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Archaistic Objects in Southern Song Tombs and Caches

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Abstract: This study examines archaistic objects from Southern Song caches in Sichuan by comparing them with objects from tombs, underground vaults and other archaeological sites, in order to understand the contextual meanings of these objects. Archaistic objects appeared in large number during the Southern Song as a result of the Song antiquarian movement which paid careful attention to the formal elements, among other features, of ancient objects. Although Sichuan caches produced numerous examples of Song archaistic objects, their socio-cultural significance prior to the burials has been overlooked due to a predominant view about these caches which focuses primarily on the materiality of the objects as potential war-time loot in the Mongol invasion of the region during the thirteenth century. This study analyzes Song archaistic objects in three contextual categories related to state rituals, religious rituals, and literati culture. It is concluded that a large number of Song archaistic objects were produced in the context of the state sacrifices and local Confucian rituals which were characterized by their formal features and ritual functionality closely resembling the Shang-Zhou models. On the other hand, many archaistic objects used in Buddhist or Daoist rituals were adopted for their functionality as altar pieces, primarily offering vases and incense burners, which exhibited a wide range of form and décor. The archaistic objects associated with literati life-style were often found with paraphernalia from a scholar's studio. These objects demonstrated the refined taste and aesthetic values indicative of the cultured life-style of Song literati. In addition to the contextual analyses of Song archaistic objects, this study also reveals that Song archaistic objects were defined by both the affinity to antiquity through their formal resemblance and the deviation from antiquity signified with a combination of eclectic motifs from the ancient and contemporary sources.

Keywords: archaistic objects, Sichuan caches, Song dynasty, Song antiquarian movement

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Caches from the Southern Song dynasty (1127-1279) have attracted much attention in China and abroad[1] Splendid objects from caches in places such as Guang'an 廣安 and Pengzhou 彭州, not only attest to the remarkable material in the western region, on par with the high fashion in the Capital Lin'an 臨安 (today's Hangzhou 杭州), they also suggest certain aesthetic preferences and cultural values adopted by Song elites in the Sichuan region. The discoveries of these objects sparked an interest in Sichuan caches which focuses on their materiality. Such an interest tends to view these caches as accidental preserves of sumptuous specimens which allow a glimpse into the highly developed material culture of Southern Song elites. One persistent argument that supports such a view is the belief that all Sichuan caches were emergency storages created to hoard valuables by residents who were forced to flee during the Mongol invasions in the mid thirteenth century.[2] However, archaeological evidence show that objects from Sichuan caches vary widely in their materials, forms and functions, which indicates a wide range of context, in which these objects must have been produced and used. Although several recent studies have suggested ways to understand these objects' cultural significance or ritual functionality, reconstructing the objects' "previous life" before they were buried in a cache prove to be extremely difficult.[3] This is because many caches were excavated without consideration

1. Highlights of events publicizing these findings include exhibitions in Tokyo, Kyoto, and Hagi during 1998-1999, at the National Museum of China, Beijing in 2006, and at the Shanghai Oriental Art Museum in 2008.
2. The argument is supported by many scholars. As an authority advocating this view, Xu Ping-fang 徐蘋芳 surveys the archaeological findings in the past decades and lays out an overall correlation between Southern Song caches and the Mongol invasions. "Sichuan Song dai jiaocang ji qi lishi beijing (Song Hoards in Sichuan and their Historical Background) 四川宋代窖藏及其歷史背景," in National Museum of China, Suining Municipal Museum, Pengzhou Municipal Museum, 國家博物館, 遂寧市博物館, 彭州市博物館, ed., *Songyun, Sichuan jiaocang wenwu jicui* (Charm of the Song Dynasty: Selected Cellar-Stored Cultural Relics from Sichuan) 宋韻: 四川窖藏文物輯粹 (Beijing: China Social Sciences Press 中國社會科學出版社, 2006), pp. 257-264. The hypothesis that Sichuan caches were primarily emergency storage of luxury goods was challenged in Hsieh Ming-liang 謝明良, "Tan suo Sichuan Song Yuan qiwu jiaocang (Exploring a Hoard of Song and Yuan Artifacts from Sichuan) 探索四川宋元器物窖藏," in *Area and Network: Proceedings for the International Conference on a Millennium of Chinese Art Historical Studies* 區域與網絡: 近千年來中國美術史研究國際學術研討會論文集 (Taipei: National Taiwan University, 2001), pp. 143-144.
3. For example, Hsieh suggests that objects from caches that contain both bronzes and celadon are likely to have been produced for Daoist rituals. Hsieh Ming-liang 謝明良, "Tan suo Sichuan Song Yuan qiwu jiaocang (Exploring a Hoard of Song and Yuan Artifacts from Sichuan) 探索四川宋元器物窖藏," pp. 147-152. Chen Fang-mei also notes connections to Daoist and Buddhist rituals. Chen Fang-mei 陳芳妹, "The Rise of Sung Antiquarianism and The Imitation of Archaic Bronze 宋古器物學的興起與宋仿古銅器," *Taida Journal of Art History* 國立臺灣大學美術史研究集刊, 10 (2001), pp. 37-160.

of their original context, and some found in recent decades also suffered destruction or looting which occurred immediately upon their discovery.

In this paper, I will make an attempt to recontextualize several major Southern Song caches in Sichuan by drawing contextual analogies from other sources, particularly from historical collections and archaeological sites, with a focus on *fanguqi* 仿古器 or archaistic objects. Song archaistic objects are a type of artifacts with formal features adapted from or inspired by ritual objects of Chinese high antiquity, especially the Shang-Zhou and Qin-Han period (c. 1500 BCE-200 CE). Originated from an intellectual current in the eleventh century which deemed China's high antiquity exemplary in all social and cultural aspects, Song archaistic objects began to appear in large numbers during the Southern Song period, and were used widely in various segments of the Song society, attested by abundant examples found in archaeological sites.[4] The formal features of these archaistic objects inspired social and cultural authority endorsed by Chinese high antiquity, and the objects were often used in a context when such authority was needed. The relationship between formal features and socio-cultural significance observed in Song archaistic objects suggests that it is possible to construe meaning and function of a Southern Song site by analyzing its archaistic objects. Taking advantage of this possibility, this study experiments a comparative study to approximate contextual similarity between Southern Song caches and other archaeological sites, such as tombs and underground vaults. With a brief discussion of the intellectual and political background of Song archaistic objects that laid out a historical outline leading to their emergence, this study examines several large contextual categories, in which Song archaistic objects were produced and used. The goal of this study is to extrapolate contextual information about Southern Song archaistic objects in order to gain understanding, especially in the framework of literati culture and local ritual and religious practices, beyond the current focus on their materiality.

1. Historical Development of Song Archaistic Objects

Studies have suggested that the emergence of Song archaistic objects was strongly influenced by the intellectual and political ambiance in Song society during the period of the

4. Many studies have discussed the rising importance of antiquity in the Song period and its impact on politics, intellectual history and material culture. Especially important among these studies are two studies by Chen Fang-mei in which she lays out a concise survey of the Song interests in antiquity and the consequential popularity of archaistic objects. Chen Fang-mei 陳芳妹, "Seeking the Three Dynasties among the Ritual Vessels of Old: The Sung Dynasty Move from "Investigating Antiquity" to "Appreciating Antiquity" 追三代於鼎彝之間—宋代從考古到玩古的轉變," *National Palace Museum Quarterly* 故宮學術季刊, vol. 23, no. 1 (2005), pp. 267-332.

mid-eleventh to early twelfth century.[5] Stimulated by the literary movement of *guwen* 古文 or archaic prose, which advocated ideals from China's high antiquity and direct readings of ancient texts, a heightened interest in actual ancient artifacts quickly spread amongst Song intellectual elites, especially those in the circle led by the highly esteemed scholar and statesman, Ouyang Xiu 歐陽修 (1007-1072).[6] Building on this intellectual development, a political reform of state rituals took place under the auspices of Emperor Huizong 徽宗 (r. 1100-1125), who considered the reform crucial in obtaining the heavenly mandate for the prosperity of the Song state. With fanfare and extravagance, the reform ushered in the first large-scale production of Song archaistic objects.[7]

Emperor Huizong's preoccupation with the reform of state rituals stemmed from a deep-rooted anxiety shared by his predecessors since the founding of the Song dynasty.[8] Unlike his predecessors who embarked the reform primarily through theoretical debates over ancient ritual texts, Huizong undertook the challenge with a concrete approach, that is, to model the new ritual paraphernalia directly on ancient examples. After some adjustment of the court personnel to

5. Studies about Song archaistic objects include the two aforementioned studies by Chen Fang-mei; Patricia Ebrey, "Replicating Zhou Bells at the Northern Song Court," in Wu Hung, ed., *Reinventing the Past: Archaism and Antiquarianism in Chinese Art and Visual Culture* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 2010), pp. 179-199; Hsu Ya-hwei 許雅惠, "Antiquarian Trends in the Dynastic Revival of the Southern Song 南宋金石收藏及中興情結," *Taida Journal of Art History* 國立臺灣大學美術史研究集刊, 31 (2011), pp. 1-60; Hu Jun-pei 胡君佩, "The Song-Period Imitation of Ancient Pottery and Its Causes 宋瓷的器形仿古及其原因淺析," *Art Panorama* 美術大觀 (2008.2), pp. 54-55.
6. Yun-Chiahn C. Sena, "Ouyang Xiu's Conceptual Collection of Antiquity," in Alain Schnapp, et al. ed., *World Antiquarianism: Comparative Perspective* (Los Angeles, CA: Getty Research Institute, 2013), pp. 212-229.
7. For a recent study on Huizong's ritual reform, see Hu Jin-yin 胡勁茵, "The Making and Practising of Dashengyue Music in the Reign of the Huizong Emperor in the Song Dynasty 北宋徽宗朝大晟樂製作與頒行考議," *Journal of Sun Yat-sen University (Social Science Edition)* 中山大學學報社會科學版 (2010.2), pp. 100-112.
8. The rituals, which symbolized the legitimacy of the Song rule, were ridden with problems from the beginning of the dynasty over improper musical keys and inappropriate sacrificial vessels. Chen Bang-zhan 陳邦瞻, *Songshi jishi benmo* 宋史紀事本末, j. 8 (Beijing: Zhonghua Book Company, 1977), 1, pp. 41-48. The problems persisted throughout the Northern Song period. Emperor Renzong attempted the ritual reform in 1034-1038, and again in 1052-1056. He eventually abandoned the reform after the new ceremonial music had allegedly caused him to fall ill. Yang Zhong-liang 楊仲良, *Xu Zizhi tongjian changbian jishi benmo* 續資治通鑒長編紀事本末, j. 31 (Beijing: Beijing Library Press, 2003), 2, pp. 909-960. For a discussion on Renzong's reform, see Ebrey, "Replicating Zhou Bells," pp. 183-188. In the late eleventh century, Shenzong attempted another reform in 1080-1082, which ended inconclusively with new music and ritual objects mixed in with the old ones. Yang Zhong-liang 楊仲良, *Xu Zizhi tongjian changbian jishi benmo* 續資治通鑒長編紀事本末, j. 80, 5, pp. 2605-2613.

remove all the opposing voice to his new policies, the emperor ordered to create *Zhizao dayue ju* 製造大樂局 (the Bureau of Manufacturing Grand Music), and began to produce new ritual bells and vessels for the reform.[9] The importance of the ritual reform was further confirmed by the discovery of six graduated ancient bronze bells of the same design in 1104, when the making of the new bells was about to begin (Fig. 1). The six bells, which were datable to the Spring-Autumn period (770 BCE-c. 475 BCE), were perceived as signs of Heaven's affirmation of Huizong's reform effort, because the location where the ancient bells were unearthed was the place where Emperor Taizu 太祖 (r. 960-975), the founder of the Song dynasty, received his mandate as a new ruler.[10] The ancient bells were also regarded as a celestial guidance for the making of reform bells, for all the ancient bells carried an inscription that was interpreted by the Song reformers as the name of an ancient state ritual music.[11] To Emperor Huizong and his reformers, it was no coincidence that these ancient bells appeared at the location of the dynastic origin and at the onset of the ritual reform. As a clear "sign of heavenly mandate," the ancient

9. Emperor Huizong accepted a proposal by Wei Han-jin 魏漢津 (d. 1106), a Daoist necromancer from Sichuan, who claimed to be able to restore the state ritual music to its proper ancient form by using the measurement of the emperor's fingers. The Bureau of Manufacturing Grand Music was later restructured and became *Dasheng fu*大晟府, named after the newly reformed state ritual music. Yang Zhong-liang 楊仲良, *Xu Zizhi tongjian changbian jishi benmo* 續資治通鑒長編紀事本末, j. 135, 8, p. 4230. Under Wei's supervision, a set of new bells was completed in the eighth month of 1105. Yang Zhong-liang 楊仲良, *Xu Zizhi tongjian changbian jishi benmo* 續資治通鑒長編紀事本末, j. 128, 7, pp. 3982-3986; j. 135, 8, pp. 4225-4237. For a detailed summary of the process, see Hu Jin-yin 胡勁茵, "The Making and Practising of Dashengyue Music in the Reign of the Huizong Emperor in the Song Dynasty 北宋徽宗朝大晟樂製作與頒行考議," pp. 101-104.

10. Several Song antiquarian writings indicate that the set of bells was unearthed in Yingtian fu 應天府 (in today's Shangqiu 商丘, Henan 河南 province), which was also the territory of the ancient Song state (c.1063 BCE-286 BCE), although the official Song history recorded that the bells were presented from Duan Prefecture (near today's Zhaoqing 肇慶, Guangdong 廣東 province). Wang Fu 王黼 ed., *Xuanhe Chongxiu Bogu tulu* 宣和重修博古圖錄 (*Bogu tu*), j. 22; Dong You 董逌, *Guangchuan shuba* 廣川書跋, j. 3; Zhao Jiucheng 趙九成, *Xu Kaogu tu* 續考古圖, j. 4, and Tuo Tuo 脫脫, *Songshi* 宋史, j. 129. Because the Song sources were closer in time to the discovery and their authors may have actually handled the bells, their account of the bells should be considered more reliable than the official history, which was written in the mid fourteenth century.

11. The inscription was transcribed by the Song reformers as "*Song gong Cheng Jing zhong yi* 宋公成之磬鐘" Song Duke Cheng's Jing Bell. Wang Fu 王黼 ed., *Bogu tu*, j. 22. It was believed that the name of the bells "Jing" referred to the ritual music, *Liu Jing* 六莖, Six Jing, used by Zhuanxu 顓頊, who was one of the oldest sage rulers and the ancestor of the ancient Song state in Chinese legends. Chen Meng-jia 陳夢家 argued that the name of the bells should read as Ge 謌, not *Jing* 磬, and the name of the Song Duke should be Xu 戌, not *Cheng* 成. "Song *Dasheng* bianzhong kaoshu (Textual Research on the Dasheng Bells of the Song Dynasty) 宋大晟編鐘考述," *Cultural Relics* 文物 (1964.2), pp. 51-53.

bells were rushed to the Bureau of Manufacturing Grand Music as reference for casting the new bells.[12]

The most important production of Huizong's reform was a set of archaistic bells completed in 1105, titled *Dasheng zhong* 大晟鐘 (the Bells of Great Brilliance, Fig. 2).[13] The bells were made to perform a new composition of Song state music, named by Emperor Huizong, following an ancient tradition of court music commissioned by legendary sage rulers.[14] Clad with formal motifs that were characteristic of the Zhou style, the *Dasheng* bells look so authentically Zhou that connoisseurs in the eighteenth century mistook a surviving *Dasheng* bell for an actual Zhou bell (Fig. 3).[15] The design of *Dasheng* bells was undoubtedly influenced by the Duke Cheng of Song bells. Like their ancient model, the *Dasheng* bells belong to a type of graduated bells, called *bo* 鎛, which can be recognized by their straight edge at the bottom and the elliptical shape of the body. The bodies of the two sets of bells also share a similar decorative scheme comprised of eighteen swirling bosses lining up in symmetrical rows of three. Although the *Dasheng* bells share the overall appearance with the ancient Song bells, they differ significantly in their *niu* 鈕 hangers, that is, the animalistic attachments on the top of their bodies. Instead, the *niu* hangers of the *Dasheng* bells resemble closely to those of the *Nengyuan bo* 能原鎛 bells,

12. Wang Fu 王黼 ed., *Bogu tu*, j. 22.
13. Here I follow Patricia Ebrey's translation of the name *Dasheng*. "Replicating Zhou Bells," p. 190.
14. In his edict issued at the occasion of the first performance of the new music in 1105, Emperor Huizong indicated that he followed the examples of the sage rulers Yao 堯, whose music was *Dazhang* 大章 Great Manifestation, and Shun 舜, whose music was *Dashao* 大韶 Great Magnificence, and named the new music *Dasheng*. The passage about *Dashao in Shangshu* 尚書 *the Book of Documents* described that towards the end of a performance of the *Dashao* music, divine birds *fenghuang* 鳳皇 gracefully arrived (*Shangshu jinguwen zhushu* 尚書今古文注疏, j. 2, *Yiji Gaotaomo xia* 尚書益稷皐陶模下). The passage must have inspired Huizong and his reformers—similar to the *Dashao* music, cranes miraculously flew over and danced to the *Dasheng* music whenever the *Dasheng* music was performed since its debut in 1105. Yang Zhong-liang 楊仲良, *Xu Zizhi tongjian changbian jishi benmo* 續資治通鑒長編紀事本末, j. 135. The splendid scene of dozens of white cranes dancing above the palace where the *Dasheng* music was playing was captured in Emperor Huizong's famous painting, *Ruihe tu* 瑞鶴圖 A*uspicious Cranes*. Peter Sturman, "Cranes above Kaifeng: The Auspicious Image at the Court of Huizong," *Ars Orientalis*, 20 (1990), pp. 33-68.
15. See the entry for Zhou *Te zhong* 周特鐘 (Te Bell of Zhou) in *Xiqing gujian* 西清古鑑, j. 36. The bell bore the inscription "*Dahe* 大和 *Great Harmony*," which was the title given to the bells by the Jurchens after they were looted the Song capital in 1127. Another bell in *Xiqing gujian*, j. 36, *Zhou Ying zhong* (Ying Bell of Zhou) 周應鐘, also bearing the inscription of *Dahe*, was apparently a surviving *Dasheng* bell and was also mistaken as a Zhou bell. It has a different hanger, which was probably a replacement of the original one. Chen Meng-jia, "Song *Dasheng* bianzhong kaoshu," p. 53, fig. 1.

