

**The *Siling* (four cardinal animals) in
Han Pictorial Art**

Volume One: Text and Bibliography

Pui Yin Marianne WONG

Thesis submitted to the University of London
in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the
Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

School of Oriental and African Studies,
University of London,
March 2006



ProQuest Number: 10673190

All rights reserved

INFORMATION TO ALL USERS

The quality of this reproduction is dependent upon the quality of the copy submitted.

In the unlikely event that the author did not send a complete manuscript and there are missing pages, these will be noted. Also, if material had to be removed, a note will indicate the deletion.



ProQuest 10673190

Published by ProQuest LLC (2017). Copyright of the Dissertation is held by the Author.

All rights reserved.

This work is protected against unauthorized copying under Title 17, United States Code
Microform Edition © ProQuest LLC.

ProQuest LLC.
789 East Eisenhower Parkway
P.O. Box 1346
Ann Arbor, MI 48106 – 1346

Volume One: Text and Bibliography

<u>Table of Content</u>	0-3
<u>Acknowledgements</u>	4-9
<u>Abstract</u>	10
<u>Introduction</u>	11-18
 <u>Part One: <i>Siling</i> in Funerary and Architectural context</u>	 19-139
Chapter One: Combinations of the <i>siling</i> in tomb decoration	19-70
1. Hollow-brick tombs and small brick tombs in the Han Dynasty	22-47
(i) Entrances	22-24
(ii) Tomb interiors	24-47
2. Stone tombs (inc. cave tombs)	47-65
(i) Entrances	47-57
(ii) Tomb interiors	57-65
Discussion	66-70
 Chapter Two: Combinations of the <i>siling</i> in above-ground structures	 71-81
1. Architectural components	71-72
2. Shrines and <i>que</i> -towers	72-79
Discussion	80-81
 Chapter Three: Combinations of the <i>siling</i> in funerary objects	 82-139
1. Sarcophagi and coffins	82-95
2. Objects	96-132
(i) Wood/lacquer objects	96-105
(a) Lacquered clothes chest	96-101
(b) Lacquered funerary face cover	101-105
(ii) Bronze objects	105-124
(a) Bronze <i>boshan</i> censer	105-106
(b) Bronze braziers	107-110
(c) Bronze plaques	110-112
(d) Bronze belt-hooks	112-114
(e) Mirrors	114-124
(iii) Pottery objects	124-128
(a) Jars and lids	124-125
(b) Stove models	125-128
(iv) Other objects bearing <i>siling</i> images	128-132
(a) Jade pendant	128-129
(b) Stone headrests	129-132
Discussion	133-139

<u>Part Two: <i>Siling</i> in Literary References</u>	141-159
Chapter Four: Textual Evidence for the Four Guardian Animals	140-150
Discussion	151
Chapter Five: <i>Siling</i>, the twenty-eight <i>xiu</i> system and the <i>yinyang wuxing</i> concept	152-159
A. The twenty-eight <i>xiu</i> system	152-154
B. The <i>yinyang wuxing</i> concept	154-159
<u>Part Three: Discussions</u>	160-198
Chapter Six: Problems related to the variable positions of the <i>qinglong</i> and <i>baihu</i> images and aesthetic considerations of the <i>siling</i> specimens	160-177
A. Position of the <i>qinglong</i> and <i>baihu</i> images	160-165
B. Aesthetic analysis of the <i>siling</i> specimens	165-171
(1) The <i>siling</i> representations in two-dimensional formats	165-171
(i) Two-dimensional examples in tomb decoration	169-168
(ii) Two-dimensional objects	169-171
(2) The <i>siling</i> representations in three-dimensional formats	171-177
(i) Three-dimensional examples in tomb decoration and above-ground structures	172-174
(ii) Three-dimensional objects	174-177
Chapter Seven: Evolution of the set of <i>siling</i> motifs	178-186
(1) Individual motifs	178-184
(i) <i>Qinglong</i> , <i>zhuque</i> and <i>baihu</i>	178-179
(ii) The problems of <i>xuanwu</i>	179-184
(2) Combinations and development	184-186
(i) <i>Qinglong</i> and <i>baihu</i>	184-186
(ii) <i>Zhuque</i> and <i>xuanwu</i>	186
Chapter Eight: Regional distribution and dissemination of the <i>siling</i> specimens during the Han dynasty	187-198
<u>Conclusion</u>	199-207
<u>Bibliography</u>	208-281

Volume Two: Appendixes, Maps, Plates and Indexes

Appendix: Distribution of <i>siling</i> examples	282-304
I — Shaanxi Province (nos. 1-34)	
II — Shanxi Province (nos. 35-39)	
III — Henan Province (nos. 40-78)	
IV — Hubei Province (nos. 79-81)	
V — Hebei Province (nos. 82-88)	
VI — Shandong Province (nos. 89-107)	
VII — Jiangsu Province (nos. 108-113)	
VIII — Anhui Province (nos. 114-115)	
IX — Sichuan Province (nos. 116-145)	
X — Zhejiang Province (no. 146)	
XI — Location unknown (nos. 147-151)	
 <u>Maps</u>	
Map One: Distribution of complete set of <i>siling</i> examples from archaeological excavations	305
Map Two: Map of the Maoling district, showing the sites from which the <i>siling</i> artifacts were excavated	306
Map Three: Map of China, showing the population density within the Han Territories in A.D. 2 (After H. Bielenstein, 1947, pl. 1)	307
Map Four: Map of China, showing the population density within the Han Territories in A.D. 140 (After H. Bielenstein, 1947, pl. 2)	307
Map Five: Map of China, showing principal areas of agricultural production during the Han dynasty (After Shi Nianhai, 1986, pp. 181-182)	308
 <u>Table:</u>	
Table One: Records of the twenty-eight <i>xu</i> from literary and archaeological sources	153
 <u>Plates</u>	309-402
<u>List of Plates</u>	403-422
 <u>List of Figures</u>	423-424
 <u>Glossary</u>	425-429
 <u>Index (sites and specimens)</u>	430-435
<u>Index (cultural institutes, temples, museums)</u>	436-437

Acknowledgements

I am fortunate enough to have Professor Roderick Whitfield as my supervisor. I am particularly grateful to him for his guidance, advice, assistance, encouragement and his vast contribution to my study of Chinese Art and Archaeology at London. Professor Whitfield read numerous drafts of the manuscripts of this dissertation with great care, patience and keen critical eyes and helped me to hone its structure and argument. His guidance and trenchant criticisms have immensely improved the final version. I also gratefully acknowledge Dr. Wang Tao, who, to me, is a professional teacher with insight and inspiration in the study of Chinese Archaeology and who has always been generous with his ideas and time in helping to solve the problems which I have come across when writing my dissertation. I also wish to thank Dr. Youngsook Pak for her care and encouragement to me during my four years of residence in London.

My work has received generous encouragement from my teachers in Chinese Art History at the Chinese University of Hong Kong. I wish particularly to thank Professor Mayching Kao and Professor Jao Tsung-i. Professor Kao supervised my Bachelor and Master degrees at the Fine Arts Department of the Chinese University of Hong Kong and guided me onto a career path of research in Chinese Art History. It would have been inconceivable for me to undertake this PhD research project without the benefit of the training in the history of Chinese Painting that I received from Professor Kao. From then until now she has been unfailingly generous with her advice. On her recommendation, I also received a scholarship from the Bei Shan Tang Foundation to further my studies in the PhD degree programme in

Archaeology and Art History in London. I am most grateful to Dr. J. S. Lee and the Bei Shan Tang Foundation for their financial support. Professor Jao Tsung-i is an authentic sage in various fields of Chinese Studies. It is actually my greatest gratification to have been able to study with Professor Jao during my postgraduate years at the Chinese University and to receive his recommendation to further my studies with Professor Roderick Whitfield at SOAS. I want to express my deepest thank to Professor Kao and Professor Jao.

Throughout the past few years, my work has been benefited from the help of many pioneering scholars. I am grateful to Professor Shi Shuqing of the Museum of Chinese History who not only brought me useful materials from China, but also generously shared with me his ideas and suggestions on the research topic. I am also particularly grateful to Professor Zhao Chao of the Institute of Archaeology of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences for his invaluable advice and assistance throughout this project. With his recommendations, I travelled all over China, visiting various pioneering scholars in the field of Art and Archaeology, archaeological sites, institutes, museums and related units and was able to see and to receive from them a lot of rare materials, valuable information and suggestions.

I would like to specially thank the following scholars and institutes for their kindness: Professor Gu Sen, Director of the Institute of Architecture, Chinese Academy of Arts; Professor Li Ling of the Chinese Department of the Peking University; Mr. Wang Jianzhong, former Director of Nanyang Bureau of Cultural Relics; Mr. Shan Xiushan of Nanyang Cultural Bureau; Mr. Han Yuxiang, Director of Nanyang Museum of Han Pictorial Art; the late Mr. Wei Rehua and Mr. Li

Chengguang, former Directors of Nanyang Museum of Han Pictorial Art; Mr. Jiang Yingju, former Director of Shandong Provincial Cultural Bureau; Mr. Jiao Desen, Director of Shandong Museum of Stone Carving; Mr. Li Shiyong, Director of Tengzhou Museum of Han Pictorial Art, Shandong Province; Mr. Hao Benxing, former Director of Henan Provincial Cultural Bureau; Mr. Zhou Dao of Henan Provincial Museum of Stone Carving; Mr. Lü Pin of Henan Provincial Museum; Mr. Wu Lihua, Director Xuzhou Museum of Han Pictorial Art; Mr. Li Yinde, Director of History Museum of Xuzhou; Professor Qiu Yongsheng, Director of Museum of the Tomb of the Duke of Chu at the Lion Mountain of Xuzhou; Mr. Gu Feng and Mr. Li Zebin, Director and Deputy Head of Archaeological Department of Yangzhou Museum; Mr. Wang Yuguo, Director of Zhenjiang Museum; Mr. Hu Lingui of Shaanxi Provincial Bureau of Cultural Relics; Mr. Ma Jiayu, Director of Sichuan Archaeology Institute and Sichuan Museum; Mr. Huang Minglan of Luoyang Cultural Bureau; and Ms. Chen Peifeng, Deputy Director of the Shanghai Museum.

During my research trip to the United States of America, I received much help and advice from scholars and specialists at various institutes and museums. I am deeply grateful to Professor Wu Hung of the Department of Art, University of Chicago, who has been very generous with his time in sharing with me his ideas in various questions related to this research topic and the area of Han Studies. I express my deep appreciation to Ms. Elinor Pearlstein, Assistant Curator of the Department of Asian Art, Art Institute of Chicago; Mr. Bennet Bronson, Curator of Asian Archaeology and Ethnology, Field Museum at Chicago; Dr. Xiaoneng Yang, Curator of Chinese Art, Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art; Ms. Judith Smith, Curator

of the Department of Asian Art, Metropolitan Museum of Art; Dr. Cary Liu, Assistant Curator of Asian Art of the Art Museum, Princeton University; Dr. Sun Zhixin, former Curator of the Far Eastern Archives of Princeton University; Mr. Kevin Smith, Associate Curator of Anthropology, Buffalo Museum of Science; and Mr. John Finlay, Assistant Curator of Asian Art of the Brooklyn Museum. I would also like to express my particular thanks to Dr. Thomas Lawton, Senior Research Scholar of the Freer Gallery of Art and Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, and Ms. Nancy Grossman, Curatorial Assistant of Asian Art of the Cleveland Museum of Art, for providing me with gratis photographs of the related museum collections and granting me permission to include these materials in this dissertation.

I am indebted to Professor Shih Shou-ch'ien of the Fine Arts Department of the Taiwan University, Professors Pu Mu-choo and Hsing I-tien of the Institute of History and Philology, Academia Sinica, who have taught me a lot with their outstanding knowledge and experience in my area of study. I also wish to specially acknowledge both Professor Pu and Professor Shih for their assistance during my visit to Academia Sinica.

There are also others at the Chinese University and the City University of Hong Kong who have helped to set my feet upon the way. Without the encouragement of my tutor, Professor Harold Mok, I would never have undertaken a PhD programme in London. Mr. Lee Chi-kwong was my senior colleague in the Master programme in the Chinese University. I knew him eleven years ago while getting him to help in searching for materials for my Bachelor thesis. I was touched by the unconditional help he offered to a junior like me whom he did not then know, and since then, he

has been a reliable friend and a wonderful study partner. During my study at London, Chi-kwong spared no effort in helping to search for rare publications and related materials, for which I am deeply grateful. I want to thank Ms. Lisa Chui and Cherry Wong, my coursemates in the Chinese University, for their help in collecting and categorising archaeological materials for this dissertation. I also want to thank Dr. Lam Hok Chung, a colleague in the Chinese Civilisation Centre of the City University, for kindly going over all the Japanese transcriptions of this dissertation. The assistance from all of them over the years has been essential for the completion of this research project.

During my four years of study at SOAS, I also received valuable advice and assistance from my colleagues. I want to thank Dr. Zhang Hongxing for his suggestion on the structure of this dissertation and his willingness to share with me frankly his experience in studying for a PhD degree. Ms. Sabrina Rastelli is a wonderful friend who is always ready to listen and share, and to give her entire support. I am also grateful to Sabrina for her willingness and effort in collecting research materials for me when travelling in connection with her own research project. Ms. Wei Chen-hsuan is also a close friend who helped me a lot in dealing with materials in classical Chinese and computer technology. I wish to thank Sabrina and Chen-hsuan for their friendship. Without their support, it would have been impossible to overcome all the difficulties that I came across during the years I spent in London.

I also benefited from the friendship and the assistance of Mr. Lukas Nickel, Dr. Du Fei, Ms. Liu Wenwen, Mr. Chen Dexian, Ms. Yeewan Koon, Ms. Nixi Cura, Dr.

Tseng Lan-ying and Mr. Philip Hu. They have been either very helpful during my research trips or very generous in giving advice on my study. To these friends, I want to express my wholehearted thanks.

Finally, my greatest debt is to my family and my husband, Kelvin Ng, for the unfailing love, care, encouragement and unconditional support to me during my graduate years in Hong Kong and in London. The loving support from my parents, Nelson and Rebecca Wong, has been my motivation to persevere with my research. My little sister and brother, Anna and Andy, are mature enough to relieve my anxiety and worries when needed. I am also most grateful to Kelvin for his total patience and understanding that has enabled me to have enough time to go for my own aspiration before happily getting onto another stage of life with him. In gratitude, I wish to dedicate this dissertation to them all.

Abstract

The term *siling* in this thesis, literally “four divine creatures”, refers to this group of four animal spirits with directional significance commonly represented in the Han Dynasty and later periods, namely, the *qinglong* of the East, *baihu* of the West, *zhunque* of the South, and the *xuanwu* of the North.

My thesis will explore the place occupied by the second group of four animal symbols in various pictorial art forms among the material remains of the Han, aiming to trace the emergence and spread of the visual representations of the *siling*. This study argues that, although individual animal images of the *siling* did not appear simultaneously, and although all four had much more ancient origins and associations with the cardinal directions, it was in the Western Han dynasty and in the neighbourhood of the capital Chang'an that the images of the four animals first emerged in a consistent iconography.

The major concern of this research project is the meaning and usage and of the set of *siling* symbols, mainly in Han funerary contexts, taking into account relevant textual sources and the association of the *siling* with Han cosmological thought and some of the intellectual ideas that were predominant during the Han dynasty. By means of a comprehensive study of the set of *siling* representations, I aim to contribute to the knowledge of Han period archaeology and provide a new channel for the understanding of Han dynasty culture and beliefs.

Introduction

According to textual evidence, there are two groups of four animals. The animals of the first group were interpreted as auspicious omens: *lin* (unicorn), *feng* (phoenix), *gui* (turtle), *long* (dragon). The animals in the second group are directly related to the four cardinal directions, including the *qinglong* 青龍 or *canglong* 蒼龍 (green dragon) of the East, the *baihu* 白虎 (white tiger) of the West, the *zhuque* 朱雀, *zhuniao* 朱鳥 or *chiniao* 赤鳥 (red bird) of the South, and the *xuanwu* 玄武 (black warrior or dark warrior) of the North. Animal images have been used in artistic representation in China a very long period of time, ever since the Neolithic period. Animal subjects are frequently expressed in Chinese tomb art because Chinese believed that all depictions of animals in their natural state possessed supernatural powers which enabled them to influence both the material and the spiritual worlds, therefore, they could facilitate contact with the other world and help the soul of the deceased on its perilous journey to its new abode.¹ In the Han dynasty, the four animals were used particularly in a funerary context, both to indicate the cardinal directions and to guard the dead soul on its journey to heaven. The term *siling* in this thesis, literally “four divine creatures”, refers to this group of four animal spirits with directional significance commonly represented in the Han Dynasty and later periods.

My thesis will explore the place occupied by the second group of four animal symbols in various pictorial art forms among the material remains of the Han, aiming to trace the emergence and spread of the visual representations of the *siling*.

¹ Paludan 1991: 9.

This study argues that, although individual animal images of the *siling* did not appear simultaneously, and although all four had much more ancient origins and associations with the cardinal directions, it was in the Western Han dynasty and in the neighbourhood of the capital Chang'an that the images of the four animals first emerged in a consistent iconography.

The aesthetic issues surrounding the existing material, are not part of the focus of the thesis, which concentrates purely on the material culture aspects of *siling* representations. The major concern of this research project is the meaning and usage and of the set of *siling* symbols, mainly in Han funerary contexts, taking into account relevant textual sources and the association of the *siling* with Han cosmological thought and some of the intellectual ideas that were predominant during the Han dynasty.

The basic and principal research materials of this thesis are the visual examples of the *siling* in pictorial form excavated from tombs, architectural sites or preserved in museums; relevant literary records will be used as complementary references. Excavated or collected materials of the *siling* artefacts were acquired through three main sources: (1) personal examination of objects or sites;² (2) archaeological reports;³ (3) other relevant publications.

² In the course of this research, I have visited sites and museums in different places in China. These places included Beijing; Jinan, Tai'an, Qufu and Tengzhou in Shandong Province; Xuzhou, Yangzhou, Zhenjiang, Nanjing, Wuxi and Suzhou in Jiangsu Province; Shanghai; Hengzhou in Zhejiang Province, Zhengzhou, Nanyang and Luoyang in Henan Province, Xi'an, Xianyang and Lintong in Shaanxi Province, Chengdu in Sichuan Province. Some overseas museums, in which *siling* examples used in this research are preserved, were also visited, such as the British Museum, Metropolitan Museum of Art, Art Institute of Chicago, Cleveland Museum of Art, Buffalo Museum of Science, and Field Museum of Natural History, Chicago.

³ These include preliminary reports of excavated sites, from which examples of *siling* representations were found, published in the major local journals, and other related site reports, such

Prior to the establishment of the People's Republic of China in 1949, controlled excavations were rarely carried out in China and very few excavated materials were available for the study of the Han dynasty. Wilma Fairbank, one of the western pioneers of Chinese art and archaeological studies, started her pursuit more than sixty years ago.⁴ Her effort in reconstructing the offering shrine of Wu Liang (A.D. 78–151) in the southwestern part of Shandong Province drew attention to the positional significance of different scenes and decorative schemes in funerary shrines, and has provided the foundation for later studies of Han Dynasty architectural remains and decorations in their funerary and architectural context. In 1950, immediately after a one-year field trip to Sichuan, Richard C. Rudolph published a catalogue, *Han Tomb art in West China*,⁵ with Wen Yu (Wen You), the editor of *Studia Serica* in Sichuan. The book, in which a hundred rubbings of Han Dynasty bas-reliefs from West China were introduced for the first time, is one of the earliest published catalogues of Han pictorial art.

Since the founding of new China, fresh evidence began to accumulate through large-scale excavations, specifically of tombs. Chinese archaeologists, through many controlled excavations of tombs and sites since the 1950s, have provided the archaeological reports and related publications we need for the study of Han Dynasty art. Specimens of the *siling* were found from the Western and Eastern Han capitals, Chang'an and Luoyang, and in different areas in China. These *siling*

as Zeng Zhaoyu 1956, Shaanxisheng kaogu yanjiusuo and Xi'an Jiaotong daxue 1991.

⁴ Her first article in Chinese art and archaeology, "The offering Shrines of 'Wu Liang Tz'e'", was published in March 1941 (Fairbank 1972a). She published another article called "A structural Key to Han Mural Art" in April 1942 (Fairbank 1972b).

⁵ Rudolph & Wen 1951.

images mainly appear as decorative motifs on tomb and architectural remains, and on various kinds of funerary objects called *mingqi* (spirit articles). These excavated materials provide a much clearer picture of how the four animal symbols were applied to funerary art and architecture, and what their functions and meaning may have been.

A few specialists in Han studies, with different concerns, approaches and methods, have provided valuable research that remains the basis of our knowledge of the Han Dynasty and its society. Among them, Michael Loewe's *Ways to Paradise* and *Chinese Ideas of Life and Death* have been specially relevant throughout this research project, to help us understand how funerary art and related decorative images were used by the Han people to articulate their beliefs and wishes.⁶

Benefiting from the pioneering efforts in the study of the offering shrine of Wu Liang by Wilma Fairbank and others, Wu Hung combined traditional Chinese scholarship and the methodology of Western art history for a full study of the cemetery.⁷ By consulting a variety of early Chinese texts that illuminate Han history, literature, philosophy, art and archaeology, he provides an appraisal of the evidence and a comprehensive presentation of the ideology of this renowned specimen of Han Dynasty pictorial art.

Martin Powers takes a different approach in Han Studies. In his *Art and Political Expression in Early China*,⁸ Martin Powers examines how the art and politics of

⁶ Loewe 1994a, 1994b.

⁷ Wu 1989.

⁸ Powers 1991.

the Han Dynasty were shaped by the rise of the Confucian literati. By studying the structures and decorations of burial tombs and shrines, he distinguishes three major traditions of taste and sites, each of which was located within a narrative of political rivalries in northeast China.

These studies provide a solid foundation for all later research on the Han Dynasty. However, these pioneers of Han studies have yet to examine in detail the *siling* and their artistic representations. This research project aims to fill the gap and to explore the significance of the *siling* representations in the social and cultural life of the Han Dynasty.

This thesis is divided into three main parts: (1) *siling* in funerary and architectural context; (2) *siling* in literary references; (3) discussion. An Appendix in table form is also added to provide detailed information of the examples of *siling* representation, including excavated location or place of collection, date, owner, media and orientation of the motifs, measurement of the artefacts and sources of the information.

Part One is the documentation of the *siling* in their funerary and architectural context. The study materials used in this part mainly come from archaeological excavations. A few of these study materials are pre-Han specimens with known dating which help in tracing the possible precursors of the set of *siling* motifs, such as the paired animal patterns from the Neolithic tomb at Xishuipo, Henan, and the depictions on the lid of the clothes chest from the tomb of Zeng Hou Yi at Suizhou, Hubei. However, most of these study materials are chosen from the abundance of

Han tombs and sites which have been scientifically excavated since the 1950s. As by no means all the available materials can be considered, these Han Dynasty specimens have been chosen according to three criteria: (1) cases of identified *siling* symbols or similar animal images that can help to explain the development of the *siling*; (2) examples of known date or examples that can be dated with the help of relevant references; (3) examples excavated from the metropolitan areas of Chang'an and Luoyang, and from the Shaanxi Plain, the Central Plains, the East Coast and Sichuan. Examples excavated from peripheral or remote areas, where they are far less common, are not included.⁹

In Part One, I will bring together these chosen excavated examples of the *siling* in different combinations and categorize them into three main groups according to the different characters of their funerary and architectural contexts. They are listed in table form in Appendix One. Chapter One discusses examples of combinations of the *siling* in tomb decorations, mainly from tombs built of hollow bricks, small bricks or stone. Chapter Two relates to different combinations of the *siling* in above-ground structures, including *siling* patterns found on architectural components, shrines and *que*-towers. Chapter Three traces individual funerary artefacts bearing the *siling* patterns, including stone sarcophagi and objects in other media, such as bronze and lacquer.

These archaeological materials of the *siling* in different combinations and contexts listed and discussed in Part One, on the one hand, clearly identify the main

⁹ These peripheral or remote areas include Liaoning and places beyond, Gansu and places beyond, Yunnan, Guizhou, Guangxi, Guangdong, Jiangxi and Fujian. In these places, either no complete set of Han *siling* was found, or there are only one or two isolated examples so that no pattern of use can emerge.

problems, and on the other hand, provide significant references to solve these problems. One major problem these artefacts show is the variable positions of the four cardinal animals when they are depicted in a set: by listing and analyzing these materials, this thesis is able to come up with several possible solutions to this problem.

Part Two lists and discusses related textual references, aiming to show the role of the *siling* in literary context during the Han era, which is a formative stage of the Chinese culture when “the academic tendency to systematize all kinds of knowledge by means of cosmological principles started”.¹⁰ Chapter Four traces the usage of the term “*siling*” in relevant classical texts. Chapter Five relates the term “*siling*” to the system of twenty-eight *xiu* lunar mansions (or lodges) and the *yinyang wuxing* doctrines.

Part Three is the principal discussion section. Chapter Six compiles relevant examples in order to discuss the positions and arrangement of the *siling* patterns in different art media. Chapter Seven discusses individual *siling* images and explains, with archaeological examples, how these four individual animal motifs were paired and grouped, and finally combined into the complete set of four cardinal symbols. Chapter Eight argues with archaeological evidence that the complete set of *siling* images was first used in the reign of Emperor Wudi (r. 140-87 B.C.) in the neighbourhood of Chang’an, at or near the Maoling, and that from this date and place of origin, the set of motifs spread to other regions, mainly in funerary contexts.

¹⁰ Sun & Kistemaker 1997: 5.

Although the individual *siling* motifs have a long history and much more ancient origins, depiction of the complete set of *siling* symbols is a Han Dynasty product. The Han Dynasty is a crucial stage in the formation of Chinese culture, during which there was a conspicuous reorganization of many aspects of society. The main concern of this research project is the meaning and usage of the set of *siling* symbols, mainly in Han funerary contexts. Aesthetic issues surrounding the existing material are not part of the focus of this thesis, and these and the relationship between the *siling* and other aspects of Han society remain topics for further research. By means of a comprehensive study of the set of *siling* representations, I aim to contribute to the knowledge of Han period archaeology and provide a new channel for the understanding of Han dynasty culture and beliefs.

Chapter One: Combinations of the *siling* in tomb decoration

Most of the *siling* images were excavated from tombs. To the Chinese, death is never the end of life, but the beginning of another stage of life. This is based on the idea that the soul exists after death.¹ The *hun* (*yang* soul) and the *po* (*yin* soul) are the two elements of the human soul that would separate from the body at death.² According to Michael Loewe, the *hun* will either successfully proceed to the paradise where the Supreme God abides and become a *xian* (immortal) or be driven to the miserable *huangquan* (Yellow Springs) and become a prisoner there, while the *po* will remain with the body, expecting adequate nourishment provided by the descendants. If the descendants fail to perform this duty, the *po* will return to the earth as a *gui*, expressing its dissatisfaction in a manner that is highly dangerous to mankind.³ The tomb was supposed to be the home of the *po* soul of the deceased. The tomb was thus of great concern to the Han people because of their beliefs in the life after death.⁴ Representations of the *siling* were found at tomb entrances and in different parts of the tomb interiors. As the four animal gods of the four directions, the *siling* symbols in tombs indicate the orientations and also provide guardianship to the *hun* soul on its journey to heaven.

¹ The Chinese idea of death is an extensive and complicated topic relating to many different aspects of the society and both eastern and western scholars have achieved comprehensive research results in the topic. For example, see Harrell 1979: 519-528; Cohen 1985: 320-334; Yu Yingshi 1985: 80-122, 1987: 363-395; Pu Muzhou 1993: 193-268 & 1995; Loewe 1994a & 1994b; Kang Yunmei 1995.

² According to Yu Yingshi, the dualist conception of *hun* and *po* began to gain currency in the middle of the sixth century B.C., before that, *po* alone was used to denote the human soul (Yu Yingshi 1987: 369-378). See also Loewe 1994a: 10-11; 1994b: 26-28; Luo Yonglin 1993: 163-164; Pu Muzhou 1995: 90-96; Kang Yunmei 1995: 154-165 for similar discussions on the concepts of *hun* and *po*.

³ Loewe 1994a: 10-11, 1994b: 26-28.

⁴ For the discussions of Han concepts of life and afterlife, see *HJAS* 25 (1965) & 47 (1987): 80-122, 363-395; Loewe 1994b: 25-37.

During the early Western Han, following the tomb structure of the Warring States period, most tombs were shaft tombs with wooden chambers. This Han tomb structure was particularly popular in the South. Apart from the renowned tombs of Li Cang and his family excavated from Mawangdui, Changsha, Hunan Province,⁵ many other examples were also found from Jiangling, Hubei Province, and Guangzhou, Guangdong Province. The tomb chambers of the Western Han emperors and some members of the aristocracy were quite often more elaborately made by the *huang chang ti cou* technique, a method of constructing the burial chamber with a special golden cypress, the cypress planks laid horizontally, with the ends of the timbers facing the coffin. More than ten Han Dynasty *huang chang ti cou* tombs have been excavated.⁶ Archaeological evidence shows that the interiors of these early Western Han wooden-structured tombs were all unadorned and therefore no *siling* images or other decorative patterns were found in them.

Other early Han tombs used large hollow bricks, continuing the burial practice of the Warring States period, but with a brick-laid ceiling instead of a wooden cover, and a horizontal chambered structure opened at one end instead of a shaft opened at the top.⁷ To construct a brick tomb, a vertical shaft was dug first, then the rectangular chamber (and sometimes one or two side-chambers) was excavated below ground. Bricks were used for the construction of the various architectural parts, including the ceiling, walls, doors and the floor. The bricks were moulded and fired outside the tomb and brought to the tomb area for the actual construction.

⁵ Hunansheng bowuguan & kaogu yanjiusuo 1973.

⁶ For example, an early example was excavated from Xiaoyuan Village, Shijiazhuang, Hebei (*KG* 1980, no.1, pp. 52-55); two others were excavated from Beijing, one from Dabaotai and another one from Laoshan.

⁷ Sun Ji 1991: 414.

In the Shaanxi area, as seen from a group of moulded bricks with patterns of the *siling* found at Wazhagou, Maoling District, hollow and solid bricks were used together for tomb construction.⁸

Around the mid-Western Han period, in the Luoyang area, hollow bricks and small bricks were used together in the tomb construction. At M61 in Shaogou, Luoyang, we can see that the main chamber, the trapezoid-shaped pediment and its supporting lintel, the door lintel are all made of hollow bricks, but the side chambers and its vault ceiling are made of small bricks.⁹ In the Shaanxi area, brick-chambered tombs with a vaulted ceiling appeared. The late Western Han mural tomb excavated at the Jiatong University, Xi'an,¹⁰ is a typical example of this structure.

During the Eastern Han Dynasty, there is a distinct decline in hollow brick tombs, instead, tombs made of small bricks or stone gained popularity and are found all over the country. Comparing with the earlier tombs, Eastern Han tombs found are larger and more numerous. Many of them are multi-chambered, such as the stone-structured tombs excavated from Yinan, Shandong,¹¹ Dahuting, Mi County, Henan,¹² and the extreme north of Shaanxi.¹³ Many late Eastern Han Dynasty cliff tombs are found in Sichuan.

⁸ *WW* 1976, no. 7: 51-55 (Appendix: 7, 8a-c).

⁹ *KGXB* 1964, no. 1: 107-125 (Appendix: 45).

¹⁰ *KGYYW* 1990, no. 4: 57-63; Shaanxi kaogu yanjiusuo & Xi'an Jiaotong daxue 1991, pl. 13.2 (Appendix: 12).

¹¹ Zeng Zhaoyu 1956 (Appendix 106 a-d).

¹² Two Han Dynasty tombs were excavated from Dahuting, see Henansheng wenwu yanjiusuo 1993 (Appendix: 74).

¹³ A large number of stone-structured tombs, dated around the first to second century A.D., were excavated from the very north of Shaanxi Province. Shaanxisheng bowuguan & Shaanxisheng wenguanhui 1958; *KG* 1960, no. 7: 38; 1986, no. 1: 82-84; 1987, no. 11: 997-1001; 1990, no. 2:

Different from the shaft tombs with wooden chamber, the structure of chambered tombs provides more surfaces, including the ceiling, the four walls and the doors, for pictorial representations. These Han Dynasty patterns found in brick-structured tombs are either moulded, or stamped, painted, or carved in openwork and painted; and those in stone-structured tombs are engraved or carved in low relief. Archaeological excavations have provided many examples of various Han Dynasty decorative patterns from tombs, including the set of *siling* images.

(1) Hollow-brick tombs and small brick tombs in the Han Dynasty

(i) Entrances

A jade *pushou* (Pl. 3) was excavated from the ditch called Wazhagou close to the Maoling, Xingping County, Shaanxi Province (Map Two).¹⁴ When excavated, it was found on top of a glass *bi* which was broken into three fragments. Maoling was the tomb of Emperor Wudi (r. 140 - 87 B.C.), this specimen can therefore be dated around the period of his reign. *Pushou* is a door component, normally made of metal, which appears as an animal mask at the top with a ring hanging down from its mouth. It was frequently used during Han times and is also frequently depicted in Han pictorial art; a *pushou* on Han architecture functioned as a door knocker and was also believed to have the power to ward off evil spirits.¹⁵ This is both one of the earliest complete sets of *siling* representations, and the only Western Han

176-179; Han & Wang 2001 (Appendix: 17-34).

¹⁴ *WW* 1976, no. 7: 51-55 (Appendix: 6).

¹⁵ Shan Xiushan 1985: 70.

example of a complete set of *siling* motifs on large piece of carved jade.¹⁶ Below the rectangular animal face in the centre, there is a loop intended to hold a ring that had been lost when the object was found. After scientific appraisal, it was found that the metal remnants inside the knob at the back of the *pushou* are of lead and served to attach the *pushou* to a door.¹⁷ Jade is a precious material, especially the greenish Nantian jade of which this *pushou* from the Maoling area is made, therefore the specimen was not intended for practical everyday use, but is more likely to have been specifically made for funerary purposes. It is possibly a door component from the Maoling itself.

The broad animal face in the centre has a long nose ridge extending down from its bold eyebrows, below which are two large protruding eyes. The exposed teeth of the upper jaw are carved in line along the lower edge of the piece, and the lower jaw is missing entirely. The trilobe at the top centre probably represents its crown or a pair of horns. The *qinglong* and the *baihu* are depicted on the two sides of the animal face. At the right edge, a serpentine dragon extends from the top corner to the bottom, with open mouth and facing towards the centre; opposite the dragon, a tiger is depicted upright at the left edge. It is holding the trilobe firmly with its front legs, while one back leg catches the right eyebrow of the mask. The serpentine body of the *qinglong* is so long that it entirely occupies the right edge. On the opposite side, the relatively shorter body of the *baihu* fills up only two-thirds of the left edge. By the dragon image, on the right eyebrow, is an elegant phoenix with a

¹⁶ A group of pictorial bricks with decorations of the *siling* was also excavated from Wazhagou (*WW* 1976, no. 7: 51-55). They should be components of a brick-structured tomb, the most common tomb structure of the Western Han period in the area. See pp. 24-25 below for the discussion on this group of bricks.

¹⁷ *KGYWW* 1986, no. 3: 10.

long tail, looking back to the other side. Below the tiger, at the bottom left corner, a turtle is depicted from above, with its body diagonally pointing to the centre. In front of it is a snake; the middle part of the snake's body is held by the turtle in its mouth.

The object is very special, not only because, unlike the other surviving examples of *pushou* which are usually made with metal, it is carved from a large piece of fine greenish jade, but more importantly, because the complete set of *siling* images are carefully arranged onto this animal mask in jade to show the four directional meanings. Another *pushou* in jade which has comparable animal decorations was also excavated from the tomb of Zhao Mo, Prince of Nanyue (r. 137-122 B.C.), Guangzhou, Guangdong Province (Pl. 4). On this *pushou*, a tiger-like beast was carved upright at the left edge, and another animal, possibly a dragon, may have been lost from the broken right edge.

(ii) Tomb Interiors

A group of moulded bricks with patterns of the *siling* was also found at Wazhagou in the Maoling District, about 100 metres to the north of the jade *pushou* (Map Two).¹⁸ Both these and the *pushou* in jade were all found within the outer wall of the imperial tomb district of Emperor Wudi, and are therefore assumed to be of the same date. Although all four animal motifs were found on the bricks, only three of them survive in the large format, the image of the fourth, the *qinglong*, appears only as a border motif in combination with the *baihu* (Pl. 8). These rectangular

¹⁸ *WW* 1976, no. 7: 51-55 (Appendix: 8a-c).

bricks are in both hollow and solid forms, and the pictorial designs are moulded in bas-relief or stamped in the case of smaller patterns. Although this group of bricks from Wazhagou were all in fragments when excavated, similar specimens in complete condition have also been found.¹⁹

The Wazhagou bricks include images of a striped tiger in realistic walking posture (Pl. 5), a pair of phoenixes (Pls. 6 & 6.1) and a pair of snake-entwined turtles symmetrically depicted on the broad rectangular surfaces (Pls. 7 & 7.1). The bricks were excavated from the Wazha ditch (5 metres deep, 10 metres wide, 500 metres long) and its banks, therefore it is not possible to determine their original positions in a tomb structure. Although the bricks are of different types (the phoenixes are depicted on hollow bricks, and the tiger and the turtle-and-snake are depicted on solid bricks), the animal patterns on these bricks represent three of the *siling*, the tiger, the phoenix and the turtle, as the major subjects of decoration of these bricks, while the *baihu* and the *qinglong* also appear as a repeated border motif on a hollow brick from the same site. On this hollow brick, linked geometrical patterns fill up the central panel, and patterns of the dragon and the tiger are repeatedly stamped in pairs confronting each other around the edges (Pl. 8).

Not far from the Maoling, the dragon and turtle-and-snake images (Pls. 9 & 10) were found on fragments of hollow bricks used as architectural components of the Luoingshi at the Yangling, tomb of Emperor Jingdi (r. 156-141 B.C.), father of Emperor Wudi. Luoingshi was a huge architectural site in 回 shape, archaeologists

¹⁹ A complete brick with similar *zhuque* patterns was found 500 metres east of the tomb of Huo Guang (*Ibid.*: 53). Rubbings of complete bricks with similar *zhuque* and *xuanwu* patterns are kept in the British Museum in London (Pls. 6.1 & 7.1).

believe that it was an important architectural site for ritual ceremonies.²⁰ Although the *baihu* and the *zhuque* images were not found together, these two animal images are very possibly representations of the *qinglong* and the *xuanwu*. The *siling* specimens, dated to the reign of Emperor Jingdi, can be regarded as one of the earliest possible examples of the *siling* representations in tomb decorations.

Another group of moulded bricks with very similar *siling* decorations were also found from Erdaoyuan near Xianyang City, Shaanxi Province (Pls. 12, 12.1, 13, 13.1-5, 14 & 14.1). This group of bricks was excavated from three tombs, M36, M34 and M26.²¹ These moulded bricks with *siling* patterns were excavated from the same site, but they do not seem to have been arranged according to their corresponding directions (Fig. 1).

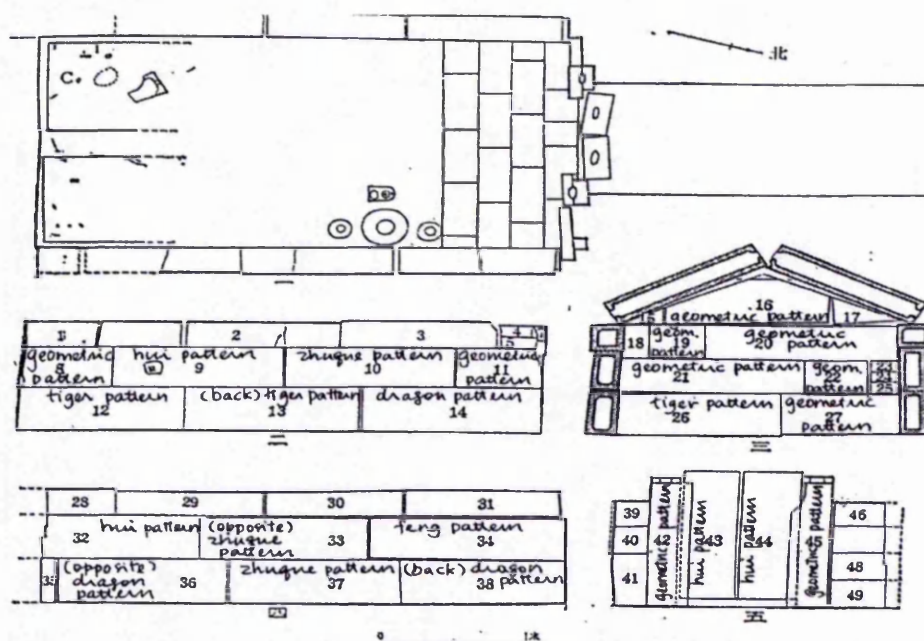


Fig. 1: Arrangement of decorative bricks in M36

²⁰ Ma Yongying & Wang Baoping 2001: 34. Li Ling further points out that, although it has been widely accepted as an ancient ceremonial site, no consensus has been reached on the nature and actual function of this site.

²¹ KG 1982, no. 3: 225-235 (Appendix: 9a-c, 10a-b, 11a-t).

In most cases, three sides of the bricks are patterned, including the front or the back, one long narrow edge and one end. The other examples are patterned on two or four sides. Different sides of a single brick are usually patterned with the same animal motif. Most of these motifs are in thread relief, some of them in dense and fine lines (Pls. 13, 13.2 & 13.3), and others relatively simple and bold (Pls. 13.1). These animal images sometimes arise singly (Pl. 13.1); when they are depicted in pairs, there is always a plant design (Pls. 13 & 13.3) or a jade *bi* pattern (Pls. 12, 12.1, 13.2) between them.²² There is also an example of a pair of interlocking dragons.²³ Among these bricks, two examples are patterned in bas-relief on one broad and one narrow side with images of a pair of tigers; one of them was used for constructing the ceiling of M36 (Pls. 13.4 & 13.5), and the other was used as the door lintel in M34 (Pls. 14 & 14.1).

From the diagram which shows the interior arrangement of the decorated bricks in M36 (Fig. 1), we can see that the bricks do not seem to have been arranged in any special order, some bricks are even reversed, with the decoration being on the back or opposite side facing the exterior rather than the interior of the tomb. Nevertheless, in this tomb, the two main walls have a total of nine large bricks with three of the four *siling*, including two *qinglong*, two *baihu*, two *zhuque* and one *feng*, and the south wall has only one *baihu*, and in fact there are ten more animals including two *qinglong* on the ceiling bricks. The remaining large hollow bricks have *hui* patterns, i.e. geometric designs. According to the excavators, these bricks

²² The *bi* or *bi* pattern usually appears with the *siling* examples. For example, a glass *bi* separated into three fragments was also excavated with the jade *pushou* from the Wazhagou close to the Maoling, Xingping County, Shaanxi Province (*WW* 1976, no. 7: 51-55); a small glass *bi* was also inlaid on the top of the funerary face cover in lacquer with *siling* patterns excavated from M14 of Huchang on the outskirts of Yangzhou, Jiangsu Province (see Pl. 68) (*ZGWWB* 1997. 11. 23).

²³ *KG* 1982, no. 3: 223 (fig.12.1).

were not arranged in correspondence with particular directions because they were originally components from other architectural sites being re-used to build these three tombs.²⁴ They point out that the bricks appear in various shapes and some of them had even been cut at the corners, disregarding the damage to the animal decorations on the bricks, in order to be fitted into position. To me, however, there is absolutely no evidence of such re-use, but a fact to note is that the bricks were pre-fabricated outside the tomb and brought to the tomb area for the actual construction, and that means there was great scope for mistakes when the overseer was not checking properly. Therefore, sometimes it was impossible for the tomb builder to place the animal representations in correspondence with their particular directions.

By comparing the dragon and turtle-and-snake motifs which were depicted in thread relief from Erdaoyuan in Xianyang (Pls. 12 & 13) and those from the Luoingshi at the Yangling (Pls. 9 & 10), we can see that they are similarities in composition and style of depiction. Comparing with the examples from Xianyang, it seems certain that the dragon and turtle-and-snake patterns from the Yangling were originally depicted in pairs, with a *bi* or other circular pattern in the middle. By comparing the tiger images in bas-relief from M36 and M34 of Xianyang City (Pls. 13.4 & 13.5, 14 & 14.1) and those from Wazhagou in the Maoling District (Pl. 5), we can also recognise their similarities in style and in form. Although the pairs of phoenixes and the turtle-and-snake images from the Maoling are represented in bas-relief (Pls. 6 & 7), while those from Xianyang City are in thread relief (Pls. 12 & 13), the symmetrical arrangement of the animal patterns and the overall

²⁴ *KG* 1982, no. 3: 233-234.

compositions of the depictions are very alike. For this reason, the pictorial bricks from Xianyang City should be dated to the same period as those from the Yangling and Maoling Districts, around the reigns of Emperors Jingdi and Wudi (156-87 B.C.).

In a brick-structured tomb excavated at a site at the Jiaotong University in Xi'an, which is only ten kilometres southeast of the capital of the Western Han Dynasty, Chang'an, the *siling* motifs were painted on the ceiling of the main chamber.²⁵ It consists of a sloping passageway in the south, and a main chamber flanked by two side chambers in similar structure on the east and the west (Pl. 15).²⁶ The two side chambers are nearly one-third of the size of the main chamber, which measures from north to south 4.55 metres long and from east to west 1.83 metres wide, it is identified as a medium-sized tomb by the archaeological report.²⁷ A red edged band enclosing a linked lozenge pattern runs horizontally around the top of the walls at the point where the barrel vault springs, dividing the painting into upper and lower sections (Pl. 15.1). The images on the ceiling vault are all condensed into two concentric circles in the upper section; their common centre coincides with the centre of the ceiling of the main chamber (Pls. 15.2 & 15.3).

In the band between the two circles, representing the Milky Way, the *siling* are separately depicted in the four directions, with their respective constellations. The horned serpentine *qinglong* is depicted in the east (Pl. 15.4). The *baihu* in the west is decayed and only its mouth and beard, its tail and a small part of its upper body

²⁵ KGYWW 1990, no. 4: 57-63; Shaanxi kaogu yanjiusuo & Xi'an Jiaotong daxue 1991, pl. 13.2 (Appendix: 12).

²⁶ KGYWW 1990, no. 4: 57.

can be seen (Pl. 15.5). The elegant *zhuque* with three long feathers at its back is painted in the south (Pl. 15.6). The *xuanwu* in the north is only symbolised by a small snake surrounded by a constellation of five stars arranged in the form of the Dipper (Pl. 15.7). In the circular space enclosed by the inner circle, a scarlet sun holding a crow and a white moon containing a hare are painted on the two sides. The rest of the space is filled with flying cranes and birds, and numerous colourful cloud patterns in S-shape. A complete cosmic system is represented on the ceiling by the depiction of the heavenly omens in the centre, surrounded by the animals of the four quarters and the twenty-eight constellations.

Here we have three different kinds of archaeological evidence of the representations of the *siling* dated to the Western Han period: the animal mask in jade from the Maoling District, groups of moulded bricks from the Maoling District and Xianyang City, and a wall painting tomb at a site at the Jiaotong University. These specimens are all excavated from Shaanxi Province, in the area of the capital of the Western Han Dynasty. They suggest that the *siling* in correspondence to the cardinal directions already existed during the Western Han period.

Besides excavated objects, there are also a few museum pieces with *siling* decorations. On a rectangular hollow brick collected from Shaanxi Province, the *zhuque* (in bird's eye view) and the *xuanwu* are depicted on the right, facing each other, in between them are two inscriptions in seal script, presented in two separate blocks, reading “*qianqiu wansui* 千秋萬歲 (for thousands of years)” and “*changle weiyang* 長樂未央 (happiness forever without end)”. On the left, the

²⁷ *Ibid.*

qinglong and the *baihu* are also facing each other, and in between them is a jade *bi* design (Pl. 16).²⁸ On another square brick, the four cardinal spirits (including the *zhuque* which is again shown in bird's eye view) are depicted on the four sides according to their directions, and the eight characters of the inscriptions *qianqiu wansui* and *changle weiyang* are separated and fitted into the spaces in between the animal patterns (Pl. 17).²⁹ These inscriptions and the *bi* motif happen to be similar in style to a number of square bricks each with two *bi* and a similar phrase, “*changsheng weiyang* 長生未央 (longevity forever without end)”, excavated from the Jiaotong University mural tomb (Pl. 15.8). Bearing in mind that the character *chang* 長 is normally written *chang* 常 after Wang Mang's Xin Dynasty,³⁰ both the bricks in the Shaanxi Provincial Museum of History and those from the Jiaotong University mural tomb are very likely to be of the late Western Han Dynasty, around the first century B.C.

The dragon, phoenix and tiger images were found together on a wall painting excavated from the ceiling of the tomb of Bu Qianqiu and his wife, west of Shaogou, northwest of Old Luoyang City, Henan Province.³¹ The picture was depicted on a set of hollow bricks forming the ceiling of the coffin chamber, numbered in order from west to east, from the far end towards the entrance. It contains thirteen painted items including: cloud patterns (brick 20), Nüwa (19), the moon (18), *fangshi* (17), two dragons (14-16), two winged leopards (11-13), a phoenix (9-10), a tiger (6-8), a lady and a rabbit (5), Bu Qianqiu riding on a dragon and Lady Bu riding on a three-headed bird (4), Fuxi (3), the sun (2) and a

²⁸ Zhang Hongxiu 1994, pls. 1-4 (Appendix: 13).

²⁹ Tai Jingnong 1976, pl. 28 (Appendix: 14).

³⁰ Shaanxisheng kaogu yanjiusuo & Xi'an Jiaotong daxue 1991: 4.

snake-like animal (1) (Pls. 121 & 121.1).³²

According to Sun Zuoyun, the two dragons (one big and one small, intertwined) (Pl. 121.2), the phoenix (Pl. 121.3) and the tiger (Pl. 121.4) images are representations of the *qinglong*, the *zhuque* and the *baihu*.³³ The tiger, phoenix and two dragons are represented in the middle of the ceiling, on bricks 6 to 16, in order from west to east. The *xuanwu* which always appears as if a snake-entwined tortoise to represent the North, is not found here, unless perhaps the snake on brick 1 at the end of the sequence is to be taken as representing the *xuanwu*. This implication is not impossible as the *xuanwu* image on the ceiling of the Jiaotong University painted tomb is only symbolised by a small snake surrounded by a constellation of five stars (Pl. 15.7), without the turtle, as mentioned above (p. 30). The difference is that the four animal symbols in the Jiaotong University tomb can be more easily identified because they are separately depicted on the four sides of the tomb ceiling to represent the four main directions. Sun Zuoyun, however, connects this serpent or fish with the setting of the sun in the west. It is also unusual that the east is represented by two dragons. Sun Zuoyun suggests that the smaller dragon is a female, the big dragon a male, and that they represent the deceased couple, Bu Qianqiu and his wife.³⁴ However, since Bu Qianqiu and his wife are already represented riding to heaven on brick 4, it does not seem likely that they are represented a second time on bricks 14-16.

Another set of animal images identifiable as the *siling*, but arranged in a different

³¹ *WW* 1977, no. 6: 1-12.

³² *Ibid.*: 8.

³³ *WW* 1977, no. 6: 19-20.

way, were excavated from M61 at Shaogou, Luoyang. This late Western Han Dynasty brick tomb is divided into the tomb passage, the gate, the main chamber and side-chambers (Pl. 18).³⁵ The main chamber is divided by a painted and open-work-carved trapezoid-shaped pediment, consisting of one rectangular piece in the centre, flanked by two triangular ones, supported by a lintel.

The designs on the three upper tiles were carved in openwork and painted on both sides (Pl. 18.1). On the front side of the triangular slabs are two symmetrical representations of animals and supernatural beings (Pl. 18.3). Our focus is the front side of the rectangular piece in the centre where images of the *siling* and other animals and supernatural beings are depicted (Pl. 18.2).

Although much of the pigment on the central rectangular piece is missing, most of the images can be made out (Pl. 18.2). A red-coloured animal and a toad are painted at the left and right top corners of the rectangular tile respectively. In between them, at the top centre, is a colourful phoenix with extended wings and plumes. Below the red-coloured animal is a dragon, its long serpentine body extending along the entire right edge of the tile. Below the toad is a striped tiger, depicted along the right edge of the tile. In the centre of the tile is a huge figure in red, and stepping on his head and on two small *bi* are a bear on the left and a warrior on the right.

Fig. 2 shows the details of this central figure. It has a large head and at least one

³⁴ *Ibid.*

³⁵ *KGXB* 1964, no. 1: 107-125 (Appendix: 45). M61 is dated to the periods of Emperor Yuandi to Emperor Chengdi (r. 48-7 B.C.).

eye, and it wears a red tunic. One of its arms stretches out to the right (just below the tiger's tail), and one of its legs stretches out to the bottom right corner where its four claws are well preserved. A number of openings can be seen beneath this figure. It is suggested that the huge animal is the exorcist, *fangxiangshi* (or *fangshi*), wearing the skin of a bear and that the whole picture is a scene of exorcism.³⁶ The pose of this figure is very much like the smaller figure above him, only reversed. Both figures appear in a martial pose. They wear similar red tunics and extend one leg and draw up the other.

A, B, C — three small human figures
around the central figure

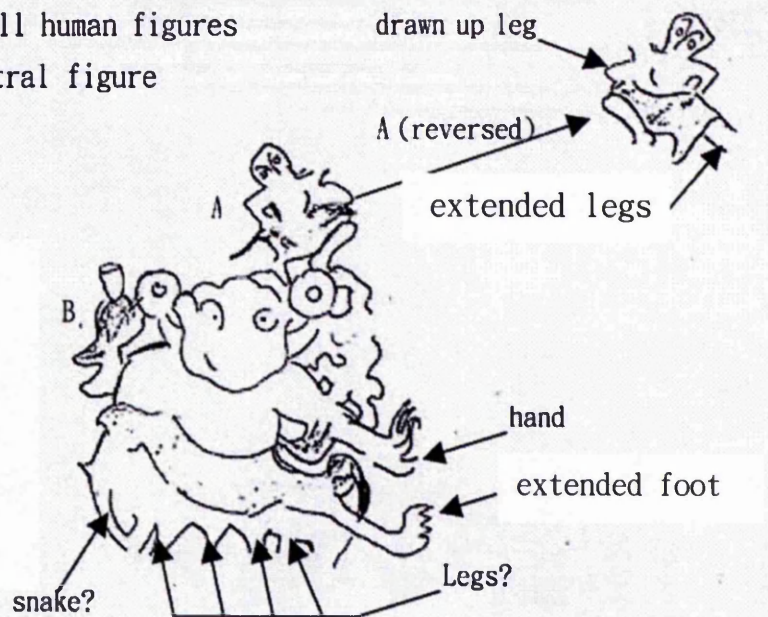


Fig. 2: The central figure in the rectangular piece in M61

The dragon and tiger images on the two opposite sides of the rectangular tile can be identified as the *qinglong* and the *baihu*, and the flying bird at the top can be a

³⁶ Huang Minglan & Guo Yinqiang 1996: 88. The rite of exorcism is a part of the sacrificial ceremony in ancient society, in which the exorcist transforms himself when offering a dance to worship god and asks for a good harvest (*WW* 1982, no. 3: 70). This rite is recorded in detail in *Hou Han Shu* • *Li Yi Zhi* (*Hou Han Shu*, zhi 5: 3127-3128.). For the discussion on the duties and the importance of *fangshi* during the Qin and Han period, and their role in the development of the *siling*, see also Gu Jiegang 1955.

representation of the *zhuque*, but the *xuanwu* image is missing. Jan Fontein and Wu Tung suggested that the large image at the bottom is the representation of the *xuanwu*.³⁷ Although Fontein and Wu do not provide further explanation, I find their suggestion quite possible. The name *xuanwu* in Chinese characters are written 玄武, which means black warrior.³⁸ Therefore, the *xuanwu* image could be understood as a warrior figure rather than the usual turtle confronting a snake, and this matches with the central figure which appears in a martial pose. These animal and figure images are arranged on the rectangular tile that is the central slab on the central screen of the tomb. Their positions tell that they should be important features in the tomb directions.

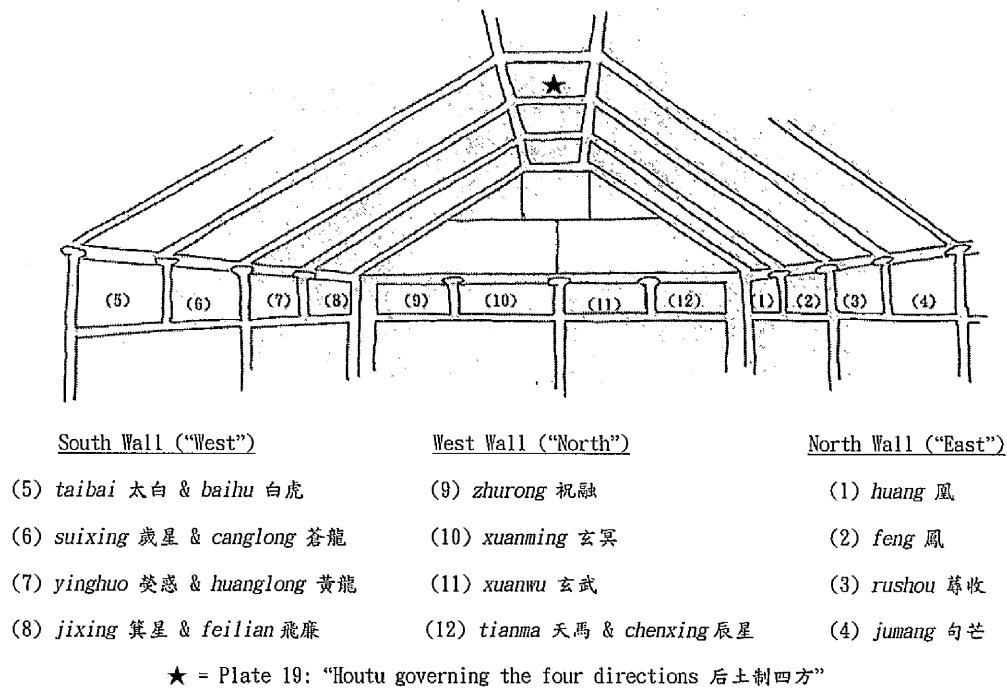


Fig. 3: A line drawing showing the locations of the paintings in the mural tomb at Jinguyuan, Luoyang City, Henan.

³⁷ Fontein & Wu 1973: 98.

³⁸ See p. 181 below for further discussion.

Looking at the earlier *siling* examples in tomb decorations which can be dated to the Western Han Dynasty, we now come to some later examples. Two sets of *siling* motifs were excavated from the interior of a mural tomb dated to Wang Mang's Xin Dynasty at Jinguyuan Village, Luoyang (Fig. 3).³⁹ One set was found on the ceiling, the other set on the walls. This tomb is oriented east-west, with the entrance in the east.

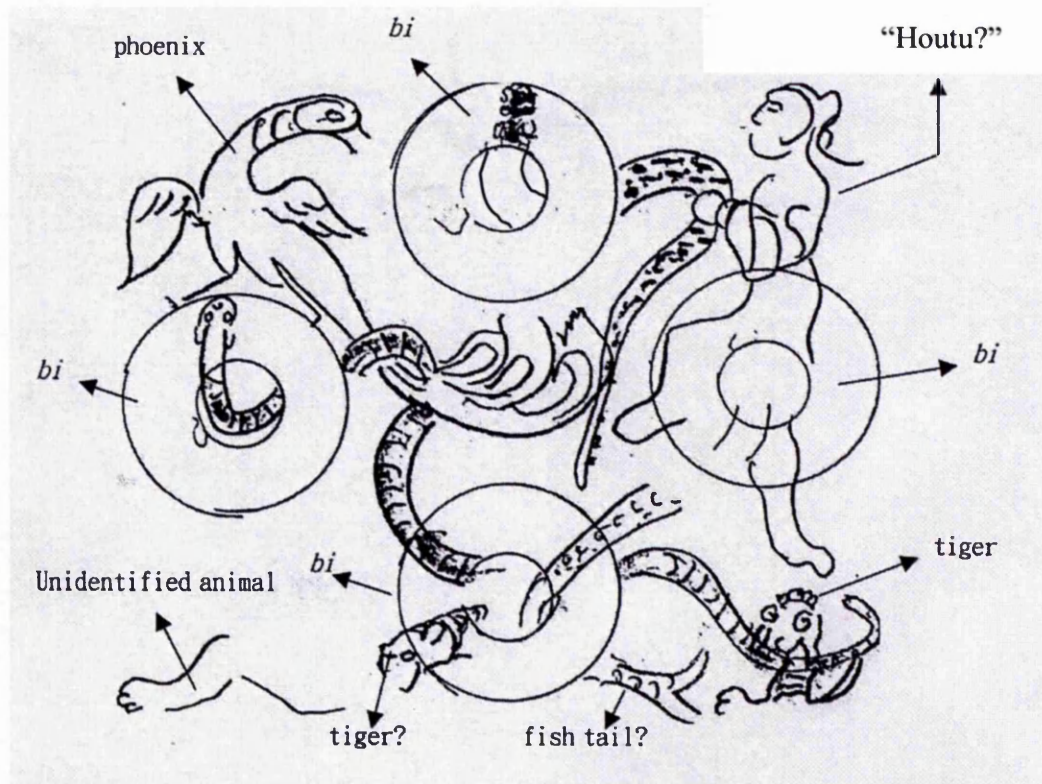


Fig. 4: "Houtu controlling the four directions" (Cf. Pl. 19), excavated from the mural tomb at Jinguyuan, Luoyang, Henan Province.

On the flat ceiling of the back chamber, there are four paintings of similar size. In the third picture from the back is identified in the archaeological report as "Houtu (Sovereign of the Soil) governing the four quarters" (Pl. 19 & Fig. 4).⁴⁰ Four huge

³⁹ WWZLCK 9, 1985: 163-173; Huang Minglan & Guo Yinqiang 1996: 105-120.

⁴⁰ Appendix: 50b.

bi designs surrounded by cloud patterns are located at the four edges of the painting. At the top left, a phoenix extends its long tail feathers towards the centre of the brick. Opposite is an immortal with a fish tail as well as legs, it is holding the tail of a snake that is going through the *bi* at the top. Another snake extends all the way from the bottom right to the top left, passing through two of the *bi*. A tiger and two snakes are going through the *bi* at the bottom together. The two snakes are also going through the *bi* on the left and right separately. Each of the two corners at the bottom is painted with an animal. There is a tiger at the bottom right, and a second tiger emerging from the lower *bi*, as well as another animal in the bottom left.

The *Huai Nan Zi • Tian Wen Xun* explains how Houtu is related to the four directions:

中央土也，其帝黃帝，其佐后土，執繩而製四方，其神鎮星，其獸黃龍。 The centre is Earth, its god is Huangdi. His assistant is Houtu (Sovereign of the Soil). He grasps the marking cord and governs the four quarters. His spirit is *zhenxing* (Saturn). His animal is *huanglong*.⁴¹

When the concept of *wuxing*, which in the earlier usage refers to the “Five Processes” or “Five Elements”, became popular during the Han Dynasty, heaven was divided into five palaces, the four palaces of the four directions each inhabited by one of the *siling* and the Palaces in the centre with the Houtu as its god (see Chapter Five below for a more detailed discussion of the concept of *wuxing*). The

⁴¹ *Huai Nan Zi*, j. 3: 66-67.

idea of the four directions is important in this depiction, and the images of the tiger and the phoenix can be representations of the *baihu* and the *zhuque*, however, the idea of *sifang* (four directions) here is mainly conveyed by the four jade *bi* patterns at the four sides,⁴² not by the four animals. The immortal figure is identified the archaeological report as “Houtu”. It should have special relationship with the four directions, but it is arranged to the top right corner instead of the centre, and is holding the tail of a snake instead of governing the four *bi* (directions).

On the walls of the coffin chamber of the same Jingyuan tomb, another set of *siling* motifs is painted with other heavenly deities. Because of the east-west orientation of this tomb, the entrance of the coffin chamber is in the east, and on the walls on the other three sides, four paintings are lined up horizontally in the upper section (Fig. 3).⁴³ On the north wall, reading from the left to right are a *huang* (Pl. 20.1), a *feng* (Pl. 20), *rushou* and *jumang*; on the south wall, reading from the left to the right are *taibai* 太白 and the *baihu* (Pl. 20.2), *suixing* and the *canglong* (Pl. 20.3), *yinghuo* and *huanglong*, *jixing* and *feilian*; on the west wall which is also the back wall of the chamber, from the left to the right are *zhurong*, *xuanming*, the *xuanwu* (Pl. 20.4), and the *tianma* and the *chenxing* (Pl. 20.5).⁴⁴ These images are either auspicious omens to bring good fortune,⁴⁵ or the gods, the assistants of the rulers, or the animal spirits of the four directions.⁴⁶

⁴² Luoyang gumu bowuguan 1987: 23-24.

⁴³ Appendix: 50a.

⁴⁴ Luoyang gumu bowuguan 1987: 23-24; Huang Minglan & Guo Yinqiang 1996: 105-120. The names of these deities are those assigned by the excavators, with reference to the descriptions of the five constellations “五星” in *Huai Nan Zi · Tian Wen Xun* (*Huai Nan Zi*, j. 3: 66-67).

⁴⁵ For example, the *tianma* and the *feilian* are auspicious omens. They do not have directional meanings.

⁴⁶ *Jumang*, *suixing* and the *canglong* are the assistant, the god and the animal of the east; *yinghuo* and *zhuniao* are the god and the animal of the south; *rushou*, *taibai* and the *baihu* are the assistant, the god and the animal of the west; and *xuanming*, *chenxing* and the *xuanwu* are the assistant, the

In this case, because of the east-west orientation of the tomb, some adjustments were made in the arrangement of the animal spirits. Fig 3 shows clearly that the *xuanwu* was depicted on the west wall of the chamber. Thus, this wall corresponds to the “north”, and the east or entrance wall corresponds to the “south”. However, the *feng* and the *huang* that always appear in the south were painted on the north (“eastern”) wall while the *canglong* was painted together with the *baihu* on the south (“western”) wall.

A similar re-orientation of the tomb interior by means of the *siling* depictions at Zaoyuan Village, Pinglu County, Shanxi Province. In this tomb, three of the four *siling* were painted on the upper parts of the side walls (Pl. 21).⁴⁷ The tomb is constructed of small bricks and is dated to the early Eastern Han Dynasty, around the first century A.D. It consists of a rectangular main chamber with an arched ceiling, a side chamber in the south and a doorway in the east.⁴⁸ Paintings in colour had been applied all over the tomb. Those on the ceiling vault and the upper part of the walls were fairly well preserved; not much remained of the clouds painted on the lower part of the walls. This is one of the most complete depictions of the *siling* in tomb decoration, with the animals depicted in large size large size among stars, clouds, flying birds and a variety of scenes from ordinary life.

A serpentine dragon is painted on upper part of the northern wall (Pl. 21.1). Below the dragon, on one side is an extensive mountain landscape with trees, birds and a deer, and at the foot of the mountain is a courtyard house with a tower; on the other

god and the animal of the north (*Huai Nan Zi*, j. 3: 66-67).

⁴⁷ *KG* 1959, no. 9: 462-463, 468 (Appendix: 38).

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*: 462.

side are a river, a road, a house and two carts (a horsecart and an unharnessed oxcart). A man with basket, a man riding an ox, and a man sitting beneath a tree are painted along the northern edge of the ceiling and the upper section of the northern wall. A fierce tiger (Pl. 21.2) is painted on the upper section of the southern wall, opposite the image of the dragon. One end of the southern wall was not painted because it is the location of the entrance of the side chamber (Fig. 5), and on the other side of the wall is a man on a four-wheeled cart, driven by another man. The *xuanwu*, represented by a turtle image, is located in the west, at the top of the back wall of the main chamber (Pl. 21.3). Below this is a building, two willow trees, a farmer and two oxen ploughing, and another figure.

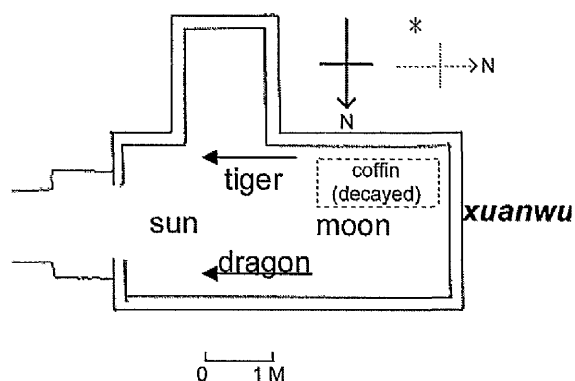


Fig. 5: A plan showing the arrangement of the *siling* patterns in the mural tomb at Zaoyuan

* Notional reorientation of the tomb chamber

A scarlet sun occupied by a crow and a white moon inhabited by a toad are painted at the east and west ends on the crown of the vaulted ceiling. Besides the sun and the moon, the space is filled with colourful moving cloud patterns, a great number of stars and nine flying cranes.

Here we have two main unsolved questions: Firstly, when all of its three companions are painted on the tomb walls, where is the *zhuque* of the south? Secondly, as a rule, when the *xuanwu* is depicted in a tomb, it is always depicted on

the north/ back wall; here, however, it is painted on the west wall; the *qinglong* appears on the north wall instead and the *baihu* is on the south wall and the *xuanwu* on the west wall.

One possibility for the absence of the *zhuque* image is because of space constraints in the tomb, similar to those that led the builders of the Jingyuan tomb to depict the *feng* and the *huang* on the north (“east”) wall, instead of on the entrance wall in the east (“south”). The *qinglong* and the *baihu* are painted along the upper part of the two side walls. The ceiling between them is filled with clouds, stars, cranes, the sun and the moon. The *xuanwu* is painted on the upper part of the west or back wall, at the same level as the *qinglong* and the *baihu*. In the east, opposite the back wall, is the tomb entrance, for this reason, the image of the *zhuque* was left out.

The problems relating to the directions of the *siling* motifs can be solved by studying the orientation inside the tomb. From the plan (Fig.5), we notice that, the painter has adjusted the main images so that reading from the entrance, the *qinglong* is on the right and *baihu* on the left, and the *xuanwu* is at the far end on the back wall of the tomb. As stated, the *zhuque* is missing because its place is taken by the entrance door. Therefore, in both the Jingyuan and the Zaoyuan tombs, the *siling* are related to each other within the tomb and carrying out particular directional meanings, assuming that the tomb entrance is in the south, rather than following its actual topography in the east.⁴⁹ In both these tombs, the application of the *xuanwu* on the northern wall shows the significance of the four directions in the tomb because indicating the North is the first and major step to

⁴⁹ A similar adjustment is made in many Buddhist caves at Dunhuang, where the cave entrance is in

indicate the four quarters.⁵⁰ The representation of the *xuanwu* in the North also clarifies the relationship between the painted images and the four directions.

Later examples of the *siling* are dated to late Eastern Han Dynasty or the Six Dynasties. They show a different approach to the use of the *siling* images in tomb decoration. It apparently became fashionable to depict the four animals separately on small bricks used for constructing the tomb walls.

Twelve kinds of stamped patterns, including the *siling* (Pl. 22), lion, horse, human figure and flower, were found on the broad sides of the small rectangular bricks used for the construction of the walls of a brick tomb at Jinqueshan, Linyi, Shandong Province.⁵¹ The tomb is dated to the late Eastern Han or the Wei and Jin Dynasties (third century A.D.).⁵²

By comparing the positions of the *siling* in this small brick tomb with those of the mural tomb excavated from Junguyuan (p. 35 & Fig. 3), we notice that they are arranged in a different order. Just as is the case in Jinguyuan, the entrance of the Jinqueshan tomb is situated in the south, and the bricks with the images of the *xuanwu* are also placed on the northern wall. However, in the Jinqueshan tomb, instead of appearing in the east, the *zhuque* bricks were found on the western wall, and the bricks with patterns of the *baihu* and the *qinglong* are both arranged on the

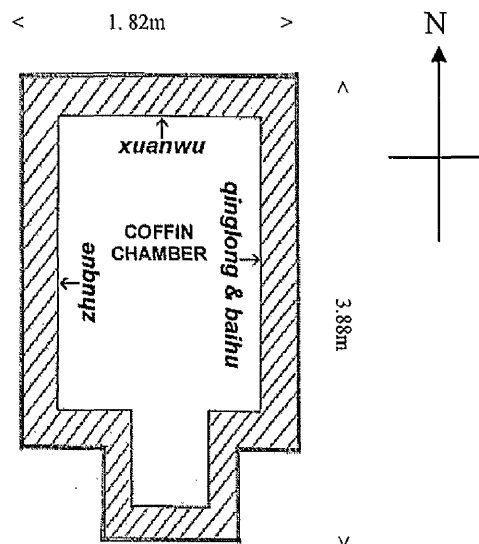
the east, but Amitabha's Western Paradise is often painted on the left (south) wall.

⁵⁰ This also applies at the Neolithic tomb site at Xishuipo, Henan Province. The representation of the Dipper in the North and the dragon and tiger patterns depicted on either side of the deceased shows clearly the orientation of the tomb (*WW* 1988, no. 3: 1-6). Liu Daoguang points out that, the Han people believed that they were the receivers of the virtue of water which is situated in the North, therefore, they always regarded the North as their propitious direction and placed themselves in the North. (Liu Daoguang 1990: 70-71).

⁵¹ *WW* 1995, no. 6: 72-78 (Appendix: 107).

eastern wall (Fig. 6).

Fig. 6: The plan of the brick tomb at Jinqueshan, Linyi, Shandong Province.



We have also seen this pairing of *qinglong* and *baihu* on one wall, in the Jingyuan tomb (Fig. 3), where these two animals appear in adjacent panels on the south (“west”) wall. It should be noted that, while the *qinglong* and the *baihu* have long been regarded as a pair of complementary opposites, this relationship can be expressed by depicting them on two opposite walls, or on two sides of the same wall as they are shown face to face along the borders of the brick with geometric patterns (Pl. 8).

The *siling* images excavated from the Jingyuan tomb show that from the Xin Dynasty, the four animal images are not any more the sole motifs on a specimen, but are depicted with other mythological gods and images. We shall see from later examples that this trend continued during the Eastern Han Dynasty.

Bricks individually moulded with all four *siling*, one animal on each, were also

⁵² *Ibid.*: 78.

excavated from tombs built of small bricks dated to the Six Dynasties: one example comes from Zhenjiang, Jiangsu Province,⁵³ and another from Xuezhuang Village, Deng County, Henan Province.⁵⁴ As with the Jinguyuan mural tomb in Luoyang and the Jinqueshan brick tomb in Shandong, although the positions of the *siling* vary, the *xuanwu* is always arranged to the actual and notional north, and the positions of the four animals in the tombs also give a clue for their directional meanings.

From a tomb at Zhenjiang, fifty-four moulded pictorial bricks in ten categories were found. They were used together with plain bricks to construct and decorate the tomb walls. Patterns on the bricks include: the *qinglong* (Pl. 23.2), the *baihu* (Pl. 23.3), the *zhuque* (Pl. 23.1), the *xuanwu* (Pl. 23), an animal-headed bird and a human-headed bird, two animals both with dancing posture, a snake-biting animal, and an animal mask. This tomb is dated to the second year of Long'an of the Eastern Jin Dynasty (A.D. 398) by an eighteen-word inscription in two columns, one on either side of the *xuanwu* motif.⁵⁵ It is most probably because of the special meaning of the North to the Han people that the date of the tomb is only inscribed on bricks with patterns of the *xuanwu*, the animal motif always used to represent the North.

Although the tomb was not in good condition and the front chamber had almost totally collapsed when it was excavated, the arrangement of the pictorial bricks in

⁵³ *WW* 1973, no. 4: 51-57 (Appendix: 113).

⁵⁴ *KG* 1959, no. 5: 255-261, 263 (Appendix: 78 a-f). The tomb and other collected bricks of the same style are dated to the Southern and Northern Dynasties (A.D. 420-589).

⁵⁵ The inscription reads, “龍安二年造立塚郭顯陽山子孫貫壽萬年 the tomb is made in the second year of Long'an of Jin Dynasty (A.D. 398) for Guo Xian Yangshan, may his descendants forever enjoy longevity.” (*WW* 1973, no. 4: 52 & 54).

the tomb can still be learned from the surviving ones in the coffin chamber. On the back wall of the coffin chamber, bricks with patterns of the *zhuque*, the *xuanwu*, snake-biting animal and animal mask were found (Fig. 7). Patterns on the left and right walls of the coffin chamber are similar, eight out of the ten categories of images were found, that is, all except the *zhuque* and the *xuanwu* (Figs. 7.1 & 7.2).



Fig. 7: Arrangement of the decorated bricks on the back wall of the tomb at Zhenjiang, Jiangsu.

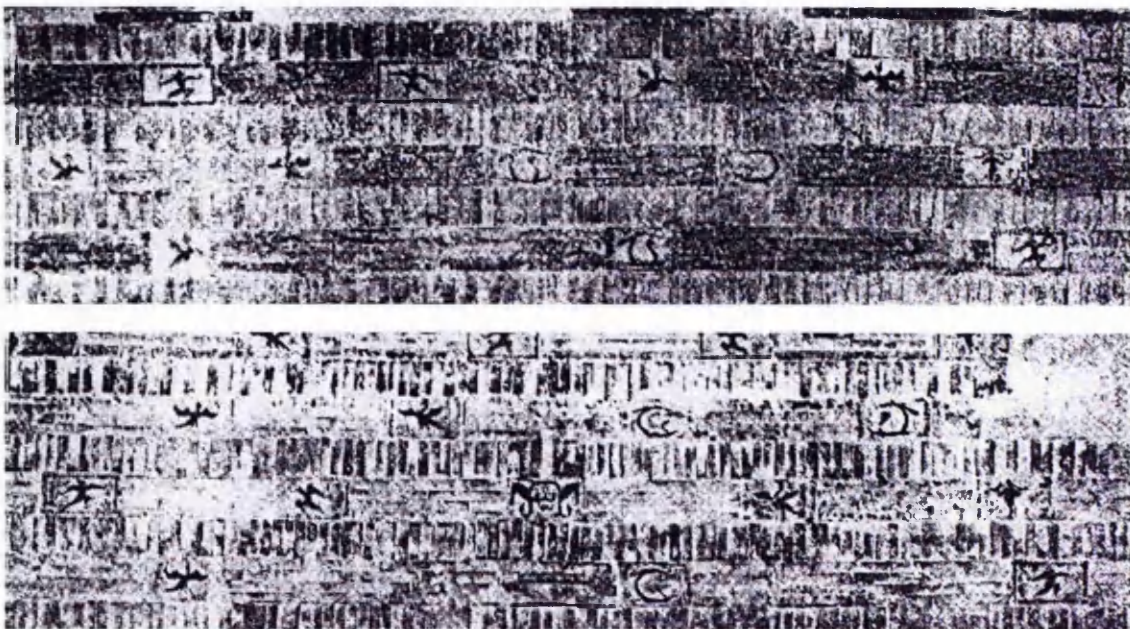


Fig. 7.1 (upper) & Fig. 7.2 (lower): Patterns at the lower parts of the two side-walls of the back chamber. After *WW* 1973, no. 4: 56 (pls. 3 & 4).

Images of the *zhuque* and the *xuanwu*, which are always used to represent the south and the north, respectively, were found together on the back wall; whereas images of the *qinglong* and the *baihu*, which are always used to represent the east and the west, were evenly arranged face-to-face in pairs on both the left and right walls. The four animal motifs here are grouped into two pairs of *yinyang* opposites: south and north, east and west. According to the *yinyang* theory, all things and events are products of interaction of a pair of opposite elements, *yin* and *yang* (see Chapter Five below for a more detailed discussion of the concept of *yinyang*). Similar to the four colours and the four seasons, the four animals (*siling*) are one of the complementary sets of “symbols” for the four main directions. With the four animal motifs grouped and depicted in two pairs of *yinyang* opposites, the directional meanings are conveyed.

The large-scale brick tomb at Xuezhuang Village, Deng County, Henan Province, belongs to the Southern and the Northern Dynasties.⁵⁶ Altogether thirty-four categories of moulded and painted images were found on the bricks, including the *siling*, other animals and figures. The four guardian animals are depicted separately on individual bricks, as they are on the bricks from Zhenjiang discussed above. The tomb had been seriously damaged when it was excavated, and the orientations of most of the bricks are unsure. Although bricks with patterns of the *qinglong*, the *baihu* and the *zhuque* (Pl. 24.3-24.6) were found in the tomb, the fact that the *xuanwu* bricks are arranged on the back wall of the coffin chamber (Pl. 24, 24.1 & 24.2)⁵⁷ show that there was probably an intention to convey the directional

⁵⁶ KG 1959, no. 5: 255-261, 263; Henensheng wenhuaju wenwu gongzuodui 1959a, pls. 28, 27, 37, 36 (Appendix: 78a-f).

⁵⁷ Henensheng wenhuaju wenwu gongzuodui 1959a, pl. 19 (Appendix: 78d).

meanings of these spiritual animals.

(2) Stone tombs

(i) Entrances

Many *siling* patterns were found on the entrances of stone-structured tombs. They are dated to the Eastern Han Dynasty. On two sets of door leaves excavated from a stone-chambered tomb in Huji Village, Jinxiang County, Shandong Province, images of the *qinglong*, the *baihu* and the *zhuque* are depicted together, but that of the *xuanwu* is missing (Pl. 25).⁵⁸ The reason for the absence of the *xuanwu* image can be understood by studying the composition of the depiction. On each left door leaf, a dragon and a phoenix are depicted at the top, the lower section is occupied by images of a *pushou* and a guard, and on each right door leaf, a tiger is at the top and below is a *pushou* and a guard (see p. 54 below for a discussion of relationship between images of the *xuanwu* and a guard). This is a unique example of such a composition, and it seems to me that the artisans wanted to depict the flying *zhuque* at the top, but at the same time did not want to give up either the *qinglong* or the *baihu*. The spacing and the arrangement are however not well organized, the squeezing of the images of the dragon and the phoenix into a small area creates a crowded feeling for the entire composition. This might be due to a certain experimentality in decorating a stone-structured tomb at the beginning of the first century A.D.,⁵⁹ still an early stage in the development of stone-chambered tombs in East China.

⁵⁸ KG 1995, no. 5: 385-389 (Appendix: 90a-b).

Another *siling* example comes from a group of three stones, including a door lintel and two door leaves, excavated from Yigou Village, Tangyin County, Henan Province (Pl. 27).⁶⁰ In the centre of the door lintel, the dragon on the right and the tiger on the left are confronting each other. Between them are two small birds, one flying and one standing, both facing towards the tiger, and behind them is a small fish on either side. On each of the two door leaves, a *pushou* is depicted at the bottom. Inside the ring of each *pushou* is a pair of symmetrical fish patterns. A phoenix is depicted at the top of the left door leaf, above the *pushou*. The image at the top of the opposite door leaf looks as if it had been deliberately erased. It is reported to be a *xuanwu*,⁶¹ but this seems doubtful because the *xuanwu* is never represented in this position. Moreover, the twin pairs of fish at the bottom are, like the turtle, water creatures and thus can be understood as substitute for the *xuanwu*. According to archaeological finds, the turtle-and-snake is rarely depicted on tomb door leaves with one notable exception where there seems to be an evident relationship between the turtle-and-snake *xuanwu* and a guard.⁶² On a pair of door leaves from Santaizi, Beijing, three of the *siling* motifs were found.⁶³ Each door leaf is divided into three equal square panels. On the left door leaf, a man with a battle-axe and a shield is carved in the top panel and a three-headed bird with four opened wings at the bottom. Both images are depicted upside-down, with a *pushou* in the central panel (Pl. 28 left). On the right-hand door leaf, images of the *zhuque* and the *xuanwu*, both facing left, are carved at the top and bottom respectively,

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*: 389.

⁶⁰ *KG* 1994, no. 4: 379-381 (Appendix: 59a-b). The set of three rectangular stones were discovered together with three gold rings, a pottery well and a few *wuzhu* coins. It is believed that they are the door lintel and two door leaves of an Eastern Han Dynasty tomb.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*: 381.

⁶² Appendix: 86. Apart from this, only one more example can be traced, that was found on a door leaf excavated from Santaizi, Beijing (*WW* 1966, no. 4: 53).

⁶³ *WW* 1966, no. 4: 53 (Appendix: 86).

with a *pushou* right way up in the central panel (Pl. 28 right). The example is important because the turtle is depicted on the door leaf itself, instead of at the bottom of the doorpost or the doorframe.⁶⁴ Apart from one example when images of the phoenix and the turtle are depicted together on a lintel,⁶⁵ the turtle is rarely found on the door leaf, and never in the upper panel.

To facilitate comparisons in the discussion that follows, Figs. 8-19 show in diagrammatic form the arrangements of the four animals on engraved or shallow relief slabs from the entrance doorways of eleven tombs of stone construction, dating from late Western Han to late Eastern Han. Except Fig. 17 that comes from Jinxiang County in Shandong, all of these examples were excavated from Henan Province, mainly from Nanyang County.

⁶⁴ For example, see Shaanxisheng bowuguan & Shaanxisheng wenguanhui 1958, pls. 15 & 16 (Appendix: 19a-b), 34 & 35 (Appendix: 23a-b), 38 & 39 (Appendix: 29a-b), 54, 57 & 58 (Appendix: 28a-b), 62-65, 68 & 69 (Appendix: 22a-c); *WW* 1973, no. 6: 30; *Zhonghua wuqiannian wenwu jikan bianji weiyuanhui* 1980: 89 (Appendix: 43); *KG* 1986, no. 1: 82-84 (Appendix: 30a-b); *KG* 1987, no. 11: 997-1001 (Appendix: 27a-b); *KG* 1990, no. 2: 176-179 (Appendix: 20a-b).

⁶⁵ *ZYWW* 1986, no. 1: 89-90 (Appendix: 70).



procession				procession		
guard	<i>baihu</i>	<i>baihu</i>	linked lozenge patterns	<i>zhuque</i>	<i>zhuque</i>	guard
	<i>pushou</i>	<i>pushou</i>		<i>pushou</i>	<i>pushou</i>	

Fig. 8: Tomb door of the Power Plant Tomb, Tanghe County, Henan (ZYWW 1982.1: 5-11). Second half of 1st century B.C. to A.D. 23.

two dragons linked by a <i>bi</i>				words			
guard	<i>baihu</i>	<i>zhuque</i>	guard	guard	<i>baihu</i>	<i>zhuque</i>	guard
	<i>pushou</i>	<i>pushou</i>			<i>pushou</i>	<i>pushou</i>	

Fig. 9: Tomb door (left) and inner southern door of the middle chamber (right) of a tomb at Xindian Village, Huyang, Tanghe, Henan. (KGXB 1980.2: 239-262). 1st century A.D.

riding scenes							
虎吃女魃圖				虎吃女魃圖			
guard	<i>baihu</i>	<i>baihu</i>	linked lozenge patterns	<i>zhuque</i>	<i>zhuque</i>	guard	
	<i>pushou</i>	<i>pushou</i>		<i>pushou</i>	<i>pushou</i>		

Fig. 10: Tomb door of the Knitting Factory M1, Tanghe, Nanyang, Henan (WW 1973.6: 26-40). Early 1st century A.D.

逐疫升仙圖 animals and immortals						
<i>fengshi</i>	<i>baihu</i>	<i>baihu</i>	bear	<i>zhuque</i>	<i>zhuque</i>	<i>fengshi</i>
guard	<i>pushou</i>	<i>pushou</i>	guard	<i>pushou</i>	<i>pushou</i>	guard

Fig. 11: Tomb door of the Knitting Factory M2, Tanghe, Nanyang, Henan (ZYWW 1985.1: 5-11.). 1st century A.D.

獸門驅牛圖				獸門驅牛圖			
guard	<i>baihu</i>	<i>baihu</i>	guard	<i>baihu</i>	<i>baihu</i>	guard	
	<i>pushou</i>	<i>pushou</i>		<i>pushou</i>	<i>pushou</i>		
	dog	bear		bear	2 dogs		

Fig. 12: Tomb door of a tomb at Xiongying, Xindian, Nanyang County, Henan (ZYWW 1996.3: 8-17), 1st century B.C. to 1st century A.D.

二桃殺三士故事				鼓舞圖			
bird & guard	<i>zhuque</i>	<i>zhuque</i>	architecture & a guard	<i>baihu</i>	<i>baihu</i>	bird & guard	
	<i>pushou</i>	<i>pushou</i>		<i>pushou</i>	<i>pushou</i>		

Fig. 13: Tomb door of a tomb at Yingzhuang, Nanyang County, Henan Province (WW 1984.3: 25-37). 1st century A.D.

animals and birds, two phoenixes linked by a <i>bi</i>			
<i>baihu</i>	<i>baihu</i>	<i>zhuque</i>	<i>zhuque</i>
<i>pushou</i>	<i>pushou</i>	<i>pushou</i>	<i>pushou</i>

Fig. 14: The western door of M1 at Gushang Village, Yongcheng County, Henan Province (ZYWW 1980.1: 37-41). 1st century A.D.

a dragon & a tiger				a dragon, a bear, ox & a man			
two dragons linked by a <i>bi</i>				two tigers & a man			
	<i>zhuque</i>	<i>zhuque</i>	a tower	<i>zhuque</i>	<i>zhuque</i>		
	<i>pushou</i>	<i>pushou</i>		<i>pushou</i>	<i>pushou</i>		

Fig. 15: Tomb door of a tomb at the east coast of Panhe, Fangcheng County, Henan (WW 1980.3: 69-72.). Early 2nd century A.D.

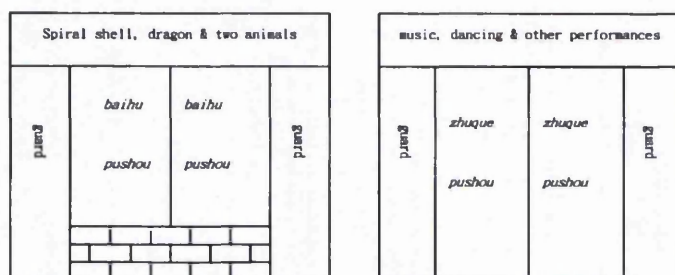


Fig. 16: Doors of the front (left) and back chamber (right) of the Women and Young Children's Health Centre Tomb, Nanyang, Henan (ZYWW 1997.4: 56-63 & pl. 4.). 3rd to early 4th century A.D.

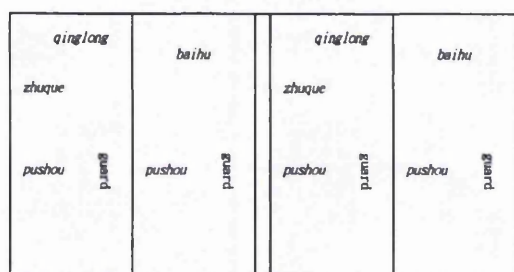


Fig. 17: Tomb door leaves of Huji Village M2, Jinxiang County, Shandong (KG 1995, no. 5: 389.). 1st century A.D.

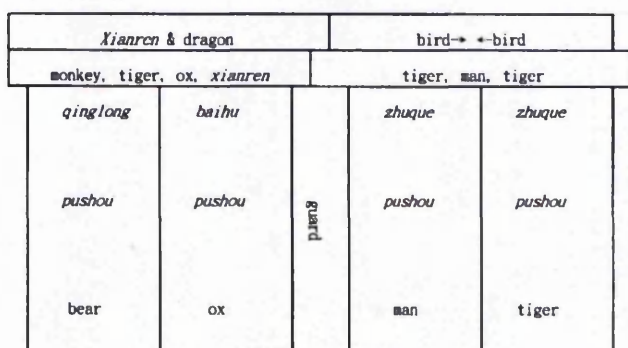


Fig. 18: Tomb doors of a tomb excavated from Chengguanzhen, Fangcheng County, Henan (WW 1984, no. 3: 38-46). 1st century A.D.

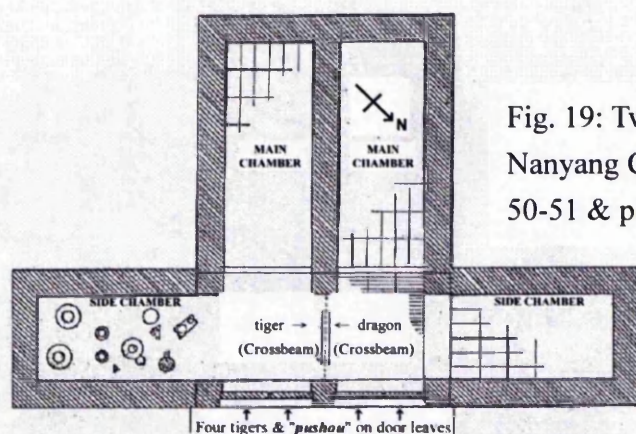


Fig. 19: Two doorways from Pushan M2, Nanyang City, Henan (ZYWW 1997, no. 4: 50-51 & pl. 3.), 1st century A.D.

On the tomb door leaves from Henan area, the phoenix and the tiger images are always depicted in opposite directions at the top, above the *pushou*. In tombs with one doorway, a phoenix is always carved at the top of one door leaf, facing a tiger on the same position on the other door leaf (Pl. 26, Fig. 9). In tombs containing two doorways, one pair of face-to-face phoenixes were depicted at the tops of a pair of door leaves, and a pair of face-to-face tigers in the same positions on the other pair of door leaves (Figs. 8, 10, 11, 13 & 14), and there is almost always a *pushou* below each animal image (Figs. 8-18 & 19). Although it is very seldom that dragon, tiger and phoenix are depicted together at the top of a pair of door leaves, one such example was found from Shandong (Fig. 17). Dragon, tiger and phoenix images are also found together on the lintels of tomb doors (Figs. 15 & 18). When they appear on the lintels above these tomb doors, dragon and phoenix images are always combined with patterns of jade *bi* (Figs. 9 left, 14 & 15) or immortals (Figs. 11 & 18). This arrangement recalls the moulded bricks of the early Western Han from the Yangling, Maoling and Xianyang (pp. 24-29). Despite the fact that their positions may not correspond with their respective directions, these representations are widely accepted as *zhuque* and *baihu*. The *baihu* always appears as if a tiger image, and according to Chinese beliefs, the tiger is a kind of patron saint and has some sort of divine power to travel around heaven and earth.⁶⁶ Therefore, the tiger image at the top of the tomb door, no matter whether it is an ordinary tiger or a sacred *baihu*, serves the function of protecting the deceased against all evil spirits. For this reason, instead of phoenixes, two tiger images are sometimes depicted on

⁶⁶ In *Chu Ci • Jiu Ge • Shan Gui* 《楚辭 • 九歌 • 山鬼》, the Goddess of Wu Shan (Shaman Mountain) is described as a lady who is “driving tawny leopards, leading the striped lynxes” (Hawkes 1985: 115). We can interpret that the striped lynx, most probably, is the tiger, and both the leopards and the tigers have similar status as divine vehicles of the Goddess.

the door leaves with the *pushou* (Figs. 12, 19).⁶⁷ We find no *xuanwu* image on these specimens.

Other popular designs on the lintels of these tomb doors include procession and riding scenes (Figs. 8, 10 & 15), and musical performances (Figs. 13 & 16 right). The doorposts are usually depicted with images of standing guards (Figs. 8-13, 16-18). On account of the frequent appearance of the guard images on *siling* specimens with no the *xuanwu* (see Figs. 8-13, 16-18, 27 & Pl. 34.3 for examples), and the absence of the guard images on *siling* specimens which do have the *xuanwu* (see Figs. 25-27, 29 for examples), the standing guards on the tomb doors could be representations of the *xuanwu* image.⁶⁸ This assumption is possible because the name “*xuanwu*” in Chinese characters is written 玄武, and is literally means “dark” and “warrior” (see Ch.7, pp. 179-184 for a more detailed discussion of the *xuanwu* image), but except Fig 17 which was excavated from Shandong, examples given above come from just two areas, Henan and Sichuan, we need more archaeological evidences from a more extensive area for further research and analysis.

Several complete sets of *siling* motifs were also found on the doors of two late Eastern Han Dynasty multi-chambered stone-structured tombs in Henan Province, Dahuting M1 and M2, Mi County (Figs. 20 & 21).⁶⁹

⁶⁷ See also ZYWW 1998, no. 4: 30-34 for another example from Baizhuan, Tanghe County, Henan. All three tombs are dated to the 1st century A.D.

⁶⁸ I am grateful to my supervisor, Prof. Roderick Whitfield, for this suggestion.

⁶⁹ Appendix: 74. See Henansheng wenwu yanjiusuo 1993, pls. 19, 21, 23, 25, 40, 42, 45, 48, 56, 58, 60, 62, 65, 67, 69, 71, 88, 90, 92, 94, 116, 120, 122, 124, 166, 168, 170, 172, 176, 178, 180, 182, 185, 187, 189, 191, 202, 204, 206, 208, 210, 212, 214, 216.

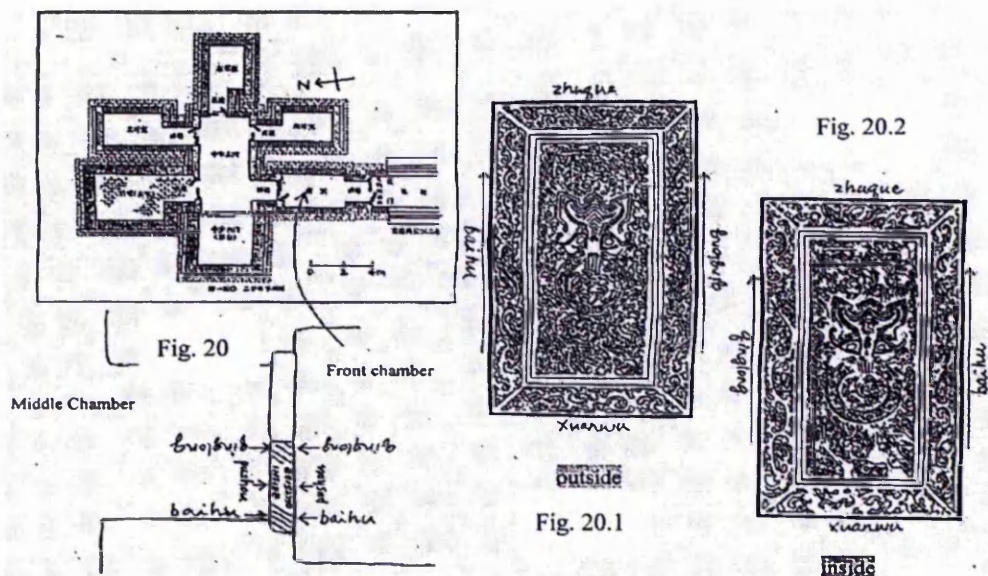


Fig. 20: Plan and door leaf of M2, Dahuting, Mi County, Henan, late E. Han.

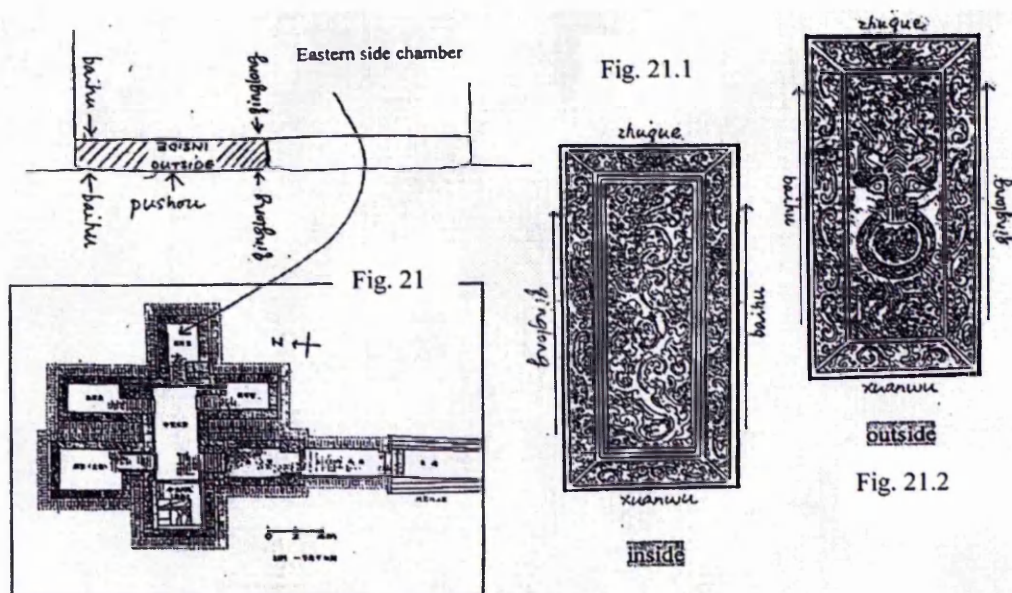


Fig. 21: Plan and door leaf of M1, Dahuting, Mi County, Henan, late E. Han.

Both tombs have six pairs of door leaves that are all patterned on both sides and images of the *siling* were found on both sides of the doors. On the outer sides of the door leaves, the *pushou* is always carved in the centre, surrounded by numerous patterns of animals, immortals, and cloud designs. There is a mitred border along

the four sides, also carved with cloud patterns, with the *zhuque* and the *xuanwu* at the top and bottom, and the *qinglong* and the *baihu* on the two sides (Figs. 20.2 & 21.2). The depiction on the inner sides of the door leaves follow the same format (Fig. 20.1), but sometimes without the *pushou* (Fig. 21.1).

In the extreme north of Shaanxi Province where a lot of first and second century stone-structured tombs were excavated, the *siling* is a popular door decoration, for example, a set of four spirit images from Kuaihualing, Housijiagou, Suide County, Shaanxi Province (Pl. 29 & 29.1).⁷⁰ The tomb can be dated around A.D. 100 by comparison with the tomb of Wang Deyuan which has a similar style of pictorial decoration and which is securely dated to the twelfth year of Yongyuan (A.D. 100).⁷¹

The door contains two door leaves and two doorposts, joined by a lintel. A pair of face-to-face snake-entwined turtles are carved individually at the foot of the two doorposts (Pl. 29.4). Two phoenixes displaying their wings are depicted above the two *pushou* on the pair of door leaves (Pl. 29.2). Below the *pushou* are a scaly dragon on the right and a striped tiger on the left (Pl. 29.3). These images are carved in low relief by carving away the ground, and some details, such as decoration of the animal bodies, are incised. The opposite directions of the pair of dragon and tiger, and the two pairs of phoenixes and turtles-and-snakes indicate that they are representations of the *siling*, although they are not placed to correspond exactly with the four directions. Another similar example comes from

⁷⁰ Shaanxisheng bowuguan & Shaanxisheng wenguanhui 1958, pls. 34 & 35 (Appendix: 23a-b).

⁷¹ *Ibid.*: 13-28.

Yanjiacha M2 in the same county.⁷² The only difference is that the incised geometric patterns on the set of tomb doors from Kuaihualing are replaced at Yanjiacha by very complicated patterns of deities, sun and moon disks, animals and clouds.

(ii) Tomb interiors

A large number of the *siling* motifs from stone-structured tombs were excavated and preserved in Henan Province. A typical example appears on the ceiling of the Knitting Factory M1 outside Nanguan of Tanghe County, Henan Province.⁷³ The double-burial tomb is dated to Wang Mang's Xin Dynasty and is built solely of stone blocks. It is shaped like the Chinese character “回” in plan, and contains the front chamber, the southern and northern main chambers, the southern and northern side chambers and the coffin chamber (Fig. 22).

The ceilings of the southern and northern main chambers are both built with six pictorial stones depicting heavenly scenes. (Fig. 22.1) The images of the four animals are carved on the fifth stone from the west in the northern chamber, the other five stones include four linked rings, a tiger and the sun inhabited by a three-legged crow, linked *bi* patterns (these can also be regarded as stars or constellations of the Milky Way),⁷⁴ seven fish and a disk, and a two-headed dragon.

⁷² *KG* 1990, no. 2: 176-179 (Appendix: 20a-b). See also Shaanxisheng bowuguan & Shaanxisheng wenguanhui 1958, pls. 54, 57 & 58 (Appendix: 28a-b); 62-65, 68-69 (Appendix: 22a-c) for two more similar examples.

⁷³ *WW* 1973, no. 6: 26-40 (Appendix: 52e).

⁷⁴ Many similar linked *bi* patterns on engraved stones were found, for example, see *ZYWW* 1980, no. 1: 38 (fig. 4); *ZYWW* 1996, no. 3: 7 (fig. 27). It is commonly believed that the circular *bi* relates to the Chinese sky (see *ZYWW* 1993, no. 2: 1-9 and *ZYWW* 1994, no. 4: 67-70 for the discussion). I am grateful to Prof. Whitfield for his suggestion.

On the ceiling of the southern main chamber, except for the third stone from the east which depicts the seven stars of the Dipper, the moon inhabited by a toad, half of the *yi* constellation, the other five are all filled with similar star patterns.⁷⁵ It is certain that the four animal images on the fifth stone of the northern ceiling are representations of the *siling*, because they are the sole occupants of the stone and are arranged with the *xuanwu* at the northern end of the stone, the *zhuque* at the southern end, the *baihu* and the *qinglong*, both facing south, on the western and eastern sides, respectively (Pl. 30.1). It is the only archaeological example in which the *siling* are depicted on a single stone slab, without any other accompanying motifs.

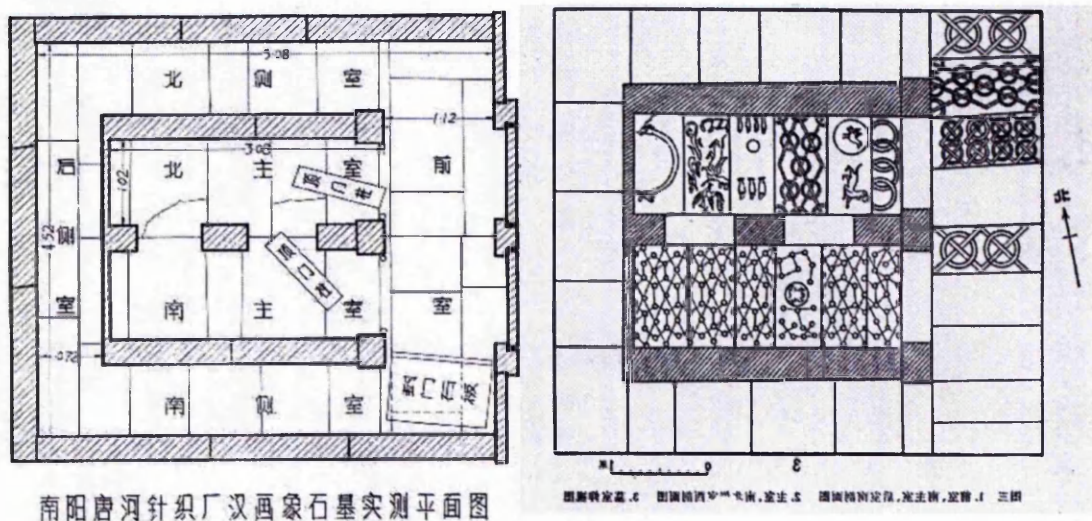


Fig. 22 (left): Floor plan of M1 at the knitting factory M1, Tanghe, Henan Province.
Fig. 22.1 (right): Arrangement of the decorations on the ceiling of the main chamber.
After *WW* 1973.6: 33 (fig. 1) & 35 (fig. 3, reversed to show projection of the ceiling panels onto the floor plan). See also Pl. 30.

A more complicated heavenly scene, with the *siling* and other heavenly deities and constellations, appears on the ceiling of an early Eastern Han Dynasty

⁷⁵ Wei Renhua 1987: 173-177.

stone-structured tomb at Qilin'gang in the western suburbs of Nanyang City, Henan Province (Pl. 31).⁷⁶ The images are depicted among cloud patterns on a set of nine stones forming the ceiling of the front chamber. The number nine is believed to be specially chosen to symbolize the Han belief of nine levels of heaven.⁷⁷ In the centre a frontal seated figure is surrounded by the *siling*: the *qinglong* and the *baihu* are on the right and left, facing upwards towards the *zhuque* above the figure, underneath which is the *xuanwu*. Next to the *qinglong* on the right is the image of Fuxi holding the sun, and the seven stars of the Dipper are furthest to the right.⁷⁸ Next to the *baihu* on the left is the image of Nüwa holding the moon, and at the far left are the six stars of *nandou* (Sagittarius).⁷⁹ The *qinglong* and the *baihu* are both facing upwards. The powerful bodies of the two animals are quite similar, and they can only be distinguished by comparing their heads. The *zhuque* and the *xuanwu* both face left towards the *baihu*.

The seated figure is robed and wears a hat decorated with an ornament shaped like the Chinese character “[𠂇]”, it seats in the centre and is surrounded by the four directional symbols. Its appearance suggests that it is not an ordinary human figure and is comparable to the image of Houtu, “Sovereign of the Soil” in the centre who grasps the marking cord and governs the four quarters as recorded in *Huai Nan Zi* (see p. 37).⁸⁰ Alternatively, Han Yuxiang and Niu Tianwei identify the seated figure as Taiyi, the Supreme God of the universe. They believe that the Supreme God is identified by the deities around it, such as the *siling*, and Fuxi and Nüwa

⁷⁶ ZGWWB 1992. 9. 6 (Appendix: 57).

⁷⁷ Han Yuxiang & Niu Tianwei 1995: 25.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*: 24.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*

⁸⁰ *Huai Nan Zi*, j. 3: 66-67.

who are symbols of *yin* and *yang*, *tian* (heaven) and *di* (earth).⁸¹ Since this Han tomb is located in Nanyang, a very large part of which belonged to the Chu State during the Spring and Autumn and the Warring States periods (770 - 221 B.C.), it is possible that this image does represent Taiyi, the highest god in Chu mythology.⁸² In his study of Daoist iconography, Liu Yang points out that Taiyi, always appears godlike, frontal, imposing, and static, in contrast to figures of lesser deities around him which are shown in profile and engaged in activities. His *en face* image also offers the worshipper a direct religious experience.⁸³ In comparison, the seated image coincides more with the iconographical features of Taiyi identified by Liu Yang, than that of Houtu. As the most powerful god in the universe, the animal gods of the four quarters, the sun and the moon are its attendants, as is clearly shown by their arrangement around the central images.

When the *siling* images are depicted on individual columns and pillars, as in many tombs, they are much easier to identify, because these architectural elements provide appropriate surfaces to show the directional meanings of the *siling*. Two such examples come from the well-known and very large late Eastern Han Dynasty tomb in Beizhai Village, Yinan County, Shandong Province.⁸⁴ The stone-structured tomb, whose entrance is in the south, has a front chamber and a large central chamber, each with an octagonal column in the middle (Pl. 32).⁸⁵ One of the two sets of *siling* images is depicted round the circular base of the column in the centre

⁸¹ Han Yuxiang & Niu Tianwei 1995: 24. See also Gu Jiegang & Yang Xiangkui 1936, Ch. 24: 156-163 for the role and significance of Taiyi in Daoist religion.

⁸² Xia Zhifeng 1994: 590-591.

⁸³ Liu Yang 1998: 18-22.

⁸⁴ Zeng Zhaoyu 1956.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*: 3.

of the front chamber,⁸⁶ and the other is depicted on the three sides of the pillar between the twin entrances to the middle chamber (Pl. 32.1).⁸⁷

The column in the front chamber has an octagonal shaft set on a hemispherical base on a square plinth. The four cardinal animals are incised with fine lines on this hemispherical surface, in between two lines of parallel teeth patterns, and below them are spiral cloud patterns incised on the four sides of the plinth (Pls. 32.2 & 32.3). A similar arrangement of the *siling*, dated to the later Eastern Han or Wei Dynasties, was found from Xuchang County, also in Henan Province.⁸⁸ The four cardinal animals are carved in high relief round the base of a column (Pl. 33). This later example shows a comparatively advanced carving technique and a more lively depiction of the four animals. Both examples, however, provide the opportunity to display clearly the directional significances of the *siling*.

The second set of the *siling* in the Yinan tomb is more conventionally arranged on the rectangular pillar between the twin entrances to the middle chamber. On the front side facing south towards the entrance (Pl. 32.4), the *zhuque* with a crest of three plumes is depicted at the top in frontal view. The *xuanwu* at the bottom is represented by a turtle, entwined by a long scaly snake. In between the *zhuque* and the *xuanwu* is a standing hybrid, also depicted in front view. It has a human body and a grotesque head with wide-open mouth, a crossbow with three arrows is on the top of its head and a shield hangs down between its legs. The figure holds a dagger-axe and a short sword in its left and right hands respectively, and two more

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, rub. pls. 27-30 (Appendix: 106d).

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, rub. pls. 12-14 (Appendix: 106c).

⁸⁸ Huang Liuchun 1994: 111 (Appendix: 77).

short swords are held in its two feet. The crossbow and fearsome array of weapons identify the figure as Chiyou,⁸⁹ a mythological figure during the reign of Huangdi.⁹⁰ On the east face of the post is the *qinglong* image and on the west face the *baihu*. The very long serpentine bodies of both animals extend from the top to the bottom of the rectangular surfaces (Pls. 32.5 & 32.6). The arrangement of the *siling* and the central figure here on the rectangular pillar is similar to that found on the painted rectangular tile in Luoyang M61, Henan Province,⁹¹ where the central figure in a martial pose may also be a representation of Chiyou (Pl. 18.2 & Fig. 2).

Representations of the *siling* were also found in a pictorial stone tomb at Lihu Village in Shilipu, Nanyang County, Henan Province.⁹² The rectangular tomb, containing the front, the middle and the coffin chambers, is dated to the late Eastern Han Dynasty or slightly later. Images of the *siling* were found among a set of two stones placed in parallel, on the ceiling of the middle chamber, with other animal images (Pl. 34). In terms of their format, style and location in the tomb, the two stones should be examined together. On the first, images of the *xuanwu* (shown as a snake-entwined turtle), a long-legged immortal, two deer, a creature with two human heads, a tiger body and seven tails, and cloud patterns (Pl. 34.1). On the second, there are images of the *qinglong*, *baihu*, *zhuque*, a second leaping immortal, and the moon inhabited by a toad (Pl. 34.2). Here the image of the *qinglong* is carved diagonally right across the surface. The *zhuque*, a symbol of the *yang* and light, is located at one corner, diagonally opposite the moon inhabited by a toad,

⁸⁹ KGTx 1955, no. 6: 65-66.

⁹⁰ Chiyou is a mythological figure, believed to be a warlord during the reign of Huangdi 黃帝. He always wore swords, weapons, and a huge crossbow, being brutal and an enemy to society. He was finally defeated by an army sent by Huangdi (*Ci yuan*: 688).

⁹¹ KGXB 1964, no. 1: 107-125 (Appendix: 45).

⁹² WW 1986, no. 4: 48-63 (Appendix: 72a-b).

which is a symbol of the *yin* and darkness. The decorations on this stone alone are already enough to convey the idea of the *siling*. With the *xuanwu* image depicted on the stone next to it, all four animals of the *siling* are shown, together with clouds, deer and immortals. Another possible set of *siling* images in this tomb was found on the doorway of the main chamber (Pls. 34.3 & 34.4). Although the typical snake-and-turtle *xuanwu* image is not found on the doorway, the phoenix and tiger patterns on the two door leaves, and the dragon pattern on the right doorpost are possibly images of the *zhuque*, *baihu* and *qinglong*, which are combined and depicted together to convey the idea of the *siling*.

Another set of the *siling* with immortals is found on a set of four stones from a stone-structured tomb at Houzhangda, Teng County, Shandong Province.⁹³ There are four pictorial stones, two of which with depictions of Xiwangmu⁹⁴ and Dongwanggong, and historical scenes similar to those from the Wu Liang Shrines; they are arranged in two or three horizontal registers (Pls. 35, 35.1). The other two stones form a matching set (Pls. 35.2). As displayed in the museum, and having regard to their decorative borders, this set of two stones provides a square space for the depiction of the *siling*, with a broad border all around. The left panel (Pl. 35.2 left) depicts a winged dragon, an immortal, a fish, a turtle and a snake. The serpentine body of the scaly dragon occupies the entire rectangular surface. The immortal in the top right corner appears to be feeding the dragon with a fish. A

⁹³ Appendix: 95. There is no published report, but according to Li Shiyong, Curator of the Tengzhou Museum of Han Pictorial Art, the stones were excavated from the same tomb, and when excavated, the two larger ones were used to construct the two opposite walls of the tomb.

⁹⁴ Xiwangmu, the Queen Mother of the West, is a deity with certain attributes and certain powers. In *Shan Hai Jing · Hai Nei Xi Jing*, she is described as “resembles a human, with the tail of a leopard and teeth of tiger, and is good at screaming. In her dishevelled hair is a jade hairpin (*sheng*)” (Translation from Zhang Xiaojie 1985: 32). For the significance of the *sheng*, see Wang Xu 1999: 207-211.

turtle whose carapace is decorated with linked lozenge patterns is depicted at the lower left corner, facing a snake whose very long and sinuous body extends upwards to the middle part of the stone. The right-hand panel (Pl. 35.2 right) is patterned with images of a phoenix, a tiger with a small rabbit-like animal, a turtle-and-snake and an immortal. At the top is the phoenix with a twin crest displaying its fine tail feathers, facing left. It holds in its mouth a string of pearls, ending with a fish, and one of its legs touches the raised tail of the tiger below. The striped and winged tiger is moving to the left, stretching out its front right leg, turning its head round to bite the rabbit behind it. Below the front legs of the tiger is an immortal half-seated by the left border of the stone. The turtle entwined with a snake is depicted at the bottom, facing right (Pl. 35.2 left).

In these two stones, there seems to be a deliberate attempt to relate the various animals one to another. In particular, in the case of the *xuanwu*, on the left-hand slab, the snake descends from above to confront the turtle face-to-face; on the right slab, the snake is wound around the body of the turtle, coiling and maintaining the face-to-face eye contact. This is an example of a composition often found in the Eastern Han specimens.⁹⁵

This set of stones can be dated to the Eastern Han Dynasty, around the middle of the second century A.D., by comparing the images of the *qinglong*, the *baihu* and the winged immortals with similar representations on the excavated stones from

⁹⁵ See Zeng Zhaoyu 1956, rub. 14 & 30 (Pls. 91.4 & 91.3) for two examples from a late 2nd century tomb at Yinan, Shandong. See *WW* 1995, no. 6: 75 (Pl. 131) for a late second to early third century example on small bricks from Jinqieshan, Shandong. See Gao Wen & Gao Chenggang 1996: 4 & 41 (Pls. 52.3 & 51.3) for two 2nd to early 3rd century examples on stone sarcophagus from Sichuan. See Xu Wenbin 1992, pls. 199 & 213 (Pl. 56.2 & 57.2) for two early 3rd century examples on *que*-towers from Sichuan.

Chengqian Village, Cangshan County, Shandong Province, which are dated to the first year of Yuanjia (A.D. 151) by inscriptions.⁹⁶ The shapes of the heads of the *qinglong* from Houzhangda (Pl. 35.2 right) and the dragon from Chengqian Village (Pl. 36) are similar. We can recognise that the *baihu* and the tiger image from both places (Pl. 35.2 left & 36) are even more alike when comparing their very big and round eyes, their wide-open mouths, their angular wings, the striped designs of their bodies, their upraised tails and energetic body postures. The immortals on the stones from both places are also depicted in a similar style.

This example from Houzhangda, Teng County, which can be dated around mid Eastern Han Dynasty, shows a complex illustration in which the *siling* are represented at the same time as other mythological representations, such as images of Xiwangmu and Dongwanggong, the King Father of the East, immortals and other heavenly deities.

⁹⁶ KG 1975, no. 2: 126.

Discussion

The above review of excavated examples of the *siling* means that a number of important observations can be made about the development of the *siling* during the Han Dynasty:

(1) First appearance of the complete set of *siling* motifs in the early Western Han period

From Luojingshi at the Yangling, tomb of Emperor Jingdi (r. 156-141 B.C.), although only hollow bricks with the *qinglong* and the *xuanwu* motifs (Pls. 9 & 10) were found, it is very possible that the *zhuque* and the *baihu* images were also depicted on separate bricks which were either lost or damaged, because Luojingshi is believed to have been an architectural site for ritual ceremonies in the imperial tomb area. From Wazhagou at the Maoling District, Xingping County, Shaanxi Province, the earliest examples of a complete set of *siling* motifs, which can be dated to the time of Emperor Wudi's reign (140-87 B.C.), were excavated. These examples include a *pushou* in jade (Pl. 3)⁹⁷ and a group of rectangular moulded bricks (Pls. 5-8).⁹⁸ On the bricks, which were prominent features of the tomb construction, especially on the two main walls of the tomb chamber, the individual animals were often depicted in pairs, facing one another. On the *pushou* in jade, a complete set of *siling* images was carved around the animal mask. This seems to be one of the very first instances when all four of the *siling* are combined into a single composition. This kind of representation on a square surface was to become more

⁹⁷ *WW* 1976, no. 7: 51-55 (Appendix: 6).

frequent in the Xin period and the Eastern Han Dynasty, although other figures were added rather than simply representing the *siling* on their own.

These excavated materials have shown that the whole set of *siling* motifs appeared during the early Western Han period. Besides the examples noted above, the complete set was also found on bronze braziers, which will be discussed with other excavated funerary objects in Chapter Three.

(2) Depiction of the *siling* together with stars and cloud patterns in the late Western Han and Xin periods

During the first century B.C., the *siling* became popular patterns in tomb decoration, and because of their identities as the animal gods of the four directions in the sky, they usually appear on the tomb ceiling. The Chinese tomb is a microcosm of the universe and the ceiling of the tomb symbolizes the sky, therefore, the *siling* began to be depicted with various star and cloud designs, and other heavenly images, such as the sun and the three-legged crow, the moon and the toad. These representations became popular during the later Western Han and Wang Mang's Xin period.⁹⁹

⁹⁸ *WW* 1976, no. 7: 51-55 (Appendix: 7, 8a-c).

⁹⁹ For example, see *WW* 1977, no. 6: 1-12 (the tomb of Bu Qianqiu in Luoyang, Henan); Shaanxisheng kaogu yanjiusuo & Xi'an Jiaotong daxue 1991 (a tomb at Jiaotong University in Xi'an, Shaanxi); *KG* 1975, no. 3: 178-181, 177 (a tomb at Qianyang County, Shaanxi); *WW* 1993, no. 5: 1-16 (a tomb at Qianjingtou, Luoyang, Henan).

