The *Siling* (four cardinal animals) in

Han Pictorial Art

Volume One: Text and Bibliography

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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
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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
Chenguang, 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, *zhuque* 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.

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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) archaeological reports; (3) other relevant publications.

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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. 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*, 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*
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

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⁶ Loewe 1994a, 1994b.
⁷ Wu 1989.
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

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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". 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.

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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*.


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, 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. 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. 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.

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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.
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.

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⁸ *WW* 1976, no. 7: 51-55 (Appendix: 7, 8a-c).
⁹ *KGXB* 1964, no. 1: 107-125 (Appendix: 45).
¹⁰ *KGYWW* 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

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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

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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
Luojingshi at the Yangling, tomb of Emperor Jingdi (r. 156-141 B.C.), father of
Emperor Wudi. Luojingshi 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. 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. 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

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.

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. There is also an example of a pair of interlocking dragons. 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

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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.\textsuperscript{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 Luojingshi 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 \textit{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

\textsuperscript{24} \textit{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). 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). 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, 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. 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

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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). 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. 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

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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). 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

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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
drawn up leg
A (reversed)
extended legs

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

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\(^{36}\) 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.

![Diagram of Houtu controlling the four directions](image)

**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 Yiqiang 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，執繩而制四方，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 *zhenzxing* (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

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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 Jinguyuan 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.\(^{46}\)

\(^{43}\) 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 常” 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).\(^\text{47}\) 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.\(^\text{48}\) 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 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

\(^{47}\) 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.

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 Jinguyuan 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 Jinguyuan 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.\(^\text{49}\) 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

\[^{49}\text{A similar adjustment is made in many Buddhist caves at Dunhuang, where the cave entrance is in}\]
indicate the four quarters.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{51} The tomb is dated to the late Eastern Han or the Wei and Jin Dynasties (third century A.D.).\textsuperscript{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

\textsuperscript{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).

\textsuperscript{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 Jinguyuan 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 Jinguyuan 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

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52 *Ibid.*: 78.
excavated from tombs built of small bricks dated to the Six Dynasties: one example comes from Zhenjiang, Jiangsu Province, and another from Xuezhuang Village, Deng County, Henan Province. 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. 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

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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, “龍安五年立墓郭向陽山子孫萬年，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. 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) show that there was probably an intention to convey the directional

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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). 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., still an early stage in the development of stone-chambered tombs in East China.

Another *siling* example comes from a group of three stones, including a door lintel and two door leaves, excavated from Yigou Village, Tongying County, Henan Province (Pl. 27). 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*, 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. On a pair of door leaves from Santaizi, Beijing, three of the *siling* motifs were found. 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.

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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. Apart from one example when images of the phoenix and the turtle are depicted together on a lintel, 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.

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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 wuqian nian 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).
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.

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.

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Guard</th>
<th>Guard</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>baihu</td>
<td>baihu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pushou</td>
<td>pushou</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dog</td>
<td>bear</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bear</td>
<td>2 dogs</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.

Table 2: Tomb door of a tomb at Yingzhuang, Nanyang County, Henan Province (WW 1984.3: 25-37). 1st century A.D.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Bird &amp; Guard</th>
<th>Bird &amp; Guard</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>zhuque</td>
<td>zhuque</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pushou</td>
<td>pushou</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>baihu</td>
<td>baihu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 bi.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>baihu</th>
<th>baihu</th>
<th>zhuque</th>
<th>zhuque</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>pushou</td>
<td>pushou</td>
<td>pushou</td>
<td>pushou</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>a dragon &amp; a tiger</th>
<th>a dragon, a bear, ox &amp; a man</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>two dragons linked by a bi</td>
<td>two tigers &amp; a man</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>zhuque</th>
<th>zhuque</th>
<th>zhuque</th>
<th>zhuque</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>pushou</td>
<td>pushou</td>
<td>pushou</td>
<td>pushou</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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. 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

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66 In *Chu Ci· Jiu Ge· Shan Gui* 《楚辞·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

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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.
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

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70 Shaanxisheng bowuguan & Shaanxisheng wenguanhui 1958, pls. 34 & 35 (Appendix: 23a-b).
Yanjiacha M2 in the same county. 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. 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 “土” 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), seven fish and a disk, and a two-headed dragon.

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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.


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. 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.

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

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75 Wei Renhua 1987: 173-177.
stone-structured tomb at Qilin’gang in the western suburbs of Nanyang City, Henan Province (Pl. 31). 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. 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. 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). 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 “[图片]”, 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). 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

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76 *ZGWWB* 1992. 9. 6 (Appendix: 57).
77 Han Yuxiang & Niu Tianwei 1995: 25.
78 Ibid.: 24.
79 Ibid.
who are symbols of *yin* and *yang*, *tian* (heaven) and *di* (earth).\(^8\) 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.\(^8\) 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.\(^8\) In comparison, the seated image is 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.\(^8\) 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).\(^8\) One of the two sets of *siling* images is depicted round the circular base of the column in the centre

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\(^8\) 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.
\(^8\) Xia Zhifeng 1994: 590-591.
\(^8\) Zeng Zhaoyu 1956.
\(^8\) *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 (Pis. 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).
short swords are held in its two feet. The crossbow and fearsome array of weapons identify the figure as Chiyou, a mythological figure during the reign of Huangdi. 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, 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. 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.

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89 KGTX 1955, no. 6: 65-66.
90 Chiyou is a mythological figure, believed to be a warlord during the reign of Huangdi. 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

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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

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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 Jinqueshan, 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. 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.

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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 (Pis. 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) and a group of rectangular moulded bricks (Pis. 5-8). 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

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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.  

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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), 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.

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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.

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\(^{101}\) 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.\textsuperscript{105} The circular end of each of these eaves tiles is patterned with an image of one of the four cardinal animals (Pl. 11).\textsuperscript{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 \textit{siling} is the main theme as they are confidently depicted in the same style, making full use of the available space. These \textit{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 \textit{Biyong} should be built.\textsuperscript{107}

Also as decorations on architectural components, a complete set of \textit{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).\textsuperscript{108} The stone is dated to the later Eastern Han or Wei Dynasties (around 3\textsuperscript{rd} century A.D.). This later example shows a comparatively advanced carving technique and a more lively depiction of the four animals.

(2) Shrines and \textit{que-towers}

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

\textsuperscript{105} KGTX 1957, no. 6: 28 & 30, pl. 8 (1-4); & KG 1960, no. 7: 38.

\textsuperscript{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 KGB 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.

\textsuperscript{107} According to \textit{Han Shu} • \\

\textit{Pingdi Ji}, "元始四年二月，安漢公奏立明堂埤雍". In the second month of the fourth year of Yuanshi (A.D. 4), Anhangong memorialised the throne for the construction of Mingtang and Biyong" (\textit{Han Shu}, j. 12: 357).
of free-standing stelae-or *mubiao*, were excavated in 1964. 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. 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. 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).

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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, “永元十七年四月戊戌日改為元興首年會古石漢造. 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).
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,
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. 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). 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, “漢谒者北屯司馬左都僕沈府君神道 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”. These inscriptions tell clearly that the site

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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).
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 shiwang 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.
慕前開道，建石柱為標，謂之神道。” 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 (Pis. 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

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117 Prof. Whitfield has suggested that this mask may very well represent the xuanwu, seen from the
front.
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-erected
hundreds of metres away.
¹²² The tower base of Que 1 is 130 cm in width and 260 cm in length, and that of Que 2 is 130 cm in
width and 240 cm 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 zhuge 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 zhuge 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 Zhaojiaocun 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).\textsuperscript{124} It was built as one of a pair of towers with double-eaves hipped-roofs, with a supporting

\textsuperscript{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. 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; a pair of phoenix and turtle-and-snake images are carved on the two sides of the bracket.

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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).
The positions of these pairs of animal motifs on the tower suggest 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. 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).

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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. The tomb belonged to the spouse of Li Cang, 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, 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. There are continuous cloud designs, filling the space around the animal figures, which probably identify a heavenly scene.

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131 She most probably died and was buried some years after 168 B.C. (Hunansheng bowuguan & kaogu yanjisuo 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 (Li 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

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134 The triangular pattern is believed to be a mountain (Humansheng bowuguan & kaogu yanjisuo 1973: 26).
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.*).
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.

![Diagram of double sarcophagus](image)

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. 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).

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(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, "山鲁市東安漢里禹(萧)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.” However, the actual grammatical construction of countless place names 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). 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

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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.\textsuperscript{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,\textsuperscript{146} in order to receive Slab 1, which separates the sarcophagus into a double-chambered one.\textsuperscript{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

\textsuperscript{145} \textit{Ibid.}: 1132-1133.

\textsuperscript{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). 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. 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), and another one from Dongbinting, Luzhou (Pl. 49).

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 ZYW 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 (ZYW 1991, no. 3: 32;
SCWW 1997, no. 4: 21).
150 SCWW 1990, no. 6: 3-11 & plates (Appendix: 124a-d).
the image of a standing phoenix with opened wings can still be read (Pl. 48.1). On the rear,伏羲 and女娲 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,玄武 xuanwu (Pl. 48.3). On the right side of the sarcophagus, the 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). The decorations on the left wall are even more elaborate. On the top right are two figures playing the liubo 六博 game 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 柱棘 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 禦利 lili (Pl. 48.8). 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 玄 xuan and 玄 xuan are interchangeable, so the term 玄武 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 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).
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.

![Diagram showing the positions of the decorated images on the sarcophagus excavated from Guitoushan, Jianyang County, Sichuan.](image)

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

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\(^{156}\) *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).

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). 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

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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). 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).

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

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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.\textsuperscript{160}

The *zhuque* is also absent from the sarcophagus of Wang Hui, excavated from
Modong Village in Lushan County, Sichuan Province (Pl. 52).\textsuperscript{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
corns 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.

\textsuperscript{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).

\textsuperscript{161} Chang Renxia 1955a, pls. 55, 56. See also Gao Wen & Gao Chenggang 1996: 1-4 (Appendix:
138a-d).
The other end of the coffin is carved with a snake-entwined turtle (Pl. 52.2). On the right side is a winged and horned dragon (Pl. 52.3). On the other side is a tiger, also winged and with similar lengthy body (Pl. 52.4). Both the dragon and the tiger face south, towards the front of the sarcophagus.

Some scholars believe that the dragon and tiger motifs are representations of the qinglong and the baihu, because they are carved on the two opposite sides of the sarcophagus, while the snake-entwined turtle, a typical image of the xuanwu, is depicted on the rear. Others, including Ren Naiqiang, excavator of the sarcophagus, do not think that the animal patterns are representations of the siling, because the zhuque is missing. They argue instead that the appearances of the animals on the two sides are more similar to those of the qiulong and the chihu, which have been frequently recorded in classical texts from Southern China, such

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162 The thirty-five-character inscription reads, “故上計吏王暘伯昭以建安拾六歲在辛卯九月下旬卒其拾七年六月甲戌葬鳴呼哀哉. The late Shang Ji Shi (Steward of Accounts), Wang Hui, [whose studio name is] Bozhao, died in the last ten-day period of the ninth month of the sixteenth year (the xinmao year) of Jian’an (A.D. 211), and was buried on the jiaxu day of the sixth month of the seventeenth year of Jian’an (A.D. 212). Alas! Such grief!”

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). 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). 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). 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.
(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. 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 “Dou” (舀, *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*, forming an oval pattern in the middle. Adjoining the oval pattern, by the two

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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 ("\[\text{\textdegree}\] ").\textsuperscript{174} Below the tiger, a symbol similar to an inverted mushroom ("\[\text{\textdegree}\] ") 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 ("\[\text{\textdegree}\] "), which looks like the character "\[\text{\textdegree}\] " (bird) on oracle bones ("\[\text{\textdegree}\] ") and in seal script ("\[\text{\textdegree}\] ").\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{176}

\textsuperscript{173} See Table One (Ch. 5, p. 153) for the twenty-eight xiū from literary and archaeological sources.
\textsuperscript{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).
\textsuperscript{175} Chen Huiming 1991: 178-179.
\textsuperscript{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

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.\textsuperscript{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.

\begin{figure}[h]
\centering
\includegraphics[width=0.8\textwidth]{symbols.png}
\caption{Fig. 30.1-5 (left to right): Symbols of the sun dated to the Neolithic period}
\end{figure}

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.\textsuperscript{181} Fig. 30.1 shows a pictograph composed of a circle on top of a 火.

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{itemize}
\item[\textsuperscript{180}] Chen Huiming 1991: 178-179.
\item[\textsuperscript{181}] Xu Zhongshu 1981: 390.
\end{itemize}
\end{footnotesize}
pictograph. Tang Lan further pointed out that this pattern is literally written as “炅”, composed with the character “日” (sun) and “火” (fire) and it also means “热” (hot, heat). 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, 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. 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. It is suggested by the site report that the four-legged creature may be a toad image, 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 (turtle) on oracle bones (Fig. 31). The animal has a triangular head, typically a

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184 Allan 1993: 11.
185 Mackenzie 1993: 129.
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 the 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. 

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 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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{188}

At least ten similar funerary face covers in lacquer have been excavated, all in the area of the Guangling State around Yangzhou City.\textsuperscript{189} They are dated from the middle of the Western Han period to the Xin Dynasty (first century B.C. to A.D. 23).\textsuperscript{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,\textsuperscript{191} and the one from Huchang M14 is the only example decorated with the four cardinal animals.

