidence fails to answer how this symbol of military honor spread to the region where the actual bestowals rarely reached. By taking the gowns and the stone statues into considerations, I argue that the exclusive glory represented by the pewter utensils might

⁷⁴ Ningxia wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo, *Yanchi fengjiquan Mingmu*, 60-61, 97, 148-159.

⁷⁵ Li, *Da Ming huidian*, juan 61, 1058-1064.

be appealing to these military elites, especially since the exceptional reverence to military elite waned after the Ming dynasty was established.⁷⁶ This choice further enlightens the importance of using pewter, not clay, as defined by Ming ritual handbooks to make these *mingqi* utensils. As the pattern of qilin and lion, and the stone statues, pewter was imbued with ritual and hierarchical significance by the Ming government; therefore, the material substance itself possesses the symbol of imperial honor.

The display of sacrificial scene in the three cases shows that glory is not the only reason these families adopted the pewter utensils. Among these cases, this practice became a family tradition, suggesting that the sacrificial function of these utensils had been passed down as well. To practice a ritual through generations indicates that this ritual was rooted in the ways in which this family dealt with burial arrangements. Mu Ying's family tombs have shown us how this practice could be maintained for over two hundred years in Nanjing. These three cases in the Nine Defense Areas manifest the choice of people in adopting the pewter utensils – the ritual objects that represent the political and religious penetrations of the Ming dynasty in its border lands.

⁷⁶ Chen, Wenshi, "Mingdai weisuo de jun" 明代衛所的軍, *Zhongyang yanjiuyuan shiyusuo jikan* 48, no.2 (1977): 198-200. Langlois, "The Hung-wu Reign, 1368-1398," 118.

Regional Practices: Pewter Utensils in the Southeastern Coastal Regions

In southeastern coastal China, especially today's Jiangsu and Fujian Provinces, the pewter utensils have been frequently found and the occupants of the tombs where the utensils have been found include commoners and officials who were not qualified for the bestowal. This context renders different meanings to the pewter utensils. He Jiying's statistics from Shanghai show that almost one tenth of excavated tombs from the Ming dynasty contained a set of pewter sacrificial utensils.⁷⁷ Often, these utensils had disintegrated or had been smashed so they were not recorded in the archaeological reports; therefore, the actual proportion could be higher than He's estimation.⁷⁸

The burial cultures are different in the Nine Defense Areas and the southeastern coastal regions. The latter had the tradition of burying objects made of pewter since the Northern Song dynasty, and this practice became pervasive in the Southern Song dynasty.⁷⁹ Although pewter had been frequently used in this region since the Song

⁷⁷ He, "Shanghai Mingdai muzang chutu xiqi," 57.

⁷⁸ During my visit to the storage of the Nanjing Municipal Museum in the summer of 2015, I was informed by Ma Xiaoyong about this information. Ma Xiaoyong is an archaeologist who in charges of the management of excavated objects in Ming tombs near Nanjing.

⁷⁹ In the *Song shi*, because the Southern Song emperors had the wish to retake the Northern territory conquered by the Jin and Yuan dynasties and to be reburied there, pewter was the material used to make the emperor's *mingqi* in a provisional manner. Therefore, their coffins and burial items were made for temporary purpose. Yuan literati, such as Yao Zongyi and Zhou Mi, also reported the rumor that when Song Gaozong's imperial mausoleum, located in current Zhejiang Province, was robbed by the Mongol army, it held only a few pewter utensils. The types of pewter utensils in the Southern Song mausoleum are unclear in those texts. See Toqto'a, *Song shi*, 2875. Tao zongyi, *Nancun chougenglu* 南村輟耕錄 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1959), 48. Zhou Mi, *Xingui zashi* 癸辛雜識 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1988), 263-264.

times, these pewter objects were not made in the types of sacrificial utensils.⁸⁰

This Song practice triggers new questions. Were Ming pewter utensils an invention inspired by Song practice?⁸¹ Why was the practice of burying the pewter utensils especially popular in this region? Could the practice since the Song times make it more natural for Ming people to carry on this tradition, even though the types of utensils had changed? We need more archaeological excavations to answer these questions in a comprehensive manner, but bearing these questions in mind is crucial to trace the possible origin of the practice of burying the pewter utensils in the Ming times and to understand why this new practice was more common in the southeastern coastal regions.

According to the burial dates in the epitaphs, current archaeological evidence shows that people began to bury the pewter utensils in graves in this region around the

⁸⁰ Some of these Song utensils are *mingqi*, some of them are everyday-use items. They are in the shapes of plate, vase, bells, rings, and cosmetic powder case. Chen Jing and Chen Lihua, “Jiangsu wujincunqian Nansong mu qingli jiyao” 江蘇武進村前南宋墓清理紀要, *Kaogu*, no.3 (1986): 247-260. Huang Bingyu, “Jiangsu taizhou Beisong mu chutu qiwu” 江蘇泰州北宋墓出土器物, *Dongnan wenhua*, no.3 (1987): 64-69. Zhenjiangshi bowuguan, “Jiangsu jintan Nansong Zhouyu mu fajue jianbao” 江蘇金壇南宋周瑀墓發掘簡報, *Wenwu*, no.7 (1977): 18-27. Gao Zhenwei, “Jiangsu Jiangyin xiagang Songmu qingli jianbao” 江蘇江陰夏港宋墓清理簡報, *Wenwu*, no.6 (2001): 61-68. Diao Wenwei, “Jiangsu Jiangyin changqingzhen Song mu” 江蘇江陰長涇鎮宋墓, *Wenwu*, no.8 (2004): 38-40.

⁸¹ The Hongwu Emperor was known for recruiting well-known, local Confucian scholars to be his advisers as he conquered the southern bank of the Yangtze River. I assume those Confucian scholars could be the think tank of introducing the contents of the *Family Rituals* when the government decided on the types of *mingqi* for Chang Yuchun’s burial. Those southern scholars, as well the Hongwu Emperor himself, were probably familiar with the tradition of using pewter for making *mingqi*. See Mote, *Imperial China 900-1800*, 562, 571, 579. Farmer, “Social Regulations of the First Ming Emperor,” 108-109. Langlois, “The Hung-wu Reign, 1368-1398,” 107. Mote, “The Rise of the Ming Dynasty, 1330–1367,” 107, 124, 131, 137.

mid-fifteenth century, which is almost a century after Chang Yuchun's burial gift list became the standard reference of the bestowal policy. Xia Han therefore argues that the practice of burying the pewter utensils in this region is a result of imitating the imperial ritual.⁸² Current archaeological evidence supports her argument, especially when the types of pewter utensils were clearly identified in Ming ritual handbooks since the early Ming, but they were almost never found before the Ming dynasty.

In today's Jiangsu Province, archaeologists found a variety of ways to display pewter utensils in tombs. This phenomenon shows how the concept of in-tomb practicing was flexibly practiced among contemporaries. Some of the cases even challenge the nature of pewter utensils as being *mingqi*.

Huang Mengxuan's 黄孟瑄 (1425-1480) and Wang Xijue's (1534-1614) tombs show us a general way of arranging these utensils in Jiangsu where vertical pit tombs were favored by the locals. Huang Mengxuan was a commoner who was buried in 1480. On top of Huang's coffin, 29 pewter utensils were arranged in 7 rows. The first row is a pot and a cup; the second row is 5 containers; the third row is 5 large plates; the fourth row is 5 medium plates; the fifth row is 5 small plates; the sixth row is a light stand,

⁸² Xia, "Shilun Jiangnan Mingmu chutu zhi moxing mingqi," 101.

candle stands, a vase, and an incense burner; the seventh row is a pot (Figure 5-21).⁸³

Wang Xijue and his wife were buried together in Suzhou. Although Wang Xijue was granted a title of the first rank as he served the position of the Grand Secretary, he was still not qualified for the bestowal of the pewter utensils. Two sets of pewter utensils and other miniaturized furniture were found placed on top of Wang and his wife's coffins (Figure 5-22). Wang's utensils remained undisturbed since the day of interment. A wooden table is displayed on top of his coffin. A tablet is on the table with 28 pewter cups and plates in front of it. The report gives no measurements of the cups and plates, but since the table is around 33 centimeters in width, those pewter utensils are probably very small. In front of the table are the *wugong*, also in miniaturized size.⁸⁴ The displays in both Wang Xijue's and Huang Mengxuan's tombs reflect Patricia Ebrey's diagram of placement of food offering for ancestral worshipping in the family shrine based on the *Family Rituals* (Figure 5-23).⁸⁵ Wang Xijue was buried in 1612, more a hundred years after Huang Mengxuan's interment.⁸⁶ These two dated tombs show us the durability of this practice over time.

⁸³ He, *Shanghai Mingmu*, 26-28.

⁸⁴ Suzhou shi bowuguan, "Suzhou huqiu Wang Xijue mu qingli jilue" 蘇州虎丘王錫爵墓清理紀略, *Wenwu*, no.3 (1975): 51-56.

⁸⁵ Ebrey, *Chu Hsi's Family Rituals*, 161.

⁸⁶ Wang, "Wang wensu gong rongai lu," 452-462.

Some arrangements indicate how the nature of these pewter utensils as *mingqi* had been transformed and deviated from the classic meanings of *mingqi*. As I discussed in chapter one, Jin Ying (1394-1457), the powerful eunuch who had served as the Director of Ceremonial (*Sili jian taijian* 司禮監太監) during the Xuande Emperor's reign, built himself a giant three-chamber grave in Nanjing. The back chamber where the coffin was placed has been robbed, though the other two were safely sealed. The pewter utensils are on a stone altar placed at the center of the middle chamber (Figure 5-24). An incense burner, a candlestick, and two utensils were at front area of the altar. More than thirty utensils such as plates in five sizes, pots, wine ewers, bowls, and chopsticks were placed in the back.⁸⁷ The archaeological report shows that these utensils were finely crafted. A pewter basin is equipped with a stand. Not only was the stand decorated with an exquisite pattern, each of the pods can be folded (Figure 5-25). The fine craftsmanship is worth noticing, which contradicts to the definition of *mingqi* as being “with form but no function.”

A tomb found in today's Shanghai manifests another way of using *mingqi* form in a non-*mingqi* way.⁸⁸ A set of miniaturized pewter utensils was also placed on top of the coffin, and archaeologists report that they found food remains in some of those utensils.

⁸⁷ Huadong wenwu gongzuo dui, “Nanjing Nanjiao yingtai shan Jin Ying mu qingli ji,” 64-74.

⁸⁸ He, *Shanghai Mingmu*, 146.

In other words, for the family members of this occupant whose identity has been lost, these *mingqi* pewter utensils were treated as real containers that could be practically used to perform the sacrificial rites to the deceased.

The pewter utensils found in today's Fujian Province show how this practice intermingled with local custom as well as cultivated its own features. Zhang Hai 張海 (? -1545) was buried in 1545 and he was conferred a title of third rank as a posthumous honor because of his son's success as the Minister of War. His pewter utensils are placed on top of the coffin, similar to the practice we saw in Jiangsu Province. The utensils were placed on miniaturized pewter furniture, which demonstrate different craftsmanship compared to those pewter utensils found in Jiangsu (Figure 5-26).⁸⁹ The design on Zhang Hai's pewter utensils is similar to that found on utensils in Zhu Hengqi's 祝恒齊 (1457-1546) family tombs. Five members of Zhu's family were buried together, and four out of five were interred with the pewter utensils. In the regions I have discussed, it is more common to place the utensils on a wooden table or stone altar. But the tables found in the Zhu family tombs are themselves miniaturized and made of the same material as the utensils they held (Figure 5-27). Zhu Hengqi was

⁸⁹ Lin Cunqi, "Fuzhou Ming Zhang Hai mu chutu jiaju mingqi qianshuo" 福州明張海墓出土家具明器淺說, *Fujian wenjian*, no.1 (1999): 116-121.

a well-known physician who died in 1546, two years after Zhang Hai. The last Zhu family member who was buried with the pewter utensils was buried in 1582.⁹⁰ These two sixteenth century cases suggest that this practice in Fujian began much later than those in Jiangsu.

In addition to the use of pewter, glazed-clay utensils in the shape of sacrificial utensils are also found in Fujian Ming tombs, both in miniatures and regular sizes.⁹¹ They were usually placed in a row in front part of the chamber, with an incense burner in the middle (Figure 5-28). Fujian had its own tradition of burying glazed clay since the Southern Song dynasty, but the clay burial objects were not in the forms of sacrificial utensils.⁹² Archaeologists argue that the glazed-clay utensils were made at local kilns.⁹³ Those tombs mostly belonged to occupants whose identity has been lost to us; in other words, no exact burial dates and social status of the occupants we could

⁹⁰ Fuzhoushi wenwu kaogu gongzuodui, ed., “Fuzhoushi xindian Zhu Huanqi Ming mu fajue jianbao” 福州市新店祝恒齊明墓發掘簡報, *Fujian wenbo*, no.1 (2015): 10-17. Pan Zheng, “Mingdai Zhu Huanqi mu chutu xijiaju mingqi de baohu xiufu” 明代祝恒齊墓出土錫家具明器的保護修復, *Fujian wenbo*, no.3 (2013): 73-77.

⁹¹ Quanzhoushi bowuguan, ed., “Jinjiangzhou zimaozhen tiezaoshan Mingmu qingli jianbao” 晉江市紫帽鎮鐵灶山明墓清理簡報, *Fujian wenbo*, no.1 (2007): 17-19. Jianglexian bowuguan, ed., “Jianglexian Mingdai bihuamu qili jianbao” 將樂縣明代壁畫墓清理簡報, *Fujian wenbo*, no.3 (2011): 30-33.

Quanzhoushi bowuguan, ed., “Quanzhoushi Jiangnan jiedao Ming mu qingli jianbao” 泉州市江南街道明墓清理簡報, *Fujian wenbo*, no.1 (2012): 39-43. Fujian bowuguan, ed., “Fujian jinjiang Zimao Ming mu fajue baogao” 福建晉江紫帽明墓發掘報告, *Dongnan wenhua*, no.5 (2007): 33-38.

⁹² Fujian bowuguan, ed., “Jianglexian dabushan NanchaoTang Song muqun qili jianbao” 將樂縣大布山南朝唐宋墓群清理簡報, *Fujian wenbo*, no.1 (2014): 9-22. Wuyishanshi bowuguan, ed., “Wuyishanshi Chenjiazhou Song mu qili jianbao” 武夷山市陳家洲宋墓清理簡報, *Fujian wenbo*, no.2 (2014): 14-17. Fuzhoushi wenwu kaogu gongzuodui, ed., “Fuzhoushi cangshanqu wanchun yisanqu Tang mu fajue jianbao” 福州市倉山區萬春一三區唐墓發掘簡報, *Fujian wenbo*, no.3 (2014): 24-29.

⁹³ Fujian bowuguan, “Fujian jinjiang Zimao Ming mu fajue baogao,” 38.

refer to for further study. However, the use of local material and the display of sacrificial scene suggest that the concept of in-tomb sacrificing had been intermingled with the local custom.

The pewter utensils found in Jiangsu and Fujian Provinces serve as a reference of how the intertwining of materiality, imperial bestowal, and local practices results in the adoption and recreation of this in-tomb sacrificial practice. They are not the only cases that inform us of the growing interest of burying sacrificial utensils in tombs. In addition to the glazed clay utensils in Fujian, archaeologists have found sacrificial scene were presented by tomb murals and sacrificial utensils in a tomb (Figure 5-29) or sacrificial utensils made of porcelain, bronze, or iron in today's Zhejiang, Sichuan, Shaanxi, and Shandong.⁹⁴ Many excavations done in today's Henan Province show

⁹⁴ Although Ming tombs are rarely decorated with tomb murals, motifs of sacrificial utensils, ancestral tablets, and ancestral portraits have been found in some Ming tombs. See Shijiazhuang shi wenwu baoguan suo, ed., "Shijiazhuang shijiao chen cun Ming dai bhua mu qingli jianbao" 石家庄市郊陳村明代壁畫墓清理簡報, *Kaogu*, no.10 (1983): 919-922. Sichuan sheng wenguanhui, ed., "Sichuan pingwu Ming Wang Xi jiazumu" 四川平武明王璽家族墓, *Wenwu*, no.7 (1989): 1-42. Zhengzhou shi wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo, ed., "Dengfeng ludian Mingdai bihuamu" 登封廬店明代壁畫墓, *Zhongyuan wenwu*, no.4 (1999): 11-17. Li Huiping, "Huoji Ming dai xianmiao bihuamu" 獲嘉明代線描壁畫墓, *Zhongyuan wenwu*, no.5 (2009): 86-88.

A few examples of burying sacrificial objects, see Sun Yigang, "Jiangxi dexingshi liangzuo Mingmu" 江西德興市兩座明墓, *Nanfang wenwu*, no.2 (1998): 120-122. Jiaying bowuguan and Lu Yaohua, "Zhejiang jiaxing Ming Xiangshi mu" 浙江嘉興明項氏墓, *Wenwu*, no.8 (1982): 37-41. Zhang Jian, "Nanjingshi fujin faxian Ming mu" 南京市附近發現明墓, *Kaogu*, no.3 (1956): 64-65. Henansheng Jiexian wehuaguan, ed., "Henan Jiexian qianzhongwangcun Ming mu fajue jianbao" 河南柘縣前塚王村明墓發掘簡報, *Kaogu*, no.2 (1961): 102-103. Weifangshi bowuguan and Changyixian tushuguan, ed., "Shandong Changyixian Xinzhi ercun Mingdai mu" 山東昌邑縣辛置二村明代墓, *Kaogu*, no.11 (1989): 999-1005. Sichuan sheng wenguanhui, Mianyangshi wenhuaju and Pingwuxian wenbaosuo, ed., "Sichuan Pingwu Wang Xi Jiazumu" 四川平武明王璽家族墓, *Wenwu*, no.7 (1989):1-42. Ji Naijun, "Yanan Ming Yang Rugui mu" 延安明楊如桂墓, *Wenwu*, no.2 (1993): 83-86. Xianshi wenwu baohu

that the custom was to bury a clay household courtyard model. A miniaturized sacrificial table containing food and utensils, all made of clay, was placed in the courtyard.⁹⁵ Some of these findings are isolated or scattered cases; therefore, we are unable to analyze them systematically as the pewter utensils. Without further research and new archaeological evidence, we will not be able to find the connection between these regional practices and the pewter utensils. However, the study on the pewter utensils suggests a birth of idea about turning sacrificial utensils into *mingqi* form and the importance of practicing symbolic in-tomb sacrificial rites. This context contributes to positioning those isolated cases into this big discourse since the new understanding toward death and the deceased was shared by many contemporaries.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I have discussed various reasons of why people used the pewter utensils. Even though carrying multiple meanings, pewter utensils primarily manifest the way Ming people envisioned the needs of the deceased in the netherworld. This

kaogusuo, ed., “Xian nanjiao huangming zongshi qianyang duanyiwang Zhu gong zeng mu qingli jianbao” 西安南郊皇明宗室汧陽端懿王朱公繒墓清理簡報, *Kaogu yu wenwu*, no.6 (2001): 29-45.

⁹⁵ Luoyangshi wenwu gongzuodui, ed., “Luoyang dongjiao Ming mu” 洛陽東郊明墓, *Zhongyuan wenwu*, no.4 (1985): 24-26. Nanshaoxian bowuguan, ed., “Henan Nanshaoxian Yunyangzhen Mingdai jinian mu” 河南南召縣云陽鎮明代紀年墓, *Huaxia kaogu*, no.4 (2013): 23-26.

vision involved the symbolic offerings from the descendants through those *mingqi* sacrificial utensils, so their ancestors could still enjoy the servings after the tombs were sealed for good. This new way to treat the deceased speaks to Hong Jeehee's argument that death had been gradually socialized since the tenth century, in which "socialized" refers to the ways of imagining the world of dead through the perspectives of the living, not from the angle of the deceased. In other words, "the living gained an important presence and role within the burial space during the middle period."⁹⁶ In the case of the pewter utensils, the socialized death is achieved by introducing the ancestral sacrificial rites conducted at ancestral shrines or family shrines to tomb chambers. The bestowal of the pewter utensils indicates an attitude and treatment to the soul in the tomb as well as in the ancestral temple or the family shrine, and this is recognized by the government. Why did the soul in the tomb matter? What was the historical context for us to study this transition in understanding the meanings of death and the soul residing in the tomb? In the next chapter, I will discuss a historical debate about performing sacrificial rites at the graveyard, which positions this underground practice in comprehensive social and historical contexts.

⁹⁶ Hong, "Mechanism of Life for the Netherworld," 189.

Chapter Six

Emotional Death

In previous chapters, I discussed how a changing concept of death and the afterlife was presented by a series of changes in tombs and burial rituals in the Ming dynasty. These changes suggest that, even though death splits the worlds of the living and the deceased apart, people of the Ming dynasty showed a strong interest in reconnecting them through sacrificial rites. Further, a tomb, an unorthodox site to perform sacrifices and ancestral veneration in Confucian prescriptions, became a crucial space to conduct sacrificial rites. In this chapter I explore why the sacrificial rites designed for ancestral temples or family shrines in canonical Confucian prescriptions were borrowed by Ming people to maintain a relationship with the deceased and to envision the needs of deceased in tombs.¹

Historical records disclose limited information about these transitions in tombs and the meanings behind them. What I will do here is to examine a debate about interpreting whether there were “no graveside rites in antiquity” (*gu wu muji* 古無墓祭), which had taken place among Confucian ritualists from the Han dynasty to the

¹ I am not proposing that Confucian rituals were the only factors that promoted the transitions found in Ming tombs and that reshaped the ways people defined their relationship to the deceased buried in tombs. As Yu, Ying-Shih’s research has suggested, even before Buddhism was introduced to China, Chinese concepts of souls, death, and the afterlife were not unified. Yu, Ying-Shih, *Zhongguo sixiang chuantong de xiandai quanshi* 中國思想傳統的現代詮釋 (Taipei: Lianjing chubanshe, 1987), 123-127.

Qing dynasty.² This perspective is inspired by Liu Yi's research on Ming imperial mausoleums.³ Liu only uses this debate to support his argument that imperial mausoleum rites became more important than the imperial ancestral temple ones; my research uses this discussion to explore the pervasiveness of in-tomb sacrificing.

This discussion of *gu wu muji* was started with a scholarly observation in the Han dynasty about people's performing sacrificial rites at graves, for which there is no precedent in Confucian rituals defined by pre-Qin sages. Confucian scholars in the Han dynasty and later periods therefore looked back to more ancient times to trace the origin of this unorthodox practice, studied why graveside rites were not prescribed in Confucian classics, and made their own conclusions on whether graveside rites were appropriate. These arguments made by Confucian scholars show us how the weight of balance between propriety and emotions represented by rituals conducted at ancestral temples or family shrines and tombs had changed over times. In the Ming dynasty, we find that Confucian scholars had a positive view in accepting the practice of graveside rites as a way to demonstrate emotions and filial piety. Such attitude held by Ming scholars speaks to the role emotions played in inducing other changes in tombs and death practices as I discussed in previous chapters.

² Wu, *Monumentality in Early Chinese Art and Architecture*, 301-302 (note 133-134).

³ Liu, *Mingdai diwang lingmu zhidu yanjiu*, 494-497.

The basic concepts of the *gu wu muji* debate include the dualistic nature of souls in classic Confucian definitions, the functions of ancestral temples or family shrines and tombs, and a family's eligibility to construct their ancestral temple or family shrine. Participants in this debate were mostly officials or literati trained by Confucian teachings. Certainly, this scholarly discussion cannot fully stand for the majority who were illiterates to demonstrate their understandings about death and souls in words. What I find helpful in the debate of *gu wu muji* is that this scholarly discussion was based on the observations of practices fulfilled by different social classes, especially commoners. Furthermore, the scholarly explanations of why graveside rites became pervasive led them to adjust the canonical Confucian rites to meet people's needs of revering their ancestors, especially since the Song dynasty. This debate therefore was not merely talks in the ivory tower of scholarly circles, but to certain degree, I argue, reflected actual practices and the causes behind them which are otherwise not documented.

