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**Jade Openwork Egret Finials
Their Historical Context and Use in China and Korea**

In Two Volumes

Volume One: Text and Bibliography

Kumiko Kurokawa

*A thesis submitted for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy to the University of Glasgow*

Department of History of Art

May 2004

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ABSTRACT

This thesis is concerned with jade openwork egret finials currently mounted on incense burner covers in museum collections in China, the United States and the United Kingdom in order to investigate their historical context and their original usage before the late Ming Dynasty in China. Their function and dating have been debated since the 1980s by jade experts: on the one hand, they seem to be used as ornamental finials on incense burner covers (*luding*), as in the Qing Court Collection, and on the other as hat ornaments (*maoding*) on top of hats before the Ming Dynasty (AD 1368-1644). This controversy began following the discovering of the record by Shen Defu (AD 1578-1642), a writer of the late Ming Wanli period (AD 1573-1619), suggesting that jade finials on incense burner covers were originally used as hat finials in the Yuan Dynasty (AD 1279-1368) to indicate the wearer's rank and authority and that they were eventually adapted as finials of incense burner covers in the Ming Dynasty, owing to the difference in manners and customs to the previous dynasty of Mongol rule. The aim of this thesis is to demonstrate whether this theory can be confirmed in relation to jade openwork egret finials.

This study seeks to contribute to an understanding of the association of specific officials and egret symbols, depicted in works of art in various aspects and from an ornithological point of view throughout Chinese history. This examination of egret symbolism in an historical context will hopefully enable the purpose of these objects to be explained, and also the close relationship between use, motif, design and technique, all interrelated in jade craftsmanship.

Included here will be a discussion of the historical context of wearing hat ornaments throughout Chinese history, taking into consideration the relationship between officials holding inspectorate, surveillance and supervisory responsibilities. This thesis continues to analyze the validity of identifying jade openwork finials as *luding* and the appropriateness for *luding* of their motifs and fundamental structure. It investigates the possibility of a changing usage based on the historical context of incense burners and

the antiquarian culture of the late Ming literati.

Finally, the hat finial culture and the foundations for its flourishing in Chosŏn Korea will be studied to explain its relationship to China, in an attempt to gain insight into the jade openwork egret finial in China by approaching it from a different angle. Jade openwork egret finials were worn by Korean officials in the Chosŏn Dynasty (AD 1392-1910) as their hat finials, and were symbols of their integrity. The practice of wearing jade hat finials originated from the Mongol Yuan period.

A wide range of knowledge, and conceptual tools drawn from every possible aspect of culture and arts in China and Korea have been used, in order to place jade openwork egret finials, into their proper historical context. This has been necessary because of insufficient documentary evidence and no conclusive archaeological excavations. Accordingly, the evidence drawn from Korea has enabled the author to offer a fresh perspective about the usage of the jade openwork egret finial in China.

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My interest in this subject began when I became involved in research work on the Burrell Collection, Glasgow, the Smillie Collection, Hunterian Museum, University of Glasgow, and the Hardinge Collection, University of Durham, of jades for personal adornments under the guidance of my supervisor, Mr Nicholas Pearce, Head of the Department of History of Art, University of Glasgow. I would like to express my sincere thanks to him for giving me this opportunity and sparking my interest in Chinese jade. He has been of invaluable help to me in important areas of my research. Without his generous support, advice, encouragement, patience, and enthusiasm for Chinese art and culture, I would not have engaged in this study involving such a broad topic.

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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Historical Review of this Study

In recent years, jade openwork carved finials decorating the wooden covers of vessels, mostly incense burners, have received much attention from jade scholars. Their original function, usage and dating are little known, especially before the Ming Dynasty (AD 1368-1644) in China. Such jade openwork finials are normally known as jade *luding* 炉顶, in Chinese. The term *luding* is generally employed for incense burner finials of all kinds of materials, such as bronze, jade and others. Typical examples are domed shaped and intricately carved and pierced in multiple layers depicting four or five egrets amid lotus plants, or a dragon entwined with peony flowers and so forth, along with holes on the base for attachment. Their size varies from around 3 to 12 cm high, yet 5 cm seems to be standard size (Figure 1.1).

There are two main views current as to possible usage. The first view is that these jade openwork finials are simply finials decorating covers of incense burners, as in Qing times (AD 1644-1911), a function that had never altered throughout Chinese history. The other comes from a totally different perspective: that these finials were hat decorations carved in various materials, such as gold, silver, or precious or semi-precious stones, namely *maoding* 帽顶 in Chinese, used to indicate differences in rank during the Yuan Dynasty (AD 1279-1368)¹; that after the collapse of the ruling Mongolian dynasty, jade openwork finials gradually lost their significance as *maoding* and eventually were adopted for finials on the cover of incense burners, from the late Ming up to the last dynasty.

Unfortunately, as yet the archaeological evidence does not clearly support either thesis. However, a relatively large amount of jade finials attached to the wooden covers of incense vessels or burners can be frequently found in both Western collections and in

¹ The term '*maoding*' can be actually defined in two interpretations through history: 1. a top of the hat; 2. a hat finial. A hat finial is, however, termed as '*maoding*' in the present day. I shall supply details in Chapter Five.

China.² It is, therefore, commonly believed that all jade openwork finials were originally used as *luding*, despite the fact that archaeological evidence has not been provided. Due to uncertainty over original usage, function and problems with dating, jade openwork finials have remained a mystery; puzzling to both Western and Chinese scholars and jade experts up to the present day.

There are some official historical dynastic records of Liao (AD 907-1236), Jin (AD 1115-1234), Yuan, Ming and Qing referring to hat finials, without offering any further specific description of the motifs.³ Yet, official dynastic records referring to jade openwork carved finials used on incense burners have not been discovered.⁴ Numbers of other historical sources also remark on the hat finial particularly from the Yuan Dynasty up to the Qing Dynasty.⁵ Nonetheless, most of the historical records do not describe in enough clear detail these jade openwork finials. However, one classic source, *Wanli Yehuobian* 万历野获编 by Shen Defu 沈德符 (AD 1578-1642), of the late Ming, Wanli 万历 period (AD 1573-1619), discusses the changing function of jade openwork finials, and questions are posed and discoursed in his work:

近又珍玉帽頂。其大有至三寸。高有至四寸者。價比三十年前加十倍。以其可作鼎彝蓋上嵌飾也。聞之。皆曰此宋製。又有云宋人尚未辨此。必唐物也。竟不曉此乃啟元時物。元時除朝會後。王公貴人俱戴大帽。視其頂之花樣為等威。嘗見有九龍而一龍正而者。則元主所自御也。當時俱西域國手所作。至貴者數千金。本朝還我華裝。此物斥不用。無奈為估客所昂。一時競珍之。且不知典故。動云宋物。其耳食者從而和之。亦可哂矣。⁶

Of recent high value are jade hat finials, some of which can be 3 *cun* [i.e. 9.6 cm] in

² In the Palace Museum, Beijing, there are finials of incense burner covers attached with yellow registration labels dated to when they were first brought into the palace and categorized as '*luding*'. For earliest dating, a yellow label attached to a finial indicates a date as early as the Han Dynasty. They are classified in different shelves remaining from the Qing Dynasty and several hundred jade finials are intact without incense burner covers (Zhang Guangwen, *Yuqi shihua*, Beijing, 1989, p.73). I have also viewed jade finials attached to wooden covers in Britain, the United States, China and Taiwan.

³ For the dynastic standard historical records that were officially compiled, the On-line database of the Academia Sinica computing centre of Taiwan Central Research Institute has been referred in this thesis (<http://www.sinica.edu.tw/>).

⁴ There is a poem by a Qing emperor referring to the jade finial of an incense burner cover, which will be discussed in Chapter Six.

⁵ I will discuss them in Chapter Five.

⁶ Shen Defu, *Wanli yehuobian*, preface dated to 1606, reprint, Beijing, 1959, p.662 (*juan 26, wanju, Yunnan diaoqi*).

size, and some of them as high as 4 *cun* [i.e. 12.8cm].⁷ The price is 10 times more than 30 years ago, as they can be used for decoration inlaid on the covers of *ding* and *yi* wares [i.e. bronze tripod cauldrons and bronze wine jars as in ancient times]. If one inquires, everybody says that these are of Song (AD 960-1279) manufacture, and others say that the Song people never knew these so they must be Tang (AD 618-907) objects. In fact, no one realizes that they are originally from Yuan times. In the Yuan, after court audience, princes, dukes and nobles all wore large hats, and their finials could tell you the official rank and authority by the pattern and decoration. If you see a finial with nine dragons, one facing the front, that must belong to the emperor himself. At that time, finials were all manufactured by artisans in the Western regions [i.e. Xinjiang and Central Asia]. The most expensive ones cost several thousand pieces of gold. In the present dynasty, we have returned to Han Chinese dress, and these objects are discarded and have fallen into disuse. Yet, by connoisseurs, the objects continue to be highly prized. For the time being, they still remain a treasure. Besides, not knowing the real provenance, one may say that these are objects from the Song, which people all swallow on trust and accept. How derisive it can be!

This passage has formed the foundation for discussion of this subject in current scholarship.

The issue of '*maoding*' and '*luding*' was perhaps first pointed out by the eminent Chinese scholar, Yang Boda, referring to Shen Defu.⁸ Yang proposed that the subject matter of one of these finials makes reference to the hunting life of the Nuzhen people of the Jin Dynasty, called '*Chunshui qiushan*' 春水秋山 (lit. Spring water and Autumn mountain),⁹ and that the example in the Palace Museum, Beijing, displays characteristics reminiscent of Song craftsmanship.¹⁰ Yang suggested that the holes on the base of the finials were designed for attachment, possibly to a hat, and the period of the object is not too far from the Yuan, which is also consistent with the description of Shen Defu.¹¹

⁷ One *cun* is based on the Ming measures, viz. one *chi* 尺 = 32.0 cm, one *cun* = 3.2 cm (ZK, p.1740).

⁸ Yang Boda, "Nuzhenzu 'chunshui', 'qiushan' yukao", *Gugong bowuyuan yuankan*, 1983, no.2, p.14.

⁹ '*Chunshui*' generally denotes spring hunting activity; mainly the motif is represented as a Manchurian Peregrine Falcon attacking wild goose or swan. '*Qiushan*' indicates autumn hunting activity, which is often depicted with a herd of deer amid an autumnal grove as a motif (Yang Boda, *ibid*, p.9-12). Here, he suggests the design of *chunshui* for jade openwork finials.

¹⁰ Further discussion of this object will be taken place in Chapter Five (Figures 5.90 and 5.90a).

¹¹ See also Yang's other articles: "The Glorious Age of Chinese Jades, the Yuan, Ming and Qing Dynasties" in Roger Keverne, ed., *Jade*, London, 1991, p.131; *Gu yu kao*, Hong Kong, 1992, p.53; *Zhongguo gongyi meishushi* with Tian Zibing, Taipei, 1993, p.255-6; ZYQ:S5, p.16; *Gu yu shilun*, Beijing, 1998, p.115; "Song Yuan Ming Qing yuqi jiangding siti de tantao" in ZSTQY, p.100-3.

Zhang Guangwen, another distinguished Chinese scholar, expanded this argument in his publication in 1989.¹² Firstly, he provided information on jade finials in the Beijing Palace Museum from his own observation. He supported the idea of Shen Defu, but pointed out that these kinds of jade hat finials had never been discovered in pictorial images. Secondly, he discussed that bronze incense burners especially from the Song Dynasty normally copied archaic styles (i.e. using patterns with *taotie* mask, clouds and so forth), whereas motifs of most jade finials were naturalistic (i.e. egrets in a lotus pond, deer amidst grove and so forth). These were completely different styles which never harmonised together, and therefore such jade finials were inappropriate as '*luding*' of the Song. As a last significant point, he described the only currently well-known example in archaeology of the jade finial unearthed from the family tomb of Ren Renfa 任仁发 (ca. AD 1254-1327) in Qingpu 青浦 county, in present day Shanghai, and remarked that the appearance of such jade openwork finials could be traced up to at least as early as the Yuan period based on the date of this tomb (Figure 1.1).¹³ Zhang has thus thrown a new light on this subject by proposing new ideas and raising further questions, but the problematic issues of function and dating and the validity of Shen Defu's assertions remain inconclusive. Many researchers have briefly mentioned the idea of these finials forming part of a hat/headdress, frequently citing Shen Defu, when discussing Yuan jade.¹⁴ However the subject has tended to be somewhat neglected over the decade that followed Zhang's publication.¹⁵

Yin Zhiqiang provoked renewal of interest in this subject saying that it is undoubtedly

¹² Zhang Guangwen, *Yuqishihua*, Beijing, 1989, p.73-4.

¹³ Other unearthed jade finials including unreported examples archaeologically will be discussed in Chapter Five.

¹⁴ James C.Y. Watt classified finials into the category of 'plaques and personal ornaments' in his book, but said that such pierced carvings are the finials on the lids of vessels, usually incense burners in the late Ming (*Chinese Jades from Han to Ch'ing*, New York, 1980, p.192). However, he also discussed that the holes on the base of jade finials were meant to be sewn for attachment possibly for hats (Interview, July 14, 2000) and catalogued them as headdress ornament in the jade gallery of the Metropolitan Museum, New York. In the West, it seems that just a few scholars refer to this subject: Jessica Rawson, *Chinese Jade from the Neolithic to the Qing*, London, 1995, p.338-9, Angus Forsyth and Brian McElney, *Jades from China*, 1994, Bath, p.311, 373. Also, see the article by Brian McElney in *Jade*, edited by Roger Keverne, *ibid*, p.118.

¹⁵ *Judeware (II): the Complete Collection of Treasures of the Palace Museum* edited by Zhou Nanquan (1995) is one of the best catalogues including a number of '*luding*' with detailed descriptions. Zhang Guangwen is a co-author and editor.

not a hat ornament. His points are that archaeological evidence has never shown an exquisite openwork carved jade finial in such a large size for hats, but there exist smaller jade ornaments on hats found on archaeological objects.¹⁶ He continues that no jade openwork carved finials survive attached to hats in the more than one hundred of this kind of object found in the collections of both the Beijing Palace Museum and the Nanjing Museum, whilst there is evidence of *luding* surviving intact on wooden covers of incense burners.

Xu Lin developed the discussion of Zhang Guangwen.¹⁷ Xu attempted to distinguish extant heirloom jade egg-shaped finials dating as Song Dynasty from jade openwork dome-shaped Yuan finials by suggesting differences in the shape of holes in the base, which could indicate different usage and function for attachments.¹⁸ Secondly, using the example of a recent unpublished Yuan unearthed bronze incense burner with cover, Xu points out that the incense burner has a cover *en suite*, the finials decorated with dragons, all made in solid bronze. Accordingly, Xu concludes that jade finials were not intended to be used in conjunction with incense burner covers during the Yuan.

Ji Ruoxin approached the possible earliest dating by investigating the subject matter of the '*Chunshui qiushan*' which furthered Yang Boda's research,¹⁹ and suggested that this type of jade finial could have emerged as early as the end of the Liao or the beginning of the Jin Dynasty based on an example with deer motif from the National Palace Museum, Taiwan and the official dynastic records.²⁰ Ji investigated the usage and the function of jade finials, by comparison of craftsmanship with other jade openwork carving in the National Palace Museum, Taiwan, and concluded that this subject has

¹⁶ Yin Zhiqiang, "Yuandai yuqi jiangdingtanwei", *Gugong wenwu yuekan*, 1999, no.195, p.78-9.

¹⁷ Xu Lin, "Yu maoding yu yu luding", *Wuxiwenbo*, 2001, no. 4, p.19-21. I am grateful to Dr Miyake Toshihiko for this reference. This article was later included in *Zhongguo Sui Tang zhi Qingdai yuqixueshu yantaohui lunwenji*, Shanghai, 2002, p.295-300. See also Xu's article "Qianyu muchutu Yuandai yuqi", *Gugong wenwu yuekan*, 1999, no.193, p.87-8.

¹⁸ Both Dr James C.Y. Watt of the Metropolitan Museum and Dr Jenny F. So formerly of the Freer Gallery of Art and Arthur M. Sackler Gallery suggested this crucial point, when I interviewed them in July, 2000. Dr Zhang Guangwen also advised me about this in an interview of March, 2001.

¹⁹ Ji Ruoxin, "Yuandaide Yumaoding – cong Taibei Gugong suocang baiyu qiushan maoding tanqi", in *ZSTQY*, p.266-76.

²⁰ For this object, see Figure 6.6c.

been largely overlooked because the finial is frequently categorized as an accessory for an incense burner, without knowledge of the historical context.²¹

Another scholar, Wang Zhengshu attempted to identify jade finials as incense burner covers, *luding*, on the basis of historical sources and objects.²² Wang supplies significant newly published and unpublished sources of jade openwork finials which have been excavated in Shanghai. Wang's main point is that hat ornaments, '*maoding*', in the Yuan Dynasty are represented not by openwork carved jade finials but simple precious or semi-precious stones without any carved decoration, just as can be seen in the extant Yuan paintings. Wang also said that the description of Shen Defu contains some unjustifiable and contradictory points in terms of the size, the shape and pattern of the openwork jade finials for the hat, and regards the record of Shen Defu in this instance as unreliable. In Wang's paper, a very large part of his criticism is levelled against the idea of hat finial, *maoding*, however that is still insufficient to be convincing or to determine these finials as '*luding*', as he does not provide historical context for the incense burners or a provenance for the objects named '*luding*'.

Thus, as shown in studies on this subject, little is still known about their original use, and there has not been an agreed viewpoint since the 1980s.

1.2 Difficulties and Validity of this Research

The question why this controversy has remained unsettled so long is due to several difficulties.

First, there are the problems of the dating of jades, in relation to the function and usage of jade ornaments. In particular, the period of the Song to the Yuan is considered under-researched for jade studies in addition to the shortage of unearthed jade objects, much less of jade finials. Establishing the date at which jade objects were carved has so far proved problematical; the dating of jade is conventionally based upon connoisseurship

²¹ Jessica Rawson remarks: "This category of ornament had been largely overlooked, many of the smaller examples having been converted into knobs for lids of vessels" (Rawson, *loc. cit.*, p.338-9).

dependent on pattern, style, depictions and so forth, without employing scientific method. It is not feasible to compare the few examples of unearthed jades to date unprovenanced pieces in museums and private collections.

Secondly, relating to the first problem, as only one example has been unearthed and reported by archaeologists for this particular type of jade finial in the Yuan period, the question of how to classify objects from the Song to Yuan is still open, although many pieces from this period must have survived.²³

A third point is the limited materials and historical sources on this subject both in number and volume, and very little research has been done.

Fourthly, jade *luding* and jade *maoding* have co-existed since the late Ming period, as in Shen Defu's text, along with the tradition of making copies and reproductions.

A fifth problem is that jade finials are widely categorized simply as accessories for incense burners. With little known about historical context, it would be necessary to search and reexamine these objects from museum collections, ideally world-wide.²⁴

A final problem is that the vast Mongol empire unified varied ethnic cultures, foreign manners and practices, costumes and hats: this makes this study very complex.²⁵

This study is indeed complicated and problematic; it is, however, unavoidable when conducting jade research of the later periods, particularly the openwork carvings, since the multiple-layered openwork technique has traditionally been attributed to the Yuan Dynasty.²⁶ The jade openwork finial of the Ren family is a unique example, illustrated

²² Wang Zhengshu, "'Luding', 'Maoding' bianshi", in ZSTQY, p.277-88.

²³ Zhang, *op. cit.*, p.73. Yin, *op. cit.*, p.78.

²⁴ Ji, *op. cit.*, p.274. Ji also mentioned this in an interview on 28th November, 2002.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p.266.

²⁶ Zhang Wei, "Sui Tang zhi Qingdai yuqi yanjiu de huigu yu zhanwang", in ZSTQY, p.93. Zhang Wei says that this is a problem that is as yet unsolved in later jade study, but one that it is important to settle. See also Huang Xuanpei, ed., *Shanghai chutu Tang Song Ming Qing yuqi*, Shanghai, 2001, p.137.

in Figure 1.1. A solution of this controversy could well help to categorize more jade ornaments which up till the present have uncertain function and usage, with linkage to art and culture and to jade culture especially in the Song, Liao, Jin and Yuan periods.²⁷

1.3 Methods of Analysis

Some scholars have proposed a methodology to clarify this study. Xu Lin remarks that it is a subject that requires tremendous ‘painstaking’ work, unless other archaeological supporting evidence emerges. For instance, after collecting and juxtaposing all kinds of jade finials, comparing them repeatedly one by one from dynasty to dynasty, and also collating them with documents and historical sources, it may be possible to distinguish *maoding* from *luding*.²⁸

It seems, however, likely to prove unsuccessful mainly because to categorize jades from the chronologically overlapping periods of Song to Yuan based on insufficient unearthed pieces during the periods and distinguish *maoding* from *luding* is impracticable. In particular, to explore and examine all jade finials individually from the museum preserved collections on a world-wide basis would never be feasible, especially if there is limited access to the collections.²⁹ Since objects on display are normally not allowed to be taken off display for examination, it is impossible to confirm the existence of holes on the base of jade finials which is crucial for this study. Since conventional methods are not fully applicable, I should like to conduct my work from a different angle and a new perspective. The purpose of this study is to explore the historical context of jade openwork finials, and to examine whether the theory of jade openwork finials, *luding* in the present term, as hat ornament, *maoding*, holds.

²⁷ Zhang Guangwen, letter, April 2002.

²⁸ Xu (2001), *op. cit.*, p.21. Dr Yang Boda also advised this methodology to me during interviews (March 12 and 13, 2001). Dr Zhang Guangwen in correspondence suggested the same (letter of April 2001).

²⁹ In China, for example in the Palace Museum, Beijing, access for outside researchers to view cultural artifacts from the collection in store is restricted. Only two objects can be chosen for research on payment of one thousand *yuan* (about eighty pounds) and photographing is prohibited. I was also allowed to view only one jade finial from the collection in store in the Nanjing Museum without payment, after repeated entreaty. However in either case I was fortunate.

This thesis will undertake the comparison of jade finials in Korea, a method that has never been applied before. Direct historical comparisons with Korean jade finials will assist in the interpretation of Chinese jade finials, although the subject of jade finials has hardly been researched in Korea. Accordingly, the thesis will be developed from Korean historical documents and with crucial extant heirloom jade openwork hat finials. As many of the questions in the controversy described are clearly issues in this thesis, it is also necessary to produce a work of wider scope in order to unpack the various individual threads from other media such as painting, metal work, and bronzes, throughout different periods. Moreover, in order to avoid undertaking uncritically the viewpoint of the canonical texts, such as official historical records, I also attempted to exemplify with three hundred and eighty-five jade and other works of art illustrated in this thesis which are all selected from reliable sources. In particular, jade ornaments in the Qing Court Collection including heirloom extant jade finials might have mostly come from the Qing Dynasty, where no certain period can be determined. Therefore, as many unearthed pieces as possible and sources from tombs are examined in this thesis.

This thesis limits discussion to one specific subject, jade openwork finials carved with egret decoration. To illustrate all subjects found in jade finials is beyond the scope of this thesis. However, I will refer to other types of subject matter briefly as necessary. The more important reason why I prioritize the subject of egrets is that both unpublished and published unearthed jade finials are mostly of egret subjects and they form a large proportion of all jade openwork finial carvings. They and three other motifs account for approximately 90 percent of all jade finials in the Palace Museum, Beijing (dragon with peony flower, a pair of *chi*-dragons embracing a stone, and a mandarin duck holding a flower spray in its bill).³⁰ Importantly, in Korea, most jade finials are, as

³⁰ I inquired about the proportion of each subject matter of jade finials by letter or e-mail to the Nanjing Municipal Museums, Nanjing Museum, Shanghai Museum, and both Palace Museum, Beijing and the National Palace Museum, Taiwan. Dr Zhang Guangwen, Curator in the Palace Museum, Beijing responded specifically to my question in a letter of November 8, 2001. Mrs Ji Ruoxin, Curator in the National Palace Museum, Taiwan, said that it was impossible to answer precisely, since jade finials are categorized as 'accessories', and are dispersed in various departments. However, Ji mentioned that there are four kinds of jade finial motifs including the egret motif in the Museum (Interview, November 28, 2001). Mr Wang Zhengshu, Curator at Shanghai Museum, states that the subject of egrets with lotus is considerable and assumed to be Yuan Dynasty (Huang Xuanpei, ed., *op. cit.*, p.130).

a matter of course, carved with egrets, termed *ongno* 玉鷺 (lit. jade egret). Therefore, it is indispensable to examine the subject of egrets in research at a primary stage. Finally, in order to reinforce this study, I have made several trips to Britain, Continental Europe, the United States, China, Taiwan, Korea and Japan, to view as many jades as possible, as well as to interview academic or professional experts and artisans in the varied media of art on this subject. In addition, plentiful information and references are given in foot notes for future related studies.

It is important to stress that a broad understanding of the historical context of jade openwork finials is prerequisite for the study of jade egret finials. However, we are not specifically concerned here to categorize jade openwork finials dating from the Song to the Yuan Dynasty.

1.4 Aims, Objectives and Scope of this Thesis

This thesis is divided into eight chapters.

Chapter Two will examine the Korean historical document, *Chuyǒngp'yǒn* 晝永編 (Compilation in the eternal daytime) by Chǒng Tong-yu 鄭東愈, regarded as a valuable historical source for the Chosŏn Dynasty (AD 1392-1910).

In Chapter Three, the official position of *houguan* 候官, known as 'white egrets' in the Northern Wei period (AD 386-535) of China, is analyzed. This name was after a similarity between the duty of 'houguan' and the habits of the egret.³¹ I will address here what the *houguan* is, and the origin and historical transformation of his duties in an attempt to reveal the particular connection with the egret and symbolic meaning of the egret relating to specific officials.

Chapter Four will highlight the historical imagery and symbolism of egrets in China throughout the dynasties. I will illustrate how, where and why they are depicted in works of art throughout China's history so as to investigate the metaphor of egrets as an

³¹ WS, juan 113, p.2973-4.

emblem of official titles. Ornithological examination is also employed to give a different perspective and to provide further understanding of the egret in works of art.

Chapter Five analyses hat ornaments through different periods of Chinese history, a predominant part of this thesis. The purpose is to trace the process of how and when hat finials and '*maoding*' appeared and how they reflected a strong cultural trend in different periods and in people's life-styles, through historical records, pictorial images and unearthed objects.

Chapter Six focuses on the finials on incense burner covers, *luding*, to examine their use through different periods. I also discuss whether jade openwork finials are appropriate as a finial on an incense burner cover or as a hat finial in terms of style, shape, motif and structure.

Chapter Seven examines the case of Korean jade egret hat finials as a focal point of this thesis. This chapter consists of two main parts. The first part pursues the historical context of relation between Koryŏ (AD 918-1392) and her neighbouring countries and their artistic and cultural exchanges, whilst the second part explores the origin of jade egret hat finials in Chosŏn Korea in relation to China. The demonstration of written historical sources and the surviving jade egret hat finials in Korea will also assist in this part.

The final chapter will be concluded with a general summary, and some of the questions arising out of this study and remaining problems considered with future proposals. The series of analysis of jade openwork finials is completed in these eight chapters.

Jade openwork finials in European, British and American collections and in mainland China and Taiwan which are excluded in the text will be illustrated in the Appendix. With the support of unearthed finials and surviving historical evidence, the thesis will critically engage with jade finials as *maoding* or *luding*. The scientific analysis of fragments inside a jade openwork finial from the Burrell Collection in Scotland

suggesting evidence for its unknown historical context will be presented in the Appendix.

Finally, I would like to offer two explanatory notes. Chinese *hanyu pinyin* spelling has been employed in this thesis and all quotations have been standardized to *pinyin* spelling. Simplified characters are standard in this thesis for modern works, except in the case of quotations from historical records and bibliographies, and for works from Hong Kong, Taiwan and Korea where traditional characters are used. Some of the classical Chinese characters in the historical texts both from Chinese and Korean are now in disuse and impossible to display here unless written by hand. Therefore, they are respectfully converted into their current traditional forms. In the transliteration of Korean, the McCune-Reischauer system has been utilized throughout this thesis with the usual modifications, instead of the Ministry of Culture and Tourism Romanization system, implemented by the Republic of Korea (South Korea) in 2000, with the exception of proper names for which the style of personal preference is observed. For Japanese Romanization, the Hepburn system is used with the usual modifications. Translations of official titles are based on Charles O. Hucker, *A Dictionary of Official Titles in Imperial China*, with occasional adaptation. For Chinese book titles in text and bibliography, round brackets are used for English translation from Endymion Wilkinson, *Chinese History A Manual*, with occasional adaptation only for classic records. These titles use capital letters. Titles which I have translated myself are given only in lower case.

To avoid confusion of the terms of jade finials, I have decided to denote them all by the original Chinese term of *yudingzi* 玉顶子 (English 'jade finial' 'jade openwork finial', Kr. *okchŏngja*). The English term 'jade finial' is used to denote both uncarved jade finials such as the spherical type and carved jade finials such as jade openwork finials; the English term 'jade openwork finial' excludes uncarved jade finials. Moreover, I do not follow the nearly standard academic term *luding* for jade openwork finials. In this thesis, *luding* only denotes finials on incense burner covers, and *maoding* denotes hat finial ornaments, regardless of the materials of which they are made. The term 'high

relief' in this thesis indicates two levels of carving in two dimensional openwork jade objects. This 'two level' is the same meaning as 'two-tier layer', 'two-layered' and 'in two-tier'. Three or more level jade openwork carving is described as 'multiple layered carving', which is normally three dimensionally carved as in our jade openwork finials, a theme of this thesis.

CHAPTER TWO: INVESTIGATION ON *CHUYŎNGP'YŎN* (COMPILATION IN THE ETERNAL DAYTIME) BY CHŎNG TONG-YU

2.1 Profile of the Chosŏn Dynasty and the Period of Chŏng Tong-yu 鄭東愈 (AD 1744-1808)

Korea embraced Confucian ideology in social, political and cultural contact throughout the half millennium of Chosŏn rule (AD 1392-1910). The History of Confucianism in Korea can be traced from the Three Kingdoms (37 BC-AD 668) to the end of Koryŏ (AD 918-1392) and in Chosŏn,¹ in the latter termed Neo-Confucianism.² Neo-Confucianism was brought to Korea toward the end of Koryŏ by scholars like An Hyang 安响 (AD 1243-1396), who was a member of a diplomatic mission to the Yuan Court.³ This subsequently became the official doctrine of the Chosŏn state. Based on this new philosophy in Chosŏn, a new hereditary administrative elite also emerged, known as *yangban* 兩班.⁴ This elite was able to monopolize civil and military posts in the national bureaucracy by benefiting from a greater opportunity for success in the civil service examinations, which nominally constituted the gateway to all freeborn males.⁵ The emergence of Neo-Confucianism and *yangban* bureaucracy affected and coloured Korean culture to a degree in all aspects during the Chosŏn period.

The seventeenth and eighteenth centuries saw a renaissance in the arts and the

¹ The Confucianism from the Three Kingdoms to Koryŏ period was able to coexist with Buddhism (Ito Abito *et al.*, *Chosen wo shiru jiten*, Tokyo, 1986, p.191). Buddhism during Chosŏn was substantially suppressed and Neo-Confucianism adopted (Kim Hongnam, ed., *Korean Arts of the Eighteenth Century: Splendour and Simplicity*, New York, 1993, p.79).

² "Neo-Confucianism, a systematic reformulation of fundamental Confucian teachings, was developed in China during the Song Dynasty and given its most influential exposition by the renowned twelfth-century philosopher Zhu Xi 朱熹 (1130-1200)." (Judith G. Smith, ed., *Arts of Korea*, 1998, New York, p.32).

³ KS, kwon 18, yŏljŏn, p.323. Ewha Womans University and Kankoku bunkashi hensaninkai, eds, *Kankoku bunkashi*, Tokyo, 1981, p.133-4.

⁴ *Yangban* is literally categorized into two: military and civil officials. However, *yangban* were not a hierarchy established by law, and their privileges were formed through social convention. Therefore they are, in a sense, a subjective stratum set in a conscious structure (Kishimoto Mio and Miyajima Hiroshi, *Min Shin to Li cho no jidai*, Tokyo, 1998, p. 125-6).

⁵ *Yangban* families had preferential treatment, but it cannot be said that the state examination system in the Chosŏn period did not function in its original role of seeking for talents widely (*ibid.*, p.101-5).

humanities after recovery from the invasions of the Japanese Hideyoshi's campaigns (*Imjin* Wars) (AD 1592 and AD 1598) and Manchu attacks (AD 1627 and AD 1636). It may be that "the great suffering induced the *yangban* elite to reassess many of the premises that had guided them in the past."⁶ Confucian scholarship and literature flourished and in particular interest in Korea's history, geography, language and agriculture developed among those *yanban* elite, who were concurrently involved in the repeated political factionalism which intensified during the Chosŏn Dynasty.⁷ Those people who were eventually excluded from the central administrative circle and devoted themselves to study, reevaluating the sources of political and intellectual guidance. This new intellectual movement commonly termed *silhak* 實學 (lit. Practical Learning) was dominant from the early seventeenth to the nineteenth century especially under the reigns of Yŏngjo 英祖 (AD 1724-1776) and Chŏngjo 正祖 (AD 1776-1800),⁸ and led to the development of new conceptions of national self-consciousness and the stimulation of specifically Korean concerns, and also the Koreanisation of Chinese elements based on a questioning of earlier admiration with China of her traditional suzerain power.⁹ The reigns of King Yŏngjo and King Chŏngjo are regarded as a period of great intellectual activity with a number of compilations of scholarly works, history, medicine, encyclopaedias and so forth. It was also a time for freeborn people with talent and knowledge to make their entrance into court, access to which had been restricted since the beginning of the dynasty.¹⁰

At the turn of the nineteenth century, *silhak* or the pragmatic school of thought entered a new phase under pressure from *sedojŏngch'i* 勢道政治.¹¹ The ideas of conventional *silhak* and the passion for social reform superficially receded. However, owing to the method of empirical study inherited from preceding scholars of *silhak*, high level

⁶ Smith, ed., *op. cit.*, p.37.

⁷ Kang Chaeŏn, *Chosen no rekishi to bunka*, Tokyo, 1993, p.169, 208.

⁸ Kim Hongnam, ed., *op. cit.*, p.60

⁹ Roderick Whitfield, ed., *Treasures from Korean Art through 5000 years*, London, 1984, p.153.

¹⁰ Park Yŏnggyu, *Chosen ocho jitsuroku*, trans., by Yun Suk-hŭi and Kanda Satoshi, Tokyo, 1997, p.303.

¹¹ This means politics which were monopolized by specific people or by those groups trusted by the King (Ito *et al.*, *op. cit.*, p.240-1).

scholarship continued, such as investigations of the origin, provenance and study of bronze and stone inscriptions, and this reflected a growth in national culture.¹² The principle of distinct hierarchical structure, such as the *yangban* elite, reflected the ideology of neo-Confucianism, which was also expressed in a respect for culture and scholarship throughout the Chosŏn Dynasty.

2.2 *Chuyŏngp'yŏn* (Compilation in the eternal daytime) by a Scholar-official, Chŏng Tong-yu (AD 1744-1808)

Chŏng Tong-yu 鄭東愈 (honorific name: Yuyŏ 愉如, studio name: Hyŏndong 玄同) was born in 1744 in the reign of Yŏngjo.¹³ His lifetime was a period of cultural and intellectual achievement. He was from a renowned family and his scholarly activity was celebrated among his contemporary scholars.¹⁴ After success in the state examination, he occupied various regional official posts¹⁵ and retired finally with the position of *chang-agwŏnjŏng* 掌樂院正.¹⁶ When he was young, he studied under a notable scholar, Yi Kwang-yŏ 李匡呂.¹⁷ Chŏng was surrounded by teachers and friends who were excellent scholars.¹⁸ According to Chŏng's epitaph '*Chang-agwŏnjŏng Chŏnggong myobimyŏng*' 掌樂院正鄭公墓碣銘 inscribed by Yi Mansu 李晩秀, Chŏng's nephew, Chŏng Tong-yu was attracted by *silhak* (Practical Learning) unlike other scholars who were engaged at the time with poetry and prose.¹⁹ It is also recorded that Chŏng

¹² Ewha Womans University and Kankoku bunkashi hensaninkai, eds., *op. cit.*, p.209-10.

¹³ Ko Pyŏng-ik, foreword to *Chuyŏngp'yŏn* by Chŏng Tong-yu, facsimile reprint, Seoul, 1971, p.1, 3.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p.1, 3. Ko states that Chŏng Tong-yu's ancestor was appointed as a prime minister (*yŏng-ŭijŏng* 領議政) under the reign of King Chungjong 中宗 (r. AD 1506-1544).

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p.4. Ko listed the government appointments of Chŏng Tong-yu as: *hyŏn'gam* 縣監 (rank 6) at Ŭihŭng 義興 in Left Kyŏngsang province, *sabokshi jubu* 司僕寺主簿 (rank 6), *kunsu* 郡守 (rank 4) at Iksan 益山 in East Chŏlla province, *tamyang pusa* 潭陽府使 (rank 3) at Tamyang pu in Left Chŏlla province, *sonhyech'ongnang* 宣惠廳郎 (rank 6) and *moksa* 牧使 (rank 3) at Hongju 洪州 in Right Ch'ungch'ong province. It can be understood that his career was mainly as regional magistrates from district to prefecture level.

¹⁶ *Chang-agwŏnjŏng* is a department training in traditional court music in the ancestral mausoleum and is also in charge of proofreading. The official position is in the senior third rank (CMP, kwon 222, *chikkwan-go* 職官考 9, *chesa* 諸司 1, *Chang-agwŏn*, p. 594).

¹⁷ Ko, *op. cit.*, p.3. Yi Kwang-yŏ 李匡呂 was a close relative of Yi Kwangsa 李匡師 (one of the greatest Korean calligraphers) who studied under the renowned scholar, Chŏng Chedu 鄭濟斗. Chŏng Chedu gave the most influential exposition of the school of *Yangmyŏnghak* in Chosŏn 朝鮮陽明學. Ko assumes that Chŏng Tong-yu also had a relationship with this scholarly group.

¹⁸ Ko, *ibid.*, p.1.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*

Tong-yu's profound and broad ranging knowledge and understanding in varied branches was widely admired not only by junior scholars, but also by a number of senior experienced bureaucrats.²⁰ A friend of Chǒng Tong-yu, Yi Ch'ung-ik 李忠翊, states in his book that Chǒng Tong-yu was a man of honour.²¹ Chǒng's book *Chuyǒngp'yǒn* was widely read by his contemporary scholars and it is an invaluable historical source at the present day.²²

Chuyǒngp'yǒn is in two volumes consisting each of two books.²³ It was written in 1805 and completed in 1806, in the reign of King Sunjo 純祖 (AD 1800-1834), two years before the writer's death. The book was classified as a sort of miscellaneous essay, and it is regarded as one of the best collections of this category in Korea.²⁴ Chǒng Tong-yu astonishingly offers alternative yet accurate accounts to the historical records in his book. In the foreword to the text, Chǒng Tong-yu explains the motivation to write: it was to refresh himself escaping from the insipid daily life of the long days of summer, hence the title of the book.²⁵ He also remarks that the book intentionally excluded three subjects, political, social and private gossip, since he considered this an inferior way to spend the long days of summer.

It covers a wide range of subjects, for example, astronomy, the almanacs, history, institutions, language, local customs, and diplomacy not only from Korea, but also extending to China, Japan, and other foreign countries. The various subjects dealt with covered extensive periods, prior to his life time. This kind of writing, the miscellaneous essay, tends to be subjective, whereas this work by Chǒng Tong-yu was coherently based on various categorized writings from a number of historical sources from China,

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p.4. This was cited by Ko from the epitaph of Chǒng Tong-yu 'Chang-agwonjǒng Chǒng gong myobimyǒng' taken from *Kūgwonyugo* 履園遺稿 vol.11. Ko remarks that the content of the epitaph is mostly recorded in the surviving genealogical book of Chǒng Tong-yu.

²¹ *Ibid.* Yi Ch'ung-ik was a serious scholar of the Wang Yangmyǒng 王陽明 school which generated not a few eminent scholars (*ibid.*).

²² *Ibid.*, p.1.

²³ The original *Chuyǒngp'yǒn* is available on microfilm in the *Kyujang-gak* 奎章閣 archives, located in the University of Seoul.

²⁴ Ko, *loc. cit.*

²⁵ Chǒng Tong-yu, *Chuyǒngp'yǒn*, 1806, facsimile reprint, Seoul, 1971, p.1.

Korea and Japan, and attempted to avoid subjective assertions without proof sources. Contrary to the book's title and his humble remarks that the book was written as random notes, it is evident that he hunted extensively for documents and references. His discerning and equitable analysis is largely convincing to readers. He investigated provenance, origin and the meaning of subjects like superstitions, anecdotes, traditional customs and social conventions, and openly criticized conventions which he saw as meaningless.²⁶ Surprisingly, he even indicates inaccuracy in both Chinese and Korean historical sources, irrespective of their revered status.²⁷ It can clearly be seen that his coherent attempt to seek only truth and historical fact and to eliminate ungrounded assertions is fundamental in this work. It is worth noting that he also used a Yuan historical record, *Nancun chuogenglü* 南村辍耕录 by Tao Zongyi 陶宗义 which is a well-known source for hat finials in the Yuan Dynasty, although Chǒng did not refer to the specific descriptions by Tao concerning 'maoding'.²⁸

The hierarchy of the *yangban* elite standardized during the Chosŏn Dynasty was also criticized sharply by Chǒng Tong-yu, and he was sceptical of the slavery system from a humanitarian point of view that Korea operated at this time.²⁹ He deplored the weakness of the *yangban* nobles and also the conservative attitude of Korean bureaucrats, which shows his spirit to reform, to assist the future prospects of his country, and to confront the reality of his time. It can be explained that the truly remarkable features of his acute and critical views, equitable judgement without

²⁶ For example, in local areas in Chosŏn times, parents customarily arranged marriage for their children at an early age, even though girls were older than boys by more than ten years. Chǒng Tong-yu traced this custom to the Koryŏ Dynasty when they had a tie by royal intermarriage with the Mongol emperors of the Yuan Dynasty. However, it was not the case only for the countryside, and a prime-minister in Chosŏn times also employed this practice. Manners of Koryŏ were not able to escape from foreign [i.e. Qidan, Nuzhen and Mongol] fashion, but the custom still remained into the Chosŏn Dynasty which Chǒng Tong-yu considered absurd (*ibid.*, p.135-6).

²⁷ This practice can be seen here and there through the text. It begins on the first page with a supposed inaccuracy by Zhu Xi (AD 1130-1200). Chǒng Tong-yu supposed that Zhu Xi mistook a geographical name and location because he had only depended on a map and not visited it (*ibid.*, p.1-3).

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p.321. The further discussion of this *Nancun chuogenglü* in regard to hat finials will take place in Chapter Five. Chǒng Tong-yu also raised a question of the origin of the headband (*wangjin*) in China discussing a theory that it originated in the Hongwu period (AD 1368-1398) as recorded in late Ming novels: however he pointed out another reference suggesting their existence in the Tang period (*ibid.*, p.228). I will also discuss the headband in Chapter Five.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p.316-324.

deep-rooted prejudice and great erudition all considerably reflect the ideology of his period, such as the Practical Learning, *silhak*.

2.3 Jade Egret Hat Finials

In Chŏng Tong-yu's work, approximately ten matters concerning costume and personal ornaments were examined. One of them was strikingly discussed, the provenance of the jade egret hat finial, as follows:

洪武丙寅僕長壽得高皇帝所賜帽袍而來始定百官章服一用華制故經國大典 戴國初所定之式而言司憲府司諫院官及觀察使節度使笠飾用玉頂子監察用水晶頂子而不言其頂子之為何狀今監察則久廢不用獨大司憲及臺諫頂玉獬豸觀察使節度使頂玉鸞元來大司憲胸背之繡法用獬豸則頂玉之取象固有據也 至於觀察使之頂鸞形抑取何義按元魏時官制以候望官改為白鸞取其延望之意其時亭堠多刻鸞象今我國監司亦取此義耶觀察之取象延望既不襯着且我東冠服儀飾之中未必於此獨倣元魏一制抑別有義歟未可知也³⁰

In the year *Bingyin* 丙寅 of *Hongwu* 洪武 [A.D. 1386], Sol Changsu 僕長壽 [the Koryŏ envoy]³¹ received an outfit of headgear [i.e. black gauze cap] and costume from the emperor *Gao* 高 [*Taizu* 太祖, founder of the Ming],³² and civil and military official uniforms were first constituted [after the event of the mission of Sol Changsu], following completely the Han Chinese dress system. According to costume regulation in the law *Kyŏngguk taejŏn* 經國大典³³ legislated in the beginning of the dynasty: "Bureaucrats in the *sahŏnbu* 司憲府 [Central Government Censorate] and *saganwŏn* 司諫院 [Remonstrance Bureau], *kwanch'alsa* 觀察使 [Regional Surveillance Commissioners] and *chŏldosa* 節度使 [Regional Military Commissioners] use jade finials for the ornament of *kat* 笠 [a black wide brimmed hat made of horse hair &c.], and *kamch'al* 監察 [Investigating Censors] use crystal finials." However the regulation did not mention what the pattern (or decoration) of the finials was. At present, *kamch'al* have long been abolished, so their finials have fallen out of use. Only *taesahŏn* 大司憲 [Censor-in-chief] and *taegan* 臺諫 [Censors and Remonstrators] wear jade *haet'ae* 獬豸 (Ch. *xiezhi*) [a mythical animal] finials, and *kwanch'alsa* and *chŏldosa* wear jade egret finials. Originally, *taesahŏn* 大司憲 wore *hyungbae* 胸背 [official rank insignia on chest and back] embroidered with a pattern of *haet'ae* and the

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p.224-5.

³¹ He is descendant of *Huigu* 回鶻 [i.e. Uyghur], and his father naturalized from the Yuan Mongol to Koryŏ. He served King Kongmin 恭愍王 (AD 1351-1374) and King U (AD 1374-1388) as high-ranking civil officials (Chosen soutokufu, ed., *Chosen jinmei jisho*, Tokyo, 1977, p.1351).

³² *Gao di* 高帝 was the honorific name of Taizu, his *shihao* 諡号.

³³ It is the first fundamental and comprehensive National Code of the Chosŏn Dynasty commissioned by King Sejong 世宗, and first promulgated in AD 1470. In AD 1485, its revised and enlarged version was complete (Chŏn Pongdŏk, *Li cho houseishi*, Tokyo, 1971, p.6).

symbolism of the jade finials was based upon these. As for the egret hat finials of *kwanch'alsa*, what is their significance? *Houwangguan* 候望官 were renamed 'white egrets' from the meaning of *yanwang* 延望 [stretching their necks and seeing a long distance away] in the bureaucracy in the time of *Yuanwei* 元魏 [the Northern Wei Dynasty (AD 386-535)]. At that time, *tinghou* 亭墩 [watch-towers] were often carved with egrets. Have the present day *kamsa* 監司 [i.e. *kwanch'alsa*]³⁴ in our country also taken this meaning? It is not appropriate for *kwanch'alsa* to take the symbolic meaning of *yanwang*, and also, in our civil official costume and ritual adornments, it is not likely that these alone would imitate the institutions of *Yuanwei*. There may be other meanings.

It can be seen from this that crucial hints and clues for the provenance of jade egret finials are supplied by Chŏng Tong-yu. We need to examine the validity of the information he presents. For this, six points in this passage require discussion.

First, the historical facts presented at the beginning of Chŏng Tong-yu's text were recorded in the *History of the Koryŏ*. This reads, "...in the thirteenth year of King U (U Wang) (AD 1387), in May, Sol Changsu returned to Koryŏ from the capital of Ming China dressed in *samo* 紗帽 (black gauze cap) and *tallyŏng* 团领 (robe with circular-collar) which were gifts from the Ming emperor. It was the first occasion that the dress system was understood by Koryŏ people."³⁵ The following month, continuing in the *History of the Koryŏ*, Koryŏ reformed the costume regulation for officials from *hobok* 胡服 (Tartar costume) (Ch. *hufu*) to Han Chinese style for the first time.³⁶ Costumes in Koryŏ were primarily in the style of the Mongols since Koryŏ agreed to a pact with the Mongol empire, with intermarriage between the Koryŏ royal house and the Mongols.³⁷ This pact remained intact for nearly a hundred years almost until the fall of the Mongol empire. Because of this historical context and the account of the official dynastic record, Chŏng Tong-yu seems to have stressed that official costumes in Korea followed the Han Chinese dress system in the first reform of the *hobok* style.³⁸

³⁴ *Kwanch'alsa* were also called '*kamsa*' (CMP, kwon 230, *chukkwang-go* 職官考 17, *oegwan* 外官 1, *kwanch'alsa*, p.686).

³⁵ KS, kwon 49, *yŏljŏn*, Shinu 4, 13 *nyŏn* 5 wŏl, p.942.

³⁶ *Ibid.*

³⁷ *Ibid.*, kwon 72, *chi* 26, *yŏbokchi* 1, p.561.

³⁸ As a matter of fact, Liao and Jin had offered gifts including official costumes to Koryŏ for political reasons and Koryŏ was considerably influenced by them before it entered a close relationship with the

The second point is the *Kyōngguk taejōn*, the Chosŏn primary national code, in regard to the regulation of hat finials described by Chōng Tong-yu. According to this law, *Taegun* 大君 (the sons of a queen) use gold for their hat finials, officials of first to third grade silver, bureaucrats in the *sahōnbu* and *saganwōn*, *kwanch'alsa* and *chōldosa* jade, and crystal finials are for *kamch'al*, as Chōng Tong-yu indicated.³⁹ Here, we should note that the hats are not black gauze caps but black wide brimmed hats (*kat*) made of horse tail or pig's hair or bamboo, which had been representative costumes throughout the Chosŏn Dynasty.⁴⁰

The third point concerns official rank insignia, *hyungbae* 胸背, embroidered with *haet'ae* patterns sewn onto the robe at the wearer's chest and back. Chōng Tong-yu considered that the symbol of *haet'ae* in jade finials originated from *hyungbae* decoration.⁴¹ The wearing of rank insignia with *haet'ae* by *taesahōn* is indeed described clearly in the *Kyōngguk taejōn*, Chosŏn law.⁴² This squire, official rank insignia were first originally established in Ming China in the twenty-fourth year of Hongwu (AD 1391), and known as *buzi* 补子 in Chinese.⁴³ The mythical creature *xiezhi* 獬豸 (Kr. *haet'ae*) in Chinese was traditionally related to specific officials such as Attendant Censors (i.e. *shiyushi* 侍御史) who originally dealt with the law in the Later Han Dynasty (25 BC-AD 220).⁴⁴ The official rank insignia embroidered with *xiezhi* in the Ming also held these connotations.⁴⁵ *Xiezhi* was the emblem of the upright

Mongol rulers. Relations between Koryŏ and her neighbouring countries will be discussed in Chapter Seven.

³⁹ KT1, kwon 3, yejōn 禮典, ūjang 儀章, p.217-8. KT2, p.223-7. For this original text, see footnotes 155 and 156 in Chapter Seven.

⁴⁰ Yu Hee-kyung and Park Kyungja, *Kankoku fukushoku bunkushi*, Tokyo, 1982, p.214, 217. The origin of the *kat* black hat is still disputed. Scholars mostly consider the hat as originating from the Mongols, others believe that the hat is derived from Three Kingdoms (37 BC-AD 668) of Korea. It is beyond the scope of this paper to investigate this. However, it is unlikely that hat finials were used before Koryŏ time based on the archaeological and pictorial evidence. See Chapter Seven.

⁴¹ It seems unlikely that a crown with *haet'ae* 獬豸冠 was worn in Koryŏ Korea because of the absence of any record in the *yōbokchi* of the *History of the Koryŏ*.

⁴² KT1, *op. cit.*, p.217. KT2, *loc. cit.*, p.226.

⁴³ MS, juan 67, yufu 3, p.1637.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p.1638. HH, zhi 30, yufu xia, p.3667.

⁴⁵ MS, *loc. cit.*, and p.4740. The *xiezhi* was worn by 'fengxianguan' 風宪官 (Guardians of the Customs and Laws) in the Ming Dynasty (*ibid.*). Hucker describes 'fengxianguan': "...throughout history an unofficial reference to members of the Censorate (御史台, 都察院) and regional counterpart agencies such as the Ming-Qing Provincial Surveillance Commission (提刑按察使司); also referred to generally

judge, and which possessed the body of supernatural sheep to spare the innocent but struck the guilty with its plump single horn.⁴⁶ The *History of the Later Han Dynasty* explains the reason for *xiezhi* being associated with officials such as 'Legal Examiners': the *xiezhi* is the god of sheep capable of recognizing right from wrong and truth from falsehood, so that the King of Chu 楚 country pursued and captured the *xiezhi* and employed it as a symbol in his crown.⁴⁷ The Censor-in-chief (*yushidafu* 御史大夫) in China was equivalent to the *taesahŏn* in Korea,⁴⁸ and it is likely that the symbol of *xiezhi* was adopted as the official insignia of *taesahŏn* in Korea.

Here, a question arises from Chŏng Tong-yu's writing as to why the image of egrets was not also derived from Chosŏn official rank insignia. The Chinese official rank insignia, known as *buzi*, were first systematized for officials attending routine court sessions (i.e. *changfu* normal wear 常服) in AD 1391, however, this practice was not followed in the Chosŏn Dynasty until the second year of King Tanjong 端宗 (AD 1454).⁴⁹ In addition, the use of rank insignia was limited to the first three grades rather than for all nine grades as in China.⁵⁰ Since rank insignia embroidered with an egret were used for sixth grade civil officials in China, the egret pattern was not used in Korea under this regulation.⁵¹ The *xiezhi* was used independently of rank to indicate the position of *taesahŏn* in Korea following the precedent of China. In the eleventh year of Yŏnsan'gun 燕山君 (AD 1505), the system was revised to use insignia for all nine ranks as in

as Surveillance Officials (察官)." (Charles O. Hucker, *A Dictionary of Official Titles in Imperial China*, Stanford, 1985, p.213).

⁴⁶ HH, *loc. cit.* TD1, juan 57, faguan, p.412. TD2, juan 57, p.1611. "獬豸, 神羊, 一角, 能別曲直. 楚王獲之, 以爲冠." "隨開皇中, 于進賢冠上加二真珠, 爲獬豸角形. 執法者服之. 大唐法冠, 一名獬豸冠, 一角, 爲獬豸角形, 御史臺監察以上服之."

⁴⁷ *Ibid.* According to the *History of the Later Han*, the Qin (221-206 BC) destroyed the Chu, and the Qin king conferred the costume and the crown of the King of Chu to the *yushi*, his close retainers who were responsible for administering the law.

⁴⁸ CMP, kwon 219, *ibid.* p. 549. "...曰大司憲即古御史大夫之職..." In China, *dasixian* 大司憲 (K. *taesahŏn*) denoted Censor-in-chief especially in Tang and Qing (Hucker, *op. cit.*, p.470).

⁴⁹ CWS:TJG, kwon 12, 2 nyŏn 12 wŏl, vol.6, p.713. Official rank insignia were at first considered too extravagant during the reign of Sejong (AD 1419-1450), since silk was not a Korean native material; however, they were eventually employed in order to clarify official grades in AD 1454 (CWS:SJG, kwon, 111, 28 nyŏn chŏngwŏl, vol.4, p.652).

⁵⁰ *Ibid.* Korea used basically the Chinese patterns of rank insignia from third to fifth grade.

⁵¹ MS, *op. cit.*, p.1638.

China.⁵² Patterns were also created using new Korean symbols, such as the wild boar and deer.⁵³ Subsequently, the reform of rank insignia was repeatedly conducted and the patterns were simplified drastically after AD 1734.⁵⁴ It seems that the egret symbol was not incorporated into the Korean official rank insignia in later revisions of this system. Extant heirloom rank insignia with egret pattern dating to between AD 1550 and AD 1600 in the Museum of Korea University 高麗大學校 is considered the best example worn by civil officials in sixth grade during the period of the above regulation, that is between AD 1505 and AD 1734.⁵⁵

If we interpret that the egret symbol was used for official rank insignia between AD 1505 and AD 1734, did the egret represent officials in sixth grade along with *kwanch'alsa* and *chöldosa* during that period only? It seems that the egret symbol was used for both hat finials and rank insignia at that time in view of an extant heirloom egret hat finial of Yi Sunsin 李舜臣 (AD 1545-1598).⁵⁶ However, it is unlikely that the regulation of the official rank insignia that included the egret symbol in AD 1505 was executed in full, because of chaos ensuing from repeated Japanese invasions (*Imjin* Wars, AD 1592 and AD 1598).⁵⁷ In the tenth year of the Chöngjo period (AD 1786), there was a move at court to revise the hat finial regulation.⁵⁸ However, the decoration of hat finials on military hats was not copied from China and reform was considered to

⁵² CWS:YI, kwon 60, 11 nyön 11 wöl, vol.14, p.29.

⁵³ *Ibid.*

⁵⁴ CWS:YS, kwon 39, 10 nyön 12 wöl, vol.42, p.460. KSS, kwon 8, 8 nyön 2 wöl, vol.1, p.354, kwon 33, 32 nyön 10 wöl 21 il, vol.2, p.573. SOT, kwon 3, ycjön 禮典, p.221-2. For example, all civil officials in first to senior third grade use a crane amidst cloud pattern and in junior third to ninth grade a silver pheasant.

⁵⁵ Suk Joo-sun, *Hyungbae*, Seoul, 1979, p.114, no.20. See Figure 7.56.

⁵⁶ Further discussion of the egret hat finial of Yi Sunsin will take place in Chapter Seven.

⁵⁷ Kim Youngsuk, *Han-guk pokshingmunhwajön*, Seoul, 1998, p.426. Kim explained that the regulation in AD 1505 was unsettled by the *Imjin* Wars, and that the regulation was later revised drastically in order to differentiate from Chinese rank insignia. The state of disorder of the dress system can be understood from the record (CMP, kwon 79, yego 26, p.18).

⁵⁸ CWS:CJ, kwon 21, 10 nyön 6 wöl, vol.45, p.573-4. “至於戰笠所懸之頂子或有瑠璃裝飾亦皆改懸乎…教曰禁華飾…而至於戰笠頂子本非華飾何必改焉…” According to the record, for example, there is a hat finial with enamel decoration, suggesting that there was a variety of novel decoration for hat finials in Chosön Korea which differed from China. A good example of this enameled hat finial is illustrated in Figure 7.90.

be unnecessary for this reason.⁵⁹ This suggests that there was a variety of hat finials in Chosŏn Korea which were not used in contemporary China. Indeed, egret jade finials for hats did not exist in China, at least not in the Qing Dynasty. Thus, it is clear that the egret symbol was used for hat finials in Korea but not for official rank insignia during Chŏng Tong-yu's lifetime, and it seems unlikely that the meaning of the egret of hat finials was borrowed from official rank insignia, as such a fact was not indicated by Chŏng Tong-yu.

The fourth point we have to examine here are Chŏng Tong-yu's grounds for suggesting the origin and provenance of the image of egrets to be the Northern Wei Dynasty (AD 386-535). Indeed, the sentence he cites is in the *History of the Northern Wei*, as specific officials were renamed as 'white egrets', derived from the habits of egrets.⁶⁰ However, the *History of the Northern Wei* recorded the name of specific officials not as 'houwangguan' 候望官 but 'houguan' 候官, and did not state the relation between the 'houguan' and 'tinghou' 亭候.⁶¹ It is possible that Chŏng Tong-yu derived his source from the *Danyan zonglu* 丹沿總錄 and *Shenganji* 升菴集 books by Yang Shen 楊慎 (AD 1488-1559), a scholar-official in the Ming Dynasty, rather than directly from the *History of the Northern Wei*.⁶² The same passage has been recorded in Yang Shen's two books in a similar manner.

Yang Shen refers in his poem to a 'houwangguan' as a 'white egret' in the Northern Wei Dynasty derived from the meaning of 'yanwang' 延望 (far seeing) and he explained that 'tinghou' 亭候 (watch-towers) were often carved with the images of egrets, exactly as Chŏng Tong-yu specifies.⁶³ *Yuding peiwenyunfu* 御定佩文韻府, a collection of phrases compiled by Zhang Yushu 張玉書 (AD 1642-1711) and others under imperial

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*

⁶⁰ WS, juan 113, p.2973-4, "...以伺察者為候官, 謂之白鷺, 取其延頸遠望."

⁶¹ *Ibid.* 'tinghou' 亭候, also 'tinghou' 亭候, is a 'watch-tower', or 'stronghold'. This watch-tower or stronghold was originally to observe the movement of foe on the frontier in the ancient periods (DK, vol.1, p.551, HD, vol.2, p.365-6). "亭候, 伺候望敵之所." (HH, juan 1 xia, benji, p.60).

⁶² Yang Shen, *Danyanzonglu*, Ming, juan 6, in SQ, vol.855, p.389, *Shenganji*, Ming, juan 67, in SQ, vol.1270, p.658.

⁶³ *Ibid.* "元魏改官制以候望官為白鷺取其延望之意其時亭候多刻鷺像也"

auspices, also includes the poem of Yang Shen, and 'houwangguan' was corrected to 'houguan', as in the *History of the Northern Wei*.⁶⁴ Accordingly, the mistake of Chǒng Tong-yu seems to originate from Yang Shen. Another important point in the words of Chǒng Tong-yu and Yang Shen concerns *tinghou* (watch-towers). They fail to describe clearly where and how the images of egrets were carved on *tinghou*. The meaning of 'ke' 刻 in the text is 'carve' in English, and can normally be assumed to be in wood or stone. Considering Chinese art in the early style, they could be figures of egrets inscribed in stone rather than carved from wood, although both are possible. If stone was the medium, it is reasonable to assume that egrets were depicted on the wall or wherever possible on the stone building.

The fifth point we have to take up from Chǒng Tong-yu's remarks concerns *kwanch'alsa* (*kamsa*) and 'yanwang' (far seeing). He considered that the duty of *kwanch'alsa* (*kamsa*) in Chosŏn Korea was inappropriate to 'yanwang' of 'houwangguan' in the Northern Wei. There are two possibilities why he concluded this. First, Chǒng Tong-yu might have connected 'yanwang' with Astronomical Observer, 'houwangguan' officials in Chosŏn Korea.⁶⁵ In China, it seems that there were no 'houwangguan,' but a 'houguan' in the Han Dynasty was also associated with Observer of the Stars (Diviner Officials).⁶⁶ Considering the passage from Yang Shen and Chǒng Tong-yu, Yang Shen probably just miscopied the term from the *History of the Northern Wei*, whereas Chǒng Tong-yu might have compared it with 'houwangguan' in his country so that he was unable to figure out the relationship between 'houguan' in the Northern Wei and *kwanch'alsa* (*kamsa*). Second, it is not clear how much Chǒng Tong-yu had understood the duty of 'houguan' in the Northern Wei in relation to *kwanch'alsa* (*kamsa*) in Chosŏn Korea. The 'yanwang' of the 'houguan' did not denote an observation of stars but inspection of wrongdoing by officials including officials in

⁶⁴ Zhang Yushu et al., eds., *Yuding peiwenyunfu*, 1711, juan 85-1, in SQ, vol.1025, p.220. "延鸞墩 楊慎詩...按魏書官氏志以伺察者為候官謂之白鸞取其延頸遠望也."

⁶⁵ CWS:MGI, kwon 15, 8 nyŏn 11 wŏl, vol.20, p.174. It seems that no official title 'houguan' existed in Chosŏn Korea.

⁶⁶ HS, juan 99 xia, liezhuan, p.4159.

the regions.⁶⁷

Finally, as the sixth point, had this practice of wearing hat finials in Korea been maintained since the Koryŏ period or not?

According to the *History of the Koryŏ*, in AD 1367, King Kongmin decreed a regulation of hats and hat finials to distinguish the different ranks of the wearers based on a submission⁶⁸ by Woo P'ilhŭng 于必興 of the Directorate of Astronomy (*sach'onsogam* 司天少監):

Chegun 諸君,⁶⁹ *chaesang* 宰相 (Grand Councillors), *ch'umilwŏn* 樞密院 (Officials in the Bureau of Military Affairs), *taeŏn* 代言 (Recipients of Edicts), *p'ansŏ* 判書 (Ministers), *sanghogun* 上護軍 (Senior Military Protectors), *daehogun* 大護軍 (Vice Military Protectors), *p'ant'ong-yemunsa* 判通禮門事 (Supervisor of the Audience Ceremonies), *samsa jwauiyun* 三司左右尹 (Magistrates of State Finance Commission), *chit'ong-yemunsa* 知通禮門事 (Administrator of the Audience Ceremonies), all wear white jade finials on black *kat* hats; *samshinjong* 三親從 (Senior Generals of Royal Armies) and all *ch'ongnang* 摠郎 (Court Gentlemen for Consultation), *samsabusa* 三司副司 (Vice Commissioners of State Finance), *p'albishin* 八備身 (Imperial bodyguards), *chŏnbuhogun* 前陪護軍, *hŭjonhogun* 後殿護軍 (Royal Military Protectors) wear black *kat* hats with green jade finials; all *chŏngnang* 正郎, *chwarang* 佐郎 (Senior and junior secretaries of Six Boards or Ministries) wear crystal finials on black *kat* hats; *sŏngdae* 省臺 (possibly interpreted as officials in Secretariat and Department of State Affairs and Censorate), *chijegyowon* 知製教員 (Drafters and Academicians) in *sŏnggyun-gwan* 成均館 (National Confucian College) and *chŏn-gyosa* 典校寺 (Secretariat), and the regional officials wear black *kat* hats with finials depending on respective official grade; *hyŏllyŏng* 縣令 (District Magistrate) and *kammu* 監務 (State Monopoly Agent) wear crystal finials without mounts on black *kat* hats.⁷⁰

⁶⁷ WS, juan 28, p.685, juan 111, p.2875, juan 113, p.2973-4.

⁶⁸ KS, kwon 72, chi, yŏbok 輿服 12, p.566. “恭愍王六年閏九月司天少監于必興上書玉龍記云我國始于白頭終于智異其勢水根木幹之地以黑爲父母以青爲身若風俗順土則昌逆土則災風俗者若臣百姓衣服冠蓋是也今後文武百官黑衣青笠僧服黑巾大冠女服黑羅以順土風從之。” The submission by Woo P'ilhŭng was based on the '*Ohaengsŏl*' 玉龍記 by Tosŏn 道詵 (AD 827-898) (a monk of Unified Silla) and explained the theory of Five Elements 五行說 that black cloth and green (or blue) *kat* hat are in accordance with Korea's *ki* 氣 (disposition) (Ch. qf).

⁶⁹ Members of the royal family who possessed princely titles, viz., sons of the king's secondary wives, all sons and grandsons of a Crown prince and so forth (Keith Pratt and Richard Rutt, *Korea: A Historical and Cultural Dictionary*, London, 1999, p.358-9).

⁷⁰ KS, *loc. cit.* “諸君宰樞代言判書上大護軍判通禮門三司左右尹知通禮門黑笠白玉頂子三親從諸

Subsequently, in the thirteenth year of King U (U Wang) (1387), in June, the *History of the Koryŏ* clearly states that the *hobok* (Tartar costume) was discontinued and the costume system reformed to that of Ming China.⁷¹ However, wearing hat finials, characteristic of Mongolian costume, continued in Korea despite this new anti-Mongol policy, and likewise Ming China did not discard this practice either.⁷² In addition to the hat finial regulation in AD 1367, other officials were specifically prescribed the use of jade hat finials in accordance with the reform of the *hobok* costume in the *History of the Koryŏ*:

Taeŏn 代言 (Recipients of Edicts) and *panju* 班主 (Imperial Guards in chief) in *yangbu* 兩府 (the Secretariat-Chancellery and Bureau of Military Affairs), *taegan* 臺諫 (taewan Censors and taegan Remonstrators) and *annyŏmsa* 按廉使 (Surveillance Commissioner) in their respective *to* 道 (administrative unit) wear jade finials on the brimmed *kat* hat with a tall top 高頂笠 (*kojŏngnip*) on the occasion of rain and snow.⁷³

Only these particular officials were here specified to wear hat finials, in jade, for their official costume, presumably in the conduct of routine duties. It seems to have been regulated some twenty years after the establishment of the former hat finial regulation in AD 1367.

It is not clear why these particular officials were required to wear jade hat finials by King Kongmin in AD 1367, however, the later specified officials such as *taewan* 臺官 (Censors) and *annyŏmsa* (Surveillance Commissioners) held censorial and surveillance responsibilities, and the occasion of wearing hat finials seems to be regional tours of inspection.⁷⁴ As a matter of fact, *annyŏmsa* were the antecedent of *kwanch'alsa* in Chosŏn, and *taegan* were equivalent to officials in the *sahŏnbu* and *saganwŏn* in the

惣郎三司副使八備身陪後殿護軍黑笠青玉頂子諸正佐郎黑笠水精頂子省臺成均典校知製教員及外方各員黑笠隨品頂子縣令監務黑笠無臺水精頂子。” For the further discussion of hat finials without mounts, see Chapter Seven.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, p.567.

⁷² *MS, op. cit.*, p.1637.

⁷³ *KS, loc. cit.* “十三年六月始革胡服依大明制…兩府代言班主臺諫諸道按廉兩雪則高頂笠頂玉”

⁷⁴ Lee Chonhŭi, *Chosŏnshidae jibangjedo yŏn-gu*, Seoul, 1990, p.18. I shall discuss a correlation of the inspection tour by censorial officials and the egret symbol in China in Chapter Three.

Chosŏn period.⁷⁵ *Kwanch'alsa* officials concurrently held the duties of *chŏldosa* in small regional areas and their main duties were basically the same as those of the *sahŏnbu* and *saganwŏn* in terms of censorial, surveillance and remonstrating responsibilities.⁷⁶ The definite difference between the *sahŏnbu* and *saganwŏn*, and the *kwanch'alsa* and *chŏldosa* was that the former were in central government responsible for surveillance over the capital and the latter were assigned to the regions.⁷⁷ Thus, it is apparent that Chosŏn *kwanch'alsa*, *sahŏnbu* and *saganwŏn* inherited the practice of wearing jade hat finials from the late Koryŏ period. However, *taegan* (Censorate, Ch. *yushitai* 御史台) used jade *haet'ae* (Ch. *xiezhi*) [mythical animal] finials, according to Chŏng Tong-yu. Therefore, it is the *kwanch'alsa* and *chŏldosa* that seem to be crucial here to resolve the issue of jade egret finials. It should be noted that the use of jade hat finials in costume regulation in Ming China was not based on particular officials but on official grade.

Thus, we need to further investigate this point whether or not there was any historical sequence between *houguan* in Northern Wei China, *kwanch'alsa* (*kamsa*) and *chŏldosa* in Chosŏn Korea.

2.4 Concluding Remarks

Our analysis of the text of Chŏng Tong-yu demonstrates that it can be proved that his examination of hat finials is largely correct and that the detail is based on historical sources which Shen Defu of Ming China and other scholars have never investigated, even up to the present day. There seem to be two main reasons why Chŏng Tong-yu's investigation was possible. Firstly, jade egret hat finials were used in Chŏng Tong-yu's lifetime in Korea, but not possibly in Shen Defu's China. Secondly, only specific

⁷⁵ CMP, kwon 219, chikkwan-go 6, taesŏng 臺省, *sahŏnbu*, *saganwŏn*, p.548, 551, kwon 230, chikkwan-go 17, oegwan 1, *kwanch'alsa*, p.686-7. *Taegan* was an abbreviated title of officials in the *sahŏnbu* (Censorate) and *saganwŏn* (Remonstrance Bureau) in Chosŏn.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, kwon 234, chikkwan-go 21, oemujik 外武職 1, pyŏngmajŏldosa, sugunjŏldosa, p.729, 731-2. Lee Chonhŭi, *op. cit.*, p.19. CWS:TJ, kwon, 25, 13 nyŏn 6 wŏl, vol.1, p.673. CWS:MS, kwon 4, chŏwi nyŏn 11 wŏl, vol.6, p.321. “內而憲府 外而監司 糾察風俗以正紀綱之任也” “京中則憲府 外方則監司 一體也”

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*

officials used egrets as their symbols and Chǒng Tong-yu understood this. Yet, Chǒng Tong-yu also raises questions and issues which need clarification. As we see, it is necessary to further investigate whether a provenance of jade egret finials can be attributed to *houguan* or not. Key terms to resolve issues raised by Chǒng Tong-yu will be four: 1. *houguan* in Northern Wei; 2. *kwanch'alsa* and *chǒldosa*; 3. the Censorial and Surveillance system in China, especially in regional areas; 4. egrets and *tinghou* watch-towers.

The original text of Yang Shen on which Chǒng Tong-yu seemingly based his information will be examined in the following chapter as well as an analysis of the historical context of *houguan* in China. *Tinghou* is also discussed here. In Chapter Seven, the jade hat finials of *kwanch'alsa* and *chǒldosa* in Chosŏn Korea will be examined based on Chapter Three. These two chapters will cover and clarify the issues and questions arising in the present chapter.

CHAPTER THREE: HISTORICAL SURVEY OF OFFICIALS WITH THE WHITE EGRET SYMBOL IN CHINA

3.1 A poem by Yang Shen 杨慎 (AD 1488-1559) of the Ming

Yang Shen is a scholar-official from Xindu 新都, the present day Sichuan, who passed the civil official examination top of his year in the sixth year of Zhengde 正德 (AD 1511).¹ Later he was exiled to Yunnan following remonstrance with the emperor, where he died.² He left an erudite body of abundant writings which are recorded in the *History of the Ming*.³ His style of poetry derives from the theory of his master, Li Dongyang 李东阳.⁴ *Shenganji* 升菴集 and *Danqian yulu* 丹鉛餘錄 are notable examples of his written work.

The account of 'houguan' presented in the text of Chǒng Tong-yu may be taken from a poem by Yang Shen recorded in both *Shenganji* 升菴集 and *Danqian zonglu* 丹鉛總錄. The poem called 'Yanluhou huawuting' 延鷺垓畫烏亭 was included in his collected works in the two books and was an account of his travels.⁵ Verses follow:

山遮延鷺垓
江繞畫烏亭⁶

Mountains blocked out *Yanluhou* 延鷺垓,
A large river meanders through the *Huawuting* 畫烏亭.

Along with this poem, he has provided the interpretation. It reads,

¹ MS, juan 16, p.204, juan 192, p.5081. His honorific name was Yongxiu 用修, and Shengan 升菴 his hao 号.

² *Ibid.*

³ *Ibid.*, juan 96, p. 2357, 2359, 2364, 2368, 2373, juan 97, p.2388, 2413-4, juan 98, p.2433, 2445, 2447, 2449, juan 98, p.2451, 2453, 2473, juan 99, p.2495-7, 2499-500, juan 192, p.5105.

⁴ Li Dongyang 李东阳 (AD 1447-1516) is a notable politician and poet of the Ming. He assisted Emperor Gaozong. He is regarded as one of the doyens of the Ming and a pioneer of pseudoclassicism in the style of writing which centred in the Ming poem (*ibid.*, juan 181, p.4820).

⁵ Yang Shen, *Shenganji*, Ming Dynasty, juan. 67, in SQ, vol.1270, p.658, and *Danqian zonglu*, juan 6, in SQ, vol.855, p.389. "余舊有紀行詩..."

⁶ *Ibid.*

上句用元魏改官制以候望官為白鷺取其延望之意其時亭墩多刻鷺像也

下句用漢明帝起居注明帝巡狩過亭章有鳥鳴亭長引弓射中之奏曰鳥鳴嘒嘒引弓射洞左腋陛下壽萬年臣為二千石帝悅令天下亭障皆畫鳥焉二事頗僻故須詮註⁷

The first verse alludes to the fact that *houwangguan* 候望官 were called 'white egrets' taking the meaning from *yanwang* 延望 [i.e. to stretch to see far distances], when the bureaucracy in the Northern Wei Dynasty (AD 386-535) was revised. At that time, *tinghou* 亭墩 [i.e. watch-tower] were often carved with the images of egrets.

The second verse comes from the daily life of the emperor Ming 明帝 (r. AD 57-75). Once as he passed a pavilion [*ting*] on the *xunshou* 巡狩 [i.e. a tour of inspection], there was a crow croaking, and the *tingzhang* 亭長 [i.e. Neighborhood Head, the head of the *ting*] drew a bow and hit the bird. He reported that the crow was going 'squawk, squawk', so he drew the bow and shot it in the left wing. [Because of this] The emperor would live long and the vassal hoped to be rewarded with two thousand bushels [i.e. annual salary 祿秩]. The emperor was greatly pleased and commanded that all *tingzhang* 亭障 [i.e. a pillbox of the ancient period on the frontier] in the whole country should be decorated with crows. These two points [in first and second lines] are rather obscure, and should be noted accordingly.

What appears from this is that Yang Shen actually visited the historical relics during his travels and expresses with a poem what he directly saw.⁸ However, it is not clear where the poem is set. *Jiang* 江 meaning 'river' in Chinese, is usually used for the south part of China, whilst *he* 河 is commonly used for rivers in the north. Therefore the verses are probably located in the south part of China. There is a famous story regarding a *ting* near the river *Wu* 烏江 where the *tingzhang* 亭長 advised *Xiangyu* 項羽 to return to *Jiangdong* 江東 and was preparing a boat for him, when his end was coming near.⁹ This *ting* is at a traffic junction by the crossing of the river *Changjiang* 長江.¹⁰ The *jiang* 江 in Yang Shen's verse is unfortunately uncertain, whether it is the *Changjiang* or not. Furthermore, *jiangrao* 江繞 can be found as a name of a place in the Ming Dynasty near *Changsha* 長沙 in modern Hunan province; yet this seems not to be the case for this poem, considering its style of verse.¹¹ *Wuting* 烏亭 is recorded in the *History of the Former Han* like the one described in Yang Shen's poem,

⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸ It was quite common practice to write poems on the walls of *ting* since the Tang Dynasty (Wei Ran, ed., *Zhongguo guting*, Beijing, 1994, p.34).

⁹ SJ, benji, juan 7, xiangyu, p.336. HS, lichuan, juan 31, xiangji, p.1819.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

however it seems unlikely that they are the same place because the one in the record was located in present day Gansu province, in the north part of China.¹² In addition, *yanlu* 延鷺 and *huawu* 畫烏 seem to be proper nouns for the buildings of *hou* 堠 and *ting* 亭, considering the structure of the poem. However, we are not able to ascertain from the official dynastic records these particular names.

An interesting historical record suggests a relationship between an insect and *tingzhang*. The *Bencaogangmu* 本草綱目, written by Li Shizhen 李時珍 (AD 1518-93) cites the *Bencaojizhu* 本草集注 of Tao Hongjing 陶弘景 (AD 456-536) to explain the origin of the name of the insect *geshangtingzhang* 葛上亭長 (nomenclature: *Epicaula* spp.) after the resemblance to *tingzhang* who wore black clothes and red hats.¹³ It is conceivable that the appearance of *tingzhang* was also similar to a crow.

Yang Shen was a distinguished scholar with a number of written works recorded in the *History of the Ming*, and it is probable that he composed the poem based on historical records possibly also corresponding to historical relics, as suggested by his record in the *History of the Northern Wei*.¹⁴ We assume that the building *yanluhou* 延鷺堠 on the ridge of a mountain seemingly no longer operating as a watch-tower in his life time was carved with egrets, and likewise the *huawuting* 畫烏亭 with the depiction of crows. *Ting* generally denotes a pavilion in later dynasties and in modern China without possessing any administrative function.¹⁵ According to the dictionary, *Hanyu dacidian*, *tinghou* 亭堠 has the same meaning as *tinghou* 亭候 which indicates a police box or a watch-tower or a fort in the frontier area during ancient times.¹⁶

¹¹ MS, juan 44, p.1086.

¹² HS, juan 28 xia, dilizhi 8 xia, p.1610, 1615.

¹³ Kimura Koichi, ed., trans., and revised with annotations of *Bencaogangmu* by Li Shizhen, Tokyo, 1973, vol.10, p.191-2.

¹⁴ MS, juan 192, p.5105. “楊慎博物洽聞，於文學為優。”

¹⁵ Wei Ran, ed., *op. cit.*, p.18.

¹⁶ HD, vol.2, p.365-6. *Luhou* 鷺堠 are said in the dictionary to be people who keep watching the state of a foe, from the same source as Yang Shen, that is the *History of the Northern Wei* (HD, vol.12, p.1164). However, the *History of the Northern Wei* did not comment on ‘*luhou*’. In the *Sikuquanshu*, the source of ‘*luhou*’ originates from Yang Shen.

However, to take into consideration the *houguan* 候官 as described in the *History of the Northern Wei* and the geographical feature of the mountain ridge, *tinghou* here presumably represented a watch-tower rather than a police box or a fort.¹⁷ Yet in the Qin (221-206 BC) and Han periods (206 BC-AD 8), *ting* functioned as important strongholds, marking a kind of administrative boundary.¹⁸ *Tinghou* 亭候 and *tingzhang* 亭障 are good examples of one of the functions of *ting*.¹⁹ In the official records, *tinghou* and *tingzhang* 亭障 are forts made of layers of clay mixed with pebbles or timber, with a tall tower to observe the state of the enemy.²⁰ Even considering only the nature of the building, *ting* and *tinghou*, one may assume that *tingzhang* 亭障 and *houguan* 候官, at least, have a duty related to reconnoitering.

To sum up, Yang Shen stated that the *tinghou* on the ridge of the mountain related to the *houguan* of the Northern Wei who were associated with the white egret, and the *ting* near the river can be related to *tingzhang* 亭障 of the Han Dynasty associated with the crow. It is unfortunate that historical records and the actual buildings mentioned by Yang Shen have not yet been matched with certainty to demonstrate this, although his poem seems to be reliable. We will, therefore, need to clarify further details of Yang Shen's poem from three viewpoints. Firstly, *houguan* and *tingzhang* need to be further investigated; second the buildings *tinghou* and *ting*; images of egrets and crows are the third point connected to the first and second. Relations between crow and *ting*, however, will not be further discussed, as they are not of direct concern in this thesis. *Ting* conceivably originates from *tinghou* and it is therefore necessary to discuss *ting*. The discussion of the relationship between the Han officials and the white egret image will take place in the next chapter on the basis of Han relief stones. The rest of the issues will be investigated in this chapter. The duties of officials and bureaucracy have been to a great extent clarified by a number of scholars, and the

¹⁷ As with the discussion in Chapter Two, 'houwangguan' seems incorrect but 'houguan' is recorded in the *History of the Northern Wei*.

¹⁸ Wei Ran, ed., *loc. cit.* JSU, juan 68, p.1827. "秦漢制十里一亭,亦以防禁切密故也。"

¹⁹ Matsumoto Yoshimi, *Chugoku sonraku seido no kenkyu*, Tokyo, 1977, p.233. Matsumoto explains *ting* as a watch-tower and that *tinghou* 亭候, *tingsui* 亭戍 were derived from *ting*. *Ting* also functioned as beacon towers.

²⁰ Koga Noboru, *Kanchouanjiyou to senpaku ken kyo tei li seido*, Tokyo, 1980, p.33. HH, juan 21,

discussion here will be developed by virtue of their impressive research.

3.2 *Houguan* in Han Times

3.2.1 *Ting* in Ancient Times

The existence of the *ting* has been attested at least as early as the Warring States period (475-221 BC).²¹ It was originally a military facility, such as a barracks holding a watch-tower, a pillbox and a beacon tower, serving also as hostel for travellers on official duty or for patrols on the frontier against the northerners, such as Xiongnu 匈奴, during the Warring States, the Qin (221-206 BC) and the Han (206 BC-AD 220).²² The Great Wall may convey a good example of this. It is said that the original function of *ting* gradually developed, combining local police authority with the organization of transportation and communication, assuming an administrative role not only on the frontier but also in the interior.²³ It is, however, disputable whether the duty of public security started to extend from the borders of the country or from inland.²⁴ The *ting* was, indeed, a tower as a facility for defence, police, and hostels, which led consequently to a function at the centre of a neighborhood, especially at places of importance for the movement of traffic.²⁵ *Ting* at the frontier functioned more for defence against enemy traffic outside the country, for example, the *tingzhang* 亭障, *tinghou* 亭候, *tingsui* 亭燧. In contrast, *ting* of the interior functioned much more like a local police agency for the public, like a watch post.²⁶ The *ting* progressively expanded its function, to include, for example, traffic station, post office, police point, simple court, hostel, watch-tower, military garrison, beacon tower. They were

liezhuan, p.737, juan 1 xia, benji, p.60-1.

²¹ Wei Ran, ed., *op. cit.*, p.18.

²² Hori Toshikazu, *Chugokukodai no tei wo meguru shomondai*, Tokyo, 1990, p.46-9. Matsumoto, *op. cit.*, p.239. Hibino Takeo, *Chugoku rekishi chiri kenkyu*, Kyoto, 1977, p.159. Ochi Shigeaki, "Kangishinnancho no kyo-tei-ri", *Toiyogakuho*, vol.53, no.1, June, 1970, p.234. Koga, *op. cit.* p.35.

²³ *Ibid.* However, scholarly opinion differs: some say that the *ting* was only for military and police, others that *ting* can not actually be regarded as a local administrative organization although a head of *ting* handled an administrative role related to police authority.

²⁴ Matsumoto argues that *ting* were originally placed on the frontier as a military system, and also allocated in the interior on main traffic routes more as a police agency. Yet, *ting* in both frontier and interior tended to function gradually more like each other, with concurrent roles of transportation and communication (Matsumoto, *op. cit.*, p.240).

²⁵ Hori, *op. cit.*, p.54.

²⁶ Hibino, *op. cit.*, p.159-60.

subdivided into respective specialized organizations depending on the principal function, for example, *tinghou* 亭候 (候) mainly a watch-tower, *tingzhang* 亭障, more a defence fort on the frontier, *youting* 邮亭 like a postal relay station or post office, *luting* 路亭 located in the main area of traffic, similar in function to a general *ting*.²⁷ As people came to gather to the major *ting* a castle was built there. Such a *ting* was called a *duting* 都亭.²⁸ The *ting* at the castle also functioned as a porter's lodge.²⁹ Thus, *ting* in the interior of the country became a unit, a Neighbourhood, theoretically a subdivision of a Township (*xiang* 乡) which was itself a subdivision of a District (*xian* 县).³⁰ Under the *ting*, came the Village (*li* 里).³¹ One *ting* was ten *li* and ten *ting* were one *xiang*.³² According to the *History of the Han*, the system followed that of the Qin Dynasty.³³

It is noteworthy that the character of *ting* can be categorized into two, before and after the Sui and Tang periods. The *ting* before Sui and Tang is of a more practical value, as discussed above. *Ting* after Sui and Tang gradually shifted to become the present day 'pavilion', with an aesthetic value.³⁴ The name '*ting*' survives as a legacy in modern China, without its ancient meaning.³⁵ The meaning of *ting* in later ages is completely different to the ancient *ting*.

There is a man in charge of operating the *ting*, the *tingzhang* 亭长.³⁶ *Tingzhang* were granted authority to maintain the public peace. The *tingzhang*, then, served concurrently as head of Neighbourhood (like a mayor in a small village or town today)

²⁷ Wei Ran, ed., *loc. cit.* HH, juan 1, xia, p.60. "亭候, 伺候望敵之所."

²⁸ Hori argues that a *duting* was located in the administrative seat of a District 县 (Hori, *op. cit.*, p.64). Wei Ran, ed., *loc. cit.* Matsumoto, *op. cit.*, p.221.

²⁹ DK, vol.1, p.551. This *ting* supervised a *xiang* 乡 in later times (Matsumoto, *ibid.*, p.251).

³⁰ HH, juan 19, shang, p.742.

³¹ *Ibid.*

³² *Ibid.*

³³ *Ibid.*

³⁴ Wei Ran, ed., *loc. cit.*

³⁵ *Ibid.*

³⁶ HH, zhi 28, baiguan 5, p.3624. "亭有亭長, 以禁盜賊。本注曰, 亭長主求捕盜賊, 承望都尉。"

This quotation clearly shows that the *tingzhang* is in charge of catching criminals like a policeman. Also it suggests that the *tingzhang* is accountable to the Defender (head of the military forces in a

as postmaster, and as police station superintendent. Gaozu 高祖 of Han (r. 206-195 BC) is famous for having served as *tingzhang* in Sishui 泗水 near his hometown, Pei 沛 (Jiangsu).³⁷ It should be noted that *ting* also controlled a certain district level, but it can not be said that this was a local administrative unit at exactly the same level as a large local district such as a Commandery 郡. Scholarly opinion seems not to be conclusive whether the *tingzhang* was an administrative official or just a police authority; Matsumoto demonstrates an example cited from the *History of the Later Han* that the *tingzhang* was an administrative official.³⁸ Also, it is clearly described in the *History of the Later Han* that *tingzhang* were permitted to hold weapons in their role as police.³⁹ Many examples can be found on tomb stone reliefs depicting a *tingzhang* holding a halberd.⁴⁰ The *tingzhang* was obliged to report to a superior officer such as a chief commandant of a Commandery 郡 called *duwei* 都尉 in events that went beyond his authority and power.⁴¹

3.2.2 *Houguan* in the Han

To cope with the threat to the Northern frontier from invading tribes, such as the Xiongnu, *ting* was developed as a military facility in the Warring States, and different types of *ting* subsequently emerged based on the original *ting*, as we have seen. Considering the historical context, it can be taken for granted that *ting* on the frontier were military, whereas the *ting* in the interior functioned more as a police organization. The Former Han was required to reinforce the defence force on the northwest border along the Etsina River basin, against the invasion of Xiongnu and also for the sake of

Commandery 郡 and a Region 州).

³⁷ SJ, benji, juan 8, gaozu, p.342-4.

³⁸ Matsumoto, *op. cit.*, p.227.

³⁹ HH, juan 28, p.3624-5. “十里一亭, 亭長, 亭候; 五里一郵, 郵間相去二里半, 司姦盜, 亭長持二尺板以劾賊, 索綯以收執賊。” This quotation clearly proves that the *tingzhang* was expected to secure criminals with board and rope.

⁴⁰ See Nanyang wenwu yanjiusuo, ed., *Nanyang Handai huaxiangzhuan*, Beijing, 1990, no.17-8.

⁴¹ HH, *loc. cit.* Ochi, *op. cit.*, p.17-8. Matsumoto, *op. cit.*, p.238. Hori, *op. cit.*, p.63. Hori remarks that the *tingzhang* was an officer belonging to a District 县. The Commandery 郡 supervised the District in military and inspection matters as an organization of military administration, however it came also to controll the administrative affairs of a District; which shows that the Commandery developed into a general administrative organization (Sato Naoto, “Qin, Han ki niokeru gun-ken kankei ni tsuite”, *Nagoyadaigaku toyoshi kenkyu hokoku* 24, 2000, p.2).

opening the traffic route to the West. This is known from 'the Juyan 居延 Han wooden writing strips' unearthed from ruins of beacon towers of the Han.⁴² Juyan belongs to present day Etsina, Inner Mongolia, which was under the control of Zhangye 张掖 Commandery, in present west Gansu province, during the Han Dynasty. In that period, the area of the Etsina River basin was important for frontier defence against the Xiongnu, and there was a network of minor and major military bases and watch-towers there.⁴³ There were four main Commanderies controlling this area, Wuwei 武威, Zhangye 张掖, Jiuquan 酒泉, and Dunhuang 敦煌, known collectively as Hexisijun 河西四郡.⁴⁴ *Houguan* in each of the Hexisijun Commanderies ran important military supply bases which also functioned as centres of economic life.⁴⁵

In the military defence system of an outlying Commandery, the *houguan* came between the *duweifu* 都尉府 in the central military organization, and the *hou* 候 and *sui* 燧 at the front, and the *houguan* supervised the *hou* and *sui*.⁴⁶ It should be noted that the Han *houguan* were not officials but a military organization that functioned not only as military bases but also as important supply bases on a level almost equivalent to the Districts.⁴⁷ The *duweifu* were headed by *duwei* (i.e. *buduwei*) who had supreme military authority. There were two or three *duweifu* in each Commandery on the

⁴² This discovery was made first by European explorers, especially Folke Bergman (1930-1), and large amounts of wooden writing strips were also found in 1973 and 1974 (Nagata Hidemasa, *Kyoenkankan no kenkyu*, Kyoto, 1989, p.416-7).

⁴³ *Ibid.* The Han Emperor also placed *houguan* in present day Fuzhou in Fujian, and *houguan* became another name for Fuzhou as an administrative centre until 1913 (JSU, juan 15, dilixia, Yangzhou, p.461. and Yan Yingzhe, trans. of *Zhongguo lishi diming dacidian* by Liu Diaoren, Tokyo, 1983, p.244-5).

⁴⁴ It is said that the four Commanderies of Hexi were originally a territory of the Xiongnu, before Wudi of the Han succeeded in expelling them. Hence, the establishment of the four Commanderies of Hexi came later (Nagata, *op. cit.*, p.415).

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p.488. Nagata clarified the duty, role and function of *houguan* when he deciphered the Juyan wooden writing strips.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p.495. *Sui* 燧 (agency purely for beacon-tower) was the lowest rank in the defence forces, whilst *hou* 候 (agency mainly for watch-tower) ranked above *sui*; both had a vital role in guarding the Han frontier.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p.488. In the frontier, including military areas, *houguan* sometimes replaced the District (*xian*). It should be noted that the District was civil and administrative but the *houguan* was fundamentally part of the militarized organization which was preponderant in the outlying areas (*ibid.*, p.440).

frontier.⁴⁸ Like the *ting* located both on the frontier and in the interior, the *duwei* including *buduwei* had a role varying from a police to a military role.⁴⁹ The chief executive of *houguan* was called *zhanghou* 障候 or just *hou* 候 (this is different to the military unit 'hou' above) and was supported by other officials who performed clerical tasks.⁵⁰ *Houguan* were subordinate to the *douweifu*, and *hou*, *sui* and *ting* subordinate to the *houguan*.⁵¹ *Ting* could be added to the corps at the front, but the relationship between *hou*, *sui*, and *ting* is not fully clear.⁵² It is noteworthy that *ting* in particular were certainly established under special circumstances as a defence force in the outlying Commanderies.⁵³ One of the most important roles for the *houguan* was to report the situation of the *hou* and *sui* to *duwei*, and to convey the commands of the *duwei* to the *hou* and *sui*, keeping them under strict surveillance, alert to malfeasance and neglect of duties. The *houguan* had other administrative responsibilities, supplying food and necessities to the *hou* and *sui* and controlling their finances.⁵⁴ In addition to this, the *houguan* evaluated the performance of official work (秋射) in the *hou* and *sui*, investigated criminal and civil cases, and issued certificates of safe-conduct.⁵⁵ The *houguan* responsible for overseeing *hou* and *sui* in the militarized outlying Commanderies have been compared in function to the civil administration of a District by scholars.⁵⁶ This interaction at the local level suggests that the *houguan* were not simply a military organization but also had an administrative role at the frontier,

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p.462. *Duwei* in the outlying Commanderies were specifically called '*buduwei*'. *Duwei* including *buduwei* were officially in the second position assisting the Administrative Governors (*taishou* 太守) in the major regional unit, the Commandery in both the outlying areas and the interior. Several *buduwei* were allocated in the outlying Commanderies, but there was only one *duwei* for each Commandery in the interior (*ibid.*, p.412).

⁴⁹ Sumiya Tsuneko, "Handai kyoen niokeru gunseikeitou to ken tono kakawari nitsuite", *Shilin*, Vol. 76.1. 1993. p.34.

⁵⁰ Momiyama Akira, *Kan teikoku to henkyo shakai*, Tokyo, 1999, p.118-9.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, p.427. In the hierarchy of territorial units, it is said that *hou* in the frontier is equivalent to *ting* in the interior, and Matsumoto points out that they may be called *tinghou* (Matsumoto, *op. cit.*, p.239). The *houguan* is the same level as the District in administration; the *douweifu* and Commandery are on the same level (Momiyama, *op. cit.*, p.59).

⁵² *Ibid.*, p.431.

⁵³ Cheng Xilin, *HanTang fenghouzhidu yanjiu*, Xi'an, 1990. p.17.

⁵⁴ Nagata, *op. cit.*, p.488-9

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, p.482, 489. Nagata's results are based on analysis of Juan Han wooden writing strips. Sumiya points out that *houguan* were involved in personnel questions and the handling of problems at the local level (Sumiya, *op. cit.*, p.46-8, 63).

similar to the administration of a District in the interior. Thus, it can be said that the Han *houguan* held important surveillance responsibilities on the frontier, and were a key military organization, supervising watch-towers.

3.3 *Houguan* in the Northern Wei Period (AD 386-535)

The Later Han saw political upheaval prolonged by wars and rebellions, and political instability in the north was even more extreme than in the south of China. In the late fourth century, a nomadic people of Turkic origin, the Xianbei 鲜卑 or Tuoba Wei 拓跋魏, gained a competitive edge, unifying northern China, under the Northern Wei empire, the first of the five Northern Dynasties.⁵⁷ Military confrontation led to disorder in the bureaucracy. In this section, the focus will be on how the *houguan* functioned in the Northern Wei Dynasty.

The Northern Wei was established by the Tuoba Gui 拓跋珪 who were descended from the Xianbei tribes. This was a well-known dynasty as it carried out a series of policies to unite the Northerners and Han Chinese people under one culture and one set of institutions derived from China, namely sinicization, compelling Northerners to speak Chinese, wear Chinese dress and take Chinese surnames.⁵⁸ In other words, incorporation of northern elements into Chinese civilization created a cultural unity. Before a drastic policy of sinicization at court and radical reform by emperor Xiaowen 孝文 (r. AD 471-499), political power and high social status were predominantly monopolized by Northerners, in a militarized system.

The *History of the Northern Wei* shows *houguan* now as inspectors and surveillance officials.⁵⁹ In AD 458, numbers of *houguan* were increased inside and outside the Court to inspect and impeach officials in each Section (*cao* 曹) of the Central Government and in Regions (*zhou* 州) and Frontier Defense Commands (*zhen* 鎮) for misconduct and incompetence.⁶⁰ Their authority of inspection and impeachment

⁵⁷ Okazaki Fumio, *Gishin nanbokuchō tsushi*, Tokyo, 1989, p.318-9.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, p.351-2.

⁵⁹ WS, juan 111, xingfazhi, p.2875.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.* “...增置内外候官, 偵察諸曹外部州鎮, 至有微服雜亂於府寺閤, 以求百官疵失.” TD2,

seems to have reached even to high officials, such as a Minister of Works 司空.⁶¹ The *houguan* were compared to white egrets in the sense that both could see afar by stretching the neck – a metaphor for an inspector 伺察者.⁶² Hereby, we may understand *yuanwang* 远望 not as denoting the observing of the movement of an enemy or of the constellations but the investigation of corrupt officials. This is clear from the duty of *houguan* described in the *History of the Northern Wei*. *Houguan* were not the only officials who acquired a sobriquet. According to the *History of the Northern Wei*, “Initially, Emperor Daowu 道武 (r. AD 386-409) wished to legislate simple laws, therefore he hardly followed the previous names of official titles in the Zhou 周 and Han 汉, when setting the official titles. Some are from the body, some are from objects, some from civil affairs, all alluding to ancient meanings of birds. Each Section’s messengers were called ‘wild ducks’ from their swift flight...the other officials all had names like this, and were treated this way.”⁶³

The significant question we have to take up here is that this duty of inspection and impeachment was traditionally conducted by *yushi* 御史 (Censor) since the Han.⁶⁴ In the Northern Wei, their authority of inspection and impeachment was surprisingly restricted mostly to the armed forces.⁶⁵ This was explained by Kawamoto, that *yushi* were initially not treated as officials in the Inner Court 内朝官 but had authority to inspect the military, in a period that was predominantly military. Then, were the *houguan* in the Northern Wei Censors (*yushi*), and if they were, were they only Censors or did they also act as inspectors? Zhang Jinlong points out from the *History of the Northern Wei* that inspection involved or prioritized military affairs especially in the first period of the Northern Wei, and that Censors (*yushi*) were dispatched to

juan 170, xingfa 8, vol.4, p.4422.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, juan 28, liezhuan, p.685. “候官告臣衣服鮮麗, 行止風采, 擬儀人。” The case was in AD 407 and the ‘岳’ is a Minister of Works 司空.

⁶² *Ibid.*, juan 113, guanshizhi, p.2973-4. “...以伺察者為候官, 謂之白鷺, 取其延頸遠望。”

⁶³ *Ibid.* “初, 帝欲法古純質, 每於制定官號, 多不依周漢舊名, 或取諸身, 或取諸物, 或以民事, 皆擬述古雲為之義。諸曹走使謂之飛鳴, 取飛之迅疾; ...白餘之官, 義皆類此, 咸有比況。”

⁶⁴ Sakurai Yoshiaki, “Gyoshi seido no keisei (jyou)”, *Toyogakuho*, 23-2, 1936, p.120.

⁶⁵ Kawamoto Yoshiaki, *Gi shin nanbokucho no minzoku mondai*, Tokyo, 1998, p.240. Kawamoto discusses that *yushi* seem to have been restricted in their authority of impeachment to the military before reform by Emperor Xiaowen.

repress rebellion.⁶⁶ The Han *houguan*, then, can be considered to have been originally military organization whose duties expanded to include inspection and impeachment, the traditional duties of the Censors, under the militarist Northern Wei.⁶⁷ The meaning of 'hou' 候 in Chinese is related to scouting, reconnoitering of situations, watching and so forth.⁶⁸ Since 'guan' 官 means 'official', 'public office', 'the place conducting state affairs', it is reasonable to suppose that the *houguan* were a frontier department under the Han that might have been become integrated almost into central administration under the Northern Wei. However, no conclusive evidence has been found from the historical records to elucidate the *houguan*'s identity between the Han and the Northern Wei.⁶⁹ In the Northern Wei, the *yushi zhong cheng* 御史中丞 (Censor-in-chief in this period) was called *yushi zhong wei* 御史中尉.⁷⁰ The 'wei' 尉 in Chinese indicates a military official, so that this may be a good example to show that the Censors-in-chief, traditionally civil officials, were military officials in the Northern Wei.⁷¹ This shows how military officials were influential and could perform concomitantly the duties of civil officials. *Houguan* were originally an organ of inspection, overseeing the defence force, and it is not surprising that they came to assume the traditional duties of the Censor under the Northern Wei.

According to the *History of the Northern Wei*, in AD 478 *houguan* were reduced in numbers, and in the following year they were abolished, since their increased authority resulted in corruption.⁷² Other officials continued to be appointed on merit.⁷³

⁶⁶ Zhang Jinlong, "Beiwei yushitai zhengzhi zhineng kaolung", *Zhongguoshiyanjiu*, 1997.4, p.67-8.

⁶⁷ Miyazaki considered that there was no clear distinction between civil and military officials in the institutions of the Northern Wei. In other words, all officials would have been military officials (Miyazaki Ichisada, *Miyazaki Ichisada zenshu*, vol.6. 1992, p.342).

⁶⁸ ZK, p.106.

⁶⁹ Kawamoto explains that *houguan* were officials responsible for inspection and impeachment positioning outside the general bureaucratic structure. They were authorized to report directly to the Emperor as officials in the Inner Court 内朝官. There were other officials with duties of inspection and impeachment such as *neishizhang* 内侍长 and *zhongsan* 中散, but they were in the Emperor's personal entourage 近侍官 (Kawamoto, *op. cit.*, p.200, 234 and 248).

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, p.239. Xu Shigui, *Zhongguo jiancha shilue*, Shanghai, 1937, p.43.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*

⁷² WS, juan 7 shang, p.146, juan 113, p.2976, juan 111, p.2877. ZT, juan 135, vol. 9, p.4228. "太和二年五月, 減置候置四百人, 司察非違。" "三年, 下詔曰:「治因政寬, 弊由網密。今候職千數, 姦巧弄威, 重罪受賂不列, 細過收毛而舉, 其一切罷。」於是更置謹直者數百人, 以防諂於術, 吏民安其職業。"

Subsequently, Emperor Xiaowen imposed a drastic policy to unify the varied peoples increasingly employing Han Chinese officials in a policy of sinicization, since bureaucrats had been predominantly chosen from among the Wei nobles of the Northerners.⁷⁴ Along with these policies, authority of impeachment and inspection over officialdom seems to have completely returned to *yushi*, their original function since the Han.⁷⁵ One can say, then, that *houguan* disappeared, with the increase in Han Chinese staff after the reform of Emperor Xiaowen, evidence that the *houguan*'s original functions were largely military, with the duty of Censor only in the first two thirds of the Northern Wei period, until regional rebellions were settled and a proper bureaucratic system set up. Apart from clarifying relations between *houguan* of the Han and Northern Wei, the point we make here is that *houguan* were called 'white egrets' in the Northern Wei with some of the duties of Censor.

It is apparent from the records that inspection and impeachment were the responsibility of the *houguan* from the beginning of the Northern Wei Dynasty until the first period of Emperor Xiaowen (r. AD 471-499). These officials were required to be men of prudence and known as 'white egrets', since their duties corresponded to the habits of egrets. *Houguan* seem to have held the duties of Censor (*yushi*) only in the Northern Wei Dynasty until their abolition in AD 479.⁷⁶ It seems that *jianxiaoyushi* 檢校御史, later called *jianchayushi* 監察御史 (Investigating Censor), took over their role towards the end of the reign of Emperor Xiaowen.⁷⁷

In about the same period that the *houguan* were disbanded, '*jiansi*' 監司 officials

This passage comes from the 'Zizhitongjian', a historical record included in the *History of the Northern Wei*; 'houzhi' 候職 were replaced by *houguan*. *Houguan* were also called *hangchaguan* 行察官 (Kawamoto, *op. cit.*, p.232-3).

⁷³ WS, *ibid.* ZT, *ibid.*

⁷⁴ Kawamoto, *op. cit.*, p.248.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, p.242-9.

⁷⁶ After the Northern Wei, officials called *houguan* with military related duties still appear in the historical dynastic records, even into the Song, Jin and Yuan Dynasties.

⁷⁷ TD2, juan 24, *jiancha shiyushi*, p.674. "監察御史. 初, 秦以御史監理諸郡, 謂之監御史, 漢罷其名. 至晉太元中, 始置檢校御史, 以吳混之為之, 掌行馬外臺, ...亦蘭臺之職. 後魏太和末, 亦置此官, 宿直外臺, 不得入宿內省."

holding inspectorate duties were established.⁷⁸ They seem also to have appeared in the *History of the Northern Wei* as 'yushijiansi' 御史監司.⁷⁹ The word 'jiansi' was related to the ancient 'fangbo' 方伯 (Regional Earl) in the Former Han Dynasty and was equivalent to the Han *cishi* 刺史 Regional Inspector.⁸⁰ According to the *History of the Later Han*, in the former periods, *zhoumu* 州牧 (Regional Governor), *cishi* or *jianyuushi* 監御史 (Supervising Censor, later Investigating Censor in and following the Sui) were allocated in the Regions 州 and were responsible for upholding dealing with political corruption, handling civil affairs and for inspection.⁸¹ In addition, 'jiansi' seems to denote officials holding inspectorate responsibilities like the Regional Inspectors, *cishi*.⁸² In the Northern Wei, *cishi* were appointed in AD 405 but seem to have become regular administrators governing Regions (*zhou*) and concurrently acting as 'Area Commanders-in-chief' 都督.⁸³ It is not fully clear what their duties were in the Northern Wei but the *History of the Northern Wei* recorded that the *cishi* became bitterly resentful when they themselves were inspected.⁸⁴ This at least suggests that their traditional duties of 'inspection' in Regions were gradually transformed from former dynasties and it can be assumed that other officials like the Northern Wei *houguan* took over their original duty of 'inspection'. In their duties, the *cishi*, *jiansi* and *jianchayushi* seem to have a connection with the Northern Wei *houguan*, leaving aside the relation to the *houguan* in the Han. These officials will be discussed in the following sections (See also Appendix 2).

3.4 *Yushi* 御史, *Jiedushi* 节度使 and *Guanchushi* 观察使 in the Tang Period (AD 618-907)

The militarist period following the later Han at last gave way to the Sui and Tang

⁷⁸ WS, juan 111, p.2862. "延興末 (-AD 476), 復立監司, ... 於是復置監官以監檢焉. 其後更罷更立, 以至於永熙 (AD 532-534)."

⁷⁹ WS, p.2052. "... 東極陽都, 使御史監司. 其中禽獸, 民有犯者罪至大辟."

⁸⁰ HS, juan 75, p.3160, juan 86, p.3484. "... 為方伯監司之官." "刺史古之方伯, ..."

⁸¹ HHL, zhi 28, baiguan 5, zhoujun, p.3620. "上古及中代, 或置州牧, 或置刺史, 置監御史, 皆總綱紀, 而不賦政, 治民之事, 任之諸侯郡守. ... 自是刺史內親民事, 外領兵馬, ... 二千石專治民之重, 監司消峻於上, 此經久之體也."

⁸² Zhang Zhenglang et al., eds., *Zhongguo lidai guanzhi dacidian*, Beijing, 1994, p.682.

⁸³ TD2, juan 32, zhiguan 14, p.886-7.

⁸⁴ WS, p.433. "... 皆受密敕, 伺察臣事. 微既用心如此, 臣將何以自安!"

Dynasties and the revival of imperial glory, the result of the centralizing trends of the Northern Dynasties that culminated in the Sui reunification of the empire in AD 589. Although the Sui rulers were mostly military usurpers, a centralized military and civil administration was set up strongly affected by lineage and aristocracy. The system of official recruitment examinations, notably the *keju* 科举, was first established in the Sui dynasty. After the important transitional period of the Sui, the Tang centralized China as a political unity, the governmental bureaucratic system becoming the model for nearly all subsequent dynasties.⁸⁵ Yet, the stability of the Tang empire was only sustained until the famed rebellion of An Lushan 安祿山 (AD 755-763) in AD 755, himself a military commissioner 节度使.

In this section, the duties of Censors, especially Investigating Censors (*jianchayushi* 监察御史), Surveillance Commissioners (*guanchashi* 观察使) and Military Commissioners (*jiedushi* 节度使) will be compared and it will be seen that officials with the egret symbol persisted into the Tang.

Houguan in the Northern Wei were Inspectors with the duties of Censors (*yushi*), the inspection and impeachment of officials for misconduct, as we have seen. The image of the egret was adopted in the Northern Wei, and seems to have survived into the Tang period. In the Qing historical source, *Gezhijingyuan* 格致镜原, there are remarks supporting the connection between Censors and egrets, which constitute vital evidence. It reads:

[張知白唐臺儀舊制]御史以鸛羽飾車以白鸛見淵中魚之象御史察隱微之罪⁸⁶

[Zhang Zhibai's 'Old system of Censorate (*yushitai*) rites in the Tang'] *Yushi* (Censors) decorated their carriages with egret's plumage since *yushi* perceive hidden and obscure crimes like white egrets seeing fish in deep water.

Zhang Zhibai (d. AD 1028) was a Northern Song high-ranking official who was

⁸⁵ Charles O. Hucker, *A Dictionary of Official Titles in Imperial China*, Stanford, 1985, p.28.

⁸⁶ Chen Yuanlong, ed., *Gezhijingyuan*, Qing, reprint, vol.2, Shanghai, 1989. p.898.

appointed as a vice Censor-in-chief and then Assistant Executive in the Secretariat-Chancellery 參知政事 (assistant to the civil councillors of state, concurrently assistant to the chief councillors in the Secretariat-Chancellery), and he compiled six volumes of a work called 'The system of Censorate rites' 御史臺儀制.⁸⁷

Egrets will be further discussed in the following chapter, and here, therefore, the important point to note is that egrets in the Tang are no longer the image of the *houguan* but have become that of the Censor. As in the Northern Wei, egrets in the Tang are associated with work of inspection. Egrets were a symbol of inspection dating back to the *houguan*, not denoting a specific official but rather a particular duty, as the quotation from *Gezhijingyuan* makes clear. The *houguan* no longer held this duty after AD 479 and that it seems to have been taken over by the Investigating Censor (*jianchayushi* 監察御史) around ten years later also explains why the egret image shifted to the Censor. What is further significant in this quotation is that it seems that egret feathers were displayed on the carriage in which the Censor rode to investigate the crimes of officials. The Investigating Censors were dispatched from the capital on inspection tours of government agencies, to inspect various categories of governmental activity in specified areas of the empire.⁸⁸ The Investigating Censors conducted inspection tours using carriages which probably represented their official status outside the palace.⁸⁹ What is more, it should be noted that the *Gezhijingyuan* quotation came from a system of Tang rites. It is possible that the egret feather decorated carriage was used for routine official work before it became formalized as a rite. The carriage with egret feathers might indicate the particular kind of Censor from the Censorate agency who was carrying out the inspection and especially the kind of situation in which he was working. To shed light on the duty of Investigating Censors of the Censorate in the Tang period, it is important to clarify this.

⁸⁷ SS, juan 204, p.5132, juan 210, p.5442, 5444, 5447, 5449, 5450 and juan 310, p.10187.

⁸⁸ Nichu minzoku kagaku kenkyujo, ed., *Chugoku rekidai shokkan jiten*, Tokyo, 1980, p.36. This was a principal duty especially for the Investigating Censors. However, Censors-in-chief also took part in attended this regional inspection tour.

⁸⁹ In the late Koryō, for example, Censorate and Remonstrance Bureau officials and Surveillance and Supervisory Commissioners were all required to wear jade hat finials on the occasion of bad weather, which suggests that their duties included outdoor work.

The Tang Censorate answered directly to the Emperor and was a governmental agency designated to reinforce centralization and to exercise broad surveillance powers over the conduct of all governmental officials, being designed principally to inspect and impeach in cases of injustice, wrongdoing and error on the part of any officials, as in previous dynasties.⁹⁰ The origin of the Censors is attributed to the Warring States period, which preceded the Han, but they primarily dealt with documents as administrative scribes 史官 until the Han.⁹¹ Administrative scribes assisted the Minister of State in writing down and preserving the king's and the Minister of State's promulgations, distributing them among the civil officials. Sakurai states that the Censor first functioned as an important member of the Emperor's entourage in the Qin 秦 period, known as 柱下史 (Royal Archivist), and came to control impropriety of officials in the performance of rites at court, which was the first development of the characteristic Censor's role of inspection in successive periods.⁹² This Censor was later called *shiyushi* 侍御史 in the Han and was mainly engaged in impeachment.⁹³ Censors were later dispatched by the Emperor from the court to inspect local officials.⁹⁴ This became institutionalized as a specialized function, that of *jianchashi* 监察史 or *jianyushi* 监御史 (Supervising Censor), the antecedent of the *jianchayushi* 监察御史 (Investigating Censors).⁹⁵ Besides these Investigating Censors, *yushidafu* 御史大夫 (Censor-in-chief), *yushizhongcheng* 御史中丞 (Vice Censor-in-chief), and *dianzhongshiyushi* 殿中侍御史 (Palace Censor) were all members of the Censorate in the Tang, and originated before the Tang.

The characteristic differences between three of the Censors of the Tang were as follows: *shiyushi* 侍御史 (Attendant Censors) carried out surveillance of officials in the palace

⁹⁰ TD2, juan 24, yushitai, p.658-61.

⁹¹ Sakurai, *op. cit.*, p.124. According to the *Great Dictionary of Chinese Successive Official Titles*, the Censor can be traced to the Western Zhou (1100-771 BC) as a court chamberlain assisting the ruler (Zhang Zhengliang *et al.*, eds., *op. cit.*, p. 794, yushi).

⁹² *Ibid.*, p.124-5. Sakurai points out that the title *zhuxiashi* was changed to *yushi* (Censors) in the Qin, quoting from *Shiji*. After the Qin, Gao Yihan describes that the impeachment of officials was added to their duties (Gao Yihan, *Zhongguo yushi zhidu de yange*, Shanghai, 1926, p.5).

⁹³ TD2, juan 24, shiyushi, p.668.

⁹⁴ Sakurai, *loc. cit.* Nichu minzoku kagaku kenkyujo, *loc. cit.*

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*

and were a unit in the Headquarters Bureau 台院 of the Censorate, *dianzhongshiyushi* 殿中侍御史 (Palace Censors) were mainly responsible for the capitals, Changan and Luoyang, in the palace and its environs which formed a unit called the Palace Bureau 殿院, and *jianchayushi* 監察御史 (Investigating Censors) primarily held regional territorial jurisdiction, organized in a constituent unit of the Censorate called the Investigation Bureau 察院.⁹⁶ The Censor-in-chief was head of the Censorate and the Vice Censor-in-chief was an executive official assisting him.⁹⁷ They, and especially the Censor-in-chief, were, however, only indirectly involved in the duty of inspection and impeachment.⁹⁸ The power of inspection over officials was virtually delegated to the Investigating Censors and the Attendant Censors,⁹⁹ who were also known simply as 'Censors'.¹⁰⁰ Attendant Censors mainly inspected officials at court, and Investigating Censors inspected officials both at court and outside it. This was largely the difference between them.¹⁰¹ It is said that the Investigating Censors had the most concentrated and wide-ranging work in investigating and impeaching officials and regional tours of inspection were conducted predominantly by them.¹⁰² This is the reason why it is necessary to focus on the Investigating Censor in particular out of all the members of the Censorate in relation to inspection and the image of the egret.

That the Investigating Censors were a possible replacement of the *houguan* in the Northern Wei was suggested in the previous section. Here I will develop this, with a discussion of the similarities of their duties.

Since just a few historical records survive to clarify the *houguan* of the Northern Wei, little research seems to have taken place concerning *houguan* as Censors in relation to

⁹⁶ Tsukiyama Jisaburo, *Todai seiji seido no kenkyu*, Osaka, 1967, p.254-6. Hu Cangze, *Tangdai yushi zhidu yanjiu*, Taipei, 1993, p. 31-3. TD1, juan 24, shiyushi, dianzhongshiyushi, jianchashiyushi, p.168-71.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.* TD1, juan 24, yushidafu, zhongcheng, p.166.

⁹⁸ Tsukiyama, *op. cit.*, p.257-8.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.* Zhang Zhenglang et al., eds., *op. cit.*, p.795.

¹⁰⁰ Zhang Zhenglang et al., eds., *ibid.*, p.522, 685.

¹⁰¹ The Investigating Censors also had duties at court relating to ritual, and they were required to attend at the conferences of the Department of State Affairs etc. (JT, juan 44, yushitai, p.1863).

¹⁰² Tsukiyama, *op. cit.*, p.271. TD2, juan 24, jianchashiyushi, p.675. "……職務繁雜……"

the Investigating Censors. Scholars have noted that the *houguan* of the Northern Wei were inspectors called 'white egrets', subordinate to the Censor-in-chief, and generally conformed to *yushi* Censors.¹⁰³ The Great Dictionary of Chinese Successive Official Titles states that *houguan* were set up in the Northern Wei to investigate officials.¹⁰⁴ It does not, however, describe their relation to the Censors. Kawamoto Yoshiaki has suggested the *houguan* as Inspectors engaged in inspection and impeachment, but without stating the connection to the Investigating Censors.¹⁰⁵ Kawamoto suggests that *houguan* were chosen from Northerners under the Tuoba regime and possessed authority of inspection and impeachment beyond that of the *yushi*.¹⁰⁶ It is recorded in the historical records that at the end of the year Taihe 太和, nearly ten years after the abolition of the *houguan*, Investigating Censors called *jianxiaoyushi* 检校御史, antecedents of *jianchayushi*, were established.¹⁰⁷ There is certainly a resemblance between the duties of *houguan* and the *jianchayushi* Investigating Censors of the Tang Dynasty.

First, in the Tang, the post of Investigating Censor was central, as discussed. The most important and characteristic duty was to investigate officials, an Investigating Censor in charge of each of Six Sections 六曹 corresponding to the Six Ministries 六部 of the central government 尚书六部, and also holding regional jurisdiction.¹⁰⁸ *Houguan* of the Northern Wei also undertook inspection and impeachment both in Sections 曹 in the metropolis and in regions on the same level as the Tang Investigating Censors.¹⁰⁹ Second, an Investigating Censor of the Tang was empowered to impeach even high

¹⁰³ Zhou Jizhong, ed., *Zhongguo xingzheng jiancha*, Jiangxi, 1989, p.86. A Censor-in-chief is not a *Yushidafu* 御史大夫 here, but a *Yushizhongcheng* 御史中丞 (i.e. 御史中尉).

¹⁰⁴ Zhang Zhenglang et al., eds., *op. cit.*, p.694.

¹⁰⁵ Kawamoto, *op. cit.*, p.231-233.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, p.248.

¹⁰⁷ TD2, juan 24, *jianchashiyushi*, p.674.

¹⁰⁸ Yaetsu Yohei, "Todai gyoshi seido ni tsuite (1)", *Ho to seiji*, vo.21, no.3, 1970, p.174.

¹⁰⁹ WS, juan 111, p.2875. "增置内外候官, 伺察諸曹外部州鎮, 至有微服雜亂於府寺間, 以求百官疵失." From this quotation '伺察諸曹外部州鎮', it is clear that *houguan* of the Northern Wei were obliged to inspect officials both at Court and outside it and especially it should be noted that regional districts were the responsibility of the *houguan*. Hucker explains *cao* 曹 during the era of the Northern to Southern Division: "Sections were top-echelon subordinate units in the developing Department of State Affairs 尚书省, gradually being transformed into Ministries 部." (Hucker, *op. cit.*, p.520).

grade officials such as the Prime Minister, Censor-in-chief and vice Censor-in-chief for all illegalities and irregularities observed. This strong authority was particularly concentrated in the Investigating Censor with oversight of all members of the Censorate.¹¹⁰ The powerful authority of *houguan* to impeach a Minister of Works 司空 (later Censor-in-chief)¹¹¹ was demonstrated in the previous section. Third, according to historical sources, the only Investigating Censor who was not an official of the court service but a close attendant of the Emperor, was called *gongfengguan* 供奉官, though all members of the Censorate participated in Censor duties.¹¹² The Investigating Censors of the Tang were officials expected to attend regular audiences, called *changcanguan* 常參官.¹¹³ *Houguan* were not normally part of a ruler's personal entourage 近侍官, but answered directly to the ruler, as necessary.¹¹⁴ It seems that these positions had certain features in common. The last significant common feature to be noted here is that both *houguan* of the Northern Wei and the Investigating Censor of the Tang were, in a sense, extremely important Surveillance Officials with much greater powers of inspection and denunciation than other Censors or Inspectors, though not themselves Court Attendants in the ruler's entourage.

There were a large number of duties performed by the Investigating Censors of the Tang, although their official grade was the lowest of all Censors.¹¹⁵ The most prominent duties of the Censors were as follows: 1. to investigate officials inside and outside the palace for misconduct, 2. to tour units of territorial administration, checking and reporting on the conduct of officials and the public peace, 3. to review the handling of prisoners, 4. to conduct censorial surveillance over officials at court audiences.¹¹⁶ Of all the duties, the first and second were the most important and particularly the second, the inspection tour, can be said to be the most characteristic.

¹¹⁰ Tsukiyama, *op. cit.*, p.261-4. Tsukiyama clarified the case of impeachment, and explains how much authority was granted especially to the Investigating Censor to accomplish the duty of inspection and impeachment.

¹¹¹ TD1, juan 24, yushidafu, p.166.

¹¹² JT, juan 43, zhiguan 2, p.1819. TL, juan 2, shangshu libu, p.41, 53.

¹¹³ TL, *ibid.*

¹¹⁴ Kawanoto, *op. cit.*, p.234.

¹¹⁵ Zhang Zhengliang *et al.*, eds., *op. cit.*, p.889-94.

¹¹⁶ TL, juan 13, jianchayushi, p.392. "監察御史掌分察百僚,巡按郡縣,糾視刑獄,肅整朝儀."

Further discussion of the inspection tours is necessary, considering the carriage of the Censor.

To achieve centralization, it was vital for the Tang to conduct regional surveillance over the administration and this was one of the most important duties of the Censorate.¹¹⁷ There historically existed a Regional Inspector called *cishi* who conducted inspection tours of units of territorial administration such as Regions 州, since the Han period.¹¹⁸ This regional censorial surveillance is often historically traced back to the Supervising Censor (*jianyushi* 监御史) of the Qin Dynasty (221-206 BC) which was the forerunner of the Investigating Censor.¹¹⁹ Regional surveillance over a territorial administration was conducted by both officials, in other words, the *cishi* Regional Inspectors were not used when the Censors undertook the duty during the Han Dynasty.¹²⁰

In AD 628, the tour was despatched by a central governmental official, such as Censor-in-chief, to a multi-prefectural region to investigate and report on the administration and the condition of the people.¹²¹ Thereafter, it was conducted chiefly by an Investigating Censor.¹²² These censorial officials, appointed specially from central governmental officials that included the Investigating Censors, were also called Touring Surveillance Commissioners *xuanchashi* 巡察使.¹²³ The *Tongdian* 通典 records in the first year of Empress Wuhou's reign, officials were dispatched from the Censorate each for a two year term to investigate the conduct of officials in units of territorial administration; they were *fengsushi* 风俗使 (Inspectors of Public Morality) in the spring patrol, and *lianhashi* 廉察使 (Inspectors of Governmental Integrity) in

¹¹⁷ Yatsu, *op. cit.*, p.175.

¹¹⁸ Miyazaki Ichisada, *Miyazaki Ichisada zenshu* vol.7, Tokyo, 1992, p.222. Miyazaki explains that *cishi* were originally merely regional inspectors of low rank conducting impeachment tours of territorial administration without any regular base. Yet, authority of surveillance always confers power, and they eventually acquired dominance over Regions as Area commanders-in-chief.

¹¹⁹ HJ, juan 28, p.3617.

¹²⁰ Sogabe Shizuo, *Ritsuryo wo chushin toshita nichukankeishi no kenkyu*, Tokyo, 1968, p.290-1.

¹²¹ Hu Cangze, *op. cit.*, p.73.

¹²² *Ibid.* Wang Pu, *Tang huiyao*, Song, reprinted in Shanghai, 1991, vol.2, juan 62, chushi, p.1275-8.