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which were made in the ancient southern state of Yue 越 during the late Spring-Autumn period (Fig. 4).[16] Even though no evidence indicates the *Nengyuan* bells were known during the Song times, the close resemblance between the two bells suggests that the Song artisans must have had access to the *Nengyuan* bells or an object with the same design. The dragon motif in the *niu*-hanger of the *Dasheng* bells seems however more akin to a line drawing, rather than the rounded low relief of the *Nengyuan* bells (Fig. 5). This observation indicates that, rather than consulting an actual ancient bell, the Song artisans were likely to have used a line-drawing model in the making of the *Dasheng* bells.

Such a model would have comprised of designs adopted from different sources. For example, the unique decoration in the *gu* 鼓 striking area of the *Dasheng* Bells suggests that it had come from bells of a different type (Fig. 6). Resembling the shape of a bow, the decoration is slightly constricted in the center and gradually stretched out to the lower left and right. Such a shape is commonly found in a *yong* 甬 bell, which has pointed edges in the lower half of its body (Fig. 7), while a *bo* bell normally has a rectangular decoration in the striking area instead (Figs. 2 and 5). The motif in the striking area of the *Dasheng* bell also displays a strong linear quality, which, again, suggests that it would have been incorporated into the overall design of the *Dasheng* bells as a line drawing. A line drawing would easily allow designs from different sources to be integrated into one composition. The result of such integration was an image that bore visual references to the past without replicating any actual objects. In other words, the amalgamated image, although evoking antiquity, was unmistakably a contemporary creation. The *Dasheng* bells' dual symbolism in the ancient and the modern was stated by Emperor Huizong in an edict issued at the time when the bells were first presented 1105. After paying tribute to ancient sage rulers and their music, the emperor declared:

> Now I have followed [this tradition of] millennia and accomplished the music for our present age, which I shall name *Dasheng*.[17]

The discussion of the *Dasheng* bells revealed two fundamental aspects of Song archaistic objects. The first and more obvious one was their formal association with the past. Through

16. Chen Fang-mei is the first scholar to point out the resemblance between the *Dasheng* and *Nengyuan bo* bells. "The Rise of Sung Antiquarianism and The Imitation of Archaic Bronze 宋古器物學的興起與宋仿古銅器," pp. 73-74. Two of the *Nengyuan bo set* were found in Jiangxi 江西 province during the late nineteenth century (Li Xue-qin 李學勤, "Lun *Nengyuan bo* 論能原鎛," *Palace Museum Journal* 故宮博物院院刊 (1999.4), pp. 1-3.
17. Yang Zhong-liang 楊仲良, *Xu Zizhi tongjian changbian jishi benmo* 續資治通鑒長編紀事本末, j. 135.

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the appropriation of designs and motifs from ancient objects, especially of the Shang-Zhou and Han period, Song archaistic objects evoked the notion of Chinese antiquity and acquired a strong sense of cultural authority endorsed by ancient classics and historical legends. The other important aspect in Song archaistic objects was its connection with the present. As seen in the *Dasheng* bells, the visual reference to the past was purposefully altered in order to avoid a total replication of any ancient objects, so the bells were identifiable as productions for Song rituals.[18] The intentional deviation from ancient sources highlighted the contemporary context in which Song archaistic objects were produced and thus accentuated their significance as political and cultural symbols in the contemporary Song times. The simultaneous reference to the past and present for the making of Song archaistic objects. It was also the underpinning conception for Song ritual reform as a whole, which were explicitly stated in a memorial by the officials of the *Yili ju* 議禮局 (Bureau of Deliberating Rituals), an imperial agency established in 1107 per Emperor Huizong's order to take charge of the ritual reform after the success of the *Dasheng* music and bells.

> When practicing rituals, we have to continue the tradition, but we also have to make adjustment. On the one hand, we continue the tradition in order to pursue antiquity. On the other hand, we make adjustment in order to stay with the current times. We are now quite far away from the ages of Tang Yao and Three Dynasties. So, for what we intend to do, we should emulate the ideals of the ancient rulers. However, we should also follow what is good for the present day. We will pursue antiquity without pedantry, and adjust to the contemporary with sophistication.[19]

Emperor Huizong's archaistic objects with their duel symbolism for the past and present were upheld as paradigms for archaistic objects produced in the following decades. Soon after the Song capital was taken by the Jurchens in 1127, Huizong's son, Gaozong 高宗 (r. 1127-1162) narrowly escaped and re-established the Song court in the south, leaving most of the

18. In this respect, a Song archaistic object is distinguishable from a replica or forgery, which was meant to be an exact copy of an actual ancient object. Such copies are known to have been made during the Song times. Hsu Ya-hwei 許雅惠, "Antiquarian Trends in the Dynastic Revival of the Southern Song 南宋金石收藏及中興情結," pp. 28-33.

19. Yang Zhong-liang 楊仲良, *Xu Zizhi tongjian changbian jishi benmo* 續資治通鑒長編紀事本末, j. 133, pp. 4163-4164.

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northern territory to the invaders.[20] Even during the devastation, the making of archaistic objects for state rituals was carried out as a sacrosanct mission.[21] Known in Gaozong's court as *xincheng liqi* 新成禮器 (the newly perfected ritual objects), Huizong's archaistic objects were modeled upon as the archetypes for the archaistic objects produced in Gaozong's ritual revival which reached its height in the mid twelfth century.[22]

2. Archaistic Objects in Local Rituals

The archaistic tradition in Song state rituals continued from the Northern to Southern Song provides a historical link for us to recontextualize a fragment found in a bronze cache located in Pengzhou 彭州, Sichuan (Fig. 8).[23] Accidentally exposed in 1996, this large cache contained more than seventy pieces of bronze vessels, many of which exhibit archaistic motifs. The Pengzhou fragment is in the shape of a short cylinder with a wide rim flaring outward and four fringes vertically dividing the exterior into four quarters. As several scholars have pointed out, it bears a very close resemblance to the top portion of a *zun*-vase found in Hangzhou 杭州, where

20. Most of Huizong's collections were looted during the invasion. For a summary of the destructive impact of the invasion on Huizong's ritual reform and the Song antiquity revival, see Hsu Ya-hwei 許雅惠, "Antiquarian Trends in the Dynastic Revival of the Southern Song 南宋金石收藏及中興情結," pp. 3-8.

21. Gaozong's motivation for continuing Huizong's ritual reform could have been political. Throughout Gaozong's reign, Emperor Qinzong (r. 1126-1127), Gaozong's older brother and Huizong's official heir, was still alive, albeit captured by the Jurchen. Gaozong must have felt insecure about his throne and intended to use the ritual reform to demonstrate his political legitimacy. In the Shaoxing Peace Treaty in 1142, Emperor Gaozong negotiated with the Jurchen for the release of his mother, Empress Wei, and the return of his father Huizong's remains, who had died in 1135. However, he left Qinzong with the Jurchen, ignoring his brother's repeated plea for rescue. Tao Jing-shen, "Move to the South and the Reign of Kao-tsung (1127-1162)," in Twitchett and Fairbank, et al ed., *The Cambridge History of China*, Volume 5, Part One, *The Sung Dynasty and Its Precursors*, 907-1279 (New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 2009), pp. 650-652.

22. In casting these archaistic objects, Gaozong and his officials also consulted drawings from the catalogue of Huizong's antique collection which became available to them in 1143. Additionally, rare specimens of actual ancient objects were also used as models for the production. For example, in preparation for a state sacrifice at the Bright Hall in 1137, an ancient *jue*-cup, which had emerged from the imperial household, was used as a model to produce ritual drinking cups for the sacrifice. *Zhongxing lishu*, j. 9, pp. 38-39, j. 59, p. 244.

23. Chengdu Municipal Institute of Cultural Relics and Archaeology 成都市文物考古研究所, "A Bronze Hoard of Song Dynasty in Pengzhou, Sichuan 四川彭州宋代青銅器窖藏," *Cultural Relics* 文物 (2009.1), pp. 54-70, figs. 6.1, 64.

Southern Song's capital used to be (Fig. 9).[24] Unearthed near a ritual site, the Hangzhou zun-vase is almost an exact copy of yet another *zun*-vase, titled *Xuanhe sannian shanzun* 宣和三年山尊 (Mountain *zun*-vase made in the third year of the Xuanhe Era, 1121, Fig. 10), which was one of the archaistic objects made during Huizong's ritual reform.[25] The Hangzhou and Xuanhe *zun*-vases share the same overall structure of a standard zun vase from the Shang-Zhou period, exemplified by the Zu Wu *zun* 祖戊尊 (*zun*-vase for Ancestor Wu) in Huizong's collection, which had an outward-flaring rim on the top and four serrated fringes vertically dividing the body into four quarters (Fig. 11).[26] The vases are decorated with triangular motifs in the top register which are also found in the Pengzhou fragment.

Based on the almost identical features in their form and decor, we can be certain that the three objects were closely related in their origin. However, it is also clear to us, from the making of these three objects, that they were not made by the same workshop, nor were they produced under the same circumstances. Compared to the Xuanhe *zun*-vase, the Hangzhou *zun*-vase was made with cruder craftsmanship and had a redundant ring foot at the bottom of the vase. It is evident that the Hangzhou vase was a lesser copy of the Xuanhe vase. Given the provenance of the Hangzhou vase, we can reasonably assume that it was one of the archaistic objects made during the Gaozong's ritual revival using Huizong's "newly perfected ritual objects" as models. The assumption is indeed supported by a statement issued in 1145 by the Court of Ritual Sacrifices indicating that the court had recently acquired a *shanzun* 山尊 (*Mountain zun-vase*) made in Huizong's court, and would soon make bronze copies for the impending state rituals in the following year. Thirty four copies of the Mountain zun-vase were subsequently produced.[27] We can conclude that the connection between the Xuanhe and Hangzhou *zun*-vases represents the continuation of the archaistic tradition from Huizong's ritual reform to Gaozong's ritual revival. The tradition must have further spread from Hangzhou, the new capital, to the local region of Pengzhou, as the Pengzhou fragment suggests. Several excellent studies in recent

24. Han Wei 韓巍, "Songdai fanggu zhizuo de yangben wenti (The "Sample" Problem for Producing Imitated Antiques in Song Dynasty) 宋代仿古製作的'樣本'問題," in *Song yun: Sichuan jiaocang wenwu jicui* (Charm of the Song Dynasty: Selected Cellar-Stored Cultural Relics from Sichuan) 宋韻: 四川窖藏文物輯粹 (Beijing: China Social Sciences Press 中國社會科學出版社, 2006), pp. 288-295. He Qiu-yu 何秋雨, "Hangzhou chutu de liang pi Song dai qingtongqi (Two Batches of Song Bronzes Unearthed in Hanzhou) 杭州出土的兩批宋代青銅器," *Cultural Relics of the East* 東方博物, vol. 37 (2010.4), pp. 5-9.

25. Mountain zun-vase was one of the six *zun*-vases used in Huizong's reformed state rituals. Zhou Zheng 周錚, "*Xuanhe shanzun* kao (A Study on the Shanzun Vase of Xuanhe Reign Period) 宣和山尊考," *Cultural Relics* 文物 (1983.11), pp. 74-75, 67.

26. Wang Fu 王黼 ed., *Bogu tu*, j. 7.

27. *Zhongxing lishu*, j. 9, 38.

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years, which detail the mechanism and significance of the spread of the Song archaistic tradition, have suggested a diverse range of ways by which archaistic imagery could have spread from the central to local authorities during the Southern Song period.[28] The connection between the Pengzhou fragment and the two court-commissioned *zun*-vases indeed provides a good example for the transmission. In spite of the complex process of transmission revealed in these studies, what remained at the center of the Song archaistic tradition as it spread from the court to local areas was the ideological significance evoked by archaistic imagery, not the objects' practical functions in rituals. As an archaistic object, the Pengzhou fragment clearly demonstrates a strong emphasis on the formal, rather than practical, features—although carrying the same archaistic motifs as the Xuanhe and Hangzhou *zun*-vases, the overall body of the Pengzhou *zun*-vase (before its lower portion was lost) was composed of separate cylindrical sections, instead of one intact whole; it was made with thin sheets of metal, not with substantial material; rather than in actual bas-relief, its decorative motifs were pressed. These differences indicate that even though the Pengzhou *zun*-vase bore the same decorative scheme and archaistic form as the Xuanhe and Hangzhou vases, it was never intended to be used in a ritual ceremony as an actual object like its courtly counterparts.

The separation of archaistic imagery and ritual functionality pointed to a new development in the Song archaistic tradition. Starting in the mid Southern Song period, a new type of archaistic objects emerged which evoked ideas of antiquity not simply by borrowing orthodox motifs and forms from the Shang-Zhou period, but also by mixing archaistic imagery in a heretical way or by combining themes from various contemporary sources. Different from archaistic objects commissioned by the Song court, archaistic objects of this new type were often found outside of the capital area, at places of worship, such as temples or tombs, where rituals were performed not as state affairs, but as local or private events. The appearance of these later archaistic objects indicate a shift in the meaning of archaistic objects from being limited to political symbolism to concerning broader cultural significance viewed from local or private perspectives. A pair of *Sanzu hu* 三足壺 (three-legged *hu*-bottles, Fig. 12) found in the Pengzhou

28. These studies include most notably Hsu Ya-hwei 許雅惠, "The "Indirect" Transmission of the Hsuan-ho po-ku-t'u Earthenware from the Tomb of Sai-yin Ch'ih-ta-hu and the Shao-hsi chou-hsien shih-tien i-t'u 宣和博古圖的間接流傳," *Taida Journal of Art History* 國立臺灣大學美術史研究集刊, vol.14 (2003.3), pp. 1-26. Han Wei 韓巍, "Songdai fanggu zhizuo de yangben wenti (The "Sample" Problem for Producing Imitated Antiques in Song Dynasty) 宋代仿古製作的'樣本'問題," pp. 288-295. Chen Fang-mei 陳芳妹, ""Sharing the Moralizing Influence of the Three Dynasties"--Zhu Xi's Shaping of East Asian Cultural Imagery 與三代同風：朱熹對東亞文化意象的形塑初探," *Taida Journal of Art History* 國立臺灣大學美術史研究集刊, vol. 31 (2011.9), pp. 61-150.

bronze cache exemplifies this new trend in the development of Song archaistic objects.[29] The body of the three-legged *hu*-bottles consists of a long neck and a pear-shaped belly; in addition, its surface is divided by string motifs into several horizontal bands of different width. This vessel type was probably quite common in this region, as suggested by another example also found in Pengzhou (Fig. 13).[30] Nevertheless, the three-legged *hu*-bottles diverge from this common form in a critical aspect—instead of a standard ring-foot, its body is supported by three slightly curved legs, similar to those in a *ding*-tripod. The vessel type of the three-legged *hu*-bottle was never seen in the Shang-Zhou period or later historical periods. This unprecedented format creatively merges two basic vessel types from the Shang-Zhou period, that is, a *ding*-tripod and a *hu*-bottle, into one. The two vessel types not only were among the oldest and most essential object types for Shang-Zhou state rituals, they were also indispensable in Daoist and Buddhist rituals as incense burners and flower vases on an altar table.[31]

The peculiar form of the three-legged *hu*-bottles denotes an unorthodox approach to antiquity, in which the standard representations proscribed by the Song court in various illustrations and ritual manuals were eschewed in favor of an eclectic adaptation that evoked multiple ancient forms without actually copying any of them. The application of this new approach is also evident in another example found in the same cache, in which an unusual vase with a triangular neck is fused with a bulb-legged *li*-bowl (Fig. 14).[32] These examples suggest that the unorthodox new approach had a broad application not only to objects with ritualistic meanings, but also to novelty pieces likely for household use or for amusement. It is important to note that this new approach was not mentioned by the lack of access to standardized archaistic models from the Song court. In fact, the close resemblance between the Pengzhou fragment proves that the artisans of the Pengzhou bronzes indeed had extensive knowledge about archaistic standards from the Song court. Scholars have suggested that the Pengzhou artisans must have a direct access to a court model for the production of the Pengzhou *zun*-vase.

