THE GUYUAN SARCOPHAGUS: MOTIFS AND EXPLICATION

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SUSIE AND JAMIE

who never complained, who went through university without their mother, and, in Susie's case, who helped most substantially in the production of this work.
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Luo Feng, excavator and administrator of the Tomb of the Lacquer Sarcophagus, in 1998 provided me with a guide all day in the Guyuan Museum. In 2004, as Director of the Ningxia Archaeological Institute in Yinchuan, he arranged a car, driver and translator, Hai Yen (whose husband is from Oakville, Ontario) to take me to Guyuan for several days, visiting Xumishan on the way, to examine the coffin, a spectacular gift. The Museum (which was under renovation) was not normally open on weekends, but the Director, Chen Kun, a curator and two attendants stayed all day Saturday while I examined the coffin for 5 hours. On another occasion, I was allowed to accompany Ningxia museum staff to Zhongwei. In Yinchuan, Luo Feng and Ji Tong, Vice Director of the Ningxia Provincial Museum, allowed me to hang around and ask many questions. Luo Feng also wrote letters of introduction for me to Cao Chenming, Vice Director of the Datong City Museum (who allowed me many privileges) and to Liu Junxi, Director of
the Archaeological Institute in Datong, who were both extremely generous with their time.

You Baoming, with Xiao Hong and You Ren, Susie and I met in 1998. From then on they have been fast friends, including me (and Susie in 1998) in many family occasions (also with his distinguished parents). On the staff of the Gansu Provincial Museum, he arranged lengthy interviews with Director Han Bowen, with the Head of Archaeology and others. Some of their most precious objects were brought down for me to examine. Classmates of You Baoming’s at Lanzhou University are now the Vice-Directors of most of Gansu’s museums. Baoming took me to Maijishan and then on to Lixian County to see Wang Gang, Director of the Lixian County Museum and to the Qin Gong tombs. I also met Wei, Vice-Director of Maijishan and archaeologist Wu. Baoming arranged for me to go and be guided in Cave 169 in Binglingsi. In Wuwei, a classmate, Zhong Yaping took me to Tiantishan, and another classmate, Vice Director Liu Maode, took me around Wen Miao, the Wuwei City Museum.

I was introduced to Luo Xin, History Professor at Peking University, and Crystal, by Zhang Guanda in 1998. Since then we have gone on many trips together in China and America. In 1998, Luo Xin allowed me to live for 2 weeks in the Guest House at Peking University. During that time he arranged for me to meet many distinguished professors including Qi Dongfang, Li Xiaocong and Ma Shicheng, also to give a lecture! He took me to Chaoyang which was significant for me because it was in the Museum that I saw a copy of the painting of the Former Yan occupant who has the red stacked U’s above his canopy (see my flaming triangles chapter). We also went to Beipiao. We continue to go on trips, hopefully in 2010, when I shall visit the three of them in Indiana.

Without the help of the foregoing people, this study would have been of a much lesser quality, and I would not have a warm feeling towards China.

Most of all, credit goes to my two children. Jamie was helpful in another way. Susie, alone in her final year of High School, by herself managed the big house, and the tenants she arranged. Both children got into university on their own and excelled. Last summer, between children, Susie volunteered to scan my images into my hard drive. She scanned more than 800 images, without which help I could not have met the deadline for this dissertation.
ABSTRACT

THE GUYUAN SARCOPHAGUS: MOTIFS AND EXPLICATION

ROSALIND E. BRADFORD
NANCY SHATZMAN STEINHARDT

The fragments of painted lacquer which had covered a coffin and also bronze pushou were discovered in a tomb in Leizumiao Village, Guyuan (originally Gaoping, later Yuaanzhou), Ningxia, in 1981. Due to the close resemblance to the lacquer remains in a number of recently excavated fifth century Northern Wei tombs in Datong (Pingcheng), Shanxi, and the undeveloped nature of Gaoping before the sixth century, it is proposed that the “Guyuan Sarcophagus” was made in Pingcheng and transported to be used in Gaoping.

The sarcophagus is covered with an intricate array of motifs. Compared to the remains of the Zhou Dynasty (ca. 1045-221 BCE), a great, and sudden, change can be seen in the artifacts of the Han Dynasty (202 BCE-220 CE). Han sources and some earlier ones explain much of the decoration on the Guyuan Sarcophagus. If no sign of the development of a motif had previously appeared, it is presumed that it may have entered China via the Silk Route which was coming into use in the Han and continued to grow thenceforth.

Thus, a number of the motifs on the Guyuan Sarcophagus are traced to various regions of Eurasia. Included in these are vine scrolls from the Mediterranean, merlons from Iran, flaming shoulders and pearl roundels from Gandhāra, human-headed birds
from Egypt, and the Sogdian ceremony of Nowruz.

Other motifs were very much in the Chinese tradition including filial piety scenes, Xiwangmu and Dongwangfu, and the Heavenly River. These were combined on the same coffin with undeniably Buddhist figures and elements of the Sogdian Nowruz. All the above leads to speculation about the beliefs of the occupant and the possibility that the artist adhered more to traditional Han beliefs than did he. The occupant's ultimate posthumous fate remains unknown.
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738. The *ba* flying down the shaft of the tomb with food and drink for the mummy, Papyrus of Neb-qed. After Zabkar, 1968, pl. 5.

739. Two soul-birds, *ba*, on left in tomb as deceased enters from right. Papyrus of Dirpu, Chantress of Amon, Deir-el-Bahari. After Piankoff, 1957, pl. 40.3.

740. Two soul-birds, *ba*, on left as deceased on right presents a lamp to Osiris. Papyrus of Dirpu, Chantress of Amon, Deir-el-Bahari. After Piankoff, 1957, pl. 40.3.

741. Human-headed bird, lower left. Sumerian cylinder seal, Early Dynastic III. After Waterbury, 1952, pl. 2, B.


744. Bottom: Hellenistic human-headed birds, 5-1 BCE. Photographed in Pergamon
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804. Fragment of mural, Tomb No. 1 of Feng Sufu. Northern Yan, ca. 415 CE. After Li


CHAPTER ONE
INTRODUCTION

The Tomb of the Lacquer Sarcophagus (figs. 1-8) was discovered in Leizumiao Village, east of the small city of Guyuan in southern Ningxia. Guyuan lies toward the northern boundary of the lush agricultural region (two rows of vegetables between each row of orchard trees) of southern Gansu. The inhabitants like to consider it the “potato capital of China”.

Guyuan has a long history. Never far from the Xiongnu tribes who dwelt in the semi-arid Ordos Desert, the Guyuan area’s importance was emphasized for military reasons. Although the town had yet to develop, in the Qin period, a general was dispatched there to build a wall which can still be seen just to the north of the city. Perhaps it was not totally effective, because the Xiongnu moved from north to south early in the Western Han and the area of Guyuan was in their path. In 114 BCE, Han Wudi established Anding Prefecture. A town was built and it was called Gaoping. During the Eastern Han, a Qiang rebellion caused trouble which seemed to be resolved by 129 CE. Nevertheless, the southern Xiongnu occupied Gaoping in the Three Kingdoms period (220-ca.285 CE). Pieces of Han lacquer have been found at Guyuan, and indeed at

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1 All after Ningxia Guyuan Bowuguan, 1988a; no plate numbers are given. Other pictures, of the actual lacquer, can be found in Ningxia Huizu Zizhiqu Guyuan Bowuguan and Zhong Ri Yuanzhou Lianhe Kaogudui, 1999, figs. 16-18 and Ningxia Guyuan Bowuguan, eds., 2004, nos. pp. 160-166.
2 No other coffins have been found in the eastern area. “Luo Feng says that the tomb was isolated and there were no other tombs nearby”. Email from Luo Xin, March 3, 2009. The celebrated Northern Zhou tombs of Yu Wemmeng and Li Xian are in the southern and western suburbs respectively and the Sui-Tang tombs are in the southwestern suburb of Guyuan.
3 There are a number of Xiongnu artifacts in the Guyuan museum. (Ningxia Guyuan Bowuguan, eds., 2004).
4 The outline of Guyuan history is from Luo Feng 2004, pp. 27-29, and from Ningxia Guyuan Bowuguan, 1988b, Guyuan Lishi Wemwu.
5 Luo Feng: personal communication.
Daodunzi, a Xiongnu site to the north in Tongxin County. Guyuan’s importance developed not only because of its critical location for defense, but also because it was on one of the routes leading from Chang’an to the Hexi Corridor, the Chinese exit on the Silk Road.

In February of 402 CE, the Northern Wei captured Guiqianchang Mountain and Zun Dengling’s army of five times ten thousand. It then attacked Xiongnu Moyigan at Gaoping. Moyigan and Qixuan, with the one thousand men brought by Helian Bobo, hastened to Qingzhou. The Wei army chased them to Wating and captured their baggage. They are said to have had in storage about forty thousand horses, over three thousand head of camels and yaks, and over ninety thousand sheep. The Wei moved its people to Pingcheng.

In 406, somehow, Helian Bobo seems to have recovered enough to bring his army to Gaoping River where he slaughtered Moyigan [his father-in-law] and his many tens of thousands of men. The next year, in June, Helian Bobo made himself the heavenly king of Greater Xia at Gaoping. In October, he annexed Xue Gendeng’s party of many ten thousands of men. Various generals took Gaoping Mountain and River and the narrow pass where the soil is fertile, suggesting establishing a capital. Bobo didn’t have followers.

In 427, Helian Bobo’s sons, Helian Gui and Helian Lun, argued over the throne. Gui brought seventy thousand soldiers from Chang’an and warred with Lun at Gaoping.

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7 The following colorful account is from Guyuanxian Zhi Bianzhuan Weiyuanhui 1993, p. 16. A more detailed account of Helian Bobo’s exploits is in Rhie, 2002, pp. 377-382. There are also two early gazetteers: Xin Gu yuan Zhouzhi which is from the Qing period and Jiaping G u yuan Zhouzhi which is from the Ming. My thanks to Paul Goldin for finding them for me.
8 Helian Bobo was an insignificant person until he married the chief’s daughter and, by killing her father, became chief. You Baoming, Gansu Provincial Museum: personal communication.
Lun was defeated and killed. Lun's elder brother, Helian Changling, came with ten thousand soldiers and attacked. Gui was defeated and killed. His men, over eighty thousand, simultaneously suffered greatly. Ten thousand fled to north of Heng Mountain in Shanxi.

In the midst of these activities, Daxia sacked Chang’an in 418 CE, causing the Buddhist community to disperse. The Xia Dynasty lasted until 431 CE with Tongwan, just north of Gaoping, its capital. Although the Tuoba Wei annexed Chang’an in 426 CE, it did not recover until the second half of the fifth century.

In 436 CE, Northern Wei established the Gaoping Garrison Post. In 446 CE, Northern Wei Taiwu Di decreed Bofulû a garrison post (today southwest of Lingwu), with Diaoyong, Gaoping and Anding (today’s Jingchuan in Gansu), by dispatching five thousand carts carrying troops and fifty thousand hu of provisions to Woye Garrison Post (present day northeast of Wuyuan in Inner Mongolia). Diaoyong proposed at Qiantun Mountain near Hechu to make two hundred boats, to begin to open up water transport. Taiwu Di sent down an edict, saying, “Not only one transport, since it is possible that a pattern would be formed forever.”

Northern Wei rule lasted till 534, when, with the advent of the Western Wei, Guyuan became Yuanzhou, within Gaoping Prefecture. In the Ming period were built two concentric walls with ten major gate towers. By the Qing period, there were also a

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9 Dorothy C. Wong, 2004, p. 106.
bell tower and a temple (fig. 9). These all lasted until 1972, when they were lost during the Cultural Revolution.

It is surprising that one of the few remains that exists of the Da Xia is Bei Ta (fig. 10), an eleven-story (fifty-four meters) brick pagoda in a cross-shaped plan, just north of Yinchuan. It was first built before 424 by Helian Bobo (perhaps to atone for his sin?).

The Tomb of the Lacquer Sarcophagus (called the Guyuan Sarcophagus or Guyuan Coffin throughout this study), was discovered in 1973 during a railway survey and it was excavated in 1981. Unfortunately, a stream of water from a power hose had inadvertently destroyed the coffin, whose wood had long since rotted, leaving piles of painted lacquer fragments on the floor. From fragments, most of the lid, the upper parts of both long sides, one strip from the head and some of the foot have been pieced together. “The head of the coffin, which is both higher and wider than the foot, is in the shape of an inverted V (sic.) measuring approximately eighty-seven centimetres at the widest point. The two sides of the slanting cover meet at an angle of about 140 degrees.”

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11 Ningxia Guyuan Bowuguan, 2004, pp. 269-272; Neville-Hadley 1997, p. 416. The large and excellent Guyuan Bowuguan, however, does exist and has just been refurbished.
12 Photograph by the author.
The exterior of the coffin had received pasted fabric as a base, over which a thin coat of red lacquer was applied, on which was painted the decoration in shades of black, white, yellow, blue, orange and brown. The painting has no lacquer on the surface. The tomb contained a second, undecorated coffin coated with red lacquer, presumably belonging to the male occupant’s wife. No epitaph tablet to identify the occupants was found.

Also, a few domestic articles, mostly vessels to warm wine, and several pushou sets, were found in the Northern Wei square, single-chambered brick domed tomb. This tomb had a long passageway (with no air shafts or tianjing) and a corridor (yongdao). Unusually it was entered from the west. The walls of the tomb were straight, without the rounded corners usual in the Central Plain. Such sharp, right angled corners have been found in some, but not all tombs in the area. A most important inclusion in the tomb was a Sasanian coin, identified by Xia Nai as a Peroz B coin from the period after 480 when Persia was forced to compensate the Yada Hephthalite people who had defeated them (fig. 11).

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15 The paints have not been analyzed.
There is the opinion that, since mere paint was applied over the thin coat of lacquer with no further lacquer application, the coffin must have been made in a provincial town like Guyuan because that method is a folk method. In 1997, a painted (perhaps over compostion) plank Northern Wei coffin was discovered at Zhijiaobao, a Datong suburb. One plank is on display in the Datong City Museum. (Liu Junxi and Gao Feng, 2004. See my Hunted chapter).

16 The slightly bowed, square chamber with four-sided cloister vault tomb form, typical of central Northern Wei tombs, probably came from Jiuquan and moved to the capital with the enforced migration of the Northern Liang population in the 430s. Bradford, unpublished ms. delivered at the 2nd International Convention of Asia Scholars, Frei Universitat, Berlin, 2001.


18 Luo Feng, 2004, pp. 65-66. This provides a terminus post quem. Sun Ji in the National Museum dates the coffin stylistically to 486 CE. An earlier dating of the coin to Yazdegerd II, 438-457 CE is less likely because of the final stage of the flaming triangles motif, which would be late 5th c (see my Flaming Triangles chapter). Michael Alram states that it was struck after 476-477 after Peroz freed himself from Hephthalite captivity. He chronicles Peroz’s defeats and crowns and indemnities. (Juliano and Lerner, 2001, No. 93).
I shall argue here that the coffin was made in Pingcheng, (Datong), the Northern Wei capital, and then transported whole or in plank form to Gaoping (Guyuan). Transport would have occurred along a water level route from Datong to Guyuan, the only obstruction being the Yellow River, which was crossed by the Northern Wei army many times. There are many lacquer objects in Datong, including Sima Jinlong’s famous lacquer screen, and we shall see why I think the Guyuan Sarcophagus was made along with them. Datong is near the northern limit of the lacquer tree (a sumac), but lacquer can also be transported.

My conviction that the coffin was painted in Pingcheng begins with recognition of the closeness of the inhabited vine scroll on it to that on one of Sima Jinlong’s (474 and 484 CE) lacquer strips excavated from his tomb just outside Datong (see Chapter 2). Other motifs are also centered in Datong. Motifs of pearl roundels intersected by hexagons on the coffin can be found not only at the nearby caves of Yungang, mostly built before 494 CE, but on the Dunhuang Embroidery, dated 487, believed to have been made at Pingcheng. This measured style consisting of strips of different linear motifs, mainly vine scrolls, is typical of both Yungang and the coffin. *Rendong*, honeysuckle or half-palmettes, are everywhere. This stacking of motifs is the hallmark of the “Pingcheng Style”, which reached its apogee in the late fifth century before the court

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19 Shanxisheng Datongshi Bowuguan and Shanxisheng Wenwu Gongzuoweiyuanhui, 1972; Lim, 1989. The tomb also included a lacquer food box not reported by Lim. (Müller, nd., p. 1). Some of the painted walls of the Shaling Tomb, 435 CE are painted with lacquer. (Datongshi Kaogu Yanjiusuo, 2006 and Zhao Ruimin and Liu Junxi, 2006, p. 24). This tomb also included many colored lacquer remains. The Qilicun Tombs also included lacquerware (Datongshi Kaogu Yanjiusuo, 2006).

20 *Qishu*, *Rhus verniciflua*.

21 Oddly, it was not chosen for the imperial tombs of Dowager Empress Feng Wenming (d. 490 CE, Pingcheng), at her behest, or of Emperor Wuan Wu (d. 515 CE, Luoyang), which are very plain, even though there is some evidence of Empress Feng’s involvement in Yungang.

22 Perhaps derived from nomad strapping inside their tents.
moved to Luoyang in 494 CE. In the succeeding Longmen Caves, the imperial caves of Luoyang, begun after 494 CE, straight-lined geometric figures are still outlined with pearls, but no longer circles. The walls at Longmen lack the central organization that is so clear at Yungang, and vine scrolls can hardly be seen.

Recently, a number of Northern Wei tombs have been excavated at Datong. The objects in one, the Hudong Tomb, bear a very close resemblance to those of the Tomb of the Guyuan Sarcophagus. In particular, the Hudong wood coffin and its coffin platform bear not only pearl roundels, but pearl roundels edged by tiny running curls like those on the Guyuan coffin (figs. 12 and 13). These pearl roundels contain plump apsarasas on both sarcophagi. Both tombs contained bronze plaques and pushou as do many of the other Datong tombs. (See Chapter 7). The same tiny running curls also border the half hearts that fill in the spaces at the sides of the hourglass inhabited vine scroll on one of Sima Jinlong’s lacquer strips (fig. 18, strip c). They have not been found at any other site.

The Guyuan Sarcophagus, the Hudong coffin and coffin bed and Sima Jinlong’s screen are not the only major lacquer objects from Datong. A great deal of lacquer was found in the Shaling tomb, one large piece of which records the date of 435 CE (see fn. 19 above). It seems that Pingcheng favored lacquer and had an active workshop providing these pieces.

The situation in fifth century Guyuan was still undeveloped. Of the three other Northern Wei tombs reported, the two in the Peng Yang area contain the usual Sixteen
States assemblage of figurines but no zhenmushou (guardians). One tomb is notable for its solid “hangtu” (sic.) (tamped earth) house whose features, tile-style roof, windows and half open door, have been carved out of the hangtu (fig. 14). It is about five feet long. The remaining Northern Wei tomb contained gold earrings, but was not significant enough to have warranted a published site report.

At Xumishan, the Buddhist cave site twenty miles or so north of Guyuan, there are only about twenty Northern Wei Caves in contrast to about one hundred and fifty Northern Zhou caves. Unfortunately, the Northern Wei caves are so badly eroded that only the rough outlines of the main figures of the few central pillars, such as those of Caves 14 and 24, can be discerned. Most of the Northern Wei caves are mere niches, though Cave 33 is interesting in that it is the only vihara-style chapel cave in China. It has eight massive square pillars, although, again, only the rough outlines of the pillars are visible. There is no extant evidence of vine scrolls in the area.

By the Northern Zhou period (557-581 CE), however, because of Yuanzhou (Guyuan)’s proximity to the Northern Zhou capital, Chang’an, the situation at Xumishan had changed: many of the one hundred fifty Northern Zhou caves are imposing, with

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27 Luo Feng 2004, pp. 33-34.
29 Illustrated in Juliano and Lerner, 2002, No. 20a,b along with another pair of earrings, No. 21a,b from a tomb not mentioned in Luo Feng 2004.
32 Chinese caves in “vihara style” are modeled on Indian monasteries. Essentially they consist of central courts surrounded by small cubicles to accommodate monks, all within the same cave. In China, the form does not necessarily strictly conform to the Indian pattern. In the case of Xumishan Cave 33, the central court is surrounded by large square pillars behind which runs a corridor. From pictures, it is difficult to tell if there are niches given off the corridor. For a further definition, see Xiao Mo, 1999.
33 Ningxia Huizu Zizhiqiu Wenwu Guanli Weiyuan Hui and Zhongyang Meishu Xueyuan Meishu Shixi, 1988, p. 34, figs. 40-42. This publication records Cave 33 as Northern Dynasties.
Cave 45, the largest Northern Zhou cave in China, absolutely spectacular. It is a central pillar cave with several enormous seated Buddhas with square faces lining the back wall.

Near Yuanzhou itself, there were the two Northern Zhou tombs of Yu Wenmeng and Li Xian, the latter containing the important West Asian ewer with Classical Mediterranean style figures. It was also in the Northern Zhou period that walls in the tombs of Yuanzhou began to be painted. It is my theory that the occupant of the Guyuan Sarcophagus, almost certainly an immigrant from Pingcheng, who knew that the walls of his tomb would not be painted in Northern Wei Gaoping, had the major components of tomb murals painted on his coffin, which he imported to Gaoping.

Previously, by the early sixth century, in southern Gansu, south over the Kongtong Mountain which separated it from Guyuan, the situation had already changed. The South Caves, 510 CE, at Jingchuan on the Jing River and the North Caves, 509 CE, near the Pu River, were excavated. They were in a new monumental style of very large figures that did not reach Guyuan until the Northern Zhou period. Also at Jingchuan, the Wangmugong Cave of the late fifth to early sixth century was excavated. It appears to be closer to the Northern Wei idiom with intricate figures carved around large seated Buddhist figures in niches on a central pillar, nevertheless only one set of vine scrolls was

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35 Ibid., figs. 40-78.
South Gansu also received important Buddhist instillations in the Northern Zhou period in the form of huge cliff face relief carvings such as Lashaosi on the Xiang River (Roger Covey, 2001) and Shuilian Dong on the upper reaches of the Wei River.
observed, on a pillar at the side (fig. 15).\textsuperscript{39} Unless they had all been eradicated, it seems that vine scrolls had barely reached southern Gansu, or Ningxia.

Thus, Northern Wei culture in the fifth century barely reached southern Gansu. When it did, it was at the beginning of the sixth century, and it began in the very southeast of Gansu, and progressed north across the Kongtong Mountain to Guyuan.

Like the decorations in many Northern Wei tombs, images on the Guyuan Sarcophagus represented several different faiths. It is clear that these are all supposed to work together to ensure the occupant’s happy existence in the afterlife. Between bordering vine scrolls, the lid is supposed to represent the heavens. At the top of the lid sit King Father of the East, Dongwangfu, identified by a cartouche, and Queen Mother of the West, Xiwangmu,\textsuperscript{40} whose image is somewhat incomplete. They sit in Chinese houses under a sun containing a three-legged raven and a damaged moon, respectively. They will be dealt with in Chapter No. 6: “Occupant and Deities: Sitting, Squatting, Dancing”.

Between them, and winding the length of the lid is the Heavenly River, \textit{Tianhe} which is discussed in Chapter No. 3: “\textit{Tianhe}”. The rest of the lid depicts composite birds and animals within the spaces of hourglass vine scrolls. These creatures will be described in two chapters: Chapter No. 8: “Fauna No. 1: Animals and Birds” and Chapter No. 9: “Fauna No. 2: Human-headed Birds”.

\textsuperscript{39} Gansusheng Wenwu Gongzuidui and Qingyang Bei Shiku Wenwu Baoguansuo, 1988, pl. 109.
\textsuperscript{40} Paul Goldin argues that a more accurate translation of Xiwangmu is “Spirit Mother of the West” because she was a powerful spirit, not a queen mother or a deceased grandmother. (2005, pp. 11-13). Correct though his argument may be, “Queen Mother of the West” will continue to be used here because it is in general use and will be readily understood.
All that remains of the head end of the coffin is one vine scroll. The narrower, smaller end portrays the occupant in a Chinese house, in Xianbei garb, delicately balancing a small round cup. He has four attendants amid floating lotus buds. Below him are two haloed Buddhist deities, who have usṇīṣas and point at their ears. They and the occupant are included in Chapter No. 6: “Occupant and Deities: Sitting, Squatting, Dancing” chapter. The lotus buds are the subject of Chapter No. 4: “Lotus Buds”.

The sides, which are similar to each other, are totally different from the lid. Along the tops of the sides run the celebrated filial piety friezes where a number of stories are identified by cartouches. The scenes are separated by flaming triangles, an important motif found only in the fifth century in Koguryô and in the Pingcheng period of the Northern Wei. My attempt to explain their origin can be found in Chapter No. 5: “Flaming Triangles”.

Between two strips of a lotus motif lies a large area of pearl roundels intersected by pearl hexagons. These are filled with either birds and animals like those on the lid, or floating haloed apsarasas with usṇīṣas and scarves. These apsarasas, too, are included in the large Chapter No. 6: “Occupant and Deities: Sitting, Squatting, Dancing”. Prominent on both sides are windows showing two persons, surrounded by a border of peacock feathers. The penultimate chapter, Chapter No. 11: “Feathers”, will discuss them.

The bottom of the sides consists of a long strip of hunters on horseback hunting various animals, real and fanciful, amid mountains. They, like the attendants around the occupant, are surrounded by floating lotus buds. The hunters and their prey will be dealt with in Chapter No. 10: “Fauna No. 3: Hunted”.
All these images are enclosed by vine scrolls and other repeated patterns. They are discussed in Chapter No. 2: “Vine Scrolls, Hexagons and Pearl Roundels”.

An additional piece of lacquer was found in the tomb. It is not known if it was connected with the sarcophagus. It is judged to be part of the depiction of the Three Warriors and Two Peaches Story in which three overly ambitious warriors killed themselves not wishing to appear to grab eagerly the two peaches cleverly placed by their master (fig. 16).\(^{41}\) This story had appeared several times in Han contexts such as in the Nanyang tomb (fig. 17)\(^ {42}\) and Tomb 61 in Luoyang (Ch. 6, fig. 342).\(^ {43}\)

The general premise of this study is that, if there is no artistic evidence of a motif or figure developing in China before the Han period, (or perhaps late Warring States), it likely was brought in from abroad, probably the West. Anyone who has examined the extant remains of the Shang (ca. 1700-1045 BCE) and Zhou (1045-221 BCE) periods will have noticed a great difference between the material culture of those periods and that of the Han, or just before it, the late Warring States period. It is the lack of development that is the key.

The supposition of the Western origin of some of these motifs stems from the West Asian origin of numerous precious objects excavated from Northern Wei tombs. Examples are: three silver vessels from the tomb of Feng Hetu (504 CE, d. 501 CE) in Datong including a Sasanian-style plate depicting a king dispatching boars;\(^ {44}\) a glass dolphin-shaped water dropper thought to come from Bactria from the tomb of Feng Sufu

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\(^{42}\) Nanyangshi Bowuguan 1981, fig. 32.  
\(^{43}\) It will not receive further discussion.  
\(^{44}\) Harper, 1990.
in Liaoning;\textsuperscript{45} a silver ewer from the Northern Zhou tomb of Li Xian in Guyuan,\textsuperscript{46} to say nothing of Ionic and Corinthian pilaster capitals outside Cave IX at Yungang.

Of course the argument can be put forward about the differential preservation of the remains: those of the previous periods consist mainly of bronze ritual vessels and ceremonial jades, whereas there seems to be a much greater variety in the preserved material culture of the Han period on. The two Mawangdui tombs are a case in point. Another argument that can and should be put forward is that there is more extant evidence of the beliefs of a lower class of people in the Han than just the highest aristocrats and royalty who had so treasured their bronze ritual vessels in previous periods.

The purpose of this study is to identify those new motifs that appeared in China from roughly the second century BCE until the end of the fifth century CE, especially as they appear on the Guyuan Sarcophagus and to pinpoint as much as possible their origins. If no obvious precursor appeared from foreign regions, the motif was judged to be a native development, possibly connected to Chinese native religion. If, on the other hand, a foreign progenitor could be detected, it then was pursued in detail. The idea was to pinpoint the initial appearance in China and the foreign origin of the motif as exactly as possible in order to dispell general statements such as "from the West". Concrete examples were what was sought.

\textsuperscript{45} Li Yaobo, 1973. \\
\textsuperscript{46} Luo Feng 1998.
My method\textsuperscript{47} is the following: having observed the startling appearance of a motif in the Han through Northern Dynasties periods, I searched for the motif farther west in the Eurasian continent. It was no good simply comparing motifs, there had to be some historical connection through the intervening areas. The military invasion of Alexander the Great as far east as Sogdiana, Bactria and Gandhāra (331-323 BCE) and his founding of Hellenistic cities there, explains the advance of Mediterranean motifs to Central Asia. The travelling of Sogdian traders from the late years before the common era and soon after, of Buddhist monks to and from Gandhāra, explains the transmission of motifs farther east. Horizontal human-headed birds, originating in Egypt, after being fully exploited in the Mediterranean, found their way into the Hellenistic cities of West Asia and also developed in the Southern Ukraine. Thence they could be seen in South Asia and China. It is hoped that some lines of transmission have been clarified and perhaps even some more distant in time have been suggested.

Vine scrolls, on the other hand, eked their way into North China more gradually. Although vine scrolls as such with lateral leaves, first appeared in the Eastern Han period, there may have been a predilection for them in the interlace designs (admittedly composed of dragons) of the Eastern Zhou period, to be followed (to our knowledge) by the embroidery of flower stems in the Warring States tomb of Mashan. Susan Bush\textsuperscript{48} and my Chapter 2 describe the vine scroll's development in Rome and Gandhāra before its

\textsuperscript{47} A recent book dealing with the theory of ornament in relation to Chinese culture is \textit{Pattern and Person: Ornament, Society, and Self in Classical China}, 2006, by Martin J. Powers. My study attempts to trace certain foreign ornaments which appeared in China from the third century BCE till the sixth century CE. It in no way attempts to make a contribution to a theory of ornament.

\textsuperscript{48} 1976, p. 79.
spread to North China. The role of Kizil on the way to China cannot be discounted although the temporal sequence with China has not been firmly established.

The motives for the adoption of foreign motifs cannot be arrived at any more than can the motives for the development of native Chinese images. Jessica Rawson describes a whole new ethos that developed with the unification of China under the Qin Dynasty. New institutions grew under a centralized government and there was the development of a unifying philosophy which attempted to incorporate the best approaches of several of the conquered states. Added to this exciting new outlook were the strange exotic objects carried along the Silk Road that bore images never seen before. Although they were imperfectly understood, attempts at their adoption can be observed in the material culture made in China at that time. Early Buddhist figures such as those depicted in the tomb at Yi'nan are an example of such an attempt, only partly successful, but accompanying such icons often were decorative elements that were copied too.

The motifs which appeared for the first time, to our knowledge, in the Western Han are striking. Human-headed horizontal birds are an obvious example. They seem to have appeared for the first time on the silk painting excavated in the tomb of the Lady Dai at Mawangdui, Changsha (shortly after 168 BCE). It had been placed on top of her innermost coffin. Having examined the previous Chinese situation in Chapter 9: “Fauna No. 2: Human-headed Birds”, the most appropriate source of these creatures is the West, from which they came all across Asia. Vertical mixed human-bird combinations were ancient in China, but horizontal human-headed birds were new at this time. It is not to

49 Ibid.
50 1999.
51 Wu Hung, 1989, p. 120, fig. 49.
52 Hereafter sometimes called “banner”, although there is no evidence that it was indeed a banner.
suggest that the original meaning necessarily accompanied the motif, but the image travelled the Silk Route to be applied in China, perhaps in a new way.\textsuperscript{53}

Another new image, which also appeared on Lady Dai’s silk painting, was the atlantean dwarf who, half-naked, squats frontally, holding up the funeral scene. Depictions of frontal squatting were unknown in China until that time, and half-naked dwarfs were unknown also. The issue is examined in Chapter 6: “Occupant and Deities: Sitting, Squatting, Dancing”. The likeliest source of this figure is the Indian \textit{yakṣa} or \textit{gana}, but unfortunately images from the early period in India are hard to come by. The figure, later called an earth spirit, remained a distinct stock character in China right into the Northern Zhou period. Gradually the Chinese posture became more relaxed, but the pose still was mainly used when portraying Indian apsarasas or Sogdian derivatives of them. Both are on the Guyuan Sarcophagus.

More images came along the Silk Road through time. Two components of the fifth century flaming triangle (Chapter 5: “Flaming Triangles”) came: the symbolic merlon and flaming shoulders. Lotus buds (and their possible progenitor, Sasanian horse baubles) were new, associated with Buddhism. Another foreign motif was the pearl roundel which appeared on the Guyuan Sarcophagus and one Northern Wei textile for the first time. It went on to become a ubiquitous craze on Tang textiles. Its origin will be discussed in Chapter 2: “Vine Scrolls, Hexagons and Pearl Roundels”. The most likely explanation for the appearance of flaming triangles and vine scrolls is that they were new to China and came across the Silk Road.

\textsuperscript{53} In the case of the human-headed bird, the association with death accompanied the bird from Egypt to Greece to China. In India, however, the same creatures, \textit{kinnaras}, seemed to be musicians who serenaded bodhisattvas much as did musical apsarasas in Kizil and Dunhuang.
The previous studies of the Guyuan Sarcophagus, cited in my fn. 13 (above), were mostly concerned with the filial piety scenes, identified in cartouches, that appear on the coffin. Some studies, such as that by Luo Feng, 1990, also included the portraits of Xiwangmu and Dongwangfu. They have been thoroughly considered by these authors and will not be included here.

The filial piety frieze is unique in that the protagonists in this most Chinese of topics are depicted in Xianbei dress. Otherwise, there seems to have been a spate of filial piety scenes in tombs of this period. Not only the Guyuan Sarcophagus but a screen excavated in the tomb of Sima Jinlong stresses filial virtue. A coffin in the Kaifeng Museum mixes native Chinese and Buddhist images with filial piety. The coffins in the Nelson-Atkins Museum and the Minneapolis Museum show little besides filial piety. Even tiles found in a tomb in Dengxian which mostly depict native Chinese themes and Buddhist apsarasas include stories of filial piety. Nevertheless filial piety was hardly the prevailing force in the fifth century, what with overwhelming Buddhist faith, interrupted mid-century by Daoist-spurred persecution.

But why filial piety at all? Keith Knapp's theory of the reinforcement of lineage institutions or even an aspiration toward Chinese gentility could hardly apply to the Guyuan Sarcophagus where the Xianbei occupant attempts to portray himself as an

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54 Paul Goldin emphasizes the “singular esteem that filial piety seemed to enjoy in all Chinese religions” (p. 374): Confucianism, Daoism and Buddhism both in China and in India (p.373). “Already well developed as early as the Zhou dynasty” (p. 372, quoting Lee Cheuk Yin, p. 141) filial piety was regarded by the Chinese “as basic to their sense of self” (2006, p. 373).
55 He Xilin, 2003, p. 356.
56 Watson, 1995, fig. 252.
57 Wang, Eugene, 1999.
58 Juliano 1980, figs. 71, 72 and 74.
59 As described in Maram Epstein's 2007 review of Selfless Offspring: Filial Children and Social Order in Medieval China.
Central Asian potentate participating in the Nowruz Ceremony and which suggests the Sasanian Royal Hunt. He Xilin's interpretation is that a deep symbolic meaning behind "the images of stories of filial piety is closely related to the after-death fortune and destiny of the tomb owner."\(^{60}\) The whole purpose of the images is to demonstrate that the occupant was moral\(^{61}\) because only moral people live forever in a state of happiness.\(^{62}\) Whatever the occupant's religious leaning, there seemed to be a compelling reason to include at least some images of filial morality in his tomb.

There clearly seem to be several themes on the Guyuan Sarcophagus. An obvious one is Buddhism on the sides where, between the lotus borders, there are apsarasas who might help the soul arrive at a happy place. There are also lotus buds floating around the occupant's attendants and the hunting scene at the bottom of the coffin. Very Buddhist are the several bronze pushou sets found in the tomb. They depict the Infant Buddha in a cult that prevailed in West China and Tocharistan at the time. They will be discussed in Chapter 7: "Pushou Sets". While the Guyuan pushou are Buddhist, other Datong pushou are not, as will be explained in that chapter.

Another theme that will be addressed is the Sogdian one where the Guyuan occupant has himself portrayed participating in the Persian Nowruz Ceremony.\(^{63}\) Sogdians did settle in Guyuan in the late fifth and sixth century and their Sui and Tang period tombs have been excavated. Sogdian tombs in Taiyuan (Shanxi) and Xi'an have

\(^{61}\) Even though Yuan Mi, the occupant of the Minneapolis Sarcophagus was recorded as a bad person. (He Xilin, 2003, pp. 360-361).
\(^{62}\) Buddhism could contribute to the filial piety concept of morality too. (Ibid, p. 360).
\(^{63}\) In correspondence to Angela Sheng, "Judith Lerner cautions that the riding figure may not be royal and the banquet may not be celebrating the New Year". (Sheng, 1998, p. 569, n. 78). Sheng suggests that "the banqueting theme exemplified genre depictions of the urban elite's daily life", particularly among the Sogdians. (Ibid., p. 553 and n. 80).
yielded pictorial evidence of Zoroastrian rites. They also depict the Royal Hunt, another Persian theme. The Guyuan Sarcophagus shows both the occupant drinking and a hunting scene. It would seem he wished to have himself so depicted. Yet both these scenes include lotus buds, generally considered Buddhist, and there is no evidence of the Zoroastrian faith. There is no fire altar or image of masked priests attending the sacred fire, for example, nor are the lion, horse or wild boar, all believed to have a direct relationship with Zoroastrianism, included in the animals on the lid or sides. It seems as if the Guyuan occupant played with grandiose foreign ideas but, in the end, he, or the coffin artist, adhered to more traditional Chinese religious ideas.

An undercurrent below these themes, Buddhist, Sogdian, and all the others, is traditional Chinese views of the afterlife. Not only the obvious deities, Xiwangmu and Dongwangfu, and perhaps the map of the heavens with tianhe are included, but the whole organization of the coffin conforms to views that had been developing in the Han period and since, about what happens to the body and soul after death.

Although no evidence of processions in and out of this particular tomb is present, the occupant’s portrait could certainly be interpreted as partaking of the banquet in the tomb (even though the sustenance appears to have been liquid). The surrounding lotus

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64 Except for the feast at the Balalyk Tepe which will be considered in Chapter 4: “Lotus Buds”.
65 Zhao Feng, 1997, p. 9.
66 The hunt scene at the bottom does show mounted hunters hunting boar, deer and a “dragon”.
68 I draw heavily on Wu Hung’s interpretation of the Mawangdui second coffin and silk painting, 1992, on his interpretation of the textual documentation in the Cangshan Tomb, 1994, and on Angela Sheng, 2005.
69 A specific Northern Wei example of this feast is in the Zhijiabao tomb where servants are clearly bringing food to the enthroned couple (Ch. 6, fig. 130).
buds, which must denote a supramondal state, certainly contribute to that view. His soul would have proceeded to Xiwangmu. There were several stages in the belief in what she could provide. Han Wudi seemed to think she could supply an elixir that would have allowed him to live forever,\(^70\) more or less in his human state; others wanted to become transcendentals who could fly around above the living world (hence their feathers); still others saw her realm as a helpful clearing house which might direct the soul to blissful eternity.

What convinced me of this interpretation is the number of animals and birds on the lid and sides of the coffin (Fauna Nos. 1, 2 and 3). While not identifiable in well-established sets of propitious creatures, their purpose surely must have been auspicious and protective. They fill the lid and even share the sides with the flying Buddhist deities. Some of them are human-headed birds which had gained the reputation of assisting in the quest for immortality. Further evidence is provided by the peacock feathers surrounding the pairs of figures in both windows. As will be seen, birds fly the souls to the next stage.

\(^70\) He was also anxious to get to the Isles of the Immortals in the Eastern Sea.
CHAPTER TWO

VINE SCROLLS, HEXAGONS and PEARL ROUNDELS

VINE SCROLLS

Most of the motifs to be considered, except for the portraits of the occupant and major deities and the hunting scene, are embedded in vine scrolls and pearl roundels (figs. 18, 19 and 20).\textsuperscript{71} As described by Susan Bush, late fifth century North China, the Pingcheng period of the Northern Wei, was THE period in China of the vine scroll.\textsuperscript{72} Vine scrolls could also be found in the South (fig. 21, right),\textsuperscript{73} but they tended to be less frequent and rather anemic compared to those of the North.

That China was ready for the vine scroll there can be little doubt. Fig. 22 shows embroidery from Mashan Tomb No. 1 of the late Warring States, fourth to third century, BCE.\textsuperscript{74} Indeed the predilection for twisted designs from the Shang period on could easily have turned to vine scrolls.

An extraordinary find from Cemetery Four at Chawuhu, on the southern foot of the Tianshan in Xinjiang, is of two pottery jars displaying vine scroll stems from before that period, 1000 – 500 BCE (figs. 808, 809).\textsuperscript{75} That from M 43, no. 3 is a winding vine which supports curled tendrils and that from M 210 only has attached dots. These are true winding vines and not running spirals but they do not bear leaves or flowers as do Mediterranean inspired vine scrolls which began to appear in China in the Han period.

\textsuperscript{71} Ningxia Guyuan Bowuguan, 1988.
\textsuperscript{72} Bush 1976, pp. 75-79.
\textsuperscript{73} Juliano, 1980, fig. 79. Alternatively, they had floating floral garlands and pinwheels which did not appear in the north till Caves 249 and 285 in Dunhuang (Yuan Rong control - late Northern Wei [till 545] in Dunhuang but Western Wei elsewhere in the North) (Watson 1995, p. 254, ch. 18, n. 2).
\textsuperscript{74} Rawson, 1996, p. 134, fig. 4.
\textsuperscript{75} Xinjiang Wenwu Kaogu Yanjiusuo and Wang Mingzhi, 1999, pp. 118, 133, 1-3 and pl. 7. My thanks to Chen Shen for helping me with this publication. See also: Jianjun Mei and Colin Shell, 2002.
No other jars illustrated from Chawuhu have vine scrolls. Whether they show
influence from the West and whether they influenced regions to the south and east of
them, cannot, at present, be said.

The masonry architecture of West Asia and the Classical Mediterranean lent itself,
almost required, vegetative scrolls because vine scrolls, by their very nature are mainly in
long strips. West Asian and Mediterranean lintels and pilasters could only be decorated
in this way (fig. 23). Early Chinese architecture, on the other hand, was a carpenters’
architecture. The outside lintels are almost obscured by bracket sets and the complexity
of the interior members and piecework ceilings are themselves of interest. There is no
empty frieze or pediment requiring the drama of the gods. Later in China, doors and
balustrades were filled with fretwork adding additional interest. Chinese columns
support an elaboration of bracket sets and leave no room for the leafy capitals of the later
Mediterranean.

Vegetative scrolls, influenced by those of the West, arrived in China in the
Eastern Han period (fig. 24). The stone tombs with their impressive doorways almost
all had them. Gu Sen shows fifteen pages of rubbings of vine scrolls from Shaanxi alone.
Later, in the fifth century, when vine scrolls had really taken hold of the imagination, the
Buddhist caves at Dunhuang and especially at Yungang could really display them,
because wood was not the actual material of the architecture. The niches for the deities
represent Chinese houses with the semblances of tile roofs and que in Northern Liang
Cave 275 at Dunhuang (fig. 25), to be sure, but there is not a bracket set to be seen. At

78 Dunhuang Wenwu Yanjiusuo, 1982, pl. 12.
Yungang, there is a representation (of many) of a tile roof and only one line of brackets, leaving lots of lintel space for apsarasas, festoons, flaming triangles and rows of vine scrolls (fig. 26).

PALMETTES AND HONEY SUCKLE

Fig. 18 shows A, the vine scroll surrounding the lid of the coffin, and E, the hourglass vinescroll that provides the matrix for the various propitious animals and birds of Chapters 8 and 9: Fauna Nos. 1 and 2. Fig. 19 shows three vine scrolls: B, which because of its size and elaboration is deemed to have been on the head of the coffin, C, which, although straight, is the same as that over the seated occupant on the smaller end of the coffin; and D, a vine scroll fragment that does not seem to associated with any of the extant major pieces of lacquer.

It will have become obvious that any study of vine scrolls must include a consideration of the leaves or flowers that the vines support, and so we must turn to palmettes, thought to be the source of those appendages, before we return to vine scolls. Palmettes seem to have originated among the Assyrians. Fig. 28 shows wall paintings from the palace of Tukulti-Ninurta I (d. ca. 1204 BCE), and figs. 29 and 30 show a magnificent stone relief from the Northwest Palace, Room I at Nimrud (Kalah, 79 Watson, 1995, fig. 200. This same image is published in Chinese Architecture by Nancy S. Steinhardt, 2002, fig. 3.17, as Cave 12, Yungang.
80 No further lacquer from the head of the coffin has been found.
81 Defined by Jessica Rawson as a fan of graded spikes. She considers them pseudo-flowers, probably because the spikes' tips are rounded rather than pointed as in nature. (1984, p. 35).
82 Joseph Rykwert suggests that the origin might have been Cretan, Minoan (sic.) whence the motif is supposed to have migrated to Syria and Mesopotamia. (1994, p. 12).
83 Francfort, 1956, p. 74.
84 Barnett and Lorenzini, 1975, p. 17.
85 Jones, 1972, pl. 12. No. 4 is painted ornament from Nimrud; nos. 12-14 (i.e. bottom) are sacred trees from Nimrud; nos. 1 and 5 are sculptured pavement from Kouyunjik. My thanks to Sheila Campbell, Medieval Studies, St. Michael's College, for this reference.
Calah), probably built by Assurnasirpal II (ca. 883-859). In it a pair of winged goddesses are saluting the sacred tree and bringing bracelets of large beads. Thence they reached India at Persian-inspired sites of the Maurya period (third century BCE).⁸⁶

Palmettes then became popular in Greece (fig. 31)⁸⁷ and the Levant (fig. 32).⁸⁸ Although, as such, they were less common in the East, they did appear on a fragment of woolen stuff excavated from the Han period Xiongnu site of Noin Ula (fig. 33).⁸⁹ It is considered that certain nomad motifs such as lion heads did originate in Assyria.

In the West, however, the Hellenistic motif of acanthus leaves took over in the Levant, such as at the Temple at Baalbek, and thence, later to Rome (fig. 23). Also developing in Asia Minor were vine scrolls (figs. 34,⁹⁰ 35)⁹¹ including the “peopled” (i.e. inhabited)⁹² scroll in the late Classical Greek and Hellenistic periods. It is the opinion of Toynbee and Perkins that it was in the Eastern Provinces that many Hellenistic and Roman motifs evolved and that some of the characteristics “of the later scrolls of Rome and Italy, were anticipated several generations earlier in the East”.⁹³

In Etruria, vine scrolls were developing early. The Faliscan Series belly-handled krater with a scraped-out row of arcs/S-hooks on its belly (fig. 36)⁹⁴ and the kantheros

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⁸⁶ E.g. pillar capital at Pātaliputra and at Rāmpurvā also in Bihār. (Huntington 1985, figs. 4.2 and 4.3).
⁸⁷ The body of Sarpedon stripped of its armour, detail of a kalyx krater painted by Euphronios, Attic, ca. 525 BCE. Onians, 1999, p. 12, fig. 9a.
⁸⁸ Drawing of design on Ennion ovoid jug in Eretz Israel Museum, Ramat Aviv. Late Neronian (Nero: 54-68 CE) and early Falvian (69-98 CE) period. Newby and Painter, eds., 1991, p. 69, fig. 11.
⁸⁹ I have found no evidence of palmettes in Egypt.
⁹⁰ Trever, 1932, p. 6. Wooden enrichments hanging from bridles, Barrow 1, Pazyryk could be considered versions of palmettes (Rudenko 1970, pls. 80A and 81A).
⁹² “Inhabited” is the term used by Susan Bush for flora, particularly vine scrolls, which include fauna. (1976, p. 76).
with a lotus and palmette chain of “Phoenician” type between rows of loops (fig. 37) are both dated close to 600 BCE. They were leading up to the scrolls on a late Canosan askos (fig. 38) and edging on garments in a portrait of, presumably the occupant, Vel Saties in the François Tomb, Vulci (fig. 39). Both are roughly third century, BCE. 

From whatever source, the Romans did produce meandering and intertwining vine scrolls (fig. 40), although often their scrolls were centered (fig. 23, nos. 2 and 3) or formed medallions (fig. 40, no. 3, bottom).

The nomenclature is universally used indicating that single leaves or honeysuckles such as are shown on vines across Asia and into fifth-century China are half-palmettes. I have yet to see any early palmette that is the process of being split down the middle. Indeed palmettes are always shown with the leaflets (or petals) in uneven numbers, with a single tall leaflet in the middle in no danger of splitting. The single leaves or honeysuckles of Central and East Asia are always shown fully formed more or less on their sides. It appears, rather, that the half-palmette or honeysuckle derives from a single palmate leaf of a totally different species shown from the side. There are several examples in fig. 35. Fig. 34, no. 76 shows similar palmate leaves en face. It is true that a stucco archivolt, probably from much later fifth century Ctesiphon, does show a palmette splitting (fig. 41, C), but other examples of crinkled profile leaves are on the same page (fig. 41, F, H and J).

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95 Ibid., p. 65, no. C4.
96 Ibid., p. 157, no. F15.
98 Toynbee and Perkins, 1950, pl. 6, nos. 2, Via Latina, Tomb of the Valerii, and 1, Pompeii, Temple of Isis.
99 Ibid., no. 3, Naples Museum: Painted frieze from Pompeii, Temple of Isis.
100 Pope, ed., 1981, C. These examples are from the Metropolitan Museum of Art. If they are from Ctesiphon, they would date to Bahram V, 420-438 CE.
101 Ibid., F, H and J.
This palmate leaf may be a grape leaf. Indeed it is so in a vine above a Bacchanalian scene, appropriately from a rhyton from second to first century Nisa, in Persia (fig. 42). The grape vine surrounding a putto in a Gandhāran vine scroll, second to third centuries CE depicts a realistic tendril and grapes with leaves en face as well as bent in half and in profile (43). Similarly the grape vines above Buddhist figures on Stupa P in early fifth century Hadda also helpfully shows grape leaves en face and in profile (fig. 44). Further examples, (till the Guyuan Sarcophagus), show only the leaf in profile. Earlier in Afghanistan, a second century stone relief shows the leaves in profile on the extreme right (fig. 45) as does a contemporary bone engraving from Begram (fig. 46).

But Jessica Rawson contends that these “half-palmettes” derived from acanthus leaves, and she may be right. Grape leaves of my acquaintance can be deeply indented, but the deep indentation tends to divide the leaf into three lobes instead of the usual five. The acanthus leaves she has illustrated on her page 34 have many more indentations than those I am illustrating from Gandhāra and farther east. They are also more pointed. Perhaps the artists, knowing full well what grape leaves looked like, effected a compromise.

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102 Rhie, 2002, fig. 2.11.
103 Rawson 1984, fig. 33.
104 Barthoux, 1933, p. 189, fig. 172.
105 Jongeward, 2003, no. 20.
106 Nehru, 2004, p. 141, fig. 10. Vine scrolls consisting of large curving vines do exist on pillar uprights of toranas, particularly the East Torana of Stūpa I at Sāñcī (1st c CE). They seem to be filled with leaves, fruit (perhaps grapes) and birds.
107 Rawson 1984, p. 35.
108 It is surprising that the Mediterranean ancients chose a prickly vine (acanthus) to entwine into a prominent ornament. Rykwert finds that those of the 5th c (BCE) Athenian tomb-stele consist of acanthus, palms and spiralling celery! (1994, p. 14 and figs. 5, 15).
Closer to China, a carved beam from third century Loulan shows the profile leaf motif (fig. 47). Now named honeysuckle, it has found small places at Dunhuang (fig. 25) and more prominent places in Yungang (fig. 48). Thus it would appear that the profile bent-in-half (grape or acanthus) leaf was the first to reach China. It was then followed by the en face grape leaf which came into use in the late fifth century perhaps along with the depiction of grapes.

DATONG VINE SCROLLS

On the Guyuan Sarcophagus, the magnificent inhabited vine scroll “B” encloses animals with honeysuckle emissions (described in Chapter 8: Fauna No. 1) alternating with doubled three-petalled honeysuckles (secondary honeysuckle flowers growing out of single petals of original honeysuckles) in pairs. The enclosed areas appear to be bean-shaped with the openings alternating above and below, but actually they are not discrete beans but two vines intersecting. The only similar Datong vine scroll is that from a Zhijiabao (2004) wooden coffin plank (fig. 49). There, two vines intersect to make bean-shaped enclosed areas whose openings are all at the bottom. It is uninhabited except for pairs of four-petalled honeysuckles.

“A” is a single curved vine whose extensions curl back. The extensions terminate in the five-lobed palmate figures (probably from grape leaves) discussed in the previous section. In this case, the lobes are rounded, suggesting that the figure was not yet well

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109 Whitfield and Farrer, 1990, p. 147, No. 117.
110 Below Maitreya in Cave 275 (Dunhuang Wenwu Yanjisuo, 1982, pl. 12). It also decorates one of the beams (of 4) helping to make simulated tianjin in many of the caves.
111 Cave VII (of many) Yungang. (Rhie, 2002, fig. 5.34b).
112 A gilt-bronze stem-cup decorated with a vine scroll and grapes was excavated from a tomb in Datong.
113 Doubled three-petalled honeysuckles also appear on one of Sima Jinlong’s stone stands (fig. 52, bottom).
understood. It is only occasionally inhabited, by birds. The same vine scroll, but with additional floral figures, is painted inside the stone house-shaped outer coffin in the Taihe reign period (477-500 CE) excavated in Zhijiabao (2001), south of Datong (fig. 50). In the Zhijiabao case, the terminating figures have four points. “D” on the Guyuan Sarcophagus is a version of “A” but the terminating figures are three-petalled honeysuckles. The same vine scroll is carved in relief on the stone coffin bed and on one of the stone stands (fig. 51, bottom) (both very inhabited) in Sima Jinlong’s Datong tomb. The coffin bed’s terminal figures are puzzling, bound sheafs resembling sheafs of wheat, and there are also three-petalled honeysuckles. The stone stand’s terminal figures are five-petalled flowers or leaves, causing Susan Bush to suggest a winding grapevine.

“C” is a single curved “vine” consisting entirely of extensions of the long petals of honeysuckles. There is no vine from which they arise. In the Guyuan coffin case, fourth petals seem to be attached at the sides. This is the most popular, and smallest, vine scroll in the Datong tombs. It occurs in the stone house-shaped outer coffin from Zhijiabao (2001), on both the Song Shaozu and Zhijiabao coffin beds, and even in Qilicun.

115 Wang Yintian and Liu Junxi, 2001, fig. 20. (see also figs. 16 and 19).
116 Shanxisheng Datongshi Bowuguang and Shanxisheng Wenwu Gongzuoweiyuanhui, 1972, fig. 6, 2 bottom lines.
117 (Ch. 6: figs. 520, 521 and 522 bottom). The simpler vine scroll edging the main scroll on the coffin bed is similar to that depicted in Yungang Cave VII (fig. 48).
118 Additional stone pedestals have been excavated from the Datong area. Three of them are illustrated by Zhang Li, 2000, figs. 1, 3 and 4, but the pictures are too small to make identification with certainty possible.
119 Bush, 1976, p. 78.
120 Shanxisheng Kaogou Yanjiusuo and Datongshi Kaogou Yanjiusuo, 2001, fig. 13.
121 Wang Yintian and Cao Chenming, 2004, fig. 4. This seems to be the first publication of this coffin bed and 2 other stone carvings. It is not clear if this coffin bed is associated with either of the two Zhijiabao
The most important vine scroll on the Guyuan Sarcophagus is the hourglass vine scroll “E”. It should be noted that these vines do not intersect but come together being constricted by two binds before they expand again. At the base of each resulting space cell are two spreading three-petalled honeysuckles which point in opposite directions. The space cells are filled by the birds and animals of Chapters 8 and 9: Fauna No.1: Animals and Birds and Fauna No. 2: Human-headed Birds, respectively. This is a very unusual vine scroll. It occurs in Yungang Cave 9,\(^\text{123}\) and also at Tumshuk (fig. 52)\(^\text{124}\) whose date is currently being reconsidered.\(^\text{125}\) They had a precedent in the central panel of pilasters from the Grotte Vaticane in Imperial Rome (fig. 53).\(^\text{126}\)

But it is the hourglass scroll on Sima Jinlong’s lacquer strip that the Guyuan Sarcophagus’s hourglass scroll most resembles (fig. 54, left).\(^\text{127}\) It has separate sectors that are linked rather than being merely lines bound together as on the Guyuan coffin but the bottom of each space cell on both the Guyuan and Sima Jinlong examples is filled by two spreading honeysuckle flowers. Each space on the lacquer strip contains an animal with honeysuckle emission (like the emissions in “B”). The bearlike creature is not on the Guyuan coffin, but the single horned creature at the top somewhat resembles “h” in Category “D” in Chapter 8: Fauna No. 1. The creature in the middle could be a three-tombs mentioned above. It is due to the large-scale drawing by Cao Chenming, Vice-Director of the Datong City Museum, which he kindly copied for me in 2004, that I was able to identify the vine scroll.\(^{122}\) Datongshi Kaogu Yanjiusuo, 2006, fig. 53.1.

\(^{123}\) Rawson 1984, fig. 36.

\(^{124}\) Hambis, ed., 1961, pl. 72, figs. 176 and 178. A detail of relief panel of clay images from Toqquz-Sarai Monastery, Tumchuq (Howard, 2000, 254, fig. 14).

\(^{125}\) It has traditionally been assigned to the 6th c, but recently Howard has followed Su Bai’s early dating of the Kizil Caves and his contention that many artistic elements moved from Xinjiang to China. Howard, 2000, p. 272, n. 31.

\(^{126}\) Museo Petriano. Toynbee and Perkins, 1950, pl. 18.

\(^{127}\) Chutu Wenwu Zhanlan Gongzuozu, 1973, p. 145. Neither the right nor center vine scrolls are on the Guyuan Sarcophagus, although the barely visible hexagons in the center example are.
plumed bird like those on the Guyuan coffin. A strikingly unusual figure is Hercules who became included in Buddhist iconography in Gandhāra. He must have arrived in Pingcheng along with other Greco-Roman motifs such as the Ionic and Corinthian capitals at Yungang.

The tiny curls around the half hearts which the lacquer strips share with the Guyuan Sarcophagus have already been mentioned in the Introduction. Most significant are the small dots and unattached curls that fill the center and left lacquer strips and the whole Guyuan coffin (except the portraits and hunting scene). Concerning the King of Munyong’s court cap (Paekche, ca 520 CE), Bush has suggested the gold beads possibly simulated drops of dew.128 It is possible that the same purpose was intended at Pingcheng. Even more significant than the dots on both these lacquer remains are the indentations on some of the dots making them look as though bites had been taken out of them. Some of them approach comma shape (Ch. 8, fig. 665). Both whole and bitten dots are also found on one of Sima Jinlong’s stone stands (fig. 51, bottom). It is a very specific manner that has not been found elsewhere at all.129

The center lacquer strip from Sima Jinlong’s tomb130 depicts bean-shaped ovals. One of his stone stands also is decorated with them (fig. 51, two top images). They are not found on the Guyuan Sarcophagus and so will not be given much discussion. They

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129 Susan Bush does point out a “few cloud-scroll commas” (p. 66) on the silver bowl excavated from the Great Tomb of Hwangnam, Kyŏngju (p. 61, fig. 1). They look like bananas but could be derived from the Datong dots.
130 Fig. 54. The strip on the right of fig. 54 will not be considered.
were, however, much beloved at Yungang (fig. 26). A Roman precedent for them can be found in an architectural decoration in Pompeii.\footnote{Lararium in the House of the Vettii, 63-79 CE. (Ramage and Ramage, 1991, fig. 5.38).}

LOTUS BORDER

Lotuses were shown in Ancient Egypt as the pointed-petalled flower of many whorls (fig. 55).\footnote{Jones, 1972, pl. 6: Egyptian no. 3.} It could usually be seen in profile and, in this form, it occurred occasionally in Central Asia. A fragment of engraved bone found at Begram shows two lotus blossoms, one in profile, one \textit{en face} (fig. 76).\footnote{Begram, bone. Nehru, 2004, p. 142, fig. 14.} This drawing could be related to Buddhism\footnote{Patricia Eichenbaum Karetzky discusses early Hindu and Buddhist symbolic uses of water and the lotus. (1997, pp. 33-55).} (although many of the bone and ivory finds at Begram could not), but gold head-dress terminals excavated from the Akhalgorisk hoard, fifth century BCE, either in date or theme, definitely could not (fig.56).\footnote{Tamara Talbot Rice suggests Achaemenid Persia as the prime source of their inspiration with Greek colonials or Scythian nomads contributing the feeling of movement.}

The lotus borders on the Guyuan Sarcophagus (fig. 57),\footnote{Ningxia Guyuan Bowuguan, 1988.} however, and the lotus pedestals for Buddhist figures (fig. 58,\footnote{Amitāyus Buddha, Cave 169, Binglingsi. Western Qin, 420 CE. Zhang Baoxi, ed., 1994, pi. 61.} 59)\footnote{Footprints of the Buddha, Sāntacitt. 3rd – 1st c. BCE. Jongeward, 2003, p. 19, fig. 3.} are derived from an ancient motif that had nothing to do with lotus flowers. This fact is strange because the beautiful lotus flower that grows out of the mire is a symbol of Buddhism. No one has offered an explanation for the adoption of the molding as symbol, but early attempts at Bhārhat at depicting the flower \textit{en face} suggest an intermediate step (fig. 60).\footnote{Medallions from the Stūpa at Bhārhat, ca. 100 BCE.}
The traditional motif stems from the "egg and dart" (or "tongue and dart") molding of the Classical Mediterranean. According to John Onians, it was an element of the Ionic frieze which originated in the Near East as a soft leaf pattern. By 500 BCE, the outlines of the larger curving leaves "had become as sharp as the rim of a shield and their inner surfaces had acquired a shield-like convexity, while the line between the leaves took a form somewhere between a lion’s claw and a sharply tapering blade."

Unfortunately the blue color of the large petals on Guyuan coffin has faded giving the light-colored "darts" more prominence (fig. 57). A curious eccentricity is the vertical line on the "dart". It is usually found only on the large petal. The large petals are also more pointed than usual, although the large petals on the underside of the Bimarān reliquary, second to third century Gandhāra, are pointed as well (fig. 63). Perhaps the molding on the base of the Column of Antoninus Pius in Rome, ca. 161 CE, (fig. 64) would serve as a better model for at least the Guyuan Sarcophagus than the strict egg and dart molding. On the coffin, the lotus borders form upper and lower borders for the Buddhist flying deities and propitious animals contained in pearl roundels on the sides. It is as though the borders are delineating the Buddhist section although propitious birds and animals that are not at all Buddhist share the area with the Buddhist deities.

QUATREFOILS

141 Tomb of Achaemenid Artaxerxes III (359-338 BCE) overlooking Persepolis. Boardman 2000, p. 120, fig. 3.39.
142 Detail of frieze from Nereid tomb, Lycia, Turkey. Ca. 390-380 BCE. The motif is also on the Alexander Sarcophagus, ca. 320 BCE, from Sidon, probably the tomb of King Abdalonymus.
143 The size of the uppermost left petal is easiest to see.
144 Rawson, 1984, fig. 110.
145 Ramage and Ramage, 1991, fig. 8.18.
On the end of the Guyuan Sarcophagus, below the occupant’s attendants and above the two large deities who point at their ears, are quatrefoils (cruciform figures), one on each side (fig. 5). They can also be seen at the intersections of the hexagons on the sides of the coffin (fig. 20 “G”). Quatrefoils are hardly an unusual motif. Ancient Assyria and Persia used them (fig. 30), and likely they can be found in numerous cultures.

What makes the Guyuan coffin quatrefoils remarkable is that each arm consists of a fleur de lis or trefoil. This same motif can be seen on a felt wall-hanging worked in felt appliqué excavated from Barrow 5 at Pazyryk (fig. 65) (252-235 BCE, see below). It borders the famous scene of a knight on horseback approaching a seated goddess who holds a branch in blossom. The quatrefoils alternate with squares containing an amorphous figure on both top and bottom.

The dating of Pazyryk has been debated. It had been thought by Rudenko to be in the fifth century BCE but is now much closer to being established later due to dendrochronology specific to the sites. No longer are the radiocarbon dates calibrated merely by continental dendrochronology, the logs associated with the specific sites in this area of the Altai are so well preserved that their outer rings dating when the trees were felled can be dated by areal dendrochronology, “wiggle matching”. It has been found that the five kurgans were erected within forty-eight to fifty years (floating chronology). Moreover, their dates are now more closely established in world chronology: Pazyryk 5, the most recent kurgan, is dated to 252-235 BCE and thus Pazyryk 2, the oldest, is dated

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147 Ibid.
149 Ibid., p. xxxvi.
to 301-282 BCE. In a recent email to Victor Mair, J. Mallory said that he favors the low chronology.  

The motif of scallops on a long curve which was tattooed on both arms of the man in Barrow 2 (301-282 BCE) (Ch. 5, fig. 156) is the same as that on two textiles buried with Lady Dai in Tomb 1 at Mawangdui: “Three-colour embroidery on plain ground” and “Polychrome embroidery on orange silk”.\(^{153}\) (Ch. 5, fig. 157). John Major reports that among the collection of silk textiles from Noin Ula, Mongolia, in the Hermitage Museum in St. Petersburg are textiles “virtually identical to those from Mawangdui Tomb 1”,\(^{154}\) and an embroidered silk “virtually identical to the one excavated at Mashan” was found in “fourth-century BCE” burial at Pazyryk.\(^{155}\)

The other place where this complicated quatrefoil has been found is the site of Yingpan, Yuli County, in Xinjiang, one hundred miles west of Loulan. It is thought to date to the Han-Jin dynasties. Two examples have been found. One is the quatrefoil (with additional trefoils) within pearl lozenges embroidered on the wool trousers of a male mummy from Tomb 15 (figs. 66, 67).\(^{156}\) The other is also an embroidery (without the extra trefoils) found in Tomb 22.

\(^{151}\) January 5, 2009.

\(^{152}\) Rudenko, p. 264, fig. 132 and p. 265, fig. 133.


\(^{154}\) It is not clear if this is the same textile illustrated by Trever, 1932, p. 16. It is in my Chapter 5, fig. 158. In it, the long curves with scallops are above the dragon’s tail. Loubo-Lesnitchenko illustrates other pieces cut from the same fabric, at least one of which also shows long curves with scallops. (1963, pl. 6). As these pieces are silk, they likely were made in China.


\(^{156}\) Zhongguo Lishi Bowuguan and Xinjiang Weiwuerzu, 2002, p. 32.

The extraordinary thing about the design on the trousers of the Yingpan mummy (Tomb no. 15), is that the small seven-petalled flower beside the quatrefoil (fig. 67) exactly matches that beside the quatrefoil on the Guyuan Sarcophagus. It seems the whole pattern was copied holus-bolus, (except for the extra trefoils), onto the Guyuan coffin.

Since much excavation is taking place on the Southern Silk Road (in Qiemo, Niya, Loulan, Luopu and Yingpan as well as Turfan in the north), the cultural and ethnic identities of the denizens is being worked out. Yingpan being six hundred miles almost due south of the High Altai Mountains, the locale of Pazyryk, the connection between the two may some day be discerned. No other connection with the Guyuan Sarcophagus can be found. The sarcophagus shows no other motifs from the Southern Silk Road.

HEXAGONS

As hexagons (called tortoise-shell patterns by Chinese archaeologists) were a traditional weaving design in Warring States China, there is no need to search for their origin elsewhere. By the time they were buried in the Warring States Tomb M1 of the Chu State at Mashan (4th to 3rd century BCE), the occupant’s textiles had achieved a high

158 There may be some connection to the 7-petalled rosettes on the lowest loops of the festoons above the lintel in Cave V at Yungang (Cave 12 in Steinhardt, 2002) and also to the tiny rosettes at the top intersections of the hexagons below (fig. 26). Tiny 6-petalled rosettes inhabit the interstices of the alternating circles and hexagons of a vine scroll in Cave IX at Yungang. (Bush, 1984, p. 66 and 65, fig. 10a).
159 Zhao Feng and Yu Zhiyong, 2000.
160 They could not be Yuezhi because the Yuezhi were expelled by the Xiongnu from Gansu and eastern Xinjiang after 177 BCE.
161 Of course they could be found elsewhere in the world, e.g. on the ceiling of the Hellenistic Heliopolis Temple at Baalbek, Syria. (Robinson and Hoyningen-Huene, 1946, pl. 36). A Northern Dynasties cotton textile with hexagons was excavated at Khotan. (Wang Binghua, 1973, pl. 6, no. 2.)
degree of sophistication (figs. 68, 69). A suggestion of hexagons can be seen on a carved wooden board of roughly the third century CE, from Changsha, Hubei (fig. 70). Whether hexagons were particularly enjoyed in Warring States Chu in its late period or whether their evidence is due only to their objects’ preservation, cannot be said.

We next encounter hexagons on gilt bronze saddle fittings excavated from Former Yan Murong Xianbei (348-370 CE) slab tombs near Chaoyang, Liaoning. These elaborate pierced decorations covered the rising fronts and backs of saddles and must have provided a glittering sight. Figs. 71 and 72 are from Tomb 88 M1, Siertai Township, Chaoyang. Fig. 73 is from a tomb in a cliff at Sanhecheng of the same period, also near Chaoyang. These objects are not only important in themselves, they reached late sixth century Japan, where, as part of the horse-riding immigrant culture, they were buried in kofuns. One such, which is decorated with hexagons, is buried in the late sixth century Fujinoki Tomb, Ikaruga, Nara prefecture.

Silla was the recipient of hexagons of which a silver cup excavated from Gyeongju, South Korea, is a well-known example. Surprisingly, the earliest known Koguryŏ tomb to display hexagons were the fifth- and sixth-century Tomb of the Celestial Kings and Earthly Spirits and Tomb of the Tortoise Shell pattern. James

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162 Loubo-Lesnichenko, 1994, fig. 8.
164 Fontein and Wu, 1973, p. 71, fig. 25.
166 Yu Junyu, 1997, fig. 2.
168 Mason, 1993, fig. 36. Gilt bronze saddle fittings were also excavated from the early 6th c Heavenly Horse Tomb at Hwangnam, Gyeongju, Old Silla and could have proceeded to Japan from there.
Watt considers the Northern Yan to have been the transit of the motif to Pingcheng, but to the west of China in South Gansu the motif is prominently displayed on the apparel of the Amitāyus Buddha in Cave 169 at Binglingsi, dated by inscription to 420 CE (fig. 58). There the hexagons contain quatrefoils.

