Contents

Introduction

Jason C. Kuo

The study of Chinese calligraphy and painting has, over the past seven decades, made tremendous progress in the United States. Increasing collaboration between American and Chinese institutions and scholars has contributed to better understanding of Chinese art history. Scholarship on Chinese calligraphy and painting in the United States has been shaped by a number of historical, cultural, and institutional factors. Knowing what those factors were and how they have shaped the academic discipline is critical if the field is to maintain its momentum. As the field of Chinese art history moves into postcolonial studies, institutional critique, and economic and social contextualization, it is especially important that studies focused on questions of the canon, value, historiography, and large-scale historical structures not be left behind.[1]

A number of exiles and émigré art collectors and scholars, migrating to the United States through the early part of the twentieth century, became the art historians who wove the fascinating and complex fabric of today's scholarship. Their language skills, their cultural awareness and understanding, and their private collections formed the rich and unique foundation on which scholars have built our complex field of art history. In recent years, we have mourned the deaths of many of the most prominent scholars in Chinese calligraphy and painting working in the United States. Many other scholars have retired. It is time for us to celebrate their scholarship and the American contribution to the study of Chinese calligraphy and painting. The present volume examines critically

the historiography of the field of Chinese calligraphy and painting in Postwar America, to assess its achievements, and to explore how various practices in the field have been affected by the personal backgrounds of its scholars and by the constraints of its institutions (such as universities, museums, private and public funding bodies).

In "Approaches to the History of Chinese Calligraphy in American Scholarship," Stephen J. Goldberg has written a systematic account of the major contributions of American scholars to the historiography of Chinese calligraphy. This study is organized around six fundamental approaches to the study of Chinese calligraphy: the aesthetic reception of Chinese calligraphy; connoisseurship and the question of authenticity; formal analysis and the question of calligraphic style; periodization of calligraphic styles; calligraphic influence, emulation, and creative imitation; and reader reception and the genre of calligraphic texts. Each approach is introduced through a discussion of a representative work of art historical research and the methods employed for the specific topic. All the art historians discussed in this study have greatly contributed to the development of the history of Chinese calligraphy as an academic discipline.

In her essay, "Historiography of Liao and Jin Painting: The United States Contribution," Nancy S. Steinhardt offers a history of the study of Liao and Jin painting in the United States. The lack of research on the topic is due in part to the fact that the majority of Liao and Jin painting survives on walls, available for study mostly by way of archaeology, and its medium is generally regarded as inferior to painting on silk or paper. Also, traditional scholarship has tended to regard Liao and Jin painting as less rigorous, and less Chinese. Liao archaeological finds have been documented in Japanese publications and European scholarly literature since about the 1920s. Material was sometimes misidentified as Korean. Through the 1980s, Susan Bush and just a few other scholars were drawn to Liao or Jin. Ellen Laing studied Liao and Jin murals together with relief sculpture, and Linda Johnston and Robert Rorex turned to Liao murals, in attempts to authenticate paintings in U.S. collections. To date, only a handful of U.S. dissertations have focused on Liao and Jin paintings, murals, funerary drama, and sculpture. In her essay, Steinhardt calls our attention to several relevant questions: Should

we distinguish Liao from Jin mural painting? Should Western Xia painting be considered in the discussion? Did Liao and Jin painting come to scholarly attention because of interest in Yuan murals? Why has adequate attention not been given to the two paintings on silk discovered in a Liao tomb at Yemaotai? What barriers steer scholars away from study of Liao and Jin? Why is Buddhist painting under Liao and Jin not well explored? Do challenging iconographic issues discourage scholars? The number of questions indicate how understudied this field is, despite the overwhelming quantity of visual material, as demonstrated in her essay.

Three giants in the field of Chinese painting studies in America are C. C. Wang (Wang Jiqian, 1907–2003), Wang Fangyu (1913–1997), and Wai-kam Ho (1924–2004). These individuals shared a love of Chinese culture and art, but approached the study of Chinese painting differently and transmitted their knowledge in distinctive ways. They represent a generation of Chinese *wenren*, or literati, who grew up in China but emigrated to the West after the Communist takeover in 1949 and lived out the rest of their lives in the United States. In "In Pursuit of Depth and Breadth: The Impact of C. C. Wang, Wai-kam Ho, and Wang Fangyu on Chinese Painting Studies," Arnold Chang informs us what he has learned from each of these experts: with C. C. Wang, through a twenty-five-year apprenticeship; with Wang Fang-yu, as a student taught at Columbia University and as a friend and occasional translator; with Wai-kam Ho, as a junior co-advisor to a private collector. He learned from each gentleman through comments overheard during viewing sessions, through personal conversations, and through auction strategy sessions. These three men bridged China and the West, and largely due to their influence the United States came to be established as a major center for Chinese painting studies. In his essay, he asks us to ponder the following important questions: How did their relationships to Chinese art change in the decades they worked in the United States? How did they engage with and share their passion for Chinese art with a Western audience? How did they not only survive but flourish in a culture that was so different from the one in which they were raised? How did they influence the way that Chinese paintings are studied, collected, and understood in the West?

In "Collecting and Exhibiting Chinese Paintings in Postwar America: Sherman Lee and the 1954 *Chinese Landscape Painting* Exhibition," Noelle Giuffrida uses the activities of American curator and museum director Sherman E. Lee (1918–2008) as a lens through which to investigate the factors that affected curators' choices of Chinese paintings to acquire and exhibit during the 1940s and 1950s. She also reveals the strategies that curators and scholars then used to present Chinese paintings in exhibitions and publications. During the immediate postwar decade (1946–1956), Lee served first as a monuments man in Occupied Japan, then as curator and assistant director at the Seattle Art Museum, and finally as curator of Asian art at the Cleveland Museum of Art. Giuffrida's essay demonstrates the largely unexplored significance of exhibitions held at American museums and of serious scholarly publications produced by experts living in the United States during this crucial period, when the field of Chinese art history was shaped.

