

KURODA AKIRA

TRANSLATED AND EDITED BY KEITH N. KNAPP

Are the Wu Liang Shrine Pictorial Stones Forgeries? Examining the Han-Era Evidence

In a recent essay titled “Addicted to Antiquity,” Professor Michael Nylan theorized that the so-called Wu Liang Pictorial Stones are forgeries.¹ Since China boasts of these artifacts as being among its greatest treasures, the theory has shocked specialists in the field, including myself. Nevertheless, one must be aware that the evidence she uses for support contains profound errors; in fact, I have elsewhere criticized the second section of her essay, “Stele Summary.”² Having criticized the mistake-laden “Tang Rubbings” (which are touched on, below), it is in the third section of her essay, “The Wu Liang Pictorial Stones: The Literary Evidence,” that she raises the possibility that the stones do not date from the Eastern Han (25–220 AD).

Professor Nylan’s argument denying authenticity is largely based on the questionable circumstances under which the rubbings that purportedly convey the images from the Wu Liang shrine stones, as well as the accompanying inscriptions, were transmitted during late-imperial times. Her argument is as follows: the first literary evidence of the ex-

THIS IS an expansion and reedited version of Kuroda Akira 黒田彰, “Bushishi gazōseki wa gikoku ka: Michael Nylan’s ‘Addicted to Antiquity’ e no hanron” 武氏祠画像石は偽刻か, Michael Nylan’s ‘Addicted to Antiquity’ への反論, published in Kuroda, *Kōshidenzu no kenkyū* 孝子伝図の研究 (Tokyo: Kyūko shoin, 2007), pp. 243–62. This essay is in part a product of Foundational Research B & 1, which was supported by a 2007 Scientific Research Grant.

¹ Michael Nylan, “‘Addicted to Antiquity’ (*nigu*): A Brief History of the ‘Wu Family Shrines,’ 150–1961 CE,” in Cary Y. Liu, Michael Nylan, and Anthony Barbieri-Low, eds., *Recarving China’s Past: Art, Archaeology, and Architecture of the “Wu Family Shrines”* (New Haven: Princeton Art Museum and Yale U.P., 2005), pp. 513–61.

² See Kuroda, *Kōshidenzu no kenkyū*, sect. I.2.1. Bai Qianshen has recently written a thorough critique of this same section of Nylan’s argument. See his “The Intellectual Legacy of Huang Yi and His Friends: Reflections on Some Issues Raised by *Recarving China’s Past*,” in Cary Y. Liu, ed., *Rethinking Recarving: Ideals, Practices, and Problems of the “Wu Family Shrines” and Han China* (New Haven and London: Princeton Art Museum and Yale U.P., 2008), pp. 286–337.

istence of the rubbings per se comes from Song-era (960–1279) books on epigraphy. By the end of the Southern Song (1127–1279), multiple copies of the Wu Liang Pictorial Stones rubbings were circulated in different parts of China. By Ming (1368–1643) and early-Qing (1644–1911) times, all such rubbings and the original stones themselves were thought to have disappeared or were damaged beyond repair. It was during this same period, though, that there appeared an album that was subsequently named “Tang Rubbings” (“Tangtuo” 唐拓). The earliest seal on it was that of Tang Shunzhi 唐順之 (1507–1560); and in 1703 it was purchased by a certain Ma Sizan 馬思贊 (1676–ca. 1724) at the urging of his relative Zhu Yizun 朱彝尊 (1629–1709), who believed that it was a long-lost section of the Wu Liang Pictorial Stones. The album contained rubbings of fourteen different Wu Liang scenes, but there nonetheless were discrepancies in the images among all of the following sources: the “Tang Rubbings” album; the Wu Liang shrine images reproduced in the Southern Song epigraphy collection *Li xu* 隸續, by Hong Gua 洪适 (1117–1184); and rubbings taken in the early 1900s from stones located at the Wu Liang shrine site.

Such discrepancies prompted Professor Nylan to ask whether the stones at the site had been recarved after 1782 (the date of our earliest extant version of *Li xu*). In 1786 at the Wu Liang shrine site, the rubbing connoisseur and self-promoter Huang Yi 黃易 (1744–1802) “discovered” pictorial stones that were in better shape and more numerous than the stones the Song experts had seen. In the late-nineteenth century even more pictorial stones were found and added to the shrine. In other words, many of the pictorial stones that are now at the Wu Liang shrine probably originally belonged to other tombs. Finally, reports from people who actually visited the Wu Liang shrine site in the nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries state that the stones were in abysmal shape and were either worn down from constant rubbings or re-cut by untrained scholars. In sum, Nylan argues that no evidence exists to indicate that the pictorial stones at what we now call the Wu Liang shrine date to the Eastern Han.³

But does the dating of the extant Pictorial Stones really matter? Absolutely. The Wu Liang shrine engravings provide us with the largest known array of Eastern Han depictions on such themes as auspicious omens, sage-kings, and moral tales of filial sons, outstanding women, and loyal retainers. Adding to their value is the fact that many of the images have accompanying inscriptions, many of which do more than

³ See Nylan, “Addicted to Antiquity,” pp. 529–41.

merely identify the portrayed figures.⁴ If Professor Nylan's contentions are correct, then our best evidence for reconstructing Eastern Han iconography and the provincial elite's notions of moral excellence is no longer valid. In short, one of our surest guides to how educated people of Eastern Han understood and valued certain aspects of Confucianism would be lost.

Significantly, Nylan never tries to use the internal evidence of the content of the current Pictorial Stones in order to date them. In fact, the Pictorial Stones include depictions of Accounts of Filial Children (*xiaozhi zhuan* 孝子傳), a well-known early genre of morality tales, and a topic to which I have devoted attention in recent years. Additionally, I have had the good fortune of studying illustrations of Accounts of Filial Children made for an Eastern Han mural tomb in Helinge'er 和林格爾, Inner Mongolia,⁵ which was excavated in 1971. The images there are the only ones that can be systematically compared with those at the Wu Liang shrine. By comparing both sets of tableaux, we can put forward a powerful rebuttal to Nylan's theory. Thus, in this essay, by means of exploring the representations of the filial piety narratives found on the Wu Liang Pictorial Stones, I attempt to determine the validity of her forgery argument. Admitting the argument's useful insights, this essay will question its basic thrust by directly examining the Wu Liang images themselves.

⁴ For an excellent and exhaustive account of the Wu Liang shrine's pictorial program, see Wu Hung, *The Wu Liang Shrine: The Ideology of Early Chinese Pictorial Art* (Stanford: Stanford U.P., 1989).

⁵ In 2006 at a large international symposium entitled "The State of the Field of Accounts of Filial Children" (*Kōshiden kenkyū no genzai* 孝子伝研究の現在) I presented a report called "An Examination of Han Dynasty *Illustrated* Accounts of Filial Children: On the Later Han Mural Tomb of Helinge'er" ("Kandai Kōshidenzu kō: Horingoru Gokan hekigabo" 漢代孝子伝図考, 和林格爾後漢壁画墓). The report addressed two themes – the overall situation of the Helinge'er images of Accounts of Filial Children as well as the use of the tomb materials to critique Michael Nylan's contention that the Wu Liang shrine's pictorial stones are forgeries. In the present article I will treat the latter theme. Using the same title, I have published the first of the two themes in my *Kōshidenzu no kenkyū* as section I.2.2, pp. 263–325. In consideration of the large format that most of the plates require, I have decided not to include them in this article. Instead, readers are referred to the illustrations found in Chen Yongzhi 陳永志 and Kuroda Akira, *Horingoru Kanbo Kōshidenzu shuroku* 和林格爾漢墓孝子傳圖輯錄 (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 2009), pp. 4–10. For an introduction to the general situation of illustrated Accounts of Filial Children, see my *Kōshidenzu no kenkyū*, section I.2.2. Again, concerning Professor Nylan's theory that the Wu Liang shrine's pictorial stones are forgeries, in addition to my previous article in *Kyoto gobun* 京都語文 (cited in n. 9, below; it is reproduced in *Kōshidenzu no kenkyū*), see my continuation of this article, which is titled "Foundational Studies on the Pictorial Stones of the Wu Liang Shrine, Part II: Thoughts after Reading Michael Nylan's "Addicted to Antiquity" ("Bushishi gazōseki no kisoteki kenkyū II" 武氏祠画像石の基礎的研究 [二]). This can be found in the project report of the AA Communal Research project, which will appear in *Sōgō ningengaku sōsho* 総合人間学叢書 3, which contains all the references.