According to \textit{Han Shu \textbullet\ Huo Guang zhuan}, Huo Guang (d. 68 B.C.) was granted by the imperial court a Dongyuan \textit{wenming} for his funeral.\textsuperscript{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

\begin{footnotesize}
\footnote{187 Wang Tao & Liu Yu 1997: 133.}
\footnote{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 (\textit{WW} 1960, no. 6: 13-21).}
\footnote{189 \textit{KG} 1962, no. 8: 401-402, fig. 2.7, pls. 5.8 & 5.9; \textit{KG} 1980, no. 5: 422, fig. 4 (left) & pl. 11.1; \textit{KG} 1982, no. 3: 238, fig. 6.1, pls. 4.1 & 4.5; \textit{KG} 1986, no. 11: 992, fig. 8.13; \textit{WW} 1987, no. 1: 27-28, fig. 6.1.}
\footnote{190 Three of the face covers are dated to late Western Han period (1\textsuperscript{st} century B.C.), including two from Pingshan M1 (\textit{WW} 1987, no. 1: 27-28 & fig. 6.1) and the one with the \textit{siling} motifs from Huchang (\textit{ZGWWB} 1997. 11. 23). The remaining seven are dated to the Xin Dynasty or early Eastern Han Dynasty.}
\footnote{191 \textit{KG} 1980, no. 5: 419-422 for the two examples from Xiaojishan M3 (tomb of the male occupant) & M5.}
\footnote{192 \textit{Han Shu \textbullet\ Huo Guang Jin Richuan Zhuan} (\textit{Han Shu}, j. 68: 2948); Higuchi 1975: 242.}
\end{footnotesize}
at court and in the palace.\textsuperscript{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 \textit{huang chang ti cou} burial chamber and a Dongyuan \textit{wenming}.\textsuperscript{194} Some people believed that the face cover in lacquer is named \textit{wenming} 溫明, because its appearance and its function in tombs coincide with the description of Dongyuan \textit{wenming} in the commentary by Fu Qian (c. 125-129):

\begin{quote}
東園處此器，形如方漆桶，開一面，漆盡之，以鏽置其中，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.\textsuperscript{195}
\end{quote}

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

\textsuperscript{193} Ibid.: 2931-2948.
\textsuperscript{194} Ibid.: 2948. \textit{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.
\textsuperscript{195} Ibid.: 2949. Yan Shigu (A.D. 581-645) gave further information about “Dongyuan”: “東園，署名心，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.\textsuperscript{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 \textit{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).\textsuperscript{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 \textit{qinglong} is on the right and the \textit{baihu} on the left, the \textit{zhuque} is at the top and the \textit{xuanwu} at the back (Fig. 32; Pls. 57, 57.1-2).

![Diagram of face cover](image)

In the centre of the top of this face cover, a small glass \textit{bi} is inlaid. \textit{Bi} was a

\textsuperscript{196} Pernet 1992: 102.
\textsuperscript{197} Appendix: 108.
sacrificial object used to show respect to the sky. Because of its specific relationship with the sky, it is believed that through the glass bi, the hun soul can ascend to heaven. 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). Liu Sheng was made Prince Jing of Zhongshan in 154 B.C. 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；以蒼壁禮天，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)).
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. 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).

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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, 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.). Another two were excavated from the Maoling area. 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.

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

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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 *KGYWW* 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 & *KGYWW* 1997, no. 6, front cover.

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

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. One unusual example is kept in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in

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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.\textsuperscript{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,\textsuperscript{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, “史侯家銅檠第四 ...... Shi Houjia tong ranbei disi (the fourth bronze ran cup of the Shi Hou Family) ......”.\textsuperscript{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,\textsuperscript{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

\textsuperscript{208} KG 1979, no. 2: 129; WW 1982, no. 9: 4-5.
\textsuperscript{209} WWTD 1996, no. 2: 24-26.
\textsuperscript{210} I have examined this object in the Shanghai Museum.
\textsuperscript{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. 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. On most of them, the zhuque is perched at the top; one has the qinglong and the baihu as well (Pl. 60.1). 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. 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. 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).
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. 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

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\(^{221}\) 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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{225} Hayashi interprets it as an image of a "messenger from the Supreme God", because a four-word inscription "\textit{tian di shi zhe}\textsuperscript{223}", 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.\textsuperscript{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 \textit{siling} are mainly depicted to indicate the four directions.\textsuperscript{227} The British Museum follows Hayashi in identifying the central figure on the belt-hook in its collection as Chiyou.\textsuperscript{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,\textsuperscript{229} as the

\textsuperscript{223} \textit{KG} 1960, no. 12: 656 (Appendix: 83).
\textsuperscript{224} The unclear rubbings of the one excavated from Donggangtou in Hebei and the one published by Minao 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 (\textit{Ibid.}: 226).
\textsuperscript{225} See n. 90.
\textsuperscript{226} \textit{TG} 46, 1974: 227.
\textsuperscript{227} \textit{Ibid.}: 227-228.
\textsuperscript{228} British Museum collection registration number: OA 1936.11-18.50.
\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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"\textsuperscript{231} and *shoudai* (animal band)\textsuperscript{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

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Qilin’gang tomb.  
\textsuperscript{230} *TG* 46, 1974: 227-228.  
\textsuperscript{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.  
\textsuperscript{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. 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".

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. Others believe that a TLV mirror represents a building, or a 亖-shaped palace of antiquity. 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). 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

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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).


236 Bulling 1955: 33-34.


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 and Hou Han Shu, 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).

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:

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239 According to Shi Ji • Feng Shan Shu, in the fifth year of Yuanding (112 B.C.), "[武帝]幸甘泉, 令祠官宽舒等具太一祠壇, ...... 五帝壇環居其下, 各如其方, 黄帝西南。[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, "皇帝位在甲寅之地, 赤帝位在丙已之地, 黄帝位在丁未之地, 白帝位在庚申之地, 黑帝位在壬亥之地。Qingdi is situated at the direction of jiajin; Chidi is situated at the direction of bingsi; Huangdi is situated in the direction of dingwei; Baidi is situated in the direction of gengshen; Heid is is situated in the direction of renhai." (Hou Han Shu, zhi 6: 3159).

"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]."\textsuperscript{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 Lushun 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)),\textsuperscript{243} and sometimes an immortal (Pls. 69,

\textsuperscript{242} Loewe 1994a: 83.
\textsuperscript{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, "作佳竞我真大好，上有仙
92.1(6)) or an animal (Pl. 71). 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). 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.” The haihu on a TLV mirror, opposite the qinglong, is often matched with another animal (Pis. 69, 70, 74, 92.1(2-6)), or a bird (Pis. 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 (Pis. 76, 92.1(1-6)), an immortal (Pis.
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

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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，喝飲玉泉飴食蜜，徘徊名山采芝草，浮游天下救四海，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 mytic 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 今 xi (National Palace Museum 1986, pl. 44.)
xuanwu and a toad, a deity in the moon, means brightness. 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). 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). 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.

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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, “尚方作鏡真大好，上有仙人不知老，喝飲玉泉飽食粟，浮遊天下鼓四海，命如金石兮。Mirror 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.” (Lishun 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，左龍右虎掌四祅，爵永玄武順陰陽。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, 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). 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

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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，左龍右虎時不半，朱鳥玄武順陰陽，上有仙人不知老，鳴飲玉泉飲食粟，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.” (Umehara 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, 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. 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.

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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." 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. 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. 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

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


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."  

(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 (Pis. 93 & 93.1, 94). 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 (Pis. 9 & 10) on separate hollow bricks found from the Luojingshi 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.). 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,

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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). Another pair of these siling pottery lids were excavated in Xiawan M1 in Zhechuan County, Henan Province, a tomb dated to the Xin Dynasty. They are glazed in red and are slightly larger than the pair from Zaoyang City. Similar examples were also excavated from a tomb with siling images engraved on stone doors in Fangcheng County in Henan Province, and from Jingmen in Hubei Province.

(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

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262 Appendix: 1b.
263 JHKG 1994, no. 4: 19-21 (Appendix: 80).
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. 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). 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). 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. 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

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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. 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). 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.

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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.). 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). 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* longevity extended for ten thousand years, always suitable for the sons and grandsons”. The fine animal carvings and

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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. The tomb is dated to the fifth year of Guanghe of the Eastern Han Dynasty (182 A.D.).

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). The three

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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.

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. On the other side of the same plaque, thought to show Xiwangmu, the Queen Mother of the

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

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280 Ibid.
281 Ibid.
282 Ibid.
image of a leaping tiger was excavated (Pl. 110). 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. 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). 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, 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.

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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 Yuanluang (123 A.D.) (Lü Pin 1990: 47). The tomb in Cangshan is dated by inscription to the first year of Yuanjin (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 Xishui, Puyang, Henan Province.287

On the floor of M45 at the site in Xishui, 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

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287 *WW* 1988, no. 3: 1-6 (Appendix: 40).
north of the skeleton of the principal occupant, below the feet. 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.

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. 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).

288 WW1988, no. 3: 3.
290 WW1990, 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. (WW1979, 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.\textsuperscript{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.

\textsuperscript{292} WW 1988, no. 3: 3; JHKG 1993, no. 4: 87-89; ZYW 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 Yangling\(^{293}\) 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 (Pis. 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). 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 (Pis. 61, 61.1 & 61.2). Although this armed figure has been identified as Chiyou 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.

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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).
\(^{298}\) 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.

\[\text{299 Gao Wen & Gao Chenggang 1996: 40-41.}\]
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？麟鳯龜龍。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

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\(^{300}\) *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.
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 zhuangxu.

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302 LiZy, 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:

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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‘王樞主衛作玄武’，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，龟蛇合體。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 &
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. The Dipper is in the centre, surrounded by the stars. Among these stars, the canglong, the zhuniao, the xianchi 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
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 \([\text{canglong}]\). In the west ...... the constellation is the White Tiger \([\text{baihu}]\). In the south ...... the constellation is the Scarlet Bird \([\text{zhuniao}]\). In the north ...... the constellation is the Black Turtle \([\text{xuanwu}]\).” \(^{312}\)

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

\(^{309}\) LlZY, j. 3: 22 (Shi San Jing Zhi Shu, vol. 1: 1250).

\(^{310}\) SSZY, j. 2: 9 (Shi San Jing Zhi 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 Zhi 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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{314}

The \textit{sixing} (four asterisms or four constellations) in the text refer to the \textit{canglong}, the \textit{zhuque}, the \textit{baihu} and the \textit{xuanwu}, the four groups of lunar mansions. The “essences” refer to the four divine animals, which are derived from the \textit{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 \textit{xiu} constellations and the \textit{siling} in Han belief.

Another reference confirming this relationship is found in a late commentary to the \textit{Shang Shu} in the \textit{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

\textsuperscript{313} \textit{Ibid.}
\textsuperscript{314} \textit{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.

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，天先見大蟄大蟄，
黃帝曰：“土氣勝”。土氣勝，故其色尚黃，其事則上。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).
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 chiniao, 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.\footnote{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)}

About two to three decades after the compilation of the \textit{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 \textit{qi} of water” had conquered. The words are recorded in the \textit{Shi Ji} • \textit{Feng Chan Shu}:

黃帝得上德，黃龍地縝見。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 \textit{huanglong} (the yellow dragon) and big earthworms appeared. When the Xia obtained the virtue of wood, the \textit{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 (\textit{chiniao}). 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.\footnote{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"), 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.

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

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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 (Wáng Tao 1993a: 253).  
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：麟本精。左氏說：麟中央軒轅大角之獸。陳欽說：麟是西方毛蟲。許慎説按：禮運云：麟凤龜龍，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.

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^{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 *chiniao* (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.\(^\text{321}\) 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*.\(^{323}\)

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\(^{323}\) 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).
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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 tianwengan 1987: 53-53.
to its principal theorist, Zou Yan (c. late third century B.C.).\textsuperscript{327} Zou Yan's work is lost. However, in the Qin Dynasty text \textit{Lü Shi Chun Qiu},\textsuperscript{328} the major content of his \textit{wuxing} theory was preserved.\textsuperscript{329}

Angus Graham mentions that our information about Chinese cosmology before the Qin and Han periods comes primarily from historical sources, particularly the \textit{Zuo Zhuan}, of which a set of six \textit{qi} (shade/\textit{yin}, sunshine/\textit{yang}, wind, rain, dark and light) and a set of five \textit{xing} (wood, fire, soil, metal and water) are mentioned.\textsuperscript{330} The set of six \textit{qi}, belongs to the heaven, are the energetic fluids in the atmosphere and inside the body; the five \textit{xing}, belongs to the earth, refers earlier in the \textit{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".\textsuperscript{331} Graham's statement was superseded shortly later by Sarah Allan who points out that \textit{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 \textit{fang}, north, south, east, west and the centre, but according to her explanation, this meaning of \textit{fang} in Shang texts is spatial, not linear.\textsuperscript{332}

According to the \textit{yinyang} theory, all things and events are the products of the

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{327} Henderson 1984: 33. See also Needham 1954: 232-246, 273 for the role of Zou Yan in the \textit{yinyang wuxing} theories. Zou Yan's biography is in the \textit{Shi Ji} • \textit{Meng Zi Xun Qing Lie Zhuan} (\textit{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).
\item \textsuperscript{328} See n. 316.
\item \textsuperscript{329} Wang Tao quotes a large paragraph from \textit{Lü Shi Chun Qiu} when he tried to reconstruct Zou Yan's \textit{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 \textit{yinyang wuxing} theory (Xu Fuguan 1993, vol. 2: 5).
\item \textsuperscript{330} Graham 1991:325.
\item \textsuperscript{331} \textit{Ibid.}: 325-326.
\item \textsuperscript{332} Allan 1991: 75-76.
\end{itemize}
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.
\(^{336}\) *Ibid.*: 47; see also Chan Wing-tsit 1973: 244.
\(^{337}\) Needham 1954: 253-261.
The two concepts, which had much in common, were originally two separate currents with independent origin,\textsuperscript{340} it is believed that they were thought of together by the time of Zou Yan.\textsuperscript{341} Xu Fuguan however suggests that, for Zou Yan, \textit{yinyang} is the principle governing the motion of the cosmos, while \textit{wuxing} is the principle governing the alternation of history.\textsuperscript{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.”\textsuperscript{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 \textit{qinglong} for the east and the spring, the white-coloured \textit{baihu} for the west and the autumn, the red-coloured \textit{zhuque} for the south and the summer, and the black-coloured \textit{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 \textit{yang} and the greatest \textit{yin}, respectively. It has to be recognised that east and west are also a pair of opposites within the \textit{yinyang} theory. According to C.A.S. Williams, \textit{yang} is also symbolized by the Dragon and the land forms (mountains), whereas the tiger and the valleys and streams possess the \textit{yin} quality.\textsuperscript{344} Schuyler Cammann further points out that, since the contrast of the mountains and the seas was also basic in

\textsuperscript{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 \textit{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.

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

\textsuperscript{341} \textit{Ibid.}

\textsuperscript{342} Xu Fuguan 1993, vol. 2: 11.

\textsuperscript{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

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 Zhan Zhen 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 xiù 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 xiù, 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

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348 Pang Pu 1989: 137.
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. 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

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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.