(3) Depiction of other mythological deities together with the *siling* in Wang Mang's
Xin Dynasty

Since the Wang Mang period, because of the increasing interest and belief in the supernatural of the Han people, the winged immortal became a very popular image in Han pictorial art and it was frequently depicted with the *siling* in tomb interiors. Various mythological gods are also depicted at the same time in the same context with the *siling*. They include the Houtu (Sovereign of the Soil) in the Xin Dynasty tomb at Jinguyuan (Pl. 19 & Fig. 4),¹⁰⁰ and other mythological images, such as *rushou, jumang, taibai, suixing, yinghuo, jixing, feilian; zhurong, xuanming, tianma* and *chenxing* (Fig. 3). They are auspicious omens, gods, or assistants of the heavenly rulers in Chinese mythology. These specimens from Jinguyuan have shown that the four animal images are not any more the sole patterns during Wang Mang's Xin Dynasty. They are instead represented with various mythological gods and images at the same time in the same context, and this trend continued during the Eastern Han Dynasty.

(4) Taiyi, the Supreme God in the Daoist pantheon, and other mythological deities
are depicted with the *siling* at the same time in the same context during the
Eastern Han Dynasty

During the Eastern Han Dynasty and after, there was further development of the *siling*. More and more mythological images were depicted with the *siling*, and these four animal representations were represented among more complex contexts.

¹⁰⁰ ZYWW 1985, no. 4: 82-83; Luoyang gumu bowuguan 1987: 23; Huang Minglan & Guo

It is during the Eastern Han period that the four animal motifs began to be depicted with image of the Taiyi, the Supreme God in the Daoist pantheon, and the pairs of opposite *yin* and *yang* symbols, such as Fuxi and Nüwa, to convey the *yinyang* theory. For example, on the set of nine stones from the ceiling of the early Eastern Han Dynasty stone-structured tomb at Qilin'gang, Nanyang City, Henan Province, the four animal motifs were depicted together with images of Taiyi, Fuxi and the sun, Nüwa and the moon, and various constellations (Pl. 31).¹⁰¹

(5) The guardian function of the *siling*

In the very large late Eastern Han Dynasty stone-structured tomb in Beizhai Village, Yinan County, Shandong Province, there are two complete sets of *siling* representations, one appears on its own round the circular base of the column in the front chamber (Pls. 32.2 & 32.3), and another from three sides of a rectangular pillar at the entrance to the chamber, with possible image of Chiyou (Pls. 32.4, 32.5 & 32.6).¹⁰² Since Chiyou is heavily armed, this seems to emphasise the role of the *siling* as guardians. In other instances, the *siling* are depicted with *xianren*, lively immortals in the heaven or in immortal realm, and other hybrid creatures (Pl. 35.2, Figs. 11 & 18). Additionally, in a fair number of Eastern Han tombs, the *xuanwu* is not presented; in these tombs the other guardian animals are accompanied by a guard. This suggests a possible equivalence of the *xuanwu* and the armed guard figure.

Yinqiang 1996: 105.

¹⁰¹ ZGWWB 1992. 9. 6 (Appendix: 57).

¹⁰² *Ibid.*, rub. pls. 27-30, 12-14 (Appendix: 106d, 106c). Discussed above, pp. 60-62.

(6) Function of the *siling* in adjusting tomb orientation

As a group of cardinal animals, directional significance is the principal criterion to identify the *siling*. However, archaeological evidences have clearly shown that, when the images of the *siling* are depicted together, their positions vary. It may be because of constraints in space or local topography, or practical considerations, or simply because of carelessness on the part of the tomb builders. Sometimes, even though the local topography prevents the tomb entrance to be opened in the south according to Chinese traditional practice, the depiction of the *siling* motifs enables an adjustment to the perceived orientation inside the tomb.

(7) Individual depiction of the *siling* on single bricks in Later Eastern Han and Three Kingdoms tombs

During the late Eastern Han period, the most popular tomb structure was composed of small bricks. Most of these bricks were plain, but many bore moulded patterns. These moulded designs, including the four animal motifs, were individually depicted on the flat side or along one edge of the brick (see pp. 44-47 for the discussion). However, as with the Western Han hollow bricks excavated from Wazhagou, Maoling (Pls. 5-8), these bricks with *siling* representations were not always arranged separately on the four walls. In these later tombs, it seems to have been more important to ensure that the *siling* motifs were grouped into two pairs of *yinyang* opposites to convey the *yinyang* concept than to arrange them on the four walls to show exactly the four directions.

Chapter Two: Combinations of the *siling* in above-ground structures

Although most *siling* images are patterns on tomb components or decorations on independent artefacts buried in tombs, a small number survive on above-ground structures, generally depicted on architectural components, shrines and *que*-towers. These can complement and corroborate the evidence excavated from tombs.

(1) Architectural components

It was a general practice to arrange the four animal motifs on the four sides of an important imperial building, such as palace or tomb precinct (*lingyuan*), to indicate the directions.¹⁰³ This has been proved by the complete sets of *siling* eaves tiles excavated from the site of imperial buildings of the Western Han capital, Chang'an (Pl. 11). Many of the images of the four cardinal animals on architectural components above ground survive on eaves tiles. One of the earliest, dating from Western Han (second to first century B.C.) is a semi-circular eaves tile, on which a pair of dragon and tiger images that are possible representations of the *qinglong* and the *baihu*, confronting each other (Pl. 37).¹⁰⁴ Such semi-circular eaves tiles are generally dated to the Warring States period.

A number of *siling* eaves tiles were excavated from the western suburbs of the modern city of Xi'an, to the south of the Western Han capital, Chang'an, Shaanxi

¹⁰³ Ma Yongying & Wang Baoping 2001: 28.

¹⁰⁴ Huang Nengfu & Chen Juanjuan 1987: 73 (Appendix: 147).

Province, believed to be the site of the Mingtang and the Biyong.¹⁰⁵ The circular end of each of these eaves tiles is patterned with an image of one of the four cardinal animals (Pl. 11).¹⁰⁶ Although the four spirits are depicted individually on separate brick tiles that were excavated from the two different sites, it is clear that the idea of *siling* is the main theme as they are confidently depicted in the same style, making full use of the available space. These *siling* eaves tiles can be dated around A.D. 4, at the end of the Western Han Dynasty, because this was the year when it was suggested that the *Biyong* should be built.¹⁰⁷

Also as decorations on architectural components, a complete set of *siling* motifs are carved in high relief according to their directions, round the base of a stone column found from Xuchang County, Henan Province (Pl. 33).¹⁰⁸ The stone is dated to the later Eastern Han or Wei Dynasties (around 3rd century A.D.). This later example shows a comparatively advanced carving technique and a more lively depiction of the four animals.

(2) Shrines and *que*-towers

In Shangzhuang Village, Shijingshan, the western suburbs of Beijing, a group of architectural remains, containing seventeen components of a *que*-tower and a pair

¹⁰⁵ KGTJ 1957, no. 6: 28 & 30, pl. 8 (1-4); & KG 1960, no. 7: 38.

¹⁰⁶ KG 1960, no. 7: 38 (Appendix: 17). These architectural remains were discovered in the western suburbs of Xi'an in the 1950s and more than one reconstruction has been presented. For the reconstruction of the remains, see KGXB 1959, no. 2: 45-55; KG 1959, no. 4: 193-196; KG 1960, no. 9: 53-58, 52; KG 1963, no. 9: 501-515. For a discussion on the previous reconstruction of the remains and the problems of the interpretations of the pre-Han texts of the Mingtang, see Wang Tao 1996: 1-7.

¹⁰⁷ According to *Han Shu* • *Pingdi Ji*, “元始四年二月，安漢公奏立明堂辟雍。In the second month of the fourth year of Yuanshi (A.D. 4), Anhangong memorialised the throne for the construction of Mingtang and Biyong” (*Han Shu*, j. 12: 357).

of free-standing stelae—or *mubiao*, were excavated in 1964.¹⁰⁹ These remains are dated to the seventeenth year of Yongyuan (the first year of Yuanxing) (A.D. 105) of the Eastern Han Dynasty.

According to archaeological remains, a *que* is generally made with two identical stone pillars, one on the right and another on the left, and between them is an open entrance; the left and the right pillars are always called the east tower and the west tower, respectively.¹¹⁰ On a rectangular pillar from this group, a flying phoenix is depicted at the top and an armed guard at the bottom; on the left side is a dragon, with a lengthy serpentine body stretching along the rectangular surface (Pl. 38). A matching hipped-roof of the *que*-tower was excavated at the same spot. In terms of structure, the pillar should be the right tower of an entrance, with a matching pillar on the opposite side. Both pillars are roofed, and were possibly linked by a threshold underneath (Fig. 23). The positions of the phoenix and dragon patterns on the excavated pillar show that they are representations of two of the *siling*. The contents and composition of the decorations on a pair of towers are always similar.¹¹¹ It is therefore also possible that on the missing tower from Shijingshan, another *zhuque* was depicted at the top of the front side, and the *baihu* on the proper left side (Figs. 23 & 23.1).

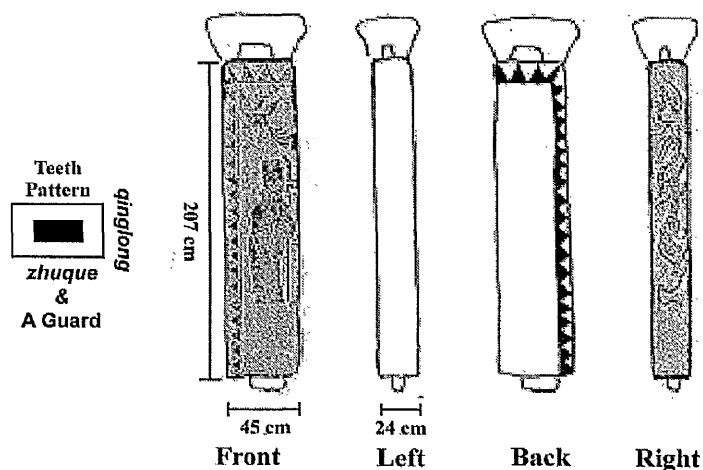
¹⁰⁸ Huang Liuchun, 1994: 111.

¹⁰⁹ *WW* 1964, no. 11: 13-22 (Appendix: 87). The date of this group of remains is inscribed on one of the excavated pillars, reading, “永元十七年四月卯改為元興元年魯工石巨宜造 On the *mao* day of the fourth month in the seventeenth year of Yongyuan (A.D. 105) [the emperor gave] order [to have the name of his reign] changed into the first year of Yuanxing [The gateway] was built in the tenth month by Shi Juyi, a mason from Lu” (*Ibid.*: 16).

¹¹⁰ *WW* 1961, no. 12: 9.

¹¹¹ On the *siling que*-towers excavated from Sichuan, a *zhuque* is usually depicted on the front side of each tower, the *qinglong* on the proper right side of the left tower and the *baihu* on the proper left side of the right tower. For example, see Xu Wenbin 1992: 129-133, 134-137, 148-153 (Pls. 26, 27,

Fig. 23:
Line drawing of the pillar
from Shangzhuang Village,
Shijingshan (data fr. *WW*
1964.11: 13-22).



Images of the *qinglong*, the *baihu*, and the *zhuque* are always fashionable subjects for the decoration of *que*-towers in Sichuan, and the *xuanwu* image is sometimes represented.¹¹² Three of the *siling* were found as decorated motifs on a pair of inscribed *que*-towers still standing at Shenjiawan, Xinmin Village, Qu County (Pl. 39).¹¹³ It is a unique example as both towers are inscribed and well-preserved (Pls. 39.1 & 39.2).

The inscription in *lishu* (clerical script) on the east tower of the Shenjiawan Que reads, “漢謁者北屯司馬左都侯沈府君神道 The *shendao* (spirit road) of the Palace Receptionist, Commander of the North Palace Gate, Left Commander-in-chief of Palace Garrison, Shen, the deceased father, of the Han Dynasty”, and that on the west tower reads, “漢新豐令交趾都尉沈府君神道 The *shendao* (spirit road) of the Magistrate of Xinfeng, Defender of Jiaozhi, Shen, the deceased father, of the Han Dynasty”.¹¹⁴ These inscriptions tell clearly that the site

48.1 & 48.2).

¹¹² There are twenty *que*-towers remaining in Sichuan Province, but according to Xu Wenbin and others, there should be only nineteen because the Liye Que is not structured as a *que* (*Ibid.*: 1).

¹¹³ Wen You, 1955, pls. 1-4 (Appendix: 116a-b). See also Xu Wenbin 1992: 128-133.

¹¹⁴ Xu Wenbin 1992: 40-41.

is a *shendao* made especially for Mr. Shen whose official career is also recorded in detail. According to Li Xian's annotation to the biography of *Zhongshan Jianwang Yan* in *Hou Han Shu* • *Guangwu shiwan liezhuan*, "When a road is opened in front of a tomb and stone columns are built to mark it, this is called a spirit road. 墓前開道，建石柱為標，謂之神道。"¹¹⁵ A spirit road consists of three sets of stone monuments: monumental *que*-towers, animal and/ or human stelae, and memorial stelae, and this basic pattern lasted throughout the history of the spirit road.¹¹⁶

The inner face of the west tower is depicted with the *qinglong*, grasping a line hanging down from a jade *bi* (Pl. 39.3), and the left flank of the east tower is a similar depiction of the *baihu* and a jade *bi* (Pl. 39.4). On each tower, an image of the *zhuque* is carved at the top centre of the front side, followed by a fifteen-word inscription in a single column, and a huge animal mask is carved below the inscription of the east tower (Pls. 39.5, 39.6, 39.7 & 39.8).¹¹⁷

Two similar *que*-towers are found at Zhaojiacun, Xinxing Village, Qu County, Sichuan Province. They come from the same area and are three hundred metres apart.¹¹⁸ They have similar structure and decorations with the ones excavated from Pujiawan and Wangjiaping of the same county.¹¹⁹ On the front side of the remaining east tower of Que 1, a phoenix is carved at the top (Pl. 40) and a snake-entwined turtle at the bottom (Pl. 40.1). On the inner side, a dragon grasps a cord hanging from a jade *bi*, with a small fish by its tail (Pl. 40.2). On the front side

¹¹⁵ *Hou Han Shu*, j. 42: 1450. Translation from Paludan 1991: 28.

¹¹⁶ Paludan 1991: 31.

¹¹⁷ Prof. Whitfield has suggested that this mask may very well represent the *xuanwu*, seen from the front.

¹¹⁸ Wen You, 1955, pl. 4 (Appendix: 122, 123). See also Xu Wenbin 1992: 138-141, 142-147.

¹¹⁹ Xu Wenbin 1992: 134-137, 148-153 (Appendix: 117, 121).

of the surviving west tower of Que 2, similar images of the phoenix (Pl. 41) and the snake-entwined turtle (Pl. 41.1) were found. On the inner side is a tiger grasping a cord hanging from a jade *bi*, and below it is a scrolling animal, which has been suggested to be a toad (Pl. 41.2).¹²⁰

Since the remaining east tower of Que 1 and west tower of Que 2 at Zhaojiacun are geographically near and are very similar in their pictorial representations, it is interesting to find out if they were originally a pair of towers of a single monument.¹²¹ After a comprehensive comparison, however, I find that it is unlikely for this to be the case.

Although these two *que*-towers are similar in shape and in pictorial representations, there are also a few discernible differences between them. From the survey charts of the two towers (Pls. 40.3 & 41.3), we can notice that, the length of the tower base of Que 1 is 20 cm longer than that of Que 2.¹²² Que 1 is also 20 cm higher than Que 2, and this difference is mainly because of the difference in height of their three-level attics.¹²³ In the centre of attic level one on the front side of each tower, a *pushou* is carved. A *pushou* is also depicted in the centre of attic level one on the back side of Que 1, but cannot be found in the corresponding position on Que 2. On each tower, the second level of the attics are sub-divided into the two sections, the upper section is carved with the bracket system, and human and animal motifs,

¹²⁰ *Ibid.*: 43.

¹²¹ One of the two towers of a monument could have easily collapsed and have been re-created hundreds of metres away.

¹²² The tower base of Que 1 is 130cm in width and 260cm in length, and that of Que 2 is 130cm in width and 240cm in length.

¹²³ The height of Que 1 is 450 cm and that of Que 2 is 430 cm, the attic of Que 1 is 144 cm and that of Que 2 is 125 cm.

while the lower one is unadorned. However, the upper section of attic level two on Que 2 is much shorter than that of Que 1, and therefore the bracket systems on Que 2 are supported by shorter columns and the motifs depicted below the brackets also have to be compressed into a smaller area.

Another substantial difference between these two towers is on the front side of their bodies. On the front side of Que 1, the *zhuque* is depicted just below the attic, the *xuanwu* is at the bottom. On the front side of Que 2, the top of a third simulated column is carved below the first level of the attic, and therefore, instead of appearing on the upper part of the tower body, the image of the *zhuque* is shifted nearer the centre. The back of this que also features a third simulated column in the centre (Pl. 41.3) which is not seen in Que 1. These differences between Que 1 and Que 2 from Zhaojiacun are enough to prove that they are towers surviving from two *que* monuments. They share certain similarities probably because they come from the same county and same village, and were probably made by the same group of artisans.

Only the east tower of the Wangjiaping Que (Pl. 42) survives. On the *que* body, a phoenix is carved at the top of the front side, and on the inner side is a serpentine dragon grasping a line hanging down from a jade *bi* (Pls. 42 & 42.1). The missing supporting tower was supposed to be joined at the rough and unadorned side of the tower. Similar depictions of the *siling* were found on the surviving east main tower at Pujiawan in Xinmin Village, Qu County, Sichuan Province (Pls. 43.2).¹²⁴ It was built as one of a pair of towers with double-eaves hipped-roofs, with a supporting

¹²⁴ *Ibid.*: 134-137 (Appendix: 117).

sub-tower attached to each of the primary towers, like the Wangjiaping Que, it is decorated with images of a phoenix on the front side and a dragon on the inner side (Pls. 43 & 43.1).

Examination of similar *que*-towers from the area have shown clearly that a tiger is always depicted on the inner side of the west towers, such as those of the Shenfujun Que (Pl. 39.4) and Zhaojiacun Que no. 2 (Pl. 41.2). At the bottom of the front of both *que* from Zhaojiacun, the *xuanwu* is depicted as a snake-entwined turtle (Pls. 40.1 & 41.1). Although no complete set of the *siling* images was found together on these *que*-towers from Sichuan and elsewhere, yet the four animals are consistently related and depicted in certain positions in order to convey the idea of the *siling*.

In the Shandong area, images of the *siling* were also found on the Wushi Que, a pair of fully-decorated *que*-towers with attached sub-towers, surviving at the Wu Liang Shrine of the middle of the second century A.D. in southwestern Shandong Province. The Wu Liang Shrine is the only shrine at the Wu's family tomb site for which attempts have been made to re-construct it in its entirety.¹²⁵ The *siling* motifs on the Wushi Que are carved in pairs according to the *yinyang* theory and their corresponding opposite meanings. For example, two pairs of dragon and tiger images were found on the top and the base of the east tower respectively;¹²⁶ a pair of phoenix and turtle-and-snake images are carved on the two sides of the bracket

¹²⁵ KGYWW 1980, no. 4: 108-114, pls. 12-16. The buildings at the Wu's family site were built between A.D. 147 and 189 of the Eastern Han Dynasty. For an early reconstruction of the Wu Liang Shrine, see Fairbank (1942): 41-80. For a study on the pictorial program and the ideological implications of the stone carvings at the shrine, see KGYWW 1980, no. 4: 4; Zhu Xilu 1986a: 6-10; Zhu Xilu 1992; Wu Hung 1989b, part II.

¹²⁶ Jiang & Wu 1995, pls. 15-18 (Appendix: 93a-b).

system of the sub-tower on the left (Pl. 44).¹²⁷ The positions of these pairs of animal motifs on the tower suggests that they are representations of the *qinglong* and the *baihu*, the *zhuque* and the *xuanwu*, each pair corresponding to two opposite directions of the four quarters.

With reference to the arrangement of the *siling* representations on these *que*-towers remains, and their inscriptions, we can sum up a few points that show clearly the close relationship between the four animal images and a *shendao* (spirit road). In a typical *shendao*, the entrance is at the south, with pairs of animal sculptures facing each other at the two sides, and further along is the pair of *que*-towers. On the front sides of a pair of *que*-towers, there is always a pair of *zhuque*, one on the east tower and another on the west, facing each other. Sometimes there is a pair of *xuanwu* at the bottom. On the inner sides of the *que*-towers, there are always the *qinglong* and the *baihu*, the *qinglong* on the east tower and the *baihu* on the west. Even that only one of the towers survives, the arrangement is always the same. Ann Paludan has noted that, when the *shendao* has an east-west axis, the decorations on the *que*-towers assume a north-south axis.¹²⁸ This is precisely the same adjustment that we have already seen inside the painted tomb at Zaoyuan Village, Pinglu County, Shanxi Province, where the entrance is in the east, but the arrangement of the *qinglong*, the *baihu* and the *xuanwu* assumes that the entrance is in the south (Pl. 21 & Fig. 5).¹²⁹

¹²⁷ See Finsterbusch 1971, cat. no. 265 (Appendix: 93c).

¹²⁸ Paludan 1991: 30, pl. 22, caption.

¹²⁹ KG 1959, no. 9: 462-463 & 468 (Appendix: 38)

Discussion

(1) Relatively fewer *siling* images were found in above-ground structures than from tombs or on funerary objects

Archaeological evidence shows that, fewer *siling* images are found in above-ground structures than from tombs or on burial objects. It is mainly due to the fact that above-ground structures are difficult to preserve against damage caused by natural disasters and various wars over the years. The *siling* eaves-tiles were excavated from architectural sites, while the shrine and *que*-tower remains are preserved first because most of them are situated in remote areas, for example, Qu County in Sichuan, and second because they are made in stone and are relatively durable.

(2) The *siling* are favourable subjects for decoration on *que*-towers

The *siling* are favoured subjects for decoration on *que*-towers, notably those from the Sichuan area. It is probably because of the incompleteness of these *que* remains that there is no example on which all four cardinal animals were found together, but, taken together, the surviving east tower of Que 1 and west tower of Que 2 at Zhaojiacun (Pls. 40.3 & 41.3) show what a complete set would have looked like.

A complete set of the *siling* was found on an Eastern Han Dynasty stone tablet of similar structure, which belonged to a governor of Yizhou.¹³⁰ On the tablet, the

¹³⁰ See Lü Lizheng 1990: 89 (Appendix: 145). Yizhou (in present-day Sichuan Province) is one of

zhuque and the *xuanwu* are depicted at the top and the bottom of the front side, and the *qinglong* and the *baihu* on the right and left, respectively (Pl. 45). Both the composition and the style of depiction of the *siling* on the tablet are comparable to the similar representations on *que*-towers excavated from Qu County of the same province, and they should therefore be dated to the same period.

the thirteen *zhou* (administration regions) of the Eastern Han Dynasty.

Chapter Three: Combinations of the *siling* in funerary objects

(1) Sarcophagi and coffins

Dragon, tiger, phoenix and turtle are popular motifs on stone sarcophagi. Some, though not all, of these animal motifs should be representations of the *siling* because of their directional meanings.

Related examples were excavated from Mawangdui M1 at Changsha County, Hunan Province.¹³¹ The tomb belonged to the spouse of Li Cang 利蒼, Marquis of Dai, and is dated to the early Western Han Dynasty. On the cover of the middle one of the set of three decorated wooden coffins,¹³² a pair of struggling dragons and a pair of tigers are painted on a red lacquer background (Pl. 46). The two dragons are similar and coiled in figures-of-eight, with their heads facing each other and their tails pointing to the two lower corners of the cover surface. The tiger images are also similar and are facing in opposite directions, hanging on and trying to bite the bodies of the two dragons. The two animal images are opposing and confronting each other.¹³³ There are continuous cloud designs, filling the space around the animal figures, which probably identify a heavenly scene.

¹³¹ She most probably died and was buried some years after 168 B.C. (Hunansheng bowuguan & kaogu yanjiusuo 1973: 2-4).

¹³² The set of three decorated coffins fit closely into each other and are in turn enclosed in an outermost, plain coffin, painted in plain black. The first is painted with circulating cloud patterns and mythological creatures on a black background. The second is painted with polychrome designs of mythological figures on a red background. The top and sides of the innermost one were covered with a silk embroidered cover with feather ornament glued on (*Ibid.*: 13-27).

¹³³ Many excavated Han stones and bricks show fights between the two animals. Similar fight are seen on the Taishi Que, Qimu Que and Shaoshi Que, three remaining *que*-towers in Songshan, Henan Province (Lü Pin, 1990).

On the sides of the same coffin, there are similar images of dragons and tigers. Two dragons face each other; between them is a triangular pattern with a ring-shape at the bottom.¹³⁴ A striped tiger and a deer-like animal, which has been thought to be a *lin*, are depicted within the first and second loops described by the body of the dragon on the left, respectively.¹³⁵ On the right, an elegant phoenix with long tail and a human figure are shown with the other dragon.¹³⁶ Cloud patterns are added as decoration here and there, in the spaces between the figures (Pl. 46.1).

Because of the presence of dragons, tigers, phoenixes and deer, some scholars believed that the coffin decoration incorporates the idea of the *siling*.¹³⁷ If they were to be regarded as the *siling*, we would have to recognize the deer as the symbol of the north, and of *xuanwu*, however, as these animal images do not seem to have been depicted to convey any directional meaning, it is difficult to identify them as the *siling*. If they are not regarded as the *siling*, this might explain why the turtle does not appear.

Some examples of the four cardinal animals were found on carved stone sarcophagi, mainly dating from the Han to the Jin Dynasty.¹³⁸ Although the *siling* are favourite subjects among the Eastern Han Dynasty sarcophagi from Sichuan Province,¹³⁹ the

¹³⁴ The triangular pattern is believed to be a mountain (Hunansheng bowuguan & kaogu yanjiusuo 1973: 26).

¹³⁵ *Ibid.*

¹³⁶ Since this is the only human figure depicted on the coffin, and since all the rest are auspicious animals, it has been suggested to be an immortal (*Ibid.*).

¹³⁷ *Ibid.*

¹³⁸ *ZYWW* 1991, no. 3: 25.

¹³⁹ For example of the *qinglong* and the *baihu* carved in opposite directions on the same coffin panel, see *KG* 1979, no. 6: 495-503 (Appendix: 118a-b); *WW* 1982, no. 7: 24-27 (Appendix: 120); *SCWW* 1985, no. 3: 67; (Appendix: 119b); *SCWW* 1988, no. 3: 17-24 (Appendix: 119a). For example with three of the *siling* carved on three corresponding sides, see *WW* 1977, no. 2: 63-69 (Appendix: 137a-c); Gao Wen & Gao Chenggang 1996: 87-88, 40-41, 1-4 (Appendix: 127, 126, 136 a-c). For example of a complete set of *siling* on the four sides, see *SCWW* 1990, no. 6: 3-11 & pls.

earliest possible example of a complete set of *siling* motifs on a stone sarcophagus was excavated from the Shandong area.

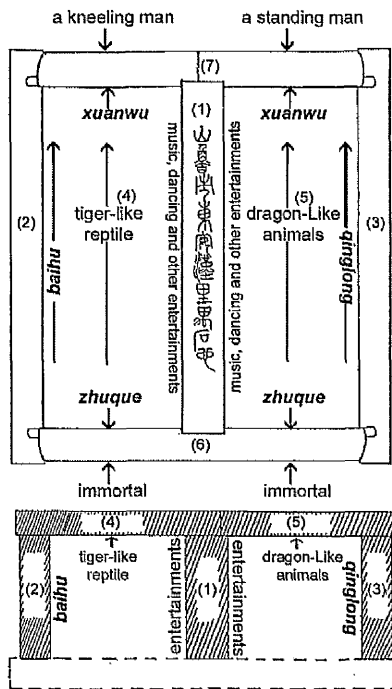


Fig 24: Line drawing showing the double sarcophagus excavated from Hanjiapu, Qufu, Shandong (redrawn on the basis of the reconstruction plan published in *KG* 1985, no. 12, p. 1132). The numbering of the stone slabs in the discussion is based on this diagram.

In the Temple of Confucius in Qufu County, Shandong Province, a set of seven pieces of stone, containing ten pictures and one phrase of inscription, are exhibited.¹⁴⁰ They are reported to have been excavated from Hanjiapu, east of the Qufu City, before the Cultural Revolution (c. 1966-1976), but no archaeological report was published. By observing the representations, the sizes and the joints of these seven pieces of stone, Jiang Yingju suggested that they should be the components of a stone sarcophagus, and that four of the ten pictures, which bear the images of the *siling*, should be the four inner sides of a double sarcophagus (Fig. 24).¹⁴¹

(Appendix: 124a-d); *SCWW* 1988, no. 3: 18 (Appendix: 125).

¹⁴⁰ Fu Xihua 1950, vol. 1, pls.63 & 65, 64 & 66, 71-74, 75 & 76, 77 & 78 (Appendix: 89a-d).

¹⁴¹ *KG* 1985, no. 12: 1130-1135. I found the suggestion given by Jiang Yingju valid, after a research visit to the Temple of Confucius in Qufu County, as I can see how these stones can be fixed together

Stone 1 is the central dividing slab, carved on both sides with entertainment scenes, depicting music and dance performances. On its upper edge is an inscription in seal script, reading, “山魯市東安漢里禹(for 寓)石也 Shanlushi dong an han li yu shi ye”, recording the original location of the sarcophagus. The excavator, Jiang Yingju argues that ‘Anhanli’ is the name of the place, and that the inscription should be interpreted as: “The stones for the [construction of the underground] house at An Han Village, east of Lu County, Shandong Province.”¹⁴² However, the actual grammatical construction of countless place names¹⁴³ indicates that “East Anhan Village, Lu County, Shan[dong Province]” is the correct interpretation.

Slabs 2 and 3 are each patterned on one side only. In the centre of Slab 2, a huge snakelike dragon, with four extended feet and a long tail, is carved inside the lozenge-shaped space created by a number of *bi* patterns joined by four slanting lines, exactly like the ceiling slabs from the Knitting Factory M1 at Tanghe, Henan Province (see p. 58, Fig. 22.1).¹⁴⁴ Instead of dots, its body is filled with small scaled patterns (Pls. 47 & 47.1). Its tail is held by a horned immortal situated at the right bottom corner (Pl. 47.2), and a few small animals and birds (Pl. 47.3) occupy the rest of the space. The representations on Slab 3 are similar, but instead of a dragon, the striped tiger is depicted in the centre (Pls. 47.4 & 47.5) and there are also a few animals and birds around (Pls. 47.6 & 47.7). Jiang Yingju believes that these two stones form the two sides of the sarcophagus, and that the dragon and

to form a complete double coffin.

¹⁴² KG 1985, no. 12: 1134.

¹⁴³ For example, “東長安街 dong chang an jie” in Beijing is interpreted as “East Chang’an Street”.

¹⁴⁴ Prof. Whitfield suggests (p. 57) that this pattern, seen in various sizes on the the Tanghe slabs (e.g. Pl. 47), should be regarded as representing stars or constellations of the Milky Way. One of the Tanghe slabs specifically illustrates the Dipper and half of the *yi* constellation.

tiger on them are representations of the *qinglong* and the *baihu*.¹⁴⁵

The inner side of Slab 6 is vertically divided into two square cells framed by narrow borders with the star pattern. The space between them is carved away to receive the central panel which divides the sarcophagus into two compartments (Pl. 47.12). Inside each square space is a gorgeous phoenix with extended wings and spreading tail. The two sacred birds face each other (Pls. 47.13). The outer side of this slab is patterned with two face-to-face immortals. The size and structure of Slab 7 is similar (Pl. 47.14), but on the inner side of the slab, instead of a pair of *zhuque*, a pair of turtles, each ridden by an immortal, are depicted inside the two cells (Pls. 47.15). The outer side depicts two men, one standing and the other kneeling. Slabs 6 and 7 form the two ends of the coffin, each with a small square surface carved away from the centre of one side,¹⁴⁶ in order to receive Slab 1, which separates the sarcophagus into a double-chambered one.¹⁴⁷

Slabs 4 and 5, which form the cover of the sarcophagus, were also excavated. They are slightly different in size and have been broken and repaired (Pl. 47.8 & 47.10). The composition and depiction of these two stones are similar to those on the two sides. However, instead of the dragon and the tiger images, a scaly four-legged lizard depicted in profile (Pl. 47.9) and a scaly four-legged dragon-like creature seen from above (Pl. 47.11) occupy the centres of the two stones.

According to Wang Kai, the carving technique used on these stones and the

¹⁴⁵ *Ibid.*: 1132-1133.

¹⁴⁶ Slab 7 with a pair of *xuanwu* images was in two halves when it was excavated. This slab was restored and the original spacing between the two halves was not as shown on Pl. 47.14.

structure as a stone sarcophagus tomb coincides with those of the early period of the development of Han pictorial stones in the Shandong area, between late Western Han and the end of Wang Mang period (second half of the first century B.C. to A.D. 23).¹⁴⁸ Bearing in mind the very fine depiction of the decorated motifs, however, I believe that the stone coffin cannot be dated as early as to the late Western Han period when pictorial stone had only just begun to gain popularity. Like the decorated stones from the Knitting Factory M1 at Tanghe, Henan Province, it is more likely a product of Wang Mang's Xin Dynasty or of the early Eastern Han Period (first century A.D.). Thus this example from Hanjiapu, Qufu County, Shandong Province, is possibly the earliest complete set of *siling* motifs on a stone sarcophagus.

Except this, all the other similar examples come from the Sichuan area, mainly from cave tombs of the Eastern Han Dynasty.¹⁴⁹ In some of these examples, the four cardinal animals are depicted on the four sides, indicating that the *siling* is the theme of decoration, such as the one excavated from Guitoushan, Jianyang County (Pl. 48),¹⁵⁰ and another one from Dongbinting, Luzhou (Pl. 49).¹⁵¹

The pictorial decorations on the four sides of the stone sarcophagus from Guitoushan are complicated, and the names of fifteen of the carved images are inscribed (Pl. 48 & Fig. 25). The depiction on the front panel is much damaged, but

¹⁴⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁴⁸ *ZYWW* 1990, no. 1: 60.

¹⁴⁹ More than a hundred pictorial stone sarcophagi have been excavated, ninety percent of which come from the Sichuan area and are dated to the Eastern Han Dynasty (*ZYWW* 1991, no. 3: 32; *SCWW* 1997, no. 4: 21).

¹⁵⁰ *SCWW* 1990, no. 6: 3-11 & plates (Appendix: 124a-d).

¹⁵¹ *SCWW* 1988, no. 3: 18 (Appendix: 125).

the image of a standing phoenix with opened wings can still be read (Pl. 48.1). On the rear, 伏 希 Fuxi and 女 娃 Nüwa that are represented by two winged images with human heads and serpentine bodies, are facing each other. Behind Nüwa is a little turtledove named 九 jiu (Pl. 48.2), and below them is the *xuanwu* inscribed with its classical name, 兹武 *xuanwu* (Pl. 48.3).¹⁵² On the right side of the sacrophagus, the 𪛗 *baihu* is carved on the extreme left (Pl. 48.4 & 48.5). In the centre is an official entitled the 大司 *dasi* standing under the 天門 *tianmen* in form of a pair of *que*-towers on top of which perch a pair of phoenixes (Pl. 48.6). Further to the right is a double-eaved building named 大倉 *dacang* (large granary) and a crane (Pl. 48.7).¹⁵³ The decorations on the left wall are even more elaborate. On the top right are two figures playing the *liubo* 六博 game¹⁵⁴ and a figure riding on a deer, inscribed 仙人博 *xianren bo* and 仙人騎 *xianren qi* respectively, and below them is the *qinglong* image without inscription, with two fish depicted nearby (Pl. 48.9). On the other side, the 日月 *riyue* are represented by two winged immortals with feather crowns, their bodies are composed by the circular sun and moon enclosing a tree and a toad respectively. Below them is a plant named 柱銖 *zhuzhu*. On their left is a horse, followed by two wheels. Still further to the left is a pheasant 白雉 *baizhi* and an animal named 离利 *lili* (Pl. 48.8).¹⁵⁵ The idea of the *siling* is clearly presented by the images of the four cardinal animals arranged separately on the four panels, with the *qinglong* and the *baihu* both facing south,

¹⁵² According to *Shuowen jiezi*, the two words 兹 *xuan* and 玄 *xuan* are interchangeable, so the term 兹武 *xuanwu* can also be read 玄武 *xuanwu* (*Shuowen jiezi*, 4 bian xia 四篇下: 159). For interpretations of the inscribed names on the rear of the coffin, see SCWW 1990, no. 6: 5-6.

¹⁵³ *Ibid.*: 8.

¹⁵⁴ *Liubo* is a popular board game in Han Dynasty which appeared as early as in the Autumn and Spring period (*WW* 1979, no. 4: 39). A set of *liubo* mainly contains a square chess board, six sticks 箸, and twelve pieces, six of which are black and six white, as described by texts and proved by archaeological evidence (Sun Ji 1991: 394 & 396). The game failed to be handed down from past generations, but is supposed to have had many different ways of playing (Lao Gan 1995: 15).⁷

¹⁵⁵ SCWW 1990, no. 6: 6.

and the names of the *baihu* and the *xuanwu* inscribed. It is, however, a more complex illustration of the *siling* that the four animals are depicted with various patterns in the same context and all images are clearly inscribed.

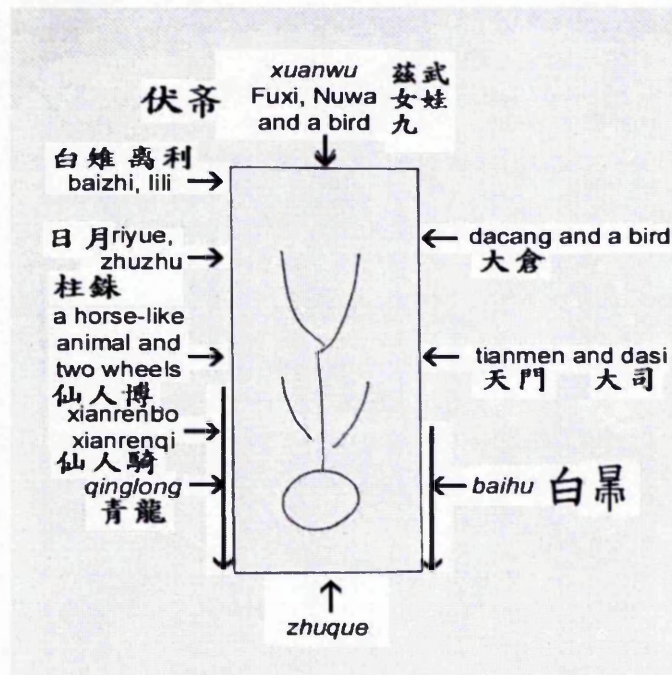


Fig. 25: Line drawing showing the positions of the decorated images on the sarcophagus excavated from Guitoushan, Jianyang County, Sichuan.

On a stone sarcophagus excavated from Dongbinting (Fig. 26), the *qinglong* is depicted on the left wall (Pl. 49 above), and the *baihu* with two birds and a fish on the right (Pl. 49 below). On the front panel (Pl. 49.1), the image of Xiwangmu on her dragon-tiger seat is depicted by the top of the right tower of a pair of *que*-towers, while on the top of the left tower is another damaged image that has been identified as Dongwanggong, the male companion of the Queen Mother of the West.¹⁵⁶ In between this pair of towers, at the top is the *zhuque* perching on a jade *bi*, in the centre are two almost-effaced bird images and further below is the *xuanwu* image which can just be made out. The pictorial illustrations on the sarcophagus from Dongbinting are much simpler than the one from Guitoushan, but the depiction of the set of four animal motifs here is unique among all the other

¹⁵⁶ SCWW 1990, no. 6: 43.

siling stone sarcophagi. As with other examples, the *qinglong* and the *baihu* are depicted on the sides of the sarcophagus, but instead of being depicted separately on the two ends, the *zhuque* and the *xuanwu* are both depicted on the front panel with other heavenly images. This arrangement of the *zhuque* and *xuanwu* images with Fuxi and Nüwa is comparable to that in the Qilin'gang tomb (Pl. 31).

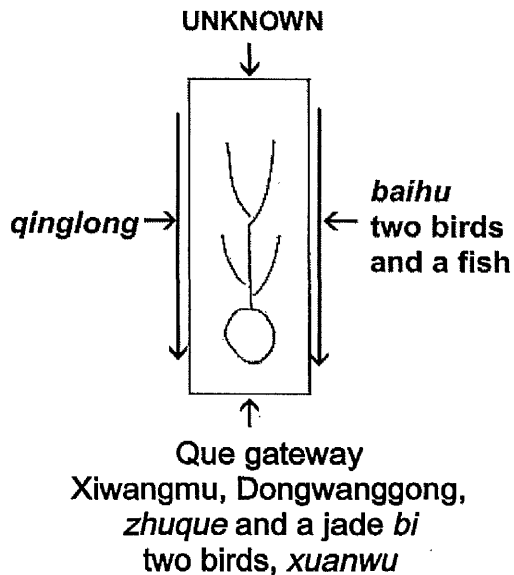


Fig. 26: Line drawing showing the positions of the decorated images on the sarcophagus excavated from Dongbinting, Luzhou, Sichuan.

Among the many Eastern Han Dynasty stone sarcophagi from Sichuan Province, there are also a few examples in which either the *zhuque* or the *xuanwu* is left out from the set of four. On a stone sarcophagus excavated from Jiufeng Village in Leshan County, only images of the *qinglong*, the *baihu* and the *zhuque* were found together with two guards (Fig. 27 & Pl. 50).¹⁵⁷ The *qinglong* is depicted on one of the longer sides, as well as a fish, a roof supported by two columns and brackets, and a man with a horse and cart (Pl. 50), while on the opposite side, these are images of the *baihu* and a bird (Pl. 50.1). Exceptionally the *zhuque* is carved on the rear instead of the *xuanwu* (Pl. 50.2), while a pair of *que*-towers with two standing

¹⁵⁷ Gao Wen & Gao Chenggang 1996: 87-88 (Appendix: 127).

guards underneath are depicted at the front (Pls. 50.3).

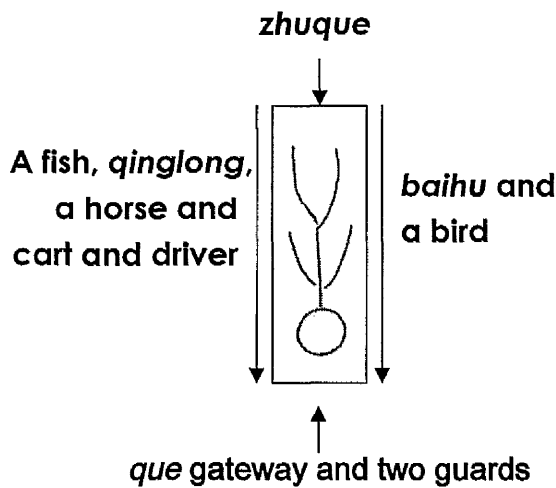


Fig. 27: Line drawing showing the positions of the images on the sarcophagus excavated from Jiufeng Village, Leshan County, Sichuan.

On a sarcophagus from Fushun County, the *qinglong*, the *baihu* and the *xuanwu*, are depicted among the complicated representations on the left and right sides, and the rear, respectively, while the *zhuque* is left out (Fig. 28).¹⁵⁸ On the left side, a dragon is depicted at the far right while the remaining space is filled with images of Xiwangmu, the Queen Mother of the West, sitting on her dragon-tiger seat, riding and hunting scenes, and other human activities (Pl. 51). On the right side, a tiger is depicted at the far left and a rectangular net design on the extreme right, the intervening spaces are filled with images of a farmer holding an agricultural tool, and three other men, one holding a cross-bow, one wearing a mask and one making a gesture with both hands (Pl. 51.1).¹⁵⁹ On the rear, a snake-entwined turtle is depicted at the bottom, below Fuxi and Nüwa whose images end with long and interlocking tails (Pl. 51.2). On the front side, an official is depicted under a pair of *que*, bowing with hands clasped (Pl. 51.3). Although the sacred bird of the South is

¹⁵⁸ *Ibid.*: 40-41 (Appendix: 126).

¹⁵⁹ Gao Wen & Gao Chenggang believe that the three men are actors, presenting a sort of popular performing art of the Han Dynasty (*Ibid.*: 41).

missing, the idea of *siling* is conveyed by the turtle-and-snake on the rear, and the dragon and tiger on the two sides, which are clearly separated from the remainder of the subjects.¹⁶⁰

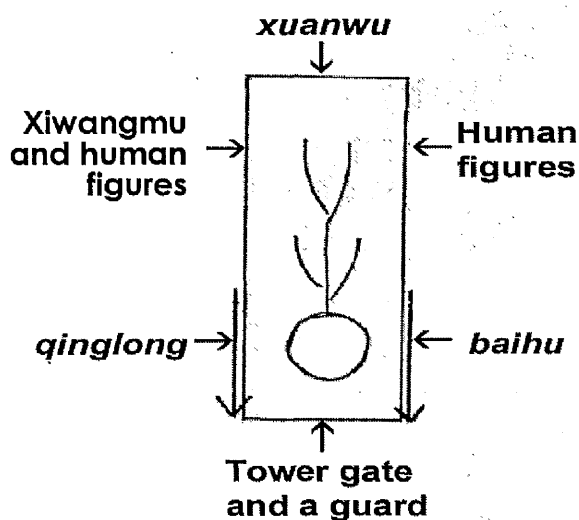


Fig. 28: Line drawing showing the positions of the decorated images on the sarcophagus excavated from Fushun County, Sichuan.

The *zhuque* is also absent from the sarcophagus of Wang Hui, excavated from Modong Village in Lushan County, Sichuan Province (Pl. 52).¹⁶¹ Images on this sarcophagus, and the message they convey, are extremely clear. Images of the *siling* are carved individually in relief against the plain background of the four sides of the sarcophagus (Fig. 29). On the front, the lid is decorated with a *pushou* (above) and the coffin itself with a scene of a winged human figure in a woman's dress looking out from a half-opened door. The inscription on the closed door leaf concerns Wang Hui, the late Shang Ji Shi (Steward of Accounts), who died in the sixteenth year of Jian'an (A.D. 211) and who was buried in the following year (Pl.

¹⁶⁰ The *zhuque* is quite often represented perching on the top of a *que* gateway (see Pls. 48.4, 48.6, 49.1, 60.1). A pair of *que* form a gateway to heaven, *tianmen*. Therefore, the homophony between *que* and *zhuque* may suggest an association between the heavenly gateways and the guardian spirit of the south. It is also the reason why the *qinglong* and the *baihu* images on sarcophagus always face the same way as the body of the deceased, towards the south, where the *que*, heavenly gateways, are located (Fig. 24-29).

¹⁶¹ Chang Renxia 1955a, pls. 55, 56. See also Gao Wen & Gao Chenggang 1996: 1-4 (Appendix: 138a-d).

as the *Chu Ci*.¹⁶⁴ It is, however, difficult to explain the reason why the *qiulong* and the *chihu*, which are possibly the dragon and tiger images adapted to the local custom of the South as suggested by these classical texts, would appear on a sarcophagus found from the Sichuan area in the far West. With the dragon and the tiger images depicted on the two longer sides of the sarcophagus and a snake-entwined turtle depicted at the rear, it is very likely that these animal images are representations of the *qinglong*, the *baihu* and the *xuanwu*, with which the idea of the *siling* is conveyed.

The scene of a winged female figure at a half-opened gate on the front panel is interpreted in different ways. Many scholars suggest that the image is opening the door of the gate, waiting for and welcoming the soul of the deceased.¹⁶⁵ In an alternative interpretation, the winged image at the half-opened door is interpreted as the deceased at the intermediary stage of life and death, who is trying to grasp the last chance to look at the world to which he once belonged before leaving for another unknown world.¹⁶⁶ Some scholars further point out that the wing is either a symbol to clarify the figure's identity as an immortal, welcoming the deceased to the paradise,¹⁶⁷ or an indirect representation of the *zhuque*.¹⁶⁸

In my opinion, no matter if the *zhuque* is represented, the idea of the *siling* has been conveyed by the images of the other three cardinal animals. The question of whether the winged figure is a representation of the *zhuque* is still worth discussing

¹⁶⁴ *SCWW* 1988, no. 4: 13; *SCWW* 1993, no. 6: 53; & Gao Wen & Gao Chenggang 1996: 3.

¹⁶⁵ Wu Hung 1987a: 75; *SCWW* 1988, no. 4: 13; Gao Wen & Gao Chenggang 1996: 2.

¹⁶⁶ Wu Hung 1995: 257-258.

¹⁶⁷ Nagahiro 1965: 44; Wu Hung 1987a: 75; *SCWW* 1988, no. 4: 13.

¹⁶⁸ Wu Hung 1987a: 75; *SCWW* 1988, no. 4: 13.

here because similar scenes of a female figure emerging from a half-opened door are found on many other excavated objects. On the second floor of the east tower of the Dingfang Que in Zhong County, Sichuan Province, the upper body of a woman is emerging from a door, of which the left leaf is closed (Pls. 53 & 53.1).¹⁶⁹ Another example is found on a stone sarcophagus excavated from Yingjing, Sichuan Province. In the middle of the right side of the sarcophagus, a female figure is standing at a half-opened door, while the two ends are decorated with human figures and two phoenix patterns (Pl. 54 & 54.1).¹⁷⁰ These two specimens both come from the Sichuan area and are both dated around the second to early third century A.D. Similar figures are repeated on tomb chambers and other architectural buildings of the Tang, Song and Jin periods (Pl. 55).¹⁷¹ It can be noticed that none of these other female images at a half-opened door is winged. The figure on Wang Hui's casket is emerging from the door, it can be the deceased who were about to fly off to heaven, or an immortal welcoming the deceased at the door, but despite the wings, it is far too speculative to identify it as the *zhuque*.

¹⁶⁹ Xu Wenbin 1992: 45.

¹⁷⁰ Gao Wen & Gao Chenggang 1996: 18.


¹⁷¹ Su Bai 1957: 28.7

(2) Objects







(i) Wood/lacquer objects

(a) Lacquered clothes chest

A lacquered clothes chest decorated with the *qinglong* and the *baihu* images, the names of the twenty-eight *xiu* (lunar lodges) and various constellation designs was excavated in 1978 from the tomb of Marquis Zeng Hou Yi at Sui County, Hubei Province (Pl. 56). With the large-scale tomb clearly dated around 433 B.C., it is one of the earliest excavated examples of the *qinglong* and the *baihu* images.¹⁷² When excavated, the tomb contained more than fifteen thousand pieces of cultural relics, distributed in an orderly manner in the middle, the eastern, the western and the northern chambers. In the eastern chamber, five painted lacquered wooden clothes chests of similar size were found. One of them is painted with a complete picture of the twenty-eight *xiu* and related images.

The clothes chest is composed of a rectangular body and a convex cover, and all the patterns are painted in red on the black lacquered ground of the outer surface (Pls. 56 & 56.1). On the chest cover, a large character “” (斗, *dou*, the Dipper) in bold seal script is painted in the centre; surrounding and corresponding to it are the comparatively small characters of the names of the twenty-eight *xiu*,¹⁷³ forming an oval pattern in the middle. Adjoining the oval pattern, by the two

¹⁷² *WW* 1979, no. 7: 1-14, 40-45 (Appendix: 79). The name of the occupant is clearly inscribed on the bronze funerary vessels and utensils. The inscriptions on the huge *bo* further illustrates that the tomb belongs to 433 B.C. or slightly later.

shorter edges of the cover, images of a dragon and a tiger, whose heads face in opposite directions, are depicted. On one end of the chest, beside the dragon, crosses and circular dots are painted around a 火 pictograph with a big circular dot in the middle (“”).¹⁷⁴ Below the tiger, a symbol similar to an inverted mushroom (“”) is drawn, and on this end of the chest, some more circular dots and a four-legged animal are represented in fine outlines. On one of the longer sides, a pair of confronting tiger-like animals is painted in the centre surrounded by dot designs, on the left are cloud patterns, and on the right is a picturesque symbol (“”), which looks like the character “” (bird) on oracle bones (“”) and in seal script (“”).¹⁷⁵ The opposite side is unadorned, with only a red line painted along the edge.

This example is the earliest depiction of the twenty-eight lunar mansions on an excavated object, with corresponding images to indicate the principal directions. It has provided new and essential materials for the study of Chinese astronomy and has paved the way for new discussions on the date of the earliest appearance of these constellations and the *siling*. Therefore, shortly after the excavation of the clothes chest, many scholars began to revise the traditional theory that the patterns of the *siling* appear around Qin and Han periods, suggesting instead that they arose not later than the second half of fifth century B.C., the date of the Zeng Hou Yi tomb.¹⁷⁶

¹⁷³ See Table One (Ch. 5, p. 153) for the twenty-eight *xiiu* from literary and archaeological sources.

¹⁷⁴ Chen Huiming suggests that this mushroom pattern is a sign of the sun and of fire without giving any further evidence or explanation (Chen Huiming 1991: 179).

¹⁷⁵ Chen Huiming 1991: 178-179.

¹⁷⁶ Chen Huiming 1991: 178-179. See also *WW* 1979, no. 7: 42-43; Tan Weisi 1991: 150.




Although many scholars believe that the *zhuque* and the *xuanwu* images were not represented on the clothes chest, they widely accept that the directional significance of the *siling* have been conveyed by the two animals on the chest cover which should be the *qinglong* of the east and the *baihu* of the west.¹⁷⁷ Wang Jianmin and several Chinese scholars explain that the *zhuque* and the *xuanwu* were not found because of the artistic consideration of the whole composition, since it was too difficult to arrange the two animals on the rectangular surface of the lid of the chest; they also say that it was not necessary to portray the *zhuque* and the *xuanwu* because the four directions are well indicated by the written names of the twenty-eight *xiu*, by the Dipper in the North, and by the *qinglong* and the *baihu* of the East and West.¹⁷⁸ Feng Shi argues differently, suggesting that at the time when the Zeng Hou Yi chest was made, only the *qinglong* and the *baihu* images were established, while the *zhuque* and the *xuanwu* images had not yet merged with the twenty-eight constellation system nor had they been adopted as members of the group of *siling*; he also points out that the concept of the eastern palace and the western palaces of the universe was developed in a much earlier period because, by defining the constellations of the east and the west, the ancient people were able to find out the most suitable time for agricultural production, therefore it is possible that the *qinglong* and the *baihu*, animals of the east and the west, appeared earlier than the *zhuque* and the *xuanwu*.¹⁷⁹

Chen Huiming believes that all the four symbols of the four principal directions

¹⁷⁷ For details, see *WW* 1979, no. 7: 40-45; Hubeisheng bowuguan & E'zhou shi bowuguan 1986: 354; Hubeisheng bowuguan & Art Gallery CUHK 1994, pl. 15; Tan Weisi 1991: 150; Tang Gangmao 1991: 177; Chen Huiming 1991: 178-179; *JHKG* 1993, no. 3: 66.

¹⁷⁸ *WW* 1979, no. 7: 42.

¹⁷⁹ *WW* 1990, no. 3: 52-60, 69.

have been represented on the clothes chest. He considers the “” symbol on one of the longer sides and the seven dot designs in the surroundings as representations of the *zhuque* and the South, and the black-coloured background of the unadorned side symbolises the black-coloured *xuanwu* in the dark.¹⁸⁰ I agree that the idea of the *siling* is conveyed on the Zeng Hou Yi chest, not only by the *qinglong* of the East and *baihu* of the West, but also by the symbols of the South and the North, however, Chen Huiming’s supposition is not convincing because the symbols of the South and the North should be at two opposite sides, and it is also far too imaginative to suggest that the unadorned side represents the *xuanwu*. Instead, I believe that the 火 pictograph with a dot in the middle (“”) at one of the end panels should be a symbol of the South and the four-legged animal (“”) at the opposite end is a possible representation of the North.

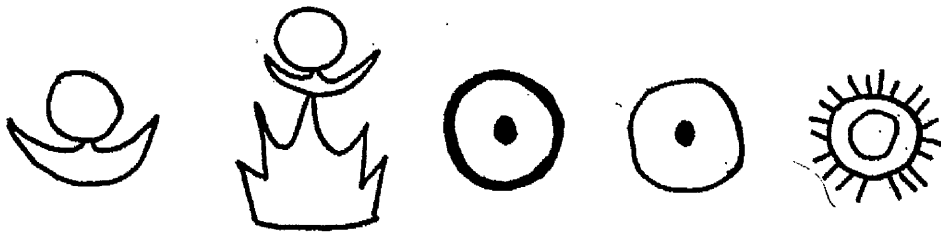


Fig. 30.1-5 (left to right): Symbols of the sun dated to the Neolithic period

We found quite a number of symbols of the Sun God from specimens dated to the Neolithic period; although these symbols of the sun may vary in detail, their structure and meaning can be easily identified (Fig. 30.1-5). According to *Hanyu Gu wenzi zixing biao* edited by Xu Zhongshu, the 火 pictograph actually means fire.¹⁸¹ Fig. 30.1 shows a pictograph composed of a circle on top of a 火

¹⁸⁰ Chen Huiming 1991: 178-179.

¹⁸¹ Xu Zhongshu 1981: 390.

pictograph. Tang Lan further pointed out that this pattern is literally written as “𤇑”, composed with the character “日” (sun) and “火” (fire) and it also means “熱” (hot, heat).¹⁸² We can also recognise that the 火 pictograph on one of the end panels of the clothes chest is similar to the sun symbols from Dawenkou Culture (Figs. 30.1 & 30.2), and the two sun symbols with a dot in the middle from Guangxi and Qinghai, respectively (Figs. 30.3 & 30.4). According to Sarah Allan, the relationship of the sun and the bird in Shang times was one of totemic identity,¹⁸³ and she also believes that whether the bird carries the sun, is in the sun, or is the sun is ill-defined because this relationship is a mythical one.¹⁸⁴ Therefore, the 火 pictograph on the chest should be a symbol of the fire, the sun and also the bird. It is depicted on one end of the clothes chest to represent the South, although the *zhuque* image is not represented, the South is indicated.

The four-legged animal image on the other end panel, opposite to the 火 pictograph also carries a directional significance. As Mackenzie has pointed out, both the 火 pictograph and four-legged animal image are likely to have possessed a relatively specific iconographic or cosmological significance.¹⁸⁵ It is suggested by the site report that the four-legged creature may be a toad image,¹⁸⁶ however when a toad is depicted with the moon at the top left corner of the Mawangdui T-shaped banner (Pl. 46.2 & 46.3), it looks different. The extended feet and claws of this four-legged creature show that it is nearer to the ancient scripts of the character *gui* 龜 (turtle) on oracle bones (Fig. 31). The animal has a triangular head, typically a

¹⁸² Tang Lan 1979: 80.

¹⁸³ Allan 1991: 31.

¹⁸⁴ Allan 1993: 11.

¹⁸⁵ Mackenzie 1993: 129.

¹⁸⁶ Zhongguo shehui kexueyuan kaogu yanjiusuo 1989: 354.

feature of ancient representations of turtles. Although in the Han Dynasty, the *xuanwu* most often appears as if a snake-entwined turtle, it is sometimes solely represented by a turtle (see Pls. 21.3, 47.15, 48.2 & 95). It is also more reasonable to arrange the *xuanwu*, symbol of the North, opposite to 火 pictograph at the other end of the chest, which is a symbol of the South.

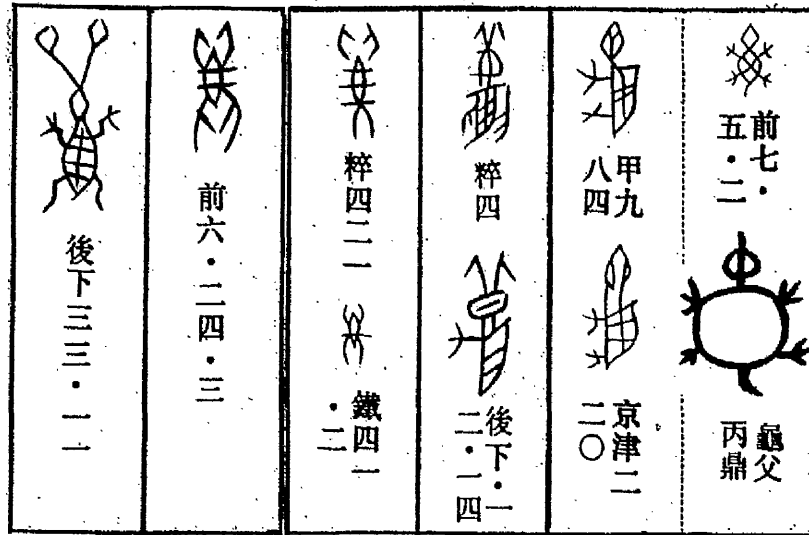


Fig. 31: Different writing of the characters *gui* on oracle bones.

After Xu Zhongshu 1981: 510-511.

I believe that all the four principal directions have been indicated and represented by relevant symbols on the Zeng Hou Yi clothes chest, the *qinglong* and the *baihu* for the East and West, and the 火 pictograph and the turtle image on the end panels for the South and the North. The four animal creatures do not appear in their final forms but the idea of the four directions is clearly conveyed.

(b) Lacquered funerary face cover

Funerary face covers in China appear as early as in the Eastern Zhou period: these

early face covers were made in jade.¹⁸⁷ Wang Tao and Liu Yu have pointed out that, by the second half of the second century B.C., jade suits covering the whole body had become popular while jade face covers became rarer and eventually disappeared from the mainstream, however, the use of funerary face covers made in other materials, such as lacquer and textiles, persisted throughout the Han Dynasty.¹⁸⁸

At least ten similar funerary face covers in lacquer have been excavated, all in the area of the Guangling State around Yangzhou City.¹⁸⁹ They are dated from the middle of the Western Han period to the Xin Dynasty (first century B.C. to A.D. 23).¹⁹⁰ Most of these face covers in lacquer are painted in plain black or red: two of them are decorated with animal, immortal and cloud designs,¹⁹¹ and the one from Huchang M14 is the only example decorated with the four cardinal animals.

According to *Han Shu* • *Huo Guang zhuan*, Huo Guang (d. 68 B.C.) was granted by the imperial court a Dongyuan *wenming* for his funeral.¹⁹² Huo Guang, a half-brother of Huo Qubing (d. 116 B.C.), a leading general during the period of Emperor Wudi, became Marshal of State after the death of the Emperor in 87 B.C. Since then until his death in 68 B.C., he enjoyed an exceptionally favoured position

¹⁸⁷ Wang Tao & Liu Yu 1997: 133.

¹⁸⁸ Thirty-two funerary face covers in textiles, dated from Northern Dynasties to the Tang Dynasty, were excavated from six tombs at Astana in Turfan, Xinjiang (*WW* 1960, no. 6: 13-21).

¹⁸⁹ *KG* 1962, no. 8: 401-402, fig. 2.7, pls. 5.8 & 5.9; *KG* 1980, no. 5: 422, fig. 4 (left) & pl. 11.1; *KG* 1982, no. 3: 238, fig. 6.1, pls. 4.1 & 4.5; *KG* 1986, no. 11: 992, fig. 8.13; *WW* 1987, no. 1: 27-28, fig. 6.1.

¹⁹⁰ Three of the face covers are dated to late Western Han period (1st century B.C.), including two from Pingshan M1 (*WW* 1987, no. 1: 27-28 & fig. 6.1) and the one with the *siling* motifs from Huchang (*ZGWWB* 1997. 11. 23). The remaining seven are dated to the Xin Dynasty or early Eastern Han Dynasty.

¹⁹¹ *KG* 1980, no. 5: 419-422 for the two examples from Xiaojiashan M3 (tomb of the male occupant) & M5.

¹⁹² *Han Shu* • *Huo Guang Jin Richuan Zhuan* (*Han Shu*, j. 68: 2948); Higuchi 1975: 242.

at court and in the palace.¹⁹³ It is because of his eminent position that even the Empress Dowager attended his funeral ceremony, and he was buried in luxurious style with furnishings and trappings granted by the court, including a jade suit, a *huang chang ti cou* burial chamber and a Dongyuan *wenming*.¹⁹⁴ Some people believed that the face cover in lacquer is named *wenming* 溫明, because its appearance and its function in tombs coincide with the description of Dongyuan *wenming* in the commentary by Fu Qian (c. 125-129):

東園處此器，形如方漆桶，開一面，漆畫之，以鏡置其中，以懸屍上，大斂並蓋之。The object from Dongyuan is shaped as a square lacquered bucket, opening at one side. Patterns are painted in it in lacquer, and mirrors are placed on it. It is used to cover the head of the deceased during the encoffining ceremony.¹⁹⁵

In his study of ritual masks, Henry Pernet has concluded that funerary masks are created with two fundamental ideas in mind. The first idea is to prevent the spiritual elements of the deceased from wandering among the living, and this is to be done by offering them a new support, instigating or obliging the dead to leave the land of the living, enabling him to see the world of spirits. The second idea is to

¹⁹³ *Ibid.*: 2931-2948.

¹⁹⁴ *Ibid.*: 2948. *Huang chang ti cou* is a method of constructing the burial chamber with a special golden cypress, by laying the cypress planks horizontally, with the ends of the timbers facing the coffin.

¹⁹⁵ *Ibid.*: 2949. Yan Shigu (A.D. 581-645) gave further information about "Dongyuan": "東園，署名也，屬少府。Dongyuan, name of an official department under Shaofu (Chamberlain for the Palace Revenues)." (*Ibid.*) During the Western Han Dynasty, Dongyuan (Department of Eastern Court) was the department in charge of the production of funeral objects for the imperial family. These objects were sometimes granted by the court to imperial relatives and meritorious senior statesmen. It was the greatest honour for a dead person to receive these funeral objects made by the Dongyuan Department.

ensure that the deceased can easily reach his rightful place in the world beyond.¹⁹⁶ Although Pernet's work is not a study of ritual masks of China or of any particular nation, but an overall review of funerary masks from all over the world, his findings fit with the Chinese beliefs behind a funerary mask. Possibly the most interesting example of a Dongyuan *wenming* face cover (Pl. 57) was excavated from M14 at Huchang (the tomb site of the Guangling State), on the outskirts of Yangzhou, Southern Jiangsu Province (Pl. 57.1).¹⁹⁷ The object, made of four pieces of wood, is lacquered and painted. The inner panel depict the four spiritual animals, according to their corresponding directions. The *qinglong* is on the right and the *baihu* on the left, the *zhuque* is at the top and the *xuanwu* at the back (Fig. 32; Pls. 57, 57.1-2).

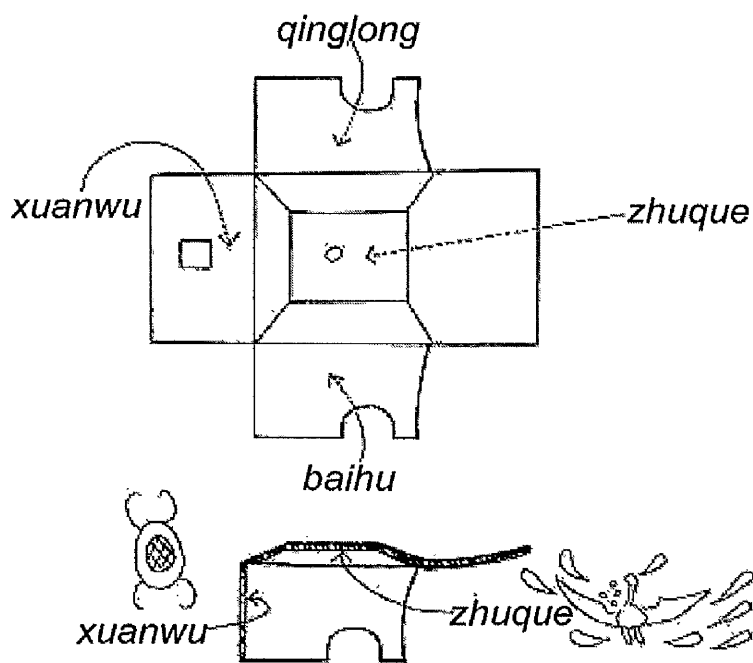


Fig. 32:
Schematic drawing of the
arrangement of the *siling*
motifs on the face cover
from M14 at Huchang on
the outskirts of Yangzhou

In the centre of the top of this face cover, a small glass *bi* is inlaid. *Bi* was a

¹⁹⁶ Pernet 1992: 102.

¹⁹⁷ Appendix: 108.

sacrificial object used to show respect to the sky.¹⁹⁸ Because of its specific relationship with the sky, it is believed that through the glass *bi*, the *hun* soul can ascend to heaven.¹⁹⁹ Although other face covers from nearby tombs do not depict the *siling*, they featured similar openings. (Pl. 57.3) Representations of the *siling* on the face cover from M14, together with this miniature glass *bi* providing an opening to heaven, show how the set of four directional animal images were used as an integral element in the funerary rites of the Western Han.

(ii) Bronze objects

(a) Bronze *boshan* censer

On a *boshan*-type hill censer excavated from the tomb of Dou Wan, wife of Liu Sheng, Prince Jing of Zhongshan (d. 114 B.C.), at Mancheng, Hebei Province, images of the dragon, the tiger and the phoenix are depicted together (Pl. 58, 58.1 & 58.2).²⁰⁰ Liu Sheng was made Prince Jing of Zhongshan in 154 B.C.²⁰¹ Being a member of the imperial Liu family and the elder brother of Emperor Wudi (r. 140-87 B.C.), Liu Sheng had a close relationship with the royal court, and it is presumed that his wife, Dou Wan (d. 104 B.C.), came from the family of the

¹⁹⁸ Zhou Li • *Chun Guan • Da Zong Bo*, “以玉作六器，以禮天地四方；以蒼璧禮天，以黃琮禮地。” Jade is used as *liu qi* (six sacrificial vessels) to show respect to *tian* (sky), *di* (earth) and *sifang* (four directions). The green jade is used to show respect to *tian* and the yellow *zong* is used to respect *di*.” (ZLZY, j. 18: 124 (*Shi San Jing Zhu Shu*, vol. 1: 762)).

¹⁹⁹ See ZYWW 1993, no. 2: 1-9 and ZYWW 1994, no. 4: 67-70 for the heavenly meaning of *bi* in artistic representations.

²⁰⁰ Zhongguo shehui kexueyuan kaogu yanjiusuo & Hebeisheng wenwu guanlichu 1980, vol. 1: 257 & vol. 2, pl. 175 (Appendix: 82).

²⁰¹ According to *Han Shu • Jing Shisan Wang Zhuan*, “中山靖王勝以孝景前元三年立。Prince Jing of Zhongshan was conferred in the third year of Qianyuan (154 B.C.) during the reign of his father Emperor Jing [who was also the father of the further Emperor Wu] (r. 156-141 B.C.)” (*Han Shu*, j. 53: 2424).

Empress Dowager Dou (d. 135 B.C.), the grandmother of Emperor Wudi.

This censer from Dou Wan's tomb is inlaid with silver and is supported by a man riding on a beast in the centre of a dish-shaped pedestal (Pl. 58 & 58.1). The motifs are carved in openwork on the hemispherical cover which features a divine landscape inhabited by animals. Below this, a dragon, a camel, a tiger and a phoenix are depicted processing round the side walls of the vessel (Pl. 58.2). The sequence in which these animal images are represented on the censer suggests that they are related to the *siling*. Among them, only the camel is unfamiliar and requires explanation, since on the few early Western Han (206-87 B.C.) artefacts from Xi'an and the Maoling, which we have examined so far, the animal of the North is represented by a turtle-and-snake.

The camel is not native to China. The domestication of the camel started in Central Asia and then spread east. Camels were imported into China from the Northwest via the Silk Road during the Western Han Dynasty. According to Schafer, camels had been used by the thousand in the commercial and military caravans that penetrated the newly won lands of Serindia during Han times.²⁰² It may be because of this reason that a camel was chosen to represent the North, at a time when there were still alternatives to the *xuanwu* for the representation of the North. As we shall see below (pp. 124-125) a similar representation of three of the *siling*, with another bird instead of a camel for the fourth deity, is found on painted pottery *hu* vessels from Luoyang (Pls. 93 & 94).

²⁰² Schafer 1963: 70.

(b) Bronze braziers

More than thirty bronze braziers bearing complete sets of *siling* motifs survive. Some of them were excavated from different sites in Shaanxi and Shanxi Provinces,²⁰³ and some of them are in museum collections, but they are all quite similar, so I will discuss the most representative of them below. One of these bronze braziers (Pl. 59) was excavated from the Fifth National Cotton Factory M6 on the outskirts of Xi'an City, a tomb which is dated to the early Western Han Dynasty (206-87 B.C.).²⁰⁴ Another two were excavated from the Maoling area.²⁰⁵ Accordingly, they should date from the reign of Emperor Wudi (r. 140-87 B.C.) or even earlier. Other similar bronze braziers were excavated from tombs dated to the late Western Han period (first century B.C.) at Xianyang and Taiyuan.²⁰⁶

These bronze braziers are very similar in size and all feature an oval top and a rectangular base with four short feet. A handle is attached to one end of the vessel and, in one case, to both ends. Most of the excavated examples were found together with a matching eared cup and a matching tray, and one had the further refinement of a handled ring to facilitate removing the cup from the brazier after heating the wine (Pl. 59). Even when the cup is missing, there are four small rectangular projections along the rim of the brazier, to support the cup (Pls. 59.3, 59.4, 59.5). Although the eared cup is not exactly the same size as the brazier, the three

²⁰³ For archaeological reports of these *siling* bronze braziers, see *KG* 1979, no. 2: 125-135 (Appendix: 4); *WW* 1980, no. 6: 42-51 & pl. 1 (Appendix: 36); *KG* 1985, no. 6: 527-529, pl. 6 (Appendix: 35). See also *KGYYW* 1997, no. 6, front cover (Appendix: 2); *WWTD* 1996, no. 2: 25 (Appendix: 5) for published materials of other similar examples.

²⁰⁴ *WB* 1991, no. 4: 3-18; Shaanxi kaogu yanjiusuo & Xi'an shi wenwu guanlichu 1993: 60 & *KGYYW* 1997, no. 6, front cover.

²⁰⁵ These examples are in the Shaanxi Provincial Museum of History Collection.

²⁰⁶ *KG* 1979, no. 2: 125-135 & *WW* 1980, no. 6: 42-51 & pl. 1.

components, tray, brazier and cup, are always well matched as a set of vessels. The underside of the braziers has ten rectangular holes in two groups, which serve as a grate for ventilation. The four legs are carved as four musclemen who hold the brazier on their shoulders.

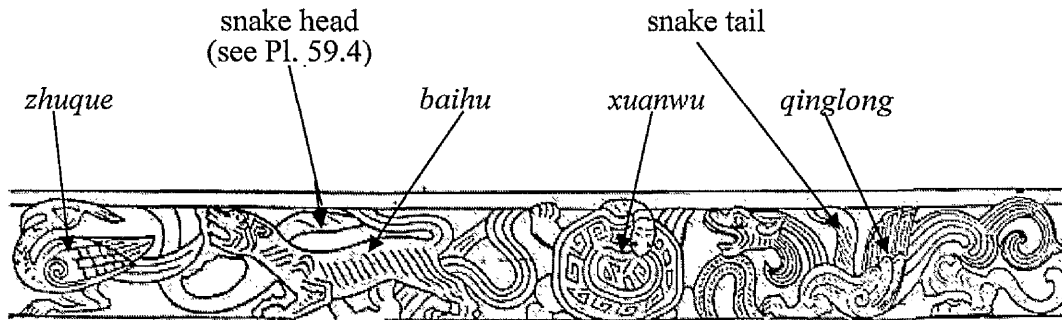


Fig. 33: The four animal motifs on the upper body of the group of bronze braziers from the Maoling and nearby areas (Pls. 59, 59.1-59.5).

After *KG* 1979.2: 130 (pl. 6).

Particularly noteworthy is the fact that all the known examples of such braziers, whether from excavations or in museum collections, have similar fascinating decorations of the *siling* in openwork on their upper body. Reading clockwise from the handle, the *xuanwu* is followed by the *baihu*, the *zhuque* and the *qinglong* (Fig. 33). The turtle representing the *xuanwu* is depicted upright (similar to its representation on the lacquered wood chest from the tomb of Zeng Hou Yi shown in Pls. 56 & 56.1), and with a snake in close proximity to the turtle. In the brazier shown in Pl. 59.1, the *zhuque* is also shown upright, with the head facing out in high relief, but more usually, it is shown in profile, like the *baihu* and *qinglong*.

Most of these *siling* braziers are collected in museums in China, Japan, America and Europe.²⁰⁷ One unusual example is kept in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in

²⁰⁷ Similar *siling* bronze braziers are kept in various museums, such as the Palace Museum in

New York (Pl. 59.5). On the two longer opposite sides of this vessel, instead of the *qinglong* and the *baihu*, two *baihu* are depicted, one on each long side. Exceptionally, there seem to be two handles instead of one, but both of them are broken.

Regarding the function of the brazier, most scholars believe it was used for wine-warming.²⁰⁸ Li Kaisen found that the wine would heat up very quickly and even boil away, so he believes it to be a small cooking vessel,²⁰⁹ but this seems unlikely. A bronze eared-cup in the Shanghai Museum, similar to the eared cup of the *siling* brazier but slightly bigger, has an inscription in seal script on the base, reading, “史侯家銅染杯第四 Shi Houjia *tong ranbei disi* (the fourth bronze *ran* cup of the Shi Hou Family)”.²¹⁰ Although the character “*ran*” usually means “dye”, I do not think such a previous vessel the Shi Hou Family would be used casually for dyeing. Nevertheless, with ten rectangular holes at the bottom and some charcoal remains found inside one of the braziers when it was excavated,²¹¹ leave no doubt that it functioned as a small stove, in which case heating up wine is the only sensible purpose.

When comparing the *siling* motifs on these bronze braziers with the four animal patterns on the *boshan*-type hill censer excavated from the tomb of Liu Sheng at Mancheng (Pl. 58.2), one will accept that the two depictions are very similar. The

Beiling, Shanghai Museum, National Palace Museum in Taipei, British Museum in London (Pls. 59.3 & 59.4), Musée Cernuschi in Paris, Art Institute of Chicago (Pl. 59.2), Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York (Pl. 59.5), Brooklyn Museum of Art in New York, Tokyo Geijutsu Daigaku and Osaka Shiritsu Bijutsukan.

²⁰⁸ *KG* 1979, no. 2: 129; *WW* 1982, no. 9: 4-5.

²⁰⁹ *WWT* 1996, no. 2: 24-26.

²¹⁰ I have examined this object in the Shanghai Museum.

²¹¹ *KG* 1979, no. 2: 129.

two sets of animal decorations are so similar that they might be products of the same workshop. The main difference between the two vessels is that on the censer, a camel is depicted as the symbol of the North instead of the *xuanwu*.

(c) Bronze plaques

During the Eastern Han Dynasty, the *siling* motifs were applied on bronze objects with specific functions and regional characteristics. From Wushan County in Sichuan Province, quite a number of gilt bronze plaques were excavated.²¹² Most of them are circular, and depict Xiwangmu or sometimes Dongwanggong in front of a gate, labelled Tianmen 天門 or “gate to heaven”; there is always usually a small *bi*-shape hole in the centre and the space is filled with various animal images and cloud patterns.²¹³ On most of them, the *zhuque* is perched at the top;²¹⁴ one has the *qinglong* and the *baihu* as well (Pl. 60.1).²¹⁵ Another with Xiwangmu at the top and Dongwanggong at the bottom (Pl. 60.2), is shaped like a persimmon calyx: each of the four petals is decorated with one of the four guardian creatures.²¹⁶ The best example is a square plaque (Pl. 60) excavated from the Eastern Han Phosphate Factory Tomb, in which a complete set of *siling* motifs is found.²¹⁷ Like all the other plaques of this kind, it was fastened to the front panel of the wooden coffin.

²¹² *KG* 1998, no. 12: 77-84; *SCWW* 1990, no. 6: 3-11 & pls.

²¹³ *KG* 1998, no. 12: 78, fig. 1 (A1 & A3); 79, fig. 2 (A2, A5, A6 & A7); 80, fig. 3 (A4); 81, fig. 4 (B1).

²¹⁴ *Ibid.*: 79, fig. 2 (A5, A6 & A7).

²¹⁵ *Ibid.*: 79, fig. 2 (A6) (Appendix: 139).

²¹⁶ *Ibid.*: 83, fig. 7 (Appendix: 141).

²¹⁷ *Ibid.*: 83, fig. 8 (Appendix: 140).

The motifs on the gilt bronze plaque from the Phosphate Factory Tomb are cast in openwork, and the details are represented with engraved lines. On the square surface, a human figure is depicted in the centre, surrounded by the *siling*. The *qinglong* is depicted on the left, and the *baihu* on the right, and the *zhuque* and *xuanwu* at the top and bottom respectively. The man in the centre is dressed like a warrior, wearing a suit of scale armour and a helmet of chain-mail. The helmet is of square shape. His face is also square and he holds an arrow horizontally in his mouth. The suit of armour just reaches the knees. His legs are bent, with the knees stretching out, in a squatting posture. He is standing on a crossbow and his hands are drawing the cord upward to arm the weapon.

It is suggested that the figure in the centre is a representation of Zongbu, who is the transformation of Yi after his death and the guardian god of heaven, having the ability to shoot down all evil spirits; and the *siling* of the four directions are depicted together with him in order to assist him and work with him to destroy all the curses.²¹⁸ As an armed figure surrounded by the *siling* on a plaque fixed to the centre of the front panel of the coffin,²¹⁹ the central image should be a powerful being, depicted as a man to provide protection and guidance to the tomb and the tomb occupant. The crossbow he holds was also an important weapon in the Han times, product of an advanced technology, highly suitable for a powerful god.

This armed image on the square gilt bronze plaque is also comparable to the standing hybrid figure on the front side of a pillar in the tomb at Yinan (Pl. 32.4)

²¹⁸ SCWW 1990, no. 6: 4-5.

²¹⁹ *Ibid.*: 3.

which is believed to be a representation of Chiyou.²²⁰ Both figures are in the centre of the illustration, with images of the *siling* around them. When viewing from the front of the pillar in the tomb at Yinan, the *zhuque* is at the top, the *xuanwu* at the bottom, the *qinglong* is on the right (east) and the *baihu* is on the left (west), the same as on the plaque. The central image on the gilt bronze plaque is an armed human figure dressed as a warrior, not the same as the hybrid on the wall of the Yinan tomb, but both convey similar meanings and ideas.

(d) Bronze belt-hooks

The *siling* were also favoured patterns on accessories, such as belt-hooks. All the four cardinal animals were found together, surrounding a central armed image, on three very similar belt-hooks in bronze with decorations cast in openwork. One of them has been in the British Museum Collection in London since 1947 (Pl. 61);²²¹ the second one was published by Minao Hayashi (Pl. 61.2);²²² the third was excavated from a brick tomb at Donggangtou Village in Shijiazhuang City, Hebei Province (Pl. 61.1).²²³

The beastly figure in the centre of these belt-hooks holds a sword in its right hand and a shield in its left hand, a sword with its right foot and an axe with its left foot. Around it are images of the *siling*: *qinglong* is on the left, *baihu* on the right, *zhuque* with opened wings is modelled in frontal view at the top, and *xuanwu* at the bottom. These three examples are very similar in size and depiction, and

²²⁰ Zeng Zhaoyu 1956, rub. pls. 12-14 (Appendix: 106c). Discussed above, pp. 61-62 & n. 90.

²²¹ Appendix: 65.

²²² *TG* 46, 1974: 226-227 (Appendix: 84).

differences can only be seen in details, such as the wings of the *zhuque* and the way in which the figures in the centre of each hold the weapons.²²⁴

Like the armed figure on the square gilt bronze plaque from Wushan, and the armed hybrid image seen in the Yinan tomb, Hayashi believed the armed beast on the belt-hook to be a representation of Chiyou.²²⁵ Hayashi interprets it as an image of a “messenger from the Supreme God”, because a four-word inscription “*tian di shi zhe*”, was found on the leather belt attached to the belt-hook in question. However he also stated clearly that this piece was not scientifically excavated, and that it was possible that the inscription could be a fake.²²⁶ Nevertheless, he believes that the central image is a powerful deity expected to protect the deceased against evil spirits, while, according to him the *siling* are mainly depicted to indicate the four directions.²²⁷ The British Museum follows Hayashi in identifying the central figure on the belt-hook in its collection as Chiyou.²²⁸

Whether the deity is Zongbu, Chiyou, or some other mythological figure, the aggressive stances of all three images suggest that they represent a powerful deity, and are probably depicted to serve the same purpose of protecting the deceased. Secondly, although these figures must be powerful beings, they are different from the Supreme God whose posture is always godlike, imposing and static,²²⁹ as the

²²³ KG 1960, no. 12: 656 (Appendix: 83).

²²⁴ The unclear rubbings of the one excavated from Donggangtou in Hebei and the one published by Miao Hayashi create difficulties in comparing the pictorial depictions on these three belt-hooks. Hayashi, however, when comparing the two examples, suggests that the only difference in their depiction is the way the weapons are held by the figure in the centre (*Ibid.*: 226).

²²⁵ See n. 90.

²²⁶ TG 46, 1974: 227.

²²⁷ *Ibid.*: 227-228.

²²⁸ British Museum collection registration number: OA 1936.11-18.50.

²²⁹ Liu Yang 1998: 18-22. See pp. 58-60 above for the discussion on the seated image in the

seated image on the ceiling of the tomb in Qilin'gang (Pl. 31), which is superior to all the other heavenly deities. Thirdly, although these armed images are the highlights of these specimens, the images of the *siling* do not seem simply to indicate the four directions, as suggested by Hayashi.²³⁰ Were the armed hybrid in the centre of the belt-hooks to be the only major subject, it could be depicted alone without being surrounded by the *siling*, as it is in the decoration on another bronze belt-hook (Pl. 62). The directional meaning in a belt-hook is less important than in the context of a tomb, as the case of the decoration on the Yinan pillar or the gilt bronze plaque fixed to the front panel of a coffin. Likewise the armed figures, the *siling* on these specimens also serve as guardians, as they do when they are depicted on other forms of art.

(e) Mirrors

The *siling* are one of the most favoured subjects of decoration for Han bronze mirrors, but it is not until the end of the Western Han period that the whole set of animal motifs began to be applied on mirrors. On mirrors of "TLV"²³¹ and *shoudai* (animal band)²³² types, images of the *siling* sometimes appear as a group of four, but they are more often depicted together with other deities. According to *Luoyang Shaogou Hanmu*, the earliest examples of mirrors with full features of a central

Qilin'gang tomb.

²³⁰ TG 46, 1974: 227-228.

²³¹ On a "TLV" mirror, the central boss is enclosed within a square ornamented with "nipples" and characters of the "Twelve branches". The prominent part of the field is always decorated in four groups, with conventionalized animals and figures, and eight conical bosses, arranged at regular intervals by a linear design of so-called TLV form.

²³² In a general sense, all mirrors decorated with a belt of animal patterns can be classified as *shoudai* mirrors, but the name especially refers to mirrors which differ from the TLV type to the extent that they are not patterned with the three motifs, and this kind of mirror is also typical for the nipples which are interspersed between the animal patterns. The number of the nipples varies from

boss, four or eight nipples, inscriptions, the *siling* and other animals are believed to date before Wang Mang and to be at the height of their popularity during the Xin Dynasty and until the middle of the Eastern Han period.²³³ Many mirrors mention the Xin Dynasty in their inscriptions, or state that they were made by the Shangfang or Directorate for Imperial manufactories, a workshop which “manufactured commodities of many sorts used in the imperial palace, in Han times reportedly including weapons”.²³⁴

The Chinese mirror has its specific format and meanings, on which it is not easy to find a consensus. Some scholars suggest that the patterns on mirrors of the “TLV” type are an indication of the earth and the sky and that a TLV mirror represents the universe in microcosm.²³⁵ Others believe that a TLV mirror represents a building,²³⁶ or a 亞-shaped palace of antiquity.²³⁷ Some scholars in China have suggested that the TLV patterns either come from or have a close relation with the board used for the *liubo* game (Pl. 63).²³⁸ My own view is that a TLV mirror symbolises the universe in microcosm and that because of this, it is always filled with heavenly deities, such as the *siling* and other immortals and omens.

The idea of the *siling*, as the animal gods of the four quarters, is well expressed on a TLV mirror, especially when the set of four animal motifs are arranged in four

four to nine (Bulling 1960: 68).

²³³ *Luoyang Shaogou Han Mu*: 165-168 & 174-175. *Luoyang Shaogou Hanmu* is the special report on the group of 225 graves found at Shaogou, Luoyang. Michael Loewe has suggested that the most elaborate of all schemes of classification of Han mirrors is to be seen in this report (Loewe 1994a: 210).

²³⁴ Hucker 1995: 407 (no. 4992).

²³⁵ Komei 1953: 107; Hayashi 1973: 10-12; Cammann 1987: 201-202.

²³⁶ Bulling 1955: 33-34.

²³⁷ Lao Gan 1995: 25-26.

²³⁸ *WW* 1979, no. 4: 36; Kong Xiangxing & Liu Yiman 1984: 83; Sun Ji 1991: 272-273.

fields, according to their corresponding directions. On mirrors with a central square, the “Twelve Earthly Branches”, which refer to *zi*, *chou*, *yin*, *mao*, *chen*, *si*, *wu*, *wei*, *shen*, *you*, *xu*, *hai*, are always inscribed clockwise in four groups by the four inner sides of the larger square in the centre. When a TLV mirror is inscribed with the twelve branches, the *qinglong* is always situated at the side on which *yin*, *mao* and *chen*, are inscribed, the *baihu* beside *si*, *wu* and *wei*, the *zhuque* beside *shen*, *you* and *xu*, and the *xuanwu* besides *hai*, *zi* and *chou* (Pl. 92). This is a clear indication that the sequence of the *siling* begins with the *xuanwu*, followed by the *qinglong*, *baihu* and *zhuque* in that order.

Based on the *Shi Ji*²³⁹ and *Hou Han Shu*,²⁴⁰ Sun Ji suggests that the *qinglong*, the *zhuque*, the *baihu*, and the *xuanwu* are always placed to the directions of *yin*, *si*, *shen* and *hai*, corresponding to the directions of the four altars of the gods of the four directions, and when the *qilin* is added to form the pattern of the *wuling* for the decoration of the TLV mirror, the image of the *qilin* is placed to the southwest which is equivalent to the direction of *wei* (Pl. 92).²⁴¹

Loewe has clearly pointed out the symbolism of the TLV mirror and how the *siling* and the central boss of such a mirror may symbolise the *wuxing* or five elements:

²³⁹ According to *Shi Ji · Feng Shan Shu*, in the fifth year of Yuanding (112 B.C.), “[武帝] 幸甘泉，令祠官寬舒等具太一祠壇，…… 五帝壇環居其下，各如其方，黃帝西南。 [Wudi] arrived at the Ganquan [shrine], ordered the temple officials, such as Kuan Shu, to prepare the shrine for the god Taiyi,……below are the shrines of the Five Gods, surrounding the shrine of Taiyi according to their directions, the shrine of Huangdi is in the southwest.” (*Shi Ji*, j. 28: 1394).

²⁴⁰ According to *Hou Han Shu · Ji Si Zhi · shang*, “青帝位在甲寅之地，赤帝位在丙巳之地，黃帝位在丁未之地，白帝位在庚申之地，黑帝位在壬亥之地。 Qingdi is situated at the direction of *jiayin*; Chidi is situated at the direction of *bingsi*; Huangdi is situated in the direction of *dingwei*; Baidi is situated in the direction of *gengshen*; Heidi is situated in the direction of *renhai*.” (*Hou Han Shu*, zhi 6: 3159).

²⁴¹ *WW* 1982, no. 3: 66-67.

“Both the decorative details and the inscriptions of the TLV mirrors display their all-powerful symbolism; for the mirrors were intended to set a man permanently in his correct relation with the cosmos and to escort him to life in the hereafter. The circular heavens surrounded the square earth; the central boss of the square could be taken as the axis of the universe; alternatively it can be taken as a symbol of earth, corresponding with the four beasts who symbolize the other members of the *Wu hsing* [*wuxing*] ”.²⁴²

There are relatively few examples of TLV mirrors on which the four cardinal animals alone are depicted in the four fields, unaccompanied by other patterns. One example is in the Lüshun Museum collection, Liaoning Province (Pl. 64); on another mirror excavated from Huayin County, Shaanxi Province, the four animals are set off by more decorative and complicated background patterns (Pl. 65). Some of the TLV mirrors with similar depictions of the *siling* contain no nipples (Pls. 66 & 67), and sometimes, instead of the typical single long-tailed *zhuque*, a pair of birds was depicted to represent the South (Pl. 68).

In the majority of cases, each of the four main fields of a TLV mirror is shared by one of the four sacred animals and one or more other heavenly images, such as immortals, auspicious birds or animals (Pl. 92.1). In most cases, the *qinglong* is paired with a bird (Pls. 70, 92.1(1-5)),²⁴³ and sometimes an immortal (Pls. 69,

²⁴² Loewe 1994a: 83.

²⁴³ The TLV mirror shown on Pl. 70 is decorated with images of the *siling* and other immortals, birds and animals, and an inscription of thirty-five characters, reading, “作佳竟我真大好, 上有仙

92.1(6)) or an animal (Pl. 71).²⁴⁴ In some cases, the *qinglong* is accompanied by more than one immortal or bird, for example, on a TLV mirror dated to the Wang Mang period, the *qinglong* is accompanied by images of several birds and immortals (Pl. 72).²⁴⁵ On another mirror with very similar depiction, the *qinglong* is depicted with a human-headed bird and an immortal, and spaces all over the main field are filled with bird motifs (Pl. 73). Although the *siling* are difficult to distinguish from the other animals on this mirror, the inscription clearly refers to their directional and apotropaic functions: "The dragon on the left and the tiger on the right protect from harm, the red bird and the *xuanwu* accord with the *yin* and *yang*."²⁴⁶ The *baihu* on a TLV mirror, opposite the *qinglong*, is often matched with another animal (Pls. 69, 70, 74, 92.1(2-6)), or a bird (Pls. 71 & 75), or several animals and birds (Pl. 73). The *zhuque* on a TLV mirror is found to be paired with different kinds of motifs, such as an animal (Pls. 76, 92.1(1-6)), an immortal (Pls.

人不知老，喝飲玉泉飢食棗，浮游天下救四海，壽如金石為國保。Making the fine mirror is exactly right for me. An immortal in heaven who has no idea of getting old, he drinks from the Jade Springs when thirsty, eats dates when hungry. He roams around the world and travels everywhere, his longevity outlasts metal and stone and the country is protected." It is in the Cleveland Museum of Art.

²⁴⁴ This TLV mirror, also in the Cleveland Museum of Art, is decorated with images of the *siling* and other immortals, birds and animals, and an inscription of thirty-five characters, reading, identical to that in Pl. 70 (see n. 243).

²⁴⁵ This TLV mirror is decorated with images of the *siling* and other immortals, birds and animals, and an inscription of fifty-six characters, reading, "王氏昭竟四夷服，多賀新家人民息，胡虜殄滅天下複，風雨時節五谷熟，百姓歡喜得佳德，長保二親受大福，傳吉後世子孫力，千秋萬年樂無極 Wang displays the mirror and subdues the barbarians in all directions, all congratulations to the families of Xin Dynasty as people can take rest, the barbarians are conquered and the world is restored, the periods of wind and rain are regulated and the five grains mature, the people are happy, they receive the good virtue. May your parents long be preserved, may you enjoy the great fortune, passing the auspices to later generations, giving strength to sons and grandsons, happiness will be enjoyed forever without end." (Chinese Art Society of America, Asia House 1961: 70.)

²⁴⁶ This TLV mirror is decorated with images of the *siling* and other immortals, birds and animals, and an inscription of forty-nine words, reading, "新有善銅出丹陽，凍冶銀錫清而明，尚方御鏡大無傷，左龍右虎辟不羊，朱鳥玄武順陰陽，子孫具備居中央，壽如金石如侯王。During the Xin [Dynasty], good copper is produced from Danyang, the mirror made by this copper is clear and bright. The mirrors made by the *Shangfang* are unparalleled anywhere. The dragon on the left and the tiger on the right protect from harm, the Red bird and the Black Warrior accord with the *yin* and *Yang*. May the descendants in ample line occupy the centre, may your longevity outlast metal and stone, like that of nobles and kings." (Moriya Kozo 1969, col. pl. 3.)

71 & 75), or an animal ridden by an immortal (Pls. 72 & 73). In some cases, the *zhuque* is depicted with another bird (Pls. 69 & 70). The *xuanwu* on a bronze mirror is often depicted as a turtle entwined by a snake and is mostly accompanied by an immortal (Pls. 70, 73, 74, 76, 92.1 (1-6))²⁴⁷ or an animal (Pls. 71, 77, 92.1 (6)).²⁴⁸ There are also examples in which the snake and the turtle are separated into two images, each of which occupies half of the field in the North (Pl. 69.4).

In some cases (e.g. Pls. 70, 71, 77-81), the *siling* face other motifs across the corners of the central square, rather than along each side as in Pls. 64-69. On Pl. 79, the *qinglong* is paired with an immortal, the *baihu* is paired with a deer, the *zhuque* is paired with and facing a bird, whereas the *xuanwu* is matched with another animal.²⁴⁹

When analysing the pictorial representations on Han mirrors, Su Jian suggested that the depiction of an immortal and a *siling* motif shows the process of going up to the heavens; the depiction of the *baihu* and an immortal has an additional connotation of bringing the heavenly scene to the world; the *zhuque* and an auspicious animal or bird carry favourable wishes; and the combination of the

²⁴⁷ This TLV mirror shown in Pl. 74 is decorated with images of the *siling* and other immortals, birds and animals, and an inscription of forty-two characters, reading, “尚方作竟真大好，上有仙人不知老，喝飲玉泉飢食棗，徘徊名山采芝草，浮游天下教四海，壽如金石為國保。How wonderful is the mirror made by the Imperial Manufactory. There is an immortal above who has no idea of getting old, he gets drink from the Jade Springs when thirsty, he eats dates when hungry. He wanders around the famous mountains to pick the mythic fungus and fragrant herbs. He roams around the world and travels everywhere, his longevity outlasts metal and stone, and the country is protected.” (Guo Yuhai 1996: 33.)

²⁴⁸ This TLV mirror shown in Pl. 77 is decorated with images of the *siling* and other immortals, birds and animals, and an inscription of fifty-six characters, the same as the mirror shown in Pl. 70 (see n. 243) (Guo Yuhai 1996: 32.)

²⁴⁹ This TLV mirror is decorated with images of the *siling* and other immortals, birds and animals, and an inscription of thirty-six characters, reading exactly the same as the inscription in thirty-five characters on the mirror shown in Pl. 70 (n. 243) with the addition of the final particle 兮 *xī* (National Palace Museum 1986, pl. 44.)

xuanwu and a toad, a deity in the moon, means brightness.²⁵⁰ It is true that arrangements of the *siling* and the other celestial and auspicious motifs on the main field of a TLV mirror not only fill the spaces available, but also convey certain meanings and wishes, but Su Jian's own suppositions are far too precise without being supported by relevant texts or evidences. The long inscriptions on these mirrors help to understand the meanings and wishes conveyed.

However, there does not seem to have any fixed rule in the above combinations, the only constancy in the arrangement is that the *siling* are generally depicted according to their locations among the "Twelve Branches" and their directions in the sky. There are a few exceptions. On one TLV mirror, the directions of the *qinglong* and the *baihu* are reversed, instead of being depicted at *yin* of the "Twelve Branches", the *qinglong* is depicted at *jia*, and vice-versa for the *baihu* (Pl. 80).²⁵¹ On another mirror, the *zhuque* is placed opposite the *qinglong*, while the *baihu* and the *xuanwu* are placed on the other two sides (Pl. 81).²⁵² These cases are only in a minority and may simply because of the carelessness of the artisans or their ignorance of the rules that governing the representation of the *siling*.

²⁵⁰ Su Jian 1996: 95-97.

²⁵¹ This TLV mirror is decorated with images of the *siling* and other immortals, birds and animals, and an inscription of thirty-three characters, reading, "尚方作竟真大好, 上有仙人不知老, 喝飲玉泉飢食棗, 浮游天下教四海, 壽如金石兮。Mirrors made by the Shangfang are good. An immortal in heaven who has no idea of getting old, he gets drink from the Jade Springs when feeling thirsty, eats dates when feeling hungry. He roams around the world and travels everywhere, and his longevity outlasts metal and stone." (Lilshun bowuguan 1997, pl. 37.)

²⁵² This TLV mirror is decorated with images of the *siling* and other immortals, birds and animals, an inscription of twenty-eight words, reading, "新有善銅出丹陽, 以之為鏡清且明, 左龍右虎掌四彭, 爵朱玄武順陰陽。Xin has good copper produced from Danyang, mirror made with this copper is clear and bright. The dragon on the left and the tiger on the right control the four lands, the Red bird and the Black Warrior accord with the *yin* and *yang*", and a four-character inscription in the corners of the central square, reading, "君宜子孫 Your lordship will have descendants". The Twelve Branches are not inscribed on this mirror (Moriya 1969, pl. 1.)

Another type of mirror has a broad band (*dai*) with animals (*shou*) in the main field and so is known as *shoudai*. The *siling* motifs on *shoudai* mirrors frequently appear in this band with more complicated decorations of nipples and other patterns. When there are four nipples, the images of the four sacred animals are interspersed between them (Pls. 82 & 83), sometimes accompanied by other images of animals or of immortals (Pls. 84 & 85). On some of the *shoudai* mirrors with four nipples, the bodies of the four animals are symbolised by two long parallel S-shaped lines, while only their heads are clearly depicted (Pl. 86).

Representations of the *siling* on *shoudai* mirrors are mostly found on the *siling sanrui* (four *ling* and three *rui*) type, on which images of the four spiritual animals and another three *rui* or auspicious deities in the principal field are separated by seven nipples, representing stars,²⁵³ and the outer border is sometimes inscribed with characters. On one *siling sanrui* mirror which is dated to “the seventh year of Yongping” (A.D. 64), the *qinglong* is followed in a clockwise direction by the *xuanwu*, a one-horned animal, another one-horned animal, the *baihu*, the *zhuque*, an animal and an immortal (Pl. 87).²⁵⁴ On another mirror of similar format on Pl. 89, the animal designs are more complex. The *qinglong* is depicted with an immortal, followed clockwise by the *zhuque* and a bird ridden by an immortal, two deer ridden by two immortals, the *baihu* ridden by an immortal, two face-to-face

²⁵³ A *siling sanrui* mirror is also called “seven nipples” or “seven stars” mirror, as seven nipples are applied for the separation of the seven deities (Bulling 1960: 69).

²⁵⁴ This *siling sanrui* mirror, decorated with images of the *siling*, three animals and immortal, and an inscription of fifty words, reading, “尚方御鏡大無傷，巧工和之成文章，左龍右虎辟不羊，朱鳥玄武順陰陽，上有仙人不知老，喝飲玉泉飢食棗，永平七年九月造真。The mirrors made by the *Shangfang* are unparalleled anywhere. The dragon on the left and the tiger on the right protect from harm, the Red bird and the Black Warrior accord with the *yin* and *Yang*. An immortal in heaven who has no idea of getting old, he gets drink from the Jade Springs when feeling thirsty, eats dates when feeling hungry. The mirror was made in the ninth month of the seventh year of Yongping.” (Umechura 1943, pl. 4).

animals, the *xuanwu* with an immortal and a little bird, and two other animals. On *shoudai* mirrors, because of the constraints on the main field created by the nipples, it is not possible to place the *siling* separately and concretely to the four main quarters (see Pls. 89, 90).

Besides appearing in the main field of mirrors, the four animal motifs are sometimes used as decoration in the band at the outer rim of the mirror (Pls. 89, 90, 91). On the *siling sanrui* mirror in Pl. 90,²⁵⁵ the outer band is decorated with the four animal spirits and two S-shaped patterns. The set of sacred animals on bronze mirror also appears in other forms. On the gilt bronze mirror in Pl. 91, formerly in a Japanese private collection, the inner circle is patterned with the TLV and spiral designs, and on the *shoudai* or animal band outside this, the four sacred animals are arranged in appropriate directions amid cloud patterns. It is also interesting to note that, the *qinglong* and *baihu* symbols on Chinese bronze mirrors always occupy bigger sections in the band of the outer rim of the mirrors. It shows that among the two pairs of opposites of the *siling* images, the *qinglong* and *baihu* pair is superior to the *zhuque* and *xuanwu* pair (Pls. 89 & 90). This corresponds exactly to the unequal sectors occupied by the four asterisms in the sky that are reflections of the varying lengths of the four seasons in the Huanghe (Yellow River) area.²⁵⁶ It also accords with Feng Shi's suggestion I stated earlier (p. 98, see also p. 134 below) that, because of the relationship between East/ West, sun/moon, and agriculture, the animals of the East and the West appears in an earlier stage of the development of the *siling* and are more important among the four.

²⁵⁵ Bulling suggests that this kind of mirror flourished from the middle of the first until well into 2nd century A.D. (Bulling 1960: 69)

²⁵⁶ *WW* 1990, no. 3: 52-60, 69. The span of the eastern asterism, *canglong* is 75°50'; the northern,

As stated by A. Bulling, a bronze mirror represents “the canopy of heaven” and mirrors “were decorated with symbols pertaining to the sky such as thunder and cloud patterns, stars, constellation signs, or else, spirits and immortals traveling across the sky.”²⁵⁷ As noted earlier, locations of the *siling* on TLV mirrors correspond not only with the cardinal directions to their directions, but also with the “Twelve Branches”. It is because a mirror itself is a reflection of the sky that the *siling* on a mirror have to correspond with the “Twelve Branches”. On Pls. 89 & 90, however, we can see that although the sequence of the four animals stays the same, the outer band rotates independently of the inner band, reflecting the apparent movement of the constellations in the sky.

A few Western Han *shipan* were excavated from the tomb of Marquis of Yuyin at Fuyang, Anhui Province.²⁵⁸ One of them has a circular disc that revolves on a square plate which represents the sky and the earth, respectively; they are both inscribed with the characters of the twenty-eight *xiu*, and both have a depiction of the *beidou* in the middle.²⁵⁹ It is a good example to show how the sky-plate and the earth-plate work together, and this is exactly what Eugene Wang suggests when describing how the *liuren*-type cosmic board articulates the traditional Chinese cosmology:

“It [the *liuren*-type cosmic board] consists of two plates. Patterned after the ancient Chinese cosmological vision of the round heaven and the square earth, the upper plate of the *shi*-board symbolizes heaven by

xuanwu, 101°10'; the western, *baihu*, 75°40'; the southern, *zhuque*, 112°40'.

²⁵⁷ Bulling 1960: 13.

²⁵⁸ *KG* 1978, no. 5: 338-343.

virtue of its circularity, and the lower plate signals the earth by virtue of its squareness. The hole in the centre of the heaven-plate can be fitted onto the central pole of the earth-plate, and the heaven-plate can rotate in relation to the earth-plate.”²⁶⁰

(ii) Pottery objects

(a) Jars and lids

Images of the *qinglong*, the *baihu* and two *zhuque* are also depicted on the bodies of some Western Han Dynasty *hu* vessels excavated from Luoyang (Pls. 93 & 93.1, 94).²⁶¹ The animal images on these *hu* vessels are arranged in a very similar way to the *boshan*-type hill censer excavated from the tomb of Dou Wan, the wife of Prince Jing of Zhongshan (r. 154 - 113 B.C.) (Pl. 58 & 58.1). The only difference is that, instead of a camel, a second *zhuque* is depicted opposite the bird of the South, on the *hu* vessels from Luoyang.

The appearance of the dragon and turtle-and-snake motifs (Pls. 9 & 10) on separate hollow bricks found from the Luoingshi in the Yangling area show that the turtle-and-snake *xuanwu* image appeared not later than the period of Emperor Jingdi (r. 156-140 B.C.).²⁶² This *xuanwu* image also appears as one of the *siling* on the bronze braziers, the *pushou* in jade and the group of moulded bricks from the Maoling area. However, on the *boshan* censer and the *hu* vessels from Luoyang,

²⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, fig. 1.

²⁶⁰ *Res* 35 (Spring 1999): 82 & fig. 11.

²⁶¹ Appendix: 41, 42.

which like the braziers can be dated to the reign of Emperor Wudi, the animal of the North is represented by a camel or a second phoenix, respectively. These examples suggest that the *xuanwu* image first appeared during the reign of Emperor Jingdi or not much earlier, and that at this time, there were still alternatives to the turtle-and-snake *xuanwu* image representing the North, such as camel or a second phoenix.

Complete sets of *siling* motifs and a toad were depicted on a group of hemispherical-shaped pottery lids excavated from the Central Plain. They were probably lids of *boshan* censers. A pair of these was excavated from a tomb of the Xin or early Eastern Han Dynasty in Zaoyang City, Hubei Province (Pl. 95).²⁶³ Another pair of these *siling* pottery lids were excavated in Xiawan M1 in Zhechuan County, Henan Province, a tomb dated to the Xin Dynasty.²⁶⁴ They are glazed in red and are slightly larger than the pair from Zaoyang City.²⁶⁵ Similar examples were also excavated from a tomb with *siling* images engraved on stone doors in Fangcheng County in Henan Province,²⁶⁶ and from Jingmen in Hubei Province.²⁶⁷

(b) Stove models

Pottery stove models in clay were one of the most popular funeral objects during the Han Dynasty. The stove is very important for the Chinese because it is the natural heart and gathering place of the household, and it would also make a natural

²⁶² Appendix: 1b.

²⁶³ *JHKG* 1994, no. 4: 19-21 (Appendix: 80).

²⁶⁴ Zhao Chengfu 1990: 28 (Appendix: 53).

²⁶⁵ Both lids measure 15 cm in diameter and 7.4 cm in height.

²⁶⁶ *WW* 1984, no. 3: 38-46 (Appendix: 54a).

²⁶⁷ *JHKG* 1994, no. 4: 19-21 (Appendix: 81).

abode for a household god.²⁶⁸ A pottery stove model patterned with a complete set of *siling* motifs, reported to have been excavated from Shaanxi Province, is collected in the Cleveland Museum of Art (Pl. 96, 96.1 & 96.2).²⁶⁹ It is in the shape of a rectangular box with two raised cones on the top for heating pots, and the four cardinal spirits are depicted on the four sides, with other figure and bird images. Another stove model with very similar representations of the *siling* is found in the Buffalo Museum of Science (Pl. 97, 97.1-97.4).²⁷⁰ The Cleveland stove model is said to come from Shaanxi Province and is dated to the late Western Han Dynasty (first century B.C.) by the museum.²⁷¹ Nothing is known about the provenance of the stove model in the Buffalo Museum of Science.

The images on the Cleveland stove model are moulded in low relief and with some more prominent details. On the front side of the model, a little owl-like bird is depicted in profile at the top of an arch, and flanking on either side of the arch is a turtle entwined with a serpent (Pls. 96 & 96.1). On the right side, a winged man is feeding a writhing scaled and winged dragon (Pls. 96.1 & 96.2). On the left side, a man is jousting a leaping tiger (Pl. 96). On the rear panel, a phoenix with an elegant tail is facing right. (Pl. 96.2) Two fish patterns are depicted on the top (Pl. 96.3).

The Buffalo stove model is patterned in a very similar way (Pl. 97). On its front panel, a stepped gable is built above the opening of the fire chamber, above which is a flying bird represented by only a few lines, and the pair of snake-interlaced

²⁶⁸ Chard 1990: 127-139.

²⁶⁹ *BCMA* 1990 Oct.: 301 (Appendix: 16).

²⁷⁰ *BBMS* 26 (2): 36-46 (Appendix: 149). The piece was purchased in 1944.

²⁷¹ The Cleveland Museum of Art bought the stove model in 1925. The museum has no record of its former owner.

turtles in upright pose are symmetrically depicted on either side of the blind frame representing the opening of the fire chamber (Pl. 97.1). On the rear panel is a phoenix leaping towards the right on one leg (Pl. 97.4). On the right panel, a winged man is fighting a dragon, and on the left, a man fighting a tiger (Pls. 97.2 & 97.3). On the top, besides the two fish patterns, there are also a small animal and a bird (Pl. 97.5).

Representations on stove models are always related to daily life. Food and vessels (Pl. 98), architectural buildings and human figures (Pls. 99 & 100), auspicious omens, such as the stove god (Pls. 101 & 102), spirit tree (Pl. 98) and fish (Pls. 102, 103 & 104) are popular subjects in stove model decorations.²⁷² Animal images such as those on the Cleveland and Buffalo stove models are popular. One example is found on a stove model formerly in a Chinese private collection (present whereabouts unknown) (Pl. 105). On the front panel of the model, two human figures stand on either side of the fire chamber, a fighting scene of a tiger and an ox-like animal is depicted at the rear. On one side panel, a man is taming an ox, and on the other side, a lancer is pursuing a tiger. On another stove model in the Mottahedeh Collection, the *qinglong* and the *baihu* are depicted on the two sides, while on either side of the fire chamber are two human figures and on the top are three fish and some lozenge patterns (Pl. 106).²⁷³ As far as we know, there is no excavated stove model on which the *siling* are depicted in a complete set on the side walls according to their respective directions.²⁷⁴

²⁷² Ding Peng 1996: 328-331.

²⁷³ The China Institute in America 1968: 25.

²⁷⁴ When I was travelling around different provinces of China, I asked for advice from experts on the topic. The scholars I met could not think of any excavated stove models with similar representations of the *siling* on the four sides.

According to Ding Peng, pottery stove models emerge around the mid-Western Han Dynasty, and reach a climax in late Western Han to early Eastern Han Dynasty (first century B.C. to first century A.D.).²⁷⁵ During this period, decorations developed gradually from simple geometric designs into complicated combinations of patterns, and besides engraved lines, the patterns also began to be moulded in bas-relief.

(iv) Other objects bearing *siling* images

(a) Jade pendant

The *siling* are also found in a complete set on an Eastern Han Dynasty jade pendant in the Shanghai Museum (Pl. 107).²⁷⁶ The *siling* images on the piece are carved in openwork and decorated with incised details. The central section is sub-divided into two levels by a horizontal bar, the *zhuque* with extended wings is carved at the top, and the *xuanwu* represented by a turtle entwined by a snake is on top of a horizontal fish-shaped platform carved at the bottom. The *qinglong* on the right and the *baihu* on the left are carved upright on the two short sides, separated from the *zhuque* and the *xuanwu* by two vertical pillars. The piece can be viewed from both sides. Both vertical pillars are also inscribed on both sides, reading, “*yanshou wannian changyi zisun* 延壽萬年長宜子孫 longevity extended for ten thousand years, always suitable for the sons and grandsons”. The fine animal carvings and

²⁷⁵ The first stage refers to early Western Han period (2nd century B.C.), in which some of the stove models are decorated with very simple side patterns, but most of them are unadorned. The third and final stage starts from middle to late Eastern Han Dynasty (2nd century to early 3rd century A.D.), when the quantity of stove models and the quality of their decoration is reduced rapidly because of the unstable political conditions (Ding Peng 1996: 332-333).

²⁷⁶ Lu Zhaoyin 1993, pl. 233 (Appendix: 151).

inscriptions on the object suggest that it should be an ornament.

In comparing the jade *pushou* from the Maoling District (Pl. 3) and this jade piece, we can recognise that, on the *pushou*, the animal mask is the major subject, accompanied by the four cardinal animal motifs, but on the latter, the set of *siling* itself is the major content. The fine inscriptions on the tiny jade piece also show how the set of four animal motifs was associated with wishes for longevity during the Eastern Han Dynasty, besides indicating the four directions and guarding the soul of the deceased to his new home.

(b) Stone headrests

The *siling* motifs also appear as decorations on a pair of painted headrests in stone, excavated from M2 at Wangdu County, Hebei Province, which has become very well-known for its important mural paintings.²⁷⁷ The tomb is dated to the fifth year of Guanghe of the Eastern Han Dynasty (182 A.D.).²⁷⁸

The two headrests, excavated in fragments in the middle chamber of the tomb, are exactly the same shape and size. Each of them is made up of three stone plaques, roughly square in shape, notched and drilled to receive twelve long rectangular stone slabs (ten at the top and the sides and two wider ones at the bottom) which join them and provide the framework of the headrest (Fig. 34).²⁷⁹ The three

²⁷⁷ *KGTX* 1958, no. 4: 66-71; Hebeisheng wenhuaju gongzuodui 1959: 11-12 & pl. 27-37 (Appendix: 88); Zhang Anzhi 1986, pl. 84 & description pp. 44-45.

²⁷⁸ The tomb was first dated around the third year of Xiping (A.D. 174) by Lin Shuzhong (*KGTX* 1958, no. 4: 71); but it was re-dated to the fifth year of Guanghe of the Eastern Han Dynasty (A.D. 182) when a dated brick was excavated (Zhang Anzhi 1986, description pp. 44-45).

²⁷⁹ Hebeisheng wenhuaju gongzuodui 1959: 11-12.

plaques have chamfered upper corners. They form the end and the middle of the headrest, and have pictorial designs on both sides, with contour lines and sawtooth designs on the projecting areas left between the notches. The motifs were first outlined in ink, and then painted in red and gold leaf.

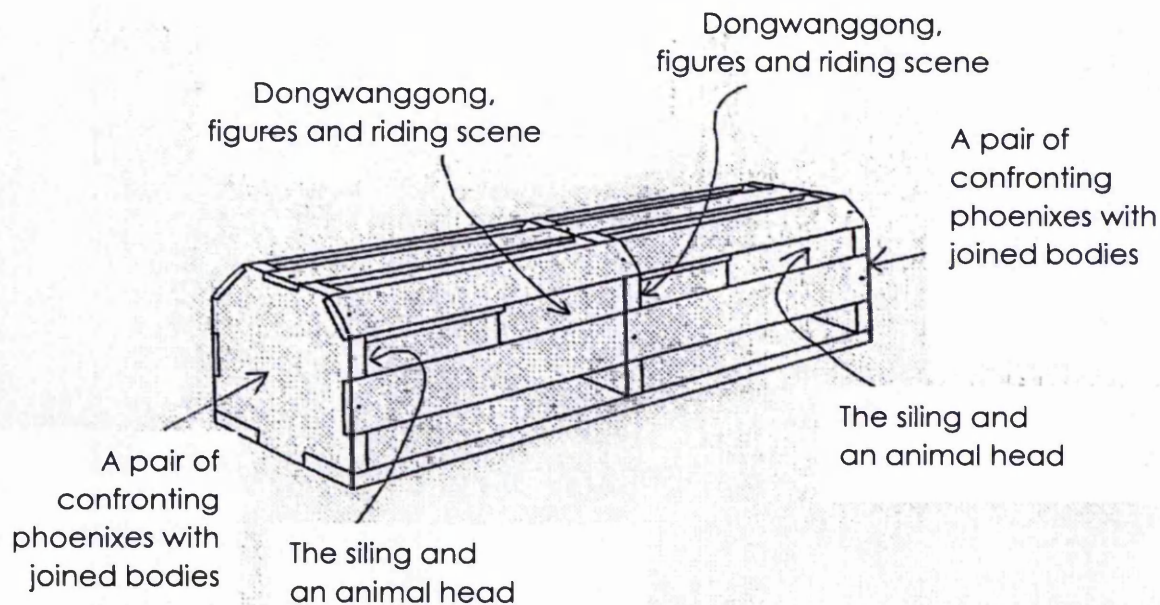


Fig. 34: Line drawing showing the shape and structure of one of two painted stone headrests, excavated from M2 at Wangdu County, Hebei Province.

Both sides of the stone slabs at the top and the inner surfaces of the two long slabs at the bottom are painted with figure and animal images, riding scenes and cloud designs. On one side of the middle plaques, five winged and kneeling figures are depicted at the top above an irregular base line. Below them, three riders are riding on a cloud chariot drawn by three deer. The driver holds the bridle with one hand and flourishes a whip to urge on the animals with the other. The scene has been interpreted as showing Dongwanggong, King Father of the East.²⁸⁰ On the other side of the same plaque, thought to show Xiwangmu, the Queen Mother of the

West,²⁸¹ there are again five kneeling figures at the top. Below them is another riding scene, with a driver and one passenger in a cart pulled by three deer (Pl. 108). On both sides, the spaces between the figures are filled with flowing cloud designs.

The designs on the stone plaques at the two ends are the same. A pair of confronting phoenixes is depicted on each of the outer surfaces. They face each other and their bodies appear to be joined. A plant grows from a stem between their feet and fills the space between their necks and beaks. Each of them displays one wing and long tail feathers, the whole composition is symmetrical and balanced (Pl. 108.1).

The paintings on the inner surfaces of the two end plates are similar to each other. The phoenix is at the top and the turtle-and-snake at the bottom. In between these two animals is a large animal mask with a gaping mouth. The two animals flanking it appear rather like heraldic supporters, facing each other and standing on their hind legs (Pl. 108.2). Some Chinese scholars have identified both of them as the *qinglong*, regarding the animal head drawn in the middle of the piece as that of the *baihu*.²⁸² However, this view appears to be mistaken: although the animal on the left has an extended body, its head is clearly feline and not that of a dragon, so it is certainly the *baihu*. Thus, there are two complete representations of the *siling*, one inside each end of the headrest (the large head in the middle of each group may of course be yet another reference to the *baihu*). From a cave tomb in Sichuan, an

²⁸⁰ *Ibid.*

²⁸¹ *Ibid.*

²⁸² *Ibid.*

image of a leaping tiger was excavated (Pl. 110).²⁸³ Its head is depicted full-face; its wide-open mouth, big round eyes and semi-circular ears are all comparable to the animal head on the headrests.

In Han pictorial representation, images of the *long* (dragon) and the *hu* (tiger) are often quite similar in their body shapes, but they can be distinguished by examining the shapes of their heads, and the patterns on their bodies. The dragon is always scaled and the tiger striped. On a stone from a dated stone-structured tomb at Cangshan, Shandong Province (Pl. 36), a dragon is carved on the right and a tiger on the left.²⁸⁴ There is no difference in their body shapes, but it is suggested by the shapes of their heads and their body patterns that they are not identical. On a side panel of a stone sarcophagus from Sichuan a dragon and a tiger are carved on the two sides of a jade *bi* (Pl. 109).²⁸⁵ Their bodies are lengthy and very much alike, except for the triangular spines on the dragon's neck and near its tail, while the tiger has a smooth neck and back, and, of course, their heads are different. Both examples are dated to the late Eastern Han period,²⁸⁶ more or less in the same period as the headrests from Wangdu. Here on the headrests, it is clear that the animal on the right has a dragon-shaped head, the head of the one on the left is slender but its body is striped. On that account, there can be no doubt that the animals on the two sides are the *qinglong* and the *baihu* respectively.