¹²³ Sogabe, *op. cit.*, p.292. ZT, juan 210, Ruizong (711), vol.14, p.6666. The work of *xuanchashi* was

the autumn patrol, eight officials in each.¹²⁴ This, however, only lasted until AD 694, after which Touring Surveillance Commissioners were not delegated every year, unless especially commanded by the Emperor.¹²⁵ In AD 706, ten multi-prefectural Circuits 道 (jurisdictions) were established for inspection tours supervised by twenty officials called *xunchashi* 巡察使 (Touring Surveillance Commissioners), mostly members of the Censorate and officials ranked five or higher, men of integrity and discernment.¹²⁶ Investigating Censors were included, since routine surveillance over regions had been their primary function, although their rank was lower than five.¹²⁷ This comprehensive and important work could not be accomplished by the Investigating Censors alone,¹²⁸ and it seems to have been necessary for the Investigating Censors to have officials delegated from Central government to assist them.¹²⁹

The *Tongdian* records that the *xunchashi* 巡察使 (Touring Surveillance Commissioners) were renamed *anchashi* 按察使 (Surveillance Commissioners) in AD 711 and were delegated to ten multi-prefectural Circuits, one in each.¹³⁰ In AD 734, they were retitled *caifangchuzhishi* 采访处置使 (Supervisory Commissioners), when the Commissioners became coordinators of territorial administration rather than itinerant surveillance and investigation officials and they were established in permanent headquarters in their Circuits to conduct surveillance.¹³¹ After the renaming of the *xunchashi*, Surveillance Commissioners now resided in their territories, and

also done by *anfushi* 安撫使.

¹²⁴ TD2, juan 24, yushitai, p.660.

¹²⁵ *Ibid.*

¹²⁶ TD2, juan 32, zhounu cishi, p.888. ZT, juan 208, zhongzong (706), vol.14, p.6598. Wang Pu, *op. cit.*, vol.2, juan 77, zhushi shang, p.1674.

¹²⁷ ZT, juan 209, zhongzong (709), vol.14, p.6638. “河南道巡察使, 監察御史宋務光, ….” The title here is ‘Touring Surveillance Commissioner’ and ‘Investigating Censor’ is an additional post. It seems that the Investigating Censors were also proper appointments to serve concurrently as Touring Surveillance Commissioners. The Investigating Censors ranked in the eighth grade (TL, juan 13, jianchayushi, p.391.)

¹²⁸ JT, juan 94, liezhuan 44, p.2993. Li Jiao 李嶠 exclaims that the touring surveillance with supervision of more than a thousand regional officials in each Circuit is tough work beyond description, after he was appointed Investigating Censor.

¹²⁹ They were mostly delegated from members of Censorate (TD2, juan 32, p.888).

¹³⁰ ZT, juan 210, Ruizong (711), vol.14, p.6666. TD2, juan 32, p.888. *Tang huiyao* records that *anchashi* were posted in ten Circuits in AD 709 (Third year of Jinglong) (Wang Pu, *loc. cit.*).

¹³¹ TD2, *ibid.*

were no longer periodically dispatched.¹³² It can be understood that Circuit area commissioners came into existence on a regular basis. In spite of bearing the title 'Commissioner' (*shi* 使), with more specific designation as circumstances warranted, it seems that their work gradually transformed from investigating to supervisory Circuit commissioners, in response to the needs of the period. After AD 757, the *caifangchuzhishi* (Supervisory Commissioners) were succeeded by *guanchashi* 观察使 who came to supervise Circuits with regional authority, which suggests that heads of Circuit were no longer Surveillance Commissioners but regional Civil Administrative Commissioners.¹³³

The powerful position of Surveillance Commissioners (*guanchashi*) as head of Circuit was gradually replaced by Military Commissioners (*jiedushi* 节度使) after *jiedushi* started to be regularly appointed from eight Defence Commands 镇 along the northern frontier in AD 711.¹³⁴ In particular, after the rebellion of An Lushan in AD 755-763, *jiedushi* originally allocated on the northern frontier for national defence were also posted to the interior of the country for the restoration of peace and repression of civil war.¹³⁵ It gradually became harder for *guanchashi* 观察使 to maintain authority as Administrative Commissioners, as regional governorship was often shared by the Military Commissioners (*jiedushi*).¹³⁶ *Jiedushi* developed into autonomous regional governors to a large extent in the late Tang period.¹³⁷ Eventually, *guanchashi* became subordinate in rank to *jiedushi*.¹³⁸ *Jiedushi* held, in many cases, the additional post of Censor-in-chief, and *guanchashi* the position of vice

¹³² *Ibid.* JT, juan 48, p.2107.

¹³³ TD2, *ibid.*

¹³⁴ XT, juan 50, fangzhen, p.1329. Many *jiedushi* who had already risen to Regional Supervisory positions were concurrently engaged as *guanchashi*, as well as serving concurrently as *cishi*, heads of Prefectures (*zhou*) (Miyazaki (1992), *op. cit.*, vol.10, p.218).

¹³⁵ *Ibid.*

¹³⁶ There were cases of *guanchashi* engaged concurrently as *jiedushi*. Initially, *jiedushi* were largely in the northern part of China, and *guanchashi* in the centre and south, an incoherence between North and South. Toward the end of the Tang Dynasty, the *guanchashi* themselves became gradually transformed to military officials (Sogabe Shizuo, "To no setsudoshi to kansatsushi", *Kokushikandaigaku soritsu 50 nenkinen ronbunshu*, Tokyo, 1967, p.589).

¹³⁷ Hino Kaizaburo, *Toyoshigakuronshu*, vol. 1. Tokyo, 1980, p.70.

¹³⁸ *Ibid.*, p.72.

Censor-in-chief, from the period of Emperor Xuanzong 玄宗 (r. AD 712-756).¹³⁹ This shows that the authority of censorial surveillance was also shifting to a sharing by both regional governors.¹⁴⁰ Thus, the *guanchashi* and especially the *jiedushi* became powerful enough to act independently, although they were officially only Military Commissioners and Surveillance Commissioners. This series of process is often compared to the *cishi* in the Han who were transformed from Regional Inspectors to Area Commanders-in-chief.¹⁴¹

The An Lushan rebellion coincided with a serious deterioration in China's governmental administration, and caused dynastic decline with a return to a period of military prominence.

Transformation of Touring Surveillance Commissioner (*xunchashi*) has been discussed on the basis of Zhang Zhibai's statement that Censors decorated their carriages with egret feathers to investigate crimes. What is significant is that the duty of inspection tours to the territorial administration chiefly by Investigating Censors was gradually transferred to Touring Surveillance Commissioners. This official became at last established in a permanent post of Circuit Surveillance Commissioner, after several reorganizations. Officials engaged in 'inspection' also became officials completely outside the palace in their Censor duties, Investigating Censors, presumably, accompanied by a carriage, and ultimately, Circuit Surveillance Commissioners, *guanchashi* and *jiedushi*. A further important point is that officials with white jade egret hat finials were both *kwanch'alsa* 觀察使 and *chōldosa* 節度使 in Chosŏn Korea, according to Chōng Tong-yu, as discussed in the previous chapter. Both officials in China and Korea maintained almost the same duty and position in territorial jurisdiction 道 (Ch. *dao*, Kr. *to*). In addition to these officials, Chosŏn officials in the *sahōnbu* 司憲府 and *saganwŏn* 司諫院 in the Censorate wore jade finials though these were not described as egret but as *xiezhi* finials. There is, then, a certain

¹³⁹ Tsukiyama, *op. cit.*, p.286.

¹⁴⁰ *Ibid.*

¹⁴¹ TD2, *op. cit.*, p.889.

compatible common feature to explain what kind of official possessed the image of egrets from statements of Zhang Zhibai and Chǒng Tong-yu based on the fact that *houguan* held powerful authority of inspection. Apart from the question of whether or not the *houguan* was a Censor, presumably the Investigating Censor of the Northern Wei, it can be stated that they held the traditional duties of a Censor and were equivalent to Investigating Censors, with a warrant of 'inspection', during the Northern Wei, and that the image of egret inherent in the *houguan* shifted to the Tang Censor, possibly the Investigating Censor, by way of the duty assignment of 'an inspection tour', and finally passed to the *guanchashi* and *jiedushi*; this is well attested by Chǒng Tong-yu and Zhang Zhibai.

3.5 Four Distinct Groups of Circuit intendants in the Song Dynasty (AD 960-1279)

The prolonged strife and chaos under the military continued for more than two hundred years after the rebellion of An Lushan was ultimately terminated by the founder of the Song Dynasty (AD 960-1279). The vicissitudes of political power under regional military governors and members of their administrations (*fanzhen* 藩鎮) had culminated in the preceding Five Dynasties period (AD 907-960). Song Taizu and his younger brother, Taizong, themselves were military governors in the Later Zhou (AD 951-960) before Song Taizu ascended the throne as the first Song emperor. The lesson of Tang decay and dismemberment under a number of regional military commands, such as the *jiedushi*, had made the Song Founder extremely concerned with the integrity of strong central power.

In the Song reorganization, the ascendancy of military men in administration was almost completely discontinued and power passed to civil officials. In other words, the literati assumed the dominance of the civil service. *Jiedushi* and *guanchashi* who had been governors of Circuits in the Tang were no exceptions under the new regime; they were given only nominal titles of high military rank and a stipend but debarred from holding influential positions in government administration.¹⁴² What, then, replaced

¹⁴² Winston W. Lo, *An Introduction to the Civil Service of Sung China with Emphasis on its Personnel Administration*, Honolulu, 1987, p.54-5. Gong Yaoming, ed., *Songdai Guanzhi Cidian*, Beijing, 1997,

them in the Song Dynasty? In this section, Intendants of Circuit in place of *jiedushi* and *guanchasi* in their final function of surveillance in the Tang Circuits will be discussed.

The four prominent groups of Circuit intendants¹⁴³ are: 1. Fiscal intendants (*zhuanyunshi* 转运使),¹⁴⁴ a head of *caosi* (Fiscal Commission 漕司), handling general civil administration who were at first the only Circuit intendants; 2. Judicial intendants (*tidianxingyu* 提点刑狱), a head of *xiansi* (Judicial Commission 宪司) in charge of judicial investigations such as imprisonments and unfinished litigation; 3. Military intendants (*anfushi* 安抚使 or *jinglueanfushi* 经略安抚使),¹⁴⁵ a head of *shuaisi* (or *anfusi*) (Military Commission 帅司 or 安抚司), of civilian background and in charge of military administration, such as defence against foreign invaders; originally stationed in frontier areas, they became responsible for internal security; 4. Supply intendants (*tijuchangping* 提举常平), a head of *cangsi* (Supply Commission 仓司) specializing in financial affairs.¹⁴⁶ These four groups of agencies, headed by the four distinct Circuit intendants, were known collectively as *jiansi* 监司 (Circuit Supervisorates or Surveillance commissions).¹⁴⁷

Administrative units such as Circuits (*dao* 道), Prefectures (*zhou* 州), Districts (*xian* 县) which *jiedushi* previously governed were completely attached to the central government.¹⁴⁸ It was also necessary for the Song central government to set up units

p.5.

¹⁴³ 'Circuit intendants', this term was used by Winston Lo and E.A. Kracke, Jr.

¹⁴⁴ Hucker calls these intendants 'Fiscal Commissioners', 'Judicial Commissioners', 'Military Commissioners' and 'Supply Commissioners' (Hucker, *op. cit.*, p.45-6).

¹⁴⁵ *Jinglueshi* and *anfushi* were originally two different titles; however both titles were held concurrently by them in important locations so that they were often called '*jinglueanfushi*' (Umehara Kaoru, trans. of *Mengxibitan* by Shen Kua, Tokyo, 1995, vol.1, p.24).

¹⁴⁶ Umehara Kaoru, *Sodai kanryo seido kenkyu*, Kyoto, 1985, p. 269. The Supply intendants were established last, by Wang Anshi.

¹⁴⁷ *Ibid.* Gong, *op. cit.*, p.478. Hucker calls '*jiansi*' 'Circuit Supervisors' or 'Circuit Supervisorates' (Hucker, *op. cit.*, p.45, 150). Circuit intendants functioned originally on an ad hoc basis, but performed increasingly on a routine basis as an intermediate position between regions and the central government.

¹⁴⁸ The unit of territorial administration of the Commandery (*jun*) was abolished in AD 618 and succeeded by *zhou* (Prefectures) which corresponded to 'Regions' from the Han to the Sui (TD2, *op. cit.*, p.888, Hucker, *op. cit.*, p.1778). For transformation and development of the administrative units in China in English terms, see Hucker.

of administrative organization superior to Prefectures (*zhou*) for the purpose of supervising regional and military administration, like the Tang Circuits (*dao*). These Song Circuits were called *lu* 路 rather than *dao*, after AD 997, and subsequently provided the model for the Ming and Qing provinces (*sheng* 省), occupying approximately the same size and boundaries as the original Tang *dao*.¹⁴⁹ Yet, here it is important to note that these Circuits were not originally set up as administrative units but established under government supervision as inspectorates, although they were eventually to evolve into local administrative units.¹⁵⁰ In order to prevent a localization of central authority, Song central government avoided stationing a commissioner in each circuit, and delegated four distinct groups of Circuit intendants to supervise the operations of local government, being primarily required to indict wrongdoing of officials and neglect of duty through inspection tours within their jurisdiction, *lu*.¹⁵¹ They constituted the most crucial authority outside the capital, provided vital support to the centre, and were known as the “ears and eyes of the Emperor”.¹⁵²

There are different perspectives of the *jiansi* constituent groups. Aoki Atsushi points out that while most Japanese scholars normally regard these as four groups of Circuit intendants, some Chinese and Western scholars support a theory of three groups excluding Military intendants.¹⁵³ He points out that there exist historical records of the Southern Song, such as *Qingyuantiaofashilei* 慶元條法事類, which spell out three groups of Circuit intendants called *jiansi*.¹⁵⁴

¹⁴⁹ Miyazaki Ichisada, *Miyazaki Ichisada zenshu*, vol.10, Tokyo, 1992, p.224-5. In AD 997, Circuits were first divided into fifteen and then to twenty-three in AD 1074 by subdividing the existing circuits. Finally this became twenty-six in AD1122 (Gong, *op. cit.*, p.22).

¹⁵⁰ *Ibid.*

¹⁵¹ Umehara (1985), *op. cit.*, p.267, 270.

¹⁵² Gong, *op. cit.*, p.23.

¹⁵³ Aoki Atsushi, “Soudai no kanshi no gogi nitsuite”, *Rekishigaku kenkyu*, 2001, no.753, p.18. Aoki supports the theory of three groups of Circuit intendants based on the varied records. As Aoki points out, for example, *The History of Song* frequently states, “監司・帥臣...” (SS, juan 14, p. 268 and at least forty-two other places): Military intendants were officially distinguished from *jiansi*.

¹⁵⁴ Aoki, *ibid.*, p.19-20. Jia Yuying, *Songdai jiancha zhidu*, Henan, 1996, p.301-2. QTS, juan 7, zhizhimen, p.88. “諸稱監司謂轉運提點刑獄提舉常平司稱按察官者謂諸司通判以上之官...”

A brief historical treatment of the four groups of Circuit intendants is necessary to understand them.

In AD 965, Fiscal intendants were first appointed as Circuit intendants,¹⁵⁵ and it is said that their duties were equivalent to these of the Regional Inspectors (*cishi*) of the Han and the Regional Supervisors (*guanchashi*) of the Tang.¹⁵⁶ Their original duty was the supervision of financial matters in particular but soon after they assumed general responsibility for all affairs of civil government within the circuits, with annual tours of inspection (*xunan* 巡按).¹⁵⁷ They were the main group of Circuit intendants.

Subsequently, in AD 991, Judicial intendants became members of a group of Circuit intendants subordinate to the Fiscal intendants.¹⁵⁸

In AD 1001, Military intendants were created for defence against Tanggut (党项) invasion.¹⁵⁹ It is noteworthy that Military intendants were formally called *anfushi* 安抚使, or *jinglueanfushi* 经略安抚使 in Chinese, the latter name a conflation of two titles, *jinglue* 经略 and *anfushi* 安抚使 held in the important Circuits of their jurisdiction.¹⁶⁰ The title *anfushi* indicates a purely civilian background, and their origin was related to the *guanchafengsushi* 观察风俗使 (Inspectors of Public Morality) of the Tang, according to *Shiwujiyuan* 事物紀原.¹⁶¹ The *anchashi* 按察使 (Surveillance Commissioners) and *guanchashi* 观察使 of the Tang can be understood

¹⁵⁵ Gong, *loc. cit.*

¹⁵⁶ Watanabe Hisashi, "Hokusotenunshi to gyouseikantoku", *Ryukokudaigakuronshu*, no. 457, 2001, p.194, 199-200. Aoyama Sadao, *Tosojidai no kotsu to chishichizu no kenkyu*, Tokyo, 1963, p.307-8. XZC1, juan 127, vol.10, p.3011, XZC2, juan 186, vol.6, p.1841. "...諸道轉運使副, 即漢刺史, 唐觀察使之職, 其權甚重."

¹⁵⁷ Watanabe Hisashi, "Tenunshi kara Kanshi he", *Toiyoshien*, no. 38, 1992, p.42-3, 52-3. Watanabe maintains that the oversight of local governmental operations by Fiscal intendants began in AD 976 based on the 'Xu zizhitongjian changbian'. XZC1, juan 17, vol.3, p.385-6. Fiscal intendants had assistants, such as *fushi* 副使, *panguan* 判官 (Watanabe, *ibid.*, p.40). This is not only the case for Fiscal intendants but for other groups, too.

¹⁵⁸ SS, juan 5, chunhua er nian, p.87.

¹⁵⁹ Li Changxian, "Jianshu Songdai anfushi zhidufazhande lishijincheng (xia)", *Daluzazhi*, no.94-6, 1997, p.263. Watanabe Hisashi, "Hokuso no keiryaku anbusshi", *Toiyoshikenkyu*, no. 57-4, 1998, p.70-1. Gong, *op. cit.*, p.500. Gao Cheng, *Shiwujiyuan*, punctuated reprint edition, Beijing, 1989, p.308-9.

¹⁶⁰ SS, juan 167, xinlucanfusi zoumacheng, p.3961.

¹⁶¹ Gao Cheng, *loc. cit.*

to be the antecedents of *anfushi*, as we saw in the previous section. A historical record states that Song *anfu* 安撫 derive from Tang *guanchashi* 觀察使,¹⁶² and also suggests a link between Tang *guanchashi* and Song Military intendants; however, *anfushi* originally had no link to military duties.

On the other hand, the name *jinglueshi* denotes originally Military commanders stationed on the frontier for defence.¹⁶³ Some Prefects of Prefecture (*zhou*) held the concurrent title of *jinglueanfushi*, and there was also the case that *jinglueanfushi* Circuit intendants acted as Prefects.¹⁶⁴ The title of *jinglueshi* was held by the Tang *jiedushi*.¹⁶⁵ This reminds us of the evolutionary development of *fanzhen* 藩鎮 in the late Tang.¹⁶⁶ Circuits of jurisdiction of Military intendants did not always coincide with civil circuits.¹⁶⁷ There were two types of Circuits in the Song; one for civil administration supervised mainly by Fiscal and Judicial intendants, and the other for military administration overseen by Military intendants.¹⁶⁸ Military intendants were also in charge of civil administration, for example, to supervise the army within their territorial circuits, and civil officials were under their surveillance.¹⁶⁹ In other words, Military intendants were responsible for both civil and military administration, being Prefects of the military prefectures and governing from military headquarters. It suggests that their's was a kind of disparate existence in terms of supervising civil as well as military affairs, compared to the duties of the other three groups of Circuit intendants. Winston Lo described the situation: "Consequently, though he was not formally classified as *Jiansi* intendant, for practical purposes he was often treated as

¹⁶² "今節度史之職多歸總管司，觀察歸安撫使，處置歸經略司。" Shen Kua, *Mengxibitan*, vol. 1 (*Gushi*), in *SQ*, vol. 862, p.713. Shen Kua was appointed a Military intendant (*jinglueshi*) in AD 1080.

¹⁶³ Nichuminzoku kagaku, *op. cit.*, p.79-80.

¹⁶⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁶⁵ Nichuminzoku kagaku, *op. cit.*, p.79-80. *Guanchashi* also held this title. Although *guanchashi* were essentially a civil administrator, they came to be regarded as military officials in the late Tang, as were *cishi* (Miyazaki (1992), *op. cit.*, vol.10, p.223).

¹⁶⁶ Main divisions of military command (*fanzhen*) are: Regional command (*jiedushi*), Regional supervisory (*guanchashi*), Regional defence (*fangyu* 防禦), Militia command (*tuanlian* 團練) and Prefect (*cishi*) (E.A. Kracke, Jr., *Civil Service in Early Sung China - 960-1067*, Cambridge, 1953, p.48).

¹⁶⁷ Watanabe Hisashi, "Hokusojidai no tokan", *Toyoshien*, No. 44, 1994, p.58. Their territorial circuits originally started in the area of the west and north frontiers.

¹⁶⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁶⁹ Li Changxian, *op. cit.*, p.29. Watanabe (1998), *op. cit.*, p. 92-3. Gong, *op. cit.*, p.478.

such.”¹⁷⁰ It can be understood that Military intendants were not officially regarded as *jiansi*, though they were conceptually included or became equivalent to *jiansi* later on. Their transformation in the increase of both military and civil administrative responsibility as Circuit intendants can be seen remarkably in the Southern Song (AD 1127-1279) with the demands of war against the Jin and the Mongols.¹⁷¹

The last group of Circuit intendants, the Supply intendants, was set up in AD 1069.¹⁷² They were sent to the circuits as special emissaries to confirm whether the new laws established to aid destitute people in case of famine and so forth, were carried out.¹⁷³ Thus the distinct four groups of Circuit intendants were designed to keep a balance of administrative authority in their territorial circuits, having lateral communication and avoiding the abuse of power by a single commissioner, by virtue of inter-intendancy rivalry in the Northern Song.¹⁷⁴

To solve the issue of who were called *jiansi* is beyond the scope of my subject and it is not prioritized here. However, if Circuit intendants are *jiansi*, our discussion becomes complex, as Military intendants cannot any longer be disregarded. This section focuses on who had outstanding responsibility to oversee the operations of regional government with an authority of inspection similar to that of the Censorate in central government, and having a possible relationship to the Tang *jiedushi* and *guanchashi*. Military intendants are very possibly a subject for our investigation. Here is a record that mentions Military intendants and confirms that the four Circuit intendants were in charge of inspection like the Censorate. It reads:

¹⁷⁰ Winston W. Lo, “Circuit and Circuit Intendants in the Territorial Administration of Sung China”, *Journal of Oriental Studies*, vol. XXXI, 1974-5, p.82. E.A. Kracke, Jr. regarded *jiansi* as four groups (Kracke, *op. cit.*, p.53). Hucker holds the same view as E.A. Kracke, Jr. (Hucker, *op. cit.*, p.45). Robert M. Hartwell also seems to take it as four groups though he did not actually define *jiansi* (Robert M. Hartwell, “Demographic, Political, and Social Transformations of China, 750-1550”, *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, vol. 42-2, 1982, p.397-401.)

¹⁷¹ Li Changxian, *op. cit.*, p.29-30. Watanabe (1998), *op. cit.*, p.95. Watanabe provides details of how they became civil administrative circuit intendants.

¹⁷² Gong, *op. cit.*, p.488.

¹⁷³ *Ibid.*

¹⁷⁴ SS, juan 11, p.222. Jia, *op. cit.*, p. 293-4, 298-9. Jia discusses the Song Circuit intendant system as pluralistic administrative inspection. Her view does not support Military intendants as *jiansi* (p.299-300).

安撫轉運提刑提舉實分御史之權亦以漢繡衣之義而代天子巡狩也故曰外臺¹⁷⁵

Anfu [Military Commission], *zhuanyun* [Fiscal Commission], *txing* [Judicial Commission] and *tiju* [i.e. Supply Commission] indeed share the authority of the Censor. And with a dignity like that of the Han *xiuyi* [Bandit-suppressing Censors in the Han], they represent the Son of Heaven in their tours of inspection. Therefore, they are called *waitai* [i.e. Outer Censorate].

This quotation shows that four agencies were primarily responsible for regional inspection in their territorial circuits in the Song. Military intendants were definitely intendants of their territorial circuits responsible for implementation of inspection, regardless of whether or not they bore the title of *jiansi*. There seems to be no doubt, then, that Military intendants were Circuit intendants.

3.5.1 Investigation into Relations between Song Circuit intendants and the Image of White Egrets

Hitherto, we have followed the Circuit intendants from the Han *cishi* (Regional Inspector), through the Northern Wei *houguan* (Inspectors), *jianchayushi* (Investigating Censors), *anchashi* (Surveillance commissioners) and *guanchashi* (Regional supervisors) to the *jiedushi* (Military commissioner) in the Tang, appointed by central government and responsible for touring surveillance in their territorial areas. Here, connections between Circuit intendants and the image of white egrets will be discussed.

In Chosŏn Korea, jade white egrets worn on hats were also a symbol of the integrity of government officials (*ch'ŏngbaeng-ni* 清白吏).¹⁷⁶ As discussed in the previous chapter, Confucianism was the foundation of governmental ideology in the Chosŏn times, and was originally inspired by the philosophy of Zhu Xi in the Southern

¹⁷⁵ Zhao Sheng, *Chaoyeleiyao*, Song, reprinted in *Biji xiaoshuo daguan* (3), vol. 7, Jiangsu, 1984, juan 3, p.202. According to *Song huiyao jigao*, Censorate and Remonstrator bureau are Inner Censorate (內台), and the Outer Censorate (外台) are the *jiansi* (SHJ, zhiguan 45-43, 44, vol.4, p.3412-3) “...天子耳目寄與臺諫而臺之為制則有內臺有外臺外臺即監司是也。” “監司號外臺耳目職業不修...”

¹⁷⁶ Ehwa Womans University, ed., *The Inaugural Exhibition Catalogue of The Chang Pudeok Memorial Gallery*, Seoul, 1999, p.64-5. ‘*Ch'ŏngbaeng-ni*’ means ‘pure white official’.

Song.¹⁷⁷ Watanabe Hisashi points out a Song record stating that men of distinction with a reputation for integrity should be appointed Circuit intendants, since Military intendants were becoming influential at that time, in order to avoid a repetition of the abuse of power by Tang *jiedushi* and *guanchashi*.¹⁷⁸ Assistants to Circuits intendants were also required to be men of integrity and Confucian education.¹⁷⁹ It is important that personnel affairs such as Merit rating and recommending officials were also entrusted to Circuit intendants as a part of their primary duty of surveillance in their Circuits.¹⁸⁰

Yet, their sense of accountability with sincere moral standards was conceivably corroded and they appear to have practiced nepotism and condoned it.¹⁸¹ It can be said that Circuit intendants were lax in operating surveillance and that they failed to deal with corruption and malfeasance. The *History of Song* provides further evidence of the requirement for men of integrity. In AD 1183, AD 1225 and AD 1271, Emperor Xiaozong (r. AD 1162-1189), Lizong (r. AD 1224-1264) and Duzong (r. AD 1264-1274) all decreed that honest men without self-interest would be appointed as subordinates of Circuit intendants, for example, their assistants, Prefects and District Magistrates.¹⁸² Ye Shi 葉適, a Circuit intendant of the Southern Song, wrote that it was hard to retain real surveillance officials of integrity throughout the dynasties, owing to their increasing power.¹⁸³ The case of *houguan* in the Northern Wei Dynasty is also a good

¹⁷⁷ Zhu Xi himself was posted as a Circuit intendant (Aoki Atsushi, "Junkizangpi to sono shippai", *Toyobunkakenkyusho kiyou*, no.132, Feb. 1997, p.24). Aoki discusses a report of impeachment by Zhu Xi when Zhu Xi was in charge of Circuit intendants, quoted from *Zhuwengong wenji* 朱文公文集, vol. 18.

¹⁷⁸ Watanabe (1992), *ibid.*, p.39. Ma Yongqing, *Yuanchengyulijie*, Song, reprint, in SQ, vol.863, p.380-1. "...先生曰唐制諸道帥臣兼觀察之兼權故藩鎮擅權無人糾舉必待罪惡暴著...其權太重則以有清望官有風采者為監司糾之...漢元封五年初置刺史部十三州...刺史之權極重以六條問事...成帝綏和元年更名牧秩二千石其法隳矣 故唐觀察使則綏和之制也 本朝監司即元封制也." It suggests that Han *cishi* and Tang *guanchashi* were the antecedent of *jiansi*.

¹⁷⁹ Watanabe *ibid.*, p.48. SHJ, xuanju 27-3, 27-5, vol.5, p.4663-4.

¹⁸⁰ SS, juan 33, p.620 and juan 35, p.675.

¹⁸¹ Watanabe (2001), *op. cit.*, p.211. XZC1, juan 107, vol.8, p.2498-9.

¹⁸² SS, juan 35, p.680, juan 41, p.786 and juan 46, p.908.

¹⁸³ Miyazaki Ichisada, "Kansi no gai", trans. with its explanation of *Shuixinwenji* 水心文集, *quanji*, vol.3 *'jiansi'* by Ye Shi 葉適, in *Miyazakizenshu*, separate volume, 1993, p.556.

example of this, as discussed earlier.¹⁸⁴

Thus, it can be taken for granted that government officials, not to mention those who were responsible for inspection and impeachment, were expected to be men of integrity. In the *Bencaogangmu*, egrets were described as pure white (*jiebai* 洁白) like snow.¹⁸⁵ *Jiebai* 洁白 in Chinese also means unblemished, unsullied, of integrity, which can be related to the wearing of white jade egrets, especially by certain officials such as heads of Circuits and also *chōldosa* and *kwanch'alsa* (and heads of *to* provinces in Korea). We can also assume that being a man of integrity with clean hands was strongly demanded particularly for Surveillance officials, inspectors and Circuit intendants, all the more in particular under the Confucian state in the first century of the Song, and also in Chosŏn Korea. Confucianism encouraged and provided good officials who attempted to improve their performance without corruption and malfeasance. Therefore, the whiteness of egrets was probably admired and appreciated, corresponding to a need in these periods, and these officials especially seem to have been appropriate to hold this image.

The final point to make in this section is that 'Circuits' called '*lu*' (路) in Chinese are a homophone of 'egret', '*lu*' (鹭). Egrets and the lotus were used as a metaphor for the wish to pass the successive civil service examinations, that is to succeed in one's career.¹⁸⁶ The expression is '*yilulianke*' 一路连科. Although further discussion of the egret symbol follows in Chapter Four, two important points must be made briefly here. Firstly, the Song is known as a period when the civil service examinations enhanced competition to ensure the quality of the graduates, with the establishment of the palace examination for instance, which became a model for the Ming and Qing Dynasties.¹⁸⁷ Hence, the symbols of egrets and lotus may have been popular in the Song in particular.

¹⁸⁴ In the Northern Wei, it is also recorded that *yushi* officials (Censors) were required to be 'men of integrity' 清白御史 (WS, *liezhuan*, Yuan Hui, p.379).

¹⁸⁵ Kimura, *op. cit.*, vol.47, p.186, '潔白如雪'. Chen Yuanlong also describes egrets as 'purity' (*jiebai*) in his work, *Guzhijiangyuan* based on the record of *Shishu* 詩廬 (Chen Yuanlong (1989), *op. cit.*, p.897).

¹⁸⁶ Nozaki Masachika, *Kishozuankaidai*, Tianjin, 1928, p.433-4 (*yilulianke*).

¹⁸⁷ Kyodai toyoshijiten hensankai, *Toyoshijiten*, Tokyo, 1980, p.139-40.

In addition to this, the name of circuits, *lu*, did not exist for the unit of regional surveillance until the beginning of the Song. Artistically, it is usually agreed among jade scholars and experts that *yuding* (jade finials) objects must have started to be made in the Song (AD 960-1279) which parallels the Liao (AD 907-1125) and the Jin (AD 1115-1234).¹⁸⁸ As discussed in the Introduction, jade finials went out of fashion in the Ming Dynasty and this coincided with the abolition of the name of *lu* (路) as an administrative unit.

Accordingly, the Song seems an extremely significant period for the historical background of the egrets and lotus which can be frequently found in jade finials. In many respects, it is conceivable that egrets convey the image of the intendants or representatives who were responsible for the oversight of *lu* Circuits. Yet, it can be also considered that the image of egrets stands simply for the man of integrity in the Song, regardless of any particular officials. In taking into account who was the most required to be uncorrupt, it would be surely officials responsible for censorial and inspectorate duty. Past dynasties had already shown how important this was for the Central government in its control of regional areas. In other words, the fate of a dynasty at times depended upon regional inspectors or the surveillance commissioner, such as *cishi* in the Han, *jiedushi* in the Tang. It is, therefore, evident how those officials in such official posts were crucially required to have clean hands, pure like the image of the egret.

Finally, it should be emphasized here that the four distinct groups of Circuit intendants were fundamentally intendants in charge of surveillance. They simultaneously supervised their territorial Circuits, and were not merely itinerant regional commissioners or magistrates with administrative power. Unlike the other three, the Military intendants had both military and civil responsibilities.

¹⁸⁸ A letter from Zhang Guangwen of March 30, 2002. He believes that *yuding* was originally transmitted from the Jin Dynasty to Southern Song, stating that he plans to write a paper about this in the near future. Most jade experts and scholars I met agreed with the starting period of *yuding* carving as between Song to Yuan.

3.6 Jade Openwork carved Finials from the Ren Family of the Yuan

Past dynasties witnessed that many former military or civil commissioners in the regions responsible for surveillance became the rulers of those states. As one of the attempts to avoid this recurring, in the Song, not only intendants of Circuits but also the local representatives such as Prefects and District Magistrates were strongly required to be men of integrity (*lianli* 廉吏), and this was enhanced all the more by Confucian doctrine.¹⁸⁹ Yet, the Song Dynasty at last collapsed with the emergence of the most successful nomad conquerors of world history, the Mongols. The Mongols are renowned for having established a vast empire, not only dominant in China proper but extending from their homeland on the Mongolian steppes throughout Asia and into Europe, covering parts of Central Asia, the Near East, Russia, and East Europe. Chinggis Khan started unifying the Mongol tribes after his election as tribal ruler in AD 1206, and thereafter the Tangguts of the Xixia (AD 1032-1227) and the Jurchen of the Jin (AD 1115-1234) were defeated, so that all North China came under his control. His grandson Khubilai Khan succeeded to his throne as Great Khan in AD 1260 and the Chinese dynastic name was defined as Yuan in AD 1271 after he moved his capital to Dadu, modern Beijing, from the ancestral capital in Outer Mongolia, Karakorum, in AD 1264. The Yuan Dynasty is dated from AD 1260 till AD 1368, though the Song resistance was finally wiped out by his forces only in 1279.¹⁹⁰

There exists only one dated Yuan excavated piece of jade openwork carved finial from the Ren family tomb, as mentioned in the Introduction. This section will focus on connections between the Ren family and Circuit intendants, related to the preceding sections.

3.6.1 Outline of the *Lu* 路 in the Liao and Jin Dynasties

Both the Liao and Jin inherited elements of the Chinese administrative system from the Tang and Song, themselves being militarised regimes.¹⁹¹ In particular, in order to

¹⁸⁹ It should be noted that this kind of requirement for inspectors and other officials was not only in the Song but also in former dynasties. Further discussion will be conducted in the following chapter.

¹⁹⁰ YS, juan 10, p.208, juan 156, p.3671-2.

¹⁹¹ Hucker, *op. cit.*, p.53.

control their clans, tribes and immigrants from Song China, both Liao and Jin found it necessary to employ the Chinese characteristic 'system of surveillance'.¹⁹² Geographically, the Liao occupied the Mongolian plains, modern Manchuria and also the northern parts of modern Hebei and Shanxi provinces which include modern Beijing. Five Circuits (*dao* 道) were set up as the superior administration, each governed from five Capitals (*jing* 京), and Prefectures (*zhou* 州) and Districts (*xian* 县) below them in the administrative hierarchy.¹⁹³ In addition, special supervisory units for finance and the military were set up, *lu* 路 Routes.¹⁹⁴ As in the Song system, *duzhuanyunshi* 都转运使 (Fiscal intendant-in-chief) can be found in the *History of the Liao*.¹⁹⁵ In the Routes, *caifangshi* 采访使 (Investigating Commissioners) were set up in AD 940 and *anchaxingyu* 按察刑狱 (Judicial Commissioners) in AD 1016, though they were irregularly appointed.¹⁹⁶ The Censorate in the Central government was established in the first year of Huitong 会同 of Taizong (AD 938). Members of the Censorate (i.e. Censor-in-chief, Vice Censor-in-chief, Attendant Censor, Palace Censor and Investigating Censor) were also identical to those of the Tang and Song.¹⁹⁷ It can be considered that their administrative system combined elements of Tang and Song.

Likewise, the Jin established a system of *lu* Routes in the second year of Shouguo 收国 of Taizu (AD 1116).¹⁹⁸ The *History of the Jin* recorded that the country was divided into nineteen Routes as the highest administrative units, of which five were governed from Capitals (*jing*) based on the Liao administrative units, and below these,

¹⁹² Shimada Masao, "Liao cho kansatsukankou", *Horitsu Ronso*, Vol. 38, 1964, p.22. Mikami Tsugio, *Kinshikenkyu 2 Kindaiseijiseido no kenkyu*, Tokyo, 1970, p.555.

¹⁹³ LS, juan 38, p.455, 481, 493 and 505. Capitals (*jing*) were administrative centres, one of them being the Liao dynastic Capital.

¹⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, juan 46, p.732-762, and juan 48, p.807, 821-3. The 'lu' is commonly referred to as a 'Route' in the Jin and Yuan Dynasties, and here also in the Liao in order to distinguish it from five 'dao' Circuits, Province-size areas.

¹⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, p.751, 823. It records that Fiscal intendants were placed in the Shanxi Route in AD 1051, but they were also set up in Prefectures (*zhou*).

¹⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, p.821-2.

¹⁹⁷ LS, juan 58, p.921.

¹⁹⁸ JS, juan 2, p.29. Mikami points out *lu* Routes expanded gradually to the interior from the frontier (Mikami Tsugio, *Kinshikenkyu 3 Kindaiseijishakai no kenkyu*, Tokyo, 1973, p.142-3, 149.

superior Prefectures (*fu* 府) and Prefectures (*zhou* 州) and Districts (*xian* 县).¹⁹⁹ The Jin encroached on China far more than the Qidan Liao had done, and they destroyed the Northern Song after defeating the Liao. They seem to have also more sinicised than the Liao. In particular, Zhangzong 章宗 (r. AD 1189-1208) grew up an educated Chinese Confucian retainer, and it was he who reinstituted a system of surveillance.²⁰⁰ He established the *tixingsi* 提刑司 and greatly enhanced the organization of regional surveillance, giving *tixingsi* broad censorial responsibilities along with active inspection tours to denounce corrupt officials.²⁰¹ Iguro Shinobu points out that the Jin *tixingsi* were regularly appointed in the region as the sole agency responsible for surveillance on civil administration, finance, court, police and the military, equivalent to the *jiansi* (Circuit Supervisorates) of the Northern Song.²⁰²

In the Jin, Routes were administered by *liushousi* 留守司 (Regency, an agency representing the Emperor in all matters in each auxiliary capital and the principal dynastic capital) and *zongguanfu* 总管府 (Area Commands, headquarters headed by an Area Commander-in-chief).²⁰³ These *zongguanfu* seem to derive from the Military intendants and Military Commission (*shuaisi*) of the Song.²⁰⁴ Fiscal Commissioners (*zhuanynshi*) were also included in the Route staff as well as *tixingsi*.²⁰⁵ Although *tongjuns* 统军司 (Army Command) and *zhaotaosi* 招讨司 (Bandit-suppression Commission, an *ad hoc* military force) were designated as the primary agencies for the

¹⁹⁹ JS, juan 24, p.549-550

²⁰⁰ Mikami (1970), *op. cit.*, p.557-9.

²⁰¹ *Ibid.* *Tixingsi* were set up in the first year of Zhangzong's reign (AD 1189) in each territorial unit. They were redesignated as *anchasi* 按察司 (Surveillance Agency) in AD 1199 during his reign (JS, juan 9, p.210, juan 11, p.250). *Tixingsi* originally had supervisory responsibility for judicial operations but as *anchasi* were given broader censorial duties (JS, p.228, 254, 1304).

²⁰² Iguro Shinobu, "Toyoshi kenkyu", *Kindaiteikeisiko*, Kyoto, 2001, p.26. The Chinese scholar, Jiang Songyan, discusses that the duty of the Jin *tixingsi* (i.e. later *anchasi*) is basically similar to the Song Judicial intendants (Jiang Songyan, "Jindai tixingsi yu anchasi chutan", *Song Liao Jin Yuan shi*, no.6, 1987, p.78).

²⁰³ JS, juan 24, p.549, juan 57, p.1295, 1305. At the beginning of the Jin, Area Commands were placed in the fourteen Routes except in the five auxiliary Capitals and the principal dynastic Capital controlled by *liushousi* (JS, *op. cit.*, p.549). Under the Liao, both *liushousi* and *zongguanfu* (i.e. *douzongguanfu*) served in the Capitals (*jing*) (LS, *op. cit.*, p.804-5).

²⁰⁴ Tan Qixiang, *Changshuiji*, vol.2, Beijing, 1987, p.290.

²⁰⁵ JS, juan 24, p.553. 'Fiscal Commissioners': Hucker's term here.

military affairs of a Route, some Route duties were assigned to *zongguanfu*.²⁰⁶ To take an example, in areas such as Route Huangxiang 鳳翔 which extended to the boundaries of Song and Xixia, *zongguan* (Area Commander-in-chief) supervised military affairs under the Military Command 元帥府, which ordinarily had direct responsibility for them.²⁰⁷ *Zongguan* could serve concurrently as *fuyin* 府尹 (Prefect of a Superior Prefecture [fu]) and *Bingma duzongguan* 兵馬都總管 (Military Administrator), like the Song Military intendants who were occasionally appointed simultaneously as *zhifu* 知府 (Prefect of a Superior Prefecture [fu]), *zhizhou* 知州 (Prefect of a Prefecture [zhou]) and *anfushi*.²⁰⁸ Thus, it may be that *zongguan* are posts deriving from the Song Military intendants, although censorial responsibility probably did not belong to them. In our earlier discussion, the view of Iguro about the similarity between the Song Circuit commissions and *tixingsi* (i.e. *anchasi*) was in terms of the surveillance agencies having censorial responsibility to investigate and denounce ineffective or corrupt territorial officials. What needs to be emphasized here is that *zongguan* is an Area Commander-in-chief responsible for administration of *lu* Routes but not given surveillance duties, unlike the *lu* Circuit intendants of the Song. Moreover, it is noteworthy that *jiedushi* in the Jin Dynasty were subordinate to *zongguanfu*, positioned in rank after *fuyin*, *tongjunshi* and *zhaotaoshi*.²⁰⁹ On this basis it may be postulated that *zongguan* stand in a line of evolutionary development from the Military intendants of the Southern Song in respect of their semi-autonomous regional commands.

3.6.2 The Case of the Yuan Dynasty

Khubilai established a Chinese-style central government at Dadu, and the Yuan bureaucratic system was modelled on that of the Tang, Song, Liao and especially the Jin institutions yet became a multiplicity of administrative echelons. The territorial administration units of Route (*lu*), Superior prefecture (*fu*), Prefecture (*zhou*) and

²⁰⁶ Tan (1987), *op. cit.*, p.302. JS, juan 24, p.557. “婆速府路，國初置統軍司，天德二年(i.e. AD 1150)置總管府，貞元元年(i.e. AD 1153)與曷懶總管並為尹，兼本路兵馬都總管。”

²⁰⁷ JS, juan 101, p.2233. “...，但令總管攝行師事，...”

²⁰⁸ Tan (1987), *op. cit.*, p.290. JS, *op. cit.*, p.557, 1310.

²⁰⁹ JS, *op. cit.*, p.553. and juan 42, p.960, 963, p.1002. In fact, it can be also seen in the *History of*

District (*xian*) still remained as in the Song, Liao and Jin. However, in the Yuan, the *lu* Route is no longer an *ad hoc* or specially designated regional surveillance division as in the Song and Liao but downgraded to nearly the same administrative level as the Prefecture (*zhou*) in the Song, a stable governmental region of middle size.²¹⁰ Subsequently the *lu* was continuously subdivided. Above the *lu*, ten regional Secretariats were set up for imperial permanent provincial administration with all-purpose authority for large areas directly governed from Dadu, so-called *xingzhongshusheng* 行中书省 or *xingsheng* 行省 for short.²¹¹ They were organized on the pattern of the Secretariat at Dadu and were placed in Henan (Henan and Anhui), Shaanxi (modern Shaanxi), Sichuan (western Sichuan), Gansu (modern Gansu), Liaoyang (Manchuria), Jiangzhe (Jiangsu, Zhejiang and Fujian), Jiangxi (Jiangxi and Guangdong), Huguang (Hubei, Hunan, Guangxi and Guangzhou), Yunnan (modern Yunnan and eastern Sichuan), Lingbei (Outer Mongolia and parts of Siberia) and later in Gaoli 高丽 Korea (i.e. *zhengdong* 征东 in Koryŏ). *Xingsheng* was possibly inherited from the Jin *xingsheng* (or *Xingtai shangshusheng* 行台尚书省), however, the Jin *xingsheng* was more for military purposes and the *lu* was still the supreme regional administrative division in the Jin.²¹² The Branch Secretariats of the Yuan ultimately developed into the future Ming-Qing Provincial administration, China's modern administrative divisions, as the supreme regional administrative units.

The *zongguanfu* 总管府 (Route Command) governed territorial *lu* with responsibilities shared between *darughachi* (Ch. *daluhuachi* 达鲁花赤) (Overseer) and *zongguan* 总管 (Supervisor-in-chief).²¹³ The *History of the Yuan* records an edict of AD 1265 that *darughachi* should be staffed by the Mongols: *zongguan* should be Han Chinese (i.e. North China residents such as the Qidan, the Nuzhen, the Gaoli,

Liao that *jiedushi* and *guanchashi* were revived at Prefecture level.

²¹⁰ Maeda Naonori, *Genchoushi no kenkyu*, Tokyo, 1973, p.161.

²¹¹ *Ibid.*, p.170. YS, juan 5, p.98

²¹² Maeda, *ibid.*, p.147.

²¹³ YS, juan 5, 6, p.98-9, 106. *Zongguanfu* were the headquarters responsible for Route administration, headed by a *darughachi* and a *zongguan*. However, *zongguanfu* mostly in North China control special military forces (*aolu*) besides the routine administration. The *zongguan* was officially the Route Commander but was also responsible for supervising civil administration under the Yuan Dynasty (Zhang Zhenglang *et al.*, eds., *op. cit.*, p.636-7).

and the Han Chinese who had been subjects of Jin), and the Huihui (i.e. the Moslems) should act as *tongzhi* (Vice Supervisor-in-chief).²¹⁴ It is well-known that the Han Chinese (particularly people called *nanren* 南人) who were all former subjects of the Southern Song were not preferentially treated under the Yuan regime, unlike the Mongol and *semuren* 色目人 (i.e. the Mongol's clients in the western regions, such as Tanggut, Uighur and so forth).²¹⁵ *Darughachi* translates from Mongolian as 'grand defender' 镇守者, an official in charge of criminal justice and administration 断事官 also called a 'seal-holding' official 掌印弁事官, and a Mongol normally held this post.²¹⁶ *Zongguanfu* in the Yuan played a crucial role as centres of regional control, having considerable powers in the new administrative organization.²¹⁷ *Zhuanyunsi* responsible for transport of tax grain along the Grand Canal were annexed to the *zongguanfu*.²¹⁸ The Jin *zongguanfu* had control of military and civil administration and the judiciary; the Yuan *zongguanfu* controlled the regional judiciary, civil administrative clerical work and the agricultural development commission, and the military position called *aolu* 奥鲁 was also held simultaneously by the only *zongguanfu* located on the northern side of the Changjiang River.²¹⁹ However, similar to the Jin *zongguan*, *zongguan* of the Yuan were not authorized for censorial surveillance, as those duties were controlled by a different government agency headed by the Central government Censorate.²²⁰

Two types of jurisdiction called *tao* 道 (Circuits) were intermediary between the Route and the provincial level (i.e. *xingshen*) in the government administration.²²¹ One was generally headed by the Pacification Commission (*xuanweisi* 宣慰司) for general administration or military responsibilities or a combination of both depending on

²¹⁴ YS, juan 6, p.106.

²¹⁵ Tao Zongyi, *Nancunchuogenglu*, Yuan, reprint, Beijing, 1959, p.12-4.

²¹⁶ Kyodai toshoshi jiten hensankai, *op. cit.*, p.540.

²¹⁷ YS, juan 8, p.152.

²¹⁸ YS, juan 8, p.161, juan 9, p.190.

²¹⁹ YS, juan 91, p.2316.

²²⁰ YS, juan 8, p.154,181, 251. Yanai Watari *et al.*, *Mokoshi kenkyu*, Tokyo, 1930, p. 783-4, 917.

²²¹ Kyodai toyoshijiten hensankai, *op. cit.*, p.611. Hucker, *op. cit.*, p.64.

location.²²² The other reported directly to the metropolitan Censorate or to a designated Branch Censorate when any irregularities in the functioning of government at all levels from Pacification Commissioners and *zongguanfu* down to Districts were detected.²²³ They were first established in AD 1269, called *tixinganchasi* 提刑按察司, as the lowest echelon of surveillance and were later redesignated as *suzhenglianfangsi* 肃政廉访司 (Surveillance Commission or provincial Surveillance Office) in AD 1291.²²⁴ The *tixinganchasi* are generally considered to be a development of the Jin *tixingsi* (i.e. Surveillance Commissions), as the name of the titles indicates.²²⁵ In terms of regional censorial surveillance, the Yuan Surveillance Commission can be traced back to the Song Circuit intendants. It is also clear, as discussed in the previous section, that the Jin *zongguan* were related to the Song Military intendants and seem to have been succeeded by the Yuan *zongguan*.²²⁶ Considering these transmissions of censorial surveillance or supervisory administration, it is necessary to consider both possibilities: jade finials unearthed from the tomb of the Ren family provide a clue to indicate the direction of the line of development.

3.6.3 Investigation on Jade Finials of the Ren Family

The Yuan tombs of the Ren family were discovered by chance by peasants in AD 1952 in the *Qingpu* county of Shanghai city.²²⁷ According to inscriptions on tombstones, the burial ground was *Qinglongzhen* 青龙镇, beside the Suzhou river and almost midway between the centre of Shanghai city and Suzhou.²²⁸ On the basis of epitaphs, it has

²²² YS, juan 35, p.793, juan 39, p.884, juan 61, p.1464, juan 91, p.2308, juan 150, p.3555. *Xuanweisi* was first established in AD 1263 as a temporary agency designated for Routes but reestablished in Circuits in AD 1271 after reorganization (*ibid.*).

²²³ Jie Jin *et al.*, "Dayuanguanzhizaji", in *Yongtu dadian*, vol. 1119, Beijing, p.53-6. YS, juan 86, p.2180, juan 102, p.2618, juan 150, p.3555.

²²⁴ Tao Zongyi, *op. cit.*, p.24-5. YS, juan, 16, p.345, juan 161, p.3773, juan 170, p.3995, juan 174, p.4067. *Tixinganchasi* was an adaptation from the Jin titles, *tixingsi* and *anchasi*.

²²⁵ Zhou Jizhong, "LunYuanchao jianchazhidu tedian", *SongLiaoJinYuanshi*, 1987, no.5, p.86. Iguro, *op. cit.*, p.26-7.

²²⁶ Zhang Zhenglang *et al.*, eds., *op. cit.*, p.636. The Jin *zongguan* of Routes were in charge of civil, military and judicial administration, while the Yuan *zongguan* were responsible for supervisory administration.

²²⁷ Shen Lingxin and Xu Yongxiang, "Shanghaishi qingpuxian Yuandai Renshimucang jishu", *Wenwu*, 1982, no.7, p.54.

²²⁸ *Ibid.* Tan Qixiang *et al.*, ed., *Zhongguo lishi dituji*, vol. 6, Beijing, 1982, p.60. The exact place of the grave was reported as modern Zhangyanxiang Beimiao village 章堰乡北庙村.

been reported that the burial period was between AD 1327 and AD 1353.²²⁹ Six epitaph tablets and three tombstones were excavated from the family tombs, and revealed that the tombs held the remains of six persons: 1. Ren Renfa 任仁发 (AD 1255-1328), a notable hydraulics specialist and painter, holding posts of Director of Waterways (*dushuijian* 都水监), Assistant Pacification Commissioner (*xuanweifushi* 宣慰副使) of Zhedong 浙东 Circuit (northern Zhejiang and southern Jiangsu province down to the Changjiang River), with the civil service honorary title (*wensanguan* 文散官) of Grand Master Exemplar (*zhongxiandafu* 中宪大夫) and so forth.²³⁰ The highest-ranking of the official titles he acquired was Assistant Pacification Commissioner, 4A grade.²³¹ 2. Ren Xianneng 任贤能 (AD 1285-1348), son of Ren Renfa, District Governor 县尹 of Jing 泾 District in Ningguo 宁国 Route (south-southeast Anhui province close to the boundaries of Jiangsu and Zhejiang provinces) with the civil service honorary title of Gentleman for Rendering Service 承务郎, also serving as Agricultural Development Commissioner 劝农事 and Administrative Clerk of Water Irrigation 知渠堰事.²³² His rank as District Governor was 7A and his honorary title 6B.²³³ 3. Ren Xiande 任贤德 (AD 1289-1345), son of Ren Renfa, younger brother of Ren Xianneng, bearing the official title of Supervisor 提举.²³⁴ This title, *tiju*, is not precise, for there were many kinds of Supervisor called *tiju*. The title in the epitaph rubbing published in *Wenwu* is not clear. If we take it to be ordinary *tiju*, that is, *tijusi tiju* 提举司提举, it will rank 6A.²³⁵ His epitaph was inscribed by his cousin, Ren Ming.²³⁶ 4. Qinchataishouzheng 钦察台守贞 (AD 1317-1353), granddaughter-in-law of Ren Renfa and wife of Ren Xiande's son, also great-granddaughter of a Wanzhedubodu 完者都拔都 Manager of Governmental

²²⁹ Shen and Xu, *op. cit.*, p.58.

²³⁰ *Ibid.*, p.53, 57, 60. Zong Dian, "Yuan Ren Renfamuzhidefaxian", *Wenwu*, 1959, no.11, p.25-6. Wang Deyi et al., eds., *Yuanren zhuanji ziliao suoyin*, Beijing, 1987, p.283-4. Wang Feng, ed., *Wuxiji*, vol. 5, Yuan, collected in *Sikuquanshu zhenben*, vol.2, 1971, p.61. Tan Qixiang (1982), *op. cit.*, p.27-8. Rong Lihua, ed., *1949-1989 Sishinian chutu muzhi mulu*, Beijing, 1993, p.291-2.

²³¹ YS, juan 15, p.310.

²³² Shen and Xu, *op. cit.*, p.57, 59. Rong, *op. cit.*, p.297. Tan Qixiang (1982), *loc. cit.*

²³³ Zhang Zhenglang et al., eds., *op. cit.*, p.906. YS, juan 62, p.1500, juan 91, p.2320.

²³⁴ Shen and Xu, *op. cit.*, p.57, 60. Rong, *op. cit.*, p.296.

²³⁵ YS, juan 88, p.2241.

²³⁶ Shen and Xu, *op. cit.*, p.60.

Affairs 平章政事 of the Secretariat 中書省 in Jiangzhe (almost equivalent to Zhejiang and Fujian provinces and including the southern part of Jiangsu), holding an honorary title of Grand Master for Glorious Happiness 榮祿大夫.²³⁷ 5. Ren Ming 任明 (AD 1286-1351), nephew of Ren Renfa and son of Ren Zhongfu 任仲夫 younger brother of Ren Renfa.²³⁸ Ren Ming was Vice Supervisor-in-chief (*tongzhi luzongguanfushi* 同知路總管府事) of Ganzhou 贛州 Route (south-eastern Jiangxi province),²³⁹ with the civil service honorary title of Grand Master for Palace Counsel 中議大夫.²⁴⁰ According to the rubbing from his epitaph, he was the Prefect (*zhizhou* 知州) of Jishui 吉水 prefecture in the Jian 吉安 Route (next to Ganzhou Route), and served as Agricultural Development Commissioner with the civil service honorary title of Grand Master of Court Discussion 朝請大夫 before becoming Vice Supervisor-in-chief of Ganzhou Route *zongguanfu*.²⁴¹ His rank was 5A, with rank 4B honorary title, and was promoted to 4B with honorary title rank 4A.²⁴² His epitaph was inscribed by his superior, Quanpuancheli 全普庵撒里 who was *darughachi* Overseer of Ganzhou Route and later Assistant Administrator 參知政事 in Jiangxi Yuan Branch Secretariat.²⁴³ 6. Ren Liangyou 任良佑 (AD 1281-1338), older brother of Ren Ming, Instructor of Confucianism 儒學教授 of Liyang 溧陽 Prefecture in Jiqing 集慶 Route (between Suzhou and Nanjing), rank 9A.²⁴⁴

According to the *Wenwu* report, the Ren family tombs were not scientifically excavated, as farmers discovered them by chance and thereafter the scattered Ren family relics

²³⁷ *Ibid.*, p.57-8, 60. Rong, *op. cit.*, p.299. Tan Qixiang (1982), *op. cit.*, p.30-1. Zong Dian, *op. cit.*, p.25.

²³⁸ Shen and Xu, *op. cit.*, p.58, 60. Zong Dian, *ibid.*

²³⁹ In the *zongguanfu* of Routes graded as large (there were two grades for Routes, large and small, in accordance with the registered population of households), there were five primary staff members in civil administration: 1. *darughachi* Overseer, 2. *zongguan* Supervisor-in-chief, 3. *tongzhi zongguanfushi* Vice Supervisor-in-chief, 4. *zhizhong* Assistant Supervisor, 5. *panguan* Administrative Assistant (YS, juan 91, p.2316).

²⁴⁰ Shen and Xu, *loc. cit.* Zong Dian, *loc. cit.*

²⁴¹ Tan Qixiang (1982), *loc. cit.* Shen and Xu, *ibid.*, p.60. “...遷朝請大夫吉安路吉水州知州兼勸農事轉中議大夫同知贛州路總管府事...” (Shen and Xu, *ibid.*)

²⁴² YS, juan 62, p.1509, 1513, juan 91, p. 2320. Zhang Zhenglang *et al.*, eds., *op. cit.*, p.903-4. Yanai, *op. cit.*, p.310

²⁴³ Wang Deyi, *op. cit.*, p.287-8. Rong, *op. cit.*, p.298. YS, juan 45, p.945.

²⁴⁴ Shen and Xu, *op. cit.*, p.58. Rong, *ibid.*, p.294. Zong Dian, *op. cit.*, p.25. Tan Qixiang (1982), *op. cit.*, p.27. YS, juan 91, p.2316, 2326.

were reassembled by the Shanghai City Conservancy of Cultural Relics.²⁴⁵ Epitaphs of Ren Renfa, Ren Ming and Ren Liangyou remained in their tombs but without tombstones; the other three had both.²⁴⁶ The tomb of Ren Renfa had been looted, and his burial relics had already disappeared except for his badly worn epitaph.²⁴⁷ It is said, then, that the collected relics, and especially the sophisticated jade openwork carved finial, cannot be from Ren Renfa's tomb but must come from another.²⁴⁸ According to Wang Zhengshu, curator at the Shanghai Museum, the tomb of Ren Renfa was empty after the robbery except for his epitaph.²⁴⁹ It may be that the jade finials belonged to the other five.²⁵⁰ Excellent vessels such as vases and *Guan* incense burners all came from the tomb of Ren Ming.²⁵¹ It has been explained that it is reasonable that relics should come from Ren Ming's tomb because his official and social status was the highest of all six, although Ren Renfa was actually the highest-ranking official according to my research.²⁵² On this basis, Wang Zhengshu believed that the jade finials must be from Ren Ming's tomb.²⁵³ However, owing to the unscientific excavation, it is still uncertain which of the Ren family tombs jade finials, in fact, came from.

Regardless of Ren Ming's rank relative to other members of the family, our investigation of officials bearing the image of egrets accords with Ren Ming. First of all, he was a Prefect of Jishui Prefecture (*zhou*) of Jian Route, an official title which ultimately corresponds to the Song *anfushi*, the Military Intendants who simultaneously engaged as Prefects. It is possible that Ren Ming possessed the jade openwork finial because of this position, though 'Prefect' seems too low an official

²⁴⁵ Shen and Xu, *ibid.*, p.54.

²⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p.57.

²⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 58, 60.

²⁴⁸ Huang Xuanpei, ed., *Shanghai chutu Tang Song Yuan Ming Qing yuqi*, Shanghai, 2001, p.150.

²⁴⁹ *Ibid.* Ji Ruoxin, in an interview, November 28, 2002, said that she had heard Wang Zhengshu say at the Shanghai jade symposium 2001 that Ren Renfa's tomb was empty.

²⁵⁰ *Ibid.*

²⁵¹ Huang Xuanpei, ed., *ibid.* Shen and Xu, *loc. cit.*

²⁵² Huang Xuanpei, ed., *ibid.* Shen and Xu, *ibid.*, p.59. Ren Renfa's highest official title was 'xuanweifushi' graded rank 4A, while Ren Ming was 4B, Vice Supervisor-in-chief (YS, juan 39, p.2259, juan 91, p.2316).

²⁵³ Huang Xuanpei, ed., *loc. cit.*

grade for such an elaborate jade finial. According to the *History of the Yuan*, there were *zongguanfu* with specialised supervisory functions, for example, *zongguanfu* of financial affairs, craftsmen and craftsmanship and so forth.²⁵⁴ Their names were prefixed in many ways to indicate their specialised functions. Ren Ming worked as a principal administrator in the *zongguanfu* which supervised the general administration of a *lu* Route.²⁵⁵

Ren Renfa's official title of Assistant Pacification Commissioner may relate to the direct sequential line of the Song Circuit intendants, because the Yuan Circuit Pacification Commission and Surveillance Commission stationed in *ad hoc* Circuits (*xingsheng*) had nearly the same functions of supervision and surveillance as the Song *lu*. The unofficial excavation report from Shanghai has denied that unearthed relics originated from the tomb of Ren Renfa. The Song Circuit was called *lu*, and *lu* still remains the name of the Yuan administrative unit, Route, where Ren Ming served. Based on all these grounds, it seems reasonable to assume that jade finials derive from the tomb of Ren Ming.

3.6.4 The Yuan *Zongguanfu* and their Historical Correlation with the Song Military Commission

Surveillance Commissioners of the Yuan were responsible for censorial surveillance without general administrative authority. As we discussed earlier, in their regions, circuit or route surveillance commissioners tended to expand their authority and vested interests under the name of super-intendant. As a result, inspectors or surveillance commissioners delegated from central government reigned over their regions as governors. In order to avoid the worse instances of the Han and Tang, Song Circuit intendants in their three or four categories were initially organized with decentralized authority which was also separated from execution of regional administrative matters, as we have seen. However, the Military intendants of the Southern Song were distinct from the other three groups of Circuit intendants holding a sort of semi-autonomous

²⁵⁴ YS, juan 89, p.2260-2341

²⁵⁵ Shen and Xu, *op. cit.*, p.60.

regional command with concurrent posts of Prefect and so forth. The Northern Wei *houguan* and Investigating Censors delegated from central government had immediate surveillance responsibilities, like egrets, over the wrongdoing of officialdom; the posts of surveillance commissioners were then taken by *jiedushi* and *guanchashi*, and these ultimately shifted to the official post of dominant regional governors-in-chief, like the Han Dynasty *cishi*. It can be assumed that the image of egrets gradually evolved from surveillance into the administrative and supervisory. The image of white egrets was ideal for officials in head positions or for intendants or inspectors in the top echelon of regional territorial units because such posts were historically important and tended to overreach their original authority, like Han *cishi*, Northern Wei *houguan*, Tang *guanchashi* and *jiedushi*, and Southern Song Military intendants. The Military intendants of the Song in some degree seem to have reflected the function of former *jiedushi* and *guanchashi*. For *guanchashi* alone apart from *jiedushi*, the evolution from surveillance commissioners would pass more to the other three groups of Song Circuit intendants, such as Fiscal intendants and Judicial intendants, and there may be a connection between the *guanchashi* and the *anchashi* of the Jin and the *suzhenlianfangshi* of the Yuan.

However, both *guanchashi* and *jiedushi* seem to relate to the image of egrets, considering that the *choldosa* (Ch. *jiedushi*) and *kwanch'alsa* (Ch. *guanchashi*) of the Chosŏn Dynasty both possessed the egret image. This is because it may be certain that something must first have been established in China before being followed by Korea. In this regard, the Tang and Song Dynasties seem to have been the direct source of the egret's image, relating to the Northern Wei *houguan*, since the bureaucratic system of the Chosŏn is based on the administrative bureaucracy of the Tang and Song in particular.²⁵⁶ *Kwanch'alsa* of the Chosŏn were administrative governors-in-chief of 道 provinces and sometimes held military commands (i.e. *choldosa* of the Chosŏn)

²⁵⁶ For further discussion of this, see Chapter Seven. Chosŏn also adopted elements of the Ming bureaucracy and regulations, but here the Ming Dynasty is not important to consider the origin of egret images deriving from *houguan*, as such a connection seems to have become obscure under the Ming bureaucracy. See Chapter Five.

concurrently.²⁵⁷ They were also called *kamsa* 監司 (Ch. *jiansti*).²⁵⁸ According to the Chosŏn historical official record, the origin of the Chosŏn *kwanch'alsa* derived from *fangbo* (i.e. *cishi* in the Han) which in turn can be traced to identical counterparts in China.²⁵⁹ This is also evident from the name's being in the same Chinese characters as the '*guanchashi*' in China, though pronunciation is different, namely '*kwanch'alsa*' in Korea. It can be said that their duties of military command, regional surveillance and general administration bear resemblance to the Military intendants of the Song as well as to the Tang *guanchashi* and *jiedushi*. Song Military intendants were, indeed, responsible for their Military Circuits, as well as being vital governors-in-chief like the *kwanch'alsa*.²⁶⁰ Therefore, the *kwanch'alsa* and *chŏldosa* with an egret image seem to be derived from or associated with the Song Circuit intendants, especially Military intendants, as well as Tang *guanchashi* and *jiedushi*, Northern Wei *houguan*, and the Han *cishi* and *jiancha yushi* in their original role of regional inspectors.²⁶¹ The duties of Regional Inspectors like the Han *cishi* seem, then, most likely to be the antecedent of the *houguan* 'white egrets' for both Korea and China.

We now return to our main concerns. In the Yuan, it is not implausible if *suzhenlianfangshi* regional Surveillance Commissioners and other inspectors (風憲官) also held the egret image, since their duties seem to have derived from the Song Circuit intendants, specifically the Fiscal and Judicial intendants, the Tang *guanchashi*, the Northern Wei *houguan* and the Han *cishi*. On the other hand, the Yuan principal administrators in *zongguanfu* seem more related to the Song Military intendants, the Tang *jiedushi*, the Northern Wei *houguan* and the Han *cishi*. It can be said that the latter line is connected more to military association based on historical development of the character of the Han *cishi*.

²⁵⁷ CMP, kwon 234, pyŏngmachŏldosa, p.729, kwon 230, sugunchŏldosa, p.732.

²⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, kwon 230, kwanch'alsa, p.686,

²⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, p.690-1.

²⁶⁰ Gong, *op. cit.*, p.500.

²⁶¹ The Han Cishi were originally Touring Investigating Censors responsible for regional inspection, the 'Outer Censorate', but became Area Commanders-in-chief (Xu Shigui, *op. cit.*, p.38). It seems that the *houguan* held Outer Censorate duties, and it is suggested by *Tongdian* (TD1, juan 24, jiancha shiyushi, p.171. It is annotated that "監察御史。...後魏太和末,亦置此官,宿直外台,不得入宿內省。").

In order to confirm the connection between *zongguanfu* headed by *darughachi* Overseers and *zongguan* Route Commanders (or Supervisors-in-chief), *jiedushi* and the Song Military intendants and the Han *cishi* via the Northern Wei *houguan*, the history of *zongguanfu* and *zongguan* must be understood.

According to the *Mengxibitan* by Shen Kua of the Northern Song, the duties of the former *jiedushi* came under the *zongguan* agency (the *zongguansi* 總管司, Area Command) of his time.²⁶² The *zongguansi* (or *duzongguan*) was also called *shuaisi* 帥司 (Military Commission) along with other agencies, *anfu* 安撫, *jinglue* 經略 and *qianxia* 鈐轄.²⁶³ *Fanzhen* 藩鎮 of the late Tang and Five Dynasties is traditionally considered the forerunner of these groups of the Military Commission *shuaisi*.²⁶⁴ The *zongguanfu* of the Jin (AD 1115-1234) (Area Command) seems to have been an adaptation from the Song *zongguansi* (Area Command), performing judicial, civil as well as military administration.²⁶⁵ The Yuan *zongguanfu* (Route Command) followed the basic pattern of the Jin Dynasty, in turn indebted to the Song. Indeed, these traditions seem to go back as far as the Han Dynasty. In the Han Dynasty, Defenders called *duwei* existed²⁶⁶ although they became merely titular without real authority in the Three Kingdoms, and seem to have been replaced by *dudu*; *houguan* of the Han Dynasty answered to the *duweifu* (headquarters of *duwei*), which seems similar to the situation of the *zongguan* of the Song who became subordinated to *jinglueanfushi*.

Zongguan were originally called *dudu* 都督 (Commanders-in-chief) and can be traced back to the reign of Emperor Wen (AD 220-226) of Wei of the Three Kingdoms (AD 220-265).²⁶⁷ They were high-ranking regional military commanders in territorial

²⁶² Shen Kua, *op. cit.*, p.713. “唐制，方鎮皆帶節度・觀察・處置三使。今，節度之職多歸總管司，觀察歸安撫司，處置歸經略司。”

²⁶³ Gong, *op. cit.*, p.443. ‘Qianxia’ is Military Administrator of Infantry and Cavalry. Formally speaking, *zongguan* of the Song were called *mabujunduzongguan* 馬步軍都總管, in short, *duzongguan* 都總管. The headquarters were called *duzongguansi* 都總管司, and also *shuaisi* 帥司, *zongguansi* 總管司 or *tongshuaifu* 統帥府 (Gong, *op. cit.*, p.442-3).

²⁶⁴ Shen Kua, *loc. cit.*

²⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, p.636-7.

²⁶⁶ Zhang Zhenglang *et al.*, eds., *op. cit.*, p.672.

²⁶⁷ Miyazaki (1992), *op. cit.*, vol.7, p.223.

Regions (*zhou*), and Regional Governors (*cishi*) were in charge of civil administration.²⁶⁸ Although original duty assignments of *dudu* were military supervision alone, they gradually took over civil administration from the *cishi* (and the *cishi* also assumed military supervision conversely) becoming important intermediaries between central government and the regions.²⁶⁹ In the Jin Dynasty (AD 265-420), *dudu* were regional military administrators-in-chief, and were renamed *zongguan* in the Northern Zhou (AD 557-581).²⁷⁰ These *zongguan* were also termed 'zongguancishi' 總管刺史 in the historical record.²⁷¹ It is apparent that the *cishi* were no longer just regional inspectors but had become military commanders and governor. Their name again changed back to *dudu* in the Tang, and those responsible only for garrison defence on the frontier were called *jiedushi*, the earliest use of the term.²⁷² Yet, real power and authority all passed to the *jiedushi* before long.²⁷³ That *jiedushi* concurrently ran the civil administration parallels the *dudu* of the Three Kingdoms.²⁷⁴ The Song historical record states that *dudu*, *zongguan* and *jiedushi* of the Tang were associated with the duties of the ancient *fangyue* 方岳 (i.e. Han *cishi*) and *mubo* 牧伯 (i.e. Han *zhoumu* 州牧).²⁷⁵ In the Song, imperial armies (*jinjun* 禁軍) were occasionally delegated regions for garrison under a commander called *dubushu* 都部署 and later renamed as *duzongguan* 都總管 or *zongguan* (Area Commanders-in-chief) to avoid using the name (*hui* 諱) of the Emperor Yingzong (AD 1063-1067).²⁷⁶ It is noteworthy that there were cases of *zongguan* who were concurrently Prefect of the military prefecture and bore the title of *jinglueanfushi*, which proves that they were overall co-ordinator of both civil and military affairs.²⁷⁷ In other words, *anfushi* seem

²⁶⁸ Obi Takeo, *Rikuchototokuseikenkyu*, Hiroshima, 2001, p.29.

²⁶⁹ Miyazaki (1992), *loc. cit.* Zhang Zhenglang *et al.*, eds., *op. cit.*, p.673. Obi, *ibid.*, p.8. According to 'Dictionary of Successive Chinese Official Titles', *dudu* first supervised *cishi* as well as military affairs in their regions (Nichu minzoku kagaku kenkyusho, *op. cit.*, p.293).

²⁷⁰ Gao Cheng, *op. cit.*, p.309. Zhang Zhenglang *et al.*, eds., *op. cit.*, p.636.

²⁷¹ TD2, juan 32, *zhoumu cishi*, p.887. "凡總管刺史則加使持節諸軍事, 以此爲常." Zheng Qiao, *Tongzhi lue*, 1161, in SB, vol.3, juan 32, *zhiguan* 6, *zhoumu cishi*, p.10.

²⁷² Nichu minzoku kagaku kenkyusho, *op. cit.*, p.294.

²⁷³ Miyazaki (1992), *op. cit.*, vol.7, p.223. Zhang Zhenglang *et al.*, eds., *op. cit.*, p.673. The name of *dudu* also disappeared as well as the real authority.

²⁷⁴ *Guanchashi* may be equivalent to the *cishi* of that time.

²⁷⁵ Zheng Qiao (1161a), *op. cit.*, *dudu*, p.12-3. Zhang Zhenglang *et al.*, *op. cit.*, p.183, 510.

²⁷⁶ YS, juan 167, p.3962. Gao Cheng, *op. cit.*, p.310. Miyazaki (1992), *op. cit.*, vol.10, p.4.

²⁷⁷ Umehara (1995), *loc. cit.* Miyazaki (1992), *op. cit.*, vol. 10, p.5.

also to have been equivalent to *zongguan* of the Song (i.e. *duzongguan*).²⁷⁸ The Yuan *zongguan* especially in south China practised mainly civil administration in their territorial Routes, the result of the separation of surveillance and military from general administration unlike the Song Military Commissioners.²⁷⁹ Thus, the *zongguan* was historically in close relation to military as well as to civil administration as a result of the extension of power and authority from frontier defence garrison, just like the Han *cishi*, the *zongguan* of the Three Kingdoms and the Tang *jiedushi* and the Song Military intendants and *zongguan*. Therefore, it can be suggested that *zongguan* can be historically related to the *jiedushi* of the Tang and to the Military Commissioners of the Song. *Zongguan* of the Yuan were Route Commanders or Supervisors-in-chief responsible for supervising *lu* Routes, sharing the responsibility with *darughachi* Overseers and assisted by Vice Supervisors-in-chief. As with the Yuan *zongguanfu* and the Song Military Commission, the principal administrative groups, the Overseers, Route Commanders (or Supervisors-in-chief) and Vice Supervisors-in-chief in the Yuan *zongguanfu*, were probably associated with the Song Military intendants and commissioners. This, in turn, means that they derived from the Han *cishi*, via Northern Wei *houguan*, Tang *guanchashi* and *jiedushi*.

3.6.5 Historical Development of the *Cishi*

The Prefect of a prefecture (*zhou* 州) was essentially a supervisory official in China's imperial history, performing a crucial role as local representative of the Emperor. Prefects frequently cooperated with military commissioners who possessed or gained full powers. In 106 BC in the reign of Emperor Wu of the Western Han, Regional Inspectors were first set up and dispatched periodically by the Emperor for the purpose of surveillance over the commanderies (*jun*) and Regions (*zhou*), known as *bucishi* 部刺史.²⁸⁰ In fact, *bucishi* originally derived from *jianyuishi* 监御史 (Supervising Censors) in the Qin 秦 Dynasty (221-206 BC).²⁸¹ In the reign of Emperor Cheng (r.

²⁷⁸ Miyazaki, *ibid.*, p.226, 281. Miyazaki says that the *duzongguan* were, in fact, precisely Military Commissioners (*shuaisi*).

²⁷⁹ Zhang Zhenglang *et al.*, *op. cit.*, p.636.

²⁸⁰ HS, *juan* 19 *shang*, p.741.

²⁸¹ HH, *juan* 28, p.3617. They were itinerant Censors delegated from central government and

33-7 BC), they were renamed *zhoumu* 州牧 and later their name was changed to *cishi* 刺史. This changing of name was frequent in accordance with the transformation of their duties mainly due to social unrest and the improvement of their status.²⁸² Surveillance duties were also performed by *jianyushi* (Supervising Censors) in the Qin Dynasty, and in the Han Dynasty *cishi* were established more permanently in Regions (*zhou*) and acted as Regional magistrates from the Later Han (AD 25-220).²⁸³ Thereafter *cishi* transformed into more prestigious Regional Governors rather than Regional Inspectors. However, they were required to co-operate with the military administration, for example, in the Northern Zhou (AD 557-581), not simply as Regional Governors in the Region but also engaged as *zongguan*, Area Commanders-in-chief.²⁸⁴ In the Sui, *cishi* returned to duties more similar to the Han system, as Regional Inspectors belonging to the Tribunal of Inspectors (*silitai* 司隸台).²⁸⁵ Their original duty of surveillance was completely taken over by Investigating Censors and other Censors in the Tang, thereafter *cishi* enduring as locally powerful Prefects, working under administrative superiors, such as *guanchashi* and *jiedushi*, until the emergence of the Song Dynasty.²⁸⁶ In the Song, the *cishi*'s former duties were mostly carried out by *zhizhou* 知州, who were concurrently engaged as *anfushi* (Military Intendants) in charge of Military Prefectures, and the name of *cishi* became just a title.²⁸⁷ The Yuan government also set up Prefects called *zhizhou*. Their Prefectures (*zhou*) were divided into three grades, large (*shang*), medium (*zhong*) and small (*xia*), in accordance with the registered population of households, and the *zhizhou* remained purely civil administrators, co-operating with an Overseer (*darughachi*).²⁸⁸ Ren Ming had held the title of *zhizhou* in a prefecture graded as

accountable to the Palace Aide to the Censor-in-chief 御史中丞. *Cishi* did not exist in the Qin Dynasty (HS, juan 39, p.2005.)

²⁸² *Ibid.*, p.329, 339, 3399, 3406.

²⁸³ HH, juan 1 shang, 63, zhi 26, 28, p.11, 2076-77, 3600, 3620. SZ, juan 6, p.171. Gong, *op. cit.*, p.470.

²⁸⁴ BS, juan 10, p.375, 382. Gong, *Ibid.*

²⁸⁵ SUS, juan 28, p.797..

²⁸⁶ JT, juan 44, p.1863. XT, juan 48, p.1239, juan 107, p.4071. Gong, *loc. cit.*

²⁸⁷ SS, juan 167, p.3961, juan 168, p.4004, juan 169, p.4041. Conversely, the duty of *cishi* as Regional Inspectors was superseded by Fiscal Intendants (XZC1, juan 196, vol.14, p.4748). “又分天下爲十餘路，各置轉運使，以察州縣百吏之臧否，復漢部刺史之職，…”

²⁸⁸ YS, juan 91, p.2317-8.

medium. In the Ming and Qing, the name of *cishi* became another name for *zhizhou* (Prefect).²⁸⁹

3.7 Officials bearing Egret Image in the Ming Dynasty and After

During early Ming governmental reorganizations, Route (*lu*) administrative units completely terminated as Chinese historical territorial divisions, with the stabilization of provincial administrative units, that is, the modern units of China proper. *Zongguanfu* in charge of *lu* Routes were also abolished.²⁹⁰ In addition to this, the Yuan custom of wearing hat finials gradually went out of fashion in the Ming, as Shen Defu has suggested. What is immediately apparent in these historical facts is that the significance of egret finials was lost, when egrets possibly became part of the image of *zongguanfu* senior administrators. Apart from the return to traditional native Chinese customs after the alien Yuan, it is likely that the abolishment of officials who might have worn egret finials on their hats was conclusive in the significance of egrets being lost in the Ming Dynasty.

In the 24th year of Hong Wu (AD 1391), official rank insignia of embroidered square patches which adorned the robes were first instituted for both civil and military officials.²⁹¹ The civil ranks are symbolised by motifs of various birds, while motifs of animals represented military ranks.²⁹² Xie Zhaozhe, the author of *Wuzazu* (Five-part Miscellany) of the Ming, remarked that official rank insignia were probably patterned after meanings of birds that people of earlier times used to describe officials.²⁹³ We have already seen this illustrated from the *History of Northern Wei*, when the *houguan* were named 'white egrets'.²⁹⁴ As formal official headgear returned to the Han native Chinese style, namely black gauze caps, wearing brimmed hats with hat finials in the Yuan style might have become less frequent for them. However, Ming officials were

²⁸⁹ Gong, *loc. cit.*

²⁹⁰ Hucker, *op. cit.*, p.531. Nichu minzoku kagaku kenkyusho, *op. cit.*, p.215-6.

²⁹¹ MS, juan 67, p.1638.

²⁹² *Ibid.*

²⁹³ Xie Zhaozhe, *Wuzazu*, 1616, reprint, Shanghai, 1959, vol.2, juan12, wubu 4, p.360.

²⁹⁴ WS, juan 113, p.2973-4.

also prescribed to use hat finials of jade, agate, crystal and so forth in accordance with rank,²⁹⁵ although most extant Ming paintings show solid stones without any openwork carving.²⁹⁶ On these grounds, it may be postulated that official rank insignia embroidered with birds and animals were possibly established as a replacement of hat finials, and that the Yuan hat finials with representation of official status or duties using images of birds and animals were permanently replaced or supplemented by the embroidered square patches of the Ming, in a change of idea of adornment.²⁹⁷ According to the *History of the Ming*, the egret motif was ranked sixth grade.²⁹⁸ As to what kinds of officials were positioned in the sixth rank, there are for example: Commanders of Warden's Offices of the Five Wards in the dynastic capital city (*wucheng bingmazhihui* 五城兵马指挥司指挥), rank 6A; Vice Pacification Commissioners (*anfu tongzhi* 安抚同知), rank 6A; Assistant Pacification Commissioners (*anfu fushi* 安抚副使), rank 6B; Chief of a Chief's Office (*zhangguansi zhangguan* 长官司长官), rank 6A; and Vice Subprefectural Magistrates (*zhou tongzhi* 州同知), rank 6B.²⁹⁹

It is questionable whether the fact that egrets ranked six grade is pertinent to our discussion. The official grades seem to have been divided into nine purely on the basis of the importance of their duties or following the precedent from former dynasties, without regard to the image of official duties compared to birds, here egrets. For example, the Vice Supervisor-in-chief in the Yuan is grade 4B, the Prefect in the middle prefecture 5A. They are all in a higher rank than six. In Chosŏn Korea, *chŏldosa* (i.e. *jiedushi* in China) and *kwanch'alsa* (i.e. *guanchashi* in China) are also ranked in higher grades, the former 3A and the latter 2B.³⁰⁰ Similarly, Korean official insignia with embroidered egrets contradictorily belonged to the sixth grade as in

²⁹⁵ MS, *loc. cit.* The detailed information such as the carving motifs was not recorded.

²⁹⁶ See, for example, Figure 5.92.

²⁹⁷ This is discussed further in Chapter Five.

²⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, p.1638.

²⁹⁹ MS, juan 72, p.1747, juan 76, p.1875, juan 237, p.6167. Also, rank 6 were officials in surveillance bureau and provincial administrative commission, *duchayuan jinglisi jingli* 都察院经理司经理 and *buzhengshisi jinglisi jingli* 布政使司经理司经理, *liwensuo* 理问所.

³⁰⁰ Han-guginmyŏngdaesajŏn p'yŏnch'an-shil, ed., *Han-guginmyŏngdaesajŏn*, Seoul, 1967, p.1150-1.

China.³⁰¹ In Chosŏn Korea, the complete system of official rank insignia was established in AD 1505 and was largely based on the Chinese system. Therefore, the official rank insignia might not directly represent the duty of officials nor the original interpretation of egrets related to their titles, but might simply indicate the grade.

However, the mythical creature the *xiezhi* was independently used for specific Ming officials, the *fengxianguan*, regardless of rank, on the basis of the traditional symbol of the *xiezhi*, as discussed in Chapter Two. This is an example of a certain bird or animal connotating its traditional meaning and used for official insignia regardless of rank. It can be considered that egrets were excluded from this treatment under the Ming bureaucracy and costume regulation. It was different in Chosŏn Korea which seems to have reserved the egret symbol for specific officials in hat finials but not in rank insignia as in China.

Finally, in the Ming Dynasty, the name of *yushitai* (Censorate) in use since the Han Dynasty was changed to *duchayuan* 都察院.³⁰² After alien rule under the vast Mongol empire, the Ming founder established and redesigned a system of bureaucracy based on prior dynastic practice and a highly centralised autocracy.³⁰³ There were changes to the customs and practices from the former dynasties, as in the establishment of official hat finial regulation and embroidered rank insignia, and the discontinuation of the administrative units of *lu* and *zongguanfu*. These factors may have affected the use of the egret symbol.

3.8 Concluding Remarks

Our series of investigations on the historical threads of Chinese officials related to the image of egrets is concluded. The image of egrets seems to undergo a transformation that reflected a shift in the official's duty from inspectorate and surveillance responsibilities to supervisory administration. *Houguan* inspectors with egret image

³⁰¹ CWS:YI, kwon 60, 11 nyŏn 11 wŏl, vol. 14, p.29.

³⁰² MS, juan 73, p.1772. Hucker, *op. cit.*, p.593.

³⁰³ Hucker, *ibid.*, p.70.

probably derived from Regional Inspectors such as the Han *cishi* and *jianyuishi*, and the image of their duties, originally 'inspection', might have been represented by the egret habit in the Northern Wei, and associated to later officials in accordance with their sequential development. There were factors in the dynastic cycle that meant that surveillance commissioners who became engaged concurrently with general administration eventually reigned over the country. In the Song, special supervisory divisions of *lu* Circuits were set up and there were four distinct groups of intendants of Circuits who were responsible for censorial surveillance. Military Intendants who later took over supervisory administration were supported by members of the Military Commission, for example, the *shuaisi*, and served simultaneously as Prefects, working in both civil administration and military affairs. In the Liao, Jin and Yuan Dynasties, Chinese bureaucracy developed a somewhat alien character. The *zongguanfu* of the Yuan were run by *darughachi* Overseers and *zongguan* Route Commanders (or Supervisors-in-chief, especially in the south) and other principal administrators in the territorial administrative units of *lu* Routes, and were influenced and inherited from the former dynasties, especially the Jin Dynasty. The Yuan *zongguanfu*, the headquarters supervising *lu* Routes seem to be derived from the Song Military Commissions run by Military intendants and members of the Military Commission, *shuaisi*, in particular. This suggests, in turn, that *darughachi*, *zongguan* and other senior administrators can be associated with the Song Military intendants and members of the Military Commission. Ren Ming was not a Supervisor-in-chief but a Vice Supervisor-in-chief, a senior administrator of a *zongguanfu*. He seems, therefore, to have possessed a jade egret finial on account of this.

In summing up, a direct line of evolution of the egret image may thus be postulated between the Han *cishi* (Regional Inspectors) and *jianyuishi* (Supervising Censors, later transforming to Investigating Censors from the Sui), *houguan* (inspectors) of the Northern Wei, *jianchayushi* (Investigating Censors), *xunchashi*, *anchashi* (Touring Surveillance Commissioners), *guanchashi* (Surveillance Commissioners and later Regional Governors) and *jiedushi* (Military Commissioners and later Regional Governors) of the Tang, principal members in *shuaisi* (Military Commissions or Field

Agencies) and Military intendants of the Song, the principal members of Jin *zongguan* (Arca Commanders), and senior administrators of *zongguanfu* (Route Commands or Supervisorate-in-chief of *lu*) of the Yuan Dynasty. The line can be also traced through the *zhuanyunshi* (Fiscal intendants) and *tidianxingyu* (Judicial intendants) of the Song, the Surveillance Commissioners in *txingsi* (Surveillance Commissions) of the Jin, and the Surveillance Commissioners in *suzhenglianfangsi* (Surveillance Commission or provincial Surveillance Office) of the Yuan, from the Tang *guanchashi* and *jiedushi*. The former duties in the historical development of the *cishi* were based on the military line passing directly through the Tang *jiedushi*, and the latter were from his original responsibilities, deriving from the Tang *guanchashi*. In the end, both *lu* Route and *zongguanfu* were abolished under the Ming administrative bureaucracy and use of hat finials became gradually unfashionable in the revival of native Chinese tradition, with the accompanying establishment of official rank insignia embroidered with patterns of birds and animals. Accordingly, the image of egrets in the Ming seems not to relate directly to the above officials but was attached to officials in the sixth grade, perhaps no longer representing clearly the conventional interpretation of the egret symbol.

Few historical records on relations between egrets and official titles mean still insufficient results to draw a definite conclusion. However, starting from *houguan* of the Northern Wei, certain historical sequential threads in relation to egrets and officials have been to a degree unravelled. In the next Chapter, the historical image of egrets in China will be focussed on in order to close the gaps remaining from this chapter.

CHAPTER FOUR: HIDDEN SYMBOLS OF EGRETS IN CHINA

4.1 Introduction

Bird motifs have been traditionally employed throughout Chinese art history. Egrets were one of the favorite, and can be seen in embroideries, ceramics, paintings, metalwork, jades and so forth. However, egrets have been scarcely discussed as a major decorative art motif.¹ There are some possible reasons for this. Firstly, there are difficulties in distinguishing egrets and other birds such as cranes when they are depicted on works of art. Secondly, they seem to appear less on art works compared to other birds like the Chinese phoenix and mandarin ducks although the realms of poems and paintings have proved the historical popularity of egrets. On jades, the subject of egrets appears more frequently, particularly on openwork carved finials. This may suggest that egret motifs were particularly suitable for jades, especially for finials. Thirdly, relevant to the second point, it seems that egrets were preferred by specific people, which may bear relation to habits and habitats of egrets and the status and functions of officials. Therefore, the employment of egret motifs may have originally had a regional basis.

In this chapter, the author seeks to clarify the characteristic features of the hidden symbolic meanings behind the pictorial representations of egrets as they appear in Chinese art in chronological sequence. The investigation will be based on ornithological evidence and will explore who in particular favoured the depiction of egrets in the arts.

4.1.1 Character and Habits of Egrets from the Ornithological Point of View

To understand how and why the hidden symbolic meanings were created by ancient people, it is necessary to begin with an examination of egrets ornithologically.

¹ In the past years, motifs of auspicious imagery have been discussed widely, but very little has related to egrets. It is said that a Japanese scholar, Nozaki Masachika was the first pioneer in the field of Chinese auspicious symbolism and many scholars have developed their discussion based on his publication (Imai Atsushi, "Chugoku toji no isho to gū", *Toyotoji*, no.29, 2000, p.10. Miyazaki Noriko, "Chugoku kachoga no imi (jyo)", *Bijyutsukenkyu*, no. 363, 1996, p.278). His work was translated into Chinese in 1988 and published in Beijing. Both Miyazaki Noriko and Imai Atsushi have recently published articles in this field, and mentioned egret motifs. I am grateful to Mr Imai Atsushi, Curator at the Tokyo National Museum, for this information and a piece of valuable advice regarding egret motives via e-mail.

Egrets are water birds and classified zoologically as the order Ciconiiformes which type of birds have a conspicuous long neck and long legs, their feet not webbed enabling them to run swiftly and to wade in shallow water.² Herons, egrets and bitterns are grouped in the same family and generally are migrants based in lakes, marshes, estuaries and coasts.³ At least 60 species of herons have been recognised in the world and vernacular names are given to them.⁴ In China, there are five different species of white egret or heron, with the prominent features of slender body, long slim neck and plumes on the head, breast and back and entirely gleaming pure white plumage: 1. Great White Egret (or Great Egret or Large Egret); 2. Intermediate Egret (or Median Egret or Smaller Egret); 3. Little Egret; 4. Eastern Reef Heron (or Eastern Reef Egret or Pacific Reef Egret); 5. Chinese Egret (or Swinhoe's Egret or Yellow-billed White Heron).⁵ They are the '*Egretta Forster*' genus (白鷺屬) (i.e. the White Egret or White Heron group) and belong to the Ardeidae family (i.e. herons, egrets and bitterns).⁶ 'Heron' is used as a generic term for all egrets, and egrets are often included in the 'herons and bitterns' family (i.e. Ardeidae). Identification of herons and egrets depends on size, plumage colour and pattern, and soft-parts coloration.⁷ Campbell and Lack write, "Hérons are the substantive name for most species of the Ardeidae (typical herons)", and "The substantive name 'egret' is used for several species."⁸ Here, the white-plumed species will be focussed on, considering the *houguan*'s nickname of '*bailu*' (white egret) and the appraisal of egrets' whiteness by ancient Chinese. The white-plumed species in China all bear the name of 'egret' ornithologically. Besides, egrets denote

² Bernhard Grzimek *et al.*, eds., *Grzimek's Animal Life Encyclopedia*, vol.7, birds 1, Germany, 1984, p.189.

³ *Ibid.*, p.189-90. Robin Kerrod with contributions by Jill Bailey, *The Water Birds, the Encyclopedia of the Animal World: Birds*, Oxford, 1989, p.36.

⁴ James Hancock and James Kushlan, *The Herons Handbook*, London, 1984, p.11.

⁵ *Ibid.* Jan Hanzák and Jiří Formánek, *The Illustrated Encyclopedia of Birds*, London, 1977, p.54. Zhu Xi and Zou Xiaoping, *The Herons of China*, Beijing, 2001, p.35-42. There are other magnificent white egret species such as the Snowy Egret in America, but the white egrets of China are our only concern here. The Pied Heron (*Egretta Picata*) (*banlu* 琵鹭) is here excluded from '*Egretta Forster*' as it does not have an entirely white phase.

⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ Hancock and Kushlan, *op. cit.*, p.23. The soft-parts mean the skin without plumes, bill, legs and so forth (Dr Bernard Zonfrillo, Interview, May 27, 2003).

⁸ Bruce Campbell and Elizabeth Lack, eds, *A Dictionary of Birds*, Calton, 1985, p.282.

immediately the white egrets, according to *Shuowen jiezi*.⁹

4.1.2 The White Egrets (*Egretta*) in China

'*Egretta Forster*' is the name of the genus of the White Egrets. First of all, the Great White Egret (*Egretta alba*) (Chinese name: *dabailu* 大白鹭) is the largest of all the five white egrets in China, generally about 80 to 98 cm in total length, the legs black, the thickish bill yellow in the winter and turning black in the breeding season (Figure 4.1).¹⁰ They develop long plumes on the back, extending beyond the tail, in the breeding season for courtship display but no visible crest.¹¹ In early spring, they migrate to China returning to their heronries where they prefer to live in flocks nesting on trees or among reeds in swampy habitats.¹² They inhabit the coasts, lakes, rivers, marshes, and paddy fields, close to water.¹³

The second, the Intermediate Egret (*Egretta intermedia*) (*zhongbailu* 中白鹭), is the second largest, approximately 55 to 80 cm in total length, with black bill and legs and with long, fuzzy plumes like a straw raincoat on the breast and back during the breeding season (Figure 4.2).¹⁴ In Zhejiang province, the Intermediate Egret arrives in May and leaves in the middle of August.¹⁵ When seeking food, small flocks of Intermediate Egrets come together to the lakes, rice-growing areas, marshes or mud flats and generally nest in large colonies in trees.¹⁶

Third, the Little Egret (*Egretta garzetta*) (*bailu* 白鹭) appears frequently in Chinese art, and was used as official rank insignia embroidered on robes badges in the Ming and

⁹ Xu Shen, *Shuowen jiezi*, Han, reprint, Beijing, 1963, p.80 (lu). Xu Shen described the *lu* (egret) as the *bailu* (white egret); the compound character of *lu* is made up of the radical 'bird' (*niao* 鳥) and the phonetic *lu* 路 (path).

¹⁰ Zhu and Zou, *op. cit.*, p.36.

¹¹ *Ibid.* Hancock and Kushlan, *op. cit.*, p.26. Zhu and Zou did not report the breast plumes; Hancock and Kushlan point out that plumes on the breast also became dense and short in the breeding season.

¹² *Ibid.* Kiyosu Yukiyasu, *Zohokaiteiban Nihonchoruidaizukan III*, Tokyo, 1978, p.917.

¹³ *Ibid.*

¹⁴ *Ibid.* Hancock and Kushlan report that back plumes during the breeding season are shorter than the Great White Egret's but breast plumes are much longer and denser (Hancock and Kushlan, *op. cit.*, p.28).

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁶ *Ibid.* Kiyosu (1978a), *op. cit.*, p.918.

Qing Dynasties.¹⁷ Their size is small, about 51 to 69 cm in total length, the largest roughly 10 cm smaller than the largest Intermediate Egret.¹⁸ Its pointed bill is black during the breeding season and becomes greenish yellow or yellow in the lower part near the chin in winter and is even longer than that of the Intermediate Egret (Figure 4.3).¹⁹ The legs are black with yellow feet.²⁰ During the breeding season, long loose decorative plumes are formed on the back, the throat and crest.²¹ A crest of two or three drooping plumes from the head, 17 to 20 cm long, is one of the notable features of the Little Egret.²² Unlike both Great White Egret and Intermediate Egret, it shows a preference for seeking food solitarily or forming small groups of at most ten in the marshes, ricefields, lakes or mud flats.²³ Hancock and Kushlan report that "The feeding techniques used by the Little Egret are highly variable, depending on habitat and food availability."²⁴ They nest in flocks on trees with other egrets, such as the Great White Egret, Intermediate Egret and Night Heron in huge mixed colonies.²⁵

Fourth, the Eastern reef heron (*Egretta sacra*) (yanlu 岩鹭) is a coastal bird ranging into temperate zones but dimorphic in two colour phases, dark blue-grey with a thin white streak on the throat, and white (Figure 4.4).²⁶ It is approximately 55 to 75 cm in total length, nearly as large as the Little Egret, both white and dark phases having long, pointed slender plumes on the back of the head and lower fore neck, and long plumes

¹⁷ Zhu and Zou, *op. cit.*, p.2.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p.37. Kiyosu (1978a), *op. cit.*, p.920.

¹⁹ *Ibid.* <http://ex.sendai-c.ed.jp/nakano-ps/FILE/Zukan2.html> (see *Egretta Alba* and *Egretta Intermedia*)

²⁰ Zhu and Zou, *ibid.*, p.37.

²¹ Zhu and Zou, *ibid.* Kiyosu (1978a), *loc. cit.* Hancock and Kushlan report that in the season of courtship and breeding long, fuzzy back plumes slightly recurve at the tail and short breast plumes develop (Hancock and Kushlan, *op. cit.*, p.30, 126.).

²² Kiyosu (1978a), *loc. cit.*

²³ Zhu and Zou, *op. cit.*, p.38. Kiyosu (1978a), *ibid.* Grzimek, *op. cit.*, p.202. Zhu and Zou report that the Little Egrets are often solitary in seeking food. On the other hand, Kiyosu observes that small flocks of the Little Egret can be also seen seeking food. Hancock and Kushlan report that the Great White Egrets and the Intermediate Egrets also feed both solitary and in groups, and the Little Egret is "a highly gregarious, individually aggressive, species." (Hancock and Kushlan, *op. cit.*, p.88, 112, 130).

²⁴ Hancock and Kushlan, *op. cit.*, p.130.

²⁵ Zhu and Zou, *op. cit.*, p.38. Kiyosu (1978a), *loc. cit.* Kiyosu reports that Jiangsu province is one of their breeding areas.

²⁶ Zhu and Zou, *ibid.*, p.39-40. Hancock and Kushlan remark that the Eastern Reef Heron is only a seasonal visitor to the south China coast (Hancock and Kushlan, *op. cit.*, p.140).

like a straw rain-coat on the back during the breeding season.²⁷ The pointed slender plumes on the back of the head are shorter and thicker than those of the Chinese Egret.²⁸ Like the Little Egret, it has yellow feet and a brownish bill.²⁹ They normally breed in a hiding place or on inaccessible coastal cliffs and generally stand alone on the shore reef and rocky coasts.³⁰ When foraging, they stand in a crouched posture and walk quickly or run for prey.³¹ They are close relatives of the Chinese Egret.³²

The Chinese Egret (*Egretta eulophotes*) (*huangzuibailu* 黄嘴白鹭) is the fifth species of the White Egret with entirely white plumage in China (Figure 4.5).³³ It is the smallest of all five species, about 45 to 65 cm in size, and its yellow bill in the breeding season differs from the others.³⁴ It grows a shaggy crest on the back of the head and plumes in the breeding season on the breast and shoulders and on the back extending beyond the tail; the crest at 8 to 10 cm is shorter than that of the Little Egret.³⁵ Plumes on the waist are also not as long as those of the Little Egret, however the crest on the top of the head, about 15 to 20 lanceolate feathers, is more luxuriant than the Little Egret's, and is conspicuous.³⁶ Remarkable square tail quills are also a characteristic feature.³⁷ Its habitat is small sea islands, coasts, sea-gulfs, shallow tidal estuaries, lakes and swamps, alone or in small groups, nesting in trees on the islands. Feeding behaviour is similar to the Eastern Reef Egret.³⁸

4.1.3 Distribution of *Egretta Forster* in Korea and China

²⁷ *Ibid.* Hancock and Kushlan, *ibid.*, p.138.

²⁸ *Ibid.*

²⁹ Hermann Heinzel *et al.*, *The Birds of Britain and Europe with North Africa and the Middle East*, London, 1972, p.36.

³⁰ *Ibid.* p.40.

³¹ Hancock and Kushlan, *op. cit.*, p.141.

³² Grzimek, *op. cit.*, p.201.

³³ Zhu and Zou, *op. cit.*, p.39-40.

³⁴ *Ibid.*

³⁵ *Ibid.* Kiyosu (1978a), *op. cit.*, p.921. Hancock and Kushlan, *op. cit.*, p.32.

³⁶ Kiyosu, *ibid.* p.921-2. Hancock and Kushlan report that the Chinese Egret is distinguishable from the Eastern Reef Heron by its longer and more spectacular breeding plumes (Hancock and Kushlan, *ibid.*, p.134)

³⁷ *Ibid.*

³⁸ Kiyosu (1978a), *op. cit.*, p.922.

In Korea, these species are all observed and their distributions are: 1. The Great White Egret inhabiting the whole Korean peninsular; 2. The Intermediate Egret ranging over the southern part of South Korea; 3. The Little Egret ranging over the south part of North Korea and the whole of South Korea and breeding in South Korea; 4. Eastern Reef Heron breeding mainly in the coastal areas of South Korea and Cheju Island.; 5. The Chinese Egret on the north Korean coast including Taegam Island and extending to Cheju Island in South Korea.³⁹

In China, the distribution of the White Egret is predominantly in the south with Little Egrets the commonest.⁴⁰ In the northern part of China, mainly from Jiangsu northwards, the Great White Egret is commonest, in Heilongjiang, Jilin, Liaoning, Neimenggu, Hebei, Beijing, Tianjin, Shandong, and so forth.⁴¹ The Intermediate Egret in the northern parts occurs in Gansu and Shandong.⁴² The Little Egret in the northern parts is in Shaanxi, Gansu, Qinghai, Shandong and Henan.⁴³ The Eastern Reef Heron ranges mainly from Shandong southwards down the coast.⁴⁴ Lastly, the Chinese Egret in the north is widespread in Jilin, Liaoning, Shanxi, Shandong and Henan.⁴⁵ In summing up, in northern China, white egrets with conspicuous crests are the Chinese Egret alone on the basis of modern reports.

4.1.4 Resemblance between Cranes and Herons in the Arts

When cranes and herons are depicted in the decorative arts in monochrome, identification is sometimes confusing. Both being long-legged and long-necked they are similar in appearance. According to *The Birds of Britain and Europe with North Africa and the Middle East* published in 1972, there is still a habit in some country districts of

³⁹ *Ibid.* Hancock and Kushlan, *op. cit.*, p.86, 88, 110, 112, 128, 130-1, 136, 140-1. The author saw a Little Egret (or possibly white Eastern Reef Heron or Chinese Egret) standing solitary in the coast area of Inch'ŏn on the way to central Seoul from the airport bus in April, 2001.

⁴⁰ Zhen, Zuoxin, *Zhongguo niaoleifenbuminglu*, Beijing, 1976, p.23-6. Zhu and Zou, *op. cit.*, 35-41. Kiyosu (1978a), *op. cit.*, p.915-22.

⁴¹ Zhu and Zou, *op. cit.*, p.36. Hancock and Kushlan, *op. cit.*, p.89.

⁴² Zhu and Zou, *ibid.*, p.41.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, p.38. Hancock and Kushlan, *op. cit.*, p.131.

⁴⁴ Hancock and Kushlan, *ibid.*, p.141.

⁴⁵ Zhu and Zou, *op. cit.*, p.39.

Britain to call herons 'cranes'.⁴⁶ In this regard, it can be said that cranes are typically confusable with egrets.⁴⁷ Artisans and artists in their periods should have known the habits of cranes and herons, and cranes and herons could be usually seen in daily life. Hence artisans and artists may have had instances and rules to understand differences between cranes and herons, whether they had actually seen them or not, when they depicted them in the arts. However, these have not come down to us, and we may generally miss subtle differences in their depiction. Therefore it is important to understand comparative behaviour and major ornithological differences between them before entering the main discussion of historical egret motifs.

The heron family, the *Ardeidae*, are noted for their flying posture, tucking the neck into an S-shape and outstretching the legs beyond the tail.⁴⁸ In contrast, although cranes strain the neck in flight, the head is more stretched out.⁴⁹ Besides, it is worth noting that the tail of cranes is slightly curling inward with a tuft of plumage, and its straight beak is not as long as the egret's.⁵⁰ It may therefore be said that egrets look more slender in appearance – an almond shaped body with a long, sharp beak. Cranes can have a wingspan of over two metres, broader than an egret's.⁵¹ Ornithologically, the two are classified very differently; cranes are Gruiformes, while herons belong to Ciconiiformes, and cranes are not related to grallatorial birds like herons, although they appear to resemble them when depicted in works of art.⁵²

⁴⁶ Heinzel *et al.*, *op. cit.*, p.110.

⁴⁷ Storks may be confusing to identify from egrets. However, storks do not have a long drooping feather on their head but a slight crest at the back of the head (Grzimek, *op. cit.*, vol.7, p.214.). Grzimek identifies storks that "The members of the remaining four families of the Ciconiiformes are somewhat less adapted to life near the water than are the herons."(*ibid.*). That is to say, storks are related to herons, however it is not necessary for them to inhabit always near water like herons.

⁴⁸ Grzimek, *op. cit.*, p.189.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, vol. 8, Birds II, p.114. Heinzel remarks that both neck and legs of cranes are stretched out in flight, a clear distinction from herons (Heinzel *et al.*, *loc. cit.*). Most ornithologists report the neck of cranes extended straight out in front in flight.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*

⁵¹ Kerrod, *op. cit.*, p.58.

⁵² *Ibid.*, p.9. A group of the Ciconiiformes belongs to ancient birds dating back more than 100 million years to Cretaceous times, while the Gruiformes evolved 20 million years later than the Ciconiiformes (Oliver L. Austin, Jr, *Birds of the World*, London, 1961, p.12-3, 50, 101).

Cranes are generally regarded as wetland birds, in swamp and grassland, having long legs and long necks like egrets.⁵³ They are known as 'the world's tallest flying birds' and their elegant appearance is always admired.⁵⁴ Grzimek remarks, "Heron do not soar like storks, even though some species know how to utilize thermals."⁵⁵ Actually, cranes travel in echelon and can utilize thermals to extend flying range.⁵⁶ Cranes' grand flying performance and their great wingspan presumably led people in ancient China to the image of cranes amid clouds, frequently depicted together more like a pattern in works of arts than a combination of actual birds and clouds.⁵⁷ Furthermore, cranes are renowned as long-lived birds, and therefore the Chinese people regard them as birds of good omen. To enhance this auspicious meaning, cranes are often linked together with other symbols of longevity, such as the tortoise, pine-tree, hermit, cloud and so forth. Egrets do not bear this symbolic meaning but different hidden meanings of good wishes are referred to when they are linked with tortoise and lotus.⁵⁸ The author has not come across a combination of egrets and pine-trees or of egrets and a hermit, at least on jades.⁵⁹

Other characteristic differences of appearance between cranes and egrets are that cranes generally have bristles and red-skinned spots on the top of the head.⁶⁰ Therefore, the head of cranes looks more rounded than that of egrets and herons.⁶¹ Moreover, both the Little Egret and the Chinese Egret develop conspicuous crests during the breeding season, which can be the most distinguishable feature although the other three white egrets in China do not have this feature. Basically, no cranes have a crest of long

⁵³ *Ibid.*, p.58.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵⁵ Grzimek., *op. cit.*, vol.7, p.190

⁵⁶ Aramata Hiroshi, *Sekai daihakubutsuzukan*, vol. 4, birds, Tokyo, 1987, p152-3, Grzimek, *op. cit.*, vol.8, p.123.

⁵⁷ A pattern of egrets and clouds seems to be uncommon before the Ming period. The typical example of this is the official rank insignia of the Ming and Qing. Egrets are most likely to be associated with waterscapes.

⁵⁸ Tokyo National Museum, *Jixiang – Auspicious Motifs in Chinese Art*, Tokyo, 1998, p.59.

⁵⁹ There is a painting of egrets and a pine tree in the Ming Dynasty. See Figure 4.28.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*

⁶¹ Kakizawa points out that crane patterns and motifs are depicted with head round in shape (Kakizawa Ryoza *et al.*, "Homotsu tokubetsu chosa, tori no umo to monyo", *Shosoin kiyo*, no.22, 2000, Mar. p.15-6).

drooping plumes from the head as egrets and herons do.⁶² The diet of herons and egrets consists predominantly of fish, which is different to cranes, although fish is a favorite food of theirs too.⁶³ The difference in length of bills between them may support this evidence. Bills of cranes are not as long as those of herons and egrets which are adaptations for feeding in shallow water, although cranes' straight bills are fairly long.⁶⁴ It is customary for herons to forage on the ground.⁶⁵ Moreover, when hunting prey, the heron's performance is characteristic and distinguishable from that of the crane. For example, when hunting, the Little Egret stands motionless or else slowly wades in the shallow water with cautious steps until a fish comes within reach and suddenly seizes the fish by thrusting its pointed bill into the water at speed.⁶⁶ They also occasionally spread their wings over their heads like umbrellas to create shadows over the water to enable them to see or attract fish.⁶⁷ Another characteristic skill of the Little Egret to seek out hiding prey is to approach it foot and leg vibrating in the water.⁶⁸ The Little Egret has strong eye-sight as does the Intermediate Egret; the movement, in flocks, of the Chinese Egret is quicker than the Little Egret.⁶⁹

Cranes are said "to spend much of their time on open water",⁷⁰ "Life in the open landscape may be the reason that cranes, unlike herons and storks, do not roost in trees, the crowned crane excepted."⁷¹ Cranes inhabit swamps and grasslands.⁷² The most distinctive habit of cranes are their remarkable dancing ceremonies, bobbing, bowing,

⁶² There are also cranes called the 'Crowned Crane' which have a feather crown in the shape of a fan on the head similar to the peacock (Grzimek, *op. cit.*, vol.8, p.118, 121). Demoiselle Cranes acquire thick plumes on the back of the head, but do not inhabit China (Dr Zonfrillo, interview, May 29, 2003). It is, however, totally different in appearance to the crest of herons.

⁶³ Grzimek, *op. cit.*, vol.7, p.191. Kerrod, *op. cit.*, p.36,58. Egrets' other foods are frogs, insects, loaches, crayfish, shrimps and so on (Kiyosu (1978a), *op. cit.*, p.917-22.). Cranes eat insects, fish, snails, seeds and so forth (Kerrod, *ibid.*).

⁶⁴ Heinzel *et al.*, *loc. cit.*

⁶⁵ Hancock and Kushlan, *op. cit.*, p.21. "Aerial foraging is used rarely but is surprisingly widespread among herons of all sizes."

⁶⁶ Kerrod, *ibid.*, p.37. Kiyosu (1978a), *op. cit.*, p.920.

⁶⁷ <http://ex.sendai-c.ed.jp/uakano-ps/FILE/Zukan2.html> (see *Egretta Garzetta*, i.e. Little Egret)

⁶⁸ Grzimek, *op. cit.*, vol. 7, p.202.

⁶⁹ Kiyosu (1978a), *op. cit.*, p.920, 922.

⁷⁰ Hanzák and Formánek, *op. cit.*, p.137.

⁷¹ Grzimek, *op. cit.*, vol.8, p.121, Hanzák and Formánek, *op. cit.*, p.140.

⁷² Kerrod, *op. cit.*, p.58.

leaping, stamping, wing-flapping and so forth, which are never observed of herons, although herons do have a performance of greeting for an arriving partner (Figures 4.6 and 4.7).⁷³ When resting, egrets such as the Intermediate Egret frequently stand quietly on one leg, the other leg folded up and the long neck drawn back into an S-shape in a hunched posture without movement.⁷⁴ This resting posture is characteristic of the Little Egret,⁷⁵ and can be seen in many works of art. They also perch on trees like willows, or pause on riverbanks or rocks in a distinctive resting pose standing quietly on one leg.⁷⁶ When cranes rest, they also stand on one leg, however their heads are turned back with their bills tucked into the plumage on their back.⁷⁷ It should be noted that they normally do not perch on trees as egrets do.⁷⁸

4.2 Egrets depicted in Works of Art: Auspicious Motifs

In China, auspicious motifs have been employed widely in works of art. Symbolism has been applied and imbedded in selected motifs to convey good wishes. This was traditionally appreciated by viewers or owners of objects and works of art over the ages, reflecting their life, thought and culture. These symbolic images have persisted to some degree throughout the dynasties, or developed and transformed gradually, or even become covered with layers of meaning depending on the artistic styles of the period. To trace back auspicious imagery and scrutinize original hidden meanings which were once commonly shared involves considerable difficulties, since what was once common knowledge people of earlier periods considered it unnecessary to annotate and record.⁷⁹ It was only when these allusions were becoming obscure that they became a subject to investigate.⁸⁰

In this section, the historical background of the egret motif will be discussed, to explore

⁷³ *Ibid.*, p.59. Grzimek, *op. cit.*, vol. 7, p.190.

⁷⁴ Kiyosu (1978a), *op. cit.*, p.918, 920.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.* Zhu and Zou, *op. cit.*, p.38.

⁷⁶ Kiyosu (1978a), *loc. cit.*

⁷⁷ Kiyosu, *Nihon chorui daizukan*, vol. II, 1978, p.709, 711, 713, 716.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*

⁷⁹ Miyazaki Noriko, *op. cit.*, p.266. Imai, *op. cit.*, p.24.

⁸⁰ Miyazaki, *ibid.*

by what types of people and in what kinds of situation it was particularly in demand. This will be based on prior chapters and on ornithology, using historical written documents and works of art bearing egret motifs.

4.2.1 The Little Egret painted on A Silk Banner in the Warring States (475-221 BC)

Bird motifs can be traced back as early as the Hongshan culture (c. 3500-2500 BC) (i.e. part of Liaoning province and Inner Mongolia) of the Neolithic Period. Figure 4.8 shows an example. This object is regarded as a *xiao* 鴞, a horned owl with a falcon's bill, and was unearthed at Bairin Youqi 巴林右旗 in Inner Mongolia.⁸¹ It has been frequently found and is one of the principal categories in this period, related to fetishism and auspicious imagery.⁸² There is a v-shaped groove at the back of the neck suggesting an attachment.⁸³ However, it is said that this bird motif eventually disappeared after the Shang Dynasty (c. 1500-1050 BC) (i.e. Western Zhou Dynasty onwards), possibly owing to a change in association from the auspicious to the ill-omened and sinister.⁸⁴ Raptors like hawks and falcons are well-known for being favoured by the northern tribes, and Manchurian peregrine falcons are famous. Distribution may explain this.

The first recognisable appearance of egrets in Chinese art in China is on a silk banner of the state of the Chu 楚 dating from the middle of the Warring States period (475-221 BC) and excavated from a tomb in Changsha 长沙 (Figure 4.9).⁸⁵ This silk banner painting shows a gentleman riding on a dragon, ascending to heaven guided seemingly by a carp and accompanied by a white egret.⁸⁶ In the *Zhongguo meishu quanji*, the bird

⁸¹ ZMQ:Y9, p.3.

⁸² *Ibid.* ZYQ:Y1, p.25-6. Zhou Nanquan, *Ancient Jades in Zoomorphism and Miraculous Animal*, Taiwan, 1994, p.132-3. Zhou remarks that there are currently two discernible species of hawk depicted on jades; one is *xiao*, another is *haidongqing* (Manchurian peregrine falcon) and others are just treated generally as hawks. Jade hawk carvings are also a major category in this period.

⁸³ ZMQ:Y9, *ibid.* This was probably made for a *pei* (Zhou Nanquan, p.133.).

⁸⁴ “服以鴞，不祥鳥也。”(HS, juan 48, p. 2226). Zhou Nanquan, *ibid.* Takahama discussed whether this might relate to different ideas and ideology in different periods, and he suggests that it is hard to assume that the owl was always symbolic of ill-omen as it was in the Han (Takahama Shu, “Chugoku kodai no kishomon”, in *Jixiang*, p.12-7, Tokyo, 1998, p.15-6). Indeed, a *xiao*-shaped pot has been unearthed from a Warring States tomb in Sichuan (Sichuansheng bowuguan and Qingchuanxian wenhuaguan, “Qingchuanxian chutu Qingengxiutianlunmudu”, *Wenwu*, 1982, no.1, pl.2:1.)

⁸⁵ ZMQ:H1, p.21-2.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.* Zhu and Zou, *op. cit.*, p.174. In the publications, it seems still debatable to interpret the carp

depicted on the banner has been identified not as a white egret but as a crane. Despite this, the bird has typical features of the Little Egret, standing on one leg, with long neck and legs, a slender body and a conspicuous long drooping crest.⁸⁷ That this bird is a white egret has been suggested by the ornithologist, Zhu Xi, in his book of the *Heron of China*.⁸⁸ The provenance, Hunan, also suggests the Little Egret. What did the white egret symbolize here? A white egret comes in the *Book of Odes* 诗经 (one of the Five Confucian Classics); "The stag is glossy, the egret shines bright pure white, the Emperor is present at the pond, fish abound and leap."⁸⁹ Judging from this ode, the egret is an image of purity, splendour and exuberance.

The posture of the Little Egret on the banner suggests the distinctive 'display' of egrets. Its head back and its bill straight upward can be understood as advertising territory, defending territory or greeting of courtship.⁹⁰ The banner was placed on the coffin suggesting wishes for the man's afterlife.⁹¹ There are three possible reasons for the role of the egret here: the first is a symbol of wealth, the second is as guard in the afterlife and the third is to purify the soul of the dead for his ascent to Heaven. It may be that the egret's display denotes a 'greeting' or 'courtship' for the prosperity of his descendants or for his wealth in the afterlife or for his purification for the afterlife, or it may denote the guarding of his journey to Heaven even after death by a faithful retainer.

and the dragon boat in relation to the idea of immortality; the Little Egret has not been discussed in this context (David Deyu, Wang, *Life and death in early Chinese Art*, Taipei, 2000, 226-7, 229).

⁸⁷ ZMQ:H1, *ibid.*

⁸⁸ Zhu and Zou, *loc. cit.*

⁸⁹ Takada Shinji, *Shikyo ge*, trans. of the *Book of Odes*, Tokyo, 1968, p.382-7 (Daya:Lingtai). "鹿麇濯濯, 白鳥嚶嚶, 王在靈沼, 於物魚躍." *Bainiao* 白鳥 (white bird) is *lu* 鷺 (egret) (HS, juan 87, shang, p.3551). *Lingzhao* 靈沼 is a pond in the detached palace of King Wen of the Zhou Dynasty, the place to welcome a spirit (Takada, *ibid.*, p.382, 386). The place has been assumed to be near the modern Xi'an based on the record *Sanfuhuangtu* 三輔黃圖, and Shirakawa explains that the expression of leaping fish indicates the appearance of high-spirited power (Shirakawa Shizuka, *Shikyo gasho*, vol. 2, trans. of the *Book of Odes*, Tokyo, 1998, 57-8 (Daya:Lintai). William Jennings translated this as: "Behold him in his wondrous park, Where stags and hinds all sleek and fat; - Around him glinting snow-white birds. Behold him on his wondrous lake, Where crowding fish their frolic take." (William Jennings, *The Old "Poetry Classic" of the Chinese*, New York, 1969, p.290).

⁹⁰ Hancock and Kushlan, *op. cit.*, p.15-6, 130-1. Hancock and Kushlan state that the bill is closed for the courtship display, whereas the bill of the egret depicted on the banner is slightly opened (*ibid.*, p.15).

⁹¹ ZMQ:III, *loc. cit.*

It is explained by Miyazaki Noriko that fish symbolise wealth in general, and in particular the fertility and prosperity of women, the waterfowl a symbol of men.⁹² Miyazaki illustrates this from a jar excavated in Henan province (Figure 4.10) showing a stork seizing a fish by the mouth in the tip of its bill.⁹³ Moreover, Miyazaki asks whether the bird and fish in the Chu banner are a metaphor of man and woman or whether the bird is a guide to lead the deceased to Heaven.⁹⁴ The latter is also suggested in *Zhongguo meishu quanji*, but the bird was assumed to be a crane connected with the idea of immortals 神仙思想.⁹⁵ It seems that the Little Egret, in the 'display' posture may represent the man's spirit guardian, a supernatural being in egret form ascending to Heaven, standing alone and facing the opposite direction behind him. The carp may allude to fertility and prosperity in his after life. The image in this scene seems to overlap with the image of egrets in the passage from the *Book of Odes*. The ode and other historical written sources suggest that the pure whiteness of its plumage relates to purity or integrity.⁹⁶ It is hard here, with the Chu banner, to postulate that the egret stands for men, and the carp for women.

According to another ode in the *Book of Odes*, an egret dance was dedicated to the King of Zhou by descendants of the former Shang Dynasty, Xia and Yin,⁹⁷ destroyed by the Zhou Dynasty, to offer dynastic ritual with pure sincerity.⁹⁸ The descendants of the Xia and the Yin kings and their retinue were guests of the King of Zhou. The 'egret dance'

⁹² Miyazaki Noriko, *op. cit.*, p.272. C.A.S. Williams, *Outlines of Chinese Symbolism & Art Motives*, New York, 1976, p.183 (Fish).

⁹³ *Ibid.*

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, p.271. Miyazaki states that the water bird of the silk banner looks like an egret (*ibid.*, vol. 363, p.331.).

⁹⁵ ZMQ:H1, *loc. cit.*

⁹⁶ HH, juan 80 xia, p.2646. "薛君章句曰：鹭，絮白之鳥也。"

⁹⁷ Xia and Yin are, at present, included in the Shang Dynasty (c.1500-1050 BC) by archaeologists.

However, the *Book of Odes* and *Lushishuo* 鲁诗说 describe that two kings came to Zhou to help ritual ceremony, the kings of Xia and Yin, ancestors of Qi 杞 and Song 宋 (Chen Zizhan *et al.*, *Shijing zhijie*, vol.2, Shanghai, 1983, p.1095-6). This egret dance mainly relates to the Yin descendants (Shirakawa Shizuka, *Shikyo kokufu*, trans. of the *Book of Odes*, Tokyo, 1990, p.241-2.)

⁹⁸ Mekata Makoto, *Shikyoyakuchu (ge)*, trans. of the *Book of Odes*, Tokyo, 1983, p.159 (Zhou song: Shenlu). Jennings translates the title of this ode as 'Greetings of guests representing at court the two former Dynasties' and renders: "Like spreading egrets flying To yonder western mere, Here in such (stately) fashion My visitors appear. There (i.e. in their own land) – never in disfavour, Here (i.e. at my Court) – never wished away, – Sure, night and day, their praises Shall they retain for aye." (Jennings, *op. cit.*, p.352.)

was performed at court in the ancestral mausoleum of the Zhou Dynasty, a performance of dance and music formerly presented at the Yin court to show loyalty in assisting the king with sacrifice.⁹⁹ White had been prized by the Yin and the white egret of unsullied appearance was greatly admired by them.¹⁰⁰ White egrets, then, represented the pure sincerity of the Yin descendants.¹⁰¹ According to Shirakawa, white egrets in this ode signify the presence of the supernatural in bird form, as it was believed that the miming of birds expressed the advent of ancestral spirits.¹⁰² The white egret, therefore, can be interpreted as an ancestral spirit of a man or as an embodiment of his own spirit. Chu is the name of a state in the Zhou Dynasty and it is said that King Cheng (r. 1115-1079 BD) of Zhou honoured Chu with the title of viscounty.¹⁰³ Is there any relation between the white egrets depicted on the banner and the Zhou ode of the white egrets?

According to the earliest lexicographical work, the *Erya* 尔雅 (Examples of Refined Usage, 3 BC),

In the reign of King Wei 威 of Chu, Ibis Sinensis (*zhulu* 朱鹭) flew down in a flock and danced. They turned red. This is the so-called ancient music of *guchui* 鼓吹, military music played on hand-drums and bamboo pipes, 'A tune of *Zhulu*'. The bird is a white egret and the red one is rare.¹⁰⁴

In the *Shiji*, there is a similar story:

When King Wu (r. 1134-1116 BC) crossed the Yellow River to defeat the Yin, a white fish leaped into the King's boat. As soon as the boat had crossed over the river, a flame suddenly burned up and metamorphosed into a crow in front of the King. The crow was red and its voice was calm.¹⁰⁵

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁰ Takada Shinji, *op. cit.*, p.576-7(Zhousong: Shenlu).

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰² Shirakawa *op. cit.*, 31-4.