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”. 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.

\[351\] 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.” 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. 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. 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

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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.
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 (Pis. 15.4-15.7). 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 (Pis. 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). 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

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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). 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.

358 ZGWBB 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 (Pis. 111 & 112).\textsuperscript{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;\textsuperscript{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.

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

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). 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). 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).

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,

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363 One of them was excavated from Donggangtou, 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”.

(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

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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*:

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\(^{366}\) Zeng Zhaoyu 1956.
Jianwang Yan in *Hou Han Shu • Guangwu shiwang 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. 諸前開道，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 towers 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 (Pis. 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* (Pis. 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

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\(^{369}\) See n. 115 & 116.


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). 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), 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).

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373 SCWW 1990, no. 6: 3-11 & plates (Appendix: 124a-d).
However, instead of being separately depicted on the front and back panels, the 
\textit{zhuque} and \textit{xuanwu} images are depicted together on the front, with a jade \textit{bi} pattern, 
a pair of \textit{que}-towers on which are seated the images of Xiwangmu and a possible 
image of Dongwanggong (Pl. 49.1).\textsuperscript{375} The arrangement of the siling on the 
sarcophagus from Dongbinting is unique among all the other \textit{siling} stone 
sarcophagi.

There are also a few examples on the Eastern Han Dynasty stone sarcophagi from 
Sichuan in which either the \textit{zhuque} or the \textit{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 \textit{qinglong}, the \textit{baihu} and the \textit{zhuque} were found (Fig. 
27).\textsuperscript{376} On a sarcophagus from Fushun County and also on the sarcophagus of 
Wang Hui, excavated from Modong Village in Lushan County, the \textit{qinglong}, the 
\textit{baihu} and the \textit{xuanwu} were found, while the \textit{zhuque} is left out (Figs. 28 & 29).

\textsuperscript{375} Discussed above in Ch. 3, pp. 89-90. 
\textsuperscript{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

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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, phoexines 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 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

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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.” 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. In Chu Ci • Yuan You, the name “xuanwu” was first recorded: “時煖暖而像莽兮，召玄武而奔屬。The sky is getting dark, call for the xuanwu, run quickly and become its subordinate.” 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

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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).
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.\(^3\) 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 (Pis. 7, 10, 12) and bronze braziers (Pis. 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.\(^3\) 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.\(^3\) 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

\(^3\) For example, in his annotation to *Chu Ci* • *Yuan You*, Zhu Xi pointed out, "説書曰：玄武，謂龜蛇。位在北方，故曰玄。身有麟甲，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).

\(^3\) Juliano 1980.

\(^3\) *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.  

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, 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), a wall painting (Pl. 21.3) and a carved stone slab (Pl. 47.15) 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), 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.

87 Ibid.: 1. This mirror is now kept in the Museum of History in Beijing.
88 Zhonghua wuqian nian wenwu jikan bian jian weiyuanhui 1980: 89; *WW* 1984, no. 3, pl. 47 & rubs. 44-45; Henansheng wenhuaju wenwu gongzuodui 1963a, cat. no. 61 (Appendix: 43, 47).
89 *KG* 1959, no. 9: 462-463, 468 (Appendix: 38).
90 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.
91 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). 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). 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. 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

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392 KGYW 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.” 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, turtile-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.

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\(^{398}\) *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 Zhua • 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.\footnote{According to \textit{Hou Han Shu \cdot Bai Guan} 4, there were thirteen *zhou* during the reign of Emperor Guangwu (A.D. 25-57), one of which was the former *si li jiao wei bu*. \textit{(Hou Han Shu, zhi 27: 3613-3614)}.} 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.\footnote{According to \textit{Hou Han Shu \cdot Bai Guan} 4, there were thirteen *zhou* during the reign of Emperor Guangwu (A.D. 25-57), one of which was the former *si li jiao wei bu*. \textit{(Hou Han Shu, zhi 27: 3613-3614)}.} Luoyang, and its surrounding area, was one of the most densely populated areas in both the Western Han (Map Three) and the Eastern Han
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). 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. 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

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405 Ge Jianxiong 1986: 96-104.
407 Based on the earliest preserved census of the Han population recorded in *Han Shu • Dili Zhi*, compiled in the second year of Yuan Shi (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.\textsuperscript{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 \textit{Shi Ji • Gaozu Ben Ji} and \textit{Han Shu • Gaodi Ji}:

\begin{quote}
諸侯子在關中者，復之十二歲，其歸者復之六歲 …… 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.\textsuperscript{409}

吏二千石，徙之長安，受小第室。[High-ranking] officials of two thousand \textit{shi} were moved into Chang’an and granted small mansion
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{408} \textit{Han Shu}, j. 15-1: 437.
\textsuperscript{409} \textit{Shi Ji • Gaozu Ben Ji} (\textit{Shi Ji}, j. 8: 380).
houses.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{412} It is probably because of the relatively better environment and living standards\textsuperscript{413} 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.\textsuperscript{414}

One important point to be noted is that this large population in the capital was

\textsuperscript{410} Han Shu • Gaodi Ji • xia (Han Shu, j. 1-2: 78).
\textsuperscript{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).
\textsuperscript{412} Ge Jianxiong 1986: 156.1
\textsuperscript{413} Ibid.: 105-106.
\textsuperscript{414} Ibid.: 157-159.1
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. 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). (Map One: 82) The other is the face cover from the Guangling State at Yangzhou in Jiangsu Province (Fig. 32 & Pl. 57.2). (Map One: 108).

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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 • Zhaodi Ji, in Han Shu, j. 7: 231).


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, 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.

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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.\(^\text{419}\) 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.\(^\text{420}\)

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.\(^\text{421}\)

The production of large amount of stone-structured tombs in Northern Shaanxi was

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\(^{419}\) Among the examples from Shaanxi Province in the Appendix (Appendix: 1-34), 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 supply of stone in that area.\textsuperscript{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 \textit{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 \textit{siling} patterns had been widely accepted and practised all over the Han territories.

The set of patterns of the \textit{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 \textit{que}-towers from Qu County (Pl. 43.2)\textsuperscript{423} and on a sarcophagus from Lushan\textsuperscript{424} 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.\textsuperscript{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

\textsuperscript{422} Li Mo 1997, vol. 1: 452.
\textsuperscript{424} Chang Renxia 1955a, pls. 55, 56. See also Gao Wen & Gao Chenggang 1996: 1-4 (Appendix: 138a-c).
\textsuperscript{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). 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.). 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 became 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, provincial officials of different ranks, local landlords (with or without

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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 an 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* 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. 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 sitting symbols, qinglong, 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 sitting 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 sitting 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 sitting symbols was depicted

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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.).

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.  

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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), and on the sides of stone sarcophagi (Pls. 47-52).

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 on 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

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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).

some bricks were placed upside down, or with the decorated side facing the exterior rather than the interior of the tomb. 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). 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). 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

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

41 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). 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).

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; 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. 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*

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43 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 waimian changyi zisun* longevity extended for ten thousand years, always suitable for the sons and grandsons”.


45 *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 imagea 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 facing “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
BMMS = Bulletin of the Buffalo Museum of Science (Hobbies)
BCMA = Bulletin of the Cleveland Museum of Art
BIPHA = 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（哲學社會科學版）
CDEA = Cahiers d'Extreme-Asie
CQFLJZJY = Chungfu Fanlu jinzhau jinya 春秋繁露今注今譯
CS = Chinese Science
DDLJ = Da Dai Li Jin Zhong Ji Shi 大戴禮記今注今釋
DLZZ = Da Luzhi 大陸雜志
DNWH = Dongnan wenhua 東南文化
DY = Duo yun 集雲
EC = Early China
GAA = 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 xinshu 漢書新注
HTR = Harvard Theological Review
HXKG = Huaxia Kaogu 華夏考古
IIAS = IIAS Newsletters
JAOE = Journal of the American Oriental Society
JAS = Journal of Asian Studies
JESHO = Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient
JHKG = Jianghan kaogu 江漢考古
JZXK = Jiuzhou xuekan 九州學刊
KDZK = Kangdoo xuekan 廉澤月刊
KG = Kaogu 考古
KGTX = Kaogu tongxun 考古通訊
KGXJ = Kaogu xuebao 考古學報
KGBX = Kaoguxue jikan 考古學集刊
KYWW = Kaogu yu Wenwu 考古與文物
LHWXZ = Liaohai wenwu xuekan 遼海文物學刊
LJY = Li jia zhen yuan 禮記正義
LSCQ = Li Shu Chun Qiu 吕氏春秋
LSYJ = Lishi yanjiu 歷史研究
MRDTB = Memoirs of the Research Department of the Tokyō Bunkō (Oriental Library)
MS = Monumenta Serica
MSYJ = Meishu yanjiu 美術研究
NDXT = Nandu xueyan 南都學譯
NFYYW = Nanyang wenwu 南方文物
NM = Numan
NPJM = The National Palace Museum Journal 故宮博物院院刊
NPMMCA = The National Palace Museum Monthly of Chinese Art 故宮文物月刊
NPMMRQ = The National Palace Museum Research Quarterly 故宮學術季刊
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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

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Abbreviations:

$q'$ = qinglong
$b\,'$ = bahu
$z\,'$ = zhuque
$x\,'$ = xuanwu

L = left
R = right
F = front
B = back / bottom
T = top

h = height
l = length
w = width
$\theta$ = thickness
diam = diameter
+ = pattern repeated

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Pl.</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Owner of specimen</th>
<th>Media &amp; Orientation</th>
<th>Size (cm)</th>
<th>The <em>siling</em> images</th>
<th>Sources/Collection</th>
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<tbody>
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<td>I.</td>
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<td>Shaanxi</td>
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<td>1</td>
<td>a)</td>
<td>Luojingshi</td>
<td>Early W. Han, Jingdi period (r. 156-140</td>
<td>Emperor Jingdi &amp; his imperial family</td>
<td>hollow bricks (fragments), patterns moulded in thread relief</td>
<td>unknown</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Ma &amp; Wang 2001: 55-56.</td>
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<td>b)</td>
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<td>B.C.)</td>
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<td>2</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>The Third Branch of the Fifth</td>
<td>early W. Han to Wudi period (2\textsuperscript{nd} century to 87 B.C.)</td>
<td>an official whose rank was about that of Five Grand Masters 五大夫， Assistants to the Three Ministers</td>
<td>a bronze brazier with matching eared cup &amp; handled ring-support for the cup</td>
<td>9.2 high [14 long [8.2 wide [1 [1 [1 WJ 1991, no. 4: 3-18. Shaanxi kaogu yanjiusuo &amp; Xi'an shi wenwu guanlichu 1993: 60; <em>KG</em> 1997, no. 6, cover page. Shaanxi Provincial Cultural Bureau.</td>
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<td>3</td>
<td>59.1</td>
<td>Wazhagou 瓦渣沟， Maoling 玛陵， Xingping County 襄平县, Shaanxi</td>
<td>W. Han, Wudi period (r. 140-87 B.C.)</td>
<td>an aristocrat or an upper class person</td>
<td>a pair of bronze braziers with matching eared cups &amp; handled ring-supports for the cups, &amp; trays</td>
<td>unknown (similar size to No. 2)</td>
<td>1 [1 [1 [1 Shaanxi Provincial Museum of History. Similar examples from Shaanxi and in museums in China and overseas.</td>
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<td>4</td>
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<td>Maquan 马泉, Xianyang, Shaanxi</td>
<td>early W. Han to Wudi period (2\textsuperscript{nd} century to 87 B.C.)</td>
<td>an aristocrat or an upper class person</td>
<td>a bronze brazier with matching eared cup, handled ring-support for the cup, &amp; tray</td>
<td>unknown (similar size to No. 2)</td>
<td>1 [1 [1 [1 KG 1979, no.2: 125-135, fig. 5.7. Xianyang Museum.</td>
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</table>

