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DONG RUI (1975-), Ph.D., Associate professor and Master Supervisor of fine art school in Henan University. Research focus on the ancient Chinese art history and the theory of Arts.

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The Intertextuality Between Han Great Rhapsody and Hunting Images in the Han Dynasty

Dong Rui

Abstract

As the most representative literary work of the Han Dynasty, Han Great Rhapsody features fictional royal gardens and forest hunting and was composed by Mei Cheng during the reign of Emperor Jing of the Western Han Dynasty. The emergence of hunting images in the Han dynasty during the reign of Emperor Wu was closely linked to changes in political form, and its prevalence was due to Emperor Wu's promotion of the Han Great Rhapsody. Emperor Wu was not only instrumental in the development of Han Great Rhapsody, but also had a profound influence on the field of visual arts. The distribution area of hunting images in the Han dynasty overlaps with the prevalence area of Han Great Rhapsody, which is the intertextuality between hunting images in the Han dynasty and Han Great Rhapsody. Both are different manifestations of the influence of Emperor Wu's good fortune and his pursuit of ascension to immortality.

Key Words

Han Great Rhapsody, Mei Cheng, intertextuality, Sima Xiangru, Emperor Wu, hunting images

There is no specific work on the painting in the Han Dynasty, but literature on painting in the Han Dynasty can be found in Han Rhapsody. Han Rhapsody includes Han Great Rhapsody, Tsuo Style Rhapsody and Prose Rhapsody. Han Great Rhapsody is the most representative literary work of Han Rhapsody, with a grand structure and elegant language mainly focusing on the fictionalized hunting trips of emperors and nobles and the luxury of palaces and gardens. The objects and scopes of the Han Great Rhapsody range from rivers and lakes, mountains, forests and marshes, courts and castles, to birds, animals, insects and fish, grass, trees and flowers, striving to show an elegant atmosphere and magnificent images with splendid rhetoric, and proportional and neat combinations.¹

In the literature on a painting of the Han Dynasty, we are familiar with the paragraph "Painting the heavens and the earth, all kinds of plants and creatures in the world (圖畫天地, 品類群生)" in Wang Yanshou's (王延壽) *Rhapsody of Lu Lingguang Hall* (《魯靈光殿賦》).

The painting depicts heaven and earth, all kinds of

plants and creatures in the world, strange and magic things, the supernatural being in the mountains and the supernatural being in the sea. The painted forms and colors are all pinned in the picture, which are varied and different. Different shapes to describe their other characteristics, twists, and turns to the fullest, trying to convey their actual state from the ancient era. When the sky was opened to the earth to the beginning of human society, the five dragons with human faces and dragons, the nine heads of Ren Huang (人皇), Fu Xi (伏羲) with a human head and dragon body, Nv Wa (女媧) with a human head and snake body and so on. In the ancient era of chaos and obscurity, people were pure and simple, and their images were very rugged and straightforward. The Huang Di (黃帝), Tang Yao (唐堯) and Yu Shun (虞舜) were the most colorful ones, who wore coronets in chariots and had a hierarchy of clothes. The following three dynasties were the Xia, Shang, and Zhou dynasties, such as Mei Xi (妹喜), Da Ji (妲己), and Bao Si (褒姒), the Xia Jie (夏桀), the Yin Zhou (殷紂), and King You of Zhou (周幽王), the loyal subjects like Bi Gan (比

干), the filial son like Shen Sheng (申生), the martyr like Jing Ke (荊軻), and the virtuous girl like Ji Jiang (季薑), all of whom are portrayed as wise and foolish, successful and disgraced; the evil ones can be a warning to the world, and the good ones can be an example for the future.

This passage depicts the images painted on the top beams of the Lingguang Hall and emphasizes their role as “evil as a warning to the world, good as a sign to the future”. This passage is the most frequently cited material in treatises on Han dynasty art. However, because of scholars’ extraordinary attention to this passage, many researchers have overlooked other parts of the *Rhapsody of Lu Lingguang Hall* that are more important to our understanding of Han dynasty painting.

While studying the materials of Han Dynasty portrait bricks, the author became intensely curious as to why images of birds and animals, dancing, hunting, and the Queen Mother of the Western (西王母) in the portrait bricks appeared in the same tomb. A careful study of the Rhapsodies by Sima Xiangru (司馬相如, 169-118 BCE), Wang Yanshou and others revealed many similarities in form and content between *Rhapsody of Lu Lingguang Hall* and Sima Xiangru’s *Son of Heaven’s Hunting Rhapsody* (《天子游獵賦》), *Shanglin Rhapsody* (《上林賦》) and *Rhapsody on the Mighty Man* (*Daren fu*, 《大人賦》). On this basis, taking the images of the Han Dynasty hollow-brick tomb of Xin Tongqiao in Zhengzhou as an example, the portraits on the hollow-brick tomb were reassembled according to the hunting procedure in Yuanlin (苑林). It was found that they could completely match the scenes of the hunting of the emperor and nobles and the reason for the coexistence of various kinds of portraits in one tomb: they showed different locations in the hunting process.²

The paper, when completed, gave rise to further reflection by the author. Firstly, from the perspective of Han Great Rhapsody, why did Sima Xiangru influence Wang Yanshou? Are there any similarities between Han Great Rhapsody made by other rhetoricians? Secondly, from the perspective of hunting images in the Han Dynasty, when did hunting images start to appear in the Han Dynasty? In which areas were the hunting images mainly distributed? Finally, from the viewpoint of the relationship between the Han Great Rhapsody and hunting images of the Han Dynasty, is there a connection to be established between the Han Great Rhapsody and hunting images of the Han Dynasty? Do Han Great Rhapsody and hunting images of the Han Dynasty belong to two different expressions under the influence of the same factor? This paper hopes to explore the overall relationship between the form and content of the Han Rhapsody style and hunting images of the Han Dynasty, basis on the systematic analysis of Han Great Rhapsody and hunting images of the Han Dynasty.

This paper consists of three parts: the establishment and narrative way of Han Great Rhapsody, the spatial and temporal distribution of Han hunting images, and the intertextuality of Han Great Rhapsody and Han hunting images.