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29. Chengdu Municipal Institute of Cultural Relics and Archaeology 成都市文物考古研究所, "A Bronze Hoard of Song Dynasty in Pengzhou, Sichuan 四川彭州宋代青銅器窖藏," *Cultural Relics* 文物 (2009.1), pp. 55-56, fig. 2.2.
30. Chengdu Municipal Institute of Cultural Relics and Archaeology 成都市文物考古研究所, *Song-Dynasty Gold and Silver Crafts Found in Underground Storage in Pengzhou, Sichuan* 四川彭州宋代金銀器窖藏 (Beijing: Science Press 科學出版社, 2003), color plate 10.4.
31. Jessica Rawson, "Novelties in Antiquarian Revivals: the Case of the Chinese Bronzes," *National Palace Museum Quarterly*, vol. 22, no.1 (2004), pp. 1-24. See more discussion later on archaistic objects as incense burners and flower vases.
32. Chengdu Municipal Institute of Cultural Relics and Archaeology 成都市文物考古研究所, "A Bronze Hoard of Song Dynasty in Pengzhou, Sichuan 四川彭州宋代青銅器窖藏," p. 60, figs. 7.2, 64.

Otherwise it would have been impossible to reproduce the decorative details with such precision.[33] The knowledge about court models underscores the significance of the unorthodox approach to antiquity exhibited in the three-legged *hu*-bottle and the triangular-*li*-bowl-vase—it must have been a deliberate choice on the part of the patrons and artisans of the Pengzhou bronze cache to opt for an eclectic model instead of following the court standards.

New types of archaistic objects also include those juxtapose decorative motifs from different sources. An example of such juxtaposition is found on the main register of the three-legged *hu*-vase, which features two mask-like motifs. Although the two masks bear similar features, such as large eyes, jaws and horns, they are very different in their internal structure and style. One displays a pair of beast-like eyes occupying the center of a ferocious face, which was shaped in an angular contour suggesting horns, ears, fangs, and nostrils of a beast (Fig. 15). The linear quality in the animalistic mask gives an overall appearance of a two-dimensional drawing. The only three-dimensional element in the motif is the flange-like nose bridge which approximates an actual flange often found crossing an actual zoomorphic motif in a Shang-Zhou ritual bronze. The animalistic mask calls to mind a zoomorphic motif from the Shang-Zhou period, known in the Song as *taotie* 饕餮, which was frequently represented in drawings from illustrated catalogues or ritual manuals, such as the Shang Ancestor Wu *zun*-vase mentioned earlier. Although simplified and occasionally distorted, these drawings were important for the reason that they made the forms and designs of an actual ancient object available to those who normally would not have access to them.[34] Despite its overtly abridged structure, the animalistic motif on the three-legged *hu*-bottle illustrates the spread of the imagery of antiquity from the Song court to the local regions.

The second mask motif from the main register of the three-legged *hu*-bottles displays features quite different from the animalistic mask just discussed (Fig. 16). This second mask motif gives an overall impression that is more anthropomorphic than animalistic. The contours of the eyes curve gently and the multiple lines around the eyes suggest human eyelids and eyebrows, despite the lower half of the motif which seems to suggest the nostrils and fangs of

33. There are only small discrepancies in their decorative motifs between the Pengzhou fragment and the courtly archaistic objects. Han Wei 韓巍, "Songdai fanggu zhizuo de yangben wenti (The "Sample" Problem for Producing Imitated Antiques in Song Dynasty) 宋代仿古製作的'樣本'問題," p. 294.
34. Han discusses the critical role of drawings as models in the making of archaistic objects during the Southern Song period, Han Wei 韓巍, "Songdai fanggu zhizuo de yangben wenti (The "Sample" Problem for Producing Imitated Antiques in Song Dynasty) 宋代仿古製作的'樣本'問題," pp. 292-293.

a beast, rather than a human face. The image of human eyes in this second motif is strikingly similar to a motif found in the ritual manual, *Xinding Sanli tu* 新定三禮圖 (Newly Revised Illustrated Manual of the Three Rites, hereafter the *Illustrated Three Rites*), an annotated and illustrated ritual manual edited in the mid tenth century.[35] In the *Illustrated Three Rites*, an entry on ritual paraphernalia shows an object, titled *Huangyi* 黃彝 (the Yellow Vessel), decorated with multiple pairs of human eyes. According to the ancient ritual canon *Zhouli* 周禮 (Zhou Rites), the Yellow Vessel was used for libation performed by Zhou rulers at the seasonal ceremonies in autumn and winter.[36] Commentaries of *Zhou Rites* from the second century CE explained that the Yellow Vessel was also called *Huangmu yi* 黃目彝 (the Yellow Eyes Vessel), which was used with a matching saucer. By the early seventh century, ritual specialists believed that the ritual vessel was in the form of a cup decorated with an eye motif in yellow gold.[37] Based on the interpretation in traditional commentaries, the *Illustrated Three Rites* represented the Yellow Vessel with a drawing of a wine cup supported by an elaborate footed saucer. Both the cup and saucer were decorated with a prominent pair of human eyes (Fig. 17).[38]

The Song naturalist and proto-scientist Shen Kuo 沈括 (1031-1095) was among the first to associate the Yellow Vessel with the *taotie* motif existing ubiquitously in Shang-Zhou ritual bronze objects, which also contains prominent eyes in its composition. After examining certain excavated ancient bronzes, Shen questioned the use of human-eye motifs in the representation of the Yellow Vessel. He believed that the striking eyes found on the ancient bronzes he had examined, which "gleamingly protruded like two large pellets," were what the yellow eyes on the Yellow Vessel should really be, and thus declared the *Illustrated Three Rites* erroneous and unreliable.[39] Shen's critical view of the book was a common one held by many Song ritual

35. *Xinding Sanli tu* was edited and revised by Nie Chong-yi 聶崇義 (fl. 10th century) based several earlier ritual manuals. Nie's book was highly regarded in the beginning of the Song dynasty as the most comprehensive authority in ritual practices, but later criticized for deviating from actual remains of ancient rituals practiced in the Shang-Zhou period. For a study of *Sanli tu's* historical significance, see Wang E 王鍔, "Song Nie Chongyi '*Xinding Sanli tu*' de jiazhi yu zhengli (Importance and Summary of the *New Illustrations of the Three Rituals* Compiled by Nie Chong-yi in Song Dynasty) 宋聶崇義新定三禮圖的價值與整理," *Confucius Studies* 孔子研究 (2008.2), pp. 76-87.
36. *Zhouli, Chunguan, Sizunyi* 周禮, 春官, 司尊彝. Lin Yi 林尹, ed., *Zhouli jinzhu jinyi* 周禮今註今譯 (Taipei: Taiwan Commercial Press, 1972), pp. 212-213.
37. *Liji, Jiaotesheng*, Kong Yingda's commentary 禮記, 郊特牲, 孔穎達疏. Huang Meng-ou 黃夢鷗, ed., *Liji jinzhu jinyi* 禮記今註今譯 (Taipei: Taiwan Commercial Press, 1970), pp. 428-429.
38. Nie Chongyi, *Xinding Sanli tu* (1175 edition, Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1985), j. 14.
39. Shen Kuo 沈括, *Mengxi bitan* 夢溪筆談 (Guoxue jiben congshu 國學基本叢書 edition, Taipei: Taiwan Commercial Press, 1968), *Qiyong* 器用, j. 19.

reformers and antiquarians. With its interpretations of ancient rituals likely based on textual commentaries, the book often represented ritual objects which appear to be very different from the excavated ancient objects. Song ritual reformers considered the discrepancies an indication of the entrenched problems in traditional commentaries.[40] The criticism against the *Illustrated Three Rites* among the court officials was so strong during the Huizong's reign that large panels of the illustrations from the book, which had decorated the lecture hall of the National University, were entirely removed.[41]

Given the criticism against the *Illustrated Three Rites*, it seems strange that the Pengzhou artisans and patrons still consulted the book in the making of their archaistic objects. This is because the book was still widely circulated for ritual practices on the local level despite the criticisms.[42] In response to a request for guidance on local ritual practices, the Song court issued standard ritual codes in 1180, which included images from the *Illustrated Three Rites*, to provide instructions on performing Confucian rituals in prefectural and county schools.[43] Not only the images from the book were widely disseminated with the court-issued ritual codes, various editions were also circulated in local regions, including Sichuan, Jiangsu, and Zhejiang.[44] One such edition, which was based on an earlier local edition from Sichuan, was issued by the Zhenjiang Prefectural Academy in 1175.[45] In a colophon found at the end of the Zhenjiang edition, Chen Boguang 陳伯廣 (fl. late 12th century), who was the editor and also the school-master of the Zhenjiang Prefectural Academy, gave a balanced assessment regarding the value of the

40. See, for example, Ouyang Xiu's criticism of traditional commentaries for perpetuating unsubstantiated hypotheses about ancient rituals without consulting actual artifacts. Ouyang, *Shugaofu zhugui ming* 叔高父煮簋銘, Jigu lu bawei 集古錄跋尾, j. 1.

41. For a discussion of the criticism of *Xinding Sanli tu* during the Song ritual reform, see Chen Fang-mei 陳芳妹, "The Rise of Sung Antiquarianism and the Imitation of Archaic Bronze 宋古器物學的興起與宋仿古銅器," p. 47.

42. The book still provided guidelines for ritual practices on the local level during the Southern Song period. Han Wei 韓巍, "Songdai fanggu zhizuo de yangben wenti (The "Sample" Problem for Producing Imitated Antiques in Song Dynasty) 宋代仿古製作的'樣本'問題," pp. 288-292.

43. The standard codes were titled *Chunxi shidian zhidu tu* (Illustrated Manual of Confucian Rituals Issued in Chunxi Era) 淳熙釋奠制度圖. *Song Huiyao* 宋會要, Li 禮, 16-1, 1, p. 683.

44. Chao Gong-wu 晁公武 (1105-1180), *Junzhai dushuzhi* 郡齋讀書志, j. 2. Chen Zhen-sun 陳振孫 (1183-1262), *Zhizhai shulu jieti* 直齋書錄題解, j. 2.

45. This book was printed on the back of some official documents which recorded an event in 1178. The book is now in the National Library of China, Beijing. Li Zhi-zhong 李致忠, "Yingyin Song ben Xinding Sanli tu shuoming (On a Photocopy of the Song Edition of *New Illustrations of the Three Rituals*) 影印宋本《新定三禮圖》說明," in *Xinding Sanlitu* (New Illustrations of the Three Rituals) 《新定三禮圖》 (reprint, Beijing; Zhonghua Book Company, 1992), pp. 5-6.

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Illustrated Three Rites as an important reference for local ritual practices.

> I looked at the pictures and systems [in the *Three Rites*] and found that they indeed do not always adhere to the ancient ways. However, if one could still obtain [the book] and use it for research, wouldn't this be better than searching for [the lost ancient rituals] among the rustics? [46]

Chen's statement reflected a broad-minded attitude towards ritual ideals, which was different from the orthodox stance taken by the Song court. The anxiety over its political legitimacy compelled Gaozong's court to adhere strictly to Huizong's reformed state rituals. However, local authorities were not subject to such political pressure and thus adopted an inclusive view concerning local ritual practices. Zheng Qiao 鄭樵 (1104-1162), a scholar in Xinghua 興化 (in today's Putian 莆田, Fujian 福建 province) wrote favorably about the *Illustrated Three Rites* for its moral interpretations of ritual form and décor, while acknowledging the importance of the Song ritual reform.[47] Local leaders, like Zheng Qiao and Chen Boguang, embraced not only the new, court-sanctioned, object-based reform models, but also the traditional, time-honored, text-based system from the *Illustrated Three Rites*. The heterogeneous nature exhibited in the decoration of the three-legged *hu*-bottle from Pengzhou, which combines motifs and styles from both the reformed and traditional sources, should be understood as a result of the inclusive attitude in the Song local ritual culture.

In addition to bringing together the reform and the traditional ritual ideals, the inclusive attitude in the Song local ritual culture also applied to other alternative sources, most importantly *Kaogu tu* 考古圖 (*Illustrated Catalogue for Examining Antiquity*), an important antiquarian study compiled by the well-regarded classist and antiquarian Lü Dalin 呂大臨 (d. 1092). Scholars have pointed out that Lü's catalogue was the source of a *yan* 甗-steamer from the

46. Colophon by Chen Bo-guang 陳伯廣, *Xinding Sanli tu*, j. 20. In the second half of the quote, Chen referred to Confucius' statement that "for rites that have been lost, one should recover them among the rustics." This was authentic ritual practices were more likely to be preserved in societies less influenced by changes and development. Ban Gu 班固 (32-92), *Hanshu Yiwenzhi* 漢書, 藝文志, j. 30 (Beijing: Zhonghua Book Company, 1962), p. 1746.

47. Zheng Qiao 鄭樵 (1104-1162), *Tongzhi* 通志 *General Treatises, Qifu lue* 器服略 *General Treatise on Ritual Objects and Vestments* (Wang Shu-min 王樹民 ed., Beijing: Zhonghua Book Company, 1995), pp. 799-800.

Pengzhou cache (Fig. 18).[48] The drawing of a vessel in Lü's catalogue, titled *Yuanzhuan yan* 圓篆甗 (*Round steamer with decorative patterns*, Fig. 19), shares a very similar overall structure and decorative scheme with the steamer from Pengzhou (Fig. 20).[49] The association between the two vessels was made explicit by an inscription found in the lower portion of the Pengzhou steamer which named itself after its ancient model in Lü's catalogue (Fig. 21).[50]

The *Illustrated Catalogue for Examining Antiquity* was compiled during the politically charged Yuanyou 元祐 Era (1086-1093) when the factional conflict between the conservative Old Party and the reform-minded New Party became institutionalized.[51] Through his own

48. Chengdu Municipal Institute of Cultural Relics and Archaeology 成都市文物考古研究所, "A Bronze Hoard of Song Dynasty in Pengzhou, Sichuan 四川彭州宋代青銅器窖藏," for the top portion, p. 59, figs. 6.2, 63, figs. 14, 64; for the bottom portion, p. 57, figs. 4.1, 62, 68, fig. 22.2. The steamer was unearthed in two separate segments, which are not recognized in the excavation report as a set. The top portion was misidentified as a *zun*. The misidentification is pointed out by Han Wei 韓巍, "Songdai fanggu zhizuo de yangben wenti (The "Sample" Problem for Producing Imitated Antiques in Song Dynasty) 宋代仿古製作的'樣本'問題," p. 221.
49. In order to conduct the comparison, I reconstructed the drawings of the top and bottom portions the Pengzhou steamer, which were not recognized as a set in the excavation report. An obvious difference between the steamers from *Kaogu tu* and from the Pengzhou cache is that the latter does not have any handles. This is probably because the handles were damaged or lost, or they did not exist in the first place. Handles in a Song archaistic object were welded on as attachments after the main part of the object was made. They were therefore easily broken off and were occasionally omitted during the production.
50. Chengdu Municipal Institute of Cultural Relics and Archaeology 成都市文物考古研究所, "A Bronze Hoard of Song Dynasty in Pengzhou, Sichuan 四川彭州宋代青銅器窖藏," p. 68, fig. 22.1. The meaning of the inscription has not been entirely understood. The archaeological report of the Pengzhou bronze cache reads the middle line of the inscription as "口男平" which does not make coherent sense with the rest of the inscription. Although I do not have a chance to observe the inscription directly, I suggest a tentative reading, "*Han yuan zhuan yan [wei jiawu] yong bao yong* 漢圓篆甗[維甲午]永寶用 (Han round steamer with decorative patterns. [It is the year of Jiawu.] Forever treasure and use [the vessel]." This tentative reading is consistent with the idiomatic conventions in Shang-Zhou ritualistic writing, and could potentially date the archaistic object to the first year of Chunxi 淳熙 Era (1174) when the debate regarding proper local rituals was in progress, or the first year of Duanping 端平 Era (1234), right before the invasion of Sichuan during the first Song-Mongolian War.
51. Hsu elucidates the impact of the political tension between the New and Old Parties on the development of Song antiquarian studies during the late eleventh century in "Antiquaries and Politics: Antiquarian Culture of the Northern Song, 960-1127," in Schnapp et al. ed., *World Antiquarianism: Comparative Perspectives* (Los Angeles: The Getty Research Institute, 2013), pp. 230-248. I discussed the historical and cultural context in which Lü compiled his catalogue. "Cataloguing Antiquity: A Comparative Study of the *Kaogu tu and Bogu tu*," in *Reinventing the Past: Archaism and Antiquarianism in Chinese Art and Visual Culture*, ed. Wu Hung (Chicago: Center for the Art of East Asia, University of Chicago, 2010), pp. 200-228.