James Cahill, in his tribute to his teacher Max Loehr for his seventieth birthday, in 1975, said that the occasion "signals that we must begin to stop regarding him as a fixed institution, and take some time to consider this extraordinary man and his effect on Chinese art studies."[2] Thirty years later, in 2005, invited to a graduate seminar centered on his scholarly contributions to Chinese painting studies at the University of Maryland, College Park, Cahill mused, "Now I feel like an institution." In "Patrimony and Posterity: The 'Confucian' Legacy of James F. Cahill (1926–2014)," Xiaoqing Zhu looks into Cahill's commitment to establishing a "style history" for Chinese painting from Yuan to Ming, following Loehr's legacy in the stylistic analysis model, derived from his studies of Anyang bronzes. Moving beyond the style-analysis model, Cahill diverged in his later works to alternative methods, especially socially contextualized art history. Both style-analysis and contextual methods are still largely employed in Chinese art history survey courses for undergraduates. Cahill's legacy is perhaps best carried forward by his many distinguished students active in art history departments in universities and museums across the country and abroad. The posterity of Chinese painting studies undoubtedly continues to bear his imprint. With this generation of scholars' proclivity to question "institutions," perhaps there is something to be learned from how

Cahill celebrated his teacher. Perhaps we should stop regarding him as "a fixed institution," and instead take time to consider him in the lineage of Chinese painting studies: his larger-than-life repertoire of publications; his filial piety to his teacher's scholarship; his digression from Loehr's focus on canonical studies of Chinese painting; and his impact as a "great teacher" on his successors in Chinese painting studies.[3]

Anne Burkus-Chasson's essay, "Fault Lines: Notes toward a Memoir," takes the vantage point of an intimate history of the author's experience learning Chinese painting in the United States with a brief interlude in Japan. It is also a meditation on the books the author encountered over the years and the ideas to which she was drawn. The essay comprises four parts. The first dwells on different approaches to close looking, which was the focus of her graduate studies with the late James Cahill. The second dwells on the author's learning how to use archival resources in Japan. The third and the fourth parts examine problems the author has encountered in striving to write a cultural history of Chinese painting, notably the friction between sinology and art history, and the hazards of practicing global art history.

It is important to contextualize the field of art history in general, and the subfield of modern and contemporary Chinese painting. The discipline of art history has undergone a deep transformation from an object-oriented and connoisseurship-motivated training program to a complex field of contesting research methods and approaches. It is also increasingly interdisciplinary. New types of art historical inquiries are interwoven with other fields, such as cultural studies, film studies, literature, sociology, intellectual history, and anthropology. Generally, "non-Western" art, particularly modern and contemporary art, has been marginalized. This is obvious not only in older, well-known college textbooks such as Horst W. Janson's *History of Art* (co-authored with Dora Jane Janson, first published in 1962),[4] but also in more recent ones such as Hal Foster et al., *Art Since 1900: Modernism, Antimodernism, Postmodernism* (third edition, 2016).[5] Often, instead of seeing modern and contemporary Chinese art as a dynamic, complex ebb and flow of transformations, led by artists searching for numerous diverse modernisms, many Eurocentric scholars have tended to

see, uncritically, modern and contemporary Chinese painting as a single, static phenomenon. Jerome Silbergeld's essay, "Michael Sullivan and His Study of Modern and Contemporary Chinese Painting," on the pioneering career of Michael Sullivan in the study and teaching of modern and contemporary Chinese art, illuminates for readers the special contributions of Sullivan and should, as we enter the third decade of the twenty-first century, inspire more students to continue important work in this area.

My essay, "Beyond the Seas: A Sojourn in Chinese Calligraphy and Painting," reflects on how my personal background has contributed to my scholarly activities. I am, of course, fully aware of "the treacherous task of self-evaluation," as J. M. Coetzee put it.[6] But I hope to show that my combined experience in academia and museums have played important roles in my chosen research topics and approaches to scholarship and teaching over several decades of my career. Various institutional constraints, though not easily discernable, have contributed to my choices and emphases. As Linda Nochlin once put it, "Nothing, I think, is more interesting, more poignant and more difficult to seize, than the intersection of self and history."[7] Nochlin's words, on the relationship between scholarship and scholars' life experience, are echoes of what have been perceptively and sensitively expressed by poets such as Ezra Pound: "And even I can remember / A day when the historians left blanks in their writings, / I mean, for things they didn't know." (Ezra Pound, *Cantos*, XIII).[8]

There are clearly gaps in this modest collection of essays and reflections. The book is offered "to cast a brick to get a gem" (*p'ao chuan yin yu*). It is my hope that readers will continue to look for stories that will help us understand better how the field of Chinese calligraphy and painting studies has been shaped in postwar America.

Notes

1 I have adapted some of the comments here from my "Introduction" to Jason C. Kuo, ed., *Stones from Other Mountains: Chinese Painting Studies in Postwar America* (Washington, D.C.: New Academia Publishing, 2009). In many ways, the present volume can be regarded as a sequel to the 2009 publication.
2 Cahill, "Max Loehr at Seventy," *Ars Orientalis* 10 (1975): 1.
3 See also Kuo, *Stones from Other Mountains: Chinese Painting Studies in Postwar America* and Jason C. Kuo, ed., *Discovering Chinese Painting: Dialogues with American Art Historians* (Dubuque, Iowa: Kendall/Hunt Publishing, 2000); second edition as *Discovering Chinese Painting: Dialogues with Art Historians* (Dubuque, Iowa: Kendall/Hunt Publishing, 2006).
4 New York: Abrams, 2004.
5 London and New York: Thames & Hudson, 2016.
6 J. M. Coetzee, *Stranger Shores: Literary Essays, 1986–1999* (New York: Penguin Books, 2001), 113.
7 Quoted in Maria Roth, "Of Self and History: Exchanges with Linda Nochlin," *Art Journal* 59, no. 3 (autumn 2000), 18.
8 Ezra Pound, *The Cantos of Ezra Pound* (London: Faber and Faber, 1957), 64.

Chapter 2

Historiography of Liao and Jin Painting: The United States Contribution

Nancy S. Steinhardt

Through more than half of the twentieth century, the dynasties Liao (907–1125), Jin (1115–1234), and Yuan (1267–1368) were often referred to by the unfortunate name "barbarian dynasties," barbarian being a translation of the Chinese character *hu*.[1] During this period, *hu* ruled increasingly large parts of China, culminating in Mongol rule from 1267 through 1368. The development of the study of painting of the first part of this period, during Liao and Jin, outside China and primarily in the United States, is the subject here. The Liao and Jin dynasties rose in China's northeastern provinces, Liaoning, Jilin, and Heilongjiang. The territories ruled by them extended into North Korea, eastern Inner and Outer Mongolia, and Russia. Centered in Liaoning and eastern Mongolia, the Khitan people, from which the Liao founder rose, are sometimes referred to as people of the grasslands. The Jurchen, based in Jilin, Heilongjiang, and Russia, are sometimes known as people of the forests. These locations, so far from China's major cities and their research centers, fueled the label barbarian, for until the last third of the twentieth century, research on Liao and Jin was rare in China. When it did occur, it happened mainly through Japanese research institutes, which published discoveries made during the Occupation of Manchuria, and through Russian and other European scholars, who published discoveries in Russia and Mongolia. These publications, especially the Japanese ones, often have not been available in China, and the Japanese research, in particular, has been ignored because it was conducted during occupation. The

United States was a latecomer to research on both Liao and Jin, including their painting.