1. The Establishment and Narrative Way of Han Great Rhapsody

Rhapsody as a literary genre first appeared in the Warring States period and was intended to be a way of speaking about things. Xun Zi’s (荀子) Rhapsody (《賦篇》) is the earliest literary work with the name of Rhapsody that we have seen. In its formal structure, Han Great Rhapsody develops the narrative of a question and answer between the author and another person into a description in the tone of a third person. The characters are fictional, and the writing not limited by time, space, and actual events, and can be conceived according to the author’s creative intent, extrapolated layer by layer and interlocked in interweaving narratives that mirror each other. Although not titled a Rhapsody, *Seven Rhapsody* (*Qi fa*, 《七發》) by Mei Cheng (枚乘) is the earliest manifestation of these characteristics. It is traditionally considered an early example of the formation of the Han Great Rhapsody.³

According to Fei Zhengang (費振剛), Sima Xiangru’s *Zixu Rhapsody* (《子虛賦》) and *Shanglin Rhapsody* established the writing style of Han Great Rhapsody and became the model for later Han Great Rhapsody. The motives of the later Great Rhapsody can be different from Sima Xiangru’s, but there is no change in the writing style. Yang Xiong (揚雄), in the late Western Han Dynasty, wrote *Feathered Hunt Rhapsody* (《羽獵賦》) and *Changyang Rhapsody* (《長楊賦》) in imitation of *Zixu Rhapsody* and *Shanglin Rhapsody* and his *Shudu Rhapsody* (《蜀都賦》), which was written in his early years, initiated a new writing style followed by *Xidu Rhapsody* (《西都賦》) and *Dongdu Rhapsody* (《東都賦》) of Ban Gu, and *Xijing Rhapsody* (《西京賦》) and *Dongjing Rhapsody* (《東京賦》) of Zhang Heng (張衡). The following is an analysis of the reasons for the formation of the Han Great Rhapsody and its influence in the Han Dynasty, starting with Mei Cheng.

Mei Cheng, whose birth year is unknown, died in 140 BCE. He was an author of rhetoric (辭賦) in the early Western Han Dynasty. He first worked as a governor for Liu Bi (劉濞), the king of Wu, and then as a guest of King Xiao of the Liang State (梁孝王). He was called by Emperor Jing to be the captain of Hongnong (弘農都尉) and then returned to Liang. At that time, all Liang’s disciples were good at rhetoric, and Mei Cheng was especially good at it. After the reign of Emperor Wu of Han Dynasty, he gained an excellent chance to work in the capital, but unfortunately died on the way.

The story of *Seven Rhapsody* is about the Prince of Chu, who was sick, and the guest of Wu went to console him. The guest of Wu told the prince that he did not need to take medicine for his illness and could use beautiful words to get rid of it. The guest of Wu asked the prince if he could listen to the qin (琴), eating, riding, playing, hunting, and singing in a suitable atmosphere. The prince replied no, but his eyebrows were sunny when he talked about hunting. Finally, the guest of Wu asked if Confucius, Laozi, and Mencius came to preach, would the prince be willing to listen to them? Then the prince got up and sweated out of his illness.⁴

In the narrative form of *Seven Rhapsody*, the guest of Wu uses a variety of metaphors that cannot change the prince's indulgent lifestyle and finally finds that the words of the sage are the only cure for the prince's illness. This Rhapsody is a dialogue between two people, in which the author incarnates the guest of Wu to convey his views, and this is the essence of the Rhapsody as a satire. Mei Cheng also wrote *Rhapsody of Rabbit Garden of the King of Liang* (《梁王兔園賦》), describing the scenery in the garden built by King Xiao of the Liang State.

After Mei Cheng, Sima Xiangru is famous for his Great Han Rhapsody. Sima Xiangru, a native of Chengdu in Shu County, became the chief servant of Emperor Jing of the Han Dynasty due to his family's wealth. Emperor Jing did not like rhetoric, so Sima Xiangru was not given a good position. When Liu Wu, the king Xiao of the Liang State, went to the capital to pay respects to Emperor Jing, he was accompanied by a group of literati such as Mei Cheng. When Sima Xiangru met Mei Cheng and others, he resigned from his official position on the pretext that he was sick and travelled to Liang, where he became a guest of King Xiao of the Liang State and wrote *Zixu Rhapsody*.

After the death of Liu Wu in 144 BCE, Xiangru returned to Chengdu, where he married Zhuo Wenjun, daughter of Zhuo Wangsun, and sold wine with his wife; *Zixu Rhapsody* was written before Sima Xiangru was 26 years old. When Emperor Wu ascended the throne, he read *Zixu Rhapsody* and liked it very much, then summoned Sima Xiangru to discuss it. "At that time, Yang Deyi, a native of Shu County, served the Emperor as a dog supervisor. The emperor read *Zixu Rhapsody* and thought it was perfect, so he said, 'I happened not to be in the same era as this man!' Yang Deyi said, 'My fellow countryman Sima Xiangru claimed that he wrote this Rhapsody.' The emperor was surprised, so he summoned him to ask Sima Xiangru. Xiangru said: 'Yes, I do. However, this is a matter of vassals, and it is not worth reading for your majesty; please permit me to write *Son of Heaven's Hunting Rhapsody*.'

The emperor agreed and ordered the minister to give a written note."⁵

Sima Xiangru finished *Son of Heaven's Hunting Rhapsody* after Emperor Wu ascended the throne in 141 BCE. The Rhapsody places Chu envoy Zixu (子虛) on a mission to the state of Qi, where the king of the state of Qi and Zixu went hunting together. When the hunting finished, Zixu visited Mr Wu Shi Gong (無是公) to boast of his hunting harvest. In this Rhapsody, the detail of the hunting activities was described very carefully, as well as the scene of a large group of dancers surrounding the Son of Heaven:

"The beautiful women and concubines of the State of Zheng were dressed in soft silk and long skirts made of linen and plain silk. The silk was colorful and the tulle was as light as dew; Some wrinkles on the skirt, with deep texture looked like a valley. The dance moved slowly and flexed forward; How wonderful the long clothes were. Lift the sleeves and cut them to fit you so well. The ribbons fluttered and sagged like swallows; A fitful dress made a beautiful body bear. The skirt belt was floating, and the sound was soft. There were orchids and cymbidium under it. The carriage's cover decorated with feathers, and bright jade feathers were taken for decoration, and the boarding cable with jade decoration was twined on it; It was drifting, liked an immortal in a trance."⁶

The content of *Shanglin Rhapsody* is a continuation of *Son of Heaven's Hunting Rhapsody*, in which the literary form also adopted a question-and-answer style. In addition to hunting, *Shanglin Rhapsody* had a variety of entertainment activities, which described the strange flowers, fruits, rare birds, and animals in the garden:

"So everyone played and relaxed. They put wine on the platform of Haotian (昊天臺) and displayed music in the empty houses; Hit the big bell weighing hundreds of tons; Erected a clock frame weighing thousands of tons; Raised the multicolored feather flag, and put up the alligator skin drum from the tree. Played Tao Tang's (陶唐氏) dance music and listened to Ge Tian's (葛天氏) songs. Thousands of people sing loudly, and ten thousand people are in harmony. The mountains shake, and the mountains and valleys raise waves. The dance of Ba and Yu, the sound of Song and Cai, the music of southern Huai and Yu Zhe (於遮), and the songs of Wen Cheng and Dian, who played in high pitch and sang in turn. The sound of golden drums rose and clanged repeatedly, which shook the heart and shocked both ears. The music of state Jing, Wu, Zheng and Wei, as well as elegant music such as *Shao* (韶), *Huo* (濩), *Wu* (武), and *Elephant* (象), which had a licentious and indulgent voice. The colorful dance from Yanying (鄢郢), the wind-like music of the song of *Ji Chu* (激楚), and the

singers of Pai You (俳優), dwarf (侏儒), and Di Di (狄鞮), who can enjoy themselves with their ears and eyes. They were happy with their hearts, because a licentious voice was in front of them and a beautiful beauty behind them.”⁷

Rhapsody on the Mighty Man followed *Shanglin Rhapsody*. It is narrated in the third person and depicts the scene of adults who aspire and seek their way to ascension and immortality.

Shanglin Rhapsody and *Rhapsody on the Mighty Man* are obviously influenced by *Son of Heaven's Hunting Rhapsody*. Both were written for Emperor Wu, focusing on the Son of Heaven's hunting. Their purpose was to persuade Emperor Wu of Han not to indulge in pleasure and extravagance but to care about people's lives.

Sima Xiangru was 15 years older than Emperor Wu (who reigned from 141-87 BCE) and Emperor Wu ascended the throne at 16 while Sima Xiangru was 31. It was after Emperor Wu of Han ascended the throne that Xiangru gained prominence. *Rhapsody on the Mighty Man* was completed late but adopted the previous narrative style. The original text of *Zixu Rhapsody* was missing since it was the earliest Great Rhapsody created by Sima Xiangru. Some scholars believed that *Son of Heaven's Hunting Rhapsody* was *Zixu Rhapsody*. Thus the content of *Zixu Rhapsody* should be similar to *Son of Heaven's Hunting Rhapsody*. Therefore, we can see that the symbol of the foundation of Han Great Rhapsody was *Seven Rhapsody* of Mei Cheng, and the complete establishment of its narrative way began with *Zixu Rhapsody*.

After Sima Xiangru, the representative rhetoric authors were Yang Xiong (53 BCE -18 CE) from the late Western Han Dynasty to the Xinmang period. The *Yulie Rhapsody* of Yang Xiong described in the third person what Yang Xiong saw when he went hunting with the emperor, while *Changyang Rhapsody* described the emperor hunting in a question-and-answer way. These Rhapsodies were in the same style as Sima Xiangru.

Fu Yi (傅毅, 42-90 CE) was in the Lantai Order (蘭台令) of Emperor Zhang of the Eastern Han Dynasty and wrote *Wu Rhapsody* (《舞賦》), which described King Xiang of Chu traveled in Yunmeng (雲夢), while Song Yu (宋玉) arranged young ladies of Zheng of Wei state to dance for King Xiang of Chu:

“At that time, the beautiful women of Zheng came out to offer their skills, and 16 peerless beauties slowly stood by. The dress was gorgeous, and the manner was flirtatious. The appearance was so beautiful that it made heart wander. The delicate color was shiny. The curving eyebrows were thin and long, and the eyes squinted to both sides like crosscurrent waves. The jewels and

jadeites she has sparkle with dazzling colors. The coat with flowers and the long hair on the shawl are also mixed with delicate silk. She was examining her figure and dressing. Along the direction of the breeze, the fragrance of Du Ruo was floating. The red and stiff lips and the slight eyebrows bent but not raised. These were all necessary ostentations before singing loudly.”

The dance scene and the content were similar to Sima Xiangru's *Son of Heaven's Hunting Rhapsody*.⁸ We can even think that Wu Rhapsody took most of the contents from *Son of Heaven's Hunting Rhapsody*.

Ban Gu's (32-92 CE) *Dongdu Rhapsody* praised Emperor Guangwu and Emperor Ming of Han by praising the garden of the Eastern Capital.⁹ *Xidu Rhapsody* described the prosperity of the Western Capital and the scene of the Son of Heaven hunting in the garden. The guests of the Western Capital introduced the city to the host of the Eastern Capital, described the richness of the Western Capital and the Son of Heaven hunting in the garden.¹⁰ Its content is probably consistent with the description of hunting in *Shanglin Rhapsody*.

The narratives of *Xijing Rhapsody*¹¹, *Dongjing Rhapsody*¹², and *Nandu Rhapsody*¹³ written by Zhang Heng (78-139 CE) are similar to *Xidu Rhapsody* and *Dongdu Rhapsody* of Ban Gu, while *Yulie Rhapsody*¹⁴ of Yangxiong is still a description of hunting activities.

Wang Yanshou, whose birth and death years are unknown, in his narrativity of *Ode to Lu Lingguang Dian Rhapsody*¹⁵ apparently copied Great Rhapsody by Sima Xiangru. The seven sons of Jian'an (建安七子) Kong Rong (孔融), Chen Lin (陳琳), Wang Can (王粲), Xu Gan (徐幹), Ruan Yu (阮瑀), Ying Yang (應揚), Liu Zhen (劉楨) in the late Eastern Han Dynasty were all rhetoric families. They used to live together with Cao Cao (曹操) in Yecheng (鄴城), the capital of Cao Wei. Xu Gan (171-218 CE) wrote *Qidu Rhapsody* (《齊都賦》)¹⁶, Wang Can (177-217 CE) wrote *Yulie Rhapsody* (《羽獵賦》)¹⁷, and Ying Yang (應揚, ?-217 CE) wrote *Xishou Rhapsody* (《西狩賦》)¹⁸, all of which described the noble hunting process and continued Zhang Heng and Yang Xiong's tradition in their narrative methods. In other words, the narrative way of the Great Rhapsody of the Han dynasty continued unchanged from the time of Mei Cheng to the seven sons of Jian'an.

According to the above materials, we can make clear the emergence of Great Rhapsody and its influence in the Han Dynasty. Han Great Rhapsody was created by Mei Cheng, which was established entirely by Sima Xiangru; *Zixu Rhapsody* was the foundation of the style during the period of Emperor Jing. Until the late Eastern Han Dynasty, Great Rhapsody remained the most popular literary genre in Han Rhapsody.