1 Maquan is situated between the Maoling and Pingling, imperial tombs of Wudi (r. 140 - 87 B.C.) and Zhaozi (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).
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<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Fuping</td>
<td>early W. Han to Wudi period (2nd century to 87 B.C.)</td>
<td>unknown</td>
<td>a bronze brazier with matching eared cup, handle broken</td>
<td>unknown (similar size to No. 2)</td>
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<td>WWTD 1996, no. 2: 25.</td>
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<td>3</td>
<td>Wazhagou, Maoling, Xingping County, Shaanxi</td>
<td>W. Han, Wudi period (r. 140-87 B.C.)</td>
<td>an aristocrat or an upper class person</td>
<td>a large pushou of green jade, with patterns carved and finely incised in bas relief</td>
<td>34.2 x 35.6 x 14.7 weight: 10.6kg</td>
<td>I/R</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1/L</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>WW 1976, no. 7: 51-55; KGFW 1986, no. 3: 9-10; Wang Wenqing 1994: 144. Maoling Museum.</td>
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<td>7</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>Wazhagou, Maoling, Xingping County, Shaanxi</td>
<td>Wudi period to end of W. Han (140B.C.-A.D. 8)</td>
<td>an aristocrat or an upper class person</td>
<td>hollow brick, patterns moulded in bas relief, the front side of a brick</td>
<td>35 x 113 x 18.5</td>
<td>1+L</td>
<td>1+R</td>
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<td>WW 1976, no. 7: 54-55. Maoling Museum.</td>
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<td>8</td>
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<td>Wazhagou, Maoling, Xingping County, Shaanxi</td>
<td>Wudi period (r. 140-87 B.C.) to end of W. Han (A.D. 8)</td>
<td>an aristocrat or an upper class person</td>
<td>a/ b/c) hollow brick, patterns moulded in bas relief</td>
<td>18 x 116.5 x 40.5</td>
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<td>WW 1976, no. 7: 51-53; Zhonghua wuqi lianmian wenwu jikan bianji weiyuanhui 1980: 34; Wang Wenqing 1994: 145. Maoling Museum.</td>
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<td>13.8 x 45 (section)</td>
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<td>17.8 x 117.5 x 37.5</td>
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<td>9</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>Erdaoyuan = 道原 M26, Xianyang, Shaanxi</td>
<td>W. Han (2nd-1st century B.C.) to Xin Dynasty (late 1st Century B.C. to A.D. 23) tomb</td>
<td>the upper class or local officials</td>
<td>a hollow brick (fragment), patterns moulded in thread relief:</td>
<td>137 x 40 x 22 (brick)</td>
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<td>KG 1982, no. 3, figs. 14.1-3; Zhang Daoyi 1993: 405; Zhang Hongxiu 1994, pls. 29, 21 &amp; 22.</td>
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<td>a) M26:1 front</td>
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<td>Erdao yuan M36</td>
<td>W. Han (2nd-1st century B.C.) brick in a late W. Han to Xin Dynasty (late 1st Century B.C. to A.D. 23) tomb</td>
<td>the upper class or local officials</td>
<td>hollow bricks (a-1), pattern moulded in thread relief: a) M36:12 front</td>
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<td>11</td>
<td>a)</td>
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<td>KG 1982, no. 3, figs. 11.1, 3.3 &amp; fig. 12.3; Zhang Daoyi 1993: 406; Zhang Hongxiu 1994, pls. 20, 8 &amp; 9, 25.</td>
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<td>b)</td>
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<td>b) M36:12 flank</td>
<td>b) 115 x 15</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>KG 1982, no. 3, pl. 2.3 &amp; fig. 10.4; Zhang Daoyi 1993: 406; Zhang Hongxiu 1994, pls. 18 &amp; 19.</td>
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<td>c)</td>
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<td>c) M36:12 end</td>
<td>c) 38 x 18</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>KG 1982, no. 3, figs. 11.7, 11.8 &amp; pl. 3.4; Zhang Daoyi 1993: 405.</td>
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<td>d)</td>
<td>13.5</td>
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<td>d) M36:14 front</td>
<td>d) 118 x 38</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>KG 1982, no. 3, pl. 3.2 &amp; fig. 11.4; Zhang Daoyi 1993: 405; Zhang Hongxiu 1994, pl. 23 &amp; 26.</td>
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<td>g)</td>
<td>/</td>
<td></td>
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<td>g) M36:33 flank</td>
<td>(brick)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>KG 1982, no. 3, figs. 2.1 &amp; 10.6; Zhang Daoyi 1993: 406; Zhang Hongxiu 1994, pls. 14, 12.</td>
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<td>i)</td>
<td>13</td>
<td></td>
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<td>i) M36:34 back</td>
<td>i) 118 x 38</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>KG 1982, no. 3, pl. 3.2 &amp; fig. 11.4; Zhang Daoyi 1993: 405; Zhang Hongxiu 1994, pl. 23 &amp; 26.</td>
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<td>k)</td>
<td>13.2</td>
<td></td>
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<td>k) M36:36 front</td>
<td>k) 118 x 18</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>KG 1982, no. 3, pls. 3.1, 2.2 &amp; fig. 12.1; Zhang Daoyi 1993: 406 &amp; 405; Zhang Hongxiu 1994, pls. 16, 27 &amp; 30.</td>
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<td>m)</td>
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<td>m) M36:36 end</td>
<td>m) 38 x 18</td>
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<td>KG 1982, no. 3, figs. 2.1 &amp; 10.6; Zhang Daoyi 1993: 406; Zhang Hongxiu 1994, pls. 14, 12.</td>
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<td>n)</td>
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<td>n) M36:38 back</td>
<td>n) 118 x 38</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>KG 1982, no. 3, pl. 3.2 &amp; fig. 11.4; Zhang Daoyi 1993: 405; Zhang Hongxiu 1994, pl. 23 &amp; 26.</td>
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<td>o)</td>
<td>/</td>
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<td></td>
<td>o) M36:38 flank</td>
<td>o) 113 x 19</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>KG 1982, no. 3, pl. 3.2 &amp; fig. 11.4; Zhang Daoyi 1993: 405; Zhang Hongxiu 1994, pl. 23 &amp; 26.</td>
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<td>r)</td>
<td>/</td>
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<td></td>
<td>r) M36:62 flank</td>
<td>r) 118 x 18</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>KG 1982, no. 3, pl. 3.2 &amp; fig. 11.4; Zhang Daoyi 1993: 405; Zhang Hongxiu 1994, pl. 23 &amp; 26.</td>
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<td>s)</td>
<td>13.6</td>
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<td>s) M36:57 front</td>
<td>116 x 20</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>KG 1982, no. 3, pl. 3.2 &amp; fig. 11.4; Zhang Daoyi 1993: 405; Zhang Hongxiu 1994, pl. 23 &amp; 26.</td>
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<td>t)</td>
<td>13.7</td>
<td></td>
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<td>t) M36:57 flank</td>
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<td>2</td>
<td>KG 1982, no. 3, pl. 3.2 &amp; fig. 11.4; Zhang Daoyi 1993: 405; Zhang Hongxiu 1994, pl. 23 &amp; 26.</td>
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<td>No.</td>
<td>15-15.7</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>20</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>University</strong></td>
<td>Jiaotong University</td>
<td>Shaanxi Province</td>
<td>Shaanxi Province</td>
<td>Qiangle County, Shaanxi</td>
<td>Shaanxi Province</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Periods</strong></td>
<td>late W. Han, Xuandi to Pingdi periods (73 B.C. – A.D. 5)</td>
<td>W. Han (1st century B.C.)</td>
<td>W. Han (1st century B.C.)</td>
<td>late W. Han to Xin (late 1st century B.C. to A.D. 23)</td>
<td>Xian (c. A.D. 4)</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Location</strong></td>
<td>Xi’an, Shaanxi</td>
<td>unknown</td>
<td>Shaanxi</td>
<td>unknown</td>
<td>Shaanxi</td>
<td>Shaanxi</td>
<td>Shaanxi</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
| **Description** | a rich local or a rich landowner or a local official | brick, rectangular shape, inscribed, patterns in relief lines | brick, square shape, inscribed, patterns in relief lines | wall painting in colour, on the eastern and western walls of the burial chamber | the imperial family | a set of pottery eaves tiles, moulded in relief | a garrison official or a rich landowner | a garrison official or a rich landowner
| **Diameter** | painted and coloured patterns on the ceiling of the main chamber of the tomb | 22 x 90 x 30 | 35 x 34 | unknown | (diam) 15.8-19 | (diam) 17.2-19.3 | a garrison official or a rich landowner
| **Shape** | Inner circle diam: 220-228, Outer circle diam: 268-270 | 1/L | 1/T | 1/R | +/E | 1 | 1 |

*Note: The above table contains information about various archaeological sites in Shaanxi Province, China, including tomb locations, periods, and dimensions. The table also references various scholarly works and museum collections.*
<p>| 21 | a) / | Banfosi 椃佛寺, Kuaihualing 供華 禮, 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 &amp; Shaanxisheng wenguahui 1958, pls. 54, 57 &amp; 58. Shaanxi Museum of Steles, Xi'an. |
| 22 | a) / | Dagualiang 大(土)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 door frames e) two door jambs | a) 109 x 52, 110 x 52.5 (R &amp; L) b) 144 x 45, 147 x 39 c) 118 x 44, 128 x 40 (L &amp; R) | 1/L | 1/R | 1/L | Shaanxisheng bowuguan &amp; Shaanxisheng wenguahui 1958: 62-65, 68-69. Shaanxi Museum of Steles, Xi'an. |
| 23 | 29- 29.4 | Kuaihualing, Housijiaogou 復思家溝, 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) 180 x 43.5 (lintel) 109 x 33.5 (each pillar) | 1/R | 1/L | 1/L | Shaanxisheng bowuguan &amp; Shaanxisheng wenguahui 1958, pls. 34 &amp; 35. Shaanxi Museum of Steles, Xi'an. |
| 24 | / | Kuaihualing M1, Housijiaogou, Yife Town 萬合 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/L | Shaanxisheng bowuguan &amp; Shaanxisheng wenguahui 1958, pls. 47 &amp; 48. Shaanxi Museum of Steles, Xi'an. |
| 25 | / | Zhuanyaojiaqiang, Hejiagou 賢家溝, Shizheng Village 平政鄉, 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/L | Shaanxisheng bowuguan &amp; Shaanxisheng wenguahui 1958, pls. 29 &amp; 30. Shaanxi Museum of Steles, Xi'an. |
| 26 | / | Liang Village 梁村, Yulin 徑林, 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/L | Shaanxisheng bowuguan &amp; Shaanxisheng wenguahui 1958, pls. 40 &amp; 41. Shaanxi Museum of Steles, Xi'an. |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Village</th>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Materials</th>
<th>Measurements</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>27 a)</td>
<td>Guanzhuang Village</td>
<td>E. Han (c. A.D. 100)</td>
<td>a garrison official, or a rich landowner</td>
<td>stone, carved in bas relief, components of the tomb door:</td>
<td>50 x 113, 50 x 114 (L, R)</td>
<td>KG 1987, no. 11: 997-1001. Mishu County Museum.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28 a)</td>
<td>Pigisi 富もの寺</td>
<td>E. Han (c. A.D. 100)</td>
<td>a garrison official, or a rich landowner</td>
<td>stone, carved in bas relief, components of the tomb door:</td>
<td>51 x 112, 51.5 x 112.5 (R &amp; L)</td>
<td>Shaanxisheng bowuguan &amp; Shaanxisheng wenguanhui 1958, pls. 54, 57 &amp; 58. Shaanxi Museum of Steles, Xi'an.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29 a)</td>
<td>Tuanmanliang Village 汤南村</td>
<td>E. Han (c. A.D. 100)</td>
<td>a garrison official, or a rich landowner</td>
<td>stone, carved in bas relief, on tomb door:</td>
<td>111 x 49.8 (each)</td>
<td>Shaanxisheng bowuguan &amp; Shaanxisheng wenguanhui 1958, pls. 38-39 &amp; 40-41. Shaanxi Museum of Steles, Xi'an.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30 a)</td>
<td>Wangjiata 王家塔</td>
<td>E. Han (c. A.D. 100)</td>
<td>a <em>Lang</em> (Gentlemen) of Yulin</td>
<td>stone, carved in bas relief, on the tomb door:</td>
<td>50 x 103 (each)</td>
<td>KG 1986, no. 1: 82-84.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31 a)</td>
<td>Dabaodang 大保堂 M5, Shenmu County 神木縣</td>
<td>E. Han (c. A.D. 100)</td>
<td>a garrison official, or a rich landowner</td>
<td>stone, painted and carved in bas relief, on the tomb doors:</td>
<td>113.5 x 48.5 (L)</td>
<td>Han &amp; Wang 2001, pls. 50-52; 47-48.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32 a)</td>
<td>Dabaodang M11, Shenmu County, Shaanxi</td>
<td>E. Han (c. A.D. 100)</td>
<td>a garrison official, or a rich landowner</td>
<td>stone, painted and carved in bas relief, the two doorposts</td>
<td>116 x 33.5 (L)</td>
<td>Han &amp; Wang 2001, pls. 61-66.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33 a)</td>
<td>Dabaodang M16, Shenmu County, Shaanxi</td>
<td>E. Han (c. A.D. 100)</td>
<td>a garrison official, or a rich landowner</td>
<td>stone, painted and carved in bas relief, on the tomb doors:</td>
<td>114.5 x 49.5 (L)</td>
<td>Han &amp; Wang 2001, pls. 72-78; 79-80.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34 a)</td>
<td>Dabaodang M18, Shenmu County, Shaanxi</td>
<td>E. Han (c. A.D. 100)</td>
<td>a garrison official, or a rich landowner</td>
<td>stone, painted and carved in bas relief on the two door leaves</td>
<td>115 x 51 (L) 116 x 51 (R)</td>
<td>Han &amp; Wang 2001, pls. 102-105.</td>
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### II. Shanxi

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<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Pl.</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Owner of specimen</th>
<th>Media &amp; Orientation</th>
<th>Size (cm)</th>
<th>The sijing images</th>
<th>Sources/Collection</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>35</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>Jiaoyao Pingxiang County, Taiyuan, Shanxi</td>
<td>early W. Han to Wudi period (206-87)</td>
<td>unknown</td>
<td>a pair bronze braziers with matching eared cups &amp; handled ring-supports for the cups, &amp; trays</td>
<td>unknown (similar size to No. 2)</td>
<td>1 1 1 1</td>
<td><em>KG</em> 1985, no. 6: 527-529, pl. 6. Shanxi Provincial Museum of History</td>
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<tr>
<td>36</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>Bi Village, M1, Hunyuan County, Shanxi</td>
<td>B.C.)</td>
<td>a garrison official</td>
<td>a pair of bronze braziers with matching eared cups &amp; handled ring-supports for the cups, &amp; trays</td>
<td>unknown (similar size to No. 2)</td>
<td>1 1 1 1</td>
<td><em>WW</em> 1980, no. 6: 42-51 &amp; pl. 1.</td>
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<tr>
<td>37</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>Pinghuo, Shanxi</td>
<td>unknown</td>
<td>a pair bronze braziers with matching eared cups &amp; handled ring-supports for the cups</td>
<td>Unknown (similar size to No. 2)</td>
<td>1 1 1 1</td>
<td><em>WW</em> 1996, no. 2: 25.</td>
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<tr>
<td>38</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>Zaoyuan Village, Pingxiang County, Shanxi</td>
<td>Xin to early E. Han (1st century A.D.)</td>
<td>a rich landowner</td>
<td>painted patterns on the tomb ceiling and caisson</td>
<td>unknown</td>
<td>1/N (L) 1/S (R) 1/W (B)</td>
<td><em>KG</em> 1959, no. 9: 462-463, 468, pl. 1; <em>ZHGS</em> 1981, no. 2: 64; Zhongguo shehui kexueyuan kaogu yanjiusuo 1989, pl.46.</td>
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<tr>
<td>39</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>Mawaozhuang Village, M2, Lishi County, Shanxi</td>
<td>Late E. Han (late 2nd to early 3rd century A.D.)</td>
<td>unknown</td>
<td>stone, patterns carved in bas relief, tomb walls: a) S. end of the E wall b) S. end of the W wall</td>
<td>140 x 39 x 12 (each)</td>
<td>1 1 1 1</td>
<td><em>WW</em> 1992, no. 4: 23-25.</td>
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### III. Henan