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reputation as a scholar and the connection of his older brother Lü Dafang 呂大防 (1027-1097), who was the leader of the Old Party during the Yuanyou Era, Lü Dalin had the opportunity to examine ancient objects in the court collection as well as those owned by members of the Old Party. Later when the New Party controlled the court under Huizong in the early twelfth century, Lü's catalogue, which was once an authoritative source for the study of ancient objects, was banned along with many other works by members of the Old Party.[52] Although the majority of the ancient objects discussed in the catalogue were included into Huizong's imperial collection and the imperial catalogue, commonly known as *Bogu tu* 博古圖 (Illustrated Catalogue of Erudite Antiquity),[53] was much in debt to Lü's study, Lü's contribution was however never acknowledged by the court, nor was Lü's catalogue ever mentioned in any imperial compilations. A comparison of the two catalogues reveals that although there was a substantial overlap in their subject matters, the two works differed profoundly in their interpretations of ancient rituals and objects.[54] The *Illustrated Catalogue for Examining Antiquity* represented a different stance on antiquity that challenged the orthodox position endorsed by the Song court, and offered an alternative visual source for archaistic objects when the court models were not appropriate or not desired. The use of this book was however not necessarily a political challenge to the court's authority. It was more likely out of the desire to avoid the court models, which were overtly charged with political symbolism for the Song court. By embracing alternative sources, the patrons and artisans in Pengzhou produced archaistic objects that were not bound to the court political idealism and could better serve the local needs.

The eclectic style of local archaistic objects also includes contemporary decorative patterns, as exemplified in another *yan*-steamer from the Pengzhou cache (Fig. 22a).[55] In the upper portion of this *yan*-steamer the archaistic cicada motifs is juxtaposed with a geometric lattice design of overlapping circles, patterns similar to which were commonly used during the Southern Song period to decorate door and window panels (Fig. 22b).[56] Objects with such

52. In several decrees in 1103, Emperor Huizong banned the publication, discussion, and teaching of studies by members of the Old Party. Huang Yi-zhou 黃以周 (1828-1899), et al. ed., *Xu Zizhi tongjian changbian shibu* 續資治通鑒長編拾補 (Beijing: Zhonghua Book Company, 2004), 2, pp. 739-742.
53. The imperial catalogue was first issued in 1113 and was revised and later reissued between 1123 and 1125. Rong Geng 容庚, "Song dai jijin shuji shuping 宋代吉金書籍述評," *Xueshu yanjiu* 學術研究 (1963.6), pp. 81-102.
54. Yun-Chiahn C. Sena, "Ouyang Xiu's Conceptual Collection of Antiquity," pp. 224-225.
55. Chengdu Municipal Institute of Cultural Relics and Archaeology 成都市文物考古研究所, "A Bronze Hoard of Song Dynasty in Pengzhou, Sichuan 四川彭州宋代青銅器窖藏," p. 57, figs. 4.3, 62.
56. Li Jie 李誡 (1035-1110), *Yingzao fashi* 營造法式 (dated 1103, Siku edition, 1773), j. 32.

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combination of ancient symbols and contemporary ornaments were fairly common Southern Song archaistic objects. In another *yan*-steamer found in a cache in Jiangyou 江油, also in Sichuan, the surviving portion of this large vessel features a pictorial panel in which a mythical fish-dragon, called *Mojie* 摩羯, was depicted swimming in water (Fig. 23).[57] In Indian Buddhist traditions, *Mojie* (Sanskrit, *makara*) was a gigantic winged fish-deity who governed over rivers. Transmitted to China with the spread of Buddhism, the image of the Indian deity was conflated with that of Chinese auspicious dragon and by the 8th century it was already depicted as a winged creature that had a dragon head and a fish tail.[58] The fish-dragon image, often shown in landscape with water, was a very popular auspicious symbol during the Song, commonly seen in everyday objects, such as bronze mirrors.[59] The juxtaposition of archaistic forms with contemporary decorative motifs or auspicious symbols in Chinese and Buddhist traditions demonstrated a tremendous visual and ideological suppleness which conveys meanings beyond orthodox political idealism. Although the archaistic objects from the caches in Pengzhou and Jiangyou did not follow the standard court models, their ritual function were nonetheless evidenced by the fact that the Pengzhou objects were found with multiple Buddhist statuettes and the Jiangyou objects were excavated from a temple ground.[60] Through the amalgamation of orthodox and alternative models, ancient and contemporary motifs, and Chinese and foreign religious symbols, local archaistic objects were simultaneously traditional and innovative, transforming rigid political symbols to adaptable ritual apparatus, useful for local ritual practices of various kinds.

3. Archaistic Objects in Buddhist and Daoist Rituals

The eclecticism and adaptability demonstrated in the archaistic objects from Sichuan

57. Huang Shi-lin 黃石林, "Jiangyou faxian jingmei Song dai jiaocang tongqi (A Song-Dynasty Hoard of Fine Copper Wares Found in Jiangyou City, Sichuan Province) 江油發現精美宋代窖藏銅器," *Sichuan Cultural Relics* 四川文物 (2004.4), pp. 8-9.
58. Yu Xiao-dong 于小冬, *Zang chuan fojiao huihua shi: Zangzu huihua fenggeshi yanjiu* (Tibetan History of Tibetan Buddhist Painting: Study on the History of Tibetan Painting Style) 藏傳佛教繪畫史: 藏族繪畫風格史研究 (Nanjing: Jiangsu Fine Arts Publishing House 江蘇美術出版社, 2006), p. 66.
59. Guan Wei-liang 管維良, *History of Chinese Bronze Mirrors* 中國銅鏡史 (Chongqing: Chongqing chubanshe 重慶出版社, 2006), p. 285, fig. 479.
60. Chengdu shi wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo and Pengzhou shi bowuguan, "Pengzhou Song dai qingtongqi jiaocang 彭州宋代青銅器窖藏," in *Chengdu kaogu faxian* 2004 成都考古發現 (Beijing: Science Press 科學出版社, 2006), pp. 416-429. Huang Shi-lin 黃石林, "Jiangyou faxian jingmei Song dai jiaocang tongqi (A Song-Dynasty Hoard of Fine Copper Wares Found in Jiangyou City, Sichuan Province) 江油發現精美宋代窖藏銅器," pp. 8-9.

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caches allowed these objects to easily assume functions in local religious rituals. Studies have pointed out that a primary function of archaistic objects in Buddhist rituals was to display offerings on an altar table.[61] Vases and incense burners, two types of essential altar pieces, were especially important in the incorporation of archaistic objects into the Buddhist rituals during the Southern Song period. A vase for displaying flowers or holding purifying water often appropriated the form and décor of a *gu* 觚-vase, *hu*-bottle, or other vertical vessel types. An incense burner for holding incense commonly adopted the form and décor of a *ding* 鼎-cauldron, *gui* 簋-bowl, or other horizontal vessel types. The presence of archaistic objects on a Buddhist altar was well illustrated in a ritual assemblage recently discovered in the *digong* 地宮(underground vault) beneath the *Zhibiao ta* 智標塔 (Zhibiao pagoda), in Haining 海寧, Zhejiang 浙江 province.[62] Evolved from Indian Buddhist monuments, a Chinese pagoda was often used for the safekeeping of bodily relics, sacred scriptures, or other Buddhist treasures. The underground vault contained bronze statues of Buddhist figures and deities, two miniature reliquaries, and many precious offerings, including jade, crystal, glass, silver, and coral.[63] Objects in the vault were arranged in a hierarchical order—a statue of the Buddha, flanked by those of his disciples, occupied the top level of the altar, the reliquaries and the statues of the bodhisattvas on the middle level, while the offerings were displayed on the bottom level (Fig. 24). This assemblage includes two identical vases in the shape of a *suantou hu* 蒜頭壺 (garlic-head vase) standing on the top level of the altar to the right and left sides of the Buddhist statues (Fig.25). There is also an incense burner in the form of *gui*-bowl sitting on the bottom level of the altar, presenting veneration to the holy images and sacred relics amongst other offerings (Fig. 26). The use of archaistic objects in the underground stone vault represented a change in the early Southern Song when Buddhist altar pieces characterized with forms of Central Asian origins were gradually replaced by ritual objects bearing Chinese archaistic features.[64]

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61. Jessica Rawson, "Novelties in Antiquarian Revivals: the Case of the Chinese Bronzes," pp. 1-34.
62. The pagoda was named after the Song monk Zhibiao 智標, who built the monument on the site of a previous pagoda from the East Jin 晉 period (317-420). The Song pagoda was subsequently destroyed and rebuilt several times. The most recent destruction occurred in 1969 and it was rebuilt again in 2005. Zhejiang Provincial Institute of Archaeology 浙江省文物考古研究所 ed., *Haining Zhibiaota* (Zhibiao Pagoda in Haining) 海寧智標塔 (Beijing: Science Press 科學出版社, 2006).
63. Zhejiang Provincial Institute of Archaeology 浙江省文物考古研究所 ed., *Haining Zhibiaota* (Zhibiao Pagoda in Haining) 海寧智標塔, pp. 30-32.
64. Such a development was well documented with celadon incense burners found in the sites of Yaozhou 耀州 kilns, Tongchuan 銅川, Shaanxi 陝西 province. Shaanxi Provincial Institute of Archaeology 陝西省考古所, *Songdai Yaozhou yaozhi* (The Site of Song Yaozhou Kiln) 宋代耀州窯址 (Beijing: Cultural Relics Press 文物出版社, 1998). Jessica Rawson discusses the significance of the changes in the development of Chinese antiquarian studies. "Novelties in Antiquarian Revivals: the Case of the Chinese Bronzes," pp. 22-23, 32.

The standard composition of two vases and one incense burner found in the Zhibiao underground vault shed light on a large cache found in Guang'an 廣安, Sichuan province.[65] The cache contains more than eighty objects, many of which are bronze vessels in archaistic forms, including three-legged and four-legged *ding*-cauldrons, *zun*-, *gu*-, *hu*-, and *cong* 琮-vases. Among this wide array of archaistic objects are two identical garlic-head vases, similar to those found in the Zhibiao underground vault (Fig.27a).[66] However, unlike the Zhibiao garlic-head vases, the ones from the Guang'an cache are modestly decorated with only two strings on their neck. The plain appearance stylistically sets the Guang'an vases apart from the other archaistic objects in the cache, most of which are richly decorated with animal motifs, water waves, or geometric lattice patterns. The minimalistic style of the two Guang'an garlic-head vases is only shared by a damaged *ding*-cauldron found in the cache (Fig. 27b).[67] The stylistic connection suggests that these three objects were originally a set. Their two-vase-one-burner composition further suggests that they likely had been used on an altar before they were placed in the cache. Several other ritual sets of archaistic objects in the Guang'an cache can be recognized based on their stylistic and compositional coherence. For example, two *ping*-vases and a *ding*-cauldron belong to a set based on their orthodox style which follows closely the ancient forms. These three archaistic objects also bear inscriptions, in the same seal script style, containing stock-phrases derived from Shang-Zhou ritual writing (Fig. 28).[68] In another example, two *cong*-vases (Fig. 29a) and a four-legged *ding*-cauldron (Fig. 29b) are recognized as a set based on their shared tapering shape, and the repetitive rectangular motifs along the four corners of their square bodies.[69]

The multiple sets of archaistic altar pieces in diverse forms and sizes found in the

65. Li Ming-gao 李明高, "Guang'an xian chutu Song dai jiaocang (A Song-Dynasty Hoard Unearthed in Guang'an County) 廣安縣出土宋代窖藏," *Sichuan Cultural Relics* 四川文物 (1985.1), pp. 67-70.
66. Li Ming-gao 李明高, "Guang'an xian chutu Song dai jiaocang (A Song-Dynasty Hoard Unearthed in Guang'an County) 廣安縣出土宋代窖藏," p. 67, figs. 6, 68.
67. Li Ming-gao 李明高, "Guang'an xian chutu Song dai jiaocang (A Song-Dynasty Hoard Unearthed in Guang'an County) 廣安縣出土宋代窖藏," p. 68, fig. 20.
68. Li Ming-gao 李明高, "Guang'an xian chutu Song dai jiaocang (A Song-Dynasty Hoard Unearthed in Guang'an County) 廣安縣出土宋代窖藏," pp. 68, 69, fig. 16, fig. 21.
69. Li Ming-gao 李明高, "Guang'an xian chutu Song dai jiaocang (A Song-Dynasty Hoard Unearthed in Guang'an County) 廣安縣出土宋代窖藏," p. 67, fig. 7, p. 68, fig. 15, p. 69. Cong-vase is a vessel type that did not exist in the Shang-Zhou repertoire of ritual paraphernalia, but became a genuine archaistic form during the Southern Song period. Cong-vases in various materials, such as celadon, bronze, iron, and stone, were found in Southern Song kilns and caches, especially in the Sichuan region. Hsieh Ming-liang 謝明良, "The Development of the Tsung Vase 琮瓶的變遷," *National Palace Museum Quarterly* 故宮學術季刊, vol. 23, no.1 (2005), pp. 429-466.

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Guang'an cache suggest that the cache could have belonged to a temple that had multiple halls and chapels. Other objects found in the cache indeed support its connection with an established Buddhist tradition. Among these objects is a gilded five-pronged bronze *vajra*-scepter, which is a short metal bar with an enlarged bulb head on both ends and a constricted body decorated with lotus petals in low relief (Fig. 30a).[70] Often used by a high priest in an esoteric Buddhist ritual, the *vajra* was believed to have the penetrating power and indestructible strength of the Buddhist Law. In addition, the five-pronged shape, as seen in the Guang'an example, was believed to have the power of the five supreme wisdoms from the five Dhyani Buddhas in Esoteric Buddhism.[71] Another object that also links the Guang'an cache to the Buddhist practice is a bronze *kundika*-bottle, a two-spouted water container originated from India (Fig. 30b).[72] The *kundika* had been incorporated into the Buddhist iconography by the sixth century as an attribute for Avalokiteshvara, the Bodhisattva of Compassion, who offered salvation by sprinkling purifying water to the faithful.[73] In Esoteric Buddhism, a *kundika* was also a power object in association with the Eleven-headed Avalokiteshvara and the Thousand-armed-thousand-eyed Avalokiteshvara. In addition to being part of the esoteric iconography, a *kundika* was also used in the esoteric rituals, often placed next to a mandala to denote the sacred space as mentioned in *Susiddhikāra Sutra*.[74] Scholars have noticed that there was indeed a prominent presence of esoteric images in Sichuan during the Song times, the most well studied examples of which are perhaps the Buddhist caves in Dazu.[75] On the other hand, esoteric elements were frequently adopted into the general Buddhist practices and became part of the mainstream

70. Li Ming-gao 李明高, "Guang'an xian chutu Song dai jiaocang (A Song-Dynasty Hoard Unearthed in Guang'an County) 廣安縣出土宋代窖藏," p. 68, fig. 11.
71. *Vajra* of the five-pronged shape were not uncommon during the Song. Several examples of vajra-scepters were found in the underground vaults at the Jingzhongyuan 淨眾院 Monastery and Jingzhi Temple 靜志寺. Hebei sheng Wenwuju 湖北省文物局, *Treasure of Cultural Relics in Dingzhou* 定州文物藏珍 (Guangzhou: Lingnan Art Publishing House 嶺南美術出版社, 2003).
72. Li Ming-gao 李明高, "Guang'an xian chutu Song dai jiaocang (A Song-Dynasty Hoard Unearthed in Guang'an County) 廣安縣出土宋代窖藏," p. 67, figs. 8, 68.
73. Ding Peng-bo 丁鵬勃 and Xia De-mei 夏德美, "Junchi yuanliu kao (Origin and development of kundika) 軍持源流考," *Journal of National Museum of China* 中國歷史文物 (2007.1), pp. 27-38.
74. Rolf Giebel, *Two Esoteric Sutras: The Adamantine Pinnacle Sutra, The Susiddhikara Sutra* (Berkeley, CA: Numata Center for Buddhist Translation and Research, 2001), pp. 290-291. John C. Huntington and Dina Bangdel, *The Circle of Bliss: Buddhist Meditational Art* (Chicago: Serindia Publications, 2003), p. 344.
75. Angela Howard, *Summit of Treasures, Buddhist Cave Art of Dazu, China* (Trumbull, CT: Weatherhill, 2001).