However the motif reached the Northern Wei capital, Pingcheng, it could be found everywhere, including on the Guyuan coffin. There, whole hexagons became entwined with pearl roundels (fig. 20 “G”) in a penchant for geometric hexagons being imposed on curving figures. Half hexagons (without the bottom two lines) entwined in bean-shaped ovals frequently appear at Yungang as in Cave 6 (fig. 74) and Cave 5 (fig. 26). The same situation applies to one of Sima Jinlong’s lacquer strips (fig. 54, middle strip). The Dunhuang Embroidery, dated 487 and believed to have been made in Datong (fig. 75) on the other hand, employs complete hexagons over roundels, much as does the Guyuan Sarcophagus.

The motif even went farther west: it could be seen as borders in Dunhuang Caves 248 and 259. It may be from there that hexagons travelled to Chach (Tashkent) in Sogdiana, whence possibly came a sixth century gilt bronze cup (bowl) along with several Sogdian and Sasanian objects, surprisingly found in a Suixi, Guandong tomb. Contained in one of the hexagons is a vertical lotus flower, seen in profile, like that

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173 Watt, 2004, No. 79. It is actually the remains of a large hanging banner depicting principally the Buddha.
175 Watt, 2004, pp. 20, 21 and fig. 20a on p. 22. In shape and repoussé ornament it strongly resembles a silver bowl excavated from the north mound of the Great Tomb Hwangnam (tomb 98), Gyeongju, Korea, Old Silla (late 5th-early 6th c). (Bush 1984, p. 61, fig. 1). Bush does not seem to resolve the origin of this piece.
engraved on bone at Begram (fig. 76). Naturalistic depictions of stemmed lotus flowers in profile have rarely been found in China.

Finally, six-sided forms were so beloved in the Northern Wei period that two Buddhist monuments, which should have been eight-sided, (eight-fold path, eight canonical events in Buddha’s life) were built with a six-sided floor plan. One was later placed in front of Huayansi (a Liao hall) in Datong, and the other is the Tower of the Founder of Buddhism placed beside the East Hall of Foguangsi (a Tang hall) in Wutai Shan, also in Shanxi.

PEARL ROUNDELS

In contrast to the indigenous hexagons, pearl roundels arrived late and suddenly in Northern China. They had appeared on tile ends in the Han Dynasty, and, as gold granulation surrounding turquoise and coral on a gold strip found south of Guyuan, Ningxia, but they made no further appearance until late fifth century Datong. In fact the striking pearl roundels on the sides of the Guyuan Sarcophagus (fig. 20 “E”) and on its sister lacquer-painted sarcophagus and coffin bed in the Hudong Tomb in Datong (fig. 12), may well be the earliest examples of them in post-Han China. On both coffins, they differ from their Sasanian prototypes (and subsequent Chinese depictions) in that they house Buddhist apsarasas instead of Zoroastrian animals like horses, birds and boars.

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176 See fn. 54, above.
179 Juliano and Lerner, 2001, No. 5a.
181 Shanxisheng Datongshi Kaogu Yanjiusuo, 2004, fig. 9.
182 In response to my query about the Dulan, Qinghai, roundels (Zhao Feng, 1996, p. 11, fig. 4), Angela Sheng emailed that they were not so early. July 2008.
After their late fifth century appearance, they went into abeyance until they gradually reappeared in the Sui and then went on to such popularity in the Tang period that they became an absolute craze.

Pearl roundels were known in Near Eastern antiquity. A cylinder seal of King Mardik-zakir-shumi I (ca. 854-819 BCE) of Babylon shows the god Marduk in roundel finery with his accompanying dragon at his feet (fig. 77). A necklace from the succeeding century shows metal “pearls” from Kalouraz (Gilan), Iran (fig. 78). A bronze disk showing a Master of Animals (Gilgamesh?) surrounded by “pearls” was found as the excavation of Geoy Tépé was taking place. This disturbed article could only be supposed to have come from the eighth century (fig. 79). In Assyria, King Ashurbanipal (668-627 BCE) wore them on his diadem as he went hunting (fig. 80), and pearl roundels were shown on the Bronze Gates at Balawat in the same period (fig. 81).

The Sasanians (224-651 CE) were renowned for their pearl roundels, yet it is a curious fact that their kings are not recorded as wearing any within Persia itself until late in the dynasty. Their finery worn in their numerous depictions in the large rock reliefs cut into cliffs shows no roundels until near the end of the dynasty. The portrait of, it is thought, King Sanatruq, in Hatra, does show a magnificent array of intersecting pearl

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183 McBeath, 1999, p. 57, fig. 18.  
184 Mazaheri, 1970.  
185 Vanden Berghe, 1959, pl. 149, top.  
186 Barnett and Lorenzini, 1975, pl. V. The king Ashurbanipal wearing a diadem and starry garment. Nineveh, Palace of Ashurbanipal, Room S, Upper Chambers.  
187 Barnett and Lorenzini, 1975, pl. 41 (a). Sacrifices (thrown into the water and eaten by fish and a large otter) are offered at the sea of Nairi (Lake Van). Large pearl roundel earrings with fringes are worn by a terracotta female figure from Tamluk, West Bengal, India in the 2nd-1st c BCE. (Huntington, 1985, fig. 5.39)
roundels (fig. 82). But, at 117 CE, Senatruq was neither in the Sasanian period nor belonged to the dynasty of the Parthian kings. Hatra, on the upper Tigris River, clearly was ruled by local kings. It is not until Sasanian King Khusrau II, (590-627 CE) in a hunting scene at Taq-i-Bustan, that circlets appear on his coat but they are not composed of pearls and contain only four-petalled flowers (fig. 83). His attendant’s coat displays an encircled duck but pearls are not in evidence (fig. 84 left). Below are senmurvs but the roundels are not pearled. Right is a boatman wearing the “only example of a textile pattern with pearl roundels in Sasanian art.”

This dearth of pearl roundels on royal clothing is strange because it is on textiles that they became known throughout the known world. Not only did they reach east to China and Japan, they reached as far west as Egypt and into the medieval treasuries in Europe. The circlets enclose horses, lions and especially wild boar which, among other animals, have a direct relationship with Zoroastrianism, the religion of Sasanian Persia, and which last two the Sasanian kings deigned to hunt. It is all the more strange because staggered rows of pendant pearls are carved in high relief on the king’s garments elsewhere and also double rows of pearls along the hems. Perhaps the textiles were

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188 Rosenfield, 1967, fig. 138.
190 Fig. 84 comprises 3 details of costumes worn the King Khusrau II and his attendants in an ivan of a boar hunt at Taq-I Bostan. P. 121: left: Fig. J and right: Fig. L; below: p. 123 Fig. M. Fig. L is wearing pearl roundels. (Prudence Oliver Harper, 1978).
192 Dorothy Shepherd, 1983.
They appear in a painted fight between Menelaus and Hektor over the body of Euphros on a Rhodian cup, ca. 600 BCE in the British Museum. (Joseph Rykwert, 1994, fig. 2).
considered too plebian for the Sasanian kings to wear, but they certainly were not beneath the notables of, for example, sixth-seventh century Afrasiab.\textsuperscript{195}

There are, of course, depictions of pearl roundels from Sasanian Persia in other materials and contexts. They form a border of a hunting scene of King Peroz from Chahar Tarkham in the Philadelphia Art Museum.\textsuperscript{196} Elizabeth Owen shows a sixth century silver cup which depicts a ruler, who is drinking, cup in hand.\textsuperscript{197} There is one large pearl roundel on his hip. She also shows a coin of Bahram I (273-276 CE) whose crown bears a beaded roundel.\textsuperscript{198} In addition they are included in the fifth-sixth century stucco decoration at Ctesiphon.\textsuperscript{199}

Kuṣāṇa/Gandhāra seemed to be an early recipient of the pearl motif. Unusually it encircled the halo of a standing Buddha of the second century (fig. 85)\textsuperscript{200} and also the halo of a standing Buddha with flaming shoulders in Mathurā from about the third to fourth century (fig. 229). Owen shows a gold coin of Kaniṣka (whose reign began 127 CE),\textsuperscript{201} with a beaded border and there are a number of other Kushan coins with beaded borders.\textsuperscript{202} Perhaps significantly, the beaded borders surround only deities (not always Buddhist)\textsuperscript{203} and not the kings.

\textsuperscript{196} Stucco plaques. Ghirshman, 1962, fig. 229.
\textsuperscript{197} Owen, 1998, p. 181 and fig. 7. For drinking scenes, see my Chapter 6: Occupant and Deities.
\textsuperscript{198} \textit{Ibid.}, p. 180 and fig. 10.
\textsuperscript{199} \textit{Ibid.}, figs. 30, right and 32, right.
\textsuperscript{200} Rowland, 1965, p. 116.
\textsuperscript{201} Owen, 1998, p. 179 and fig. 5.
\textsuperscript{202} Jongeward, 2003, p. 25 and 26: figs. 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, and 17. The only other king shown on these coins is on fig. 14, Huvishka, ca. 154-192 CE. A miniscule pearl roundel is on the armband of No. 9, Standing Bodhisattva, p. 68, and p. 70, Detail C.
\textsuperscript{203} E.g. a tiny circular pendant from Taxila of Hāritī encircled by pearls and garnets. 3\textsuperscript{rd} – 4\textsuperscript{th} c CE. Rice, 1965, fig. 126.
A rosette or possibly pearl roundel is used to signify the Wheel of the Law being set in motion beneath a sculpture of the Buddha in the teaching position (dharmacakra mudrā) (fig. 86).\(^{204}\) Pearls border the back of his throne. This association of Buddhist figures and pearl roundels may have reached China in the late fifth century before the Sasanian pearl roundels of the sixth century and may account for the Buddhist figures uniquely shown within the roundels on the Guyuan and Hudong coffins.

By the time they reached Central Asia, pearl roundels were much in evidence. From Yotkan (Khotan) came a vase given the date by Stein or Whitfield and Farrer of first to third centuries CE (fig. 87).\(^{205}\) It is a simpler version of a similar vase whose roundels contain unidentified figures of the fifth to sixth centuries.\(^{206}\) They also reached nomad territory where they were picked out in seeds on a woolen fabric from the Magu Tomb, Ili, 386-589 CE (fig. 10e).\(^{207}\)

On fabrics themselves, and on wall paintings they stretched from Kizil to Toyok, but one of the most important sites where they were found was the extensive graveyard of Astana where fabrics were interred with the deceased. There, "brocades with linked pearl motifs and opposed lions, phoenixes, rams, horses and hanshou-niao (birds with ribbons in their beaks) have been unearthed at the Astana cemetery in Turfan, as have silk embroideries with motifs of opposed peacocks, auspicious characters (guizi) and linked

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\(^{204}\) Willis, 2000, fig. 2. A rosette that looks more like a wheel is beneath a Buddha image from Benares. (Brancaccio and Behrendt, 2006, p. 282, fig. 12.7). Both these roundels are between images of deer. The most famous wheel image below a teaching Buddha is that from Sarnath, ca. 475 CE. The wheel is shown in profile. (Huntington, 1985, fig. 10.20).


\(^{206}\) Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1982, No. 6.

pearls, and flowering bushes and opposed deer (figs. 88, 89). Opposed horses with fluttering ribbons were a favorite.

It is not clear when the earliest roundels reached Astana, and it is even less clear when they reached Datong. Astana was not the only entrance to China; it could be bypassed and there was also the Southern Route. It may be that the two Datong coffins and the Dunhuang Embroidery (487 CE) bear the earliest evidence of them (after the aborted Han examples). The coffin roundels contain Buddhist inhabitants and the Embroidery is on a Buddhist banner. It is possible the origin of this wave of roundels was Gandhara.

After this late fifth century Datong appearance there again seems to be no evidence of them in China until the Sui period. The three Dunhuang caves Owen cites where pearl roundels can be seen are Sui: Caves 295, 420 and 427. By then Zoroastrian or, perhaps by then, secular in some Chinese minds, animals were animating the roundels, including ducks with fluttering scarves and carrying pearl necklaces, on Buddha’s pillow in Cave 295! It may be that there were two, late fifth century and late sixth century, waves of pearl roundels that entered China: one was from Buddhist Gandhāra and the second was from Sogdiana. The former may have come via a southerly route, and the latter via a northerly route.

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208 Zhao Feng, 1997, p. 87.
209 Ibid., p. 87.
210 Meister, 1970, fig. 25. Also see Flaming Triangles chapter, figs. 31 and 32.
211 These Sogdian animals are very different from the freely drawn traditional Chinese animals on the lid and sides of the Guyuan Sarcophagus.
213 Ibid., p. 187, fn. 18.
Although pearl roundels fell from favor in post-Tang China, their fascination has continued to live on in a minor way, as figure 90, a twentieth century application, will attest.

SUMMARY

Vine scrolls, an important matrix and borders on the lid and ends of the Guyuan Sarcophagus, were developed in the Hellenistic Levant and Rome. Palmettes, on the other hand, developed in Assyria, but their irrelevance to Mediterranean and Central Asian art becomes apparent as the naming of the leafy components as “half-palmettes” is called into question. Jessica Rawson sees them as bent-in-half acanthus leaves seen from the side. I see them as grape leaves in the same position. They are everywhere in late fifth century Northern Wei art, and the Chinese name of “honesuckle” seems the most appropriate.

One vine scroll on the Guyuan coffin finds parallels on the Zhijiabao (2001) outer coffin and also on one of the stone stands and the stone coffin bed in Sima Jinlong’s tomb. Another is also found on the Zhijiabao coffin and on both the Song Shaozu and Zhijiabao coffin beds and at Qilicun.

The important inhabited hourglass scroll on the Guyuan coffin closely resembles that on one of Sima Jinlong’s lacquer strips. They even share, and share exclusively, outlined dots and dots that look as though bites have been taken out of them. The tiny curls that edge the intervening half hearts on the lacquer strip are the same as those that edge the Guyuan coffin’s flaming triangles and pearl roundels.

The anachromism of the lotus border being based on the Roman egg and dart molding is traced, with only a suggestion of a solution. Another motif, quatrefoils whose
arms become fleurs de lis probably was a nomad motif as it seemed to come from Pazyryk and also from Yingpan in the Taklamakan Desert.

Hexagons needed no investigation in foreign lands as there is evidence of them in China certainly as early as the Warring States period. They next appeared on gilt bronze saddle covers among the late fourth century Murong Xianbei in Liaoning. However, by the early fifth century they decorated the apparel of the Amitāyus Buddha at Binglingsi in Southern Gansu. Whatever the source, they became extremely popular in late fifth century Pingcheng (Datong), appearing enmeshed in circles in the Yungang Caves, on Sima Jinlong’s lacquer strips, the Dunhuang Embroidery and, of course, on the Guyuan Sarcophagus.

On this last, the circles in which the hexagons were enmeshed were the pearl roundels. They also appear on the Hudong coffin. The roundels on both coffins are edged by the same tiny curls that appear on the half hearts of Sima Jinlong’s lacquer strip. Pearl roundels can be traced from Assyria, through Persia (whose kings did not deign to wear them), across Central Asia to Astana (near Turfan in eastern Xinjiang). With the roundels’ inhabitants being Sogdian animals, they became extremely popular in Sui, and particularly Tang, China.

The inhabitants of the Guyuan Sarcophagus’ and Hudong coffins’ pearl roundels, however, were minor Buddhist deities or apsarasas. The roundels on the Dunhuang Embroidery were on a banner displaying the Buddha. The Buddhist aspect of these early pieces was not to reappear, the components of the second wave of roundels being Sogdian animals (as above). The intriguing possibility is offered that this earlier, late-fifth-century, wave of pearl roundel introduction originated in Buddhist Gandhāra.
CHAPTER THREE

TIANHE – HEAVENLY RIVER

The lid of the Guyuan Sarcophagus is headed by Xiwangmu, Queen Mother of the West, and Dongwangfu, King Father of the East (figs. 1 and 2). Between them and flowing up from the foot of the lid is Tianhe, Heavenly River, or Milky Way. Among its snail-shell curl waves are fish, water fowl and three lotus seed pods. Of the several Heavenly Rivers discussed later in this chapter, it is the only one to be inhabited, that is to contain fauna and flora.

This chapter contains some thoughts about this celestial body and its denizens as well as its subterranean counterpart. It includes some musings about what happened to the post-mortem soul, musings which are continued in Chapter Eleven, “Feathers”.

Stars were considered to be jing, embryonic, germinal essences, or qi, energizing breath. They were the ‘finest bloom’ of the Primal Pneuma. Thus tianhe was the finest product congealed out of the Primal Pneuma at the beginning of time. In ancient sources, inexplicably, it was identified with the quintessential germ of Metal as well as with metaphysical Water. It had spiritual connections with water of every sort, from rain to dew to rivers. The great circumambient ocean received its waters as, when tianhe passed beneath the horizons, it fed the hidden springs of the seas.

There is some suggestion that the tianhe was a circumglobular river which connected with the Yellow Springs below. The Yellow Springs were represented at the

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215 Schafer, 1977, p. 43. Jessica Rawson considers qi, breath or vapour to be the vital force of the cosmos whose energies had to be captured and retained. (1996, p. 63).
216 Schafer, 1977, p. 258.
217 Ibid., p. 260.
bottom of the banner of Lady Dai at Mawangdui by water-loving reptiles (fig. 91). In relation to the lower body of the (southern) Wu hunping, Wu Hung says that the Yellow Springs are an “underground place where the po-souls of the dead go”. On the other hand, it sounds as if it was not a very desirable place. It may have provided refreshment for various species of vermin. A. Gutkind Bulling finds the Yellow Springs was the place where the soul would first go after death. Michael Loewe suggests that it was a somewhat gloomy abode, and the place of a corporate existence of a heirarchical society. K.E. Brashier, despite his monotypic view of the soul, twice mentions its descent to the Yellow Springs. There seems to be no indication as to why a “po” or soul would go to the Yellow Springs instead of staying in the comfort of the tomb.

Some tombs, such as those of King Cuo of Zhongshan and his wife (d. ca. 308 BCE) have drainage channels running along the floor. Southern Dynasties also have drainage channels. In particular, two tombs of the Wang family of the early Eastern Jin near Nanjing, M3 of Wang Danhu, d. 359, and M6 of Xia Jinhu, d. 392, have such channels. Annette Kieser considers that they were installed to deal with the dampness of the southern region, but a recent discovery has suggested an otherworldly reason.

In 2000, a T-shaped pit was excavated outside the undisturbed Tomb of Qin Shi Huangdi (d. 210 BCE). In it were found forty-six bronze lifesize water birds, terracotta

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218 Rawson, 2000, p. 173, fig. 1.
220 Michael Loewe, 2005, p. 34.
224 Kieser, 2001, pp. 246-249. Nancy Steinhardt also includes the Five Dynasties royal tomb of Li Bian in Nanjing.
human figures and some wooden sheds. The water birds are geese, cranes, wild geese and swans (figs. 92, 93).\textsuperscript{225} They might be considered fowl in the First Emperor’s posthumous barnyard were it not for the fact that they were found in a channel (i.e. within two sets of straight lines, not a round pond), that some of the fowl represented were not domesticated and that the footplates supporting them are decorated with painted cloud patterns. Cranes, in particular, are wild birds. Perhaps the Emperor’s waterfowl are in the Yellow Springs.\textsuperscript{226} The creatures inhabiting the \textit{tianhe} on the lid of the Guyuan Sarcophagus are four fish, two flying (!) cranes, a small duck and another small water fowl. This assemblage very much resembles that of the First Emperor’s funerary channel.

This is not the earliest depiction of \textit{tianhe} in East Asia. The earliest we know of is in the Tōkhūng-ri Tomb, P’yŏngyang, Koguryŏ in 408/9 CE (fig. 94).\textsuperscript{227} There, the \textit{tianhe} flows, presumably upward, through imaginary animals, a hunting scene, clouds, a transcendent, constellations and other heavenly bodies. There are no \textit{Xiwangmu} or \textit{Dongwangfu}. The only explanation for its depiction on the ceiling, other than as a celestial phenomenon, is the presence of portraits of the Oxherd and the Weaving Maid, daughter of the God of Heaven (fig. 95),\textsuperscript{228} and they are placed in the lower half of the

\textsuperscript{226} If this exterior channel was considered the Yellow Springs, it is not known how it would relate to the rivers of the earth, created in mercury, recorded by Sima Qian. (Rawson, 2000, p. 149).
\textsuperscript{227} Chŏsen Minshu Shugi Jinmin Kyowa Koku Shakai Kagudu-in and Chŏsen Gaho-Sha, eds., 1986, fig. 12. David Pankenier concurs with this assignation but comments that textual references are much, much earlier. He continues that it is “difficult to imagine that the MW was not depicted in the Han, as indeed Yang Xiong says it was. Murals depicting sun, moon, stars and what are identified as ‘clouds’ are known from the W. Han on. Personally, I suspect in some cases those sinuous, so-called clouds could well be representations of the MW, since stars and clouds together are not really a logically consistent combination. However, representations of the MW of a different order were to be found in the layout of both Xianyang and Chang’ an, which reliable accounts from Shiji and elsewhere clearly state were designed as simulacra of the heavens; for example, in the former case with the Wei River serving as the exact analog of the MW.” Email kindly sent March 6, 2009.
\textsuperscript{228} Tseng, 2003, p. 381, fig. 3.
picture. They are two constellations, the Weaving Maid being a triangle, and the Oxherd a straight line, who are fated to meet only once a year by the Weaving Maid being allowed to cross the *tianhe*.\textsuperscript{229} These early sources are difficult to interpret exactly.\textsuperscript{230}

It is hard to know if the two figures are the only *raison d'etre* for the *tianhe* being depicted or if they are only incidental allusions. In this context, we do not know if the *tianhe* resounded with meaning itself. The whole story may not yet be known.

It is not usually noticed that the Weaving Maid is accompanied by a small black dog. Su Bai, in connection with the two sacrificial dogs in the tomb of Feng Sufu's wife (see below), refers to the "old Eastern Hu custom of 'raising a fat dog... to protect the soul of the deceased in returning to Red Mountain'" in *Hou Han Shu*.\textsuperscript{231}

If the authors of *Hou Han Shu*, Sima Bao (ca. 240-306 CE) and Fan Ye (398-445 CE), had known about the burial practices of the Shang, they might not have been so quick to assign that practice just to the Eastern Hu. Already, in the Dawenkou culture, dogs were beginning to take their place in human burials alongside pig jaws.\textsuperscript{232} For the Shang, Kwang-chih Chang mentions pits, each containing many sacrificed dogs, in major burials. Of particular interest are the waist-pits centered below the principal body containing a single dog, and sometimes a human.\textsuperscript{233} Of these, the most important is the

\textsuperscript{229} Michael Loewe, 1979, p. 112 ff.
\textsuperscript{230} Loewe, offers several interpretations of this allegory, none of which, in his view, is entirely satisfactory. (1979, p. 113 ff). (See below).
\textsuperscript{231} *Hou Han Shu*, "Wuhuan zhuan" [Biography of the Wuhuan], Zhonghua ed., ch. 90, p. 2980. Quoted in Su Bai, 1979, p. 11. In Notes to the Translation, p. 40, n. 32: "According to the same passage quoted in the text, Red Mountain was located several thousands of *li* northwest of Liaodong, and it, like Tai Shan (sic.), was thought to be the final resting place of the souls of the dead."
\textsuperscript{232} My thanks to Robert Bagley for this information. (email: February 2009).
\textsuperscript{233} Chang, 1980: Predynastic Xiaotun (i.e. before Fu Hao): M232, M333 (p. 82), M388 (p. 86). He also mentions one of 4 at Sufutun in Yitu, central Shandong (p. 311).
only unrobbed tomb, that of Fu Hao! In Xibeigang, the royal graveyard to the north of the River Huan, there are ten large tombs, all repeatedly robbed, and a huge number of sacrificial pits. One of the large tombs, M1001, had nine smallish pits dug into the floor each of which contained a human, a ge-halberd and a dog. The humans and ge may have been intended for protection against evil forces or to impress the ancestors. Were the dogs for safe passage?

In, possibly, the fifth century (CE), Gansu, in Dingjiazha (Jiuchuan) Tomb No. 5, on the upper part of the south wall, a conspicuous large black dog yaps at the bird catcher (fig. 96). The dog may simply have wanted some of the captured birds, but, since the whole scene is in the ceiling portion of the painting which contains Xiwangmu, the flying horse and other superterrestrial beings, the bird catcher and the dog must be considered superterrestrial (fig. 97, lower left). It is noteworthy that in the figurine assemblages of Han and Northern Wei tombs, the dog figurine is disproportionately larger than the rest of the figurines. It would seem that dogs were connected with safe passage after death.

There is a possibility that the association of the dog with human death came from Iran. Judith Lerner alludes to several scenes which depict dogs, including their role as guardians of the Činvat Bridge, and their connection with Daēnā but does not associate them with the sagdīd (face cutting) ceremony. Several of the scenes she mentions

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234 Ibid., pp. 87-88. Her waist-pit was south of center. Its dog was only one of several. In addition to the 16 sacrificed humans, there was a total of 6 sacrificed dogs, one in the pit below bottom and the others on top of the chamber. (p. 88). Hers is the only undisturbed Shang tomb.
237 2005, p. 24, fns. 60 and 61.
238 Mary Boyce, however, reports that being “seen by the dog” is part of the sagdīd ceremony (1996, p. 303). Under www.heritageinstitute.com/zoroastrianism/death/index.htm - 28k, it is reported that in the
seem to be connected with a funerary procession: transporting the coffin and a riderless horse. Pénélope Riboud affirms its association with the riderless horse as well as suggesting Chinese usage, but offers little else. Neither author suggests how far the association of dogs and death in Iran goes back in time.

Before 408/9 CE, there are no known tombs showing tianhe. There are a number of Eastern Han tombs that depict the heavens, particularly the twenty-eight lunar lodges that were considered to be the constellations which the moon annually visited, but little attention, even literary, was paid to the tianhe. What little interest there was in texts usually concerned the Oxherd and the Weaving Maid.

Loewe discusses the rare meeting of these two mythical beings at some length. He sees a resemblance with the meetings of Xiwangmu, once with Han Wudi (r. 141-87 BCE, known for his search for the elixir of immortality) in a story of the late third century, with King Mu of Zhou in a sixth century text, and finally with Dongwangfu in a second century text.

The meetings of the Oxherd and Weaving Maid and of Xiwangmu and the male figures were rare and only achieved after continuous effort on the part of the woman:

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sagdld, dog-sight is used to confirm death. If a dog stares steadily at the body, the person is still alive, though in a coma. If the dog does not look at the body, the person is dead. This test is repeated a number of times.

239 2004, p. 20, fn.5.
240 Tseng, 2003 lists 4 of them: Jiaotong University in Xi’an (p. 380 and fig. 5), Tomb 61 in Luoyang (p. 380-1 and figs. 6, 7), Pinglu (fig. 8) and Fenghuangshan (fig. 9).
241 1979, pp. 112-126.
244 Ibid, p. 125. "It is suggested then that a connection may be discerned between three elements: the myth of the Queen Mother of the West, with her characteristic headgear and powers of immortality; the story of the rare meetings of the Weaving Maid and the Oxherd; and the accounts of the meetings of the Queen Mother and Han Wudi.” (p. 120).
weaving by the Weaving Maid and the expenditure of energy by Xiwangmu to keep the rhythm of the cosmos moving, as it were, weaving a web of continuity and rebirth.

The earliest reference to associate Xiwangmu with immortality is in Huainanzi (?179-122 BCE). By the second century CE, when the dual symbol of Xiwangmu and Dongwangfu had developed, she was described as "creator of heaven and earth, moulder of all things that are created, mistress acknowledged by all those who ascend to heaven or descend to earth...". In addition, they had become a powerful talisman which could "set a deceased person in a correct relationship with the cosmos, such that he or she could partake of all its blessings; those blessings included the power of rebirth in another world." It is quite possible that the Weaving Maid with her black dog in the Tôkhûng-ri Tomb plays the same role as Xiwangmu in the Guyuan Sarcophagus: she assists the deceased on the long road, in both cases, the tianhe, to immortality.

After Tôkhûng-ri, tianhe disappeared from Koguryô tombs, not to reappear, but there is further evidence from China's Northeast. The Tomb of Feng Sufu, (d. ca. 415), brother of the Northern Yan ruler Feng Ba, was discovered at Beipiao, near Chaoyang, Liaoning. The Northern Yan rulers were Chinese emigrants who took over a kingdom of the Murong Xianbei, the earliest Xianbei tribe to arrive from the north after 239 CE, and which became the most civilized.

The Tomb of Feng Sufu, who has been described as a dissolute knight who espoused the culture of the barbarians (i.e. Murong Xianbei), contained both the elegant

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245 Ibid., p. 124. One might also see a resemblance to another procreator pair, Fuxi and Nuwa.
246 Ibid., p. 125.
247 Excavation report by Li Yaobo in Wenwu 1973/3, pp. 2-28 + pls. He was the great-uncle of Dowager Empress Feng (d. 490, buried in Wanggu) of the Northern Wei.
items that one would expect of a member of a Chinese royal family and items reflecting a nomadic existence, including parts of animals. There were a number of objects of Central Asian provenance in his tomb including one which may have come from Bêgram.\textsuperscript{249} The walls of his coffin, painted with red lacquer, depict Han officials and four dogs. The outer, stone coffin of his stone slab tomb is painted with celestial bodies including the \textit{tianhe} (fig. 98).\textsuperscript{250} One round body (whether a sun or a moon) can be seen, but, due to the fragmentary nature of the painting, no relationships can be established.

The Guyuan Sarcophagus Tomb is the only known tomb from the Pingcheng era to display a \textit{tianhe}. After it, there are two tombs with the \textit{tianhe} in early sixth century Luoyang. Yuan Yi’s (526 CE) Tomb of 526 CE shows the \textit{tianhe} for a political reason, to show the constellation Five Chariots superimposed on the \textit{tianhe}.\textsuperscript{251} The tomb had been built by his supporters after his execution and the heavenly map demonstrates one of the prognostications that led to his ill-advised actions.

A stone coffin from the contemporary tomb in Luoyang may have greater relevance to our discussion. The \textit{tianhe}, described by a few curving lines, winds between the moon, containing a hare and a toad under a cassia tree, and the sun, containing a three-legged bird (fig. 99).\textsuperscript{252} These celestial bodies are supported by the Weaving Maid and the Oxherd engraved below them. Here is the first time the moon and sun are

\textsuperscript{249} Ibid., p. 15.
\textsuperscript{250} Li Yaobo, 1973, pl. 5. The earlier, Former Yan, 348-370, tomb at Yuantaizi, whose occupant’s canopy is important in the development of Flaming Triangles (see my Ch. 5), displays the heavens on its ceiling in small remaining fragments. The celestial bodies resemble those in Feng Sufu’s tomb and they are surrounded by the four directional animals. There is no \textit{tianhe} to be seen. (Liaoningsheng Bowuguan Wenwu, Chaoyang Diqu Bowuguan Wenwudui and Chaoyangxian Wenhua, 1984, p. 42, figs. 41 and 42.
\textsuperscript{252} Tseng, 2003, p. 378 and p. 380, fig. 2. These are the usual inhabitants of these celestial bodies.
connected with those deities. This depiction thus demonstrates the conflation of Xiwangmu, whose emblem the moon is, and the Weaving Maid. Likewise, Dongwangfu with his sun, is conflated with the Oxherd. Presumably these images, like those on the Guyuan Sarcophagus lid and on the ceiling at Tŏkhŭng-ri, are intended to promote a happy journey to immortality.

Later star maps continued to show *tianhe*. The streaks on the ceiling star map of the Tomb of Luo Rui presumably are a *tianhe*\(^{253}\). Below it are images of the four directions and of the twelve animals representing the Twelve Branches which have cosmological implications. Lou Rui (d. 570 CE) was a Xianbei whose tomb has especially fine murals.\(^{254}\)

Of particular interest is the *tianhe* shown on the ceiling in Tomb 65TAM38 at Astana, Xinjiang (fig. 100).\(^{255}\) On the walls below it are painted boys (putti?) riding flying phoenixes. It is from the third period of that large graveyard, which is mid to High Tang. It is likely the idea came from Central China. The *tianhe* is a few straight lines. Another *tianhe* is on the ceiling of the Tomb of Wang Chuzhi, d. 923.\(^{256}\) It combines with zodiac figures around the walls to depict the heavens. There, the *tianhe* is a few curved lines.

Why depict *tianhe* at all? Including the Heavenly River in the concept of the heavens may have proceeded as a natural development during the post-Han period, or there may be another reason for its sudden appearance. To the Persians, there were two

\(^{253}\) Tseng, 2003, p. 396 and p. 401 fig. 23.

\(^{254}\) A recently published Sui tomb from Shuicun Village, Tongguan Co., Shaanxi shows a white *tianhe* crossing a star map on the ceiling but the white *tianhe* now just looks like roughly applied thick paint and is of little intrinsic interest. (Shaanxisheng Kaogu Yanjiusuo, “A mural tomb of Sui Dynasty in Shuicun Village, Tongguan County, Shaanxi”. *Wenwu* 2008/5, p. 20, fig. 48.)


\(^{256}\) Rawson, 2000, p. 151 and p. 182 fig. 13.
levels of stars. The upper level was that of the “Sphere of the Unmixable Stars”, while the mixable sphere below consisted of eclipses, the movement of the planets, etc. This upper sphere, interposed between the higher heavens and the zone of the dark powers, was the last line of defence for the Light. It comprised mainly the Heavenly River, called the Way of King Kayus which was compared to a girdle around the sky.

The Pahlavi Bundahišn, the text from which these interpretations are drawn, is a composite text, completed in the ninth century CE, where traditional, orthodox beliefs derived from the Zoroastrian scriptures appear side by side with later scientific opinions. Henning explains that the information provided by the Pahlavi version of the Avesta was systematized towards the end of the Sasanian epoch. The author’s “main source with its nearly prehistoric views ... is clearly pre-Achaemenian. After contact with the Babylonians the ecliptic, the zodiacal signs, the planets, etc., became known. Acquaintance with Greek science, energetically promoted by Shapur I, brought more modern ideas”.

The original Zoroastrians had distinguished four spheres: stars, moon, sun, paradise and perhaps clouds as a fifth. The astrological concepts which were coming in from Babylonia, however, were so contrary to the Zoroastrian ideas that it was the Zoroastrian Church which divided the “station of the stars” into two: the “Unmixable

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257 W.B. Henning, 1942, pp. 240-241. Henning and MacKenzie papers kindly sent promptly by internet by Penn ILL due to their being missing from the Far Eastern Library at the ROM.
261 Henning 1942, p. 230. These “nearly prehistoric views” included “sun and moon farther distant from the earth than the stars; size and velocity of the stars; planets unknown”. p. 230.
262 The pre-Zoroastrian Old Iranian beliefs continued among the Khotan Saka and Tokharian populations in Xinjiang. (Sinor, 1996, p. 297).
Stars" and the "Sphere" of the elliptic. In any case, the Heavenly River was a very important part of Persian cosmology and the Chinese view of it may have increased in importance due to contact with intermediate peoples.

How the concept got to Northeast China is an interesting story. We shall look at the case of Feng Sufu (d. ca. 415 CE) first. The Chinese Feng family defeated the Later Yan in 409 CE to become the Northern Yan. During this time they had good relations with the Ruan-ruan (Juan-juan, Rouran), a northern tribe, so much so that at the beginning of the fifth century, they intermarried with them. The Ruan-ruan were a Turkish tribe which emerged during the reign of the founder of Toba Gui (389-409 CE) under their chief Shelun. They were constantly pressing down on the Northern Wei until they were defeated (due to their own internal strife) in the mid sixth century. Their empire stretched from Karashahr to North Korea. In fact, from 413 to 448 Shanshan and Kocho were controlled by the Juan-juan. The foreign articles in Feng Sufu’s tomb such as a glass water dropper and a glass bowl attest to the connections that were effected across Asia at that time.

The Tőkhûng-ri Tomb is near Pyŏngyang in North Korea. Its date, 408/9 CE, is before Koguryŏ moved its capital to Pyŏngyang from Ji’an in 427 CE, but it is in the area of the Chinese commandery of Lelang which Koguryŏ had conquered in 313 CE. It belonged to an important official whose surname was Jin (Ch. Zhen) (331-408 CE). He may have been ethnically Chinese. After the fall of the Former Yan in 370 CE, he was

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263 Ibid., p. 239.
265 Sinor, 1990, p. 293. The religion of the Ruan-ruan is unknown, but they might have picked up ideas from their western subjects.
the Yuzhou Zishi, i.e. he had civil and military control over Koguryŏ's Yuzhou.\textsuperscript{267} Marylin Rhie's source, Chu Yonghŏn, makes it clear that the Korean Yuzhou was different from the Chinese Yuzhou; it contained thirteen juns. This was at the time of a major Koguryŏ expansion, no doubt under the militant King Kwanggaet'ŏ (391-412). It included the Liaodong jun (the region of the Liao and Ling Rivers) to the Dai jun (Yixian in Hebei and including the northeast part of Shanxi). This cosmopolitan gentleman may have come into contact with foreign ideas at that time, and would certainly have been aware of the peoples on Koguryŏ's borders before he died.

There were other carriers of foreign influences too. “An Tong était un Iranien du Liaodong. Son ancêtre était Shigao ...Pendant les Wei (220-265) et les Jin (265-317, 317-420) [les descendants de An Shigao] cherchèrent un refuge contre le désordre au Liaodong, et ils y firent souche.”\textsuperscript{268} “An Tong était marchand avant de devenir le conseiller politique de l'empereur Tuoba Gui.”\textsuperscript{269}

The contents of Zhen's tomb other than the wall paintings were robbed so we do not know if he possessed any foreign objects. The elements in his murals are very Chinese. In fact beings such as flying transcendentals and animal-headed birds\textsuperscript{270} such as are found at Dengxian are almost South Chinese. One would wonder if the painter of the tomb was Chinese if it were not for the fact that the paintings in all the Koguryŏ tombs look Chinese.\textsuperscript{271} These tombs seem more Chinese than the Yan tombs farther west. Nevertheless, tianhe was painted on Zhen's ceiling and it did not appear on any

\textsuperscript{267} Rhie, 2002, p. 224-225. This information is from a translation of the epitaph in his tomb. The character for his family name is missing.
\textsuperscript{268} Wei Shu quoted in Étienne De La Vaissière, 2002, p.67.
\textsuperscript{269} De La Vaissière, 2002, p. 68.
\textsuperscript{270} Annette Juliano, 1980, fig. 28.
\textsuperscript{271} Except for the costumes depicted in the Tomb of the Dancers.
subsequent Koguryŏ tombs. It would appear that a foreign influence occurred in Zhen’s and only Zhen’s tomb.

The above is not to say that Feng Sufu and Zhen became Zoroastrian, far from it. Indeed Zhen’s *tianhe* was made Chinese by the very inclusion of the Weaving Maid and Oxherd. It is simply to suggest that the importance of the Heavenly River was increased by a foreign cosmology that worked its way to China (perhaps simply by a nomad saying “Look at that Heavenly River, ...”). It then was appropriated by the Chinese where it embellished their Sky Maps and perhaps provided a path to immortality.

The Guyuan Sarcophagus seems to be the only Pingcheng period tomb to display a *tianhe*, in fact it is the only Pingcheng tomb to attempt a Sky Map. Actually, the lid of the Guyuan Sarcophagus is not a Sky Map. Chinese Sky Maps from the Han period on, contributed to making the tomb into a universe for the afterlife.272 This project was due to the belief that the microcosm could function as a macrocosm. Everything on earth was part of the grand cosmos. The Pingcheng tombs do not appear to have been small versions of the universe, and neither was the Guyuan tomb. The coffin shows no constellations and the tomb ceiling has no circular arrangement suggesting the heavenly dome. What it does show is various auspicious creatures intended to expedite the passage to the afterlife. Alone with perhaps the Tökhung-ri *tianhe*, the Guyuan *tianhe* seems to suggest the path to be followed by the occupant. In the Guyuan case the *tianhe* leads to the loving arms of Dongwangfu and Xiwangmu, and *beyond*. The final destination could not even be guessed at. The Xianbei ignorance of Star Maps, indeed of the Chinese theory of cosmology, and the novelty of the just-arrived *tianhe* may account

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272 Rawson, 2000, pp. 144-145.
for the misplacement of the *tianhe*, in the afterlife to be sure, but without the rest of the heavens.

The *tianhe* could have reached Datong from any of three directions: from Liaodong273 and Koguryō (see above), from the Ruanruan with whom the Northern Wei seemed to be perpetually at war, or directly from merchants. The foreign treasures found in a number of Datong tombs bespeak an active trade network from the West. Like (or possibly because of) the *tianhe* in the Tōkūng-ri Tomb it became appropriated by Chinese mythical figures and thus became Chinese.

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273 After moving the capital to Pingcheng in 398, Northern Wei Emperor Daowu commanded Chao Chong, a Later Yan astronomer captured on the battlefield to make an armillary sphere. (Tseng, 2003, p. 398). It cannot be certain if the new *tianhe* emphasis had reached Liaodong by the time Chao Chong was captured. If so, he might have brought that information with him.
LOTUS BUDS AND HORSE TASSELS

There are two areas on the Guyuan Sarcophagus where the air in a scene is filled with lotus buds. The first is around the portrait of the occupant which is on the small end of the coffin (figs. 5, 6 and 7), and the second is in the hunting scene at the bottom of Side 1 (figs. 3 and 101). In both scenes, the lotus buds are pointed ovals (with the point at the top), the bodies of which consist of three parts: two to five sepals or unopened petals partly enclosing the unopened flower. At the bottom of some of them are two curled lines and at the top of at least one bud are curled lines, presumably an attempt by the artist to make them more decorative, or perhaps to show that they have been torn from their stems. An interesting conundrum is the fact that these Buddhist symbols are depicted in the very two scenes on the coffin that suggest Sogdian culture: the occupant in the attitude of a Sogdian magnate, and a hunting scene suggesting the Persian Royal Hunt. This problem will be dealt with below.

The concept of lotus buds floating in the air is thought to have begun with the Dīparṁkara Jātaka in which a young ascetic called Megha or Sumati, on hearing that Dīparṁkara Buddha, the last Buddha of the Past, was about to arrive, tossed some flowers toward him which floated into the air. On seeing this miracle, Sumati prostrated himself before him, at which Dīparṁkara predicted that Sumati would be the next Buddha.

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275 Ibid. Fig. 101 which represents a piece of lacquer, was not included in the drawing of Side 1. The bottom of Side 2 was destroyed.
276 Haruka Tsuchiya, 1999/2000, pp. 101-112, discusses the visual evidence of this jātaka in Kāpīśī and Gandhāra.
This jātaka was particularly popular in Gandhāra where it was illustrated on the Sikri stūpa and at Kāpiṣṭī. In the former, Gandhāra, fig. 102, the flowers are shown as rising stemmed lotus buds entering the halo of Dīpankara, whereas at the latter, at Shotorak, the five flowers Sumati (the small floating figure on the left) has thrown, are face down, half open on stems and arranged in an arc above the Buddha’s head (fig. 103). Dīpankara is shown as monumental, and, in typical fashion for Kāpiṣṭī, with flaming shoulders (see my chapter 5). This theme was popular both in Gandhāra and Kāpiṣṭī. In Gandhāra, two examples, from Hadda, earlier than that on the Sikri stūpa, do not show any suspended lotus flowers. At Shotorak, in Kāpiṣṭī, seven examples are known but only one (my fig. 103) is intact.

At Shotorak there was a further reason for throwing flowers and it was connected with Maitreya. The gods of Tuṣita Heaven worshipped the bodhisattva by throwing flowers but, unfortunately the thrown flowers are not in evidence in any known examples in Kāpiṣṭī or Gandhāra. The Tuṣita gods on either side of the Maitreya below Dīpankara’s feet are holding flowers but have not yet thrown them (fig. 103). Maitreya was recognized early as a bodhisattva in those regions and Tsuchiya suggests that that influence accounts for his great popularity in Northern Liang Dunhuang and

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277 Vidya Dehejia, 1997, 4.44 and Tsuchiya, 1999/2000, fig. 2.
278 Benjamin Rowland Jr., 1966, No. 47.
279 Maurizio Taddei divided the examples into 7 groups: 1.) the Flaming Buddha; 2.) the “Miracle of Śrāvasti with Buddha emitting flames from his shoulders; 3.) the Dīpankara jātaka with Buddha figure emitting flames; 4.) the Dīpankara jātaka with flaming Buddha and a standing bodhisattva; 5.) the Dīpankara jātaka with flaming Buddha and scene of meeting with Rāhula; 6.) the Dīpankara jātaka with Stūpa or preaching Buddha and the scene of meeting with Rāhula; 7.) the Dīpankara jātaka and the meeting with Rāhula grouped together in a different context. (Marylin Rhie, 1999, p. 91, fn. 135).
280 A. Foucher cites an example in the Indian Museum of Indra and Brahmā flying, about to scatter flowers with Dīpankara standing on one side. (1918. L’Art Gréco-bouddhique vol II, fig. 463).
281 E.g. Rosenfield, 1967, pl. 100.
282 The same situation is portrayed in Rowland, 1966, No. 46.
Yungang. Susan Bush simply suggests the floral motifs “presumably depict the auspicious rain of flowers thrown in adoration by heavenly beings in Buddhist sūtras.”

By the mid fourth century, the lotus buds on Dīpankara’s halo had settled into two-pointed ovals in neighbouring Swat (fig. 104). These ovals are closer to the form used in fifth century China. Lotus buds do not seem to have been depicted in peninsular South Asia, possibly because there was little interest in the Dīpankara jātaka.

At Bāmiyān, on the other hand, the painting in the various tambours is full of light-colored circles, presumed to be lotus buds (fig. 105). Unfortunately the dating at Bāmiyān is extremely problematic, and these paintings may be far too late to have influenced fifth century China.

On the way to China, some of the paintings in third century Miran show a thick garland supported by adult figures (fig. 106). It and the way the faces are portrayed confirm the Mediterranean heritage of the painter, “Titus”. The garland is full of light colored circles, but they may be presumed to be fruit. Lotuses do float in the air, but they are full-faced rosettes (with rounded petals).

Far out in the desert, the recently excavated site of Karadong has yielded Buddha images surrounded by lotus “petals” (fig. 107). Some are round, some are pointed

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283 1975, p. 20.
284 Marylin Rhie, 1999, fig. 4.44.
285 Tsuchiya says that Xuan Zang recorded that the events of the jātaka were supposed to have taken place at Nagarahara, a legend that Rowland thought might have accounted for its popularity in Shotorak. (Tsuchiya 1999/2000, p. 102).
286 Rhie, 1999, fig. 3.58.
287 Rhie, 1999, fig. 5.31.
288 Ibid., figs. 4.87 a-c.
ovals. Corinne Debaine-Francfort, one of the excavators, names them “petals” because of the lines down the middle.

At the important Buddhist cave-site, Kizil, on the Northern Silk Road, a number of flowers are represented. At the Cave of the Seafarers, believed to be an early cave, partly opened lotus blossoms floating in the water are appropriately colored pink (fig. 108).\textsuperscript{289} In a niche in the Cave of the Devils the light-colored dots on the left look like lotus buds while the others are rosettes or roundels (fig. 109).\textsuperscript{290} Triangular lotus buds do seem to float around the monks and stūpas in the Cave of the Frescoed Floor (fig. 110),\textsuperscript{291} but the many flowers in the lozenges in the Gorge Cave (fig. 111)\textsuperscript{292} do not appear to be lotuses. Of course, the famous Tocharian knights of Kizil are surrounded by lotus buds (fig. 112),\textsuperscript{293} but they are considered to be late. Two of them wear pearl roundels, a textile motif thought to have occurred in the sixth century. Other flowers at Kizil are rosettes formed by tiny dots.

There is considerable debate about the dates of Kizil. Su Bai, based on radiocarbon dating, cave structure and décor, has postulated three phases.\textsuperscript{294} Angela Howard, using her own stylistic analysis, has corroborated his dates. They have enormous relevance to Chinese art. Features that have always been considered Tang

\textsuperscript{289} Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1982, No. 15.
\textsuperscript{290} Ibid., No. 16. This cave may belong to the first period. (Höllenlophöhle Cave? Cave 80?).
\textsuperscript{291} Ibid., No. 30.
\textsuperscript{292} Ibid., No. 34.
\textsuperscript{293} Ibid., No. 107.
\textsuperscript{294} Phase 1: from 310 +/- 80 to 350 +/- 60
Phase 2: from 395 +/- 65 to 465 +/- 65
Phase 3: from 545 +/- 75 to 685 +/- 65
This information may be found in Angela Howard, 1991, pp. 68-83. The above table is on p. 72. The caves depicted in the Metropolitan Museum of Art 1982 publication and others before it are identified by the nomenclature of Grützwedel in the early 20th century. The caves which were submitted to radiocarbon dating in 1979-1981 were given numbers. Actually only 4 of the radiocarbon tested caves had been mentioned (and named) by Grützwedel and these are listed by Howard on p. 71.
(618-906 CE) style (round faces, neck wrinkles, floating scarves, etc.) that were then spread to Kizil, by this new chronology would have developed first in Kizil and then spread to Tang China. On the other hand, why did these features not spread to China with the Former Qin (352-410 CE) and Northern Wei conquests of Kucha (Kizil)?

The few Afghanistan and Pakistan images with flowers floating in the air were connected with the Dīparīkara Jātaka. They belong to the Kushan period, probably second century CE, with the last known, the Swat image (fig. 104), dated by Rhie to the mid fourth century. These of course are Buddhist images and are carved in stone. Any painting of the period has not survived. Somehow the allegiance to Dīparīkara was lost in the transfer of the concept of floating flowers to Central Asia (including Bāmiyān), where all the paintings, though probably Buddhist, are filled with floating flowers but seem to have no relation to Dīparīkara.

The hoard found at Begram in the Kāpīsī Valley, right next to Shotorak, however, includes carved and incised ivory and bone fragments, and these are, for the most part, secular (figs. 113 and 114). Sanjyot Mehendale, based on the Roman ware and Chinese lacquers included in the hoard, dates it to the first century CE; Lolita Nehru dates it up to the mid second century CE or perhaps even a little later. They are thus only

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295 It must have been extremely difficult to find uncontaminated material to subject to radiocarbon analysis. In addition, it should be remembered that a C14 date, including the plus and minus, still is only sixty-six percent of being right.

296 The supported garland of Miran (fig. 106) was of pagan Roman origin and was commonly used in Gandhāra. It was appropriated by Buddhism and can be seen suspended in the caves (e.g. Cave 6 and the porch between Caves 9 and 10) at Yungang.

297 J. Hackin, 1954, *Nouvelles Recherches*, fig. 233 "Coffret IX" (fouilles 1937, no. 329 [183 b]); and fig. 30 bis. Ensemble no. 5, registre III (suite). This plaque is composed of (or the same as) several smaller plaques illustrated in J. Hackin, 1939, *Recherches*: fig. 175 (no. 329), fig. 176 (no. 329), fig. 181 (no. 329) and fig. 183 (no. 329).


300 2004, p. 121.
slightly earlier than the Dīpankara images discussed above. Fig. 113, an incised ivory slab from a jewel casket portrays a languorous scene of feminine pleasures (perhaps in a harem) including fruit and the application of cosmetics. The flowers floating in the air, only some of which are lotuses, add to the lushness of the scene as does the surrounding inhabited vine. The theme is continued on a carved ivory fragment, fig. 114, where a number of rosettes float in the air on this and other fragments. There may have been an undercurrent in the northern part of South Asia of secular art filled with flowers that became the guiding force in the flower-filled Buddhist art of Central Asia. One could even postulate that the flowers floating in the air were included to help fill the scene and emphasize its sacred nature.

In China, lotus flowers continued to be associated with Buddhism and not just Dīpankara, although his image did appear occasionally. The earliest representations were not of the bud type but were open flowers. These in profile can be seen on either side of the Buddha on a Chinese shenshou mirror, third century, excavated in Japan (fig. 115). Similar open lotuses float beside a shrine on a tile in Sichuan. Open lotuses en face are on either side of a Buddha’s halo in a gilt bronze thought by Rhie to belong to the late Eastern Han or Three Kingdoms period (fig. 116).

The first place we see actual lotus buds is in Koguryŏ. A transcendental, identified by the feathers on his arms and legs, carries a lotus bud and another bud floats beside him near the top of the ceiling of the Tŏkhŭng-ri Tomb, dated 408/9 (fig. 94). Several full-blown lotuses in profile appear on the walls. An even earlier tomb, Anak

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301 A reconstruction is fig. 4, p. 64 in Rowland, 1966.
302 Wu Hung, 1986, fig. 28.
303 Rhie, 1999, fig. 1.34.
304 Ibid., fig. 2.29.
Tomb No. 3, 357 CE, in the P’yōngyang region shows no lotus buds, only full-blown lotuses in profile on the corners of the occupants’ tents. They are probably analogous to the acroteria on the corners of the Tŏkhŭng-ri occupant’s tent. It also has a full-blown lotus en face on the cap of its lanternendecke ceiling as have many Koguryŏ tombs.305

The Ji’an region Tomb of the Dancers shows not only lotus buds but full-blown lotuses in profile on its sloping ceiling (fig. 117).306 There are also pointed ovals rising from the roof of a shed which I treat as flames in Chapter 5, but which could just as well be lotus buds. Ah-rım Park in her dissertation does not give a date for the Tomb of the Dancers, but quotes two earlier authors as suggesting the mid-third to the mid-fourth century, or the mid-fourth to the early fifth century. Given the developed form of the flaming triangles in the Tomb of the Dancers compared to the incipient form in the Tŏkhŭng-ri Tomb (see my chapter 5), as well as the greater interest in lotuses, probably the Tomb of the Dancers should be dated to the early fifth century at the earliest.

The next appearance of lotus buds is in the southern part of Gansu, in Cave 169 at Binglingsi, dated 420 CE by inscription. Despite the damaged condition of the painting, several tripartite lotus buds can be discerned as well as a developing seed pod held by a believer (figs. 118, 307 119).308 The lotus buds/flowers in fig. 120309 resemble those in the Cave of the Seafarers in Kizil (fig. 108). Binglingsi Cave 169 was excavated and begun to be decorated in the dynasty of the Western Qin (385-431 CE).

305 As well as in the Dingjiazha (Jiuquan) Tomb No. 5 in Gansu. Park, 2002, fig. 184-1.
307 Dong Yuxiang, chief ed., 1994, fig. 23.
309 Ibid., fig. 41.
Contemporary with Binglingsi are the caves in western Gansu excavated in the Northern Liang Dynasty that lasted until 439 CE when it was conquered by the Northern Wei. Perhaps the earliest are the two caves at Wenshushan near Jiuquan. In a frieze around the tops of the walls, apsarasas wearing tartan scarves provide music (fig. 121).  

The painting is filled in with two basic types of lotus buds. Some of them consist of several petals, not yet opened, and have a triangular shape. A few of these, particularly at the top of the lower figure, have arcs of dots around the tops. It is not known if these are supposed to make the lotus buds appear more sacred or if they are supposed to represent stamens. The other type appears to be a wreath from which rise three lotus buds. The rationale behind this peculiar motif has not been discerned. It also appears in a few caves at Dunhuang.  

In the Northern Liang Caves at Mogao, Dunhuang (there are four) lotus buds appear around the cross-ankled Maitreya and on the lanternendece ceiling of Cave 268, around apsarasas and bodhisattvas in Cave 272 (fig. 122) and on the striped ceiling of Cave 275. It is in Cave 275, however, that the lotus buds are not restricted to pointed ovals or even rounded triangles, but become budded twigs (figs. 123, 25) and even short vine scrolls (bottom of fig. 25). The influence of the Central Asian background of many kinds of flowers being depicted had not yet subsided.

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311 Such as on the ceiling of Northern Wei Cave 251, my fig. 92 in Chapter 5.
312 All the cave numbers in this section on caves refer to the Mogao caves at Dunhuang.
313 Dunhuang Wenwu Yanjiusuo, 1982, fig. 6.
314 My fig. 90 in Chapter 5.
315 Dunhuang Wenwu Yanjiusuo, 1982, fig. 10.
317 Both Dunhuang Wenwu Yanjiusuo, 1982, fig. 17 and 12 respectively.
This tendency continued into the famous painting of the Ruru Jātaka in Northern Wei Mogao Cave 257 at Dunhuang (fig. 124). There, triangular lotus buds with stems and arced dots like those at Wenshushan (fig. 121) are in evidence along with a triangular lotus bud with three rising slender lotus buds like the wreaths also at Wenshushan. In addition, there are many floral sprays, but one cannot be sure if these are intended to reinforce the sanctity of the scene or merely to add to the pastoral atmosphere.

Pointed oval lotus buds continue to appear in the paintings of Dunhuang, such as in the Western Wei Mogao Cave 288 and in the Northern Wei Caves 76 and 110 at Maijishan. The lotuses of Dunhuang Cave 288 are surrounded by little dots like those of Cave 257 at Dunhuang and the Wenshushan Cave (see above), whereas those of Maijishan Cave 110 have sharp points and side sepals like those of Tōkhūng-ri (fig. 94).

Otherwise, lotus buds occurred occasionally on stelae. It is surprising that they cannot be seen on Stele 10 in Cave 133 at Maijishan, because the Dīparīkāra Jātaka scene appears to the left of Maitreya’s crossed ankles (fig. 125). On the other hand, they appear in all six upper registers of the back of the 471 CE (Huangxing) stele in Beilin, Xi’an (fig. 126) even though the actual Dīparīkāra story only takes up two and a half of them. The Dīparīkāra story is made to look as if it is the basis of the whole narrative leading up to the nativity and recognition scenes. The obverse displays Maitreya (fig.

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318 Benjamen Rowland, 1974, p. 207.
320 Both Zhongguo Meishu Quanji Bianji Weiyuanhui, ed., 1984, pp. 49 and 73 respectively.
Lotuses on long stems carried by persons (like Padmapāni) in procession are not included in this study.
321 Michael Sullivan, 1977, p. 105, fig. 129.
The reverse of a 457 CE stele may show lotus buds, also, as does the front of the 516 CE stele from Shandong of Maitreya in the University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology. The association of lotus buds and Maitreya (see p. 2 above) has obviously carried over into China. The Dipamkara Jātaka appears in Yungang Cave 10 with floral rosettes (fig. 128) and floral rosettes occur occasionally, probably as a decorative motif, throughout the caves. Tsuchiya mentions that the jātaka occurs in Caves 5A, 12 and 19A.

In the south, floral twists occur in an unidentified Danyang tomb and around the white tiger in the Dengxian tomb. It is hard to identify them as lotuses, but the central parts of the Danyang twists do bear some resemblance to the flowers on either side of the Buddha on the third century shenshou mirror (fig. 115). The tile mural of apsarasas in the Huqiao tomb at Danyang shows wind, a flying lotus on the left like that of the shenshou mirror (above), and tiny oval lotus buds (fig. 129).

Of considerable significance as far as the Guyuan Sarcophagus is concerned is the fact that representations of lotus buds occur in the Datong tomb at Zhijiabao, believed to date to the Taihe reign period (477-500 CE). No lotus buds appear in the portrait of the occupants and food carrying attendants in fig. 131, top, but lotus buds do float

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322 Both Jin Shen, 1994, no. 21, pp. 31 and 30 respectively. The complex of traits on this stele: flaming shoulders, Maitreya and possibly Dipamkara Jātaka, illustrates the traits Tsuchiya defines having been developed in Kapīṣṭā. (1999/2000, pp. 101-107).
324 Dorothy Wong, 2004, p. 95, fig. 6.4.
327 Susan Bush, 1976, figs. 5 and 6.
328 Annette Juliano, 1980, figs. 64, 65. The tiny ovals may be intended to represent dew.
329 Wang Yintian and Liu Junxi, 2001, pp. 40-51. This is the same place (Datong) and date proposed for the Guyuan Sarcophagus.
330 Ibid., p. 43, fig. 6.
around lotus bearing male attendants and feathered transcendentals in fig. 130, bottom,\(^{331}\) and women and feathered transcendentals in fig. 131.\(^{332}\) Obviously, there is a mix between the traditional Chinese figures of the transcendentals and Buddhist lotus buds, particularly those carried by the attendants like Padmapāṇi, just as there is on the Guyuan coffin. Many of the lotus blossoms resemble that in Cave 169 at Binglingsi (fig. 120) and there is also one resembling the wreath with three vertical buds at Wenshushan (figs. 131 bottom and 132 left). Near the top of the inside of the house-shaped sarcophagus at Zhijiabao is painted a large flower which is probably intended to represent a lotus, but with its rendong leaves, it resembles more a peony (fig. 132 right). This painting is significant because of the comma-shaped figures around it. Some are attached thus depicting leaves, others are free floating. They are somewhat similar to the dots with bites taken out of them\(^{333}\) that are all over the Guyuan Sarcophagus and on one of Sima Jinlong’s lacquer strips.

Of course, no greater testimony to the importance of the lotus bud could be made than its depiction in the otherwise almost undecorated tomb of Dowager Empress Feng (d. 490 CE) on Fangshan to the north of Datong. There, on each side of the arched doorway, a haloed celestial boy preciously conveys a lotus bud (fig. 133).\(^{334}\) She was noted for her devotion to Buddhism (as well as less ethical behavior). We shall return to lotus buds at the end of this chapter.

**HORSE TASSELS**

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\(^{331}\) *Ibid.*, p. 43, fig. 7.


\(^{333}\) In Chapter 8, fig. 7, some of the dots are asymmetrical making them almost comma-shaped.

\(^{334}\) Angela Falco Howard, 2006, p. 120, fig. 2.18 and 2.19. Fig. 2.19 is on the left side.
No doubt lotus buds and lotus flowers arrived in China on Buddhist objects of veneration, but the pointed oval form, which is not an indigenous Chinese form,\(^{335}\) has had a long history in Iran. Indeed Iran may have been the inspiration for the occasional appearance of the motif in Pazyryk (ca. 300 – 250 BCE) as well as of the Achaemenid lion which appears there (fig. 134).\(^{336}\)

The form is well suited to repoussé, a technique of hammering metal over a model favored by the Persians.\(^{337}\) Multiple teardrop shapes often formed the basic decoration for silver phialae, shallow drinking bowls such as fifth century BCE examples in the Sackler Museum.\(^{338}\) In figure 135 from Istanbul, the nine “lobes” alternate with stylized “lotuses”.\(^{339}\) In figure 136 “lotuses and palmettes” are linked on a silver rhyton\(^{340}\) as perhaps leaves and stylized lotuses appear on the staircase leading up to the Apadāna at Persepolis (fig. 137).\(^{341}\) In the case of fig. 136, the lotuses and palmettes are made conspicuous by gold foil having been applied and hammered into the engraved grooves of the motifs on the hammered vessel; in the case of fig. 137 the motifs are carved in stone relief. A further example is on a late Hellenistic (100 – 200 CE) lagynos (jug) probably originating in Asia Minor, now in Damascus (fig. 138).\(^{342}\) Although the names of the motifs have been provided only in the twentieth century by curators, it is interesting that the lotus buds are coupled in these examples with what are sometimes

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\(^{335}\) Not since the Neolithic Miaodigou culture of the 3rd millenium, e.g. *The Chinese Exhibition*, Royal Ontario Museum, 1974, Nos. 39 and 40.


\(^{337}\) It was not used in China, certainly not before the common era.

\(^{338}\) Ann C. Gunter and Paul Jett, 1992, no. 2 (5\(^{\text{th}}\) – 4\(^{\text{th}}\) c) and no. 3 (5\(^{\text{th}}\) c).

\(^{339}\) Ilknur Özgen and Jean Öztürk, 1996, no. 40.

\(^{340}\) Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1996, No. 15, p. 41, fig. 15: detail. My thanks to Virginia Bower for this gift.

\(^{341}\) Tharwat Ukāshah, 1989.

\(^{342}\) Harvey Weiss, ed., 1985, fig. 224.
identified as lotus plants. The pattern even continued onto a woolen textile excavated from the Han period Xiongnu site of Noin Ula in Mongolia (fig. 139).\textsuperscript{343} Of course, the plants might have been included to fill in the spaces between the tips of the lotus buds, but that argument could not be used in the case of fig. 137, the Apadāna staircase, where they do not alternate.\textsuperscript{344}

Oval shapes, somewhat akin to those of the lotus buds just described, later often appeared as tassels attached to the harness over the rears of royal Sasanian (224-651 CE) horses (fig. 140).\textsuperscript{345} It is difficult to account for the origin of these ornaments as the previous Parthian Dynasty has left no evidence of them.\textsuperscript{346} Prudence Harper states that early in the dynasty princes and rulers of regions within the Sasanian Empire were portrayed on silver plates in scenes of the hunt (fig. 141).\textsuperscript{347} Another early example is a silver plate of a bear hunt found at Krasnaia Poliana and now in the Abkhasian State Museum.\textsuperscript{343} Camilla Trever, 1932, p. 6. This site also yielded a Chinese silk textile depicting a dragon. (my ch. 5, figs. 158 and 159).

It is interesting that the “lotus plants” very much resemble those in Bharhut (ca. 100 BCE) placed between the stacked triangles at the tops of the stone reliefs. (e.g. Rowland, 1977, fig. 35). The teardrop shape also represented pendant pearls that adorned the garments of some of the Sasanian kings. It even appeared woven into a 6th or 7th c textile. (Prudence O. Harper, 1978, p. 129, detail of no. 54).

Salomea Fajans, 1957, fig. 16. Fajans identifies the crown as that of Yazdegerd II (438-457 CE). The hunting plate was found in a treasure in Ufa, Russia. Xiuxin Zhou mentions a number of ornaments attached to Sasanian horses. (2008, pp. 180-183). Although the crenellated manes of the horses of Pazyryk began to appear in China in the tomb of Qin Shihuangdi and were the rule on the horses carved on Zhaoling (ibid., p. 199), the Pazyryk horses did not sport any tassels although their saddles did support dangling appendages (Rudenko 1970, pl. 135). The ornamental disks attached to their harnesses likely belonged to a separate tradition, Pazyryk in the Altai being widely separated from the Sasanians in Southern Iran geographically and in time (500 years).

Katsumi Tanabe concludes about the origin of the motif is that it was invented by the Sasanians and that it was a Sasanian royal symbol. He rejects proposals that it had a practical use. (1980, p. 65). My thanks to the ILL service of the Library of the University of Pennsylvania for investigating what proved to be a defective reference and ultimately relaying the article to Toronto from another university.

1978, no. 3. This plate is from Sari in northern Iran and Harper assigns it to the 4\textsuperscript{th} c. She goes on to suggest that the iconography is mixed and may reflect contention for the throne in the 3\textsuperscript{rd} and 4\textsuperscript{th} centuries. (p. 33).
Museum which Fajans assigns to the third century (fig. 142). She states that the high cap (kulāh) worn by the hunter was not that of the Sasanian king. It sounds as if the tassels were ornaments native to the Sasanians as these examples show their use before they became codified as kingly appurtenances.

Another early, but kingly, example, is the early-fourth-century rock relief of Hormizd II (302-309 CE) charging and unseating his adversary at Naqsh-I Rustam (fig. 143). Perhaps the finest plate of all is the Stroganov or Shapur plate in the Freer Gallery (my ch. 5, fig. 184). These tassels were attached by chains to the harness at the rear of the horse (fig. 144). That they came to have monarchical significance is shown by a bowl on which the frontally seated king is placed between two figures, one of whom holds out a tassel in his direction (fig. 145). This tassel cannot have been a mere fly whisk such as was used in India, Balalyk Tepe (fig. 149) or even Miran because the handsomely dressed, with head streamers, person on the other side of the king is holding toward him the wreath of office. Clearly both individuals are presenting attributes of kingship.

Horse tassels are not shown on the Guyuan Sarcophagus, but at least one of the lotus buds is drawn so close to the horse as to be mistaken for one (fig. 101). There are, however, three illustrated examples in East Asia. One is on a painted “Han hu” in the

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348 Fajans, 1957, fig. 11. The grape leaf on the side of his cap is similar to the 5-lobed trefoil (cinquefoil) on the Maitreya’s crown in Cave 13, Yungang (my Ch. 7, fig. 17c) and on many of the pushou in that chapter.
349 O.M. Dalton chronicles the various suggestions that have been made about their use and comes to the conclusion that they were “merely tassels serving the purpose of keeping off flies.” (1964, p.62: note to #207, p. 61).
350 Roman Ghirshman, 1962, fig. 220.
353 Shown beside the Buddha in the wall painting from Stūpa Shrine M III. (Rhie, 1999, fig. 5.24).
Luoyang Museum (fig. 146, 147).\footnote{Photograph by the author by permission of Mr. Zhang of the museum staff.} It shows the hunter turning backwards to the left to execute a Parthian shot at what looks like a horned charging bull.\footnote{An unusual image for either China or Iran.} He is on a spotted horse and he and the horse are surrounded by a wavy red line. A single pointed oval clearly flies from the rump of the horse and what appears to be a tulip-shaped tassel flies from beneath it. (There were tassels or “strap pendants” of more than one shape in Iran). Both are painted red. The 
\( hu \) is painted with typical red and black figures over perhaps a white slip, but it must be later than Han (which ended in 220 CE) because the Sasanian Dynasty as such did not begin until 224 CE. The 
\( hu \) was excavated from the Luoyang Railway Station in 1974.\footnote{I have been unable to find the site report.}

The second example of a horse tassel depicted in East Asia is in the hunting scene in the Tomb of the Dancers (early fifth century) in Koguryô. The upper hunter on a white horse turns to execute a Parthian shot at two deer (fig. 148).\footnote{Ah-rim Park, 2002, fig. 16. I examined pl. IX, “Buyô-Zuka. Main Chamber: Painting on the Left Wall” in vol. 2 of Ikeuchi Hiroshi, \textit{Tsûkô} with some care to make sure the tassel was not a copyist’s interpretation. Judging from the photographic copy of the mural’s damaged portions, it was very clear that the pl. IX was indeed an excellent photograph of the actual mural. My thanks to Anna U, Head of the East Asian Library, University of Toronto for making this rarely viewed item available for me.} The tail of his horse is a long triangle, but above the tail is a truncated triangle clearly flying from the harness over the rear of the horse. Was this motif the result of a fresh inspiration from Iran, or did some knowledge of the tassels persist in China through the period of turmoil and destruction?

C. Scott Littleton in tracing the Arthurian-Batraz-Yamato-takeru legend across Eurasia has postulated a group of Central Asian Europoids he calls “Epi-Scythians”.\footnote{1998, pp. 747-766.} These would be the Altaic-speaking horse-riders who crossed the Yalu River to Korea
and thence to Japan in the fourth century CE. Whether they brought the Sasanian horse tassels, cannot, at present, be said. The famous ceramic Gyeongju knight on horseback from Silla does have a “strap pendant” hanging over the horse’s rump (our third example) (fig. 807). “Besides these, harness also includes the horse fittings ... various shapes of strap fittings such as heart shapes and fish-tail shapes, suspended from the leather straps;” It is to be noted that not only the horse on the Han hu (figs. 146, 147) but King Shapur’s horse on the Stroganov plate (Ch. 5, fig. 184) have strap pendants of different shapes.