¹⁰³ Kyodai toyoshijiten hensankai, *Toyoshijiten*, Tokyo, 1980, p.490.

¹⁰⁴ Hao Yixing, *Fuyayishu*, vol. 2, reprint, Shanghai, 1982, p.1255 (luchunchu). Chen Yuanlong, ed., *Gezhijingyuan*, Qing, reprint, vol.2, Shanghai, 1989, p.897 (lu). Watanabe On, *Hyochu teisei kokijiten*, Tokyo, 1977, p.3408. "楚威王時有朱鷺 合谷飛翔而來舞則復有赤者 舊鼓吹朱鷺曲是也 然則鳥名白鷺 赤者少耳."

¹⁰⁵ SJ, juan 4, benji 4, p.120-1. "武王渡河, 中河, 白魚躍入王舟中, 武王俯取以祭. 既渡, 有火自上復下, 至于王屋, 流為鳥, 其色赤, 其聲魄云. 是時, 諸侯不期而會盟津者八百諸侯. 諸侯皆曰: 「紂可

Those two stories concern the defeat of the Yin, the colours of white and red and birds. White symbolized the Yin and the white egrets were used for the ode in the *Book of Odes* to represent descendants of the Yin and the Xia. The birds in the *Erya* are actually the white egrets but the *zhulu* (Ibis Sinensis 朱鷺) song is sung by red birds under the Zhou state because the Zhou adopted red as its colour instead of white.¹⁰⁶ The White Egret in Chinese characters is 'White *lu*' 白鷺, and the Ibis Sinensis 'Red *lu*' 朱鷺 although they belong strictly speaking to different families. It seems there is some relationship between the white colour of the Yin and the red colour representing the Zhou. The reason for quoting the second story is that it seems to bear some similarity to the painting although the carp in the banner is not white and the birds are not the Ibis Sinensis nor red crows but the White Egret. The legend of the Zhou Dynasty seems to have been employed in the imagery of the silk banner as an auspicious motif. If this can be accepted, the Little Egret and the carp can be considered as guardian deities or auspicious guards for the King on the dragon boat on the way to Heaven, like King Wu accomplishing his victory. Otherwise, the Little Egret may represent a purification of his soul or his pure spiritual attendant in the ascent to Heaven, relating to the idea of Immortals and the supernatural; this is suggested by the unsullied appearance of the white egrets.

In conclusion, it can be postulated that the Little Egret of the banner possibly stands for the man's unsullied spiritual attendant or guardian, or for the purification of his spirit in the ascent to Heaven.

4.2.2 The Image of the Egret in the Qin Dynasty (221-206 BC)

In the Qin Dynasty, there is an instance of an egret painted on a lacquer bowl for serving food and drink unearthed from a tomb at Shuihudi 睡虎地 in Hubei Province (Figure

伐矣。」武王曰：「女未知天命，來可也。」乃還師歸。」 The fish is a creature with scales and is a symbol of the soldier, and its white colour was the colour of the Yin; it is an auspicious sign that soldiers from the Yin are going to surrender in front of the King. The crow with red plumes suggests that King Wu of Zhou will succeed King Wen of Yin, because the red colour is the colour of Zhou: in other words, the red crow stands for Zhou (*ibid.*).

¹⁰⁶ Yang Shen of the Ming pointed out the relation between decoration of a drum, the call of the Ibis Sinensis and white egrets. "...鷺色本白漢初有朱鷺之瑞故以鷺形飾鼓又以朱鷺名鼓吹曲也。" (Yang Shen, *Danqianzonglu*, juan 8, in *SQ*, vol.855, p.855-401, *zhulu*).

4.11). Shuihudi is famous for its unearthed wooden writing strips (*Yunmeng Qinjian* 云梦秦简).¹⁰⁷

The image of the egret on the bowl has been identified in *Zhongguo meishu quanji*, but the author is uncertain of the type of egret from the ornithological point of view.¹⁰⁸ The design of the composition, an egret chasing two fishes, seems to adopt a primitive perspective, as the egret figures of the *Zhongguo meishu quanji* show.¹⁰⁹ For example, the fish in front escaping the egret is described with large eye and slightly thick body, and the fish behind painted with relatively smaller face and eye, and an egret behind the second fish is drawn with much smaller face and eye. Therefore, the bill of the egret appears very short and its balance is somewhat odd, even if it was originally intended to be some other species of waterfowl. If it were a mythical creature, for example, a phoenix, it would have a crest and long tail feathers like a peacock, which is different to the painting here. Accordingly it can not conceivably be any other waterfowl with long plumes on the head and relatively long neck and legs than an egret. However, it should be noted that this example can not be clearly confirmed as an egret from an ornithological standpoint. In the centre of the bowl, there is a motif like a *yang* (positive) circle, corresponding to the *yin* (negative), like the circle of the egret body. Possibly those figures may be symbols or motifs of something else; the painting overall is seemingly not intended to be realistic but to some degree stylized in appearance.

If we assume the waterfowl on the bowl to be an egret, the elongated neck and long feather crest on the head can be related possibly to the Little Egret, and this is supported by its provenance, Hubei. According to *Zhongguo meishu quanji*, there is an inscription on the inside bottom of the bowl, '*ting* 亭', suggesting that the vessel was made at the lacquer factory in the *ting* of *Xianyang* 咸阳 (the capital in the Qin Dynasty).¹¹⁰ The

¹⁰⁷ Kudo Motoo, "Shin kan kara mietekita Shin no shihaitaisei", *Sinica*, 2000, Sept., no.9, p.28.

¹⁰⁸ ZMQ:Q8, p.11. plate no. 29.

¹⁰⁹ It is said that the principle in painting of drawing the foreground larger and the background smaller dates from the early periods of Chinese painting (Wang Yaoting, *Looking at Chinese Painting*, Tokyo, 1996, p.21).

¹¹⁰ ZMQ:Q8, *loc. cit.* Yunmengxian wenwu gongzuozu, "Hubei Yunmeng shuihude Qin Han mu fajue jianbao", *Kaogu*, 1981, no.1, p.33-5.

Little Egret is also found in Shaanxi province according to current reports. Yet, judging from the simplified painting and the comparatively dry area, Xianyang, the Little Egret might have been unfamiliar to the painter. It can at least be said that employing the design of egrets and fish was officially practised in the Qin Dynasty.

What was represented by the motif of the Little Egret chasing fishes? As discussed in the example of the silk banner of Chu and suggested by Miyazaki, are fishes and the Little Egret here compared to woman and man in a metaphor for sexual intercourse related to the fertility and prosperity of one's descendants? If the motifs in the centre of the vessel and on the egret's body are *yin* and *yang* circles, it can be also interpreted that *yin* and *yang* are corresponding to women and men. Two possibilities of the symbolic meaning can be raised; 1. A metaphor of a man chasing a woman, a wish for fertility and prosperity; 2. A metaphor of a virtuous man chasing villains, representing specific officials. The second assumption is based on the metaphor of egrets compared to a man of integrity from the annotation of a poem made around the Han period and also to the *houguan* of the Northern Wei.¹¹¹ With only this example, it is uncertain whether the image of egrets representing integrity was set in the Qin times or not. However, it can also be considered that the area of Yunmeng used to be in the territory of Chu and may have inspired the motif of the white egrets, if any auspicious symbol bearing egrets persisted in the area from Chu times. The context of a bowl for eating and drinking leads us also to consider that the symbolic meaning relates to the fertility and prosperity of one's descendants rather than being a metaphor of catching villains, the official duty of the *ting*. The second possibility here would be rather groundless and is not supported by the historical record. It seems reasonable to take the first assumption as the symbolic meaning for this example.

4.2.3 Egrets inscribed on Tomb Stone Reliefs in the Han (206 BC-AD 220)

Considerably more birds in the form of egrets can be found in arts and the historical documents in the Han Dynasty compared to the previous periods. The stone reliefs of

¹¹¹ HH, *loc. cit.* and juan 60 xia, p. 1985. "詩曰：「振振鷺，鷺于下。」注云：「鷺，白鳥也。喻潔白之生，集君之朝也。」"

mastaba found at Hanwangxiang 汉王乡, Tongshan 铜山 district in Xuzhou 徐州 from an Later Han tomb (AD 86) provide us with a different perspective of the image of egrets.¹¹² Figure 4.12 represents two egrets catching the tail of a fish on the top of an unlintelled stone gate tower (*menque* 门阙) and a guard (*menli* 门吏) standing at the gate. The *menli* wears a cage hat (*longguan* 笼冠 also called *wuguan* 武冠) and holds a long halberd in his right hand. The *menli* were the lower ranking Han officials who were employed as guards, chamberlains and the like.¹¹³ Judging from his long halberd, he would be probably here a guard or watchman.¹¹⁴ *Que* 阙 is said to be a gate denoting *menguan* 门观 where he is able to climb and get a distant view, like a watch tower.¹¹⁵ It is also said to be the landmark of the front palace gate,¹¹⁶ and is even a symbol of official status and exploits.¹¹⁷ For example, in the frieze in the top part of the wood between the pillars of the extant *que* in the Yaangaoyi 雅安高颐, Sichuan, there is an inscription showing the encouragement of filial piety and integrity by an owner of the *que* who held the positions of Governor of a Commandery (*taishou*) and Commander-in-chief (*duwei*).¹¹⁸ The nominating system of recruiting officials in the Han was based on Confucian doctrine.¹¹⁹ Therefore, the owner of the *que* might be emphasizing his filial piety and integrity with his official status through the decoration on the gate.

In general, *fenghuang* (Chinese phoenix) are more commonly found on the top of buildings, such as storied buildings and gate towers, in Han stone reliefs. In the *History of the Later Han*, there are records regarding the bronze phoenix decorating the palace

¹¹² This mastaba has been assumed to be the ancestral mausoleum of a descendant of King Chu (Zhou Baoping, "Xuzhou de jizuo zaizang Han huaxiangshi mu yanjiu", *Wenwu*, 1996, no.7, p.72).

¹¹³ Han Yuxiang *et al.*, eds., *Nanyang Handai huaxiangshimu*, Henan, 1998, p.25.

¹¹⁴ 'Tingzhang' holding halberd can be also frequently found on the Han tomb relief stones.

¹¹⁵ HH, juan 40, shang, p.1342. Gao Wen *et al.*, eds., *Zhongguo huaxiangshi quanji*, vol. 7, Jinan, 2000, p.8. Cui Bao, *Gujinzhu* in *Baiziquanshu*, vol. 6, Zhejiang, 1984, p. 3 (Shang, douyi di 2). Xu Shen, *op. cit.*, p.248 (*que*). See also glazed pottery models of the gate tower (Later Han) in the British Museum (OA1938.5-24.72;19.9.5-12.41).

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁷ Han Yuxiang, *op. cit.*, p.31, 41.

¹¹⁸ Gao Wen, *op. cit.*, p.9.

¹¹⁹ HS, juan 6, p.160, HH, juan 61, p.2018 and zhi 24, p.3559.

gate called the gold sparrow (*jinque* 金雀).¹²⁰ Records of egrets on the gates or gate towers are not found. *Fenghuang* (or *zhuque* 朱雀) is known as the emperor of all birds and as an auspicious symbol. It is said that its neck possesses virtue 德, wings righteousness 义, back propriety 礼, breast benevolence 仁 and abdomen truth 信, according to the historical written documents.¹²¹ It is also a symbol of a peaceful world with *fenghuang* eating and drinking naturally and singing and dancing on their own.¹²² In the doctrine of Five Elements, *zhuque* (scarlet bird) is representative of South, so that it stands for the South gate of the palace.¹²³ Judging from the background of *fenghuang* bearing Confucian doctrine and the auspicious imagery of prosperity, it is no wonder that the *fenghuang* was commonly employed as a finial on the gates in this period. On the other hand, the example of egrets on the gate found in Xuzhou is extremely rare, in the 'Complete works of Chinese stone reliefs'.¹²⁴ Why is this? What is symbolized by the two egrets on the *que*?

The subject of Han stone reliefs was selected mainly from mythical stories, ideas of Confucianism, stories of historical heroes, a desire for a promised afterlife, decorous culture and the life of the wealthy elite, literati and officials.¹²⁵ Our example reflects the man's substantial life style.¹²⁶ People who made tomb stone reliefs around Xuzhou were said to be a medium-small local powerful clan.¹²⁷ Xuzhou was a traffic centre for the road going south from Hebei to the lower reaches of the Changjiang basin and also the intersection of the east - west road that connected sea and inland. Many people

¹²⁰ HH, juan 40, shang, p.1345.

¹²¹ Han Yuxiang, *op. cit.*, p.28.

¹²² *Ibid.*

¹²³ ZK, p.704 (*zhuque*). Hayashi Minao states that *fenghuang* on the gate can be interpreted as enhancing the power of the sun (Hayashi Minao, *Ishi ni kizamareta sekai*, Tokyo, 1992, p.43). Wang Deyu suggests that *zhuque* decorated on the gate, palace and so forth related to the idea of immortality (神仙思想) for the ascent of the dead to Heaven (Wang, David Deyu, *op. cit.*, p.286-7).

¹²⁴ There are a couple of examples in Sichuan province. One example of egrets engraved on the stone coffin seems related to an idea of immortality as spiritual birds, in the light of the context of the occupant's coffin. For this, see Gao Wen, *op. cit.*, no.147.

¹²⁵ Gao Wen, *ibid.*, p.8-9. Xu Yiyang *et al.*, eds. *Xuzhou Han huaxiangshi*, Beijing, 1995, p.2. Jane Wilkinson and Nick Pearce, *Harmony and Contrast*, Edinburgh, 1996, p.43.

¹²⁶ Xuzhou bowuguan, "Xuzhou faxian DongHan Yuanhe sannian huaxiang shi", *Wenwu*, 1990, no.9, p.67-8.

¹²⁷ Xu Yiyang, *ibid.*, p.1.

would pass through Xuzhou. Ironstone was abundantly produced there, and it was an important producer of ironware.¹²⁸ Accordingly, the life style engraved on the stone relief reflected the wealthy merchants' and local officials' financial power.¹²⁹ To take this background into consideration, it is conceivable that two egrets holding a fish is a symbol of wealth and fertility; however an intriguing image is also being hinted at by Figure 4.13.

Similarly, the *menli* in Figure 4.13 is standing in front of a *que* gate tower where two birds are catching the neck of a fish. The *menli* wears a typical cage hat of this period but is unarmed. This *menli* seems to be a chamberlain or other official rather than a guard or *tingzhang* (a local policeman), judging from his dress and lack of weapons. It even looks as though this *menli* is meant to receive or dispatch visitors like *tingfu* in front of the gate but not under the gate.¹³⁰ The upper section of the *que* gate tower here is a different shape to the one in Figure 4.12. This *que* may not be intended as a watch tower, judging from its shape, with no space seemingly for people upstairs. It may be a gate alone but not a gate tower. The two birds are not like egrets, as neither has a visible crest and the conspicuous upward wings are not typical of egrets in style. Furthermore, compared to Figure 4.12, the waterfowl here are almost amicably expressed with their prey, like Figure 4.10, showing their mouths touching rather than catching the fish, cruelly bottom up in Figure 4.12. If they are a metaphor of men and women to represent fertility in Figure 4.12, this might not necessarily be connected with morality and propriety, especially at this period. In fact, a stone relief inscribed with scenes behind the gate, Figure 4.13, was described by *Wenwu* as a place of banquets and feasting, with dancing, music on the upper and the middle stories and cooking below (Figure 4.14).¹³¹ An inscription on this stone relief stated that the occupant held the title of marquis.¹³² On the other hand, the scene behind the *que* with a pair of egrets catching a fish (Figure 4.12) shows six men sitting straight on the floor talking on the upper storey, playing

¹²⁸ *Ibid.*

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*

¹³⁰ Hori Toshiakazu, *Chugokukodai no tei wo meguru shomondai*, Tokyo, 1990, p.60. Hori assumes that officials who played a role to receive and dispatch visitors were *tingfu*.

¹³¹ Xuzhou bowuguan, *op. cit.*, p.68, 72.

music with *jiangu* drums and dancing on the middle storey, and cooking on the lower storey (Figure 4.15).¹³³ A similar stone relief with a pair of egrets catching a fish's tail on the finial of a *que* has also been described in *Wenwu* (Figure 4.16).¹³⁴ Like Figure 4.12, an armed *menli* in Figure 4.16 stands at the gate tower and scenes behind depict seven men sitting upright on the floor on the upper storey, five men enjoying games on the middle storey and eight persons standing with hands pressed together in a gesture of playing or courtesy on the lower storey.¹³⁵ The men in Figures 4.15 and 4.16 are clad seemingly with a headgear called *jinxianguan* 进贤冠, which was required for court officials, especially for Confucians.¹³⁶ A representation of sitting officials on the upper storey on the reliefs seems different to other stone reliefs in Hanwang, Tongshan district, and Xuzhou, according to the report of *Wenwu*. Officials sitting mannerly with a gesture of courtesy and holding wooden writing strips 简册 for reporting to the Throne, reading and writing in Figure 4.15, are possibly depicted in a place of work or a place of study of the Confucian classics and doctrine 讲学 for unsullied scholars and scholar-officials,¹³⁷ based on the metaphor of egrets representing noble-mindedness in the *History of the Han*.¹³⁸ In the light of the previous chapter and the image of egrets representing the man of integrity, the existence of *cishi* (Regional Inspectors, later Regional governors) can also accord with this image.

In the later Han, *cishi* were no longer itinerant regional surveillance commissioners but appointed permanently to a Region.¹³⁹ Xuzhou is one of the Regions to establish such inspectorates.¹⁴⁰ It is uncertain whether the gate tower was an official residence of a *cishi* or served as his base. The *History of the Later Han* records that the egret was

¹³² *Ibid.*, p.73.

¹³³ *Ibid.*, p.68-9.

¹³⁴ *Ibid.*, p.67-8, 70.

¹³⁵ *Ibid.*, p.67,70.

¹³⁶ Wang Yinglin, *Yuhai*, Song, facsimile reprint of the Yuan edition, Taipei, 1964, Chetu, vol.3, p.1561-2. HH, zhi, yufuxia, p.3666. “进贤冠, 古缙布冠也, 文儒者之服也。”

¹³⁷ This ‘scholar-officials’ is an approximate term.

¹³⁸ HH, juan 80 xia, p.2646. A similar image on a stone relief was found in Sichuan (Shen Congwen, ed., *Zhongguo gudai fushi yanjiu*, 1997, Shanghai, p.150.).

¹³⁹ HH, juan 1 xia, p.85, zhi 28, p.3620. However, in the Former Han, they had a governmental place of work. “師古曰：「治所, 刺史所止理事處。」” (HS, juan 83, liezhuan, p.3399.)

¹⁴⁰ HH, zhi 21, p.3462.

compared to literati or gentlemen of unsullied character and associated with scholars in the Zhou Dynasty.¹⁴¹ This seems originally to derive from an ode, 'Spreading Egrets Flying' (*zhenlu* 振鷺) of the *Book of Odes*.¹⁴² The egret dance by the Yin and Xia descendants representing 'purity', 'loyalty' and 'integrity', probably purification of the spirit to achieve moral integrity, seems to have been passed down to the Later Han as an image of unsullied literati and gentlemen in association with egrets. In the state of *Lu* 魯 where Confucius was born and studied, the traditional Zhou culture transmitted to *Lu* was based in Xuzhou in the Former Han.¹⁴³ In the Confucian empire of the Han, officials in Regions like Xuzhou could well have learnt about the Zhou possessing images of egrets representing the man of unsullied character. In the Later Han, when Confucianism prevailed, even cultivation of the common people was emphasized by officials like *tingzhang*.¹⁴⁴ High ranking officials such as *cishi* and equivalent officials in the Regions were required to be men of unsullied character or integrity; officials like *yushi* and *cishi* who inspected or governed or represented the people were, without exception, required to be men of integrity without self-interest (*lianli* 廉吏), based on the Confucian ideology.¹⁴⁵ Being highly filial and having integrity (*xiaolian* 孝廉) was also a precondition for the successful career of officials in the Han Dynasty. Therefore, it can be considered that Confucian literati officials selected the image of egrets to present themselves unsullied, with integrity and without self-interest. However, it is not a certainty whether or not egrets were employed to symbolize *cishi* and *yushi* in this period. It can at the least be presumed that egrets were an image for catching villains, and the *que* gate tower can be interpreted as the place where unsullied officials, gentlemen and scholars (or scholar-officials) congregated, considering Figures 4.12, 4.13, 4.15, 4.16 and the *History of the Later Han*. In addition to this, Xuzhou is confirmed as a habitat of the Chinese Egret and the White Egret which have a

¹⁴¹ HH, juan 60 xia, p.1985, juan 80 xia, p.2646. According to the *History of the Later Han*, “鷺, 白鳥也。喻潔白之士, 集君之朝也。”(p.1985). “韓詩曰: 「振鷺于飛, 于彼西雍。」…西雍, 文王辟雍也。言文王之時, 辟雍學士皆潔白之人也。” *Biyong* 辟雍 of King Wen is considered to be the setting of odes “*Lingtao*” 靈台 and “*Zhenlu*” 振鷺, which we discussed in the section of the Chu banner. *Biyong* is near Xi'an, in present day China.

¹⁴² *Ibid.* HH, juan 80 xia, p.2646

¹⁴³ HH, zhi 20, p.3429. In the Later Han, *Lu* became a jurisdiction of Yuzhou 豫州.

¹⁴⁴ Hori, *op. cit.*, p.59.

¹⁴⁵ HH, zhi, p.3559.

conspicuous crest, slender body with short tail, long bill, neck and legs, as presented in our example in Figure 4.12.¹⁴⁶

The *History of the Later Han* records that 'egret' denoted the white egret.¹⁴⁷ It is still unknown whether white egrets as waterfowl were an image of the prosperity of one's descendants and symbolised men. Egrets in their all white plumage may have been held up for the admiration of officials and scholars especially towards the Later Han in connection with the image of an unsullied character, corresponding to the pervasiveness of Confucian theory.

The *History of the Former Han* records that plumage of egrets was used for fan dancing, in summer and winter, to the accompaniment of drums by shamans to invoke spirits.¹⁴⁸ This was greatly favoured by a wife of Hugong 胡公 of Chen 陈 state (a dukedom of the Zhou Dynasty).¹⁴⁹ In fact, this Han record quotes from the *Book of Odes*.¹⁵⁰ An image related to this record can be seen of an egret standing on a drum (*jiangu* 建鼓) inscribed on a stone relief of Yinan 沂南 in Shandong province (Figure 4.17), although it is not itself a fan used in dancing. The Egret seems to have derived from the spiritual image based on the ode and to have been linked with drums as a decoration in the Han Dynasty.

4.2.5 Images of Egrets in the Eastern Jin Dynasty (AD 317-420)

A similar image to that which we saw in the stone relief of Yinan (Figure 4.17) is found in the famous painting, 'The Nymph of the Luo River' 洛神赋图, attributed to Gu Kaizhi 顾恺之 (ca. AD 346-407) of the Eastern Jin Dynasty (AD 317-420) which is

¹⁴⁶ Kiyosu (1978a), *op. cit.*, p.922. Zhu and Zou, *op. cit.*, p.38. The waterfowl in Figure 4.12 was agreed to be possibly a white egret by the ornithologist, Dr Zonfrillo.

¹⁴⁷ HH, juan 60 shang, p.1966.

¹⁴⁸ HH, juan 28 xia, p.1653. Lu Huiwen describes this ancient instrument made of white egret plumes as either fan-shape or umbrella-shape (Lu Huiwen, *Shijing Guofeng jinyi*, Beijing, 1987, p.205-6, Chenfeng:Yuanqiu).

¹⁴⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁵⁰ Lu Huiwen, *ibid.* Takada Shinji, *Shikyo*, trans. of the *Book of Odes*, vol.1, Tokyo, 1966, p.482 (Yuanqiu). The place has been considered to be in Henan province, Chenzhou 陈州, an ancient capital of the Chen (Mekata, *op. cit.*, vol.1, p.268, Yuanqiu).

based on the romantic *fu* 賦 (poem) by Cao Zhi 曹植 (AD 192-232) of the Wei Dynasty (AD 220-265), the third son of Caocao 曹操.¹⁵¹

The story is about the hopeless love of Cao Zhi for the Empress Zhen 甄, the wife of his brother, Emperor Wen 文 (Cao Pi 曹丕). Cao Zhi compared her to the Nymph of the Luo River 洛神 (i.e. *Mifei* 宓妃) who drowned herself in sorrow that she did not receive the love of the Emperor.¹⁵² It is said that Cao Zhi composed this *fu* when he encountered the Nymph of the Luo River with his attendants.¹⁵³ In the handscroll painting, the story develops from the encounter and the exchanging of courtesies till the separation between Caozhi and the Nymph of the Luo River. The mournful emotion is well-expressed. The image of egrets standing on the drum appears just after the scene of the confession of his love for the Nymph and the revelation of her true feelings towards him.¹⁵⁴ The god of wind in the sky, the god of water (*Chuanhou* 川后) attending on the waterside, the female deity Nüwa 女媧 singing a pure song and flying about, and the god of water (*Pingyi* 冯夷) striking the drum decorated with an egret, form the scene of the climax of their love just before the anticipated separation (Figure 4.18).¹⁵⁵

This bird shows typical features of the egret, that is, long neck and legs with a slender body, however the egret crest is not visible from illustrations in any published books. The drum decorated with an egret called *jiangu* in the Gu Kaizhi scroll appears in the *Sanlitu* 三礼图.¹⁵⁶ In addition to this, a bird like an egret standing on the *jiangu* can be also seen in the *Sancaituhui* 三才图会 (Figure 4.19).¹⁵⁷ According to the *History of Sui*, *jiangu* originated from the Yin and egrets on the *jiangu* represent a spirit or a

¹⁵¹ ZMQ:H1, p.52. A couple of surviving copies of the painting are said to be Song copies, and the example here is from the Liaoning Provincial Museum.

¹⁵² Ogawa Hiromitsu and Fujita Shinya, *Kokyuhakubutsuin*, vol.1, Tokyo, 1997, p.9.

¹⁵³ *Ibid.*

¹⁵⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁵⁵ *Ibid.* ZMQ:H1, *loc. cit.* Chen Yuanlong, ed., *Lidai fuhui*, Qing, reprint, Shanghai, 1987, p.616 (Luoshen fu).

¹⁵⁶ Sun Ji, *Zhongguo guanyu luncong*, Beijing, 1993, p.249. Nie Zongyi (Song) and Nalan Xingde (Qing), *Xinding Sanlitu*, edited by Kikuchi Bushin, Edo, 1761, vol.7, p.2 (*jiangu* 建鼓). According to *Sanlitu*, the *jiangu* drum dates to the Yin. “賈釋云周人鼓今言建鼓用殷法也。”

¹⁵⁷ Wang Qi, *Sancaituhui*, Ming, reprint, Taipei, 1970, vol.3, p.1131.

Nymph of drums.¹⁵⁸ The appearance of the bird here shows a close resemblance to the actual White Egret, and it may be that the typical crest of the egret was not copied in the Song version. It is also conceivable that it was originally a Great White Egret or an Intermediate Egret, which are white but without a crest.¹⁵⁹

The drum decorated with an egret reminds us of the ode in the *Book of Odes*, about dancing egrets representing sincerity and a pure soul and performed by the Yin descendants. Around the same period in the Zhou Dynasty, plumes of egrets were also used for dancing in shaman rites accompanied by drums, according to the *History of the Later Han*, as mentioned earlier. The plumes of white egrets for shaman's rites might be employed in order to relate to the pure soul or even console someone's spirit. Combining these images, a bird like an egret on the drum here seems to be inspired by the images which were already existent before the fourth century, and which may originally have been based on the images of the *Book of Odes*. In addition, white egrets symbolized purity and integrity. Furthermore, the fan made of plumes held by the Nymph of Luo also conceivably relates to the plumes of egrets, considering her pure and graceful appearance (Figure 4.20). The fan of plumes of white egrets possibly represents the purity of her love and spirit towards Cao Zhi. Gu Kaizhi has been described as a figure painter "to describe spirit through form".¹⁶⁰ If the white egrets relate to the image of pure spirit and purification, to the shaman's service and to the Nymph or soul of drums, the White Egret on the dragon boat behind the gentleman in the Chu banner we saw earlier is highly likely to relate to his pure spirit, to the supernatural and to purification. It is said that such painting in the Southern and Northern Dynasties typically represented by Gu Kaizhi was based on the Chu banner in terms of figure composition, placing, and fine drawn depiction.¹⁶¹ Common to these two examples, the image of egrets is probably meant to console and encourage the soul

¹⁵⁸ SUS, juan 10, 15, p.194, 376. According to this source, it is claimed that a swan could be represented on a *jiangu*, but this seems unlikely in the painting because of the bird's long legs and slim body.

¹⁵⁹ The bird on the drum of Gu Kaizhi has also been described as a crane (Han Bing, ed, *Zhongguo Yinyue wenwu daxi*, vol. Beijing, Zhenzhou, 1996, p.230.).

¹⁶⁰ Bush, Susan and Shih, Hsio-yen, *Early Chinese Texts on Painting*, Cambridge, 1985, p.10.

¹⁶¹ Ogawa Hiromitsu and Fujita Shinya, *loc. cit.*

of the gentleman, Cao Zhi and others too, elegant and pure in their appearance. Based on the historical written sources, it seems reasonable to choose egrets for the expression of these intentions.

White Egrets symbolized a gentleman of integrity and unsullied character, as discussed earlier, and the ideology of Confucianism seems to have encouraged this image of the gentleman for officials, to discourage corruption.¹⁶² According to the *History of the Later Han*, this high character derives from unsullied scholars at the university in the Zhou Dynasty established by King Wen.¹⁶³ These men congregated at the palace.¹⁶⁴ However, the *History of the Jin* reports that this image took on an ill-omened meaning, when the Emperor Kang (r. AD 342-344) passed away after the white egrets congregated at the palace.¹⁶⁵ It also says that the palace rooms would become empty if wildfowl entered.¹⁶⁶ The white egrets and waterfowl here do not denote any auspicious meanings and do not receive the image from former dynasties. It is conceivable that officials with white egret image were corrupt in that period. This ill-omened egret image is also recorded in the Liu Song period (AD 420-479) in the Southern Dynasty.¹⁶⁷

4.2.6 Egrets in the Southern and Northern Dynasties (AD 420-589) and Sui Dynasty (AD 581-618)

The official records of the Southern and Northern Dynasties suggest three different aspects regarding the image of the white egret. The first point is that Daoists used a fan made of egret plumes; the first descriptions regarding white egret fans related perhaps to previous dynasties, yet it is noteworthy that egret fans came more to be used by Daoists. It may be that they were connected for Daoists with an idea of Immortals rooted in

¹⁶² The *Qingjing* also states that white egrets are a symbol of officials and disciplined gentlemen, as egrets fly in order. “鷺白鷺也小不踰大飛有次序百官縉紳之象 詩以振鷺比百寮雍容喻朝美…” Shi Kuang, *Qingjing*, Zhou Dynasty, annotated by Zhang Hua of the Jin Dynasty, in SQ, vol. 847, p. 686 (Cailiaoyongyong hongyiluxu).

¹⁶³ HH, juan 80 xia, p.2646.

¹⁶⁴ HH, juan 60 xia, p.1985.

¹⁶⁵ JSU, juan 28, p.864. “咸康八年七月(AD 342),有白鷺集殿屋。是事康帝始即位,不永之祥也。後涉再期而帝崩。案劉向曰:「野鳥入處,宮室將空。」此其應也。

¹⁶⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁶⁷ SSU, juan 32, p.944.

'purification'. The second point is the hat made of white egret plumes (*bailucui* 白鷺縵).¹⁶⁸ Wearing the hat had been popular among literati since the Jin period (AD 265-420) and appraised for its beauty and tidiness especially by people in Jiangdong 江東 (the area of the lower reaches of the Yangzi River).¹⁶⁹ This hat will be discussed further in the following chapter, yet it should be pointed out here that the fashion of wearing the hat was favoured not only in the Southern and Northern Dynasties but also in the Tang and Song periods.¹⁷⁰

Thirdly, the records state that Egret *guchui* were placed in the banquet hall of the palace.¹⁷¹ *Guchui* means striking the drum and playing the flute, and also denotes military music.¹⁷² It was originally imported from the Northern people and used for a command and a signal in battle, and later it was also employed for grand court ceremonial assemblages and a procession of Imperial Guards of Honour.¹⁷³ Why was the name egret *guchui* (白鷺鼓吹)? Egret *guchui* presumably related to the later *guchui* carriage. The *History of the Sui* recorded that a carriage called *guchuiche* 鼓吹車 was decorated with bird feathers on the canopy and egrets, crows, swans or even cranes in the form of a finial on the carriage.¹⁷⁴ Sun Ji states that the decoration on the Egret Carriage 白鷺車 (i.e. *guchuiche*) was mostly egrets on *jiangu* drums, which first became standard in the Sui Dynasty.¹⁷⁵ His remarks are supported by the Egret Carriage (*bailuche* 白鷺車) of the Northern Song Dynasty, as in Figure 4.21.¹⁷⁶ In other words,

¹⁶⁸ NQS, juan 41, p.721, juan 7, p.104. NS, juan 32, p.833.

¹⁶⁹ Hao Yixing, *loc. cit.* Yang Shenxin, *Shiwuyimingxiaozhu*, annotated edition of *Shiwuyiminglu* by Yu Tingbi of the Ming, Shanxi, 1993, p.189 (mao).

¹⁷⁰ Zhou Xun and Gao Chumming, *Zhongguo yiguanfushi dacidian*, Shanghai, 1996, p.101, 190. HD, vol.8 p.191(baijieli 白接篱).

¹⁷¹ NQS, juan 20, p.391. NS, juan 11, p.330.

¹⁷² ZK, p.1616 (*guchui*).

¹⁷³ Kishibe Shigeo, *Todai ongaku no rekishiteki kenkyu*, vol.1, Tokyo, 1960, p.132. JSU, juan 23, p.701. "列於鼓吹, 多序戰陣之事."

¹⁷⁴ SUS, juan 10, p.194. Zheng Qiao, *Tongzhi*, 1161, reprinted in SQ, vol.373, juan 48, qifultie 2, *bailuche*, *guchuiche*, p.676-7.

¹⁷⁵ Sun Ji, *loc. cit.* SS, juan 149, p.3494.

¹⁷⁶ In the Illustrated Catalogue of Selected Works of Ancient Chinese Painting and Calligraphy, this illustration was attributed to the Yuan Dynasty. Yet the costumes and headgear in the drawing are characteristic of the Song Dynasty. The National Museum of Chinese History attributes this illustration in their collection to the Northern Song Dynasty (National Museum of Chinese History, *A Journey into China's Antiquity*, vol.3, Beijing, 1997, p.238.).

the idea of egrets on drums conceivably shifted to the finial of the carriage. The *guchui* carriage can be said to be the same as the Egret Carriage.¹⁷⁷

What was the relation between egrets and military command? There are three possibilities. According to the *Cihai* dictionary, the plume of the egret was used not only for dancing but also for a command.¹⁷⁸ It is also explained in the Great Chinese-Japanese dictionary that the cry of egrets resembles a human call.¹⁷⁹ Moreover, 'the tune of *zhulu*' was a military song accompanied by *guchui*.¹⁸⁰ According to the *History of Jin* 晉, *zhulu* was also an auspicious spirit.¹⁸¹ The tune might have helped heighten soldiers' morale. These three ideas may help to explain the relation of the military to egrets and its origin, and the *jiangu* with egrets became the spirit of the drum, probably deriving originally from the *Book of Odes*. *Tongzhi* of the Southern Song records that the *guchui* carriage of the Liang Dynasty (AD 502-557) was set with a tower on land, and could be a ship with a tower on the water.¹⁸² Also in the palace garden, an egret or a form of crane standing on a tower was depicted on the stand of musical instruments.¹⁸³ It seems that egrets decorated the tip or finial of something in a raised place. The *que* with the egret in the Han example also supports this: it provided the function of a watchtower. It can be said that the image of egrets was employed as decoration to symbolize different ideas on different occasions, depending on the dynasties, and all seem to have derived ultimately from the *Book of Odes*.

In the Northern Wei Dynasty, specific officials, the *houguan*, were called white egrets 'bailu', as we discussed in the previous chapter. According to Yang Shen, *tinghou* (watch-towers) were frequently carved with egrets in that period. We are unable to

¹⁷⁷ Zheng Qiao (1161b), *loc. cit.*

¹⁷⁸ *Cihai*, p.1545 (luyu).

¹⁷⁹ DK, vol. 8, p. 39 (bailu)

¹⁸⁰ JSU, juan 23, p.701. "漢時有短篇鐃歌之樂, 其曲有朱鷺...列於鼓吹, 多序戰陣之時." SS, juan 140, p.3301. Cui Bao, *op. cit.*, vol. 2, music no.3, p.2. "短篇鐃歌, 軍樂也。黃帝使岐伯所作也。...漢樂有黃門鼓吹。"

¹⁸¹ JSU, juan 23, p.702.

¹⁸² *Ibid.* Zheng Qiao (1161b), *loc. cit.*

¹⁸³ *Ibid.* SUS, juan 10, p.194. According to the *History of the Sui*, the finials formed egrets or the shape of a swan (gu 鵞).

know where the images of egrets were carved in the building, as far as concerns publications related to buildings bearing egret images in the ancient periods, apart from the stone relief of the Han Dynasty (Figure 4.12). It is the only such example. There is an instance of the finial of an egret standing on the ridge of a roof of the seemingly modern *ting* found in Hangzhou, Zhejiang (Figure 4.22).¹⁸⁴ Again, this finial on a *ting* was explained as a crane, yet it shows a resemblance to an egret although the bird standing on the *ting* here seems to have no drooping crest on the head. Egrets were occasionally in the form of cranes in the *guchuiche*, which was recorded in the *Tongzhi*.

Had ancient people truly recognised the White Egret species? It can be assumed that ancient people were confused by the similarity between the white egrets without crests like the Great White Egret and cranes. In fact, egrets hold varied Chinese names, for example, 'white bird or swan' 白鸟 and even 'crane' 鹤子.¹⁸⁵ Intriguingly, according to *Bencaogangmu*, the *baihezi* 白鹤子 (white crane) denotes the Great White Egret, while Zhu and Zou state that only the Great White Egret and the Chinese Egret of all the White Egret family hold this name.¹⁸⁶ Ornithologically, in particular, the Siberian Crane (Chinese name: *baihe* 白鹤) of all species of cranes in China also shows a resemblance to the White Egrets although the Siberian cranes have a scarlet bare face without any crest on the head (Figure 4.23).¹⁸⁷ As a matter of fact, there exists a *ting* called '*baihe ting*' in Shanghai although it is not possible to identify whether this *baihe* represents egrets like the Great White Egret or the Siberian Crane (Figure 4.24).¹⁸⁸ However, the bird on the *ting* in Hangzhou is standing on a rock, a typical habit for egrets, while the *baihe* on the *ting* in Shanghai is walking on the grass. It is still difficult today to identify them in modern representation. Accordingly, it is not possible to identify precisely the example as the white egret, yet it is likely to be an egret, in the light of the historical

¹⁸⁴ Wei Ran, ed., *Zhongguo guling*, Beijing, 1994, p.14, 233.

¹⁸⁵ Yang Shenxin, *op. cit.*, p.395 (lusi 鹭鸶). DK, vol.8, p.27 (*baimiao* 白鳥).

¹⁸⁶ DK, vol.8, p.7 (*baihezi*). "集解, 穎口, 以鷺而頭無絲, 腳黃色者, 俗名白鶴子." Kimura Koichi, ed., trans., and revised with annotations of *Bencaogangmu* by Li Shizhen, Tokyo, 1973, vol. 11, p.186-7. Each white egret bears several different Chinese names sometimes based on region. For further details of the names, see Zhu and Zou, *op. cit.*, p.36-7, 39-40.

¹⁸⁷ Mackinnon and Phillipps, *op. cit.*, p.139. Siberian cranes are found nearby Poyang lake 鄱阳湖 in Jiangxi.

¹⁸⁸ Wei Ran, ed., *op. cit.*, 197.

background of water birds such as egrets and buildings like *ting* and *Que* of the Han Dynasty. *Tinghou* carved with egrets as in the remarks of Yang Shen can be understood in the context of those images. Otherwise, the image of egrets was carved onto the wall, lintel or building itself, as a poem was frequently carved on the wall or pillar of the *ting*.¹⁸⁹

As far as historical official sources are concerned, the *History of the Wei* alone records the specific name of official titles relating to the white egret. The actual evidence of *tinghou* carved with egrets is not obvious in the Northern Wei period. Yet if it is conjectured that the creation of images of egrets was historically most likely based on past authorities like the *Book of Odes*, it seems that there is a relationship between egrets decorated on the *que* of the Han and on the *tinghou* of the *houguan*. It is also unknown whether the Han *que* combining a function as watchtower in our example was connected to certain officials of that period who were responsible for the duty of inspection, apart from *menli*. However, it was crucial that the Han officials should be men of integrity and unsullied character, and the whiteness of egrets must be considered as a good motif of its representation, as discussed before. On the other hand, the image of egrets relating to *houguan* was practically taken from the actual habits of egrets, stretching their necks to see a long distance, in the Northern Wei Dynasty. The adoption of this image in the Northern Wei Dynasty was basically inspired from previous dynasties, as it was explained in the *History of the Northern Wei* that such images of official titles followed the ancient meanings of birds.¹⁹⁰ However, such meanings borne by white egrets are unable to be found in the historical sources and a surviving record of historical sources regarding the imagery of the habit of egrets related to official titles can be attested only in the *History of the Northern Wei* at present. The Han stone relief in our examples may offer a key piece of evidence for this.

In the Sui Dynasty, the egret image on the *jiangu* originated from the Yin as spirit of the

¹⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, p.34.

¹⁹⁰ WS, juan 113, p.2973. “初，帝欲法古純質，每於制定官號，多不依周漢舊名，或取諸物，或以民事，皆擬遵古雲鳥之義。”

drum as well as the decoration on the White Egret carriage.¹⁹¹ Moreover, it has been recorded that white cranes and egrets were auspicious birds.¹⁹² The description of the white egret carriage can be also found in the Tang, Song and Jin dynastic histories.¹⁹³ Especially, the *History of the Song* and the *History of the Jin* clarify that egrets were carved in wood on red or lacquer pillars, an image which can be confirmed in our Figure 4.21. Likewise, the *History of the Tang* and *History of the Yuan* state that *jiangu* were decorated with egrets.¹⁹⁴ It can be said that egret images both on the drums and carriage described here originally derived from the *Book of Odes* and were inherited by the later periods.

4.2.7 The Image of Egrets in the Tang Dynasty

As far as official records in the Tang are concerned, it has been recorded that carriage and musical instruments like a drum (*gu* 鼓), percussion (*nao* 铙) and a bell made of bronze (*duo* 铎) were decorated with egrets.¹⁹⁵ In particular, these musical instruments were originally used for the military.¹⁹⁶ It is also said that egret drums (*lugu* 鹭鼓) marked the time of day.¹⁹⁷ It is known that the drum was originally beaten for an emergency call, set up at the watch-tower of a *ting* or at the drum or bell tower.¹⁹⁸ A drumbeat also took place to welcome the *jiedushi* returning from a journey and also to meet and send off itinerant regional surveillance commissioners.¹⁹⁹ Thus, it can be said that drums possibly decorated with egrets were used on many occasions possibly based on the ancient image, such as the spirit of the drum.

¹⁹¹ SUS, jian 10, p.194, juan 15, p.376.

¹⁹² SUS, jian 76, p.1739. “...忽有祥禽，皎同鶴鸛，...”

¹⁹³ JT, juan 44, p. 1882, XT, juan 23 xia, p. 491, 508, 512, SS, juan 149, p.3477, 3494, JS, juan 43, p.970-1

¹⁹⁴ JT, juan 29, p.1080, YS, juan 68, p.1705.

¹⁹⁵ JT, juan 29, p.1080, juan 44-5, p.1882, 1932, XT, juan 23 xia, p.491, 508, juan 24, p.512, juan 222 xia, p.6311.

¹⁹⁶ ZK, p.1465 (*nao*), 1466 (*duo*), 1615 (*gu*).

¹⁹⁷ JT, juan 30, p. 1105.

¹⁹⁸ Matsumoto Yoshimi, *Chugoku sonraku seido no kenkyu*, Tokyo, 1977, p.239.

¹⁹⁹ XT, juan 49 xia, p.1309-10. Gao Cheng (Song) and revised by Li Guo (Ming), *Shiwujiyuan*, reprint, Beijing, 1989, p.358 (Gujiaolou 鼓角樓). According to *Shiwujiyuan*, this drum tower originated in the Tang. “肅訪官分巡州縣，每歲例，用巡尉司弓兵旗幟金鼓迎接。” (Tanba Yuzaburo, *Chugoku gendai no*

Apart from *guchui* carriage or white egret carriage, the carriage of Censors in the Tang was decorated with egret plumes, as Censors were able to perceive hidden crimes, as egrets can see their prey even in deep water, as we discussed in the previous chapter. The appearance of the carriage can be assumed to be like the one illustrated in the 'Nymph of Luo River' by Gu Kaizhi although it is impossible to confirm whether or not the plumes in the painting were egret feathers (Figure 4.25). Egret association with both *houguan* and Censors was established practically on a basis of metaphorical expression rather than because its whiteness held spiritual connotations. In addition, these officials responsible for surveillance, like a vice squad, would have, even as a matter of common sense, been required to be men of integrity, and the original image of egrets standing for unsullied officials in the previous dynasties must have endured to relate the egret image to those officials. However, this symbolic image seems not to be only for a particular official title as we discussed in Chapter Three. For example, Censors had had their own conventional image of 'xiezhi' originally as legal examiners since the Qin Dynasty. Therefore, it can be said that the action or execution of surveillance or finding crimes itself was presumably an image of egrets and could symbolically denote unsullied officials. The Chinese historical records do not indicate whether or not officials like *jiedushi* and *guanchashi* of the Tang period applied the same image of egrets as the Investigating Censor or the regional surveillance commissioners for themselves. However, it seems unlikely that *choldosa* and *kwanch'alsa* in Korea had the symbol of egrets by coincidence, judging from the Korean conventional manner of using official titles nearly identical to China.

4.2.8 The Transitional Period, Song Dynasty, of the Egret Motif in Jade

The *History of the Song* presents two significant types of information regarding egrets. The discussion here will be developed based on them, exploring the hidden meanings of the egret motif in this period.

The Song Dynasty witnessed a Han renaissance, derived from a revival of the past and its antiquities, particularly during the reign of Emperor Huizong. The revival of

kansatsukansei, Tokyo, 1994, p.86-7).

Confucian ideas was also a tendency. The whiteness of egret plumes was conceivably admired because it related to the doctrine of Confucianism, as in the Han Dynasty. Because of the emphasis on success in the civil service examinations as the chief mechanism of political and even social success in the Song Dynasty, a huge amount of reading on Confucianism, history, the odes and poems was required of official candidates.²⁰⁰ As a result, the institution of a private academy prevailed and officials and prospective candidates who as a matter of course were educated with a foundation of Confucianism became so-called 'literati' or 'scholar-officials' and created a new echelon in an elite society based on merit replacing a degraded aristocracy.²⁰¹ The word 'White Egret' was employed as the name of the Academy, and is recorded in the *History of the Song*.²⁰² It is said that the aim of the Song Academy was to train human morality to the utmost, based on Confucian doctrine, as opposed to an unintelligent education.²⁰³ The *History of the Later Han* recorded that scholars (or gentlemen) at the King's Academy in Biyong 辟雍 established by King Wen of Zhou (1100-256 BC) were all of unsullied character and that it was the purpose of the Academy to develop virtuous character.²⁰⁴ The place name Biyong was actually derived from the *Book of Odes*.²⁰⁵ It seems that the Song Academy was named to connect to the *History of the Later Han* and the *Books of Odes*, as the white egret symbolized a man of integrity and unsullied character. 'The White Egret Shoal Academy' 白鷺洲书院 was located in Jizhou, Jiangxi, and was run by *Anfusi*, other officials and official agencies.²⁰⁶ Jizhou is the place where Ren Ming was engaged as a Prefect. It is intriguing that the white egret was selected for the name of the Academy which was also run and supported by the Military Commission in Liangzhe 两浙 Circuit (part of present Zhejiang province including the Shanghai area, and Jizhou), the place where Ren Ming was in charge as a Prefect. This Academy is renowned owing to Emperor Lizong (r. AD 1224-1264) who granted the

²⁰⁰ Miyazaki Ichisada, *Kakyoshi*, Tokyo, 1987, p.46-50.

²⁰¹ *Ibid.*, p.62, 252-7.

²⁰² SS, juan 418, p.12364-5, 12523.

²⁰³ Okubo Eiko, *Ming Qing jidai shoin no kenkyu*, Tokyo, 1976, p.7-8.

²⁰⁴ HH, juan 80 xia, p.2646. Takada, *op. cit.*, p.386.

²⁰⁵ HH, *ibid.*

²⁰⁶ SS, juan 418, p.12523.

board an example of his calligraphy.²⁰⁷ The historical background of the Southern Song and the fact that the name 'white egret' was chosen for the name of the Academy may well explain why the white egret was favoured by officials and literati who were dominant in the period. In addition to this, men of unsullied character and integrity were required to be officials as a primary condition, as discussed in Chapter Three. However, 'the White Egret Shoal', the name of the Academy, is, strictly speaking, also considered as the name of a place rather than of the egret itself. That is, it is possible for it to denote a particular district in China. South-west of the Changjiang river in Jinling 金陵, present day Nanjing, the name of a place 'the White Egret Shoal' existed and the name appeared in a poem by the famous Tang poet Li Bai and even in the *History of the Song*.²⁰⁸ Although it is unclear whether there is a connection between the Academy and the name of this place, we can at least assume that there were many white egrets there, and the name, *Bailuzhou* 白鷺洲, was possibly connected with the habitat of egrets, which may well be explained by the distribution of the white egret as well as a breeding colony of Little Egrets.²⁰⁹ The *History of the Song* indicates that *Bailuzhou* in Jinling was an important place.²¹⁰ Apart from the matter of whether the Academy was named after the place called 'the White Egret Shoal' or named after the connotations of the White Egret, considering the Song social circumstances, the reason for the popularity of the white egret is discussed below.

There is a famous painting attributed to Emperor Huizong (r. AD 1082-1135), 'Autumn Colours on the Shore' 池塘秋晚 (Figure 4.26). The painting shows a Little Egret in shallow water near a lotus bud, lotus reeds and a Grey Wagtail. The characteristic feature of a couple of drooping crests on the head and the blackish bill of the white egret confirm them as Little Egrets. As painted by the Emperor, it can be said that the white egret with a lotus pond was a popular subject in the Song Dynasty, which might

²⁰⁷ DK, vol. 8, p.39 (bailuzhou)

²⁰⁸ SS, juan 258, p.8979. Takebe Toshio, *Li Bai*, trans. and annotated poems of Li Bai, Tokyo, 1957, p.59 (Deng Jinling fenghuang tai). "二水中分白鷺洲" Zhan Dunyi, ed., *Liuchaoshiji*, Song, revised by Wu Guan of the Ming, in GY, vol.13, p.58 (juan zhi shang, Bailuzhou) "圖經云在城西南八里周面十五里對江寧之新林浦..."

²⁰⁹ Kiyosu (1978a), *op. cit.*, p.921.

²¹⁰ SS, juan 258, p. 8979.

originate as early as the Tang Dynasty, based on the list of paintings in the *Xuanhehuapu*.²¹¹ It has not been confirmed yet that Tang paintings with this subject have survived, however a tray from Shosoin bears the egret motif in this period (Figures 4.27a and 4.27b). While the *Xuanhehuapu* records only two painters from the Tang Dynasty who seem to have selected egrets as a motif for paintings, egret painting was more frequently listed in the *Xuanhehuapu* in the Five Dynasties and the Song Dynasty.²¹² Yet, it should be noted that a painting was not always titled using the word 'egret' for the name of the egret painting regardless of the presence of egrets in it.²¹³ The fact that many painters in the Five Dynasties and the Song Dynasty selected egrets for the subject of paintings, more than in the Tang Dynasty, suggests its increasing popularity, although it is difficult to judge the trend from this list alone.

According to *Explanatory Notes of Chinese Symbolism and Art Motifs* by Nozaki Masachika, the combination of the motifs of egrets, lotus flowers and reeds was used as an allegory for a series of success in the civil service examinations.²¹⁴ That is to say, it is a wish for a successful career in life and great luck. *Lu* (egret 鹭) is a homonym of *lu* (way, path 路) as well as *lu* (reed 芦) in Chinese. Likewise, the pronunciation of the word 'lotus' (*lian* 莲) is the same as that of 'succession, continual' (*lian* 连), thus the combination of these images represented, 'May your civil service examinations be continuously successful' 一路连科 (*yilulianke*). In order to become a high-ranking official, passing several exams successfully was a vital condition. In the Song Dynasty, the civil service examination was consolidated by escalating its difficulty with three degrees of examinations, that is, the local, the central and finally examination by the Emperor himself.²¹⁵ The idea of these kinds of words and phrases of auspicious motifs has been assumed to have begun in the Han Dynasty and revived around the Song

²¹¹ *Xuanhehuapu*, vol.15, in *Huashicongshu*, edited by Yu Anlan, Shanghai, 1963, p.166, 169.

²¹² *Ibid.*, p.165-240. The Tang painters are Bian Luan 邊鸞 and Zhou Kuang 周昉 (*ibid.*).

²¹³ For example, 'egret' paintings are often included in the title '*Lianchi shuiqintu*' 莲池水禽图 (Waterfowl in a Lotus Pond).

²¹⁴ Nozaki Masachika, *Kishozuan kaidai*, Tianjin, 1928, p.433-4 (*yilulianke*). Wolfram Eberhard, *A Dictionary of Chinese Symbols*, London, 1983, p.145-6 (Heron).

²¹⁵ Miyazaki Ichisada (1987), *op. cit.*, p.41. By enforcing the competitive nature of the examination, the ruler ensured the quality of the graduates. Yet, it was in the Yuan that the first local examinations were fully instituted, and not in the Song (Miyazaki Ichisada, *ibid.*, p.51.).

Dynasty onwards. The motifs along with the hidden meanings became progressively more complex and eclectic in the Ming and Qing periods.²¹⁶

Even just taken in the light of this auspicious meaning, 'Wishes to overcome difficulty to pass the civil service examinations', the creation of the metaphor using the motif of egrets and a lotus pond in Song Dynasty can be explained. The relationship between egrets and scholar-officials and the civil service exams and the motif of 'Waterfowl in a lotus pond' in paintings is comprehensively discussed by Miyazaki Noriko.²¹⁷ As discussed earlier, egrets were frequently chosen as a motif for painting. Painters of the Song period were not only amateur literati but also professional painters. The typical scholar-official of the period was the embodiment of moral, intellectual, and artistic perfection embracing the Confucian tradition – this was the ideal. Why were egrets and lotus preferable motifs for them? For example, nine egrets in a lotus pond conveyed a hidden meaning.²¹⁸ According to Tsang, nine egrets are compared to the doctrine of 'nine things to think about' 九思 in the *Lunyu* 论语 (Confucius, The Analects), as egrets, (*lu*) *si* (鹭) 鹭, in Chinese is a homonym of *si* 思, thinking.²¹⁹ *Mengliang lu* of the Southern Song also supports the evidence of a relationship between egrets and 'thinking'.²²⁰ The motif of nine egrets in a pond was indeed painted and even applied to ceramics.²²¹ It is clear from this example that egrets bore also the metaphor of high-minded character. However, egrets were not always depicted as nine on works of

²¹⁶ Minato Nobuyuki, foreword to *Jixiang*, Tokyo, 1998, p.7, 9

²¹⁷ Miyazaki Noriko, *op. cit.*, vol.2, p.21-2.

²¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p.21. Ka Bo Tsang "Chinese gifts with best wishes", *Arts of Asia*, vol. 24, no.4, 1994, p.85-6.

²¹⁹ *Ibid.* Confucius said that "The gentleman has nine things to think about: in seeing, he thinks about clarity (*ming* 明); in hearing, he thinks about distinctness (*cong* 聰); in facial expression, he thinks about gentleness (*wen* 溫); in appearance, he thinks about respectfulness (*gong* 恭); in speech, he thinks about wholehearted sincerity (*zhong* 忠); in his duties, he thinks about reverence (*jing* 敬); in doubt, he thinks about inquiry (*wen* 問); in anger, he thinks about its consequences (*nan* 難); on seeing again, he thinks about righteousness (*yi* 義)." (Confucius and his Successors, *Lunyu*, trans. in Japanese by Yoshikawa Kojiro in *Sekai koten bungaku zenshu*, vol.4, Tokyo, 1981, p.264.)

²²⁰ Wu Zimu, *Mengliang lu*, juan 18, p.151 (birds species) in *SQ*, vol.590. Wu Zimu introduced a poem in which it is said that egrets are not frightened at danger but always show their 'thinking'. The remarks seems suggestive of "Nine noble thoughts of Confucianism" 九思.

²²¹ A painting of this in the Yuan version is in Japan, and a covered jar decorated with this motif from the Ming is in the Royal Ontario Museum. See the articles by Miyazaki Noriko and Tsang. A Ming version of this type of painting was also presented in the special exhibition of *Jixiang: Auspicious Motifs in Chinese Art* at the Tokyo National Museum in 1998 (Figure 4.28).

art; in particular, jade finials do not have nine. Four to five seems to be the standard number. Since ancient times, the image of a character of integrity had been imbedded in the image of the egret, regardless of number. On the other hand, the lotus also symbolized the gentleman 君子 of high-minded integrity taking the image from the lotus that grows out of the dark mud and opens into wide blooms of unsullied appearance.²²² Thus, the combination of motifs of egrets and lotus held a double meaning, the symbol of Confucian character, and met the period's trend towards the scholar-official in the Song Dynasty. In this regard, it can be well explained why the particular combination of motif, egrets and lotus would be chosen as the favorite motif in the period. In addition to this, the Song is the time that the jade finials have been assumed by jade experts to have begun to be manufactured.

Another crucial record presented by the *History of the Song* is about jade belts decorated with white egrets and reeds. It reads,

高麗獻玉帶，爲秋蘆白鷺紋極精巧，詔後苑工以黃金倣其製，爲帶賜佉。²²³

Koryŏ [i.e. Korea] presented a jade belt carved with extremely exquisite autumn reed and white egret designs [to Emperor Shenzong (r. AD 1067-1085)]; later the Emperor commanded the imperial craftsmen to copy it in gold so that the Emperor could grant them as gifts to deserving persons.²²⁴

What appears from this extract is that the motif of white egret and reed in jade is carved in relief. It is probable that a higher jade carving skill was brought from Koryŏ to the Northern Song. Material like gold is much easier to work in detail than jade and therefore it was necessary for the Song craftsmen to first make a model of it. Secondly, based on archaeological evidence, sophisticated single-tier jade openwork carving with a bird motif had already appeared in this period in China, indicating that high quality carving techniques were possible at this time, and it can be considered that the present

²²² Nozaki, *op. cit.*, p.323, 344. Tsang, *op. cit.*, p.86.

²²³ SS, juan 464, p.13573.

²²⁴ The Chinese character, yì 佉 from the quotation means a procession of music bands and dance groups, and seems unlikely in this context.

from Koryō of 'a jade belt carved with extremely exquisite autumn reed and white egret design' was possibly carved in high relief, that is, with a two-tier openwork carving technique.²²⁵ In addition, it seems that the egret motif had a sustained popularity in the Koryō period, as we are able to learn from Koryō stoneware with celadon glaze that was depicted with egrets (Figure 4.29). The Koryō people seem to have been expert in depicting waterfowl in a lotus pond as part of their painting repertoire, which is also suggested by the description of Guo Ruoxu of the Song.²²⁶ Although the record from the *History of the Song* does not specify a lotus pond, the mention of reeds in the design implies egrets at the waterside. The more crucial point from this passage is that the carving technique seen on jade finials, normally in a three dimensional multiple-layered openwork, normally developed from a two-tier openwork carving technique, such as that found on a jade openwork belt in high relief. That is to say, the advent of jade finials is most probably at least after the late eleventh century. There is an intriguing example of this in the British Museum. The jade belt-plaque depicted with two egrets among lotus plants and reeds carved in two-tier is dated to the Jin or Yuan Dynasty (Figure 4.30). As pointed out in the jade exhibition catalogue, the plaque surrounded by beading work is suggestive of copying originally from metalwork.²²⁷ Based on the *History of the Song*, it follows from this that making gold belts copied from a jade belt would have brought, in turn, the repertoire of metal work technique to jade carving. Therefore, the British Museum example well supports the record of the *History of the Song*. Examples of jade belts with beaded work are also shown in *Zhongguo yuqi quanji*, dating to the Song Dynasty.²²⁸ Hence, the example from the British Museum is of great importance to consider the dating of a jade egret finial carving.

²²⁵ The Tang example unearthed from Hangzhou is exquisitely carved in openwork with an Asian Paradise-Flycatcher (*lianque* 练鹊) and a dragonfly (*qingting* 蜻蜓) (Zhejiang sheng bowuguan ed., *Zhejiang Wenwu*, Hangzhou, 1987, pl.100). On the other hand, unearthed jade openwork carved in high relief is considered to date from the period of Zhenghe (AD1111-1118) (Zhang Xiande and Huang Xiuchun, "Beijingshi Fangshanxian faxian shiguomu", *Wenwu*, 1977, no.6, p.79-80). Judging from these examples, a jade belt from the Koryō Dynasty must have been outstanding in its carving technique like the one in the British Museum (Figure 4.30).

²²⁶ Guo Ruoxu, *Tuhuaqianwenzhi*, Song, in "Huashicongshu", vol.1, Shanghai, 1963, p.93. "其扇用鴉青紙為之，上畫本國豪貴，雜以婦人鞍馬，或臨水為金沙灘，豔蓮花木水禽之類，點綴精巧。"

²²⁷ Jessica Rawson, *Chinese Jade from the Neolithic to the Qing*, London, 1995, p.336.

²²⁸ ZYQ:S5, nos. 79 and 80.

We next have to consider the hidden meanings which were applied particularly to egret and lotus motifs in jade finials. Auspicious words like a rebus with hidden meaning were the sort of intellectual verbal game that with wit and erudition were cherished especially by wealthy scholar-officials and literati.²²⁹ Miyazaki Noriko explains that bird and flower paintings bearing auspicious meaning probably began at least from the Song Dynasty, corresponding to the period of such paintings as in our example, 'yilulianke' 一路连科.²³⁰ Miyazaki discusses that the Song Dynasty saw the arrival of a time when a number of people were able to buy paintings to decorate their own homes, aspiring to wealth and prosperity, in contrast to the luxurious crafts, objects and supplies meant only for the aristocracy in the Tang Dynasty.²³¹ Such a situation in Song times is confirmed by paintings like 'Qingming Festival on the River' attributed to Zhang Zeduan as a typical example and also historical records, for example, 'Mengxi bitan', 'Dongjing menghualu' and 'Mengliang lu'.²³² Therefore, a combination of egret, lotus and water plants motifs would always carry auspicious and hidden meanings in work of arts in this period.

Equally important is that there should have been a suitable medium to express auspicious meanings and good wishes for craftsmen. For example, an earthenware pillow seems one of the objects likely to have been frequently decorated with auspicious patterns and motifs to convey good wishes, and seems to have been the ideal medium to convey these.²³³ During the Song and Jin Dynasties, a number of excellent earthenware pillows were produced and such pillows were usually depicted with auspicious motif and characters, as shown by some examples in the British Museum. For example, the pillow of Cizhou-type made in the Northern Song is inscribed with 'everlasting peace

²²⁹ It has been said that the Northern Song is when the literati consciousness became established and also when literature and the arts became independent on a basis of the spirit of the leisured classes, a moral world which was irrelevant to the political world of the scholar-official (Kondo Kazunari, "The Disaster Relief Policies of Su Shi as prefect of Hangzhou", *Society and Culture in the Song*, Tokyo, 1983, p.162.).

²³⁰ Miyazaki Noriko, *op. cit.*, vol. 2, p.31.

²³¹ *Ibid.*, vol. 1, p.13.

²³² Shen Kua, *Mengxi bitan*, juan 17 (paintings), in *SQ*, vol.862, p.797. Wu Zimu, *Mengliang lu*, Song, juan 13, in *SQ*, vol. 590, p.105-111.

²³³ Imai, *op. cit.*, p.14.

for home and country' 家国永安, where one places one's head and can receive the direct message of the wish (Figure 4.31).²³⁴ The Japanese scholar, Imai Atsushi discusses the reason why a number of earthenware pillows were frequently formed in the *ruyi* shape, with the intention of its design being a wish for a dream coming true, according to one's wish (*ruyi* 如意).²³⁵ One may assume that such pillows would have been suitable for gifts. There is a pillow in Cizhou ware depicted with egrets, lotus pond and reed-like plants dated to the Jin period (Figure 4.32). Lotus fruit in Chinese pronounced 'lianke' 莲颗 is a homonym of 'lianke' 连科 and the one egret (*yilu* 一鹭) is depicted with it.²³⁶ That is to say, it can be interpreted as 'yilulianke', good wishes for continuous promotion in government by passing examinations, from the motif of lotus fruit and an egret.²³⁷ This example tells us that the auspicious motif of 'yilulianke' was already established by the thirteenth century.²³⁸ In addition to this, another example of Cizhou ware discovered at the kiln site in *Dongyikoucun* 东艾口村, Henan province, fragments of a pillow forming a *ruyi*-shaped type with depiction of egrets and water plants like reeds, convinces us of the popularity of egrets as an auspicious motif in that period (Figure 4.33).²³⁹ The fragments with the egret and reed-like motif are considered to date as early as the period from AD 1008 to AD 1021 based on the discovery of coins along with the fragments.²⁴⁰ Thus, it is highly possible that a combination of the motif of egrets, lotus and water plant like reeds had become a fixed form as early as the Northern Song and at latest appeared in the thirteenth century. It is also necessary to emphasize here that the Cizhou kiln site belonged to the Northern

²³⁴ The date of manufacture and the name of the family were also inscribed on either side of the main inscription. The record tells us the pillow was produced in AD1071 by Zhao.

²³⁵ *Ibid.*, p.16.

²³⁶ Imai, *op. cit.*, p.15-6. Tokyo National Museum (1998), *op. cit.*, p.242 (no.206).

²³⁷ *Ibid.*

²³⁸ I am grateful to Mr Imai Atsushi, Curator at the Tokyo National Museum, for this information by e-mail.

²³⁹ Li Huibing, "Cizhouyao yizhidiao", *Wenwu*, no.8, 1964, p.45, plate no. 6:4 and figure 18.

Judged only from the surviving fragments of the *ruyi* shaped pillow showing the depiction of egrets and water plants like reeds, it might not have been related to 'yilulianke' although the missing fragments are unknown. However, it can be said that egrets had already become popularised as auspicious motifs in that period, considering that the discovery was from a private kiln site such as the Cizhou ware where many utensils for ordinary use were produced during the period.

²⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p.47-8. Coins bears the period 'Xiangfu' 祥符 (AD1008-1016) and 'Tianxi' 天禧 (AD1017-1021), in the reign of Emperor Zhenzong.

Song and the Jin territory, because the fact reveals that the motif of egrets and lotus with auspicious meaning was popular not only among the Northern Song people but also among the Jin people. It is possible to consider that the auspicious image bearing egrets, lotus and reeds might have been transmitted from the Northern Song to the Jin Dynasty, taking into account the history of the Cizhou kiln.

In choosing a material like jade, a semi-precious stone, what kind of auspicious meaning was conveyed by egrets and lotus plants imbedded into jade finials by craftsmen? Transferring the image onto ceramics can be suggestive of a more general *clientele*, and shades of meaning such as happiness and wealth were popularly understood. Jade, in contrast, was conventionally a material that was restricted in its use throughout the dynasties, and the Song period was no exception. If the jade finials were used as hat finials, it follows that they would have had a limited use for people because hat finials commonly represented one's social or official status or were symbols of officials.²⁴¹ Furthermore, egrets and lotus can be related to high-minded integrity and unsullied character for officials and also considered as a wish for a successful career 'yilulianke'. Based on Chapter Three, what was the association of Circuit intendants with the motif of egrets and lotus plants?

Because of the size of China, regional officials like Circuit intendants performed their duties in a crucial position between the Central government and the local territories. There is no doubt that such officials were particularly required to have high-minded integrity and unsullied character, which was recorded in the *History of the Song*, as discussed in Chapter Three. According to *Explanatory Notes of Chinese Symbolism and Art Motifs* by Nozaki, the combination of the motif of a crane and a Chinese zither also stands as a symbol for officials of integrity based on a record from the *History of the Song*.²⁴² The record is about a Censor, Zhao Bian, who had an incorruptible character but was also a man of modest living, leading a simple private life spent with a crane and

²⁴¹ The discussion of the existence of jade finials in Song times will follow in the next chapter, and here it is the meaning of egret motifs that is a concern.

²⁴² Nozaki, *op. cit.*, p.526 (*yiqinyihe* 琴...鶴).

a Chinese zither as his friends.²⁴³ Yet, the combination of the motif of a crane and a *qin* (zither) can not be found in jade finials, and Censors have generally had their own symbols representing upright character, with a headdress (*xiezhiguan*) rather than a crane motif; this will be discussed in the next chapter. That is to say, hat finials are most likely to stand for social status or official title rather than personality and character. Therefore, to represent a man of character would not be the main emphasis of hat finials, but could be an additional element in its symbolism. If our assumption is correct, auspicious meanings like a man of integrity and '*yilulianke*' are able to apply widely to a number of officials and official candidates so that the auspicious meanings become irrelevant to specific official title or social status. Yet, the existence of jade finials carved with egret and lotus motifs proves that they were preferred as a suitable motif for official symbols or social status, if we premise that they were hat finials. It is reasonable to consider that the auspicious meaning of egrets, lotus and reeds assuredly played a role with their associations of the 'high-minded integrity' and 'successful career' required for officials and must have enhanced the original image borne by the motif on this account. Yet, it is not possible to specify whether such auspicious images appeared earlier than the egret image of specific official titles, such as *houguan*. Having made this point that '*yilulianke*' may not be the main symbol for jade hat finials, we must now return to the Circuit intendants of the Song period who seem to have a relationship with '*yilulianke*'.

Firstly, it was a precondition that the officials who engaged in surveillance duties in particular must be men of integrity, of unsullied character and sound political morals. In this regard, Circuit intendants seem to be appropriate to wear egret motifs. Secondly, although the Song Circuit intendants performed pivotal duties, it was not always a necessary requirement to hold the post in order to become a central high-level bureaucrat such as a Prime Minister.²⁴⁴ In other words, holding the post of Circuit intendant was not a typical step to achieve a successful career in the Song period. The Investigating Censor of the Tang period was positioned at a relatively low official rank,

²⁴³ *Ibid.*

²⁴⁴ Umehara Kaoru, *Sodai kanryoseido kenkyu*, 1985, p.286.

8A, despite the considerably demanding duties of the post.²⁴⁵ That is to say, it can be assumed that Circuit intendants would hope to realize a successful career 立身出世 through promotion, 'yilulianke'. These auspicious words, 'yilulianke', are a wish to pass the government examinations continuously which eventually led to a successful career. Therefore, the auspicious meaning of 'yilulianke' seems not always related exclusively to the civil official examinations. In other words, it is possible that 'yilulianke' might have been not only a wish for passing examinations but also a wish for a successful career by officials like Circuit intendants. Thirdly, in each Circuit, the distinct four groups of Circuit intendants were designed to keep a balance of administrative authority and to observe each other, engaging in surveillance duty. This surveillance is frequently well depicted in jade finials in China and Korea. Egrets in jade finials carefully try to discover their prey as if a metaphor for Circuit intendants performing their duty. It is intriguing that it is not seldom possible to find egrets in courtship or repose in jade finials as in other works of art, as far as is recognizable in earlier jade finials especially before the Ming. Figure 4.28 suggests that the nine egrets of gentleman-like appearance perform nine noble thoughts: clarity, distinctness, gentleness, respectfulness, sincerity, reverence, inquiry, consequences and righteousness, as in the title of 'nine noble thoughts' rather than shows how acutely or keenly egrets detect their prey. That is to say, even though the same motif, namely, egrets, lotus plant and reeds, was applied in works of art, the auspicious image or the hidden meaning borne by the motifs can vary. There is no doubt that the auspicious motifs diversified throughout the dynasties and became complex. It is possible that the same egret, lotus and reeds motifs represented different auspicious images or symbols, and that these depended on the different users. Their interpretation depended on which auspicious images were employed by whom, and craftsmen would have designed these objects accordingly. As we discussed in the previous chapter, there have been images of egrets related to the post of inspector as early as the Northern Wei Dynasty and Tang surveillance officers received more or less the same image for their inspection tours. Therefore it is not surprising even though the Song Circuit intendants also employed egrets as their symbol as an 'inspectorate group'

²⁴⁵ However his prospects were much more promising, to rise to the rank of Prime Minister 宰相, in an elite stream (Tonami Mamoru, *Studies in the political and social History of Tang China*, Kyoto, 1986,

or as a 'successor' of *houguan*, to find auspicious images related to 'unsullied character'. 'Yilulianke' was used in the period, which may have encouraged Circuit intendants to use the image.

The final point relates to the egret image and to Circuit intendants. The Circuit (*lu* 路) in Chinese is a homonym of *lu* 鹭 egrets. The path (*lu* 路) of 'yilulianke' 一路连科 is exactly the same as the Circuit (*lu* 路) in which Circuit intendants carried out their duties. The name of the Circuit, *lu*, of surveillance jurisdiction, is attributed to the Song. The intendants were allocated to the jurisdiction of one Circuit. It is also said that egrets normally do not invade other egrets' territories.²⁴⁶ Moreover, *lian* (连 continuous) is a homonym of *lian* (莲 lotus) and *lian* (廉 high-minded integrity). *Lianke* 连科 can also lead to *lianke* 廉恪 in Chinese which means 'modest without self-interest'. Being *lianke* 廉恪 seems an ideal quality for the post of a Circuit intendant. This Chinese character, *ke* 恪, is also the same as the *ke* of *sanke* 三恪 that denotes guests from the Xia and Yin descendants who performed the 'egret dance' for the King of the Zhou Dynasty.²⁴⁷ For *ke* 恪 contains the meaning of 'reverence', which is part of the Confucian ideology.²⁴⁸ Thus it may be possible to interpret 'yilulianke' as an official dictum that "Circuit intendants (*lu jianduguan* 路监督官) in one Circuit (*yilu* 一路) are uncorrupted and of unsullied character with high-minded integrity (*lian* 廉)," required of them most of all in order to maintain the country for the Emperor. Regrettably, conclusive evidence for this has not been discovered yet.

As pointed out earlier, even the same egret and lotus motif may have held a wide variety of interpretations depending on the dynasty or even on the viewer, which it may be possible to identify by the appearance of the egrets. However, there are some problems with determining the exact period when the rebus was first created and the interpretation of respective auspicious meanings, as these particular designs have been repeatedly

p.238).

²⁴⁶ A worker at Hampton Court mentioned that a white egret there kept standing a certain distance away from another white egret who was finding his prey (August, 2002).

²⁴⁷ Chen Zizhan *et al.*, *op. cit.*, vol.2, p.1096 (zhenlu).

²⁴⁸ *Ibid.* "帝舜之後于陳, 謂之「三恪」。或云, 陳, 杞, 宋謂之「三恪」。恪讀如執事有恪之恪, 固有敬字之義。" Here, Chen, Qi, Song are, so-called, descendants from the Xia and Yin Dynasties.

employed throughout the dynasties and have gathered layers of meaning during the Ming and Qing Dynasties in particular.²⁴⁹ For example, a combination of egret and hibiscus motifs also bears an auspicious meaning, yet it seems to the author to have been created at a later period like the Ming, judging from the jade openwork finials.²⁵⁰ As a result, we are subject to misunderstand the various interpretations as the original fixed form.²⁵¹ In fact, both white egrets and lotus were formerly popular motifs since the ancient periods so that each motif bears its own original meaning. To take our example, *yilulianke* holds not only good wishes for one's career but also there are other auspicious meanings especially relating to the lotus. Lotus is a homonym of *lian* (连 continuous) in Chinese, thus the image was connected to good wishes for prosperity, development and the like which eventually linked to auspicious meanings like 'prosperity of one's descendants', 'prosperity of family's fortune' and the like.²⁵² It is almost impossible to specify whether or not this image was related later to the meaning of 'one's successful career' or before.

Another example of this which needs to be pointed out here are 'egrets and lotus pond' Chinese paintings in Japan. Most of this genre of 'egrets and lotus pond' paintings is preserved in Japanese temples and collections. Therefore, it is sometimes explained as an association with ideas of 'purity', 'beauty', and 'rebirth' as well as with Chinese Buddhism.²⁵³ Wu Tung suggests that "The religious significance of white egrets is linked to the Mahaprajnaparamita sutra," and "In Chinese Buddhism, the sutra is also called *bailuchi jing* (White Egret Pond Sutra)." There are however contrary theories.²⁵⁴ Toda Teisuke pointed out that the provenance of this genre 'Lotus pond and birds'

²⁴⁹ Imai, *op. cit.*, p.24. For further details of 'layers of meaning' during the Ming and Qing Dynasties, see Louise Allison Cort and Jan Stuart, *Joined Colors: Decoration and Meaning in Chinese Porcelain*, Washington, D.C. 1993, p.33.

²⁵⁰ Nozaki, *op. cit.*, p.312 (*yiluronghua*). This point will be discussed in Chapter Six.

²⁵¹ Imai, *loc. cit.*

²⁵² Nozaki, *op. cit.*, p.323, 344.

²⁵³ Wu Tung, *Tales from the Land of Dragons: 1,000 Years of Chinese Painting*, Boston, 1997, p.236 (no.152.).

²⁵⁴ Toda Teisuke, "Lotus ponds and birds" in *Toyobijyutsu*, no.52, 53, Tokyo, 1967, p.80. Imai, *op. cit.*, p.26 (footnote 46). Watson writes "Specially popular in Song was the lotus pond with duck or other water fowl, a subject with remote Buddhist resonance and one flattering to a garden-loving gentry...." (William Watson, *The Arts of China 900-1620*, New Haven and London, 2000, p.41).

painting may be admiration for the lotus flower, expressed in such works as the *Theory of Cherishing Lotus* 爱莲说 by Zhou Maoshu 周茂叔 of the Northern Song, so that the painting does not hold a direct association with Buddhism.²⁵⁵ Toda also remarks that the paintings produced subsequently show the characteristic features of 'yilulianke', namely, the auspicious imagery; yet this design of egrets and lotus seems also to play a part in Buddhist paintings and to extend to Buddhist practice in Japan, after the Chinese paintings were brought to Japan.²⁵⁶ Imai Atsushi suggests that it can be considered that to lotus flowers were historically added layers of desirable meanings in China, and that therefore the popularity of the lotus motif must certainly have been stimulated or enhanced by the prevalence of Buddhism.²⁵⁷ Besides, Imai points out that, in Chinese auspicious motifs, the motifs purely derived from Buddhism should be limited to 'bajixiang' 八吉祥 (The eight auspicious things) and 'Hanshan Shide tu' 寒山拾得图 (Two prelates of the Tang: Hanshan and Shide), so that it can not be interpreted that the lotus designs which were widely employed in Chinese works of art were all associated with Buddhism.²⁵⁸ In conclusion, egret and lotus motifs in paintings in China seem irrelevant to Buddhist images. Art motifs in jade finials were most likely borrowed from existing images and designs and other works of arts, such as paintings and metal work. Therefore it is reasonable to consider that egret and lotus motifs in jade finials may not have been related to Buddhist symbolism.

As the final point in this section, it is worth pointing out how egrets have been celebrated in poems and in song. White egrets can be found first in the *Book of Odes*. In a poem called 'White egret' by Xie Huilian 谢惠连 of the Song Dynasty, the term 'zhenlu' (振鹭 like spreading egrets flying) which is the title of a song in the *Book of Odes* has been employed as an expression by Xie.²⁵⁹ Even in the *History of the Song*,

²⁵⁵ Toda, *ibid.* Zhou Maoshu states that, "Of all flowers, lotus is a symbol of gentleman away from mundane life." (Nozaki, *op. cit.*, p.344).

²⁵⁶ Toda, *ibid.*

²⁵⁷ Imai, *loc. cit.*

²⁵⁸ *Ibid.* Imai quotes this from Zhou Lili, "Ciqi zongjiaowenyang, Jixiangtuancongshu", *Shanghai bowuguanjikan*, no. 7, 1996.

²⁵⁹ Chen Yuanlong (1987), *op. cit.*, vol.2 (birds)-4, p.648 (Bailu fu).

white egrets, the Yin symbol, seem to be used as a metaphor for an auspicious spirit.²⁶⁰ Yet, it is not only in the *History of the Song* but also in other former dynastic records, for example, the *History of the Han*, the *Jin* (晉), the *Sui* and the *Tang*, that egrets are constantly described relating to the *Book of Odes*.²⁶¹ It is said that the *Book of Odes* was transmitted by Confucius, and so it was highly esteemed as one of the Five Classics of Confucianism.²⁶² In this regard, this oldest work of songs and odes in China which were originally collected folk songs, court music and ritual odes from all over the country might have been more or less given a Confucian interpretation. However, as seen in our earlier examples and in the historical records, egret images from the *Book of Odes* clearly played an important role especially for the Song literati, and this is probably a crucial reason for the long existence of the egret motif in China.

The final example, from a Northern Song poem, presents a somewhat suggestive relationship between Military intendants and commissioners and egrets. The poem beautifully expresses the high morale of people like military officials on their way to battle, using metaphorical expressions of five characters each. A part of the poem is:

…銀袍帶殘月 玉鷺集寒沼…²⁶³

...A silver robe [perhaps a high-ranking military officer] accompanies a waning moon;
jade egrets [possibly officials relating to the military or soldiers] gathered at a cold
marsh....

Firstly, the image of a silver robe can be associated with people like Military Generals, judging from this poem. An officer wearing a silver robe was normally in a high-level position so that this man could be a commander. He may possibly ride a horse from the

²⁶⁰ SS, juan 379, p.11702. “丁母憂，歸葬，哀殷處墓，有白鷺朱草之祥…。忠臣孝子…” White represented the Yin, and red the Zhou. The white egret on red grass is an auspicious image which seems to be compared to the egret dance by the Yin and Xia descendants in the ode. White egrets in the *Book of Odes* represent ‘pure soul’ and ‘the supernatural’ (Shirakawa, *op. cit.*, p.33).

²⁶¹ HH, juan 28 xia, p.1653, JSU, juan 22, p.689, SUS, juan 15, p.376, JT, juan, 21, p.826 and so forth.

²⁶² Takada, *op. cit.*, p.12.

²⁶³ Huang Chang and Huang Jie, *Yanshanji*, vol. 1, Northern Song, in SQ, vol.1120, p.1120-31 (Guanshi 觀試).

poetic expression ‘accompanies a waning moon’ – as he is not ‘being chased by a waning moon’ – which seems suggestive of his speed. Secondly, ‘jade egrets’ were employed as the metaphor for a gathering at a marsh at night. We can learn from the verb ‘gather’ that the subject is not just one. Accordingly, it can be considered that the subject is people, their personal adornments and even their unsullied morale. What is most important in this extract is what metaphor relates to jade egrets here. In the light of the *Book of Odes* and the situation in this poem, it can be unsullied morale, to express ‘united high morale’ and ‘loyalty and bravery’ in association with an image of jades and egrets. Yet, it is also possible to interpret the jade egrets as personal adornment which was worn, or as the people who bore the image of egrets. It is indeed the case that such jade finials along with the high-technique of their carving must have been very precious. Therefore a man like a commander might own such an object. Yet, considering the structure of the poem, it seems that a silver robe and jade egrets are in antithesis. Therefore, it is also possible to assume that a silver robe stands for a military General, while jade egrets represent officials who hold high civil and military positions. In other words, jade egrets might have been personal adornments of equal importance to a silver robe here. Besides, they may have held the image of egrets, like the *houguan* in Northern Wei times. Judging from the situation of Song times described in Chapter Three, they could be *shuaisi* 帅司, members of Military Commissioners like *anfu* 安抚, *jinglue* 经略, *zongguan* 总管 and *qianxia* 钤辖. Although this little description from the poem is not enough to identify them, it is worthwhile pointing out here that there is a possibility of the jade egrets denoting people related to a Military Commission and related parties.

4.2.9 The Case of the Liao (AD 907-1125) and Jin Dynasties (AD 1115-1234)

The Jin Dynasty also followed the manner of former dynasties, and had ‘white egret’ carriages (*bailuche*).²⁶⁴ Egret images are related to music, which may be attributed to the *Books of Odes*, as discussed earlier. According to the *History of the Jin*, this is all about the remarkable record associated with egret images. However, the Jin Dynasty is the important period for the practice of wearing hat ornaments made of jade, which will

²⁶⁴ JS, juan 43, p.970, 971.

be discussed in the following chapter.

On the other hand, the *History of the Liao* records only the feathers of egrets.²⁶⁵ It says that a *baier* 白毳 is made of egret feathers, forming a net, or made of woolen. *Er* is generally a bird's plume or a decoration for helmets of soldiers, for dogs and horses, or weapons.²⁶⁶ With only this record, it can not be certain precisely what a *baier* was, yet it is evident from this record that egret feathers were used by the Liao people and suggests that egrets were familiar to them in this period. Aside from records, there are artefacts which prove that egret motifs were popular among the Qidan 契丹 people. Figure 4.34 shows a dish with three colour glaze and incised design depicting an egret and lotus flowers. Ornithologically, the identification of white egret is unclear, as there is no depiction of the typical crest and long legs. Yet, the long bill and crouched posture suggest a white egret, as catalogued in *Zhongguo meishu quanji*.²⁶⁷ From the white egret's distribution, this egret should be a Great White Egret or Intermediate Egret. This kind of example without the visible crest of a Great White Egret or Intermediate Egret is also found in the Southern Song Dynasty (Figure 4.35). In *Zhongguo meishu quanji*, it is explained that an egret swims in a rippling lotus pond, which can not be possible for them ornithologically, as their feet are not designed for swimming. The depiction (Figure 4.34) probably shows it standing among the lotus leaves in a shallow place, which is correct from an ornithological point of view. On the whole, it is depicted naturally, with simple but adept technique, as pointed out in *Zhongguo meishu quanji*.²⁶⁸ However, a key feature of this example is that it has the "yilulianke" motif, one lotus blooming and another withering by the side of a white egret. Considering this motif with a kind of picturesque effect, it is difficult to deny the influence from painting and the presence of auspicious meanings. It is conventionally said that the design of 'lotus pond and water fowl' was first settled in the Jiangnan province where marsh areas are

²⁶⁵ LS, juan 106, p. 1546. "白毳 音餌。以白鷺羽為網，又毳也。"

²⁶⁶ WS, juan 101, p.2240, NS, juan 78, poliguo, p.1960, SUS, juan 11, liyi 6, p.231, juan 12, p.266, 273, XT, juan 23 shang, p.485, 487. HD, vol.6, p.1007 (er).

²⁶⁷ ZMQ:T2, p.73 (no.211).

²⁶⁸ *Ibid.*

abundant.²⁶⁹ However, as in the case of the jade egret belt from the Koryŏ, it is highly possible to assume that egret motifs were in vogue in the Liao Dynasty. Hence, it enables us to say that egret motifs not only prevailed in the Song but also that the Northern area produced works of art bearing egret motifs at latest from this period.

A second Liao example is shown in Figures 4.36a and 4.36b. This gold box of personal adornment was placed on the right side of a princess's waist. It was excavated from a joint tomb of the princess of the Chen state and her consort in Qinglongshan, Naimanqi, southeastern Inner Mongolia.²⁷⁰ The shape of the gold box is octagonal with scalloped border and beaded decoration; formed by chasing and decorating in repoussé it dates from the middle of the Liao Dynasty (AD 983-1054).²⁷¹ The bottom gold chain is for security and the upper chain for attachment to a belt. One side shows a depiction of a pair of egret-like water fowl standing on one leg on the shore, and the other side depicts a pair of mandarin ducks swimming in rippling water. Actually, these egret-like water fowl are catalogued as cranes in publications. However, typical features like standing on the shore, the crest, long bill, s-shaped long neck and long leg seem to indicate white egrets rather than cranes to the author. If they were meant to be cranes, why did the craftsman fail to depict the typical red-skinned spots on the top of the head of a crane, especially as the birds are exquisitely expressed with attention paid to every detail, even to the skin on their legs. Besides, the presence of a crest seems to rule out the crane, although the crest is curled up with slight exaggeration.²⁷² Ornithologically and from a distribution point of view, these are possibly the Little Egret or Chinese Egret.

What can be considered as the meaning of egrets on this personal adornment? Firstly, the personal adornment worn by the princess was interred, and burial pieces bearing

²⁶⁹ Miyazaki Noriko, *op. cit.*, vol. 2, p.19. Miyazaki Noriko has already pointed out this Liao dish as an example of the 'yulianke' in her article.

²⁷⁰ Neimenggu zizhi qu wenwukaogu yanjiusuo and Zhelimumeng bowuguan, *Liao Chengguo gongzhumu*, Beijing, 1993, p.1, 26, 28.

²⁷¹ Zhu Tianshu, *Liaodai Jinyinqi*, Beijing, 1998, p.1, 101, 156. A recent report has further investigated its dating and set it between AD 969-1030 (Zhang Jingming and Zhao Aijun, "Liaodai Jinyinqi de qixingwenshi yanbian ji gongyi", *Beifang Wenwu*, 2000, no.1, p.40).

²⁷² As in the case of the Han stone reliefs and other works of arts, a curling up crest occasionally occurs in depiction of egrets. See Figures 4.43.

auspicious imagery, such as fish or the Chinese phoenix, presuppose a life after death. There were associations of egrets with an auspicious spirit, with the supernatural, pureness, integrity and fertility based on the *Book of Odes*. This was a joint tomb for a princess and her consort, and a pair of egrets has been depicted on this box. Indeed, the opposite side shows a pair of mandarin ducks, a popular motif representing a happy marriage and marital harmony.²⁷³ Considering these motifs, it can be interpreted that a pair of white egrets can represent the auspicious in the afterlife, incarnation, and the reunited souls of a couple expressed with a pair of mandarin ducks. Mandarin ducks were a motif combined frequently with a lotus as a wish for the prosperity of one's descendants²⁷⁴; this is not the case in our example. There do not seem to be layered meanings to enhance auspicious imagery here, and other motifs accompanying the egrets are absent.

The final example of bronze belt-plaques bearing egret motifs is of great importance relating to the Koryō jade belt (Figures 4.36c and 4.36d). It was unearthed from a tomb at Erlinchang 二林场 in Tongliao county 通辽县, Inner Mongolia, and the occupant of this tomb is assumed to have been a civil official of sixth or seventh grade, judging from his excavated personal ornaments.²⁷⁵ In fact, the egrets on the bronze belt-plaque have been identified as cranes in *Wenwu*, yet the characteristic crest and s-shaped neck in flying posture on the belt ornithologically prove the identification of egret. According to *Wenwu*, *lingzhi* fungus and flower motifs were also employed in the design on this belt, along with egrets. The drawing of the belt seemingly exhibits lotus leaves, however it is uncertain, and one can not conclude whether the rebus of 'yilulianke' was employed on this bronze belt. In view of the use of an auspicious motif such as *lingzhi* fungus on the belt and the example of a dish with three colour glaze (Figure 4.34), we can assume that the design very possibly related to the 'yilulianke' motif. Intriguingly, officials of sixth and seventh grade were regulated to use official insignia with an egret motif in the Ming

²⁷³ Nozaki, *op. cit.*, p.346 (*yuanyangguizi*). Mandarin ducks here do not show the male decorative plumage which grows in the breeding season. This feature was typical of this period especially before the Yuan Dynasty, and has been discussed in detail by Miyazaki Noriko. For further details of the mandarin ducks, see her article "Chugoku kachoga no imi" vol. 2 in the *Journal of Art Studies*, p.20.

²⁷⁴ Nozaki, *ibid.*

²⁷⁵ Zhang Rozhong, "Neimenggu Tongliao xian Erlinchang Liao mu", *Wenwu*, 1985, no.3, p.60.

and Qing period, which corresponds to the presumed grade of the occupant of this tomb. The most important point concerning this belt is that it is possible that it was a prototype for a jade belt carved with egret motifs. The period of this tomb is assumed to be the earlier half of the period of Shengzong 圣宗 (AD 982-1031).²⁷⁶ If so, it will be an earliest example of an item of personal adornment bearing egret motifs. Moreover, if the design is proved as 'yilulianke' motif, the period of this bronze belt is close to that of fragments with egret and reed-like motif from the Cizhou kiln of the Northern Song which are considered to date as early as AD 1008 to AD 1021 (Figure 4.33). Considering that motifs and designs are usually first used in paintings and ceramics before they are borrowed for personal adornments in gold, silver, bronze and jade, this bronze belt suggests that egret motifs in works of art were used in the Liao earlier than they were used in the Northern Song. In the *History of the Song*, an egret motif is not listed among about twenty motifs such as a pair of deer and lychee for use in the design of belts for officials.²⁷⁷ It is possible that the use of an egret motif in belts for the Song occurred later than with the Liao. Therefore, the relationships of cultural exchange among the Liao, Koryŏ, and the Northern Song will be a key feature to shed light on the meaning and the process of creating jade openwork finials with egret motifs.

On these grounds, it should be concluded that egret motifs bearing auspicious imagery seem to have been in existence in Northern China from an early stage and applied on works of art including personal adornments contemporary with Northern Song times, as seen in our Figures 4.33 and 4.36c.

4.2.10 Egret Motifs in the Yuan Dynasty

The *History of the Yuan* seems to provide only two records related to egrets. The one is about the name of a place, and the other is a *jiangu* drum decorated with egrets as in former dynasties.²⁷⁸ Intriguingly, despite the mention of a carriage decorated with jade

²⁷⁶ *Ibid.*

²⁷⁷ SS, juan 153, p.3565. In the *History of the Liao*, the material of belts was regulated for different ranking officials, yet there was no especial reference to designs and motifs (LS, juan 56, p.910).

²⁷⁸ YS, juan 67, p.1705, juan 157, p.3706.

dragons, there is not any mention of a 'white egret' carriage.²⁷⁹ Furthermore, the 'white egret' carriage derived from the Sui Dynasty seems no longer to appear in the dynastic official histories after the Jin Dynasty, although a dragon carriage and a carriage decorated with jade dragons are constantly recorded from the Song to the Ming.²⁸⁰ Why is this? It seems that there is some key feature related to 'jade dragons'. To inquire further into the matter would lead us into the specialized area of jade dragon finials, and such a discussion goes beyond the scope of this thesis. However, it is worth pointing out here.

In the Yuan, was the '*yilulianke*' motif interpreted in the same way as in former dynasties? There is an interesting example from the Qing Court Collection. Figure 4.37 shows five egrets amid lotus flowers, leaves and reeds with one tortoise holding *lingzhi* fungus in its mouth on a lotus leaf. It is in the style of the so-called '*yilulianke*' and has been enhanced by the presence of the tortoise. A tortoise has been conventionally counted as one of 'the four spiritually endowed creatures' 四灵, with the unicorn, phoenix and dragon, and is considered as a symbol of longevity; the shell (*jia* 甲) of a tortoise (*guijia* 龟甲) leads also to the meaning of '*yijiaiming*' 一甲一名 (wishing someone the highest marks in the highest civil service examinations).²⁸¹ A shell (*jia* 甲) was a homonym of *jia* 甲 (the candidate with the highest marks in the highest civil service examinations), and it can be considered that the tortoise became one of a combination of motifs along with the egret, lotus and reeds to enhance the auspicious meaning of continued success in the various levels of examinations. Egrets are also a homonym of *lu* (禄 salary), and it is said that gaining a salary after successful examinations seems to have been a natural association.²⁸² There is a painting dated as Yuan of this type (Figure 4.38). The egrets searching their prey with keen eyes in different postures in the painting have seemingly a close tie to the jade example which

²⁷⁹ YS, juan 78, p.1944-5.

²⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, SS, juan 149, p.3484, JS, juan 33, p.788, MS, juan 62, p.1521, 1525, 1538, 1591, 1599. It can be considered that jade openwork dragon finials were a part of the decoration of the carriages, especially in the Yuan period. However, it seems unlikely, judging from the structure of jade bases, unless they were mounted with hard materials.

²⁸¹ Tokyo National Museum (1998), *op. cit.*, p.59 (no. 33). Nozaki, *op. cit.*, p.424, 439.

²⁸² Miyazaki Noriko, *op. cit.*, vol.2, p.21.

also shows egrets in various poses, such as bowing to search for prey. A similar painting dated as Yuan Dynasty is also found in the Kyoto National Museum.²⁸³ In the Yuan, the reign of Renzong 仁宗 (r. AD 1311-1320) saw the revival of the civil service examinations.²⁸⁴ The creation of the layer of meaning of a wish for continued success in the government examinations may be associated with their revival at this time. Our jade finial example has been dated broadly to the Liao, Jin or Yuan.²⁸⁵

The important point to emphasize is that the wish for a successful career (*yilulianke*) may not be the principal symbolic meaning of an emblem, and not of a hat finial, as discussed earlier. This rebus seems to have other hidden meanings behind the motif. A hat finial is more likely to represent social status than to reveal official ranking civil service. Accordingly, it can be postulated that to egrets as a specific official symbol was added a layer of auspicious meanings, such as wishes for a successful career, wealth, and the prosperity of a men's descendants. Conversely, egrets might have been chosen by specific officials as their symbol worn as a hat finial, in association with the historical relationship of egrets and specific officials; the egret motif might have been selected to elevate an individuals' character by using the popularity of the egret bearing auspicious meanings.

We have assumed these specific officials to include principal members of the *zongguanfu* in the Yuan period, the group supervising the *lu* 路 jurisdiction ('Circuit' in the Song, 'Route' in the Yuan), in Chapter Three. This title, of Vice Supervisor-in-chief, was held by Ren Ming (AD 1286-1351) whose tomb was dated as late Yuan. However, a question and a possibility of other persons from the Ren family arise based on the egret images. These are Ren Liangyou 任良佑 (AD 1281-1338), older brother of Ren Ming, an Instructor of Confucianism, and Ren Xiande 任賢德

²⁸³ The author saw the painting on display in 2001 and the triangular eye closely resembles a number of jade egret finial examples of this type. See also *Genjidai no kaiga*, Museum Yamato bunkakan, 1998, p.152 (no.43).

²⁸⁴ Miyazaki Ichisada (1987), *op. cit.*, p.50-1. In AD1315, the civil service examinations that had been a problem pending for many years in the Yuan were restarted (Miyazaki Ichisada, *Asia shironko*, vol.3, Tokyo, 1976, p.99).

²⁸⁵ Zhou Nanquan, ed., *Yuqi*, Hong Kong, 1995, vol.2, p.113. Zhang Guangwen, *Yuqi shihua*, Beijing, 1989, p.72.

(AD 1289-1345), son of Ren Renfa, a Supervisor 提舉. As 'Instructor of Confucianism' was an official title, it is not surprising if the egret motif was selected as their symbol, based on the *Book of Odes*, the 'nine noble thoughts of Confucianism' of the 'Analects', and other sayings of Confucius and his successors. In the case of Ren Xiande, although it is uncertain exactly what department he belonged to owing to the unclearness of the rubbing from his epitaph, there is an official title, 'Supervisor of Confucian Schools'.

In 1307, *Xiaojing* 孝經 (The Classic of Filial Piety) was translated into the Mongolian language with P'ags-pa script and published by the Secretariat (*zhongshusheng* 中書省).²⁸⁶ A decree was simultaneously announced to set up stone monuments in the Confucius shrines.²⁸⁷ This led to the establishing of schools and shrines in each Route, Prefecture and District, in an explosive expansion of Confucian education and its publishing culture, even extending as far as Koryō and Japan.²⁸⁸ There is a poem seemingly relevant to the white egret and a Supervisor of Confucian Schools by Zhao Mengfu 趙孟頫 (AD 1254-1322) when he seems to have been Supervisor of Confucian Schools in Jiangzhe 江浙.²⁸⁹

春陰柳絮不能飛 雨足蒲芽綠更肥 政恐前呵驚白鷺 獨騎款段遶湖歸²⁹⁰

In a spell of cloudy days, willow fluff is unable to dance in the wind. After abundant rain, the bulrush sprout turns a deeper shade of green. The official cares if white egrets ahead are surprised, and the sole rider returns gently on the way to the lakefront [i.e. Lake Xi].²⁹¹

This beautiful poem seems more metaphorical than narrative, especially in the last two lines. It is uncertain why he did not wish to surprise white egrets in association with

²⁸⁶ YS, juan 22, p. 485-6. Miya Noriko, "Mongol ocho to jyukyo", *Sinica*, 2001, no.3, p.77.

²⁸⁷ *Ibid.* Confucian doctrine, it was believed by the Mongols, would strengthen the country.

²⁸⁸ YS, juan 81, p.2029. Miya, *ibid.*

²⁸⁹ Maeno Naoaki, *Song-Yuan-Ming-Qing shishu*, vol. 19, trans. of Chinese poems, Tokyo, 1973, p.179. From AD 1286 to 1310, Zhao Mengfu served in regional official posts like Vice Supervisor-in-chief of Juan Route and so forth, and was Supervisor of Confucian Schools in Jiangzhe (*ibid.*, 165-6, and *Zhongguo dabaikquanshu*, Meishu, vol.2, Beijing, 1991, p.1063, Zhao Mengfu).

²⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, p.486 (Hushangmugui 湖上暮歸).

²⁹¹ The English translation is based on the Japanese translation of Maeno Naoaki (*ibid.*, p.165-6, 179).

himself as a Supervisor of Confucian Schools and what this implies. There is a similar expression in *Nancun chuogeng lu* 南村辍耕录 by Tao Zongyi 陶宗仪 (?-AD 1396). In his poem, "Do not let seagulls relax and do not let egrets be surprised and become suspicious" refers to a story of bribery and the Supervisor of Confucian Schools.²⁹² Were there any ties between the title 'Supervisor of Confucian Schools' and white egrets? A Supervisor of Confucian Schools engaged in overseeing, encouraging and checking the rites, and the achievements of schools in Routes, Superior and Ordinary Prefectures and Districts. This official title was established and continued only during the Yuan.²⁹³ In the light of the image of egrets and the nature of the supervision of Confucian Schools, it is conceivable that white egrets might have been compared to these officials. Therefore, the possibility should be pointed out here of this title relating to egret motifs.

Let us now examine further egret motifs in the Yuan times. In the vast Mongol empire, was the egret motif bearing hidden meanings like 'yilulianke' understood only by the Han Chinese people? For example, *xingsheng* 行省, the highest regional level of Yuan rule, was called 'sing' by the Mongols after the Chinese pronunciation 'xing' in 'xingsheng'.²⁹⁴ However, 'lu' (Route) was called 'čölge' by them in Mongolian,²⁹⁵ which seems to prove that the Chinese term 'lu' did not penetrate into Mongolian. Did other non-Han Chinese people understand a rebus like 'yilulianke' and the use of the egret motif? Did they enjoy the egret motifs without knowing the hidden meanings, or did they just ignore the real meaning?

As the publishing of *Xiaojing* (The Classic of Filial Piety) indicates, the Mongols did not destroy Chinese culture but seem rather to have retained it. Three examples confirm this. The first is blue and white porcelain, a notable Yuan invention (Figure 4.39). The dish with foliate rim is depicted with egrets wading in a lotus pond in the centre surrounded by a stylized lotus scroll, flower sprays, and a cloud pattern with an early

²⁹² Tao Zongyi, *Nancunchuogenglu*, Yuan, reprint, Beijing, 1959, p.352 (Cubomi) "...休教鷗鷺驚猜."

²⁹³ Zhang Zhenglang et al., eds., *Zhongguo lidai guanzhi dacidian*, Beijing, 1994, p.858 (ruxuetijusi).

²⁹⁴ Maeda Naonori, *Genchoushi no kenkyu*, Tokyo, 1973, p.164.

²⁹⁵ *Ibid.* p.167.

form of wave border.²⁹⁶ The pair of white egrets on the dish have no visible crests, which may be suggestive of the Great White Egret or Intermediate Egret. This manner of treatment is characteristic of this period. The dish shows evidently the result of a happy marriage of the egret motif in classical Chinese taste and enriched decorative schemes in Islamic taste. Thus, although a combination of the white egret and lotus motif seems to have owed much to Chinese taste, the motif bearing auspicious meanings seems also to have been accepted by the non-Han Chinese people. Figure 4.40 also shows an example of the combination of egret and lotus motifs in a Yuan style octagonal stem cup with reserve panels.

The last significant example is a *shan* 衫 jacket with *luo* 罗 embroidery unearthed from the Yuan Jining 集宁 route, in modern Ulan Qab, Inner Mongolia (Figure 4.41a). Bird, flower and figure motifs bearing auspicious imagery, in total a pattern of ninety-nine, are embroidered onto the jacket, for example: a lady watching a mandarin duck in a pond under a willow tree, a man sitting among maple trees, a lady riding a donkey, a Chinese phoenix holding *lingzhi* fungus in its mouth, egrets and lotus, waterfowl, deer, rabbits, carp, tortoises, lotus sprays, reeds and chrysanthemum.²⁹⁷ What is to be noticed here is that the focal motif of this jacket was designed to be a pair of egrets in a lotus pond positioned over both shoulders (Figure 4.41b).²⁹⁸ Furthermore, Chinese script in ink on a silk product was discovered with the jacket in the large storage jar, providing the information that the jacket belonged to a *zongguanfu*.²⁹⁹ A Confucian stone monument was also found on this site in the ruins of an old castle with names and official titles, *darughachi* (Overseers), *zongguan* and Vice

²⁹⁶ According to Margaret Medley, this wave border is in its early form in the Yuan (Margaret Medley, *Yuan Porcelain and Stoneware*, London, 1974, plate 122A). Jessica Rawson argued that lobed panels on dishes were borrowed from vessels and other utensils in silver or lacquer, illustrating this with a similar Yuan dish decorated with egrets in a lotus pond enclosed by lobed panels (Jessica Rawson, *Chinese Ornament: The Lotus and the Dragon*, London, 1984, p.134, fig.123).

²⁹⁷ Pan Xingrong, "Yuan Jininglu gucheng chutu de jiaozangsizhiwu ji jita", *Wenwu*, 1979, no.8, p.33.

²⁹⁸ This pair of egrets was identified as cranes in the *Wenwu* article by Pan Xingrong, which has been quoted in some publications (*ibid.*).

²⁹⁹ Pan Xingrong, *ibid.*, p.35. Li discusses that the material of the jacket shows that it was worn by officials of third rank based on the *History of the Yuan*, which suggests that the owner of this jacket was an official like a *darughachi* or a *zongguan* (Li Yiyu, "Tan Yuan jininglu yizhi chutu de sizhiwu", *Wenwu*, 1979, no.8, p.38).

Supervisor-in-chief, inscribed on it.³⁰⁰ Those names associated with titles appear mostly to be non-Han Chinese, for example, a typical surname of the Jin people like *Wanyan* 完颜 can be seen for senior members of the *zongguanfu*. Ren Ming had held the title of Vice Supervisor-in-chief as the final official post in his career. It has been pointed out that the weaving and style of the embroidery bear a close resemblance to an example unearthed from Fuzhou, Fujian, of the Southern Song, and even to the modern Suzhou style.³⁰¹ Motifs along with auspicious imagery of Chinese origin may well explain this. It is known that Chinese culture was enjoyed in the northern part of the Yuan, that is, by the non-Han Chinese, such as the Mongols. In the light of the Inner Mongolia of the Yuan, the *darughachi* in the Jining Route would have been more engaged as Route Commanders than just as Overseers, as we discussed in Chapter Three.³⁰²

The senior administrative members of a *zongguanfu* consisted mainly of five functionaries: 1. Overseer 达鲁花赤; 2. Supervisor-in-chief (or Route Commander) 总管; 3. Vice Supervisor-in-chief 同知; 4. Assistant 治中; 5. Assistant (subordinate official) 判官.³⁰³ What does the egret on a lotus pond motif on the jacket represent? Did egret motifs symbolize members of the *zongguanfu* of the Yuan?

Judging from its posture, the egret is greeting its arriving partner as explained ornithologically as in Figure 4.7. The egrets here, having a typical drooping plume as a crest, must be the Little Egret, which might not have inhabited the area of Inner Mongolia, according to modern distribution reports. However, a number of Chinese textile workers were resettled by the Mongols in imperial workshops and *zongguanfu* in all Routes.³⁰⁴ The important question is that egrets in the 'yilulianke' style on this jacket do not pose as if they are searching or detecting their prey, corresponding to an official duty. It is solely auspicious imagery along with other auspicious motifs such as *lingzhi*

³⁰⁰ Zhan Yuhuan, "Yuan jininglu gucheng yu jianzhi", *Kaogu*, 1962, no.11, p.587.

³⁰¹ Pan Xingrong, *op. cit.*, p. 33, 35.

³⁰² YS, juan 25, p.575.

³⁰³ Yanai Watari *et al.*, *Mokoshi kenkyu*, Tokyo, 1930, p.310.

³⁰⁴ YS, juan 89, p.2262. Tao Zongyi, *op. cit.*, p.259. "Chinese textile workers were seen living in the

fungus, far from our theory of a connection between egrets' posture and official title. However, the jacket, assuming its date in the reign of Wuzong (r. AD 1307-1310), corresponds to the period of a revival of the original Chinese system of government examinations.³⁰⁵ It can be assumed that a number of auspicious images and motifs of Chinese culture became more widely popularized towards the end of the Yuan Dynasty. Therefore, it is conceivable that the original meanings and subtle rules imbedded in the motif might have been transferred to a more comprehensive 'auspicious motif'. In particular, for the Mongols, who seem not to have employed the word 'lu' (Route) of 'yilulianke', it is not easy to assume that such subtle differences in egret postures would have been understood by them or been required to be expressed for them by artisans.

In addition, the jacket with symbolic embroidery on the shoulders leads the author to relate it to the Ming robe embroidered with official rank insignia. It is uncertain whether or not the Ming surcoat with official rank insignia was anticipated by this type of jacket, yet such a connection would not be improbable.³⁰⁶ Moreover, it reminds the author that a Bandit-suppressing Commissioner (or Bandit-suppressing Censor) (*xiuyi zhizhi shizhe* 绣衣直指使者) in the Han was clad in embroidered garments when sent to suppress banditry in an area.³⁰⁷ Their duty was comparable to the Song Circuit intendants.³⁰⁸ The Bandit-suppressing Commissioner was originally responsible to the Han Censor, but the post was abolished later in the dynasty.³⁰⁹ As we saw in Chapter Three, the principal members of a *zongguanfu* probably derived from Circuit intendants, particularly the Military intendants and commissioners, and so the jacket here would be

town of Almaliq, in Central Asia" (James C.Y. Watt *et al.*, *When Silk Was Gold*, New York, 1997, p.15).

³⁰⁵ It has been dated AD 1309 or later (Pan Xingrong, *op. cit.*, p.35.)

³⁰⁶ An embroidered jacket called 'xiushan' 绣衫 was worn by the Song military: eagle, tiger and lion motifs were used (SS, juan 148, p.3471-3). This practice of wearing embroidered jackets is traceable to the Tang and it was prescribed for civil and military officials ranked in the first to third grade. In AD 791, as new official uniform, a sash with falcon motif was granted to *jiedushi* and with wild goose to *guanhashi*, as wild geese form a line in order. (Wang Pu, *Tanghuitao*, juan 32, yufuxia, vol.1, p.680). "第度使文以鹞銜綬帶，取其武毅，以靖封內。觀察使以雁銜儀委，取行列有序，冀人人有威儀也，" Egrets were traditionally appreciated for flying in an ordered line and compared to officials (Shi Kuang, *loc. cit.*). "……雁飛有行列也鷺白鷺也小不踰大飛有次序百官縉紳之象……鴻鷺之羣擬官師也"

³⁰⁷ Zhao Sheng, *Chaoyeleiyao*, Song, reprinted in *Biji xiaoshuo daguan* (3), vol. 7, Jiangsu, 1984, p.202.

³⁰⁸ *Ibid.*

³⁰⁹ III, juan 19 shang, p.725-6.

an intriguing example of this. It is assumed that the Bandit-suppressing Commissioner was so named as he was the 'official who pointed out' right from wrong and wore 'embroidered garments'.³¹⁰ Egrets held the imagery of catching wrongdoers. Although it is unknown what kind of embroidered garments were worn by the Han Bandit-suppressing Commissioners and in what kind of situation the jacket in our example would have been worn, it can be considered that egrets were used as the symbol or representation of the senior administrative members of the *zongguanfu*, as that is appropriate to their assigned duties.

It seems debatable whether there is an assured relationship between the egret symbol and the group of senior administrators of the *zongguanfu*. For instance, a lacquer bowl bearing Chinese characters was found from the same site, suggestive of use for religious rites.³¹¹ It is unclear whether the jacket was associated with the bowl. However, we are able to suggest that there is a possibility that egrets were a symbol of certain officials such as the senior administrators of the *zongguanfu* in the Yuan period, based on the evidence of the embroidered jacket and of Ren Ming's jade finial. What is more, it is said that a jade ornament depicted with a bird, possibly egrets, and lotus was also discovered from the same jar, which may assist our theory in the future.³¹²

4.2.11 Egret Symbol - the Ming and Qing Dynasties

Turning to the Ming Dynasty, the egret motif was eventually incorporated into the embroidered civil official rank insignia as a sixth grade (Figures 4.42a and 4.42b) and this practice was followed by the Qing (Figure 4.43).³¹³ It meant that the image of egrets for an official title was officially defined and completely fixed for specific officials from the Ming Dynasty onwards. However, egret motifs were not only for these officials but also used more widely, so that the repertoire of the combination of

³¹⁰ Sakurai Yoshiaki, "Gyoshi seido no keisei (jyou)", *Toyogakuho*, 23-2, 1936, vol. 1, p.148.

³¹¹ Pan Xingrong, *op. cit.*, p.35. It is said that the script appeared to be 'shanglao' 上牢, that is 'tailao' 太牢 (for sacrifice in a religious service).

³¹² *Ibid.*, p.34. Pan described this ornament as crane and lotus design and some publications assume this identification. However, it seems unlikely to the author. The main motif of egrets in a lotus pond on part of the shoulder was identified as crane and lotus in the article, but egrets are most likely to be combined with lotus pond motif, unlike cranes. It is unfortunate that the object was not illustrated.

egret and other auspicious motifs seems to have been continuously expanded and enjoyed in society generally: for example, as seen in Figure 4.42a, the Ming rank insignia exhibit an egret in a lotus pond in a conventional design, and the Qing rank insignia, Figure 4.43, show a busy background with eclectic motifs such as lotus and mystic knot taken from the Eight Buddhist Symbols. Even just comparing these two examples, we can see that the egret motif was combined with more auspicious imagery to enhance the overall image.

In the Ming and Qing Dynasties, notwithstanding the image of the egret officially employed for specific officials, the egret motif seems more commonly to be applied to works of art, which is apparent from the many works of art that survive with this design. For example, the egret paintings by Lü Ji 吕纪 (c. AD 1439-1505) (Figure 4.44), a large Ming vessel with waterfowl and lotus pond design in overglaze enamels (Figure 4.45), a Ming box and cover with overglaze enamels (Figure 4.46), a cloisonné dish decorated with an egret on a shore with bamboo and rocks at the centre (Figure 4.47), a Qing embroidered hanging picture (Figure 4.48), a *Famille Rose* vase (Figure 4.49) and so forth. Jade egret finials on the covers of incense burners are mostly attributed to the late Ming and Qing periods, and will be discussed in Chapter Six. In particular, porcelain in these periods presents many auspicious motifs to viewers. White egrets are one example of a motif which was conventionally cherished for its whiteness and conveyed a variety of auspicious meanings and interpretations. It should be noted that literary images of egrets were also preserved and applied in works of art. Figure 4.50 can be said to be an example of this. It is from a collection of designs for wood block prints and Figure 4.50 is based on a conceit of Li Fang 李昉 of the Song that egrets are one of five bird guests and that they represent snow (*xueke* 雪客).³¹⁴ Chen Yuanlong of the Qing Dynasty also collected Li's saying in his book, *Gezhijingyuan*. In the book, Chen gave a number of interpretations of egret images based on the fifteen historical records.³¹⁵ This proves that egrets were popular for their auspicious imagery and that

³¹³ MS, juan 67, p.1638. QS, juan 103, p.3057.

³¹⁴ Chengshimoyuan, facsimile reprint of the 1606 edition, Hebei, 1996, p.414. Egrets as *xueke* were also recorded by Guo Ruoxu of the Song (Guo Ruoxu, *op. cit.*, p.85-6)

³¹⁵ Chen Yuanlong (1989), *op. cit.*, p.897-8.

this auspicious imagery varied throughout history.

The painting 'Egrets and Hibiscus' 秋鹭芙蓉 by Lü Ji (Figure 4.44) is in the style of 'yilulianke', with egrets in a lotus pond, and also suggests the additional interpretation of 'yiluronghua' 一路荣华. In Chinese, 'rong' in 'furong' 芙蓉 (hibiscus) is a homonym of 'rong' in 'ronghua' 荣华, success, fame, glory and prosperity. 'Hua' in 'ronghua' 荣华 (glory and prosperity) is the same pronunciation as 'flower' in Chinese, 'hua'. Again, 'lu' 鹭, egret, is a homonym of 'lu' 路 (path). Thus, the combination of egret and hibiscus motifs represents 'May all your paths create fame, glory, prosperity and riches', 'May all your paths lead to success' 一路荣华 (yiluronghua).³¹⁶ Also, the image of the lotus and egret stands for the hope of 'continued success in the various levels of the civil service exams' 一路连科 (yilulianke). Accordingly, the painting represents the hope of a successful civil service examination, a successful career, glory, prosperity and wealth. The image of egrets with hibiscus seems to have joined the repertoire accumulated through Chinese history.

These rebuses are not normally constructed on a basis of historical records or sayings but created as an intellectual word game. There are literary sources, too, presenting a number of expressions about egrets, that are not rebuses. Countless auspicious associations regarding egrets which were not recorded or transmitted might have been in existence. Nonetheless the Ming and Qing periods can be seen as a golden age for such creative verbal work and for relishing hidden auspicious meanings in the light of period trends and the appreciation of art, particularly from the late Ming onwards. Because of this complexity, it is impossible to clarify unrecorded allusions, especially the interpretation of rebuses, nowadays, as auspicious and hidden meanings were not recorded at the time because of their familiarity.

4.3 Concluding Remarks

We have seen that egrets have been appreciated for their white plumes for centuries. The

³¹⁶ Nozaki, *op. cit.*, p.312-3 (yiluronghua). Liu Qiulin *et al.*, eds, *Zhonghua jixiangwu datudian*, Beijing, 1994, p.6 (yiluronghua).

popularity of egrets seems to be originally related to their whiteness and habit, which can be demonstrated by the *Book of Odes* and the Han relief stones.³¹⁷ Indeed, the popularity of egret motifs is due largely to the *Book of Odes*, where the image was related to a pure spirit, integrity and even to the supernatural. In the Han Dynasty, egrets were compared to the man of high-minded integrity and unsullied character probably based on the *Book of Odes*. The egret was also employed as a drum decoration for the representation of a man's spirit, and it was later used for the finial decoration of a carriage. In the Northern Wei period, *houguan* inspectors were called 'white egrets' after their habits of searching their prey. A relation between official titles and egrets was first made explicit by the *History of the Northern Wei*, and it was also suggested there that the image of egrets was based on ancient ideas of birds. According to Yang Shen, the image of egrets was widely carved on the *ting* watch-towers related to the *houguan*. The ancient *ting* as an important military base was generally placed in both the interior and on the frontier on a thoroughfare to mark a border. The important intersections where *ting* were posted were almost always related to rivers. It seems natural that *ting* should have become associated with waterfowl such as egrets, and also reasonable that *ting* came to be related to the image of egrets when *houguan* traveled on their inspection tours.³¹⁸ This may be the reason why regional officials with censorial and inspectorate duties became associated with egrets. The Han *que* gate tower in Xuzhou decorated with egrets, in our example, seems to present us with a key. The image of the egret searching its prey was in turn inherited by the Tang and the white egret's plume was used to decorate the carriage of Censors probably on their inspection tours. It is evident that egrets were not only appreciated for their pure white plumes but also for their habits.

Turning to the eleventh century, the auspicious imagery of egrets was applied to jade carving and specific motifs were chosen to be combined with egrets, such as lotus and reeds in order to create additional symbolism. In the Song, it seems that admiration for antiquity and for Confucianism witnessed a greater appreciation of egrets than ever.

³¹⁷ Our egret odes from the *Book of Odes* were near Xi'an and in Henan province, which correspond to the egret distribution of modern reports.

³¹⁸ The Tang *jiedushi* supervised the *hou* 壕 forts (Cheng Xilin, *Han Tang fenghouzhidu yanjiu*, Xi'an, 1990, p.267-8).

This phenomenon extended to the populace generally, and the creation of auspicious imagery and hidden meanings became further enhanced. As a result, a design of egrets with auspicious imagery like lotus and reeds began to be employed on ceramics perhaps as early as AD 1008 in the Cizhou kiln, and pillows were one of the favoured means to express people's wishes, imbedded with hidden meanings. It is noteworthy that the egret and lotus motif was already set in the northern area of the Liao as well as in the Northern Song, and the '*yilulianke*' design was shared by the Jin Dynasty in the Cizhou kiln. On the other hand, the use of the egret motif on belts made up of jade plaques in high relief was conceivably first brought from Koryŏ to the Northern Song in the reign of Emperor Shenzong (r. AD 1067-1085). Bronze belt-plaques depicted with egret motifs which could be a prototype of the Koryŏ example were also unearthed from a Liao tomb of the period nearly corresponding to the date of fragments of the Cizhou kiln. It can be considered that the Northern Song, Liao, Jin and Koryŏ were transitional periods for jade carving bearing egret motifs. Moreover it was in these periods that the image of egrets was extended to ideas related to success in the civil service examinations and a successful career. It should be noted that egret motifs were potentially associated with the world of officials. Needless to say, there were also other wishes irrelevant to the official world bearing egret and lotus motifs, such as the prosperity of one's descendants. Yet, we cannot know which images were first created. The Song Circuit intendants of inspectorate groups supervising Circuits (*lu*) seem appropriate to hold the egret image because of the historical image of egrets as 'inspectors' and as a symbol of the gentleman of unsullied character and of Confucian ideals and ideology. It can be assumed that the period trends of Confucian ideas and the popularity of egrets may have encouraged the Song Circuit intendants to relate the egret design to themselves or to choose the egret as their symbol.

The Yuan Dynasty saw the enjoyment of egret motifs shared widely by non-Han Chinese. Egret and lotus motifs were borrowed and used on blue and white porcelain of the Yuan and on representative works of art. The combined egret and lotus pond motif of Chinese taste seems to have remained popular in this period. It proves that egret motifs along with auspicious meanings like '*yilulianke*' and the historical Chinese

image of egrets were inherited by the Yuan. An embroidered jacket unearthed in Inner Mongolia also provides us with evidence. The jacket of an official of a *zongguanfu*, or an Overseer, was embroidered with a symbolic pair of egrets in a lotus pond over part of the shoulder. Ren Ming, a Vice Supervisor-in-chief of a *zongguanfu*, is also assumed to have had an egret jade finial. The Confucian imagery relating to the white egret was historically compared with the ideal of the Confucian character. In this regard, too, the embroidered jacket from Inner Mongolia will be crucial evidence for whether or not egrets might have symbolized the position of a senior administrative member of the *zongguanfu*.

In the Ming and Qing, egret motifs were officially monopolized by civil officials in the sixth grade for their embroidered rank insignia. Besides, *zongguanfu*, and Routes called *lu* were all abandoned in the new government institutions. However, people continued to enjoy egret motifs, which seem to have been more enthusiastically appreciated for their auspicious and hidden meanings, and extended their existing imagery with the addition of further motifs. Consequently, the client-base for such objects broadened, as did the egret imagery which became further associated with worldly aspiration such as the wish for wealth and success. However, it can be said that the auspicious imagery of the white egret remained consistently suitable and an ideal for officials who held inspectorate and surveillance responsibilities throughout China's history.

CHAPTER FIVE: JADE HAT FINIALS

5.1 Introduction

All the official Chinese Imperial Histories contain rules of dress and these always reflect the trends of the period and people's life-style. The purpose of personal ornaments can be divided into two categories; firstly, practices of ornamentation had a purely decorative function, secondly they played a role as an indication of position, status as well as wealth. Jades, known as *yü* 玉, encompassing a wide range of stones, have always attracted the Han Chinese throughout Chinese history, seen by them as a precious stone demonstrating status to those people who possessed it. The working of jade was a Chinese ancient tradition, and many pieces have survived from the Neolithic period. Jade played a pivotal role for talismanic purposes and for ritual and ceremony. Archaeological excavations have revealed that jades functioned as personal adornments on items of dress, becoming predominant since the Warring States period, which may be suggestive of gradually assigning greater social significance to personal ornaments used to adorn the body for display. Besides, owing to an association of a spiritual nature to the Chinese, jades were much sought after and valued highly.

The hat ornaments,¹ in particular the hat finial, are one widely overlooked category of ornament in jade research. Though for most periods of Chinese history there is such a wealth of surviving literary sources and materials of a mundane nature, the question arises why little is recorded on jade hat finials both in number and volume.² In this chapter, the practice of wearing hat ornaments in China will be examined in chronological sequence as a point of departure in order to explore the possible use of jade openwork hat finials in the Yuan period.

5.2 Headdress/Hat finial with Zoomorphic Decoration in association with Nomadic Art and Culture

¹ I am using the term 'hat' in its broadest sense to encompass all kinds of headgear. Where there is evidence for the use of a specific type of headgear, I will indicate this in the text.

² Note a changing terminology. The term *maoding* 帽顶 (hat finial) can be considered inappropriate for certain periods.