²⁸³ See Rudolph 1951: 23 & pl. 99. The vestibule from which this image was excavated has been named Laohu dong.

²⁸⁴ Appendix: 91a-b.

²⁸⁵ Appendix: 119b.

²⁸⁶ The Shaoshi Que is dated around the second year of Yanguang (123 A.D.) (Lü Pin 1990: 47). The tomb in Cangshan is dated by inscription to the first year of Yuanjia (151 A.D.) (KG 1975, no. 2: 126). Wu Hung divides the development of the pictorial stone coffins in Sichuan into three stages, suggesting that the first stage started from mid Eastern Han Dynasty (Wu Hung 1987a: 72). As we do not have archaeological examples earlier than this period, the coffin from Hejiang (SCWW 1988, no. 3: 17-24 & pls) should also be dated to the second half of the Eastern Han Dynasty.

Discussion

According to the very rich archaeological examples of the *siling* on funerary objects, and the *siling* specimens found in tomb decorations and above-ground structures as discussed in Chapters One and Two, the development of the *siling* representation can be divided into three main stages:

(1) Before the Han Dynasty

There is no excavated example of the whole set of *siling* motifs that can be dated before the Han Dynasty (206 B.C. - A.D. 220). However, scholars have suggested an earlier date for the first appearance of the *siling*, on the basis of the dragon and tiger patterns found from the Neolithic tomb site at Xishuipo, Puyang, Henan Province.²⁸⁷

On the floor of M45 at the site in Xishuipo, a pair of animals was drawn with shells, flanking the skeleton of the deceased (Pl. 2). The principal occupant of the tomb was buried in an extended supine position, with the head pointing to the southeast. These two animals face away from the body, with their heads at its feet. The animal on the occupant's right, which looks like a dragon, is raising its head, its body bent and its limbs extended. On the skeleton's left is an animal which looks like a tiger in a walking posture. A group of shells which was intentionally arranged in a triangular form in combination with two human tibias, is located 35 centimetres

²⁸⁷ *WW* 1988, no. 3: 1-6 (Appendix: 40).

north of the skeleton of the principal occupant, below the feet.²⁸⁸ This triangular pattern has been identified as an image of the *beidou* (Dipper) in the North, with its handle symbolised by the human tibias, pointing to the East, and its container symbolised by the triangular arrangement of shells, pointing to the West.²⁸⁹

In his discussion of the astronomical questions raised by the tomb at Xishuipo, Feng Shi explains that, the unequal sectors occupied by the four asterisms in the sky exactly correspond to the varying lengths of the four seasons in the Huanghe (Yellow River) area, and because of the need for agricultural production, among the four main directions, East and West were first to be identified by the ancient Chinese.²⁹⁰ Because of their relations with the sun and the moon, East and West are always the two most important directions for agricultural production. Therefore, animal images associated with the East and the West appear at the earlier stage of the development of the *siling*, before those associated with the South and the North, and it is possibly because they are more important among the four, they are more frequently depicted.

The *qinglong* and the *baihu* images (and possibly also the *xuanwu* represented as a turtle) were also found on the lacquer clothes chest excavated from the Warring States (fifth century B.C.) tomb of Marquis Zeng Hou Yi at Sui County, Hubei Province, with names of the twenty-eight *xiu* and various constellation designs (Pls. 56 & 56.1).²⁹¹

²⁸⁸ *WW* 1988, no. 3: 3.

²⁸⁹ *WW* 1990, no. 3: 52-53; *ZYWW* 1996, no. 2: 22-23, 25.

²⁹⁰ *WW* 1990, no. 3: 52-60, 69.

²⁹¹ The example is the clothes chest from the tomb of Marquis Zeng Hou Yi dated to 433 B.C. (*WW* 1979, no. 7: 1-14, 40-45), discussed in detail with other related funerary representations of the *siling* in Chapter Three.

The paired animal patterns found in Xishuipo coincide with later representations of the dragon and the tiger, it is therefore widely believed that they are the earliest representations of the *qinglong* and *baihu*, animal images of the East and West, dated back to six thousand years ago.²⁹² It is, however, difficult to explain why these paired animal motifs appear as early as in the Neolithic period but did not appear again in a similar format until the Warring States period. The time gap is hard to explain. The paired animal motifs can only be taken as a possible origin of the *qinglong* and *baihu* images. This assumption needs to be supported by further researches and more archaeological evidences.

The *siling* motifs did not appear simultaneously. Archaeological materials have shown that dragon, tiger and phoenix are popular patterns in Chinese Art since the Neolithic period, and it is possible that the *qinglong*, *baihu* and *zhuque*, three of the four *siling* images, originate from images of the dragon, tiger and phoenix. The animal representation of the north is most commonly represented by the *xuanwu*, a turtle-and-snake, however, there are other alternatives, especially in the Western Han period, such as a camel, a second *zhuque*, a turtle or a snake, depicted individually. Therefore, we can conclude that the combined image of turtle-and-snake probably appeared during the later development of the *siling*. Archaeological evidence also suggests that the *qinglong* and *baihu* formed a pair long before they were combined with the other two as a set of four directional motifs. I will discuss in detail in Chapter Seven individual motifs among the *siling* and how they are combined and finally became a set of four.

²⁹² *WW* 1988, no. 3: 3; *JHKG* 1993, no. 4: 87-89; *ZYWW* 1996, no. 1: 62-63.

(2) Early Western Han Dynasty

The reign of Emperor Jingdi (r. 156-141 B.C.) was important in the development of the *siling* because it was possibly the period of emergence of the complete set of four animal motifs. The *qinglong* and *xuanwu* representations (Pls. 9 & 10) found on the hollow bricks found from the Luojingshi at the Yangling²⁹³ suggests that complete set of *siling* motifs had possibly appeared during this period. The reign of Emperor Wudi (r. 140 – 87 B.C.) was another important stage of the *siling* development because during this period, complete sets of *siling* motifs appeared and was found in a various kinds of funerary art, such as a group of rectangular bricks with moulded patterns (Pls. 5-8), a *pushou* in jade (Pl. 3), a *boshan* censer (Pl. 58, with a camel instead of a turtle-and-snake for the *xuanwu*) and a group of bronze braziers (Pls. 59, 59.1-59.4). Although some of the *siling* bronze braziers in museums are without provenance, others were excavated from the Shaanxi and Shanxi areas and can be dated around the period of Emperor Wudi.

The *siling* representations during this early stage are relatively simple in context. The four animals either appear by themselves or only accompanied by simple patterns. The set of *siling* images is the sole pattern on the body of the bronze braziers excavated from the Maoling and other nearby places (Pls. 59 & 59.1). On the *hu* vessels excavated from Luoyang (Pls. 93 & 93.1, 94) and the funerary face-cover (Pl. 57.1) excavated from Tomb no. 14 at Huchang in Yangzhou,²⁹⁴ the *siling* images are depicted with continuous cloud designs.

²⁹³ Ma Yongying & Wang Baoping 2001: 34 & 56.

(3) From Wang Mang's Xin Dynasty to the Eastern Han period

The *siling* specimens from the mural tomb at Jinguyuan in Luoyang (Fig. 3) have shown that, starting from Wang Mang's Xin period, the *siling* are depicted with various mythological deities and related images. During the Eastern Han Dynasty, the later the date, the greater the number of mythological images that appear together with the *siling*. During the Eastern Han period, the winged immortal also became a very popular motif in pictorial representation, appearing with the *siling* motifs, not only in tomb interiors, but also on funerary objects, such as bronze mirrors (Pls. 69-75). In some of the middle to late Eastern Han examples (late second century to early third century A.D.) on funerary objects, the *siling* are depicted with complex mythological scenes and human activities at the same time in the same context.

On a square plaque excavated from Dianfenchang, the *siling* are depicted with a warrior-like human figure (Pl. 60).²⁹⁴ On three very similar belt-hooks in bronze which can be dated to the Eastern Han Dynasty (first to second century A.D.), the *siling* images surrounded a central armed hybrid image (Pls. 61, 61.1 & 61.2). Although this armed figure has been identified as Chiyao or alternatively as a "messenger from the Supreme God", these different suggestions are not contradictory. According to its appearance and prime location on the specimens, it is a powerful deity depicted to serve the same purpose of protecting the tomb and the deceased.

²⁹⁴ ZGWWB 1997, 11, 23.

²⁹⁵ SCWW 1990, no. 6: 3-11 & plates; KG 1998, no. 12: 77-86 (pl. 8).

Archaeological examples has shown that, during the Eastern Han Dynasty, the *siling* images, two pairs of *yinyang* opposites, are always depicted with other pairs of *yin* and *yang* symbols, such as Fuxi and Nüwa, Xiwangmu and Dongwanggong, to convey the *yinyang* theory. For example, the *siling* motifs were found on a stone sarcophagus excavated from Jianyang County (Pl. 48.2)²⁹⁶ and Luzhou (Pl. 49.1)²⁹⁷ of the Sichuan Province, with various mythological images, including Fuxi and Nüwa in the former, and Xiwangmu and Dongwanggong in the latter. On the six plaques which made up a pair of painted headrests in stone dated to the fifth year of Guanghe (182 A.D.) was excavated from M2 at Wangdu County, Hebei Province, images of the *siling* were depicted with various celestial figure and animal images, including Xiwangmu and Dongwanggong (Pl. 108.3).²⁹⁸

During the middle to late Eastern Han Dynasty (late second century to early third century A.D.), the *siling* are always depicted among very complicated contexts with various celestial scenes and images. Furthermore, the content and nature of some of these Eastern Han *siling* examples are not anymore limited to cosmology or mythology, but are also related to human life and activities. This is clearly demonstrated by the abundance of *siling* examples on stone sarcophagi excavated from Sichuan. For example, on the rear of a sarcophagus from Fushun County,²⁹⁹ Fuxi and Nüwa, and a snake-entwined turtle *xuanwu* image are depicted (Pl. 51.2); on the front panel is an official depicted under a pair of *que*-towers (Pl. 51.3). On the left wall, the *qinglong* is depicted with images of Xiwangmu, and riding and

²⁹⁶ *SCWW* 1990, no. 6: 3-11 & plates (Appendix: 124a-d).

²⁹⁷ *SW* 1988, no. 3: 18; *SCWW* 1991, pls.; Gao Wen & Gao Chenggang 1996: 42-43.

²⁹⁸ Hebeisheng wenhuaju gongzuodui 1959: 11-12 & pl. 27-37; *WW* 1959, no. 12: 31-32.

hunting scenes (Pl. 51); on the right wall, the *baihu* is depicted along with a rectangular net design, a farmer holding an agricultural tool, and three other men (Pl. 51).

Finally, it should be noted that, in a number of Eastern Han tombs, especially in the decoration of stone doors, the *xuanwu* is not always represented together with the other three directional animals. Instead, on the tomb doors from the Henan area, figures of armed guards are seen with the *qinglong*, *baihu* and *zhuque* (Figs. 8-13, 16-18); and on a group of Eastern Han tomb doors excavated from various sites in the Northern Shannxi area, we always find a pair of charging bulls depicted together with a pair of *zhuque*, *qinglong* and *baihu* (Pl. 111). These examples suggest that there might still have alternatives for depicting the guardian spirits of the north at this time.

²⁹⁹ Gao Wen & Gao Chenggang 1996: 40-41.

Chapter Four: Textual Evidence for the Four Guardian Animals

Faced with such a wealth of material evidence for the four guardian animals, we should examine surviving classical texts for clues to their origins and significances.

This thesis uses the term *siling*, which is first found in *Li ji* • *Li Yun*:

“四靈以為畜，故飲食有由也。何謂四靈？麟鳳龜龍。By means of the *siling*, domestic animals are reared, thus they are the source of food and drink. What are the *siling* ? The *lin* (unicorn), the *feng* (phoenix), the *gui* (turtle) and the *long* (dragon).”³⁰⁰

The *siling* mentioned in *Li Ji* are simply a group of auspicious deities with individual origins in Chinese mythology. Their appearances are reported very often in the ancient sacred narratives and were interpreted as good omens, bringing fortune and fulfilling wishes.³⁰¹ None of them here corresponds to any of the four cardinal points, although three of them, phoenix, turtle and dragon, do correspond to the appearance of three of the four directional animals. However, in *Shuo wen jie zi*, Xu Shen (c.55 - c.149) comments as follows: “According to *Li Yun* [of the *Li Ji*], *lin*, *feng*, *gui* and *long* are the so-called *siling*. *Long* is in the east, *hu* is in the west, *feng* is in the south, *gui* is in the north, and *lin* is in the centre.”³⁰²

The earliest datable record of the four cardinal animals is found in the chapter of *Huai Nan Zi* • *Tian Wen Xun* (comp. c. 140 - 139 B.C.) in a passage about the Five

³⁰⁰ LJZY, j. 22: 197 (*Shi San Jing Zhu Shu*, vol. 2: 1425).

³⁰¹ For the reports of the appearances of these auspicious omens during the Western Han Dynasty, see *Xi Han hui yao*, vols. 29-30.

Planets:³⁰³

何謂五星？東方木也，其帝太皞，其佐句芒，執規而治春，其神為歲星，其獸蒼龍，其音角，其日甲乙。南方火也，其帝炎帝，其佐朱明，執衡而治夏，其神為熒惑，其獸朱鳥，其音徵，其日丙丁。中央土也，其帝黃帝，其佐后土，執繩而製四方，其神鎮星，其獸黃龍，其音宮，其日戊己。西方金也，其帝少昊，其佐蓐收，執矩而治秋，其神為太白，其獸白虎，其音商，其日庚辛。北方水也，其帝顓頊，其佐玄冥，執權而治冬，其神為辰星，其獸玄武，其音羽，其日壬癸。 What are the five planets? The East is Wood. Its *di* (god) is *taihao*. Its *zuo* (assistant) is *jumang*. It grasps the compass and governs spring. Its *shen* (spirit) is *suixing* (Jupiter). Its *shou* (animal) is the *canglong*. Its musical note is *jiao*. Its days are *jia* and *yue*. The south is Fire. Its god is Yandi. Its assistant is *zhuming*. It grasps the balance-beam and governs summer. Its spirit is *yinghuo* (Mars). Its animal is *zhuniao*. Its musical note is *zheng*. Its days are *bing* and *ding*. The centre is Earth, its god is Huangdi. Its assistant is *houtu* (Sovereign of the Soil). It grasps the marking cord and governs the four quarters. Its spirit is *zhenxing* (Saturn). Its animal is *huanglong*. Its musical note is *gong*. Its days are *wu* and *ji*. The west is Metal. Its god is *shaohao*. Its assistant is *rushou*. It grasps the T-square and governs autumn. Its spirit is *taibai* (Venus). Its animal is the *baihu*. Its musical note is *shang*. Its days are *geng* and *xin*. The north is Water. Its god is *zhuanxu*.

³⁰² LJZY, j. 22: 197 (*Shi San Jing Zhu Shu*, vol. 2: 1425).

³⁰³ The *Huai Nan Zi* is a collection of essays compiled sometime before 139 B.C. by Liu An (c.179-122 B.C.), Prince of Huai Nan, and scholars recruited by him; see Loewe 1993: 189 and *ibid*:

Its assistant is *xuanming*. It grasps the plumb-weight and governs winter. Its spirit is *chenxing* (Mercury). Its animal is the *xuanwu*. Its musical note is *yu*. Its days are *ren* and *gui*.³⁰⁴

Following the text in *Huai Nan Zi*, together with the *huanglong* as the animal associated with Earth (the centre), the animals associated with the four cardinal directions are clearly referred to as *shou* (animals). They are named as the *canglong*, the *zhuniao* (*zhuque*), the *baihu* and the *xuanwu*. They accompany four of the Five Planets, the *suixing* of the East (Jupiter), the *yinghuo* of the South (Mars), the *taibai* of the West (Venus) and the *chenxing* of the North (Mercury), as recorded in the *Huai Nan Zi* • *Tian Wen Xun* cited above. Besides, the four cardinal animals are sometimes called the *sishen* (Four Spirits). In this dissertation, however, I use *siling* as a more appropriate appellation for this set of cardinal animals because of their divine nature, although this term *siling* does not appear in other classical records.

A related record in the *Shi Ji* (c. 90 B.C.), shows the relations between the four quarters and the stars of the twenty-eight *xiu* (lunar lodges).³⁰⁵ The *Shi Ji* • *Tian Guan Shu* records:

190-193 for the complicated textual history and various editions of the *Huai Nan Zi*.

³⁰⁴ *Huai Nan Zi*, j. 3: 66-67. Translation from Major 1993: 70-72. In *Hou Han Shu* • *Wang Liang zhuan* (compiled in the 3rd-5th centuries), we read, “[世祖]及即位，議選大司空，而〈赤伏符〉曰‘王梁主衛作玄武’，帝以野王衛之所徙，玄武水神之名，司空水土之官也，於是擢拜梁為大司空，封武強侯。 Emperor Shizu came to the throne, discussing on the nomination of Da Si Kong (Grand Minister of Works), According to the *Chi Fu Fu*, ‘Wang Liang controls Wei as *xuanwu*’. The Emperor took the view that Yewang was the place to which [the ruler] of Wei had been moved. *Xuanwu* is the name of the water god. Si Kong (Minister of Works) is the official of water and earth. For that reason, Wang Liang was promoted [from Si Kong] to Da Si kong and he was granted the title ‘Wu Qiang Hou’.” The Ming scholar Li Xian (1408-1466) annotated, “玄武，北方之神，龜蛇合體。 *Xuanwu*, God of the North, has a body combining the turtle and the snake” (*Hou Han Shu*, j. 22: 774); for the move of the ruler of Wei, see *Shi Ji*, j. 37: 1604.

³⁰⁵ The twenty-eight *xiu* (lunar lodges) were stars marked along the ecliptic belt of the celestial sphere, serving as reference points for the movement of the sun, the moon and the planets (Sun &

中宮天極星, 東宮蒼龍, 南宮朱鳥, 西宮咸池, 北
宮玄武 The Central *gong* is the *tianji* (Dipper) The Eastern
gong is the *canglong*, The Southern *gong* is the *zhuniao*, The
Western *gong* is the *xianchi*, The Northern *gong* is the
xuanwu³⁰⁶

The text is a constellation map in word form, indicating the locations of stars and their relationship to one another. According to the Tang commentary, the word *gong* should be written as *guan* because it does not mean palace, but official. The five *gong* indeed refer to the five star officials.³⁰⁷ The Dipper is in the centre, surrounded by the stars. Among these stars, the *canglong*, the *zhuniao*, the *xianchi*³⁰⁸ and the *xuanwu* are four sets of stars associated with the four directions. *Xianchi* is the name of the group of seven stars in the west, including *kui*, *lou*, *wei*, *ang*, *bi*, *cen* and *zi*. Since this group of stars is in the west and belongs to the *baihu* constellation, it is more often named *baihu*, in order to match with the groups of stars in the east, the south and the north, which are called the *canglong*, the *zhuniao* and the *xuanwu* respectively.

In the *Li Ji • Qu Li*, we read:

行。前朱雀而後玄武，左青龍而右白虎。 On the march [of an army],
the *zhuque* is in the front and the *xuanwu* is at the rear, the *qinglong* is

Kistemaker 1997: 19). See Ch. 5, pp. 152, 153 (Table One) & 154 for further discussion.

³⁰⁶ *Shi Ji*, j. 27: 1289-1308; also in *Han Shu • Tian Wen Zhi* (*Han Shu*, j. 26: 1274-1279).

³⁰⁷ Sima Zhen (c. 656-720) comments, “天文有五官。官者，星官也。星座有尊卑，若人之官曹列位，故曰天官。” (*Ibid.*: 1289); see also Chen Zungui 1980-89, vol. 2: 265.

³⁰⁸ See *HSXZ*, j. 26: 902 for Shi Ding's annotation to the text.

on the left and the *baihu* on the right.³⁰⁹

The *qinglong*, the *baihu*, the *zhuque* and the *xuanwu* here clearly refer to the animal guardians of the four cardinal points. According to the commentary by Kong Yingda (A.D. 574-648), *que* refers to bird, *wu* refers to turtle shell with the meaning of protection.³¹⁰ According to the commentary by Chen Hao (A.D.1261 - 1341), they are like a military procession, of which the *zhuque* is the vanguard, the *xuanwu* is the rearguard, the *qinglong* and the *baihu* the left and right flanks respectively.³¹¹

Another reference about the four constellations is found in the *Lun Heng • Wu Shi*:

“東方 其星蒼龍也。西方 其星白虎也。南方 其星朱鳥也。北方 其星玄武也。In the east the constellation is the Blue Dragon [*canglong*]. In the west the constellation is the White Tiger [*baihu*]. In the south the constellation is the Scarlet Bird [*zhuniao*]. In the north the constellation is the Black Turtle [*xuanwu*].”³¹²

The *canglong*, the *baihu*, the *zhuniao* and the *xuanwu* are the four constellations in the east, the west, the south and the north respectively. A. Forke clearly pointed out that these four constellations are the Four Quadrants into which the twenty-eight

³⁰⁹ LJZY, j. 3: 22 (*Shi San Jing Zhu Shu*, vol. 1: 1250).

³¹⁰ SSZY, j. 2: 9 (*Shi San Jing Zhu Shu*, vol. 1: 121). It is suggested that the *Shang Shu* was composed between the late Spring to Autumn period and the last centuries of the Zhou Dynasty (late 6th century to early 3rd century B.C.) (Loewe 1993: 377-378).

³¹¹ See the commentary to this passage by Chen Hao in SSZY, j. 2: 9 (*Shi San Jing Zhu Shu*, vol. 1: 121).

³¹² *Lun Heng*, vol. 3: 45. Translation from Forke 1962 vol. 1: 106. The Chinese characters *cang* and *qing* both mean either green or blue, for example, the *canglong* or *qinglong* means the green dragon,

lunar mansions (or lodges) are divided, they are groups of stars, but not animals, though they bear the names of the animals.³¹³

We also read in the same chapter:

天有四星之精，降生四獸之體，含血之蟲以四獸為長。Heaven by emitting the essence of these four stars produces the bodies of these four animals on earth. Of all swarms of creatures they four animals are the foremost.³¹⁴

The *sixing* (four asterisms or four constellations) in the text refer to the *canglong*, the *zhuque*, the *baihu* and the *xuanwu*, the four groups of lunar mansions. The “essences” refer to the four divine animals, which are derived from the *sixing*. They are regarded as the physical emanations of the four stars, and as being the foremost representatives of the animal world on earth. This record shows the relationship between the system of twenty-eight *xiu* constellations and the *siling* in Han belief.

Another reference confirming this relationship is found in a late commentary to the *Shang Shu* in the *Shang Shu Zheng Yi · Yu Shu · Yao Dian* by Kong Yingda (A.D. 574-648):

四方皆有七宿，各成一形。東方成龍形，西方成虎形，皆南首而北尾。南方成鳥形，北方成龜形，皆西首而東尾。Each of the four

while *qinghua* is porcelain decorated in underglaze blue and white.

³¹³ *Ibid.*

³¹⁴ *Ibid.*

directions has seven lunar mansions, and forms one body. [The mansions (or lodges) in] the east take the form of a dragon, [those in] the west of a tiger: in both cases, their heads face south and their tails face north. [The mansions in] the south take the form of a bird, [those in] the north of a turtle: in both cases, their heads face west and their tails east.³¹⁵

The document tells us that each of the four directions comprises seven lunar lodges, and that in appearance these four constellations take shape as a dragon, a tiger, a bird and a turtle (Pl. 1). Moreover, Kong's commentary appears to refer to the actual way in which the four animals were depicted, by noting the direction each of them was facing, for example, the dragon is in the east, but its head faces south and its tail north.

There are also other related references. Both the *huanglong* (the animal of the centre, identified in the passage from *Huai Na Zi* cited above) and the individual animals of the *siling* are recorded in Qin and Han texts, including the *Lü Shi Chun Qiu* • *Ying Tong Bian* (249 B.C.), and the *Shi Ji* • *Feng Chan Shu* (c. 90 B.C.). In the *Lü Shi Chun Qiu* • *Ying Tong Bian*, we find the following passage:

凡帝王者將興也，天必先見祥乎下民。黃帝之時，天先見大螾大蜃，黃帝曰：“土氣勝”。土氣勝，故其色尚黃，其事則土。及禹之時，天先見草木秋冬不殺，禹曰：“木氣勝”。木氣勝，故色尚青，其事則木。及湯之時，天先見金刃生於水，湯曰：“金氣勝”。金氣勝，故

³¹⁵ SSZY, j. 2: 9 (*Shi San Jing Zhu Shu*, vol. 1: 121).

其色尚白，其事則金。及文王之時，天先見火，赤鳥含丹書集於周社，文王曰：“火氣勝”。火氣勝，故其色尚赤，其事則火。代火者必將水，天且先見水氣勝，水氣勝，故其色尚黑，其事則水。Whenever a lord or a king is about to arise, heaven must display omens to the people below. In the time of the Yellow Emperor, heaven first displayed big earthworms and mole crickets. The Yellow Emperor then said, “The *qi* of earth has conquered.” Because the *qi* of the soil had conquered, the colour yellow was therefore honoured by him, and his affairs took the principle of earth. When it came to the time of Yu, heaven first displayed grasses and trees surviving through autumns and winters. Yu then said, “The *qi* of wood has conquered.” Because the *qi* of wood had conquered, the colour preferred was green, and the affairs took their principle from wood. When it came to the time of Tang, heaven first displayed a metal weapon which was produced from water, Tang then said, “The *qi* of metal has conquered.” Because the *qi* of metal had conquered, the colour white was preferred and his affairs took their principle from metal. When it came to the time of King Wen, heaven first displayed fire, and *chinhiao*, red birds carrying red writings in their beaks gathered at the Altar of the Zhou. King Wen then said, “The *qi* of fire has conquered.” Because the *qi* of fire had conquered, the colour red was preferred and his affairs took their principle from fire. The element that is going to replace fire is water. Heaven will first display the conquest of the *qi* of water; and because the *qi* of water conquers, the colour preferred should then be black, and affairs should take their

principle from water.³¹⁶

About two to three decades after the compilation of the *Lü Shi Chun Qiu*, when the Qin Emperor came to the throne in 221 B.C., someone presented a memorial, recommending the same concept and proclaiming the belief that the Qin was the receiver of the virtue of water, and that the conquest of the Zhou by the Qin represented the fact that “the *qi* of water” had conquered. The words are recorded in the *Shi Ji* • *Feng Chan Shu*:

黃帝得土德，黃龍地螾見。夏得木德，青龍止於郊，草木暢茂。殷得金德，銀自山溢。周得火德，有赤鳥之符。今秦變周，水德之時。昔文公出獵，獲黑龍，此其水德之瑞。 When Huangdi (the Yellow Emperor) obtained the virtue of earth, the *huanglong* (the yellow dragon) and big earthworms appeared. When the Xia obtained the virtue of wood, the *qinglong* abode in the countryside, grass and trees flourished. When Yin (i.e. Shang) obtained the virtue of metal, silver was flowing out of the mountain. When the Zhou obtained the virtue of fire, there was a symbol of the red bird (*chinyao*). Now that the Qin has conquered the Zhou, it is the time of the virtue of water. In the past, Duke of Wen [of Qin] went hunting and got a black dragon: this is the auspice of the virtue of water.³¹⁷

³¹⁶ *Lü Shi Chun Qiu*, j. 13: 94. Translation from Wang Tao 1993a: 261. The *Lü Shi Chun Qiu* is the work of Lü Buwei (c.290-235 B.C.) and scholars recruited by him. For the life of Lü Buwei, refer to his biography in the *Shi Ji* • *Lü Buwei Lie Zhuan* (*Shi Ji*, j. 85: 2510). It is believed that he probably started recruiting scholars for the writing when he became Prime Minister of Qin in 249 B.C. (Xu Fuguan 1993 vol. 2: 7)

³¹⁷ *Shi Ji*, j. 28: 1366.

Among the four cardinal animals, only the red bird (*chiniao*) is recorded in both texts, as an auspicious sign from heaven, representing the victory of the *qi* of fire, but *Shi Ji • Feng Chan Shu* also mentions the *qinglong* (green dragon) and its association with the Xia Dynasty and the virtue of wood. In both texts, however, we see the concept of an alternation of colours, which in turn are associated with particular animals.

In the *Yue Ling* ("Monthly Ordinances"),³¹⁸ compiled around the middle of the third century B.C., the four seasons, the five directions, the five colours, the five gods, the five spirits, the five sounds, the five special numbers, the five kinds of animals (scaled animals 鱗, feathered animals 羽, naked animals 倮, furred animals 毛, and shelled animals 介), the five rituals, the five intestines, the five smells, the five tastes, the five stars are all described in association with each other and arranged according to the Five Phases Theory.³¹⁹

The *Yue Ling* is dated to the same period as the *Lü Shi Chun Qiu • Ying Tong Bian* and the memorial presented to the Qin Emperor recorded in the *Shi Ji • Feng Chan Shu* mentioned above. The contents of the three texts are therefore comparable. In the *Yue Ling*, wood is specifically linked to the east, spring, and the colour green; fire to the south, summer and red; metal to the west, autumn and white; water to the north, winter and black; earth is associated with the centre and the colour yellow, but is not linked to any season. The *qinglong* and the *chiniao* (equivalent to the *zhuque*) recorded in the Qin Dynasty memorial in the *Shi Ji • Feng Chan Shu*

³¹⁸ The *Yue Ling* or the "Monthly Ordinances" is somewhat like an almanac and was compiled by Lü Buwei (c. 290 - 235 B.C.) or scholars recruited by him (Wang Tao 1993a: 253).

³¹⁹ Chen Zungui 1980-89, vol. 1: 95-96.

therefore can also be specifically linked to the east and the south.

The *huanglong*, although not one of the four cardinal animals, is closely related to the idea of the *siling*, and is sometimes regarded as the animal of the earth, one of the Five Phases. In the *Shi Ji • Feng Chan Shu*, the *qi* of earth is represented by the *huanglong* and big earthworms, in the *Lü Shi Chun Qiu • Ying Tong Bian*, however, the *huanglong* is not mentioned. The animal of the centre and the earth is also represented later and more often as the *lin*. The Tang commentary to the *Li Ji • Li Yun* records:

公羊說：麟木精。左氏說：麟中央軒轅大角之獸。陳欽說：麟是西方毛虫。許慎謹按：禮運云：麟鳳龜龍，謂之四靈。龍，東方也。虎，西方也。鳳，南方也。龜，北方也。麟，中央也。Gongyang Zhuan said, “*lin* is the essence of wood.” Zuo Zhuan said, “*lin* is an animal named *xuanyuan* with huge horns, situated at the centre”. Chen Qin said, “*lin* is an animal with fur from the west.”³²⁰

These different explanations of the *lin* given by the earlier classics have pointed out that *lin* was always regarded as a divine animal, but that its definition was uncertain. Xu Shen, writing in the Eastern Han Dynasty, identifies the *siling* as “*lin, feng, gui, long*”, but identifies them individually with the four directions and the centre as “*long, hu, feng, gui*” with *lin* as the emblem of the centre, instead of the *huanglong* cited in *Huai Nan Zi*. His explanation crucially adds a fifth animal to the *Li Ji*’s group of four, namely the *hu* or tiger, associated with the west.

³²⁰ LJZY, j. 22: 197 (*Shi San Jing Zhu Shu*, vol. 2: 1425).

Discussion

In the *Huai Nan Zi* • *Tian Wan Xun* and other Han classical records traced above, it is noted that the *qinglong* or *canglong* (green dragon), the *baihu* (white tiger), the *zhuque* or *chinhiao* (red bird), and the *xuanwu* (black warrior) are the animal representations of the East, West, South and North, respectively. This corresponds perfectly with the many examples of these animals that we have seen in the archaeological record. On the contrary, although *lin*, *feng*, *gui* and *long* are grouped and termed *siling* in *Li Ji*, and in spite of Xu Shen's linking these *siling* with, there is not even a single excavated example where the *lin*, the phoenix, the turtle and the dragon are depicted together as a set. This is still the case even if we take existing archaeological account of examples alternative arrangements of the four animals, for instance the frequent absence of the *xuanwu*, or its substitution by other images. In these cases, the *lin* does not appear. Archaeological evidence have provides more diverse and complex resources that are not thoroughly recorded in classical texts.

The idea of *siling* is closely related to the Chinese term *sifang*, a term which has been interpreted and translated as the "four directions", Four Quarters, or Four Quadrates. The *sifang* are mentioned collectively and individually in Shang oracle bone inscriptions and the term occurs frequently in Zhou Dynasty texts.³²¹ Archaeological evidence shows that the images of the four animals were grouped together much later to match with and to convey the idea of *sifang*.

³²¹ Allan 1991: 75.

Chapter Five: *Siling*, the twenty-eight *xiu* system and the *yinyang wuxing* concept

During the Han Dynasty, which is a fundamental stage in the formation of Chinese culture, all kinds of knowledge are systemised and reorganised by means of cosmological principles. The idea of the *siling*, like most of Han concepts, has its own cosmological basis. It is related to the twenty-eight *xiu* (lunar lodges) system and the concept of *yinyang wuxing*.

A. The twenty-eight *xiu* system

The twenty-eight *xiu* system is an important element in the development of the *siling*, to which the *siling* is either related or from which it was derived. The twenty-eight *xiu* were a group of twenty-eight constellations marked along the ecliptic belt of the celestial sphere to serve as reference points for the motion of sun, moon and planets, and therefore they are essential for the determination of seasons and in calendar making.³²² The twenty-eight *xiu* constellations did not arise simultaneously, some of their names are recorded individually in earlier classics, such as the *Shi Jing*, *Zuo Zhuan* and *Guo Yu*.³²³

³²² Sun and Kistemaker 1997:18-19.

³²³ According to Xia Nai, *Shi Jing* (8th to 5th century B.C.) records eight of the names of the twenty-eight *xiu*. In *Zuo Zhuan* and *Guo Yu* (Spring and Autumn period or slightly later), there are also six names of the *xiu* which are mostly different from those recorded in later documents (Xia Nai 1976: 299).

28 xiu			Zeng Hou Yi's clothes chest	Shijing 詩經	Zuo Zhuan 左傳 · Guo Yu 國語	Xia Xiao Zheng 夏小正	Er Ya 爾雅	Yue Ling 月令	Huai Nan Zi 淮南子	Shi Ji 史記
1	canglong 蒼龍	jiao 角	jiao 角		Chenjiao 辰角		jiao 角	jiao 角	jiao 角	jiao 角
2		kang 亢	kang 亢		tiangen 天根、ben 本		kang 亢	kang 亢	kang 亢	kang 亢
3		di 氐	di 氐				di 氐	di 氐	di 氐	di 氐
4		fang 房	fang 方	huo 火		Dahuo 大火	fang 房	fang 房	fang 房	fang 房
5		xin 心	xin 心		nongxiang 農祥、tiansi 天駟		xin 心	xin 心	xin 心	xin 心
6		wei 尾	wei 尾		long 龍、huo 火		wei 尾	wei 尾	wei 尾	wei 尾
7		ji 箕	ji 箕	ji 箕			ji 箕		ji 箕	ji 箕
8	xuanwu 玄武	dou 斗	dou 斗				dou 斗	dou 斗、jianxing 建星	dou 斗	dou 斗、jianxing 建星
9		niu 牛	qianniu 牽牛	qianniu 牽牛			qianniu 牽牛	qianniu 牽牛	qianniu 牽牛	qianniu 牽牛
10		nü 女	wunü 婺女	zhinü 織女		zhinü 織女		zhinü 婺女	wunü 婺女	Wunü 婺女
11		xu 虛	xu 虛				xu 虛	xu 虛	xu 虛	xu 虛
12		wei 危	wei 危?					wei 危	wei 危	wei 危
13		shi 室	xiying 西營				dingying shi 定營室	yingshi 營室	Yingshi 營室	yingshi 營室
14		bi 壁	dongying 東營	ding 定	tianmiao 天廟、yingshi 營室		dongbi 東壁	dongbi 東壁	dongbi 東壁	dongbi 東壁
15	bailu 白虎	kui 奎	kui 奎				kui 奎	kui 奎	kui 奎	kui 奎
16		lou 婁	lounü 婁女				lou 婁	lou 婁	lou 婁	lou 婁
17		wei 胃	wei 胃					wei 胃	wei 胃	wei 胃
18		mang 昂	mao 矛	mang 昂		mang 昂	mang 昂		mang 昂	liu 留
19		bi 畢	bi 畢	bi 畢			bi 畢	bi 畢	bi 畢	zhuo 濁
20		zi 雌	zi 雌					zijuán 雌雉	zijuán 雌雉	
21		cen 參	cen 參	cen 參		cen 參		cen 參	cen 參	cenfa 參罰
22	zhuque 朱雀	jing 井	dongjing 東井					dongjing 東井	dongjing 東井	lang 狼
23		gui 鬼	yugui 與鬼					hu 弧	yugui 與鬼	hu 弧
24		liu 柳	you 酉				Liuzhu 柳注	liu 柳	liu 柳	zhu 注
25		xing 星	qixing 七星		zhu、chunhuo 鶉火			qixing 七星	qixing 七星	zhang 張
26		zhang 張	zhang 張?						zhang 張	xing 星
27		yi 翼	yi 翼					yi 翼	yi 翼	yi 翼
28		zhen 軫	che 車					zhen 軫	zhen 軫	zhen 軫

Table One: Records of the twenty-eight *xiu* from archaeological and literary sources

As early as in the 1970s, Xia Nai argued that individual *xiu* names in these classics could not be used to prove the completion of the twenty-eight *xiu* system before the fourth century B.C.³²⁴ Archaeological finds later proved that this astrological system had been completed by the early Warring States period (early fifth century B.C.). This earliest complete record of the twenty-eight *xiu* was found on the cover of a painted clothes chest excavated from the tomb of Marquis Zeng Hou Yi in Suizhou, Hubei Province, who died in 433 B.C.³²⁵ As can be seen from the table, the names on the clothes chest are the foundation of the twenty-eight *xiu* in later records, such as the *Er Ya*, *Yue Ling*, *Huai Nan Zi* and *Shi Ji*.

It is undoubtedly true that the *siling* have a close relation with the system of twenty-eight lunar lodges, but to the question whether the set of four animal images is based on the twenty-eight *xiu* system or the other way round, there is still no definite answer.³²⁶ The most that can be said is that the complete set of four animal symbols of the *siling* appears after the establishment of the twenty-eight *xiu* system.

B. The *yinyang wuxing* concept

The *yinyang* and *wuxing* concepts are based on a mode of correlative thinking. Scholars have tried to trace the origin of the concepts of *yinyang* and *wuxing* to the Yinyang School, a particular school of classical philosophy, and more specifically

³²⁴ *Ibid.*: 298-303.

³²⁵ *WW* 1979, no. 7: 1-14. See also the discussion of the twenty-eight *xiu* system painted on the chest by Wang Jianmin and others in *WW* 1979, no. 7: 40-45.

³²⁶ Some people believe that the *siling* images were developed on the basis of the twenty-eight *xiu* system, see Wu Zengde 1981: 97-98. For the opposite view, see Chen Zungui 1980-89, vol. 2 & 3: 281-282, 327-330; Beijing *tianwenguan* 1987: 53-53.

to its principal theorist, Zou Yan (c. late third century B.C.).³²⁷ Zou Yan's work is lost. However, in the Qin Dynasty text *Lü Shi Chun Qiu*,³²⁸ the major content of his *wuxing* theory was preserved.³²⁹

Angus Graham mentions that our information about Chinese cosmology before the Qin and Han periods comes primarily from historical sources, particularly the *Zuo Zhuan*, of which a set of six *qi* (shade/*yin*, sunshine/*yang*, wind, rain, dark and light) and a set of five *xing* (wood, fire, soil, metal and water) are mentioned.³³⁰ The set of six *qi*, belongs to the heaven, are the energetic fluids in the atmosphere and inside the body; the five *xing*, belongs to the earth, refers earlier in the *Huai Nan Zi* of about 140 - 139 B.C. to processes, such as fire rising and burning, and is now commonly translated as "Five Elements" or "Five Phases".³³¹ Graham's statement was superseded shortly later by Sarah Allan who points out that *si fang*, the four directions or four quadrates, are mentioned collectively and individually in Shang oracle bone inscriptions, and with the advent of the five-element theory, there were five *fang*, north, south, east, west and the centre, but according to her explanation, this meaning of *fang* in Shang texts is spatial, not linear.³³²

According to the *yinyang* theory, all things and events are the products of the

³²⁷ Henderson 1984: 33. See also Needham 1954: 232-246, 273 for the role of Zou Yan in the *yinyang wuxing* theories. Zou Yan's biography is in the *Shi Ji • Meng Zi Xun Qing Lie Zhuan* (*Shi Ji*, j. 74: 2344-2346). Xu Fuguan concludes that Zou Yan was born around 356 - 357 B.C. and died in the years between 296-286 B.C. (Xu Fuguan 1993, vol. 2: 5-7).

³²⁸ See n. 316.

³²⁹ Wang Tao quotes a large paragraph from *Lü Shi Chun Qiu* when he tried to reconstruct Zou Yan's *wuxing* theory (Wang Tao 1993: 260-261). Xu Fuguan too, believes that the book is a direct result of the development of Zou Yan's *yinyang wuxing* theory (Xu Fuguan 1993, vol. 2: 5).

³³⁰ Graham 1991:325.

³³¹ *Ibid.*: 325-326.

³³² Allan 1991: 75-76.

interaction of a pair of elements, principles or forces, *yin* and *yang*.³³³ *Yin* is negative and signifies “Earth, Moon, Darkness, Quiescence, Female, Absorption, and the Dual”; *yang* is positive and signifies “Heaven, Sun, Light, Vigour, Male, Penetration, and the Monad”.³³⁴ In Chinese thought, *yang* is superior to *yin* but the two are mutually dependent. Unlike the West which always treats opposites as conflicting, China has long been recognised as tending to treat opposites as complementary.³³⁵

Wuxing in earlier usage refers to the five materials, Wood, Fire, Earth, Metal and Water, but it was interpreted as the “Five Phases” from the Han onwards, with an important additional concept of rotation.³³⁶ This order of the five and the concept of rotation can be described in two ways. Based on the concept of mutual production, the five processes generate each other, therefore wood catches fire, fire reduces to ash or earth, earth forms metal, metal liquefies when melted, and water nourishes wood. However, these five sometimes conquer each other, and therefore water extinguishes fire, fire melts metal, metal cuts wood, wood digs out earth, and soil dams water.³³⁷ The idea of *wuxing*, therefore, in its mature form, was not only a means of classification, but also the basis of a comprehensive theory for explaining changes in the cosmos.³³⁸

Yinyang and the Five Phases are two correlative systems of thought within the traditional Chinese Cosmology for the explanation of the motions of the

³³³ Needham 1954: 273-278.

³³⁴ Williams 1996: 458.

³³⁵ Graham 1986b: 28.

³³⁶ *Ibid.*: 47; see also Chan Wing-tsit 1973: 244.

³³⁷ Needham 1954: 253-261.

³³⁸ Henderson 1984: 7.

universe.³³⁹ The two concepts, which had much in common, were originally two separate currents with independent origin,³⁴⁰ it is believed that they were thought of together by the time of Zou Yan.³⁴¹ Xu Fuguan however suggests that, for Zou Yan, *yinyang* is the principle governing the motion of the cosmos, while *wuxing* is the principle governing the alternation of history.³⁴²

Schuyler Cammann believes, "If these symbols [of the four cardinal directions] were not deliberately chosen to express Yin-Yang ideas, they were at least eminently suited to do so."³⁴³ The four colours, the four seasons and the four creatures for the four directions are three complementary sets of such "symbols". The green-coloured *qinglong* for the east and the spring, the white-coloured *baihu* for the west and the autumn, the red-coloured *zhuque* for the south and the summer, and the black-coloured *xuanwu* for the north and the winter. It is easily understood that the south and the north are a pair of opposites, in which the former is light and vigorous, and the latter is dark and quiescent, representing the greatest *yang* and the greatest *yin*, respectively. It has to be recognised that east and west are also a pair of opposites within the *yinyang* theory. According to C.A.S. Williams, *yang* is also symbolized by the Dragon and the land forms (mountains), whereas the tiger and the valleys and streams possess the *yin* quality.³⁴⁴ Schuyler Cammann further points out that, since the contrast of the mountains and the seas was also basic in

³³⁹ According to A. C. Graham, the Chinese Cosmology which had assumed its permanent shape by the beginning of the Han Dynasty is a vast system starting from chains of pairs correlated with the *Yin-Yang* and with the Five Processes (Graham 1989: 319-320). See also Ho Peng York 1985: 11-17; Twitchett & Loewe 1987: 668-692; Bodde 1991: 97-103; Major 1993: 28-32 for similar discussions.

³⁴⁰ The *yinyang* idea is found in the *Zuo Zhuan*, *Lao Zi*, *Zhuang Zi*, and *Xun Zi*, and the concept of *wuxing* is presented in the *Shi Ji*, *Mo Zi*, *Xun Zi*, *Zuo Zhuan* and *Guo Yu* (Chan Wing-tsit 1973: 244-245).

³⁴¹ *Ibid.*

³⁴² Xu Fuguan 1993, vol. 2: 11.

³⁴³ Cammann 1987: 108.

yinyang thinking, there is a secondary *yinyang* relationship between the east and the west.³⁴⁵

The relation between the *yinyang* theory and the *siling* is mainly based on the involvement of the former in the several sets of symbols for the four cardinal directions, while the latter represents one set of such symbols. The relationship between the *wuxing* theory and the *siling* is based on a similar idea, however, in the concept of *wuxing*, besides the four cardinal directions, the centre is equally important. From the *Huai Nan Zi • Tian Wen Xun*,³⁴⁶ we learn that the centre and the four cardinal directions correspond respectively to the Five Processes, the east to wood, the south to fire, the centre to earth, the west to metal, and the north to water. Besides, several groups of five “symbols” are associated with the five directions, including the four cardinal spirits and the *huanglong* (yellow dragon) of the centre which are the five animal representatives of the five directions.

Here comes a question about the *huanglong* in the centre. The *huanglong*, animal image of the centre, is used to match with four cardinal spirits and to convey the concept of *wuxing* which flourished during Han times. According to the concept of *wuxing*, reality is made up of and can be explained by a group of five elements. In order to cope with the number “Five”, an animal image, such as the *huanglong* or the *lin*, was associated with the centre and with the element earth. It was matched with the four guardian spirits which are associated with wood, fire, metal, and water, to form a set of five directions which also includes the centre, as recorded in

³⁴⁴ Williams 1996: 458.

³⁴⁵ Cammann 1987: 109.

³⁴⁶ *Huai Nan Zi*, j. 3: 66-67, Major 1993: 70-72.

the *Huai Nan Zi • Tian Wen Xun*. The resulting group of five animals was later named by a new term, *wuling*, as noted by the Tang scholar Kong Yingda in the *Chun Qiu Zuo Zhuan Zheng Yi*:

麟鳳五靈，王者之嘉瑞也。 *Lin, feng* [etc.], the *wuling*, are auspicious omens for the emperor.³⁴⁷

The term “*wuling*” refers to the *lin, feng, gui, long* and *baihu*. Because of the divine nature of the animals, they were always considered to be auspicious omens for the imperial rule. Although the concept of centre as a direction existed long before the Han, the group of five was an extension and modification of the idea of the *siling* to adjust with the prospering system of *yinyang* and the Five Phases during the Han period. Despite the increase from four to five, from *siling* to *wuling*, the basic significance of the idea as a single set of symbols to explain the universal movement remained unchanged.

We can conclude that the topic of *siling* is one in which various aspects of society are involved. According to the commonly-held view, which has been proved by the very rich archaeological finds listed in Part One, that the *siling* symbols were applied extensively throughout the four hundred years of Han rule, their popularity represented a widespread acceptance of the theory of *wuxing* in Han cosmological thought. Although it is true that the idea of *siling* was related to the *wuxing* theory, one should not ignore the long and complicated historical process through which *siling* symbols came to be theorized in terms of *wuxing*.

³⁴⁷ *Chun Qiu Xu • Chun Qiu Zuo Zhuan Zheng Yi*, j. 1: 6 (*Shi San Jing Zhu Shu* vol. 2: 1708).

Chapter Six: Problems related to the variable positions of the *qinglong* and *baihu* images and aesthetic analysis of the *siling* specimens

A. Positions of the *qinglong* and *baihu* images

When the *siling* are located in the four quarters, there are two formats of arrangement, the first one according to the format of a normal map, and another one in mirror reverse. According to Pang Pu, during the periods of the Spring and Autumn and the Warring States, the twenty-eight *xiu* and related animal deities were drawn according to their actual situations in the sky, as heavenly images. Later, however, the heavenly motifs on the “*tian tu*” (sky map) were transposed to the earth in the format of a normal “*di tu*” (earth map) because of the need to compile the calendar, and that is why the positions of the twenty-eight *xiu*, the corresponding palaces and their related animals were reversed.³⁴⁸

It sounds logical that if the four spirits were first arranged in a “sky map” format and later in an “earth map” one, or vice-versa, some confusions may occur in their order. However, Pang cannot explain why positions of the *qinglong* and the *baihu* remained uncertain throughout the Han Dynasty when the calendar had been completely formulated. When these two animals are depicted on two sides, there are many examples in which the *qinglong* is on the right and the *baihu* on the left, but there are other examples in which the *qinglong* is on the left and the *baihu* on

³⁴⁸ Pang Pu 1989: 137.

the right.³⁴⁹

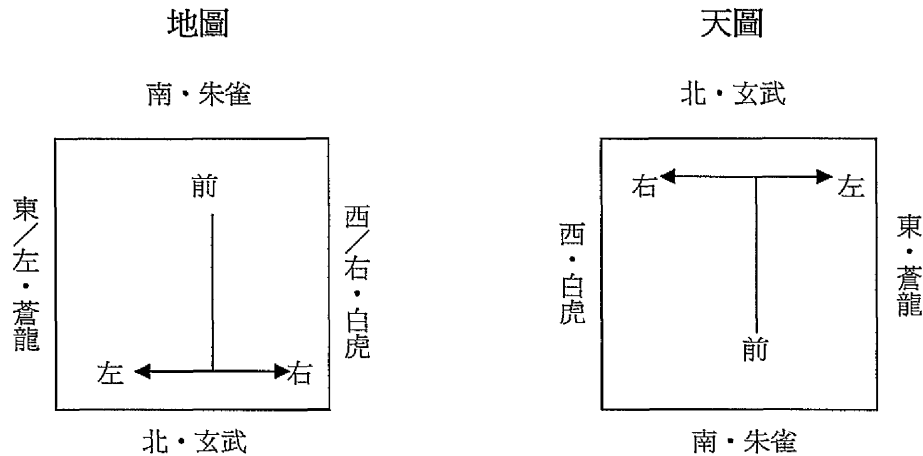


Fig. 35.1 (left): “earth map” (top: south; bottom: north)

Fig. 35.2 (right): “sky map” (top: north; bottom: south)

(Adapted from *WW* 1990, no. 3: 70-71).

As with the maps, the positions of the *qinglong* and the *baihu* depend on the earthly or heavenly perspective adopted in a particular work of art. Thus, even on the same art form with very similar motifs, the two animals can be on either the right or the left. For example, there are two very similar *siling* stove models in the collections of two American Museums.³⁵⁰ On one of them, the *qinglong* is arranged on the left wall and the *baihu* on the right (Pls. 96 & 96.1), but on the other one, the *qinglong* is on the right and the *baihu* on the left (Pls. 97.1, 97.2 & 97.3).

The same situation is also found on the arrangement of the *siling* on stone sarcophagi. The *siling* are popular motifs on stone sarcophagi from the Sichuan

³⁴⁹ About 30% of the collected examples listed in the Appendix show the *qinglong* on the right and the *baihu* on the left and 40% show the *qinglong* on the left and the *baihu* on the right. In about 20% of the example, the positions of the *qinglong* and the *baihu* are unclear, either because they were found from separate sections or fragments of a set of artefacts, or appear on specimens that can be viewed from various sides or directions.

³⁵⁰ *BCMA* 1990, no. 10: 301 (Appendix: 16) & *BBMS* 26 (2): 36-46 (Appendix: 150).

area. The *qinglong* and the *baihu* are always carved on the two longer sides of the stone sarcophagi. In most examples, the *qinglong* is carved on the left wall and the *baihu* on the right (Figs. 25, 26 & 28), but there is also an example in which they are transposed (Fig. 29). Even more complicated is that, when three or all four of the *siling* are represented together on the same coffin, the positions of the *zhuque* and the *xuanwu* are also variable. The *zhuque* is usually depicted on the front panel of a coffin and the *xuanwu* on the back panel (Figs. 26, 28 & 29), but there is also one example in which the *zhuque* is depicted on the rear panel (Fig. 27). In another case, both the *zhuque* and the *xuanwu* are depicted on the front panel, while the *qinglong* and the *baihu* are on the two sides (Fig. 26).

Li Ling believes that there should be more than one system in directional order during the Qin and Han periods because he found out that there were different systems of directional order on oracle bones, bronze vessels and in written texts: the most common order of inscriptions on oracle bones is east, south, west, north; the order of inscriptions on the Xiangwei *ding* of the Western Zhou Dynasty is north, east, south, west; relevant records in classical texts have various orders, following two main systems, one is the “top: north; bottom: south”, and another “top: south; bottom: north”.³⁵¹ By studying and comparing relevant records in three chapters of *Huai Nan Zi* (*Tian Wen Xun*, *Di Xing Xun* and *Shi Ze Xun*), Li Ling further hypothesises that the “top: north; bottom: south” system was used when dealing with astronomical and seasonal matters, and the “top: south; bottom: north” system was mostly used in topography.³⁵²

³⁵¹ Li Ling 1993: 126-129.

I believe that there are other possible reasons for the variable positions of the *qinglong* and the *baihu*. The first possibility relates to how “the four directions” are interpreted. Is it from the viewer’s standpoint, or from that of the object? The second one mainly relates to objects which can be viewed from both sides, because confusion in the positions of the animals of the East and the West may easily occur on these objects.

According to *Li Ji • Qu Li Bian* (see above pp. 143-144), the correct directions of the four animals should be “the *zhuque* in the front and the *xuanwu* is at the back, the *qinglong* on the left and the *baihu* on the right.”³⁵³ The question is, however, when the *zhuque* and the *xuanwu* are placed at the top and the bottom, should the *qinglong* and the *baihu* be placed on the right and the left as perceived by the viewer, or on the proper right and left sides of the object?

For the viewer looking at the jade *pushou* from the Maoling (Pl. 3), the *qinglong* is carved on the right and the *baihu* on the left, however, from the standpoint of the mask itself, the *qinglong* will be on the left and the *baihu* on its right, giving the correct orientation. We can imagine the *pushou* originally faced the entrance of the tomb, i.e. facing south. For the viewer looking at most of the sarcophagi excavated from Sichuan (Figs. 25, 26, 27 & 28), the *qinglong* is carved on the left and the *baihu* on the right; this is because the four cardinal animals on a stone sarcophagus should be seen from the standpoint of the occupant, with the *qinglong* and the *baihu* patterns on his left and right sides, the *zhuque* and the *xuanwu* in front of and behind him respectively.

³⁵² *Ibid.*: 129-130.

On objects which are decorated on both sides, confusion in the positions of the *qinglong* and the *baihu* may also occur when they are placed in the tomb. A typical example comes from Luoyang M61, Henan Province.³⁵⁴ On the rectangular piece in the centre of the trapezoid-shaped pediment which separates the main chamber into two sections, the *qinglong* and the *baihu* were found on the left and right sides respectively, and the *zhuque* is at the top, surrounding an animal-like figure (Pls. 18.1 & 18.3). The tiles are cut in openwork with symmetrical depictions of animals and other supernatural beings on the two flanking triangular slabs (Pl. 18.2). All three tiles can be viewed from both sides, though of course the designs on the back are completely different from those on the front.

The decorations on these two triangular bricks are mirror reversals of each other. Therefore, although on the central rectangular tile, the *qinglong* is on the left and the *baihu* on the right, it is possible to imagine a similar tile with these positions reversed. A parallel example is provided by a jade pendant on which the images of the *siling* are carved in openwork.³⁵⁵ The *zhuque* is at the top, the *xuanwu* at the bottom, and the positions of the *qinglong* and the *baihu* may be exchanged by viewing the pendant from two different sides (Pl. 107).

To conclude, there are two main reasons for the variable positions of the *qinglong* and the *baihu* on *siling* objects. First, the dual system of directional order being used during the Qin and Han periods as suggested by Li Ling, and second, different ways in viewing the *siling* objects which cause confusion in the positions of the

³⁵³ LJZY, j. 22: 197 (*Shi San Jing Zhu Shu*, vol. 2: 1425).

³⁵⁴ KGXB 1964, no. 1: 51-55 (Appendix: 45).

³⁵⁵ Lu Zhaoyin 1993, pl. 233 (Appendix: 150).

animal motifs. Because of the dual system of arranging the directions and the two possible ways of viewing specimens, we should be more careful but also more open-minded when dealing with the directions of the *siling* motifs on specimens. I believe that no matter whether the *qinglong* is depicted on the right and the *baihu* on the left, or vice-versa, as long as they are arranged opposite each other on a specimen, their directional meanings are intended and the idea of the *siling* is conveyed.

B. Aesthetic analysis of the *siling* specimens

The *siling* motifs were found on artefacts of different shapes and sizes, and in different formats. Some of them are two dimensional and some are three-dimensional. Designers adjusted the *siling* motifs in order to accommodate to the two-dimensional or three-dimensional formats, although the directional significance of the *siling* remained their chief consideration.

(1) The *siling* representations in two-dimensional formats

The *siling* are always arranged in relation to the four edges or four sides of a two-dimensional format in order to show clearly their directional meanings. In most cases, the four animal images surround a single central motif or set of motifs, but sometimes they are the sole patterns of the specimens.

(i) Two-dimensional examples in tomb decoration

The *siling* are popular motifs in tomb decoration. They were painted or carved on different parts of the tomb surface, such as the ceiling and the door. It is interesting to note that, when the *siling* images are applied on the tomb ceiling, they are always accompanied by various heavenly symbols and constellations; when they are arranged on the tomb door, they would be following special routines which enable them to match well with the *pushou* in the centre of the door.

On the ceiling of the mural tomb at a site at the Jiaotong University in Xi'an, dated to the late Western Han Dynasty, the *siling* images were painted with various heavenly patterns, including a scarlet sun holding a crow and a white moon containing a hare, flying cranes and birds, and numerous colourful S-shaped cloud patterns (Pls. 15.4-15.7).³⁵⁶ The *siling* are arranged on the four sides of the ceiling to show their directional significances, and the appearances of various heavenly omens and constellations in the same context also shows that this vault ceiling has been transformed into a complete cosmic system (Pls. 15.1-15.3).

In the Knitting Factory M1, a double-burial stone-structured tomb of Wang Mang's Xin Dynasty in Tanghe County, Henan Province, the *siling* were carved along the four sides of one of the six stone slabs on the ceiling of the northern main chamber, according to their corresponding directions (Pl. 30.2).³⁵⁷ This is the only archaeological example in which the *siling* are depicted as the sole occupants of a two-dimensional stone slab in tomb decoration. The other five stone slabs were

³⁵⁶ KGYWW 1990, no. 4: 57-63 (Appendix: 12).

carved with various celestial motifs, including linked ring or *bi* patterns (representing stars or constellations), a tiger, the sun inhabited by a crow, the procession of the river god and a dragon. The six stones on the ceiling of the southern main chamber also depict heavenly symbols, including the moon inhabited by a toad, the seven stars of the Dipper and half of the *yi* constellation, and other star patterns. The heavenly sky is the main theme of the whole depiction on the tomb ceiling.

On the ceiling of the front chamber of an early Eastern Han Dynasty stone-structured tomb at Qilin'gang of Nanyang City, Henan Province, the four animals are carved on the four sides of a rectangular surface made of nine stone slabs, surrounding a frontal seated figure which is most possibly an image of the Taiyi (Pl. 31).³⁵⁷ In the same context, images of Fuxi holding the sun and the seven stars of the Dipper are carved on the far right by the *qinglong*, while images of Nüwa holding the moon and the six stars of *nandou* (Sagittarius) are carved on the far left by the *baihu*. The *siling* images on the four sides of the rectangular surface show their directional significances in the sky. The depiction of the *siling* with various heavenly deities and constellations shows that the whole illustration is a heavenly scene.

A tomb door basically consists of a lintel, two doorposts and a pair of door leaves, always with a *pushou* in the centre of each door leaf. When the *siling* are arranged on the tomb door, they have to be adjusted to this special format.

³⁵⁷ *WW* 1973, no. 6: 26-40 (Appendix: 52e).

³⁵⁸ *ZGWWB* 1992. 9. 6 (Appendix: 57). See pp. 59-60 above for the discussion on this frontal image.

In the northern Shaanxi area where an abundance of fully-decorated tomb doors has been found, only the *zhuque* among the four cardinal animals was depicted at the top of the door leaves (Pls. 111 & 112).³⁵⁹ The *qinglong* and *baihu* images appear together, either inside the rings hanging down from the mouth of the *pushou* on the two door leaves (Pl. 111) or at the bottom of the two leaves (Pl. 112). The turtle-and-snake image of the *xuanwu*, a symbol of darkness, is most often depicted at the bottom section of the door;³⁶⁰ alone among the *siling*, it never appears at the upper part of the tomb entrance. In a number of cases, it is not presented and the figure of another animal, or of a guard or guards, appears instead.

We can conclude that, in order to match with the special format of a tomb door, the arrangement of the *siling* motifs on it follows special routines. A tomb door leaf is always divided into three sections: the central section is reserved for a *pushou*, the top and bottom sections are places for decorative patterns. It is a common practice to arrange a pair of *zhuque* in the top section of the pair of door leaves, and an animal or human image in each of the bottom sections. The *xuanwu* is never depicted at the top section of any part of a tomb door, but is always arranged at the bottom. The *qinglong* and the *baihu* are always paired and represented together on different parts of a tomb door.

³⁵⁹ For example, see Shaanxisheng bowuguan & Shaanxisheng wenguanhui 1958, pls. 15 & 16, 34 & 35, 38 & 39, 54, 57 & 58, 62-65, 68 & 69.

³⁶⁰ For example, see Shaanxisheng bowuguan & Shaanxisheng wenguanhui 1958, pls. 15 & 16 (Appendix: 19a-b), 34 & 35 (Appendix: 23a-b), 38 & 39 (Appendix: 29a-b), 54, 57 & 58 (Appendix: 28a-b), 62-65, 68 & 69 (Appendix: 22a-c); *WW* 1973, no. 6: 30; *Zhonghua wuqiannian wenwu jikan bianji weiyuanhui* 1980: 89 (Appendix: 43); *KG* 1986, no. 1: 82-84 (Appendix: 30a-b); *KG* 1987, no. 11: 997-1001 (Appendix: 27a-b); *KG* 1990, no. 2: 176-179 (Appendix: 20a-b).

(ii) Two-dimensional objects

On the jade *pushou* from the Maoling District at Xingping (Pl. 3), a two-dimensional object supposed to be attached to a tomb door, the *siling* are carved on and around the broad animal mask in the centre.³⁶¹ As seen by the viewer, the right edge of the object is entirely occupied by the serpentine body of the *qinglong*, while on the left edge, only two-thirds of the space is occupied by the *baihu* image. The *zhuque* is depicted on the right eyebrow, and the *xuanwu* is represented as a turtle holding a snake in its mouth at the bottom left corner of the object. Although the *zhuque* and the *xuanwu* are not centrally placed at top and bottom, so as not to disturb the effect of the animal mask, they do oppose and balance each other: the *zhuque* is above the right eyebrow, and the *xuanwu* is below and to the left of the left eyebrow. The four animals on the *pushou* are representations of the *siling*, and the specific arrangement of these motifs is a means of balancing the composition.

It is also interesting to note that, the *xuanwu* on this jade *pushou* is represented by a turtle holding a snake in its mouth. This unique representation of the *xuanwu* is also based on the intention of balancing the composition. Since the right bottom corner of the animal mask is partly occupied by the tail of the serpentine *qinglong*, the snake is intentionally arranged to the left bottom corner to balance the composition. It is an accomplishment after a very careful consideration. The creation shows how difficult it is to design the four creatures within a limited space, and how well the Han artisans could do this.

³⁶¹ *WW* 1976, no. 7: 51-55 (Appendix: 6).

On a tiny jade plaque in the Shanghai Museum's collection, the four animal images on the plaque are carved in openwork and decorated with incised details (Pl. 107).³⁶² This example shows a concise and balanced composition of the set of *siling* motifs on a two-dimensional object. The fine inscriptions on this jade piece (see p. 128 above) also show that, during the Han Dynasty, besides indicating the four directions, the set of four animal motifs was also associated with wishes for longevity.

Other objects show that the *siling* were thought of as guardians or protectors. On three very similar belt-hooks in bronze, the four animal images were cast in openwork on the four sides, surrounding a central armed image (Pls. 61, 61.1 & 61.2).³⁶³ On the square gilt bronze plaque from one of the Eastern Han tombs at the Phosphate Factory at Wushan, Sichuan, the four animal motifs were also cast in openwork at the four edges, surrounding an armed central figure (Pl. 60).³⁶⁴

Because of their specific format and relation with the sky (Chapter Three, pp. 115-117, 122-123), Han bronze mirrors provide a complex context for the arrangement of the *siling* images. The simplest format (Pl. 64) displays the *siling* on the four sides of the square enclosing the central boss. When the characters of the "twelve branches" are inscribed, three of which on each side of the square, the *siling* are aligned with the corresponding cyclical character. The remaining spaces in this arrangement are filled with various heavenly deities, or *xian* immortals,

³⁶² Lu Zhaoyin 1993, pl. 233 (Appendix: 151).

³⁶³ One of them was excavated from Donggangtuo, Hebei Province (KG 1960, no. 12: 656; Appendix: 83), one is published by Hayashi 1974: 226-7; Appendix: 84), one is in the British Museum's collection (Appendix: 85).

³⁶⁴ SCWW 1990, no. 6: 3-11 & plate; KG 1998, no. 12: 77-86 (pl. 8).

animals and birds (Pls. 69-75).

On *shoudai* or “animal band” mirrors, there may be four, six or seven “nipples”. On those with four nipples, the *siling* are depicted according to the four cardinal directions alone (Pls. 82-83) or accompanied by other heavenly beings (Pls. 84-85); sometimes simplified into long parallel S-shaped lines (Pl. 86). On *shoudai* mirrors of the most complex *siling sanrui* type, the *siling* are depicted with three other auspicious deities (*sanrui*), separated by seven nipples in the principal field, surrounding the central boss (Pls. 87 & 89). Besides appearing in the main field, the *siling* may appear a second time on *siling sanrui* mirrors, in a narrow band just inside the outer rim (Pls. 88 & 90). Their positions on the outer band may vary in relation to the inner group of *siling* as the “heaven-plate” revolves in relation to the “earth-plate”.³⁶⁵

(2) *Siling* representations in three-dimensional formats

The *siling* is a group of four sacred animals, representing the four main directions of the sky above, and of the earth below. The *siling sanrui* mirrors with a second set of *siling* in the outer band illustrate the complexity that could be represented on a two-dimensional surface. A three-dimensional plan provides alternatives in arranging the *siling* images. However, the essential function of the *siling* images in a three-dimensional format remains the same. It is only necessary to consider how the four animals should be arranged on the artefacts in order to convey their

³⁶⁵ Wang E. Y. 1999: 82-83.

directional meanings, and from which direction they are supposed to be observed by the viewers.

(i) **Three-dimensional examples in tomb decoration and above-ground structures**

The *siling* images in three-dimensional formats are found on individual columns and pillars in tombs. In the late Eastern Han Dynasty tomb in Beizhai Village, Yinan County, Shandong Province,³⁶⁶ there are two sets of *siling* images in three-dimensional format. One set is depicted round the hemispherical base of a column in the front chamber (Pls. 32.2 & 32.3).³⁶⁷ The four cardinal animals are incised with fine lines on the hemispherical surface, according to their corresponding directions, and there are also spiral cloud patterns incised on the four sides of the square stone plinth (Pl. 32.2). Another set is carved on three sides of the post in the entrance to the middle chamber (Pls. 32.4-32.6).³⁶⁸ Both the *zhuque* and the *xuanwu* are arranged on the front side of the pillar, the *zhuque* at the top and the *xuanwu* at the bottom, and in between them is an armed standing hybrid. The *zhuque* is represented by a beautiful bird with a crest of three plumes standing in front view and the *xuanwu* image is represented by an upright turtle, entwined by a long scaly snake. The serpentine *qinglong* and *baihu* images are carved on the east and west sides of the pillar, respectively.

According to the Tang scholar Li Xian's annotation to the biography of *Zhongshan*

³⁶⁶ Zeng Zhaoyu 1956.

³⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, rub pls. 27-30 (Appendix: 106d).

³⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, rub pls. 12-14 (Appendix: 106c).

Jianwang Yan in *Hou Han Shu* • *Guangwu shiwan liezhuan*, “When a road is opened in front of a tomb and stone columns are built to mark it, this is called a spirit road. 墓前開道，建石柱為標，謂之神道。”³⁶⁹ The stone columns mentioned here in the text always come in a pair and carry the same function as a pair of *que*-towers. Such tower are built at the entrance of a spirit road and are designed to be observed from the entrance when entering the spirit road.

The *siling* examples on *que*-towers have mainly been found in Qu County, Sichuan. On the pair of *que*-towers at Shenjiawan, Xinmin Village, Qu County, the *qinglong* is carved on the inner flank of the west tower and the *baihu* on the inner flank of the east tower, and a *zhuque* is depicted at the top of each tower (Pls. 39, 39.1 & 39.2).³⁷⁰ This is an archetypal arrangement of the *siling* images that can be seen on all the *que*-towers from Qu County. Both the *qinglong* and *baihu* on the *que*-towers from Shenjiawan have serpentine bodies and are grasping a line hanging down from a jade *bi*, and the *zhuque* is represented by a crested bird with long plumes and opened wings (Pls. 39.3 & 39.4). This is also typical of the representation of the *siling* on other *que*-towers from Qu County. Among the set of *siling* images, the *xuanwu* is relatively seldom represented on *que*-towers. The appearance of the *xuanwu* image in Que 1 and Que 2 at Zhaojiacun, Xinxing Village, Qu County (Pls. 40.1 & 41.1), shows that it would be arranged at the bottom of the front side when it is represented on the *que*-towers,³⁷¹ and the huge animal mask on the east tower of the Shenjiawan *que* (Pls. 39.7 & 39.8) invites us to recognize it as a particularly elaborate frontal representation of the *xuanwu*, seen here in frontal view and in

³⁶⁹ See n. 115 & 116.

³⁷⁰ Wen 1955, pls. 1-4 (Appendix: 116a-b). See also Xu Wenbin 1992: 128-133.

³⁷¹ Wen 1955, pl. 4 (Appendix: 122, 123). See also Xu Wenbin 1992: 138-141, 142-147.

complementary opposition with its partner, the *zhuque*.

(ii) Three-dimensional objects

In artistic representation, it is fairly common that designs alter according to space available, in order to acquire a balance of composition. When the four animal images are represented together on a piece or a set of artwork, because of the constraints of space and directions, and the need to balance the composition, special arrangement and adjustment of individual motifs is needed. This phenomenon can be clearly shown in the arrangement of the four animals on the group of bronze braziers from the Maoling and places nearby (Pls. 59 & 59.1), where they are carved in openwork around the upper body of the vessels (Fig. 33).

The *baihu* motif is depicted in profile on one longer side of the brazier, next to the *xuanwu*. Its front legs are placed together and its body squats towards the left. Its body is decorated with stripes and its tail is raised up over its back, towards its head. The body of the *zhuque* is also depicted in profile, facing left, but its neck is bent back and its head is turned outward towards the viewer. It has an innocent face with simple depiction of the eyes and mouth. In addition to its curved neck and the careful standing posture with its two feet close together, the image itself has a sense of humour.

The *qinglong*, like the *baihu* image on the opposite side, faces left and is depicted in profile. It has round eyes and triangular ears. Its neck is decorated with parallel lines. Its mouth is open, showing a powerful and impressive demeanour. Its wings

are represented by lots of vertical dot patterns inside pairs of parallel lines. Its tail touches the ground, while two spiral designs extend ornamentally from its wings.

In order to adjust to the rectangular format of the vessel, the *zhuque* motif is squeezed into a square surface at one end of the vessel. It has a wing tip and tail, but its tail is far shorter than usual. Its identity as the *zhuque* of the South is understood because it is depicted with the other three animal images of the *siling*.

The *xuanwu* at one end of the brazier is shown in bird's-eye view. Its head gently bends back over its carapace, and its feet stretch out of its carapace. The carapace is circular and is completely decorated with well-arranged rectilinear spiral designs. The *xuanwu* here is depicted as a turtle, with what appears to be a snake, close by between it and the *qinglong*. The snake seems to reappear on the other side of the vessels, between the *baihu* and the *zhuque*.

The composition of the animals on the braziers was seriously considered before the objects were made. The turtle is represented in a confined space at one end, while the *zhuque* at other end also without its traditional long and elaborate tail because of the shortage of space. More space is provided on the two longer sides where the *baihu* and the *qinglong* are depicted. Therefore, the snake winds in and out between all animals, with its head over the back of the *baihu* and its tail above the *qinglong*, and a balance of composition is achieved.

Another example on three-dimensional objects which is worthwhile discussing was found on a Western Han Dynasty funerary face cover in lacquer excavated from

M14 at Huchang at Yangzhou, Southern Jiangsu Province (Pl. 57).³⁷² The box-shaped face-cover, made up with four panels, was used to cover the entire head of the deceased. The four animals are painted according to their corresponding directions on its four inner panels among continuous cloud designs, the *qinglong* is on the right and the *baihu* on the left, the *zhuque* is at the top and the *xuanwu* at the back (Fig. 32 & Pl. 57.2). It is suggested by the *siling* images among continuous cloud designs on the inner panels that the inside of this face cover has been transformed into a microcosm of the sky, with the four cardinal animals protecting the deceased from the four directions.

The set of *siling* images is a popular motif on the Eastern Han Dynasty stone sarcophagi excavated from Sichuan. They are mainly depicted on the four sides of the sarcophagi. For example, a complete set of *siling* motifs are depicted among complicated contexts on the stone sarcophagus from Guitoushan (Pl. 48 & Fig. 25),³⁷³ and it is particularly interesting to note that the names of fifteen of the carved images, including those of the *siling*, are inscribed. The *siling* are arranged on the four sides of this sarcophagus, the *zhuque* is the sole occupant of the front panel, the *xuanwu*, the *qinglong* and the *baihu* on the three other sides are depicted with various images of mythological deities, buildings, animals and plants (Pls. 48.2-48.9).

On a stone sarcophagus excavated from Dongbinting, the *qinglong* is depicted on the left wall and the *baihu* with two birds and a fish on the right (Pl. 49).³⁷⁴

³⁷² ZGWWB 1997.11.23 (Appendix: 108).

³⁷³ SCWW 1990, no. 6: 3-11 & plates (Appendix: 124a-d).

³⁷⁴ SCWW 1988, no. 3: 18 (Appendix: 125).

However, instead of being separately depicted on the front and back panels, the *zhuque* and *xuanwu* images are depicted together on the front, with a jade *bi* pattern, a pair of *que*-towers on which are seated the images of Xiwangmu and a possible image of Dongwanggong (Pl. 49.1).³⁷⁵ The arrangement of the siling on the sarcophagus from Dongbinting is unique among all the other *siling* stone sarcophagi.

There are also a few examples on the Eastern Han Dynasty stone sarcophagi from Sichuan in which either the *zhuque* or the *xuanwu* is left out from the set of four. For example, on a stone sarcophagus excavated from Jiufeng Village in Leshan County, only images of the *qinglong*, the *baihu* and the *zhuque* were found (Fig. 27).³⁷⁶ On a sarcophagus from Fushun County and also on the sarcophagus of Wang Hui, excavated from Modong Village in Lushan County, the *qinglong*, the *baihu* and the *xuanwu* were found, while the *zhuque* is left out (Figs. 28 & 29).

³⁷⁵ Discussed above in Ch. 3, pp. 89-90.

³⁷⁶ Gao Wen & Gao Chenggang 1996: 87-88 (Appendix: 127).

Chapter Seven: Evolution of the set of *siling* motifs

Qinglong, *baihu* and *zhuque* motifs probably originate from images of the dragon, tiger and phoenix. The detailed pre-history of these animal motifs is beyond the scope of this dissertation. However, by quoting relevant archaeological examples of the Neolithic period to the Shang and Zhou Dynasties, I aim to show that the *qinglong*, *baihu* and *zhuque* images have much earlier origins than the complex turtle-and-snake image of the *xuanwu*.

(1) Individual motifs

(i) *Qinglong*, *zhuque* and *baihu*

The dragon in China is a cultural construct of great antiquity. A twenty-metre long dragon image modelled on the ground with yellowish small stones was excavated from a Neolithic tomb site dated back to 7600 to 8000 years B.P. at Chahai, Liaoning Province.³⁷⁷ This should be one of the earliest examples of the dragon pattern. The pair of dragon and tiger images from the Neolithic tomb site at Xishuipo, Henan Province, date back to four thousand years ago.³⁷⁸ During the Shang and Zhou Dynasties, the dragon was one of the most popular animal motifs to decorate bronzes and jades.³⁷⁹

Patterns of the phoenix with its typical crest and long plumed tail were found on

³⁷⁷ *LHWWXK* 1988, no. 1; *NFWW* 1996, no. 4: 74.

³⁷⁸ *WW* 1988, no. 3: 1-6 (Appendix: 40).

³⁷⁹ For examples in bronze, see *Zhongguo shehui kexueyuan kaogu yanjiusuo* 1980: 106 & pls.

ceramic vessels from Neolithic sites. For example, they were excavated from sites dated to the Liangzhu Culture (c. 2000 – 3000 B.C.) at Caoxieshan in Wu County (Pl. 113) and Qianshanyang in Wuxing (Pl. 113.1), Jiangsu Province. During the Shang and Zhou Dynasties, phoenixes with typical crest and long plumed tail frequently appeared on bronze vessels (Pl. 114).

(ii) The problem of *xuanwu*

The tiger is an animal that exists in nature. Dragon and phoenix, although they are culturally constructed images, bear distinct characteristics, and were therefore also easily recognisable. For this reason, images of the *qinglong*, *baihu* and *zhuque*, three of the four creatures of the *siling*, which are probably derived from the dragon, tiger and phoenix motifs, remain relatively stable. Whereas the *xuanwu* image, combination of a turtle and a snake, that was newly created in the Han dynasty, enjoyed more flexibility in artistic representation. Being composed of two individual animals, the paired turtle and snake *xuanwu* image is the strangest and the most arcane image among the four animal images of the *siling*.

About the iconography of the *xuanwu*, there are three main problems: the date of its emergence, the name *xuanwu* itself, and the meaning of its specific iconography as a turtle-and-snake combination. Although the character *gui* 龜 is commonly translated as “tortoise”, in the context of Shang divination, *gui* is translated by Sarah Allan and many western scholars as “turtle”. On bronze vessels of the Shang and Zhou Dynasties, snakes and turtles are often depicted as secondary motifs, but

66-67; Li Xueqin 1990: 119. For examples in jade, see H. Munsterberg 1986, pls. 16 & 17.

there are also many examples on which either the snake (Pls. 116 & 116.1) or the turtle (Pl. 116.2) is depicted as a very important central motif. Allan further points out “The position of the turtle in Shang bronzes suggest that turtles were regarded as water animals. They are mostly frequently found in the middle position of the bowl on *pan* water basins.”³⁸⁰ Allan’s observation is of great importance since as we have seen in the *Yue Ling* (Chapter Four, pp. 149-150), water is linked with the north, winter and black. In the Han Dynasty, both north and black are also associated with the *xuanwu*. From the Shang association of the turtle with water, it seems entirely possible that it could also have been associated with the north and the colour black, as early as the Shang Dynasty, even though it was not until the Han Dynasty that the *xuanwu* was depicted as a paired image of turtle and snake.

Sun Zuoyun has suggested that the mythology and the name of the *xuanwu* had been recorded before the appearance of its image, in *Shan Hai Jing* and *Chu Ci*. He believes that Yu Jiang of the north, who is described in *Shan Hai Jing* • *Hai Wai Bei Jing* as a black-bodied human wearing two green snakes in his ears and trampling two green snakes, is the earliest image of the *xuanwu* 玄武.³⁸¹ In *Chu Ci* • *Yuan You*, the name “*xuanwu*” was first recorded: “時曖濛而儻莽兮，召玄武而奔屬。The sky is getting dark, call for the *xuanwu*, run quickly and become its subordinate.”³⁸² However, because of uncertainty about the dates of these two texts, we are not sure if these textual records can be dated before the appearance of the

³⁸⁰ Allan 1991: 107.

³⁸¹ *KG* 1960, no. 6: 25.

³⁸² *Chu Ci Ji Zhu*, vol. 5: 6. While no certain agreement of the date of the *Shan Hai Jing* has been reached, most scholars now regard *Wu Zang Shan Jing* as being the oldest part of the work (Warring States period, 475-221 B.C.) while *Hai Wei Bei Jing* is dated to the Warring States period or even the Han era (Loewe 1993: 359-361). The date of *Chu Ci* is also uncertain, but Qu Yuan was active in the State of Chu in the last quarter of the fourth century B.C. (*Ibid.*: 48).

xuanwu image itself.

The name “*xuanwu*” in Chinese characters is written 玄武. 玄 is literally translated as “dark”, and 武 means warrior. Therefore, it is also called the Dark Warrior. It is believed that the animal is so-called mainly because it is located in the North and because its body is covered with a hard carapace like armour.³⁸³ The turtle and the snake were at first represented separately and were combined to represent the *xuanwu* image much later than the other three animal spirits of the *siling*. On a group of hollow bricks (Pls. 7, 10, 12) and bronze braziers (Pls. 59 & 59.1) excavated from the imperial tomb districts in the Western Han capital area, the *xuanwu* image is represented for the first time as a snake-entwined turtle. This combination subsequently becomes the standard representation of the *xuanwu*.

About the iconography of the animal, Annette L. Juliano points out that, in Chinese folklore, all turtles are female and must be mated with a serpent for procreation, and that by extension, the snake-and-turtle can also be regarded as a combined symbol of the primary creative forces, *yin* and *yang*.³⁸⁴ Her idea coincides with that of Sun Zuoyun, who believes that the legend comes from the intermarriage of the turtle and the snake clans under the dictates of exogamy.³⁸⁵ According to John S. Major, however, although many snake-entwined turtle images of the *xuanwu* strongly suggest a sexual embrace, there is no classical authority for the belief that

³⁸³ For example, in his annotation to *Chu Ci • Yuan You*, Zhu Xi pointed out, “說者曰：玄武，謂龜蛇。位在北方，故曰玄。身有鱗甲，故曰武。Somebody said: *xuanwu* means turtle and snake, “*xuan*” refers to its northern situation, “*wu*” refers to its carapaced body” (*Chu Ci Ji Zhu*, vol. 5: 6). For similar discussions, see also *NPMCA*, 1990 Nov: 52-53; *ZGWWB* 1995. 7. 23; *ZYWW* 1995, no. 3: 38-39, 118.

³⁸⁴ Juliano 1980.

³⁸⁵ *Chu Ci Ji Zhu*, vol. 5: 25-26.

all turtles are female and all snakes are males. Major agrees that the paired image incorporates the *yinyang* qualities, but he further explains that, *yin* and *yang* are almost never absolute qualities in Chinese cosmology: as emblems of darkness, water and north, both the turtle and the snake are *yin* relative to the other directional symbols; the snake, however, is *yin* in relation to the Red Bird of the South, but *yang* relative to the turtle.³⁸⁶

Another difficulty in understanding the *xuanwu* image is that, unlike the other three cardinal animals which always appear as a dragon, a tiger or a phoenix, respectively, the *xuanwu* does not have a fixed visual image. The *xuanwu* is most often represented by a paired turtle and snake, but sometimes it appears as a turtle on its own, without being entwined by a snake, and during the early stage of its development, there are even instances when its place is taken by a camel (Pls. 58, 58.1 & 58.1), a second *zhuque* (Pls. 93 & 94) or a horse,³⁸⁷ a pair of fish (Pl. 27), a guard (Figs. 8-13, 16, 17) or a bull (Pl. 111). On a group of bricks dated around the first century B.C. to early first century A.D. (Pls. 117 & 118),³⁸⁸ a wall painting (Pl. 21.3)³⁸⁹ and a carved stone slab (Pl. 47.15)³⁹⁰ of the first century A.D., and a brick dated to the end of the Eastern Han Dynasty (second to early third century A.D.) (Pl. 119),³⁹¹ the *xuanwu* is represented by turtle on its own. In these cases, there is no doubt that they are representations of the *xuanwu* because they appear together with other cardinal animals, having clear directional meanings.

³⁸⁶ Major 1995: 8.

³⁸⁷ *Ibid.*: 1. This mirror is now kept in the Museum of History in Beijing.

³⁸⁸ Zhonghua wuqiannian wenwu jikan bianji weiyuanhui 1980: 89; *WW* 1984, no. 3, pl. 47 & rubs. 44-45; Henansheng wenhuaju wenwu gongzuodui 1963a, cat. no. 61 (Appendix: 43, 47).

³⁸⁹ *KG* 1959, no. 9: 462-463, 468 (Appendix: 38).

³⁹⁰ See Fu Xihua 1950, vol. 1, pls. 77 & 78 (Appendix: 89a-d) for a pair of such representations on a stone slab which should be one end of a stone sarcophagus.

³⁹¹ Rudolph 1951, pl. 99 (Appendix: 113).

On the ceiling of the Western Han mural tomb at a site at the Jiaotong University in Xi'an, the *xuanwu* in the North is even only symbolised by a small snake surrounded by a constellation of five stars (Pl. 15.7).³⁹² The entire illustration on the mural ceiling is an indication of a complete cosmic system that is not only represented by the *siling*, but also by the twenty-eight constellations and many other heavenly omens. This specific and unique representation of the *xuanwu* can be a combination of the animal image and the group of stars in the North. It is very likely that the five stars are arranged in the form of the Dipper. In terms of visual expression, it is also not impossible that, the five linked stars are a representation of the turtle's carapace, and the depiction of a snake in between them is to indicate the turtle-and-snake image of the *xuanwu*.

Because of its composite and complex appearance, the *xuanwu* icon is more flexible in artistic transformation. On the front side of the pillar from Yinan, the turtle of the *xuanwu* appears erect, standing on its hind feet and extending its front feet, almost as if in a dancing posture (Pl. 32.4).³⁹³ Both turtle and snake appear very energetic, and curved processes extend from the sides of the snake's body like the curving wings of standing hybrid figure above, which is believed to be a representation of Chiyou.³⁹⁴ This *xuanwu* image should be specially designed to match with other curious animal patterns in the tomb. On a late Eastern Han bronze mirror, the *xuanwu* appears as a fish-like turtle entwined by a snake again with curved extensions to its body, and there seems to be no room for the turtle's head because of the space constraint (Pl. 120 & 120.1). These are two similar

³⁹² KGYWW 1990, no. 4: 57-63 (Appendix: 12).

³⁹³ Zeng Zhaoyu 1956, rub. pls. 12-14 (Appendix: 106c).

³⁹⁴ Discussed above, pp. 61-62 & n. 90.

representations of the *xuanwu*. The most striking and elaborate rendering of the *xuanwu* is that seen on the east tower of the Shenjiawan *Que* (Pls. 39.7 & 39.8).

Qinglong, *baihu*, *zhuque* and *xuanwu* are all binomes, consisting a colour and an animal name: *qing* is a colour (green or blue) and *long* is dragon; *ba* is a colour (white) and *hu* is tiger; *zhu* is a colour (red) and *que* is bird; *xuan* is also a colour (black or dark), but instead of *gui*, “turtle”, the animal is called *wu*, “warrior”. In the commentary to *Shang Shu* by Kong Yingda in *Shang Shu Zheng Yi*, we read: “武謂龜甲捍禦故變文玄武焉。 *Wu* refers to turtle shell for protection, therefore literally transformed into *xuanwu*.”³⁹⁵ Although the *xuanwu* is generally depicted as a turtle or turtle-and-snake, other renderings are also possible, such as fish which is also water creatures or guard figures which are warriors.

(2) Combinations and development

(i) *qinglong* and *baihu*

The individual motifs of the *siling* did not appear simultaneously. During the development process, individual motifs of the *siling* were combined in pairs before they were finally grouped as a set of four. As I have pointed out in Chapter Five (pp. 154-158), the idea of the *siling* is developed from the idea of the four quarters that is closely related to the opposite but correlative thinking of *yin* and *yang*, and the four main directions are joined to form two pairs of *yinyang* opposites, one of

³⁹⁵ SSZY, j. 2: 9 (*Shi San Jing Zhu Shu*, vol. 1: 121).

which is the East and the West, and another one is the South and the North. The *long* and the *hu*, animals of the East and the West, were represented as a pair thousands of years before the paired appearance of the *zhuque* and the *xuanwu*, animals representing the South and the North. Archaeological materials have shown clearly that in the development of the *siling*, the pairing of *long* and *hu* is not only the earliest but also the most popular combination.³⁹⁶

The *long* and *hu* images excavated from the Neolithic tomb site at Xishuipo (Pl. 2) are possible prototypes of the animal motifs of the East and the West, dated back to six thousand years ago.³⁹⁷ The conspicuous *long* and *hu* images among the comprehensive cosmological illustration on the clothes chest from the Warring States tomb of Zeng Hou Yi (Pl. 56) emphasise the importance of the East and the West among the four directions.³⁹⁸ The south and north are represented by the fire symbol and by a turtle in a less prominent position on the two ends of the crest.

We can however note the greater prominence given to the *qinglong* and *baihu*, on the Zeng Hou Yi chest, sarcophagi and tomb entrances, and even on *siling sanrui* mirrors where they occupy larger segments of the circumferential band. The persisting importance of the East and the West relates to the motions of the sun and the moon. Because of the need for agricultural production and their close relation with the sun and the moon, the East and the West were the first of the four directions to be identified by the ancient Chinese, therefore, animal images associated with the East and the West also appeared at an earlier stage of the

³⁹⁶ About 70% of the listed examples in the appendix are combinations of the *qinglong* and the *baihu* images.

³⁹⁷ *WW* 1988, no. 3: 1-6 (Appendix: 40). Discussed above in Chapter Three, pp. 133-134.

development of the *siling*.³⁹⁹

(ii) *zhuque* and *xuanwu*

The South and the North form another pair of *yinyang* opposites among the four directions, therefore the *zhuque*, animal image of the South, is very often depicted with the *xuanwu*, animal image of the North, to convey the *yinyang* philosophy. However, the *zhuque* and the *xuanwu* motifs did not appear together in the same context before the period of Emperor Wudi (r. 140-87 B.C.). As mentioned, the *zhuque* image of the South is borrowed directly from that of the phoenix, which appeared as early as the Neolithic period (Pls. 113 & 113.1). The turtle, known as *gui*, was especially prominent in the Shang period. By the Han Dynasty, it was known as *xuanwu*, “dark warrior”, it was variously depicted as a turtle, turtle-and-snake, or in other forms. According to archaeological evidence, the combined turtle-and-snake *xuanwu* image should be regarded as the final stage in the development of the set of *siling* motifs.

³⁹⁸ *WW* 1979, no. 7: 1-14, 40-45 (Appendix: 79).

³⁹⁹ *WW* 1990, no. 3: 52-60, 69. Discussed above in Ch.3, pp. 98, 122, 134.

Chapter Eight: Regional distribution and dissemination of the excavated *Siling* specimens during the Han Dynasty

Before the period of Emperor Wudi, Western Han territories were divided into the *guo* (state) and the *jun* (commandery), and below these is the *xian* (county).⁴⁰⁰ During the reign of Emperor Wudi, in order to strengthen the power of the central government, many additional *jun* were established. In 106 B.C., Emperor Wudi established thirteen *ci shi bu* (Administrative Regions) each of which was inspected by a *ci shi* (regional inspector).⁴⁰¹ In 89 B.C., seven *jun* around the capital Chang'an were combined into the newly established *si li jiao wei bu* (Main Administrative Region).⁴⁰² (Fig. 12) The sites from which the earliest examples of the *siling* were excavated all belong to the *si li jiao wei bu*. During the Xin Dynasty, although new names and titles were given to the administrative regions and their governors, there was only little change in the territorial division.⁴⁰³

The local administrative system during the Eastern Han period was similar to that of the Western Han Dynasty, the only differences were the moving of the capital from Chang'an to Luoyang, and the downgrading of the *si li jiao wei bu* to become

⁴⁰⁰ Shortly after the establishment of the Western Han Dynasty, Emperor Gaozu (r. 202-195 B.C.) granted *guo* as fiefs to his followers and members of the royal Liu family. Among the sixty *jun* during this early Western Han period, more than forty were under the control of different *guo*. *Guo* was much more powerful than *jun*. Later, as a result of the elimination of the influence of the feudal states by several Western Han emperors (for example, see *Han Shu* • *Wendi Ji* in *Han Shu*, j. 4: 110; *Jingdi Ji* in j. 5: 142-143; and *Wudi Ji* in j. 6: 170). By the end of the Western Han Dynasty, *jun* became more powerful.

⁴⁰¹ *Han Shu* • *Wudi Ji* (*Han Shu*, j. 6: 197).

⁴⁰² According to *Han Shu* • *Di Li Zhi* • *shang*, the areas around central and southern Shaanxi, southern Shanxi and northern Henan, all belong to the *si li jiao wei bu*, set up by Emperor Wudi in 89 B.C. (*Han Shu*, j. 28-1: 1542-1546).

⁴⁰³ According to *Han Shu* • *Wang Mang Zhuan* • *zhong*, in the first year of Tianfeng (A.D. 14), Wang Mang changed the names of many official titles and places, and the monetary system. (*Han Shu*, j. 99-2: 4136-4137).

one of the thirteen *zhou* or local administrative regions.⁴⁰⁴ According to archaeological finds, the Main Administrative Region is the most essential region for the early development of the set of *siling* images.

In Map One, on which the locations of the excavated sets of *siling* motifs around the Han period are indicated, we see that most of the Western Han examples of the *siling* were excavated from areas in the middle reaches of the Huanghe (Yellow River). Those excavated around Chang'an and Xianyang are the earliest traceable examples of the complete set in its definitive form, and examples dated to the late Western Han to the Xin Dynasty were also found from Shanxi Province and Luoyang. Around the Xin Dynasty, areas of distribution of these excavated artefacts seemed to have shifted from the central Shaanxi area to Luoyang, and a few examples were also found from the Nanyang area in southeast Henan Province, northern Hubei Province, and Qufu and Jinxiang in southwest Shandong Province. This shifting of the set of *siling* motifs is not only related to the dynastic change, but is also a result of the moving of the administrative and cultural centre from Chang'an, the capital of the Former Han Dynasty, towards Luoyang, the Later Han capital, and the changes in population distribution over the entire country.

Chang'an, in the Shaanxi Plain, is geographically isolated from the main Han population which was concentrated along the middle to lower reaches of the Yellow River.⁴⁰⁵ Luoyang, and its surrounding area, was one of the most densely populated areas in both the Western Han (Map Three) and the Eastern Han

⁴⁰⁴ According to *Hou Han Shu* • *Bai Guan* 4, there were thirteen *zhou* 州 during the reign of Emperor Guangwu (A.D. 25-57), one of which was the former *si li jiao wei bu*. (*Hou Han Shu*, *zhi* 27: 3613-3614).¹

Dynasties (Map Four). Its location enabled it to get supplies easily from the key economic areas along the lower reaches of the Yellow River and the Shandong Peninsula (Map Five).⁴⁰⁶ This is the reason why the city was one of the areas with the highest population density during the Han Dynasty, even before becoming the capital of the Later Han Dynasty.⁴⁰⁷ Situated in the heart of the Han territories, geographically it was also in a better position than Chang'an to transfer a fashion of taste in art towards all sorts of directions within the country. Because of the moving of the capital, the practice of the set of *siling* motifs was transferred from Chang'an to Luoyang, and then easily disseminated from Luoyang to other parts of the country.

Besides the moving of the capital, change in population distribution during the period also played an important role in the transmission of the *siling* motifs. According to Western Han Dynasty law, it was illegal to move away from one's hometown or to change one's registered permanent residency without permission. If the law was not followed, even aristocrats were subject to punishment. As recorded in *Han Shu • Wangzihou Biao (shang)*:

[元鼎五年，侯聖嗣] 坐知人脫亡名數，以為保，殺人，免。In the fifth year of Yuanding [112 B.C.], [Liu] Sheng succeeded [to the nobility of Hushu]. He was brought up on a legal charge in that being aware of the names and numbers of those who had deserted he had

⁴⁰⁵ Ge Jianxiong 1986: 96-104.

⁴⁰⁶ Bielenstein 1954, vol. 1: 163; Wang Huichang 1992: 112-113.

⁴⁰⁷ Based on the earliest preserved census of the Han population recorded in *Han Shu • Dili Zhi*, compiled in the second year of Yuanshi (A.D. 2), by the end of Western Han Dynasty, the greater part of the population was concentrated in what was then northeastern China (east of Shan Hai Guan).

afforded them protection; and he had committed acts of murder. He was deprived of his nobility.⁴⁰⁸

When the war between Chu and Han was over in 202 B.C., the economy of the central Shaanxi Plain had been seriously damaged. Several large-scale migrations into the region during the early period of the Han Dynasty were mostly the result of imperial policies. In order to strengthen Guanzhong (the central Shaanxi Plain) and improve the imperial image of the new capital, Emperor Gaozu (r. 206 - 195 B.C.), the first emperor of the Western Han Dynasty, tried to increase the high-ranking population of the area by political means. New policies were applied, such as giving favorable treatments in tax and military service to the remaining marquises and high-ranking officials in the area, and moving into the capital a lot of newly created noblemen from other regions. Intellectuals and rich families were also officially moved into the capital area from the northeast. These measures are clearly written in *Shi Ji* • *Gaozu Ben Ji* and *Han Shu* • *Gaodi Ji*:

諸侯子在關中者，複之十二歲，其歸者複之六歲 All the noblemen staying in Guanzhong [central Shaanxi] and those returning from other regions are exempted from military service for twelve years and six years, respectively.⁴⁰⁹

吏二千石，徙之長安，受小第室。 [High-ranking] officials of two thousand *shi* were moved into Chang'an and granted small mansion

⁴⁰⁸ *Han Shu*, j. 15-1: 437.

⁴⁰⁹ *Shi Ji* • *Gaozu Ben Ji* (*Shi Ji*, j. 8: 380).

houses.⁴¹⁰

十一月，徙齊、楚大族昭氏、屈氏、景氏、懷氏、田氏五姓關中，與利田宅。 In the eleventh month [of 198 B.C.], five large-branched families of Qi and Chu were moved into the Central Shaanxi Plain, including the families of Zhao, Qu, Jing, Huai and Tian, giving them favourable treatments in regard to fields and housing.⁴¹¹

Since then, the population of the capital area was blossoming throughout the dynasty. In order to reduce the population density of the capital, there was a large-scale emigration from the area during the reign of Emperor Wendi (r. 179 - 157 B.C.), but with this exception, there was no further large reduction of the population of the capital throughout the Western Han Dynasty.⁴¹² It is probably because of the relatively better environment and living standards⁴¹³ and the feeling of privilege in living in the capital area that very few people moved away from the central Shaanxi area during this period. People emigrated only because of administrative orders, including the guilty officials and criminals exiled to the border areas, retired officials moving back home and noblemen moving to the fiefs they had been granted.⁴¹⁴

One important point to be noted is that this large population in the capital was

⁴¹⁰ *Han Shu • Gaodi Ji • xia* (*Han Shu*, j. 1-2: 78).

⁴¹¹ *Han Shu • Gaodi Ji • xia* (*Han Shu*, j. 1-2: 66). According to the records in *Shi Ji*, *Han Shu*, other intellectuals and rich families were also moved into the area, and the total population was more than one hundred thousand (Ge Jianxiong 1986: 133).

⁴¹² Ge Jianxiong 1986: 156.

⁴¹³ *Ibid.*: 105-106.

⁴¹⁴ *Ibid.*: 157-159.

mostly the upper class of society, including the aristocracy, officials and the richest families. These people had the greatest political and financial powers, and their cultural and artistic accomplishments are the basic requirements in understanding and appreciating the idea of the *siling* animal motifs. Therefore, it is not surprising that the earliest examples of the *siling* were excavated from the imperial tomb districts near Chang'an and most of the Western Han examples were also excavated from the Chang'an areas or places nearby. It was this upper class that first showed its interest in the idea of the *siling* and the set of *siling* motifs. Their attention to the *siling* representations had helped to enhance the social interest on the topic.

During the Western Han Dynasty, although feudal lords were also not allowed to go freely into the capital, sometimes they had to travel to the capital to report on the affairs of their fiefdoms.⁴¹⁵ New fashions in ideas or artistic taste that arose in the capital would also be brought back to his state by the feudal lord and his attendants. Only two clearly defined Western Han examples of the *siling* have been excavated outside the Major Administrative Region, but both examples come from Western Han feudal States, which had been granted to members of the imperial Liu family. One of them is the *boshan* censer from the Zhongshan State at Mancheng, Hebei Province (Pls. 58, 58.1 & 58.2).⁴¹⁶ (Map One: 82) The other is the face cover from the Guangling State at Yangzhou in Jiangsu Province (Fig. 32 & Pl. 57.2).⁴¹⁷ (Map One: 108).

⁴¹⁵ For example, as recorded in *Shi Ji • Gaozu Ben Ji*, the Princes of Huainan, Yan, Jiang, Liang, Chu, Changsha went into the capital, reporting their state affairs to the emperor in 197 B.C. (*Shi Ji*, j. 8: 387). However, a feudal king more often went alone to report the affairs of his own state, for example, the king of Guangling went into the capital to report in 76 B.C., and was awarded a lot of treasures (*Han Shu • Zhao di Ji*, in *Han Shu*, j. 7: 231).

⁴¹⁶ Zhongguo shehui kexueyuan kaogu yanjiusuo & Hebeisheng wenwu guanlichu 1980, vol. 1: 257 & vol. 2, pl. 175 (Appendix: 82).

⁴¹⁷ *ZGWWB* 1997, 11. 23 (Appendix: 108).

The *boshan* censer was excavated from the tomb of Dou Wan, wife of Liu Sheng. Liu Sheng and Dou Wan were very close relatives of the Western Han imperial court in Chang'an. Liu Sheng was an elder brother of Emperor Wudi and was granted the title of Prince Jing of Zhongshan in 154 B.C. and Dou Wan was a niece of Grand Empress Dowager Dou. Their gigantic-sized cliff tombs house over two thousand eight hundred wonderful buried objects, among which is the *boshan* censer with the *siling* motifs (Pl. 58). It is not surprising that some of these artefacts should be valuable gifts from the court. The four animal motifs on the sides of the pair of *siling* bronze braziers from Maoling (Pl. 59.1) are very similar to those on the *boshan* censer. The two sets of animal decorations are comparable not only in casting technique, but also in artistic style and composition, and therefore they might be products of the same group of artisans.

The *siling* funerary face cover from Yangzhou is an interesting object. Some people believed that the face cover in lacquer is named *wenming*, because its appearance and its function in tombs coincide with the description of *Dongyuan wenming* in the commentary by Fu Qian in *Han Shu* (see Chapter Five, p. 103). The solitary face cover decorated with the *siling* motifs from M14 at Huchang (Fig. 32 & Pl. 57.2) is dated to the first century B.C. Since it still remains an early but isolated excavated example of a complete set of *siling* motifs in the areas around the east and the southeast, and since we do not know much about its owner, it is not certain how this fashion and artistic taste of burying with the *siling* specimens was spread from the capital area to Yangzhou, the Guangling State, during the Western Han Dynasty.

The very short duration of Wang Mang's Xin Dynasty (A.D. 9- 23) is not only a remarkable period in the history of the Han Dynasty, but also a turning point in the development of the idea of *siling* and the set of four animal images. Since the correlated *yinyang* and *wuxing* doctrines were believed to be the principles governing the motion of the cosmos and the alternation of history, respectively,⁴¹⁸ they became more important and were used to explain dynastic changes and the fact of the Mandate of Heaven being received by a new ruler. As Wang Mang wanted to take advantage of the *yinyang* and *wuxing* doctrines for political means, the first thing he needed to do was to ensure that they were well known and widely accepted. Directly generated from *yinyang* and the five phases, the *siling* provided a group of four substantial animal images, a convenient and effective way to convey the *yinyang* and *wuxing* doctrines.

About the regional distribution of the *siling* examples during the Xin Dynasty, there are two notable points. The first is that because of the very short duration of the dynasty, on one hand, the smaller number of *siling* dated to the Xin Dynasty represents a fairly high frequency, but on the other hand, Xin Dynasty tombs and artefacts cannot be clearly distinguished from those of the early Eastern Han period. Secondly, during the Xin Dynasty, apart from those excavated from the former Main Administrative Region, examples of the *siling* were also found from the Nanyang area in southwest Henan Province, northern Hubei Province, Qufu and Jinxiang in southwest Shandong Province. These examples cover a much larger area, indicating a wider transmission of the set of *siling* motifs during Wang Mang's Xin Dynasty.

⁴¹⁸ Discussed above in Ch. 5, pp. 154-158.

To summarise the above discussion, the first complete set of *siling* motifs should have appeared during the early Western Han Dynasty, and Xin Dynasty was a transitional period during which the set of motifs was developed gradually from that beginning to its maturity in the Eastern Han Dynasty. From the early Western Han period to the Xin Dynasty, there was a gradual shift of the set of *siling* motifs from Guanzhong to the Central Plain, before the set of *siling* motifs was further transmitted from the Central Plain to all other areas from the Xin Dynasty to the Later Han Period (Map One).

Another interesting point to be noted is that after the dissemination of the set of *siling* motifs towards Luoyang and surrounding areas, the number of excavated specimens of the *siling* from Guanzhong drops significantly.⁴¹⁹ It is not until the beginning of the second century that the set of *siling* motifs appears again on the doors of the popular pictorial stone tombs in the very north of Shaanxi Province.⁴²⁰

The first to the second centuries A.D. was the flourishing period of the development of the *siling*, and within this period, pictorial stones are probably the most popular medium in funerary art, on which most of the *siling* motifs are found. The *siling* images from the very north of Shaanxi Province were mainly preserved in a group of pictorial stone tombs dated around the first to second century A.D.⁴²¹ The production of large amount of stone-structured tombs in Northern Shaanxi was

⁴¹⁹ Among the examples from Shaanxi Province in the Appendix (Appendix: I-34), only four of them can be dated around the Xin Dynasty (Appendix: 15, 16, 17, 18). Among them, the *siling* stove model in the Cleveland Museum of Art (Appendix: 16) is said to have been excavated near Xi'an, but as the museum has no clear record of its provenance and as there is no other similar example from the area for comparison, its origin is uncertain.

⁴²⁰ Appendix: 19-34.

⁴²¹ *Ibid.*

supported by the plentiful of supply of stone in that area.⁴²² They were found depicted in complete sets on the doors of these tombs with similar technique and in similar composition. This group of specimens is geographically isolated from other major areas of excavation of the *siling* patterns and should have no direct relation with the earliest objects found in the central Shaanxi Plain. They belong to the mid-Eastern Han period when the *siling* patterns had been widely accepted and practised all over the Han territories.

The set of patterns of the *siling* from the Sichuan area also emerged later. None of these examples from Sichuan can be dated before the second century A.D. (Map One: 116-145). They were mostly excavated from cave tombs, for most of which the identities of the owners are uncertain. However, inscriptions on a pair of *que*-towers from Qu County (Pl. 43.2)⁴²³ and on a sarcophagus from Lushan⁴²⁴ tell us that the owners in both cases were provincial officials of those areas.

Sichuan Province was originally made up of the ancient States of Ba 巴 and Shu 蜀, and some other minorities in the west.⁴²⁵ Although Sichuan is a remote area, during the Han Dynasty, the Chengdu Plain was relatively rich, except for areas along the middle and lower reaches of the Yellow River and the Shandong Peninsula, Chengdu and its surrounding districts are the only major agricultural areas outside Central China (Map Five). According to the two censuses made in

⁴²² Li Mo 1997, vol. 1: 452.

⁴²³ Wen 1955, pl. 1-4; Xu Wenbin 1992: 129-133 (Appendix: 116a-b).

⁴²⁴ Chang Renxia 1955a, pls. 55, 56. See also Gao Wen & Gao Chenggang 1996: 1-4 (Appendix: 138a-c).

⁴²⁵ Sichuan is habited by different minorities, among which the Ba and Shu, had existed long before the unifying of the country by the Qin Emperor, were the greatest. It is believed that the names of Ba and Shu come from the Ba Mountain in the east and the Shu Mountain in the west (see Meng Mo 1989: 9).

A.D. 2 and A.D. 140, the Chengdu Plain in Central Sichuan had the second greatest number of households by A.D. 2 (Maps Three & Four).⁴²⁶ They had their own very localized and independent route in the development of art. According to archaeological excavations, Han pictorial art appears in more than fifty counties in all over Sichuan Province and these artefacts were dated around mid-Eastern Han to early Jin Dynasties (early second to third centuries A.D.).⁴²⁷ Since the area was dominated by the deep-rooted local cultural tradition and was geographically isolated from the major regions in Central China, it normally took longer to adopt the main trends of art from the Central Plain, including the set of *siling* motifs.

The earliest examples of the *siling* representations found from imperial tomb areas show clearly that it was the aristocrats at the capital who first introduced the fashion of the set of *siling* motifs. This situation changed during the Xin and Eastern Han period when the set of *siling* motifs had become well known and widely accepted in the society, it was not anymore the upper class noblemen who had the most interest in the set of patterns, but also local officials and the wealthy people. The *siling* specimens of the Xin Dynasty or Eastern Han period were found as funerary gifts or architectural components in the tombs of different social classes in different areas. The owners of these *siling* specimens include high-ranking class,⁴²⁸ provincial officials of different ranks,⁴²⁹ local landlords (with or without

⁴²⁶ Bielenstein 1954, vol. 1: 163. See also *Han Shu • Dili Zhi • shang* (*Han Shu*, j. 28-1: 1597-1598).

⁴²⁷ Huang Xiaodong 1996: 129.

⁴²⁸ For example, a group of *siling* eaves tiles from Shaanxi (Appendix: 17) were probably components of the Biyong, an imperial hall, during the Wang Mang period, and the owner of a Eastern Han *siling* pottery lid from a tomb Zaoyang City M3 in Hubei should be a high-ranking nobleman (Appendix: 80).

⁴²⁹ During Han times, high-ranking officials refer to those having two thousand *shi* 石 or more for monthly salary (Qu Duizhi 1991: 130-131). Some of the owners of the excavated *siling* examples were high-ranking officials with two thousand *shi* per month, such as *Taishou* (e.g. Appendix: 74).

official titles) and rich locals of the area.⁴³⁰ These Xin to Eastern Han *siling* examples further prove that, because of the wider acceptance of the idea of *siling* and the set of four animal images in society, to a large extent, there was no class restriction on the artistic use of the *siling* since Wang Mang's Xin Dynasty.

However, most of them were probably middle to low-ranking officials with three hundred to one thousand *shi* a month, including *xianling* (magistrate of a county of more than 10000 households), *Xianchang* (magistrate of a county of less than 10000 households) or garrison official (e.g. Appendix: 19-34, 52).

⁴³⁰ For example, the mural tomb at Zaoyuan, Pinglu, Shanxi, with painted *siling* motifs, belonged to a rich landowner (Appendix: 38); and the owner of the huge multi-chamber mural tomb in Yinan, Shandong Province, from which two sets of *siling* motifs were excavated, was probably a very influential landowner of the area (Appendix: 106).

Conclusion

The complete set of *siling* symbols, *qinlgong*, *baihu*, *zhuque* and *xuanwu*, is a Han dynasty product, although as separate animal images, they did not appear simultaneously and all have much more ancient origins and associations with the cardinal directions. Individual images of the *siling* were derived from similar animal images of the dragon, phoenix, tiger, turtle and snake. They have undergone a long process of development, in which individual animals were paired and grouped, and finally combined into the complete set of four cardinal images.

The Neolithic tomb at Xishuipo M45 is a remarkable burial at the outset of this process of development (see pp. 47-49). Two animal patterns, apparently a dragon and a tiger, are modelled with shells on the ground, on either side of the deceased (Pl. 2). On the one hand, these two animals, flanking the occupant of the tomb, are clearly his guardians; on the other hand, there seem to be directional implications in the tomb context: the head of the occupant points to the south, while the heads of both animals point in the opposite direction towards the feet of the deceased. Because of these directional implications, the pair of animal patterns excavated from Xishuipo are possible prototypes of the *qinglong* and *baihu*, later adopted as directional animal symbols of the east and west. A group of shells arranged in a triangular form in combination with two human tibias, pointing to the west, and located at the northern end of the burial, has been identified as the *beidou* (Dipper).⁴³⁴

The paired *qinglong* and *baihu* images are associated with the east and west, respectively, and the very rich archaeological materials show that, they are both the earliest and the most popular *siling* pair, especially if we accept the evidence of the Xishuipo Neolithic tomb. This may be because east and west are closely related to the motions of the sun and the moon, the sources of food and livelihood for the ancient people. It was at a much later date that the other pair of *siling* symbols was depicted

⁴³⁴ n. 50.

together. The phoenix motif appeared as early as the Neolithic period and that of the turtle in the Shang, but the turtle-and-snake *xuanwu* image was not seen until the early Western Han Dynasty, and none of the excavated paired phoenix and turtle-and-snake representations can be dated before the reign of Emperor Jingdi (r. 156-140 B.C.).⁴³⁵

The early Western Han Dynasty was the period when complete sets of the four animal images first emerged and these *siling* specimens were geographically limited to the neighbourhood of the Western Han capital Chang'an. Complete sets of *siling* representations were found on moulded bricks (Pls. 5, 6, 7, 8), a jade *pushou* (Pl. 3) and a group of bronze braziers (Pls. 59, 59.1, 59.2, 59.3 & 59.4, 59.5) dated to the second century B.C. However, these specimens were limited to the Yangling and Maoling, Western Han imperial tombs, in Chang'an and nearby areas that were mostly inhabited and controlled by the aristocracy and the upper class. The political and financial powers of this social class enjoyed were essential for building well-decorated tombs and using well-designed funeral objects; the comparative high education this group of people had was also essential for them to understand the idea of *siling* and to appreciate the new fashion of *siling* representations. I believe that, during the early Western Han period, the idea of *siling*, and the new artistic taste and fashion of applying the set of *siling* symbols in a funerary context was limited to the aristocracy and the upper class, and that outside that society, the *siling* representations were not yet generally known or accepted. More sets of the *siling* can be dated to the late Western Han period. They include groups of moulded bricks from tombs near Xianyang City (Pls. 12-14); a wall painting specimen excavated from the Xi'an Jiaotong University (Pls. 15.2-15.7); and the pierced and painted hollow tile excavated from M61 at Shaogou, Luoyang (Pls. 18.1-18.3). These excavated materials prove that, it was not until the first century B.C. that the set of *siling* symbols began to be used in tombs in other areas and those of different social ranks, and to appear on a wider variety of funerary art.

⁴³⁵ Turtle-and-snake patterns were found on hollow bricks (see Pls. 9-10) excavated from the Yangling, tomb of Emperor Jingdi (r. 156-140 B.C.) (Pl. 10) (Ma & Wang 2001: 55-56).

Wang Mang's Xin Dynasty (A.D. 9-25) was a transitional period during which the set of *siling* motifs developed from that beginning towards its maturity in the Eastern Han Dynasty. Since the late Western Han period, the *wuxing* concept was believed to be the principle governing the alternation of history and was used to explain dynastic changes and the fact of the Mandate of Heaven being received by a new ruler. *Wuxing* in the earlier usage refers to the "Five Processes", each of which overcomes the previous one and generates the next in the series. Wang Mang welcomed a wider understanding and acceptance of the *wuxing* theory because he wanted to take advantage of it for political means, aiming to strengthen his dynastic power. The *siling* provided a convenient and effective way to convey the *wuxing* theory, that was therefore widely used. From the early Western Han to the Wang Mang periods, there was a gradual expansion of the areas where the *siling* were represented; specimens have been excavated from the Central Shaanxi Plain to Luoyang, while a few examples have also been found from the Nanyang area in southeast Henan Province, northern Hubei Province, and Qufu and Jinxiang in southwest Shandong Province, indicating a wider dissemination of the *siling* representations by the time of Wang Mang's Xin Dynasty. During the Eastern Han period, the *siling* representations were no longer limited to these any areas, and examples have been found from different areas all over China (Map One).

A Chinese tomb is a microcosm of the universe and the ceiling of the tomb symbolizes the sky. The *siling* is a group of animal gods and a set of heavenly motifs with directional meanings, which can symbolize the sky and help providing a complete and consistent plan of the universe. It is the reason why when the *siling* symbols are depicted in tomb, they are always arranged at the four quarters of the ceiling or on the upper parts of the four walls, and in many cases, they are depicted together with celestial patterns, including various star and cloud designs, and other heavenly images, such as the sun and the three-legged crow, the moon and the toad.⁴³⁶ This phenomenon is particularly apparent during the Western Han and Wang Mang's Xin

⁴³⁶ For example, see *WW* 1977, no. 6: 1-12 (the tomb of Bu Qianqiu in Luoyang, Henan); Shaanxisheng kaogu yanjiusuo & Xi'an Jiaotong daxue 1991 (a tomb at Jiaotong University in Xi'an, Shaanxi); *KG* 1975, no. 3: 178-181, 177 (a tomb at Qianyang County, Shaanxi); *WW* 1993, no. 5: 1-16 (a tomb at Qianjingtou, Luoyang, Henan).

Dynasty. During the Eastern Han Dynasty, the set of *siling* symbols became more popular and when it appears in a tomb, it is no longer limited to the ceiling, but also appears in other parts, such as column base (Pl. 32) and stone pillars (Pl. 32.1),⁴³⁷ and on the sides of stone sarcophagi (Pls. 47-52).⁴³⁸

Reading from archaeological materials, we notice that majority of the existing *siling* specimens have been arranged or sought to be arranged in a pattern of *qinglong*/east; *baihu*/west; *zhuque*/south; *xuanwu*/north. This pattern coincides with the related literary references in five Han or pre-Han texts cited in Part Two of this thesis. I should, however, state clearly that there is in fact no Han period textual reference for a group entitled the *siling*, composed of the four animal motifs thoroughly catalogued in Part One. Archaeological evidence tells us unequivocally that this pattern might have existed as an ideal but was never a rule or a norm that had to be followed when locating the *siling* images, because for various reasons, there were some alternatives in actual practice. Archaeological evidence has provided more diverse and complex examples that are not thoroughly recorded in classical texts.

Even if the tomb builders wished to place the *siling* representations in strict accordance with the directions that the literary texts suggest, it was sometimes impossible to do as, because of constraints in space or local topography, other practical considerations, or simply because of carelessness of the builders. For example, in the mural tomb at Zaoyuan Village, Pinglu County, Shanxi Province (Pls. 21 & Fig. 5), since the tomb entrance is in the east, not the south, the painter has adjusted the main images so that the *qinglong* and the *baihu* appear on the south and north walls, respectively, and the *xuanwu* on the west wall. Effectively, therefore, once one is inside the tomb, the entrance appears to be the south. In another case, the diagram (Fig. 1) showing the arrangement of decorative bricks in M36 near the Xianyang City, Shaanxi, shows that

⁴³⁷ Both examples from the Eastern Han stone-structured tomb in Beizhai Village, Yinan County, Shandong Province, see Zeng Zhaoyu 1956, rub. pls. 27-30 (Appendix: 106d) and rub. pls. 12-14 (Appendix: 106c).

⁴³⁸ *KG* 1985, no. 12: 1130-1135 (Pl. 47, Appendix: 69a-d); Gao Wen & Gao Chenggang 1996: 6, 42, 87-88, 40, 1 (Pl. 48-52, Appendix: 124a-d, 125, 127, 122, 138a-c).

some bricks were placed upside down, or with the decorated side facing the exterior rather than the interior of the tomb.⁴³⁹ The excavators of M36 suggest that the bricks were not arranged according to the respective directions of the *siling* because they were originally components from other architectural sites being re-used to build the tomb. I do not think there is any evidence of such re-use, but would argue instead that since the bricks were pre-fabricated outside the tomb and brought into the tomb area for the actual construction, there was great scope for mistakes when the overseer was not checking properly, and therefore the four animal symbols were not always positioned in strict accordance with their corresponding directions.

Although there are alternatives in the positions of the *siling* in visual representation, we are aware of two strict rules in arrangement that is kept throughout the Han era and thereafter, that is, the four animal images are always sub-divided into two pairs of opposites: *qinglong* and *baihu*, *zhuque* and *xuanwu*, occupying the east and the west, the south and the north. This is possibly influenced by the *yinyang* theory that gained great prevalence during the Han Dynasty. According to the *yinyang* theory, all things and events are products of interaction of a pair of opposite elements, *yin* and *yang*. The relation between the *yinyang* theory and the *siling* is mainly based on the involvement of the former in the several sets of symbols for the four cardinal directions, while the latter represents one set of such symbols. Similar to the four colours and the four seasons, the four animals (*siling*) are one of the complementary sets of “symbols” for the four main directions.

The variable positions of the paired *qinglong* and *baihu* images throughout the Han Dynasty can be explained in two ways (see pp. 182-188). First, as suggested by Li Ling, this may have been a result of the dual system of directional order being used during the Qin and Han periods. Li Ling points out that there were two different systems of directional order on oracle bones, bronze vessels and in written texts, namely, “top: north; bottom: south”, and “top: south; bottom: north”. By studying and

⁴³⁹ See KG 1982, no. 3: 225-235 for the site report.

comparing relevant records in *Huai Nan Zi*, he further hypothesizes that the first system was mainly used in astronomical and seasonal matters and that the latter was mainly used in topography. Second, a confusion may have arisen through viewing the *siling* objects in different ways. For example, on the large rectangular tile in the centre of the trapezoid-shaped pediment which separates the main chamber of M61 at Shaogou in Luoyang into two sections, images including the *qinglong*, *baihu* and *zhuque* are carved in open-work and painted along the edges and top of the tiles (Pls. 18.1 & 18.3).⁴⁴⁰ The positions of the *qinglong* and *baihu* images depend on the final placement of the tile, in which this face of the tile faces the tomb entrance. Another similar example is the tiny *siling* jade plaque in the Shanghai Museum's collection, on which the four animal images are carved in openwork and decorated with incised details on both sides (Pl. 107).⁴⁴¹ I conclude that, no matter whether the *qinglong* is depicted on the right and the *baihu* on the left, or vice-versa, as long as they are arranged opposite each other on a specimen, especially when the *zhuque* and *xuanwu* images are depicted on the two other opposite sides, their directional meanings are intended and the idea of the *siling* is conveyed.