Some clarifications need to be made before I begin my discussions. My study of this *gu wu muji* debate is to focus on how the attitude toward the practice of graveside rites gradually changed in the Ming dynasty, not to analyze the arguments of each scholar. Further, this debate was a discussion about sacrificial rites conducted at burial

grounds, not about rituals performed in tombs such as the display of *wugong* and *mingqi* pewter utensils. For clarity, I call the former graveside rites and the latter in-tomb sacrificing. Although these two practices are different, they both disclosed similar views to the deceased buried in tombs. Therefore, I argue, the analysis of this debate can help us understand why sacrificial practices were adopted to practice in tombs.

The Two Souls

Confucian classics such as the *Liji* prescribe how to sacrifice to ancestors in ancestral temples but give no instructions on performing sacrificial rites at tombs.⁴ Such difference was caused by Confucian ways of defining the natures of the souls; of understanding the meanings of death; and of treating the deceased in the pre-Qin era. It is this divergence in the ancestral temple and the tomb rites that triggered the debate of *gu wu muji* when later scholars tried to find in the words of the sages' justification of the practice of graveside rites in their own eras. Before we dive into the debate, we need to explore some fundamental concepts as the legacy of the pre-Qin era, which is essential for us to understand the debate of *gu wu muji*.

⁴ Sun, *Liji jijie*, vol.3, 1219, 1221. Puett, "The Offering of Food and the Creation of Order," 82-85. Wu, *Monumentality in Early Chinese Art and Architecture*, 301-302 (note 133-134).

Confucian classics set a dualistic view on souls – the *hun* soul and the *po* soul were believed to separate after a person died.⁵ The *hun* soul then goes up to the sky and the *po* soul returns to the ground.⁶ Although this model could not represent the diverse understandings of souls by ancient Chinese,⁷ I still use this dualistic narrative in my discussion about graveside rites and in-tomb sacrificing, because the core of *gu wu muji* debate was based on this dualism. More importantly, regardless of how people understood the dualistic souls defined by pre-Qin thinkers, ancestral temples and tombs were still the two sites where people showed their reverence to the ancestors. By considering these two factors, I propose, this dualistic model is still helpful for us to understand the differences in sacrificial purposes between ancestral temples or family

⁵ According to Yu Ying-Shih, the dualism of the two souls was formed in the sixth century BCE, but the concept of the *po* soul appeared earlier than that of the *hun* soul. He argues that the concept about the *po* soul may come from the southern China. Yu, *Zhongguo sixiang chuantong de xiandai quanshi*, 131-132. Yu, Ying-Shih, “O Soul, Come Back!” *Chinese History and Culture* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2016), vol.1, 62-66. In addition to Yu, there are many discussions about the *hun* soul and the *po* soul made by current scholars. Poo, Mu-Chou, *Muzang yu shengsi – Zhongguo gudai zongjiao zhi xingsi 墓葬與生死-中國古代宗教之省思* (Taipei: Lianjing chubanshe, 1993), 206, 216. Wang, Chien-Wen, “Siwang yu buxiu-Gudai Zhongguo guanyu siwang de gainian” 死亡與不朽-古典中國關於死亡的概念, *Chenggong daxue lishi xuebao* 22 (1996): 167, 172-173. Tu, Cheng-Sheng, “Xingtì, jingqi yu hunpo-Zhongguo chuantong dui ren renshi de xingcheng” 形體、精氣與魂魄-中國傳統對「人」認識的形成, *Xin shi xue* 2, no.3 (1991): 38-40. Li, Jian-Min, *Fangshu, yixue, lishi 方術 醫學 歷史* (Taipei: Nantian shuju, 2000), 11-12. Chien, Mu, *Linghun yu xin 靈魂與心* (Taipei: Lianjing chubanshe, 1976), 53-58. Huang Dongyang, “Tang ren xiaoshou suo fanying zhi hunpo yi” 唐人小說所反映之魂魄義, *Xin shiji zongjiao yanjiu* 5, no.4 (2007): 24-26.

⁶ Sun, *Liji jijie*, vol.2, 714.

⁷ Anna Seidel and Kenneth Brashier’s studies have shown concerns about taking this dualism as a universal belief in the afterlife, because this dualism fails to manifest how the concepts of souls were diversely presented in funerary writings and medical texts. Brashier, “Han Thanatology and the Division of Soul,” 125-158. Seidel, “Tokens of Immortality in Han Graves,” 107. Seidel, “Traces of Han Religion in Funeral Texts Found in Tombs,” 21-57.

shrines and tombs.⁸

The following diagram (diagram 1-1) gives a clear overview on the natures of souls defined in Confucian classics.⁹ The terms categorized in the same column had been used interchangeably to refer to either the *hun* soul or the *po* soul in the dialogues of Confucian scholars in the pre-Qin era and later.

Diagram 1-1

The <i>hun</i> soul 魂 <i>shen</i> 神 (spirit) <i>qi</i> 氣 (vital energy)	the <i>po</i> soul 魄 <i>gui</i> 鬼 (ghost) <i>ti</i> 體 <i>xing</i> 形 (body)
Rises up, shines brilliantly	Decomposes into the earth

In discussions in the *Liji*, the *hun* soul exists in a form of vital energy, whereas the *po* soul is closely related to the body. Michael Loewe has an analogy that helps us better understand the natures of the two souls:

The physical form of man, or *hsing* [xing], may be regarded as the wick and substance of the candle. Of the two spiritual elements, the *po* was regarded as being like the force that keeps the candle alight; it keeps the body alive, controlling its five organs. The other spiritual element, the *hun*, was thought to be like the light that emanates from the candle, endowing a human being with intelligence and spiritual qualities.¹⁰

⁸ Seo Tatsuhiko also uses the dualistic model of tombs and ancestral temples in his discussion on the living space and burial space in Chang'an in the Tang dynasty. Seo Tatsuhiko, “唐長安の都市生活と墓域,” 57.

⁹ The content of this diagram consults the one made by Thomas Wilson, and I revised it with some more concepts in the *Liji*. Thomas Wilson, “Spirits and the Soul in Confucian Ritual Discourse,” *Journal of Chinese Religions* 42, no.2 (2014): 196. Sun, *Liji jijie*, vol.3, 1218-1219.

¹⁰ Loewe, *Ways to paradise*, 9.

As the *po* soul has more control of the five organs when a person is alive, at the moment of death, the *po* soul will return to the ground with the body.¹¹ This concept was crucial for later Confucian scholars to relate this ground to the tomb – the space where the corpse is buried. The *po* soul was considered less important, because it is like the hair, the flesh, or the nails of the deceased, no longer containing life.¹² The *hun* soul, sometimes called *shen* 神 (spirit), is a free vital energy that “exists up above” and “can go everywhere.”¹³ For pre-Qin sages, the *hun* soul is the essence of human life because it “endows a human being with intelligence and spiritual qualities.”¹⁴ The *hun* soul became the ancestor, carried on the connection with the descendants, and was worshipped in ancestral temples.

For Confucius, both souls deserve sacrificial offerings, but the purpose of performing sacrificial rites is to teach people not to forget their past and to love their kin through practicing rituals.¹⁵ Whether the souls possess consciousness to enjoy those offerings was of little concern to Confucius, nor did he ever discuss where sacrificial rites to the *po* soul should be performed. Current scholarship has shown that

¹¹ Sun, *Liji jijie*, vol.2, 714.

¹² Qian, *Linghun yu xin*, 54.

¹³ Sun, *Liji jijie*, vol.1, 266; vol.2, 534, 714.

¹⁴ Qian, *Linghun yu xin*, 54.

¹⁵ Puett, “The Offering of Food and the Creation of Order,” 82-87.

most pre-Qin schools showed a lack of interest in the world beyond this life.¹⁶ When facing the death of others, Confucian scholars suggest grieving for the deceased, pacifying the sorrow of the living, and keeping the ancestors as part of the lineage through step-by-step rituals.¹⁷ However, these instructions fail to answer the fear of the unknown world and to console the pain of loss when death occurred. Donald Sutton and Timothy Brook both argue that Buddhist became more prevalent in Ming and Qing funerals than Confucian rites because Buddhist practices offered a visualized world that the deceased would go through, a strategy to overcome the difficulties the deceased would encounter, and ways to appease the pains of the bereaved family, all of which are insufficiently discussed in Confucian rites.¹⁸ However, Confucian rites did not remain unchanged. My subsequent discussions will show that more and more Confucian scholars in later times reinterpreted and adjusted Confucian rites to take care of people's emotional needs in the face of death.

¹⁶ Qian, *Linghun yu xin*, 55. Yu, *Zhongguo sixiang chuantong de xiandai quanshi*, 123. Zhang, *Zhongguo sangzang shi*, 27-30. Wu Zhanliang, "Zhuzi zhi guishen lunshu yi" 朱子之鬼神論述義, *Hanxue yanjiu* 31, no.4 (2013): 115. Lai, *Excavating the Afterlife*, 13. Philip Ivanhoe, "Death and Dying in the Analects," in *Mortality in Traditional Chinese Thought*, ed. Amy Olberding and Philip Ivanhoe (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2011), 137-151. Patricia Ebrey, *Confucianism and Family Rituals in Imperial China-A Social History of Writing about Rites* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1991), 16. Yu, Ying-Shih, "Life and Immortality in the Mind of Han China," *Chinese History and Culture*, vol.1, 21. Chang, "Shiqi shiji Zhongguo ruxue sixiang yu dazhong wenhua jian de chongtu," 78-79.

¹⁷ Kang Yunmei, *Zhongguo gudai siwang guan zhi tanjiu* 中國古代死亡觀之探究 (Taipei: Taiwan daxue chubanshe, 2006), 229-230.

¹⁸ Donald Sutton, "Death Rites and Chinese Culture: Standardization and Variation in Ming and Qing Times," *Modern China* 33, no.1 (2007): 125-153. Timothy Brook, "Funerary Ritual and the Building of Lineages in Late Imperial China," 491-492.

A Temple is Built for Sacrifice and A Tomb is Built for Burial

The dualistic concepts of the two souls and the spirit and the body raised by pre-Qin thinkers had been followed and elaborated upon by later scholars. Fu Chun 傅純 (?-?), a scholar official of the Jin dynasty (265-420), shows the demarcated functions of ancestral temples and tombs based on the dualism:

To make a grave and a *guo* [an outer coffin] is to conceal *xing*, and to serve it with inauspicious rites. To establish temples for distant and close ancestors is to appease *shen*, and to worship it with auspicious rites. [The burial is to] go [to the burial ground] and send off *xing*, and return with the essence [*shen*]. That is the big distinction between the tomb and the temple, and the different system of *xing* and *shen*.¹⁹

Fu's statement points out that burial is a crucial event, after that, the two souls are separated and the ways to treat them began to be different.²⁰ In Confucian burial rite such as those discussed in Sima Guang's 司馬光 (1019-1086)'s *Shu Yi (Letters and Rituals)*, after the body and the *po* soul were buried in the grave, a ceremony of engraving an ancestral tablet would be performed at the burial ground. This tablet would accommodate the *hun* soul. Since the body was buried, the *hun* soul needed another physical location, and the descendants required an object to receive their reverence.²¹ The tablet and the *hun* soul would then be escorted by the descendants

¹⁹ Zhao, *Gai yu cong ka*, 675.

²⁰ Although Fu Chun did not specify the *hun* soul and the *po* soul, the body and the spirit refer to same set of dualistic notion, as indicated in diagram 1- 1.

²¹ The origin of this practice found in Confucian classics such as the *Liji* and the *Yili*, but these classics

back to the ancestral temple or the family shrine where they would be worshipped. No more ritual arrangements were made for the *po* soul after the burial.²² A Ming scholar named Zhang Yuanzhen 張元禎 (1437-1506) succinctly concluded: “A temple is built for sacrifice and a tomb is built for burial.”²³

If people could show their reverence to their ancestors at ancestral temples or family shrines, why would they conduct graveside rites? In pre-Qin Confucian rites, the establishment of ancestral temples and the number of generations of ancestors one could serve in ancestral temples were a privilege to certain social classes.²⁴

Commoners were not allowed to build ancestral temples and could worship only their parents and grandparents at home.²⁵ If ordinary people intended to show their respect for their distant ancestors, they could only perform sacrificial rites at their tombs. This understanding is one of the reasons why Confucian scholars gave a more tolerant attitude on this unorthodox rite and were willing to incorporate it with formal practices.

prescribe the establishment of *shi* 尸 (personator), which functions similarly to the tablet in Song texts. Sun, *Liji jijie*, vol.1, 259, 290. Ruan, *Shisan jing zhushu*, vol.1, 1174. Sima, *Sima shi shuyi*, 91-92. Zhu, *jia li*, 921. Wang, *Tang hui yao*, vol.1, 439. Kleeman, “The Daoist Communal Kitchen,” in *Of Tripod and Palate*, 143.

²² In pre-Qin classics, no more ritual arrangements prepared for the *po* soul after the burial, but in Zhu Xi’s *Family Rituals*, Zhu approved the practice of graveside rites.

²³ Lang, *Qi xiu lei gao*, 253.

²⁴ Chang Jianhua’s research shows that the temple system appeared earlier than textual records. Chang Jianhua, *Zong zu zhi* 宗族志 (Shanghai: Shanghai renmin chubanshe, 1998), 56-60. Sun, *Liji jijie*, vol.1, 343.

²⁵ Chang, *Zong zu zhi*, 62. Wei Zhao, *Guo yu* 國語 (Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1929), vol.4, 4b.

However, when we explore examples of practicing graveside rites, we can see that the observations of Confucian scholars were not exactly accurate.

Even people who were eligible to build ancestral temples performed graveside rites.²⁶ This contrast to prescriptions in Confucian texts and the scholarly observations suggests that graves meant more than just a burial site, and graveside rites were not performed as a compensation for not being able to build ancestral temples. Scholars believe construction remains found above tombs by archaeologists are the buildings built to conduct graveside rites (Figure 6-1), and archaeological evidence shows us that this practice can be traced back to as early as the Shang dynasty.²⁷ As I discussed in chapter three, the residential palaces and the Hall of Heavenly Favors were buildings used for imperial graveside rites. Similar constructions for non-imperial classes are

²⁶ According to Kan, Huai-Chen's research, he argues, even though the *Liji* prescribes the protocol of ancestral temples, sacrificial practices at the imperial mausoleums were more important than that at the temples. Only until the Wei and Jin dynasties did the system of building ancestral temples become stable. In Chang Jianhua's study, in the Tang dynasty, the protocol of ancestral temples regulated in the *Liji* was coded in official ritual policy. Kan, Huai-Chen, *Tang dai jiamiao lizhi yanjiu* 唐代家廟禮制研究 (Taipei: Taiwan shangwu yinshuguan, 1991), 16. Chang, *Zong zu zhi*, 72.

²⁷ Zhongguo shehui kexueyuan kaogu yanjiusuo. ed., *Yinxu fuhao mu* 殷墟婦好墓 (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1980), 4-6. Ma Dezhi, ed., "1953 nian qiu Anyang Da sikong cun fajue baogao" 1953 年秋安陽大司空村發掘報告, *Kaogu xuebao*, no.9 (1955): 25-40. Wang Shimin, "Zhongguo chunqiu zhanguo shidai de zhongmu" 中國春秋戰國時代的塚墓, *Kaogu*, no.5 (1981): 459-466; Yang Hongxun, "Zhanguo zhongshan wangling zaoyutu yanjiu" 戰國中山王陵兆域圖研究, *Kaogu xuebao*, no1. (1980), 119-138; Yang Hongxun, "Guanyu Qindai yiqian mushang jianzhu de wenti" 於秦代以前墓上建築的問題, *Kaogu*, no.4 (1982), 402-406. Yang, *Zhongguo gudai lingqin zhidushi yanjiu*, 23, 30-36. Sofukawa, Hiroshi and Chang Lan, "Lingmu zhidu he linghunguan" 陵墓制度和靈魂觀, *Wenbo* 文博, no.2 (1989), 34-38; Wu, "From Temple to Tomb," 78-115. de Groot, *The Religious System of China*, vol. 2, 380-388.

usually called *muji* 墓祠 (tomb shrine).²⁸ Not every family or clan had the wealth to build a tomb shrine, so a visit to the grave with sacrificial offerings also counted as performing graveside rites.

Both textual records and archaeological evidence have shown that, since the Eastern Han dynasty, graveside rites enjoyed great popularity among different social classes. Its pervasiveness had not waned, even though beginning in the Song dynasty more commoners began to build their family shrines.²⁹ The reason graveside rites could not be replaced by temple rites or shrine rites will be discussed in subsequent sections, as a way to interpret how the interest of conducting sacrificial rites turned underground in the Ming dynasty.

The History of the *Gu wu muji* Debate before the Ming Dynasty

To know the history and the development of *gu wu muji* debate is crucial for us to explore how Confucian scholars in the Ming dynasty responded to this legacy. More

²⁸ Graveside rites were not always conducted at the family-built tomb shrine. In the Song and Yuan dynasties, it was more popular to conduct ancestral rituals at a Buddhist temple nearby the tomb of the ancestors. Patricia Ebrey, "The Early Stages in the Development of Descent Group," 23. Szonyi Michael, *Practicing Kinship: Lineage and Descent in Late Imperial China*, 94. Ho, *Xianghuo*, 48-55. Endo Takatoshi, "Song Yuan zongzu de fenmu he citang," 63-77.

²⁹ *Yingtang* 影堂 (image hall), instead of the family shrine, is the more specific term to be used here. Family shrine and *yingtang* had the same functions, but people used portraits, not ancestral tablet to represent their ancestors in *yingtang*. Therefore, *yingtang* was considered less orthodox by Song literati. See Hong, "Changing Roles of the Tomb Portrait," 216-219.

importantly, how their responses bring light to our understandings on the practice of in-tomb sacrificing that is absent from textual evidence.

The discussion of *gu wu muji* was first found in the writings of Cai Yong 蔡邕 (132-192), much later than the earliest archeological evidence of graveside rites. After Cai participated in a sacrificial ceremony at the imperial mausoleum in 173, he wrote down his concerns about this imperial practice:

I heard that there were no graveside rites in ancient times. Now the court has the rites conducted at the imperial mausoleums, and that can be a violation [of the canonical Confucian rites]. Today, I saw the rites, and studied the original intentions [of performing it]. I realized that it was because of the Xiaoming Emperor's extreme filial piety and love [to his ancestors]. His persistence cannot be ignored easily.³⁰

Cai considers the practice of graveside rites as a violation of the canonical Confucian rites, even though he expresses his understanding of the emperor's filial piety. In other words, the dualistic model about where to perform sacrifice to the souls was strict to Cai Yong.³¹ We see that even the emperor, who was eligible to build seven Imperial Ancestral Temples to sacrifice to seven generations of his ancestors, still considered

³⁰ Cai Yi, *Duduan* 獨斷 (Taipei: Taiwan Shangwu yinshuguan, 1965), 21.

³¹ Yang Kuan and Wu Hung argue that political purposes are the cause of the practice of graveside rites in the Eastern Han dynasty. Wu Hung further suggests that imperial mausoleums played a more important role than temples, but Lai Gonglong argues that Wu's observation was based on the unbalanced excavations on ancient tombs and homes. Since we have fewer archaeological sources about homes, we are unable to know how ancestor worship was practiced within households. Wu, "From Temple to Tomb," 78-115. Yang, *Zhongguo linqi zhidu shi*, 181. Lai, *Excavating the Afterlife*, 63, 211 (note 48).

that graveside rites mattered.³² The practice of graveside rites by the Han emperors became a precedent followed by subsequent dynasties, but the status of graveside rites was still ambiguous. As examples given in chapter three show, before the Ming dynasty, graveside rites were never incorporated into the three-level ranking system of imperial sacrificial rites. Ordinary food, instead of sacrificial victims, was offered at the imperial mausoleums because they were not the orthodox place to show veneration to the imperial ancestors.

After Cai Yong commenced the discussion of *gu wu muji*, the next remarkable change was in the Tang dynasty, and the focus was turned to the practice of commoners. In 732, the government approved the existing custom of tomb sweeping – commoners were allowed to sweep their ancestors’ tombs and to offer sacrifices at tomb gates during the Cold Food Festival.³³ The edict explains why the government acknowledged the validity of tomb sweeping:

Visiting tombs on the Cold Food festival found no basis in ancient ritual; the custom has gradually appeared in recent decades. If *shi* 士 [gentlemen] and commoners are not permitted to sacrifice to their ancestors at ancestral temples,

³² Sun, *Liji jijie*, vol.1, 343.

³³ The Cold Food Festival was later replaced by the Tomb-Sweeping Day. As I stated in chapter three, in the Ming dynasty, the Tomb-Sweeping Day was one of the three important occasions to offer sacrifices at the imperial mausoleums. You Biao, “Songdai de zongzu citing jisi jiqita” 宋代的宗族祠堂、祭祀及其他, *Zhongguo lishixue qianyan* 34, no.2 (2007): 325. Ding Shuangshuang, “Tang Song shiqi minjian de sangzang xiaofei xisu” 唐宋時期民間的喪葬消費習俗 (MA Thesis, Hebei Normal University, 2002), 23. Tonami Mamoru, *Sui Tang fojiao wenhua* 隋唐佛教文化, trans. Han Sheng and Liu Jianying (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2004), 83-86.

how can they demonstrate their filial piety? It is reasonable to allow them to visit tombs to practice the sweeping ritual, to display the sacrificial goods outside of tomb gates, and to say farewell to their ancestors with tears.³⁴

The choice of words in this Tang edict is intriguing. Instead of specifying offering sacrificial goods at tombs, the edict says to place them outside tomb gates. This indicates that what the descendants should perform at tombs was annual clean-up, not sacrificing. This text suggests that, for the Tang government, the legitimacy of customary practice was negotiable, though the canonical rituals could not be sabotaged. However, in actual practice, as Patricia Ebrey's research has shown, graveside rites had been widely practiced and became an important way to strengthen cohesion among descent groups.³⁵ What this Tang edict shows us is the importance of filial piety and emotions that were recognized by the government – the highest executor of Confucian rites.

This Tang dynasty edict's acknowledgment of tomb sweeping again reinforces our impression that tomb sweeping only serves as compensation to the unfairness caused by ritual hierarchy. However, this thought is misleading if we look into the practices in the Song dynasty. Constructing a family shrine as part of commoners' family rituals had been encouraged by Song Neo-Confucians, such as Chen Yi 程頤 (1033-1107) and Zhu

³⁴ Xiao, *Da Tang kai yuan li*, juan 54, 386. Du You, *Tong Dian* 通典 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1985), 1451.

³⁵ Ebrey, *Early Stages of Descent Group Organization*, 22

Xi, and carried out by contemporaries.³⁶ The practice of graveside rites had also surged to a peak, and it had been put into practice not only among commoners but also those social classes who always enjoyed the privilege of honoring their ancestors in the ancestral temples.³⁷ This phenomenon shows us that the functions of ancestral temples or family shrines and tombs were different for people who practiced both of them.

The Song dynasty witnessed rich discussions on the topic of graveside rites, and many of the concepts were cited by Ming Confucian scholars to elaborate their views. Although graveside rites were vehemently opposed by some ritualists such as Sima Guang,³⁸ many scholars acknowledged that, even though the rites were conducted at the wrong place, the intention of showing reverence to one's ancestors was still important. Ebrey's research best describes this change in scholars' minds – Neo-Confucians in the Song dynasty did not promote graveside rites, but only tried to accommodate them.³⁹

Many Confucian-trained literati in the Song dynasty could not hide their true

³⁶ Zhu Xi, ed., *Henan Cheng shi yishu* 河南程氏遺書 (Taipei: Taiwan Shangwu chubanshe, 1968), 264. Wang Shanjun, "Songdai de zongzu jisi he zuxian chongbai" 宋代的宗族祭祀和祖先崇拜, *Zhongguo minjian zongjiao yanjiu*, no.3 (1999): 117. Hong, "Changing Roles of the Tomb Portrait," 218.

³⁷ Song Sanping, "Shilun Songdai muji" 試論宋代墓祭, *Jiangxi shehui kexue*, no.6 (1989): 104-107, 62. Ho, *Xianghuo*, 55-56.