In China, head coverings of some kind were worn in the Neolithic period (Figure 5.1)³; the term, *mao* 帽 (hat) seems not to have been used until Han times.⁴ According to *Shuowenjiezi*, *mao* is hat (*touyi* 头衣) worn by children and barbarians,⁵ and the character, 月 represents the real shape of the *mao*; he says that 二 inside 月 might stand for the decoration of *mao*.⁶ The Chinese character for *mao*, 帽, itself was absent in the *Shuowenjiezi*; 冂 and 巾 seem to have been added later to create the present character.⁷ Light and functional attire was the inevitable style for people riding horses, such as the nomads, and wearing hat seems originally a necessary item for practical purposes: better resistance against cold winds and snowstorms, rather than for manifestations of etiquette and ceremony as in China.⁸ The tight-fitting garment, that is, a short jacket with narrow sleeves, long trousers and leather boots and a cap were designed for horse-back archery and functional movement. This style, known as *hufu* 胡服, was introduced to China during the Warring States period and first adapted to Chinese costume by King Wuling 武灵王 of the State of Zhao 赵 for the needs of mounted warfare against the northern tribal nomads (*Xiongnu* 匈奴).⁹ This brought drastic changes in Chinese dress and ornaments. The *hufu* style *wuguan* 武冠 (headgear basically for military officers) adorned with marten tails and gold ornaments, was originally imitated by King Wuling (Figure 5.2).¹⁰ It was a symbol of high

³ See also jade figures wearing tall hats dated to the Western Zhou period in *Chinese Jade from the Neolithic to the Qing* by Jessica Rawson, 1995, London, p.282.

⁴ SJ, Xiangyu Benji, juan 7, p.299. According to the *Shiji*, soldiers in the Wei of the Warring States period wore a *Qing Mao* 青帽 (possibly a kerchief like turban). “蒼頭特起，言與異也。蒼頭，謂士卒阜巾，…魏君兵卒之號也。戰國策魏有蒼頭二十萬…殊異其軍為蒼頭，謂蒼青帽。”

⁵ Xu Shen, ed., *Shuowenjiezi*, Han, reprint, Beijing, 1963, p.156-6 (月 and 冒). “小兒蠻夷頭衣也”

⁶ Yang Shengxin, *Shiwuyimingxiao*, annotated edition of the “*Shiwuyiming*” of the Ming by Yu Tingbi, Shanxi, 1993, p.189-20 (*mao* 帽). Liu Xi, *Shiming*, Han Dynasty in GY, vol.1, p.11 (juan 4, *Shishoushi* 釋首飾). “帽冒也”. According to Yang Shengxin, children and barbarians cannot wear a *guan* (crown and headgear in Chinese formal style), and therefore, ‘*mao*’ denotes both informal and barbarian hat. Zheng Qiao, *Tongzhilüe*, 1161, in SB, vol.2, juan 23, qifu 1, p.7. “帽野人之服也”.

⁷ Xu Shen, *loc. cit.*

⁸ Liu Xi, *loc. cit.* “巾謹也二十成人士冠庶人巾當自謹修於四教也.” Wang Mengou and Wang Yunwu, *Liji jinzhuyinyi*, modern trans. with annotation of *Liji* by Dai De and Dai Sheng of the Han, reprint, vol. 2, Taipei, 1970, p.787 (*guanyi* 冠義). “故曰…冠者，禮之始也。是故古者聖王重冠。”

⁹ SJ, juan 110, *Xiongnu liezhuan* 50, p.2885. “而趙武靈王亦變俗胡服，習騎射，北破林胡，樓煩。”

¹⁰ HH, zhi 30, yufu xia, p.3668. This type of *wuguan* was probably divided into two kinds: the small and the large type, made of materials such as leather and felt for the small type and a lacquered light silk for the large (Liu Yonghua, *Zhongguo gudai jiazhou tujian*, trans. by Kasugai Akira, Tokyo, 1998, p.54). The large type can be seen in Figure 4.12. and the small type in Figure 5.2.

officials.¹¹ Besides, a couple of tail feathers of the copper pheasant decorated on *wuguan* were for the Imperial armies.¹² It was called *heguan* 鵠冠 and King Wuling made this an emblem of the warriors taken from the meaning of the brave pheasant that never stops fighting until its enemy is dead (Figures 5.3a and 5.3b).¹³ This manner of wearing hat decorated with plumes of birds was also notable among the Koguryō, Paekche, Silla and Koryō people in Korea (Figure 5.4).¹⁴ As seen in Figure 5.4, hunting was a part of their fundamental life-style and livelihood and bird motifs seem to have been traditional and of natural interest to them.¹⁵

The nomadic people and pastoral tribes are well-known as hunters by nature and depend on hunting and herding. Animal art such as designs of 'animal combat' was characteristic among the nomads in the north Eurasian Steppes. This has been confirmed by many of the belt ornaments and plaques that have been discovered by archaeological excavation. Such steppes extend from Daxinganling 大兴安岭 in China's northeast to the West; Inner Mongolia, Mongolia, Lake Baikal, Altai, Tuva, South Siberia, Ural Mountains, the northern shores of the Black Sea and Hungarian plains, which contain mountainous districts and deserts. In those regions, remarkably common customs in material culture emerged and flourished by way of the peoples' being in contact with each other or related to one another through the nomadic migratory way of life. It has been regarded as 'Scythian Type' or 'Early Nomadic Culture'.¹⁶

¹¹ HH, *ibid.* Zheng Qiao (1161a), *op. cit.*, juan 23, qifu 1, p.5. This *guan* with cicada motifs and marten tails was called *Zhaohutwenguan* 赵惠文冠.

¹² HH, zhi 30, yufu xia, *heguan*, p.3670.

¹³ *Ibid.*

¹⁴ WS, juan 100, p.2215. "頭著折風, 其形如弁, 旁插鳥羽, 貴賤有差." BS, juan 94, p.3115. "人皆頭著折風, 形如弁, 士人加插二鳥羽." BS, juan 94, p.3119. "其飲食衣服, 與高麗略同, 若朝拜祭祀, 其冠兩廂加翅, 戒事則不." SUS, juan 81, p.1814. JT, juan 29, zhi 9, p.1069 and juan 199 shang, p.5320. The Silla envoy wearing the cap decorated with a pair of bird's plumes has also been depicted as a guest on the east mural of the approach road, tomb of Prince Zhanghuai 章怀, dated AD 711 (ZMQ:H12, pl.118).

¹⁵ The Koreans of the Ural-Altaic race belong to the Tunguz (or Tungusic) group of peoples who spread across Manchuria and Siberia in the Neolithic period. Linguistically, the Altaic group forms three branches, Tunguz, Turkic and Mongolian (Kim Wonryong, *Kankoku bunka no genryu*, trans. by Nishitani Tadashi, Tokyo, 1981, p.19, 30).

¹⁶ Takahama Shu, "Hoppo sogenchitai no bijyutsu" in *Sekai Bijyutsu daizenshu*, vol. 1, Tokyo, 2000, p.333.

A gold headdress ornament was found in a Xiongnu tomb at Aluchaideng 阿鲁柴登, about 40 km southeast of Hanggin 杭锦 Banner City, Yikezhao 伊克昭 League, in the Ordos (the territory contained by the northern loop of the Yellow River and adjacent to the Great Wall) (Figures 5.5a and 5.5b). Two hundred and eighteen gold products weighing about four kilograms were discovered from this site, which revealed that the culture of gold in the Ordos was in its prime during the latter half of the Warring States period.¹⁷ The domed headdress ornament is thick hammered gold decorated in bas relief with four wolves attacking four rams with scrolling horns. An eagle-like bird partly spreading its wings stands on the domed cap, gazing down on the wolves devouring their prey.¹⁸ The scene seems to be a design of significant composition as if emblematic of a ruler's authority, power and even supernatural qualities. In the ancient religion of the Central Asian and Siberian people, the eagle was the sacred bird representing fire, heat, the owner of the sun, and even the God of fertility.¹⁹ The wearer of the headdress ornament has been assumed to have been a tribal chief or Xiongnu ruler.²⁰ It can be said that the example shows the full character of the nomads' idea of 'animals in combat', of raptorial birds and predatory animals attacking herbivores or gentle animals like rams, which can be seen universally in the nomad art of the north Eurasian steppes. This eagle-like bird is also remarkably similar to a typical eagle motif frequently appearing on Scythian gold (Figure 5.6). The head of the eagle-like bird consists of two pieces of turquoise, and the head and tail are attached to the body with gold wires, allowing a right and left movement. Using turquoise and other precious stones inlaid with gold for personal ornaments was common practice for the Scythian and Sarmatian nomads deriving from Iranian origins. Iran and Egypt (Sinai) had been known as the producers of turquoise from long ago.²¹ According to Goto Ken,

¹⁷ Tian Guangjin and Guo Suxin, "Nei Menggu Aluchaideng faxian de Xiongnu yiwu", *Kaogu*, 1980, no.4, p.333.

¹⁸ The eagle-like bird of this finial is regarded as a hawk 鹰 in most publications in China, while western scholars have assumed it to be an eagle 鸢. Ornithologically, both species can be roughly distinguished by size, eagles appearing usually larger than hawks (Houston, David, professor of the University of Glasgow, interview, June 11, 2003).

¹⁹ Ishiwatari Mie, "Jumokujyourishokukan no keifu to igi", *Kodai Orient hakubutsukan kyo*, vol. 9, 1987, p.56.

²⁰ Tian Guangjin, "Jinnianlai neimengu diqu de Xiongnu kaogu", *Kaogu xuebao*, 1983, no.1, p.14.

²¹ Ellen D. Reeder, ed., *Scythian Gold*, New York, 1999, pl.60, 134, 168. Goto Ken, "Turquoise ni miru tozaikoryu", *Bunkaisan*, 1997, October, vol. 4, p.62-3. Goto remarked that the production of turquoise in

turquoise is also produced in Tibet, Central Asia and China (Hubei, Sichuan), which had been recorded since the Yuan Dynasty, and China's turquoise is characteristically of a more greenish than bluish tint.²² It is not known about the production of turquoise in our example, however the design and motifs of the headdress ornament seem to be suggestive of the possibility of production in the West. It should be noted that there are also early examples of a *xiao* 鵞 and a fish made of turquoise from the Hongshan culture (c. 3500-2500 BC) unearthed in Liaoning province and a bronze ornament inlaid with turquoise excavated from the Erlitou period (c. 1900- c. 1600 BC),²³ yet gold ornaments inlaid with turquoise have hardly been seen from early Chinese examples and using jade for personal ornaments was a much more predominant practice traditionally in China even if Chinese craftsman in the Warring States had assimilated foreign customs to local traditions. Creating a belt-hook, made in bronze with an inlay of turquoise, jade and other stones became a common practice in that period.²⁴ The use of jades especially for hat or headdress ornaments seems to have been originally a Chinese tradition; a crown like a *mianguan* 冕冠 was decorated with jade (Figure 5.7).

Considering that gold artefacts of the Xiongnu in the Ordos region of Inner Mongolia, as in Figure 5.5a, descended from or were influenced by Scytho-Sarmatian culture, the wearing of a hat decorated with animal and bird iconography may also be associated with the Scythians.²⁵ It should be noted that wearing this type of gold headdress ornament or hat finials were not the custom of the Chinese of the Han period. Yet there is an intriguing example suggesting that gold artefacts such as gold headdress/hat finial decorated with animals from the neighbouring areas were transmitted to China's

Egypt and Iran had been known since around 3000 BC.

²² Goto, *ibid.*

²³ *Ibid.*, p.63. Xu Bingkun and Sun Shoudao, eds, *Dongbei wenhua*, Hong Kong, 1996, pl. 49, 50.

²⁴ Jenny So suggests that the use of belt plaque and belt buckle in China was conceivably a result of cultural and artistic contact with nomads to the north and west; but the belt hook was a Chinese invention (Jenny F. So, "Ornamented Belt in China", *Orientalism*, vol. 28, March, 1997, p.72-3. Jenny F. So and Emma C. Bunker, *Traders and Raiders on China's Northern Frontier*, Washington, D.C., 1995, p.82-3).

²⁵ For example, gold ornament decoration with griffon, horse, and birds perching in trees on a pointed hat was unearthed from Issyk kurgan in Kazakhstan dated to the fourth century BC. A small gold ram was attached on the top of the pointed hat. The wearer of this hat has been assumed to be a chieftain of the Saka-Scythian tribe (Figure 5.8). (Takahama Shu, "Xinjiang ni okeru Ogon bunka", *The Brocade and Gold from the Silk Road*, Tokyo, 2002, p.37, 188)

northwest frontier, in present day northern Shaanxi province, close to the Ordos desert (Figure 5.9).²⁶ This gold ornament is in the form of a stag-like mythic creature with an eagle-like bill and stylized antlers terminating in a griffon's head and with a tail in the shape of a griffon's head. There is a similar example with characteristic antlers and hooked bill adapted to the horse in the 'Ordos bronzes' in the British Museum (Figure 5.10). However, the stag with immense antlers is likely to have originated from Scythian art, which can be confirmed by our example, Figure 5.6.²⁷ It can be said that the characteristic features of Scythian art from Central Asia or Siberia extended to China via the Xiongnu in the Ordos and adjacent parts of Inner Mongolia. What is most important here is that the mounted base with small holes on this gold ornament was probably used for a sewn attachment. The conical hat with stag plaques excavated from Mohyla Ternivka dating to the late 7th to early 6th century BC suggests the use of Figure 5.9 in a hat (Figure 5.11). As can be seen in Figure 5.9 and 5.11, the stag with stylized antlers is typically employed as a headdress ornament or a hat finial motif. It has been considered that the stag along with the feline and the eagle was one of the most meaningful motifs in Scythian art.²⁸ Therefore, it can be postulated that the gold ornament of a stag-like creature (Figure 5.9) was used as a symbol of the wearer. The peaked hat (Figure 5.11) is suggestive of the type of hat/headdress for Figure 5.9. This type of hat was characteristic of the nomadic people, attested by archaeological excavations (Figures 5.12, 5.13, 5.14). However, the question arises how finial ornaments like Figures 5.5a and 5.9 were attached to hats. Takahama Shu points out that these zoomorphic ornaments are likely to have been used as hat ornaments,²⁹ as in the case of a small gold ram discovered in position on the peak of the wearer's hat from Issyk kurgan in Kazakhstan (Figure 5.15). Small zoomorphic ornaments thought to have been attached on the top of felt hats have also been found in tombs in the Altai (Figures 5.16a, 5.16b and 5.17).³⁰ In the light of Takahama's examples, animal-shaped

²⁶ Dai Yingxin and Sun Jiaxiang, "Shaanxi Shenmuxian chutu Xiongnu wenwu", *Wenwu*, 1983, no.12, p.23. The owner of the gold headdress ornament is thought to have been a ruler or tribal chief of the Xiongnu (*ibid.*, p.28).

²⁷ Sergei I. Rudenko, *Frozen Tombs of Siberia*, trans. by M.W. Thompson, 1970, pl. 142:D.

²⁸ Reeder, *op. cit.*, p.151.

²⁹ Takahama (2002), *op. cit.*, p.188-9.

³⁰ *Ibid.* Takahama presumes that wooden animal-shaped ornaments discovered in tombs in the Altai

ornaments adorning the top of hats seem to have been a common practice for nomadic tribes, along with symbolic meanings. Therefore, similarly, the stag-like creature unearthed from China's northwest frontier in our example (Figure 5.9) can be considered as a headdress ornament or a hat finial.

5.3 The Various Kinds of 'Mao' during Wei, Jin, the Southern and Northern Dynasties and the Sui Periods

As we have seen in nomadic culture and also from samples of ancient fabrics found from Xiongnu artefacts at Noin-Ula, leather, animal fur and felt were the basic materials used for hat. These materials seem not to have been originally typical for the Han Chinese. What were common materials for Han Chinese hat in the Han period?

According to the *History of the Later Han* and the *Three Kingdoms*, ordinary people covered their heads with *jin* 巾 made of *ge* 葛 (vines or light plant material). However toward the end of the Han Dynasty, nobles and celebrities wore *jin* made of a piece of silk cloth as a mark of elegance,³¹ probably regardless of the court rites. Xu Shen explains 'jin' in *Shuowenjiezi* as a kerchief hanging to the waist.³² Accordingly, such a kerchief used for covering the heads of ordinary people seems to have been the original context of a *jin* as a piece of hat. In addition, the *History of the Later Han* records that the *jin* made of 'ge' cloth was shaped like a *dao* 幘 that was the same as a *mao* 帽.³³ The *History of the Three Kingdoms* records that a *qia* 恰 originated from *jin* and was used by people of high class, and that *dao* 幘 and *qia* 恰 were similar objects.³⁴ It says that *qia* made of silk cloth with needlework were modeled after *pibian* 皮弁 made of deerskin (Figure 5.18).³⁵ The pointed *pibian* resembles closely the hat of the nomads

were covered with sheet gold. For the crown from Issyk kurgan, see our Figure 5.8.

³¹ HH, juan 68, *guofuxu liezhuan* 58, p.2226. "巾以葛為之, 形如幘, 音口洽反. 本居土野人所服." SZ, *weishu*, juan 1, p.54. "漢末王公, 多委王服, 以幅巾為雅, 是以袁紹, 崔鈞之徒, 雖為將帥, 皆著緹巾."

³² Xu Shen, *op. cit.*, p.158. "巾, 佩巾也."

³³ Gu Yewang, eds., *Yupian*, Liang Dynasty, reprint and edited by Guoji zhengli xiaozu, Taipei, 1984, p.390 (*mao*, *dao*, *qia*). "幘...帽也...恰並同上."

³⁴ *Ibid.* SZ, *loc. cit.* "魏太祖以天下凶荒, 資財乏匱, 擬古皮弁, 裁緹帛以為恰, ..."

³⁵ SZ, *ibid.* HH, zhi 30, *yufuxia*, p.3665. "委貌冠, 皮弁冠同制, 長七寸, 高四寸, 制如覆杯, 前高廣...委貌以阜絹為之, 皮弁以鹿皮為之." An example here in Figure 5.18 was re-constructed in the Song

(*humao* 胡帽). Did this come from the nomads when King Wuling adopted the *hufu* into the Chinese dress system? If we assume that it did, it supports the *Shuowenjiezi* statement that children's and barbarian hat was later given a *jin* 巾 to create a *mao* 帽.

That is to say, it may be that 'mao' in Chinese is a general term standing for hat that had evolved from the typical hat of non Han Chinese people into a Chinese style, using silk fabrics, such as *jin*. Therefore, the original concept of *mao* can be considered as caps made of leather, fur and felt for protection against the cold, used by the minority tribes or nomads and children. However, it should be pointed out that it was certainly recorded that the origin of *qia* is attributed to Emperor Taizu of the Wei who invented a silk *qia* copied from the ancient *pibian* and which differentiated status by colour. It is still unknown whether the ancient *pibian* originated from or was influenced by the style of the non Han Chinese, because the relationship between *pibian* and *humao* was not officially documented at this period. Yang Shengxin points out that there was no *mao* but only *guan* 冠 [a headgear or coronet worn for courtesy, indicating one's social status based on a ritual code] in ancient times.³⁶ Judging from all historical records, it can be said that *mao*-type hat existed as a head cover for people who were not allowed to wear the *guan* before the Han period. Yet it was not commonly called a *mao*, and *mao* was not defined in Han times. *Pibian* using deerskin similar to the typical nomadic hat had been used in China from an early stage, but its origin and its association with non Chinese are unknown. It is certain that 'mao' denoted a kerchief for a casual occasion covering the head regardless of its material in the Later Han and that the use of silk fabrics and textiles was fundamental for the Han Chinese. Yet its origin, *mao*, is probably to be attributed to people who were not Han Chinese.

The white *qia* (i.e. *mao*) became established as a sort of informal hat regulated to be worn by the specific officials of the Imperial Secretary and Chancellery when they passed through the official gates in the Eastern Jin (AD 317-420) period and was also

period.

³⁶ Yang Shengxin, *loc. cit.*

worn by officials on normal occasions.³⁷ Actually, it was widely accepted regardless of official rank and status from the Emperor down to the ordinary people throughout the Wei, Jin and the Southern and Northern Dynasties till the Sui Dynasty.³⁸ In the Liu Song (AD 420-589) and Liang (AD 502-557) periods of the Southern Dynasties, the 'white high hat' (*baigaomao* 白高帽) was worn by monarchs as casual hat. The white *qia* was used on the occasion of both condolence and congratulations in Jin times, it became limited to condolence in the Southern and Northern Dynasties, and eventually fell out of use at the beginning of the Tang Dynasty.³⁹ The best known representation of such a *qia* is shown in Figure 5.19.⁴⁰ The *qia* was not only made of silk but also of leather and fur, and it was known that the *qia* was also universally used by military officers in the Jin, which can be confirmed from the military figures excavated from an Eastern Jin (AD 317-420) tomb (Figure 5.20).⁴¹ The *History of the Sui* and *Zhonghua gujinzhu* record that *mao* were generally used as hat by Emperor and officials, the white silk *mao* called 'gao ding mao' 高顶帽 (High peaked cap or hat). Likewise the wearing of 'da mao zi' 大帽子 (or *damao*) (Large hat or cap) was restricted to the winter for warmth and traces back to the Wei (AD 220-265).⁴² Later, in the Five Dynasties, the Large hat (*damaozi*) was particularly worn by *yushi* (Censors) and at the beginning of the Chunhua 淳化 (AD 990-994) period of the Song, it was worn by the Prime Minister, Scholars, Censors and the like, and eventually became the hat for officials such as *taijian* 台谏 (Censorate and Remonstrance Bureau), according to *Shiwujiyuan* (Figure 5.21).⁴³ This 'Large hat' (*damao*) is the hat decorated with 'maoding' (hat finials), according to Shen Defu of the Ming described. Figure 5.21 may not be exactly the same as the 'damaozi' of the Wei, as a brimmed hat may not have been popularized in China around that period. However, the *damao* which Shen Defu

³⁷ SSU, juan 18, Li 5, p.520.

³⁸ NQS, juan 10, Lixia, p.162, juan 17, Yufu, p.341. WS, juan 99, p.2203, NS, juan 5, p.141. BS, juan 90, p.2979. SUS, juan 8, Liyi, p.156, juan 11, Liyi 6, p.239-40, 247, juan 12, Liyi 7, p.255-6, JT, juan 45, yufu, p.1939. "...白帽遂廢..."

³⁹ JSU, juan 25, p.771. BS, *ibid.* SUS, *ibid.* JT, *ibid.*

⁴⁰ According to the *History of the Jin*, the shape of *qia* was forked (JSU, *ibid.*).

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, juan 54, liezhuan 24, p.1480.

⁴² SUS, juan 11, liyi 6, p.235. Ma Gao, *Zhonghua gujinzhu*, Five Dynasties, in GY, vol.10, p.7 (juan zhi zhong, *damaozi*).

⁴³ Gao Cheng, *Shiwujiyuan*, Song, revised by Li Guo of the Ming, reprinted in Beijing, 1989, p.139.

described is presumably representative in the Ming publication *Sancaituhui*, Figure 5.21, and *mao* decorated with hat ornaments were perhaps typical then of non Han Chinese style, as there was conventionally no decoration such as finials for hat in Han Chinese style. Therefore, along with the practice of hat finials, such hats may be associated with Northerners. In addition, the *History of the Sui* states that there were various other kinds of hats such as the 'peaked riding hat' (*tuqimao* 突騎帽) in the Northern Zhou (AD 557-581), most of which were equivalent to the *humao* of the end of the Sui and are suggestive of Northern attribution.⁴⁴

As the 'white high hat' (*baigaomao*) was preferred by monarchs of the Southern Dynasties, white *mao*, presumably made of or decorated with egret plumes, called *bailucui* 白鷺縷 or *bailurang* 白鷺縷 or *baijieli* 白接籬 were in vogue among people in Jiangdong (i.e. eastern area of the lower basin of the Changjiang River) especially during the Jin and were worn until the Tang Dynasty.⁴⁵ This white egret cap or hat was said to be the same as the white *mao* 白帽 (or *qia*).⁴⁶ The actual image is insufficiently clear from the historical records, yet the 'white egret hat' might have resembled the egret crest. In the light of the popularity of the white *mao* of the period, the 'white egret hat' can be assumed to look like Figure 5.19, and wearing the 'white egret cap or hat' was presumably associated with pureness and integrity corresponding to the contemporary egret image. Besides, the existence of this 'white egret cap or hat' suggests that a practice of applying the Chinese egret motif to hat had begun in China at an early stage, adapting from *mao* which seems to have been originally derived from a non Han Chinese style.

5.4 Head Ornament, *Buyao* 步搖

After the Xiongnu were completely expelled from Mongolia in the Later Han, their

(*Damao*).

⁴⁴ SUS, juan 12, liyi 7, p.266. TD, juan 57, li 17, p.415-6 (*mao*). The *History of the Sui* and the *Tongdian* state that *mao* denoted ancient barbarian clothes made of fur and leather.

⁴⁵ Hao Yixing, *Erya yiliu*, Qing, reprint, Shanghai, 1983, p.24 (luchunzu). Guo Pu, *Erya*, Jin 晉, in SB, juan 10, shiniào, p.15. Yang Shengxin, *op. cit.*, p.189 (*mao*, jicli). HD, vol.8, p.191 (*baijieli*), 218 (*bailucui*). Li Shi, *Xu bowuzhi*, Jin 晉, in GY, vol. 5, Taipei, 1969, juan 6, p.2.

⁴⁶ Hao Yixing, *ibid*.

former area was acquired by a nomadic people of Turkic origin, the Xianbei tribe. They became the first northerners to establish an empire in China, known as the Northern Dynasties (i.e. Northern Wei), unifying northern China after defeating other northern tribal rulers.

Nomadic art with zoomorphic motifs and mythic animal designs decorating their headdress/hat was inherited from the Xiongnu by the Xianbei. A gold headdress ornament in the shape of a horse's head with stag's antlers terminating in peach-shaped leaves and another in the shape of a cow's head with similar stylized antlers excavated from Xihezi 西河子, Daerjunmaoming Anlianhe Banners 达尔军茂明安联合, Inner Mongolia, are good examples showing the resonances of nomadic art that we saw earlier (Figure 5.22).⁴⁷ Both are inlaid with glass in indigo, white, green and pale pink and the ears and stylized antlers on the cow's head are designed to swing when the wearer moves. Such a headdress ornament, some parts swinging in motion, was called 'buyao' and was said to be named after the surname of the Xianbei Muyong tribe, as the *buyao* was much favoured by many of the Muyong tribes, in present day west Liaoning province.⁴⁸ In fact, the popularity of the *buyao* has been proved by some other examples unearthed from Fangshen village 房身村 (Figure 5.23) and from the tomb of Feng Sufu 冯素弗 at Xiguanyingzi 西官营子, Beipiao county 北票, Liaoning province (Figure 5.24). Although the crown-shaped *buyao* of Feng Sufu was assumed to be for men's use, as Feng Sufu was a younger brother of the King of Northern Yan,⁴⁹ the *buyao* was also important for the aristocratic Han Chinese women evolved from an ornament affixed to the hairpin, a string of coloured stones or a miniature flower or animals.⁵⁰ An early well-known representation is an aristocratic woman putting *buyao* in her hair depicted in a painting on silk from No.1 Han Tomb at Mawangdui 马王堆 in

⁴⁷ Zhang Jingming, "Jinbuyaoguanshi", *Zhongguo wenwubao*, 7 Feb. 1999:3 ban, Baoshi xinxi ziliao.

⁴⁸ JSU, juan 108, muyongwei, p.2803: the term *buyao* was a corruption of the pronunciation of Muyong.

⁴⁹ Li Yaobo, "Liaoning Beipiaoxian Xiguanyingzi Beiyan Feng Sufu mu", *Wenwu*, 1973, no.3, p.15. Feng Sufu is Han Chinese but his wife is thought to have been from the Xianbei tribe as he had a close relation with the Northerners (*ibid.*, p.15-6). These excavated pieces are proof of cultural exchange between the Han Chinese and the northern tribe, the Xianbei.

⁵⁰ Yuan Xiaohong, "Buyao de qiyuan ji jiyuanbian", *Zhejianggongyimeishu*, 1985, no. 4, p.16.

Changsha, Hunan province (Figure 5.25).⁵¹ Her *buyao* hanging on a string of jade-like semi-precious stones recalls to the author the strings of jade decoration of the *mianguan* (Figure 5.7). Besides in terms of the structure of swinging attached ornament, the gold headdress ornament decorated with an eagle of the Xiongnu and the gold crown with tree-shaped vertical ornaments of the Issyk kurgan are the same concept as this structure (Figures 5.5a and 5.8). However, it seems that *buyao* on a hairpin or applied directly to the hair were often used by women (Figure 5.26) and as a crown or hat decoration much more by men, as it is seldom seen that men applied ornament directly to their hair.⁵² The *buyao* was in fashion especially among aristocrat women throughout the Jin, the Southern and Northern Dynasties and the Tang, but the term *buyao* for women's ornament becomes rare in the official records after the Tang.⁵³ Thus, ornaments called *buyao* were widely popular with both the Han and non Han Chinese women in China, especially until the Tang period.

As pointed out earlier, when *buyao* or zoomorphic ornaments are used by men, it seems likely that they will form or decorate a crown or hat. A man's ornaments are aimed much more to represent authority, dignity, power and social status so that motifs such as animals tend to play a role as emblems and to have social significance. On the other hand, women tend to emphasize beauty and elegance rather than power, social significance and dignity.⁵⁴ However, it should be noted that one cannot identify the motif of arboreal antlers as a symbol only for men, because trees like *fusang* 扶桑

⁵¹ The earliest record of *buyao* is in the *History of the Later Han* (HH, zhi 30, yufu xia, p.3576).

⁵² It can be confirmed that Tang women wore *humao*-like caps decorated with *buyao* (Figure 5.27). On informal occasions, a hair-tying coronet with a hairpin (*shufaguan* 束发冠) was used which was popular particularly in Song and Ming times. It may be the only example for men of a hair ornament, although it also belongs to a category of *guan*. Yet, decorative hairpins were also sometimes used alone. For a pictorial image, see the painting 'Eighteen Scholars', Ming Dynasty, a set of four hanging scrolls, preserved in the National Palace Museum, Taiwan.

⁵³ The term '*buyao*' gradually went out of use in the official records. However, the style of '*buyao*' was actually continued and applied to headdress ornaments in various forms after the Tang.

⁵⁴ According to George Simmel: "Among nature peoples, it is reported, women's private property generally develops later than that of man and, originally, and often exclusively, refers to adornment..." He goes on and discusses "the more passive female nature..." "Adornment, thus, appears as the means by which his social power or dignity is transformed into visible, personal excellence." George Simmel, *The sociology of George Simmel*, trans., edited and with an introduction by Kurt H. Wolff, New York, 1950, p.343-4. I am grateful to Dr Jeremy Tanner, Lecturer of Institute of Archaeology, University College London, for this reference.

were sacred trees in ancient Chinese myth and antlers symbolized fertility and regeneration for pastoral people, so that these did not denote simply the dignity of the wearer but rather emphasized shamanistic elements especially in the early periods.⁵⁵ Ishiwatari Mie has discusses that crowns (diadems) with tree-shaped ornament excavated in Eurasia, viz. the Black Sea Coast, West Asia, Central Asia, China, originated from Scythian hood-like helmets, with later additions of animals and mythical motifs, and were eventually transmitted to China and Korea via Mongolian nomads such as the Xiongnu and Xianbei.⁵⁶ This can be attested by most examples of this type of ornament including 5.22 and 5.23 and the origin of the name *buyao* in association with the Xianbei. In addition to this, Ishiwatari points out that motifs of tree, bird and deer decorating a crown represent a symbolic meaning of fertility and resurrection of the Earth for Scythian, Sarmatian and Bactrian peoples and relate to shamanistic elements, suggesting usage for ritual purposes such as coronations and burial.⁵⁷ Not a few examples of this type of crown have been found in tombs of the Three Kingdoms period of Korea, the Old Silla, Kaya, and Paekche kingdoms, and such crowns well symbolized transcendental authority and the status of the ancient Korean Kings (Figure 5.28).⁵⁸

5.5 Popularity of Foreign Fashion in the Cosmopolitan Dynasty of the Tang

As the Tang was a cosmopolitan dynasty, Chang'an (present day Xi'an, Shaanxi province), the capital, flourished politically and economically as a centre of cultural

⁵⁵ Neimenggu bowuguan, *Neimenggu lishi wenwu*, Inner Mongolia, 1987, p.63. Ishiwatari, *op. cit.*, p.61-2. Ishiwatari has extensively researched genealogy and the significance of the crown with tree-shaped ornament in association with shamanistic elements in the Eurasian steppes.

⁵⁶ Ishiwatari, *ibid.*, p.45-6.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, p.46, 61. Pak Youngsook suggests that reindeer in Scythian art symbolized 'totemic significance' for nomadic peoples in the Eurasian steppes, and the bird and tree as symbols of fertility and the regenerating energy of life derived from Indo-Iranian myth (Pak Youngsook, "The Origins of Silla Metalwork", *Orientalism*, no. 9, Sept. 1988, p.44, 47).

⁵⁸ Ishiwatari, *ibid.*, p.61-2. See also Kim Moonja, *Kankoku fukushoku bunka no genryu*, trans. by Kanaizuka Ryoichi, Tokyo, 1998, p.94-108. There is also a similar crown to Figure 5.28, but with an additional crown of cruciate structure like Figure 5.24 inside it, and surmounted by a phoenix-like bird perched on branch-shaped *buyao* ornaments (Figure 5.56). The bird shows a similarity to one unearthed from a tomb at Pazyryk in Siberia (*ibid.*, p.107-8, fig. 81, 83). A diadem similarly adorned with miniature stags and trees was discovered in a Sarmatian tomb in Novocherkassk on the north shore of the Black Sea (1 BC-AD 1), typifying the nomadic arts in southern Russia, that is with Scytho-Sarmatian and Greek elements (Kim Wonyong, *op. cit.*, p.200). The Sarmatians had migrated out of North and Central Asia. See also the similarly shaped crown worn by a Uighur aristocrat in ZMQ:H2, no.13 (p.29).

exchange between East and West. A number of visitors from outside China brought ethnic fashions to Chang'an so that the *humao* was more in vogue than ever and the wearing of *humao* eventually became commonplace in China. The *New History of the Tang* records that *hu* dress and *hu* hats (worn by minority tribes generally in China's North, Northwest and Western regions) were fashionable items among aristocrats and commoners at the beginning of the Tianbao period 天寶 (AD 742-755) in Emperor Xuanzong's reign, and aristocratic women wore *buyao* and tight-sleeved robes with collars.⁵⁹ The *Old History of the Tang* also records that in the beginning years of Kaiyuan 開元 (AD 713-741) courtiers riding horses all wore in *humao*; they wore make-up and covered their faces with a kerchief, and there was no one who did not follow this manner, even the ordinary people.⁶⁰ This was called *weimao* 帷帽.⁶¹ The *weimao* was a kind of bamboo hat with a tall top and broad brim hanging down from which was a net-like veil (Figure 5.29). It originated from a minority people in western regions (*xiyu* 西域, i.e. Xinjiang and Central Asia) and the fashion started in China in the Sui Dynasty.⁶² By the time of the Tang, it was worn by women alone out of doors and on journeys.⁶³ The *weimao* hat without a veil came to be called *ximao* 蓆帽.⁶⁴ According to *Shiwujiyuan*, *ximao* were mostly made of black sheep's wool which came from a nomadic tribe of Tibetan origin called *Qiang* 羌.⁶⁵ There was the *zhanmao* 毡帽, also known as *zhanli* 毡笠 in the Song.⁶⁶ Civilians, and perhaps especially military officials during the Liao, Jin and Yuan, and the Ming Emperor Taizu himself wore the *zhanmao*.⁶⁷ The ancient *zhanmao* can be confirmed in Figure 5.2. *Zhanli* were, in general, made of sheep skin or felt and were warm hats decorated with precious stones (Figure 5.30), which were later worn in the Koryŏ Dynasty (AD 918-1392) of Korea

⁵⁹ XT, juan 34, p.879.

⁶⁰ JT, juan 45, yufu, p.1957.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*

⁶² *Ibid.*, p.1950.

⁶³ Zhou Xun and Gao Chumming, *Zhongguo lidai funü zhuangshi*, Hong Kong, 1988, p.101.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.* It recorded that *weimao* corresponded to *ximao* of the Song (Guo Ruoxu, ed., *Tuhuaqianwenzhi*, Song, in *Huashicongshu*, vol.1, *lunyiguanyizhi* 論衣冠異制, p.8).

⁶⁵ Gao Cheng, *op. cit.*, p.138-9.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*

⁶⁷ SS, juan 153, yufu 5, p.3577. MS, Li Zicheng, p.7965. Bi Yuan, *Xu Zizhi tongjian*, Qing, in SB, vol.7, juan 103, Songji, Gaozongshouming Huangdi, p.1-2. "天會六年...金人...白氈笠..." Liu Yonghua, *op. cit.* p.170.

and commonly decorated with jade egret finials, especially by military officers of the Chosŏn period (AD 1392-1910).⁶⁸ Li Kuangyi 李匡义 of the Tang wrote: "The material of a bamboo hat was thin, unbearable in winter cold and unable to keep off the summer heat. Therefore pale coloured wool fabric was used to replace the rattan. This was called 'zhanmao' and its thickness was appreciated."⁶⁹ Li Kuangyi clarified that *zhanmao* evolved from *ximao* of western origin (*xiyu* 西域). The *zhanmao* was further improved by using bird down and sheep's wool in the reign of Gaozong (AD 649-683), and was called *huntuomao* 浑脱帽, equivalent to the *zhanli*, *zhanmao* of the Qing Dynasty (AD 1644-1911) (Figure 5.31).⁷⁰ It is intriguing that Zhou Xibao points out that *damaozi* (large hat) was the same as *ximao* or another name for *ximao* or similar.⁷¹ Both *damao* and *zhanli* or *zhanmao* are regarded as hats decorated with finials in Ming times, in the light of *Sancaituhui* by Wang Qi.⁷² It seems that hat finials were worn somewhat in the manner of the tribes outside China, corresponding to the popularity of the *humao*. *Fanmao* 蕃帽 (i.e. *zhumao* 珠帽), hats of *Xifan* 西蕃 and *Tufan* 吐蕃 regions (i.e. Tibet), were decorated with gem stones and embroidery and became popular in Tang China (Figures 5.27 and 5.32).⁷³ A lady in Figure 5.31 wears an exactly similar *huntuomao* to the foreign king in Figure 5.33 (back right). A second person, a prince, to the left of the foreign king in Figure 5.33 wears a large hat with red gem-like hat ornament. Wearing such hat ornaments seems still an uncommon practice in Tang China. However, wearing *humao*, such as a brimmed hat, originated, then, from non-Han Chinese and was considerably in vogue especially among the aristocratic people of the Tang, so that the practice of decorating large hats with gem stones may have begun to be popular in China from this period.

5.5.1 *Heguan* 鵝冠 of the Tang

Examples of bird-shaped ornaments attached to hat are extensively seen on Tang tomb

⁶⁸ Kang Soon-che, *U-ri Kwanmoŭi shimare kwanhan yŏn-gu*, Ph.D. thesis, 1992, p.106, 112-3.

⁶⁹ Li Kuangyi, *Zixiaji*, juan xia 13, in *SQ*, vol.850, p.164.

⁷⁰ Zhou Xun and Gao Chunming, *Zhongguo yiguanfushi dacidian*, Shanghai, 1996, p.87. Zhou Xun and Gao Chunming (1988), *op. cit.*, p.102.

⁷¹ Zhou Xibao, *Zhongguo gudai fushishi*, Taipei, 1989, p.191.

⁷² Wang Qi, *Sancaituhui*, Ming, reprint, vol.4, Taipei, 1970, p.1513, 1516. "氍毹: 此胡服也."

⁷³ Zhou Xun and Gao Chunming (1988), *loc. cit.*

figurines (Figures 5.34a and 5.34b). Rearer type of *heguan* in the Han is seen in Figure 5.35.⁷⁴ According to the research of Sun Ji, such a *heguan*, worn by a powerful man, was also found in a mural painting of the Northern Wei (Figure 5.36). This type of *heguan* (called Wubian 武弁 in the Tang) was the most popular military headgear in the Tang Dynasty but gradually fell into disuse from the middle of the Tang Dynasty (Figures 5.37 and 5.38).⁷⁵ It can be found in examples of celadon ware of the Koryŏ Dynasty (AD 918-1392), which suggests that it was also worn by the Koryŏ people (Figure 5.39). The bird-shaped decoration on the hat recalls to the author the gold headdress ornament with eagle of the Xiongnu (Figure 5.5a). Besides, a bird-shaped gold crown worn by the King of Khotan was observed in the voyages recorded in the sixth century by *Songyun* 宋云 and *Huisheng* 惠生.⁷⁶ As discussed earlier, bird worshipping encouraged pastoral and nomadic people in the Eurasian steppes and ancient Korea to decorate crowns or hats with bird motifs. Even the Han example (Figure 5.35) seems to be influenced by those who commonly practised the use of bird motifs for their hat, as in the case of King Wuling who introduced the foreign manner of decorating bird feathers on headgear to the Chinese dress system. Did the Koryŏ re-import this from the Tang? Sun Ji has suggested that the bird wing design of the Tang crown was possibly influenced by Buddhist art of that period.⁷⁷ The Koryŏ might also have connected with this Buddhist association more than with their past shamanistic ideology of worshipping birds. Because Buddhism was the state religion of the Koryŏ and their ancient gold crown related to shamanistic elements, it has been assumed that shamanistic elements gradually receded with the advance of Buddhism.⁷⁸ The other example is a warrior figurine with an animal head shaped helmet (Figure 5.40). This type of helmet was made of an animal's cranial bones and fur and used by the military.⁷⁹

⁷⁴ Sun Ji, *Zhongguo yufu runcong*, 1993, Beijing, p.140-1.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 140, 142, Zheng Qiao (1161a), *loc. cit.*

⁷⁶ Nagasawa Kazutoshi, *Hokenden • Sounkoki*, trans. of "Faxianzhuan" by Faxian and of "Songyunxingji" by Songyun and Huisheng, Tokyo, 1971, p.254.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, p.142.

⁷⁸ Ishiwatari discusses that the King of Silla gradually placed more emphasis on military power rather than on shamanism, corresponding to the development of society, and that the ancient gold crown became only used in solemn national rites, such as an accession to the throne, and eventually fell out of use because of Buddhist influence (Ishiwatari, *op. cit.*, p.62).

⁷⁹ Liu Yonghua, *op. cit.*, p.105.

Thus, as we see in these trends of decorating hats with animal motifs, the Tang is the time when this style was fully adopted in China.

5.6 Zhanli in the Song Period

The Song replaced the Tang aristocratic privileged culture with a meritocratic system that encompassed a much wider class, including the new scholar-gentry - landowners, merchants and traders who exerted power by becoming officials through the civil service examination system. It was indeed the arrival of the age of luxury. The notable hand scroll painting 'Qingming Festival on the River' attributed to Zhang Zeduan has exhibited the spectacle in its full cultural glory.⁸⁰

It has been recorded that various kinds of uncommon hat were made in the Song.⁸¹ For example, the large hat with rounded top (*qiutoudamao* 毬头大帽) of Imperial security guards, a red lacquered helmet with gold ornament (*zhuqijinzhuanglier* 朱漆金装笠兒) for military officers, a small hat decorated with pearls (*zhenzhujieluo huaerduanjin* 真珠結絡花兒短巾) for a special force carrying imperial supplies and goods and so forth.⁸² Actually, these instances of hat were for the use of imperial guards of honor, but in general the style of *futou* 幞头 (hat evolved from *jin*) was widely worn from Emperor to civil officials and military officers and to commoners, as can be seen in the 'Qingming Festival on the River' scroll painting and in historical records.⁸³ In addition to this, *humao* such as *zhanli* were widely popularized hat inherited from previous dynasties. Wu Ceng of the Song Dynasty said that many people dressed and wore *zhanli* hats in the northern style in the beginning years of Zhenghe 政和 (AD 1111-1118).⁸⁴

⁸⁰ Liu Zheng, ed., *Gugong bowuguan cang Qing Ming Shanghetu*, Tianjin, 2000. It is preserved in the Beijing Palace Museum and all discussion here is based on the Song version.

⁸¹ Wu Zimu, *Menglianglu*, Song, juan 1, ba ri cishan shengdan, in SQ, vol.590, p.19.

⁸² *Ibid.*, juan 1, chejiayijing linggong mengcan, p.17, juan 5, jiachusuqidian, p.42-3. Meng Yuanlao, *Dongjing menghualu*, Southern Song, juan 6, shisi ri chejiaxingwuyueguan, juan 10, jiaxingyiwei, in SQ, vol.589, p.151, 171.

⁸³ Shen Kua, *Mengxi bian*, Northern Song, in SQ, vol.862, p.711. SS, juan 151, yufu 3, p.3530. There were five different kinds of *futou* used depending on grades of social ranking (Shen Kua, *ibid.*).

⁸⁴ Wu Ceng, *Nenggaizhaimanlu*, Song, juan 1, jinfanquzhanli, in SQ, vol. 850, p.512. “至政和初…著蕃服之類並禁止…不得執簪笠子…” and juan 13, zhaojinwaizhiyizhuang, p.754. “大觀四年 (i.e. AD 1110) 十二月詔京城內今日有衣裝雜以四夷形製之人以戴髡笠子著戰袍繫番束帶之類開封府宜嚴行禁止”

Imperial edicts announcing the prohibition of wearing *zhanli* were issued several times during this period but to no avail, which suggests that wearing *zhanli* unofficially or illegally or privately prevailed in China at least around this period.⁸⁵ As discussed earlier, *zhanli* (i.e. *zhanmao*) were suitable for winter, the broad brim in the form of a bamboo hat (*li* 笠) evolved from the *ximao*. The brimmed hat seems to have been popular, regardless of the materials used to make it. In the 'Qingming Festival on the River', some types of wide brimmed hat can be seen. As a typical example, Figures 5.41 and Figure 5.42 exhibit clear differences between them. Figure 5.41 shows the black wide brimmed hat worn by a gentleman like an official, compared to the pale colour hat of Figure 5.42 worn by a worker. The hat in Figure 5.41 looks lacquered in black, and the wideness of the brim and tall top suggest a higher social position.⁸⁶ On the other hand, the hat in Figure 5.42 worn by a commoner is seemingly just a normal straw hat or a hat made of leaves. The painting also shows a lady riding a horse in front of the castle gate, wearing a hat with a hanging veil like the Tang *weimao* (i.e. the Song *ximao*). If the painting can be dated to the time of Emperor Huizong (AD 1100-1125), *zhanli* would have been worn widely by the Northern Song people around that period based on the records, although this is not clear enough in the painting. However, it can be said that hats in the shape of *li* were seemingly popular regardless of high or low social status, judging from the painting.

According to *Dongjing menghualu* and *Menglianglu*, there were specialist shops (i.e. guilds) for necklaces, headdresses made of jewels and semi-precious stones, a craft guild of jade carvings, a market of jewels and semi-precious stones and so forth.⁸⁷ That is to say, the Song was a period when jade began to be commercialized so that people like commoners, landowners, wealthy merchants and literati were able to enjoy it.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.* SS, juan 106, yufu 5, p.3577. SHJ, vol.2, yufu 4-7, p.1797.

⁸⁶ It seems likely to be a hat (*limao* 笠帽) called 'zhongdai' 重戴 which was worn by Censors for their duties. It was popular at the beginning of the Song and became regulated in the Southern Song (SS, juan 153, zhongdai, p.3570. Xu Nanding and Ceng Xiaoming, *Zhongguo fushi shihua*, Beijing, 1989, p.104. Shen Congwen, ed., *Zhongguo gudai fushi yanjiu*, 1997, Shanghai, p.451).

⁸⁷ Meng Yuanlao, *op. cit.*, p.140 (juan 3). Wu Zimu, *op. cit.*, p.105-9 (juan 13: tuanxing, puxi, yeshi). Meng and Wu record that a variety of specialist shops for the laundry of hats and the repair of hat and headdress ornaments had developed (Meng Yuanlao, *ibid.*, Wu Zimu, *ibid.*, juan 13, zhuse zamai, p.109-10).

Furthermore, because of the vogue in the appreciation of antiquity, even the making of fake jades thrived in this period.⁸⁸ However, it is not possible to identify jade hat finials like our example (Figure 1.1) worn by the Song people in a survey of a number of paintings of this period. Headdress like *xiaoyaojin* 逍遥巾 was also available in Hangzhou of the Southern Song at the night market, headdress which was customarily decorated with openwork jade carving for the Liao and Jin elderly women, so that it seems likely that the Southern Song people also decorated their hat with jade carvings like the Jin people.⁸⁹

There is an intriguing portrait of Wang Anshi 王安石 (AD 1021-1086) wearing a *zhanli* decorated with a jade like ornament (Figure 5.43).⁹⁰ This portrait is in an album of '*Lidai mingchen huaxiang Beicaigenzhai cang*' 历代名臣画像 北菜根斋藏 inscribed at the end as a copy of a painting album preserved in *Nanxundian* hall 南薰殿 of the Qing Forbidden Palace, the copy being made by Ye Zhishen 叶志洗 in the period AD 1804-1813.⁹¹ In addition, there is an inscription by a Qing gentleman from present day Nanjing, dated AD 1861, but the name is unclear.⁹² It is therefore difficult to determine whether or not this album is copied from a Ming version or a later version. However, an original portrait of Wang Anshi seems traceable to the shrine of Wang Anshi, and is nearly identical to the one in the album (Figure 5.44).⁹³ The shrine was built in AD 1106 in Fuzhou 抚州, Jiangxi province, and it said that the portrait was painted by Li Gonglin 李公麟 (AD 1049-1106) at the time of Wang Anshi's retirement

⁸⁸ Yang Boda, "Zhongguo gudai yuqi mianmianguan (shang)", *Gugong bowuguan yuan yuankan*, 1989, no. 43, p.17.

⁸⁹ Wu Zimu, *op. cit.*, p.108. According to Umehara, *panlang* 潘阆 denotes *xiaoyaozi* 逍遥子 in Hangzhou (Umehara Kaoru, *Muryoroku*, trans. of *Mengliang lu* of the Song with annotations, 2000, vol. 2, juan 13, yaichi, p.290). JS, juan 43, yufu xia, yifutongzhi, p.985.

⁹⁰ I am grateful to Mr Zhang Kai, Curator at the National Museum of Chinese History for much information on this portrait in the album, replying to my questionnaire by mail and fax. That the hat is a type of *zhanli* was communicated from Mr Sun Ji, after Mr Zhang kindly contacted him for me (Zhang Kai, letter to the author, April 15, 2001).

⁹¹ *Ibid.* Ye Zhishen did not serve as a Painter-in-Attendance in the Imperial Painting Academy but he was a comparatively famous Qing painter having some relations with the imperial court (Letter, *ibid.*, Zhang Kai).

⁹² *Ibid.*

⁹³ Lu You, *Rushuji Laoxueanbiji*, Song, reprint, Shanghai, 1996, juan 2, p.30-1.

in Jinling 金陵 (i.e. Nanjing) from political life.⁹⁴ According to Higashi Ichio, *Fuzhoufuzhishu Wangwengongciji* 抚州府志书王文公祠记 records that a temple was built in AD 1106 to house his portrait and his wife's portrait,⁹⁵ and Lu You 陆游 (AD 1125-1210) recorded in his *Rushuji* 入蜀记 based on his two visits in AD 1165 and AD 1170 to Wang Anshi's shrine (i.e. Dinglin temple 定林寺) that the shrine portrait painted by Li Gonglin was destroyed by fire but he had heard that it used to show him wearing a *mao* (hat) and belt as in life.⁹⁶ The portrait of Wang Anshi originally housed in his shrine was kept by his descendants during the Ming period and in AD 1750, Peng Jiaping 彭家屏 was requested by his friend Gu Donggao 顾栋高 to borrow the portrait of Wang Anshi in order to make biographical notes about him.⁹⁷ Peng Jiaping accordingly borrowed it for Gu Donggao from Wang Anshi's descendant and made a mounted copy of it for him.⁹⁸ The portrait kept by the descendant was possibly a copy of the original by Li Gonglin. Apart from the story of Gu Donggao, the record of Lu You regarding the portrait in the shrine is crucial when considering the validity of the portrait. Although it is unclear whether or not the prototype of Wang Anshi's portrait in the album copied by Ye Zhishen was that attributed to Li Gonglin in Wang Anshi's shrine, in the portrait that Lu You indicated, Wang Anshi was wearing a *mao*, presumably as in the image of Figure 5.44. Yet, it is still necessary to take into account that the portrait might have been modified later to represent an idealized image as of a legendary figure rather than that it portrayed the original physical appearance, although this type of idealized portrait may also include certain elements that are traditionally attributed to the person. Therefore, it can only be said regarding the example from the National Museum of Chinese History that Wang Anshi shown in his later life wearing a hat like a *zhanli* decorated with a jade-like finial may not be an exact original image.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.* As for the construction period of the shrine, *Jingguo Wangwengong citangji* by Lu Jiuyuan (AD 1139-1193) records that it was built during the period of *Xuanhe* (AD1119-1125) and reconstructed in the Southern Song and Yuan (Kida Tomoo, "Ou Anseki no bannen", *Toyoshien*, 1993, no.40 and 41, p.47).

⁹⁵ Higashi Ichio, *Ou Anseki jiten*, Tokyo, 1980, p.141.

⁹⁶ Lu You, *loc. cit.* On his second visit, he inscribed details about his visit on the wall of the Dinglin temple, as he recorded in *Rushuji*. This was discovered in the ruins of the Dinglin temple in 1975 (Kida, *op. cit.*, p.61-2). "塔後又有定林庵。舊聞先君言，李伯時畫文公像于庵之昭文摘齋，着帽束帶，神彩如生。"

⁹⁷ Higashi, *loc. cit.*

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*

Unfortunately, Lu You only recorded that Wang Anshi wore a *mao*, but did not refer to a hat finial. However, it is interesting that Wang Anshi had experience of the Liao who originated the *xiaoyaojin* decorated with jade,⁹⁹ and his career included the post of Judicial intendant. He also reformed the *jiansi* when he was Prime Minister. In addition, coincidentally, a stone relief of Su Shi 苏轼 (AD 1037-1101) currently preserved in the Liurong tower 六榕塔, who was the political rival and friend of Wang Anshi, also shows him wearing a wide brimmed hat (Figure 5.45).¹⁰⁰ Moreover, the figure wearing a brimmed hat in the hanging scroll attributed to Li Gonglin, 'Groom and Bridled Horse' 悬崖勒马图 has a hat finial with bird's plume.¹⁰¹ Although the figure with a beard looks non Han Chinese, it is interesting that a hat finial such as this was depicted by Li Gonglin during his life time, if the painting is the original. In view of these portraits of both Wang Anshi and Su Shi and the historical records, it is clear that such hats were informally popular among the Song people.

5.7 Hat Finial Decoration from A Handscroll of Buddhist Images of the Dali Kingdom

A long handscroll painted by Zhang Shengwen 张胜温 illustrates the Buddhist pantheon of the Dali Kingdom (AD 937-1252), located in southwestern China (Figure 5.46a). It was painted for Duan Zhixing 段智兴, the emperor of the Later Dali Kingdom Li Zhen 利贞 (AD 1173-1176), contemporary with the Southern Song Dynasty.¹⁰² According to a note of Emperor Qianlong, Zhang's work was damaged in a flood during the period of Hongwu (AD 1368-1398) of the Ming, and was remounted in the form of a long handscroll during the Zhengtong period (AD 1436-1449).¹⁰³ In opening this handscroll, a grand procession of high dignitaries including the Prime Minister is shown wearing tall ceremonial hats decorated with gold or white-stone finials against the background of Diancang mountain 点苍山 in the Dali kingdom. In

⁹⁹ Kida, *op. cit.*, p.62. It is related that Wang Anshi was dispatched to the Liao kingdom during his career. JS, juan 43, *loc. cit.* "...散綴玉釧於上, 謂之玉逍遙, 此皆遼服也."

¹⁰⁰ It could be a 'li'.

¹⁰¹ Suzuki Kei ed., *Chugoku kaiga sogo zuroku*, vol.1, A21-190. I am grateful to the Institute of Oriental Culture, University of Tokyo, for allowing me to view the copy of the photograph.

¹⁰² Li Lincan, *Nanzhao Dali guo xin zilliao de zonghe yanjiu*, Taipei, 1982, p.37.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, p.29.

particular, what catches our eye is that the Empress seemingly leads the procession wearing a remarkable tall crown-like hat, with a future prince or heir just behind her. And after the prince, the fourth ruler of Dali, that is, Duan Zhixing (r. 1172-1200) follows and stares straight forwards, holding the handle of an incense burner. His tall gold crown reminds the author of a nomadic origin in the Eurasian steppes, such as the gold hat of a Saka-Scythian prince found in Issyk kurgan (Figure 5.8). This kind of tall gold crown-like hat is often seen in the Dunhuang and Xinjiang murals, worn by Uyghur and the Xixia nobles participating in religious rites.¹⁰⁴ Li Lincan says that a topknot in the hair, seen unit 103 of the painting, was characteristic of the Luo-luo 囉囉 tribe and is still practised by them and called "Celestial Bodhisattva", symbolizing 'protection'.¹⁰⁵ Li assumes that wearing such towering crowns and funnel-shaped hats was also associated with that manner of hair style.¹⁰⁶ At present, a number of minority peoples live in Yunnan province, of whom the Yi 彝 (i.e. Luo-luo or Wuman 乌蛮), the Bai 白 and the Dai 傣 (i.e. Thai people) predominate; the Bai people are said to be the most sinicized.¹⁰⁷ The Dali Kingdom ruled the Yunnan region and was built by the Duan who belonged to the Baiman 白蛮 people (i.e. Bai tribe) and to their predecessors, the founders of the Kingdom of Nanzhao, the Meng, races using the languages of Tibet and Burma.¹⁰⁸ Their culture was influenced by China, Tibet, Burma, Thailand and India, as the Kingdom was on the ancient and important trade route to Burma or Myanmar, to India and to Bactria through Sichuan.¹⁰⁹ It is not clear to the author whether this tall crown derived from the Luo-luo tribe, however, it seems that artistic contributions of Southeast Asian cultures also blended with customs and manners in this region and an element of architectural sculpture can be recognized in the crown which is frequent in Buddhist art, for instance, among the Khmer of Cambodia.¹¹⁰ In the light of this synthesis, the long process of intercultural activities in

¹⁰⁴ For example, ZMQ:H15, pl.181, ZMQ:H16, pl.211, 218, 231.

¹⁰⁵ Li Lincan, *op. cit.*, p.57. For topknot hair style among the modern Luo-luo people, see *Zhongguo minzu fushi*, Wang Fushi, ed., Sichuan, 1986, pl.366.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁷ Fujisawa Yoshimi, *Seinan chugoku minzokushi no kenkyu*, Tokyo, 1969, p.109.

¹⁰⁸ There is a theory that the Baiman tribes are Thai people (*ibid.*, p.104-6, 175).

¹⁰⁹ SJ, juan 116, xinyanyiliezhuang 56, p.2995-6, juan 123, dayanliezhuan 63, p.3166. HS, juan 95, xinyanyi, p.3841.

¹¹⁰ The style of crown also resembles the stone statue of the Princess of Wencheng 文成 of Tufan (i.e.

this Kingdom, a geographical melting place for religious influences from Tibet and western Asia, to create the shape of the tall gold crown is still open to discussion. Yet this is not a major concern here. The most important aspect to focus on here is the white finial decoration on the crown.

The *History of the Later Han* records that Yongchang 永昌 in Yunnan region (located in the western part of Yunnan adjacent to Burma) had been known to China as a place of precious and semi-precious stones, for example gems or jades (hardstones in the wide sense), amber, crystal, seashell, pearl as well as gold and silver.¹¹¹ *Guangzhu* 光珠 described in the *History of the Later Han*, can be literally translated as 'shining gems', 'pearls' or 'jades', and it is not possible to identify precisely whether it means jadeite or other semi-precious stones here. The term 'feicui' 翡翠 is in the record, along with *guangzhu*, not meaning jadeite but kingfisher, judging from the other animal products listed.¹¹² These products are probably not only native products from Yunnan, but also rare treasure coming from the west and the south via the Burma route, judging from the inclusion of the sea products. Amber was regarded as a foreign product in China, from Kashmir or Persia, or Rome.¹¹³ It can be said, then, that China desired special products from the western part of Yunnan as well as rare treasures brought to Yunnan from the west and south via the Burma route as early as the Han Dynasty.¹¹⁴ Yunnan was believed to be the only producer in China of hard jades, that is jadeite, known as Yunnan jade or Dian jade 滇玉.¹¹⁵ However, this is debatable. It is also believed that working with jadeite was not practised in China before the Qianlong period (i. AD

Tibet) at a stone cave in Lhasa, dated middle of the seventh century to the beginning of the ninth century (Xizang wenguanhui wenwu puchadui, "Lhasa chalalu fushiku diaocha jianbao" *Wenwu*, 1985, no.9, p.58-9, pl.4:1).

¹¹¹ Zheng Qiao (1161a), *op. cit.*, in SB, vol.2, juan 17, dui 1, p.11. "哀牢即永昌郡之地" "…永昌為雲南郡…滇即今之雲南也。" HH, juan 86, p.2849. "哀牢人…土地沃美…出銅, 鐵, 鉛, 錫, 金, 銀, 光珠, 虎魄, 水精, 琉璃, 軻虫, 蚌珠, 孔雀, 翡翠, 犀, 象, 猩猩, 貊獸. 雲南縣有神鹿兩頭, 能食毒草。" XW, juan 65, p.812. "嶺北商賈至南海者, 多召之, 使升宮殿, 示以珠玉之富. 雲南…" For historical hardstones in China, see Ming Wilson, "The Colour of Stones", *Transactions of the Oriental Ceramic Society*, 1999, vol.62.

¹¹² HH, *ibid.*

¹¹³ Wilson, *op. cit.*, p.35-6.

¹¹⁴ Peacock and musk are famous in Yunnan.

¹¹⁵ S. Howard Hansford, "Jade and the Kingfisher", in *Oriental Art*, col. I, no.1, 1948, p.16.

1736-1795).¹¹⁶ Most jadeite art works from the Qing Court Collection are from the Qianlong period, and no jadeite carvings have as yet been unearthed from Ming tombs.¹¹⁷ The reason for naming it Yunnan jade was explained by Hansford as being that jadeite from Northern Burma was first brought to China by way of Yunnan by Yunnanese traders, and so Yunnan was credited as the place of production.¹¹⁸ Accordingly, Hansford assumes that there was no jade production in Yunnan. The *History of the Ming* says that Caiyu 菜玉 (i.e. jade in vegetable colours) mountain east of Shibing 石屏 (south of the capital, Kunming) produced stone of azure colour as rich as jade.¹¹⁹ Objects carved in *caiyu* are contained in an 'inventory of innumerable artefacts' owned by the disgraced late Ming politician, Yan Song 严嵩.¹²⁰ The inventory includes works of art made of a stone in azure colour called *bi* 碧.¹²¹

What was this azure stone called '*bi*'? According to the description of jade stones in the late Ming record the *Zhangwuzhi* 长物志 (Treatise on Superfluous Things), "[The jade stone in] the azure colour as translucent as crystal is currently prized, which is what the ancients called *bi* 碧, yet it is not jade."¹²² Craig Clunas points out this as an early remarkable reference to the geological mineral jadeite in China.¹²³ The *bi* stone 碧石 was recorded in the *History of the Later Han* in Yizhou 益州 (near present day Kunming in Yunnan) and Yuexi 越西 (southwest Sichuan), and there is *bi* stone in azure colour and also in green, according to *Guangzhi* 广志.¹²⁴ The *History of the*

¹¹⁶ S. Howard Hansford, *Chinese Jade Carving*, London, 1950, p.2. Joseph Needham and Wang Ling, *Science and Civilization in China*, vol. 3, Cambridge, 1959, p.665.

¹¹⁷ Deng Shuping, "Tan Feichui", *Gugong wenwu yuekan*, no.15, 1984, p.9.

¹¹⁸ Hansford (1948), *loc. cit.*

¹¹⁹ MS, juan 46, dili 7, yunnan, p.1175, 1218. "產石碧潤如玉，謂之菜玉。" The name 'Caiyu mountain' presumably indicates the place of production of *caiyu*. Cao Zhao in the Ming writes about *caiyu* (Cao Zhao, *Geguyaohun*, Ming, juan zhong, in SQ, vol. 871, p.100).

¹²⁰ Anonymous Ming writer, *Tian shui bing shan lu*, published by Bao Tingbo in the Qianlong period. Facsimile reprint, Taipei, 1966, vol. 2, p.78 &c.

¹²¹ *Ibid.*, p.77, 79 &c.

¹²² Wen Zhenheng, *Zhangwuzhi*, Late Ming, in SQ, vol. 872, p.74 (Hailun tongyu diaoke yaoqi). "今所尚翠色通明如水晶者古人號為碧非玉也。"

¹²³ Craig Clunas, "Jade Carvers and Their Customers in Ming China", *Transactions of the Oriental Ceramic Society*, 1987, vol.50, p.72.

¹²⁴ HH, juan 23, p.3512.

Song also records that *bi* stone was used for ornaments.¹²⁵

Did the Chinese know jadeite before the Ming? Even in the ancient western classical world, there was confusion over the description of different stones. The etymology of ancient jasper (*biyu* 碧玉) was *iaspis* in Greek, but in Turkestan and Persia jasper and jade seem to be confused.¹²⁶ For example, the term denoting jade in Arabic is the jasper of the Greeks.¹²⁷ Hence, it is said that jade and jasper seem indistinguishable in the ancient world.¹²⁸ According to the *Historia Naturalis* by the Roman writer, Gaius Plinius (AD 23-79), *iaspis* is: 1. Green in colour and often translucent; 2. A number of countries produced this stone, for example, the Indian one looks like emerald, and the Persian appears azure in colour; 3. There are fourteen kinds of *iaspis*; 4. It was used as a talisman in the East; the *iaspis* the colour of emerald contains a white vein running across the centre and is called '*monogrammos*'.¹²⁹ A contemporary of Gaius Plinius, the natural historian, Dioscorides (AD 40-90) says that there are varieties of *iaspis* similar to emerald, crystal, and even to opaque stones.¹³⁰ Marbodi, a French scholar in the eleventh century remarks in his '*De lapidibus*' that jasper has seventeen kinds of colours, and the best is a transparent green colour.¹³¹ Jasper belongs to the chalcedonies or agates, and is opaque in appearance as it contains large amounts of adulterant,¹³² so that an azure jasper can not look as translucent as emerald and crystal. As both emerald and jadeite seem rare stones in the ancient world, it can be considered that jadeite will have sometimes been included as a type of jasper. Also, part 4 of the description of Gaius Plinius seems likely to be jadeite, as veins usually occur in jadeite, and the glass-like appearance is similar to emerald.¹³³ In the Yuan Dynasty, a stone called *jiayushi* 夹玉

¹²⁵ SS, juan 154, p.3582.

¹²⁶ Haruyama Yukio, *Haruyama Yukio no hakubutsushi*, vol.2, Tokyo, 1989, p.134 (jasper). *Biyu* encompasses a wide range of green stones including jasper, jade and any other deep green coloured jade-like stones in modern China.

¹²⁷ *Ibid.*, p.147.

¹²⁸ *Ibid.*, p.134.

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*, p.135.

¹³⁰ *Ibid.*, p.137.

¹³¹ *Ibid.*, p.145.

¹³² *Ibid.*, p.15, 134.

¹³³ Deng Shuping, *loc. cit.* Deng Shuping suggests that the description of *Zhangwuzhi* to indicate chrysoprase, but it shows a ceraceous appearance and does not appear as translucent as crystal.

石 in Chinese is termed '*yašm ba-sangxārah*' in Persian, which can literally be translated as 'jasper with hard stone'.¹³⁴ However, as discussed, '*yašm*' could indicate jade in Turkestan and Persia¹³⁵ so that '*yašm ba-sangxārah*' can be also interpreted as 'jade as hard stone', that is to say, jadeite. If China had known this rare stone, jadeite as *bi* stone in the classification of jade before the Ming Dynasty, it can be assumed that the Yunnanese had also known the source of its production before the Chinese themselves. Song Yingxing of the Ming recorded that Jinchiwei 金齿卫 (in west Yunnan) and Lijiang 丽江 in Yunnan alone yielded precious stones in China,¹³⁶ although there is no specification of jadeite or nephrite.¹³⁷

Thus, it is still unclear whether jadeite was produced in Yunnan. However, it is of great significance that the trading of commodities, such as precious and semi-precious stones, and cultural exchange between east and west via Burma was flourishing in the western part of Yunnan as early as Han times. It may be that Yunnanese traders knew of the existence of Burmese jade at an earlier stage and that its use was restricted to the aristocracy alone before the Dali Kingdom was defeated by Khubilai Khan and its territory incorporated into the Chinese empire.¹³⁸ It has been reported that Buddhist statuettes made of jade from the periods of Nanzhao or Dali have been excavated, although the mineralogical component of the jade has not been reported.¹³⁹ Many jade artefacts such as *bi*-discs and jade suits were unearthed from tombs of Dian country 滇国, in Shizhai mountain 石寨山, Jinning 晋宁 and Lijia mountain 李家山, of the Warring States and the Former Han periods. Some of these unpolished translucent greenish jade pieces have been proved to be from western Yunnan and northern

¹³⁴ Honda Minobu, *Mongol jidaishi kenkyu*, Tokyo, 1991, p.509.

¹³⁵ *Ibid.* Haruyama, *loc. cit.*

¹³⁶ Song Yingxing, *Tiangongkaiwu*, Ming, trans. by Yabuuchi Kiyoshi, Tokyo, 1998, p.342. Yang Boda points out, based on the Ming record *Xu Xiake youji*, that Yongchang 永昌 in Yunnan had jadeite in the late Ming called '*cuishengshi*' 翠生石 by Xu Xiake 徐霞客 (Yang Boda, "Qinggongjiuzang feicuiqi jianshu", *Gugong bowuyuan yuankan*, 2000, no.6, p.41).

¹³⁷ Cao Zhao of the Ming records that *biyu* in green azure colour was precious, and that the pale blackish colour was the next best. "碧玉其色青如藍黑者為貴或有細墨點者色淡者次之." (Cao Zhao, *loc. cit.*).

¹³⁸ According to Warry, green jadeite was first discovered by Yunnanese traders in the thirteenth century by accident; this was denied by Hansford (Hansford (1948), *loc. cit.*).

¹³⁹ Li Kunsheng, ed., *Nanzhao Daliguo diaoke huihua yishu*, Kunming, 1999, p.244.

Burma.¹⁴⁰ A few personal adornments made of nephrite jade, that is *hetian yu* 和闐玉, were also discovered in the same tomb in Shizhai mountain, Jinning.¹⁴¹

With the background of the source of supply of semi-precious and precious stones in Yunnan, we turn now to an account of a variety of hat finials in Zhang Shengwen's hand scroll painting. As seen in Figures 5.46a, 5.46b, 5.46c, 5.46d, the shape of finials decorating the hats resembles closely the finials of pagodas,¹⁴² as if they had religious symbolism. There is an excavated ornament from Dali Kingdom in the form of a mythical bird of India (i.e. Garuda), a creature able to control dragons and suppress waters (Figure 5.47).¹⁴³ Owing to the supernatural quality of the bird, the Garuda motif was frequently used for the finials of pagodas.¹⁴⁴ The ornament shaped like a Garuda reminds the author of the eagle hat ornament of the Xiongnu (Figure 5.5a). A gold-like hat finial in a bird-like shape can be also found in unit no. 86 of the handscroll, on a hat made of animal fur worn by a military officer.¹⁴⁵ A military officer wearing a similar hat can be also seen in the hand scroll the 'History of Nanzhao Kingdom' preserved in Fujii Yurinkan, Kyoto, Japan.¹⁴⁶ It probably symbolizes the authority and power of the military officer, like a Garuda, as in hat finials in the form of finials of pagodas seem to have had religious symbolism. Another example of an excavated piece in the Dali Kingdom period is a hat ornament, probably a hat finial, decorated with a large round crystal (Figure 5.49). The crystal is set on a lotus-shaped flower, and the Garuda (Figure 5.47) stands on the base which is in the form of a lotus flower. As the Dali Kingdom chose Buddhism as their state religion, it can be considered that the lotus motif in these hat finials gives them a religious significance. Similar pieces can be seen in Zhang

¹⁴⁰ Li Kunsheng, ed., *Yunnan gudai yishu zhenpinji*, Yunnan, 1999, p.110-1. The exact place of production in western Yunnan has not been described, but the place is probably adjacent to northern Burma. It is regrettable that jadeites of Shizhai and Lijia mountains have not yet been identified.

¹⁴¹ *Ibid.*

¹⁴² I am grateful to Mr Nakano Toru, director at Kuboso Kinenkan, Osaka, for this suggestion (Interview, February 21, 2001).

¹⁴³ Qiu Yichong et al., eds., *Nanzhao Dali wenwu*, Yunnan, 1992, p.136.

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid.* When it was discovered, it was stored in a wooden box (ZMQ:M10, p.36-7, pl.129). There is a nearly identical finial decoration on the head of 'Kichijoten' (a wooden Buddhist statuette) dated Late Heian (late 12th century), which is preserved in Kyoto, Japan (Sherman E. Lee, *A History of Far Eastern Art*, New York, 1964, colourplate 32.)

¹⁴⁵ Li Lincan, *op. cit.*, unit no.86.

Shengwen's hand scroll, for example, on the heads of the Dragon Kings, the crowns (*guan*) of the *Tianwangdishi* 天王帝释 and so forth.¹⁴⁷ To judge from the painting, the use of such decoration for crowns seems common practice for the Dali aristocrats and high officials. The type of finial on large, tall crowns worn by the rulers of Dali, that is by Duan Zhixing, the Empress, the Prime Minister and the high officials, seen in the beginning of the scroll, seems characteristic throughout the handscroll painting. In particular, white finials on the crowns of three high officials, the Empress and Duan Zhixing can be considered to hold stones of special quality relating to their rank. Although the painting was damaged by flood, in the light of the historical background to this Kingdom's use of precious and semi-precious stones, it seems likely that these stones could be Khotan *hetian* jades (i.e. nephrite) and crystal, for the decoration of their finials as being the most meaningful and symbolical stones for them. As we discussed, it is also conceivable that jadeite was known with high status, and was used for their hat finials. However, the white colour of jadeite was presumably more esteemed by the Dali Kingdom than the imperial green colour because of Buddhist associations.

In an examination of ceremonial hats in the handscroll painting, the influence of China can be recognized. For example, the hat of an official standing at the back of a civil official group (third from right in black-hatted group) in Figure 5.46a is similar to the style of straight hard wings stretching out on either side of the *futou*, which was a distinctive feature of the Song. A person like a warrior wearing an animal head helmet as in Figure 5.40 also appears in the painting (Figure 5.48). This type of helmet was commonly worn by the Tang warrior, whatever its origin may have been. The peacock, a special feature of Yunnan, is also depicted in the scroll painting. Thus a rich variety of detail in the painting exhibits local culture and foreign influence.¹⁴⁸ Accordingly it is crucial to learn of the culture of China's neighbour, Yunnan, in the twelfth century, the future supplier of jades to China, and it is important in particular to investigate the

¹⁴⁶ Li Lincan, *op. cit.*, pl.IV. Li Kunsheng (1999a), *op. cit.*, p.182.

¹⁴⁷ Li Lincan, *ibid.*, unit no. 13-4, 20-1, 86 and 123.

¹⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, unit no. 110.

custom of applying finials on hats in this period, that is, before the Yuan Dynasty.

The final point to make here is regarding the end scene of the hand scroll painting. The procession of sixteen foreign Kings (or royalty) exhibits an appearance of subordination to the Dali Kingdom, and they all maintain the Buddhist faith and are led by the King of Nanzhao (Figure 5.50).¹⁴⁹ Next to him, the Chinese Emperor is depicted. In the following group, the King holding a lion is possibly from *Shiziguo* 獅子國 (i.e. Ceylon, the present day Republic of Sri Lanka) and, behind him, the King of Burma with white beard is present.¹⁵⁰ Interestingly, the King presumably of Koryō follows behind the King of Burma, holding a spray of lotus. His formal attire and *heguan* with plumes of birds is typical Koryō style, yet he looks like an envoy rather than a King, as it is unlikely that the King would be clad in this type of hat.¹⁵¹ However, it is no wonder that Koryō attends, as its state religion was also Buddhism. It is remarkable that Koryō had an association with Dali beyond China, which is suggestive of cultural and artistic exchange between Dali and Koryō. Koryō was also a nation that used jades for personal adornment, like China, and her predecessor, Silla, is famous for a large gold crown decorated with comma-shaped jades (*magatama*), as we have seen earlier. In the next group to the Kings of Burma and Koryō, there is a King probably from the west of China who wears a leather or felt hat with a rim of fur (*zhanmao*) decorated with a gold phoenix-head finial, similar to Figure 5.47. Zhang Shengwen's hand scroll painting presents a record of extensive intercultural exchange, both social and religious, in Asia in the late twelfth century.

5.8 Hat Ornaments of the Liao

As we have seen the Song people gradually adapted their attire to the manner of the Liao,¹⁵² the Qidan people primarily inhabiting China's northeastern borders (modern Liaoning province) who inevitably came under the influence of the Han Chinese style.

¹⁴⁹ Matsumoto Moritaka, "Daili koku Cho Shoonga bonzou shinron", vol.2, *Bukkyo geijyutsu*, 1978, no.118, p.90.

¹⁵⁰ *Ibid.*

¹⁵¹ Xu Jing, *Xuanhe fengshi Gaoli tuji*, AD1124, facsimile reprint, Taipei, 1974, juan 7, wangfu, p.1.

¹⁵² SS, juan 153, yufu 5, shishuminfu, p.3576. "慶曆八年, 詔禁士庶效契丹服及乘騎鞍轡, …." It can be learnt from this extract that the Song government had prohibited the dress style of the Liao to commoners by imperial edict as early as AD 1048.

The Liao consequently adopted a dual system for their dress code: native Qidan clothes for officials of Qidan birth (*guofu* 国服), and Han Chinese costumes for Han officials (*hanfu* 汉服), after they invaded the territory of the Later Jin 後晉 (AD 936-946).¹⁵³ Although the Han costumes were later worn even by the Qidan officials of the three highest ranks on grand ceremonial occasions after AD 979,¹⁵⁴ it can be said that the Han style was basically a privilege worn by the nobility. In this section, hat and finial decoration in the Liao ethnic style will be especially focused upon.

Some types of hat of the Qidan are shown by a number of pictorial images, for example: mural paintings of the tombs of the Liao emperors in Qingling 庆陵, Hure (or Kulum) Banner 库伦旗, Zhelimu League, Aohanqi 敖汉旗, the painting of 'Lady Wenji Returning to China' attributed to Xiao Zhao 萧照 in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston and the painting attributed to Chen Juzhong 陈居中 in the National Palace Museum, Taiwan, all well reflect their hair-styles and clothes (*hufu* 胡服).¹⁵⁵ *Humao* like sable hats were worn by the semi-nomadic Qidan without exception (Figure 5.51).¹⁵⁶ In terms of hair-style, it is known that men shaved round the crown of their heads, leaving only a little hair at the forehead and the temples in long tresses. This can be seen in surviving mural paintings as a common characteristic feature and is a way to identify them. The reason why many people are depicted as bareheaded is that the emperor and his higher ministers and officials alone were allowed to wear a hat on the basis of strict regulations.¹⁵⁷ Wearing a hat itself represented status. According to the *History of the Liao*, headdress called *zhanguan* 毡冠 (woollen headdress) decorated with gold and with precious or semi-precious stones and plumes of kingfishers, or light silk caps (*shaguan* 纱冠) like Chinese *wushamao* 乌纱帽 (i.e. black gauze hat) but without a

¹⁵³ LS, juan 55, yi 1, yufu, p.900. The Han Chinese costumes were inherited from the Tang and Later Jin. "其漢服即五代晉之遺制也。" "...唐, 晉文物, 遼則用之。" (LS, juan 56, p.907.). The Qidan extended their territory to the northern parts of Shaanxi and Hebei, and to southern Mongolia in AD 936 (Shimada Saburo, *Kitankoku*, 1996, Tokyo, p.14.).

¹⁵⁴ LS, juan 56, hanfu, p.908. "乾亨以後, 大禮雖北面三品以上亦用漢服。"

¹⁵⁵ Tamura Jitsuzo, *Keiryō no hekiga*, 1977, Kyoto, p.270-2. Guo Suxin, ed., "Aohanqi Lamagou Liao dai bilua mu", *Neimenggu wenwukaogu*, 1999, no.1, fig.5, 6. Robert A. Rorex and Wen Fong, *Eighteen Songs of a Nomad Flute*, 1974, New York, no.1 and following.

¹⁵⁶ ZT, juan 286, p.9327. "契丹主貂帽。" LS, juan 30, baoda 5 nian, p.351.

¹⁵⁷ LS, juan 56, guofu, p.906, juan 106, diji, p.1536. Even rich people were unable to wear hats without presenting a large quantity of livestock to the Emperor.

brim and ear-cover, adorned with gold decoration, were worn by civil and military officials for court audience (*chaofu* 朝服).¹⁵⁸ Yet, the hat decorated with precious or semi-precious stones is not visible in the tomb murals. Nonetheless, it is recorded in *Qidan guozhi* that *zhanguan* decorated with gold, jewels and plumes were an echo of the *buyao* crown 步搖冠.¹⁵⁹ It goes on to say that gold, jades, crystal, jasper were used for the decoration of belts (*diexie* 蝶變).¹⁶⁰

The Song record, *Dongjing menghualu* describes the attire of the Liao envoys in the Northern Song: the envoy-in-chief was clad in a large lotus leaf-like gold crown with a pointed shape at the rear of the brim and wore a tight purple costume tied with a gold *diexie* belt.¹⁶¹ Although the shape of the gold crown has yet to be identified, gilded silver crowns were unearthed from a Liao tomb, known as the tomb of the Princess of the Chen state and her consort (Figures 5.52 and 5.53). As seen in Figure 4.36a in Chapter Four, many gold and jade items were found from this joint tomb and gilded-silver crowns of the princess and her consort can be said to be representative of all the artefacts in the tomb. The crown of the Princess shows a motif of two phoenix among branches facing each other on the front and was originally decorated with a finial in the shape of a Daoist deity (*tianzun* 天尊) seated on a lotus bloom with a halo of *lingzhi* fungus. Her consort's crown is jointed together with sixteen openwork panels in *ruyi* shape, bearing a motif of a Daoist figure in the front, and a phoenix, wild goose, *lingzhi* fungus and so forth depicted on each panel.¹⁶² As in the case of Figure 4.36a, a variety of auspicious imagery has been chosen for the afterlife. The style of this type of gold crown resembles the Korean crown we saw in Figure 5.28, and one in Figure 5.54.¹⁶³ In particular, the crown of the princess's consort and the Silla gold cap are

¹⁵⁸ *Ibid.* The Qidan instituted six types of dress code: 1. for sacrificial ceremony; 2. for court audience; 3. for public dress; 4. for ordinary dress; 5. for hunting; 6. for condolence (LS, juan 56, p.905-10).

¹⁵⁹ Ye Longli, *Qidanguozhi*, Song, reprint, Beijing, 1933, p.306. "……番官戴冠冠上金華為飾或加珠玉翠毛蓋漢魏時遼人步搖冠之遺像也……"

¹⁶⁰ *Ibid.* A good example of this type of jade belt was excavated at Jiefangyingzi 解放營子 (Weiguniudeji wenhuaguan, "Neimenggu jiefang yingzi liaomu fajue jianbao", *Kaogu*, 1979, no.4, pl.7:6).

¹⁶¹ Meng Yuanlao, *op. cit.*, p.201.

¹⁶² A similar shape of this crown can be found in the Dali handscroll. See Li Lincan, *op. cit.*, unit no.86.

¹⁶³ Emma C. Bunker, Julia M. White and Jenny F. So. *Adornment for the Body and Soul*, Hong Kong, 1999, p.33.

similar in their elliptical shape. Although shamanistic elements seem to be absent on the crown of the Liao, religious or auspicious imagery is prominent to enhance the dignity of the wearers, and this may have replaced motifs of the Shamanism which the Liao formerly supported. The Liao were mainly Buddhist from the beginning of the dynasty and Daoism was also accepted as a new religion.¹⁶⁴

As in the case of Silla, the origin of this type of gold crown may be traceable to the cultures of Siberia, Central Asia and the Middle East. According to the *Great Dictionary of Chinese Clothes and Adornment*, a bell-shaped gold cap-like crown was excavated from the Zhelimu league, Jilin province.¹⁶⁵ A similar style of gold bell-shaped helmet was found in a Scythian tomb of the fourth century BC.¹⁶⁶ The Liao cap-like gold crown from Jilin apparently bears no decorative motifs, but the Scythian gold helmet has characteristic combat scenes. Influence from the west on the Qidan is possible. The *History of the Northern Wei* recorded that the chiefs of the Tuguhun 吐谷浑, a *Xianbei* tribe, wore a gold crown with decoration (*jinhuaquan* 金花冠) after *bianfa* 辮发 (i.e. shaving part of the head and plaiting a queue) and that the Persian King also wore the *jinhuaquan*.¹⁶⁷ Thus, a gold crown with decoration is probably attributable to the West.

Further remarkable points about the gold crown of Princess Chen to be made are the finial decoration. As seen in the Daoist deity of the Princess's crown, the Liao seemed to practise adorning the finial decoration on the crown. The gilded bronze crown of Figure 5.55 is surmounted by a phoenix attached by wire. It appears to derive from the eagle hat finial of the Xiongnu. The phoenix-like bird perching on a branch (a separate inner cap) decorating the Silla tree-shaped gold crown is not three-dimensionally formed (Figure 5.56), yet the idea of finial decoration in the Liao is a feature common to both. A number of excavated gold crowns and caps in Korea show the influence of the Eurasian steppe nomads, as we have discussed, and the Liao gold crown can therefore be ultimately attributed to the Saka-Scythian gold tree-shaped conical crown

¹⁶⁴ Shimada, *op. cit.*, p.97, 99.

¹⁶⁵ Zhou Xun and Gao Chumming (1996), eds., *op. cit.*, p.59 (*jinguan*).

¹⁶⁶ Reeder, ed., *op. cit.*, pl.124.

¹⁶⁷ WS, juan 101, Tuhuhun, p.2240 and juan 102, Bosi, p.2271.

surmounted by a small deer in the Issyk kurgan (Figure 5.8).

5.8.1 Practice of Using Decoration on Hat

As the record of *buyao* in *Qidan guozhi* suggests, the Qidan are most likely to decorate their hats. Considering the Qidan style based on our discussion here, the *baier* 白鷺 egret plumes mentioned in Chapter Four are also a possible hat decoration. According to the *History of the Sui*, *wubian* (i.e. *heguan*) is a cage hat (*longguan* 籠冠) and a hat with gold cicada-shaped ornament and plumes is simply called *huiwenguan*, as we discussed earlier,¹⁶⁸ the plume is called *erwei* 鷺尾.¹⁶⁹ Plumes of the copper pheasant (*he*) which we saw in the Han Dynasty seem not to be specified here. In the Sui Dynasty, the Emperor used the *bo* mountain-shaped gold ornament for the decoration of his crown, jade branch-shaped ornaments (*yuguanzhi* 玉冠枝) for the position of the Three Dukes (*sangong*), gold branch-shaped ornaments (*jinzhi* 金枝) for officials of the first three grades, sable plumes (*erfengdiao* 鷺丰貂) and cicada ornaments (*fuchan* 附蟬) for attendant officials, and white plumes (*erbaibi* 鷺白笔) for officials of fourth to sixth grade.¹⁷⁰ Accordingly, it may be considered that the Qidan people also followed the manner of decorating hats with egret plumes, regardless of whether this was the influence of China or the original Northern people's custom. It is unclear about jade and gold branch-shaped ornaments. Giovanni de Plano Carpini (d. c. 1182-1252) records that married women wore large crowns decorated with gold or silver or slender wooden pieces, otherwise with one plume.¹⁷¹ This seems to denote ornaments of the so-called *gugu* 姑姑 crown of the Mongolian women (Figure 5.57). It is debatable that the ornaments of *gugu* crowns were derived from the decoration described in the *History of the Sui*, yet it is reasonable to consider that they are as historically practised by the northern people, such as using bird plumes on hats.¹⁷² Egami Namio discusses that the

¹⁶⁸ SUS, juan 12, liyi 7, p.265.

¹⁶⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, p.265-6. Zheng Qiao (1161a), *op. cit.*, juan 23, qifu 1, p.5.

¹⁷¹ Mori Masao, *Chuo Asia, Moko ryokoki*, trans. of records of the journey of both Carpini and Rubruk to the Mongols, Tokyo, 1979, p.9 (Part One: Carpini). Rubruk describes peacock plumes attached to little branches and the crown decorated with jewels (*ibid.*, p.150; Part Two: Rubruk).

¹⁷² Egami Namio, "Mokofujin no kanbo Kuku nitsuite", in *Eurasia hoppo bunka no kenkyu*, Tokyo, 1951, p.233. Okamoto suggests that plumes on the hats of married women were the symbol of approval of marriage with men who adorned their hats with plumes as an emblem of the warrior. It was originally the

early example of plumes on a hat discovered in a Xiongnu tomb (Noin-Ula) and the practice of decorating with plumes and jewels ultimately belong to the category of ornaments called *buyao* in China.¹⁷³ As in the case of the adaptation of foreign dress (*hufu*) by the Emperor Wuling, it is indeed the case that plumes attached to hat was the Northern people's conventional practice. However, the author would like to assume that *buyao* was altogether a different type of ornament to this, and that the two can not be simply classified into the same category as in the Chinese records, in the light of the influence of manners and customs of hat decoration from the nomadic cultures in the ancient Middle East and throughout Central Asia and southern Siberia.

5.8.2 Jades for Adornment

Our next concern is whether or not the Qidan had indeed a practice of adorning their hats with jades. As the *Qidan guozhi* states, *zhanguan* were decorated with *zhuyu* 珠玉. The *zhuyu* does not denote only jade and pearls but embraces a wider meaning, of precious and semi-precious stones, jades included. According to the *History of the Jin*, elderly women wore *xiaoyaojin* (a brimless black gauze hat) decorated with jades, which was the Qidan people's attire.¹⁷⁴ However, such a hat has yet to be excavated from a Liao tomb, although a similar example can be found in the painting 'Lady Wenji Returning to China' attributed to Chen Juzhong 陈居中 in the National Palace Museum, Taiwan (Figure 5.58).¹⁷⁵ Not a few superb jade artifacts have been discovered in tombs (Figure 5.59); Princess Chen and her consort, for instance, demonstrate the significance of jade in Liao culture. In addition, a recent excavation report presents a small jade openwork ornament in the shape of a plum flower from a Liao tomb (Figure 5.60).¹⁷⁶ It can be assumed to be an ornament for hat such as *xiaoyaojin*, judging from its size and comparing the example of the Jin. Yet, it seems that no examples of openwork jade carving in two-tier have yet been reported from a

northerner's manner and custom and was adopted by Mongol married women (Okamoto Keiji, "Asia hoppershominzoku no jujinbo 'Boqta'", *Sicho*, 1952, no.45, p.32-3).

¹⁷³ *Ibid.*, p.248, 252.

¹⁷⁴ JS, juan 43, p.985.

¹⁷⁵ See also the painting attributed to Xiao Zhao in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (Rorex and Wen, *op. cit.*, no.6.)

¹⁷⁶ I am grateful to Mrs Deng Shuping, Curator at the National Palace Museum, Taiwan, for this

Liao tomb. In view of jade ornaments excavated from the tombs of Five Dynasties and the beginning of the Jin (Figures 5.61, 5.62a and 5.62b), it would not be surprising if the Liao had used the technique of jade openwork two-tier carving.¹⁷⁷ Besides, the Liao had a close relationship with the neighbouring country, Koryŏ.¹⁷⁸

The Liao received jade once in three years from the neighbouring countries as tribute, for example, Gaochang 高昌 (i.e. Uighur) and Khotan 于阗 (Xinjiang) in a client relationship.¹⁷⁹ It is recorded that envoys from the west, such as Arabia, besides Gaochang and Khotan, reached approximately four hundred,¹⁸⁰ which is suggestive of economic prosperity and of long distance trade routes through foreign regions, as in the case of the Dali kingdom. This well supports the superb quality of jades from the joint tomb of Princess Chen and her consort, suggesting the use of *Hetian* white jade 和闐白玉.

The discovery of jade egrets and deer has yet to be reported from a Liao tomb. Because of the nomadic origin of the Qidan, animals and birds, especially hunting scenes, were the most likely subjects to be chosen for motifs. We know that egrets were used as a motif for bronze belt-plaques and the waist ornament of the Princess of Chen, but not in jade. Considering the existence of bronze belt-plaques as a model for carving in jades and the popularity of egret motifs in the Liao, carving egrets in jade should not be implausible in the Liao Dynasty. In addition, it is surprising that deer motifs seem currently absent in jade carving from Liao tombs. As we have seen earlier, stags almost always appear as a principal motif for nomads. Deer were also indispensable prey to the Qidan for their *nabo* 捺钵 seasonal hunting. *Nabo* is a migratory system, in order to engage in hunting and fishing at temporary places on a seasonal basis.¹⁸¹ It was

information.

¹⁷⁷ The excavated jade ornaments from the beginning of the Jin found in the tomb in Figures 5.62a and 5.62b are from Beijing, which was a former Liao territory. For the Liao jades, see James C.Y. Watt, "Jade Carving in China from the Tenth to Fourteenth Centuries", in *Chinese Jades*, London, 1997, p.193, 195.

¹⁷⁸ For their relationship, see Chapter Seven.

¹⁷⁹ Ye Longli, *op. cit.*, juan 21, p.280, juan 26, p.329.

¹⁸⁰ *Ibid.*

¹⁸¹ LS, juan 31, ying zhishang, p.361. According to the *History of the Liao*, *nabo* means *xingying* 行营, and also denotes a temporary residence for hunting for the Emperor or for imperial ceremonies involving

necessary to avoid the cold during the autumn and winter and to shun the heat during the spring and summer, for people living in severe climatic areas like the desert.¹⁸² Hunting and fishing were significant activities for the Qidan as a nomadic ceremonial practice, as is clear from the official records. According to the *History of the Liao*, in the Spring *nabo*, the Emperor wore a jade belt, and released falcons and hawks to catch wild geese and swans, while deer and tigers were hunted in an Autumn grove and mountains at the Autumn *nabo*.¹⁸³ The four seasons of the *nabo* are well-depicted in tombs and mural paintings of the Qingling Liao Imperial Mausoleums, of Shengzong 圣宗 (r. AD 982-1031), Xingzong 兴宗 (r. AD 1031-1055) and Daozong 道宗 (r. AD 1055-1101) in Eastern Mongolia.¹⁸⁴ Comparing these tomb mural paintings, some scholars believe that the paintings 'Herd of Deer in an Autumnal Grove' and 'Herd of Deer in a Maple Grove' in the National Palace Museum, Taiwan, were originally presented to the Northern Song court by the Liao Emperor, Xingzong, and that they connote nomadic and imperial symbolism with an ethnic cultural identity. This is discussed in an account of the painting 'Thousand-horned stag' by Guo Ruoxu of the Song.¹⁸⁵ Thus, the deer meant much to the Qidan, and it is curious that deer motifs in jade are absent from the excavation reports, in contrast to the ancient nomads, the Xiongnu, who possessed personal ornaments such as gold headdress/hat finials bearing stag motifs. As with the enigma of the absence of deer motifs in jade, it can be considered that egrets carved in jade may exist but have yet to be discovered. Considering the advanced technique of Liao jade carving, for example, Figures 5.59 and 5.60, an earring of a flying deity and cups,¹⁸⁶ it is further puzzling why the deer motif in jade during the Liao period is absent.¹⁸⁷ In particular, if we consider the Song official record of the tribute of the jade egret belt from Koryŏ to Emperor Shenzong (r. AD 1067-1085), it is reasonable to assume that the Liao required jade tribute from Koryŏ,

fishing and hunting. Yet scholars are not agreed about the term.

¹⁸² LS, juan 32, xingying, p.373.

¹⁸³ LS, juan 32, chunnabo, p.373, qiunabo, p.374.

¹⁸⁴ Tamura, *op. cit.*, colour pl. 6, 7, 8, 9.

¹⁸⁵ Zao Xingyuan, "Deer For the Palace: A Reconsideration of the Deer in an Autumn Forest Paintings", in *Arts of the Sung and Yuan*, New York, 1996, p.199. Guo Ruoxu, ed., *op. cit.*, p.85.

¹⁸⁶ For jade earrings and cups, see ZYQ:5, pl.134, 137, 138.

¹⁸⁷ Jade openwork carved in high relief with deer motif has been unearthed from a Song tomb (Figure 5.63).

who seem to have possessed sophisticated techniques of jade carving. However, we are unable to discover any mention that Koryŏ presented any jade artefacts to the Liao in the historical official records, despite the fact that the Liao received tribute such as falcons (or hawks) in frequent visits made by Koryŏ.¹⁸⁸ Furthermore, it should be noted that Song craftsmen were captured by the Liao when they invaded the South¹⁸⁹ so that the foundation of working with jades was presumably consolidated from the beginning of the dynasty. This can be attested by several Liao jade artefacts that are reminiscent of Tang jades.

A final point to make in this section is regarding the term '*sidingmao*' 四頂帽. According to the *History of the Liao*, Emperor Daozong 道宗 granted '*sidingmao*' and '*ersepao*' 二色袍 (robe with two colours) to Yelü Chongyuan 耶律重元, an uncle of the Emperor.¹⁹⁰ Zhang Guangwen suggests this '*sidingmao*' can be interpreted as a hat decorated with four finials or something related to hat finials.¹⁹¹ Because '*ding*' is also a numerative term used for hats it may also be related to the numbering of hat finials.¹⁹² However, in the light of the Yuan pictorial images of square hats like lamp shades (*walengmao* 瓦楞帽) (Figure 5.64a), it seems likely that with the four corners at the top (*ding*) it can be considered as a 'hat with four tops' (*sidingmao*, '*ding*' meaning also a top and a finial) and that it might be the name of a hat during the Liao period. A 'hat with four hat finials' does not sound very convincing to this author. Four different types of hats might have been given to Yelü Chongyuan, if we translate literally, although it is questionable why the Emperor should grant only this number of hats to him. Zhao Yi 趙翼, the Qing historian, interpreted '*sidingmao*' in the Liao record as a hat finial, and explains that the system of hat finials originated from the Liao, without providing any

¹⁸⁸ LS, juan 21, *Qingning yuannian*, p.252, juan 70, biao 8, *shuguobiao*, p.1126, 1142, 1146, 1159, 1160-1, 1162-5, 1168-71, 1175-6 and so forth. According to Xie Zhaozhe of the Ming, a Chinese falcon can never compete with a falcon trained by Koryŏ (Xie Zhaozhe, *Wuzazu*, 1616, reprint, Shanghai, 1959, vol.1, juan 9, wubu 1, p.254).

¹⁸⁹ LS, juan 116, *guoyujie*, zhi, p.1545.

¹⁹⁰ LS, juan 112, *yelüchongyuan*, p.1502. "道宗即位, 册為皇太叔, 免拜不名, 為天下兵馬大元帥, 復賜金券, 四頂帽, 二色袍, 尊寵所未有."

¹⁹¹ Zhang Guangwen, letter to the author, April, 2002.

¹⁹² *Ibid.*

evidence.¹⁹³ It seems still debatable accordingly. Although there is no agreed theory of this term, it is at least conceivable that a variety of unique hats and hat finials might have been created or brought from a foreign country to the Liao, perhaps from the West, which may suggest that this prepared for a vogue in hat finials in the Yuan Dynasty. Furthermore, a square hat similar to the *walengmao* was depicted in late Liao tomb murals in the Hure Banner 库伦旗, with a white finial in a unique shape attached (Figure 5.64b).¹⁹⁴ There is indeed some evidence of the wearing of hat finials in the Liao Dynasty, but it seems unlikely that it was institutionalised.

5.9 Jade Hat Ornaments in the Jin

After having defeated the Liao, the Jin appropriated the official dress system from the Liao, following basically the Nuzhen style (i.e. *hufu*). Yet, as in the case of the Liao, the Jin set up dress codes in accordance with the Song system after conquering the northern territory of the Song, which extended its territory further South than the Liao had occupied.¹⁹⁵ By the reign of Zhangzong 章宗 (r. AD 1189-1208), the dress code was at last complete.¹⁹⁶

According to the historical record, *DaJin guozhi*, Jin men and women's attire was the following:

The Jin people favoured wearing clothes of a white colour. They wore long hair plaited and trailing over their shoulders, which differed from the Liao. They wore gold rings and their hair was tied at the back of the head with coloured thread or decorated with gold and gems by the rich. Women coiled up their plaited hair into buns and did not wear *guan*. After having destroyed the Liao and invaded the Song, they gradually applied patterns and decoration to their attire. Women wore hat such as '*xiaoyaojin*' depending on their preference. Yet, the style of their traditional clothes was still more

¹⁹³ Zhao Yi, *Gaiyucongkao*, 1790, facsimile reprint, Taipei, 1970, juan 33, p.10 (*maoding*). "遼史 重元傳 興宗賜重元四頂帽二色袍訓帽頂之制并始於遼也." However, the *History of the Liao* recorded that Yelü Chongyuan received *sidingmao* from Emperor Daozong, not from Xingzong (LS, *loc. cit.*).

¹⁹⁴ See also fig. 3:1 in Feng Enxue, "Neimeng Kulun (or Hure) 6, 7 hao Liaomu bihua de renwu shenfen", *Beifanwenwu*, 1999, no. 3.

¹⁹⁵ LS, juan 43, yufuzhong, p.975. The territory south of the Huaishui 淮水 included Hebei, Shanxi, Shandong, parts of Shaanxi, Henan, Anhui, Jiangsu and Gansu.

¹⁹⁶ *Ibid.*

respected.¹⁹⁷

As we discussed, the *xiaoyaojin* was a Liao hat attached with jade ornaments in a random arrangement. It is apparent from this record that wealthy Jin men and women decorated their hats with gold, jades and gems. The *History of the Jin* describes in detail the decoration of their hat:

The hat (*toujin* 头巾) is made of light silk or net, and its upper part made in a square shape (*fangding* 方顶), and the top folded and hung down towards the rear side of the head. The two corners of *fangding* were attached with square shaped light silk of two *cun* (i.e. about 6.2 cm) in length, and ties of six to seven *cun* (i.e. about 18.6 to 21.7 cm) long each added below. Either side of the hat was made in pleats. Men of prominence can decorate with precious or semi-precious stones (*zhu* 珠) sewn in cruciform onto the top of the hat, of which the largest one (in the centre) was called 'dingzhu' 顶珠. By each side of the tie, *zhu* were placed in a line and tied with *shou* 绶 (ribbon bearing emblems) half the length of the tie, and hanging down. This is the gift to King Hailing 海陵王 (r. AD 1149-61) of the Jin, granted to Daxingguo 大兴国.¹⁹⁸

What is immediately clear from this prescription for king, nobles, officials and commoners are two important points. First, the finial ornament on the top of the hat was not called a 'maoding' but a 'dingzhu' in the Jin period. Second, the type of hat with *dingzhu* of the Jin is described. It is likely to be 'sidaijin' 四带巾 (*jin* with four ties) for the ordinary dress of the Jin people.¹⁹⁹ This hat could be associated with Figure 5.65a unearthed from the tomb of a Prince of Qi State. In addition, according to Tori Ryuzo concerning a stone statue of Yagou 亚沟, Acheng 阿城, the helmet of a warrior wearing *hufu* is decorated with a large jade and a characteristic plume.²⁰⁰ Thus, it is clear that Jin dignitaries wore *dingzhu* customarily on the hat. Now, what kind of

¹⁹⁷ Wen Maozhao, *Da Jin guozhi xiaozheng*, Song, annotated by Cui Wenyin, reprint, Beijing, 1986, vol.2, p.552-3 (nannityiguan). "金俗好衣白. 髻髮垂肩, 與契丹異. 垂金環, 留顛後髮, 繫以色絲. 富人用珠金飾. 婦人髻髮盤髻, 亦無冠. 自滅遼侵宋, 漸有文飾. 婦人或襲「逍遙巾」, 或襲頭巾, 隨其所好. 至于衣服, 尚如舊俗."

¹⁹⁸ JS, juan 43, yifutongzhi, p.984. "巾之制, 以皂羅若紗為之, 上蟬結方頂, 折垂于後, 頂之下際兩四角各綴方羅徑二寸許, 方羅之下各附帶長六七寸, 當橫額之上, 或為一縮縫積, 貴顯者於方頂, 循十字縫飾以珠, 其中必貫以大者, 謂之頂珠. 帶旁各絡珠結綬, 長半帶, 垂之, 海陵賜大興國者是也."

¹⁹⁹ JS, juan 43, yifutongzhi, p.984.

²⁰⁰ Tori Ryuzo, "Jin Shangjingcheng ji jiwenhua", vol. 1, *Yanjing xuebao*, no.35, 1948, p.144. "此武士身著胡服, 頭戴盔... 盔頂附有甚大之玉, 於玉後可見其確垂特有之毛形." However, it seems that further investigation will be required to identify whether the decoration on the helmet is jade.

designs and motifs were used for these?

There is a crucial description regarding jade motifs of this period. The *History of the Jin* records that, "jade was the best material for ornaments (i.e. belt plaque) of *tugu* 吐鵒 (term of belts in the Jin), and gold, rhinoceros horn and ivory followed. Its carving mostly depicted motifs like 'chunshui qiushan' 春水秋山."²⁰¹ This is the earliest record regarding a motif of 'chunshui qiushan' applied to jades. Besides, this motif of the 'chunshui qiushan' was well-explained in the record: "The colour of dress was mostly white, gold embroidery was applied on the breast and sleeves. 'Chunshui' dress is decorated with patterns of falcons and eagles attacking wild geese or swans, with a variety of flowers and leaves, while 'qiushan' dress denotes patterns decorated with bears and deer in the grove. The length of dress reached to the legs, and it was suitable for horse riding."²⁰² Celebration of hunts was significant not only for Qidan but also for Nuzhen. The Jin inherited the *nabo* system from the Liao, yet the Jin hawks and falcons had been well-known to the Liao and had been crucial tribute for them.²⁰³ As we saw in nomad practice earlier, motifs of animal combat or attack were universally favoured by them, relating to their life style. It can be said that the ancient typical nomadic motif of 'animal combat' was revived in the style of the Liao and the Jin, as a 'hunting or attacking scene'. Both motifs created by ancient nomads and semi-nomadic peoples of the middle ages show strong ethnic cultural identity. It is reasonable that their characteristic motifs should be ultimately applied to jade, which though not a conventional material for the ancient nomads became widely popularized among them through cultural exchange with China. However, it should be noted that currently no tomb has been excavated from the Liao and the Jin period containing jade artefacts bearing the typical motif of an 'attacking scene', although there are surviving examples that are dated as Jin Dynasty in the Qing Court Collection.²⁰⁴ Yang Boda suggests that

²⁰¹ JS, juan 43, yifudongzhi, p.985. "吐鵒, 玉為上, 金次之, 犀象骨角又次之, ...其刻琢多如春水秋山之飾."

²⁰² JS, juan 24, yifudongzhi, p.984. "其衣色多白... 其胸臆肩袖, 或飾以金繡, 其從春水之服則多鵒捕鵒, 雜花卉之飾, 其從秋山之服則以熊鹿山林為文, 其長中胛, 取便於騎也."

²⁰³ Ye Longji, *op. cit.*, p.330 (Nuzhenguo).

²⁰⁴ ZMQ:Y9, pl.257. ZYQ:5, pl.156-7, 8.

the 'falcon attacking swan or wild goose' motif may be a Jin creation.²⁰⁵

5.9.1 Techniques of Jade Openwork Carving in High Relief of the Jin

In the Liao, the discovery of openwork jades in two level carving has yet to be reported by archaeologists, however this is not the case with the Jin Dynasty, for jade examples can be dated as early as the beginning of the Jin. In addition, it is most likely that the technique of jade carving of the Northern Song was brought to the Jin court when the Jin invaded and skilled workers were carried off to Jin.²⁰⁶ As supporting evidence, Figures 5.62a and 5.62b have been assumed to belong to the tomb in Beijing of a Han Chinese official's family of the Jin.²⁰⁷ Therefore, jades from this Jin tomb are considered to date to the end of both the Northern Song and Liao Dynasties and to the beginning of the Jin Dynasty. They should be categorized as examples of Jin jade, based on the archaeological report, although *Zhongguo meishu quanji* and *Zhongguo yuqi quanji* catalogue them as Northern Song.²⁰⁸ Likewise, both Figures 5.63 and 5.66 were unearthed from Xi'an and dated as Song in *Zhongguo yuqi quanji*.²⁰⁹ According to Xu Lin, although Figure 5.66 was from an unscientific excavation, it is possibly from a Northern Song tomb according to the recent examination of an expert,²¹⁰ but it is undecided whether the object is Northern or Southern Song in date. However, even if both Figure 5.63 and 5.66 were archaeologically identified as from tombs of the Southern Song period, the place Xi'an belonged to Jin territory at that period so that both excavated pieces are Jin jades. It is, indeed, the case that Figure 5.63 can be said to have a characteristic motif of the Han Chinese, in its combination of bamboo leaves and *lingzhi* fungus, but it is not possible to judge the ownership of jade only from motifs, as the deer was a significant motif to the Liao and Jin, too, although the associations of deer for them were totally different to those of the Han Chinese. The deer was

²⁰⁵ Yang Boda, "Haidongqing gu bu tian baiyuhuan", *Zhongguo wenwu bao*, January 11, 1990, p.4.

²⁰⁶ JS, juan 2, tianfu qinian, p.41.

²⁰⁷ Zhang Xiande and Huang Xiuchun, "Beijingshi Fangshanxian faxian shiguomu", *Wenwu*, 1977, no.6, p.71. See also other unearthed jades from this tomb in ZMQ:Y9, pl.236, 238-40.

²⁰⁸ ZMQ:Y9, pl.237, 241. ZYQ:5, pl.81, 84.

²⁰⁹ ZYQ:5, p.265-6 (pl.128,129). See also pl.85 (p.251).

²¹⁰ Xu Lin, "Qian Yu mu chutu 'Chunshui' yu ji xiangguan tuhualci yuqide yongtu he dingming tantao", in *Zhongguo Sui zhi Qing Yuqi xueshu taolunhui*, Lunwen mulu (zhong). Shanghai, 2001, p.5.

appreciated by the Han Chinese as an immortal animal because of its longevity, and the word for deer (*lu* 鹿) sounded the same as *lu* 禄 (official emolument), so that deer became an allegory of prosperity as well as an emblem of longevity.²¹¹

There is an intriguing example regarding auspicious meaning unearthed from the Jin tombs of Wugulun Wolun 乌古论窝论, in Beijing (Figure 5.67). A jade ornament depicts two large lotus leaves and two tortoises on each leaf, carved in openwork in high relief. Under the lotus leaves, stems of lotus and reeds are intertwined. This is usually called 'guiyou' 龟游 design.²¹² This ornament seems to be in pairs since two identical pieces were excavated.²¹³ The combination of the motif of tortoise and lotus reminds the author of the auspicious 'yilulianke' and 'yijiyiming', discussed in Chapter Four. Although egrets are absent here, the pronunciation of reed is *lu* 芦 so that the reed can be a replacement for *lu*, egret. The Wugulun Wolun tombs are four family tombs, of a Princess of Lu 鲁 State and her consort, Wugulun Yuanzhong 乌古论元忠, his father Wolun 窝论 and two unknown members of the Wugulun family, unearthed in 1980.²¹⁴ Figure 5.67 was from the tomb of Wolun. The four family tombs had already been rifled, yet Wolun's tomb was comparatively well-preserved.²¹⁵ This Wugulun family had a close relationship with the Jin royal family, and Yuanzhong had been instrumental in establishing the *jinshike* 进士科 (the most difficult examination of the *keju* but the most promising for a future career) in the Chinese civil service examinations (*keju*) in the reign of Shizong 世宗 (r. AD 1161-1189).²¹⁶ Although the jade pieces were from the grave of Wolun, the father of Yuanzhong, who may have had no connection with the examinations, the *keju* had already been instituted in the civil service examinations in AD 1123.²¹⁷ In the light of the difficulty of the *keju*, the motif of the jade possibly reflected the Chinese auspicious meaning, judging from its being found in Beijing and

²¹¹ Tokyo National Museum, *Jixiang – Auspicious Motifs in Chinese Art*, Tokyo, 1998, p.249 (no.215).

²¹² ZMQ:Y9, p.90 (pl.256).

²¹³ Beijingshi wenwu gongzuodui, "Beijing Jinmu fajue jianbao", *Beijing wenwu yu kaogu*, 1983, no. 1, p.59.

²¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p.55.

²¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p.68

²¹⁶ Zhao Fusheng *et al.*, "Jindai Wugulun Wolun, Wugulun Yuanzhong ji Luguodachanggongzhu muzhi gaoshi", *Beijing wenwu yu kaogu*, 1983, no.1, p.83-4.

²¹⁷ Mikami Tsugio, *Kinshikenkyu 3 Kindaiseijishakai no kenkyu*, Tokyo, 1973, p.361-2.

the fact that the Jin defined their state as Confucian and that Confucianism was the essential subject of the *keju*.²¹⁸ It would not be surprising if this type of motif bearing auspicious meanings for the *keju* was used by the Jin. The tortoise has also the auspicious meaning of 'longevity' for the Chinese. Taking into account the traditional motifs of the Jin, the tortoise is unlikely to be a typical motif of the Jin but rather of the Han Chinese.²¹⁹ Wolun's date of death is assumed to be no earlier than AD 1139 when his son Yuanzhong was born,²²⁰ therefore the jade ornament would be an early example of a Jin piece. Thus, Chinese tastes appear in Jin jade from the early Jin period, and the Jin had acquired the technique of carving openwork jade in high-relief in the early stage of the dynasty, as Figures 5.62a and 5.62b show.

Judging from excavation examples alone, it is necessary to wait for further archaeological reports to learn whether or not the technique of jade openwork carving in two tier high-relief existed in the Northern Song Dynasty. The jade egret belt that was a gift from Koryō to the Northern Song was possibly carved in high relief, but it is unclear whether the Northern Song ever reached the same level of jade carving technique as Koryō, as it was only recorded that the Northern Song copied the belt in gold.²²¹ There are some examples of jade carved in high relief from Southern Song tombs in Sichuan,²²² yet they seem to be inferior to the Jin in technique and unsophisticated (Figure 5.68) compared to the Jin examples in our figures. If the Jin had a more advanced jade carving skill than the Northern Song, it can be interpreted that the technique of jade openwork carving in high relief was actually transmitted to the Southern Song from the north, based on current archaeological tomb reports. Zhang

²¹⁸ Xizong 熙宗 (r. 1135-1149) built a Confucian mausoleum in the Jin Capital and Zhangzong 章宗 (r. 1189-1208) was educated by a Han Chinese Confucian official in his childhood (*ibid.*, p.410, Mikami Tsugio, *Kinshikenkyū 2 Kindaiseijiseido no kenkyū*, Tokyo, 1970, p.557).

²¹⁹ Fish were a motif of jades in the Liao and the Jin.

²²⁰ Zhao Fusheng *et al.*, *op. cit.*, p.83.

²²¹ SS, juan 464, p.13573. The *History of the Koryō* records that a set of jade carved belt-plaques with playing children motif was presented to Koryō from Emperor Shenzong in 1078 (KS, chi, juan 72, yufu 1, p.561). However, archaeologists have not reported this type of belt-plaque in openwork before the Ming.

²²² For example, Huaying 华莹, Guanghan 广汉 and a tomb in Xigongqiao village 西拱桥村, Peng'an county 蓬安县, Sichuan. The tombs were not excavated scientifically and relics were brought together later (Qiu Dengchen *et al.*, "Sichuan Guanghan NanSong Jiaocang yuqi", in ZSTQY, p.21 and Zheng Youlin and Li Li, "Sichuan Peng'anxian Xigongqiaocun Songmu jianshu", in ZSTQY, p.31).

Guangwen, curator at the Palace Museum, Beijing, suggests that it is possible that the jade carving technique in high relief gradually spread into the Southern Song from the north, judging from the Jin jades unearthed from the Wugulun Wolun tombs.²²³ It is indeed possible that the technique was transmitted at the very end of the Northern Song and the beginning of the Jin from Koryŏ, judging from the Koryŏ's tribute of the jade egret belt to the Northern Song and the relationship between Koryŏ and the Jin.²²⁴ The points are that, first, we do not have the distinctive evidence in archaeological reports or in the historical sources that the Northern Song and the Liao had acquired such technique. Secondly, because the Jin were behind the Northern Song in terms of cultural development, the Jin captured Northern Song craftsmen when they invaded.²²⁵ It is, therefore, inconceivable that the Jin had originally possessed such a high technique of jade carving. If we consider the advanced technique of jade carving in the neighbouring countries of the Jin, it is reasonable to consider Koryŏ, too, as a source of jade carving technique transmitted to Jin. Figures 5.62a and 62b, examples from the transitional period, will be critical in the search for the origin of two-tier openwork carving technique in Jin. A number of openwork carvings in high relief of the Koryŏ period show a close resemblance in appearance and style to the Jin and Southern Song jades (Figures 5.68 and 5.69a). A jade openwork ornament of similar shape to the Koryŏ example was also unearthed from the Yuan joint tomb of Cao Yuanyong and his wife in Shandong province (Figure 5.69b). According to the excavation report, the piece was discovered above the head of Cao Yuanyong,²²⁶ which is suggestive of an ornament for a head. Geographically, Shandong province is just across the Yellow Sea from the Korean peninsula, which was one of the main sea-routes to Song China from the Koryŏ.²²⁷ The discovery of similar jade ornaments in Shandong in the Yuan and in Koryŏ Korea suggests the jade cultural exchange between China and Korea in that period. Among not a few Koryŏ examples, a pair of jade openwork ornaments with a

²²³ Zhang Guangwen, letter to the author, March 30, 2002.

²²⁴ Discussion of the Koryŏ jades and the relations between the Jin and Koryŏ will follow in Chapter Seven.

²²⁵ JS, juan 2, tianfu qinian, p.41.

²²⁶ Shandongsheng Jiningdiqu wenwuju, "Shandong Jiaxiangxian Yuandai Cao Yuanyongmu qinglijianbao", *Kaogu*, 1983, no.9, p.804.

²²⁷ SS, juan 487, liezhuan 246, p. 14046. "往時高麗入往反皆白登州."

motif of 'falcon attacking swan' was also discovered, raising a question whether the design of the motif was part of the cultural identity of the Koryŏ people or had been imported to Koryŏ by the Liao and the Jin people who surrendered and were naturalized to the Koryŏ Dynasty.²²⁸ Korea historically maintained a jade tradition, and the excellence of Koryŏ craftsmanship was described by Xu Jing 徐兢, a Chinese envoy of the Northern Song, during his stay in Kaesong (Capital of Koryŏ) in AD 1123.²²⁹ Therefore, it is possible that Koryŏ contributed to the jade culture in China of that period.

5.9.2 Usage of the Jade Ornament

A number of carved openwork jade ornaments were unearthed from Jin tombs (Figures 5.70, 5.71, and 5.72). They could be widely used as personal ornaments, pendants, belt ornaments, ornamental plaques, dress and hair ornaments, and for other purposes. Figure 5.67 also belongs to this category.²³⁰ In fact, this type of jade categorized just as 'ornaments' is known in large numbers. This type of ornament remained unclassified until the tomb of the Prince of Qi 齊 State was discovered. As we see in Figure 5.65a, this find proves that this type of jade ornament can be categorised a decoration for a hat. Especially clearly in Figure 5.67 and in not a few examples from Koryŏ jades, a pair of jade ornaments can be assumed to be for a hat of this period like the one in Figure 5.65a. As we discussed earlier, the *History of the Jin* specified that elderly women were likely to wear *xiaoyaojin* which covered the bun with a black hair net decorated with jade ornaments in a random arrangement:²³¹ it was called a 'random *jin*'.²³² A good example of this will be Figures 5.73a and 5.73b unearthed from a tomb of Qi State that belonged to a wife of the Prince. It is almost certain that her hat belongs to a category of *xiaoyaojin*, corresponding to the record. However, the hat of the Prince is different to

²²⁸ Further discussion will follow in Chapter Seven.

²²⁹ For example, Xu Jing describes the Koryŏ *zhan* 瓊 (a small cup, which could have been jade) as similar to the *zhan* in China but deeper and with gold decoration around the rim. He says that the inlaid decoration is of exceedingly fine workmanship. His high praise of the Koryŏ celadon ware, describing its colour as the colour of jade, is famous (Xu Jing, *op. cit.*, juan 30, p.2, panzhan and juan 32, p.2, taohu).

²³⁰ See also a jade bird amid flowers unearthed from the tomb of Wugulun Wolun in our Figure 7.28.

²³¹ JS, juan 43, yifutongzhi, p.985.

²³² *Ibid.*

his wife's in terms of the attachment of four ties. As pointed out by Zhao Pingchun and Chi Benyi, it is almost equivalent to the style of a *futou* (black kerchief covering head), especially of the Later Zhou (AD 951-960).²³³ A *futou* in the Song seems to be called a *sidaijin* in the Jin. The Prince's hat, *sidaijin*, is also decorated with jade ornaments. Zhao Pingchun and Chi Benyi suggest a term for the jade ornaments of the hats of the Prince and his wife, '*nayan*' 纳言, a term for a clasp at the rear of the hat, and discusses that it is a traditional ornament in the Chinese style.²³⁴ According to the *History of the Song*, a carved jade ornament attached to a *jin* 巾 (*nianyu jinhuan* 碾玉巾环) was a personal adornment worn by the Jin rulers with ordinary dress.²³⁵ Ye Ziqi, the Ming writer of *Caomuzi*, says that '*jin huan*' 巾环 were worn by the Jin.²³⁶ Judging from these two records and jade ornaments unearthed from Jin tombs, the '*jin huan*' may indicate the ornaments adorning a *jin*, so that jade hat ornaments in the Jin characteristic style seem to have generally been known as '*jin huan*' by the Song people, rather than '*nayan*'.²³⁷ However, the Chinese word, '*huan*' is also likely to be a 'ring' shape, like the gold ring attached to the *jin* in Figure 5.73a. The term for this jade ornament is therefore still debatable. Moreover, attaching jade ornaments to hats like *jin* seems uncommon for the Han Chinese before the Ming, as far as the pictorial evidence allows us to judge (Figure 5.74).

The tomb of the *Qi* Prince and his wife is dated to AD 1162, the early to middle period of the Jin,²³⁸ which may suggest that the wife's *xiaoyaojin* was in the taste of the Liao. The hat of Lady Wenji in Figure 5.58 is decorated with a jade-like ornament in a position just above her ear. It is reasonable to consider that these ornaments were designed to decorate the hat in pairs, one on each side above the ears, as in Figure 5.65a.

²³³ Zhao Pingchun and Chi Benyi, *Jindai fushi*, Beijing, 1998, p.6. Shen Kua, *op. cit.*, in *SQ*, vol.862, p.711-2.

²³⁴ *Ibid.*, p.7.

²³⁵ *SS*, juan 154, yufu 6, bao, p.3589-90. "...皆其故宗顏守緒常服之物也。碾玉巾環一，…佩玉大環一，皆非宗庶服用之物。"

²³⁶ Ye Ziqi, *Caomuzi*, Ming, reprint, Beijing, 1959, p.61.

²³⁷ In the beginning of the Ming, a *jin huan* with gold, jade, coral and amber was restricted by regulation to commoners and officials below the ninth rank (*MS*, juan 67, shuren guanju, p.1649). This may suggest a fashion during the Yuan that derived originally from the Jin.

²³⁸ Heilongjiangsheng wenwukaogu yanjiusuo, "Heilongjiang Acheng Juyuan Jindai Qi guowangmu fajue jianbao". *Wenwu*, 1989, no.10, p.10. Zhao Pingchun and Chi Benyi, *op. cit.*, p.52.

Lady Wenji's hat is likely to be a type of *xiaoyaojin*, based on the records and Figure 5.73a. It is therefore possible that wearing jade ornaments for hat may have originally derived from the Liao *xiaoyaojin*.

5.9.3 Hat Finials

Decorating hats with jades seems to have been a common practice for nobles especially in the Jin, and the motif of jades was frequently '*chunshui*' and '*qiushan*', as part of their cultural identity. Accordingly, jades carved with such motifs tend to be frequently related to the Jin, or to around that period, and are likely to be mostly used as ornaments for the hat and belt. There are inherited jade finials bearing such motifs carved in multiple layered openwork style. However, the discovery of multiple layered openwork jades bearing such motifs has not been reported yet from any Jin archaeological site. Although jade finials might have been attached on the top of the hat, as '*dingzhu*', there is no clear evidence to support the existence of the technique of multiple layered openwork carving in the Jin Dynasty, at present.

Considering the type of hats for jade finials, *jin* like *futou* and *xiaoyaojin* may not be suitable to support three dimensional multiple layered openwork carved jade pieces, as the round top of the hat was made of thin, rigid and smooth materials such as lacquered textile. Nomads on horseback were in intensive motion. In the light of examples of the Xiongnu nomads, finials are reasonably suitable to attach to soft materials such as felt and fur because these materials are stable.²³⁹ The Jin people of the north preferred hats made of fur. As the *Dajinguozhi* records, fur and leather were necessary in cold winds and snowstorms.²⁴⁰ For autumn and winter, the rich dressed in marten, squirrels, fox, Asian raccoon and lamb, while the poor had cow, horse, pig, sheep, cat, dog, fish, snake and deer skins.²⁴¹ It is recorded that hats worn by the rich were made of lamb's wool and wolf skin.²⁴² Typical hats seem to be *damao* 鞞帽 (leather hat with an animal's tail attached to the rim and the top) and *diaomao* 貂帽 (hat decorated with a rim of

²³⁹ I am grateful to Mr Nakano Toru, director at the Kuboso Kinenkan, Osaka, for this advice.