In conclusion, there are three functions of the *siling* representations in Han art. First: as a group of four cardinal symbols. No other Han decorative motifs have the function of symbolizing the four main directions. This function can be seen on almost all of the archaeological materials covered, so it can be regarded as the most important. Second: as a group of guardian images, safeguarding the soul of the deceased on its journey to the heaven. As a group of animal gods depicted in the tomb, it is understandable that the set of *siling* would be expected to give protection to the deceased on its difficult journey to heaven. This is, however, not the major function of the *siling* symbols. Besides the *siling*, there are also other guardian images in Han tomb decoration: these images are identified as guardians because they appear erect, martial and armed. There are quite a number of examples when the *siling* are depicted together with various

⁴⁴⁰ *KGXB* 1964, no. 1: 107-125 (Appendix: 45). M61 is dated to the periods of Emperor Yuandi to Emperor Chengdi (r. 48-7 B.C.).

⁴⁴¹ Lu Zhaoyin 1993, pl. 233 (Appendix: 151).

guardian images in the same pictorial context. On these examples (e.g. Pls. 3, 18.2, 60, 61, 61.1, 61.2), the *siling* are never the major motifs, but are arranged around the central and principal guardian image, so that they appear to be a group of guardian assistants).⁴⁴² Third: as a group of auspicious patterns, making good wishes for the tomb occupant. This function is the least important, as among the existing Han visual materials, there is only one example that certainly has this function (Pl. 107).⁴⁴³

The principal function of the set of *siling* symbols is their cardinal significance, which is of particular importance in the tomb. The decoration of the tomb was intended to serve as a guide to the soul in its new home, which thus needed to be shown as complete as possible. The living relatives too would then have a clear idea of the world to which the dead person had gone. It is a practice of the Han Chinese to place the dead body in the north of the tomb, facing the tomb entrance which is supposed to be opened in the south, however, as we have seen, the constraints of local topography sometimes prevented such an arrangement. The tombs of Liu Sheng, Prince Jing of Zhongshan (d. 114 B.C.), and his wife Dou Wan at Mancheng, Hebei Province, face east, because that is the shape of the mountain in which they are cut;⁴⁴⁴ some other Han tombs on slopes near Changsha, Henan Province, face west instead, and accordingly, the entrance has to be in the west. The set of *siling* representations is the most effective solution to this problem, because it has the ability and effect of reorienting the space and the four main directions within the tomb context. A typical example of such usage comes from the mural tomb at Zaoyuan, Pinglu, Shanxi Province.⁴⁴⁵ On Fig. 5 (p. 70), we can notice that the tomb faces east in actual topography, but with the *xuanwu* image depicted on the back wall, and the *qinglong*

⁴⁴² *WW* 1976, no. 7: 51-55 (Appendix: 6); *KGXB* 1964, no. 1: 107-125 (Appendix: 45); *KG* 1998, no. 12: 83, fig. 8 (Appendix: 140); Appendix: 65; *TG* 46, 1974: 226-227 (Appendix: 84); *KG* 1960, no. 12: 656 (Appendix: 83).

⁴⁴³ Lu Zhaoyin 1993, pl. 233 (Appendix: 151). It is an inscribed jade ornament with the *siling* images carved in openwork and decorated with incised details. The inscriptions read, “*yanshou wannian changyi zisun* 延壽萬年長宜子孫 longevity extended for ten thousand years, always suitable for the sons and grandsons”.

⁴⁴⁴ Zhongguo shehui kexueyuan kaogu yanjiusuo & Hebeisheng wenwu guanlichu 1980, vol. 1: 257 & vol. 2, pl. 175 (Appendix: 82).

⁴⁴⁵ *KG* 1959, no. 9: 462-463, 468 (Appendix: 38).

and *baihu* images depicted opposite each other on the south and north walls, the space and the four main directions within the tomb context is readjusted, so that the tomb occupant still faces “south”, with the “east” on his left and the “west” on his right (see pp. 69-72 for close analysis). It may be noted that a similar directional readjustment is made in the case of the Buddhist caves at Dunhuang. Because the whole cliff faces east, all cave entrances and the principal Buddha image within each cave face east, yet inside the caves, the Pure Land of the West is always depicted on the Buddha’s right (on our left as we enter the cave) which is actually the south wall, so that the Buddha sits and faces “south”, with the “east” on his left side and the “west” on his right. The group of *siling* is the most convenient way of making clear the directions, especially inside the tomb. As the four animals are quite distinct from one another, they are unmistakable.

This paper traces the emergence and spread of the visual representations of the *siling*, suggesting that it was in the Western Han Dynasty and in the neighbourhood of the capital Chang’an that the *siling* images first emerged in a consistent iconography, before moving eastwards to the Eastern Han capital Luoyang, and subsequently spreading from Luoyang to various parts of China. This research project shows the power and effect of the representations of the *siling*, a set of four divine animals, in Han art, particularly in the Han funerary context, and their relationship with some of the intellectual ideas and the socio-economic and political situation that were current during the Han Dynasty. The Han Dynasty has a long history of more than four hundred years, it is a crucial stage in the formation of the Chinese culture, during which there was a systematic reorganization of all kinds of knowledge using cosmological principles. During the Han era, through this knowledge, Chinese succeeded in acquiring a better understanding of nature, and of the relationship between nature and man, and there were also great economic changes that resulted in a complete transformation in the socio-economic structure. Individual animal images of the *siling* might have appeared before the Han Dynasty, but the complete set of *siling* symbols is a Han Dynasty product and its development would have been influenced by

different aspects of Han society that are beyond the scope of this thesis, but will be topics for further research.

Bibliography

Abbreviations

- AA = *Artibus Asiae*
 AC = *Art of China* 中國文物世界
 ACASA = *Archives of the Chinese Art Society of America / Archives of Asian Art*
 AH = *Art History*
 AO = *Ars Orientalis*
 BBMS = *Bulletin of the Buffalo Museum of Science (Hobbies)*
 BCMA = *Bulletin of the Cleveland Museum of Art*
 BIHP = *Bulletin of the Institute of History and Philology* 中央研究院歷史語言研究所集刊
 BMFEA = *Bulletin of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities*
 BNMH = *Bulletin of the National Museum of History* 國立歷史博物館館刊
 BSOAS = *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*
 BZU = *Bulletin of the Zhengzhou University* 鄭州大學學報 (Philosophy and Social Science Edition 哲學社會科學版)
 CDEA = *Cahiers d' Extreme-Asie*
 CQFLJZJY = *Chunqiu Fanlu jinzhu jinyi* 春秋繁露今注今譯
 CS = *Chinese Science*
 DDLJ = *Da Dai Li Ji jin zhu jin shi* 大戴禮記今注今釋
 DLZZ = *Dalu zazhi* 大陸雜誌
 DNWH = *Dongnan wenhua* 東南文化
 DY = *Duo yun* 朵雲
 EC = *Early China*
 GA = *Gallery of Art* 收藏天地
 HJAS = *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*
 HNKGJK = *Hunan kaogu jikan* 湖南考古季刊
 HNWBTX = *Henan wenbo tongxun* 河南文博通訊
 HSXZ = *Han Shu xinzhuzhu* 漢書新注
 HTR = *Harvard Theological Review*
 HXKG = *Huaxia Kaogu* 華夏考古
 ILAS = *ILAS Newsletters*
 JAOS = *Journal of the American Oriental Society*
 JAS = *Journal of Asian Studies*
 JESHO = *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*
 JHKG = *Jiangnan kaogu* 江漢考古
 JZXX = *Jiuzhou xuekan* 九州學刊
 KDYK = *Kangdao yuekan* 康導月刊
 KG = *Kaogu* 考古
 KGTX = *Kaogu tongxun* 考古通訊
 KGXB = *Kaogu xuebao* 考古學報
 KGXJK = *Kaoguxue jikan* 考古學集刊
 KGYWW = *Kaogu yu Wenwu* 考古與文物
 LHWXXK = *Liaohai wenwu xuekan* 遼海文物學刊
 LJZY = *Li ji zheng yi* 禮記正義
 LSCQ = *Lü Shi Chun Qiu* 呂氏春秋
 LSYJ = *Lishi yanjiu* 歷史研究
 MRDTB = *Memoirs of the Research Department of the Tōkyō Bunkō* (Oriental Library)
 MS = *Monumenta Serica*
 MSYJ = *Meishu yanjiu* 美術研究
 NDXT = *Nandu xuetan* 南都學壇
 NFWW = *Nanfang wenwu* 南方文物
 NM = *Numan*
 NPMJ = *The National Palace Museum Journal* 故宮博物院院刊
 NPMMA = *The National Palace Museum Monthly of Chinese Art* 故宮文物月刊
 NPMRQ = *The National Palace Museum Research Quarterly* 故宮學術季刊

OA = *Oriental Art*
 RES = *Representations*
 SCWW = *Sichuan wenwu* 四川文物
 SFHTJZ = *San Fu Huang Tu Jiao Zheng* 三輔黃圖校証
 SHJJZ = *Shanghaijing jiaozhu* 山海經校著
 SHZJY = *Lidai Shihuo zhi jinyi* 歷代食貨志今譯
 SSZY = *Shang Shu zheng yi* 尚書正義
 SXNB = *Shixue nianbao* 史學年報
 SXYK = *Shixue yuekan* 史學月刊
 SXYSD = *Sixiang yu shidai* 思想與時代
 SYH = *Shu yu hua* 書與畫
 TG = *The Tōhō Gakuhō* (Kyōto: Journal of Oriental Studies 東方學報)
 TOCS = *Transactions of the Oriental Ceramic Society*
 TP = *T'oung Pao*
 TS = *Tenri Sanōkanpō* (Bulletin of Tenri University Sankōkan Musuem 天理參考館報)
 WB = *Wenbo* 文博
 WBTX = *Wenbo tongxun* 文博通訊
 WW = *Wenwu* 文物
 WWCH = *Wenwu chibg-hua* 文物精華
 WWCKZL = *Wenwu cankao ziliao* 文物參考資料
 WWTD = *Wenwu tiandi* 文物天地
 WWZLCK = *Wenwu ziliao congkan* 文物資料叢刊
 YJXB = *Yanjing xuebao* 燕京學報
 YSJ = *Yishujia* 藝術家
 YTLJZ = *Yantielun jianzhu* 鹽鐵論簡注
 YWZZ = *Yiwen zazhi* 藝文雜誌
 YYDY = *Yiyuan duoying* 藝苑掇英
 ZGMS = *Zhongguo meishu* 中國美術
 ZGWWB = *Zhongguo wenwubao* 中國文物報
 ZLZY = *Zhou Li zheng yi* 周禮正義
 ZYWW = *Zhongyuan wenwu* 中原文物

Ai Yanding 艾廷丁 1986 "Nanyangshi Wangzhuang Han huaxiangshi mu muding huaxiang kaoshi 南陽市王莊漢畫像石墓墓頂畫像考釋", *ZYWW*, no.1, pp. 106-108, 92.

Allan, Sarah 1981 "Sons of Suns: Myth and Totemism in Early China", *BSOAS* 44, part 2, pp. 290-326.

----- 1986 "Myths and Meaning in Shang Bronze Motifs", *EC* 10 & 11, pp. 283-89.

----- 1991 *The Shape of the Turtle: Myth, Art, and Cosmos on Early China*, Albany: State University of New York Press.

----- 1992 *Water in Early Chinese Philosophical Thought*, Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Association for Asian Studies, Washington, D.C., April 4, 1992.

----- 1993 "Art and Meaning", in Whitfield ed. 1993, pp. 9-33.

----- 1997 *The Way of Water and Sprouts of Virtue*, New York: State University of New York Press.

An Jinhua 安金槐 1963 "Henan Nanyang Yangguansi Han huaxiangshi mu fajue baogao 河南南陽楊官寺漢畫像石墓發掘報告", *KGXB*, no. 1, pp. 111-139.

----- ed. 1992 *The Chinese Archaeology* 中國考古, Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe.

----- & Wang Yugang 王與剛 1972 "Mixian Dahuting Handai huaxiangshi mu he bihua mu 密縣打虎亭漢代畫像石墓和壁畫墓", *WW*, no. 10, pp. 49-62.

- An Zhimin 安志敏 1973 "Changsha xin faxian de XiHan bohua shitan 長沙新發現的西漢帛畫試探", *KG* no.1, pp. 43-53.
- Arbuckle, Gary 1989 "A note on the Authenticity of the *Chunqiu fanlu*", *TP* 75, pp. 226-234.
- Asian Art Museum of San Francisco 1994 *Tomb Treasures from China - the Buried Art of Ancient Xi'an*, San Francisco.
- Ayers, John 1964 *The Seligman Collection of Asian Art, vol. 2: Chinese and Korean Pottery and Porcelain*, London: Lund Humphries.
- Ayscough, Florence 1940 "An Uncommon Aspect of Han Sculpture: Figure from Nanyang", *MS* 4, pp. 334-344.
- Balazs, Etienne 1964 "Political Philosophy and Social Crisis at the end of the Han Dynasty", in Arthur F. Wright ed., H. M. Wright trans. 1964 *Chinese Civilization and Bureaucracy: variations on a theme*, New Haven, pp. 187-225.
- Ban Gu 班固 1962. Yan Shigu annotated *Han Shu* 漢書, rpt., Beijing: Zhonghua shuju.
- Bao Huxin 鮑虎欣 1991. 12. 15 "Yanshi qingli yi XiHan bihuamu 偃師清理一西漢壁畫墓", *ZGWWB*.
- Baojishi bowuguan 寶雞市博物館 & Qianyang xian wenhuaguan 千陽縣文化館 1975 "Shaanxisheng Qianyangxian Hanmu fajue jianbao 陝西省千陽縣漢墓發掘簡報", *KG*, no. 3, pp. 178-181, 177.
- Barnes, Gina, L. 1993 *China, Korea and Japan: The Rise of Civilization of East Asia*, London: Thames and Hudson.
- Beijing Luxun Bowuguan 北京魯迅博物館 & Shanghai Luxun Bowuguan 上海魯迅博物館 eds. 1986 *Luxun cang Hanhuaxiang* 魯迅藏漢畫像 (1), Shanghai: Shanghai renmin meishu chubanshe.
- eds. 1991 *Luxun cang Hanhuaxiang* 魯迅藏漢畫像 (2), Shanghai: Shanghai renmin meishu chubanshe.
- Beijing tianwenguan 北京天文館 ed. 1987 *Zhongguo gudai tianwenxue chengjiu* 中國古代天文學成就, Beijing: Xinhua shudian.
- Beijing Wenwu Yanjiusuo 北京文物研究所 ed. 1990 *Beijing kaogu sishinian* 北京考古四十年, Beijing: Yanshan chubanshe.
- Bennett, Stephen J. 1978 "Patterns of the Sky and Earth: a Chinese Science of Applied Cosmology", *CS* 3, pp. 1-26.
- Berger, Patricia Ann 1976 "The Battle at the Bridge at 'Wu Liang Tz'u'", *EC* 2, pp. 3-8.
- 1988 *Rites and Festivals in the Art of Eastern Han China: Shantung and Kiangsu Provinces*, PhD diss., University of California, Berkeley, Ann Arbor, MI.: University Microfilms International.
- Bi Ming 費鳴 1995 *Gu mingqi jianshang tulu* 古明器鑒賞圖錄, Beijing: Guoji wenhua chubanshe.
- Bi Wancan 薛文榮 & Liu Songgen 劉松根 1993 *Henan Xinzheng Handai huaxiangzhuan* 河南新鄭漢代畫像磚, Shanghai: Shanghai shuhua chubanshe.
- Bidney, David 1953 "The Concept of Myth", in *Theoretical Anthropology*, New York; London: Columbia University Press, pp. 286-326.

- Bielenstein, Hans** 1947 "The Census of China during the Period 2 - 742 A.D.", *BMFEA* 19, pp. 125-163.
- 1954, 1959, 1967, 1979 "The Restoration of Han Dynasty", 4 vols., *BMFEA* 26, pp. 1-209; 31, pp. 1-287; 39, pp. 1-198; 51, pp. 1-300.
- 1976 "Loyang in Latter Han Times", *BMFEA* 48, pp. 1-142.
- Birrell, Anne** 1993 *Chinese Mythology: An Introduction*, Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Blacker, Carmen & Loewe, Michael** eds. 1975 *Ancient Cosmologies*, London: George Allen & Unwin.
- Bodde, Derk** 1975 *Festivals in Classical China: New Year and other Annual Observances during the Han Dynasty 206 B.C. - A.D. 220*, Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- 1981 "Myths in Ancient China", in *Essays on Chinese Civilization*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, pp. 45-84.
- 1991 *Chinese Thought, Society and Science*, Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press.
- Bower, Virginia** 1982 "Tomb Ceramics: The Spirit of the Living", in Thorp 1982, pp. 39-45.
- Bray, Francesca** 1979-80 "Agricultural Technology and Agrarian Change in Han China", *EC* 5, pp. 3-13.
- Bulling, Annaliese** 1955 "The Decoration of some Mirrors of the Chou and Han Periods", *AA* 18, no. 1, pp. 20-43.
- 1960 *The Decoration of Mirrors of the Han Period*, Switzerland, Ascona: Artibus Asiae Publishers.
- 1962 "A Landscape Representation of the Western Han Period", *AA* 25, pp. 293-317.
- 1965 "Hollow Tomb Tiles", *OA* 11, no. 1, pp. 27-42.
- 1966-67 "Three Popular Motifs in the Art of the Eastern Han Periods: Lifting the Tripod, the Crossing of the Bridge, Divinities", *ACASA* 20, pp. 25-53.
- 1967-68 "Historical Plays in the Art of the Han Period", *ACASA* 21, pp. 20-38.
- 1974 "The Guide of the Souls Picture in the Western Han Tomb in Ma-wang-tui near Changsha", *OA* 20, no. 2, pp. 158-73.
- 1977-78 "The Eastern Han Tomb at Ho-lin-ko-erh", *ACASA* 31, pp. 79-103.
- Burne, Charlotte Sophia** 1995 *The Handbook of Folklore: Traditional Beliefs, Practices, Customs, Stories and Savings*, London: Senate.
- Bush, Susan & Shih H. Y.** 1985 *Early Chinese Texts on Painting*, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.
- Cahill, Suzanne** 1986 "Performers and Female Taoist Adepts: Hsi Wang Mu as the Patron Deity of Women in Medieval China", *JAOS* 106, pp. 155-68.
- Cai Huachu 蔡華初** 1991 "Wuchang Donghu Sanguandian Liangmu qingli jianbao 武昌東湖三官殿梁墓清理簡報", *JHKG*, no. 2, pp. 23-28.

- Cai Xiqin 蔡希勤 1995 *Zhongguo muzang wenhua* 中國墓葬文化, Beijing: Zhongguo chengshi chubanshe.
- Cai Yian 蔡易安 1987 *Zhongguo longfeng yishu yanjiu* 中國龍鳳藝術研究, Henan: Henan meishu chubanshe.
- Cai Yingwen 蔡英文 1982 "Tianren zhi ji — chuantong sixiang zhong de yuzhou yishi 天人之際 — 傳統思想中的宇宙意識", in Huang Junjie ed. 1982, pp. 287-327.
- Cammann, Schuyler 1967 "Types of Symbols in Chinese Art", in Wright, Arthur F. ed. 1967, pp. 195-231.
- 1987 "Symbolic Expressions of Yin-yang Philosophy", in Le Blanc & Blader eds. 1987, pp. 101-16.
- Campbell, Joseph 1965 *The Mask of God*, London: Martin Secker and Warburg Ltd.
- Cao Dan 曹丹 1996 "Qiantan Sichuan bihua 淺談四川壁畫", *SCWW*, no. 3, pp. 21-22.
- Cao Xinzhou 曹新洲 et al. 1996 "Tongboxian Anpeng huaxiangshimu 桐柏縣安棚畫像石墓", *ZYWW*, no. 3, pp. 22-25.
- Capon, Edmund & Macquitty William 1973 *Princes of Jade*, London: Cardinal.
- Caroselli, Susan L. ed. 1987 *Quest for Eternity: Chinese Ceramic Sculptures from the People's Republic of China*, London: Thames and Hudson.
- Chai Zhongqing 柴中慶 1984 "Henan Fangchengxian Chengguanzhen Han huaxiangshi mu 河南方城縣城關鎮漢畫像石墓", *WW*, no. 3, pp. 38-46.
- 1985 "Tanghexian Zhenshichang erhao Han huaxiangshi mu 唐河縣針織廠二號漢畫像石墓", *ZYWW*, no. 3, pp. 14-20.
- 1987 "Nanyang Han huaxiangshimu muzhu shenfen chutan 南陽漢畫像石墓墓主身份初探", in Nanyang Handai huaxiangshi xueshu taolunhui bangongshi ed. 1987, pp. 45-52.
- Chan Wing-tsit 陳榮捷 trans. & comp. 1973 *A Source Book in Chinese Philosophy*, Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press. First ed. 1963.
- Chang Bide 昌彼得 et al. eds. 1987 *Long zai Gugong* 龍在故宮, Taipei: National Palace Museum.
- Chang Chun-shu ed. 1975 *The Making of China: Main Themes in Premodern Chinese History*, Englewood Cliffs and New Jersey: Prentice-Hall INC.
- Chang Renxia 常任俠 1955a *Handai yishu yanjiu* 漢代藝術研究, Shanghai: Shanghai Press.
- 1955b "Handai jingji wenhua sixiang dui Hanhua de yingxiang 漢代經濟文化思想對漢畫的影響", in *Zhongguo gudian yishu* 中國古代藝術, Shanghai: Shanghai Publishing Ltd.
- 1973 "Henan xin chutu Handai huaxiang shike shilun 河南新出土漢代畫像石刻試論", *WW*, no. 7, pp. 49-53.
- 1984 *Chang Renxia yishu kaogu lunwen xuanji* 常任俠藝術考古論文選集, Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe.
- ed. 1988 *Zhongguo meishu quanji · huihua bian* 18 · *huaxiangshi huaxiangzhuan* 中國美術全集 · 繪畫編 18 · 畫像石畫像磚, Shanghai: Shanghai renwen meishu chubanshe.
- Chang Shuhong 常書鴻 1954 "Cong chutu wenwu zhanlan kan zhuoyue de HanTang mushi bihua 從出土

文物展覽看卓越的漢唐墓室壁畫”, *WWCKZL*, no. 10, pp. 55-57.

Chard, Robert Lawrence 1990 *Master of the Family: History and Development of the Chinese Cult of the Stove*, PhD diss., University of California at Berkeley, Ann Arbor: University Microfilms International.

Chaves, Jonathan 1968 “A Han Painted Tomb at Loyang”, *AA* 30, pp. 5-27.

Chen Anren 陳安仁 1934 *Zhongguo zhengzhi sixiangshi dagang* 中國政治思想史大綱, rpt., Shanghai: Commercial Press.

Chen Benming 陳本明 1979 “Yunnan Zhaotong de yikuai Han huazhuan 雲南昭通的一塊畫像磚”, *WW*, no. 7, pp. 89.

Chen Changshan 陳長山 1980 “Ji Nanyang Handai huaxiangshike chenlie 記南陽漢代畫像石刻陳列”, *ZYWW*, no. 1, pp. 42-44.

----- 1985 “Nanyangshi Wangzhuang Han huaxiangshi mu 南陽市王莊漢畫像石墓”, *ZYWW*, no. 3, pp. 26-35.

----- & Wei Renhua 魏仁華 1982 “Shiluan Wangzhai Han mu zhong de huixingtu 試論王寨漢墓中的卦星圖”, *ZYWW*, no. 1, pp. 26-27.

----- & Wei Renhua 魏仁華 1983 “Henan Nanyang Yingzhuang Han huaxiangshi mu 河南南陽英莊漢畫像石墓”, *ZYWW*, no. 3, pp. 101-105.

Chen Dazhang 陳大章 1958 “Henan Dengxian faxian Beichao qise caihui huaxiangzhuan mu 河南鄧縣發現北朝七色彩繪畫像磚墓”, *WWCKZL*, no. 6, pp. 55-56.

Chen Dingrong 陳定榮 1989 “Nanchangshi Jingjiashan Hanmu 南昌市京家山漢墓”, *KG*, no. 8, pp. 693-698.

Chen Fan 陳凡 1985 “Fushunxian faxian Handai shiguan 富順縣發現漢代石棺”, *SCWW*, no. 3, p. 35.

Chen Hanping 陳漢平 1984 “Han Taishique ‘xiang’ xing xinyi 漢太室闕‘象’形新識”, *ZYWW*, no. 4, pp. 81, 48.

Chen Huiming 陳惠明 1991 “A Textual Research on the images in the lacquer Paintings 漆畫圖像考”, in Hubeisheng bowuguan ed. 1991, pp. 178-182.

Chen Jiangfeng 陳江風 1988a “Guanyu Tanghe Zhenzhichang Han huaxiangshi mu de liangge wenti 關於唐河針織廠漢畫像石墓的兩個問題”, *WW*, no. 12, pp. 88-89.

----- 1988b “‘Xihe pengri, changxi pengyue’ huaxiangshi zhiyi《羲和捧日, 常羲捧月》畫像石質疑”, *ZYWW*, no. 2, pp. 59-62.

----- 1988c *Tianwen yu renwen — duyì de huaxia tianwen wenhua guannian* 天文與人文 — 獨異的華夏天文文化觀念, Beijing: Guoji wenhua chubanshe.

----- 1991 “Han huaxiang ‘shengui shijie’ de siwei xingtai ji qi yishu 漢畫像‘神鬼世界’的思維形態及其藝術”, *ZYWW*, no. 3, pp. 10-17.

----- 1994 “Han huaxiang zhong de yubi ji sangzang guannian 漢畫像中的玉璧及喪葬觀念”, *ZYWW*, no. 4, pp. 67-70.

----- 1996 “Cong Puyang Xishuipo shishiwu hao mu kan ‘qilong shengtian’ shenhua muti 從濮陽西水坡 45 號墓看‘騎龍升天’神話母題”, *ZYWW*, no. 1, pp. 65-71.

- Chen Jun 陳鈞 1993 *Zhongguo shenhua xinlun* 中國神話新論, Guangxi: Lijiang chubanshe.
- Chen Liqiong 陳麗瓊 1958 "Sichuan Jiangbei faxian Hanmu shike 四川江北發現漢墓石刻", *KGTX*, no. 8, pp. 51-52.
- Chen Lùsheng 陳履生 1987a *Shenhua zhushen yanjiu* 神話主神研究, Beijing: Zijincheng chubanshe.
- & Lu Zhihong 陸志宏 1996 *Gansu SongYuan huaxiangzhuan* 甘肅宋元畫像磚, Beijing: Renmin meishu chubanshe.
- 1987b "Hanhua yanjiu 漢畫研究 — lun Handai shenhua zhong liangdui zhushen de biao xian 論漢代神話中兩對主神的表現", *DY*, no. 4, pp. 106-115.
- Chen Mengjia 陳夢家 1938 "Wuxing zhi qi yuan 五行之起源", *YJXB* 24, pp. 35-53.
- 1950 *Yinxu buci zongshu* 殷墟卜辭綜述, Beijing: Science Press.
- Chen Mingda 陳明達 1954 "Guanyu Handai jianzhu de jige zhongyao faxiang 關於漢代建築的幾個重要發現", *WWCKZL*, no. 9, pp. 91-94.
- 1961 "Handai de shique 漢代的石闕", *WW*, no. 12, pp. 9-23.
- Chen Rongfu 陳榮富 1994 *Zongjiao liyi yu gudai yishu* 宗教禮儀與古代藝術, Jiangxi: Gaoxiao chubanshe.
- Chen Shaofeng 陳少豐 & Gong Dazhong 宮大中 1977 "Luoyang XiHan Bu Qianqiu mu bihua yishu 洛陽西漢卜千秋墓壁畫藝術", *WW*, no. 6, pp. 13-16.
- Chen Shouxiang 陳綏祥 1988 *Zhongguo de long* 中國的龍, Guangxi: Lijiang chubanshe.
- Chen Shuxiang 陳樹祥 1993. 8. 22 "Huanghai faxian xinshiqi shidai luanshi baisu julong 黃海發現新石器時代卵石擺塑巨龍", *ZGWWB*.
- Chen Songchang 陳松長 1993 "Mawangdui Hanmu bohua 'Shenzhitu' bianzheng 馬王堆漢墓帛畫'神祉圖' 辨正", *JHKG*, no. 1, pp. 88-92.
- Chen Xianshuang 陳顯雙 1981 "Sichuan Chengdu Zhengjiabao DongHan huaxiang zhuanshi mu 四川成都曾家包東漢畫像磚石墓", *WW*, no. 10, pp. 25-32.
- 1983 "Sichuan Pengxian Yihe gongshe chutu Handai huaxiangzhuan jianjie 四川彭縣義和公社出土漢代畫像磚簡介", *KG*, no. 10, pp. 897-907.
- Chen Zhaoshan 陳兆善 1989 "Jiangsu Gaochun Gucheng Donghan huaxiangzhuan mu 江蘇高淳固城東漢畫像磚墓", *KG*, no. 5, pp. 423-429.
- 1989a "Jiangsu Gaochun Donghan huaxiangzhuan qianxi 江蘇高淳東漢畫像磚淺析", *KG*, no. 5, pp. 472-475.
- Chen Zhenyu 陳振裕 1995 "Luelun zhenmushou de yongtu he mingcheng 略論鎮墓獸的用途和名稱", *NPMMA*, Aug, no.5, pp. 126-137.
- Chen Zhi 陳直 1962 "Wangdu Hanmu bihua tizi tongzhi 望都漢墓壁畫題字通釋", *KG*, no. 3, pp. 161-164.
- 1972 "Changsha Mawangdui yihao Hanmu de ruogan wenti kaoshu 長沙馬王堆一號漢墓的若干問題考述", *WW*, no. 9, pp. 30-35.

- 1980b *LiangHan jingji shiliao luncong* 兩漢經濟史料論叢, Xi'an: Shaanxi Renmin chubanshe.
- annotated 1980a *San Fu Huang Tu jiaozheng* 三輔黃圖校証, Xi'an: Shaanxi Renmin chubanshe.
- Chen Zungui 陳遵媯 1980-1989 *Zhongguo tianwenxue shi* 中國天文學史, 4 vols, Shanghai: renmin chubanshe.
- 1981 *Zhongguo tianwenxue shihua* 中國天文學史話, Hong Kong: Qingnian chubanshe.
- Cheng Jilin 程繼林 1982 "Taianxian Dawenkou faxian yizuo Han huaxiangshi mu 泰安縣大汶口發現一座漢畫像石墓", *WW*, no. 6, pp. 44-50.
- 1988 "Shandong Taianxian Jiuxiancun Han huaxiangshi mu 山東泰安縣舊縣村漢畫像石墓", *KG*, no. 4, pp. 307-313.
- 1989 "Taian Dawenkou Han huaxiang shi mu 泰安大汶口漢畫像石墓", *WW*, no. 1, pp. 48-58.
- Cheng Linqun 程林泉 & Han Gaohe 韓國河 1994. 6. 26 "Xi'an beijiao Hanmu fajue de shouhuo 西安北郊漢墓發掘的收穫", *ZGWWB*.
- Cheng Xinren 程欣人 & Chen Hengshu 陳恆樹 1966a "Jiangsu Xuzhou Shilipu Han huaxiangshi mu 江蘇徐州十裡鋪漢畫像石墓", *KG*, no. 2, pp. 66-83, 91.
- 1966b "Hubei Suixian Tangzhen Han Wei mu qingli 湖北隨縣唐鎮漢魏墓清理", *KG*, no. 2, pp. 84-91.
- Chi Yanzhang 遲延璋 & Wang Tianzheng 王天政 1995 "Shandong Weifangshi faxian Han huaxiangshi mu 山東濰坊市發現漢畫像石墓", *KG*, no. 11, pp. 1054-1055.
- The China Institute in America 1968 *Animals and Birds in Chinese Art*, New York.
- Chinese Art Society of America 1961 *Arts of the Han Dynasty*, New York.
- Chinese Cultural Center of San Francisco 1987 *Stories from the Past: Han Dynasty Pictorial Tomb Reliefs and Archaeological Objects from Sichuan Province, People's Republic of China*, San Francisco: Chinese Culture Foundation of San Francisco.
- Chongqingshi Bowuguan 重慶市博物館 1957 *Chongqingshi Bowuguan cang Sichuan Han huaxiangzhuan xuanji* 重慶市博物館藏四川漢代畫像磚選集, Beijing: Wenwu Press.
- & Hechuanxian wenhuaguan 合川縣文化館 1977 "Hechuan DongHan huaxiangshi mu 合川東漢畫像石墓", *WW*, no. 2, pp. 63-69.
- Chow, Fong 1973 "Ma-wang-tui: A Treasure-trove from the Western Han Dynasty", *AA* 35, pp. 5-24.
- Christie, Anthony 1983 *Chinese Mythology*, England: Newnes Books.
- Chu Ci Ji Zhu = Zhu Xi 朱熹 comp. & annotated 1953 *Chu Ci Ji Zhu* 楚辭集注, Beijing: Renmin wenxue chubanshu.
- Chu T'ung-tsu 1972. Jack L. Dull ed., *Han Social Structure*, Seattle & London: University of Washington Press.
- Chuwenhua yanjiuhui 楚文化研究所 ed. 1994 *Chuwenhua yanjiu lunji* 楚文化研究論集, vol. 4, Henan: Renmin chubanshe.

- Ci yuan* = Business Press (Hong Kong) ed. 1991 *Ci yuan* 辭源, rev. ed., Hong Kong.
- Cohen, Myron L. 1985 "Souls and Salvation: Conflicting Themes in Chinese Popular Religion", in James L. Watson ed. 1985, pp. 320-334.
- Cohn, William 1948 "Formative Period: From the Earliest Times to the End of the Han Dynasty A.D. 220", in *Chinese Painting*, London: Phaidon Press, pp. 24-30.
- Cong Dexin 叢德新 & Luo Zhihong 羅志宏 1998 "Chongxing Wushanxian DongHan liujin tongpaishi de faxian yu yanjiu 重慶巫山縣東漢鑲金銅牌飾的發現與研究", *KG*, no. 12, pp. 77-86.
- Creel, H. G. 1938 *Studies of Early Chinese culture*, Baltimore: Waverly Press.
- 1958 *The Birth of China*, New York: F. Ungar.
- 1975 "The Eclectics of Han Thought", in Chang Chun-shu ed. 1975, pp. 140-156.
- Cui Benxin 崔本信 *et al.* 1998 "Henan Tanghe Baizhuang Han huaxiangshi mu 河南唐河白莊漢畫像石墓", *ZYWW*, no. 4, pp. 30-34.
- Cui Chen 崔陳 1991 "Yibin diqu chutu Handai huaxiangshiguan 宜賓地區出土的漢代畫像石棺", *KGYWW*, no. 1, pp. 34-40.
- Cui Hua 崔華 & Niu Geng 牛耕 1996 "Cong Hanhua zhong de shuihanshen huaxiang kan woguo Handai de qiyu fengsu 從漢畫中的水旱神畫像看我國漢代的祈雨風俗", *ZYWW*, no. 3, pp. 75-83.
- Cui Lequan 崔樂泉 1991. 3. 24 "Handai xiche huaxiangzhuan 漢代戲車畫像磚", *ZGWWB*.
- Cui Xinshe 崔新社 1986 "Xiangyang Jiajiachong huaxiangzhuanmu 襄陽賈家沖畫像磚墓", *JHKG*, no. 1, pp. 16-33.
- Cullen, Christopher 1996 *Astronomy and Mathematics in Ancient China: the Zhou bi suan jing*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Dabaotai Hanmu fajuezu 大葆台漢墓發掘組 1989 *Beijing Dabaotai Hanmu* 北京大葆台漢墓, Beijing: Wenwu.
- Dai Yingxin 戴應新 & Li Zhongxuan 李仲煊 1983 "Shanxi Suidexian Yanjiacha DongHan huaxiangshi mu 山西綏德縣延家岔東漢畫像石墓", *KG*, no. 3, pp. 233-237.
- & Wei Suizhi 魏遂志 1988 "Shaanxi Suide Huangjiata DongHan huaxiangshimuqun fajue jianbao 陝西綏德黃家塔東漢畫像石墓群發掘簡報", *KGYWW*, nos. 5 & 6, pp. 251-261.
- Dang Hua 黨華 1987 "Mawangdui yihao Hanmu caihui bohua mingcheng de kaocha 馬王堆一號漢墓彩繪帛畫名稱的考察", in *Zhongguo kaoguxue yanjiu lunji bianweihui* ed. 1987, pp. 394-403.
- Dang Shoushan 黨壽山 1995 "Gansu Wuwei Mozuizi faxian yizuo DongHan bihua mu 甘肅武威磨嘴子發現一座東漢壁畫墓", *KG*, no. 11, pp. 1052-1053.
- Dang Shunmin 黨順民, ed. 1994 "Waiwen qianbing xintan 外文鉛餅新探", *KGYWW*, no. 5, pp. 84-89.
- De Visser, M. W. 1969 *The Dragon in China and Japan*, Wiesbaden: M. Sandig.
- De Woskin, Kenneth J. 1987 "Music and Voices from the Han Tombs: Music, Dance, and Entertainment in the Han", in Lim *et al.* 1987, pp. 64-71.

- 1991 "Book Review (The Wu Liang Shrine: The Ideology of Chinese Pictorial Art by Wu Hung)", *Orientalism*, vol. 22, no. 7, pp. 57-58.
- Dennys, Nicholas B. 1876 *The Folklore of China*, Hong Kong: China Mail Office.
- Dien, Albert E. 1978-85 *Chinese Archaeological Abstracts*, vol. 3: *Eastern Zhou to Han*, Los Angeles: Institute of Archaeology University of California.
- 1987 "Chinese Beliefs in the Afterworld", in Caroselli ed. 1987, pp. 1-15.
- ed. 1991 *State and Society in Early Medieval China*, Stanford, California: Stanford University Press.
- Dieny, Jean-Pierre 1987 *Le Symbolisme du Dragon dans la Chine Antique*, Paris.
- 1989-90 "Le Fenghuang et le Phenix", *CDEA* 5 (Special Issue: Taoist Studies II), pp. 1-15.
- Ding Peng 丁鵬 1996 "Qiantan Handai huaxiang taozao 淺談漢代畫像陶灶", in Nanyangshi wenhuaju ed. 1996, pp. 328-333.
- Ding Shan 丁山 1988 *Zhongguo gudai zongjiao yu shenhua kao* 中國古代宗教與神話考, rpt., Shanghai: Shanghai wenyi chubanshe.
- Doi, Yoshiko 土居淑子 1977 "Shinshoku shō gazō sekibō 針織廠畫像石墓", in Inoue & Miyagawa eds. 1977, pp. 94-104.
- 1986 *Kodai Chūgoku no gazōseki* 古代中國の畫像石, Kyōto: Dōhōsha.
- Dongbei bowuguan 東北博物館 1955 "Liaoyang Sandaohao liangzuo bihua mu de qingli gongzuo jianbao 遼陽三道壕兩座壁畫墓清理工作簡報", *WWCKZL*, no. 12, pp. 49-58.
- DongHan huiyao* = Xu Tianlin 徐天麟 comp. 1991 *DongHan huiyao* 東漢會要, Beijing: Zhonghua shuju. Taipei (rpt. fr. Ju zhen ban cong shu ben).
- Drake, F. S. 1943 "The Sculptured Stones of the Han Dynasty", *MS* 8, pp. 280-318.
- Du Erwei 杜而未 1977 *Shanhaijing de shenhua xitong* 山海經的神話系統, rpt., Taipei: Taiwan hsueh sheng shuju.
- 1996 *Feng Lin Gui Long kaoshi* 鳳麟龜龍考釋, rpt., Taipei: Commercial Press.
- Du Jianmin 杜建民 1995 *Zhongguo lidai diwang shixibiao* 中國歷代帝王世系表, Jinan: Qilu shushe.
- Duan Shi 段拭 1958 *Hanhua* 漢畫, Beijing: Gudian wenxue chubanshe.
- 1962 "Jiangsu Tongshan Honglou DongHan mu chutu fangzhi huaxiangshi 江蘇銅山洪樓東漢墓出土紡織畫像石", *WW*, no. 3, pp. 31-32.
- Duan Xuyuan 段緒元 1987 "Henan Xinxiangshi chutu Handai kongxinzhuang 河南新鄉市出土漢代空心碑", *KGYWW*, no. 2, pp. 108-109.
- Dubs, Homer H. 1938-55 *The History of the Former Han Dynasty*, 3 vols., Baltimore: Waverly Press.
- 1942 "An Ancient Chinese Mystery Cult", *HTR* 35, pp. 221-246.
- 1959 "The Archaic Royal Jou [Zhou] Religion", *TP* 46, pp. 218-259.

- E'bi Jiefang 俄比解放 1994 "Sichuan sheng Zhaojiaoxian chutu de Handai huaxiang zhuanshi 四川省昭覺縣出土漢代畫像石磚", *KGYWW*, no. 3, pp. 44-47.
- Eberhard, Wolfram 1995 *A Dictionary of Chinese Symbols: Hidden Symbols in Chinese Life and Thought*, London & New York: Routledge.
- Ebrey, Patricia B. 1991 "Toward a Better Understanding of the Later Han Upper Class", in Dien ed. 1991, pp.49-72.
- ed. 1993 *Chinese Civilization: A Sourcebook*, New York: Free Press.
- Edwards, R. 1954 "The Cave Reliefs at Mahao", *AA* 17, pp. 103-29.
- Eliade, Mircea 1964. Willard R. Trask trans., *Shamanism: Archaic Techniques of Ecstasy*, London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.
- 1989. Willard R. Trask trans., *The Myths of the Eternal Return, or Cosmos and History*, London: Arkana.
- Fairbank, John K. ed. 1957 *Chinese Thought and Institutions*, Chicago; London: University of Chicago Press.
- Fairbank, Wilma 1972 *Adventures in Retrieval: Han Murals and Shang Bronze Molds*, Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press.
- 1972a "The Offering Shrines of 'Wu Liang Tz'u'", in Wilma Fairbank 1972, pp. 43-56, rpt. fr. *HJAS* 6 (1941), pp. 1-36.
- 1972b "A Structural Key to Han Mural Art", in Wilma Fairbank 1972, pp. 87-140, rpt. fr. *HJAS* 7 (1942), no. 1, pp. 52-88.
- & Masao Kitano 1972 "Han Mural Paintings in the Pei-yuan Tomb at Liaoyang, South Manchuria", in Wilma Fairbank 1972, pp. 141-180, rpt. fr. *AA* 17 (1954), pp. 238-64.
- Fan Wenlan 范文蘭 1931 "Yu Jiegang lun wuxiang de qiyuan 與頓剛論五行的起源", *SXNB* 3, pp. 43-48.
- Fan Ye 范曄 comp., Li Xian et al. annotated 1996 *Hou Han Shu* 後漢書, 12 vols., rpt., Beijing: Zhonghua shuju.
- Fang Junji 方俊吉 1985 *Li Ji zhi tiandi guishen guan tanjiu* 禮記之天地鬼神觀探究, Taipei: Wenshizhe chubanshe.
- Fang Kaiwen 方開文 1989 *Zhongguo tianwenxue shi wenji* 中國天文學史文集, vol. 5, Beijing: Kexue chubanshe.
- Fang Pengjun 方鵬鈞 & Zhang Xunliao 張勳燎 1980 "Shandong Cangshan Yuanjia yuannian huaxiangshi tiji de shidai he youguan wenti de taolun 山東元嘉元年畫像石題記的時代和有關問題的討論", *KG*, no. 3, pp. 271-277.
- Fang Yousheng 方酉生 1996 "Puyang Xishuipo bangke baisu longhutu de chongda faxian ji xueshu yiyi 濮陽西水坡 M45 蚌殼擺塑龍虎圖的發現及重大學術意義", *ZYWW*, no. 1, pp. 61-64.
- Feddersen, Martin 1961. Arthur Lane trans., *Chinese Decorative Art*, London: Faber & Faber.
- Feng Guanghong 馮廣宏 1997 "Niaomu yu gu Shu wenhua — du Wang Jiayou xiansheng wen hou yougan 烏母與古蜀文化 — 讀王家佑先生文後有感", *SCWW*, no. 3, p. 61-63.

- Feng Shi 馮時 1990 "Henan Puyang Xishuibo sishiwu hao mu de tianwenxue yanjiu 河南濮陽西水坡 45 號墓的天文學研究", *WW*, no. 3, pp. 52-60, 69.
- Feng Yi 馮沂 & Huo Qiming 霍啟明 1995 "Shandong Linyi Jinqueshan huaxiangzhuan mu 山東臨沂金雀山畫像碑墓", *WW*, no. 6, pp. 72-78.
- Feng Yongqian 馮永謙 *et al.* 1985 "Liaoyang jiucheng Dongmenli DongHan bihuamu fajue jianbao 遼陽舊城東門裡東漢壁畫墓發掘簡報", *WW*, no. 6, pp. 25-42.
- Feng Youlan (Yu-lan) 馮友蘭 1952. Derk Bodde trans., *A History of Chinese Philosophy*, 2 vols., Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Feng Yu 馮禹 1990 'Tian'yu 'ren'—Zhongguo lishi shang de tianren guanxi '天'與'人'—中國歷史上的天人關係, Chongqing: Chongqing chubanshe.
- Finsterbusch, Käte von 1971 *Verzeichnis und Motivindex der Han-darstellungen*, Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz.
- Fontein, Jan & Wu Tung 1973 *Unearthing China's Past*, Boston, Massachusetts: Museum of Fine Arts.
- eds. 1976 *Han and T'ang Murals: Discovered in Tombs in the People's Republic of China and Copied by Contemporary Chinese Painters*, Massachusetts: Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.
- Forke, A. 1962 *Lun-Heng: Philosophical Essays by Wang Ch'ung*, 2 vols., New York: Paragon Book Gallery.
- Fracasso, Riccardo 1988 "Holy Mother of Ancient China: A New Approach to the Hsi-Wang-Mu Problem", *TP* 74, pp. 1-46.
- Frazer, James George 1910 *Totemism and Exogamy: A Treatise on Certain Early Forms of Supersitition and Society*, 4 vols, London: Macmillan.
- 1926 *Worship of Nature*, London.
- 1927 *Man, God & Immortality: Thoughts on Human Progress*, London.
- The Freer Gallery of Art ed. 1946 *A Descriptive and Illustrative Catalogue of Chinese Bronzes*, Washington.
- Fry, Roger 1923 *Animals in Chinese Art: A collection of examples selected & described by H. D'Ardenne De Tizac*, London: Benn Brothers Ltd. (Translation of: D'Ardenne De Tizac ed., *Les Animaux dans l'art chinois*, Paris, 1922).
- Fu Fangsheng 傅方笙 & Gu Chenyin 顧承銀 1989 "Shandong Jinxiangxian faxian Handai huaxiangzhuan mu 山東金鄉縣發現漢代畫像碑墓", *KG*, no. 12, pp. 1103-1109.
- Fu Jiaojin 傅角今 1948 *Chonghua Zhongguo shengqu lun 重劃中國省區論*, Shanghai: Commercial Press.
- Fu Juyou 傅舉有 1993 "Mawangdui zenghua yanjiu — Mawangdu Hanhua yanjiu zhi yi 馬王堆繒畫研究 — 馬王堆繒畫研究之一", *ZYWW*, no. 3, pp. 99-107.
- 1994 "Luanfeitianhan xiuwuchanghong (zhong) — Handai changxiu wuyong he huaxiang 鸞飛天漢, 袖舞長虹 (中) — 漢代長袖舞俑和畫像", *NPMMCA*, Jan, no.10, pp. 116-133.
- 1999 "Handai liehou de jiali — jiantan Mawangdui sanhaomu muzhu 漢代列侯的家吏 — 兼談馬王堆三號墓墓主", *WW*, no. 1, pp. 86-89, 96.
- Fu Pei-jung 1984 *The Concept of "T'ien" in Ancient China: With Special Emphasis on Confucianism*, PhD

diss., Yale University, Ann Arbor, MI.: University Microfilms International.

Fu Xihua 傅惜華 ed. 1950 *Corpus des Pierres Sculptées Han* vols. I & II 漢代畫像全集初編及二編, Shanghai: Commercial Press.

Fu Zhufu 傅築夫 1982 *Zhongguo fengjian shehui jingjishi* 中國封建社會經濟史, vol. 2 (4 vols.), Beijing: Renmin chubanshe.

----- & Wang Yuhu 王毓琥 eds. 1982 *Zhongguo jingjishi ziliao* 中國經濟史資料 — *QinHan Sanguo bian* 秦漢三國編, Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe.

Gai Shanlin 蓋山林 1974 "Holinger Hanmu bihua xuanyang de Kong-Meng zhidao de fandong shizhi 和林格爾漢墓壁畫宣揚的孔孟之道的反動實質", *WW*, no. 11, pp. 63-68.

Gan Bowen 甘博文 1972 "Gansu Wuwei Leitai DongHan mu qingli jianbao 甘肅武威雷台東漢墓清理簡報", *WW*, no. 2, pp. 16-19.

Gansusheng wenwu guanli weiyuanhui 甘肅省文物管理委員會 1959 "Jiuquan Xiaheqing diyi hao mu he dishibahao mu fajue jianbao 酒泉下河清第一號墓和第十八號墓發掘簡報", *WW*, no. 10, pp. 71-76.

Gansusheng wenwudui 甘肅省文物隊 et al. 1985 *Jiayuguan bihuanu fajue baogao* 嘉峪關壁畫墓發掘報告, Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe.

Gao Chongwen 高崇文 1988 "XiHan Changshawang mu he Nanyuewang mu zangzhi chutan 西漢長沙王墓和南越王墓葬製初探", *KG*, no. 4, pp. 342-347.

Gao Jiaofu 高覺敷 ed. 1985 *Zhongguo xinlixueshi* 中國心理學史, Beijing: Renmin jiaoyu chubanshe.

Gao Musen 高木森 1992 *Zhongguo huihua sixiangshi* 中國繪畫思想史, Taipei: Dongda Tushu.

Gao Tonggen 高同根 1986 "Jianshu Junxian DongHan huaxiangshi de diaoxiang yishu 簡述浚縣東漢畫像石的雕像藝術", *ZYWW*, no. 1, pp. 88-90.

Gao Tongliu 高彤流 & Liu Yongsheng 劉永生 1984 "Shanxi Xiaxian Wangcun DongHan bihua mu 山西夏縣王村東漢壁畫墓", *WW*, no. 8, pp. 34-46.

----- 1996 "Shanxi Lishi zaici faxian DongHan huaxiangshi mu 山西離石再次發現東漢畫像石墓", *WW*, no. 4, pp. 13-27.

Gao Wei 高煒 1984 "Handai de huaxiangshi mu 漢代的畫像石墓", in the Institute of Archaeology, CASS. ed. 1984, pp. 451-56.

Gao Wen 高文 1985 "Xuanliduocai de huaxiangshi 絢麗多彩的畫像石 — Sichuan jiefanghou chutu de wuge shiguanguo 四川解放後出土的五個石棺槨", *SCWW*, no. 1, pp. 12-15.

----- 1987a *Sichuan Handai huaxiangzhuan* 四川漢代畫像磚, Shanghai: Renmin meishu chubanshe.

----- 1987b "Shitan Sichuan Handai huaxiangzhuan yishu 試談四川漢代畫像磚藝術", *SCWW*, no. 1, pp. 8-10.

----- 1987c "A Brief Overview of the Han Tomb Reliefs from Sichuan", in Lim et. al. 1987, pp. 46-50.

----- 1992 "Baoting Han huaxiangzhuan yishu tese qianxi 寶興漢畫像磚藝術特色淺析", *SCWW*, no. 1, pp. 28-30.

----- 1994 *Zhongguo Hanque* 中國漢闕, Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe.

- 1997 "Sichuan Handai huaxiangshiguan gailun 四川漢代畫像石棺概論", *SCWW*, no. 4, p. 21-27.
- & Fan Xiaoping 范小平 1991 "Sichuan Handai huaxiang shiguan yishu yanjiu 四川漢代畫像石棺藝術研究", *ZYWW*, no. 3, pp.25-32.
- & Gao Chenggang 高成剛 1996 *Zhongguo huaxiang shiguan yishu* 中國畫像石棺藝術, Shanxi: Renmin chubanshe.
- & Gao Chengying 高成英 1988 "Sichuan chutu de shiyiju Handai huaxiangzhiguan tushi 四川出土的十一具畫像石棺圖釋", *SCWW*, no. 3, pp. 17-24.
- Gao Yingqin 高應勤 1990. 6. 21 "Churen yu feng 楚人與鳳", *ZGWWB*.
- Gao You 高誘 annotated 1989 *Lü Shi Chun Qiu* 呂氏春秋, rpt., Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe.
- Garner, Sir Harry 1979 *Chinese lacquer*, London: Faber & Faber.
- Ge Hong 葛洪 comp. 1954 *Bao Pu Zi* 抱朴子, rpt. in *Zhu zi ji cheng* (vol. 8) 諸子集成(八), Beijing: Zhonghua shuju.
- Ge Jianxiong 葛劍雄 1986 *Xi Han renkou dili* 西漢人口地理, Beijing: Renmin chubanshe.
- Gernet, Jacques 1993. J. R. Foster trans., *A History of Chinese Civilization*, 2nd ed., London: Cambridge University Press (Translation of *Le Monde Chinois*, Paris, 1972).
- Girardot N. J. & Major J. S. eds. 1986 *Myths and Symbols in Chinese Tradition* (Symposium Issue, vols. 13 & 14 of *Journal of Chinese Religion*), Boulder: Society for the Study of Chinese Religions.
- Gong Ning 龔寧 ed. 1994 *Zhongguo lidai qiwu tuan jicheng* 中國歷代器物圖案集成, 2 vols., Taipei: Nantian shuju.
- Gotō, Shūichi 後藤守一 1973 *Kanshiki kyō* 漢式鏡, rpt of the 1926 ed., issued in series: *Nihon kōkōgaku taikai*. Tōkyō: Yūzankaku.
- Graham, Angus C. 1986a *Studies in Chinese Philosophy and Philosophical Literature*, Singapore: Institute of East Asian Philosophies, National University of Singapore.
- 1986b *Yin-yang & the Nature of Correlative Thinking*, Occasional Paper and Monograph Series no. 6, Singapore: The Institute of East Asian Philosophies.
- 1991 *Disputers of the Tao: Philosophical Argument in Ancient China*, La Salle, Ill: Open Court. First ed. 1989.
- Grousset, René 1934. Catherine A. Philips trans., *The Civilizations of the East*, vol. 3: *China*, London: Hamish Hamilton.
- 1959. Chevalier Haakon trans., *Chinese Art and Culture*, London: Andre Deutsch.
- Gu Chenyin 顧承銀 et al. 1995 "Shandong Jinxiang Yushan faxian liangzuo Hanmu 山東金鄉魚山發現兩座漢墓", *KG*, no. 5, pp.385-389.
- Gu Jiegang 顧頡剛 1955 *Qin Han de fangshi yu rusheng* 秦漢的方士與儒生, Shanghai: Junzhong chubanshe.
- & Yang Xiangkui 楊向奎 1936 *San Huang Kao* 三皇考, Beijing: Harvard and Yanjing Institute.

- Gu Sen 顧森 1991 "Han huaxiang yi shu tanyuan 漢畫像藝術探源", *ZYWW*, no. 3, pp.1-9.
- 1997 *Zhongguo Hanhua tudian* 中國漢畫圖典, Hengzhou: Jiejiang sheying chubanshe.
- Gu shi 顧氏 1985 *Handai xueshu shi lue* 漢代學術史略, Taipei: Tiandi chubanshe.
- Gu Tiefu 顧鐵符 1972 "Guanyu bohua —關於帛畫" & "Zuotan Changsha Mawangdui yihao Hanmu — 座談馬王堆一號漢墓", *WW*, no. 9, pp. 52-73.
- Guan Baiyi 關百益 1930 *Nanyang Han huaxiangji* 南陽漢畫像石, Shanghai: Zhonghua Press.
- Guan Tianxiang 關天相 & Ji Gang 冀剛 1955 "Liangshan Hanmu 梁山漢墓", *WWCKZL*, no. 5, pp. 43-50.
- Guangxi wenwu gongzuodui 廣西文物工作隊 & Hepuxian bowuguan 合浦縣博物館 1998 "Guangxi Hepuxian Muzhuling DongHan mu 廣西合浦縣母豬嶺東漢墓", *KG*, no. 5, pp. 36-44.
- Guangzhoushi wenwu guanli weiyuanhui et al. 1991 *XiHan Nan Yue Wang mu* 西漢南越王墓, Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe.
- Guangzhoushi wenwu guanli weiyuanhui 廣州市文物管理委員會 & Guangzhou bowuguan 廣州博物館 1981 *Guangzhou Hanmu* 廣州漢墓, Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe.
- Gugong wenwu yuekan ed. 1989a "Hanhua xuan 漢畫選 (1) — baixi 百戲", *NPMMA*, May, no. 2, pp. 112-115.
- ed. 1989b "Hanhua xuan 漢畫選 (5) — shenhua chuanishuo 神話傳說", *NPMMA*, Oct, no. 7, pp. 68-71.
- ed. 1989c "Hanhua xuan 漢畫選 (6) — bozhong shouhuo 播種收穫", *NPMMA*, Nov, no. 8, pp. 40-43.
- ed. 1989d "Hanhua xuan 漢畫選 (7) — zhisang fangzhi 植桑紡織", *NPMMA*, Dec, no. 9, pp. 54-57.
- ed. 1990a "Hanhua xuan 漢畫選 (8) — tianma shenju 天馬神駒", *NPMMA*, Jan, no. 10, pp. 130-135.
- ed. 1990b "Hanhua xuan 漢畫選 (9) — paochu yanyin 庖廚宴飲", *NPMMA*, Feb, no. 11, pp. 32-35.
- Guo Dewei 郭德維 1989 "Zenghouyimu muzhu neiguan huawen tu'an lue xi 曾侯乙墓墓主內棺花紋圖案略析", *JHKG*, no. 2, pp. 16-33.
- Guo Lianfu 郭廉夫 et al. eds. 1998 *Zhongguo wenyang cidian* 中國紋樣辭典, Tianjin: Tianjin jiaoyu chubanshe.
- Guo Moruo (Kuo Mo-jo) 郭沫若 1964 "An Investigation of the Wall Paintings in the Western Han Tomb at Loyang", *WWCH* 3, pp. 27-29.
- Guo Xiaochuan 郭曉川 1997 "Su Lu Yu Wan qu Hanhuaxiang shijiao xingshi yanbian de fenqi yanjiu 蘇魯豫皖區漢畫像視覺形式演變的分期研究", *KGTX*, no. 2, pp. 171-195.
- Guo Yuhai 郭玉海 1996 *Gugong cang jing* 故宮藏鏡, Beijing: Zijincheng chubanshe.
- Guojia wenwuju 國家文物局 ed. 1996 *Zhongguo wenwu jinghua da cidian* 中國文物精華大辭典·*qingtong bian* 青銅編, Shanghai: Cishu chubanshe.

- Hamada, Kōsaku 浜田耕作 1936 "On the Painting of the Han Period: Newly Discovered Materials in Korea and South Manchuria", *MRDTB* 8, pp. 33-44.
- 浜田耕作 1989 "Kandai no kaiga ni tsuite 漢代繪畫に就いて", in Tōkyō toritsu hakubutsukan 東京国立博物館 Tōkyō National Museum ed. *Muromachi jidai no byōbu e: Kokka sōkan hyaku nen kinen tokubetsu ten* 室町時代の屏風絵: 「国華」創刊 100 年記念特別展(commemorating the 100th anniversary of the publication Kokka : Screen paintings of the Muromachi period), Catalog of an exhibition held at the Tōkyō National Museum, March 28-May 7, 1989, Tōkyō: Asahi Shinbunsha.
- Han Lianwu 韓連武 1987 "Nanyang Hanhua liangjie 南陽漢畫兩解", *NDXT*, no. 1, pp. 77-78.
- Han Shu* = Ban Gu 班固 1962. Yan Shigu annotated *Han Shu* 漢書, rpt., Beijing: Zhonghua shuju.
- Han Shunfa 韓順發 1991 "Han Tang Gaogeng yishu kao 漢唐高經藝術考", *ZYWW*, no. 3, pp. 89-93.
- 1993 "Han huaxiang zhong de daoli fenlei ji mingcheng kaoshi 漢畫像中的倒立分類及名稱考釋", *ZYWW*, no. 2, pp. 31-35, 60.
- Han Wei 韓偉 & Wang Weilin 王煒林 2001 *Shaanxi Shenmu Dabaodang Han caihui huaxiangshi* 陝西神木大保當漢彩繪畫像石, Chongqing: Chongqing chubanshe.
- Han Weilong 韓維龍 *et al.* 1988 "Henan Fugou faxian Handai huaxiangzhuan 河南扶溝發現漢代畫像碑", *KG*, no. 5, pp. 474-476.
- *et al.* 1991 "Henan Huaiyang Beiguan yihao Hanmu fajue jianbao 河南淮陽北關一號漢墓發掘簡報", *WW* no. 4, pp. 34-46.
- Han Yuxiang 韓玉祥 ed. 1995 *Nanyang Handai tianwen huaxiangshi yanjiu* 南陽漢代天文畫像石研究, Beijing: Minzu chubanshe.
- & Niu Geng 牛耕 1992. 9. 6 "Yifu Handai tianwen huaxiang 一幅漢代天文畫像", *ZGWWB*.
- & Niu Tianwei 牛天偉 1995 "Qilin'gang Han Huaxiangshimu qianshi muding huaxiang kaoshi 麒麟崗漢畫像石墓前室墓頂畫像考釋", in Han Yuxiang ed. 1995, pp. 23-25.
- ed. 1996 *Hanhua xueshu wenji* 漢畫學術文集, Henan: Henan meishu chubanshe.
- Hao Benxing 郝本性 1992 "Qiantan Henan Han huaxiangshi zhong de dongwu xingxiang 淺談河南漢畫像石中的動物形象", *GA*, no. 12, pp. 103-104.
- Hao Wanzhang 郝萬章 1984 "Fugou Wuqiaocun faxian Handai huaxiangzhuan 扶溝吳橋村發現漢代畫像碑", *ZYWW*, no. 3, pp. 50-53.
- Harrell, Stevan 1974 "When a ghost becomes a god", in Wolf, Arthur P. ed. 1974, pp. 193-206.
- 1979 "The Concept of Soul in Chinese Folk Religion", *JAS* 38, pp. 519-28.
- Hart, James A. 1976 "The Speech of Prince Chin: A Study of Early Chinese Cosmology", in Workshop on Classical Chinese Thought ed. 1976, pp. 35-66.
- Hawkes, David annotated & trans. 1985 *The Songs of the South: an ancient Chinese anthology of poems by Qu Yuan and Other Poets*, Harmondsworth, Middlesex, England: Penguin Books.
- Hayashi, Minao 林 巳奈夫 1966 "Gokan jidai no shaba gyōretsu 後漢時代の車馬行列(Horse and Carriage Processions of the Latter Han)", *TG* 37, pp. 183-226.

- 1967 "Chūgoku Kodai no itako 中国古代の神巫(Shamanism in Ancient China)", *TG* 38, pp. 199-224.
- 1973 "Kankyō no zugara nisan ni tsuite 漢鏡の圖柄二、三について On Some Motifs in Han Bronze Mirror Decoration", *TG* 44, pp. 1-65.
- 1974 "Kandai kishin no sekai 漢代鬼神の世界(Spirit World of the Han Times)", *TG* 46, pp. 223-306.
- 1986 "In shū jidai seidōki moyō no kenkyū 殷周時代青銅器紋様の研究 (A Conspectus of Yin and Zhou Bronze Vessels)", *In shū seidōki sōran* 殷周青銅器綜覧, vol.2, Kyōto: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan.
- ed. 1976 *Kandai no bunbutsu 漢代の文物 The Art of Han Dynasty*, Kyōto: Kyōto Daigaku Jinbun kagaku kenkyūsho.
- He Fushun 賀福順 1994 "Shandong Jiexiangxian faxian huaxiangshi mu 山東嘉祥縣發現畫像石墓", *KG*, no. 8, p. 762.
- et al. 1997 "Sichuan long zhongzuxi xingcheng de buzhen 四川龍種族系形成的補正", *SCWW*, no. 3, p. 57-60.
- He Haotian 何浩天 1969 *Hanhua yu Handai shehui shenghuo 漢畫與漢代社會生活*, Taipei: Taiwan shudian.
- He Jiejun 何介鈞 & Zhang Weiming 張維明 1982 *Mawangdui Hanmu 馬王堆漢墓*, Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe.
- He Nu 何努 1997 "Niao han yu tuan de zhuanheng wushu hanyi tantao 鳥含魚圖案的轉生巫術含意探討", *JHKG*, no. 3, pp. 75-81.
- He Xilin 賀西林 1996 "LiangHan mushi bihua yanjiu suixiang 兩漢墓室壁畫研究隨想", *WW*, no. 9, pp. 76-77.
- 1998 "DongHan qianshu de tuxiang ji yi yi — jianlun QinHan shenxian sixiang de fazhan, liubian 東漢錢樹的圖像及意義 — 兼論秦漢神仙思想的發展、流變", *NPMJ*, no. 3, pp. 20-31.
- He Xingliang 何星亮 1992 *Zhongguo ziran shen yu ziran chongbai 中國自然神與自然崇拜*, Shanghai: Shanghai sanlian shudian.
- He Zhenghuang 何正璜 1958 "Shaanbei DongHan huaxiangshi zhong bufen tici de jianfan kaozheng 陝北東漢畫像石中部分題材的簡單考證", in Shaanxisheng bowuguan & Shaanxisheng wenguanhui eds. 1958, pp. 127-129.
- He Zhiguo 何志國 1984 "Sichuan Mianyang chutu luwen huaxiangzhuan 四川綿陽出土鹿紋畫像磚", *KG*, no. 4, pp. 301.
- He Zicheng 賀梓城 1959 "Tangmu bihua 唐墓壁畫", *WW*, no. 8, pp.31-32.
- Hebeisheng wenhuaju gongzuodui 河南省文化局文物工作隊 1959 *Wangdu erhao Hanmu 望都二號漢墓*, Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe.
- Henan wenwu gongzuodui dierdui 河南文物工作隊第二隊 1955 "Luoyang 30.14 hao Hanmu fajue jianbao 洛陽 30.14 號漢墓發掘簡報", *WWCKZL*, no. 10, pp. 42-49.
- Henansheng bowuguan 河南省博物館 1973 "Nanyang Han huaxiangshi gaishu 南陽漢代畫像石概述", *WW*, no. 6, pp. 16-25.
- et al. eds. 1990 *Zhongyue Han sanque 中岳漢三闕*, Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe.

- Henansheng Nanyang diqu wenwu yanjiusuo 河南省南陽地區文物研究所 1990 "Xinye Fanji Han huaxiangzhuan mu 新野樊集漢畫像碑墓", *KGXB*, no. 4, pp. 475-510.
- Henansheng wenhuaju wenwu gongzuodui 河南省文化局文物工作隊 1959a *Dengxian caise huaxiangzhuan mu* 鄧縣彩色畫像碑墓, Beijing: Renmin meishu chubanshe.
- 1959b "Henan Yuxian Baisha Hanmu fajue baogao 河南禹縣白沙漢墓發掘報告", *KGXB*, no. 1, pp. 61-84.
- 1963a *Henan chutu kongxinzhuan tuopianji* 河南出土空心磚拓片集, Beijing: Renmin meishu chubanshe.
- 1963b "Zhengzhou Erligang Han huaxiang kongxinzhuan mu 鄭州二裡崗漢畫像空心碑墓", *KG*, no. 11, pp. 590-94, 611.
- 1964 "Luoyang XiHan bihua mu fajue baogao 洛陽西漢壁畫墓發掘報告", *KGXB*, no. 1, pp. 107-125.
- Henansheng wenwu yanjiusuo 河南省文物研究所 1986 "Zhengzhoushi Xiangyang feiliaoshe Handai huaxiangzhuanmu 鄭州市向陽肥料社漢代畫像碑墓", *ZYWW*, no. 4, pp. 34-38.
- 1994 40 years of *Archaeology in Henan* 河南考古四十年(1952-1992), Zhengzhou: Henan People's Publishing House.
- ed. 1990 *Anping DongHan Bihuamu* 安平東漢壁畫墓, Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe.
- ed. 1993 *Mixian Dahuting Hanmu* 密縣打虎亭漢墓, Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe.
- Henderson, John B. 1984 *The Development and Decline of Chinese Cosmology*, New York: Columbia University Press.
- Hentze, Carl 1928 *Chinese Tomb Figures: A Study in the Beliefs & Folklore of Ancient China*, London: Goldston.
- Higuchi, Takayasu 樋口隆康 1975 *Kodai chūgoku o hakkutsusuru: Maōtai, Manjō hoka* 古代中國を發掘する一 馬王堆、滿城他 一, Tōkyō: Shinchōsha.
- Hirth, Friedrich 1917. Agnes E. Meyer trans., *Native Sources for the History of Chinese Pictorial Art*, rev. ed., New York.
- Ho Peng Yoke 1985 *An Introduction to Science and Civilization in China*, Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press.
- Hong Anquan 洪安全 1983 "Zhoumuwang yu Xiwangmu 周穆王與西王母", *NPMCA*, Jun, no. 3, pp. 88-93.
- Hongshi meishu chubanshe ed. 1976 *Han tuo* 漢拓, Taipei: Xiongshi tushu gongsi.
- Horton, Robin & Finnegan, Ruth eds. 1973 *Modes of Thought: essays of Thinking in Western and Non-western Societies*, London: Faber.
- Hou Bawu 侯八五 1989. 12. 1 "Shanxi Xiaoxian qingli yizuo daxing bihuamu 山西夏縣清理一座大型壁畫墓", *ZGWWB*.
- Hou Han Shu* = Fan Ye 范曄 comp., Li Xian et al. annotated 1996 *Hou Han Shu* 後漢書, 12 vols., rpt.,

Beijing: Zhonghua shuju.

Hou Jiaju 侯家駒 1987 *Zhouli yanjiu* 周禮研究, Taipei: Lianjing.

Hou Wailu 1957 *Zhongguo Sixiang tongshi* 中國思想通史, 6 vols., Beijing.

Hou Wei 霍巍 1997 "Guanyu Minjiang shangyou moutuo shiguanmu jige wenti de tantao 關於岷江上游牟托石棺墓幾個問題的探討", *SCWW*, no. 5, p. 6-10.

Howard, Jeffrey A. 1976 "Concepts of Comprehensiveness and Historical Change in the *Huai-nan-tzu*", in *Workshop on Classical Chinese Thought* ed. 1976, pp. 119-131.

Hu Chunda 胡純達 1991. 9. 1 "Shangdai 'hushirenwen' xinquan 商代'虎食人紋'新詮", *ZGWWB*.

Hu Houxuan 胡厚宣 1959 "Yinxu buci zhong de shangdi he wangdi 殷墟卜辭中的上帝和王帝", *LSXJ*, no. 9, pp. 23-50; no. 10, pp. 89-110.

----- 1977 "Jiaguwen suojian Shangzu niaotuteng de xin zhengju 甲骨文所見商祖鳥圖騰的新証據", *WW*, no. 2, pp. 84-87.

Hu Jichuang 胡寄窗 1963 *Zhongguo shehui jingjishi* 中國社會經濟史, vol. 2 (3 vols.), Shanghai: Renmin chubanshe.

Hu Jigao 胡繼高 & Yang, Huiqin 楊惠欽 1981 "Jinqieshan XiHan bohua de jiebiao 金雀山西漢帛畫的揭裱", *WW*, no. 12, pp. 56-58.

Hu Lingui 呼林貴 1990 "Xi'an Jiaotong daxue XiHanmu bihua 西安交通大學西漢墓壁畫", *WWTD*, no. 6, pp. 15-17.

----- & Zhong Wanman 鍾萬慢 1990 "Xi'an Jiaotong daxue XiHan bihamu fajue jianbao 西安交通大學西漢壁畫墓發掘簡報", *KGYWW*, no. 4, pp. 55-63, pls.

----- et al. 1991 "Xi'an dongjiao Guomian wuchang Hanmu fajue jianbao 西安東郊國棉五廠漢墓發掘簡報", *WB*, no. 4, pp. 3-18.

Hu Xinli 胡新立 1990. 7. 12 "Zouxian faxian Han huaxiangshi muzang 鄒縣發現漢畫像石墓葬", *ZGWWB*.

----- & Wang Jun 王軍 1996. 7. 21 "Zouxian faxian XiHan huaxiangshimu 鄒縣發現西漢畫像石墓", *ZGWWB*.

Hu, Xueyuan 胡學元 & Yang, Yi 楊翼 1993 "Leshan Hanmu qingli jianbao 樂山漢墓清理簡報", *KGYWW*, no. 6, pp. 53-57, 27.

Huai Nan Zi = Zhang Guangbao 張廣保 ed. 1995 *Huai Nan Zi* 淮南子, Beijing: Yanshan chubanshe.

Huaihua diqu wenguanchu 懷化地區文管處 & Jingzhouxian wenguansuo 靖州縣文管所 1998 "Hunan Jingzhouxian tuanjiacun Zhanguo XiHan mu 湖南靖州縣團結村戰國西漢墓", *KG*, no. 5, pp. 27-35.

Huang Daohua 黃道華 1991 "Zhijiang Yaojiagang chutu de DongHan huaxiangzhuan 枝江姚家港出土的東漢畫像磚", *JHKG*, no. 1, pp. 47-52.

Huang Jijun 黃吉軍 1996 "Luoyang liangHan bihamu jianshuo 洛陽兩漢壁畫墓簡說", *ZYWW*, no. 2, pp. 87-90.

Huang Junjie 黃俊傑 ed. 1982 *Zhongguo wenhua xinlun sixiang bian* 中國文化新論思想編, Taipei: Lianjing chubanshe.

- Huang Liuchun 黃留春 1994 *Xuchang Han zhuanishi huaxiang* 許昌漢碑石畫像, Henan: Henan meishu chubanshe.
- & Zhang Zhao 張照 1988 "Henan Xiangchengxian faxian Han huaxiangshi 河南襄城縣發現漢畫像石", *WW*, no. 5, pp. 54-61.
- Huang Miaozhang 黃森章 & Xian Le 洗樂 1985 "Jiangsu Ganyu Jinshan Han huaxiangshi 江蘇贛榆金山漢畫像石", *KG*, no. 9, pp. 793-798.
- Huang Minglan 黃明蘭 1981 "Luoyang Xi Han huaxiang kongxinzhuan mu 洛陽西漢畫像空心碑墓", *ZGMS*, no. 2, pp. 49-55, 63.
- 1982a *Luoyang Xi Han huaxiangzhuan* 洛陽西漢畫像碑, Beijing: Renmin meishu chubanshe.
- 1982b "'Mutianzi huijian Xiwangmu' Han huaxiangshi kaoshi 《穆天子會見西王母》漢畫像石考釋", *ZYWW*, no. 1, pp. 28-30.
- 1986 *Luoyang Han huaxiangzhuan* 洛陽漢畫像碑, Henan: Henan meishu chubanshe.
- & Guo Yinqiang 郭引強 1996 *Luoyang Hanmu bishu* 洛陽漢墓壁畫, Beijing: Wenwu Chubanshe.
- Huang Mingyan 黃明延 & Xu Zhifan 許智范 1996 "Zhongguo gudai de tuteng chongbai 中國古代的圖騰崇拜", *NFWW*, no. 4, pp. 72-75.
- Huang Nengfu 黃能馥 & Chen Juanjuan 陳娟娟 1987 *Zhongguo longwen tujì* 中國龍紋圖集, Hong Kong: Wanli shudian, Qingongye chubanshe.
- Huang Qishan 黃啟善 1985 "Guangxi Guixian beijiao Hanmu 廣西貴縣北郊漢墓", *KG*, no. 3, pp. 197-215.
- Huang Xiaodong 黃曉東 1996 "Shilun Sichuan Handai huaxiang de chansheng 試論四川漢代畫像的產生", in *Nanyangshi wenhuaju* ed. 1996, pp. 129-133.
- Huang Yafeng 黃雅峰 1989 "Nanyang Hanhuaxiangshi zhong de shenhua yu meixue 南陽漢畫像石中的神話與美學", *NDXT*, no. 3, pp. 14-16.
- 1991 "Nanyang Hanhuaxiangshi he Chu meishu 南陽漢畫像石和楚美術", *NDXT*, no. 2, pp. 15-17.
- 1994 "Nanyang Han huaxiangzhuanishi dongwu ticaì de yishu goucheng 南陽漢畫像碑石動物題材的藝術構成", *MSYJ*, no. 2, pp. 10-15.
- Huang Yanzhen 黃燕貞 *et al.* eds. 1997 *Zhongguo meishu beiwanglu* 中國美術備忘錄, Taipei: Shitou chubanshe gufen gongsi.
- Huang Yaoneng 黃耀能 1978 *Zhongguo gudai nongye shuilishi yanjiu* 中國古代農業水利史研究, Taipei: Liuguo chubanshe.
- Huang Yunfu 黃運甫 1986 "Fangcheng Dangzhuang Han huaxiangshi mu 方城黨莊漢畫像石墓 — jiantan Nanyang Han huaxiangshi mu de cuiwang wenti 兼談南陽漢畫像石墓的衰亡問題", *ZYWW*, no. 2, pp. 45-51.
- Huang Zhanyue 黃展岳 1960 "Han Chang'an cheng nanjiao lizhi jianzhu de weizhi ji qi youguan wenti 漢長安城南郊禮製的位置及其有關問題", *KG*, no. 9, pp. 53-58, 52.
- 1981 "Ji Liangtai Dong Han huaxiangshi shang de 'Kunchitu' 記涼台東漢畫像石上的'髡髻圖'", *WW*,

- no. 10, pp. 22-24.
- 1998 "Handai Zhuhouwang mu lunshu 漢代諸侯王墓論述", *KGXB*, no. 1, pp. 11-33.
- Hubeisheng bowuguan 湖北省博物館 ed. 1980 *Suixian Zenghouyi mu* 隨縣曾侯乙墓, Beijing: Wenwu Chubanshe.
- & Art Gallery, CUHK 香港中文大學文物館 ed. 1994 *Lacquerware from the Warring States to the Han Periods excavated in Hubei Province* 湖北出土戰國秦漢漆器, Hong Kong.
- & E'zhou shi bowuguan 鄂州市博物館 eds. 1986 *Echeng Han Sanguo Liuchao tongjing* 鄂城漢三國六朝銅鏡, Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe.
- ed. 1989 *Zenghouyi mu* 曾侯乙墓, Beijing: Wenwu Chubanshe.
- ed. 1991 *Zenghouyi mu wenwu yishu* 曾侯乙墓文物藝術, Hubei: Hubei meishu chubanshe.
- Hubeisheng Jingzhou dequ bowuguan 湖北省荊州地區博物館 1985 *Chu Tomb No.1 at Mashan in Jiangling* 江陵馬山一號楚墓, Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe.
- Hucker, Charles O. 1982 *Bibliographic Notes on Studies of Early China*, S.I.: Chinese Materials Center.
- 1995 *A Dictionary of Official Titles in Imperial China*, rpt., Taipei: SMC Publishing Inc. First ed. pub. by Stanford University Press, 1985.
- Hunansheng bowuguan 湖南省博物館 *et al.* eds. 1972 *Changsha Mawangdui yihao Hanmu fajue jianbao* 長沙馬王堆一號漢墓發掘簡報, Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe.
- 1979 *Changsha Mawangdui Hanmu* 長沙馬王堆漢墓, Changsha: Renmin chubanshe.
- & kaogu yanjiusuo 考古研究所 eds. 1973 *Changsha Mawangdui yihao Hanmu* 長沙馬王堆一號漢墓, Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe.
- 1973 "Xin faxian de Changsha Zhanguo Chumu bohua 新發現的長沙戰國楚墓帛畫", *WW*, no. 7.
- The Imperial Household Museum, Tōkyō 1932 *Shū Kan Ikō* 周漢遺寶 (*Relics of Han and Pre-Han Dynasties*), catalogue of the exhibition held in the Museum in May 1932, Tōkyō: Ōtsuka Kōgeisha.
- Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region Museum Cultural Work Team 內蒙古自治區文物工作隊 ed. 1978 *Holingor Hanmu Bihua* 和林格爾漢墓壁畫, Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe.
- Inoue, Yasushi 井上靖 & Miyagawa Torao 宮川寅雄 eds. 1977 *Chūgoku no bijutsu to kōkō* 中國の美術と考古, Tōkyō: Rōkkō shuppan.
- The Institute of Archaeology, CASS. ed. 1984 *Archaeological Excavation and Researches in New China* 中國的考古發現與研究, Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe.
- Itō, Seiji 伊藤清司 1990. Liu Huayuan 劉華原 trans., 'Shanhaijing' zhong de guishen Shijie 山海經中的鬼神世界, Beijing: Zhongguo minjian wenyi chubanshe (Translation of 《中國の神獸・惡鬼・山海經の世界》, Tōkyō: Tōhō Shoten, 1986.)
- Izushi, Yoshihiko 出石誠彦 1943 "Jōdai Shina Ni Okeru Shinwa Oyobi Setsuwa 上代支那における神話及び説話" (Myths and Legends in Ancient China), in *Shina jōdai shisō shi kenkyū* 支那上代思想史研究 (Study of the Myths and Legends in Ancient China), Tōkyō: Fujii Shoten, pp. 1-70.
- James, Jean M. 1979 "A Provisional Iconology of Western Han Funerary Art", *OA* 25, no. 3, pp. 347-57.

- 1980 "Some Recently Discovered Late Han Reliefs", *OA* 26, no. 2, pp. 188-91.
- 1982a "Bridges and Cavalcades in Eastern Han Funerary Art", *OA* 28, no. 2, pp. 165-71.
- 1982b "Early Han Lacquer Paintings from Changsha", *Oriental Art*, vol. 13, Mar, no. 3, pp. 30-35.
- 1983 *An Iconographic Study of Two Late Han Funerary Mounments: the Offering Shrines of the Wu Family and the Multichamber Tomb at Holingor*, PhD diss., University of Iowa. Ann Arbor, MI.: University Microfilms International.
- 1985 "Interpreting Han Funerary Art: the Importance of Context", *OA* 31, no. 3, pp. 283-92.
- 1987 "Some Rules of Composition for Figural Art during the Han Dynasty and the Emergence of Landscape", *OA* 33, no. 3, pp. 261-67.
- 1990-91 "The Role of Nanyang on Han Funerary Iconology", *OA* 36, no. 4, pp. 222-32.
- 1993 Jun "Pictorial Bricks of the Han Dynasty in the Art Institute of Chicago", *Oriental Art*, pp. 69-71.
- 1994 "Pictorial Bricks from Henan -- The Development of Subject Matter 50 B.C. - 25 A.D.)", *OA* 40, no. 3, pp. 25-31.
- 1995 "An Iconographic Study of Xiwangmu during the Han Dynasty", *AA* 55, pp. 17-41.
- 1996 *A Guide to the Tomb and Shrines Art of the Han Dynasty (206 B.C. - A.D. 220)*, Lewiston/Queenston/Lampeter: The Edwin Mellen Press.
- 1997. He Xilin 賀西林 trans. "Handai Xiwangmu de tuxiangzhi yanjiu 漢代西王母的圖像志研究", *MSYJ*, no. 2, pp. 43-48.
- Ji An 冀安 1995 *Shengxiao wenhua* 生肖文化, Beijing: Zhongguo qingongye chubanshe.
- Ji Chaoding 冀朝鼎 1981. Zhu Shiao 朱詩鰲 trans., *Zhongguo lishishang de jiben jingjiyu yu shuili shiye de fazhan* 中國歷史上的基本經濟區與水利事業的發展 (Translation of: Chi Ch'ao-ting [Ji Chaoding], Key economic areas in Chinese history as revealed in the development of public works for water-control. London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd., 1st ed. 1936, 2nd ed. 1963), Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe.
- Ji Chongjian 季崇建 1988 "Zhongguo gudai diaosu yishu jianxiang -- Qin Hanpian 中國古代雕塑藝術鑒賞 -- 秦漢編", *AC*, no. 3, pp. 40-48.
- Ji Naijun 姬乃軍 1982 "DongHan luwen huaxiangzhuan 東漢鹿紋畫像碑", *WW*, no. 4, p. 52.
- Ji Zhongqing 紀仲慶 1981 "Yangzhou Hanjiangxian Huchang Hanmu 揚州邗江甘泉漢墓", *WW*, no. 11, pp. 1-11.
- Jia Maiming 賈夢明 1990 "Xuanwu gui she zatan 玄武龜蛇雜談", *NPMCA*, Nov, pp. 52-53.
- Jian Songcun 簡松村 1992 "Handai huaxiangzhuan yishu fengge shixi 漢代畫像碑風格藝術試析", *NPMRQ* 9, summer, no.4, pp. 1-12.
- Jiang Baogeng 蔣寶庚 & Li Zhongyi 黎忠義 1954 "Shandong Yinan Han huaxiangshi mu 山東沂南畫像石墓", *WWCKZL*, no. 8, pp. 35-68.

- Jiang Jiancheng 姜建成 1989 "Shandong Qingzhoushi faxian Han huaxiangshi 山東青州市發現漢畫像石", *KG*, no. 2, p. 184.
- & Zhuang Mingjun 莊明軍 1993 "Shandong Qingzhoushi Zhongzizhuang Han huaxiangshi mu 山東青州市塚子莊漢畫像石墓", *KG*, no. 8, p. 764.
- Jiang Yingju 蔣英炬 1975 "Dui Han huaxiangshi zhong rujia sixiang de pipan 對漢畫像石中儒家思想的批判", *KG*, no. 1, pp. 7-14.
- 1980 "Hanhua zhibang xiaokao 漢畫執棒小考", *WW*, no. 3, pp. 73-74.
- 1983 "Handai de xiaocitang 漢代的小祠堂 — Jiaxiang Songshan Han huaxiangshi de jianzhu fuyuan 嘉祥宋山漢畫像石的建築複原", *KG*, no. 8, pp. 741-751.
- 1985 "Luelun Qufu 'Dongan Hanli huaxiang' shi 略論曲阜《東安漢里畫像》石", *KG*, no. 12, pp. 1130-1135.
- 1997 "'Baozhaishan fenhuan huaxiang' de kaocha yu guanjian '鮑宅山鳳凰畫像' 的考察與管見", *WW*, no. 8, pp. 37-42.
- 1998 "Guanyu Han huaxiangshi chansheng beijing yu yishu gongneng de sikao 關於漢畫像石產生背景與藝術功能的思考", *KG*, no. 11, pp. 90-96.
- ed. 1982 *Shandong Han huaxiangshi xuanji* 山東漢畫像選集, Jinan: Qilu shushe.
- & Wu Wenqi 吳文祺 1980 "Shilun Shandong huaxiangshi de fenbu, kefa yu fenqi 試論山東畫像石的分布, 刻法與分期", *KGWW*, no. 4, pp. 108-114.
- & Wu Wenqi eds. 1995 *Handai Wushici muqun shike yanjiu* 漢代武氏墓群石刻研究, Shandong: Shandong meishu chubanshe.
- Jiang Zuanchu 蔣繼初 1957 "Yangzhou diqu chutu de tongjing 揚州地區出土的銅鏡", *WWCKZL*, no. 8, pp. 32-34.
- Jiangsu Meishu Chubanshe 江蘇美術出版社 ed. 1985 *Xuzhou Handai huaxiangshi* 徐州漢代畫像石, Nanjing.
- Jiangsu Provincial Administrative Committee for Culture Relics 江蘇省文物管理委員會 ed. 1959 *Jiangsu Xuzhou Han huaxiangshi* 江蘇徐州漢畫像石, Beijing: Kexue Press.
- Jiayuguanshi wenwu qingli xiaozu 嘉峪關市文物清理小組 1972 "Jiayuguan Han huaxiangzhuan mu 嘉峪關漢畫像磚墓", *WW*, no. 12, pp. 24-41.
- Jie Huaying 解華英 1996 "Shandong Zouchengshi Chelukou DongHan huaxiangshi mu 山東鄒城市車路口東漢畫像石墓", *KG*, no. 3, pp. 36-40.
- Jilin daxue lishixi kaogu zhuanke 吉林大學歷史系考古專業 & Hebeisheng wenwu guanlichu 河北省文物管理處 eds. 1978 *Gongnong kaogu jichu zhishi* 工農考古基礎知識, Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe.
- Jin Chunfeng 金春峰 1987 *Handai shuxiang shi* 漢代思想史, Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe.
- Jin Ren 金仁 1964 "Guizhou Hezhangxian faxian de Hanzhuan 貴州赫章縣發現的漢磚", *KG*, no. 8, p. 422.
- Jin Shenghe 靳生禾 1987 *Zhongguo lishi dili wenxian gailun* 中國歷史地理文獻概論, Shanxi: Renmin chubanshe.

- Jin Weinuo 金維諾 1974 "Tan Changsha Mawangdui sanhao Hanmu bohua 談長沙馬王堆三號帛畫", *WW*, no. 11, pp.40-44.
- 1997 "Mushi bihua zai meishushi shang de zhongyao diwei 墓室壁畫在美術史上的重要地位", *MSYJ*, no. 2, pp. 38-41.
- ed. 1988 *Zhongguo meishu quanji* 中國美術全集 • *diaosu bian* 雕塑編 1 • *yuanshi shehui zhi Nanbeichao huihua* 原始社會至南北朝雕塑, Beijing: Renmin meishu chubanshe.
- Jiningshi bowuguan 濟寧市博物館 1992 "Shandong Jining Shizhuan XiHan muqun qingli jianbao 山東濟寧師專西漢墓群清理簡報", *WW*, no. 9, pp. 22-36.
- Ju Hui 鞠輝 & Jiang Hongjie 蔣宏潔 1997 "Zun 'de' yu chong 'li' — cong Hanhua zhong de shenhua tical tan Zhongguo shenhua yu Xila shenhua 尊'德'與崇'力' — 從漢畫中的神話題材談中國神話與希臘神話", *ZYWW*, no. 1, pp. 87-90.
- Juliano, Annette L. 1975 *Art of the Six Dynasties: Century of Changes and innovation*, New York: China House Gallery/ China Institute of America.
- 1980 *Teng-Hsien: An Important Six Dynasties Tomb*, Ascona: Artibus Asiae.
- Kang Peichu 康培初 1962 "Shuo Long (shang, xia) 說龍 (上, 下)", *DLZZ*, no. 10, pp. 24-26 & no. 11, pp. 25-29.
- Kang Yin 康殷 ed. 1983 *Gu tuxing xiyin (hui)* 古圖形印(匯), Hebei: Meishu chubanshe.
- Kang Yunmei 康韻梅 1995 *Zhongguo gudai siwangguan zhi tanjiu* 中國古代死亡觀之探究, Taipei: Taiwan University.
- Kaogu yanjiusuo Mancheng fajuedui 考古研究所滿城發掘隊 1960 "Han Chang'an cheng nanjiao lizhi jianzhu yizhiqun fajue baogao 漢長安城南郊禮製建築遺址群發掘報告", *KG*, no. 7, pp. 36-39.
- Karkow, Catherine 1989 "Three Decorated Lacquer Caskets from Tomb no. 1, Mawangtui", *OA* 35, no. 1, pp. 22-34.
- Karlgren, Bernhard 1941 *Grammata Serica: Script and Phonetics in Chinese and Sino-Japanese*, Peking: S.n., rpt fr: the Bulletin of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities (Stockholm), 1940, no. 12.
- 1946 "Legends and Cults in Ancient China", *BMFEA* 18, pp. 199-365.
- Keightley, David N. 1985 "Dead But not Gone: Cultural Implications of Mortuary Practice in Neolithic and Early Bronze Age China, ca. 8,000 to 1,000 B.C.", in James L. Watson ed. 1985, pp. 2-90.
- Kelley, Charles Fabens & Chen Mengjia 1946 *Chinese Bronzes from the Buckingham Collection*, Chicago: The Art Institute of Chicago.
- Kesner, Ladislav 1991 "The Taotie Reconsidered: Meanings and Functions of the Shang Theriomorphic Imagery", *AA* 51, nos. 1 & 2, pp. 29-53.
- Komai, Kazuchika 駒井和愛 1953 *Chūgoku Kōkyō no kenkyū* 中國古鏡の研究(Chinese Mirrors before the Six Dynasties, with a supplement on graves of the period), Tōkyō: Iwanami Shoten.
- Kominami, Ichirō 小南一郎 1974 "Seiōbo to shinabata denshō 西王母と七夕傳承 Hsiwangmu and the Legend of the Oxherd and the Weaving Ladies", *TG* 46, pp. 33-82.

- Kong Fanyin 孔繁銀 1954 "Huadong wenwu gongzuodui kancha Liangshanxian de caihui Hanmu 華東文物工作隊勘查梁山縣的彩繪漢墓", *WWCKZL*, no. 10, pp. 138-139.
- Kong Xiangxing 孔祥星 & Liu Yiman 劉一曼 1984 *Zhongguo gudai tongjing* 中國古代銅鏡, Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe.
- 1992 *Zhongguo tongjing tudian* 中國銅鏡圖典, Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe.
- Kuang Yuanying 匡遠澄 1957 "Sichuan Yibinshi Cuipingcun Hanmu qingli jianbao 四川宜賓市翠屏村清理簡報", *KGTX*, no. 3, pp. 20-24.
- 1985 "Nansong Yugongzhuo fufu hezangmu 南宋虞公著夫婦合葬墓", *KGXB*, no. 3, pp. 383-401, pls. 17-21.
- Lai T. C. 1983 *To the Yellow Springs: The Chinese View of Death*, Hong Kong: Joint Publishing Co. and Kelly & Walsh.
- 1989 *Animals of the Chinese Zodiac*, Hong Kong: Hong Kong Book Centre.
- Lai Yanyuan 賴炎元 trans. & annotated 1984 *Chunqiu Fanlu jinzhu jinyi* 春秋繁露今注今譯, Taipei: Taiwan Commercial Press.
- Lan Feng 蘭峰 1982 "Sichuan Yibinxian yamu huaxiangguan 四川宜賓縣崖墓畫像石棺", *WW*, no. 7, pp. 24-27.
- Lang Shaojun 郎紹君 ed. 1996 *Zhongguo zaoxing yishu cidian* 中國造型藝術辭典, Beijing: Zhongguo qingnian chubanshe.
- Lao Gan 1995 "Liubo ji boju de yanbian 六博及博局的演變", *BIHP* 35, part 3, pp. 15-30.
- Laufer, B. 1911 *Chinese Grave Sculptures of the Han Period*, London: E. L. Morice, E. C. Steshert, & E. Leroux.
- 1912 "Five Newly Discovered Bas-reliefs of the Han Period", *TP* 8, pp. 3-8.
- Lawton, Thomas 羅卓 1960 "Two Han Funerary Reliefs", *OA* 6, no. 3, pp. 90-96.
- 1982 *Chinese Art of the Warring States Period -- Change and Continuity, 480-222B.C.*, Washington, D.C.: Freer Gallery of Art.
- ed. 1991 *New Perspectives on Chu during the Eastern Zhou Period*, Washington: Smithsonian Institution, Sackler Gallery of Art.
- 1992 "A Chinese Art Collection Divided & Joined 一組中國藝術品收藏的分與合", in Shanghai Bowuguan ed. 1992, pp. 421-434.
- Le Blanc, Charles 1985 *Huai Nan Zi-- Philosophical Synthesis in Early Han Thought*, Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press.
- & Susan Blader eds. 1987 *Chinese Ideas about Nature and Society*, Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, pp. 101-16.
- Lei Jianjin 雷建金 1988 "Jianyangxian Guitoushan faxian bangti huaxiangshiguan 簡陽縣鬼頭山發現榜題畫像石棺", *SCWW*, no. 6, p. 65.
- et al. 1991 "Sichuan Neijiang Hanhua minju ganlan ji da cang 四川內江漢畫民居干欄及大倉",

- ZYWW, no. 3, pp. 97-101.
- & Fu Jincheng 付成金 1987 "Neijiangshi faxian DongHan yanmu huaxiang 內江市發現東漢岩墓畫像", SCWW, no. 4, pp. 65-67.
- & Gao Xiaohong 高曉宏 1998 "Neijiangshi DongHan yamu huaxiangshi de diaocha yu tantao 內江市東漢崖墓畫像石的調查與探討", SCWW, no. 3, pp. 62-66.
- Lei Ming 雷鳴 1992 *Zhongguo qingtongqi mingwen wenshi yishu* 中國青銅器銘文紋飾藝術, Hubei: Hubei meishu chubanshe.
- Lei Mingxia 雷鳴夏 1983 "'Mutianzi huijian Xiwangmu' huaxiangshi zhiyi 《穆天子會見西王母》漢畫像石質疑", ZYWW, no. 3, pp. 80-82.
- Lewis, Candace J. 1990 "Tall Tower of the Han", *Orientalizations*, vol. 21, Aug, no. 8, pp. 45-54.
- Li Can 李燦 1978 "Boxian Cao Cao zongzu muzang 亳縣曹操宗族墓葬", WW, no. 8, pp. 32-39.
- Li Changhao 黎昌灝 ed. 1981 *Zhongguo tianwenxue shi* 中國天文學史, Beijing: Kexue chubanshe.
- Li Changtao 李昌韜 et al. 1996 "Henan Xinyang Changcun Handai bihua mu diaocha 河南蔡陽棗村漢代壁畫墓調查", WW, no. 3, pp. 18-27.
- Li Chenguang 李陳廣 1985 "Nanyangshi Dushan Xipo Han huaxiangshi mu 南陽市獨山西坡漢畫像石墓", ZYWW, no. 3, pp. 36-39.
- et al. 1985a "Nanyangshi sancun Han huaxiangshi xuanhui 南陽市散存漢畫像石選匯", ZYWW, no. 3, pp. 43-50.
- 1986 "Nanyang Han huaxiang Hebatu shixi 南陽漢畫像河伯圖試釋", ZYWW, no. 1, pp. 102-105.
- 1988a "Hanhua long de yishu 漢畫龍的藝術", NDXT, no. 4, pp. 82-87.
- 1988b "Qianxi Hanhua long de yishu xingxiang ji qi yingxiang 淺析漢畫龍的藝術形象及其影響", ZYWW, no. 4, pp. 77-80.
- 1991 "Nanyang Handai huaxiangshi yishu 南陽漢代畫像石藝術", SYH, no. 1, pp. 33-36.
- 1992 "Hanhua Fuxi Nuwa de xingxiang tezheng ji qi yiyi 漢畫伏羲女媧的形象特征及其意義", ZYWW, no. 1, pp. 33-37.
- 1992. 11. 29 "Han huaxiangshi 'Hebo chuxingtu' 漢畫像石《河伯出行圖》", ZGWWB.
- & Han Yuxiang 韓玉祥 1995 "Nanyang Han huaxiangshi de faxian yu yanjiu — jinian Nanyang Hanhuaguan chuangujian liushi zhounian 南陽漢代畫像石的發現與研究 — 紀念南陽漢畫館創建六十周年", ZYWW, no. 3, pp. 1-7.
- Li Defang 李德方 1997 "Henan Luoyangshi di 3850 hao DongHan mu 河南洛陽市第3850號東漢墓", KG, no. 5, pp. 81-85.
- Li Enxiong 李恩雄 1982 "Chengdushi chutu Donghan huaxiangzhuan 成都市出土東漢畫像碑", KGYWW, no. 1, pp. 44-45.
- Li Falin 李發林 1965 "Luetan Han huaxiangshi de diaoke jifa ji qi fenqi 略談漢畫像石的雕刻技法及其分期", KG, no. 4, pp. 199-204.

- 1974 "Hanhua zhong de jiutou renmianshou 漢畫中的九頭人面獸", *WW*, no. 12, pp. 82-86.
- 1982 *Shandong Han huaxiangshi yanjiu* 山東漢畫像石研究, Jinan: Qilu chubanshe.
- 1985a "Ji Shandong daxue jiucang de yixie Han huaxiangshi tuopian 記山東大學舊藏的一些漢畫像石拓片", *KG*, no. 11, pp. 994-1001.
- 1985b "Shandong Cangshan Yuanjia yuannian huaxiangshi mu tiji shishi 山東蒼山元嘉元年畫像石墓題記試釋", *ZYWW*, no. 1, pp. 72-75.
- 1987 "Han huaxiang zhong de xiangruihua 漢畫像中的祥瑞畫", *NDXT*, no. 1, pp. 69-76.
- 1989 "Han huaxiangshi de diaoke jifa wenti butan 漢畫像石的雕刻技法問題補談", *ZYWW*, no. 1, pp. 88-92.
- 2000 *Hanhua kaoxi he yanjiu* 漢畫考釋和研究, Beijing: Zhongguo wenlian chubanshe.
- Li Fengshan 李奉山 & Shen Zhenzhong 沈振中 1959 "Taiyuanshi Jianshengcun diliuhao Tangdai bihuamu 太原市金勝村第六號唐代壁畫墓", *WW*, no. 8, pp. 19-22.
- Li Fuhua 李複華 1956 "Sichuan Xinfan Qingbaixiang DongHan huaxiangzhuan mu qingli jianbao 四川新繁清白鄉東漢畫像磚墓清理簡報", *WWCKZL*, no. 6, pp. 37-38.
- & Guo Ziyou 郭子游 1975 "Pixian chutu DongHan huaxiang shiguan tuxiang lueshuo 郫縣出土東漢畫像石棺圖像略說", *WW*, no. 8, pp. 63-65.
- Li Guohao 李國豪 *et al.* 1982 *Explorations in the History of Science and Technology in China*, Shanghai: Shanghai Chinese Classics Publishing House.
- Li Guohua 李國華 1994 "Qianxi Han huaxiangshi guanyu jisi yili zhong de gongfeng xisheng 淺析漢畫像石關於祭祀儀禮中的供奉犧牲", *ZYWW*, no. 4, pp. 71-75.
- Li Hansan 李漢三 1964 *Xian Qin liang Han zhi yinyang wuxing xueshuo* 先秦兩漢之陰陽五行學說, Taipei: Weixin sheju.
- Li Hequn 李合群 & Zhang Wujun 張武軍 1997. 9. 14 "Qixian qingli yizuo XiHan daxing muguomu 郫縣清理一座西漢大型木槨墓", *ZGWWB*.
- Li Hong 李宏 1986 "Handai sangzang zhidu de lunli yixiang 漢代喪葬製度的倫理意向", *ZYWW*, no. 4, pp. 79-82.
- 1987 "Hanfu yu handai huaxiang shike 漢賦與漢代畫像石刻", *ZYWW*, no. 2, pp. 144-149.
- 1990 "Zhuiqiu buxiu — Handai huaxiangshi zhuti luan 追求不朽 — 漢代畫像石主題論", *ZYWW*, no. 1, pp. 69-73.
- 1991 "Yuanshi zongjiao de yixu — shixi Handai huaxiang zhong de wushu, shenhua guannian 原始宗教的遺緒 — 試析漢畫中的巫術神話觀念", *ZYWW*, no. 3, pp. 80-85.
- Li Hongfu 李洪甫 1983 "Lianyungangshi Jinpingshan Han huaxiangshi mu 連雲港市錦屏山漢畫像石墓", *KG*, no. 10, pp. 894-896.
- Li Houbo 1994 "Dynasty Tomb Mural from the Luoyang Museum of Ancient Tomb Relics", *Orientalism*, vol. 25, May, no. 5, pp. 40-50.
- Li Jian 李建 1990 "Hubaoshen luekao 虎豹神略考", *NDXT*, no. 5, p. 26.

- 1995 "Chu wenhua dui Nanyang Handai huaxiangshi yishu fazhan de yingxiang 楚文化對南陽漢代畫像石藝術發展的影響", *ZYWW*, no. 3, pp. 21-24, 64.
- Li Jinghua 李京華 1964 "Luoyang XiHan bihuamu fajue baogao 洛陽西漢壁畫墓發掘報告", *KGXB*, no. 2, pp. 107-125.
- Li Jinghuan 李晶寰 1996 "Mawangdui yihao Hanmu qiqi de zhuangshi yishu ji qi wenhua neihan 馬王堆一號漢墓漆器的裝飾藝術及其文化內涵", *KGYYW*, no. 3, pp. 64-70.
- Li Jinshan 李錦山 1994 "Xiwangmu tici huaxiangshi ji gi xiangguan wenti 西王母題材畫像石及其相關問題", *ZYWW*, no. 4, pp. 56-66.
- Li Jiuhai 李久海 1980 "Yangzhou Dongfeng zhuanwachang Handai muguomu qun 揚州東風磚瓦廠漢代木槨墓群", *KG*, no. 5, pp. 417-425, 405.
- Li Junshan 李俊山 1990a "Yongcheng Taiqiu yihao Han huaxiangshi mu 永城太丘一號漢畫像石墓", *ZYWW*, no. 1, pp. 13-22.
- 1990b "Yongcheng Taiqiu erhao Han huaxiangshi mu 永城太丘二號漢畫像石墓", *ZYWW*, no. 1, pp. 23-27.
- 1990c "Yongcheng Xishan Han huaxiangshi mu 永城僖山漢畫像石墓", *ZYWW*, no. 1, pp. 28-31.
- Li Kaisen 李開森 1996 "Shi wenjiuqi, hai shi siqi — guanyu Handai ranlubei gongneng de kaogu shiyan baogao 是溫酒器，還是食器 — 關於漢代染爐杯功能的考古實驗報告", *WWTD*, no. 2, pp. 24-26.
- Li Lifang 李麗芳 1991 "The Collection of Han Bricks in the National Museum of History", in *National Museum of History* ed. 1991, Taipei.
- Li Lin 李林 1990 "Shaanxi Suide Yanjiacha erhao huaxiangshi mu 陝西綏德延家岔二號畫像石墓", *KG*, no. 2, pp. 176-179.
- Li Ling 李零 1991 "'Shitu' yu Zhongguo gudai de yuzhou moshi (shang, xia) '式圖'與中國古代的宇宙模式 (上, 下)", *JZXK* 4, no. 1 (Apr), pp. 5-52 & no. 2 (Jul), pp. 49-79.
- 1993 *Zhongguo fangshu kao* 中國方術考, Beijing: Renmin Zhongguo chubanshe.
- 2002 "Shuo Han Yangling 'Luojiangshi' yizhi de jianzhu sheji 說漢陽陵'羅經石'遺址的建築設計", manuscript.
- Li Liyang 李黎陽 1991 "Shilun Shandong Anqiu Hanmu renxiangzhu yishu 試論山東安丘漢墓人像柱藝術", *ZYWW*, no. 3, pp. 86-88, 85.
- Li Mo 李默 ed. 1997 *Zhonghua wenming da bolan* 中華文明大博覽, 2 vols., Guangzhou: Guangdong Lüyao chubanshe.
- Li Qiushi 李求是 1972 "Tan Zhanghuai Yide liangmu de xingzhi deng wenti 談章懷、懿德兩墓的形製等問題", *WW*, no. 7, pp. 45-50, 58.
- Li Rusen 李如森 1995 *Handai sangzang zhidu* 漢代喪葬制度, Jilin: Jilin University Press.
- Li Song 李松 1982 "Xichuanxian Xiasi Han huaxiangzhuhan mu 浙川縣下寺漢畫像磚墓", *ZYWW*, no. 1, pp. 24-25.
- Li Weinan 李偉男 & Wang Chuan 王傳 1994 "Nanyangshi Yaocai shichang huaxiangshi mu faxjue

- jianbao 南陽市藥材市場畫像石墓發掘簡報”, *ZYWW*, no. 1, pp. 108-117.
- 1996 “Nanyangshi Xingying huaxiangshi mu faxjue baogao 南陽市邢營畫像石墓發掘報告”, *ZYWW*, no. 1, pp. 108-117.
- Li Weixing 李衛星 1991 “Qianlun Han huaxiangshi zuowei de youguan wenti 淺論漢畫像石作偽的有關問題”, *ZYWW*, no. 3, pp. 102-106.
- 1992 “Hanhua oushi liangze 漢畫偶識兩則”, *KGYWW*, no. 6, pp. 98-100.
- 1993. 2. 7 “Liyong Wushici huaxiang zuo wei Hanhua de xin qishi 利用武氏祠畫像作偽漢畫的新啟示”, *ZGWWB*.
- 1994a “Lun xianQin qingtongqi wenshi dui Handai shike de yingxiang 論先秦青銅器紋飾對漢代石刻的影響”, *SCWW*, no. 1, pp. 21-24.
- 1994b “Dui Sichuan Hanhua ‘tianmen’ tuxiang kaoshi zhi wojian 對四川漢畫‘天門’圖像考釋之我見”, *SCWW*, no. 3, pp. 59-61.
- 1995 “Shandong yu Sichuan Hanhua de bijiao yanjiu 山東與四川漢畫的比較研究”, *SCWW*, no. 3, pp. 16-20.
- Li Wenxin 李文信 1955 “Liaoyang faxian de sanzuo bihua gumu 遼陽發現的三座壁畫古墓”, *WWCKZL*, no. 5, pp. 15-42.
- Li Xianqi 李獻奇 & Yang Haiqin 楊海欽 1993 “Luoyang you faxian yipi XiHan kongxin huaxiangzhuan 洛陽又發現一批西漢空心畫像磚”, *WW*, no. 5, pp. 17-23.
- Li Xiaoming 李曉鳴 1987 “Sichuan Xingjing DongHan shiguan huaxiang 四川榮經東漢石棺畫像”, *WW*, no. 1, p. 95.
- Li Xingming 李星明 1994 “Tangmu bihua kaoshi 唐墓壁畫考識”, *DY*, no. 3, pp. 40-56.
- Li Xueqin 李學勤 ed. 1990 *Zhongguo meishu quanji • gongyi meishu bian • Qingtong qi (shang)* 中國美術全集 • 工藝美術編 4 • 青銅器 (上), Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe.
- 1993. Sarah Allan trans., “Liangzhu Culture and the Shang Dynasty Taotie Motif”, in Whitfield ed. 1993, pp. 56-66.
- & Sarah Allan 艾蘭 1995 *Chinese Bronzes: A Selection from European Collections* 歐洲所藏中國青銅器遺珠, Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe.
- Li Yinde 李銀德 1990 “Xushou faxian DongHan Yuanhe sannian huaxiangshi 徐州發現東漢元和三年畫像石”, *WW*, no. 9, pp. 64-73.
- 1993 “Xuzhou Han huaxiangshi mu muzhu shenfen kao 徐州漢畫像石墓墓主身份考”, *ZYWW*, no. 2, pp. 36-39.
- Li Yufang 李毓芳 et al. 1980 “Qindu Xianyang disanhao gongdian jianzhu yizhi fajue jianbao 秦都咸陽第三號宮殿建築遺址發掘簡報”, *KGYWW*, no. 4, pp. 34-41.
- Li Yunjing 李允經 1991. 11. 3 “Qiao yu Lushun cang tapian yuanshi 巧遇魯迅藏拓片原石”, *ZGWWB*.
- Li Zebin 李則斌 1997. 11. 23 “Yangzhou Huchang fajue chengguo fengshuo 揚州胡場發掘成果豐碩”, *ZGWWB*.

- Li Zehou 李澤厚 1988. Gong Lizeng trans., *The Path of Beauty - A Study of Ancient Chinese Aesthetics*, Beijing: Morning Glory Publishers.
- Li Zehou 李澤厚 1996 *Zhongguo gudai sixiangshi lun* 中國古代思想史論, Taipei: Sanmin shiju.
- Li Zhaohua 李兆華 1989 "Jiangling Mashan yihao Chumu jifu fengniao tuan qianxi 江陵馬山一號楚墓幾幅鳳鳥圖案淺析", *JHKG*, no. 2, pp. 74-84, 94.
- Li Zhenqing 劉振清 ed. 1996 *Qi Lu wenhua — Dongfang sixiang de yaolan* 齊魯文化 — 東方思想的搖籃, Hong Kong: Business Press.
- Li Zhenyu 李真玉 1995 "Shixi Hanhua zhong de Chanchu 試析漢畫中的蟾蜍", *ZYWW*, no. 3, pp. 34-37.
- Li Zhongyi 黎忠義 1957 "Changli shuiku Hanmuqun fajue jianbao 昌黎水庫漢墓群發掘簡報", *WWCKZL*, no. 12, pp. 29-40.
- Lian Shaoming 連劭名 1997 "Mawangdui 'Taiyi bibing tu' yu Nanfang Chumu zhong de zhenmushou 馬王堆《太一避兵圖》與南方楚墓中的鎮墓獸", *NFWW*, no. 2, pp. 109-110.
- Liang Wenjun 梁文駿 1979 "Sichuan Pixian DongHan zhuanmu de shiguan huaxiang 四川郫縣東漢磚墓的石棺畫像", *KG*, no. 6, pp. 495-503.
- Liang Yong 梁勇 & Meng Qiang 孟強 1997 "Jiangsu Tongshanxian Banjincun DongHanmu 江蘇銅山縣班井村東漢墓", *KG*, no. 5, pp. 40-45.
- Liang Yupo 梁玉坡 & Qiao Baotong 喬保同 1996 "Henansheng Dengzhoushi Liangzhai Han huaxiangshimu 河南省鄧州市漢畫像石墓", *ZYWW*, no. 3, pp. 1-7.
- Liang Zonghe 梁宗和 1958 "Shanxi Lishi xian de Handai huaxiangshi 山西離石縣的漢代畫像石", *WWCKZL*, no. 4, p.40 & cover page.
- Liaoyangshi wenwu guanlisuo 遼陽市文物管理所 1980 "Liaoyang faxian sanzuo bihua mu 遼陽發現三座壁畫墓", *KG*, no. 1, pp.56-58.
- Lim Lucy *et al.* 1987 *Stories from China's Past: Han Dynasty Pictorial Tomb Reliefs and Archaeological Objects From Sichuan Province, People's Republic of China*, San Francisco: Chinese Cultural Foundation.
- 1987a "Form and Content in Early Chinese Pictorial Art", in Lim *et al.* 1987, pp. 51-53.
- 1987b "The Mahao Cave Tomb at Leshan", in Lim *et al.* 1987, pp. 194-195.
- Lin Boyao 林泊佑 & Su Qiming 蘇啟明 2000 *Long wenhua tezhan* 龍文化特展, Taipei: Guoli lishi bowuguan.
- Lin Fushi 林富士 1995 "DongHan wanqi de jibing yu zongjiao 東漢晚期的疾病與宗教", *BIHP* 66, part 3, pp. 695-745.
- Lin Futao 林伏濤 1995 *Zhongguo lidai caijing sixiang yu zhengce* 中國歷代財經思想與政策, Taipei: Zhongguo jianshe chubanshe.
- Lin Jianming 林劍鳴 *et al.* 1985 *QinHan shehui wenming* 秦漢社會文明, Xi'an: Xibei daxue chubanshe.
- Lin Lin 林琳 1996 "Qili duozi de gu tongjing 綺麗多姿的古銅鏡", *SCWW*, no. 6, p. 13-17.
- Lin Mu 林木 1986 "Handai dizhu shouzutu yu dizu baoxiao 漢代地主收租圖與地租剝削", *ZYWW*, no. 4,

pp. 75-78.

Lin Shuzhong 林樹中 1958 “Wangdu Hanmu bihua de niandai 望都漢墓壁畫的年代”, *KGTX*, no. 4, pp.66-71.

Linyi Jinqueshan Hanmu fajuezu 臨沂金雀山漢墓發掘組 1977 “Shandong Linyi Jinqueshan jiuha Hanmu fajue jianbao 山東臨沂金雀山漢墓發掘簡報”, *WW*, no. 11, pp. 24-27.

Lippiello, Tiziana 1995 “Auspicious Omens and Miracles in Ancient China”, *IIAS*, no.6, autumn, p.43.

Liu Bingsen 劉炳森 1973 “Linmo Mawangdui Xihan bohua de diandi tihui 臨摹馬王堆西漢帛畫的點滴體會”, *WW*, no. 9, pp. 71-75.

Liu Boqin 劉伯勤 & **Liu Shanyi** 劉善沂 1988 “Shandong Pingyin Xintun Han huaxiangshi mu 山東平陰新屯漢畫像石墓”, *KG*, no. 11, pp. 961-974.

Liu Daoguang 劉道廣 1990 “Guanyu Han ‘Sishen xingxiangtu’ de fangwei wenti 關於漢《四神星相圖》的方位問題”, *WW*, no. 3, pp. 70-71.

Liu Dunyuan 劉敦愿 1972 “Han huaxiangshi shang de zhenjiutu 漢畫像石上的針灸圖”, *WW*, no. 6, pp. 47-51.

----- 1981-82 “Shilun Zhongguo yishupin zhong de nianshe xiangdou tica 試論中國藝術品中的鳥蛇相斗題材”, *HNKGJK*, no. 1, pp. 73-81.

----- 1994a *Meishu kaogu yu gudai wenming* 美術考古與古代文明, Taipei: Yunchen wenhua shiye gufen youxian gongsi.

----- 1994b “Han huaxiangshi shang de Cuju tuxiang 漢代畫像石上的蹴鞠圖像”, *NPMMA*, Mar, no. 12, pp. 40-47.

----- 1994c “Lun Han huaxiangshi yishu zhong de paochu tica 論漢代畫像石上的庖廚題材”, *NPMMA*, Aug, no. 5, pp. 34-51.

----- 1994d “Han huaxiangshi shang de yinshi nannu — Pingyin Mengzhuang Hanmu shizhu jisi gewu tuxiang fenxi 漢代畫像石上的飲食男女 — 平陰孟莊漢墓石柱祭祀歌舞圖像分析”, *NPMMA*, Dec, no. 9, pp. 122-135.

----- 1995 “Zhongguo gudai de xihua 中國古代的戲畫”, *NPMMA*, Sept, no. 6, pp. 46-61.

Liu Dunzhen 劉敦楨 1954 “Shandong Pingyixian Hanque 山東平邑縣漢闕”, *WWCKZL*, no. 5, pp. 29-32.

Liu Han 柳涵 1959 “Dengxian huaxiangzhuanmu de shidai he yanjiu 鄧縣畫像磚墓的時代和研究”, *KG*, no. 5, pp. 255-261, 263.

Liu Hehui 劉和惠 1983 “Jiangsusheng Gaochunxian DongHan huaxiangzhuan mu 江蘇省高淳縣東漢畫像磚墓”, *WW*, no. 4, pp. 36-39.

Liu Hong 劉宏 1994 “Sichuan Hanmu zhong de sishen gongneng xintan — jianlun Wushan tongpaishi shang rene de shenfen 四川漢墓中的四神功能新探 — 兼論巫山銅牌飾上人物的身份”, *SCWW*, no. 2, pp. 3-7.

Liu Jiaji 劉家驥 & **Liu Bingsen** 劉炳森 1977 “Jinqueshan XiHan bohua linmo hougan 金雀山漢帛畫臨摹后感”, *WW*, no. 11, pp. 28-31.

Liu Jialin 劉家林 1995. 7. 23 “Huashuo Xuanwu zaoxiang 話說玄武造像”, *ZGWWB*.

- Liu Laicheng 劉來成 1981 "Hebei Dingxian 40 hao Hanmu fajue jianbao 河北定縣 40 號漢墓發掘簡報", *WW*, no. 8, pp. 1-10.
- Liu Liang-yu 劉良佑 1991 *Early Wares: Prehistoric to the Tenth Century — A Survey of Chinese Ceramics* 中國歷代陶瓷鑒賞 (史前 — 五代), Taipei: Aries Gemini Publishing Ltd.
- Liu Liwen 劉麗文 1996. 5. 19 "Songdai diaosu tao sishen 宋代雕塑陶四神", *ZGWWB*.
- Liu Mingshu 劉銘恕 1955 "Guanyu Yinan Han huaxiang 關於沂南漢畫像", *KGTX*, no. 6, pp. 65-67.
- Liu Qingzhu 劉慶柱 & Chen Guoying 陳國英 1976 "Qindu Xianyang diyihao gongdian jianzhu yizhi jianbao 秦都咸陽第一號宮殿建築遺址簡報", *WW*, no. 11, pp. 12-24, 41.
- Liu Shanyi 劉善沂 & Sun Huaisheng 孫淮聲 1989 "Shandong Yangguxian Balimiao Han huaxiangshi mu 山東陽谷縣八裡廟漢畫像石墓", *WW*, no. 8, pp. 48-56.
- & Sun Liang 孫亮 1989 "Shandong Jinan Qinglongshan Han huaxiangchi bihua mu 山東濟南青龍山漢畫像石壁畫墓", *KG*, no. 11, pp. 984-993.
- Liu Shaojun 劉韶軍 1992 *Gudai zhanxingshu zhuping* 古代占星術注評, Beijing & Jiangxi: Shifan daxue chubanshe.
- Liu Shiji 劉仕驥 1957 *Zhongguo zangsu souqi* 中國葬俗搜奇, Hong Kong: Shanghai Press.
- Liu Wanhang 劉萬航 1984 "Ma yu Handai yishu 馬與漢代藝術", *NPMCA*, Jul, no. 4, pp. 4-11.
- Liu Xiang 劉翔 1989 "Jiangxi Gaoanxian Hanjiashan Yuan mu 江西高安縣漢家山元墓", *KG*, no. 6, pp. 537-540, 559.
- Liu Xiaolu 劉曉路 1993 "Linyi bohua wenhua fenwei chutan 臨沂帛畫文化氛圍初探", *ZYWW*, no. 2, pp. 10-12, 22.
- Liu Xiaomin 劉小敏 1990 "Handai bihua qiantan 漢代壁畫淺談", *SXYK*, no. 5, pp. 102-106.
- 1993 "Mantan Handai huaxiangshi de jicheng yu fazhan 漫談漢代畫像石的繼承與發展", *ZYWW*, no. 2, pp. 17-22.
- Liu Xinfang 劉信芳 1993 "'Rishu' sifang siwei yu wuxing qianshou '日書' 四方四維與五行淺說", *KGYYW*, no. 2, pp. 87-94.
- Liu Xinghuai 劉興懷 1990 "Nanyang Hanmu menshen qianshuo 南陽漢墓門神淺說", *MSYJ* 57, no. 1, pp. 50-53.
- & Shan Xiushan 閔修山 1989 *Nanyang Handai mumenhua yishu* 南陽漢代墓門畫藝術, Shanghai: Baijia chubanshe.
- 1993 "Mantan Handai huaxiangshi de jicheng yu fazhan 漫談漢代畫像石的繼承與發展", *ZYWW*, no. 2, pp. 17-22.
- Liu Xinjian 劉心健 & Zhang Mingxue 張鳴雪 1965 "Shandong Ju'nan faxian Handai shique 山東莒南發現漢代石刻", *WW*, no. 5, pp. 16-19.
- Liu Yang 1998 *Manifestation of the Dao: A Study in Daoist Art from the Northern Dynasty to the Tang (5th - 9th centuries)*, PhD. diss., SOAS, University of London.