Logically, one might first attempt to discern the actual possibility that these illustrations are forgeries; and to do so the following two methods seem most effective. The first consists of comparing the Wu Liang shrine's Han-era Accounts of Filial Children with those of the just-mentioned Helingge'er mural tomb. The second, which has nothing to do with the Inner Mongolian tomb, scrutinizes the Wu Liang shrine images themselves. From these two angles, we will attempt to determine whether or not the Wu Liang shrine's Pictorial Stones, which depict certain aspects of Han-era Accounts of Filial Children, are forgeries.

THE HELINGGE'ER TOMB MURAL IN RELATION
TO HAN-ERA ACCOUNTS OF FILIAL CHILDREN

To compare the Helinge'er mural tomb's images of Accounts of Filial Children with the same sort of images from the Wu Liang shrine, let us first note that, in total, the Helinge'er tomb yields thirteen such images, which are located in the top register of the middle room's north-west wall. The filial children's names are given in the following list (starting from the left part of the wall); I have added numbers to each, after which I give the widely accepted "stock name" for the relevant Filial Children story. The phrases in parentheses indicate the actual text (sometimes having more than one phrase) where discernible, as written inside the cartouches on the Helinge'er walls; obscured characters are indicated by <..>.⁶

Thirteen Helinge'er Wall Images of Filial Children and Their Accompanying Texts

1. Shun 舜 ("舜 Shun")
2. Min Ziqian 閔子騫 ("騫父 Qian's father"; also "閔子騫 Min Ziqian")
3. Zeng Shen 曾參 ("曾子母 Zengzi's mother"; also "Zengzi 曾子")
4. Dong Yong 董永 ("孝子<..> [=父?] The filial child's ... [father]").

The above four images are on the western wall.

5. Lao Laizi 老來子 ("來子父 Laizi's father"; also "來子母 Laizi's mother"; also "老來子 Lao Laizi")
6. Ding Lan 丁蘭 ("<..> [=木?] 丈人 [Wooden] elder"; also "<..> [=Ye 野?] 王丁蘭 Ding Lan of [Ye]wang")
7. Xing Qu 刑渠 ("刑渠父 Xing Qu's father"; also "刑渠 Xing Qu")
8. The Filial Crow ("孝烏 the Filial Crow")

⁶ Concerning the illustrated Accounts of Filial Children in the Helinge'er tomb, see Kuroda, *Kōshidenzu no kenkyū*, section I.2.2.

9. Bo Yu 伯瑜 (“伯禹 Bo Yu”; also “伯禹母 Bo Yu’s mother”)
10. Wei Yang 魏陽 (“魏昌父 Wei Chang’s father”; also “魏昌 Wei Chang”)
11. Yuan Gu 原谷 (“孝孫父 Filial grandson’s father”; also “孝孫 Filial grandson”)
12. Zhao Gou 趙苟 (“<..> [=趙?] 句 Ju”)
13. Jin Midi 金日磾 (“甘泉 Sweet Springs”; also “休屠胡 Xiutu Hu”)

The above nine are on the north wall.

Next, let us peruse a list of all seventeen images of Accounts of Filial Children that are inscribed in succession on Wu Liang stones numbers One, Two, and Three.⁷ Twelve illustrations that duplicate those in the Helinge’er tomb have an asterisk placed at the head of the entry. Unlike the first list in this article (the thirteen Helinge’er illustrations), the cartouche texts themselves are omitted here. The number after the name indicates its order as found in a Six Dynasties text known as the “Yōmei Accounts of Filial Children” 陽明孝子傳,⁸ which is one of two fully extant manuscripts of Accounts of Filial Children that were transmitted to Japan and preserved in Kyoto. (The other is the “Funahashi Accounts of Filial Children” 船橋孝子傳.) The Yōmei manuscript accounts were influenced by their Han-era predecessors in this genre.

Seventeen Successive Images on Wu Liang Stones 1–3, with Numbers Indicating the Order of Images in the Yōmei MS

- * Zeng Shen 36
 - * Min Ziqian 33
 - * Lao Laizi 13
 - * Ding Lan 9
- (all the above on Stone One)

⁷ Besides the images that are found on Wu Liang Pictorial Stones 1–3, the following illustrations may also be related to generic Accounts of Filial Children:

Front stone chamber, 7th stone, 1st register from rt.: Min Ziqian 33, Xing Qu ([The filial son, Xing] and [Xing Qu]) 3.
 Front stone chamber, 7th stone, 2d register from rt.: Bo Yu ([Bo You 伯游] and [Bo You’s mother]) 4, Lao Laizi ([Lao Laizi] and [Laizi’s mother and father]) 13
 Front stone chamber, 11th stone, 3d register from rt.: Xing Qu 3, Ding Lan 9
 Left stone chamber, 7th stone, 1st register from rt.: Shun 1, Bo Qi 伯奇 38
 Left stone chamber, 8th stone, 1st register from rt.: Ding Lan 9, Xing Qu 3
 Back stone chamber, 8th stone, first level from rt.: Min Ziqian 33

⁸ See my detailed argument in *Yōgaku no kai 幼學の會*, ed., *Kōshiden chūkai 孝子伝注解* (Tokyo: Kyūko shoin, 2003), which has photographic reproductions, a translation, and annotations.

- * Bo Yu 4
- * Xing Qu 3
- * Dong Yong 2
- Zhang Xiaomu 章孝母 “Mother of Zhang Xiao”
- Zhu Ming 朱明 10
- Li Shan 李善 41
- * Jin Mindi
- (all the above on Stone Three)
- The Righteous Gentlemen of the Three Regions 三州義士 8
- Yang Gong 羊公 42
- * Wei Yang 7
- * The Kind Crow (*Ciwu* 慈烏) 45
- * Zhao Gou
- * Yuan Gu 6
- (all the above on Stone Two)

Having examined and compared both the Wu Liang and Helinge’er Accounts of Filial Children and having marked with an asterisk those of the Wu Liang narratives that are common to both, we can say that the Helinge’er tomb and the Wu Liang shrine Pictorial Stones share more than two-thirds of their filial piety accounts. With the exception of one group (Lao Laizi and Ding Lan) from the Wu Liang shrine, the Helinge’er tomb’s order of the filial piety narratives is not the same. Probably the Wu Liang shrine’s designer changed the order of the stories.⁹ We can surmise that this situation is similar to that of the Wu Liang shrine’s depiction of images related to *Accounts of Virtuous Women* (*Lienü zhuan* 列女傳): the order of the narratives in *juan* five of this well-known work is greatly altered as portrayed on the Wu Liang Pictorial Stones.¹⁰ Now, in regard to the authenticity of the twelve filial piety images that the Helinge’er tomb shares with the Wu Liang shrine, if we examine the Accounts of Filial Children texts upon which the images are based,¹¹ it is possible to agree on the following three points:

1. The Helinge’er tomb contains versions of filial piety narratives that the various fragments of Accounts of Filial Children found in China do not preserve. Text that matches these versions, such as the images of Zeng Shen, Bo Yu, and the Filial Crow, and so on, only exist in the two extant Accounts of Filial Children – the Yōmei and Fu-

⁹ See Kuroda, *Kōshidenzu no kenkyū*, sections I.2.2 and I.2.3; and idem, “Retsujodenzu no kenkyū: Horingoru Gokan hekigabō no Retsujodenzu” 列女傳圖の研究, 和林格爾後漢壁畫墓の列女傳圖, *Kyoto gobun* 京都語文 15 (2009), pp. 5–78.