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Buddhist tradition in China.[76] As a result, artifacts for esoteric rituals, such as a *kundika*, were often found in temples of non-esoteric sects.[77] In light of these findings, we should be cautious when considering the connection between the Guang'an archaistic objects and Esoteric Buddhism. It is probably prudent to see the juxtaposition of the archaistic objects and esoteric ritual paraphernalia in the Guang'an cache as evidence that illustrates an eclectic attitude, which combined mainstream political idealism and alternative religious elements, similar to the eclecticism discussed earlier, to form a unique local Buddhist tradition.

In addition to appropriating archaistic forms for Buddhist practices, scholars have also suggested connections between archaistic objects and Daoist rituals.[78] The use of archaistic objects in Daoist ritual practices was well illustrated in an undisturbed tomb found in Datong 大同, Shanxi 山西 province, dated 1190.[79] The tomb belonged to Yan Deyuan 閻德源 (1095?-1189/90), a Daoist high priest, who once served in Emperor Huizong's court during the Xuanhe Era. After the fall of the Northern Song, Yan remained in the north and became the abbot of the Jade Emptiness Temple in Xijing 西京 (near today's Datong 大同, Shanxi province) under the Jurchen rule. The single-chamber tomb was richly furnished with various furniture and ritual paraphernalia used by the Daoist priest before his death (Fig. 31a), such as his Daoist scriptures, objects from the altar, stamps carved with his names and official titles, and his Daoist regalia,

76. Paul Copp argues that the esoteric Buddhist elements in Sichuan during the Song times were only used in the context of the mainstream Chinese Mahayana Buddhism, without further developing into a systematic esoteric tradition. Paul Copp, "Esoteric Buddhism in Song Dynasty Sichuan," in Charles Orzech et al ed., *Esoteric Buddhism and the Tantras in East Asia* (Leiden: Brill, 2011), pp. 431-434. Tom Suchen, "The Cliff Sculpture of the Stone-Gate Mountain: A Mirror of Religious Eclecticism in the Art of Twelfth-Century Sichuan," *Archives of Asian Art*, vol. 57 (2007), pp. 51-94. Ding Peng-bo 丁鵬勃 and Xia De-mei 夏德美, "Junchi yuanliu kao (Origin and development of kundika) 軍持源流考," pp. 35-36.

77. For examples, a *kundika* was found in the Fusheng Temple 福勝寺 in Dengzhou 鄧州, Henan 河南 province. Ancient Architecture Preservation and Research Institute of Henan Province 河南省古代建築保護研究所, "Henan Dengzhoushi Fusheng si ta digong (Underground Chamber of Fusheng Temple Pagoda in Dengzhou City, Henan Province) 河南鄧州市福勝寺塔地宮," *Cultural Relics* 文物 (1991.6), pp. 38-47, 101. The underground vault in the Jingzhongyuan Monastery 淨衆院 in Dingzhou 定州, Hebei 河北 province had produced several large-size *kundika* and a *vajra*. Hebei Provincial Bureau of Cultural Relics 河北省文物局, *Treasure of Cultural Relics in Dingzhou* 定州文物藏珍 (Guangzhou: Lingnan Art Publishing House 嶺南美術出版社, 2003).

78. Hsieh Ming-liang 謝明良, "Tan suo Sichuan Song Yuan qiwu jiaocang (Exploring a Hoard of Song and Yuan Artifacts from Sichuan) 探索四川宋元器物窖藏," pp. 141-169.

79. Datong shi bowuguan 大同市博物館, "Datong Jin dai Yan Deyuan mu fa jue jian bo (A Brief Report of the Excavation of the Jin-Dynasty Tomb of Yan Deyuan at Datong) 大同金代閻德源墓發掘簡報," *Cultural Relics* 文物 (1978.4), pp. 1-13.

including the famous silk cloak embroidered with more than one hundred cranes.[80] Amongst these objects, a large stone *gui*-bowl occupied the center of the altar table next to the coffin (Fig. 31b). Decorated with geometric patterns and animal heads, the stone bowl evokes the austere appearance of a Shang-Zhou ritual vessel. The actual ashes found inside the stone bowl clearly indicated that it was used as an incense burner. The fact that this archaistic object was used by a high-ranking Daoist priest in his ritual performance during his life and positioned prominently in his tomb after his death suggests the critical role archaistic vessels played in Daoist rituals.

The connection between Daoist rituals and archaistic objects demonstrated in Yan's tomb could help to better understand several understudied caches in Jian'ge 劍閣, Sichuan province found between 1960s and 1980s.[81] These caches contained a considerable amount of archaistic objects. For example, from one of the caches at Xiaodongjie 小東街, a *jue* 爵-cup, a *Boshanlu-ding* 博山爐鼎 (tripod-burner with a mountain top), a *fangding* 方鼎 (four-legged caldron), several *hu*-bottles and *gu*-vases were discovered.[82] Scholars have already suggested that these archaistic objects may have been used in the local Daoist rituals, such as exorcism or alchemy for immortality. There is indeed some evidence to support the hypothesis—along with the archaistic objects found in the Xiaodongjie cache, there is a large stamp inscribed in seal script which reads "*dao jing shi bao* 道經師寶" (Treasures of the *Dao*, Canon and Master).[83] The inscription refers to three ultimate authorities in the Daoist religion, the Daoist beliefs, the Daoist scriptures, and the Daoist preachers. A stamp of this type was an important ritual emblem, often used in a document to officiate it with the Daoist authorities or on a talisman to validate its magical power. In the light of Yan's tomb, where ritual paraphernalia with archaistic decor appeared together with other ritual belongings used by the high priest, the similar combination of archaistic objects and Daoist objects seem to suggest a comparable context for the Xiaodongjie cache. In addition to the stamp, there was also a set of stone statuettes depicting a three-legged toad and a Daoist

80. Datong shi bowuguan 大同市博物館, "Datong Jin dai Yan Deyuan mu fa jue jian bo (A Brief Report of the Excavation of the Jin-Dynasty Tomb of Yan Deyuan at Datong) 大同金代閻德源墓發掘簡報," 5, plate 2.

81. Mu Xue-yong 母學勇, "Jiange Song dai jiaocang zongshu (An Overview of a Song-Dynasty Hoard Unearthed in Jiange) 劍閣宋代窖藏綜述," *Sichuan Cultural Relics* 四川文物 (1992.3), pp. 15-20. Details of these caches are not yet made available, except in this brief report.

82. Mu Xue-yong 母學勇, "Jiange Song dai jiaocang zongshu (An Overview of a Song-Dynasty Hoard Unearthed in Jiange) 劍閣宋代窖藏綜述," pp. 16, 18-19, fig. 9-14. According to the brief description in the report, all of these objects were decorated with standard Song archaistic motifs, such as strings, water patterns, and *taotie* motifs.

83. Mu Xue-yong 母學勇, "Jiange Song dai jiaocang zongshu (An Overview of a Song-Dynasty Hoard Unearthed in Jiange) 劍閣宋代窖藏綜述," pp. 19-20.

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immortal riding on spiritual animals, possibly representing ascension to heaven.[84] Although the connection between the Jian'ge objects and local Daoist practices is suggested by these objects, it is still unclear how they were used in the local practices and how they were related to other objects from the same cache. These questions remain a topic for future study, when details of the Jian'ge caches finally become available.

4. Archaistic Objects and the Literati Taste

The spread of the knowledge about ancient objects as well as their political and cultural symbolism was carried out primarily through the circulation of illustrated catalogues and ritual manuals.[85] Starting from the late twelfth century, many of these illustrated books became available to individuals who were interested in ancient objects or rituals. For examples, You Mao 尤袤 (1127-1202), a prominent book collector from the southeast region and an expert of ancient inscriptions and ritual objects, listed in his bibliography three illustrated books about ancient or archaistic objects, Lü's *Illustrated Catalogue of Examining Antiquity*, Huizong's *Illustrated Catalogue of Erudite Antiquity*, and an illustrated ritual manual issued by the Song court, titled *Shaoxing zhizao liqi tu* 紹興製造禮器圖 (*Illustrations of Ritual Objects Produced in the Shaoxing Era*.[86] Chen Zhensun 陳振孫 (1183-1262), another highly regarded Southern Song bibliographer, not only included in his annotated bibliography major titles of these illustrated books, but also some of the lesser known works, such as *Lixiang* 禮象 (Ritual Images) by Lu Dian 陸佃 (1042-1102).[87] Chao Gongwu 晁公武 (1105-1180), a bibliographer

84. Mu Xue-yong 母學勇, "Jiange Song dai jiaocang zongshu (An Overview of a Song-Dynasty Hoard Unearthed in Jiange) 劍閣宋代窖藏綜述," p. 16, figs. 4, 18. Hsieh Ming-liang 謝明良, "Tan suo Sichuan Song Yuan qiwu jiaocang (Exploring a Hoard of Song and Yuan Artifacts from Sichuan) 探索四川宋元器物窖藏," pp. 148-149.

85. Chen Fang-mei 陳芳妹, "Yu Sandai tongfeng: Zhu Xi yu Dongya wenhua yixiang de xingsu chutan 與三代同風：朱熹對東亞文化意象的形塑初探," pp. 66-73; Hsu Ya-hwei 許雅惠, "The "Indirect" Transmission of the Hsuan-ho po-ku-t'u Earthenware from the Tomb of Sai-yin Ch'ih-ta-hu and the Shao-hsi chou-hsien shih-tien i-t'u 宣和博古圖的間接流傳," pp. 1-26; Zheng Jia-li 鄭嘉勵, "Cong Huang Shi mu tongqi kan Nan Song zhouxian ruxue tong liqi (Ritual Copper Vessels in the Government Schools of Southern Song States and Counties: From the Perspective of the Copper Wares from Hang Shi Tomb) 從黃石墓銅器看南宋州縣儒學銅禮器," *Journal of the Zhejiang Provincial Institute of Archaeology* 浙江省文物考古研究所學刊, vol. 9 (2009), pp. 350-359.

86. *Suichutang shumu* 遂初堂書目 Bibliography of the Suichu Studio (Congshu jicheng edition, 1935, 3, 24). Matsumaru Michio 松丸道雄, *Shinpen kinsekigaku roku* (Biographies of antiquarians, new edition) 新編金石學錄 (Tokyo: Kyūko shoin, 1976), pp. 5-6.

87. Chen Zhen-sun 陳振孫, *Zhizhai shulu jieti* 直齋書錄題解 (Guoxue edition, 1968), pp. 47, 227-228.

from the Sichuan region, listed Huizong's catalogue, but was apparently a shorter version by a different editor.[88] These bibliographical records suggest a wide-spread interest in the study of ancient objects and archaistic imagery amongst Song intellectual elites. They also indicate that various types of antiquarian studies were available during the mid to late Southern Song period, including encyclopedic illustrated catalogues, instructional ritual manuals, and works of alternative interpretations or possibly abridged adaptations. These different sources offered a diverse range of archaic imagery which viewers could appropriate for different purposes and in different contexts.

The increasing accessibility of archaistic imagery also encouraged the making of archaistic objects outside the context of formal rituals. It became possible for individuals, not just the court or local officials, to produce objects modeling on drawings from an illustrated catalogue or ritual manual for reasons unrelated to state sacrifices or local Confucian rituals. An example of such archaistic objects is found in an anonymous tomb of mid-late Southern Song in Longyou 龍游, Zhejiang Province (Fig. 32).[89] A bronze *hu*-bottle from the tomb appears to be almost an exact replica of *Shanlong wenhu* 山龍溫壺 (Warming *hu*-bottle decorated with mountain and dragon motifs) in Emperor Huizong's collection (Fig. 33).[90] Both objects have a slightly flattened round body, supported by a short ring-foot, and topped with an elongated neck, and a disk-like mouth with a constricted opening. Both objects have five horizontal bands, each decorated with dragon-like animals swirling in water waves represented with rising and falling lines. These animal motifs alternate with geometric motifs of triangular or square shapes, which creates a vibrant and playful appearance, quite different from the traditional austere appearance of an ancient ritual object.

The structure of the tomb, which is surprisingly simple, offers useful insights into the context of the Longyou *hu*-bottle and the background of its owner. A fundamental change in Song burial rites began to develop during the late eleventh century. The change was caused by the popularization of literati ideals and marked a decisive shift in Chinese mortuary practice from focusing on representing material comfort in the afterlife to declaring proper cultural

88. The catalogue, attributed to a certain Wang Chu 王楚, had only twenty *juan* (Chao, *Junzhai dushuzhi*, j. 4, pp. 171-172.) The bibliography of the Southern Song court library also listed a shorter edition of Bogu tu. *Zhongxing guan ge shumu* 中興館閣書目 (Peking library edition, 1933), j. 1, p. 36.

89. Zheng Jia-li 鄭嘉勵 and Zhejiang Provincial Institute of Archaeology 浙江省文物考古研究所, *Zhejiang Song Mu* (Song tomb in Zhejiang) 浙江宋墓 (Beijing: Science Press 科學出版社, 2009), p. 2950.

90. Wang Fu 王黼 ed., *Bogu tu*, j. 13 (Zhida edition, 1528).

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ideology and personal taste.[91] Song literati, Sima Guang 司馬光 (1019-1086) and later Zhu Xi 朱熹 (1130-1200), who condemned heterodox imagery of gods and demons, ostentatious tomb structures and furnishings, were instrumental in conceptualizing and propagating new ritual standards for the literati.[92] They favored single-chambered burials furnished only with goods that reflected Confucian morals and literati values. As a result, Song tombs for literati since the twelfth century were often very modest in size, and only furnished with a few pieces of burial goods. This new development can be observed in the Longyou tomb—instead of a highly ornate multi-chambered structure, which was common in the early Song, the tomb is in one rectangular chamber with no decoration (Fig. 34). The burial structure, which was consistent with the new literati mortuary practices promoted by Sima and Zhu, indicated that the tomb owner must have come from the literati social class, an important group in Song society. The objects found in the tomb also confirm such an identity. In addition to the Longyou *hu*-bottle, there were also paraphernalia from a scholar's studio, including a crystal brush-rest, a crystal paper-weight, a bronze water-dropper, an inkstone of *She* 歙 stone, and an archaistic garlic-head bronze vase (Fig. 35).[93] All of the objects are likely to have been used by the tomb owner during his lifetime. The simple yet elegant style of these objects and their exclusive materials, such as crystal, She stone, and bronze, clearly denote a discerning taste suited for someone of the cultured literati life-style.[94] In this understanding, we should see the Longyou *hu*-bottle, not as a ritual object, but a cultural symbol, like the other objects found in the tomb, which signified the tomb owner's cultural sophistication. The archaistic form and décor of the bottle, which was conspicuously copied from Huizong's *Illustrated Catalogue of Erudite Antiquity*, would have conveyed his learning in antiquity and his appreciation for the aesthetic values exhibited in the ancient forms.

The discussion of the Longyou tomb casts some needed light on a cache in Dayi 大邑, in

91. Dieter Kuhn, "Decoding Tombs of the Song Elite," in *Burial in Song China* (Heidelberg: Edition Forum, 1994), pp. 102-103.

92. Sima Guang wrote a ritual manual, entitled *Sima shi shu yi* 司馬氏書儀, which listed guidelines for ancestor worship, capping, wedding, funerary, and burial rites. Zhu Xi's *Zhuzi jiali* 朱子家禮 covered the same range of family rites. The objectives of these two ritual manuals are however quite different due to the changes in their social context. The manual by Sima aimed to lay down philosophical justifications for the new literati rituals, while the one by Zhu strove for ways to popularize the new practices. Dieter Kuhn, "Family Rituals," *Monumenta Serica*, 40 (1992), pp. 369-385.

93. Zhejiang Provincial Institute of Archaeology 浙江省文物考古研究所, *Zhejiang Song Mu* (Song tomb in Zhejiang) 浙江宋墓, p. 2950.

94. Zheng Jia-li 鄭嘉勵, "Longyou Song mu chutu de yizu wenfang yongpin (Studio Objects Unearthed from a Song Tomb in Longyou) 龍游宋墓出土的一組文房用品," *Cultural Relics of the East* 東方博物, vol. 24 (2007), p. 4649.