- Liu Yi 劉毅 1993. 5. 16 "'Furen qimen' mushi hanyi guanjian '婦人啟門'墓飾含義管見", *ZGWWB*.
- Liu Ying 劉瑩 & Chen Dingru 陳鼎如 trans. 1984 *Lidai Sihuoshi jinyi* 歷代食貨志今譯, Jiangsi: Renmin chubanshe.
- Liu Yiwen 劉一聞 1995 *Yinzhang* 印章, Shanghai: Guji chubanshe.
- Liu Youheng 劉友恆 et al. 1983 "Tang Chengdejun Jiedushi Wang Yuankui mu qingli jianbao 唐成德軍節度使王元逵墓清理簡報", *KGYWW*, no. 1, pp. 46-51, pl. 9.
- Liu Yujian 劉玉建 1992 *Zhongguo guidai guibu wenhua* 中國古代龜卜文化, Huangxi: Shifan daxue chubanshe.
- Liu Yusheng 劉玉生 & Wang Weiguo 王衛國 1995 "Huilitu yu Ximen Ba zhiyetu bian 賄賂圖與西門豹治鄰圖辨", *ZYWW*, no. 3, pp. 15-16.
- Liu Zehua 劉澤華 1987 *Zhongguo chuantong zhengzhi sixiang fansi* 中國傳統政治思想反思, Beijing: Sanlian shudian.
- Liu Zhixiong 劉志雄 & Yang Jingrong 楊靜榮 1992 *Long yu Zhongguo wenhua* 龍與中國文化, Beijing: Beijing renmin chubanshe.
- Liu Zhixiong 劉志雄 1991. 7. 7 "Shangdai 'hushirenwen' xintan 商代'虎食人紋'新探", *ZGWWB*.
- Liu Zhiyou 劉智有 & Zhang Baocai 張保才 1981 "Zhengzhou Xintongqiao mu kongxinzhuan huaxiang yishu 鄭州新通橋墓空心磚畫像藝術", *ZGMS*, no. 2, pp. 60-63.
- Liu Zhiyuan 劉志遠 1958 *Sichuan Handai huaxiang zhuan yishu* 四川漢代畫像磚藝術, Beijing: Zhongguo gudian yishu chubanshe.
- 1973 "Handai shijing kao — Shuo DongHan shijing huaxiangzhuan 漢代市井考 — 說東漢市井畫像磚", *WW*, no. 3, pp. 52-57.
- 1975 "Han huaxiang zhong de jiutou renmianshou 四川漢代畫像磚反映的漢代社會生活", *WW*, no. 4, pp. 45-55.
- 1984 "Chengdu Zhaojuesi Han huaxiangzhuan mu 成都昭覺寺漢畫像磚墓", *KG*, no. 1, pp. 63-68.
- et al. 1983 *Sichuan Handai huaxiang zhuan yu Handai shehui* 四川漢代畫像磚與漢代社會, Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe.
- Loewe, Michael 1967 *Records of Han Administration*, Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press.
- 1973 "Definers of the Middle Kingdom", *Orientalism*, vol. 4, Jul, no. 6, pp. 50-59.
- 1978 "Man and Beast: The hybrid in Early Chinese Art and Literature", *NM* 25, no. 2, pp. 97-117.
- 1993 *Early Chinese Texts: A Bibliographical Guide*, Berkeley, California: Society for the Study of Early China.
- 1994a *Ways to paradise: The Chinese Quest for Immortality*, rpt., Taipei: SMC Publishing Inc. First ed. pub. by George Allen & Unwin, London, 1979.
- 1994b *Chinese Ideas of Life and Death: Faith, Myth and Reason in the Han Period (202 B.C.- A.D.220)*, rpt., Taipei: SMC Publishing Inc. First ed. pub. by George Allen & Unwin, London, 1982.

- 1994c *Crisis and Conflict in Han China, 104 B.C. to A.D. 9*, rpt., Ann Arbor, Michigan: University Microfilms International. First ed. pub. by George Allen & Unwin, London, 1974.
- 1996 *Divination, Mythology and Monarchy in Han China*, rpt., Taipei: SMC Publishing Inc. First ed. pub. by Cambridge University Press, New York, 1994.
- Lohre, Max 1968 *Ritual Vessels of Bronze Age*, New York: Asia House.
- Louton, John 1976 "Concepts of Comprehensiveness and Historical Change in the *Lu-shih ch'un-ch'iu*", in Workshop on Classical Chinese Thought ed. 1976, pp. 105-117.
- Lowe, Peter 1980 *Dragon, Gods and Spirits from Chinese Mythology*, Milan: Amilcare Pizzi.
- Lu Deliang 陸德良 1957 "Sichuan Neijiangshi faxian DongHan zhuanmu 四川內江市發現東漢碑墓", *KGTX*, no. 2, pp. 54-57.
- Lu Hongnian 陸鴻年 1956 "Zhongguo huabi zhifa diandi 中國畫壁製法點滴", *WWCKZL*, no. 8, pp. 15-17.
- Lu Jiugao 陸九皋 & Liu Xing 劉興 1973 "Zhenjiang DongHan huaxiangzhuanmu 鎮江東漢畫像碑墓", *WW*, no. 4, pp. 51-57.
- Lü Lin 呂林 1988 *Sichuan Handai huaxiang yishu xuan* 四川漢代畫像藝術選, Chengdu: Sichuan meishu chubanshe, Xinhua shudian.
- Lü Lizheng 呂理政 1990 *Tian, ren, shehui — shi lin Zhongguo chuantong de yuzhou renzhi moxing* 天、人、社會 — 試論中國傳統的宇宙認知模型, Taipei: Institute of Ethnology, Academia Sinica.
- Lü Pin 呂品 1980 "Henan Nanyang huaxiangshi zhong de dongwu xingxiang 河南南陽畫像石中的動物形象", *KGYYW*, no. 4, pp. 104-107.
- 1989 "Henan Handai huaxiangzhuan de chutu yu yanjiu 河南漢代畫像碑的出土與研究", *ZYWW*, no. 3, pp. 51-59.
- 1990 *Zhongyue Han sanque* 中岳漢三闕, Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe.
- 1991 "Henan Hanhua suojian tuteng weisu kao 河南漢畫所見圖騰遺俗考", *ZYWW*, no. 3, pp. 42-49.
- 1993 "'Gai tian shou' yu Han hua zhong de xuanbitu '蓋天說'與漢畫中的懸壁圖", *ZYWW*, no. 2, pp. 1-9.
- & Zhou Dao 周到 1965 "Henan Xinye xinchutu de Handai huaxiangzhuan 河南新野新出土的漢代畫像碑", *KG*, no. 1, pp. 17-20.
- & Zhou Dao 1982 "Tanghexian Dianchang Han huaxiangshi mu 唐河縣電廠漢畫像石墓", *ZYWW*, no. 1, pp. 5-11.
- & Zhou Dao 1984 "Henan Hanhua zhong de zaji yishu 河南漢畫中的雜技藝術", *ZYWW*, no. 2, pp. 32-36.
- Lü Shi Chun Qiu = Gao You 高誘 annotated 1989 *Lü Shi Chun Qiu* 呂氏春秋, rpt., Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe.
- Lü shun bowuguan 旅順博物館 ed. 1997 *Lüshun bowuguan cang tongjing* 旅順博物館藏銅鏡, Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe.
- Lü Songjing 呂松勁 1993 "Luoyang Qianjingtou XiHan bihuamu fajue jianbao 洛陽淺井頭西漢壁畫墓發

- 掘簡報”, *WW*, no. 5, pp. 1-16.
- Lu Wenhui 魯文輝 1964 “Shandongsheng Jiuxiancun you faxian Han huaxiang shike 山東省舊縣村又發現漢畫像石刻”, *WW*, no. 12, pp. 66-67.
- Lu Xixian 陸思賢 1995 *Shenhua kaogu* 神話考古, Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe.
- Lu Yaoguang 盧耀光 *et al.* 1989 “Qinghai Xiningshi faxian yi zuo Beichao mu 青海西寧市發現一座北朝墓”, *KG*, no. 6, pp. 570-573.
- Lu Zhaoyin 盧兆蔭 1993 *Zhongguo yuqi quanji 4: Qin, Han to Nanbeichao* 中國玉器全集 4: 秦漢—南北朝, Hebei: Hebei meishu chubanshe.
- 1998 “Lunlun Handai liyi yong yu de jicheng yu fazhan 略論漢代禮儀用玉的繼承與發展”, *WW*, no. 3, pp. 43-48.
- Lü Zhenyu 呂振羽 1955 *Zhongguo zhengzhi sixiang* 中國政治思想, rpt., Beijing: Sanlian chubanshu.
- Lun Heng = Wang Chong 王充 1935. Gao Suyuan 高蘇垣 commentary, *Lun Heng* 論衡, Shanghai: Commercial Press.
- Luo Chenglie 駱承烈 & Zhu Xilu 朱錫祿 1979 “Jiaxiang Wushi muqun shike 嘉祥武氏墓群石刻”, *WW*, no. 7, pp. 90-91.
- Luo Fuyi 羅福頤 1956 “Neimenggu zizhiqu Tuoketuoxian xin faxian de Hanmu 內蒙古自治區托克托縣新發現的漢墓壁畫”, *WWCKZL*, no. 9, p. 43.
- Luo Kaiyu 羅開玉 1986 “Shilun Yibin Changning ‘Qigedong’ ya mian diaoke de zhuti sixiang 試論宜賓長寧‘七個洞’崖面雕刻的主題思想”, *KGYYWW*, no. 3, pp. 79-81.
- Luo Kun 羅琨 1972 “Guanyu Mawangdui Hanmu Bohua de Shangtao 關於馬王堆一號帛畫的商討”, *WW*, no. 9, pp. 48-49.
- Luo Weixian 羅偉先 1986 “Dui Changning ‘Qigedong’ shikehua zhong liangzhong fuhao de shishi 對長寧‘七個洞’石刻畫中兩種符號的試釋主題思想”, *KGYYWW*, no. 3, pp. 82-85.
- 1989 “Changning ‘Qigedong’ yamu ‘sheji’ ‘xuanwu’ shenfu de youguan wenti 長寧‘七個洞’崖墓‘社稷’‘玄武’神符的有關問題”, *SCWW*, no. 2, pp. 8-12.
- Luo Yonglin 羅永麟 1993 *Zhongguo xianhua yanjiu* 中國仙話研究, Shanghai: wenyi chubanshe.
- Luo Zhenyu 羅振玉 1916 *Gu mingqi tulu* 古明器圖錄, 4 vols, Shangyu: Luo shi.
- Luo Zhewen 羅哲文 ed. 1990 *The Ancient Buildings of China* 中國古代建築, Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe.
- Luo Zhongru 雒忠如 1957 “Xi'an Xijiao faxian Handai jianzhu yizhi 西安西郊發現漢代建築遺址”, *KGTX*, no. 6, pp. 27-30.
- Luo Zongzhen 羅宗真 & Qin Hao 秦浩 eds. 1990 *Zhonghua wenwu jianshang* 中華文物鑒賞, Nanjing: Jiangsu jiao yu chubanshe.
- Luoyang bowuguan 洛陽博物館 1977 “Luoyang XiHan Bu Qianqiu mu bihua kaoshi 洛陽西漢卜千秋壁畫墓發掘簡報”, *WW*, no. 6, pp. 1-12.
- 1981 “Luoyang XiHan huaxiang kongxinzhuan yishu 洛陽西漢畫像空心磚藝術”, *ZGMS*, no. 2, pp.

49-55.

----- 1986 *Luoyang Handai caihua* 洛陽漢代彩畫, Henan: Henan meishu chubanshe.

----- 1988 *Luoyang chutu tongjing* 洛陽出土銅鏡, Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe.

Luoyang diqu wenguanhui 洛陽地區文管會 1985 "Yiyang xian Paiyao XiHan huaxiangzhuan mu qingli jianbao 宜陽縣牌窯西漢畫像碑墓清理簡報", *ZYWW*, no. 4, pp. 5-12.

Luoyang gumu bowuguan 洛陽古墓博物館 ed. 1987 *Luoyang gumu bowuguan* 洛陽古墓博物館, Luoyang: Zhaohua chubanshe.

Luoyang Shaogou Hanmu = Zhongguo kexueyuan Kaogu Yanjiusuo 中國科學院考古研究所 ed. 1959 *Luoyang Shaogou Hanmu* 洛陽燒溝漢墓, Beijing: Kexue chubanshe.

Luoyangshi wenwu gongzuodui 洛陽文物工作隊 1982 "Luoyang Xigong DongHan bihuamu 洛陽西工東漢壁畫墓", *ZYWW*, no. 3, pp. 15-20.

Ma Duanlin 1936 *Wenxian tongkao* 文獻通考, 348 vols., Shanghai: Shangwuyin yinshuguan.

Ma Feibai 馬非百 trans. & annotated 1984 *Yantielun jianzhu* 鹽鐵論簡注, Beijing: Zhonghua shuju.

Ma Hanji 馬漢驥 1985 "Sichuan de huaxiangzhuan mu ji huaxiangzhuan 四川的畫像碑墓及畫像碑", in *Ma Hanji kaoguxue lunwenji* 馬漢驥考古學論文集, Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, pp. 59-69.

Ma Hongzao 馬鴻藻 1993 *Kaogu huitu* 考古繪圖, Beijing: Beijing daxue chubanshe.

Ma Huamin 馬華民 1994 "Shixi Han huaxiang zhong ji de tuxiang 試析漢畫像中戟的圖像", *ZYWW*, no. 4, pp. 76-80.

Ma Jiancheng 馬建華 & **Zhao Wucheng** 趙吳成 1996 "Gansu Jiuquan Xigoucun WeiJin mu fajue baogao 甘肅酒泉西溝村魏晉墓發掘報告", *WW*, no. 7, pp. 4-38.

Ma Xianxing 馬先醒 1980 *Zhongguo gudai chengshi lunji* 中國古代城市論集, Taipei (Yangmingshan): Jiandu xuehui.

Ma Yongying 馬永羣 & **Wang Baoping** 王保平 2001 *Zou jin Han Yangling* 走進漢陽陵, Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe.

Ma Yuefeng 馬鉞鋒 1989 "Henansheng Zhongyuan shike yishuguan shoucang yipi Handai kongxin huaxiangzhuan 河南省中原石刻藝術館收藏一批漢代空心畫像碑", *ZYWW*, no. 2, pp. 84-89.

Mackenzie, Colin 1993 "Meaning and Style in the Art of Chu", in Whitfield ed. 1993, pp. 119-149.

Maeyama, Y. 1990 "The Development of the 28 Lunar Mansions in China", paper presented at the international conference on history of science of China, Cambridge.

Major, John Stephen 1976a "The Five Phases, Magic Squares, and Schematic Cosmography", in Workshop on Classical Chinese Thought ed. 1976, pp.133-166.

----- 1976b "A Note on the Translation of the two Technical Terms in Chinese Science : Wu-hsing and Hsiu", *EC* 2, pp. 1-3.

----- 1977 "Reply to Richard Kunst's Comments on Hsiu and Wu-hsing", *EC* 3, pp. 69-70.

----- 1986 "New Light on the Dark Warrior", in Girardot & Major eds. 1986, pp. 65-86.

- 1991 "Substance, Process, Phase: Wuxing in the Huainanzi", in Rosemont ed. 1991, pp. 67-78.
- 1993 *Heaven and Earth in Early Han Thought - Chapter Three, Four, Five of the Huainanzi*, Albany: State University of New York Press.
- 1995 *Essays on the "Huainanzi" and other topics in Early Chinese Intellectual History*, Albany: State University of New York Press.
- n.d. Lai Guolong trans., *Shenhua yuzhouguan he Zhongguo kexue de qi yuan* 神話宇宙觀和中國科學的起源, Manuscript.
- McCreery, John Linwood 1973 *The Symbolism of Popular Taoist Magic*, PhD diss., Cornell University, Ann Arbor, MI.: University Microfilms International.
- Mei Yangtian 梅養天 1956 "Sichuan Pengshen yamu jianjie 四川彭山崖墓介", *WWCKZL*, no. 5, pp. 64-65.
- Meng Fanfeng 孟凡峰 et al. 1992 "Hebei Shahe Xinggu Hanmu 河北沙河興固漢墓", *WW*, no. 9, pp. 12-21.
- Meng Huaping 孟華平 1993 "Xishuipo hu tu'an de wenzixue guancha — jianlun M45 zhuren shenfen 西水坡虎圖案的文字學觀察 — 兼論 M45 主人身份", *JHKG*, no. 4, pp. 87-89.
- Meng Mo 蒙默 et al. 1989 *Sichuan gudai shigao* 四川古代史稿, Sichuan: Renmin chubanshe.
- Meng Qiang 孟強 1993 "Guanyu Handai shengxian sixiang de liangdian kanfa 關於漢代升仙思想的兩點看法", *ZYWW*, no. 2, pp. 23-30.
- & Geng Jianjun 耿建軍 1996 "Jiangsu Xuzhoushi qingli wuzuo Han huaxiangshi mu 江蘇徐州市清理五座漢畫像石墓", *KG*, no. 3, pp. 28-35.
- Mi Rutian 米如田 1988 "Han huaxiangshi mu fenqu chutan 漢畫像石墓分區初探", *ZYWW*, no. 2, pp. 53-58, 62.
- Miao Xia 苗霞 ed. 1996 "Shandong Qingzhoushi faxian Handai tongjing 山東青州市發現漢代銅鏡", *KG*, no. 10, p. 42.
- Mixian Wenguanhui 密縣文管會 et al. eds. 1983 *Mixian Han huaxiangzhuan* 密縣漢畫像磚, Henan: Zhongzhou shehuashe.
- Moriya, Kōzō 守屋孝藏 1969 *Moriya Kōzō shūshū hokaku kiku Shi Jin kyō zuroku* 守屋孝藏搜集方格規矩四神鏡圖錄 (An Album of Moriya Kōzō's Collection of Chinese Bronze Mirrors with 'TLV' Patterns), Kyōto: Kyōto National Museum.
- Morohashi, Tetsuji 諸橋徹次 1986. Cheng Xi 程曦 trans. *Shier shengxiao de gushi* 十二生肖的故事, Taipei: Xingguang chubanshe.
- Munakata, Kiyohiko 1991 *Sacred Mountains in Chinese Arts*, Urbana & Chicago: University of Illinois Press.
- Munsterberg, Hugo 1951 "An Anthropomorphic Deity from Ancient China", *OA* 3, no. 4, pp. 147-152.
- 1972a *Dragons in Chinese Art*, New York: China House Gallery.
- 1972b *The Arts of China*, Japan: The Charles E. Tuttle Company, Inc.
- 1986 *Symbolism in Ancient Chinese Art*, New York: Hacker Art Books.

- Nagahiro, Toshio 長廣敏雄 1933 "Kandai o chūshin to seru dōbutsu hyōgen ni tsuite 漢代を中心とする動物表現に就いて"(Animal Representations in Han Dynasty), *TG* 4, pp. 106-147.
- 1965 *Kandai gazō no kenkyū* 漢代畫象の研究(The Representational Art of the Han Dynasty), Report of the Research Institute for Humanistic Studies, Kyōto University, Tōkyō: Chūō Kōron bijutsu shuppan.
- Nakayama, Shigeru 中山茂 & Nathan Sivin eds. 1973 *Chinese Science: Explorations of an Ancient Tradition*, comp. in honor of the seventieth birthday of Joseph Needham, Cambridge [Mass.]; London: M.I.T. Press.
- Nanyang diqu wenwudui 南陽地區文物隊 & Nanyang bowuguan 南陽博物館 1980 "Tanghe Han Yuping dayin Fengjun ruren huaxiangshi mu 唐河漢都平大尹馮君儒人畫像石墓", *KGXB*, no. 2, pp. 239-262.
- Nanyang Handai huaxiangshi bianji weiyuanhui 南陽漢代畫像石編輯委員會 ed. 1985 *Nanyang Handai huaxiangshi* 南陽漢代畫像石, Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe.
- Nanyang Handai huaxiangshi xueshu taolunhui bangongshi 南陽漢代畫像石學術討論會辦公室 ed. 1987 *Handai huaxiangshi yanjiu* 漢代畫像石研究, Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe.
- Nanyang wenwu gongzuodui 南陽文物工作隊 1998 "Nanyang qiche zhizaochang DongHan mu fajue baogao 南陽汽車製造廠東漢墓發掘報告", *HXXG*, no. 1, pp. 17-22.
- Nanyangshi bowuguan 南陽市博物館 1974 "Nanyang faxiang DongHan Xu A'qu muzhi huaxiang shi 南陽發現東漢許阿瞿墓志畫像石", *WW*, no. 8, pp. 73-75, 41.
- Nanyangshi wenhuaju 南陽市文化局 ed. 1996 *Handai huaxiang shizhuan yanjiu* — 1993 • Zhongguo • Nanyang Hanhua guoji xueshu yantaohui lunwenji 漢代畫像石碑研究 — 1993 • 中國 • 南陽漢畫國際學術研討會論文集, Zhengzhou: Zhongyuan wenwu.
- National Museum of History 國立歷史博物館 ed. 1991 *The Pictorial Art of Han Bricks — The collection of the National Museum of History* 歷史博物館藏的漢代碑畫, Taipei.
- ed. 1995 *Special Exhibition of Han Dynasty Artifacts* 漢代文物圖錄, Taipei.
- National Palace Museum 國立故宮博物院 ed. 1986 *Catalogue of Special Exhibition of Bronze Mirrors in the National Palace Museum* 故宮銅鏡特展圖錄, Taipei: National Palace Museum.
- ed. 1989 "Long de yuanshi 龍的原始", *Wenwu Guanghua* 文物光華, Taipei.
- Needham, Joseph 1954 *Science and Civilization in China*, vol. 2, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- 1959 *Science and Civilization in China*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- 1975 "The Cosmology of Early China", in Blacker & Loewe eds. 1975, pp. 87-109.
- Neimenggu wenwu gongzuodui 內蒙古文物工作隊 & Neimenggu bowuguan 內蒙古博物館 1974 "Holingor faxian yizuo zhongyao de DongHan bihua mu 和林格爾發現一座重要的東漢壁畫墓", *WW*, no. 1, pp. 8-23.
- Ni Run'an 倪潤安 1999 "Lun liangHan siling de yuanliu 論兩漢四靈的源流", *ZYWW*, no. 1, pp. 83-91.
- Nihon Chūgoku Bunka Kōryū Kyōkai 日本中國文化交流協會 & Mainichi Shinbunsha 毎日新聞社 1975 *Chūka Jinmin Kyōwakoku Kan Tō hekigaten* 中華人民共和國漢唐壁畫展(Wall Paintings from the Han

& T'ang Periods from the People's Republic of China), Catalog of an exhibition held at Nihonbashi Takashimaya, Tōkyō, Jan. 4-15, 1975; Nanba Takashimaya, Ōsaka, Jan. 23-Feb. 4, 1975. Tōkyō: (seisaku) Ōtsuka Kōgeisha.

Ning Yintang 寧蔭棠 & Niu, Qian 牛其安 1996 "Shandong Zhangzhoushi Huangtuya DongHan huaxiangshimu 山東章州市黃土崖東漢畫像石墓", *KG*, no. 10, pp. 43-53.

Ningxia Guyuan Bowuguan 寧夏固原博物館 1988 *Guyuan BeiWei qiguan hua* 固原北魏漆棺畫, Ningxia: Ningxia renmin chubanshe.

Niu Geng 牛耕 1988 "Handai huaxiang zhong de yinyue shen xingxiang 漢代畫像中的音樂神形象", *ZYWW*, no. 3, pp. 58-61.

----- 1992. 11. 29 "Han huaxiangshi zhong de 'fengyutu' 漢畫像石中的'風雨圖'", *ZGWWB*.

Niu Tianwei 牛天偉 1995 "Shixi Hanhua zhong de xiwangmu huaxiang 試析漢畫中的西王母畫像", *ZYWW*, no. 3, pp. 28-33.

The Organization Committee 1973 *The exhibition of Archaeological Finds of the People's Republic of China* 中華人民共和國出土展覽展品選集, Beijing.

Ōsaka Shiritsu Bijutsukan 大板市立美術館 1975 *Kandai no bijutsu 漢代の美術 The Art of the Han Dynasty*, Tōkyō: Heibonsha.

----- 1982 *Kandai no bijutsu 漢代の美術*, Tokyo: Heibonsha.

Ou Gong 甌工 1991. 12. 8 "Ziran · shenmi · langman — Handai caitao he bihua 自然 · 神秘 · 浪漫 — 漢代彩陶和壁畫", *ZGWWB*.

Paludan, Ann 1991 *The Chinese Spirit Road: the Classical Tradition of Stone Statuary*, New Haven: Yale University Press.

----- 1994 *Chinese Tomb Figurines*, Hong Kong: Oxford University Press.

Pan Jiezi 潘絮茲 1979 "Mantan bihua 漫談壁畫", *WW*, no. 10, pp. 84-89.

Pan Liukun 潘六坤 1983 "Zhejiang Hanning DongHan huaxiangshi mu fajue jianbao 浙江海寧東漢畫像石墓發掘簡報", *WW*, no. 5, pp. 1-20.

Pang Jin 龐進 1993 *Baqiannian Zhongguo long wenhua* 八千年中國龍文化, Beijing: Renmin ribao chubanshe.

Pang Pu 龐樸 1984 "Huali xutan 火曆續探", *Zongguo Wenhua yanjiu jikan* (Shanghai: Fudan University Press), vol. 1, Mar 1984 (1st issue), pp. 118-138.

----- 1988 *Langxiuji — Zhongguo wenhua yu zhixue lunji* 稂莠集 — 中國文化與哲學論集, Shanghai: Renmin meishu chubanshe.

----- 1989 "Huali gouchen — yige yishi yijiu de guli zhi faxian 火曆鉤沉 — 一個遺失已久的古曆之發現", *Zhongguo Wenhua* (Hong Kong: Zhonghua shuju), vol. 1, Dec 1989 (1st issue), pp. 3-23.

----- 1995 *Yi fen wei san — Zhongguo chuantong sixiang kaoshi* 一分為三 — 中國傳統思想考釋, Shenzhen: Haitian chubanshe.

Pearlstein, Elinor 1984 "Pictorial Stones from Chinese Tombs", *BCMA*, Nov, pp. 302-331.

- Peng Minghan 彭明瀚 1992 "Guanyu Xingan Shangmu huxingxiang de jige wenti 關於新干商墓虎形象的幾個問題", *NFWW*, no. 2, pp. 54-58.
- Pernet, Henry 1992. Laura Grillo trans., *Ritual masks: descriptions and revelations*, Columbia S.C.: University of South Caroline Press.
- Petit, K. 1988 *Le Monde des Symbols dans l'Art de La Chine* (Etudes Orientales no. 9), Editions Thanh-Long.
- Pi Xiaowei 皮筱蔚 1989 "Santoufeng shishi 三頭鳳試析", *JHKG*, no. 4, pp. 91-94.
- Ping Chunzhao 平春照 1982 "Henan Tanghexian Shihuiyaocun huaxiangshi mu 河南唐河縣石灰窯村畫像石墓", *WW*, no. 5, pp. 79-84.
- Pingyi xian wenwu guanlizhan 平邑縣文物管理站 1990 "Shandong Pingyi Dongbuyin Handai huaxiangshi mu 山東平邑東埠陰漢代畫像石墓", *KG*, no. 9, pp. 811-814.
- Pirazzoli-t'Serstevens, Michèle 1982. Janet Seligman trans., *The Han Civilization of China*, Oxford: Phaidon Press Ltd.
- Powers, Martin J. 1981 "An Archaic Bas-relief and the Chinese Moral Cosmos in the First Century A.D.", *AO* 12, pp. 25-40.
- 1983a "Hybrid Omens and Public Issues in Early Imperial China", *BMFEA* 60, pp. 1-55.
- 1983b "A Late Western Han Tomb near Yangzhou and Related Problems", *OA* 29, no. 3, pp. 275-90.
- 1984 "Pictorial Art and its Public in the Early Imperial China", *AH* 7, no. 2, pp. 135-63.
- 1986 "Artistic Taste, the Economy and the Social Order in Former Han China", *AH* 9, no. 3, pp. 285-305.
- 1987 "Social Values and Aesthetic Choices in Han Dynasty Sichuan: Issues of Patronage", in Lim et. al. 1987, pp. 54-62.
- 1991 *Art and Political Expression in Early China*, New Haven: Yale University Press.
- The Provisional Urban Council of Hong Kong 香港臨時市政局 1997 *National Treasures — Gems of China's Cultural Relics* 國寶精華, Hong Kong.
- Pu Anguo 濮安國 1987 *The Chinese Phoenix Patterns* 中國鳳紋圖案, Hong Kong: Wanli shudian, Qinggongye chubanshe.
- & Yu, Hui 于會 ed. 1990 *Patterns of the Twelve Animals* 中國十二生肖圖集, Taipei: Nantian shuju.
- & Yuan Zhenhong 袁振洪 1988 *Long tu sibai li* 龍圖四百例, Beijing: Qinggongye chubanshe.
- Pu Muzhou (Poo Mu-chou) 蒲慕州 1993 *Muzang yu shengsi — Zhongguo gudai zongjiao zhi shengsi* 墓葬與生死 — 中國古代宗教之省思, Taipei: Lianjing.
- 1995 *Zhuixun yiji zhi fu — Zhongguo gudai de xinyang Shijie* 追尋一己之福 — 中國古代的信仰世界, Taipei: Yunchen wenhua.
- 蒲慕州 1998 *In Search of Personal Welfare: A View of Ancient Chinese Religion*, Albany: State University of New York Press.
- Qi Dongfang 齊東方 1994. 5. 8 "Ribei 'Qinglong sannian' mingwen tongjing 日本'青龍三年'銘文銅鏡",

ZGWWB.

Qi Honghao 齊鴻浩 1989 "Shaanxi Huanglongxian Liangjiashan zhuanchang Hanmu 陝西黃龍縣梁家山磚廠漢墓", *KG*, no. 3, p. 278.

Qian Chenfang 錢辰方 1993. 6. 13 "Ji Yangzhou Hanmu bowuguan 記揚州漢墓博物館", *ZGWWB*.

Qian Yiping 錢伊平 1990 "Diaosu yishu zhong de HanTang baoma 雕塑藝術中的漢唐寶馬", *NPMMA*, Jan, no. 10, pp. 30-40.

Qiao Zhimin 喬志敏 & Liu Songgen 劉松根 1990 "Xinzhengshan Shuizhaigou Han huaxiangzhuan mu 新鄭山水寨溝漢畫像石墓", *ZYWW*, no. 1, pp. 33-38.

Qiu Shijing 裘士京 1995 *Tong jing* 銅鏡, Hefei: Huangshan shushe.

Qiu Xigui 裘錫圭 1979 "Tantan Suixian Zenghouyimu de wenzi ziliao 談談隨縣曾侯乙墓的文字資料", *WW*, no. 7, pp. 25-32.

Qiu Yongsheng 邱永生 1992 "Xuzhou Qingshanquan Shuinchang yi, erhao Hanmu fajue jianbao 徐州青山泉水泥廠一、二號漢墓發掘簡報", *ZYWW*, no. 1, pp. 91-96.

----- 1993 "Xuzhou jinnian zhengji de Han huaxiangshi jicui 徐州近年征集的漢畫像石集粹", *ZYWW*, no. 1, pp. 64-70.

Qu Duizhi 瞿兌之 1991 *Handai fengsu zhidushi* 漢代風俗制度史, Shanghai: Shanghai wenyi chubanshe.

Queen, Sarah Ann 1996 *From Chronicles to Canon: The Hermeneutics of the Spring and Autumn, according to Tung Chung-shu*, New York: Cambridge University Press.

Rawson, Jessica 1977 *Animals in Art*, London: British Museum Publication Ltd.

----- 1980 *Ancient China*, London: The British Museum Publication Ltd.

----- 1984a *Chinese Ornament — the Lotus and the Dragon*, London: British Museum Publications Ltd.

----- 1984b "Dragon in Shang & Zhou Bronze", paper delivered to the Early China Seminar III, abstract in *EC* (1983-85) IX-X, pp. 371-373.

----- 1996 "Jade Dragons and other tokens of Spirit Worlds", paper presented at the symposium for the celebration of the 25th Anniversary of the Art Museum, CHHK, Oct 1996.

----- 1997 "Thinking in Pictures: Tomb Figures in the Chinese View of the Afterlife", *TOCS*, 1996-97, vol. 61, pp. 19-37.

Rawson, Philip & Legeza, Laszlo 1973 *Tao - The Chinese Philosophy of Time and Change*, London: Thames and Hudson.

Ren Naiqiang 任乃強 1943 "Bian Wang Hui shiguan fudiao 辨王暉石棺浮雕", *KDYK*, vol. 5, no. 1, pp. 7-19.

----- 1986 "Shilun 'Shanhaijing' de chengshu niandai yu qi ziliao lai yuan 試論《山海經》的成書年代與其資料來源", in *Shanhaijing Xueshu Taolunhui* ed. 1986, pp. 315-32.

Ren Qicheng 仁者成 1987 "Handai huihua yishu yu qi zai Hanguo de yingxiang he yanxu 漢代繪畫藝術與其在韓國的影響和延續", *BNMH*, Jan, vol. 2, no. 5, pp. 55-63.

- Ren Rixin 任日新 1981 "Shandong Zhucheng Hanmu huaxiangshi 山東諸城漢墓畫像石", *WW*, no. 10, pp. 14-21.
- René-Yvon Lefebvre d'Argencé ed. 1974 *Chinese, Korean and Japanese Sculpture: the Avery Brundage Collection, Asian Art Museum of San Francisco*, Tokyo, N.Y. & San Francisco: Kodansha International Ltd.
- Renmin ribao 人民日報 1988. 1. 22 "Xi'an faxian woguo zuizao tianxiangtu bihua 西安發現我國最早天象圖壁畫".
- Rosemont, Henry Jr. ed. 1991 *Chinese Texts and Philosophical Contexts*, La Salle, Ill: Open Court Publishing Co.
- Rostovzeff, Michael Ivanovitch 1973 *The Animal Style in South Russia and China*, New York: Hacker Art Books.
- Rowley, George 1947 *Principles of Chinese Painting*, Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press.
- Roy, David T. & Tsien Tsuen-hsiun eds. 1978 *Ancient China: Studies in Early Chinese Civilization*, Hong Kong: The Chinese University Press.
- Royal Ontario Museum 1992 *Homage to Heaven, Homage to Earth - Chinese Treasures of the Royal Ontario Museum*, Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- Ruan Guolin 阮國林 1987 "Nanjing NanTangmu chutu muyong ji shike xingxiang muzhigai 南京南唐墓出土木俑及石刻星象墓志蓋", *WWZLCK* 10, pp. 159-161.
- Ruan Wenqing 阮文清 1992 "Jiangling Zhangjiashan liangzuo Hanmu chutu dapi zhujian 江陵張家山兩座漢墓出土大批竹簡", *WW*, no. 9, pp. 1-11.
- Ruan Yuan collated 1980 *Shi San Jing Zhu Shu* 十三經注疏, 2 vols, Beijing: Zhonghua shuju.
- Rudolph, Richard C. 1950 "Han Tomb Reliefs from Szechwan", *ACASA* 4, pp. 29-38.
- 1978a "The Enjoyment of Life in Han Reliefs at Nanyang", in Roy & Tsien eds. 1978, pp. 269-82.
- 1978b "Han Dynasty Reliefs from Hanyang", *OA* 24, no. 2, pp. 179-84.
- 1987 "Introduction", in Lim et. al. 1978, pp. 41-45.
- & Wen Yu 1951 *Han Tomb Art of Western China: A Collection of First and Second Century Reliefs*, Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Rui Chuanming 芮傳明 & Yu Taishan 余太山 1995 *Zhong xi Wenshi bijiao* 中西紋飾比較, Shanghai: Guji chubanshe.
- Russell, Frank 1973 "A Note on the Animal Content and Meaning of Late Chou Masks", in Weber 1973, pp. 603-8, 616.
- Sa Mengwu 薩孟武 1969 *Zhongguo zhengzhi sixiangshi* 中國政治思想史, Taipei: Sanmin shuju.
- Salmony, Alfred 1947 "Monumental Chinese Sculpture --- a permanent loan", *BBMS*, 27, no. 4, pp.92-99.
- 1951 "The Third Early Chinese Owl with Snake-legs", *AA* 14, pp. 277-82.

- Sang Shaohua 桑紹華 & Zhang Yun 張蘊 1988.4 "Xi'an chutu Wenan gongzhu deng muzhi ji Guo Yan taming 西安出土文安公主等墓志及郭彥塔銘", *KGYWW*, no. 4, pp. 77-84.
- Saso, Michael 1990 *Blue Dragon White Tiger: Taoist Rites of Passage*, Washington, D.C.: The Taoist Center.
- Schafer, Edward H. 1963 *The Golden peaches of Samarkand: Tang Exotics*, Berkeley: University of California Press.
- 1967 *The Vermilion Bird*, Berkeley: University of California Press.
- 1968 "Hunting Parks and Animals Enclosures in Ancient China", *JESHO* 11, pp. 318-43.
- 1973 *The Divine Woman: Dragon ladies and Rain Maidens in T'ang Literature*, Berkeley: University of California Press.
- 1985 *Mirages on the Sea of Time: The Taoist Poetry of Ts'ao T'ang*, Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Schiffeler, John William trans. 1978 *The Legendary Creatures of the Shan Hai Ching*, Taipei: Hwa-kang.
- Schloss, Ezekiel 1979 *Art of the Han*, New York: China House Gallery, Chinese Institute in America.
- Schwartz, Benjamin I. 1985 *The World of Thought in Ancient China*, Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press.
- Scott, Rosemary E. ed. 1997 *Chinese Jades*, Colloquies on Art & Archaeology in Asia No. 18, School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London.
- Seidel, Anna 1982 "Tokens of Immortality in Han Graves", *NM* 29, pp. 79-122.
- Shaanxi kaogu xuehui 陝西考古學會 1986 *Shaanxi kaogu zhongda faxian* 陝西考古重大發現, Shaanxi: Renmin meishu chubanshe.
- Shaanxi kaogusuo Qin Han yanjiushi 陝西考古所秦漢研究室 ed. 1994 *Qin Wuzhi wenhuashi* 秦物質文化史, Xi'an: Sanqin chubanshe.
- Shaanxi kaogusuo Tangmu gongzuozu 陝西考古所唐墓工作組 1960 "Xi'an dongjiao Tang Su Sixu mu qingli jianbao 西安東郊唐蘇思勳墓清理簡報", *KG*, no. 1, pp. 30-36.
- Shaanxisheng bowuguan 陝西省博物館 1972 "Mizhi DongHan huaxiangshimu fajue jianbao 米脂東漢畫像石墓發掘簡報", *WW*, no. 3, pp. 69-73.
- ed. 1985 *Shaanbei DongHan huaxiangshi* 陝北東漢畫像石, Shaanxi: Renmin meishu chubanshe.
- ed. 1990 *QinHan wadang* 秦漢瓦當, Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe.
- & Qianxian wenwuju Tangmu fajuezu 乾縣文物局唐墓發掘組 1972 "Tang Zhanghuai taizi mu fajue jianbiao 唐章懷太子墓發掘簡報", *WW*, no. 7, pp. 13-19.
- & Qianxian wenwuju Tangmu fajuezu 乾縣文物局唐墓發掘組 1972a "Tang Yide taizi mu fajue jianbao 唐懿德太子墓發掘簡報", *WW*, no. 7, pp. 26-31.
- & Shaanxisheng wenguanhui 陝西省文管會 eds. 1958 *Shaanbei DongHan huaxiangshike xuanji* 陝北東漢畫像石刻選集, Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe.
- & Shaanxisheng wenguanhui 陝西省文管會 1974 "Tang Li Shou mu fajue jianbao 唐李壽墓發掘

簡報”, *WW*, no. 9.

Shaanxisheng kaogu yanjiusuo 陝西省考古研究所 1990 *XiHan jingshicang* 西漢京師倉, Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe.

----- & Xi'an Jiaotong daxue 西安交通大學 eds. 1991 *Xi'an Jiaotong daxue XiHan bihamu* 西安交通大學西漢壁畫墓, Xi'an: Jiaotong daxue chubanshe.

----- & Xi'an shi wenwu guanlichu 西安市文物管理處 eds. 1993 *Shaanxi xinchutu wenwu jicui* 陝西新出土文物集萃, Xi'an: luyao chubanshe.

----- & Yulin diqu wenguanhui 榆林地區文管會 1997 “Shaanxi Shenmu Dabaodang di 11 hao、di 23 hao Han huaxiangshimu fajue baogao 陝西神木大保當第11號、第23號漢畫像石墓發掘報告”, *WW*, no. 9, pp. 26-35, cover page, cover p. 2 & col. p. 1.

Shaanxisheng wenguanhui 陝西省文管會 1964 “Tang Yongtai gongzhu mu fajue jianbao 唐永泰公主發掘簡報”, *WW*, no. 1.

Shan Xiushan 閔修山 et al. 1981 *Nanyang Handai huaxiang shike* 南陽漢代畫像石刻, Shanghai: Commercial Press.

----- 1985 “Nanyang Han huaxiangshi mu de menhua yishu 南陽漢畫像石墓的門畫藝術”, *ZYWW*, no. 3, pp. 66-70.

----- et al. 1989 *Nanyang Han huaxiangshi* 南陽漢畫像石, Henan: Henan meishu chubanshe.

----- 1991 “Han Yuping Dayin Fengjunruren huaxiangshi yanjiu buyi 漢鬱平大尹洞君孺人畫像石墓研究補遺”, *ZYWW*, no. 3, pp. 75-79.

----- & Liu Yusheng 劉玉生 1982 “Nanyangxian Zhaozhai zhuanwachang Han huaxiangshi mu 南陽縣趙寨磚瓦廠漢畫像石墓”, *ZYWW*, no. 1, pp. 1-4.

Shan Yongsheng 單永生 1994. 12. 18 “Sishen wenhua yu Jiuquan sishen zaoxing 四神文化與酒泉四神造型”, *ZGWWB*.

Shandong daxue lishixi kaogu jiaoyanshi 山東大學歷史系考古教研室 ed. 1979 *Dawenkao wenhua taolunji* 大汶口文化討論集, Jinan: Qi Lu shu she.

Shandong sheng wenwu guanli weiyuanhui 山東省文物管理委員會 1955 “Jinan Daguanyuan de yige Hanmu 濟南大觀園的一個漢墓”, *KGTX*, no. 4, pp. 48-50.

Shang Bo 商博 1991. 8. 25 “Yongcheng Mangshan Han Liang wangling chutu dapi zhengui wenwu 永城芒山漢梁王陵出土大批珍貴文物”, *ZGWWB*.

Shang Tongliu 商彤流 & Liu Yongsheng 劉永生 1992 “Shanxi Lishi Mamaozhuang DongHan huaxiangshi mu 山西離石馬茂莊東漢畫像石墓”, *WW*, no. 4, pp. 14-40.

----- & Liu Yusheng 劉玉生 1991. 3. 24 “Shanxi shouci fajue Han huaxiangshimu 山西首次發掘漢畫像石墓”, *ZGWWB*.

----- & Zeng Chenghui 曾盛慧 1996 “Shanxi Pingding Song, Jin bihamu jianbao 山西平定宋, 金壁畫墓簡報”, *WW*, no. 5, pp. 4-16.

Shang Zhitan 商志譚 1972 “Mawangdui yihao Hanmu ‘feiyi’ shishi 馬王堆一號漢墓‘非衣’試釋”, *WW*, no. 9, pp. 43-47.

- Shanghai Bowuguan 上海博物館 ed. 1964 *The Bronzes in the Shanghai Museum Collection* 上海博物館藏青銅器, Shanghai renmin meishu chubanshe.
- ed. 1992 *Shanghai Bowuguan jikan* 上海博物館集刊 (The Collected Papers of Shanghai Museum), vol.6 (A special issue for the 40th Anniversary of the Museum 建館四十周年特輯), Shanghai.
- Shanghaishi fangzhi kexue yanjiuyuan wenwu yanjiuzu 上海市紡織科學研究院文物研究組 & Shanghaishi sichou gongye gongsi wenwu yanjiuzu 上海市絲綢工業公司文物研究組 1980 *Changsha Mawangdui yihao Hanmu chutu fangzhipin de yanjiu* 長沙馬王堆一號漢墓出土紡織品的研究, Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe.
- Shanhaijing Xueshu Taolunhui 山海經學術討論會 ed.1986 *Shanhaijing xintan* 山海經新探, Sichuan: Shehui kexue chubanshe.
- Shanxisheng bowuguan 山西省博物館 1985 "Taiyuan shi Jiancaoping Hanmu 太原市尖草坪漢墓", *KG*, no. 6, pp. 527-529, plate 6.
- Shanxisheng wenwu gongzuo weiyuanhui 山西省文物工作委員會 1980 "Shanxi Hunyuan Bicun XiHan muguomu 山西渾源畢村西漢木槨墓", *WW*, no. 6, pp. 42-51.
- Shen Congwen 沈從文 1986 *Long Feng yishu* 龍鳳藝術, Hong Kong: Commercial Press.
- Shen Lingxin 沈令昕 1957 "Shanghaishi wenwu baoguan weiguanhui suocang de jimian gujing jieshao 上海市文物保管委員會所藏的幾面古鏡介紹", *WWCKZL*, no. 8.
- Shen Yizheng 沈以正 1978 "You Yinan mu shike huaxiang lun Han huaxiang ji Han Jin zhijian de renwu huihua 由沂南墓石刻畫像論漢畫像及漢晉之間的人物繪畫", *YSJ* 36, no. 6, pp. 130-9.
- Shen Zhongchang 沈仲常 1956 "Zai Sichuan Deyangxian shouji de Han huaxiangzhuan 在四川德陽縣收集的漢畫像磚", *WWCKZL*, no. 7, pp. 43-44.
- 1979 "'Gaodaitu' huaxiangzhuan zhiyi 《告貸圖》畫像磚質疑", *KG*, no. 6, pp. 525-527.
- Shenzhen Bowuguan 深圳博物館 ed. 1995 *Zhongguo Handai huaxiangshi huaxiangzhuan wenxian mulu* 中國漢代畫像石畫像磚文獻目錄, Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe.
- Shi Aimin 施愛民 & Lu Ye 盧曄 1993. 5. 30 "Minle qingli Handai bihuamu 民樂清理漢代壁畫墓", *ZGWWB*.
- Shi Aimin 施愛民 & Shi Wanlin 師萬林 1995. 11. 5 "Gaotai qingli DongHan huaxiang zhuanishimu 高台清理東漢畫像磚室墓", *ZGWWB*.
- Shi Changdong 施昌東 1981 *Handai meishu sixiang shuping* 漢代美術思想述評, Beijing: Zhonghua shuju.
- Shi Ding 施丁 ed. 1994 *Han Shu xinzhu* 漢書新注, 4 vols, Xi'an: Sanqin chubanshe.
- Shi Ji* = Sima Qian 司馬遷 comp., Pei Yin 裴駟 annotated 1972 *Shi Ji* 史記, rpt., Beijing: Zhonghua shuju.
- Shi Jiazhen 史家珍 1992a "Luoyang Yanshixian Xinmang bihua qingli jianbao 洛陽偃師縣新莽壁畫墓清理簡報", *WW*, no. 12, pp. 1-8.
- 1992b "Luoyangshi Zhucun DongHan bihuamu fajue jianbao 洛陽市朱村東漢壁畫墓發掘簡報", *WW*, no. 12, pp. 15-20.
- Shi Jingdong 石敬東 1994 "Shandong Zaozhuang Fangzhuang Han huaxiangshimu 山東萊莊方莊漢畫像石墓", *KGYWW*, no. 3, pp. 41-43.

- Shi Nianhai 史念海 1986 *Zhongguo shidi lungao (Heshanji)* 中國史地論稿 (河山集), Taipei: Hongwenguan chubanshe.
- Shi San Jing Zhu Shu* = Ruan Yuan collated 1980 *Shi San Jing Zhu Shu* 十三經注疏, 2 vols, Beijing: Zhonghua shuju.
- Shi Ximing 師希明 1985 "Pengshanxian yamu faxian de huaxiangzhuan 彭山崖墓發現的畫像磚", *SCWW*, no. 4, p. 11.
- Shi Xipeng 師希彭 1989 "Sichuan Pengshan chutu de Handai huaxiangzhuan 四川彭山出土的漢代畫像磚", *KGYWW*, no. 3, pp. 22-27.
- Shi Zuohua 石祚華 & Zheng Jinxing 鄭金聲 1964 "Jiangsu Xuzhou Tongshan wuzuo Hanmu qingli jianbao 江蘇徐州, 銅山五座漢墓清理簡報", *KG*, no. 10, pp. 504-519.
- Shih Hsio-yen 1960 "Han Stone Reliefs from Shensi Province", *ACASA* 14, pp. 49-64.
- 1962a "Some Fragments from a Han Tomb in the Northwest Relief Style", *AA* 25, nos. 2-3, pp. 149-62.
- 1962b "Arts of the Han Dynasty", *OA* 8, no. 1, pp. 20-27.
- 1978 *Early Chinese Pictorial Style: From the Later Han to the Six Dynasties*, PhD diss., Bryn Mawr College, 1961. Ann Arbor, MI.: University Microfilms International.
- Shijiazhuang shi tushuguan wenwu kaogu xiaozu 石家莊市圖書館文物考古小組 1980 "Hebei Shijiazhuang shi beijiao XiHan mu fajue jianbao 河北石家莊市北郊西漢墓發掘簡報", *KG*, no.1, pp. 52-55.
- Shirakawa, Shizuka 白川靜 1975. Wang Xiaolian 王孝廉 trans. 1983 *Chgoku no Shinwa* (Chinese Mythology) 中國神話, Taipei: Chang'an.
- Shou Xinmin 壽新民 1990 "Shangqiu dequ Han huaxiangshi yishu qianxi 商丘漢畫像石藝術淺析", *ZYWW*, no. 1, pp. 43-50.
- Shuowen jiazi* = Xu Shen 許慎 comp.; Duan, Yucai 段玉裁 annotated 1998 *Shuowen jiazi zhu* 說文解字注, rpt., Zhejiang: Guji chubanshe.
- Si Yuye 司玉葉 1994 "Henan Tangyinxian faxian DongHan huaxiangshi mumu 河南湯陰縣發現東漢畫像石墓門", *KG*, no. 4, pp. 379, 381.
- Sichuansheng bowuguan 四川省博物館 & Chongqingshi bowuguan 重慶市博物館 eds. 1960 *Sichuansheng chutu tongjing* 四川省出土銅鏡, Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe.
- Sichuansheng wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo 四川省文物考古研究所 ed. 1996 *Sichuan kaogu lunwenji* 四川考古論文集, Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe.
- Sickman, Laurence & Soper, Alexander 1971 *The Art and Architecture of China*, Middlesex, U.S.A. & Australia: Penguin Books.
- Silbergeld, Jerome 1982-83 "Mawangdui, Excavated Materials, and Transmitted Texts: a Cautionary Note", *EC* 8, pp. 79-92.
- Sima Qian 司馬遷 comp., Pei Yin 裴駰 annotated 1972 *Shi Ji* 史記, rpt., Beijing: Zhonghua shuju.
- Sirén, Osvald 1930 *A History of Early Chinese Art. The Han Period*, London: Ernest Benn Ltd.

- Sivin, Nathan 1965 "State, Cosmos, and Body in the Last Three Centuries B.C.", *HJAS* 55, no. 1, pp. 80-122.
- Song Kangnian 宋康年 1987 "Anhui Wangjiangxian faxian Handai guijujing 安徽望江縣發現漢代規矩鏡", *KG*, no. 10, p. 888.
- Song Longfei 宋龍飛 1982 "Fengniao tuteng biaozi de yiji 鳳鳥圖騰標志的遺跡 — sanjian yu zhuangshi tuwen zhong (shang, xia) 鳳鳥圖騰標志的遺跡 — 散見於裝飾圖紋中 (上, 下)", *YSJ*, no. 6, pp. 149-64; & 86, no. 7, pp. 112-25.
- Song Nianci 宋念慈 1989 "Baijia zhengming de Chunqiu Zhanguo shidai — Zhongguo guodai de kexue 百家爭鳴的春秋戰國時代 — 中國古代的科學 (3)", *NPMCA*, Jun, no. 3, pp. 46-57.
- Song Xinchao 宋新潮 1997 "Zhongguo zaoqi tongjing ji qi xiangguan wenti 中國早期銅鏡及其相關問題", *KGTX*, no. 2, pp. 147-169.
- Song Xuwu 宋敘五 1971 *XiHan huobishi chugao* 西漢貨幣史初稿, Hong Kong: Chinese University Press.
- Song Zhimin 宋治文 1993 "Lun Xinye fanji Han huaxiangzhuanmu ji qi xiangguan wenti 論新野樊集漢畫像碑基模其相關問題", *KG*, no. 8, pp. 741-750.
- 1994 *Zhanguo QinHan kaogu* 戰國秦漢考古, Chengdu: Sichuan daxue chubanshe.
- Soper, Alexander C. 1987 "Foreword", in Lim et. al. 1987, pp. 37-40.
- Soper, Alexander C. 1987. Xia Yuhan 夏雨涵 trans. "Handai huaxiang yishu de wenhuaxing 漢代畫像藝術的文化性", *YSJ*, no.6, pp. 116-145.
- Speiser, Werner 1960. George Lawrence trans. *Art of the World, vol. 4: China --- Spirit and Society*, London: Methuen.
- Su Bai 宿白 1957 *Baisha Songmu* 白沙宋墓, Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe.
- ed. 1989 *Zhongguo meishu quanji • huihua bian 12 • mushi bihua* 中國美術全集 • 繪畫編 12 • 墓室壁畫, Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe.
- Su Jian 蘇健 1984 "Meiguo Boshidun meishuguan cang Luoyang Hanmu bihua kaolue 美國波士頓美術館藏洛陽漢墓壁畫考略", *ZYWW*, no. 2, pp. 22-25.
- 1985 "Hanhua zhong de shenguai yushe he longbitu kao 漢畫中的神怪御蛇和龍壁圖考", *ZYWW*, no. 4, pp. 81-88.
- 1996 "Handai tongjing huaxiang yanjiu 漢代銅鏡畫像研究", in Nanyangshi wenhuaju ed. 1996, pp. 92-98.
- Su Tianjun 蘇天鈞 1964 "Beijing Xijiao faxian Handai shique qingli jianbao 北京西郊發現漢代石闕清理簡報", *WW*, no. 11, pp. 13-22.
- Su Yu 蘇興 comp., Wang Xianqian 王先謙 pref. 1974 *Chunqiu fanlu yizheng* 春秋繁露義証, rpt., Taipei: Heluo tushu chubanshe.
- Su Zhaoqing 蘇兆慶 & Zhang Anli 張安禮 1988 "Shandong Juxian Shenliuzhuang Han huaxiangshi mu 山東莒縣沈劉莊漢畫像石墓", *KG*, no. 9, pp. 788-799.
- Su Zhihong 蘇志宏 1991 *QinHan Liyue jiaohua lun* 秦漢禮樂教化論, Sichuan: Renmin chubanshe.

- Sui Yuren 隋裕仁 & Song Yuntao 宋雲濤 1995 "Luoyang Zhouchengchang Handai zhuanwa yaochang yizhi 洛陽軸承廠漢代磚瓦窯場遺址", *ZYWW*, no. 4, pp. 7-16.
- Suixian Leigudun yihaomu kaogu fajuedui 隨縣擂鼓墩一號墓考古發掘隊 1979 "Hubei Suixian Zenghouyimu fajue jianbao 湖北隨縣曾侯乙墓發掘簡報", *WW*, no. 7, pp. 1-14.
- Sullivan, Michael 1967 *A Short History of Chinese Art*, London: Faber and Faber.
- Sun Derun 孫德潤 1982 "Xianyangshi kongxinzhuan Hanmu qingli jianbao 咸陽市空心磚漢墓清理簡報", *KG*, no. 3, pp. 225-235.
- Sun Dexuan 孫德萱 1988 "Henan Pupang Xishuipo yizhi fajue jianbao 河南濮陽西水坡遺址發掘簡報", *WW*, no. 3, pp. 1-6.
- Sun Hua 孫華 & Gong Faming 鞏發明 1991 "Pingyangfu jun que kao 平陽府君闕考", *WW*, no. 9, pp. 61-69, 73.
- Sun Ji 孫機 1982 "Jizhong Handai de tu'an wenshi 幾種漢代的圖案紋飾", *WW*, no. 3, pp. 63-69.
- 1991 *Handai wuzhi wenhua gaishuo 漢代物質文化概說*, Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe.
- 1996T "ang Li Shou shiguo xianke 'Shinutu' 'Lewutu' sanji (shang) 唐李壽石柳線刻《侍女圖》《樂舞圖》散記 (上)", *WW*, no. 5, pp. 33-49.
- Sun Jingchen 孫景琛 1982 "'Danuotu' mingshi bian 《大雛圖》名實辨", *WW*, no. 3, pp. 70-74.
- Sun Wenqing 孫文青 ed. 1997 *Nanyang Handai huaxiang huicun 南陽漢畫象集存*, Kyōto: Hoyū Shoten.
- Sun Xiaochun & Jacob Kistemaker 1997 *The Chinese Sky during the Han*, The Netherlands, Leiden: Koninklijke Brill.
- Sun Xinmin 孫新民 1985 "Yuxian dong shilicun DongHan huaxiangshi mu fajue jianbao 禹縣東十裡村東漢畫像石墓發掘簡報", *ZYWW*, no. 3, pp. 51-54.
- Sun Yicun 孫怡村 1995 "Cong Hanhua kan baixi yu wuyue de jiaorong 從漢畫看百戲與舞樂的交融", *ZYWW*, no. 3, pp. 25-27.
- Sun Yingmin 孫英民 & Li Youmou 李友謀 eds. 1990 *Zhongguo kaoguxue tonglun 中國考古學通論*, Henan: Henan University Press.
- Sun Yu'an 孫遇安 1998 "Sanzu de long he liangzu de long 三足的龍和兩足的龍", *WWTD*, no. 2, pp. 17-20.
- Sun Zuoyun 孫作雲 1960 "Dunhuanghua zhong de shenguaihua 敦煌畫中的神怪畫", *KG*, no. 6, pp. 24-34.
- 1973 "Mawangdui yihao Hanmu qiguan hua kaoshi 馬王堆一號漢墓畫幀畫考釋", *KG*, no. 4, pp. 247-256 (rpt. in Hunansheng bowuguan 1979, pp. 256-265).
- 1977 "Luoyang XiHan Bu Qianqiu mu bihua kaoshi 洛陽西漢卜千秋墓壁畫考釋", *WW*, no. 6, pp. 17-22.
- Swanson, Gerald 1976 "The Concept of Change in the *Great Treatise*", in *Workshop on Classical Chinese Thought* ed. 1976, pp. 67-93.
- Tai Jingnong 臺靜農 ed. 1976 *Hanzhuan tuxianglu 漢尊圖像錄*, Taipei: Yiwen yinshuju.

- Tain, Tzey-yueh 1974 *Tung Chung-shu's System of Thought, its Sources and its Influence on Han Scholars*, PhD diss., University of California, Los Angeles, Ann Arbor, MI.: University Microfilms International.
- Tan Daxian 譚達先 1988 *Zhongguo dongwu gushi yanjiu* 中國動物故事研究, Taipei: Commercial Press.
- Tan Qixiang 譚其驥 1982 *Zhongguo lishi dituji*, vol. 2: *Qin, XiHan, DongHan shiqi* 中國歷史地圖集, vol. 2: 秦・西漢・東漢時期, Shanghai: Ditu chubanshe.
- Tan Shuqin 譚淑琴 1998 "Shilun Hanhua zhong 'pushou' de yuanyuan 試論漢畫中鋪首的淵源", *ZYWW*, no. 4, pp. 58-65.
- Tan Weisi 譚維四 1991 "Treasure — House of Science and Temple of Art 科學寶庫 — 藝術殿堂", in Hubeisheng bowuguan ed. 1991, pp. 148-157.
- Tang Changshou 唐長壽 1991 "Handai muzang menque kaobian 漢代墓葬門闕考辨", *ZYWW*, no. 3, pp. 67-74.
- 1993a *Leshan yamu he Pengshan yamu* 樂山崖墓和彭山崖墓, Chengdu: Dianzhi keji daxue chubanshe.
- 1993b "Minjiang liuyu Han huaxiang yamu fenqi ji qita 岷江流域漢畫像崖墓分期及其它", *ZYWW*, no. 2, pp. 47-52.
- Tang Gangmao 唐剛卯 1991 "A Brief Account on the Lacquer Paintings 漆畫略述", in Hubeisheng bowuguan ed. 1991, pp. 176-177.
- Tang Jinyu 唐金裕 1959 "Xi'an xijiao Handai jianzhu yizhi fajue baogao 西安西郊漢代建築遺址發掘報告", *KGTJ*, no. 2, pp. 45-55.
- Tang Lan 唐蘭 1979 "Cong Dawenkou wenhua de taoqi wenzi kan woguo zuizao wenhua de niandai 從大汶口文化的陶器文字看我國最早文化的年代", in Shandong daxue lishixi kaogu jiaoyanshi ed. 1979, pp. 79-84.
- Tang Shiqin 唐士欽 1991 "Xuzhou Hanhua zhong de gu jianzhu 徐州漢畫中的古建築", *ZYWW*, no. 3, pp. 94-96.
- Tang Xinghuang 唐杏煌 1972 "Zhengzhou Xintongqiao Handai huaxiang kongxinzhuan mu 鄭州新通橋漢代畫像空心磚墓", *WW*, no. 10, pp. 41-48.
- Tang Yinfang 唐吟方 1994 "Luoyang Beimang sishiwo hao kongxinzhuan Hanmu 洛陽北邙 45 號空心磚漢墓", *WW*, no. 7, pp. 34-35, 90.
- Tao Xisheng 陶希聖 1972 *Zhongguo zhengzhi sixiangshi* 中國政治思想史, vol. 2 & 3 (3 vols.), first ed. 1954, Taipei: Shihuo chubanshe.
- The Tenri Sankokan Museum of University 1975 *Chūgoku kodai no kagami* 中国古代の鏡(Ancient Chinese Mirrors), Tenri Sankōkan annai shirīzu 天理参考館案内シリーズ Tenri Sankōkan Collection Handbook 15, Tenri: Tenri daigaku shuppanbu.
- 1991 *Chūgoku kodai no kagami* 中国古代の鏡(Bronze Mirrors of Ancient China), Tenri Gallery Exhibition Series 90, Tōkyō: Tenri Gyaraii.
- Thorp, Robert L. 1982 *Spirit & Ritual: the Morse Collection of Ancient Chinese Art*, New York: Metropolitan Museum of Modern Art.
- Tian Xingnong 田醒農 1958 "Shaanbei DongHan huaxiangshi diaocha, qingli jingguo 陝北東漢畫像石調

- 查, 清理經過”, in Shaanxisheng bowuguan & Shaanxisheng wenguanhui eds. 1958, pp. 127-129.
- Tian Zhenli 田振立 1991. 5. 12 “Jining qingli yizuo DongHan mu — faxian xingxiangtu ji tongliu yuyipian 濟寧清理一座東漢墓 — 發現星相圖及銅鍍玉衣片”, *ZGWWB*.
- Till, Barry 1980 “Some Observations on Stone Winged Chimeras at Ancient Chinese Tomb Sites”, *AA* 42, pp. 261-81.
- Tong Shuye 童書業 1986 *Zhongguo shougongye shangye fazhanshi* 中國手工業商業發展史, Taipei: Muduo chubanshe.
- Tong Zerong 仝澤榮 1997 “Jiangsu Juning mushan Han huaxiangshimu 江蘇睢寧墓山漢畫像石墓”, *WW*, no. 9, pp. 36-40.
- Tseng Hsien-ch’i & Dart, Robert Paul 1964 *Charles B. Hoyt Collection in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston*, vol. 1, New York: October House.
- Twitchett, Denis & Loewe, Michael 1987 *Cambridge History of China, vol. 1 - the Ch’in and the Han Empires*, 221 B.C. - A.D. 220, rpt., Taiwan: Caves Book Ltd. First ed. pub. by University of Cambridge Press, 1986.
- Umbehara, Sueji 梅原末治 1943 *Kan. Sangoku. Rikuchō kinen kagami zusetzu* 漢三國六朝紀年鏡圖說 (A Collection of Illustrations, with Introduction and Commentary, of the Mirrors of the Han, Three Kingdoms and Six Dynasties Periods), Kyoto: Teikoku Daigaku Bungaku-bu kōkōgaku shiryō sōkan vol. 1. Kyōtō: Kuwana bunseidō.
- Volker, T. 1950 *The Animal of Far Eastern Art and especially in the Art of the Japanese Netsuke, with Reference to Chinese Origins, Traditions, Legends, and Art*, Leiden: E. J. Brill.
- Vuylsteke, Richard Ralph 1982 *The Political Philosophy of Tung Chung-shu (179-104 B.C.): A Critical Exposition*, PhD diss., University of Hawaii, Ann Arbor, MI.: University Microfilms International.
- Waiwen chubanshe 1974 *Han Tang Bihua* 漢唐壁畫, Beijing: Waiwen chubanshe.
- Waley, Arthur 1974 *Three Ways of Thought in Ancient China*, London: George Allen & Unwin.
- Waley-Cohen, Joanna trans. 1985 *The Lacquers of the Mawangdui Tomb*, London: Oriental Ceramic Society.
- Wan Lixin 萬立新 & Yang, Hua 楊華 1997 “Naijiang DongHan yamu diaocha yu tantao 內江東漢崖墓調查與探討”, *SCWW*, no. 2, p. 10-16.
- Wan Younan 萬幼楠 1988 “Jiangxi Yudu faxian Han huaxiangzhuanmu 江西于都發現漢畫像磚墓”, *WW*, no. 5, pp. 95-96.
- Wang Baoxiang 王褒祥 1964 “Henan Xinye chutu de Handai huaxiangzhuan 河南新野出土的漢代畫像磚”, *KG*, no. 2, pp. 90-93.
- Wang Bomin 王伯敏 1983 *Gu xiaoxingyin yishi* 古肖形印臆釋, Shanghai: Shuhua chubanshe.
- Wang Buyi 王步毅 1991 “Chulan Han huaxiangshi ji youguan wuxiang de renshi 褚蘭漢畫像石及有關物象的認識”, *ZYWW*, no. 3, pp. 60-66.
- 1993 “Anhui Suxian Chulan Han huaxiangshi mu 安徽宿縣褚蘭漢畫像石墓”, *KGTX*, no. 4, pp. 515-549.
- Wang Chong 王充 1935. Gao Suyuan 高蘇垣 commentary, *Lun Heng* 論衡, Shanghai: Commercial

Press.

- Wang Congren 王從仁 1995 *Siling wenhua congshu* 四靈文化叢書, 4 vols.: *Long* 龍, *Fenghuang* 鳳凰, *Baihu* 白虎, & *Xuanwu* 玄武, Hong Kong: Haifeng chubanshe.
- Wang Dayou 王大有 1987 *Long feng wenhua yuanliu* 龍鳳文化源流, Beijing: Gongyi meishu chubanshe.
- 1996 "Zhuanxu shidai yu Puyang Xishuipo bangsu long de hua shidai yiyi 顓頊時代與濮陽西水坡蚌塑龍的劃時代意義", *ZYWW*, no. 1, pp. 72-75.
- Wang Deqing 王德慶 1957 "Jiangsu Tongshan DongHan mu qingli jianbao 江蘇銅山東漢墓清理簡報", *KGTX*, no. 4, pp. 33-37.
- 1958 "Jiangsu faxian de yipi Handai huaxiangshi 江蘇發現的一批漢代畫像石", *WWCKZL*, no. 4, pp. 37-39.
- Wang Entian 王思田 1989 "Cangshan Yuanjia yuannian huaxiangshimu kao 蒼山元嘉元年畫像石墓考", *SCWW*, no. 4, pp. 3-10.
- 1992 "'Wang Mang Jiumiao' zaiyi '王莽九廟'再議", *KGYWW*, no. 6, pp. 96-106.
- Wang Eugene Y. 1999 "What do trigrams have to do with Buddhas?", *RES* 35, Spring 1999, pp. 70-91.
- Wang Fengjian 王鳳劍 *et al.* 1996 "Henansheng Nanyangshi Shilipu erhao huaxiangshimu 河南省南陽市十裡鋪二號畫像石墓", *ZYWW*, no. 3, pp. 18-21, 46.
- *et al.* 1998 "Henan Nanyang Pushan erhao Han huaxiangshi mu 河南南陽蒲山二號漢畫像石墓", *ZYWW*, no. 4, pp. 48-55.
- Wang Gaoqi 王國奇 1996 "Hanhua zhong de qiaoliang 漢畫中的橋梁", *WGTX*, no. 6, pp. 20-23.
- Wang Haihang 王海航 1965 "Shijiazhuangshi Donggangtoucun faxian Hanmu 石家莊市東崗頭村發現漢墓", *KG*, no. 12, pp. 655-656.
- Wang Huamin 王化民 1991. 12. 1 "Suxian chutu Han Xiping sannian huaxiangshi 宿縣出土漢熹平三年畫像石", *ZGWWB*.
- Wang Huichang 王會昌 1992 *Zhongguo wenhua dili* 中國文化地理, Hubei (Wuchang): Huazhong shifan daxue chubanshe.
- Wang Jianmin 王建民 *et al.* 1979 "Zenghouyimu chutu de ershibaxiu qinglong baihu tuxiang 曾侯乙墓出土的二十八宿青龍白虎圖像", *WW*, no. 7, pp. 40-45.
- & Liu Jinyi 劉金沂 1989 "XiHan Ruyinhou mu chutu de yuanpan shang ershiba xiu judu de yanjiu 西漢汝陰侯墓出土圓盤上二十八宿古距度的研究", in *Zhongguo shehui kexueyuan kaogu yanjiusuo* ed. 1980, pp. 46-58.
- Wang Jianzhong 王建中 1982 "Henan Dengxian faxian kongxin huaxiangzhuan 河南鄧縣發現空心畫像碑", *KG*, no. 3, pp. 324-325.
- & Shan Xiushan 閔修山 1990 *Nanyang Liang Han huaxiangshi* 南陽兩漢畫像石, Beijing: wenwu chubanshe.
- 1984 "Henan Dengxian Fangshan xinshiqi shidai yizhi ji QinHan mu diaocha 河南鄧縣房山新石器時代遺址及秦漢墓調查", *KG*, no. 1, pp. 91-92, 96.

- Wang Jiayou 王家佑 1989 "XianQin longhu tuan suyuan 先秦龍虎圖案溯源", *SCWW*, no. 4, pp. 11-15.
- Wang Jindong 王今棟 1984 "Han huaxiang zhong ma de yishu 漢畫像中馬的藝術", *ZYWW*, no. 2, pp. 26-31.
- Wang Jinhua 王錦華 & Ye Xiangrong 葉向榮 1991 "Xishuixian bowuguan shoucang de gudai tongjing 滄水縣博物館收藏的古代銅鏡", *JHKG*, no. 4, pp. 37-38.
- Wang Jisheng 王寄生 1955 "Wenxi Xiguanzhuang Handai kongxinzhuan mu qingli jianbao 聞喜西官莊漢代空心磚墓清理簡報", *KGTX*, no. 4, pp. 46-48.
- Wang Kai 王愷 1985 "'Renmian niao' kao '人面鳥'考", *KGYWW*, no. 6, pp. 97-101.
- 1990 "Sulu Yuwan jiaojie diqu Han huaxiangshi mu de fenqi 蘇魯豫皖交界地區漢畫像石墓的分期", *ZYWW*, no. 1, pp. 51-61.
- Wang Kaijian 王開建 1985 "Hejiangxian chutu DongHan shiguan 合江縣出土東漢畫像碑", *SCWW*, no. 3, p. 67.
- Wang Kelin 王克林 1986 "Long tuteng yu Xiazu de qiyuan 龍圖騰與夏族的起源", *WW*, no. 6, pp. 55-56.
- Wang Leiyi 王磊義 1989 *Handai tuan xuan 漢代圖案選*, Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe.
- Wang Liangqi 王良啟 1986 "Shiluan Han huaxiangshi de yishu chengjiu 試論漢畫像石的藝術成就", *ZYWW*, no. 4, pp. 83-86.
- Wang Lilin 王黎琳 1980 "Lun Xuzhou Han huaxiangshi 論徐州漢畫像石", *WW*, no. 2, pp. 44-55.
- & Li Yinde 李銀德 1996 "Xuzhou faxiang DongHan huaxiangshi 徐州發現東漢畫像石", *WW*, no. 4, pp. 28-31.
- Wang Liquan 王笠荃 1991 "Longshen zhi mi 龍神之謎", *ZGWH* 5, pp. 89-104.
- Wang Minggao 王明皋 & Ma Shiqi 馬士琦 1989. 11. 10 "Yaowangshan 'guishe' erzibei 藥王山'龜蛇'二字碑", *ZGWWB*.
- Wang Naicong 王通琮 *et al.* 1991 *XianQin LiangHan jingji sixiang shilue 先秦兩漢經濟思想史略*, Beijing: Haiyang chubanshe.
- Wang Ningsheng 汪寧生 1980 *Yunnan kaogu 雲南考古*, Yunan: Renmin chubanshe.
- Wang Qingjian 王清建 1995 "Lun Hanhua zhong de Xuanwu xingxiang 論漢畫中的玄武形象", *ZYWW*, no. 3, pp. 38-39, 118.
- Wang Qinjin 王勤金 *et al.* 1980 "Yangzhou Hanjiangxian Huchang Hanmu 揚州邗江縣胡場漢墓", *WW*, no. 3, pp. 1-10.
- *et al.* 1981 "Yangzhou Hanjiang Huchang wuhao Hanmu 揚州邗江胡場五號漢墓", *WW*, no. 11, pp. 12-20.
- Wang Qizhen 王琦珍 1995 *Li yu chuantong wenhua 禮與傳統文化*, Jiangxi: Gaoxiao chubanshe.
- Wang Qufei 王去非 1956 "Sishen, Jinzi, Gaoji 四神, 巾子, 高髻", *KGTX*, no. 5, pp. 50-54.
- Wang Renbo 王仁波 *ed.* 1990 *Sui Tang Wenhua 隋唐文化*, Hong Kong: Zhonghua shuju.

- ed. 1995 *Shaanxisheng bowuguan cang baolu* 陝西省博物館藏寶錄, Shanghai: Wenyi chubanshe & Hong Kong: Sanlian chubanshe.
- Wang Renxiang 王仁湘 ed. 1996 "Hanhua zhicao xiaoshi — cong Sichuan chutu de huaxiangzhuan huaxiangshi tanqi 漢畫芝草小識 — 從四川出土的畫像磚畫像石談起", in *Sichuansheng wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo* 四川省文物考古研究所編 ed. 1996, pp. 201-212.
- Wang Renzhen 王仁珍 & Sun Huizhen 孫慧珍 1997. 6. 22 "Chuiyan niaoniao paochuxiang 炊煙裊裊庖廚香", *ZGWWB*.
- Wang Ruiming 王瑞明 1979 "'Zhenmushou' kao '鎮墓獸'考", *WW*, no. 6, pp. 85-87.
- Wang Rulei 王如雷 1989 "Xinye faxian yikuai Handai xiche huaxiangzhuan 新野發現一塊漢代戲車畫像碑", *ZYWW*, no. 1, pp. 93.
- Wang Rulin 王儒林 1958 "Nanyang Handai shike mu 南陽漢代石刻墓", *WWCKZL*, no. 10, pp. 38-39.
- 1964 "Henan Nanyang Xiguan yizuo gumu zhong de Han huaxiangshi 河南南陽西關一座古墓中的漢畫像石", *KG*, no. 8, pp. 424-426.
- 1966 "Henan Nanyangshi faxian Hanmu 河南南陽市發現漢墓", *KG*, no. 2, pp. 108-110.
- 1982 "Henan Nanyang Junzhangying Han huaxiangshimu 河南南陽軍帳營漢畫像石墓", *KGYWW*, no. 1, pp. 40-43.
- Wang Rusong 王孺松 1985 *Dong Zhongshu de tiandao guan* 董仲舒的天道觀, Taipei: Jiaoyu wenwu chubanshe.
- Wang Shaoxiang 王兆祥 & Liu Wenzhi 劉文智 1995 *Zhongguo gudai de shangren* 中國古代的商人, Beijing: Commercial Press.
- Wang Shengping 王生平 1989 'Tianren heyi' yu 'Shenren heyi' — zhongxi meixue de hongguan bijiao '天人合一' 與 '神人合一' — 中西美學的宏觀比較, Hebei: Renmin chubanshe.
- Wang Shilun 王士倫 1957 "Shitan Zhongguo tongjing wenshi de fazhan 試談中國銅鏡紋飾的發展", *WWCKZL*, no. 8, pp. 29-31.
- Wang Shiren 王世仁 1963 "Han Chang'an cheng nanjiao lizhi jianzhu yuanzhuang de tuice 漢長安城南郊禮製建築原狀的推測", *KG*, no. 9, pp. 501-515.
- Wang Shouzhi 王壽芝 1990. 9. 13 "Taodu、tianji、yaoqianshu 桃都、天雞、搖錢樹", *ZGWWB*.
- 1994. 8. 7 "Handai longwen taojing 漢代龍紋陶井", *ZGWWB*.
- Wang Sili 王恩禮 1958 "Shandong Feicheng Handai huaxiangshi mu diaocha 山東肥城漢畫像石墓調查", *WWCKZL*, no. 4, pp. 34-36.
- et al. 1989 "Shandong Weishanxian Handai huanxiangshi diaocha baogao 山東微山縣漢代畫像石調查報告", *KG*, no. 8, pp. 699-709.
- Wang Tao 汪濤 1993a *Colour Symbolism in Late Shang China*, PhD diss., School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, London.
- 1993b *Shang Colour Symbolism and Development of the Wuxing Theory*, paper submitted to the Association for Asian Studies, Los Angeles, March 1993.

- 1993c "Shang Colour Symbolism and Development of the Wuxing Theory 商代的顏色觀念與五行說的形成", manuscript, 1993.
- 1996 *Building the Cosmos: A Comparative Study of the Han Dynasty Mingtang (Hall of Brightness)*, paper presented at the 11th EACS Conference, Barcelona, 4-7 September 1996.
- & Liu Yu 1997 "The Face of the Other World: Jade Face-covers from Ancient Tombs", in Scott, Rosemary E. ed. 1997, pp. 133-146.
- Wang Tianyi 1989 *Underground Art Gallery: China's Brick Paintings 1700 Years Old*, Beijing: New World Press.
- Wang Tingfu 王庭福 & Li Yihong 李一洪 1995 "Hejiang Zhangjiagou erhao yamu huaxiangshiguan fajue jianbao 合江張家溝二號崖墓畫像石棺發掘簡報", *SCWW*, no. 5, pp. 65-66.
- Wang Weibo 王蔚波 1987 "Xinzheng Shanshuizhai Hanmu fajue jianbao 新鄭山水寨漢墓發掘簡報", *ZYWW*, no. 1, pp. 24-26.
- Wang Weizhong 王維忠 1996 *Zhongguo lidai qiwu zaoxing wenshi tudian* 中國歷代器物造型紋飾圖典, Liaoning: Liaoning meishu chubanshe.
- Wang Wenqing ed. 1994 *Ten Major Museums in Shaanxi*, Hong Kong: Polyspring Company Ltd.
- Wang Xiaodun 王小盾 1991 "Huoli lunheng 火歷論衡", *ZGWH* 5, Dec, pp. 197-203.
- Wang Xiaofen 黃曉芬 1996 "Hanmu xingzhi de biange shixi — shuxueshi guomu xiang hengxueshi shimu de yanbian guocheng 漢墓形製的變革試析 — 豎穴式槨墓向橫穴式室墓的演變過程", *KGYWW*, no. 1, pp. 49-69.
- Wang Xu 1999 "The Eight-Pointed Star Pattern and the Prehistoric Loom", in Whitfield & Wang eds. 1999, pp. 207-211.
- Wang Yan 王彥 & Cheng Ming 程明 1993. 7. 25 "Zhoucheng chutu Han huaxiangshi — fanying Handai nongye shengchan deng neirong 鄒城出土漢畫像石 — 反映漢代農業生產等內容", *ZGWWB*.
- Wang Yeyou 王業有 1959 "Dingyuan xiang Bawangzhuang gu huaxiangshi mu 定遠縣霸王莊古畫像石墓", *WW*, no. 12, pp. 43-46.
- Wang Youpeng 王有鵬 1980 "Sichuan Xindouxian faxian yipi huaxiangzhuan 四川新都縣發現一批畫像碑", *WW*, no. 2, pp. 56-57.
- Wang Yugang 王與剛 1960 "Zhengzhou Nanguan yibai wushijiu hao Hanmu de fajue 鄭州南關 159 號漢墓的發掘", *WW*, nos. 8 & 9, pp. 19-24.
- & Zhou Dao 周到 1980 "Henan Yongcheng Gushangcun Han huaxiangshi mu 河南永城固上村漢畫像石墓", *ZYWW*, no. 1, pp. 37-41.
- Wang Yujin 王玉金 1993. 3. 21 "Ribei xuezhe dui Han huaxiangshi de yanjiu 日本學者對漢畫像石的研究", *ZGWWB*.
- Wang Yumin 王育民 1996 *QinHan zhengzhi zhidu* 秦漢政治制度, Xi'an, Xibei daxue chubanshe.
- Wang Zengxin 王增新 1960 "Liaoning Liaoyangxian Nanxuemeicun bihamu ji shimu 遼寧遼陽縣南雪梅村壁畫墓及石墓", *KG*, no. 1, pp. 16-19.
- 1960a "Liaoyangshi Bangtaizi erhao bihua mu 遼陽市棒台子二號壁畫墓", *KG*, no. 1, pp. 20-23.

- Wang Zhao 王釗 & Zeng Xietai 曾協泰 ed. 1990 *Zhongguo ruishou tu'an* 中國瑞獸圖案, Taipei: Nantian shuju.
- Wang Zhigao 王志高 & Cai Mingyi 蔡明義 1998 "Jiangsu Liuhe Nanchao huaxiangzhuan mu 江蘇六合南朝畫像碑墓", *WW*, no. 5, pp. 19-22, 30.
- Wang Zhigao 王志高 & Jia Weiyong 賈維勇 1998 "Jiangsu Nanjingshi Bailongshan Nanchao mu 江蘇南京市白龍山南朝墓", *KG*, no. 8, pp. 77-86.
- Wang Zhijie 王志傑 & Zhu Jieyuan 朱捷元 1976 "Han Maoling ji qi peizangzhong fujin xian faxian de zhongyao wenwu 漢茂陵及其陪葬塚附近的重要文物", *WW*, no. 7, pp. 51-55.
- Wang Zhongshu 王仲殊 1982. K. C. Chang *et al.* trans., *Han Civilization*, New Haven, Conn.; London: Yale University Press.
- 1984 *Handai kaoguxue gaishuo* 漢代考古學概說, Beijing: Zhonghua Shuju.
- 1994 "Lun Riben chutu de Qinglong sannianming fangge gui ju sishenjing 論日本出土的青龍三年銘方格規矩四神鏡", *KG*, no. 8, pp. 727-735.
- Wang Zhongwen 王中文 ed. 1996 *LiangHan wenhua yanjiu — Xuzhoushi shoujie LiangHan wenhua xueshu taolunhui lunwenji* 兩漢文化研究 — 徐州市首屆兩漢文化學術討論會論文集, Beijing: Wenhua yishu chubanshe.
- Wang Zigang 王子崗 *et al.* 1985 "Sichuan Changning 'Qigedong' DongHan jinian huaxiang yamu 四川長寧'七個洞'東漢紀年畫像崖墓", *KGYYW*, no. 5, pp. 47-51, 34.
- Wang Ziyun 王子雲 1955 "Xinjiang Heseer qianfodong de dongwuhua 新疆赫色爾千佛洞的動物畫", *WWCKZL*, no. 6, pp. 53-59.
- 1957 *Zhongguo gudai shikehua xuanji* 中國古代石刻畫選集, Beijing: Renmin meishu chubanshe.
- Watabe, Takeshi 渡部武 1991 *Gazo ga kataru chugoku no kodai* 畫像が語る中國の古代(中國古代圖說), Tokyo: Heigesha.
- Waterbury, Florence 1942 *Early Chinese Symbols and Literature: Vestiges & Speculations*, New York: E. A. Weyhe.
- 1952 *Bird-Deities in China*, Switzerland, Ascona: Artibus Asiae Publishers.
- Watson, James L. ed. 1985 *Ritual and the Social Significance of Death in Chinese Society*, imprinted.
- Watson, William 1974 *Style in the Arts of China*, Harmondsworth: Penguin.
- 1975 *Realistic Style in the Art of Han and Tang China*, Hull: University of Hull.
- Weber, George W. 1973 *The Ornaments of Late Chou Bronzes*, New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press.
- Wei Henry trans. 1993 *The Authentic I-Ching*, Britain: Biddles of Guildford and Kings Lynn.
- Wei Renhua 魏仁華 1985a "Nanyangshi jiancai shiyanchang Han huaxiangshi mu 南陽市建材試驗廠漢畫像石墓", *ZYWW*, no. 3, pp. 21-25.
- 1985b "Nanyang Han huaxiangshi zhong de huanri tuxiang shixi 南陽漢畫像石中的幻日圖像試釋",

- ZYWW, no. 3, pp. 63-65.
- 1987 "Tanghe Zhenzhichang Han huaxiangshimu zhong de tianxiangtu 唐河針織廠漢畫像石墓中的天象圖", in Nanyang Handai huaxiangshi xueshu taolunhui bangongshi ed. 1987, pp. 173-179.
- & Chen Changshan 陳長山 1982a "Henan Nanyang Shiqiao Han huaxiangshimu 河南南陽石橋漢畫像石墓", KGYWW, no. 1, pp. 33-39.
- & Chen Changshan 陳長山 1982b "Nanyangxian Wangzhai Han huaxiangshi mu 南陽縣王寨漢畫像石墓", ZYWW, no. 1, pp. 12-16.
- & Chen Changshan 陳長山 1982c "Dengxian Changzhongdian Han huaxiangshi mu 鄧縣長塚店漢畫像石墓", ZYWW, no. 1, pp. 17-23.
- & Liu Yusheng 劉玉生 1980 "Henan Fangcheng Dongguan Han huaxiangshi mu 河南方城東關漢畫像石墓", WW, no. 3, pp. 69-72.
- & Xu Dong 旭東 1995 "Hanhua yonghui guanjian 漢畫擁護淺見", ZYWW, no. 3, pp. 8-14.
- Wei Yanchen 魏殷臣 1984 "Mixian faxian Han huaxiangshi tiji 密縣發現漢畫像石題記", ZYWW, no. 2, p. 65.
- Wei Zhongce 魏忠策 1981 "Hanjian de Handai xichu huaxiangzhuan 罕見的漢代戲車畫像磚", ZYWW, no. 3, pp. 12-14.
- & Gao Xianyin 高現印 1995 "Nanyang Han huaxiangzhuan shi jihexue yingyong qianjian 南陽漢畫像磚石幾何學應用淺見", ZYWW, no. 2, pp. 76-82.
- Wen Benxiang 文本享 & Rong Daxian 容達賢 1990 "Shenzhen Nantou Honghuayuan Hanmu fajue jianbao 深圳南頭紅花園漢墓發掘簡報", WW, no. 11, pp. 29-43.
- Wen Qiguo 文齊國 1998 "Liangqian nian qian de dixia chemazhen — Mianyang Yongxing Shuangbaoshan erhao XiHan muguomu fajueji 兩千年前的地下車馬陣 — 綿陽永興雙包山二號西漢木槨墓發掘記", WWTd, no. 3, pp. 17-20.
- Wen Yiduo 聞一多 1948 "Fuxi kao 伏羲考" & "Long feng 龍鳳", in *Wen Yiduo quanji* 聞一多全集, vol. 1, Shanghai: Kaiming shudian, pp. 3-68 & 69-72.
- Wen You 聞宥 1955 *Sichuan Handai huaxiang xuanji* 四川漢代畫像選集, Shanghai: Qunlian chubabshe.
- Weng Wango 翁萬戈 & Yang Boda 楊伯達 eds. 1982 *The Palace Museum, Peking: Treasures of the Forbidden City*, London: Orbis Publishing Ltd.
- Wenwu bianjibu 文物編輯部 1979 "Guanyu XiHan Buqianqiu mu bihua zhing yixie wenti 關於西漢卜千秋墓的一些問題", WW, no. 11, pp. 84-85.
- Werner, Edward Theodore Chalmers 1995 *Ancient Tales & Folklore of China*, rpt., Gurnsey: The Gurnsey Press Co. Ltd. (Rev ed. of *Myths and Legends of China*, London: George Harrap & Co. Ltd, 1922).
- White, William Charles 1939 *Tomb Tile Pictures of Ancient China --- An Archaeological Study of Pottery Tiles from Tombs of Western Honan, Dating about the 3rd century BC*, Toronto: The University of Toronto Press.
- Whitfield, Roderick ed. 1993 *The Problems of Meaning in Early Chinese Ritual Bronzes*, Colloquies on Art & Archaeology in Asia No.15, London: School of Oriental and African Studies.

- & Wang Tao eds. 1999 *Exploring China's Past*, Scotland: Saffron.
- Williams, C. A. S. 1996 *Outlines of Chinese Symbolism*, rpt., New York: Dover Publications, Inc. (Rev. ed. of *Outlines of Chinese Symbols and Art Motives*, Peiping, 1931).
- Willis, Roy Geoffrey 1974 *Man and Beast*, London: Hart-Davis Macgibbon.
- Wilson, Keith J. 1990 "Powerful Form and Potent Symbol: the Dragon in Asia", *BCMA* 77, Oct, no.8, pp. 286-323.
- Wingate, Alfred 1930 *The Golden Phoenix: Essays on Chinese Art and Culture*, London: Herbert Jenkins Ltd.
- Wolf, Arthur P. ed. 1974 *Religion and Ritual in Chinese Society*, Stanford: Stanford University.
- 1974a "Gods, Ghosts and Ancestors", in Wolf ed. 1974, pp. 131-82.
- Workshop on Classical Chinese Thought ed. 1976 *Explorations in Early Chinese Cosmology*, California: Scholar Press.
- Wright, Arthur F. ed. 1967 *Studies in Chinese Thought*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Wu Lan 吳蘭 1983 "Shaanxi Suide Han huaxiangshi mu 陝西綏德漢畫像石墓", *WW*, no. 5, pp. 28-32.
- 1985 "Shaanxi Zizhou chutu DongHan huaxiangshi 陝西子州出土東漢畫像石", *KGYWW*, no. 3, pp. 24-25.
- 1986a "Shaanxi Suidexian faxian Han huaxiangshimu 陝西綏德縣發現漢畫像石墓", *KG*, no. 1, pp. 82-84.
- et al. 1986b "Shaanxi Shenmu Liuxiangcun Han huaxiangshi mu 陝西神木柳巷村漢畫像石墓", *ZYWW*, no. 1, pp. 14-16.
- et al. 1993 "Suide Xindian faxian de liangzuo huaxiangshimu 綏德辛店出土的兩座畫像石墓", *KGYWW*, no. 1, pp. 17-23.
- & Xue Yong 學勇 1987 "Shaanxi Mizhixian Guanzhuang DongHan huaxiangshi mu 陝西米脂縣官莊東漢畫像石墓", *KG*, no. 11, pp. 997-1001.
- Wu Dalin 吳大林 1983 "Jiangsu Lishui chutu DongHan huaxiangzhuan 江蘇漂水出土東漢畫像碑", *WW*, no. 11, p. 14.
- Wu Dongfeng 吳東風 1995. 12. 10 "Quyang fajue yizuo Wudai bihuamu 曲陽發掘一座五代壁畫墓", *ZGWWB*.
- Wu En 烏恩 1981 "Woguo beifang gudai dongwu wenshi 我國北方古代動物紋飾", *KGXB*, no. 1, pp. 45-62.
- Wu Guibing 吳桂兵 1997 "XiHan zhonghou qi de fufu tongxue hezang 西漢中後期的夫婦同穴合葬", *SCWW*, no. 1, pp. 17-20.
- Wu Hung 巫鴻 1984 "A Sanpan Shan Chariot Ornament and the Xiangrui Design in Western Han Art", *ACASA*, pp. 38-59.
- 1985 "Bird Motifs in Eastern Yi Art", *Orientalizations*, vol. 16, Oct, no. 10, pp. 30-41.
- 1987a "Myths and Legends in Han Funerary Art: Their Pictorial Structure and Symbolic Meanings as

- Reflected in Carving on Sichuan Sarcophagi", in Lim 1987, pp. 72-81.
- 1987b "Xiwangwu, the Queen Mother of the West", *Orientalism* 18, Apr, no. 4, pp. 24-33.
- 1987c "The Earliest Pictorial Representations of Ape Tales: An Interdisciplinary Study of the Early Chinese Narrative Art and Literature", *TP* 73, pp. 86-112.
- 1988 "From Temple to Tomb: Ancient Chinese Art and Religion in Transition", *EC* 13, pp. 78-115.
- 1989a "Han Ming, Weiwen de lizhi gaige yu Handai huaxiang yishu de xingsheng 漢明、魏文的禮製改革與漢代畫像藝術的興盛", *JZXX*, vol. 3, no. 2, pp. 31-44.
- 1989b *The Wu Liang Shrine: The Ideology of Early Chinese Pictorial Art*, Stanford, California: Stanford University Press.
- 1992 "Art in a Ritual Context: Rethinking Mawangdui", *EC* 17, pp. 111-44.
- 1994a "Guowai bainian Han huaxiang yanjiu zhi huigu 國外百年漢畫像研究之回顧", *ZYWW*, no. 1, pp. 45-50.
- 1994b "The Transparent Stone: Inverted Vision & Binary Imagery in Medieval Chinese Art", *Representations* 46, Spring, pp. 58-86.
- 1995 *Monumentality in Early Chinese Art and Architecture*, Stanford, California: Stanford University Press.
- Wu Jiabi 武家璧 1991. 4. 28 "Zhenpin lou zhong kan Chusu 珍品樓中看楚俗", *ZGWWB*.
- Wu Rongzeng 吳榮曾 1974 "Holinger Hanmu bihua zhong fanying de DongHan Shehui shenghuo 和林格爾漢墓壁畫中反映的東漢社會生活", *WW*, no. 1, pp. 24-30.
- 1981 "Zhenmuwen zhong suo jiandao de DongHan daowu guanxi 鎮墓文中所見到的東漢道巫關係", *WW*, no. 3, pp. 56-63.
- Wu Ruishu 巫瑞書 et al. eds. 1988 *Wufeng yu shenhua 巫風與神話*, Hunan: Wenyi chubanshe.
- Wu Ruzuo 吳汝祚 1996 "Lue lun Changjiang, Huanghe liang liuyu shiqian shiqi de taiyangshen chongbai 略論長江, 黃河兩流域史前的太陽神崇拜", *HXXG*, no. 2, pp. 75-85.
- Wu Wei 吳煒 1984 "Jiangsu Hanjiang faxian liangzuo Nanchao huaxiangzhuan mu 江蘇邳江發現兩座南朝畫像碑墓", *KG*, no. 3, pp. 243-248, 263.
- 1986 "Yangzhoushi faxian liangzuo XinMang shiqi mu 揚州市發現兩座新莽時期墓", *KG*, no. 11, pp. 987-993.
- Wu Wenqi 吳文祺 1991 "Cong Shandong Han huaxiangshi tuxiang kan Handai shougongye 從山東漢畫像石圖像看漢代手工業", *ZYWW*, no. 3, pp. 33-41.
- Wu Yucheng 吳裕成 1993 *Shier shengxiao yu zhonghua wenhua 十二生肖與中華文化*, Taipei: Baiguan chubanshe.
- Wu Zengde 吳曾德 1981 "Siling qianlun 四靈淺論", *BZU*, no. 4, pp. 91-99.
- 1984 *Handai huaxiangshi 漢代畫像石*, Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe.
- 1986 "Lun Handai huaxiangshi de yishu meili 論漢代畫像石的藝術魅力", *AC*, no. 10, pp. 27-37.

- & Xiao Yuanda 肖元遠 1985 "Jiu daxing Handai huaxiangshi mu de xingzhi lun 'Hanzhi' 就大型漢代畫像石墓的形製論'漢制'—jian tan woguo muzang de fazhan jincheng 兼談我國墓葬的發展進程", *ZYWW*, no. 3, pp. 55-62.
- Wu Zuoren 吳作人 1972 "Du Mawangdui Xihan bohua hou 讀馬王堆西漢帛畫後 — huabi suilu 畫筆隨錄", *WW*, no. 9, pp. 41-42.
- Xi Zelong 席澤宗 1989 "Mawangdui Hanmu boshu zhong de 'wuxing zhan' 馬王堆漢墓帛書中的《五星占》", in *Zhongguo shehui kexueyuan kaogu yanjiusuo* ed. 1989, pp. 46-58.
- Xia Chaoxiong 夏超雄 1974 "Hanmu bihua, huaxiangshike suojian Dong Zhongshu fandong sixiang de pipan 漢墓壁畫, 畫像石刻所見董仲舒反動思想的批判", *KG*, no. 3, pp. 164-166, 207.
- 1983 "Shixi Xuzhou Shilipu DongHanmu yifu huaxiangshi 試析徐州十裡鋪東漢一幅畫像石", *KGYWW*, no. 3, pp. 72-73.
- Xia Nai 夏鼐 1965 "Luoyang XiHan bihua mu zhong de xingxiangtu 洛陽西漢壁畫墓中的星象圖", *KG*, no. 2, pp. 80-90.
- 1976 "Cong Xuanhua Liao mu de xingtu lun ershiba xiu he huangdao shier gong 從宣化遼墓的星圖論二十八宿和黃道十二宮", in *Zhongguo shehui kexueyuan kaogu yanjiusuo* ed. 1989, pp. 287-312.
- 1983. Li, Chu-tsing trans. & ed., *The Franklin D. Murphy Lectures III --- Jade and Silk of Han China*, Kansas: Helen Foresman Spencer Museum of Art, the University of Kansas.
- Xia Zhifeng 夏志峰 1994 "Chuguo shenhua chutan 楚國神話初探", in *Chuwenhua yanjiuhui* ed. 1994, pp. 585-596.
- Xia Zhongrun 夏忠潤 1983 "Shandong Jiningxian faxian yizu Han huaxiangshi 山東濟寧縣發現一組漢畫像石", *WW*, no. 5, pp. 21-27.
- 1993 "Sichuan Hejiangxian DongHan zhuanshimu shiguangai 'Xuanwu' zhiyi 四川合江縣東漢磚室墓石棺蓋'玄武'質疑", *WW*, no. 3, pp. 442.
- Xianyang diqu wenquanhuì 咸陽地區文管會 & Maoling bowuguan 茂陵博物館 1982 "Shaanxi Maoling yihao wumingzhong congzangkeng de fajue 陝西茂陵一號無名塚從葬坑的發掘", *WW*, no. 9, pp. 1-17.
- Xianyangshi bowuguan 咸陽市博物館 1979 "Shaanxi Xianyang Maquan XiHan mu 陝西咸陽馬泉西漢墓", *KG*, no. 2, pp. 125-135.
- Xiao Bing 蕭兵 1981 "Bu Qianqiu mu zhutoushen shishou 卜千秋墓豬頭神試說", *ZYWW*, no. 3, p. 53.
- 1991 "Huo Fenghuang, ta de lai yuan, yiyi he yingxiang 火鳳凰, 它的來源, 意義和影響", in *Hei Ma* 黑馬, Taipei: Shihbao chubanshe.
- Xiao Lu 肖路 1991 "Maizai dixia de yuzhou 埋在地下的宇宙 — Han huaxiangshimu he bihuamu de buju 漢畫像石墓和壁畫墓的布局", *WWTD*, no. 1, pp. 19-21.
- Xiao Yan 肖燕 1991. 3. 24 "Zaozhuang faxian XiHan zaozhongqi huaxiangshi 棗莊發現西漢早中期畫像石", *ZGWWB*.
- et al. 1994 "Shandong Zaozhuangshi qingli liangzuo Han huaxiangshi mu 山東棗莊市清理兩座漢畫像石墓", *ZGWWB*, no. 4, pp. 115-116, 13.

- Xie Changyi 謝昌一 1994 "Ying zhua tu 鷹抓兔", *NPMCA*, Jun, no. 3, pp. 126-131.
- Xie Dan 謝丹 1987 "Guanyu wanqi BaShumu zhong de wenhua neihan 關於晚期巴蜀墓中的文化內涵", *SCWW*, no. 1, pp. 48-53.
- Xie Li 謝荔 1991 "Luzhou bowuguan shoucang Handai huaxiangshiguan kaoshi 瀘州博物館收藏漢代畫像石棺考釋", *SCWW*, no. 3, pp. 32-35.
- & Xu Lihong 徐利紅 1992 "Sichuan Hejiangxian DongHan Zhuanshi mu qingli jianbao 四川合江縣東漢碑石墓清理簡報", *WW*, no. 4, pp. 45-48, 52.
- Xie Liuyi 1989 "Shenhuaxue ABC", in *Shenhua Sanjia lun*, Shanghai: Shanghai wenyi chubanshe.
- Xi Han hui yao = Xu Tianlin 徐天麟 comp. 1981 *XiHan huiyao* 西漢會要, Taipei (rpt. of 1935 ed. pub. by Shangwu, Shanghai).
- Xing Jie 邢捷 & Zhang Bingwu 張秉午 1984 "Guweniwu wenshi zhong long de yanbian yu duandai chutan 古文物紋飾中龍的演變與斷代初探", *WW*, no. 1, pp. 75-80.
- Xinjiang shehui kexueyuan kaogu yanjiaosuo 新疆社會科學院考古研究所 ed. 1983 *Xinjiang kaogu sanshi nian* 新疆考古三十年, Wulumuqi: Xinjiang renmin chubanshe & Xinjiang Xinhua shudian.
- Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region Museum 新疆維吾爾自治博物館編 ed. 1960 *Xinjiang Turfan Astana beiqu muzang fajue jianbao* 新疆吐魯番阿斯塔那北區墓葬發掘簡報, *WW*, no. 6, pp. 13-21.
- Xiong Chuanxin 熊傳新 1979 "Tan Mawangdui sanhao Hanmu chutu de liubo 談馬王堆三號漢墓出土的陸博", *WW*, no. 4, pp. 35-39.
- 1990. 9. 20 "ShangZhou qingtongqi de dongwu zaoxing he wenyang yu gudai tuteng chongbai 商周青銅器的動物造型和紋樣與古代圖騰崇拜", *ZGWWB*.
- Xu Baiyuan 徐伯元 & Lin Zhifang 林志方 1994 "Jiangsu Changzhou nanjiao huaxiang, huawenzhuan mu 江蘇常州南郊畫像, 花紋磚墓", *KG*, no. 12, pp. 1097-1103.
- Xu Chanfei 徐燁非 1995 "Hanhua zhong de yulongtu de hanyi 漢畫中的魚龍圖的含義", *NPMCA*, Feb, no. 11, pp. 132-37.
- Xu Daoling 許道齡 & Liu, Zhiping 劉致平 1959 "Guanyu Xi'an xijiao faxian de Handai jianzhu yizhi shi Mingtang huo Biyong de taolun 關於西安西郊發現的漢代建築遺址是明堂或辟雍的討論", *KG*, no. 4, pp. 193-196.
- Xu Diankui 徐殿魁 1985 "Henan Yanshi Xingyuancun DongHan bihua mu 河南偃師杏園村東漢壁畫墓", *KG*, no. 1, pp. 18-22.
- & Cao Guojian 曹國鑒 1987 "Yanshi Xingyuan DongHan bihua mu de qingli yu linmo zhaji 偃師杏園東漢壁畫墓的清理與臨摹札記", *KG*, no. 10, pp. 945-951.
- Xu Fuguan 徐復觀 1993 *LiangHan sixiangshi* 兩漢思想史, vols. 1-3, 2nd ed., Taipei: Xuesheng shuju. First eds. 1974-79.
- Xu Guangyi 徐光翼 1996 "Hebei Cixian Zhangwan Beichao bihuamu de fajue yu yanjiu 河北磁縣漳灣北朝壁畫墓的發掘與研究", *WW*, no. 9, pp. 69-71, col. p. 8.
- Xu Haiyan 徐海燕 & Jiang Qiyong 江奇勇 eds. 1994 *Li Zehou shinian ji* 李澤厚十年集, Hefei: Anhui wenyi chubanshe.

- Xu Huadang 徐華端 1987 *Zhongguo fenghuang* 中國鳳凰, Beijing: Qinggongye chubanshe.
- Xu Jianguo 徐建國 1993 "Xuzhou Han huaxiangshi shici jianzhu 徐州漢畫像石室祠建築", *ZYWW*, no. 2, pp. 53-60.
- Xu Junying 徐俊英 & Zhang Fang 張方 1991 "Nanyangshi Liuwacun Han huaxuangshi mu 南陽市劉窪村漢畫像石墓", *ZYWW*, no. 3, pp. 107-111.
- Xu Naixiang 徐乃湘 & Cui Yanxun 崔岩峯 1987 *Shuo Long* 說龍, Beijing: Forbidden City Press.
- Xu Pengzhang 徐鵬章 *et al.* 1955 "Chengdu beijiao Zhandongxiang Gaohuimu qingli jianbao 成都北郊站東鄉高碑墓清理簡報", *KGTJ*, no. 6, pp. 39-41.
- 1956 "Chengdu Zhandongxiang Hanmu qingliji 成都站東鄉漢墓清理記", *KGTJ*, no. 1, pp. 39-43.
- Xu Shen 許慎 comp.; Duan, Yucai 段玉裁 annotated 1998 *Shuowen jiazi zhu* 說文解字注, rpt., Zhejiang: Guji chubanshe.
- Xu Shubin 徐淑彬 1998 "Linyi Jinqueshan 1997 nian faxian de sizuo XiHan mu 臨沂金雀山 1997 年發現的四座西漢墓", *WW*, no. 12, pp. 17-25.
- Xu Tianlin 徐天麟 comp. 1981 *Xi Han hui yao* 西漢會要, Taipei (rpt. of 1935 ed. pub. by Shangwu, Shanghai).
- comp. 1991 *DongHan huiyao* 東漢會要, Beijing: Zhonghua shuju. Taipei (rpt. fr. Ju zhen ban cong shu ben).
- Xu Wenbin 徐文彬 1979 "Luelun Sichuan shique ji qi diaoke yishu 略論四川石闕及其雕刻藝術", *YYDY*, no. 7, pp. 46-47.
- *et al.* eds. 1992 *Sichuan Handai shique* 四川漢代石闕, Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe.
- Xu Wenshan 徐文珊 1931 "Rujia he wuxing de guanxi 儒家與五行的關係", *SXNB* 3, pp. 49-69.
- Xu Xiaozhong 徐孝忠 1998 "Beidou qixing tong daigou yu beidouxing 北斗七星銅帶鉤與北斗星", *WWTD*, no. 2, pp. 23-24.
- Xu Xusheng 徐旭生 1985 *Zhongguo Gushi de chuanshuo shidai* 中國古史的傳說時代, rev. ed., Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe.
- Xu Yiying 徐毅英 ed. 1995 *Xuzhou Han huaxiangshi* 徐州漢畫像石, Beijing: Zhongguo shijieyu chubanshe.
- Xu Zhengguo 徐正國 & Bao, Zongcheng 包宗成 1994 "Zaoyangshi chejiachang gumu qingli jianbao 棗陽市車架廠古墓清理簡報", *JHKG*, no. 4, pp. 16-21.
- Xu Zhengwen 許正文 1990 *Zhongguo lidai zhengqu huafen yu yange* 中國歷代政區劃分與管理沿革, Shaanxi: Shifan daxue chubanshe.
- Xu Zhiye 徐治業 1985 "Luoyang Jinguyuan XinMang shiqi bihuamu 洛陽金谷園新莽時期壁畫墓", *WWZLCK* 9, pp. 163-173.
- Xu Zhongshu 徐中舒 ed. 1981 *Hanyu Gu wenzi zixing biao* 漢語古文字字形表, Chengdu: Sichuan Renmin meishu chubanshe.
- Xu Zuoyun (Hsu Cho-yun) 許作雲 1980. Jack Dull ed., *Han Agriculture: the Formation of Early Chinese*

Agrarian Economy (206 B.C.- A.D. 220), Seattle: University of Washington Press.

Xuan Zhu 玄珠 1989 "Zhongguo shenhua ABC 中國神話 ABC", in *Shenhua Sanjia lun* 神話三家論, Shanghai: Shanghai wenyi chubanshe.

Xue Qiao 薛翹 & Zhang Sijie 張嗣介 1982 "Jiangxi Ganzhou Handai huaxiangzhuan mu 江西贛州漢代畫像磚墓", *WW*, no. 6, pp. 51-52.

Xun Bing 迅冰 1959 *Sichuan Handai diaosu yishu* 四川漢代雕塑藝術, Beijing: Zhongguo Gudian yishu chubanshe.

----- 1979 "Sichuan Handai huaxiangzhuan 四川漢代畫像磚", *YYDY*, no. 7, pp. 37-42.

Xuzhoushi bowuguan 徐州市博物館 & Peixian wenhuaguan 沛縣文化館 1982 "Jiangsu Peixian Xishan Han huaxiangshimu qingli jianbao 江蘇沛縣棲山漢畫像石墓清理簡報", *KGXJK*, no. 5, pp. 106-112.

----- & Xinyixian tushuguan 新沂縣圖書館 1985 "Jiangsu Xinyiwayao Han huaxiangshi mu 江蘇新沂瓦窯漢畫像石墓", *KG*, no. 7, pp. 614-618.

Yamamoto, Tadahisa 山本忠尚 1995. 12. 26 "Fukugi joka zuzō kō 伏羲女媧圖像考 (Study of the iconographic images of Fuxi & Nüwa)", *TS*, no. 9, pp. 7-50.

Yan Difei 殷滌非 1978 "XiHan Yuyinhou mu chutu de zhenpan he tianwen yiqi 西漢汝陰侯墓出土的占盤和天文儀器", *KG*, no. 5, pp. 338-343.

Yan Dunjie 嚴敦傑 1985 "Shipan zonglun 式盤綜論", *KG*, no. 4, pp. 445-464.

Yan Genqi 閻根齊 1990 "Shangqiu Han huaxiangshi tanyuan 商丘漢畫像石探源", *ZYWW*, no. 1, pp. 39-42.

----- *et al.* 1992 *Shangqiu Han huaxiangshi* 商丘漢畫像石, Henan: Henan meishu chubanshe.

Yan Kaiming 顏開明 & Zheng Wei 鄭衛 1994. 9. 11 "Xinjin faxian DongHan huaxiang shiguan 新津發現東漢畫像石棺", *ZGWWB*.

Yan Wenru 閻文儒 1986 "Guanzhong HanTang lingmu shike tici ji qi fengge 關中漢唐陵墓石刻題材及其風格", *KGYYW*, no. 3, pp. 91-96.

Yan Yuzhang 嚴汝章 1960 "Shandong Anqiu Moushan shuiku faxiang daxing shike Hanmu 山東安邱牟山水庫發現大型石刻漢墓", *WW*, no. 5, pp. 55-58.

Yang Aiguo 楊愛國 1993 "Handai de zhongxiao guannian ji qi dui Hanhua yishu de yingxiang 漢代的忠孝觀念及其對漢畫藝術的影響", *ZYWW*, no. 2, pp. 61-66, 79.

Yang Boda 楊伯達 ed. 1989 *Zhongguo meishu quanji • gongyi meishu bian • yu qi* 中國美術全集 • 工藝美術編 • 玉器, Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe.

Yang Chao 楊超 1986 "'Shanhaijing' ji qi xiangguan de jige wenti 山海經及其相關的幾個問題", in *Shanhaijing Xueshu Taolunhui* ed. 1986, pp. 1-12.

Yang Chi 楊池 1980 "Shi Pixian DongHan huaxiang Xiwang mu tuzhong de San zhu shu 釋郿縣東漢畫像西王母圖中的三株樹", *KG*, no. 6, p. 571.

Yang Fuwang 楊甫旺 1994 "Gudai BaShu de hu chongbai 古代巴蜀的虎崇拜", *SCWW*, no. 1, pp. 9-11.

- Yang Hong 楊泓 1959 "Du 'Wangdu erhao Hanmu' zaji 讀《望都二號漢墓》札記", *WW*, no. 12, pp. 31-32.
- 1984 "Handai de bihuamu 漢代的壁畫墓", in Institute of Archaeology, CASS. ed. 1984, pp. 447-51.
- 1998 "Huben, hufu, hujie — Yin nian tan yu gudai junlu youguan de huwen wenwu 虎賁·虎符·虎節 — 寅年談與古代軍旅有關的虎紋文物", *WWTD*, no. 1, pp. 2-4.
- Yang Hua 楊華 1997 "Bashu chong 'hu' kao 巴蜀崇'虎'考", *HXKG*, no. 4, pp. 71-79.
- & Zhang Jian'e 張建鐸 1997. 7. 27 "Weishan qingli XiHan huaxiangshimu 微山清理西漢畫像石墓", *ZGWWB*.
- Yang Jiandong 楊建東 *et al.* 1994. 6. 19 "Weishan chutu Han huaxiangshi mu 微山出土漢畫像石墓", *ZGWWB*.
- Yang Keyang 楊可揚 ed. 1988 *Zhongguo meishu quanji · gongyi meishu bian 1 · tao ci (shang)* 中國美術全集·工藝美術編 1·陶瓷 (上), Shanghai: Renmin meishu chubanshe.
- Yang Lien-sheng 1957 "The Concept of *Pao* as a Basis for Social Relations in China", in John Fairbank ed. 1957, pp. 291-309.
- Yang Liu 楊柳 1996 "Hubei Laohekoushi chutu Handai kongxin huaxiangzhuan 湖北老河口市出土漢代空心畫像磚", *KG*, no. 3, p. 92.
- Yang Mogong 楊陌公 & Jie Xigong 解希恭 1959 "Shanxi Pinglu Zaoyuancun bihua Hanmu 山西平陸棗園村壁畫漢墓", *KG*, no. 9, pp. 462-463, 468.
- Yang Qiong 楊瓊 1996 "Shangchengxian wenguanhui guancang tongjing xuanjie 商城縣文管會館藏銅鏡選介", *ZYWW*, no. 4, pp. 113-115.
- Yang Shaoshun 楊紹舜 1984 "Shanxi Lishi Mamaozhuang Han huaxiangshi you you xin faxian 山西離石馬茂莊漢畫像石又有新發現", *WW*, no. 10, pp. 93-94.
- Yang Xiaohong 楊孝鴻 1995 "Handai yuhua yizhi ji qi muzang tuxiang gouzao 漢代羽化意志及其墓葬圖像構造", *SCWW*, no. 4, pp. 23-29.
- 1996 "Sichuan Handai mixitu huaxiangzhuan de sikao 四川漢代秘戲圖畫像磚的思考", *SCWW*, no. 2, pp. 86-89.
- Yang Xin 楊新 *et al.* 1988 "The Development of the Dragon and Dragon Design in Chinese Art", *Art of the Dragon*, Hong Kong: The Commercial Press, pp. 10-19.
- Yang Yubin 楊育彬 1985 *Henan kaogu* 河南考古, Henan: Guji chubanshe.
- Yao Jian 姚鑒 1944 "Handai de shenxianhua 漢代的神仙畫", *YWZZ* 2, no. 9, pp. 26-28.
- 1954 "Hebei Wangduxiang Hanmu de mushi jiegou he bihua 河北望都縣漢墓的墓室結構和壁畫", *WWCKZL*, no. 12, pp. 47-63.
- Yao Qian 姚遷 & Gu Bing 古兵 eds. 1981 *Liuchao yishu* 六朝藝術, Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe.
- Yao Shengmin 姚生民 1980 "Han Ganquangong yizhi kanchaji 漢甘泉宮遺址勘查記", *KGYYW*, no. 4, pp. 51-60, pls. 10 & 11.
- Yao Zhongyuan 姚仲源 1981 "Zhejiang Han Luchao gumu gaishu 浙江漢六朝古墓概述", in *Zhongguo kaoguxuehui* ed. 1984, pp. 250-57.

- Ye, Xiaojun 葉曉軍 1994 "Zhongguo muzang yanjiu wenxian mulu 中國墓葬研究文獻目錄", "Zhongguo muzang lishi tujian · shang juan 中國墓葬歷史圖鑒 · 上卷", in *Zhongguo muzang yanjiu shuxi* 中國墓葬研究書系, Gansu: Wenhua chubanshe.
- Yeliu Tinzeng 葉劉天增 1997 *Zhongguo wenshi yanjiu* 中國紋飾研究, Taipei: Nantian shuju.
- Yetts, W. Perceval 1939 *The Cull Chinese Bronzes*, London: Courtauld Institute of Art, University of London.
- Yi Shitong 伊世同 1996 "Bedouji — dui Puyang Xishui po sishiwo hao mu beisu tianwentu de zai sikao 北斗祭 — 對漢陽西水坡 45 號墓貝塑天文圖的再思考", *ZYWW*, no. 2, pp. 22-31.
- Yichang diqu bowuguan 宜昌地區博物館 & Dangyangshi bowuguan 當陽市博物館 1991 "Hubei Dangyang Banyue DongHan mu fajue jianbao 湖北當陽半月東漢墓發掘簡報", *WW*, no. 12, pp. 66-72.
- Yin Falu 陰法魯 & Liu Shu'an 劉樹安 1989 *Zhongguo gudai wenhuashi* 中國古代文化史, 3 vols, Beijing: Beijing daxue chubanshe.
- Yin ZengHuai 尹增淮 1992 "Jiangsu Siyang Dagudun Fanshi huaxiangshi mu 江蘇泗陽打鼓墩樊氏畫像石墓", *KG*, no. 9, pp. 811-830.
- Yin Zhihua 印志華 1987 "Yangzhou Pingshan Yangzhichang Hanmu qingli jianbao 揚州平山養殖場漢墓清理簡報", *WW*, no. 1, pp. 26-36.
- & Xu Liangyu 徐良玉 1982 "Yangzhou Dongfeng zhuanwachang ba, jiu hao mu qingli baogao 揚州東風磚瓦廠八、九號漢墓清理報告", *KG*, no. 3, pp. 236-242.
- Yinshun 印順 1992 *Zhongguo gudai minzu yu wenhua zhi yanjiu* 中國古代民族與文化之研究, Taipei: Chengwen chubanshe.
- Yoshida, Mitsukuni 1973 "The Chinese Concept of Nature", in Nakayama & Sivin eds. 1973, pp. 71-90.
- Yoshiki, H. 吉木布初 & Guan Ronghua 關榮華 1987 "Sichuan Zhaojuexian faxiang DongHan shibiao he shique canshi 四川昭覺縣發現東漢石表和石闕殘石", *KG*, no. 5, pp. 434-437.
- You Shunzhao 游順釗 1994. Xu Zhimin' 徐志民 *et al.* trans. *Shijiao yuyanxue lunji* 視覺語言學論集, Beijing: Yuwen chubanshe.
- You Zhenyao 尤振堯 & Li Zhongyi 黎忠義 1962 "Jiangsu Yangzhou Qilidian Handai muguomu 江蘇揚州七裡甸漢代木槨墓", *KG*, no. 8, pp. 400-403.
- & Li Zhongyi 1980 "Xuzhou Maocun huaxiangshi mu 徐州茅村畫像石墓", *KG*, no. 4, pp. 347-352.
- & Li Zhongyi 1981 "Xuzhou Qingshanquan Baiji DongHan huaxiangshi mu 徐州青山泉白集東漢畫像石墓", *KG*, no. 2, pp. 137-150.
- & Li Zhongyi 1984 "DongHan Pengcheng Xiangmouyu mu 東漢彭城相繆宇墓", *WW*, no. 8, pp. 22-29.
- & Zhou Xiaolu 周曉陸 1986a "Jiangsu Sihong Caomiao DongHan Huaxiang shi 江蘇泗洪曹廟東漢畫像石", *WW*, no. 4, pp. 40-47, 82.
- & Zhou Xiaolu *et al.* 1986b "Jiangsu Pixian Baishan Guzi lingzuo DongHan huaxiang shi mu 江蘇邳縣白山故子兩座東漢畫像石墓", *WW*, no. 5, pp. 17-30.