It was primarily the Japanese publications, however, that brought attention in the United States to the material remains of Liao and Jin. Together with reports of expeditions at sites on the western side of China, in today's Xinjiang, undertaken by European and Japanese teams, these oversized tomes filled the folio sections of libraries at universities with programs in Chinese art, at museums with Chinese collections, and at a few research institutes. Any graduate student of Chinese art from as early as the 1920s through the 1970s could not but be aware of the publications by Torii Ryūzō, Takeshima Takuichi, or Tamura Jitsuzō: if one were to remove all books added to research libraries in the last fifty years, the Japanese publications would command an impressively large percentage of what remains.[2]

In general, only a few publications by Europeans, all on Liao, were read as widely. Ordained in Belgium, Father Jozef Mullie (1886–1976) arrived in the vicariate of Eastern Mongolia in 1909. He is believed to have been the first European to see and publish the architecture of the Liao ancestral precinct, today known as Liao

2.1. "Summer Landscape." Central chamber, Eastern Mausoleum, Qingzhou. Tamura Jitsuzō and Kobayashi Yokio, *Keiryō* [Qingling], 2 vols. (Kyoto: Kyoto Daigaku bungakubu, 1953), 2: pl. 55

Zuzhou, and the tombs of three Liao emperors at the site then—and in later publications—called Ch'ing-ling, today Qingzhou in Inner Mongolia (fig. 2.1).[3] *T'oung Pao*, the major European journal for Chinese studies since 1890, published today as then by Brill, also included a partial translation of the Liao standard history by Rolf Stein (1911–1999).[4] In 1949, Columbia professors Karl Wittfogel (1896–1988) and Feng Chia-sheng's 753-page *History of Chinese Society: Liao* was published.[5] The paucity of English-language material about Liao through the 1960s was such that scholars of painting used this book widely, even if they did not read it cover-to-cover. The figure opposite the title page, titled "Landscape with Deer," was from one of the Qingzhou tombs. It was one of several that introduced readers to Khitan inscriptions and pagodas as well to paintings. The objects that would lead to blockbuster exhibitions, discussed below, were still unknown. Only one other painting in United States at that time was considered a possible Liao painting, or at least relevant to things Liao. It was "Tartars Traveling on Horseback," attributed to the son of the founder of the Liao dynasty, Yelü Bei (899–937), who had fled south and taken the Chinese name Li Zanhua when he became a court painter (fig. 2.2).[6]

2.2. Detail of Li Zanhua (attr.), "Tartars Traveling on Horseback," Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. Courtesy of Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

Indeed, through the 1970s, Liao and Jin were largely ignored in art historical discourse in the United States. Yuan, on the other hand, the third so-called "barbarian dynasty," received a surge of interest beginning in 1968. Sherman Lee (1918–2008) and Waikam Ho's (1924–2004) landmark exhibition and catalogue, *Chinese Art under the Mongols*, published in that year, was a major turning point.[7] This focus on Yuan, it is suggested here, coincided with the realization that it was unlikely that many paintings of the Song dynasty (960–1279) beyond those that had been studied for the last several decades were available for study, but that there were abundant research topics offered by art in the century following Song.[8] Two scholars of Chinese painting who would dominate the discipline for the next four decades, James Cahill at the Freer Gallery and then Berkeley, and Li Chu-tsing (1920–2014) at the University of Kansas, embarked on this uncharted field. Li would produce dozens of scholarly publications.[9] James Cahill (1926–2014) would begin his anticipated five-volume series on Chinese painting with a book on Yuan with the premise that he would write about only authentic works.[10] The surge in focus on Yuan led to seminars in Kansas, Berkeley, and Princeton, and dozens of dissertations on Yuan painters, those directed by Wen Fong (1930–2018) at Princeton benefitting from twenty-five paintings from the collection of C. C. Wang that came to the Metropolitan Museum in 1971.[11] Further, the Palace Museum in Taipei had opened in 1965; access to paintings in Taiwan had become much easier than previously, when the collection was in T'ai-chung. Dissertation writers of the late 1960s through 1970s studied the Taipei Palace Museum collection firsthand. Paintings in Taipei and Japan, as well as the Metropolitan Museum, the Cleveland Museum of Art, the Nelson Gallery in Kansas City, the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, and a few others would be the core subject material for courses taught by these dissertation writers and their teachers well beyond the 1980s.

Still, as late as 1994, the year *The Cambridge History of China*, volume six, was published, Liao, Jin, Yuan, and Western Xia were in the same volume, subtitled *Alien Regimes and Border States*.[12] Herbert Franke (1914–2011), one of the editors of this volume, spent his career in Germany but was highly influential in the study of Liao, Jin, and Yuan in the United States. His paper at the 1975 American

Council of Learned Societies conference in Monterey, California, Conference on the Legitimation of Chinese Regimes, was published as the monograph *From Tribal Chieftain to Universal Emperor and God* in 1978.[13] Although his focus was history, art historians followed his thesis something like this: one sought to prove how something painted or sculpted or built under the sponsorship of a Northeast or North Asian ruler or state became Chinese.

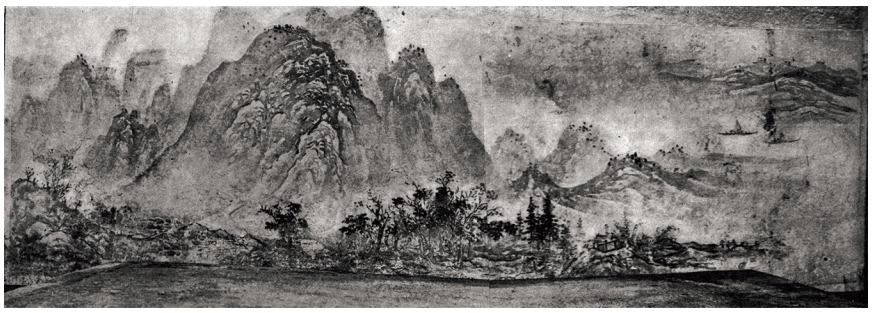
It is perhaps justifiable to say that publications about Liao and Jin painting, all of them articles, snuck into art historical discourse on the back of Yuan. This was not true of architecture: Japanese research teams had published pagodas and other freestanding monuments in the above-mentioned folios of the 1930s and 1940s, and it was widely known that the Yuan capital Dadu and before it the Jin capital Zhongdu and before it the Liao capital Yanjing were worthy of research because they were beneath the Ming-Qing city of Beijing. Uncovering the locations of the earlier cities' walls, however, was the work of archaeologists, and the wide separation between early Chinse art and archaeology, which included Neolithic pots and bronze vessels and lacquerware, and Chinese painting was very much upheld in the 1970s.