From the contents of Han Great Rhapsody, we can summarize the three stages of the Son of Heaven's hunting process. In the first stage the hunting troop following the emperor go forward to the hunting garden with great strength and vigor. Then there is the description of rivers and lakes, mountains and swamps, gardens and palaces, birds and animals, insects and fish, plants and flowers, rare birds and exotic animals. In the second stage, the Son of Heaven organized the team and started hunting. Some warriors used their bare hands or bows and arrows to kill beasts. The scene was magnificent and the hunting filled the valley. At last, when the hunting troop tired and caught enough prey, the Son of Heaven ordered them to take a break. The entertainment party played, and the hunters drank and ate meat.

After finishing the hunting, the Son of Heaven was still unsatisfied with his life and hoped to live forever. Thus, Sima Xiangru described in his *Rhapsody on the Mighty Man* the so-called "Big Man" who lived in Zhongzhou, who sent a cloud cart into the celestial realm and met with the celestial beings, the Queen Mother of the West and a three-foot-tall crow. All of these elements were inherited by the Great Rhapsody that followed Sima Xiangru.

The authors of the aforementioned Great Rhapsody include Mei Cheng, Sima Xiangru, Yang Xiong, Fu Yi, Ban Gu, Zhang Heng, Wang Yanshou, Xu Gan, Wang Can and Ying Yang, dated from Emperor Jing to the late Eastern Han Dynasty over 218 years. As a hanger-on of King Xiao of the Liang State, Sima Xiangru got attention for his writing ability. In the early Western Han Dynasty, King Xiao of the Liang State was fond of hunting and playing and built a large court garden. The King Xiao of the Liang State constructed the capital in Daliang (大梁), and built a huge garden named Liangyuan (梁園) which was located in the southeast suburb of today's Kaifeng. According to the *Annals of Yuanhe County Records* (*Yuan He Jun Xian Tu Zhi*, 《元和郡縣圖志》): "Emperor Wen of Han took Crown Prince Wu as the king of Liang, the capital in Daliang where the land low and wet, so he moved to the east in Suiyang (睢陽, today's Shangqiu)." ¹⁹ Some buildings' names in the pavilion in Liangyuan came from residents who were famous figures. One of the prominent figures of rhetoric named Mei Cheng also lived in Liangyuan and his pavilion was named "Meiguan (枚館)". ²⁰ The activities of the rhetoric authors listed above were mainly in Chang'an, Luoyang, Kaifeng, Yecheng, and other cities. It should be said that the most significant activities of these rhetoric authors were in these areas.

2. The Temporal and Spatial Distribution of Hunting Images in the Han Dynasty

Image carriers of the Han Dynasty include silk paintings, portrait bricks, portrait stones, tomb murals, ware decoration, lacquered screens, and painted coffins. From media that has been discovered, silk paintings, portrait bricks, lacquered screens and painted coffins appeared until the early Western Han Dynasty. The earliest appearance of portrait stones was painted stone coffin in the early Western Han Dynasty, and the tomb murals did not appear until the late Western Han Dynasty.

The earliest hunting images excavated in Xi'an was in the middle of the Western Han Dynasty. A Bamboo Joint Stove with a lid shaped like a multi-layered mountain was unearthed from unmarked graves in Maoling Cluster. This bamboo joint stove resembles the Boshan Stove unearthed from the Han Dynasty tomb in Mancheng of Hebei Province. The cast images of the lid related to hunting in the mountains (Figure 1). The earliest hunting murals in Shaanxi were found in the *Frescoed Tomb of Xi'an University of Technology* (西安理工大學壁畫墓) from the late Western Han Dynasty. On the east wall of the tomb, there are images of hunting on horseback, running deer, wild boar, running bulls, etc., and on the west wall of the tomb, there are music, dancing, cockfighting, etc. ²¹ (Figure 2).

The earliest images of hunting in Luoyang did not appear in mural tombs, but in hollow bricks. The hollow bricks unearthed in Luoyang in the middle and late Western Han Dynasty contain images of hunters shooting deer with bows, which belong to hunting ²² (Figure 3). Among the pottery lids and lamps unearthed in Luoyang, many of them also have images or clay sculptures related to hunting. For example, a pottery smoke stove unearthed in Xin'an County (新安縣) and the painted pottery lantern unearthed in Luoyang Han Tomb of the Eastern Han Dynasty are collected in Luoyang Museum. The green glaze lid of the pottery smoke stove is covered with hunting images made into bas-relief (Figure 4). There are hunting scenes of dogs, rabbits, wild boars, and other running wild animals glued to the base of the pottery lamp (Figure 5).

Hunting images in the hollow bricks of the Western Han Dynasty unearthed in Zhengzhou are abundant and more affluent in content. Among them, M5 of Nanguan North Second Street in Zhengzhou ²³ (Figure 6), Han Tomb of No.159 of Nanguan in Zhengzhou ²⁴ (Figure 7), and the hollow brick Tomb of Han Dynasty of Xintongqiao in Zhengzhou ²⁵ (Figure 8) all contain hunting images in plantations carefully created by craftsmen, dating from the middle and late Western Han



Figure 1. Bamboo smoked stove unearthed in Maoling Cluster Burial Pit. Photo taken by Shaanxi History Museum.



Figure 2. Hunting image of mural, Tomb of Xi'an University of Technology. From Frescoed Tomb of Xi'an University of Technology.

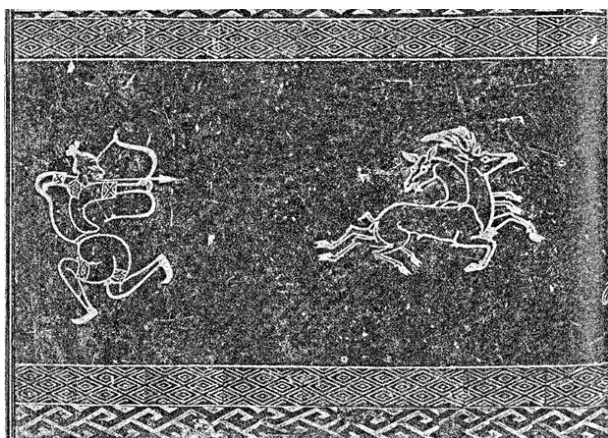


Figure 3. Hunting image on hollow bricks of the Western Han Dynasty in Luoyang. From Luoyang Western Han Dynasty Painting Image Hollow Brick.

Dynasty.

The bronze chariot excavated from Han Tomb No.2 in Loess Hill, Yongcheng (永城), Henan Province, contains hunting images in gold and silver, including mountains, wild boars, dragons, tigers, phoenixes, elephants, hounds, bears, running deer, hares, hunters, etc., with advanced techniques and complex shapes. This period was in the middle and late Western Han Dynasty²⁶ (Figure 9).