²⁴⁰ Wen Maozhao, *op. cit.*, p.553.

²⁴¹ *Ibid.*

²⁴² Song Dejin, *Jindai de shehuishenghua*, Xi'an, 1988, p.58.

marten's fur).²⁴³ A king wearing this type of *humao* hat decorated with golden phoenix-head finial can be seen in Figure 5.50. Therefore this type of hats were probably attached with hat finials.

The possibility that hat finials were worn in the Jin may be considered. A figurine of a child wearing a *walengmao* 瓦楞帽 was unearthed from a Jin tomb in Jiaozuo 蕉作, Henan province, and there is a hole on the top of the hat which suggests that the original hat finial is missing (Figure 5.75).²⁴⁴ The *walengmao* of the Yuan Dynasty with a hat finial in Figure 5.64a suggests that jade hat finials for this type of hat were worn by the Jin. It is never necessary to have multiple layered openwork jade hat finials, and it is reasonable to consider that jade finials without openwork were primarily worn, in view of the technical accomplishment of the jade pieces found in Jin tombs.

5.10 Jade Finials in the Yuan Dynasty

The pluralism of the Mongol Yuan's vast empire promoted advances in Chinese art and culture. Jade carving was no exception and achieved a certain level of craftsmanship over previous dynasties. The Mongols extended from their homeland on the Mongolian steppes to encompass much of Asia, stretching from Korea to western Russia in the north and from Vietnam to Syria in the south. This facilitated large scale cultural and artistic diffusion – Dali, the Jin, the Liao, the Southern Song, the Xixia, Tibet, all were united under the Mongols. The Yuan court saw the production of both religious and secular art on a large scale.²⁴⁵ The greatest expansion of trade and tribute in Eurasian history was described by Marco Polo. An enormous quantity of luxury items, raw materials, rare supplies and products were brought to the Yuan Capital, Dadu, present day Beijing.²⁴⁶ The Mongols made land and sea routes widely accessible to trade without frontier-crossings, and ensured a 'jade road' to Dadu from the traditional jade

²⁴³ Liu Yonghua, *op. cit.*, p.153.

²⁴⁴ Henansheng bowuguan and Jiaozuoshi bowuguan, "Henan Jiaozuo Jin mu fajue jianbao", *Wenwu*, 1979, no.8, p.7-8.

²⁴⁵ Craig Clunas, *Arts in China*, Oxford, 1997, p.65.

²⁴⁶ For example, at New Year, Khubilai was presented gold, silver, pearls, jewels and white textiles by each of his subordinate regions and kingdoms (Ricci, Aldo, *The Travels of Marco Polo, translated into English from the Text of L.F. Benedetto*, trans. and annotated by Otagi Matsuo, Tokyo, 2000, vol.1, p.314).

sources, Khotan and Yarkand, in present day Xinjiang.²⁴⁷

Soon after Khubilai proclaimed himself Grand Khan in Karakorum in AD 1261, the Department of Metal and Jade (*Jin Yu ju* 金玉局) state-run jade workshops were set up in Dadu.²⁴⁸ To begin with, three thousand craftsmen of metal work and jade and agate carving were brought to Dadu from Helin 和林 (west of present day Ulan Bator, Mongolia) and different Routes.²⁴⁹ Helin was an important jade workshop in the early Yuan period, and was later transferred to Hangzhou.²⁵⁰ *Zongguanfu* of Metal and Jade-Workers (*jinyurenjiang zongguanfu* 金玉人匠总管府) were upgraded in AD 1266 on the Routes, to supervise the making of crowns and hats and belts decorated with precious shells, gold and jades, and metal work.²⁵¹ That year, the Department of Jade-Workers (*yujiang ju* 玉匠局), and in AD 1278, the Department of Jade Service (*guanyu ju* 璫玉局) were instituted in Dadu.²⁵² A *zongguanfu* of Metal and Jade-Workers was set up in Hangzhou in AD 1280.²⁵³ It is evident that the Mongol rulers wished to control the supply of jades, jade craftsmen and all jade carving and that the large scale working of jade was well organized from the very beginning of their short-lived empire. The largest Yuan jade of worldwide renown, 'Du Mountain and Jade Sea' 渎山大玉海 (great jade bowl with dragons and sea creatures amidst waves) made in AD 1265 manifests that the Yuan Dynasty was doubtless of all the Chinese dynasties the era of jade culture and industry (Figure 5.76).²⁵⁴

The *History of the Yuan* reveals that jades and precious stones were lavishly used for personal adornment by the Mongol rulers and their courtiers.²⁵⁵ Jade, especially, was

²⁴⁷ YS, juan 63, dili 6, p.1563, juan 94, p.2378.

²⁴⁸ YS, juan 88, jiangzuoyuan, p.2225.

²⁴⁹ Su Tianjue, ed., *Yuanwenlei*, Yuan, in SQ, vol.1367, p.559.

²⁵⁰ Yang Boda, "The Glorious Age of Chinese Jades, the Yuan, Ming and Qing Dynasties" in Roger Keverne, ed., *Jade*, London, 1991, p.131.

²⁵¹ YS, *loc. cit.*

²⁵² *Ibid.*, p.2225-6.

²⁵³ *Ibid.*, p.2241.

²⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, juan 6, p.109. It is said that this blackish jade bowl can hold 660 gallons (3,000 litres) of wine (Yang Boda (1991), *op. cit.*, p.132). It was also noted in 'The Travels of Friar Odoric' (Sir Henry Yule K.C.S.I., *Cathay and the Way Thither*, revised by Henry Cordier, London, 1915, vol.2, p.221).

²⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, juan 78, p.1926, 1930-44.

widely employed for ornaments, on hats, garments, carriages, and as ritual tablets and imperial seals.²⁵⁶ It is recorded that a jade hat in the shape of a hibiscus flower (*yufurongguan* 玉芙蓉冠) was granted to a Daoist in Jiangnan by the Emperor in AD 1276.²⁵⁷ The Emperor had eleven kinds of winter dress, and fifteen kinds of summer dress.²⁵⁸ Costume of single colour was called 'zhisun' 质孙 and seems to have differentiated social rank by patterns, fabrics and colour.²⁵⁹ As with the Liao and Jin, Yuan costume was partially appropriated from the Han Chinese styles, for instance, from Jin and Song, and as far back as the Tang and the Han.²⁶⁰ The Mongols wore mainly *mao* and *li* hats, which both have a wide brim. According to *Caomuzi* 草木子, all officials wore hats, and the northerners used gold hat finials.²⁶¹ It seems that gold was much more commonly used by the northerners than jade. Jade and gold adornments for *mao* and *li* hats were greatly in vogue, more than in previous dynasties, which is evident from a number of pictorial images.²⁶² It is especially apparent from the *History of the Yuan* that there were many kinds of hats decorated with a variety of gems and hard stones. For example, the Emperor wore a hat decorated with a finial of seven precious stones in layers (*qibaochongding guan* 七宝重顶冠) for the winter, and in summer a *boli* 钹笠 hat with a gold phoenix-shaped finial (*baodingjinfeng boli* 宝顶金凤钹笠), a *boli* 钹笠 hat decorated with hard stones around the brim (*zhuyuanbian boli* 珠缘边钹笠), a *li* hat with a gold phoenix finial (*jinfengding li* 金凤顶笠), and a lacquered gauze hat with rear rim decorated with seven gems.²⁶³ However, these hats with finial decorations described in the *History of the Yuan* are still not enough to demonstrate the existence of jade finials that Shen Defu described. Wearing gold hat finials and headdress ornaments in the shape of mythical creatures was common practice for non Han Chinese, as we have seen earlier and examples have been unearthed from a Yuan tomb (Figures 5.77 and 5.78). However, Figure 5.78 is an

²⁵⁶ *Ibid.*

²⁵⁷ YS, juan 202, p.4526.

²⁵⁸ YS., juan 78, yufu, p.1938.

²⁵⁹ *Ibid.*

²⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, p.1929.

²⁶¹ Ye Ziqi, *loc. cit.* "官民皆带帽, 其簷或圆, 或前圆后方, 或楼子. ...北人华靡之服. 帽则金其顶."

²⁶² Commoners were prohibited to decorate their *mao* and *li* hats with gold and jade (YS, juan 53, p.2680).

unusual type for a gold finial of non Han Chinese, and its size and shape bear close resemblance to jade finials like the Ren family finial (Figure 1.1).

Before turning to a closer examination of jade hat finials, a few remarks should be made concerning hat finials with other hard stones. The surviving portraits of the Mongol Yuan rulers mostly show them wearing typical *boli* hats with a large solid red stone without carving (Figure 5.79).²⁶⁴ Surprisingly, there are no surviving portraits of emperors wearing visible jade ornaments, in spite of records.²⁶⁵ A record by Tao Zongyi of the end of the Yuan and the beginning of the Ming, entitled 'Precious Stones of the Muslims', presents a clue:

In the Muslim countries, there are precious stones of various kinds and price. During the period of *Dade* (AD 1297-1307), a wealthy Muslim merchant sold a mass of red *la* (i.e. balas ruby) stone to the Emperor. It was one *liang* 兩 three *qian* 錢 in weight (about 52g, 260 carats),²⁶⁶ and was estimated at a price of 140,000 *ding* 錠 of *zhong tong chao* 中統鈔. It was used for a setting on the top of the hat. Afterwards, it was treasured and handed down by the Mongol rulers. The Emperor always wore this finial at New Year, on birthdays, and on other solemn occasions.²⁶⁷

Thus, it is clear that a ruby stone was one of the most important hat finials for the Mongol rulers and worn on special occasions. Tao Zongyi lists other precious stones in the Muslim countries, but jade is absent. This does not mean that the Emperors did not favour jade finials; they must have had a role, and when jade finials were used may relate to when the Emperors became interested in them for their personal adornment. Hat finials represent the social status and authority of the wearer, so that when simple, plain jade stones began to be used for hat finials by the Emperors, and jade does not seem to have directly appealed to the eye of the Mongol rulers like other gem stones, it

²⁶³ *Ibid.*, p.1938.

²⁶⁴ See also James C.Y. Watt and Anne E. Wardwell, *When Silk Was Gold*, New York, 1997, cat. no.25.

²⁶⁵ Jade hat finials worn by the Mongol Yuan rulers are also not found in surviving portraits.

²⁶⁶ 1 *liang* = 40g (Yuan). 0.2g = 1 carat. Dynastic weights and measurements here based on statistics from excavated cultural relics (ZK, p.1740).

²⁶⁷ Tao Zongyi, *Nancunchuogenglü*, Yuan, reprint, Beijing, 1959, p.84. "圓回石頭，種類不一，其價亦不一。大德間，本土巨商中賣紅刺一塊於官，重一兩三錢，估直中統鈔一十四萬錠，用嵌帽頂上。自後累朝皇帝相承寶重，凡正旦及天壽節大朝賀時則服用之。"

seems likely that they were acquiring a familiarity with Chinese philosophical ideas. Jades relate to the ideas of Confucian virtue.²⁶⁸ Therefore, the fashion of jade finials, especially our examples such as egrets in lotus ponds, seems likely to correspond to the period when Confucianism became widely spread nationwide, as discussed in Chapter Four.

5.10.1 The Historical Records for Hat Finials and the Unearthed Plain Jade Finials

In the Yuan period, there seems to have been no common definite term for hat finials. At least three terms can be found in the record: ‘*baoding*’ (treasure finial 宝顶), ‘*maoding*’ (hat finial 帽顶) and ‘*yuding*’ (jade finial 玉顶). The ‘*baoding*’ was in the list of the Emperor’s summer hats in the costume regulations, as we saw earlier. Figure 5.49 of the Dali relics was also termed a ‘*baoding*’. The ‘*maoding*’ in the Yuan Dynasty, the term for hat finials used among scholars, appears just once in the *History of the Yuan* as ‘*qibao maoding*’ (七宝帽顶 hat finial with seven treasures).²⁶⁹ It was presented by *Chedu* 撒都 a Pacification Commissioner 宣慰使 in Huaidong 淮东 to Renzong (r. AD 1311-1320), the Crown Prince at that time in AD 1308, along with a jade *Guanyin* (the Goddess of Mercy), a precious belt and a saddle.²⁷⁰ ‘*Maoding*’ was widely used as a general term for hat finials in the following dynasties. Judging from this one record, the appearance of this term ‘*maoding*’ in the fourteenth century can be considered unexpectedly late.²⁷¹ ‘*Yuding*’ is used in the record of Tao Zongyi and in the Yuan drama *Heixuanfeng shuangxiangong* 黑旋风双献功 by Gao Wenxiu 高文秀. Tao Zongyi recorded that “When Bulian Jidai 卜怜吉歹, a king in Henan, was a Grand Councillor 丞相, he went out to the suburbs for a day. As it became hot, he wanted to change his hat (i.e. winter hat) to a summer hat. When a member of his entourage was holding the *li* hat in both hands beside him, a gust of wind blew the hat onto a stone.

²⁶⁸ Jade is related also to Daoism in terms of immortality.

²⁶⁹ YS, juan 24, Renzong yi, p.537.

²⁷⁰ *Ibid.*

²⁷¹ ‘*Mao*’ was originally explained as a barbarian hat, as in *Shuowenjiezi*, therefore the term ‘*maoding*’ can be literally understood as finials for the hats of foreign attire, suggesting that the custom of wearing hat finials was brought from outside China. The late appearance of this term ‘*maoding*’ in the Chinese dynastic record can be explained as due to the fact that it is not until the Yuan Dynsty that the custom had become fully accepted in China.

The jade hat finial (*yuding*) granted by the Emperor broke into pieces."²⁷² In the Yuan drama, "He wore a new *li* hat made of a hemp palm fibre decorated with a jade finial (*yudingzi*),"²⁷³ What is immediately clear in these two extracts is that jade was certainly used for hat finials during the Yuan, called '*yuding*' or '*yudingzi*'. However, our examples give no detailed description of the jade motifs.

Archaeologists discovered a hat attached with a plain jade finial in Gansu province in a Mongol tomb of the Yuan period (Figure 5.80). This is the family tomb of Wang Shixian 汪世显, an important official under the Mongol regime.²⁷⁴ Two other hats attached with finials were also found in this tomb in good condition, and a pale green jade belt-hook carved in high relief with *chi*-dragon's head and a yellow silk belt were also discovered.²⁷⁵ The jade finials were simple and plain without any carving. Pictorial images of the Yuan period never depict the hat finials in detail and they appear mostly round, square, or domed in shape. Yet, it can perhaps be seen whether they are solid jade stone or carved jade finials by the shape, as the solid spherical stones were normally mounted with gold and they tend to be depicted entirely round in shape (Figure 5.81a), while openwork jade finials were possibly depicted in a dome shape (Figures 5.81b).²⁷⁶ A plain jade ornament assumed to be a hat finial has been discovered in the tomb of Qian Yu 钱裕 in Wuxi county, Jiangsu province (Figure 5.82).²⁷⁷ This tomb is dated early to middle Yuan period so that some pieces in this tomb were suggested as

²⁷² Tao Zongyi, *op. cit.*, p.185 (Henanwang). "河南王卜憐吉歹爲本省丞相時...又一日行郊,天氣且喧,王易涼帽。左右捧笠侍。風吹墮石上。擊碎御賜玉頂。王笑曰。是有數也。"

²⁷³ Gao Wenxiu, *Heixuanfeng shuangxiangong*, Yuan, in "Yuanqu xuanjiaozhu" edited by Wang Xueqi, vol.2, Hebei, 1994, p.1825 (part 2). "他戴着个玉顶子新棕笠, ..." Yu Ji of the Yuan also records '*yudingli*' 玉顶笠 (a *li* hat surmounted with a jade finial), '*baoli*' 宝笠 (a *li* hat decorated with gem stones), and '*zhumao*' 珠帽 (a hat decorated with precious or semi-precious stones) (Yu Ji, *Daoyuan xuegu lu*, Yuan, in SQ, vol. 1207, juan 23, p.340-1).

²⁷⁴ Gansusheng bowuguan and Zhangxian wenhuaguan, "Gansu Zhangxian Yuandai Wang Shixian jiazumu zang", *Wenwu*, 1982, no.2, p.1. His family held official posts, *duzongguan*, *duzongshui*, Pacification Commissioner, Route Commander, Censor-in-chief and so forth (*ibid.*).

²⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, p.5-6, pl.1:1-2, 2:1.

²⁷⁶ Figure 5.81b may not be the best example. See also portrait of 'A General of Zhengxi, Jin Shuo' 征西大元帅靳硕. He wore a white large finial on his *walengmao* hat (Shoudu bowuguan, *Yuandadu*, Beijing, 1989, p.35).

²⁷⁷ Wuxishibowuguan, "Jiangsu Wuxishi Yuanmuzhong chutu yipiwennu", *Wenwu*, 1964, no.12, p.54, fig.21.

Southern Song.²⁷⁸ As a number of personal adornments and clothes were found in this tomb without any incense burners, the plain oval-top jade ornament has been suggested as being a type of jade hat finial of the Yuan Dynasty by Xu Lin.²⁷⁹ Similar examples to this in size and shape carved with *chi*-dragons are also preserved in the Palace Museum, Beijing and there are many others in other museum collections (Figure 5.83). However, a question arises over their use. Firstly, even though there are a pair of holes in the base for attachment to the hat, this dome shape 2.5 cm in depth (5.1 cm wide and 3.5 cm high) would seem to lack stability on the top of a hat when in motion, unless set with a stand or mount. Especially, considering that the wearers were horse riders, it is not suitable for a hat finial without a stand or mount. Secondly, nearly identical jade ornaments were used as headband attachments in the Chosŏn Dynasty (AD 1392-1910), Korea (Figures 5.84a, 5.84b and 5.84c). The purpose of this ornament attached on the front of the headband was to stabilize the hat so that it would not slip.²⁸⁰ The different materials represented one's social status.²⁸¹ The hat in the Chosŏn Dynasty normally had a wide brim, like *li* hats frequently seen in the Song and the Yuan Dynasty. The reason why this type of finial in China is always solid is perhaps because the weight stabilized the hat. In the Yuan Dynasty, hats were commonly worn by officials so that headbands (*wangjin* 网巾) seem to have been in demand. Although the Mongols did not tie their hair as they were worn under the hat, it is difficult to find pictorial evidence for them. However, there is an excavated example of the *wangjin* type from the tomb of a Prince of Qi State in the Jin Dynasty.²⁸² It has been claimed that the Ming headband (*wangjin*) came from the Yuan.²⁸³ There was a great fashion for jade ornaments in the Yuan Dynasty, and it may be, if they were used without stands or mounts, that they were

²⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, p.56.

²⁷⁹ Xu Lin, "Qianyu muchutu Yuandai yuqi", *Gugong wenwu yuekan*, 1999, no.193, p.87-8. Xu Lin, "Yu maoding yu yu liding", *Wuxiwenbo*, 2001, no. 4, p.20-1.

²⁸⁰ Yu Heekyung and Park Kyungja, *Kankoku fukushoku bunkashi*, Tokyo, 1982, p.197. The headband (i.e. *manggon*) was popularized in Korea from the latter half of the Koryŏ period (Daikan minokoku bunka kohobu, *Kankoku no minzoku bunkazai*, trans. by Matsubara Takatoshi, Tokyo, 1989, p.260).

²⁸¹ Yu Heekyung and Park Kyungja, *ibid.* However, it did not indicate official ranking.

²⁸² Zhao Pingchun and Chi Benyi, *op. cit.*, pl.20.

²⁸³ Shen Congwen, *op. cit.*, p.423, 460. MS, juan 54, p.1381, juan 66, p.1620. Wang Qi, *op. cit.*, vol.4, yifu yi juan, p.1513 (*wangjin*). The pictorial image of the *wangjin* is also in *Sancai tuihui*, *op. cit.*, vol. 4, p.1513 (yifu juan 1, 20).

used for attachment on headband rather than as hat finials.²⁸⁴

5.10.2 Openwork Multiple Layered Jade Finials from Archaeological Sites

Openwork multiple layered jade finials have been discovered from Yuan tombs and sites, however little is known regarding the description of hat finials, and the Yuan records describing detailed jade motifs and their carving seem non-existent. Accordingly, they have yet to be specifically identified in tombs. As in the case of jade oval-shaped ornaments of the Qian Yu tomb, it can be postulated that there was a variety of wide ranging jade personal adornments in use during the period, which were not detailed in the record. In the pluralism of the Mongol Yuan Empire, personal ornaments must have become further diversified.

The jade openwork multiple layered finials from the tomb of the Ren family in Shanghai remain the only Yuan examples excavated (Figure 1). However, in fact, some other pieces have also been discovered in two other places, although they have not been described in archaeological reports: 1. Ten pieces were found in 1992, in an underground chamber (*digong* 地宫) below the Xilin pagoda 西林塔, Songjiang district 松江区 Shanghai (Figure 5.85)²⁸⁵; 2. Four pieces were found in 1970, at Zhangye 张掖 in Gansu province, during work on a subway.²⁸⁶ In addition to the Xilin pagoda and Zhangye finds, there are two more unearthed pieces from Ming tombs: 1. One piece was unearthed in the 1960s, from the tomb at Yuhuatai 雨花台 in Nanjing, Jiangsu province (Figure 5.86)²⁸⁷; 2. One piece was unearthed in 1979, from the joint burial of the Ming Prince Yixuan 益宣王 (Zhu Yiyin 朱翊鉞), and his two consorts at Nancheng county 南城县 in Jiangxi province (Figure 5.87).²⁸⁸ Thus, at least seventeen examples have been unearthed so far, and they were all discovered alone,

²⁸⁴ For example, the shape of the jade ornament in Qian Yu (Figure 5.82) is similar to the Korean jade openwork hat finial owned by Kwön Ŭnsu (Figure 7.64), but the Korean hat finial has a mount to attach to a hat.

²⁸⁵ Huang Xuanpei, ed., *Shanghai chutu Tang Song Yuan Ming Qing yuqi*, Shanghai, 2001, p.27, 233. A finial made of lapis lazuli was also found from this site.

²⁸⁶ Yang Boda, "Song Yuan Ming Qing yuqi jiangding siti de tantao", in ZSTQY, 2002, p.101-2.

²⁸⁷ Bai Ning, Curator at the Nanjing Municipal Museum, in a letter to the author, April 2, 2001.

²⁸⁸ Jianxisheng Wenwu gongzuodui, "Jiangxi Nancheng Ming Yixuanwang Zhu Yiyin fufu hezangmu", *Wenwu*, 1982, no.8, p.16.

without hats. It is worthwhile noting that the only jade finials are from Zhangye, Gansu province, in the north part of China where many non Han Chinese were probably living in that period.

There are a number of problems in identifying these pieces. First, as we discussed in the previous chapter, the jade finial from the Yuan tomb of the Ren family was not unearthed by archaeologists and later the relics were collected by the County. Second, the date of the jade finials from the Xilin pagoda cannot be clearly determined, owing to the history of the pagoda. The pagoda was first built during the period of Xianchun 咸淳 (AD 1265-1274), corresponding to the late Southern Song Dynasty, and reconstructed in the 22nd year of Hongwu 洪武 (AD 1389) of the Ming Dynasty.²⁸⁹ In the 9th year of Zhengtong 正統 (AD 1444), it was again reconstructed and another pagoda (*tiangong* 天宮) was built beside it in AD 1448.²⁹⁰ Thus, there is no certain evidence for accurate dating of pieces from a wide range of periods, with repeated reconstruction, apart from style.

A third problem regards the four pieces from Zhangye which Yang Boda reported were discovered together with the stone inscription of Wanshou pagoda 万寿塔.²⁹¹ The designs of the four jade pieces are, two pieces egrets and lotus, one a pair of *chi*-dragons with *lingzhi* fungus, and one a falcon attacking a pair of wild geese.²⁹² The back of the stone inscription of AD 1441 of the Ming Dynasty records treasures including '*yagu maoding*' 雅鵲帽頂 presented by officials, priests, and devout men and women.²⁹³ The inscription on the front of the stone records that the treasures were discovered in AD 1441 from the foundations of Wanshou pagoda, when the *chan* temple 禪寺 was to be built in the place of the Wanshou pagoda and the pagoda demolished.²⁹⁴ For Yang

²⁸⁹ Huang Xuanpei ed., *op. cit.*, p.27.

²⁹⁰ *Ibid.*

²⁹¹ Yang Boda, "Song Yuan Ming Qing yuqi jianding siti de tantao", in *Zhongguo Sui zhi Qing Yuqi xueshu taolunhui*, Lunwen mulu (shang). Shanghai, 2001, p.4.

²⁹² *Ibid.*

²⁹³ *Ibid.* "萬壽塔 官員僧人善信男女等所舍寶物 佛牙…舍利, 雅鵲帽頂等物二件塊 大明正統六年歲次辛酉夏五月"

²⁹⁴ *Ibid.* "勅建弘仁寶覺寺, 舊名迦葉如來寺, 永樂年間重建既備, 正統六年季春欲建禪堂于北廡之後, 舊有萬壽塔基址高丈許, 發現舊塑佛四尊, 菩薩侍者八尊, 又有鎮塔舍利利用瑪瑙盒盛貯, 收七寶"

Boda, the 'yagu maoding' of the inscription is the jade piece of a falcon attacking a pair of wild geese, because 'gu' 鵠 of the 'yagu maoding' means a falcon (*haidongqing* 海东青) in Chinese, and this can be understood as a finial carved with a falcon.²⁹⁵ Accordingly, Yang Boda suggests that the jade finials were originally from the Wanshou pagoda and dates the pieces before AD 1441.²⁹⁶

However, a question arises over the term 'yagu maoding'. According to Yang Boda, 'yagu' was inscribed on the monument as 雅鵠 in Chinese and he suggests that 'ya' 雅 of 'yagu' might have been wrongly transcribed in Chinese by a priest. Indeed, the term 'yagu' 雅鵠 does not match any classical records and makes no proper sense. However, if it was not 'yagu' 雅鵠 but 'yagu' 鴉鵠, it would be quite different. In the list of 'Precious Stones of the Muslims' by Tao Zongyi, *yagu* 鴉鵠 stone is used for a hat finial as well as a ruby, and the term *yagu* does not denote 'falcon' but a stone in the Persian language.²⁹⁷ The nineteenth century Russian orientalist, Emil Vasilievich Bretshneider (AD 1833-1901) wrote, "In Arabic and Persian the name *yakut* (i.e. *yagu* stone) is applied to what we call ruby and corundum. The Mohammedan authors distinguish red, blue, yellow and white yakuts."²⁹⁸ He explains, from Tao Zongyi, that the red *yagu* is a ruby, the deep blue *yagu* is sapphire or blue corundum, the yellow *yagu* is the yellow corundum or sapphire, known as oriental topaz, and the white *yagu* is the white sapphire.²⁹⁹ The 'yagu maoding' on the stone inscription seems likely to be a hat finial holding a sapphire stone.³⁰⁰

等物，俱不敢動移…正統六年歲次辛酉夏五月十九日記。”

²⁹⁵ *Ibid.*

²⁹⁶ This Wanshou pagoda seems to have been first built in AD 582 and reconstructed in AD 639, in AD 1403 and AD 1687, and damaged in a storm at the end of Qing (Guojia wenwu shiyaguanliju, eds., *Zhongguo mingsheng cidian*, Shanghai, 1981, p.1063, Muda 木搭). If so, it can be assumed that jade finials were buried in AD 1403 when the pagoda was reconstructed and were possibly Yuan or early Ming relics.

²⁹⁷ Tao Zongyi, *loc. cit.* Tao Zongyi says that *yagu* had seven colours. The term is no longer current in Chinese.

²⁹⁸ Emil Vasilievich Bretshneider, *Medieval Researches*, London, 1888, vol. 1, p.174.

²⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, p.174-5. Kimura Koichi who translated *Bencao gangmu* by Li Shichen of the Ming also explains *yagu* as a sapphire in his annotation (Kimura Koichi, ed., *Bencao gangmu*, trans., Tokyo, 1973, vol.3, p.266). Shiratori Kurakichi points out that topaz is called *sary jâqût* (i.e. yellow *yakut* or *jakut*) in Turkish, suggesting the Chinese term *huangyahu* 黄牙忽 in the *History of the Yuan* (Shiratori Kurakichi, "Koraishi ni mietaru Mokogo no kaishaku", in *Chosenshi kenkyu*, Tokyo, 1986, p.474).

³⁰⁰ Yang Boda's article "Song Yuan Ming Qing yuqi jianing siti de tantao" delivered at the Shanghai

Thus, jade finials with multi-layer openwork carving are all difficult to define as typical examples of the Yuan, much less hat finials. However, a jade finial unearthed from the Ren family tombs (possibly from Ren Ming's tomb) is agreed by scholars as an example of Yuan jade carving. The appearance of openwork carving shows a close resemblance in many ways to the openwork jade belt from the early Ming tomb of Wang Xingzu 汪兴祖 who was a meritorious retainer to the Ming founder (AD 1338-1371) at the establishment of the new dynasty (Figure 5.88). His belt has been assumed to be a Yuan piece as Wang Xingzu died soon after the Ming Dynasty was established, and this exquisite carved belt is thought to have been a reward for his support from the Ming founder.³⁰¹ It is evident from Wang Xingzu's belt of late Yuan early Ming, and the late Yuan jade finial of the Ren family that the technique of jade openwork carving in the late Yuan period was well developed. Therefore, three dimensional multi-layer openwork carving was possibly thriving towards the end of the Yuan Dynasty, that is, in the fourteenth century. It is worth noting that the jade finial of the Ren family is at present the only example of three dimensional multi-layer openwork carving of all the unearthed jade relics of the Yuan Dynasty,³⁰² and it is representative of an advanced technique of jade openwork carving of the Yuan Dynasty.

Skilled weavers from China and Central Asia, many Muslim and Uyghurs, were brought to the government workshops by the Mongol ruler.³⁰³ It can be considered that skilled jade-workers were similarly assigned to the state-run jade workshops. The improvement of openwork carving, such as three dimensional multi-layer openwork carving, was largely made possible by western skilled workers, especially the Muslims.³⁰⁴ According

Symposium, 2001, was amended and published in 2002. Yang had discussed at the Symposium that 'yagu' meant 'falcon attacking geese'; in his publication the following year, he examined Tao Zongyi's description and suggested that 'yagu' was a stone, the Yunnan 'qingbao' stone 青宝石 (Yang Boda (2002), *op. cit.*, p.102). I am grateful to Dr Deng Shuping for her supply of the original research paper in 2001.

³⁰¹ Nanjing shi bowuguan, "Nanjing Ming Wang Xingzu mu qingli jianbao", *Kaogu*, 1972, no.4. p.33. Bai Ning, "Wang Xingzu yudai yanjiu", *Huekan Gugong wenwu*, 1998, no.180, p.119, 125-6.

³⁰² Jade relics from the Yuan tombs and sites number at least twenty, including unreported sources.

³⁰³ Watt and Wardwell, *op. cit.*, p.15.

³⁰⁴ James, C.Y. Watt, Senior Curator at the Metropolitan Museum, New York, interview, July 14, 2000. Hansford writes of the Beijing jade carvers in the early twentieth century, "Muslims are conspicuous in all branches of the jade trade, from the mining of the stone to the keeping of shops for the sale of the finished articles." (Hansford (1950), *op. cit.*, p.66.)

to Hansford, corundum was introduced for cutting and grinding jade and from about the twelfth century 'black sand' (crushed black corundum or emery) was brought to the Dadu workshops and used on a large scale in the following century.³⁰⁵ The new abrasive sand and an abundant supply of an efficient mineral for cutting hard stones contributed doubtless to the improvement of the jade industry.³⁰⁶ A tool drill with a harder stone than jade, such as corundum, capable of cutting jade, is indispensable for development in openwork carving. Hansford suggests that the diamond-pointed drill was an essential item for single perforation openwork carving, and India was presumably the main source of diamonds for the ancient world.³⁰⁷ It is said that the mark of the drill was frequently left on the Yuan jade pieces and is characteristic of this period's carving.³⁰⁸ Considering the Mongol Yuan Empire's wide access in Asia, the improvement in tools in this period together with abrasive sand may account for the appearance of three dimensional openwork multi-layer carvings in the Yuan.

5.10.3 Jade Finial with a Motif of the 'Spring Hunt'

The Mongols inherited the arts and crafts of the Song, the Liao and the Jin. Especially, the theme of the 'spring hunt' (hunting of a falcon attacking a swan or wild goose), a Jin subject, called '*chunshui*' (lit. 'spring water'), was certainly adapted by the nomad Mongols. The Mongols followed the Liao system of seasonal hunting rituals.³⁰⁹

This subject was applied to painting, textile decoration, jade carving, and other works of

³⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, p.74. Datong 大同 (west of Beijing) was set up as a sand quarry in AD 1279, and a great quantity of abrasive sand was transported to jade workers in Dadu by a hundred and six labourers (YS, juan 88, p.2228). According to Hansford, corundum (or emery) abrasive powders were being used by Beijing jade carvers in 1939: these included quartz and garnet, which were mixed with water to make a slurry for cutting and grinding jade hard stone and applied with rotary tools, such as wheels and drills, as well as non-rotary files (Hansford (1950), *op. cit.*, p.67, 69). For the method of jade carving, see Hansford (1950) and Heber R. Bishop, *Investigations and Studies in Jade*, New York, 1906.

³⁰⁶ *Ibid.* YS, juan 22, p.494.

³⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, p.108-110.

³⁰⁸ Zhang Guangwen, Curator at the National Palace Museum, Beijing, interview, March 12, 2001. Xu Lin (1999), *op. cit.*, p.83. The excavation report records tool marks on Figure 5.69b (Shandongsheng Jiningdiqu wenwuju, *op. cit.*, p.806). A white jade dragon openwork finial that the author viewed in the Palace Museum, Beijing, also had visible tool marks.

³⁰⁹ YS, juan 4, p.63, juan 89, p.2269. For the Liao, '*nabo*' was normally political, for the Jin it was more for pleasure. Both the Mongols and the Qing practised the '*nabo*' (Chen Jiahua *et al.*, *Song Liao Jin shiqi minzushi*, Sichuan, 1996, p.31).

art.³¹⁰ A jade openwork carved belt-plaque with this motif in high relief was found in the Qian Yu tomb in Wuxi (Figures 5.89a and 5.89b). It is intriguing that a jade bearing such a northern ethnic motif was discovered in a joint-tomb of a Han Chinese regional official, Qian Yu, and his wife in the south of China. Xu Lin accounts for this by supposing that Qian Yu was a regional official who contributed to the Yuan government and had a close relationship with it so that this is possibly a present that he received.³¹¹ It is worth noting, however, that such ethnic motifs were enjoyed by the Han Chinese in the Yuan. There is a crucial jade openwork finial preserved in the Palace Museum, Beijing (Figures 5.90a and 5.90b). The piece is divided into two motifs: one side carved with 'a falcon attacking a swan' and the other side with four egrets in a lotus pond. It has been explained by Yang Boda as a '*chunshui*' motif - a typical northern ethnic subject, with contrasting 'moving' and 'still' subjects, and assumed to be a Yuan piece.³¹² The motif of egrets in a lotus pond is frequently included as a northern ethnic motif, '*chunshui*', since this publication.³¹³ However, as we discussed in Chapter Four, the egret was a popular subject, especially in the Song, and had auspicious meaning. Although the egret motif was used in Liao and Jin works of art, it was more associated with the Chinese concepts, and not with an annual activity '*chunshui*'. In the famous Liao tomb painting of the four seasons in Qingling, Balinyou League, waterfowl like swans and wild geese in a spring pond predominantly with a floral motif are depicted in the spring scene but egrets are absent.³¹⁴ Both Liao and Jin official dynastic records describe '*chunshui*', and do not refer to egrets. What do the egrets and the hunting scene of this jade finial represent? Why do two such different motifs exist together?

There was another image of falcons relating to officials having inspectorial duties in China as early as the Northern Wei Dynasty. The *History of the Northern Wei* records that the Censors are like falcons, with talons, of upright character, poised to impeach

³¹⁰ Clunas (1997a), *op. cit.*, p.63.

³¹¹ Xu Lin (1999), *op. cit.*, p.86.

³¹² Yang Boda (1983), *op. cit.*, p.14.

³¹³ For example: Xu Lin (2001b), *op. cit.*, p.3.

³¹⁴ ZMQ:H12, pl.143-7.

with the swoop of a falcon.³¹⁵ Inspectorial duty required Confucian character and the fearlessness of a falcon.³¹⁶ According to the Tang records, officials like falcons determine justice.³¹⁷ Inspectors in the Jin Dynasty were required to be the 'ears and eyes of the Emperor', with the authority of falcons.³¹⁸ In the Yuan, the falcon was compared to the Censorate officials and to sturdy *Kesigs* (Imperial bodyguards).³¹⁹ According to Xie Zhaozhe of the Ming, the ancients compared to the Northern Goshawk 蒼鷹 the *ku* official 酷吏 who judges and rectifies with harshness the illegal practices of officials and commoners that normal officials were unable to control.³²⁰ Thus, falcons did not only have the image of hunting ritual but also the image of sturdy and dauntless officials catching offenders, even in the Jin Dynasty. As we discussed in Chapter Four, the egret also represented the inspectors and the man of integrity and upright character. The common image of falcon and egret seems to relate to detecting and catching offenders. The jade in the Palace Museum, Beijing, can be assumed to represent egrets first investigating illegality and the falcon finally capturing offenders. Considering the relationship between hat finials as symbols of official duty and the historical metaphor of bird motifs and official titles, the jade piece of the Palace Museum, Beijing, seems to represent officials who are responsible for supervision, for example, *zongguanfu* of the Yuan, based on our discussion in Chapters Three and Four. In other words, the four egrets can be interpreted as primary administrative members, and the *darughachi* Overseer could be compared to the falcon. The *History of the Yuan* records that the Military officer wore a jacket embroidered with falcons.³²¹ It can be presumed that a suitable image was selected that related to their duty, and officials wore jade finials carved with the image that was symbolic when the hat finial widely came

³¹⁵ WS, juan 77, p.379-80, 1691. "御史之職，鷹鵠是任，..." "鷹鵠之志，形於在昔。"

³¹⁶ Zhang Jinlong, "Beiwei yushitai zhengzhi zhineng kaolung", *Zhongguoshiyuanjiu*, 1997.4, p.71.

³¹⁷ Wang Pu, *Tang huiyao*, Song, juan 31, yufu shang, reprint, Shanghai, 1991, vol. 1, p.661. "鷹鵠者，鸞鳥也，適可以辨祥刑之職也..." In the middle of the Tang, *jiedushi* were compared to falcons (*ibid.*, juan 32, yufuxia, p.680).

³¹⁸ Xu Songwei, "Jindai jianchaguanyuan de renxuan, jiangfa ji qizuyong", *Beifangwenwu*, 1990, no.2, p.67, 69.

³¹⁹ YS, juan 99, bing 2, shu, p.2524, juan 174, p.4066, juan 185, p.4249.

³²⁰ Xie Zhaozhe, *op. cit.*, vol.1, p.254 (*gu* and *sun*). Inamura Jotaro, "Kandai no xunli", *Tohogaku*, 1965, no.30, p.24.

³²¹ YS, juan 79, p.1978, 1983.

into vogue. In the Yuan, except for some official titles, animal and bird symbols were not particularly regulated for officials, unlike the Ming rank insignia. Therefore Yuan officials could have related symbols in accordance with their imagery. As we have seen with the falcon motif, official symbols or images may have been diverse before the Ming, based on their duty but regardless of the name of the official titles, since the official duties themselves were transformed dynasty by dynasty, despite name of the official titles remaining the same. The establishment of the Ming official rank insignia may explain that it was necessary to control the use of symbols and fix the official images and symbols by new regulation. In the fourteenth century, opportunities for positions in the Yuan government were increased for Han Chinese with the revival of the civil service examinations. Therefore, it can be considered that Chinese motifs with wit and auspicious imagery were added to a wide repertoire of hat finials as official symbols. For *zongguanfu* of Metal and Jade-Workers and for departments in each Route, it seems that it was not always necessary to be granted jade personal ornaments by the Emperor, as long as there were good relationships with *darughachi* who were the most influential officials supervising the Route. Considering the number of Muslim merchants in Jiangnan at this period,³²² there might have been many ways to obtain such personal ornaments. It is also conceivable that finials were worn illegally and unofficially in the light of decrees which many disregarded.³²³ Otherwise, they may have been used on a day to day basis, except for court sessions. Like previous dynasties, the Yuan government restricted without exception the use of jades by regulation.³²⁴ Yet it is also evident that the regulations and decrees were hardly effective, in the light of unearthed jade relics from Yuan tombs. Accordingly, it is conceivable that jade openwork finials may not have been officially worn by officials at courts as Shen Defu describes.

³²² Watt, interview July 14, 2000.

³²³ In fact, jade artefacts including personal adornments were legally manufactured by jade carvers after an order of the Emperor (Su Tianjue, ed., *Yuan wenlei*, Yuan, in SQ, vol. 1367, p.559, yugong).

³²⁴ YS, juan 105, p.2680. According to the regulation, for instance, officials in the first rank alone were allowed to have jade belts and saddles of jade and gold; officials up to the third rank were allowed to use vessels made of gold or jade; commoners were prohibited to use jade and gold for decoration on their hats.

It should be noted that Censors, especially the Remonstrators, Legal Examiners and executive members of the Censorate, were required to wear the hat of the *xiezhi* (mythical creature like a unicorn) (*xiezhi guan* 獬豸冠) as a symbol of justice (the rectification of wrong) since the Qin Dynasty (221-206 BC), when they prosecuted wrongdoing and reported it to the Throne.³²⁵ The *History of the Yuan* also records that the *jiancha yushi* (Investigating Censors) when they acted as Practors were regulated to wear this as part of their dress for legal work.³²⁶ It is unclear whether it was hat with *xiezhi* or *xiezhi* ornaments attached, and there was presumably a slight difference depending on the style and manner of attire of the dynasties. This '*xiezhi guan*' seems no longer in use after the Yuan, and the motif of *xiezhi* was embroidered on the official rank insignia for both Legal Examiners and Guardians of Customs and Laws (*fengxianguan*), such as the Provincial Surveillance Commissioners and Surveillance Officials, from the Ming Dynasty onwards.³²⁷ Officials who wore this rank insignia embroidered with a *xiezhi* could remonstrate with the Emperor. With the changing costume regulations of the Ming, such as an establishment of insignia embroidered with animals, birds and mythical creatures, it is conceivable that egret finials of the Yuan went out of use and fashion, as the egret motif was revived on official rank insignia in sixth grade in the Ming period. It can be said that diverse official symbols including egrets and falcons were not controlled by costume regulation until the Ming Dynasty. *Xiezhi* insignia were independently prescribed for *fengxianguan*, regardless of their grade, unlike egrets, as discussed in Chapter Two. Although it is conceivable that *xiezhi* jade hat finials were worn during the Yuan period, the *xiezhi guan* seems to have been a traditional item of hat, as discussed, so that the *xiezhi* symbol might not necessarily have been used especially for hat finials. *Xiezhi* jade ornaments and finials have been discovered both in China and Korea (Figure 5.91).³²⁸ However, *xiezhi* finials for hats

³²⁵ HH, zhi 30, faguan, p.3667, JSU, juan 25, yufu, p.768, SUS, juan 11, liyi 6, p.234, juan 12, liyi 7, p.258, 272, JT, juan 45, yufu, p.1931, 1942, SS, juan 152, yufu 4, p.3555, JS, juan 43, p.980. YS, juan 78, yufu 1, p.1935.

³²⁶ YS, *ibid*.

³²⁷ MS, juan 67, p.1634. QS, juan 103, p.3055-6

³²⁸ A jade carver in Seoul, Mr Kim Jekwon, told the author that he made a copy of a *haet'ae* (Ch. *xiezhi*) jade hat finial of the Chosŏn Dynasty for the Museum collection, but the details are confidential (Kim Jekwon, a jade craftsman, interview, April 28, 2001). However, Chinese jade ornaments with this *xiezhi* motif including Figure 5.91 seem not quite appropriate for hat finials, in view of the depth of the

have not yet been discovered in China, nor identified by scholars.

5.11 Hat Finials in the Ming and the Qing

The Yuan regulations for costume were largely replaced, and the costume of the Ming saw the revival of Han traditional features.³²⁹ The *futou* black lacquered gauze cap was customarily worn by officials during formal court sessions, and the *wushamao* 乌纱帽 (the quadrangular flat-topped turban cap, mainly of black satin) was for routine court sessions.³³⁰ According to the *History of the Ming*, in order to prohibit extravagance in hat finial decoration, the material was restricted in AD 1373 by regulations for official public dress.³³¹ Officials in the first and second grade were required to use jade for both *maoding* and *maozhu*; officials in the third to fifth grade were to have gold *maoding* and any stones except jade for *maozhu*; officials from sixth to ninth grade were to use silver *maoding* and an agate or crystal or scented wood for *maozhu*;³³² officials outside the nine grades and commoners were not allowed ‘*maoding*’ but could have ‘*maozhu*’ of crystal or scented wood.³³³ It should be noted that it is not until the Ming Dynasty that wearing hat finials was institutionalized for officials by costume regulation. This suggests that a variety of precious stones were used by the Ming people at the beginning of the dynasty, following the Yuan manner, so that it was necessary to restrict the use of materials. Furthermore, although officials were prescribed to wear a *wushamao* hat in the Chinese style with normal wear (*changfu* 常服), hat finials were also required when attending routine court occasions, without any specification of the type of hat to which it was attached. As it is inconceivable that hat finials were used on a *wushamao* hat, it is

ornaments. See also Huang Xuanpei, ed., *op. cit.*, no.71.

³²⁹ Hu Guang, ed., *Ming shilu: Ming Taizu shilu*, 1411, juan 30, Hongwu yuan nian er yue, reprint, Taipei, vol.2, p.525. It records that there seemed to be no Chinese traditional costumes and hats remaining, so that the Ming followed the Tang attire and the Ming founder prohibited all foreign customs and manners, from hair styles and clothes to language and names.

³³⁰ MS, juan 67, yufu 3, p.1636-7. On solemn occasions, all officials were obliged to wear coronets with stripes (*liangguan* 梁冠) (MS, juan 67, yufu 3, p.1634).

³³¹ *Ibid.* p.1637.

³³² *Ibid.* “一品，二品用雜色文綺，綾羅，綵繡，帽頂，帽珠用玉；三品至五品用雜色文綺，綾羅，帽頂用金，帽珠除玉外，隨所用；六品至九品用雜色文綺，綾羅，帽頂用銀，帽珠瑪瑙，水晶，香木。” Hu Guang, *op. cit.*, juan 81, Hongwu 6 nian 4 yue guisi, vol.4, p.1463.

³³³ *Ibid.*, juan 67, shuren guanfu, p.1649. The date of the regulation is AD 1373. Hu Guang, *ibid.* “未入流品者和庶民一樣，帽不用頂，帽珠可以用水晶或香木。” Li Dongyang *et al.*, eds., *Da Ming huidian*, Wanli edition, Taipei, 1964, vol. 2, p.1070.

probable that a hat in the Yuan style was allowed in the new Dynasty, such as a *zhanmao*. The legislation of official costume was not completed until the 26th year of Hongwu period (AD 1393).³³⁴ As discussed in Chapter Two, official rank insignia were codified in AD 1391.³³⁵

What can be seen from the regulation of the hat finial is that there are two terms used in the record, '*maoding*' 帽顶 and '*maozhu*' 帽珠. We shall now examine these terms. '*Ding*' in '*maoding*' indicates top,³³⁶ and '*mao*' is hat in Chinese: this suggests that '*maoding*' is a hat finial decorating the top of the hat. In contrast, '*zhu*' in '*maozhu*' suggests semi-precious stones in round and granular shape,³³⁷ so that '*maozhu*' are probably hat ornaments, uncarved solid semi-precious stones round in shape and not necessarily on the top of the hats, that is to say, probably without mounts and stands. Small pearl-like ornaments decorating the brim of the hat of Emperor Xuanzong (Figure 5.92 over the ears) are probably an example of this '*maozhu*'.

It seems likely then that two types of hat finial (*maoding*) were included in the regulation: one type using precious or semi-precious solid uncarved stones with mounts (or stand or base) as in Figure 5.92; another type is carved hat finials using material like semi-precious stones, gold and silver, such as jade carved finials in our examples and phoenix-headed gold finials. In the light of the regulation, it is clear that the choice of precious stones is not prescribed for the officials and no detailed carving motifs are described. However, jade openwork carved finials can be considered to be included as *maoding* under this regulation.

If we further develop this theory, in AD 1373 when the regulation of hat finials was established, the motifs of the hat finials were not restricted by rule but only by materials. In other words, the symbols of the official titles to distinguish hierarchical levels by rank insignia had not been set up before AD 1391 so that it means that the detailed

³³⁴ MS, juan 66, yufu 2, p.1619.

³³⁵ MS, juan 67, yufu 3, p.1638.

³³⁶ ZK, p.1536 (ding)

³³⁷ ZK, p.919-20 (zhu).

motifs of hat finials were not specifically regulated before AD 1391. Similarly, officials of the first grade were entitled to wear jade belts for ordinary dress, yet there is no reference to motif, although officials in the second and third rank were allowed to wear belts of rhinoceros horn and gold with a design or pattern.³³⁸ The design was again not specified. However, in AD 1391, the motif as symbol of official titles and hierarchical ranks was instituted in official rank insignia embroidered on square patches on the robe. Therefore it became necessary for the officials to adopt the official symbols regulated under this new regulation, and a motif and carving on a hat finial might have lost its significance. It should be noted that official rank insignia were also not codified until the Ming Dynasty. In the unifying of diverse symbols of official titles of all past dynasties, it seems that the traditions of carved jade finials with motifs may have been gradually lost or undermined after AD 1391 and eventually fallen out of use. In this regard, Shen Defu may not be correct to assume that they fell out of use; rather they fell out of official use as symbols. The change can also be associated with the loss of the western jade carvers brought together in the Yuan period. Jade carvers skilled in three dimensional openwork multi-layer carving, together with plentiful abrasive sand, were presumably no longer available as they had been in the Yuan Dynasty. Therefore, it might have become difficult to obtain such jade carved openwork finials in the early Ming, corresponding to the decreased requirement for hat finials.

In pictorial images of hat finials of the Ming, the Emperors Xuanzong (r.1425-1435) 宣宗 and Xianzong 宪宗 (r.1464-1487) can be seen wearing hats like *zhanmao* decorated with a red or blue stone hat finial (Figure 5.92).³³⁹ This suggests a maintaining of the Yuan custom and manner of wearing hat finials by the Emperors in the fifteenth century. As in the Yuan, both Xuanzong and Xianzong have hat finials with an uncarved probably precious stone, and wear the northern style of hat. This type of hat finial with an uncarved precious stone seems likely to have been valued in the Ming Dynasty, too.

³³⁸ MS, juan 67, yufu 3, p.1637. The belt of the official of the first grade for public dress was regulated as jade, and both plain jade and jade carved with motifs were allowed (*ibid.*, p.1636.). As in the hat finials, the design was not valued as much as the materials. In this regard, it can be also considered that jade was carved originally in order to disguise a poorer quality of available stone which resulted in creating jade openwork hat finials, which became fashionable among the Yuan officials.

³³⁹ ZMQ:H6:1, pl.87.

Besides, jade was not used but a precious stone, possibly a ruby or sapphire, like the finials worn by the Yuan rulers. In the two scroll paintings 'An Imperial Procession Departing from and Returning to the Palace' (*Mingren chujing rubitu* 明人出警入蹕圖), the Emperor Shizong 世宗 (r. AD 1521-1566) on a barge in the 'Returning' scroll wears the black gauze folded hat in the style of *yishanguan* 翼善冠 decorated with a jade-like round stone on the top and a jade-like belt (Figure 5.93).³⁴⁰ This round jade stone without a mount can be understood as *maozhu* rather than as *maoding*. The black gauze hat is typically Chinese in style and is decorated with a traditional Chinese stone. A variety of hats is depicted in the two scrolls, and officials can be seen wearing hat finials. Hats decorated with finials always have a brim in the style of *zhanli* or *zhanmao*, and the hat finials are round solid stones, red or blue or dark blue precious or semi-precious stones without carving, or gold without motifs. Imperial bodyguards wearing helmets decorated with white spherical hat finials of solid type can also be seen, however it seems that no jade carved finials are depicted in the two scrolls, 'Departing' and 'Returning'. Likewise, unearthed figurines in the Ming wear hat finials but not jade carved finials.³⁴¹ It can be considered that jade openwork carved finials were no longer in use by the time of the Jiajing 嘉靖 period (AD 1522-1566).

A hat finial of solid round type was mentioned in the late Ming novel, *Jinpingmei* (The Golden Lotus), as a *heibaoshi* 黑宝石 (black tourmaline?) with a gold mount (*jinxiang yaqing maodingzi* 金鑲鴉青帽頂子).³⁴² According to the story, the hat finial used to belong to Hua Taijian 花太監, a eunuch in the post of Grand Defender (*Zhenshou* 鎮守) in Guangdong.³⁴³ The story is set in the reign of Emperor Huizong (r. AD 1100-1125) of the Northern Song, yet it actually reflects life in the Wanli (AD

³⁴⁰ I am grateful to Mr Wang Yaoting, Chief Curator at the National Palace Museum, Taiwan, in the department of Calligraphy and Painting, for his assistance in showing all the photographs of this scroll painting to the author.

³⁴¹ Jiangxisheng wenwu guanli weiyuan hui, "Jiangxi Nancheng Ming Yizhuangwang mu chutu wenwu", *Wenwu*, 1959, no.1, fig.5. Xi'an shi wenwu baohu kaogu yanjiusuo, "Xi'an Nanjiao HuangMingzongshi Qianyang Duanyiwang Zhugongzeng mu qingli jianbao", *Kaogu yu wenwu*, 2001, no.6, fig.19. In the tomb of Zhuzeng, a figurine wore *zhanmao* decorated with a finial.

³⁴² Xiao Xiaosheng, *Jinpingmei*, Wanli period of the Ming, punctuated reprint, Taipei, 1981, p.171 (Chapter 20). "又拿出一件金鑲鴉青帽頂子, 說是過世老公公的, 起下來, 上等子料, 四錢八分重."

³⁴³ Huang Lin ed., *Jinpingmei dacidian*, Sichuan, 1991, p.58.

1573-1619) period of the Ming Dynasty. Jade carved finials are absent in the story but hat finials of solid round type seem of primary concern for the people in the late Ming period. Likewise, according to the inventory of the property of the disgraced politician of the late Ming, Yan Song (Prime Minister for more than twenty years), thirty six hat finials, about 2.85 kg in total weight (77 *liang* 1 *qian* 7 *fen*) were noted when it was confiscated by the state in AD 1562.³⁴⁴ However, there seem to be nothing but hat finials of the solid round type, precious and semi-precious stones such as rubies and sapphires. Two jade hat finials were also entered in the inventory, one mounted in gold 金厢玉帽顶 and the other described as a small jade finial 玉小帽顶, yet there is no specification as to the style of carving or the motif. It is worthwhile pointing out that the 'small jade finial' was not included in the list of hat finials, but recorded in another list, with a weight of about 29.52 g (8 *qian*).³⁴⁵ Thus, it is conceivable that either jade carved finials were no longer familiar in the late Ming or that jade carved finials were never used as hat finials in this period. It is also clear from the descriptions of both the novel, 'The Golden Lotus' and Yan Song's inventory that *maoding* were used as a general term for hat finial in the late Ming Dynasty. Thus, it may be suggested that jade openwork finials probably categorized as '*maoding*' were no longer known or were unfamiliar in the late Ming, and that hat finials of the round solid type of precious and semi-precious stones remained as popular *maoding*.

5.11.1 Unearthed Jade Openwork Finial at Yuhuatai in Nanjing

Apart from ten pieces discovered in the Xilin pagoda, Shanghai, two jade openwork finials have been unearthed from Ming tombs: 1. Yuhuatai, Nanjing (Figure 5.86); 2. Nancheng, Jiangxi (Figure 5.87), as discussed earlier. In view of the jade carving technique of multiple layered openwork in the pieces from Xilin pagoda, we could assume that the jade finials were buried when the pagoda was reconstructed in the early Ming period, that is in AD 1389, AD 1444 or AD 1448 rather than in the Southern Song.

As we know, the custom of wearing solid hat finials was also maintained in the Ming

³⁴⁴ Anonymous Ming writer, *op. cit.*, p.51, 82. 1 *liang* = 36.9g (Ming).

³⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p.82.

Dynasty, while jade openwork finials seem to have gradually fallen into abeyance after the Yuan. However, it is conceivable that jade openwork finials were still used until the time when official rank insignia were established in AD 1391. That is to say, for at least twenty-three years the fashion of wearing jade openwork hat finials in the style of the Yuan continued, as the unearthed jade finials of the early Ming suggest. A jade openwork finial decorated with egrets in a lotus pond unearthed from the tomb in Yuhuatai, Nanjing, was mounted on gold (Figure 5.86). The tomb was not excavated scientifically and the piece was handed over later to the Nanjing Municipal Museum,³⁴⁶ so that the detailed circumstances of excavation are unfortunately unknown. Hitherto, it is the only finial mounted with a gold stand of all unearthed pieces in China. This gold stand conveys some crucial hints for the identification and date of jade openwork finials. First, the stand is carved with the lotus petal motif of Yuan Lamaism.³⁴⁷ According to Nakano Toru, this lotus petal motif seems to be a motif of the Hongwu period (AD 1368-1398), yet the symmetrical lotus petal motif with its detailed gold beaded work 连珠纹 is also characteristic of the end of the Yuan Dynasty.³⁴⁸ Judging from the significance of jade openwork finials with egret motifs before AD 1391, this jade finial can be assumed to date to the early Ming or even earlier, which can be supported by the design of the gold stand. Moreover, the gold stand has been interpreted by Chinese scholars as a stand for display.³⁴⁹ Yet it seems not suitable for display, as the pointed foot of the stand in the *ruyi*-shaped cloud pattern cannot be stable and is rather suggestive of an attachment to something. Judging by the thickness of the foot of the stand, the material to be attached to this piece should be heavy.³⁵⁰ Hats made of thick felt or fur, such as *zhanmuo*, or leather are suitable for this piece, and this type of hat was still worn in the early Ming, as we saw in Figure 5.92.³⁵¹ Nakano Toru suggests that hats in the early Ming were made of thick felt.³⁵² The similar *ruyi*-shaped cloud

³⁴⁶ Bai Ning, letter to the author, April 2, 2001.

³⁴⁷ I am grateful to Mr Nakano Toru, director at Kuboso Kinenkan, Osaka, for this information.

³⁴⁸ Nakano Toru, interview, June 19, 2001. Nakano Toru and Ogawa Tadahiro, *Tenkaishashin niyoru Chugoku no monyo*, Tokyo, 1985, no.9, 28. Liao Baoxiu, "Ming chu Hongwu ciqu wenshi zhi jianshi (shang)", *Gugong Wenwu Yuekan*, no.159, p.16-18.

³⁴⁹ Bai Ning, letter of April 2nd, 2001.

³⁵⁰ I am grateful to Mr Nakano Toru, director at Kuboso Kinenkan, Osaka, for this information.

³⁵¹ See also, ZMQ:H6:1, pl.87.

³⁵² Nakano, interview, June 19, 2001.

patterns of the finial of the carriage in Figure 5.94 could be a good illustration of how to attach such a jade finial to a hat. If it was originally intended for use on an incense burner as some scholars have suggested,³⁵³ the gold stand is unnecessary as an attachment. Therefore, the existence of this jade finial with a gold stand is crucial to an identification of jade finials as hat finials or to an identification of their original usage; it can be at least said that it is very unlikely that it was an ornamental finial on the cover of an incense burner, with such a gold stand attaching to the jade finial. A second point concerns the black stains adhering to the foot of the stand in the shape of *ruyi* cloud pattern.³⁵⁴ Although it is possible that it is a patina if the stand was actually gilt-bronze, it could be suggestive of a lacquer adhesive to attach to a hat. Likewise, the back of a gilded mount or stand of a Chosŏn jade openwork hat finial with egrets in a lotus pond, which belonged to Yi Sunsin 李舜臣, Regional Military Commissioner (*chŏldosa*), was seemingly painted with lacquer.³⁵⁵ The third point is the thickness of the base of this jade finial. It is 2 to 2.5 mm. If it is this thickness, the question arises how deep the hollow is inside the gold stand. In view of this jade finial and its stand, Nakano suggests that attaching a thin wooden base under the jade finial between the mount and the jade base would be enough to hold the jade finial in place.³⁵⁶ Two jade openwork finials with egret motifs displayed in the Nanjing Museum are attached to a wooden base of even thickness exactly in this way (Figures 5.95a). The wooden base and the jade finials were attached together with a wire through two pairs of holes in the base of the finials and the wire twisted underneath the base (Figure 5.95b). The jade finial unearthed in Yuhuatai, Nanjing also shows gold wire passed through two pairs of holes, and we can therefore presume that the gold wire was fed through the holes of a thin wooden base into the gold mount and the ends twisted. This fixture can account for their being only four catches in the gold mount to hold the jade finial. However, this type of

³⁵³ Wang Zhengshu argues that this finial was originally used for a handle on the cover of an incense burner in the Yuan and that it was adapted to the scholar's desk object in the Ming, when it was mounted on a gold stand because of its artistic quality (Wang Zhengshu, "Luding, Maoding bianshi", in ZSTQY, p.284). The artistic quality of the jade piece is not in itself sufficient to prove that it was a display object and it is further implausible that a Ming scholar should choose the motif of Yuan Lamaism for the gold stand for display on his desk.

³⁵⁴ There were recognisable when the author viewed this jade finial even through a display case in the Nanjing Municipal Museum.

³⁵⁵ Further discussion of this jade finial will follow in Chapter Seven.

thin wooden base is not needed as an attachment on jade finials for them to function as finials on the covers of incense burners. Furthermore, if the gold stand was simply needed for display, it would not be necessary for such complicated craftsmanship and unnecessary to make four catches on the gold stand to stabilize the stand and finial, making use of two pairs of holes in the jade finial, as a display piece is not subject to intense movement.³⁵⁷

The finial unearthed from Yuhuatai, Nanjing exhibits a clear difference to the late Yuan jade finial of the Ren family and other Yuan unearthed jade pieces, in the appearance of its workmanship, streamlined, smooth contours and soft outline with a high polish, compared to the rough carving with some jagged edges in the Yuan examples. A similar example can be found from the jade finials in Xilin pagoda.³⁵⁸ Besides, the multiple layered openwork carving is not as complicated as the Yuan jade finials. It is clearly suggestive of a different style of craftsmanship. If many jade carvers, especially, the western labourers were not available in the Ming, the craftsmanship of a simplified but graceful appearance might indicate the different taste of the Ming jade carvers. Considering all accounts, the jade finials unearthed in Yuhuatai, Nanjing, may have been manufactured at the very beginning of the Ming Dynasty, rather than in the Yuan period, and if they were manufactured in the Ming, they were conceivably used as hat finials, at least before AD 1391.

5.11.2 Jade Openwork Finial in the Shape of Mandarin Duck unearthed from the Tomb of Prince Yixuan

The last Ming example of a jade openwork finial, unearthed from the tomb of Prince Yixuan, was another style of jade openwork finial, in the form of a mandarin duck holding a spray of lotus flowers in its mouth and seated on a large curved lotus leaf (Figure 5.87). However, the level of the openwork carving technique is not as high as in the Yuan examples, which were multiple layered. This type of jade finial can also be

³⁵⁶ Nakano Toru, Interview, June 19, 2001.

³⁵⁷ For an example of a stand for display, compare Appendix 3, B:1:1 (right).

³⁵⁸ See Figure 7.84.

readily found in the Museum collections.³⁵⁹ Prince Yixuan, a great-great-grandson of the Emperor Xianzong (r. AD 1464-1487), was born in AD 1537 in the Jiajing period and died in AD 1603, the 31st year of the Wanli period.³⁶⁰ A large quantity of rare metal work, jades, ceramics, costumes, personal ornaments and textiles totalling approximately four hundred and fifty burial objects were discovered from this joint tomb, reflecting the luxurious life of the Ming rulers and the high level of craftsmanship of the period.³⁶¹ Unfortunately, it was not recorded from which position the jade finial was discovered in the tomb of Prince Yixuan; a hair-tying agate coronet (*manao qilangguan* 玛瑙七梁冠) was also found. The jade finial alone was discovered from his tomb without any hat; no incense burner was found. Was this the hat finial of Prince Yixuan? Did he wear a hat finial during his lifetime, that is, in the sixteenth century?

Prince Yixuan's lifetime includes the Wanli period (AD 1573-1619). This is about the time that Shen Defu (AD 1578-1642) mentions of the jade hat finial as a Yuan antique in his record.³⁶² Yet, at present, there is no evidence to identify Yixuan's jade finial as Yuan in date. A finial made of lapis lazuli like a prototype of this design was discovered at Xilin pagoda (Figure 5.96),³⁶³ suggesting the existence of this type of finial in the early Ming or even earlier.³⁶⁴ In order to enhance the quality of the carving, the technique utilizes exquisitely the brown 'skin' of the jade as part of the style of the carving (i.e. *qiaose* 巧色), and this was characteristic of the jade carvers of Suzhou in the Ming and Qing, although it probably originated earlier than these periods.³⁶⁵ The jade finial of the Ming Prince, Yixuan also shows this ingenious effect, so characteristic

³⁵⁹ For example, both National Palace Museums, in Beijing and Taipei, the Nanjing Museum, the Museum of East Asian Art, Bath, the Burrell Collection, Glasgow, and so forth.

³⁶⁰ Jiangxisheng *wenwugongzuodui*, *op. cit.*, p.24.

³⁶¹ *Ibid.*, p.16.

³⁶² Shen Defu, *Wanli yehuobian*, preface dated to 1606, reprint, Beijing, 1959, p.662.

³⁶³ Huang Xuanpei, ed., *op. cit.*, p.128-9. It is catalogued as 'mandarin duck' in *Shanghai chutu Tang Song Yuan Ming Qing yuqi*, edited by Huang Xuanpei, but it also looks like a flying *apsara* 飞天. Compare the carings with this motif unearthed from the Liao tomb at Baidazi, Liaoning province (Xu Bingkun and Sun Shoudao, eds., *op. cit.*, no.211) and the examples in Jessica Rawson, *Chinese Jade from the Neolithic to the Qing*, 1995, London, p.332-3.

³⁶⁴ The burial object is not necessarily Yixuan's personal ornament but could be also an inherited treasure from an ancestor.

³⁶⁵ Gao Lian, *Zunshengbajian Yanxianqingshangjian*, Ming, in SY, p.473. Wen C. Fong and James C.Y. Watt, *Possessing the Past*, New York, 1996, p.60-1.

as an example of the Ming carver's excellence.

Intriguingly, a similar jade openwork finial with mandarin duck can be seen in the heirloom relics of Kwŏn Ŭngsu 權應銖, a Regional Military Commissioner (*chŏldosa*) in the Chosŏn period, and there is another in the Suk Joo-sun Memorial Museum of Korean Folk Arts, Dankook University.³⁶⁶ The jade hat finial of Kwŏn Ŭngsu is carved in the Yuan style of multiple layered openwork with a mandarin duck holding a spray of lotus flowers in its mouth on the top. The other jade hat finial in Dankook University is nearly identical to Prince Yixuan's (AD 1587-1603), and dated prior to AD 1800, according to the Museum catalogue. Both jade hat finials of the Chosŏn Dynasty are on gilt mounts. Kwŏn Ŭngsu was born in AD 1546 and died in AD 1609.³⁶⁷ It can be said that he was contemporary to Prince Yixuan. He was a meritorious retainer and contributed to the triumphant victory against the incursions by Japanese forces under Hideyoshi (AD 1592 and 1598). According to the museum record, Kwŏn's jade hat finial was granted by the Chosŏn king.³⁶⁸ In order to repulse the Japanese forces, the Chosŏn required a mass re-enforcement from Ming Chinese troops. The main strategy of the Chosŏn and the Ming military coalition was that a number of small cohorts were used, named 'the Mandarin Duck Corps' 鴛鴦陣.³⁶⁹ The service uniform for the military was regulated by the Ming in AD 1368, and was called 'mandarin duck uniform' 鴛鴦战袄 (i.e. the inside and outside of the costume were a different colour) relating to the new Ming military reform.³⁷⁰ It seems likely that the Ming military was originally associated with the symbol of the mandarin duck, and the jade hat finial of Kwŏn Ŭngsu might have been linked to this, as jade hat finials with egret motifs were the orthodox type in Chosŏn and Kwŏn's finial with a mandarin duck is extremely rare in Chosŏn.³⁷¹ Judging from this case, this Korean jade finial with a mandarin duck

³⁶⁶ These finials will be discussed in Chapter Seven.

³⁶⁷ Chosen Sotokufu, ed., *Chosen jinmei jisho*, Tokyo, 1977, p.1880.

³⁶⁸ Son Eunju, Curator at the Chinju National Museum, interview, December 16, 2001.

³⁶⁹ Huang Renyu, *The 15th Year of the Wanli Period*, trans. by Inahata Koichiro, Tokyo, 1989, p.256.

MS, juan 91, bing 3, p.2251, 2260.

³⁷⁰ MS, juan 67, yufu 3, p.1655.

³⁷¹ Jade hat finials are collectively called 'jade egrets' in Korea. This term suggests that jade hat finials with egret motifs were common. The further discussion of this follows in Chapter Seven.

motif might be associated with a Ming design, during the Wanli period (AD 1573-1619). On the other hand, Prince Yixuan and his family governed Yi 益府 in the Jiangxi region for a hundred and eight years.³⁷² He must have had a title as a military regional commander as well as a governor 藩王. If the mandarin duck was a popular symbol for the military during that period related to the triumph against the Japanese troops, it can be considered that Prince Yixuan might have possessed a jade finial with this association.

5.11.3 Hat Finials in the Qing Dynasty

In the Qing Dynasty, the regulation of hat finials was further extended and was stricter than in any previous dynasty. The hat finial was used solely for the identification of different ranks of officials, as hat insignia. There are even a number of Qing private historical accounts that identify the Qing hat finials,³⁷³ and a variety of hat finials including those of Emperor Qianlong have survived (Figures 5.97a, 5.97b and 5.97c). In view of taste, custom and manner of the Nuzhens, a semi-nomadic people, it can be considered that the formal hat for court sessions (*chaoguan* 朝冠) was derived and evolved from the *boli* hat (钹笠冠) of the Yuan Dynasty, which was totally different to the Ming. The hat finial was worn on the top of the summer and winter hat. It was regulated for use by costume rules, and there are three kinds: 1. *Chaoguangding* 朝冠顶 (ceremonial use); 2. *Jifu guangding* 吉服冠顶 (ordinary use); 3. *Biandding* 便顶 (informal use).³⁷⁴ Qing rulers, their heirs, dukes and officials wore *chaoguangding* on ceremonial occasions, and *jifu guangding* and *biandding* during routine court session (i.e. *changfu* 常服).³⁷⁵ Both *jifu guangding* and *biandding* were the same finial for dukes, noblemen and officials, but not for the Emperor.³⁷⁶ In the Qing, three terms were used for a hat finial, *maoding* 帽顶, *guangding* 冠顶 and *dingdai* 顶戴 (or 顶带).³⁷⁷

³⁷² Jiangxisheng wenwugongzuodui, *loc. cit.*

³⁷³ For example, Wu Zhenyu, *Yangjizhaiconglu*, Qing, facsimile reprint, Taipei, 1968, juan 22, p.465-7. Ye Mengzhu, *Yueshibian*, Qing, reprint, Taipei, 1982, juan 8, guanfu, p.177. Xu Ke, *Qingbeileichao*, Qing, punctuated reprint, Taipei, 1966, jianzhenglei, p.50.

³⁷⁴ Ji Ruoxing, "Chaozhu yu Maoding", *Gugong wenwu yueguan*, 1985, no.22, p.94.

³⁷⁵ *Ibid.* QS, juan 103, huangdi guanfu, p.3035.

³⁷⁶ *Ibid.*

³⁷⁷ *Ibid.*

Wearing uncarved round stone hat finials and carved gold or silver hat finials was common among the nomads, as we have seen in the case of the Xiongnu and the Mongols. Jade openwork carved finials were no longer in use as hat finials by the time of the Qing Dynasty. The Manchus were Jurchens from southeast Manchuria, descendants of the Jin, who had used jade openwork ornaments for their hat in the twelfth century. However, the Qing esteemed pearls, *dongzhu* 东珠 (i.e. Eastern pearls) and rubies more than jade for their hat finials just like the Mongols, as both historical records and many surviving hat finials attest. It should be noted that the Mongols followed the Jin custom and manner of wearing hats decorated with pearls and *dongzhu*, and these could be attributed to the Jin.³⁷⁸ *Dongzhu* were treasured in the Qing court and used for many hat finials.³⁷⁹

According to official records, the regulation of hat finials was carried out in AD 1636, before the fall of the Ming Dynasty, and revised first in AD 1730.³⁸⁰ Members of the imperial family wore tall gold finials intricately decorated with dragons, Buddhas and tiers of pearl and ruby decoration. The number of tiers, dragons, *dongzhu*, and gem stones differentiated rank within the family.³⁸¹ For the officials, the hat finial of the *chaoguan* was surmounted by ruby for first grade, coral for second grade, sapphire for third, lapis lazuli for fourth, crystal for fifth, *chequ* 砗磲 (a shellfish like a clam)³⁸² for sixth and a plain gold finial was worn by officials of seventh to ninth grade.³⁸³ The hat finial of the *jifu guanding* for officials was coral for first grade, coral with engraved design for second grade, indigo blue glass for third, lapis lazuli for fourth, crystal for fifth, *chequ* for sixth, plain gold for seventh, gold with engraved or embossed design for eighth and silver with engraved or embossed design for ninth grade and others.³⁸⁴ Two

³⁷⁸ The *dongzhu* (i.e. *hezhu*) were products of the Jin and an important item of tribute to the Liao (Ye Longli, *op. cit.*, p.330), see Figure 5.73a. The Liao wore *xiaoyaojin* decorated with jades and other stones; this hat could be originally Liao.

³⁷⁹ Jiang Jifa, "Fuzhidingcheng Dongzhushenghui", *Gugong wenwu yueguan*, 1991, no.98, p.17.

³⁸⁰ QS, juan 2, p.52.

³⁸¹ Fu Ge, *Tingyucongtao*, Qing, reprint, Taipei, 1971, p.37-8. QS, juan 103, yufu 2, p.3042-51.

³⁸² Cao Zhao, *op. cit.*, SQ:871, p.103 (*chequ*). "形以蚌極厚大色白有紋理不甚直錢."

³⁸³ QS, juan 103, p.3055-7. Xiao Shi, *Yongxianlu*, 1752, reprint, Taipei, 1972, sequel to four volumes, p.374-5. The entry on stones was repeatedly revised.

³⁸⁴ QS, juan 9, p.329. "再定百官帽頂, 一品官珊瑚頂, 二品官起花珊瑚頂, 三品官藍色明玻璃頂,

points will be made here. First, the gold stand or mount was called *jinzuo* 金座, and *jinding* 金頂 was the term for hat finials.³⁸⁵ They were clearly distinguished in the Qing regulation, unlike the Ming. Second, jade, even in *en cabochon* style, was not used as a material for hat finials under the Qing regulation. In other words, jade hat finials were officially absent after the Ming Dynasty. The Ming system of official rank insignia was also taken over by the Manchus.³⁸⁶ Hat finials displayed the different ranks of officials by material, and rank insignia differentiated rank with animal and bird motifs. In the Qing Dynasty, hat finials play a significant role to identify rank, as both forms of insignia were worn together. Yet, it can be said that hat finials were more conspicuous than rank insignia embroidered on robes.

5.12 Concluding Remarks

Wearing *mao* with hat finials was not originally a Han Chinese tradition. The custom was actually brought from the west via the Xiongnu nomads. For the Han Chinese of the Han Dynasty, textiles were commonly chosen as the material of their hat, while northerners used animal fur, leather and felt. The hat was an essential item for the northerners, whereas the wearing of a hat for the ancient Han Chinese was more to do with ritual and etiquette. When the non Han Chinese hat was adapted for Chinese use, the foreign term seems also to have been incorporated into the Chinese script, called '*mao*'. Zoomorphic ornament for hats and headdresses originated with the nomads, and was transmitted by the Xiongnu to China proper. After the Xiongnu, the Xianbei occupied the north of China and established the Chinese dynasty known as the Northern Wei. A head ornament such as *buyao* was widely popularized under the northern regime, and was fully reminiscent of nomad taste. In Korea, through cultural contact with northern Eurasia,³⁸⁷ especially the Silla wore large conspicuous gold crowns in the style of the Scythian steppe nomads, with a totemic significance which was widespread in

四品官青金石頂, 五品官水晶頂, 六品官砵磲頂, 七品官素金頂, 八品官起花金頂, 九品, 未入流起花銀頂。”

³⁸⁵ QS, juan 103, wenwuguan guanfu, p.3055, 3057.

³⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, p.3055-7.

³⁸⁷ A Silla envoy wearing a hat with a bird's plume is also depicted in the mural, about 7th century, in the ruined palace of Afraziab in the outskirts of Samarkand (in present day Uzbekistan), Central Asia. See Sugimoto Masatoshi, *Kankoku no fukushoku*, Tokyo, 1983, fig.34 (p.40).

Siberian shamanism. However, they also esteemed jade as China did, so that the large gold Scythian type of crown exhibits a certain difference of taste to the nomads, as it is decorated with jade.

Hats like *humao* became commonly worn by the Han Chinese by the time of the Sui Dynasty. A wide brimmed hat came into vogue and was very popular in cosmopolitan Tang China among the aristocrats. Many varieties of *humao* were introduced in China and the *buyao* was also fully developed in this dynasty. *Heguan* in the shape of birds were also in fashion, and were non Han Chinese in origin. Yet, wearing hat finials seems still uncommon in Tang China. After the fall of the Tang, *humao* and hat ornaments entered a new phase under the Song. Jades and a variety of foreign products began to be commercialized among a much wider class by dint of the new scholar-gentry, who were meritocratic. The emergence of a number of specialist shops probably encouraged the creation of a new repertoire in jade personal ornaments, through contact with neighbouring peoples, such as the Liao and the Jin. In particular, both the Liao and the Jin conquered parts of North China (i.e. Northern Song), which resulted in cultural exchange between them. In an attempt to avoid such fusion, in particular, successive Song governments issued prohibitions on adopting foreign attire, but to no avail. In the Song, the *zhanli* hats were unofficially and illegally popular, and the Liao and the Jin codified Han Chinese attire into their costume regulations in order to rule North China, concurrently displaying their own strong cultural identity. The typical motifs of 'chunshui' and 'qiushan' carved in jade have yet to be identified from Liao tombs. Jade personal adornments carved with such ethnic motifs were first recorded in the Jin dynastic records. The motif 'Spring hunting' bears a similarity to the motif of 'animal combat' of the ancient nomads. It is of great significance that the motif representing the strong cultural identity of northern taste was applied to jade. It should be noted that working with jade for personal adornment seems not to have originally been a traditional practice for the nomadic people. On the other hand, egrets among Chinese traditional motifs seem absent in 'chunshui' and in their repertoire of jade carving. Bronze belt-plaques with egret motifs were unearthed from a Liao tomb as discussed in Chapter Four. These belts may have association with jade carvings of the Koryŏ, who

gifted an exquisite carved jade belt with egret motif in the reign of the Northern Song Emperor Shenzong (r.1067-1085). Openwork carving technique in two tiers also emerged toward the end of the Northern Song and the Liao and the beginning of the Jin. In this regard, the appearance of the hat finial with multiple layer openwork carving in China must be after the eleventh century. It is noteworthy that the discovery of jades with two-tier openwork carving has not yet been reported by archaeologists from Northern Song and Liao tombs, while the Jin, the Southern Song and the Koryŏ had acquired that technique of jade carving.

Although it is unclear whether the people of the Northern Song decorated their hats with jade ornaments, the Liao and the Jin used jade ornaments to decorate their hats, such as the *xiaoyaojin* and *sidaijin* of the Jin. Considering the intimate cultural relationship among the Liao, the Jin and the Northern Song, it would be surprising if the Northern Song were not influenced to do so too. However, the *futou* was customarily worn without ornament. As discussed earlier, wearing *mao* with decorative ornaments was not originally in the Han Chinese tradition, except for crowns like the *mianguan* for use on ceremonial occasions. However, the portrait of Wang Anshi, wearing *zhanmao* surmounted with a jade-like finial, suggests to us the possibility of the fashion existing in the Northern Song. This is the only such portrait with a jade-like hat finial, however its authenticity and provenance are debatable. If we can assume that the attire of Wang Anshi reflected the fashion in the eleventh century, his jade-like finial of unusual shape parallels and may relate to the hat finial of the Liao mural painting in Qingling. It is reasonable to consider that jade finials in the shape of certain motifs without openwork carving should appear first before the introduction of the high technique carving required for openwork multiple-layered jade finials. In the evolution of the openwork jade carving in two tiers, the solid hat finial of Wang Anshi and the Liao figure may have existed prior to the introduction of openwork carved finials, and the period strikingly corresponds to the time before this high technique had been invented.

The rulers and officials in the Dali kingdom, in present Yunnan, neighbouring the Song, also wore large crowns decorated with a finial. Like the finials of the portrait of Wang

Anshi and in the Liao mural painting, some finials of the crown of high officials in Dali show, though not clearly openwork, the appearance of carving. Wearing openwork jade carved finials could not have started before the first half of the twelfth century. In Dali, they displayed their own cultural identity and their Buddhist iconography on their crowns, with a white stone. Although the production of jade, especially jadeite, in Yunnan has yet to be confirmed, the white stone on their crowns could be white jadeite or nephrite from Xinjiang. Because jadeite was probably to a great degree confused with different categories of stone, such as jasper, there is a possibility that they regarded jadeite as jasper. It was recorded that Yunnan produced a jade-like stone, but it is not clear when such jade-like stones began to be produced.³⁸⁸ In the light of the little description in the historical records regarding jadeite, it seems to have been rare in the ancient world. Owing to the rarity of this stone, it could not have become popular in China, even though the Chinese had known it since the Han Dynasty as '*bi*'. As suggested in the Roman records, wide ranging colours of jasper might have included jadeite. In other words, this '*bi*' stone could have encompassed both jasper and jadeite. If we hypothesize this, the finial of the hats of the Dali King and the officials might be white jadeite, from Myanmar or from their own source.

Turning to the thirteenth century, the Mongols conquered much of Asia to the west and established a vast empire. This powerful empire had access to jade sources and abrasive sands and enhanced the jade industry. The Mongols were enthusiastic about jade long before Khubilai ascended the throne. The Yuan Dynasty saw an advance of jade carving, with skilled workers collected from everywhere in the country to the capital, Dadu. Liao, Jin and Song Chinese jade workers contributed to the arts of jade in the Yuan Dynasty, and probably Central Asians and Muslims from the west, as well. As a result of this cross-cultural diffusion on a large scale, the multiple layered openwork finials emerged in the Yuan Dynasty. Wearing large brimmed hats became a common practice in the Yuan, and a variety of precious and semi-precious stones was used to decorate them. The jade openwork finial seems likely to be one such example. Yet, the unearthed jade finials were all discovered alone without hats so that there is no apparent evidence

³⁸⁸ MS, juan 46, dili 7, yunnan, p.1175, 1218.

archaeologically to identify them, hitherto. However, two finials unearthed at Qingpu in Shanghai and at Yuhuatai in Nanjing and the finials from the Xilin pagoda in Shanghai corresponding to the period between Yuan and the early Ming all suggest that hat finials were worn in the Yuan and even in the early Ming. For the Han Chinese, the fashion of wearing hats decorated with hat finials was probably not common until the Yuan Dynasty. It was recorded that all officials wore hats in this period, and the Han Chinese officials followed foreign fashion. It seems a natural progression for the Han Chinese to decorate hats with finials, using jade, a traditional material. When the gate of the political world was gradually opened to Han Chinese from a variety of backgrounds through the revival of the civil service examinations in the fourteenth century (AD 1315), this corresponded with the gradual fall of the Yuan and the beginning of the Ming Dynasty. Therefore, it can be assumed that the Yuan Dynasty collapsed long before the Han Chinese brought the jade hat finial culture of the Yuan to its height, as can be explained by the example of the Ren finial, and that the jade finials came to reflect Chinese taste in terms of motif and openwork carving. But this wearing of jade hat finials in their own taste seems to have been short-lived for the Han Chinese officials. The Mongols seem to have prized precious stones in *en cabochon* style and carved gold for their hat finials. It seems probable that the colour of the precious stones, such as rubies and sapphires, appealed to the Mongol rulers more than sober jade for the material on the top of their hats. If the Mongol rulers did use jade finials, it can be also considered that the jade finials were exquisitely carved with dragon motifs, as jade can be carved with such motifs, unlike ruby and sapphire. We cannot disregard Shen Dequ's mention of jade hat finials as Yuan in date. Therefore, provided that jade finials were used in this dynasty and the culture of jade hat finials flourished, it is conceivable that there were not only uncarved jade finials but also jade hat finials carved with the advanced technique of multiple layer carving.

In the Ming Dynasty, Yuan hat finial culture radically receded. However, it can be assumed that many people still wore hat finials decorated with precious or semi-precious stones in the beginning of the Ming since the material of hat finials was codified in the costume regulation of AD 1373 to restrict extravagance. It was not until

the Ming Dynasty that hat finials were regulated for officials. The official dynastic record states that jade *maoding* and jade *maozhu* were prescribed for officials of first rank. From this, it is reasonable to interpret that there were two styles of jade hat finial. One was a jade carved finial, and the other an uncarved jade sphere. It can be said that a jade openwork finial unearthed from a tomb at Yuhuatai in Nanjing is one of the best examples of the former style. Jade carved finials seem to have remained popular at least until AD 1391 when official rank insignia were instituted. The jade finial from the tomb at Yuhuatai was presumably used before this date. Due to this new regulation, jade carved finials with motifs were likely to have gradually lost their significance and use. In addition, the different circumstance of the jade and abrasive sand supply in the Ming compared to the Yuan might have also affected their use. Brimmed hats were no longer worn on formal court occasions, and the hat in the *futou* style took their place in the Ming Dynasty. All these factors seem to have led eventually to the end of the culture of jade carved hat finials. However, hat finials set with uncarved precious or semi-precious stones remained in use in the Ming Dynasty.

The Qing were descendants of the Jin, the Nuzhen people, and decorating precious or semi-precious stones on the hat was commonly practised. They had already set up regulations for hat finials in AD 1636 to identify official rank before they conquered Ming China. Material such as *dongzhu* (their own product) was primarily used for their hat finials in the Jin manner, but jade seems to have been underestimated as a material for hat finials by the Manchus, despite the Jin having used it to decorate their hats. *Humao*, such as hats with brims of *zhanmao* type along with hat finials were revived in full for formal attire in the Qing Dynasty. However, there is no longer evidence of jade openwork carved finials being used as hat finials during this period; instead they were prized from the late Ming as ornaments on the covers of incense burners.

CHAPTER SIX: JADE OPENWORK FINIALS MOUNTED ON WOODEN INCENSE BURNER COVERS

6.1 Introduction

The incense burner is an indispensable implement found on the altar in temples and private rooms of worship in China, as incense burning is one of the principal traditional rites.¹ Incense has been burned not only for solemn occasions but also daily in the household since the ancient period; fumigating clothes with its fragrance preserved them from moths.² In the later period, incense burners are frequently in the archaic style of *ding* 鼎, *li* 鬲 and *gui* 簋 food vessels of the Yin 殷 (Shang 商) (1600-1100 BC) and Zhou 周 (1100-249 BC) Dynasties, in bronze, ceramic, and jade. Jade finials were also mounted on the wooden covers of such ritual vessels for either utilitarian or decorative function. This has been believed to be the original purpose of openwork jade finials by jade scholars, without regard for the hat finials of the Mongol Yuan era. The theory is roughly based on two records of the Ming and Qing. Firstly, an object was clearly identified as the finial of an incense burner cover (*luding*) as late as the Qianlong period (AD 1736-1795) of the Qing Dynasty, catalogued as a *luding* on an attached yellow label to an incense burner in the Qing court.³ Yin Zhiqiang discusses that there are more than a hundred jade finials attached on wooden covers in the Palace Museum, Beijing and the Nanjing Museum, but not a single example decorating hats in either museum.⁴ Second, the Ming writer, Gao Lian 高濂 has referred to both the terms *maoding* (hat finial) and *luding* (incense burner cover finial) in his account of jade manufacture since the Tang.⁵ As his publication is dated AD 1591, it can be interpreted

¹ In Ming China in the reign of Jiajing (r. AD 1522-1566), a full set of imperial altar furnishings consisted of five pieces, an incense burner, a pair of candlestick holders and a pair of flower vases. The set was arranged on ceremonial occasions at the imperial Ancestral Temple (Chen Qingguang, *Gugong lidai xiangju tulu*, Taipei, 1994, p.2).

² Hayashi Minao, *Kandai no bunbutsu*, Tokyo, 1976, p.218. HH, juan 41, p.1411. “女侍史繫被服，執香爐燒燭，從入臺中，給使護衣服。”

³ Zhou Nanquan, ed., *Yuqi*, Hong Kong, 1995, vol.2, p.116. Zhang Guangwen, *Yuqi shihua*, Beijing, 1989, p.73. Xu Lin, “Yu maoding yu yu luding”, *Wuxiwenbo*, 2001, no. 4, p.19, and so forth.

⁴ Yin Zhiqiang, “Yuandai yuqi jiangdingtanwei”, *Gugong wenwu yuekan*, 1999, no.195, p.78.

⁵ Gao Lian, *Zunshengbajian Yanxianqingshangjian*, Ming, in SY, p.472 (lun guyuqi). “自唐宋以下所製不一如笛管鳳簫…爐頂帽頂…鈎鈕文具器皿杖頭杯盃扇墜梳背玉冠珥綠環把猿馬牛羊犬貓花朵種種玩物鍛法如刻細入絲髮無毫末踰矩極盡工緻.” Xu Lin (2001a), *loc. cit.* Huang Xuanpei, ed.,

that some late Ming literati recognized the existence of both the jade hat finial and the jade finial on incense burner covers. In this regard, Wang Zhengshu points out that Gao Lian regarded jade *maoding* and jade *luding* as different objects, whereas Gao Lian's contemporary, Shen Defu, equated them.⁶ However, Gao Lian has not extended his discussion to shapes and motifs in order to identify clearly each object.

Thus, there is uncertainty about the identification of jade openwork finials as *luding* before the late Ming. In this chapter, the validity of identifying jade openwork finials as *luding* will be examined and the compatibility for *luding* of their motifs and fundamental structure, exploring the possibility of changing the idea of its usage based on the historical background of incense burners and the antiquarian culture of the late Ming literati.

6.2 Jade Openwork Finials in the Qing

As far as the Qing pictorial images are concerned, jade openwork finials were all almost always mounted on the wooden covers of incense burners in the archaic style, along with a wooden stand. Figures 6.1, 6.2a, 6.2b and 6.2c are good examples of this.⁷ The identification of the jade openwork finials as *luding* seems to have been as late as the beginning of the Qing Dynasty, which is also evident in a handscroll, the 'Guwan tu' 古玩图 (Scroll of Antiquities), dated 7th year of Yongzheng (AD 1728), depicting in minute detail eleven jade openwork finials set on wooden covers.⁸ A jade-like finial with 'egrets in lotus pond' motif can be found in the scroll, suggesting the typical motif

Shanghai chutu Tang Song Yuan Ming Qing yuqi, Shanghai, 2001, p.150. Ji Ruoxin (2002), "Yuandai de Yuan maoding - cong Taipei gugongbowuyuan suocang baiyu qiushan maoding tanqi", in ZSTQY, 2002, p.273. Wang Zhengshu, "'Luding', 'Maoding' bianshi", in ZSTQY, 2002, p.277. Zhang Guangwen, letter to the author, April 7, 2001.

⁶ Wang Zhengshu, *ibid*.

⁷ For more pictorial images, see also Jan Stuart and Evelyn S. Rawski, *Worshipping the Ancestors*, Washington D.C., 2001, fig. 5.8 and Gugong bowuyuan cang huaji bianji weiyuanhui ed., *Zhongguo Lidai huifua*, vol. VII (Qing), Beijing, 1990, p.122 (Chen Mei: Yueman Qingyou tuce, 3).

⁸ It was donated by Lady David to the Percival David Foundation of Chinese Art. For further details of this scroll painting, see Shane McCausland, "The Emperor's old toys: Rethinking the Yongzheng *Scroll of Antiquities* in the Percival David Foundation", *Transactions of the Oriental Ceramic Society*, vol. 66, 2003. I am grateful to Ms Stacey Pearson, Curator at the Percival David Foundation, for her kind arrangement to view this scroll in November, 2001.

for a jade *luding* of this period.⁹ Most pictorial images of the Qing Dynasty show jade openwork finials as display objects in private rooms. Intriguingly, the wooden covers attached with jade openwork finials surviving as heirloom pieces are rarely in openwork carving. For example, in the 'Scroll of Antiquities' there are wooden covers without openwork carving or any perforation. A wooden cover without perforations is unable to emit scented vapor from the censer and fire will die out in an airtight container; such vessels do not function practically as incense burners, unless they are covered only when not in use. There is an example in the Victoria and Albert Museum of a bronze censer with openwork carved wooden cover (Figure 6.3a).¹⁰ This example is possible to be used as an incense burner or pot-pourri structurally.¹¹ It is noteworthy that the jade finial is not in the openwork style. One may assume it to be an incense box to preserve incense (*xianghe* 香合), yet the form of the vessel is the typical incense burner of the period. What is this notional incense burner along with a wooden cover mounted with a jade openwork finial? Is it merely a decorative display object exhibiting classic forms of antiquity? Were those wooden covers and jade openwork finials originally a set of bronze vessels or incense burners? Let us now explore the origins of the appearance of this incomprehensible object in the Qing.

There is a striking answer for the provenance of this mysterious object in the Ming record written by Wen Zhenheng 文震亨 (AD 1585-1645), a great-grandson of Wen Zhengming 文徵明 (AD 1470-1559), in the *Treatise on Superfluous Things* (*Zhangwuzhi* 长物志) (dated to about AD 1627-1636). It comes in a section titled 'Incense Burners':

三代秦漢鼎彝及官哥定窑龍泉官窑皆以備賞鑒非日用所宜惟宣銅彝鑪稍大者最爲適用宋姜鑄亦可惟不可用神鑪太乙及鎏金白銅雙魚象局之類尤忌者雲間潘銅胡銅所鑄八吉

⁹ There is also a greenish jade-like finial in the shape of a mushroom with a bat and a mark of 'longevity' (*shou* 寿) mounted on a rosewood-like cover in the scroll painting. This peculiar type of finial seems most likely in later Ming or Qing taste, as if a bespoke *luding*.

¹⁰ It is not that there were no wooden covers in openwork attached with jade openwork finials, but they seem to be comparatively fewer than the covers without openwork. For example, see Zhou Nanzuan, ed., *Juqi*, vol.2, 1995, no.182.

¹¹ I am grateful to Mrs Ming Wilson, Senior Curator at the Victoria and Albert Museum, for her kind arrangement to show me this object in the Museum storage in Olympia.

祥倭景百釘諸俗式及新製建窑五色花窑等鉢又古青綠博山亦可間用木鼎可置山中石鼎惟以供御餘俱不入品古人鼎彝俱有底蓋今人以木爲之烏木者最上紫檀花梨俱可忌菱花葵花諸俗式鉢頂以宋玉帽頂及角端海獸諸樣隨鉢大小配之瑪瑙水晶之屬舊者亦可用。¹²

The bronze *ding* and *yi* vessels of the Three Dynasties (i.e. Xia, Yin (Shang) and Zhou Dynasties) and the Qin and Han Dynasties and those ceramic vessels of *Guan* ware, *Ge* ware, *Ding* ware, *Longquan* ware, or *Jingdezhen* ware of the *Xuande* period (AD 1426-1435) are objects of connoisseurship and are not suited for daily use. The most suitable are the rather larger *Xuande* bronze incense burners (i.e. bronze incense burners made in the *Xuande* period, imitating ancient bronze vessels), and bronze incense burners cast by Ms Jiang of the Song (i.e. a Song woman bronze-worker) are also acceptable. However, it is unacceptable to use temple burners, *Taiyi* incense burners,¹³ burners made of gilt white brass with a pair of fish motif or *li* bronze vessels with legs in the shape of an elephant.¹⁴ Particularly, to be avoided are all the vulgar forms such as the 'eight auspicious emblems', 'Japanese landscapes' or 'hundred nail head' burners¹⁵ cast by the bronze-workers of the Pan and Hu families at Yunjian (i.e. present day Songjiang county, Shanghai), as well as the recently made ceramic burners of *Jian* ware (i.e. *Dehua* ware) or of porcelain with a design in overglaze enamels (i.e. *wucai* 五彩).¹⁶ Antique blue-green *Boshan* incense burners can be used sometimes, while wooden tripod *ding* burners are acceptable [for dwelling] in the mountains, and stone ones are solely acceptable for Buddhist worship. All the rest are not worth considering. The *ding* and *yi* vessels of the ancients all have stands and covers, and nowadays people make these of wood, with ebony being the best, though *zitan* wood (i.e. rosewood) and *huali* wood (i.e. *Dalbergia oerifera*)¹⁷ are also acceptable. Avoid [the wooden cover with] vulgar designs like water-caltrop¹⁸ or hollyhock patterns.¹⁹ The knob of these covers should use jade hat finials of the Song, with *jiaoduan* mythical animal or auspicious beast motifs,²⁰ and of a size appropriate to the incense burner. Materials like

¹² Wen Zhenheng, *Zhangwuzhi*, Late Ming, in SQ vol. 872, p.63-4 (juan 7: Xianglu).

¹³ Chen Zhi explains '*Taiyi*' as the name of a star or the name of the god '*beichen*' 北辰 (Chen Zhi and Yang Chaobo, *Zhangwuzhi xiaozhu*, punctuated and annotated *Zhangwuzhi* by Wen Zhenheng, reprint, Nanjing, 1984, p.248).

¹⁴ For a bronze vessel with a leg in the elephant style, see a portrait of *Zhu Youhang* illustrated in fig.76, *Art of the Dragon*, by Yang Xin, Li Yihua and Xu Naixiang, London, 1989 and Chen Guangqing, *Gugong lidai xiangju tulu*, Taipei, 1994, no. 54.

¹⁵ 'Hundred nail head' burners have rugged surface on the burners (Chen Zhi and Yang Chaobo, *loc. cit.*) Such an example can be seen in the Burrell Collection, Glasgow (Appendix 3, A:1:2).

¹⁶ For an incense burner in overglaze enamels, see Chen Quangqing, *op. cit.*, no.60.

¹⁷ According to *Geguyaolun*, *huali* wood is produced from the south and is purple red in colour and scented (Cao Zhao, *Geguyaolun*, Ming, in SQ, vol. 871, p.110.).

¹⁸ Arai Ken annotated this as a diamond-shape (菱形) pattern (Arai Ken *et al.*, *Chobutsushi*, trans. of *Zhangwuzhi* by Wen Zhenheng, Tokyo, 2000, vol.2, p.172).

¹⁹ There is an example of this wooden cover with a hollyhock pattern in the Burrell Collection, Glasgow (Appendix 3, A:1:2).

²⁰ According to Arai Ken, *jiaoduan* have a horn on the nose and understand foreign languages, quoting

agate and crystal can be used [for the knob] if they are old.²¹

What is immediately evident from this extract is that the idea of having a wooden cover and a stand was originally a creation by the late Ming people for archaic vessels, and that old hat finials were also adapted as knobs (or handles) of the wooden covers to meet the antique style for incense burners of the period. If the wooden covers for such incense burners did not appear before the late Ming, the jade finial of the Ren family and the jade finial with a gold mount unearthed at Yuhuatai in Nanjing are manifestly irrelevant in connection to incense burners. If so, the theory of Wang Zhengshu that a wooden cover would decay completely in an underground tomb so that one of the three incense burners unearthed from a tomb of the Ren Family must have originally been accompanied by a wooden cover along with a jade finial, cannot be supported.²² No wooden cover attached with jade finial has yet been excavated by archaeologists. In fact, it is apparent from the pictorial images that a wooden cover and stand seem not to be conventional before the Ming. Again, it is clearly suggested by Wen Zhenheng that a set of jade finials, wooden covers and archaic bronze vessels, such as *ding*, *yi*, or ceramics vessels of *Guan* ware, *Ge* ware, *Ding* ware, *Longquan* ware and *Jingdezhen* ware of the *Xuande* period are not suitable for actual use as incense burners but rather for appreciation, that is, as display objects. Accordingly, it becomes clear why the wooden cover has no perforations and the incense burner was designed to be an airtight container. It can be said that Wen Zhenheng's recommendation for the best antique style in the late Ming period influenced the Qing style and is reflected in it, which is evident from surviving heirloom objects. It is of significance that his suggestions convey the late Ming literati ideal, the trend at that time, and their concept of antiquity. However, their understanding seems partially limited. First, covers of bronze vessels such as *ding* seem to have first appeared in the Spring and Autumn period, as far as we know from

an example from the Han record (Arai Ken *et al.*, *op. cit.*, p.173). Chen Zhi explains '*haishou*' as kinds of sea beasts, while Arai Ken remarks that *haishou* are foreign rare beasts or auspicious beasts in general, taking an example from *Bogutu* by Wang Fu of the Song (Chen Zhi and Yang Chaobo, *loc. cit.* and Arai Ken *et al.*, *ibid.*).

²¹ Chen Zhi and Yang Chaobo, *ibid.*, p.247-9. Arai Ken *et al.*, *ibid.*, p.167-173 (Koro). Craig Clunas, *Superfluous Things*, Oxford, 1991, p.43 (incense burners). The English translation here is from Clunas, with some adaptation by the author. I am grateful to Professor Craig Clunas, formerly of University of Sussex, for discussing Wen Zhenheng's description in interview, July 4, 2000.

archaeological reports and surviving relics.²³ Therefore, *ding* vessels were originally without covers in the Yin (Shang) and Zhou Dynasties. Besides, covers of ritual vessels were consistently made in bronze in that period so that vessels and covers always appeared *en suite*. In particular, to add a cover to a *jia* wine or water bronze vessel in the Yin and early Zhou style as in our Figure 6.2c is totally against the actual classic form of the ancient bronze art. A disjointed combination of wooden cover, jade knob and bronze vessel is clearly far from the original style. It is suggestive of a typical Qing eclecticism in the inaccurate assemblage of styles of ancient art. Yet, its origin may derive from the notions of the antique of the late Ming literati who were convinced that *ding* and *yi* vessels all needed stands and covers. Actually, stands seem to have been absent for those ritual vessels in ancient times.²⁴ Secondly, Wen Zhenheng mentions hat finials of the Song. He writes of jade finials carved with beast motifs, and these could be a *xiezhi* and dragon, and so forth. Jade finials with dragon motifs are normally in openwork carving, apart from the *chi*-dragon example. If he means jade finials in multiple layer openwork carving, there is no archaeological report from Song tombs supporting the existence of such jade finials, hitherto. As he is a contemporary writer to Shen Defu, it seems that there was a belief in the existence of Song jade hat finials among a circle of the Ming literati who lived in the Jiangnan area. In view of the records concerning jade finials by the late Ming writers, it becomes clear that their understanding of jade finials was rather imprecise. Wen Zhenheng does not specify jade openwork finials, yet in the light of the style of heirloom incense burners with wooden cover and jade finial which are suggested by him, what he indicated will be clear, that is, our jade openwork finials. Finally, it is crucial that Wen Zhenheng clearly recommends a size of jade finial appropriate to the incense burners, suggesting that jade finials were adapted to the finials of incense burner covers during his time.

6.3 The Late Ming Literati and Antiquarians

A number of Qing paintings have shown how jade finials were placed on the wooden

²² Wang Zhengshu, *op. cit.*, p.284.

²³ A bronze *gui* vessel and a cover were found in a tomb of the Western Zhou Dynasty (Figure 6.3b).

²⁴ A bronze *gui* vessel was cast occasionally, with not removal stand. See Figure 6.3b.

covers of incense burners as Figures 6.1 and 6.2a. Only one late Ming painting showing this fashion can be discovered, suggesting its inception in the later Ming Dynasty. It is the 'Examining Antiquities in a Bamboo Court' 竹院品古 attributed to the notable Ming painter, Qiu Ying (Figure 6.4a and 6.4b). The painting is assumed to represent a scene of admiring and appraising ancient paintings and archaic bronzes by Northern Song literati such as Su Shi 苏轼 and Mi Fu 米芾.²⁵ A bronze vessel like a tripod *ding* with a wooden cover and a white jade-like finial and a wooden stand is depicted on the rear table at right. In view of the wooden cover with a jade-like finial, the women's attire, headpiece of the literati and so forth, we know that the painting reflects actual Ming culture. The painting is considered as a later work of Qiu Ying around AD 1542-1552.²⁶ Jade finials seem to have been included in the subject of the 'appreciation of antiquities' by literati as early as the sixteenth century. However, the well-known painting 'Enjoying Antiques' 玩古图 attributed to Du Jin 杜堇 (active c. 1465- c. 1505) and other paintings dated to earlier periods than Qiu Ying intriguingly do not show jade finials mounted on wooden covers for ancient bronzes. Even if the subject of the painting is not related to enjoying antiquities but to scenes from daily life, from Tang to the Ming, covered vessels with jade finials cannot be found at all, in paintings or in any illustrations from publications.²⁷ Why was a wooden cover with a jade finial depicted it seems only in Qiu Ying's painting during the Ming? Why is it rare in the Ming? Two main reasons can be considered. First, the fashion only started in the late Ming so that it could not reach the level where it was commonly depicted before the fall of the Ming. Second, only the specific circle of Ming literati knew this fashionable and novel set of antique objects in the period.

Shen Defu, Gao Lian, Wen Zhenheng and Qiu Ying were notable literati and painters in Jiangnan. The provenance of the wooden cover and jade finial seems to be the literati

²⁵ Liu Fangru, "Ming Zhongyao renwu huasijia - 4 Qiu Ying", *Gugong Wenwu Yuekan*, no.212, 2000, p.17.

²⁶ *Ibid.*

²⁷ For example, 'Wishing Away the Summer' 销夏图卷 by Liu Guandao 刘贯道 (fl.1279-1300). See also Guoli Gugong bowuyuan bianji weiyuanhui, ed., *Gugong shuhua tulu*, vol. 3, Taipei, 1989, p.85, 245 and 297. A bronze censer of tripod *ding* type can be seen in a barge near Emperor Shizong (r.1521-1566) in the scroll 'The Emperor's Procession', yet there is no cover and stand and the censer is used as an incense burner. For this, see Na Zhiliang, *The Emperor's Procession*, Taipei, 1970, pl.36.

culture in that area. There is an interesting piece in the National Palace Museum, Taiwan, an ivory white tripod incense burner with bow-string decor of the Northern Song Dynasty (AD 960-1127) (Figures 6.5a and 6.5b). This *Ding* ware incense burner has a wooden cover attached with a grey jade finial in the form of a mandarin duck holding a spray of flowers in its mouth. The finial bears close resemblance to the one unearthed from the late Ming tomb of Prince Yixuan at Nancheng in Jiangxi (Figure 5.87). However, in the light of the appearance of the wooden cover for such vessels, the jade finial cannot date to the Northern Song Dynasty. The technique of carving to utilize the luteous colour of the centre of the flower is also characteristic of a later period, like the Ming and Qing, as discussed in Chapter Five. There is no precedent for this style of jade finial unearthed in the Song. In addition, this grey jade in somber colour seems to have been deliberately selected to create an archaic quality. What is most important here is that this wooden cover attached with finial bears a mark of the collection of the Xiang family (项氏家藏), suggesting that the object was owned by Xiang Yuanbian 项元汴 (AD 1525-1591).²⁸ He was the most famous Ming antique collector and is thought to have been an influential patron of the painter Qiu Ying.²⁹ If there was a close relationship between Qiu Ying and Xiang Yuanbian, Qiu Ying might have viewed a wooden cover with a jade finial in Xiang's collection, and known very well about this object which was highly esteemed by his patron. This is a probable reason why he was able to depict such a novelty of the period in the painting, at a time when it was becoming highly esteemed. According to Shen Defu, the most expensive jade finial cost several thousand pieces of gold and the price was ten times as high as thirty years before.³⁰ It is therefore no surprise if Xiang Yuanbian, a wealthy antique Ming collector, possessed the example now in the National Palace Museum, Taiwan. Besides, Xie Zhaozhe, the Ming writer, recorded that the Xiang family collected a number of priceless antique works of art and obtained all their treasures from the old families in the Jiangnan area by dint of the wealth enjoyed by generations of his family.³¹ In

²⁸ Chen Qingguang, "Songdai de hexiang yu xiangju", *Gugong wenwu yuekan*, no. 133, 1994, p.35.

²⁹ Zheng Yinshu, *Xiang Yuanbian zhi shuhua shouzang yu yishu*, Taipei, 1984, p.51-3.

³⁰ Shen Defu, *Wanli yehuobian*, preface dated to 1606, reprint, Beijing, 1959, p.662.

³¹ Xie Zhaozhe, *Wuzuzi*, 1616, reprint, Shanghai, 1959, vol.1, juan 7, renbu 3, p.200 (Xiangshi suozaog).

particular, he writes that there were many archaic bronze ritual vessels such as *dīng* in his large collection.³² It is probable that Xiang Yuanbian collected a number of jade finials for such archaic vessels, just as Wen Zhenheng suggested the ideal style for their presentation and that jade finials were dramatically increasing in value and popularity as antiques, a trend which encouraged their collection together with archaic vessels at that time, as suggested by Shen Defu's description of the rapid rise in value of jade finials compared to the past.

6.3.1 The Handscroll of 'Qingming Festival on the River'

The notable painting, 'Qingming Festival on the River' depicting life in the Northern Song capital of Kaifeng attributed to Zhang Zeduan of the Northern Song has been repeatedly copied by a number of artists throughout the later dynasties. Qiu Ying is considered one of those painters who produced Ming versions and such works attributed to him are not a few; for example, three copies in the National Palace Museum, Taiwan, one in the Metropolitan Museum of Art and some copies in Japan.³³ Although the paintings depict in the minutest detail commodities in shops reflecting contemporary taste, vessels in archaic form with wooden covers and jade finials cannot be seen in the shops dealing in antiques, incense, utensils and vessels. In the original Song version of Zhang Zeduan in the Palace Museum, Beijing, it is reasonable from Wen Zhenheng's record that such objects should be absent, yet there seems to be no depiction of jade finials mounted on wooden covers in any other museum holding copies of this painting, as far as the 'Comprehensive Illustrated Catalogue of Chinese Paintings' allows us to judge.³⁴

However, there is an exception in the excellent Qing version in the National Palace

³² *Ibid.* In his tomb, a tripod ceramic *dīng* incense burner has been discovered, yet a cover and a jade finial are absent (Lu Yaohua, "Zhejiang Jiaying Ming Xiang shi mu", *Wenwu*, 1982, no.8, pl.6:3).

³³ Na Zhiliang, *Qing Ming Shanghe tu*, Taipei, 1977, p.1. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, *Ch'ing Ming Shang ho Spring Festival on the River: A Scroll Painting (Ex Coll. A.W. Bahr) of the Ming Dynasty after a Sung Dynasty Subject*, New York, 1948, portfolio, introduction. For example, in Japan, the Imperial Household Agency (Suzuki Kei, ed., *op. cit.*, vol.5, p.296). There is also a copy under this title in the British Museum (*ibid.*, p.546).

³⁴ I am grateful to the Institute of Oriental Culture, University of Tokyo, for allowing me to view photographic copies.

Museum, Taiwan (Figures 6.6a and 6.6b). This handscroll was a joint work by members of the Qing imperial painting academy, Chen Mei 陈枚, Sun You 孙佑, Jin Kun 金昆, Dai Hong 戴洪 and Cheng Zhiyuan 程志远, and completed by the time that Qianlong ascended the throne in AD 1736.³⁵ Figure 6.6a shows an antique shop with the shop-keeper dusting bronzes, ceramics and handscrolls on the right-hand side, while two literati-like figures are viewing and criticizing objects on the left. A vessel like a bronze *ding* with a stand and cover and jade-like finial is displayed on the centre of the table, suggesting that the object is one of the special wares of the shop. It is probable that such bronze vessels with cover and finial were sought after in the early Qing period, which is also attested by the painting of Qianlong in Figure 6.2a, although the archaic objects enjoyed by Qianlong are unquestionably the best from the imperial workshop, not from a shop in the street. That such objects are not on display in a shop selling household incense and ceramics in this Qing handscroll painting, also suggests that the object was not a utilitarian piece for incense burning any more than in the late Ming. Moreover, the piece is shown in a shop, unlike the one in a private room in the Ming painting (Figure 6.4a), in this Qing version of '*Qingming* Festival on the River', and this suggests that it was not now as rare as in late Ming times but was more commonly recognized as an antique object by the time of the Qianlong period. In other words, jade finials were almost certainly understood as finials set on archaic bronze incense burners by the Qing people of the eighteenth century.

6.3.2 Reproduction and Copying of Jade Finials for Incense Burners

Rare objects are always subject to reproduction and copying in order to meet the demands of the period's trends, and it is certain that jade finials were no exception. There is a poem composed by the Emperor Qianlong and entitled 'Celebrating a Song jade *luding*' 咏宋做玉炉顶.³⁶ The poem is about two intelligent men of the Yuan Dynasty sitting together criticizing the appearance and style of a jade *luding* on display and saying that jade carvers in their time (i.e. the Yuan) are unable to attain the level of

³⁵ Na Zhiliang (1977), *loc. cit.*

³⁶ Gao Zong, ed., *Yuzhi shi ji*, edited by Dong Gao *et al.*, 4 ji, juan 61, vol.61, in SQ, vol.1308, p.332.

the past (i.e. the Song).³⁷ A note to the poem explains that a Song jade *luding* for an incense burner in the style of a *ding* bronze vessel made in the period of *Xuanhe* (AD 1119-1125) of the Song Dynasty is carved with mountains and trees in a rough and simple manner,³⁸ and that even though jade carvers of the Qing Dynasty attempt to copy it, the appearance is still far from the original.³⁹ There is little archaeological evidence at present of the existence of Song jade domed finials carved in rough and simple manner. Yet, there is a surviving heirloom example in the National Palace Museum, Taiwan, bearing such a motif of mountains and trees, which may date as early as the Jin, before the Yuan (Figure 6.6c).⁴⁰ It is conceivable that jades like this one in the National Palace Museum, Taiwan, were frequently imitated as Song pieces by the Qing jade carvers. Paradoxically, we can deduce from this poem that copies of jade finials were frequently made during the time of Qianlong, however it was easy to distinguish the copy from the original on account of the Qing jade carvers' advanced technique and sophisticated skill. On the basis of the poem, one can postulate that reproduction of jade finials originated in the Qing Dynasty or perhaps in the late Ming period, in view of the enthusiastic antiquarianism of that period and the novel fashion for jade finials on the covers of incense burners.

There is an example that may be considered a copy of a Yuan jade finial by later jade carvers, in the Shanghai Museum (Figure 6.7a). What first made the author question its dating is the way it is carved with attention to minute details, in contrast to the Yuan example of the Ren family (Figure 6.7b). For example, the surface is worked smooth

³⁷ *Ibid.* “談元對坐兩高士玉寫風姿爐頂陳刻畫為圖斯鼻祖後人端是讓前人”

³⁸ *Ibid.* “此宣和所製鼎爐之蓋頂也既工且樸山樹皆就皺皮為之今所謂皮糙玉也玉工雖有仿倣者然相去遠矣”

³⁹ *Ibid.*

⁴⁰ Ji Ruoxin discusses the ‘*qiu shan*’ (lit. Autumn Mountain) Jin motif of this jade finial. Yet Ji concludes that it is a Yuan jade hat finial (Ji Ruoxin, “Yuan Baiyu ‘Qiu Shan’ maoding”, *Gugong wenwu yuekan*, 2001, no.224, p.59-60). Based on Chapter Five and the primitive three-dimensional openwork, this finial may be Jin; archaeologists have not found multiple layered openwork style before the Yuan. For other examples, there is a jade finial with ‘Autumn Mountain’ scene dated to the Jin Dynasty in the Shanghai Museum (Figure 6.6d); a jade ornament with stag and deer motif dated Qianlong period (AD 1736-95) in the Metropolitan Museum of Art (Figure 6.6e). See also the one discovered at Xilin pagoda, Shanghai (Figure 7.87) and Appendix 3, A:4:2, B:3:1 and C:4:1. As discussed in Chapter Five, in view of the practice and manner of wearing hat finials with deer or stag motifs in early times by the nomads, jade finials with deer motifs associated with the Jin are intriguing, if they are a revival of hat finials.

throughout even into the hollow spaces on the surface of the base, while that of the Ren family finial was left rough. The edge of the base shows this contrast remarkably, that of the Ren family jade a ragged surface. Moreover, an area corresponding to the thickness of the base is finely incised with an oblique line all the way round (Figure 6.7a). This taste and a tendency to apply a design even to a part that a viewer or wearer may not normally observe reminds the author of the carving of the Ming and Qing belt-hook, one of the scholar's desk objects.⁴¹ A belt-hook was used to fasten the Chinese traditional robe from the Spring and Autumn period to the Han, frequently cast in bronze with gilding and inlay of semi-precious stones, such as jade and turquoise, and occasionally made of gold, silver or jade. It was fixed at one end of the belt by means of a stud on the back of it. The use of the belt-hook gradually went out of fashion, however a fashion revived in the Song, and in particular the Ming and Qing Dynasties, for archaistic copies or for miniature sculptural masterpieces for the scholar's studio, demonstrating complicated undercut high relief, often in jade.⁴² Wen Zhenheng suggests the ideal use of archaic bronze belt-hooks is to hang them on the studio wall and also to attach them to hanging scroll paintings, dusters, or feather fans as a decoration, which is most elegant, and he recommended to display as many as possible in the studio.⁴³ That is to say, display objects in the scholar's studio needed to be highly ornamental to impress the viewer and please the eye. For example, round button-like studs on the back of the shaft of a belt-hook of that period tend frequently to be carved as a stylized flower (Figures 6.8a and 6.8b).⁴⁴ Figure 6.8b also shows finely incised striation of the dragon's mane as a decoration on the back of the shaft. The dragon's mane striation also appears on the side of the shaft (Figure 6.10), and there are

⁴¹ Ming and antique belt-plaques were commonly used as table screens frequently mounted with wooden flames as scholars' desk objects in the Qing. Examples can be seen in the National Palace Museum, Taiwan, Metropolitan Museum of Art, British Museum, and Bristol City Museum Art Gallery.

⁴² "Scholar's studio object is known as 'wenwan', objects employed by the literati for their scholarly activities, for decorating their studies or simply for enjoyment and appreciation." (Deng Shuping, "Twelve jades in the Palace Museum bearing Lu Tzu-kang's name-mark", *National Palace Museum Bulletin*, 1982, vol. XVII, p.6).

⁴³ Wen Zhenheng, *op. cit.*, SQ: 872, p.68 (juan 7: gou).

⁴⁴ See also S. Howard Hansford, *Jade Essence of Hills and Streams*, London, 1969, D57 (p.157). An example shown in Hansford's book is decorated in the form of a begonia flower on the stud at the rear of the belt-hook and dates to the Qianlong period. The style is also illustrated in the *Gu yu tu pu* (Illustrated catalogue of antique jades) by Long Dayuan (Figure 6.9). The *Gu yu tu pu* is currently regarded as a later period edition rather than the Song by current scholars (SY, p.3, foreword in SY).

sometimes grooves or incised patterns such as a water pattern on the sides of the shafts,⁴⁵ as if a similar taste to decorating the thickness of the jade base in Figure 6.7a. This seems a common feature of the Ming and Qing examples.⁴⁶ These elements of delicate and ornamental decoration on the side or back are completely unnecessary for practical use, as a garment hook or a hat finial, as they were not visible to viewer or wearer, unless they were on display. It can be said that the feature is one of the hallmarks of the Ming and Qing scholars' taste for display objects in their studio.⁴⁷

The second reason for considering Figure 6.7a as a reproduction of a later period is that it bears characteristic features of Suzhou craftsmanship of the sixteenth century, utilizing the skin of a jade pebble to emphasise relief for greater ornamental effect or in imitation of archaic style. Gao Lian recorded, "Recently, craftsmen of Suzhou imitate ingeniously the Han and Song jade slit-discs (*jue* 玦), belt-hooks (*gou* 钩) and *bi*-discs with medium size hole (*huan* 环) [with a *chi*-dragon motif] using dark yellow and mingled colours of the jade pebble's skin, or jade of pale ink black colour. As they are exquisitely copied in Han and Song style, it causes confusion with the real archaic objects so that the copy can fetch a high price."⁴⁸ This can be seen in the Smillie Collection in the Hunterian Museum, Glasgow (Figure 6.10) in terms of the greenish and mingled brown marking, used to highlight the relief of the *chi*-dragon. Likewise, the jade finial in the Shanghai Museum seems to have used the skin of a jade pebble in parts of the surface of the lotus flower to enhance the decorative effect or antique quality. This practice can be traced back to the Song in surviving objects, and it is clear from Gao Lian that jade carvers of Suzhou frequently used this technique to create an antique quality during the late Ming period.⁴⁹ Moreover, a yellow jade was esteemed in the late Ming period, according to Wen Zhenheng and Gao Lian, themselves sixteenth to

⁴⁵ These examples are in the Smillie Collection in the Hunterian Museum, Glasgow and in the Hardinge Collection, the University of Durham. See also ZYQ:5, no.228.

⁴⁶ Chu-tsing Li and James C.Y. Watt, eds., *The Chinese Scholar's Studio*, New York, 1987, p.170.

⁴⁷ Jessica Rawson discusses the change of function and meaning of ancient jade pendants in the Ming (Jessica, Rawson, "The Reuse of Ancient Jades", in *Chinese Jades*, London, 1997, p.182-6).

⁴⁸ Gao Lian, *op. cit.*, p.473. "近日吳中巧模擬漢宋玦鉤環用蒼黃雜色邊皮玉或帶淡墨色玉如式琢成偶亂出製每得高值。"

⁴⁹ For the notion of archaic jades in the Ming and Qing, see also Craig Clunas, "The Idea of *Gu Yu* (Archaic Jades) in Ming and Qing Texts", in *Chinese Jades*, London, 1997, p.205-14.

seventeenth century literati.⁵⁰ The yellowish jade finial in the Shanghai Museum seems to present the literati taste of the late Ming. The final point to associate with Figure 6.7a is the size of the egrets. All unearthed jade finials at Xilin pagoda in Shanghai, the tomb at Yuhuatai in Nanjing, and the tombs of the Ren family have egrets more than half the height of the finial occupying a large part of the whole. On the other hand, the egret on the jade finial in the Shanghai Museum (Figure 6.7b) is small, less than half the height of the finial. This feature is distinctive among the unearthed pieces, suggesting carving in a different age or manner. Furthermore, the long crest of the egret curls slightly up. As discussed in Chapter Four, egrets with such characteristic features are often depicted in the Ming and Qing Dynasties (Figures 4.43 and 4.47) but it is still rare for a jade finial.⁵¹ Flower rosettes of four or five petals with a circle of stylized stamens and pistils in the right (Figure 6.7a), showing small perforations between petals, are a common feature of the jade finial in the Shanghai Museum and the jade finial of the Xiang collection (Figure 6.5a). Such rosette motifs have not been seen in unearthed jade finials in the Yuan and early Ming but are occasionally found in auction catalogue pieces dating to a later period (Figure 6.11). To conclude, the jade finial in the Shanghai Museum (Figure 6.7a) can be proposed as dating to the late Ming Dynasty or thereafter, an example of a reproduction for the scholar's studio, but not for use as a hat finial.

6.4 The Rise of Song Antiquarianism and Incense Burners

The emperors themselves were collectors of antiquities in the antiquarian revival that marked the age of the scholar-official of the Song Dynasty, when archaic forms of bronzes, ceramics and jades were reproduced, although the collecting of bronze vessels by emperors, such as *ding*, began much earlier in Chinese imperial history.⁵² The archaizing movement in the Song was paralleled and heightened by the revival of Confucian traditions and the development of Neo-Confucianism, which further

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p.471. Wen Zhenheng, *op. cit.*, p.74 (juan 7: hailun tongyu diaoke yaoqi).

⁵¹ See also Figure 4.50 which shows a wrong interpretation of the egrets' crest.

⁵² The trend was remarkable, especially in the reign of Emperor Yuan 元帝 of the Liang Dynasty (AD 552-555) of the Southern Dynasty and the reign of King Li Yu 李煜 (AD 937-978) who ruled the Southern Tang in the Five Dynasties and Ten Kingdoms (AD 907-960) (Wu Jingyi, "Wangu yu Fanggu", *Gugong wenwu yuekan*, 2001, no.224, p.89). According to Nishimura, collecting and appreciation of work of arts by the Chinese Emperors would have begun in the Former Han Dynasty (Nishimura

stimulated and characterized the art forms and antiquarianism of the period, when the recovery of the ancient glories of the 'Three Dynasties' was attempted.⁵³ The Song emperors encouraged the return to archaism in ritual and music for the sake of the revival of the ancient cultural ideals of the 'Three Dynasties'. Archaic bronze ritual vessels, like 'ding' and 'yi', symbolised the authority of the heir apparent as the dynastic successor⁵⁴ and collecting such ritual vessels was of great significance and importance for the Chinese rulers to demonstrate their political authority. Scholar's desk objects for display began to become gifts among the literati in the Southern and Northern Dynasties (AD 420-589), however it was not until the Song Dynasty that they became decorative and such objects themselves became an art form.⁵⁵ Collection and imitation of ancient bronze art was further energized and encouraged by the compilation of a number of annotated and illustrated catalogues of antiques, like the *San li tu* 三礼图 (Illustrated Catalogue of the Three Rites) by Nie Chongyi 聶崇義 in AD 962, *Kaogu tu* 考古图 (Research on the Antique Illustrated) by Lü Dalin 吕大临 in AD 1092, and *Chongxiu Xuanhe Bogutu lu* 重修宣和博古图录 (Drawings and Lists of the Antiquities of the Xuanhe Palace) commissioned by the Emperor Huizong in the early twelfth century. In these catalogues the finest pieces that were known or owned were carefully analyzed, stimulating antique collectors and connoisseurs throughout later periods, even to this day. It had great influence on the later periods, and inspired the making of copies in the archaic style based on such catalogues.

