

**Zeitschrift:** Asiatische Studien : Zeitschrift der Schweizerischen Asiengesellschaft = Études asiatiques : revue de la Société Suisse-Asie  
**Herausgeber:** Schweizerische Asiengesellschaft  
**Band:** 18-19 (1965)  
**Heft:** 1-4  
  
**Artikel:** Texts in tombs  
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**DOI:** <https://doi.org/10.5169/seals-145989>

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## TEXTS IN TOMBS

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Along with a strongly intuitive element, tending occasionally towards the mystical, an inclination towards the realistic, the material, the matter of fact seems to be inherent in the Chinese character, and it is the latter that has led the Chinese themselves consistently to underestimate or to disparage, if not to despise religious factors. I am convinced that Confucius was a deeply religious man, but even his sayings have proved to be susceptible to an explanation which made him seem an agnostic. The later Confucians, to a man, have always condemned popular religion, calling it 'vile sacrifices', and their latter-day descendants have never varied, be they followers of Sun Yat-sen or of John Dewey or of Karl Marx, in calling it *mi-hsin* or superstition. This makes them awkward judges of religious phenomena and bad exegetes of religious texts, for it renders them a priori incapable of taking these phenomena and these texts at their own value, as they lack the imagination needed to enter into the spiritual world of the believers. They were – and are – too rational to step over into the irrational. (The moderns are, of course, too *engagé*, too much existentially involved to allow them to do so; this holds also good for their teleological – and therefore a-historical – approach to history.) As long as things could be given a rational explanation, they were content – and we should never forget that Yin and Yang and the Five Elements were rational, scientific entities to them, physical elements, however unscientific and downright fanciful they may seem to us now. As soon as this rational, logical element was lacking, they felt ill at ease, even the most religiously inclined amongst them, witness the doubts and the lack of understanding shown in Hui-yüan's letters to Kumarajiva.<sup>1</sup>

1. See E. Zürcher, *The Buddhist Conquest of China* (Leiden, Brill, 1959), p. 229.

It is, of course, not to be denied that primitive religion in itself is not devoid of a rationalistic element, not to say a strongly formalistic approach, which finds its simplest expression in the saying *do ut des*. However elevated the idea of cosmic harmony may appear, in the end it is based on the quasi-scientific and unquestioned belief that action in the world of man inevitably entails reaction in the non-human world of nature. The rules for the maintenance of that harmony that is beneficent to human society has been laid down in the *li* which is therefore much more than mere 'ritual', as it embraces all the rules for right living and correct action. The concrete and quasi-rational nature of these rules seems to have been the cause that in antiquity the rationalistic Chinese did note these down, whereas they kept away from writing about their religion. There exists no body of ancient Chinese religious texts that might be compared with the religious writings of the Egyptians or the Babylonians or the Indians.

These random thoughts serve as an introduction to the following brief notes which pose more questions than that they provide answers or solutions.

The extensive excavations of the last fifteen years have considerably extended our knowledge of the arrangement of ancient<sup>2</sup> Chinese tombs, and especially of the gifts that were buried with the dead. An immense number of *ming-ch'i* has come to light and thanks to the discovery of many undisturbed graves, we know not only what were these gifts, but also how they were placed inside the tomb.

But in spite of the great quantity and variety of tomb furnishings, we hear only rarely of finds of writings; in all the thousands of graves that have been excavated, the number of those in which actual texts<sup>3</sup> were included is extremely small.<sup>4</sup> And that is only natural because of the

2. By 'ancient' I mean pre-Han and Han, although the above remarks will also apply to finds of later periods. In this article I restrict myself to the earlier period.

3. Not counting the frequent occurrence of inscribed pottery jars in Han tombs, for which see the article by Huang Shih-pin in *Kaogu Tongxun*, 1958/1.