The horse-rider theory is presently much under discussion. In 1993, Sarah Milledge Nelson saw current archaeology as increasingly supporting mounted warriors in southern Korea, particularly in the Kaya region. In 2001, Gina L. Barnes, with the aid of further archaeology, presents a whole chapter on the recently discovered iron armour in Kaya and extended regions. She then goes on to consider whether the horse-riding equipment in Kaya and later in Gyeongju had anything to do with a migration of Northeast and Central Asians to that area. She further wonders how the Inner Asians got there: by sea, overland or through Koguryō?

Their relationship with the historical peoples through whom they must have passed is still a mystery. Did they pass unrecorded through the Xiongnu and the Xianbei

359 McCune 1962, fig. 67.
361 1993, 237.
363 Ibid, pp. 218-220. In a 1993, 1999 publication, she mentions that the horse and armour aristocratic order as having begun on the steppe a millennium earlier. (p. 231). Her small drawing of the Geongju horse and knight (see above) lacks the “strap pendants” apparent in a photograph.
(who were both horse-riders) or did they become integrated?\textsuperscript{364} Littleton suggests that they may have been Wusun.\textsuperscript{365} Nicola Di Cosmo quotes the Xiongnu \textit{shanyu} as declaring the Wusun and many other states as now being part of the Xiongnu.\textsuperscript{366} This must have been a remote relationship because Thomas J. Barfield always indicates that the Wusun were distant and to the west, indeed in the steppe to the west of the Altai Mountains.\textsuperscript{367}

If they proceeded east, what were their relations with the various Yan kingdoms\textsuperscript{368} and also with Puyo and the several kingdoms of the Korean Peninsula? Even if they entered that peninsula from the very north, they must have encountered some Xianbei. Perhaps traits of the Epi-Scythians were passed through intervening peoples without those peoples being ethnically displaced. Or, as Barnes has suggested, perhaps they came by sea.\textsuperscript{369}

On the other hand, so far, no one has been able to account for the early appearance in Koguryŏ of traits such as the Han traits observable in the Tŏkhŭng-ri Tomb (409/9 CE) that must have come from west of its borders. The most reasonable explanation is that the central part of China was in such chaos after the fall of the Han in 220 CE, that few artistic ideas developed or were preserved, and it remained for the borderlands, west, north and east to preserve and transfer them.

\textbf{BALALYK TEPE}

There is speculation about the possible connection between the occupant of the Guyuan Sarcophagus and the Hephthalites. Luo Feng notes that the way the Guyuan

\textsuperscript{364} Victor Mair suggests that the ethnic composition of the Xiongnu is not fully known. They may have had a mixed composition. (personal communication, Feb. 2009).
\textsuperscript{365} 1998, p. 758.
\textsuperscript{366} 2002, p. 196.
\textsuperscript{367} 1992, e.g. pp. 86, 277.
\textsuperscript{368} Former Yan, 348-370 CE; Later Yan, 383-409 CE.
\textsuperscript{369} 2001, p. 220.
occupant holds his cup with his little finger extended is the same mannerism as that of the nobles in the wall paintings from the Hephthalite site of Balalyk Tepe. In addition, the occupant’s pose holding a cup at all is commensurate with Iranian-Central Asian ritual or festive practice and not with Han Chinese portraiture. This matter will be dealt with more fully in Chapter 6.

The Hephthalites were a tribe which took over the previously Kushan area north and south of the Hindu Kush from the brief rule of the Kidarites sometime after 437 CE. Initially they assisted Peroz, king of Persia (459-484 CE), one of whose coins was found in the tomb of the Guyuan Sarcophagus. Later they captured him and exacted huge indemnities after his release, but eventually killed him in battle when he launched an attack on them. During this time, their influence spread to Sogdiana after which they subdued the city states of Khotan, Kashgar, the region of Turfan in 479 CE and the region of Karashahr and present day Urumchi between 497 and 509 CE. Their first embassy to the Northern Wei was 456-7 CE. These continued until between 507 and 531, during which period they sent no fewer than thirteen embassies. The demise of their state came between 557 and 561 CE at the hands of the Türk Kaghan Ishtemi and Khosrow I, King of the Persians. Much information about the whereabouts of the Hephthalite kings in Tocharistan and Gandhāra is based on the account by the Chinese diplomat, Song Yun, of his travels there between 518 and 520 CE. Unfortunately the editor of this account, Yang Xuanzhi, included parts of the accounts of two other travellers, Song Yun’s

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370 1990, p. 22.
371 Denis Sinor, 1990, pp. 299-301.
372 Denis Sinor, 1990, p. 299.
companion the monk Huisheng and the earlier monk Daoyao, to fill in the text, so the exact itinerary of Song Yun is unclear.\textsuperscript{373}

The murals on the walls of a Hephthalite stronghold, Balalyk Tepe, show nobles drinking, perhaps in a ritual manner, and floating around them are several pointed oval lotus buds (figs. 149 and 150).\textsuperscript{374} The reason why this fact seems so strange is that the Hephthalites were reputed to be Zoroastrians and a fire altar has been found in their castle.\textsuperscript{375} Lotus buds, as demonstrated above, were emblematic of Buddhism.

Denis Sinor, however, has suggested an explanatory situation:

Equally inconsistent are references to the Hephthalites’ religion. Somewhat surprisingly Sung Yün and Hui Sheng report that they do not believe in Buddhism, though there is ample archeological evidence that this religion was practiced in territories under Hephthalite control. According to the \textit{Liang shu} the Hephthalites worshiped Heaven and also fire – a clear reference to Zoroastrianism. There are also indications that Nestorian Christianity was widespread within the Hephthalite empire. Burial in coffins is reported to have been the normal practice in disposing of the dead – a custom unthinkable among Zoroastrians. Procopius even adds the detail that companions of the deceased – presumably if he was a man of some importance – were buried alive (?) with him.\textsuperscript{376}

B.A. Litvinsky paints a similar picture and shows how the Hephthalite area included one of the major areas of Buddhism.\textsuperscript{377} After all, Bāmiyān was included in their territory. Xuanzang in 629 CE described Balkh, the Hephthalite capital, as having one hundred \textit{vihāras} (monasteries) with some three thousand monks.\textsuperscript{378} Perhaps floating lotus buds were included in the Balalyk murals to suggest that the scenes of feasting were taking place in some afterlife.

\textsuperscript{373} Shoshin Kuwayama, 2006, p. 117.
\textsuperscript{374} L.I. Albaum, 1960, figs. 104 and 109.
\textsuperscript{375} B.A. Litvinsky, 1996, p. 478.
\textsuperscript{376} 1990, p. 300.
\textsuperscript{377} Litvinsky, 1996, pp. 147-161.
\textsuperscript{378} \textit{Ibid.}, p. 149.
Although the floating lotus buds at both Balalyk Tepe and in the Central Asian style portrait and hunt sections of the Guyuan Sarcophagus suggest a Hephthalite origin of the occupant of the latter, there may be none. Both Balalyk Tepe and Datong had local influences that could have produced the lotus buds: Gandhāra and Buddhist Northern China respectively.

The unique, to those two areas, mannerism of the extended little fingers, however, is another matter. It did not come from Sogdiana, because all fingers surround the cups in a mural of a banquet at Pjanjikent.\textsuperscript{379} Neither was it echoed at fifth to seventh century Dilberjin where the banqueters are in the same pose as at Panjikent.\textsuperscript{380}

There is a slim possibility, however, that the pose came from the Sasanians with whom the Hephthalites had much contact (see above). Unfortunately, none of the few surviving fragments of Sasanian murals shows banqueters holding cups, and the rock reliefs do not depict banquets. Thus we do not know what the Sasanianians looked like when they feasted. Nevertheless, there is one record of a cup holder. She is a genius carved on the right side of the arched entrance of the ‘great grotto’ at Taq-I Bustan.\textsuperscript{381} In her right hand she holds the wreath of office, in her left hand she holds a footed, fluted cup (fig. 151).\textsuperscript{382} Her little finger is extended, not quite so much as those of some of the Balalyk banqueters, but it is the same as of at least one of them.

As for the Guyuan Sarcophagus occupant, while it is possible that he was a Hephthalite who broke away from his group while the Hephthalites were on diplomatic

\textsuperscript{379} Guitty Azarpay, 1981, p. 11, fig. 48.
\textsuperscript{380} I. Kruglikova, 1979, p. 132, fig. 19. Dilberjin was near Balkh, a Hephthalite capital, and is included by Litvinsky in his discussion of Hephthalite culture. (1996, p. 151).
\textsuperscript{381} It dates from the time of Khusrau II (590-628 CE). Litvinsky, ed., 1996, p. 67, fig. 14.
\textsuperscript{382} Shinji Fukai \textit{et al.}, 1983.
missions or were at Turfan after 479 CE, it is more likely that he was a Northern Wei official or possibly a native of Turfan. He is portrayed in Xianbei costume without the single large lapel worn by the men of Balalyk Tepe or the Tocharian knights at Kizil, and he holds a little round Chinese cup. Even the silver cup found in his tomb is a Chinese earcup though it has had a fluted Central Asian cup attached to its bottom. All the other utensils in his tomb are Chinese. He certainly agreed to Chinese native and filial piety themes painted all over his coffin and he had some interest in Buddhism. His very coffin makes the possibility of Zoroastrian faith less likely. Nevertheless, the fact that his little finger is extended shows that he had had some contact with (and admiration for) the Hephthalites or he would not have learned that affectation.
CHAPTER FIVE
FLAMING TRIANGLES

Probably the most enigmatic motif on the Guyuan Sarcophagus is the flaming triangle (fig. 152).³⁸³ “Flaming” is my descriptive term that I shall use throughout this study, although there is no way of knowing if the borders of the triangles represent flames. Specifically, the upper sides of these triangles are framed by flames or curlicues and the triangles enclose flames or vegetation. Often several triangles are depicted together, but always they are separated and are never parts of a zigzag. They appear above things, usually on the tops of representations of architecture.

Flaming triangles were depicted only in the fifth century CE, and only in the northern part of China and Korea. They appeared first in Koguryo by 408 CE, then in the Yungang Caves in Datong (Pingcheng) later in the century, and, of course on the Guyuan Sarcophagus. They received but faint reference on the ceilings of several of the Mogao (Dunhuang) Caves and appeared nowhere else in Gansu.³⁸⁴ At the end of the fifth

³⁸³ Ningxia Guyuan Bowuguan 1988, colored plates 20 and 21, left sides.
³⁸⁴ My definitive statement is based on research visits to the Gansu caves Jintasi, Tiantishan, Binglingsi, Majishan, South Cave and Wangmugong in Jingquan, North Cave in Xifeng (south Gansu), and the Ningxia caves Xumishan and Shikong Shiku.
I wish to thank the Silk Road Foundation for allowing me to attend the Dunhuang Art and Society International Seminar for 1 month at Mogao in 1998, affording me the opportunity to see many of the examples there. I have not visited Qianfodong and Wenshushan was not opened when I attempted to see its two caves.
Zhang Baoxi, ed., 1994 includes the major sites of the Hexi Corridor, including Jintasi and Wenshushan, as does Gansu Sheng Wenwu Kaogu Yanjiu Suo 1987.
For Tiantishan: Ji Yuanzhi in Dunhuang Yanjiu 1997/1.
For South and North Caves, Wangmugong in Jingchuan and Xifeng (SE Gansu): Gansu Sheng Wenwu Gongzu Dui and Qingsyang Bei Shiku Wenwu Baoguan Suo 1987; Gansu Sheng Bowuguan and Qingyang
century they disappeared forever, to be replaced, possibly, by flaming jewels in the Longmen Caves and in Northern Zhou Caves such as Xumishan near Guyuan in Ningxia.

Flaming triangles have never been found outside northern China and Koguryō, and thus it follows that they were a Koguryō or northern Chinese invention. But, as there is only scant evidence of their precursors or development in that region, we must look outside China and Korea for motifs and ideas that might have led to their development.

PAZYRYK and NORTHWEST BORDERLANDS

Double triangles framed by wavy lines appear among the arts of nomads to the northwest of China. Excavated frozen tombs at Pazyryk, Siberia\(^{385}\) revealed a felt shabrack from barrow 5 and a woman’s apron covered with applied leather patterns (figs. 153, 154).\(^{386}\) The double triangles framed by wavy lines form a border on the felt shabrack and are found within the central panel of the leather pattern on the woman’s apron.\(^{387}\) It is interesting to note that the motif of scallops on long curves that is seen in the arm tattoos of the man preserved in barrow 2 (fig. 156)\(^{388}\) can also be found in the textiles of the early Han Mawangdui Tomb No.1 (fig. 157).\(^{389}\)

Similarly, two Chinese silks, probably of the Eastern Han period (25-220 CE), and possibly made for the northwestern nomads, display wavy triangles as borders. The first are on a silk excavated at Noin Ula, Mongolia. Its central figure is a dragon, and it is thought to be of the Eastern Han Period (fig. 158).\(^{390}\) The second are on a silk

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\(^{385}\) For dating and discussion of Pazyryk, see Ch. 2, Vine Scrolls: Quatrefoils.

\(^{386}\) Both Rudenko 1970, pls. 160 and 156.

\(^{387}\) Gold double triangles were also found all over the tunic of Issyk Man, 7th-4th C BCE. (Akishev 1978, p. 99.) (My fig. 155).

\(^{388}\) Rudenko 1970, fig. 53.

\(^{389}\) New Archaeological Finds in China. 1973, upper and lower far left.

embroidered neckline (of a garment) displayed in the Gansu Provincial Museum (fig. 160). In this case, single triangles bordered by scallops frame figures of birds. It was excavated from a Han tomb in Wuwei, Gansu which is situated in the Hexi Corridor. In this location, Wuwei was a center for trading with nomads; it is not known if the tomb occupant was a nomad or a Han Chinese.

In all the above cases, the triangles formed borders or were part of a larger design. Thus it would seem they served merely a decorative function and did not convey any special meaning. Into the same category could be placed a Han-Jin period specimen of gold appliqué from the Yingpan cemetery in the Lop Nor (eastern Xinjiang) region (fig. 161). The rising extensions outside its triangles, might be precursors of a pattern on a later (327-460 CE) embroidered silk excavated from the Astana cemetery near Turfan, Xinjiang (fig. 162). In turn, its extensions of rising curls very much suggest the exterior rising curls on all sixteen pushou (door knocker plaques) examined in this dissertation (Chapter 7) as well as the descending curls on the pearl roundels on the Guyuan coffin and the Hudong (in Datong) coffin. Indeed, it seems that external curls are a hallmark of Pingcheng period Northern Wei influence.

Two more objects from Xinjiang bear triangles. One is a carved wooden table or altar from Niya, on the Southern Silk Route, at the ends of which appear triangles

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Also found at Noin Ula is a piece of silk embroidered with what could be interpreted as flames *Ibid.*, p. 13. (my fig. 159).
A similar flame motif on an ornament depicting “a spirited dragon sailing on a scrolled cloud” (James C.Y. Watt, 2005, p. 111) was excavated from an “Eastern Jin or earlier” tomb in Jiangsu (fig. 165, image 8). In the same tomb was a plaque which “recalls the art of the steppes” (*ibid.*, fig. 165, image 10). This motif was rare in northern Han China if it existed at all.

391 Gansusheng Bowuguan 1994, #68(bottom).
392 Li Wenying 2003, p. 322., fig. 8, no. 3.
393 Tulufan Bowuguan 1992, No. 117.
enclosing elaborately carved trefoils (fig. 163). Niya probably was abandoned early in the fifth century CE. The other is a circular Buddhist reliquary in wood covered with painted cloth from Kucha (possibly nearby Subashi) on the Northern Silk Route (fig. 164). It is thought to be fourth century CE or later. The double, or perhaps triple, triangles appear on the conical lid. Whether or not both examples were influenced by the motifs of northwestern nomads cannot be said, but it would be extremely difficult to prove that they contributed in any direct way to the flaming triangles of Northern Wei China.

It must be emphasized that separated triangles were not a motif in the Chinese Central Plain or Korea in the Han period and there is no evidence of them until the fifth century. There are occasional examples of conjoined triangles (actually parts of a zigzag) appearing in the late Han period, most notably in borders on lintels in the

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394 Rhie 1999, fig. 5.3. It is interesting that on this one piece there are symbols that Ackerman 1981 might have interpreted as heavenly symbols from the 4th millennium: the triangles being the sky that eventually transformed into Buddhist Mt. Meru (pp. 841, 845); the quatrefoil rosettes being the moon (p. 843); and the pomegranate the sun (p. 613), or the cross within the circle being the moon (p. 845). Of course these symbols and the Niya table are millennia apart and Robert Dyson cautions against interpreting symbols from a preliterate period.


396 Rowland 1974 p. 149.

397 A few (4 cm. or less) objects from the Han dynasty do bear triangles. Gold “ornament in the shape of a crown” (1.5 cm diameter), “Eastern Jin dynasty or earlier” is surmounted by 8 tiny triangles. It was excavated from the tomb of Zhang Zhen, 9th son of Liu Xiu, in Hanjiang, Jinagsu. (my fig. 165, image 9). (James C.Y. Watt 2004, pp. 110-111.)

Bronze “mirror brush” handle (4 cm.) is “engraved with 2 dragon heads, joined to become peak shaped”. (my fig. 166) (Qingdao Shi Wenwu Ju, Pingdu Shi Bowuguan. 2005, pp. 35, 36 and pl.) My thanks to Angela Sheng for bringing this object to my attention. The small size of these objects and the rare occurrence of triangular motifs suggest that the motif on them has no significance, although the tiny “ornament in the shape of a crown”, coming from a royal treasure, may have been subject to foreign influence.

398 A zigzag may be seen on the neck of a bronze, inlaid with gold and silver, hu excavated from the tomb of Liu Sheng, 113 BCE. Its inscription states that it was made for a functionary of Chu, which state had been conquered in 154 BCE. (China: Treasures and Splendors 1986, No. 65) (my fig. 167). The motif reached Nanyue: on a hu, no. 7, gold stand, no. 16 and spear mount, no. 60. (All Nanyue in Pröch 1998). Rows of tiny connected triangles commonly occupied one of the bands comprising the borders of Han mirrors as well as borders of the lintel strips in the Yi'nan tomb (Juliano 1980, fig. 84) (my fig. 171).
Yi’nan tomb No. 1 in Shandong (fig. 171). The lower triangles of the zigzags contain flowers and the upper triangles often contain feline or monster faces. Their placement on lintels (i.e. above architecture) does suggest that they may have been the remote inspiration for the placement of flaming triangles, but, being conjoined, they do not appear to be signifiers. Neither is it suggested that the three-peaked mountains held up by turtles in the same tomb (fig. 239) were connected with flaming triangles. They, and the peaks depicted on the middle (third from the outside) coffin housing Lady Dai (fig. 172) are considered by Wu Hung to be representations of Mount Kunlun, associated with Queen Mother of the West (Xiwangmu).

The following putative precursors of flaming triangles all are symbols with meaning and attempts to arrive at their respective meanings will be made.

Conjoined triangles (sometimes thought to represent cicadas) were quite common on ritual vessels of the Shang Dynasty in the Anyang period (ca. 1280-1045 BCE). They appeared on most forms: e.g. jue, pl. 14, 18; jia, fig. 105; zun, pl. 42; you, pl. 70 (fig. 168); fang lei, fig. 138; ding, pls. 82-85, and even on yue, figs. 82.1, 2. As four attenuated spear forms they appeared on most gu and a few you. They are on a number of vessels from Fu Hao’s tomb, e.g. fang lei, fig. 123; ding, fig. 82.4, although not on her elaborate Style V vessels. (All Shang images in Bagley 1987). A few conjoined triangles continued into the Early Western Zhou (after ca.1045), e.g. ding, pls. 8 and 10, yun, pl. 33 (Rawson 1990), but taste was developing toward the large curves of the Middle Western Zhou. The large undulating lines of Spring and Autumn hu, fig. 37.3 (fig. 169) (So 1995), figs. 153, 179 (Rawson 1990) may have been that period’s adaptation of conjoined triangles (or zigzags, which were beginning to appear). Conjoined triangles reappeared in the Eastern Zhou on e.g. hu, pl. 45; fang hu, pl. 76; he, fig. 84.2; Zeng Hou Yi’s wine container and elliptical cups, pls. 54 and 55. Sometimes they were separated e.g. pls. 9, 11 and 28 (fig. 170), but their decoration clearly descends from their Shang and Early Western Zhou predecessors. Occasionally there were frank zigzags e.g. figs. 4, 5A and B and 111. (All Eastern Zhou images in So 1995). Interest in triangles appears to have mostly died out by the Han period and did not reappear until the flaming triangles of Koguryō and Northern Wei.

399 Juliano 1980, fig. 84.
400 Wu Hung 1989, fig. 50.
401 Wu Hung 1989, fig. 51.
403 Nancy Steinhardt traces architectural features present in Eastern Han Shandong tombs to Koguryō by way of the Yan states of the 3rd-4th Cs CE, particularly Anak Tomb #3 (Steinhardt 2001, esp. p. 179), but none of the Yan tombs including Anak Tomb #3, appears to exhibit any triangles at all. They may, however, have played a role in the transmission of light (later in this chapter).
Significant were the stepped triangles, called merlons, of Iran. Originally battlements (with central holes for shooting) on mud-brick walls throughout the arid Middle East and into northwest China, in Iran they gained symbolic significance in ancient times (figs. 173, 174, 175 and 176: upper and middle). A crenellated cylindrical silver cup is attributed to the third or early second millennium in Bactria. The motif has also been found in the ancient Indus Valley, in Quetta (fig. 176: bottom). Later, merlons continued as symbols by appearing, always above, in positions where a defensive function was not required. They topped the banister of the staircase.

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404 Ackerman 1981 traces stepped lozenges sheltered by a parasol, which she interprets as representing the sky, back to 4th millennium Persepolis. Dyson, of course, cautions against interpreting symbols from a preliterate period.

405 Fig. 10a is of a bowl, ca. 3000 BCE. (Frumkin 1970, fig. 34).

406 Masson 1988, pl. 4. Re: Fig. 10b: Extract from March 13, 2002 letter to Victor Mair from Robert Dyson: “...our search for the stepped square in the East — appropriately in a religious context. The “merlon” or half square is in my opinion an abbreviation for the whole square as shown by the reliquaries at Masson’s Altynd Pepe — [diagrams of full, 1/2, and 1/4 stepped squares] — they occur together right down to the present day in many religious contexts. I think the opening in this censer [Fig. 26c] is not just a casual form - ".

407 Phyllis Ackerman (1981, first published 1938-9, p. 832) even traced the motif back to the Chalcolithic Period, (4th millennium BCE) although her interpretations cannot be verified as there was no writing in that period. (My thanks to Robert Dyson for that correction)

408 Ernst Herzfeld 1941, figs. 73 and 74b. Based on earlier (e.g. Sumerian Jamdat Nasr Period) seals, Herzfeld interprets designs in fig. 74 to be rivers and mountains (p. 44).


411 It has continued in use, occasionally, into the Common Era in China’s borderlands, e.g. in the Yili Valley, on a textile excavated from the Magu tomb, Zhaosu Co., Hasak Autonomous Prefecture, dated 386-589 CE (fig. 177). The textile also bears pearl roundels, picked out in seeds, which enclose quatrefoils and honeysuckle flowers. (Zhongguo Lishi Bowuguan and Xinjiang Weiwiuer Zizhiqiu Wenwuzu 2002, pp. 64-65).

412 Tiny merlons can be seen on a head scarf, excavated in Han-Jin period Niya, Xinjiang (Zhao and Yu 2000, no. 31).
leading to the Audience Hall (Apadāna) of the Achaemenid palace (before 325 BCE) at Persepolis (fig. 178) \(^{412}\) and the Parthians continued this motif (fig. 179). \(^{413}\) Most significantly, they surmounted the crowns of the Achaemenids (figs. 180 and 181), \(^{414}\) of a Parthian deity (fig. 182) \(^{415}\) and again graced the crowns of many Sasanian monarchs. \(^{416}\) These crowns with merlons can be seen frequently on Sasanian coins (fig. 183), \(^{417}\) silver plates (figs. 184, \(^{418}\) 185), \(^{419}\) and in investiture and triumph scenes depicted in stone reliefs at Naqsh-i Rustam \(^{420}\) (figs. 186, \(^{421}\) 187, 188) \(^{422}\) and at Bishapur (Shapur I) (fig. 189). \(^{423}\) An interesting and provincial variant of the royal hunting scene is from a Gandhāran schist box where the hunt is enclosed in a merlon, no doubt a Hephthalite attempt at grandeur (fig. 190). \(^{424}\) A merlon appears on the crown of one pair of the two pairs of Master of Animals gilt bronze plaques in the Golden Hoard of Bactria excavated from Tillya Tepe (fig. 191), \(^{425}\) plaques which were the prototypes for the gilt bronze plaque and ring found in the Guyuan tomb (my Chapter 7). It should be noted that a man’s bonnet, excavated from barrow 3 at Pazyryk, (considered to be fifth or fourth century BCE) bears a wooden crown also consisting of merlons (fig. 192). \(^{426}\) It would seem that

\(^{412}\) Pope, ed. 1964 ed., vol. VII, pl. 85. (Vol. nos. changed from 1938-9 ed. which was reprinted 1981, but p. nos. remain the same.)


\(^{414}\) Both Boardman 2000, pp. 107 and 175, respectively.

\(^{415}\) Vander Berghe 1959, pl. 107b who labels this bust from Susa as Seleucid or Parthian. Trudy Kawami, labels the bust Parthian (1987, pl. 10).

\(^{416}\) Sasanian Empire 226-651 CE

\(^{417}\) Ghirshman 1962, p. 245, middle coin: Shapur I, 241-272 CE.


\(^{419}\) Ghirshman 1962, p. 253.

\(^{420}\) eg. Investiture relief of Narseh where the crown with merlons is worn by Anahita!


\(^{422}\) Both Ghirshman 1962, pls. 168 and 205 respectively.

\(^{423}\) Ibid., pl. 209.

\(^{424}\) Ghose, 2007, fig. 14. My thanks to Victor Mair for providing this image.

\(^{425}\) Sarianidi 1985, pl. 44.

\(^{426}\) British Museum 1978, No. 21.
the merlon represented power possessed by the king, possibly even spiritual power as well as kingly might.

The extraordinary find of woven clothing in the cemetery of Shanpula, a mountain community just south of Khotan, has evoked much interest. It is dated by radiocarbon to third century BCE – fourth century CE. Some tapestry bands applied to woolen skirts depict what are interpreted to be stylized mountains, some with vegetation and animals (figs. 193, 194). The mountains are merlons. The outer band on Keller and Schorta’s figure 18 and the flamelike motif of figure 16 bring them very close to flaming triangles. The frieze depicting trees growing between the mountains of figure 17, radiocarbon dated 116-386 CE, is similar to the frieze below the Queen Mother of the West (Xiwangmu) and heavenly beings (including a horse) in Dingjiazha (Jiuquan) Tomb No. 5 in Jiuquan, Gansu (roughly 386-441 CE) (fig. 197), and then slightly later, to that in the sixth century Dunhuang Cave 249 (fig. 198).

Although Emma Bunker has suggested that the mountains might have represented a Zoroastrian mountain that became the Buddhist Mount Meru, these are bands of several mountains, not the single mountains which those icons would suggest. Even if the deer with flamboyant antlers depicted in some of the bands indicate nomadic

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427 Keller and Schorta, eds. 2001. My thanks to Angela Sheng for bringing this to my attention.
428 Both Keller and Schorta, eds., 2001, figs. 16, 17 and figs. 18-22, respectively.
429 Mountains represented by merlons may have been the impetus behind the scalloped lozenges describing mountain-bordered space cells in many of the jātaka depictions on the walls of caves at Kizil. (my fig. 195: Metropolitan Museum of Art 1982, No. 34). It is ironic that ancient amulets from Gonur 1 have the same outline (fig. 196), Sarianidi 1981, p. 233, fig. 7.
430 Gansusheng Wenwu Kaogu Yanjiusuo 1989, p. 4. In the Dingjiazha and Dunhuang (see below) cases, the rows of mountains may fulfill Jessica Rawson’s observation that a range of mountains in a mural serves to separate or divide heaven and earth. (Rawson 2000, p. 153). They may be analogous to the rows of flaming triangles in the Koguryō tombs (see below).
431 Watson 1995, pl. 263.
influence, my interpretation is that the animals and flora amid the mountains, particularly of Keller and Schorta’s figure 22, strongly resemble Han period depictions of humans and animals amid the mountains, especially those on boshan incense burners such as the one excavated from Liu Sheng’s 113 BCE tomb (fig. 199).\textsuperscript{433} The dating of the Shanpula cemetery is so imprecise, it is impossible to surmise whether the Han notion of mystical “hunting amid the mountains” came from the West or whether the Shanpula idea came from China.

It seems more logical that the Shanpula merlons represent mountains rather than that they possess the symbolism of Iranian merlons and Chinese flaming triangles. The reason for the choice of merlons to represent mountains may lie in Shanpula’s proximity to Iranian culture and Afghanistan. This interpretation may be bolstered by a silk textile found at Noin Ula (thus made for the nomad market) where steps with birds on top are clearly intended to represent rocky crags or mountains (fig. 200).\textsuperscript{434}

Merlons, still in their exalted position, often on top of architecture, can be seen in South Asia where they were prominent in Bhārhut as stacked levels (fig. 203),\textsuperscript{435} on top of a stūpa depicted on an upright on the South torana at Sānci (fig. 204)\textsuperscript{436} and in a Buddhist context in Gandhāra (figs. 205 and 206).\textsuperscript{437} They continued in this context on a fourth to fifth century Buddhist shrine from Yotkan (near Khotan) (fig. 207).\textsuperscript{438}

\textsuperscript{433} Fong, Wen, ed., 1980, No. 95.
\textsuperscript{434} Chuvin 1999, fig. 100. My thanks to Victor Mair for reminding me of this image.
\textsuperscript{435} Indian deities, especially Nāgas, are sometimes shown posed on rectangular rocks (my figs. 201, 202, both Huntington 1985, figs. 8.39 and 12.5 respectively). Of course Mount Kailāsa is so depicted. (Huntington 1985, fig. 16.7)
\textsuperscript{436} Klimburg-Salter 1995, p. 90.
\textsuperscript{437} Marshall and Foucher 1982, pl. 12.
\textsuperscript{438} Both Kurita 2003, figs. 801 and figs. 684 and 685 respectively.
\textsuperscript{438} Sculptural fragment Roderick Whitfield considers to be part of a model shrine (Whitfield and Farrer 1990, No. 137).
Most importantly, merlons found their way onto at least five Gandhāran reliquary and votive stūpas (figs. 208, 209). Two are reliquary stūpas from Gandhāra and Mathurā respectively, a third is a ‘gold stūpa’ and a fourth is a Kuśāṇa period votive stūpa from the Bactro-Gandhāran region (fig. 210). A fifth reliquary, stone, bearing merlons is in a private collection in London. They surmount the square platform above the mound which supports the harmika and chattras (umbrellas). On many more reliquary stūpas, their place is taken by simple upright triangles.

In China, merlons had long been in practical use as battlements on forts in the deserts. They also served as back guards on model stoves found in Han tombs which presumably mirrored real use stoves, both uses prompted by the commonly used hard clay bricks in the area. A late Warring States tomb at Mashan, Jiangling, Hubei revealed a “Jin (sic.) brocade band with woven ‘pagoda’ pattern” and also a wood figure clothed in such a band. It is assumed that the pattern was merely decorative. Later, however, a surprisingly possible symbolic indication is found in the merlon-shaped cutout on a globular stoneware censer, yueyao, accompanied by half-moon cutouts and a molded bird, dragon and squatting bears, all on the same unique piece, of the Western Jin Dynasty, 265-317 (fig. 211). The association of those images can hardly have been accidental,

439 Both Rhie 1999, figs. 4.4a,b and fig. 4.4d respectively.
440 In the Indian Museum, Calcutta: Huntington 1985, fig. 8.8. The rock crystal reliquary with gold granular ornamentation (2nd-3rd C CE) recently acquired by the Royal Ontario Museum does not have merlons, but has a small triangular pile of gold balls at each corner of the square platform. Its steatite container does not have merlons.
441 Brown, 2006, p. 187, fig. 8.4.
442 Watt 2004, No.112c on p. 326, fig. 2 on p. 327.
443 Weisbrod 30 Years: An Anniversary Exhibition, Spring 2002, no. 13. My thanks to Victor Mair for providing me with this image, sent to him by Robert Dyson. See my note 24 for Dyson’s opinion of this censer, extracted from his accompanying letter.
but the meaning is not clear. The squatting bears fall well within Han artistic vocabulary, but the merlon may hint at the censer's significance in the west.

Gandhāran reliquary stūpas were the likely inspiration for the thirteen known Northern Liang sūtra pillars (figs. 212, 213, 214, 215) dated from 426 to 436. They have been found only in western Gansu and Kocho (Gaochang) in Xinjiang, which latter was conquered by Wu Hui and An Zhou, two remaining members of the Northern Liang royal family, after they had been forced to flee to Shanshan by the victorious Northern Wei. The vanquished Northern Liang ruler, Juqu Mujian, had already fled westward the length of the Hexi Corridor from his capital Liangzhou (Guzang, Wuwei), to Zhangye, before reaching Jiuquan and Dunhuang, but sūtra pillars have only been found in the two western cities as well as Gaochang. Buddhism had already been actively encouraged by Mujian's predecessor, Juqu Mengsun, especially in his capital, Liangzhou, but no sūtra pillars have been found there, so we may assume the sūtra pillars were the result of a new impetus from the west, possibly reliquary stūpas.

The most remarkable aspect of sūtra pillars is their combination of Buddhist features with the Eight Trigrams, traditional Chinese symbols (often with moralistic and cosmological implications) that certainly predate the advent of Buddhism in China. This "hybridization of two symbolic systems" is interpreted by Eugene Wang as the equivalent

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444 Rawson 1999, pp. 29, 54.
446 Figs. 27-29b are all (6) the known sūtra pillars which have retained merlons. Figs. 27-29a (4 pillars) are from the Jiuquan-Dunhuang area; fig. 29b (2 pillars) is from Kocho.
447 Wang 1999, fig. 4.
448 Ibid., figs. 6 and 7.
449 Metropolitan Museum of Art 1982, figs. 7 and 8.
450 Wang, Eugene 1999.
452 Rhie 2002, p. 408.
of *geyi*, the exegetic practice of “matching of meanings”,\(^{453}\) applying Chinese symbols to clarify new and exotic concepts. As the sūtra pillars were commissioned by separate private individuals, mostly in Jiuquan, an additional purpose might have been apotropaic, the impending disaster of the oncoming Northern Wei army\(^{454}\) becoming all too apparent.

This curious mixing of traditional Chinese symbols with Buddhist images (and on the sūtra pillars, with texts) is comparable to that on the Guyuan Sarcophagus where filial piety tales, appear along with flying Buddhist deities as well as the King Father of the East and imaginary animals in the heavens. On the Guyuan Sarcophagus, flaming triangles, exemplifying spiritual power, may have been interpolated into filial piety tales to emphasize the righteousness of the filial sons.

At least five of the thirteen sūtra pillars bear merlons just below the chattras.\(^{455}\) The tops of most of the others have been broken off, so it is impossible to tell if they bore merlons or not.

From bottom to top, they display: on an octagonal base, eight figures who appear to be eight standing deities, but Wang interprets them as members of the commissioning

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\(^{454}\) E.g. 30,000 families were forcibly removed from Liangzhou to Pingcheng. (Rhie 2002, p. 408)

\(^{455}\) They are: 1.) Commissioned by Gao Shanmu 428 CE, from Jiuquan, in Gansu Provincial Museum (fig. 212), in Wang 1999, p. 72, fig. 1, p. 77, fig. 5; in Juliano and Lerner 2001, pp. 152-155; 2.) Sashan, in the Dunhuang Municipal Museum (fig. 213) in Wang 1999, p. 76, fig. 4; 3.) Commissioned by Chen Duan’er 436 CE, in the Jiuquan Municipal Museum (fig. 214) in Wang 1999, p. 78, fig. 6; all the above from the Jiuquan, Gansu area; 4.) Votive Stūpa from “Khan’s Palace”, Ruin E, Khocho, Xinjiang MIK III 6838 in the Museum für Indische Kunst (fig. 215, left) in Metropolitan Museum of Art, pp. 64-65, No. 7; in Soper 1958, p. 135, fig. 4, p. 136, figs. 5, 6, 7. 5.) Votive Stūpa, Probably Khocho, Xinjiang, MIK III 610 in the Museum für Indische Kunst (fig. 215, right) in Metropolitan Museum of Art, pp. 64-65, No. 8.

Alexander Soper 1958, describes 4 sūtra pillars: Tian Hung 428 and 429 CE, p. 131 and 134, fig. 1; Bai 434 CE, p. 131 and 134, fig. 2; Linghu Sa, p 132 and 134, fig. 3; a fourth (nameless) whose top tier is all that remains; and an uninscribed square pillar. It is impossible to know if these are any of the above although Tian Hung’s bodhisattvas look like Gao Shanmu’s bodhisattvas. Of course any merlons are not shown. It is important to note that I have been assured that the preliminary report by Shih Yen, 1956, cited by Soper in n. 1, is incorrect in stating that these sūtra pillars were found in the Wenshushan Caves; they, in fact, were found around Jiuquan.
family, surmounted by the Eight Trigrams; a section that is round in cross-section, on which is written a passage from a sūtra;\(^{456}\) above the round cross-section, a rather bulbous (like a stūpa?) section displays eight chaitya arches, some decorated with flames, which contain seven Buddha figures (Seven Buddhas of the Past?) and Maitreya,\(^{457}\) the whole surmounted by a lotus pattern; towards the top, the six undamaged sūtra pillars have a narrow band of merlons below the chattras.\(^{458}\) Bands of merlons may have originally been on some of the broken sūtra pillars.

Later, symbolic merlons, all in a Buddhist association, can be seen in only several examples. The most important is around the central niche of Stele 10 in the Northern Wei Cave 133 at Maijishan where Maitreya is framed with a merlon (Ch. 4 fig. 126).\(^{459}\) On the left, Megha throws lotus flowers in front of Dīparākara Buddha, a popular theme in the early Northern Wei. They are also on the back of the Huanshi stele, probably after 494 CE, found near a Chan monastery, where merlons frame a tiny stūpa growing out of the roof of a building\(^{460}\) housing meditating monks (fig. 216)\(^{461}\) and on top of a pagoda in Cave 11 at Yungang (fig. 217).\(^{462}\)

Merlons, but in a decorative role, were to make a return to China in the Tang period. Textiles, excavated from the cemetery at Astana, Xinjiang, display single animals


\(^{457}\) Wang notes that on all the sūtra pillars, Maitreya is placed above the trigram for gen (p. 80) which he interprets as the youngest son according to the "human family model often used as an alternative set of codes for the Eight Trigrams" (p. 76). In the 5\(^{th}\) century, the Maitreya cult was at its height.

\(^{458}\) On the flat top of the Gao Shanmu sūtra pillar, the Big Dipper is represented.


\(^{461}\) Jin 1994, no. 67. Human-headed birds surmount the stūpa.

\(^{462}\) Wong 2004, fig. 8.11. Merlons adorning modified stūpas also appear in Dunhuang Caves 257 and 428.
within the madly popular Sasanian motif of pearl roundels (figs. 218, 219). Curiously these animals display light colored merlons invading several parts of their bodies; the merlons do not at all conform to the anatomy of the animals. They were probably preceded by the motif in Central Asia; sixth to seventh century wall paintings in Afrasiab portray them in the rich textiles of the aristocracy (fig. 220).

FLAMING SHOULDERS

The image of flames when associated with Buddhism became very popular in China in the fifth century, the sūtra pillars (426-436 CE) with flames decorating their caitya arches being good examples (figs. 214 and 215). As the flame image was new in China, however, we must look elsewhere for its inspiration.

Lichtglanz or Xwarna (kavaem khvareno) was an ancient Iranian concept of kingly fiery glory, or Royal Good Fortune.

That khwarenah should so long have been translated as “glory” is comprehensible, for the “royal fortune” is identical with a blazing fire, whereas all khwarenah is said to derive from the Endless Light. Material light is said to emanate from it and the moon stores it up and then distributes it to the sub-lunar world.

Machida concedes “royal fortune” and also victory were indicated, but also suggests “Khvarenah was believed to have the power to illuminate the mind and open the eye of the soul to spiritual vision”, a quality more appropriate to the Buddha.

As a heavenly light, it had been depicted as flames shooting from the shoulders of great deities on Akkadian cylinder seals as far back as 2500 BCE (fig. 221), no. 

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463 Xinjiang Weiwuer Zizhiqu Bowuguan and Chutu Wenwu Zhanjian Gongzuozu, eds., 1973, fig. 34.
464 Rowland 1974, p. 90.
466 Zaeher 1961, p. 152.
467 Machida 1988, p. 23.
994-233.19 in the Royal Ontario Museum, dated at 2200 BCE (fig. 222) being another example, but not from the shoulders of kings. John Rosenfield stresses that, while righteous Sasanian kings possessed khvareno, “a part of the all-illuminating heavenly light which is common to all divinities and which lights a great prince”, it was not depicted as flaming shoulders on Sasanian kings until the late 6th c. CE. I suggest we consider the possibility that merlons, especially on crowns, represented kingly power during most of the Sasanian period, instead of flaming shoulders.

Whatever the inspiration for the Kushan kings depicting themselves with divine light, on the other hand, (and Rosenfield does not hazard a guess), they did depict themselves with flaming shoulders, starting with the coins of Vima Kadphises (fig. 223). As such, they depicted themselves (or sometimes with halos) throughout the dynasty (fig. 224).

As Rosenfield suggests, flames are naturally associated with the Buddha, the divinity of his insight possessing a luminous element. According to the Miracle of Śrāvasti, flames emitted from the Buddha’s shoulders and water from his feet. In the Kāpīśī region, north of Kabul, the Miracle of Śrāvasti was indeed depicted (as it was in Gandhāra), but so were sculptures of the Buddha with only flaming shoulders, a local specialty. Rosenfield points out that the very monastery temples in Kāpīśī where these

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468 McBeath 1999, fig. 17. Soper 1949, fn. 42.
469 Rosenfield 1967, p. 198. Early aniconic scenes surrounding the Buddha depicted him as a pillar of fire. Fire was also associated with Surya, the sun god; a late depiction of him appears in the niche behind the 35-meter Buddha at Bamiyan. The solar character of the Buddha was often referred to in early texts. (Rowland 1974, pp. 86, 87)
470 Rhie 1999, fig. 1.18. Rosenfield 1967, p. 23. The predecessor of Kaniṣṭha. Although there has been much debate about the dates of the Kushans, the date of 127 CE as the first year of the reign of Kaniṣṭha that has been put forward by Harry Falk (2001) has been accepted by the British Museum (Jongeward 2003, p. 26).
images with flaming shoulders were carved, were temples that served the Kushan nobility, and thus he connects this local image with that of the Kushan rulers.

Haruko Tsuchiya has studied this region in detail and describes a complex of traits favored within it,\textsuperscript{473} traits which she distinguishes from those of Gandhāra to the south. In other words, this northern area was the Kushan heartland and Gandhāra was only taken over by the Kushans later. She attributes this difference in graphic interpretations to the entrenchment of Buddhist traditions in Gandhāra, the lack of entrenchment in the north (where Buddhism was newly adopted) allowing the monks of Kāpīśī more leeway in their interpretation.

The most notable local trait was the flaming shoulders (without water from the feet), and a number of examples have been found (figs. 225,\textsuperscript{474} 226 and 227).\textsuperscript{475} This feature is not found in Gandhāra (south of Kāpīśī). The feature was often, but not necessarily, pictured in Kāpīśī with the Dīparīkā Jātaka,\textsuperscript{476} the jātaka also popular in Gandhāra (but without flames). The jātaka was portrayed on Northern Wei stele in China\textsuperscript{477} and Tsuchiya points out that its prediction scenes are represented in Yungang caves 5A, 12 and 19A. An extremely popular deity in China in the Northern Liang and Northern Wei periods especially was Maitreya. Tsuchiya states that he was developed in

\textsuperscript{473} Tsuchiya 1999-2000. See also: Cambon 1996; Meunié 1942 pls. III, IV, X, XI. Tsuchiya suggests the 3\textsuperscript{rd} c CE for the Kāpīśī statues (p. 112).
\textsuperscript{474} Meunié 1942, no. 36.
\textsuperscript{475} Both Rhie 1999, my fig. 37 is figs. 1.78 and 1.79, and my fig. 38 is 1.49.
\textsuperscript{476} Tsuchiya 1999-2000, p. 103 ff. My fig. 36 depicts the Dipankara Jātaka.
\textsuperscript{477} On Stele 10 in Cave 133 at Maijishan (fig. 126) and on the Xi’an 471 stele in Beilin, Xi’an. Both stelae seem to be concerned with succession as the 471 Xi’an stele features Maitreya, while Stele 10 shows both Buddha and Maitreya.
Kāpiṣī and it was there that he frequently appeared in a cross-legged pose, as he did in China.⁴⁷⁸

I have been able to find only two images of Buddhas with flaming shoulders in Gandhāra (as opposed to Kāpiṣī): one painted on the west tambour of Cave 129 at Bāmiyān (fig. 228)⁴⁷⁹ and a sculpture of a standing Buddha with flaming shoulders at Mathurā (ca. 3rd to 4th C CE) (fig. 229).⁴⁸⁰ It found a few representations in Kizil, on the Northern Silk Route in Xinjiang (fig. 230),⁴⁸¹ where all the Buddhas in the Cave of the Painters have flaming shoulders,⁴⁸² but there are several Buddhas with flaming shoulders depicted on the walls of the recently excavated Tuopulukedun Buddhist Temple in Damagou Township in Cele County, Hetian Prefecture near Khotan, Xinjiang, on the Southern Silk Route (figs. 231 and 232).⁴⁸³

Another important local trait was flames added to the edges of halos and mandorlas (figs. 225, 227) "...in Kāpiṣī, for the first time in the history of Buddhist art. In Gandhāra, halos remained unornamented in most cases, but some examples have a saw-toothed motif to suggest light."⁴⁸⁴ This characteristic of flaming halos and mandorlas, developed only in Kāpiṣī, was of inestimable importance in the subsequent art of China and Japan.

⁴⁷⁹ Rhie 1999, fig. 3.59, p. 223 for Rhie’s dating. Actually Bāmiyān is to the west of Kāpiṣī.
⁴⁸⁰ Ibid., fig. 1.80.
⁴⁸¹ Metropolitan Museum of Art 1982, p. 73, fig. B. Tsuchiya 1999-2000 mentions caves 4 and 38 (p. 106). My image is from “Cave of the Painters” which Marianne Yaldiz dates to ca. 500 CE. Angela Howard follows Su Bai’s C14 dating of :
Phase 1 _ 310+80 - 350+60
Phase 2 _ 395+65 - 465+65
Phase 3 _ 545+75 - 685+65 but does not mention the Cave of the Painters. ( Howard 1991, p. 72).
⁴⁸² Of the published images of Kizil caves, the Cave of the Painters is the only cave where flaming shoulders are represented.
The dual phenomena Miracle of Śrāvasti did not reach or find acceptance in China, but flaming shoulders did, and there are several examples. The most striking example is the flame-shouldered gilt bronze Buddha in the Sackler Museum of Art, Harvard University (fig. 233). This small but magnificent Buddha with mustache sits in dhyāna (meditation) position on a lion throne. From each shoulder and upper arm rise four slender triangles curved upward. Although thought to have been found in Shijiazhuang in Hebei Province, China, it has recently been shown by Roderick Whitfield to have been made in Gandhāra. Imported to China, it, and perhaps several others, became the prototypes for a number of less accomplished Buddhas related to a center of Buddhism in Hebei. It is to be noted that the four slender upward triangles on the Sackler Buddha correspond to the four tongues of flame usually depicted on the Kāpiśi Buddhas.

Less recognized is the Amitāyus Buddha of Cave 169 in Binglingsi, Gansu (Ch. 2 fig. 58). In recent years an inscription was found dating the niche to 420 CE in the Western Qin period. Equally magnificent, this larger-than-life painted clay figure sits, also in dhyāna position, but on a lotus throne. He is flanked by two smaller disciples. Behind him, his mandorla is painted on the wall. Inside the concentric bands of the mandorla, one of which contains elongated apsarasas, and in the space between the mandorla and a small halo, are painted white flames, each with six points (fig. 234). They are not simply a space between the mandorla and halo, but have been clearly drawn,

485 Rhie 1999, pl. 1.
486 In the Sackler Museum, it has been displayed with an elaborate mandorla which Whitfield feels is of Chinese manufacture in the 5th or 6th c. Roderick Whitfield 2005. "Early Buddha images from Hebei". *Artibus Asiae* LXV, no. 1, pp. 87-98. p. 87.
487 Not only is Whitfield’s attribution based on style, it is based on the finding that the lead isotope present in the image was not produced in East Asia. p. 87. My thanks to David Waterhouse for bringing Whitfield’s article to my attention. Rhie had expressed her opinion at length that it was of the late Eastern Han period, with which Whitfield concurs. Rhie 1999 pp. 72-94.
488 Zhang Baoxi 1994, front dust jacket.
in and painted. The mandorla is bordered by wavy lines suggesting flames, one of several depictions of flames in this early cave. Tsuchiya points out that the Buddha with flaming shoulders is included in a section of the Amida [Amitābha] Sūtra where the Thousand Buddhas praise the teaching of Amida Buddha, a section translated by Kumārajiva, hence the rationale for the flaming shoulders. She indicates that flaming shoulders can also be seen in Dunhuang caves 288, 263, 257 and 259 and 263 (fig. 235). Indeed, flaming shoulders continued to be a common decorative motif throughout central and western North China in the fifth century particularly on stone stelae.

CHINESE WINGS and ROOF LEAVES

It should be said that flaming shoulders, or at least wavy lines and perhaps upwardly pointed wings, were not unknown in Chinese iconography in the Common Era. In the late Eastern Han, for a brief period in Shandong, wings were worn by King Father of the East and Queen Mother of the West on the Wu Family Shrines (fig. 237) and by them and Buddha-like seated figures on an octagonal pillar in Yi’nan tomb No. 1 (figs.

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489 Flaming shoulders also appear on several other sitting Buddhas in Binglingsi Cave 169, including the main deity in the large mural (my fig. 287).
491 Ibid. p. 106. More modest flaming shoulders can be seen in Dunhuang Caves 254, 302 and 130. They do not appear in any of the Northern Liang caves. Flaming shoulders also appear on all seven standing Buddhas and at least one seated Buddha in Yungang Cave 6.
492 Dunhuang Wenwu Yanjusuo 1980, fig. 52.
493 There are a number of examples: 444 CE in Weixian, Hebei (Wong 2004, p. 48, fig. 3.1); 455 CE (Osaka Shi Ritsu, ed. 1976, no. 228); 471 CE (my fig. 236) (Ibid., no. 230); nd. (Ibid., no. 231); 471 CE near Xi’an (Jin Shen 1994, no. 21); and 502 CE also in Xi’an (Abe 2000, no. 2), (all dates by inscription). The shoulder flames on the 471 Xi’an stele rise from an amiable Maitreya. Flaming shoulders also appear on the back of the removable mandorla of the Biqiufaen bronze, ca. 477, now housed in Tōkyō (Jin 1994, no. 30).
494 Wu Hung 1989, fig. 41.
Wu Hung also shows a number of seated figures with flames or wavy lines rising from their shoulders (fig. 240, fig. 241, especially no.18). There is also an Eastern Han lacquer image excavated from a Liaoning tomb (fig. 242), which, like the 4 CE lacquer dish excavated in Korea, could have been made in Chengdu, Sichuan. It was in Sichuan (probably in the same period), wings/wavy lines were a commonplace rising from the shoulders of Queen Mother of the West and coins on money trees (figs. 243, 244). The most pronounced upswept wings were on the transcendentals (fig. 245 and 246). They also appear on the figure in the doorway on a famous stone sarcophagus, dated 221 CE, in Sichuan (fig. 247). Their latest appearance seems to be on a Wei-Jin brick of King Father of the East or perhaps a Daoist deity from a tomb in Gansu (fig. 248).

These tall, slender, upwardly pointing wings were totally different from those occasionally depicted on dragons on bronzes of the Eastern Zhou period where they were short and stubby and usually pointed sideways (figs. 249, 250, 251, 252). Even on the ceiling of the Wu Liang shrine, they were still short and pointed sideways.

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495 Both ibid., figs. 49 and 50.
496 Wu Hung 1986, p. 277.
497 Wu Hung 2000, p. 98, figs. 18 and 19.
498 He Xilin 1998 p. 30, fig. 12. Liaoning is the location of the later Former Yan tomb discussed below.
499 Notes for course Art 215, Fall 1995, Robert Bagley.
500 Both Ruitenbeek 2002, fig. 12 and title page (Cat. No. 11) respectively.
501 Rawson, ed., 1996, fig. 76.3.
502 Richard Rudolph 1951, pl. 95.
503 Lim 1987, pl. 70A.
504 See my fig. 241 (above).
506 Rawson has suggested that these wings seem to show Central Asian influence. (1996, p. 263).
507 Both Institute of Archaeology of Shanxi Province 1996.
508 Rawson 1995, fig. 49.
509 Fong, Wen, ed., 1980, No. 70.
Earlier, in the Shang and Western Zhou periods, the large wings on Shang ritual vessels of the you or guang type, pointed sideways (fig. 254) and the wings on Western Zhou jade men turning into birds (probably shamans on their spirit journey) pointed downwards (fig. 255). By the early Western Han period, slender, upswept wings still had not appeared; on the second (from the outside) coffin of Lady Dai at Mawangdui, ca. 168 BCE, the protective spirit amid the clouds had no wings at all (fig. 256).

Considering the late date of their appearance in China, it is possible that the image of upswept wings got its impetus from a Kushan coin with flaming shoulders, Vima Kadphises’ (the first Kushan king with flaming shoulders) reign having concluded by 127 CE. Marylin Rhie finds a close resemblance between the figures of Kongwangshan in Jiangsu Province, considered to date to the late Eastern Han period, and those on Kushan coins. Point by point she meticulously compares their profiles and items of dress with those on the coins of Vima Kadphises, Kaniška and Huviška but finds no resemblances with those on the coins of the later kings.

The slender, upswept Chinese wings, on the other hand, may bear an even closer resemblance to the crescent moon shown behind Mao, the Iranian moon god depicted on some Kushan coins (e.g. fig. 257, no.12). Rosenfield associates him with the Iranian

\[\text{510} \text{ Ruitenbeek 2002, fig. 1.} \]
\[\text{511} \text{ Rawson 1987, colour plate 7.} \]
\[\text{512} \text{ Waterbury 1952, pl. 16. My thanks to Doris Dohrenwend for this reference.} \]
\[\text{513} \text{ Rawson 1996, fig. 13a.} \]
\[\text{514} \text{ Frantz Grenet suggests the wings projecting from some Sasanian crowns may represent Xwarna.} \]
\[\text{515} \text{ Toronto, Nov. 2005, personal communication.} \]
\[\text{516} \text{ Rhie, 1999, pp. 36-47.} \]
\[\text{517} \text{ ibid. p. 41.} \]
\[\text{518} \text{ Jongeward 2003, p. 25, fig. 12. Others in Errington and Cribb 1992, p. 198, nos. 194 and 196.} \]
concept of the king, for example the Parthian king, flanked by the Sun and Moon Gods and suggests that: "This motif must belong to the ancient Near Eastern tradition of the sun and moon attending the triumphs of a great prince, as shown on the stele of Naram-sin in the Louvre." No one has attempted to account for the image of the crescent moon appearing behind the shoulders of the moon god on Kushan coins, but the image might have derived from the Mesopotamian association of the bull with the moon since the fourth millennium, the bull's horns resembling those of the crescent moon (fig. 258, 259 and 260). A more likely source is the Palmyran moon god, 'Aglibol, shown here on the left in a divine triad of the first century CE (fig. 261). The crescent moon rises from the back of the head at about ear level.

Of course, it is also possible that the notion came straight from Hellenistic images whose goddesses were often equipped with wings (fig. 262). In China, the crescent moon motif may have been conflated with upswept wings and eventually included in the significance of flaming shoulders, Xwarna.

Resemblance to flaming triangles might be seen in the "leaves" applied to the roofs of earthenware models of watchtowers found in Eastern Han tombs (fig. 263, 264). It is here suggested that this possible relation occurred because the motif came

"Mah or Maonghah is the Avestan language word for both the moon and for the Zoroastrian divinity that presides over is the hypostasis of the moon." (http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mah: part of a series on Zoroastrianism). My thanks to Victor Mair for helping me extend this deity back into the precommon era.

518 Rosenfield 1967, p. 262. He, however, shows no image.
520 Westenholz, 2000, p. 103, fig. 1. Naram-Sim, 4th king of Akkadian Dynasty, 2254-2218 BCE.
521 Herzfeld 1941, fig. 304. Period of restoration in Elam, after Akkadian domination, to time of Puzur-Shushinak, contemporary of Gudea in Sumer. I.e closely follows Akkadian, Sargonic period. (p. 188).
522 Colledge, 1976, fig. 35.
523 Pugachenkova 1971, fig. 117.
524 Royal Ontario Museum 1992, No. 70.
525 Watt 2004, No. 3.
across Asia from the antefixae on the roofs of Greek buildings. They were ornamental blocks applied to the edge of the roof to conceal the ends of the tiles. The Parthenon is a good example. “Leaves” also came to be applied to Eastern Han bronze lamps (fig. 265). The “acroteria” at the corners of the Aśokan type stūpas such as the Ayuwangsi “King Aśoka” Stūpa, at Ningbo, possibly seen by Huida in 371 CE, may have been inspired by the same source (fig. 266).

The foregoing upswept wings and roof leaves may have contributed to the development of flaming triangles, the former probably inspired by Kushan shoulder flames and Xwarna, thus at least hinting at spiritual power, and the latter by their placement on the edges of roofs.

Unfortunately, after the breakup of the Han Dynasty (220 CE), the depredations due to the constant wars and invasions and the fracturing of North China for nearly the next two hundred years, meant that very little art remains from that time, if indeed much was produced. It is impossible to know, for example, if the idea of flaming triangles was developing. While the north part of the Central Plain was mostly a dark vacuum, some art from the western and eastern borders of China does remain. The Amitāyus Buddha of Cave 169 at Binglingsi displaying flaming shoulders in 420 CE is significant, and their presence at Yungang and on a number of fortunately surviving stone stelae (a form favored by the Northern Wei) shows their influence throughout the fifth century. That the concept of Xwarna, i.e. spiritual meaning associated with flames, had not died out can be seen from developments in northeast China and Koguryō.

FLAMING TRIANGLES in KOGURYŌ TOMBS

527 Rhie 2002, fig. 1.12 and p. 149 ff.
The non-Chinese kingdom of Koguryō, in present-day Jilin Province and North Korea, had a rich culture of tombs with wall paintings. Prominent in eight of these are flaming triangles.\textsuperscript{528} The tomb at Tŏkhŭng-ri in the region of P’yŏngyang, North Korea, is a good example,\textsuperscript{529} and one of only two from the Koguryō Kingdom that is dated. It is dated by inscription to 408 (or 409) CE. The occupant’s name was Zhen and he was born in Xindu\textsuperscript{530} (a place currently unknown). Based on references to the Chinese Classics in the inscription, Kim Wonyong (and others) has suggested that the occupant may have been a Chinese émigré.\textsuperscript{531} The inscription also states that the occupant was a disciple of Śākyamuni. Buddhism had been officially accepted by the King of Koguryō in 372 CE, but, in this and the other painted Koguryō tombs, Buddhism was usually represented only by several lotuses whereas the ceilings were replete with native celestial images current in China from the Han period.\textsuperscript{532}

The walls of the Tŏkhŭng-ri tomb are painted with portraits of the occupant and scenes of his earthly existence: rows of officials, handmaidens, a procession, and entertainment. A band of flaming triangles, painted in black and consisting of curls, tops the walls. Above them, the ceiling is a riot of celestial images: feathered transcendentals amid clouds, constellations, strange animals and birds including human-headed birds, the Milky Way, the Herdsman and Weaving Maid,\textsuperscript{533} raven in the sun, celestial hunting, lotus buds and so on (Ch. 5 figs. 267,\textsuperscript{534} 268, Ch. 3 fig. 94). The program of the ceiling very

\begin{footnotesize}
\textsuperscript{528} Park 2002 p. 86; flaming triangles p. 84 ff.
\textsuperscript{530} Park 2002 p. 148.
\textsuperscript{531} Cited in Rhie 2002 p. 225.
\textsuperscript{532} Pak Youngsook 1990, pp. 177-190.
\textsuperscript{533} Legend had it that the Herdsman and Weaving Maid were only allowed to meet once a year, in heaven.
\textsuperscript{534} Rhie 2002, fig. 1.69a.
\end{footnotesize}
closely resembles that of the Guyuan Sarcophagus as will be discussed later to help us interpret the latter.

Flaming triangles do appear on the ceiling. Because of the importance of the ceiling in Han tombs as the locus of celestial symbolism, the placement of flaming triangles there at the Tŏkhŭng-ri tomb may be interpreted as having some kind of spiritual meaning. Analogous to the range of mountains separating or linking heaven and earth at the contemporary Dingjiazha (Jiuquan) Tomb No. 5 in Gansu\textsuperscript{535} (fig. 197) the row of flaming triangles in the same position in the Tŏkhŭng-ri tomb must be presumed to have performed the same function. Nevertheless, individual flaming triangles are also depicted elsewhere on Tŏkhŭng-ri ceilings. In addition, above both portraits of the occupant in the Tŏkhŭng-ri tomb, there is a symbol of radiant glory and at the corners of the canopy over one portrait there are motifs that somewhat resemble flames (fig. 269).\textsuperscript{536}

Before the tombs of Tŏkhŭng-ri and other early Koguryŏ painted tombs, there is no evidence of flaming triangles in the Koguryŏ region. There are none on any of the excavated objects from the tombs of the Han Chinese Lelang colony (108 BCE-313 CE) from the same area,\textsuperscript{537} those tombs themselves being unpainted. Neither are there any in the painted tombs of Liaoyang, Liaoning, their dates considered to be the equivalent of the Chinese Wei-Jin Period.\textsuperscript{538}

\textsuperscript{535} Rawson 2000, p. 153.
\textsuperscript{536} Ibid., fig. 16.
\textsuperscript{537} The rare images that may look like flames are said to be clouds in this period (my fig. 270, Watt 2004, fig. 10). Dragons (as here) are always associated with clouds, not with flames.
\textsuperscript{538} The Liaoyang tomb murals depict hunting scenes, architecture and scenes of daily life. (Observed on my 2004 visit to the Liaoyang Museum). A large gallery displays painted reproductions of the tomb murals and there are also 2 books (unpublished) available at the museum of photographs of the murals. See also Park 2002, pp. 229-235.
Fifty years earlier than Tōkhūng-ri, Anak Tomb No.3, also in the P’yŏngyang region, had no flaming triangles. Dated by inscription to 357 CE, it is believed to belong to Dong Shou (Dongsu), an émigré general from the state of Former Yan. But, perhaps as precursors of the possible flame motifs at the corners of the Tōkhūng-ri occupant’s canopy, the corners of the canopies over both Dong Shou and his wife display fully-opened lotus blossoms (fig. 271). As will be seen, lotus buds and blossoms usually indicate that the scene depicts paradise, and so the meaning is not far removed from that of flaming triangles. It seems plausible that full-blown flaming triangles developed between the time of Anak Tomb No. 3 (357 CE) and the Tōkhūng-ri tomb (408 CE). In all likelihood the concept of spiritual glory was taking shape before that time.

What is the source, then, of these full-blown flaming triangles? In the neighboring Murong Xianbei kingdom of Former Yan (348-370 CE) near Chaoyang in Liaoning, an unknown tomb occupant was portrayed with two red U’s stacked above each other on two sticks above his canopy (fig. 272). The scenes depicting his farm and earthly existence were painted on his tomb walls in various orientations and in haphazard fashion, not in the disciplined registers of many Koguryŏ tombs, suggesting

540 This date has been disputed because it was scrawled inside the entrance; the suggestion is that it may have been added later. (Steinhardt 2002, p. 263).
542 Rhie 1999, fig. 3.81.
543 See lotus bud chapter below.
544 Identified as such by Luo Xin, Peking University. The excavation report, Liaonong Sheng Bowuguan Wenwu Dui et al, 1984, suggests Later Yan or even Northern Yan. Considering the lack of orientation in the depictions of farm life in the murals, the final Yan kingdom, Northern Yan would be almost impossible.
545 His double hat and face are almost identical to those of Dong Shou, formerly of Former Yan.
546 Also shown in site report, Liaoning Sheng Bowuguan Wenwu Dui 1984 as plate 2.
that the notion of painting tomb walls was in a formative stage in fourth century Chaoyang.

The shape of the two sets of red double U’s is reminiscent of the antlers worn by shamans in the Northeast\textsuperscript{547} which were then reflected in the gold hat ornaments excavated from several Murong Xianbei tombs (figs. 273 and 274).\textsuperscript{548} As depicted in fig. 272, however, the red stacked U’s do not grace the hat of the deceased but rise from the canopy that shields him well above his head. The suggestion here is that, while following the traditional form of antler-like decorations, they may have acquired a new meaning, that of spiritual radiance, or at least, some supernatural quality associated with the dead.

Spiritual glory was entering China in another form, the halo. Halos appeared on standing figures at Yi’nan (fig. 238) but strangely not on the seated figures in abhaya mudrā who were instead supplied with wings (flaming shoulders?). Clearly the association of halos with sacred figures (Buddhas) had not yet solidified. Halos were also available on third and early fourth century mirrors.\textsuperscript{549} While halos depicted spiritual glory, it is difficult to reconcile their round shape with that of flaming triangles.

The stacked U’s in overall shape do not resemble the flaming triangles of Tōkhúng-ri, but the Tōkhúng-ri flaming triangles are bordered by curls which could be considered condensed doubled U’s. Thus, the doubled U’s, developed from the antler motif, became the borders of the flaming triangles. Their triangular shape may have derived from the decorative triangles in borders favored by nomads (see second and third pages of this chapter). At the same time, the stacked U’s of Former Yan carried to

\textsuperscript{547} Cook and Major 1999, p. 133 and n. 33. Antlered guardians appeared in a number of Chu tombs during the Warring States period.

\textsuperscript{548} Both Qi 2001, figs. 9 n 10, and fig. 22.

\textsuperscript{549} e.g. Wu Hung 1986, figs 26, 28, 29, 30 and 31.
Koguryō the concept of spiritual glory, Xwarna, or at least some supernatural aspect associated with the dead.\textsuperscript{550} Alternatively, it may have been incipient in the whole area but the early stage is evidenced only in Yan. Of course there is no artistic evidence from the Central Plain surviving from this time with which to trace the path of Buddhist concepts to the Northeast. In 372 CE, the Tibetan state of Former Qin, based in Chang’an, sent a Buddhist monk to Koguryō with sūtras and statues, but none of these survives to tell us what motifs arrived on the statues, if any.

The Tōkhūng-ri-type flaming triangles did impact flaming triangles on the Guyuan Sarcophagus, in fact, they are like simplified versions of the interiors of the Guyuan triangles (fig. 275\textsuperscript{551} see chart, fig. 317). The outer borders of the latter are downward curls, the same as the borders of the pearl roundels on the Guyuan coffin and on the Hudong coffin and need not concern us here. But the Tōkhūng-ri outer curls already are double strokes, or perhaps overlapping U’s is a better description, which probably contributed the two vertical strokes to the boot-like figures bordering the flaming triangles of the Tomb of the Dancers in Ji’an (fig. 276);\textsuperscript{552} I judge these to be slightly later than those in the Tōkhūng-ri Tomb, or at least more developed. Thence, and

\textsuperscript{550} During the 3\textsuperscript{rd} and 4\textsuperscript{th} centuries CE, there was increasing contact, often bellicose, between Koguryō and the several successive states of Yan. By 220 CE, Gongsun Kang, governor of Liaodong Commandery (later Yan) invaded some of Koguryō territory for a time and crossed the Yalu River. (Dien. nd. “Liaoning in the Six Dynasties Period” p. 14). Expeditions against Koguryō continued throughout the century as the Murong (the most civilized tribe of the Xianbei due to their lengthy contact with Chinese civilization) ascended to power. By 339 CE, Murong Huang, was forcing Koguryō to pull back and recognize his state of (Former) Yan. (Dien p.17) By 409 CE, Northern Wei had driven to the sea separating Yan into Northern and Southern, and Northern Yan had lost all of Liaodong (east of the Liao River) to Koguryō. There were émigrés from both sides: in 318 CE, Chinese Cui Bi was driven by the Murong from Pingzhou (at Liaoyang) to Koguryō (Dien p. 15); more often the émigrés were escaping dynastic disputes as was Northern Wei Dowager Empress Feng Wenming (regent 476-490 CE)’s father, when in 433 CE he escaped first to Koguryō before arriving at the Northern Wei court. (Wenley 1947 and Holmgren 1981-1983). My thanks to Albert Dien for his papers on Liaoning and Dunhuang, and many informative conversations.

\textsuperscript{551} Ningxia Guyuan Bowuguan 1988, pls. 18 and 19 (I have assigned the plate nos.).

\textsuperscript{552} Park 2002, fig. 14. The flaming triangles of the Niche Spirit Tomb in P’yŏngyang are identical to those of the Tomb of the Dancers in Ji’an.
much later, the double vertical lines added upward grace to the flaming triangles of
Guyuan. The Tŏkhŭng-ri primitive curl border is topped at the apex of the triangle by a
small point in the shape of a spear or arrowhead. This arrowhead found crude expression
in the Tomb of the Dancers, and it is interesting that it persisted right onto the Guyuan
Sarcophagus. Finally, the interiors of the Tŏkhŭng-ri flaming triangles consist of one or
two levels of inward, or sometimes outward, curlicues. The curlicues are also in the
Tomb of the Dancers, and, curling inward, make up most of the interiors of the flames of
the Guyuan Sarcophagus. It is interesting that the Koguryŏ and Guyuan Sarcophagus
flaming triangles should form such a tight continuum whereas the flaming triangles at the
Yungang Caves, near Datong, seem coarse and simple. Perhaps the difference in medium
would account for the difference in appearance; the former being the product of fine
brushwork whereas the latter were executed in stone.

The Tomb of the Dancers needs to be mentioned for two more images. One is a
second type of flaming triangle (fig. 277).\textsuperscript{553} It is composed of dots and short lines and is
repeated only in the Tomb of the Wrestlers, considered a pair with the Dancers tomb.
The second image is lotus buds or perhaps flames that rise from the roofs of two sheds
depicted in a domestic scene on the tomb’s east wall (fig. 278).\textsuperscript{554} The sheds’ walls are
the vertical lines usually indicating servants’ quarters, and maid servants are painted
exiting carrying trays. Thus it is unlikely that the sheds are considered holy places. The
lotus buds may indicate that these facilities are in paradise although no floating lotus buds
are in the scene.