³⁸ Sima, *Sima shi shu yi*, 113-123. Zheng Qiao, *Tongzhi* 通志 (Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1935), 1441. Wei Ti, *Liji jishuo* 禮記集說 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1988), 20. Sima Guang, *Sima Wengong wenji* 司馬溫公文集 (Taipei: Taiwan Shangwu yinshuguan, 1967), 300.

³⁹ Ebrey, "Early Stages of Descent Group Organization," 23.

sentiments when describing their visit to the burial ground for conducting graveside rites. As Chen Xiang 陳襄 (1017-1080) says,

I told my father and brother(s) that I will visit their tombs during the spring and the fall seasons; sacrificing to them with rites makes them alive in my memory.⁴⁰

Chen Xiang was not alone; similar descriptions can be found in essays written for commemorating the establishments of tomb shrines or the visits to them.⁴¹ The role of emotions was not only expressed in literary writings; we can also see how Neo-Confucians had gradually incorporated this concern into rites. Unlike Cai Yong's apprehension, Cheng Yi and Zhu Xi both agree that the expression of one's emotion should not be considered as sabotaging the rituals.⁴²

Zhu Xi's acceptance of graveside rites is reflected in his instructions on how to perform death rituals. In the section of sacrificial rites in the *Family Rituals*, graveside rites were included in the section of "Sacrificial Rites," as the seasonal sacrificing at the family shrine. Zhu Xi's intermingling of graveside rites into one of the formal rites was an affirmative acknowledgement of this unorthodox practice. Adopting this customary practice conforms to Zhu Xi's purpose of writing the *Family Rituals*, which makes

⁴⁰ Chen Xiang, *Gu ling ji* 古靈集 (Taipei: Taiwan Shangwu yinshuguan, 1972), 4-5. Wang Yuzhi, *Zhouli dingyi* 周禮訂義 (Taipei: Taiwan Shangwu yinshuguan, 1983), 609 a. Ebrey, "Early Stages of Descent Group Organization," 24-25.

⁴¹ Zhang Shi, *Nan xuan ji* 南軒集 (Taipei: Taiwan Shangwu yinshuguan, 1983), 585b-586a. Yang Weizhen, *Dong wei zi ji* 東維子集 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1987), 558b-559a. Yang Weizhen is a Yuan scholar, but what I refer to his statement is his observation on Song practices.

⁴² Zhu, *Henan Cheng shi yishu*, 265.

Confucian rituals close to people's needs.⁴³ The way to practice graveside rites, as Zhu Xi suggested, is similar to but simpler than the rites practiced at the family shrine.⁴⁴ Most importantly, these rites were precisely indicated to be performed at tombs, not just tomb gates. A Ming scholar Qiu Jun (1421-1495) praised Zhu Xi's recognition on graveside rites by saying,

Graveside rites are not an ancient practice, but is it appropriate to perform them? Wen gong (Zhu Xi)'s *Family Rituals* includes graveside rites after seasonal sacrifices and the ceremonies for death anniversaries. It conforms to people's emotions and corresponds to the meanings of rituals.⁴⁵

Qiu Jun is well known for editing the *Rituals of Wen gong (Zhu Xi)'s Family Rituals*, and his *Rituals* had been widely published in the sixteenth century by the central and local governments.⁴⁶ Qiu approved of this practice as the essence of rituals, an even stronger endorsement than that of Song Confucians who only tried to accommodate graveside rites. As we will see in the next section, such validating the practice of graveside rites was frequently been presented in the writings of Ming literati.

A Ming Interpretation: the *Hun* Soul Can Go Anywhere

We see two major changes in scholarly attitudes toward graveside rites in the

⁴³ Ho, *Mingdai shishen yu tongsu wenhua*, 48, 153-155.

⁴⁴ Zhu, *jia li*, 945-946. Ho, *Xianghuo*, 93.

⁴⁵ Qiu, *Da xue yan yi bu*, juan 52, 7a.

⁴⁶ Ho, *Xianghuo*, 180, 200-202. Ho, *Mingdai shishen yu tongsu wenhua*, 160. Ebrey, *Confucianism and Family Rituals in Imperial China*, 173.

Ming dynasty. First, those Ming scholars elaborated that the *hun* soul would probably visit the tomb as well, because the body was where the *hun* soul used to reside.⁴⁷ This new explanation on the souls could be another reason to practice graveside rites. Secondly, the practice of graveside rites became a merit of the deceased to be remembered. These new understandings on the practice of graveside rites do not suggest that Ming literati were no longer opposed to graveside rites. Scholars like Chen Que (1604-1677) and Gu Yanwu (1613-1682) still called graveside rites unorthodox or unnecessary.⁴⁸

In an essay Xu Yikui 徐一夔 (1315-1400) wrote for a family surnamed Tang to commemorate the building of their tomb shrine, he says:

The tomb is where the body and the *po* soul are buried. This chosen site was embraced by mountains and rivers, has intact and solid geomancy, and has flourishing pines and cypress trees. The *hun* soul will certainly join them here.⁴⁹

In the beginning of his essay, Xu praised the practice of graveside rites as an option for those who were ineligible to build their ancestral temples or family shrines because of their social status. Then he challenges the static model that the *hun* soul goes to the

⁴⁷ This interpretation on the dualistic model was less apparent in the writings of the Song dynasty, but began in the narratives of Yuan scholars. Chang Jianhua, “Yuandai muzi jizu wenti chutan” 元代墓祠祭祖問題初探, in *Shehui wenti de lishikaocha*, ed. Zhao Qing (Sichuan: Chengdu chubanshe, 1992), 67-75.

⁴⁸ Chen, *Chen que ji*, 510. Similar case found in Tang Guifang, *Bai yun ji* 白雲集 (Taipei: Taiwan Shangwu yinshuguan, 1983), 883.

⁴⁹ Xu Yikui, *Shi feng gao* 始豐稿 (Shanghai: Shanghai guju chubanshe, 1987), 199-200. Similar case found in Chen Wude, *Xie shan cun gao* 謝山存稿 (Jinan: Qilu shushe, 1997), 492.

ancestral temple or the family shrine and the *po* soul stays in the tomb. The *hun* soul would be attracted by the beauty of nature surrounding the burial ground and would join the body and the *po* soul there. Fang Xiaoru's 方孝孺 (1357-1402) understanding on the mobility of the *hun* soul gives us a clear explanation why the *hun* soul would go to the burial site:

There is nowhere that the *hun* soul cannot go. How can we only perform sacrifices at the ancestral temple, but not at the tomb?⁵⁰

Fang Xiaoru turns the canonical interpretation to another way. For pre-Qin thinkers, the *hun* soul can go anywhere, but this “anywhere” seemed not to include tombs.⁵¹ This exclusion was again expounded by later scholars. Back to Fu Chun's statement that talks about different functions of ancestral temples and tombs in the Jin dynasty, he continued strengthening his argument by saying “no performing graveside rite at the tomb, because it is clear that the *shen* is not there.”⁵² This “anywhere” therefore is confined to where the ancestral tablet would be. In contrast, Fang Xiaoru's point frees the *hun* soul from its connection to the ancestral tablet and the ancestral temple or the family shrine, and gives a broader definition that includes the tomb in the “anywhere”

⁵⁰ Fang Xiaoru, *Xunzhi zhai ji* 遜志齋集 (Ningpo: Ningpo chubanshe, 2000), 498-499.

⁵¹ Ruan, *Shisan jing zhushu*, 1457.

⁵² Zhao, *Gai yu cong kao*, 676. Song scholars also has similar discussions. See Zhu, ed., *Henan Cheng shi yishu*, 60. Hu Hong, *Wu feng ji* 五峰集 (Taipei: Taiwan Shangwu yinshuguan, 1983), 196. Liu Shu, *Zizhi tongjian waiji* 資治通鑑外紀 (Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1929), vol.2, 2.

that the *hun* soul could go.⁵³

This new interpretation of the *hun* soul and the tombs stimulates new anxiety, as

Wang Xing 王行 (1331-1395) says:

The heart of the filial son does not know where the *shen* is, so he looks for it broadly. He is worried that the *shen* could be here, or it could be there. As for the hidden place of the ancestors' body and the *po* soul, how would one know whether the *shen* might sometimes be here?⁵⁴

Lu Rong's 陸容 (1426-1494)'s note further breaks the boundaries between the dualistic

model:

The *zhu* [ancestral tablet] is inscribed after the burial, so people said that the parents' *shen* and *hun* would then be connected to the ancestral tablet. Thereafter, in any occasion that requires offering sacrifices, the ancestral tablet represents the honored and beloved ones. However, the wood that was used to make the ancestral tablet is not related to the beloved *shen* and *hun* I am familiar with. Rituals should be where people's mind belongs. Parents' bodies and the *po* souls accommodate the *shen* and the *hun* souls during their life time. How would you know that, after the *po* soul is buried, the *shen* and the *hun* souls would not still connect to it? The *po* soul has fixed existence, whereas the *hun* soul does not.⁵⁵

These passages expand the legitimacy of performing graveside rites by incorporating

the *hun* soul with the tomb, the body, and the *po* soul. The filial descendants worried

that the *hun* soul could not enjoy the sacrifices performed at the ancestral temple or the

⁵³ Similar statement found in Zhu, *Lidai lingqin beikao*, 95-97. Xu Ying, *Wang ji lu* 罔輯錄, in *Zeng bu Si ku wei shou shu shu lei gu ji da quan, Di liu ji, Kan yu ji cheng* 增補四庫未收術數類古籍大全 第六集 堪輿集成, ed. Liu Zhiming (Yangzhou shi: Jiangsu guangling guji yinkeshe, 1997), 9672.

⁵⁴ Wang Xing, *Ban xuan ji* 半軒集 (Shanghai: Shanghai guju chubanshe, 1987), 341-342.

⁵⁵ Lu Rong, *Shu yuan za ji* 菽園雜記 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1985), vol. 2, 138.

family shrine while it visits or stays in the tomb.⁵⁶ Emotions to the beloved deceased still played a crucial role here because, in the eyes of these commentators, the orthodox way of using the ancestral tablet failed to recall people's memory about their ancestors.

A Ming Interpretation: Practicing Graveside Rites as a Merit

In the Ming dynasty, the practice of graveside rites began to be considered as a virtuous act. The evidence comes from the fact that the practice of graveside rites was recorded in epitaphs. The way to compose an epitaph shows a procedure how the merits of the deceased were selected, embellished, preserved, and circulated. This process of fashioning the deceased in an estimable way allows us to explore how the meaning of practicing graveside rites extended beyond a customary and emotional fulfillment but became a virtue to be remembered.

Wang Shizhen 王世貞 (1526-1590), one of the leading figures in late Ming literary circles, wrote an epitaph for an official surnamed Pan in 1582:

⁵⁶ The concept of the free soul that travels between family shrines, tombs, and elsewhere can be found in Song anecdotes, which indicates that this belief was probably not strange to commoners. However, in the meantime, Song Confucian scholars rarely acknowledged the flexible understanding of the *po* soul. Hong Mai, *Yi jian zhi* 夷堅志 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1981), vol.1, 125; vol.3, 1329. Chen Jinguo, *Xinyang, yishi yu xiangtu shehui-fengshui de lishi renleixue tansuo* 信仰 儀式與鄉土社會-風水的歷史人類學探索 (Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe, 2005), 488-489.

(Mr. Pan) had sparse lands, so he donated them [to his clan] to pay for the offerings of graveside rites.⁵⁷

I argue that Pan's donation was considered as a virtue because this act was selected by his descendants to represent him in the biographical draft that served as a reference for Wang Shizhen to complete the epitaph. Wang Shizhen was commissioned to polish this draft with his talent in writing and his fame.⁵⁸ The final version of an epitaph would be engraved on a slab to bury with the deceased, be preserved in genealogy to be remembered, and be compiled in both the author and the deceased's collected works to be published, circulated and read by readers who were not necessarily related to the deceased.⁵⁹ Because of knowing this essay would be passed down and circulated, the bereaved family would probably choose the deeds that show no big contrast to the "exemplars" and "models" that meet the expectations of the society in general.⁶⁰

⁵⁷ Wang Shizhen, *Yanzhou shanren xu gao* 弇州山人續稿 (Taipei: Wenhai chubanshe, 1970), vol.13, 6409. As early as in the Song and Yuan dynasties, people began to turn surplus from the harvest of lands belonging to their family or clan to defray the expense of graveside and shrine rites. See Chang Jianhua, "Yuandai muzi jizu wenti chutan," 67-75. Ho, *Xianghuo*, 32, Szonyi, *Practicing Kinship*, 94. Ming case found in Li Mengyang, *Kong tong ji* 空同集 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1991), 443. Tang Shunzhi, *Jing chuan ji* 荆川集 (Taipei: Taiwan Shangwu yinshuguan, 1983), juan 8, 376.

⁵⁸ This approach was a popular way of honoring the dead in the Ming dynasty. Katherine Carlitz, "Lovers, Talkers, Monsters, and Good Women: Concepting Images in Mid-Ming Epitaphs and Fiction," in *Beyond Exemplar Tales: Women's Biography in Chinese History*, ed. Joan Judge and Ying Hu (Berkeley, Calif.: University of California Press, 2011), 178. In the Tang and Song dynasties, epitaph essays were more often written by family members. See Beverly Bossler, "Fantasies of Fidelity: Loyal Courtesans to Faithful Wives," in *Beyond Exemplar Tales*, 161, 326 (note14). Xu Man, *Crossing the Gate*, 167. Lu, Chien-Lung, *Bei Wei Tang Song siwang wenhua shi* 北魏唐宋死亡文化史 (Taipei: Maitian chubanshe, 2006), 49-50.

⁵⁹ The publicity of epitaph was not a Ming feature, but started with the Tang and Song dynasties. See Xu Man, *Crossing the Gate*, 167. Lu, *Bei Wei Tang Song siwang wenhua shi*, 49-50.

⁶⁰ Scholars have agreed that epitaphs can be viewed as a memorial culture, which "converts the dead into a stable stereotype... with known exemplars as well as molded to fit Confucian prescriptions and classicist cliché." The concept of "memorial culture" was proposed by Brashier in his study of Eastern

Not only did the deed of donating the lands for graveside rites count as a merit, performing graveside rites also worked the same way. Shao Bao 邵寶 (1460-1527) wrote an epitaph for Zou Weizhu 鄒諱祝 (1432-1515), which says,

He served his parents with filial piety. As for their funerals and burials, he consulted Zhu Zi's [Zhu Xi] *Family Rituals* for minor details. Later, after offering food during seasonal sacrifices at the family shrine and the tomb, he continued to weep.⁶¹

In this passage, we see graveside rites were parallel to the practices at the family shrines. To show Zou's filial piety, the practice of graveside rites was not ignored.

As graveside rites gradually became an indispensable part of ancestral sacrificial rites, scholars like Gu Yanwu criticized the practice by saying, "literati do not build family temples; they only focus on graveside rites."⁶² Xia Liangsheng 夏良勝 (? -?), who lived in the sixteenth century, made a similar statement in the preface of his family's genealogy. He mentioned that his family had land to support graveside rites. However, he insisted to build a family shrine and instructed that shrine rites needed to

Han grave stela, but this notion also explains the feature of epitaphs in general. Kenneth Brashier, "Text and Ritual in Early Chinese Stelae," in *Text and Ritual in Early China*, ed. Martin Kern (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2005), 274. Yao Ping, "Women's Epitaphs in Tang China (618-907)," in *Beyond Exemplar Tales*, 139.

⁶¹ Shao Bao, *Rong chun tang ji* 容春堂集 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1991), 273. Similar cases found in other epitaph essays collected such as in Shao Bao, *Rong chun tang ji*, 198, 273, 768, 786 and Cheng Minzheng, *Xinan wenxian zhi* 新安文獻志 (Hefei: Huangshan shushe, 2004), vol. 3, 2182-2183.

⁶² Gu Yanwu, *Tianxia junguo libing shu* 天下郡國利病書 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2011), 1655. Cheng, *Xinan wenxian zhi*, vol.3, 2182-2183. Zong Chen, *Zong Zixiang ji* 宗子相集 (Taipei: Weiwen tushu chubanshe, 1976), vol.2, 831.

be carried out in addition to graveside rites.⁶³ These disapprovals on graveside rites serve as a piece of counter evidence that shows graveside rites were indeed popular. Along with such critiques, some scholars argued that the practice of graveside rites should not be condemned, but be encouraged:

So, even those who favor the ancient rites and insist to practice them cannot condemn them [graveside rites].⁶⁴

Therefore, those who take graveside rites as a violation of ritual and refuse to practice the rites confine themselves to the correctness of ancient practice and forget their parents. To practice tomb sacrificing does no harm.⁶⁵

The preface of the collection of the Li's family sacrifices and the record (*ji* 記) of the Jiang family's ancestral tombs both show a reverent attitude toward graveside rites and sweeping. Men with virtues are not forgetting their ancestors, and such sincerity should be remembered by later generations and the custom of graveside rites should be encouraged.⁶⁶

The above statements show an encouraging tone toward the practice of graveside rites, and this attitude conformed to the recognition of taking graveside rites as a merit. This change could relate to the ways Ming scholars reinterpreted the mobility of the *hun* soul. Confining oneself to practice rituals in ancient way was considered inflexible and

⁶³ Xia Liangsheng, *Dong Zhou chu gao* 東洲初稿 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1993), 844, 848.

⁶⁴ Tang, *Jing chuan ji*, juan 8, 376.

⁶⁵ Lu Rong, *Shu yuan za ji* 菽園雜記 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1985), vol. 2, 138.

⁶⁶ Wang Zhi, *Yi an wen ji* 抑菴文集 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1987), 375. Other examples that show us the importance of emotions for practicing graveside rites found in Xu, *Shi feng gao*, 199-200, 246-247. Xu Youzhen, *Wu gong ji* 武功集 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1991), 151-152. Zhang Huang, *Tu shu bian* 圖書編 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1992), 376-378. Lu, *Si li yi*, 102b.

even worse, blameworthy, because such insistence weighted more on the correctness of protocol, not the care for one's ancestors. The practice of graveside rites therefore became a virtue and a necessity to show filial piety to one's ancestors.

Chang Jianhua's research on the development of clans also shows that the practice of graveside rites was more acceptable in Ming China because people valued the expressions of emotions to the buried dead.⁶⁷ Chang made an inspiring observation that the functions of tomb shrines were similar to family shrines in the Ming dynasty.⁶⁸ The similarity includes the layout of the constructions, the ways of the managements, and the usage of this space – that is to gather clan members and to restate the house rules or clan rules to these members during the sacrificial seasons.⁶⁹ By quoting Chang's words, tomb shrines, therefore, could be viewed as a type of family shrines in the Ming dynasty.⁷⁰ Chang Jianhua's study strengthens my analysis on the attitude towards the practice of graveside rites in the Ming dynasty. Tombs were a space not

⁶⁷ Chang, *Mingdai zongzu yanjiu*, 449, 452. Chang, *Zong zu zhi*, 96. 99-101. Also found in Ho, *Xianghuo*, 135.

⁶⁸ Many scholars including Chang Jianhua argue that the trend of building tomb shrines had declined in the Ming dynasty because the construction of family shrines became the major means of worshipping ancestors. These studies are mostly based on textual evidence. In my research, I am interested in exploring people's attitude toward the buried dead and the tombs through both textual and archaeological sources. So, I do not consider this research of Ming family shrines in conflict with my argument. Endo Takatoshi, "Song Yuan zongzu de fenmu he citang," 72, 74. Chang, *Mingdai zongzu yanjiu*, 449, 452. Chang, *Zong zu zhi*, 96. 99-101. Ho, *Xianghuo*, 135.

⁶⁹ Chang, *Mingdai zongzu yanjiu*, 449, 451-452, 455. This phenomenon gradually appeared in the Yuan dynasty, Ho, *Xianghuo*, 55-69. Ho, Shu-Yi also points out that some families had both the family shrine and the tomb shrine, so she suggests that these two constructions may function differently for those families. Ho, *Xianghuo*, 322-333. Chang, *Mingdai zongzu yanjiu*.

⁷⁰ Chang, *Mingdai zongzu yanjiu*, 452.

inferior to family shrines in terms of bridging the ancestors and the descendants. No matter why people practiced graveside rites, tombs and the buried deceased were irreplaceable for people to show reverence to their forefathers.

In the Ming dynasty, we see a flexible understanding of the dualistic explanations of the souls among scholars. This perspective could stimulate a more equal role between tombs and family shrines, because the *hun* soul could also join the body and the *po* soul in the tomb. The significance of graveside rites therefore should not be diminished. The practice of graveside rites was encouraged and was regarded as a virtue to be broadcasted. The changes in attitude towards graveside rites reflect the changes in emotions to the deceased, as will be discussed subsequently. These changes bring light to my discussions on the meaning of in-tomb sacrificing – a similar concern to the buried dead but the worshipping was turned underground to tomb chamber(s).

Changing Emotions

To conclude this chapter, I will discuss how the acceptance to graveside rites helps us understand the practice of in-tomb sacrificing in the Ming dynasty. The changing attitude that justifies the necessity of practicing graveside rites is the key, but I do not propose any cause and effect between the encouragement of graveside rites and the

practice of in-tomb sacrificing because of the lack of evidence. What these two changes have in common is that they both serve the deceased with sacrificial rites. Sacrificial rites whether they are physical or symbolic, with or without the presence of descendants, reconnected the two worlds separated by death and removed tombs from the realm excluded from ritual significance. Behind the changes of ritual practices and attitudes was the emphasis on emotions to the beloved deceased, and most importantly, I argue, the emotions had been redefined in the Ming dynasty as well.

From the methods of building vertical pit tombs and the burial manuals composed by Ming literati like Wang Wenlu (1532-1605) and Che Que (1604-1677), we find an intense care for the corpse. In other words, even though the corpse was buried and no longer seen by the descendants, it still represented the physical presence of the beloved dead and was part of the memory when descendants thought about their ancestor. Any harmful damage to the corpse was therefore unbearable. Two examples from previous times show us how the focus of emotions had changed in the Ming dynasty. For pre-Qin thinkers, the purpose of burial, to protect the body from becoming food for animals in the wild, took cognizance of the emotions of the filial son.⁷¹ However, what

⁷¹ Kang, *Zhongguo gudai siwang guan zhi tanjiu*, 119-230. Mencius, *Mencius*, trans. Irene Bloom (New York: Columbia University Press, 2009), 60. Lu Buwei, ed., *Lüshi chun qiu* 吕氏春秋 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1991), 244. Sun, *Liji jijie*, vol.1, 227.

would have happened in tombs after the burial was not the focus of discussions.⁷² In the Han dynasty, a method to preserve the body was to plug orifices of the body with jade objects, or to the extreme, to dress the corpse in jade suit.⁷³ For ancient Chinese, jade was the hardest and the most precious stone on earth. This nature of jade made people relates it to eternity, and jade was used for burial in order to transform this nature to the body. The body, therefore, was believed to be able to escape from decomposition, so the deceased could reach to the level of immortality.⁷⁴ Through such comparisons, we can see how the concepts of burial and the preservation of the corpse had different focuses in the Ming dynasty. The corpse deserved strong care from the living in Ming practices, whereas in these early rituals, the burial arrangements indicate that the buried ones would enter the phases that were not involved with participations of their living descendants such as transcending to immortality.

The changes of burial methods in the household of the Prince of Yi in the Ming

⁷² In a pre-Qin annals, the *Lüshi chun qiu*, the author mentioned the similar concept such as “a good coffin and vault will keep out insects and worms” that can be found in the burial manuals composed by Ming scholars. However, the approach conducted by this author’s contemporaries, such as the method of “[the coffin and vault] are surrounded on the outside by stacks of stones and charcoal” that kept water and insects away from the coffin was criticized by the author of the *Lüshi chun qiu* as a luxurious act. So, these similar methods were perceived differently by people of different time periods. Qian, *Linghun yu xin*, 54-55. Lu, *Lüshi chun qiu*, 244-245, 247. *The Annals of Lu Buwei*, Trans. John Knoblock and Jeffrey K. Riegel (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press 2000), 228, 229.