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<th>Owner of specimen</th>
<th>Media &amp; Orientation</th>
<th>Size (cm)</th>
<th>The sijing images</th>
<th>Sources/Collection</th>
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<tr>
<td>40</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>M45, Xishiho, Henan</td>
<td>Yangshao Culture, Neolithic period (c.a. 4000 B.C.)</td>
<td>tomb of a tribe leader</td>
<td>patterns laid out in shells on the ground on either side of the skeleton of the tomb master</td>
<td>Tomb master 184 tall; dragon 178 long, 67 tall; tiger 138 long, 63 tall</td>
<td>1/L 1/R</td>
<td><em>WW</em> 1988, no. 3: 1-6; <em>WW</em> 1990, no. 3: 52-60, 69; <em>ZHKS</em> 1993, no. 4: 87-89; <em>ZHWW</em> 1996, no. 1: 61-64, 65-71, 72-75; <em>ZHWW</em> 1996, no. 2: 22-31; <em>ZHWW</em> 1997, no. 1: 58-59, 75.</td>
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<td>41</td>
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<td>Luoyang, Henan</td>
<td>W. Han (2nd to 1st century B.C.)</td>
<td>unknown</td>
<td>painted pottery hu vessel</td>
<td>unknown</td>
<td>1/L 1/R</td>
<td>Luoyang bowuguan 1986: 81. Luoyang Museum.</td>
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<td>42</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>93 &amp; 93.1</td>
<td>unknown</td>
<td>painted pottery hu vessel</td>
<td>unknown</td>
<td>1 2 1</td>
<td>Luoyang bowuguan 1986: 78. Luoyang Museum.</td>
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<td>No.</td>
<td>Shape</td>
<td>Period/Location</td>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Main Material</td>
<td>Description</td>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Location</td>
<td>Notes</td>
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<tr>
<td>44</td>
<td>121</td>
<td>Tomb of Bu Qianqiu 卜千秋,</td>
<td>late W. Han,</td>
<td>Bu Qianqiu and his wife</td>
<td>a wall painting, on a set of 18 bricks on the flat ceiling of the back chamber</td>
<td>451 (l) 31 (w)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
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<td>45</td>
<td>18-18.3</td>
<td>Shaogou 嵩譜 M61, Luoyang,</td>
<td>late W. Han,</td>
<td>a rich local or local official</td>
<td>painted brick, patterns in openwork, front side of the central brick of the pediment between the front and back chambers</td>
<td>Pediment: 35 (b), 44 &amp; 161 (upper &amp; lower lengths)</td>
<td>1/L</td>
<td>1/T</td>
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<tr>
<td>46</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>Zhengzhou 鄭州,</td>
<td>late W. Han,</td>
<td>unknown</td>
<td>brick, stamped patterns in bas relief</td>
<td>unknown</td>
<td>1+/R</td>
<td>14/L Henan sheng wenhuaju wenwu gouzuo du 1963a, pl.18; Zhang Xiqling 1988a: 148; Zhou Dao 1995, p.92.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>47</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>Henan Province (probably near Zhengzhou)</td>
<td>late W. Han to early E. Han (1st century B.C. to 1st century A.D.)</td>
<td>unknown</td>
<td>hollow bricks with repeated stamped patterns</td>
<td>unknown</td>
<td>1+/R</td>
<td>1+/L Henan sheng wenhuaju wenwu gouzuo du 1963a, cat. no. 61.</td>
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<td>48</td>
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<td>Yaozhuang 濟莊, Macun Village 馬村村, Wuyang County 興陽縣, Henan</td>
<td>late W. Han (2nd half of 1st century B.C.)</td>
<td>unknown</td>
<td>stone, patterns carved in bas relief, tomb door lintel</td>
<td>213 x 39 x 40</td>
<td>1/R</td>
<td>1/L KG 1993, no. 5: 399</td>
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<tr>
<td>49</td>
<td>a)</td>
<td>The Power Plant</td>
<td>late W. Han to Xin (2nd half of 1st century B.C. to A.D. 23)</td>
<td>unknown</td>
<td>stone, patterns carved in bas relief, door leaves of: a) eastern doorway</td>
<td>125 x 72, 125 x 68 (L &amp; R)</td>
<td>1/L</td>
<td>1/R ZYWW 1982, no. 1: 5-11 and pl. 1.</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>b)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>125 x 67, 126 x 69 (L &amp; R)</td>
<td>1/L</td>
<td>1/R</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50</td>
<td>20-25</td>
<td>Jinguyuan 金谷園, Luoyang, Henan</td>
<td>Xin Dynasty, Dihuang period (A.D. 20-23)</td>
<td>a rich local or local official</td>
<td>painted set of 12 bricks, on the walls of the back chamber</td>
<td>20.3-22 x 30-41 (each brick)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
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<tr>
<td>b)</td>
<td>19</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>a painted brick, coloured, on the ceiling of the back chamber</td>
<td>41 x 47</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>51</td>
<td>26 &amp;</td>
<td>Xindian Village 新店村, Huyang</td>
<td>Xin Dynasty, 5th year of Tianfeng 天鳳五年 (A.D. 18)</td>
<td>Feng Ruren, Da yin 大尹 (the Prefect of) Yuping</td>
<td>stones, patterns carved in bas relief: a) door leaves, main chamber b) door leaves, south door of middle chamber c) top of south and north walls of the southern main chamber</td>
<td>a) 136 x 68, 136 x 62 (L &amp; R)</td>
<td>1/R</td>
<td>1/L</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a)</td>
<td>Fig 9</td>
<td>County 唐河縣, Henan</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>b) 90 x 48, 106 x 43 (L &amp; R)</td>
<td>1/L</td>
<td>1/R</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b)</td>
<td>Fig 9</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td>unknown</td>
<td>1/S</td>
<td>1/N</td>
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<tr>
<td>52</td>
<td></td>
<td>The Knitting Factory 織織廠墓 M1, Tanghe, Nanyang, Henan</td>
<td>Xin Dynasty (A.D. 9-23)</td>
<td>a xianling 縣令 or xianzhang 縣長 (county magistrate)</td>
<td>a &amp; b) right and left sides of the door lintel at the north wall of the southern main chamber</td>
<td>a) 40 x 149 (R)</td>
<td>1/R</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>a)</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>b) 40 x 133 (L)</td>
<td>1/L</td>
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<tr>
<td>b)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>c) door leaf of north (right) tomb doorway</td>
<td>133 x 62 (each)</td>
<td>1/R</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>d) door leaf of south (left) tomb doorway</td>
<td>133 x 62 (each)</td>
<td>1/R</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>e) the 5th stone from the east, ceiling of the northern main chamber</td>
<td>96 x 49</td>
<td>1/W (L)</td>
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<tr>
<td>e)</td>
<td>30.1</td>
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<tr>
<td>53</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>Xiawan 夏灣 M1, Zhechuan County 浙川縣, Henan</td>
<td>Xin Dynasty (A.D. 9-23)</td>
<td>a local landowner</td>
<td>a pair of hemispherical grey pottery lids, patterns moulded in high relief</td>
<td>15 (each diam) 7.4 (h)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
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<tr>
<td>54</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>Chengquanzhen 城館鎮, Fangcheng County 方城縣, Henan</td>
<td>Xin to early E. Han (1st century A.D.)</td>
<td>a low-ranking official</td>
<td>a hemispherical grey pottery lid, brownish red glaze, high relief</td>
<td>15.4 (diam)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>b)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>stone, patterns carved in bas relief, door leaves of the: b) western doorway c) eastern doorway</td>
<td>170 x 92 (each leaf)</td>
<td>1/L</td>
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<tr>
<td>c)</td>
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<tr>
<td>55</td>
<td>Fig 11</td>
<td>The Knitting Factory M2, Tanghe, Nanyang, Henan</td>
<td>Xin to early E. Han (1st century A.D.)</td>
<td>unknown</td>
<td>stone, patterns carved in bas relief, door leaves of the: a) left doorway b) right doorway</td>
<td>unknown</td>
<td>1/L</td>
<td>1/R</td>
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<td>56</td>
<td>Fig 19</td>
<td>Pushan 山 M2, Nanyang City, Henan</td>
<td>Xin to early E. Han (1st century A.D.)</td>
<td>unknown</td>
<td>stone, patterns carved in bas relief, door leaves of the: a) left doorway b) right doorway</td>
<td>a) 130 x 46 (L) 130 x 48 (R) b) 128 x 45 (L &amp; R)</td>
<td>1/L</td>
<td>1/R</td>
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<td>57</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>Qilin'gang 青銅馬, western outskirts of Nanyang City, Henan</td>
<td>early E. Han (1st century A.D.)</td>
<td>a Taishou 太守 (governor), xianling or xianchang</td>
<td>stone, patterns carved in bas relief, a set of nine stones on the ceiling of the front chamber</td>
<td>130 x 380</td>
<td>1/R</td>
<td>1/T</td>
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<td>58</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>Shiqiao 石橋, Nanyang, Henan</td>
<td>early E. Han (1st century A.D.)</td>
<td>a taishou 太守 (governor), xianling or xianchang</td>
<td>stone, patterns carved in bas relief, the two opposite sides of the doorbeam of the front chamber</td>
<td>33 x 105 (N) 32 x 139 (S)</td>
<td>1/S</td>
<td>1/N</td>
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<tr>
<td>59</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>Yigou Village 壕溝, Tangyin County 汤陰縣, Henan</td>
<td>E. Han (1st century A.D.)</td>
<td>unknown</td>
<td>stone, patterns carved in bas relief, a tomb door's components, containing: a) door lintel b) 2 door leaves</td>
<td>42 x 175 x 43 128 x 56 x 14 (each)</td>
<td>1/R</td>
<td>1/L</td>
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<tr>
<td>60</td>
<td>Fig 13</td>
<td>Yingzhuang 英莊, Xindian 興田, Nanyang County, Henan</td>
<td>E. Han (1st century A.D.)</td>
<td>unknown</td>
<td>stone, patterns carved in bas relief, door leaves of: a) western (L) doorway b) eastern (R) doorway</td>
<td>a) 136 x 36 212 x 367</td>
<td>1/L</td>
<td>1/R</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>61</td>
<td>Fig 14</td>
<td>Guishang Village 府上鄉 M1, Yongcheng County 永城縣, Henan</td>
<td>E. Han (1st century A.D.)</td>
<td>unknown</td>
<td>stone, patterns carved in bas relief, door leaves of the western door of the tomb</td>
<td>unknown</td>
<td>1/L</td>
<td>1/R</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>62</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>Fanxian 临县, Wuyang County 武陽縣, Henan</td>
<td>E. Han (1st to mid-2nd century A.D.)</td>
<td>unknown</td>
<td>collected stone, patterns carved in bas relief, tomb door leaves</td>
<td>146 x 60 x 7.5</td>
<td>1/F</td>
<td>1/B</td>
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</table>
| 63 | a) | East coast of Panhe 滇河, Fangcheng County, Hénan | E. Han (early 2nd century A.D.) | unknown | stone, pattern carved in bas relief: 
  a) door leaves, S doorway 
  b) door leaves, N doorway 
  c) upper left lintel (altogether 4 lintels, 2 pairs of door leaves, & a doorjamb) | 170 x 96 (R)  
| 64 | a) | Datuying Village 逵土营村 M1, Qiliyuan 七星原, Nanyang, Henan | E. Han (early 2nd century A.D. stone/  
  2nd to early 3rd century A.D. tomb) | unknown | stone, pattern carved in bas relief, above the door lintel of the western main chamber | unknown | 1/R | 1/L | *ZYWW* 1996, no. 1: 108-117. |
| 65 | / | Caodian 旱店, Nanyang, Henan | E. Han (1st to 2nd century A.D.) | unknown | stone, patterns carved in bas relief, back side of the stone at the north of the door lintel | 175.9 x 33.6 | 1/R | 1/L | Sun Wenqing 1936, pl.38 |
| 66 | / | Nanyang, Henan | E. Han (1st to 2nd century A.D.) | unknown | collected stone, patterns carved in bas relief | 32.5 x 199 | 1/R | 1/L | Beijing & Shanghai Lüxun bowuguan 1986, vol. 1, p. 178. |
| 67 | / | Tanghe, Nanyang, Henan | E. Han (1st to 2nd century A.D.) | unknown | collected stone, patterns carved in bas relief | 164 x 31 | 1/L | 1/R | Nanyang Handai huaxiangshi bianji weiyuanhui 1985, pl. 439. |
| 68 | / | The Qimu Que 堤母闕, Songshan 歌山, Dengfeng County 登封县, Henan | E. Han, 1st year of Yanguang 延光元年 (A.D. 122) | stone, patterns carved in bas relief, left of level six, southern side of the western tower | 37 x 123 | 1/L | 1/R | Lü Pin 1990, pl. 117. |
| 69 | a) | The Shaoshi Que 少史闕, Songshan, Dengfeng County, Henan | E. Han (c. A.D. 122) | stone, patterns carved in bas relief: 
  a) right side of level 4, south of east tower 
  b) left side of level 6, south of east tower 
  c) right side of level 3, north of west tower | b) 40 x 212 | 1/R | 1/L | Lü Pin 1990, plas. 175, 179, 194. |
<p>| 69 | b) | / | | | b) 33 x 113 | 1/R | 1/L | |
| 69 | c) | / | | | c) 31 x 125 | 1/R | 1/L | |</p>
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<tr>
<th>No.</th>
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<th>Date</th>
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<th>Size</th>
<th>Ref.</th>
<th>Museum</th>
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<tr>
<td>70</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>Zhengchang 郑店, Jun County 洛陽, Henan</td>
<td>E. Han (c. A.D. 161)</td>
<td>unknown</td>
<td>stone, patterns carved in bas relief, a door lintel of the tomb</td>
<td>162 x 42 x 38</td>
<td>1/L</td>
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<tr>
<td>71</td>
<td>a)</td>
<td>The Women &amp; Young Childrens' Health Centre tomb 女幼保健院墓, Nanyang City, Henan</td>
<td>E. Han stones (2nd century) in a Jin (3rd to early 4th century A.D.)</td>
<td>unknown</td>
<td>stone, pattern carved in bas relief: a) back, 2 door leaves b) front, 2 door leaves</td>
<td>130-140 x 55-70 (each leaf)</td>
<td>1/L</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>b)</td>
<td>Shilipu 十里铺, M1, Lihe Village 横河村, Nanyang County, Henan</td>
<td>E. Han (2nd to early 3rd century A.D.)</td>
<td>a xianling 縣令 or xianchang 縣長 (county magistrate)</td>
<td>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</td>
<td>145 x 87 (each)</td>
<td>1/N</td>
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<tr>
<td>72</td>
<td>a)</td>
<td>Shilipu M2, Lihe Village, Nanyang County, Henan</td>
<td>E. Han (2nd to early 3rd century) tomb</td>
<td>unknown</td>
<td>stone, patterns in bas relief, door lintel of the back chamber</td>
<td>162 x 34 x 32</td>
<td>1/F</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>74</td>
<td>20-20.2 &amp; 21-21.1</td>
<td>Dahuting 打虎亭, M1 &amp; M2, Mi County 密縣, Henan</td>
<td>E. Han (late 2nd century A.D.)</td>
<td>Zhang De (Taihou of Hongguo 弘農太守) &amp; his wife</td>
<td>stone, carved in bas relief, most door leaves of the two tombs (six pairs of door leaves in each tomb)</td>
<td>186 x 108 (M1 each doorleaf) 169 x 96 (M2 each doorleaf)</td>
<td>L/R</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>75</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>Zhanglou Village 張樂村, Xinye County 新野縣, Henan</td>
<td>E. Han (late 2nd to early 3rd century A.D.)</td>
<td>unknown</td>
<td>bricks, patterns in bas relief (two bricks from a collapsed tomb)</td>
<td>22 x 76 x 7</td>
<td>1/R</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>76</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>Shiicun 十里村, Liangbei Village 横北鄉, Yu County 瑞縣, Henan</td>
<td>E. Han (late 2nd to early 3rd century A.D.)</td>
<td>unknown</td>
<td>stone, patterns carved in bas relief, tomb doorbeam</td>
<td>264 x 50 x 30</td>
<td>1/L</td>
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<tr>
<td>77</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>Xuchang County 舊昌縣, Henan</td>
<td>E. Han to Wei (late 2nd to 3rd century A.D.)</td>
<td>The royal family of the Xu State</td>
<td>stone, patterns carved in high relief, column base, architectural component</td>
<td>unknown</td>
<td>1/E</td>
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### IV. Hubei