\textsuperscript{553} Park 2002, fig. 13, lower.
\textsuperscript{554} Ibid., fig. 21 (upper).
The earthly existence and in fact, celestial dichotomy, of tomb wall and ceiling paintings which basically prevail at Tŏkhŭng-ri and other Koguryŏ tombs is broken down not only by those lotus buds on the sheds, but also by the second type of flaming triangles above the domestic scene of the Tomb of the Dancers which includes the occupant. It is also broken down in portraits of the occupant of Tŏkhŭng-ri where glory is depicted above his canopy, of the occupant and his wife of Anak Tomb No. 3 where lotus blossoms appear at the corners of their canopies, and, indeed, of the occupant on the end wall of the Guyuan Sarcophagus where lotus buds float around him. Although in the Eastern Han tomb of Bu Qianqiu in Luoyang, the occupant (and his wife) is depicted in a decidedly celestial scene,\textsuperscript{555} in Guyuan and Koguryŏ the occupant is firmly established on the wall, often surrounded by his earthly attendants. Thus it would seem that the occupant and his earthly possessions occupy a medial realm, not fully in the heavens which are populated by constellations and imaginary animals, but with some attributes of posthumous glory nevertheless. The Guyuan Sarcophagus only partly conforms to the dichotomy. While the occupant is portrayed on the end wall of the coffin and heaven is depicted on the lid, the hunting scene with lotus buds takes place on the bottom of the wall. Apart from the filial piety tales which are not usually associated with heaven, the entire coffin seems to portray an otherworldly realm, but with true heaven on the lid.

One more aspect of Yan needs to be considered. Richard Hollenweger, despairing of finding a source of flaming triangles, wondered if they were indeed

\textsuperscript{555} Sun Zuoyun 1979.
decorative devices placed on roofs in Koguryō.\textsuperscript{556} In fact, objects on roofs are depicted in two tomb paintings near the Eastern Han-Wei-Jin period capital of Liaoyang, Liaodong. One is in the Yingchengzi Tomb (fig. 279)\textsuperscript{557} where streamers float gaily downward from jagged ornaments atop a three-story tower. The other is in the Bangtaizitun Tomb where a device, without streamers, is atop a more modest pavilion housing a water well (fig. 280).\textsuperscript{558} It has been suggested that these were chimneys and that the Yingchengzi streamers represented smoke. It is hard to know what the purpose was, but it seems unlikely that a chimney would be built on top of a tower to emit smoke. Likewise, a leafy design is depicted floating horizontally from a tower in a mural in the Anping tomb, but no triangular device is painted.\textsuperscript{559} Perhaps these devices did contribute to the northeastern notion of showing triangles on the tops of roofs.

**FLAMING MANDORLAS**

Meanwhile attempts were being made in the west (Gansu) and the south of China to depict spiritual radiance in another way. Already in Gandhāra and in Persia, halos were filled with rays (figs. 281, 282, 283),\textsuperscript{560} but it was from the Kāpiṣī area that the idea came to fill halos and mandorlas with flames. (see page 96 above) Probably the same source could account for the flaming mandorla around the painting of Buddha at Kara-tepe (fig. 284)\textsuperscript{561}, which Rhie assigns to the second or third century CE,\textsuperscript{562} but in Central

\textsuperscript{556} Personal written communication from Lausanne, Switzerland and Hollenweger 1999, Chapter 2: Koguryo, p. 30 (p. 215 of thesis).
\textsuperscript{557} Upper: Fairbank 1972, fig. 11.
\textsuperscript{558} Li 1955, fig. 13.
\textsuperscript{559} Hsu 2004 fig. 127.
\textsuperscript{560} All Rhie 2002, figs. 2.52d, 2.52a and pl. 9 respectively.
\textsuperscript{561} Rhie 1999, fig. 3.17
\textsuperscript{562} Rhie 1999 p. 224.
Asia, ideological flames were rare. In Kizil, for instance, halos were filled with
colored bands.

In China, at first, flames seemed to be suggested by wavy lines. Examples are
Northern Liang (before 439 CE) Cave 268 at Dunhuang (fig. 285)\(^{563}\) where wavy lines
form the borders around the halo and mandorla, and similarly around the 420 CE Buddha
with flaming shoulders in Cave 169 at Binglingsi (Ch. 2 fig. 58), but experiments were
beginning. Cave 169 demonstrates further examples. Flames represented by a jagged
line surround the halo of a worshiper (who looks Sogdian) (fig. 286)\(^{564}\) and what may be
a Buddhist jewel (Ch. 4 fig. 118). They also surround several of the Buddhas in the
murals (fig. 287,\(^{565}\) 288).\(^{566}\) The motifs are probably related to the jagged flames rising
from the shoulders of the Amitāyus Buddha. A canopy in the aforementioned mural (fig.
86), displays either flames or lotus buds (center left). If the curls in the halo around the
seated Buddha at the entrance, which Rhie dates to the last quarter of the fourth
century,\(^{567}\) are contemporaneous with the statue, they would be early indeed (fig. 289).\(^{568}\)
They are a more elaborate version of the borders of the flaming triangles of Yungang
with which they share a foliate influence. Most likely they were added in the Northern
Wei period because they are similar to those of the mandorla of a Northern Wei Buddha
in Cave 169 which shows the double lines of the double U’s of the flaming triangles of

\(^{563}\) Dunhuang Wenwu Yanjiusuo 1980, pl. 6.
\(^{564}\) Dong 1994, fig. 31.
\(^{565}\) Gansusheng Bowuguan and Yongjing Binglingsi Wenwu Baoguansuo, eds., 1982, centerfold pp. 16 and
17. The apsaras flying down with a scarf? wreath with a streamer? (p. 16, upper left [hard to see]) strongly
suggests Iranian investiture scenes, e.g. fig. 16.
\(^{566}\) Rhie 1999, fig. 4.88.
\(^{567}\) Rhie 1999 p. 232-3, gives some explanation for her extremely early (before the 420 CE inscribed date)
dating of certain figures in Cave 169, but states that for a fuller discussion we must await her Volume 3.
\(^{568}\) Rhie 1999, fig. 3.30b.
Tōkhūng-ri (fig. 290). It must be admitted, however, that the wavy lines of Dunhuang Cave 268 (fig. 285) are primitive curls.

Jagged line flames found their way onto the simulated lanternendecke ceiling of the Northern Liang Cave 268 at Dunhuang (fig. 291). There they became flaming triangles enclosing trefoils or simple triangles. They are in the company of rings, sometimes rings with four outgrowths. These rings continued at Dunhuang into the Western Wei period. It is not known what they represent: halos, wreaths, lotus blossoms? Mogao Cave 268 flaming triangles may have inspired the triangles in the ceilings of Northern Liang Cave 272 and Northern Wei Caves 257, 251, 428 and 435 (figs. 292, 293), but those triangles might just as well have been decorative fillers in the ceiling design; they do, however, enclose trefoils as do the flaming triangles of Yungang Caves 9 and 10.

Curiously, a jagged edged flaming mandorla was found in the Northeast at Beipiao, Liaoning, in the Northern Yan (409-436 CE) tomb of Feng Sufu (d. 415 CE), brother of the dynasty’s founder. It can be seen surrounding a seated Buddha on the back of a thin gold plaque that had been converted into a hat ornament (fig. 294). Considering the exotic origin of some of the objects in the tomb, the glass water dropper, for example, having possibly come from Begram, it is impossible to know the origin of this piece. Far from displaying the owner’s devotion to Buddhism, the front had undergone the addition of gold jingles, in the Yan tradition of hat ornaments and the

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569 Dong 1994, fig. 60.
570 Dunhuang Wenwu Yanjiusuo 1980, pl. 5.
571 Northern Liang Cave 272: ibid., no. 7, top right.
573 Su Bai 1979.
574 Top: Watt 2004, No. 37; bottom: Su 1979, fig. 4.
575 Su Bai 1979, p. 15, pp. 36, 37, note d.
Koguryō tradition of step-shake crowns, completely obscuring the image of the Buddha! The walls and ceiling of the tomb were painted, as was Feng Sufu's red lacquer coffin, but few fragments of the paintings remain. No flaming triangles are revealed. It is interesting that the Northern Wei Wanfotang Caves near Yixian, in the same area of Liaoning, also give no hint of flaming triangles.

By the time of the slightly later Changchuan Tomb No. 1 at Ji'an and Anak Tomb No. 1 at P'yŏngyang, the influence of the jagged edge flaming mandorlas had become more widespread. A jagged edge outlines the mandorla surrounding the Buddha seated on an altar on the ceiling of the former (fig. 295), while it describes a flaming triangle on the ceiling of the latter (fig. 296).

The jagged-edge tradition still accounts for the flames at the sides of two very sophisticated (Liu) Song bronzes from the South, dated 423 and 437 CE respectively (figs. 297, 298). Arising out of vertical inner curls, their points make very convincing flames. It is noteworthy that the four points at their apexes closely resemble the six points of the flames on the shoulders of the Amitāyus Buddha of Cave 169 at Binglingsi (fig. 234).

From whatever source, the jagged-edge triangle tradition reached the flaming triangles of the Guyuan Sarcophagus. Between the extended curls of the inner borders and the riot of curlicues of the centers are jagged edges, by this time wavy-edged triangles (fig. 275; see chart fig. 317).

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577 Here I follow the chronology of Ah-rim Park, 2002.
578 Rhie 2002, fig. 175c. See also Steinhardt 2002, fig. 3.
579 Park 2002, fig. 104.
580 Both Rhie 2002, pl. 8 and fig. 2.89d respectively.
The earliest caves at Yungang, near the Northern Wei capital, Pingcheng (now Datong, Shanxi) are the Tan Yao caves, Caves 16-20, dated 460-467 CE. Tan Yao was an eminent monk and was probably forcibly removed from the Northern Liang capital, Liangzhou, now Wuwei, Gansu, following the Northern Wei conquest in 439 CE. It was under his influence that the five caves were excavated. Each was originally undecorated and contained only the large image of Buddha.\(^{581}\) The influence of the colossi of Bāmiyān is evident. They contained no flame images whatsoever. There is no extant evidence of flames at Tiantishan, the cave site nearest Wuwei. In fact, flames were little favored along the entire Hexi Corridor (except in the Mogao Caves at Dunhuang which is somewhat to the south of the actual corridor). The few surviving painted figures at Tiantishan are much different from the Northern Liang period figures at Dunhuang; the former are rounder (fig. 299, 300).\(^{582}\) A few wavy lines depicting flames appear on the mandorlas of Jintasi (some of which were more recently painted) and one flaming medallion (flaming jewel?) appears over an arch, but by and large, flames were not of interest in the Hexi Corridor and there are no flaming triangles. The whole corridor reflects Gandhāran influence (except for Kāśī, of course), and thus do the Tan Yao caves at Yungang.

In the meantime, contact between Koguryō and the Central Plain through Liaodong (east of the Liao River) and Yan continued. Yan extended its rule as far west

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\(^{581}\) Cave 20 does include two bodhisattvas (with no jewelry) or worshippers.

\(^{582}\) Ji 1997, figs. 1-3, 1\(^{st}\) period: 414-439. Fig. 6, repainted in 2\(^{nd}\) period: 510-515, shows how jagged edged flames had moved in at that time.
as Datong in the early 4th century while pushing back Koguryŏ in the east (see above). In 357 CE, it even established its capital at Ye (near Anyang), but in 370 CE, Fu Jian, ruler of Former Qin, pushed his armies through to the Yellow Sea, conquering Yan but not Koguryŏ, to which many Yan people fled. Later Yan’s capture of Chang-an in 385 CE ended Fu Jian’s empire and in the ensuing peace, the Yan refugees returned home from Koguryŏ. Later turmoil allowed Koguryŏ to capture Liaodong in 402 CE and retain it for two hundred years, squeezing Yan between it and the advancing Northern Wei who captured Northern Yan in 436 CE. Previously, in the fourth century, after their move to Shengle in Inner Mongolia, close to the Chinese border, the Tuoba Xianbei, later the rulers of Northern Wei, had often intermarried with the Murong Xianbei, rulers of Yan.

Somewhat, following this period, possibly through the conquest of Northern Yan by the Northern Wei, the idea of flaming triangles arrived at the capital, Pingcheng, where it can be seen in some of the Yungang caves, particularly Caves 9 and 10, excavated probably in the 480s. But, on their arrival in the capital, flaming triangles were captured by vine scrolls, more particularly by half palmettes, which are botanically accurately called honeysuckles by the Chinese. This late fifth century motif was so popular in Pingcheng, that it pervaded everything including borders on the Guyuan Sarcophagus (but not the Guyuan Sarcophagus flaming triangles themselves). Even mandorlas at Yungang were composed of it (fig. 301). A possible reason for the lines of the Koguryŏ flaming triangles being transformed into honeysuckles is the difference of

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584 Su Bai 1979, p. 16.
585 Mizuno and Nagahiro 1952-1956, vol. VII, pl. 61, Cave 10. And honeysuckle mandorlas did reach Binglingsi Cave 169 in the Northern Wei period.
medium; the fine lines of the painted Koguryō triangles needed to be thicker when carved in stone.

The curves of the borders of the Koguryō Tomb of the Dancers triangles are the same as the borders of the triangles of Caves 9 and 10 at Yungang, and the upward swing of the outer vertical lines is there, but the inner vertical line is less pronounced (see chart, fig. 317). It rises from the bump which describes the top of the "boot" in the Dancers' Tomb triangles, but in Cave 9 (fig. 302),\(^{586}\) it joins with the outer vertical line to produce a realistic flame. In Koguryō, the two vertical lines never meet. By the time the motif has reached Cave 10 (fig. 303),\(^{587}\) the "bump" has turned into the lower (of three) petal of a honeysuckle flower. (The second, horizontal petal never appears.) Instead of resolving itself up from the "bump", as does the inner vertical line of Cave 9 (and the Koguryō flaming triangles), the honeysuckle petal of Cave 10 points down! The "boot" is still in evidence. The flaming triangles of Cave 10 look like more decorative renditions of those of Cave 9. The verticality of those of Cave 9 is more pronounced.

The spearhead apexes (of the triangles of Koguryō and Guyuan) are retained, now transformed into trefoils. The contents of these Yungang flaming triangles are simple trefoils; in Cave 10 "leaves" are added at the bases, making the trefoils look as if they are placed on stands.

These flaming triangles all appear on top of depictions of Chinese tile roofs. Above the doorway leadling from the porch of Cave 9, they also appear in the spaces beneath a floral festoon, but even here they are on top of an elaborately carved lintel (fig.

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\(^{586}\) Ibid., vol. VI, pl. 17: Cave 9.
\(^{587}\) Ibid., vol. VII, pl. 40: Cave 10.
Their position on top of roofs seemed to be deemed so important, where no space above was available, that they were placed on the sloping sides (fig. 305). By the time the triangles reached Cave 6, (and Cave 21), they had become small, plain triangles interspersed with small, plain circles (figs. 306, 307). I do not understand the meaning of the plain circles. Blank circles do appear on the upper corners of at least one Han stele in Beilin Museum in Xi'an; I do not know if they had any meaning or were merely blanks not yet carved (perhaps with a raven and a toad). In any case, flames had disappeared from triangles at Yungang.

It is perplexing that, although the Guyuan Sarcophagus is replete with honeysuckles (some with four petals!) and other vine scrolls, depicted in two dimensions and colored in, its flaming triangles are filled with thin lines and are almost identical to those of the Koguryō Tomb of the Dancers. The artist had such a close connection with Koguryō, he almost seems to have been there. Yet the general layout of the coffin, humans, and creatures within the tight, measured matrices of vine scroll and pearl roundel with hexagon, is utterly unlike the layout in the tombs of Koguryō where there are figures in registers within architecture but no matrices or vine scrolls. Presumably, vine scrolls had barely reached the east by the end of the fifth century, by which time they had died out in the Central Plain, as well. Themes are different too. In Koguryō, filial piety stories were not of interest and Buddhism was barely represented. On the Guyuan Sarcophagus, there is a prominent lotus border and many deities that clearly look

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589 ibid., vol. VII, pl. 56: Cave 10.
590 This chronology is at odds with that of James Caswell. (1988, p. 61)
592 There is fleeting reference to vine scrolls in late 5th c. tombs like Susan-ri and Taean-ri where they appear as isolated narrow bands, e.g. on lintels. (Park 2002, figs. 110 and 118; Kim 1994, p. 35) The seeming vine scrolls in the early tombs are not foliate and are descended from Han scrolls.
Indian. It is possible that a flaming triangle pattern, unchanged from Koguryō, reached the accomplished artist of the Guyuan Sarcophagus; alternately it is possible that an artist with Koguryō experience was employed to paint the flaming triangles, but by the late fifth century, they had already gone out of fashion in Koguryō.

**AFTERMATH of FLAMING TRIANGLES**

By the time the court was moved from Pingcheng to Luoyang in 494 CE, flaming triangles (as well as grand schemes for the caves) had died out at Yungang. The flaming triangles disappeared forever. Perhaps they were replaced by Buddhist jewels (fig. 308) and in rounded form they were what was depicted encircling the ceiling in the Binyang Cave at Longmen near Luoyang (fig. 310). In early 6th century Luoyang, their meaning seems to have become conflated with that of lotus blossoms (fig. 311). These rounded Buddhist jewels became very popular in the Northern Zhou period and numerous examples are displayed above niches in the Xumishan Caves near Guyuan (figs. 312, 313). In the east they survived into the Northern Qi (fig. 314). In flaming form, the images sometimes occurred in Tang caves at Dunhuang (figs. 315, 316), where they clearly represent Buddhist glory.

That a transition to a rounded form was taking place, might account for the new feature at the center of the base of the flaming triangles on the Guyuan Sarcophagus (fig. 309).

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593 Mizuno and Nagahiro 1952-1956, vol VI, pl. B: Cave 9. The same image of a hexagon surrounded by flames had been used previously in 435 CE Datong tomb between the native Chinese progenitors, Fuxi and Nüwa (my fig. 309), (Datongshi Kaogu Yanjiusuo, 2006, fig. 46). Later this hexagonal form was depicted on the eastern sides of the ceilings of Cave 249 and Cave 285 (ca. 510 CE) at Dunhuang.


595 Lu 1984, p. 462, fig. 8.

596 Both Ningxia Huizu Zizhiqu Wenwu Guanli Weiyuan Hui and Zhongyang Meishu Xueyuan Meishu Shixi 1988, no. 80, top and p. 6, bottom respectively


599 Rhie 2002, fig. 1.2h: Cave 323.
275). It is a circle containing more intense circles, almost an eye. Out of its small tip rises a line, a line that relates to all the interconnected curlicues on the way up, rising to the very spearhead at the apex. Such would indeed be Buddhist glory spreading to all the world.
CHAPTER SIX

OCCUPANT AND DEITIES: SITTING, SQUATTING, DANCING

This chapter concerns the seated occupant and the dancing or flying deities (presumably Buddhist) within the pearl roundels. The theme that binds these two categories together is the pose: the occupant and some of the deities are shown in frontal positions with pendant bent legs and both knees splayed. Since both these categories are shown on the sarcophagus, it is assumed that the way they are depicted was intentional.

Before the fifth century CE, this position was previously very unusual in China; the usual (and circumspect) sitting position was cross-legged or kneeling under voluminous robes on a mat, as depicted in second century CE Dahuting Tomb 1 at Mixian, Henan (fig. 318),\(^600\) or with their legs on a ta or couch as depicted on Sima Jinlong’s lacquer screen (474 or 484 CE) excavated at Datong, Shanxi (fig. 319).\(^601\) The feet were always on the same level as the hips. Dancing, as will be shown presently, was performed mostly by women waving sleeves with their knees slightly bent but together.

REPRESENTATIONS of PEOPLE and FURNISHINGS in TOMBS, HAN THROUGH NORTHERN DYNASTIES – A BRIEF SURVEY

Before the Han Dynasty, in Shang China (till ca 1045 BCE), humans were not depicted on the bodies of ritual bronze vessels, but sometimes these vessels were supported by human figures, probably servers, who were kneeling (fig. 320)\(^602\) and occasionally squatting. Always their knees were together, or at least parallel. This

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\(^{600}\) Powers 1991, fig. 125.
\(^{601}\) Zhongguo Meishu Quanji Bianji Weiyuanhui 1986, p. 155.
\(^{602}\) Rawson 1996, figs. 49a and b.
tradition continued into the late Western Zhou or Spring and Autumn period (figs. 321, 322). It was not until the Warring States period that human figures began to appear in two dimensions on the walls of the actual vessels, *hu* and occasionally *dou*. Often they were quite lively, but if they were shown frontally, their legs were straight (fig. 323).

It is not that the Chinese up to that time eschewed frontal faces. *Taotie* stared out from almost all bronze ritual vessels from the Shang period, starting in the Zhengzhou (Erligang) phase (ca 1550 BCE) (fig. 324), and their descendants, animal masks on *pushou*, almost as ubiquitous, continued through the 5th c CE (figs. 325, 326 top). Frontal squatting figures may not have appealed to Chinese sensibility, or the artists may not have devised how to portray them.

In Western Han tombs, atlantean figurines became more common (figs. 327, 328, 329, 330), but for the most part they knelt with their knees together. Jade figurines of female sleeve dancers began to appear (fig. 331); Susan Erickson has argued that they were involved in the soul's journey after death. They were particularly notable in the tomb of King Zhao Mo at Nan Yue (d. ca. 122 BCE) (figs. 332, 333).

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604 Yang, Xiaoneng, ed. 1999, No. 89.
605 Fong, Wen, ed. 1980, fig. 107.
606 A discussion of the term *taotie* appears in my Chapter 7.
607 Ibid. No. 11.
613 Ibid. p. 2. The seminudity of figs. 328 and 329 is most unusual and can be attributed to their servile position as can that of the Western Zhou atlantean figures.
614 Juliano 1988, No. 18.
615 Erickson 1994, p. 48. See jade maidens with whom the occupant of the Eastern Han tomb at Cangshan, Shandong dines. (my Ch. 11).
Sinuous in their slim robes, they bent but did not spread their knees. Erickson notes as evidence a long sleeved dancer in the upper register of the Warring States hu in fig. 323. Exaggerated poses seemed to be reserved for transcendentals (fig. 335), deities and acrobats (fig. 339).

Evidence of an extraordinary and early example of a bent-kneed frontal pose has been found at Mawangdui which in many ways still represented the exotic and colorful culture of the state of Chu. In the silk painting, *Bibing tu* (Repel weapon chart), Taiyi (Grand One) the most exalted spirit of Heaven, flanked by Leigong (Thunder Lord) and Yushi (Rain Master) stands over three dragons (fig. 336). He stands, facing us with his knees bent. His role in vanquishing enemies, “bing bi Taisui” (weapon to repel Grand Year [sic.]) can be seen in the late fourth century BCE dagger-axe excavated from a tomb at Cheqiao, Hubei (fig. 337), where Taiyi assumes the same pose. Han Wudi, who was very much attracted to the occult and to Chu magical practices, pointed such a spear in the direction of an enemy during a ceremony at an elaborate altar erected to Taiyi in 112 BCE. Taiyi’s pose doubtless was a Chu artistic tradition as it can also be seen on the lacquered wooden coffin containing the remains of Zeng Hou Yi (d. 433 BCE) (fig. 338). Taiyi worship was altered around the time of Wang Mang (5 CE), but lived on

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616 Both Guangzhou Xi Han Nanyue Wang Mu Bowuguan et al. 1991, Nos. 234, 141,142. Fig. 332 also Prūch 1998, No. 15.
617 A Han dancer or singer spreads her knees a little as she makes an expressive gesture (Asian Decorative Arts 2001, 1 figure in a group of 3 models, p. 102, No. 475) (my fig. 334). The large flowers in their hats and standard grimaces of these figures suggest that they come from Sichuan, frequently the source of uninhibited body positions.
618 Powers 1991, figs. 56, 57.
620 Harper 1999, p. 871, fig. 12.8. Harper does not say which Mawangdui tomb was the source of this painting.
621 Elsewhere Harper refers to Sui as Year; Jupiter. (1999, p. 871)
622 Ibid., p. 872, fig. 12.9.
623 So 1999, p. 46, fig. 3.16.
in the suburban sacrifices as the circular altar of Heaven.\textsuperscript{624} The Chu pictorial renditions of Taiyi did not continue into mainstream Han culture.

Into this decorous (at least by humans) scene blazed the atlantean figure upholding the burial rites on the “shortly after 168 BCE”\textsuperscript{625} painting from the tomb of Lady Dai in Mawangdui, Changsha, Hunan (Ch. 6 fig. 340,\textsuperscript{626} Ch. 3 fig. 91, Ch. 6 fig. 341).\textsuperscript{627} Her tomb was a curious amalgam of features. It followed the southern tradition of division into log compartments, as had been the plan of the 433 BCE tomb of Marquis Yi of Zeng,\textsuperscript{628} when in the north, tombs consisting of long stone halls were beginning to be built. The tomb was set up impeccably as a “living space” for the dead according to Chinese custom.\textsuperscript{629} Though Mawangdui was situated south of the middle reaches of the Yangzi River, its third (next to smallest) coffin displays horses with their hindquarters upturned, a diagnostic nomadic motif. Alain Thote describes a lian from Changsha with the same motif and attributes its presence there to the “mass production at Qin lacquer workshops and wide distribution of their products”\textsuperscript{630} after the conquest of Chu in the unification of China. The foreign and new atlantean figure of Mawangdui likely came from India as we shall see. How it reached the geographical center of China in the mid second century BCE can only be a matter of conjecture: did it come through northern

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{624} Li Ling 1995-96, pp. 7-8. Sukhu gives a colorful account of the opposition to the rites as performed by Emperor Wu (1999, p. 156).
  \item \textsuperscript{625} Robert Bagley, lecture notes, Princeton, 1995.
  \item \textsuperscript{626} New Archaeological Finds in China Discoveries during the Cultural Revolution, 1973, front cover, text pp. 42-48. Also discussed at length in Wu Hung 1992.
  \item \textsuperscript{629} Sheng 2005, p. 158-162; Wu 1992, pp. 111-144. My thanks to Angela Sheng for providing me with this paper.
  \item \textsuperscript{630} Thote 2003, p. 365.
\end{itemize}
\end{footnotesize}
China without leaving a trace, or did it come down the Yangzi River from Sichuan also without leaving a trace?

This grimacing, pot-bellied, nearly naked individual was in a different spirit from images presented previously. From then on, it frequently made its appearance, such as at the top of the center panel in Luoyang tomb 61 (fig. 340).\(^{631}\) It even spread to the ceiling of an early 5\(^{th}\) c CE Koguryŏ Tomb No. 1 at Changchuan (fig. 343)\(^{632}\) and the 424 CE Wei Wenlong stele in Shaanxi (fig. 344).\(^{633}\) The pose was then chosen for demons like Chiyu in the Yi'nan tomb (Shandong) (fig. 345)\(^{634}\) as well as bears (fig. 346, right panel).\(^{635}\) These pot-bellied humans seemed to reach their apogee in the Northern Zhou period (557-581 CE) when they appeared, cramped and miserable, along the bottom of almost every painted scene at Dunhuang (fig. 347),\(^{636}\) whence they seemed to die out altogether. No satisfactory discussion of these figures seems to have taken place in the contemporary literature, at least not in the Han period. Later, they were called “earth spirits”, an indication of an awareness of their Indian origin where they were considered folk deities and were required to be the bases of pillars. In Northern Zhou China, however, the place of human “earth spirits” then was taken by hairy (or flaming) fanged monsters such as on the legs of An Qie’s mortuary bed (fig. 348).\(^{637}\)

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\(^{631}\) Henansheng Wenwudui 1964. Fig. 20: Watson 1995, fig. 161.
\(^{632}\) Steinhardt 2002. Fig. 21: Rhie 2002, fig. 1.75j.
\(^{633}\) Rhie 2002, fig. 2.85a.
\(^{634}\) Nanjing Bowuguan 1956. Fig. 23: Gu 1997, p. 512.
\(^{635}\) Beningson and Liu 2005, p. 19, fig. 2.
\(^{636}\) Dunhuang Yanjiuyuan and Jiangsu Meishu Chubanshe, 1998, pl. 30.
\(^{637}\) Shaanxisheng Kaogu Yanjiusuo 2003, pp. 47, fig. 38. The “An Jia” in the monograph’s English translation of the title is a recent rendition of the traditional “An Qie”.
In the meantime, toward the end of the Western Han period, depicted figures were becoming livelier (fig. 349, top)\(^{638}\) and dancing men were introduced (fig. 350).\(^{639}\) Acrobats continued to be popular, as at Holinge’er (fig. 351)\(^{640}\) and their silhouettes were suited to stone carving in a Nanyang, Henan tomb (figs. 351, 353).\(^{641}\) Apart from the unencumbered requirement of acrobats, nudity was rarely depicted, but it did appear for voyeuristic purpose in Houshiguo tomb no. 1 in Mi County, Henan (fig. 354);\(^{642}\) clearly the occupant wished to continue this activity in his afterlife. As usual, the game of \textit{liubo} generated much excitement, especially in Sichuan, where exaggerated activity was portrayed more (and perhaps occurred more) than in the Central Plain (fig. 355).\(^{643}\) Despite this new freedom of expression, dignified women court dancers continued to perform into the Northern Wei period (fig. 356)\(^{644}\) and indeed through the Tang (fig. 357).\(^{645}\) The Central Asian male performing the “Sogdian twirl” was not portrayed until the mid 6\(^{th}\) century and is always shown with one leg straight (so he could twirl) (fig. 358).\(^{646}\)

In the Eastern Han, too, frontal seated portraits of the occupants (with their legs upon their seats) began to appear. In the previous Western Han period, the few known

\begin{itemize}
\item \(^{638}\) Erickson 1994, fig. 25 top.
\item \(^{639}\) Henansheng Wenwu Kaogu Yanjiusuo, ed. 2002, p. 182.
\item \(^{640}\) Bulling 1977-8, plate 15a.
\item \(^{641}\) Gu 1997, pp. 287 and 301 respectively.
\item \(^{642}\) Powers 1991, figs. 134 and 135.
\item \(^{643}\) Mackenzie and Finkle, eds 2004, figs. 10:1 and 10:2.
\item Also included in my list might be the demon-quelling postures in Sichuan which did not extend to the Central Plain. Nylan 2003, p. 387.
\item \(^{644}\) Watt 2004, fig. 51.
\item \(^{645}\) Tomb figurines in Gallery, Royal Ontario Museum.
\item \(^{646}\) Royal Ontario Museum 1996, No. 62.
\end{itemize}
portraits, that of Lady Dai (Ch. 6 fig. 340, Ch. 3 fig. 91.), of her son and of Bu Qianqiu and his wife (fig. 359) had shown the occupant standing and in profile.

The earliest frontal seated portrait to have appeared is in the Tietashan tomb, Luoyang, Henan from the Xin-Mang period (9-23 CE) (fig. 360), where a man, tended by two persons, is on a seat which looks as though it has a back. No canopy or curtains can be seen and if he wears a hat, it is very small. The 178 CE occupant of the Anping County tomb in Hebei (fig. 361), on the other hand, not only wears a hat (as do all the later tomb occupants) and has a canopy and curtains, but the curtains seem to extend over two of his attendants. Behind him is a clear depiction of a folded screen. The occupant of the Wangcun tomb, Xiaxian, Shanxi (fig. 362), also has attendants and curtains, but in another Eastern Han tomb, that at Haotan in Dingbian, Shaanxi (fig. 363), no curtains or attendants appear, but the owner sits with his wife.

With the fall of the Han Dynasty, the influence of the borderlands becomes more apparent. From the Wei-Jin period, there is a most curious tomb at Bajiaocun, in the Shijing Shan area near Beijing. The owner appears to be in a Chinese robe, but he is wearing a hat with exaggerated earflaps (fig. 364). It would appear that he was a nomad who had settled in China. Depicted are a scene of plowing, an ox-drawn cart (probably for the transfer of the body), a ta in the style used in the Han period. Most importantly, he is sitting under curtains and one of his attendants is clearly bringing him

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649 These portraits are all of men; any accompanying wives will be specified.
651 Hsu 2004, fig. 110, after Shanxisheng Wenwu Yanjusuo 1994, fig. 12, center left.
653 Shijingshanqu Wenwu Guanlisuo 2001, fig. 3.
food. Angela Sheng has discussed “sitting-under curtains” and the sacrificial feast in some detail;\(^{654}\) she also discusses the importance of the screen\(^{655}\) but none is shown here. The Bajiaocun occupant has adopted a Chinese lifestyle but wishes his nomadic identity to be known.

Toward the east, a husband and wife are depicted in a stone slab tomb (No. 1) in Beimiaocun in the Chaoyang area (fig. 365).\(^{656}\) The excavator suggests the tomb is Northern Yan, but considering the primitive nature of the paintings, I suggest the tomb might be from the Former Yan.

The 357 CE Koguryŏ tomb Anak No. 3 in Hwanghae Prefecture of Dong Shou, a Yan ex-patriot\(^{657}\) shows the occupant with one attendant and two guards, curtains, canopy, screen but also lotuses on the canopy, a Koguryŏ feature (as described in my chapter on flaming triangles) (fig. 366, top).\(^{658}\) His contemporary Former Yan compatriot is shown on the wall of his tomb in Chaoyang, Liaoning, with canopy and curtains and incipient Buddhist glory above his canopy (flaming triangles chapter) (fig. 366, bottom).\(^{659}\) The activities of his farm are depicted in disoriented and haphazard fashion. He wears the same black inner cap and white silk outer hat that has caused some Korean scholars to wonder if “Dong Shou” was not Dong Shou but a Koguryŏ king.\(^{660}\)

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\(^{654}\) Sheng 2005, pp. 158-166. Wu Hung, basing his interpretation on inscriptions in the Han period Cangshan tomb in Shandong, considers the image of the occupant dining to be that of a posthumous honored guest living in his underground home. That interpretation will be applied somewhat to the Guyuan occupant as my thesis continues. (Wu Hung 1994, pp. 96, 97, 101).

\(^{655}\) Lady Dai’s single panel screen was actually unearthed. See Wu 1996, p. 14, fig. 5. The Guyuan occupant sits in front of a screen. Rawson also discusses screens. (1999, p.28).

\(^{656}\) Chaoyang Diqu Bowuguan and Chaoyangxian Wenhuaguan, 1985, figs. 15 and 16.

\(^{657}\) Park 2002, p. 6.

\(^{658}\) Hsu 2004, fig. 115, after Spiro 1990, figs. 13 and 14.

\(^{659}\) Ibid.

In the west, the occupant of a tomb in Astana, Xinjiang, probably of the same period, accompanied by his standing wife, is seated (kneeling) on a ta of Han style under a canopy and tied up curtains, but no screen (fig. 367). There is no evidence that food is being brought to any of these three seated occupants.

Datong in the late 5th century, Pingcheng, capital of the Northern Wei, saw much artistic activity in wealthy tombs. Nevertheless, it is quite surprising that a rich tomb with wall paintings and lacquer fragments should bear the inscribed date of 435 CE, when the Central Plain was just recovering from two hundred years of wars and upheaval. The occupants of Tomb No. 7 at Shaling, Datong sit facing the entrance on a ta in a Chinese house with owls' tails on the roof (figs. 368 and 369). There are curtains above and a screen behind them. They wear Chinese robes but Xianbei hats with windflaps. One of them holds a zhuwei scepter. The screen is separated in the middle. Their painting is on the east wall of the large single chamber tomb with painted corridor, facing the entrance which is on the west.

Painted inside a stone house-shaped sarcophagus at Zhijiabao, a Datong suburb, a man and his wife are seated on a ta whose apron is carved with curlicues, backed by a screen and sheltered by a canopy and curtains (fig. 131). The stone ta on which the sarcophagus rested was excavated and has recently been published (fig. 370). The

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661 Zhongguo Meishu Quanji Bianji Weiyuanhui 1986, pl. 92.
662 Zhao and Liu 2006, pp. 78-81.
663 Both Datongshi Kaogu Yanjiusuo 2006 (Shaling), fig. 40 and cover.
664 The mural of fig. 131 is published in Wang Yintian and Liu Junxi. 2001, fig. 6.
665 The stone coffin bed of fig. 370 is published in Wang Yintian and Cao Chenmin. 2004, fig. 4. More detailed pictures of this coffin bed will be shown later in this chapter. Also on Zhijiabao: see Liu Junxi and Gao Feng. 2004. “Datong Zhijiabao Bei Wei mu guanban hua” [Datong Zhijiabao Northern Wei tomb coffin plank pictures]. Wenwu 2004/12, pp. 35-47. “Three pieces of coffin planks bearing pictures (sic.) were found or collected in its neighborhood. The pictures in fresh colors show scenes of tiger hunting in mountains and feasts in tents”, p. 47. The pictures illustrated do not
couple is wearing Chinese robes but Xianbei hats with back flaps. Their attendants are clearly bringing them food on a platform that looks like a small Han style ta. Su Bai has dated this tomb to the mid 480s based on the style of the murals.\textsuperscript{666}

An additional stone house-shaped sarcophagus\textsuperscript{667} belonging to Song Shaozu and dated to 477 CE was excavated in Datong. Unfortunately most paint on the interior walls had been eradicated by water, but the stone platform on which the sarcophagus rested is in the same style with curlicues as that found in the 480s tomb described above. It is simpler, however, with only animal faces on its legs (fig. 371).\textsuperscript{668}

Also at Datong, a “Northern Wei” wooden coffin and its platform (ta) were excavated at Hudong.\textsuperscript{669} Both coffin and platform are painted with lacquer designs, similar to those on the Guyuan Sarcophagus. The tomb has also yielded a gilt bronze plaque, also like those from the Guyuan tomb. The overall shape of the lacquer platform (if known) has not been published. Rather than a seated portrait of the occupant, there appears to be a figure at a half-open door with an attendant at each side.

The 474 and 484 Datong tomb of Sima Jinlong (of royal Chinese descent) and Ji, his first wife, is notable for the magnificent lacquer folding screen, painted with lacquer paints, found therein. It portrays virtuous rulers and ladies, all exemplifying Confucian

\textsuperscript{666} Wang and Liu 2001, p. 51.

\textsuperscript{667} A large (ca. 6 feet long) earthen model house was excavated from a Northern Wei tomb at Guyuan in 1984 (Luo Feng 2004, pp. 33-4, fig. 3.3).

\textsuperscript{668} Shanxisheng Kaogu Yanjiusuo and Datongshi Kaogu Yanjiusuo 2001, fig. 13. In fig. 13, it appears that the carving is on the inside of the surrounding platform.

\textsuperscript{669} Shanxisheng Datongshi Kaogu Yanjiusuo. 2004. My thanks to Angela Sheng for this reference. Images of the lacquer designs were shown in Chapter 1, fig. 12, and the gilt bronze plaque will be discussed in “Pushou Sets”.

\textsuperscript{666} Wang and Liu 2001, p. 51.

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morality. No painting of the occupants donned the stamped brick walls of the tomb, (a primarily southern characteristic)\textsuperscript{670}, but a stone coffin bed (\textit{ta}) was found, much in the style of those previously mentioned (fig. 372).\textsuperscript{671} In shape it resembles the foregoing examples but there are many flying Busshist deities carved on its sides (figs. 706, 707 and 708).

The painting of Kudi Huiluo of the Northern Qi period (550-577 CE) in Shandong shows him seated in front of a very conspicuous screen of nine panels that exceeds his height, and indeed the height of his standing attendants (fig. 373).\textsuperscript{672} The screen shows early landscape painting.

Stone screens on stone mortuary beds dating to the Northern Zhou and Northern Qi into the Sui periods also have been excavated. They portray Zoroastrian rituals and the Sogdian way of life. One such is from the tomb of An Qie, who died in 571 CE near Xi'an.\textsuperscript{673} He was a Sabao\textsuperscript{674} of Sogdian descent, having been born in Guzang (Wuwei). Other such screens and beds include the Anyang Northern Qi mortuary bed with surrounding screen and gate towers,\textsuperscript{675} a stone sarcophagus with similar motifs from the

\textsuperscript{670} But several other great tombs of the Pingcheng period also exhibit inscribed bricks. Shing Müller considers these a revival of Eastern Han custom such as is found in the Wangdu tombs M1 and M2. (1999, p. 21 - p. 149).

\textsuperscript{671} Shanxisheng Datongshi Bowuguan and Shanxisheng Wenwu Gongzuoweiyuanhui 1972, p.22, fig. 4. Detailed pictures of these figures will be shown later in this chapter.

\textsuperscript{672} Ji’anshi 1985, fig. 8.


\textsuperscript{674} See \textit{Sogdiens en Chine Conference}, 2004 which was aiming at a definition. Roughly, a \textit{sabao} was a Sogdian who was put in charge of all the political and religious affairs of the Sogdians of his community.

\textsuperscript{675} Scaglia 1958; Jiang 2000, pp. 35-49.
Taiyuan tomb of Yu Hong, the Tianshui couch, and the one in the Miho Museum, Japan.

By this time, portraits of seated occupants were disappearing from tombs. In the 550 CE tomb of the Ruanruan princess, no portrait was found. Screens were sometimes depicted in tombs, such as that in the 8th century Tang tomb at Wangcui, Chang’an, Shaanxi, but they were not backgrounds for portraits of the deceased.

PORTRAIT of the GUYUAN OCCUPANT AS WELL AS THOSE of XIWANGMU and DONGWANGFU

The Guyuan Sarcophagus probably dates to the late Pingcheng period (which ended 494 CE) based on the design of the flaming triangles which were transitioning to rounded Buddhist jewels, and the depicted Xianbei clothing. At the foot of the coffin sits (presumably) the occupant. He is dressed totally in Xianbei fashion, the only occupant known to be so dressed; otherwise Xianbei costumes can be seen on donors in the Yungang Caves 13 (fig. 590) and 18, and, of course, uniquely, in the Guyuan Sarcophagus filial piety frieze. On the occupant, this consists of tunic or coat with crossed-over opening down the front and a tight belt, probably fabric, around his waist. It has tight sleeves. His wide pants flow over his shoes. He wears the same Xianbei hat with backflap as those of the men in the coffin’s filial piety frieze; it has a bulge towards

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676 Zhang 2000, pp. 30-34 and Jiang pp. 33-34.
678 Metropolitan Museum of Art 1996 (Shumei Family Collection), No. 73. Kindly supplied by Virginia Bower. Also depicted in Juliano and Lerner 2001, p. 309.
679 Cixian Wenhua Guan. 1984, p. 15.
the back at the top. He sits on a ta of the period with his heels together and his toes touching the floor below and his knees very wide apart. In his left hand, with index finger extended, he holds a small fan of Chinese design. In his right hand raised above his shoulder with small finger extended, he delicately holds a small cup. Two male attendants are on his left and two female on his right. The woman immediately on his right is holding a small cup at chest level. Curiously, her hat does not seem to have the indentation of the hats of the women in the filial piety frieze: it may be similar to that of one of the figures in the window on the side of the coffin. Indentations in women’s hats were commonly, but not consistently, shown on Northern Wei women (fig. 374). The woman behind her is not wearing any hat at all. Behind her is a large hu, no doubt ready for replenishment. There is no evidence of any food being brought. The whole scene is filled with floating lotus buds.

The occupant is within a Chinese house under a tiled roof with a definite curl at the edge of the eave. It may have owls’ tails. The one remaining pillar has an enlargement at the top which may represent a dou, possibly with two diagonal struts. Also on the original painting, under the front eave, one V can be seen with internal lines which may represent parts of an inverted bracket and the internal lines may represent a dougong. Such is the interpretation of the artist who did the line drawings of the several houses depicted on the coffin. The occupant sits on a ta with curlicues typical of

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683 The Xianbei hats with backflaps, though shorter, are not dissimilar to the hats worn by the king’s attendants in Gu Kaizhi’s painting “The Nymph of the Luo River”, which also seem to have backflaps. Sullivan 1999, p. 98, fig. 6.4.
684 The damage at the top makes it difficult to be sure.
685 Juliano, 2002, fig.
686 Actually the upright V is 2 halves of 2 inverted Vs or frog’s leg struts. The dougong is between the 2 frog’s leg struts.
the era, with a cross-hatched screen behind; only one panel is indicated. There are no curtains.

For the most part, the form of Northern Wei ta seems to have settled into the curlicue style that we see in the Guyuan and other tombs, but it was not always so. An actual wooden chuang (bed) from the Warring States Chu site of Xinyang was excavated (fig. 375). It is in the typical Chu style of heavily carved wooden legs and what appears to be a key along the boards at the sides. A bamboo lattice rises from the sides, presumably to keep the occupant and bedclothes from falling out. So far, there are no known descendants of this style.

With the frequent depictions of daily life, particularly elite life, in the Han Dynasty, we see several styles emerge. Of course, people continued to sit on mats, with or without three-sided screens behind them (fig. 318). But low, raised wooden platforms (ta) were being used. A frequently depicted Han ta was supported by several slender curved uprights, joined at the bottom (fig. 377). Surprisingly, this style could support several people (fig. 378 top). If the curved supports were made of wood, as seems most likely, they may not have been so slender or they would have been subject to breakage. This style continued to be used into Tang times, at least (fig. 379). The emperor even sits on one in the “Admonitions” scroll (fig. 380), but the supports of his

687 Henansheng Wenhuaju Wenwu Gongzuodui Di Yi Dui 1957, p. 24, figs 6, 7 and 8.
688 Powers 1991, fig. 125, where even the landlord sits on a mat. C.P. Fitzgerald cites a Beijing copy of a Gu Kaizhi picture of two figures sitting on mats on the floor, the great man surrounded by a three-sided screen painted with a landscape, while the lesser person has none (my fig. 376), (1965, pp. 54-55). Fitzgerald also describes the Xinyang bed, the Anqiu ta, and a Liaoyang ta, (pp. 51-55), but provides no illustrations.
689 Ibid, fig. 9.
690 Cahill 1995, p. 18.
691 Watson 1995, fig. 325.
paramour's bed are in a style with large curvilinear cutouts in this scroll considered
by Wu Hung to be an original work of the third quarter of the fifth century.\footnote{Wu Hung 2003, p. 534.} There is
evidence that this cutout style had existed from the Han period (fig. 381),\footnote{Chen Zengbi 1979, p. 69, no. 5. This is included in an article by Chen on furniture for individuals.} but it became
popular in the Tang.\footnote{For further examples, see Cahill 1995, Ladies Playing Double Sixes, p. 22, and A Palace Concert, p. 46.} Mention should also be made of another style in the Han period
where the apron appears to descend in steps (fig. 405).\footnote{Cangshan tomb. This appears to be the style of the stone "dais" excavated from Tomb No. 1 at Wangdu, Hebei (Hsu 2004, fig. 41), although the damage to the apron makes it difficult to be sure.} A transition to the fifth century ta with its curvilinear apron and legs was taking
place. The two ta depicted in a mural in the Eastern Han Tomb no. 1 at Wangdu, Hebei
(fig. 382),\footnote{Kieser 2001, fig. 26.} the two ta with two-sided screens shown on an Anqiu brick (fig. 383)\footnote{Wenwu Cankao Ziliao 1955, inside back cover. The monograph on Anqiu, Anqiu Dongjiazhuang Han Huixiang Shimu, does not include this brick.} and
even an excavated Eastern Jin ta with an armrest (fig. 384)\footnote{Chen Zengbi 1979, fig. 3. Three Eastern Jin tombs excavated in 2001 in Nanjing also have yielded armrests. (Nanjingshi Bowuguan, 2008, e.g. fig. 8).} all show gentle,
undeveloped curves. In the murals in tombs in fourth century Liaoyang, the ta in figure
three rests on simple triangles (fig. 385)\footnote{Dongbei Bowuguan 1955, fig. 3.} whereas that of figure two has the gentle
curves that seemed to be developing at the time (fig. 386).\footnote{Ibid. fig. 2.}

The portrait of Duke Ling in the late Eastern Han, 147-167, in the fourth Wu
Family Shrine, Shandong, on the other hand, seems to display more radical curls on the
apron of the Duke's ta than the curves just displayed (fig. 387).\footnote{Powers 1991, figs. 3 and 4.} They appear to be
incised on the surface of the ta, because of the double layer of curves and the dots below
them, but this portrayal may simply be a function of the difficulty of displaying this
complexity in a small-scale image on stone. It does show, however, that these curlicues, which we take to be a hallmark of Pingcheng period Northern Wei style (on the Guyuan and Hudong sarcophagi and bronze pushou to say nothing of the aprons of the ta) were already being thought of in the late Eastern Han.

By the Northern Wei period, the wooden ta with inward pointing curls was fully developed (figs. 388, bottom). It appeared in other contexts, too: frequently on the pedestals of Buddhist deities (fig. 389). The simpler design below a Standing Bodhisattva dated ca. 400 CE may have been a developmental phase, or an adaptation due to the statue’s small size. It should be noted that the stone ta found in the Zhijiabao, Song Shaozu and Sima Jinlong tombs also had inward pointing curls (running spirals), all pointing inward to the center point on the long side.

In contrast, on the Guyuan coffin, Dongwangfu (King Father of the East), identified by cartouche, and Xiwangmu (Queen Mother of the West) sit in similar Chinese houses to the occupant’s, but their rooftops are adorned by two birds each. The central, frontal birds each have two three-plumed tails while the birds on the sloping sides are in profile. Dongwangfu has a three-footed raven in his sun disk, whereas Xiwangmu’s moon is damaged and empty. Both their houses have curtains. Both deities are dressed in Chinese robes but wear Xianbei hats with windflaps, just as do the occupants of the Zhijiabao tomb. Dongwangfu has two servants looking into his house; Xiwangmu has not only those but also has an attendant wearing a Xianbei hat with

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703 Rhie 2002, vol. 2, fig. 4.83e.
704 Ibid., pl. 6.
705 Figs. 370, 371 and 372, above.
706 The ta depicted in the Zhijiabao tomb has inwardly pointed curls, but they meet to right of center. Song Shaozu’s ta has curls directed to a point on each half of the long side.
707 So much has been published about these two deities, they will not be discussed.
708 Xiwangmu’s hat unusually has two indentations.
windflap, on each side. It is interesting that mere servants, like the second one beside the occupant, do not seem to have been awarded Xianbei hats with windflaps; their hair is parted and cut into a bob. In accord with her more important and antique status, Xiwangmu's house and person are larger than those of Dongwangfu.

As mentioned above, Angela Sheng has discussed "sitting-under-curtains", the sacrificial feast and the screen in connection with notions of the afterlife. The Guyuan occupant's setting does not conform to these canons; there is no food depicted in the portrait and there are no curtains, but he does have a screen. The household goods or models included in the tomb were restricted to a bronze stove in the form of a turtle with a cooking pot and steamer, several jars and bowls and two bronze wine warmers. Considering his pose in his portrait, it is possible that he chose wine to be his sole sustenance in the afterlife.

On the other hand, screens could be considered as providing utilitarian comfort without otherworldly signification. The lady on a ta with screen in fig. 388 was not in a mortuary setting, nor were the emperor and his paramour at her screened bed (fig. 380),

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710 Müller 1999, p. 27 = p. 135.
711 It is difficult to know how many features of a tomb, if any, were provided by the workmen who built and furnished it without the knowledge or approval of the occupant or his family. Elsewhere I have shown that the shape of Northern Dynasties 5th and 6th c tombs and even the boulder construction of Empress Feng's ramp were the design of imported Gansu artisans. ("How the other half died: Northern Wei tombs". Unpublished ms. Paper presented at 2nd International Convention of Asia Scholars, Frei Universität, Berlin, 2001.) It is presumed that the major interior features followed the instructions of the occupant. Considering the lotus buds surrounding the attendants (presumably signifying the posthumous setting of the Guyuan occupant's portrait) it is possible that he was enjoying the elaborate banquet within the tomb proposed by Wu Hung 1994 (see my fn 53 above).
and, it might be added, that bed was surrounded by curtains. Thus, it would seem that everyday furnishings were adapted as requirements for a comfortable afterlife.=center

CENTRAL ASIAN CONNECTION

Nevertheless, the contrast between the occupant’s portrait and normal funerary practice as exemplified by the portraits of Xiwangmu and Dongwangfu (who as deities were not even dead) was deliberate. He has no curtains and they do. In addition, in his portrait, he shows no sign of eating, but drinks with enthusiasm, or so one may infer from the large *hu*. Most obviously, he is not dressed as a Chinese. All the other occupants we have seen, even if wearing foreign hats, are wearing Chinese garments (though their attendants might be in Xianbei dress). It appears that Chinese robes were the formal attire for the dead.

Much has been written speculating about a Hephthalite origin for the Guyuan occupant. The Hephthalites were a tribe who took over Bactria, Tocharistan and northeast Gandhāra in the mid-fifth century and disappeared a century later. This

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712 Müller nd. has shown that the stone bases in Sima Jinlong’s tomb have no connection to the screen or couch, so the screen could not have been an integral part of the mortuary furnishings (p. 25). My thanks to Victor Mair for supplying me with this translation of her article.

713 Juliano and Albert Dien state that “There is no Western long-necked flask next to the attendant”. (Juliano and Lerner 2002, p. 80, n. 7). The image they show of the occupant and his attendants, no. 16b, is cropped just before the *hu* appears on the left, so that only the lotus bud,, that they think previous authors have mistaken for the *hu*, is apparent. The monograph on the Guyuan Sarcophagus, Ningxia Guyuan Bowuguan 1988, in fact illustrates the *hu* in 3 different pictures: the actual lacquer fragment showing the occupant (penultimate colored plate), the artist’s rendition of the same scene (2nd color plate of the lacquer coffin paintings) and in the pull-out black illustration. In those, the tear that Juliano and Dien think confused the other authors can quite clearly be seen below the *hu*. I myself noted the *hu* in my 5-hour examination of the coffin.

714 E.g. Yu Taishan 2004, pp. 16-17.

715 Sinor 1990, pp. 299-301. They sent their first embassy to the Northern Wei in 456-7 and their state was destroyed between 557 and 561 by the joint action of the Turk kaghan and Khosrow I, Sasanian king of the Persians. They must have been on the minds of the Chinese as in 493 and 508 CE they invaded Khotan, Kashgar, Kocho and Karashahr. Between 507 and 531 they sent 13 embassies to the Wei. Litvinsky, based on C.S. Antonini, 1972, “Le pitture murali di Balalyk Tepe”, *Annali dell’Istituto Orientale di Napoli*, vol 32 (N.S. 22), places the date of the Balalyk murals at end of the sixth or beginning of the seventh century, (B.A. Litvinsky 1996, p. 152), but Sheng dates them to the fifth and sixth centuries (1998, p. 543, and n.
Hephthalite theory about the occupant is based on the murals in Balalyk Tepe, Termez where the nobility are celebrating, cups in hands and little fingers extended (fig. 390, 716 figs. 149 and 150). It is significant that the women donors in the Dunhuang Embroidery 717 (fig. 75) wear robes showing the same heart-shaped textile pattern (without the honeysuckle interior) that is worn by banqueters at Balalyk Tepe 718 (fig. 150).

One of the unfortunately few other works of art attributed to Hephthalite provenance is a silver bowl portraying nude and seminude muscular men (possibly Heracles and companions) and a royal couple sitting cross-legged on a carpet and participating in a libation (figs. 391, 719 392). 720 In addition, two lids of cosmetic boxes identified by Ghose as Hephthalite show loving couples with the man drinking (fig. 393). 721 In both cases he is drinking from a fluted boat-shaped cup, common throughout the whole area. The man in the right figure is seated in a splay-legged position.

26. Étienne de La Vassyère has analyzed their early history (2003, pp. 119-132). Paper kindly sent to me by Victor Mair.
716 Albaum 1960, pl. 100.
717 Juliano and Lerner 2002, No. 45, “Fragments of Buddhist banner with Xianbei donors”, pp. 144-147. They cite (p. 147, n.5) Luo Feng’s opinion that the Dunhuang Embroidery was made in Pingcheng because the donors’ style of dress has not appeared in Dunhuang (Luo 1990, p. 26). The Dunhuang Institute’s report on the Dunhuang Embroidery, originally published in 1972, states the Embroidery’s “style of these costumes is not found at Dunhuang” (Dunhuang Institute of Research on Cultural Relics 1985, p. 1552). 718 Ibid. p. 146-7. Sheng calls the motif “tree-leaves” (1998, p.543, 553 and ns. 25 and 26) and suggests that it may have originated with Kushan depictions of the bodhi tree. 1999, p. 48. The bodhi tree is usually considered to be the pipal tree of India, a kind of fig, Ficus religiosa. Chinese archaeologists call it “peach-shaped”. (Dunhuang Institute of Research on Cultural Relics 1985, p. 1553, fig. 2). Phyllis Ackerman opined that this figure had developed, like many Sasanian figures, out of foliate elements, in this case, branching bracts. (1981, vol. V, p. 617, fig. 195). Prudence Harper has more to say about it in West Asia. (2002, pp. 107-110). It has been found ornamenting Greek and Etruscan vases in the British Museum and the Louvre. (Jones, 1972, pl. 17, Greek No. 3, nos. 51, 53, 56, and 61).

719 Tôkyô Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan et al. 1985, pl. 127. My thanks to Angela Sheng for this image.
720 Hallade 1968, pl. 17 and 18. (Same bowl as fig. 391).
721 Ghose 2003, figs. 2 and 3. Recently kindly sent to me by Mair.
Five of the occupants of the 7th century tombs excavated southwest of Guyuan were of Shi origin, Shi having been a “small state in Sogdiana area (sic.)”. Luo Feng, the excavator/administrator of all these Guyuan tombs, has since found that the Shi came from Kesh, present-day Shahr-i-sabz, south of Samarkand, Uzbekistan. Separate, but in the same general area in Guyuan was the tomb of someone named Liang. The screens portraying Wei and Jin dynasties literary figures found in his tomb suggest that his cultural affiliation was Chinese. It is possible that the Guyuan Sarcophagus occupant was of Shi origin, but unlikely because his period was much earlier, late 5th century Northern Wei, and his tomb was not in the same cemetery, it was located east of Guyuan.

The Sogdians were not Hephthalites, but, as we shall see, the distinction may not have mattered as far as the occupant of the Northern Wei Guyuan Sarcophagus was concerned. He may have been attracted to certain Central Asian customs that had spread over a wide area.

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722 Ningxia Huizu Zizhiqu Guyuan Bowuguan. 1996, “A cemetery of the Middle Asian descendants” np. The portrayed gentlemen and guards appear to be wearing Chinese robes, though calf-length with boots, and Chinese hats (figs. 91, 106-111, pls. 1-6). In keeping with the Sui-Tang period, there do not appear to be any seated portraits, so we do not know if the occupants, though of Central Asian origin, sat splay-legged as did the occupant of the Northern Wei Guyuan Sarcophagus. It seems unlikely, though, given the Chinese robes of the attendants. There may be one lady (figs. 98, 99). It is difficult to know if ladies in long striped skirts are painted over grooms in Xianbei hats (pl. 7). The grooms elsewhere wear calf-length loose robes, with or without lapels, boots and Xianbei hats with streamers but no windflaps (perhaps one windflap) or Phrygian caps (figs. 92-97, 100-105).

723 Although trade with the West can be attested by the Western objects found in Chinese tombs from the Western Han period, settlements of Sogdian merchants in China are thought to have existed from the Eastern Han. de La Vaissière (sic.) p. 69. The five Sogdian letters found together by Aurel Stein west of Dunhuang must have been written soon after 311 CE because the second mentions the 311 sack of Luoyang. p. 51. The fifth letter was sent from Wuwei. p. 52. all De La Vaissière 2002. Nicholas Sims-Williams endorses this dating. (2004, p. 97). It is surprising that no tombs containing even modest versions of the stone mortuary couches mentioned in page 9 above or other lavish evidence of Zoroastrian rituals from before the Northern Zhou period have been found in Wuwei, Xi’an or Ningxia. Perhaps Zoroastrian practices had to be kept secret during the Northern and Western Wei.


When it comes to appearances, writers often group Hephthalites and Turks together. Rawson identifies their common characteristics as facial features and hairstyles. From the figures she provides, it is not totally clear what these are. They seem to have long pushed in noses and perhaps bobbed hair. The usual depiction of Hephthalite and Turk men shows them with long hair bound at the back perhaps in a long stocking (figs. 394 top, 395 right). While the princely couple on the Hephthalite bowl could have bobbed hair, the Balalyk celebrants most certainly do not (fig. 390, figs. 149, 150). The hair of both men and women, servants and masters, is so neat that it has the appearance of tight-fitting caps, although the women of fig. 149 do seem to have long hair. Noteworthy are widows’ peaks and very neat dreadlocks at the sides. It is difficult to know if their hair is bound in long stockings; only frontal views are presented. Some persons in An Qie’s tomb have long hair parted in the middle and flowing down both sides of their shoulders; others have short hair (fig. 404). The Guyuan occupant’s hair was hidden by his conventional Xianbei hat with windflap.

He is, however, sitting in a Chinese house with no curtains. An Qie, the occupant of a Northern Zhou tomb in Xi’an (Chang’an), also sits in a Chinese house, but with curtains (fig. 395 right). He was Chinese, born in Wuwei (Guzang), Gansu, but of Sogdian descent. Even his tiger skin tent, used on his many diplomatic missions, has

726 Rawson 2001. “Foreign servants, especially Turks and Hephthalites, also abound, easily identified by their facial features and hairstyles”. p. 130.
727 If bobbed hair was indeed a characteristic, it suggests that the one female attendant of the Guyuan occupant and three attendants of Dongwangfu and Xiwangmu were Hephthalites or Turks. Rawson, on the other hand, is referring to the Yu Hong coffin and the Miho Museum coffin-bed (her figs. 4 and 7d).
728 Jiang 2001, fig. 12.
730 Ibid, pl. 24.
731 Ibid, p. 111. My thanks to Nancy Steinhardt for providing me with this book.
curtains (fig. 395 left), but another Chinese house (fig. 396)\textsuperscript{732} does not. The Taiyuan coffin of Yu Hong, d. 593, a Sogdian who was born in the Kingdom of Yu, shows a house which is probably not Chinese but has curtains (fig. 394, bottom).\textsuperscript{733}

Luo Feng makes a good case for the Persian origin of or at least influence on the Guyuan occupant.\textsuperscript{734} He shows many illustrations of Persians, Sogdians, and Hephthalites ceremonially posed with cups. Except for the Dunhuang Embroidery (fig. 75), my figures 390, 149, 150, and 394\textsuperscript{735} all show persons holding cups.\textsuperscript{736} This ritual seems to have extended throughout the Persian-influenced area.

Closer to China, a tomb at Loulan, Eastern Xinjiang, shows murals of persons also ceremoniously holding cups (figs. 398, 399 and 400).\textsuperscript{737} It is curious that the woman in fig. 398 is holding a wide cup like those in the Balalyk murals, whereas the men of figs. 399 and 400 are holding tall narrow cups. The Balalyk cups are fluted and stemmed but the Loulan wide cup is plain. It is hard to know if, in Loulan, the form of cup is gender-related or if the persons are of different ethnicities. The cup held by the “Kashi” (Kashgar) person in fig. 397 is broad, fluted and bowl-like with no stem and the drinker is definitely a man. The cup held by the man in fig. 399 is narrower and stemmed as are those in figs. 394, 395 and 396. Actually the narrower stemmed cup in the Yu Hong

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\textsuperscript{732} Shaanxisheng Kaogu Yanjiusuo 2003, fig. 27.
\textsuperscript{733} Luo 2004, pp. 52-79. Holding cups pp. 52-65.
\textsuperscript{734} Except for fig. 394, top which is a hunting scene.
\textsuperscript{735} These include a gray schist tray “Reportedly acquired in Kashi, Xinjiang”, late 5\textsuperscript{th}-6\textsuperscript{th} c. (Watt 2004, No. 99). (My fig. 397). The gray schist material, the fly whisk and the apparently diaphanous material of the central figure’s costume suggest that the tray may have come from an area farther south. The hatless attendant with the fly whisk is wearing a V-necked garment and boots similar to those of the singer in An Qie’s tomb (my fig. 395), although the fly whisk attendant is wearing a skirt. The ends are merlons.
\textsuperscript{737} Mu Shunying 2005, Loulan Qian niande Chuanqi he Qian Niande Mi, pp. 97, 95 and 96. Mu then followed this publication with 2006, Xun Wo Loulan. My thanks to Nancy Steinhardt for providing me with these publications.
tomb, fig. 394 is held by an elaborately dressed person, probably a woman, wearing a crown, but the other side of the dais is occupied by a bearded man holding a wide cup, with or without a stem. Excavated from the c. 529 CE tomb of Wang Zhenbao in Qingshui, Gansu, is an actual wide cup with stem (fig. 401). Included in fig. 401 is a figure of a similar cup held by a female votary in Miran, in a Buddhist setting. The Guyuan occupant’s cup in his portrait is small and round, but very importantly, an actual damaged wide silver cup has been found in his tomb (fig. 403). It is Luo Feng’s belief that it was used to celebrate Nowruz (below). The upper part is Han style with ears, but he believes it was altered from a Persian style cup, (probably because of its multi-lobed base). A number of boat-shaped cups have been found in Datong and he believes this was one of them.

The drinking scenes may have been connected with the Nowruz (New Years festival) described by Scaglia. This three-day festival involved certain actions by the ruler, including drinking in a building with his spouse. Many of Luo Feng’s and my figures show this scene. It is notable that the woman on the Guyuan occupant’s right

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738 This person is accompanied by two standing figures wearing long dresses, scarves and crowns, and are probably all women. The crowns may be similar to that worn by a male attendant kneeling at the side of the left panel of plate 24 in An Qie’s tomb (fig. 395), a panel which shows two men in a tiger skin tent, one of whom is probably An Qie conducting his diplomatic affairs; the host with long hair is holding a drinking horn.

739 Two images painted on wood from the 6th c site of Dandan Oiluk, Khotan, show deities holding wide cups: a trio, Indra, Maya-Sri and a Brahman (?), (Cocheteux, 1995, No. 215); and a deity on a piebald horse above another deity on a camel. (Bussagli 1979, p. 59).

740 Juliano and Lerner 2001, p. 94, No. 27b and fig. A.

741 Small round cups, with or without a small foot, were in use in China about this time. Curator Patty Procter of the Royal Ontario Museum showed me a number of early Tang ceramic cups of that shape but said the Museum does not have a good collection of them. She mentioned earthenware cups in Kaogu 1991/12 and gold cups, some fluted (Sasanian influence), in Datong in the Eastern Wei (Kaogu 1977/6). She also provided me with the reference to an Eastern Wei light colored cup, 548 CE. (my fig. 402). (Hebeisheng Wen Guanchu, 1979, p. 29, fig. 35). Sept. 2008. My thanks for her research on my behalf.


743 They may be slightly later.

745 Scaglia 1958.
who is holding a cup, if she is his spouse, is not seated with him inside his Chinese house, but standing outside. She was, however, buried in the same tomb.

This aberration of her standing outside may have been the occupant’s preference, or he may have understood the custom imperfectly. It is to be noted that the occupant was wearing Xianbei costume, not the Sogdian one with short jackets in my figures 394, 395 and 404,\textsuperscript{746} that Buddhist deities float through the air, and that many of the features of the coffin including the filial piety scenes and Dongwangfu and Xiwangmu are longstanding Chinese. This mixture of traits is characteristic of his coffin and I think indicates his syncretic beliefs and way of life. He may have subscribed to the Chinese belief in the apotropaic value of the symbols of many religions, or may have had few convictions himself.

While the occupant’s position holding a drinking cup is an obvious reference to the Persian Nowruz, there may be a Chinese subtext which I shall pursue in this thesis. The themes on the coffin lid concerning the Chinese views of the afterlife can be extended to most elements depicted on the coffin. Wu Hung’s translation of the identifying poem in the Han period Cangshan tomb suggests that the deceased resumes his human form as the honored guest in an elaborate banquet.\textsuperscript{747} (fig. 405)\textsuperscript{748}

\begin{quote}
The portrait inside … represents you, the member of the family.
The Jade Maidens are holding drinking vessels and serving boards – How fine, fragile and delicate they look!\textsuperscript{749}
\end{quote}

The same scene is shown in the Yangzishan Tomb No. 1, Sichuan where the deceased feasts between the journeys into and out of the tomb.\textsuperscript{750} It could be that all feasts

\textsuperscript{746} Shaanxisheng Kaogu Yanjiusuo 2003, pl. 24
\textsuperscript{747} 1994, p. 101. See my fn. 53, above.
\textsuperscript{748} Ibid., p. 97.
\textsuperscript{749} Ibid., p. 96.
\textsuperscript{750} Ibid., p. 96.
depicted in Han tombs were supposed to be posthumous,\textsuperscript{751} although the sequence of the two journeys may not have been worked out until late Han. Funeral procession representations in the Northern Wei period were usually only confined to figurines of soldiers, attendants, horses and an ox and cart, and even they were totally lacking in the Guyuan tomb, but it may be assumed that the Guyuan occupant’s liquid feast took place within the tomb.

**OCCUPANT’S POSE**

He certainly chose to be shown in a most un-Chinese position.\textsuperscript{752} As the governor, as is posited for his position, or at least prominent representative of Northern Wei culture in this recently conquered outpost, he chose to be portrayed in the commanding pose of Kushan emperors or Sasanian kings. None of the Sogdians we have just illustrated chose this pose.

The portrait statue of Vima Kadphises in Mathurā shows this king seated on a lion throne with his legs pendant in “European” fashion, but with his knees splayed and feet, though flat, pointing partly to the sides (fig. 407).\textsuperscript{753} The Guyuan occupant’s knees are

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{itemize}
\item[\textsuperscript{750}] Wu Hung 1998, p. 30
\item[\textsuperscript{751}] Judy Ho shows a scene from a Luoyang funerary couch in which a very Chinese couple enjoys a feast in a tent with curtains and rounded degenerate flaming triangles. (Ho, 2001, p. 478, fig. 11). The man is holding a boat-shaped cup and the woman is passing him a plate of food. There is a question about whether the women in these scenes also partook of the nourishment or merely passed it. Of course they may not have occupied the same tomb.
\item[\textsuperscript{752}] It is possible that this position is a way Xianbei men sat. On the other hand, all the persons in the filial piety frieze who are in Xianbei clothes and sitting, appear to be kneeling, that is sitting in the traditional Chinese fashion with their legs on the seat, even when sitting on a ta. I shall not consider the legs pendant, cross-ankled pose commonly associated with Maitreya as it is not shown on the Guyuan Sarcophagus. Its origin remains a mystery. Michael Meister calls it the “teaching position”. 1984, pl. 81. Martin Lerner refers to it as a “preaching Maitreya”. Metropolitan Museum of Art 1982, pp. 58-59. Yu-min Lee (1984) considers its iconography in China but does not broach the problem of its origin. (My thanks to Angela Sheng for giving me the reprint). The pose seems to be confined to Buddhist deities except for the Khalchayan figure of a seated ruler (fig. 406) in the Graeco-Bactrian era. Pugachenkova 1971, no. 68.
\item[\textsuperscript{753}] John Rosenfield 1967, pl. 1.
\end{itemize}
\end{footnotesize}
wider apart and only his toes touch the ground. Vima Kadphises' hands do not appear to be holding a cup. The inscription on this portrait indicates that it was made during his lifetime or shortly thereafter. Vima Kadphises was the predecessor of Kaniska whose first reigning year has recently been established as 127 CE.