⁷³ Wu Hung has discussed other ways of preserving the body in different time periods. Wu, *The Art of the Yellow Springs*, 127-148.

⁷⁴ Wu Hung, “The Prince of Jade Revisited: The Material Symbolism of Jade as Observed in Mancheng Tombs,” in *Chinese Jades*, ed. Rosemary Scott (London: School of Oriental & African Studies, 1997), 147-169. In Loewe’s research, he argues that the usage of stuffing body orifices with jade is to prevent the *po* soul from escaping the body. See Loewe, *Ways to Paradise*, 12.

dynasty show us the concerns about the buried dead in archaeological and textual evidence together. As I discussed in chapter one, building a horizontal tomb was sometimes a symbol of higher status in Ming ritual hierarchy. However, in the late sixteenth century, when the fourth generation of the Prince of Yi reopened his grandmother's tomb in today's Jiangxi Province to bury his grandfather, the Prince of the third generation, he found "the coffin was filled with water and ants, and his heart was in great pain."⁷⁵ He found similar damages to the coffins when he reburied the Prince of the second generation and his wives. Archaeological findings show us that, by using the original horizontal tomb(s) for his forefathers' reburial, the Prince of Yi commanded the coffins be sealed with cement liner as part of procedure to make a vertical pit tomb insect and waterproof. Archaeological evidence further demonstrates that this Prince of Yi and his descendants gave up horizontal tombs but chose vertical pit tombs for their own burials.⁷⁶

Although vertical pit tombs were prescribed as commoner's tomb type in Ming ritual code, building a vertical pit tomb was not low-cost. An epitaph composed in 1602 for a commoner named Xu Shangxian 徐尚賢 (1524-?) was found in today's Shanghai.

⁷⁵ Wenwu chubanshe, *Jiangxi Mingdai fanwang mu*, 132.

⁷⁶ Wenwu chubanshe, *Jiangxi Mingdai fanwang mu*, 87-88, 122-123, 131-148, 156-163. Liu, *Mingdai diwang lingmu zhidu yanjiu*, 316.

This epitaph contains a precious record of the cost of building a vertical pit tomb:

I had my grave pit built by using ninety *dan* of ash, eight hundred *jin* 斤 of wine, and three hundred laborers. This grave is covered with one stone slab which costs four *yin* 銀 [taels of silver], and then I used one hundred laborers, they ate a thousand *jin* of meat. The total cost is one hundred *yin*.⁷⁷

One hundred *yin* was a five-year salary for a well-paid worker who served the Ministry of Works during the late Ming,⁷⁸ approximately when this epitaph was written. By using these two examples, I show that the attempt to preserve the corpse in good condition was a worthy investment, either through giving up one's privilege or spending substantial amount of money. The motivation behind these two cases speaks to the concerns reflected in the burial manuals. Although the writings of burial manuals were much later than the practices of actual burials, from the interments we could tell that the concept had not merely circulated in scholarly circles. The treatments to the corpse resonate with the designs of tomb space, which sheds light on the shared concerns that were presented in the practice of graveside rites and in-tomb sacrificing in the Ming dynasty.

As I discussed in chapter one, tombs were designed to meet what the deceased may need, which was envisioned by the living. Tomb murals and burial objects found

⁷⁷ Zhongguo wenhua yichan yanjiuyuan, ed., *Xin Zhongguo chutu muzhi (Shanghai, Tianjin)* 新中國出土墓志 (上海, 天津) (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 2009), vol.1, 142.

⁷⁸ Gao Shouxian, "Ming Wanli nianjian Beijing de wujia he gongzi" 明萬曆年間北京的物價和工資, *Qinghua daxue xuebao (Zhaxue shehui kexueban)*, no.3 (2008): 60-62.

in tombs before the Ming dynasty manifest the multiple functions of tombs to be an eternal home, or a place to prevent invasions of underground evils, or a transmitting space for immortality, and so forth. The purpose could be to satisfy the needs of the buried dead, so they would not become the hungry ghosts who return and wreak havoc the world of the living.⁷⁹ While graveside rites had been practiced during these early time periods as well, we see the differences between graveside rites and tomb designs before the Ming dynasty. The purpose of graveside rites is to show ancestral veneration of the living through sacrificial rites, whereas tombs were designed exclusively for the purposes of the deceased's own use,⁸⁰ which means the living would not be involved with any activities in the tomb chamber(s) after the tomb was sealed.⁸¹

⁷⁹ Patricia Ebrey, "Cremation in Sung China," *The American Historical Review* 95, no.2 (1990): 407. Yu, Ying-Shih, *Donghan shengsi guan* 東漢生死觀, trans. Hou Xudong (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2005), 84-87. Poo, *Muzang yu shengsi*, 218-225.

⁸⁰ Poo, *Muzang yu shengsi*, 202-205.

⁸¹ A significant shift in tomb design began in the eleventh century. In northern China, a type of delicately decorated tombs ornamented with the motifs of occupants' portraits and sacrificial scenes were believed to be a replica of *yingtang*. This regional practice of the Song dynasty demonstrates a similar concern manifested by displaying the *mingqi* pewter utensils or *wugong* in the Ming dynasty. These sacrificial scenes "offer sacrifices" to the deceased on behalf of the descendants, so tomb space was evolved to include the symbolic participation of the descendants. Hong Jeehee argues that these scenes in Song tombs "firmly embedded in the sense of the present moment" which reflects life of an everyday world. Although archaeologists found scenes in tombs of Han and Tang dynasties similar to those Song tombs, along with the motifs depicting creatures or buildings that do not belong to this world, Hong categorized them as "otherworldly ambience." Hong's argument supports my categorizations that before the Song dynasty tombs were built to meet the deceased own use. Hong, *Theater of the Dead*, 41-42. Hong, "Changing Roles of the Tomb Portrait," 216-219. Selected scholarship on this topic, see Su Bai 宿白, *Baisha Song mu* 白沙宋墓 (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 2002). Li Qingquan, "Yitang jiaqing de xin yixiang: Song Jin shiqi de muzhu fufu xiang yu Tang Song muzang fengqi zhi bian" 一堂家慶的新意象: 宋金時期的墓主夫婦像與唐宋墓葬風氣之變, in *Gudai muzang meishu yanjiu* 古代墓葬美術研究, ed. Wu Hung (Changsha: Hunan meishu chubanshe, 2013), vol.2, 319-337. Christian de Pee, "Shilun Wangtang zhi Yuandai fangmugou muzang de zongjiao yiyi" 試論晚唐至元代仿木構墓葬的宗教意義, *Kaogu yu wenwu* 考古與文物, no.4 (2009): 86-90. Deng Fei, "Xiangjichu yu chajiwei: Tang Song Jin

In the Ming dynasty, the differences between graveside rites and tomb designs were diminished. Although graveside rites and in-tomb sacrificing convey similar message that sacrifices from the descendants were essential needs for the buried dead, the accessibilities were different. Tomb chambers were rarely opened again for sacrificial purpose, but burial grounds were accessible for physical visits and for conducting graveside rites.⁸² The burial of *mingqi* pewter utensils and *wugong* indicates that it was expected that sacrificial rites be performed in symbolic and perpetual ways, even though without the presence of the descendants. Such arrangement in tombs revealed the concerns that the deceased or the souls may not receive time to time offerings as they needed, which speaks to the anxiety that the *hun* soul could also visit or stay in tombs. More importantly, the purpose of sacrificial rituals in Confucian classics is to keep the ancestors as part of the family. Bringing such concept into the arrangement of tombs implies that tombs were not a space exclusively prepared for the dead, but a place to show extended care to the corpse and the soul(s) after the interment. This continuous bond between the living

Yuan zhuandiao bihuamu zhong de liyi kongjian” 香積廚與茶酒位-談宋金元磚雕壁畫墓中的禮儀空間, *Yishushi yanjiu* 14 (2013): 465-497. Yin Wu, “Meanings of Worship in Wooden Architecture in Brick” (Ma thesis, University of North Carolina, 2016), 29.

⁸² Chang Jianhua’s research points out that the timings to conduct gave rites were varied from family to family, that usually happened on the Tomb-Sweeping day, the first month of spring and autumn, or the Winter Solstice. Chang, *Mingdai zongzu yanjiu*, 449.

and dead then suggests that the buried deceased were similar to the ancestors worshipped in ancestral temples or family shrines, not the potential treat that they would become hungry ghosts. The comparison between graveside rites and in-tomb sacrificing in the Ming dynasty therefore shows us the subtle differences in honoring the dead according to where the sacrificial rites were conducted.

The emotions of caring for the buried deceased had not only changed in the Ming dynasty; this kind of emotions was also demonstrated in dynamic ways. To discern the diversities of how people practiced their emotions is important, because it allows us to explore the complexity in people's choices and understanding of these new burial rites. According to Liu Yi's research on imperial mausoleum rites in the Ming dynasty, he argues that people's care for the body and the *po* soul made graveside rites more important than temple rites.⁸³ However, this argument fails to point out that the relationship between the importance of the body and the *po* soul and the way to treat them with sacrificial rites was sometimes not that straightforward.

In my study of people's practices and writings, I find the relationships between these burial concepts and options were varied. In Chen Que's *Book of Burial*, he uses

⁸³ Liu, *Mingdai diwang lingmu zhidu yanjiu*, 494-497.

strong words to support the use of vertical pit tombs but shows less enthusiasm about graveside rites, because “it is not the orthodox rite.”⁸⁴ In tombs excavated by archaeologists, the display of the pewter utensils was not always buried in vertical pit tombs; on the contrary, not every vertical pit tombs contained such sacrificial *mingqi*. In this dissertation, I show that these different practices and thoughts all reflect similar care for the buried dead. I am also aware of the fact that Ming people may not consider these practices and concepts as always correlated with one another. Instead of positing any logical relationship between the beliefs behind these burial practices and the thoughts about graveside rites, I am inclined to view them as circulated ideas that were perceived and carried out by people in flexible and dynamic ways. This strategy avoids the danger of oversimplifying the interplay between rituals, practices, and people’s understanding fasten in silent archaeological evidence and textual records that lean to the perspectives of social elites.

As I argue that the new burial practice was driven by emotions, the phenomena I discussed resonates with the cult of *qing* (emotions, affections), a trend that stresses demonstrations of self and affection in late-Ming society. The cult of *qing* influenced the ways people thought and acted, including their understanding

⁸⁴ Chen, *Chen Que qi*, vol.2, 516. Similar case found in Chen, *Jiting quanshu*, 150, 153.

about death. Current scholarship on the cult of *qing* has addressed topics on mourning grades and relationship between the dead and living through studying literary works and intellectual discussions, both of which shed light on the changing emotions toward the deceased that were demonstrated in facets other than burial practices.⁸⁵ In other words, the new burial practices were not an isolated case, but were part of this historical context. In Confucian prescriptions, emotional expressions to the deceased should not be spontaneous, but should follow standards such as fulfilling designated length of mourning period for the deceased and wearing regulated mourning garments according to the mourner's kinship to the deceased. The Ming and Qing dynasties witnessed intensive debates on whether a man should perform a mourning observance for his older sister-in-law, and vice versa. These debates highlight the concern that the grief to someone who was categorized beyond the mourning grades should be recognized.⁸⁶ Judith Zeitlin and Kang-i Sun Chang's

⁸⁵ Chang, So-An, "Saoshu wufu, qing he yi kan? Qingdai 'lizhi yu renqing zhi chongtu' liyi" 嫂叔無服，情何以堪？「清代禮制與人情之衝突」議例，in *Lijiao yu qingyu: Qianjindai Zhongguo wenhua zhong de hou/xiandaixing* 禮教與情慾：前近代中國文化中的後／現代性，ed. Hsiung, Ping-Chen and Lu, Miaw-Fen (Taipei: Institute of Modern History, Academia Sinica, 1999), 125-178. Judith Zeitlin, *The Phantom Heroine: Ghosts and Gender in Seventeenth-Century Chinese Literature* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2007), 7. Kang-i Sun Chang, *The late-Ming poet Ch'en Tzu-lung: Crises of Love and Loyalty* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1991), 8-9. Katherine Carlitz, "Mourning, Personality, Display: Ming Literati Commemorate Their Mothers, Sisters, and Daughters," *NAN NÜ* 15, no.1 (2013): 30-68. Hsiung and Lu, ed., *Lijiao yu qingyu*. Hsiung, Ping-Chen and Chang, So-An, ed., *Qingyu Ming Qing- da qing pian* 情欲明清-達情篇 (Taipei: Maitian chubanshe, 2004).

⁸⁶ Chang, "Saoshu wufu," 125-178.

research on Ming and Qing literature shows that ghosts, driven by love, frequently revisited the human world, through which Zeitlin and Chang argue that the *qing* had transcended the traditional concept of life and death.⁸⁷

The role that *qing* played in the ways people understood death allows me to incorporate my study into this big picture. The late Ming is when Confucian scholars began to compile burial manuals. These manuals that instruct how to build a concrete vertical pit tomb yield the fact that the corpse also matters in terms of ancestral veneration, which indicates a consistent concern to the deceased even after interment. This intense emotional care for the corpse, I argue, cannot be a coincidence as the cult of *qing* became influential in familial life in the late Ming. Although this emotional tie had not been articulated in words until the late Ming, my study shows that this concern and sentimental expression toward the deceased had already started in the early Ming in multiple facets in tomb arrangements, sacrificial practices, and the discussions of *gu wu muji*. In other words, this care for the deceased cannot be an overnight change followed by the cult of *qing* without an existing long tradition. My study therefore enriches the impact of *qing* to the field of burial practices and stretches our understanding of emotional expression through not only written records

⁸⁷ Zeitlin, *The Phantom Heroine*, 7. Chang, *The late-Ming poet Ch'en Tzu-lung*, 8-9.

but also archaeological demonstrations.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I discussed the changing attitudes toward the practice of graveside rites and the treatments to the corpse and the souls in the Ming dynasty. This shift in scholarly discussions of the *gu wu muji* debate resonated with the changes in the functions of tomb space and in the obsessions of preserving the corpse. Although these changes were not necessarily associated with one another, presumably, they did not appear in the Ming dynasty as a coincidence. The reason is that the care for the buried deceased were similar, no matter through in-tomb sacrificing or graveside rites, so were the ways to demonstrate such emotions, that is through adopting the sacrificial rites conducted in ancestral temples or family shrines. This conclusion leads me to a different perspective to explore the role Confucian rites played in burial rituals in the Ming dynasty. As Ming people were prone to practice the unorthodox death rituals such as Buddhist and Daoist, current scholars emphasize how Ming literati adjusted Confucian orthodoxy to fight this trend. This endeavor conforms to my analysis of the scholarly discussions on graveside rites in this chapter. However, graveside rites and in-tomb sacrifice performed by different

social classes suggest a dynamic way of practicing Confucian death rituals in the Ming dynasty. Even though Buddhist and Daoist rituals were pervasive, Confucian rites were the one that had been reinterpreted and practiced so to meet the new concerns for the buried dead. In other words, Confucian rituals were not ignored by Ming people, as Ming literati's writings suggest, but were deeply embedded in people's concepts so they still served as a guidance in flexible ways as needed.

Conclusion

My research questions started with the changes in tombs of the Ming dynasty. Burial culture had its own developmental track and hardly changed dramatically with the switch of political regimes. This dissertation focuses on the Ming dynasty because several burial practices became especially prevalent during this period, and the burial ritual policy issued by the Ming government played an important role for us to understand the new practices. One of these new practices, of burying a set of miniaturized pewter utensils in tombs, is the inspiration of the whole dissertation.

Changes in Ming tombs include the ways the bereaved family designed the space of a tomb and the burial items they prepared for the deceased. During the Ming dynasty, people became less interested in decorating murals in tombs, in which vivid imaginations about what the deceased may need in a tomb or in the afterlife were presented. As the trend of building mural tombs declined, people in the Ming dynasty built solid tombs, with narrow space and no decorations, to protect the corpses from being eroding by water and insects. This concern about preserving the bodies was not only demonstrated in burial arrangements, but also promoted in burial manuals written by literati beginning in the middle of the Ming dynasty.

In the Ming dynasty, the types of burial objects also changed. A typical example is the decrease in burying figurines used for exorcism to protect the occupants from the harassment by underground evil spirits. In other words, Ming people were less concerned about invasions of supernatural beings in tombs. Scholars who study burial practices before the Ming dynasty have proposed that a tomb was a space exclusively designed for the use of the deceased, to satisfy their needs in the afterlife. What do we make of these Ming changes? What were the functions of tombs and how did people understand the needs of the deceased?

Archaeologists find that many Ming tombs contained a set of miniaturized pewter utensils consisting of incense burners, flower vases, plates, and so forth. In well-preserved tombs, archaeological excavations show that the pewter utensils were displayed on top or in front of the coffin as if they were being used for making offerings to the deceased. I argue that these pewter utensils help us define the function of tombs.

The only textual source about these pewter utensils is the burial gift list issued by the Ming government in 1369 for the prominent general Chang Yuchun. This gift list was later collected in different Ming ritual handbooks as the example of burial items to

bestow upon imperial family members and high-ranking official. The types of pewter utensils in the record almost always conform to what have been found in tombs. What archaeological evidence shows us is the dissemination of this practice that beyond people who were eligible to receive the pewter utensils. According to archaeological excavations, in the fourteenth century when the Ming dynasty was established, people who buried with the pewter utensils were eminent generals, as the gift list suggested. Their tombs were situated near the first Ming capital Nanjing. Since the fifteenth century, the practice spread to northern and southeastern China and carried out by people who were ineligible for the imperial bestowal. This dissemination suggests that a new understanding about tombs had spread and accepted by people of different social classes.

This gift list reveals more crucial clues for us to study these pewter utensils. The source tells us that Zhu Xi's *Family Rituals* is an important reference for the Ming government to decide what to be included on the list. However, the *Family Rituals* did not suggest these pewter utensils as items to be buried in the tomb, but rather as sacrificial utensils used for ancestral worship in the ancestral temple or the family shrine. In other words, these pewter utensils were sacrificial utensils. More importantly,

the Ming government defined these pewter utensils as *mingqi*, which can be translated as spirit articles or ghost utensils because *mingqi* were made exclusively for the dead. In other words, they have no function in the human world. In the case of the pewter utensils, their small sizes made them unusable by the living.

These pewter utensils; therefore, have the nature of ghost utensils, but they are in the form of sacrificial utensils. Sacrificial utensils are also called human utensils, because they were used in the ancestral temple or the family shrine to offer sacrifices to the ancestors and to bridge connections between the ancestors and the descendants. In other words, the pewter utensils are a combination of the ghost utensils and the human utensils, and the burial of the pewter utensils in tombs is an unorthodox adoption of Confucian ancestral worship practiced in the ancestral temple or the family shrine. Furthermore, the size of these pewter utensils cannot contain real offerings like food and wine, so I argue that they represent symbolic and perpetual sacrifices to the occupants.

The burial of the pewter utensils adopts yet challenges Confucian rituals of ancestral veneration. In Confucian rituals, the deceased should be honored as the ancestors in a family's ancestral temple or in the main hall in the house, not in a tomb.

The ancestors are represented by wooden tablets inscribed with their names and received offerings from the descendants. The ancestral temple or the family shrine; therefore, is an open space that allows such connection, but the tomb is not. In Confucian classics, the tomb is presented as being only for burial. Many pre-Ming murals and burial items also suggest that after the tomb was sealed, it became a space for the dead. The practice of burying the pewter utensils not only challenges this dualism of temples and tombs in Confucian rituals, but also suggests that the living maintained certain kind of connection with the buried dead even after the tomb was sealed for good. From this practice, I argue that the body of the buried deceased became as important as the tablet of the ancestor in the ancestral temple, and Ming people were interested in retaining a bond to the buried deceased through this symbolic ritual practice

Two threads are essential for us to understand these pewter utensils – the development of burial practices in Chinese history and the use of the pewter utensils prescribed in Ming ritual policy since the early Ming. As Hong Jeehee has proposed, since the tenth century the imagination of death was socialized with the visions of the living. In other words, tombs were not only a realm of the dead, but also became a

space that was involved with participations of the living. In the case of the pewter utensils, they were used to bridge the connections between the ancestors and the descendants through symbolic offerings in tombs. This reinterpretation of Zhu Xi's *Family Rituals* allows us to observe how Confucian rites were adjusted to meet the ways people tended to treat the buried dead, and how the boundary between rituals and emotions was flexibly defined by the Ming government.

The interplay between the stipulation of the Ming burial gift list and the development of burial practices is unclear in both archaeological and textual sources. However, the importance of this governmental validation is that sacrificial utensils in the form of *mingqi* were regarded as essential for burial in the eyes of the highest Confucian executor – the emperor. Furthermore, the dissemination of utensils for this in-tomb sacrificing was unprecedented. Again, no substantial textual evidence shows that the upper-class burial rites prompted the practices of other social classes. What we can tell from archaeological evidence is that the practice and the concept of in-tomb sacrificing was widely shared by Ming people, regardless of social class and throughout the course of the Ming dynasty. This homogenization in people's concept about in-tomb rituals allows me to draw evidence from imperial death rites and the

intellectual discussions on gravesite rites that are relatively well-documented, which alludes clues for me to explore the causes of this new burial practice.

The Hongwu Emperor is the key man who launched a series of reforms on death rituals that reshaped the ways in which his successors and ministers defined the boundary between rituals and emotions. Scholars have pointed out that the Hongwu Emperor's background as a peasant released him from fastidious pursuit of orthodox accuracy and led him to follow his true heart. During his reign, the burial gift list was issued, the new layout of imperial mausoleum plan was implemented, the system of mausoleum garrison was established, and the spatial relationship between the capital and the mausoleum was redefined. These reforms all indicate an emphasis on the emotional bond between the living and the buried dead. The Hongwu Emperor's reforms adopted Confucian rites, especially Zhu Xi's *Family Rituals*, and adjusted them to elevate the importance of the buried dead and to satisfy his emotional attachment toward the deceased. As Norman Kutcher's research on mourning rituals in late imperial China has suggested, the changes made by the Hongwu Emperor caused collective confusion about rituals among his ministers and successors as they carried on these practices. The case of bestowing the sacrificial necessities and burial

essentials is a typical example. This bestowal is a violation of the host-guest relationship in terms of Confucian funeral rites because the Hongwu Emperor behaved toward his close ministers as if they were his family. As time went by, we find that this unorthodox bestowal was regarded as an honor to be sought among those Confucian-trained officials, despite its procedural complexities.

The emotional attitude toward the buried dead was not only demonstrated in the imperial practices, but also revealed in the intellectual debate about whether there were “no graveside rites in antiquity” (*gu wu muji* 古無墓祭). This debate originated from the observations of Confucian scholars on the unorthodox gravesite rites practiced by different social classes, especially commoners. The essence of this debate was the conflict between practicing correct rites and expressing true emotions. By the Ming dynasty the dominant view was in favor of practicing graveside rites. Not doing so was criticized as choosing ritual propriety over honoring the ancestors. The gradual validation on the emotions in this debate reflects similar care to the buried dead demonstrated in the Hongwu Emperor’s reforms and the changes in burial practices in the Ming dynasty. The emphasis on emotions over rituals was not solely presented in burial rituals but also speaks to the trend that the expressions of emotions were highly

valued, which was manifested in the intensive discussions of the cult of *qing* in late-Ming society.

Late-Ming society witnessed a booming in the cult of *qing* demonstrated in literary works and intellectual discussions on the boundary between the living and the dead as well as between rituals and emotions. At this time, self, human nature, and sentiments played decisive roles in determining the appropriateness of people's behavior. Although the changes in the concepts of burial practices and the treatments toward the buried dead appeared much earlier than the increasing discussions on the cult of *qing* in written records, I propose that the connection between the two cannot be ignored. For example, in the imperial records, the mausoleum rites were not recognized as one of the Major Sacrifices until the end of the Ming dynasty. However, the reforms on mausoleum layout and ritual practices since the early Ming suggest that the importance of the mausoleum rites and the buried deceased was already rooted in actual practices. The cult of *qing* could not be an over-night change. The revival of vertical pit tombs, the new practice of burying the pewter utensils, the imperial reforms on death rituals, and the emotion-friendly attitude in the gravesite rite debate are the elements that will allow me to explore how the cult of *qing* was gradually shaped, especially

with the focus on the blurring boundary between the living and the dead caused by emotions, in my future projects.