¹⁰ Kuroda, *Kōshidenzu no kenkyū*, sect. I.2.3, n. 20.

¹¹ Concerning the texts of Accounts of Filial Children, see my *Kōshiden no kenkyū* 孝子傳の研究 (Kyoto: Sibunkaku shuppan, 2001), I.1.

nahashi manuscripts found in Japan.

2. Even though textual versions of the illustrated tales, such as those of Xing Qu, Wei Yang, Zhao Gou, and so forth, can be found in various fragments of Accounts of Filial Children found in China, there are no surviving post-Han illustrations of the stories.
3. Finally, there are filial piety stories, such as those of Jin Mindi and Ding Lan serving his father, that have neither been transmitted in surviving Accounts of Filial Children nor indicated in any post-Han pictorial representations.

Below, I explore these three points in greater detail.

Point One: One can only make sense of some of the illustrated filial piety narratives by consulting the two Accounts of Filial Children preserved in Japan, which were unknown in China when the alleged forgeries were being fabricated. This is especially true of the filial crow image that, with the exception of the Helinge'er tomb and the Wu Liang shrine, can be found nowhere else.¹² By comparing the Helinge'er portrayal of the filial crow with that of the Wu Liang shrine, it becomes easy to see that this is an extremely valuable remnant of the earliest illustrations of Accounts of Filial Children (at both sites, the tableau inscription reads: "filial crow"). Since the Wu Liang shrine's image and cartouche are identical to that found in the Helinge'er tomb, it is nearly impossible to assert that the former is a forgery. The Helinge'er tomb's image of Zeng Shen's mother throwing away the loom shuttle is depicted in the same manner as the Wu Liang shrine's version of the same story.¹³ In many ways, this depiction is similar to the illustration of the tale found on the Eastern Han mirror held in the private collection of Murakami Eiji 村上英二. It is thus clear that this image possesses the peculiar characteristics of an illustrated Han-era Account of Filial Children (by way of contrast, the rendered tale is of a completely different system than the story of Zeng's mother biting her finger, which is the one commonly found among pictures of the generic Twenty-four Filial Exemplars [*ershisi xiao* 二十四孝]). Thus, one cannot for a moment doubt its authenticity.¹⁴

Furthermore, at the Wu Liang shrine, the images of Zeng Shen and Min Ziqian (which will be described later) start off the series of Accounts of Filial Children. Upon noting that the Murakami mirror is composed of exactly these two images and that these two narratives are the sec-

¹² See Kuroda, *Kōshidenzu no kenkyū*, section I.2.2, illustrations 23 (frontispiece 8) and 24, as well as n. 24, which includes illustration 4.

¹³ Ibid, illustrations 4 (frontispiece 3), 5, and frontispiece 6.

¹⁴ Concerning the tale of Zeng Shen, see *ibid.*, I.2.1.

ond and third stories depicted in the Helinge'er tomb, this combination takes on added importance. From the arrangement of the two stories on these three artifacts, we can conclude that they have preserved the sequential order of the Han-period Accounts of Filial Children.¹⁵ Since the Wu Liang shrine also begins with these two tales, one can say that this uncanny correspondence is not something that one would expect from a forgery. We could also make the same point for the next grouping of filial sons, the illustrations of Lao Laizi and Ding Lan. Similarly, the image of Bo Yu can be found in the Helinge'er tomb as well as the Eastern Han pictorial stone that was excavated from Kaifeng area's Baishazhen 開封白沙鎮.¹⁶ It is probably appropriate to see this image as also based on the Han-era Accounts of Filial Children.

Point Two: This is the type of case where no surviving images exist from after the Eastern Han and our only extant samples have been excavated in the twentieth century. Particularly important is the image of Zhao Gou, which can only be seen in the Helinge'er tomb and on an Eastern Han pictorial stone excavated from Dawenkou 大汶口 in Taian 泰安.¹⁷ This is an extraordinarily rare image. Similarly, the design of Wei Yang's image at the Wu Liang shrine markedly resembles that of the Helinge'er tableau. As long as it is not a later copy of the Helinge'er image, this proves that the Wu Liang Shrine's tableau is nothing other than a Han artifact.¹⁸ As for the image of Xing Qu, it can be found on a pictorial stone that was in the Wu Liang shrine's antechamber (there are two of them) and one each in the right and left chambers.¹⁹ This same image appears in the Helinge'er tomb, on the Kaifeng Baishazhen pictorial stone, and the Lelang 樂浪 lacquered basket. Thus, given that it has been found on so many excavated Eastern Han artifacts, the possibility that the Wu Liang shrine's image was made in the Han is exceedingly high. Taken altogether, these overlapping examples make it difficult to imagine that the Wu Liang images are forgeries.

One can discern the authenticity of these images even in the way they are composed. Even though it is but a small detail, in the Wu Liang shrine's image of Min Ziqian, we can see the stepmother's son driving the cart. (It appears in both the front and rear chambers.) This depiction resembles the portrayal of the Min Ziqian tale found on the

¹⁵ Ibid., I.2.3.

¹⁶ Ibid., I.2.2, illustrations 25 (frontispiece 9), 26, 27, and 28.

¹⁷ Ibid., I.2.2, illustrations 36 (frontispiece 12), 37, and 38.

¹⁸ Concerning the tale of Wei Yang, see *ibid.*, II.2.4. For images of this tale, see *ibid.*, I.2.2, illustrations 29 (frontispiece 10), 30, 31. As for the design of the Wei Yang image on the Eastern Han Lelang lacquered basket, please note that the two images are slightly different.

¹⁹ See *ibid.*, illustrations 19 (frontispiece 7), 20, 21, 22.

Kaifeng Baishazhen stone.²⁰ Moreover, in the Min Ziqian narrative in the Yōmei ms. “Accounts of Filial Children,” one finds the following statement: “[The father] still made the stepmother’s son drive the cart 仍使後母子御車.”²¹ I think this clearly shows one of the unique pictorial motifs found in Han-time Accounts of Filial Children. (After the Six Dynasties, neither this image nor other documents pertaining to this story appears.)²²

The image of Dong Yong probably also retains the appearance of a Han-period Accounts of Filial Children.²³ This is because, for starters, it has Dong Yong looking over his shoulder in his father’s direction.²⁴ This detail is extremely similar to the image at the Helinge’er tomb and the one found on the Dawenkou pictorial stone.²⁵ Again, that the only image that resembles the Wu Liang image of the Lao Laizi story is found in the Helinge’er tomb deserves our attention because it raises the probability that this depiction is based on portrayals of Eastern Han Accounts of Filial Children.²⁶ Based on the same criteria, it would be wise to include the Wu Liang shrine’s depiction of the Yuan Gu story as within the Han scope.²⁷

When considering the pros and cons of the authenticity of the Wu Liang shrine filial piety images, the most compelling evidence against the forgery theory would be if stories exist there that have been lost from extant Accounts of Filial Children and have no existing corresponding images. In other words, late-imperial forgers would have lacked any clues that would lead them to include these images with the others.

Point Three: At the Wu Liang shrine there do exist filial piety tales that have neither been transmitted in existing Accounts of Filial

²⁰ It has a side cartouche that says, “The stepmother’s son is driving” (*Houmu zi yu* 後母子御). See *ibid.*, I.2.3, illustrations 1 and 4.