Jade finials mounted on wooden covers are absent in all these antique catalogues. The remark by Wen Zhenheng that wooden covers for incense burners in the form of archaic vessels were a late Ming innovation seems to be reliable. In the National Palace Museum, Taiwan, there are Song ceramic incense burners of *Ding* ware and *Longquan* ware in the style of *li* 鬲 bronze food vessels and *hu* 斛 gilded measures and Yuan ceramic incense burners in the style of the *gui* bronze vessel, all with wooden covers

Yasuhiko, "Teio no shushu no fukei", in *Kokuyuhakubutsuin*, Tokyo, 1999, p.78-9).

⁵³ Chen Fangmei, "Song guqiwxue de xingqi yu Song fanggutongqi", *Meishushi yanjiu jikan*, 2001, no.10, p.37.

⁵⁴ Nishimura Yasuhiko, *op. cit.*

⁵⁵ Cai Meifen, "Jiankan wenren yanshangqi (1)", *Gugong wenwu yuekan*, no. 109, 1992, p.5.

and typical openwork jade finials (Figures 6.5a, 6.12 and 6.13).⁵⁶ On the basis of Wen Zhenheng's remark, can we assume that these wooden covers were fitted in the late Ming period and after?

The Song Dynasty was a time of evolvement of the objects of the scholar's studio.⁵⁷ It is also well-known that shortage of jade came at a time of advance in the ceramics industry of this period, with the development of lustrous thick glazed green *Longquan* ware as if reminiscent of jades. It was not until the Song Dynasty that the forms of ancient ritual bronze vessels were employed for secular incense burners made in ceramics, a result of the appreciation of antiquities.⁵⁸ In the Song, archaic food vessels like *gui* 簋, *li* 鬲 and *ding* 鼎 were reproduced in ceramics as incense burners, the *Ge* ware, *Longquan* ware, and *Ding* ware (Figures 6.14, 6.15, 6.16, 6.5a).⁵⁹ Similarly, jade *cong* 琮 ritual objects and bronze *zun* 尊 wine vessels were reborn as ceramic flower vases in the Song (Figures 6.17 and 6.18).⁶⁰ However, even though the original usage of the archaic vessels was changed to display in the scholar's studio, adopting wooden covers for such solemn ritual vessels, ancient symbols of authority, seems to have not been in Song literati taste, as their attitude to ancient bronze art was more loyal, unaffected and deferential than the Ming and Qing eclectic taste. In the Ren family tombs, four incense burners were discovered: two *Guan* ware (official kilns) *li* and *gui* shaped incense burners assumed to be Southern Song, one *Longquan* tripod incense burner, and one *Jingdezhen* tripod incense burner with two upright loop handles (Figures 6.19, 6.20, 6.21 and 6.22).⁶¹ None of the four incense burners had a wooden cover, which seems to be the common style of the Yuan period as in the Song, although

⁵⁶ For a *gui* bronze vessel with wooden cover and jade egret finial, see Li Yumin, ed., *Guse: 16 zhi 18 shiji yishu de fangguifeng*, Taipei, 2003, II-11:D (p.99).

⁵⁷ Cai Meifen, *op. cit.*, p.8.

⁵⁸ Li Chu-Tsing and Watt, C.Y. James, *op. cit.*, p.177. Mitani Michio, "Sodai Jisei kouro no kidai to sono kaidai", *Toyoshigaku*, 2000, no.23, p.24.

⁵⁹ Yuba Tadanori, "So dai jiki kikei roof", in *Kokyu hakubutsuin*, vol. 6, Tokyo, 1997, p.86.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, p.87. *Gu* 觚 bronze beaker in the style of the Yin (Shang) and Zhou Dynasties was also adapted to flower vases in the later period. See Chen Qingguan, *Gugong lidai xiangju tulu*, no.102-3.

⁶¹ Shen Lingxin and Xu Yongxiang, "Shanghaishi qingpuxian Yuandai Renshimucang jishu", *Wenwu*, 1982, no.7, p.54-5.

a set of incense burner and stand is known (Figure 6.23).⁶² Workshops called *xiaomuzuo* 小木作 and *xiaoqizuo* 小器作 were established at court in the Song Dynasty specializing in manufacturing small vessels and stands and ornamental stands.⁶³ It is noteworthy that a cover for a tripod blue-glazed incense burner has been unearthed from a Yuan tomb, yet these were ceramic in *en suite* style (Figure 6.24). Tao Zongyi, of the late Yuan to early Ming, who described Yuan hat finials also discusses archaic bronze vessels of his time in his record, *Nancun chuogeng lu*.⁶⁴ The section entitled 'Antique Bronze Vessels' extends to detailed observation, but it is interesting that he does not refer at all to jade openwork finials for decoration of the covers of these vessels.

6.4.1 Jade Incense Burners

Incense burners in the form of ritual bronze vessels were rendered in jade materials in the Song. A question arises whether jade covers surmounted with jade finials were made for such jade incense burners in *en suite* material, which would accord with Song style and taste. A 'yu xiang ding' 玉香鼎 (jade incense burner in the form of *ding* vessel) is recorded in a list of gifts to the Emperor Gaozong (r. AD 1127-1162) in *Wulinjiushi* 武林旧事 by Zhou Mi 周密 of the Southern Song.⁶⁵ The *History of the Yuan* also records jade incense burners 玉香炉.⁶⁶ Ten jade incense burners appear in an inventory owned by the disgraced late Ming politician, Yan Song 严嵩.⁶⁷ Among heirloom objects in the Palace Museum, Beijing and the National Palace Museum, Taiwan, jade incense burners are mostly in the style of *gui* vessels. A jade incense burner dating to the Song in the Palace Museum, Beijing, has no cover (Figure 6.25). On the other hand, three jade incense burners assumed to date from the Ming and Qing have wooden covers surmounted with jade finials (Figure 6.26).⁶⁸ As we discussed, it is almost

⁶² For a *Longquan* ware stand, see also Pan Xingrong, *op. cit.*, p.34-5.

⁶³ Cai Meifeng, *op. cit.*, p.15.

⁶⁴ Tao Zongyi, *Nancunchuogenglu*, Yuan, reprint, Beijing, 1959, p.203-6.

⁶⁵ Zhou Mi, *Wulinjiushi*, 1280, reprint, Beijing, 1982, p.177.

⁶⁶ YS, juan 203, liezhuan 90, Tian Zhongliang, p. 4536.

⁶⁷ Anonymous Ming writer, *Tian shui bing shan lu*, vol. 2, p.82.

⁶⁸ See also Deng Shuping, "Liezhuan haiwai yisi laishang de yuqi", *Gugong wenwu yuekan*, 1987, no. 47, fig.24, 26 and 27, and "Twelve jades in the Palace Museum bearing Lu Tzu-kang's name-mark", *National Palace Museum Bulletin*, 1982, vol. XVII, pl.10a.

certain that there were no wooden covers for the Song incense burners, and we have seen the reasons for the wooden covers accompanying the Ming and Qing incense burners.

What did the 'yu xiang ding' look like? There is an intriguing example made in the Qianlong period in the National Palace Museum, Taiwan. As pointed out by Zhang Linsheng, it is a white jade *Wen wang* square *ding* 文王方鼎 modeled on an illustration in *Xijing gujian* (Illustrated Catalogue of Antiquities of the Qing) itself taken from the illustration of a notable bronze vessel in *Bo gu tu lu* (Illustrated Catalogue of Antiquities) (Figures 6.27a, 6.27b and 6.27c).⁶⁹ It seems to have been purely a display object rather than an incense burner, and it is a so-called 'yu ding' (jade *ding* vessel). There is an inscription on the body 'Zhou Gong zuo Wen wang zun yi' 周公作文王尊彝 with a poem by the Emperor Qianlong.⁷⁰ What is immediately suggested is that a jade cover and finial were intentionally added to a classic *ding* form illustrated in *Bo gu tu lu* in order to adapt to Qing style. In other words, the Qing were surely aware that archaic vessels had no jade finials, having studied the old catalogues. Furthermore, the jade finial has not been made from the same piece of jade as the cover. It is a strange way to craft such an object, as there is no need for the finial to be detachable.⁷¹ It seems to be modeled after a wooden cover mounted with a jade finial.⁷²

The most important point in this attachment is that the foot of the jade finial forms a T shape (𠃊) fitting into a U shape (凵) in the openwork jade cover (Figure 6.27d).⁷³ What the U shape clearly shows is that it was unnecessary to make holes in the finial base, if the finial was originally designed to attach to the same material in *en suite* style. The structure is reasonable for the joining of two pieces of jade together. That is to say,

⁶⁹ Zhang Linsheng, "Wen wang fangding yu Zhongjufu gui", *Gugong xueshu jikan*, 1997, vol. 15, no.1, p.12. For a bronze *fangding* cauldron with wooden cover and jade finial with sinuous *chi*-dragons, see Li Yumin, ed., *op. cit.*, III-44 (p.176).

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*

⁷¹ Compare Zhou Nanquan (1995), *op. cit.*, no.207 and Nott, Stanley Charles, *Chinese jade carvings of the 16th to the 19th century in the collection of Mrs Georg Vetlesen*, London, 1940, specimen no. 76.

⁷² See Zhou Nanquan (1995), *op. cit.*, vol. 3, p.189 and ZYQ:5, no.239.

⁷³ I am grateful to Ms Zhang Liduan, Curator at the National Palace Museum, Taiwan, for checking the attachment of this object on display on my visit, April, 2000.

it can be proved that holes on the base of jade openwork finials were not originally intended for attachment to jade covers of incense burners, in so far as this type of object (Figure 6.27a) existed. Accordingly, the question of the existence of jade incense burners with jade covers and finials in *en suite* style can be resolved. The final point suggested from this jade *ding* and cover is that the end sides of the cover are indented to accommodate the handles of the *ding* vessel (Figure 6.27d on right). It will be evident that the cover was a later adoption for the original archaic form. There were two types of handles in the ancient form, raised loop-shaped handles on the rim, and loop-shaped handles projecting out at the sides. Even when loop handles of an ancient *ding* stand on the rim, a round or square-cover can usually be fitted properly, without any need to adapt the shape of the *ding*.

6.5 Structural Difference of Jade Finials

It seems that there are definite structural differences between jade finials as *luding* (incense burner cover finial) and jade finials as *maoding* (hat finial). If its function is as knob of an incense burner cover a mortise-and-tenon joint is appropriate to connect jade finials firmly to covers, as we saw in Figure 6.27d. For example, Figure 6.28a has a large hole in the centre of the base, which is suggestive of fitting with a tenon (upside down T), presumably on an incense burner cover. The principle of its structure is probably the same as the finial of the *ting* pavilion (Figure 6.28b). If jade finials are designed to be hat finials subject to rapid and frequent motion, it is better to have as many holes as possible for attachment, rather than one large hole as in Figure 6.28a. At least, two pairs of holes would be needed to attach to hats.⁷⁴ Moreover, as is clear in this egg-shaped finial (Figure 6.28a),⁷⁵ a tapering finial is designed to be easier to grasp in the fingers. Like the incense burners with a cover and knob in the earlier period (all the same material, and cover and knob made in one piece), the knob of the cover is often in the shape of a flower bud that narrows downwards or another shape which is

⁷⁴ For example, a jade finial with dragon amid scrolls of leaves and peony flowers in the Metropolitan Museum of Art has nine small holes on the back of the base and along the side of the edge (Appendix 3, B:1:1). However, it is a rare case. Usually there are two pairs of holes.

⁷⁵ Xu Lin also points out the existence of egg shape finials (Xu describes it as duck egg-shape), suggesting that they are the *luding* of the Song and different to the Yuan jade finials, such as the Ren family example (Xu Lin (2001a), *op. cit.*, p.19-20).

easy to pick up. On the other hand, domed jade finials like the Ren family finial are not so suitable a shape for grasping (Figure 6.7b on right). There is also a type of jade finial in the shape of *lingzhi* fungus (Figures 6.29a and 6.29b).⁷⁶ This shape of finial tapering to a point directly inserts into a wooden cover. The structure of this jade finial is the same as Figure 6.3a.⁷⁷ It is clear that the shape of Figures 6.3a, 6.28a and 6.29b is suitable for a *luding*.⁷⁸ They are usually attached with a yellowish glue to reinforce the connection.⁷⁹ This yellowish glue is generally made from fish air bladders (*yujiao* 魚膠 or *huangjiao* 黃膠).⁸⁰ If jade finials are used for *luding*, the yellowish glue which is frequently used for attachment of incense burner covers and finials during the Qing period seems to be sufficient. Holes on the base of the finial are for a tight join. Even if glue was used for the attachment of *luding* without holes, it is not the case for hat finials as jade hat finials would be more likely to come off and glue alone would not be enough for them.⁸¹ As well as yellowish glue, iron wire was generally used for the attachment.⁸² It is understandable that iron wire should be used for a tight fit for wooden cover and jade finial, yet it seems unnecessary, even with a domed finial, to perforate the base of the jade finial just for such an attachment as there should be other choices of advanced technique in that period for attaching two materials, and certainly glue.

The shape of jade finials of incense burner covers Figures 6.3a and 6.29b narrowing

⁷⁶ This type of jade finial seems to be common during the Qing, and can be frequently seen in the pictorial images of the Qing and in museum collections. For example for a similar type, such as lotus buds, Victoria and Albert Museum (Figure 6.3a), Percival David Foundation and British Museum. For this type of finial in painting, see also Jan Stuart and Evelyn S. Rawski, *op. cit.*, fig. 2.16.

⁷⁷ Figure 6.29c is evidently for insertion in a wooden cover, which is clear from the T-shape of the finial base.

⁷⁸ Compare with the shape of finials in Nott, Stanley Charles, *op. cit.*, specimen no.83, and Thorp, L. Robert, *Son of Heaven*, Seattle, 1988, fig. 39, which were designed to be easily grasped by hand.

⁷⁹ Ms Cai Meifen, Curator at the National Palace Museum, Taiwan, kindly showed me a jade finial detached from a wooden cover; yellow glue was clearly visible on the wooden cover. Similar visible examples of this glue also in the British Museum. See also Figure 6.29b

⁸⁰ There are also glues called *huangjiao* 黃膠 and *niujiao* 牛膠. I am grateful to Ms Cai Meifen and Ms Deng Shuping, Curators of the National Palace Museum, Taiwan, for this information.

⁸¹ I am grateful to Dr James Watt, Senior Curator at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, for this information about glue during the Qing period.

⁸² Iron wire and glues can be generally seen for the attachment of jade finials on incense burner covers in the Museum collections. For example, National Palace Museum, Taiwan, Beijing, Nanjing Museum, British Museum, Fitzwilliam Museum, Freer Gallery.

downwards for attachment with yellowish glue suggests that domed jade finials of the Ren family type originally had a different usage and function to the jade *luding*. They were not designed to function as cover knobs for practical use but were purely for decoration and display. That is to say, this purpose for an incense burner cover can be derived from the late Ming literati antiquarian culture. Thus, it seems reasonable to categorize domed and egg-shaped jade openwork finials into two different kinds of works of art depending on shape. Finally, it is worth noting that jade domed finials seem once to have been mounted with stands as discussed in Chapter Five, while egg-shaped finials were probably impracticable to mount because of their shape. Most jade openwork domed finials appearing without mounts may be explained by the history of metal works in China which were subject to melting down and recycling, including silver and gold, during most periods of Chinese history.⁸³

6.5.1 Size and Motifs of Jade Finials

Of the heirloom pieces, there are a variety of sizes of jade egg-shaped finial from around 6 cm to 15.5 cm in height, suggesting not only mounts for incense burners but also different kinds of objects or vessels to be attached. Therefore, there is no clear standard size of egg-shaped jade finial as their size depended on the object to be attached. Wen Zhenheng noted that the size of a jade finial *luding* depended on the size of the incense burner so that it is conceivable that there should be a wide range of *luding* from small to large.⁸⁴ On the other hand, it is not the case with hat finials, as there are no extreme differences in the size of a head and a hat. That is to say, the size of jade hat finials could be consistent, although some jade finials would have been specially made in large size for a special occasion or a person of importance. Jade openwork finials including unearthened pieces appear on average around about 5 cm high, which is a reasonable size on the hat. However, Shen Defu wrote that some could be as high as 4 *cun* (i.e. 12.8 cm).⁸⁵ It is still a possible size, in the light of Qing hat finials such as

⁸³ Rose Kerr, *Later Chinese Bronzes*, London, 1990, p.57, 59.

⁸⁴ A smaller size of jade finial 3-4cm high is stored in the Victoria and Albert Museum (Appendix 3, A:6:1) and Ashmolean Museum, Oxford (Appendix 3, A:4:2), Nanjing Museum and Shenyang Museum (Appendix 3, C:1:1). See also Figure 5.85. The size of 3 cm in height seems too small for hat finials, unless they are mounted.

⁸⁵ Shen Defu, *loc. cit.*.

Qianlong's (Figure 5.97a), 12.4 cm in height. Examples of such large jade openwork finials are in the Palace Museum, Beijing and the Nanjing Museum.⁸⁶ Wang Zhengshu discusses that the size of hat finials should be standardized, and the size of jade openwork finials is not uniform in unearthed and heirloom pieces.⁸⁷ However, in the Qing examples, general hat finials decorated with round precious or semi-precious stones are usually about 6 cm high,⁸⁸ while the more decorative finials tend to be about 10 to 16 cm high (Figures 5.97a, 5.97b, 5.97c), suggesting use on formal occasions. Size of hat finials must have also depended on the occasion in the Yuan. Therefore, it is no surprise that Shen Defu mentioned a height of 4 *cun* (12.8 cm). We can assume that ordinary hat finials would be about 5 to 7 cm in height, while the hat finials used for special occasions tended to be decorative and larger than 5 cm high, as high as 13 cm.

If we assume there were two different kinds of jade finials, which appeared first, incense burner cover finials or jade hat finials? The jade finial of the Ren family is regarded as the earliest example of jade finials archaeologically so they may not predate the Yuan. On the other hand, there are egg-shaped jade finials dated to the Song Dynasty in the Qing Court Collection and heirloom pieces (Figures 6.30 and Figure 6.31). The reason for this dating has not been explained, yet the openwork carving of the Ren finial seems more advanced than that of Figures 6.30 and 6.31, with their clearly visible drill marks and without the inside multi-layer intricate design of the Ren finial. Another feature to be considered as reason for the Song dating of Figure 6.31 is its motif of child and lotus. In the Song Dynasty, this motif was popular and it was frequently applied to ceramic pillows.⁸⁹ The lotus is a rebus, as the word for 'lotus' (*lian* 莲) is the same sound as the word for 'in succession' (*lian* 连). This immediately suggests to the

⁸⁶ An example in the Palace Museum is carved with dragon motifs and the one in the Nanjing Museum has birds and lotus motifs and is attached to a small wooden cover. Both were on display in 2001.

⁸⁷ Wang Zhengshu, *op. cit.*, p.282.

⁸⁸ For example, Qing hat finials with round precious and semi-precious stones in the National Museums of Scotland are about 6 cm high on average, and the diameter of the round stones about 3 cm.

⁸⁹ See the examples of pillows with a child motif in Thorp, L. Robert, *op. cit.*, no. 78-9 (p.150-1), Lai Sukyee, "Bird and flower painting on Tang and Song ceramics", in *Colloquies on Art and Archaeology in Asia*, 1987, no. 14, pl.15, Tokyo National Museum (1998), *op. cit.*, no. 243, and ZMQ:T2, no.169, 171, 180-1.

Chinese sensibility the phrase 'may you have many sons in succession' 连生贵子.⁹⁰ Thus, it was auspicious imagery, a wish for the prosperity of a man's descendants 子孙繁荣. Chen Jiang suggests that jade objects with this motif also derive from the Song like the ceramics, and that it was a characteristic motif in jade carving of the Song period.⁹¹ Although this popular motif was repeatedly used since the Song onwards even to the present day, taking this characteristic motif of the Song and the level of the openwork carving into consideration, Figure 6.31 could be attributed to the Song. If we assume this egg-shaped jade finial as Song, it becomes that *luding* jade openwork finials existed in the Song Dynasty before jade openwork finials made for *maoding* appeared. Xu Lin suggests that manufacture of jade openwork domed finials of the Yuan like the Ren family finial was possibly influenced by Song jade egg-shaped openwork finials.⁹² If so, the possibility that jade egg-shaped openwork finials were manufactured during the Yuan as an attachment cannot be eliminated.⁹³ However, it is inconceivable that such egg-shaped openwork finials were mounted on jade covers of incense burners in the archaic style before the Ming, although they might have been made for other objects.

Even in the motifs of jade finials there are nuances suggesting different usage. For example, lotus and child in Figure 6.31 seems an unsuitable motif for the hat finial identification of official rank or social status. The symbol for prosperity of a man's descendants is too vague to specify status, and it seems most suitable as an object in a scholar's studio, as these objects frequently bear good wishes and worldly auspicious meanings. In Figure 6.28a and 6.30 the motifs relate to immortality, and it seems likely that the recipients of these finials were in sympathy with the ideas of Daoism. If we assume that the subject of the finials was religious or philosophical relating to immortality, these egg-shaped jade finials were very possibly used as *luding*, as incense burning was of great significance for those people who sought and aspired to immortal life (*shenxian sixiang* 神仙思想), to communicate with the heavens by the vapor and to

⁹⁰ Imai Atsushi, "Chugoku toji no isho to gu", *Toyotoji*, no.29, 2000, p.15.

⁹¹ Chen Jiang, "Lianhai yu", *Chutu yuqi jianling yu jianjiu*, p.393-4, 397.

⁹² Xu Lin (2001a), *op. cit.*, p.20.

⁹³ See also jade finial with child motif in Zhou Nanquan (1995), *op. cit.*, no.153.

purify the spirit.⁹⁴ In particular, incense burners called *boshan lu* 博山炉 with their mountain-shaped covers were deep-rooted in these ancient ideas.⁹⁵ Intriguingly, a jade-like finial with sage and crane amid mountains, a domed finial like the Ren family finial, is depicted in the Qing handscroll, *Guwan tu* (Scroll of Antiquities) dated 7th year of Yongzheng (AD 1728), suggesting it was a popular motif for a *luding* of the period (Figure 6.32).⁹⁶ It may be that the subject motifs of egg-shaped and domed finials were no longer differentiated in that period. Finally, it has been debated by scholars that the *taotie* mask and cloud patterns of archaic bronze vessels are totally different in taste to the egrets, deer, and floral designs of jade openwork finials; they do not match and belong to two different categories of art.⁹⁷

6.5.2 The Style of the Ancient Incense Burners

The most famous incense burner in the earlier period would be the '*boshan lu*' made in bronze or pottery, which originated in the Han Dynasty (Figures 6.33a, 6.33b and 6.33c).⁹⁸ Its mountain-shaped cover is assumed to represent the island of Penglai 蓬萊 (a sacred island-mountain), thought to rise out of the eastern sea by dint of some miraculous force and then to disappear when approached.⁹⁹ The pierced holes of the cover are designed as though the vapor ascends up through the sacred mountain. The mountain cover is frequently decorated with a hermit, supernatural animals, a *pan*-dragon, a Chinese phoenix, four spiritual beasts, all characteristic motifs of the Immortals (*shenxian sixiang* 神仙思想) of the Han Dynasty.¹⁰⁰ In view of the dominance of the ideas of immortality in ancient times, this incense burner is suggested

⁹⁴ Chen Qingguang (1994a), *op. cit.*, p.35. Chen Qingguang (1994b), *op. cit.*, p.30. Huang Guangnan, *Xiangxun xianglu mianlu*, Taipei, 2000, p.105-6. Stephen Little *et al.*, *Taoism and the Arts of China*, Chicago, 2000, p.218. Anonymous Qing handscroll painting titled 'Daoist subject' in the British Museum has a square shaped *ding* vessel with a cover and jade-like finial (acq. no. 1981 4-6 01-02).

⁹⁵ Berthold Laufer, *Chinese Pottery of the Han Dynasty*, Rutland, Vermont, 1962, p.195.

⁹⁶ Compare a jade finial with this motif dated to the Ming in Han Baoquan eds., *Yuqi*, Xi'an, 1992, no.129. See also Appendix 3, C:2:1.

⁹⁷ Zhang Guangwen, *op. cit.*, p.74. Xu Lin (2001a), *op. cit.*, p.19.

⁹⁸ Chen Qingguang (1994a), *loc. cit.* The term *boshan lu* is from a later period, the Southern and Northern Dynasties (Laufer, *op. cit.*, p.183. Kosugi Kazuo, *Chugoku monyoshi no kenkyu*, Tokyo, 1959, p.44, 48-9).

⁹⁹ Laufer, *ibid.*, p.190. Kosugi, *ibid.*, p.47-8. Joseph Needham and Wang Ling, *Science and Civilization in China*, vol. 3, Cambridge, 1959, p.581.

¹⁰⁰ Chen Qingguang (1994a), *op. cit.*, p.35-6

as being connected with Daoism.¹⁰¹ What we should now consider is that the idea of mounting jade finials on incense burner covers might have been inspired from the style of ancient work like this *boshan* incense burner. There should be a reason to choose jade finials, whether domed or egg-shaped, for such usage other than simply a taste for the antique.

A dragon in a branch of peony flowers and a pair of *chi*-dragons with *lingzhi* fungus are typical motifs of jade finials and seemingly acceptable for ascent to heaven. A herd of deer in a grove and cranes amid pine tree motifs might be appropriate for immortality, as deer and cranes were said to live 1000 years and are a symbol of longevity. Egrets were associated with the supernatural in the *Books of Odes*, as we discussed in Chapter Four. Therefore, taking into account the supernatural image of egrets, egrets are a conceivable motif for a *luding*. On the other hand, mandarin duck and lotus leaves and falcon attacking swan motifs are inconceivable in association with ideas of ascending to heaven or of immortality. If we further focus on combined motifs, such as a playful dragon among peony flowers (Figure 6.34), dragon and flowers is an inconsistent image for ascending to heaven, but dragon amid cloud or water patterns as in the Figure 6.29c is correct.¹⁰² Egrets, with a lotus pond, are always hunting their prey,¹⁰³ and would seem unsuitable as a motif for ascent to heaven or of immortality on incense burners, in view of the notion, art and style of ancient incense burners such as *boshan lu*. Such a group of jade finials including inconsistent and unsuitable combinations of motifs against the ancient concept and style of incense burners suggests that they were not always or originally made for *luding*. It can be assumed that the late Ming literati might not have discriminated between domed jade finials and egg-shaped jade finials and would have had an inspiration from the style of ancient incense burners such as *boshan lu*, and interpreted jade finials with their own understanding and notions when they covered vessels in the archaic form with bespoke covers mounted with such jade finials.

¹⁰¹ Needham and Wang, *op. cit.*, p.581-2.

¹⁰² A similar dragon finial to Figure 6.34 is depicted in the 'Scroll of Antiquities'.

¹⁰³ There is a jade openwork finial with five distinct bird designs (*wuqin tu* 五禽图), which includes an egret. See Zhou Nanquan (1995), *op. cit.*, no.150.

Wang Zhengshu suggests that a stone *ding*-shaped incense burner, the central piece of a set of altar furnishings in the courtyard of the *Dingling* 定陵 Imperial Ming tombs at Beijing, is an example of the stylized jade finial of a *luding* (Figure 6.35).¹⁰⁴ Wang's point is that the existence of the cover-like upper half of a stone incense burner of similar shape to domed jade finials is evidence that the original function of jade finials was as *luding*. However, this stone incense burner recalls to the author the style of a *boshan lu* so that jade finials of the later periods, the later Ming onwards, seem likely to be rather inspired by the style of the *boshan lu*. There is a Yuan example similar to the stone *ding*-shaped incense burner of the Ming (Figure 6.36). As pointed out in the excavation report, the cover of this incense burner unearthed from the Yuan capital, Dadu, is in the style of a *boshan lu*,¹⁰⁵ and the cover is done in openwork that allows vapor to escape from the mouth of the *pan*-dragon in the mountain. A bronze incense burner closely resembling the Yuan Dadu find was recovered from a shipwreck at Sinan, Korea,¹⁰⁶ suggesting the popularity of this type of incense burner during the Yuan Dynasty. Accordingly, the style of the stone *ding*-shaped incense burner at the *Dingling* Imperial Ming tombs seems to originate from the Yuan style of tripod *ding*-shaped incense burner with a cover in the shape of *boshan*. It can be also considered that the idea of remounting jade finials on wooden covers in the later Ming came directly from the Yuan style.

In the archaic bronze wine vessels, there is a style of cover topped by a coiled dragon finial (Figures 6.37a and 6.37b).¹⁰⁷ The dragon head itself is designed to function as the knob of the cover. It seems that this type of ancient cover also influenced the later Ming, when they adopted domed jade finials with dragon motifs as *luding*. In all the notable jade catalogues from the Song to the Qing, there is only one example of a jade finial mounted on a jade cover, illustrated in the *Taozhai guyu tu* (*Taozhai* illustrated ancient

¹⁰⁴ Wang Zhengshu, *op. cit.*, p.284.

¹⁰⁵ Zhang Ning, "Ji Yuan Dadu chutu wenwu", *Kaogu*, 1972, no. 6, p.29, pl. 6:2.

¹⁰⁶ For this bronze tripod *ding*-shaped incense burner with a cover in the shape of *boshan*, see Ebine Toshio and Nishioka Yasuhiro eds., *Sekai bijyutsu daizen*, vol. 7, Tokyo, 1999, pl. 213 (p.263).

¹⁰⁷ There are similar examples of the dragon cover with *lei* 罍 wine vessels of the early Western Zhou Dynasty unearthed in Liaoning province, illustrated in ZMQ:QT:1, no. 174 (p.59).

jade catalogue) of the Qing (Figure 6.38).¹⁰⁸ Although bronze wine vessels of this shape have not been discovered or known to have existed in the ancient period, the finial of this jade ritual vessel which closely resembles our examples of domed jade finials suggests that mounting jade finials with dragon motifs derives from such ancient styles as Figure 6.37a and 6.37b.

6.5.3 Structure of the Base of *Luding*

Jade finials with dragon and flower motif occasionally have a concave base, and both unearthed and heirloom pieces with the mandarin duck and lotus motif always have a concave base. The shape of the base with different motifs is debated. There is currently only one unearthed example of a jade finial with a mandarin duck on a lotus leaf from a late Ming tomb, as discussed in Chapter Five. Yet, finials with this design seems to have appeared earlier than the late Ming as the finds at Xilin pagoda, Shanghai suggest.¹⁰⁹ It is clear that it is unnecessary to create a concave space to attach to a wooden cover. In the base of the mandarin duck and lotus leaf motif, the shape of curved lotus leaf naturally forms a hollow space, which seems cleverly designed for a convex attachment. The question arises as to why it is only jade finials with dragon motifs that have two shapes of base, flat and base, when most jade finials have flat bases. Jade finials with the egrets in lotus pond motif always have a flat base. The part of a wooden cover where a jade finial is placed is almost always flat, suggesting that there is no need to form a concave base for the attachment to a wooden cover. Rounded hats might need jade finials with concave base to fit properly. This difference between wooden covers and hats may be the clue to solve this question.

6.5.4 Incense Burner in the Shape of a Lion

Along with the gradual decline in popularity of *boshan lu* after the Southern and Northern Dynasties, new types of incense burners appeared in the Sui and Tang Dynasties.¹¹⁰ An incense burner in the shape of a lion is one of these forms (Figures

¹⁰⁸ Duan Fang, *Taoqi guyu tu*, Qing, in SY, p.704 (yuyi).

¹⁰⁹ However, it seems debatable whether it is a mandarin duck.

¹¹⁰ Wang Zili, "Shixing xiangxun", *Gugong wenwu yuekan*, 2002, no. 232, p.66.

6.39a, 6.39b and 6.40a, 6.40b).¹¹¹ It is designed to emit scented vapor from the mouth of the lion and the body of the incense burner, and the lion functions as the cover of the incense burner. This type of incense burner was for domestic not religious use.¹¹² An evolved type of this incense burner was also popular in the Koryŏ Dynasty (Figure 6.41), and a different design was created with a bird motif in the Northern Song Dynasty (Figure 6.42).¹¹³ The Lion incense burner is recorded in the *Meng liang lu* by Wu Zimu of the Southern Song, which suggests that it was popular at this period.¹¹⁴ An incense burner cover of this type with a lion motif was discovered in a Yuan tomb (Figure 6.43).¹¹⁵ It can be said that the style and structure of these incense burners were reminiscent of *boshan lu*. There is a similar example in shape and size with a dragon motif in jade dated to the early Yuan Dynasty (Figure 6.44). According to the *Zhongguo yuqi quanji*, there are one large hole and a pair of small holes in line in the centre of the base for the insertion of an attachment.¹¹⁶ These are not described as holes penetrating through the body up to the mouth of the dragon, and there is seemingly no hole in the mouth, suggesting a different usage to a cover of an incense burner and the possibility of its being a hat finial. Although it is debatable what this object was for, it is clearly suggested from this object that the style of hat finials might have been influenced from the art of the covers of incense burners.

6.6 Emperor's 'Duobaoge' (Miniature Curio Cabinets)

The Emperor's curious objects, literally translated 'myriad-treasures', were stored in shelving miniature cabinets known as 'duobaoge' 多宝格 (miniature curio cabinets or

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*

¹¹² *Ibid.*, p.80.

¹¹³ A celadon glazed Koryŏ incense burner with a lion shaped-cover was greatly admired by Xu Jing, an envoy of the Northern Song, and he pointed out its similarities with Yue ware and Ru ware in Northern Song China in his record (Xu Jing, *Xuanhe fengshi Gaoli tujing*, AD1124, facsimile reprint, Taipei, 1974, juan 32, taolu, p.2). An incense burner with a bird-shaped cover nearly identical to the Song Figure 6.42 can also be found in the Koryŏ collections (Chosen sotoku fu, *Yi oke hakubutsukan shozohin shashincho*, vol. 2, Seoul, 1912, no. 232, and Kim Joungwon, ed., *Ilbon sojang Han-guk munhwajae*, Seoul, 1997, vol. 2, no. 6, 132). A duck-shaped incense burner as in Figure 6.42 is described in *Nenggaizhaimanlu* of the Song, (Wu Ceng, *Nenggaizhaimanlu*, Song, juan 8, reprinted in SQ, vol.850, p.647, jinya wuyanque youxiang).

¹¹⁴ Wu Zimu, *Menglianglu*, Song, juan 3, in SQ, vol.590, p.29. "出香金獅蠻火子"

¹¹⁵ There is a Koryŏ ceramic that closely resembles this Yuan cover with lion (Figure 6.43). See Kim Joungwon, ed., *op. cit.*, vol.3, no.13.

miniature treasure-boxes). Numerous miniature, curious and precious or antique works of art including jade pieces were collected or made for the enjoyment and appreciation of the Emperors and were arranged in differently shaped spaces and secret compartments in order to contain the greatest number of objects. The boxes, drawers and compartments of the interior of the piece are creatively and cleverly made. The National Palace Museum, Taiwan, contains a rich collection of the '*duobaoge*'. Many of the '*duobaoge*' in the Museum's collection come from the Ming Dynasty collection at the Imperial court, and collecting outstanding examples of this art form was encouraged by the emperors of the early Qing Dynasty.¹¹⁷ The origin of the '*duobaoge*' is currently unclear.¹¹⁸ Jade finials are exhibited: a mandarin duck on a curved lotus leaf finial, a small rabbit finial mounted on a wooden cover, a small *lingzhi* fungus on a wooden cover, a small *qilin* (unicorn) finial mounted on a wooden cover with a *gui*-shaped vessel and so forth. Judging from the collection of jade finials in the '*duobaoge*', jade openwork finials were treated as curiosities and antique objects by the Ming and Qing Emperors, although the Qing had their own tastes, favouring rabbit and *lingzhi* fungus motifs.

6.7 Concluding Remarks

The late sixteenth century was a period of interest in the distant past, and a dominant taste for archaism was subsequently reflected in Ming jade. Jade openwork finials became popular objects in the late Ming as antique finials and were displayed in the scholar's studio on the basis of the aesthetic ideals of the literati, mounted on wooden covers specially made for ancient vessels and their later imitations. This may be inspired or influenced indirectly from the style of ancient incense burners, such as *boshan lu*. The elaborate openwork jade finials were doubtless highly valued during that period. Wen Zhenheng said that incense burners were essential implements in the scholar's studio, ceramic incense burners for summer and bronzes for winter.¹¹⁹ Jade finials were

¹¹⁶ ZYQ:5, p.277 (no.166). "底中心並排一大兩小圓孔，以為插嵌孔。"

¹¹⁷ Zheng Jiahua, "Qing Chikushi tenshi banren tahoukaku enkou", *Kokyu bunbutsu*, 1993, no. 1, p.53, 64.

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁹ Wen Zhenheng, *op. cit.*, in SQ 872, p.76-7 (juan 8: zhilu). "……夏月宜用磁爐冬月用銅爐。"

used for the covers of bronze and ceramic incense burners in the form of ritual vessels, such as *ding* and *gui* food vessels, from the 'Three Dynasties'. By the time of the Qing, jade finials were completely identified with incense burner covers. Late Ming literary sources, such as *Zhangwu zhi* by Wen Zhenheng and *Wanli yehoubian* by Shen Defu, suggest that it was not until the late Ming that jade openwork domed finials were used in this manner.

Jade finials were considerably in vogue and reproductions and copies were made, yet the delicacy, devoid of bold outlines, and the refined taste of decorative features in the Qing period make these visibly distinguishable from earlier work, as the poem by the Qianlong Emperor claims. Jade finials were even categorized among the Emperor's 'myriad-treasures', in the *dubaoge*, for his enjoyment and appreciation. Thus, the original use of jade openwork finials became obscure, in a confusion of reproductions, copies and the egg-shaped jade finials which were thought to have been first manufactured as *luding* in the Song on account of their motif. The idea of incense burners in the archaic style of vessels like *ding* and *gui*, in ceramics and jade, derives from Song antiquarianism. However, such incense burners presumably were not covered until the late Ming. We can also deduce from this that jade finials including egg-shaped jade finials were not used for incense burner cover finials before the late Ming but were probably attached to some other objects. There are two important points to be noted in the fitting of wooden covers without perforations. First, this is the beginning of ornamental finials on covers. Second, the use of wooden covers without perforation suggests a shift of function from actual incense burners to purely decorative display objects.

The style, shape and motifs of jade finials and the structure of their base all bear crucial features to distinguish jade openwork finials, for example, hat ornaments, from the original jade *luding*. In order to adapt to a completely different usage from the conventional, changes in manufacture which were not formerly needed, for instance indented covers, were made. For new usage, motifs and designs which had not traditionally applied to the conventional incense burner were employed. For instance,

the egret in lotus pond motif had never been associated with the conventional incense burners in bronze and ceramics. Although such a motif might have been expected to have appeared in bronze and ceramics before transference to jade materials, there is no example of it on incense burners before the Ming. Container, cover and jade finial may all come from different periods, suggesting the taste of a later period, typically the Qing eclecticism. The provision of wooden cover and wooden stand for the incense burner also originated in the late Ming. Jade finials in the shape of *lingzhi* fungus were commonly used for *luding* during the Qing period, fixed frequently with yellow glue. The shape seems totally suitable for a cover knob, compared to domed jade finials. In craftsmanship, use, technique, motif and design are all interrelated, and there is a close relationship between an object's purpose and its design.¹²⁰ In view of the craft and design of jade finials, it is clear that they were not always intended to be used as *luding*. It cannot be denied that the craft and design of jade finials were inspired by early incense burner covers. Thus, it should be concluded that the changing ideas of the use of jade domed finials were deeply rooted in the unique aesthetic notions and the culture of antiquarianism of the late Ming period.

¹²⁰ Imai, *op. cit.*, p.24.

CHAPTER SEVEN: JADE HAT FINIALS IN KOREA

7.1 Introduction

Korea historically established a close connection with the Chinese successive dynastic courts. However, the most intimate and the shortest relationship between Korea and China might be that of the Koryŏ Dynasty and the Mongol Yuan Dynasty. Throughout the Koryŏ period (AD 918-1392), powerful nomadic or semi-nomadic conquerors successively emerged as dominant on China's northern frontier (adjacent to the Koryŏ northern boundaries) which caused turmoil at the Koryŏ court. The steady stream of external pressures and attacks from Manchuria constantly altered and guided the fate of the peninsular and of Koryŏ society. As a result of the difficulties of Koryŏ's international position within East Asia at that period, it was obliged to engage as a client state of China with the different succeeding dynasties in China - Northern Song (AD 960-1127), Liao (AD 907-1125), Jin (AD 1115-1234), Yuan (AD 1279-1368) and the Ming (AD 1368-1644).¹ Despite the dilemma of their political situation and their response to it, the Song (AD 960-1279) and Koryŏ were closely linked by trade, as shared traditions in the manufacture of green-glazed ceramics demonstrate, and this is well-known.² These geographical and historical factors brought a series of cross-cultural exchanges and art diffusion between China and Korea. In particular, the Mongol Yuan radically influenced Koryŏ society in politics, culture and the economy and especially through a policy of royal intermarriage for nearly a hundred years,³ and this was reflected in Korean arts and culture until the end of the Chosŏn Dynasty (AD 1392-1910).

Characteristic features of Mongol Yuan culture, like the practice of wearing jade hat finials, were adopted by Koryŏ. However, it was not until AD 1367 that the jade hat finial 玉頂子 (Kr.: *okchŏngja*, Ch.: *yudingzi*) was codified in the Korean costume

¹ Korea established an amicable relationship with Song and Ming China, but not with the Liao and Jin. Her relation with the Yuan rulers was more specific, with royal intermarriage. It should be noted that Koryŏ maintained its regality throughout this unsettled period.

² For further discussion of the origin of Koryŏ ceramics, see Mikami Tsugio, "Korai toji no kigen to sono rekishi teki haikēi", *Chosen gakuho*, no. 99.100, July 1981.

³ KS, kwon 27, sega, Wŏnjong 3, p.563, kwon 28, sega, Ch'ungyŏl wang, p.564-5.

regulations, which was a year before the fall of the Yuan Dynasty (AD 1279-1368).⁴ Similarly to the *History of the Ming*, the motif and design of jade hat finials were not described in the official record of Koryŏ. Yet, there is one surviving jade openwork carved finial (Kr.: *Ongno* or *Ok'o* 玉鸞) attached on the original hat of the Chosŏn Dynasty in the National Museum, Seoul, manifesting the fact and the evidence that it was definitely used as a hat finial in Korea, unconnected in any way to the finial of an incense burner. Thus, the focal point of the discussion in this chapter is to explore how, when, and why jade openwork carved hat finials were brought to Korea from China. To begin with, the cultural background of Koryŏ will be examined.

7.2 Relationship between Koryŏ and her Neighbouring Countries and their Artistic and Cultural Exchanges

Silla is known for the jade decoration of its crowns as we discussed in Chapter Five. However the practice of wearing jade hat finials has not at present been established by literary evidence or archaeological reports before the Koryŏ Dynasty. No jade finials have been unearthed from tombs in Korea hitherto, nor any heirloom jade finials found dating to the Koryŏ Dynasty although not a few jade ornaments in that period have survived.⁵ It is regrettable that most of these Koryŏ jade works seem not to have been discovered under scientific excavation but transferred later from private collections to the Museum of the Yi Royal Family during the Japanese annexation.⁶ However, the period of the jade works is still traceable based on style, comparing Liao, Song, Jin and Yuan jades and other works of art. It is of great importance to investigate influences on Koryŏ jade and other works of art from the Liao, Jin and Song in order to explore the origin and historical context of jade openwork carved hat finials in the Chosŏn Dynasty. Let us now consider relations with Koryŏ's neighbouring countries in the tenth to

⁴ KS, kwon 72, chi 26, yŏbok 12, kwanbok 冠服, p.566.

⁵ See Chosen sotokufu, *Chosen koko shiryō shusei 4: Chosen koseki zūfu*, vol. 9, reprint, Tokyo, 1982, p.1296-9, 1300. Some jade works in *Chosen koko shiryō shusei 4* can be also seen in Ho-Am Art Gallery, Taegoryo kukpojŏn, Seoul, 1995, p.226, 234-5 with colour plates.

⁶ The author confirmed this with the Museum records in the National Museum of Korea, Seoul. Yet, according to the *Illustrated catalogue of collections of archaeology in Korea (Chosen koko shiryō shusei)* published by Chosen sotokufu, all jade works in volume 9 are entitled as 'Koryŏ arts and crafts discovered from tombs' (Chosen sotokufu, *ibid.*). See also foreword in *Chosen koko shiryō shusei 4*. Jade works collected by Chosen sotokufu are preserved in the National Museum of Korea, Seoul.

fourteenth century – Liao, Song, Jin, Yuan and Ming – and their artistic and cultural exchanges through Koryŏ jades and other works of art.

7.2.1 The First Stage of the Koryŏ Period – Relations with the Liao

The Koryŏ period (AD 918-1392) can be divided into three stages with regard to changes in customs and manners: before Mongol Yuan rule (AD 918-1259), during Yuan rule (AD 1259-1340), and the period of Yuan decline and the influence of the new Ming Dynasty in China (AD 1341-1392).⁷ Koryŏ costumes in the first stage were adapted from the Song on the basis of the system inherited from the Silla.⁸ Although northern kingdoms such as the Liao and the Jin also influenced Koryŏ costume in that period by their gifts of costumes to the Koryŏ,⁹ Liao and Jin formal attire was originally adopted from China and their own native dresses had some common northern elements with Korea.¹⁰ Therefore, conspicuous changes and differences particularly in court attire might not have come from Liao and Jin, and the Song envoy, Xu Jing, did not remark on anything special on his visit in AD 1123.¹¹

The cultural relationship of Koryŏ with the Liao started from the year of the establishment of the Koryŏ Dynasty in AD 918, which can be confirmed from the *History of the Liao*.¹² However, after the three major Liao invasions between AD 993

⁷ Sugimoto Masatoshi, *Kankoku no fukushoku*, Tokyo, 1983, p.49. Yu Hee-kyung and Park Kyung-ja, *Kankoku fukushoku bunkashi*, Tokyo, 1982, p.111. However, the Koryŏ period is generally divided : AD 918-1170, AD 1170-1270 and AD 1270-1392.

⁸ KS, *op. cit.*, p.561. Xu Jing, a Song envoy, describes on his visit to the Capital that Koryŏ costumes primarily followed the Song system but official dress and casual wear were sometimes different to the Song (Xu Jing, *Xuanhe fengshi Gaoli tujing*, AD1124, facsimile reprint, Taipei, 1974, juan 7, yiguan, p.1). The Song Emperor, Shenzong also presented a prince's formal costume (*gongfu*) to Koryŏ in AD 1078 (KS, *ibid.*).

⁹ KS, *ibid.* According to Yu Hee-kyung and Park Kyung-ja, figures for costumes received in the first stage of the Koryŏ period based on the *History of the Koryŏ*: Liao, 10 times (AD 1043-1108); Song, once (AD 1078); Jin, 4 times (AD 1142-1212) (Yu Hee-kyung and Park Kyung-ja, *op. cit.*, p.113.).

¹⁰ Sugimoto, *loc. cit.* In particular, the Nuzhen peoples and the Koguryŏ peoples share the same Tunguz origin.

¹¹ Xu Jing, *loc. cit.* For further discussion of influence of Liao and Jin costumes on Koryŏ, see Moon Kwang-hee, "A Study on Kok-Ryung", *Journal of the Korean Society of Clothing and Textiles*, vol. 14, no. 2, 1990, p.164-176, and Lee Seung-hae, *A Study of Government Official Uniforms of Early and Middle Age of the Koryŏ Dynasty throughout the Neighbor Nations*, M.Phil. dissertation submitted to the Ewha Womans University, 2001. I am grateful to Ms Lee Seung-hae and her supervisor Associate Professor Hong Na-young for the kind present of a copy of her dissertation to the author in 2001.

¹² LS, juan 1, Taizu shang, p.10, 12. According to the *History of the Liao*, the Koryŏ embassy presented

and 1018, their relations totally changed and the Koryŏ court accepted a tributary system 册封 with the Liao.¹³ Owing to this event, Koryŏ was forced to change its foreign policy and temporarily discontinued sending official embassies to the Song from AD 995 onwards,¹⁴ although private traders continued to prosper from Chinese trade.¹⁵ According to the *Qidan guozhi*, Koryŏ gave gifts of metal work, gold saddles and so forth to the Liao, and in return the Liao gave belts made of rhinoceros horn and jade, gilded silver belts and so forth.¹⁶ Belts seem from the records to be the representative gift for personal ornament in this period, and description of further detail such as motif is frequently omitted or confined to simple comment on design or they were originally of plain design without carving.

Koryŏ accepted a number of émigrés and refugees from the Qidan Liao, and it is noteworthy that such refugees were not only from the Qidan Liao themselves (including Liao Han Chinese) but also included Nuzhen, Han Chinese, and Palhae from the Palhae kingdom in Manchuria.¹⁷ The *History of the Koryŏ* records that in August AD 1117, Liao Qidan who had settled in Namggŏng 南京 (present day Seoul) acclaimed King Yejong on his visit to Namggŏng with their native dance and song so that the King stopped his procession especially to see their entertainment.¹⁸ It seems that refugees possessed sufficient skills to attract the Koryŏ people and to survive in the country of a

a precious sword to the Liao in AD 915, yet in AD 915 the Koryŏ kingdom had not yet been established, and it seems that the second Koryŏ' visit in AD 918 is the beginning of the formal relationship between them. The earliest record in the *History of the Koryŏ* of a visit by the Qidan is AD 922, when the Qidan presented camels and felts to Koryŏ (KS, kwon 1, sega, T'aejo 太祖 1, 5 nyŏn 2 wŏl, p.41).

¹³ Okumura Shuji, "Shisetsu geisetsurei yori mita Korai no gaikoshisei", *Shikan*, no. 110, 1984, p.28. According to the *History of the Liao*, regular tribute to the Liao from Koryŏ started in AD 994 after a proposal of peace by Koryŏ (LS, juan 13, Shengzong 4, p.144).

¹⁴ KS, kwon 3, sega, Sŏngjong 13 nyŏn, p.78-9. XZC3, juan 47, Xianping 3 nian 10 yue, vol.1, p.397. "自淳化末(五年)高麗朝貢中絶."

¹⁵ Relations with the Song will be described later.

¹⁶ Ye Longli, *Qidanguozhi*, Song, reprint, Beijing, 1933, p.277-9.

¹⁷ KS, kwon 4, sega, Hyŏnjong 顯宗 1, 7 nyŏn 5 wŏl, p.96, kwon 14, sega, Yejong 睿宗 3, 11 nyŏn, 12 nyŏn &c., p.280-2, 285-6. The *History of the Koryŏ* records that Qidan refugees started coming to Koryŏ around AD 1016, and the numbers reached a peak at about the time of the reign of Yejong (r. AD 1106-1122). According to Lee Sunu, between the 1020s and 1060s, the number of Qidan immigrants not associated with warfare increased to nearly eight hundred and fifty-five, if one *ho* 戶 (household in the census) counts at the least as three persons (Lee Sunu, "Xuanhe fengshi Gaoli tujing kaisetsu", in Senna hoshi Korai zukyo translated by Park Sangdŭk, Tokyo, 1995, p.337). It should be noted that there were other tribes of refugees near the northern borders.

former antagonist. Koryŏ had contact with Qidan and Nuzhen traders and refugees on the northern boundary from the early stages of the dynasty. Therefore it can be considered that the influences of the Liao and Jin were not limited to official dress through cultural and political exchange, but that living customs and manners from the Liao and the Jin also came to Koryŏ through refugees and others. According to the *History of the Koryŏ*, in AD 1129, an imperial decree deplored the vogue for Qidan clothes and manners at all levels of Koryŏ society, from court to commoners.¹⁹ Liao and Jin immigrants brought hunting and stock raising, introduced recipes for cooking meats, and their falconers and butchers became much favoured.²⁰ The Qidan were closely related to the Shiwei 室韋²¹ and are said to be closest to the Mongols, linguistically.²² According to the *History of the Northern Dynasties*, the Shiwei wore the same clothes as the Qidan and hats of marten (i.e. sable and white ermine) and fox fur, and dressed in fish skins as well as deer skins for hunting.²³ Surprisingly, it also records that the Shiwei women drew up and held their knees when seated on the floor, which can be still seen in modern Korea.²⁴ As the record was compiled in the seventh century, this cannot be evidence of a direct link of Qidan manners to Koryŏ. However, it is interesting to learn of a possible connection in the past between the Qidan races and Korean customs.

Xu Jing writes of his visit to the Capital of Koryŏ (Songdo, the modern Kaesŏng) in AD 1123 that Qidan refugees were contributing to Koryŏ arts and crafts, "Koryŏ craftsmen are superb. Exquisite works of art all serve the King. ...I heard that there were tens of thousands of Qidan captives and that one in ten was a craftsman. The best were selected

¹⁸ KS, kwon 14, sega, Yejong 3, 12 nyŏn 8 wŏl, p.288.

¹⁹ KS, kwon 16, sega, Injong 仁宗 2, 7 nyŏn 5 wŏl, p.322. "行華夏之法切禁丹狄之俗今則上自朝廷下至民庶競華靡之風襲丹狄之俗往而不返深可嘆也." This is only seven years after Xu Jing visited Koryŏ in AD 1123, and four years after the fall of the Liao.

²⁰ Choi Kil-sung et al., eds., *Kankoku minzokugaku gaisetsu*, Tokyo, 1977, p. 94.

²¹ BS, jwan 94, liezhuan 82, Shiwei, p. 3129. "室韋...蓋契丹之類, 其南者爲契丹, 在北者號爲失韋"

²² Sugimoto Masatoshi, *Tozai fukushokushi ronko*, Tokyo, 1984, p.414.

²³ BS, loc. cit., p.3130. "南室韋在契丹北三千里, ...衣服與契丹同, ...婦女皆抱膝坐. ...鹿, 射獵爲務, 食肉衣皮, 皆捕貂爲裘, 冠以狐貂, 衣以魚皮."

²⁴ *Ibid.* Sugimoto (1984), op. cit., p.415. The author's Korean friend also sat on the floor in this manner at dinner in Seoul, but Korean women generally draw up and hold one knee.

and detained in royal residences. Pottery and clothing are now in plentiful supply.”²⁵ Captives surrendering to Koryŏ can be related to the war in AD 1018 and 1019, a crushing defeat for the Liao. It seems from Xu Jing’s account that a large number of Qidan prisoners of war had settled in Koryŏ.²⁶ These craftsmen were categorized as slave class and were mostly owned by the government.²⁷ It is probable, then, that the Koryŏ arts and crafts reflected the Qidan traditions and culture which dominated Northern China and enriched its culture from the tenth to the early twelfth century.

The artefacts are visual evidence of this. For example, the celadon glazed lamp unearthed from a Liao tomb is an unusual fish form for Northern China and may have been influenced by the Indian *mojie* 摩竭 fish (a mythical fish) and a Chinese design of a fish-dragon (Figure 7.1).²⁸ A twelfth century celadon glazed Koryŏ ewer in the shape of a fish-dragon resembles the uncommon design of the Liao piece (Figure 7.2). Both Liao and Koryŏ pieces seem alien to Northern Song Chinese forms. Even if the Koryŏ ewer was actually inspired from a Chinese design, a resemblance between Figure 7.1 and 7.2 cannot be denied.²⁹ A Liao ewer combined flying deity and fish dragon motifs (Figure 7.3a) also suggests similarities with the design of the fish-dragon Koryŏ ewer.³⁰ A Liao ornament in the shape of a dragon (Figure 7.3b) does so, too.

A second example is a lion censer. As mentioned in Chapter Six, a celadon glazed Koryŏ lion censer was admired by Xu Jing.³¹ Lions seem to have become popular for

²⁵ Xu Jing, *op. cit.*, juan 19, gongji, p.2. “高麗工技至巧其絕藝悉歸于公…亦聞契丹降虜數萬人其工伎十有一擗其精巧者留於王府比年器服益工”

²⁶ According to Xu Jing, Koryŏ ceramic bowls, cups, jars, vases and so forth were copies of *ding* ware and the formula had been stolen (Xu Jing, juan 32, p.2, taozun). “復能作罌樽杯甌花瓶湯垺皆竊放定器制度” The place of the kiln in Hebei was once occupied by the Liao and temporally governed by Liao *jiedushi*. Although potters captured by the Liao may have ultimately immigrated to Koryŏ, it is not known whether this happened or not. Probably, these Koryŏ ceramics closely resembled *ding* to his eye.

²⁷ Ito Abito *et al.*, *Chosŏn wo shiru jiten*, Tokyo, 1986, p.202 (shokunin). In the regions, groups of craftsmen were mobilized and managed by regional government (*ibid.*).

²⁸ Xu Bingkun and Sun Shoudao, *Dongbei wenhua*, Hong Kong, 1996, p.187.

²⁹ The design of fish-dragon with wings is quite often seen in Liao works of art. See leftmost piece in Figure 5.59. See also a jade fish-dragon in ZYQ:5, no.135.

³⁰ There is a similar piece with a monster head (William Watson, *Tang and Liao Ceramics*, London, 1984, p.236).

³¹ Xu Jing, *op. cit.*, juan 32, p.2 (taolu).

works of art especially since the Tang³²; they were a special motif in the Koryŏ, and remained popular in China. The Liao also enjoyed the lion motif which they inherited from the Tang. Figure 7.4 is an example and shows a resemblance to the Koryŏ lion (Figure 6.41), in the crimped hair of the lion and the design of its form. The lion in Figure 7.4 follows eighth-century Tang examples with lead glaze coating, as noted by William Watson.³³ It can be said that this type of lion attributed to the Tang potters suggests cultural exchange among Liao, Koryŏ and Song.³⁴

The third example is the Koryŏ celadon incense burner with impressed design of waterfowl in a lotus pond (Figure 7.5). It is regarded as a rare type of Koryŏ incense burner and one of a few of these examples surviving.³⁵ Some scholars have pointed out the similarity of this type of design in Koryŏ with the notable 'Spring Scene' mural in the tomb of the Liao Emperor at Qingling, Balinyou Banner, and have suggested that the Koryŏ incense burner was made by Qidan refugees.³⁶ Another Liao mural painting on the south ceiling of a tomb in Hure Banner also closely resembles it.³⁷ This design can be indeed universally seen in Koryŏ ceramics.³⁸ Another Koryŏ example of this

³² Xu Bingkun and Sun Shoudao, *op. cit.*, p.101. See also a pair of Tang stone lions (*ibid.*, no. 112). According to Zhou Nanquan, lions were first brought to China in the Later Han (Zhou Nanquan, *Zhongguo guyu duandai yu bianwei 2: Guyu dongwu yu shenyishou juan*, Taipei, 1994, p.217), but lion tributes were often recorded in the *Old History of the Tang* (JT, juan 3, p.45, juan 8, p.184, juan 198, p.5315).

³³ Watson (1984), *op. cit.*, p. 204 (no.224).

³⁴ The description of lion censers in the Southern Song records was mentioned in Chapter Six, although it is uncertain to this author whether the lion design of the Song shows similarities to the Liao as close as the Koryŏ.

³⁵ Rhee Byung-chang, *Kankoku bijyutsu shusen*, Tokyo, 1978, no.77. A similar square incense burner in the Song *guan* ware is in the National Palace Museum, Taiwan (Guoli Gugong bowuyuan bianji weiyuanhui, ed., *Guo zhi zhongbao*, Taipei, 1983, no. 29). Two other similar examples of this type of incense burner were found in a Yuan tomb at Luoyang dated around AD 1350; one is impressed design with stylized *panchi*-dragons amid cloud-patterns, square in shape, its height 11 cm, the other is rectangular without a design, 11 cm high, 27 cm long and 13.5 cm wide (Luoyangshi bowuguan, "Luoyang Yuan Wan Shu mu qingli", *Kaogu*, 1979, no.6, p.570, fig. 1.8 and 1.9). A similar object in the British Museum is catalogued as "Jun ware flower pot", dating to the Yuan Dynasty.

³⁶ *Ibid.* There is also a theory that this design is associated with *Ding* wares in the Northern Song (Kikutake Junichi and Yoshida Hiroshi, *Sekai bijyutsu daizenshu*, vol. 10, Tokyo, 1998, p.441, no. 220). For the Liao mural painting, see ZMQ:H12, no. 143 and Tamura Jitsuzo, *Keiryō no hekiga kaiga choshoku toji*, Kyoto, 1977.

³⁷ Jilinsheng bowuguan and Zhelimuming wenhuaju, "Jilin Zhelimuming Hureqi yihao Liaomu fajue jianbao", *Wenwu*, 1973, no.8, fig.16 (p.10).

³⁸ See illustrated catalogue of patterns on the Koryŏ ceramics, Chosŏn yujŏgyumitogam p'yŏnch'anwiwŏnhoe, *Puk'anŭi munhwajaeowa munhwa yujŏk*, vol. 3 (Koryŏ p'yŏn), Seoul, 2000, p.479

type of incense burner is said to have a design of egrets with willow trees.³⁹ As discussed in Chapter Five, egrets seem not to have been particularly associated with the 'Spring Scene' in the Liao, although the egret in a lotus pond motif is depicted in works of art in the Liao period. Koryŏ works of art do not noticeably distinguish between cranes, waterfowl and egrets. It seems that short legged and web-footed birds in a lotus pond are usually waterfowl such as ducks and geese. They cannot be cranes or egrets. On Koryŏ ceramics, flying cranes amid cloud patterns frequently appear with black curved up crests and a black tuft of plumage on the tail (Figure 7.6). On the other hand, the egret in a lotus pond motif in Koryŏ ceramics puzzlingly shows no visible crest (Figure 7.7a) although this is possibly the Great White Egret or the Intermediate Egret, as in the Southern Song *kesi* picture Figure 4.35.⁴⁰ Even waterfowl such as geese and ducks depicted on ceramics have crests on their heads, whilst egret-like birds with slender bodies and long legs and necks in lotus ponds seem scarcely to have them.⁴¹ Figure 7.7b could be one of a few examples that can be regarded as an egret with a crest, such as a Little Egret.⁴² A comparison between Koryŏ and Liao egrets is not really feasible, accordingly.⁴³

We turn now to consider the Koryŏ jades in relation to Liao works of art. As discussed in Chapter Four, an exquisite carved jade belt with egret and autumn reed motifs was presented to the Song from the Koryŏ in the reign of Emperor Shenzong (r. AD 1067-1085); it was highly esteemed and a copy in gold was ordered by the Emperor.⁴⁴ The record suggests that this was just before Zhongzong 哲宗 (r. AD 1085-1100) ascended the throne in AD 1085.⁴⁵ Based on this record and jade openwork carving

(no.118, 120, 121 and 122.) and Ho-Am Art Gallery, *op. cit.*, no.138.

³⁹ Rhee Byung-chang, *loc. cit.*

⁴⁰ For another example of lotus and egret-like bird design in ceramics, see Beth McKillop, *Korean Art and Design*, London, 1992, pl.19.

⁴¹ Chosŏn yujŏgyumitogam p'yŏnch'anwiwŏnhoe, *op. cit.*, no.113-4, 121-2.

⁴² However, Figure 7.7b has been catalogued as a crane in Judith G. Smith, ed., *Arts of Korea*, New York, 1998, p.74 (pl.18).

⁴³ A pair of egret-like waterfowl depicted on a gold box of the Liao Princess of Chen (Figures 4.36a and 4.36b) which we saw in Chapter Four also have crests curling up, and seem to have more the characteristics of egrets than of cranes.

⁴⁴ SS, juan 464, p.13573.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

technique in this period, it is possible that the workmanship of the Koryŏ jade belt was two-tier openwork, as Figure 4.30. One may raise the question of the possibility that the Koryŏ jade belt (i.e. belt-plaques) was not carved in openwork but solid. However it seems most likely to be in openwork in the light of the level of jade carving in that period and the surviving Koryŏ jades. A set of bronze belt-plaques with egret and lotus and flower motifs was also discovered in a Liao tomb dated to the reign of Shengzong (r. AD 982-1031) (Figure 4.36c and 4.36d).⁴⁶ This Liao bronze belt supports the theory that jade ornaments with egret motif could have been carved before the second half of the eleventh century. Judging from these records and the fact that no jade two-tier openwork carvings have yet been confirmed from Liao tombs or Northern Song tombs, it is possible to consider a transference of Koryŏ jade carving technique to the Liao and Song at around AD 1085. According to the *History of the Koryŏ*, the Song Emperor Shenzong presented a set of jade belt-plaques with a playful children motif to the Koryŏ in AD 1078.⁴⁷ Although such an example in jade has not been discovered from a Song tomb, a belt with a children motif in silver was unearthed from a Song tomb, providing us with the image of the gift to the Koryŏ (Figure 7.8). The Song popular motif of playful children was also used in the Liao and Koryŏ. Gilded silver belt-plaques with this motif unearthed from a Liao tomb are an example (Figure 7.9). The children motif appears in Koryŏ ceramics, jade and metal work, suggesting its popularity in the Koryŏ (Figure 7.10a and 7.10b). The Koryŏ gilded bronze belt (Figure 7.10b) is closer to the Liao example than to the Song find. As in China, the combination of the lotus and child motifs is frequently found in the Koryŏ and the auspicious meaning seems to have been shared (Figure 7.11).⁴⁸ An intriguing example is a Koryŏ jade recumbent child and a Southern Song gold sprawling baby in similar posture (Figure 7.12 and 7.13a and 7.13b).⁴⁹ Jades with a child design in the Song are usually with the child standing

⁴⁶ Zhang Bozhong, "Neimenggu Tongliao xian Erlinchang Liao mu", *Wenwu*, 1985, no.3, p.60.

⁴⁷ KS, kwon 72, chi 26, yŏbok 1, p.561. "腰帶二條...一條玉一十六稻鏤壓白戲孩兒頭尾共一十事瑠觀金多攀紅革呈成釘, ..."

⁴⁸ The inside of the bowl in Figure 7.10a is engraved with a large lotus leaf (Roderick Whitfield *et al.*, *Treasures from Korea Art through 5000 Years*, 1984, London, p.147 (no.164). See also Chosŏn yujŏgyumitogam p'yŏnch'anwiwŏnhoe, Seoul, 2000, p.479 (no.113-5, 117, 119), Lim Yŏngju, *Han-guk munyangsa*, 1993, Seoul, p.262, 264, Chosen sotokufu (1982), *op. cit.*, no. 4271, and Ho-Am Art Gallery, *op. cit.*, no.40-4, 140.

⁴⁹ This jade boy seems currently the only example in the Koryŏ, as far as Koryŏ jades are concerned.

holding lotus leaves.⁵⁰ There is an heirloom extent jade boy assumed to date between the Song and the Yuan which bears a close resemblance in face, hair style and posture to the Koryŏ piece (Figure 7.14). Although the Koryŏ jade boy is still distinct in shape and appearance from the characteristic Song boy examples, boys holding lotus branches depicted on the Koryŏ gilded bronze (Figure 7.13b) and the Song piece (Figure 7.13a) are almost identical in their style.⁵¹ It is noteworthy that child motifs, which were frequently applied in Koryŏ ceramics and metal work, seem largely to disappear in the Chosŏn, and it seems that the Koryŏ ceramics, metal work and jade strongly reflected Song culture in that period and that child motifs may have gradually lapsed in the Chosŏn Dynasty.⁵² Therefore, it can be said that Korean jade with child motifs is characteristic of the Koryŏ period and that the motifs may have originated from Song China through trade and official gifts, as attested by the record of a set of jade belt plaques with a children motif presented by the Song Emperor Shenzong in AD 1078.⁵³ It is interesting to note that there seems to be no report of the discovery of jade with child motifs in a Liao tomb, hitherto, but a jade standing boy wearing a hat and holding a banana leaf hanging down his back was unearthed from a Jin tomb at Suibin County 绥滨县 in Heilongjiang province.⁵⁴

In the Liao, fish was one of the main subjects for jade carvings. Fish had been a highly popular motif especially from the Song although it originated in the Hongshan Culture (c. 3500-2200 BC) of the Neolithic period.⁵⁵ It seems to have been popular, too, in Korea for Koryŏ jade. There was a reason for its great popularity in the Song relating to

There is also a standing boy holding a lotus branch in gilded bronze in the Koryŏ metal work collection, made in a pair. See Chosen sotokufu (1982), *op. cit.*, no.4149.

⁵⁰ For further discussion on jade with child motif in China, see Zhang Guangwen, *Yuqi shihua*, Beijing, 1989, p.65-8, Zhuan Zhongmo, *Guyu jinghua*, Taipei, 1989, p.230-2, Chen Jiang, "Lian haiyu", in *Chutu yuqi jianding yu yanjiu*, Beijing, 2001, p.390-8, Zhu Shuyi, "Shanghai bowuguan cang yutong yanjiu", in *ZSTQY*, p.188-211.

⁵¹ Compare with Chosŏn yujŏgyumitogam p'yŏnch'anwiwŏnhoe, *op. cit.*, no.117 (p.479) and Lim Yŏngju, *op. cit.*, p.262 with the Song works of art, especially jades.

⁵² There is a nineteenth century pair of jade ornamental vest buttons for a vest with playful Korean boys (their hair style similar to Chinese boys). See Tamin bokshik Museum, ed., *The Inaugural Exhibition Catalogue of the Chang Pudeok Memorial Gallery*, Seoul, 1999, no.141.

⁵³ KS, kwon 72, chi 26, yŏbok 1, p.561.

⁵⁴ ZYQ:5, no.150.

⁵⁵ Zhou Nanquan (1994), *op. cit.*, p.56, 66. See also *Book of Odes*.

an auspicious meaning. The word 'fish' (yu 鱼) is homonymous with 'abundance' (yu 余), and the combination of 'lotus' (lian 莲) and fish leads to images that represent 'Wishing you continued riches every year' (liannian youyu 连年有余).⁵⁶ The Koryŏ fish motif is also with lotus flower (Figure 7.15), suggesting that the auspicious imagery was inherited from the Song.⁵⁷ There are examples, too, from Liao and Jin tombs (Figure 5.59, the rightmost fish and a pair of fish second from the left and 5.72).⁵⁸ The style of carving of the Koryŏ piece (Figure 7.15) looks rather similar to the Liao (Figure 5.59), which is assumed to date to the middle of the Liao Dynasty (i.e. the late tenth century to the early eleventh century before AD 1018); the Jin piece is dated middle to late Jin Dynasty (i.e. the second half of the twelfth century to the early thirteenth century).⁵⁹ An unearthed Northern Song crystal fish (Figure 7.16) is also similar in appearance to the Koryŏ piece (Figure 7.15) in fins and shape of body. In addition, there is a Song heirloom jade fish in the Qing Court Collection (Figure 7.17) that resembles the Koryŏ piece (Figure 7.15).⁶⁰ Thus, it is likely that the Koryŏ jade fish (Figure 7.15) may have been influenced from Song and Liao jade fish ornaments.

According to the research of Yu Hee-kyung and Park Kyung-ja, it is recorded in the *Kosat'ong* 故事通 by a historian of Ch'oi Namsŏn 崔南善 that a style of wearing a knife (*jangdo*) by men and women for self-defence in the Chosŏn Dynasty was exactly the same as among the Mongols.⁶¹ Yu Hee-kyung and Park Kyung-ja explain that wearing an ornamental knife hanging like a pendant from the breast-tie (*goreum*) of a jacket or the girdle seems to have been a custom in the Chosŏn Dynasty after submission to the Mongols.⁶² This style can be confirmed with Liao artefacts. Knives were traditionally an essential implement for the daily use of the northern nomadic

⁵⁶ Nozaki Masachika, *Kisho zuan kaidai*, Tokyo, 1928, p.537.

⁵⁷ Fish ornaments, frequently with a lotus motif, are often found in Koryŏ metal work. See Ho-Am Art Gallery, *op. cit.*, no. 258 and Chosen sotokufu (1982), *op. cit.*, no. 4131-6.

⁵⁸ For Liao jade fish, see also Zhuan Zhongmo, *op. cit.*, fig.106.

⁵⁹ Neimenggu zizhi qu wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo and Zhelimuming bowuguan, *Liao Chenguo Gongzhu mu*, Beijing, 1993, p.158. Heilongjiangsheng wenwu kaogu gongzuodui, "Heilongjiangpan Suibin Zhongxing Gucheng he Jindai mu qun", *Wenwu*, 1977, no.4, p.41, 45.

⁶⁰ This example is a popular style of the Song jade fish in its vividness and its curved body (Zhou Nanquan, ed., *Yuqi*, Hong Kong, 1995, vol.2, no. 40 (p.48) and 42 (p.50)).

⁶¹ Yu Hee-kyung and Park Kyung-ja, *op. cit.*, p.316.

peoples in hunting and were hung from the belt.⁶³ Silver swords decorated with jade and amber hafts were also unearthed from a Liao tomb of the Princess of the Chen state and her consort.⁶⁴ In particular, the Princess's jade pendant (*pei*) in the shape of a lotus with six different types of tools attached, scissors, drills, a file, a ladle and a knife (Figure 7.18), is like the Chosŏn women's pendant called '*norigae*' with small knife attached (Figures 7.19a and 7.19b). The Korean women's ornamental knife was also attached to their girdle alone without a *norigae*, and this knife without pendant belonging to the Liao Princess has also been found.⁶⁵ In Figure 7.19a, fish ornament is attached to the *norigae*, and we saw the Princess's pendant with fish ornament earlier (Figure 5.59).⁶⁶ Thus, women's wearing of *norigae* with a knife or knife alone seems to be associated with the Qidan women's custom. If so, it is intriguing that this Liao custom lasted to the end of the Chosŏn Dynasty. *Diexie* belt girdles (蹀躞帶) with pendants including a small knife belonging to a Silla king and to the consort of the Princess of Chen are almost identical in form (Figures 7.20 and 7.21). If we only compare Silla and Liao *diexie* belts, a Silla origin is suggested, but this style of belts was originally brought to Three Kingdoms China (AD 220-265) by nomads in Central Asia (i.e. *xiyu* 西域).⁶⁷ Therefore, it can be said to originate in the northern nomadic tradition. As with the woman's manner of sitting on the floor, not a few Korean traditions, manners and customs can be traced to the people of Manchuria. It seems likely that Korean women's *norigae* and the Qidan women's *pei* pendants accompanied with a small knife might have developed from the *diexie* belt girdles of the northern tradition.

7.2.2 Relations between Koryŏ and Song – through Gifts and Trade

During two hundred years (AD 962-1164) of diplomatic embassies between Koryŏ and Song, it is recorded that the number of visits to Song from Koryŏ reached more than

⁶² *Ibid.*

⁶³ Neimenggu zizhi qu wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo and Zhelimuning bowuguan, *op. cit.*, p. 44, 152.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, p.44-5.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, colour plate no.10 (X'):2.

⁶⁶ Three jade fish pendants of a different type were found at the Princess's waist. See *ibid.*, colour plate no.18 (XVIII'), 20 (XX').

⁶⁷ Zhou Xun and Gao Chunming, eds., *Zhongguo yiguanfushi dacidian*, Shanghai, 1996, p.450.

fifty, and Song embassies to Koryŏ around thirty.⁶⁸ A hundred and fifteen voyages of Song traders to Koryŏ are known from AD 1017 to the end of the Southern Song, mostly merchants from Fujian and Zhejiang.⁶⁹ Perhaps large numbers of Chinese merchants and traders were welcomed by the Korean elite during that period. According to the historical records, there were two main sea-routes between Song China and Koryŏ, 1. Dengzhou 登州 (i.e. Penglai 蓬萊) in present-day Shandong province. 2. Mingzhou 明州 (i.e. Ningbo 寧波) in present day Zhejiang province.⁷⁰ However, for national defence or for security reasons, the Song government only permitted trade from Mingzhou in the Southern Song Dynasty.⁷¹ A safe sea-route to Koryŏ was required and ensured, free from harassment by the Liao and Jin conquerors of northern China, for unofficial or discreet diplomatic relations with the Song.⁷² Trading was sometimes prohibited by the Song government to prevent the outflow of bronze coins to Koryŏ, yet the law was of no avail.⁷³ It is recorded that Koryŏ merchant vessels came to Northern Song China even after the Koryŏ government changed its foreign policy in submission to the Liao, and that the Liao knew this.⁷⁴ It seems that cultural intercourse between the Koryŏ and Song did not end with the rupture of political relations.

We now consider jade works through gifts between the Song and Koryŏ, in order to explore the exchange of jade openwork carving. A set of jade carved belt-plaques with a playful children motif was presented to the Koryŏ in AD 1078.⁷⁵ Shortly thereafter, the Koryŏ gave jade belt-plaques elaborately carved with egret and autumn reed motif to

⁶⁸ Ikeda On, "Reiso tsuko no ichimen", in *Mikami hakase shoujyu kinen ronshu*, Tokyo, 1979, p.23.

⁶⁹ Mori Katsumi, "Nihon, Korai raiko no So shonin", *Chosen gakuho*, no. 9, 1956, p.224.

⁷⁰ Xu Jing, juan 34, p.12-3 (Huangshuiyang). SS, juan 487, liezhuan 246, Wen Wanghui, p.14046. According to Mori, Guangzhou and Hangzhou were also designated ports for trading, however Guangzhou was too far from Koryŏ and merchants in Guangzhou could not compete (Mori, *ibid.*, p.226.).

⁷¹ SS, juan 487, liezhuan 246, p.14049-50, 14052. "昔蘇軾言于先朝, 謂高麗入貢有五害, 以此也。惟是國於吳會, 事與東都。昔高麗入使, 率右登, 萊, 山河之限甚遠, 今直趨四明, 四明距行都限一浙水耳。"

⁷² *Ibid.*, p.14046.

⁷³ Mori, *loc. cit.* SS, juan 487, p.14052. "慶元間(AD1195-1200), 詔禁商人持銅錢入高麗, 蓋絕之也。"

⁷⁴ SS, juan 312, liezhuan 71, p. 10227. "高麗臣屬北方, 久絕朝貢, 乃因商舶誘之使來, 契丹知之。" *History of the Song* records that the Liao often realized and were offended by the Koryŏ intercourse with Song (SS, juan 487, p.14050).

⁷⁵ KS, kwon 72, chi 26, yufu 1, p.561.

the Northern Song just before AD 1085, which were highly admired by the Emperor.⁷⁶ The records do not say whether those carvings were in openwork, neither has clear evidence been provided by archaeological excavations, however we may assume that the Koryŏ pieces were openwork carving possibly in two-tier, considering the wording of the records and the level of openwork carving of the period. Koryŏ presented swords decorated hilt and sheath with gold, silver and jade carved with a filamentous cloud pattern to the Later Jin (AD 936-946) of the Five Dynasties in AD 945.⁷⁷ It seems that the Koryŏ had already attained a certain level of jade carving in the early Koryŏ period. According to the research of Ikeda On, with keen attention to luxurious gifts from the Song Chinese court, the Koryŏ produced equally excellent and distinctive works of art in metal and textiles.⁷⁸ While gifts from Silla to China were mostly natural products such as carrots and horses, the Koryŏ was more able to achieve gifts of metalwork, with the improvement of craftsmanship.⁷⁹ Xu Jing records the elegant beauty of Koryŏ celadon ceramics of the period.⁸⁰ It was not surprising, then, that the Koryŏ had acquired a high-level of jade carving by the late eleventh century, which impressed the Song Emperor and caused him to order a copy in gold.

A jade cup with a dragon-head handle Figure 7.22 is attributed to the Song.⁸¹ A gilt-silver cup in similar style is thought to have been manufactured in around twelfth to thirteenth century Koryŏ (Figure 7.23).⁸² These two cups show that the Koryŏ craftsmen might have been inspired from designs of the Song and improved their workmanship through the exchange of gifts and trade. Many jade and metal works in the Koryŏ with flower and bird motifs, such as lotus and mandarin duck, are executed in naturalistic style (Figure 7.24), seeming to reflect the Song art and style.⁸³ Playful

⁷⁶ SS, juan 464, p.13573.

⁷⁷ KS, kwon 2, sega, Hyejong, p.58. “...進奉謝恩, ..., 金銀裝把鞘細縷雲天玉劍一十口, ...”

⁷⁸ Ikeda On, *op. cit.*, p.50.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*

⁸⁰ Xu Jing, *op. cit.*, juan 32, p.2 (taozun).

⁸¹ Zhou Nanquan (1995), *op. cit.*, p.122, 132. See also ZYQ:5, no. 109. There is also a similar style in ceramic of the *jun* ware in the Jin period. For this, see ZMQ:T:2, no.229.

⁸² Ho-Am Art Gallery, *op. cit.*, p. 217. For a Tang octagonal cup in gold, see ZMQ:M10, no.48.

⁸³ For jade and metal work in the Koryŏ period, see Chosen sotokufu (1982), *op. cit.*, p.1240-7, 1263-70, 1296-98 and Ho-Am Art Gallery, *op. cit.*, p.203-235. There is also a jade carved *huo-han*.

children and *chi*-dragons carved in jade during the Koryŏ period incontestably reflect the art of Song China (Figure 7.25).⁸⁴

7.2.3 The Relation between Jin and Koryŏ through Openwork Jade Carvings

Large numbers of the Nuzhen peoples, of different tribes, frequently visited the Koryŏ for trading, and Nuzhen bandits sometimes invaded Koryŏ to loot daily utensils.⁸⁵ The Koryŏ government granted products which the Nuzhen peoples required, silver plates and cotton and silk fabrics, in exchange for the horses, weapons and furs which were their specialty.⁸⁶ It was to conciliate them and to dissuade banditry that titles were given to Nuzhen who came for legitimate trade with the Koryŏ.⁸⁷ Trade was also stimulated by calculation of mutual interest, which was evident in the importing of large quantities of weapons, armour and horses from the Nuzhen during the war with the Qidan Liao in the reign of Hyŏngjong 顯宗 (AD 1010-1031).⁸⁸ While they retained these comparatively amicable relations, the might of the Nuzhen armies became sufficient to defeat the Qidan Liao and the Northern Song and eventually the relations between the Nuzhen and the Koryŏ were reversed and Koryŏ became a client state of the Jin in AD 1126.⁸⁹

Of Nuzhen peoples who immigrated and became naturalized in the Koryŏ, the first record in the *History of the Koryŏ* is in AD 921.⁹⁰ According to Lee Sunu 李舜雨, the number of mentions of Nuzhen Jin, Qidan Liao and Song Chinese in the *History of the*

⁸⁴ *Chi*-dragon was historically a popular motif in China, which was facilitated by the Song antiquarianism.

⁸⁵ Mikami Tsugio, *Kindai seiji shakai no kenkyu*, Tokyo, 1973, p.425. KS, kwon 15, sega, Injong 1, p.300, 306-7, 313-4.

⁸⁶ KS, kwon 4, sega, Hyŏnjong 1, p.90, 98-9. The Koryŏ granted mainly silver plates, cotton and silk fabrics and even titles to the Nuzhen. “東北女真酋長鉏乙豆率其屬七十人來獻方物各賜衣服銀皿.” “東女真鋤栗弗西女真阿主等四十餘人來獻馬及甲鑿旗幟貂鼠青鼠皮.”

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, p.98. “東女真阿梨古西女真凌渠等百餘人來獻方物並賜爵又賜匹段” Mikami (1973), *op. cit.*, p. 425-6. Titles were also given to Nuzhen settlers in Koryŏ to consolidate relations and to dissociate them from the Qidan Liao (Ehara Masaaki, “Koryŏ no shukengun ni kansuru ichi kosatsu”, *Chosen gakuho*, no. 28, 1963, p.39).

⁸⁸ Mikami, *ibid.*, p.434-6.

⁸⁹ KS, kwon 15, sega, Injong 1, p.304-5.

⁹⁰ KS, kwon 1, sega, T'aejo 1, p.41. “黑水酋長高子率百七十人來投” “黑水阿於闐率二百人來投”

Koryŏ between AD 918 and 1123 is Jin (including the Nuzhen) six hundred and thirty-four, Liao (including the Qidan) four hundred and seventy-five, Song Chinese two hundred and eighteen.⁹¹ It cannot be said from this that the Jin (including the Nuzhen) were historically associated the closest with the Koryŏ, yet it is conceivable that there was frequently more contact between them than with Liao Qidans and the Song. We now turn to examine the possible reflections of Jin culture and Nuzhen traditions in Koryŏ jade.

There are two intriguing Koryŏ jade carvings with northern characteristics. The first, Figure 7.26a depicts a swan (or goose) attacked by a falcon, the 'Spring hunting' (*Chunshui*) motif first recorded in the *History of the Jin* on a jade belt, as discussed in Chapter Five.⁹² In China, the Jin was the first dynasty to codify such motifs on official dress; the 'Spring hunting' activity originally came from the Qidan Liao. However, jades with the 'Spring hunting' motif have not been found in Liao and Jin tombs, and the earliest known piece is a jade belt-plaque unearthed from the Yuan tomb of Qian Yu in Wuxi (Figures 5.89a and 5.89b), in southern China. This jade belt-plaque is dated no later than AD 1321 based on the year of burial.⁹³ The Qian Yu jade belt-plaque is carved in intricate two-tier openwork. We know that the high technique of Koryŏ jade carving in the period before the Jin had been admired by the Northern Song. Their level of jade carving can be assumed to have been equivalent to the Song and Liao or slightly superior, although there are few written records concerning an evaluation of the quality of the Koryŏ jade carving during the Jin and Yuan periods. However, the manner of openwork carving of Figure 7.26a bears a close resemblance to unearthed Chinese jade openwork carving between the end of the Northern Song, the Liao and the early to middle Jin period (Figures 5.70, 5.73a, 7.27 and 7.28). These examples, including the Koryŏ piece, have a common technique of shallow-relief carving with slightly raised even areas and incised lines of varied width, achieving an effect of two-tier carving.⁹⁴

⁹¹ Lee Sunu, *op. cit.*, p.315.

⁹² JS, juan 43, yifudongzhi, p.985.

⁹³ Xu Lin, "Qian Yu mu chutu Yuandai yuqi", *The National Palace Museum Monthly of Chinese Art*, no. 193, p.72.

⁹⁴ See also ZYQ:5, no. 85.

The composition is carefully planned with great refinement of line giving the illusion of depth. It can be said that this is a crucial stage in the development of intricate two-tier openwork carving. It is noteworthy that jade openwork ornaments Figures 5.62a and 5.62b were unearthed from the same tomb as Figure 7.27, and that Figures 5.67 and 7.28 were also from one tomb, suggesting that the technique of two-tier openwork carving had already been invented by the beginning of the Jin period. Judging from the mixture of two different levels of openwork carving technique in that period, it was perhaps a time of transition in China. The Koryŏ piece (Figure 7.26a) seems to illustrate this, although the technique might have been acquired even earlier. Moreover, the design of Figure 5.73a and Figure 7.27 is nearly identical, and the swan of Figure 5.65a and the Koryŏ piece (Figure 7.26b) shows a close resemblance. In particular, carving of the face of the swan is executed in almost the same manner in terms of eyes and bill. The composition, technique and design of this Koryŏ jade swan (or goose) resembles characteristic design on Jin ceramics and Liao silver work (Figure 7.29 and 7.30). These examples are dated: jade ornaments unearthed in Fangshan county, Beijing (Figure 7.27) AD 1111-1118 (late Northern Song to beginning of Jin);⁹⁵ Figure 5.70 unearthed in Xinxiangfang is end of the Liao to beginning of Jin;⁹⁶ Figure 7.28, found in the tomb of Wugulun Wolun, before AD 1138;⁹⁷ and jade ornaments in Figures 5.65a and 5.73a from a joint tomb of Qi state should be no later than AD 1162.⁹⁸ As we discussed earlier, jade ornaments discovered in Fangshan County, Beijing, belong indeed to Jin jades but the technique of carving is likely to be inherited from the Northern Song. It should be also noted that at around this period the Koryŏ received a number of refugees from Liao and Jin including Han Chinese.

The second example of a Koryŏ jade bearing northern characteristics is Figure 7.31a. This is a rare design even in the Chinese jade repertoire.⁹⁹ The bird has a short bill

⁹⁵ Zhang Xiande and Huang Xiuchun, "Beijingshi Fangshanxian faxian shiguomu", *Wenwu*, 1977, no.6, p.80.

⁹⁶ An Lu "Haerbin Xinxiangfang Jin mu fajue zongshu", *Heilongjiang shizhi*, 1984, no.2, p.45.

⁹⁷ Zhao Fusheng *et al*, "Jindai Wugulun Wolun, Wugulun Yuanzhong ji Luguodachanggongzhu muzhi gaoshi", *Beijing wenwu yu kaogu*, 1983, no.1, p.83.

⁹⁸ Zhao Pingchun and Chi Benyi, *Jindaifushi*, Beijing, 1998, p.52.

⁹⁹ A similar design can be found in the Qing Court Collection. However, the birds are catalogued as

hooked at the tip, claws and broad wings and a long narrow tail, suggesting a raptor.¹⁰⁰ Taking into consideration its crest and the distribution of falcons and hawks based on recent research, the bird in Figure 7.31a is likely to be an Oriental Honey-buzzard (*Pernis ptilorhynchus*) 凤头蜂鹰 or Mountain Hawk Eagle (*Spizaetus nipalensis*) 鹰鵄 (Figures 7.32 and 7.33). Although long and pointed sickle-shaped wings and a long narrow tail are characteristic of falcons, and can be seen in our example, the crest on the head does not seem like a falcon's.¹⁰¹ The rope tied to this bird's legs probably indicates that it is being trained by a hawkler or falconer or that he is just letting it rest on the pole. An exactly similar style of jade Koryŏ bird (Figure 7.31a) can be found in the Song embroidery depicting a white eagle perching on a pole tied with a rope (Figure 7.31c). It reminds the author of the Liao and Jin immigrants who became mainly responsible for hunting as hawkers or falconers in Koryŏ. This Koryŏ jade possibly reflects such people's contribution and the characteristic culture of the Qidan and Nuzhen in Liao and Jin. It is noteworthy that the 'Spring hunting' motif in jade is hardly ever found in the Chosŏn Dynasty, suggesting that the motif was characteristic in the Koryŏ period.¹⁰² In addition, these two Koryŏ jades Figures 7.26a and 7.31a are extremely rare in collections of Koryŏ works of art. Stylistically, the composition of this hawk, Figure 7.31a, show common features to a Tang silver cup in the way it stretches out its wings and turns back its neck (Figure 7.34). The beading work enclosing the hawk along the outer edge of the ornament also seems reminiscent of metalwork. This borrowing to jade carving was frequent in the Jin and the Yuan.¹⁰³ In its openwork carving, this Koryŏ jade ornament is similar in technique to the Koryŏ example Figure 7.26a, and seems to be the same period, that is, probably the first half of the twelfth century or even earlier. Judging from the workmanship of the openwork carving,

parrots (Figure 7.31b). Figure 7.31b shows a pair of amicable birds with an incised plume pattern different to Figure 7.31a. For another similar example to the Koryŏ piece in China catalogued as parrots, see Wang Zhangqi, ed., *National Treasure Collection of Rare Cultural Relics of Shuanxi Province*, 1999, p.213. Koryŏ jade birds (Figure 7.31a) are confirmed as hawks not parrots by Mr Geoff Hancock, Curator of Entomology, Hunterian Museum, University of Glasgow, based on the illustration. I am grateful to Mr Geoff Hancock for this.

¹⁰⁰ John MacKinnon and Karen Phillipps, *A Field Guide to the Birds of China*, Oxford, 2000, p.219.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰² A hawk painting can be found in the Chosŏn period, but alone and not attacking. See Kim Joungwon, ed., *Ilbon sojang Han-guk munhwajae*, vol. 3, 1997, p.177. A hawk is depicted as a talisman.

¹⁰³ Jessica Rawson, *Chinese Jade from the Neolithic to the Qing*, London, 1995, p.336.

especially the careful execution of the rope, it can be said that it is an excellent Koryŏ piece demonstrating the high technique of jade carving in that period, attested by the Emperor of the Northern Song who had been so impressed with the Koryŏ jade belt in the late eleventh century.

Another interesting example of Koryŏ jade ornament is carved in two-tier openwork (Figure 7.35). There are Jin examples of openwork two-tier carving in similar style (Figures 5.62a, 5.62b, and 7.28). These examples were all unearthed from Jin tombs in Beijing and are assumed to date AD 1111 to 1138, from the late Northern Song to the early Jin. The Koryŏ flower is surrounded by bamboo along the edge of the ornament. The style and the manner of carving are almost identical with Figure 7.36, which came from the same tomb as Figures 5.62a, 5.62b and 7.27.¹⁰⁴ The Koryŏ flower jade seems to have many common features with jade pieces unearthed from the Jin tomb in Fangshan county, Beijing, suggesting similar taste and techniques with the Northern Song and the Jin. Therefore, Figure 7.35 may reflect the period's taste, and may be datable to around AD 1111- 1138. Finally, a similar style to a common pattern in Jin ware (Figure 7.37a) can also be found in Koryŏ jade (Figure 7.37b)

As we have seen the Koryŏ jades are mostly ornaments in pairs. What were they used for? In view of the influence of Liao and Jin manners and customs, jade ornament decoration for *xiaoyaojin* may have been their purpose. The *History of the Koryŏ* records that the Qidan manners of wearing clothes were followed by the Koryŏ court and even by commoners, by AD 1129.¹⁰⁵ It is possible, considering the number of immigrants, that Koryŏ jades were hat ornaments in the manner of the Prince of Qi state and his consort in Acheng (Figures 5.65a and 5.73a). The ornaments of the Prince and his consort are five to six centimetres long so that the Koryŏ jades seem generally suitable to be used for such hat ornaments. The *History of the Koryŏ* also records that a pair of white jade ornaments 白玉雙佩 (*paegok sangp'ae*) was used for decorating a

¹⁰⁴ Note that these jade pieces are found in the Han Chinese tomb dated to the beginning of the Jin but the area of this tomb in Beijing was formerly Liao territory.

¹⁰⁵ KS, kwon 16, sega, Injong 2, 7 nyŏn 5 wŏl, p.322.

leather belt which was part of the King's ceremonial dress 祭服 (*chebok*) regulated in the period of King Ŭijong (AD 1147-1170).¹⁰⁶ However, the Chosŏn woman's hat for winter called *ayam* (or *aegŏm*) 額掩 with two long ribbons (*taenggi*) at the back was customarily decorated with jade ornaments, which reminds the author of the Liao and Jin women's *xiaoyaojin* (Figures 7.38 and 7.39).

We finally consider the quality of Koryŏ jade. As we have seen with Jin jade ornaments, it is evident that a technique of openwork two-tier carving was acquired by the time of the early Jin. The *History of the Song* records that an openwork jade belt with a dragon amid cloud pattern was worn by the Jin Emperor, which seems the earliest record to specify openwork carving of personal ornaments, and this may have been a common style for dignitaries in that period, although the History does not refer to the sophistication of the workmanship or the level of the openwork carving.¹⁰⁷ Based on all our discussion, the jade workmanship in the Koryŏ seems of similar level to Liao, Song and Jin China or may even have been superior to them. However, the quality of jade may not always have been the best, such as the Xinjiang 'mutton-fat' jade, and the Koryŏ jade collections show this. According to the *History of the Jin*, the Koryŏ presented a jade belt to the Jin Emperor for New Year greetings in AD 1177, yet it looked like ordinary stone to the Jin entourage and the Koryŏ embassy was all taken prisoner.¹⁰⁸ It may be that this was simply harassment by the Jin court of the Koryŏ or it might have been difficult diplomatically for the Koryŏ to import Xinjiang jade during the Jin period. However, it should be noted that there is carving in white translucent jade similar in quality to the Xianjiang jade in the Koryŏ jade collections (Figures 7.40 and 7.41).

7.2.4 The Second Stage of the Koryŏ Period – Relations with the Mongol Yuan Dynasty

After suffering repeated invasions by Mongol forces from AD 1231, the Koryŏ King

¹⁰⁶ KS, kwon 72, chi 26, yŏbok 3, p.562. "...革帶白玉雙佩朱組綬絲綱玉環繫衣上..."

¹⁰⁷ SS, jnan 154, yufu 6, bao, p.3589. "乃金人上其祖阿骨打識寶也.;透碾雲龍玉帶——..."

¹⁰⁸ JS, juan 7, Dading shiqi nian, p.166, juan 135, gaoli, p.2887. "...高麗所進玉帶乃石似玉者..."

Wŏnjong (r. AD 1260-1274) finally proceeded to negotiate peace with the Mongols and entered close relations with the Mongol emperors of the Yuan Dynasty for nearly a century: heirs of the Koryŏ royal family were sent as hostages to the Yuan court (the Mongol. *Turyay* system, Ch. 秃鲁花), to join the Emperor's élite hereditary Palace Guards (or Imperial Bodyguard) (Kr. *Kēsig*, Ch. 宿卫 or 怯薛), and royal intermarriage was instituted.¹⁰⁹ This distinctive relationship was very different to the Qidan and Nuzhen, former northern conquerors with whom the Koryŏ had also made agreements of subordinate relationships. After being totally oppressed by the Yuan Overseers such as the *darughachi*, the country was placed under Mongol rule with *Chŏngdong haengsŏng* (Ch. *Zhengdong xingsheng* 征東行省) (Eastern expedition field headquarters in Kaegyŏng under Branch Secretariats 行中書省), but the head was the king of Koryŏ.¹¹⁰ Besides, the Koryŏ promoted cultural exchange with China, through trade, marriage, naturalization, immigration and visits by kings, courtiers, nobles, officials, literati, scholars, artisans, merchants, performers and so forth.¹¹¹ There was, then, a rapid extension of the Yuan Mongolian influence into Koryŏ culture in many aspects.

The adoption of Mongolian manners and customs became remarkable especially in the reign of King Ch'ungyŏl (r. AD 1274-1308). Having received instructions in AD 1260 from Khubilai not to reform and to retain native manners and customs, King Ch'ungyŏl encouraged men to shave their hair in the Mongolian style.¹¹² In AD 1278, Mongolian costume and Mongolian men's hairstyle were decreed.¹¹³ As a background of such strong policy for the assimilation to Mongol manners and customs, King Ch'ungyŏl was

¹⁰⁹ KS, kwon 26, sega, Wŏnjong 1, p.510, kwon 27, Wŏnjong 3, p.562-3, kwon 28, Ch'ungyŏl Wang 1, p.564-5. For the *Kēsig* and *Turyay* systems in the relationship between Koryŏ and Yuan, see Morihira Masahiko, "Gencho kesig seido to Korai oke", *Shigaku-Zasshi*, Vol. CX, no. 2, Feb., 2001.

¹¹⁰ KS, kwon 26, sega, Wŏnjong 1, 511, Wŏnjong 3, p.539, kwon 28, Ch'ungyŏl Wang 1, p.564, 583. Kitamura Hideto, "Korai ni okeru Seito kosho ni tsuite", *Chosen gakuho*, no 32, July 1964, p.1.

¹¹¹ Choi Kil-sung *et al.*, *op. cit.* p.95.

¹¹² KS, kwon 25, sega, Wŏnjong 1, p.511, kwon, 28, Ch'ungyŏl Wang 1, p.564-5, 581. "中統元年...衣冠從本國之俗皆不改易..." "…曰臣等非惡開剃唯俟衆例耳蒙古之俗剃頂至額方其形留髮其中謂之怯仇兒王人朝時已開剃而國人則未也故責之。" "…曰高麗服色何如對曰服韃靼衣帽。"

¹¹³ KS, kwon 72, chi 26, yŏbok 11, p.566. "四年二月令境內皆服上國衣冠開剃蒙古俗剃頂至額方其形留髮其中。"

the first Koryŏ King to marry a Mongol princess, a daughter of Khubilai.¹¹⁴ Thus, nearly a hundred years under Yuan Mongol influence changed Koryŏ manners and customs, and the Mongolian language persists even today in Korean modern terms for clothes and adornments. For example, *Chokturi* 簪頭里, the formal Chosŏn élite women's headdress for ceremonial occasions which is still worn by the modern Korean bride, derives from the Mongolian 'kekelel' (or 'keke'), a married woman's hat (Figures 7.42a and 7.42b).¹¹⁵ The etymology of 'kekelel' is related to beauty, elegance and ornaments in the Mongolian language,¹¹⁶ and it is said that *chokturi* is a transliteration in the Korean language.¹¹⁷ If *chokturi* originates from the Mongolian married woman's hat *kekelel*, it is associated with the *gugu* crown which we discussed in Chapter Five (Figure 5.57).¹¹⁸ The *yungbok* 戎服 (a light weight costume) in Chosŏn uniform was worn for occasions such as a national crisis and was said to reflect Yuan Mongolian style, developing from the exotic but practical *hobok* 胡服 (Ch. *hufu*) of Koryŏ times.¹¹⁹ It was normally worn with *chŏllip* 戰笠 (i.e. military hat) made usually of animal fur for protection against arrows, and derived from the Chinese *zhanli* 氈笠 (or *zhanmao*) (K. *chŏllip*) popularized at the end of the Koryŏ Dynasty (Figure 7.43).¹²⁰ The *chŏllip* was widely used as a soldier's hat especially from the middle of the Chosŏn Dynasty and became representative of military headgear.¹²¹ Most importantly, this headgear has a hat finial. According to the *Taejŏn Hoet'ong* 大典會通, the Chosŏn code of national law published in AD 1865, jade egret finials (*Okro* or *Ongno* 玉鶯)

¹¹⁴ KS, kwon 28, Ch'ungyŏl Wang 1, p.564.

¹¹⁵ Yu Heekyung and Park Kyungja, *op. cit.*, p.120, 156-7. Kim Youngsook and Son Kyŏnja, *Chosen ocho fukushoku zuroku*, Tokyo, 1984, p.294. Sugimoto Masatoshi (1984), *op. cit.*, p. 388. For 'kekelel', see Shiratori Kurakichi, "Koraishi ni miataru Mokogo no kaishaku" in *Chosenshi kenkyu*, Tokyo, 1986, p.436-7.

¹¹⁶ Shiratori, *ibid.*, p.437.

¹¹⁷ Sugimoto (1984), *loc. cit.*

¹¹⁸ *Chokturi* became smaller and developed a Korean style in the Chosŏn Dynasty (Yu Heekyung and Park Kyungja, *op. cit.*, p.255).

¹¹⁹ Park Chunsoon, "A study of Hobok in Korea", *Kokusai fukushoku gakkaiishi*, 1995, no. 12, p.153. The *yungbok* was also worn by military and civil officials attending the king on his travels and by envoys dispatched to foreign countries (Yu Heekyung and Park Kyungja, *ibid.*, p.207).

¹²⁰ According to *Chŏngbo munhŏn pigo*, a military hat called *mo-jŏllip* 毛氈笠 or *chŏllip* 戰笠 was a *hobok* coming from Korea's northwest (CMP, kwon 80, yego 禮考 27, changbok 章服 2, vol.2, p.27). Kang Soon-che, *A study on the transitions of Kwanmo*, Ph.D thesis, submitted to the Graduate School of Seoul Woman's University, 1992, p.111, 113. I am grateful to Professor Kang Soon-che for the kind present of a copy of her thesis to the author in 2000.

should be worn on black lacquered *kat* hats 笠 and *chöllip* 甌笠 by both serving and former grand ministers (*shi-im*, *wōnimdaesa* 時任·原任大臣) and military generals (or Military Commanders) (*changshin* 將臣) when they wore *yungbok* and *kunbok* 軍服 (military uniform) (Figures 7.44a and 7.44b).¹²² It is also recorded that *kunbok* were to be worn on excursions and by envoys travelling abroad.¹²³

Finally, the Koryŏ continued to receive immigrants from China and this phenomenon of relaxed acceptance became further remarkable in the period of the Yuan Mongols.¹²⁴ Figure 5.69b unearthed from a Yuan tomb in Shandong province and the Koryŏ jade (Figure 5.69a) are good illustrations of the artistic and cultural exchange through trade with Yuan China.¹²⁵ It has been suggested that the Song sea-route was activated for trading during the Yuan Dynasty.

7.2.5 The Third Stage of the Koryŏ Period – Relations with the Ming

With uprising and a rise of an alternative new power in many parts of China and the progressive disintegration of the Mongol Yuan regime during the latter half of the fourteenth century, King Kongmin (r. AD 1351-1374) determined to oust Yuan control from the peninsula. The use of the Yuan name of an era was terminated, and government organization reverted to its state before Yuan control. Culturally, the decree of shaving hair in the Mongolian style was rescinded in AD 1352¹²⁶ and a change of dress system was petitioned from the King by Woo P'ilhŭng 于必興 in AD 1357.¹²⁷ The hat 笠 (Kr. *kat* or *rip* or *lip*, Ch. *lì*) worn by civil and military officials in the Chosŏn Dynasty seems to have come from the *kat* hat described in this petition which

¹²¹ *Ibid.*

¹²² TH, kwon 3, yejŏn 禮典, ūjang 儀章, p. 180. “遠近行幸時 並着軍服。時, 原任大臣, 將臣戒服軍服時笠飾玉鶯。” CMP, kwon 79, yego 26, changbok, vol.2, p.21. “[高宗]二年[AD 1865]七月命原任將臣時原任大臣戒服軍服許飾玉鶯於紗笠甌笠之上。”

¹²³ TH, *ibid.*

¹²⁴ Kishimoto Mio and Miyajima Hiroshi, *Sekai no rekishi* 12, Tokyo, 1998, p.17.

¹²⁵ However, the date of the Koryŏ example does not necessarily correspond to the Yuan.

¹²⁶ KS, kwon 106, yŏljŏn 19, Yi Sŭnghyu 李承休 (Yi Yŏnjong 李衍宗), p.339. CMP, kwon 79, yego 26, changbok, vol.2, p.2. “恭愍王元年監察大夫李衍宗言髡髮胡服非先王之制願殿下勿效王悅解即解髡髮”

¹²⁷ KS, kwon 72, chi 26, yŏbok 12, p.566. See Chapter Two, footnote 68.

ultimately developed into the Chosŏn representative black lacquered hat with a wide brim. However, the early form of this *kat* hat probably had a round top like a Chinese *zhanli*, as far as pictorial images of this period allow us to judge. In AD 1367, King Kongmin formalized the wearing of black lacquered hats with hat finials, jade and crystal, to distinguish status high and low, as discussed in Chapter Two.¹²⁸ It should be noted that this decree did not specify the grade of officials but rather denoted their titles, and the wearing of hat finials in itself was a mark of official status. The official rank insignia embroidered on robes were codified in costume regulations of AD 1454 in Chosŏn Korea, sixty-three years later than the Ming in AD 1391.¹²⁹ It can be said that the culture of hat finials in the Yuan style probably survived in the Koryŏ longer than in the Ming, because although the Ming at first kept the hat finial system their significance was transferred to the rank insignia in 1391.

The *History of the Koryŏ* like the Chinese records does not describe the motif and design of jade hat finials. In AD 1387 in the reign of King U (U Wang) (r. AD 1374-1388), Sol Changsu 僣長壽 brought a set of Han Chinese costume including *samo* 紗帽 (black gauze cap) and *tallyŏng* 團領 (circular-collared robe) from Ming China and the Yuan *hobok* 胡服 (Ch. *hufu*) style began to be reformed on the basis of the Ming costume system.¹³⁰ That ultimately means that the Koryŏ returned to the adoption of Song costume. Importantly, the *History of the Koryŏ* recorded that Sol Changsu requested Han styled costumes from the Ming court because Koryŏ officials and commoners were still wearing *kat* hats unchanged since the Yuan.¹³¹ That is to say, hats with hat finials as Figure 7.43 indicate Yuan Mongolian style, as the *History of the Koryŏ* attests. As in China, the Koryŏ retained the Yuan-style hat and hat finials even after the fall of the Yuan Mongol Dynasty. It is of great significance that the regulation of the hat finials worn by specific officials was regulated in Koryŏ before the establishment of the Ming (AD 1368-1644) so that the system or manner of wearing hat

¹²⁸ *Ibid.*

¹²⁹ CWS:TJG, kwon 12, 2 nyŏn 12 wŏl, vol.6, p.713. CMP, kwon 79, yego 26, changbok, vol.2, p.15. “端宗二年命文武百官團領胸背之制倣明朝儀章照品穿著仍賜宗宰七十二人緞各一匹。”

¹³⁰ KS, kwon 136, yŏljŏn 49, Shinu 4, 13 nyŏn 5 wŏl, 6 wŏl, p.942, kwon 72, chi 26, yŏbok 14, p.567. “辛禡十三年六月始革胡服依大明制…”

finials was not originally imported from Ming China but from the Mongol Yuan Dynasty to Koryŏ Korea. The regulation of hat finials in Korea was achieved in the Chosŏn Dynasty by *Kyŏngguk taejŏn* (Chosŏn law code promulgated in AD 1470 and revised, supplemented and completed in AD 1485) which distinguished official grades by the material of the hat finial.¹³² The regulation of hat finials for official grades was later than the regulation of official rank insignia on costume. It should be noted that the Koryŏ officially followed the Ming costume regulations from AD 1387 until the deposing of the last Koryŏ monarch in AD 1392 when Yi Sŏnggye 李成桂 (AD 1335-1408) founded the succeeding Chosŏn Dynasty (AD 1392-1910).

7.3 Historical Documents and Surviving Heirloom Jade Openwork Finials in the Chosŏn Dynasty: the History of Jade Openwork Finials in Korea

We now investigate the history of jade openwork hat finials in Korea beginning from the inheritance of jade hat finials from the Mongol Yuan Dynasty to the Koryŏ that we described in the previous part. The end of the Koryŏ is of great importance in tracing the provenance of jade egret openwork hat finials in the Chosŏn Dynasty. Therefore, literary sources of jade finials at the end of the Koryŏ will be further examined, before we examine the historical documents of jade openwork finials in the Chosŏn Dynasty.

7.3.1 Jade Hat Finials in the Koryŏ Dynasty based on the Official Records

According to the *History of the Koryŏ*, a jade hat finial 玉頂子 (Ch. *yudingzi*, Kr. *okchŏngja*) and a jade beaded hat string (or chin strap) 玉纓 (Ch. *yuying*, Kr. *ogyŏng*) were presented to King Kongmin by Zhang Shicheng 張士誠 (AD 1321-1367) in AD 1364 before hat finials were codified in the official dress system in AD 1367.¹³³ Zhang Shicheng was one of a number of powerful rival leaders at the end of the Yuan Dynasty competing with Zhu Yuanzhang 朱元璋 (AD 1328-1398), founder of the Ming Dynasty.¹³⁴ Zhang Shicheng was a native of Taizhou 泰州 in Jiangsu and was

¹³¹ *Ibid.*

¹³² KTL, kwon 3, yejŏn, ŭljang, vol.1, p.217-8.

¹³³ KS, sega, kwon, 40, Kongmin 3, 13 nyŏn 7 wŏl 26 il, p.809, CMP, kwon 80, yego 27 changbok 2, vol.2, p.25. “吳王張士誠遣周仲瞻來獻玉纓玉頂子綵段四十匹”.

¹³⁴ MS, juan 130, liezhuan, Qiucheng, p.3827, &c.

self-proclaimed King Wu 吳王 based in Suzhou in AD 1363 after he occupied territories in Jiangsu.¹³⁵ However, he was defeated by the founder of the Ming and the Ming Dynasty was established in AD 1368.¹³⁶ Judging from this, gifts by Zhang Shicheng seem to have been part of his diplomatic scheme to announce to the Koryŏ his position as legitimate successor in China. In the *History of the Koryŏ* recording his gifts to the Koryŏ, he is entitled 'King Wu'.¹³⁷ The jade hat finial must have been in typical style of the period in Jiangnan and representative of jade hat finials in the late Yuan Dynasty. In the light of the unearthed jade finials from the Ren family, it was possible that it was in openwork carving. Regrettably, the *History of the Koryŏ* has not referred to the style of its carving, which seems normal in historical records of this period, as in the case of the Yuan records. 'Okchŏngja' 玉頂子 (lit. Jade finial) was the term to describe jade hat finials used by both the Yuan and the Koryŏ. It is intriguing that the only surviving jade openwork hat finial attached to its original Chosŏn hat is catalogued as *okchŏngja*, despite its being carved with egret and lotus motif.¹³⁸ As pointed out in Chapter One, jade hat finials are commonly called 'ongno' (or *okro*) (lit. Jade Egret) in modern Korea regardless of the motif, for the egret motif seems to have been the representative motif for jade finials in the Chosŏn Dynasty. However, this term 'ongno' seems not to have appeared in the official record until the second half of the nineteenth century, that is at the end of the Chosŏn Dynasty.¹³⁹ Chŏng Tong-yu, the writer of *Chuyŏng p'yŏn*, did not use the term 'ongno' but 'okchŏngja', suggesting that it was not a general term in his lifetime, that is between the late eighteenth century and the early nineteenth century.¹⁴⁰ *Okchŏngja* may have been the standard term for jade hat finials in Korea since Zhang Shicheng's gifts to King Kongmin, and it seems to have been a

¹³⁵ YS, juan 46, Zhizheng 13 nian, p.909, Zhiyuan 23 nian, p.965.

¹³⁶ MS, juan 130, liezhuan 18, Kang Mocai, p.3815-6, 3827.

¹³⁷ KS, scga, kwon 38, Kongmin 2, 3, p.776-7, 780-2, 785-7, 795, 802, 809, 813. Zhang's gifts were presented at least fifteen times to King Kongmin.

¹³⁸ 'Ongno' (lit. Jade Egret) is commonly used as a modern term of jade finials and the author was first told that there were no hat finials preserved in the National Museum of Korea, Seoul, under that name. However, this only surviving example of a jade hat finial attached on its original hat and another crucial jade finial of the sixteenth century in the Chinju National Museum were eventually discovered by asking a curator at the Museum to search by computer under the term 'okchŏngja'. I am grateful to Lee Jae-jeong, Associate Curator at the Museum, for this search.

¹³⁹ TH, kwon 3, yejŏn, ūijang, p.180. CMP, kwon 79, yego 26, changbok, vol.2, p.21.

¹⁴⁰ Chŏng Tong-yu, *Chuyŏng p'yŏn*, 1806, facsimile reprint, Seoul, 1971, p.224-5.

commonly used term in historical records until the second half of the nineteenth century. If this is so, the term *okchǒngja* encompassed openwork jade carving. This is evidently supported by surviving examples of Yi Sunsin 李舜臣 (AD 1545-98) and Kwŏn Ŭngsu 權應銖 (AD 1546-1608) carved in openwork with an egret and a mandarin duck motif respectively, to which I shall refer later.

Finally, but most importantly, among the gifts from Zhang Shicheng to King Kongmin in AD 1362, were a jade incense burner and a jade incense box.¹⁴¹ If the jade openwork finial of the Ren family in Shanghai had been a finial for the cover of an incense burner, it is reasonable to consider that the jade incense burner presented by Zhang Shicheng would have had a jade openwork finial, too. It is inconceivable that the Koryŏ and Chosŏn peoples would have worn incense burner cover finials as hat finials, if they knew the usage of jade openwork finials in China as incense burner cover finials. The fact that Zhang Shicheng presented a jade incense burner and a jade incense box to the Koryŏ tells us clearly that the Koryŏ knew the Chinese jade incense burners and incense boxes of the period, especially in Jiangnan taste. We may also deduce from this that it was not difficult for Zhang Shicheng to obtain jade objects as 'King Wu'. However, as discussed in Chapter Six, a wooden cover for a jade incense burner seems not yet to have been devised in this period so that it is likely that there would have been no cover on Zhang Shicheng's jade incense burner. Considering his political schemes and the nature of his gift, these are likely to have been representative objects of the period. On the other hand, the jade hat finial (*yudingzi*) presented by Zhang Shicheng in AD 1364 may well have been openwork carving, based on the dating of the Ren family jade openwork finial and the fact that Jiangnan was Zhang's home base and that Shanghai, where the Ren family tombs are, is in the same region.¹⁴² However, there seem to have been two fashionable styles of jade finial in Yuan China, a solid uncarved spherical type

¹⁴¹ KS, *sega*, kwon 38, Kongmin Wang 3, 11 nyŏn 7 wŏl 7 il, p.795. "張士誠遣使來獻沉香佛玉香爐玉香合綵段書軸等物"

¹⁴² It is noteworthy that the tomb of Zhang Shicheng's parents was excavated in Suzhou in 1964. The tomb had already been rifled, yet several personal adornments including two sets of jade pendants and a set of jade belt-plaques were discovered. Disappointingly, discovery of a jade finial is not reported. See Suzhoushi wenwu baoguan weiyuanhui and Suzhou bowuguan, "Suzhou Wu Zhang Shicheng mu Caoshi mu qingli jianbao", *Kaogu*, 1965, no. 6.

and a type with carved motifs, and both would have been suitable gifts in the time of Zhang Shicheng. It should be noted that this seems to be the earliest official record of jade hat finials in the Koryŏ period.¹⁴³ It is slightly implausible to regard the period of importing jade finials to the Koryŏ as being nearly at the end of the Koryŏ Dynasty. Because successive kings of Koryŏ including King Kongmin had been living at the Yuan court for a certain period in accordance with the convention, they must have had opportunity to obtain jade hat finials before AD 1364. Therefore, it can also be assumed that jade hat finials were brought to Koryŏ before AD 1364. If not, it is also conceivable that the fashion of openwork jade finials is largely to be attributed to particular places such as the Jiangnan area in the late Yuan period.

7.3.2 Pictorial Images of Jade Hat Finials in the Koryŏ Dynasty

The heirloom ancestral portraits of the Yi family in Sŏngsansa 星山祠, Chŏllanamdo 全羅南道 Kohŭng 高興 may include the only Koryŏ portrait showing a hat finial decorated with a jade-like stone in Korea (Figures 7.45a and 7.45b).¹⁴⁴ According to the *History of the Koryŏ*, Yi Sung-in 李崇仁 (AD 1349-1392) in Figure 7.45a was a civil official during the reigns of King Kongmin and U Wang and was promoted with the civil service honorary title of Uŭisadaebu 右議司大夫.¹⁴⁵ He was also one of the officials with Chŏng Mongju 鄭夢周 (AD 1337-1392) who urged reform of the *hobok* 胡服 (Ch. *hufu*) to Han Chinese style.¹⁴⁶ In AD 1389, when he was forty, he was dispatched to Ming China as an ambassador at the New Year celebrations, and it is said that Taizu of the Ming eulogized his words addressed to the Throne 表文.¹⁴⁷ A record of the Yi family suggests that this jade hat finial was bestowed by Ming Taizu as a special honour,¹⁴⁸ though this is not recorded in the official dynastic records in China

¹⁴³ Two other references to a jade hat finial can be found in the *History of the Koryŏ* from the reign of King Kongmin, but the term was 'Okchŏng-a' 玉頂兒. KS, kwon 114, yŏljŏn 27, Yun Hwan 尹桓, p.499. kwon 117, yŏljŏn 30, Yi Ch'ŏm 李詹, p.578.

¹⁴⁴ I am grateful to the descendants of the Yi family for their warmest kindness in granting me permission to view ancestral portraits and to photocopy the record and take a picture.

¹⁴⁵ KS, kwon 115, yŏljŏn 28, Yi Sung-in 李崇仁, p.540.

¹⁴⁶ CMB, kwon 79, yego 26, vol.2, p.15.

¹⁴⁷ Yi Ponghun, *Sŏngjuissise jinnok*, Taejŏn, 1965, 21. Tuŭn-gong yangyŏk 陶器公略歷. He was famous as a drafter of state documents.

¹⁴⁸ *Ibid.*

and Korea. In addition, it is noted on the portrait that it was once reproduced in AD 1655 and twice copied since (Figure 7.45c). Cho Sŏnmi 趙善美 suggests that it can be considered that the original was painted by Sŏkchiam 釋止庵 who was a Buddhist monk and a well-known painter of portraits, judging from the eulogistic inscription on the portrait.¹⁴⁹ It cannot be regarded as a typical example of the jade hat finial of the period in the late Koryŏ style. However, it is intriguing that the jade finial is depicted solid and spherical without carving, even though it was not painted during the lifetime of Yi Sung-in but later, as he was imagined in the Chosŏn. His lifetime exactly corresponded to the transitional period of the Korean dress system, particularly around the period when wearing of jade hat finials was codified in AD 1367. In addition, Yi Sung-in's ancestors and relatives in their portraits in Sŏngsansa all wear hats in Yuan Mongolian style, though, like Yi Sung-in's, the portraits are probably posthumous. (Figures 7.46a, 7.46b, 7.47a, 7.47b, 7.48 and 7.49).¹⁵⁰ Yi Won-gu 李元具 in Figure 7.49 was born in AD 1293 and was a meritorious retainer in the reign of King Kongmin.¹⁵¹ It is also remarkable that a round solid finial in black is depicted on his *zhanli* hat.

Similar tall hats like the hats of Yi Sung-in (Figure 7.45a) and Yi Inmin 李仁敏 (Figure 7.48) are also depicted in the mural painting discovered in the tomb of Pak Ik 朴翊 (AD 1332-1398) a notable scholar in the late Koryŏ Dynasty (Figure 7.50). It seems that the hats in portraits are typical of the period. In particular, tall, round-shaped hats continued to be worn in the Chosŏn Dynasty, as can be seen in the portrait of Kim Sisŭp 金時習 (AD 1453-1493) (Figure 7.51).¹⁵² However, it is noteworthy that this type of hat remained popular also in Ming China, as in the painting of the Emperor Xuanzong (Figure 5.92) and Figures 7.52 and 7.53, suggesting that both Ming and

¹⁴⁹ Cho Sŏnmi, *Han-guk ch'osanghwa yŏn-gu*, Seoul, 1983, p.104. For further portraits in the Koryŏ Dynasty, see part 3 in her book.

¹⁵⁰ Yi Toyŏn 李兆年 in Figure 7.46b has a white part on the top of his hat as if a squared jade hat finial. A similar shape of hat finial is depicted in a Yuan mural painting in Inner Mongolia (Figure 7.46c). Yet, as can be seen in Figure 7.46b, the surface of the silk canvas may be worn. He was an honored retainer of three kings and of King Ch'ungyŏl in particular, helping him to achieve peaceful negotiations between Koryŏ and the Mongols.

¹⁵¹ Yi Pongbun, *op. cit.*, 17. Kajŏnggong yangnyŏk 稼亭公略歷.

¹⁵² It was later copied and colour added (Kwŏn Sunyong, *Han-gugŭi mi*, Seoul, 1981, p.226, no.104).

Chosŏn hats in this shape were inherited from the Mongol Yuan Dynasty.

Thus, as far as pictorial images in the Koryŏ period are concerned, there are only the two portraits showing hat finials. It may be suggested that hat finials began to be used by officials from the end of the Koryŏ Dynasty, corresponding to the *History of the Koryŏ*. Although portraits of the Yi family are all later copies, the portrait of Yi Sung-in (Figure 7.45a) still presents some clue to the style of jade hat finial in the late Koryŏ. The wearing of jade openwork finials in the Koryŏ period has not been manifested by any literary evidence or pictorial images, hitherto.

Finally, the tomb of King Kongmin was excavated in AD 1956 at Kaep'unggun 開豐郡, Kyŏnggido 京畿道 and mural painting was discovered.¹⁵³ It shows twelve civil officials in headgear representing the twelve zodiac animals (Figure 7.54). Similar images can be found in Tang and Song tombs so that the murals in the tomb of King Kongmin might follow the manner in China (Figure 7.55).¹⁵⁴ Importantly, it seems that there is no direct historical connection between headgear decorated with the twelve zodiac symbols and jade egret hat finials, for egrets certainly are not included in the zodiac creatures.

7.3.3 Officials with Jade Hat Finials in the Chosŏn Dynasty holding Surveillance and Inspectorate Responsibilities

In the Chosŏn Dynasty, jade hat finials were regulated to be used by bureaucrats in the *sahŏnbu* 司憲府 (Central Government Censorate) and *saganwon* 司諫院 (Remonstrance Bureau), and by *kwanch'alsa* 觀察使 (Regional Surveillance Commissioners: governors of provinces) and *chŏldosa* 節度使 (Regional Military Commissioners: commanders-in-chief of provincial armies) based on the *Kyŏngguk taejŏn* in AD 1485, as discussed in Chapter Two.¹⁵⁵ Officials ranking in first to third

¹⁵³ Yu Hee-kyung and Park Kyung-ja, *op. cit.*, p.117.

¹⁵⁴ See, Luoyangshi wenwu gongzuodui, "Luoyang Beijiao Tang Yingchuan Chenshi mu fajuc jianbao", *Wenwu*, no. 2, 1999, fig. 4 (p.44) and ZMQ:H12, no. 142.

¹⁵⁵ KT1, kwon 3, yejŏn, ŭijang, vol.1, p.217. KT2, kwon 3, p.223. "司憲府司諫院官員觀察使節度使笠飾玉頂子 監察則水精頂子."

grade also had silver to decorate *kat* hats for their ordinary dress 常服, while gold was for the sons of a queen (*Taegun* 大君).¹⁵⁶ What is most important here is that only jade and crystal finials are specified for officials with surveillance responsibilities regardless of official grade and that the King uses not jade but gold. Official rank insignia embroidered on robes had been instituted in the costume regulation in AD 1454 and were also codified in the *Kyōngguk taejōn*.¹⁵⁷ However, egrets were absent in official rank insignia embroidered on robes at this period in Korea, as these were only regulated for officials in first to third grade, as discussed in Chapter Two. Therefore, it is possible that officials bearing inspectorate and surveillance responsibilities were able to use the egret image. Regrettably, the style and motif of finials were absent in the record, and only the materials are specified. However, as a matter of fact, most extant Chosŏn heirloom jade hat finials characteristically show an egret motif mainly under the term *okchōngja* (Ch. *yudingzi*) (lit. Jade finial) or *ongno* (lit. Jade egret), and these terms appear in official records, *Chosŏn wangjo sillok*, *Kyōngguk taejōn*, *Chūngbo munhŏn pigo* and *Taejōn hoet'ong*, but without mention of the style of carving or the motif.¹⁵⁸ Why were only officials bearing inspectorate and surveillance duties associated with jade and crystal? We now turn to consider such officials briefly, relating to those of China.