Through my study on tombs and texts, I argue that Ming people recognized the buried deceased as the authentic presence of their beloved relatives because it was closely related to their memory and emotions to the deceased. This concern helps us understand why vertical pit tombs became popular because thinking of the beloved relatives would be eaten by insects or immersed in water was unbearable. This concern also explains why tombs were not designed for the deceased's own uses like before.

Through the burial of the pewter utensils we see that the buried deceased were honored in the most orthodox way in Confucian rituals. And the bond between the living and the dead is maybe cemented through this symbolic ritual as well, so the imagination of the afterlife also involved with the participations of the living. Although death separates the world of the living and that of the dead, Ming people, among different social classes, showed a great interest in connecting them again through ritual and emotions.

This dissertation gives substantial emphasis to Confucian prescriptions because not only did Confucian rites define the relationship between the ancestors and the descendants, but also regulated the appropriateness of behaviors and emotions. By no

means do I suggest Confucian principles were the only influence that dominated how people should act and feel. My studies showed a compromise approach of Ming people to adjust the orthodox teaching to meet the growing acknowledgement on the emotions to the buried dead. The expressions of emotions were varied among individuals, but this adjustment shows us the appropriateness of emotions redefined by Ming people in specific historical context of the Ming dynasty. The changes in death rituals are more than an appearance of a new concept about death and the afterlife, but are the changes in the definition of proper emotional acts when people faced the death of the others.

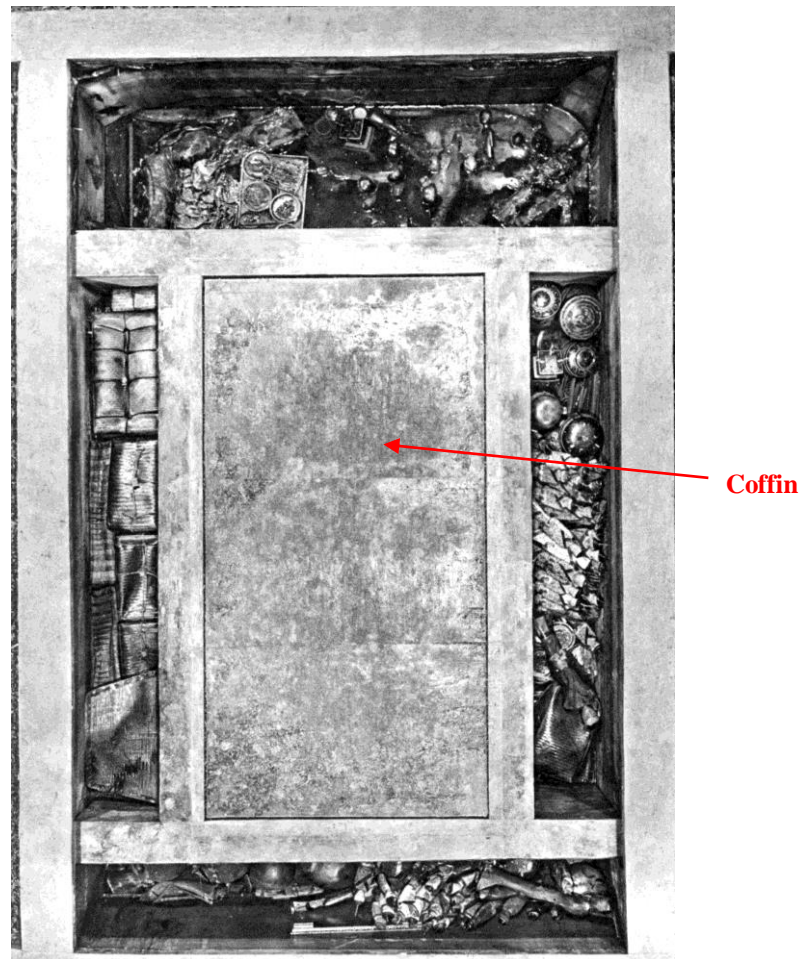


Figure 1-1 A vertical pit tomb belongs to Lady Dai (d. ca. 168 B.C.)

This is a bird's-eye view of Mawangdui tomb no.1. The center is the compartment for storing the coffin. The surrounding compartments were used to store burial items. The

area of this grave is 6.72 x 4.88 x 2.8 meters.

[Source: Hunan sheng bowuguan, ed. *Changsha Mawangdui Han mu fajue jiaobao* 长沙马王堆汉墓发掘简报 (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1972), vol.2, 7.]

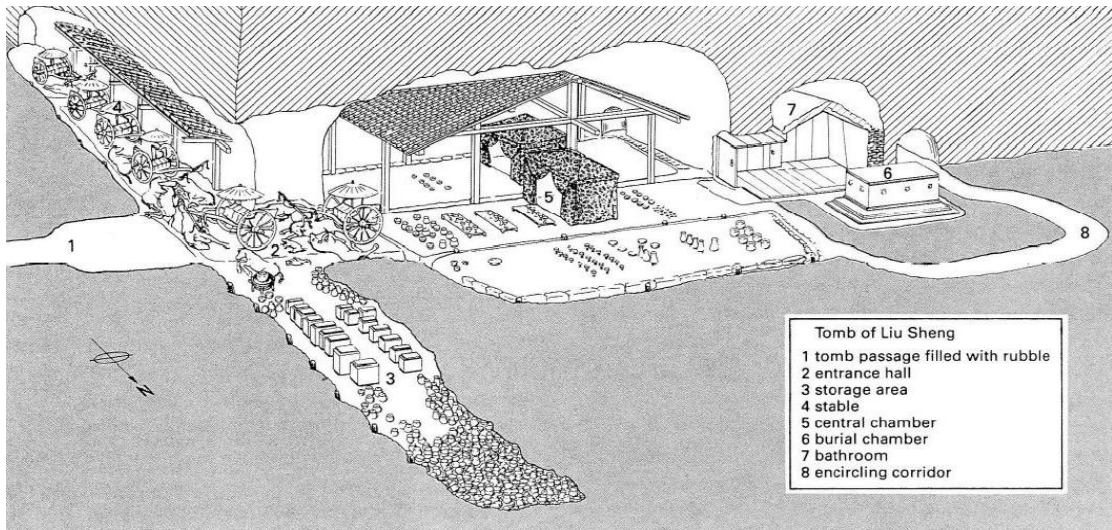


Figure 1-2 A horizontal chamber-style tomb belongs to Liu Sheng (d. ca. 113 B.C.)
 A horizontal tomb resembles a residence which accommodates burial chamber(s),
 bathroom, storage area, and so forth.

[Source: Lillian Lan-ying Tseng, "Popular Beliefs in the Qin and Han Dynasties," in *Age of Empires: Art of the Qin and Han Dynasties*, ed. Zhixin Sun (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2017), 53.]

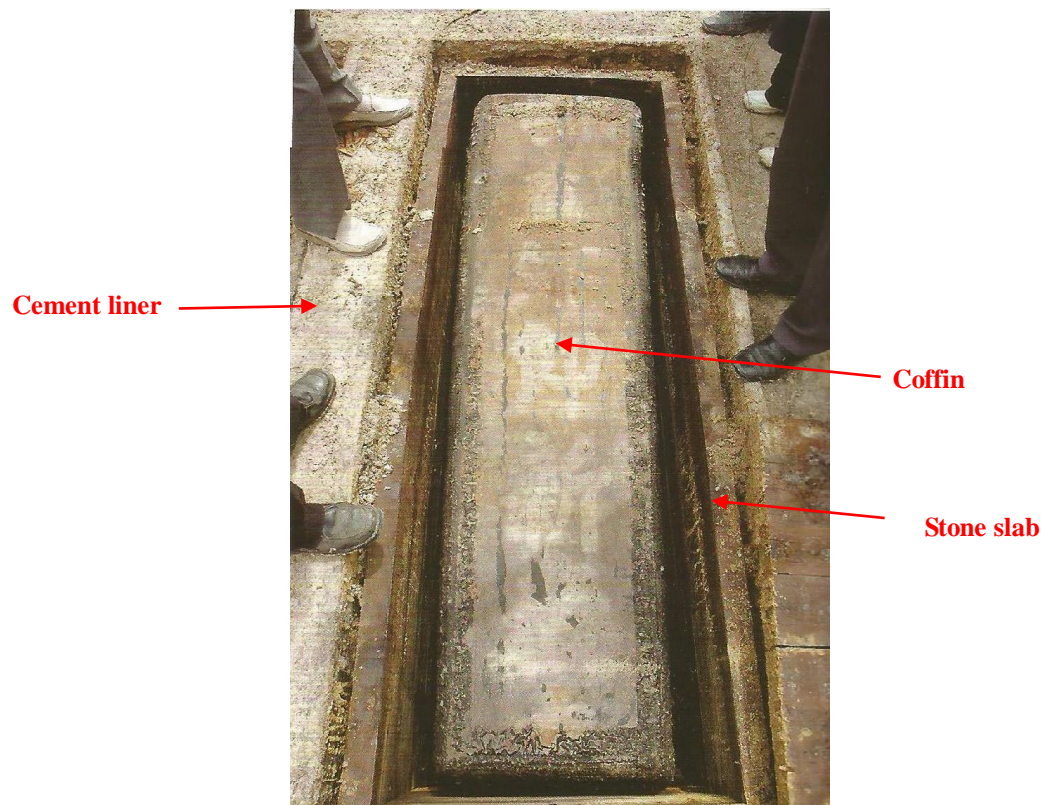


Figure 1-3 A vertical pit tomb belongs to Li Xinzhai (? - 1576)
The construction of Li Xinzhai's tomb was to build a pit paved with stone slabs and to load the coffin in it. The top of tomb was covered by another stone slab. Cement liner was applied to outside of the whole stone casket. According to the archaeological report, the cement liner on top of the casket is about one-meter thick. [Source: He Jiying, *Shanghai Mingmu* 上海明墓 (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 2009), 115, color plate 68-2]

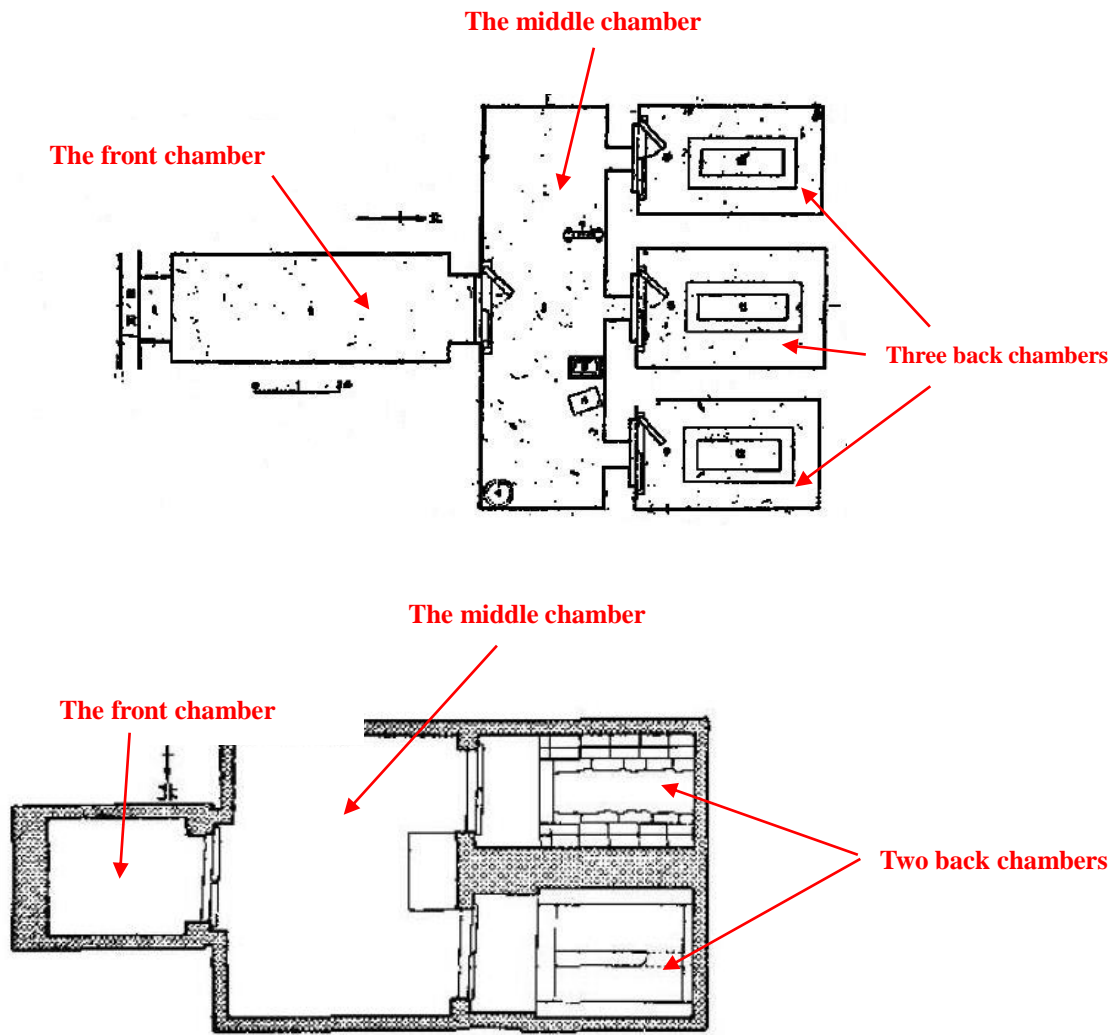


Figure 1-4 Layouts of Mu Ying (1345-1392) and Mu Xiang's (? - 1496) tombs

Upper, Mu Ying's tomb found in Nanjing

Bottom, Mu Xiang's tomb found in Yunnan. He is a fifth-generation descendant of Mu Ying.

[Sources: Nanjingshi wenwu baoguan weiyuanhui, ed., "Nanjing Jiangningxian Ming Mu Sheng mu qingli jianbao 南京江寧縣明沐晟墓清理簡報," *Kaogu*, no. 9 (1960): 35. Yunnan sheng wenwu gongzuodui, ed., "Yunnan Chenggon Wangjiaying Ming Qing mu qingli baogao 雲南呈貢王家營明清墓清理報告," *Kaogu*, no.4 (1965): 185.]

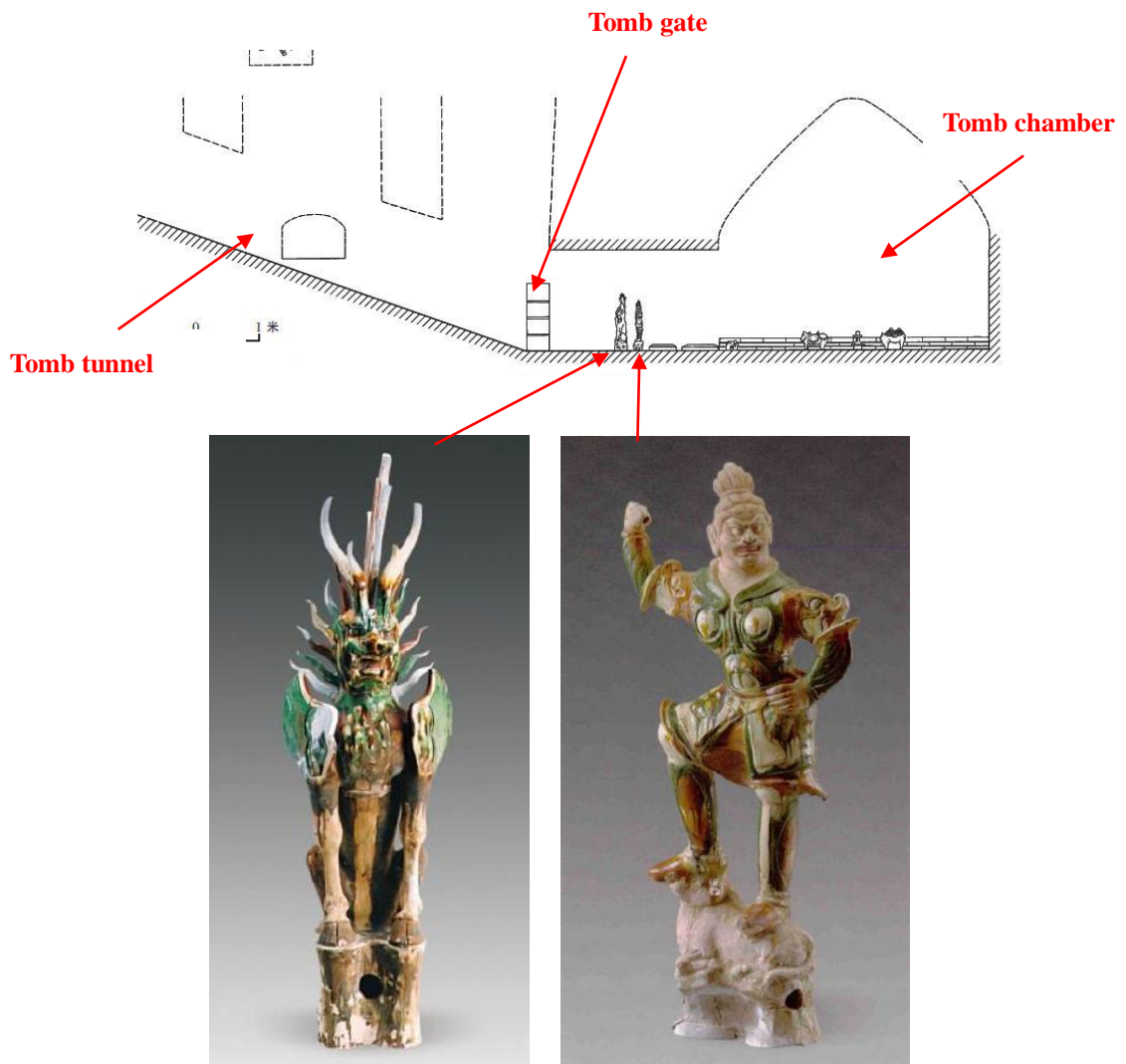


Figure 1-5 Yan Shiwei (642-699) and his wife neé Pei's (647-691) tomb and the burial items

Upper, the cross-sectional view of Yan and neé Pei's tomb. Bottom left, monster-like figurine stands behind the tomb gate. Bottom right, heavenly king figurine stands behind the monster-like one.

[Source: Xi'an shi wenwu baohu kaogu yanjiusuo, ed., "Xi'an Majiagou Tang Taizhou sima yanshiwei fufu mu fajue jianbao 西安馬家溝唐太州司馬閻識微夫婦墓發掘簡報," *Wenwu*, no.10 (2014): 26, 28, cover.]



Figure 1-6 An iron cow statue found in a family tomb in Fuzhou, Fujian Province. This family tomb is dated around the fifteenth century. The size of this iron cow statue is 10.9 cm in length, 4.5 cm in height, and 5.3 cm in width.

[Source: Fuzhoushi wenwu kaogu gongzuodui, ed., “Fuzhoushi yuanzhong Ming mu qingli jiaobao 福州市園中明墓清理簡報,” *Fujian wenbo* no.4 (2011): 29.]

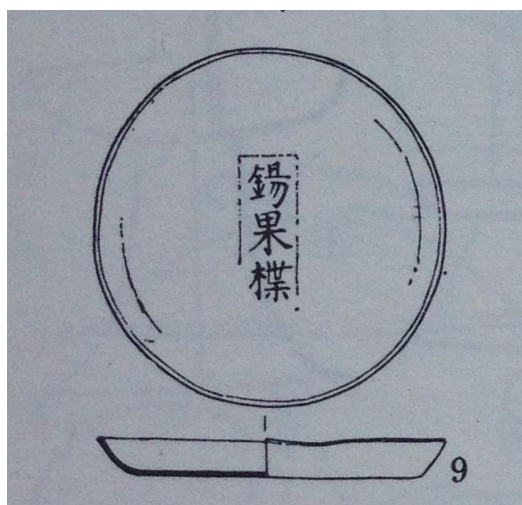


Figure 1-7 The sketch of *mingqi* pewter plate found in Dingling
Three characters *xi guo die* 錫果牒 (pewter fruit plate) was engraved at the bottom of
the plate. The diameter is 6.5 cm, and the height is 0.8 cm.
[Source: Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe, ed., *Dingling* 定陵 (Beijing: Wenwu
chubanshe, 1990), vol.1, 181.]

The Middle Capital

The northern gate of
Huangling

The southern gate of the
Middle Capital

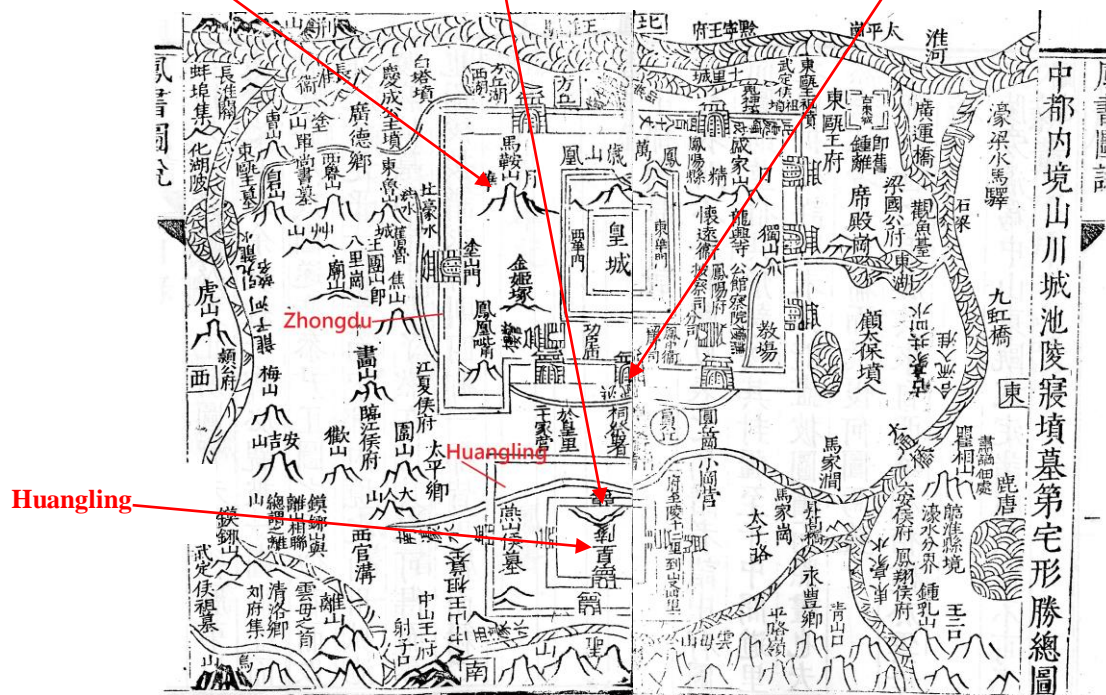


Figure 2-1 Map of the Middle Capital and Huangling

By exiting the southern gate of the Middle Capital, people could see Huangling from miles. The northern gate of Hunagling thus faces the southern gate of the Middle Capital in the “embracing” design

[Source: Yuan Wenxin, *Fengyang xin shu* 鳳陽新書 (Shanghai: Shanghai cishu chubanshe, 2013), vol. 8, 26-27.]