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<th>No</th>
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<th>Location</th>
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<th>Owner(s) of tomb/site</th>
<th>Media &amp; Orientation</th>
<th>Measurement(cm)</th>
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<th>Sources/Collection</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>79</td>
<td>56 &amp; 56.1</td>
<td>Tomb of Zeng Hou Yi</td>
<td>early Warring States (433 B.C.)</td>
<td>Marquis Zeng Hou Yi</td>
<td>painting, lacquer, motives in red on a black coloured ground, on a wood-cored box</td>
<td>40.5 x 71 x 47</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1? fire=que</td>
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<tr>
<td>80</td>
<td>95</td>
<td>Zaoyang City</td>
<td>Xin to early E. Han (A.D. 14 to end of 1st century A.D.)</td>
<td>a high-ranking nobleman</td>
<td>a pair of hemispherical pottery lids, grey clay, patterns moulded in high relief</td>
<td>diam 13.6 h 6.8 (each)</td>
<td>1</td>
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<tr>
<td>81</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>A tomb at Yuquang</td>
<td>E. Han (1st century A.D.)</td>
<td>unknown</td>
<td>a hemispherical pottery lids, grey clay, patterns moulded in high relief</td>
<td>unknown</td>
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### V. Hebei & Beijing

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<tr>
<td>82</td>
<td>58, 58.1 &amp; 58.2</td>
<td>Tomb of Liu Sheng</td>
<td>W. Han (2nd half of 2nd century B.C.)</td>
<td>Dou Wan, the wife of Liu Sheng, member of the imperial Liu family</td>
<td>bronze, inlaid with silver, <em>boshan</em> censer, patterns cast in openwork round the upper body of the vessel</td>
<td>32.3 cm (h) 22.3 cm (diam of pedestal)</td>
<td>1</td>
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</table>
83 61.1 Donggangtou Village 東關頭村, Shijiazhuang City 石家莊市, Hebei 晚西漢 to 2nd century 銅、銀、鍍、鍍, 定制 根在開口 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 unknown c. 14.8 x 5.1 1/L 1/T 1/R 1/B TG 46, 1974: 226-7.
85 61 unknown unknown unknown (1) 14.7 1/L 1/T 1/R 1/B British Museum
86 28 Sanyaizui 三峯子, Beijing E. Han (1st to 2nd 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 Shangqian Village 上莊村, Shijingshan 石景山, Beijing E. Han, 1st year of Yuanxing 汉元興元年 (A.D. 105) Mr. Qin, Shu Zuo (clerk) of Youzhou 石柱 (滿州) 昭西, Youzhou (N. Zhejiang) 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, 5th year of Guanghe 汉光和五年 (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 wenwuju gongguodui 1959: 11-12 & plas. 27-37; WW 1959, no. 12: 31-32; Zhang Anzhi 1986, pl. 84. Museum of History, Beijing.

VI. Shandong

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<th>Size (cm)</th>
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<th>Sources/Collection</th>
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<td>89</td>
<td>a) 47-</td>
<td>Hanjiapu, Yaowatou Village 见附图 Qufu, Shandong Xin to early E. Han (early 1st century A.D.) unknown stone slabs, patterns with engravings &amp; relief dot designs, inner sides of 4 walls of a stone-coffins tomb 84 x 277 x 20 (coffin) 1/R Fu Xihu 1950, vol. 1, pls. 63 &amp; 65, 64 &amp; 66, 75 &amp; 76, 77 &amp; 78. KG 1985, no. 12: 1130-1135. Confucius Temple in Qufu, Shandong.</td>
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<tr>
<td>90</td>
<td>a) 25</td>
<td>Guoshankoucun 郭山口村 M2, Huji Village 胡集鄉, Jinxian County 金集鄉, Shandong Xin to early E. Han (early 1st century A.D.) unknown stone, patterns carved in bas relief, the two doorleaves of: a) south chamber b) north chamber 1) 61.5 x 117 x 9.5 (each) 1/L 1/L 1/R KG 1995, no. 5: 385-389.</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>b)</td>
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<td>No.</td>
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<td>Dimension</td>
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<td>Museum / Source</td>
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<tr>
<td>91a</td>
<td>Zhaifang Town, Hongshan County, Shandong</td>
<td>E. Han, c. 6th year of Yongshu (c. A.D. 112)</td>
<td>unknown</td>
<td>stone, patterns carved in bas relief</td>
<td>117 x 28</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Jiang Yingju 1982, pls. 417, 416. Wang &amp; Zeng 1990: 84. Cangshan County Cultural Bureau</td>
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<tr>
<td>91b</td>
<td>The Shrine of Guo Ju, Xiaotangshan, Shandong</td>
<td>Late E. Han, before 4th year of Yongqian (A.D. 129)</td>
<td>stone, incised patterns</td>
<td>31.5 x 112.5</td>
<td>1/L</td>
<td>1/R</td>
<td>Fu Xihua 1950, vol. 1, pls. 22, 25 &amp; 26; Beijing &amp; Shanghai Libuxun bowuguan 1986, vol. 2, pl. 29.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>92a</td>
<td>The Wu's Cemetery, Jiaxiang County, Shandong</td>
<td>E. Han, 1st year of Jianhe (A.D. 147)</td>
<td>stone, patterns carved on the Wushi Que: a) two sides of the top of east tower b) east side of the base of east tower c) south of the bracket system of the sub-tower of west tower</td>
<td>52.5 x 124</td>
<td>1/R</td>
<td>1/L</td>
<td>Jiang &amp; Wu 1995, pls. 15-16 &amp; 17-18.</td>
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<tr>
<td>93a</td>
<td>Ximicheng Village, Cangshan, Shandong</td>
<td>E. Han, 1st year of Yuanjia (A.D. 151)</td>
<td>unknown</td>
<td>stone, patterns carved in bas relief</td>
<td>52.5 x 124</td>
<td>1/R</td>
<td>1/N</td>
<td>Finsterbusch 1971, cat. no. 265.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>93b</td>
<td>Houzhangda, Teng County, Shandong</td>
<td>E. Han (2nd century A.D.)</td>
<td>unknown</td>
<td>a pair of stone, patterns carved in bas relief, two opposite sides of a tomb, each divided into 2 sections.</td>
<td>100 x 330 (each stone) c. 100 x 60 (each small section)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1/T</td>
<td>2/B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>93c</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1/R</td>
<td>2/B</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>94</td>
<td>Ximicheng Village, Cangshan, Shandong</td>
<td>E. Han, 1st year of Yuanjia (A.D. 151)</td>
<td>unknown</td>
<td>stone, patterns carved in bas relief</td>
<td>52.5 x 124</td>
<td>1/R</td>
<td>1/N</td>
<td>Finsterbusch 1971, cat. no. 265.</td>
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<tr>
<td>95</td>
<td>Houzhangda, Teng County, Shandong</td>
<td>E. Han (2nd century A.D.)</td>
<td>unknown</td>
<td>stone, patterns carved in bas relief</td>
<td>35 x 301</td>
<td>1/L</td>
<td>3 (?)</td>
<td>1/R</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>96</td>
<td>Baizhuang, Linyi County, Shandong</td>
<td>E. Han (2nd century A.D.)</td>
<td>unknown</td>
<td>stone, patterns carved in bas relief, tomb door leaves</td>
<td>121 x 69 (each leaf)</td>
<td>1/R</td>
<td>1/L</td>
<td>Jiang Yingju 1982, pls. 360 &amp; 361. Linyi County Cultural Bureau.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>#</td>
<td>Location &amp; Context</td>
<td>Period</td>
<td>Material &amp; Details</td>
<td>Dimensions</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Zou County Cultural Bureau</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>kept at original site.</td>
<td>46 x 228</td>
<td>1/L</td>
<td>1/R</td>
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<td>100</td>
<td>Zhangzhuang Village</td>
<td>E. Han (2nd to early 3rd century A.D.)</td>
<td>a low-ranking official or a rich landowner</td>
<td>stone, patterns carved in bas relief, a tomb door’s components a) 2 door frames b) 2 door leaves c) a door lintel</td>
<td>120 x 24 (each)</td>
<td>2/R</td>
<td>1/L</td>
<td>KG 1986, no. 8: 717-725.</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Hutian Town, Zibo City</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>90 x 40 (each)</td>
<td>1/L</td>
<td>1/R</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Yantai, Shandong</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>45 x 156</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>101</td>
<td>Shen Village</td>
<td>E. Han (2nd to early 3rd century A.D.)</td>
<td>unknown</td>
<td>stone, patterns carved in bas relief</td>
<td>48 x 202</td>
<td>1/L</td>
<td>1/R</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>102</td>
<td>Huangtai Village, Zou County, Shandong</td>
<td>E. Han (2nd to early 3rd century A.D.)</td>
<td>unknown</td>
<td>stone, patterns incised, inscriptions carved in bus relief</td>
<td>114 x 40</td>
<td>2/L</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td>Huaxing Village, Zou County, Shandong</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>14 x 39.5</td>
<td>2/R</td>
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<tr>
<td>103</td>
<td>Zhai Village</td>
<td>E. Han (2nd to early 3rd century A.D.)</td>
<td>unknown</td>
<td>stone, patterns carved in bas relief</td>
<td>130 x 27 (each)</td>
<td>2</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Di township, Guangyao County, Zou County, Shandong</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>104</td>
<td>Huanglutun Village</td>
<td>E. Han (2nd to early 3rd century A.D.)</td>
<td>unknown</td>
<td>stone, patterns carved in bas relief</td>
<td>77 x 259</td>
<td>1/L</td>
<td>1/R</td>
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<tr>
<td>105</td>
<td>Reportedly excavated from Shandong Province</td>
<td>E. Han (2nd to early 3rd century A.D.)</td>
<td>unknown</td>
<td>stone, patterns carved in bas relief</td>
<td>unknown</td>
<td>1/R</td>
<td>1/T</td>
<td>1/L</td>
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<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>Location</td>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Owner of specimen</td>
<td>Media &amp; Orientation</td>
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<tr>
<td>106 a)</td>
<td>Beizhai Village 北寨村, Yinan County</td>
<td>E. Han (late 2nd century A.D.)</td>
<td>an influential local landowner or official</td>
<td>stone, patterns carved in bas relief &amp; incised details, at: a) east doorpost b) west doorpost c) a post, entrance of middle chamber d) column base, front chamber</td>
<td>c. 126 x 43</td>
<td>1/E (L)</td>
<td>Zeng Zhaoyu 1956: rub. pls. 6, 12-14, 27-30, 25-26; T. Nagahiro 1965: 25 &amp; 26.</td>
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<tr>
<td>106 b)</td>
<td>沂南县, Shandong</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>c. 126 x 43</td>
<td>1/W (R)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>106 c)</td>
<td>Jinquesthan 金雀山, Linyi County</td>
<td>Mr. Zhang (status unknown)</td>
<td>small solid bricks, for the construction of the tomb walls, patterns moulded in bas relief</td>
<td>32 x 16 x 6 (each)</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>WW 1995, no. 6: 72-78. Linyi Museum</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>107</td>
<td>Jinquesthan 金雀山, Linyi County</td>
<td>E. Han (late 2nd to early 3rd century A.D.)</td>
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### VII. Jiangsu