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Sichuan province. Discovered by accident, the Dayi cache contained a wide variety in material and type, including archaistic objects, items from a scholar's studio, and house-hold utensils in ceramics, stone, iron and bronze.[95] The archaistic objects includes a miniature celadon ding-tripod decorated with *leiwen* 雷紋 (thunder patterns) and floral swirls, a *guaner* 貫耳-*hu* (bottle with two tubular attachments) covered with dark green glaze, a pair of bronze bottles decorated with swirls, triangles, squares and flame-like motifs, and the body of a bronze *ding*-tripod, decorated with similar geometric patterns (Fig. 36).[96] The items from a scholar's studio include a bluish-white celadon water-dropper, a *huanglashi* 黃蠟石 (yellow wax stone) paper weight, and a Duan 端 inkstone (Fig. 37).[97]

Among these objects, there was also a stone *bishan* 筆山 (brush-mountain), which consists of slender and jagged mountain peaks with indentations and drilled holes representing valleys and caves.[98] Although the overall shape of the object was naturally formed, it was quite clear, based on the observable chisel marks, that the deep holes on the mountain peaks were artificially created (Fig. 38). These holes, perhaps representing real mountain caves, evoked an otherworldly feeling. The object was very likely to have been inspired by a legendary inkstone, titled *Baojinzhai yanshan* 寶晉齋研山 (*Baojin Studio Inkstone Mountain*).[99] Once belonging to the Southern Tang poet emperor Li Yu 李煜 (937-978) and Northern Song literati artist and calligrapher Mi Fu (1051-1107), the Baojin Studio Inkstone was a highly coveted collectible during the Southern Song period.[100] The celebrated inkstone was characterized with multiple

95. Hu Liang 胡亮, Dayi wenhuaguan 大邑文化館, "Sichuan Dayi xian Anren zhen chu tu Song dai jiao cang (A Song-Dynasty Hoard Unearthed at Anren Town, Dayi County, Sichuan Province) 四川大邑縣安仁鎮出土宋代窖藏," *Cultural Relics* 文物 (1984.7), pp. 91-94.

96. The excavation report includes a grainy picture of the bronze ding-tripod with repaired legs, but did not mention its broken condition. Hu Liang 胡亮, Dayi wenhuaguan 大邑文化館, "Sichuan Dayi xian Anren zhen chu tu Song dai jiao cang (A Song-Dynasty Hoard Unearthed at Anren Town, Dayi County, Sichuan Province) 四川大邑縣安仁鎮出土宋代窖藏," pp. 92, 94, fig. 14.

97. Duan inkstones had been especially desirable since the Tang. During the Song times, this kind of rectangular shaped inkstones became the most standard form used in a scholar's studio. Zhang Wei, *The Four Treasures: Inside the Scholar's Studio* (San Francisco: Long River, 2004), pp. 39-41.

98. Hu Liang 胡亮, Dayi wenhuaguan 大邑文化館, "Sichuan Dayi xian Anren zhen chu tu Song dai jiao cang (A Song-Dynasty Hoard Unearthed at Anren Town, Dayi County, Sichuan Province) 四川大邑縣安仁鎮出土宋代窖藏," pp. 92, 94, fig. 17.

99. Tao Zong-yi 陶宗儀 (fl. 1360-1368), *Chuogenglu* 輟耕錄 (*Jingdai mishu* 津逮祕書 edition, late sixteenth century), j. 6.

100. Wang Han 王漢, "Banjin Zhai cang Nan Tang yanshan zai Song Yuan de liuchuan—jianji *Yanshantu* (Circulation of Baojin Studio's Southern Tang Yanshan in Song and Yuan Dynasties: Also on the Yanshan Picture) 寶晉齋藏南唐研山在宋元的流傳—兼及研山圖," *The Journal of Ancient Civilizations* 古代文明, vol. 7 no. 4 (Oct. 2013), pp. 102-109.

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peaks and caverns which viewers would imagine to travel through in a spiritual journal. A drawing along with some descriptions of the inkstone, ostensibly in Mi's own voice, was later documented in Tao Zongyi's 陶宗儀 (1329-1410) *Chuogenglu* 輟耕錄 (*Records made while Resting from Farming*, Fig. 39).[101] The remarkable parallels in formal features between the drawing and the Dayi brush mountain suggest that they must have shared a common pictorial origin representing the Baojin Studio Inkstone as an archetype of such objects. The pictorial representation of the inkstone must have been widely circulated during the Southern Song and readily recognizable for its digit-like peaks and deep caverns as characterized in the drawing in the *Records Made While Resting from Farming*. The appropriation of the formal characteristics thus suggests an influence of the legendary inkstone on the Dayi brush mountain—by imitating the digit-like peaks and deep caverns, the Dayi object would transmit the cultural symbolism associated with the Baojin Studio Inkstone and literati ideals held by its venerated previous owners.

The connection between archaistic objects and paraphernalia from a scholar's studio was explicitly laid out in a Southern Song guidebook to elite taste and literati material culture, titled *Dongtian qinglu* 洞天清錄 (*Pure Registers of the Cavern Heaven*), written by Zhao Xigu 趙希鵠 (1170-1242), a Song royal descendent and known for his expertise in the connoisseurship of antiques and fine arts.[102] In the guidebook Zhao discussed ancient objects, archaistic objects, rare stones, inkstones, paintings and calligraphy and how these objects would demonstrate one's excellent taste and literati identity. Objects from the Dayi cache, followed quite closely to the diverse range of objects specified in Zhao's book, except for painting and calligraphy, which would not have been preserved, if any had been placed in the cache. This observation indicates that the owner(s) of the Dayi cache had substantial knowledge about the practices in Southern Song literati material culture as prescribed in the *Pure Registers of the Cavern Heaven*, and shared the values and aestheticism symbolized by legendary objects, such as the Baojin Studio Inkstone. Given the connection to the literati material culture, however, it is curious that not every object in the Dayi cache exhibits high quality in their making. For example, the decorative

101.As stated in the entry in Chuogenglu, Mi eulogized the inkstone with a poem and drawing depicting its jagged peaks and hidden caverns after he had unwittingly lost the object to a friend. However, it is not clear how this woodcut print in Tao's book was related to Mi's original drawing. Ding Wen-fu 丁文父, "Guanyu *Yanshan ming* suofu *Baojinzhai yanshan tu* ji *Baojinzhai yanshan* (On the Picture of Yanshan in Baojin Studio and the Yanshan Described in *Yanshan Inscription*) 關於研山銘所附寶晉齋研山圖及寶晉齋研山," *Collectors* 收藏家 (2002.9), pp. 42-45.

102.Zhao Xi-gu 趙希鵠, *Dongtian qinglu* 洞天清錄 (Siku edition, Taipei: Taiwan Commercial Press, 1985), vol. 871, pp. 1-30. Craig Clunas, *Superfluous Things: Material Culture and Social Status in Early Modern China* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1991), p. 9.

motifs on a bronze archaistic *ping*-vase from the Dayi cache comprised popular designs in the Sichuan region which were also found in another example from the Pengzhou 彭州 bronze cache (Fig. 40).[103] Although the decorative schemes on both vases were almost identical, the Dayi vase is smaller in size and apparently more crudely made.[104] The problem with quality suggests limited accessibility to high-level craftsmanship in the Dayi area, which was away from major trade routes, despite a strong local interest in refined material culture.[105]

5. Conclusions: Redefining Song archaistic objects

As I began this inquiry about Song archaistic objects in caches and tombs, I was primarily concerned with the recontextualization of the objects with the intention to understand their meaning and function prior to their placement into their underground sites. My discussion of several examples from Dayi, Hangzhou, Longyou, Guang'an, and Pengzhou indeed generate some understanding of these objects as to why they were produced and how they were used, what belief or ideology they symbolized, and what socio-cultural significance they represented. Although my discussion of Song archaistic objects from caches and tombs is far from comprehensive, it points to three directions in which similar objects can be understood. First, a large number of Song archaistic objects were produced in the political context most obviously related to the Song ritual reform and dynastic revival, as exemplified by those produced in the court of Huizong and Gaozong. These archaistic objects were intended to be used at state rituals and often bore close formal resemblance to their Shang-Zhou models, as illustrated by the Dasheng bells and Hangzhou *zun*-vase. The close tie between ritual functions and ancient forms can also be found in similar archaistic objects related to Confucian rituals which were practiced at Confucius temples or local schools.[106] Second, there was also a large group of Song archaistic

103.Chengdu Municipal Institute of Cultural Relics and Archaeology 成都市文物考古研究所, "A Bronze Hoard of Song Dynasty in Pengzhou, Sichuan 四川彭州宋代青銅器窖藏," p. 65, figs. 19.3, 4.

104.Both ping-vases have signs of damages on the top of their neck, indicating that they originally had decorative ears, which are now lost.

105.During the Southern Song period, Dayi was under the jurisdiction of Qiongzhou 邛州, located right on the border between Southern Song China and Tibet.

106.A well-known example for this is the pair of ox-shaped zun-pitchers found in the historical site of the Huzhou Prefectural School. Chen Zi-feng 陳子風, "Huzhou 'Huang Song zhouxue baozun' ming qingtong xizun kao (A Study of Bronze Xi Zun Engraved with Huang Song Zhou Xue Bao Zun Recovered in Huzhou) 湖州皇宋州學寶尊銘青銅犧尊考," *Cultural Relics of the East* 東方博物, vol. 33 (2009.4), pp. 39-44.

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objects which should be understood in the cultural context of literati aestheticism. These objects were often made in specific materials or forms that would allude to legendary objects or related historical figures and highlight the erudition and refined taste of their owners. Evidenced by the examples found in Longyou and Dayi, archaistic objects of this kind were often found together with paraphernalia from a scholar's studio, and would have been used for private functions, not for public rituals. As indicated in *Pure Registers of the Cavern Heaven*, these objects represented the refined life style and cultural identity of Song literati in a concrete and materialistic way. Third, there was yet another group of Song archaistic objects which exhibited a formal connection to antiquity in a fragmented and arbitrary way. Unlike the archaistic objects for state or local rituals, which by and large maintained the integrity of their formal resemblance to antiquity, the visual tie between objects of the third group and the past was often broken down to individual motifs, or reduced to simplified structures which served only as a reminder, rather than a representation, of their ancient models. These objects often demonstrated great creativity in terms of reconfiguring or reinventing the archaistic imagery. They were often produced for ritual functions outside of the Chinese orthodox or literati traditions. In addition, they often responded to contemporary fashion or market demands. The remaining part of the large *yan*-steamer from the Jiangyou cache is an example of this group. The combination of archaistic and contemporary decorative patterns and the depiction of popular folktale and foreign legends create an entirely new image.

My discussion of Song archaistic objects also raises questions with regard to the precise meaning of archaistic objects and the complex socio-political and cultural conditions in which they once existed. The first question, perhaps most fundamental to the overall discussion of this paper, is how we could more precisely define an archaistic object. As we have seen in the analysis of Huizong's Dasheng bells, which were regarded by many as the finest examples of Song archaistic objects, Huizong and his reformers made a critical, although subtle, effort to ensure that the bells were not exact copies of any ancient models. While the Song archaistic ritual objects assumed similar formal features and were produced for the same ritual function as their Shang-Zhou predecessors, their deviations from the ancient models were essential in signifying their status as *contemporary* objects serving in *present* rituals. The rather subtle differences between Huizong's archaistic objects and their ancient models became a wide field of bondless imagination, as seen in the case of Pengzhou and Jiangyou, where eclectic elements from ancient and contemporary sources were combined to fulfill the need of the local or individuals. We can probably conclude that in all the Song archaistic objects discussed here, regardless how orthodox or innovative they were, their *differences* from their ancient models are just as important as their similarities, if not more so, in effectively recognizing them as archaistic objects.

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Song archaistic objects not only diverge from their ancient models in form, but also in meaning and function. In the case of the Longyou tomb and the Dayi cache, archaistic objects did not serve as signs of political authority, but symbols of refined taste. In other words, the notion of antiquity was aestheticized in these two cases, which was rather different from the politicization of antiquity in the cases of court production under Huizong and Gaozong. Rather than political authority, the aestheticization of antiquity granted archaistic objects cultural authority and transformed them into attributes of one's literati cultural identify. Together with paraphernalia from a scholar's studio, archaistic objects became necessary possessions for any aspiring members of the literati class, if he intended to secure his position in the literati social circle.

The changing features and socio-cultural significance of Song archaistic objects further raise questions concerning the correlation between form and context. The two variables, the formal features and their contextual meanings, are already implied in the Chinese term for archaistic objects. The Chinese characters used to refer to archaistic objects, *fang* 仿 and *gu* 古, denote two very broadly defined concepts in Chinese visual and material culture. The meaning of *fang* as an action ranges from "to copy," "to imitate," "to approximate," "to follow the style of," "to be inspired by," or even "to evoke the feeling of." Although all these possible meanings have to do with some kind of formal association between the original model and the object displaying characteristics of *fang*, the changeability of such association allows a great flexibility in the formal features of archaistic objects. The term *gu*, despite the fact it was often understood as "antiquity," did not always refer to a remote historical period. For example, in the Ouyang Xiu's collection of ancient inscriptions, *Jigu lu* 集古錄 (the *Records of Collecting Antiquity*), while there were items from the Shang-Zhou period, which was perceived as China's high antiquity, the majority of his collection came from later historical periods, including the late Tang and Five Dynasties (late 9th to early 10th century).[107] Chinese antiquarians after the Song continued to uphold the notion of *gu* that was not exclusively defined by historical chronology, but rather often characterized by their subjective experience associated with the past.[108] The meaning of *gu*

107.Ronald Egan questions Ouyang Xiu's notion of gu in *The Problem of Beauty: Aesthetic Thought and Pursuits in Northern Song Dynasty China* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2006), pp. 38-43. I suggest that it was related it to the notion of *zhen* 真, authenticity. Yun-Chiahn C. Sena, "Ouyang Xiu's Conceptual Collection of Antiquity," p. 215.

108.My study of Ming antiquarianism also suggests that the interest in antiquity during the mid to late Ming period focuses more on the aesthetic rather than historical aspect of the concept. "The Song-Ming Connection in the Ming Studies of Ancient Inscriptions," *The Journal of the Society for Ming Studies*, vol. 71, no. 2 (May 2015), pp. 27-54.

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could therefore morph from denoting historicity, authenticity, or to aesthetics, depending on the context to which the meaning was applied. In light of the multi-layered definitions of "*fang*" and "*gu*," one should be cautious when considering in what ways the formal features of an archaistic object were associated with antiquity, and what kind of contextual meanings it would bear in relation to the past. These were the questions patrons and artisans of archaistic objects would have considered as well when they produced and consumed these objects in the Song times.

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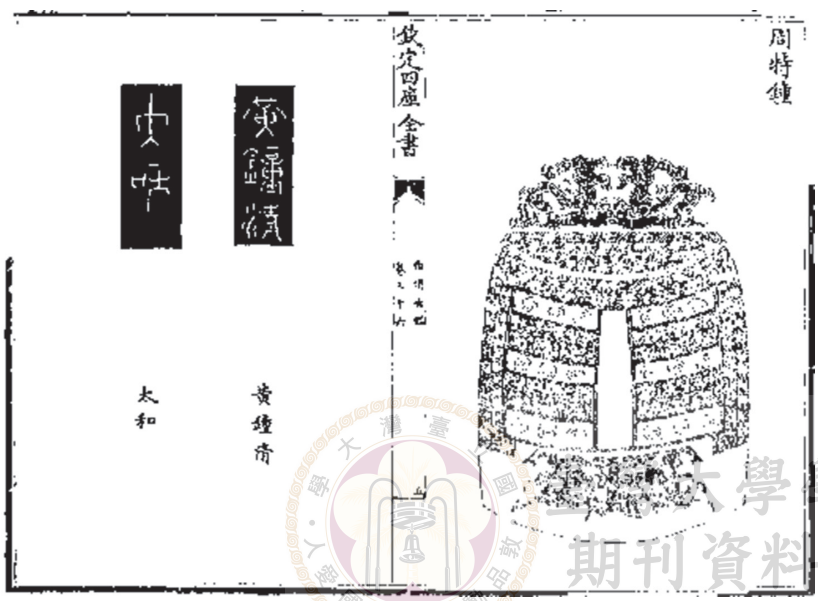


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Fig. 6 *Gu* striking area of the *Dasheng Bell*

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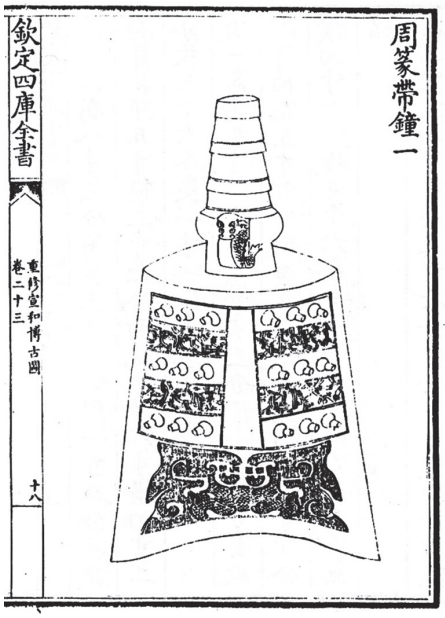