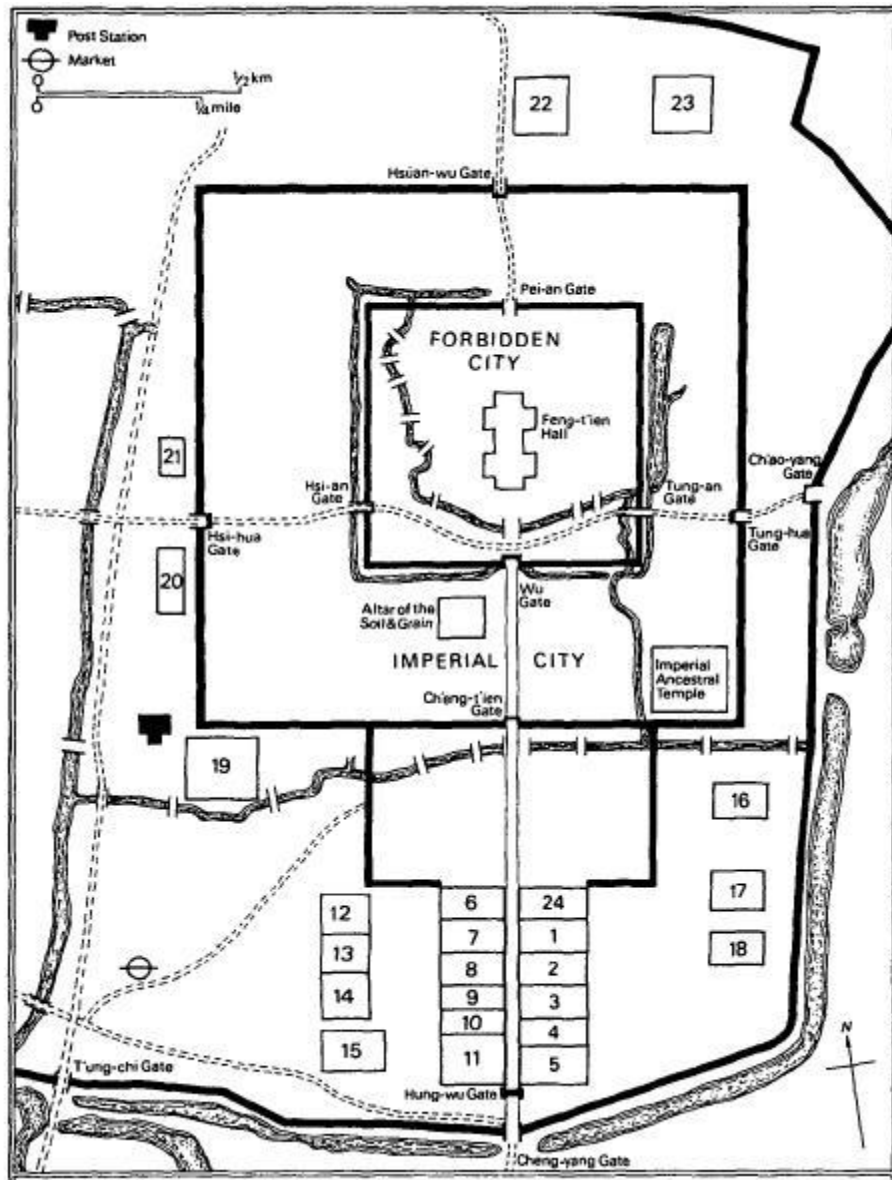


Figure 2-2 The Imperial City and the Forbidden City of Nanjing

The Imperial Ancestral Temple was located at the southeast corner of the Imperial City. The Hall for Offerings to the Imperial Forebears was not marked in this map, but it was situated within the confine of the Forbidden City, which is also called the Palace City where the emperor and his family lived.

[Source: Frederick Mote and Denis Twitchett, ed., *The Cambridge history of Chinese, The Ming dynasty, 1368-1644* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), vol.7, 110.]

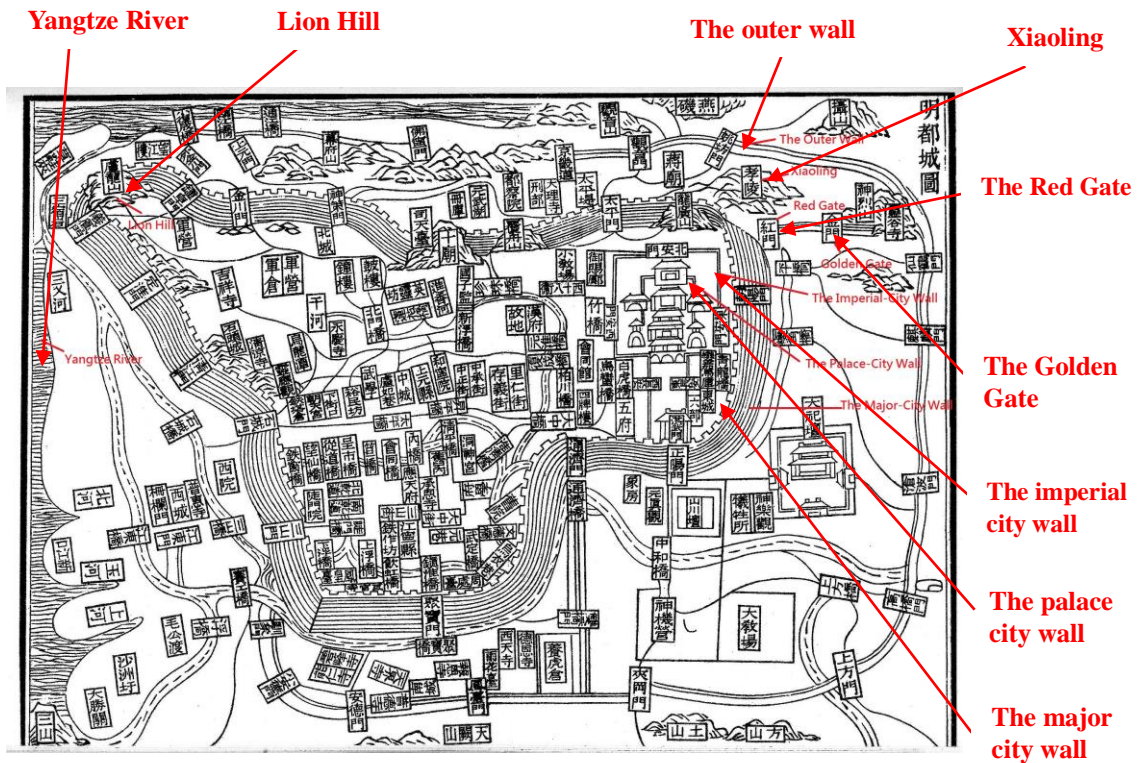


Figure 2-3 Map of Ming Nanjing City (composed in 1516)

This map shows Xiaoling was located at the northeast side of Nanjing and was between Nanjing's outer wall and major city wall. The wall between the Red Gate and the Golden Gate is Xiaoling's own outer wall. The Red Gate is almost connected to the major city wall of Nanjing.

Lion Hill was situated at the northwest direction of Nanjing and the major city wall was built in an irregular contour in order to encircle the Hill.

[Source: Cheng Yi, *Jinling gujin tukao* 金陵古今圖考 (Nanjing: Nanjing chubanshe, 2006), 89.]

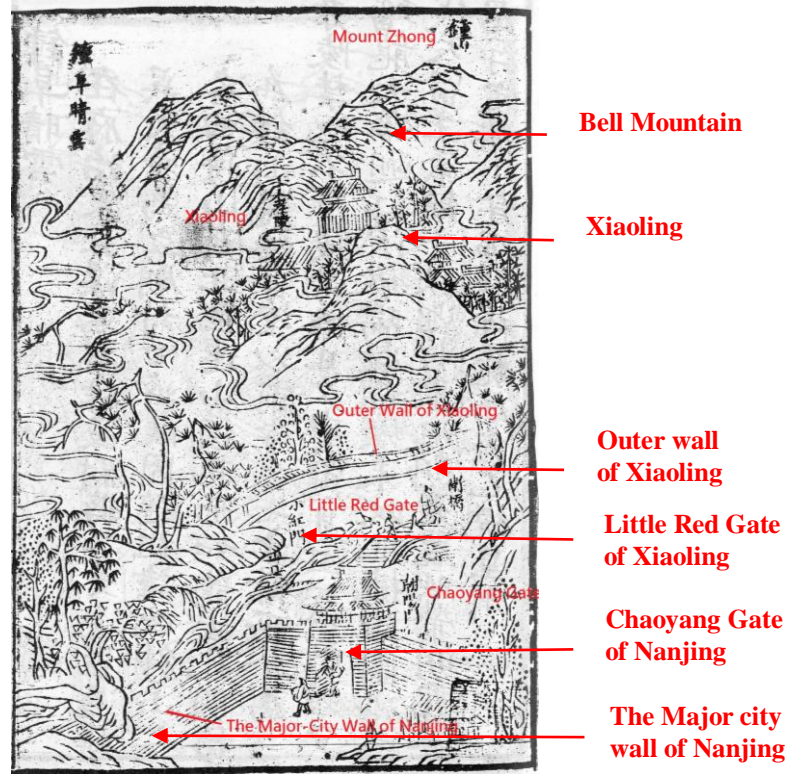


Figure 2-4 Pictorial Scene called “Sunny Clouds in Bell Mountain” in Zhu Zhifan’s *Jinling tuyong*

This scene vividly guides its readers showing that, after leaving the Chaoyang Gate of the major city wall of Nanjing, the Little Red Gate (should be the same one as the Red Gate) of Xiaoling’s outer wall is nearby.

[Source: Zhu Zhifan, *Jinling tuyong* 金陵圖詠 (Taipei: Chengwen chubanshe, 1983), 7.]

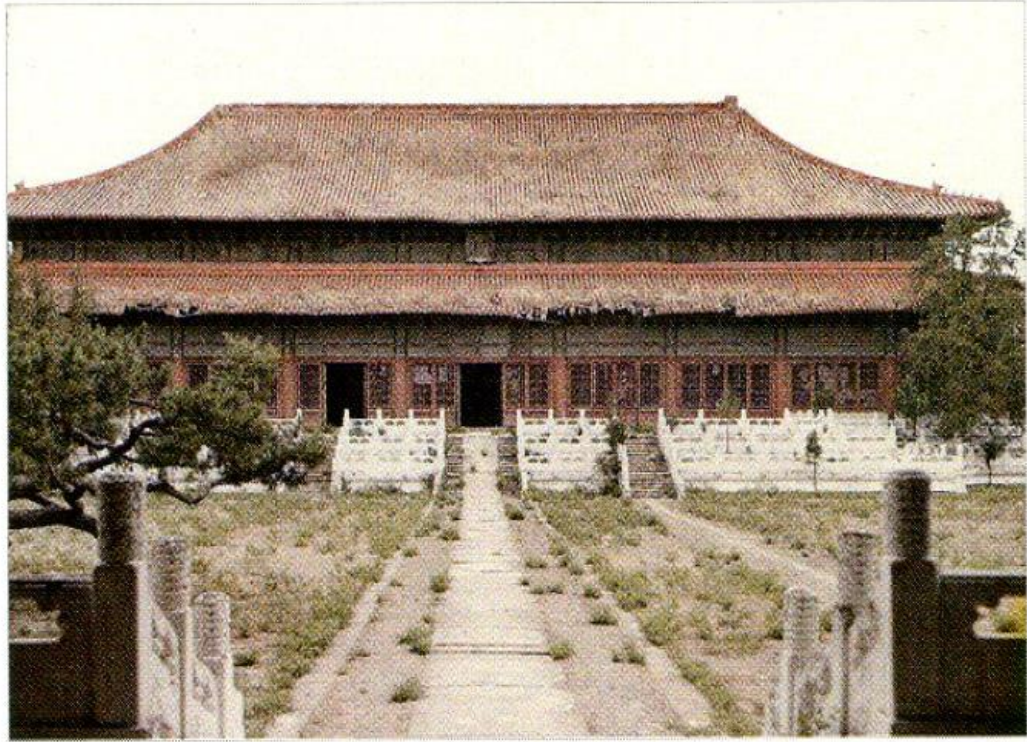
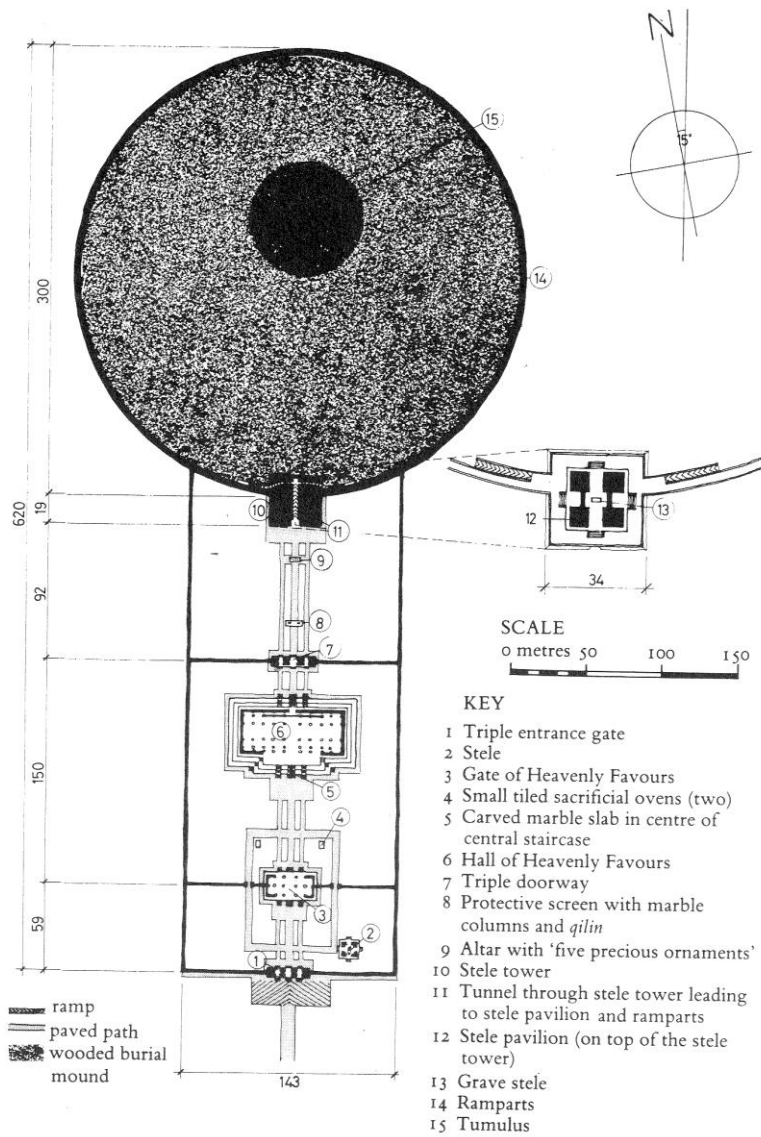


Figure 3-1 The Hall of Heavenly Favors of Changling

The view is taken from the northern terrace of Gate of Heavenly Favors. Photo taken by Stephane Passet on June 01, 1913.

[Source: Jeanne Beausoleil, Sophie Couëtoux and Albert Kahn, *Chine, 1909-1934: catalogue des photographies et des séquences filmées du Musée Albert Kahn* (Boulogne-Billancourt: Le Musée, 2001-2002), vol.1, 144]

THE MING TOMBS



3.1 Changling.

Figure 3-2 The mausoleum layout of Changling

The Hall of Heavenly Favours is marked no.6, which is located at the center of the mausoleum.

[Source: Ann Paludan, *The Ming Tombs* (Hong Kong; New York: Oxford University Press, 1991), 32.]

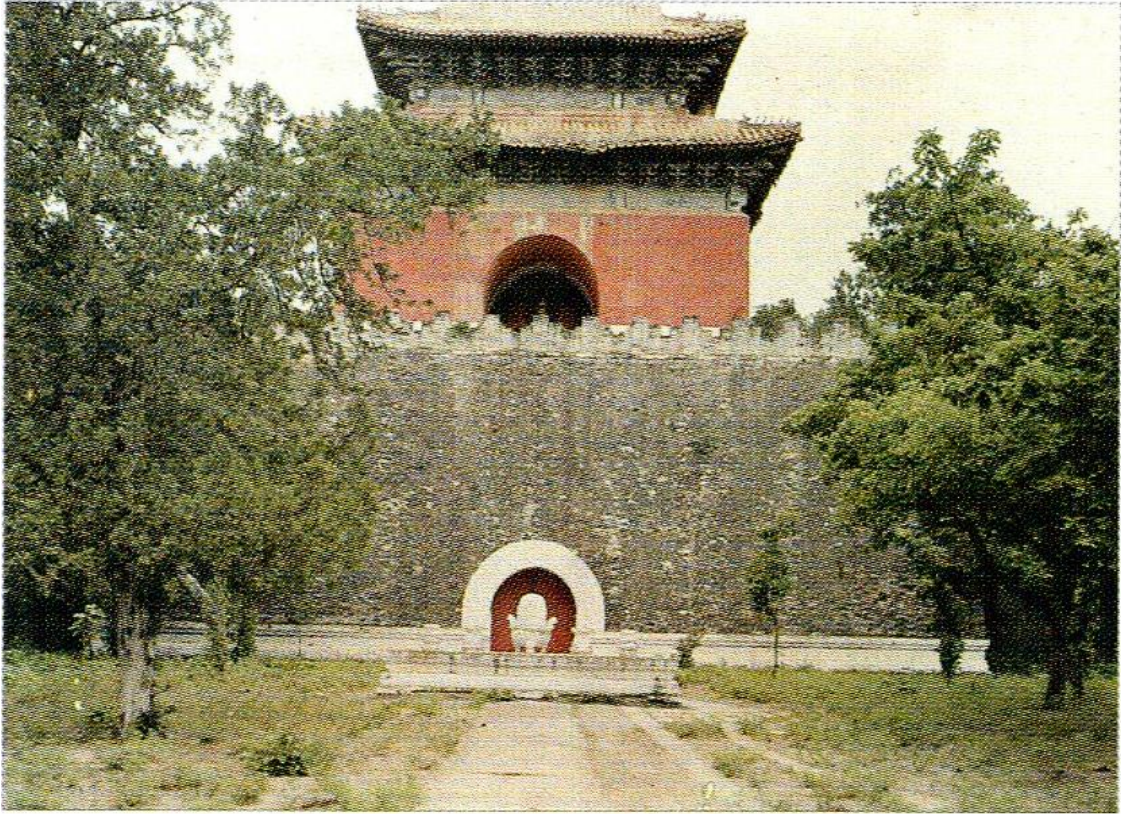


Figure 3-3 The stone altar in front of Stele Tower and Pavilion, Changling

Photo taken by Stephane Passet on June 01 1913.

[Beausoleil, Couëtoux and Kahn, *Chine, 1909-1934*, vol.1, 147]

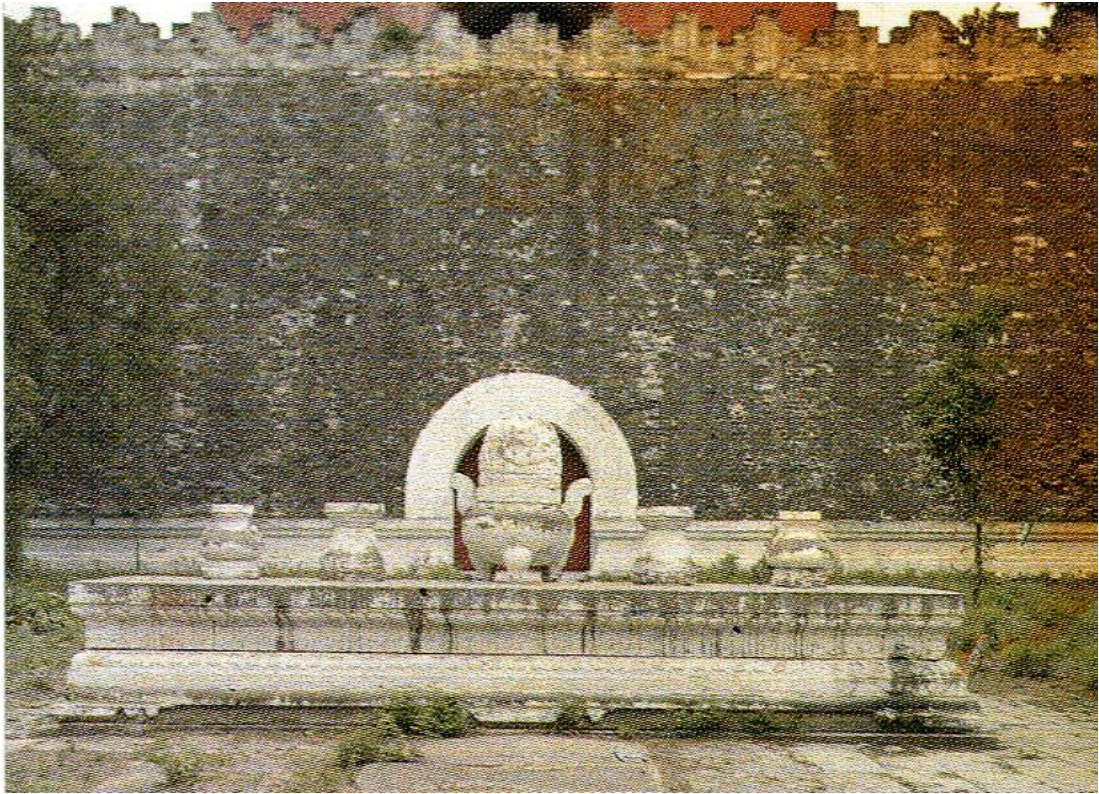


Figure 3-4 The stone altar of Changling

Photo taken by Stephane Passet on June 01 1913.

[Beausoleil, Couëtoux and Kahn, *Chine, 1909-1934*, vol.1, 148]

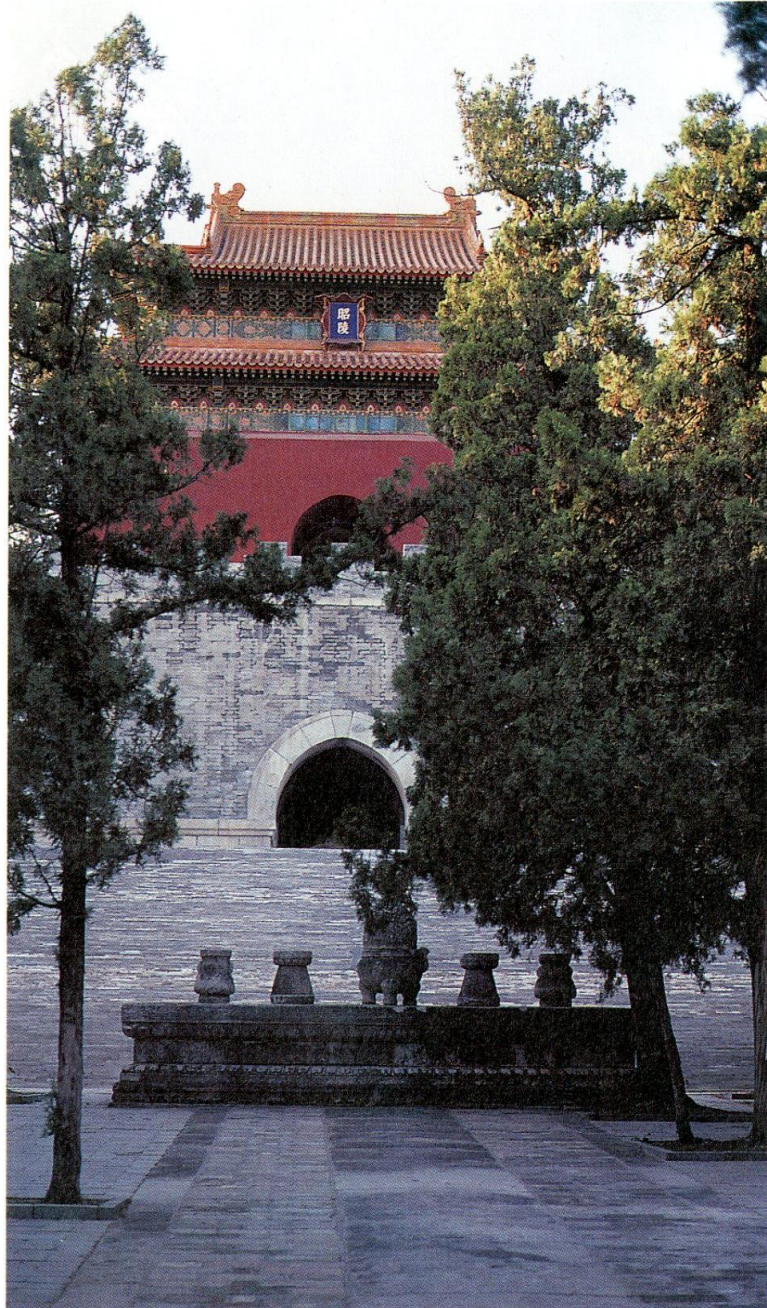


Figure 3-5 The stone altar in front of Stele Tower and Pavilion of Zhaoling
[Paludan, *The Ming Tombs*, color plate 10.]