²¹ Please note that this passage is not found in the Funahashi ms. “Xiaozi zhuan.” However, it also appears in a fragment of the *Shi Jueshou Xiaozi zhuan* 師覺授孝子傳. It states, “The son of the stepmother drove, but the result was not the same (her son did not lose grip of the reins because he was wearing warm clothing); see *Taiping yulan* 太平御覽, j. 413.

²² See Kuroda, *Kōshidenzu no kenkyū*, I.2.5.

²³ *Ibid.*, I.2.2, illustrations 7 (frontispiece 4), 8, 9, and 10.

²⁴ Only the two mss. of Accounts of Filial Children preserved in Japan state, “He would hoe and then look back.”

²⁵ This detail was also continued in the Six Dynasties’ images of the anecdote. Nevertheless, this motif is strikingly different from the scene of Dong Yong parting from the heavenly female, which would become the primary pictorial element in the images of the Twenty-four Filial Exemplars tradition.

²⁶ This image is also contained in the front room of the Helinge’er tomb. See Kuroda, *Kōshidenzu no kenkyū*, I.2.2, illustrations 11 (frontispiece 5), 12, 13, and 14.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, illustrations 32 (frontispiece 11), 33, 34, and 35. In regard to Six Dynasties’ depictions of the Yuan Gu tale, see *ibid.*, I.2.5.

Children nor are represented in any post-Han pictorials. For example, the story of Jin Midi has not been transmitted as a fragment from an Accounts of Filial Children in either China or Japan, nor has a pictorial depiction survived.²⁸ Consequently, in late-imperial China there was never any indication that this image was one of the illustrations of the Accounts of Filial Children. That is to say, it is not even possible that the story of Jin Midi was forged as an image of the Wu Liang shrine's Accounts of Filial Children. By comparing this Wu Liang shrine image with the one found in the Helinge'er tomb, we can confirm that, from the start, it is a portrayal of a narrative from a Han Account of Filial Children. The image of the filial crow falls into the same category. Likewise, we can confirm that the Accounts of Filial Children text of this story ended up being scattered and lost.

As for the Wu Liang shrine's image of Ding Lan's serving a statue of his father, we can point out a similar phenomenon.²⁹ Its depiction of the Ding Lan story has a cartouche inscribed with the words, "Ding Lan's two parents had passed away; he erected a piece of wood as his father." From this we know that Ding Lan made an image of his father. Nevertheless, there is no record of this fact in any of the Accounts of Filial Children fragments that were transmitted in either China or Japan. Yet, Han artifacts unearthed during the twentieth century have disclosed similar details. For example, the cartouche next to a depiction of the Ding Lan story found on the Kaifeng Baishazhen pictorial stone reads, "The elder 丈人 was made into a statue." Cartouches found at the Helinge'er tomb and on the Eastern Han Lelang lacquered basket read, "A wooden elder."³⁰ These occurrences suggest that the Accounts of Filial Children of Han times upon which their images were based had the plot element of Ding Lan's father being represented by a statue. However, these instances can only serve as circumstantial evidence that the Wu Liang shrine's image of the Ding Lan narrative came from a Han-period Accounts of Filial Children.

Much more compelling evidence that the Wu Liang shrine's depiction of the Ding Lan tale was based on an early Account of Filial Children is the cartouche found on the Taian Dawenkou stone. The cartouche next to the Ding Lan tale reads, "The father of the filial son Ding Lan" and "This is Ding Lan's father." These two cartouches un-

²⁸ Ibid., I.2.2, illustrations 39 (frontispiece 13), 40, and 41.

²⁹ Ibid., I.2.2, illustrations 15 (frontispiece 6), 16, 17, 18, and 37. At Helinge'er, the image of this story is in both the front stone room and the left stone room.

³⁰ *Zhangren* means father-in-law. An Eastern Han pictorial stone from a small offering shrine at the bottom of Xiaotangshan 孝堂山 also has the Ding Lan tale, but it has no inscription.

ambiguously substantiate that the Wu Liang shrine's inscription, "He erected a piece of wood as his father," is a Han plot element. Moreover, there are no surviving narratives from Accounts of Filial Children that have the father as the statue. Yet, there are some narratives from Accounts of Filial Children that have the mother as the statue; moreover, in images of the Ding Lan story from the Six Dynasties and after, it is the mother who is depicted.³¹ When considering this type of situation in terms of both the text and image, due to its clear notation that, "He erected wood as his father," we realize that the Wu Liang shrine's image of Ding Lan cannot be a forgery.

Using the Helinge'er tomb's pictorial depictions of the Accounts of Filial Children as a basis for comparison, we have examined the authenticity of the Wu Liang shrine's images. By considering those items marked with asterisks in the previous table, of the seventeen images of filial sons on the three stones at the Wu Liang shrine, one can deduce that the Helinge'er tomb and the Wu Liang shrine share twelve images, which account for over two-thirds of the illustrations. Furthermore, the Wu Liang shrine's seventeen images include all twelve of the Helinge'er filial piety narratives.³² As for the Helinge'er portrayal of the Accounts of Filial Children, we need to remember afresh that it is the only Han artifact that can be compared with the Wu Liang shrine in a systematic manner. Therefore, there should be no objection in recognizing that those twelve illustrations that the Wu Liang shrine shares with the Helinge'er tomb are Han objects. Since they are Han artifacts, those twelve images reveal the special characteristics of the Wu Liang shrine's images. Moreover, upon investigating the content of each image, the twelve images shared by the tomb and the shrine can be arranged into three categories, which we have previously discussed. In conclusion, we have included two or three examples that indicate that forging these items was not possible. In any of the cases that we have investigated, the likelihood of doing so is extremely low. Through this comparison of the Wu Liang shrine's images with those of the Helinge'er tomb, it becomes apparent that one cannot substantiate the forgery theory.

³¹ In regard to images of Ding Lan in the Six Dynasties, see Kuroda, *Kōshidenzu no kenkyū*, I.2.5. Later, in its illustration related to the Twenty-four Filial Exemplars, there are statues of both parents. This is found in illustrations in books that stem from the *Quanxiang ershi xiao shixuan* 全相二十四孝詩選 and *Riji gushi* 日記故事 traditions.

³² At the Wu Liang shrine, the image of Shun is included among the portraits of sage-emperors.

THE UNIQUE IMAGES ON THE
WU LIANG SHRINE PICTORIAL STONES

Now, in part two, we will investigate the authenticity of the Wu Liang shrine's images based on the pictorial representations themselves, rather than in reference to the Helinge'er tomb. If we subtract the twelve images that the Helinge'er tomb and the Wu Liang Shrine share from the seventeen that exist at the latter, we are left with the following five illustrations: 1. Zhang Xiaomu; 2. Zhu Ming; 3. Li Shan; 4. The Righteous Gentlemen of the Three Regions; and 5. Yang Gong.

Each of these five illustrations has noteworthy characteristics. None has corresponding Han-era equivalents: they only exist as part of the Wu Liang shrine's illustrated Accounts of Filial Children.³³ Generally, this fact seems to indicate that it is unlikely that the aforementioned five images are forgeries. Here, by focusing on the images of Zhu Ming and Li Shan, I would like to test concretely the authenticity of the images.

First we look at the Wu Liang depiction of the Zhu Ming story.³⁴ Unfortunately, in China itself, with the exception of a fragment from the *Records of Wu Local Places* (*Wudi ji* 吳地記) and the "Economium to Zhu Ming, Zhang [Zhong], and [Wang] Chen [sic] wei" ("Zhu Ming Zhang chen wei zan" 朱明張臣尉讚), there are hardly any fragments from Accounts of Filial Children, or other texts that have this tale.³⁵

Due to the dearth of textual sources, the interpretation of the Zhu Ming story seen at the Wu Liang shrine has long befuddled scholars. The first one who attempted to identify the characters in the image was Ju Zhongrong 瞿中溶, who described figure 1 (see below), in this manner:

The scene has five people and a small child. On the right there is a married woman who is grabbing her lapels. She is facing left and

³³ The only exception to this is Li Shan. His image has been found on the Eastern Han Le-lang lacquered basket and the lacquered screen that was unearthed in 1966 from the Northern Wei tomb of Sima Jinlong 司馬金龍 in Datong 大同.