- & Zhou Xiaolu 1986c "Jiangsu Sihong Chonggang Han huaxiangshi mu 江蘇泗洪重崗漢畫像石墓", *KG*, no. 7, pp. 614-622.
- & Zhou Xiaolu 1987 "Lueshu Subei diqu Han huaxiangshi mu yu Han huaxiang shike 略述蘇北地區漢畫像石墓與漢畫像石刻", in Nanyang Handai huaxiangshi xueshu taolunhui bangongshi ed. 1987, pp. 62-74.
- & Zhou Xiaolu 1991 "Sunan diqu DongHan huaxiangzhuan mu ji qi xiangguan wenti de tanxi 蘇南地區東漢畫像磚墓及其相關問題的探析", *ZYWW*, no. 3, pp. 50-59.
- Yu Anthony C. 1985 "Rest, Rest, Perturbed Spirit! Ghosts in Traditional Chinese Prose Fiction", in James L. Watson ed. 1985, pp. 151-212.
- Yu Bingwen 于炳文 *et al.* 1974 "Hanmu huaxiang yu Dong Zhongshu de 'sangang wuchang' 漢墓畫像與董仲舒的'三綱五常'", *WW*, no. 8, pp. 25-28, 16.
- Yu Chengmei 1991 *Bihua yu bihua chuanguo* 壁畫與壁畫創作, Heilongjiang: Heilongjiang meishu chubanshe.
- Yu Dezhong 余德章 1984 "'Fuxi Nüwa, shuanglong' huaxiangzhuan shishi《伏羲女媧, 雙龍》畫像磚試釋", *SCWW*, no. 3, pp. 46-48.
- 1987. Wu Hung trans., "Yangzishan Tomb Number one: A vaulted Brick Tomb", in Lim et. al., p. 183.
- & Liu Wenjie 劉文傑 1986 "Shilun Sichuan Handai huaxiang zhuan de fenbu diju, kesu jifa ji qi shiliao jiazhi 試論四川漢代畫像磚的分布, 刻造及其史料價值", *KGYWW*, no. 5, pp. 103-107, 102.
- Yu Haolin 于豪亮 1955 "Ji Chengdu Yangzishan yihao mu 記成都揚子山一號墓", *WWCKZL*, no. 9, pp. 70-84.
- 1957 "Jikuai huaxiangzhuan de shuoming 幾塊畫像磚的說明", *KGTX*, no. 4, pp. 106-112.
- Yu Jianhua 俞劍華 1958 *Zhongguo Bihua* 中國壁畫, Beijing: Zhongguo gudian yishu chubanshe.
- Yu Jin 鈕金 & Wang Qingjian 王清建 1990 "Qianxi Hanhua zhong de shengxian gongju 淺析漢畫中的升仙工具", *NDXT*, no. 5, pp. 22-25.
- Yu Weichao 俞偉超 1985a "Handai zhuhouwang yu liehou muzang de xingzhi fenxi 漢代諸侯王與列侯墓葬的形製分析 - jianlun 'Zhouzhi' 'Hanzhi' yu 'Jinzhì' de sange jieduanxing 兼論'周制' '漢制' 與'晉制'的三個階段性", in *A Collection of Archaeological Treatises on the Pre-Qin and Han Dynasties* 先秦兩漢考古學論集, Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, pp. 117-24.
- 1985b "Mawangdui yihao Hanmu bohua neirong kao 馬王堆一號漢墓帛畫內容考", in *A Collection of Archaeological Treatises on the Pre-Qin and Han Dynasties*, Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, pp. 154-56.
- Yu Xingwu 于省吾 1959 "Luelun tuteng yu zongjiao qiyuan he XiaShang tuteng 略論圖騰與宗教起源和夏商圖騰", *LSYJ*, no. 10, pp. 60-69.
- Yu Yingshi (Yu Ying-shih) 余英時 1965 "Life and Immortality in the Mind of Han China", *HJAS* 25, pp. 80-122.
- 1981 "New Evidence on the Early Chinese Conception in Afterlife: a review article", *JAS* 41, no. 1, pp. 82-85.
- 1987 "'O Soul, Come Back!' A Study in the Changing Conceptions of the Soul and Afterlife in

- Pre-Buddhist China", *HJAS* 47, no. 2, pp. 363-395.
- n.d. *Interactions Between Formal and Popular Thoughts in Han China*, Cambridge: Mimeographed.
- Yu Zhen 喻震 1966 "Fengtaiqu Santaizi chutu Han huaxiangshi 豐台區三台子出土漢畫像石", *WW*, no. 4, p. 53.
- Yuan Guoteng 袁國騰 1997 "Neijiangshi yanmu qingkuang zongshu 內江市岩墓情況綜述", *SCWW*, no. 5, p. 11-14.
- Yuan Ke 袁珂 annotated 1980 *Shanhaijing jiaozhu* 山海經校注, Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe.
- 1986 "'Shanhaijing' 'gaigu zhi wushu' shitan", in Shanhaijing Xueshu Taolunhui ed. 1986, pp. 231-40.
- 1991 *Zhongguo shenhua tonglun* 中國神話通論, Chengdu: Bashu shushe.
- Yuan Shuguang 袁曙光 1987 "Sichuan Pengxian dengdi xin shouji dao yipi huaxiangzhuan 四川彭縣等地新收集到一批畫像磚", *KG*, no. 6, pp. 533-537.
- Yue Fengxia 岳鳳霞 & Liu Xingzhen 劉慶珍 1984 "Zhejiang Haining Chang'anzen huaxiangshi 浙江海寧長安鎮畫像石", *WW*, no. 3, pp. 47-53.
- Zaozhuangshi wenwu guanlizhan 棗莊市文物管理站 1983 "Shandong Zaozhuang huaxiangshi diaochaqi 山東棗莊畫像石調查記", *KGWW*, no. 3, pp. 24-30.
- Zeng Xianbo 曾憲波 1990 "Qianxi Hanhua zhong de hu 淺析漢畫中的虎", *NDXT*, no. 5, pp. 19-21.
- 1995 "Hanhua zhong de bingqi chutan 漢畫中的兵器初探", *ZYWW*, no. 3, pp. 17-20.
- Zeng Zhaoyu 曾昭燏 et al. eds. 1956 *Yinan gu huaxiangshi mu fajue baogao* 沂南古畫像石墓發掘報告, Beijing: Zhongyang wenhuabu wenwu guanlichu.
- 1958 "Guanyu Yinan huaxiangshi gumu niandai de taolun 關於沂南畫像石古墓年代的討論", *KGTX*, no. 5, pp. 46-50.
- 1959 "Guanyu Yinan huaxiangshimu zhong huaxiang de tici he yiyi 關於沂南畫像石墓中畫像的題材和意義", *KG*, no. 5, pp. 245-249.
- Zhai Yang 翟楊 1998 "Hong yu long 虹與龍", *HXXG*, no. 2, pp. 64-66.
- Zhang Anzhi 張安治 1973 "XiHan bohua de yishu chengjiu 西漢帛畫的藝術成就", *WW*, no. 9, pp. 66-70.
- ed. 1986 *Zhongguo meishu quanji • huihua bian 1 • yuanshi shehui zhi Nanbeichao huihua* 中國美術全集 • 繪畫編 1 • 原始社會至南北朝繪畫, Shanghai: Shanghai renwen meishu chubanshe.
- Zhang Daoyi 張道一 1985 *Xuzhou Han huaxiangshi* 徐州漢畫像石, Nanjing: Jiangsu meishu chubanshe.
- ed. 1993 *Zhongguo tuan daxi* 中國圖案大系, vol. 2, Shandong: Shandong meishu chubanshe.
- Zhang Dequan 張德全 1988 "Xinduxian faxian Handai jinianzhuan huaxiangzhuanmu 新都縣發現紀年碑畫像磚墓", *SCWW*, no. 4, pp. 24-27.
- Zhang Deshui 張德水 1991. 11. 17 "Long wenhua yanjiu de xin shouhuo 龍文化研究的新收穫 — ping 'shenmi • long de guodu' 評《神秘 • 龍的國度》", *ZGWWB*.
- Zhang Deshui 張德水 1993 "Huanghe liuyu tuteng wenhua de kaoguxue kaocha 黃河流域圖騰文化的考古

- 學考察”, *ZYWW*, no. 1, pp. 32-35.
- Zhang Guangbao 張廣保 ed. 1995 *Huai Nan Zi* 淮南子, Beijing: Yanshan chubanshe.
- Zhang Guangli 張廣立 ed. 1986 *Zhongguo gudai qingtong jinyinqi wenshi* 中國古代青銅金銀器紋飾, Beijing: Renwen meishu chubanshe.
- Zhang Guangming 張光明 1986 “Shandong Zibo Zhangzhuang DongHan huaxiangshi mu 山東淄博張莊東漢畫像石墓”, *KG*, no. 8, pp. 717-725.
- Zhang Guangzhi (Chang Kwang-chih) 張光直 1976 *Early Chinese Civilization: Anthropological Perspectives*, Cambridge, Massachusetts, & London: Harvard University Press.
- 1983 *Art, Myth, and Ritual: The Path to Political Authority in Ancient China*, Cambridge, Massachusetts, & London: Harvard University Press.
- 1986 *The Archaeology of Ancient China*, New Haven & London: Yale University Press.
- 1990. 6. 28 “Gudai muzang de hunpo guannian 古代墓葬的魂魄觀念”, *ZGWWB*.
- 1993. 8. 22 “Tan ‘tuteng’ 談‘圖騰’”, *ZGWWB*.
- Zhang Herong 張合榮 1995 “Hanmu bihua de buju, neirong he fengge 漢墓壁畫的布局, 內容和風格”, *HXKG*, no. 2, pp. 85-91, 84.
- 1998 “Guizhao Jinshaxian Han huaxiangshi mu qingli 貴州金沙縣漢畫像石墓清理”, *WW*, no. 10, pp. 42-46.
- Zhang Hongxiu 張鴻修 ed. 1992 *Tangdai muzhi wenshi xuanbian* 唐代墓志紋飾選編, Shaanxi: Renmin meishu chubanshe.
- 1994 *Shaanxi Hanhua* 陝西漢畫, Shaanxi: Sanqin chubanshe.
- 1995 *Zhongguo Tangmu bihuaqi* 中國唐墓壁畫集, Guangdong: Lingnan meishu chubanshe.
- Zhang Hongzhao 章鴻釗 1919 *Sanling jie* 三靈解, printed by Falun yinshuaju.
- Zhang Huating 張華亭 1994 “Shilun Shangqiu Han huaxiangshi de yishu xingshi 試論商丘漢畫像石的藝術形式”, *ZYWW*, no. 3, pp. 58-63.
- Zhang Huiying 張卉英 1994 “Gansu Ganguxian faxian sanfang Handai huaxiangzhuan 甘肅甘谷縣發現三方漢代畫像磚墓”, *KG*, no. 2, pp. 177-179.
- Zhang Jianlin 張建林 et. al 1994 “Shaanxi Changan Sui Songxin fufu hezangmu qingli jianbao 陝西長安隋宋忻夫婦合葬墓清理簡報”, *KGYYW*, no. 1, pp. 32-44.
- Zhang Jianwei 張兼維 1995 “‘Sishen tianxiangtu’ kao ‘四神天象圖’考”, in Han Yuxiang 韓玉祥 ed. 1995, pp. 67-70.
- Zhang Jinyi 張金儀 1981 *Hanjing suo fanying de shenhua chuanshuo yu shenxian sixiang* 漢鏡所反映的神話傳說與神仙思想, Taipei: National Palace Museum.
- Zhang Jizhong 張紀仲 1992 *Shanxi lishi zhengqu dili* 山西歷史政區地理, Shanxi: Renmin chubanshe.
- Zhang Kaifa 張開發 1957 “Tongjing 銅鏡”, *WWCKZL*, no. 8, p. 37.

- Zhang Menghua 張孟華 1986 "Shige taiyang he shierge yueliang chuanshuo de youlai 十個太陽與十二個月亮傳說的由來" & "Zhulong ji beijiguang 祝龍及北極光", in Shanhaijing Xueshu Taolunhui ed. 1986, pp. 294-307 & 308-314.
- Zhang Mengwen 張孟聞 1982 "Siling kao 四靈考", in Li Guohao *et al.* 1982, pp. 525-52.
- Zhang Mingyang 張明楊 & Ren Chaosu 任超俗 1997 "Daxian sanliping sihao Hanmu qingli jianbao 達縣三裡坪四號漢墓清理簡報", *SCWW*, no. 1, p. 71-73.
- Zhang Pengchuan 張明川 1978 "Hexi chutu de Han-Jin huihua jianshu 河西出土的漢晉繪畫簡述", *WW*, no. 6, pp. 59-71.
- Zhang Qihai 張其海 1975 "Shandong Cangshan Yuanjia yuannian huaxiangshi mu 山東蒼山元嘉元年畫像石墓", *KG*, no. 2, pp. 124-134.
- Zhang Quancai 章權才 1990 *LiangHan jingxueshi* 兩漢經學史, Guangdong: Renmin chubanshe.
- Zhang Songlin 張松林 1985 "Zhengzhoushi Qianyuanbeijie kongxin huaxiangzhuanmu 鄭州市乾元北街空心畫像磚墓", *ZYWW*, no. 1, pp. 5-9.
- Zhang Wanfu 張萬夫 ed. 1982 *Hanhua xuan* 漢畫選, Tianjin: Renmin meishu chubanshe.
- Zhang Wenyu 張聞玉 1993 "Zenghouyimu tianwentuxiang 'jiayin sanri' zhi jieshi 曾侯乙墓天文圖像 '甲寅三日' 之解釋", *JHKG*, no. 3, pp. 66-68.
- Zhang Xiang 張湘 1990 "Luoyang xin faxian de XiHan kongxin huaxiangzhuan 洛陽新發現的西漢空心畫像磚", *WW*, no. 2, pp. 61-66.
- Zhang Xiaojie (Cheng Hsiao-chieh) 鄭小傑 *et al.* trans. 1985 *Shan Hai Ching*, Taipei: National Institute for Compilation and Translation.
- Zhang Xiaojun 張曉軍 1985 "Qiantan Nanyang Han huaxiangshi zhong niu de yishu xingxiang 淺談南陽漢畫像石中牛的藝術形象", *ZYWW*, no. 3, pp. 75-80.
- Zhang Xinbin 張新斌 1993 "Handai huaxiangshi suojian rufeng yu chufeng 漢代畫像石所見儒風與楚風", *ZYWW*, no. 1, pp. 59-63.
- Zhang Xinqiang 張新強 *et al.* 1998 "Nanyang Zhongjian qiju Jixiechang Han huaxiangshi mu 南陽中建七局機械廠漢畫像石墓", *ZYWW*, no. 4, pp. 35-47.
- Zhang Xiuqing 張秀清 1985 "Zhengzhou you faxian yipi Han huaxiangzhuan 鄭州又發現一批漢畫像磚", *ZYWW*, no. 2, pp. 17-20.
- *et al.* 1986 "Henan Xinzheng chutu de handai huaxiangzhuan 河南新鄭出土的漢代畫像磚", *ZYWW*, no. 1, pp. 17-22.
- 1987 "Zhengzhou Han huaxiangzhuan gaishu 鄭州漢畫像磚概述", *KGYWW*, no. 2, pp. 26-30, 81.
- *et al.* 1988a *Zhengzhou Han huaxiangzhuan* 鄭州漢畫像磚, Henan: Henan meishu chubanshe.
- 1988b "Henan Zhengzhou xinfaxian de huaxiangzhuan 河南鄭州新發現的畫像磚", *WW*, no. 5, pp. 61-67.
- *et al.* 1998a "Nanyangshi Fuyou baojianyuang DongJin mu 南陽市婦幼保健院東晉墓", *ZYWW*, no. 4, pp. 56-63.

- & Li Chengguang eds. 1980 *Nanyang Hanhua zaoqi tuopian xuanji* 南陽漢畫早期拓片選集, Zhengzhou: Zhongzhou guji chubanshe.
- Zhang Xuehai 張學海 1964 "Shandong Anqiu Han huaxiangshi mu fajue jianbao 山東安丘漢畫像石墓發掘簡報", *WW*, no. 4, pp. 30-40.
- Zhang Xuezheng 張學增 & Chen Feng 陳峰 1994 "Nanyang jixiang Hanhua qianxi 南陽吉祥漢畫淺析", *MSYJ*, no. 2, pp. 16-22.
- Zhang Yan 張岩 1995 *Tutengzhi yu yuanshi wenming* 圖騰製與原始文明, Shanghai: Wenyi chubanshe.
- Zhang Yiran 章毅然 1955 "Tan Liangshan Hanmu bihua de mohui 談梁山漢墓壁畫的摹繪", *WWCKZL*, no. 5, pp. 79-80.
- Zhang Zhengming 張正明 1988 *Chu wenhuazhi* 楚文化志, Hubei: Renmin meishu chubanshe.
- Zhang Zhihua 張志華 & Wang Fuan 王富安 1987 "Xihua Dongfukecun faxian Handai huaxiangzhuan 西華東斧柯村發現漢代畫像磚", *ZYWW*, no. 1, pp. 20-23.
- Zhang Zhiqing 張志清 & Li Junshan 李俊山 1992 "Henan Yongcheng Mangshan XiHan Liangguo wangling de diaocha 河南永城芒山西漢梁國王陵的調查", *HXKG*, no. 3, pp. 131-139, 130.
- Zhang Zhuoyuan 張卓遠 1993 "Nanyangshi dier huagongchang ershiyihao huaxiangshi mu fajue jianbao 南陽市第二化工廠二十一號畫像石墓發掘簡報", *ZYWW*, no. 1, pp. 77-81.
- Zhao Chao 趙超 1991 "Handai huaxiangshi mu zhong de huaxiang buju ji qi yi yi 漢代畫像石墓中的畫像布局及其意義", *ZYWW*, no. 3, pp. 18-24.
- Zhao Chengfu 趙成甫 1984 "Henan Nanyangxian Yingzhuang Han huaxiangshi mu 河南南陽縣英莊漢畫像石墓", *WW*, no. 3, pp. 25-37.
- 1985a "Xinyexian Qiangaomiaocun Han huaxiangshi mu 新野縣前高廟村漢畫像石墓", *ZYWW*, no. 3, pp. 3-7.
- 1985b "Tanghexian Huyanzhen Han huaxiangshi qingli jianbao 唐河縣湖陽鎮漢畫像石清理簡報", *ZYWW*, no. 3, pp. 8-13.
- 1985c "Nanyang Han huaxiangshi mu xingshuai chuyi 南陽漢畫像石墓興衰當議", *ZYWW*, no. 3, pp. 71-73.
- 1986 "Henan Nanyangxian Shilipu huaxiang shi mu 河南南陽縣十裡鋪畫像石墓", *WW*, no. 4, pp. 48-63.
- ed. 1990 *Nanyang Handai huaxiangzhuan* 南陽漢代畫像磚, Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe.
- 1996 "Nanyang Handai huaxiangshi zhuanmu guanxi bijiao 南陽漢代畫像石磚墓關係比較", *ZYWW*, no. 4, pp. 78-83.
- & He Yujian 赫玉建 1993 "Hu Han zhanzheng huaxiang kao 胡漢戰爭畫像考", *ZYWW*, no. 2, pp. 13-16.
- Zhao Diansheng 趙殿增 & Yuan Shuguang 袁曙光 1990 "'Tianmen' kao — jianlun Sichuan Han huaxiangzhuan(shi) de zuhe zhuti '天門'考 — 兼論漢畫像磚(石)的組合主題", *SCWW*, no. 6, pp. 3-11.
- Zhao Haizhou 趙海洲 1988 "Xiangxi Miaozu chong long de tedian 湘西苗族崇龍的特點", in Wu Ruishu

et al. eds. 1988, pp. 238-247.

Zhao Jianzhong 趙建中 1988 "Nanyang Handai huaxiangshi zhuyao dongwu ticaì chuyi 南陽漢代畫像石主要題材當識", *ZYWW*, no. 4, pp. 72-76.

Zhao Qiguang 1992 *Asian Thought and Culture - A Study of Dragons, East and West*, New York: Peter Lang Publishing Inc.

Zhao Qing 趙清 1996 "Henan Xingyang Kangzhai Handai kongxinzhuan mu 河南滎陽康寨漢代空心磚墓", *HXXG*, no. 2, pp. 55-59.

Zhao Shigang 趙世綱 1995 "Feng xiaoxiao xi yishui han, zhuangshi yichu bufu huan — tan Jing Ke 'Yishui bie Yandan' huaxiangzhuan yu zhu 風蕭蕭兮易水寒, 壯士一去不復還 — 談《荊軻易水別燕丹》畫像碑與築", *NPMCA*, May, no. 2, pp. 108-117.

Zhao Wuji 趙無極 & **Claude Roy** 1976. **Jin Hengjie** 金恆傑 trans. *Hantuo* 漢拓, Taipei: Hongshi meishu.

Zhao Yanru 趙研如 1976 "Long yu zhongguo meishu de guanxi 龍與中國美術的關係", *YSJ* 9, no. 2, pp. 58-71.

Zhao Yaqin 趙雅琴 1966 "Guizhou Hezhangzixian Hanmu fajue jianbao 貴州赫章縣漢墓發掘簡報", *KG*, no. 1, pp. 21-28.

Zhao Yuquan 趙玉泉 1981 "Zhenshi di miaohuiliao nonggeng sheng huo — Shanxi Pinglu Hanmu bihua 真實地描繪了農耕生活 — 山西平陸漢墓壁畫", *ZGMS*, no. 2, p. 64.

Zhao Zhengming 趙爭鳴 1990 "Henan Xinxiang Wulingcun Zhanguo LiangHan mu 河南新鄉五陵村戰國兩漢墓", *KGXB*, no. 1, pp. 103-135.

Zhao Zhenhua 趙振華 & **Huang Jibo** 黃吉博 1992 "Luoyang Jiche gongchang DongHan bihua mu 洛陽機車工廠東漢壁畫墓", *WW*, no. 3, pp. 27-34, 26.

Zhao Zongxiu 趙宗秀 1995 "Shandong Sishui Nanchen DongHan huaxiangshi mu 山東泗水南陳東漢畫像石墓", *KG*, no. 5, pp. 390-395.

Zheng Dekun (Cheng, Te-k'un) 鄭德坤 1932 "Shanhaijing ji qi shenhua 山海經及其神話", *SXNB* 4, pp. 127-51.

----- 1957 *Archaeological Studies in Szechwan*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

----- 1958 "Chih Yu, the God of the War in Han Art", *OA*, summer, pp.2-12.

----- 1983 *Studies in Chinese Art*, Hong Kong: The Chinese University Press.

Zheng Huisheng 鄭慧生 1983 "Renshe douzheng yu Mawangdui yihao Hanmu qiguanhua doushetu 人蛇斗爭與馬王堆一號漢墓漆棺畫斗蛇圖", *ZYWW*, no. 3, pp. 72-76.

Zheng Jianfang 鄭建芳 1994. 8. 7 "Han huaxiangshi 'Sishui quding tu' 漢畫像石'泗水取鼎圖'", *ZGWWB*.

Zheng Jihuan 鄭基煥 1997 "Jian Gaojulimu bihua zhong de shenhua yishu 集安高句麗墓壁畫中的神畫藝術", *MSYJ*, no. 2, pp. 49-52.

Zheng Lansheng 鄭蘭生 1990. 9. 27 "Liu bo 六博", *ZGWWB*.

Zheng Qingsen 鄭清森 1996 "Yongcheng Hanmu bihua jicquji 永城漢墓壁畫揭取記", *WWTD*, no. 4, pp.

38-39.

Zheng Ruokui 鄭若葵 & Tang Zhigong 唐志工 1994 "Sichuan Guangyuan Zhaohua zhengji de Handai huaxiangzhuan 四川廣元昭化征集的漢代畫像碑", *WW*, no. 11, pp. 94-96.

Zheng Shuguang 鄭曙光 1996 "Chumu bohua, zhenmushou de hunpo guannian 楚墓帛畫鎮墓獸的魂魄觀念", *JHKG*, no. 1, pp. 81-85, 89.

Zheng Tongxiu 鄭同修 & Yang Aiguo 楊愛國 1996 "Shandong Handai muzang xingzhi chulun 山東漢代墓葬形製初論", *HXXG*, no. 4, pp. 87-102.

Zheng Tongxiu 鄭同修 1999 "Shandong Linzi Jinlingzhen yihao DongHan mu 山東臨淄金嶺鎮一號東漢墓", *KGXB*, no. 1, pp. 97-121.

Zheng Wei 鄭衛 1996 "Xinjinxian chutu liangju Handai huaxiang shiguan 新津縣出土兩具漢代畫像石棺", *SCWW*, no. 5, p. 62.

Zheng Wenguang & Xi Zezong 1975 *Zhongguo Lishishang de Yuzhou Lilun* 中國歷史上的宇宙理論, Beijing: People's Publishing Co.

Zheng Yan 鄭岩 1992. 9. 27 "'XiHan paochu huaxiangzhuan' bianwei '西漢庖廚畫像磚'辨偽", *ZGWWB*.

----- 1993. 7. 4 "Fangcheng Guangdian Hanmu 'ertao sha sanshi' huaxiang zhi wojian 方城光店漢墓'二桃殺三士'畫像之我見", *ZGWWB*.

Zheng Zhenduo 鄭振鐸 1952 *Weida de yishu chuantong tulu* 偉大的藝術傳統圖錄, Shanghai: Shanghai Publishing Co.

Zhong Jian 鍾堅 1988 "Wang Hui shiguan de lishi yishu jiazhi 王暉石棺的歷史藝術價值", *SCWW*, no. 4, pp. 12-13.

Zhong Nian 鍾年 1998 "'Wu' de yuanshi ji liubian 巫的原始及流變", *DNWH*, no. 2, pp. 42-45.

Zhongguo kaoguxue yanjiu lunji bianweihui ed. 1987 *Zhongguo kaoguxue yanji lunji* 中國考古學研究論集—*jinian Xia Nai xiansheng kaogu wushi zhounian* 紀念夏鼐先生考古五十周年, Xi'an: Sanqin chubanshe.

Zhongguo kaoguxuehui 中國考古學會 ed. 1984 *Zhongguo kaoguxuehui disanci nianhui (Hangzhou, Zhejiang) lunwenji* 中國考古學會第三次年會(杭州市, 浙江)論文集: 1981, Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe.

Zhongguo kexueyuan Kaogu Yanjiusuo 中國科學院考古研究所 ed. 1959 *Luoyang Shaogou Hanmu* 洛陽燒溝漢墓, Beijing: Kexue chubanshe.

----- ed. 1959a *Shangcunling Guoguo mudi* 上村嶺競國墓地, Beijing: Kexue chubanshe.

----- & Hebeisheng wenwu guanlichu ed. 1980 *Mancheng Hanmu fajue baogao* 滿城漢墓發掘報告, Beijing: Wenwu Chubanshe.

----- ed. 1984 *Xin Zhongguo de kaogu faxian he yanjiu* 新中國的考古發現和研究, Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe.

----- ed. 1989 *Zeng Hou Yi mu* 曾侯乙墓, Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe.

----- ed. 1994 *Yinxu de fajue yu yanjiu* 殷墟的發掘與研究, Beijing: Kexue chubanshe.

- ed. 1995 *Xingyuan DongHanmu bishua* 杏園東漢墓壁畫, Liaoning: Liaoning meishu chubanshe.
- Zhongguo shehui kexueyuan kaogu yanjiusuo 中國社會科學院考古研究所 ed. 1980 *Zhongguo guda tianwen wenwu lunji* 中國古代天文文物論集, Beijing: Wenwu Chubanshe.
- Zhongguo tianwenxue shi zhengli yanjiu xiaozu 中國天文學史整理研究小組 1981 *Tianwen shihua* 天文史話, Shanghai: Shanghai kexue jishu chubanshe.
- Zhongguo wenhua yanjiusuo 中國文化研究所 1961 *Wenwu jinghua* 文物精華, vol. 1, no. 2, Taipei.
- Zhonghua renmin gongheguo chutu wenwu zhanlan weiyuanhui 中華人民共和國出土文物展覽委員會 ed. 1976 *A Selection of Archaeological Finds of the People's Republic of China* 中華人民共和國出土文物選, Beijing: Wenwu Chubanshe.
- ed. 1980 *Zhonghua wuqiannian wenwu jikan — Han huaxiangzhuan* 中華五千年文物集刊 — 漢畫像碑, Taipei.
- Zhonghua wuqiannian wenwu jikan bianji weiyuanhui 中華五千年文物集刊編輯委員會 ed. 1979 *Zhonghua wuqiannian wenwu jikan — zhuanwa bian* 中華五千年文物集刊 — 磚瓦編, Taipei.
- Zhou Baoping 周保平 1993 “Xuzhou Honglou liangkuai Han huaxiangshi kaoshi 徐州洪樓兩塊漢畫像石考釋”, *ZYWW*, no. 2, pp. 40-46.
- 1993. 2. 7 “Han huaxiangshi zhong de lianhuanhua 漢畫像石中的連環畫”, *ZGWWB*.
- Zhou Dao 周到 1975 “Nanyang Han huaxiangshi zhong de jifu tianxiangtu 南陽漢畫像石中的幾幅天象圖”, *KG*, no. 1, pp. 58-61.
- 1987a “Shilun n Henan Han huaxiangshike de meixue fengmao 試論河南漢畫像石刻的美學風貌”, *ZYWW*, no. 1, pp. 83-85.
- 1987b “Shilun Henan Yongcheng Han huaxiangshi 試論河南永城漢畫像石”, *ZYWW*, no. 2, pp. 140-143.
- 1989 “Henan Han huaxiangshi kaogu sishi nian gailun 河南漢畫像石考古四十年概論”, *ZYWW*, no. 3, pp. 46-50.
- et al. 1985 *Henan Handai huaxiangzhuan* 河南漢代畫像碑, Shanghai: Renmin meishu chubanshe.
- 1992 *Hanhua yu xiqu wenwu* 漢畫與戲曲文物, Zhengzhou: Zhongzhou guji chubanshe.
- & Li Jinghua 李京華 1973 “Tanghe Zhenzhichang Han huaxiangshi mu de fajue 唐河針織廠漢畫像石墓的發掘”, *WW*, no. 6, pp. 26-40.
- & Lü, Pin 呂品 1980 “Henan Han huaxiangzhuan de yishu fengge yu fenqi 河南漢畫像碑的藝術風格與分期”, *HNWBTX*, no. 3, pp. 8-14.
- & Lü, Pin 呂品 1982 “Nanyang Han huaxiangshi jianlun 南陽漢畫像石簡論”, *ZYWW*, no. 2, pp. 41-47.
- & Wang Xiao 王曉 1996 *Henan Handai huaxiang yanjiu* 河南漢代畫像研究, Zhengzhou: Zhongzhou guji chubanshe.
- Zhou Gucheng 周谷城 1987 *Chu wenhuazhi* 楚文化史, Shanghai: Renmin meishu chubanshe.
- Zhou Houqiang 周厚強 1994. 9. 11 “Zhongguo guyan de qi yuan ji qi zaoqi xingshi 中國古硯的起源及其

早期形式”, *ZGWWB*.

Zhou Jing 周靜 1998 “XiHan shiqi de Xiwangmu xinyang 西漢時期的西王母信仰”, *SCWW*, no. 6, pp. 14-19.

Zhou Junqi 周俊麒 1997 “Lun Leshanshi DongHan yamu de yanjiu 論樂山市東漢崖墓的研究”, *SCWW*, no. 6, pp. 10-17.

Zhou Rilian 周日璉 1993 “Guo Moruo yu Wang Hui shiguan huaxiang yanjiu 郭沫若與王暉石棺畫像研究”, *SCWW*, no. 6, pp. 50-54.

Zhou Shirong 周世榮 1993 *Zhonghua lidai tongjing jiating* 中華歷代銅鏡鑒定, Beijing: Zijincheng chubanshe.

Zhou Suping 周蘇平 1991 *Zhongguo gudai sangzang xisu* 中國古代喪葬習俗, Shaanxi: Shaanxi renmin chubanshe.

Zhou Yuansheng 周元生 1988 “Shandong Liangshan DongHan jinian mu 山東梁山東漢紀年墓”, *KG*, no. 11, pp. 975-982.

Zhu Jieyuan 朱捷元 1986 “Maoling faxian de XiHan sishenwen yu pushou 茂陵發現的四神紋玉鋪首”, *KGYWW*, no. 3, pp. 9-10.

Zhu Kezhen 竺可楨 1944 “Ershiba xiu qiyuan zhi shidai yu tedian 二十八宿起源之時代與特點”, *Sixiang yu shidai* 思想與時代, no. 34, pp. 1-24.

Zhu Xi 朱熹 comp. & annotated 1953 *Chu Ci Ji Zhu* 楚辭集注, Beijing: Renmin wenxue chubanshu.

Zhu Xilu 朱錫祿 1979 “Shandong Jiexiang Songshan faxian Han huaxiangshi 山東嘉祥宋山發現漢畫像石”, *WW*, no. 9, pp. 1-6.

----- 1982a “Shandong Jiexiang Songshan yijiu baling nian chutu de Han huaxiangshi 山東嘉祥宋山 1980 年出土的漢畫像石”, *WW*, no. 5, pp. 60-70.

----- 1982b “Jiexiang Wulaoya faxian yipi Han huaxiangshi 嘉祥五老窪發現一批漢畫像石”, *WW*, no. 5, pp. 71-78.

----- 1986a *Wushici Han huaxiangshi* 武氏祠漢畫像石, Shandong: Shandong meishu chubanshe.

----- 1986b “Shandong Jiexiang Zhifang huaxiang shi mu 山東嘉祥紙坊畫像石墓”, *WW*, no. 5, pp. 31-41.

----- ed. 1992 *Jiexiang Han huaxiangshi* 嘉祥漢畫像石, Shandong: Shandong meishu chubanshe.

----- 1995 *Wushici Han huaxiangshi zhong de gushi* 武氏祠漢畫像石中的故事, Shandong: Shandong meishu chubanshe.

Zhu Zeqin 朱澤勤 & Wang Xinming 王新明 1991. 4. 7 “Gushi faxian de kongxin huaxiangzhuang 固始發現的空心畫像碑”, *ZGWWB*.

Zhu Zhi 朱熾 & Zhu Zhenfu 朱振甫 1993 “Henan Wuyang faxian Handai huaxiangshi 河南舞陽發現漢代畫像石”, *KG*, no. 5, pp. 398-403.

Zhu Zhongshou 祝重壽 1995 *Zhongguo bishu shigang* 中國壁畫史綱, Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe.

Zhuang Baihe 莊伯和 1976 “Handai huihua de fazhan yu tese 漢代繪畫的發展與特色”, *YSJ* 15, no. 8, pp. 20-53.

Ziran kexueshi yanjiusuo 自然科學史研究所 1978 *Zhongguo gudai keji chengjiu* 中國古代科技成就, Beijing: Zhongguo qingnian chubanshe.

Zou Houben 鄒厚本 1979 "Jiangsu Xuyi Dongyang Hanmu 江蘇盱眙東陽漢墓", *KG*, no. 5, pp. 412-426.

Zou Jiwan (Tsou Jih Wann) 鄒紀萬 1981 *A Study on the Land Problems of West and East Han Dynasties* 兩漢土地問題研究 (History and Chinese Literature Series No. 58 文史叢刊之五十八), Taipei: Taiwan University.

Zou Shuwen 鄒樹文 1982 "Zhongguo gudai de dongwu fenlei Xue 中國古代的動物分類學", in Li Guohao *et al.* 1982, pp. 511-24.

Zuo Boyang trans. n.d. *The Discovery of a Missing King's Tomb: Selection of Chinese Relics and Archaeology*, Beijing: Foreign Languages Press.



**The *Siling* (four cardinal animals) in
Han Pictorial Art**

Volume Two: Appendixes, Maps, Plates and Indexes

Pui Yin Marianne WONG

Thesis submitted to the University of London
in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the
Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

School of Oriental and African Studies,
University of London,
March 2006



Volume One: Text and Bibliography

<u>Table of Content</u>	0-3
<u>Acknowledgements</u>	4-9
<u>Abstract</u>	10
<u>Introduction</u>	11-18
 <u>Part One: <i>Siling</i> in Funerary and Architectural context</u>	 19-139
Chapter One: Combinations of the <i>siling</i> in tomb decoration	19-70
1. Hollow-brick tombs and small brick tombs in the Han Dynasty	22-47
(i) Entrances	22-24
(ii) Tomb interiors	24-47
2. Stone tombs (inc. cave tombs)	47-65
(i) Entrances	47-57
(ii) Tomb interiors	57-65
Discussion	66-70
 Chapter Two: Combinations of the <i>siling</i> in above-ground structures	 71-81
1. Architectural components	71-72
2. Shrines and <i>que</i> -towers	72-79
Discussion	80-81
 Chapter Three: Combinations of the <i>siling</i> in funerary objects	 82-139
1. Sarcophagi and coffins	82-95
2. Objects	96-132
(i) Wood/lacquer objects	96-105
(a) Lacquered clothes chest	96-101
(b) Lacquered funerary face cover	101-105
(ii) Bronze objects	105-124
(a) Bronze <i>boshan</i> censer	105-106
(b) Bronze braziers	107-110
(c) Bronze plaques	110-112
(d) Bronze belt-hooks	112-114
(e) Mirrors	114-124
(iii) Pottery objects	124-128
(a) Jars and lids	124-125
(b) Stove models	125-128
(iv) Other objects bearing <i>siling</i> images	128-132
(a) Jade pendant	128-129
(b) Stone headrests	129-132
Discussion	133-139

<u>Part Two: <i>Siling</i> in Literary References</u>	141-159
Chapter Four: Textual Evidence for the Four Guardian Animals	140-150
Discussion	151
Chapter Five: <i>Siling</i>, the twenty-eight <i>xiu</i> system and the <i>yinyang wuxing</i> concept	152-159
A. The twenty-eight <i>xiu</i> system	152-154
B. The <i>yinyang wuxing</i> concept	154-159
<u>Part Three: Discussions</u>	160-198
Chapter Six: Problems related to the variable positions of the <i>qinglong</i> and <i>baihu</i> images and aesthetic considerations of the <i>siling</i> specimens	160-177
A. Position of the <i>qinglong</i> and <i>baihu</i> images	160-165
B. Aesthetic analysis of the <i>siling</i> specimens	165-171
(1) The <i>siling</i> representations in two-dimensional formats	165-171
(i) Two-dimensional examples in tomb decoration	169-168
(ii) Two-dimensional objects	169-171
(2) The <i>siling</i> representations in three-dimensional formats	171-177
(i) Three-dimensional examples in tomb decoration and above-ground structures	172-174
(ii) Three-dimensional objects	174-177
Chapter Seven: Evolution of the set of <i>siling</i> motifs	178-186
(1) Individual motifs	178-184
(i) <i>Qinglong</i> , <i>zhuque</i> and <i>baihu</i>	178-179
(ii) The problems of <i>xuanwu</i>	179-184
(2) Combinations and development	184-186
(i) <i>Qinglong</i> and <i>baihu</i>	184-186
(ii) <i>Zhuque</i> and <i>xuanwu</i>	186
Chapter Eight: Regional distribution and dissemination of the <i>siling</i> specimens during the Han dynasty	187-198
<u>Conclusion</u>	199-207
<u>Bibliography</u>	208-281

Volume Two: Appendixes, Maps, Plates and Indexes

Appendix: Distribution of <i>siling</i> examples	282-304
I — Shaanxi Province (nos. 1-34)	
II — Shanxi Province (nos. 35-39)	
III — Henan Province (nos. 40-78)	
IV — Hubei Province (nos. 79-81)	
V — Hebei Province (nos. 82-88)	
VI — Shandong Province (nos. 89-107)	
VII — Jiangsu Province (nos. 108-113)	
VIII — Anhui Province (nos. 114-115)	
IX — Sichuan Province (nos. 116-145)	
X — Zhejiang Province (no. 146)	
XI — Location unknown (nos. 147-151)	
 <u>Maps</u>	
Map One: Distribution of complete set of <i>siling</i> examples from archaeological excavations	305
Map Two: Map of the Maoling district, showing the sites from which the <i>siling</i> artifacts were excavated	306
Map Three: Map of China, showing the population density within the Han Territories in A.D. 2 (After H. Bielenstein, 1947, pl. 1)	307
Map Four: Map of China, showing the population density within the Han Territories in A.D. 140 (After H. Bielenstein, 1947, pl. 2)	307
Map Five: Map of China, showing principal areas of agricultural production during the Han dynasty (After Shi Nianhai, 1986, pp. 181-182)	308
 <u>Table:</u>	
Table One: Records of the twenty-eight <i>xiu</i> from literary and archaeological sources	153
 <u>Plates</u>	
List of Plates	309-402 403-422
List of Figures	423-424
Glossary	425-429
Index (sites and specimens)	430-435
Index (cultural institutes, temples, museums)	436-437

Appendix I: Distribution of *siling* examples

Abbreviations:

<i>q'l</i> = <i>qinglong</i>	<i>b'h</i> = <i>baihu</i>	<i>z'q</i> = <i>zhuque</i>	<i>x'w</i> = <i>xuanwu</i>	
<i>l</i> = left	<i>R</i> = right	<i>F</i> = front	<i>B</i> = back / bottom	<i>T</i> = top
<i>h</i> = height	<i>l</i> = length	<i>w</i> = width	<i>t</i> = thickness	diam = diameter
<i>E</i> = east	<i>W</i> = west	<i>S</i> = south	<i>N</i> = north	+ = pattern repeated

I. Shaanxi	No. 1-34	IV. Hubei	No. 79-81	VII. Jiangsu	No. 108-113	X. Zhejiang	No. 146
II. Shanxi	No. 35-39	V. Hebei & Beijing	No. 82-88	VIII. Anhui	No. 114-115	XI. Location unknown	No. 147-151
III. Henan	No. 40-78	VI. Shandong	No. 89-107	IX. Sichuan	No. 116-145		

I. Shaanxi

No.	Pl.	Location	Date	Owner of specimen	Media & Orientation	Size (cm)	The <i>siling</i> images				Sources/Collection
							<i>q'l</i>	<i>z'q</i>	<i>b'h</i>	<i>x'w</i>	
1	a)	Luoingshi 羅經石, Yangling 陽陵, Xianyang 咸陽, Shaanxi	Early W. Han, Jingdi period (r. 156-140 B.C.)	Emperor Jingdi & his imperial family	hollow bricks (fragments), patterns moulded in thread relief	unknown	1				Ma & Wang 2001: 55-56.
	b)					unknown				1	
2	59	The Third Branch of the Fifth National Cotton Factory 國棉五廠 三分廠 M6, near Xi'an, Shaanxi	early W. Han to Wudi period (2 nd century to 87 B.C.)	an official whose rank was about that of Five Grand Masters 五大夫, Assistants to the Three Ministers	a bronze brazier with matching eared cup & handled ring-support for the cup	9.2 high 14 long 8.2 wide	1	1	1	1	WB 1991, no. 4: 3-18. Shaanxi kaogu yanjiusuo & Xi'an shi wenwu guanlichu 1993: 60; KGYWW 1997, no. 6, cover page. Shaanxi Provincial Cultural Bureau.
3	59.1	Wazhagou 瓦渣溝, Maoling 茂陵, Xingping County 興平縣, Shaanxi	W. Han, Wudi period (r. 140-87 B.C.)	an aristocrat or an upper class person	a pair of bronze braziers with matching eared cups & handled ring-supports for the cups, & trays	unknown (similar size to No. 2)	1	1	1	1	Shaanxi Provincial Museum of History. Similar examples from Shanxi and in museums in China and overseas.
4	/	Maquan 馬泉, Xianyang, Shaanxi	early W. Han to Wudi period (2 nd century to 87 B.C.)	an aristocrat or an upper class person	a bronze brazier with matching eared cup, handled ring-support for the cup, & tray	unknown (similar size to No. 2)	1	1	1	1	KG 1979, no. 2: 125-135, fig. 5.7. Xianyang Museum.

¹ Maquan is situated between the Maoling and Pingling, imperial tombs of Wudi (r. 140 - 87 B.C.) and Zhaoxi (86 - 74 B.C.) respectively, and Xianyang City, the former capital of the Qin Dynasty. These places, during the Han Dynasty, were mostly inhabited by noblemen and the upper class (KG, 1979, no. 2, pp. 125-135).

11	13.4	Erdaoyuan M36	W. Han (2 nd -1 st century B.C.) brick in a late W. Han to Xin Dynasty (late 1 st Century B.C. to A.D. 23) tomb	the upper class or local officials	hollow bricks (a-t), pattern moulded in thread relief: a) M36:12 front b) M36:12 flank c) M36:12 end d) M36:14 front e) M36:14 top f) M36:33 front g) M36:33 flank h) M36:33 top i) M36:34 back j) M36:34 top k) M36:36 front l) M36:36 flank m) M36:36 end n) M36:38 back o) M36:38 flank p) M36:38 top q) M36:62 front r) M36:62 flank s) M36:57 front t) M36:57 flank	a) 118 x 38 b) 115 x 15 c) 38 x 18 d) 118 x 38 e) 118 x 18 f) 38 x 18 (brick) g) 118 x 38 h) 118 x 38 i) 118 x 38 j) 125 x 15 k) 118 x 18 l) 118 x 18 m) 38 x 18 n) 118 x 38 o) 113 x 19 p) 38 x 18 q) 116 x 38 r) 118 x 18 s) 116 x 20 (brick)			2		KG 1982, no. 3, figs. 11.1, 3.3 & fig. 12.3; Zhang Daoyi 1993: 406; Zhang Hongxiu 1994, pls. 20, 8 & 9, 25.		
a)	/									2			KG 1982, no. 3, pls. 2.3 & fig. 10.4; Zhang Daoyi 1993: 406; Zhang Hongxiu 1994, pls. 18 & 19.
b)	/									2			KG 1982, no. 3, figs. 11.7, 11.8 & pl. 3.4; Zhang Daoyi 1993: 405.
c)	/									1			KG 1982, no. 3, pl. 3.2 & fig. 11.4; Zhang Daoyi 1993: 405; Zhang Hongxiu 1994, pls. 23 & 26.
d)	13.5									2			KG 1982, no. 3, pls. 2.1, 1.5 & fig. 12.2; Zhang Daoyi 1993: 406 & 405; Zhang Hongxiu 1994, pls. 13, 15 & 24.
e)	/									2			KG 1982, no. 3, pls. 3.1, 2.2 & fig. 12.1; Zhang Daoyi 1993: 406 & 405; Zhang Hongxiu 1994, pls. 16, 27 & 30.
f)	/												KG 1982, no. 3, fig. 2.1 & 10.6; Zhang Daoyi 1993: 405; Zhang Hongxiu 1994, pls. 14 & 12.
g)	/												KG 1982, no. 3, pls. 1.2 & 1.3; Zhang Daoyi 1993: 406; Zhang Hongxiu 1994, pl. 17.
h)	13.1												
i)	13												
j)	/									2			
k)	13.2												
l)	/												
m)	/												
n)	/												
o)	/												
p)	13.3												
q)	/												
r)	/												
s)	13.6									2			
t)	13.7												

12	15-15.7	Jiaotong University 交通大學, Xi'an 西安, Shaanxi	late W. Han, Xuandi to Pingdi periods (c. 73 B.C. - A.D. 5)	a rich local or a rich landowner or a local official	painted and coloured patterns on the ceiling of the main chamber of the tomb	Inner circle diam: 220-228, Outer circle diam: 268-270	1/E	1/S	1/W	1/N	KGWW 1990, no. 4: 57-63, cover pl. 3.1-4; Shaanxi kaogu yanjiusuo & Xi'an Jiaotong daxue 1991.
13	16	Shaanxi Province	W. Han (1 st century B.C.)	unknown	brick, rectangular shape, inscribed, patterns in relief lines	22 x 90 x 30	1/L	1/R	1/L	1/R	Zhang Hongxiu 1994, pls. 1-4.
14	17	Shaanxi Province	W. Han (1 st century B.C.)	unknown	brick, square shape, inscribed, patterns in relief lines	35 x 34	1/L	1/T	1/R	1/B	Tai Jingrong 1976, pl. 28.
15	/	Qianyang County 千陽縣, Shaanxi	late W. Han to Xin (late 1 st century B.C. to A.D. 23)	unknown	wall painting in colour, on the eastern and western walls of the burial chamber	unknown	1/E (R)		1/W (L)		KG 1975, no. 3: 178-181, 177 & pl. 7.
16	96-96.3	excavated near Xi'an, Shaanxi (museum's record)	late W. Han to early E. Han (1 st century B.C. to 1 st century A.D.)	unknown	a pottery stove model, patterns moulded in bas relief	12.7x18.4, 12.1x18.4 12.1x31.1, 11.4x31.1 (F, B, L, R)	1/L	1/B	1/R	2/F	BCMA 1990, no. 10: 301. Cleveland Museum of Art, U.S.A.
17	11	Western outskirts of Xi'an, (South of Chang'an), Shaanxi	Xin (c. A.D. 4)	the imperial family	a set of pottery eaves tiles, moulded in relief	(diam) 15.8-19	+/E	+/S	+/W	+/N	KG 1960, no. 7: 38; Wang Renbo 1995: 30; Wu Hung 1995, figs 3.17, 3.18 & 3.19. Shaanxi Provincial Museum of History
18	-	Shaanxi Province			as above	(diam) 17.2-19.3	1	1	1	1	Li Xueqin 1990, pl. 151. Shanghai Museum
19	/	Tomb of Wang Deyuan 王德元, Xishanci 西山寺, Suide County, Shaanxi	E. Han, 12 th year of Yongyuan 永元十二年 (A.D. 100)	a garrison official or a rich landowner	stone, carved in bas relief, components of the tomb door: a) 2 door leaves b) front sides of the 2 doorframes	a) 109 x 52, 110 x 52.5 (R, L) b) 118 x 36, 120.5 x 35.5 (R, L)	1/L 1/R	1/L			Shaanxisheng bowuguan & Shaanxisheng wenguanhui 1958: 16 & 15. Shaanxi Museum of Steles, Xi'an.
20	/	Yanjiacha 延家岔 M2, Xindian Village 辛店村, Suide County 綏德 縣, Shaanxi	E. Han, Zhangdi to Hedi periods (A.D. 76-105)	a garrison official or a rich landowner ³	stone, patterns carved in bas relief, a tomb door's components: a) 2 door leaves b) 2 doorjamb	119 x 55 (L) 120 x 54 @ 134 x 41 (L) 127 x 43 @	1/R 1/R	1/L 1/R	1/L		KG 1990, no. 2: 176-179.

21	a)	/	Banfosi 板佛寺, Kuaihualing 快華 嶺, Suide County, Shaanxi	E. Han (c. A.D. 100)	a garrison official, or a rich landowner	stone, carved in bas relief, a tomb door containing: a) two door leaves b) two door pillars joining with the lintel	unknown	1/R	1/L	1/L	Shaanxisheng bowuguan & Shaanxisheng wenguanhui 1958, pls. 54, 57 & 58.
	b)									1/L 1/R	Shaanxi Museum of Steles, Xi'an.
22	a)	/	Dagualiang 大(±瓜)梁, Suide County, Shaanxi	E. Han (c. A.D. 100)	a garrison official, or a rich landowner	stone, patterns carved in bas relief, a tomb door's components a) 2 door leaves a) 2 doorframes c) two doorjambs	a) 109 x 52, 110 x 52.5 (R & L)	1/L 1/R	1/L	1/L	Shaanxisheng bowuguan & Shaanxisheng wenguanhui 1958: 62-65, 68-69. Shaanxi Museum of Steles, Xi'an.
	b)						b) 144 x 45, 147 x 39			1/L	
	c)						c) 118 x 44, 128 x 40 (L & R)			1/L 1/R	
23	a)	29- 29.4	Kuathualing, Housijiagou 後思家溝, Suide County, Shaanxi	E. Han (c. A.D. 100)	a garrison official, or a rich landowner	stone, carved in bas relief, a tomb door containing: a) 2 door leaves b) 2 door pillars joining with the lintel	118.5 x 51 (each leaf)	1/R	1/L	1/L	Shaanxisheng bowuguan & Shaanxisheng wenguanhui 1958, pls. 34 & 35. Shaanxi Museum of Steles, Xi'an.
	b)						180 x 43.5 (lintel) 109 x 33.5 (each pillar)			1/L 1/R	
24		/	Kuathualing M1, Housijiagou, Yfne Town 義合鎮, Suide County, Shaanxi	E. Han (c. A.D. 100)	a garrison official, or a rich landowner	stone, patterns carved in bas relief, two door leaves	111 x 51 (each)	1/R	1/L 1/R	1/L	Shaanxisheng bowuguan & Shaanxisheng wenguanhui 1958, pls. 47 & 48. Shaanxi Museum of Steles, Xi'an.
25		/	Zhuanyaojiang, Hejiagou 賀家溝, Shizheng Village 市政鄉, Suide County, Shaanxi	E. Han (c. A.D. 100)	a garrison official, or a rich landowner	stone, patterns carved in bas relief, two door leaves	109 x 52 (each)	1/R	1/L 1/R	1/L	Shaanxisheng bowuguan & Shaanxisheng wenguanhui 1958, pls. 29 & 30. Shaanxi Museum of Steles, Xi'an.
26		/	Liang Village 梁 村, Yulin 榆林, Shaanxi	E. Han (c. A.D. 100)	a garrison official, or a rich landowner	stone, patterns carved in bas relief, two door leaves	unknown	1/R	1/L 1/R	1/L	Shaanxisheng bowuguan & Shaanxisheng wenguanhui 1958, pls. 40 & 41. Shaanxi Museum of Steles, Xi'an.

II. Shanxi

No	Pl.	Location	Date	Owner of specimen	Media & Orientation	Size (cm)	The siling images				Sources/Collection
							q'l	z'q	b'h	x'w	
35	/	Jiancaoping 尖草坪 M1, Taiyuan 太原, Shanxi	early W. Han to Wudi period (206-87)	unknown	a pair bronze braziers with matching eared cups & handled ring-supports for the cups, & rays	unknown (similar size to No. 2)	1	1	1	1	KG 1985, no. 6: 527-529, pl. 6. Shanxi Provincial Museum of History
36	/	Bi Village 畢村 M1, Hunyuan County 渾源縣, Shanxi	B.C.)	a garrison official	a pair of bronze braziers with matching eared cups & handled ring-supports for the cups, & trays	unknown (similar size to No. 2)	1	1	1	1	WW 1980, no. 6: 42-51 & pl. 1.
37	/	Pingshuo 平朔, Shanxi		unknown	a pair bronze braziers with matching eared cups & handled ring-supports for the cups	Unknown (similar size to No. 2)	1	1	1	1	WWTD 1996, no. 2: 25.
38		Zaoyuan Village 象園村, Pingliu County 平陸縣, Shanxi	Xin to early E. Han (1 st century A.D.)	a rich landowner	painted patterns on the tomb ceiling and caisson	unknown	1/N (L)		1/S (R)	1/W (B)	KG 1959, n0. 9: 462-463, 468, pl. 1; ZGMS 1981, no. 2: 64; Zhongguo shehui kexueyuan kaogu yanjiusuo 1989, pl. 46.
39	a)	Mamaozhuang Village 馬茂莊村 M2, Lishi County 離石縣, Shanxi	Late E. Han (late 2 nd to early 3 rd century A.D.)	unknown	stone, patterns carved in bas relief, tomb walls: a) S. end of the E wall b) S. end of the W wall	140 x 39 x 12 (each)				1	WW 1992, no. 4: 23-25.

III. Henan

No	Pl.	Location	Date	Owner of specimen	Media & Orientation	Size (cm)	The siling images				Sources/Collection
							q'l	z'q	b'h	x'w	
40	2 & 2.1	M45, Xishuiipo 西水坡, Puyang 濮陽, Henan	Yangshao Culture, Neolithic period (c.a. 4000 B.C.)	tomb of a tribe leader	patterns laid out in shells on the ground on either side of the skeleton of the tomb master	Tomb master 184 tall; dragon 178 long, 67 tall; tiger 138 long, 63 tall	1/L		1/R		WW 1988, no. 3: 1-6; WW 1990, no. 3: 52-60, 69; JHKG 1993, no. 4: 87-89; ZYWW 1996, no. 1: 61-64, 65-71, 72-75; ZYWW 1996, no. 2: 22-31; ZYWW 1997, no. 1: 58-59, 75.
41	/	Luoyang 洛陽, Henan	W. Han (2 nd to 1 st century B.C.)	unknown	painted pottery <i>hu</i> vessel	unknown	1/L		1/R		Luoyang bowuguan 1986: 81. Luoyang Museum.
42	93 & 93.1						1	2	1		Luoyang bowuguan 1986: 78. Luoyang Museum.

50	20-20.5	Jingyuan 金谷園, Luoyang, Henan	Xin Dynasty, Dihuang period (A.D. 20-23)	a rich local or local official	<p>1 painted set of 12 bricks, on the walls of the back chamber</p> <p>2 a painted brick, coloured, on the ceiling of the back chamber</p>	20.3-22 x 30-41 (each brick)	1	2	1	1	1	WWZLCK 9, 1985: 163-173; Huang & Guo 1996: 111-120. Luoyang Museum of Ancient Tombs.
	19					41 x 47			1			
51	26 & Fig 9	Xindian Village 新店村, Huyang 湖陽, Tanghe County 唐河縣, Henan	Xin Dynasty, 5 th year of Tianfeng 天鳳五年 (A.D. 18)	Feng Ruren, <i>Da yin</i> 大尹 (the Prefect of) Yuping	<p>stones, patterns carved in bas relief:</p> <p>a) door leaves, main chamber</p> <p>b) door leaves, south door of middle chamber</p> <p>c) top of south and north walls of the southern main chamber</p>	<p>a) 136 x 68, 136 x 62 (L & R)</p> <p>b) 90 x 48, 106 x 43 (L & R)</p> <p>unknown</p>	1/R	1/R	1/L	1/L	1	KGXB 1980, no. 2: 239-262; Nanyang Handai huaxiangshi bianji weiyuanhui 1985, pl. 87. Nanyang Museum of Han Pictorial Art.
	Fig 9						1/S		1/R	1/R	1/N	
	/											
52	Fig 10	The Knitting Factory 針織廠墓 M1, Tanghe, Nanyang 南陽, Henan	Xin Dynasty (A.D. 9-23)	a <i>xianling</i> 縣令 or <i>xianchang</i> 縣長 (county magistrate)	<p>a & b) right and left sides of the door lintel at the north wall of the southern main chamber</p> <p>c) door leaf of north (right) tomb doorway</p> <p>d) door leaf of south (left) tomb doorway</p> <p>e) the 5th stone from the east, ceiling of the northern main chamber</p>	<p>a) 40 x 149 (R)</p> <p>b) 40 x 133 (L)</p> <p>133 x 62 (each)</p> <p>96 x 49</p>	1/R		1/L	1/R	1	WW 1973, no. 6: 26-40; Nanyang Handai huaxiangshi bianji weiyuanhui 1985, pls. 32-35. Nanyang Museum of Han Pictorial Art
	30.1								1/L	1/R	1/R	
							1/W (L)	1/S (T)	1/E (R)	1/N (B)		
53	/	Xiawan 夏灣 M1, Zhechuan County 浙川縣, Henan	Xin Dynasty (A.D. 9-23)	a local landowner	a pair of hemispherical grey pottery lids, patterns moulded in high relief	15 (each diam) 7.4 (h)	1	1	1	1	1	Zhao Chengfu 1990: 28.
54	/	Chengguanzhen 城關鎮, Fangcheng County 方城縣, Henan	Xin to early E. Han (1 st century A.D.)	a low-ranking official	a hemispherical grey pottery lid, brownish red glaze, high relief	15.4 (diam)	1	1	1	1	1	WW 1984, no. 3: 38-46; ZYWW 1985, no. 3: 66-70, pl. 4; Chang Renxia 1988: 137; Zhang Daoyi 1993: 575. Nanyang Museum of Han Pictorial Art.
	Fig 18				stone, patterns carved in bas relief, door leaves of the:	170 x 92 (each leaf)	1/L		1/R			
					b) western doorway			1/L	1/R	1/R		
					c) eastern doorway			1/R				

55	Fig 11	The Knitting Factory M2, Tanghe, Nanyang, Henan	Xin to early E. Han (1 st century A.D.)	unknown	stone, patterns carved in bas relief, door leaves of the: a) left doorway b) right doorway	unknown	1/L 1/R		ZYWW 1985, no. 3: 14-18. Nanyang Museum of Han Pictorial Art
56	Fig 19	Pushan 蒲山 M2, Nanyang City, Henan	Xin to early E. Han (1 st century A.D.)	unknown	stone, patterns carved in bas relief, door leaves of the: a) left doorway b) right doorway	a) 130 x 46 (L) 130 x 48 (R) b) 128 x 45 (L & R)	1/L 1/R		ZYWW 1997, no. 4: 50-51 & pl. 3.
57	31	Qilin'gang 麒麟崗, western outskirts of Nanyang City, Henan	early E. Han (1 st century A.D.)	a <i>Taishou</i> 太守 (governor), <i>xianling</i> or <i>xianchang</i> 11	stone, patterns carved in bas relief, a set of nine stones on the ceiling of the front chamber	130 x 380	1/T 1/R	1/L 1/R	ZGWWB 1992, 9.6; Han & Niu 1995: 23-25. Nanyang Cultural Bureau.
58	/	Shiqiao 石橋, Nanyang, Henan	early E. Han (1 st century A.D.)	a <i>taishou</i> 太守 (governor), <i>xianling</i> or <i>xianchang</i>	stone, patterns carved in bas relief, the two opposite sides of the doorbeam of the front chamber	33 x 105 (N) 32 x 139 (S)	1/N		KGYWW 1982, no. 1: 35. Nanyang Museum of Han Pictorial Art
59	27	Yigou Village 宜溝鄉, Tangyin County 湯陰縣, Henan	E. Han (1 st century A.D.)	unknown	stone, patterns carved in bas relief, a tomb door's components, containing: a) door lintel b) 2 door leaves	42 x 175 x 43 128 x 56 x 14 (each)	1/L 1/R		KG 1994, no. 4: 379-81. Tangyin County Cultural Bureau
60	Fig 13	Yingzhuang 英莊, Xindian 辛店, Nanyang County, Henan	E. Han (1 st century A.D.)	unknown	stone, patterns carved in bas relief, door leaves of: a) western (L) doorway b) eastern (R) doorway	a) 136 x 36 b) 212 x 367	1/L 1/R	1/L 1/R	WW 1984, no. 3: 25, 26, 31; Handai huaxiangshi bianji weiyuanhui 1986, pl. 419; Pu Anguo 1987, pl.87; Zhang Daoyi 1993: 575.
61	Fig 14	Gushang Village 固上村 M1, Yongcheng County 永城縣, Henan	E. Han (1 st century A.D.)	unknown	stone, patterns carved in bas relief, door leaves of the western door of the tomb	unknown	1/L	1/R	ZYWW 1980, no. 1: 37-41, cover page 2.10 & 11; ZYWW 1990, no. 1: 43-50.
62	/	Panyuan 潘園, Wuyang County 舞陽縣, Henan	E. Han (1 st to mid-2 nd century A.D.)	unknown	collected stone, patterns carved in bas relief, tomb door leaves	146 x 60 x 7.5	1/F	1/B	KG 1993, no. 5: 398-403.

70	/	Zhengchang 鄭廠, Jun County 浚縣, Henan	E. Han (c. A.D. 161)	unknown	stone, patterns carved in bas relief, a door lintel of the tomb	162 x 42 x 38		1/L	1/R	ZYWW 1986, no. 1: 89-90. Jun County Museum
71	Fig 16	The Women & Young Childrens' Health Centre tomb 婦幼保健院墓 Nanyang City, Henan	E. Han stones (2 nd century) in a Jin (3 rd to early 4 th century A.D.)	unknown	stone, pattern carved in bas relief: a) back, 2 door leaves b) front, 2 door leaves	130-140 x 55-70 (each leaf)		1/L 1/R		ZYWW 1997, no. 4: 57-61 & pl. 4.
72	34.1	Shilipu 十里鋪 M1, Lihe Village 漯河鄉, Nanyang County, Henan	E. Han (2 nd to early 3 rd century A.D.)	a <i>xianling</i> 縣令 or <i>xianchang</i> 縣長 (county magistrate)	a set of 2 stones, patterns carved in bas relief, on the ceiling of the middle chamber: a) S. covering stone b) N. covering stone	145 x 87 (each)	1/N			WW 1986, no. 4: 48-63; Nanyang Handai huaxiangshi bianji weiyuanhui 1985: 170 & 193; Chang Renxia 1988: 91. Nanyang Museum of Han Pictorial Art.
73	34.2								1/S	
74	/	Shilipu M2, Lihe Village, Nanyang County, Henan	E. Han (2 nd to early 3 rd century) tomb	unknown	stone, patterns in bas relief, door lintel of the back chamber	162 x 34 x 32	1/F		1/B	ZYWW 1996, no. 3: 19-21. Nanyang Cultural Bureau.
75	20- 20.2 & 21- 21.1	Dahuting 打虎亭 M1 & M2, Mi County 密縣, Henan	E. Han (late 2 nd century A.D.)	Zhang De (<i>Taishou</i> of Hongnong 弘農太守) & his wife	stone, carved in bas relief, most door leaves of the two tombs (six pairs of door leaves in each tomb)	186 x 108 (M1 each doorleaf) 169 x 96 (M2 each doorleaf)	L/R	T	R/L	B Henansheng wenwu yanjiusuo 1993, pls. 19, 21, 23, 25, 40, 42, 45, 48, 56, 58, 60, 62, 65, 67, 69, 71, 88, 90, 92, 94, 116, 120, 122, 124, 166, 168, 170, 172, 176, 178, 180, 182, 185, 187, 189, 191, 202, 204, 206, 208, 210, 212, 214, 216.
76	/	Zhanglou Village 張樓村, Xinye County 新野縣, Henan	E. Han (late 2 nd to early 3 rd century A.D.)	unknown	bricks, patterns in bas relief (two bricks from a collapsed tomb)	22 x 76 x 7	1/R		1/L	
77	/	Shilicun 十里村, Liangbei Village 梁北鄉, Yu County 郛縣, Henan	E. Han (late 2 nd to early 3 rd century A.D.)	unknown	stone, patterns carved in bas relief, tomb doorbeam	264 x 50 x 30	1/L		1/R	ZYWW 1985, no. 3: 51-54.
78	33	Xuchang County 許昌縣, Henan	E. Han to Wei (late 2 nd to 3 rd century A.D.)	The royal family of the Xu State	stone, patterns carved in high relief, column base, architectural component	unknown	1/E	1/S	1/W	1/N Huang Liuchun 1994, pl. 201.

78	/	Xuezhuang Village 學莊村, Deng County 鄧縣, Henan	Southern & Northern Dynasties (A.D. 420 - 589)	a rich local or a rich landowner or local official	a & b) painted brick, high relief, for sealing the tomb doorway c) painted brick, high relief d) painted brick in high relief, back wall of the chamber e) painted brick, high relief f) painted brick, high relief		1			Henansheng wenhuaju wenwu gongzuodui 1959a, pls. 28, 27 & 39.
a)	/						1			
b)	/						1			
c)	24.4						1			
d)	24.1- 24.3								1	Henansheng wenhuaju wenwu gongzuodui 1959a, pls. 19, 36, 37. Museum of History, Beijing.
e)	24.5						1			
f)	24.6								1	

IV. Hubei

No	Pl.	Location	Date	Owner(s) of tomb/site	Media & Orientation	Measure- ment(cm)	The siling images				Sources/Collection
							q'l	z'q	b'h	x'w	
79	56 & 56.1	Tomb of Zeng Hou Yi 曾侯乙墓, Sui County 隨縣, Hubei	early Warring States (433 B.C.)	Marquis Zeng Hou Yi	painting, lacquer, motives in red on a black coloured ground, on a wood-cored box	40.5 x 71 x 47	1	1? fire= que	1	1? turtle	WW 1979, no. 7: 1-14, 40-45; Hubeisheng bowuguan 1989 & 1991; JHKG 1993, no. 3: 66-68. Hubei Provincial Museum
80	95	Zaoyang City 象陽市 M3, Hubei	Xin to early E. Han (A.D. 14 to end of 1 st century A.D.)	a high-ranking nobleman	a pair of hemispherical pottery lids, grey clay, patterns moulded in high relief	diam 13.6 h 6.8 (each)	1	1	1	1	JHKG 1994, no. 4: 16-21. Zaoyang Museum.
81	/	A tomb at Yuquange 玉泉閣, Jingmen 荊門, Hubei	E. Han (1 st century A.D.)	unknown	a hemispherical pottery lids, grey clay, patterns moulded in high relief	unknown	1	1	1	1	JHKG 1994, no. 4: 16-21.

V. Hebei & Beijing

No	Pl.	Location	Date	Owner of specimen	Media & Orientation	Size (cm)	The siling images				Sources/Collection
							q'l	z'q	b'h	x'w	
82	58, 58.1 & 58.2	Tomb of Liu Sheng 劉勝, Prince Jing of Zhongshan 中山靖 王 (r. 154-113 B.C.), Mancheng 滿城, Ding County 定縣, Hubei	W. Han (2 nd half of 2 nd century B.C.)	Dou Wan, the wife of Liu Sheng, member of the imperial Liu family	bronze, inlaid with silver, <i>boshan</i> censer, patterns cast in openwork round the upper body of the vessel	32.3 cm (h) 22.3 cm (diam of pedestal)	1	1	1		Zhongguo shehui kexueyuan kaogu yanjiusuo & Hebeisheng wenwu guanlichu 1980, vol. 1: 3, 253-257 & vol. 2, pl. 175. Hebei Provincial Museum

83	61.1	Donggangtong Village 東崗頭村, Shijiazhuang City 石家莊市, Hebei	late W. Han to E. Han (1 st century B.C. to 2 nd century A.D.)	middle to low-ranking class	bronze, belt-hook, patterns cast in openwork	14.8 x 5.1	1/L	1/T	1/R	1/B	KG 1960, no. 12: 656.
84	61.2	unknown	A.D.)	unknown		c. 14.8 x 5.1	1/L	1/T	1/R	1/B	TG 46, 1974: 226-7.
85	61	unknown		unknown		(1) 14.7	1/L	1/T	1/R	1/B	British Museum
86	28	Santaizi 三臺子, Beijing	E. Han (1 st to 2 nd century A.D.)	unknown	stone, pattern carved in bas-relief, tomb right door leaves	unknown		1/T		1/B	WW 1966, no. 4: 53; Finsterbusch 1971, pl. 671.
87	38	Shangzhuang Village 上莊村, Shijingshan 石景山, Beijing	E. Han, 1 st year of Yuanxing 元興元年 (A.D. 105)	Mr. Qin, <i>Shu Zuo</i> (clerk) of Youzhou	stone, pillar in square shape, patterns carved in bas relief	207 x 45 x 24	1	1			WW 1964, no. 11: 13-22; Zhang Daoyi 1993: 466. Excavated with a pair of inscribed columns.
88	108.2	Wangdu 望都 M2, Hebei	E. Han, 5 th year of Guanghe 光和五年 (A.D. 182)	an official	painted stone slabs, components of 2 similar headrests, one from middle chamber & another one from the first back chamber	11.2 x 35.3 x 11.6	1/R	1/T	1/L	1/B	Hebeisheng wenhuaju gongzuodui 1959: 11-12 & pls. 27-37; WW 1959, no. 12: 31-32; Zhang Anzhi 1986, pl. 84; Museum of History, Beijing.

VI. Shandong

No	Pl.	Location	Date	Owner of specimen	Media & Orientation	Size (cm)	The <i>siling</i> images				Sources/Collection
							q'l	z'g	b'h	x'w	
89	47-47.15	Hanjiapu, Yaowatou Village 瓦頭村, Qufu County 曲阜縣, Shandong	Xin to early E. Han (early 1 st century A.D.)	unknown	stone slabs, patterns with engraved outlines & relief dot designs, inner sides of 4 walls of a stone-coffins tomb	84 x 277 x 20 (coffin)			1/R		Fu Xihua 1950, vol. 1, pls. 63 & 65, 64 & 66, 75 & 76, 77 & 78. KG 1985, no. 12: 1130-1135. Confucius Temple in Qufu, Shandong.
90	25	Guoshankoucun 郭山口村 M2, Huji Village 胡集鎮, Jinxiang County 金鄉縣, Shandong	Xin to early E. Han (early 1 st century A.D.)	unknown	stone, patterns carved in bas relief, the two doorleaves of: a) south chamber b) north chamber	a) 61.5 x 117 x 9.5 (each) b) 61.5 x 117 x 9.5 (each)	1/L	1/L	1/R		KG 1995, no. 5: 385-389.

91	/	Zhifang Town 紙坊鎮, Cangshan County 蒼山縣, Shandong	E. Han, c. 6 th year of Yongchu (c. A.D. 112)	unknown	stone, patterns carved in bas relief	117 x 28 118 x 30	1				1	Jiang Yingju 1982, pls. 417, 416. Wang & Zeng 1990: 84. Cangshan County Cultural Bureau
a)												
b)											1	
92	/	The Shrine of Guo Ju 郭巨祠, Xiaotangshan 孝堂山, Feicheng County 肥城縣, Shandong	Late E. Han, before 4 th year of Yongjian 永建四年 (A.D. 129)		stone, incised patterns	31.5x 112.5	1/L				1/R	Fu Xihua 1950, vol. 1, pls. 22, 25 & 26; Beijing & Shanghai Luxun bowuguan 1986, vol. 2, pl. 29.
93	/	The Wu's Cemetery, Jiaxiang County 嘉祥縣, Shandong	E. Han, 1 st year of Jianhe 建和元年 (A.D. 147)		stone, patterns carved on the Wushi Que: a) two sides of the top b) east tower c) south side of the base of east tower		1/S				1/N	Jiang & Wu 1995, pls. 15-16 & 17-18.
a)												
b)							1/R				1/L	
c)									1/R			Finsterbusch 1971, cat. no. 265.
94	36	Ximicheng 西米 城, Chengqian Village 城前村, Cangshan, Shandong	E. Han, 1 st year of Yuanjia 元嘉元年 (A.D. 151)	unknown	stone, patterns carved in bas relief	52.5 x 124	1/L				1/R	Jiang Yingju 1982, pl. 411. Cangshan County Cultural Museum
95	35- 35.2	Houzhangda 後掌 大, Teng County 滕縣, Shandong	E. Han (2 nd century A.D.)	unknown	a pair of stone, patterns carved in bas relief, two opposite sides of a tomb, each divided into 2 sections.	c. 100 x 330 (each stone) c. 100 x 60 (each small section)	1		1/T	1	2/B	Tengzhou Museum of Han Pictorial Art
96	/	Teng County 滕縣, Shandong	E. Han (2 nd century A.D.)	unknown	stone, patterns carved in bas relief	35 x 301	1/L		3	(?)		Jiang Yingju 1982, pl. 293. Preserved at the original site.
97	/	Baizhuang 白莊, Linyi County 臨沂縣, Shandong	E. Han (2 nd century A.D.)	unknown	stone, patterns carved in bas relief, tomb door leaves	121 x 69 (each leaf)	1/R				1/L	Jiang Yingju 1982, pls. 360 & 361. Linyi County Cultural Bureau.

98	/	Jiehe Community 界河公社, Zhaoyuan County 招遠縣, Shandong	E. Han (2 nd century A.D.)	unknown	stone, patterns carved in bas relief	46 x 194	1/R	1	1/L	Jiang Yingju, 1982, pl. 578. Zhaoyuan County Cultural Bureau.
99	/	Daliu Village North 大留村北, Feicheng County 肥城縣, Shandong	E. Han (2 nd century A.D.)	unknown	two stones, carved with similar patterns	46 x 187	1/L	1/L 1/R	1/R	Jiang Yingju 1982, pl. 474 & 475. Dai Temple, Taian.
						46 x 228	1/L	1/L 1/R	1/R	
100	/	Zhangzhuang Village 張莊村, Hutian Town 胡田鎮, Zibo City 淄博市, Shandong	E. Han (2 nd to early 3 rd century A.D.)	a low-ranking official or a rich landowner	stone, patterns carved in bas relief, a tomb door's components a) 2 door frames b) 2 door leaves c) a door lintel	120 x 24 (each) 90 x 40 (each) 45 x 156	2/R		1/L	KG 1986, no. 8: 717-725.
								1/L 1/R		
101	/	Shen Village 申村, Zhifang Town 紙坊鎮, Jiaxiang County, Shandong	E. Han (2 nd to early 3 rd century A.D.)	unknown	stone, patterns carved in bas relief	48 x 202	1/L		1/R	Zhu Xihu 1992: 96.
102	/	Huangtaishan 黃臺山, Licheng 歷城, Shandong	E. Han (2 nd to early 3 rd century A.D.)	unknown	stone, patterns incised, inscriptions carved in bas relief	114 x 40 14 x 39.5	2/L		2/R	Jiang Yingju 1982, pls. 506 & 507. Simenta Cultural Bureau
103	/	Zhai Village 寨村, Guangyao County 廣饒縣, Shandong	E. Han (2 nd to early 3 rd century A.D.)	unknown	stone, patterns carved in bas relief	130 x 27 (each)	2		2	Jiang Yingju 1982, pl. 524 & 523. Preserved at original site.
104	/	Huanglutun 黃路屯, Zou County 鄒縣, Shandong	E. Han (2 nd to early 3 rd century A.D.)	unknown	stone, patterns carved in bas relief	77 x 259	1/L		1/R	Jiang Yingju 1982, pl. 66. Zou County Cultural Bureau
105	/	Reportedly excavated from Shandong Province	E. Han (E. Han (2 nd to early 3 rd century A.D.)	unknown	stone, patterns carved in bas relief	unknown	1/R	1/T	1/L	The Metropolitan Museum of Art, U.S.A.

106	/	Beizhai Village 北寨村, Yinan County 沂南縣, Shandong A.D.)	E. Han (late 2 nd century A.D.)	an influential local landowner or official	stone, patterns carved in bas relief & incised details, at: a) east doorpost b) west doorpost c) a post, entrance of middle chamber d) column base, front chamber	c. 126 x 43	1/E (L)					Zeng Zhaoyu 1956: rub. pls. 6, 12-14, 27-30, 25-26; T. Nagahiro 1965: 25 & 26.
a)	/											
b)	/											
c)	32.4-32.6											
d)	32.2-32.3											
107	22	Jinqieshan 金雀山, Linyi County 臨沂縣, Shandong	E. Han (late 2 nd to early 3 rd century A.D.)	Mr. Zhang (status unknown)	small solid bricks, for the construction of the tomb walls, patterns moulded in bas relief	32 x 16 x 6 (each)	+	+	+	+	+	WW 1995, no. 6: 72-78. Linyi Museum

VII. Jiangsu

No	Pl.	Location	Date	Owner of specimen	Media & Orientation	Size (cm)	The stiling images				Sources/Collection
							q'l	z'q	b'h	x'w	
108	57 & 57.2	Huchang 胡場 M14, outskirts of Yangzhou City 揚州市, Jiangsu	late W. Han (1 st century B.C.)	an official of the Guangling State	lacquered and painted wood face cover for the deceased	54.6 (l) 36.1 (w) 38.7 (h)	1/R	1/T	1/L	1/B	ZGWWB 1997.11.23. Yangzhou Museum
109	/	Shilipu Village 十里鋪鄉, Xuzhou 徐州, Jiangsu	E. Han, Lingdi period (r. A.D.167-189)		stone, patterns carved in bas relief, architrave in the western side chamber	220 x 44 x 34	1/L		1/R		KG 1966, no. 2: 66-83, 91; Zhang Daoyi 1985, pl. 24.
110	/	Mao Village 茅村, Tongshan County 銅山縣, Xuzhou 徐州, Jiangsu	E. Han, 4 th year of Xiping 熹平四年 (A.D. 175)		stone, patterns carved in bas relief, architrave of the front chamber	115 x 53	1/R		1/L		Zhang Daoyi 1985, pl. 69
111	/	"Jiunudun" Tomb "九女墩"墓, Juning 睢寧, Xuzhou 徐州, Jiangsu	E. Han (late 2 nd to early 3 rd century A.D.)		stone, patterns carved in bas relief & incised details, central pillar of the tomb chamber	a) 148 x 24	1/B		1/T		Zhang Daoyi 1985, pls. 139, 137 & 136.
112	/	Gucheng Village 固城鄉, Gaochun County 高淳縣, Nanjing City 南京市, Jiangsu	E. Han (late 2 nd to early 3 rd century A.D.)		small solid bricks, patterns moulded in bas relief, used for the construction of the tomb walls	35 x 7	1+L		1+R		WW 1983, no. 4: 36-39; KG 1989, no. 5: 423-429. Zhenjiang Museum.

113	23-23.3	The Farm tomb 農牧場墓, Zhenjiang 鎮江, Jiangsu	E. Jin, 2 nd year of Long'an 隆安二年 (A.D. 398)	Mr. Guo (status unknown)	Bricks (some are inscribed), patterns moulded in high relief, for tomb construction	31.5 (l) 4.5 (t)	+	+	+	+	+	Yao & Gu 1981, pls. 143-153.
-----	---------	--	--	-----------------------------	---	---------------------	---	---	---	---	---	------------------------------

VIII. Anhui

No	Pl.	Location	Date	Owner of specimen	Media & Orientation	Size (cm)	The stiling images				Sources/Collection
							q'l	z'q	b'h	x'w	
114	/	Dongyuan Village 董園村 M2, Hao County 毫縣, Anhui	E. Han, around 7 th year of Yinxi 延熹七年 (c. A.D. 164)	a nobleman or a high-ranking bureaucrat ¹⁴	stone, incised patterns, components of a tomb door:	155 x 19 (each)	1/L		1/R	2/B	WW 1978, no. 8: 32-39. (L) a dragon inscribed "shenlong 神龍", a tiny winged immortal and an animal (R) a tiger inscribed "baihu 白虎" and a bird
	a)				a) 2 doorframes	45 x 75		2/T			
	b)				b) lintel						
	c)				c) 2 door leaves						
115	/	"Junufen 九女墳" M1, Chulan Town 褚蘭鎮, Su County 宿縣, Anhui	E. Han, around 4 th year of Jianning 建寧四年 (c. A.D. 171)	a relative of Hu Yuanren, occupant of M2	a) stone, patterns carved in bas relief, middle of the west wall of front chamber	a) 103 x 38	1/L		1/R		KGXB 1993, no. 4: 515-549.
	a)				b) stone, patterns carved in bas relief, two door leaves of the side chamber (M1)	b) 103 x 34(each)	1/L		1/R		
	b)										

IX. Sichuan

No	Pl.	Location	Date	Owner of specimen	Media & Orientation	Size (cm)	The stiling images				Sources/Collection
							q'l	z'q	b'h	x'w	
116	39-39.8	Shenfujun Que 沈府君闕, Shenjiawan 沈家灣, Xinmin Village 新 民鄉, Qu County 渠縣, Sichuan	E. Han (130 – 150 A.D.)	Mr. Shen, <i>Sima</i> 司馬 (capital), <i>Ling</i> 令 (magistrate) & <i>Du</i> 尉 (commandant)	stone, relief patterns, <i>que</i> -tower, both main towers remain and both inscribed:	485 (h) 195 x 165 (base)	1/L	2/ FT			Wen You 1953, pl. 1-4; Xu Wenbin 1992: 129-133.
	a)				a) east tower	485 (h)		2/ FT	1/R		
	b)				b) west tower	215 x 140 (base)					

117	43-43.2	A <i>que</i> -tower in Pujiaowan 蒲家灣, Xinmin Village, Qu County, Sichuan	E. Han (slightly later than Shenfujun Que of 130 -150 A.D.)	unknown	stone, relief patterns, <i>que</i> -towers, the main tower on the left remains	470 (h) 175 x 145 (base)	1/L	1/ FT		Xu Wenbin 1992: 134-137.
118	/	Zhuwapu 竹瓦鋪, Xinsheng Community 新勝公社, Pi County 平縣, Sichuan	E. Han (2 nd to early 3 rd century A.D.)	unknown	stone, patterns carved in bas relief: a) cover of a coffin b) front side of a coffin	69 x 227 app. 87-94 x 111	1/L		1/R	KG 1979, no. 6: 495-503; ZYWW 1991, no. 3: 25-32; Gao Wen & Gao Chenggang 1996: 79, 81. Sichuan Provincial Museum
119	109	Zhangjiagou 張家溝, Hejiang County 合江縣, Sichuan	E. Han (2 nd to early 3 rd century A.D.)	unknown	stone, patterns carved in bas relief, one side of a coffin	224 x 55	1/L		1/R	SCWW 1988, no. 3: 17-24 and pl. Hejiang County Cultural Museum.
					stone, patterns carved in bas relief, one side of a coffin	79 x 62 x 202	1/L		1/R	SCWW 1985, no. 3: 67; Gao Wen & Gao Chenggang 1996: 68. Hejiang County Cultural Centre.
120	/	A cave tomb at Gongzishan 公子山墓, Yibin County 宜賓縣, Sichuan	E. Han (2 nd to early 3 rd century A.D.)	unknown	stone, patterns carved in bas relief, a group of images on the right panel of the coffin	unknown	1/L		1/R	WW 1982, no. 7: 24-27; Zhang Daoyi 1993: 564; Gao Wen & Gao Chenggang 1996: 22.
121	42-42.2	A <i>que</i> -tower at Wangjiaping 王家坪, Xinxing Village 新興鄉, Qu County, Sichuan	E. Han (early 3 rd century A.D.)	unknown	stone, relief patterns, <i>que</i> -towers, only the main tower on the left remains	462 (h) 260 x 125 (base)	1/L	1/ FT		Wen You 1955, pls. 5-6; Xu Wenbin 1992: 148-153.
122	40-40.3	Que no. 1 in Zhaojiacun 趙家村, Xinxing Village, Qu County, Sichuan	E. Han (early 3 rd century A.D.)	unknown	stone, relief patterns, <i>que</i> -towers, only the main tower on the left remains	450 (h) 260 x 130 (base)	1/L	1/ FT	1/ FB	Xu Wenbin 1992: 138-141.
123	41-41.3	Que no. 2 in Zhaojiacun, Xinxing Village, Qu County, Sichuan		unknown	stone, relief patterns, <i>que</i> -towers, only the main tower on the right remains	430 (h) 240 x 130 (base)		1/ FT	1/ FB	Wen You 1955, pl. 4; Xu Wenbin 1992: 142-147.

124	48-48.9	Guitoushan 鬼頭山, Jianyang County 簡陽縣, Sichuan	E. Han (2 nd to early 3 rd century A.D.)	unknown	stone, pattern carved in bas relief, four walls of a stone coffin: a) front panel b) the rear c) left wall d) right wall	64 x 63 x 212 (coffin)	1/F			1/B	SCWW 1988, no. 6: 65; SCWW 1990, no. 6: 3-11 & pls; Gao Wen & Gao Chenggang 1996: 6-14. Jianyang County Cultural Bureau
125	49 & 49.1	Dongjinting 洞簋亭, Luzhou 瀘州, Sichuan	E. Han (2 nd to early 3 rd century A.D.)	unknown	stone, patterned carved in bas-relief, four side-walls of the coffin	80 x 83 x 223 (coffin)	1/L	1/T	1/R	1/B	SW 1988, no. 3: 18; SCWW 1991, pls.; Gao Wen & Gao Chenggang 1996: 42-43. Luzhou Museum.
126	51-51.3	Fushun County 富順縣, Sichuan	E. Han (2 nd to early 3 rd century A.D.)	unknown	stone, patterned carved in bas-relief, the two longer side-walls and the rear of the coffin	232 (l) 76 (w)	1/L		1/R	1/B	Gao Wen & Gao Chenggang 1996: 40-41.
127	50-50.3	Jiufeng Village 九峰鄉, Leshan County, Sichuan	E. Han (2 nd to early 3 rd century A.D.)	unknown	stone, patterned carved in bas-relief, the two longer side-walls and the rear of the coffin	77 x 77 x 213 (coffin)	1	1/B	1		Gao Wen & Gao Chenggang 1996: 87-88. Maohao Cave tomb Museum, Leshan.
128	/	M348, Pengshan County 彭山縣, Sichuan	E. Han (2 nd to early 3 rd century A.D.)	unknown	stone, patterns carved in bas relief, bracket of the tomb doorhead	unknown	1/L		1/R		WWCKZL 1956, no. 5: 64-65.
129	/	Pengshan County, Sichuan	E. Han (2 nd to early 3 rd century A.D.)	unknown	brick, patterns moulded in relief	15.5 x 20	1/L		1/R		KGYWW 1989, no. 3: 25. Pengshan County Cultural Bureau
130	/	Sichuan Province	E. Han (2 nd to early 3 rd century A.D.)	unknown	collected brick	24-26 x 44-46 x 5-7	1/R		1/L		KG 1987, no. 6, pl. 6. Sichuan Provincial Museum
131	119-119.2	Outside Guanghan City 廣漢城外, Sichuan	E. Han (2 nd to early 3 rd century A.D.)		brick, patterns moulded in bas relief	7.5 x 86	1	1		1	Rudolph 1951, pl. 99; Shaanxisheng bowuguan & Shaanxisheng wenguanhui 1958, pl. 95; Gao Wen, 1987a, pl. 101.
132	/	Outside Beimen 北 門外, Chengdu 成都, Sichuan	E. Han (2 nd to early 3 rd century A.D.)		stones, patterns carved in bas relief, back side of two door leaves	120 x 55 103 x 43	1				Wen You 1955, pls. 16 & 18; Nanyang Han huaxiang huicun, pl. 10

[illegible]

139	60.1	Gangouzi 干溝子, Jiangdonggu 江東 咀, Wushan County 巫山縣, Sichuan	late E. Han (late 2 nd to early 3 rd century A.D.)	unknown	gilt bronze plaque in circular shape, fixed to the centre of the front panel of the coffin	23 (diam)	1/L	1/T	1/R	SCWW 1990, no. 6: 3-11 & pl.; KG 1998, no. 12: 77-86 (pls. 2-4). Wushan County Cultural Bureau
140	60	The Phosphate Factory tomb 澆粉 廠漢墓, Wushan County, Sichuan	late E. Han (late 2 nd to early 3 rd century A.D.)	unknown	gilt bronze plaque in rectangular shape, patterns carved in open work, fixed to the front panel of the coffin	c. 45 (sides)	1/R	1/T	1/L	SCWW 1990, no. 6: 3-11 & pl.; KG 1998, no. 12: 77-86 (pl. 8). Wushan County Cultural Bureau
141	60.2	Near the Phosphate Fertilizer Factory 磷肥廠, Wushan County, Sichuan	late E. Han (late 2 nd to early 3 rd century A.D.)	unknown	gilt-bronze plaque in persimmon calyx shape, fixed to the centre of the coffin's front panel	40 (l & w)	2/L	1/T	2/R	SCWW 1990, no. 6: 3-11 & pl.; KG 1998, no. 12: 77-86 (pl. 7). Wushan County Cultural Bureau
142	/	A <i>que</i> -tower at Xiangluwan 香爐 灣, Panxi 盤溪, Chongqing, Sichuan	Late E. Han (early 3 rd century A.D.)	unknown	Stone, <i>que</i> -tower with relief patterns: a) right tower b) left tower	b) remain section 80cm high	1/R			Xu Wenbin 1992: 124-125. The left tower is kept in Chongqing Museum.
143	/	Reheqxi 熱赫溪, Chengbei Village 城北鄉, Zhaojiao County 昭覺縣, Sichuan	E. Han (1 st to early 3 rd century A.D.)	unknown	rectangular brick for tomb flooring, patterns moulded in relief lines	32 (l) 24.5(w) 5 (t)	1	1	1	KGYYW 1994, no. 3: 44, 47.
144	/	Heboshiliqu 舍博士丘, Zhuhe Village 竹核鄉, Zhaojiao County, Sichuan	E. Han (1 st to early 3 rd century A.D.)	unknown	shorter side of a brick at tomb passage, pattern moulded in thread relief	35.5 - 40 x 21.5 x 6		1/R		
145	45	Yizhou 益州 (around nowadays E Sichuan & E Yunnan)	E. Han (2 nd to early 3 rd century A.D.)	a regional governor	brick in rectangular shape, patterns moulded in relief, for constructing tomb flooring	33 (l) 26.3 (w) 7 (t)	1	1	1	KGYYW 1994, no. 3: 44-47.
					a pillar-shape stone tablet, relief patterns carved on the sides	1/R	1/T	1/L	1/B	Lü Lizheng 1990: 89.

X. Zheijiang

No	Pl.	Location	Date	Owner of specimen	Media & Orientation	Size (cm)	The <i>siling</i> images				Sources/Collection
							<i>q'l</i>	<i>z'q</i>	<i>b'h</i>	<i>x'w</i>	
146	/	Changjiang Town, Hailing	Late E. Han to 3 Kingdoms	unknown	All 4 walls of antechamber engraved with <i>xiangrui</i> and <i>siling</i> images		+	+	+	+	WW 1984, no. 12: 47-53.

XI. Location Unknown

No	Pl.	Location	Date	Owner of specimen	Media & Orientation	Size (cm)	The <i>siling</i> images				Sources/Collection
							<i>q'l</i>	<i>z'q</i>	<i>b'h</i>	<i>x'w</i>	
147	/	unknown	W. Han (2 nd to 1 st century B.C.)	unknown	a semi-circular eaves tiles	unknown	1/L		1/R		Huang & Chen 1987: 73
148	/	unknown	E. Han 1 st to 2 nd century A.D.)	unknown	brownish-grey stones, patterns carved in bas relief, right and left door leaves of a tomb	unknown					BCMA 1984, no. 11: 303, 304. Von der Heydt Collection in Riefberg Museum, Zurich.
149	106	unknown	E. Han (1 st to 2 nd century A.D.)	unknown	model of a stove, pottery, moulded patterns	31.75 x 22.3 x 11.4	1/L		1/R		The Chinese Institute in America 1968, pl. 28. Former Rafi Y. Mottahedeh's collection, U.S.A.
150	97-97.5	unknown	E. Han (1 st to 2 nd century A.D.)	unknown	a pottery stove model, patterns moulded in bas relief	24.1 x 24.1 x 38.1	1/R	1/B	1/L	2/F	BBMS 26 (2): 36-46; BBMS 32 (3): 50-58; China Institute in America 1968: 25. Buffalo Museum of Science, U.S.A.
151	107	unknown	E. Han (1 st to early 3 rd century A.D.)	a high-ranking or affluent person ¹⁶	white jade pendant, rectangular shape, patterns carved in open work (patterns & inscriptions can be read from both sides)	3.2 x 5.5 x 2.1	1	1/T	1	1/B	Lu Zhaoyin, 1993, pl. 233. Shanghai Museum

Map One: Distribution of Sets of excavated *siling* examples

(Map of the Western Han Dynasty, 1 A.D., based on Tan Qixiang, *Zhongguo lishi dituji*, vol. 2: *Qin, XiHan, DongHan shiqi*, Shanghai, 1982.)



--- boundary of the W. Han *zhou*-level administration area in 1 A.D.

■ boundary of the Han regime in 1 A.D.

• Names of places (W. Han, 1 A.D.) • Name of places (Modern)

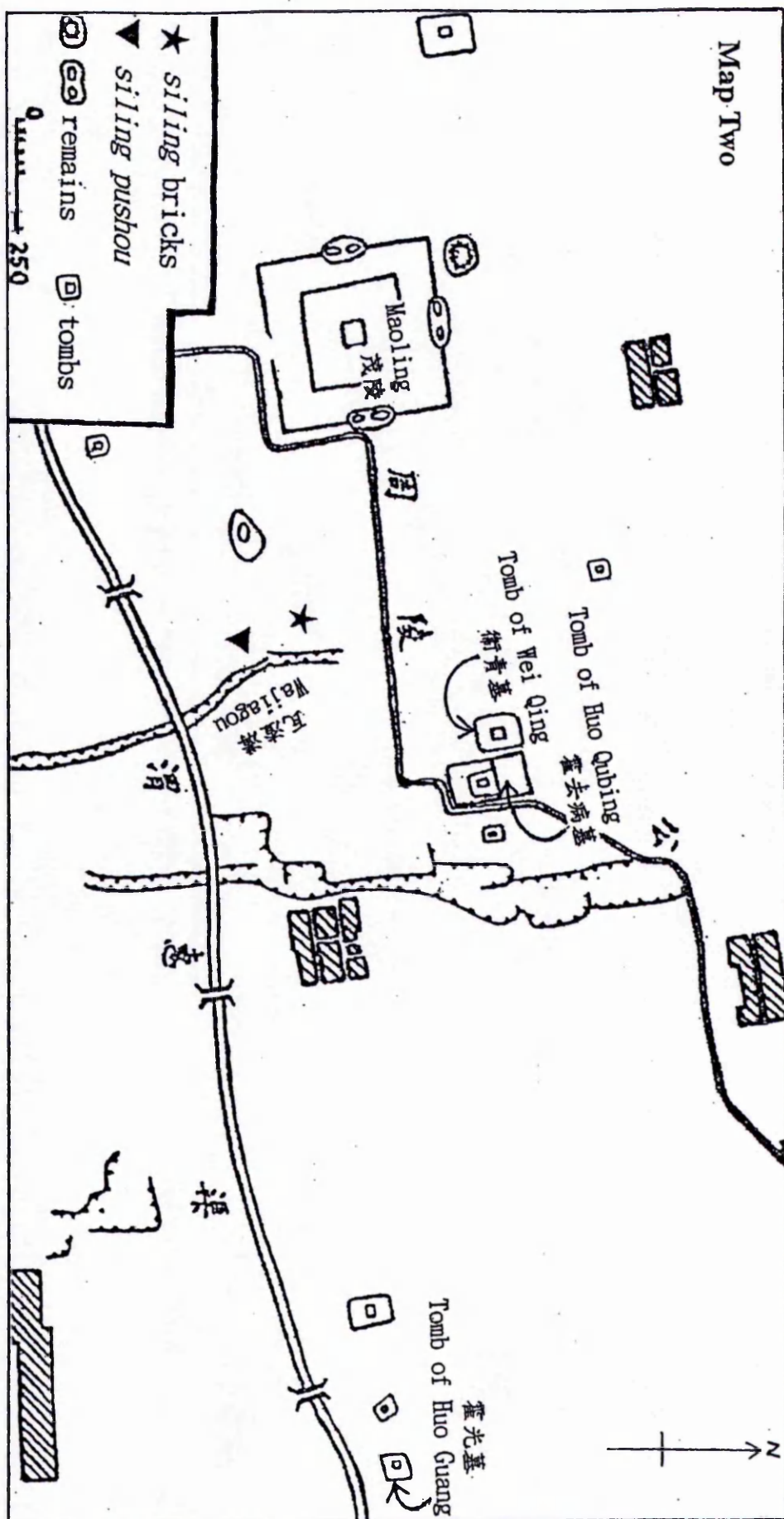
no. pre-Han examples

no. W. Han examples

no. Xin Dynasty examples

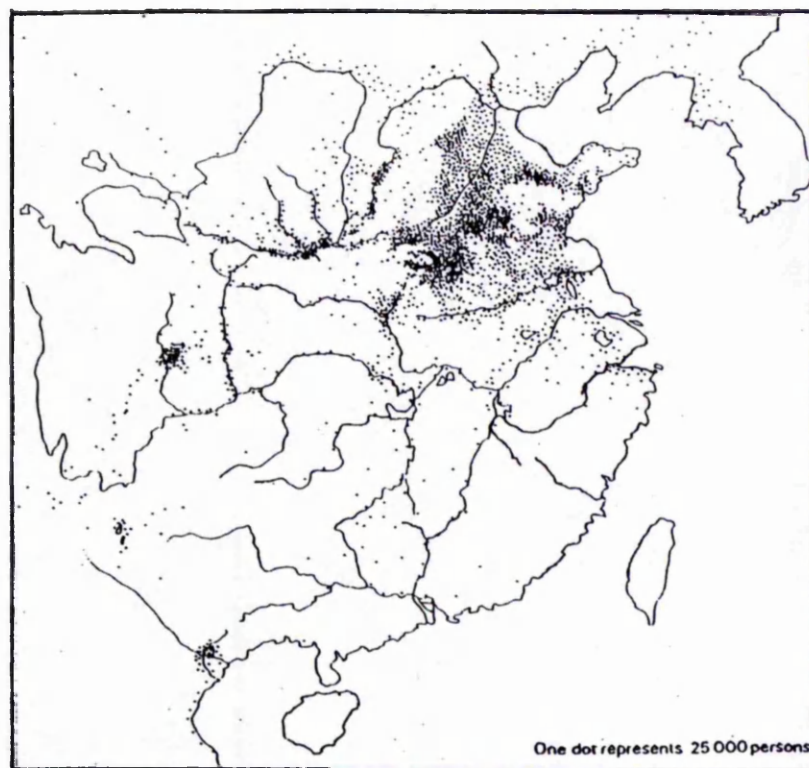
no. E. Han examples

no. Wei and Jin examples



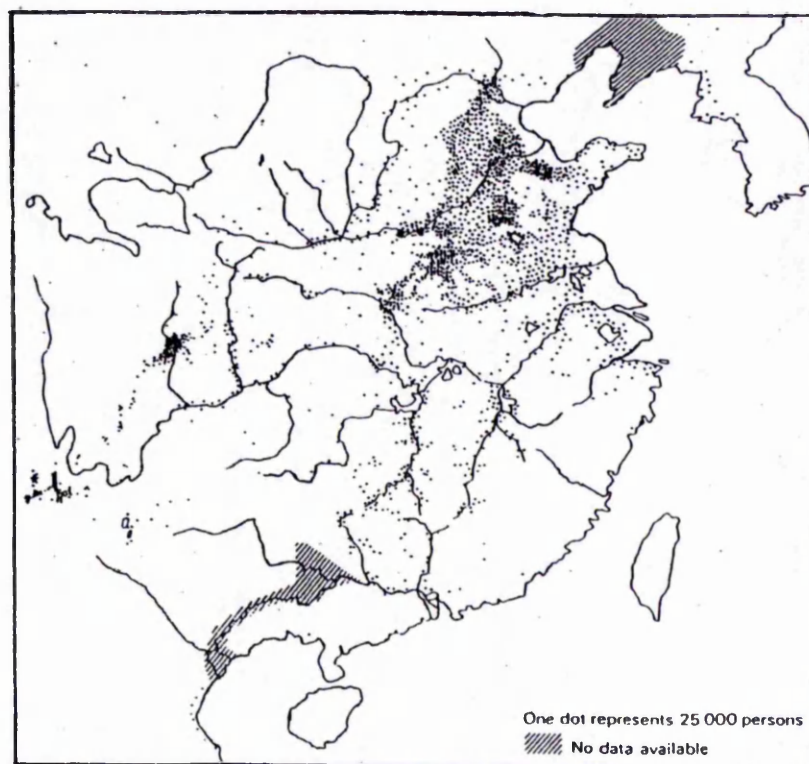
Map of the Maoling District, showing the sites from which the siling artefacts were excavated (WW 1976, no. 7, p. 51)

Map Three

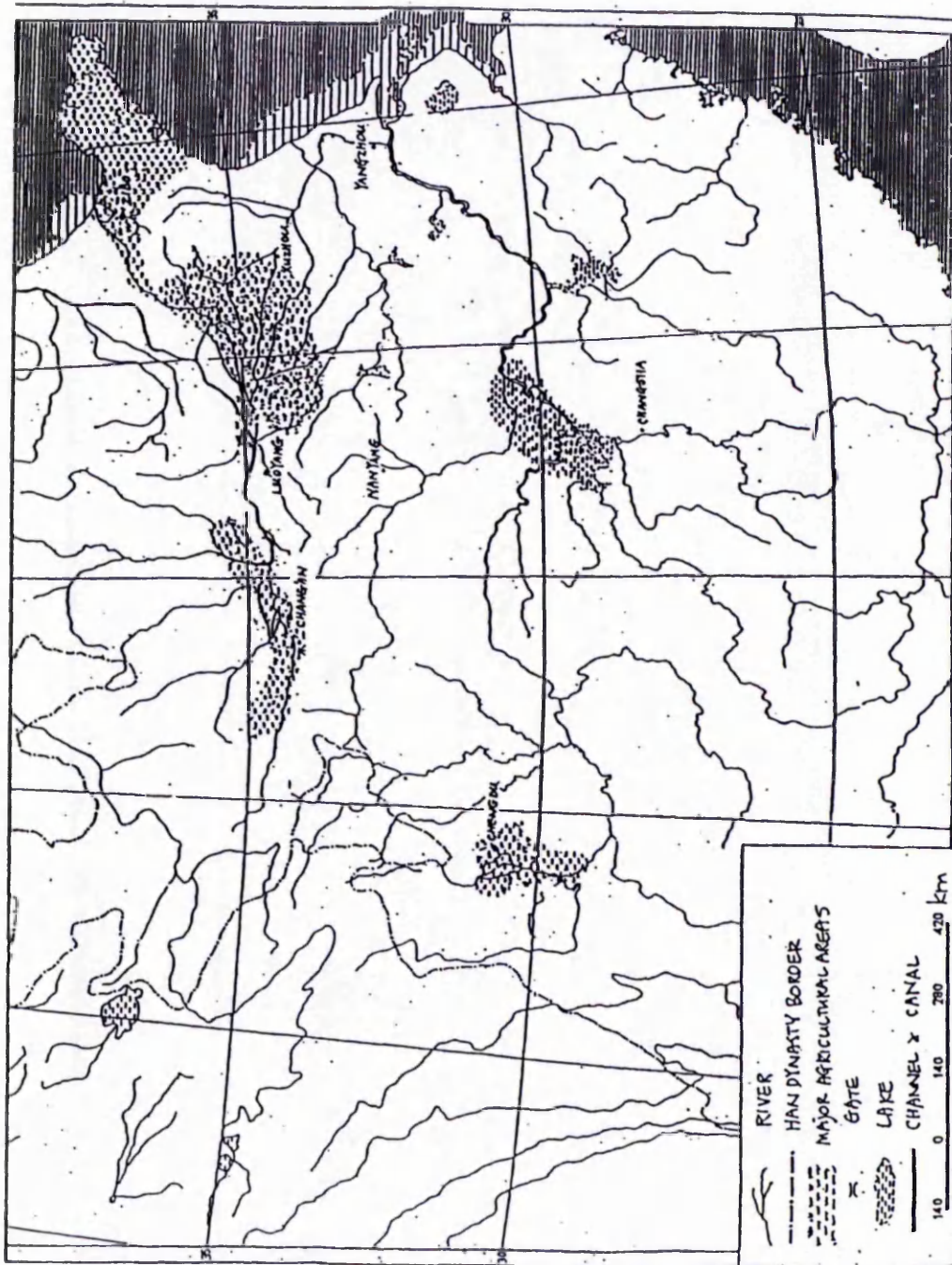


Map of China, showing the population density within the Han Territories in
A.D. 2 (Bielenstein, 1947, pl. 1 & 2)

Map Four



Map of China, showing the population density within the Han Territories in
A.D. 140 (Bielenstein, 1947, pl. 2)



Map Five

Map of China, showing principal areas of agricultural production during the Han dynasty

(Shi Nianhai, 1986, pp. 181-182)

Plate 2.1

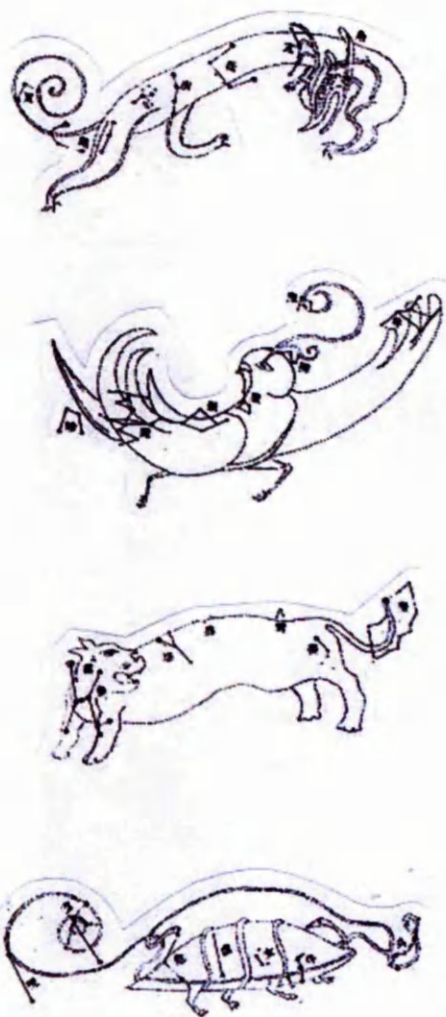


Plate 1

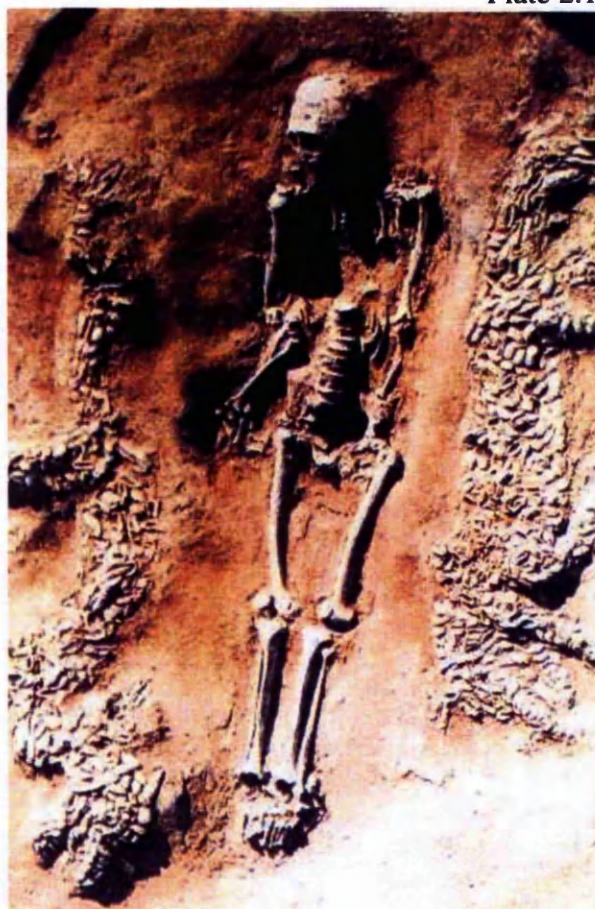


Plate 2

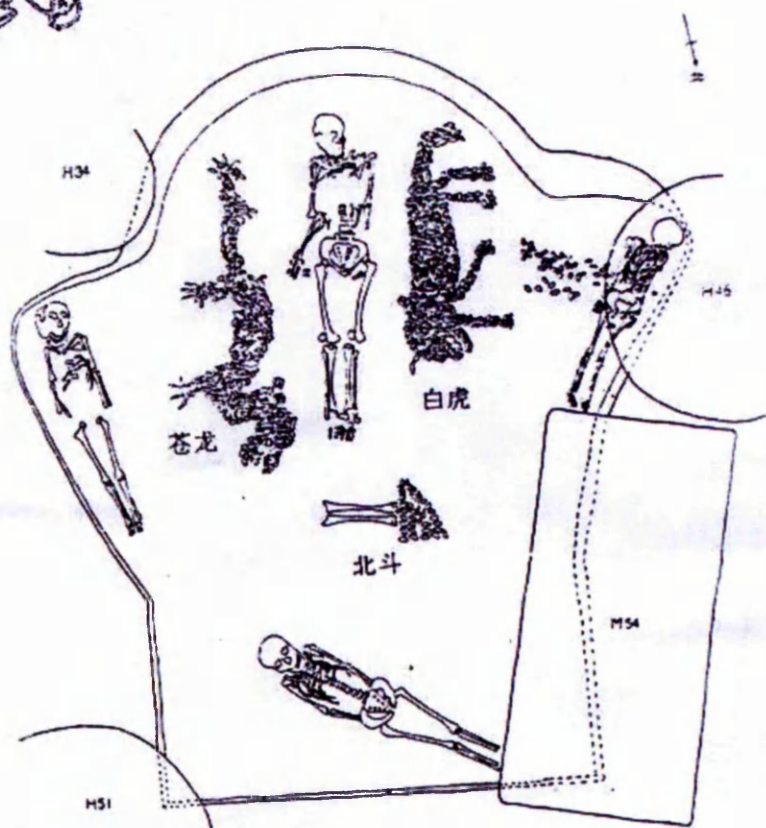


Plate 3



Plate 4



Plate 6

Plate 6.1

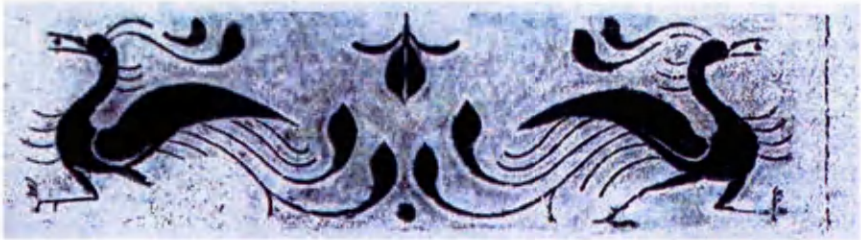


Plate 7.1

Plate 7



Plate 8

Plate 9



Plate 10



Plate 11

Plate 8.1

Plate 12

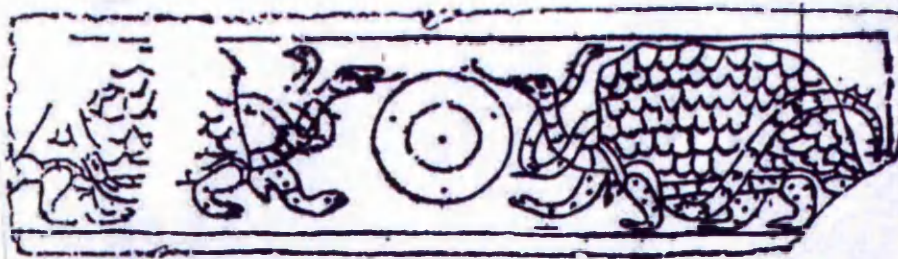


Plate 12.1

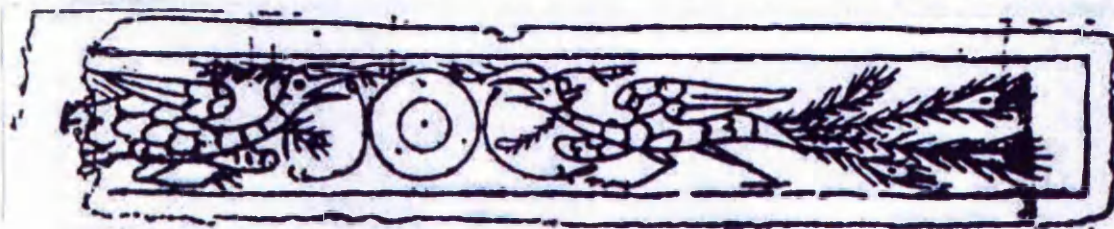


Plate 13

Plate 13.1



Plate 13.2



Plate 13.3



Plate 13.3



Plate 13.4



Plate 14

Plate 13.5



Plate 14.1

Plate 15

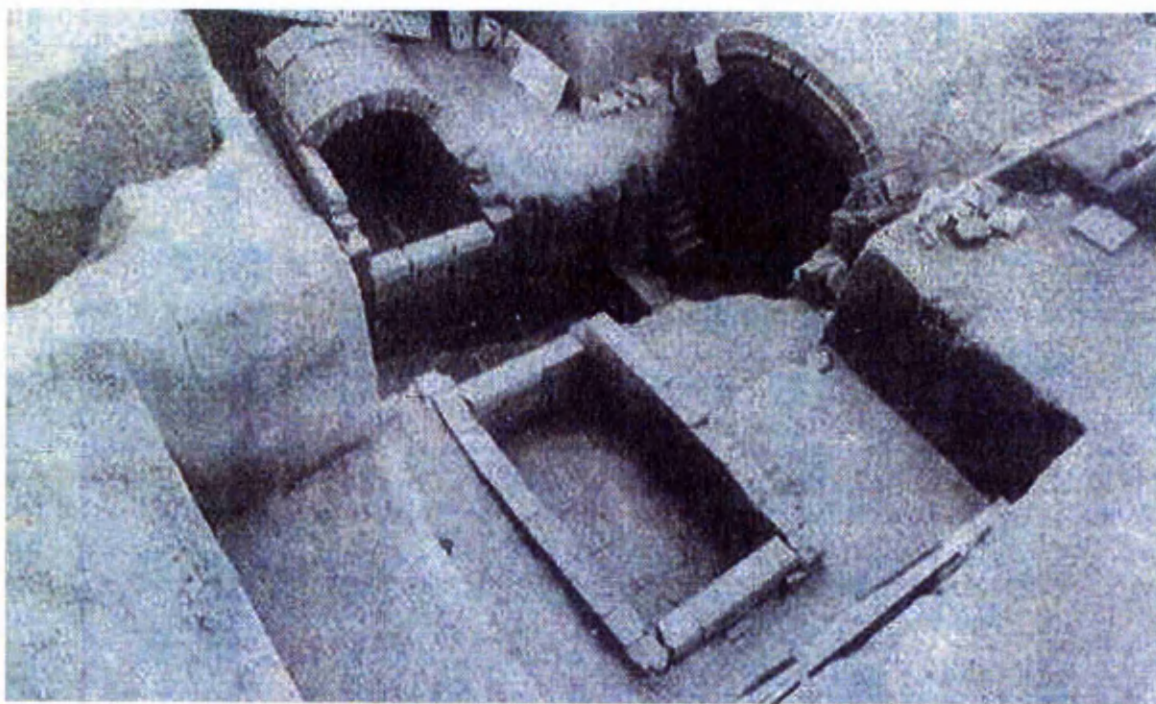


Plate 15.1



Plate 15.2

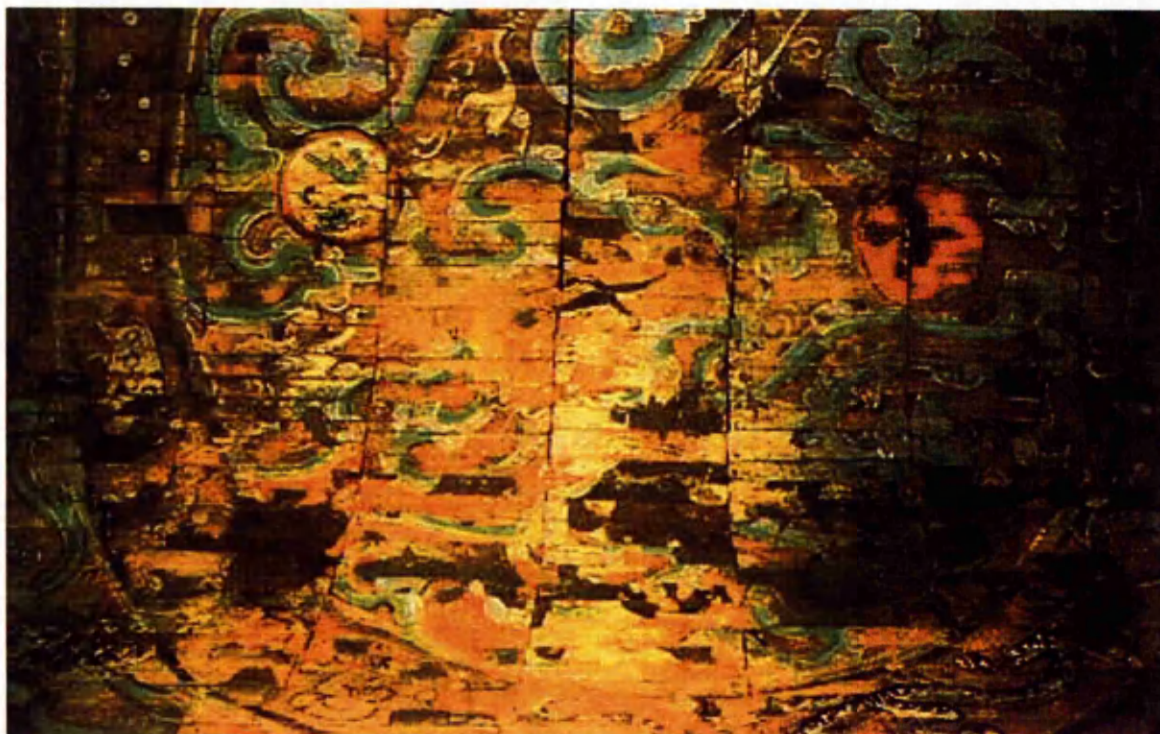


Plate 15.3

Plate 15.4



Plate 15.5



Plate 15.6

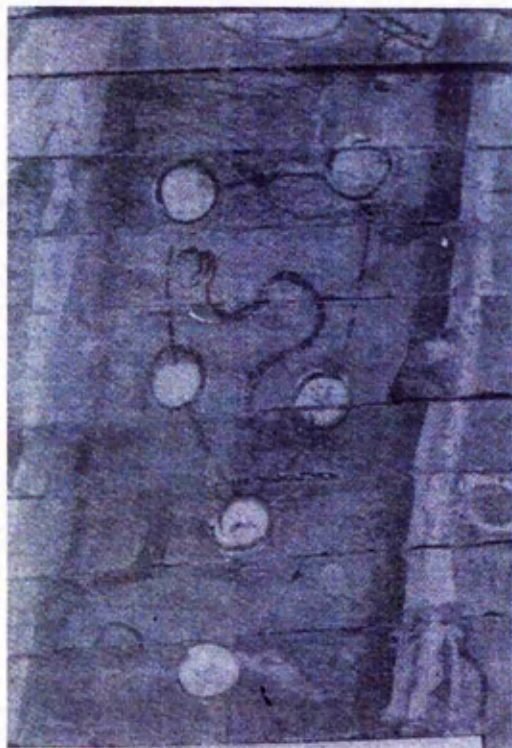


Plate 15.7





Plate 15.8

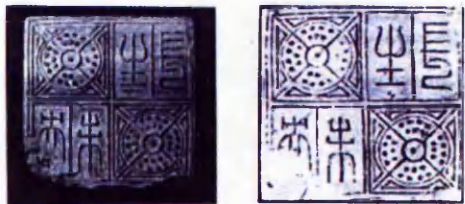


Plate 17

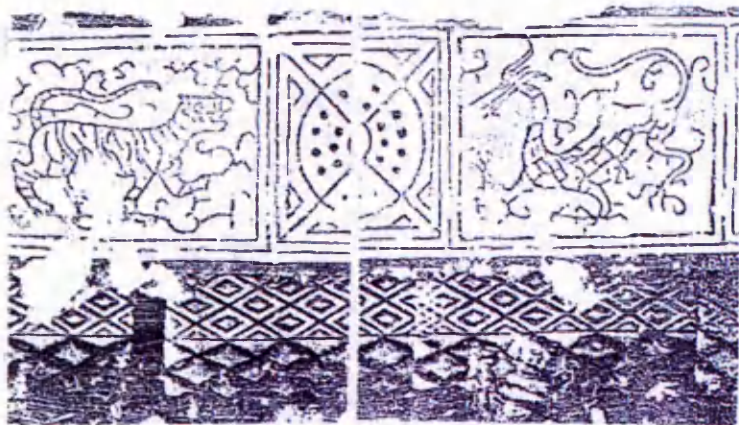
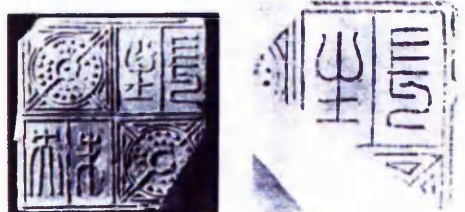
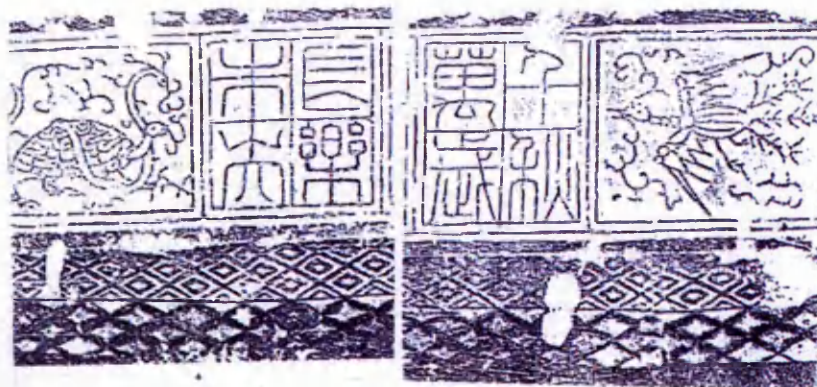