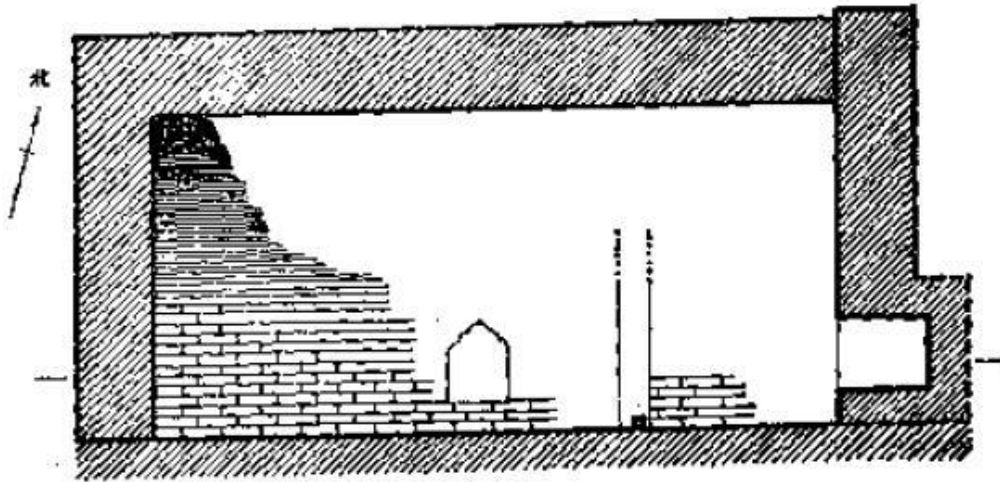


Figure 5-1 The cross-sectional view of Wu Liang's (? -1381) tomb

The area with slash lines represents the walls of the tomb chamber. The protruding blank space on the right side is the niche embedded in the wall of Wu Liang's tomb.

The pewter utensils were placed in the niche.

[Source: Nanjingshi wenwu baoguan weiyuanhui, "Nanjing taipingmen wai ganazicun Ming mu 南京太平門外崗子村明墓," *Kaogu*, no.6 (1983): 574.]

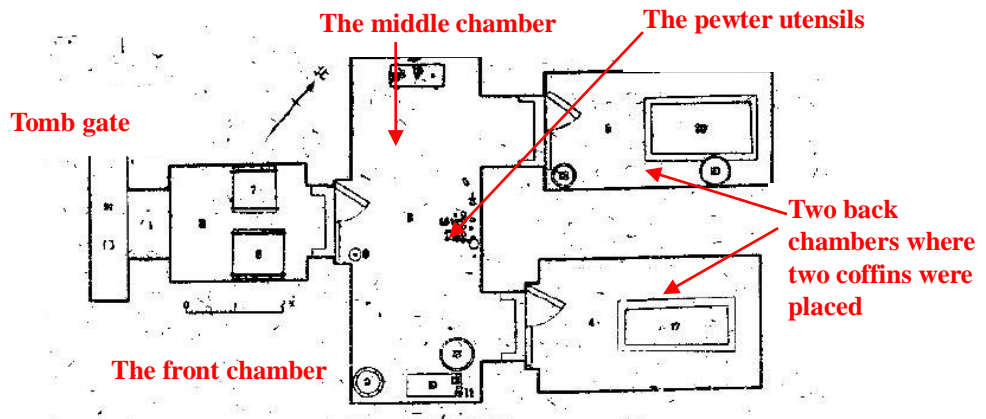


Figure 5-2 The layout of Mu Sheng's (1368-1439) tomb

The pewter utensils were placed at the center of the middle tomb chamber.

[Source: Nanjingshi wenwu baoguan weiyuanhui, "Nanjing Jiangningxian Ming Mu Sheng mu qingli jianbao," 31.]



Figure 5-3 Glided pewter utensils found in the Prince of Ning, Zhu Quan's (1378-1448) tomb

Upper left, a pewter incense burner. Upper right, a pewter vase. Bottom, a pewter cup, and a cup holder. They are all around 5 cm in height

[Source: Jiangxisheng bowuguan, Nanchengxian bowuguan, Xinjianxian bowuguan, Nanchangshi bowuguan ed., *Jiangxi Mingdai fanwang mu* 江西明代藩王墓 (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 2010), plate 2 and 4.]



Figure 5-4 Lead utensils found in the Prince of Yi, Zhu Houye's (1498-1556) tomb. Upper left, two lead candle stands. Upper right, two lead vases. Bottom, three lead pots.

Their sizes are around 12 cm in height.

[Source: Jiangxisheng bowuguan, *Jiangxi Mingdai fanwang mu*, plate 39, and 40.]

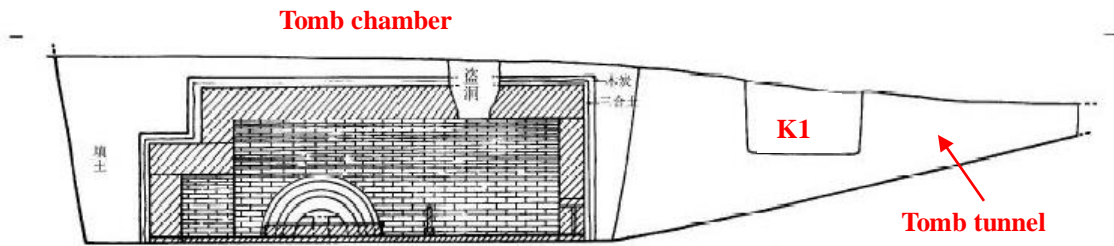


Figure 5-5 The cross-sectional view of Zhu Mengzhao's wife's tomb
 The space marked K1 is the pit buried with the pewter utensils, and this pit is located
 above the tomb tunnel.

[Source: Wuhanshi wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo, ed., "Wuhan Jiangxia erfei shan Ming
 Jingling wang Zhu Mengzhao fuqi mu fajue jianbao 武漢江夏二妃山明景陵王朱孟炤
 夫妻墓發掘簡報," *Jiangnan kaogu*, no. 2 (2010): 48.]

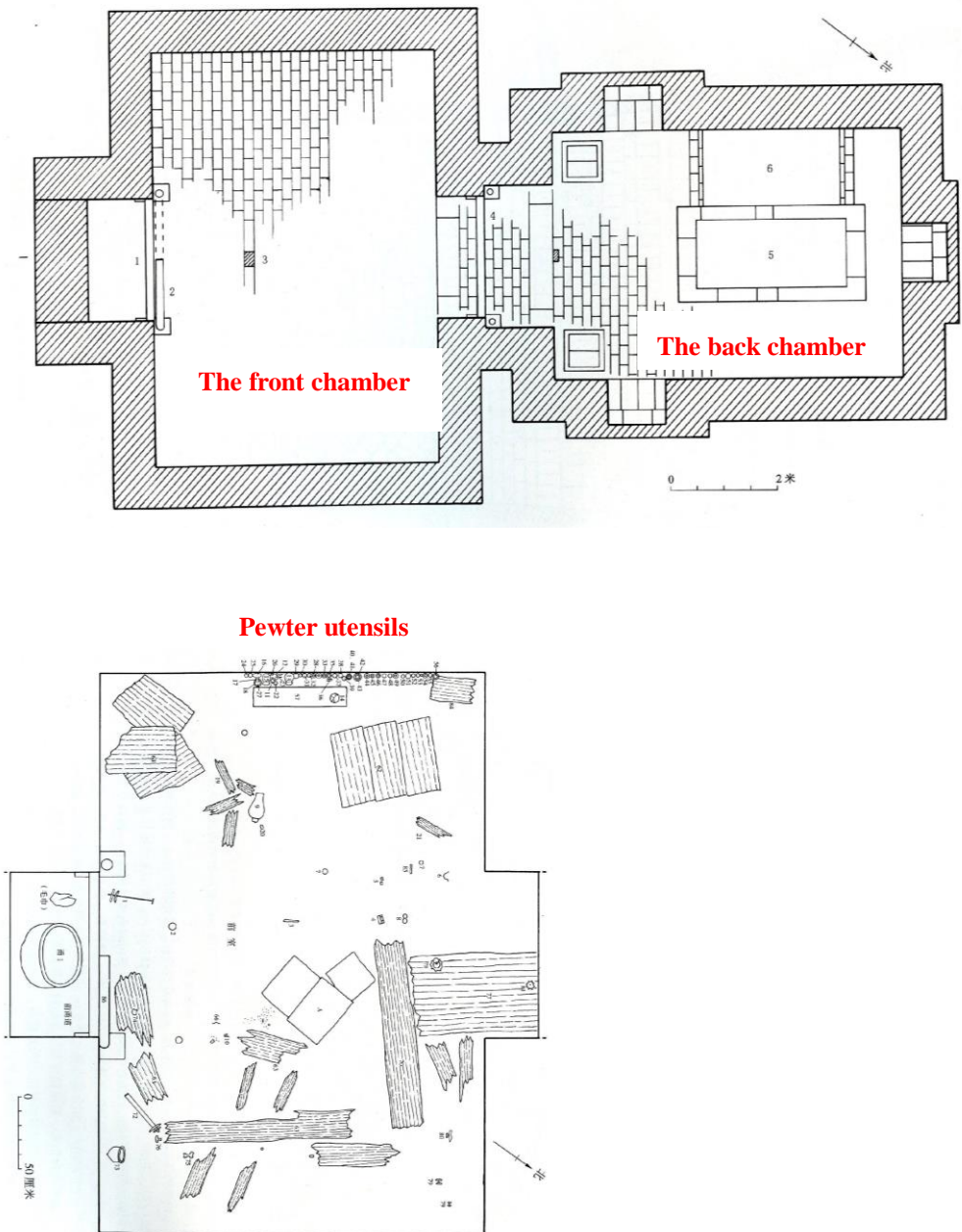


Figure 5-6 The layouts of the whole tomb and the front tomb chamber of the Prince of Liang, Zhu Zhanji (1411-1441)

Upper, the layout of a double-chamber tomb of the Prince of Liang.

Bottom, the layout of the front tomb chamber. The pewter utensils were displayed in a line against the west wall. A lacquer table was found next to the pewter utensils.

[Source: Liang Zhu, ed., *Liangzhuang wang mu* 梁庄王墓 (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 2007), vol.1, 14, 22.]

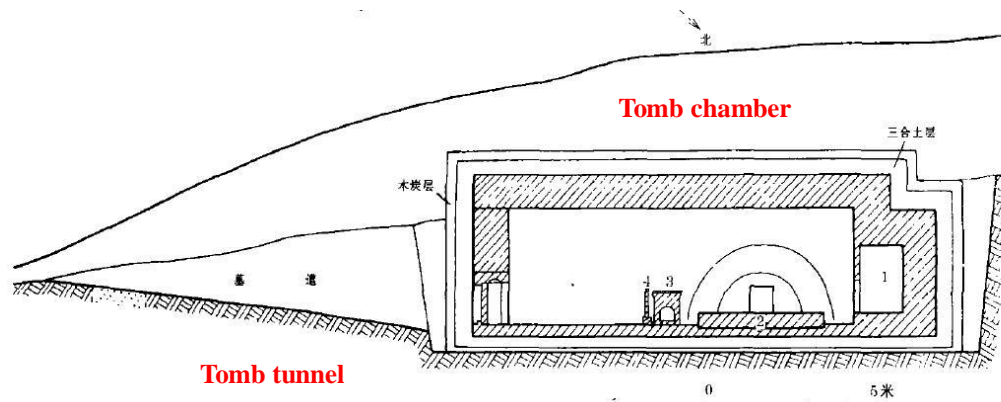


Figure 5-7 The cross-sectional view of the tomb of the Prince of Chu, Zhu Zhen (1370-1424)

Number 1 marked on this graph is the tomb niche where the pewter utensils were placed; number 2 is the coffin stand; number 3, in front of the coffin stand is a stone altar containing the *wugong*; and number 4 is the epitaph of Zhu Zhen.

[Source: Huebisheng wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo, "Wuchang Longquanshan Mingdai Chu Zhao wang mu fajue jianbao 武昌龍泉山明代楚昭王墓發掘簡報," *Wenwu*, no.2 (2003): 6.]

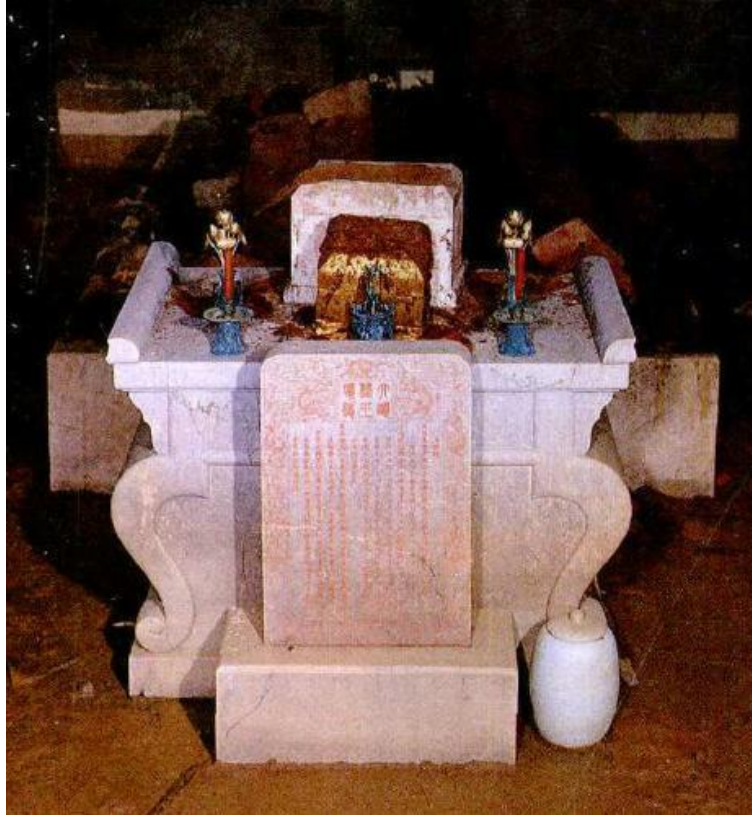


Figure 5-8 The stone altar found in the Prince of Chu's tomb
The copper incense burner was placed in the middle flanked by the copper candle
stands and flower vases.
[Source: Huebisheng wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo, "Wuchang Longquanshan Mingdai Chu
Zhao wang mu fajue jianbao," 9.]

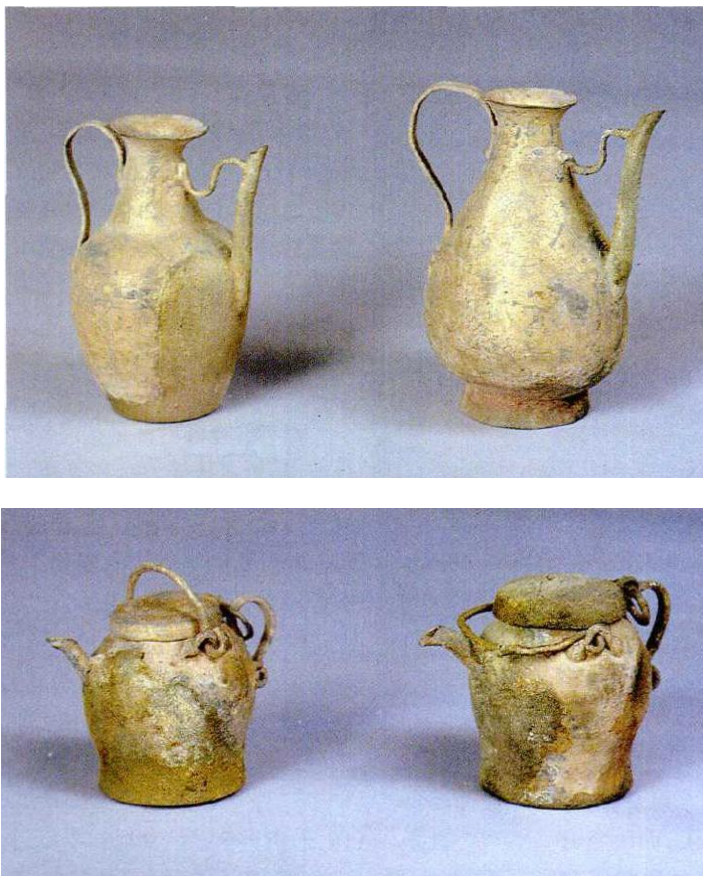


Figure 5-9 Pewter-lead utensils found in the Prince of Chu's tomb niche
Upper, two bottles, around 8-9 cm in height. Bottom, two pots, around 5-6 cm in height.

[Source: Huebisheng wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo, "Wuchang Longquanshan Mingdai Chu Zhao wang mu fajue jianbao, 9-10.]



Figure 5-10 Two flower vases found in the Prince of Chu's tomb
These two vases, 15.6 cm in height, were placed on top of the stone altar in the tomb of the Prince of Chu. The lotus flowers were made of copper glided with gold.
[Source: Huebisheng wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo, "Wuchang Longquanshan Mingdai Chu Zhao wang mu fajue jianbao, 12.]



Figure 5-11 Two candle stands found in the Prince of Chu's tomb
Two candle stands with candles were placed on the stone altar. The height of the candle stand including the candle is 28.4 cm. The candle stand was made of copper and the candle was represented by a stick of wood painted with red coating.
[Source: Huebisheng wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo, "Wuchang Longquanshan Mingdai Chu Zhao wang mu fajue jianbao,13.]

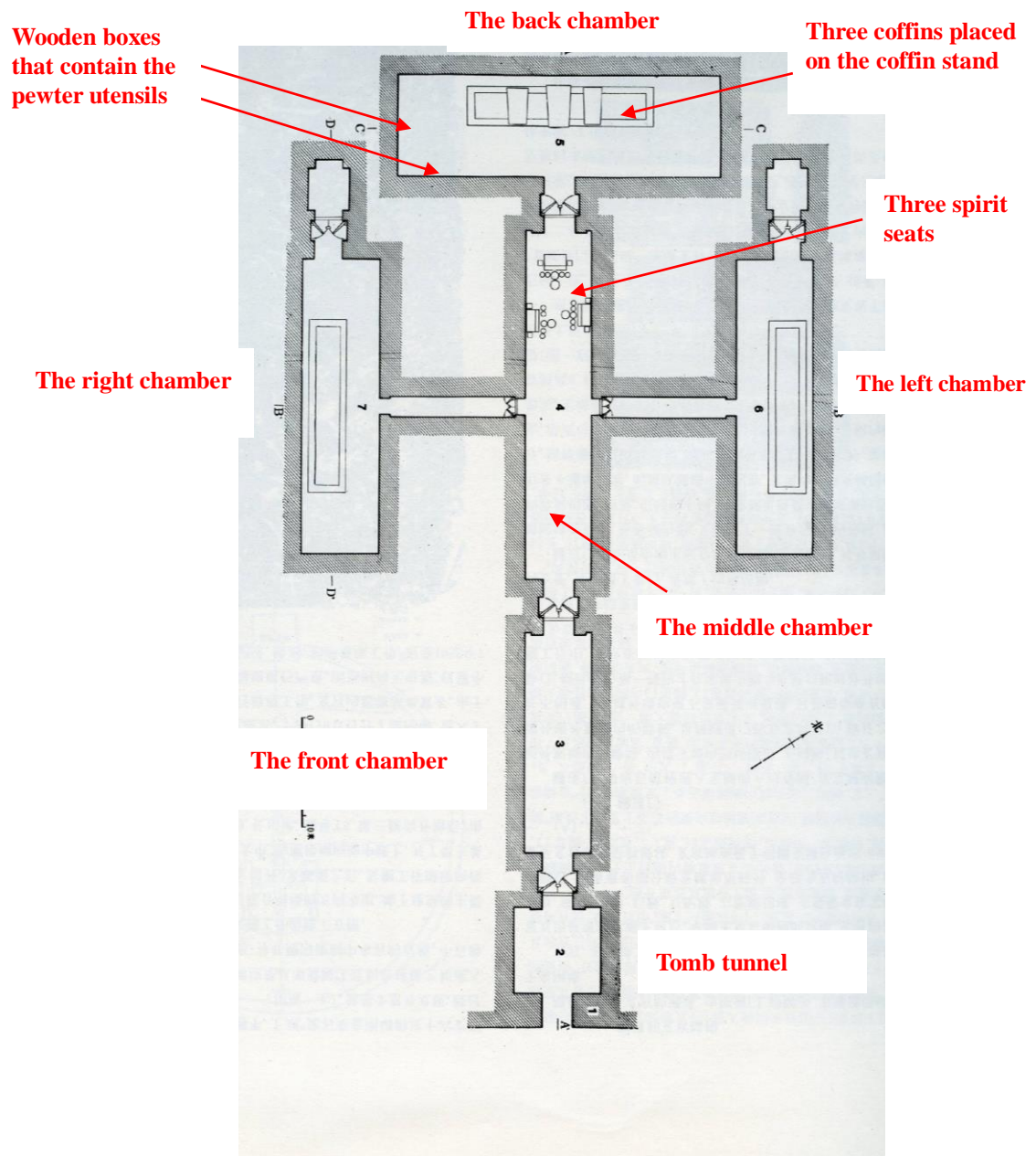


Figure 5-12 The layout of Dingling.

[Source: Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe, *Dingling*, vol.1, 14.]



Figure 5-13 Pewter utensils found in Dingling

Left, an incense burner (around 11 cm in height). Middle, a wine ewer (around 10 cm in height). Right, two candle stands (around 7 cm in height). Their heights are around 10 cm.

[Source: Beijing shi changing qu shisan ling tequ abshechu, ed., *Dingling chutu wenwu tudian* 定陵出土文物圖典 (Beijing: Beijing chubanshe, 2006) vol.2, 303, 318, 369; Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe, *Dingling*, vol.1, 179, 182, 183.]

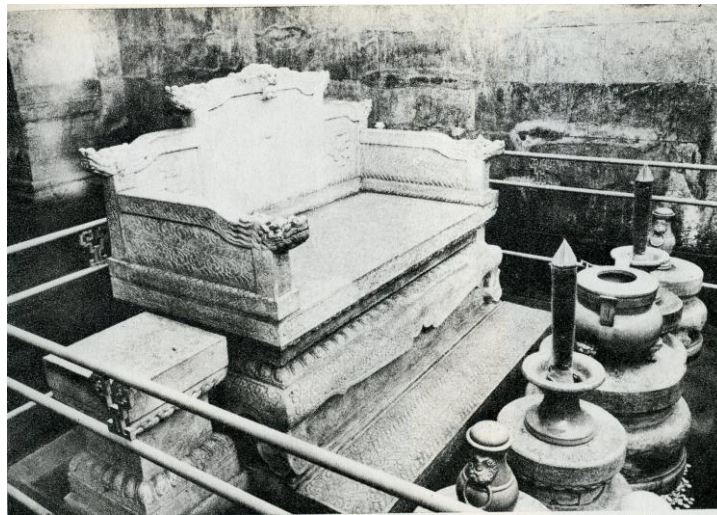


Figure 5-14 Marble seats and *wugong* found in Dingling

Upper, three marble spirit seats belong to the Wanli Emperor and his two consorts in the middle chamber of Dingling. In front of each seat, *wugong* made of glazed pottery were placed. Bottom, a close look of the spirit seat of the Wanli Emperor and *wugong*. The spirit seat is 205 cm in height, 109 cm in width, and 163 cm in height. The incense burner in the middle of *wugong* is 37 cm in height, and the vase is 34.5 cm in height. The candle stand is 22.4 cm in height, with a candle made of iron, which is 11.4 cm in height. The mouth of the vase has no opening to put flowers in; therefore, archaeologists suggest that this set of *wugong* is *mingqi*.