4. The present paper is exclusively concerned with texts placed in the tomb as funerary gifts, and not with tomb inscriptions, however important these are.

perishable nature of the writing material: bamboo and silk, or occasionally wood, or – much later – paper. Of course, there are the many inscriptions on bronzes, but it may be assumed that the bronze vessels were included among the funerary gifts as containers, like the pottery vessels, and not because of the inscriptions they happened to contain. The writing on e.g. lacquer cups is even less to be considered as texts, because it is exclusively concerned with the date and place of manufacture and, regardless of its importance from other points of view (furnishing datings *ante quem non*;<sup>5</sup> providing information on the location and the organisation of workshops,<sup>6</sup> etc.), this type of writing does not relate anything.

Of the small number of actual texts found, I want to exclude two other categories, although they are intimately connected with the tombs in which they were found. These are the contracts and the lists of funerary gifts. The contracts establish that the grave site was bought, from actual persons or from the God of the Mountain; they furnish information that is of primary importance for the history of Chinese law,<sup>7</sup> as well as providing some sidelights on religion, but again, they do not relate anything. This applies also to the lists of funerary gifts. These provide further insight into the tomb furnishings, and help us in our understanding of the ritual texts; as such these are of the greatest value, but by their very nature these are labels, or at most lists of goods, not connected texts.

Here we may well ask the question, why we should expect any texts at all. The answer is simply that sometimes texts have been found, and

5. E.g. the dates of the Hsiung-nu tombs at Noin-ula in Outer Mongolia; see S. Umehara, *Studies of Noin-ula finds in North Mongolia*, The Toyo Bunko Publications Series A, no. 27 (Tokyo, the Toyo Bunko, 1960).

6. See e.g. the essay on handicraft industry in Han times by Ch'en Chih, included in his *Liang Han ching-chi shih-liao lun-ts'ung* (Sian, Shensi Jen-min ch'u-pan-she, 1958), p. 79–207.

7. These contracts have been extensively studied by Niida Noboru in 'Documents of sale and purchase of land during the periods of the Han, Wei and Six Dynasties', *Tōhōgaku hō* VIII (Tokyo, 1938), pp. 33–102, now included with some additions in his *Chūkoku hōseishi*, vol. II (Tokyo, 1960), pp. 400–461. See also Henri Maspero, *Etudes historiques*, *Mélanges posthumes*, vol. III (Paris, 1950), pp. 155–156, and my *Remnants of Han law*, vol. I (Leiden, Brill, 1955), p. 78.

that it is therefore to be assumed that occasionally texts did form part of the funerary gifts. However, there are also cases mentioned in literature; J. J. M. de Groot states on p. 414 of *The religious system of China* that during the early centuries of our era it was not unusual to place books or other documents in tombs. He mentions a man who wished a copy of the chapter *Yao-tien* of the Book of Documents to be placed in his tomb; a similar wish was expressed by a commentator of the *Tao-te ching* who desired a copy of this text to be buried with him, and by the wellknown Huang-fu Mi who wanted the *Hsiao-ching*, the Canon of Filial Piety, laid in his grave. All wished to demonstrate in this way that they had never neglected the prescriptions of the sages.

As far as I am aware, real texts have so far been found in a very small number of tombs. Of these finds I shall immediately exclude from further discussion one find, which is highly interesting in itself, but as far as I can see, this text is merely an incidental appendage to another object which was of primary importance. This is the decree tied to the so-called dove sticks (insignia bestowed on worthy old men); by this decree the staff had been granted.<sup>8</sup> However, the staffs should be viewed as the dead man's personal property on which he had set great store during his lifetime; they are to be considered on a par with such belongings like swords, drinking cups, mirrors, etc., that were customarily buried with the deceased.

There are, I believe, only four cases where actual texts were placed in a tomb: in the Chi tomb of a prince of the feudal state of Wei of approximately 300 B.C., discovered in A.D. 279; in the Han time tomb no. 6 at Mo-chü-tzu, excavated in 1959; in the Ch'ang-sha tomb of the Warring States' period, found in 1942, and in the tomb excavated at Chang-t'ai near Hsin-yang in 1956.