Xuzhou (徐州), to the east of Yongcheng, was also the place where hunting images of the Han Dynasty were concentrated, mainly in the Eastern Han Dynasty. For example, in Pei county, there was a double-eave door carved in the center of the foot block of the stone coffin of the tomb, with two dogs and rabbits on the top, and two people holding nets to catch them²⁷ (Figure 10). There are also many hunting images from the Han Dynasty in the southwest of Shandong Province, a cultural area similar to Xuzhou. Hunting images from these two areas appeared to be of a similar age.

Artifacts with hunting images have been found in the Mancheng Han tombs in Baoding and Sanpan Mountain (三盘山) in Ding County of Hebei Province. The Boshan Stove was unearthed in Liu Sheng's tomb from the Han Dynasty in Mancheng, which was cast in a fairy mountain style of towering mountains, and all kinds of birds and animals filled the valley. Liu Sheng was buried in 113 BCE, and his wife Dou Wan died in 104 BCE, during the reign of Emperor Wu in the Han Dynasty (Figure 11). Silver and gold plated hunting images on bronze chariot ornaments in the Western Han Dynasty were collected from Sanpan Mountain M122 in Hebei Province²⁸ (Figure 12) and Tokyo Art Institute in Japan (Figure 13). Sanpan Mountain M122 may be the tomb of King of Kang, grandson of Liu Sheng, King of Jing of Zhongshan. Therefore, these copper ornaments with hunting images became popular after Emperor Wu of the Han Dynasty.

According to the inscriptions on the unearthed artifacts, the Boshan Stoves excavated from the Han tombs in Mancheng are very close to the bamboo fuming stoves excavated from the nameless graves in Maoling Cluster burial pit, which were probably made by Chang'an craftsmen. They are the earliest fuming stoves with hunting images in the Western Han Dynasty. However, the artifacts, stone sculptures and bricks with hunting images found in Luoyang and Zhengzhou should be no earlier than these two copper stoves. In the Eastern Han Dynasty, the distribution range of hunting images expanded further, and a large number of hunting images are found on the inscriptions of Suide (绥德) in Shaanxi Province, northern Jiangsu Province, Nanyang



Figure 4. Pottery Smoke Stove of the Eastern Han Dynasty unearthed in Xin'an County. It was collected by Luoyang Museum.



Figure 5. Luoyang Painted Pottery Lamp. Collection of Luoyang Museum.

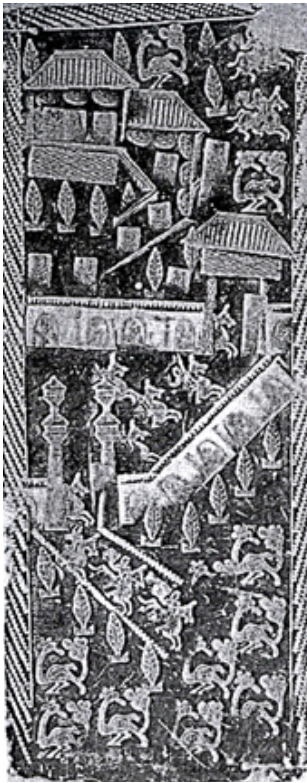


Figure 6. Yuanlin hunting image in M5, Nanguan North Second Street, Zhengzhou. From *Cultural Relics of the Central Plains*, Vol. 3, 1997.

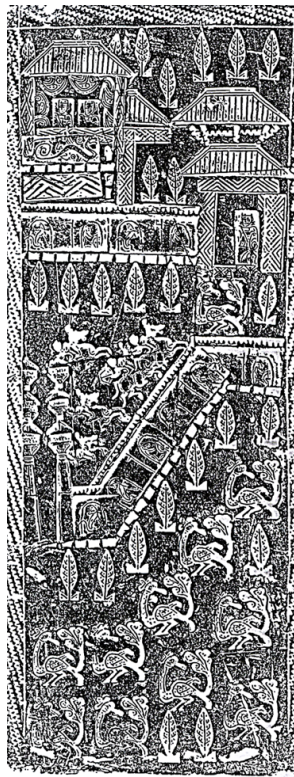


Figure 7. Hunting in Yuanlin, Han Tomb, No. 159, Nanguan, Zhengzhou. From *Cultural Relics*, Vol. 8-9, 1960.



Figure 8. Hunting image of Han Dynasty hollow brick Tomb in Xintongqiao, Zhengzhou. From *Cultural Relics*, Vol. 10, 1972.



Figure 9. The hunting image on M2 of Han dynasty in Loess Hill copper carriage. From *the Han Tombs of Loess Hill and Cuo City in Yongcheng* (《永城黄土山與鄆城漢墓》).

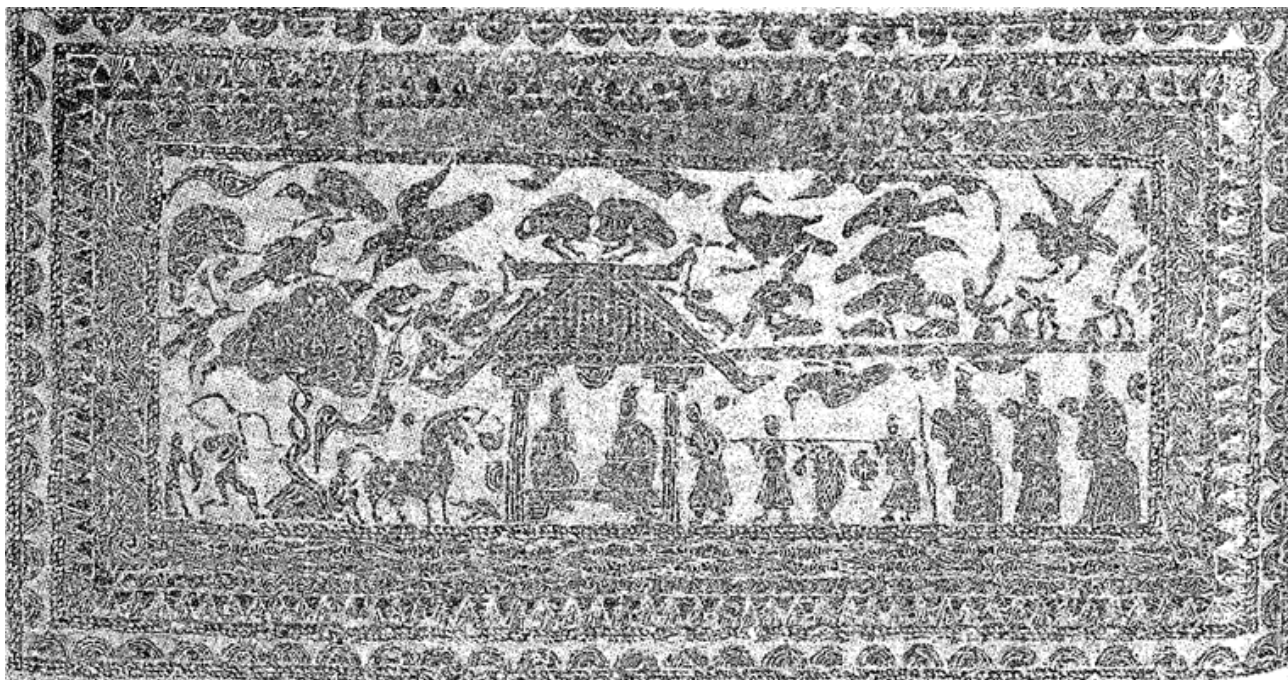


Figure 10. Image of hunting on the side of the stone coffin tomb in Xishan, Pei County. From the Han Dynasty Stone Sculpture in Xuzhou.