The most widely used textbook on Chinese painting, James Cahill's *Chinese Painting*, first published in 1960,[14] included only one painting that some believed to be Liao. The anonymous painting "Deer among Red-leafed Maples" was published as tenth century.[15] Around the year 2000, I asked Michael Sullivan (1916–2013) if he knew how that painting came to be attributed. He said that so little was known about Liao in the 1960s and 1970s, but everyone knew that the deer were in all four paintings of the seasons in the tomb at Qingzhou, so the possibility of Liao was floated.

Sullivan also wrote a textbook in 1960, *An Introduction to Chinese Art*. It was one of the first books to merge painting, excavated material, and architecture into a single narrative, and it influenced the teaching of Chinese art in the United States.[16] In general, however, in the United States all Chinese painting was on silk or paper. Beginning in 1950, the research libraries that housed the above-mentioned folios also received periodical literature from the People's Republic. *Kaogu* (*Archaeology*) and *Wenwu* (*Cultural Relics*) were widely received in the United States. Major research libraries

subscribed to between five and ten periodicals; graduate students wrote papers based on reports in them. No one doubted that excavated material would rewrite China's art history. Yet whereas the early Chinese art field had turned to these references, as well as to monographs that were emerging from the People's Republic almost as rapidly, their articles on painting did not attract much attention among those who were by the late 1970s able to study authentic paintings in collections in the People's Republic of China. In the late 1990s I asked Jim Cahill why he had not included the landscape mural in the tomb of Feng Daozhen, with a dated inscription of 1265 and published in *Wenwu* in 1962, in *Hills beyond a River* (fig. 2.3).[17] He said without hesitation, "It's wall painting." I continued, "How about Yonglegong?" This Daoist monastery in southern Shanxi province, with nearly 700 square meters of dated and signed murals, offered a scholar the opportunity not only to write about authentic fourteenth-century paintings, but also to tell the story of the dramatic move of every building and reinstallation of every mural. Cahill said that perhaps in the future he might, and went on to say that the survey of Chinese art I taught was no doubt very different from his.

Except for ceramics, Liao and Jin art were the subject of neither dissertations nor monographs even through the 1980s.[18] The first scholarly writing about painting of these periods concerned Jin, and scholars seem to have backed into the subject when unattributed works or works that were not verifiably Song or Yuan presented research problems. In 1965, Susan Bush wrote about "Clearing



2.3. Landscape, wall of tomb of Feng Daozhen, Datong, Shanxi, 1265. *Wenwu*, no. 10 (1962): 45

after Snow in the Min Mountains" (fig. 2.4), and she tried to define criteria for identifying Jin painting in part through Li Shan, a painter who held a position at the Jin court.[19] The subject did not come up again for fourteen years. In 1979, Stephen Little wrote "Travelers among Valleys and Peaks: A Reconsideration of Jin Landscape Painting."[20] Susan Bush returned to the subject in 1986 and 1987.[21]

2.4. Anonymous, "Clearing after Snow in the Min Mountains," Jin. Photo courtesy National Palace Museum, Taipei

The need to study Jin and the potential to reveal something new in a field that by the 1980s included research opportunities in the People's Republic led to a conference at the University of Arizona in 1983 organized by Hoyt Tillman and Stephen West. Tillman was an emerging scholar of Jin and West and the majority of other participants scholars were trained in Song or Yuan. Herbert Franke wrote the forward and Susan Bush wrote the only article on painting or any other aspect of art. The book was not published until 1995.[22] Bush and Little would remain the main voices on Jin scroll painting, with an occasional contribution by Ellen Laing on Jin art,[23] until the 1990s, when Janet Carpenter wrote a dissertation on "Traveling among Mountains and Streams" at the University of Kansas.[24]

Wai-kam Ho, the Chinese art historian often and not incorrectly described as the man who knew everything, was consulted by Susan Bush and others doing research on paintings of the Song through Yuan period. In addition to co-curating the above-mentioned *Chinese Art under the Mongols* exhibition and editing its catalogue, Ho was a chief researcher, curator, and author of the landmark exhibition and catalogue of the major Chinese painting collections of the Nelson Gallery–Atkins Museum, Kansas City and the Cleveland Museum of Art.[25] "Chao Yü's Pacification of the Barbarians South of Lü," with the subtitle "by a Song artist," and Taigu Yimin's "Traveling among Streams and Mountains" were the paintings in the exhibition with Jin attributions. In 2018, Gabrielle Niu concluded that no more than fifteen paintings on silk or paper may be correctly attributed to the Jin period.[26]

Perhaps because the attributions were not irrefutable, or perhaps because the senior scholars in the Chinese art field still were uncertain about how Jin fit into the narrative, Jin painting did not join the Chinese art canon in the 1980s. Max Loehr's textbook *Great Painters of China*, for instance, mentions "Chin Tartars" six times to fill in historical facts, but no paintings are illustrated.[27] Jin was gaining attention in Chinese literature in a field that already by the 1980s was known to have a visual component. Stephen H. West's *Vaudeville and Narrative: Aspects of Chin Theater*, was an early monograph on the subject, to which he and Wilt Idema continue to make major contributions more than forty years later.[28] Already in the 1970s, scholars were asking whether illustrations of performance

in murals and reliefs in Chinese tombs could be linked to specific plays. So far, the answer is no. Themes such as the four or five performers in *zaju* are generic. Jeehee Hong in 2008 and Zhang Fan in 2010 wrote dissertations on this subject, and both subsequently published on it.[29] China Institute had an exhibition on representations of drama and other aspects of popular culture in Jin tombs in 2012.[30]

Even into the twenty-first century, no aspect of Jin art except representations of drama has made enough of an impression to generate a monograph.[31] It is suggested here that, as for the Yuan dynasty, exhibitions rather than scholarly research or university teaching are the reason the United States gets interested in a Chinese art subject; and after exhibitions come graduate courses and articles and dissertations. By the twenty-first century, U.S. museum-goers were excited about Liao. Despite the China Institute exhibition, Jin is still largely ignored.