Vima Kadphises was also the first Kushan king to have himself portrayed on coins with flaming shoulders (see my Chapter 5). A rare copper coin shows Kaniska seated in the same pose as Vima. Some Kushan coins, all later in date, show various enthroned goddesses and gods, legs pendant, knees splayed widely, on their reverses. A gold stater of Kaniska II shows the Kushan goddess Ardoksho (fig. 408). A quarter dinar of Huviška, the first Kaniska's successor, shows the Graeco-Egyptian god Serapis in what Carter considers a royal pose (fig. 409). Carter conjectures that that god may have come through direct contact with Egypt, or alternatively assimilated into Bactria from Iran where a temple to him may have existed. The pose continued to be copied in Kushan art (figs. 410, 411, 412 top register, 413 middle register). A "Kushano-

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754 Rosenfield 1967, p. 145.
756 Rosenfield 1967, p. 145. The illustration is not clear enough to be copied.
757 Errington, Elizabeth and Joe Cribb 1992, no. 40. No. 41 is slightly later. A similar pose is presented by Tyche, the city goddess of Hadda in a stone relief in Kabul. She holds a cornucopia which connects her to the cult of Ardoksho, the Iranian goddess of fortune. (Benjamin Rowland, 1966, No. 53). Rowland sees it as being in a late Roman style, perhaps 3rd c CE.
759 Ibid. p. 215.
760 Wu Hung 1989, fig. 56.
761 Kurita 2003, pl. 76.
762 Jongeward 2003, No. 20, p. 90.
763 Masselos 1997, fig. 74.
Sasanian silver plate, fourth century, in the British Museum shows a ruler in a pose resembling the Guyuan coffin’s occupant receiving a wreath from a deity.\textsuperscript{764}

Whence came this pose? John Rosenfield considers it,\textsuperscript{765} indeed the whole question of frontality, as does Mathiesen this last in connection with Middle and Late Parthian portraits.\textsuperscript{766} It is the opinion of Rosenfield that the "European" pose with both feet on the ground, in India, had only occurred once before the Kushan period, and had never been seen in Indian royal scenes, until near the end of the 3rd century in Mathurā when some minor Hindu deities, such as Kubera, were so portrayed. By the mid 5\textsuperscript{th} century, it had become a standard feature of Gupta style.

As for frontality, and here Rosenfield considers both standing and seated figures,\textsuperscript{767} it had cropped up from time to time, especially in ancient Mesopotamia, but also at Palmyra, Dura Europos and Hatra, and in the Arch of Constantine. In particular, Rosenfield notes: “During the first two centuries before and the two centuries after the birth of Christ, there was in Western Asia an almost magnetic attraction at work, drawing human images into the guise of emblematic rigidity and frontality”\textsuperscript{768} and wonders if, in the cases of early Kuśāṇa and Iran, it was a denial of the spirit and form of Hellenism. He gives two examples of seated frontality: at Dura Europos (fig. 414) and at Hatra (fig. 415).\textsuperscript{769} It had also occurred in ancient Greece (fig. 416).\textsuperscript{770}

\textsuperscript{764} Sims and Marshak, 2002, p. 13, fig. 16. The ruler’s pose is rigidly symmetrical whereas the Guyuan occupant is slanted towards his right, (tipsy?).
\textsuperscript{765} Rosenfield 1967, pp. 186-188.
\textsuperscript{766} Mathiesen 1992, pp. 27-28, 36-37, 58, 83.
\textsuperscript{767} Rosenfield here considers the whole question of frontality (pp. 208-214). In ancient Mesopotamia he mentions the standing sculptures, but neglects standing figures in cylinder seals, eg. figs. 29, and 129 in McBeath 1999 where they happen to be images of gods.
\textsuperscript{769} Both Rosenfield 1967, fig. 23 and pl. 146 respectively. Seated frontality also in Palmyra (Schlumberger 1969, fig. 32) and the Arch of Constantine (Ramage and Ramage 1991, figs. 12.4 and 12.5).
The influence of the Mediterranean was being felt. The coin with an image of Serapis depicted by Carter,\textsuperscript{771} is further substantiated by the discovery of the deity’s image in the necklace of a Gandhāran Bodhisattva\textsuperscript{772} and by the find of an image of Serapis of the 2\textsuperscript{nd} or 3\textsuperscript{rd} century found at Khotan (fig. 417).\textsuperscript{773} In Harmatta’s opinion, “we find Serapis, the supreme deity of the Alexandrian pantheon whose name appears in the Bactrianized form of Sarapo. His emergence seems to indicate the orientation of Huviška\textsuperscript{774} toward Roman Egypt, an important market for the wares imported from or through the Kushan Empire.”\textsuperscript{775} Xinru Liu traces the development of that trade.\textsuperscript{776}

Although not previously unknown, regular trade between India and Rome started in the reign of Augustus (27 BCE – 15 CE) when he was visited by envoys from India. It became frequent in the first century CE with the discovery of the monsoon on the Arabian Sea.\textsuperscript{777} Liu specifically gives the route of the Egyptian-Greek ships on their way to the Indian coast.

Whether or not Egyptian trade reached Kušāṇa by the time of Vima Kadphises (before 127 CE), it is likely that some influences from the West had come into that area in his time. It is hard to ignore the impression that must have been made on travelers or even local people who would pass on by word of mouth, of colossi such as those of Abu Simbel (fig. 418),\textsuperscript{778} Memnon at Thebes or Commagene (fig. 419).\textsuperscript{779} While the first

\textsuperscript{770} Kunze et al, 1995, Short Guide, fig. 7.
\textsuperscript{771} Carter 1993, reverse of Coin No. 12.
\textsuperscript{773} Xiyu Meishu 2003, No. 19. My thanks to Kim Haewon for this gift.
\textsuperscript{774} Huviska was one, or possibly two Kushan ruler(s) whose reign(s) began 28 years after the start of the reign of Kaniska which is now considered to have been 128 CE. (Rosenfield, 1967, p. 28 and 60 ff.)
\textsuperscript{775} Harmatta 1994, p. 326.
\textsuperscript{776} Liu Xinru 1994, p. 7.
\textsuperscript{777} Bernard 1994, p. 102 disputes that late date.
\textsuperscript{778} Kitchen 1982, fig. 22A.
were erected in the 13th century BCE and the last in the first century BCE, they persist to this day, and in the early centuries of the Common Era lived on in more than memory.

The Kushan sculpture may have influenced the pose of the Guyuan occupant, but an even more likely source was Persia. In the immediate past, the Achaemenids (destroyed 330 BCE) had been almost always positioned European fashion but with knees together, and strictly in profile (fig.420). Their unwanted successors, the Seleucids, were hardly more frontal (fig. 421). The Parthian kings, though suddenly favoring a frontal stance in their middle period, showed themselves only in busts or standing with slightly bent knees. Their last ruler, Artabanus V, did turn himself towards the front as he sat with his knees slightly separated (fig.422). The influence of the Mediterranean, however, must have entered Iran through the frequent contact, diplomatic or bellicose, with Rome, and can perhaps be seen in the reclining pose of the Parthian king at Tang-I Sarvak and elsewhere (fig. 423), the dining position of the Romans and perhaps the Greeks before them, in a “banquet funèbre” Schlumberger attributes to the Palmyrans.

It remained for the Sasanians (224-651 CE) to show themselves in this most commanding pose (figs. 424, 825) whose origins cannot be arrived at with any more

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779 Ghirshman 1962, fig. 72.
780 Darius enthroned, behind him, Xerxes. 5th c BCE. (Boardman 2000, fig. 4.16). Achaemenid Persia was the likely source for the pose, European style but in profile, of the Great Goddess of Pazyryk. (Rudenko 1970, pl. 154).
781 Newell 1938, Mint: Susa; Antiochus I, Series I and II.
782 Hans Eric Mathiesen (probably using different sources) does find the pose of the Middle Parthian period kings impressive. (1992, pp. 27-28). My thanks to Ed Keall for this reference.
783 Kawami 1987, p. 169, using more recent scholarship, considers him Artabanus IV.
784 Ghirshman 1962, fig. 70.
785 Kawami 1987, pl. 44.
786 Schlumberger 1969, p. 158.
787 Both Ghirshman 1962, figs. 214 and 226 respectively.
precision than those mentioned in the influences outlined above. Native Persians from the ancient province of Fars, the Sasanians can hardly have adopted an unrecorded nomadic position. Benjamin Rowland illustrates this pose on a plaque unearthed at Khalchayan (fig. 426).\textsuperscript{788} He discounts the early date suggested by G.A. Pugachenkova and instead places it in the first or early second centuries CE, the dates of the royal Kushan portraits and Surkh Kotal.\textsuperscript{789} Decoration in Khalchayan architecture includes garland-bearing putti suggesting the same motif in Gandhara and Miran, to say nothing of the Mediterranean. Discounting the crack in the plaque, the knees of the figure are still farther apart than those of Vima Kadphises. Whether this difference is merely an artistic aberration or an indication of a concept developing in the region cannot at present be said. Variations also seemed to be taking place in Kuşâna; the pose of Prince Siddhrtha in the middle register of fig. 413 has very wide knees and raised heels, indeed in the heels together pose of the Guyuan occupant. Perhaps the Sasanian kings considered the very widely splayed knees a royal pose or even that of a deity (cf. figs. 408, 409). In any case, it certainly registers their triumph in having conquered the land of their forefathers. In all the Sasanian examples as well as that of Khalchayan and of Prince Siddhrtha, the pose most closely resembles that of the Guyuan occupant: knees wide apart, heels raised from the ground.

This symmetrical, "European" pose, but with wide knees, found acceptance farther east in Central Asia. Though in three quarters pose, two figures are so depicted at Miran (fig. 427).\textsuperscript{790} A seated Shorchuk figure was dated by the Metropolitan Museum of

\textsuperscript{788} Rowland 1974, fig. 16.
\textsuperscript{789} Ibid., pp. 50-51.
\textsuperscript{790} Bussagli 1979, p. 22.
Art to the seventh or eighth century (figs. 428),\textsuperscript{791} but Angela Howard uses Shorchuk and Tumshuk (also dated to the seventh of eighth century) examples in her recent discussion of Liang (until 439 CE) artistic style.\textsuperscript{792} She clearly has altered the previously accepted dates to accord with the radiocarbon dates revealed at Kizil, which she has endorsed.\textsuperscript{793} Marylin Rhie dates Temple A20, in which sit attendant Bodhisattvas (fig. 429),\textsuperscript{794} to the early fifth century.\textsuperscript{795} The wide-kneed, symmetrical pose was adopted by a goddess at Pyanjikent (fig. 430),\textsuperscript{796} dated by Guitty Azarpay to the late 5\textsuperscript{th} century. Feet flat on the ground, the “European” pose with spread knees occurred occasionally in China, usually as the pose of the Buddha: in Dunhuang in Northern Wei Cave 257 (fig. 431), and in Western Wei Cave 249 (fig. 432),\textsuperscript{797} and as a bodhisattva in the Northern Wei Cave 165 (fig. 433),\textsuperscript{798} dated 509 CE, of the North Caves in southeast Gansu. A variant minor image of a Buddha at Yungang (fig. 434) shows his feet splayed in a more relaxed position, closer to that of the Guyuan occupant.

THE TWO DEITIES BELOW THE OCCUPANT

Not much can be said about these two deities who most closely resemble Tiantishan images with their large usnīṣas and long hair (fig. 435).\textsuperscript{799} The long hair probably stems from a multitude of Gandhāran bodhisattvas (fig. 436);\textsuperscript{800} that on the

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\textsuperscript{791} Metropolitan Museum of Art 1982, No. 76 and p. 142.
\textsuperscript{792} Howard 2000.
\textsuperscript{793} Howard 1991.
\textsuperscript{794} Rhie 2002, fig. 5.18c.
\textsuperscript{795} Ibid., p. 847.
\textsuperscript{796} Azarpay 1981, fig. 34.
\textsuperscript{797} Both in Dunhuang Wenwu Yanjiusuo 1980, Cave 257: no. 38 and Cave 249: no. 89.
\textsuperscript{798} Zhang Baoxi, ed. 1994, p. 124.
\textsuperscript{799} The lower right figure has a large faint halo but is probably a worshipper.
\textsuperscript{800} Jongeward 2003, No. 9.
Bīmarān reliquary also has a large uṣṇīśa (fig. 437). Tiantishan is dated by texts to the Northern Liang Dynasty, soon after 412 when Wuwei became the second capital. Tiantishan deities, like those on the Guyuan Sarcophagus, have very large round ear rings (ear spools?) and scalloped necklaces, but with pendants. But there the resemblance ends. The Guyuan deities have slender upturned moustaches and slim goatees. While the Tiantishan deities have smooth brows, pleasant expressions and heavy lidded eyes, the Guyuan deities have ogee-shaped eyebrows and round eyes with little slits on each side.

These ogee eyebrows put them in the category of demons (figs 438, 439, 440, 441, 442, 443, 444). Except for the Gandhāran figure (fig. 438), most of these demon examples come from Shorchuk or Tumshuk, sites which may have their late dates revised. It is notable that most of them have round eyes with little slits, as have the Guyuan deities. The head in the lower right of fig. 442 has the heavy lids and smooth arched brows of the Tiantishan deities as has the lower right head of fig. 445, also from Tumshuk. There are numerous examples from Gandhāra (fig. 446). The only person with ogee eyebrows worthy of approbation is the head of Kasyapa in the Cave above the

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801 Huntington 1985, fig. 7.4.
802 Howard 2000, p. 240
803 The Tiantishan figure in the lower right seems to be a worshipping monk although he has a large halo and uṣṇīśa.
804 The white of the ear rings and halo of the Guyuan left deity has disappeared in conservation while the right deity has a white face which persists and almost obliterates his features. It would seem that the left deity never had a white face.
805 Jongeward 2003, No. 43.
806 Figs. 99-103, all Rhie 2002, figs. 5.31a, 5.47h, 5.47i, 5.35h, and 5.35j respectively.
807 Litvinsky and Antonova, eds., 1996, fig. 38.
808 Rhie 2002, fig. 5.35i.
809 Ibid, fig. 3.81a.
810 Jongeward 2003, No. 5.
Largest Cave in Kizil (fig. 447). His expression is the result of his sad role in wrapping the body of Buddha. No such context surrounds the demon heads just presented.

The placement of the two Guyuan deities is suggestive of the trio painted in the niche above the 53-meter-high Buddha at Bāmiyān (fig. 448). The central figure does have a moustache, but he has a benign expression as he frolics with the other two divinities. It is unlikely, however, that the two colossal Buddhas or their associated paintings were produced before the seventh century; Katsumi Tanabe has suggested that the 38-meter Buddha was not erected until after the visit of Xuanzang to Bāmiyān in 630. Of course we do not know what was painted between the two Guyuan deities, as that section of decoration was destroyed. It is unlikely that the cremation scene (of Buddha) was shown on the Guyuan coffin, for that scene has never been shown in a tomb, and the mixed religious affiliations shown on the Guyuan coffin make an expression of such profound faith even less likely. In any case the Guyuan deities look too natty to be expressing profound grief. The possibility of the influence of Shorchuk figures is a very real one.

These two Guyuan deities point at their ears. Such a gesture is otherwise unknown until the 7th–8th century Pyanjikent fresco (fig. 449). This latter may well have been a development from the Balalyk Tepe period; the figure on the left is gesturing and the central figure holds a shallow cup. They have curved moustaches and narrow goatees, like the Guyuan deities. The Balalyk figures only extend their little fingers, but

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811 Metropolitan Museum of Art 1982, No. 20.  
812 Rowland 1974, p. 209, no. 5.  
813 Tanabe 2004, pp. 177-223.  
814 Ghirshman 1962, fig. 433.
further evidence from Central Asia may show that these mannerisms by the late fifth century were more widespread.

DANCING or SQUATTING DEITIES

The reader is directed to fig. 450 which is a drawing and notation of Side 1 of the Guyuan Sarcophagus, identifying by small letters the flying figures.

"One revealing anecdote in the third-century B.C. text *Lüshi chunqiu* tells of a tiff between the Warring-States period Marquis Wen of Wei and the official Di Huang sparked by the Marquis’s posture:

‘When Marquis Wen of Wei went to see Duangan Mu, he stood there until he was quite tired but did not dare rest. Upon returning home, he saw Di Huang and spoke with him squatting \([j_u]\) in a hall. When Di Huang was displeased Marquis Wen explained, ‘If Duangan Mu were offered an official position, he would be unwilling to serve in it, and if given an emolument, would refuse it. Now you desire the position of prime minister as your office, and you want the salary of a senior minister. Having accepted my material gifts, you criticize my manners; what choice have I but to rebuke you?’\(^{815}\)

For the history of posture, the interesting point here is Di Huang’s reaction to his reception by the marquis: it was bad enough to be received by a host who sat squatting rather than kneeling, but it was particularly galling when the same man had just shown deference to another by speaking to him standing.\(^{816}\)

The bulk of the sides of the Guyuan Sarcophagus is taken up with flying deities or apsarasas (fig. 450) in a design of pearl roundels and hexagons, alternating with fabulous birds and beasts. That they are flying in the air or clouds can be inferred from the tiny curls floating around them. They have halos and floating scarves, small uṣṇīṣas, and

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\(^{816}\) Kieschnick 2003, p. 225.
wear only bracelets on their upper arms, simple necklaces and knickers. They are a
version of the apsarasas flying around the Buddha in wall paintings and sculpture in
Gansu throughout the fifth century, except that, of course, no Buddha is depicted on the
coffin. Indeed these deities are one of the few acknowledgements of Buddhism on the
Guyuan sarcophagus.

Their apparel is puzzling. Only “h” wears a dhoti, identified by the folds of the
hanging end in the center. On inspecting the actual sarcophagus, it appeared that “h” was
a female with pendulous breasts. Inspection of the copies shows that “h” has both hands
clasped in a position of prayer and so may not have pendulous breasts. All the other
figures wear knickers, baggy pants that fasten tightly below or, in the case of “e”’s pants,
above the knee. “a”, “d” and “e”’s pants have polka dots! The cavorting figures who
appear frequently at Yungang (fig. 451)817 may be wearing dhotis, but their apparel may
also be knickers. Susan Bush has pointed out that early sixth-century thunder monsters
always wore breeches,818 such as those on Lady Yuan’s tablet of 522 (fig. 452).819
Sichuan Stele No. 2, mid sixth century, (fig. 453) shows two “bodhisattvas” in foreign,
though unidentifiable, dress, wearing knickers above gaiters.820 Previously, they had been
equally rare. The two Han soldier/drummers of fig. 454821 may be wearing short pants;
alternatively their pants may be tucked into tight boots. The Han individuals depicted in
figs. 327, 328, 343 (Koguryō) and 353 also appear to be wearing short pants, the last

817 As they do between Caves 9 and 10.
819 Ibid., fig. 15, and those on the ceilings of Caves 249 and 285 at Dunhuang (Yuan Rong period of
Northern Wei, 525-545 CE). The trousers worn on the Dengxian tiles, though tied below the knee were
flared distally. Juliano does concede, however, that at the late 5th c imperial tomb at Huqiao, Danyang Co.,
trousers tied below the knee were wrapped at the calf. (1980, p. 48).
820 Dorothy C. Wong, 2004, p. 156. The reverse depicts the Pure Land. Wong does not comment on their
dress.
821 China: Treasures and Splendours 1986, Nos. 48 and 49. Nos. 44-47 also are soldiers in knickers.
likely an acrobat. The knickers worn by the sixth-century thunder monsters may have derived from the attire of wrestlers whose bodies theirs physically resembled. Actually knickers were shown more frequently in the Song period when workmen and the lower classes were often depicted.

The nakedness of the Guyuan deities also is unusual until the late fifth century. It can be seen in figs. 327, 329, the acrobats of figs. 352 and 353, and, of course, the atlantean figure of Lady Dai's coffin (Ch. 6 fig. 340 and Ch. 3 fig. 91) and its descendants. Even the "Seven Sages of the Bamboo Grove" in their relaxed poses exposed only an occasional arm or leg (fig. 455).\(^\text{822}\)

The poses of "c", "e", "f", "g", and "h" will not be discussed in any detail. Their legs are bent to the same side. It is supposed that this pose was extrapolated from a kneeling position such as that of the Tiantishan worshipper in fig. 435 lower right or the Binglingsi Cave 169 worshipper (Ch. 5 fig. 286, lower right). Variants can also be seen in Dunhuang Northern Liang Cave 272 (Ch. 5 fig. 292, Ch. 6 figs. 456, 457).\(^\text{823}\) It is to be stressed that any frontal figures shown there have crossed legs or ankles, with their feet upon their seats (cushions are shown at the bottom of fig. 456). All the others are shown with their legs coyly placed to one side. Only the separate figure of fig. 457 comes close to a legs pendant, knees in separate directions position, but he is still shown from the side. None of these is in the frontal squatting position that so enthralled Datong artisans in the late fifth century, although their compact poses in Dunhuang Cave 272 may have been an attempt to get away from the attenuated apsarās position and thus toward the Guyuan position. The only really squatting figure that might have been

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\(^{822}\) Laing 1976, fig. 2. In literature, however, they were often stark naked.

\(^{823}\) Both figs. 115 and 116: Dunhuang Yanjiu Yuan 2001, nos. 6 and 7 respectively.
produced before that time is in the East Cave at Jintasi (fig. 458 center). The two Jintasi Caves are generally considered Northern Wei, although Angela Howard has suggested a Former Liang date might be possible.

The flying apsarasas in the mandorla surrounding the Amitāyus Buddha of Cave 169 (420 CE) at Binglingsi are a little more frontal (figs. 459, 460) although both their legs are to one side. The bottom figure playing a stringed instrument is sitting in the reverse position to the single figure of fig. 457; his proximal leg is bent while the fig. 457 figure’s distal leg is bent.

The top two Binglingsi apsarasas are in the apsaraś tradition; it is the proximal leg that is extended while the distal leg is bent. Examples of this pose can be found at Mathurā (figs. 461, 462), Amarāvatī (fig. 463) and extended into Kizil (fig. 464). The tradition of the distal leg bent continued into Northern Liang (fig. 465) and Northern Wei China where the apsarasas tend to be U-shaped as they float down. The half kneeling, legs-to-the-same-side Guyuan figures are the opposite; it is the frontal

825 Howard 2000, pp. 263 ff. Marylin Rhie said it was “Northern Wei or perhaps even earlier”. (personal communication).
826 Dong Yuxiang, ed. 1994, figs. 18, 19.
828 Vatsyayan 2005 sees in this position of apsarasas, the dance position, vrścika karana, described in Chapter IV of the Nāṭyaśāstra, the Sanskrit text on dance and drama usually believed to have been composed between the 1st BCE and the 4th CE. “the other leg is extended to the back, sometimes in a complete extension on the same level as the bent knee, sometimes in a flexed position where the knee may touch the ground, but the calf is invariably raised with the result that the foot is lifted to the level of the shoulders or the chest.” p. 19. “The Vidhyādhara from Ranigumha Udayagiri caves is perhaps the earliest example of the historical period. A celestial figure carrying a tray of garlands is seen with one knee bent in front and the other leg extended at the back in an arch.” p. 18.
829 Kushan, (e.g. Kāpist), apsarasas tended to have their extended legs close together or to be kneeling; it remained for the apsarasas of peninsular India to have the distal knee severely bent, possibly because of the influence of the vrscika karana (see fn. 66 above).
830 Both Pal, 1988, nos. 3 and 10 respectively.
831 Ibid., no. 16.
832 Qiuci Murals of Music and Dances 1982, figs. 49 and 50.
833 Dunhuang Yanjiu Yuan, ed. 2002, no. 15.
leg that is kneeling, more severely bent, while the back leg might be dangling or coming out at right angles from the body. Of course the Guyuan figures are not exactly kneeling; the freedom of their limbs gives the impression that they are cavorting in the air.

The seated frontal position with legs pendant but asymmetrically placed was frequently chosen in Kuṣāṇa (figs. 466, 834 467)835 derived in all likelihood from the Mediterranean, for example, the Hellenistic period Pergamon Altar in Turkey (fig. 468),836 and Rome, here represented by Pompeii which was destroyed in 79 CE (figs.469, 470).837 Thence it spread to Palmyra and third-century-CE Ukraine (figs. 471838, 472).839 In Gandhāra it was most commonly used for minor deities, particularly the often depicted Pāñcika and Hāritī (fig. 473).840 We also observe this pose in four second-century CE Mother Goddesses841 in the Philadelphia Museum of Art. It was frequently combined, without significance, as in fig. 473, with depictions of the symmetrical “European” pose and other seated positions in narrative scenes (figs. 413 middle register, 412 top). Considered a relaxed pose, it was frequently used in drinking scenes (figs. 474, 842 475).843 Derived from Mediterranean mythology and practice, Dionysiac activity seemed to hold not a little interest in Kushan art; it was deemed an aid in transcendental realization.844 The asymmetric pose in Central Asian art increased in popularity through

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834 Huntington 1985, fig. 8.16.
835 Rhie 2002, fig. 2.53.
836 Kunze 1995 The Pergamon Altar, fig. 7.
837 Figs 127 and 128 are of special interest because they were exhibited in a large exhibition on Roman Civilization held at the National Museum of China in Beijing in 2003-4. National Museum of China, ed. 2003, pp. 251 and 163 respectively.
838 Schlumberger 1969, fig. 32.
839 Reeder, ed., 1999, No. 78.
841 Acquisition no. 1965-152-2.
843 Carter 1968, fig. 9.
844 Huntington 1985, p. 159.
the years, seen here in Kizil (see above for dating problem) (fig. 476), until it was widespread, as this seventh century wall painting in Panjikent demonstrates (fig. 477).

Plump squatting figures were usually yakṣas, spirit deities or earth deities, native and very minor deities indeed. They probably predated Buddhist art. Pāñcika was one of them (fig. 478), Kubera was another and he did not eschew Bacchanalian revels (though here in a seated position, fig. 201), as were nāgas. Yakṣas frequently fulfilled an atlantean role in Peninsular India, particularly at Bhārhut (fig. 479) and Śānci (figs. 480, 481) and were also seen on the uprights for the railing at Bodh Gaya which Rowland dates to the mid first century BCE (fig. 482). Robert De Caroli explains that the most prominent decorations on the Bhārhut railing are the many-labeled depictions of these spirit deities, many-labeled because they were from different locations. They encircled or demarcated the sacred space as sentinels. They were probably being worshiped there by people bringing offerings. There was always an uneasy truce between these capricious deities whose powers were fear and desire (e.g. Mara) and the Buddhist samgha which was trying to protect the populace (and themselves) from them.

There can be little doubt that the atlantean figure on Lady Dai’s banner (fig. 341) and his descendants (figs. 342-347) were derived from these atlantean yakṣas, there being no real precedent for such figures in China. Any controversy might arrive from the dating: Mawangdui’s date of early Western Han possibly being earlier than extant

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845 Rhie 2002, fig. 4.62c.
846 Juliano and Lerner 2002, fig. 2.
847 Robert Knox 1992 uses the terms “yakṣa”, “gaṇa” and “dwarf” indiscriminately, as I shall do.
848 Carter 1968, fig. 10.
849 Coomaraswamy 1956, figs. 30, 31, bottom tier.
851 Jongeward 2003, fig. 2
852 Rowland 1977, p. 90. Fig. 141 is Coomaraswamy 1935, pls. 30, 31.
images of the squatting figure in India. Huntington gives the date for Bhārḥut as 100-80 BCE\textsuperscript{854} and that for Stupa I at Sāncī as the second - third decade of the 1\textsuperscript{st} century CE. Atlantean figures De Caroli considers spirit deities\textsuperscript{855} on three sides uphold the ceiling and demarcate the sacred space of the veranda of Vihara 19 at Bhājā (100-70 BCE) (fig. 483),\textsuperscript{856} but they are slender and their knees are not bent. Individual monumental yakṣas (undated) have been ascribed to the second to first centuries BCE but they are standing and very solemn.\textsuperscript{857} Huntington does show a dwarf (without legs) found at the cave site (Caves 3 and 4) of Pītakhorā, grinning and apparently supporting a bowl (100-70 BCE). Yakṣas in Gandhāra\textsuperscript{858} were probably second century CE at the earliest and they did not hold up things. It is to be noted that the atlantean figures at Bhārḥut (fig. 479 bottom) (which Beth Knox considers to be 150 BCE) are squatting like the Mawangdui figure.

From the above evidence, it is clear that the squatting atlantean figures in India had become stock characters by the first century BCE. Whatever their original significance, by then, they had become mere decorative devices.

China, whose archaeological record is still only somewhat known, has so far not yielded such pre-Han figures. Neither has Iran nor West Asia. The fully developed figure at an overwhelming number of Indian sites in the early first century BCE suggests that it had existed before that date, possibly in wood. Only polished stone pillars and a very few monumental figures have come down to us from the Maurya Period (323-185 BCE). But the Lomāś Rṣi Cave (mid-third century BCE) and subsequent caves are

\textsuperscript{854} Beth Knox, Royal Ontario Museum, dates Bhārḥut at 150 BCE and Bhājā at 100 BCE.
\textsuperscript{855} De Caroli 2004, p. 81.
\textsuperscript{856} Huntington 1985, fig. 5.26.
\textsuperscript{857} Huntington 1985, figs. 5.3 and 5.5.
\textsuperscript{858} As Paṭcika, Kubera, nāgas etc., see above.
essays in stone of advanced wooden architecture. Other artistic modes may have
been expressed in wood, as well. It is alternatively possible that, with the advance of
Buddhism, yakṣas, the competitors, were reduced by the sangha to rotund dwarfs,
influenced no doubt by Hellenistic atlantids and putti with their garlands^59 (figs. 484, 860
485), 861 popular throughout the Hellenized area and North India too. 862 These forms
could have been further synthesized with grotesques from Greek drama such as that
found at Ay Khanum (fig. 486), 863 founded either by Alexander (before 323 BCE) or by
Seleucus (reign began 305 BCE) 864 and abandoned around 145 BCE. 865 In this latter case,
there might have been a florescence of dwarf yakṣas in the late third or early second
century.

It is unlikely that an understanding of the yakṣas' meaning in connection with the
major religion accompanied their images. They had arrived in Mawangdui by the early
Western Han, before Buddhism (whose earliest artistic evidence is in the Eastern Han).
For the most part, Indian atlantean yakṣas wore no jewelry and neither did the
Mawangdui figure. Chinese apsarasas still did not wear jewelry, preferring the dhoti or a
version of monks' robes, particularly in the early caves at Dunhuang, but others,
especially heavenly musicians, did wear some, influenced, no doubt, by that of the

859 My examples are later, both from the Common Era, the atlantids from Hadda.
860 Barthoux 1933, fig. 107.
861 Errington and Cribb, eds. 1992, No. 132.
862 Errington and Cribb 1992, p. 130. Putti apparently reached Sichuan in the late Han or Three Kingdoms
period. Nylan 2003, p. 395, citing Barbieri-Low. They do not seem to have gotten farther, except for the
Mawangdui atlantid, until late 5th c CE Yungang, where, carrying garlands, they are a conspicuous element
in several caves.
863 Bernard 1994a, p. 73.
864 Bernard 1994b, p. 66.
865 Bernard 1994a, p. 103.
bodhisattvas. The Guyuan figures fit into the style of the Buddhas of the Tan Yao Caves at Yungang (in the 460s) and wore double arm bands (on their upper and lower arms).

The Guyuan Sarcophagus apsarasas look Indian and appear to be dancing. However, in India, dancing was rarely depicted and almost never frontally with both knees spread and bent until the sixth century (fig. 487) when Bharatanātyam, the classical form of Indian dance was in an advanced stage. That position then went on to be increasingly favored by Śiva Naṭarāja in the Hindu ascendancy of subsequent centuries. A rare bent-kneed position is held by Durgā in a very early (402 CE by inscription) depiction of this goddess in front of Cave 6 at Udayagiri (fig. 488).

According to Beth Knox, dancing occurred as a form of worship (figs. 489 and 479 top register below the palace), when Siddārtha’s turban was going up to Indra’s paradise and during the Enlightenment. In the Indian pre-Greek and Vedic tradition, the gods were not portrayed because they were being invited to dinner; conversely Gandhāra was not aniconic because of the influence of Greece where the portrayal of gods was widespread. Thus in the Indian aniconic tradition, the Buddha is represented in a number of ways such as the Bodhi tree, stūpa and pilgrimage sites. The Enlightenment is represented by Indra (the protector of Buddha), who is always accompanied by female

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866 Huntington 1985, fig. 12.31.
868 Meister et al, 1988, fig. 15. We shall not consider Surya who sat in a frontal squatting position in order to drive his chariot.
870 This palace was no doubt Indra’s palace.
871 My thanks to Beth Knox for several lengthy and elucidating interviews. The discussion of Indra’s role herein is hers. Her 2 monographs, on the Enlightenment iconography and on Hercules/Vajrapāṇi/Alexander respectively, await publication.
musicians and dancers. This iconography is last seen at Ajanṭā and Aurangabad, by which time, Mahāyānist Buddhism became more important.

Thus, at Amarāvatī in the second century (fig. 490)\(^{872}\) and at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa (towards the end of the third century) (fig. 491)\(^{873}\) are depicted the Elevation of the Head-dress to Heaven; the importance of the act and the centrality of it in the scene are emphasized by the all-encompassing squatting (knees to left and right) pose. On the Ajātaśatru Pillar at Bhārhut (fig. 492 left panel)\(^{874}\) is shown the reception of the turban where it is enthroned on the left. Indra is shown on the right with ladies in his palace. Below the palace on the right is the circle of musicians identified by Pañcaśikha (a gandharva) with his curved Indian harp. On the left are four dancing apsarasas\(^{875}\) (those of Indra never fly) dancing.

The core Enlightenment episode is shown on the Prasenajit Pillar at the same site (figs. 493, 494).\(^{876, 877}\) Buddha is shown at the top above Indra’s palace as a tree accompanied by a sad-looking (defeated) Māra and minion. In the bottom register above the atlantids, the musicians of Indra’s court have formed a circle led by Pañcaśikha (curved harp) in order to accompany the ecstatic apsarās dancers. A century earlier, at Bhājā, in the lower left of the Indra panel to the right of the door, Indra (very small) sits enthroned accompanied by Pañcaśikha (curved harp) and an apsarās dancer (both knees bent) (fig. 495)\(^{878}\). Above the Bodhi tree, Indra rides in on a huge elephant, accompanied by Vajrapāṇi who sits behind him with his vajra-like bush on his head. He is riding in to

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\(^{872}\) Knox, Robert 1992, fig. 51.
\(^{873}\) Murthy 1977, pl. 16.
\(^{874}\) Cunningham (2\(^{nd}\) ed.) 1962, pl. 16, left panel.
\(^{875}\) Indra’s apsarāsas never fly.
\(^{876}\) Coomaraswamy 1956, fig. 23.
\(^{877}\) Randhawa 1985, p. 25.
\(^{878}\) Harle 1986, fig. 32.
defeat Māra, in the left panel, who always rides in his chariot (fig 496). Here he is accompanied by two hideous outriders. The 1st c BCE terracotta from Kauśāmbī (?), Uttar Pradesh, may be expressing Indra’s companions (fig. 497).

In this early period, Indian dancers usually kept one knee straight. It was up to the gaṇas/yakṣas, who by Amarāvatī were positively jigging, to bend both knees (figs. 498, 499). These creatures or perhaps putti may have been fresh inspiration for the numerous plump dancing figures between major sculptures at Yungang (fig. 500). Some have scarves; some have not. The lower left figures, who have more recently been painted, wear knickers and upper arm bands as do the Guyuan figures. They may have uṣṇīṣas; the upper left figures may have straight hair.

Dancers became more conspicuous in Gandhāra because they often were depicted on stair-risers. Ignoring the classical restraint of India, they danced with unschooled abandon. In fig. 501, Indra’s maidens celebrate the enthroned turban in Tuṣita Heaven. Note the curved Indian harp, second from left. In fig. 502, they again indicate the presence of Indra as they worship the Bodhi tree, substitute for Buddha, in the middle; the Indian harp is on the left. Usually among joyful performers, both knees bent indicates a seated position. Because of the acceptability of portraying gods, hence Buddha and a few bodhisattvas, the aniconic indicators of Buddha, Indra and his court, disappeared in Gandhāra.

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879 Huntington 1985, figs 5.27, 5.28.
880 Other interpreters have suggested the chariot rider is Sūrya. According to Beth Knox, Sūrya is never shown in Enlightenment episodes.
881 Masselos et al, 1997, fig. 121.
882 Both Robert Knox, 1992, Nos. 11 (outer face) and 14 (inner face) respectively.
884 Jongeward 2003, No. 22.
885 Kurita 2003.
Dancing fared even better in the Dionysian revels (fig. 503, 504, 505), due no doubt to religious zeal. Fig. 505 depicts nāgas; it is not clear if they had a particular relationship to the ritual. The knees of a dancer in fig. 503 are uncommonly bent in opposite directions as are those to the left of the seated figures (not Dionysian) in a first to second century Gandhāran boudoir scene depicted in fig. 413 middle register. Masselos et al comment that both dancers (to left and right of the seated figures) “strike poses not usually seen in sculptures”. Also of interest because of his pose, but possibly not seminal, is the spread-eagle naked male on the Kaniṣka Reliquary which Errington dates to the time of the enlargement of a stūpa in the time of Huviska (after Kaniṣka) (fig. 506).

Even more vigorous are the dancers on ivories excavated at Begram (figs. 507, 508) the hoard also including women in extremely relaxed poses (figs. 509, 510, 511). Sanjyot Mehendale refutes the 1994 opinion of G.A. Pugachenkova et al that the rooms from which they came probably were part of a ‘palace’. Mehendale thinks that, the objects being too small to belong to royalty and the city conforming more to a trading center than a royal city, they may have been part of a merchant’s stock and their provenance may have been Central Asia. The languorous

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886 Masselos et al. 1997, fig. 51.
887 Kurita 2003. figs. 550, 551, 552.
888 Zwalf 1996, figs. 333, 334, 335.
889 Ibid, catalogue no. 74.
890 Errington 2005, p. 88. She does not deign to discuss him. My fig. 165 is Errington fig. 12.
891 Both Hackin 1937, my fig.166 is his figs. 137, 136, 138; my fig. 167 is his figs. 30, 31.
892 Both ibid, his figs. 134 and 23 respectively.
893 Nehru 2004, fig. 5.
894 Mehendale 1997, p. 235.
ladies would depict courtesans. Mehendale dates them to a fifty-year period in the first century CE. Lolita Nehru, in 2004, finds it perplexing that the Gandhāran sculptural style is not represented in any of the Begram pieces. She thinks they are stylistically linked to Mathurā of the Kuśāṇa period, even Bactria. These traits are Mathurān type women, vegetal creepers and floral motifs, ganā and pillar capitals. They are to be distinguished from Gandhāran traits which are yakṣī, garlands with amorini, atlas and Corinthian capitals. She extends the possible dates to the mid second century CE. It is difficult to know how the late fifth-century Yungang caves near Datong fit into the chronology, for, apart from the Mathurān women and yakṣī, they exhibit all those traits. It would seem that a route to Datong cannot be ascertained through the tracing of one exclusive style.

Included in the figures with both knees bent are persons who wear aprons like those of makāras (water creatures), although instead of fish tails, their feet are very much on the ground as they fight winged lions (fig. 507 top). The all-pervasive squatting gaṇas are at Begram, too, between the curved lintels of an ivory toraṇa (surely of royal provenance) (fig. 512).

Both the dancing positions and the women’s seated positions are of interest when considering the Guyuan dancing deities. Of the frontal figures in fig. 450, “m” almost appears to be standing on one leg, although that foot is turned out and so the leg may be slightly bent. “a” and “d” seem to be almost sitting. It looks as though “d” is sitting on a

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896 Mehendale 1997, p. 205.
897 Mehendale 1997, p. 205.
899 Divivedi 1976, fig. 63.
cushion, but in fig. 513, the lower part is polka dotted just like his pants, and so his pants must be extremely baggy. “b” could almost be in an asymmetric “European” pose, except that his pose is really a version of the “royal ease” position of India and Gandhāra where one leg is on or almost on the seat and the other dangles in various ways (for “royal ease”: figs. 412 center, 413 bottom, 495 lower left, for dancing gaṇas: figs. 498 outer panel fluted center, 499 outer panel top center). Indeed, all the Guyuan frontal poses could be considered a continuum of various versions of royal ease. An exception is “k” which will be discussed later. As previously mentioned, the crouching apsarasas of Dunhuang Cave 272 (Ch. 5 fig. 91, Ch. 6 figs. 456, 457) seem to be an intermediate stage to the Guyuan figures, except that, when frontal, their legs are held tight upon their cushions or imaginary seats with legs or ankles crossed. The hand gestures of the Guyuan figures, too, are somewhat reminiscent of the Cave 272 apsarasas, especially in the coy upturned hands of “b”. The Guyuan figures are much more relaxed than those of Cave 272 and so their positions are much looser. They seem to be enjoying their weightless existence.

The caves at Kizil are replete with figures sitting in various versions of royal ease. Cave 38, dated by radiocarbon to 310+-80 is good example (figs. 514, 515) although this dating is much disputed. It is hard to know if this pose came to China through Kizil or directly from South Asia. Examples of royal ease can also be seen at Subashi,
Kucha (fig. 516)\textsuperscript{907} and Tumchuk (fig. 517).\textsuperscript{908} (See above for my earlier discussion about dating). The Guyuan frontal figures’ positions are probably best interpreted as seated positions.

The Guyuan celestials are not alone. Cave VIII at Yungang illustrates blatantly Hindu gods (fig. 518).\textsuperscript{909} Kumārakadeva’s pose is similar to that of the Guyuan occupant; Maheśvara is extremely relaxed. The second appearance of the Guyuan occupant’s pose in Datong suggests that, while he may have had grand ideas about his own importance, the occupant may not have derived his pose directly from Central Asia; it might already have been available in Datong. It casts some doubt on his Central Asian origin. It is interesting that, while the portraits are of Indian deities, the seated pose of Kumārakadeva most likely came from Sasanian Iran.

Four slender Buddhist deities sit in versions of royal ease or cross-ankled along the bottom of the back of a stele in Xi’an dated 471 (fig. 519).\textsuperscript{910} Other examples look somewhat like plump babies, no doubt conflated Buddhist deities or Indian royalty and yakṣas, although the atlantid of Mawangdui did survive as such into the Northern Wei period (fig. 341). This description particularly fits the figures on the legs of Sima Jinlong’s mortuary couch, but it suits the cavorting musicians along the sides as well\textsuperscript{911}

\textsuperscript{906} The Former Qin ruler of Northern China, Fu Jian, sent his army to conquer Kizil in 382, and it returned with 20,000 camels laden with treasure. If the radiocarbon dating does, in fact, reflect the actual dates of the wall paintings, the Kizil style of those paintings could have entered China at that time.
\textsuperscript{907} Rhie 2002, fig. 4.43a.
\textsuperscript{908} Howard 2000, fig. 14.
\textsuperscript{909} Watson 1995, figs. 205, 206.
\textsuperscript{910} Spiro 2001, fig. 5.2. My thanks to Angela Sheng for this reference.
\textsuperscript{911} These musicians present an even greater number of variations of the frontal asymmetrical squatting dance poses than do the Guyuan Sarcophagus figures; they are a veritable vocabulary of cavorting/dancing positions. Perhaps a decade earlier than the Guyuan Sarcophagus, the figures on Sima Jinlong’s couch nevertheless are more stylized and sophisticated than the Guyuan figures: their body parts are bulbous while their feet are slim and pointed. The Guyuan figures, though chunky, conform to natural proportions. The difference may be due to the royal ancestry and high position of Sima Jinlong. He seems to have been
(figs. 520, 521). It also fits the fully sculpted musicians on the corners of one of his stone stands as well as the relief figures on the sides of another (fig. 522).\(^{912}\) The sculpted figures have the close cropped hair of the boy at the entrance to Empress Feng’s mausoleum, Yonggu, 490 CE (fig. 523).\(^{913}\) This style as well as plumpness is seen in a number of the Yungang caves, especially on the ceilings, although these figures do have uṣṇīṣas (fig. 524).\(^{914}\) Song Shaozu’s mortuary couch has only animal faces on its legs, but the pushou on his stone house-shaped sarcophagus are all different from each other; some of them bear human figures (fig. 525). The images on the Hudong lacquer coffin and platform are difficult to make out, but two seem to be in this same tradition (Ch. 1 fig. 12). The same can be said for the Zhijiaobao stone coffin platform although the figures do appear to be a little more muscular (figs. 526, 527).\(^{915}\)

The stone ink slab presents another problem. The central figure is in the same position as “k”, squatting with one leg thrust out (fig. 528).\(^{916}\) The figure on the left side of the ink slab is in the more conventional royal ease pose. The figure on the right seems to be running with his arms raised (fig. 529). It is difficult to see that they are in anything but a vigorous dance. They also appear to be very muscular.\(^{917}\) Although in the typical

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\(^{913}\) Yang Hong 2002, fig. 9.

\(^{914}\) e.g. Cave 10. Mizuno and Nagahiro 1952-6, pl. 39.

\(^{915}\) Drawings by Cao Chenming, Datong City Museum, who kindly allowed me to copy them. They were later published by Wang and Cao 2004 in *Wenwu* 2004/6, pp. 89-93.


\(^{917}\) The central figure is holding a 3-lobed object that is hanging down from his right hand. It is perhaps a leafy branch held in some ritual dance. It resembles the object held/worn by Vajrapāṇi who sits behind Indra in fig. 154, but that object is always held vertically. Beth Knox has shown that that bush is the common representation of the vajra in Kusāna Gandhāra. ("Finding Vajrapani in Buddhist Gandhara: The vajra personified and the 'Son' of God". Lecture in Numata Buddhist Studies Seminar Series, University of Toronto. March 2006). Vajrapāṇi, wearing the winged headdress of some Sasanian kings but carrying the conventional 4-sided vajra is certainly depicted in a reveal of the porch of Caves IX and X at Yungang.
Pingcheng style of the other pieces, this ink slab was excavated separately and likely did not belong to any of the aforementioned tombs. The hat of the central figure is cut off at the top by the pearl border.\textsuperscript{918} While it may be a Xianbei hat with windflap, it might also be the pointed hat or helmet of Scythian related people such as were depicted in Mathurā and Gandhāra (figs. 530,\textsuperscript{919} 531).\textsuperscript{920} Such were the hats of a subject people on the Apadāna staircase at Achaemenid Persepolis (fig. 532).\textsuperscript{921} The ink slab dancer was not the only Scythian type of person who had crept into Pingcheng art: the person on Buddha’s left, possibly Vimalakirti, in Cave 6 at Yungang (fig. 533)\textsuperscript{922} wears a loose belted tunic, looser than the Guyuan occupant’s, with loose pants over boots, like those of the Guyuan occupant, and a pointed or Phrygian cap.

Why the Northern Wei emphasis on dancing? It has been shown that the frontal positions of the Guyuan deities and indeed of Pingcheng (Datong) deities are likely derived from South Asian (perhaps through Kizil) seated poses (since the figures were rarely depicted dancing with more than one leg bent in this period), but the Pingcheng deities are not seated. Rather, for the most part, they are floating in the air. They are clearly moving. The effect is that they are dancing in the air. The Indian, Gandhāran and Kizil apsarasas fly or float with their legs out behind them. Their vrścika karana position described in fn. 60 is intended to represent flying (since humans cannot levitate).

\textsuperscript{918} He appears to be wearing the same striped or creased trunks of the captive in the upper left of my fig. 196.
\textsuperscript{919} Rosenfield 1967, pl. 14.
\textsuperscript{920} Rhie 1999, fig. 1.16 h, i. “Head of a man, ceramic, from Shang-yü, Chekiang, H. 19.7 cm, Later Han (after Ho Yün-ao (1993), Fig. 107)”.
\textsuperscript{921} Boardman 2000, fig. 4.15.
\textsuperscript{922} Wang Heng 2003, p. 92.
“Release from the ground or release from the gravity...gives the impression of kneeling in static positions and flying in dynamic moments”.  

The Dunhuang Northern Liang and Northern Wei apsarasas swoop with their legs behind them, kneel or sit with crossed ankles, and do not dance. It is only the Pingcheng apsarasas that cavort in the air. This might be a natural and light-hearted progression of art, but it seems that inspiration to depict dancing came from outside China since, as we have seen, Chinese dancing consisted mostly of long sleeve dancing. More lively motion was required of acrobats. The revels depicted on Gandhāran stair risers and Begram ivories no doubt provided that impetus. Both those forms show that this theme could be suitably depicted on small, transportable objects.

There is, however, the possibility of another source. Dancing may have been an element of Xianbei and other nomadic culture. (I am assuming that general culture traits were shared by the nomads across the steppes of Central Asia and into the forested regions in the Northeast.) Unfortunately, although the nomads have left much art, it consists mainly of belt plaques and other metal ornaments that depict only animals. Rarely did nomads depict themselves. A bronze hu excavated from a Han period Xiongnu site near Hohhot (figs. 534, 535), does show a man in a strange hat possibly walking or even dancing but it was probably cast in China, though possibly to suit Xiongnu taste. A cult scene is depicted on a diadem from the Ukraine, ca. 350-300

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923 Vatsyayan 1995, p. 16. The paper is devoted to showing how this position has been used in visual art to give the impression of flying.
924 Both Nei Menggu Zizhiqiu Bowuguan and Zhonghua Shiji, eds., 2004, pp. 115 and p. 114 respectively.
925 He seems to be a stock character, because he also appears on a stone relief in an Eastern Han Nanyang tomb (my fig. 536, Henansheng Wenwu Kaogu Yanjiusuo, ed., 2002, p. 188). He further appears on an unprovenanced bronze hu and stand in Ch. 9, figs. 723 and 724. His identity is at present unknown.
BCE (figs. 537, 538),

showing Greek artistic influence, but no one seems to be dancing. An urn from the same region and period shows figures wearing pointed hats in what could be considered dance positions, but they are performing practical tasks (fig. 539). The shivering figures on an Upper Xiajiadian short sword, 11th - 4th c BCE, are not really dancing (fig. 540). Drinking Scythians sealing an oath from the Ukraine are said in the catalogue to be seated, but their entangled squatting positions suggest they are indeed dancing (fig. 541).

There are only two attested dancing figures. The first was excavated from a Xianbei tomb in Hohhot, considered to be of the Northern Wei period (figs. 542, 543). Although all figures, dancer and musicians, are wearing Xianbei clothing, the dance looks very much like Han sleeve dancing and the whole scene appears to be a circumspect rendition of Han culture. The other is a very strange 6th - 7th c CE dancer from near Kiev (fig. 544). The description suggests that he is performing a dance step similar to that still performed by Russian folk. This is from an old catalogue (n.d.) and the question arises whether the authors would be quite so accepting today. Thus, we...
really have no record of Xianbei dance except that the central figure in the pointed hat on the Datong ink stone may be performing it.

There is a third possible source: Sogdiana. Zhang Qingjie attempts to distinguish between the *huteng* and the *huxuan* dances. Although the Eastern Han emperor Lingdi (r. 168-188 CE) was very fond of Sogdian culture including music and dance, Zhang places the arrival of the *huteng* in China in the Northern Wei period, and of the *huxuan* probably in the Tang. The latter was performed by both men and women on a ball who whirl "as rapidly as the wind."

As for the *huteng*, it was performed by a man on a carpet or lotus pedestal and was characterized by leaps and whirls. The performer must be drunk. Two Tang poets celebrate it:

Liu Yanshi: "The dancer from Tashkent appears young,
He dances to the music before the wine goblet, as rapid as a bird.
He wears a cloth cap of foreign make, empty and pointed at the top,
His Sogdian robe of fine felt has tight sleeves. ...
The body leaps gyrating as on an axle, the jeweled belt jangles.
The feet move in rapid motion, the embroidered boots are soft.
Wildly jumping on the new carpet of pure white and crimson wool. ...
It appears as if some light flowers have spilled over a red candle. ...(Dien, 1985)

Li Duan wrote a poem entitled "*Hu-teng* dancing boy":

The *huteng* dancing boy comes from Liangzhou,
His skin is as white as jade and his nose is straight and pointed.
He folds a linen shirt, and the vine-shaped streamer around his waist.
He kneels down and murmurs in his Sogdian tone,
Ready to dance for the Chinese officials.
The Anxi mayor watches with tears, the Luoyang poet writes a song for him.
Stamping his foot on a carpet, he moves his eyebrows,
Dancing with a leaping hat and sweating in red,
Getting drunk and leaning to the east and west,
He jumps all round the lamp in soft boots.

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933 Zhang Qingjie 2003.
934 Ibid. p. 4.
In melody he rapidly moves and whirls,
Hands on waist he makes a humpback like a crescent.
In the end the string instrument is played,
The bugle horn sounds loud from the garrison.
Huteng boy, huteng boy,
Do you know the route to your hometown has been cut off?"  

Several Northern Qi illustrations are shown including a flask excavated from Guyuan (fig. 545). Zhang attributes the Datong inkstone dance to the huteng; I think the pointed hat suggests a nomadic dance.

CONCLUSION

It would seem that the Guyuan occupant’s pose, and the squatting positions of the flying deities all came from non-Chinese sources. Of course, almost all Buddhist deities originated in South Asia so that the squatting deities on the sides of the coffin may be safely assumed to fit into a continuum of Buddhist apsarasas in China, even though their Guyuan form no doubt received fresh inspiration from abroad. It is interesting that all Buddhist apsarasas fly horizontally in South or Central Asian fashion, kneeling, sitting or squatting, whereas native Chinese fairies, such as the contemporary “Nymph of the Luo River” fly standing up.

The occupant’s pose is closest to that of a Sasanian king, whose importance he wished to emulate. There is a strong suggestion that he had some connection with the Hephthalites. He is shown with cup in hand, suggesting he is participating in the Iranian and Central Asian ceremony of Nowruz. Several of his attendants and those of the King Father of the East and Queen Mother of the West on the cover are hatless and have the short-cropped hair attributed by some to the Hephthalites. The Guyuan occupant’s

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935 Ibid. pp. 3-4.
936 Zhang Qingjie 2003, fig. 1.
Chinese-style house does not have curtains which were common, but not obligatory, in Chinese tomb portraits and not unknown in the portraits of Sogdians living in China.

Three features mitigate Central Asian authenticity. The woman to the occupant’s right, probably his wife, who is also holding a cup, is not in his house with him as she should be in one stage of the Nowruz ceremony. Second, none of the Central Asians pictured in the Nowruz ceremony or otherwise is exactly in the occupant’s/Sasanian pose, although some assume versions of the royal ease pose by the Northern Qi period. Finally, while the occupant clearly does not wish to be identified as Chinese in his dress, the costume he is wearing is Xianbei, not a costume worn by any Central Asian. Indeed his pose was not unknown in China, for it was also assumed by Kumārakadeva, a multi-armed, multiheaded Indian deity who was holding a bird, and who was not Central Asian.

An example of a foreign image adapted to a different use in China, the frontal asymmetrical squatting position of the deities on the sides of the Guyuan coffin probably was a version of the royal ease sitting position frequently portrayed in South Asia and then Kizil. It may have been considered inappropriate to use the horizontal position of apsarasas when Buddha or a bodhisattva was not being portrayed; fun-loving, squatting figures were chosen to fill in the diaper design. Not far away in inspiration were the yakṣas of South Asia. As squatting atlantids, they had first appeared in China in the Western Han period and had persisted through the Northern Dynasties. But in China as in India, these pot-bellied dwarfs became more and more gleeful (as at Amarāvatī and Yungang), joyfully kicking up their heels. Dance was also a likely impetus for the Guyuan deities and for the many other examples in a craze that gripped late 5th century
Datong. Three possible sources of dance inspiration are proposed, one being a suggestion that the Xianbei (and Scythians) enjoyed dancing themselves.

An examination of the human and three categories of deity images (including those below the occupant) displayed on the coffin only confirms the mixed allegiance to faith and to ethnicity evident throughout the piece.
CHAPTER SEVEN

PUSHOU SETS

Included in the Northern Wei tomb at Guyuan were two bronze plaques (pushou) and three bronze rings, each fixed pushou and ring comprising one door knocker or pushou set (fig. 546). The bronze plaques are fitted with hooks from which, presumably, the swinging parts of the door knockers, hung.

"A monster mask set over a loose-hanging ring is found on bronze vessels ... and in the Period of the Warring States was fixed on wooden outer coffins (kuo) and no doubt also on palace doors etc. (sic)."

As it is thought that the tomb had previously been undisturbed it is a puzzle as to the reason these objects, one of which is incomplete, were included. Two-and-one-half complete pushou sets could not have been used to help carry the coffin or to serve as knockers on the tomb doors (which are double). Included in the tomb, however, were five guan huan (coffin rings) which may have served in carrying the coffin (fig. 547). How they were distributed between the two demolished coffins, of course cannot be said. They may have been removed from one coffin and affixed to the other. Figure 548 shows how guan huan were placed on a Warring States coffin in the state of Chu. It is also possible that while the Guyuan coffin was being transported from Datong, if

937 The pushou measure 11.5 x 10.5 cm and the rings measure 11 x 7.5 cm. These are described in Luo Feng 1990, p. 18; described and illustrated in Ningxia Guyuan Bowuguan 1988, p. 5 and colorplate (the drawing on p.5 erroneously names the rings "pushou" and the plaques "ornament"); in Ningxia Huizhu Zizhiqiu Guyuan Bowuguan and Zhong Rì Yuanzhou Lianhe Kaogudui 1999, figs. 24, 25; and in Juliano and Lerner 2001, pp. 82-84, (this last includes the best image).
938 Juliano and Lerner 2002, p. 82, Nos. 17 and 18.
In this, my Ch. 7, they are Numbers 1. and 2. on Figure 575, CHART OF PUSHOU AND RINGS.
940 Juliano and Lerner 2001, p. 77.
transported it was, some of the sets of pushou were lost. On the other hand, Rikke Foulke has noted: “It is common for taotie escutcheons to be found without the objects with which they were once associated.”

In the Guyuan case, the object (coffin) was in the tomb, but possibly a few non-functional pushou were included for their symbolism. It is interesting that even in the Eastern Zhou period, that to which Foulke, Karlbeck and Watson were referring, the symbolism of pushou was so important that non-functioning pushou were included in tombs. In the late-fifth-century Northern Wei period, many of these pushou represented the current nativity cult, as we shall see. Still, if they were included for a symbolic purpose alone, it is unlikely that two-and-one-half sets would be deliberately deposited in the Guyuan tomb. A last possibility is that, since one pushou set has been found affixed to a coffin in a different tomb (see below), some pushou sets were removed after the coffin was placed in the tomb to be used on another coffin. Identical pushou sets however, have not been found in more than one tomb.

Pushou are best examined in two parts.

The first is the upper, presumably fixed, portion of the pushou sets consisting of a taotie mask which support openwork that, in the Guyuan case, includes an infant who

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944 The term “taotie” does not strictly apply to the monster mask, but, since it is in common use, it is used here. It is consistently used in regard to the Shang and Zhou periods, e.g. by Bagley (1987), So (1995, p. 100 when referring to the Eastern Zhou), and by Rawson, even when referring to the Han period (1996, p. 188; 1995, p. 289 re: 20.4 which is Eastern Han or Jin; and pp. 298-301). The term “monster mask” or “animal mask” is sometimes used in regard to the post-Han period and will also be used. Watson sees this late (post-Han) occurrence as connected to the taotie: “In the late sixth century the t’ao-t’ieh monster mask reappears, probably revived as a deliberate archaism”… (1974, p. 97). So also sees it as a revival (1995, p. 40).
stands, legs splayed, hands on hips, between two sinuous dragons. It is difficult to be sure that the creatures are dragons as their ears are round like those of felines, but the long, tapering tails that curl at the tips assure that designation. Jessica Rawson has commented on the growing similarity between dragons and tigers in the Han period when they shared the same feline body shape and long legs. Except for the taotie (animal mask), all the design of the Guyuan and many other pushou is carried out in openwork.

The second is the lower, swing part of the sets, which, in the Guyuan case, is also in openwork and has a composition similar to that of the plaques. Here, the splay-legged infant also stands between two dragons, but there is no taotie. Rather, he stands on a ground which incorporates the tails of the dragons. Not only are the dragons different from those of the plaques, their backs are pecked at by long-tailed, humpbacked birds (which appear to have four legs). These dragons most closely resemble chimerae (fig. 549), fantastic animals of West Asian art, with their leonine mouths, backward pointing ears and swept-back manes although in fig. 549 the mane is replaced by swept-back horns. Such leonine animals occasionally appear in Han art (fig. 550). The dragons of both plaque and ring appear to have striations like fur.

These are perhaps the grandest examples of pushou sets, but a number of other sets from different sites will be listed and described below.

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945 Alternatively they may have pointed ears but also round bumps on their heads.
946 Rawson 1984, p. 95.
948 Called “phoenixes”, ibid. No attempt will be made to explain the extra pairs of legs (unless the birds have only one pair of legs set far apart). Birds with four legs are not precisely mentioned in Shan Hai Jing (Birrell 1999), but if, in fact, these birds do have four legs, it may be taken that they are depicted as such in the spirit of that ancient book, popular in the Han to Tang Period.
949 Watt 2004, No. 5.
Dragons appeared early in Mesopotamia. Accadian (third millennium BCE) leonine dragons appear like amiable dogs (fig. 551), or oppressed dogs (fig. 552), without the long sinuous bodies or long tails associated with Chinese dragons (figs. 553 and 554). Anne Martin-Montgomery describes ophidian dragons as appearing with or without legs. One ophidian dragon (fig. 10 in my fig. 551) is a snakelike creature. Tiamat, the mother of all Mesopotamian dragons, however, (fig. 1 in my fig. 555) does have two legs.

Whether or not the images of Mesopotamian ophidian dragons had any influence in the development of Chinese dragons, it is generally felt that early representations in the Yangshao (5000-3300 BCE) (fig. 556 lower right, fig. 557) and Hongshan (4700-2920 BCE) (fig. 558) cultures were seminal to their development in China. The two halves of the taotie masks that were depicted on Shang bronzes beginning in the mid second millennium (fig. 559) can also be interpreted as two confronting dragons in profile. Rawson, however, doubts that dragon depictions were recognized as such until the late Shang because discrete representations of dragons were not made in the Shang period until that time.

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951 My thanks to Anne Martin-Montgomery for her 1996 paper, "Dragons in the ancient Near East and Central Asia ... (sic.).
952 Van Buren 1946, pl. 2.
954 Both Rawson 1984, pp. 93 and 94 respectively.
955 Ingersoll 1928, p. 47, fig. 1.
956 Chang 1986, p. 127, fig. 83, 3300 BCE.
957 Gansusheng Bowuguan 1994, nos. 13, 14, 3200 BCE.
958 Xiaoneng Yang 1999, No. 10.
959 Fong, Wen 1980, pl. 4.
961 Rawson 1984, p. 93.
Indian *makaras*, fantastic crocodilian creatures with long tails, (fig. 555, nos. 5-8) cannot be suggested as progenitors, their representations appearing much later than those of Chinese dragons. There might, however, be a connection between *makaras* and the dragons in the Guyuan *pushou* sets: one Kushan depiction of the Infant Buddha (sic.) shows serving maids pouring water over him in his First Bath (fig. 560);[962] the Chinese version on the back of a stele dated 457 CE probably has the nine-headed *naga* (protector of the Buddha while meditating) performing the same task (fig. 561)[963] as well as in the late fifth century Cave 6 at Yungang (fig. 562)[964]. By the early sixth century, the *naga* heads had clearly become dragons as in the three-figured stone altar in the Miho Museum (fig. 563).[965] These images may be evidence of the nativity cult of the fifth and sixth centuries, to be discussed below. Sixth century C.E. Chinese steles had often become surmounted by dragons, (figs. 564,[967] 565)[968] particularly in Shanxi, and the inference may have been to the First Bath even though the main figure of these steles is a mature Buddha. *Makaras* are water creatures and so may have influenced the Chinese in suggesting dragons for the First Bath.[969] The Guyuan *pushou* sets possibly suggest that episode in Śākyamuni’s life. The dragons on the Guyuan plaques have something extruding from their mouths; it could be water (suggesting the First Bath), or lolling

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962 ARTstor: Gandhara; Bodhisattvas; Buddha; Sculpture: “Bath of the Bodhisattva”.
964 Sherman Lee 1955, fig. 4.
965 A further depiction of the First Bath performed by a nine-headed naga, or dragons, is shown on the five-stone pagoda from eastern Gansu (Juliano and Lerner 2001, No. 52), p. 165, drawn diagram, bottom of page, small image, second stone from bottom, second façade from left, also text, p. 162. Dunhuang Northern Zhou Cave 290 also represents the Lalitavistara Sūtra in depicting the seminaked Siddhārtha being sprayed with water by four dragons (Wang Fanzhou 1996, p. 24).
967 Jin 1994, p. 141.
969 My thanks to Beth Knox for this suggestion.
tongues, a feature which will be discussed in my chapter on the animals portrayed on the lacquer coffin. If it is water, it would only reach the lower part of the Infant Buddha.

It should be mentioned that heads much like those of Chinese dragons were depicted on Indian jewelry. Examples did find their way into Gandhāra, one being that worn by the “Bodhisattva with Surya Headdress” (fig. 565).\(^{970}\) It is unlikely that Indian dragon heads were as early as the 2\(^{nd}\) millennium Chinese dragons although they, too, might have been influenced by Mesopotamian dragons.

Lions, apparently an inspiration for leonine dragons such as those on the Guyuan ring and in fig. 550, had an early, though sporadic, appearance in China. Rawson thinks their point of origin was the ancient Near East in the mid-late first millennium BCE along with the introduction of large earth mounds over tombs adopted from the nomads of the steppes.\(^{971}\) Juliano reminds us that lions were included in the Han imperial parks.\(^{972}\) They made a more continuous appearance on lion thrones on which sat the Buddha or Maitreya (fig. 567).\(^{973}\) This occurrence continued throughout the Pingcheng period, as seen in a niche from Cave 9 at Yungang (fig. 568).\(^{974}\) They are also seen on two sides of the second stone from the top of a five-stone late Northern Wei pagoda from eastern Gansu (fig. 593).\(^{975}\) There is little doubt that the lion throne came from Kushan India.

\(^{970}\) Detail C, #8. in Yongeward 2003, pp. 63-67. “figural terminals that suspend a faceted cylinder between them. The figures are fantastical or monster-like, with open snouts, twisting horns, ears and bulging eyes.” p. 65. Another eg. is worn by #9, pp. 68-73.

\(^{971}\) Rawson 1984, p. 110. In her 2007 thesis, “Here Be Lions”, Heleanor Feltham gives a very full history of lion imagery beginning with Chatal Höyük (6500 BCE) and possibly the French Palaeolithic cave site of Chaubet Pont-d’Arc, right through the ancient Near East (pp. 73 ff), through Iran and Gandhāra (pp. 252-305) and into China (pp. 241-251). Their connection with Buddhism stemmed from lions being the totem of the Śākya clan (that which Siddhārtha was intended to head) (pp. 217-223).

\(^{972}\) Juliano 1980, p. 46, fn 215 which cites Edward Schafer’s quote from Han Shu on p. 329.

\(^{973}\) Jin 1994, fig. 5.

\(^{974}\) Rawson 1984, p. 60, fig. 36.

\(^{975}\) Juliano and Lerner 2001, No. 52.
along with Buddhism (fig. 569).\textsuperscript{976} This lion motif for greatness derived ultimately from Iran, and Iran provided the image in a different direction, to the northwest of China for nomad use, from which came several influences on Chinese art. There, the findings at Pazyryk are replete with lions (fig. 135). The unattached lions’ heads of the middle register of figure 135 in Chapter 4 are almost exact copies of Achaemenid lion heads.\textsuperscript{977} By the mid sixth century in China, lions became almost a commonplace, as on the front of a 535-540 CE stele in the Nelson-Atkins Museum (fig. 570).\textsuperscript{978} The images of the flat-faced, long-maned, stocky animals that the Chinese likely had never seen,\textsuperscript{979} doubtless contributed to the leonine dragons on the bronze rings in the Guyuan tomb.

As briefly outlined by Jessica Rawson,\textsuperscript{980} the \textit{taotie} has an ancient history in China, first appearing in its simplest form on a \textit{ding} (fig. 559) and a \textit{he} at the Shang Dynasty city Zhengzhou in the mid second millennium BCE.\textsuperscript{981} Even in the region south of the later Shang polity,\textsuperscript{982} where animal beliefs and representations prevailed, the \textit{taotie} still appeared, almost as if it was stuck on, I believe to ensure communication with the spirits/ancestors.\textsuperscript{983} After a hiatus during the late Western Zhou and Spring and Autumn periods, the \textit{taotie} suddenly reappeared in the sixth to fifth centuries (as a \textit{pushou}, fig.

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{976} Huntington 1985, p. 152, fig. 8.31, p. 153, fig. 8.32.
  \item \textsuperscript{977} Such as No. 34 Lion inlay plaque, Achaemenid, 400 BC, gold inlay. Western Iran. Royal Ontario Museum, no. 957.160.6.
  \item \textsuperscript{978} Sonya Lee. 2003, p. 198, fig. 4.
  \item \textsuperscript{979} Rawson 1984, p. 110; lions: pp. 110-113.
  \item \textsuperscript{980} Rawson 2002, pp. 23-24 and in Yang 1999, pp. 420-421.
  \item \textsuperscript{981} Although Sarah Allan, citing recent discoveries, finds evidence at Erlitou: an incipient \textit{taotie} on a lacquer fragment from Erlitou III (all 4 periods of Erlitou together are calibrated C14 dated to ca. 1860-1545 BCE, p. 475) and a two-bodied snake on a pottery sherd also from Erlitou. Allan, 2007, pp. 481-483.
  \item \textsuperscript{982} The expansion of metropolitan Shang Zhengzhou/Erligang culture seems to have been shortlived, after which regional powers sprang up in Jiangxi and other areas of the south. Bagley 1999, pp. 170-171, 208 ff.
  \item \textsuperscript{983} Robert Bagley disagrees with my theory because it was suggested by a modern ethnographic analogy. Sarah Allan’s interpretation is much the same as mine (2007, p. 469, 471), as is Elizabeth Childs-Johnson’s (e.g. 1995, “The ghost head mask and metamorphic Shang imagery”, \textit{Early China} 20, p. 91), but I go further in suggesting that the Southern animal believers knew the \textit{taotie} somehow should be there and so stuck it on without much conviction.
\end{itemize}
571) and remained ubiquitous through the Han period (Ch. 6 fig. 325, Ch. 7 fig. 572), after which it was used only sporadically, perhaps, in my view, due to the insurgent imagery of Buddhism. Here again, Rawson casts doubt on conventional wisdom, suggesting that the details of the resurgent sixth to fifth c BCE taotie owed more to West Asian griffons than to their Shang and early Western Zhou namesake.