³⁴ See fig. 1 in the present article. It is found on the third stone. Its accompanying inscription reads, "Zhu Ming," "Zhu Ming's younger brother," "Zhu Ming's son," and "Zhu Ming's wife." See Rong Geng 容庚, *Han Wu Liang ci huaxiang lu* 漢武梁祠畫像錄, *Kaogu xueshe zhuanti* 考古學社專集 13 (Beiping: Yanjing daxue kaogu xueshe, 1936).

³⁵ Rong, *Han Wu Liang ci huaxiang kaoshi* 6, p. 22a. As for the economium title of "Zhu Ming Zhang Chenwei zan" 朱明張臣尉讚, the *Chuxue ji* 初學記 has badly truncated it by dropping two characters: after Zhang, there should be the character 仲 and before Chenwei there should be the character 王. Moreover, the character 臣 is a mistake. It should be the character 巨. Hence, this economium is dedicated to three men: Zhang Zhong, Zhu Ming, and Wang Juwei. Note that all three were famous for brotherliness.

standing. The cartouche at her side reads, “This is Zhang Xiao’s mother.” In front of her to the left is a man wearing the cap and gown of an official. He is facing left. His hand holds a sword that touches the ground. The accompanying cartouche says that he is Zhu Ming. In front to his left, there is a figure with his left hand coming forth from his chest, while his right hand extends forward pointing to his left. He has his head turned back looking at Zhu Ming. The cartouche says he is Zhu Ming’s younger brother. On the left in front, there is a small woman whose left hand is embracing an infant and whose right hand is extending forward and pulling the sleeve of Zhu Ming’s wife. The cartouche says she is Zhu Ming’s son. However, this cartouche probably designates the infant that she is holding. Another figure is on the left and is walking towards the left. However, her body is turning and facing right. Her right hand is coming forth from her chest; her hanging left sleeve is being pulled by the small woman who is embracing the infant. Above [the woman on the left] is a cartouche that says she is Zhu Ming’s wife. Above in an empty space on her right, there is a bird. It is flying towards Zhu Ming’s wife”³⁶

But who is that small woman holding the baby, and what role does Zhang Xiao’s mother play in the tale? Both Ju Zhongrong and Edouard



Figure 1. Story of Zhu Ming Depicted at Wu Liang Shrine

Rubbing; after Rong, Han Wu Liang ci huaxiang lu, pp. 42a-43a (cited above, n. 34).

³⁶ Ju Zhongrong, *Han Wu Liang ci huaxiang kao* 漢武梁祠畫像攷 (Beijing: Beijing tushuguan chubanshe, 2004), j. 6, pp. 311-12.

Chavannes mistakenly believed that the figure of Zhang Xiao's mother was a part of this scene; they did not know it constituted its own story.³⁷ Chen Peishou 陳培壽 came to that realization and took Zhang Xiao's mother as the mother of Zhangzi 章子, who appears in *Zhanguo ce* 戰國策; he thereby separated the Zhu Ming story from this image.³⁸

Chen, and later Rong Geng, tried to explain the Zhu Ming stories by referring to two extant texts that concern Zhu Ming. The first, contained in *Chuxue ji*, is an "Economium to Zhu Ming":

The *Book of Poetry* (*Shijing* 詩經) praised Zhang Zhong 張仲 (for being filial and brotherly).³⁹ In the present age, Zhu Ming was the same. His clothes did not cover his frame. He slighted wealth and esteemed brotherliness. His devoted wife hid [his brother's] bad conduct. [Zhu Ming's lack of] clothes and grain increased his fame. His offices were lofty. Even ugly things were touched by his sincerity.⁴⁰

According to Nishino Teiji 西野貞治, what this means is that, "Zhu Ming was disinterested in wealth and full of brotherly love. His own clothes were modest. His sagacious wife hid his younger brother's reprehensible behavior. Because of these acts his reputation for brotherly harmony increased."⁴¹

The other Zhu Ming source is a fragment of a text known as the *Records of Wu Local Places*, which was attributed to a Tang-period person named Lu Guangwei 陸廣微. It reads as follows:

As for the Zhu Ming monastery, in 398 of the Jin dynasty, Zhu Ming, a man of the prefecture, used filiality and righteousness to establish himself. His family was extremely wealthy. He lived together with his younger brother. His younger brother's wife said, "The tree is broken." She desired to abandon the elder brother and live apart. Zhu clearly understood his younger brother's intent. Zhu thereupon took money, silk, and all of his surplus grain and gave them entirely to his younger brother. He alone remained in the empty house. Suddenly one day a fierce wind and driving rain blew

³⁷ See E. Chavannes, *Mission archéologique dans la Chine septentrionale* (Paris, 1913), p. 147.

³⁸ See Chen Peishou 陳培壽, *Han Wu Liang ci huaxiang tizi bukao* 漢武梁祠畫像題字補考 (n.d., n.p.).

³⁹ D. C. Lau 劉殿爵 and Chen Fong Ching 陳方正, eds., *Maoshi zhuzi suoyin* 毛詩逐字索引 (Hong Kong: The Commercial Press, 1995), no. 177, p. 80.

⁴⁰ Xu Jian 徐堅, *Chuxue ji* 初學記 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2004) 17, p. 426.

⁴¹ Nishino Teiji 西野貞治, "Yōmeibun kōshiden no seikaku narabini Seike bon to no kankei ni tsuite" 陽明本孝子傳の性格並に清家本との關係について, *Jinbun kenkyū* 人文研究 7.6 (1956), p. 29.

all of the wealth and silk back to Zhu Ming's home. His brother and sister-in-law were so ashamed that when they were seen in the village they committed suicide. Zhu Ming then made his home a monastery that is [now] called the Zhu Ming monastery.⁴²

As Nishino has pointed out, though, these two texts bear some resemblance, there are many points in which they conflict with the Wu Liang shrine's Zhu Ming image. Since the story from *Records of Wu Local Places* occurs much later, namely, during the Eastern Jin dynasty (317–420) and in southern China, the time and place clearly do not match the Wu Liang shrine narrative. Also, in this version, Zhu Ming's wife plays no part – it is Zhu Ming's sister-in-law who creates friction between the two brothers. As for the “Encomium to Zhu Ming,” it is too terse and does not reveal what led to the argument between his brother and Zhu's wife, which is clearly illustrated on the Wu Liang shrine's image.⁴³ In fact, the encomium puts Zhu Ming's wife in a favorable light. Obviously, neither of these texts can be used to explain the Wu Liang shrine's image.

Nishino Teiji was the first scholar to discover that the only way to decode the image was to consult the tenth narrative in the Yōmei “Accounts of Filial Children,” which furnishes the probable textual basis of the Zhu Ming story. It reads as follows:

Zhu Ming was a person of the Eastern capital (Luoyang). His family had two brothers. Their parents had already died. Not long after, there was the question of inheritance of the family's wealth. Each son received a million cash. His younger brother was arrogant and extravagant. Upon exhausting his own wealth, the younger brother would repeatedly approach his elder brother seeking [a part of his brother's] portion. His elder brother would always give it to him. This happened repeatedly. Zhu Ming's wife thereupon became angry and resentful; she beat and cursed her brother-in-law (*xiaolang* 小郎). When Zhu Ming heard about it he said, “You, a person of another surname, want me to betray my own flesh and blood. Any woman in the world could be my wife, but if I desired to seek another person to be my kin, I would not be able to find him anywhere.” He immediately divorced his wife.⁴⁴

We need to pay particular attention to this narrative because it (as well as the Funahashi version) is the only written text that explains

⁴² Cao Lindi 曹林娣, ed., *Wudi ji* (in *Jiangsu difang wenxian congshu* 江蘇地方文獻叢書 [Nanjing: Jiangsu guji chubanshe, 1999]), p. 8.