For Liao, and to a much lesser extent for Jin, the first turn of interest began, it is believed here, as part of an excitement about the opening of China and the resultant 1974 exhibition "Major Archaeological Discoveries from the People's Republic." This exhibition did not specifically stimulate interest in Liao. Rather it gave way to a shift in focus of Chinese art studies to excavated material. And indeed, post-1970s revised editions of Michael Sullivan's above-mentioned book and of Sherman Lee's *A History of Far Eastern Art* had newly excavated material.[32]

However, it is believed here that Liao and Jin lagged behind in attention in the United States for other reasons. They were not Yellow River or Yangzi River civilizations and Liao and Jin treasures could not be seen in the early 1980s by the flood of tourists to China, who went primarily to Beijing, Xi'an, Shanghai, Guangzhou, Suzhou, and Hangzhou and their museums. Even in the late 1980s, only occasionally did a tour group or even a researcher go to Liaoning or inner Mongolia, whose museums in Shenyang, Chifeng, and Hohhot at that time were small buildings that often shared commercial space or had very limited exhibition space.[33]

So much was coming out of the ground and was being published so fast in China in 1972, the year *Wenwu* resumed publication after a hiatus of a few years, that scholars had little incentive

to turn to Liao, much less to Jin. In 1974, the year of the exhibition "Major Archaeological Discoveries from the People's Republic," the Han-dynasty tomb in Helinge'er, Inner Mongolia; Mawangdui tombs 2 and 3; a Nanjing tomb with Seven Worthies of the Bamboo Grove imagery; tiles from Jiayuguan in Gansu of the third–fourth century; the tomb of Tang prince Li Shou; and the star map from the sixth-century tomb of Yuan Yi in Luoyang were published in *Wenwu*. Murals in the Tang tombs of Princes Li Chongrun and Li Xian and the initial Mawangdui announcement had come in 1972/73. Mid-career scholars were quickly retooling so they could read excavation reports in simplified characters about these subjects. 1975 brought out yet more information about Mawangdui, new bronze vessels, new Neolithic sites, and important Tang-period finds from the Astana cemetery in Turfan. Published that year was a tomb with murals in Hebei, about an hour west of Beijing, that had painting with symbols of the Western zodiac and contained a long funerary inscription about a man in the service of Liao who read Buddhist sutras and had them painted on his walls. Finally, attention turned to Liao. Before the end of the year, excavators published a Liao tomb in Yemaotai, Liaoning, that contained two silk paintings that should have been all that was necessary for Liao to take its deserved place in United States academia. Beginning in 1974, however, scholarly and popular literature from China was flooded with perhaps the greatest discovery in the history of excavation in the People's Republic, certainly one that is universally known: the terra cotta soldiers in pits near the tomb of the First Emperor of China. Thus even though the potential of Liao painting, at least to help understand Song, if not in and of itself, may have been realized through finds in Hebei and at Yemaotai, graduate seminars, dissertations, and books about Chinese art, and of course exhibitions, turned to Mawangdui and other Han material such as jade suits, murals from the famous dynasties Han and Tang, and of course to the First Emperor. Except for the occasional publication in *Wenwu* or *Kaogu*, Liao material, like that of the still largely unknown Jin, was most often found in journals like *Liaohai wenwu* [Cultural Relics near the Liao Sea] or *Nei Menggu wenwu kaogu* [Cultural Relics and Archaeology of Inner Mongolia] or books and journals with the word *dongbei* (northeast) in the title. So much information was

coming out of China by the late 1970s, much of it based on earlier research that did not get published during the Cultural Revolution (1966–1976), that even fewer research libraries than those that had acquired Japanese folio volumes in the 1920s and 1930s were able to acquire all of it.

It would be another eight years before Liao painting was the subject of scholarly articles with wide readership in the United States. Linda C. Johnson and Robert A. Rorex independently published articles in *Artibus Asiae* that relied on material from what by then was known either as Xiabali tomb 1 or Xuanhua tomb 1, the town and county, respectively, in Hebei where the tomb with the zodiac signs had been found (fig. 2.5).[34] By 1983, several more

2.5. Ceiling of tomb of Zhang Shiqing, Xiabali tomb 1, Hebei. From *Wenwu*, no. 8 (1975): color pl. 1

tombs with murals had been excavated in the same cemetery, and tombs with murals from a Liao cemetery in Kulunqi, Inner Mongolia, also had been found.[35] Before then, in 1980, Patricia Karetzky had published an article on Jin murals in a hall at Yanshan Monastery in northern Shanxi.[36] Ellen Laing, who had included some material from Liao in her above-mentioned article of 1978 on "later" Chinese tombs, included some Liao material and in 1992 gave a paper on Liao bird-and-flower painting which became an article in *Journal of Sung-Yuan Studies*.[37]

By the end of the 1980s, the metal wire suits, death masks, mannequins, and the two silk paintings from Yemaotai were all published in Chinese scholarly literature that was read by scholars and students in the United States. Still, Liao had at best made a ripple, certainly not a splash, and Jin was as obscure as ever.

Even the silk paintings in the Yemaotai tomb did not attract immediate or widespread attention from scholars of Chinese painting, despite their being authentic, done no later than the end of the Liao dynasty, earlier if the late-tenth century date proposed for the tomb was correct (figs. 2.6–7). The wooden outer sarcophagus on whose interior sides they hung had received its due attention from architectural historians. It was of the structural type *jiuji xiaozhang* (nine-ridge-roof-covered structure), described in the twelfth-century architectural manual *Yingzao fashi*. The architectural study of the sarcophagus was published in the same issue of *Wenwu* as the report on the tomb that included discussion of the paintings. Painting scholar Yang Renkai, who wrote the article in *Wenwu*, had published a monograph on the tomb in 1984.[38] His work was known to scholars of Chinese painting in the United States. In 1980, James Cahill talked about the Yemaotai paintings in a paper at a conference commemorating the seventieth year of the Republic of China in which he compared the painting with architecture to a work attributed to the tenth-century painter Wei Xian.[39] Richard Vinograd talked about the two paintings in a paper on tenth-century precedents for Yuan painting at a conference honoring the sixtieth birthday of Suzuki Kei.[40] Neither paper is known beyond the small circle of scholars who do research on Chinese painting of the "middle period" (ca. 9th–13th centuries). Marilyn Gridley, whose research focuses on Buddhist art of the Liao-Yuan period,