Of these tombs, the Chi tomb was by far the richest, but it is also the place about which we are least well informed; Chu Hsi-tsu has con-

8. See Kaogu, 1960/9, pp. 19, 22 and 29-30, describing the finds at tomb 18 at Mo-chü-tzu, near Wu-wei in Kansu province; a contribution by Dr. Michael Loewe of Cambridge, entitled 'The wooden and bamboo strips found at Mo-chü-tzu' has just been published in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* for 1965, pp. 13-26.

veniently assembled all the available information.<sup>9</sup> It contained 'tens of thousands of strips' which were greatly disturbed by the grave robbers who used part of them to make torches to facilitate their task. However, in the end the imperial commission of scholars, entrusted with the work of reassembling the texts, found no less than nineteen works.<sup>10</sup> These included about six works of an historical nature (among which the Bamboo Annals and the *I Chou shu*;<sup>11</sup> four were different parts of the *I-ching*,<sup>12</sup> and two were works on oracles and portents. To be mentioned especially are the *Mu t'ien-tzu chuan*, the travels of king Mu of the Chou, and the story of the burial of his favourite companion, the Lady Sheng.<sup>13</sup>

The Chang-t'ai tomb contained what seemed to be a Confucianist text.<sup>14</sup>

The Mo-chü-tzu tomb produced unexpected riches, as this grave of the end of the first century B. C. contained a large part of the ritual text, the *I-li*, consisting of 469 strips of 2' 4'' Han measure or approximately 56 cm, as well as eleven one-foot strips of a hemerological work<sup>15</sup> of the type described by Wang Ch'ung in his *Lun-heng*<sup>16</sup> at the end of the

9. Chu Hsi-tsu, *Chi-chung shu k'ao*, first published in 1939, and republished as a separate booklet of 5 + 63 pages in 1960 by the Chung-hua Book Co. in Peking.

10. See Chu, *op. cit.*, p. 21 ff. for a detailed description.

11. Chu, *op. cit.*, pp. 31-33, shows that the *Chou shu* found in the Chi tomb was another copy or version of the text already known in Han times.

12. Chu, *op. cit.*, pp. 25-26, complains bitterly of the failure of the imperial commissioners to indicate exactly in how far the text found in the tomb corresponded with the current version of the Canon of Changes.

13. See Chu, *op. cit.*, pp. 27-29. The complete text has been translated by Cheng Te-k'un in the *Journal of the North China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. LXIV (Peking, 1933), pp. 124-142, and vol. LXV (1934), pp. 128-149, under the title 'The Travels of Emperor Mu'.

14. See *Wenwu*, 1957/9, p. 22, and 1959/9, p. 59.

15. I have borrowed this term from the field of Accadian studies, where many such texts have been found; see S. Langdon, *Babylonian menologies and the Semitic calendars*; the Schweich lectures on biblical archaeology, 1933 (London, Humphrey Milford, 1935), and René Labat, *Hémérologies et ménologies d'Assur*; Etudes d'Assyriologie publiées sous la direction de Ch. Fossey (Paris, Adrien Maisonneuve, 1939).

16. Wang Ch'ung mentions i. a. the 'activities' of burying, bathing, sacrificing in ch. 70, 72 and 73 of his *Lun-heng*, see Alfred Forke's translation: *Lun-heng, Miscellaneous Essays of Wang Ch'ung*, vol. I (1907), p. 525 ff., and vol. II (1911), pp. 393 ff. and 402 ff.



first century A.D., indicating lucky and unlucky days for all manner of undertakings.<sup>17</sup>

The Ch'ang-sha grave contained a piece of silk with a long and complicated text that has formed the subject of a number of studies.<sup>18</sup> The final word on its contents will only be spoken when the original silk manuscript will have been put before us in a reproduction where the means of modern scientific photography will have been exhaustively applied.<sup>19</sup> Up to the present, all studies have had to rely either on poor photographs or, even worse, on drawings made from a poor photograph in which a subjective element is practically unavoidable. A good photograph will also show where inexpert restoration has misplaced odd fragments.