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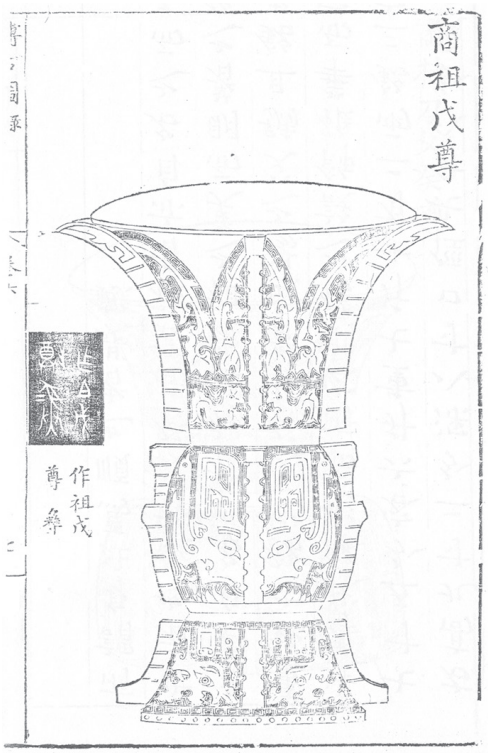


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a



b

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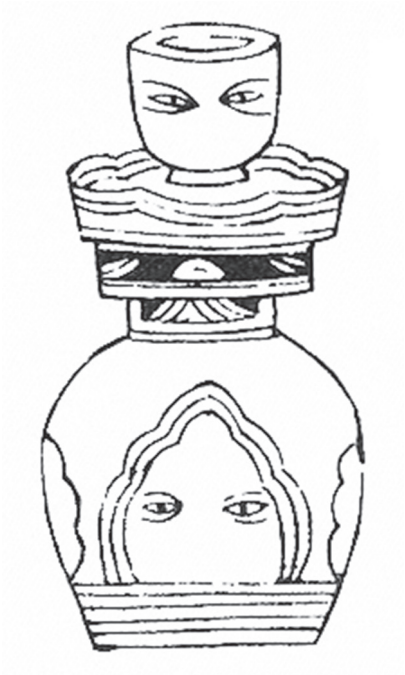


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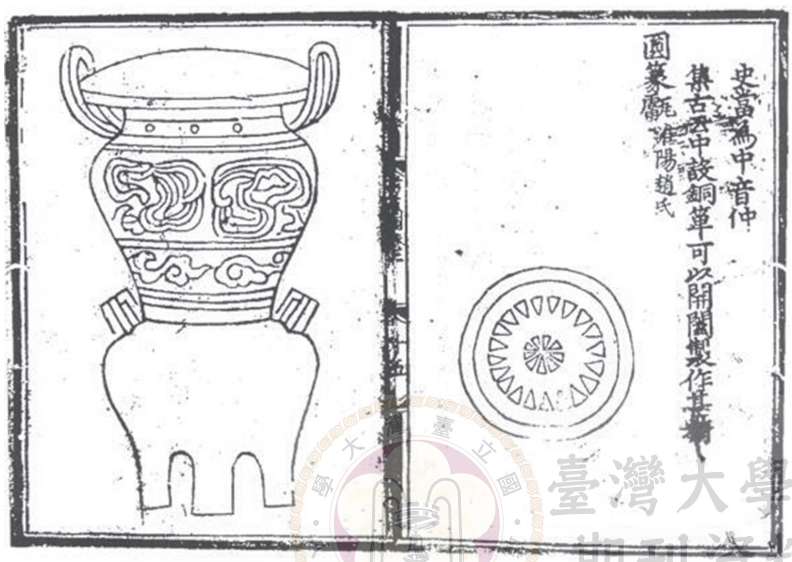


Fig. 19 *Round Steamer with Decorative Patterns* from Lü's catalogue (*Kaogu tu*, j. 2, Early Ming edition, mid-fifth century.)

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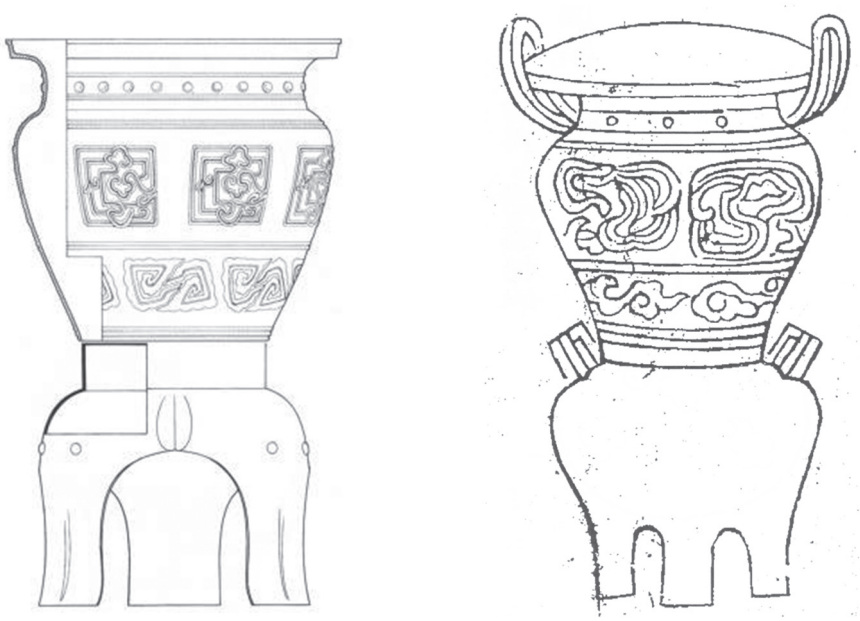
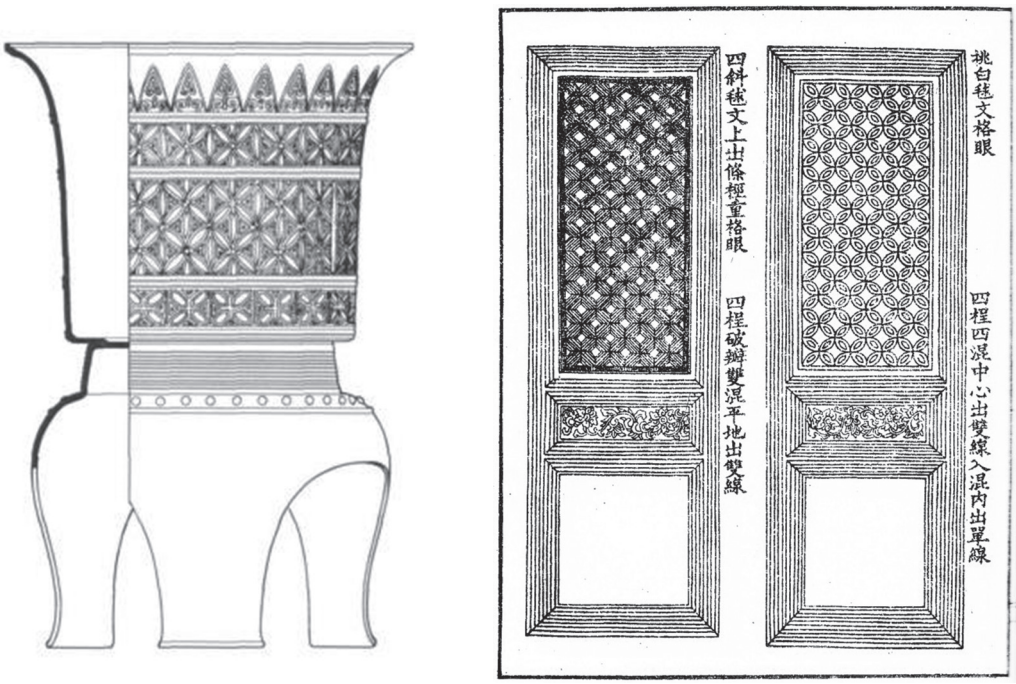


Fig. 20 Comparison of a. drawing of the *Round Steamer with Decorative Patterns* from the Pengzhou cache (Chengdu, "Sichuan Pengzhou Song dai qingtongqi jiaocang," figs. 4.1, 6.2.) b. drawing of *the Round Steamer with Decorative Patterns* (*Kaogu tu*, j. 2, Early Ming edition, early fifteenth century.)



Fig. 21 Drawing of the inscription of the *Round Steamer with Decorative Patterns* from the Pengzhou cache (Chengdu, "A Bronze Hoard of Song Dynasty in Pengzhou, Sichuan," fig. 22.2.)

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a b

Fig. 22 a. Drawing of a *yan*-steamer from the Pengzhou cache (Chengdu, "Sichuan Pengzhou Song dai qingtongqi jiaocang," fig. 4.3) b. Illustrations of door panels from *Yingzao fashi,* j. 32 (Siku edition, 1773.)

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a



b

Fig. 23 a. *Zeng*-pot of a *yan*-steamer from the Jiangyou cache, bronze, h. 32.5 cm. b. *Mojie* in landscape (Photos by the author.)

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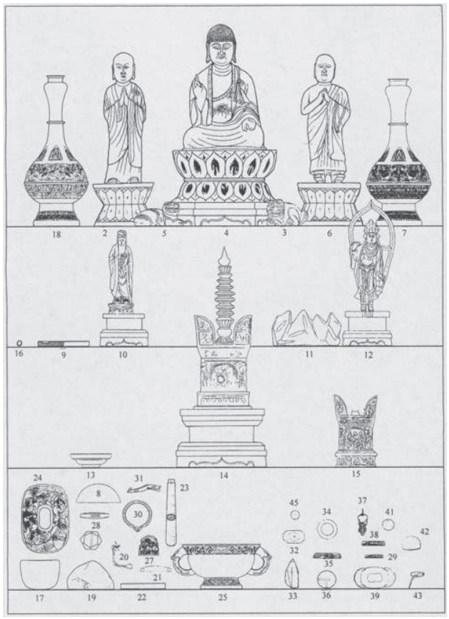


Fig. 24 Diagram of the shrine in the underground vault of the Zhibiao pagoda (Zhejiang Provincial Institute of Archaeology, *Haining zhibiaota*, 31, plate 25.)

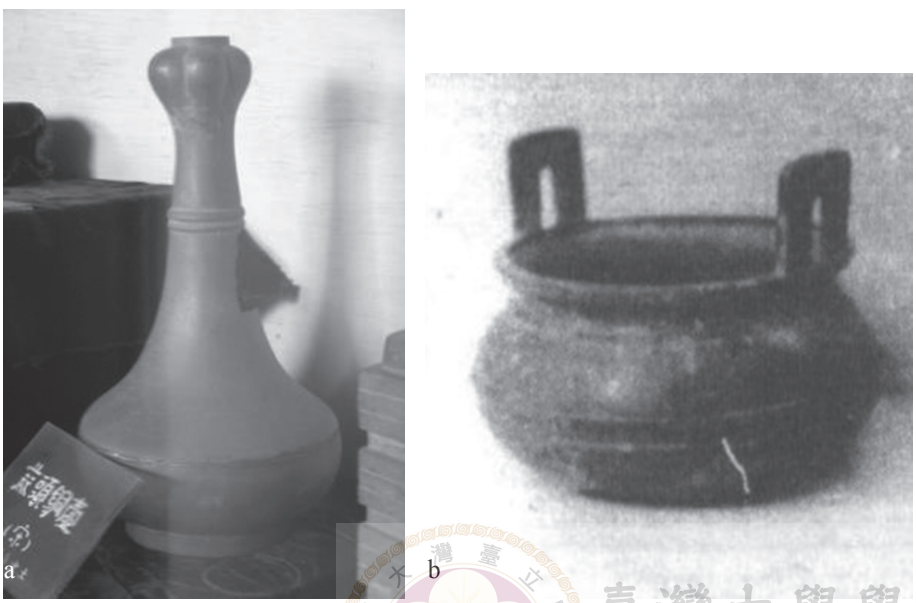


Fig. 25 Two identical garlic-headed vases found in the shrine in the stone vault underneath the Zhibiao pagoda, bronze, h. 25 cm. (Zhengjiang, *Haining zhibiaota*, 65, plate 52.)

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Fig. 26 *Gui*-incense burner found in the shrine in the stone vault under-neath the Zhibiao pagoda, bronze, h. 7.4 cm. (Zhengjiang, *Haining zhibiaota*, 68, plate 55.)



a b

Fig. 27 a. Garlic-head vase from the Guang'an cache, bronze, h. 22.5 cm (Photo by Xie Tao 謝濤) b. Remaining of a damaged *ding*-burner from the Guang'an cache, bronze, h. 9.5 cm (Li, "Guang'an xian chutu Song dai jiaocang," fig. 20.)

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Fig. 28 a. vase from the Guang'an cache, bronze, h. 24 cm. b. *ding*-burner also from the Guang'an cache, bronze, remaining h. 16 cm (Photos by Xie Tao.)

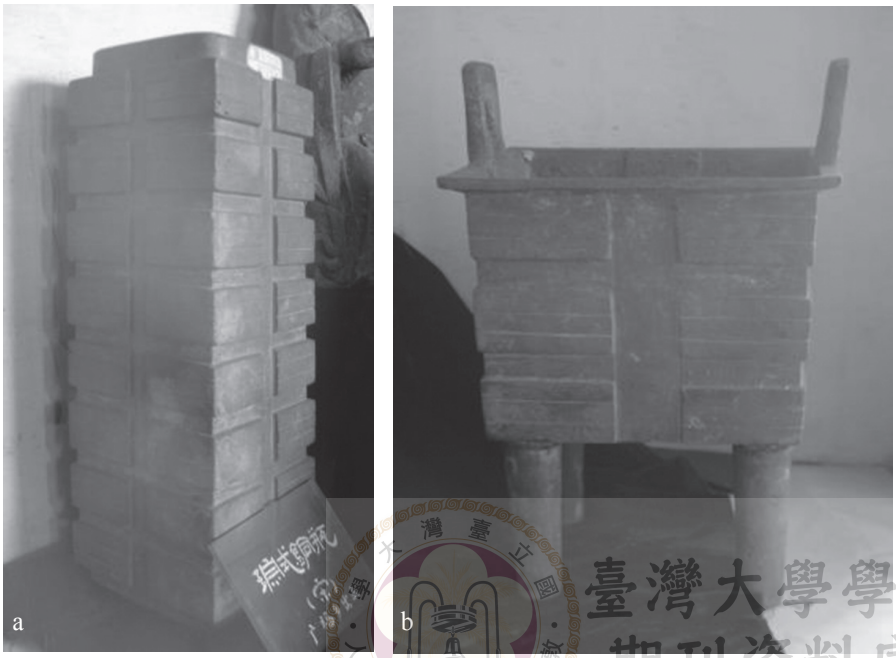


Fig. 29 a. Cong-vase from the Guang'an cache, bronze, h. 29 cm. b. *ding*-burner also from the Guang'an cache, bronze, remaining h. 24.5 cm (Photos by Xie Tao.)

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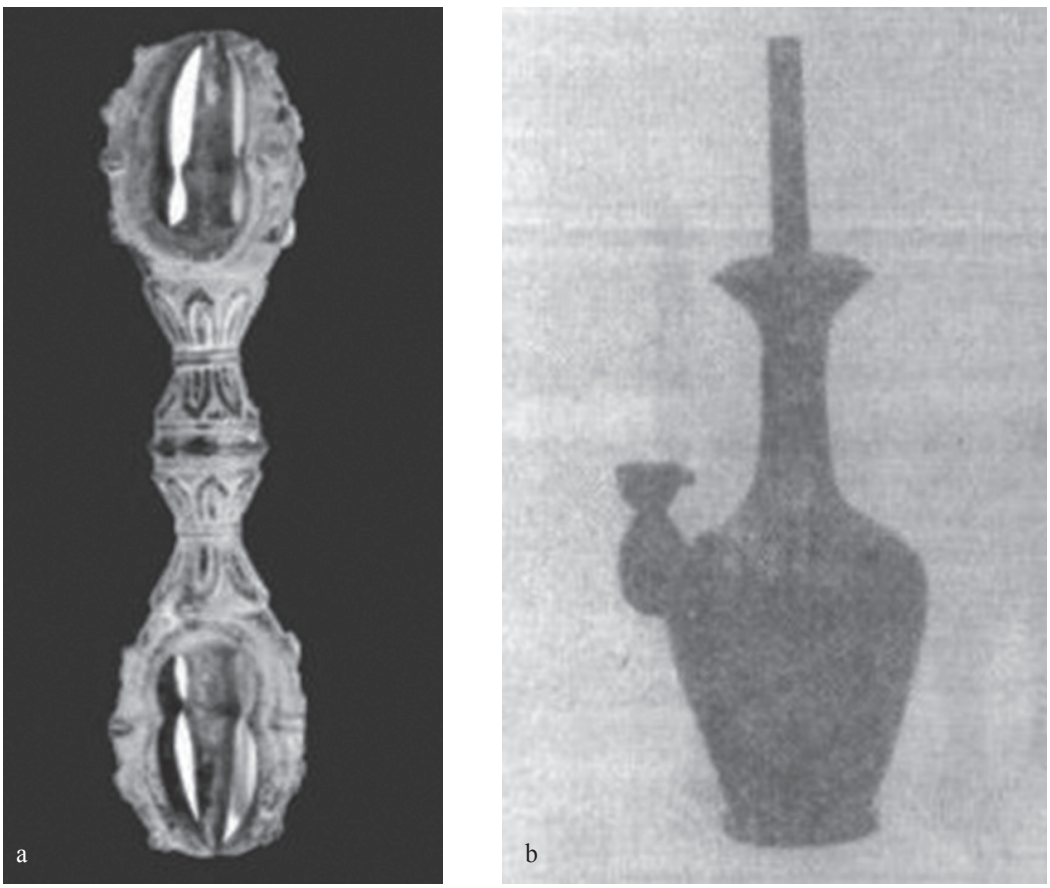
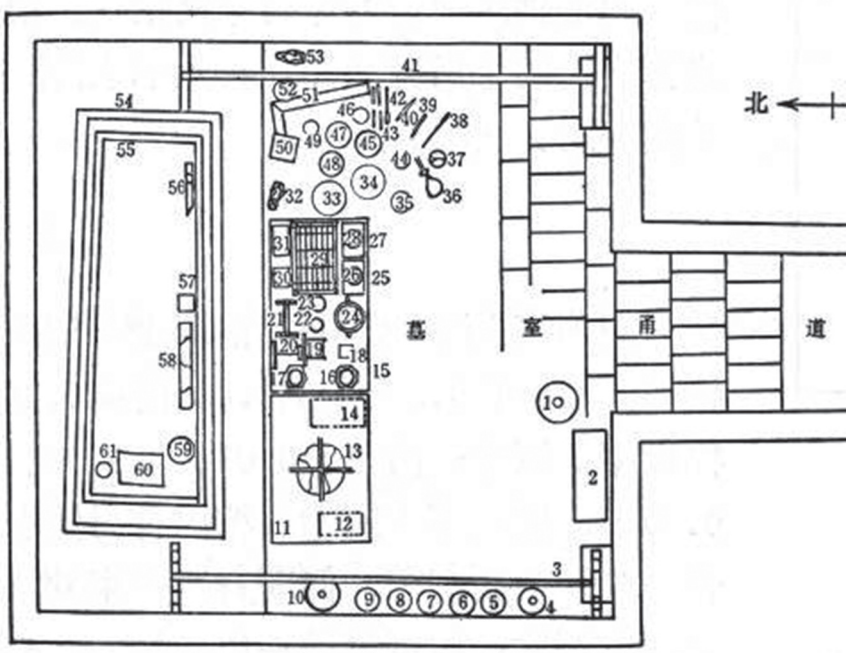