Plate 16





Plates 18.1



Plate 18.2

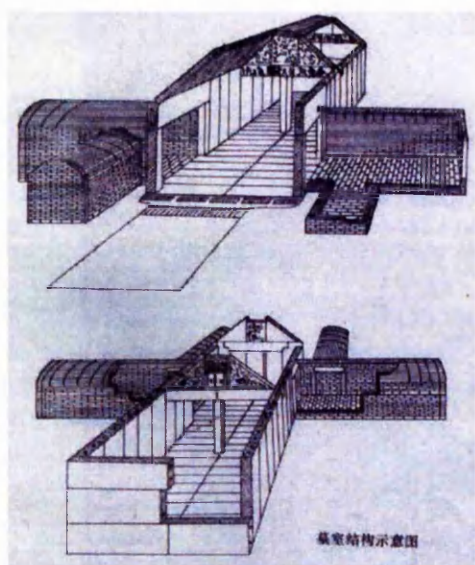


Plate 18



Plate 18.3



Plate 19

Plate 20



Plate 20.1



Plate 20.2

Plate 20.3



Plate 20.4



Plate 20.5

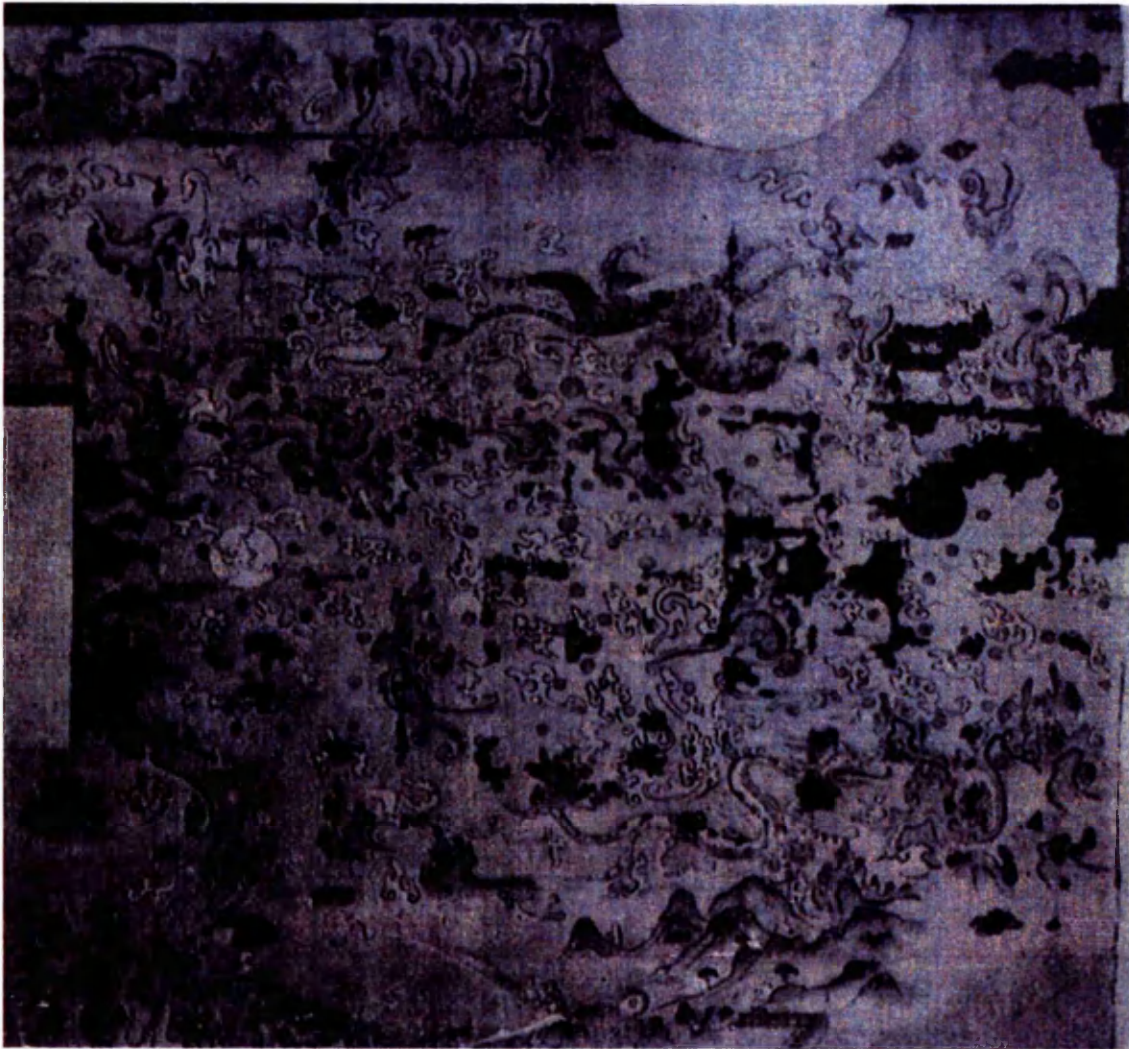


Plate 21



Plate 21.1

Plate 21.2

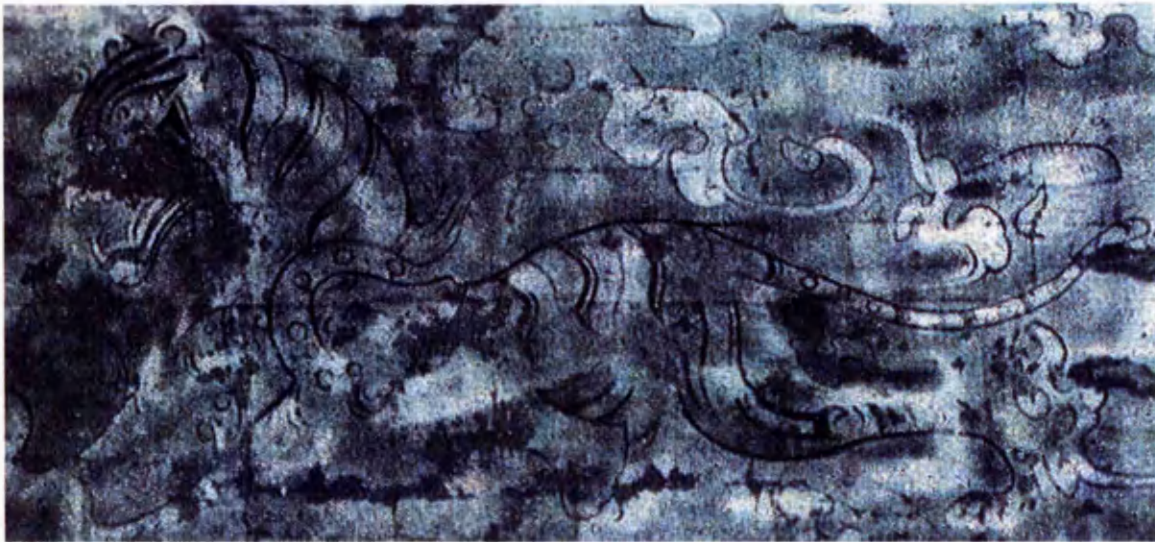


Plate 21.3

Plate 22





Plate 23



Plate 23.1





Plate 23.2



Plate 23.3





Plate 24.1

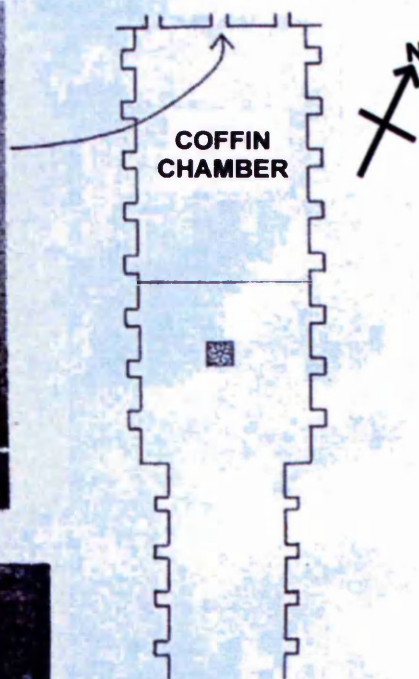


Plate 24



Plate 24.2

Plate 24.3



Plate 24.4



Plate 24.5



Plate 24.6

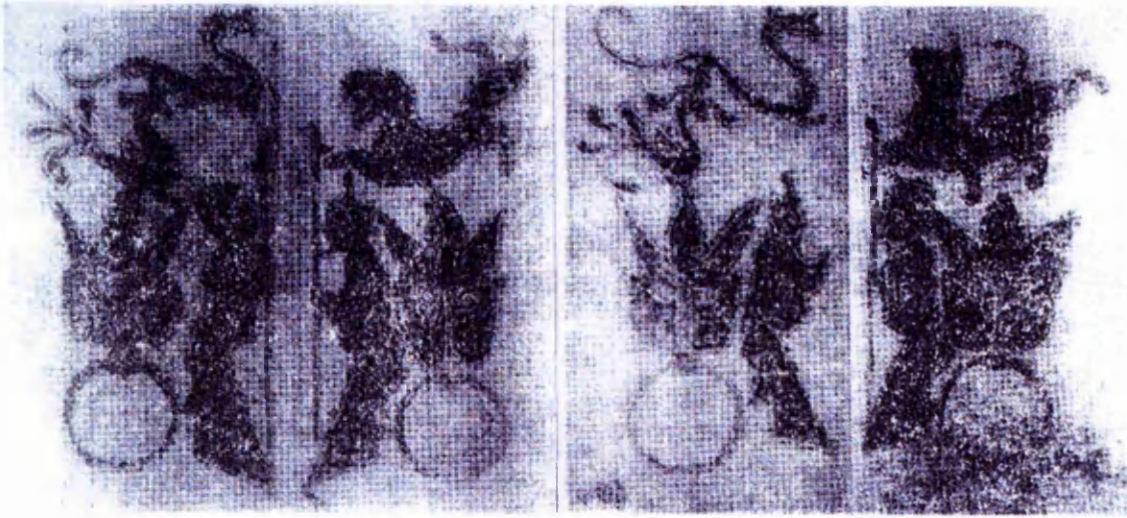


Plate 25

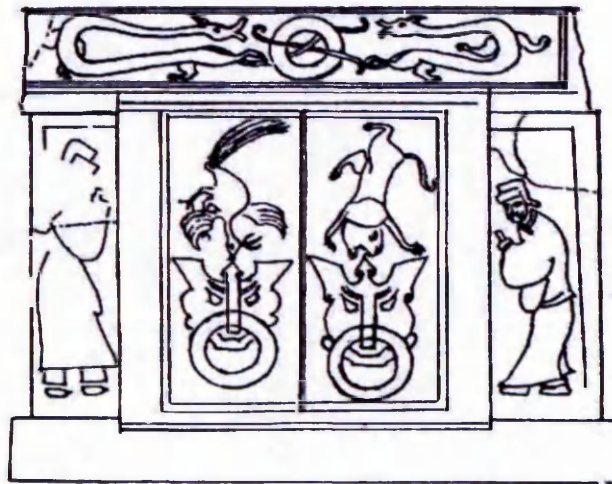


Plate 26



Plate 27

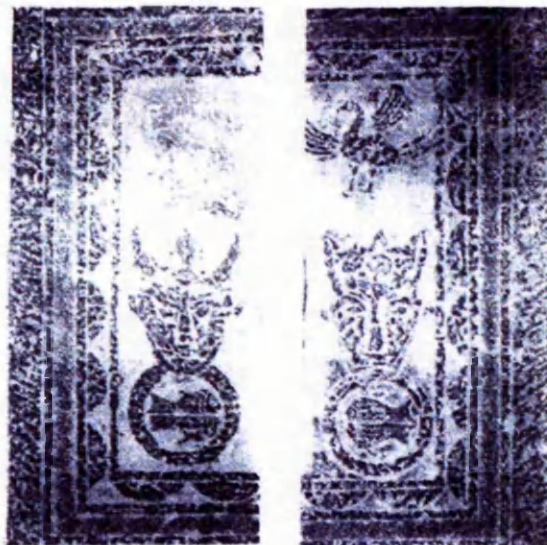


Plate 28

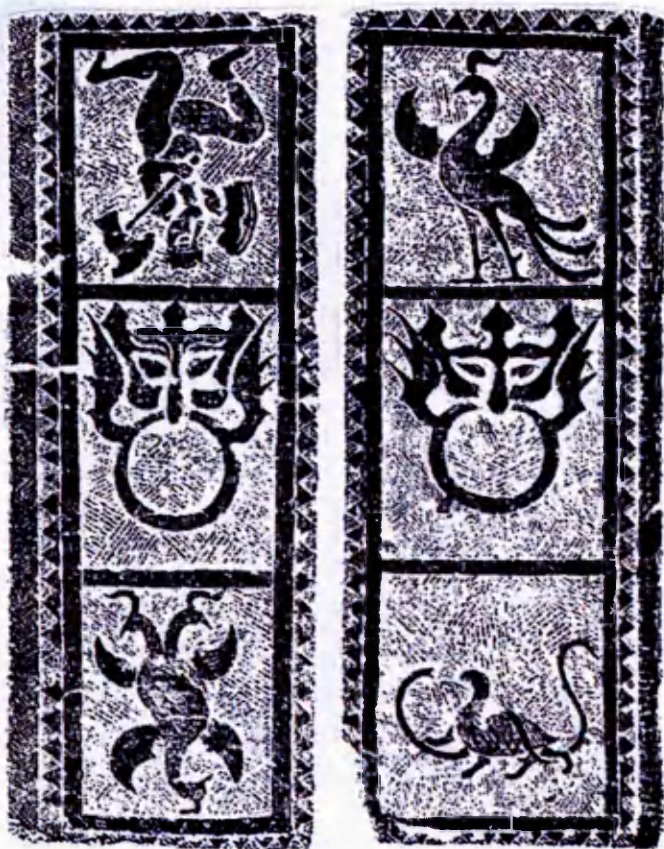


Plate 29.1



Plate 29



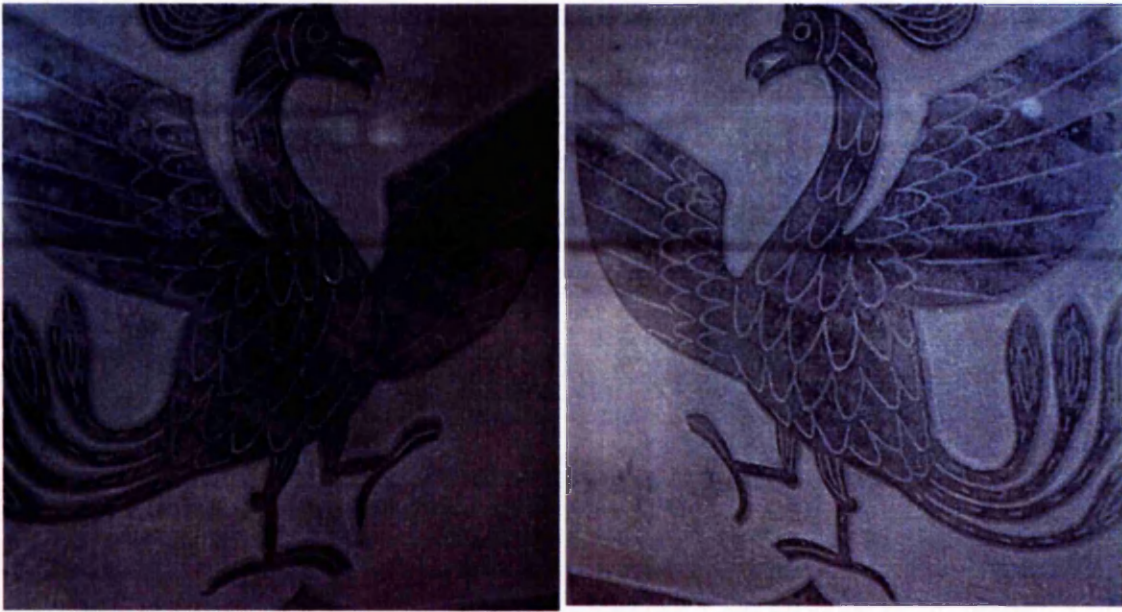


Plate 29.2

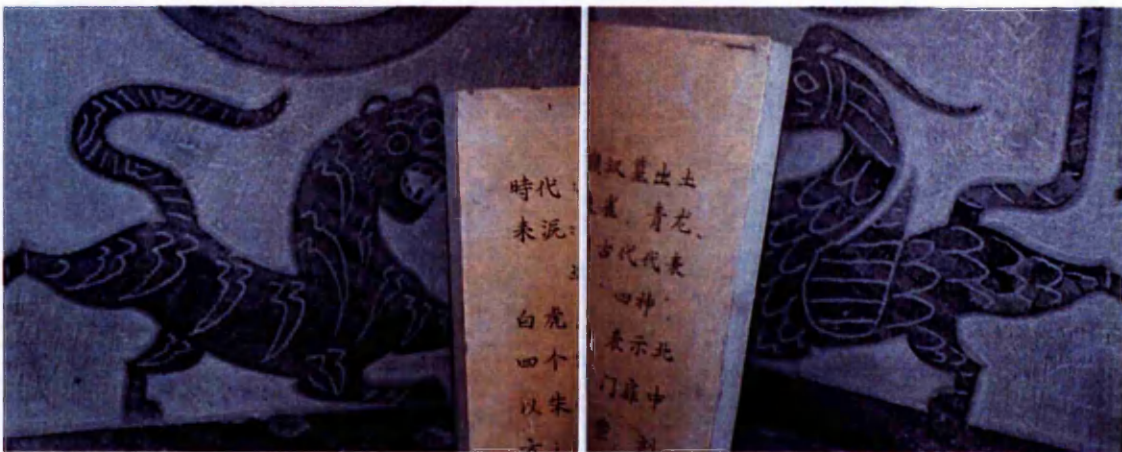
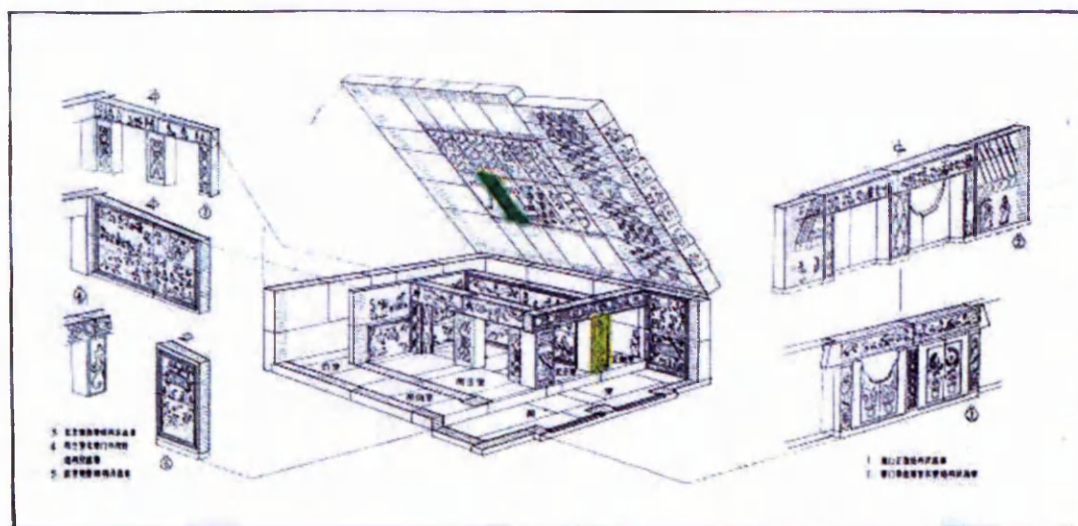


Plate 29.3



Plate 29.4

Plate 30



南阳唐河针织厂汉墓鸟兽展图



Plate 30.1



Plate 30.2



Plate 30.3



Plate 31

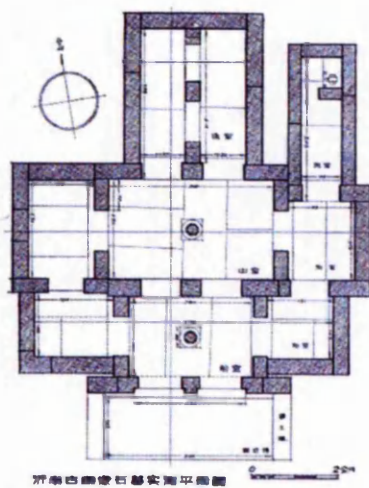


Plate 32



Plate 32.1



碎片第27幅 前室八角亭天柱柱头的北面

Plate 32.2



碎片第28幅 前室八角亭天柱柱头的西面

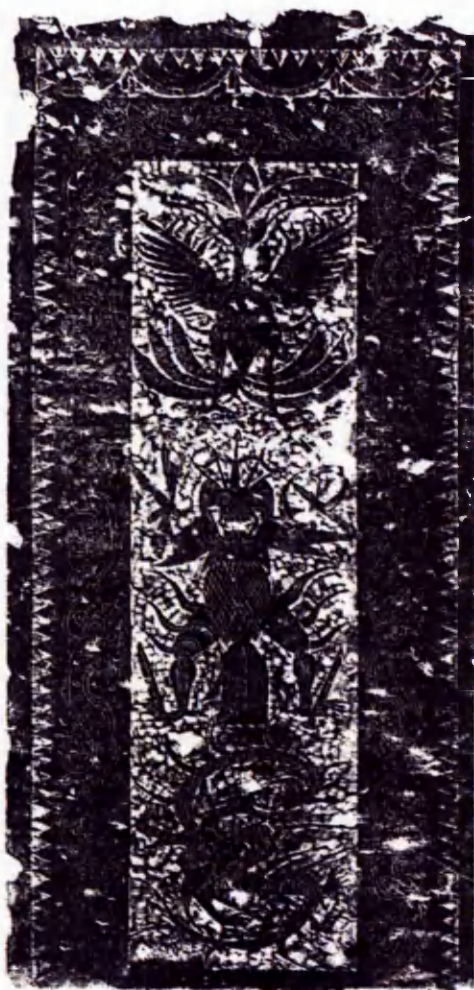


碎片第29幅 前室八角亭天柱柱头的南面

Plate 32.3



碎片第30幅 前室八角亭天柱柱头的北面



碎片第14幅 前室北壁正中一段

Plate 32.4



碎片第12幅 前室北壁东段

Plate 32.5



碎片第13幅 前室北壁西段

Plate 32.6

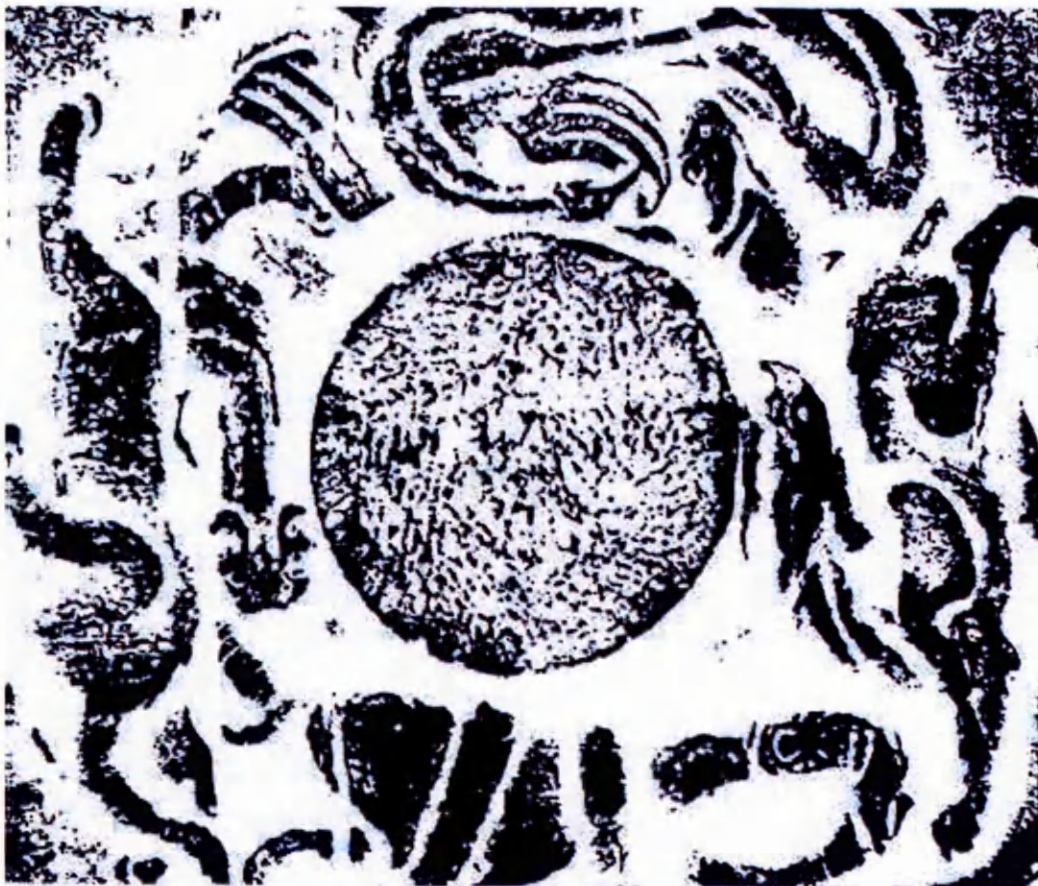


Plate 33

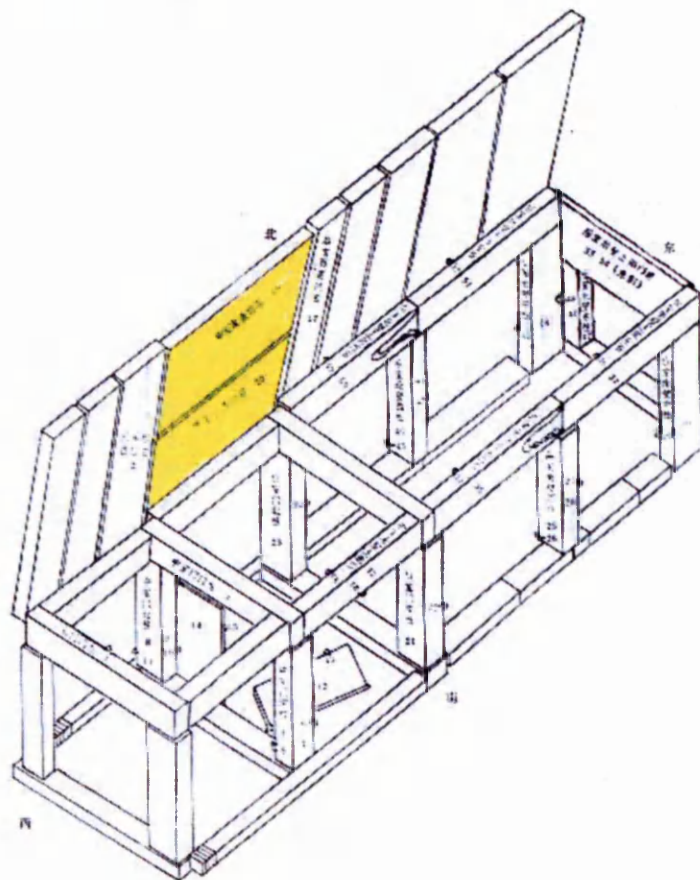


Plate 34

Plate 34.1



Plate 34.2



Plate 34.4

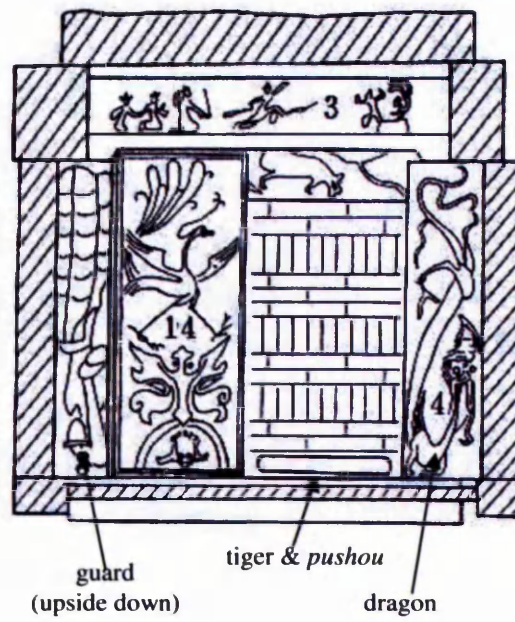


Plate 34.3

Plate 35



Plate 35.1

Plate 35.2



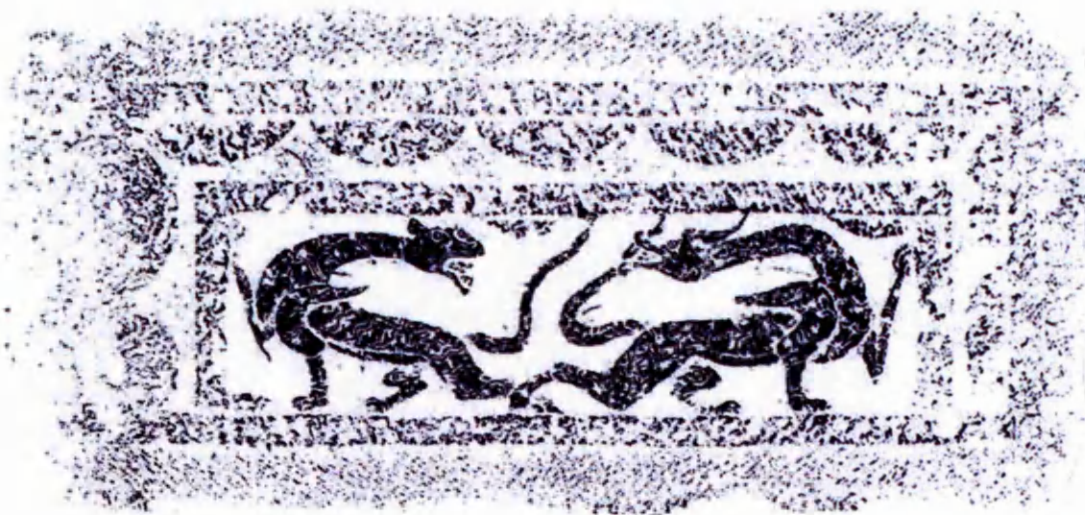


Plate 36



Plate 37

Plate 38



Plate 39



Plate 39.1

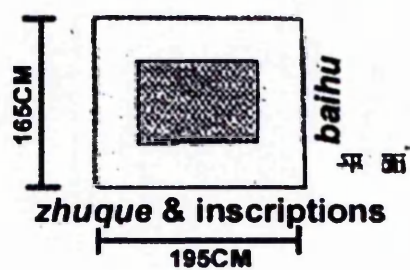
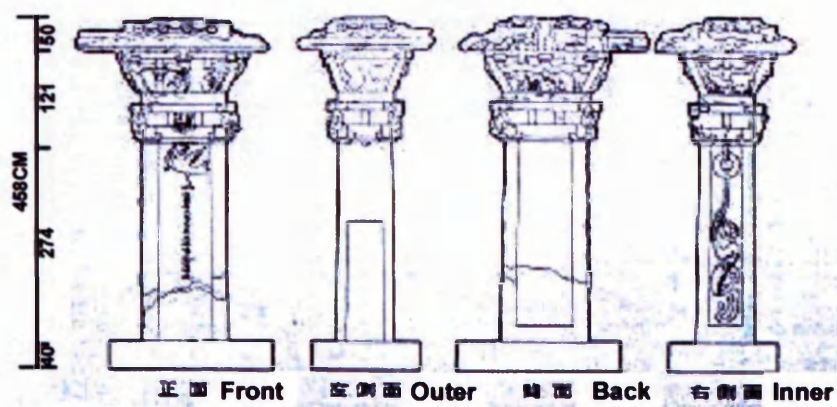


Plate 39.2

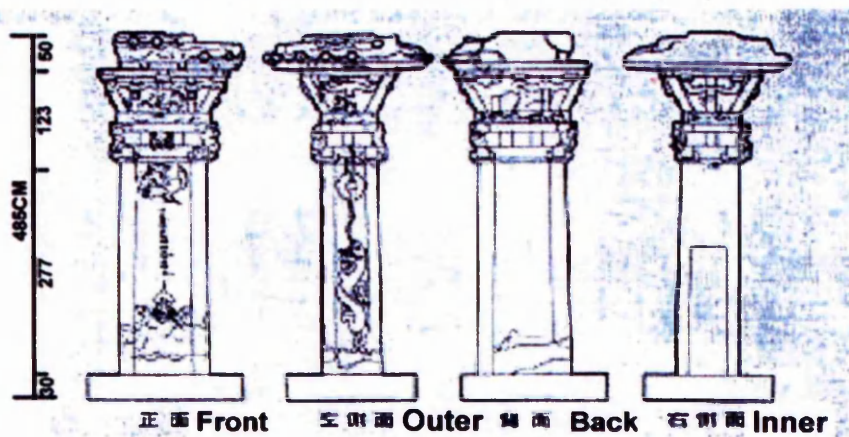


Plate 39.3



Plate 39.4



Plate 39.5

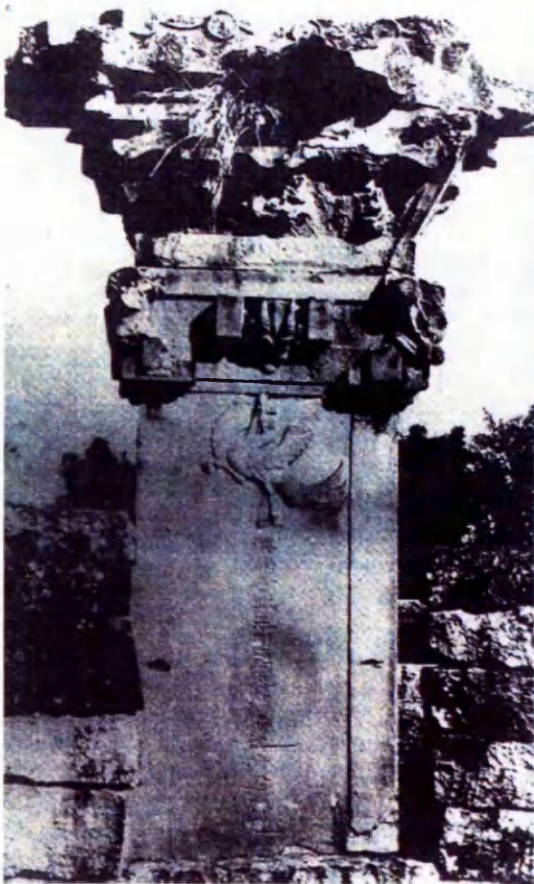


Plate 39.6



Plate 39.7



Plate 39.8

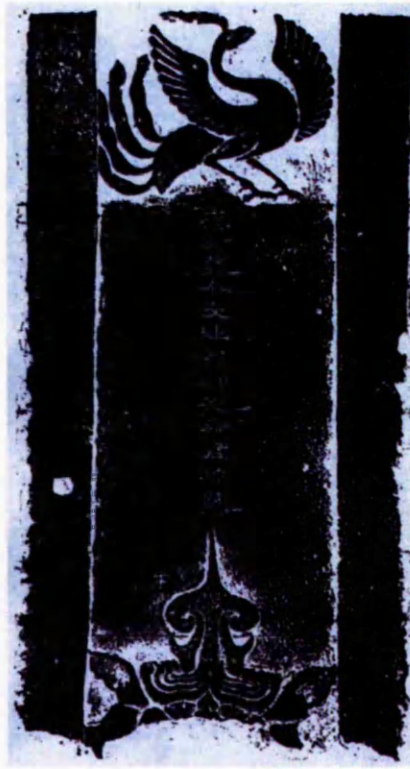


Plate 40

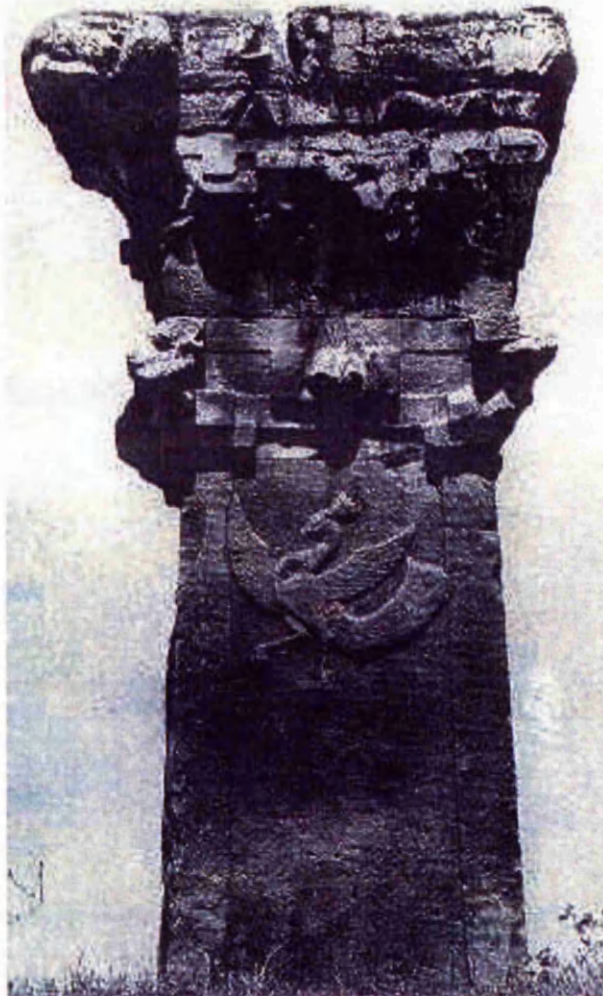
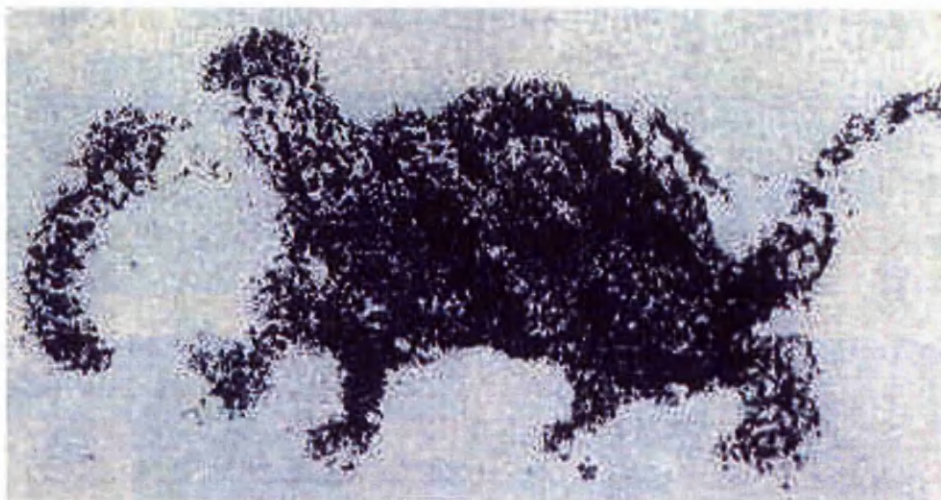


Plate 40.2



Plate 40.1



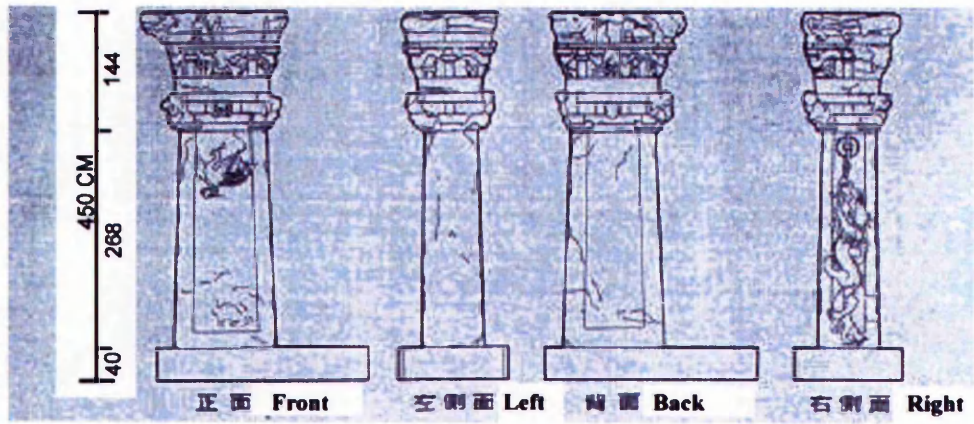


Plate 40.3

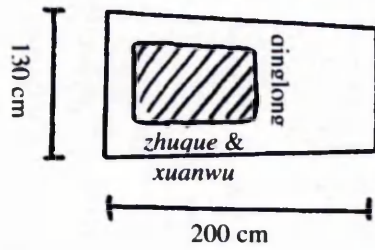


Plate 41



Plate 41.1

Plate 41.2

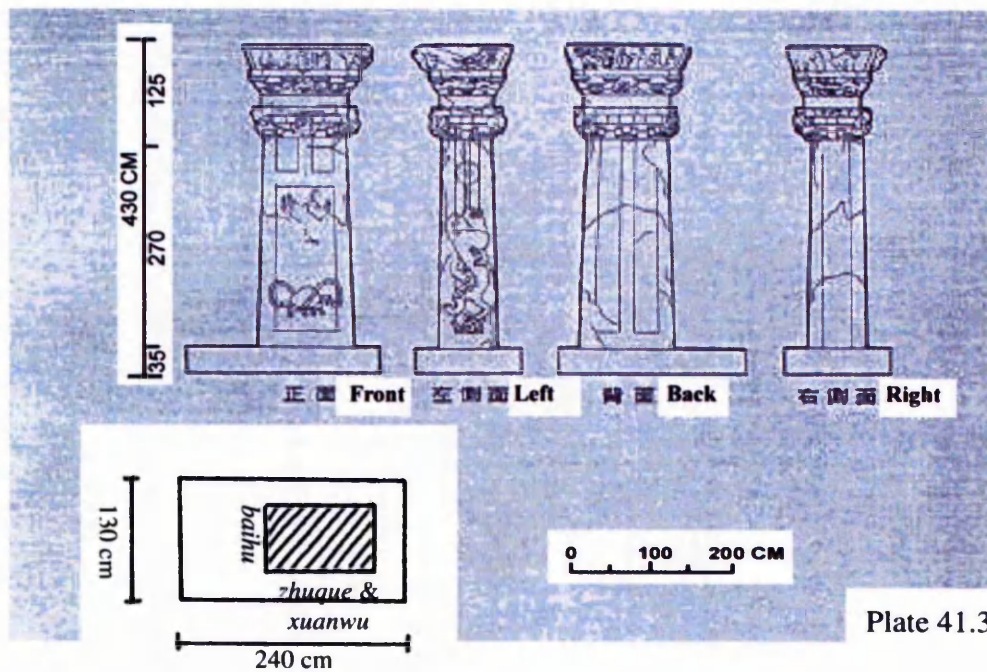


Plate 41.3

Plate 42

Plate 42.1

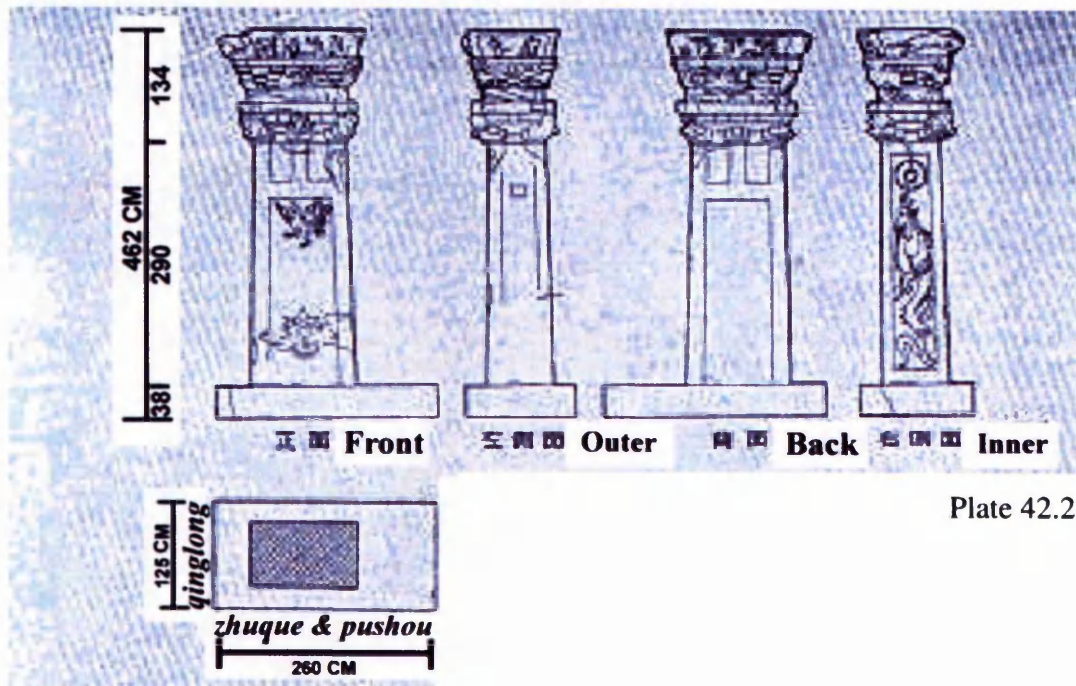
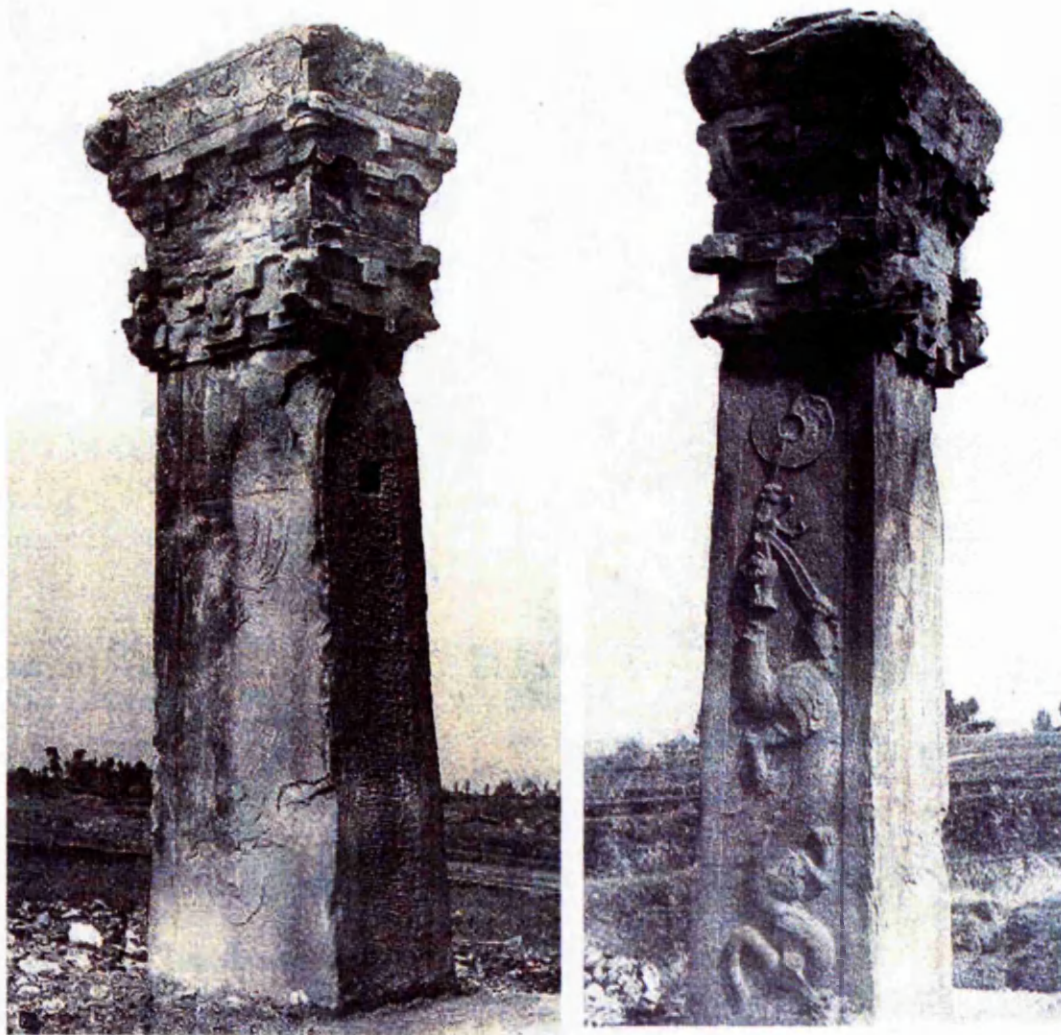


Plate 42.2

Plate 43



Plate 43.1

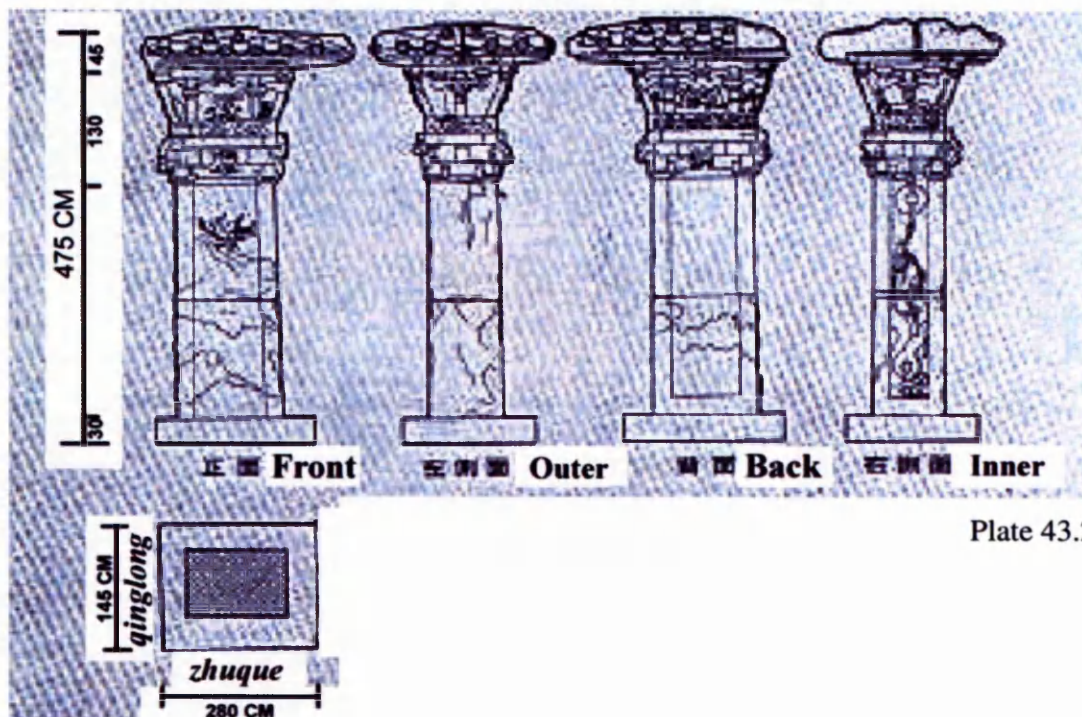
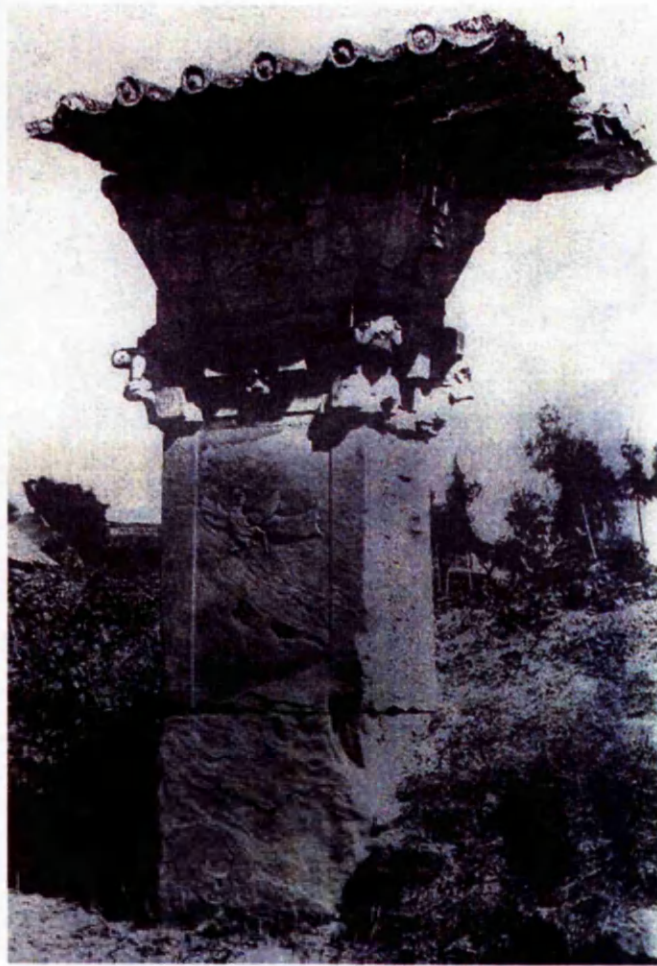


Plate 43.2

Plate 45



Plate 44



Plate 46



Plate 46.1



Plate 46.2



Plate 46.3

Plate 46.4

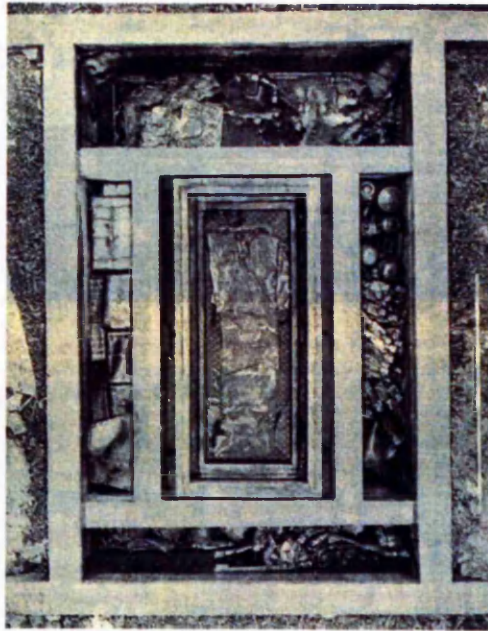


Plate 47

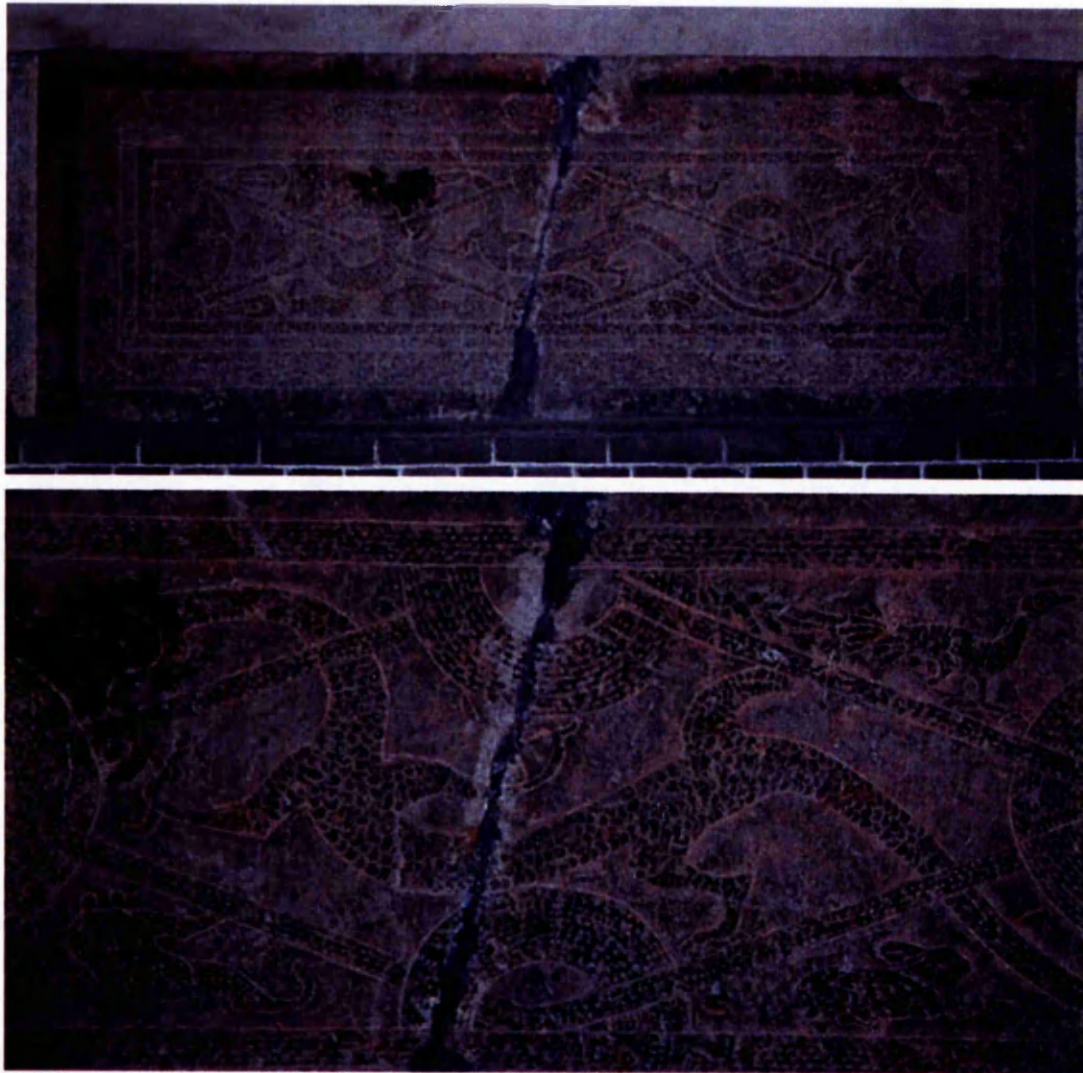


Plate 47.1

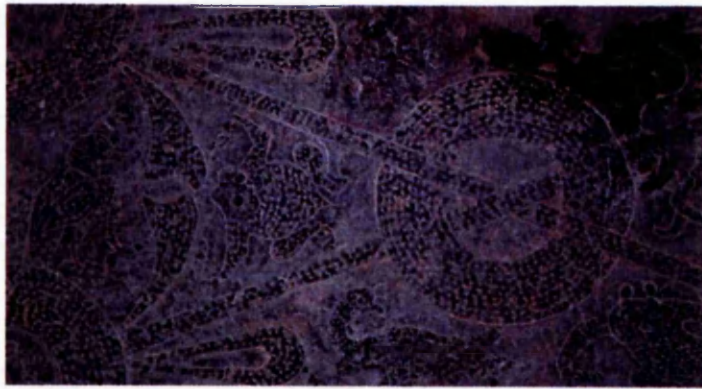


Plate 47.2



Plate 47.3

Plate 47.4



Plate 47.5



Plate 47.6

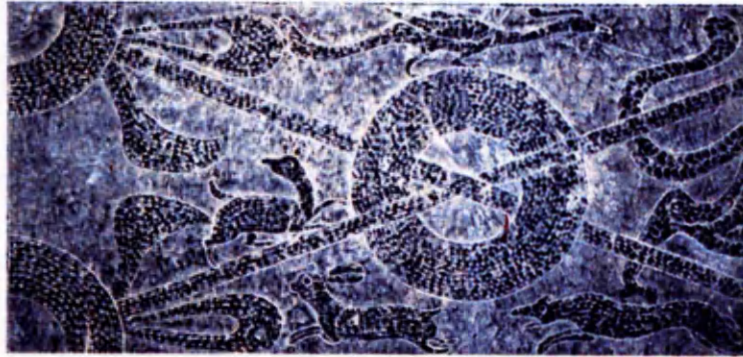


Plate 47.7

Plate 47.8

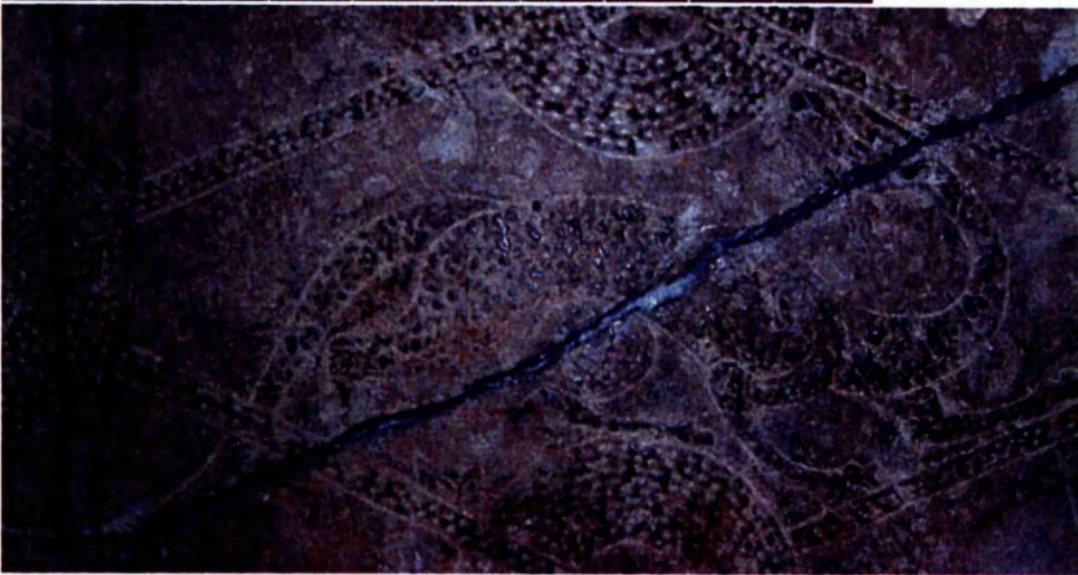


Plate 47.9

Plate 47.10

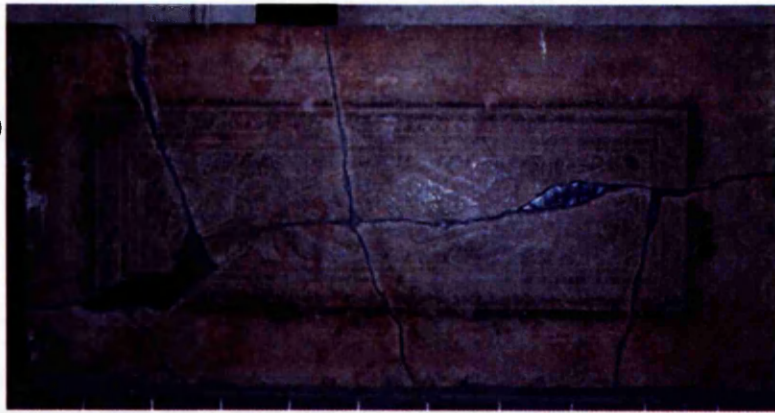


Plate 47.11

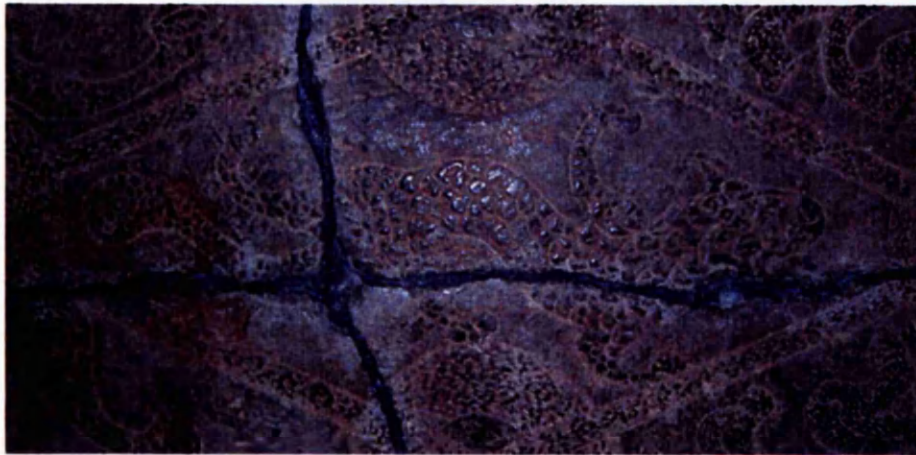


Plate 47.12

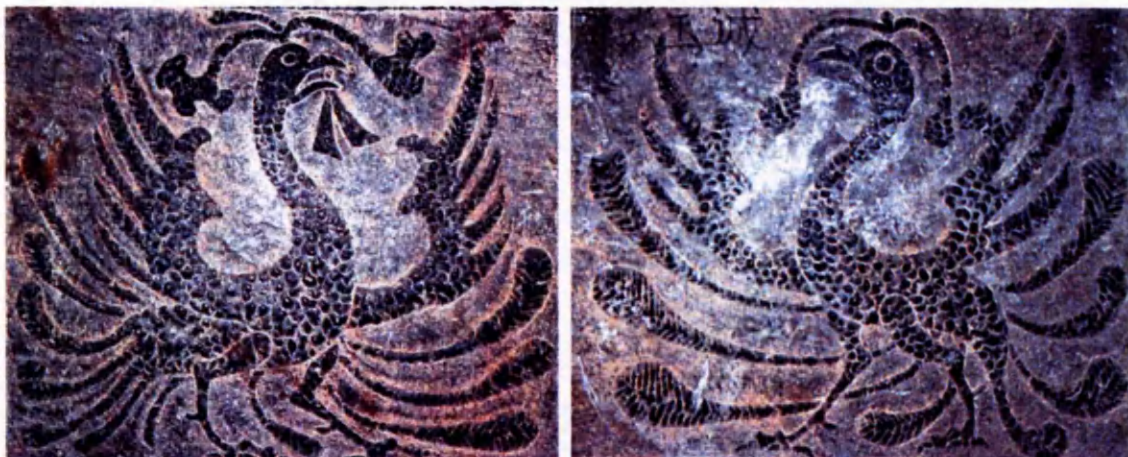


Plate 47.13

Plate 47.14

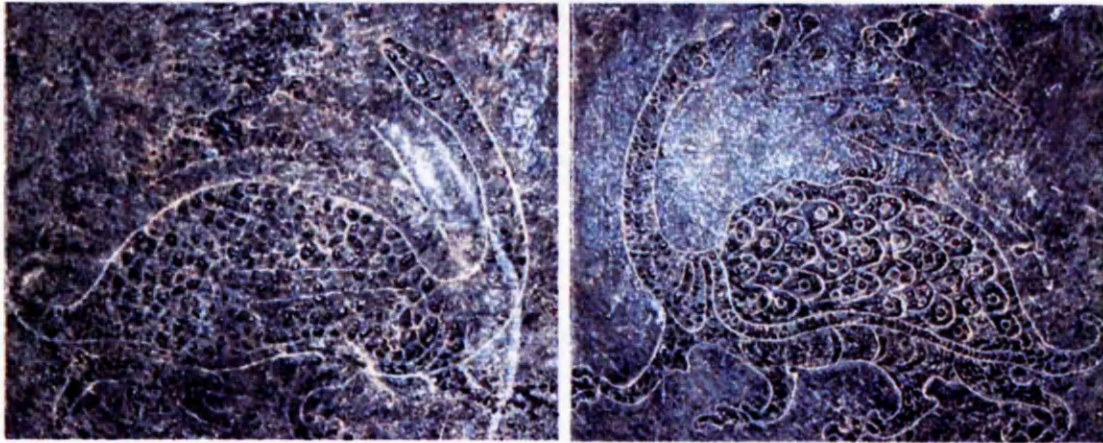
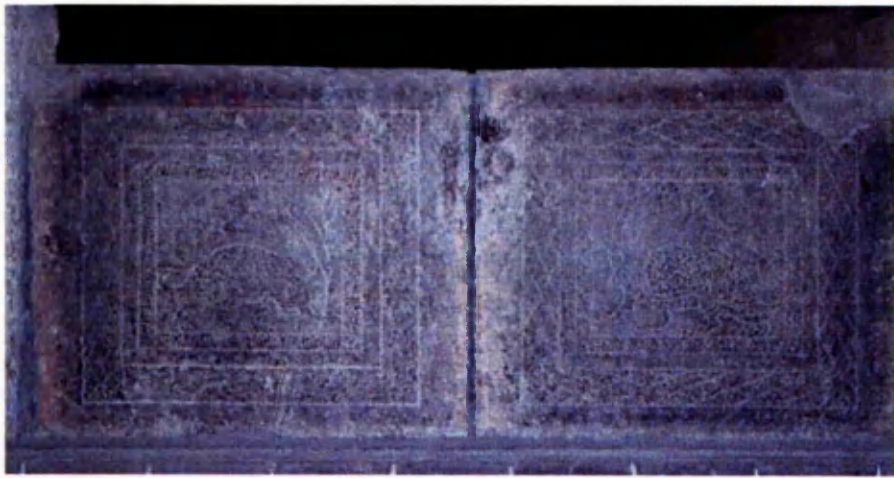


Plate 47.15



Plate 48

Plate 48.1



Plate 48.2



Plate 48.3



Plate 48.5



Plate 48.4



Plate 48.6



Plate 48.7

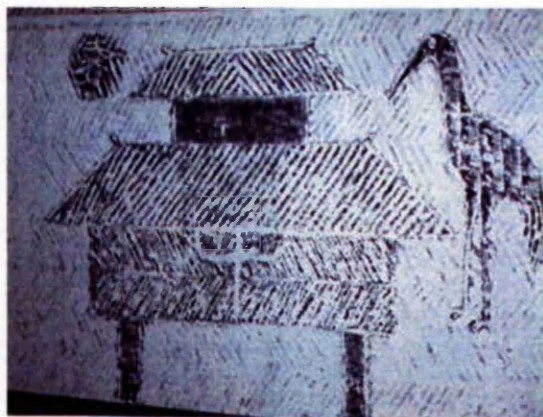


Plate 48.8



Plate 48.9



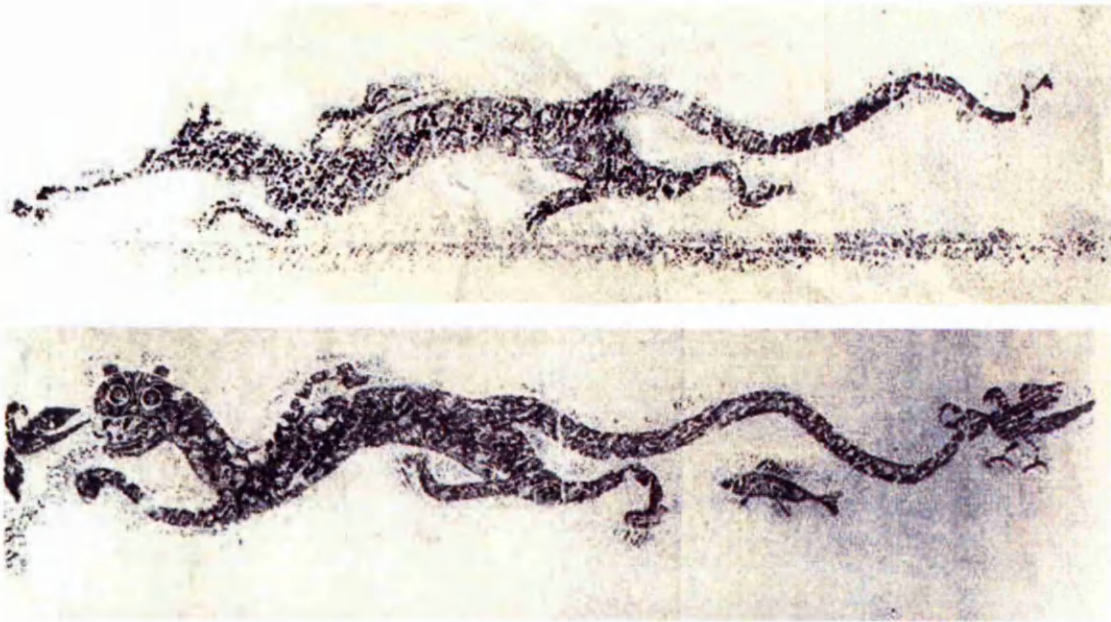


Plate 49

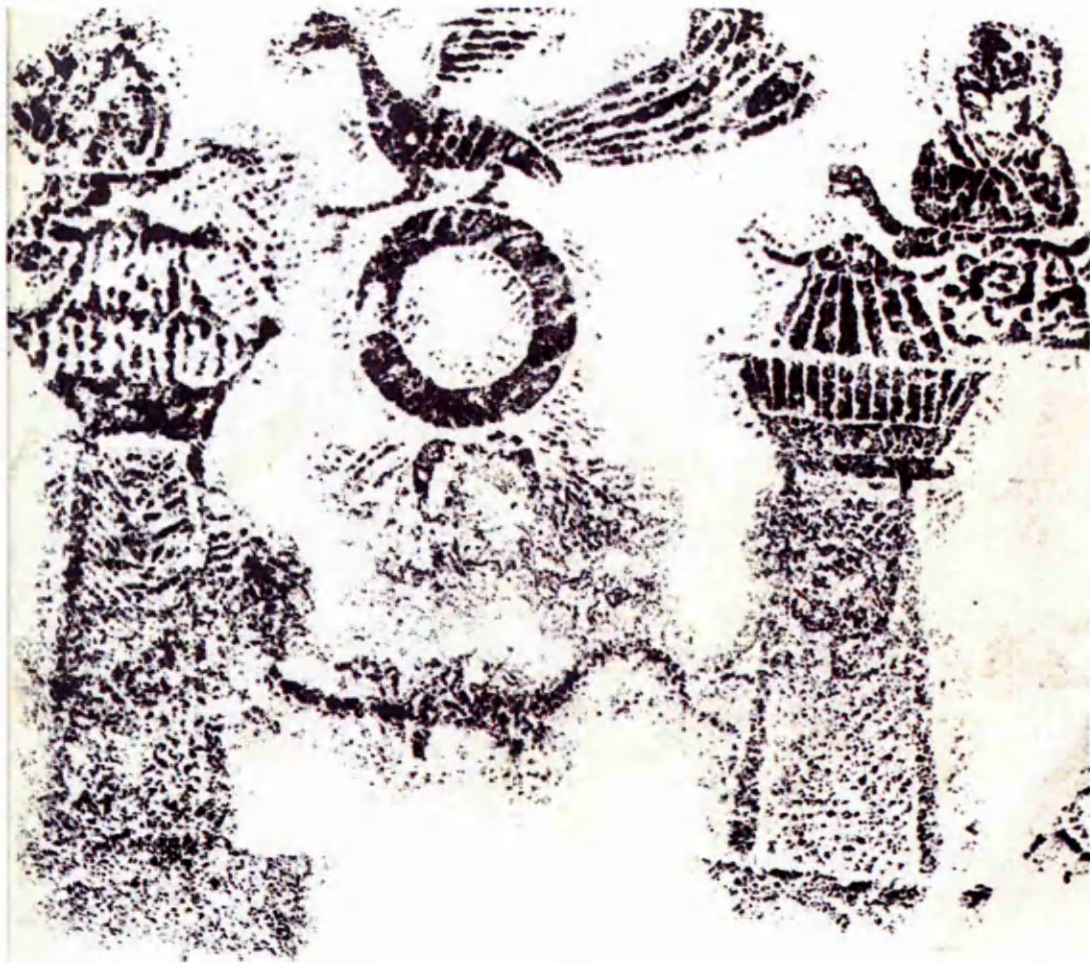


Plate 49.1

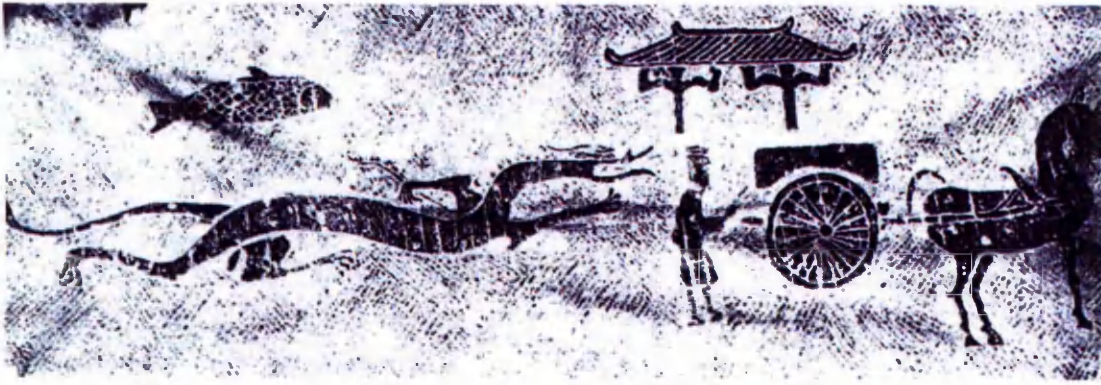


Plate 50.1



Plate 50.2

Plate 50.3

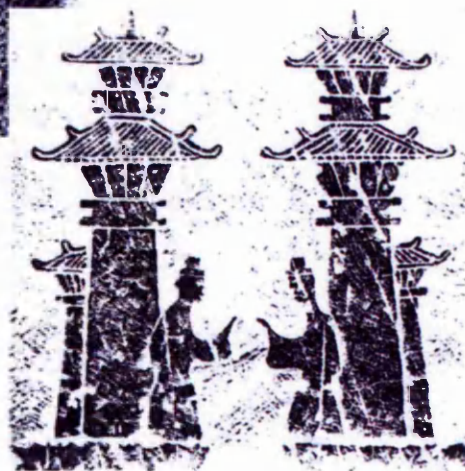


Plate 51



Plate 51.1



Plate 51.3



Plate 51.2

Plate 52

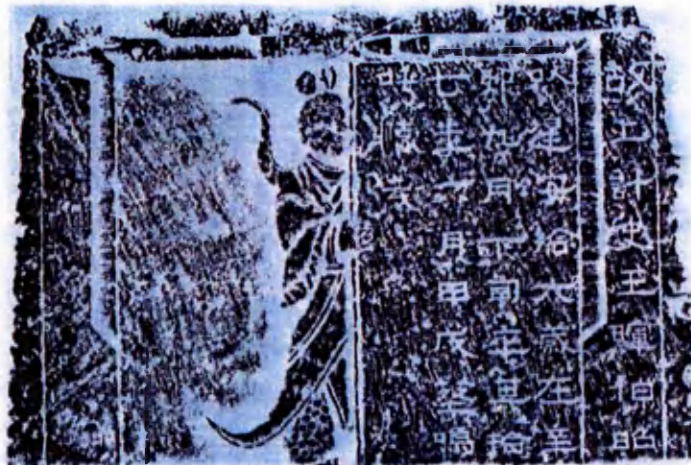


Plate 52.1

Plate 52.2





Plate 52.3



Plate 52.4





Plate 53



Plate 53.1

Plate 54



Plate 54.1

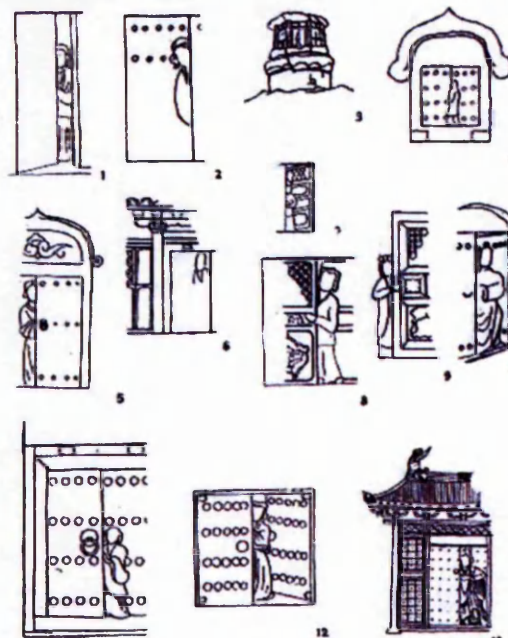
初圖三人 (參看(75))¹¹

Plate 55

1. 第一号墓室北壁刻人带门像
2. 第二号墓室北壁刻人带门像
3. 陕西长安县西村唐墓上的刻人带门像
4. 河北正定县唐墓五年墓上的刻人带门像
5. 北京西山辽代唐墓五年墓上的刻人带门像
6. 河南郑州唐墓北壁刻人带门像
7. 四川宜宾宋墓室后壁刻人带门像
8. 四川简阳宋墓室后壁刻人带门像
9. 贵州遵义宋墓室后壁刻人带门像
10. 山西太原宋墓室后壁刻人带门像 4 墓后壁刻人带门像
11. 山西太原唐墓室后壁刻人带门像
12. 河北正定唐墓九年墓后壁刻人带门像
13. 河南郑州唐墓北壁刻人带门像

Plate 56

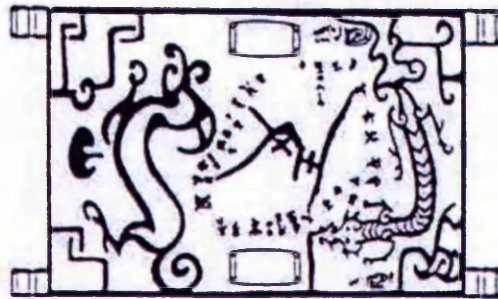
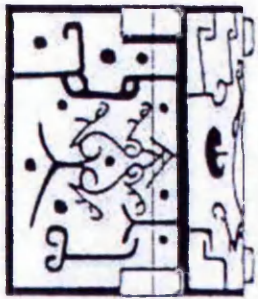


Plate 56.1

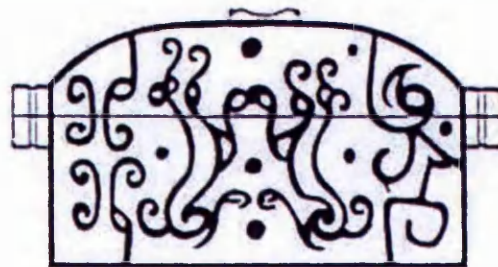


Plate 56.3

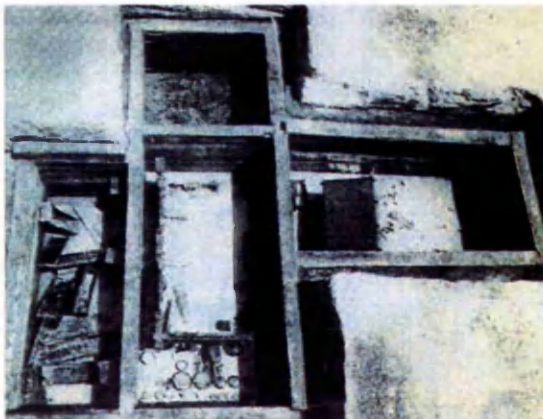


Plate 56.2

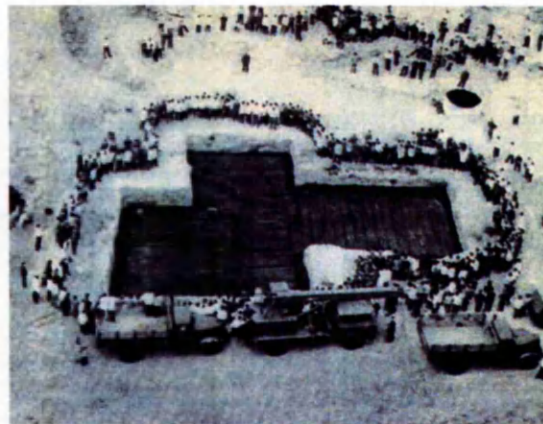


Plate 57.2

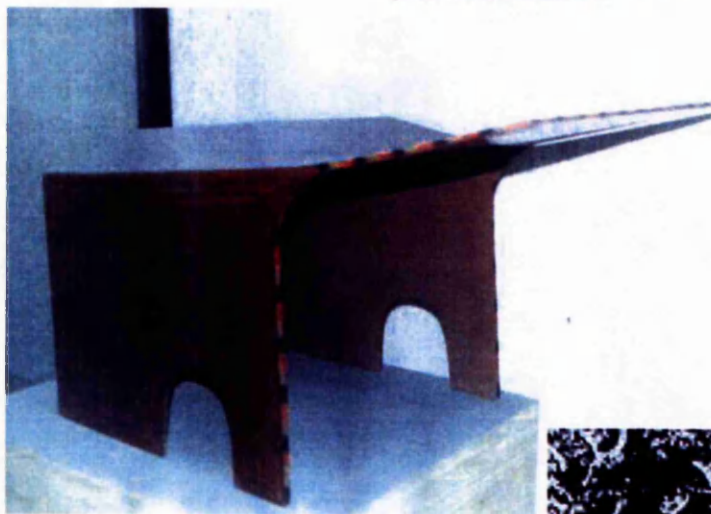
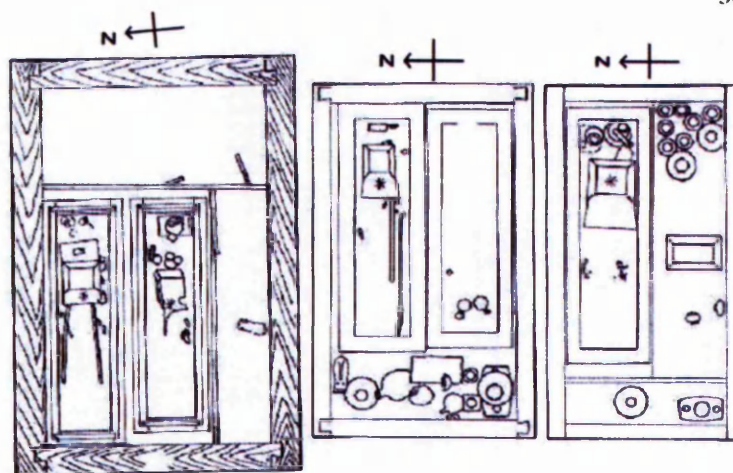


Plate 57

Plate 57.1





Plates 58



Plate 58.1



Plates 58.2



Plate 59



Plate 59.1



Plate 59.2



Plate 59.3

Plate 59.4



Plate 59.5





Plate 60



Plate 60.1

Plate 60.2

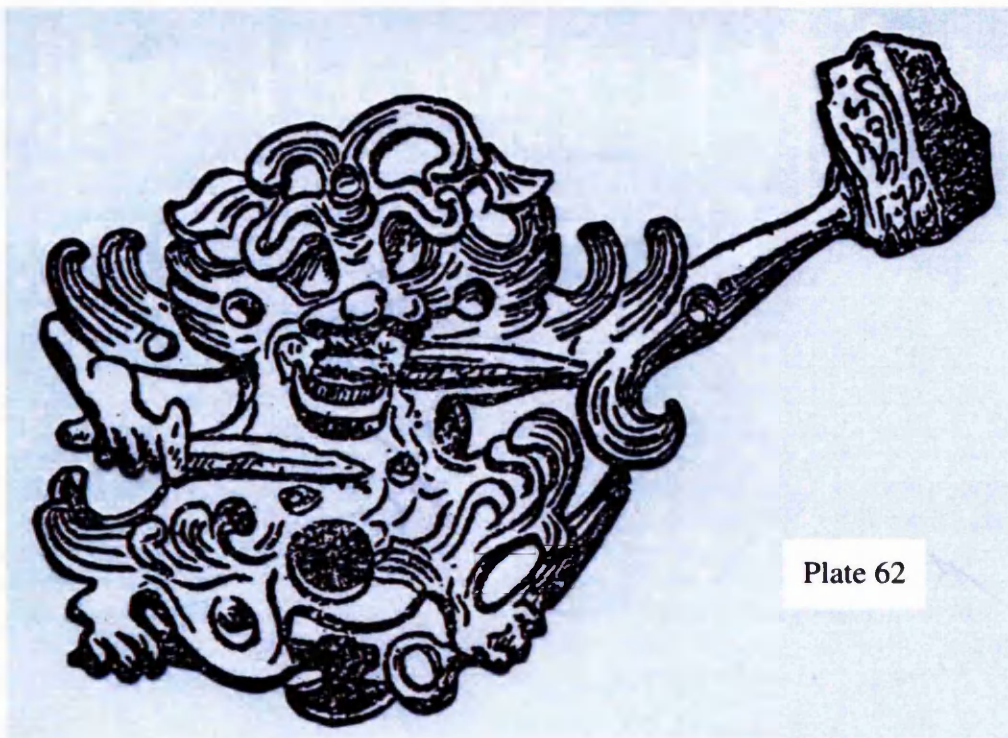
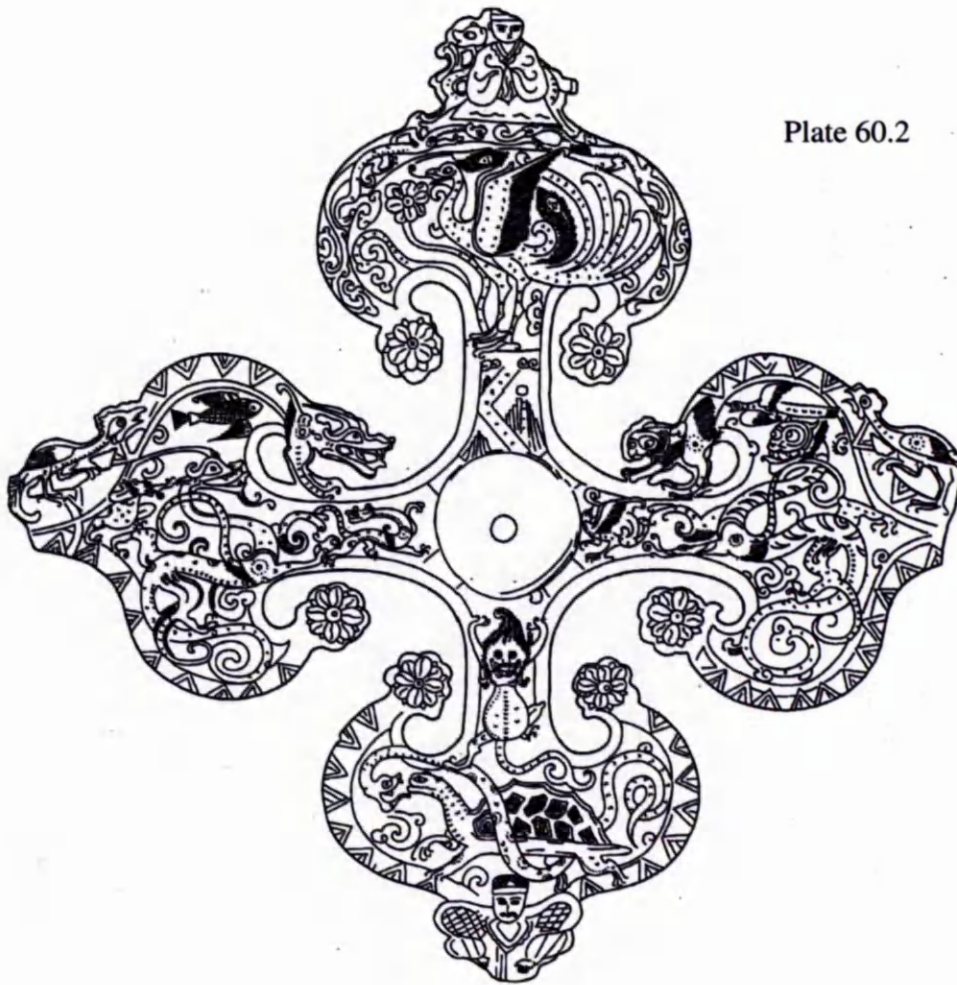


Plate 62

Plate 61.1



Plate 61



Plate 61.2

博具

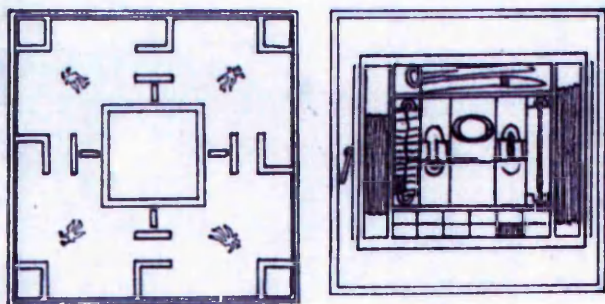


Plate 63

Plate 64

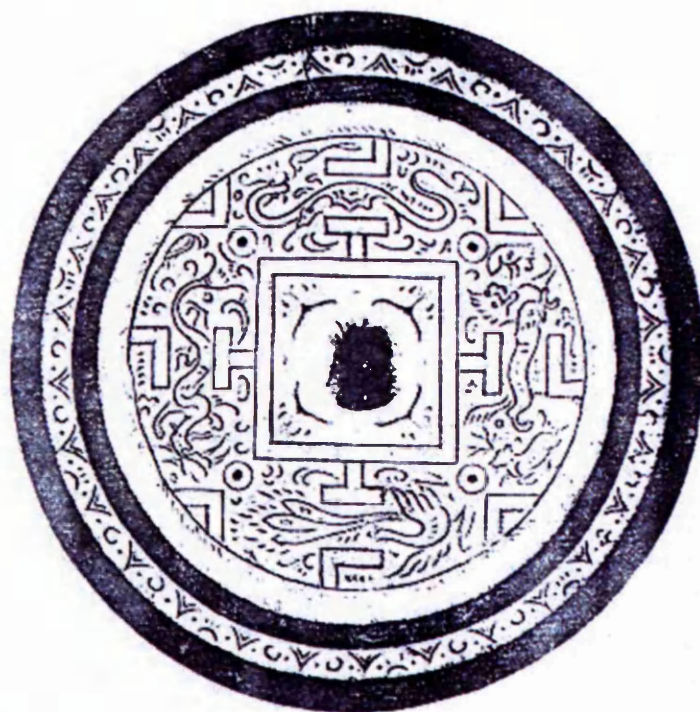


Plate 65

Plate 66



Plate 67

Plate 68





Plate 69.1 (*qinglong & xianren*)

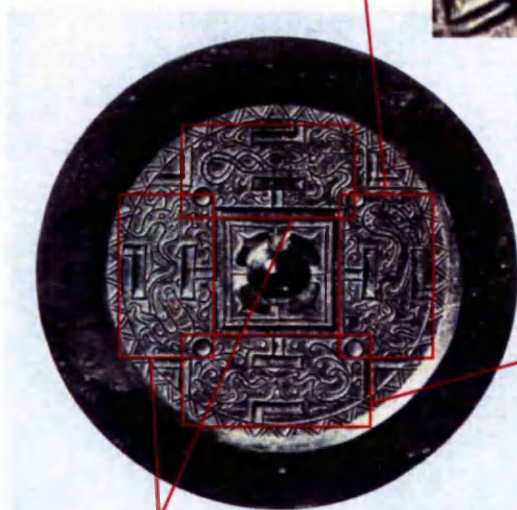


Plate 69



Plate 69.3 (*baihu & bear*)



Plate 69.4 (*xuanwu*)

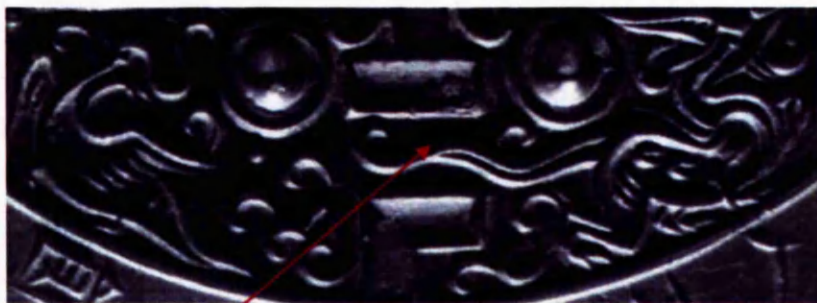


Plate 70.1
(qinglong & bird)



Plate 70.2 (zhuque)



Plate 70

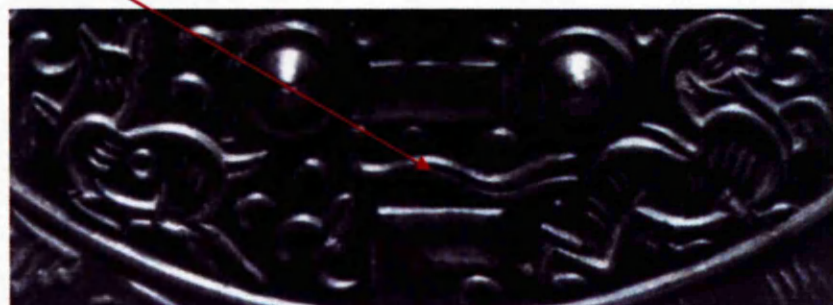


Plate 70.3 (baihu & deer)



Plate 70.4
(xuanwu & xianren)

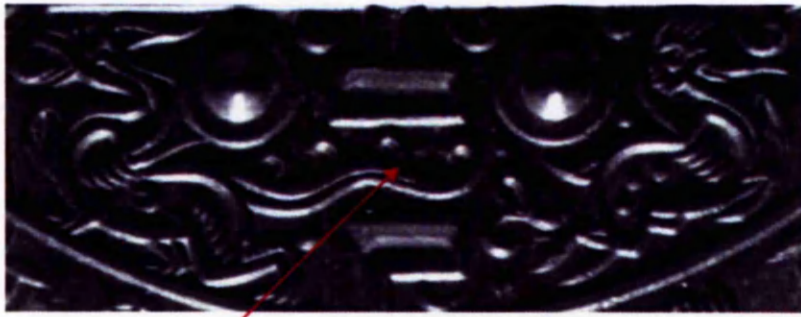


Plate 71.1
(*qinglong* & deer)

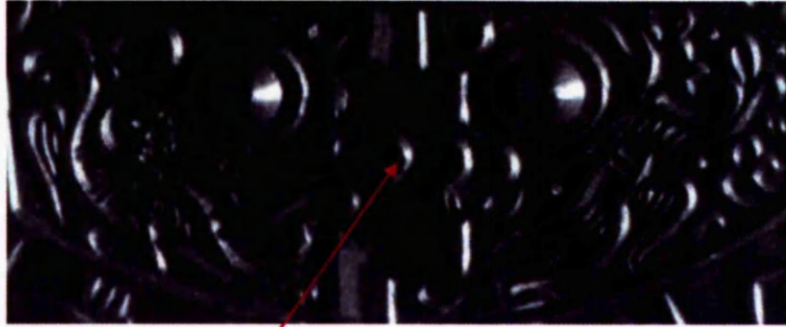


Plate 71.2 (*zhuque* & *xianren*)



Plate 71

Plate 71.3 (*baihu* & bird)

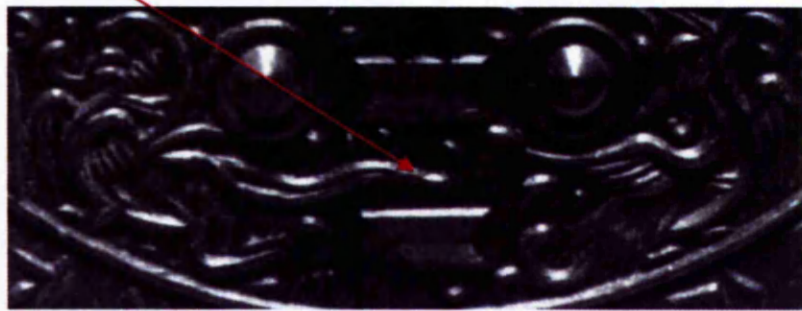


Plate 71.4
(*xuanwu* & *xianren* (?))

Plate 72

Plate 72.1 (*qinglong* & bird)Plate 72.2 (*zhuque* & *xianren*)



Plate 73.1
(*qinglong* & bird)



Plate 73.2 (*zhuque*)

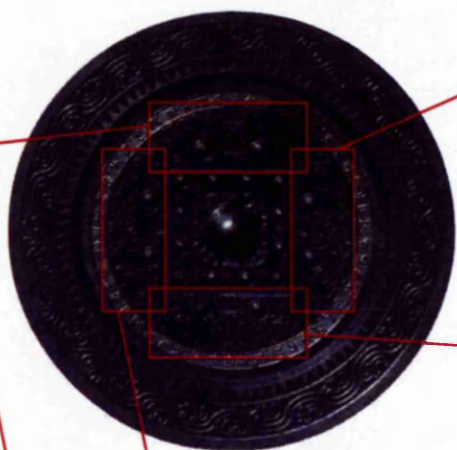


Plate 73

Plate 73.3 (*baihu* & deer)



Plate 73.4
(*xuanwu* & bird)

Plate 74

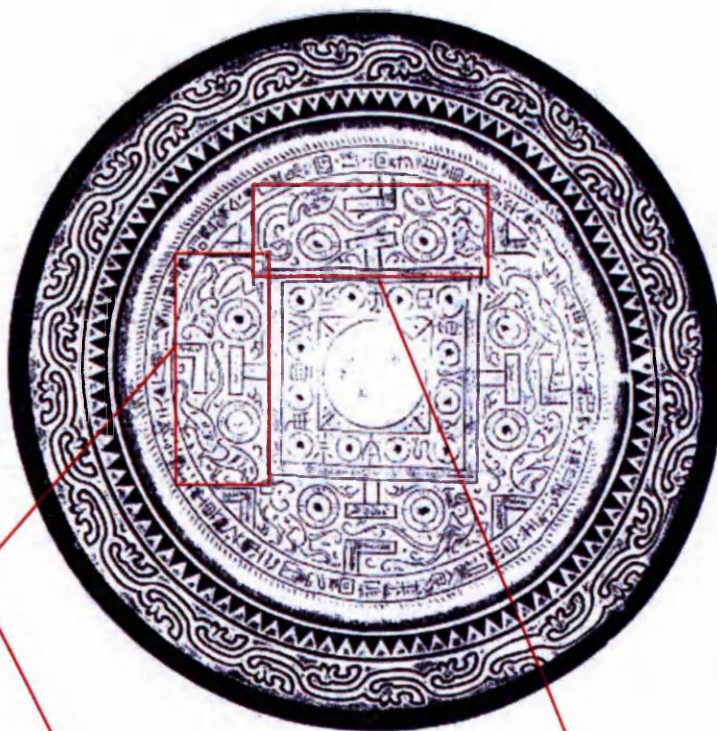
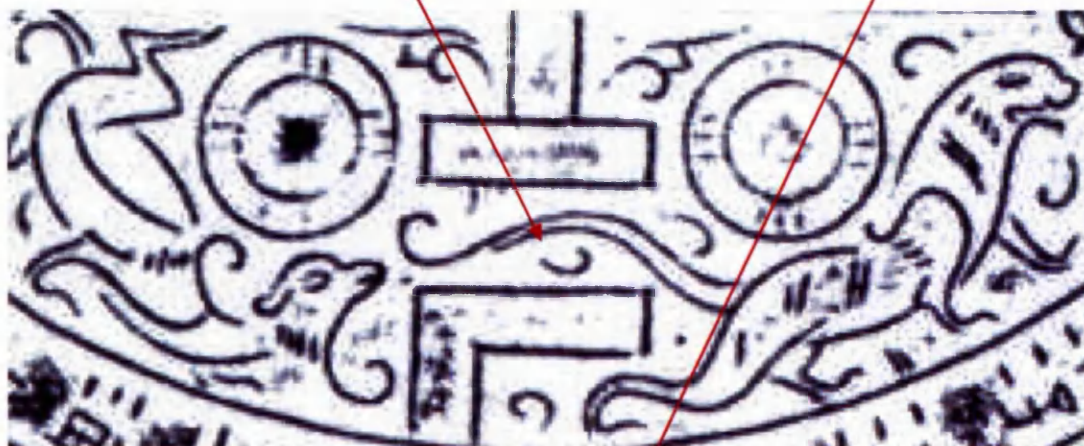
Plate 74.1 (*baihu* & goat)Plate 74.2 (*xuanwu* & bear)



Plate 75.1 (*zhuque & xianren*)

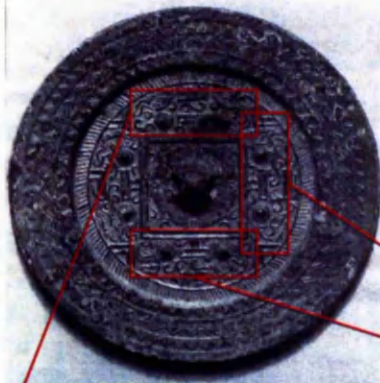


Plate 75

Plate 75.2 (*baihu & bird*)

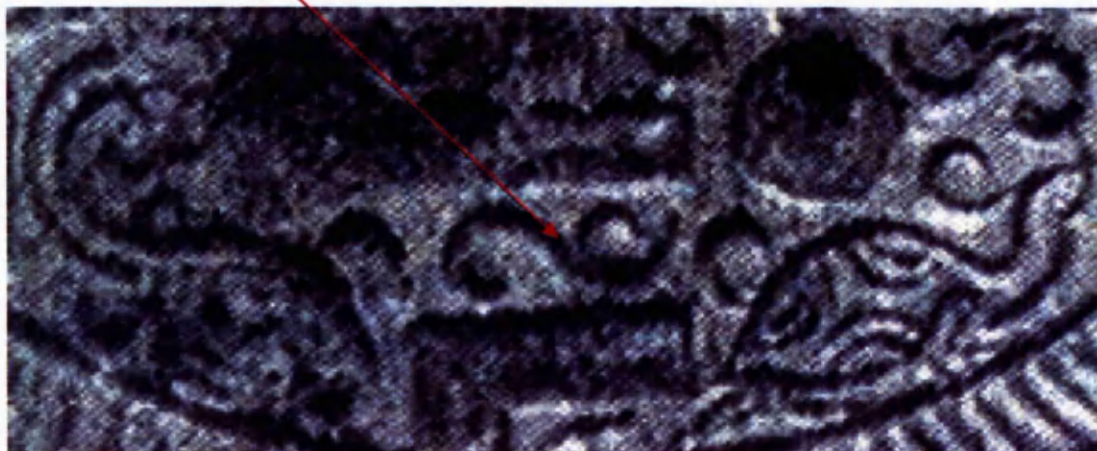


Plate 75.3 (*xuanwu*)

Plate 76

Plate 76.1 (*zhuque* & *ibex*)Plate 76.2 (*xuanwu* & *xianren*)

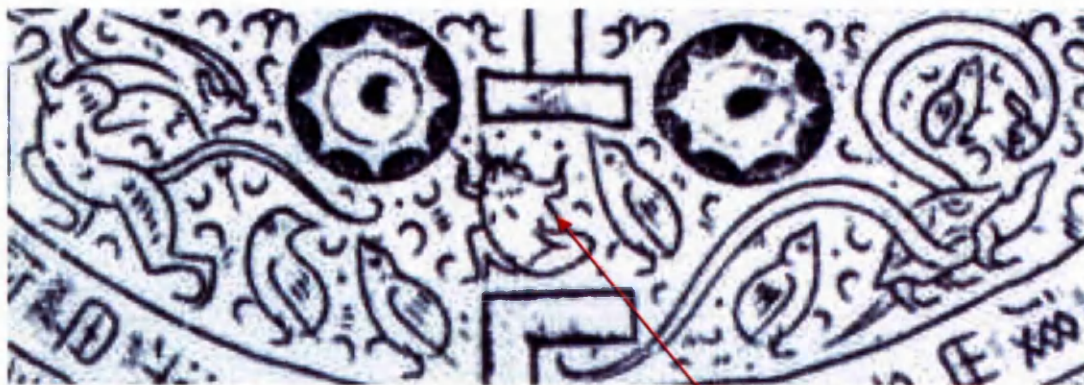


Plate 77.1 (*xuanwu* with ibex, toad & quails)

Plate 77



Plate 78

Plate 78.1 (*xuanwu*)





Plate 79

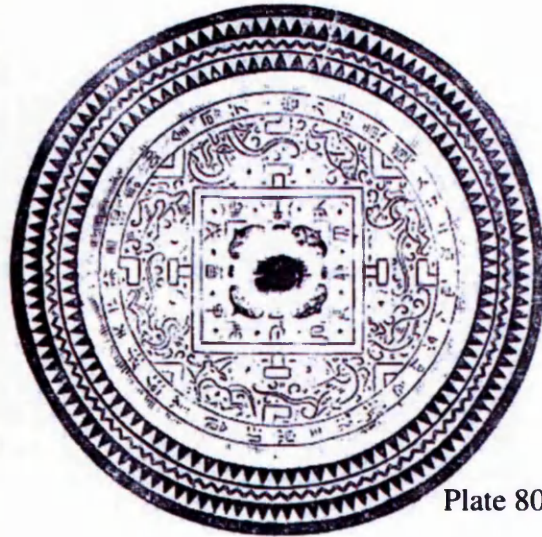


Plate 80



Plate 81



Plate 82



Plate 83



Plate 84



Plate 85

Plate 86



Plate 87

Plate 88



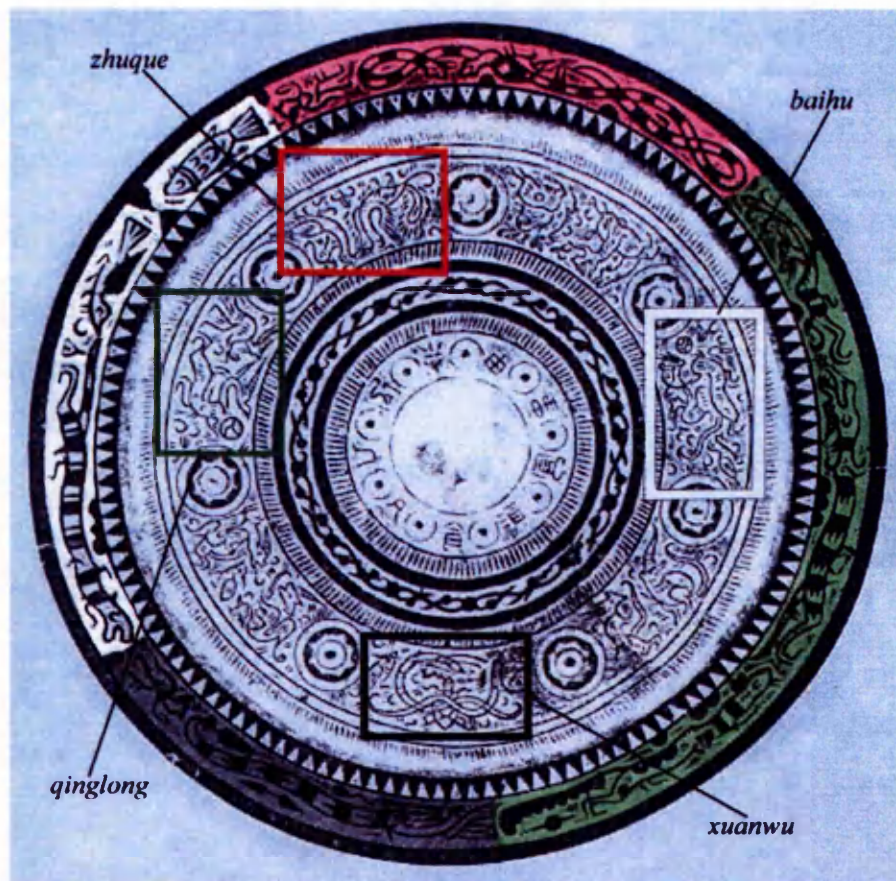


Plate 89

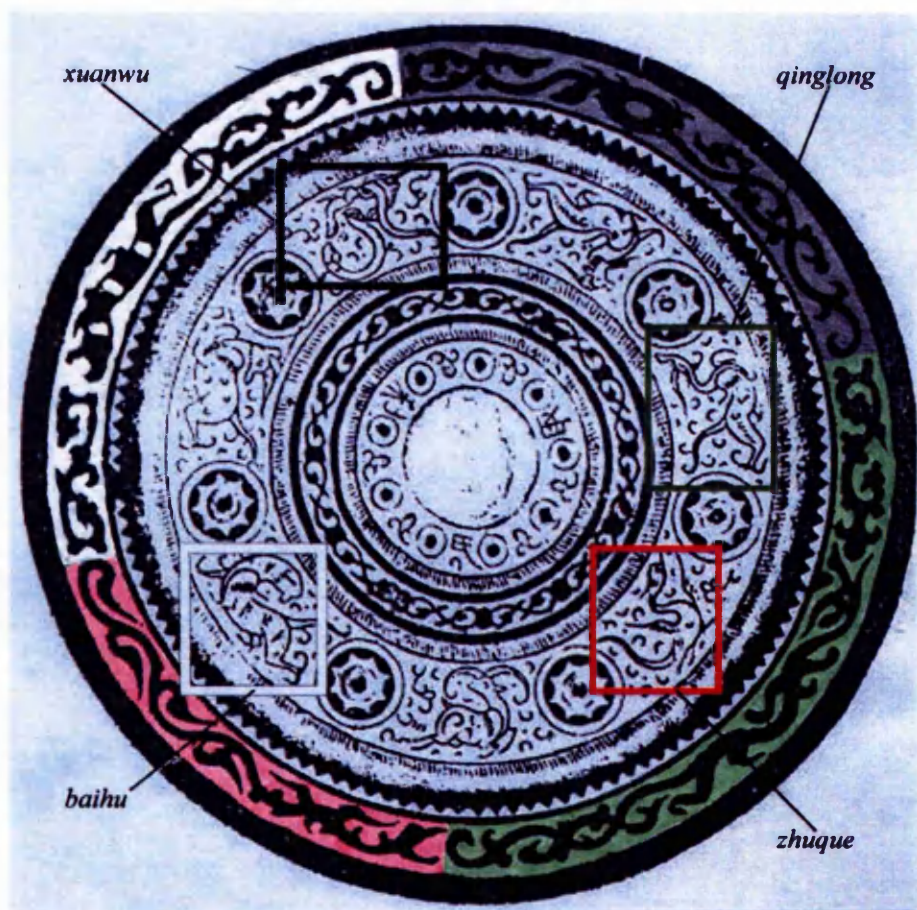
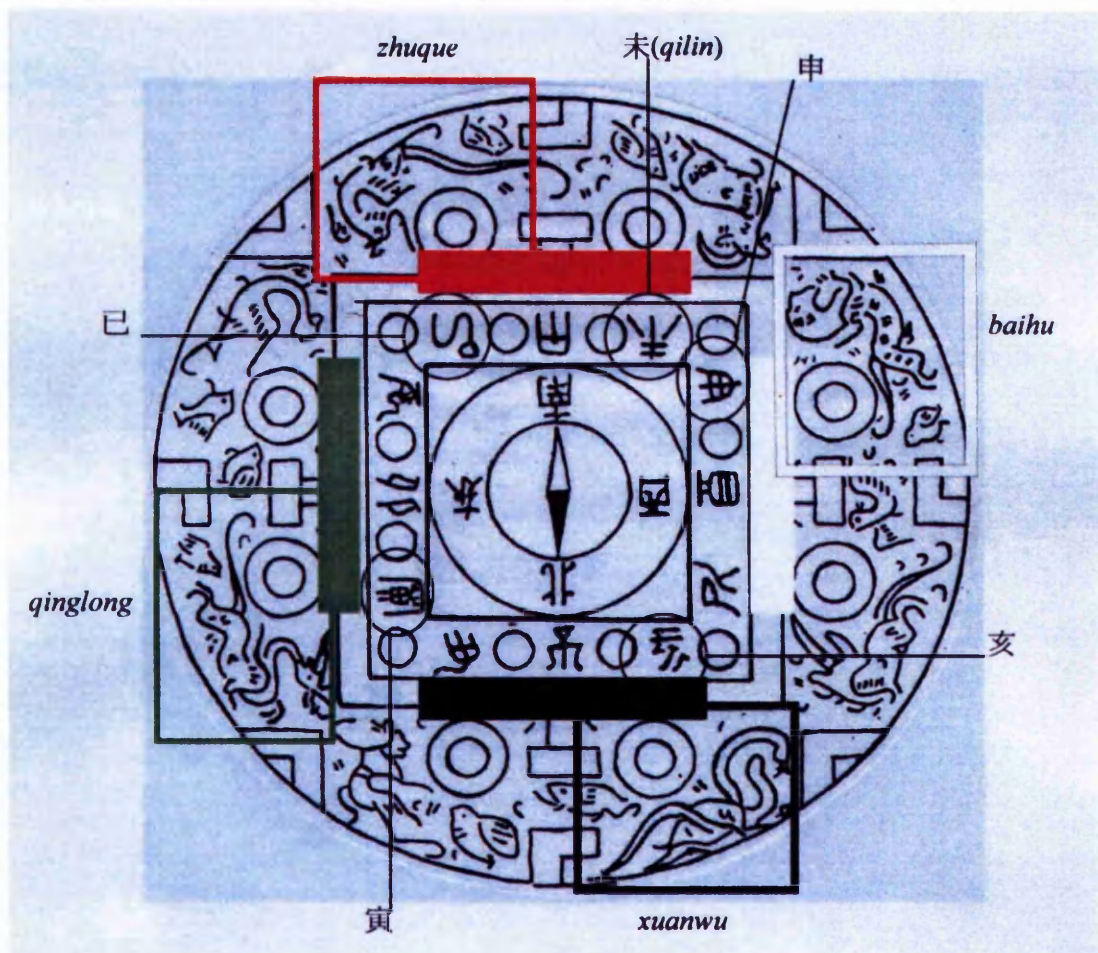


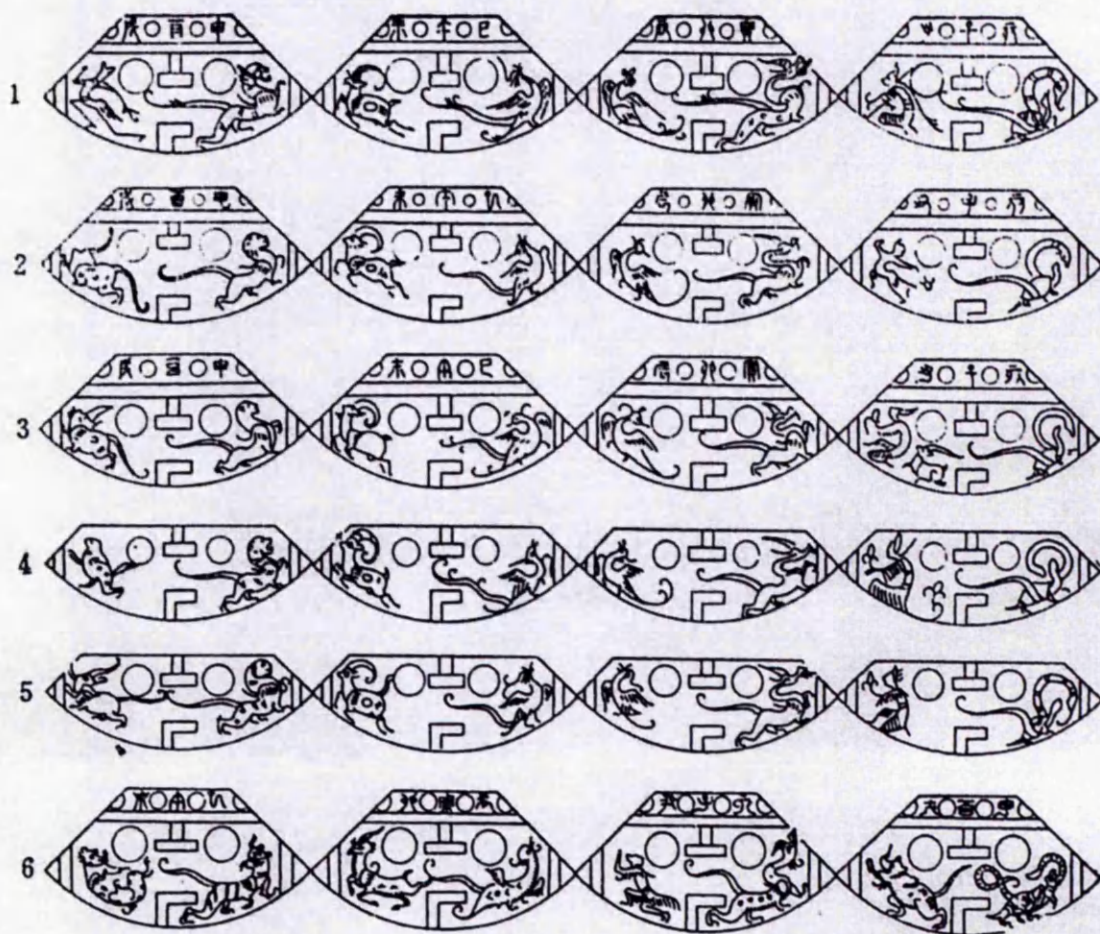
Plate 90



Plate 91

Plate 92





图四 规矩镜上的五灵纹

1. 《浙江出土铜镜选集》图二 2. 《簠斋藏镜》卷上, 图一九 3. 前揭书卷上, 图七 4. 《陕西省出土铜镜》图四三 5. 《岩窟藏镜》二集中, 图七 6. 前揭书二集中, 图三九