The bureaucratic system and territorial administration of Circuit (Kr. *to*, Ch. *dao*, 道), Prefecture (Kr. *ju*, Ch. *zhou*, 州) and District (Kr. *hyōn*, Ch. *xian*, 縣) of the late Tang, Five Dynasties and Song were adopted in the early Koryŏ period.¹⁵⁹ Therefore, official titles were the same as those of China, although the system was not completely the same. The censorial system (i.e. all surveillance and remonstrance activities) was also followed by the Koryŏ, as Censorate's surveillance duties were of particular importance,

¹⁵⁶ KT1, *ibid.*, p.217-8. KT2, *ibid.*, p.224, 226-7. “一品[冠]…常服紗帽貫子笠纓用金玉笠飾用銀大君用金…二品[冠]…常服紗帽貫子笠纓用金玉笠飾用銀…三品[冠]…常服紗帽堂上官貫子笠纓用金玉笠飾用銀…”

¹⁵⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁵⁸ CWS:SJG, kwon 103, 26 nyŏn chōngwŏl, vol.4, p.537, KT1, kwon 3, *op. cit.*, vol.1, p.217. KT2, *op. cit.*, p.223, CMP, kwon 79, yego 26, changbok, vol.2, p.21, TH, kwon 3, yejŏn, ūijang, p.180. However, there is one exception in the *Chosŏn wangjo sillok*, which will be discussed later.

¹⁵⁹ Sudo Yushiyuki, *Koraicho kamryosei no kenkyū*, 1980, p.256.

as we saw in Chapter Three.¹⁶⁰ Circuit was called *lu* 路 in the Song, while the Tang called circuit *dao*. The Koryŏ first instituted ten circuits and employed the Tang name, that is *to* 道 (Ch. *dao*) which is equivalent to a province in size. As in Tang and Song China, the circuits were supervised under itinerant Surveillance Commissioners in Koryŏ, called at different times, *chŏldosa* (Ch. *jiedushi* 節度使), *chŏmunsa* (Ch. *zhuanyunshi* 轉運使), *anmusa* (Ch. *anfushi* 安撫使), *annyŏmsa* 按廉使 and *anch'alsa* (Ch. *anchashi* 按察使) appointed to circuits – provinces towards the end of Koryŏ – throughout the Koryŏ period, and with changing official titles corresponding to the Tang, Five Dynasties and Song Chinese systems.¹⁶¹

In the Chosŏn Dynasty, *sahŏnbu* 司憲府 and *saganwon* 司諫院 were also established in AD 1392 after the Koryŏ system.¹⁶² *Sahŏn-bu*, the exact equivalent of *yushitai* 御史臺 (Censorate) (Kr. *ŏsadae*) in China, were positioned in the top echelon of the central government and staffed by Censors (*ŏsa* 御史) of various categories.¹⁶³ *Saganwon* is a “Remonstrance Bureau responsible for inspecting all imperial pronouncements and returning for reconsideration those deemed improper”.¹⁶⁴ The *sahŏnbu* was headed by *taesahŏn* 大司憲, corresponding to the Chinese *yushi dafu* 御史大夫 (Censor-in-chief) and regulated to wear official rank insignia embroidered on the robe with a *haet'ae* (Ch. *xiezhi*) pattern in the *Kyŏngguk taejŏn*.¹⁶⁵ *Kamch'al* 監察 who used crystal hat finials based on the *Kyŏngguk taejŏn* seem to be equivalent to *kamch'al ŏsa* 監察御史 (Investigating Censors) (Ch. *jiancha yushi*) and belonged to the Censorate in the central government in Chosŏn Korea.¹⁶⁶ According to Chŏng Tong-yu, *Kamch'al* were formerly abolished before the period when he wrote,¹⁶⁷ and it is intriguing that no crystal hat finials seem to have survived.

¹⁶⁰ For further treatment of the censorial system in the Koryŏ Dynasty, see Park Yong-un, *Koryŏshidae taeganjedo yŏn-gu*, 1983, Seoul.

¹⁶¹ Sudo (1980), *op. cit.*, p.240-1.

¹⁶² CMP, kwon 219, *chikkwan-go* 職官考 6, *taesŏng* 臺省, vol.3, p.548-53.

¹⁶³ *Ibid.*, p.548.

¹⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, p.551. Charles O. Hucker, *A Dictionary of Official Titles in Imperial China*, Stanford, 1985, p.443 (5582).

¹⁶⁵ CMP, *ibid.*, p.549. KT1, kwon 3, *op. cit.*, p.218, KT2, kwon 3, *op. cit.*, p.226.

¹⁶⁶ CMP, *ibid.*, p.548. KT1, *ibid.*, p.217, KT2, *ibid.*, p.223.

¹⁶⁷ Chŏng Tong-yu, *op. cit.*, p.224. However, this cannot be found in *Chŏngbo munhŏn pigo*.

The Chosŏn bureaucratic system was based on the Koryŏ, which in turn was based on the Chinese system of the Tang and the Song. As in Koryŏ, the system of *to* provinces was also employed in the Chosŏn Dynasty, however *kwanch'alsa* 觀察使 supervised *to* circuits, replacing the *anch'alsa* (Surveillance Commissioner) of the Koryŏ.¹⁶⁸ It is specified in *Chŭngbo munhŏn pigo* that *kwanch'alsa* combined the duties of *sunch'alsa* 巡察使 (Touring Surveillance Commissioner) and were also called 'kamsa' 監司 (Ch. *jiansi*).¹⁶⁹ As discussed in Chapter Three, Chinese *guanchashi* 觀察使 were originally Surveillance Commissioners delegated from central government to Circuits but steadily transformed into civil governors sharing regional authority with Military Commissioners (*jiedushi* 節度使), and then into military governors from the late eighth century. Therefore, the *guanchashi* were ultimately the Surveillance and Supervisory Commissioners or even regional governors of the late Tang. Considering that there were circumstances in the Tang when *xunchashi* were replaced by *anchashi* (Kr. *anch'alsa*) who were eventually superseded by *guanchashi*, it seems that *kwanch'alsa* in Chosŏn correspond to the Tang *guanchashi*. In addition, as *kwanch'alsa* were also called 'kamsa' 監司 (Ch. *jiansi*),¹⁷⁰ it can be said that elements of the Song circuit system were also adopted to the Chosŏn regional administration. However, the Song *jiansi* were coordinated by a group of three or four Circuit intendants with the intention of constraining their regional authority in their Circuits in order to prevent centralization of power in the regions. In this regard, the Chosŏn 'kamsa' is slightly different from the Song *jiansi*, as he was a governor in a province and was concurrently designated to the position of Military Commissioner 節度使 (*chŏldosa*), Commander-in-chief of provincial army,¹⁷¹ as in Tang China. It was also recorded that *sahŏnbu* was Inner Censorate and *kamsa* Outer Censorate, and they were coordinated as *sahŏnbu* for the metropolitan area and *kamsa* for the regions, like the relations between the Song Censorate (*yushitai*) and *jiansi* (Circuit intendant agencies).¹⁷² Accordingly, the Chosŏn

¹⁶⁸ CMP, kwon 230, chikkwan-go 17, oegwan 外官 1, kwanch'alsa, vol.3, p.686.

¹⁶⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁷⁰ CMP, kwon 230, chikkwan-go 17, kwanch'alsa, p.686.

¹⁷¹ Lee Chonhŭi, *Chosŏnsidae jibangjedo yŏn-gu*, Seoul, 1990, p.18-9. CMP, kwon 230, *op. cit.*, vol.3, p.691. "...方伯是一道之重任..." kwon 234, chikkwan-go 21, oemujik 外武職 1, pyŏngmajŏldosa 兵馬節度使, sugunjŏldosa 水軍節度使, vol.3, p.729-32.

¹⁷² *Ibid.* CWS:TJ, kwon 25, 13 nyŏn 6 wŏl, vol.1, p.673, CWS:MJ, kwon 4, chŭwi nyŏn 11 wŏl, vol.6,

kamsa consolidated the Tang and Song systems of Circuit surveillance. In addition, *anch'alsa* in the Koryŏ period were compared to the Chinese *bucishi* 部刺史 (Regional Inspectors) (i.e. *cishi*) of the Han Dynasty and *kwanch'alsa* in the Chosŏn Dynasty, were said to be equivalent to the ancient Chinese *fangbo* 方伯 the *cishi* of the Han.¹⁷³ In addition, Tang *jiedushi* were also related in their duties to the ancient *fangyue*, *mubo* and the Han *cishi*, as discussed in Chapter Three.¹⁷⁴ Thus, it is clear that Chosŏn *kwanch'alsa* (*kamsa*) and *chŏldosa* seem to be traceable to the Han Regional Inspectors (*cishi*), as well as to the Tang *guanchashi* and Song *jiansi*. *Houguan* in the Northern Wei Dynasty were also a branch of inspectors deriving ultimately in their duties from Han *cishi*.

Similarly to the Song Circuit intendants, it is recorded that the Chosŏn *kwanch'alsa* (*kamsa*) was required to be a man of prudence and humanity.¹⁷⁵ As we discussed in Chapter Three, it is reasonable that such a Regional Surveillance and Administrative Commissioner was particularly required to be of unsullied character (*ch'ŏngbaengni* 清白吏) (Ch. *qingwangguan* 清望官) in order to consolidate the governmental administration.¹⁷⁶ Integrity would be universally associated with the imagery of white colour. In view of the profound respect for jade stone and its association with the five moral virtues in the Han period, benevolence 仁, loyalty 義, wisdom 智, bravery 勇, and purity 絮, white jade stones seem the most suitable material for officials bearing inspectorate and surveillance responsibilities.¹⁷⁷ *Houguan* were compared to White

p. 321. “內而憲府外而監司糾察風俗以正紀綱之任也” “京中則憲府外方則監司一體也” SHJ, juan 1109, zhiguan 45-43, vol.4, p.3412. See Chapter Three.

¹⁷³ KS, kwon 93, yŏljon 6, Kim Shinwon 金審言, p.91-2. Sudo (1980), *op. cit.*, p.244. According to Sudo, Chŏng To-jŏn 鄭道傳 (d. AD 1398) recorded in *sambongjip* 三峰集: “前朝之監司, 或稱按察, 或稱按廉, 皆…亦漢部刺史, 宋將運使之遺意也,” CMP, kwon 230, chikkwan-go 17, oegwan 1, *kwanch'alsa*, vol.3, p.690. “…觀察使即古之方伯之任也…” Zhang Zhenglang *et al.*, *Zhongguo lidai guanzhi dacidian*, Beijing, 1994, p.183 (*fangbo*).

¹⁷⁴ Zheng Qiao, *Tongzhi lue*, 1161, reprinted in SB, vol.3, juan 32, zhiguan 6, dudu, p.12-3.

¹⁷⁵ CMP, *ibid.*, p.687.

¹⁷⁶ *Ch'ŏngbaeng-ni* was also “a title granted during the Chosŏn Dynasty to men of distinguished probity, on nomination by men of 2nd grade and above and the censorate. Such men were proverbially poor.” (Pratt, Keith and Rutt, Richard, *Korea, a historical and cultural dictionary*, London, 1999, p.75). For ‘*qingwangguan*’, see Hucker, *op. cit.*, p.175, no.1279).

¹⁷⁷ Xu Shen, *Shuowen jiezi*, reprint, Beijing, 1963, p.10. “玉石之美有五德潤澤以溫仁之方也思理自外可以知中義之方也其聲舒揚專以遠聞智之方也不撓而折勇之方也銳廉而不枝絮之方也象三玉之連一其實也玉之屬皆從玉” According to the *Book of Rites*, the superior man competes in virtue with

egrets in the Northern Wei Dynasty based on the habits of egrets rather than their colour.¹⁷⁸ However, the egrets are white egrets so that it is likely that white was associated with the imagery of the *houguan*. Judging from the background of officials bearing inspectorate and surveillance duties and their requirement of being of unsullied character associated with white colour, it can be considered that both the material of jade and the egret motif were appropriate symbols for them.

7.3.4 Jade Hat Finials in the Early Chosŏn Dynasty as described in Historical Documents

According to the *Annals of the Chosŏn Dynasty* (*Chosŏn wangjo sillok*), a jade hat finial (*okchŏngja* 玉頂子) with a silver-gilt mount holding plumes (*sanmo* 象毛) on a red felt hat (*hongjŏnmo* 紅氈帽) attached with a jade beaded hat string and an extra purple string were presented to Ouchi Norihiro 大内教弘 (AD 1420-1465) (a feudal lord in present-day Yamaguchi prefecture in west Japan) from two Chosŏn Kings (Sejong and Sejo) in AD 1443, 1444 and 1459.¹⁷⁹ In Japan, the Ouchi family monopolized trade with the Chosŏn during the fifteenth to sixteenth centuries in return for suppression of Japanese pirates with whom the Chosŏn were beset from the beginning of the dynasty.¹⁸⁰ Ouchi Yoshihiro 大内義弘 (AD 1356-1399) was a self-proclaimed descendant of a King of Paekche (18 BC-AD 660) in Korea and earned the great confidence of the Chosŏn King with his effective control of Japanese pirates.¹⁸¹ Intriguingly, it seems that the Ouchi alone in Japan were presented with jade finials from the Chosŏn. As discussed earlier, the red felt hat is a *chŏllip*, which was a military hat. Control of pirates was the responsibility of Military Commissioners 節度使 (*chŏldosa*).¹⁸² Considering that *anch'alsa* had dealt with Song Chinese and Japanese

jade. “君子於玉比德焉” (Wang Wenjin, *Liji yijie*, Beijing, 2001, vol. 1, *Yuzao* 13, p. 424.) See also the *Book of Odes*.

¹⁷⁸ WS, juan 113, p.2973-4.

¹⁷⁹ CWS:SIQ, kwon 99, 25 nyŏn 2 wŏl, vol.4, p.463, kwon 103, 26 nyŏn chŏngwŏl, vol.4, p.537, CWS:SJ, kwon 17, 5 nyŏn 8 wŏl, vol.7, p.343. “紅氈毛象毛玉頂子鍍金臺玉壓纓兒紫綃纓全” For the image of these, see Figures 7.43 and 7.44a.

¹⁸⁰ CWS:SIQ, kwon 102, 25 nyŏn 10 wŏl, vol.4, p.515-6. Usuki Kashin and Ishihara Keiji, *Bocho bijyutsu to bunka*, vol. 1, Tokyo, 1983, p.212.

¹⁸¹ Usuki and Ishihara, *ibid*.

¹⁸² Min Hyon-ku, *Chosŏn ch'ogiŭ kunsajedowa chŏngch'i*, Seoul, 1983, p.52. According to Min, it was

pirates in the Koryŏ period,¹⁸³ it is understandable that *chŏldosa* were fitted for this duty. In AD 1404, Ouchi Moriharu 大内盛見 (AD 1377-1431) sent a present to the Chosŏn in his capacity as a *cishi* in Bocho 防長 (i.e. Suou 周防 and Nagato 長門, two commanderies, in present-day Yamaguchi prefecture).¹⁸⁴ It is probable that the reason why jade finials were presented to the Ouchi alone among Japanese feudal lords was that the Chosŏn King regarded Norihiro as a Regional Military Commissioner (*chŏldosa*), a man of influence in the control of Japanese pirates. The Ouchi family was finally ruined in AD 1557, defeated by the Mouri 毛利氏, so that many treasures of the Ouchi family are lost from their prosperous trade with Chosŏn Korea and Ming China, much less any jades.¹⁸⁵ None of the three jade hat finials that Ouchi Norihiro received from the Chosŏn king has been found in the ruins of their home, so far.¹⁸⁶

The *Annals of the Chosŏn Dynasty* record two important descriptions in regard to hat finials in the fifteenth century. First, the Chinese term 'maoding' first appeared in AD 1429, when a vassal presented a jade 'maoding' 玉帽頂 (Kr. *ongmojŏng*) to the Court.¹⁸⁷ It is noteworthy that the term seems to have become known in the early Chosŏn period distinct from *okchŏngja*, suggesting that the term 'maoding' appeared later than *okchŏngja* (Ch. *yudingzi* 玉頂子), as in China. However, the motif and style of its carving are again not described. Second, the first record describing the style of hat finials is found in the reign of Sejo in AD 1461. The King issued an edict to the *sahŏnbu* that the King would wear a gold hat finial with a cloud and moon motif for a *kat* hat, and officials of first to third senior grade (i.e. 3a) would wear a silver hat finial; white jade, precious and semi-precious stones, and gold and jade decorated with a cloud and

recorded in the *Annals of the Chosŏn Dynasty* that *chŏljesa* 節制使 were commanded to repulse Japanese pirates. 節制使 was a former name of *chŏldosa* (CMP, kwon 234, *chikkwan-go* 21, *oemujik* 1, *sugunjŏldosa*, vol.3, p.731-2).

¹⁸³ Sudo (1980), *op. cit.*, p. 245.

¹⁸⁴ Usuki Kashin, *Ouchishi no taisen koeiki*, Yamaguchi, 1942, p.13.

¹⁸⁵ Yamaguchi kenritsu bijyutsukan, *Ouchi bunka no ihoten*, Yamaguchi, 1989, p.11.

¹⁸⁶ I am grateful to Mr Koga, Cultural Properties Protection Department of Yamaguchi City, for this information in a telephone conversation of March 8th, 2002.

¹⁸⁷ CWS:SJG, kwon 46, 11 nyŏn 11 wŏl, vol.3, p.204. "使臣進紵絲紗各二匹. 玉帽頂一頂, ..., 紅纓尾子一."

moon motif were prohibited.¹⁸⁸ It can be only deduced from this description that a variety of materials and a cloud and moon motif were in use in Korea during that period. There is also a record concerning a cloud and moon motif in the twenty eighth year of the reign of Sejong (AD 1446). It was prohibited to use coral and crystal beaded hat strings with a cloud and moon motif.¹⁸⁹ The record continues, "Authentic coral of high quality and value that cannot be found in Korea is equal to jades."¹⁹⁰ It is clear from the record that a cloud and moon motif was in fashion or a special motif for personal adornments in this period and that jade stone and real coral were prized materials in Chosŏn Korea.

There is also significant description of jade production in Korea recorded in the twenty-sixth year of the reign of Sejong (AD 1444). It is recorded that:

A jade belt was presented to the Yuan Emperor (Khubilai) during the Koryŏ period. However, it was not real jade, and punishment was recommended. Kublai said, 'Foreign peoples do not know real jade and they present this gift. What kind of sin is that?' ...these jade belts can be made in other countries but not in our country. Now, Suwŏn 水原 (i.e. Kyŏnggi Province) jade is used to make musical instruments, although the authenticity of the jade has not yet been confirmed. It looks like jade but is not real jade. Sŏngch'ŏn 成川 (i.e. South P'yŏngan Province), Ŭiju 義州 (i.e. North P'yŏngan Province) and Hwanghaedo 黃海道 (i.e. Hwanghae Province) produce green jades, yellow jades and white jades, and these are slightly different from Suwŏn jade. At present, there are many places producing jade, Kyŏngsŏng 京城 (i.e. Seoul), Kimp'o 金浦 (i.e. Kyŏnggi Province), Ch'ŏngju 淸州 (i.e. North Ch'ungch'ŏng Province), but slightly different from green jade, white jade and *bi* jade (jasper?). Jade from Ch'ŏngju is said to be authentic but the state council (i.e. Ŭijŏngbu) did not allow this to be announced. This is real jade and can be called as such....¹⁹¹

¹⁸⁸ CWS:SJ, kwon 23, 7 nyŏn 2 wŏl, vol.7, p.446. "傳旨司憲府曰笠飾雲月兒大君用金堂上官以上用銀禁大白玉七寶交露金玉雲月兒朱紅黃丹馬鞍白羊角銀帶."

¹⁸⁹ CWS:SJG, kwon 110, 28 nyŏn 5 wŏl, vol.4, p.676. "議政府將服色詳定條起件以啓, ...以下不得用交綺銷子真水精珊瑚纓子雲月兒因此流品朝士及有蔭子弟外亦禁真珊瑚纓子雲月兒真水精纓子等物...但真珊瑚非本國所產品高價重與玉無異..."

¹⁹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹⁹¹ CWS:SJG, kwon 106, 26 nyŏn 10 wŏl, vol.4, p.591. "上謂承政院曰昔高麗之時獻玉帶於元世祖有司以非真玉奏請治罪世祖曰海外之人不知而獻有何罪乎其勿罪又昔我國獻紅玉帶於唐高宗稱爲稀世之寶後國有旱災皆以爲傳國之珍輕以進獻之致然也予嘗謂比玉帶得他國非我國所產今水原所產玉作爲樂器然未堅確此石之似玉者非玉也成川義州黃海道所產青玉黃玉白玉此諸水原之玉稍有間今又京城金浦淸州產玉處頗多然其品與青玉白玉碧玉頓異予意謂出於淸州者乃爲真然前者議政府禁防受教有真玉之文此真玉則謂之真玉可也若非真則豈非取笑於後世乎當改真玉

In addition, in the twenty-eighth year of the reign of Sejong (AD 1446), the *Annals of Chosŏn Dynasty* records that:

Green jade is produced in Pyŏktong 碧潼 (i.e. North P'yŏngan Province), commoners were wearing it and this has now been banned. There is also yellow jade and jade of many other colours, which everybody was crossing the river (i.e. Yalu River?) to collect...jade of any colour is now forbidden to be worn by officials of any grade, and this ban was issued through the *kwanch'alsa*.¹⁹²

Judging from these two records, the quality of jade stone seems not to have been clearly understood during the Koryŏ and early Chosŏn periods. Jin China had criticised the Koryŏ for the quality of its jades. It is conceivable that Pyŏktong green jade was similar to the serpentine (i.e. xiuyan 岫岩 jade) in nearby Liaoning Province. Thus, the wearing of jade-like stone was forbidden in early Chosŏn Korea, and the cloud and moon motif seems to have been special during the period of reign of Sejong (r. AD 1419-1450). It should be noted that wearing jade hat finials by officials in the *sahŏnbu* and *saganwon* and by *kwanch'alsa* and *chŏldosa* was not formalized until promulgation of the laws of *Kyŏngguk taejŏn* in AD 1470, codified by command of King Sejo (r. AD 1455-1468).

7.3.5 Historical Documents and Surviving Jade Egret Hat Finials from the Sixteenth Century

Turning to the sixteenth century, the *Annals of Chosŏn Dynasty* clearly records a jade hat finial carved with an egret motif: in the eleventh year of Yŏnsa'gun (Regent) (AD 1505):

Reportedly, Taebang bubuin 帶方府夫人 (the second wife of Prince Yŏng-ung daegun 永膺大君 (AD 1434-1467), eighth son of King Sejong) and Ku Suyŏng 具壽永 (AD

之文爲似玉之石可也。儻此爲真玉則後人見之雖謂不知亦未爲害也。” Jades produced in Pyŏktong, Ch'ŏngju and Kimp'o were for the imperial use (Han Ugŏn, *Yŏkchu Kyŏngguk taejŏn chusŏkpyŏn*, Seoul, 1995, p. 706.)

¹⁹² CWS:SJG, kwon 110, 28 nyŏn 5 wŏl, vol.4, p.676. “傳旨司憲府碧潼郡產出青玉民間服用已曾禁之其餘黃玉等各色玉皆越江採取無知之民不顧大體貪利往採若遇彼賊非小事也自今各色玉大小臣僚服用一切痛禁又下諭書于平安道觀察使以禁之。”

1455-1523)¹⁹³ presented a white jade hat finial carved with iris, lotus and egrets worth two hundred and twenty *p'il* 匹 of silk (i.e. four hundred and forty rolls),¹⁹⁴ a small pale green jade seal carved with *qilin* (i.e. mythical creature) worth one hundred and sixty *p'il* of silk (i.e. three hundred and twenty rolls),¹⁹⁵ and a white jade *huan* 環 (possibly belt-ornament or *huan*-disc in archaic style) with a dragon amid flowers worth one hundred and twenty *p'il* (i.e. two hundred and forty rolls)^{196 197}.

All the jade carvings described in this record can be seen to have been already popular in China from the Yuan onwards. One cannot conclude that the jade egret finial first appeared in Korea in this period from this description alone; Yuan jade egret finials are used for dating by archaeologists, though never specified in the Chinese official records. In the light of the context of this description, it is apparent that such a jade hat finial was a highly esteemed and expensive piece at this period. In the same year as this description, in AD 1505, official rank insignia were instituted for embroidering on the robes of officials down to the ninth grade, following the Chinese system.¹⁹⁸ As discussed in Chapter Two, it is not specified that the egret was for the sixth grade, yet it will have been for the sixth grade if the system basically followed the Chinese system; it is indeed the case that egret insignia in the sixteenth century are preserved in the Museum of Kōryo University (Figure 7.56). Therefore, in this period, both hat finials and rank insignia presumably display an egret symbol until discontinuance of an egret pattern on rank insignia probably with the reform of AD 1734, leaving aside whether

¹⁹³ Ku Suyōng was a high-ranking official regarded as a meritorious retainuer from Ŭngsōng 綾城 (i.e. South Chōlla province). In the reign of Sōngjong (r. AD 1469-1494), he held successive posts and was Chief Area Commander (chesajejodoch'onggwān 諸司提調都總管). He was appointed to the position of *kamsa* in Kyōnggi province in AD 1506 (Chosŏn Sotokufu, *Chosŏn jinmei jisho*, Tokyo, 1977, p.794, *Kukchoin mulgo*, Chosŏn Dynasty, vol.2, facsimile reprint, Seoul, 1992, p.886-7). “崇祿丙寅七月拜漢城府判尹俄遷京畿監司兼諸道統察使…”

¹⁹⁴ According to *Cyclopedia of Korea*, 1 尺 = 46.73 cm for textiles in Chosŏn (Ito Abito *et al.*, *op. cit.*, p.329, doryoko). 1 匹 = 2 反 (卷) = 4 丈 (ZK, p.201), 1 丈 = 10 尺 (HD, index, p.6). Based on these measures, 1 匹 = 1,869.2 cm, 220 *p'il* (匹) = 411,224 cm (4,112.24 m).

¹⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 160 *p'il* (匹) = 299,072 cm (2,990.72 m).

¹⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, 240 *p'il* (匹) = 448,608 cm (4,486.08 m).

¹⁹⁷ CWS:YL, kwon 58, 11 nyōn 5 wōl, vol.14, p.2. “傳曰給帶方夫人及具壽永所進白玉菖蒲蓮鸞鷺交綬頂子價緜布二百二十四匹淡青玉麒麟小印價緜布一百六十四匹白玉龍牡丹起花吐環價緜布一百二十四匹金龍雲頭起垂珊瑚樹價緜布二百四十四匹金龍頭珊瑚價緜布三百匹。” From this quotation, it appears that coral carvings were as expensive and valuable as jade carvings in Chosŏn Korea.

¹⁹⁸ CWS:YL, kwon 60, 11 nyōn 11 wōl, vol.14, p.29. “傳曰聞中國朝士時服不拘品秩皆用臂褙我國凡制度皆從華制今後東西班自一品至九品皆用臂褙以豬鹿鵝雁之類定其品秩。” According to the record, motifs such as wild boar, deer and geese, were used.

wearing of rank insignia was fully settled between AD 1505 and 1734.¹⁹⁹ However, hat finials and rank badges are very different means of displaying official symbols. The *Chŭngbo munhŏn pigo* records that *taesahŏn* 大司憲 and *taesagan* 大司諫 wore *kat* hats with jade finials on their excursions and were required to wear *yungbok* 戎服 in the twentieth year of the reign of Sŏngjong, in AD 1491.²⁰⁰ Later, they were not permitted to go out without wearing *yungbok*.²⁰¹ This record suggests that *taesahŏn* wore both the rank insignia embroidered with a *haet'ae* (Ch. *xiezhi*) pattern and jade hat finials. These jade hat finials could be carved with a *haet'ae* based on Chŏng Tong-yu's description.²⁰² In addition, jade finials seem to have been closely associated in the Chosŏn period with the *yungbok* and military hat which were worn out of doors. This hat with jade finial (*okchŏngjalip* 玉頂子笠) is generally called *ongnorip* 玉鷺笠 (hat with jade egret) in modern Korea.

Corresponding to the period of the above record of the sixteenth century, there is the earliest surviving jade egret finial owned by Yi Sunsin 李舜臣 (AD 1545-1598) a notable admiral in Korea (Figures 7.57a, 7.57b and 7.57c). He was appointed a Regional Military Commissioner in the navy (*Sujun chŏldosa* 水軍節度使) in West Chŏlla circuit 全羅左道 in AD 1591 and before long he became well-known for his great exploits against the Japanese leader Toyotomi Hideyoshi (r. AD 1536-1598) (*Imjin* Wars 壬辰倭亂) in AD 1592-3 and 1597-8 who was pursuing his planned conquest of China.²⁰³ According to the catalogue of the Museum of Relics of *Ch'ungmugong* 忠武公遺物館 at the Ilyŏnch'ung-sa 顯忠祠 shrine, this jade egret finial was used by Yi Sunsin himself and was a gift from Chinese military commanders.²⁰⁴ However, the

¹⁹⁹ CWS:YS, kwon 39, 10 nyŏn 12 wŏl, vol.42, p.460.

²⁰⁰ CMP, kwon 79, yego 26, changbok, vol.2, p.17. “二十二年禮曹啓郊外幸行時臺諫服色自內出玉頂子笠賜大司憲韓致亨大司諫成俊之後遂不着戎服甚不可也命依它百官例以戎服隨駕從之。”

²⁰¹ *Ibid.*

²⁰² Chŏng Tong-yu, *op. cit.*, p.224.

²⁰³ Nakamura Hidetaka, *Nissen kankeishi no kenkyu*, vol. 2, Tokyo, 1970, p.498. In AD 1593, Yi Sunsin was promoted to *sugun t'ongjesa* 水軍統制使 (Naval Commander-general) in three circuits, Kyŏngsang, Chŏlla and Ch'ungch'ong (CMP, kwon 234, chikkwan-go 21, oemujik 1, t'ongjesa 統制使, vol.3, p.728).

²⁰⁴ I am grateful to Mr Song Taesŏng and Mr Kim Sungjin for their special permission granted to the author to examine the object and to take a photograph. 'Ch'ungmu-gong' is a name given to Yi Sunsin after his death. It means 'loyal warrior'.

description of a jade finial received from the Ming has not been found in any documentary sources. Sixteenth century China was the time when jade finials were adapted as ornamental finials on the covers of incense burners, as discussed in Chapter Six. In this respect, it is unlikely that a jade finial should be presented from China to Yi Sunsin as a hat finial during this period, although the trend of scholarly objects in archaic style affecting jade finials might not have been much reflected in the military world in China.

There is also a gold and horn belt 金帶, and a pair of gilt-bronze peach-shaped wine cups 桃盃 in the Museum which are also catalogued as gifts from China (Figures 7.58 and 7.59). According to the renowned *War Diary of Admiral Yi Sunsin (Nanjung ilgi 亂中日記)*, when Chinese Mobile Corps Commanders 遊擊將 Wang Yuanzhou 王元周, Fu Risheng 福日昇 and others arrived in Chosŏn with reinforcements against Hideyoshi, the following gifts were sent to Yi Sunsin: a gold belt 金帶一, a bookchest (or stationery box?) with inlay and carving 鑲嵌圖書匣一, an incense box 香盒一, a mirror stand 鏡架一, two fans in gold 金扇二柄, a reel of silk 絲綿一封, a tea pot 茶壺一 and two combs 蘇梳二事 from Wang Yuanzhou; a length of blue cloth 青布一端 and indigo blue cloth 藍布一端, four gold fans 金扇四柄, two fresh chickens 生鷄二首 and one shoulder of salted ram 咸羊一肘 from Fu Risheng.²⁰⁵ This is dated 4th October, 1598.²⁰⁶ It is clear from this list that the gold belt (Figure 7.58) was possibly received from Wang Yuanzhou, but the pair of peach-shaped cups was not from Wang or Fu. According to the catalogue of Relics of Hyŏnch'ung-sa, a pair of flower-shaped cups 花酒盃 is also listed in his diary on the same 4th October, 1598, from Chen Guojing 陳國敬, which seems to indicate the pair of peach-shaped cups (Figure 7.59).²⁰⁷ Nakamura Hidetaka points out that this pair of peach-shaped cups is recorded with a maker's name of 李秉攄 (Yi Pyŏngmo) in the diary.²⁰⁸ This could be

²⁰⁵ Kitajima Manji, *Ranchu nikki*, trans. of *Nanjung ilgi* of Yi Sunsin, Tokyo, 2000, vol. 3, p.102.

Nakamura, *op. cit.*, vol. 2, p.508-9.

²⁰⁶ Nakamura, *ibid.*

²⁰⁷ Hyŏnch'ungsa, *Hyŏnch'ungsa yumuldorok*, Ch'ungnan Asan, 1998, p.18. Kankoku bunkazai hogokyokai, *Kankoku bunkazai taikan*, translation of *Han-guk munhwajae taegwan* by Yi Sŏk, Tokyo, 1991, p.199.

²⁰⁸ Nakamura, *op. cit.*, p.509.

a Chinese or a Korean name, but it sounds more likely to be a Korean name. In Chinese works of art of this period, similar peach-shaped silver cups can be found and the style was borrowed in jade (Figures 7.60 and 7.61).²⁰⁹ The peach-shaped cup connotes longevity in China and it was extremely popular especially in the middle and late Ming period, under influence of Daoism.²¹⁰ Therefore, it is conceivable that the pair of peach-shaped cups was a gift from China. It is said that the cups were used by Yi Sunsin in camp during the war.²¹¹ In view of the meaning of a peach cup of 'longevity', it was a suitable gift especially in his dangerous situation at war.

On the other hand, the jade hat finial seems not to be a gift from China. As discussed earlier, it is certain from the official records that jade egret finials were known in Korea by AD 1505 and it is also reasonable that Yi Sunsin as a *choldosa* wore one, based on the *Kyōngguk taejōn* of AD 1485 (completion date).²¹² It is quite possible that he owned and wore one during his life-time. According to the *History of the Ming*, an official title of Assistant Commissioner-in-chief 都督僉事 was conferred on Yi Sunsin from Ming China when it was known that he had been killed at sea by a Japanese bullet in AD 1598.²¹³ The Chinese title was held by members of the five Chief Military Commissions and was subordinate to *anchashi* (Surveillance Commissioner), that is inspectors.²¹⁴ In this period in China, it is unlikely that the Ming presented a jade egret finial as a hat finial to Yi Sunsin along with an official title for inspectorate and surveillance responsibilities or as a man of allegiance and integrity after the egret's auspicious imagery. It is said that Yi Sunsin wearing a hat with a jade egret finial was

²⁰⁹ For this style of jade cup from a Ming tomb, see Liu Liangyou, *Guyu xinjian*, Taipei, 1992, p.379.

²¹⁰ Zhou Nanquan (1995), *op. cit.*, p.256.

²¹¹ Kankoku bunkazai hogokyokai, *op. cit.*, p.62.

²¹² According to the Ministry of Culture and Tourism (文化財管理局), Seoul, it is certain that there are no records in regard to a jade egret hat finial in any literary sources describing a gift from Ming to Yi Sunsin. Regarding the description of a jade egret hat finial presented by a Ming military commander in a book published by the Ministry of Culture and Tourism, 1969, the author was told that the description is vague and confused (Visit, May 1, 2001). For this description, see Munhwagongbobu, *Asan Hyōnch'ungsa yōnhyōkchi*, Seoul, 1969, p.21.

²¹³ MS, juan 247, liezhuan 135, Deng Zifeng, p.6412.

²¹⁴ Hucker, *op. cit.*, p.544 (7312). Jia Yuying, *Songdai jiancha zhidu*, Henan, 1996, p.290. Zang Yunpu et al., *Lidai guanzhi bingzhi kejuzhi biaoshi*, Jiangsu, 1987, p.238. "宋代按察司设有金事, 元代有都督金事, 明代沿置. 每省按察使下设金事, 以分领省内之事. 清初设置, 乾隆时废."

painted by a monk at Haenam 海南 (i.e. South Chŏlla Province) in camp during the war.²¹⁵ Random damage and sharp chippings of the jade finial and its mount are visible, suggesting that this occurred during actual use in his life-time.

Artistically, the jade egret finial of Yi Sunsin has many features that closely resemble one in the tomb of the Ren family and one discovered at Xilin pagoda in Shanghai (Figure 7.62). First, the three of them seem each to contain four egrets with triangular-shaped eyes, large in proportion to the total height of the finials. The egret plumage is carefully incised in diagonal lines on the almond-shaped body and the crests do not curl up. Second, veins of lotus leaves and details of flowers and fruits are clearly incised and leaves curve out widely like an open shell, which seems a Yuan characteristic feature.²¹⁶ On the whole, the composition of the egrets is similar; they turn back, stoop through reeds, stand and stare forward into the distance, all lively like inspectors in search of their prey. The egret and lotus motif was carefully designed for openwork carving, and the openwork carving was approached from multiple directions. These are all typical features of the Ren finial which the other two also exhibit. Third, the jade bases and hollow spaces were not treated with attention to minute detail, leaving rough carving. The size of the finials of the Ren family and Yi Sunsin is nearly identical. Both are oval in shape viewed from abovetop. The three finials do not seem to be of jade stone of good quality; the finials of the Xilin pagoda and Yi Sunsin have small black specks in the jade and the jade of Yi Sunsin has a waxy appearance like serpentine (i.e. xiuyan 岫岩 jade). From this, it is clear that the three have Yuan characteristic features typified by the Ren finial and are different from the finial in Shanghai Museum (Figure 6.7a). Yi Sunsin's jade finial seems, then, to derive from the Yuan carving of jade finials, a style of carving different to Figure 6.7a. If we can accept Figure 6.7a as an example of a jade finial of the late Ming period or later as discussed in Chapter Six, it follows that Yi Sunsin's jade finial does not correspond to the features of the period of jade finial carving in China when the jade finial is assumed to have been

²¹⁵ Nakamura, *op. cit.*, p.510. Such a pictorial image is also exhibited in the Museum but it is not an original. See the catalogue of *Hyŏnch'ungsa*, Seoul, 1999, p.30, 36.

²¹⁶ I am grateful to Mr Zhang Guangwen for his guidance concerning the characteristics of Yuan carving of jade lotus leaves (Interview, March 13, 2001).

presented to Yi Sunsin. Thus, it is possible that the jade egret finial of Yi Sunsin is an original Korean jade finial made by Chosŏn jade carvers. Furthermore, the similarities of jade finials between the Ren family's and Yi Sunsin's suggest that the Ren jade finial must once have had a mount like the mount for Yi Sunsin's finial. Yi Sunsin's mount is seemingly gilt-brass or gilt-bronze, judging from corrosion on the base of the mount (Figure 7.57b).²¹⁷ A line running across the surface of the mount suggests corrosion of solder, which discloses how it was assembled (Figure 7.57c).²¹⁸ There seem to be three or four small holes in the base of the jade finial as far as examination with a torch could show, however it was not clearly confirmed how holes were used for attachment to the mount. If in fact there are no holes in the base, as a number of catches on the mount hold the finial, the jade finial of Yi Sunsin will present a different style to the Chinese jade finials, and may raise a question on the usage of jade finials in China.²¹⁹ However, having perforations in the base of finials theoretically secures the jade finial better to the mount, in addition to catches. The catches of the mount of Yi Sunsin's finial form the petals of a lotus, and three bats are depicted on the base. It is noteworthy that bats in Korea also represent 'happiness' as in China, because *pok* 福 happiness (Ch. *fu*) is homonymous with *bok* 蝠 bats in Korean (Kr. *p'yŏnbok* 蝙蝠).²²⁰ Therefore this motif does not exclusively indicate Chinese craftsmanship. Finally, the jade egret finial of Yi Sunsin is accompanied with a pouch and black lacquered box for storing it (Figure 7.63a). The pouch shows stitching done by a sewing machine and was not used during his lifetime. If the jade finial was a gift from China, the box could have been made by Chinese craftsmen. However, this black box was not carefully lacquered in detail (Figure 7.63b), unlike typical craftsmanship in late Ming China.²²¹ The hinge of the box is also rather plain for such a valuable jade finial of this period in the Ming and

²¹⁷ For further information of corrosion and patina in bronze, brass and gilt-bronze, see <http://www.geocities.jp/hiranocolt/page006.html>. This site shows differences of corrosion depending on chemical composition and the ratio of bronze, using samples of historical Chinese coins from the Warring States to the Qing period. Yi Sunsin's mount can be an indication of the difference of material for gilding between Ming China and Chosŏn Korea.

²¹⁸ The patina (the line) can be clearly seen on the mount (Figure 7.57c). The mount may be gilt bronze (i.e. gold coated bronze).

²¹⁹ The bases of jade finials in China seem normally to have been perforated. The jade finial unearthed in Yuhuatai is mounted on gold and four holes were used to attach with wire.

²²⁰ Kim Changdoon and Kato Kei, *Kankoku no kagu soshoku*, 1990, Tokyo, p.58.

²²¹ I am grateful to Mr Nakano Toru, Director of the Kuboso kinenkan, for this information.

Chosŏn Dynasty, so that it is possible that the box was manufactured in a later period. Thus, the similarities of the characteristic features of Yuan jade carving and Yi Sunsin's finial suggest that the jade egret finial of Yi Sunsin is the earliest of all surviving jade finials in Korea, possibly executed by a jade carver in sixteenth century Chosŏn with the Yuan characteristics. Although the craftsmanship of Yuan jade carvings extended into Ming China, it seems that the style of jade carving and the craftsmanship of jade finials had changed by the late Ming period.

Kwŏn Ŭngsu 權應銖 (AD 1546-1608) was a distinguished general who fought in the campaigns against Hideyoshi. His jade hat finial is preserved in the Jinju National Museum (Figure 7.64).²²² He was from Andong 安東 (i.e. North Kyŏngsang Province) and held the position of Surveillance Commissioner, *sunch'alsa* 巡察使.²²³ He was later appointed to the post of Regional Military Commissioner in the army (*byongma chŏldosa* 兵馬節度使) combined with that of Defence Commissioner (*pang-ŏsa* 防禦使) in Kyŏngsang province during the *Imjin* war in recognition of his remarkable service.²²⁴ In AD 1604, the honorary title of *Hwasan-gun* 花山君 (i.e. a meritorious retainer, General) was awarded to him as a 'Renowned Warrior' (*sŏnmugongshin* 宣武功臣) by King Sŏnjo (r. AD 1568-1608) and he was promoted concurrently to Supreme Area Commander (*owidoch'onggwŏn* 五衛都摠管).²²⁵ It is possible that he wore a jade hat finial like Yi Sunsin, as a *chŏldosa*. As discussed in Chapter Five, the jade finial was probably worn by Kwŏn Ŭngsu during his lifetime, and, according to the Museum catalogue, it was a gift from King Sŏnjo. However, this is not recorded in the official records, and it is also not clear whether the jade finial was bestowed together with the honorary title of *Hwasan-gun* by the King. According to the royal edict concerning awards to meritorious retainers in the *Imjin* war (i.e. *Imjin waeran*), Yi Sunsin was awarded a first grade award and Kwŏn Ŭngsu a third grade

²²² Permission to take a photograph was not granted from a descendant of Kwŏn Ŭngsu for reasons of security. However, the actual image of the jade finial can be seen at the following site, Relics of Kwŏn Ŭngsu: <http://myhome.netgo.com/mysweethome/culture/kungsu.htm>.

²²³ Chosen sotokufu (1977), *op. cit.*, p.1880-1.

²²⁴ *Ibid.*

²²⁵ *Ibid.*

award.²²⁶ If Kwŏn Ŭngsu received the jade finial at the time of this award, it can be also considered that the jade finial was presented to Yi Sunsin. However, Yi Sunsin died before this award in AD 1604, and importantly his jade finial seems to have been actually used, so that it is unlikely that the jade finial was bestowed on Yi Sunsin with this award. It is reasonable to assume that both Yi Sunsin and Kwŏn Ŭngsu owned jade finials because they were *chŏldosa*. Artistically, in similar style at this time in Ming China is the jade openwork finial from the tomb of Prince Yixuan 益宣王 of a mandarin duck holding a flower spray in its bill (Figure 5.87), as discussed in Chapter Five. Its gilt-bronze mount shows resemblance to the style of the base of a hat finial of the beginning of the Qing Dynasty in China (Figure 7.65a).²²⁷ It is possible that the jade finial of Kwŏn Ŭngsu reflected the style of hat finials of this period in China. In this regard, it can be said that the period of the jade finial corresponds to the style of jade finials of his lifetime. The technique of openwork carving looks more sophisticated than Yi Sunsin's finial. However, it could not be a gift from China, if, as it is said, it was bestowed by the Korean king, and also there is no conspicuously similar jade finial in China, unlike Yi Sunsin's finial. The second noteworthy element is that there seems to be a pair of holes in the base of the jade finial (Figure 7.66).²²⁸ The wire, tapering from an end like a nail head, penetrates from the bottom of the mount through the base of the jade and returns to the bottom of the mount through another hole. Its ends were folded back. This type of attachment was commonly used for Tang belt plaques (Figure 7.67).²²⁹ The jade finial in Korea, then, seems also to have had perforation in its base for attachment. The base of the mount is domed and hollow. Structurally, this mount is like the turned over lotus leaf of the Ming jade finial base of Figure 5.87, so that it can be assumed that the base of the finial of Prince Yixuan was attached to a hat. In addition, the jade finial of Kwŏn Ŭngsu seems stylistically a mixture of the design and composition of a mandarin duck (Figure 5.87) and a dragon (Figure 6.34) Chinese jade

²²⁶ This royal edict is exhibited in the Jingju National Museum.

²²⁷ The style of the base of the hat finial in Figure 7.65a is also similar to the hat finial of a high-ranking Uighur depicted in a mural painting in the cave-temples at Bezeklik in Xinjiang (Figure 7.65b, on right).

²²⁸ I am grateful to Ms Son Enju, Curator at the Jingju National Museum, for this information and her kind answer for my questionnaire on this jade finial.

²²⁹ I am grateful to Mr Lin Zonghan, an antique dealer in Taipei, a Director of the Chinese Jade

finial. This new design of the Kwŏn Ŭngsu finial might have been created from examples in Yuan or Ming China. Finally, the egret is not the main motif of this jade finial, though an egret-like bird can be seen looking back at the front left. In the rear on the same side as the egret-like bird, a pheasant-like bird is also depicted (Figure 7.68). It seems a rare and novel example of jade finial in Korea. Therefore it is conceivable that this jade finial was specially made in association with the Chosŏn and the Ming military coalition of 'Mandarin Duck Corps' 鸳鸯阵, as discussed in Chapter Five. As a result, an egret-like bird is a supporting motif to the mandarin duck of this jade finial.

7.3.6 Pictorial Images of Jade Hat Finials in the Chosŏn Dynasty

A portrait of Yi Hyŏnbo 李賢輔 (AD 1467-1555) shows an example of a hat finial of around AD 1536 (Figure 7.69). He was a high-ranking official and held the post of *Kwanch'alsa* in Kyŏngju, Kyŏngsang province during the reign of King Chungjong (r. AD 1506-1544).²³⁰ The hat finial in the portrait does not look very like a jade finial, and it may not be associated with the title of *kwanch'alsa* but with other official titles he possessed during his career. It is noteworthy that his hat finial is not curved and has no motif, even if the material is not jade, showing similar style to the portrait of Yi Sung-in, the Koryŏ official (Figure 7.45b). With only a few surviving portraits depicting hat finials, it is not clear whether plain, solid hat finials were a common style in the early to middle Chosŏn Dynasty. Besides, the portrait of Yi Sung-in was copied three times, so that there is a possibility of modification of the original image. However, a period of jade egret hat finials is supported by the official records and surviving heirloom examples all concentrated in the sixteenth century, and there are also no pictorial images proving jade openwork finials with a motif before that period. As suggested in Chapter Five, if we assume that wearing jade openwork hat finials began to be in vogue only from the late Yuan Dynasty, such finials might have been still rare and valuable pieces in the late Koryŏ and the early Chosŏn Dynasty. Therefore, it is conceivable that jade openwork hat finials came into fashion behind the trend in China. If so, it will be that more than a hundred years were required for the fashion to appear and develop in Korea

Academic Society, for his guidance on antique jades from his collection.

²³⁰ Chosen sotokufu (1977), *op. cit.*, p.715.

after Yuan China and the Koryŏ Dynasty collapsed. However, we know that jade openwork finials were still used, probably as hat finials, in early Ming China up to the early fifteenth century based on the unearthed jade openwork finials in Yuhuatai and Xilin pagoda. Thus, it is possible that the jade openwork hat finial in Korea which was probably inherited from the Yuan and early Ming Dynasties grew gradually in popularity towards the sixteenth century, when it was valued for its antique quality as an incense burner cover finial and no longer worn in late Ming China.

Intriguingly, there are no pictorial images depicting jade openwork egret hat finials in China or Korea, despite its being certain that jade openwork egret finials were used as hat finials in Korea. In this regard, the only surviving portrait of King Ch'ŏlchong (r. AD 1849-1863) depicted with a jade openwork hat finial is valuable in presenting the existence of a culture of jade openwork hat finials in Korea and also in suggesting it in China, although his jade openwork hat finial is not carved with egrets but a phoenix which is the symbol of the royal throne (Figures 7. 44a and 7.44b).²³¹ It should be noted that the type of hat is *chŏllip* originally deriving from *zhangli* hat with a round top, and the king wore a *kunbok*.

7.3.7 Jade Hat Finials in the Late Chosŏn Dynasty

As discussed earlier, the *Taejŏn hoet'ong* of the national law published in AD 1865 records three significant changes concerning jade hat finials in the late Chosŏn Dynasty. First, jade hat finials were not described as *okchŏngja* (Ch. *yudingzi*) but specified as jade egret finials (*okro* or *ongno* 玉鸛).²³² That is, jade hat finials are immediately connected with an egret motif. Second, jade egret finials were no longer associated particularly with officials bearing surveillance responsibilities such as *kwanch'alsa* and *chŏldosa* but with leading persons in the government such as grand ministers, and military generals (or military commanders).²³³ Third, the wearing of egret finials was

²³¹ According to Pratt and Rutt, in Korea, "A promising son is called a soaring phoenix and when depicted over the royal throne, the phoenix may imply that the Korean king has the Chinese emperor as father." Pratt and Rutt, *op. cit.*, p.350 (phoenix).

²³² TH, kwon 3, yejŏn, ūijang, p.180.

²³³ *Ibid.*

defined with *yungbok* (a light costume) and *kunbok* (military uniform) on excursions. Judging from this law, jade egret hat finials seem to have been distinguished from official rank insignia embroidered on robes as a different special symbol. In addition, jade egret finials are again associated with specific officials irrespective of official grade. The officials who were commonly entitled to use jade hat finials throughout the Chosŏn Dynasty were high-ranking military officials. Since the Chosŏn bureaucracy was mainly based on late Tang and Song China and the Koryŏ Dynasty, officials like *jiedushi* of the Tang and Military Intendants of the Song seem likely to link with the Chosŏn *chŏldosa* whose duties combined those of *kwanch'alsa*.²³⁴ The Tang *jiedushi* and the Song Military Intendants were not only responsible for military affairs but also increasingly held later administrative duties. In the Chinese historical records, an official title connected with an egret image was originally the *houguan* in the Northern Wei, an inspector with a military character. A military official with civil administrative duties or a civil official with military authority relating to inspectorate and surveillance responsibilities seems to have been associated with the symbol of the egret to represent a man of unsullied and pure morale character, searching for criminals or illegalities, imagery which ultimately seems to have come down to the Chosŏn. Therefore, it seems likely that egrets became linked with military officials consistently throughout the Chosŏn Dynasty for this reason. Attesting to this, jade egret finials were worn with *yungbok* and with *kunbok* military uniform associated with national crisis. In addition, it can be conjectured that egrets represented a man of integrity and unsullied character in association with the state Confucianism of Chosŏn Korea so that a leading person of the government such as a grand minister was required to wear this symbolic jade finial with an egret motif when on excursion and traveling abroad as a national representative of the Chosŏn kingdom.²³⁵ It seems that wearing the jade egret hat finial on excursion originally derived from inspection tours in China, judging from the connection with

²³⁴ One of two or three *chŏldosa* in a province normally combined the duties of a *kwanch'alsa* (CMP, kwon 234, chikkwan-go 21, oemujik 外武職 1, pyŏngmajŏldosa 兵馬節度使, sugunjŏldosa 水軍節度使, vol.3, p.729-32).

²³⁵ In a diary of Chŏng Kyŏng-won 鄭敬源 (AD 1851-1898), a high-ranking civil official in the central government (i.e. *ch'amŭinaemubusa* 參議內務府事) (i.e. third grade), Chŏng wore a jade egret hat finial when he was a delegate at the World's Columbian Exposition held in Chicago, 8th May, 1893 (Professor Lee Minsik, *The Diplomatic and Cultural Activities during World's Columbian Exposition in*

egret imagery of inspectors (or surveillance officials) in China. This is implied in the *History of the Koryŏ*, by the following record after a reform of *hobok* 胡服 (Ch. *hufu*) in the late Koryŏ period:

Taeŏn 代言 (Recipients of Edicts) and *panju* 班主 (Imperial Guards in chief) in *yangbu* 兩府 (Secretariat-Chancellery and Bureau of Military Affairs), *taegan* 臺諫 (Censors and Remonstrators) and *annyŏmsa* 按廉使 (Surveillance Commissioner) in their circuits (provinces) wear brimmed tall *kat* hats decorated with jade finials on the top in rain and snow.²³⁶

As discussed in Chapter Two, such occasions seem to connote an inspection tour.

Finally, pictorial images of hat finials of Chosŏn envoys wearing *yungbok* in the nineteenth century can be found in a Japanese handscroll painting of their last visit to Japan in AD 1811 (Figures 7.70 and 7.71). This was one of twelve Korean cultural missions between AD 1607 and AD 1811 to celebrate the accession of new shoguns in Japan in the Edo period (AD 1603-1867) through amicable diplomatic ties.

7.4 Surviving Heirloom Jade Egret Hat Finials

The culture of wearing jade hat finials originally came from the Mongol Yuan Dynasty, was institutionalized at the end of the Koryŏ, and remained in Korea up to the end of the Chosŏn Dynasty. As discussed in Chapter Five, jade seems not formally to have been incorporated into the regulation of hat finials in Qing China, unlike Chosŏn Korea. In this regard, it can be said that in Chosŏn Korea the culture of wearing jade hat finials was more developed than in Ming and Qing China. China was finally to regard jade openwork finials as ornaments on incense covers, and this was very common in the late Ming and Qing Dynasties. Intriguingly, extant heirloom jade hat finials in Korea show a variety of styles, and some of them are characteristically different to the Chinese. This is also evidence that the jade hat finial culture was historically created in Korea. Such extant heirloom jade hat finials will be examined in this section.

Chŏng Kyŏng-won Documents (1893), <http://my.dreamwiz.com/histories>).

7.4.1 Six Jade Hat Finials in the Suk Joo-sun Memorial Museum of Korea Folk Arts

Six different jade hat finials dating to the eighteenth to nineteenth century are preserved in the Suk Joo-sun Memorial Museum of Korea Folk Arts, Dankook University, all catalogued collectively as *ongno* (or *okro*) 玉鸞. However, two of them look like a mandarin duck and a crane to this author so that *okchǒngja* would seem a more appropriate term than *ongno* (Figures 7.72a and 7.73).

First, Figure 7.72a is nearly identical in style to the jade openwork finial of Prince Yixuan (Figure 5.87), showing a mandarin duck holding a lotus spray in its bill and sitting on a large upturned lotus leaf. It is likely that this Korean jade finial reflects a Chinese style. This Chosŏn example suggests how two pairs of holes on the base of this Chinese style were used for attachment. As in the example in the Nanjing Museum (Figure 5.95b), iron or copper wire was used to secure this Chosŏn piece. The jade finials with the mandarin duck always have a concave base. It will be clear from this Chosŏn example with the concave base that craftsmen intended to show the detailed design of the edge of a lotus leaf which the mandarin duck sits on. Therefore, there was a hollow space on the bottom of the finial's base. In other words, for a jade finial of mandarin duck style, it can be considered that the shape of the concave base was owing to the design. However, a question still remains whether or not the shape of the concave base was practically necessary in the case of incense cover finials in China. On the silver-gilt mount, five bats are depicted to convey the auspicious meaning of happiness. As suggested by the Director, Dr Park Sunsil, of the Suk Joo-sun Memorial Museum, a pattern of quartered circles on the mount in openwork is in Yuan Mongol style;²³⁷ it is indeed a common pattern in Yuan ceramics (Figure 7.72b). However, it is uncertain that the style of this mount was also inherited from Yuan jade finial mounts.

The reason why the bird in Figure 7.73 seems to be a crane is that round bare spots were characteristically depicted on the top of the head which is one of the typical features of

²³⁶ KS, kwon 72, chi 26, yōbok 1, p.567. “...兩府代官班主臺諫諸道按廉雨雪則高頂等頂玉...”

²³⁷ I am grateful to Dr Park Sunsil, Director of the Suk Joo-sun Memorial Museum of Korean Folk

cranes but not of egrets, as discussed in Chapter Four. This example of a jade finial reveals that egrets were not the only motif for jade hat finials in Chosŏn Korea but that other motifs were also used. In other words, the egret was but one of the motifs of *okchŏngja* (jade finial). Therefore, the term *ongno* was possibly created in the late Chosŏn Dynasty as a result of the great popularity of egret finials or because egret were the original style of jade hat finial in the Chosŏn. This Figure 7.73 shows another significant feature in terms of the method of attachment to the silver-gilt mount. The leg of the crane (a thin line was incised in the centre of the leg to represent two legs but actually it is one leg) was directly inserted into the mount and paper-like material was stuffed with fish glue to stabilize it. Therefore, no holes were required for the jade base of this piece. Although there currently exists no similar style to this jade hat finial in China, the method of the attachment is the same as the *lingzhi* fungus-shaped finial inserting into the wooden cover of an incense burner in the Qing Dynasty (Figure 6.29a).

Similarly to Figure 7.73, the leg of the egret in Figure 7.74 is fully enfolded in a gilt-silver mount. However, this mount has a small ring to function as a holder to attach pheasant plumes, as in the jade finial of King Ch'ŏlchong (Figure 7.44b). The crest of the egret is curling up as can also be seen in the Liao, Ming and Qing egrets as discussed in Chapter Four. Figure 7.75 also shows this feature of the egret's crest. On the other hand, the egret in Figure 7.77 bears no crest, suggesting the Great White Egret or the Intermediate Egret. Another characteristic feature of Figure 7.75, a silver mount, holds the egret jade finial with a number of catches, suggesting that there may not be any holes perforated in the jade base. In addition, although Figures 7.74 and 7.75 are dated eighteenth and nineteenth century, these jade egret finials in solid style seem technically a first stage of jade carving for finials with egret motif before the creation of jade egret finials in openwork.²³⁸ As seen in the pictorial images of jade-like finials of solid type in the Liao mural painting (Figure 5.64b) and the portrait of Wang Anshi

Arts, for her arrangement to examine jade finials.

²³⁸ According to the Museum record, the provenance of the jade finial in Figure 7.75 is especially precise. It was used by Chŏng Hŏnshi 鄭憲時 who was a vice high-state-councillor (*chwauijŏng* 左議政) in second grade during the reign of King Ch'ŏlchong (r. AD 1850-1863).

(Figure 5.43), it is reasonable to assume that jade finials with egret motif like Figure 7.74 and 7.75 once existed in China, too.

Figure 7.75 has a flat surface on the bottom of the silver base and four pairs of small holes are perforated on the base for attaching hats. Likewise, Figure 7.76a has a flat bottom to the square-shaped finial base and two pairs of looped holes perforated for attachment (Figure 7.76b). The shape of the finial bottom with flat or concave surface seems to depend on the shape and material of the top of the hat or the design of the finial, as we have just discussed. The jade base of egret finial Figure 7.76a functions by itself as a stand. The jade egret finial in Figure 7.77 is the same, and a mount is unnecessary for this type of jade finial. However, Figure 7.76a can be mounted separately, judging from the similar shape of the jade base to Figure 7.75. On the other hand, Figure 7.77 has a concave base exactly the shape of metal mounts general in Korea, suggesting clearly that no mount was required for this piece in order to attach it to a hat. According to the *History of the Koryŏ*, *chŏngnang* 正郎 and *chwarang* 佐郎²³⁹ use crystal hat finials, while *hyŏllyŏng* 縣令 (District Magistrate) and *kammu* 監務 (State Monopoly Agent)²⁴⁰ use crystal hat finials without stands (or mounts).²⁴¹ The record is of crystal hat finials, however, the principle of the presence of a mount can apply to jade hat finials in the same way. Therefore, Figure 7.77 seems a typical example of this type of jade finial without a mount. In other words, hat finials without mounts were possibly one of the styles of hat finials. In summing up, one can not assume the shape of the top of the hat from the jade base, as there might have been a mount with it. However, there are two types of jade base, flat and concave. Second, if the top of the hat is round or of shaggy material such as fur and felt, it seems suitable

²³⁹ Senior and junior administrators in clerical staff agencies in units of territorial administration from Districts (*hyŏn* 県) up to Prefectures (*ju* 州 and *pu* 府), which consist of six Sections (or Boards or Ministries); Personnel Evaluation, Revenue, Rites, War, Justice and Works (*yukcho* 六曹) (Kishimoto Mio and Miyazaki Hiroshi, *op. cit.*, p.110).

²⁴⁰ It corresponds to the *Sung jiandangguan* 監當官, whose duty assignment is to administer the collection of taxes on state monopolized commodities at the Commanderies (*kun* 郡) and the Districts (*hyŏn* 縣) (Sudo Yoshiyuki, *So Korai seidoshi kenkyu*, 1992, p.361.).

²⁴¹ KS, kwon 72, chi 26, yŏbok 1, kwanbok, p.566. “十六年七月教曰…諸正佐郎黑笠水精頂子…縣令監務黑笠無臺水精頂子。” This could be interpreted as a hat without a flat top rather than a crystal hat finial without a mount. However, grammatically, it seems most likely to mean a crystal hat finial without a mount.

that the base of the finials (including metal mounts or stands) should be concave, unless the top of the hat itself is flat (Figure 7.78).²⁴² Third, the base of a jade finial seems not to need to be concave to stand on a wooden incense cover unless this is part of the design.

Finally, some six jade hat finials have accompanying original boxes, suggesting that hat finials can be stored in boxes on their own without hats, which seems to indicate that jade hat finials are designed to be detachable. This can be applied to the case of Chinese finials and may well explain why jade finials in China have always been discovered alone, without hats.

7.4.2 A Jade Egret Hat Finial in the Korea University Museum

There is a jade openwork egret finial in the Korea University Museum which is a novel design even in Korea and there is no example of this in China (Figures 7.79a and 7.79b). This piece seems a totally Korean original creation, which seems to have developed only in Chosŏn Korea during the jade openwork hat finial culture. Three alert egrets stand on a lotus leaf, flower and bud motif, looking backward. The incised lines and shape of the lotus leaves are similar to the Yi Sunsin piece. All egrets have slightly upward crests and shallow incised round eyes. This feature of the egret's crest can be seen in nineteenth century Chosŏn paintings, apparently one of the characteristics of egrets depicted in Chosŏn works of art of that period (Figures 7.80a and 7.80b). The mount is gilded, and five bats representing 'happiness' are depicted on it. Considering auspicious motifs such as egrets and lotus and bats, the finial seems not only an official symbol or the symbol of an official title but to represent the individual fortune of the bearer of this piece, as an amulet. It is not clear whether the '*yilulianke*' rebus of lotus and egrets was reflected in Korean works of art based on the Chinese auspicious meaning, however the motif seems likely to be inherited along with the general sense of good wishes, as egrets are nearly always depicted with lotus as a set, as in China.²⁴³

²⁴² It is not clear whether the jade finial in Figure 7.78 was originally attached on this eighteenth century hat.

²⁴³ The auspicious meaning of '*yilulianke*' seems absent in Korean historical records. However, the lotus was associated with purity based on a Buddhist concept and also immortality, health, good fortune,

Eighteen catches on the mount hold the egret jade finial and there seems to be no perforation in the base of the jade finial to attach to it. The weight of this openwork jade hat finial is extremely light so that eighteen catches seem sufficient to hold the jade finial without using perforation of the jade base.²⁴⁴

7.4.3 Hat Finials in the Chang Pudeok Memorial Gallery

Abundant hat finials from the nineteenth century are collected in the Chang Pudeok Memorial Gallery of Ewha Womans University. Three different groups of jade hat finials in the Museum present its prosperous culture in the Chosŏn Dynasty. First, Figure 7.81 shows two jade egret hat finials of solid type, with characteristic crests similar to Figures 7.74, 7.75 and 7.76a. The mounts of Figure 7.81 look modern because they appear very new and no catches on Figure 7.81 (left) and four inappropriate catches on Figure 7.81 (right) suggest that these mounts do not function practically unless holes of the jade base or glue are in use. Besides, these jade egrets are tall in proportion to the diameter of the jade base so that a number of catches on the mount or secure mounts enfolding jade finials would seem to be required to stabilize these pieces, like Figures 7.74 and 7.75.²⁴⁵ The second group of two jade openwork egret hat finials suggests two different styles of openwork carving (Figures 7.82 and 7.83). Especially, Figure 7.82 is similar to the jade finial unearthed from the tomb at Yuhuatai in Nanjing (Figure 5.86) and from the Xilin pagoda (Figure 7.84) in its streamlined carving. The bills of egrets in both Figure 7.82 and 7.84 are connected to the lotus branches, which gives an impression of less complicated openwork than the Ren family and Yi Sunsin finials. One cannot immediately regard their carving as a technique of a later period simply from the less complicated appearance; the jade finials of Yuhuatai and Xilin pagoda are dated to the early Ming and not to the Yuan. This style of streamlined carving is not at present clearly apparent from Yuan tombs. The carving of Figure 7.83 seems not as sophisticated as the finials of Yi Sunsin and Kwŏn Ŭngsu. However, eight

long life and honour. It was also used by the neo-Confucians (Pratt and Rutt, *op. cit.*, p. 273-4).

²⁴⁴ I am grateful to Mr Kim Woolin, chief curator at the Korea University Museum, for his arrangement for me to examine and take a picture of this piece.

²⁴⁵ It was later told by the curator, Ms Kim Jooyeon, in the Chang Pudeok Memorial Gallery that the gilt-silver mount of Figure 7.81 (right) was repaired in AD 1998.

egrets are vividly depicted in this finial in different postures. The jade in both Figures 7.82 and 7.83 shows a waxy appearance.

Figures 7.85 and 7.86 are jade finials in a third group of non egret motif. However, they are again collectively catalogued as *ongno*. There seems not to be any example in China similar to Figure 7.85. The body of the jade finial looks like the head part of a woman's jade hairpin (Kr. *cham*, Ch. *zan* 簪). A flower with five petals is carved on the top of the finial and its stem functions as a supportive strut in openwork space. Two birds fly in a flowery motif. This piece seems an extremely rare style even in Korea. Figure 7.86 is depicted with a watchful spotted deer, pine-trees, turtle, *lingzhi* fungus, bamboo, crane and so forth, the so-called ten symbols of longevity (Kr. *shipchangsang* 十長生) in Chosŏn Korea.²⁴⁶ The colour and character of the jade stone are skilfully utilized in the design. For example, two black specks of jade on the neck of the deer seem to be intentionally used to represent this spotted deer.²⁴⁷ There seem to be four small holes in the base of the jade. However, these seem not to have been used for attachment to a mount.²⁴⁸ This finial seems less likely to be associated with an official title and more to do with a personal choice, focusing on the design itself. These non-egret motifs of jade finials reveal the popularity of wearing jade hat finials in the late Chosŏn Dynasty. It will be also clear at the same time that the egret motif on its own was restricted to use as an official symbol based on the law in the late Chosŏn Dynasty. This seems to be because the egret motif was historically linked with the official ideal of an unsullied character. On the other hand, although a deer motif is used for a symbol of longevity in this hat finial Figure 7.86, it is intriguing that a finial depicted with a deer in jade is used for a hat finial when gold stag hat finials were worn by the ancient nomads with their own symbolism. It seems likely that there was a remote connection for this practice in Korea through an inheritance of the manner and customs of nomads and semi-nomads, as if the culture of hat finials flourished in jade as a revival. A deer similar in style to

²⁴⁶ *Shipchangsang* is a Korean original combination of ten auspicious symbols based on the idea of Chinese immortals, which is thought to date from the end of Koryŏ (Ito Abito *et al.*, *op. cit.*, p.182-3).

²⁴⁷ Pratt and Rutt, *op. cit.*, p. 273.

²⁴⁸ According to Ms Kim Jooyeon, curator at the Chang Pudeok Memorial Gallery, this mount was once repaired. I am grateful to her for an arrangement to view jade hat finials.

this Korean hat finial can be found in the relics of Xilin pagoda (Figure 7.87). In view of the practice of wearing gold hat finials with a symbolic stag motif by the ancient nomads, such jade finials as Figures 7.86 and 7.87 may be considered also to have been hat finials. As a matter of fact, Figure 7.86 was a hat finial, but the use of the Chinese jade deer finial Figure 7.87 has yet to be clarified.

Finally, hat finials in agate, silver and gilt-bronze with native Korean designs can be also found in this Museum, showing that a variety of hat finials was created and enhanced by the hat finial culture during the Chosŏn Dynasty (Figures 7.88, 7.89 and 7.90). This type of hat finials, Figures 7.89 and 7.90, were probably seen by the Japanese when the Korean officials visited Edo Japan as cultural envoys (Figure 7.71).

7.4.4 Jade Openwork Egret Hat Finial attached to Hat in the National Museum of Korea, Seoul

Among a number of extant heirloom jade finials both in Korea and China, a white jade openwork finial with five egrets in a lotus pond in the National Museum of Korea, Seoul, seems currently to be the only example attached to the original black *kat* hat, conclusive evidence in Korea of its use as a hat finial (Figures 7.91a and 7.91b). Although this black *kat* hat is considerably damaged, without its brim and dual weaving with materials like horse hair and bamboo strips, it is clear that the crown part of the hat forms a round top like a derby hat. As in the portrait of King Ch'ŏlchong (Figure 7.44a), a hat with a round top decorated with a jade egret finial is generally called '*ongnorip*' 玉鷺笠 (lit. jade egret hat) in Korea, and it is characteristic that this '*ongnorip*' has a round top like a derby hat unlike the typical Chosŏn hat with a cylindrical crown.²⁴⁹ Figure 7.91a shows this, and is a typical example of '*ongnorip*'. There is an '*ongnorip*' in the Chang Pudeok Memorial Gallery, which well shows the completed Figure 7.91a (Figure 7.92), although its present jade finial was not originally attached.²⁵⁰ No other names for hats bearing jade finials existed in Korea, apart from 'jade egret'. Professor Kang Soon-che points out that the reason for hats with round tops having jade finials in

²⁴⁹ I am grateful to Dr Park Sungsil, Director of the Suk Joo-sun Memorial Museum of Korean Folk Arts, and Professor Kang Soon-che, the Catholic University of Korea, for this information.

Korea may be that the Yuan Mongols normally wore hat finials on their round topped *zhangli* hat (Kr. *chöllip*).²⁵¹ The *zhangli* was a military hat in Korea,²⁵² and the jade egret finial became associated with military uniform. This connection between an egret and the military is likely to derive originally from *houguan*, as pointed out earlier. It is not clear whether Chosŏn jade egret finials were also associated with egret imagery from Song China, yet it is conceivable that egrets were related to men of integrity, of military prowess and to military commanders, linked with the Song Military intendants who derived from the Tang *jiedushi* and were remote descendants of the *houguan*, as discussed in Chapters Three and Four.

Artistically, this jade openwork hat finial is similar to Yi Sunsin's finial and to an example in the Chang Pudeok Memorial Gallery, Figure 7.83. The egrets of these three finials are tall in relation to the height of the finials, unlike those in the streamlined carving of Figure 7.82. The egrets are all in lively poses in the jade finial of the National Museum of Korea, in common with the jade finials of Yi Sunsin and the Ren family in Shanghai. However, the egrets' eyes are round which is different to the Ren family and the Yi Sunsin finials. The lotus leaf is carved in a highly naturalistic manner with delicate branching veins and has a graceful undulating edge, like the Yi Sunsin and the Ren family finials. There is no treatment in the hollow spaces of the jade base which are left rough, as in the finials of Yi Sunsin and the Ren family. Thus, it seems likely that the carving of the jade finial in the National Museum is based on the style of the jade finial of Yi Sunsin. However, the smooth carving looks also like Figure 7.82. The gilt-bronze base closely resembles those of Figure 7.83 and 7.85, with an embossed cloud-like pattern. Judging from the structure of the mount of the jade finial, holes are not perhaps perforated in the jade base for attaching to the mount. It is probable that the jade finial was originally designed to attach to a mount of this shape with sufficient catches. The mount can also suggest the date of the jade finial. This mount in the National Museum may be in a style of the nineteenth century on the basis of the dating

²⁵⁰ Ms Kim Jooyeon, curator at the Chang Pudeok Memorial Gallery, interview, Sept. 26, 2000.

²⁵¹ Kang Soon-che, *op. cit.*, p.124, 127.

²⁵² *Ibid.*, p.111.

of hat finials in the Chang Pudeok Memorial Gallery, Figures 7.83 and 7.85. Thread was possibly used to sew the mount onto the hat through five pairs of small holes in the mount. Even if thread was not originally used for Figure 7.91a, it is reasonable to assume that thread was the material of such an attachment (Figure 7.91b). It is evident, then, that jade hat finials with mounts were possibly designed to be detachable from hats. This may be one of the reasons why a number of surviving heirloom jade finials both in Korea and China are preserved alone without hats.

As we see from extant heirloom jade hat finials in Chosŏn Korea, the study of jade hat finials has concentrated on the middle to late Chosŏn period. However, this cannot be interpreted immediately as the period of the origin of the practice because we need to take into consideration that much art from earlier in the dynasty was destroyed during the *Imjin* Wars (AD 1592-3 and 1597-8) and the Manchu invasions (AD 1627 and 1636) of Chosŏn Korea.

7.5 Incense Burners in the Chosŏn Period

As in China, incense burners in the style of archaic ritual vessels were in vogue during the Chosŏn Dynasty (Figures 7.93 and 7.94).²⁵³ They were also made in jade (Figure 7.95). However, jade openwork finials were never mounted on such incense burner covers in Korea, which can be confirmed by absence in any pictorial images (Figures 7.96, 7.97a and 7.97b). It is intriguing that there seem to be no records of jade openwork finials on incense burner covers as in China, though the Chosŏn Koreans may have known this Chinese practice. Korea sent an embassy to Beijing (*yŏnhaengsa* 燕行使) three times a year in her vassal status with Qing China after being fatally weakened by the Manchu invasions of Korea in AD 1627 and 1636.²⁵⁴ Considering their intimate cultural exchange and trade,²⁵⁵ it is not likely that the fashionable jade openwork finials of incense burner covers in Qing China were alone not brought to Chosŏn Korea,

²⁵³ According to Xu Jing, *ding*-shaped tripod incense burners in Koryŏ in AD 1123 were almost *boshan* incense burners in style and their covers were plain. They were used for temples (Xu Jing, *op. cit.*, juan 31, p.2 (*dinglu*)).

²⁵⁴ Kishimoto and Miyajima, *op. cit.*, p. 348.

²⁵⁵ See Pratt and Rutt, *op. cit.*, p. 23.

especially as incense burners in the style of archaic bronze forms were used in Chosŏn as in Qing China. Therefore, it can be assumed that Chosŏn developed a jade openwork hat finial culture corresponding to the different uses of the jade openwork finial in China. If this Chinese practice was transmitted to Korea after the sixteenth century when jade openwork finials began to be fashionable on the covers of incense burners in China, two reasons can be considered why the Koreans did not follow this new Chinese trend. First, Chosŏn Koreans had known the original use of jade openwork finials probably inherited from Yuan or early to middle Ming China so that there was no need to adapt it. Second, it seems likely that the *sirhak* ('practical learning') movement in the seventeenth to nineteenth centuries in Korea encouraged the continuance of the original use of the jade openwork finials, when strong questioning of the historical relation with China was raised, and of China's political, economic and social influence and values, along with reconsideration of Korean native traditions, as discussed in Chapter Two.

7.6 Concluding Remarks

The extant heirloom jades of the Koryŏ clearly reflect the Song, Liao and Jin works of art through artistic and cultural exchange. In particular, exquisite works of art in the early Koryŏ period were recorded by Xu Jing, the Song envoy, suggesting high levels of craftsmanship. Jade carving was no exception, as we have seen. On the other hand, the tradition of native jade (i.e. nephrite) production is unclear and the quality of jade stone in Koryŏ and even the Chosŏn period was undervalued by China, evident in both the Chinese and Korean official records. In the late thirteenth century, the Koryŏ court entered an era lasting nearly a hundred years of intimate relations with the Mongol rulers by negotiating with the invaders. The Mongol nomad manners and customs were widely adapted to Koryŏ society, encouraged under the political circumstance of royal intermarriage. The Mongols favoured decorating their hats with finials, similar to the ancient nomads, the Xiongnu. This hat finial culture influenced the Koryŏ, like Yuan China. Towards the late Koryŏ period, the Mongol Empire gradually lost power in China and the Koryŏ determined to disengage from rule by the Yuan court. New regulations of official costume were successively instituted in order to discard Mongolian customs. However, as in China, the Mongolian practice of wearing hat

finials was incorporated into the new regulations in spite of the anti-Yuan Mongol policy of the Koryŏ court. This was formalized in AD 1367, a year before the Ming Dynasty in China was founded. Therefore, it is evident that the formalization of wearing hat finials by officials in Koryŏ was based on the Yuan system. In contrast to the wearing of hat finials described in the *History of the Yuan*, discussed in Chapter Five, the Koryŏ institutionalized hat finials for specific officials. The common features of the official duties when jade hat finials were worn in this regulation are not clear apart from the military officials; however the regulation codified after a reform of the Mongolian costumes specified that they were also worn by officials holding inspectorate responsibilities such as Surveillance Officials in bad weather. It is likely that the inspection tour was included for this. However, there are no records suggesting an association of egrets and inspectorate or surveillance duties in the *History of the Koryŏ*.

In extant late Koryŏ official portraits, jade openwork finials are absent. Even if we assume that openwork jade hat finials were brought to the Koryŏ court in AD 1364 before the establishment of hat finial regulation by Zhang Shicheng, one of a number of powerful rival leaders at the end of the Yuan, from Jiangsu near the Ren family tomb in Shanghai, their use in Koryŏ is not proved by documentary or burial evidence. However, one of Zhang's gifts to King Kongmin, a jade incense burner suggests that a jade openwork finial was not included, as discussed. There are no surviving heirloom hat finials dating to the Koryŏ. Therefore, it seems unlikely at present that jade openwork finials were commonly worn by Koryŏ officials.

Turning to the Chosŏn Dynasty, a new law code, the *Kyŏngguk taejŏn*, was promulgated in AD 1470. In this law, the hat finial was specified for use for official grades, but not for official titles, which was different to the late Koryŏ hat finial regulations. This new Chosŏn law is the same as the Ming system of hat finials in terms of prescription based on official grade, but Chosŏn required them only for officials of the first three grades. As in the late Koryŏ regulation of hat finials and the *History of the Ming*, the materials of hat finials were restricted, and design and patterns were not specified. However, bureaucrats in the Central Government Censorate (*sahŏnbu*) and the Remonstrance

Bureau (*saganwon*), and the Regional Surveillance Commissioners (*kwanch'alsa*) and Regional Military Commissioners (*choldosa*) were only allowed to use jade for their hat finials, which seems to have had symbolic connotation. It is likely that officials holding surveillance responsibilities were privileged to use jade, as in the late Koryŏ. In particular, these officials were inevitably required to be of unsullied character, and this may have been the reason for their jade. Embroidered official rank insignia on robes for first to third grade were codified in law in AD 1454, following the Chinese system, and the egret motif for sixth grade in China was not used under this regulation. If the man of unsullied character and integrity, with the five Confucian virtues, was compared to jade, white egrets can be associated with this imagery in Chosŏn Korea, in view of the Chinese precedent. Indeed, the *choldosa* Yi Sunsin possessed jade openwork egret hat finials in the sixteenth century, which corresponded to the Chinese period for the fashion of jade openwork hat finials mounted on incense burner covers. The jade openwork hat finial of Kwŏn Ŭnsu, who was also a *choldosa*, seems to be related to the 'Mandarin Duck Corps' which he probably commanded rather than to his title. In addition, the earliest record describing clearly the jade hat finial with egret motifs seems to be AD 1505 in Chosŏn Korea, which was earlier than the descriptions of the changing function of jade finials by Shen Defu and Wen Zhenheng in China. From this it is clear that jade openwork finials were used as hat finials in Korea, probably before or at the time when the Ming Chinese started to value them as antique objects. Although more than a hundred years after the Koryŏ Dynasty collapsed, the unearthed jade finials in Yuhuatai, Nanjing, and Xilin pagoda, Shanghai, suggest that they were still used in the early Ming period, and it is likely that Chosŏn Korea followed Chinese usage of jade openwork finials in the early Ming, as the year AD 1505 is still close to the early Ming period. It should be noted that hat finials under the Chinese term *maoding* were also recorded before AD 1505. In other words, this *maoding* may have also indicated jade openwork hat finials.

In the sixteenth century, Ming China used openwork jade finials for incense covers, while Chosŏn Korea used them as hat finials. The style of jade openwork egret finials in China and Korea is very similar, with the same motifs such as lotus and egret, but this

marked and definitive difference persisted in the two countries. Jade openwork hat finials, especially with egret motifs, became widely used by the high-ranking officials for their excursions towards the end of the Chosŏn Dynasty, suggesting that these were not particularly for officials holding surveillance duties, such as *kwanch'alsa* and *chŏldosa*, but as a symbol of officials of unsullied character. The egret motif seems to have been particularly used for jade hat finials in the Chosŏn Dynasty and the term appeared as *ongno* instead of *okchŏngja* in the late dynasty, in the official records. The jade egret hat finial culture seems to have been greatly cultivated in the middle and late Chosŏn period, when a number of novel jade egret finials were created in Korea. However, these jade openwork hat finials were never mounted on the covers of incense burners in Korea and jade openwork hat finials seem to have been consistently worn by the high-ranking military commanders including *chŏldosa* throughout the Chosŏn Dynasty. It seems that the egret motif was ideally suited for officials of high character and integrity in Chosŏn Korea as in China, and was especially used in jade hat finials probably for its symbolism.

CHAPTER EIGHT: CONCLUSION

8.1 Summary and General Conclusions

The main objective of this thesis is to investigate the historical context of jade openwork egret finials in order to resolve an issue concerning the use of these objects before the late Ming period. A quantitative study was obviously called for, to consider two current inconclusive theories; that these are hat finials (*maoding*) and that they are finials of incense burner covers (*luding*). Approaching the study of jade openwork finials in China from comparison with Korea is first treated by this thesis. The discovery of an extant heirloom jade openwork egret finial attached to an original hat in Korea is an important piece of evidence, for shedding light on Chinese jade openwork finials. Accordingly, our discussion was based on the reliable record written by the notable Chosŏn scholar-official, Chŏng Tong-yu. First, it became clear from this record that jade finials were used in Chosŏn Korea from the beginning of the Chosŏn Dynasty as hat finials for specific officials, for example, Regional Surveillance Commissioners (*kwanch'alsa*) and Regional Military Commissioners (*chŏldosa*). In particular, the egret motif was predominant in jade hat finials in Chosŏn Korea, corresponding to the fact that in China the majority of surviving heirloom and unearthed jade finials are egret jade openwork finials. Second, his historical examination presents a significant clue of the relationship between white egrets and officials bearing inspectorate responsibilities (i.e. *houguan*) which suggested its origin in the Northern Wei Dynasty. As he points out, *houguan* inspectors were recorded in the *History of the Northern Wei* renamed as 'White Egrets' referring to the egret stretching its neck and seeing far distances.

In order to investigate this further, the historical development of *houguan* inspectors and the historical background of the egret motif in China are considered in Chapters Three and Four. The substantial survey of egret motifs in Chinese works of art, especially in jades, in chronological sequence is perhaps treated in this thesis for the first time. In the examination of historical threads of the *houguan* in Chapter Three, the image of egrets seems to undergo a transformation that reflects a shift in the official's duty from surveillance responsibility to supervisory administration. The duty of *houguan* seems

originally to derive from the Han Dynasty *cishi* Regional Inspectors, and to have been relayed to the Investigating Censors (*jiancha yushi*) and Touring Surveillance Commissioners (*anchashi*) of the Tang, via the *houguan* of the Northern Wei. Censors (*yushi*) including Investigating Censors decorated their carriages with egret plumes in order symbolizing to perceive hidden and obscure crimes, like white egrets seeing fish in deep water. This probably symbolized their principal duty, the inspection tour. During the Tang period, Touring Surveillance Commissioners (*anchashi*) were eventually replaced by Surveillance Commissioners (*guanchashi*) as heads of Circuits who were gradually transformed into regional Civil Administrative Commissioners. However, the authority of regional governorship came to be often shared by Military Commissioners (*jiedushi*). These two regional Civil and Military Commissioners (*guanchashi* and *jiedushi*) were almost equivalent to the Regional Surveillance Commissioners (*kwanch'alsa*) and Regional Military Commissioners (*choldosa*) in Chosŏn Korea who seems to have worn jade egret hat finials in the Chosŏn Dynasty. The Song inherited the Tang system of regional circuits and changed the name of the circuit from *dao* to *lu*. Both the Regional Civil and Military Surveillance Commissioners of the Tang were replaced by Circuit intendants who supervised the new *lu* circuits. This *lu* is coincidentally homonymous with 'egret' in Chinese and seems to have been associated with egrets as a symbol of supervising a circuit. In the Song, posts staffed by Circuit intendants in groups of four were collectively called *jiansi*.¹ Regional Surveillance Commissioners *kwanch'alsa* in Chosŏn Korea were also called *kamsa* which corresponds to the name *jiansi* in Chinese. It is recorded in *Chŭngbo munhŏn pigo*, the Chosŏn encyclopedic compendium, that *kwanch'alsa* derive from the ancient *fangbo* in China, which are associated with the *cishi* of the Han (Regional Inspectors). In China, the Commander-in-chief (*dudu*) who gradually assumed the title *zongguan* and later the title *jiedushi* in the Tang was originally designated as Regional Governor (*zhoumu*) or Regional Inspector (*cishi*) with military command over Regions (unit of territorial administration called a *zhou*). Therefore, it can be confirmed that the ultimate ancestry of Chosŏn *kwanch'alsa* and *choldosa* can also be traced back to the *cishi* of the Han via

¹ It is still debatable whether *jiansi* in the Song numbered three or four, as discussed in Chapter Three. However, on the basis of the importance of the Military intendants in the Southern Song, 'four' is

the *houguan* of the Northern Wei, like the Tang *guanchashi* and *jiedushi* and the Song *jiansi* in China.

In particular, the Song Military intendants in groups of four seem to derive from the Tang *jiedushi*, and seem also to be related to *darughachi* (Overseers and Seal-holding Officials, commonly Mongols with status in the Mongol military hierarchy) in the Yuan Dynasty. *Darughachi* were heads of *zongguanfu*, the headquarters for supervising a unit of territorial administration called a *lu* (commonly referred to as a 'Route' in the Yuan), and collaborated with the *zongguan* (Supervisor-in-chief or Route Commander). As with the Circuit intendants of the Song, the *zongguanfu* was principally controlled by a group of administrators including the *darughachi*, the *zongguan* and the *tongzhi lu zongguanfushi* (Vice Supervisors-in-chief, secondary executive officials at headquarters in *lu* Routes). In China, the earliest jade openwork egret finials were unearthed from Yuan tombs of the Ren family in Shanghai. Ren Ming, one of the family, was a Vice Supervisor-in-chief. Ren Ming is most likely to have possessed this jade finial, probably because of this title. In addition, a jacket embroidered with a white egret motif was unearthed from the ruins of an old castle in the Yuan *lu* Route, in modern Ulan Qab, Inner Mongolia (Figure 4.41a). This jacket probably belonged to the *darughachi* of the Route. According to the Chinese historical record the *Nenggaizhaimanlu*, the position of *jiansi* was filled by good officials whose duty was to uncover official malpractice, from the time of the Southern and Northern Dynasties.² That is to say, as white egrets symbolized *houguan* in Northern Wei China and *kwanch'alsa* and *chöldosa* in Chosŏn Korea, the officials who succeeded the *houguan* very possibly used egret motifs for their emblems as an image of unsullied purity. However, both *lu* Route and *zongguanfu* were abolished after the Yuan Dynasty and the fashion of wearing jade carved hat finials seems concurrently to have receded under the Ming administrative bureaucracy in association with a stipulation of wearing official rank insignia embroidered with patterns of birds and animals on their official robes in AD 1391. With the establishment of this new official costume regulation, the image of egrets was ultimately monopolized

provisionally used in this thesis.

² Wu Ceng, *Nenggaizhaimanlu*, Song, juan 2, *jiansi zhi zhi*, in *SQ*, vol. 850, p.519.

by officials of the Ming Dynasty in the six grades and perhaps no longer represented officials deriving from *cishi* and *houguan* in China.

In China, egrets were historically popular for their white plumes. The plumage of white egrets seems to be related to the origin of its appreciation, as is demonstrated by the *Book of Odes* and relief stones in the Han Dynasty. It is most likely that the unsullied image of egrets in the early period was largely derived from the *Book of Odes*, where egrets symbolized a pure soul and spirit, unsullied character and integrity and were even associated with the supernatural. Thirty-six works of art bearing the egret motif illustrated in Chapter Four clearly support this fact. Egrets depicted in works of art are often confused with cranes, and in particular the Great White Egret and Intermediate Egret which do not acquire characteristic crests. Therefore, in order to avoid such confusion, an ornithological view was taken into consideration in this thesis to identify them in works of art. Owing to this factor, the importance of egret motifs might tend to have been overlooked in Chinese art historical writing. In this thesis, the chronological sequence of the development of the symbolic meanings behind the pictorial representations of egrets in the arts and the references to them in writing provided a framework for an understanding of egrets in Chinese symbolism.

The original ancient imagery of egrets was extended to the image of the inspectors (i.e. *houguan*) in the Northern Wei Dynasty. It did not derive from the image of white plumes as in the *Book of Odes* but from the egret's habits. Although it was suggested in the *History of the Northern Wei* that a correlation of official titles and the image of birds was conventionally practiced from ancient times, the clear description of egrets connected with official titles was first officially recorded in this *History of the Northern Wei*. It is indeed evident that white egrets were originally compared to officials by their flying style in the *Book of Birds* later it can be said that these images of officials were embodied as *houguan* in the Northern Wei.³ According to the eminent Ming scholar-official, Yang Shen, the image of egrets was widely carved on the *ting*

³ It should be noted that the *History of the Later Han* also records that egrets were symbolic of scholars (possibly scholar-officials), disciplined gentlemen and officials who were a high-minded and of unsullied

watchtowers related to the *houguan*, which might have originally been associated with the historical context depicted in the Han relief stones (Figure 4.12) as a symbol of the scholar-official of integrity based on Confucian ideals and ideology. The image of the egret searching its prey was in turn applied to the Censors in the Tang Dynasty, using white egret's plumes to decorate their carriages. It is apparent that egrets were no longer favoured only for the purity of their white plumes but also for their characteristic habits by this period.

The popularity of using the egret motif was further enhanced in the Song Dynasty. Confucianism in the Song must have witnessed a greater appreciation of white egrets than ever and also the '*yilulianke*' design of a combined egret and lotus motif created a new auspicious imagery and hidden meaning of 'May your civil service examinations be continuously successful', 'Wishing you a successful career in life and great luck'. Homophone-based symbols were used as decorative motifs on jades and other types of art works to convey special messages to the viewer. It is clear that egret motifs were potently associated with the world of officials. The Song Circuit intendants supervising *lu* circuits were the crucial officials liaising between the regions and central government but their's was only a temporary position in the ladder to further career success. The post of *jiansi* normally required a good official of unsullied character because of its great importance, and the life of a dynasty at times hinged upon regional inspectors or the surveillance commissioners, such as the *cishi* of the Han and the *jiedushi* of the Tang. On these grounds, the image of the egret and lotus seems an especially appropriate motif to be held by them.

The earliest official record of the egret motif in jade was the tribute of an exquisitely carved jade-belt from Koryŏ Korea to the Northern Song in the reign of Emperor Shenzong (r. AD 1067-1085). It was extremely esteemed by the emperor who commanded the imperial craftsmen to copy it in gold. The jade belt-plaque bearing the egret and lotus design in the British Museum may be a good instance of this Song official response, the decoration of its beading work suggesting that it was copied from

character. These images derive from the *Book of Odes*.

metalwork (Figure 4.30). This record is also of great importance to understand the manufacture of jade openwork egret finials in China and Korea. It suggests that until that period the egret and lotus motif had hardly been produced in jade in China. This is substantiated by there being no unearthed jade objects with this motif in this period, as discussed in Chapter Five. According to current archaeological reports, China did not attain the level of technique for three dimensional multiple-layered openwork jade carving until the Mongol Yuan Dynasty but she had reached the stage of two layered openwork jade carving in two-dimensional style by the end of the Northern Song and Liao and the beginning of the Jin Dynasties. Without tangible archaeological evidence, one cannot currently verify the precise degree of the Koryŏ Korea advanced jade carving around this period but a truly astonishing level of Koryŏ craftsmanship in works of art was reported by the Northern Song envoy, Xu Jing, which is explicit in a number of extant heirloom Korean jades and works of arts illustrated in Chapter Seven. However, in Korea, it should be noted that personal adornments bearing egret motifs depicted in jade have not yet been discovered before Chosŏn Korea. This motif was also popular in the Liao as evidenced by examples illustrated in Chapter Four. Egret and floral design was used on the bronze belt-plaques (Figures 4.36c and 4.36d) which seem the earliest example of personal adornment bearing the egret motif in China. A close and mutually beneficial relationship has always existed between metalwork, ceramics and jade. It is apparent from the extant Liao bronze belt-plaques that the use of the egret design transferred in decorative arts had occurred in Northern China by the earlier half of the Shengzong period (AD 982-1031): the rebus of 'yilulianke' can be seen in the Liao three colour glazed ceramic (Figure 4. 34), and on the example from the Cizhou kiln of the Northern Song (Figure 4.33).

The popularity of the combined egret and lotus motif in Chinese taste was widely shared by non-Han Chinese in the Yuan Dynasty, as seen in our examples of blue and white porcelain (Figures 4.39 and 4.40), the jacket (Figure 4.41a) and a variety of works of art. In the jade openwork finials of the Ren family are lively egrets searching prey as if a metaphor for perceiving hidden and obscure crimes. They also probably represent the conventional image of the egret as the unsullied character of a good official or

gentleman based on Confucian idealism, juxtaposed with a hidden meaning of 'yilulianke'. In the Ming and Qing, the egret imagery seems to have taken on further associations with worldly aspirations for wealth and success, which can be confirmed from works of art. Indeed, high official rank was traditionally the desired aim and wish in life, allied to notions of wealth, honour and fame. Yet despite this phenomenon of the elaboration of the egret motif in the Ming and Qing, egrets seem no longer to carry the special image of officials descended from *houguan*. However, the auspicious imagery of the white egrets remained consistently suitable for officials who held inspectorate and surveillance responsibilities supervising a territorial administration, a tradition descended from *houguan* through China's history.

Hat finials are important personal adornments to indicate the social rank and status of the wearer. Jade openwork finials played this role exactly in Chosŏn Korea for both officials and the King. Assuming that jade openwork finials in China were also regarded in the same manner as Korea, the jade finials in China must have been related to the wearer's social status as an official symbol. The Yuan Dynasty is renowned for the culture of hat finials. The earliest example of the jade finial in China from the Ren family unearthed in Shanghai is attributed to this period. In Chapter Five, a quantitative survey of the historical context of wearing hat finials in China was conducted to examine the possibility that hat finials were worn for this purpose. It was shown that the practice of wearing hat finials was not native Han-Chinese in origin but was originally from the west of China brought by the Xiongnu nomads. This foreign manner assuredly flourished in the Chinese dynasties even before the Yuan Dynasty, especially in the periods of non-Han Chinese rule, viz. the *buyao* of the Southern and Northern Dynasties, *heguan* of the Tang Dynasty and jade and gold hat ornaments of the Liao and Jin Dynasties, when wearing hats (i.e. *humao*) was commonly accepted in China. Koreans, especially in the Silla, wore a large conspicuous gold crown decorated with comma-shaped jade in the style of the Scythian steppe nomads with a totemic significance, possibly owing to their relation with the steppe nomads.

Like the Xiongnu nomads, hat finials were also worn by the Qidan Liao and Nuzhen Jin

semi-nomadic peoples, and they were also very fond of jade materials for their personal ornaments as well as of gold. Stag and deer motifs were frequently chosen for hat finials by the ancient nomadic peoples made predominantly in gold, reflecting their native hunting life and totemic symbolism. A number of jade finials with deer motif survive in China, yet they are not currently identified as hat finials, unlike Chosŏn Korea (Figure 7.86). It can be said that Chosŏn Korea inherited this ancient hat finial culture with a change in the symbolism of the deer design to an aspiration for longevity, as in China. It is not certain at present whether or not the deer design was included in the repertoire of hat finials for the Liao and Jin peoples in China, but it was significant in the 'Autumn mountain' (*qiushan*) motif, originally for the Qidan and Nuzhen people, as can be seen in the mural paintings of Liao tombs and in the Chinese official dynastic records. The 'Spring hunting' (*chunshui*) motif, also representing the strong cultural identity of northern taste, was applied to jade for personal adornments, which was first recorded in *the History of the Jin*. This 'Spring hunting' motif bears some resemblance to the notable motif of 'animal combat' of the ancient nomads in terms of its aggressive manner. It commonly depicts a falcon attacking a goose or a swan but never perhaps specified as the egret and lotus motif in any Chinese dynastic records, which has sometimes confused scholars. The egret and lotus motif is not, then, a typical northern motif to represent particular ethnic identity, but it was a very popular design by the time of the Song Dynasty probably in connection with the Chinese rebus 'yilulianke'. It is worth noting that the Liao and Jin may have even referred to this hidden meaning of 'yilulianke' in using the egret and lotus motif, which can be considered on the basis of our examples in Chapter Four (viz., the Liao and Jin ceramics).

We saw that Liao hat finials, were of a gold bird (Figure 5.55), Daoist deity (Figure 5.52) and a flame-like shape (Figure 5.64b). However, the use of hat finials in jade by the Liao people cannot be clearly demonstrated archaeologically up to the present. Some pictorial images such as the Dali kingdom handscroll painting attributed to Zhang Shengwen (Figure 5.46a) and the portrait of Wang Anshi (Figure 5.43) suggest the popularity of wearing jade hat finials around this period, that is, the twelfth century. In particular, different types of hat finials (viz., gold phoenix head shape, jade-like

pagoda-finial shape and crystal spherical shape) are shown in Zhang Shengwen's handscroll painting and some were unearthed from the Dali Kingdom in Yunnan. Most importantly, decorating hats with jades such as *xiaoyaojin* by the Liao and Jin is recorded and especially the dignitaries of the Jin used jade openwork ornaments for their hats, as seen in Figures 5.65a and 5.73a. According to the *History of the Jin*, precious or semi-precious stones sewn onto the top of the hat were called '*dingzhu*'. It is thus evident that hat ornaments including hat finials were worn in the Jin Dynasty and that the precious or semi-precious stone on the hat top was not called '*maoding*' but '*dingzhu*'. It is of great significance that a culture of wearing hat finials in China had already paved the way for the great vogue in the Yuan Dynasty, especially since a variety of hats was increasingly accepted in cosmopolitan Tang China. It is also clear from our research that precious or semi-precious stones in spherical style alone were not always the custom for their hat finials.

The Mongol Yuan Dynasty experienced a further advancement of jade carving as a result of cross-cultural fusion on a large scale, and the multiple layered openwork jade finials emerged. At present, two jade multiple layered openwork egret finials have been unearthed from tombs at Qingpu in Shanghai and at Yuhuatai in Nanjing and ten jade multiple layered openwork finials from the Xilin pagoda in Shanghai. All seem to have been used in the Yuan and the early Ming period and were from the Jiangnan area in South China. Although they were all discovered alone without hats so that there is currently no apparent evidence archaeologically to identify them, they can still be considered to be hat finials judging from the overall historical context of hat finials that we discussed in Chapter Five. It was recorded in the *Caomuzi* that all officials wore hats in this period and that the Han Chinese officials followed foreign fashion. It can be assumed that using jade, a traditional material for carving, for hat finials was a natural progression for the Han Chinese. The revival of the civil service examinations in AD 1315 assisted to open the official gate wider to people with a Chinese cultural background which possibly brought the opportunity to circulate and reflect further Chinese taste in hat finials, such as the *yilulianke* motif. Ren Ming was an official of this period and he seems to have used the hat finial with egret and lotus motif as a

symbol of his title and of an unsullied character along with a hidden meaning of *yilulianke*. If this theory is correct, the Mongol empire began to collapse long before the Han Chinese or people from Chinese cultural background brought this jade hat finial culture with Chinese taste to its pinnacle and the fashion was short-lived. On the other hand, the Mongols seem to have prized simple and uncarved precious stones in spherical style for their hat finials, in the light of extant pictorial images. Shen Defu, the Ming writer, recorded that an emperor wore a jade hat finial carved with nine dragons, yet such a jade finial has not so far been discovered. However, in view of a variety of shapes of carved gold hat finials we have seen in Chapter Five (viz., Figures 5.50, 5.52, 5.55, 5.77 and 5.78), the existence of carved jade hat finials is not implausible and our jade openwork egret finials can be considered as part of the repertoire of the design of hat finials, reflecting the period's advanced technique of multiple layer carving.

In Chinese history, it was not until AD 1373 in the Ming Dynasty that hat finials were formally codified under the official costume regulations. Jade '*maoding*' and jade '*maozhu*' were prescribed for officials of first and second grades. It is reasonable to interpret that the term '*maoding*' included two styles of jade hat finials, one a jade carved hat finial and the other an uncarved jade sphere with stand (or mount). A jade openwork egret finial mounted with a gold stand unearthed from a tomb at Yuhuatai in Nanjing is considered one of the best examples of the former style. Likewise, gold hat finials for officials of third to fifth grades and silver finials for sixth to ninth grades probably included both 'carved' and 'uncarved' styles under this regulation. It is likely that the term '*maozhu*' indicated hat ornaments of (precious or) semi-precious stone, which were normally uncarved and were without the mount (or stand or base), as shown in Figure 5.92 (on part of the brim). Jade carved finials seem to have remained popular at least until AD 1391 when official rank insignia were instituted. Due to this new regulation, it is likely that jade carved finials with motifs gradually lost their significance and use. In addition, brimmed hats were no longer worn officially on formal court occasions and were replaced by the Chinese traditional style of hat *futou*. All these factors may have led eventually to the end of the short-lived culture of jade carved hat finials, whilst uncarved precious or semi-precious stones remained in use for

hat finials in the Ming and throughout the Qing Dynasty.

The popularity of jade openwork finials was abruptly revived as finials on incense burner covers (*luding*) in the late Ming Dynasty. They were treated as highly valuable antique objects and were mounted on bespoke wooden covers for ritual vessels in archaic style bronzes, ceramics and jade. These very different objects were all together identified as incense burners adapted as display objects in the scholar's studio. This may be inspired by or influenced originally from the style of ancient incense burners, such as *boshan lu*. The late sixteenth century was a period of archaism and the revival of classic forms from antiquity and was expressed and reflected in Ming jade carving. Wen Zhenheng from the late Ming, the author of *Zhangwuzhi* (Superfluous Things) states that incense burners were essential implements in the scholar's studio and jade openwork finials were mounted on incense burners in the form of ritual vessels, such as *ding* and *gui* food vessels. The descriptions concerning jade finials by the late Ming writers, Shen Defu and Gao Lian, are celebrated among present scholars, however Wen Zhenheng's crucial suggestion of a Ming date for the jade openwork finials on incense burner covers is little known. He clearly recorded that the wooden cover was especially used for the jade openwork finial as an incense burner cover in the late Ming period which coincides with the survival of wooden covers mostly considered to be from the Ming and Qing Dynasties and many jade openwork finials of unrecognizable date mounted on them. The question raised by scholars why jade openwork finials were catalogued as '*luding*' on the yellow labels in the Qing Court Collection from the early Qing can be solved from Wen Zhenheng's record. In addition to this, the gift of a jade incense burner from Zhang Shicheng, 'King Wu', in Jiangnan in the late Yuan to King Kongmin of Koryŏ suggests that the Ren family jade openwork finial had probably not been used as an incense burner cover finial. That is to say, the use of jade openwork finials on incense burner covers can be attributed to the late Ming and it seems likely that the name of '*luding*' was fixed for jade openwork finials at about that time.

For the above reasons, fashionable jade finials were much copied and reproduced for ornamental finials of incense burner covers in the later period and the original use and

date of jade openwork finials became obscure in a confusion of copies, reproductions and the egg-shaped jade finials. However, from a viewpoint of their feasibility as incense burner cover finials, the important points to resolve the issue of the use of jade openwork finials are three. First, the use of wooden covers without perforation suggests a shift of function from actual incense burners to purely decorative display objects. Second, the domed shape and the holes on the base of jade openwork finials suggest an adaptation from a completely different usage, as discussed in Chapter Six. Thirdly, motifs and designs of jade openwork finials not suitable for the conventional incense burners were employed. The egret and lotus motif along with the 'yilulianke' wish would be the best example, as this motif had never been associated with the conventional bronze incense burners although it might have been expected to have appeared in bronze and ceramics before its transference to jade. Most importantly, bronze or ceramic or jade containers, jade finials, and wooden covers and stands may all come from different periods, suggesting the taste of a later period, and their combination is typical of Qing eclecticism. In craftsmanship, use, technique, motif and design are all closely interrelated, and there is a close mutual relationship between an object's purpose and its design. In view of the craft and design of jade finials, it is thus clear that jade openwork dome-shaped finials were not intended to be used as handles of incense burner covers (*luding*) for utilitarian purposes but more probably adapted and transformed for connoisseurship and aesthetic pleasure in the culture of antiquarianism of the late Ming period.

A further clue to unravel changing ideas of the use of jade openwork domed finials was in Koryŏ and Chosŏn Korea. In the late thirteenth century, the Koryŏ court entered an era lasting nearly a hundred years of intimate relations with the Mongol rulers, and their manners and customs were widely adapted to Koryŏ society, encouraged under the political circumstance of royal intermarriage. The hat finial culture in the Mongol Yuan Dynasty did not fail to influence the Koryŏ. The Mongolian practice of wearing hat finials was incorporated into the new costume regulations in AD 1367 in Korea, a year before the Ming Dynasty in China was founded. Therefore, it is evident that the formalization of wearing hat finials by officials in Koryŏ was based on the Yuan system.

Most importantly, the Koryŏ institutionalized hat finials for specific officials regardless of official grade, unlike the practice in Ming China. The common official duties and responsibilities in this regulation of those who wore jade hat finials are not clear apart from the military officials. However, the regulation codified after a reform of the Mongolian costumes in the late Koryŏ prescribed also for officials holding inspectorate responsibilities such as Surveillance Officials on the occasion of 'rain and snow'. It is likely that the inspection tour was included for this. However, no records suggesting an association of egrets and inspectorate and surveillance duties can be discovered in the *History of the Koryŏ*, nor do pictorial images depicting jade openwork hat finials worn by Koryŏ officials appear to survive.

In the Chosŏn Dynasty, a new law code, the *Kyŏngguk taejŏn*, was promulgated in AD 1470, and hat finials were stipulated for use depending on official grades. This new law seems to have taken into consideration the Ming system of hat finials of AD 1373 in terms of employment for official grades. As in Ming China, specific design and patterns of jade finials were not referred to in the regulation, however use of jade for hat finials was only allowed for bureaucrats in the Central Government Censorate and Remonstrance Bureau and for Regional Surveillance Commissioners (*kwanch'alsa*) and Regional Military Commissioners (*chŏldosa*), and seems to have had a symbolic connotation. This totally differs from the Ming system. Jade hat finials were originally prescribed for these officials⁴ in the late Koryŏ regulation. The reason for their jade may have been the essential requirement for them to be of unsullied character. Embroidered official rank insignia on robes for first to third grade were first codified in costume regulation in AD 1454 in Korea, following the Chinese system, and the egret motif for the sixth grade in China was not used in Korea under this regulation. If the man of 'unsullied character' and 'integrity' with the five Confucian virtues was compared to jade, white egrets can be associated with this imagery in Chosŏn Korea, in view of the Chinese precedent. Indeed, the *chŏldosa* Yi Sunsin possessed jade openwork egret hat finials in the sixteenth century, which interestingly corresponded to the Chinese period of the fashion for jade openwork finials mounted on incense burner

⁴ *Chŏldosa* were appointed to Surveillance Commissioners at the beginning of the Koryŏ Dynasty.

covers. Although the earliest record describing clearly the jade hat finial with egret motifs seems to be AD 1505 in Chosŏn Korea, it is still earlier than the descriptions of the changing function of jade finials by Shen Defu and Wen Zhenheng in China. Indeed, more than a hundred years had passed from the fall of the Koryŏ Dynasty to AD 1505. However, considering the fact that the unearthed jade finials at Yuhuatai in Nanjing, and Xilin pagoda, Shanghai, suggest that they were used in the early Ming period (or even earlier) – leaving aside what they were used for – it is most likely that Chosŏn Korea followed Chinese usage of jade openwork finials in the early Ming, as the year AD 1505 is not far from the early Ming period. On all these grounds, jade openwork finials at Yuhuatai in Nanjing and Xilin pagoda, Shanghai, are likely to have been used as hat finials. Importantly, it is consistent that jade openwork finials were used as hat finials throughout Korea's history before the Ming Chinese started valuing them as antique objects.

The style of jade openwork egret finials in China and Korea is astonishingly similar, with the same motifs such as egret and lotus, but this marked difference of use persisted in the two countries from the sixteenth century. Towards the end of the Chosŏn Dynasty, jade openwork hat finials, prevailing with egret motifs, became widely used by the high-ranking officials in the course of their duties outside the court and especially on missions to foreign countries, not only for officials holding inspectorate and surveillance duties, but as a symbol of officials of unsullied character. The term *okchŏngja* (lit. jade finial) (Ch. *yudingzi*) which was also a traditional term for jade hat finial in Yuan and Ming China was replaced by '*ongno*' (lit. jade egret) in the late Chosŏn Dynasty probably as a consequence of the predominance of the use of the egret motif for hat finials. A number of novel jade egret finials were created in Korea as is evidenced by extant examples illustrated in Chapter Seven. Most importantly, these jade openwork hat finials were never mounted on the covers of incense burners in Korea, in spite of following the Chinese style of ancient bronze vessels in the fashion for antiquity, and jade openwork hat finials seem to have been consistently used by high-ranking military commanders including *chŏldosa* throughout the Chosŏn Dynasty. It is probable that the image of white egrets deriving from *houguan* in Northern Wei China did remain

in Korea as the official emblem of integrity and unsullied character, unlike Ming and Qing China. While the rebus was a significant in China's art and culture over the centuries, we cannot be sure of its equal significance in Korea. Leaving aside the question of the understanding of 'yilultanke' design by Chosŏn Koreans, the lotus is historically the symbol of purity in Korea although it is not native to Korea.⁵ Therefore, the combined images of white egrets and lotus probably further enhanced the meaning of 'integrity' and 'unsullied character'. It seems that the egret and lotus motif represented a consistent ideal for officials of unsullied character in Chosŏn Korea as in China, and was especially used in jade hat finials for its symbolism. Thus, our discussion finally concludes that jade openwork hat finials in Chosŏn were probably imported from late Yuan or early Ming China before they were popularly used as incense burner cover finials by the late Ming scholar-officials, which ultimately furnishes a vital clue to resolve the question of the use of jade openwork finials before the late Ming Dynasty in China.

8.2 Problems and Prospects for Future Study

This thesis serves as a point of departure for new investigations from different angles to the subject of jade openwork finials in China, illustrated in collections from China and Korea to the United States and Europe. The quantitative study of jade openwork finials in this thesis may be the first conducted. Extensive study in a varied field was necessary in order to attain a definitive insight after long-standing inconclusive discussions of this topic. Owing to the complexity of the nature of this study and the limited competence of this author especially in Korean *han'gŭl* letters, there is a limitation of achievement and a discussion of difficulties experienced, inconclusive evidence and a need for further work with outlines of possible directions to be taken. Resolving the remaining problems arising from my research and the following recommendations for future direction in this field may further develop this study.

First of all, insufficient jade openwork finials unearthed from tombs in China and a difficulty in discovering extant heirloom jade openwork finials both in China and Korea

⁵ Keith Pratt and Richard Rutt, *Korea: A Historical and Cultural Dictionary*, London, 1999, p. 273-4.

have resulted in only bare general material and sketchy analysis in this study. Further archaeological evidence and discoveries of jade openwork finials and their reexamination in museums and private collections on a world-wide basis will certainly help for a better understanding of them and may provide direct answers. Secondly, one of the main aims of this thesis has been the exploration of the historical context of this object, with the egret motif in China being crucial. The fuller study of jade openwork finials with other motifs, such as dragon and deer, lies outside the scope of this paper. As space is limited, we have concentrated on the egret motif as a vital and fundamental approach and paid scant attention to other motifs. However, for example, the deer motif is of great significance to investigate jade finials before the Yuan Dynasty as we referred to in Chapters Five and Six, while dragon motifs would relate to the hat finial culture prevailing in the Yuan Dynasty, as suggested by Shen Defu. In particular, the deer motif is another important key to disclose their use and to confirm whether jade carved hat finials were worn by the dignitaries of the Jin, who were a semi-nomadic people. This practice may be associated with the ancient Xiongnu nomads who wore gold finials with a mythical stag motif on their headdresses and hats. It is therefore necessary for future research to further clarify the existence of jade carved hat finial culture before inheritance by the Yuan. Third, as has been indicated in Chapter One, the precise dating of the objects is too involved a subject to be treated here in detail since a number of copies of these objects have made dating problematic. In addition to this, the precise dating of jade is almost impossible for connoisseurship unless scientific methods are undertaken concomitantly and a lack of archaeological discovery of jade openwork finials has brought further difficulty to the situation. However, it is certain that identifying the date of all surviving heirloom jade openwork domed finials including the egg-shaped jade finials and all the reproductions and copies would help to categorize them and to clarify the development of the style of carved jade finials.

Fourth, we have established discussion of the egret motif from the image of *houguan* of Northern Wei China on the basis of the theory of the Ming scholar-official, Yang Shen, and the Chosŏn scholar-official, Chŏng Tong-yu. The results of our research were that the jade hat finial with egret and lotus motif was probably used for a symbol of

'unsullied character or the gentleman' and 'integrity' and also represented officials deriving from *houguan* inspectors. In the case of Chosŏn Korea, it is indeed the case that such officials deriving from *houguan* or officials holding inspectorate and surveillance responsibilities were suitable to bear the white egret and jade images of Confucian virtue. However, we ideally needed more conclusive documentary evidence in regard to the existence of the egret image of *houguan* during the Yuan Dynasty in order to attest the reason for the possession of the jade egret openwork finials by Ren Ming. It is hoped that more historical evidence will further clarify the hidden meanings and imagery of the egret motif throughout Chinese history. Fifth, I could have paid further attention to the possibility of jade egg-shaped finials with a sage or immortal motif being probably associated with Daoism. Since incense burners were also used for religious and ritual purposes, further resolution of the issue of jade egg-shaped finials could have explained the difference between the jade openwork dome-shaped finials and jade egg-shaped finials. It is however because our jade openwork dome-shaped finials were mounted on the wooden covers of incense burners mainly for display purposes rather than for a utilitarian reason. Also, and perhaps more importantly, egg-shaped finials could not have been mounted on such incense burners before the late Ming, although they could have been attached to use in other objects. It seemed unnecessary for the purpose of this thesis to enter into a detailed discussion of this. A sixth point concerns the correlation between hat finials and religion in the Yuan Dynasty, such as the Lamaist Buddhism supported by the Mongol Yuan court. As we discussed in Chapter Five, the jade openwork finial unearthed at Yuhuatai in Nanjing is mounted in gold decorated with a Yuan Lama motif, and the figures wearing spherical hat finials depicted in extant Yuan pictorial images are taking part in religious ceremony (Figure 5.81a).⁶ To investigate this religious relation with hat finials may offer a further perspective on the jade carved hat finial culture during the Yuan Dynasty.

Finally, this thesis has also investigated the changing use of jade openwork finials in China as a theme, approaching it from the egret motif used in a hat finial in Chosŏn Korea, the focal point in our argument. However, it does not yet provide an altogether

⁶ Refer also to footnote 264, in Chapter Five.

conclusive answer concerning the use of this object as a hat finial before the late Ming Dynasty in China owing to a lack of archaeological and definitive documentary evidence relating to the route of importing this object from China to Korea; but rather I suggest the extremely high possibility for the use of this object as a 'hat finial' before late Ming China with the accumulation of historical sources and three hundred and eighty-five illustrations – based on crucial factors such as the inappropriate style of the finial on an incense burner wooden cover in the historical context of the late Ming, and the conclusive evidence of an extant heirloom jade openwork egret finial attaching to an original hat in Chosŏn Korea. From this, we see that this object was indeed used as a hat finial in Chosŏn Korea and we know that there was a foundation to receive this jade hat finial culture transmitted from Yuan China to Koryŏ Korea, or early Ming to early Chosŏn, but more discoveries of apparent evidence of its use as a hat finial in Yuan China would further reinforce our theory. This thesis is only a rudimentary step to investigate the historical context of jade openwork egret finials in China and to examine their usage in comparison with the jade openwork egret 'hat finials' in Korea, which is a new and vital approach to untie the remaining issue surrounding this object – the controversy over *maoding* and *luding* – since the 1980s.

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For modern works from China PRC, Chinese characters in this bibliography have followed the forms which were originally presented by their writers. If English book titles are given in modern works, higher case has been employed and their original writers' romanization is used. Titles which I have translated myself are given in lower case.

Abbreviations used in this thesis for book titles:

BS *Bei shi* 北史 (History of the Northern Dynasties). Li Yanshou 李延壽, ed. 659. Beijing, 1974.

CMP *Chǔngbo munhǒn pigo* 增補文獻備考 (Supplementary document notes). Hong Ponghan 洪鳳漢 *et al.*, eds. 1908. Facsimile reprint by Kojǒn-ganhaenhoe 古典刊行會. 3 vols. Seoul: Tonggung munhwasa 東國文化社, 1959.

CWS *Chosǒn wangjo sillok* 朝鮮王朝實錄 (Annals of the Chosǒn Dynasty [kings]), 1413-? 48 vols. with one volume for index. Facsimile reprint edited by Kuksa p'yǒnch'anwiwǒnhoe 國史編纂委員會. Seoul: T'amgudang 探求堂, 1973.

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| CWS:CJ | <i>Chǒngjo sillok</i> 正祖實錄 (Records of Chǒngjo) |
| CWS:MGI | <i>Myǒngjong sillok</i> 明宗實錄 (Records of Myǒngjong) |
| CWS:MJ | <i>Munjong sillok</i> 文宗實錄 (Records of Munjong) |
| CWS:SJ | <i>Sejo sillok</i> 世祖實錄 (Records of Sejo) |
| CWS:SJG | <i>Sejong sillok</i> 世宗實錄 (Records of Sejong) |
| CWS:TJ | <i>T'aejo sillok</i> 太祖實錄 (Records of T'aejo) |
| CWS:TJG | <i>Tanjong sillok</i> 端宗實錄 (Records of Tanjong) |
| CWS:YI | <i>Yǒnsan'gun ilgi</i> 燕山君日記 (Diary of Yǒnsan'gun) |
| CWS:YS | <i>Yǒngjo sillok</i> 英祖實錄 (Record of Yǒngjo) |

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Jade Openwork Egret Finials
Their Historical Context and Use in China and Korea

In Two Volumes

Volume Two: Illustrations and Appendices

Kumiko Kurokawa

A thesis submitted for the degree of
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Department of History of Art

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Dynasty, 16th century.

Figure 7.59: Pair of gilt-bronze cups and saucers in peach shape. Ming Dynasty, 16th century.

Figure 7.60: Silver cup in half peach shape with a branch, stem and leaves. Ming Dynasty.

Figure 7.61: Jade peach-shaped cup. Ming Dynasty.

Figure 7.62: Jade openwork egret and lotus finial. Dated to Yuan Dynasty.

Figure 7.63a: Black box and pouch. Chosŏn Dynasty or later (box).

Figure 7.63b: Lacquer decoration and inside of box in Figure 7.63a.

Figure 7.64: Drawing of right profile and front views of jade openwork hat mandarin duck finial mounted with a gilt-bronze (or gilt-brass) stand. Chosŏn Dynasty, 16th - 17th century.

Figure 7.65a: Gourd-shaped gilt-bronze hat finial on a flower-shaped mount. Beginning of the Qing Dynasty, c. AD 1650.

Figure 7.65b: Mural painting, high-ranking Uighur (?) on right wearing a hat finial. Tang Dynasty.

Figure 7.66: Underneath of mount of Figure 7.64.

Figure 7.67: Jade belt-plaque and tortoiseshell attached with nails. Dated to Tang Dynasty.

Figure 7.68: Left profile of Figure 7.64.

Figure 7.69: Portrait of Yi Hyonpo. Chosŏn Dynasty, c. AD 1536.

Figure 7.70: Painting, second important group of Chosŏn envoys in Japan, wearing hats with jade-like openwork hat finials. Edo period, 19th century.

Figure 7.71: Painting, second important group of Chosŏn envoys in Japan, wearing a hat with a gold-like hat finial. Edo period, 19th century.

Figure 7.72a: Jade openwork mandarin duck-shaped hat finial with a silver-gilt mount. Chosŏn Dynasty, dated c. AD 1800.

Figure 7.72b: Pattern of quartered circles.

Figure 7.73: Jade crane-shaped hat finial with a silver-gilt mount. Chosŏn Dynasty, dated c. AD 1750.

Figure 7.74: Jade egret-shaped hat finial with silver-gilt mount. Chosŏn Dynasty, dated c. AD 1750.

Figure 7.75: Jade egret-shaped hat finial with a silver mount. Chosŏn Dynasty, dated c. AD 1850.

Figure 7.76a: Jade egret-shaped hat finial. Chosŏn Dynasty, dated c. 1800.

Figure 7.76b: Bottom of the square-shaped jade base of Figure 7.76a.

Figure 7.77: Jade egret-shaped hat finial. Chosŏn Dynasty, dated c. 1800.

Figure 7.78: Black *kat* hat with a jade egret-shaped hat finial. Chosŏn Dynasty, c. 1750 (hat).

Figure 7.79a: Jade openwork egret hat finial with gilded mount. Late Chosŏn period.

Figure 7.79b: Underside of Figure 7.79a.

Figure 7.80a: Painting of a white egret, by Yang Kihun. Chosŏn Dynasty, 19th century.

Figure 7.80b: Painting of a white egret, by Yang Kihun. Chosŏn Dynasty, 19th century.

Figure 7.81: Two jade egret-shaped hat finials with gilt-bronze and gilt-silver mounts. Chosŏn Dynasty, 19th century.

Figure 7.82: Jade openwork egret and lotus hat finial mounted on gilt-bronze stand. Chosŏn Dynasty, 19th century.

Figure 7.83: Jade openwork egret and lotus hat finial mounted with gilt-bronze stand. Chosŏn Dynasty, 19th century.

Figure 7.84: Jade openwork egret and lotus finial. Dated to the beginning of the Ming.

Figure 7.85: Jade openwork bird and flower hat finial with gilt-bronze mount. Chosŏn Dynasty,

19th century.

Figure 7.86: Jade openwork hat finial with a *sip changsaeng* motif mounted on gilt-silver stand.

Chosŏn Dynasty, 19th century.

Figure 7.87: Jade openwork finial with a *qiushan* motif. Dated to Yuan Dynasty.

Figure 7.88: Hat finial, with silver bird in gilt-silver flower motif standing on a round agate.

Chosŏn Dynasty, 19th century.

Figure 7.89: Silver openwork hat finial. Chosŏn Dynasty, 19th century.

Figure 7.90: Three gilt-bronze openwork hat finials. Chosŏn Dynasty, 19th century.

Figure 7.91a: Black lacquered *kat* hat with white jade openwork egret and lotus hat finial mounted on gilt-bronze stand. Chosŏn Dynasty.

Figure 7.91b: Jade openwork finial of Figure 7.91a.

Figure 7.92: Black lacquered *kat* hat with jade openwork egret and lotus hat finial. Chosŏn Dynasty, 19th century.

Figure 7.93: Ritual tripod enameled brass incense burner and a cover with a dragon-shaped finial. Chosŏn Dynasty.

Figure 7.94: Ritual tripod brass incense burner and a cover with a dragon head finial. Chosŏn Dynasty.

Figure 7.95: Two jade openwork tripod incense burners in *dŭng* shape. Chosŏn Dynasty.

Figure 7.96: Screen depicting bookshelf and stationery. Anonymous. Chosŏn Dynasty.

Figure 7.97a: Section of screen depicting bookshelf and stationery. Anonymous. Chosŏn Dynasty, 18th century.

Figure 7.97b: Detail of Figure 7.97a.



front



reverse



bottom of the base

Figure 1.1: Pale greenish jade openwork finial with a design of egrets in a lotus pond.
Yuan Dynasty.

H. 4.6 cm; Dia. (base) 3.8 - 4.6 cm.

Unearthed from tombs of the Ren family 任氏 at Beimiao village 北庙村 in Qingpu district 青浦区, Shanghai. A pair of holes on the base for attachment. Collection of Shanghai Museum.