Fig. 30 a. *Vajra*-sceptor from the Guang'an cache, bronze, l. 21 cm (*Chuandong dushibao* 川東都市, November 20, 2012.) b. *Kundika*-bottle also from the Guang'an cache, bronze, remaining h. 33 cm (Li, "Guang'an xian chutu Song dai jiaocan," fig. 8.)

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a





b

Fig. 31 a. Structure of Yan Deyuan's tomb (Datong shi bowuguan, "Datong Jin dai Yan Deyuan mu," fig. 2). b. Stone *gui-incense* burner from Yan tomb (Datong shi bowuguan, "Datong Jin dai Yan Deyuan mu," fig. 38.)

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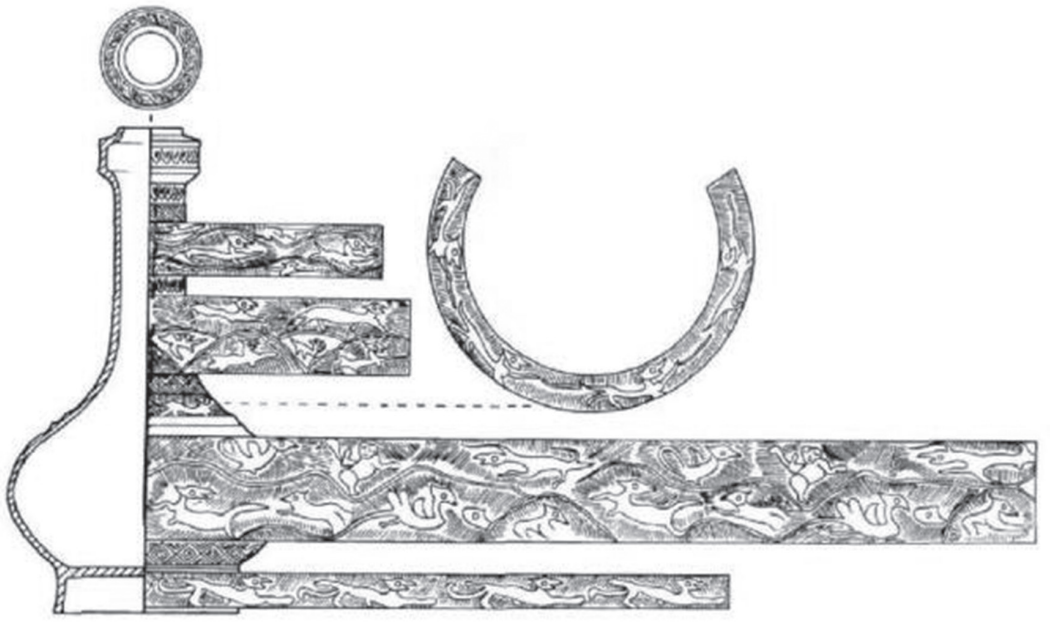


Fig. 32 Bottle from the Longyou tomb, bronze, h. 10 cm (Zheng, "Longyou Song mu," fig. 6.2.)



Fig. 33 Warming bottle decorated with mountain and dragon motifs (*Bogu tu*, j. 13, Zhida edition, 1528.)

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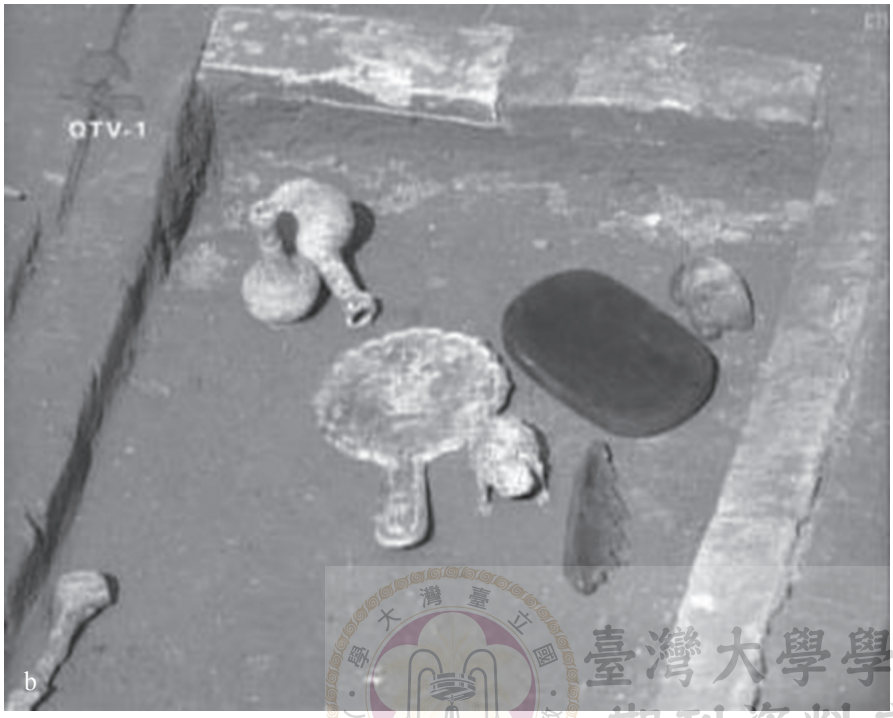


Fig. 34 a. Structure of the Longyou tomb, l. 3.6 m. b. Objects found in the Longyou tomb (Zheng, "Longyou Song mu," fig. 1.)

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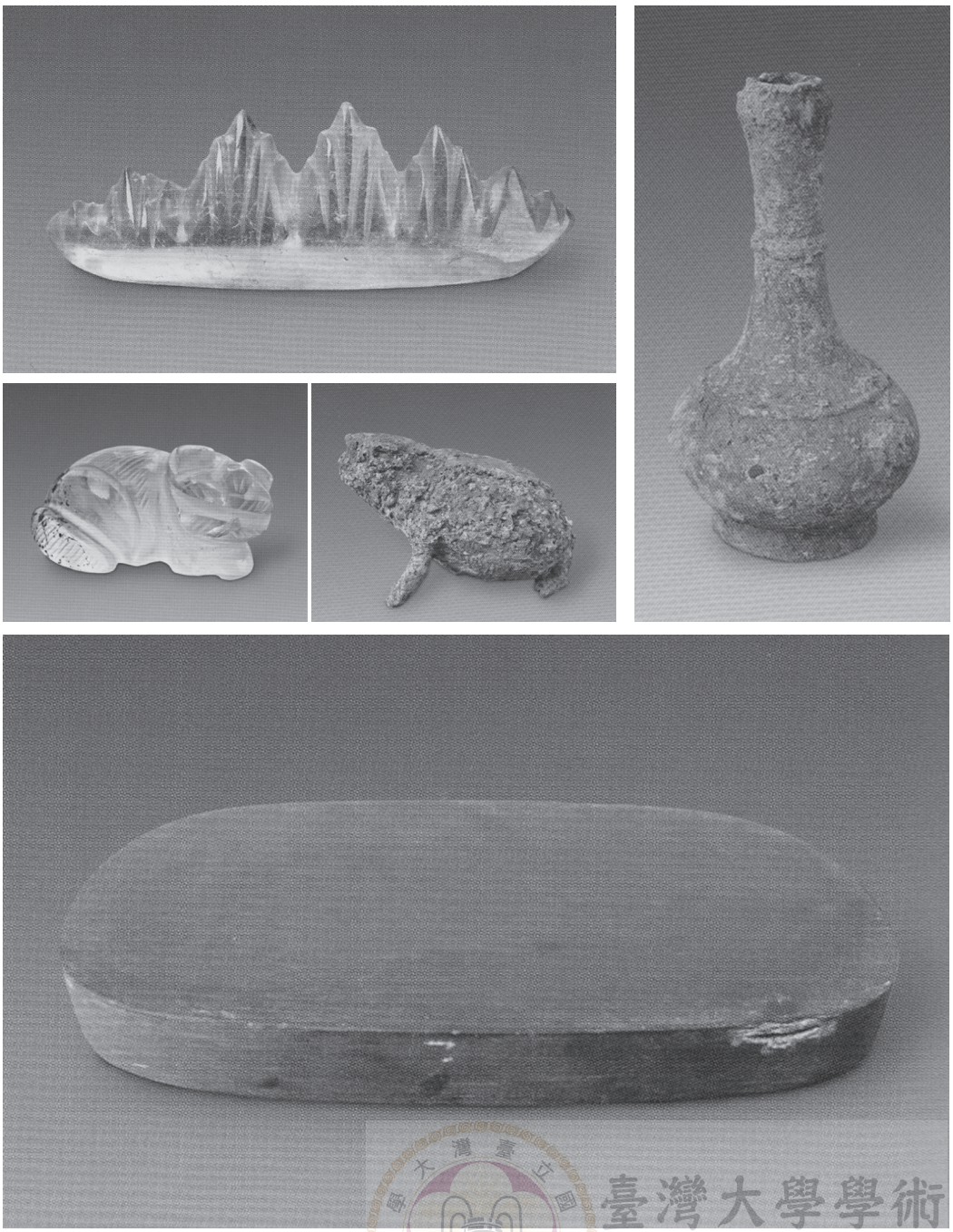


Fig. 35 Studio objects and an archaistic bottle from the Longyou tomb M 33 (Zhejiang, *Zhejiang Song Mu*, plates 16, 17.)

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Fig. 36 Archaistic objects from the Dayi cache (Photos by the author.)

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Fig. 37 Studio paraphernalia from the cache in Dayi (Photos by the author.)

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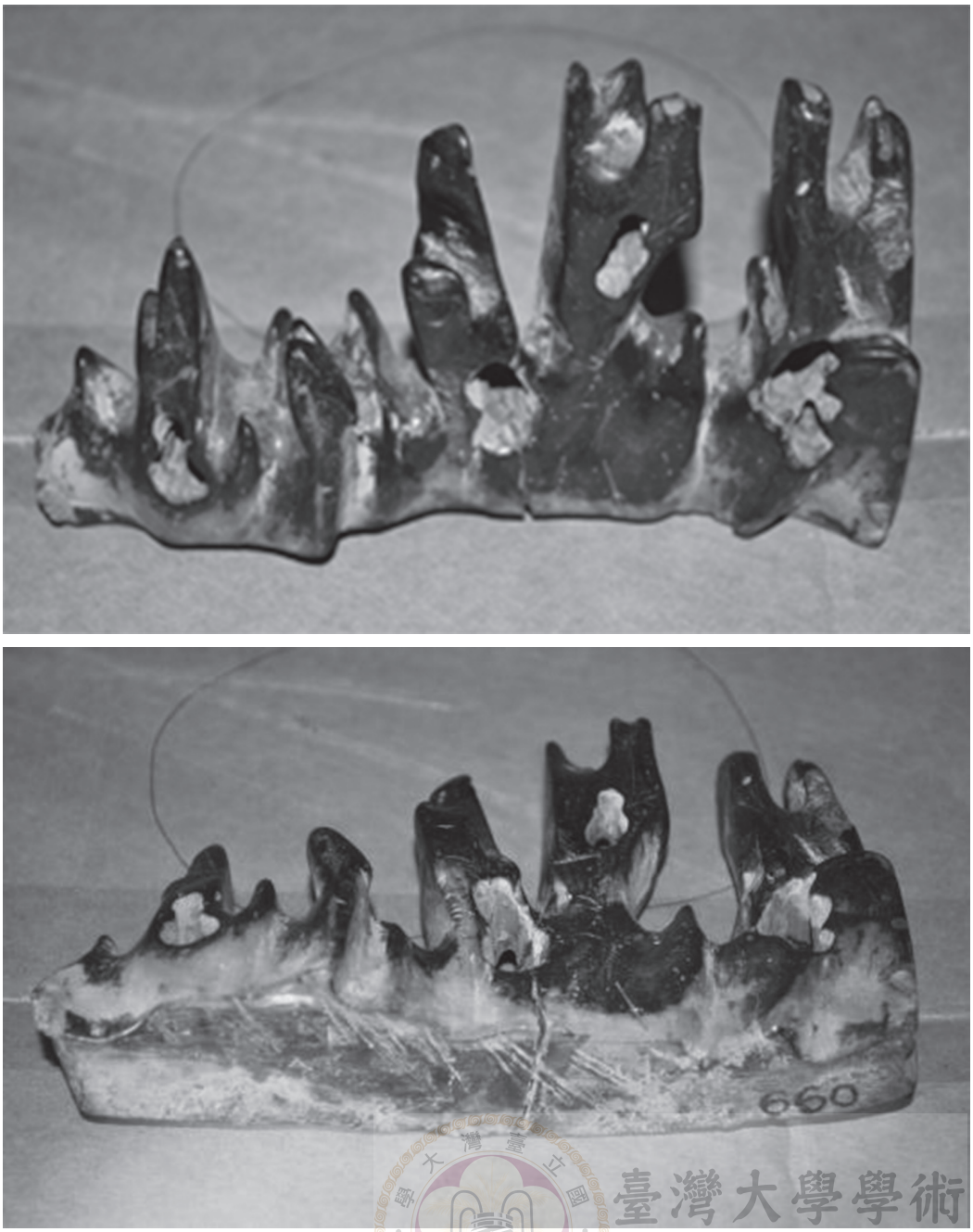


Fig. 38 Two views of the brush rest in the Dayi cache. Stone, l. 15 cm (Photos by the author.)

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Fig. 39 Drawing of the brush rest *Baojin Studio Inkstone* (Jindai edition, 1621.)

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Fig. 40 *Ping*-vases from a. the Dayi cache, h. 21 cm, and b. the Pengzhou bronze cache, h. 24.4 cm (Photos by the author.)

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南宋墓葬與窖藏中的仿古器

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本文檢視四川窖藏出土南宋仿古器，與墓葬地宮的器物比較，以了解其在不同語境中的意義。受宋代復古思潮影響，仿古器在南宋時大量出現，四川窖藏更出土許多範例。然而這些仿古器在入窖前的文化意涵與社會功能卻不受重視。這可能由於當前學術主流將四川窖藏視為宋蒙戰爭中為掩埋財貨所置，學者因而多注重出土器物的物質特性。本文將宋代仿古器放在不同語境中分析。與中央或地方祭祀有關的仿古器，在形制用途上與作為範本的商周祭祀器接近。與佛教道教祭祀有關的仿古器，在功能上多為供瓶與香爐用於祭臺，在形制上則有多元的形態與紋飾。與文人物質文化有關的仿古器多與文房用具共出，在形制與材料上表現文人生活品味。宋代仿古器的根本性質並不限於與古物的相似性，其歧異性更為重要。這是因為後者更能兼容屬於當代的形制特色，彰顯古代在當代的意義與功能。

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關鍵詞：仿古器、四川窖藏、宋代、復古運動