Figure 11. Boshan Stove of Han Tomb in Mancheng. From the Complete Collection of Chinese Bronzes 12.

and Shangqiu (商丘) in Henan Province, and southern and southwestern of Shandong Province.

Above the discussion, hunting images first appeared during the reign of Emperor Wu of Han Dynasty. Compared with Han Great Rhapsody in the reign of Emperor Jing of Han Dynasty, hunting images appeared later than Han Great Rhapsody. After Emperor Wu, hunting images were mainly distributed in Xi'an, Luoyang, Zhengzhou, Baoding, Hebei, and other districts. In the Eastern Han Dynasty, the scope of hunting images further expanded to northern Jiangsu, southwest of Shandong, north of Shaanxi, Nanyang of Henan, and other areas where Han Dynasty portrait stones were distributed. The Yishe image bricks of the Eastern Han Dynasty found in Sichuan mainly reflect the theme of farming culture, which is different from the hunting images of the Central Plains, so do not discuss it in this paper.

3. The Intertextuality Between Han Great Rhapsody and Hunting Images

This paper hopes to use the concept of “intertextuality” to summarize the relationship between Han Great Rhapsody and hunting images. “Intertext” is a concept in literature, refers to two sentences in an article or two parts of a sentence, each seemingly saying two things. In fact, they echo, elaborate, and complement each



Figure 12. Hunting images on bronze chariot ornaments in Sanpan Mountain, Ding County, Hebei Province. From *Cultural Relics Spring and Autumn Annals*, No. 3, 2000.



Figure 13. Hunting image of bronze decoration from Tokyo Art Institute in Japan. From *Art in Etiquette*.

view and position the critical practice of the relationships among humanities, social, and even natural sciences. Levi-Strauss and Roland Barth adopted the intertextuality construction method in their anthropological and mythological studies.²⁹ In this way, “intertextuality” had gradually extended from the concept of pure literary other,

referring to the same thing. In other words, it is a figure of speech in which context interleaves, penetrates and complements each other to express the meaning of a complete sentence. After abandoning historicism and evolutionism, Claude Levi-Strauss and other structuralist critics took the initiative to apply intertextuality theory to theory to anthropology, psychology, mythology, art, and other fields, and is usually used to indicate the intertextuality between two or more texts.

Han Great Rhapsody was a literary work of the imperial court, while hunting images were mostly secular art. Comparing the hunting, garden and forest, birds and beasts, song and dance and feasts recorded in Han Rhapsody with hunting images of the Han Dynasty, we found that many images and narrative scenes in hunting image materials could be partially similar to the documents in Han Rhapsody. However, we also needed to analyze those correlations through specific materials to know how to establish the correlation.

Emperor Wu was an important turning point in the Western Han Dynasty. The policy of rest and recuperation at the beginning of the Han Dynasty had been entirely abandoned by Emperor Wu, who was rejoiced in grandiose deeds. In the third year of Jianyuan (138 BCE), Emperor Wu of the Han Dynasty expanded an old garden site in the Qin Dynasty into Shanglin Garden,³⁰ which contained more than 2,000 kinds of famous fruits and different trees from different places. Moreover, Emperor Wu of the Han Dynasty built the Jianzhang Palace in Chang'an City, and the pond and forest in the palace were on a grand scale. *Shiji-Xiao Wu Benji* recorded: “So as Jianzhang palace, for thousands of households. The front hall is higher than Weiyang palace. Its east is Fengque (鳳闕), more than 60 meters high. Its west is Tangzhong with dozens of miles of a place where tigers were kept. There is a big pool in the north, and Jiantai (漸台) more than 60 meters high, called Taiye pool with Penglai, Fangzhang, Yingzhou, Huliang in the center, like the sea of heavy mountain and turtle fish. The south has a Jade Hall, Bi Gate (璧門) and Big Bird.”³¹ Emperor Wu of the Han Dynasty built Kunming Pool in Shanglin Yuan (上林苑), which was connected with the Taiye Pool system in the palace city.

The rich people of Chang'an also built gardens. “A rich man named Yuan Guanghan lived in Maoling, who had countless wealth and eight to nine hundred servants. He built a garden at the base of Mang mountain in the north. The garden is 2,000 meters wide from east to west and 2,500 meters long from north to south, and it blocks the flow of water and directs it into the garden. Park frame stone mountain, more than 30 meters high, stretching for several miles. In the garden, there are also

white parrots, purple mandarin ducks, yaks, green horses and other rare birds and animals gathered here and piled up with sand in the water to form small sandbars. The agitated current set up waves. Birds such as river gulls, sea cranes and other birds attracting to the garden, allowing them to have babies here, multiply and live throughout the garden. There are all kinds of strange flowers and plants. All the houses in the garden connected. The pavilions and corridors have piled up. It takes a long time to walk around them. Yuan Guanghan was later killed for his crimes, and the government took over the garden. All the animals, birds and plants in the garden were moved to the Shanglin Garden.”³²

Naturally, the interests of nobles and wealthy figures in Chang'an gradually changed from physical objects to visual arts. Let's start with the decoration on the Boshan Stove. The Boshan Stove of the Han Tomb in Mancheng is the best existing Boshan Stove that reflects the hunting scene in the garden. The production of the Boshan Stove is indeed recorded in the literature. In *Xijing miscellany* (《西京雜記》) says: “There was a craftsman in Chang'an named Ding Huan, who made a kind of lamp that was always full. There are seven dragons and five phoenixes carved on the face of the lamp. In addition, there are strange patterns of lotus and lotus root mixed with the lamp. The lamp was also made into a bedding incense burner, also called the incense burner in the quilt. Fang Feng originally invented this kind of incense burner, but later the method of making was lost, and it was not until Ding Huan's time that the technique was passed down again. ... He also made a nine-story Boshan incense burner, on which carved all kinds of strange birds and monsters, doing all kinds of strange and dexterous things, which could turn by themselves.”³³ In the Han Dynasty, many of the lids on glazed pottery pots were made in the form of Boshan Stoves, and there were more pottery Boshan Stoves. The shape and decoration of the Boshan Stove might be related to the fashion of that time. Coincidentally, Emperor Wu was keen on immortality, and on the lid of the Boshan Stove was the image of a mountain. This craft probably came from the palace craftsmen of Chang'an. For example, the Changxin Palace Lamp was made by the palace craftsmen of Chang'an.