The Guyuan bronze animal mask (taotie), however, is quite different from the above or even its Tang successors (fig. 573). It supports openwork in metal and has developed tall pointed ears making it appear lupine. The curls ascending the straight side edges of this taotie were probably a new conception, as were the similar curls bordering the flaming triangles and pearl roundels on the lacquer coffin. The eyes slant upwards in protruding sockets on either side of a triangular beak. These traits are characteristic of all the pushou to be examined below. The whole effect is of Garuḍa, an Indian and Southeast Asian Hindu man-bird who carried the god Viṣṇu, but there is no other evidence of a Garuḍa image in China.

Here I attempt to classify and discuss many of the pushou and one round plaque that are known. All these excavated examples were found in Datong and Guyuan (whose objects are presumed to have originated in Datong), and date to the Pingcheng

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985 Xianeng Yang 1999, No. 142.
988 Possible precursors might be the protuberances on a fifth century BCE bronze scabbard (my fig. 574). *Ibid.* p. 125 right, Fig. 42.1). So indicates that the projections on fig. 21c, p. 125 left, No. 42 were intended to serve to attach it to a cloth back. But since such loops persist on p. 125 right, fig. 42.1, it is difficult to know if its 18 small projections served a similar purpose or were decorations. In the latter case, the ascending curls on the Guyuan and other taotie plaques might be indebted to northern prototypes.
989 Wang Fanzhou speaks of garaḍā as one of the eight classes of guardians of the Dharma (1996, p. 24). It became transformed into jinchiniao, birds eating snakes or dragons which were associated with the standing Buddha in Kizil and into dragons and phoenixes in Dunhuang and Central China (p. 25).
period (late fifth century). They are all listed in Figure 575, CHART OF PUS Hou AND RINGS. The Guyuan pushou sets are described at the beginning of this chapter and are listed on the chart as Numbers One and Two.

Actually, all the pushou to be described have ascending curls along their sides. They are numbered above the bottommost protruding fang and the cheek bump above it. The Guyuan pushou has six. Number Four, “Hudong round plaque” (not a pushou) also has bumps along its sides. None of the rings, not even Number Two, the Guyuan ring, has ascending curls or bumps. The Guyuan ring, as we have seen, and several other rings have elaborate motifs, whereas most of the rings may be plain or have simple, inconspicuous low relief.991

Number Three, “Hudong pushou”. 4.1 x 3.9 cm. This pushou is from the Northern Wei Tomb 1 at Hudong, Datong, the tomb whose lacquer motifs are most like those of the Guyuan Sarcophagus. The gilt bronze face is almost identical to that at Guyuan with its birdlike face and, in this case, four ascending curls (no. 3 in my fig. 576).992 On the “Hudong pushou”, however, the place of the Infant Buddha and dragons is taken by centered curved vegetation like a five-petaled fleur de lis.993 It is half enclosed by what looks like curled vegetation but which is probably intended to represent the animal mask’s horns. Despite the fact that it is only one third the size of the Guyuan plaques, it has a hook for a ring. The pearl roundels on the Hudong lacquer coffin, like those on the

992 Shanxisheng Datongshi Kaogu Yanjiusuo 2004, fig. 13, no. 3.
993 This motif is considered to be a derivative of the Egyptian palmette, as the “honeysuckle” is considered to be a half-palmette. My term “five-petaled fleur de lis” and the Chinese term “honeysuckle” describe these figures much more accurately. Botanically, the flowers of genus Lilium of the family Liliaceae have petals in multiples of three.
Guyuan coffin, are edged with curls. The circular plaque of Buddha found in the tomb (fig. 576, no. 2) as well as the apsaras depicted within the pearl roundels on the lacquer coffin, suggest that the occupant had some interest in Buddhism, but the figure painted in the half-open door, a native Chinese image from the Han period, shows that his religious inclination, like that of the Guyuan occupant, was mixed.

The Hudong tomb is the only tomb with a pushou besides the Guyuan tomb where guan huan (coffin rings) are reported. There are eight of them, they are plain, and measure 10 – 12 cm. in diameter. It may be noteworthy that the single pushou found in the tomb has no ring and is too small to be of much utility.

Number Four, “Hudong round plaque”. 7 – 7.2 cm. A small gilt bronze round openwork plaque that was also found in the Hudong tomb. It has four ascending curls on the left side and three on the right side (1 in fig. 576 and 577). The dragons on “Hudong round plaque”, face downward and are below a seated central demon. What exudes from their mouths may be water or lolling tongues, which in this case form a fleur de lis (three-petaled). The plaque has no undecorated area at the top to suggest it could interlock with a pushou hook.

Recently excavated from a group of tombs south of Datong at Qilicun, discovered in 2001, are a number of pushou sets (fig. 578). Judging from the figures and descriptions, all the pushou sets, i.e. pushou and rings, found in Qilicun seem to be

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994 Ibid. fig. 13, no. 1 and front cover.
995 The photograph (fig. 22b) reveals his long ears which identify him as a demon. (Shanxisheng Datongshi Kaogu Yanjiusuo 2004, Wen Wu 2004/12 front cover). He wears the striped or creased trunks that the dancing foreigner on the Datong inkstone is wearing (Chutu Wenwu Zhanlan Gongzuo Zu 1973, p. 148).
996 Datongshi Kaogu Yanjiusuo 2006 (Qilicun), pp. 25-49. The figures are on p. 40; the descriptions are on p. 43.
complete. The date on a brick in one of tombs, Tomb 35, of 484 BCE, has been assigned to all.

Number Five, “Qilicun Tomb 25”. From Tomb 25 come four bronze pushou sets (with only two ascending curls per side) (fig. 578, no. 47), the plaques measuring 13.8 x 10.8 cm. The pushou consist of an animal mask from which rises centered curved vegetation, a five-petaled fleur de lis with bumps on its stem, half enclosed by very small curled horns.

Number Six, “Qilicun Tomb 32”. From Tomb 32 come three lead pushou sets (six ascending curls per side) (fig. 578, no. 45), the plaques measuring 13 x 11.6 cm. Simpler centered vegetation (five-petaled fleur de lis with plain stem) rises from the animal mask and it is half enclosed by curled horns, larger than those of Number Five above. This style is similar to that of Number Three, “Hudong pushou”. (no. 3 in my fig. 576).

Number Seven, “Qilicun Tomb 35”. Tomb 35 has produced another type, also lead (five ascending curls per side), represented by ten examples (no. 46 in my fig. 578). The pushou measures 20 x 18.4 cm. Its animal mask is surmounted by elaborate openwork on top of which sits a tiny squatting figure, probably demonic. It is hard to tell if the animal face has ears.

All the sets from the above three Qilicun tombs include articulated rings, 9.6 – 14.2 cm. in diameter. If they have any decoration, it is superficial.
1983 saw the publication of the excavation of a hoard of gilt bronze objects, southeast of Datong (fig. 579), at a site known as Nanjiao Tukan (Southern Suburb Earthen Shrine). As the objects were stored according to type, Shing Müller suggests that the site might have been a workshop where funerary objects were produced. The sixteen pushou are listed according to three types, the rings are listed separately according to three other types, and further objects are listed accordingly.

The three types of pushou from Nanjiao Tukan are (in my numbering): Number Eight, Number Nine and Number Ten, as follows.

Number Eight, “Nanjiao Tukan Type I”. There are five examples. Each is 13.3 x 12.8 cm. with six ascending curls. Each has centered curved vegetation, (five-petaled fleur de lis with plain stem), rising from the animal mask, half enclosed by two curled horns (no. 1. in my fig. 579). This type closely resembles Number Six, “Qilicun Tomb 32” (which also has six ascending curls) and may be the same.

Number Nine, “Nanjiao Tukan Type II”. There are ten examples, each 13.1 x 13.3 cm. and each with six ascending curls. The animal mask is surmounted by elaborate openwork in which the excavators see a “boy” (no. 3. in my fig. 579). It may be a haloed Buddha. If there are horns, they are not clear.

Number Ten, “Nanjiao Tukan Type III”. There is only one incomplete example, 16.5 x 14 cm., (no. 8. in my fig. 579). There are only five remaining ascending curls. It closely resembles Number Nine, “Nanjiao Tukan Type II” in its elaborate openwork but Number Ten, Type III clearly has horns.

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998 Müller 1999, p. 28, n. 103.
Two of the three types of rings from Nanjiao Tukan are not numbered because of their insignificant decoration. They are: Number A, “Nanjiao Tukan Ring Type I, and Number B, “Nanjiao Tukan Ring Type II”. The third type of Nanjiao Tukan ring is significant and so it was given a number: Number Eleven, “Nanjiao Tukan Ring Type III”.

No. A, “Nanjiao Tukan Ring Type I”. There are seven examples, outside diameter 10.2 cm., (6. in my fig. 579). It interlocks with pushou Number Eight, “Nanjiao Tukan Type I” and also with pushou Number Nine, “Nanjiao Tukan Type II”. It has low relief decoration.

Number B, “Nanjiao Tukan Ring Type II”. There is one example, outside diameter 13.1, (4. in my fig. 579). It interlocks with pushou Number Ten, “Nanjiao Tukan Type III”. It also has low relief decoration.

Number Eleven, “Nanjiao Tukan Ring Type III”. One example, outside diameter 16.6 cm. (no. 7. in my fig. 579). It does not match with any of the Nanjiao Tukan pushou. It consists of two downward dragons who face each other. Presently the center is a blank space but it is not clear if it disappeared through damage.

Number Twelve, “Xiasunjing Ring”, is an openwork ring from Xiasunjing, near Datong, (fig. 580),999 10 cm. in diameter. It has a central figure, who stands on two downward facing dragons with water or lolling tongues that contribute to a fleur de lis, and thus is much like Number Four, “Hudong round plaque” also excavated near Datong.1000 In this

999 Datongshi Kaogu Yanjiusuo 2004, 9 in fig. 3.
case, however, the central figure is not a cross-legged demon, but a young boy who
stands, legs apart and arms up holding onto the dragons' feet. He most likely is an Infant
Buddha, but he does not have an usṇīṣa. In this respect, this ring is like the Guyuan ring
(fig. 576).

Number Thirteen, “Qijiapo”. A single pushou set (pushou and ring) was found attached
to the side board of a coffin in a tomb at Qijiapo Village, in a southern suburb of Datong.
The plaque, 10.8 x 11.6 cm., has three ascending curls below the ears, (fig. 581, nos.2 and 1).\footnote{Wang Yintian and Han Shengcun 1995, p. 15, nos. 1. and 2.} It certainly raises the question of impractical numbers (i.e. too few for
carrying a coffin or even as door knockers which must be in pairs) of pushou sets being
found in tombs. Was their purpose symbolic or merely decorative? No guan huan
(coffin rings) have been reported for this tomb. The excavators see a small human figure
standing between the nose of the animal face and the curved vegetation (“honeysuckle”)
on top. There may be horns. On either side of the central design stands an auspicious
bird, in the excavators’ view. This is the only appearance of birds on these pushou sets
apart from the birds pecking at the dragons on the Guyuan ring, which do not look at all
auspicious. Its ring, 9.4 cm., seems to be plain but the image is unclear.

Mention might also be made of several excavated instances of the popular Datong
motif, the pushou set (pushou and ring), or even the monster mask (taotie), in other
contexts.

In Tomb 61, in the Yingbin tomb group, east of Datong, was found a bronze tile (10.8 x
10.9 cm.) depicting a Datong style animal mask, with curved vegetation (in this case a
simple fleur de lis), half enclosed by curled horns (with the usual three lower bumps) rising from its forehead (fig. 582, no. 1). A bronze coffin ring was found in Tomb 16 (fig. 582, no. 2).

The 477 CE tomb of Song Shaozu, excavated east of Datong yielded a remarkable stone house-shaped sepulchre, big enough to contain his mortuary couch on a platform. Embossed on the outside walls and doors are twenty-two pushou sets in low relief, every one with a different small figure rising from his forehead (figs. 583 and 584, fig. 525). It is remarkable that these pushou sets include rings, also carved in stone. Song Shaozu’s stone mortuary bed also has at least one pushou in low relief (fig. 371). Both the house-shaped sepulchre pushou and the mortuary bed pushou have prominent horns but without the usual three lower bumps. The perimeters of the pushou on both pieces of mortuary furniture are plain, without ascending curls.

It is surprising that in Yonggu, the mausoleum on Fangshan of Empress Dowager Feng (d. 490), carefully planned by her, the carved heads of beasts at the bottom of the doorframe leading into her tomb chambers are lions without manes (or tigers), separate heads possibly unique in the Northern Wei artistic vocabulary, and not animal faces in the taotie style (fig. 133).

There are a number of unprovenanced pushou in museums. They perhaps might be considered part of the Datong Pingcheng group. It is quite possible that rings were not...

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1002 Datongshi Kaogu Yanjiusuo 2006 (Yingbin), p. 62, fig. 36, no. 1.
1003 Ibid., p. 62, fig. 36, no. 2. Descriptions of both objects are on p. 63.
1004 This house has a merlon on its roof (see my chapter “Flaming Triangles”).
1005 Shanxisheng Kaogu Yanjiusuo and Datongshi Kaogu Yanjiusuo 2001, figs. 7 and 8.
recognized as parts of pushou sets in the museums and were thus catalogued and stored separately.

Number Fourteen, “Osaka”. 11.5 cm. The Osaka Art Museum has a pushou with the Infant Buddha standing on top, on the legs of two very thin dragons who bite near his elbows (six ascending curls) (fig. 585, bottom left).\textsuperscript{1006} The dragons’ members constitute the openwork. Unfortunately, at that time, before the scientific excavation of fifth century examples, the Museum identified the period of Nos. 163 and 162 (the feathered monster pictured above it) as Three Kingdoms, (220-280 CE). The museum said that the Six Dynasties included various kinds of gold objects, evil ruler, little animal statues like dragons, evil ruler-shaped pillar capital, feather man-shaped gold object, gold objects like pushou and animal-shaped water droplet shape. Three Kingdoms to Western Jin period’s manufactured objects in terms of shape, technique of the detailed carved lines for feathers and scales are directly inherited from the end of Later Han’s style.\textsuperscript{1007} This is one of the two “animal masks” pictured by Wu Hung in 1986, and he identified it as fourth century.\textsuperscript{1008}

Number Fifteen, “Stanford B”. It has six ascending curls) (fig.586)\textsuperscript{1009} and is exactly the same as Number Fourteen, “Osaka” in terms of motifs except that the bronze throughout appears to be thicker, and the bottom tusks are bent up to touch the bottom curl (possibly

\textsuperscript{1006} Osaka Shi Ritsu Bijutsu Kan, ed., 1976, No. 163.
\textsuperscript{1007} My translation of Osaka Shi Ritsu Bijutsu Kan, ed., 1976, p. 185.
\textsuperscript{1008} Wu Hung 1986, “Buddhist elements in early Chinese art”, fig. 11. “Even more revealing is a pu-shou, or animal mask, dated to the fourth century A.D. (Fig. 11). In the upper part of this work, a deity who has a high protrusion or a chignon on top of his head, and who is dressed like a Bodhisattva, holds dragons’ harnesses in each hand. This composition combines the Bodhisattva image with that of Huan Long Shi, the dragon-tamer, a famous character in a traditional Chinese legend, whose image can be found on a similar pu-shou (Fig. 12).” (Wu Hung 1986, p. 270. The figure numbers are his).
an accident of use). In the Stanford Museum Catalogue it is described as “202. Open-work Plaque. Gilt bronze. Animal mask with small human figure and two felines between ears. Originally held ring hands, now missing. H. 4”. Han or later. Stanford University, gift of Mortimer C. Leventritt”. A few other objects had been included in the Zhou exhibition “to illustrate the continuity of Late Chou forms and styles of decoration.” Number Fifteen, “Stanford B” seems to be more compact than Number Fourteen, “Osaka”. The dragons’ noses touch the Infant Buddha’s shoulders and his usnīsa is much lower than the “Osaka” Buddha’s. It would appear that the two plaques were made according to the same pattern but in different molds. They even share the mistake of a join stretching from the right dragon’s bent tongue to his pelvic region, whereas the join from the left dragon stretches from his front ankle to his tail. They form the basis for a very interesting discussion about their fabrication.

Number Sixteen, “Stanford A”. This, the other Stanford pushou, is also coarse (fig. 587) (the photographic technique may have played a part in the coarseness of these reproductions). It has five ascending curls. It is simple with a squatting demon sitting on a fleur de lis above the nose of the animal face, partially enclosed by the simple horns. There are no dragons. It was in a private collection in 1958 and was labeled “Late Chou – Provenance unknown” at that time; doubtless it would be considered late fifth century Northern Wei now. The catalogue description is: “146. Open-work Plaque. In

1010 Ibid., p. 28.
1011 Ibid., p. 28.
1012 Stanford University Museum 1958, No. 146.
1013 Ibid., p. 57.
form of mask with demon. (sic.) Bronze. Gray-green patina. May have been attachment for ring handle now missing. H. 6 ½ "..... Myron S. Falk, Jr."¹⁰¹⁴

Albert Koop illustrates two pushou masks. (fig. 588,¹⁰¹⁵ "Koop B", "Koop C"):

Number Seventeen, “Koop B”. This example from the Eumorfopoulos Collection, has four ascending curls (fig. 588, B). It is richly gilded, and, like Number Three, “Hudong pushou”, is surmounted by curled vegetation and horns, but it is larger, the same size as the Guyuan plaque. It appears to be the most horizontal of all the masks, perhaps its top petal, of five, has been broken off. Its stem has a single pair of bumps. Its eyes look down so that they are almost slits and its ears are not attached to its brows, but to the curls that border the outside of the plaque! Its catalogue entry: “B. Lion’s mask in openwork, richly gilt. It is not certain for what use this object was made. T’ang Dynasty. 5 x 4”. Eumorfopoulos Collection, London.”¹⁰¹⁶ There are no anthropomorphs.

Number Eighteen, “Koop C”. This pushou, which has four ascending curls (fig. 588, C), displays much openwork above the mask which includes a squatting demonic figure between two extremely slender dragons. Their bodies stretch outward, but their heads (without tongues) turn back to bite the arms of the demon. Below them are possibly two more quadrupeds or dragons and a fleur de lis. There are practically no ears. The piece has a hook, for a ring. In Koop’s catalogue: “C. Lion’s mask with four small figures of Lions and one of a man (?). This appears to have served as an applied escutcheon for securing a ring-handle on a piece of furniture. The striated ornament brings it into

¹⁰¹⁵ Koop 1924, pl. 96.
¹⁰¹⁶ Ibid.
relation with A. Height 3 7/8".\textsuperscript{1017} Number Eighteen, "Koop C" is Fig. 12, the other plaque illustrated in Wu Hung's "Buddhist elements".\textsuperscript{1018}

The British Museum displays three bronze Six Dynasties plaques in its Case 22 (fig. 589).\textsuperscript{1019} In my photograph, they are:

Number Nineteen, "British Museum top". It has four (?) ascending curls (fig. 589 top). "Gilt bronze mask. Six Dynasties, 3\textsuperscript{rd}-6\textsuperscript{th} centuries AD. The hooked nose of this comparatively large mask is surmounted by two tigers accompanied by human figures. Anonymous loan".\textsuperscript{1020} It is difficult to decipher the elements and the animal mask does not seem to have any ears.

Numbers Twenty and Twenty-one are identified in the same label: "Two bronze plaques in the shape of a monster face and with Buddhist figures between horns. Northern Wei Dynasty, 4\textsuperscript{th}-6\textsuperscript{th} century AD. OA 1938.5-24.194. Oppenheim Bequest 1947.7-12.346."\textsuperscript{1021}

Number Twenty, "British Museum middle". It has six ascending curls (fig. 589, middle). In my colored photograph, the central plaque is definitely dark in color (black) whereas the top and bottom plaques are noticeably golden. This mask is the same as Number Fifteen, "Stanford B" with the nuzzling dragons and reduced uṣṇīśa. It even has the mistakes, the joins going from the right dragon's tongue and the left dragon's front ankle of Number Fifteen, "Stanford B" and Number Fourteen, "Osaka" as well as the Guyuan pushou. It is not so coarse as Number Fifteen, "Stanford B" or so fine as Number

\textsuperscript{1017} Koop 1924.
\textsuperscript{1018} Wu Hung 1986, fig. 12. He also identifies it as Huan Long Shi (as well as his fig. 11). (p. 270).
\textsuperscript{1019} My photograph, Summer 2000.
\textsuperscript{1020} British Museum, Case 22, label.
\textsuperscript{1021} Ibid.
Fourteen, “Osaka”. Perhaps the latter became very fine through rubbing. The Infant Buddha is the top central figure.

Number Twenty-one, “British Museum bottom”. It has five ascending curls (fig. 589 bottom). The central figure may be a Buddha and appears to be robust and sitting, i.e. a mature Buddha. There seem to be points, perhaps radiating behind his head. On the other hand, the points may suggest the many-pointed head of the demon squatting on Number Sixteen, “Stanford A”. He sits between simple curved horns. The ears of the animal mask are extremely small and they are attached high, just inside the tops of the outside borders of ascending curls.

There can be little doubt that these twenty-one significant pieces (counting the Guyuan plaque and pushou and ring as two separate pieces) together form a stylistic and chronologically tight knit group. To summarize them:

There are seventeen pushou as well as a plaque and they all are based on animal masks (taotie): Guyuan; Hudong; Qilicun Tombs 25, 32 and 35; Nanjiao Tukan Types I, II and III; Qijiapo; Osaka; Stanford B and A; Koop B and C; British Museum top, middle and bottom. The animal masks are all similar with bulging eyes below thick, curved eyebrows. Between the eyes is a small beak. Curled fangs extend below the bottom on each side. They look much like Garuda, although there is no Chinese prototype. Most, perhaps all the animal masks have upright pointed ears. Those pushou without dragons have horns with three bumps at the base which look like extremely curled vegetation. All the pushou plaques are rectangular, and curls ascend their sides. The decoration
above the foreheads of the animal masks, is centered. Probably all had hooks at the bottom for the attachment of rings, but a few have broken off.

As well as the duplication of *pushou* and rings within the same sites, namely Qilicun and Nanjiao Tukan, there are several instances of the same *pushou* being unprovenanced or occurring in different sites. The Number One, Guyuan *pushou* itself has several near duplicates: Number Fourteen, “Ōsaka”, Number Fifteen, “Stanford B” and Number Twenty, “British Museum middle”. There is some difficulty in that the “Ōsaka”’s left dragon seems not to nuzzle the Infant Buddha’s shoulder as do the other dragons and “Stanford B” seems to be thicker than the others, but all share the mistake of the right attachment going from the right dragon’s tongue to his body whereas the left attachment goes from the left dragon’s fore ankle to his body. The Guyuan *pushou* is the only excavated example of the four.

As far as vegetation on *pushou* is concerned, Number Six, “Qilicun Tomb 32” is the same as Number Eight, “Nanjiao Tukan Type I”. Both have plain stems and six ascending curls as well as the requisite five-petaled fleur de lis enclosed by two horns. Number Six, “Qilicun Tomb 32” is lead, but Number Eight, “Nanjiao Tukan Type I” is gilt bronze.

Number Four plaque, the “Hudong round plaque” is in a category by itself because there is no smooth area by which it could articulate with a *pushou*. It also has bumps, analogous to ascending curls, four on the left side and three on the right side (a fourth may have been broken off). Like two of the rings below, it has a central human
figure enclosed by two dragons, in this case descending. The central human figure on this plaque is a demon.

In the group examined in this paper, there are only three rings of significance. All are horizontal ellipses. The Number Two ring, "Guyuan ring" and Number Twelve ring, "Xiasunjing Ring" both show the Infant Buddha standing between two dragons, in the Guyuan case ascending leonine dragons, and in the Xiasunjing case descending dragons. Number Eleven, "Nanjiao Tukan Ring Type III" shows only two descending dragons around the periphery. There may well have been a central figure which has since been lost.

On the pushou, above the animal mask, there are three categories of decoration: a) human figures, often between two dragons (these are also sometimes found on rings); b) foliate (five-petaled fleur de lis) between two curving horns; c) elaborate openwork which may include tiny human figures or vegetation. There is some overlap between these three categories.

a.) Of the human figures, there are two kinds, Buddhas and demons. The Buddha is often the Infant Buddha, part of the nativity cult (discussed below), standing, legs apart between two dragons. Such are Number One, "Guyuan pushou", Number Fourteen, "Osaka", Number Fifteen, "Stanford B" and Number Twenty, "British Museum middle" because they are all the same. They stand between ascending dragons who bite their shoulders and who emit either water or long tongues. Number Two ring, "Guyuan ring" also shows the Infant Buddha, this time with usnīśa, standing below two leonine ascending dragons. He may have wings; Wu Hung believes that as the Buddha was taken
as a deity or *shenxian*, he was considered capable of flying and transmutation. Alternatively, the vertical streaks could be considered water, rather misplaced, evocative of the First Bath. These Infant Buddhas wear dhoti. The Infant Buddha in Number Twelve, “Xiasunjing Ring” stands on the heads of two descending dragons whose spit becomes a fleur de lis. He wears trunks and has no *uṣṇīśa*. Two other *pushou*, Number Thirteen, “Qijiapo” and Number Nineteen, “British Museum top” are problematical because their figures cannot be discerned. They are said to contain a small human figure as well as two auspicious birds, and two tigers accompanied by human figures respectively. There appears to be one example of a haloed mature Buddha, Number Nine, “Nanjiao Tukan Type II” *pushou*, amidst elaborate openwork. No dragons in this plaque are discernable.

Demons are naked except for brief trunks, sit or squat with their legs far apart and have three-pointed heads or a pointed head with upward pointed ears. Number Four plaque, “Hudong round plaque” has one, between two downward dragons who spit a fleur de lis. Number Seven, “Qilicun Tomb 35” has a tiny demon who sits atop elaborate openwork in which no dragons can be seen. Number Eighteen, “Koop C” is in a similar position, but he is accompanied by two slender dragons who twist to bite his shoulders, and two more dragons underneath. Number Twenty-one, “British Museum bottom”, the small figure I judge to be a demon because of what looks like a multipointed head, but he could be a Buddha with some sort of radiation. Surprisingly, he is enclosed by horns, instead of dragons as is the tripointed-headed large demon on Number Sixteen,

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1022 Wu Hung 1986, p. 270. Juliano sees the Infant Buddha on the Guyuan ring as possessing wings which would class him as a *xian*, a transcendental “who could fly, change form, and help people attain immortality.” Juliano and Lerner 2001, p. 84.
“Stanford A”. These last two are the only *pushou* with human figures to be enclosed by horns of all the above. Usually where there are dragons, there are no horns.

Wu Hung in 1986 conflated the personage on Number Fourteen, “Osaka” (whom we now take to be the Infant Buddha) and that on Number Eighteen, “Koop C” to be Huan Long Shi, “a legendary figure who raised dragons for Emperor Shun. His story is recorded in *Zuo Zhuan*, the 29th year of Zhao Gong”.¹⁰²³ He considered the “Bodhisattva” (sic) to be holding the dragons’ harnesses in each hand. I consider the harnesses to be either dragons’ tongues or water. Juliano’s recent delineation of the Infant Buddha in a Nativity Cult (see below) is more likely. As for the demon in Number Eighteen, “Koop C”, it is extremely unlikely that a legendary patriarch would be almost naked and in such a rude pose. It is much more likely that the demons were descendants of the squatting atlantean figure on Lady Dai’s banner (after 168 BCE) in Tomb 1 at Mawangdui. They did not lose their popularity even into the Northern Wei Pingcheng period.¹⁰²⁴ A prototype is the demon (without dragons) rising above an animal mask on a Liu Sheng (d. 113 BCE) *pushou* (fig. 598¹⁰²⁵, see below).

b.) All the foliate *pushou* have five-petaled fleurs de lis in the top center above the animal mask.¹⁰²⁶ They all have horns (belonging to the animal mask), which have three bumps near the base, partly enclosing the centered five-petaled fleur de lis.¹⁰²⁷ The

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¹⁰²³ Wu Hung 1986, p. 270, fn. 29. He also considered that the Guyuan examples might help establish a date for them.
¹⁰²⁴ There is even a demon squatting at the top of a Northern Wei stele in the Stele Museum in Beijing.
¹⁰²⁵ Chutu Wenwu Zhanlan Gonzuozu 1973, p. 24 bottom
¹⁰²⁶ To further establish these foliate *pushou* in the Northern Wei Pingcheng Period, the crown of Maitreya in Yungang Cave 13 displays a five-petaled fleur de lis above a simple (three-petaled) fleur de lis (my fig. 590: Zhongguo Meishu Quanji Bianji Weiyuanhui, Bian 10, 1988, pl. 132). While these two types of fleurs de lis do not appear together on the same *pushou*, simple fleurs de lis do appear on “Hudong round plaque”, “Xiasunjing”, Yingbin bronze tile, “Stanford A” and “Koop C”.

number of bumps on the stem of the fleur de lis varies. Apart from the taotie (animal mask), there are no animals or humans. Number Six, “Qilicun Tomb 32” and Number Eight, “Nanjiao Tukan Type I” are the same and both have plain stems. Little Number Three, “Hudong pushou” likewise has a plain stem. Number Seventeen, “Koop B” has a double bump (on each side) on its stem. Number Five, “Qilicun Tomb 25” has two double bumps on its stem. It might be mentioned that Number Five, “Qilicun Tomb 25”, Number Six, “Qilicun Tomb 32” and Number Seventeen, “Koop B” all look so similar they might be mistaken for duplicates, but Number Six, “Qilicun Tomb 32” has a plain stem, Number Seventeen, “Koop B” has one pair of stem bumps and Number Five, “Qilicun Tomb 25” has three. In addition, Number Five, “Qilicun Tomb 25” has only two ascending curls per side, Number Seventeen, “Koop B” has four and Number Six, “Qilicun Tomb 32” appears to have six. Number Thirteen, “Qijiapo” is a problem because there seems to be a five-petaled fleur de lis at the top enclosed by two horns, but there is other openwork farther down in which the excavators see a human figure and two auspicious birds.

c.) The elaborate openwork plaques (pushou) are conspicuous because they are large squares with dense overall openwork without obvious centrality in which no figures in the published reproductions can be discerned. Nevertheless, both Number Seven, “Qilicun Tomb 35” and Number Nine, “Nanjiao Tukan Type II” are reported to have tiny human figures at the top, a squatting demon and a haloed mature Buddha respectively. Neither of these plaques has horns. Number Ten, “Nanjiao Tukan Type

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1027 Bumps near the bases of horns seem to have been a common stylistic element from the Eastern Han down, as this example of a dragon with 4 bumps in the right border from Mixian Dahuting Tomb No. 2 shows (fig. 591). (Mixian Dahuting Han Mu 1995, fig. 211).
III” has every appearance of belonging to the group because of its density, but it has horns, and possibly a tiny animal walking up one of them. Of course we do not know of any central figure because of the damage to one side.

Thus, all of c.) elaborate openwork is difficult to categorize; is the elaborate openwork full of humans and animals or are the only humans the tiny ones at the top? Number Thirteen, “Qijiapo” and Number Nineteen, “British Museum top” are both difficult because, although both compositions are centered, they are so elaborate that the “human figure and two auspicious birds” of the former and the “two tigers accompanied by human figures” are not clear. Perhaps further examples will allow these last two plaques to be placed in a fourth category.

GENERAL DISCUSSION

An additional infant and dragons motif is found on the second stone from the top of a five-stone ta, pagoda (figs. 592 and 593) of the same period, found in Gansu Province. Below the main images of a seated Buddha with two bodhisattvas, is a fully clothed kneeling child wearing a Xianbei hat with windflap. He grabs onto the tongues of two ferocious lions. Kneeling upon each lion is a Buddhist figure with usnīṣa. Elsewhere on the pagoda are scenes of the Buddha’s life including his birth and ritual cleansing with water by a hood of nāgas, serpent kings.

Centered on the “Guyuan pushou” and its duplicates, “Osaka”, “Stanford B” and “British Museum middle”, as well as on “Guyuan ring” and “Xiasunjing”, is an Infant

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1028 Zhongguo Meishu Quanji Bianqi Weiyuanhui 1988, p. 86. The grimacing lions are similar to those on a stеле in the Shanghai Museum (my Ch. 8, Fauna No. 1: Animals and Birds chapter, fig. 690).
1029 Juliano and Lerner 2001, No. 52.
1030 He may be wearing trunks as does the foreign dancer on the Datong inkstone in my Ch. 6, fig. 528.
Buddha standing with straight legs spread apart. These depictions are evidence of a nativity cult, described by Juliano,\textsuperscript{1031} that evolved in Central Asia and China in the fifth and sixth centuries. Besides the *pushou* and rings, there are in existence several depictions of the Infant Buddha (figs. 560, 561, 562,\textsuperscript{1032} 563, 594,\textsuperscript{1033} 595,\textsuperscript{1034} and 596).\textsuperscript{1035} The first (of eight) codified event of the Buddha’s life was his miraculous birth whereby he emerged from his mother’s side as a fully formed child (fig. 597).\textsuperscript{1036} The Dīghāgama-sūtra alleges that immediately after his birth he “took seven steps in each of the four directions and proclaimed: ‘In the Heavens and on Earth, only I am the Venerable One.’”\textsuperscript{1037} Some images (not those above) show the child with his right hand pointing to the sky as part of this episode. Elsewhere, seven little footprints are worshiped in an aniconic representation.

Two different bronze *pushou* sets excavated from the Western Han tomb of Liu Sheng (d. 113 BCE) (figs. 598 and 599)\textsuperscript{1038} can be seen to be intermediaries between conventional Han *pushou* sets (fig. 325) and those of the Northern Wei group described above. Fig. 599 is openwork. Its central fierce dragon/carnivore mask whose tongue becomes the hook for the ring supports volutes which become two outward facing dragons.\textsuperscript{1039} The ring is a writhing mass of two-bodied snakes, birds and ducks.

\textsuperscript{1031} In Juliano and Lerner 2001, pp. 83-84. Also Metropolitan Museum of Art 1982, p. 60.
\textsuperscript{1032} Besides the First Bath, Cave 6 at Yungang includes two other images of the Infant Buddha.
\textsuperscript{1033} Lee 1955, figs. 1 and 2.
\textsuperscript{1034} Errington and Cribb 1992, No. 208.
\textsuperscript{1035} Metropolitan Museum of Art 1982, No. 3.
\textsuperscript{1036} Jongeward 2003, No. 17.
\textsuperscript{1037} Frédéric 1995, p. 88.
\textsuperscript{1038} Chutu Wenwu Zhanlan Gongzuo Zu 1973, both p. 24.
\textsuperscript{1039} Or weasels.
Fig. 598 is even more significant. The upper central figure is the mask of a
demon. Below him is the taotie (animal mask) whose slanting eyes bulge less than the
Guyuan eyes but perhaps more than those of conventional Han animal masks (like figure
325). Below him is the hook for the pushou, but it is formed as a beak! (The Guyuan
pushou's hook is plain and the beak is depicted between the eyes.) Thus, even in the
Western Han period, this animal mask is conceived of as a bird. It looks less like Garuda
than that of the Guyuan plaque and more like a rapacious bird. The same slanting eyes of
the Liu Sheng animal mask are also the eyes of birds in profile who reach down to peck
at the central beak and whose feet dangle below its cheeks. The plaque is completed by
inward looking rapacious birds who rise on either side of the demonic mask, suggestive
of birds-cum-antlers of the nomadic Northwest (figs. 600, 601).\textsuperscript{1041} The ring is a
simple figure-eight with perhaps two bird beak hooks below the waist. This Liu Sheng
plaque forms a continuum with the magnificent fifth century BCE plaque (fig. 571)
where the face is directed toward the beak or descending hook,\textsuperscript{1042} rather than with
conventional Han pushou sets (fig. 325) where the ring often is stuck through the mask's
nose. The visual origin of Liu Sheng's rapacious bird, perhaps Garuda, which suddenly
appears in the Western Han, remains obscure.\textsuperscript{1043} Perhaps it can be found in myth, but
the myth's origin must also be sought.

Of particular interest are the long-tailed birds picking at the griffon-like dragons
on the Guyuan pushou. Birds and dragons both have long been represented on the same

\textsuperscript{1040} The Northwest was never far from Han consciousness. Fig. 600: Rudenko 1970, p. 263.
\textsuperscript{1041} So and Bunker 1995, p. 56, fig. 20.
\textsuperscript{1042} These taotie masks are quite different from those of the Houma molds (fig. 616) where the taotie have
upward rolled snouts.
\textsuperscript{1043} It may be significant that it was first found in a royal tomb. This is logical since royalty have privileged
access to foreign gifts and visitors, before the styles they bring spread through society.
pieces of Chinese art, but rarely interacting with each other. Ironically, the closest relationship is depicted earliest. A Neolithic jade circle from Shijiahe is one of the first examples (fig. 602).\textsuperscript{1044} The head of the bird becomes the head of the dragon, however that metamorphosis has little bearing on the art of the succeeding historic period. In the Shang Dynasty tomb of Fu Hao and in later Western Zhou Tianma tombs Shang jade carvings of birds and dragons have been found, as well as representations on bronze vessels, but usually it is the dragons which are attacking the birds (figs. 603,\textsuperscript{1045} 604: nos. 17, 18, 19.).\textsuperscript{1046} A rare exception is on one of the few Early Western Zhou vessels with spectacular extended beams (figs. 605).\textsuperscript{1047} Within the relief on the Harvard fang yi, small birds do hitch rides on the backs of small dragons. The same relationship is also found on two early Spring and Autumn jades from the recently excavated, (2006), Chu Yuanqiangwan Tomb No. 1 at Jingzhou City, Hubei (fig. 606).\textsuperscript{1048}

The dragon still continues to creep on another creature in the Middle Western Zhou period (fig. 607),\textsuperscript{1049} but the significant relationships in the Western Zhou are between dragons and anthropomorphs (spirits or shamans) in which dragons become parts of the humans, particularly their hair in the richest Tianma Qucun Tomb No. 63 (fig. 608, nos. 1 and 3).\textsuperscript{1050} Dragons continue to lurk in the bodies of men (fig. 609),\textsuperscript{1051}

\textsuperscript{1044} Rawson 1996, p. 118, fig. 54.1.
\textsuperscript{1045} Liu and Yang Jingzhu 1992, fig. 35.
\textsuperscript{1046} \textit{Ibid.}, 1992, figs. 17, 18, 19.
\textsuperscript{1047} Murray 1985, plate.
\textsuperscript{1048} Jingzhou Bowuguan 2008, fig. 48, nos. 2 and 3.
\textsuperscript{1050} Shanxisheng Kaogu Yanjiusuo and Beijing Daxue Kaogu Xuexi 1994, p. 16, nos. 1 and 3. Tianma Tomb No. 63 also contained a number of Shang objects retrieved from Shang period tombs, e.g. fig. 608, no. 2.
\textsuperscript{1051} Rawson 1995, fig. 38.
and only in figs. 610\textsuperscript{1052} and 611\textsuperscript{1053} are birds introduced. The dragons swinging from the hair of Western Zhou anthropomorphs (figs. 612\textsuperscript{1054} and 613)\textsuperscript{1055} suggest the “floral extension” of the Han sleeve dancer from Nan Yue (Ch. 6, fig. 332). Might these Han images have arisen from excavated Western Zhou jades? The Western Zhou style of peripheral creatures (in this case not birds) conforming to the shape of the central image was continued in a fifth century openwork jade of winged human-headed figures clinging to a coiled monster/dragon (fig. 614).\textsuperscript{1056}

Following the eighth century, dragons and birds continued to have little relationship, illustrated by a Spring and Autumn \textit{hu} (fig. 615).\textsuperscript{1057} The designs of the myriad molds of the sixth to fifth century foundry at Houma are represented by fig. 616\textsuperscript{1058} on which a \textit{taotie} eats rising dragons, protesting, from his head.\textsuperscript{1059} At each end of this design is a large-billed bird facing down: “Body bands issue right and left from between the jaws of a central mask. A body band interlocks with that of a bird at either end of the register”.\textsuperscript{1060} A rare variation has a feline (or dragon) perching on a smaller bird (fig. 617).\textsuperscript{1061} Birds and dragons both pick on small reptiles (fig. 618)\textsuperscript{1062} on a Warring States disk and appear together on two jades in the third and second centuries

\textsuperscript{1052} Rawson 1996, No. 55.
\textsuperscript{1053} Rawson 1995, fig. 32.
\textsuperscript{1054} Daianshi Bowuguan 2004, fig. 13.
\textsuperscript{1055} Beijing Daxue Kaogu Xueyi and Shanxisheng Kaogu Yanjiusuo 1994, fig. 40, nos. 3 and 4.
\textsuperscript{1056} Rawson 1995, fig. 54.
\textsuperscript{1057} Rawson 1996, fig. 60.1.
\textsuperscript{1058} Institute of Archaeology of Shanxi Province 1996, p. 127, no. 58, fig. 66.
\textsuperscript{1059} My thanks to Robert Bagley for this and other suggestions. Jessica Rawson attributes the wings and claws on the many molds such as fig. 45 to Central Asian influence. (Rawson 1996, p. 263).
\textsuperscript{1060} Weber 1973, p. 57. In Robert Bagley’s words “a hint of some sort of playful scuffle going on.” (personal communication)
\textsuperscript{1061} Institute of Archaeology of Shanxi Province 1996, fig. 721.
\textsuperscript{1062} Gu Fang 2005, p. 211.
The closest relationship is seen in the magnificent fifth century BCE pushou and ring excavated at Yixian, Hebei (fig. 571), of which Watson notes the bird and dragon were together present, and the bird was now associated with the monster mask.

In the Chu cultural sphere, however, the inner coffin of Marquis Yi of Zeng, 433 BCE, does depict birds, dragons and snakes interacting in an adversarial way (figs. 620, 621, 622). “In Chu, for example, birds are often found in combination with snakes or dragons, either devouring or grasping them with their claws or being attacked by them.” Thote points out that there are numerous examples and he cites the wooden lacquer screen of Tomb No. 1 at Wangshan, Jiangling (fig. 623), where birds devour and grasp snakes with their claws while being attacked by other snakes. He traces the patterns to fifth century BCE bronzes and suggests that they may have “followed an iconographical program that played a magic or religious role.” If that role could be connected to the Northern Wei Guyuan pushou, the bird pecking at a dragon motif might have religious and thus apotropaic significance. On the other hand, the motif does not

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1063 Rawson 1995, figs. 57 and 58.
1065 He opines that “It is tempting to see the bird as representing the hun, the departing soul (the po remaining to haunt the tomb), but no ancient text makes this explicit.” (1995, p. 90).
1066 Thote 1991, figs. 13, 18, and 23.
1067 Ibid., p. 38.
1068 Xianoneng Yang1999, No. 110.
1069 Thote 1991, p. 43.
1070 Snakes alone continued to play a part in posthumous existence into the Western Han period: Lady Dai’s tomb in Changsha (early Western Han) and Bu Qianqiu’s tomb in Luoyang (late Western Han).
1070 Another interpretation is that the motif was an expression of Chu power; the bird representing Chu and the dragon or snake representing Qin.
appear on the other Northern Wei plaques and pushou, and thus its appearance on the Guyuan pushou can, at present, be considered an aberration.\footnote{Rawson discusses the contribution of Chu to the “Chinese World” as a whole. (1999, pp. 30 ff). With the Qin conquest, the ideas of Chu and other Warring States entered the Chinese World in general and thus were passed down through Han to successive periods.}

In the Western Han period, the dragon’s head’s plume might be seen as a bird (fig. 624)\footnote{Rawson 1996, fig. 63.4.} and a bird and feline (or dragon) seem to confront each other in the upper left of a droll jade plaque (fig. 625).\footnote{“Zhongguo Wenwu Jinghua” Bianji Weiyuanhui 1992, no. 74.} Still, there is little to affirm any belief from the Han period about birds pecking at dragons.

Nomads portrayed birds more rarely than did the Chinese;\footnote{Sergei Miniaev can think of no examples of birds attacking dragons in nomadic art; there do not appear to be any dragons.} there are only occasional examples of isolated birds, such as figure 626,\footnote{Nei Menggu Zizhiqu Bowuguan 1987, No. 32-1 and front cover.} a Xiongnu chief’s headgear, Warring States period. There were insignificant ornaments with birds’ bills (figs. 627).\footnote{Both Bunker 1997, pp. 213 and 249 respectively.} On the other hand, striking images of griffons, or even occasionally a raptor, violently attacking quadrupeds, abound. These scenes of aggression were particularly popular in Pazyryk, (for example, figs. 628,\footnote{Rice 1965, no.21.} and 629, both Pazyryk I, early third century BCE).\footnote{Rudenko 1970, pl. 170.} Doubtless the Pazyryk scenes derived from Scythian themes farther west (figs. 630, 631).\footnote{Both Reeder 1999, Nos. 50 and 172 respectively.} There can be little question that the impetus for the aggression of the birds pecking the leonine dragons on the Guyuan ring came from the northwest.
The most likely model for the Northern Wei pushou is the Mesopotamian “Master of Animals” composition. This West Asian image has a long history, indeed it was well established by 4500 BCE. It consists of a centered anthropomorph (god or king), holding up two symmetrically positioned vertical animals. It has been found on a harp in third millennium Ur (fig. 632). Thence the composition was commonly depicted on cylinder seals as late as the Assyrian-Babylonian Empire, 1000-500 BCE (figs. 633, 634, 635, 636). Alison Barclay found this subjugating Master of Animals motif in Mesopotamia and Southwest Iran dating from the fourth millennium. The central figure could be a priest-king, demon, animated bull or lion; only later was the central figure a hero. In southern Iran, a small bronze plaque has been found in the small multiperiod site of Geoy Tépé (fig. 637). The composition had a strong presence in the early first millennium BCE in Luristan (fig. 638). Indeed, in

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1080 Holly Pittman email kindly sent January 24, 2008. “Its meaning is uncertain, but it is associated in its earliest manifestations with “shaman” - like human/animal figures and snakes.

1081 Frankfort 1956, p. 38.

1082 Ibid., p. 39, top.

1083 Boardman 2000, fig. 4.19

1084 Collon 1987, figs. 348, 350.


1087 Berghe 1959, pl. 149. “Autrefois, A. Stein, avait effectué quelques sondages...et des fouilleurs clandestins avait aussi opera sur ce site....Au cours de ces fouilles commerciales de 1934, on avait trouvé un disque en bronze orné d’un personage du type de Gilgamesh...trouvé en meme temps qu’un mors du même metal et que le manche d’un object indeterminé appartient au VIIIe siècle avant J.-C.” pp. 116-117. It is to be noted that this plaque is surrounded by a pearl roundel.

1088 Frankfort 1956, p. 176.
Iran, it even lived on in memory into post Sasanian times, later than when it had spread into China (fig. 639).  

The composition spread outward. The winged birdmen holding in their hands the back feet of defeated animals of Gonur Tepe south mound in Margiana (fig. 640) are related to similar compositions of 1800-1750 BCE in the Syro-Anatolian region. Barclay distinguishes the Master of Animals who is a male hero and whose purpose is control or subjugation, from the Mistress of Animals whose upraised hands often hold animals or plants. She is a deity, often naked and her purpose is fertility. She appeared in the mid-second millennium in the Mitanni and Assyrian Kingdoms and in the mid to late second millennium in Syria. Her only appearance in Iran was in Luristan. 

In the Bronze Age Aegean and Crete, the Mistress of Animals motif appeared until about 1330-1180 CE. It was always depicted on high status, usually glyptic objects (fig. 641). In this example, the well-known Mistress of Animals has been replaced by the uncommon (but well authenticated) Master of Animals. Thence no examples appeared in Greece or the Aegean until the mid ninth century when it was reintroduced via Syria-Palestine and the Levant. Figure 642 is an example from Rhodes from the later “Orientalizing” fifth century, when there was a florescence of this

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1089 British Museum, lower right, no. 5. “Silver plate. The dress suggests a Late Sasanian ruler is intended...but the plate itself is of a much later date.”

1090 Victor Sarianidi 1994, fig. D. “Similar compositions are unknown in Iran and Afghanistan, but they are very popular in the Syro-Anatolian region.” (pp. xxxii-xxxiii).

1091 Barclay 2002, pp. 61-64.

1092 Ibid. p.220. Li Chi sees the Master of Animals motif in the Lion Gate at Mycenae. (Li Chi 1957, p. 28).

1093 Higgins 1979, fig. 11. In regard to the Aegina Treasure which includes this object, Reynold Higgins deduces that it was created in Crete or modeled after such objects in 1700-1500 BCE. It was a period when Minoan art came under strong Egyptian influence.

1094 Gold Daedalic Plaque from Rhodes (Berlin Mus. inv. 8943).
motif, finely and locally made. Elsewhere in Greece, only a few primitive renditions were being attempted.

Around the beginning of the Common Era, the motif of Master of Animals could be found from the North Pontic region in the first century CE (fig. 643), to Eastern Siberia (first century BCE-first century CE) (fig. 644), and to the Xiongnu sites of Daodunzi (fig. 645) and Hafajia in the same period (fig. 646).

The Master of Animals had even made a very occasional appearance in Ancient China. Li Chi extracted the motif from several Shang bronzes (fig. 647). Nothing further of it has been noted until the Late Western Zhou period (eighth to seventh century BCE), when it appeared as a bronze openwork plaque with interlace (figs. 648, 649). The plaque has at least one loop for attachment. The design seems too specific and too unlike other Western Zhou bronzes to be accidental. So far, nothing like it has appeared in China from that time nor does it seem to have had any successors in China until the Northern Wei period.

The example that likely had the most influence on the Master of Animals composition of the Guyuan pushou set is the pair of “ruler and dragons pendants” excavated from Tomb 2 in Tillya-tepe, the “Golden Hoard of Bactria” near the Oxus.

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1095 Simonenko 2001, fig. 4, nos. 3 and 4. Simonenko considers the “Master of Beasts riding on a panther” to be the eastern personification of Dionysos (p. 64).
1096 Bunker 1997, Nos. 238a and 238b.
1097 Ibid., fig. A120.
1098 Henansheng Wenwu Yanjiusuo 2003, p. 112, fig. 6.1.
1099 Li Chi 1957, pl. 1, pp. 27-29. My thanks to Robert Bagley for this information and reference as well as a number of productive emails.
1100 British Museum: No. 12 in Case 16, Oppenheim Bequest OA 1947.7-12.412. “Bronze plaque from a harness cast in the form of two tigers. Late Western Zhou or early Eastern Zhou. 8th – 7th c BC.”
1101 Ibid., left: my photograph; right: Watson 1958, pl. 37a. The Watson plate is the reverse orientation from that in the current display. My thanks to Robert Bagley for telling me in which museum I made these images and for suggesting a published source.
River (Ch. 7 figs. 650, Ch. 5 fig. 191). It is believed that this rich grave belonged to the ruler of one of the five early Kushan princedoms and was thus near the beginning of the first century CE. Bactria, a prosperous and culturally rich province for some centuries from before the Alexandrian conquest between 331 and 327 BCE and the beginning of Hellenization, was prominent on what was becoming the Silk Road.

The two-sided golden pendants which are encrusted with gems, hung on each side of a headgear. The central figure is a crowned ruler wearing a Parthian-style caftan (fig. 651) which is also depicted on a statue of a Kushan ruler, possibly Vima Kadphises (fig. 652). On each side of the Tillya-tepe pendants is a dragon which the ruler seems to be fending off, in the same position as on the Mesopotamian seals just cited. In the contemporary Tomb 6 at Tillya Tepe, were found two golden “temple pendants depicting the Great Goddess among animals” (fig. 653). Set in

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1102 Victor Sarianidi 1985, pp. 18-26, 53-54, 231, 254, plates 44-50. Müller sees these as belonging to a long Saka-Parthian tradition, and remarks that the “same motif was still used by the sepulchral cult for the decoration of the face covering of the deceased during the 3rd and 4th century in Kara-Bulak burials in Kirghistan”. Müller 1999, p. 28.

1103 Both Ibid., Cat. No. 2.7, p. 98 pl. 44 and p. 99, plate 44 respectively.


1105 Sarianidi’s cultural placement of the “Ruler and Dragons” motif is: “This episode depicting a king grappling with dragons is a favorite subject in the arts of ancient Asia Minor. Similar scenes are likewise to be found in Greek art and there, as in the Bactrian pendants, the monsters demonstrate a similar style of presentation and a similar iconographic posture, winged, horned and with their heads turned aside. They are all indicative of an Asiatic style and are most likely an echo of ancient Oriental, primarily Persian, influences. The garb of the king depicted on the Tillya tepe pendants is a medley of the typically Scythian – as represented by the tunic secured by a left-hand fold and caught at the waist by a sash – and the Achaemenian – as represented by the skirt. Of special interest are the dragons with their contorted hindquarters, an element that is peculiar to the Siberian animal style.” 1985, p. 24. He then goes on to connect the dragons to the winged horses of Asia Minor.

1106 Huntington 1985, fig. 8.2.


1108 Ibid., Cat. No. 6.4, no. 50.
architecture, a Hellenistic goddess, clad only in a robe below her loins, supports two downward facing creatures which most resemble dolphins.\textsuperscript{1109}

There are many reasons to see a connection between these pendants and northeast Asia. From the central plaque hang chains holding a number of flat spangles;\textsuperscript{1110} these appeared on the tree and antler hat ornaments of the Murong Xianbei from the third to the fifth centuries CE (fig. 654)\textsuperscript{1111} and led to the step-shake crowns of the Silla Kingdom by the fifth century CE (fig. 655),\textsuperscript{1112} evidence of communication across the northern borderland of China. The dragons, which appear to be biting the shoulders of the ruler on the Bactrian plaque, in the same position as those on the Guyuan plaque, have comma-shaped wings and ears, similar to those on the dragons on the sixth to fifth century BCE molds at Houma. (figs. 617, 656) They have reversed hindquarters, a nomadic stylistic trait from Pazyryk, ca. 300 BCE, (fig. 600), farther east to second century BCE North China (fig. 657) and possibly even into second century BCE Mawangdui. The coffin in Bactrian Tomb 2, which contained the “ruler and dragon pendants” was wrapped in a shroud;\textsuperscript{1113} in China, remnants of a shroud were found around the Baoshan, Hubei Warring States coffin\textsuperscript{1114} (fig. 548).\textsuperscript{1115} Most likely, the textile diaper pattern painted on the Guyuan coffin depicts a shroud as well. Most of all, the ruler’s crown bears stepped triangles, such as those which graced the Achaemenid staircase at Persepolis, Sasanian

\textsuperscript{1109} Sarianidi surmises, based on the numerous examples of Bactrian gold, that the Hermitage’s Siberian Collection [of Peter the Great] was produced at Tillya Tepe. (Ibid, p. 54)
\textsuperscript{1110} There are also spangles hanging from the gold pendant from the Aegina Treasure, fig. 641.
\textsuperscript{1111} Qi 2001, p. 264.
\textsuperscript{1112} Gyeongju National Museum 2002, pp. 110, 111. Kang Duk-hee 1983, has also suggested a connection between Silla crowns and those of Shibarghan in Afghanistan.
\textsuperscript{1113} Sarianidi 1985, p. 22.
\textsuperscript{1114} Colin Mackenzie in Xiaoneng Yang 1999, p. 331. Indeed, Mackenzie suggests that in addition to the fragments of the nine layers of real fabric that originally enveloped the middle coffin, the lacquer designs on the coffin may reflect fabric design. He also mentions a bird-over-dragon scheme on the coffin (p. 333).
\textsuperscript{1115} Xiaoneng Yang1999, No. 113.
crowns, as well as Gandharan Buddhist reliquaries which, on sūtra pillars, found their way into China, ultimately contributing to Northern Wei flaming triangles (discussed in chapter “Flaming triangles”).

In conclusion, the Guyuan pushou set (fig. 546) has been found to belong to a stylistically tight-knit group of twenty bronze pushou and significant rings.\(^{1116}\) (chart: fig. 575; figs. 548, 576, 578 – 581, 585 - 589). It and the Hudong, Xiasunjing, Qilicun, Nanjiao Tukan and Qijiapo examples were all excavated from confirmed Northern Wei tombs, and all of which, except the Guyuan tomb, were tombs situated near Datong (Pingcheng, the Northern Wei capital until 494 CE). All the pushou are based on distinctive predatory birdlike animal masks, which first made their known appearance on a plaque found in a fifth-century BCE tomb in Yixian and subsequently in the Liu Sheng (d. 113 BCE) tomb (fig. 25c). A striking aspect of the Guyuan set and some members of the group except those which consist only of animal masks,\(^ a\) is their Master of Animals composition. This ancient Mesopotamian composition which consists of an anthropomorph supporting two symmetrical beasts, was, except for rare ancient appearances, new in China. In these Chinese examples, the beasts are dragons (except in the cases where the dragons are replaced by vegetation). The central figures of several pieces are the Infant Buddha, evidence of a nativity cult that evolved in Central and East Asia about this time. The remaining central figures may be demons. Where the dragons surround the Infant Buddha, something exudes from their mouths, which possibility leads to the speculation that these pieces reflect his First Bath. The origin of the sudden

\(^{1116}\) This count does not include identical specimens found at the same sites.
appearance of the Garuda-like or predatory bird animal mask is at present unknown
and can perhaps best be searched for in myth.
CHAPTER EIGHT

FAUNA No. 1: ANIMALS AND BIRDS

Please refer to line drawings, A – F, of the Guyuan Sarcophagus for notations of the various creatures discussed in this chapter. (A fig. 662; B fig. 663; C fig. 666; D fig. 670; E fig. 673 and F fig. 675).

This chapter concerns animals and birds (figs. 658-661). Chapter 9, Fauna No. 2 concerns human-headed birds. Both fill the hourglass vinescroll on the lid of the coffin, the centered tianhe making the lid perhaps the most otherworldly part of the coffin, but winged fauna can be found on the sides as well, coupled with floating apsarasas, making the entire coffin part of the heavenly realm. Only one nonhuman creature in this chapter, the animal “r”, has a human face; otherwise birds with human heads are reserved for Fauna No. 2. All the terrestrial creatures on the coffin except in the hunting scene, have wings, even though the tall narrow wings on the felines have not been reproduced in the modern copies. The animals in the hunting scene will be mentioned, but they are considered to be more realistic (if a dragon can be considered realistic) than the others in (the) diapers, even though the floating lotus buds place the hunt in the afterlife. The creatures on the lid are depicted singly and those in the pearl roundels on the sides are in pairs. Except the horses and pigs in the hunt scene, no hoofed animals are depicted; all have soft paws.

Many of these heavenly creatures are amalgams, probably even when they seem somewhat natural. They are very difficult to identify in descriptions in the ancient text.

1117 All line drawings in this chapter are from Ningxia Guyuan Bowuguan 1988.
Shan Hai Jing,\textsuperscript{1118} whose first five books probably were composed in the fourth century BCE.\textsuperscript{1119} The difficulty lies in interpretation. Though individual illustrations of strange creatures have survived from the time of Marquis Yi of Zeng\textsuperscript{1120} (d. 433 BCE), and a few were even accompanied by text in colophons in the Wu Liang Shrine (ca. 151 CE)\textsuperscript{1121}, signed sets of illustrations accompanying Shan Hai Jing have only survived from the publishing flux of the sixteenth century. The ancient text consists of terse entries of geographical description, description of the creature in terms of the body parts of other creatures, the sound it makes, and the type of human ailment it can be used to cure. For example:

Shu-fish (Shiyu). The Peng River emanates from Belt Mountain and flows west into Hidden-Lake River. In it dwell many Shu-Fish. The Shu-fish's form resembles a chicken but with red feathers, three tails, six feet, and four heads. It makes a sound like a magpie. Eating it will cure melancholy.\textsuperscript{1122}

The illustrators certainly took this text literally, but the fanciful creatures drawn in the sixth century that have come to light do not always conform to the Shan Hai Jing textual descriptions of illustrations, as we shall see. Many of the creatures described and

\textsuperscript{1118} It and similar texts were very popular in the early years of the Common Era. Some translated editions with both text and figures are: Anne Birrell, 1999, The Classic of Mountains and Seas; John Wm. Schiffeler, 1978, The Legendary Creatures of the Shan Hai Ching; and Richard E. Strassberg, 2002, A Chinese Bestiary: Strange Creatures from the Shan Hai Jing, Guideways through Mountains and Seas. Some of the ancients had difficulty with the Shan Hai Jing too: Sima Qian noted that he would not even attempt to explain the numerous strange plants mentioned in the Shan Hai Jing and Ban Gu relegated it to a section describing miscellaneous strange texts. (Alison Marshall, 2000, p. 91, fn. 7). Tao Qian's poem "On Reading the Seas and Mountains Classic" (Victor H. Mair, ed., 1994, The Columbia Anthology of Traditional Chinese Literature, New York: Columbia University Press) delights us more than does its subject and leaves us surprised at the poet's pleasure.

\textsuperscript{1119} Bruce Brooks, personal communication. Brooks says the other books are later.


\textsuperscript{1121} Ibid. pp. 63-4.

\textsuperscript{1122} Ibid. p. 119, no. 91. Hao Yixing (1757-1829) reported that the Cantonese considered it a delicacy! Here is an example of my contention that the resemblances of body parts to other, unrelated animals' body parts were merely used as a descriptive guide, (such as what we might use when describing natural, but hitherto unfamiliar, animals), and were not intended to be taken literally.
illustrated in *Shan Hai Jing* have unnatural numbers of members, such as three legs or no head. Although the Guyuan creatures are composites, none has an unusual number of limbs or heads. In fact, modern interpreters of creatures depicted in recent archaeological discoveries identify only those few with which there are obvious correlations in texts and do not attempt to name all the creatures whose artistic images they have found at their sites. Since a number of freeform variations of each creature are found on the Guyuan Sarcophagus, it is my contention that many of the creatures are whimsical variations from the brush of the artist and do not strictly conform to the specifications of the composite animals described in my text. Indeed, the same might be said of other creatures displayed in the same period, as we shall see.

A classification of the Guyuan creatures is as follows:

A. **Long-tailed Running Rabbits or Deer** (fig. 662)

All these creatures, except the deer in the hunt scene, have soft, downward pointed paws like those of a rabbit; overall these animals look like rabbits. They comprise two series: “b” and “g”. The ears, though rather blunt, of the “b” series, could be rabbits’ ears. “b3” moved to the single horn page, E., when it was discovered that it may have a single horn. The faces may be too pointed to be those of a rabbit; they may be those of a deer, suggested by Bush as one type of head of a human-headed bird,\(^1\) or a rodent as suggested by Juliano in a similar context.\(^2\) Either of these may be generic heads that were applied whenever a mammalian herbivore (or omnivore) was required.

The most notable aberration of the “b” series is the long, thick pointed tail.

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\(^1\) Susan Bush 1975, p. 24 and fn. 25.
\(^2\) Juliano 1980, p. 45.
“g”’s tail is also thick and pointed but a little shorter. It could be a deer’s tail. Its head is similar to the rabbit’s, too pointed to belong, in this case, to a ruminant. It is chiefly distinguished from “b” by its forward-directed, pointed ears. They could possibly belong to a deer, but the whole body and legs belong to a rabbit.

Emissions: comma: b, b5, g1, g2. honeysuckle: b3.

B. Normal Birds (fig. 663)

These birds all have thick, backward-pointing crests, except for “fl” which has a single line, “s” which has none and “o” which has two or three decorative mounds piled up on its head. “f2”, “d1”, “j1” and “j2” are typical of birds of this period in having three-plumed tails.1125 “fl”, “f3”, “d2”, “d3” and “o” appear to have only two, but the omission of the third plume may be due to the sketchy nature of the drawings. “s” in accord with its grumpy nature, has only one plume. “s” is the only bird with long wings. The “f” series is flying although “f3”’s activity is questionable.

All the other birds are on the ground. The “d” series are crouched over in an aggressive attitude, whereas the “j” series and “o” have perked up in a pleasant frame of mind.

A number of the birds in Shan Hai Jing are identified as pheasants1126 and some of the above may be among them. Others are identified by their several colors.1127 The Guyuan creatures (including humans) all tend to be light yellow inside a black outline, or to allow the red lacquer to show through. The undersurfaces are usually defined by white

1125 E.g. Yungang, Cave 6 (fig. 664). Atypically this specimen appears to have three legs!
1126 E.g. the poisonfeather bird (Birrell 1999, p. 94).
1127 E.g. the wagtail which is as scarlet as cinnabar fire with a green beak (Ibid. p. 78) and the crouch-chirrup whose head is white, body is green and feet are yellow (p. 45).
lines dotted with black spots, denoting shadows, in a technique used from the Han
Period through the Period of Division (fig. 7).

Juliano deals with the two names associated with phoenixes: *zhuqiu* and
*fenghuang*. As both birds look exactly alike and their symbolic functions do not
conflict, she uses the generic term, red bird (of the South). The Guyuan birds are not
specifically red, so I shall use the word phoenix as a generic term without reference to the
Western connotation of its ascension from ashes.


C. Birds with Animal Heads and Ears (fig. 666)

These are all standing birds with normal bird bodies, however, all the “c” series
and “n” have rat or deer faces with tall upright ears, some pointed, some rounded. “l” has
a particularly nasty appearance with an upturned snout and exposed teeth and a long
rather triangular ear. These features rise on a curved neck, perhaps inspired by dragons.

So far, no images of animal-headed birds from the Han period seem to be known.
The earliest image is on a molded tile from an Eastern Jin tomb in Zhenjiang, Jiangsu
dated 398 CE (fig. 667). Juliano associates it with achieving immortality by
metamorphosing the human body into a bird. Bush sees it as the “Wind Earl”, or
*feilian*, a ‘dragon sparrow’ with a bird’s body and a deer’s head. The bird behind the
Weaving Maid in the Tōkhūng-ri Tomb, 408 CE, may be an animal-headed bird or

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1129 Juliano 1980, fig. 104, middle left.
1130 Ibid., p. 45, fn. 207.
1131 Bush 1975, p. 24, fn. 25. Both Juliano and Bush cite Karlgren’s 1959 “Legends and cults” among
others.
1132 Bush 1974, p. 50.
merely a poorly drawn reproduction.\textsuperscript{1133} Contemporary with the Guyuan Tomb, the Dengxian Tomb in southern Henan which has mainly southern affiliation shows a tile of such a creature (fig. 668).\textsuperscript{1134} Thence at least three late Northern Wei tombs in the Luoyang area included them on their epitaph tablets: that of Lady Yuan, 522 CE,\textsuperscript{1135} that of Prince Zhenjing, 524 CE,\textsuperscript{1136} and that of Guo Jing, 528 CE (fig. 669).\textsuperscript{1137}

D. Single Horned Animals (fig. 670)

This very varied group was formed only because the \textit{qilin} (single-horned horse) was considered so important. It is supposed that the horns depicted here are single horns. None of these animals has hooves. “b2” is a typical running rabbit with long tail and was removed from that group (A.) because of its horn. Its soft paws turn down. All the other animals have feline bodies and flat, forward-projecting feet. “a” has a beak and a thick swept-back triangular ear like “p”, one of the pigs in the hunting scene. “h” is a typical feline but it has protruding eyes like spectacles. It has a lolling tongue. “k”’s head is very small on a long curving neck. Perhaps it is a dragon. Its long, thick triangular ear is like “l”’s and “p”’s. “t” has an unpleasant upturned snout like “l” and it has looked back to bear its teeth. It is noteworthy that the horns of “h”, “t” and “b2” have two bumps at the base, suggestive of all the horns on the animal masks in the \textit{“Pushou Sets”}, Chapter 7. In the latter case, all the horns have three basal bumps.

Emissions: curl: a and k. h has a lolling tongue.

\textsuperscript{1133} Chosen Minshu Shugi Jinmin Kyowa Koku Shakai Kagudu-in and Chosen Gaho-Sha, eds, 1986, fig. 12. The Tokhungri heavens are filled with many strange creatures among the constellations.
\textsuperscript{1134} Juliano 1980, fig. 28.
\textsuperscript{1135} In the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, Bush 1975, fig. 15.
\textsuperscript{1136} In the Minneapolis Institute of Arts, Bush 1975, fig. 16.
\textsuperscript{1137} Rubbing, Juliano, 1980, fig. 116 bottom.
In 1980, Juliano described the *qilin*, similar to a unicorn, as either horse-like\textsuperscript{1138} or having the body of a deer, the bushy tail of an ox, streamers of hair at the shoulders and a single horn (fig. 671).\textsuperscript{1139} Her fig. 27 in that publication has those characteristics and the soft cat-like paws of the Guyuan candidates, except that the Dengxian *qilin* has distinct claws (fig. 672). Like most members of the Guyuan D series, the Dengxian *qilin*’s horn stretches back in a long straight line that ends in a small upward curl. The Guyuan “h”, “t” and “b2”, have bumps at the base as has the Dengxian *qilin*. The latter, however, has three bumps at its base like the horns on the animal mask in the *pushou* (see above).

E. Felines (fig. 673)

All these animals, except “m3” which is in the hunt scene, have faint long slender wings that were not reproduced in the modern copy. All the “i” series are normal felines. “i3”, “q1”, and “q2” are from the vine scroll band that, because of its length, should be placed at the head of the coffin (see fig. 660). “q1”, top center, and “q2”, right side, have the rat or deer heads (with slightly shorter snouts) that we have come to expect. Their ears are rounded and shorter than those of the “b” series. “e” with its very long neck is certainly becoming a dragon. This is a period when feline and dragon images become conflated. “r” appears to be a feline with a human face facing us and wearing a broad-brimmed hat. The “m” series presumably has become real dragons. Their anterior bodies are feline and fierce, but their posterior bodies, legs and tails, have curled up giving the general appearance of octopi. The loop at the top of these extensions describes a Mexican hat.

\textsuperscript{1138} Like fig. 26 in Juliano 1980.
Corroborating evidence for the identification of the “m” series as feline dragons is on two of the molded tiles from Zhenjiang (fig. 8b, top left and bottom right) where the creatures are circles. Even more specific is on a tile from Dengxian where the descending dragon’s tail forms a loop which, like those of the Guyuan “m” series, describes a Mexican hat (fig. 674).\footnote{1140}

F. (fig. 675)

Consists of various borders and tianhe and the creatures within them. The top register shows the birds above the roofs protecting Dong Wang Fu and Xi Wang Mu. Dong Wang Fu is on the left and the circle (sun) above him illustrates the three-legged bird commonly associated with him since the Han Period. Xi Wang Mu’s circle (moon) has been erased. Above each roof stands a front-facing bird which might be called the phoenix or fenghuang.\footnote{1141} Richard Rudolph recorded these in Han-period Sichuan (fig. 676).\footnote{1142} At that time they were in profile, but by the fifth century, they turned to face forward. As such they are above roofs in many Yungang caves such as Caves 5 and 6. They maintained the three-plumed tails of the Sichuan phoenix in profile, but were forced to show the three plumes on each side, in fact possessing six plumes. Such is the case with the phoenixes above Dong Wang Fu and Xi Wang Mu. At each end is a parrot looking back.