Still, it is clear that the text is partly at least what Ricket has called a calendar chart.<sup>20</sup> Ricket says that the text he discusses, viz. the *Kuan-tzu*, chapter III/8, *Yu-kuan*, 'basically consists of a Five Element seasonal

17. For a description of the Mo-chü-tzu finds see *Wu-wei Han chien* (Peking, 1964).

18. Referring for earlier studies to the bibliographical remarks made in the articles by An and Ch'en and by Shang mentioned below, the most important recent studies are:

Jao Tsung-i, *Ch'ang-sha ch'u-t'u Chan-kuo tseng-shu hsin-shih*, with the English subtitle 'A study of the Ch'u silk manuscript with a new reconstruction of the text', Hongkong, 1958.

Li Hsüeh-chin, 'Chan-kuo t'i-ming kai-shu' (Survey of inscriptions of the Warring States period), II, in *Wenwu*, 1959/9, p. 58 ff., with an improved and corrected reading in *Wenwu*, 1960/7, entitled 'Pu-lun Chan-kuo t'i-ming ti i-hsieh wen-t'i' (Additional discussion of some questions regarding the inscriptions of the Warring States period).

An Chih-min and Ch'en Kung-ju, 'Ch'ang-sha Chan-kuo tseng-shu chi ch'i yu-kuan wen-t'i' (The Ch'ang-sha Warring States silk document and related questions), in *Wenwu*, 1963/9, pp. 48-60.

Shang Ch'eng-tsu, 'Chan-kuo Ch'u pi-shu shu-lüeh' (Survey of the Warring States silk document from Ch'u), in *Wenwu*, 1964/9, pp. 8-20.

Hayashi Minao, 'A Chan-kuo silk manuscript discovered at Ch'ang-sha' (Japanese), in *Tōhō Gakuhō* 36 (Kyoto, 1964), p. 53-98.

N.B. Their papers having been published simultaneously, Shang Ch'eng-tsu and Hayashi Minao did not know each other's publications.

19. This wish has been practically fulfilled by the publication of the article by Hayashi Minao, mentioned in the preceding note, which includes a hand copy of the ms., based on photographs provided by the Freer Gallery of Art in Washington D.C.

20. W. Alleyn Ricket, 'An early Chinese calendar chart: *Kuan-tzu* III, 8 (*Yu-kuan*)', in *T'oung-Pao* XLVIII (1960), pp. 195-251.

calendar supplemented by an essay ... which has been cut up and rearranged under the seasonal divisions of the calendar. These divisions, in turn, have been correlated with the four directions and the center, so that, when the different sections are laid out geographically on paper, they form a pattern reminiscent of a Yin-Yang and Five Element numerology chart.'<sup>21</sup> He also remarks that 'it would have been impossible to construct such a complicated chart on the usual narrow bamboo slips; only a relatively large area such as that provided by a silk scroll ... would have sufficed.'<sup>22</sup> A similar document, i. e. a text which now forms one continuous piece but which was originally split up according to the Eight Directions, is hidden in a wellknown but unexpected source, viz. in the 25th chapter of the *Shih-chi* (*Mémoires historiques* III, pp. 301-313), as was shown by Japanese scholar Rai Tsutomu in the social science annual of the Ochanomizu Women's College for 1960.

But that is exactly what the Ch'ang-sha silk document is: a combination of mainly calendarical and astrological information, indicating that no action, especially sacrificing, is to be undertaken when certain phenomena occur, with some legendary materials added. Here the sections are actually 'laid out geographically',<sup>23</sup> part of the information being put in the sections outside the main text. Along the border of the document are figures, representing gods or spirits, complete with their names, although the latter are, unfortunately, nearly illegible or incomprehensible. They are far from beautiful; in fact, they are monstrous. However, in view of their names and their positions on the silk chart, and in view of the resemblance between some of them and actual objects found in other Ch'u tombs, we cannot but accept that these three-headed or cow-bellied and mostly horned creatures are meant to be good spirits, i. e. beneficent to the deceased and to his living descendants.

These objects, which have been presented and discussed by the late

21. *Op. cit.*, p. 195.

22. *Op. cit.*, p. 200.