2.6. “Landscape,” hanging scroll, Yemaotai tomb 7, Liao. From *Wenwu*, no. 12 (1975): color pl. 1

2.7. "Rabbits amid Flowers," hanging scroll, Yemaotai tomb 7, Liao. From *Wenwu*, no. 12 (1975): color pl. 2

wrote an article in a Festschrift for Li Chu-tsing on paintings of the Grasslands School, a group named to include the works of painters like Hu Gui, Hu Qian, and Yelü Bei.[41] Danielle Elisseeff wrote an article in *Arts Asiatiques* in 1996 in which she compared the Xuanhua murals to Song tomb painting.[42] The paucity of scholarly work on Liao rendered it, like several other articles by Europeans cited here, widely read by those doing research on Liao painting.

By this time, Hsing-yuan Tsao had completed her dissertation on Liao painting.[43] In the same year, 1996, she published "Deer for the Palace: A Reconsideration of the 'Deer in an Autumn Forest' Painting," in conference proceedings for an exhibition at the Metropolitan Museum of Art.[44] In 2000, Tsao organized an exhibition titled "Differences Preserved: Reconstructed Tombs from the Liao and Song Dynasties." Even though material from one of the Xiabali tombs was on exhibition, the catalogue and its material received little attention beyond the venues of the show.[45]

Exhibitions and archaeology, however, would be the forces that brought Liao and its painting to more national attention in the United States. *Gilded Splendor*, at Asia Society in 2006, was largely responsible, even though paintings were not displayed.[46] The focus on Liao brought attention back to murals from Qingzhou and Xiabali, and Kulunqi, and other places in Inner Mongolia and Liaoning, and to two tombs that had been excavated in Baoshan, Inner Mongolia, more than ten years earlier.[47] Those two tombs have paintings and inscriptions: we know they belong to a woman and a young man; that the earlier, male tomb is dated 923 and the woman's a little later; that a painting illustrates the Queen Mother of the West coming to greet the soul of Han emperor Wudi (156–87 BCE); that another painting is likely to be Yang Guifei (719–756), concubine of eighth-century emperor Tang Minghuang (685–762), teaching a parrot to recite the heart sutra; and that another painting may be a female poetess who sent her husband a palindrome while he was away at war. Wu Hung's article and lectures on the Baoshan tombs, as well as a conference on tenth-century art in China at the University of Chicago in 2009 and 2010, brought attention to the Baoshan tomb murals and Liao, more generally.[48] The Baoshan paintings, more than even the paintings from Xiabali, and in the decade after the exhibition "Gilded Splendor," seem to have finally captured the attention of scholars.

In the last ten years, few others have turned to Liao or Jin painting. The only dissertation of which I am aware, in addition to those already mentioned, was by Minkyung Ji in 2014.[49]

If there are conclusions, or at least take-away thoughts, about the historiography of Liao and Jin painting in the United States through 2018, they are to try to understand why so little attention has been given to material that is dated, authentic, and contains evidence of little-known civilizations that once were labeled barbarian. Perhaps it is because, easy as it is to travel in China, it is nearly impossible to see tombs and often nearly impossible to see temples with in situ murals or wall paintings even after they have been removed from tombs or temples. Or because before one comes to a Liao or Jin topic, one must commit to conducting research on works by anonymous painters that have little contextual material in standard histories, literary complications, or local records. Even Buddhist murals that survive in great numbers in Shanxi, including paintings in Ying County Timber Pagoda, Manjusri Hall at Foguang Monastery on Mount Wutai, Amitabha Hall at Chongfu Monastery in Shuo county, the south hall at Yanshan Monastery, on which there is the article by Karetzky, remain primarily the research of scholars in China. Perhaps the decrease in scholarly work on Buddhist art, including painting, in the United States in the last several decades has also affected the study of Liao and Jin. The increased interest in nomadic and semi-nomadic empires in the United States might lead to greater interest in the painting of Liao and Jin, and the lack of scholarship and resulting exotic aspects of the material might as well. For now, however, Liao and Jin painting are understudied subjects with tremendous research potential.

Notes

1 Luo Feng *Hu Han zhi jian: Sichou zhi lu yu xibei lishi kaogu* [Between *Hu* and Han: Archaeology of the History of the Silk Road and Northwestern China] (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 2004).

2 Publications included excavation reports of every period from the Neolithic onward. The three listed here focus on Liao: Torii Ryūzō, *Kōkogakuō yori mitaru Ryō no bunka: Zufu* [Liao Culture Seen from Archaeology: Illustrations] 4 vols. (Tokyo: Tohobunka gakuin, Tokyo kenkyusho, 1936); Takeshima Takuichi, *Ryō-Kin jidai no kenchiku to sono Butsuzō* [Liao-Jin Architecture and Its Buddhist Sculpture], 3 vols. (Tokyo: Ryūbun shokyoku, 1934–44); and Tamura Jitsuzō and Kobayashi Yokio, *Keiryō* [Qingling], 2 vols. (Kyoto: Kyoto Daigaku bungakubu, 1953).

3 Mullie, "Les anciennes Villes de l'empire des grands Leao au royaume Mongol de Bārin," *T'oung Pao* 21 (1922): 105–231 and "Les sepulchres de K'ing des Leao," *T'oung Pao* 30 (1932): 1–25.

4 Stein, "Leao-tche," *T'oung Pao* 35 (1940): 1–154.

5 By the American Philosophical Society in Philadelphia.

6 Little is published about this painting. It is generally considered a copy painted four hundred to six hundred years later than the Liao period.

7 *Chinese Art under the Mongols* (Cleveland: Cleveland Museum of Art, 1968).

8 Masterworks known to scholars in the United States were published in: Chi-ch'ien Wang, *Album Leaves from the Sung and Yuan Dynasties* (New York: China House Gallery, 1970); Sherman Lee and Wen Fong, *Streams and Mountains without End: A Northern Song Handscroll and Its Significance in the History of Early Chinese Painting* (Ascona: Artibus Asiae, 1967); James Cahill, *Chinese Album Leaves in the Freer Gallery of Art* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1961); Zheng Zhenduo et al., *Songren huace* [Song Album Paintings] (Beijing: Zhongguo gudian yishu chubanshe, 1957), with an English edition; Tian Laige, *Tian Laige jiucang Songren huace* [Song Paintings in the Former Collection of Tian Laige] (Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1957); and publications from major museums such as *Songren huace: Gongyuan 960–1279* [Song Paintings: 960–1279] (Beijing: Gugong Bowuyuan, 1955) or broader surveys from the Palace Museum, Beijing, and the Palace Museum in Taiwan.