⁴³ Nishino, “Yōmeibun kōshiden no seikaku,” p. 29.

⁴⁴ Yōgaku no kai, *Kōshiden chūkai*, pp. 86, 294.

the content of the Wu Liang shrine's Zhu Ming image (see figure 1, above).⁴⁵ Based on this text, Nishino explains the Wu Liang Shrine image in the following manner:

The agitated woman on the left border is Zhu Ming's wife. She is reprimanding her brother-in-law and her departure has been announced. The small figure to her right, which Ju Zhongrong and Chavannes identified as a small woman embracing an infant, is actually Zhu Ming's son who is clinging to her and is reluctant to see her depart. On that figure's right there is Zhu Ming's younger brother, who is facing his elder brother and describing the treatment he has received from his sister-in-law. Zhu Ming is hearing how his younger brother has been treated and is in the process of telling his wife to leave.⁴⁶

Using the Yōmei "Accounts of Filial Children" to characterize the Wu Liang shrine scene as one in which Zhu Ming divorces his wife over her treatment of his brother easily and accurately explains the image. Nishino's achievement in employing the Accounts of Filial Children preserved in Japan to solve this lengthy mystery has made a lasting contribution to our understanding of the Pictorial Stone.⁴⁷

⁴⁵ For reference purposes, I give the text of the Zhu Ming tale from the Funahashi ms. "Accounts of Filial Children":

Zhu Ming was a person of the Eastern capital (Luoyang). His family consisted of two brothers. Not long after his parents had died, they divided the patrimony. Each received a million cash. His younger brother was arrogant and rude. Early on, he had already used up his portion of the inheritance, so he would then approach his elder brother seeking [a part of his brother's] portion. His elder brother would always give it to him. This happened several times. [The younger brother's] sister-in-law (i.e., Zhu's wife) thereupon became angry. She [once] beat and cursed her brother-in-law. When Ming heard about it he said, "You are a person of another surname. He is my own flesh and blood. Any woman within the Four Seas could be my wife, but if I wanted to once again find my own flesh and blood, I could not obtain him anywhere." He immediately divorced his wife and never again saw her.

The story of Zhu Ming was comparatively widely transmitted in medieval Japanese books. See the following: preface of the middle *juan* of *Nihon ryōiki* 日本靈異記 (Yahagi Takeshi 矢作武, "*Nihon ryōiki* to kanbungaku: Kōshiden o chūshin ni, saikō" 日本靈異記と漢文学, 孝子伝を中心に, 再考, in *Kiki to Kanbungaku* 記紀と漢文学 [Tokyo: Kyūko shoin, 1994]); in the chap. "Explaining the Importance of Rites among Brothers" of the Kanazawa Library edn. of *Shakumon hiyaku* 釈門秘鑰; in the chap. "Notebook on Brothers and Sisters" of *Gonsenshū* 言泉集 (Ryūkoku daigaku edn. and Tōdaiji Hokurinin edn.); in *Kōkōshū* 孝行集 (Kuroda Akira, "Seikadō bunkozō Kōkōshū" 静嘉堂文庫藏孝行集, in *Aichi kenritsu daigaku bungakubu ronshū* [Kokubungakuka hen] 39 [1991], pp. 60–61); and the chap. "The Daughter of Kiyomori" of *Genpei seisui* 源平盛衰記 (Ichiko Teiji 市古貞次 et al., *Chūsei no bungaku* 中世の文学 [Tokyo: Miyai shoten, 1991], p. 41).

⁴⁶ Nishino, "Yōmeibon kōshiden no seikaku," p. 29.

⁴⁷ In regard to Mr. Nishino's achievements, it is difficult to say that later scholars fully made use of them. For example, in his *Kandai gazō no kenkyū* 漢代画像の研究 (Tokyo: Chūō kōron bijutsu shuppan, 1965), part II, p. 81, citing the Funahashi "Accounts of Filial Children," Nagahiro Toshio 長廣敏雄 says that the scene represents Zhu Ming's wife wanting to hit and throw her son, which is conspicuously wrong. This interpretation is based on the Funahashi line that

Now, in regard to figure 1, when we consider the content of the Zhu Ming image, we can imagine how difficult it would be to forge. Since there are no other images of this story and after it was first recorded in an Accounts of Filial Children “Soon afterwards its transmission was lost,” one can only conclude that to forge this text would be impossible. In other words, if there was no available exemplar and the text upon which it was based was only preserved in a private Japanese library, how could someone in late-imperial China fabricate it?

As for figure 2, it shows the depiction of the Li Shan tale on the Wu Liang shrine’s third stone. Because the stone at present is badly damaged, from the right halfway point to its upper portion, we will discuss figure 3, which is the same image, but one that comes from the



Figure 2. *Damaged Image of Li Shan
Story at the Wu Liang Shrine*

*Rubbing: after Rong, Han Wu Liang ci
huaxiang lu, p. 43b (cited at n. 34).*

sixth *juan* of *Li xu*.⁴⁸ The following text from the Yōmei “Accounts of Filial Children” suggests the basis of this image.

Yōmei ms. “Accounts of Filial Children,” story no. 41, on Li Shan:

Li Shan was a slave of a Nanyang 南陽 family [named Li]. [Then] all but one member of the Li household died all of a sudden. Only a newborn infant survived. But because [the baby] did not even have one relative remaining, Shan went through the villages of his canton begging for milk for the child to drink and eat. But the infant could never get enough. Heaven, relying on the essence [of Li Shan’s sublime filiality],

states, “His sister-in-law thereupon became angry. She [once] beat and cursed Xiaolang 小郎.” Nagahiro has misinterpreted this line (Xiaolang designates Zhu Ming’s younger brother, not Zhu Ming’s son). Wu Hung 巫鴻, in his *Wu Liang Shrine* (see the Chinese edn., *Wu Liang Ci: Zhongguo gudai huaxiang yishu de sixiangxing* 武梁祠，中國古代畫像藝術的思想性, trans. Liu Yang 柳揚 and Cen He 岑河 [Beijing: Sanlian shidian, 2006], app. A, pp. 292–95, and appendix 1, pp. 303–4), also quotes the Funahashi text. On the other hand, Jia Qingchao 賈慶超, *Wushi ci Hanhua shike kaoping* 武氏祠漢畫石刻考評 (Jinan: Shandong daxue chubanshe, 1993), pp. 269–70; Jiang Yingju 蔣英炬 and Wu Wenqi 吳文祺, *Handai Wushi muqun shike yanjiu* 漢代武氏墓群石刻研究 (Jinan: Shandong meishu chubanshe, 1995), chap. 5, p. 88, n. 40, and Zhu Xilu 朱錫祿, *Wushi ci Han huaxiangshi zhong de gushi* 武氏祠漢畫像石中的故事 (Jinan: Shandong meishu chubanshe, 1996), p. 25, all follow Rong Geng’s theory. That is to say, they cite the texts of the “Zhu Ming Zhang Chen wei zan,” and the *Wudi ji* fragment.

⁴⁸ The accompanying cartouche says, “Mr. Li, the orphan, the loyal and filial Li Shan.”

thereupon caused Shan's breasts to produce milk. The infant was now able to always eat his fill. When the Li infant son reached the age of fifteen, he bestowed upon Shan his own Li surname. At that time, the prefectural and district authorities memorialized the throne [about this matter]. They commended his filial conduct; he assumed the office of the Governor of Henei 河内. The common people were all delighted. Kongzi 孔子 said, "One can be entrusted with an orphan of six feet ..." This is what he meant.