23. What is lacking in the Ch'ang-sha chart is the 'River Chart pattern', mentioned by Ricket, *op. cit.*, p. 206.



Alfred Salmony,<sup>24</sup> are *pi hsieh*, 'those who ward off evil'.<sup>25</sup> This is also the opinion of the Chinese scholars. Jao Tsung-i<sup>26</sup> refers to the second century work by Wang Fu, the *Ch'ien-fu lun*, in which in the chapter entitled 'On extravagance' there is mentioned painting coloured pictures and inscribing incantations on silk in order to attract good fortune,<sup>27</sup> and to Ying Shao's *Feng-su t'ung* of the second century, which says that strips of five-coloured silk were used to ward off arms.<sup>28</sup> Jao believes that the Ch'ang-sha silk chart was intended to 'quieten the grave', *chen mu*,<sup>29</sup> as well as to keep evil influences away from the dead.<sup>30</sup> An and Ch'en also say that the chart is a magical object, intended to protect the dead.<sup>31</sup>

In the case of the silk chart it is comparatively easy to conclude that it was placed among the funerary gifts for the abovementioned purpose, viz. to keep evil influences away from the tomb. Here the chart with its pictures or the good spirits or gods fulfilled the role played in other cases by images of some of these spirits, like the goggle eyed and horned creature found in another Ch'ang-sha tomb.<sup>32</sup> Another early example is provided by the four small crouching stone tigers found in an early Han tomb;<sup>33</sup> in this case Ying Shao provides the interesting information that stone tigers – and cypress trees – were placed near graves to prevent the evil spirits called *wang-hsiang* from eating the liver and brains of the dead, because these spirits are afraid of tigers.<sup>34</sup> And then there is, of course, the whole imagery of the Han tombs, not to speak of later times;

24. Alfred Salmony, *Antler and tongue, an essay on ancient Chinese symbolism and its implications* (Ascona, Artibus Asiae Press, 1954). – The same, 'With antler and tongue', in *Artibus Asiae* XXI/1 (1958), p. 29 ff., adducing new material, i. a. published in *Wenwu*, 1957/9.

25. 辟邪

26. *Op. cit.*, p. 42.

27. *Ch'ien-fu lun*, Chu-tzu chi-ch'eng, 1955 ed., vol. VIII, p. 53.

28. *Feng-su t'ung-i*, ed. of the Centre franco-chinois (Peking, 1943), p. 86.

29. 鎮墓

30. Jao, *op. cit.*, p. 42.

31. An and Ch'en, *op. cit.*, p. 58.

32. Cf. *Wenwu*, 1957/9 and Salmony in *Artibus Asiae* XXI/1 (1958), pl. I.

33. *Wenwu*, 1957/7, pp. 80–81.

34. *Feng-su t'ung-i*, p. 88.

the decorations applied to the coffin and to the walls of the tomb, carved in stone or impressed on clay tiles, evidently had a religious significance.<sup>35</sup>

However, it seems difficult to say of the other texts that were discovered in tombs that they kept away evil influences. Would any piece of writing have had the same virtue? Or were texts perhaps sometimes included because they were the cherished personal property of the deceased, in the same way that his sword or his belt-buckle were placed with him in the grave? That might explain the presence of the 'Confucian document' in the Hsin-yang tomb. Or did this hardly decipherable document contain passages similar to the Ch'ang-sha chart? The latter seems to be true for the Mo-chü-tzu tomb, where, beside the chapters of the *I-li* concerning the burial ceremonies and mourning apparel, there was found the fragmentary calendar containing instructions on what to do and what to avoid on certain days. Could one say that this hemerology had a magic as well as a mantic significance and that it was believed to operate as a *pi-hsieh*?

For the great find in the Chi tomb in A. D. 279 the situation is rendered difficult by the fact that only part of what was found there has been transmitted to posterity (and even this part has suffered in the course of the centuries),<sup>36</sup> and that the contemporary descriptions of the find are far from detailed.<sup>37</sup> However, one may still ask why these texts included historical books? In order to glorify the deceased ruler? In the same way one may speculate about the inclusion of the other texts, like the parts of the Canon of Changes, or the oracles, etc., without being able to reach any conclusion.