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<th>No</th>
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<th>Size (cm)</th>
<th>The sliing images</th>
<th>Sources/Collection</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>108</td>
<td>Huachang 胡喚</td>
<td>late W. Han (1st century B.C.)</td>
<td>an official of the Guangling State</td>
<td>lacquered and painted wood face cover for the deceased</td>
<td>54.6 (l) 36.1 (w) 38.7 (h)</td>
<td>1/R 1/T 1/L 1/B</td>
<td>ZGW/1997.11.23. Yangzhou Museum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>109</td>
<td>Shilipu Village 十里铺村, Xuzhou 徐州, Jiangsu</td>
<td>E. Han, Lingdi period (r. A.D.167–189)</td>
<td>stone, patterns carved in bas relief, architrave in the western side chamber</td>
<td></td>
<td>220 x 44 x 34</td>
<td>1/L 1/R</td>
<td>KG 1966, no. 2: 66-83, 91; Zhang Daoyi 1985, pl. 24.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>110</td>
<td>Mao Village 茅村, Tongshan County 崧山縣, Xuzhou 徐州, Jiangsu</td>
<td>E. Han, 4th year of Xiping 東平四年 (A.D. 175)</td>
<td>stone, patterns carved in bas relief, architrave of the front chamber</td>
<td></td>
<td>115 x 53</td>
<td>1/R 1/L</td>
<td>Zhang Daoyi 1985, pl. 69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>111</td>
<td>“Juinudun” Tomb “九女墩”墓, Juining 隆寧, Xuzhou 徐州, Jiangsu</td>
<td>E. Han (late 2nd to early 3rd century A.D.)</td>
<td>stone, patterns carved in bas relief &amp; incised details, central pillar of the tomb chamber</td>
<td>a) 148 x 24</td>
<td>1/B 1/T</td>
<td>Zhang Daoyi 1985, pls. 139, 137 &amp; 136.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>112</td>
<td>Gucheng Village 龜城村, Gaochun County 高淳縣, Nanjing City 南京市, Jiangsu</td>
<td>E. Han (late 2nd to early 3rd century A.D.)</td>
<td>small solid bricks, patterns moulded in bas relief, used for the construction of the tomb walls</td>
<td>35 x 7</td>
<td>1+/L 1+R</td>
<td>WW 1983, no. 4: 36-39; KG 1989, no. 5: 423-429. Zhenjiang Museum.</td>
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### VIII. Anhui

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<th>Size (cm)</th>
<th>The sitting images</th>
<th>Sources/Collection</th>
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<tr>
<td>114</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>Dongyuan Village 亜卤村, M2, Hao County 安徽省, Anhui</td>
<td>E. Han, around 7th year of Yinxi 延熹七年 (c. A.D. 164)</td>
<td>a nobleman or a high-ranking bureaucrat</td>
<td>stone, incised patterns, components of a tomb door: a) 2 doorframes b) lintel c) 2 door leaves</td>
<td>155 x 19 (each)</td>
<td>1/L 1/R 2/B</td>
<td>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</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>115</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>“Jiunufen 九女坟”M1, Chulan Town 陳蘭鎭, Su County 宿縣, Anhui</td>
<td>E. Han, around 4th year of Jianning 建寧四年 (c. A.D. 171)</td>
<td>a relative of Hu Yuzhe, occupant of M2</td>
<td>a) stone, patterns carved in bas relief, middle of the west wall of front chamber</td>
<td>103 x 38</td>
<td>1/L 1/R</td>
<td>KGXB 1993, no. 4: 515-549.</td>
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### IX. Sichuan

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<tr>
<th>No</th>
<th>Pl.</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Date</th>
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<th>Size (cm)</th>
<th>The sitting images</th>
<th>Sources/Collection</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>116</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>Shenfuqun Que 沈府君墓, Shenjiawan 沈家灣, Xinmin Village 新民村, Qu County 某縣, Sichuan</td>
<td>E. Han (130 – 150 A.D.)</td>
<td>Mr. Shen, Sima 司馬 (capital), Ling 令 (magistrate) &amp; Du Wei 都尉 (commandant)</td>
<td>stone, relief patterns, que-tower, both main towers remain and both inscribed: a) east tower b) west tower</td>
<td>485 (h) 195 x 165 (base)</td>
<td>1/L 2/ FT</td>
<td>Wen You 1955, pl. 1-4; Xu Wenbin 1992: 129-133.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| No. | 43-45.2 | A qie-tower in Pujiawan 蒲家灣，Xinmin Village, Qu County, Sichuan | E. Han (slightly later than Shenfujun Que of 130-150 A.D.) | unknown | stone, relief patterns, qie-towers, the main tower on the left remains | 470 (b) 175 x 145 (base) | 1/L | 1/FT | Xu Wenbin 1992: 134-137.
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 117 | a) | Zhuyingpu 竹瓦棚, Xiuhai Community 新華公社, Pi County 平縣, Sichuan | E. Han (2nd to early 3rd century A.D.) | unknown | stone, patterns carved in bas relief: a) cover of a coffin b) front side of a coffin | 69 x 227 | 1/L | 1/R | KG 1979, no. 6: 495-503; ZYW 1991, no. 3: 25-32; Gao Wen & Gao Chenggang 1996: 79, 81. Sichuan Provincial Museum
| b) | Zhangjiagou 張家溝, Hejiang County 合江縣, Sichuan | E. Han (2nd to early 3rd century A.D.) | unknown | stone, patterns carved in bas relief, one side of a coffin | 224 x 55 | 1/L | 1/R | SCW 1988, no. 3: 17-24 and pl. Hejiang County Cultural Museum.
| 119 | a) | A cave tomb at Gongzishan 公子山崖墓, Yibin County 老賓縣, Sichuan | E. Han (2nd to early 3rd 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.
| 120 | | A qie-tower at Wangjiaping 王家坪, Xinxing Village 新興鄉, Qu County, Sichuan | E. Han (early 3rd century A.D.) | unknown | stone, relief patterns, qie-towers, only the main tower on the left remains | 462 (b) 260 x 125 (base) | 1/L | 1/FT | Wen You 1955, plas. 5-6; Xu Wenbin 1992: 148-153.
| 121 | 42-42.2 | | | | | | | | |
| 122 | 40-40.3 | Que no. 1 in Zhaojiacun 趙家村, Xinxing Village, Qu County, Sichuan | E. Han (early 3rd century A.D.) | unknown | stone, relief patterns, qie-towers, only the main tower on the left remains | 450 (b) 260 x 130 (base) | 1/L | 1/FT | Xu Wenbin 1992: 138-141.
| 123 | 41-41.3 | Que no. 2 in Zhaojiacun, Xinxing Village, Qu County, Sichuan | E. Han (early 3rd century A.D.) | unknown | stone, relief patterns, qie-towers, only the main tower on the right remains | 430 (b) 240 x 130 (base) | 1/L | 1/R | Wen You 1955, pl. 4; Xu Wenbin 1992: 142-147.
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<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Date</th>
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<th>Period</th>
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<th>Size</th>
<th>Location</th>
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<td>124</td>
<td>48-</td>
<td>Guitoushan</td>
<td>E. Han</td>
<td>(2nd to early 3rd</td>
<td>stone, pattern carved in bas-relief, four walls of a stone coffin:</td>
<td>64 x 63 x 212</td>
<td>1/F</td>
<td>SCWW 1988, no. 6: 65; SCWW 1990, no. 6:</td>
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</table>
|     | 48.9 | Jiantang, Sichuan | to early 3rd century A.D.) |         | a) front panel  
b) the rear  
c) left wall  
d) right wall            |              |                | 3-11 & pls; Gao Wen & Gao Chenggang 1996: |
|     |      |               | unknown  |                    | (coffin)                                                                    |              |                | 6-14.                                    |
|     |      |               |          |                    |                                                                             |              |                | Jianyang County Cultural Bureau         |
| 125 | 49 & | Dongbinjing   | E. Han   | (2nd to early 3rd | stone, patterned carved in bas-relief, four side-walls of the coffin      | 80 x 83 x 223 | 1/L            | SW 1988, no. 3: 18; SCWW 1991, pl.     |
| 49.1|      | Luzhou, Luzhou| to early 3rd century A.D.) |         |                                                                             |              |                | 42-43. Luzhou Museum.                   |
|     |      | 濰州, Sichuan  | unknown  |                    |                                                                             |              |                |                                          |
| 126 | 51-  | Fushun County | E. Han   | (2nd to early 3rd | stone, patterned carved in bas-relief, the two longer side-walls and the  | 232 (l)       | 1/L            | Gao Wen & Gao Chenggang 1996: 67-8.     |
| 51.3|      | 邳縣, Sichuan  | to early 3rd century A.D.) |         | rear of the coffin                                                        | 76 (w)       |                | Maohao Cave tomb Museum, Leshan.        |
| 127 | 50-  | Jiufeng Village| E. Han   | (2nd to early 3rd | stone, patterned carved in bas-relief, the two longer side-walls and the  | 77 x 77 x 213 | 1/L            |                                          |
| 50.3|      | 九峰鄉, Leshan | to early 3rd century A.D.) |         | rear of the coffin                                                        |              |                |                                          |
|     |      | County, Sichuan| unknown  |                    |                                                                             |              |                |                                          |
| 128 | /    | M348, Pengshan | E. Han   | (2nd to early 3rd | stone, patterns carved in bas-relief, bracket of the tomb doorhead        | unknown       | 1/L            | WWCKZL 1956, no. 5: 64-65.             |
|     |      | County, Sichuan| to early 3rd century A.D.) |         |                                                                             |              |                |                                          |
| 129 | /    | Pengshan County| E. Han   | (2nd to early 3rd | brick, patterns moulded in relief                                          | 15.5 x 20     | 1/L            | KG 1989, no. 3: 25. Pengshan County     |
|     |      | 邱山縣, Sichuan | to early 3rd century A.D.) |         |                                                                             |              |                | Cultural Bureau                         |
| 130 | /    | Sichuan Province| E. Han   | (2nd to early 3rd | collected brick                                                             | 24-26 x 44-46 x 5-7 | 1/R          | KG 1987, no. 6, pl. 6. Sichuan Provinci |
|     |      |               | to early 3rd century A.D.) |         |                                                                             |              |                | al Museum                                |
| 131 | 119- | Outside Guanghan| E. Han   | (2nd to early 3rd | brick, patterns moulded in bas relief                                      | 7.5 x 86      | 1              | Rudolph 1951, pl. 99; Shaanxisheng     |
| 119.2|     | City, Sichuan  | to early 3rd century A.D.) |         |                                                                             |              |                | bowuguan & Shaanxisheng wenguahui 1958, |
|     |      |               | unknown  |                    |                                                                             |              |                | pl. 95; Gao Wen, 1987a, pl. 101.        |
| 132 | /    | Outside Beimen| E. Han   | (2nd to early 3rd | stones, patterns carved in bas relief, back side of two door leaves       | 120 x 55      | 1              | Wen You 1955, pls. 16 & 18; Nanyang Han  |
| a)  |      | 北門外, Chengdu | to early 3rd century A.D.) |         |                                                                             |              |                | huaxiang zuojuan, pl. 10.              |
| b)  |      | 成都, Sichuan  | unknown  |                    |                                                                             | 103 x 43      | 1              |                                          |
| 133 | a) | Zengjiabao 與家包 | E. Han (2nd to early 3rd century A.D.) | a local official or a rich landowner | stone, patterns carved in bas relief, tomb door: a) east doorpost b) west doorpost | 7.5 x 86 (each) | 1/E (R) | | WW 1981, no. 10: 25-32. |
| b) | Longxi Village 龍溪鄉, Jiangbei County 江北縣, Chongqing 重慶, Sichuan | E. Han (2nd to early 3rd century A.D.) | unknown | stone, patterns carved in bas relief, two tomb doorjambs | unknown | 1 | 1 | KGTX 1958, no. 8: 52; Zhang Daoyi 1993: 563, 564; Gong Ning 1994, vol. 2: 509. |
| 135 | / | Daliangshan 大梁山 M4, Neijiang City 内江市, Sichuan | E. Han (2nd to early 3rd century A.D.) | unknown | stone, patterns carved in bas relief, two sides of the niche 壁, back wall of the chamber | unknown | 1/L | 1/R | SCWW 1987, no. 4: 65-67. |
| 136 | / | Sichuan Province 四川省 | E. Han (2nd to early 3rd century A.D.) | unknown | stone, patterns carved in bas relief, a tomb door leaf | 120x49.5x5 | 1 | 1 | BCMA 1984 Nov: 303. Cleveland Museum of Art, U.S.A. |
| 137 | a) | Puyan Temple north of 建安 十九年 (A.D. 193-214) | E. Han, 3rd year of Chuping 初平三年 | unknown | stone, patterns carved in bas relief, doorway of the front chamber | a) 287 x 50 | 1/L | 1/R | WW 1977, no. 2: 63-69. |
| b) | Hechuan County 何川縣, Sichuan | unknown | b) 164x63, 164x100 (R, L) | 1/L | 1/R | |
| c) | | | c) 2 sides of the 2 doorjambs | | | |
| 138 | a) | 52.4 Coffin of Wang Hui 王晖, Modong Village 摩東村, Lushan County 萧山縣, Sichuan | E. Han, 17th year of Jian'an 建安十七年 (A.D. 212) | Wang Hui, Shang Ji Shi 上計吏 (Steward of Account) | stone, patterned carved in high relief; a & b) two longer sides of the coffin c) the rear of the coffin | 101 x 83 x 250 (coffin) | 1/R | |  |
| b) | | | | | | | | 1/R |
| c) | | | | | | | | 1/B |
| No. | 60.1 | Gangouzi 干溝子, Jiangdongqiu 江東丘, Wushan County 武山縣, Sichuan 四川 | late E. Han (late 2nd to early 3rd 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 (pl. 2.4). Wushan County Cultural Bureau |
| 140 | 60 | The Phosphate Factory tomb 漢丹磷肥廠墓, Wushan County, Sichuan 武山縣, Sichuan | late E. Han (late 2nd to early 3rd 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 | 1/B | 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 武山縣, Sichuan | late E. Han (late 2nd to early 3rd 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 | 1/B | SCWW 1990, no. 6: 3-11 & pl.; KG 1998, no. 12: 77-86 (pl. 7). Wushan County Cultural Bureau |
| 142 | / a) | A que-tower at Xianghuwan 洗屋莊, Panxi 盤溪, Chongqing, Sichuan 重慶, Sichuan | Late E. Han (early 3rd century A.D.) | unknown | Stone, que-tower with relief patterns: a) right tower b) left tower | b) remain section 80cm high | 1/R | Xue Wenbin 1992: 124-125. The left tower is kept in Chongqing Museum. |
| 143 | / a) | Reheqixi 青河溪, Chengbei Village 城北鄉, Zhaoliao County 沙壟縣, Sichuan 重慶, Sichuan | E. Han (1st to early 3rd century A.D.) | unknown | rectangular brick for tomb flooring, patterns moulded in relief lines | 32 (l) 24.5(w) 5 (t) | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | KGYWW 1994, no. 3: 44, 47. |
| 144 | / b) | Heboishiqiu 合博士丘, Zhuhe Village 朱河鄉, Zhaoliao County 沙壟縣, Sichuan 重慶, Sichuan | E. Han (1st to early 3rd century A.D.) | unknown | brick in rectangular shape, patterns moulded in relief, for constructing tomb flooring | 33 (l) 26.3 (w) 7 (t) | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | KGYWW 1994, no. 3: 44-47. |
| 145 | 45 | Yizhou 益州 (around nowadays E Sichuan & E Yunnan) 益州 (周圍 nowadays East Sichuan & East Yunnan) | E. Han (2nd to early 3rd century A.D.) | a regional governor | a pillar-shape stone tablet, relief patterns carved on the sides | 1/R | 1/T | 1/L | 1/B | Lü Lizheng 1990: 89.
### X. Zhejiang