The tale of Li Shan was also transmitted to Japan in the twelfth *juan* of a work titled *Diaoyu ji* 瑯玉集, which quotes an anonymous Accounts of Filial Children.⁴⁹ No matter whether it came from this anonymous Accounts of Filial Children or the two "Accounts of Filial Children" preserved in Kyoto, we need to note that the rendition of the Li Shan story found in such accounts has only been transmitted in documents preserved in Japan.⁵⁰ In reference to this tableau (figures 2 and 3), Ju Zhongrong has said it matches the following passage from the *History of the Later Han* (*Hou Han shu* 後漢書): "The slaves privately made a plan: they wanted to kill Xu 續 [their master's son] and split the family's wealth." He thus explains the Wu Liang scene by saying that, "Therefore, the kneeling figure (see figure 3) should be Li Shan. The figure who is standing and dragging the child (see figures 2 and 3) is perhaps a slave. Probably, the slave wants to take the orphan away; as



Figure 3. Line Drawing of Li Shan Story

Based on rubbing found in juan 6 of Hong Gua, Li xu 隸續 (Yangzhou Shiyuan keben edn.).

⁴⁹ See Yanase Kiyoshi 柳瀬喜代志 and Yahagi Takeishi 矢作武, *Chōgyokushū chūshaku* 瑯玉集注釋 (Tokyo: Kyūkosho, 1985), pp. 108–11. The story can also be found in *Hou Han shu* 後漢書 "Chapter on People with Singular Behavior" ("Duxing liezhuan" 獨行列傳); in *Dong-guan Hanji* 東觀漢記, j. 17; in *Xie Cheng Hou Han shu* 謝承後漢書 (given in *Taiping yulan*, j. 371); and *Chuguo xianxian zhuan* 楚國賢先傳 (*Chongjiao Shuofu* 重較說郛, j. 58).

⁵⁰ The text of the Li Shan story in the Funahashi ms. "Accounts of Filial Children" is as follows:

a result, Li Shan is kneeling in a respectful manner (see figure 3) and grievously seeking the child.⁵¹

Ever since Ju wrote this explanation, an overwhelming number of researchers has followed his lead and used the *History of the Later Han* to interpret the Wu Liang image.⁵² However, if we base ourselves on the passage of *Hou Han shu*, how do we determine whether the figure on the left or right (see figure 3) is Li Shan? The uncertainty in general

As for Li Shan, he was the slave of the Li Xiao family of Nanyang. At that time, the household head, the lady of the house, their descendants, and servants all died due to an epidemic. The only survivors were a small infant as well as a slave named Shan. He thereupon sought the mother's milk of neighbors and he was constantly masticating food to nurture him. Nevertheless, the amount of milk was not sufficient to satisfy his hunger; thus, the child would still grievously cry. At that moment, Heaven send down its benevolent charge, which forced out Shan's milk [from his breasts]. Day and night, the infant ate his fill. When the son grew in years, he was aware of the fact that Shan had acted the part of his parents and was the reason why he was able to live and grow up. When he reached the age of fifteen, he bestowed upon Shan the surname of Li. The prefectural and district authorities memorialized the throne about this matter to manifest his filial conduct. The Son of Heaven and the feudal lords all praised his excellent behavior. He was promoted to the position of Governor of Henei. Shan's governing ability surpassed that of others. The commoners looked upon him with respect and admiration. When people of the realm heard [of his exploits], everyone sighed with admiration.

The text of the story found in the anonymous Accounts of Filial Children (from *juan 12* of *Diaoyu ji*) is as follows:

Li Shan was a Nanyang person. Originally he was a family slave of father Li. Father Li's entire family died and was obliterated. Only a son remained. But he had only been born a few months prior. Li Shan held him in his embrace and would not be parted from him whether it was day or night. He would go around the neighborhood begging for milk. Morning and evening, he would get enough to feed and raise the child. But after a long time, his neighbors and villagers resented him and were unwilling to give milk. The child thereupon was wasting away; his life would not last much longer. Li Shan was emotionally distraught — he could not overcome his grief. He wailed and cried and shouted at Heaven. He sought its pity and begged for rescue. Heaven was moved by his determination. Juice began to issue forth from both of his breasts. The child obtained milk to drink and he thereby was able to survive. When he became an adult, Li Shan treated him as his master. Morning and evening he would pay respect to him in audiences and he would never lose track of the seasonal observances. When the prefectural and district authorities were informed of this, they reported it to the emperor. The emperor was moved by his righteousness. He bestowed upon him the surname of Li. He made Li Shan's actions known throughout the court and the countryside and promoted him to the position of Magistrate of Yiling. When filial actions reach their height, one's name will be known throughout the Four Seas. As a result, Kongzi said, "One can entrust him with an orphan who is not six feet high." This tale illustrates that saying. It comes from Accounts of Filial Children.

⁵¹ Ju, *Han Wu Liang citang shike huaxiang kao*, vol. 6, pp. 316–17.

⁵² Wu, *Wu Liang Shrine*, p. 295, and Jia, *Wushi ci Hanhua shike kaoping*, pp. 238–39, both follow Ju Zhongrong's interpretation. Nagahiro, *Kandai gazō no kenkyū*, part II, p. 82 (the actual writer is Hayashi Minao 林巳奈夫), and Zhu, *Wushi ci Han huaxiangshi zhong de gushi*, p. 26, both quote his biography in *Hou Han shu* to say that the figure on the right is Li Shan. Following the lead of j. 6 (pp. 22a–b) of Rong Geng's *Han Wu Liang ci huaxiang kaoshi* ("On the left, there is a person who is facing right and respectfully kneeling and whose hands are making a gesture of respect. That is Li Shan."), Jiang and Wu, *Handai Wushi muqun shike yanjiu*, chap. 5, n. 39, quote *Hou Han shu*.

about this matter makes Ju's proposed interpretation suspect.⁵³ The fact is that *Records of the Han from the Eastern Pavilion* (*Dongguan Hanji* 東觀漢記) records the same text that is used by the *History of the Later Han*, but the latter was compiled by Fan Ye 范曄 during the Liu-Song era (420–479). For Ju Zhongrong to prefer the later, compilatory materials to explain Eastern Han images makes his argument suspect.

In any case, the material that should be first used to explain illustrated filial piety narratives are Accounts of Filial Children,⁵⁴ which should be the normal source employed to explicate extant images. Questionable interpretations of filial piety images arise when we widen our search for their textual origin in sources beyond the various known Accounts of Filial Children. What we should underscore in the conventional explanation of the Li Shan image is Ju Zhongrong's statement that, "The figure who is standing and dragging the child is perhaps a slave. Probably, the slave wants to take the orphan away." This statement about the slaves wanting to kill the child does not appear in either the *Diaoyu ji*'s anonymous Accounts of Filial Children or the two manuscript Accounts of Filial Children preserved in Kyoto. Hence, could we not explain this image through noting the scene implied in the following line from the Yōmei "Accounts of Filial Children": "Shan thereupon went through the villages of his canton begging for milk for the child to drink and eat"? On the left is Li Shan; in the middle is the orphan; on the right is perhaps a neighborhood woman. This image cannot be limited to the explanation of "Probably, the slave wants to take the orphan away" (Ju Zhongrong). In fact, this explanation also fails to accord with another Han image of the Li Shan tale. Figure 4 shows the Lelang lacquered basket's depiction of the Li Shan tale. There have been different opinions concerning what and who the figures are in the scene.⁵⁵ Now, as I have indicated elsewhere, I would like to include within the depiction of this tale the figures on the basket that are usually associated with the Wei Yang narrative. Thus, I would like to

⁵³ Ju Zhongrong, Rong Geng, Wu Hung, and Jia Qingchao all think that the figure on the left is Li Shan. In contrast, Hayashi Minao and Zhu Xilu think the figure on the right is Li Shan. See above, n. 19.