[Source: Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe, *Dingling*, vol.2, plate 24, and 214.]

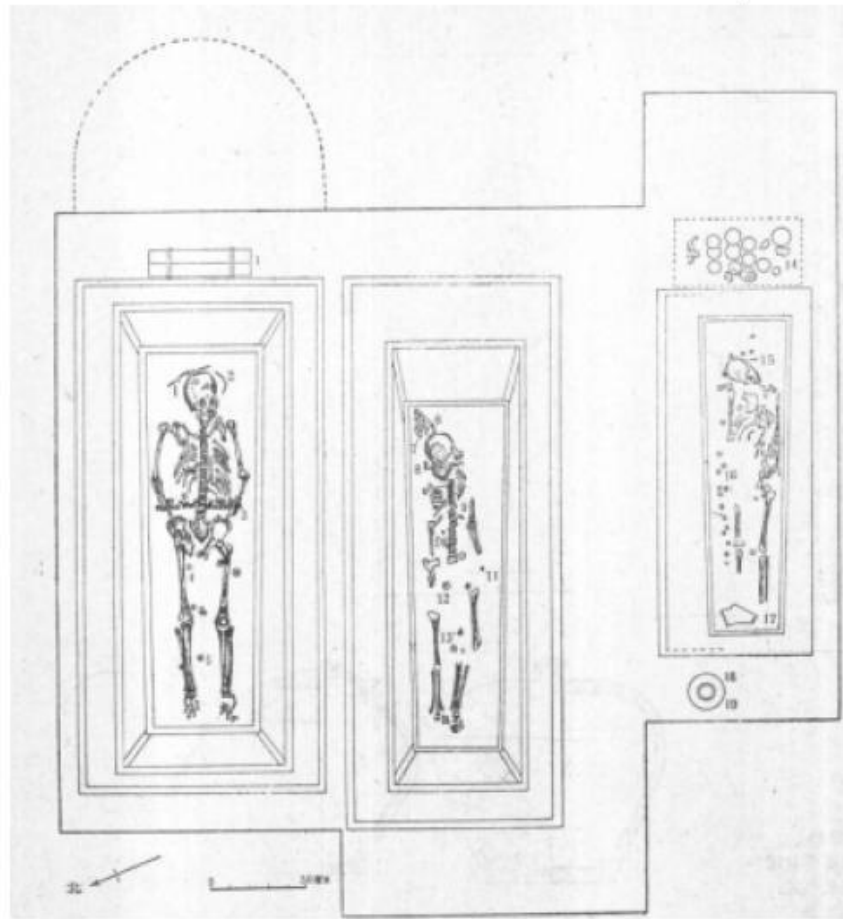


Figure 5-15 The layout of Cui Sheng's (1426-1499) vertical pit tomb. The right coffin belongs to Cui Sheng. Pewter utensils were placed in the niche next to Cui Sheng's coffin. The middle coffin belongs to Cui's wife, whereas the identity of the person on left is unknown.

[Source: Liaoningsheng bowuguan wenwudui and Anshanshi wenwuju wenwuzu, ed., "Anshan nijiatai Ming Cui Yuan zumu de fajue 鞍山倪家台明崔源族墓的發掘," *Wenwu* no.11 (1978):14.]



Figure 5-16 The niche and the pewter utensils in Cui Jian's (1448-1511)'s tomb
23 pewter utensils in the types of plates, vase, and candle stand were found in a wall niche with the dimension of 18 cm in height, 44 cm in width, and 40 cm in depth. This dimension suggests that these pewter utensils placed in it are very tiny.

[Source: Liaoningsheng bowuguan wenwudui and Anshanshi wenwuju wenwuzu, "Anshan nijiatai Ming Cui Yuan zumu de fajue," 14.]

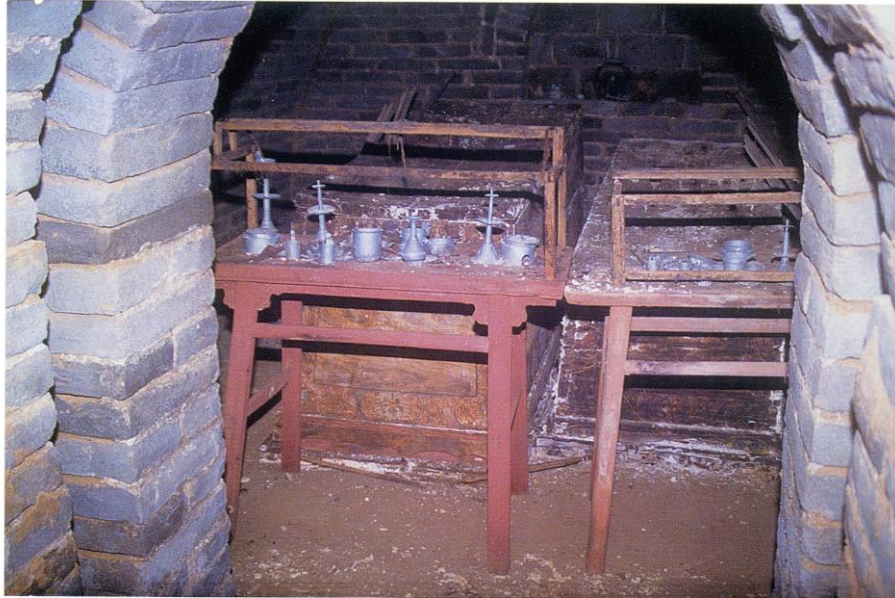


Figure 5-17 Pewter utensils found in tomb no.3 in Yanchi, Ningxia Province
Two regular-size tables were placed in front of two coffins in tomb no.3, one of the Yang family tombs excavated in Yanchi, Ningxia Province. On top of the tables are pewter utensils such as incense burners, candle stands, spoons, and plates.
[Source: Ningxia wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo, ed., *Yanchi fengji quan Ming mu* 鹽池馮記圈明墓 (Beijing: Kexue chubanshe, 2010), color plate 48.]



Figure 5-18 A pewter candle stand and a pewter vase found in tomb no.3 in Yanchi, Ningxia Province

Left, A pewter candle stand. Right, A pewter vase, 5 cm in height, found in tomb no.3 in Yanchi, Ningxia Province.

[Source: Ningxia wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo, *Yanchi fengjiquan Mingmu*, color plate 51, color plate 52.]



Figure 5-19 Stone statues erected at Cui Yuan's family graveyard
Upper left, stone statue of a civil officer (2.15 meters in height). Upper right, stone statue of a tiger (1.1 meters in height). Bottom, stone statue of a horse (1.55 meter in length)

[Source: Liaoningsheng bowuguan wenwudui and Anshanshi wenwuju wenwuzu, "Anshan nijiatai Ming Cui Yuan zumu de fajue," 12, 30.]



Figure 5-20 Gown patterns of lion and qilin

Upper left, the gown found in tomb no.3 in Yanchi with the pattern of lion on the chest.

Upper right, a close look of the pattern of lion on the gown. Bottom left, the pattern of

qilin embroidered on the gown found in tomb no.2 in Yanchi. Bottom right, the sketch of the qilin pattern by archaeologists.

[Source: Ningxia wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo, color plate 68, color plate 70, color plate 38, 157.]



Figure 5-21 Huang Mengxuan's (1425-1480) pewter utensils on top of his coffin
The display of these pewter utensils was found on top of Huang Mengxuan's coffin
when his tomb was excavated by archaeologists.
[Source: He, *Shanghai Mingmu*, plate 7.]

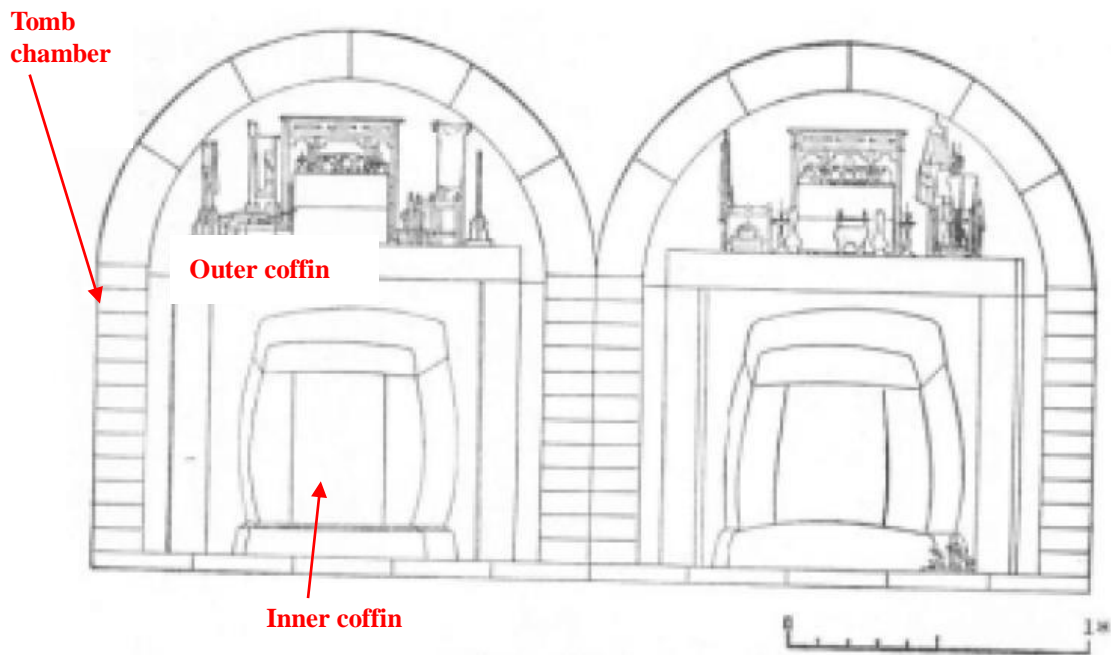


Figure 5-22 The vertical profile of Wang Xijue (1534-1614) and his wife's vertical pit tombs, Jiangsu Province

On top of their outer coffins are displays of miniaturized furniture and pewter utensils.
 [Source: Suzhoushi bowuguan, ed., "Suzhou huqiu Wang Xijue mu qingli jilue 蘇州虎丘王錫爵墓清理紀略," *Wenwu*, no.3 (1975): 52.]

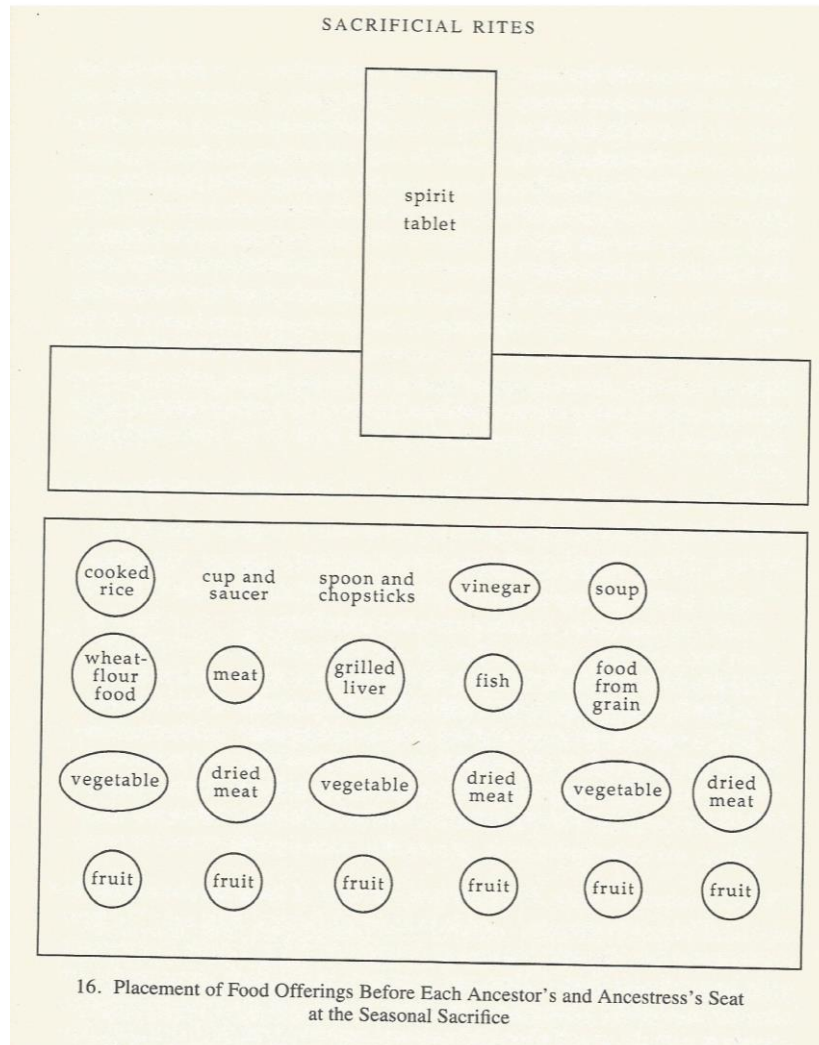


Figure 5-23 Placement of food offerings before each ancestor's and ancestress's seat at the seasonal sacrifice

[Source: Patricia Ebrey, *Chu His's Family Rituals* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991), 161.]

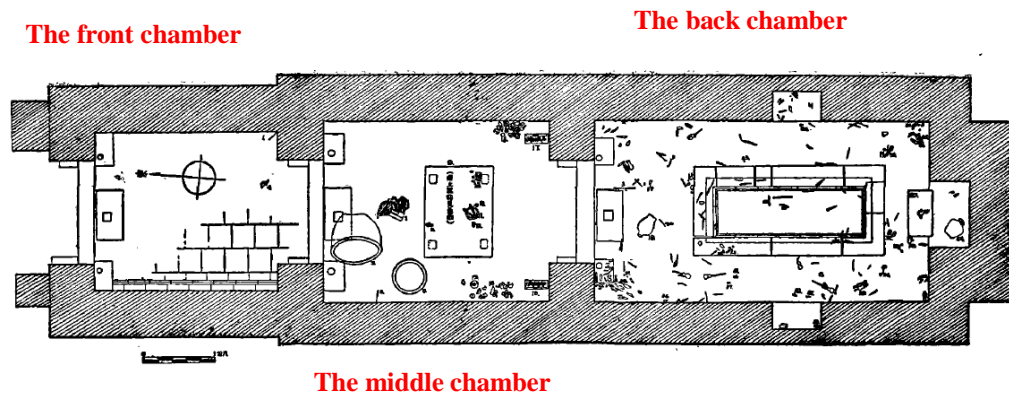


Figure 5-24 The layout of Jin Ying's (1394-1457) tomb

Jin Ying's pewter utensils were placed on a stone altar situated in the middle chamber.
 [Source: Huadong wenwu gongzuodui, "Nanjing Nanjiao yingtai shan Ming Jin Ying mu qinli ji 南京南郊英臺寺山明金英墓清理記," *Wenwu cankao ziliao*, no.12 (1954): 70.]

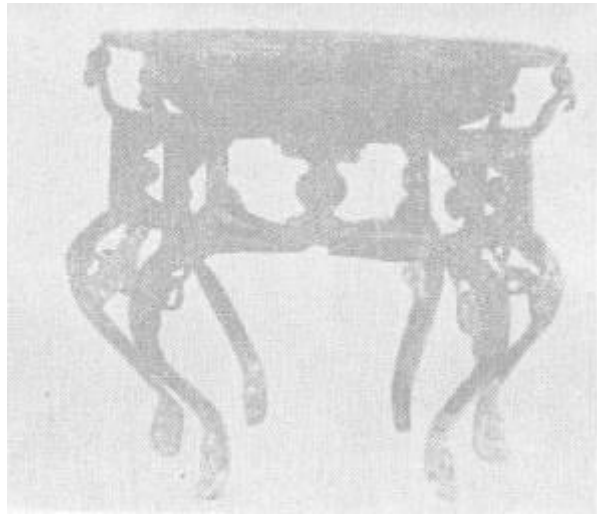


Figure 5-25 The pewter stand found in Jin Ying's tomb

Not only was the stand decorated with an exquisite pattern, each of the pods can be folded. The archaeological report does not provide the measurements of this pewter stand.

[Source: Huadong wenwu gongzuodui, "Nanjing Nanjiao yingtaisi shan Ming Jin Ying mu qinli ji," plate 4.]

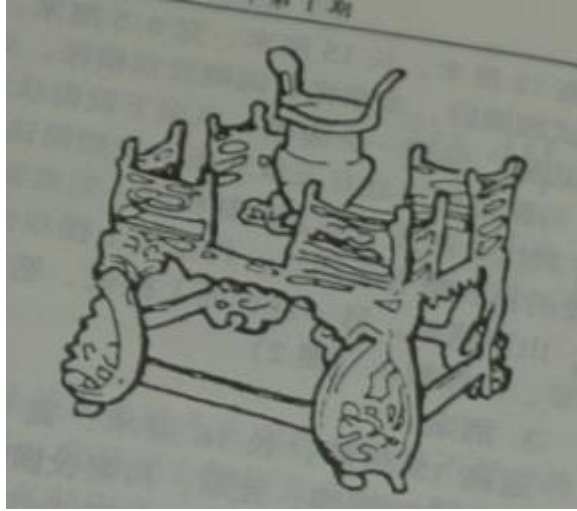


Figure 5-26 A pewter incense burner placed on a pewter altar found in Zhang Han's (1510-1593) tomb

The height of this set of utensils is 15 cm, 17.5 cm in length, and 7.2 cm in width.

(This is an archaeologist's reconstruction)

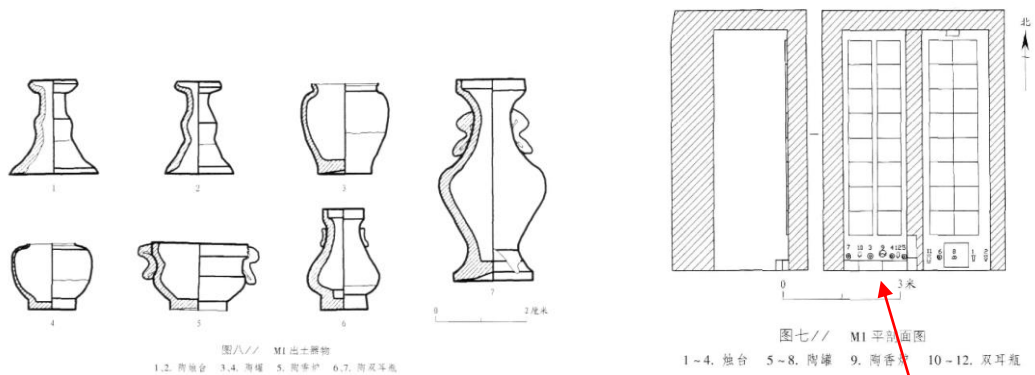
[Source: Lin Cunqi, "Fuzhou Ming Zhang Hai mu chutu jiaju mingqi qianshuo 福州明張海墓出土家具明器淺說," *Fujian wenbo* no. 1(1999): 117-118.]



Figure 5-27 Pewter utensils found in Zhu Tingyu's (1496-1583) tomb

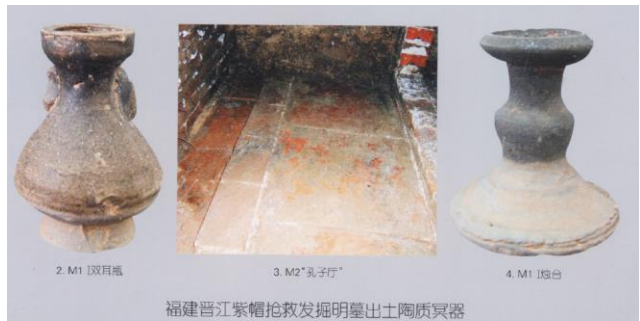
Upper, A pewter table with plates, bowls, tea pot, and wine ewer found in Zhu Tingyu's tomb. The height is 13.3 cm, the width is 7.3 cm, and the length is 13.8 cm. Bottom left, a pewter table with pewter *wugong* found in Zhu Tingyu's tomb. The height is 20.6 cm; the width is 20 cm. Bottom right, a pewter table with an incense burner found in the tomb of Zhu Tingyu's successor wife (1502-1553). The height is 15.3 cm, and the width is 10.2 cm.

[Source: Fuzhoushi wenwu kaogu gongzuodui, ed., "Fuzhoushi xindian Zhu Huanqi Ming mu fajue jianbao 福州市新店祝恒齊明墓發掘簡報," *Fujian wenbo* no.1 (2015): 15-16.]



图八// M1出土器物
1.2. 烛台 3.4. 陶罐 5. 陶香炉 6.7. 陶双耳瓶

图七// M1 平面布局图
1-4. 烛台 5-8. 陶罐 9. 陶香炉 10-12. 双耳瓶



Clay utensils

福建晋江紫帽抢救发掘明墓出土陶质冥器

Figure 5-28 Clay utensils found in two tombs in Zimao County, Fujian Province
 Upper left, the cross-sectional view of the clay utensils found in Tomb no.1. Numbers one and two marked on the graph are the candle stands. Number five is an incense burner. Numbers six and seven are the vases. Their heights are approximate 4-5 cm.
 Upper right, the layout of tomb no.1. These clay utensils were placed in front of the coffin, with the incense burner in the middle flanked with two vases and two candle stands.
 Bottom, the clay vase and the clay candle stand found in tomb no.2.
 [Source: Fujian bowuguan, "Fujian jinjiang Zimao Ming mu fajue baogao 福建晉江紫帽明墓發掘報告," *Dongnan wenhua* no.5 (2007): 33-38.]



Figure 5-29 A mural tomb, with depictions of ancestral worship, found in Jianle County, Fujian Province

The middle niche depicted an ancestral tablet. In front of the middle niche is a real incense burner flanked by two real candle stands. The two side niches are portraits of ancestors sitting on chairs.

[Jianglexian bowuguan, ed., “Jianglexian Mingdai bihuamu qili jianbao 將樂縣明代壁畫墓清理簡報,” *Fujian wenbo* no.3 (2011): 31.]

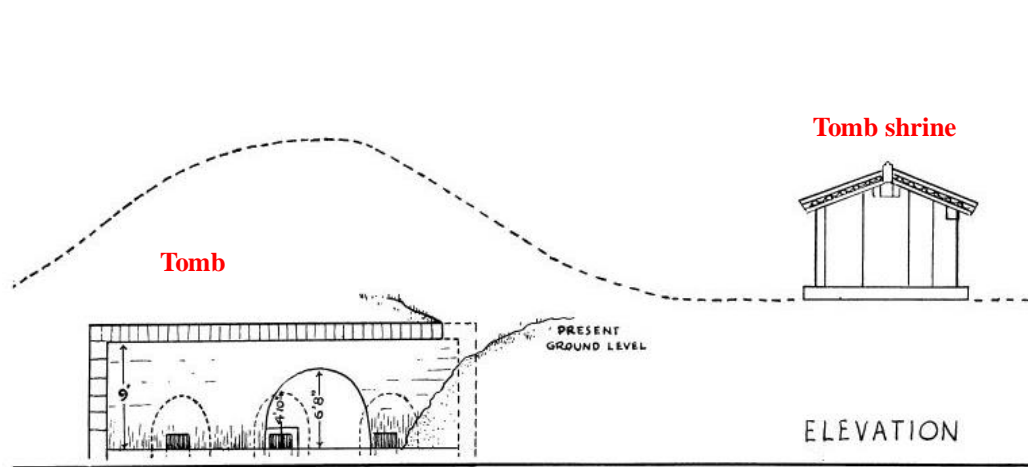


Figure 6-1 The spatial relationship between a tomb and a tomb shrine
 This example is Zhu you's 朱鮪 family grave and tomb shrine (Shangdong
 province, mid-1st century A.D.).

[Source: Wilma Fairbank, "A Structural Key to Han Mural Art," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 7, no.1 (1942): 55.]

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