However, there is one text whose presence among the funerary gifts seems susceptible to at least a tentative explanation, and that is the *Mu t'ien-tzu chuan*, 'the Traditions about the Son of Heaven Mu', or *Chou-*

35. See *I-nan ku hua-hsiang shih-mu fa-chüeh pao-kao* (Shanghai, 1956), pp. 30-31.

36. This applies in particular to the Bamboo Annals; see, after the work of reconstruction and restoration by Chu Yu-tseng and by Wang Kuo-wei, the most recent study on this subject by Fan Hsiang-yang, *Ku-pen Chu-shu chi-nien chi-hsiao ting-pu* (Shanghai, Jen-min ch'u-pan-she, 1957).

37. See p. 81 above.

wang yu-hsing, 'the Travels of the king of Chou', to which was added the chapter 'Events upon the death of the Beauty of king Mu of Chou, the Concubine Sheng', *Chou Mu-wang Sheng-chi ssu-shih*.<sup>38</sup> This last chapter reads in part like an extract from the *I-li*, with its detailed description of the mourning and burial ceremonies. But of even greater importance seem to be the Travels. They contain what Haloun has called 'a formalised enumeration of expeditions',<sup>39</sup> describing king Mu's journeys to different parts of his realm. But these journeys extend beyond his domains and lead him to the Land of the Blessed, faraway in the West, to the 'country' of Hsi-wang-mu.<sup>40</sup> Could we be allowed to think that the inclusion of this text in the Chi tomb had the purpose of providing the deceased ruler of Wei with a guide to the Nether World, or to Paradise, like the dead in ancient Egypt were provided with a copy of the Book of the Dead?

We know that Hsi-wang-mu was widely honoured as a goddess in Han times; this is proved not only by the Later Han tomb sculptures, but also by the texts, like e. g. the history of the Early Han dynasty for the year 3 B. C.<sup>41</sup> From the *Mu t'ien-tzu chuan* we obtain the impression that this was also true much earlier. The same impression is obtained, to a certain degree, from another early text, the *Wu-tsang ching*, i. e. the oldest part of the Canon of the Mountains and the Oceans, the *Shan-hai ching*. This part, written towards the end of the fourth century B. C., also describes the fabulous country of the far, far West, where Hsi-wang-mu sits on her throne on the Jade Mountain<sup>42</sup>. Mänchen-Helfen rightly called

38. See Chu Hsi-tsu, *op. cit.*, p. 30 ff.

39. Gustav Haloun, *Seit wann kannten die Chinesen die Tocharer oder die Indogermanen überhaupt?* (Leipzig, Asia Major, 1926), p. 195; Haloun speaks about a 'formelhafte Aufzählung von Huan's Kriegszügen', but that these descriptions were not limited to the campaigns of duke Huan of Ch'i is evident from other, similar, series, viz. that of the 'corners of the world', 'Welteckenreihen', on p. 197.

40. 西王母

41. H. H. Dubs a. o., *The History of the Former Han Dynasty*, vol. III (Baltimore, Waverley Press, 1955), p. 33 ff., and, by the same author, 'An early Chinese mystery cult', in *Harvard Theological Review* XXXV (1942), p. 221 ff.

42. See on this complicated text Otto Mänchen-Helfen, 'The later books of the Shan-hai-

this region 'the Abode of the Blessed'.<sup>43</sup> Maspero called the *Mu t'ien-tzu chuan* 'un roman', and he believed that the author of the *Wu-tsang ching* had tried in particular to systematize the information provided by this 'novel'.<sup>44</sup> Would it not be safer to say that both works operate with the same material: myths and legends concerning the home of the gods and the abode of the dead?<sup>45</sup>

Now, journeys to this mysterious realm and descriptions of its divine inhabitants are also known in other works of ancient Chinese literature, apart from the *Mu t'ien-tzu chuan* and the *Wu-tsang ching*. These literary products take us back to the country of Ch'u where the Ch'ang-sha tomb is situated, for Ch'u is the country of the *Ch'u-tz'u*, 'the Songs of the South' as Hawkes has called this collection of what is in origin essentially religious poetry.<sup>46</sup> Many of the original Ch'u poems describe journeys to the supernatural world, which is more than a mere fairyland.<sup>47</sup> It is the Other World, the realm of the gods and of the supernatural monsters that are described in the poems in which shamans summon back a soul.<sup>48</sup> To try and identify the names of these places on a map of China is an unprofitable enterprise,<sup>49</sup> for the traveller is not exploring the world of

king', in *Asia Major*, vol. I (1924), pp. 550–586, and Henri Maspero, *La Chine antique*, 2nd edition (Paris, 1955), pp. 507–508.