The middle two registers show the hunting scene whose animals have been discussed. The bottom register reproduces part of tianhe, the heavenly river that is the
Milky Way along which (probably) the deceased journeys to the afterlife. Quite appropriately it is depicted with water creatures, a crane, fish, ducks and a lotus pod. On the right side of F. are small birds that inhabit the vine scroll that borders the sides of the lid of the coffin.

TWO BIRDS

Parrots were popularly depicted in this period perhaps because of their picturesque quality. On the Guyuan Sarcophagus, one is shown in the hunt scene, one on the border around the coffin lid, and possibly the two birds at the sides of Dong Wang Fu’s and Xi Wang Mu’s roofs are parrots also. Edward Schafer speaks of parakeets which indigenously inhabited the Shaanxi-Gansu border. Their popularity (and extinction) was taken over by the newly imported dazzling parrots from continental Southeast Asia and Indonesia beginning with the third century. One is recorded on bone from first-century Begram (fig. 677). Surprisingly they never achieved the mythic importance of, for example, the creatures of the Four Directions. Perhaps they had not entered the bestiary early enough. Parrots do, however, enter the first five (early) books of the Shan Hai Jing in translation.

Another bird that appears on the coffin, in the form of feathers, is the peacock. The feathers in the depicted pierced bronze frames surrounding the two framed individuals on the sides of the coffin, in form and colors are clearly those of a peacock. Schafer recounts several instances of the bird known only by report (and perhaps

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1144 Nehru, 2004, fig. 9.
1145 e.g. a bird that “looks like an owl but it has green feathers and a red beak; it has a human tongue and can talk. Its name is the parrot”. (Book Two. Birrell 1999, p. 17).
individual feathers) from the Han Period onward.\textsuperscript{1147} By the third century, however, actual whole specimens were brought from Champa along with incenses, pearls, ivory and parrots (see above). As South China was taken over, peacocks were found on Chinese territory and had become the rage by the ninth century in the Tang Period. Their fascination is attested by the display of feathers on the late fifth century Guyuan coffin.

Possibly because of the picturesque nature of its tail, peacock representations may have been substituted for phoenix representations. An early depiction comes from a Chu tomb at Zhangjiadashan in Changsha, Hunan (fig. 678).\textsuperscript{1148} Even earlier, a Western Zhou gui shows the telltale plumes elaborating the plumed birds frequently portrayed in the period (fig.649).\textsuperscript{1149} Lack of familiarity with actual specimens is shown by the fact that the diagnostic plumes on this vessel rise from the birds’ heads as well as their tails. Rawson has drawn attention to the interest in these birds in the Han Period. Two have been found on a brick at Maoling, tomb of the Emperor Wudi (d. 87 BCE) (fig. 680),\textsuperscript{1150} and the large, separate bird in the tomb of Bu Qianqiu is a peacock. Indeed, birds with large droplets at the ends of their plumes were often depicted in the Han (fig. 681),\textsuperscript{1151} in fact seem to have been \textit{de rigeur} in Han painted tombs, and even the Sichuan phoenix has them (fig. 676). The most spectacular image is of a peacock displaying and it is in the lowest register of a bronze with silver and gold chariot ornament (ca. 90 BCE) from Sanpan Shan in Dingxian, Hebei (fig. 682).\textsuperscript{1152} The bird and its feathers lived on in imagination: the occupant and his wife are backed by a peacock screen in the Datong

\textsuperscript{1147} Ibid. p. 96.
\textsuperscript{1148} Wang Fanzhou 1996, p. 23.
\textsuperscript{1149} Karlgren 1952, No. 36, pl. 53.
\textsuperscript{1150} Rawson 1986, p. 99 and p. 100, fig. 80.
\textsuperscript{1151} Powers 1991, p. 51, birds on the roofs in both fig. 31 and fig. 32.
\textsuperscript{1152} Wu Hung 1989, fig. 35.
Zhijiabao Northern Wei tomb and peacock feathers border a tianjin in the ceiling of Dunhuang Cave 257.

DISCUSSION

The previous close look at the Guyuan animals was presented in order to see if they conformed to any of the several groupings of creatures found in different contexts in earlier China. There are two major reasons why they do not appear to fall into any of those groupings: all but one of these groupings include animals which are not found on the Guyuan coffin, such as oxen, sheep or the Dark Warrior (tortoise and serpent). Even those Guyuan animals which might be part of one of the above groupings are not grouped together on the Guyuan coffin.

Thus it seems most likely that the Guyuan animals fall into the general category of creatures which “protect and bless the deceased in the world of darkness”. They fall into two groups: first: “auspicious images” which include various animals and birds and “divine dancers”; and second: “protective images”, “mainly horned underground spirits who are shooting arrows, holding spears, fighting with an ox, capturing birds, and devouring snakes.” The fifth century CE Guyuan creatures do not exactly coincide with the above specific creatures depicted on the second century BCE Lady Dai’s second (from the outside) coffin, (figs. 683, 684), which look like feathered immortals (which do not appear on the Guyuan coffin), but those general categories seem the most suitable.

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1153 Wang Yintian and Liu, 2001, fig. 6.
1155 Wu Hung 1992, p. 128.
1156 Ibid, pp. 129 and 128.
1157 Ibid, figs. 7, 8 and 9.
The Guyuan animals and birds were likely freely drawn imaginary creatures, as probably were various other creatures portrayed in this period, and they were in general intended to be auspicious images. By the late fifth century CE, they had sprouted wings, and anticipated the great protective qilin and bixie that were just beginning to appear in the Southern Dynasties (figs. 688, 689). The little curls that float around the Guyuan creatures within their space cells probably represent clouds, thought by Rawson to be auspicious. One of the Mawangdui “auspicious images” has horns (actually antlers), pointing forward and backward (fig. 689, [fig. 9]); some of the Guyuan animals have plumage which may be interpreted as horns (see fig. 670, “D single horn”). Rawson considers that horns imply the capacity to drive away demons. The fifth century Guyuan animals are not the ones specified by Wu Hung, and his “divine dancers” were those dealt with in sitting, squatting, dancing postures in my Occupant and Deities chapter, Chapter 6. The human-headed birds, not having been consistently identified in the literature, will also be classed as “auspicious images” and will be the subject of Chapter 9: Fauna No. 2.

As for the “protective images” which Wu Hung considers to have been mainly horned underground spirits, on the Guyuan Sarcohagus they will have lost their horns and taken up their weapons as human hunters in my Hunted chapter (Chapter 10). The evil influences they will be defeating will be portrayed as animals. In the Han Dynasty,

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1158 Influenced by nomad motifs, wings began to appear on otherwise realistic Chinese animals in the Eastern Zhou period (late 6th-5th c BCE) (figs. 685, 686: Fong, ed., 1980). They continued on some objects such as this mythical animal from the tomb of the Zhongshan king (d. 308 BCE) (fig. 687: Sullivan 1999, fig. 4.2).
1159 Paludan 2006, pp. 67, 72.
1160 Rawson 2000, p. 159.
1161 Ibid., p. 159.
1162 Wu Hung 1992, p. 129.
1163 Ibid., p. 128.
although stone reliefs of hunting scenes were sometimes placed on lintels, painted hunting scenes were usually at the bottoms of murals. On the Guyuan Sarcophagus the hunting scene is placed at the bottom of the sides.

Many of the creatures on the Guyuan Sarcophagus have emissions proceeding from their mouths. These range from simple curls like those representing clouds within their space cells to what appear to be very fat tongues. Two long-tailed running rabbits even spout honeysuckles. In that, they suggest the "strange beast" facing the Bactrian camel below the Buddha on a Shanghai Museum stele (fig. 690). Lolling tongues made a most spectacular debut in the Warring States cultural area of Chu, in this case in the man-sized guardian from a tomb at Xinyang (fig. 691). The pose was quite common in the area as in the charming but rude Spring and Autumn dragon from Xujialing who seems to have fathered an equally rude brood (fig. 692). No explanation for its lolling tongue has been suggested; it may have to do with its task of eating snakes. Michael Loewe has found protruding tongues in Egypt, Etruria and India presumably without the associated Chu traits of antlers and snakes. Susan Bush has identified an anthropomorph, among others on Lady Yuan's tablet, 522 CE, as Changshe or Long Tongue, mentioned in Shan Hai Jing. Lolling tongues received only modest representation in Han tombs where male bixie had beards, but female bixie

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1164 Paludan 2006, fig. 128.
1165 Cook and Major 1999, fig. 3.15. Courtney Chaffin's 2007 dissertation, "Strange creatures of Chu: Antlered tomb sculptures", deals with antlered zoomorphs but does not discuss lolling tongues. She suggests much inspiration for the antlered images comes from the nomads and that topic is developed in a special edition of Source: Notes in the History of Art, vol. 10 (1991.4).
1167 Loewe, 1994, p. 46 and in fn. 14 cites Salmony, 1954. For a Greek gorgon, see fig. 754 in my Chapter 9: Fauna No. 2: Human-headed Birds. Lolling tongues are a part of wrathful Indian goddesses, e.g. Kāli. Medusa's tongue also lolls.
1168 Bush 1974, p. 32.
had lolling tongues until the gigantic bixie of the Southern Dynasties again stuck out their tongues. In the case of the Guyuan Sarcophagus, it seems most likely that the oral emissions were intended to suggest qi, "life energy inherent in the cosmos". The emitted qi and the similarly painted clouds could both be considered illustrations of the Primal Pneuma, the generative stuff of nature.

There are no obvious connections between the Guyuan animals and those in the artwork in the areas outside China. The Han bixie, of course, was an import from Persia, and some of the animals in the Chinese sets discussed below, may have derived from the animal park of the Han emperors, the repository of the many tribute animals brought to China by foreign delegations. By and large, however, the animals shown in Han and Northern Wei art could have been native animals or composites of native Chinese animals.

The only possible exception was the animals of northwestern nomad art. In the Dingjiazha (Jiuquan) Tomb No. 5, on the north and south sides of the main chamber, one sees a heavenly horse and a deer (in the heavens). Both are often associated with the afterlife. No hoofs are drawn on the Guyuan animals, and certainly the horse is not represented. Considering the depiction of what is clearly intended to be a deer in the Guyuan hunting scene, it is possible that the long-tailed running rabbits on the lid and sides, which somewhat resemble the hunted deer, are very poorly drawn deer. Of all the animals on the Guyuan coffin, they are most similar to animals portrayed by the nomads

\[1169\] Wu Hung 1992, p. 128.
\[1170\] Described in part by Edward Schafer, 1977, p. 43. Rawson suggests that swirling clouds may be identified as qi on the Dingjiazha (Jiuquan) Tomb No. 5. (2000, p. 153)
\[1171\] Deer were considered very auspicious in Han China, e.g. fig. 27b from Dahuting Tomb No. 1. (Henansheng Wenwu Yanjiusuo, 1993, fig. 18).
to the northwest of China. Those animals usually consist of ruminants alone or ruminants attacked by felines, wolves, griffons or raptors. Nomadic influence is thought to be the source of the wings shown on the Eastern Zhou dou (fig. 685) and hu (fig. 686). This influence may also have ushered in the depiction of distinct realistic animals.\footnote{People are also shown on the hu but this new style cannot be accounted for.}

Suggestions of nomadic artistic influence, however, apply mostly to a period in China before the Han, and are beyond the purview of this thesis. The only possible direct connection between the animals of the Guyuan Sarcophagus and nomad art is the deer, and, apart from the deer in the hunting scene, it is very unlikely that any of the animals shown otherwise in the matrices of the lid and sides of the coffin is a deer.

Herewith follow several Chinese sets which include animals. One Han set which might include the Guyuan animals is the \textit{si ling}.\footnote{Emma Bunker states that “There is nothing in the earlier art of the Far Eastern steppes which could have inspired such realism.” (1981, p. 88). She concedes, however, the distinctly foreign flavor of the fifth-century dou (my fig. 685) and suggests that such realism may come from the felt and leather cutouts in the frozen kurgans of the Altai. We now believe Pazyryk to be of the third century BCE, but Bunker does continue with further discussion. It might be noted that both vessels depict scenes of hunting (see above).} It consists of a dragon, tiger, phoenix and deer. Deer in this context are ambiguous. The \textit{tian lu} is the heavenly deer, and the \textit{qilin}, the unicorn, is a happy portent which augurs good government. They may both have single horns and may be conflated. The Guyuan Sarcophagus possibly does have these four animals scattered with others throughout the lid, but D., the single-horned animals, are so varied, with none resembling a deer, that \textit{si ling} is not an obvious set into which the Guyuan animals are included.
As will be seen, the other possible sets include animals which are not shown on the Guyuan coffin and even those animals that could fit in, do not appear on the coffin together as a group.

An old system of progressive labelling from the Shang-Yin period\textsuperscript{1174} is the system of ten Heavenly Stems and twelve Earthly Branches. Much later, the Heavenly Stems came to be assigned faunal symbols: rat, ox, tiger, hare, dragon, snake, horse, sheep, monkey, cock, dog and boar.\textsuperscript{1175} It is interesting that some of these animals appear on a mold for a mirror at the Eastern Zhou foundry at Houma (fig. 694).\textsuperscript{1176} As with the following sets, only some of these duodenary animals are represented on the Guyuan Sarcophagus.

Xiwangmu (Queen Mother of the West) and Dongwangfu (King Father of the East) each has a celestial symbol: the toad or Weaving Maid in the moon and the three-legged raven in the sun. On the Guyuan coffin, Dongwangfu’s raven in the sun is clearly visible, but Xiwangmu’s symbol is indistinct. Dongwangfu has no other associated creatures because of his late (second century CE) invention,\textsuperscript{1177} but Xiwangmu, being older, has several: a toad, a hare with mortar and pestle, a nine-tailed fox and devotees as well as her tiger and dragon throne.\textsuperscript{1178} Clearly these diagnostic attributes do not appear on the Guyuan coffin.

The twelve zodiac animals did not appear in Chinese tombs until just after the Northern Wei Period. They often were included as individual figurines. Mary Fong

\textsuperscript{1174} Michael Loewe 1994, p. 53.
\textsuperscript{1175} Ibid., p. 54.
\textsuperscript{1176} Shanxisheng Kaogu Yanjiusuo 1996, p. 363, No. 831.
\textsuperscript{1177} Wu Hung 1989, p. 108. On the Wu Liang gable, however, he is accompanied by a dragon and a tiger. (p. 111).
\textsuperscript{1178} Jean James 1995, p. 20.
describes the base of a Sui epitaph tablet which shows them. She also mentions that the Northern Qi tomb of Luo Rui (570 CE) displays a rat, cow, tiger and rabbit, which she considers some of the zodiac animals, on its ceiling, but more recently Lillian Tseng interprets them as representing the Twelve Branches. Obviously, the truncated remains of pictures of animals can lead to more than one interpretation.

Judy Ho relates that according to the Daoist Ge Hong (282-363 CE), the calendrical animals were believed to transform themselves into humans and exercise magic on days under their branch signs. Rough suggestions of rats, tigers, hare and dragons found themselves onto the Guyuan coffin, the last three in the Spring Equinox, but no significant grouping can be found on the coffin.

Considering that the tianhe appears on the lid of the coffin, one might assume that the surrounding animals are astrological symbols. In fact, there is that possibility. David Pankenier describes a silk brocade armguard excavated from a Han tomb in the oasis of Niya, Xinjiang (fig. 695). The characters “wu xing chu dongfang li Zhongguo”,

1179 Fong 1991, p. 158. The cover retains the old theme of the four directional animals (see below).
1180 Ibid., p. 158, fn. 72.
1181 Tseng 2003, p. 396 and fn. 83.
1182 Ho 1987, p. 66.
1183 Zhao Feng and Yu Zhiyong, 2000, p. 63, fig. 24f.
1184 A further 2000 publication by David W. Pankenier (2000a) suggests that the brocade was a late Eastern Han product been made in Shu and that had been sent as a gift from a ruler in north central China (p. 2, fn. 3). Later it and other brocades were cut into artifacts locally in Niya. It was excavated from the Niya tomb of a tall Europoid (probably Tocharian) Bowman (p. 15). Nevertheless, this fabric and other documents written in Chinese certainly confirm Chinese significant presence in Niya. “The Niya documents, numbering no more than twenty, are linked to the practice of gift-exchange within the ruler’s immediate family, probably at the time of Chinese New Year;” (Hansen 2001, p. 296). She is probably refering to the exquisitely written Chinese labels that accompanied gifts of jewels between members of the local royal family where the king’s wife was a princess from Charchan whose name appeared in the Former Han Annals. (Stein, 1921, Serindia: Detailed Report of Explorations in Central Asia and Westernmost China, Oxford: Clarendon Press, pp. 218-220) That some houses of Niya belonged to a governing group is indicated by the large number of Kharosti and Chinese documents found in them, particularly in D V. There were official documents concerning the arrest of fugitives and lists of laborers and accounts that may have been concerned with taxation. (Stein, 1907, Ancient Khotan, pp. 310-382. Serindia, pp. 218-220) W. Samolin gives dates for two Chinese documents as 269 and 324 CE (“Ethnographic aspects of the
("When the Five Planets appear in the east it is beneficial for China") are woven into the fabric along with images of the sun and moon, tiger, dragon, crane, peacock and unicorn. Pankenier goes on to document the immense importance of the rare gathering of the five visible planets to the Han emperor and public alike. Actually all those symbols do appear on the Guyuan Sarcophagus: the sun and moon over Dongwangfu and Xiwangmu, "i" series, "m" series, crane in tianhe, peacock feathers around portrait windows on the coffin sides and possibly any of D. However, as these images do not appear together, or even in the same settings (over deities, in the vine scroll, in the tianhe and as a decorative border), it is unlikely that the Guyuan Sarcophagus displays the Han astrological symbols deliberately as such. In any case, the appearance of the same animal in more than one setting, e.g. "m" in both the formal vine scroll of the lid and the more naturalistic hunt scene, militates against the deliberate presentation of the Five Planets.

Of great importance are the twenty-eight lunar lodges, constellations centered on Polaris, through which the moon was believed to pass. Their earliest known visual archaeology of the Tarim Basin". (Central Asiatic Journal, 4 (1958/59), pp. 45-69, p. 53) The Chinese documents were also studied by Henri Maspero and Edouard Chavannes (Pankenier 2000a, p.2, fn. 2). There are also Chinese documents on wood. #326, dated 269 CE mentions Dunhuang. (Ancient Khotan, p. 537) Some mention official Chinese posts in Shanshan, Kucha and Karashahr (Ancient Khotan, p. 370) and contain edicts from the Kings of Yutian and of Shanshan. Some contain orders from the governor, prefect, and deputy to prefects and subprefects concerning judicial and police functions. Hansen's and Atwood's (Christopher Atwood, 1991, "Life in third-fourth century Cadh'ota: A survey of information gathered from the Prakrit documents found north of Minfeng (Niya)", Central Asiatic Journal 35, 3-4, pp. 161-199) emphasis on the Kharosthi documents has given the Chinese presence in Niya short shrift.

Pankenier 2000, p. 185. It is possible that some of Guyuan D., single horned creatures, could be considered unicorns, although it is very unlikely since they have no hoofs.

Pankenier does not make it clear whether one of the Five Planets was always a peacock, but a further remark suggests that it was usually a phoenix. The Niya representation of the peacock with its comb is remarkably accurate; possibly such an image had reached Niya from South Asia along with Indian titles for rulers. (Indian titles: Stein 1907, p. 326).

It is interesting that the Niya unicorns have wings as have the Guyuan unicorns, but the Niya felines do not whereas the Guyuan felines do. Both the Niya unicorns and the Guyuan unicorns, except "b2", have flat feline feet instead of hooves (to be also noted in connection with Dengxian).
documentation is on a lacquer clothing chest excavated from the Warring States tomb of Zeng Hou Yi, (d. 433 BCE) (fig. 696).1188 There the characters for the names of the constellations are joined in a circle. The names are listed in fig. 697.1189 Drawings of the heavens began to appear, appropriately, on the ceilings of Han tombs (figs. 698, 699).1190 Sometimes the starry members of a constellation were joined by lines. In the tomb of Jiaotong University in Xi’an, they are not only joined by lines, they are filled in with drawings of the people and animals they are supposed to represent (fig. 700).1191 They are not the animals of the Guyuan coffin. Contemporary, fifth and sixth century depictions of the Milky Way were discussed in my Tianhe chapter (Chapter 3) above.

Prominent in the picture of the twenty-eight lunar lodges on the Zeng Hou Yi clothing box (fig. 696), are a feline and a dragon. Little interprets these as symbols of yin and yang, the female and male principles which pervaded everything in Han dualism.1192 A further depiction can be found on a sixth century Northern Wei stone sarcophagus (fig. 701).1193 This paired tiger-dragon symbolism stretched back to such a shell sculpture flanking a corpse at Puyang, Henan in the Neolithic period (c. 3000 BCE).1194 It was only at the beginning of the Song dynasty that the circular taiji diagram representing yin and yang began to appear.1195

However, the feline and dragon may not always specifically refer to yin and yang, they may be a truncated form of the four directional animals, or just auspicious

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1190 Tseng, 2003, figs. 6 and 8.
1191 Ibid, fig. 5.
1192 Little 2000, p. 128.
1193 Ibid., No. 10.
1194 Ibid., p. 130.
1195 Ibid., p. 131.
companions *en route* to the afterlife. The directional animals, the Green Dragon of the East, the Vermillion Bird of the South, the White Tiger of the West and the Dark Warrior of the North, became ubiquitous in the Han Dynasty (fig. 702). The Dark Warrior, however, sometimes failed to appear, and that absence is the situation on the Guyuan sarcophagus. There are numerous birds and felines, and I interpret the animals that are curled around as dragons, but there is no sign of any tortoise. Neither are these animals placed together in a meaningful group or in positions that might indicate directions; they all face down on the sides or toward the foot of the lid.

It is very difficult to identify auspicious animal omens due to the fact that none of the numerous Han *ruitu* ("annotated good-omen illustrations") indices still exists. Following the example of Emperor Wudi, the Han Period had been particularly alert for good omens (*xiangrui*). Wudi was concerned with his own immortality and also with affirmations of his legitimacy following his usurpation. The bronze chariot ornament (fig. 682) illustrates some of these, in fact, one hundred and twenty-five human and animal figures.

It seems to me that an omen, in order to be recognizable as such, has to have an unusual appearance, or to appear suddenly in a significant way. It cannot have a commonplace appearance or frequency. The omens listed by Wu Hung as appearing on the walls of the Wu Liang Ci fit this definition. They, like most of the creatures in *Shan Hai Jing*, are freaks of nature. In the Han period at least their presence comments

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1197 *Wu Hung 1989*, pp. 77 and 80.
1199 *Wu Hung 1989*, p. 77.
on the behavior of the ruler (good or bad) and in that way prognosticates the situation proceeding from his tendancy. Wu Hung interprets them as communications from Heaven (report cards) on the ruler’s conduct, due to the connection between ruler and Heaven which was the Mandate of Heaven. In the Han period, even the sighting of a phoenix or dragon, unicorn or heavenly deer was taken as a sign of dynastic prosperity.

Needless to say, negative prognostications or inauspicious creatures were unlikely to find their way into a tomb. Wu Hung counts fifty-two prognostications in Shan Hai Jing, and of these, forty-seven are negative and all the evil ones are found in the first five (earliest) books.

Auspicious creatures (as opposed to omens), in my definition, are benign creatures, sometimes quite natural, which encourage a favorable outcome. Any connection with the Mandate of Heaven is remote. Such indeed are the animals depicted on the walls of Wangdu Tomb No. 1 in Hebei. It belonged to a Duke of Fouyang and is dated by Agnes Hsu to 182 CE. The wall murals consist of portraits of officials below which are painted several auspicious animals. Persons and animals are identified by brief inscriptions. Figure 703, top, displays a river deer or roebuck (or roe deer), further identified by Fontein and Wu as having given birth to two hundred offspring, suggesting that it was a symbol of fertility. Figure 703, middle, shows a winged ram and a wine jar. The character for ram (yang) resembling the character for auspicious (xiang), images of rams found their way into many Han tombs. Fontein and Wu refer to

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1201 Ibid., pp. 85-6.
1203 Bush 1974, p. 43.
1204 Hsu 2004.
1205 Fontein and Tung, 1976, p. 28, p. 29, fig. 7.
a passage in *Shi Ji* in which sheep and wine had been given to a Han emperor as a congratulatory gesture, an incident commemorated by the use of wine jars in the shape of winged rams in the Southern Dynasties.\(^{1206}\) A white hare, a symbol of immortality, and two birds are shown in figure 703, near the bottom. The Mandarin duck on the left came to be associated with conjugal fidelity.\(^{1207}\) The bottom register of figure 704 shows four avian creatures: two ducks, a hen and a rooster.\(^{1208}\)

It is clear that these creatures were chosen for their favorable historical or mythical associations. There seemed to be a jump in assigning them auspiciousness. Wu Hung interprets all the images on the Mawangdui banner as representing the life (or death) hereafter, not the above-ground life that had been led by the occupant.\(^{1209}\) The portrayed Wangdu officials were committed to serving the occupant posthumously. The purpose of the several animals below them is not clear: were they merely intended to provide a pleasant atmosphere within the tomb, were they intended to help protect the tomb and its occupant from the Lord of the Underworld and other menacing underworld creatures, or were they intended to try to enforce a successful passage as the *hun* attempted to reach its final destination? Further archaeological evidence may provide some answers.

Several excavated remains from Datong contemporary with the Guyuan Sarcophagus display equally fanciful creatures.\(^{1210}\) The Datong ink stone, excavated from a building (figs. 705, 706 top), on one side shows a fish-pecking bird, a long-eared deer, a dancing man (Ch. 6 figs. 528, 529), a goat and a human-headed bird wearing a

\(^{1206}\) *Ibid.*

\(^{1207}\) *Ibid.*

\(^{1208}\) Hsu 2004, p. 332, fig. 53 and p. 83.

\(^{1209}\) Wu Hung 1992.

\(^{1210}\) Several fanciful creatures were executed in the murals of the Datong tomb at Shaling (435 CE), but their reproductions in the publication, Datongshi Kaogu Yanjiusuo 2006, pp. 16 and 17, are such that they are difficult to identify.
crown. Below it are two fish-pecking birds, in fact there are at least ten fish-pecking birds on this ink stone. Elsewhere there are two tall animals with their necks wound around each other, another long-eared deer (with lion feet?) and an animal-headed bird. Bush also found a fish-pecking bird on Guo Zhiwen’s tomb slab of 103 CE in Beilin in Xi’an so it must have had some storied significance. The other creatures have not been identified. They all seem more deliberate and true to type than the freely drawn creatures on the Guyuan coffin and so may be identified in the future.

The main images on Sima Jinlong’s mortuary bed (474, 484 CE) are of dancing celestial Buddhist deities similar to those on the Guyuan Sarcophagus, but around them are small creatures, many with emissions (figs. 706 bottom, 707, 708). They fit into the categories found on the Guyuan coffin: feline, bird, human-headed bird and single-horned quadruped. This last has long ears and and disturbingly falls into the category of the Guyuan single-horned animal and that of Dengxian (fig. 672) in that it is supposed to be a deer-like animal but it has lion feet. Like two of the horns on the Guyuan single-horned animals, Sima Jinlong’s single-horns have two bumps at the base of the horn. These miniscule creatures may be more freeform and variable than those on the Datong ink stone. 1211

One might say that the creatures on the Datong ink stone are more susceptible to identification than those on Sima Jinlong’s mortuary furniture because it was presumably in frequent use by a living person over a substantial period of time. Because the animals would have been examined frequently, they were more precisely depicted. The inhabitants of one of Sima Jinlong’s lacquer strips (Ch. 2 fig. 54 left) probably were also

1211 Unfortunately, the creatures are difficult to identify. Only Hercules and the pudgy feline are clear.
in the home of the occupant for a period of time, but they may have been so small, presumably as part of a frame on a large object, that they would have escaped close scrutiny. On the other hand, the creatures on mortuary furniture such as the Guyuan Sarcophagus and Sima Jinlong’s mortuary bed and possibly even tomb paintings on walls and ceilings, may have roughly corresponded to known mythical auspicious creatures, but have been sketchily drawn resulting in variations. The same might be said about the Tökhäng-ri (Koguryŏ, 409 CE) painted ceilings. Certainly the north side depicts a heavenly horse, and a human-headed bird amidst vapors and constellations (fig. 709) but what about the two other strange horses, the two-headed octaped and the headless quadruped? Does each depict a specific known auspicious creature, or was the artist exercising his imagination?

Similarly, the creatures on the Guyuan coffin may have corresponded roughly to the *si ling*, dragon, tiger, phoenix and deer (although the deer do look more like rabbits) as on Lady Dai’s third coffin, or may have suggested the directional animals without the Dark Warrior, enough to satisfy the future occupant. If there are indeed rabbits on the Guyuan Sarcophagus, white hares promoted immortality. Human-headed birds (of many associations) and deer-headed birds (Wind Earl or *feilian*) were well represented. A difficulty arises with the *qilin*. A number of animals were equipped with single horns, but none of them looks at all like a hoofed animal. Perhaps just the sight of the horn would have satisfied the occupant. The rest of the space cells may have been filled with variants just as the artist’s brush would take him.

Where should they have been presented? The Guyuan Sarcophagus follows those of Lady Dai in presenting auspicious creatures in the heavens on the coffins. Elsewhere,
(e.g. Tökhúng-ri) they are painted on the ceilings. At Wangdu, the images on the ceiling are so nondescript that Hsu merely describes them as: “painted cloud patterns and images of heavenly creatures” without specifying them individually. The auspicious animals are painted on the sides of the tomb below the officials.

At Tökhúng-ri, there is a line of demarcation between the earthly life that was to be led in the tomb (depicted on the walls) and heaven on the ceiling. They are separated by a row of flaming triangles like the rows of mountains in Cave 249 at Dunhuang and Dingjiazha (Jiuquan) Tomb No. 5 (figs. 197 and 198). On the Guyuan sarcophagus, the lid is intended to be heaven, represented by the tianhe and Dongwangfu and Xiwangmu. But the auspicious animals depicted thereon spill over onto the sides where they are joined by apsarasas in the form of Buddhist deities, just like those on Sima Jinlong’s mortuary bed which presumably lay below his coffin. Above those heavenly beings on the Guyuan coffin, there is a line of demarcation, in this case a lotus petal border. As at Tökhúng-ri, this line is topped by flaming triangles like a row of mountains, but the scenes between these triangles are of finial piety! It could have hardly been suggested that filial piety was heaven; it likely was included to suggest the gentility, the aspiration toward high culture of the Xianbei occupant, and it might have helped in the afterlife. Thus the whole coffin, lid and sides, depicts heaven, including, as we shall see, the hunting scene. The occupant’s portrait on the end of the coffin should represent his life in the tomb, except that below him are two Buddhist deities. On this coffin, Buddhist deities are on a level below Dongwangfu and Xiwangmu on the lid, they are even below

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1212 Hsu 2004, p.91, ceiling fig. 64.
filial piety. Perhaps the occupant hoped that these minor Buddhist deities would help
uplift him beyond life in the tomb into a state above.
CHAPTER NINE

FAUNA NO. 2: HUMAN-HEADED BIRDS

Suddenly, in the early Western Han, on Lady Dai's banner at Mawangdui, human-headed birds appeared. By human-headed birds is meant horizontal (occasionally diagonal) birds with normal bird bodies, wings and normal bird feet, but with human heads on top. They, of course, are shown in profile where their horizontality is prominent. It appears that the image of these birds came from the West.

As a visual motif, they are to be distinguished from transcendentals, (xian), humans who had normal human arms and legs but from which streamed feathers or occasionally wings (fig. 710). 1213 These transcendentals flew, usually vertically, in the air, having achieved that state either before death as Daoist adepts, or after death. 1214 They, too, began to be depicted in the Han, but there will be no further discussion of them in this thesis.

Not that human-bird combinations had been unknown in China before. 1215 They have been attested from the Neolithic on (fig. 711: 3). 1216 They are always shown vertically, standing up, or squatting. They appear as humans sometimes with grotesque

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1213 Juliano 1980, figs. 18 and 20.
1214 Little, 2000, also includes ancient deities as mentioned in Zhuangzi. (pp. 36-7)
1215 My thanks to Doris Dohrenwend for bringing this concept as attached to pre-Han jades to my attention and to the reference to Waterbury.
1216 Rawson 1995, p. 219, fig. 3. This is Sun Zhixin's fig. 4 on p. 34. (1993) Sun attempts to identify Liangzhu jades such as this, and "Jiang-Huai" jades (fig. 712: 5, 6) (Sun p. 35-38) which last he considers a cultural and temporal bridge to the Shang jades (following).
faces and feather headdresses (figs. 712, 713).\textsuperscript{1217} The trend of human-bird combinations continued, apparently seamlessly, into the Shang (figs. 714, 715, 716).\textsuperscript{1218}

It will be observed that human bodies, or at least parts of human bodies, are shown on these pre-Han creatures. This fact is never the case in Han human-headed birds where the only human aspect is the head. What were these pre-Han creatures? Were they an early attempt at portraying transcendentals, or did that concept even exist in the Shang period? There is no evidence that it did. Waterbury calls them “bird deities”.\textsuperscript{1219}

My idea is that they were shamans in the thralls of their familiars. That suggestion is particularly exemplified by the Liangzhu jade in which one creature rides another (fig. 717). Michael Loewe describes shamanistic practice as “assimilation with an animal’s garb or guise; utterances made in the tongues of animals or birds; and dependence on trees for ascent to or descent from another world.”\textsuperscript{1220} We have evidence only of the first criterion but the Shang and Zhou jades provide evidence of it in spades.

In the early periods, were they all shamans or were some of them deities? Some of them have fangs (figs. 712, 718).\textsuperscript{1221} Surely the shamans were not perceived to have fangs. A particularly vicious situation is depicted in fig. 717, 33 a and c\textsuperscript{1222} where human heads are carried away by birds. All of figs 712, 718 and 719 and most, if not all Rawson’s page 200 figures are Neolithic in period. In time, possibly Shang and Zhou

\textsuperscript{1217}\textsuperscript{1217} Fig. 712: Sun Zhixin 1993, p. 37; fig. 713: Waterbury 1952, p. XVIII.
\textsuperscript{1218}\textsuperscript{1218} Fig. 714: Signey Howard Hansford 1968, fig. 8D; fig. 715: Lothar von Falkenhausen 2003, p. 217, fig. 17; fig. 716: Waterbury 1952, pl. XVIIA. Dohrenwend considers the clothed human kneeling figure with a long extension at the back from Fu Hao’s tomb to be a human-bird combination.
\textsuperscript{1219}\textsuperscript{1219} Ch. 5, fig. 61a, also in Waterbury, pl. XVI is of indeterminant date.
\textsuperscript{1220}\textsuperscript{1220} Dohrenwend agrees with this assessment.
\textsuperscript{1221}\textsuperscript{1221} 1994, p. 45. Ping-leung Chan notes that “Altaic and Mongol shamans dressed in birdlike costumes, wings, feathered headdresses, and boots imitating bird legs. ‘The main function of the ornithomorphosis is to facilitate the shaman in his spiritual flight to heaven’.” Quoted in Juliano 1980, p. 45, fn. 206.
\textsuperscript{1222}\textsuperscript{1222} Fig. 718: Rawson 1995, p. 181, fig. 2. Rawson shows many more fanged anthropoids on p. 200. 
\textit{Ibid.}, figs. 33a and c.
shamans dedicated themselves to preventing that horrible eventuality. The shamans’
faces, though stern, are benign.

The situation becomes even more complex as we enter the Western Zhou period. Humans were combined not only with birds but with dragons (figs. 720).\textsuperscript{1223} A few jades even included humans with only dragons (fig. 721).\textsuperscript{1224} Did some shamans add dragons to their clientele or attempt to appease just dragons? Towards the end of the Zhou, the shamanic profession of the figures is less problematical (figs. 722, 723 and 724).\textsuperscript{1225} They seem to be shamans going about their tasks.

There are a couple of pre-Han human-headed birds that may have a horizontal aspect to them. A large-winged bird from Pit. 2 at Sanxingdui (contemporary with Shang) has just a stump for a tail at the back (fig. 725),\textsuperscript{1226} but from fragments discovered in the same pit, the tail has been conjectured as in figure 725, bottom. It has no human body parts except for the head, but neither does it have the natural horizontal bird body of the Han birds. A further example of the Sanxingdui interest in humans morphing into birds is provided by figure 726\textsuperscript{1227} where human tattooed legs develop birds’ feet. Another human-headed bird that has an upright frontal posture but also a posterior tail is portrayed on the third century BCE Chu silk manuscript (fig. 727). Its sub-cervicle body can only

\textsuperscript{1223} Fig. 720: \textit{Ibid.}, left: p. 46, fig. 32; right: p. 242, Nos. 14:7, 14:8.
\textsuperscript{1224} Rawson 1996, p. 119, fig. 55.1. A further example is Rawson 1995, fig. 38.
\textsuperscript{1225} All Waterbury 1952, pls. 19A, 23 and 26 respectively. The frontally facing figure with the snake headdress and upwardly pointing straight wings between two long-necked birds is also found on a \textit{hu} excavated from a Qin tomb with human sacrifices (Chengyangshi Bowuguan 1986, fig. 5: 1). The same frontal human face and leg position (but without avian attributes) are also found on a Han \textit{hu}, excavated in Wulanchabu City, Inner Mongolia (Nei Menggu Zizhiqu Bowuguan and Zhonghua Shiji Tan Yishu Guan, eds., 2004, pp. 114, 115), illustrated in my Occupant and Deities chapter. This \textit{hu} may have been made in China.
\textsuperscript{1226} Bagley, ed., 2001, No. 29. It is interesting that this bird may be contemporary with the large-winged human-headed bird at the bottom of my fig. 716 B whose wings appear to be birds or animals. It is hard to know if the fig. 716 B originally had a tail.
\textsuperscript{1227} \textit{Ibid.}, No. 36.
be identified as that of a bird by its feathery tail. Neither of these birds hints at the Han human-headed birds that were to come.

In the Han, it seems that human-headed birds were very common; many tombs had at least one. They were painted on the Mawangdui banner belonging to Lady Dai in Changsha, Hunan (after 168 BCE), painted on the entrance wall in the Luoyang tomb of Bu Qianqiu (86-49 BCE)(fig. 728),1228 and carved on the Wu family shrine (ca.145-167 CE), the Songshan small shrine (ca. 158 CE) (fig. 729),1229 and the Yi’nan tomb (post-Han)(fig. 730),1230 all three in Shandong. In the era of Northern and Southern Dynasties, they became less common but still appeared in the tombs at Zhenqiang in Jiangsu (398 CE) (fig. 667), at Dengxian, southwest Henan (late fifth century) and in the tomb of Yuan Mi (524 CE) (both in fig. 731)1231 and, of course at Guyuan. These creatures also found their way to Koguryō (fig. 732,1232 733),1233 possibly through an incised pottery dish from the Han-Wei period in Liaoyang.1234

The Guyuan human-headed birds are shown in figure 734. The top bird has two topknots and the middle bird has three as well as a necklace and curled goatee. The bottom bird is misrepresented in figure 734. On the coffin, it has black hair with one topknot and two white wings, similar in shape to those of the middle bird. “r”, which I take to be a human-headed feline (with hat) was included in felines in Chapter 8, Fauna No. 1: Animals and Birds.

1228 Sun Zuoyun 1979, fig. 13.
1230 Loewe 1994, fig. 9.
1231 Juliano 1980, fig. 29. The Dengxian bird demonstrates the separation between primary and secondary wing feathers typical of the Southern Dynasties. (Bush 1975, p. 24).
1232 Chosen Minshu Shugi Jinmin Kyowa Koku Shakai Kagudu-in and Chosen Gaho Sha, eds., 1986, fig. 10.
1233 Sun Zuoyun 1985, p. 1241, fig. 2.
1234 From Nanxuemei Tomb M1 (Zheng Junlei 2005, p. 52, fig. 1).
All the human-headed birds until the Guyuan Sarcophagus have “funny hats” (fig. 735). As yet no explanation has been put forward for their “funny hats”. Those on the Guyuan coffin, however, appear to be wearing varying numbers of topknots suggestive of usṇīsas. In this trait they follow the style of the transcendentalts painted in the Zhijiabao tomb at Datong (Ch. 4, fig. 131) which Wang and Jiu believe dates to the Taihe reign period (477-500 CE) of the Northern Wei Dynasty. They certainly look like transcendentalts with feathers on their arms and legs, but they fly amid lotus flowers and above attendants carrying lotus buds (like Padmapani). Since transcendentalts were a core Chinese concept it is surprising that they should have been depicted in this Buddhist setting instead of apsarasas. They probably represent the syncretism of this period. Likely the human-headed birds on the Guyuan coffin were toward Buddhist beings in keeping with the depicted Buddhist deities.

What do the Guyuan human-headed birds mean? A hybrid bird with a human head and a long, elaborate tail can be associated with Xiwangmu, but the Guyuan birds are not situated right beside Xiwangmu, but rather are placed amid various animals and fowl. Several authors have suggested that they are immortals (transcendentalts), “one of the possible ways to achieve physical immortality besides becoming a feathered immortal was to metamorphose the human body into a bird”. In this thesis, I am distinguishing the visual image of the human-headed bird which likely came from the West from that of the feathered transcendental with human arms and legs who was

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1235 Rawson’s term, 1984, p. 45.
1236 Wang Kai 1985, p. 98, fig. 1. My thanks to Nancy Steinhardt for supplying this reference.
1237 Ibid., p. 51.
1238 Wu Hung 1989, p. 111.
1239 E.g. Luo Feng 1990. p. 21, who cites the immortal Wang Ziqiao. See also Sun Zuoyun 1979, pp. 70-71.
probably a Chinese construct. It is possible that the meaning of the two creatures was
the same.

In the fanciful Shan Hai Jing,\textsuperscript{1241} human-headed birds are mentioned a number of
times: in the first five books, dated to the third century, BCE.\textsuperscript{1242}

Book 2, chapter 2: \textit{duck-wait} on Mount Stagstand looks like a cock but has a human face.
It sings calling its own name ‘Fu-shee’. When it appears there will be warfare.  
(p. 19)

Book 3, chapter 1: \textit{panic-such} on Mount Pourbrow looks like a hen pheasant with a
human face. It darts up when it sees a human. When it sings it calls itself ‘Song-
sser’.  
(p. 40)

Book 3, chapter 2: \textit{turn-rook} on Mount Northhubbub looks like a crow with a human
face. It flies by night and lies low by day. If you eat it it will cure sunstroke.  
(p. 44)

Book 5, chapter 2: Peaks of Ferry mountain range: deities of these mountains all have
human faces and birds’ bodies. In sacrificing to them, the ritual is, use animals
of a single color, use a single lucky jade, which is then to be thrown, do not use
sacrificial grain.  
(p. 70)

Book 5, chapter 8: Thorn mountain range: all deities have birds’ bodies and human
faces. In sacrificing to them, the ritual is, use a single male chicken for the
intercessions, then bury it, use a single multicolored oblong jade, for sacrificial
grain use sticky rice.  
(p. 88)

Books 6 – 9 date to the Former Han, 6 BCE.

Book 8: \textit{Ape Strong} has a human face and bird’s body. His ear ornaments are two green
Snakes. He treads two green snakes underfoot.  
(p. 124)

Book 9: \textit{Hook Sprout} has a bird’s body and human face and rides on two dragons.  
(p. 130)

Books 14 – 17 probably date from the first century CE.

Book 14: On an island in the Eastern Sea is a deity with a human face and bird’s body.
His ear ornaments are yellow snakes and he treads on two yellow snakes
underfoot. His name is \textit{Ape Howl}. The great god yellow gave birth to \textit{Ape Howl}
who gave birth to \textit{Ape Tor}. \textit{Ape Tor} lives in the North Sea. \textit{Ape Howl} lives in the
Eastern Sea. They are gods of the sea.  
(p. 160)

Book 16: Mount Darkcinnabar: birds of five colors here with human faces and long,
loose hair.  
(p. 176)

As can be seen, the human-headed birds described in Shan Hai Jing do not
specifically relate to those on the Guyuan Sarcophagus. Nevertheless, references in that

\textsuperscript{1241} Birrell edition 1999.
\textsuperscript{1242} Ibid., p. xv. Bruce Brooks says late fourth century (personal communication).
book do connect these divine birds with nature spirits that accompanied Huangdi on his ascension to heaven. It is likely that the Guyuan human-headed birds, like all the other creatures on the coffin, were auspicious in character, as suggested by Juliano and Bush, but in their case they carried intimations of immortality as well.

FOREIGN INFLUENCE

Unlike the animals and birds portrayed in the late Warring States which may have been indigenously perceived or perhaps had been inspired by the animal art of the surrounding nomads, human-headed birds in China show a precise beginning and a clear path from the West. It must again be emphasized that it is indeed the image of the human-headed bird that appeared in China and it may have received a new interpretation. Actually, as we shall see, the human-headed bird was associated with death in China as it was in the Mediterranean, but not in South Asia.

The point of origin of this creature is thought to have been Egypt, where the *ba* (fig. 736) represented the mobile aspect of the soul. It “could fly between the tomb, where the portion of the soul known as the *ka* remained with the body, and the heavens, where the third part of the soul, the *akh*, abided.” (figs. 737, 738) The deceased was dependent on his *ba* in the underworld. Though *ba* had long been depicted, often as humans with bird heads, it was not until the New Kingdom (Dynasty 18 beginning 1558 BCE) that they appeared as human-headed birds, and as such they

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1244 Ibid., p. 45.
1245 1975, p. 25.
1246 Padgett 2003, fig. 8. It wears the divine wig painted blue to represent lapis lazuli, the hair of the gods.
1247 Ibid., p. 123.
1248 Bulteau 1995, p. 5.
1249 Zakbar 1968, pl. 5.
1250 Ibid., p. 133.
continued into Ptolemaic times.\textsuperscript{1251} Figsures 739 and 740 are reproductions of part of the Papyrus of Dirpu, Chantress of Amon, found at Deir-el-Bahari.\textsuperscript{1252} In fig. 29, the deceased enters wearing on her head the festal cone and a lotus bud. Two soul-birds, each with an Udja (eye) behind, stand on each side of a disk containing a heron symbol of the soul and a lamp. In fig. 740, the deceased presents a lamp to Osiris. On the left, two soul-birds, placed one above the other, wearing festal cones and lotus buds on their heads, offer two lamps to the solar barge above and a procession of goddesses seated on cobras below.

Although human-headed birds appeared in Greece in the late eighth – early seventh century\textsuperscript{1253} and became more common in the fifth century, there seems to be some doubt about their origin. Was it from Egypt or from West Asia? In the latter they had occurred, but rarely,\textsuperscript{1254} on cylinder seals (fig. 741),\textsuperscript{1255} the Assyrian god Assur was depicted with the head and arms of a bearded man and the body of a bird,\textsuperscript{1256} and Lilith is depicted in ninth century Sumeria as a human-headed and bodied vertical bird (fig. 742).\textsuperscript{1257}

They first appeared in Greece from the eighth century as supports for ring handles on bronze cauldrons imported from West Asia, especially Urartu, that were dedicated at

\textsuperscript{1251} Ibid., p. 76.
\textsuperscript{1252} Piankoff 1957, pp. 84, 86.
\textsuperscript{1253} Padgett 2003, p. 74.
\textsuperscript{1254} Holly Pittman could think of two examples of human-headed birds offhand: "One is the first half of the third millennium and is probably Iranian in origin, but becomes a way in which the Anzu bird who stole the tablets of destiny is represented. The other is a middle second millennium representation in southwestern Iran at the site of Half Tepe. There are probably some others in first millennium glazed bricks." Email: March 2, 2001.
\textsuperscript{1255} Waterbury 1952, pl. 2.
\textsuperscript{1256} Padgett 2003, p. 290.
\textsuperscript{1257} Lao 1998, p. 56.
Greek sanctuaries such as that to Zeus in Olympia and at Delphi.\textsuperscript{1258} The imported cauldrons have been found exclusively in sanctuaries where they were “among the first monumental votives and must have been imbued with religious awe”.\textsuperscript{1259} Figure 743 is such a support for a ring handle on display at the Pergamon Museum in Berlin.\textsuperscript{1260} It is from North Syria and is attributed to the eighth century BCE. Similar examples are No. 13, found in a rock-cut sepulcher near the Rushian frontier post at Altitshar, Iran\textsuperscript{1261} and No. 74 in the Princeton Art Museum’s exhibition *The Centaur’s Smile*.\textsuperscript{1262} They began to be copied in Greece in its seventh century Orientalizing Period when Greek art acquired a florid style it had not known before. Opinions vary as to whether the West Asian human-headed birds received their inspiration from Egypt or were invented independently.

The extant of the influence of West Asian cauldron handles compared to that of Egyptian *ba* on Greek art cannot be judged. Mycenaean and Minoan art does not include bird-bodied females,\textsuperscript{1263} but it may be presumed that Egyptian influence arrived in Greece proper from time to time along with other Egyptian motifs like the palmette.

In the mid-fifth century BCE in Greece, protemes of human-headed birds as bases for the vertical handles on vessels such as *hydriae* became widely popular. Figure 745 was found along with fifteen other vessels while extracting peat several hundred miles up

\textsuperscript{1258} Padgett 2003, p. 289. Proposed centers of production include Urartu, North Syria and Assyria. The Greeks began producing cauldron attachments in the 7th c BCE. Both imported and locally made attachments have been found at Olympia and Delphi, imported examples only at Delos, Ptoion and Argos, and locally made examples only at Athens and Samos. (p. 287)

\textsuperscript{1259} Childs 2003, p. 62.

\textsuperscript{1260} Photographed in 2001.

\textsuperscript{1261} Metropolitan Museum of Art and Los Angeles County Museum of Art, nd., No. 13.

\textsuperscript{1262} Padgett 2003, No. 74, pp. 285-287.

\textsuperscript{1263} Tsiafakis 2003, p. 74.
the Dnipro River, Ukraine. It must have been produced in a Greek workshop. These hydriae were used in funerary rites for pouring libations and have been found with and without cremation remains. The human-headed avian protemes may have stemmed from the West Asian cauldron attachments but they were frontally depicted and were less the horizontal sirens than some of the images discussed below that were already being made in the sixth century.

Human-headed birds kept their association with death in Greece. As Homeric sirens, they ultimately effected death on sailors through their tantalizing musical ability; as harpies, they executed starvation through their disgusting habits. Homer's Odysseus outwitted the sirens' vocal charms by plugging his sailors' ears with wax (fig. 746) and, in a later tradition, brought about the death of one siren by failing to succumb (fig. 747). According to Ovid, a later Roman writer, they were daughters of Acheloos, the river god, associated with the underworld and companions of Persephone who was abducted by Hades into the underworld, to which the catalogue writer attributes their association with death.

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1264 Reeder, ed. 1999, No. 82. A similar "siren hydria", No. 80, was exhibited in The Cauldron's Smile exhibition at the Princeton Art Museum. (Padgett 2003, pp. 300-303)
1265 Ibid., p. 193.
1266 Padgett 2003, p. 303.
1267 It has been suggested that the Egyptian ba image became associated with an already existing concept of musical sirens in Greece because ba don't sing. (Tsiafakis 2003, p. 74.)
1268 Fortunately harpies received rare, if any, depiction in Greek art and so need not be discussed here.
1272 Padgett 2003, p. 303.
No doubt their connection to Egyptian ba also encouraged their mortuary setting (fig. 748). As mourners they appeared on stelae as on this woman’s stele from Athens – Marmor from the fourth century BCE in the Pergamon Museum (fig. 749). By this time some of them had sprouted arms, often to play instruments, as in figure 749. Figure 750 mourns, while fig. 751 carries the soul of a dead man. Sometimes they were rendered standing (fig. 752).

On a less mournful note, they frequently decorated ceramics such as this pyxis which shares its bearded man with some Egyptian ba (fig. 753) and a handsome black-figure plate, also sixth century (fig. 754). Etruria showed some interest in sirens with an amphora dated about 530 BCE (fig. 755).

Oil bottles like fig. 756 were commonly molded in Corinth, Samos and Rhodes in the sixth century and even more widely exported. They contained scented oil and have been found in sanctuaries dedicated to goddesses rather than graves. Such small, common items could easily have been transported and probably found their way beyond the Mediterranean coast. That sirens were not dead in Hellenistic times is proven by figure 744 which shows several from that period in the Pergamon Museum. Indeed they may have marched across Asia with Alexander and his Seleucid successors.

1273 Musical sirens on a pair of earth-heaped tombs in a grove: Attic black-figured lekythos, fifth century. (Vermeule 1979, fig. 27)
1274 Copied from an Attic model in the Louvre. (Lao 1998, p. 17)
1275 Relief from Xanthos, Licia. British Museum. (Ibid., p. 157)
1276 Kurtz and Boardman 1971, fig. 57.
1278 Ibid., No. 82.
1279 Ibid., No. 79.
1280 Biers 1999, p. 140, fig. 22.
We next encounter human-headed birds as kinnares in Buddhist settings in India, although existing Indian art is later than second century Mawangdui. Kinnares were carved onto the East Torana of the Great Stūpa at first century BCE Sāñcī (fig. 757).\textsuperscript{1283} There they bring garlands to decorate the stūpa while an orchestra celebrates below. At late fifth century CE Ajañṭā, they continue to provide decorations (fig. 758)\textsuperscript{1284} while in Cave 1, a kinnare serenades Padmapāṇi on a stringed instrument (fig. 759).\textsuperscript{1285} There is no suggestion of death unless one associates the stupa with death. Here, all is celebration. Indian art has treated kinnares much as light-hearted apsarasas.

In summary, horizontal human-headed birds first appeared in China in the early Western Han period at Mawangdui. They seemed to be associated with death, even when they were adjuncts to Xiwangmu. They probably kept an apotropaic aspect which they had had on Greek mortuary stele,\textsuperscript{1286} and, in China, added a role as transcendentals. There seems to be little doubt that the image of a horizontal human-headed bird ultimately derived from Egyptian Eighteenth Dynasty ba.

\textsuperscript{1283} Hallade 1968.
\textsuperscript{1284} In Cave 17. (Ghosh 1967, pl. 77).
\textsuperscript{1285} In Cave 1. (Harle 1986, fig. 284).
\textsuperscript{1286} Childs 2003, p. 64-65.
CHAPTER TEN

FAUNA NO. 3: HUNTED

At the bottom of at least one side\textsuperscript{1287} of the Guyuan Sarcophagus is a hunting scene. Amidst lotus buds, a deer which has been struck with an arrow, two pigs, a large bird and two octopus-shaped felines "r", which are perhaps dragons, are hunted by four men on parts of five horses. On the right there is also a small parrot and a bouncy feline. From the left, a man turns back to aim his lance, a man draws his bow to shoot forward, a man has just released his arrow in a Parthian (backward) shot which has struck the deer and on the right, a man aims in a Parthian shot. The men are wearing Xianbei hats with backflaps. They are hunting among morel-shaped mountains.\textsuperscript{1288}

At first blush, it would seem that the hunting scene furthers the Central Asian aspect observed in the occupant’s portrait. He is sitting like a Central Asian potentate and with his wine cup appears to be participating in the Nowruz ceremony. A hunting scene, reminiscent of the Royal Hunt, would be an appropriate accompaniment. Such was included in the contemporary Xi’an Sogdian tomb of An Qie (fig. 760).\textsuperscript{1289} According to Thomas Allsen in his study, \textit{The Royal Hunt in Eurasian History}, the core area was Iran, Northern India and Turkestan, and the institution spread out from there.\textsuperscript{1290} China favored the institution from early times, especially when it shared the martial traditions with nomadic élites or itself spread into the \textit{XiYu}.

\textsuperscript{1287} The other side is more damaged and does not extend so far down.
\textsuperscript{1288} The mountains are not quite so triangular as those of Cave 257 at Dunhuang (fig. 124), but are more irregular like those in the molded clay landscape in Cave 133 at Maijishan. (Sullivan, 169, fig. 56). At least one looks like the mushroom buttons in Bingslingsi. (Zhongguo Meishu Quanji Bianji Weiyuanhui, ed., 1984, fig. 40).
\textsuperscript{1289} Shaanxisheng Kaogu Yanjiusuo 2003, fig. 24.
\textsuperscript{1290} Allsen, 2006, p. 11. My thanks to Victor Mair for this recommendation. An idea of the scope of Sasanian hunts can be gleaned from the \textit{ivan} of 2 hunts of Khusrau II (590-627 CE) at Taq-I Bostan. (of a boar hunt: Harper, 1978, p. 121, fig. 1; and of an onager hunt: Litvinsky, ed., 1996, p. 69, fig. 16).
Indeed the topic of hunting occurs frequently in the Shang (pre 1045 BCE) oracle bone questions, although images of human actions were not to appear in art until much later in the Warring States period. The question of the role of the Shang royal hunt in state formation has often arisen. Fiskesjö sees the royal hunt as a lever of transformational dynamics, i.e. domination and destruction of the wild. He also sees it as a prestige builder for the king where, in his choice of companions according to the oracle bones, he was building relations and alliances with prominent allies, as *primus inter pares*. Certainly the thousands of attendants the king could command and probably his handsome equipment would impress (hopefully) even the most powerful rival. It might suggest the king’s invulnerability. It is related that King Mu of Zhou who ruled around the beginning of the tenth century had gone to hunt with six regiments, each nominally 2,500 men strong. Allsen points out that a king had to display almost superhuman manliness, courage and sheer physical prowess perhaps even as his most important credential. The degree to which the chase was frequent, enjoyed and yearned for in old age fills that chapter. Even when the Han (and nomads) established hunting parks, hunting continued on a large scale.

Scenes of hunting can be seen on a few Warring States bronzes, (figs. 685 and 686). The Animal Style on the *dou*, figure 685, and on the very top and bottom of the *hu*, figure 686, both of which include very few hunters, derives, by inscription, from the

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1291 Magnus Fiskesjö, 2001, p. 165.
1293 Allsen, p. 29.
Xianyu barbarians who became rulers of the Zhongshan state.\textsuperscript{1296} The body of the \textit{hu} is concerned with the use of weapons\textsuperscript{1297} and needs not concern us here. The \textit{jian} (fig. 761)\textsuperscript{1298} and the \textit{fang hu} (fig. 762)\textsuperscript{1299} are obviously in the “hunting style”, provenanced from the state of Yan which was in contact with the nomads.\textsuperscript{1300}

With the advent of the Western Han period, there seemed to be an interest in animals amidst the mountains. This interest was connected with the newly developed mythical concept of the Isles of the Immortals, attainment to which would lead to the death-defying state of immortality. Emblematic of one of these isles were the popular hill censers (\textit{boshan} incense burners) such as this exquisite inlaid example from the royal tomb of Liu Sheng (d. ca.113 BCE) (figs. 199 and 763).\textsuperscript{1301} It is not known if the five humans on top of the mountain are hunters or merely transcendent beings. The scene is similar to that on a \textit{lian}, where animals and humans seem to coexist peacefully among the mountains (fig. 764).\textsuperscript{1302} In the case of the censer, it has been suggested that the shape of a mountain was devised to attract transcendentals, who love mountains, hoping that they would grant the gift of immortality to the supplicant, which they were able to do.\textsuperscript{1303}

\begin{footnotes}
\item[1296] Fong, Wen, ed., 1980, p. 268. The inscription is on a \textit{hu} with similar copper-inlaid design to that of this \textit{dou} in the Museum für Völkerkunde, Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin.
\item[1297] \textit{Ibid.}, p. 316.
\item[1298] John Alexander Pope \textit{et al.}, 1967, No. 95, pp. 484-489.
\item[1299] \textit{Ibid.}, No. 98, pp. 502-507.
\item[1300] \textit{Ibid.}, p. 505.
\item[1301] Wen Fong, ed., 1980, No. 95, fig. 115, p. 330. A similar lid, also dated to the Han is in the Sackler Museum, Harvard University. A further inlaid censer in the Freer Gallery shows Sarmatian (barbarian) influence. p. 331.
\item[1304] Wu Hung 1994, p. 84.
\end{footnotes}
These scenes of animals amid the mountains may have been paradisiacal and may not have depicted hunting at all.

In the Eastern Han, real hunting scenes began to appear in tombs. It is here proposed that they represent the first group, ‘protective images’, delineated by Wu Hung in his analysis of Lady Dai’s second coffin (from the outside) at Mawangdui.1304 On that early Western Han coffin, the ‘protective images’ were mainly horned underground spirits who shot arrows, held spears and fought with an ox, captured birds and devoured snakes.1305 It was believed that birds and oxen could bring evil influences and snakes could harm a buried corpse (fig. 684). Perhaps even more important, it was thought that bodily decay was caused by demon attacks.1306

By the Eastern Han, the hunters had become humans or anthropomorphs and the animals ran the gamut of the faunal world. This chapter complements my Fauna No. 1 and No. 2 chapters whose creatures correspond to Wu Hung’s ‘auspicious images’, wholesome creatures including goats (auspicious) and various mythical creatures associated with immortality. The reason for my separating Wu Hung’s ‘auspicious images’ into two chapters has to do with the different historical origins of the creatures’ images and perhaps the greater intimation of immortality of No. 2, the human-headed birds.

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1304 1992, pp. 128-129. It is possible that the “large amount of armor (for men and horses) and weapons” placed in the Warring States Chu tomb at Baoshan, Hubei, (second half of 4th c BCE) were intended to serve the same purpose. (Xiaoneng Yang, ed., 1999, p. 330).
1305 There were other forms of protection too. Eugene Wang speaks of “Zongbu, an apotropaic deity prepared to shoot evil spirits with his lethal arrows”. (2005, p. 49).
1306 Rawson, 2000, p. 139.
1307 Ibid., p. 129.
As far as Eastern Han tombs are concerned, hunting scenes must be distinguished from procession scenes. Procession scenes consist of orderly lines of figures on horseback and include several wheeled vehicles, the hearse, a carriage for the soul and perhaps carriages for the wives (figs. 765, 766). Mostly they convey the deceased to the tomb (occasionally represented as a gateway often with a figure beside a half-open door), but in a few tombs, a second procession is shown leaving the tomb carrying the soul to immortal paradise. A hunting scene, on the other hand, must show hunters using weapons and must include fleeing wild animals.

It is a curious fact that hunting scenes were almost never depicted in tombs with painted murals in Central China while in tombs with stone reliefs they were quite common. No explanation for this dichotomy can be put forward at this time. Of the roughly fifty-six painted Han period tombs surveyed, only four appear to depict hunting. These are: Helinge'er in Inner Mongolia (fig. 8), Xi'an Ligong Daxue Tomb No. 1 and Haotan in Dingbian in Shaanxi and Daobei Petrol Station in Luoyang where driving deer and driving a dragon from a chariot appear on the ceiling.
Of these fifty-six tombs, approximately fourteen depict processions and they include three post-Han tombs in Liaoyang, Liaoning. Only two of the above Han tombs show both hunting and a procession and they are: the Eastern Han Helinge’er tomb (figs. 767 and 768)\textsuperscript{1317} and the late Western Han Xi’an Ligong Daxue Tomb No. 1 (figs. 769 and 770)\textsuperscript{1318} A later (408 CE) Koguryô tomb, Tôkhûng-ri, see below, may also show hunting and a procession.

Except for the three Shaanxi and Luoyang tombs noted above, the few painted tombs where hunting is conspicuous are located in the borderlands. They are: Eastern Han Helinge’er (Holingol) tomb, the fourth century Former Yan tomb at Chaoyang (fig. 771)\textsuperscript{1319} and several fifth or sixth century Koguryô tombs such as Tôkhûng-ri (408 CE) where hunting among the mountains shares the ceiling with various celestial bodies including transcendentals (figs. 94 and 772).\textsuperscript{1320} Figure 772 may show a funeral procession between two rows of mounted armoured warriors. In the Tomb of the Dancers (fig. 148) the hunt is on the west wall but includes a cloud or qi, and in Changchuan Tomb No. 1 the hunt shares the north wall with figures perhaps from real life, perhaps from myth (fig. 773).\textsuperscript{1321} It will be observed that of all these tombs, only one, Helinge’er, probably belonged to an ethnically Chinese person and it was located in nomad territory.

\textsuperscript{1317} Nei Menggu Zizhiqiu Bowuguan 1978.
\textsuperscript{1318} Xi’anshi Wenwu Baoku Kaogusuo 2006, figs. 34 and 61 and 62. The synopsis mentions “going on a journey with horses and carriages” (p. 44) but only individual carriages are reproduced in the publication.
\textsuperscript{1319} Liaoningsheng Bowuguan Wenwudui et al., 1984, fig. 1.
\textsuperscript{1320} Chosen Minshu Shugi Jinmin Kyowa Koku Shakai Kagudu-in and Chosen Gaho-Sha, eds., 1986 fig. 13. The loosely organized procession between the two files of munted warriors in fig. 13 might be deemed a funeral procession.
\textsuperscript{1321} Steinhardt 2002, p. 233, fig. 6.
Of particular interest for this study, are three coffin planks, representing an elaborate tiger hunt, excavated from a heavily damaged Pingcheng period Northern Wei tomb in Zhijiabao in Datong (figs. 49 and 774). They are painted on composition on wood. The deceased tiger, the object of the hunt, is at the bottom right of my picture. It will be noted that a hunting scene is also on the Guyuan Sarcophagus. Recollecting Wu Hung’s paradigm of the ‘protective images’ who attempted to dispatch birds, oxen and snakes, which latter were particularly harmful to the body, on Lady Dai’s second coffin at Mawangdui, it is possible that these hunting scenes were intended to prevent the corruptability of the body inside the coffin. On the other hand, Miranda Brown documents the period of time (up to several months) between the actual moment of death and the burial of the various members of the Han élite. It could be that the demons Ann Seidel spoke of as eating the liver and brain had a more metaphysical intent. There can be little doubt that there were after-death things people were afraid of.

In the far west of China, single bricks with hunting scenes dispersed among household scenes and scenes of agriculture, were common in the Wei-Jin tombs at Jiayuguan (fig. 776). Mention should also be made of the celebrated hunting scene.

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1322 Fig. 18: Liu Junxi and Gao Feng 2004, figs. 14 and 15. My fig. 15 is on display in Huayansi Museum but, although included in Liu and Gao, its image has not been published. Vice-Director Cao Chenming kindly allowed me to photograph it.
A third coffin showing a hunting scene has been found in seventh century Qinghai (fig. 775). As it shares the coffin with other scenes of life (whether before or after death), it is hard to know if it was included specifically to protect the body.
1324 Ibid., p. 214, fn. 20.
1325 It could be that figurines of soldiers were included in tombs for protection. Regarding the First Emperor’s terracotta warriors, Rawson suggests that they were intended to protect against the spirits of the armies of the Six States massacred by the First Emperor in life (1999, p. 10), but on p. 13-14 suggests that they provided protection from spirits and demons.
1326 Cheng Guoren and Du Zhe, nd., pp. 42, 43.
(amid mountains) on the ceiling of Western Wei Cave 249 at Dunhuang (fig. 198). Since the Mogao Caves are Buddhist chapels, and the scene appears right above Buddhist deities, a killing scene (to Buddhists, killing any sentient being is anathema) is problematic. Liang Weiyin tries to deal with this problem by stating that it symbolizes evil monks; the most important rule of the Mahāparinirvāṇa Sūtra being against killing. Considering that Xiwangmu, feathered celestials and the gods of wind and thunder also appeared on the ceiling, an otherworldly affiliation other than that of Buddhism might be sought.

Inexplicably, the situation in Han stone relief tombs and brick tombs is different. The presence or absence of hunting scenes cannot be explained by geographical region as could those in the painted tombs. Gu Sen's dictionary reproduces roughly thirty-seven hunting scenes from Central China and they are from Shandong, Henan and Shaanxi. The Shandong scenes tend to show hunters on foot, hunting with nets (for birds?) or with spears and dogs (fig. 777). The Henan hunters more commonly performed on horseback hunting with bows and arrows (figs. 778, 779), whereas the Shaanxi hunters also on horseback and sometimes with carriages, often were carved on lintels above doorways (figs. 780, 781). Three tombs, Anqiu in Shandong, Nanyang in Henan and Mizhi in Shaanxi show both hunting scenes and processions, Mizhi's in the

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1327 It is considered to belong to the Yuan Rong period of the Northern Wei (525-545) when the west of Northern China had been taken over by the Western Wei (534-557). Watson 1995, p. 254, ch. 18, n. 3.  
1330 Anqixuan Wenhuaju 1992, pl. 43.  
1331 Gu Sen 1997, p. 292/  
1333 These scenes may be at the end of procession scenes, e.g. my fig. 26, bottom: Yulin; my fig. 27, Suide. Possibly the hunters are providing protection.  
same slab (fig. 782). An attempt has been made to separate these hunting scenes from scenes of transcendentals cavorting with imaginary animals (fig. 784), but some of the hunting scenes appear to be so fanciful that perhaps a distinction is not appropriate. Possibly "auspicious" and "protective" images have been blended together.

The Eastern Han tomb at Cangshan, Shandong displays a mural of a funeral procession accompanied by an inscription describing the event. The men on horseback and in carriages are actively crossing the bridge, while "Servant boys are paddling a boat, Ferrying [your] wives across the river". Why are the women not in a carriage in the procession on the bridge? Wu Hung offers the suggestion that water embodying the yin (female) would be the appropriate place for the women. Once on the other shore, the women then climb out of their boat and sit in a small ping-carriage, in which they gallop to a ting station.

Matteo Compareti offers an intriguing suggestion for the scene of the placid boat-sitting women amid furious male activity. He refers to the winter imperial hunt occasioned by the Han emperor Chengdi in 10 BCE in Shanglin Park. Barbarians (hu) were included along with aristocrats and/or military figures. After the hunt, the emperor and his entourage stopped at the Kunming pond where the ladies played music and sang,

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1335 Gu Sen 1997, p. 894. Along with Wu Hung’s ‘Gate of Heaven’ (tianmen) and ‘Grand Granary’ (taicang). (1994, p. 90)
1336 Anquxian Wenhuaju 1992, pl. 46.
1337 Wu Hung 1994 and 1998. Discussed further in my next chapter, Ch. 11, “Feathers”.
1338 Wu Hung 1998, p. 22.
1339 Ibid., p. 23.
1340 2005, p. 3.
and professional swimmers dove into the water. Such an event certainly describes feminine placidity amid male activity, and he traces its depiction down to mural on the “Wall of the Ambassadors” at Afrasyab around 660 CE.\textsuperscript{1341} The Cangshan procession is duplicated by the bridge painting at Helinge’er which is also a procession in one direction.

Compareti, however, shows other figures (1-4) which seem to depict a battle, often with adversaries meeting at the top of the bridge. These may represent the battle against destructive forces discussed in this chapter. Even more important, he mentions the “barbarian drawing his cross-bow”\textsuperscript{1342} on the Cangshan mural, an incongruous sight in an otherwise orderly, though swift, procession.