The tastes of emperors were bound to influence vassals. It was recorded in the literature that King Xiao of the Liang State was fond of camp palace, King Gong of Lu (魯恭王) was fond of fighting birds, King of Guangling was fond of fighting beasts, and King of Guangchuan was fond of hunting. “King Xiao of the Liang State enjoyed building palaces and gardens for entertainment. He built obsidian palaces and rabbit

gardens. There is a Baling Mountain in the rabbit garden, and the mountain has Skin Inch Stone, Falling Ape Rock, Xi Long Xiu and other scenery. There is also a Yan Pond (鴈池) in the park, and in the middle of the pond, there are small islands where birds such as cranes and wild ducks live. The palace and pavilions in the garden stretch for dozens of miles. Rare fruits, trees, flowers, rare birds, and animals are concentrated here. King Xiao of the Liang State, his concubines and their guests often went fishing and shooting in the garden.”³⁴ Mei Cheng in *Rhapsody of Rabbit Garden of the King of Liang* also recorded: “The charming repair bamboo, clip-guard pool, and planted on the side of the road, around the tiger garden, extended to the boundless fields... After the hunting carnival, they came to the West Garden full of Zhi grass (芝草), guest and host accompanied, leisurely walk, relaxed. Then they wandered to enjoy the flowers, engaged in cockfights, pursued rabbits, or ate the roast of hunting. Provoke visitors to linger and forget to back, not knowing the twilight is coming.”³⁵ According to *Xijing miscellany*: “King Gong of Lu liked fighting cocks, ducks, geese and geese, and he kept a lot of peacocks and pond herons. It cost him 60,000-kilogram rice to raise these birds every year.”³⁶ *Book of Han · Biography of the Thirteen Kings of Jing* (《漢書·景十三王傳》) also recorded “King Gong of Lu liked the gardens, and he liked to build palaces and keep dogs and horses”³⁷. “Liu Xu, King of Guangling, was brave and strong. He often learned to fight bears in the garden. Later, he was able to fight the bear empty-handed and wring broken its neck every time. Finally, Liu Xu was injured in a fight with a wild animal and died from his head being smashed.”³⁸ “The King of Guangchuan named Quji, liked to gather rogue boys, and went on safari without restraint.”³⁹ Liang Yuan was located in Kaifeng. King Xiao of the Liang State used Xunyi (浚儀, today's Kaifeng) as his capital initially, but later moved it to Suiyang because of its low dampness. After relocating the capital, he retained his palace in Xunyi. To facilitate the transportation between the two places, King Xiao of the Liang State built a road between Xunyi and Suiyang, called “Liao Dike (蓼堤)”. “Liao Dike, six miles northeast of the county. It is six feet high and four long. The capital of King Xiao of the Liang State, Xunyi, because of its low dampness, was moved east to Suiyang, and he built its dike and reached 150 kilometers to Songzhou.”⁴⁰ It shows that hunting and playing were the common hobbies of the princes in the Han Dynasty.

Tomb murals in the Han Dynasty were more widely distributed, mainly prevalent from the late Western Han Dynasty to the Eastern Han Dynasty.

Images of chariots and riders occupy an important position in the murals of the tomb chamber. For example, in the mural tomb of the Eastern Han Dynasty in Xingyuan, Yanshi (偃師杏園東漢壁畫墓), Henan province, there are mural paintings on the south, west and north walls of the tomb that are 60 centimeters wide and 12 meters long depicting travelling, dining and cooking.⁴¹ The murals in Inner Mongolia Helingge'er Han Tomb are richer in content, including banquets, dance and music, travel, etc.⁴² Although it reflects the contents of Wuhuan's life, the narrative style of murals is also influenced by Han literature, especially Great Rhapsody.

In addition to the image materials unearthed in the tombs, the portraits of the theme of the garden forest in the above-ground buildings are not limited to Lingguang Hall. According to the literature, Emperor Ai (哀帝) built a mansion for his favorite minister Dong Xian (董賢) in the Western Han Dynasty. The decoration inside the mansion was similar to that of Lingguang Hall. "Emperor Ai of the Han Dynasty built a large mansion for Dong Xian in northern Que. There were five palaces in front and back, and six sets of doors facing each other. The pillars and walls of the temple painted with clouds and flowers. Mountain gods and water monsters, some wrapped in splendid embroidery, some decorated with gold, silver and jade. ... The pavilions and pavilions in the house, interconnecting and winding, rockery pools and other ornamental objects, all of which were magnificently carved."⁴³ The author once analyzed the intertextuality between the mural of Lingguang Hall described by Wang Yanshou and Sima Xiangru's *Son of Heaven's Hunting Rhapsody* and *Shanglin Rhapsody*. It also points out the similarity between the portrait of the hollow brick tomb of the Western Han Dynasty in Zhengzhou and those described in Han Rhapsody.⁴⁴

The tomb with portrait stones originated from the early Western Han Dynasty in the north of Jiangsu, in the south of Shandong with the rise of the portrait stones coffin tomb. Xin Lixiang (信立祥) believed that the earliest portrait stones tomb was the portrait stone coffin tomb of Qingyun Mountain in Linyi City (臨沂市).⁴⁵ He divided the nation's portrait stones tomb into five areas. The first distribution area covers the whole province of Shandong, central and northern Jiangsu Province, north of Anhui Province, eastern Henan Province, and southeastern Hebei Province, with southwest Shandong Province and Xuzhou City where northwest of Jiangsu Province as the center.⁴⁶ In ancient times, Xuzhou, known as Pengcheng (彭城) was the hometown of Liu Bang, Emperor Gaozu of Han. It was the capital of the states of Chu and Pengcheng during the Han Dynasty.

It was divided into six Jun (郡), including Pengcheng, Xiapi (下邳), Donghai (東海), Langya (琅琊), Dongguan (東莞) and Guangling (廣陵), and affiliated over 50 counties. Its scope included today's Jiangsu Province, the southern border of Shandong Province, and the Su county (宿縣) and Si county (泗縣) of Anhui Province.