<table>
<thead>
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<th>No</th>
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<th>Location</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Owner of specimen</th>
<th>Media &amp; Orientation</th>
<th>Size (cm)</th>
<th>The siling images</th>
<th>Sources/Collections</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>146</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>Changjiang Town, Hailing</td>
<td>Late E. Han to 3 Kingdoms</td>
<td>unknown</td>
<td>All 4 walls of antechamber engraved with xiangru and siling images</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>WW 1984, no. 12: 47-53.</td>
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### XI. Location Unknown

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<th>Date</th>
<th>Owner of specimen</th>
<th>Media &amp; Orientation</th>
<th>Size (cm)</th>
<th>The siling images</th>
<th>Sources/Collections</th>
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<tr>
<td>147</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>unknown</td>
<td>W. Han (2nd to 1st century B.C.)</td>
<td>unknown</td>
<td>a semi-circular eaves tiles</td>
<td>unknown</td>
<td>1/L</td>
<td>Huang &amp; Chen 1987: 73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>149</td>
<td>106</td>
<td>unknown</td>
<td>E. Han (1st to 2nd century A.D.)</td>
<td>unknown</td>
<td>model of a stove, pottery, moulded patterns</td>
<td>31.75 x 22.3 x 11.4</td>
<td>1/L</td>
<td>The Chinese Institute in America 1968, pl. 28. Former Rafi Y. Mottahedeh's collection, U.S.A.</td>
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<tr>
<td>151</td>
<td>107</td>
<td>unknown</td>
<td>E. Han (1st to early 3rd century A.D.)</td>
<td>unknown</td>
<td>a high-ranking or affluent person16 white jade pendant, rectangular shape, patterns carved in open work (patterns &amp; inscriptions can be read from both sides)</td>
<td>3.2 x 5.5 x 2.1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Lu Zhaoyin, 1993, pl. 233. Shanghai Museum</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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.)

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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
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One dot represents 25,000 persons

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(upside down)
tiger & pushou
dragon

Plate 35.1
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Plate 55

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2. 第二卡盧米支奈比人的射手造像
3. 協會卡盧米支奈比人的射手造像
4. 代表卡盧米支奈比人的射手造像
5. 北方卡盧米支奈比人的射手造像
6. 南方卡盧米支奈比人的射手造像

7. 代表卡盧米支奈比人的射手造像
8. 北方卡盧米支奈比人的射手造像
9. 南方卡盧米支奈比人的射手造像
10. 代表卡盧米支奈比人的射手造像
11. 代表卡盧米支奈比人的射手造像
12. 北方卡盧米支奈比人的射手造像
13. 南方卡盧米支奈比人的射手造像
14. 代表卡盧米支奈比人的射手造像

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Plate 58.1

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Plate 69.4 (xuanwu)
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Plate 70

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Plate 70.4
(xuanwu & xianren)
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Plate 71

Plate 71.3 (baihu & bird)

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4. 《陕西省出土铜镜》图四三
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34. A line drawing showing the arrangement of the pictorial stones in a tomb at Lihu Village, Shilipu, Nanyang County, Henan Province, B. 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, an immortal, the moon in habited 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 door leaf (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 Houzhangda, Teng County, Shandong Province, carved in bas relief with historical scenes in the upper section, and images of Xiwangmu and Dongwanggong, a procession of immortals and other heavenly deities in the lower section, app. 1 x 2.7m, B. 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.


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 tooth 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 Yuanxiong (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,


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, "宫殿者九屯司马左部 厄洗府君神得 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, pi. 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, "椇新世令左氏村都士神得 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, plas. 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, plas. 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 *shuque* image on the front, Sichuan Provincial Museum.
48.2. Rubbing of the rear of the sarcophages, with images of the *xuanwu*, *Fuxi*, *Nuwa* and a little bird, inscriptions reading, “*xuanwu*”, “*Fuxi*”, “*Nuwa*” and “*fuj*”.
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 phoixes 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*”, “*riyu*”, “*shuzhu*”, “*baishi*” and “*lii*”.
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 left wall, excavated from a cave tomb at Dongbinting, Luzhou, Sichuan Province, sarcophagus 83 x 83 x 223 cm, 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 *zhuge* 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 213 cm, 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 *zhuge* 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 Fushun County, Sichuan Province, sarcophagus length 232 cm, width 76 cm, 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 250 cm, 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 83 cm, 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 83 cm. 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 101 cm. 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 101 cm.
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.


56. Images of the dragon and the tiger, with the names of the Dipper and the twenty-eight xu constellation, 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. 433 B.C., Hubei Provincial Museum. After Hubei Provincial Museum & Art Gallery CUHK 1994, pl. 15.


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 Xiaqiaishan, Yangzhou City, Xiu 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 houhan-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 wenwu 1996: 323.


58.2. A line drawing, showing the patterns of a dragon, a tiger, a phoenix and a camel round the body of the
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 Mao Ling 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 ear cup 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 "*ji 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

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., Lushun Museum, Liaoning Province. After Lushun bowuguan 1997, pl. 32.


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, Taibei. 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.


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. pi. 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.


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, Taibei. 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., Lushun Museum, Liaoning Province. After Lushun 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 B.C. to 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, Taibei. 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. 1.

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 

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 

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 
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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).

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Glossary

B
Ba 巴
baihu 白虎
baizhi 白雉
beidou (Dipper) 北斗
Beizhai Village 北寨村
bi 璧
Biyong 毕雍
bing 丙
boshan censer 博山爐
Bu Qianqiu 卜千秋

c
Canglong 茅龍
Cangshan County 茅山縣
Caoxiexian 草縣山
Chahai 池海
chang 長
chang 常
Chang’an 长安
changle weiyang 長樂未央
chen 陳
Chen Hao 陳皓 (A.D. 1261 - 1341)
Chen Huiming 陳惠明
chenxing 聲星
Chengdu 成都
Chengqian Village 城前鄉
Chengguanzhen 城關鎮
chihu 崔虎
Chiyou 崔尤
chiniuo 赤烏
chou 扶
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 刺史補

d
Dacang 大倉
Dabaotai 大保台
Dahuting 打虎亭
dasi 大司
Dawenkou Culture 大汶口文化
Dai 齊
de 德
Deng County 鄰縣
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 寶婉

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 風
Fu Qian 服虔
Fushun County 富順縣
Fuxi 伏羲

G
Gangouzi 干溝子
Gao You 高诱
Gaozu 高祖
geng 庚
qilong 剃龍
gong 宫
Guanshang Village 淵上村
guan 官
Guanzhong 關中
Guangling State 濁陵國
Guangzhou 廣州
gui 稱
gui 魁
gui 鬼
Guitoushan 鬼頭山
guo 國
Guo Yu 《國語》
H
hai 养
Hanjiapu 韩家铺
Han Shu・Di Li Zhi《漢書・地理志》
Han Shu・Gaodi Ji《漢書・高帝紀》
Han Shu・Huo Guang Jin Richian Zhuau
《漢書・霍光金日磾傳》
Han Shu・Jing Shian Wang Zhuan
《漢書・景三王傳》
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 Meng Zhuan《漢書・王莽傳》
Han Shu・Wangzhuo 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 Ji《漢書・昭帝紀》
Han Yuixiang 韓玉祥
Hou Han Shu・Bai Guan《後漢書・百官》
Hou Han Shu・Guangwu shiwang liezhuan
《後漢書・光武十九王傳》
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 虎
Huchang 胡場
Huji Village 胡集鄉
Huoyang Community 洪陽公社
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 Zhi Xun《淮南子・時則訓》
huang 鳳
huang chang ti cou 黃腸越池
Huanghe 黃河
Huangdi 黃帝
huanglong 黃龍
huangquan 黃泉
hui 古
hun 魂
Huo Guang 霍光 (d. 68 B.C.)
Huo Qubing 霍去病 (d. 116 B.C.)

J
ji 己
jixing 襲星
jia 甲
Jianwang Yan 晉王燕
Jianyang County 約陽縣
Jiangdongjia 江東咀
Jiangling 江陵
Jiang Yingji 蒋英矩
jiao 角
Jiaotong University 交通大學
Jiaozhi 交阯
Jin 晉
Jingyuan 金谷園
Jinqueshan 金雀山
Jingmen 僧門
Jinxian County 金鄉縣
Jingdi 景帝 (r. 156-141 B.C.)
Jingwang (Prince Jing) 靖王
Jiufeng Village 九峰鄉
junang 旬芒
jun 旬

K
Kong Yingda 孔颖達 (A.D. 574-648)
Kuaihualing 快築嶺

L
Laohu dong 老虎洞 (Tiger Cave)
Laoshan 老山
Laozi 老子
Li Cang 利蒼
Linyi 林沂
lingyun 陵園
Liu An 劉安
huo 六博
Liu Daoguang 劉道廣
Housijiaogu 后思家溝
Liuren 六壬
Liu Sheng 劉勝
Liu Yang 柳陽
long 龍
Lushan County 蘇山縣
Luzhou 滁州
Lun Heng・Wu Shi 《論衡·物勢》
Luojingshi 羅經石
Luoyang 洛陽
Luoyang Shaogou Hammu《洛陽燒溝漢墓》
Lu Buwei 吕不韋” (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
Muncheng 满城
mao 茅
Maoling 茅陵
Mi County 密縣
Mingtang 明堂
Modong Village 摩東鄉
Mozi 摩子
mubiao 篆表

N
Nantian jade 竿田玉
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
po 餘
Pujiawan 蘇家灣
Pushan 蘇山
pushou 鋪首
Puyang 濮陽

Q
qi 凱
qilin 麒麟
Qilin’gang 麒麟崗
qianqu wansui 千秋萬歲
Qianshan Yang 錢山漾
Qin 秦
qing 靑
qinghua 靑花
qinlong 靑龍
qiu 魁
Qu County 樣縣
Qufu County 曲阜縣
que 闐

R
ranbei 染杯
ren 紅
riyue 日月
rui 瑞
rushou 諸收

S
Sagittarius 南斗
Santanzi 三壠子
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 剃溝
shaohao 少昊
shen 神
shen 神道
shendao 神道
Shenjiawan 沈家灣
shi 石
Shipan 式盤
Shi Houjia 史侯家
Shi Ji · Feng Chan Shu《史記·封禪書》
Shi Ji · Gaonzi Ben Ji《史記·高祖本紀》
Shi Ji · Li Bawe! Lie Zhuban《史記·呂不韋列傳》
Shi Ji · Meng Zi Xun Qing Lie Zhuban《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 十里铺
shou 歌
shoudai 歌帶
Shu 薛
Shiwen jiesi 《說文解字》
si 己
sifang 四方
si li jiao wei bu 司隸校尉部
siling 四靈
siling sanrui 四靈三瑞
Sinta Zhen 司馬貞 (c. 656-720)
sishen 四神
sixing 四星
Su Jian 蘇健
Sui County 隋縣
Suide County 李德縣
suxing 蘇星
Sun Zuoyuan 孫作雲
T

taibai 太白
taihao 太皞
taishou 太守 (governor)
Taiyi 太一/太乙
Taiyuan 太原
Tang 湘
Tanghe 唐河
Tangyin County 湘陰縣
Teng County 腾縣
tian 天
tian di shi zhe 天帝使者
tianma 天馬
tianmen 天門
tian tu 天圖
tong 順

W

Wazhagou 瓦雉溝
Wang Chong 王充
Wang Deyuan 王得元 (d. A.D. 100)
Wangdu 瓊都
Wang Hui 王恆
Wangjiaping 王家坪
Wang Jianmin 王建民
Wang Kai 王懐
Wang Mang 王莽 (45 B.C.- A.D. 23)
Wei 魏
wei 未
Wendi 文帝
wenming 溫明
wu 午
wu 戌
Wu County 吳縣
Wudi 武帝 (r. 140-87 B.C.)
Wu Liang Shrines 武梁祠
wuiling 五靈
Wushan County 烏山縣
Wushi Que 武氏闕
wuxing 五行
Wuxing 興興
Wu Zhang Shan Jing 《五藏山經》

X

xianling 縣令
xianchi 成池
xianren bo 仙人博
xianren qi 仙人騎
Xianyang 咸陽
Xiangwei ding 象衛鼎
Xiaoyuan Village 小源村
Xin 新
xin 卜
Xindian 新店
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 熊狸
xiu 宿
xu 戍
xuan 玄
xuanming 玄冥
xuanwu 玄武
Xuchang County 許昌縣
Xuezhuan Village 孫莊村
Xunzi 孫子

Y

Yandi 炎帝
Yanjiacha 延家岔
Yan Shigu 顏師古 (A.D. 581-645)
yang 阳
Yangling 阳陵
Yangzhou 楊州
yi 羿
yi 眾
Yigou Village 宜溝村
Yinan County 涿南縣
Yizhou 益州
yin 賛
yih 陰
yinghuo 萬福
Yingjing 葉經
Yingzhuan 葉莊
Yongcheng County 永誠縣
you 葉
Yu 禹
Yu Jiang 禹江
yu 羽
yue 悪
YueLing 《月令》
Zaoyang City 東陽市
Zaoyuan 東園
Zeng Hou Yi 曾侯乙
Zhaojiacun 趙家村
Zhao Mo 趙昧 (r. 137-122 B.C.),
Zhechuan County 淅川縣
Zhenjiang 鎮江
zhenxing 鎮星
zheng 徹
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 中山簡王篇
Zhu Kezhen 周可楨
Zhuming 朱明
zhuniao 朱鳥
zhuque 朱雀
zhurong 朱融
Zhu Xi 朱熹 (A.D. 1130-1200)
zhushu 竹錦
zhuanzi 足毯
Zhuangzi 莊子
zi 子
Zongbu 宗布
Zou Yan 郑衍 (c. late third century B.C.)
zuo 佐
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