The figure executing a Parthian shot is a stock figure in almost every Han period hunting scene from the Koguryō Tomb of the Dancers (fig. 148) to the Jiayuguan (Gansu) brick tombs. Whether this figure reflects the great, and storied, Han imperial hunt, as Compareti suggests, or whether he is figuratively employed to defend against the destructive demons of the underworld, cannot be said.\textsuperscript{1343}

The Guyuan Sarcophagus tomb and the Zhijiabao tomb with the coffin planks appear to be the only Northern Wei tombs known so far to include hunting scenes.\textsuperscript{1344} In the case of the Guyuan Sarcophagus tomb, the hunting scene may have been included because the coffin displays an unusual amount of native Chinese belief. All the birds and animals depicted on the lid and sides most likely are auspicious creatures and so it is

\textsuperscript{1341} Ibid., p. 14, fig. 10.  
\textsuperscript{1342} Wu Hung 1998, p. 22.  
\textsuperscript{1343} It is incongruous that a “barbarian” executing a Parthian shot is directing it toward the advancing funeral procession, yet Compareti does not receive the impression that he is unfriendly. (2005, p. 3). It is almost as if he is employed as a security guard against uninvited evil beings which might have snuck into the procession. On the other hand, the adversaries engaged in battle against the Chinese army on the Yi’nan bridge, Compareti identifies as barbarians by their clothes and headgear. (2005, p. 2).  
\textsuperscript{1344} Hunting scenes were to reappear in the Sogdian (or Sogdian descent) tombs which appeared in the Northern Zhou period such as that of An Qie at Xi’an (fig. 1 above) (Shaanxisheng Kaogu Yanjiusuo 2003).
probable that protective images were included on the coffin also. It may be significant that the protective images are placed on the bottom of the side. According to Wu Hung the protective images on Lady Dai’s second coffin had been underground spirits. Their position on lintels in Han tombs also makes sense as protection for the deceased person’s spirit entering and leaving the tomb.

As for processions, they were rarely depicted in Northern Wei tombs. The early Datong tomb at Shaling shows a procession or ceremony. Sheng proffers that the horse and ox-cart painted on the wall at Zhijiabao suggest “a journey to the land beyond guided by the winged creatures above.” Probably the painted processions were replaced by the tomb figurines of soldiers, attendants and an ox-drawn cart that were so prolific in Northern Wei tombs.
CHAPTER ELEVEN

FEATHERS

On both sides of the Guyuan Sarcophagus are windows each containing two persons behind slats, and these windows are bordered by feathers (fig. 785).¹³⁴⁹ We shall discuss the significance of the windows, below, but first we shall look at the feathers, which are peacock feathers. Peacock feathers also are discussed briefly in Chapter 8. Whatever the reason for it, perhaps showiness,¹³⁵⁰ large individual birds in the Han period were almost always shown with eye feathers in their tails. Thus the choice of bird for the feathers on the Guyuan Sarcophagus is not surprising.

What is surprising is that, according to Doris Dohrenwend, the feathers surrounding the windows are shown as if they were placed beneath a bronze openwork mesh. Openwork meshes revealing colorful backgrounds became quite popular in the Eastern Zhou period and were seen again in the sixth or seventh century CE. They may have been inspired by the interlace that was being produced at the Houma foundry in the Eastern Zhou.

Existing examples of this kind of art are rare, but a few can be found as “double plate mirrors (that is, relatively heavy, complex mirrors with a plain reflecting surface riveted or soldered to the decorated back)” (sic.).¹³⁵¹ (fig. 786).¹³⁵² Of course composed of wriggling dragons, many of them look as if they were produced or at least inspired by

¹³⁵⁰ It also may be considered a xiangruí, good omen, by dint of its prominent appearance on the inlaid bronze chariot fitting excavated from the Imperial Han tomb M122 at Ding Xian, Hebei. (Rawson 1999, p. 53).
¹³⁵¹ Dohrenwend, 1964, p. 80. Riveting and soldering were also fairly new innovations.
¹³⁵² Ibid., pl. 1, fig. 1D and pl. 2, figs. 2B and 2C.
the lost wax process which had only come into use in China in the sixth century BCE. In others, different heads and appendages were applied to a basic network of wiggling dragon bodies. Dohrenwend singles out a mirror from the Royal Ontario Museum, “1D”, which came from a Luoyang grave, as one of the finest and also latest of the double-plate mirrors with paired bird designs. What is of interest here, is the possibility of it having enclosed a colored substance:

In the case of a mirror of the same type in the Hakutsuru Museum, Kobe, Mr. Minao Hayashi of Kyoto University pointed out to me traces of woven material between the face and the back of the mirror, suggesting that the textural and coloristic effects so clearly sought in this period may have been achieved on occasion by the insertion of colored cloth.

A more recent example, Dohrenwend points out, is the Tamamushi Shrine in Horyūjī, Japan. It was made in Japan, about 650 CE, in the latter part of the Asuka period, when much Japanese art and city planning was influenced by the Northern and Eastern Wei periods before the influx of Tang ideas. Openwork metal strips edge the two platforms and corners of the miniature building (the shrine), and they originally overlaid the iridescent blue wings of the tamamushi beetle (fig. 787).

Windows in coffins, or holes, have been found in China dating from Neolithic times. Wu Hung mentions a Yangshao (fifth millennium BCE) “pottery coffin with a hole drilled in its wall to allow the soul to move in and out”. The painted windows on the

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1353 Especially those that were produced by a single pour.
1354 Dohrenwend, 1964, p. 92.
1355 Ibid., p. 84, fn. 26.
1356 Penelope Mason, 1993, p. 46, fig. 51.
lacquer coffin of Marquis Yi of Zeng (d. 433 BCE) (fig. 788), 1358 and the two small holes on third century CE hunping jars of the lower Yangzi region, he associates with the Chu practice of “summoning the soul”. 1359 The general belief in the soul going in and out probably explains the prominent window in General Wang Wen’s Luoyang tomb dated 532 CE (fig. 789). 1360 He and his wife sit comfortably partaking of their feast with access to the outside through the window afterwards. There no indication of what would happen to the General and his wife should they succeed in leaving. Windows appear in the house shaped coffins which were in use in the Sui and Tang periods (fig. 790), 1361 but it is difficult to know whether the windows were merely a part of the architecture or were intended to provide an exit.

On the other hand, there is no accounting for the window in the stone house-shaped sarcophagus with its obvious Zoroastrian affiliation in Northern Zhou Xi’an! (figs. 791, 792 and 793) 1362 If the Sogdian occupants agreed to be buried in a coffin, (a practice not usually followed by Zoroastrians), they must have accepted the Chinese way of getting in and out of it.

The whole question of the afterlife is a difficult one. “ Summoning the soul” has been interpreted as a last-ditch effort to put body and soul together thus returning the deceased to the land of the living. 1363 But the two small holes in the hunping were provided so that the summoned soul could return to its body. 1364 Apparently the soul had

1358 Ibid., p. 85 top.
1360 Sheng, 2005, p. 166, fig. 8; Luoyangshi Wenwu Gongzaodui, 1995, p. 27, fig. 2. This scene is the only coherent mural fragment remaining.
1361 Wang Wenqing, 1994, p. 76.
successfully been summoned but had not brought the body to life. It had escaped the perils away from the earth and had not become a wandering ghost, but was it slated to remain in the tomb forever?

Which soul was it? According to some theories, the po, for no stated reason, went to the Yellow Springs,\textsuperscript{1365} forsaking the comfort of the elaborately provisioned tomb, or, stayed in and enjoyed the latter. The hun may have gone to the wonderful pavilion depicted on top of the hunping, which as a xiang, an earthly facsimile, could correlate with eternal features of the universe and thus become a paradise.\textsuperscript{1366}

K.E. Brashier, in a grammatical analysis of the ancient texts, has shown that the supposed duality of hun and po is incorrect. The terms were used interchangeably, or they might appear together, as hunpo. His discussion of the hunpo as a medical term denoting mentality may need further research. He also delineates the shen which had to do with lineage identity. Unfortunately, his conclusion about the soul is not conclusive, leaving the reader with only clusters of concepts around the medical hunpo which had to be restored in order to relieve anxiety in the living and kept in the tomb after death, and the shen. The reader still has little idea about a soul after death.

By his interpretation, the posthumous soul was one and the same as the mentality, the "wits", the hunpo, of the person when living. Thus it must have been the hunpo that underwent all the marvellous adventures described in texts and depicted on tomb ceilings.

Where did this singular soul go? That it retained some connection with the elaborately furnished tomb, there can be little doubt. The tomb (actually the guo, the

\textsuperscript{1365}Loewe, 1994, p. 34.
\textsuperscript{1366}Rawson 1999, p. 17.
tomb lining) was a *xiang*, in effect a dwelling in the world of the spirits.\textsuperscript{1367} That General Wang Wen’s tomb was such is indicated by the mountains included in the mural (fig. 789) mountains, according to Rawson, placing the human next to the dwellings of powerful deities.\textsuperscript{1368}

Jessica Rawson talks a good deal about correlative cosmology. For that reason, star maps were painted on the ceilings of tombs, making each tomb a small universe.\textsuperscript{1369} The way to entice the spirits to visit the tomb occupants was to create a *xiang*, a model, hence a model universe. Models of humans, figurines, and also figures in paintings\textsuperscript{1370} were thought to have efficacy, to have been able to perform the same tasks as their living counterparts.\textsuperscript{1371} Living dancers were thought to bring down the spirits, so, thus could models. “For the best outcome in an afterlife, the tomb had to correlated with the universe as a whole.”\textsuperscript{1372} By her account, the soul stayed in the tomb, and perhaps the spirits came down to it. Did Xiwangmu really squeeze her way down into the tomb? Rawson suggests an alternative: “expeditions out of the tomb during the afterlife”.\textsuperscript{1373}

Wu Hung discusses the banner (silk painting) of Lady Dai of Mawangdui (d. shortly after 168 BCE) and I shall continue to do so. He states that her “portrait” in the center of the banner only “represents her existence in the afterlife, not in her former

\textsuperscript{1367} Wu Hung shows that it was the *guo*, the lining inside the tomb that was divided into rooms containing needed objects for the afterlife, that was the underground home. The 4 coffins of Lady Dai occupied the central room. (1992, p. 134 ff).
\textsuperscript{1368} Rawson, 1999, p. 23.
\textsuperscript{1369} E.g.1999, p. 6, 2001, p. 137.
\textsuperscript{1370} Rawson 2001, pp. 126-7.
\textsuperscript{1371} Rawson 1999, p. 10.
\textsuperscript{1372} Rawson 2001, p. 139.
\textsuperscript{1373} Ibid., p. 131.
He then goes on to indicate that the images are “correlative” not “narrative” and convey the hope that she “would resume her existence in her underground “permanent home”.

He sees the images as organized in a dualistic structure but, in fact, dualistic structure is a feature of any bilateral symmetry. As an organizing principle of the universe in Han China, dualistic structure may not have been so prominent in the mid second century (168 BCE) as it later became.

Granted that sequential narrative representations came into China with Indian representations of different scenes of the life of the Buddha, on the face of it, it is hard to argue that the images of a corpse (shi) and of the same person, standing and active whether in this world or the next, in the same picture do not represent sequential narrative. The pre-burial ritual scene is marked as reality by parted curtains above it, in the opinion of Angela Sheng. True, it seems close to the watery underworld and dragons, and may be approaching an otherworldly existence, but the rubbing from an Eastern Han tomb at Zouxian, Shandong, of a hearse and rider approaching a tomb, presumably in the terrestrial world, is also surrounded by two dragons (fig. 794).

What about the tianmen, the heavenly gate, with its two squatting attendants? And of the now youthful Lady Dai, devoid of the patterns of her earthly clothing, floating between the sun and the moon? She is carried thence by the same snake that underlies

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1374 1992, p. 122. It is hard to explain the kimono shape, the shape of traditional Chinese garments, of this and other banners. It may be that this record of the posthumous existence of the occupant becomes symbolically her garment.

1375 Ibid., p. 127.


1377 2005, p. 160. Curtains set the stage or defined important ceremonial events. (p. 158 ff).

1378 Wu Hung, 1998, p. 27.
Her funerary ritual scene. Her soul, if it has not flown to the ether, at least has risen to the realm of Xiwangmu and Dongwangfu. It has undergone a process in stages, of revivification from the corpse, through a semblance of her earthly existence, to spiritual rejuvenation. Whether that floating soul rose to those deities or stayed in the underground guo, which as a xiang attracted them to her, cannot be said.

The banner suggests that she went to them, but did she do so permanently, or was it just an excursion? Fortunately, we have plenty of evidence for excursions.

Although in Lady Dai’s time, in the early Western Han, the soul appeared to need no conveyance, by Liu Sheng’s burial in 113 BCE, a carriage, facing outward, had been placed in his tomb. Another outward bound carriage was found in a Dabaotai tomb as well as on the murals in two Eastern Han tombs, Cangshan in Shandong (where the light, enclosed carriage was call a “soul-carriage” [hun che] and Yangzishan Tomb No. 1 in Sichuan. Rawson also provides later evidence of guards awaiting the occupant’s departure in the Eastern Wei tomb of the Ruanruan princess, of the departing mounted escort in the tomb of Lou Rui (d. ca. 570 CE) and a suggestion of that even in the tomb of the Tang prince, Zhanghuai.

It was toward Xiwangmu on a door jamb that the Cangshan carriages were ultimately directed. Fortunately, the stone murals in the Eastern Han tomb at Cangshan, Shandong Province (151 CE) are accompanied by explanatory inscriptions. The first

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1379 The scrolls at the bottom left of the heavenly scene seem to represent clouds, but those on the bottom right look more like seaweed and the numerous birds look like water birds.
1382 Ibid., p. 23.
1383 Ibid., p. 30.
1384 2001, p. 131.
section depicts the procession to the tomb where the deceased is greeted as he is about to pass through the gate of the underworld. Then he enjoys a banquet and entertainment in the company of immortal jade maidens. Finally in a chariot procession he is “now taking a tour”. This procession travels in the opposite direction from the original procession in the living world, and it is directed toward Xiwangmu.

Wu Hung gives several more examples of the depiction of these bipartite posthumous journeys, including a full representation on both sides of Yangzishan Tomb No. 1 near Chengdu, Sichuan. But an even more spectacular example of postinterment tours is shown on a ceiling stone in the late Eastern Han Wu Family Shrine at Jiaxiang, Shandong. There the soul-carriages of both husband and wife are traced through a heaven filled with transcendentals toward Dongwangfu and Xiwangmu respectively (fig. 795). There is no suggestion of their return; it seems that their destinations of Dongwangfu and Xiwangmu are final.

Despite her seemingly effortless ascension to Xiwangmu and Dongwangfu in the bends of a serpent, elsewhere in her tomb, Lady Dai did require a conveyance. Her innermost coffin (of four) was not painted with lacquer as were the others. The borders of the lid and sides were made of velvet and the panels they enclosed were made of satin and were covered with a design composed of colored feathers (fig. 796). This coffin, her corpse and her silk painting (banner) constitute the jiu, an “inner unit” that was displayed instead of the corpse alone in the bin ceremony. Wu Hung feels that the

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1386 Ibid., p. 23.
1387 Ibid., p. 30.
1388 Ibid., p. 29.
inner coffin represents a further piece of clothing worn by Lady Dai and he shows an article of clothing that somewhat resembles it (fig. 797).\textsuperscript{1391} His argument is not convincing. The straight-edged design in no way resembles the magnificent curvilinear design on the two images of the presumed Lady Dai shown in her banner.\textsuperscript{1392} Even more important are the colored bird feathers on the panels of the innermost coffin. They are not reported as having been present in her wardrobe. Of the forty-eight suitcases of clothes found in her guo,\textsuperscript{1393} there is no mention of any embellished with feathers.\textsuperscript{1394} On the other hand, of the twenty-two layers of silk that wrapped her body, those with patterns were woven with flying-bird motifs or printed with metonymic swirls named “longevity” and “riding clouds”.\textsuperscript{1395} As well as the snake in the banner, it was birds that conveyed the Lady Dai to paradise.

That the bird and the snake had not given up their transportational duties by the late Western Han period is shown in the tomb of Bu Qianqiu and his wife, (86-49 BCE), in Luoyang (fig. 359).\textsuperscript{1396} On a mural composed of numbered bricks, Bu Qianqiu on a serpent and his wife on a three-headed bird approach Xiwangmu.\textsuperscript{1397} It is the earliest representation of the deity’s person. This was the last appearance of a snake as a helpful conveyor; perhaps it became subsumed by a dragon.

\begin{thebibliography}{99}
\bibitem{1391} Ibid., p. 120, figs. 2 and 3.
\bibitem{1392} In fact it is covered with a geometric pattern which in Angela Sheng’s opinion would mark a boundary. (2005, p. 160).
\bibitem{1393} Ibid., p. 138.
\bibitem{1394} A. Gutkind Bulling does mention “feather cloth, that is downs of different colours stuck into a textile background” found in the tomb (1974, p. 158). Seeing that her article was published soon after the earliest discussions of the tomb (1972), it is possible that the feather cloth had not yet been identified as the covering of the innermost coffin.
\bibitem{1395} Sheng, 2005, p. 160, fn. 97.
\bibitem{1396} Sun Zuoyun, 1979, fig. 7.
\bibitem{1397} Presumably Lady Dai’s and Bu Qianqiu’s snakes were more benevolent than the destructive snakes that need to be defeated in my Chapter 10, Hunted.
\end{thebibliography}
There are other representations of a carrying bird in the Western Han. In Chu, a man rides a dragon on which birds are much in evidence (fig. 624). A ceramic from Ji’nan, Shandong, shows evidence of perhaps a mortuary ritual conducted in the skies (fig. 798).\(^{1398}\) In this, on the back of a large bird, two religious specialists, accompanied by a person holding an umbrella, conduct a ceremony between two huge ding. Also from Ji’nan is a large bird supporting two huge hu on its wings.\(^{1399}\)

By the late fifth century CE, although feasting couples in their posthumous home were normally portrayed on the walls of the tombs and figurines of ox-drawn hearses seemed to be in all the tombs, there was less attention paid to the hereafter, or at least how to get there. The 424 CE Wei Wenlang stele (fig. 800),\(^{1400}\) and even the Northern Zhou Wang Lingwei stele, 573 CE,\(^{1401}\) still showed hunche, but the Buddhist figures above them suggest the souls’ final destination. Several tombs, most notably Dengxian, showed a few transcendentals and imaginary animals or animals of the four directions, but many did not.\(^{1402}\) Buddhism had indeed made inroads in belief but its influence showed little in tombs.\(^{1403}\) It is nevertheless interesting that Dowager Empress Feng (d. 490 CE) who was a strong adherent of Buddhism, had “Red bird (zhuque),”\(^{1404}\) and it

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\(^{1399}\) Ibid., p. 127. The belief in birds as mortuary conveyances was already being manifest in the Eastern Zhou Chu area. This large antlered bird was placed next to the coffin of Zeng Hou Yi, Hubei (fig. 799). (Rawson 1996, No. 63).

\(^{1400}\) Eugene Wang, 2005, p. 43.

\(^{1401}\) Wong, 2004, fig. 8.8.

\(^{1402}\) Although Rawson points to animals of the four directions on epitaph covers as an attempt to orient the tombs in a correlation with the universe as a whole. (2001, pp. 137-140).

\(^{1403}\) The very existence of tombs was contrary to Buddhist belief.

\(^{1404}\) The identification is Yang Hong’s (2002, p. 30). If there is any coloration of this bird, it has not been reported. Steinhardt notes that red birds alone are common in Koguryo tombs (personal communication). It is to be observed, however, that the tail of Empress Feng’s bird is composed of peacock feathers. After the late Han period, zhuque or directional red birds of the south had three tail plumes but they did not consist of eyed feathers (cf. Ch. 8, figs. 663 and 664). It is to be noted that the magnificent birds carrying Yuan Yi and his wife (figs. 801 and 802 below) do not appear to have eyed tail feathers.
alone of the directional animals, carved at the entrance to her tomb (Ch. 6, fig. 529).

Perhaps she was relying on the bird to take her to an afterlife.

Yet, there suddenly appeared three totally unrelated coffins displaying small dark windows each containing two figures. These coffins were completely separate in time and location: the Guyuan Sarcophagus was presumably made in Pingcheng before 494 CE, and the Minneapolis Sarcophagus, belonging to Yuan Yi, (Prince Zhenjing) (d. 523 CE), was unearthed from Mang Shan near Luoyang.\textsuperscript{1405} Both show the influence of traditional Chinese values in their filial piety scenes, which perhaps is the reason the occupants are shown in small dark holes. We shall look at Yuan Yi’s sarcophagus first as it was near the culmination of the thinking that the Guyuan example was partially attempting.

Confucianism placed more stress on human relationships than on the afterlife. It recommended that one should “'keep one’s distance from the gods and spirits while showing them reverence'” and asked, rhetorically, “'How can one serve the spirits without serving humans?'”\textsuperscript{1406} Despite their well-known embrace of Buddhism, the Northern Wei rulers increasingly promoted Confucianism, possibly to legitimize their régime. Even as early as 399 CE, Doctors of the Five Classics were appointed and the Imperial National University was established.\textsuperscript{1407} With increased sinicization, the Taihe Reform of 486 CE which mandated Chinese dress, and the move of the capital to Luoyang in 494 CE, went a greater stress on Confucianism, including, pictorially, scenes of myths of filial piety.

\textsuperscript{1405} A third coffin with black holes for windows from early 6\textsuperscript{th} c Shangyao at Luoyang was reported in 2000. (Rawson 2001, fig. 1).
\textsuperscript{1406} These quotes are in Eugene Wang, 1999, p. 62.
\textsuperscript{1407} Ibid., p. 58.
Yuan Yi’s sarcophagus represents a bridge between the earlier native concern with the supernatural passage to immortality and the Confucian emphasis on human relationships (fig. 801). The latter scenes of filial piety are strung out, and labelled, along the bottom of the sarcophagus while birds, the transportation of the deceased’s souls, wind and apotropaic deities occupy the top. The role played by the birds is specifically illustrated. On the left side of Wang’s figure 1a, the long image of the east side of the sarcophagus (fig. 801), the deceased souls are seen carrying fringed canopies and riding two magnificent birds toward the windows. The same can be seen on the west side (fig. 802). On the right side of the coffin’s east side, Wang’s figure 1a in my figure 801, a riderless bird, a synecdoche for the previous pair, can be seen flying away from the window, having deposited its cargo.

Gone are the comfortable couples eating their feasts of the earlier Northern Wei; the small black windows have made their inhabitants icons, indeed ancestors. The filial-son, and filial-parents, vignettes below on the coffin, have given the parents their afterlife by insisting that the descendants undergo appropriate mourning and perform the necessary sacrifices to provide the afterlife (and not leave them as a discontented ghosts). Although the deceased still requires birds to get to that iconic state, the doors

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1408 Ibid., figs. 1b and 1a.
1409 Eugene Wang, 1999, p. 60. There are four windows on the Minneapolis Sarcophagus (2 per side), and two on the Guyuan Sarcophagus (one on each side). In the top center of the bottom right rubbing of the coffin from Shangyao at Luoyang, there is a small bird carrying a resplendent standing person toward one of the windows. No figures appear in any of the windows. (Rawson 2001, fig. 1).
1410 Eugene Wang, 1999, fig. 8.
1411 It is ironic that Yuan Mi, famous, not only for his unfilial impropriety, but even more for his cruelty, so much so that his official titles were stripped from him, should have placed a great deal of emphasis on filial piety on his tomb. (Some titles were later restored, particularly posthumously.) (Ibid., p. 58.) He may have had filial piety images put on his tomb, not for his own eyes, but for the eyes of his descendants, as a reminder, even a command, to perform the necessary rites.
have closed on the inscrutable numinous world (fig. 803)\textsuperscript{1412} and the sons have given their parents a much more certain eternity.

Eugene Wang then goes on to compare the above situation to that on the Nelson-Atkins Sarcophagus.\textsuperscript{1413} It is the culmination of this short trend of Confucian imagery. It shows no deceased souls with their suggestion of immortality, at all. Rather, it entirely consists of filial piety scenes. It was inconceivable that the descendants would not know the duties they needed to carry out.

It might be mentioned that the carvings on the Eastern Han Wu Family Shrine which are notable for their images of exemplary figures of the past, of paragons of filial piety, also include Xiwangmu and her court, Dongwangfu, scenes from history and omens. The combination seems natural, with the deities at the top, of course. Jessica Rawson sees all these figures as myriad phenomena of an all-inclusive cosmos in a correlative cosmology.\textsuperscript{1414}

The birds on the Minneapolis and Shangyao coffins are directed only toward the windows, presumably in the original trip there. There is no suggestion of coming and going, of taking a tour. Xiwangmu does not appear and interest in her may have lost favor by the sixth century. Indeed, she may have been a deity of previous periods, the Han and its subsequent centuries. The Guyuan Sarcophagus may have adhered to that earlier ideology; there certainly was a clear path to Dongwangfu and Xiwangmu on the coffin cover. Whether the Guyuan occupant reached them on a mere temporary tour or whether they were an ultimate destination, cannot be determined. As with the ceiling

\textsuperscript{1412} Ibid., p. 63.
\textsuperscript{1413} Ibid., p. 63-64.
\textsuperscript{1414} 2000, pp. 150-1.
slab in the late Han Wu Family Shrine, and even on Lady Dai’s banner, there seems to be no provision for the deceased’s return. Despite the words “take a tour”, Xiwangmu appears to be the Cangshan occupant’s ultimate destination. The Guyuan Sarcophagus windows are surrounded by feathers, suggesting transportation. Why was transportation required when the occupants were already in the tomb? Similarly, Lady Dai’s coffin feathers may have been provided to effect her ascension to the deities as depicted on her banner. Whether the visit to Xiwangmu was temporary or permanent, is by no means certain. Possibly believers of the Han period did not hypothesize that far and merely conceived of the tomb as a xiang, something that made it likely that good things would happen. If the visit was permanent, it is inconceivable that nothing but the withered body remained in the well-appointed tomb. In that case, there would have been a bifurcation, of souls which does not seem to have been attested in the texts. Yet a number of authors Brashier cites insist that the soul never left the grave, even had to be enticed there.\footnote{1996, pp. 136-137.} The indistinct state of the occupants of the tombs of Guyuan and Koguryo, lifelike portraits but with some attributes of the hereafter, suggests that they remained in their tombs but the tombs had become xiang (Chapter 5, p. 108). Rawson echoes Brashier’s idea that notions of the soul varied by class, scholarly and popular.\footnote{She includes variation by geographical region. She also favors the theory of visits to the various deities. “Notions of ascent to paradise developed later”. (1999, p. 18). Of course those notions were developed by the concepts of Buddhism.} Probably, Xiwangmu was a popular and friendly concept enjoyed by the populace that did not attempt to integrate her into carefully reasoned discussions of the soul.

The Guyuan Sarcophagus certainly has shown several different ideologies, as this study has examined. In addition to the suggestions of Buddhist adherence on the sides,
and the native Chinese world including Dongwangfu and Xiwangmu on the lid, the occupant has included numerous scenes of filial piety around the top of the sides (Ch. 1, figs. 3 and 4). Perhaps the uniquely shown Xianbei dress of the filial figures, rather than classical Chinese dress, was more than just a sign of the period, perhaps the occupant wished to identify the figures as his filial descendants and himself (who is shown in Xianbei dress) as the recipient of their required bounty.

The ideology of filial piety necessitated the occupant and his wife (who was buried in the same tomb) being placed in a small dark window. There they became icons and thus ancestors deserving of filial piety. Of course the occupant, being of an inclusive bent, was not going to be satisfied with being shown in just two small dark windows, he also had himself (with his wife standing serving him) portrayed in posthumous splendor on the end of his coffin.

But he had not entirely relinquished his opportunity in native Chinese heaven. Not only were the two double portraits (one on each side of the coffin) surrounded by feathers thereby ensuring avian transportation, there were slats over the small dark windows. Angela Sheng has suggested that the small dark windows represented carriages. Slats had appeared in front of servants and attendants in the ca. 415 CE Northern Yan tombs of Feng Sufu and his wife (figs. 804, 805), but it would be ridiculous to suggest that attendants would be featured in such a prominent position as the windows on the Guyuan coffin. Hunche had still appeared on Northern Wei (fig. 800)

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1417 He Xilin has suggested that the inclusion of filial piety images was intended to show, not only the respectability of the occupant, but that he was morally upright. (2003, p. 360). I suggest that they were also intended to require the descendants to perform the necessary rites.
1418 They are not shown in the line drawings of the Guyuan Sarcophagus.
1419 Personal communication.
1420 Li Yaobo, 1973, figs. 16, 48.
and Northern Zhou stele, but the Guyuan occupant’s carriage was not just intended to take his soul to the tomb. He had bigger ideas than that. It was to take him to Dongwangfu and Xiwangmu, just as did the carriages on the ceiling of the Wu Family Shrine (fig. 795). The door on the Hudong coffin (fig. 806), the sister coffin of the Guyuan Sarcophagus, was not entirely closed as was Yuan Mi’s door, which last registered the Confucian limited human knowledge or interest in the numinous other (fig. 803). The Hudong coffin door left the way open to immortality. One way or another, the Guyuan occupant was assured of eternity.

CHAPTER TWELVE

CONCLUSION

The Guyuan Sarcophagus is a Northern Wei Pingcheng period (before 494 CE) lacquer coffin painted with many foreign as well as native Chinese images. It was excavated in the town of Guyuan, Ningxia. In the Northern Wei period, Guyuan was named Gaoping; in the Northern Zhou period it became Yuanzhou.

The foreign images entered China along the Silk Road from the West and also from South Asia. They started to appear in the Han and continued to enter China during the Northern Dynasties and also the Tang periods. There is surprisingly little demonstrable nomadic influence on the Guyuan coffin, unless, of course, one includes the Xianbei riding costumes worn by the occupant and filial piety characters. Direct nomadic influence had been most conspicuous during the Han and perhaps Warring States periods.

The Western Han was a period that saw drastic changes from previous periods, although a few of them may have been developing in the late Warring States. With the inclusion of all the previously separate states of China, each with its own ideas, politics, administration, society, world view and speculation about the ethos and the numen were developing along new centralist lines. These changes were reflected in the art which developed strong curved outlines and included smooth plain surfaces. In addition, aforementioned new motifs appeared suddenly as imports along the Silk Road.

Such new motifs were most noticeable on the silk painting of Lady Dai (after 168 BCE) whose tomb was excavated in Mawangdui at Changsha, Hunan. Horizontal human-headed birds from the West and a squatting atlantean figure from South Asia
appeared there for the first time as did a cervid which had inverted hindquarters, this last a typical nomad motif. Vine scrolls, originating in the Mediterranean also began to appear in China in the Han period.

Slightly later, flaming triangles, Buddhist deities, the suggestion of a Sogdian ceremony and royal hunt and pearl roundels appeared from abroad. These are interposed on the Guyuan coffin between Chinese figures such as Dongwangfu and Xiwangmu, tianhe and various apotropaic fauna. The Chinese artist did his best to incorporate the foreign figures into his Chinese way of looking at things. The purpose of this study has been to analyze these images and to try to arrive at their various origins.

It has been argued in this study that the Guyuan Sarcophagus was made in the Northern Wei capital, Pingcheng, and then shipped to Guyuan. It has been shown to relate to the tombs recently excavated in the Datong area. Among them are the tomb at Shaling, 435 CE, at Zhijiabao from the 480s, that of Song Shaozu, 477 CE, the group at Qilicun, ca. 484 CE and especially the tomb at Hudong. Added to these are the earlier excavated tomb of Sima Jinlong (474 and 484 CE) and Yonggu, the tomb of Empress Dowager Feng, d. 490 CE.

The tombs of Song Shaozu and at Zhijiabao are also important because of their stone house-shaped sarcophagi, actually guo, outer casings. The interiors of both of these guo are painted with murals, that of Zhijiabao being decipherable and showing the interred couple seated under a canopy, about to enjoy a feast. The assumption of this study is that, as wall painting had not yet developed in Guyuan, all the elements that would have been included in tomb murals, such as a portrait of the occupant feasting in a Chinese house or tent, were painted onto the lacquer sarcophagus and transported. The
walls of the tombs of Song Shaozu and at Zhijiabao also were not painted, but the
desired elements were painted inside the two guo. The idea of painting a guo or coffin
was not new in Pingcheng.

Lacquer had long been a desired substance in Pingcheng. In the surprisingly early
tomb in Shaling, there was a large quantity of lacquer remains. The large piece
containing the chronological record of the tomb is still decipherable today. Lacquerware
was found in the Qilicun tomb group, in the Yongguling of Empress Dowager Feng, but
more important, both the coffin and coffin bed at Hudong were covered in lacquer. The
designs are so similar to those on the Guyuan Sarcophagus that I have labeled it the
Guyuan’s “sister” tomb. Of course, the great showpiece of Pingcheng lacquer is the
lacquer screen found in Sima Jinlong’s tomb that depicts female virtuous exemplars. It
was accompanied by lacquered wooden strips. The designs of two of those lacquer strips
are very similar to the designs on the Guyuan coffin.

Bronze plaques (pushou) and rings were found in the tomb in Guyuan. Many
tombs in Datong had them including a number in the tombs at Qilicun and especially in
the tomb at Hudong where there were several types of plaques. So many styles of gilt
bronze pushou, rings and plaques were excavated from a site in the southern suburbs that
it is thought to have been a workshop.

The magnificent complex of Buddhist cave temples called Yungang exhibits the
stacked rows of measured motifs, often vine scrolls, that is the epitome of Pingcheng
style. Included in at least four caves are flaming triangles, and in three are bean-shaped
vine lozenges intersected with hexagons, analogous to the Guyuan Sarcophagus pearl
roundels intersected with hexagons.
Its measured motifs are also similar to those on the Hudong coffin and coffin bed. With them, the Guyuan coffin shares not only pearl roundels but even the tiny curls that edge them. These tiny curls also surround a motif on one of Sima Jinlong's lacquer strips.

Contrast the situation in fifth century Gaoping (Guyuan). Not till 436 CE was it conquered by the Northern Wei by defeating its previous Xiongnu rulers. Only several other Northern Wei period tombs have been found, and, except for a solid hangtu replica of a house found in one of them, these tombs are unremarkable. The only lacquer found is some pieces of Han lacquer. The Buddhist cave site of Xumishan just to the north of Guyuan tells the tale. Compared to the roughly one hundred fifty caves of the Northern Zhou period, there are only about twenty Northern Wei caves. Not many of these have central pillars.

Over the Kongtong Mountain to the south, the verdant valleys of the Jing and Pu Rivers saw high culture seep in at the very beginning of the sixth century with the excavation of several groups of large Buddhist caves. That florescence only spread to Guyuan, by then called Yuanzhou, in the Northern Zhou period. As well as the aforementioned Xumishan Caves, there were a number of well-appointed tombs from that period in Yuanzhou, some with wall paintings. Due to the tardiness of the development of that area, the vine scroll motif, so prominent on the Guyuan Sarcophagus, never did reach Guyuan or the valleys to the south before it died out. There are no vine scrolls in southern Gansu.\textsuperscript{1423}

\textsuperscript{1423} With a single inconspicuous exception, at Wangmugong at Jingchuan.
From the discussion here, it would seem that the Silk Route did not reach Guyuan until the Northern Zhou period.\footnote{1424 With the exception of a few Sogdian immigrants (see below).} It had stretched along the Hexi Corridor and up to Pingcheng/Datong, the Northern Wei capital until 494 CE, missing southern Gansu entirely. After the capital’s move to Luoyang in 494 CE, the Silk Route traversed the Wei River Valley so that the Northern Wei later style reached the Maijishan Caves in Tianshui,\footnote{1425 The attire worn by donors in Maijishan Cave 78 is similar to the Xianbei attire (pre 486 CE) of donors at Yungang although the excavators say it is not barbarian garments. Cave 74 also situated at the south end of the second covered way may also be early. (Dien, Riegel and Price 1985, p. 1634). The “Taihe Gaizhi” may not have been strictly adhered to away from the capital. (Albert Dien, personal communication).} and Binglingsi and its influence began to be felt in the Pu and Jing Valleys. It was not until the Northern Zhou made Chang’an/Xi’an its capital in 557 CE that part of the Silk Route came through Guyuan and prosperity began.

We do not know the identity of the male occupant or his accompanying wife, but they clearly were Xianbei judging from their Xianbei costume. He likely was an official sent from the capital. He either took the coffin with him or later had it made according to his instructions and shipped from the capital. He must have sent a strange array of instructions representing several different faiths, and the Chinese artist adapted them into a Chinese scheme as best he could.

There are four different religions or ethnic points of view on the coffin. One of the most straightforward is Buddhism. The pearl roundels, and this is an early appearance of that motif, are filled with flying, squatting, plump, dhoti-wearing haloed deities with scarves. The “sister” Hudong pearl roundels are filled with the same deities and it is suggested these pearl roundels came from Gandhāra as they arrived a half century before the Zoroastrian or secular pearl roundels appeared in China. Another
indication of Buddhism can be seen in both tombs: in the Guyuan Sarcophagus tomb in the bronze pushou and rings which depict the Baby Buddha and in the Hudong tomb in a bronze plaque (Ch. 7 fig. 576) (the other Hudong bronzes are secular and one depicts a demon!).

Connected with Buddhism are the magnificent flaming triangles on the Guyuan Sarcophagus. They are found above the aforementioned floating Buddhist deities, which group was framed by lotus borders, in a frieze along the tops of the sides. Flaming triangles were concocted out of antlers in the northeastern state of Yan and further developed in neighbouring Koguryo where they appear above a line separating the earthly from the celestial realms in fifth and sixth century tombs.

Their meaning came from merlons,\textsuperscript{1426} stepped triangles, which originated as xwarna, kingly power and glory in Iran. Merlons always appeared on top of things, like crowns and architecture, and as such were adopted for the tops of Buddhist stūpas, and it was on small replicas, stūpa pillars, that they spread to Gansu in northwest China.\textsuperscript{1427} In Gandhāra, the Kushan emperors depicted their xwarna as flaming shoulders. This symbol, too, spread to Buddhism where the Buddhas of the Kāpīśī Valley had flaming shoulders. The Amitāyus Buddha in Binglingsi Cave 169, 420 CE, has flaming shoulders and the image was in use in north China for some time. It, too, was a contributor to the flaming triangle concept. Flaming triangles are much in evidence in the Datong cave site of Yungang where they appear, always on top of things like Chinese roofs. Their strange

\textsuperscript{1426} The suggestion, made by Steinhardt, that flaming triangles represented a Buddhist mountain (Mount Meru) was not followed in this study.

\textsuperscript{1427} As the earliest dated flaming triangles in East Asia are in the Tŏkhung-ri tomb dated 408/9 CE and the earliest dated record of Buddhist merlons in China is only on a sutra pillar of 428 CE, it is presumed that other merlons in a Buddhist context reached East Asia between 357 CE (the date of Anak Tomb No. 3 which has only lotus blossoms) and 408/9 CE.
position on the Guyuan Sarcophagus, dividing scenes in Chinese filial piety tales, cannot be attributed to any connection to the latter, but to their usual position above Buddhist scenes.

Another incongruous theme on the Guyuan Sarcophagus is the suggestion of a Sogdian relationship of the occupant. Apart from actual Sasanian objects found in Northern Wei (and Sui) tombs, the Guyuan Sarcophagus is the first pictorial indication of Sogdian influence in China. The occupant sits in Xianbei costume (not Sogdian costume) in a Chinese house, but his knees are splayed in the manner of a Kushan or Sasanian ruler and he is holding a small round cup. Other Northern Wei tombs of Datong show couples feasting in their tombs as they had done since the Eastern Han, but the Guyuan occupant is alone in his Chinese house with his wife serving him from outside. There have been suggestions that he was partaking of the Persian inspired Nowruz ceremony, but there, classically, the husband and wife drink together inside their house, and that act is preceded by the husband (king), holding a glass of wine, ceremonially riding through the town on a horse. The Guyuan occupant is not shown on a horse. The Yu Hong Sarcophagus, 592 CE in Taiyuan, conforms to these customs, but the An Qie, (579 CE in Xi’an) mortuary couch does not entirely. In the one image of him on a horse, he seems to be greeting a person on the ground. He does not drink with his wife, but there are many scenes of him drinking in the company of other men, probably because he went on a number of diplomatic missions.

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1428 Matteo Compareti, in attempting to ferret out Buddhism in Sogdiana, tells much about Mazdeism (Zoroastrianism) in China, including the fact that Sogdians “followed a local form of Mazdeism different from the one professed by Persians.” 2008, p. 6.
1429 There was a spate of Sogdian tombs in the late 6th century.
In the Northern Zhou tomb of Kang Ye excavated in 2004 in Xi’an, the occupant was laid on bricks directly on a mortuary bed surrounded on three sides by a stone screen with four double panels. He came from the State of Kang in the Samarkand area. In the panels, of the four individuals in Chinese robes depicted on separate daises in a forest, the only man is not drinking but is being presented with food. Another man, however, sits in a Chinese house with curtains. He wears a Chinese robe and a special hat which almost resembles a crown. His situation is different from that of the four lesser persons mentioned above: he is being presented with wine in two cups from two hu. On each side of him are a long hearse and a riderless caparisoned horse. Moreover, in another panel, a man in a Chinese robe sits on a horse. The Guyuan Sarcophagus occupant had not reached the Nowruz level of these late sixth century immigrants.

On the bottom of the sides of the Guyuan Sarcophagus is a hunting scene. This, as we have shown, is suggestive of the Sasanian Royal Hunt and both the the Yu Hong and the An Qie stone carvings show it. On the other hand, hunting scenes were common in Han period tombs, presumably to fend off dangerous spirits and the Chinese artist of the Guyuan Sarcophagus may have interpreted it as such. The Guyuan mounted hunting scene including, typically, a Parthian shot, is totally Han in spirit and in no way portrays the Great Man single-handedly subduing an animal which is the subject of Sasanian hunting portrayals.

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1430 Xi’anshi Wenwu Baohu Kaogusuo 2008.
1431 The Xi’an An Qie (d. 571 CE) hunting scenes are Han style hunting scenes in that several undistinguished hunters pursue prey (Shaanxisheng Kaogu Yanjiusuo, 2003, pls. 31, 20, 26); the Taiyuan Yu Hong (d. 593 CE) hunting scenes depict single Great Men (or haloed deities) in princely costume single-handedly attacking animals with great bravery (Zhang Qingjie 2001, figs. 5, 6, 8; Zhang Qingjie 2000, p. 30. No explanation can be offered for Zhang Qingjie 2001, fig. 7).
Both the hunting scene and the scene of the persons attending the occupant of the Guyuan Sarcophagus are filled with lotus buds, a Buddhist symbol unknown in Sogdian art. These are also seen in murals in the Hephthalite stronghold of Balalyk Tepe, which included a Zoroastrian fire altar, but they could be attributed to the influence of the many Buddhist monasteries in the area. No lotus buds are seen in the neighbouring Hephthalite capital of Dilberjin.

Much speculation has centered on a possible Hephthalite origin of the occupant of the Guyuan Sarcophagus. It has centered on the occupant’s mannerism of an extended little finger as he holds his cup. This mannerism is conspicuous in the Balalyk Tepe murals. The Hephthalites were Zoroastrians, as were the Sogdian Yu Hong, An Qie as well as the Shi and Kong families of Xi’an (ch. 11). Zoroastrian bird-priests tending the sacred fires are shown in all three tombs. There is no hint whatever that the Guyuan occupant was Zoroastrian. He may have picked up the mannerism from Hephthalite ambassadors as they visited the Northern Wei court many times.

The cup he holds is a small round Chinese cup and not the wide brimmed, boat-shaped or stemmed cup shown in the above Sogdian tombs, even though a silver Chinese-style ear cup with an attached Sogdian-style fluted base was found in his tomb. Sogdians resided in China some generations before the occupants of the above sixth century tombs. Even in the fifth century, Sogdians from Kesh, south of Samarkand, settled in Guyuan. The earliest tomb of these to have been excavated, is that of Shi Shewu (d. 609) who ended up as Cavalry General of the Right Palace Guard.\(^{1432}\) According to his epitaph, his great-grandfather had immigrated from the “Western

\(^{1432}\) Luo Feng 2001, p. 239.
Regions” probably in the latter half of the fifth century. It is most likely that the Guyuan Sarcophagus occupant picked up at least one their customs as he enjoyed drinking with the boys.\footnote{Almost every one of the five Shi family tombs contained an imitated Eastern Roman gold coin or Sasanian silver coin. One was found in the occupant’s mouth, the others near the skulls. (Ningxia Huizu Zizhiqu Guyuan Bowuguan, 1996, synopsis). This practice might account for the presence of a B-type Sasanian Peroz reign period (457-483 CE) silver coin in the Guyuan lacquer coffin tomb. (Luo Feng 1990, p. 19). Because of the damage to the tomb, its placement cannot be ascertained.}

It is curious that the top of the sides of the Guyuan Sarcophagus displays many scenes of filial piety. He Xilin has suggested that they were included in tombs to show that the occupant was a moral person, because, of course, only moral persons progress to a happy afterlife.\footnote{He Xilin 2003, p. 358.} The Guyuan Sarcophagus scenes are famous because the characters are portrayed uniquely wearing Xianbei costume. It is here suggested that those scenes were intended to remind the descendants of the deceased to carry out the necessary rituals which were designed to prolong the posthumous existence of the deceased in a happy state. It was one of several ways of providing immortality for the deceased.

Despite all the above, the subtext of the whole coffin was traditional Chinese beliefs about the afterlife. The sheer proportion of the coffin devoted to Chinese beliefs suggests that it was a Chinese artist who did the designing. The entire lid consists of Chinese images of the supramondane. At the head sit Dongwangfu and Xiwangmu and between them flows tianhe, the Milky Way, which, in this context, suggests a path to those deities. The rest of the lid is filled with fanciful birds and animals, apotropaic creatures, the only identifiable of which are three human-headed birds, identified with immortality. The rest are freely composed, each a variation of the last.\footnote{None of these animals is a Zoroastrian animal.}
These freely invented apotropaic creatures continue onto the sides where, at
the bottom, they are concluded by a hunting scene where animals, representing dangerous
spirits, are hunted down and dispatched. Elsewhere on the sides are small dark windows
showing the occupant and his wife. As on the Minneapolis Sarcophagus of Yuan Mi, 524
CE, they are depicted as icons, ancestors, who should be revered according to the tenets
of filial piety. The windows on the Guyuan Sarcophagus are surrounded by feathers, a
symbol suggesting the Minneapolis device of birds which carry the deceased to the
windows and then fly away unloaded. But the Guyuan Sarcophagus suggests more
possibilities leading to an afterlife than does the Minneapolis Sarcophagus. The windows
of the former are fronted by slats which suggest that the deceased are in a carriage. Not
only can the Guyuan occupants fly away to immortality, a carriage will transport their
souls to Dongwangfu and Xiwangmu just as did the carriages on the ceiling of the
Eastern Han Wu Family Shrine.

If any question remains that the coffin was painted by a Chinese artist who
attempted to depict a Sogdian scene of the occupant drinking and not by a Sogdian artist
trying to depict scenes related to Chinese beliefs, it should be answered by the fact that
the occupant is drinking from a small Chinese cup and not the broad cups of Sogdian or
Hephthalite ritual. Likely the Guyuan Sarcophagus occupant, a man of many faiths,
required himself, in a Hephthalite pose, Dongwangfu and Xiwangmu, Buddhist deities,
and the filial piety scenes (for respectability) be represented. The artist filled in the rest
according to traditional beliefs.

This study did not attempt to make any contribution to a theory of ornament. The
figures depicted on the coffin are representations of people, deities, or creatures and the
vine scrolls and pearl roundels with hexagons provide a matrix in accord with the fashion of the day. For those who are interested in the theory of ornament, the following political explanation is offered. The Pingcheng style as described above consists of stacked row upon row of ornament, such as vine scrolls, lotus borders and pearl roundels on the Guyuan Sarcophagus and such as vine scrolls, lotus borders and lines of small figures in the Yungang Caves. This liking for strips of ornament may derive from the narrow straps that held together the interiors of the tents or yurts of the nomadic Xianbei. In any case, this organization of space in the Pingcheng period is interrupted by large insets of human figures. In Yungang they are usually seated Buddhist deities in niches of Chinese or Indian architecture. The busyness of surrounding horizontal strips draws the eye toward these important icons. Likewise on the Guyuan Sarcophagus the surrounding vine scrolls and pearl roundel/hexagons draw the eye towards the occupant, the large deities below him and even the figures in the small dark windows in the sides. It may be that the dictatorial Northern Wei régime saw their empire that way: they were the large, all-powerful rulers and all the little creatures around them were there to serve them. It may be significant that Empress Dowager Feng’s tomb, due, perhaps, to the fact that she requested that there be almost no decoration, shows only large figures.  

As for the date of the coffin, since there is no epitaph tablet, the date can only be surmised. The Xianbei costumes worn by the occupant and characters in the filial piety scenes would not have appeared after the introduction of the “Taihe Gaizhi” (Reformation of the System of the Taihe Era) in 486, since it is likely that the coffin was

1436 She paid great attention to her tomb, going to the actual site (Fang Shan) to choose its location. (A.G. Wenley, 1947, pp. 4-5 and J.J.L. Duyvendak, 1948, “A.G. Wenley, p. 309). Although she died in 490 CE, the tomb was begun in 481 CE and finished in 484 CE. (Dien, Riegel and Price, 1985, p. 1522).
made in Pingcheng, the capital. The "Taihe Gaizhi", a step toward sinicization, decreed that only Chinese attire be worn.

This fact leaves a very narrow time period in which the coffin could have been painted because the rounded form inside the base of the flaming triangles of the Guyuan Sarcophagus was the start of their degeneration. Alone, without the triangle, this rounded form first appeared in the Binyang Cave (500-523 CE) at Longmen, near Luoyang. It did not appear at Yungang although flaming triangles did degenerate there too. They degenerated into plain flat triangles on the tops of Chinese style roofs. Only the Guyuan Sarcophagus triangles show the transition from flaming triangles to the rounded forms. Thus the Sarcophagus must be dated very close to 486 CE.
Figure 1. Copy of lid of Guyuan Sarcophagus. After Ningxia Guyuan Bowuguan, 1988.
Figure 2. Drawing of lid of Guyuan Sarcophagus. After Ningxia Guyuan Bowuguan, 1988.
Figure 3. Drawing of Side 1 of Guyuan Sarcophagus. After Ningxia Guyuan Bowuguan, 1988.

Figure 5. Drawings of remains of both ends including portrait of the occupant of Guyuan Sarcophagus. After Ningxia Guyuan Bowuguan, 1988.
Figure 6. Copy of portrait of the occupant, Guyuan Sarcophagus. After Ningxia Guyuan Bowuguan, 1988.
Figure 7. Actual lacquer fragments of occupant and deity, Guyuan Sarcophagus. After Ningxia Guyuan Bowuguan, 1988.
Figure 8. Copy of portraits of Dongwangfu and Xiwangmu, lid of Guyuan Sarcophagus. After Ningxia Guyuan Bowuguan, 1988.

Figure 10. Bei Ta, Yinchuan, originally built 424 CE. Photograph by the author.
Figure 11. Peroz B silver coin, 477-499 CE. After Ningxia Huizu Zizhiqu Guyuan Gowuguan and Zhongri Yuanzhou Lianhe Kaogudui, eds., 1999, p. 27.
Figure 12. Pearl roundels on lacquer coated coffin, Hudong Tomb, Datong. After Shanxisheng Datongshi Kaogu Yanjiusuo, 2004, fig. 9.
Figure 13. Copy of pearl roundels on Guyuan Sarcophagus. After Ningxia Guyuan Bowuguan, 1988, front cover.
Figure 15. Pillar with vine scrolls, Wangmugong, Jingchuan, Southern Gansu. After Gansusheng Wenwu Gongzuodui and Qingyang Bei Shiku Wenwu Baoguansuo, 1989, pl. 109.
Figure 16. Lacquer fragment thought to depict Three Warriors and Two Peaches, Tomb of the Lacquer Sarcophagus, Guyuan. After Ningxia Guyuan Bowuguan, 1988.

Figure 17. Stone relief of Three Warriors and Two Peaches, Nanyang. After Nanyangshi Bowuguan, 1981, fig. 32.
Figure 18. Drawing of head end of lid of Guyuan Sarcophagus. After Ningxia Guyuan Bowuguan, 1988.
Figure 20. Drawing of Side 1 of Guyuan Sarcophagus. After Ningxia Guyuan Bowuguan, 1988.
Figure 21. Rubbings of molded bricks with floral decoration from Liu family tomb, Changsha, dated 499 CE. After Juliano, 1980, fig. 79.
Figure 22. Drawing of embroidered textile design from Tomb M1 at Mashan. 4th – 3rd c BCE. After Rawson, 1996, p. 143, fig. 4.
Figure 23. Roman architectural elements: left, 1: Nimes, funerary altar; top right, 2, 3: Details of funerary altars from the Tomb of the Calpurnii Pisones; bottom right, 4: Black marble fragment from Hadrian’s Villa. 2, 3 and 4 from Museo Nazionale Romano. After Toynbee and Perkins, 1950, pl. 14.
Figure 24. Vine scrolls from Eastern Han tombs in Shaanxi. After Gu Sen 1997, p. 890.
Figure 25. Maitreya niche, Dunhuang Cave 275, Northern Liang. After Dunhuang Wenwu Yanjiusuo, 1982, pl. 12.
Figure 26. Entrance to Cave V, Yungang. After Watson 1995, fig. 200.
Figure 27. Lacquer fragments of vine scrolls, Guyuan Sarcophagus. After Ningxia Guyuan Bowuguan, 1988.
Figure 28. Drawings of wall paintings from the Assyrian palace of Tukulti-Ninurta I. After Francfort, 1956, p. 74.
Figure 29. Stone relief from Northwest Palace of Ashurnasirpal II (883-859 BCE), Nimrud. After Barnett and Lorenzini, 1975, p. 17.
Figure 30. Drawings of ornaments from Nimrud and Kouyunjik. After Jones, 1972, pl. 12.
Figure 31. Kalyx krater painted by Euphronios. Attic, ca. 525 BCE. After Onians, 1999, p. 12, fig. 9a.
Figure 32. Drawing of design on Ennion ovoid jug in Eretz Israel Museum, Ramat Aviv. Late Neronian and early Flavian period. After Newby and Painter, eds., 1991, p. 69, fig. 11.
Figure 33. Fragment of woolen stuff, Han period Noin Ula, Mongolia. After Trever, 1932, p. 6.
Figure 34. Roman capitals at Xanthos, Asia Minor. After Cavalier, 2005, pl. 24, no. 76.
Figure 35. Vine scroll and lotus border, Temple of Bêl, Palmyra. After Robinson, 1946, p. 118.
Figure 36. Belly-handled krater, Faliscan Series, Etruria. Close to 600 BCE. After Hayes, 1985, p. 43, no. B21.

Figure 37. Kantheros, Etruscan Bucchero Ware, early type. Ca. 630-600 BCE. After Hayes, 1985, p. 65, no. C4.

Figure 38. Late Canosan askos, ca. 300 BCE. After Hayes, 1985, p. 157, no. F15.
Figure 39. Portrait of Vel Saties, from the François Tomb, Vulci. Etruscan. 3rd c BCE. Wall painting. After Ramage and Ramage, 1991, p. 39, no. 1.24.
Figure 41. Sasanian decorations. C, section of archivolt; F, H and J, sections of friezes. After Pope, ed., 1981.
Figure 42. Sasanian decoration from Ctesiphon. D. After Pope, ed., 1981, p. 172.
Figure 43. Vine scroll above Bacchanalian scene from a rhyton, from Nisa, Persia, ca. 2nd – 1st c. BCE. After Rhie 2002, fig. 2.11.

Figure 44. Façade S of Stupa P, Hadda. Early 5th c CE. After Barthoux, 1933, fig. 172.
Figure 45. Stone relief with scenes from the life of Buddha. Gandhāra, 2nd c CE. Vine scroll on extreme right. After Jongeward, 2003, no. 20.
Figure 46. Parrot, chick and bound leaves. Engraved bone. Begram, 2nd c CE? After Nehru, 2004, p. 141, fig. 10.

Figure 47. Carved beam from Loulan. Ca. 3rd c CE. After Whitfield and Farrer, 1990, No. 117.
Figure 48. Vine scroll, main room, Cave VII, Yungang. After Rhie, 2002, fig. 5.34.
Figure 49. Drawings of sides of Zhijiabao wooden coffin. Datong. After Liu Junxi and Gao Feng, 2004, figs. 14 and 15.
Figure 50. Drawings of vine scrolls in Zhijiabao 2001 Tomb. After Wnag Yintian and Liu Junxi, 2001, fig. 20.
Figure 51. Drawings of reliefs on sides of stone stands, Tomb of Sima Jinlong, Datong. 474 and 484 CE. After Shanxisheng Datongshi Bowuguan and Shanxisheng Wenwu Gongzuowei yuanhui, 1972, fig. 6.
Figure 52. Hourglass stone reliefs nos. 176 and 178, Tumshuk. Hambis, ed., 1961, pl. 72.
Figure 53. Pilaster from the Grotte Vaticane, Museo Petriano, Rome. After Toynbee and Perkins, 1950, pl. 18.
Figure 54. Lacquer strips from Tomb of Sima Jinlong, Datong. 474 and 484 CE. After Chutu Wenwu Zhanlan Gongzuozu, 1973, p. 145.
Figure 55. Copies of pillar capitals, Temple in the Oasis of Thebes. No. 7, papyrus surrounded by lotus. No. 10, eight lotus flowers bound together in 2 tiers. After Jones, 1972, pl. 6, Egyptian No. 3.
Figure 56. Gold head-dress terminals from the Akhalgorisk hoard, Georgia. 5th c BCE. After Rice, 1965, fig. 12.
Figure 57. Sides of Guyuan Sarcophagus. After Ningxia Guyuan Bowuguan, 1988.
Figure 58. Amitāyus Buddha, Cave 169, Binglingsi, Gansu. 420 CE. After Zhang Baoxi, ed., 1994, p. 61.
Figure 59. Footprints of the Buddha, Sāncī, India. 3rd-1st c BCE. After Jongeward, 2003, p. 19, fig. 3.

Figure 60. Stone medallions from railing of Stūpa at Bārhut, India. After Bachhofer, 1972, p. 32.
Figure 61. Stone relief from Tomb of Artaxerxes III, (d.338 BCE), Persepolis. After Boardman, 2000, p. 120, fig. 3.39.
Figure 62. Detail of frieze from Nereid tomb, Asia Minor. Ca. 390-380, BCE. After Onians, 1999, p. 29, fig. 23.

Figure 63. Lotus on underside of the Bīmarān reliquary, Gandhāra. 2nd-3rd c CE. After Rawson, 1984, fig. 110.
Figure 64. Base of the Column of Antoninus Pius, Rome. Ca 161 CE. After Ramage and Ramage, 1991, p. 206, fig. 8.18.
Figure 65. Copy of felt appliqué of rider before seated goddess. Barrow 5, Pazyryk. After Rudenko, 1970, pl. 154.
Figure 66. Mummy of man, Tomb 15, Yingpan, Yuli County, Xinjiang. Han-Jin Dynasty. After Zhongguo Lishi Bowuguan and Xinjiang Weiwuerzu Zizhi Zhi Wenwu Ju Bian Ji, 2002, p. 320.
Figure 67. Detail of trousers of male mummy from Yingpan, Yuli County, Xinjiang. Han-Jin Dynasty. After Zhou, 1998, p. 65.

Figure 68. Copy of woven fabric from Warring States Chu tomb of Mashan. After Loubo-Lesnichenko, 1994, fig. 8.
Figure 69. Drawing of braid from Warring States Chu tomb of Mashan. After Rawson, 1996, p.148, fig. 67.8.
Figure 70. Carved and lacquered wooden board, Changsha, Chu, Warring States. After Fontein and Wu, 1973, no. 22, fig. 25.
Figure 71. Copy of gilt bronze saddle cover, Chaoyang, Former Yan. After Liaoningsheng Wenwu Kaogu Yanjiusuo and Chaoyangshi Bowuguan, 1997, fig. 22.

Figure 72. Copy of gilt bronze saddle cover, Chaoyang, Former Yan. After Liaoningsheng Wenwu Kaogu Yanjiusuo and Chaoyangshi Bowuguan, 1997, fig. 25.
Figure 73. Drawing of gilt bronze saddle cover, Chaoyang, Former Yan. After Yu Junyu, 1997, fig. 3.
Figure 74. Harem scene, Yungang Cave 6. After Zhongguo Meishu Quanji Bianji Weiyuanhui, 1984, pl. 62.
Figure 75. Dunhuang Embroidery, found between Caves 125 and 126, Dunhuang. Dated 487 CE. After Watt, ed., 2004, No. 79.
Figure 76. Two lotus blossoms carved on bone. Begram. After Nehru, 2004, fig. 14.
Figure 77. Drawing of cylinder seal impression of King Marduk-zakir-shumi I (ca. 854-819 BCE) of Babylon showing god Markuk with his mušuššu-dragon. After McBeath, 1999, fig. 18.
Figure 78. Gold collar with metal "pearl" roundels. Kalouraz (Gilan). 8th c BCE. After Mazahéri, 1970.
Figure 79. Bronze roundel found at Geoy Tépé, possibly 8th c BCE. After Vanden Berghe, 1959, pl. 149.

Figure 80. King Ashurbanipal (668-627 BCE) hunting. Nineveh, Palace of Ashurbanipal, Room S, Upper Chambers. After Barnett and Lorenzini, 1975, pl. V.
Figure 81. Sacrifices offered at the Sea of Nairi (Lake Van). The Bronze Gates from Balawat. After Barnett and Lorenzini, 1975, pl. 41 (a).
Figure 82. Portrait statue believed to be that of King Sanatruq, Hatra. 117 BCE. After Rosenfield, 1967, fig. 138.
Figure 83. Detail of rock relief of King Khusrau II (590-627 CE) on a boar hunt. Taq-i-Bustan. After Pope, ed., 1981, Vol VII.
Figure 84. Attendant on boar hunt of King Khusrau. Taq-i-Bustan. After Shepherd, 1983, pl.111c.
Figure 85. Standing Buddha. Gandhāra, 2nd c CE. After Rowland, 1965, p. 116, no. 1.
Figure 86. Seated Buddha in teaching position. Eastern India. nd. After Willis, 2000, fig. 2.
Figure 87. Vase from Yotkan, 1st-3rd c CE. After Whitfield and Farrer, 1990, no. 138.

Figure 88. Sacred beasts on silk textiles excavated at Astana graveyard. After Zhao Feng, 1997, Fig. 3.
Figure 89. Polychrome from Astana, warp-faced compound twill weave. 653 CE. After Meister, 1970, fig. 25.
Figure 90. Poster of scene from 1959 film, "Solomon and Sheba". After Simpson, ed., 2002, no. 9.
Figure 91. Drawing of silk painting (banner) of Lady Dai, Tomb 1, Mawangdui. After Rawson, 2000, p. 173, fig. 1.
Figure 92. Bronze swans in situ in Accompanying Pit K0007, Mausoleum of Qin Shi Huangdi. After Guojia Wenwuju, eds., 2004b, p. 90.
Figure 93. Bronze crane and geese in situ in Accompanying Pit K0007, Mausoleum of Qin Shi Huangdi. After Guojia Wenwuju, eds., 2004b, p. 91.
Figure 94. Drawing of Star Map on south side of ceiling of front chamber of Tomb at Tökhúng-ri, Koguryŏ. After Chōsen Minshu Shugi Jinmin Kyowa Koku Shakai Kaguduin and Chōsen Gako-Sha, eds., 1986, fig. 12.

Figure 95. Weaving Maid and Oxherd from Star Map on ceiling of Tomb at Tökhúng-ri, Koguryŏ. After Tseng, 2003, p. 381, fig. 3.
Figure 96. Barking dog and bird catcher from ceiling of Dingjiazha (Jiuquan) Tomb No. 5, Gansu. After Jiuquan Shiliuguo Mu Bihua, 1989.
Figure 97. Drawings of walls and ceiling of Dingjiazha (Jiuquan) Tomb No. 5, Gansu. After Rawson, 2000., p. 180, fig. 11.
Figure 98. Copies of fragments of painted Star Map on outer coffin of Tomb No. 1, of Feng Sufu, Beipiao, Liaoning. After Li Yaobo, 1973, pl. 5.
Figure 99. Rubbing of engraved Star Map on the cover of a stone coffin from Luoyang. Early sixth century CE. After Tseng, 2003, p. 380, fig., 2.
Figure 100. Copy of Star Map from ceiling of Tomb 65TAM38 at Astana (Tang). After Xinjiang Weiuer Zizhiu Bowuguan, 1973, fig. 23 (as published).

Figure 102. Stone relief of Dīparhkara Jātaka, Gandhāra. After Tsuchiya, 1999/2000, fig. 19.
Figure 103. Stone stele of Dīparīkara Jātaka, Shotorak. After Rowland, 1966, No. 47.
Figure 104. Stone sculpture of Dipaṇkara Buddha from Swat, mid 4th c CE. After Rhie, 1999, fig. 4.44.
Figure 105. West tambour, Cave 129, Bāmiyān. After Rhie, 1999, fig. 3.58.
Figure 106. Garland bearers, from M V, Miran. After Rhie, 1999, fig. 5.31.
Figure 107. Drawings of small Buddha fragments, temple KRD 61, Kara-dong, ca. 2\textsuperscript{nd} half of the 4\textsuperscript{th} c CE. After Rhie, 1999, figs. 4.87 a-c.
Figure 108. Swimmers, Kizil, Cave of the Seafarers mural. After Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1982, No. 15.

Figure 109. Niche in the Cave of the Devils mural, Kizil. After Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1982, No. 16.
Figure 110. Stūpas. Cave of the Frescoed Floor mural, Kizil. After Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1982, No. 30.
Figure 111. Mural in the Gorge Cave, Kizil. After Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1982, No. 34.

Figure 112. Tocharian knights mural, Kizil. After Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1982, No. 107.
Figure 113. Incised ivory plaque from “Coffret IX”, Bagram. After Hackin, 1954, fig. 233.
Figure 114. Carved ivory. After Hackin, 1954, fig. 30 bis. Ensemble 5, registre III (suite).
Figure 115. Drawing of details from Chinese bronze *shen-shou* mirror, excavated from Shiyama Tomb, Nara, Japan. After Wu Hung, 1986, fig. 28.

Figure 116. Gilt bronze Buddha in abhayā-mudrā. After Rhie, 1999, fig. 2.29.
Figure 117. Ceiling, main chamber, Tomb of the Dancers, 408/9 CE. After Park, 2002, fig. 23-2.
Figure 118. Mural, Cave 169, Binglingsi, 420 CE. After Dong, ed., 1994, fig. 23.

Figure 119. Detail of mural. Cave 169, Binglingsi, 420 CE. After Gansusheng Wenwu Gongzuodui, 1989, pl. 26.
Figure 120. Detail of mural. Cave 169, Binglingsi, 420 CE. After Gansusheng Wenwu Gongzuodui, 1989, pl. 41.
Figure 121. Celestial musicians, top of mural, Wenshushan. After Gansusheng Wenwu Kaogu Yanjiusuo, ed., 1987, figs. 116, 117.
Figure 122. Bodhisattva, mural, Cave 272, Dunhuang. After Dunhuang Wenwu Yanjiusuo, 1982, fig. 10.
Figure 123. Bodhisattva, mural, Cave 275, Dunhuang. After Dunhuang Wenwu Yanjiusuo, 1982.
Figure 124. Ruru Jātaka, mural, Cave 257, Dunhuang. After Rowland, 1974, p. 207.
Figure 125. Stele 10, Cave 133, Maijishan. After Sullivan, 1977, p. 105, fig. 129.
Figure 126. Rubbing of reverse of Stele 471, Beilin, Xi’an. After Jin Shen, 1994, no. 21, p. 31.
Figure 127. Maitreya, front of Stele 471, Beilin, Xi’lin. After Jin Shen, 1994, no 21, p. 30.
Figure 128. Dipaṅkara Jātaka, Cave 10, Yungang. After Wang Heng, 2003, p. 138.
Figure 129. Rubbing and drawing of apsarasas, detail of tile mural, Huqiao Tomb, Danyang, Jiangsu. After Juliano, 1980, figs. 64, 65.
Figure 130. Drawings of murals in Northern Wei tomb at Zhijiaobao, Datong. After Wang and Liu, 2001, figs. 6 and 7.
Figure 131. Drawings of murals in Northern Wei tomb at Zhijiabao, Datong. After Wang and Liu, 2001, figs. 8 and 9.
Figure 132. Murals in Northern Wei tomb at Zhijiabao, Datong. After Wang and Liu, 2001, figs. 17 and 18.

Figure 133. Copy of bas-relief and detail of stone doorway to Yonggu mausoleum of Empress Dowager Feng (d. 490 CE). Fangshan, Datong. After Howard et al., 2006, figs. 2.18 and 2.19.
Figure 134. Appliqué on A: felt wall-hanging in Barrow 1; and on B and C: felt carpet in Barrow 2. Pazyryk. After Rudenko, 1970, pl. 148.
Figure 135. Silver phiale, Lydian Treasure, Turkey. After Özgen and Öztürk, 1996, No. 40.

Figure 136. Detail of Achaemenid silver rhyton with applied gold leaf. Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1996, No. 15, p. 41, detail.
Figure 137. Detail of Apadāna Staircase, Persepolis, 4th c BCE. After Ukāshah, 1989.
Figure 138. Late Hellenistic ceramic *lagynos*. After Weiss, ed., 1985, no. 224.
Figure 139. Woolen fabric, Noin Ula. After Trever, 1932, p. 6.
Figure 140. Hunting plate, probably of Yazdegerd II (438-457 CE), found in Ufa, Russia. After Fajans, 1957, fig. 16.

Figure 141. Silver-gilt plate with a figure hunting lions. Sari, northern Iran, ca. 4th c CE. After Harper, 1978, No. 3.
Figure 142. Silver plate of a bear hunt found at Krasnaia Poliana, Abkhasia 3rd c CE. After Fajans, 1957, fig. 11.

Figure 143. Hormizd II charging and unseating his adversary. Rock relief, early 4th c CE. After Ghirshman, 1962, fig. 220.
Figure 144. Firuzabad: Victory of Ardashir I, 3rd c CE. Detail: 2 pages fighting. Rock relief. After Ghirshman, 1962, p. 126, fig. 165.

Figure 145. Metal bowl. After Ukãshah, 1989.
Figure 146. "Han hu", Luoyang Museum. Excavated 1974, Luoyang Railway Station. Photograph by the author.

Figure 147. "Han hu", Luoyang Museum. Excavated 1974, Luoyang Railway Station. Photograph and drawing by the author.
Figure 148. Hunting scene. Mural, west wall, back chamber, Tomb of the Dancers, early 5th c CE. After Park, 2002, fig. 16.
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