⁵⁴ For example, the Northern Wei lacquered screen found in the Sima Jinlong tomb has the following inscription, "When he was an adult, Shan was bestowed the surname Li. The prefectural authorities memorialized the throne and by edict he was elevated to the position of the Governor of Henei." The information that Shan was given the Li surname and that he was promoted to the position of Henei governor is not found in *Hou Han shu*. It is only found in the two Accounts of Filial Children preserved in Japan (the first piece of information is also found in the anonymous Accounts of Filial Children); see Kuroda, *Kōshiden no kenkyū*, sect. II.1.

⁵⁵ For example, Yoshikawa Kōjirō 吉川幸次郎 believes that in figure 4 the two human figures on the left half belong to the Li Shan narrative illustration, while the two on the right belong to another picture, of which he says "the details are not yet clear." See his "Lelang chutu

recognize that the four figures belong within the scope of the lacquered basket's image of Li Shan.⁵⁶ There is no way that the *History of the Later Han* text used by Ju Zhongrong can explain the scene of the Li Shan tale illustrated in figure 4.⁵⁷



Figure 4. *Li Shan Story on Lelang Lacquered Basket*

Depiction found on Eastern Han basket from Lelang. Image adapted from *Chōsen koseki kenkyūkai* 朝鮮古跡研究会, ed., *Rakurō saikyōtsuka* 楽浪彩篋冢 (Seoul: Benrido, 1934), ill. 48.

Han qie tuxiang kaozheng” 楽浪出土漢篋圖像考證 (orig. published in 1934), in *Yoshikawa Kōjirō zenshū* 6 吉川幸次朗全集 (Tokyo: Chikuma Shobō, 1969). In contrast, Hamada Seiryō 浜田青陵 stated that, “To make a border between the tales of Ding Lan and Li Shan, the artisan used cloud-shaped patterns that rise up” (“Rakurō no saikyōtsuka” 楽浪の彩篋冢, *Shisō* 思想 155 [1935]). Yanagi Muneyoshi 柳宗悦 also states that the story that recounts the right half’s “filial wife and filial grandson” is not clear. He also believes that, “Perhaps because the artisan had an empty space that had to be covered, he filled it in with an arabesque pattern. If these figures were supposed to be a punctuation mark, perhaps the filial wife and filial grandson figures belong to the Li Shan tale.” See his “Sashie shōchū” 挿絵小註, in *Kōgei* 工芸 57 (1935), pp. 483–97.

I follow Mr. Yoshikawa: the figures on the right belong to another narrative scene. Moreover, due to the inscription “filial grandson,” I thought it belonged to the image of Yuan Gu (Kuroda, *Kōshiden no kenkyū*), but I would now revise this. If the right half is the Yuan Gu story, we do not find the necessary corresponding figures of his father or grandfather. In the illustrated Accounts of Filial Children there are often figures who do not appear in the written Accounts. E.g., for the image of Bo Yu found on the lacquered plate in the Anhui Ma’anshan 安徽馬鞍山 tomb of the Wu general Zhu Ran 朱然, an inscription reads, “Yu’s mother, Bo Yu, the filial wife, Yu’s son, and the filial grandson” (see Kuroda, *Kōshiden no kenkyū*, II.1); and the image of the Meijian Chi 眉間赤 story on the Northern Wei stone sarcophagus in the Minneapolis Institute of Arts carries the inscription: “Meijian Chi’s wife” (*Kōshiden no kenkyū*, I.2.4). On the Wei Yang story, see Kuroda, *Kōshiden no kenkyū*, I.2.4.

⁵⁶ Reading from the left, the cartouches next to these four figures say, “Shan Dajia 善大家,” “Li Shan,” “Filial wife 孝婦,” and “Filial grandson 孝孫.”

⁵⁷ See Kuroda, *Kōshiden chūkai* no. 41, Li Shan, and n. 4 on pp. 240–41.

In the case of the Wu Liang shrine's image of Li Shan, in China there have been no transmitted fragments about the Li Shan tale from an Account of Filial Children. Therefore, a forger would have had no reason to treat this narrative as part of Accounts of Filial Children. Since the Li Shan story concerns the relationship between master and servant, it is not immediately evident that it is a filial piety narrative. Thus, it is not likely that a late-imperial era forger would regard it as one. Moreover, the Lelang lacquered basket, which was unearthed in the twentieth century, provides supplementary evidence indicating that the Wu Liang shrine's tale of Li Shan truly was engraved in the time of the Han dynasty.

As for the other five images that can be found at the Wu Liang shrine but not at the Helinge'er tomb, with the exception of Zhu Ming and Li Shan, they are Zhang Xiao's mother, the Righteous Gentlemen of the Three Regions, and Yang Gong. Of these three, the only one that has left no traces in either the fragments of Accounts of Filial Children or in other documents is Zhang Xiao's mother. Among the Wu Liang shrine's seventeen depictions of filial exemplars, this is the only image that does not have a clear source.⁵⁸ As for the Righteous Gentlemen and Yang Gong, having spoken of them at length elsewhere, I will omit them here; nevertheless, neither has any corresponding Han or post-Han depiction. Because of that, I would like again to emphasize that it would have been exceedingly difficult to counterfeit these images. Finally, with the exception of Zhang Xiao's mother, for whom we can find no source, the contents of the remaining four tales are extremely interesting. Namely, the Zhu Ming tale is about brothers; the Li Shan story is about masters and slaves; the Righteous Gentlemen of Three Regions is about three men who are not related by blood; and the tale of Yang Gong is about a man who serves the poor.⁵⁹ In sum, because all four of these images do not directly deal with filial piety between a parent and child, it would have been exceedingly difficult to connect them with Accounts of Filial Children. Nevertheless, all four of the narratives are included in the fully extant Yōmei version (and Fu-

⁵⁸ Concerning the image of Zhang Xiao's mother, Wu, *Wu Liang Shrine*, app. A, pp. 291–92 (Chinese version, app. 1, pp. 302–3), uses the following line in the Jiang Xu tale (no. 34) of the Funahashi "Accounts of Filial Children": "Jiang Zhangxun 蔣章訓 had the style name of Yuanqing 元卿"; this suggests that it might be an image of the Jiang Xu tale because of the indication that Jiang was called Zhangxun 章訓. Nevertheless, considering that the Yōmei "Accounts of Filial Children" states, "Jiang Xu's style name was Juan 卷 (a mistake for Yuan 元)-qing 卿," the copyist who made the Funahashi text probably just made a mistake.

⁵⁹ Concerning the tale of Yang Gong, see Kuroda, *Kōshidenzu no kenkyū*, II.1.5. Note that the Accounts of Filial Children preserved in Kyoto use the same characters for Yang Gong's 羊公 name as in the Wu Liang shrine.

nahashi version) of “Accounts of Filial Children.” Thus, there can be no doubt that they were portrayals of Accounts of Filial Children. This is also true of the Wei Yang tale that concerns revenge. Hence, these illustrated narratives serve as important historical material that vividly reflect the formation of Han notions of filial piety. For a late-imperial forger to have put together these four as a group and to have somehow known that they were in fact images of actual Han-era Accounts of Filial Children is highly unlikely.

Above, in regard to the depictions of the Accounts of Filial Children that are on the Wu Liang shrine’s blocks numbers one through three, we have assiduously explored the possibility of forgery from two angles: first, we have looked at the filial piety narratives that the Wu Liang Shrine shares with the Helinge’er tomb. Second, we have looked at those narratives that are peculiar to the Wu Liang shrine. No matter from which of the two angles we view the problem, in each case it is extremely difficult to reach the conclusion that scholars in late-imperial China could have forged the images. Therefore, it is safe to assume that Professor Michael Nylan’s theory that the Pictorial Stones do not date to the Eastern Han is without foundation.