Plate 93



Plate 93.1



Plate 94

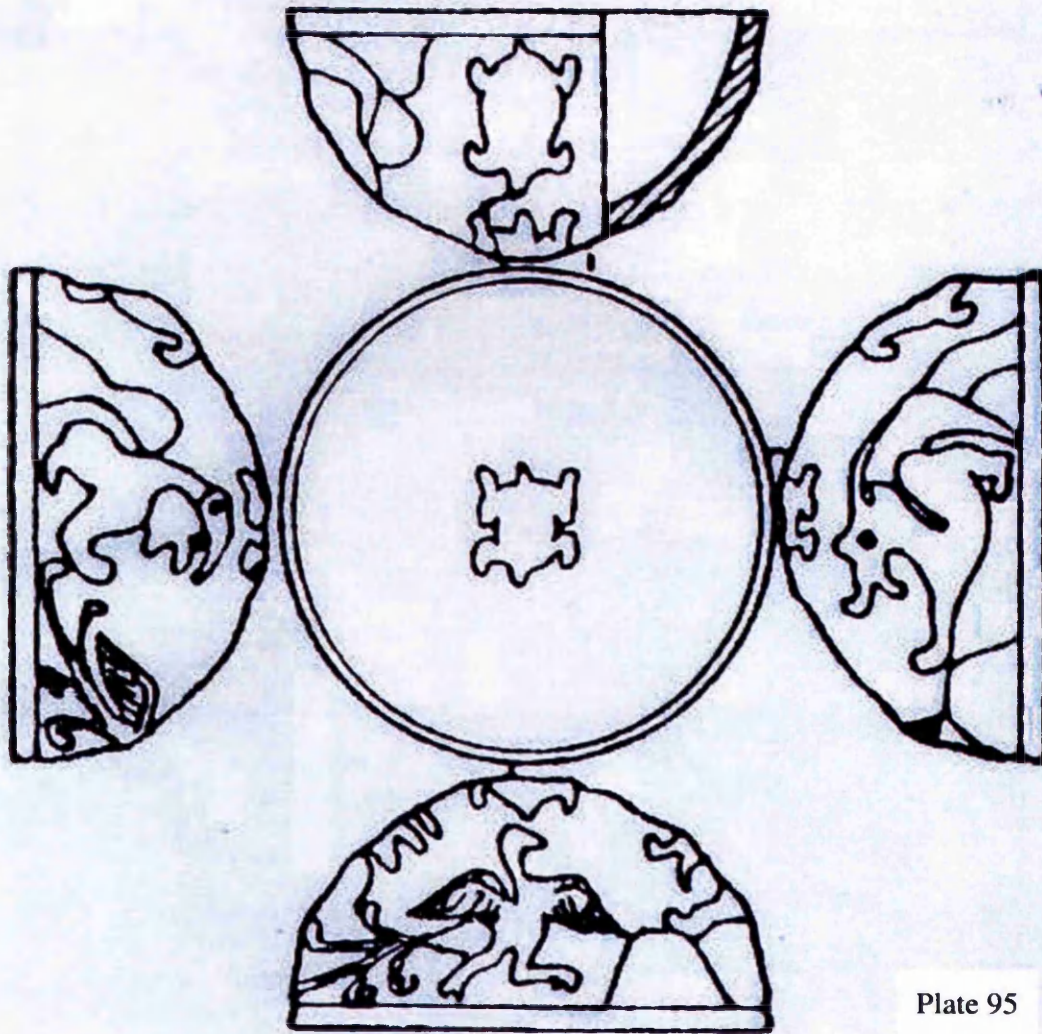


Plate 95

Plate 96



Plate 96.1



Plate 96.2

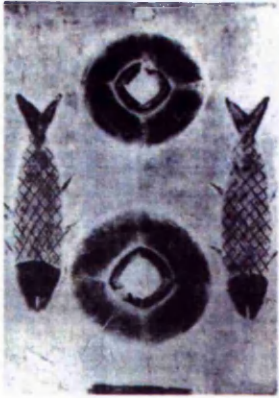


Plate 96.3



Plate 97

Plate 97.1





Plate 97.2



Plate 97.3

Plate 97.4



Plate 97.5



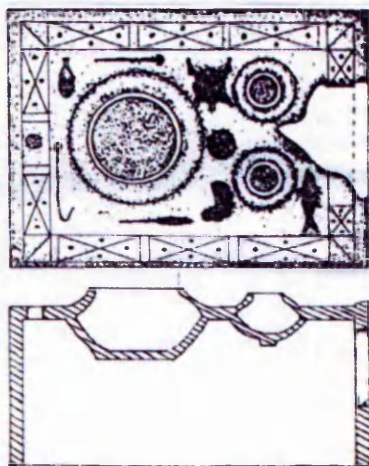


Plate 98

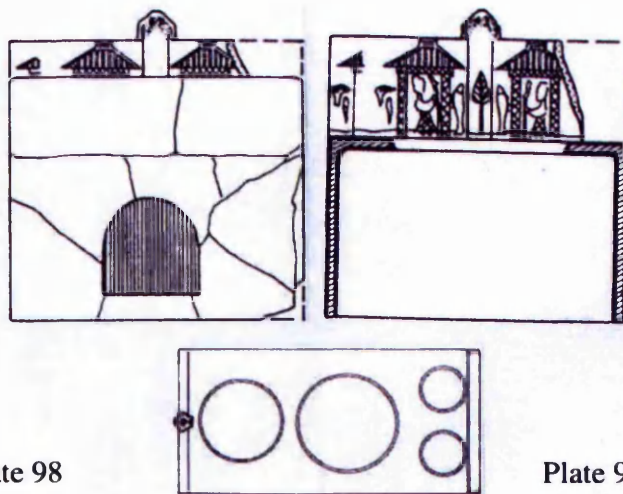


Plate 99

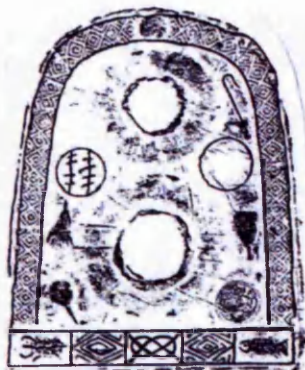


Plate 101



Plate 100

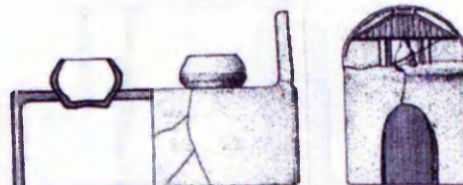


Plate 102

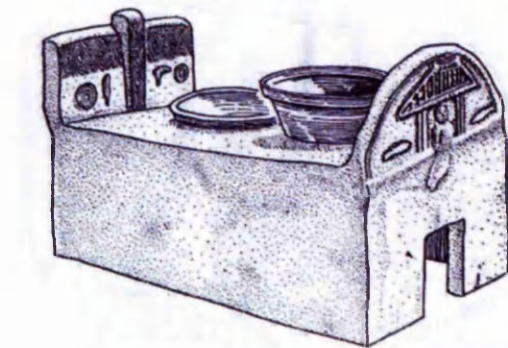


Plate 103

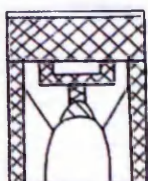


Plate 104

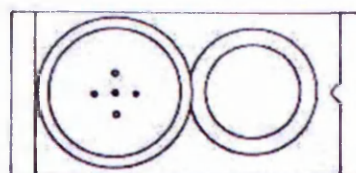
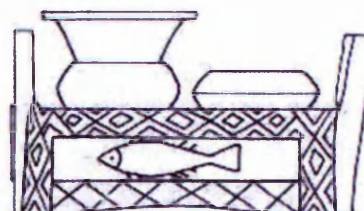


Plate 105



Plate 105.1



Plate 105.2

Plate 105.3

Plate 106



Plate 107



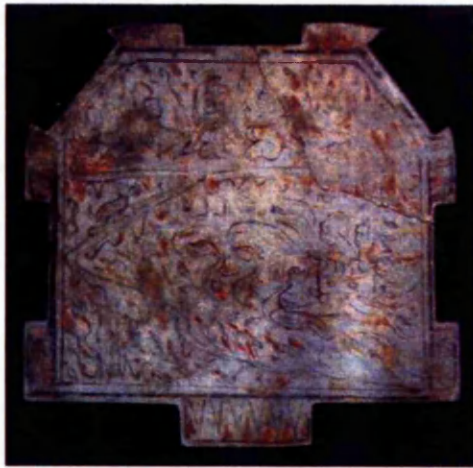


Plate 108



Plate 108.1

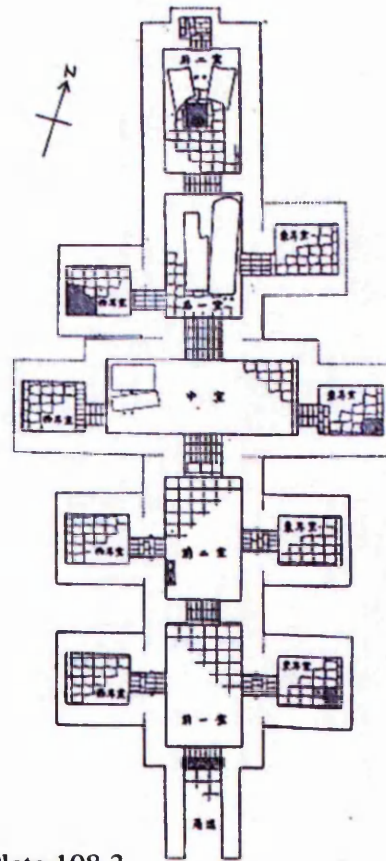


Plate 108.3

Plate 108.2





Plate 109



Plate 110



Plate 111

Plate 112



Plate 113

Plate 113.1

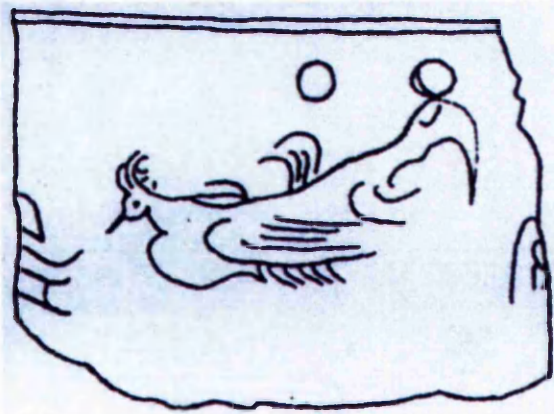




Plate 114

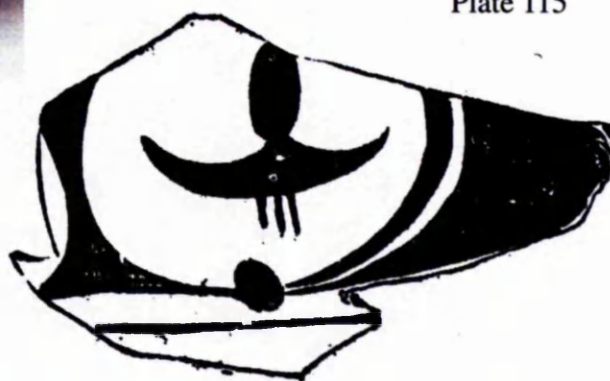


Plate 115

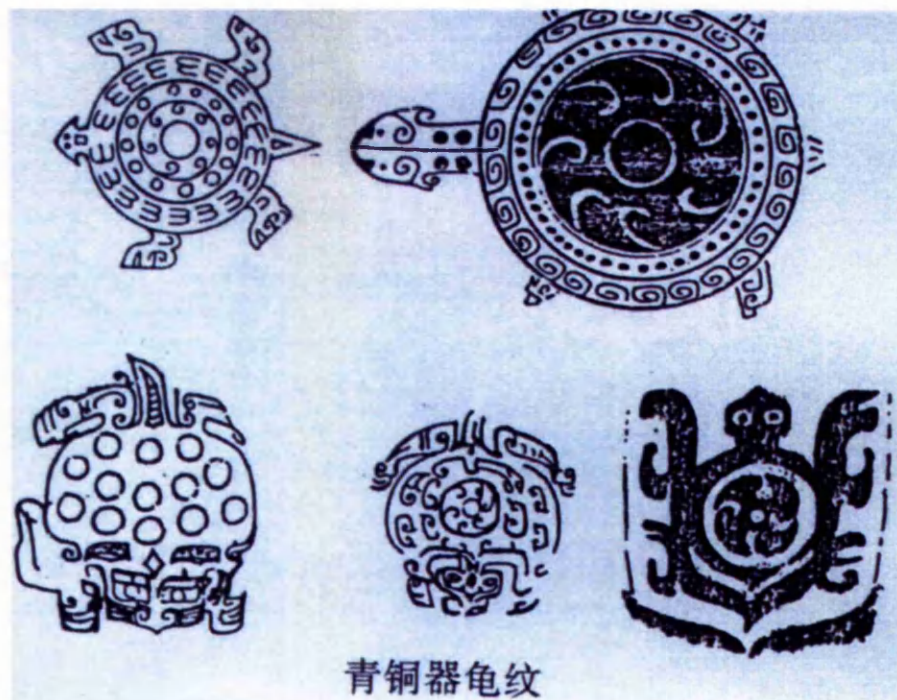
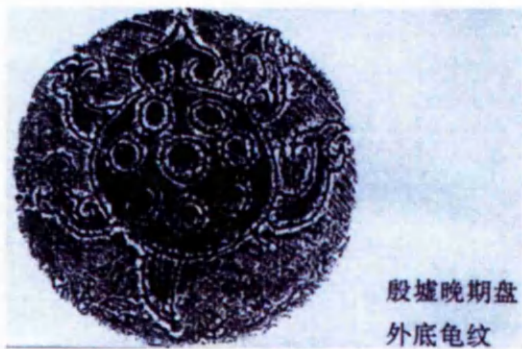


Plate 116

青铜器龟纹

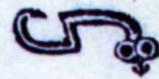


殷墟晚期盘
外底龟纹

Plate 116.1



殷墟晚期觚圈足上部蛇纹



殷墟晚期觚
盖面蛇纹



殷墟中期尊腹部蛇纹



殷墟晚期簋口沿蛇纹



西周成王尊
腹部蛇纹

Plate 116.2

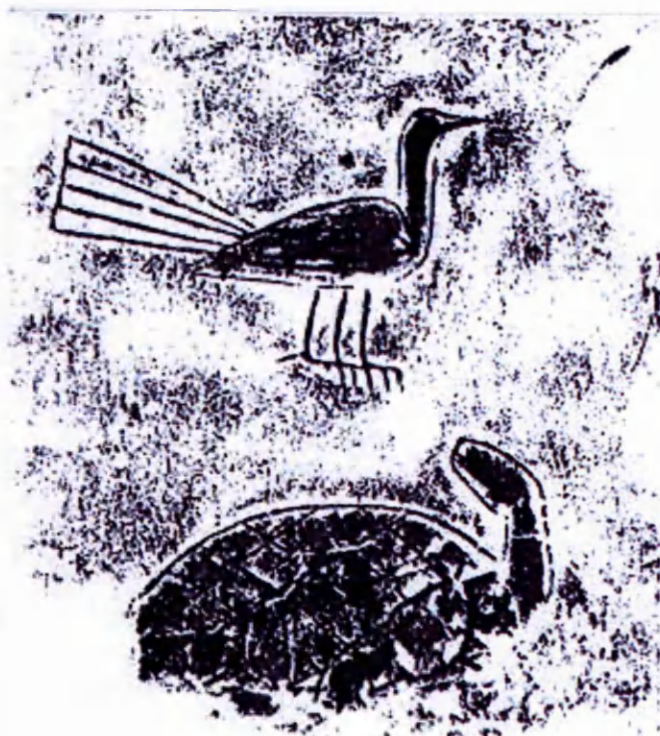


Plate 117

Plate 118



Plate 118.1



Plate 118.2



Plate 119

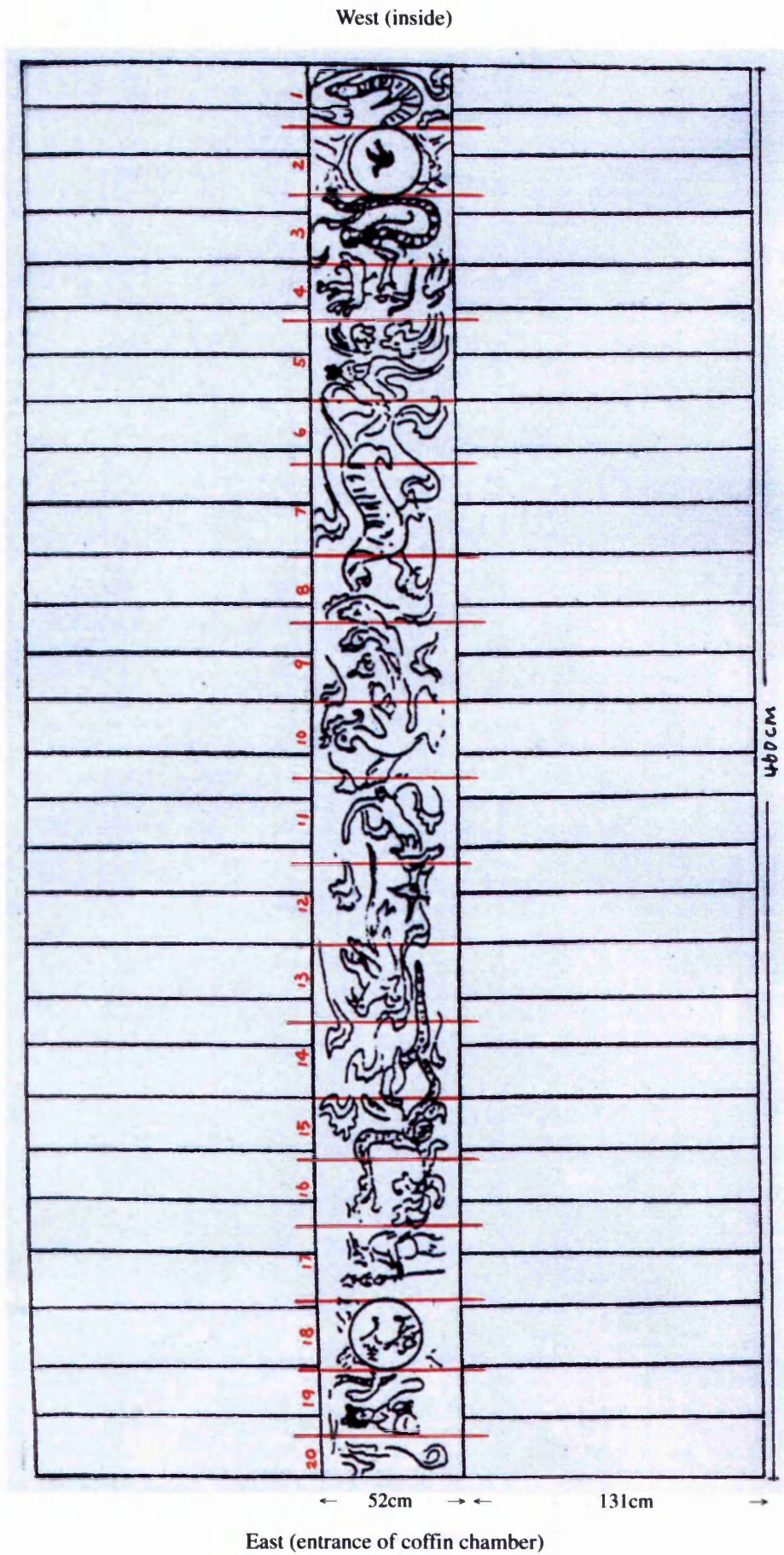


Plate 120



Plate 120.1

Plate 121



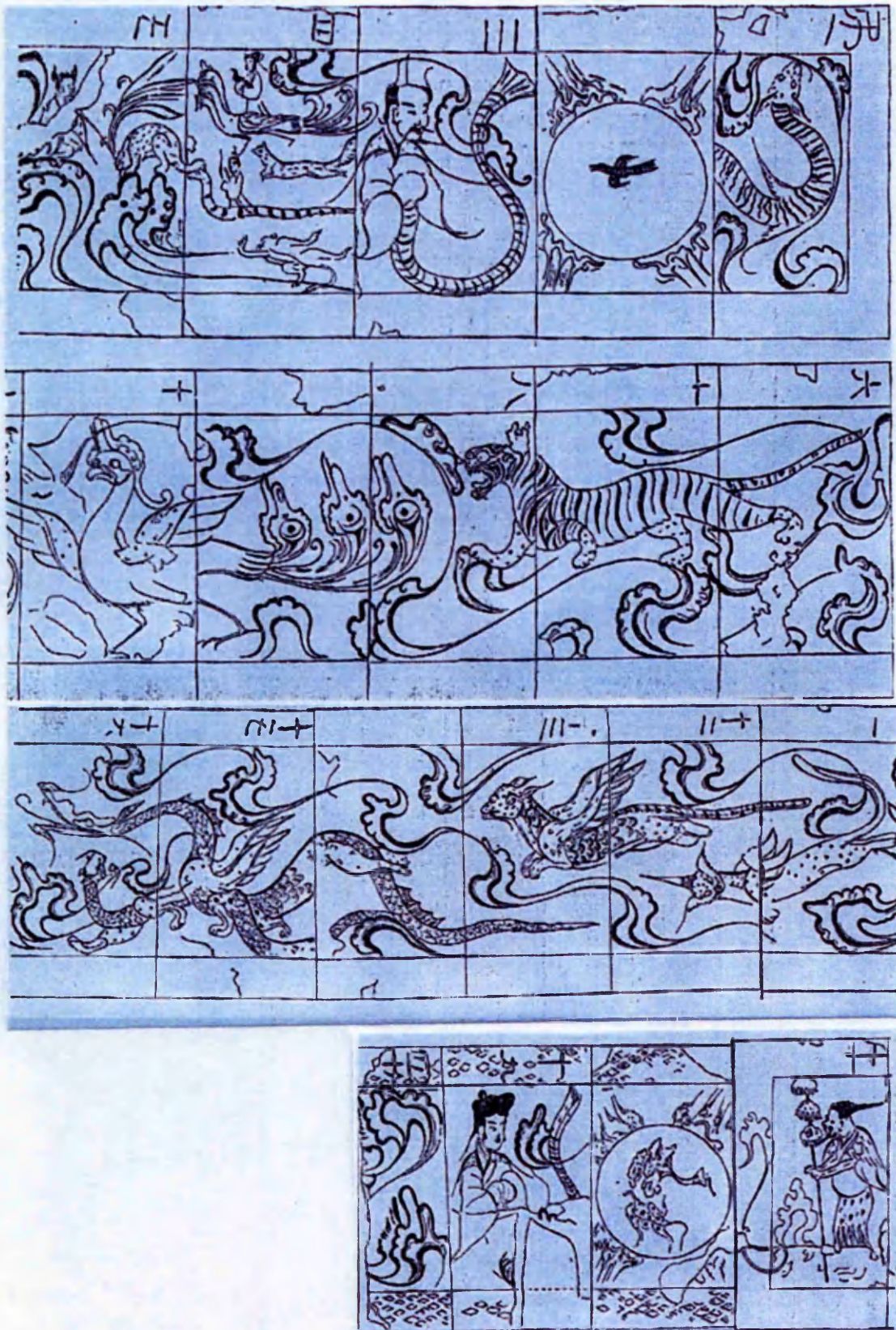


Plate 121.1



Plate 121.2

Plate 121.3

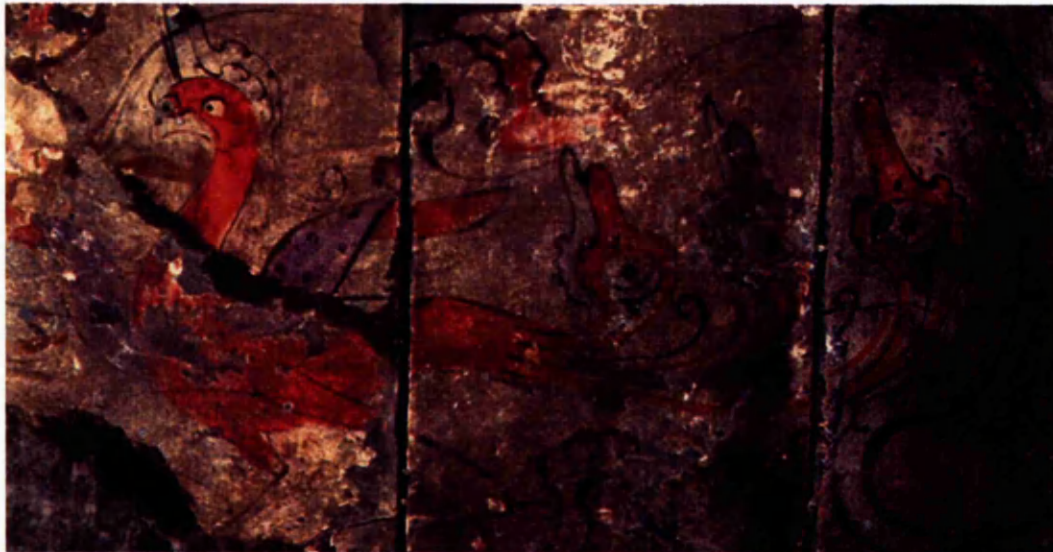


Plate 121.3

List of Plates

1. Images of the four cardinal animals, designed by Gao Lu 高魯 (modern Chinese astronomer) in *Xingxiang tongjian* 《星象統箋》, based on the related records in *Shi Ji · Tian Guan Shu* 《史記·天官書》 (c. 100 B.C.) and *Shishi Xing Jing* 《石氏星經》 (4th century B.C.) about the four groups of asterisms at the four quarters. After Beijing tianwenguan 1987: 51-54.
2. Images of the dragon and the tiger modelled in shells, excavated from M45 at Xishuipo, Puyang County, Henan Province, tomb master 1.84 m tall, animal on the left 1.78 long and 0.67 m tall, animal on the right 1.38 m long and 0.63 m tall, third group of shells located 35cm north of the skeleton. Neolithic period, c. 4000 B.C. After *WW* 1988, no. 3: 4.
- 2.1. Photo graph of the skeleton and the pair of dragon and tiger patterns in Xishuipo M45. After National Museum of History 1995: 24.
3. A *pushou* in jade carved with images of the *siling*, excavated from Wazhagou, Maoling district, Xiping County, Shaanxi Province, 34.2 x 35.6 x 14.7cm, 10.6 kg, W. Han, around the period of Wudi (r. 140-87 B.C.), Maoling Museum. After Wang Wenqing 1994: 144.
4. Fragment of a *pushou* in jade, with a tiger image on the left side, excavated from the tomb of Zhao Mo 趙昧, Prince of Nanyue (r. 137-122B.C.), Guangzhou, Guangdong Province, 16.7cm long, 13.8cm wide, Museum of Prince of Nanyue Tomb. After Lang Shaojun 1996: 590.
5. A fragment of a bar-typed brick, moulded with a tiger image, excavated from Wazhagou, Maoling District, Xingping County, Shaanxi Province, 13.8 x 45cm, W. Han, around the reign of Wudi (140-87 B.C.), Maoling Museum. After Wang Wenqing 1994: 145.
6. A fragment of a bar-type brick, moulded with a pair of phoenix images, excavated from Wazhagou, Maoling District, 18 x 116.5 x 40.5cm, Maoling Museum. After Wang Wenqing 1994: 145.
- 6.1. Rubbing of a brick, with a similar pair of phoenix images, British Museum, London.
7. A brick, moulded with images of a pair of snake-entwined turtles, excavated from Wazhagou, Maoling District, 17.8 x 117.5 x 37.5cm, Maoling Museum. After Wang Wenqing 1994: 145.
- 7.1. Rubbing of a similar pair of snake-entwined turtle images, British Museum, London.
8. Rubbing of a hollow brick with linked geometrical patterns in the centre and continuous patterns of immortals riding a pair of dragon and tiger at the edges, excavated from Wazhagou, Maoling District, 113 x 35 x 18.5cm, Maoling Museum. After *WW* 1976, no. 7: 52.
- 8.1. Details of the dragon and tiger panel.

9. Fragment of a hollow brick, patterned in relief lines with a dragon and a jade *bi*, excavated from Luojingshi at the Yangling, tomb of Emperor Jingdi (r. 156-141 B.C.). After Ma & Wang 2001: 55.
10. Fragment of a hollow brick, patterned in relief lines with a snake-and-turtle, excavated from Luojingshi at the Yangling, tomb of Emperor Jingdi (r. 156-141 B.C.). After Ma & Wang 2001: 56.
11. Rubbings of a set of four eaves tiles, each decorated with one of the *siling*, excavated from the site of *Biyong* near Xi'an, Shaanxi Province, diam. 15.8 - 19cm, W. Han, c. A.D. 4, Shaanxi Provincial Museum of History. After Wang Renbo 1995: 118.
12. Rubbing of the front side of a hollow brick, patterned in relief with a pair of snake-entwined turtles and a jade *bi*, brick no. 1 from M26, Erdaoyuan, near Xianyang City, Shaanxi Province, W. Han, around the reign of Wudi (140-87B.C.), Xianyang Museum. After KG 1982, no. 3: 234 (fig. 14.1).
- 12.1. Rubbing of a flank side of brick no. 1 from M26, patterned in relief with a pair of phoenixes and a jade *bi*. After KG 1982, no. 3: 234 (fig. 14.3).
13. The back side of a hollow brick (and its rubbing), patterned in relief with a pair of phoenixes and a plant, brick no. 34 from M36, Erdaoyuan, near Xianyang City, Shaanxi Province, W. Han, around the reign of Wudi (140-87B.C.), Xianyang Museum. After KG 1982, no. 3, pl. 3.2 & p. 232 (fig. 11.9).
- 13.1. The top side of a hollow brick, patterned in relief with a phoenix, brick no. 33 from M36. After KG 1982, no. 3, pl. 1.4.
- 13.2. The front side of a hollow brick (and its rubbing), patterned in relief with a pair of dragons and a jade *bi*, brick no. 36 from M36. After KG 1982, no. 3: 231 (fig. 10.3) & pl. 2.1.
- 13.3. Rubbing of the front side of a hollow brick patterned in relief with a tiger, brick no. 12 from M36. After KG 1982, no. 3: 232 (fig. 11.1).
- 13.4. The front side of a hollow brick, patterned in bas relief with a pair of tigers, brick no. 57 from M36. After KG 1982, no. 3, pl. 1.2.
- 13.5. Edge of a hollow brick, patterned in bas relief with a pair of tigers, brick no. 57 from M36. After KG 1982, no. 3, pl. 1.3.
14. The front side of a hollow brick, patterned in bas relief with a pair of tigers from M34, Erdaoyuan, near Xianyang City, Shaanxi Province, W. Han, around the reign of Wudi (140-87B.C.), Xianyang Museum. After KG 1982, no. 3, pl. 1.1.
- 14.1. Edge of the hollow brick from M34, patterned in bas relief with a pair of tigers. After KG 1982, no. 3: 226 & pl. 1.4.
15. A top view of the mural tomb in Jiaotong University, Xi'an, Shaanxi Province, W. Han, between the reigns

- of Zhao di (r. 86 - 74 B.C.) and Xuandi (r. 73 - 49 B.C.). After Shaanxisheng kaogu yanjiusuo & Xi'an Jiaotong daxue 1991, pl. 5.1.
- 15.1. Murals on the walls and the vault of the main chamber of the tomb. After Shaanxisheng kaogu yanjiusuo & Xi'an Jiaotong daxue 1991, pl. 1.1.
- 15.2-15.3 The western and western sections of the vault of the tomb. After Shaanxisheng kaogu yanjiusuo & Xi'an Jiaotong daxue 1991, pls. 2.1, 2.2.
- 15.4. The *qinglong* image on the vault of the tomb. After Shaanxisheng kaogu yanjiusuo & Xi'an Jiaotong daxue 1991, pl. 3.1.
- 15.5. The *baihu* image on the vault of the tomb. After Shaanxisheng kaogu yanjiusuo & Xi'an Jiaotong daxue 1991, pl. 13.1.
- 15.6. The *zhuque* image on the vault of the tomb. After Shaanxisheng kaogu yanjiusuo & Xi'an Jiaotong daxue 1991, pl. 13.3.
- 15.7. The *xuanwu* image on the vault of the tomb. After Shaanxisheng kaogu yanjiusuo & Xi'an Jiaotong daxue 1991, pl. 13.2.
- 15.8. Longevity bricks (and their rubbings) characters in seal script, reading, “長生未央 *changsheng weiyang*”, excavated from the Jiaotong University tomb. After Shaanxisheng kaogu yanjiusuo & Xi'an Jiaotong daxue 1991, pl. 39.
16. Rubbing of a rectangular hollow brick, decorated in the upper section with the *siling*, a jade *bi* pattern, an eight-character inscription in seal scripts, reading, “千秋萬歲 *qianqiu wansui*” & “長樂未央 *changle weiyang*”, and linked lozenge patterns in the lower section, from Shaanxi Province, 22 x 90 x 30cm, W. Han, 1st century B.C. After Zhang Hongxiu 1994, pls. 1-4.
17. Rubbing of a square brick decorated with the *siling* and an eight-character inscription in seal script, reading, “千秋萬歲長樂未央 *qianqiu wansui changle weiyang*”, and linked lozenge patterns, 35 x 34cm, W. Han, 1st century B.C. After Tai Jingnong 1976, pl. 28.
18. A line drawing showing the tomb structure of M61 at Shaogou, Luoyang, Henan Province, W. Han, the periods of Yuandi to Chengdi (87 - 7 B.C.), Luoyang Museum of Ancient Tombs. After Huang & Guo 1996: 89.
- 18.1. The trapezoid-shaped pediment, consisting of one rectangular and two triangular pieces, and a lintel, with moulded and painted patterns (background cut away), in the centre of the main chamber of M61, H. 55cm, L. 44cm to 161cm. After Huang & Guo 1996: 95.
- 18.2. The rectangular brick in the centre of the pediment, decorated with images of three of the *siling*, and other animals and supernaturals. After Huang & Guo 1996: 96.
- 18.3. One of the two symmetrical triangular bricks of the pediment, decorated with animal and supernatural images. After Huang & Guo 1996: 97.

19. Copy of a painting, "Houtu controlling the four directions", excavated from the flat ridge of the back chamber of a mural tomb at Jinguyuan, Luoyang, Henan Province, 41 x 47cm, Xin Dynasty, the first to the fourth year of Dihuang (A.D. 20 -23), Luoyang Museum of Ancient Tombs. After Huang & Guo 1996: 113.

20. Image of a *feng*, the third painting from the south, the east wall of the coffin chamber of the mural tomb at Jinguyuan, Luoyang City, Henan Province, Xin Dynasty, the first to the fourth year of Dihuang (A.D. 20 -23), 20.3x 40cm. Luoyang Museum of Ancient Tombs. After Huang & Guo 1996: 118.
- 20.1. Image of a *huang*, the fourth painting from the south on the east wall of the coffin chamber, 20.3 x 41cm. After Huang & Guo 1996: 118.
- 20.2 Images of *taibai* and the *baihu*, the first painting from the south on the west wall of the coffin chamber, 20.3 x 41cm. After Huang & Guo 1996: 114.
- 20.3. Images of *suixing* and the *canglong*, the second painting from the south on the west wall of the coffin chamber, 22 x 42cm. After Huang & Guo 1996: 114.
- 20.4. The *xuanwu* image, the third painting from the east on the north wall of the coffin chamber, 21.5 x 33cm. After Huang & Guo 1996: 120.
- 20.5. Image of the *tianma* and the *chenxing*, the second painting from the east on the north wall of the coffin chamber, 20 x 30cm. After Huang & Guo 1996: 120.

21. The painted ceiling and upper walls of the coffin chamber of a tomb at Zaoyuan Village, Pinglu County, Shanxi Province, Xin to the early E. Han, 1st century A.D. After KG 1959, no. 9, pl. 1.5.
- 21.1. The painted *qinglong* motif in the north of the ceiling of the coffin chamber of the Zaoyuan tomb, 106cm long. After KG 1959, no. 9, pl. 1.2.
- 21.2. The painted *baihu* motif in the south of the ceiling of the coffin chamber of the Zaoyuan tomb. After KG 1959, no. 9, pl. 1.1.
- 21.3. The painted *xuanwu* motif on the upper west/back wall of the coffin chamber of the Zaoyuan tomb, 90cm long. After KG 1959, no. 9, pl. 1.3.

22. A group of rectangular bricks with pressed patterns of the *siling*, used for the construction of a brick tomb at Jinqueshan, Linyi, Shandong Province, late E. Han to Wei and Jin periods, 3rd century A.D., each 16 x 32 x 6cm. Linyi Museum. After WW 1995, no. 6: 74-75.

23. A brick with relief pattern of the *xuanwu*, and an eighteen-word inscription, from the back wall of the coffin chamber, 31.5cm long, 4.5cm thick, Zhenjiang Museum. After Yao & Gu 1981, pl. 148.
- 23.1. A brick with relief pattern of the *zhuque*, from the back wall of the coffin chamber, 31.5cm long, 4.5cm thick, Zhenjiang Museum. After Yao & Gu 1981, pl. 146.
- 23.2. A brick with relief pattern of the *qinglong*, from the two side-walls of the coffin chamber, 31.5cm long, 4.5cm thick, Zhenjiang Museum. After Yao & Gu 1981, pl. 142.

- 23.3. A brick with relief pattern of the *baihu*, from the back wall of the coffin chamber, 31.5cm long, 4.5cm thick, Zhenjiang Museum. After Yao & Gu 1981, pl. 144.
24. Plan of the brick tomb at Xuezhang Village, Deng County, Henan Province, Southern and Northern Dynasties (A.D. 420-589). After Hebeisheng wenhuaju gongzuodui 1958: 2.
- 24.1 & 24.2. The back wall of the coffin chamber. After Hebeisheng wenhuaju gongzuodui 1958: 11 (pls. 3 & 4).
- 24.3. A brick, moulded and painted with the *xuanwu* image, from the back wall of the coffin chamber, 38 x 19 x 6cm, Museum of History, Beijing. After Hebeisheng wenhuaju gongzuodui 1958, pl. 37.
- 24.4. A brick, moulded and painted with the *zhuque* image, from the tomb at Deng County, 38 x 19 x 6cm, Museum of History, Beijing. After Hebeisheng wenhuaju gongzuodui 1958, pl. 39.
- 24.5. A brick, moulded and painted with the *qinglong* image, from the tomb at Deng County, 38 x 19 x 6cm, Museum of History, Beijing. After Hebeisheng wenhuaju gongzuodui 1958, pl. 36.
- 24.6. A brick, moulded and painted with the *baihu* image, from the tomb at Deng County, 38 x 19 x 6cm, Museum of History, Beijing. After Hebeisheng wenhuaju gongzuodui 1958, pl. 37.
25. Two sets of door leaves from M2 at Huji Village, Jinxiang County, Shandong Province. On each left door leaf, a dragon and a phoenix at the top, a *pushou* and a doorguard at the bottom; on each right door leaf, a tiger at the top, a *pushou* and a doorguard at the bottom, each leaf 61.5 x 117 x 9.5cm, Xin to early E. Han, 1st century A.D. After KG 1995, no. 5: 389.
26. A tomb door with two door leaves, with patterns of a phoenix and a *pushou* on the right, and a tiger and *pushou* on the left, excavated from Xindian Village, Tanghe County, Henan Province, left door leaf 136 x 68cm, right door leaf 136 x 62cm, Xin Dynasty, fifth year of Tianfeng (A.D.18), Nanyang Museum of Han Pictorial Art. After KGXB 1980, no. 2: 242 (pl. 5).
27. A tomb door, made up with three carved stones, including a door lintel with a dragon and a tiger images, and two door leaves with images of a phoenix, two *pushou* and two pairs of fish, excavated from Yigou Village, Tangyin County, Henan Province, lintel 42 x 175 x 43cm, each door leaf 128 x 56 x 12cm, E. Han, 1st century A.D. Tangyin County Cultural Bureau. After KG 1994, no. 4: 379.
28. A pair of tomb door leaves with patterns carved with bas relief. On the right leaf, a phoenix at the top, a *pushou* in the centre, and a turtle at the bottom; on the left leaf, an armed man at the top, a *pushou* in the centre, and a three-headed bird at the bottom, excavated from Santaizi, Beijing, each leaf 258 x 57cm, E. Han, 1st to 2nd centuries A.D. After WW 1966, no. 4: 53.
29. A set of tomb doors, containing a door lintel, two doorposts and two door leaves, excavated from Kuaihualing, Housijiagou, Suide County, Shaanxi Province, lintel 180 x 43.5cm, each doorpost 109 x

33.5cm, each door leaf 118.5 x 51cm, E. Han, around A.D. 100, Shaanxi Museum of Steles, Xi'an.

29.1. Rubbing of door leaves, with patterns of a pair of *zhuque*, a pair of *pushou*, the *qinglong* and the *baihu*.

After Zhang Hongxiu 1994, pls. 78 & 79.

29.2. The pair of *zhuque* images at the top of the door leaves.

29.3. The *qinglong* and the *baihu* images at the bottom of the door leaves.

29.4. The pair of *xuanwu* images.

30. A top view of the Knitting Factory M1 in Tanghe County, Henan Province, after unfolding, 5.08 x 4.52 x 2.23m, Xin Dynasty (A.D. 9-23), Nanyang Museum of Han Pictorial Art. After Nanyang Handai huaxiangshi bianji weiyuanhui 1986: 10.

30.1. Rubbing of a stone, patterned with the *siling* motifs, on the ceiling of the northern main chamber, 46 x 94cm. After Nanyang Handai huaxiangshi bianji weiyuanhui 1986, pl. 35.

30.2. Images of *Nüwa* and the *xuanwu*, on the right doorjamb of the northern main chamber, 104 x 32cm. After Nanyang Handai huaxiangshi bianji weiyuanhui 1986, pl. 24.

30.3. Images of a kneeling figure, a warrior drawing a sword, and a snake-entwined turtle, on the left doorjamb of the northern main chamber, 116 x 39cm. After Nanyang Handai huaxiangshi bianji weiyuanhui 1986, pl. 23.

31. Rubbings of a set of nine stones, carved in bas relief with images of the *siling*, *Fuxi* and *Nüwa*, the supreme god, Sagittarius and the Dipper, on the ceiling of the front chamber of a tomb at Qilin'gang, near Nanyang City, Henan Province, 380 x 130cm, early E. Han, 1st century A.D., Nanyang Cultural Bureau.

32. The plan of a tomb at Beizhai Village, Yinan County, Shandong Province, containing the front, the middle and the back chambers, three side chambers in the east and two side chambers in the west, late E. Han, before the fourth year of Chuping (A.D.193). After Zeng Zhaoyu 1956: 3.

32.1. A photograph showing the octagonal pillar in the centre of the front chamber, and the middle pillar at the entrance of the middle chamber. After Zeng Zhaoyu 1956, pl. 10.2.

32.2. Rubbings of the incised patterns of the *qinglong* (east) and *baihu* (west) on the upper part of a hemispherical column base, in the centre of the front chamber. After Zeng Zhaoyu 1956, rub. pls. 27-28.

32.3. Rubbings of the incised patterns of the *zhuque* (south) and the *xuanwu* (north) on the column base. After Zeng Zhaoyu 1956, rub. pls. 29-30.

32.4. Rubbings of carved images of the *zhuque* and the *xuanwu*, and a hybrid of man and beast, on the front side of the middle pillar at the entrance of the middle chamber. After Zeng Zhaoyu 1956, rub. pl. 14.

32.5. Rubbings of the left (east) wall of the pillar, with the *qinglong* image. After Zeng Zhaoyu 1956, rub. pl. 12.

32.6. Rubbings of the right (west) wall of a pillar, with the *baihu* image. After Zeng Zhaoyu 1956, rub. pl. 13.

33. Rubbing of a column base, carved in high relief with the patterns of the *siling*, an aboveground

architectural component, component for a palace of the capital of Xu, Xuchang County, Henan Province.
E. Han to Wei Dynasties. After Huang Liuchun 1994, pl. 201.

34. A line drawing showing the arrangement of the pictorial stones in a tomb at Lihu Village, Shilipu, Nanyang County, Henan Province, E. Han, 1st to 2nd centuries A.D. After *WW* 1986, no. 4: 50.
- 34.1. Rubbing of Stone 19, on the ceiling of the middle chamber, carved in bas relief with images of a turtle-and-snake, an immortal, two deer, a deity with two human heads, an animal and cloud designs, After *WW* 1986, no. 4: 57.
- 34.2. Rubbing of Stone 20, on the ceiling of the middle chamber, carved in bas relief with images of a dragon, a tiger, a phoenix, an immortal, the moon inhabited by a toad and cloud designs. After *WW* 1986, no. 4: 57.
- 34.3. Line drawing showing the arrangement of images on the doorway of the middle chamber. After *WW* 1986, no. 4: 49.
- 34.4. Images of a phoenix and a *pushou* (Stone 14), left door leaf of the middle chamber; the fallen right doorleaf (Stone 12) was carved with a tiger and *pushou*. After *WW* 1986, no. 4: 3 & 17.

35. Stone 1 of a set of four stones excavated from Hóuzhangda, Teng County, Shandong Province, carved in bas relief with historical scenes in the upper section, and images of *Xiwāngmǔ* and *Dongwānggōng*; a procession of immortals and other heavenly deities in the lower section, app. 1 x 2.7m, E. Han, 2nd century A.D., Tengzhou Museum of Han Pictorial Stones.
- 35.1. Stone 2, with historical scenes in the upper section, and historical scenes, a procession and human activities by a bridge in the lower section, approx. 1 x 2.7 m.
- 35.2. Stone 3 (right) decorated with images of a dragon fed with a fish by an immortal, a turtle and a snake. Stone 4 (left) decorated with images of a phoenix, a tiger with a small animal, a turtle-and-snake and an immortal, each approx. 1 x 0.6m.

36. Rubbing of a stone, carved in bas relief with images of a dragon and a tiger, excavated from Chengqian Village, Cangshan County, Shandong Province, first year of Yuanjia (A.D. 151), Cangshan County Cultural Bureau. After Jiang Yingju 1982, pl. 411.

37. A struggling scene between a dragon and a tiger, on an eaves tile in semi-circular shape, Warring States period. After Huang & Chen 1987: 73.

38. A pillar, patterned with a phoenix, a weaponed guardian and continuous teeth designs on the front side, and a dragon on the left flank, excavated from Shangzhuang Village, Shijingshan, near Beijing, component of a *que*-tower, 207 x 45 x 24cm, E. Han, first year of Yuanxing (A.D. 105). After *WW* 1964, no. 11: 15 (pl. 5), 21 (pls. 15 & 16).

39. The Que of Shen (a pair of towers) in Shenjiawan, Xinmin County, Qu County, Sichuan Province, E. Han,

A.D. 130 - 140, After Xu Wenbin 1992, pl. 161.

- 39.1. A line drawing showing the structure, measurement and decoration of the east tower. After Xu Wenbin 1992: 62 (pl. 19).
- 39.2. A line drawing showing the structure, measurement and decoration of the west tower. After Xu Wenbin 1992: 62 (pl. 20).
- 39.3. Rubbing of carved patterns of the *qinglong* and a jade *bi* on the right side of the east tower. After Xu Wenbin 1992, pl. 171.
- 39.4. Rubbing of carved patterns of the *baihu* and a jade *bi* on the left side of the west tower. After Xu Wenbin 1992, pl. 179.
- 39.5. The *zhuque* image on the front side of the east tower, with an inscription reading, “漢謁者北屯司馬左都侯沈府君神道 The spirit road of the Palace Receptionist, Commander of the North Palace Gate, Left Commander-in-chief of Palace Garrison, Shen, the deceased father, of the Han Dynasty.” After Xu Wenbin 1992, pl. 162.
- 39.6. Images and inscriptions on the east tower.
- 39.7. The *zhuque* image on the front side of the west tower, with an inscription reads, “漢新豐令交趾都尉沈府君神道 The spiritual path of Commander Shen of the Han Dynasty, Magistrate of Xinfeng, Defender of Jiaozhi.” After Xu Wenbin 1992, pl. 173.
- 39.8. Images and inscriptions on the west tower.
40. The front side of of the east tower of Zhaojiacun Que no. 1, caved in bas relief with the *zhuque* image at the top, Zhaojiacun, Xinxing County, Sichuan Province, late E. Han, the first quarter of 3rd century A.D. After Xu Wenbin 1992, pl. 195.
- 40.1. Rubbing of the *xuanwu* image at the bottom of the front side of the east tower of Zhaojiacun Que 1. After Xu Wenbin 1992, pl. 199.
- 40.2. Image of the *qinglong* and a jade *bi*, on the right side of the east tower of Zhaojiacun Que 1. After Xu Wenbin 1992, pls. 205 & 207.
- 40.3. Line drawing showing the structure, measurement and decorations of the remaining east tower of the Zhaojiacun Que 1. After Xu Wenbin 1992: 63 (pl. 22).
41. Rubbing of the *zhuque* image at the top of the front side of west tower of Zhaojiacun Que no. 2, Zhaojiacun, Xinxing County, Sichuan Province, late E. Han, the first quarter of 3rd century A.D. After Xu Wenbin 1992, pl. 212.
- 41.1. The *xuanwu* image at the bottom of the front side of the west tower of Zhaojiacun Que 2. After Xu Wenbin 1992, pl. 213.
- 41.2. Image of the *baihu* and a jade *bi*, on the left side of the left tower of Zhaojiacun Que 2. After Xu Wenbin 1992, pls. 214 & 216.
- 41.3. Line drawing showing the structure, measurement and decorations of the remaining west tower of the Zhaojiacun Que 2. After Xu Wenbin 1992: 64 (pl. 23).

42. The front and left side of the east tower of the Wangjiaping Que, Xinxing Village, Qu County, Sichuan Province. After Xu Wenbin 1992, pl. 236.
- 42.1. The right side of the east tower of the Wangjiaping Que, carved in relief with images of the *qinglong* and a jade *bi*. After Xu Wenbin 1992, pl. 243.
- 42.2. Line drawing showing the structure, measurement and decorations of the remaining east tower of the Wangjiaping Que, Xinxing Village, Qu County, Sichuan Province. After Xu Wenbin 1992: 64 (pl. 24).
43. The front and left side of the east tower of the Pujiawan Que, Xinmin Village, Qu County, Sichuan Province. After Xu Wenbin 1992, pl. 181.
- 43.1. Rubbing of images of the *qinglong* and a jade *bi* on the right flank of the east tower of the Pujiawan Que. After Xu Wenbin 1992, pl. 193.
- 43.2. Line drawing showing the structure, measurement and decorations of the remaining left tower of the Pujiawan Que, Xinmin Village, Qu County, Sichuan Province. After Xu Wenbin 1992: 63 (pl. 21).
44. Rubbing of engraved stone with a phoenix and turtle-and-snake, excavated from the southern side of the bracket system, the sub-tower of the west tower of the Wushi Que, at the Wu cemetery in Jiaxiang County, Shandong Province, E. Han, the first year of Jianhe (A.D. 147), After Finsterbusch 1997, cat. no. 265.
45. A stone tablet with the *siling* images, from Yizhou. After Lu Lizheng 1990: 89.
46. A line drawing of the cover of the third coffin (of the set of four), a struggling scene between two dragons and two tigers, from Mawangdui M1, Changsha, Hunan Province, 2.30 x 0.92m, W. Han, c. 168 B.C., Hunan Provincial Museum. After Hunansheng bowuguan & kaogu yanjiusuo 1973, fig. 22.
- 46.1. A line drawing of the left wall of the third coffin (of the set of four) from Mawangdui M1, with a mountain-like pattern, images of two dragons, a tiger, a deer-like animal, a phoenix and a human figure, 2.30 x 0.8m. After Hunansheng bowuguan & kaogu yanjiusuo 1973, fig. 25.
- 46.2. T-shaped banner from Mawangdui M1, length 205cm, top width 92cm, bottom width 47.7cm. After Zhang Anzhi 1986: 68.
- 46.3. The toad and the moon images at the top left corner of the T-shaped banner from Mawangdui M1. After Zhang Anzhi 1986: 69.
- 46.4. A top view of Mawangdui M1, showing the wooden framework set at the bottom of the shaft tomb, containing a set of four coffins in the centre, and four compartments for the burial objects. After Hunansheng bowuguan 1972, pl. 3.
47. Stone 2 of the sarcophagus excavated from Hanjiapu, Qufu County, Shandong Province, carved with images of the *qinglong*, an immortal, animals and birds, and linked *bi* designs, 84 x 276 x 20cm, early E. Han, 1st century A.D., the Confucius Temple, Qufu. After KG 1985, no. 12: 1130-1135.

- 47.1. The *qinglong* image on Stone 1.
 - 47.2. Patterns of linked *bi*, animals and birds on the left side of Stone 1.
 - 47.3. Patterns of linked *bi*, an immortal, animals and birds on the right side of Stone 1.
 - 47.4. Stone 3 of the sarcophagus, carved with images of the *baihu*, animals and birds, and linked *bi* designs.
 - 47.5. The *baihu* image on Stone 3.
 - 47.6. Patterns of linked *bi*, and animals and birds on the right side of Stone 3.
 - 47.7. Patterns of linked *bi*, and animals and birds on the left side of Stone 3.
 - 47.8. Stone 4 of the sarcophagus, carved on one side with images of a tiger-like four-feet reptile, animals and birds, and linked *bi* designs.
 - 47.9. Tiger image on Stone 4.
 - 47.10. Stone 5 of the sarcophagus, carved on one side with images of a dragon-like four-feet animal, animals and birds, and linked *bi* designs.
 - 47.11. The dragon-like animal image on Stone 5.
 - 47.12. Stone 6 of the sarcophagus, carved on one side with a pair of face-to-face *zhuque* images.
 - 47.13. The pair of *zhuque* images on Stone 6.
 - 47.14. Stone 7 of the sarcophagus, carved on one side with a pair of face-to-face *xuanwu* images.
 - 47.15. The pair of *xuanwu* images on Stone 7.
48. A sarcophagus, carved in bas relief with of the *siling* motifs and other images, fifteen of them inscribed, excavated from a cave tomb at Guitoushan, Jianyang County, Sichuan Province, 64 x 63 x 210cm (inc. lid), E. Han, second to early 3rd century A.D., Jianyang County Cultural Bureau. After Gao Wen & Gao Chenggang 1996: 6.
- 48.1. A model of the sarcophagus, decorations reconstructed by rubbings, with a fragmentary *zhuque* image on the front, Sichuan Provincial Museum.
 - 48.2. Rubbing of the rear of the sarcophagus, with images of the *xuanwu*, *Fuxi*, *Nüwa* and a little bird, inscriptions reading, "*xuanwu*", "*Fuxi*", "*Nüwa*" and "*jiu*".
 - 48.3. The "*xuanwu*" image on the rear.
 - 48.4. Rubbing of the right wall of the sarcophagus, with images of the *baihu*, a pair of *que*-towers perched with a pair of phoenixes on the top and a *dasi* (an official) underneath, a double-eaved building and a crane, inscriptions reading "*baihu*", "*tianmen*", "*dasi*" and "*dacang*".
 - 48.5. The "*baihu*" image on the right wall.
 - 48.6. Patterns of the "*tianmen*" and the "*dasi*" on the right wall.
 - 48.7. Patterns of the "*dacang*" and the crane on the right wall.
 - 48.8. Rubbing of the left wall of the sarcophagus, with images of the *qinglong* and two fish, two figures playing chess, a figure riding on a deer, a horse-like animal following by two wheels, two winged immortals, a pheasant and an animal, inscriptions reading "*qinglong*", "*xianren bo*", "*xianren qi*", "*riyue*", "*zhuzhu*", "*baizhi*" and "*lilü*".
 - 48.9. Detail of the "*qinglong*", the "*xianren bo*" and the "*xianren qi*".

49. A sarcophagus, carved in bas relief with the *qinglong* on the left wall, and the *baihu* with two birds and a fish on the right wall, excavated from a cave tomb at Dongbinting, Luzhou, Sichuan Province, sarcophagus 83 x 83 x 223cm, E. Han, second to early 3rd century A.D., Luzhou Museum. After Gao Wen & Gao Chenggang 1996: 42.
- 49.1. The front side of the sarcophagus, with images of *Xiwangmu* and *Dongwanggong* on a pair of *que*-towers, the *zhuque* perching on a jade *bi* pattern, two birds and the *xuanwu*. After Gao Wen & Gao Chenggang 1996: 43.
50. One side of a sarcophagus, carved in bas relief with patterns of the *qinglong*, a roof supported by two bracket systems, a man and a horse-cart, and a fish, excavated from Jiufeng Village, Leshan County, Sichuan Province, 77 x 213cm, Maohao Cave Tomb Museum, Leshan. After Gao Wen & Gao Chenggang 1996: 87-88.
- 50.1. Another side of the sarcophagus, decorated with patterns of the *baihu* and a bird.
- 50.2. The rear of the sarcophagus, decorated with the *zhuque* image.
- 50.3. The front of the sarcophagus, decorated with two bowing men at a gate made up with a pair of tower-*que*.
51. The left wall of a sarcophagus, carved in bas relief with images of the *qinglong*, *Xiwangmu* sitting on her dragon-tiger seat, a chariot, riding and hunting scenes, and other human activities, excavated from Fushui County, Sichuan Province, sarcophagus length 232cm, width 76cm, E. Han, 2nd to early 3rd centuries A.D. After Gao Wen & Gao Chenggang 1996: 40.
- 51.1. The right wall of the sarcophagus, decorated with images of the *baihu*, a farmer holding an agricultural instrument, and three other men. After Gao Wen & Gao Chenggang 1996: 41.
- 51.2. The rear of the sarcophagus, decorated with images of the *xuanwu*, *Fuxi* and *Nuwa*. After Gao Wen & Gao Chenggang 1996: 41.
- 51.3. The front side of the sarcophagus, decorated with an official standing under a pair of *que*. After Gao Wen & Gao Chenggang 1996: 40.
52. The sarcophagus of Wang Hui, excavated from Modong Village, Lushan County, Sichuan Province, 101 x 83 x 250cm, E. Han, the seventeenth year of Jian'an (A.D. 212). After Gao Wen & Gao Chenggang 1996: 1.
- 52.1. Rubbing of a winged figure image from a gate scene and a thirty-five character inscription on the front side of the sarcophagus, 55 x 83cm, After Lim 1987: 178 (pl. 70A).
- 52.2. The rear of the sarcophagus (and its rubbing), carved in relief with the *xuanwu* image, 54 x 83cm. After Lim 1987: 181 (pl. 70E) & 179 (Pl. 70C).
- 52.3. The right wall of the sarcophagus (and its rubbing), carved in relief with the *qinglong* image, 250 x 101cm. After Lim 1987: 180 (pl. 70D) & 180 (pl. 70D).
- 52.4. The left wall of the sarcophagus (and its rubbing), carved in relief with the *baihu* image, 250 x 101cm.

After Lim 1987: 181 (pl. 70E).

53. The Dingfang Que at Zhong County, Sichuan Province, E. Han, second to the first quarter of the 3rd century A.D. After Xu Wenbin 1992, pl. 247.

53.1. A scene of a woman emerging from a half-opened gate, the second level of the east tower of the Dingfang Que. After Xu Wenbin 1992, pl. 251.

54 & 54.1. Rubbing of the right wall of a sarcophagus (and details), decorated with a woman emerging from a half-opened door, phoenixes and human figures, excavated from Xingjing, Sichuan Province, 79 x 232cm, E. Han, 2nd century to early 3rd century A.D., Yandao Historical Site Museum, Xingjing.

55. Illustrations of an woman emerging from a half-opened door, Tang to Jin periods, 7th to 13th centuries. After Su Bai 1957: 28.

56. Images of the dragon and the tiger, with the names of the Dipper and the twenty-eight *xīu* constellations, painted on the cover of a lacquer chest found in the tomb of Marquis Zeng Hou Yi, Suizhou, Hubei Province, early Warring States period, c. 433B.C., Hubei Provincial Museum. After Hubei Provincial Museum & Art Gallery CUHK 1994, pl. 15.

56.1. Line drawing of the designs on the lacquer chest. After Hubeisheng bowuguan 1991, pl. 216/1.

56.2. The tomb of Zeng Hou Yi when undergoing excavation. After Hubeisheng bowuguan 1980, pl. 1.

56.3. A top view of the tomb of Zeng Hou Yi, showing the coffins and the burial objects among the four rooms. After Hubeisheng bowuguan 1980, pl. 2.

57. One of the excavated face covers from the Guangling State at Yangzhou City, Jiangsu Province, patterns painted in lacquer on wood, 54.6cm long, 36.1cm wide, 38.7cm high, W. Han, late 1st century B.C. to early 1st century A.D., Yangzhou Museum.

57.1. The *zhuque* image on the inner side of the top panel of the face cover. After *ZGWWB* 1997. 11. 23.

57.2. Plans of M3, M5 & M6 at Xiaojiashan, Yangzhou City, Xin to early E. Han, early 1st century A.D., showing the locations of the face covers in the tombs when excavated. After *KG* 1980, no. 5: 419 (fig. 2), 420 (fig. 3B & 3C).

58. One side of a *boshan*-typed incense burner, bronze inlaid with silver, excavated from the tomb of Dou Wan, the wife of Liu Sheng, Prince Jing of Zhongshan, at Mancheng, Hubei Province, 32.3cm high, pedestal 22.3cm in diameter, early W. Han, 2nd century B.C., Hubei Provincial Museum. After *Guojia wenwuji* 1996: 323.

58.1. The other side of the incense burner. After *Zhongguo shehui kexueyuan kaogu yanjiusuo & Hebeisheng wenwu guanlichu* 1980, vol. 2, pl. 175.

58.2. A line drawing, showing the patterns of a dragon, a tiger, a phoenix and a camel round the body of the

incense burner. After Zhongguo Shehui kexueyuan kaogu yanjiusuo & Hebeisheng wenwu guanlichu 1980, vol. 1: 257.

59. A *siling* bronze brazier with a matching ear-cup and oval ring support, excavated near Xi'an, 9.2cm high, 14cm long, 8.2cm wide, early W. Han to Wudi period (2nd century to 87 B.C.), Shaanxi Provincial Cultural Bureau. After KGYWW 1997, no. 6: cover pg.
- 59.1. Two views of one of a pair of *siling* bronze braziers, each with a matching ear cup and tray, excavated from the Maoling district, Xingping County, Shaanxi Province, early W. Han to Wudi period (2nd century to 87 B.C.), Shaanxi Provincial Museum of History.
- 59.2. A pair of *siling* bronze braziers, each with a matching earcup and tray, braziers 24cm long, 12cm high, earcups 12.3cm long, width 10.2cm wide, 3.9cm high, early W. Han to Wudi period (2nd century to 87 B.C.), The Art Institute of Chicago, U.S.A.
- 59.3 & 59.4. Two views of a *siling* bronze brazier with tray, 12cm in diam. at handle, early W. Han to Wudi period (2nd century to 87 B.C.), British Museum, London, U.K.
- 59.5. A *siling* bronze brazier decorated with two *baihu*, a *zhuque* and a *xuanwu*, 9.8cm high, 19.4cm long, 8.3cm wide, early W. Han to Wudi period (2nd century to 87 B.C.), Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, U.S.A.
60. Drawing of square gilt-bronze plaque, decorated with the *siling* and an armed figure, excavated from a tomb at the Phosphate Factory, Wushan County, Sichuan Province, each side 4.5cm, width of the teeth patterns 3cm, E. Han, 1st to 2nd centuries A.D., Wushan Cultural Bureau. After KG 1998, no. 12: 83 (fig. 8).
- 60.1. Drawing of a circular gilt-bronze plaque, decorated with a jade *bi*, a double-storeyed tower-*que* inscribed "天门 *tian men*" with a seated lady image underneath, and images of the *qinglong*, the *baihu* and the *zhuque* on the three sides, excavated from Gangouzi, Jiangdongju, Wushan County, Sichuan Province, diam. 23cm, width at border 1cm, E. Han, 2nd to early 3rd centuries A.D., Wushan Cultural Bureau, Sichuan Province. After KG 1998, no. 12: 79 (fig. 2 (A6)).
- 60.2. Drawing of a gilt-bronze plaque which is shaped like a persimmon calyx, each of the four petals is decorated with one of the four cardinal animals and other figure and animal images, excavated from Wushan County, Sichuan Province, E. Han, 2nd to early 3rd centuries A.D., Wushan Cultural Bureau, Sichuan Province. After KG 1998, no. 12: 79 (fig. 7).
61. A bronze belt-hook, cast in openwork with images of the *siling* and an armed beast, length 14.7cm, late W. Han to E. Han, 1st century B.C. to 2nd century A.D. British Museum, London, U.K.
- 61.1. Rubbing of a similar bronze belt-hook, excavated from Donggangtou Village, Shijiazhuang City, Hebei Province, 14.8 x 5.1cm, late W. Han to E. Han, 1st century B.C. to 2nd centuries A.D. After KG 1965, no. 12: 656.
- 61.2. Rubbing of a similar bronze belt-hook, late W. Han to E. Han, 1st century B.C. to 2nd century A.D. After

TG 46, 1974: 226.

62. Drawing of a bronze belt-hook with an armed figure. After *KGTX* 1955, no. 6: 67.

63. A drawing of a complete set of *liubo* chess inside a square lacquer box, containing a square chess board with the TLV patterns, chopsticks, chessmen, counting rods, a cutting ring and a sharpener, excavated from Mawangdui M3, Changsha, Hunan Province, W. Han, c. 168 B.C., Hunan Provincial Museum. After Sun Ji 1991, pl. 100-3 (p. 395).

64. Rubbing of a TLV mirror, decorated with the *siling* motifs, diam. 11.55cm, weight 315 g; Wang Mang period to early E. Han; 1st century A.D., Lüshun Museum, Liaoning Province. After Lüshun bowuguan 1997, pl. 32.

65. A TLV mirror, decorated with the *siling* motifs, diam. 19cm, excavated from Huayin County, Shaanxi Province; Wang Mang period, first quarter of the 1st century A.D., Shaanxi Provincial Museum of History. After Wang Wenqing 1994: 18.

66. A TLV mirror decorated with the *siling* and bird patterns, diam. 11.8cm, Wang Mang period to E. Han, 1st to 2nd centuries A.D., National Palace Museum, Taipei. After National Palace Museum 1986, pl. 35.

67. Rubbing of a TLV, decorated with the *siling* and grass patterns, diam. 11.5cm, E. Han, 2nd century A.D., former Moriya Kozo Collection, Japan. After Moriya 1969, pl. 14.

68. A TLV mirror (and its rubbing), decorated with the *siling* motifs, diam. 11.3cm, excavated from M51 at the Railway Station Line, Luoyang, Henan Province, Wang Mang period, first quarter of the 1st century A.D., Luoyang Museum, Henan Province. After Luoyang Bowuguan 1988, pl. 31.

69. A TLV mirror, decorated with images of the *siling* and immortals, birds and animals, diam. 14.4cm, late W. Han to Wang Mang period, late 1st century B.C. to A.D. 8, former Moriya Kozo Collection, Japan. After Moriya 1969, pl. 10.

70. A TLV mirror, decorated with images of the *siling* and other immortals, birds and animals, and an inscription of thirty-five characters, diam. 17cm, Wang Mang period to E. Han, 1st to 2nd centuries A.D., Cleveland Museum of Art, U.S.A.

71. A TLV mirror, decorated with images of the *siling* and other immortals, birds and animals, and an inscription of thirty-five characters, diam. 16.6cm, Wang Mang to E. Han, 1st to 2nd centuries A.D., Cleveland Museum of Art, U.S.A.

72. Rubbing of a TLV mirror, decorated with images of the *siling* and other immortals, birds and animals, and an inscription of fifty-six characters, diam. 20.64cm, Xin Dynasty, A.D. 9-23, Museum of Fine Arts, Springfield, Mass. After Chinese Art Society of America Asia House 1961, pl. 70.

73. A TLV mirror, decorated with images of the *siling* and other immortals, birds and animals, and an inscription of forty-nine words, diam. 18.3cm, Xin Dynasty, A.D. 9-23, former Moriya Kozo Collection, Japan. After Moriya 1969, col. pl. 3.

74. Rubbing of a TLV mirror, decorated with images of the *siling* and other immortals, birds and animals, and an inscription of forty-two characters, diam. 18.8cm, E. Han, 1st to 2nd centuries A.D., Palace Museum, Beijing. After Guo Yuhai 1996: 33.

75. A TLV mirror, decorated with images of the *siling* and other immortals, birds and animals, diam. 12.1cm, early E. Han, 1st century A.D., City Art Museum of St. Louis, U.S.A. After Chinese Art Society of America Asia House 1961, pl. 71.

76. A TLV mirror, decorated with images of the *siling* and other immortals, birds and animals, and inscribed with the "Twelve Branches" inside the central square, reading, "zi 子, chou 丑, yin 寅, mao 卯, chen 辰, si 巳, wu 午, wei 未, shen 申, you 酉, xu 戌, hai 亥", diam. 13.85cm, E. Han, 1st to 2nd century A.D., former Moriya Kozo Collection, Japan. After Moriya 1969, pl. 44.

77. Rubbing of a TLV mirror, decorated with images of the *siling* and other immortals, birds and animals, and an inscription of fifty-six characters, diam. 20.95cm, Xin Dynasty, A.D. 9-23, Palace Museum, Beijing. After Guo Yuhai 1996: 32.

78. A TLV mirror decorated with images of the *siling* and other immortals, birds and animals, diam. 14.3cm, Wang Mang to E. Han, 1st to 2nd centuries A.D., Cleveland Museum of Art, U.S.A.

79. A TLV mirror, decorated with images of the *siling* and other immortals, birds and animals, and an inscription of thirty-six characters, diam. 16.7cm, Wang Mang to E. Han, 1st to 2nd centuries A.D., National Palace Museum, Taipei. After National Palace Museum 1986, pl. 44.

80. Rubbing of a TLV mirror, decorated with images of the *siling* and other immortals, birds and animals, and an inscription of thirty-three characters, diam. 18.15cm, Wang Mang period to E. Han, 1st to 2nd centuries A.D., Lüshun Museum, Liaoning Province. After Lüshun bowuguan 1997, pl. 37.

81. A TLV mirror, decorated with images of the *siling* and other immortals, birds and animals, an inscription of

twenty-eight words at the border, diam. 14.7cm, Xin Dynasty, A. D. 9-23, former Moriya Kozo Collection, Japan. After Moriya 1969, pl. 1.

82. A "four nipples" *shoudai* mirror, decorated with the *siling* motifs, diam. 10.2cm, Wang Mang period to early E. Han, 1st century A.D., the Field Museum of Natural History, Chicago, U.S.A.

83. Rubbing of a "four nipples" *shoudai* mirror, decorated with the *siling* motifs, excavated from Guangzhou, Guangdong Province, diam. 10.1cm, E. Han, 1st century A.D. After Kong & Liu 1992: 251.

84. Rubbing of a "four nipples" *shoudai* mirror, decorated with images of the *qinglong* with a tiger, the *baihu* with an immortal and an animal, the *zhuque* with a bird, the *xuanwu* with an immortal and an animal, and an inscription of twenty-five words, diam. 18.5cm, E. Han, 1st century A.D., Shanghai Museum. After Kong & Liu 1992: 248.

85. Rubbing of a "four nipples" *shoudai* mirror, decorated with images of the *qinglong* with an immortal, the *baihu* with an animal, the *zhuque* with a bird, the *xuanwu* with an immortal, and an inscription of twenty-four words, excavated from Chunhua County, Shaanxi Province, diam. 18.5cm, E. Han, 1st century A.D. After Kong & Liu 1992: 249.

86. A "four nipples" *shoudai* mirror, decorated with stylized *siling* motifs, late W. Han to early E. Han, late 1st century B.C to 1st century A.D., National Palace Museum, Taipei. After National Palace Museum 1986, pl. 31.

87. A *siling sanrui* mirror, decorated with images of the *siling*, three animals and immortal, and an inscription of fifty words, diam. 15.8cm, E. Han, "seventh year of Yongping (A.D. 64). After Umehara 1943, pl. 4.

88. A *siling sanrui* mirror, diam. 16.5cm, E. Han, 1st to 2nd centuries A.D., Cleveland Museum of Art, U.S.A.

89. A *siling sanrui* mirror, diam. 21cm, E. Han, 1st to 2nd centuries A.D., Palace Museum, Beijing. After Guo Yuhai 1996: 45.

90. A *siling sanrui* mirror, E. Han, 1st to 2nd centuries A.D. After Bulling 1960, fig. J.

91. A gilt bronze mirror, decorated with TLV and spiral designs in the inner circle, and the *siling* and cloud designs in the animal belt near the border, diam. 11.5cm, late W. Han, late 1st century B.C., former Moriya Kozo Collection, Japan. After Moriya 1969, col. pl. 1.

92. Line drawing of a TLV mirror, excavated from Shaogou M1023, Luoyang, Henan Province, showing the

arrangement of the *siling* and their relations with the "Twelve Branches", early E. Han, 1st century A.D.
After *WW* 1982, no. 3: 66.

92.1 Line drawings showing the *siling* and other accompanied images on six Han Dynasty TLV mirrors. After *WW* 1982, no. 3: 67.

93 & 93.1. A painted pottery jar decorated with a dragon, a tiger and two phoenixes, excavated from M81, Luoyang, Henan Province, W. Han, Luoyang Museum.

94. A copy of the patterns of a dragon, a tiger and two phoenixes on a painted pottery jar, excavated from M10 at the timber factory in Luoyang, Henan Province. After Luoyang bowuguan 1986: 78.

95. A line drawing, showing the images of the *siling* and a toad on a hemispherical-shaped lid of a grey pottery vessel, excavated from Zaoyang City, Hubei Province, diam. 13.6cm, height 6.8cm, Xin Dynasty to early E. Han, 1st century A.D., Zaoyang Museum. After *JHKG* 1994, no. 4, pl. 5.8.

96. A pottery stove model, decorated with a pair of snake-entwined turtles and a bird on the front side, and a winged man feeding *lingzhi* fungus to a dragon on the left side, front side 12.7 x 18.4cm, left side 12.1 x 31.1cm, late W. Han to early E. Han, late 1st century B.C. to 1st century B.C., Cleveland Museum of Art, U.S.A.

96.1. Patterns of a pair of snake-entwined turtles and a bird on the front side, and a lancer fighting a tiger on the right side of the stove model, right side 11.4 x 31.1cm.

96.2. Patterns of a winged man feeding *lingzhi* fungus to a dragon on the left side, and a phoenix on the rear of the stove model, rear 12.1 x 18.4cm.

96.3. Rubbing of images of two raised cones for heating pots and two fish patterns on the top of the stove model. After Bi Ming 1995: 176.

97. A pottery stove model, decorated with patterns of the *siling*, a bird, a fowl, and two fish, 24.13 x 24.13 x 38.1cm, E. Han, 1st to 2nd centuries A.D., Buffalo Museum of Science, U.S.A.

97.1. The front side of the stove model, decorated with patterns of a fire chamber with a bird, and flanked on either side by a snake-entwined turtle, 24.13 x 24.13cm.

97.2. The rear of the stove model, decorated with a phoenix, 24.13 x 24.13cm.

97.3. The right side of the stove model, decorated with a lancer fighting a tiger, 24.13 x 38.1cm.

97.4. The left side the stove model, decorated with a winged figure fighting a dragon, 24.13 x 38.1cm.

97.5. The top of the stove model, with two raised cones for heating pots, patterns of two fish, an animal and a fowl-like bird, 24.13 x 38.1cm.

98. A pottery stove model, decorated with food, cooking vessels and a toad, excavated from Wuling Village, Xinxiang County, Henan Province, Han Dynasty, late 1st century B.C. to early 2nd century A.D. After

KGXB 1990, no. 1: 121 (pl. 17.4).

99. A yellow-glazed pottery stove model, decorated with architectural buildings and doorguards, and trees, excavated from Zhaozhai, Nanyang, Henan Province, mid W. Han to Xin Dynasty, 1st century B.C. to A.D. 23. After Nanyang Handai huaxiangshi bianji weiyuanhui 1990: 17 (pl. 14).

100. A pottery stove model, decorated with two figure images on the front panel, excavated from Qianyang County, Shaanxi Province, 21cm long at the top, 17.1cm wide at the back, height 9.6cm, Xin Dynasty (A.D. 9-23), Baoji Museum, Shaanxi Province. After *KG* 1975, no. 3: 179.

101. A yellow-glazed pottery stove model, decorated with a seated human figure inside an architectural building, excavated from Junzhangying, Nanyang, Henan Province, E. Han, 1st to early 2nd centuries A.D., Xinye Museum of Han Pictorial Art. After Nanyang Handai huaxiangshi bianji weiyuanhui 1986: 16 (pl. 33).

102. A yellow-glazed pottery stove model, decorated with a seated human figure inside an architectural building and fish, excavated from Shiqiao, Nanyang, Henan Province, E. Han, 1st to early 2nd centuries A.D., Xinye Museum of Han Pictorial Art. After Nanyang Handai huaxiangshi bianji weiyuanhui 1986: 16 (pl. 34).

103. A pottery stove model, decorated with fish patterns, excavated from M39, Fanji, Nanyang, Henan Province, mid W. Han to Xin Dynasty, 1st century B.C. to A.D. 23, Xinye Museum of Han Pictorial Art. After Zhao Chengfu 1990: 24 (pl. 3).

104. A pottery stove model, decorated with fish patterns, excavated from M11, Fanji, Nanyang, Henan Province, 23 x 9.8 x 6.2cm, mid W. Han to Xin Dynasty, 1st century B.C. to A.D. 23, Xinye Museum of Han Pictorial Art. After Zhao Chengfu 1990: 24 (pl. 5).

105. Rubbings of patterns of standing human figures on the front side of a pottery stove model, former private collection in China. After Bi Ming 1995: 179-180.

- 105.1. Rubbings of patterns of a tiger fighting with an ox-like animal on the rear of the stove model.

- 105.2 & 105.3. Rubbings of patterns of a man taming an ox-like animal and a lancer fighting a tiger, on the two sides of the stove model.

106. A pottery stove model, decorated with patterns of two standing figures on the front side, a dragon and a tiger on the two sides, and three fish and some lozenge designs on the top, 31.75 x 22.26 x 11.43cm, mid W. Han to early E. Han, 1st century B.C. to 1st century A.D., former Mottahedeh Collection, U.S.A. After the China Institute in America 1968: 25.

107. A jade pendant carved in openwork with patterns of the *siling* and an eight-word inscriptions in two lines, reading, “延壽萬年長宜子孫 longevity extended for ten thousand years, always suitable for the sons and grandsons”, 3.2 x 5.5 x 2.1cm, E. Han, 1st to early 3rd century A.D., Shanghai Museum. After Lu Zhaoyin 1993, pl. 233.

108. A stone plate of the headrests, painted with five kneeling figures, a riding scene and cloud designs, excavated from M2 at Wangdu County, Hebei Province, 35.3 x 11.6 x 11.2cm, E. Han, the fifth year of Guanghe (182 A.D.), Museum of History, Beijing. After Hebeisheng wenhuaju gongzuodui, 1959, pl. 27. After Zhang Anzhi 1986, pl. 84.3.

108.1. A stone plate of the headrests, painted with a pair of confronting phoenixes on the two sides of a plant. After Zhang Anzhi 1986, pl. 84.4.

108.2. A stone plate of the headrests, painted with images of the *siling* and a tiger-like animal mask. After Zhang Anzhi 1986, pl. 84.1.

108.3. The plan of Wangdu M2, showing the location of the two headrests (one from the middle chamber, another one from the first back chamber). After Hebeisheng wenhuaju gongzuodui 1959: 3 (fig 2).

109. Rubbing of a side wall of a sarcophagus, patterned with images of a dragon and a tiger, on either side of a jade *bi* (with a stand), excavated from Zhangjiagou, Hejiang County, Sichuan Province, sarcophagus 79 x 62 x 202cm, E. Han, 2nd to early 3rd centuries A.D. After Gao Wen & Gao Chenggang 1996: 68.

110. Rubbing of a tiger image from a cave tomb in Shiziwan, Leshan, Sichuan Province, 91.5 x 134cm, E. Han, 1st to 2nd centuries A.D. After Rudolph 1951, pl. 19.

111. A pair of tomb door leaves, carved in bas relief and incised details. On the right door leaf, a phoenix at the top, a *pushou* and the *qinglong* in the centre, and an ox-like animal at the bottom; on the left door leaf, a phoenix at the top, a *pushou* and the *bailu* in the centre, and an ox-like animal at the bottom, each leaf 109 x 52cm, E. Han, c. 100 A.D., Shaanxi Museum of Steles, Xi'an. After Shaanxisheng bowuguan & Shaanxisheng wenguanhui 1958, pls. 29, 30.

112. A pair of tomb door leaves, carved in bas relief and incised details. On the right door leaf, a phoenix at the top, a *pushou* in the centre, a dragon and a deer at the bottom; on the left door leaf, a phoenix at the top, a *pushou* in the centre, a tiger and a goat at the bottom, each leaf 111 x 51cm, E. Han, c. 100 A.D., Shaanxi Museum of Steles, Xi'an. After Shaanxisheng bowuguan & Shaanxisheng wenguanhui 1958, pls. 47, 48.

113. A phoenix pattern on a covered ceramic *hu* vessel, excavated from Caoxieshan, Wu County, Jiangsu Province, Liangzhu Culture (c. 2000 – 3000 B.C.), Neolithic period. After Guo Lianfu 1998: 86.

113.1. A phoenix pattern on a ceramic shard, excavated from Qianshiyang, Wuxing, Jiangsu Province,

Liangzhu Culture (c. 2000 – 3000 B.C.), Neolithic period. After Guo Lianfu 1998: 86.

114. A *zhi* vessel in bronze with a pair of phoenix patterns, Shang Dynasty. After Liu Zhenqing 1996, pl. 59.

115. Turtle patterns found on water vessels in bronze, Shang and Zhou Dynasties. After Guo Lianfu 1998: 217.

115.1. A turtle pattern decorated on the outside bottom of a bronze *pan* vessel, late Shang Dynasty. After Guo Lianfu 1998: 218.

115.2. Snake patterns found on bronze vessels, late Shang to Western Zhou Dynasty. After Guo Lianfu 1998: 210.

116. Yangshao pottery fragment with three-legged bird motifs from Miaodigou, Henan Province. After Allan 1991: 31 (fig. 6).

117. A brick moulded in bas relief with patterns of a phoenix roosting on a double-eaves tower, a commune chief, a three-legged bird and a turtle, a doorpost of Fanji M37, Xinye County, Henan Province, 113 x 22.5cm, around the period of Wudi (r. 140-87 B.C.) to Xin Dynasty (A.D. 23). After Zhao Chengfu 1984, pl. 47 & rubs. 44-45.

118. A hollow brick, stamped with repeated patterns of a phoenix and a turtle, and other geometric designs, excavated from Henan Province. After Hebeisheng wenhuaju gongzuodui 1963, cat. no. 61.

118.1 & 118.2. Details of the pair of phoenix and turtle images on the brick.

119. A brick, patterned with *Fuxi* holding the sun and followed by a turtle on one side, and *Nüwa* holding the moon and followed by a phoenix on the other side, collected near Guanghan City, Sichuan Province, 7.5 x 86cm, E. Han, 2nd to early 3rd centuries A.D. After Wen You 1955, pl. 95.

120 & 120.1. A bronze mirror, decorated with the TLV designs and the *siling*, diam. 11.5cm, late E. Han, early 3rd century A.D., former Moriya Kozo Collection, Japan. After Moriya 1969, pl. 16.

121. A line drawing of a painting on a set of eighteen bricks, excavated from the flat ridge of the back chamber of the tomb of Bu Qianqiu and his wife, west of Shaogou, Luoyang, Henan Province, 31 x 451cm, late Western Han Dynasty, the periods of Emperor Zhao di to Xuandi (r. 86 – 49 B.C.), Luoyang Museum of Ancient Tombs. After *WW* 1977, no. 6: 9 (pl. 31).

121.1. The order of the eighteen numbered and painted bricks in the tomb of Bu Qianqiu and his wife. After *WW* 1977, no. 6: 10 & 11.

121.2 Two dragon images on the painting. After Huang Minglan & Guo Yinqiang 1996: 70.

121.3 The phoenix image on the painting. After Huang Minglan & Guo Yinqiang 1996: 71.

121.5 The tiger image on the painting. After Huang Minglan & Guo Yinqiang 1996: 73.

List of Figures

1. Arrangement of decorative bricks in M36, near Xianyang City, Shaanxi Province. After *KG* 1982, no. 3: 232.
2. The central figure in the rectangular piece in M61, Shaogou, Luoyang, Henan.
3. line drawing showing the locations of the paintings in the mural tomb at Jinguyuan, Luoyang City, Henan.
4. "Houtu controlling the four directions", excavated from the mural tomb at Jinguyuan, Luoyang, Henan.
5. A plan showing the arrangement of the *siling* patterns in the mural tomb at Zaoyuan Village, Pinglu County, Shanxi. After *KG* 1959, no. 9: 462.
6. The plan of the brick tomb at Jinqueshan, Linyi, Shandong Province. After *WW* 1995, no. 6: 72.
7. Arrangement of the decorated bricks on the back wall of the tomb at Zhenjiang, Jiangsu. After *WW* 1973, no. 4: 52 & 56 (pl. 5).
- 7.1 & 7.2. Patterns at the lower parts of the two side-walls of the back chamber. After *WW* 1973, no.4: 56 (pls. 3 & 4).
8. Tomb door of the Power Plant Tomb, Tanghe County, Henan. After *ZYWW* 1982, no. 1: 5-11.
9. Tomb door and inner southern door of the middle chamber of a tomb at Xindian Village, Huyang Community, Tanghe, Henan. After *KGXB* 1980, no. 2: 239-262.
10. Tomb door of the Knitting Factory M1, Tanghe, Nanyang, Henan. After *WW* 1973, no.6: 26-40.
11. Tomb door of the Knitting Factory M2, Tanghe, Nanyang, Henan. After *ZYWW* 1985, no. 1: 5-11.
12. Tomb door of a tomb at Xiongying, Xindian, Nanyang county, Henan. After *ZYWW* 1996, no. 3: 8-17.
13. Tomb door of a tomb at Yingzhuang, Nanyang County, Henan. After *WW* 1984, no. 3: 25-37.
14. The western door of M1 at Gushang Village, Yongcheng County, Henan. After *ZYWW* 1980, no.1: 37-41.
15. Tomb door of a tomb at the east coast of Panhe, Fangcheng County, Henan. After *WW* 1980.3: 69-72.
16. Doors of the front and back chamber of the Women and Young Childrens' Health Centre Tomb, Nanyang, Henan. After *ZYWW* 1997.4: 56-63 & pl. 4.
17. Tomb door leaves of Huji Village M2, Jinxiang County, Shandong. After *KG* 1995, no. 5: 389.
18. Tomb doors of a tomb excavated from Chengguanzhen, Fangcheng County, Henan. After *WW* 1984, no. 3: 38-46.
19. Two doorways from Pushan M2, Nanyang City, Henan. After *ZYWW* 1997, no. 4: 50-51 & pl. 3.
- 20, 20.1, 20.2. The plans of Dahuting M2, Mi County, Henan Province. After *Henansheng wenwu yanjiusuo* 1993: 94, 171, 173.
- 21, 21.1, 21.2. (down) Dahuting M1, Mi County, Henan. After *Henansheng wenwu yanjiusuo* 1993: 9, 93, 95.
22. Floor plan of the knitting factory M1, Tanghe, Henan. After *Nanyang Handai huaxiangshi bianji weiyuanhui* 1986: 9.
- 22.1. Arrangement of the decorations on the ceiling of the main chamber. After *WW* 1973.6: 33 (fig. 1) & 35

(fig. 3).

23. Line drawing of the pillar excavated from Shangzhuang Village, Shijingshan, near Beijing (data from *WW* 1964.11: 13-22).
24. Line drawing showing the double sarcophagus excavated from Hanjiapu, Qufu, Shandong, diagram drawn on the basis of the reconstruction plan published in *KG* 1985, no. 12: 1130-1135.
25. Line drawing showing the positions and inscriptions of the decorated images on the sarcophagus excavated from Guitoushan, Jianyang, Sichuan.
26. Line drawing showing the positions of the decorated images on the sarcophagus excavated from Dongbinting, Luzhou, Sichuan.
27. Line drawing showing the positions of the decorated images on the sarcophagus excavated from Jiufeng Village, Sichuan.
28. Line drawing showing the positions of the decorated images on the sarcophagus excavated from Fushun County, Sichuan.
29. line drawing showing the positions of the decorated images on the sarcophagus of Wang Hui.
- 30.1-5. Symbols of the sun dated to the Neolithic period: (30.1-2) painted pottery *zun*, Dawenkou Culture; (30.3) cliff carving in Minghuashan, Guangxi Province; (30.4) painted pottery *guan* from Minhe County, Qinghai Province; (30.5) painted pottery *hu* from Ledu County, Qinghai Province, After He Xingliang 1992: 157.
31. Different writing of the characters *gui* on oracles bones. After Xu Zhongshu 1981: 510-511.
32. Schematic drawing of the arrangement of the *siling* motifs on the face cover from Huchang M14 on the outskirts of Yangzhou City, Jiangsu Province.
33. The four animal motifs on the upper body of the group of bronze braziers from the Maoling and nearby areas. After *KG* 1979.2: 130 (pl. 6).
34. Line drawing showing the shape and structure of one of two painted stone headrests, excavated from Wangdu M2, Hebei Province.
- 35.1. Orientation of "earth map" from Mawangdui M3. After *WW* 1990, no. 3, pp. 70-71.
- 35.2. Orientation of "sky map". After *WW* 1990, no. 3, pp. 70-71.

Glossary

B

Ba 巴
baihu 白虎
baizhi 白雉
beidou (Dipper) 北斗
 Beizhai Village 北寨村
bi 壁
Biyong 辟雍
bing 丙
boshan censer 博山爐
Bu Qianqiu 卜千秋

C

canglong 蒼龍
 Cangshan County 蒼山縣
 Caoxieshan 草鞋山
 Chahai 查海
chang 長
chang 常
 Chang'an 長安
changle weiyang 長樂未央
chen 辰
 Chen Hao 陳澔 (A.D. 1261 - 1341)
 Chen Huiming 陳惠明
chenxing 辰星
 Chengdu 成都
 Chengqian Village 城前鄉
 Chengguanzhen 城關鎮
chihu 螭虎
 Chiyou 蚩尤
chinia 赤鳥
chou 丑
 Chu 楚
Chu Ci · Yuan You 《楚辭·遠游》
Chu Ci Ji Zhu 楚辭集注
Chun Qiu Zuo Zhuan Zheng Yi 《春秋左傳正義》
ci shi 刺史
ci shi bu 刺史部

D

dacang 大倉
 Dabaotai 大保苔
 Dahuting 打虎亭
dasi 大司
 Dawenkou Culture 大汶口文化
 Dai 軼
de 德
 Deng County 鄧縣
di 帝

di 地
di tu 地圖
ding 丁
 Ding Peng 丁鵬
 Dongbinting 洞賓亭
 Donggangtou Village 東崗頭村
 Dongyuan 東園
 Dongwanggong 東王公
dou 斗
 Dou Wan 竇綰

E

Er Ya 《爾雅》
 Erdaoyuan 二道原

F

Fangcheng County 方城縣
fangxiangshi 方相士 (*fangshi* 方士)
feilian 飛廉
 Feng Shi 馮時
feng 鳳
 Fu Qian 服虔
 Fushun County 富順縣
 Fuxi 伏羲

G

Gangouzi 干溝子
 Gao You 高誘
 Gaozu 高祖
geng 庚
qilong 虯龍
gong 宮
 Gushang Village 固上村
guan 官
 Guanzhong 關中
 Guangling State 廣陵國
 Guangzhou 廣州
gui 癸
gui 龜
gui 鬼
 Guitoushan 鬼頭山
guo 國
Guo Yu 《國語》

H

hai 亥

Hanjiapu 韓家鋪

Han Shu · Di Li Zhi 《漢書·地理志》

Han Shu · Gaodi Ji 《漢書·高帝紀》

Han Shu · Huo Guang Jin Richuan Zhuan

《漢書·霍光金日磾傳》

Han Shu · Jing Shisan Wang Zhuan

《漢書·景十三王傳》

Han Shu · Jingdi Ji 《漢書·景帝紀》

Han Shu · Pingdi Ji 《漢書·平帝紀》

Han Shu · Tian Wen Zhi 《漢書·天文志》

Han Shu · Wang Mang Zhuan 《漢書·王莽傳》

Han Shu · Wangzihuo Biao (shang)

《漢書·王子侯表·上》

Han Shu · Wendi Ji 《漢書·文帝紀》

Han Shu · Wudi Ji 《漢書·武帝紀》

Han Shu · Zhao di Ji 《漢書·昭帝紀》

Han Yuxiang 韓玉祥

Hou Han Shu · Bai Guan 《後漢書·百官》

Hou Han Shu · Guangwu shi wang liezhuan

《後漢書·光武十王列傳》

Hou Han Shu · Ji Si Zhi 《後漢書·祭祀志》

Hou Han Shu · Li Yi Zhi 《後漢書·禮儀志》

Hou Han Shu · Wang Liang zhuan 《後漢書·王梁傳》

houtu 后土

Houzhangda 後掌大

hu 虎

hu 壺

Huchang 胡場

Huji Village 胡集鄉

Huyang Community 湖陽公社

Huai Nan Zi · Tian Wen Xun 《淮南子·天文訓》

Huai Nan Zi · Di Xing Xun 《淮南子·地形訓》

Huai Nan Zi · Shi Ze Xun 《淮南子·時則訓》

huang 凰

huang chang ti cou 黃腸題湊

Huanghe 黃河

Huangdi 黃帝

huanglong 黃龍

huangquan 黃泉

hui 回

hun 魂

Huo Guang 霍光 (d. 68 B.C.)

Huo Qubing 霍去病 (d. 116 B.C.)

J

ji 己

jixing 箕星

jia 甲

Jianwang Yan 簡王焉

Jianyang County 簡陽縣

Jiangdongju 江東咀

Jiangling 江陵

Jiang Yingju 蔣英矩

jiao 角

Jiaotong University 交通大學

Jiaozhi 交趾

Jin 晉

Jingyuan 金谷園

Jinqieshan 金雀山

Jingmen 荊門

Jinxiang County 金鄉縣

Jingdi 景帝 (r. 156-141 B.C.)

Jingwang (Prince Jing) 靖王

Jiufeng Village 九峰鄉

jumang 句芒

jun 郡

K

Kong Yingda 孔穎達 (A.D. 574-648)

Kuaihualing 快華嶺

L

Laohu dong 老虎洞 (Tiger Cave)

Laoshan 老山

Laozi 老子

Li Cang 利蒼

Linyi 臨沂

lingyuan 陵園

Liu An 劉安

liubo 六博

Liu Daoguang 劉道廣

Housijiagou 后思家溝

Liuren 六壬

Liu Sheng 劉勝

Liu Yang 柳楊

long 龍

Lushan County 蘆山縣

Luzhou 瀘州

Lun Heng · Wu Shi 《論衡·物勢》

Luo jingshi 羅經石

Luoyang 洛陽

Luoyang Shaogou Hanmu 《洛陽燒溝漢墓》

Lü Buwei 呂不韋 (c. 290 - 235 B.C.)

Lü Shi Chun Qiu · You Shi Lan · Ying Tong

Bian 《呂氏春秋·有始覽·應同編》

M

Mancheng 滿城
 mao 卯
 Maoling 茂陵
 Mi County 密縣
 Mingtang 明堂
 Modong Village 沫東鄉
 Mozi 墨子
 mubiao 墓表

N

Nantian jade 藍田玉
 Nanyang county 南陽縣
 Nanyue State 南越國
 Niu Tianwei 牛天偉
 Nüwa 女媧

P

Panhe 潘河
 Pinglu County 平陸縣
 pó 魄
 Pujiawan 蒲家灣

Pushan 蒲山
 pushou 鋪首
 Puyang 濮陽

Q

qi 氣
 qilin 麒麟
 Qilin'gang 麒麟崗
 qianqiu wansui 千秋萬歲
 Qianshanyang 錢山漾
 Qin 秦
 qing 青
 qinghua 青花
 qinglong 青龍
 qiulong 虯龍
 Qu County 渠縣
 Qufu County 曲阜縣
 que 闕

R

ránbei 染杯
 ren 壬
 riyue 日月
 rui 瑞
 rushou 蓐收

S

Sagittarius 南斗
 Santaizi 三臺子
 Shan Hai Guan 山海關
 Shan Hai Jing · Hai Wai Bei Jing
 《山海經·海外北經》
 shang 商
 Shang Ji Shi 上計史 (Steward of Accounts)
 Shang Shu 《尚書》
 Shang Shu Zheng Yi · Yu Shu · Yao Dian
 《尚書正義·虞書·堯典》
 Shangzhuang Village 上莊村
 Shaogou 燒溝
 shaohao 少昊
 shen 申
 shén 神
 shendao 神道
 Shenjiawan 沈家灣
 shí 石
 Shipan 式盤
 Shi Houjia 史侯家
 Shi Ji · Feng Chan Shu 《史記·封禪書》
 Shi Ji · Gaozu Ben Ji 《史記·高祖本紀》
 Shi Ji · Lü Buwei Lie Zhuan
 《史記·呂不韋列傳》
 Shi Ji · Meng Zi Xun Qing Lie Zhuan
 《史記·孟子荀卿列傳》
 Shi Ji · Tian Guan Shu 《史記·天官書》
 Shijiazhuang 石家莊
 Shi Jing 《詩經》
 Shijingshan 石景山
 Shilipu 十里鋪
 shou 獸
 shoudai 獸帶
 Shu 蜀
 Shuowen jiezi 《說文解字》
 si 巳
 sifang 四方
 si li jiao wei bu 司隸校尉部
 siling 四靈
 siling sanrui 四靈三瑞
 Sima Zhen 司馬貞 (c. 656-720)
 sishen 四神
 sixing 四星
 Sū Jian 蘇健
 Sui County 隨縣
 Suide County 綏德縣
 suixing 歲星
 Sun Zuoyun 孫作雲

T

taibai 太白
taihao 太皞
taishou 太守 (governor)
Taiyi 太一/太乙
Taiyuan 太原
Tang 湯
Tanghe 唐河
Tangyin County 湯陰縣
Teng County 滕縣
tian 天
tian di shi zhe 天帝使者
tianma 天馬
tianmen 天門
tian tu 天圖
tong 銅

W

Wazhagou 瓦渣溝
Wang Chong 王充
Wang Deyuan 王得元 (d. A.D. 100)
Wangdu 望都
Wang Hui 王暉
Wangjiaping 王家坪
Wang Jianmin 王建民
Wang Kai 王愷
Wang Mang 王莽 (45 B.C.-A.D. 23)
Wei 魏
wei 未
Wendi 文帝
wenming 溫明
wu 午
wu 戊
Wu County 吳縣
Wudi 武帝 (r. 140-87 B.C.)
Wu Liang Shrines 武梁祠
wuling 五靈
Wushan County 巫山縣
Wushi Que 武氏闕
wuxing 五行
Wuxing 吳興
Wu Zang Shan Jing 《五藏山經》

X

xianling 縣令
xianchi 咸池
xianren bo 仙人搏
xianren qi 仙人騎
Xianyang 咸陽
Xiangwei ding 象衛鼎
Xiaoyuan Village 小沿村
Xin 新
xin 辛
Xindian 辛店
Xindian Village 新店村
Xinfeng 新豐
Xinmin Village 新民鄉
Xinxing Village 新興縣
xing 行
Xingping County 興平縣
Xiongying 熊營
xiu 宿
xu 戌
xuan 玄
xuanming 玄冥
xuanwu 玄武
Xuchang County 許昌縣
Xuezhuang Village 學莊村
Xunzi 荀子

Y

Yandi 炎帝
Yanjiacha 延家岔
Yan Shigu 顏師古 (A.D. 581-645)
yang 陽
Yangling 陽陵
Yangzhou 揚州
yi 翼
yi 羿
Yigou Village 宜溝鄉
Yinan County 沂南縣
Yizhou 益州
yin 寅
yin 陰
yinghuo 熒惑
Yingjing 榮經
Yingzhuang 英莊
Yongcheng County 永城縣
you 酉
Yu 禹
Yu Jiang 禹疆
yu 羽
yue 乙
Yue Ling 《月令》

Z

Zaoyang City 棗陽市

Zaoyuan 棗園

Zeng Hou Yi 曾侯乙

Zhaojiacun 趙家村

Zhao Mo 趙昧 (r. 137-122 B.C.),

Zhechuan County 浙川縣

Zhenjiang 鎮江

zhenxing 鎮星

zheng 徵

zhou 州

Zhou 周

Zhou Li • Chun Guan • Da Zong Bo

《周禮•春官•大宗伯》

Zhou Li zheng yi 《周禮正義》

Zhongshan 中山

Zhongshan Jianwang Yan 中山簡王焉

Zhu Kezhen 竺可楨

Zhuming 朱明

zhuniao 朱鳥

zhuque 朱雀

zhurong 祝融

Zhu Xi 朱熹 (A.D. 1130-1200)

zhuzhu 柱銖

zhuanxu 顓頊

Zhuangzi 莊子

zi 子

Zongbu 宗布

Zou Yan 鄒衍 (c. late third century B.C.)

zuo 佐

Zuo Zhuan 《左傳》

Index (sites and specimens)

- animal mask 22, 24, 30, 44, 45, 66, 75, 129, 131, 169, 173
- Baizhuan, Tanghe County, Henan Province 54
- Baizhuang, Linyi County, Shandong Province App. 97
- Banfosi, Kuaihualing, Suide County, Shaanxi Province App. 21a-b
- Beijing 20, 48, 72, 85, 154, 182
- Beimen, Chengdu, Sichuan Province App. 132a-b
- Beizhai (Village), Yinan County, Shandong Province 60, 69, 172; App. 106a-d; Pls. 32-32.6
- belt-hook 112-114, 137, 170
- Bi Village M1, Hunyuan County, Shanxi Province App. 36
- boshan censer 105, 106, 109, 110, 124, 125, 136, 192, 193; App. 82, pls. 58-58.2
- Biyong 72, 197
- brazier 67, 107-110, 124, 125, 136, 174, 175, 181, 193; App. 2-5, 35-37; Pls. 59 & 59.1
- Bu Qianqiu's Tomb, Shaogou, Luoyang, Henan Province 31, 32, 67; App. 44; Pl. 121
- Cangshan (County), Shandong Province 65, 132; App. 91a-b, 94; Pl. 36
- Caodian, Nanyang County, Henan Province App. 65
- Caoxieshan, Wu County, Jiangsu Province 179
- Chang'an 29, 71, 85, 187-190, 192, 193
- Changjiang Town, Hailing, Zhejiang Province App. 146
- Chengguanzhen, Fangcheng County, Henan Province 52, 124; App. 54a, 54b-c
- Chengqian Village, Cangshan County, Shandong Province 65; Pl. 36
- Dabaodang M1, M5, M16, M18, Shenmu County, Shaanxi Province App. 31 a-b, 32, 33a-b, 34
- Dagualing, Suide County, Shaanxi Province App. 22a-c
- Dahuting, Mi County, Henan Province 21, 54, 55; App. 74; Pls. 20-20.2, 21-21.1
- Daliangshan M4, Neijiang City, Sichuan Province App. 135
- Daliu Village, Feichang County, Shandong Province App. 90a-b
- Datuying Village M1, Qiliyuan, Nanyang County, Henan Province App. 64a-b
- Daozhang Village, Maoling, Xinping County, Shaanxi Province App. 8d
- Dawenkou Culture 100
- Dingfang Que, Zhong County, Sichuan Province 95
- Dongbinting, Luzhou, Sichuan Province 87, 89, 90, 176, 177; App. 125; Pls. 49, 49.1
- Donggangtou (Village), Shijiazhuang City, Hebei Province 112, 113, 170; App. 83; Pl. 61
- Dongyuan Village M2, Hao County, Anhui Province App. 114a-c
- eaves tile 71, 72, 197; App. 17, 18; Pls. 11, 37
- Erdaoyuan, near Xianyang City, Shaanxi Province 26, 28; App. 9a-c, 10a-b, 11a-t; Pls. 12-12.1, 13-13.7, 14-14.1

- face cover** 101-105, 175, 176, 192, 193; App. 108, Pls. 57-57.2
- Fanji M37**, Xinye County, Henan Province App. 43; Pl. 117
- Fangcheng (County)**, Henan Province 51, 52, 125; App. 54a-c, 63a-c
- Fifth National Cotton Factory M6**, Xi'an City, Shaanxi Province 107; App. 2; Pl. 59
- Fuping**, Shaanxi Province App. 5
- Fushun (County)**, Sichuan Province 91, 92, 138, 177; App. 126; Pls. 51-51.3
- Gangouzi, Jiangdongju Wushan, Sichuan Province** App. 139; Pl. 60.1
- Gongzishan**, Yibin County, Sichuan Province App. 120
- Gucheng Village**, Gaochun County, Nanjing City, Jiangsu Province App. 112
- Gushang Village**, Yongcheng County, Henan Province 51; App. 61
- Guandao Village**, Maoling, Xiping County, Shaanxi Province App. 8e
- Guanzhuang Village**, Mizhi County, Shaanxi Province App. 27a-b
- Guanghan City**, Sichuan Province App. 131; Pls. 119-119.2
- Guitoushan**, Jianyang County, Sichuan Province 87, 89, 176; App. 124a-d; Pls. 48-48.9
- Guo Ju's Shrine**, Xiaotangshan, Feicheng County, Shandong Province App. 92
- Hanjiapu**, east of Qufu, Shandong Province 84, 87; App. 89a-d; Pls. 47-47.15
- Heboshiqiu**, Zhuhe Village, Zhaojiao County, Sichuan Province App. 144
- headrest** 129-132; App. 88, Pl. 108.2
- Houzhangda**, Teng County, Shandong Province 63, 65; App. 95; Pls. 35-35.2
- Huchang**, Yangzhou City, Jiangsu Province 102, 104, 136, 176, 193; App. 108; Pls. 57, 57.2
- Huji (Village)**, Jinxiang County, Shandong Province 47, 52; App. 90a-b; Pl. 25
- Huayin (County)**, Shaanxi Province 117
- Huanglutun**, Zou County, Shandong Province App. 104
- Huangtaishan**, Licheng, Shandong Province App. 102a-b
- Jianyang (County)**, Sichuan Province 87, 89, 138; App. 124a-d, Pls. 48-48.9
- Jiaotong University (Jiaotong daxue) Tomb**, Xi'an City, Shaanxi Province 21, 29-32, 67, 166, 183; App. 12, 13, 14; Pls. 15-15.7, 16, 17
- Jiancaoping M1**, Taiyuan, Shanxi Province 107; App. 35
- Jiehe**, Zhaoyuan County, Shandong Province App. 98
- Jingyuan (Village)**, Luoyang, Henan Province 35, 36, 38, 41-44, 68, 137; App. 50a, 50b; Pls. 20-20.5, 19
- Jinqueshan**, Linyi County, Shandong Province 42-44; App. 107; Pl. 22
- Jinxiang (County)**, Shandong Province 47, 49, 188, 194
- Jingmen**, Hubei Province 125
- Jiufeng (Village)**, Leshan County, Sichuan Province 90, 91, 177; App. 127; Pls. 50-50.3
- "Jiunudun" Tomb**, Juning, Xuzhou, Jiangsu Province App. 111
- "Jiunufen" M1**, Chulun Town, Su County, Anhui Province App. 115a-b
- Knitting Factory M1**, outside Nanguan, Tanghe County, Henan Province 50, 57, 85, 87, 166;

App. 52a-e; Pl. 30-30.3

Knitting Factory M2, outside Nanguan, Tanghe County, Henan Province 50; App. 55a-b

Kuaihualing, Housijiagou, Suide County, Shaanxi Province 56, 57; App. 23a-b; Pls. 29-29.4

Kuaihualing M1, Housijiagou, Suide County, Shaanxi Province App. 24

Leshan (County), Sichuan Province 90, 177; App. 127, Pls. 50-50.3

Liang Village, Yulin City, Shaanxi Province App. 26

Liangzhu Culture 179

Linyi (County), Shandong Province 42, 43; App. 97, 107; Pl. 22

Liu Sheng's Tomb, Mancheng, Hebei Province 105, 109, 193; App. 82; Pls. 58-58.2

Longxi Village, Jiangbei County, Chongqing, Sichuan County App. 134

Luzhou, Sichuan Province 87, 90, 138

Luojingshi, Yangling, Xiangyang, Shaanxi Province 25, 28, 66, 124, 136; App. 1a-b; Pls. 9, 10

Luoyang (City), Henan Province 21, 31, 33, 35, 36, 38, 44, 62, 67, 68, 106, 114, 115, 124, 136, 137, 164, 187-189, 195

Luoyang M61, Shaogou, Luoyang, Henan Province 21, 33, 34, 62, 164; App. 45; Pls. 18-18.3

Mamaozhuang Village M2, Lishi County, Shanxi Province App. 39 a-b

Maquan, Xianyang, Shaanxi Province App. 4

Mancheng, Hebei Province 105, 109, 192; App. 82; Pls. 58-58.2

Mao Village, Tongshan County, Xuzhou, Jiangsu Province App. 110

Maoling, tomb of Emperor Wudi, Xingping County, Shaanxi Province 21-30, 53, 66, 70, 106-108, 124, 129, 136, 163, 169, 174, 193; App. 3, 6, 7, 8a-e; Pls. 3, 5-8, 59.1

Marquis of Yuyin's Tomb, Fuyang, Anhui Province 123

Mawangdui, Changsha County, Hunan Province 20, 82, 100; Pls. 46-46.4

Mi (County), Henan Province 21, 54, 55; App. 74; Pls. 20-20.2, 21-21.1

Mingtang 72

mirror 103, 114-123, 137, 160, 164, 170, 171, 183, 185

Nanyang (County), Henan Province 49, 52, 59, 60, 62, 69, 167, 188, 194; App. 49a-b, 52a-e, 56a-b, 57, 58, 60a-b, 65-67, 71a-b, 72a-b, 73; Pls. 30.1, 31, 34.1-34.2

Panhe, Fangcheng County, Henan Province 51; App. 63a-c

Panyuan, Wuyang County, Henan Province App. 62

Pengshan (County), Sichuan Province App. 128, 129

Pinglu (County), Shanxi Province 39, 79, 198

Phosphate Factory Tomb Wushan, Sichuan Province 110, 111, 170; App. 140; 141; Pl. 60

Pifosi, Kuaihualing, Suide County, Shaanxi Province 56, 57; App. 28a-b

Pingshuo, Shanxi Province App. 37

plaque 110-114, 129-131, 137, 138, 170; App. 139-141; Pls. 60-60.2

- **bronze plaque** 110-114, 137; App. 139-141; Pls. 60-60.2

- **jade plaque** 170

- stone plaque 129-131, 138
- Power Plant Tomb**, Tanghe, Nanguan, Nanyang County, Henan Province 50; App. 49a-b
- Pujiawan**, Xinmin Village, Qu County, Sichuan Province 75, 77; App. 117; Pls. 43-43.2
- Pushan M2**, Nanyang City, Henan Province 52; App. 56a-b
- pushou* 23-24, 47-49, 53-56, 66, 76, 92, 124, 129, 136, 163, 166-169; App. 6; Pl. 3
 - jade *pushou* 48, 50, 51, 54, 99, 167, 172, 178, 187, 193, 194; App. 6; Pl. 3
- Qianshanyang**, Wuxing, Jiangsu Province 179
- Qianyang (County)**, Shaanxi Province App. 15
- Qilin'gang**, Nanyang City, Henan Province 59, 69, 90, 114, 167; App. 57; Pl. 31
- Qimu Que**, Songshan, Henan Province 82; App. 68
- que (que-tower)* 64, 71-82, 88-92, 95, 132, 138, 144, 173, 177, 184, 196; App. 68, 69a-c, 93, 116a-b, 117, 121-123, 142a-b; Pls. 39-39.8, 40-40.3, 41-41.3, 42-42.2, 43-43.2
- Qufu (County)**, Shandong Province 84, 87, 188, 194
- Reheqi**, Chengbei Village, Zhaojiao County, Sichuan Province App. 143a-b
- sarcophagus** 84-87, 89-95, 132, 138, 163, 176, 177, 196; App. 124a-d, 125-127, 138a-c; Pls. 48-48.9, 49-49.1, 50-50.3, 51-51.3, 52-52.4
- Santaizi**, Beijing 48; App. 86; Pl. 28
- Shangzhuang Village**, Shijingshan, Beijing 72, 74; App. 87; Pl. 38
- Shaogou**, Luoyang, Henan Province 21, 31, 33, 114, 115; App. 45; Pls. 18-18.3
- Shaoshi Que**, Songshan, Henan Province 82, 132; App. 69a-c
- Shaping**, Hechuan County, Sichuan Province App. 137a-c
- Shen Village**, Zhifang Town, Jiexiang County, Shandong Province App. 101
- Shenjiawan/ Shenfujun (Que)**, Xinmin Village, Qu County, Sichuan Province 74, 78, 173, 184; App. 116a-b; Pls. 39-39.8
- Shijiazhuang (City)**, Hebei Province 20, 112; App. 83; Pl. 61.1
- Shilicun**, Liangbei Village, Yu County, Henan Province App. 76
- Shilipu M1**, Lihu Village, Nanyang County, Henan Province 62; App. 72a-b; Pls. 34.1, 34.4
- Shilipu M2**, Lihu Village, Nanyang County, Henan Province App. 73
- Shilipu Village**, Xuzhou, Jiangsu Province App. 109
- Shiqiao**, Nanyang County, Henan Province App. 58
- shrine* 63, 71, 72, 78, 80, 116; App. 92
- stove model* 125-128, 161, 195; App. 16, 150; Pls. 96-96.3, 97-97.5
- Suide (County)**, Shaanxi Province 56; App. 19a-b, 20a-b, 21a-b, 22a-c, 23a-b, 24, 25, 28a-b, 30a-b; Pls. 29-29.4
- Taishi Que**, Songshan, Henan Province 82
- Taiyuan**, Shanxi Province 107; App. 35
- Tanghe (County)**, Shandong Province 50, 57, 85, 87, 166; App. 48a-b, 51a-b, 52a-e, 55a-b, 67; Pls. 26, 30.1

- Tannanliang Village**, Yulin City, Shaanxi Province App. 29a-b
- Teng (County)**, Shandong Province 63, 65; App. 96
- Wazhagou (Wazha ditch)**, Maoling, Xingping County, Shaanxi Province 21, 22, 24, 25, 27, 28, 66, 70; App. 3, 6, 7, 8a-c; Pls. 3, 5-5.1, 6-6.1, 7-7.1, 8, 59.1
- Wang Deyuan's Tomb, Xishanci**, Suide County, Shaanxi Province App. 19a-b
- Wang Hui's sarcophagus**, Modong Village, Lushan County, Sichuan Province 92, 93, 95, 177; App. 138a-c; Pls. 52-52.4
- Wangdu M2**, Hebei Province 129, 130, 132, 138; App. 88; Pls. 108-108.3
- Wangjiaping (Que)**, Xinxing Village, Qu County, Sichuan Province 76-78; App. 121; Pls. 42-42
- Wangjiata**, Suide County, Shaanxi Province App. 30a-b
- Women and Yong Children's Health Centre Tomb**, Nanyang County, Henan Province 52; App. 71a-b
- Wu Liang Shrine (Wu's Cemetery)**, southwestern Shandong Province 63, 78; App. 93a-c; Pl. 44
- Wushan**, Sichuan Province 110, 113, 170; App. 139-141; Pls. 60-60.2
- Xi'an (City)**, Shaanxi Province 21, 29, 31, 67, 71, 72, 106, 107, 166; App. 2, 12, 17; Pls. 59, 15-15.7
- Ximicheng**, Chengqian Village, Cangshan, Shandong Province App. 94; Pl. 36
- Xiangluwan**, Panxi Village, Chongqing, Sichuan Province App. 142a-b
- Xishuipo M45**, Puyang County, Henan Province 42, 133-135, 178, 185; App. 40; Pls. 2, 2.1
- Xiawan M1**, Zhechuan County, Henan Province 125; App. 53
- Xianyang (City)**, Shaanxi Province 26, 28-30, 53, 107, 188
- Xindian Village**, Huyang, Tanghe County, Henan Province 50; App. 51a-c; Pl. 26
- Xinmin (Village)**, Qu County, Sichuan Province 74, 77, 173; App. 3, 5-7, 8a-e, Pls. 3, 5-8, 59.1
- Xinxing (Village)**, Qu County, Sichuan Province 75, 173; App. 121-123; Pls. 40-40.3, 41-41.3, 42-42.2
- Xingping (County)** 22, 27, 66, 169
- Xiongying**, Xindian, Nanyang County 51
- Xuchang (County)**, Henan Province 61, 72; App. 77; Pl. 33
- Xue Zhuang (Village)**, Deng County, Henan Province 44, 46; App. 78a-f; Pls. 24-24.6
- Yanjiacha**, Xindian Village, Suide County, Shaanxi Province 57; App. 20a-b
- Yangling**, tomb of Emperor Jingdi, Shaanxi Province 25, 28, 29, 53, 66, 124, 136; App. 1(a-b): Pls. 9, 10
- Yangzhou (City)**, Jiangsu Province 102, 104, 136, 176, 192, 193
- Yao Zhuang**, Macun Village, Wuyang County, Henan Province App. 48
- Yigou Village**, Tangyin County, Henan Province 48; App. 59a-b; Pl. 27
- Yinan (County)**, Shandong Province 21, 60, 61, 64, 69, 111-114, 172, 183, 198; App. 106a-d; Pls. 32.2-32.6
- Ying Zhuang**, Nanyang County, Henan Province 51; App. 60a-b

Yizhou, Sichuan Province 80; App. 145; Pl. 45

Yongcheng (County), Henan Province 51

Yuquange, Jinmen, Hubei Province App. 81

Zaoyang (City), Hubei Province 125, 197; App. 80; Pl. 95

Zaoyuan (Village), Pinglu County, Shanxi Province 39-41, 79, 198; App. 38

Zeng Hou Yi's Tomb, Sui County, Hubei Province 96-99, 101, 108, 134, 153, 154, 185; App. 79;
Pls. 56, 56.1

Zengjiabao M2, Tuqiao Town, Chengdu, Sichuan Province App. 113a-b

Zhai Village, Guangyao County, Shandong Province App. 103a-b

Zhangjiagou, Hejiang County, Sichuan Province App. 119a-b; Pl. 109

Zhanglou Village, Xinye County, Henan Province App. 75

Zhangzhuang Village, Hutian Town, Zibo County, Shandong Province App. 100a-c

Zhaojiacun (Que), Xinxing Village, Qu County, Sichuan Province 75-78, 80, 173; App. 122; 123;
Pls. 40-40.3, 41-41.3

Zhenjiang, Jiangsu Province 44-46; App. 113; Pls. 23-23.3

Zhengchang, Jun County, Henan Province App. 70

Zhifang Town, Cangshan County, Shandong Province App. 91a-b

Zhong (County), Sichuan Province 95

Zhuwapu, Xinsheng, Pi County, Sichuan Province App. 118a-b

Zhuanyaoliang, Hejiagou, Shizheng Village, Suide County, Shaanxi Province App. 25

Index (cultural institutes, temples and museums)

Cultural Institutes and Temples, China

- Cangshan County Cultural Bureau App. 91a-b; Pl. 96
- Confucius Temple, Qufu, Shandong App. 89a-d, Pls. 47-47.15
- Dai Temple, Taian, Shandong App. 99a-b
- Jianyang County Cultural Bureau App. 124a-d; Pls. 48-48.9
- Linyi County Cultural Bureau App. 97
- Nanyang Cultural Bureau App. 57; Pl. 31
- Shaanxi Provincial Cultural Bureau App. 2; Pl. 59
- Simenta Cultural Bureau App. 102a-b
- Tangyin County Cultural Bureau App. 59a-b; Pl. 26
- Wushan County Cultural Bureau, Sichuan App. 139, 140, 141; Pls. 60.1, 60, 60.2
- Zhaoyuan County Cultural Bureau, Shandong App. 98
- Zou County Cultural Bureau App. 104

Museums, China

- Baoji Museum, Shaanxi Pl. 100
- Cangshan County Cultural Museum, Shandong App. 94; Pl. 36
- Chongqing Museum, Sichuan App. 142a-b
- Hebei Provincial Museum App. 82; Pls. 58-58.2
- Hejiang County Cultural Museum, Sichuan App. 119a-b; Pl. 109
- Hubei Provincial Museum App. 79; Pls. 56-56.3, 58-58.2
- Hunan Provincial Museum Pls. 46-46.4, 63
- Jun County Museum, Henan App. 70
- Linyi Museum, Shandong App. 107; Pl. 22
- Luoyang Museum App. 41, 42; Pls. 68, 93-93.1
- Luoyang Museum of Ancient Tombs App. 45, 50a, 50b; Pls. 18-18.3, 19, 20-20.5, 121-121.5
- Luzhou Museum, Sichuan App. 125, 138a-c; Pls. 49-49.1, 52-52.4
- Lüshun Museum, Liaoning Pl. 64
- Maohao Cave Tomb Museum, Leshan, Sichuan App. 127; Pls. 50-50.3
- Maoling Museum, Shaanxi App. 6, 7, 8a-e; Pl. 3, 5, 6, 7
- Mizhi County Museum, Shaanxi App. 27a-b
- Museum of History, Beijing App. 78a-f, 88; Pls. 24-24.6, 108-108.3
- Museum of Prince of Nanyue Tomb Pl. 4
- Nanyang Museum of Han Pictorial Art, Henan App. 51a-c, 52a-e, 54a-o, 55a-b, 63a-c,

72a-b; Pl. 27, 30-30.3, 34-34.4; Fig 9, 10, 11, 15, 18
 Palace Museum, Beijing 108, 109; Pl. 74, 77, 79, 89, 108-108.3
 Pengshan County Cultural Bureau, Sichuan App. 129
 Shaanxi Museum of Steles, Xi'an App. 19a-b, 21a-b, 22a-c, 23a-b, 24, 25, 26, 28a-b, 29a-b;
 Pls. 29-29.4, 111, 112
 Shaanxi Provincial Museum of History, Xi'an 31, 107; App. 3, 17, 19a-b, 35; Pls. 11, 59.1,
 65
 Shanghai Museum 109, 128, 170; App. 18, 151; Pls. 84, 107
 Sichuan Provincial Museum App. 118a-b, 130
 Tengzhou Museum of Han Pictorial Art, Shandong 63; App. 95; Pls. 35-35.2
 Xianyang Museum, Shaanxi App. 4; Pls. 12-12.1, 13-13.5, 14-14.1
 Xinye Museum of Han Pictorial Art, Henan Pls. 101-104
 Yandao Historical Site Museum, Xingjing, Sichuan Pls. 54-54.1
 Yangzhou Museum, Jiangsu App. 108; Pls. 57-57.2
 Zhenjiang Museum, Jiangsu App. 113; Pls. 23-23.3
 Zaoyang Museum, Hubei Pl. 95

Museums, overseas

Art Institute of Chicago, U.S. 108; Pl. 59.2
 British Museum, London, U.K. 25, 109, 112, 113, 170; App. 85; Pls. 6.1 & 7.1, 59.3 & 59.4,
 61
 Brooklyn Museum of Art, New York, U.S. 108
 Buffalo Museum of Science, U.S. 126; App. 150; Pl. 97-97.5
 City Art Museum of St. Louis, U.S. Pl. 75
 Cleveland Museum of Art, U.S. 118, 126, 195; App. 16; Pls. 70, 71, 78, 88, 96-96.3
 Field Museum of Natural History, Chicago, U.S. Pl. 82
 Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, U.S. 108, 109; App. 105; Pl. 59.5
 Musée Cernuschi, Paris, France 108
 Museum of Fine Arts, Springfield, Mass, U.S. Pl. 72
 National Palace Museum, Taipei 108; Pls. 66, 86
 Osaka Shiritsu Bijutsukan, Japan 109
 Rietberg Museum (Von der Heydt Collection), Zurich, Switzerland App. 148