Xuzhou borders Yuzhou (豫州), and the State of Liang belongs to Yuzhou. *Book of Han • Geography* (《漢書·地理志》) contains: "Liang, the ancient Qin Dang Jun (秦碭郡), was set to the state of Liang in 5th year of emperor Gaozu."⁴⁷ Its center was in the modern Dingtao (定陶), including Shangqiu, Juye (巨野) and Dongping (東平). This area belongs to the plain and hilly area, hilly to stone mountain, suitable for the stone processing industry. Tombs with portrait stones in this area flourished from the middle of the Western Han Dynasty to the late Eastern Han Dynasty. According to the above analysis of hunting images on the stone inscriptions in Xuzhou, hunting images appeared after the Eastern Han Dynasty. This is in line with hunting image as an art form from Chang'an and the spread of the characteristics.

In this sense, there is no doubt that the text descriptions of hunting in Han Great Rhapsody appeared in the visual materials, and we can relate to them from a macro level. The relation between words and images is not to prove history with pictures, or to interpret pictures with history. Because images have a tradition of their own, they don't convert text content directly into images. In the Wu Liang Shrine image analysis by Wu Hung, he believed that Wu Liang himself participated in the design of the ancestral shrine portrait. Wu Liang arranged the layout of the portrait according to the style of *Records of the Grand Historian*. "The image of an ancient emperor at the beginning of the portrait echoes the first part of *Record of the Grand Historian, Benji* (《本紀》). The images followed by a series of the righteous women and the wise assassins embody the principles followed in Sima Qian's *Biography* (《列傳》), which categorizes historical figures in terms of morality and behavior. *The Family* (《世家》) in *Records of the Grand Historian* can also be found in the images of the Eastern Zhou vassals in the portrait of Wu Liang Shrine: like '28 Xiu circle the Beichen (二十八宿環北辰)', these images surround the protagonists in the central pavilion symbolizing imperial power."⁴⁸ That is to say, the portrait of the emperor corresponds to the *Benji* in *Records of the Historian*, the loyal minister corresponds to *The Family* in *Records of the Historian*, and the portrait of Wu Liang himself is located at the bottom of the picture, corresponding to the "Tai Shi Gong Yue (太史公曰)" in *Records of the*

Historian. This interpretation is hard to prove simply by comparing text and image. Only by deeply understanding the internal narrative mode of the image can we find the correlation between this narrative form and the text system.

Similarly, by comparing the narrative mode of Han Great Rhapsody with hunting images of Han Dynasty, we can better see the corresponding relationship between the prevailing time and influence area of Han Great Rhapsody and hunting images of Han Dynasty. In the early Western Han Dynasty, Mei Cheng created the genre of Great Rhapsody and formally Sima Xiangru established, while hunting images of Han Dynasty appeared in the reign of Emperor Wu. Why were they out of sync? There are two reasons. First, Emperor Jing disliked Great Rhapsody. Both Mei Cheng and Sima Xiangru were created for King Xiao of the Liang State, so they were not put in key positions by Emperor Jing. Second, Emperor Jing advocated frugality. He did not require luxuries in life, nor did he need exquisite funerary goods after his death. Emperor Jing did not like Great Rhapsody, and he did not like the content either. Therefore, there were no luxurious artifacts such as the Bamboo Joint Stove in the graves of Emperor Wu and the Boshan Stove in the tombs of Mancheng, nor were there complex hunting images on the bronze chariot decorations.

The rhetoric authors of the Western Han Dynasty, Mei Cheng, Sima Xiangru and Yang Xiong, mainly lived in Chang'an and Kaifeng, which were also the most popular areas of hunting images in the Western Han Dynasty. Fu Yi, Ban Gu, Zhang Heng, Xu Gan, Wang Can, Ying Yang and other rhetoric authors in the Eastern Han Dynasty had a more extensive range of activities, and the distribution of hunting images extended to Nanyang of Henan Province, northern Jiangsu Province, southwest Shandong Province, and northern Shaanxi Province. By comparison we found that from the middle of the Western Han Dynasty to the late Eastern Han Dynasty, the influence range of Han Great Rhapsody and hunting images shared a common feature from linear distribution to radial distribution. Moreover, the narrative procedures of Han Great Rhapsody and hunting images are consistent. We can see the same content of hunting, dancing, and ascending to the immortal

plane, further indicating that they reflected the common social phenomenon after the middle of the Western Han Dynasty—the development and evolution of the Han Dynasty concept of life and death caused by Emperor Wu's pursuit of ascension of the immortal plane.

4. Conclusion

As literature, Han Rhapsody is an integral part of art as well as images, so there is an intersection of Han Rhapsody and images. However, the contents of Han Rhapsody and its images are not historical facts, so there are flaws to using pictures to prove history or using history to interpret pictures. It is not easy for us to compare the contents in the Han Dynasty images with the characters in Han Rhapsody, but we can establish the correlation between them by looking at their narrative ways. Han Great Rhapsody was produced during the reign of Emperor Jing, and the lack of images related to hunting and forestry before the reign of Emperor Wu, show that the emergence of hunting images in the Han Dynasty were closely related to the changes in the political situation. Although hunting art appeared in literature during the reign of Emperor Jing of the Han Dynasty, it did not develop into the fields of art, such as images, because of the immature political atmosphere. After the death of Emperor Jing, due to Emperor Wu's preference, Great Rhapsody as a style of writing significantly developed, and Sima Xiangru's Great Rhapsody became a standard style for other rhetoric authors to follow. We carefully researched hunting images of the Han Dynasty according to their content and form, and found that Great Rhapsody deeply influenced it. Therefore, there is an intertextuality between the hunting image themes and Han Great Rhapsody of the Han Dynasty.

Fine Art School of Henan University

DONG RUI (1975-), Ph.D., Associate professor and Master Supervisor of fine art school in Henan University. Research focus on the ancient Chinese art history and the theory of Arts.

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漢大賦與漢代狩獵圖像的互文性

董睿

摘要：漢大賦作為漢代最具代表性的文學作品，以虛構帝王苑林狩獵等為主要內容，為西漢景帝時期枚乘創立。漢代狩獵圖像出現於漢武帝時期，其產生與政治形式的變化密切相關，其盛行的原因在於漢武帝對大賦的推崇。漢武帝不僅使大賦得到長足的發展，而且深入影響到視覺藝術領域。漢代狩獵圖像的分佈區域與漢賦的盛行區域出現了重疊，這就是漢代狩獵圖像與漢大賦之間的互文性，二者實際上都是漢武帝好大喜功與追求升仙影響下的不同表現形式。

關鍵詞：漢賦；枚乘；互文性；司馬相如；漢武帝；狩獵