43. *Op. cit.*, p. 568 and p. 574.

44. *Op. cit.*, p. 508.

45. The location of this land in the West may be secondary; Haloun has shown how fluctuating the location of several mythical places could be. That in the fourth century B.C. also foreign influences made themselves felt, as amply demonstrated by Mänchen-Helfen, is of secondary importance in this respect.

46. David Hawkes, *Ch'u Tz'u, The Songs of the South; an ancient Chinese anthology* (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1959). Arthur Waley has extensively studied one set of poems in this anthology, *Chiu Ko, the Nine Songs, a study of shamanism in Ancient China* (London, Allen and Unwin, 1955); as Hawkes says (*op. cit.*, p. 217), this study 'is invaluable for its correlation of the relevant anthropological material'.

47. Hawkes, *op. cit.*, p. 8.

48. Hawkes, *op. cit.*, p. 101 ff. and p. 109 ff.; cf. p. 9.

49. See the pertinent remarks by J. R. Hightower on p. 208 of his 'Ch'ü Yüan studies', in *Silver Jubilee Volume of the Zimbun-Kagaku-Kenkyusyo*, vol. I (Kyoto, 1954), pp. 192–223. Cf. also the remarks by the late B. Kristensen, formerly professor for the history of religion at Leiden University, who on p. 33 and 34 of his *Het leven uit den dood* (Life out of Death. – Haarlem,

man; the same holds true for the spiritual journeys found in the later parts of the *Ch'u-tz'u*,<sup>50</sup> in the *Chuang-tzu*<sup>51</sup> and, several centuries later and less poetically, in the *Huai-nan-tzu*.<sup>52</sup> It might be more profitable to establish a complete repertory of all the supernatural beings mentioned in these and other ancient texts and to try and find the corresponding figures in the extensive imagery provided by the later bronzes, the Han tombs, and objects like the Ch'ang-sha sculptures and the figures on the Ch'ang-sha chart, like Miss Finsterbusch has tried to do, working with insufficient materials, for the Shan-hai ching.<sup>53</sup>

However, irrespective of what may have been the reason to include among the funerary gifts the many other texts mentioned in the preceding pages, the conclusion seems warranted that the Travels of the Son of Heaven Mu were placed in the princely Wei tomb to serve as a guide to the Other World.

Boon, 1949, 2nd ed.) says that any attempt to trace the geographical or cosmographical prototype of the journey of the Sun-god as described in the Egyptian Amm-Duat texts is doomed to failure. He adds that similar journeys, like that of the Accadian culture-hero Gilgamesh or of Odysseus, 'give the impression of being coherent descriptions of travels', which it might be possible to reconstruct on the map. But 'because many different representations of the Other World and its curious inhabitants have been combined into a colourful image ... no attempts, even supported by a sound knowledge of ancient geography, can lead to a satisfactory solution of the enigmas of these journeys'.

50. Hawkes, *op. cit.*, e.g. on pp. 129, 137, 139, 142, 144, 147, 158, 167 sq., 173, 176, 178 sq., 181; cf. his remark on p. 8.

51. *Chuang-tzu*, ch. 1.

52. Liu Wen-tien, ed. (Shanghai, Commercial Press, 1st ed. 1923, 4th ed. 1933), 1.4b, 2.11b and esp. 4.3 aff., where it is to be noted that the acquisition of immortality is one of the main themes. The *Huai-nan-tzu* was compiled at the court of Liu An, king of Huai-nan, before 122 B.C., the year of his suicide in connection with his abortive rebellion.

53. Käte Finsterbusch, *Das Verhältnis des Shan-hai-djing zur bildenden Kunst*, Abhandlungen der Sächsischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig, Philosophisch-historische Klasse, Band 46, Heft 1 (Berlin, Akademie-Verlag, 1952).