9 Among Li's publications are: "The Freer 'Sheep and Goat'," *Artibus Asiae* 39, nos. 3–4 (1960): 279–346; "*Rocks and Trees* in the Art of Ts'ao Chih-po," *Artibus Asiae* 23, nos. 3–4 (1960): 153–208; Li Chu-tsing,

The Autumn Colors on the Ch'iao and Hua Mountains (Ascona: Artibus Asiae, 1965); "Stages of Development in Yuan Landscape Painting," pts. 1 and 2, *National Palace Museum Bulletin* 4, nos. 2 (1969): 1–10 and 3 (1969): 1–12; "The Development of Painting in Soochow during the Yuan Dynasty," in *Proceedings of the International Symposium on Chinese Painting* (Taipei: National Palace Museum, 1972), 483–500; "Uses of the Past in Yuan Landscape," in *Artists and Traditions*, ed. Christian Murck (Princeton: Princeton University Art Museum, 1976), 73–88; "The Role of Wu-hsing in Early Yuan Artistic Development under Mongol Rule," in *China under Mongol Rule*, ed. John Langlois, Jr. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981), 331–70 and "*Grooms and Horses* by Three Members of the Chao Family," in *Words and Images*, ed. Alfreda Murck and Wen Fong (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1991), 199–220.

10 *Hills beyond a River: Chinese Painting of the Yuan Dynasty, 1279–1368* (New York and Tokyo, Weatherhill, 1976).

11 Song paintings were also included. See Wen Fong with Marilynn Fu, *Sung and Yuan Paintings* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1973).

12 Herbert Franke and Denis Twitchett edited this volume. Franke also wrote about painting. He edited the painters volume for *Song Biographies* and he wrote two articles on Yuan painting, "Dschau Mong-fu," *Sinica* 15 (1940): 25–48 and "Two Yuan Treatises on the Technique of Portrait Painting," *Oriental Art* 3, no. 1 (1950): 27–32.

13 München: Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1978.

14 Geneva: Skira, with many later editions.

15 Cahill, *Chinese Painting*, 68.

16 Sullivan was British, but received his Ph.D. in the United States, at Harvard in 1952. He taught at the School of Oriental and African Studies in London and at Stanford. The book went through many versions, all published by the University of California Press, the most recent the posthumous 2018 version adapted by Sheila Vainker. Sullivan had spent six years in China with the Red Cross in the 1940s and thus unlike those teaching Chinese art in the United States in the 1960s and 1970s, including Li, Cahill, Fong, and Alexander Soper, he had seen a lot of China. Sullivan was committed to the study of sculpture, architecture, and ceramics, as well as painting, including contemporary art, through his career.

17 Datongshi Wenwu Chenlieguan and Shanxi Yungang Wenwu Guanlisuo, "Shanxisheng Datongshi Yuandai Feng Daozhen, Wang Qing mu qingli jianbao" [Brief Report on the Tombs of Feng Daozhen and Wang Qing in Datong, Shanxi] *Wenwu*, no. 10 (1962): 34–46.

18 For example, Mino Yutaka, *Ceramics in the Liao Dynasty, North and South of the Great Wall* (New York: China House Gallery, 1973). In England, William Watson wrote *Tang and Liao Ceramics* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1984).

19 "'Clearing after Snow in the Min Mountains' and Chin Landscape Painting," *Oriental Art* 11 (Autumn 1965): 103–12.

20 *Artibus Asiae* 41 (1979): 285–308.

21 "Chin Literati Painting and Landscape Traditions," *National Palace Museum Bulletin* 21 (September–December 1986): 1–26 and "Yet Again Streams and Mountains without End," *Artibus Asiae* 48 (1987): 197–223. By then Bush had become engaged in the study of Jin more generally. In 1981 she wrote "Archaeological Remains of the Chin Dynasty (1115–1234)" in *Bulletin of Sung and Yüan Studies* 17 (1981): 6–31.

22 Bush's article is "Five Paintings of Animal Subjects of Narrative Themes and Their Relevance to Chin Culture," 183–215; two of the paintings today are usually dated to the Yuan period. The book is *China under Jurchen Rule* (Albany: SUNY Press).

23 Ellen Laing's articles include: "Problems and Patterns in Later Chinese Tombs," *Journal of Oriental Studies* 16 (1978): 73–126; "Chin 'Tartar' Dynasty (1115–1234) Material Culture," *Artibus Asiae* 49, nos. 1–2 (1988): 73–126; and "Auspicious Motifs in Ninth- to Thirteenth-Century Chinese Tombs," *Ars Orientalis* 33 (2003): 32–75.

24 Janet L. Carpenter's dissertation was completed in 1994. She wrote about another painting often dated to the Jin period in "A Landscape Painting and Its Literary Sources: Taigu Yimin's 'Traveling among Streams and Mountains'," in *Tradition and Transformation: Studies in Chinese Art in Honor of Chu-Tsing Li*, ed. Judith Smith, 136–61 (Seattle and Lawrence, Ks.: University of Washington Press, Spencer Museum of Art, and University of Kansas, 2005).

25 Wai-kam Ho, Sherman E. Lee, Laurence Sickman, and Mark F. Wilson, *Eight Dynasties of Chinese Painting* (Cleveland: Cleveland Museum of Art, 1980).

26 For the list and discussion, see Gabrielle Niu, "Beyond Silk: A Re-evaluation of Jin Painting (1115–1234)" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 2018), 20–59. Besides the three paintings mentioned so far in Cleveland and Kansas City, Li Shan's "Wind and Snow among Fir Pines," "Travelers among Fir Pines" in the Freer Gallery, "Travelers among Valleys and Peaks" in the Asian Art Museum, "Winter Landscape" in the Yale Art Gallery, "Flock of Birds Returning to Wintry Woods," "Clear Weather in the Valley," "Red Cliff" in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, "A Diplomatic Mission to the Jin" in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, and "Wangchuan Villa" in the Chicago

Art Institute are the subjects of notes or short publications by their respective museums.

27 Max Loehr, *The Great Painters of China* (Oxford: Phaidon, 1980).

28 The bibliography on Jin and Yuan drama is too long to list here.

29 Jeehee Hong, "Theatricalizing Death in Performance Images of Mid-imperial China" (Ph.D. diss., University of Chicago, 2008); "Virtual Theater of the Dead: Actor Figurines and Their Stage in Houma Tomb No. 1, Shanxi Province," *Artibus Asiae* 71, no. 1 (2011): 75–114; "Changing Roles of the Tomb Portrait: Burial Practices and Ancestral Worship of the Non-Literati Elite in North China (1000–1400)," *Journal of Sung-Yuan Studies* 44 (2014): 203–64; and *Theater of the Dead: A Social Turn in Chinese Funerary Art 1000–1400* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2016); and Zhang Fan Jeremy, "Drama Sustains the Spirit: Art, Ritual, and Theater in Jin and Yuan Period Pingyang 1150–1350" (Ph.D. diss., Brown University, 2011); "Jin Dynasty Pingyang and the Rise of Theatrical Pictures," *Artibus Asiae* 74, no. 2 (2014): 337–76; "Dreams, Spirits, and Romantic Encounters in Jin and Yuan Theatrical Pictures," in *Visual and Material Cultures in Middle Period China*, ed. Shih-shan Susan Huang and Patricia Ebrey (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2017), 115–50.

30 *Theater, Life, and the Afterlife: Tomb Décor of the Jin Dynasty from Shanxi*, ed. Shi Jinming and Willow W. Chang (New York: China Institute, 2012).

31 The title of this author's "A Jin Hall at Jingtusi: Architecture in Search of Identity," *Ars Orientalis* 33 (2003): 77–119 was chosen to emphasize the lack of attention to Jin art and architecture.

32 New York: Abrams, first edition 1964; most recent edition, 2003.

33 Again I write from personal experience. In 1992, I visited the Chifeng Museum in a building in which furniture was sold. In the same year, the museum where I first saw the wooden sarcophagus from Yemaotai tomb 7, whose silk paintings are discussed below, was two rooms with one guard and no curator.

34 Linda C. Johnson's M.A. thesis at San Jose State in 1974 was titled "Jurchen Revival." Her article is "Wedding Ceremony for an Imperial Liao Princess: Wall Paintings from a Liao Dynasty Tomb in Jilin," *Artibus Asiae* 44, nos. 2–3 (1983): 107–36. Rorex's article is "Some Liao Tomb Murals and Images of Nomads in Chinese Paintings of the Wen-chi Story," *Artibus Asiae* 45, nos. 2–3 (1984): 174–98.

35 Murals from the Kulunqi tombs are published in Wang Jianchun and Chen Xiangwei, *Kulun Liaodai bihuamu* [Liao Tombs with Murals in Kulun] (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1989).

36 "Two Recently Discovered Chin Dynasty Murals Illustrating the Life of the Buddha at Yen-shang-ssu, Shansi," *Artibus Asiae* 42, no. 4 (1980): 245–60.

37 "A Survey of Liao Dynasty Bird-and-Flower Painting," *Journal of Sung-Yuan Studies* 24 (1994): 57–99.

38 Yang Renkai, "Yemaotai Liaomu chutu guhua de shidai ji qita" [On the Date and Other Aspects of Paintings Excavated in a Liao Tomb in Yemaotai], *Wenwu*, no. 12 (1975): 37–39. The article on the architecture of the sarcophagus is on 49–62. Yang's book is *Yemaotai diqihao Liaomu chutu guhua kao* [Research on Old Paintings Excavated in Tomb 7 of the Liao Period in Yemaotai] (Shanghai: Shanghai Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1984).

39 James Cahill, "Some Aspects of Tenth-Century Painting as Seen in Three Recently Published Works," *Zhongyang Yanjiuyuan Guoji Hanxue huiyi lunwenji* [Proceedings of the International Conference on Sinology, Academic Sinica] (Taipei: Zhongyang yanjiuyuan, 1980), 1–34.

40 Richard Vinograd, "New Light on Tenth-Century Sources for Landscape Painting Styles of the Late Yüan Period," in *Suzuki Kei sensei kanreki kinen: Chugoku kaigashi ronshū* [Commemoration of the Sixtieth Birthday of Professor Suzuki Kei] (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1981), 3–30.

41 Marilyn Gridley, "Liao Painting and the Northern Grasslands School," in *Tradition and Transformation: Studies in Chinese Art in Honor of Chu-Tsing Li*, ed. Judith Smith (Seattle and Lawrence, Ks.: University of Washington Press, Spencer Museum of Art, and University of Kansas, 2005), 27–51.

42 Danielle Elisseeff, "À propos d'un cimitière Liao: Les belles dames de Xiabali," *Arts Asiatiques* 49 (1996): 70–81.

43 Hsing-yuan Tsao, "From Appropriation to Possession: A Study of the Cultural Identity of the Liao through Their Pictorial Art" (Ph.D. diss., Stanford University, 1996).

44 The article is published in *Arts of the Sung and Yuan*, ed. Maxwell Hearn and Judith Smith (New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1996), 199–211.

45 "Differences Preserved: Reconstructed Tombs from the Liao and Song Dynasties" opened at Reed College Art Museum in February 2000. It traveled to Boston University, Boise, Idaho, and Middlebury College through June 2001.

46 Hsüeh-man Shen, *Gilded Splendor: Treasures of China's Liao Empire (907–1125)* (New York: Asia Society, 2006) is the name of the catalogue. The exhibition traveled to Cologne and Zurich the following year.

47 The report was published as Qi Xiaoguang et al., "Nei Menggu Chifeng Baoshan Liao bihuamu fajue jianbao" [Brief Report on the Excavation of Liao Tombs with Murals in Baoshan, Chifeng, Inner Mongolia], *Wenwu*, no. 1 (1998): 73–95.

48 Wu Hung's paper is "Two Royal Tombs from the Early Liao: Architecture, Pictorial Program, Authorship, Subjectivity," in *Tenth-Century China and Beyond: Art and Visual Culture in a Multi-centered Age*, ed. Wu Hung (Chicago: Center for the Art of East Asia, University of Chicago, 2012), 100–125.

49 "Commoditizing Tombs: Materialism in the Funerary Art of Middle Imperial China and Korea" (Ph.D. diss., University of Pennsylvania), includes material from Song, Jin, and Koryŏ tombs.