From Huang Xuanpei, ed., *Shanghai chutu Tang Song Yuan Ming Qing yuqi*, Shanghai: Shanghai renmin chubanshe, 2001, no.104.



Figure 4.1: Great White Egret (*Casmerodius albus*) 大白鹭 (*dabailu*).

'br.' is an abbreviation for 'breeding' season. After MacKinnon, John and Phillipps, Karen, *A Field Guide to the Birds of China*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000, pl.59 (542).

Figure 4.2: Intermediate Egret (*Mesophoyx intermedia*) 中白鹭 (*zhongbailu*).

After MacKinnon, John and Phillipps, Karen, 2000, pl.59 (543).

Figure 4.3: Little Egret (*Egretta garzetta*) 白鹭 (*bailu*).

After MacKinnon, John and Phillipps, Karen, 2000, pl.59 (535).

Figure 4.4: Eastern Reef Heron (*Egretta sacra*) 岩鹭 (*yanlu*).

The above one is dark morph. After MacKinnon, John and Phillipps, Karen, 2000, pl.59 (537).

Figure 4.5: Chinese Egret (*Egretta eulophotes*) 黄嘴白鹭 (*huangzuibailu*).

After MacKinnon, John and Phillipps, Karen, 2000, pl.59 (536).

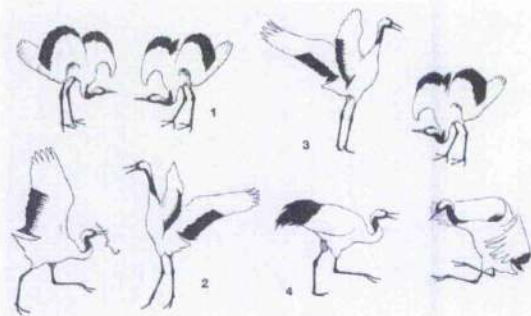


Figure 4.6: Performance of Crane's dance.

1. bobbing and bowing ; 2. leaping; 3. leaping while other bowing; 4. stiff threat postures of stamping and wing-flapping. From Kerrod, Robin, *Encyclopedia of the Animal World Birds*, Oxford: Facts on File Limited, 1989, p.59.

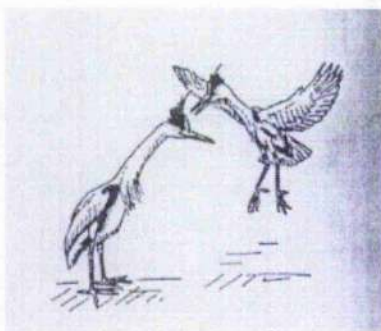


Figure 4.7: Performance of Heron's 'Greeting its arriving partner'.

From Grzimek, Bernhard, *Grzimek's Animal Life Encyclopedia*, Germany: Van Nostrand Reinhold Company, 1984, vol.7, fig. 8-1(p.190).



Figure 4.8: Jade pendant.

Hongshan culture.

H. 4.2cm; L. 4.6cm; D. 1.5 cm.

In the form of an owl with outstretched wings. Unearthed at Bairin Youqi in Inner Mongolia. three perforations at the back of the neck for attachment. Collection of Balin Youqi, Inner Mongolia Museum. From *Zhongguo meishu quanji*, Jades, vol. 9. pl.8.



Figure 4.9: Silk banner painting: A gentleman riding on a dragon.

The Warring States period.

H. 37.5 cm; W. 28 cm.

Ink on silk. Unearthed from Zidanku, Changsha, Hunan Province in 1973. Collection of Hunan Provincial Museum. From *Zhongguo meishu quanji*, Painting, vol.1, pl.44.



Figure 4.10: Painted pottery jar or drum.

4th millennium B.C.

H. 47 cm; MD 32.7 cm.

With images of a stork, a fish and a stone ax.

From Linru, Shanxian, Henan Province. Henan Provincial Museum. From *Zhongguo meishu quanji*, Painting, vol. 1, pl. 31.



Figure 4.11: Lacquer bowl.

Qin Dynasty.

H. 8cm; Dia. 29cm; Dia. (bottom) 16 cm.

Painted with images of fishes and the Little Egret. Unearthed from Shuihudi No.11, Yunmeng, Hunan Province. Collection of Hubei Yunmeng Museum. From *Zhongguo meishu quanji*, Lacquers, vol. 8, pl. 29.

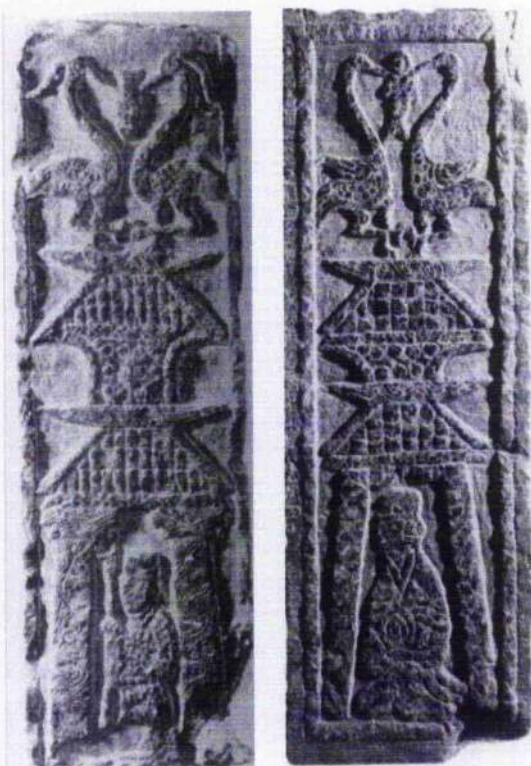


Figure 4.12 (Left): Stone relief in Hanwangxiang, Tongshan district.

Later Han tomb (AD 86).

H. 78 cm; W. 21 cm.

Two egrets catching the tail of a fish and standing on the top of the gate tower, and a guard holding a halberd at the gate tower. Collection of Han Stone Reliefs Museum, Xuzhou. From Tang Chi *et al.*, eds., *Zhongguo huaxiangshi quanji*, Zhengzhou: Shandong meishu chubanshe, 2000, vol.4, fig. 20.

Figure 4.13 (Right): Stone relief in Hanwangxiang, Tongshan district.

Later Han tomb (AD 86).

H. 69 cm; W. 20 cm.

Two waterfowls catching the head of a fish and standing on the top of a gate tower, and a chamberlain-like figure in front of the gate. Collection of Han Stone Reliefs Museum, Xuzhou. From Tang Chi *et al.*, eds., *Zhongguo huaxiangshi quanji*, Zhengzhou: Shandong meishu chubanshe, 2000, vol.4, fig. 21

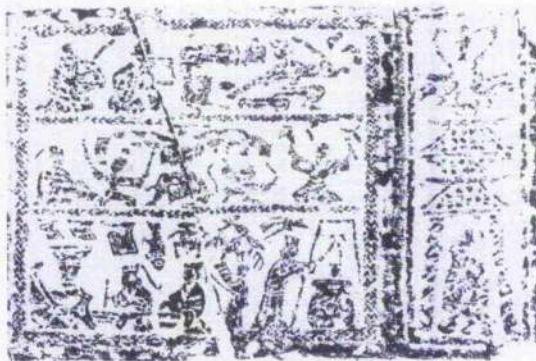


Figure 4.14: Rubbing from a stone relief in Hanwangxiang, Tongshan district.

Later Han tomb (AD 86).

Whole image of the stone relief of Figure 4.13. Collection of Han Stone Reliefs Museum, Xuzhou. From Xuzhou bowuguan, *Wenwu*, 1990, no.9, fig. 12.

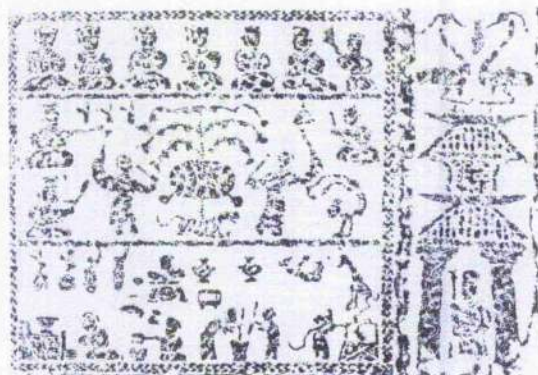


Figure 4.15: Rubbing from a stone relief in Hanwangxiang, Tongshan district. Later Han tomb (AD 86). Whole image of the stone relief of Figure 4.12. Collection of Han Stone Reliefs Museum, Xuzhou. From Xuzhou bowuguan, *Wenwu*, 1990, no.9, fig. 6.

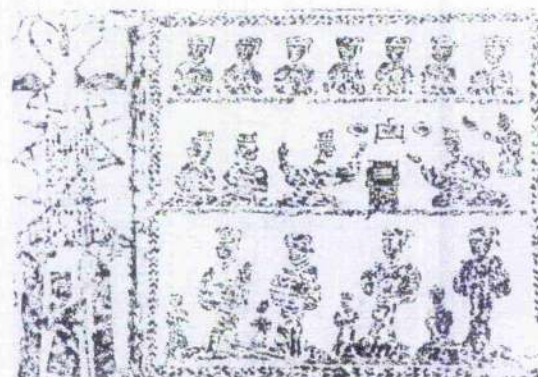


Figure 4.16: Rubbing from a stone relief in Hanwangxiang, Tongshan district. Later Han tomb (AD 86). Collection of Han Stone Reliefs Museum, Xuzhou. From Xuzhou bowuguan, *Wenwu*, 1990, no.9, fig. 9.



Figure 4.17: Egret standing on a drum (*jiangu*). Han Dynasty. Engraved in stone relief at Yinan, Shandong province. From Hayashi Minao, *Kandai no bunbutsu*, Kyoto: Kyoto daigaku jinbun kagaku kenkyusho, 1976, fig. 9-15.



Figure 4.18: Egret standing on a drum (*jiangu*). Song Dynasty. H. 26 cm; L. 646 cm. Detail of 'The Nymph of the Luo River' attributed to Gu Kaizhi. A copy of the Song Dynasty. Handscroll, ink, and slight colour on silk. Collection of Liaoning Provincial Museum, Shenyang. From *Zhongguo meishu quanji*, Painting, vol.1. pl. 96.



Figure 4.19: *Jiangu* drum.

Ming Dynasty.

From Wang Qi, *Sancaituhui*, vol. 3 (utensils), Ming Dynasty, no.21, reprinted in Taipei: Chengwen chubanshe, 1970, vol.3, p.1131



Figure 4.20: Fan made of plumes held by the Nymph.

Song Dynasty.

H. 27.1 cm; L. 572.8 cm.

Detail of 'The Nymph of the Luo River' attributed to Gu Kaizhi. A copy of the Song Dynasty. Handscroll illustration. Ink, and slight colour on silk. The Nymph looks back towards Cao Zhi, unable to give him up. This scene is part of the separation with Cao Zhi, beginning before the drum is struck (Figure 4.18). Collection of Palace Museum, Beijing. From *Zhongguo meishu quanji*, Painting, vol.1. pl. 95.

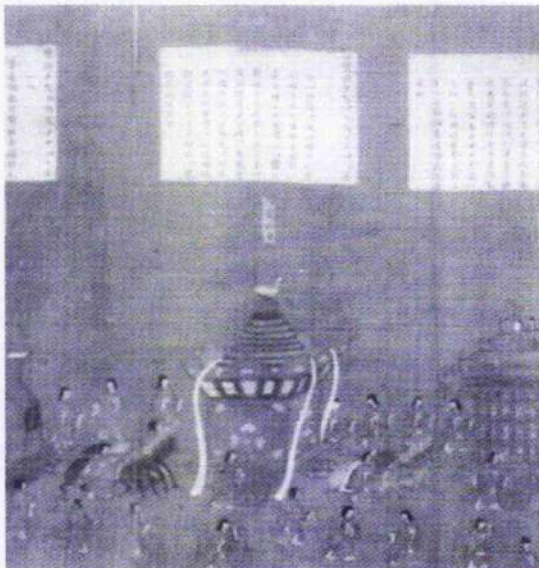


Figure 4.21: White Egret Carriage (*bailuche*) surmounted with an egret decoration.

Northern Song Dynasty.

H. 51.4 cm; L. 1,481 cm.

Detail of Anonymous 'Illustration of Imperial Guards of Honor'. Colour on silk. Collection of National Museum of Chinese History. From *Zhongguo gudai shuhua jiandingzu* ed., *Illustrated Catalogue of Selected Works of Ancient Chinese Painting and Calligraphy*, vol. 1, Beijing: Wenwu Chubanshe, 1986, fig. Jing 2-107.

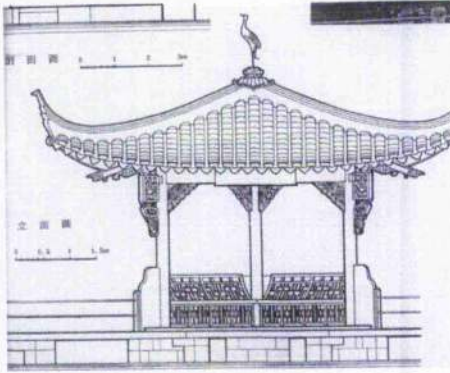


Figure 4.22: Image of Egret on the finial of the *Sanjiao ting* in the West Lake 西湖, Hangzhou 杭州, Zhejiang.

H. (finial) 1.1 m; H. (ting) 6.4 m.

From Wei Ran, consultant ed., *Zhongguo Guting*, Beijing: Zhongguo jianzhugongye chubanshe, 1997, p.233.



Figure 4.23 (Left): Siberian Crane (*Grus leucogeranus*) 白鹤 (Baihe).

From MacKinnon, John and Phillipps, Karen, *A Field Guide to the Birds of China*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000, pl. 31(297).

Figure 4.24 (Right): Siberian Crane decoration on the finial of the *Baihe ting* in the Nanxiangguyiyuan 南翔古漪园 in Shanghai.

From Wei Ran, consultant ed., *Zhongguo Guting*, Beijing: Zhongguo jianzhugongye chubanshe, 1997, p.197 (no.6).



Figure 4.25: The carriage of Cao Zhi decorated on the canopy with long plumes.

Song Dynasty.

H. 26 cm; L. 646 cm.

Detail of 'The Nymph of the Luo River' attributed to Gu Kaizhi. A copy of the Song Dynasty. Hand scroll illustration, ink, and slight colour on silk. The section appears at the end of the scene when Cao Zhi returns in vain to his feoff after the Nymph of Luo's departure. Collection of Palace Museum, Beijing. From *Zhongguo meishu quanji*, Painting, vol.1. pl. 95.



Figure 4.26: Little Egret and two Grey Wagtails near a lotus pond.

Song Dynasty.

H. 33 cm; L. 237.8 cm.

Section of 'Autumn Colours on the Shore' attributed to Emperor Huizong (AD 1082-1135). Handscroll, ink on paper. Collection of National Palace Museum, Taiwan. From Tan Yiling and Feng Shuang, eds, *A Treasured Aviary: Birds in Chinese Paintings Through the Ages*, Taipei: National Palace Museum, 2001, p.29.

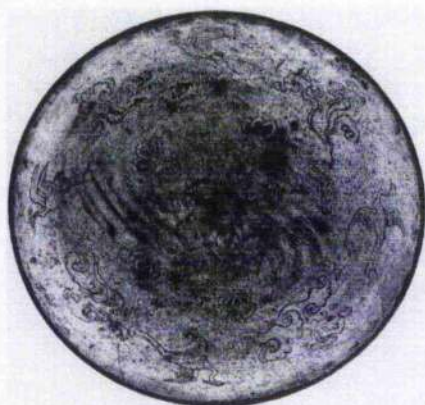


Figure 4.27a: Tray with *mitsuda-e* oil painting.

c. 8th century.

D.39.0 cm; H.5.0 cm.

With flying egrets and cloud pattern around the rim and lotus-like flower scroll design at the bottom. *Keyaki* (zelkova wood) covered with cloth. Black-lacquered. Pigmented (white and yellow) and coated with oil. Collection of Shosoin, Nara. From Imperial Household Agency, *Shosoin Homotsu*, Vol.7, South Section 1, Tokyo: Mainichi Shinbunsha, 1995, p.140 (South Section 39, no. 13).

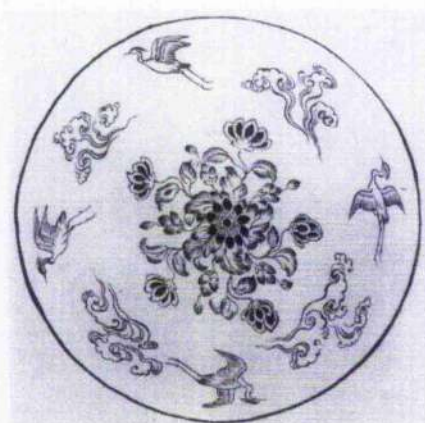


Figure 4.27b: Restorative drawing of Figure 4.27a.



Figure 4.28: 'Nine White Egrets (nine noble thoughts of Confucianism), Pine Trees, and Roses (longevity)', attributed to Lü Ji.

Ming Dynasty, 16th century.

H. 159.3 cm; W. 95.6 cm.

Collection of Eisei Bunko Museum, Tokyo. From Tokyo National Museum, *Jixiang: Auspicious Motifs in Chinese Art*, 1998, pl.252.



Figure 4.29: Jar with celadon glaze.

Koryŏ Dynasty, 13th century.

H. 29 cm; MD. 8.8 cm; foot 9.3 cm.

With a pair of egrets and a pair of swimming ducks in a lotus pond enclosed by a lozenge-shaped panel. Stoneware inlaid in *sanggam* technique. Collection of National Museum of Korea, Seoul. From Whitfield, Roderick *et al*, *Treasures from Korean art through 5000 years*, London: British Museum, 1984, pl.172.

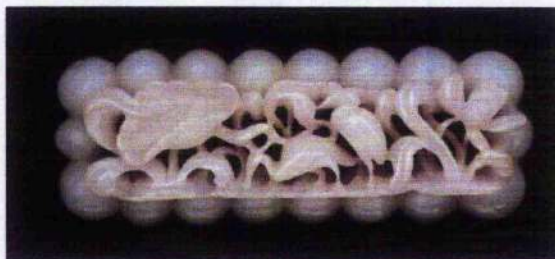


Figure 4.30: Jade plaque.

Jin or Yuan Dynasty.

L. 9cm.

With two egrets among lotus plants and reeds.

Four pairs of holes in looped shape on the back. Collection of British Museum. 1930.12-17.42.

From Rawson, Jessica, *Chinese Jade from the Neolithic to the Qing*, London: British Museum Press, 1995, p.336 (fig.1).



Figure 4.31: Cizhou-type pillow.
Northern Song Dynasty, dated AD 1071.
With sgraffiato inscription on a stamped 'fish-roe'
ground. Probably Henan province, North China.
Collection of British Museum. OA.1914.4-13.1.
Photograph by the author.



Figure 4.32: Pillow with three colour glaze,
Cizhou Ware.
Jin Dynasty, 12-13th century.
L. 30.0 cm; H. 10.5 cm.
Incised design depicted with egrets and lotus
pond. Collection of Hayashibara Museum of Art,
Okayama. From Tokyo National Museum,
Jixiang: Auspicious Motifs in Chinese Art, 1998,
pl.206.

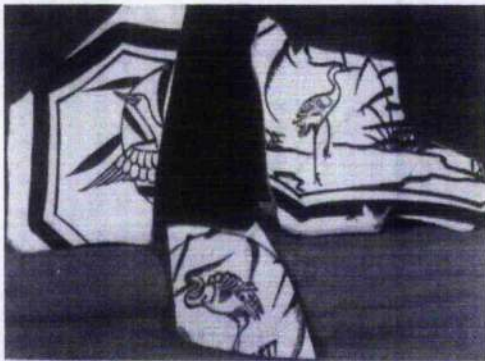


Figure 4.33: Fragments of pillow of *ruyi*-shaped
type, Cizhou ware.
Song Dynasty.
With design of egrets, water plants and a water
bird carved through iron black slip to white slip
base. Unearthed from Dongyikou village at the
Cizhou kiln site, Henan province. From Li
Huibing, "Cizhouyao yizhidiaocho", *Wenwu*, no.8,
1964, pl.6:4.



Figure 4.34: Dish with three colour glaze.
Liao Dynasty.
H. 2.2 cm; Dia. 18.2 cm.
Incised design depicting an egret in centre and
lotus flowers. Collection of Palace Museum,
Beijing. From *Zhongguo meishu quanji*,
Ceramics, vol. 2, no.211.



Figure 4.35: Silk tapestry (*kesi*).

Southern Song Dynasty.

H. 107.5 cm; L. 108.8 cm.

Depicted with a lotus pond and waterfowl. Note white egret in the centre without a crest. Collection of Shanghai Museum. From Shimada Eisei and Nakazawa Fujio, *Sekai Bijyutsu Daizenshu*, vol. 6, Tokyo: Shogakukan, 2000, pl. 216 (p.241).



Figure 4.36a: Rounded octagonal gold box.

The middle of Liao Dynasty.

H. 5.5 cm; thickness 1.7 cm; 85g.

With a gold chain for attachment to a belt, and the bottom looped chain for security, depicted with a pair of egret-like water fowls standing on the shore, and pair of mandarin ducks in rippling water on the reverse. Unearthed in 1986 from the tomb of the Princess of Chen, Naiman Banner. Collection of Archaeological Research Institute of Inner Mongolia. From Neimengu zizhiqu wenwukaogu yanjiusuo and Zhelimumeng bowuguan, *Liao Chenguo gongzhu mu*, Beijing: Cultural Relics Publishing House, 1993, colour pl. 5.1 (Y 129).

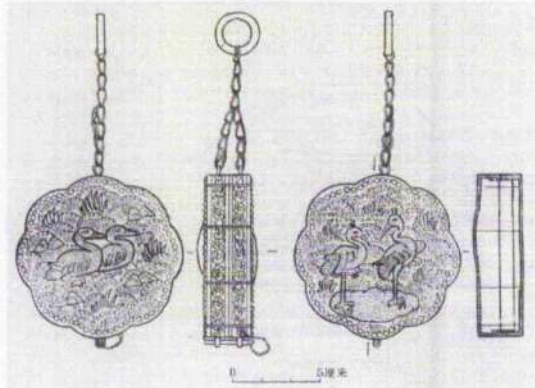


Figure 4.36b: Rubbing from gold box (Figure 4.36a).

From Neimenggu zizhiqu wenwukaogu yanjiusuo and Zhelimumeng bowuguan, *Liao Chenguo gongzhu mu*, 1993, fig. 15 (Y 129).

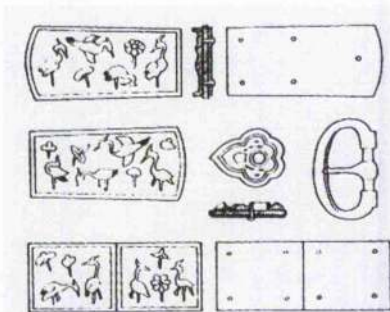


Figure 4.36c: Restorative drawing of bronze belt-plaques.

Liao Dynasty.

Square: H. 3.2 cm; W. 3cm. End: H. 3-3.2 cm; L. 6.2 cm.

Depicted with egret, *lingzhi* fungus and flower motifs. Nine square belt-plaques and two belt-ends. From Zhang Bozhong, "Neimenggu Tongliao xian Erlinchang Liao mu", *Wenwu*, 1985, no.3, fig. 5:1-5.

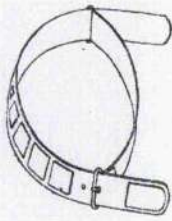
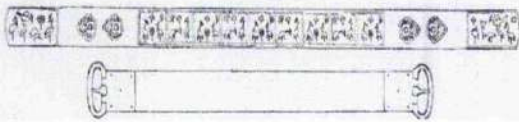


Figure 4.36d: Restorative drawing of leather belt attached with bronze belt-plaques of Figure 4.36c.

From Zhang Bozhong, "Neimenggu Tongliao xian Erlinchang Liao mu", *Wenwu*, 1985, no.3, fig. 16.

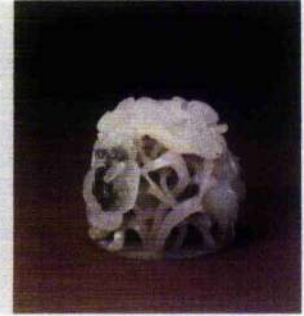


Figure 4.37: Jade finial.

Dated to Liao or Jin Dynasty.

H. 5cm; Dia. (Bottom) 4.3 x 4.7 cm.

With lotus, reeds and egrets design with one tortoise holding *lingzhi* fungus in its mouth on a lotus leaf. Qing Court Collection. From Zhou Nanquan, ed., *Yuqi*, vol.2, Hong Kong: The Commercial Press (Hong Kong) Ltd., 1995, no. 98 (p.113).



Figure 4.38: White Egrets in a Lotus Pond.

Yuan Dynasty, 14th century.

H. 110.5 cm; W. 55.6 cm each.

A pair of hanging scrolls. Tortoise in lower right corner of right hand scroll. Ink on silk. Collection of Chomo Temple and private collection. From Tokyo National Museum, *Jixiang: Auspicious Motifs in Chinese Art*, 1998, no.33.

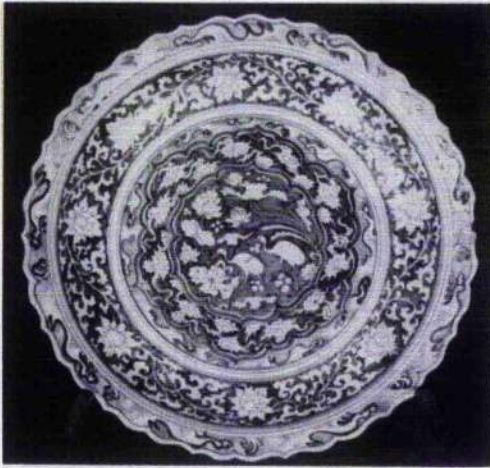


Figure 4.39: Porcelain dish in underglaze blue.

Yuan Dynasty.

Dia. 39.9 cm.

Decorated with floral patterns, lotus and egrets
Collection of Ardebil Shrine. From Medley,
Margaret, *Yuan Porcelain and Stoneware*,
London: Faber and Faber Ltd., 1973, pl. 28B.



Figure 4.40: Octagonal Stem Cup, *Longquan* celadon ware.

Yuan Dynasty.

H. 13.3 cm.

Decorated on the flaring outer faces with designs
of egrets in lotus ponds, each panel with a slightly
different design. On the inside, Eight Buddhist
emblems and in the centre the character *fu*
(happiness), with cloud elements, all in moulded
relief under the glaze. Formerly G. de Menasce
Collection. From Medley, Margaret, *Yuan
Porcelain and Stoneware*, London: Faber and
Faber Ltd., 1973, pl. 67B.



Figure 4.41a: *Shan* jacket.

Yuan Dynasty.

L. (jacket) 62 cm; L. (sleeves) 43cm.

Luo embroidery with birds and flowers in
knot stitch, unearthed in 1976 in ruins of a
castle on the Yuan Jining Route, Ulan Qab,
Inner Mongolia. Collection of Museum of
Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region,
Hohhot. From Zhao Fangzhi, ed, *Caoyuan
wenhua*, Hong Kong: Shangwu yinshuguan,
1996, pl. 290.



Figure 4.41b: Part of the design of the shoulder of Figure 4.41a.

Decorated with a pair of egrets in a lotus pond with some other auspicious motifs, unearthed in 1976 in ruins of castle on Jining Route, Ulan Qab, Inner Mongolia. Collection of Museum of Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region, Hohhot. From Zhao Fangzhi, ed., *Caoyuan wenhua*, Hong Kong: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1996, pl. 295.



Figure 4.42a: Official rank insignia.

Ming Dynasty.

For civil officials of the sixth grade embroidered with egret, lotus flower and leaf, reed and cloud motifs. From Wang Qi, *Sancaituhui*, 1607, reprinted in Taipei: Chengwen Chubanshe, 1970, vol.4, p.1540.



Figure 4.42b: Official rank insignia

Ming Dynasty.

For civil officials of the sixth grade embroidered with egrets in lotus pond. From Li Dongyang *et al.*, comp., *Da Ming huidian*, Wangli edition, reprinted in Taipei: Dongnan shubaoshe, 1964, vol. 2, p.1061.



Figure 4.43: Official rank insignia, silk.

Qing Dynasty, 18th century.

For civil officials of the sixth grade embroidered with egret standing on rock, sun, cloud, bats, the lotus and mystic knot (two of the eight Buddhist symbols), and so forth. The Qing Collection of Shenyang Palace Museum, Liaoning province. From Thorp, L. Robert, *Son of Heaven: Imperial Arts of China*, Seattle: Son of Heaven Press., 1988, p.83.



Figure 4.44: 'Egrets and Hibiscus' attributed to Lü Ji (fl. 1439-1505).

Ming Dynasty.

Collection of National Palace Museum, Taiwan. From Tan Yiling and Feng Shuang eds, *A Treasured Aviary: Birds in Chinese Paintings Through the Ages*, Taipei: National Palace Museum, 2001, p.27.



Figure 4.45: Fish bowl.

Ming Dynasty, 16th century.

H. 35 cm; Dia. 55 cm; Dia. (base) 41 cm.

With water fowl and lotus pond design in underglaze blue and overglaze enamels. A six character reign mark inside the rim indicates the reign of Emperor Longqing (AD 1507-1572). Collection of National Museums of Scotland. Photograph by the author.



Reverse view.



Detail showing egrets in lotus pond.



Figure 4.46: Covered box with overglaze enamels.

Ming Dynasty, Wanli period (AD 1573-1620).

H. 7.5 cm; Dia. 15.0 cm; Dia. (bottom) 10.8 cm.

Decorated with birds and lotus pond. *Jingdezhen* Ware. Collection of Tokyo National Museum. Gift of Dr. Yokogawa Tamisuke. From Tokyo National Museum, *Jixiang: Auspicious Motifs in Chinese Art*, 1998, pl.207.





Figure 4.47: Cloisonné dish.
First half of the sixteenth century.
W. 17.4cm.

Decorated with an egret on a shore with bamboo and rocks at the centre, and flower motifs around the rim. Pierre Uldry Collection. From William Watson, *The Arts of China 900-1620*, New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2000, fig. 383.



Figure 4.48: Silk tapestry (*kesi*).
Qing Dynasty.
H. 40 cm; L. 67cm.

Depicted with an egret looking into water, reeds in a gentle breeze on a shoal. A poem by Qianlong (r. AD 1736-1795) above right. Collection of Palace Museum, Beijing. From *Zhongguo meishu quanji*, Textile 2, vol.7, pl.164.



Figure 4.49: Famille Rose Vase in *Gu-yue* style.
Qing Dynasty, Qianlong period (r. AD 1736-1795).
H. 17.5 cm.

Depicted with two resting egrets and another hunting prey, and reed and lotus pond in *yilulianke* style. A poem on the shoulder and a reign mark of Qianlong on the base. Baur Collection, Geneva. From Idemitsu Museum of Arts, *Masterpieces of Chinese Ceramics from the Baur Collection*, Geneva, Tokyo, 1994, pl. 75.



Seal on base.



Figure 4.50: Egret in wood block printing.
Ming Dynasty.

'Five Bird Guests': a pheasant, a white egret, a crane, a peacock and a parrot, based on a poem by Li Fang of the Song. From *Chengshimoyuan*, facsimile reprint of the 1606 edition, Hebei: Hebeimeishu chubanshe, 1996, p.414.

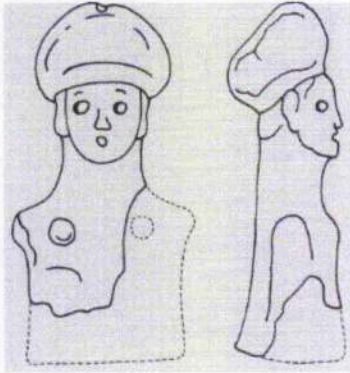


Figure 5.1: Terracotta Figure wearing hat.
Neolithic Period, Yangshao culture.

Unearthed from Shaanxi province, Lintongdengjiazhuang 臨潼鄧家莊. From Zhou Xun and Gao Chunming, *Zhongguo Lidaifunü zhuangshi*, Hong Kong: Sanliao shudian youxiangongsi, 1988, p.101 (fig. 3.7).

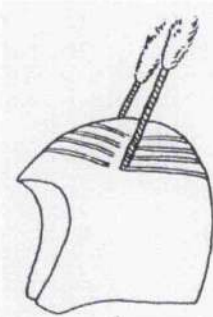


Figure 5.2: Wuguan made of felt with plumes (i.e. zhanmao 毡帽).

Han Dynasty.

Unearthed from ruins of the Han watch-tower in Loulan 楼兰 near Lop Nor in modern Xinjiang. Collection of Xinjiang Museum. From Liu Yonghua, *Zhongguo gudai jiazhuang tujian*, Tokyo: Aspect Co., Ltd., 1998, p.55 (plate E-30 ②)

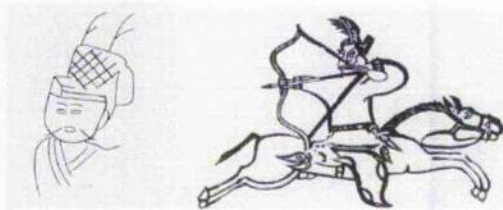


Figure 5.3a (Left): Heguan.

Han Dynasty.

Image on the back of a mirror. From Hayashi Minao, *Kandai no bunbutsu*, Kyoto: Kyoto daigaku jinbun kagaku kenkyusho, 1976, p.26 (fig.2-91).

Figure 5.3b (Right): Mounted hunter wearing heguan.

Former Han Dynasty.

On a stone relief unearthed at Luoyang, Henan province. From Shen Congwen, ed., *Zhongguo gudai fushi yanjiu zengdingben*, Shanghai: Shanghai shudian chubanshe, 1997, p.136 (pl. 75), middle.



Figure 5.4: Mural painting of mounted hunters.

End of the 4th century to the early 5th century, Koguryŏ period.

From the Tomb of Muyongch'ong 舞踊塚 (i.e. Tomb of Dancers) at Jian 集安 county, Jilin 吉林 province, China. From McKillop, Beth, *Korean Art and Design*, London: Victoria and Albert Museum, 1992, p.170.



Figure 5.5a: Gold headdress ornament and torque.

The Warring States period, 3rd century BC.

Headdress ornament: H. 7.1 cm; weight 192 g.
Torque: Dia. 16.5 cm; weight 1022.4 g.

Unearthed in 1973 from Aluchaideng, Hanggin Banner, Yikezhao League, Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region. Torque consists of three bands adorned with braided string design, depicted with couchant rams with scrolling horns, horses, and tigers. Collection of Museum of Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region, Hohhot. From *Zhongguo meishu quanji*, Metal Work, Glass and Enamel Wares, vol. 10, pl.12.

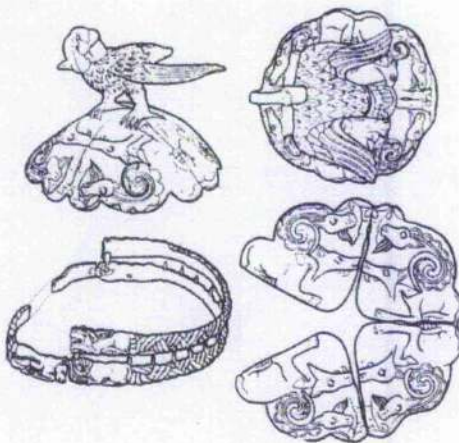


Figure 5.5b: Illustration of Figure 5.5a.

From Tian Guangjin and Guo Suxin, "Nei Menggu Aluchaideng faxian de Xiongnu yiwu", *Kaogu*, 1980, no.4, fig.1.



Figure 5.6: Relief plaque of quiver cover.
5th century BC.

L. 10 cm; W. 11 cm; weight: 55 g.

Scene of combat between lion, eagle at left, stag in centre and snake at right, unearthed in 1964 from Kurhan 1, burial 6, near Illicheve, Lenins'kyi Raion, Krym. Collection of Museum of Historical Treasures of Ukraine. From Reeder, Ellen D., ed., *Scythian Gold*, New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., Publishers, 1999, pl. 50.

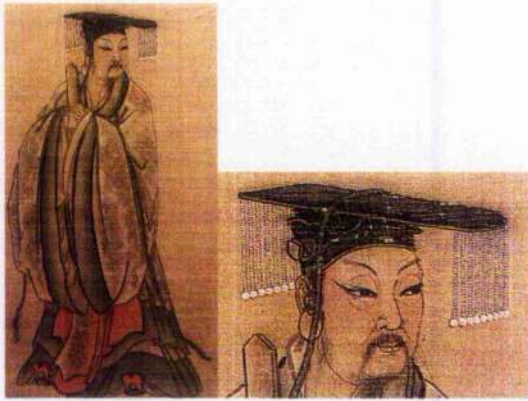


Figure 5.7: Portrait of King Yu 禹 (centre).

Southern Song Dynasty.

H. 249 cm; W. 113cm.

The legendary founder of the Xia 夏 wearing *mianguan* decorated with jade strings, attributed to Malin 馬麟. Hanging scroll. Colour on silk. Collection of National Palace Museum, Taiwan. From *Zhongguo meishu quanji*, Painting, vol.4, no.113.

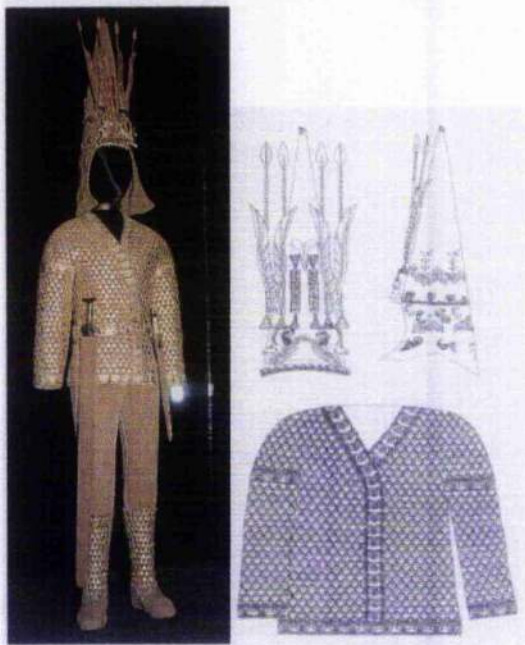


Figure 5.8: Reconstruction of gold costume and hat.

4th century BC.

Discovered at a male burial at Issyk kurgan in Kazakhstan. Gold ornaments decorated with pointed hat, depicting griffon and horse on the front and birds perching on trees on either side. A small gold ram is attached on the top of the pointed hat (see Figure 5.15). Collection of Academy of Archaeological Museum, Republic of Kazakhstan. From Kato Kyuzo, *Ogon no Silk Road ten*, Tokyo: Ogon no Silk Road ten jiko iinkai, 1998, p.12.



Figure 5.9: Gold headdress/hat ornament.

Warring States period, 4th to 3rd century BC.

H. 11.5 cm; W. 11 cm; weight 259 g.

Mythic creature with antlers terminating in griffon heads, unearthed in 1957 from Nalingaotu 纳林高兔 village, Shenmu 神木 county, Shaanxi province. Collection of Shaanxi Administrative Committee for Cultural Relics of Shenmu. From Guocha wenwuju ed., *Zhongguo wenwu jinghua dacidian*, Shanghai and Hong Kong: Shanghai cishu chubans and Shangwu yinshuguan, 1996, p.88 (pl.015).

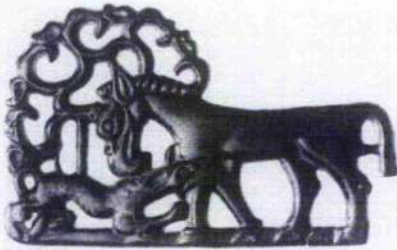


Figure 5.10: Bronze plaque.

1st century BC.

L. 12.1 cm.

Wolf attacking eagle-headed horse with stylized antlers. Ordos type, Collection of British Museum. From Watson, William, *The Arts of China to AD 900*, New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1995, p.77 (pl.139).



Figure 5.11: Hat with gold stag plaques (Modern replicas with two original plaques).

Late 7th - early 6th century BC.

Plaques: H. 3.3 cm; L. 4 cm; weight 2.25 g and H 3.4 cm; L 4 cm; weight 1.88 g. Reconstructed fabric: H. 27 cm; W. 24 cm; Dia. 13 cm.

Unearthed from Mohyla Ternivka (Kurhan 100), near village of Syniavka, Kanivs'kyi Raion, Cherkas'ka Oblast'. Collection of Museum of Historical Treasure of Ukraine. From Reeder, Ellen D., ed., *Scythian Gold*, New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., Publishers, 1999, pl. 43.



Figure 5.12: Black felt pointed hat.

Zhou Dynasty.

H. 37 cm.

Unearthed from a tomb in Zhahongluke 扎洪鲁克, Xinjiang. Collection of Museum of Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region. From Guocha wenwuju, ed., *Zhongguo wenwu jinghua dacidian*, Shanghai and Hong Kong: Shanghai cishu chubanshe and Shangwu yinshuguan, 1996, p.205 (pl.003).



Figure 5.13: Bronze figure formed like a warrior of Saka.

5th - 3rd century BC.

H. 40 cm.

Wearing a large hat and a cloth around his waist, excavated from the fishery of the 71st Army Unit 七十一团渔场, Gongnaisihennan 巩乃斯河南岸, Xinyuan 新源 county, Yilihasake 伊犁哈萨克 Autonomous Region. Collection of Administrative office of Cultural relics, Hasakezhou. From Huang Nengfu and Chen Juanjuan, *Zhonghua lidai fushi yishu*, Beijing: Zhongguo luyou chubanshe, 1999, p.69 (fig.3-42).

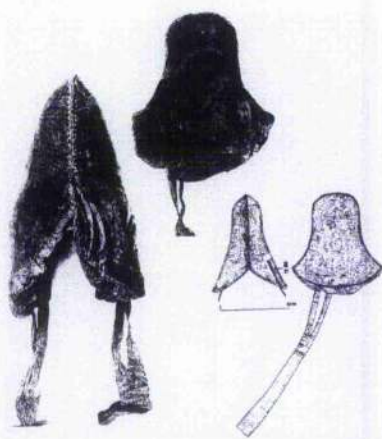


Figure 5.14: Silk hat.
Warring States period.
H. 34 cm.

Unearthed from the Xiongnu tomb at kurgan 6 at Noin-Ura, Inner Mongolia. From Umehara Sueji, *Noin-Ula hakken no ibutsu*, Tokyo: Toyo bunko, 1960, fig. 30 and pl. L.



Figure 5.15: Gold ram shaped ornament.
4th century BC.

Discovered at Issyk kurgan in Kazakhstan. Collection of Academy of Archaeological Museum, Republic of Kazakhstan. From Takahama Shu, *Silk Road kinu to ogon no michi*, Tokyo: Tokyo National Museum and NHK Promotions, 2002, p.188 (fig. 10-2).

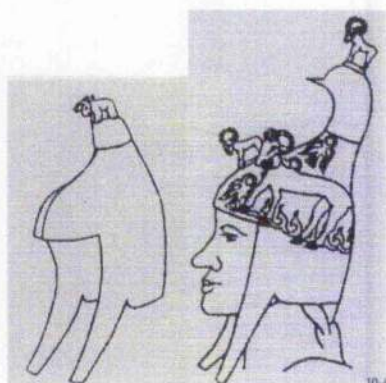


Figure 5.16a (Left): Pictorial image of felt hat with finial.

Late 4th – early 3rd century BC.
Decorated with small animal shaped ornament, excavated from Tomb 1, Ak-Alakha, in the Altai. From Takahama Shu, *Silk Road kinu to ogon no michi*, 2002, p.188 (fig. 10-3).

Figure 5.16b (Right): Pictorial image of felt hat in the form of a bird with finial.

Late 4th – early 3rd century BC.
Decorated with small stag-like animal ornaments on the side, front and top, excavated from Tomb 2, Ak-Alakha, in the Altai. From Takahama Shu, 2002, p.188 (fig. 10-4).

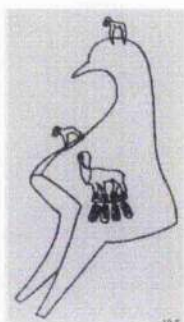


Figure 5.17: Pictorial image of felt hat in the form of a bird with finial.

Late 4th – early 3rd century BC.
Decorated with small animals on the side, front and top, excavated from Tomb 2, kurgan 3, Verkh-Karzhin, in the Altai. From Takahama Shu, 2002, p.188 (fig. 10-5).



Figure 5.18: *Pibian*.

From Nie Zongyi, *Xinding Sanlitu*, Song Dynasty, reprint in Nihonbashi, Edo: Subundo, juan 3, p.3.



Figure 5.19: Wendi (r. AD 559-566) of the Chen (AD 557-589), wearing the white *qia*. Tang Dynasty.

H. 51.3 cm; L. 531 cm.

Detail of 'Gudiwang tu'. Colour on silk. Collection of Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. From *Zhongguo meishu quanji*, Painting, vol.2, no.4 (p.12).



Figure 5.20: Military figures with shield, wearing *qia*.

Eastern Jin Dynasty.

Excavated from the tomb at Shekou 潏口, Huangpi 黄陂, Wuhan 武汉 county, Hubei province. From Liu Yonghua, *Zhongguo gudai jiazhou tujian*, Tokyo: Aspect Co., Ltd., 1998, fig. F-12, bottom.

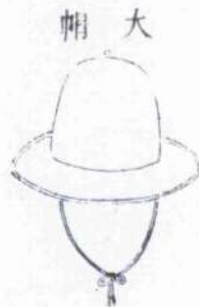


Figure 5.21: Illustration of *damao* (Large hat).

From Wang Qi, *Sancaituhui*, 1607, reprint, Taipei: Chengwen chubanshe, 1970, vol. 4, yifu juan 1-20, p.1513 (*damao*).

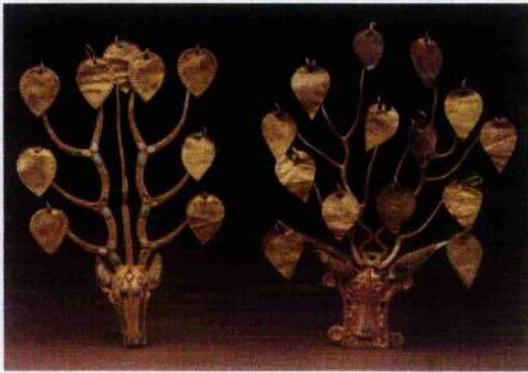


Figure 5.22: Gold headdress ornament 'buyao'.

Northern Dynasty.

Left: W. 12 cm; H. 18.5 cm; weight 70 g. Right: W. 14.5 cm; H. 19.5 cm; weight 92 g.

In the shape of a horse's head with arboreal antlers terminating with peach-shaped leaves and glass inlay (Left), and a cow's head with arboreal antlers and glass inlay (Right), unearthed from Xihezixiang, Daerjunmaoming Anlianhe banner, Inner Mongolia. Collection of Museum of Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region, Hohhot. From Zhao Fangzhi, *Caoyuan wenhua*, Hong Kong: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1996, pl.146.

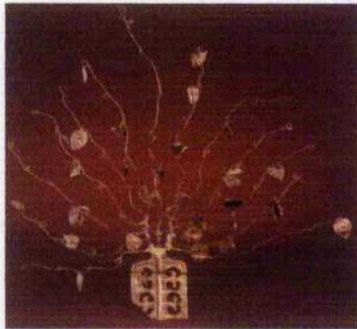


Figure 5.23: Gold headdress ornament 'buyao'.

Sixteen Kingdoms period (Former Yan) (AD 349-370).

H. 14.5 cm.

In openwork with beaded work on the border and with arboreal decoration bearing peach-shaped leaves, unearthed from Fangshen, Beipiao, Liaoning province. Collection of Liaoning Provincial Museum, Shenyang. From Xu Bingkun and Sun Shoudao, *Dongbei wenhua*, Hong Kong: The Commercial Press Ltd., 1996, p.165.



Figure 5.24: Gold crown with 'buyao'.

Sixteen Kingdoms period (Northern Yan), dated AD 415.

H. 26 cm.

Of branch-like decoration bearing peach-shaped leaves and gold ornament in filigree work in the shape of a cicada with inlay, unearthed in 1965 from tomb of Feng Sufu 冯素弗 at Xiguanyingzi, Beipiao, Liaoning province. Collection of Liaoning Provincial Museum, Shenyang. From Xu Bingkun and Sun Shoudao, *Dongbei wenhua*, Hong Kong: The Commercial Press Ltd., 1996, p.164.



Figure 5.25: Aristocratic woman (wife of Dai hou 軫候) putting 'buyao' in her hair.

Former Han Dynasty.

H. 205 cm.

Detail of a silk painting excavated from No. 1 Han Tomb at Mawangdui in Changsha, Hunan province. Collection of Hunan Provincial Museum. From *Zhongguo meishu quanji*, Painting, vol.1, no.56 (p.70).



Figure 5.26: Aristocratic woman putting 'buyao' in her hair.

Tang Dynasty.

H. 24.8 cm; L.348.2 cm.

Scene from 'Nüshi zhentu juan', attributed to Gu Kaizhi of the Eastern Jin. Tang copy. Colour on silk. Collection of British Museum. From *Zhongguo meishu quanji*, Painting, vol. 1, pl.93.



Figure 5.27: Court lady in formal dress possibly for condolence, wearing a hat decorated with 'buyao'.

Tang Dynasty, 8th century.

Stone relief unearthed from a tomb of Yidetaizi 懿德太子 Li Zhongrun 李重润 at Gan county 乾县, Shaanxi province. From Zhou Xun and Gao Chunming, *Zhongguo lidai funüzhuangshi*, Hong Kong: Sanliao shudian youxiangongsi, 1988, fig.2.36.

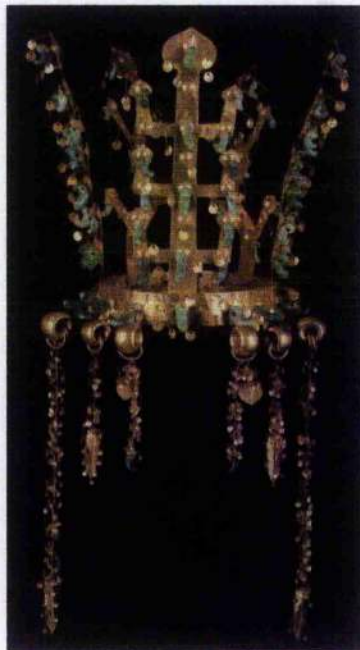


Figure 5.28: Gold crown and pendants.

Silla, 5-7 century of the Three Kingdoms.

H, 27.5 cm; (longest pendants) 30.3 cm.

Decorated with three uprights of antler and branch formed ornament with comma-shaped curved jades, unearthed from Hwangnam Daech'ong 皇南大塚, North Mound, Kyongju, Kyongsangbukto, in 1974. Collection of Kyongju National Museum. National Treasure no. 191. From Whitfield, Roderick *et al*, *Treasures from Korea*, London: British Museum Publication Ltd., 1984, pl.93.



Figure 5.29: Figurine of aristocratic woman wearing *weimao*.
Tang Dynasty.
H. 39.5cm.
Unearthed from a tomb at Astana 阿斯塔那, Turfan, Xinjiang. Collection of Xinjiang Museum. From Chen Xiasheng, *Zhonghua wuqiannian wenwu jikan, fushipian xia*, Taipei: Zhonghua wuqiannian wenwu jikan bian ji weiyuanhui, 1986, pl.203.

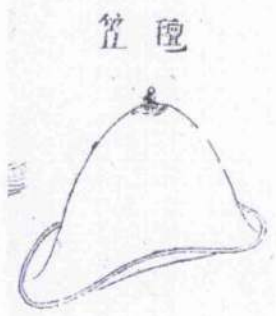


Figure 5.30: Illustration of *zhanmao* (felt hat).
From Wang Qi, *Sancaituhui*, 1607, reprint, Taipei: Chengwen chubanshe, 1970, vol. 4, yifu juan 1-26, p.1516 (*zhanmao*)



Figure 5.31: Tang lady wearing *huntuomao*-like hat.
AD 718, Tang Dynasty.
Incised on a stone coffin from the tomb of Wei Xu 韦瑱 at Xi'an, Shaanxi province. From Sun Ji, *Zhongguo guyufu luncong*, Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1993, fig. 16-6:9.



Figure 5.32: Tang lady wearing *fanmao* (*zhumao*).
AD 718, Tang Dynasty.
Incised on a stone coffin from the tomb of Wei Xu 韦瑱 at Xi'an, Shaanxi province. From Zhou Xun and Gao Chunming, *Zhongguo lidai funüzhuangshi*, Hong Kong: Sanliao shudian youxiangongsi, 1988, fig.2.36.

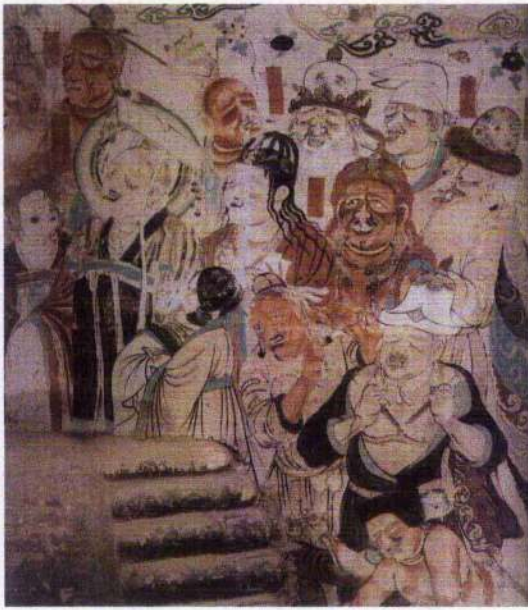


Figure 5.33: Princes and kings from different countries and followers of Buddha wearing their own tribal headgear.

Tang Dynasty, 8th to 9th century.

From a mural painting, a detailed section of Life of Buddha; Nirvāṇa, cave 158, Mogao-ku cave, Dunhuang, Gansu province. From *Zhongguo meishu quanji*, Painting, no. 15, Mural of Dunhuang, vol. 2, pl.100.



Figure 5.34a (Left): Three colour lead glazed earthenware figurine of *Tianwang* 天王俑 (Heavenly King).

Tang Dynasty, c. AD 709.

H. 110 cm.

Wearing hat with a Chinese phoenix-like ornament, excavated in 1981 from a tomb of An Pu, Dingyuan General Longmen, Luoyang, Henan province. Collection of Luoyang Municipal Museum. Thorp, L. Robert, *Son of Heaven: Imperial Arts of China*, Seattle: Son of Heaven Press, 1988, fig.131 (p.201).



Figure 5.34b (Right): Three colour lead glazed tomb figurine of a court lady.

First half of the 8th century.

H. 44.5 cm.

Wearing a Chinese phoenix-like headdress. Henan or Shaanxi ware. Collection of British Museum. From Watson, William, *Tang and Liao Ceramics*, London: Thames and Hudson, 1984, pl.212.



Figure 5.35 (Left): Rubbing from a stone relief of *Zilu* 子路 wearing *heguan*.

Later Han Dynasty.

In description of Confucius and his successors at the Wu mausoleum. From Sun Ji, *Zhongguo yufu luncong*, Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1993, fig. 11-15:1.



Figure 5.36 (Right): Powerful man (*lishi* 力士) wearing *heguan*.

Northern Wei Dynasty.

From a mural painting, cave 257, Mogao-ku cave, Dunhuang, Gansu province. From Sun Ji, 1993, fig. 11-15:3.

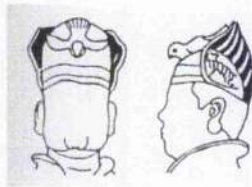


Figure 5.37: Figurine wearing *heguan*.

Tang Dynasty.

The H.K. Westendorp Collection. From Sun Ji, *Zhongguo yufu luncong*, Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1993, fig. 11-15:7.



Figure 5.38 (Left): Figurine of civil officer wearing *heguan*.

Tang Dynasty, AD 718.

H. 113 cm.

With bird stretching its wings on the front, unearthed from the tomb of *Li Zhen* 李贞 at Lique 礼泉, Shaanxi province. Collection of Zhaoling 昭陵 Museum. From *Zhongguo meishu quanji*, Ceramics, vol. 2 (Ceramics), no. 87.



Figure 5.39 (Right): Celadon glazed water ewer in the shape of a courtier wearing *heguan*.

Koryŏ Dynasty, 13th century.

H. 28 cm.

Collection of National Museum of Korea, Seoul. From National Museum of Korea, *National Museum of Korea*, Seoul: T'ongch'ŏn munhwasa, 2000, p.178.



Figure 5.40: Three colour lead glazed tomb figurine of a warrior (or guardian).

Tang Dynasty.

Collection of Tang Art Museum of Xi'an. From Liu Yonghua, *Zhongguo gudai jiazhou tujian*, Tokyo: Aspect Co., Ltd., 1998, fig.1-49 (p.106).



Figure 5.41 (Left): Gentleman-like official wearing a large black hat with broad brim.

Northern Song Dynasty, early 12th century.

H. 24.8 cm; L. 528.7 cm.

Detail of 'Riverside Scene on *Qingming* Festival' attributed to Zhang Zeduan. Handscroll, slight colour on silk. Collection of Palace Museum, Beijing. From *Zhongguo meishu quanji*, Painting, no. 3, Northern and Southern Song Dynasties, vol.2, pl. 51 (p.137).



Figure 5.42 (Right): Worker wearing a large hat (*li*).

Detail of 'Riverside Scene on *Qingming* Festival'. Collection of Palace Museum, Beijing. From *Zhongguo meishu quanji*, Painting no. 3. Northern and Southern Song Dynasties, vol.2, pl. 51 (p.136).



Figure 5.43: Portrait of Wang Anshi, wearing a *zhanli* decorated with a jade-like finial. Qing Dynasty.

In a painting album of '*Lidai mingchen huaxiang Beicaigenzhai*' by Ye Zhishen. Album of 10 notable persons of the Song and Ming. Collection of National Museum of Chinese History. From National Museum of Chinese History, *A Journey into China's Antiquity*, Beijing: Morning Glory Publishers, 1997, vol. 3, fig. 247.



Figure 5.44: Portrait of Wang Anshi, wearing a *zhanli* decorated with a jade-like finial. Song Dynasty or later.

In the Wang Anshi shrine at Fuzhou, Jiangxi province, a copy of the painting attributed to Li Gonglin of '*zhumaoshudai*' 著帽束帶. From Wang Jinghai, ed., *Wang Anshi quanji*, Jilin: Jilin renmin chubanshe, 1996, vol. 1, frontispiece.



Figure 5.45: Stone relief of Su Shi, wearing a *li*. In Liurong tower 六榕塔, Guangzhou 广州, Guangdong province. Collection of Liurong tower. From National Museum of Chinese History, *Zhongguo tongshi chenlie*, Beijing: Chaohua chubanshe, 1998, fig. 8-3-1.

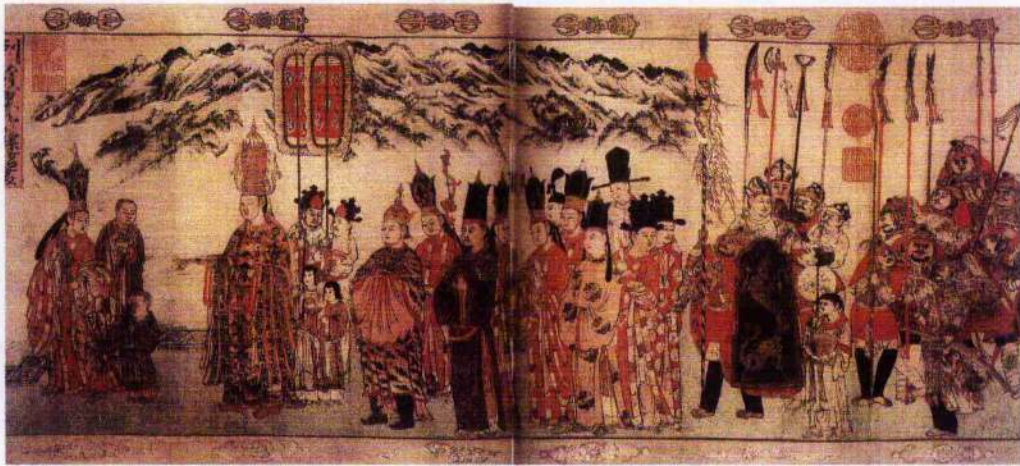


Figure 5.46a: Imperial procession of Dali Kingdom.

Dated AD 1180.

H. 30.4 cm; L. 1,881.4 cm.

Detail of handscroll: 'A Long Scroll of Buddhist Images' attributed to Zhang Shengwen. Ink, colours and gold on paper. Collection of National Palace Museum, Taiwan. From Li Kunsheng, *Nanzhao Daliguo diaoke huihua yishu*, Kunming: Yunnan meishu chubanshe, 1999, pl.228.



Figure 5.46b: Details of finial decoration of crowns of Figure 5.46a.

Drawing by the author at National Palace Museum, Taiwan, November, 2001.



Figure 5.46c: Details of white finials of crowns of Figure 5.46a



Figure 5.46d: Details of white finials of crowns of Figure 5.46a



Figure 5.47: Silver gilt ornament.

Dali, 11th-12th century.

H. 18.5 cm; weight. 125 g.

In the shape of Garuda with five crystal inlay, excavated in 1978 at the top of no. 3 pagoda, the central pagoda of Chongsheng 崇圣 temple, Dali, Yunnan. Collection of Yunnan Provincial Museum. From *Zhongguo meishu quanji*, Metal Work, Glass and Enamel Wares, vol. 10, pl.129.



Figure 5.48: Military officer behind in centre wearing animal-shaped headgear with animal fur.

Dated AD 1180.

Detail of 'A Long Scroll of Buddhist Images' attributed to Zhang Shengwen, From Li Lincan, *Nanzhao Daliguo xinziliao de zongheyanjiu*, Taipei: National Palace Museum, 1982, unit no. 67.



Figure 5.49: Silver gilt headdress.

Dali, 11th-12th century.

H. 5.9 cm.

With large spherical crystal placed in lotus flower on the base of a design of open worked crinoid with small crystals and bone decoration, excavated in 1978 at the central pagoda of Chongsheng 崇圣 temple, Dali, Yunnan. Collection of Yunnan Provincial Museum. From Li Kunsheng, ed., *Nanzhao Daliguo diaokehuihua yishu*, Kunming: Yunnan meishu chubanshe, 1999, pl.306.



Figure 5.50: Procession of sixteen kings from foreign countries.

Dated AD 1180.

Detail of 'A Long Scroll of Buddhist Images' attributed to Zhang Shengwen, From Li Kunsheng, ed., *Nanzhao Daliguo diaokehuihua yishu*, Kunming: Yunnan meishu chubanshe, 1999, pl.250.



Figure 5.51: *Zhanmao* carried by Qidan on horseback, three *zhanmao* on their belts.

Five Dynasties Period.

H. 32.9 cm; L. 44.3 cm.

Detail of 'Out to the Hunt' attributed to Hu Kuei (fl. c. 9th – 10th century). Colours on silk. Collection of National Palace Museum, Taiwan. From Lin Boting, *China at the Inception of the Second Millennium: Art and Culture of the Sung Dynasty*, Taipei: National Palace Museum, 2000, pl.V-1.



Figure 5.52: Silver gilded headdress with finial of the Daoist deity.

Middle of the Liao Dynasty.

H. 30 cm; W. 17.5cm; weight 807 g.

Unearthed from the site of the Princess of the Chen State in Naiman Banner, Zhelimu League. Collection of Archaeological Research Institute of Inner Mongolia. From Neimenggu zizhiqu wenwukaogu yanjiusuo and Zhelimumeng bowuguan, *Liao Chengguo gongzhu mu*, Beijing: Cultural Relics Publishing House, 1993, front cover.



Figure 5.53: Silver gilded headdress.

Middle of the Liao Dynasty.

H. 31.5 cm; W. 31.4cm; weight 587 g.

Unearthed from the site of the Princess's consort in Naiman Banner, Zhelimu League. Collection of Archaeological Research Institute of Inner Mongolia. From Neimenggu zizhiqu wenwukaogu yanjiusuo and Zhelimumeng bowuguan, *Liao Chengguo gongzhu mu*, Beijing: Cultural Relics Publishing House, 1993, colour plate 16 (XVI).



Figure 5.54: Gold inner cap.

Silla, 5-7th century.

H. 16 cm.

Unearthed from Ch'ŏnmach'ong, tomb of the Heavenly Horse, Hwangnamdong, Kyŏngju, Kyŏngsangbukto. The gold wing ornaments attached with this type of crown have been unearthed. Collection of Kyŏngju National Museum. National Treasure no. 189. From Whitfield, Roderick *et al.*, *Treasures from Korea*, London: British Museum Publication Ltd., 1984, p.77.



Figure 5.55: Gilded bronze headdress.

Liao Dynasty.

D. 21 cm; H. 23.3 cm.

The Mengdiexuan Collection. From Bunker, C. Emma, White, M. Julia and So, F. Jenny, *Adornment for the Body and Soul*, Hong Kong: University Museum and Art Gallery, 1999, pl.92.



Figure 5.56: Gold crown with jade decoration.

Silla, 5-7 century AD.

H. 30.7 cm.

Three phoenix-shaped birds in cut-out silhouette perching on branches on a separate inner crown forming cruciate domed-flame made of cut sheet gold, attached to an outer gold crown with tree-shaped antler-form upright ornaments decorated with comma-shaped curved jades, unearthed in 1926 from Söbongch'ong 瑞鳳塚, tomb of the Phoenix, Kyöngju, Kyöngsangbukto. Collection of National Museum of Korea, Seoul. National Treasure no.339. From Kankoku bunkazai hogokyokai, *Kankoku Bunkazai Taikan*, vol. 7, Treasure 5, Tokyo: Maruzen, 1991, pl.4-1.



Figure 5.57: Portrait of Khubilai Khan's consort, Chabi wearing *Gugu* crown.

c. 13th century.

H. 61.5 cm; W. 48 cm.

Decorated with a white stone or pearl and pheasant's plumes on the top of the crown. Anonymous. Colour on silk. Collection of National Palace Museum, Taiwan. From Shi Shouqian and Ge Wanzhang eds., *Dahan de shiji*, Taipei: National Palace Museum, 2001, pl.1-3.

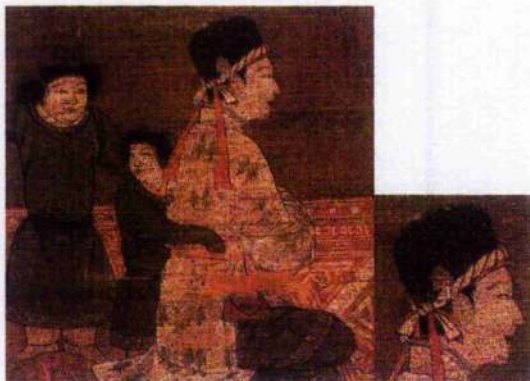


Figure 5.58: Lady Wenji wearing brimless black gauze hat in the style of *xiaoyaojin* surmounted with a white stone or pearl.

Southern Song Dynasty.

H. 147.4 cm; W. 107.7 cm.

Detail of a farewell scene between Lady Wenji and King Zuoxian in 'Lady Wenji Returning to China', attributed to Chen Juzhong. Hanging scroll, ink and colour on silk. Collection of National Palace Museum, Taiwan. From Liu Fangru, ed., *Shinühuazhimei*, Taipei: National Palace Museum, 1988, pl.13-2.



Figure 5.59: Openwork white jade pendants.
Middle of the Liao Dynasty (before AD 1018).
L. 14.8 cm; thickness 0.6 cm.

With five ornaments; a mythical fish, a pair of fish, a pair of phoenix, a pair of dragons, and a fish with lotus flowers, strung with silver gilt chains attached to a ribbon design, unearthed in 1986 from the joint tomb of the Princess of Chen State and her consort, Naiman Banner. Collection of Archaeological Research Institute of Inner Mongolia. From *Neimenggu zizhiquwenwu kaogu yanjiusuo and Zhelimuming bowuguan, Liao Chengguo gongzhumu*, Beijing: Cultural Relics Publishing House, 1993, pl.Y 93.



Figure 5.60: Openwork white jade ornament.
Liao Dynasty.
H. 3 cm.

In form of a plum flower in the centre, unearthed in 1987 from a tomb in Fulaerji 富拉尔基, Qiqihaer 齐齐哈尔, Heilongjiang province. From Xu Jisheng, "Heilongjiang Qiqihaer Fulaerji Liaomu qingli jianbao", *Beifang wenwu*, 1999, no.3, pl.2:2.



Figure 5.61: Openwork carved white jade ornament.

Five Dynasties, dated AD 939, Later Jin period. In form of a mandarin duck, unearthed from the tomb of a concubine of Qian Yuanguan 钱元瓘, the second king of Wuyue 吴越 State. From Hangzhoushi wenwu kaogusuo and Lin'an shi wenwuguan, "Zhejiang Lin'an Wudai Wuyueguo Kanglingfajue jianbao", *Wenwu*, 2000, no.2, pl.38.



Figure 5.62a: Pale green jade flower openwork ornament.

Beginning of the Jin.
H. 7.3cm; W.6.5 cm.

In two-tier high relief, unearthed in 1974 from the tomb of Shiguo 石椁, Changgouyu 长沟峪, Fangshan 房山 county, Beijing. Collection of Capital Museum, Beijing. From *Zhongguo meishu quanji*, Jades, vol. 9, pl.237.



Figure 5.62b: Pale green jade flower openwork ornament

Beginning of the Jin.
Dia. 7.2-9 cm.

Knotted in the shape of stalk in high relief, unearthed in 1974 from the tomb of Shiguo, Changgouyu, Fangshan county, Beijing. Collection of Capital Museum, Beijing. From *Zhongguo meishu quanji*, Jades, vol. 9, pl.241.



Figure 5.63: White jade openwork ornament.
Song Dynasty.

H. 6 cm; W. 5.5 cm.

Carved in high relief with deer, crane, bamboo leaves, *lingzhi* fungus, pine, symbolizing 'luhetongchun' 鹿鹤同春 (i.e. immortality and longevity for couples), unearthed in 1978 at the west side of Xi'an Jiaotong University, Xi'an. Collection of Xi'an shi wenwu ju. From *Zhongguo yuqi quanji*, vol. 5, pl. 128.



Figure 5.64a: Walengmao with hat finial.
Yuan Dynasty.

Illustration from *Shilinguangji* 事林广记 of the Yuan. From Shen Congwen, ed., *Zhongguo gudai fushi yanjiu zengdingben*, Shanghai: Shanghai shudian chubanshe, 1997, pl. 210 (p. 444).



Figure 5.64b: The occupant (or chamberlain) of the Liao tomb holding a square red hat in a *li* style (or *zhanmao*) with a white finial like flame.
Late Liao Dynasty, c. AD 1080.

H. (figure) 153 cm.

Depicted in no. 7 tomb mural in Hure Qi, Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region. Colours on plastered wall. From *Zhongguo meishu quanji*, Murals of tombs, vol. 12, pl. 165.



Figure 5.65a: Reverse view of black gauze hat with four ties, attached with a pair of jade ornaments.

Early to Middle Jin Dynasty (before AD 1162).

H. 13.4 cm; W. 15-17 cm; L. (the rear of ties) 27 cm; H. (jade) 4.47 cm; thickness (jade) 0.7 cm.

Jade carving of swan holding a spray of lotus flower in its bill, unearthed in 1988 from the joint tomb of the Prince of Qi State and his consort in Juyuan, Acheng, Heilongjiang province. From Zhao Pingchun and Chi Benyi, *Jindai fushi*, Beijing: Wenwuchubanshe, 1998, pl. 18.

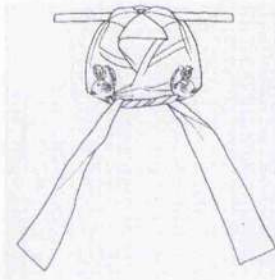


Figure 5.65b: Drawing of Figure 5.65a.
From Zhao Pingchun and Chi Benyi, *Jindai fushi*, 1998, Beijing: Wenwuchubanshe, fig.2 and 3.



Figure 5.66: White oval jade openwork ornament.
Song Dynasty.
H. 6.1 cm; L. 7.6 cm.
Carved in two-tier high relief with *chi* dragon, intertwining flowers and leaves, unearthed from Dongjiaotianjia village 东郊田家村, Xi'an, Shaanxi Province. Collection of Xi'an shi wenwuju. From *Zhongguo yuqi quanji*, vol.5, pl.129.



Figure 5.67: Pale green convex jade openwork ornament.
Early Jin Dynasty.
Dia. 7-10 cm; depth 1.3 cm.
Carved in two-tier high relief with a pair of tortoises on each lotus leaf, unearthed in 1980 from the tomb of Wugulun Wolun in Fengtaiqu, Beijing. Collection of Capital Museum, Beijing. From Shanghai Museum, ed., *Zhongguo Sui Tang zhi Qingdai yuqi xueshu yantaohui lunwenji*, Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2002, colour pl.27 (p.449).



Figure 5.68: Green jade openwork ornament.
Southern Song Dynasty.
H.4.2 cm; W. 2.6 cm; depth 0.7 cm.
Carved in two-tier high relief with a bird amid flowers and leaves, unearthed in 1964 from tomb in Xigongqiao village, Lianan country, Sichuan. From Shanghai Museum, ed., *Zhongguo Sui Tang zhi Qingdai yuqi xueshu yantaohui lunwenji*, Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2002, colour pl.15 (p.437).

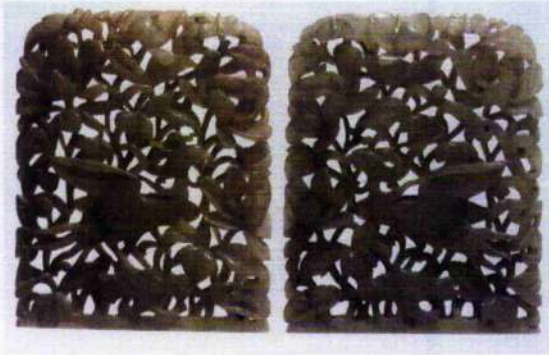


Figure 5.69a: A pair of pale green jade openwork ornaments.
Koryŏ Dynasty.
H. 7.3cm; W. 5.5 cm; depth 0.7 cm.
Carved in two-tier high relief with phoenix or Asian Paradise-flycatcher on the rock, *lingzhi* fungus and butterfly on a background of lotus flowers and leaves. Collection of National Museum of Korea, Seoul. Photograph reproduced courtesy of the National Museum of Korea.



Figure 5.69b: White jade openwork ornament.
Yuan Dynasty.
H. 5.7 cm; W. 4.1 cm.
Carved in two-tier high relief with a bird amidst flowers and leaves, unearthed in 1974 from a joint tomb of Cao Yuanyong and his wife, Guo 郭氏 in Jiexiang County, Shandong province. From Shandongsheng Jiningdiqu wenwuju, "Shandong Jiexiangxian Yuandai CaoYuanyong mu qinglijianbao", *Kaogu*, 1983, no.9, pl.6:8.



Figure 5.70: Yellowish jade openwork ornament.
End of Liao to the beginning of Jin.
Dia. 3.8-7 cm; depth 0.5-0.7 cm.
With an Asian Paradise-flycatcher holding a twig with flower, unearthed in 1983 from the tomb of Xinxiangfang 新香坊, Haerbin 哈尔滨, Heilongjiang province. Collection of Heilongjiang Provincial Museum. From *Zhongguo meishu quanji*, Jades, vol.9, pl.252.



Figure 5.71: White triangular jade openwork ornament.
Early Jin Dynasty.
H. 3.5cm; L. (base) 3.9 cm.
A stag and doe surrounded by trees, unearthed in 1974 from a tomb of the old castle and its surroundings in Aolimi 奥里米, Songhuajiang xiayou 松花江下游, Heilongjiang province. Collection of Heilongjiang Provincial Museum. From *Zhongguo meishu quanji*, Jades, vol.9, pl.253.



Figure 5.72: Black jade fish holding a lotus leaf in its mouth.
Middle to late Jin Dynasty.
L.5.7cm; H. 3 cm.
Unearthed in 1973 from a tomb at Zhongxing 中兴 in Pansuibin 畔绥滨 county, Heilongjiang province. Reverse carved in a similar manner. Collection of Heilongjiang Provincial Museum. From *Zhongguo meishu quanji*, Jades, vol.9, pl.254.

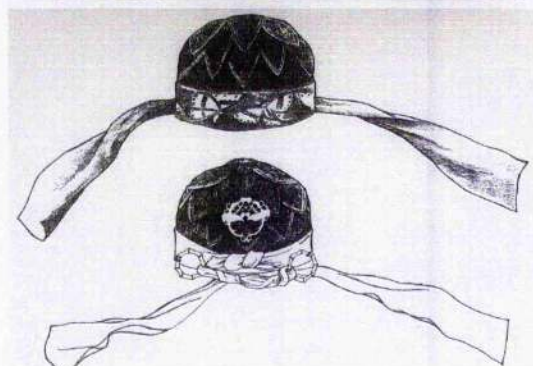


Figure 5.73a: Reverse of black hat in the style of *xiaoyaojin*, attached with *dongzhu* and a jade ornament.

Early to Middle Jin Dynasty (before AD 1162).

H. 14 cm; Dia. (hat) 17.5 cm; H. (jade) 5.71 cm; L. (jade) 6.54 cm; depth (jade) 0.47 cm.

Jade carved with a pair of Asian Paradise-flycatchers holding a spray of lotus buds in its bill, and *dongzhu* decorated in a random arrangement, unearthed in 1988 from the joint tomb of the Prince of Qi State and his consort in Juyuan, Acheng, Heilongjiang province. From Zhao Pingchun and Chi Benyi, *Jindai fushi*, Beijing: Wenwuchubanshe, 1998, pl.107.

Figure 5.73b: Drawing from front and back of Figure 5.73a.

From Zhao Pingchun and Chi Benyi, *Jindai fushi*, Beijing: Wenwuchubanshe, 1998, fig.28.



Figure 5.74: Portrait of Xu Wei 徐渭, wearing *jin* decorated with a jade ornament.

Ming Dynasty, first half of seventeenth century.

H. 40.3 cm; W. 25.6 cm.

Jade seemingly carved with a dragon. One of an album of twelve anonymous 'Portraits of Eminent Men of Zhejiang Province'. Collection of Nanjing Museum. From Chen Zhenfu, *Ming Qing renwu xiaoxiang huaxuan*, 1982, no.6.



Figure 5.75: Figurine of child wearing *walengmao*

Jin Dynasty.

H.38.5 cm.

Unearthed in 1973 from Jiaozuo, Henan province. Collection of Henan Provincial Museum. From Henansheng bowuguan and Jiaozuoshi bowuguan, "Henan Jiaozuo Jinmu fajue jianbao", *Wenwu*, 1979, no. 8, fig.14.



Figure 5.76: Pale white jade bowl with black streaks: 'Du mountain and Jade Sea'.
Yuan Dynasty, AD 1265.
H. 70 cm; Elliptical Dia. 1.3-1.8 m; circumference 4.9 m; weight 3,500 kg.
Decorated in high relief with sea dragons, sea horses, sea sheep, sea pigs, sea rhinos, sea frogs, sea snails, sea fish, sea deer amidst waves. It is placed in the Round Fort in Beihai Park, Beijing. From *Zhongguo meishu quanji*, Jades, vol.9, pl.266.

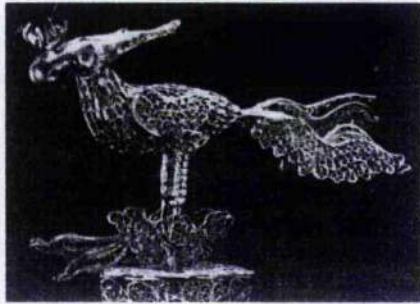


Figure 5.77: Openwork gold phoenix hat finial.
Yuan Dynasty.
H.10.3 cm; Dia. of the base 8.8 cm.
With lotus leaf and cloud's head motifs, unearthed in Maihutu 麦胡图, Liangcheng county 凉城县, Wumeng 乌盟, Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region. Collection of Museum of Inner Mongolia. From Huang Xuehu, "13-14 shiji Mengguzu yiguanfushi de tuan yishu", *Neimenggu Wenwu Kaogu*, 1999, no.2, pl.1-6.



Figure 5.78: Openwork gold hat finial.
Yuan Dynasty.
H.5.4 cm; Dia. of the base 3.5 cm.
With four heads of a Garuda-like creature seated on four standing men, with lotus leaf base. Collection of Wulanchabumeng 乌兰察布盟 Museum. From Zhang Jingming and Zhao Aijun, "Neimenggu diqu MengYuan shiqi jinyinqi", *Neimenggu Wenwu Kaogu*, 1999, no.2, pl.3-2.



Figure 5.79: Portrait of Emperor Wenzong (Tegtemur), wearing a boli hat with a finial bearing a large red stone (possibly ruby).
Yuan Dynasty.
H. 59.4 cm; W. 47 cm.
Album, colour on silk. Collection of National Palace Museum, Taiwan. From Shi Shouqian and Ge Wanzhang, eds., *Dahan de Shiji Mengyuanshidai de duoyuanwenhuayu yishu*, Taipei: National Palace Museum, 2001, pl.1-6.



Figure 5.80: Silk hat with pale blue jade ornaments.

Yuan Dynasty.

H. 9cm; Dia. (head) 20 cm; Dia. (total) 35 cm.

Jade wrapped in sheet gold with thirty-one beads, unearthed in 1973 from the family tomb of Wang Shixian in Zhang county, Gansu province. Collection of Gansu Provincial Museum. From Guojia wenwuju, *Zhongguo wenwu jinghua dacidian*, Shanghai and Hong Kong: Shanghai cishu chubanshe and Shangwu yinshuguan, 1996, pl.099 (p.230).



Figure 5.81a (Left and Right): Mongol nobles attending a religious ceremony, wearing boli hats with round hat finials.

Yuan Dynasty.

Depicted in cave no. 332, Mogao-ku, Dunhuang, Gansu province. From Huang Nengfu and Chen Juanjuan, *Zhonghua lidai fushiyishu*, Beijing: Zhongguo luyou chubanshe, 1999, pl.8-82 and 8.83.



Figure 5.81b: Man standing on the right, wearing hat with possibly dome-shaped hat finial.

Painting, no. 58 'Buying and Selling Children'. Collection of Youyu Baoning temple 右玉宝宁寺, in Shanxi province. From Shen Congwen, ed. *Zhongguo gudai fushi yanjiu zengdingben*, Shanghai: Shanghai shudian chubanshe, 1997, fig.133 (p.420).

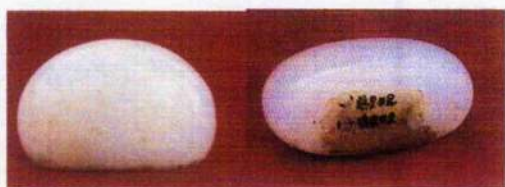


Figure 5.82: Plain oval-shaped white 'mutton-fat' jade ornament.

Early Yuan Dynasty.

H. 3.5 cm; W. 5.1 cm; depth 2.5 cm; weight 80 g.

Unearthed in 1960 from the tomb of Qian Yu in Wuxi county, Jiangsu province. Two pairs of holes in base. Collection of Municipal Museum of Wuxi. From Xu Lin, "Qian Yumu chutu Yuandai yuqi zongshu", *The National Palace Museum Monthly of Chinese Art*, no.193, fig.5, 6.

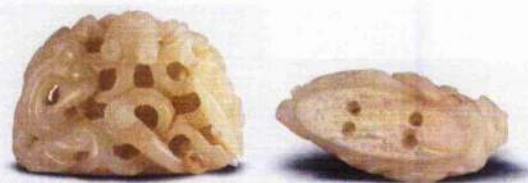


Figure 5.83: Pale white oval-shaped jade ornament with a pair of chi-dragons and lingzhi fungus.

Dated to Yuan Dynasty.

H. 3.5 cm; W. 5 cm; depth 2.5 cm.

Unearthed in 1992 from the base of the Xilin pagoda, Songjiang district, Shanghai. Two pairs of holes in base. Collection of Shanghai Museum. From Huang Xuanpei ed., *Shanghai chutu Tang Song Yuan Ming Qing yuqi*, Shanghai: Shanghai renmin chubanshe, 2001, no.94.



Figure 5.84a: *Pungjam* (風簪) for the attachment of *manggon* (綱巾) (headband). Chosŏn Dynasty, 19th century.

L. 3.7-5.3 cm; W. 1-2 cm.

Made of rhinoceros horn, jade, amber. Holes in base. Collection of Chang Pudeok Memorial Gallery, Ewha Womans University. From Tamin Bokshik Museum, ed., *The Inaugural Exhibition Catalogue of The Chang Pudeok Memorial Gallery*, Seoul: Ewha Womans University Press, 1999, pl.76 (p.71).



Figure 5.84b: Anonymous portrait of official. Chosŏn Dynasty.

From Tamin Bokshik Museum, ed., *The Inaugural Exhibition Catalogue of The Chang Pudeok Memorial Gallery*, Seoul: Ewha Womans University Press, 1999, p.70.

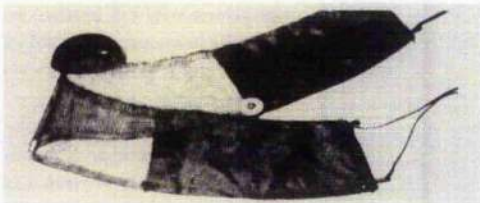


Figure 5.84c: *Pungjam* attached to *manggon*. Chosŏn Dynasty.

Collection of Ewha Womans University. From Yu Heekyung and Park Kyunja, *Kankokufukushoku bunkashi*, Tokyo: Genryusha, 1982, fig.66.



Figure 5.85: Pale white jade finial. Dated to Yuan Dynasty.

H. 3 cm; Dia. (base) 1.7-2.7 cm.

Carved with egrets amidst reeds, lotus leaves, and flowers and fruits, unearthed in 1992 in the base of the Xilin pagoda, Songjiang district, Shanghai. Two large holes in base. Collection of Shanghai Museum. From Huang Xuanpei ed., *Shanghai chutu Tang Song Yuan Ming Qing yuqi*, Shanghai: Shanghai renmin chubanshe, 2001, no.90.



Figure 5.86: White jade finial.

Early Ming Dynasty.

H.7.3 cm; weight. 69 g.

Carved with egrets amidst reeds, lotus leaves and flowers mounted in gold, unearthed in 1960s from tomb at Yuhuatai, Nanjing. Collection of Nanjing Municipal Museum. From *The Nanjing Municipal Museum, Nanjing the capital of Ming Dynasty*, unpublished Museum brochure.



Figure 5.87: White jade finial with russet-brown markings.

Ming Dynasty.

H. 4.2 cm; W .5.3 cm; depth 3.3 cm.

Carved with a mandarin duck holding lotus stem in its bill on an inverted large lotus leaf base, unearthed in 1979 from the tomb of the Ming Prince Yixuan and his two consorts at Nancheng in Jiangxi. Two pairs of looped holes (four) in the base. Collection of Jiangxi Provincial Museum. From *Guojia wenwuju, Zhongguo wenwu jinghua dacidian*, Shanghai and Hong Kong: Shanghai cishu chubans and Shangwu yinshuguan, 1996, pl.226 (p.75).



Figure 5.88: White 'mutton-fat' jade belt-buckle.

Beginning of the Ming Dynasty.

H. 8.9 cm; W. 7.4 cm.

With a dragon amidst cloud patterns, one of fourteen pieces, unearthed in 1970 from the tomb of Wang Xingzu at Nanjing in Jiangsu province. Collection of Nanjing Municipal Museum. From *Zhongguo meishu quanji*, Jades, vol.9, no.279.



Figure 5.89a: White jade openwork belt-plaque.

Early Yuan Dynasty.

H. 8.3 cm; W. 6.7 cm; depth 2.2 cm.

With a falcon attacking a swan in a lotus pond, a part of a belt set, unearthed in 1960 from the tomb of Qian Yu at Dafuxiang 大浮乡 in Wuxi 无锡, Jiangsu province. Collection of Wuxi Municipal Museum. From Xu Lin, "Qian Yu muchutu Yuandai yuqizongshu", *The National Palace Museum Monthly of Chinese Art*, 1999, no.193, fig.3.



Figure 5.89b: A set of belt-plaque and belt-hook, as Figure 5.89a.
From “Qian Yu muchutu Yuandai yuqizongshu”,
The National Palace Museum Monthly of Chinese Art, 1999, no.193, fig.24.

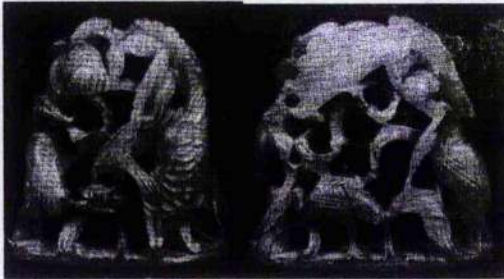


Figure 5.90a: Pale white jade openwork finial.
Dated to Yuan Dynasty.
H. 4.1 cm; W. 3.85 cm; D. 3.8 cm.
Depicted on one side with a falcon attacking a swan; on the other side, four egrets in a lotus pond.
Collection of National Palace Museum, Beijing.
From Yang Boda, “Nuzhenzu ‘chunshui’, ‘qiushan’ yukao”, *Palace Museum Journal*, 1983, no.2, fig.1 and 2.

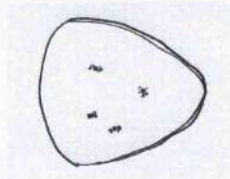


Figure 5.90b: Base of Figure 5.90a.
Four small holes. Dia. (holes) less than 1 mm.
Mouths of holes were worn. Drawing by the author in the Palace Museum, Beijing, March 13th, 2001.



Figure 5.91: White jade ornament with a parent and child *xiezhi*.
Dated to Yuan Dynasty.
H. 5 cm; W. 4.5 cm; depth 3 cm.
A pair of holes on base. Private collection.
Photograph kindly provided by Lin Zonghan, an antique dealer in Taipei.



Figure 5.92: Emperor Xuanzong of the Ming Dynasty on horseback, wearing a hat decorated with a blue stone mounted probably with gold.
Ming Dynasty.
H. 68.1 cm; L. 84.1 cm. Anonymous hanging scroll, ink and colour on silk. Collection of National Palace Museum, Taiwan. From National Palace Museum, *Huamamingpin tezhan tulu*, Taipei: National Palace Museum, 1990, no.29.



Figure 5.93: Emperor Shizong on a barge, wearing a black gauze folded hat decorated with a white jade-like hard round stone on the top of the hat.

Ming Dynasty, c. AD 1536-8.

L. 98.2 ft.; H. 3.2 ft.

Detail of 'Returning' scroll of 'An Imperial Procession Departing from and Returning to the Palace' by an anonymous group of court painters. Water-colour and ink on silk scrolls. Collection of National Palace Museum, Taiwan. From Na Zhiliang, *The Emperor's Procession*, Taipei: National Palace Museum, 1970, pl.2.



Figure 5.94: Finial with cloud patterns in the shape of hat finial on the coach without wheels (*bunien* 步輦).

Ming Dynasty, c. AD 1536-8.

L. 85.9 ft.; H. 3.2 ft.

Detail of 'Departing' scroll of 'An Imperial Procession Departing from and Returning to the Palace'. Water-colour and ink on silk scrolls. Collection of National Palace Museum, Taiwan. From Na Zhiliang, *The Emperor's Procession*, Taipei: National Palace Museum, 1970, pl.27.

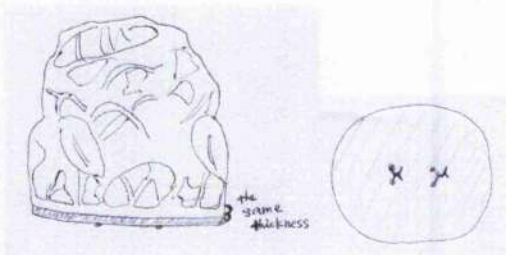


Figure 5.95a (Left): White jade openwork finial. Yuan Dynasty.

H. 5 cm (approx.).

With egrets in a lotus pond motif. Note a wooden base attached to the jade base. Collection of Nanjing Museum. Drawing by the author on a visit to the gallery.

Figure 5.95b (Right): Wooden base of Figure 5.95a from underneath.

The wire is visible in the base. The number of holes was not clear, yet it is likely that there is a pair of holes. Drawing by the author.



Figure 5.96: Lapis lazuli openwork finial.

Dated to Southern Song Dynasty.

H. 2.8 cm; W. 3.9 cm; depth 2.7 cm.

With a mandarin duck on a large curved lotus leaf discovered at Xilin pagoda, in Songjiang district, Shanghai. Concave base with a pair of holes. Collection of Shanghai Museum. From Huang Xuanpei, *Shanghai chutu Tang Song Yuan Ming Qing yuqi*, Shanghai: Shanghai renmin chubanshe, 2001, no.89.



Figure 5.97a: The Emperor Qianlong's summer *chaoguan* with gold and pearl finial.
Qing Dynasty, Qianlong period.

H. 14 cm; Dia. 28 cm; H. (finial) 12.4cm.

Collection of National Palace Museum, Taiwan.
From Huang Nengfu and Chen Juanjuan, *Zhonghua lidai fushiyishu*, Beijing: Zhongguo luyou chubanshe, 1999, fig. 10-29 (p.420) and 10-34 (p.421).



Finial of Figure 5.97.

Hat finial with four dragons each on three levels with filigree work.



Figure 5.97b (Left): A Qing concubine's hat finial for summer *chaoguan*.

Qing Dynasty, Qianlong period.

H. 16 cm; Dia. (base) 4.8 cm.

With gold and pearl in the form of pheasant (金翟) surmounted by a stone. Collection of National Palace Museum, Taiwan. From Huang Nengfu and Chen Juanjuan, *Zhonghua lidai fushiyishu*, Beijing: Zhongguo luyou chubanshe, 1999, fig. 10-44 (p.423).



Figure 5.97c (Right): Hat finial with a precious stone mounted in gold.

Qing Dynasty, Qianlong period.

H. 10.3 cm; weight 76.15g.

Collection of Nanjing Museum. From Xu Huping, ed., *Nanjing bowuguan zhencang xilie Jinyinqi*, Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1999, no.49.



Figure 6.1: Woman holding a rosary.

Qing Dynasty, Kangxi period. c. AD 1709-23.

H. 184.6 cm; W. 97.7 cm.

Marble table with a bronze rectangular four-legged vessel (i.e. *fang ding*) with a wooden stand and a cover mounted with a jade openwork finial, from 'Twelve Beauties in the Yuanmingyuan'. One of a set of twelve hanging scrolls, ink and colour on silk. Collection of Palace Museum, Beijing. From Tian Jiaqing, "Early Qing Furniture in a Set of Qing Dynasty Court Paintings", *Orientalism*, January, 1993, vol. 24, fig.15.



Figure 6.2a: Qianlong Emperor enjoying ancient works in the Yangxin court 养心殿.

Qing Dynasty, Qianlong period (AD 1736-1795).

H. 193 cm; W. 243.5 cm.

From an anonymous hanging scroll, 'One or Two?' 弘历是一是二图. Ink on paper. Collection of Palace Museum, Beijing. From Higuchi Takayasu, *Kokyu hakubutsuin*, vol. 15, Tokyo: NHK Publishing Co., Ltd., 1999, p.24-5.



Figure 6.2b: Detail of Figure 6.2a.

White jade *gui* vessel with a wooden stand and a wooden cover decorated with a jade finial on a rectangular table next to the Emperor.

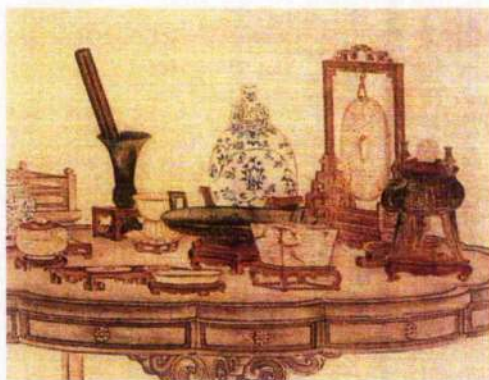


Figure 6.2c: Detail of Figure 6.2a.

Bronze *jia* vessel with three pointed legs and one handle with a wooden stand and a wooden cover decorated with a white jade openwork finial on the right hand side, and a white jade *gui* vessel with a wooden stand and a wooden cover decorated with a jade finial on the left hand side, on the round table on the right in the painting.



Figure 6.3a: Bronze censer with gold splash decoration, with a wooden stand and an openwork wooden cover with jade finial in the form of lotus bud.

16th - 17th century.

H. (incl. cover and stand) 12 cm.

Salting Bequest. M.734-1910. Collection of Victoria and Albert Museum. Photograph by the author.



Figure 6.3b: Bronze *gui* food vessel with cover. Western Zhou Dynasty.

From Shaanxi zhouyuan kaogu dui, "Fufeng yuntan Xizhou mu", *Wenwu*, 1980, no.4, pl.4:1.



Figure 6.4a: 'Examining Antiquities in a Bamboo Court' by Qiu Ying.

Ming Dynasty.

H. 41.1 cm; W. 33.8 cm.

Leaf from one of an album of ten leaves 'Figures and Stories' 人物故事图册. Ink and colours on silk. Collection of Palace Museum, Beijing. From *Zhongguo meishu quanji*, painting, vol. 7, no. 70-2.

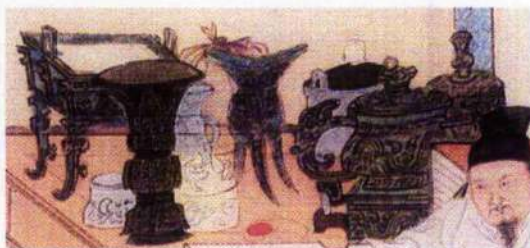


Figure 6.4b: Detail of Figure 6.4a.

Bronze *ding* vessel with a wooden stand and cover decorated with jade-like finial on table.



Flower rosette

Figure 6.5a: Ivory white tripod incense burner with bow-string décor Ding ware. Northern Song Dynasty. H. 10cm; MD. 14.5 cm; weight 678 g. With a wooden cover decorated with a grey jade finial in the form of a mandarin duck holding a spray of lotus flowers in its mouth, on a lotus leaf. Cover has collection mark of Xiang family. Collection of National Palace Museum, Taiwan. From Chen Qingguang, *Gugong lidai xiangju tulu*, Taipei: National Palace Museum, 1994, no. 39.



Figure 6.5b: Detail of jade finial of Figure 6.5a.



Figure 6.6a: Detail of 'Riverside on Qing Ming Festival' painted by Chen Mei, Sun You, Jin Kun, Dai Hong and Cheng Zhiyuan. Qing Dynasty, AD 1736. H. 35.6 cm; L. 1,152.8 cm. Colour on silk. Collection of National Palace Museum, Taiwan. From Na Zhiliang, *Qing Ming shang he tu*, Taipei: National Palace Museum, 1993, pl. 33.

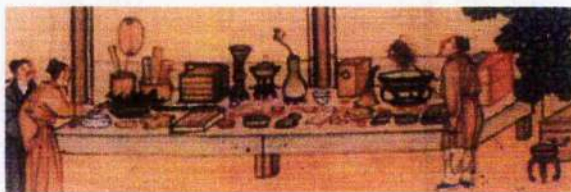


Figure 6.6b: Detail of Figure 6.6a. A vessel like a bronze *ding* with a wooden stand and cover with a jade-like finial is displayed in the centre of the table.

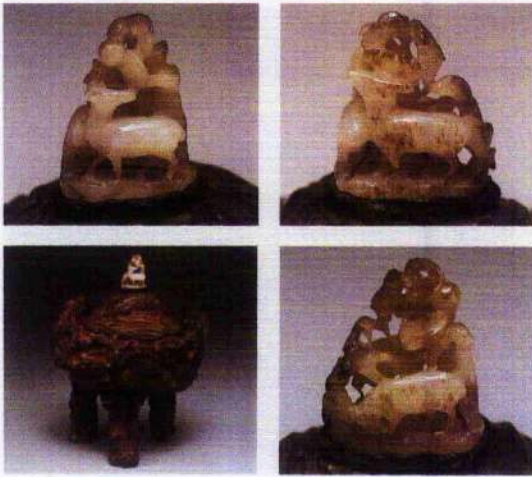


Figure 6.6c: White jade finial with 'Autumn Mountain' scene, attached on cover of incense burner made of birch wood in the style of *ding* vessel.

Dated to Yuan Dynasty.

Jade: H. 5.8 cm ; Dia. (base) 2.4 x 2.8 cm. Incense burner and jade: H. 19.4 cm; MD. 11.3 x 19.4 cm. Three deer depicted in different postures. Jade finial assumed to be hat finial remounted on wooden incense burner cover. Collection of National Palace Museum, Taiwan. From Shishou Qian and Ge Wanzhang eds., *Dahan de Shiji Mengyuanshidai de duoyuanwenhuayu yishu*, Taipei: National Palace Museum, 2001, no. IV-10.

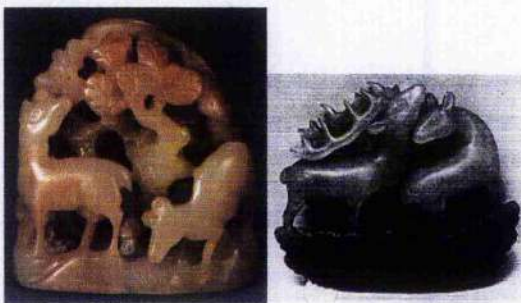


Figure 6.6d (Left): Yellowish jade finial with 'Autumn Mountain' scene.

Dated to Jin Dynasty.

Jade finial is assumed to be incense burner cover. Collection of Shanghai Museum. From Shanghai Museum, *Zhongguo gudai yuqiguan*, Museum brochure, p.34.

Figure 6.6e (Right): White jade openwork ornament with brown flecks, carved with stag and doe among leaves.

Qing Dynasty, Qianlong period.

H. 2-5/8 inch; L. 3-1/4 inch.

Outlines of leaves incised. A pair of looped holes for attachment on the base. Michael Friedsam Collection. From a catalogue of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.



Figure 6.7a: Yellowish jade multi-layer openwork carved finial, with egrets amid lotus, reeds, and flowers.

Dated to Yuan Dynasty.

Collection of the Shanghai Museum. From Shanghai Museum, *Zhongguo gudai yuqiguan*, Museum brochure, p.36.

→ Flower rosette

→ Note oblique lines finely incised all the way round on thickness of the jade base.

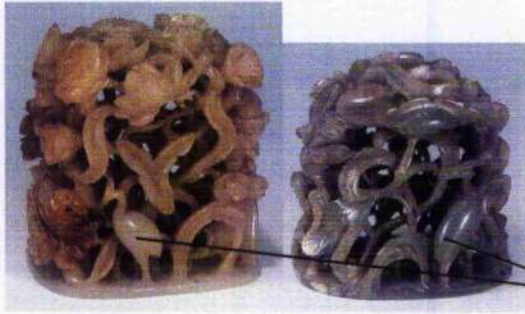


Figure 6.7b: Comparison Figure 6.7a (left) and Ren family jade finial (right) (Figure 1.1).

Note the size of egrets in proportion to height of jade finial.

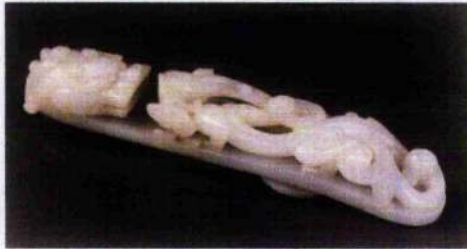


Figure 6.8a: White jade dragon belt-hook
Qing Dynasty.

L. 14 cm. Nephrite, $p = 2.90$.

A dragon head terminal confronting a striding *chi*-dragon with sinuous body and bifurcated tail bearing a *lingzhi* fungus branch in its mouth. Inventory no. GLAHM 106699. Smillie Collection, Hunterian Museum, University of Glasgow. Photograph reproduced courtesy of the Museum.

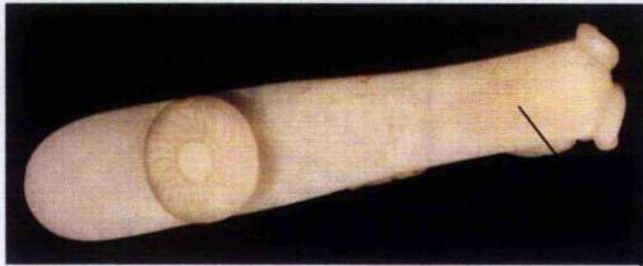


Figure 6.8b: The reverse of Figure 6.8a.

The dragon's mane is finely incised at the right of the shaft; round stud carved as stylized flower. Photograph reproduced courtesy of the Museum.

The dragon's mane.



Figure 6.9: Dragon belt-hook illustrated in *Gu yu tu pu* 古玉图谱 compiled by Long Dayuan 龙大渊.

Song Dynasty.

After Sang Xingzhi *et al.*, eds., *Shuo yu*, Shanghai: Shanghai keji jiaoyu chubanshe, 1994, p.1169.



Figure 6.10: Grey green dragon jade belt-hook with brown marking.

17th century.

L. 12.8 cm. Nephrite, $p = 2.91$.

A dragon head terminal facing a *chi*-dragon carved in high relief with extensive undercutting, the *chi*-dragon climbing up the arched shaft, with a circular stud on the reverse. Inventory no. GLAHM 106701. Smillie Collection, Hunterian Museum, University of Glasgow. Photograph reproduced courtesy of the Museum.

Note the decoration of dragon's mane on the side of the shaft.



Figure 6.11: Dark green jade openwork oval finial.

Dated 19th to 20th century.

H. 6.5 cm; W. 4.5 cm.

Carved with two crane-like birds among flowers and branches. Two pairs of holes on the back. Private Collection. Entry on sale at Christie's, South Kensington. Photograph by kind supply of Mr F. R. Soar.

Flower rosette



Figure 6.12: Longquan ware green glazed li-shaped incense burner with a wooden cover surmounted with a mandarin duck jade finial.

Song Dynasty, 12 - 13th century (ceramic).

H. 10.5 cm; MD. 14.3 cm; weight 633 g. Jade finial: H. 3.5 cm; L. 3.7 cm; depth 3 cm.

Jade finial in the shape of a mandarin duck holding a spray of lotus flowers in its bill. The wooden cover bears a mark *bing* 丙 in the centre on the under side. The finial is attached with wires to the wooden cover. Collection of National Palace Museum, Taiwan. From Chen Qingguang, *Gugong lidai xiangju tulu*, Taipei: National Palace Museum, 1994, no. 13.



Figure 6.13: Green glazed gui-shaped incense burner with copper red splashes, with a wooden cover surmounted with a jade finial with egrets in a lotus pond.

Yuan Dynasty, 14th century (ceramic).

H. 8.6 cm; MD. 12 cm; weight 562 g.

Collection of National Palace Museum, Taiwan. From Chen Qingguang, *Gugong lidai xiangju tulu*, Taipei: National Palace Museum, 1994, no. 14.

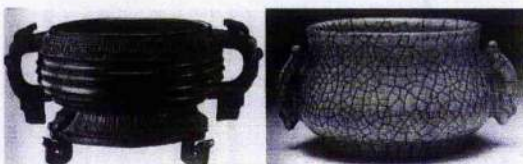


Figure 6.14: Shisong gui 史颂簋 bronze food vessel (left) and Ge 哥 ware green glazed gui-shaped incense burner with fish-shaped handles (right).

Western Zhou Dynasty (left), Song Dynasty (right).

Collection of National Palace Museum, Taiwan. From Yuba Tadanori, "Sodai jiki kikei root", in *Kokyu hakubutsuin*, vol. 6, Tokyo: NHK Publishing Co., Ltd., 1997, p. 86.

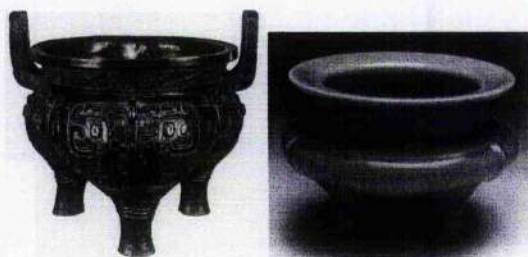


Figure 6.15: *Shiyin li* 师趺鬲 bronze food vessel (left) and *Longquan* ware green glazed *li*-shaped incense burner (right).

Western Zhou Dynasty (left), Song Dynasty (right).

Collection of Palace Museum, Beijing (bronze) and National Palace Museum, Taiwan (ceramic). From Yuba Tadanori, "Sodai jiki kikei root", in *Kokyu hakubutsuin*, vol. 6, Tokyo: NHK Publishing Co., Ltd., 1997, p. 86.

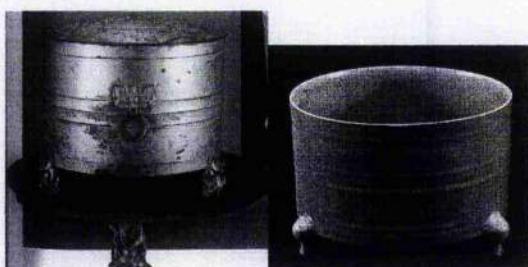


Figure 6.16: *Hu* 斛 gilded measure (left) and *Ru* 汝 ware green glazed *lian* 奩-shaped incense burner (right).

Later Han Dynasty (left), Song Dynasty (right). Collection of Palace Museum, Beijing. From Yuba Tadanori, 1997, p. 86.

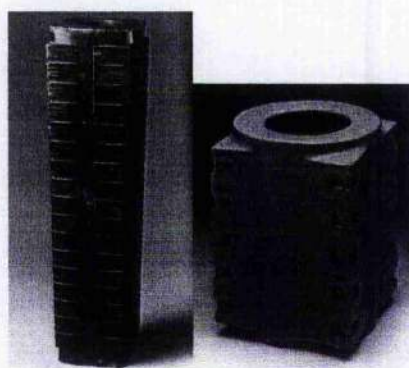


Figure 6.17: *Cong* 琮 jade ritual object of the Liangzhu Culture (left) and *Guan* 官 ware green glazed *cong*-shaped incense burner (right).

Neolithic period (left), Song Dynasty (right).

Collection of National Palace Museum, Taiwan. From Yuba Tadanori, "Sodai jiki kikei root", in *Kokyu hakubutsuin*, 1997, p. 87.

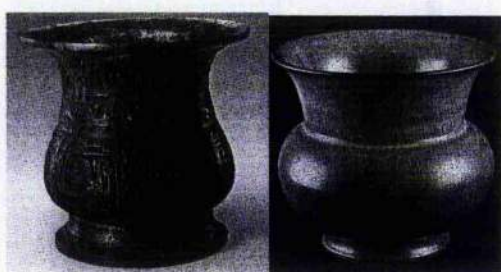


Figure 6.18: *Xingjishi Zun* 刑季驶尊 bronze wine vessel (left) and *Jun* 钧 ware dark copper red glaze *zun*-shaped incense burner (right).

Western Zhou Dynasty (left), Song Dynasty (right).

Collection of National Palace Museum, Taiwan (bronze) and Palace Museum, Beijing (ceramic). From Yuba Tadanori, 1997, p. 87.

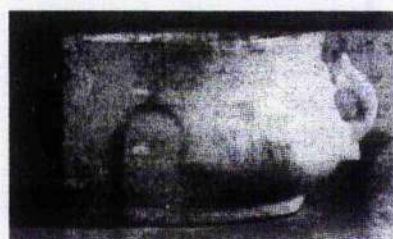


Figure 6.19: *Guan* ware, grayish green glazed incense burner in shape of *gui* archaic vessel with two animal-shape handles.

Dated to Southern Song Dynasty.

MD. 11.2 cm; H. 8.4 cm.

From Shen Lingxin and Xu Yongxiang, "Shanghaishi Qingpu xian Yuandai Renshi muzang jishu", *Wenwu*, 1982, no. 7, pl.4:6.



Figure 6.20: Guan ware, tripod incense burner in shape of *li* archaic vessel with two upright loop handles.

Dated to Southern Song Dynasty.

MD. 11.4 cm; H. 9.4 cm.

From Shen Lingxin and Xu Yongxiang, "Shanghaishi Qingpu xian Yuandai Renshi muzang jishu", *Wenwu*, 1982, no. 7, pl.4:4.



Figure 6.21: Longquan ware, green glazed tripod incense burner with peony appliqué in shape of *lian* box.

Southern Song or Yuan Dynasty

MD 13.5 cm; H. 9.6 cm.

From Shen Lingxin and Xu Yongxiang, *Wenwu*, 1982, no. 7, pl.4:5.



Figure 6.22: Jingdezhen ware, bluish white glazed animal motif tripod incense burner with two upright loop handles.

Yuan Dynasty.

MD 9.4 cm; H. 11 cm.

From Shen Lingxin and Xu Yongxiang, "Shanghaishi Qingpu xian Yuandai Renshi muzang jishu", *Wenwu*, 1982, no. 7, fig. 5.



Figure 6.23: Bluish white incense burner with impressed décor and two handles on attached stand.

Yuan Dynasty, 14th century.

H. 10.5 cm; MD 5.1 x 3.4 cm; BD 6.7 cm x 4 cm; W. 111 g.

Gift of Dr Ip Yee. Collection of National Palace Museum, Taiwan. From Chen Qingguang, *Gugong lidai xiangju tulu*, Taipei: National Palace Museum, 1994, no. 45.

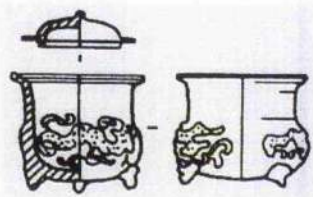


Figure 6.24: Blue glazed tripod incense burner with a pair of dragons appliqué.

Yuan Dynasty.

MD 9.6 cm; BD 8.8 cm; H. 8.8 cm.

No handles but with an *en suite* cover. From Nei Menggu wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo and Jilin daxue kaogu xuexi, "Yuanshangdu chengzhi Dongnan Zhenzi Shangxiqiu muzang fajue jianbao", *Wenwu*, 2001, no. 9, fig.12:3.



Figure 6.25: Ash blue jade incense burner with dragon design.

Song Dynasty.

H. 7.9 cm; MD. 12.8 cm.

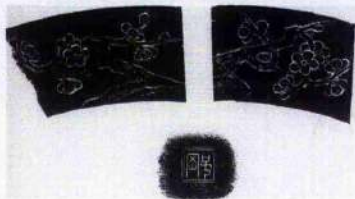
A poem incised by Qianlong Emperor. Collection of Palace Museum, Beijing. From Zhou Nanquan, ed., *Yuqi*, vol.2, Hong Kong: The Commercial Press (Hong Kong) Ltd., 1995, no. 107.



Figure 6.26: White jade incense burner and wooden cover with a jade mandarin duck finial.

Late Ming Dynasty.

Incense burner with plum blossoms, leaves and branches in low relief, with two handles in the shape of *chi*-dragon. A sandalwood cover surmounted with a jade finial in the shape of a mandarin duck holding a spray of lotus flower in its bill. The characters 'Zigang' 子刚 carved in intaglio seal script on the base, suggesting a work by Lu Zigang. From Guoli Gugong bowuyuan bianji weiyuanhui, *Guo zhi zhongbao*, Taipei: National Palace Museum, 1983, no.58.



Plum blossom in low relief, and inscription on base.

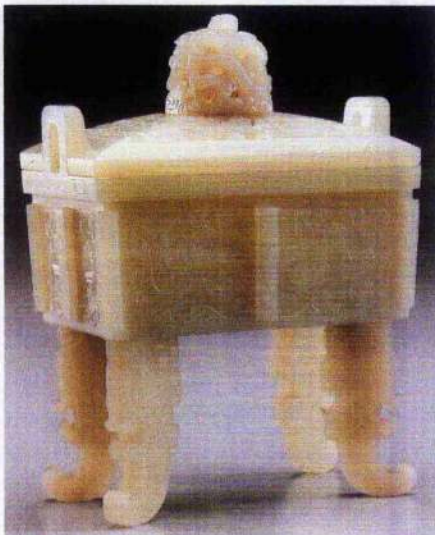


Figure 6.27a: White jade *Wen wang fang ding*, with a jade openwork cover and jade dragon finial.

Qing Dynasty, Qianlong period.

Collection of National Palace Museum, Taiwan. From Zhang Linsheng, "*Wen wang fangding yu Zhongjufu gui*", *Gugong xueshu jikan*, vol. 15, no.1, fig.20.



Figure 6.27b: Illustration of *Qinding Xijing gujian*, Zhou Wen wang ding 4. From Liang Shizheng, *Qinding Xiqinggujian*, Qing, vol.1, p.105.

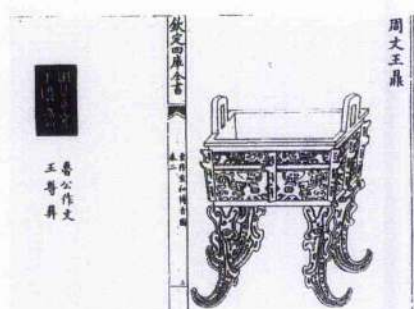


Figure 6.27c: Illustration of 'Zhongxiu Xuanhe bogutu lu', Zhou Wen wang ding. From *Siku quanshu*, vol. 840, p.404.

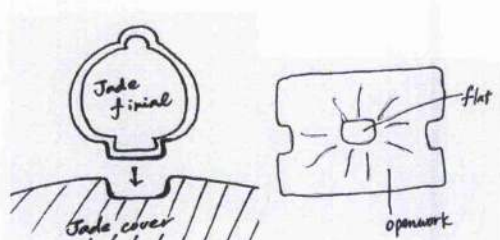


Figure 6.27d: Left: assembly of the attachment of the jade finial and cover of Figure 6.27a. Right: jade openwork cover on the underside, concave and flat in the centre. Drawings by the author.



front

reverse

Figure 6.28a: Pale greenish egg-shaped openwork jade finial with brown markings. Dated Liao or Jin Dynasty. H. 9.5 cm; W.7.5 cm; D. 3.5 cm. With hermit and nymph (i.e. immortals), flying crane, tortoise and a deer with mushroom-shaped horns surrounded by rockery and trees behind; on the other side, a seated deer with mushroom-shaped horns and a standing deer looking at oak trees with large, thin-veined leaves. One hole hollowed in centre of the base. Qing Court Collection. From Zhou Nanquan, ed., *Yuqi*, vol.2, Hong Kong: The Commercial Press (Hong Kong) Ltd., 1995, no.99.

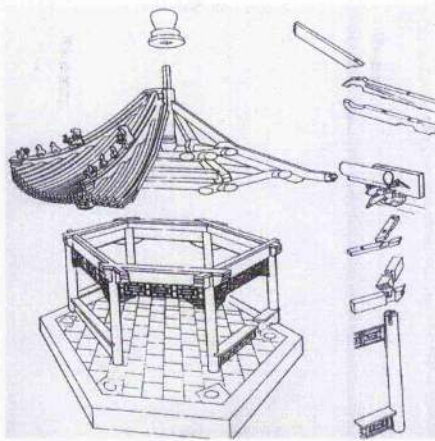


Figure 6.28b: Disassembly illustration of the construction of *ting* pavilion.

From Wei Ran, consultant ed., *Zhongguo guting*, Beijing: Zhongguo jianzhugongye chubanshe, 1997, p.179.

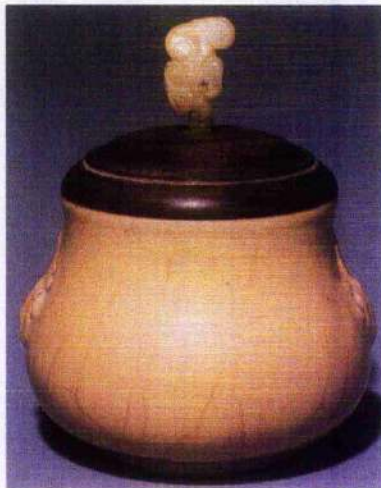


Figure 6.29a: Millet yellow glazed incense burner with animal shape handles, with a wooden cover mounted with a yellowish jade finial in *lingzhi* fungus shape.

Ming Dynasty (vessel).

H. 8.8 cm; MD. 8.5 cm; BD. 6 cm; weight 484 g.
Collection of National Palace Museum, Taiwan.
From Chen Qingguang, *Gugong lidai xiangju tulu*, Taipei: National Palace Museum, 1994, no. 45.

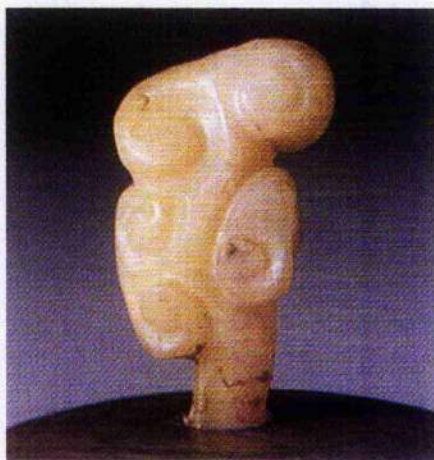


Figure 6.29b: Enlarged image of incense burner cover finial of Figure 6.29a.

Yellowish glue is visible around the lower part of the finial.



Figure 6.29c: White jade dragon finial with brown markings.

Dated Ming Dynasty.

H. 12 cm.

Depicted with a dragon pursuing a flaming pearl amidst cloud and water patterns.

From Yang Boda, "The Glorious Age of Chinese Jades, the Yuan, Ming and Qing Dynasty" in *Jades*, edited by Roger Keverne, London: Anness Publishing Ltd., 1991, fig. 38.



front

reverse

Figure 6.30: Pale green egg-shaped pierced jade finial with black markings.

Dated Song Dynasty.

H. 15.5 cm; W. 10.5 cm; D. 6 cm.

Depicted with a sage with long beard and staff, sitting beside a crane, amidst pine trees and rockery background; on the other side, a standing pupil and a deer surrounded by blooming peony flowers. One hole hollowed in centre of the base. Qing Court Collection. From Zhou Nanquan, ed., *Yuqi*, vol.2, Hong Kong: The Commercial Press (Hong Kong) Ltd., 1995, no.94.



Figure 6.31: Pierced egg-shaped jade finial with children holding lotus leaves.

Dated Song Dynasty.

One hole hollowed in centre of the base. From Xu Lin, "Yu maoding yu yu luding", *Wuxi wenbo*, 2001, no.4, fig. 5.



Figure 6.32: White jade-like finial mounted on a rosewood-like cover and vessel in shape of *gui* bronze on wooden stand.

Qing Dynasty, 7th year of Yongzheng (AD 1728).
H. 62.5 cm; W. 135 cm; L. 20 m.

Depicted in a handscroll painting 'Guwan tu' 古玩图 (Scroll of Antiquities) Collection of Percival David Foundation of Chinese Art. From Christie's Hong Kong catalogue, *The Jingguantang collection: Magnificent Chinese Works of Art*, November 3, 1996.



Finial showing a sitting sage amid woods.



Figure 6.33a: Bronze *boshan* incense burner.
Former Han Dynasty.

H. 32.8 cm; MD. 12.1 cm; Dia.(dish) 12.1 cm.
Unearthed from the tomb of Dou Wang, Liu Sheng's wife, at Mancheng in Hebei. Collection of Hebei Provincial Museum. From Kanaseki Hiroshi and Liu Qingzhu eds., *Yomigaeru Han ocho*, Tokyo: Yomiuri shinbun Osaka Honsha, 1999, no.85.

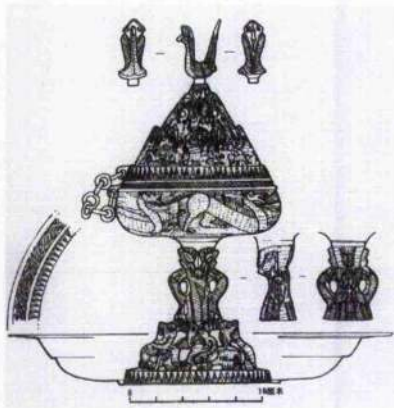


Figure 6.33b: Bronze censer (*xunlu* 薰炉) surmounted with a *zhuque* (scarlet bird) and a dish.

Late Former Han Dynasty.

H. 28.6 cm; Dia. (dish) 29.2 cm.

Unearthed from tomb no. 2 at Yaoziling 鹞子岭 in Hunan province. From Hunan sheng wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo and Yongzhoushi zhishanqu wenwu guanlisuo, "Hunan Yongzhoushi Yaoziling erhao Xihan mu", *Kaogu*, 2001, no.4, fig. 10.



Figure 6.33c: Drawing of *boshan lu* of the Han, surmounted with a bird, and a dish. From Liang Shizheng, *Xiqing gujian*, juan 38, p.55, reprinted in *Siku quanshu*, vol. 842, p.336.

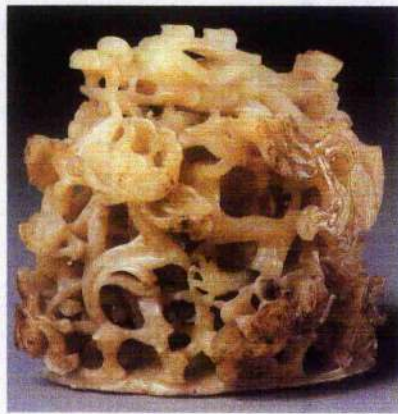


Figure 6.34: Pale celadon jade openwork dragon finial with brown markings. Dated Yuan Dynasty. H. 7.5 cm; Dia. 7 cm. Depicting a coiled dragon amidst peony flowers. Chinese phoenix on the side. Concave base with holes for attachment. Collection of Palace Museum, Beijing. From *Zhongguo yuqi quanji*, vol. 5, no. 167.



Figure 6.35: Stone *ding*-shaped incense burner. Ming Dynasty. Centre piece and one of five altar pieces, in the courtyard of the stele pavilion 定陵明樓 of the *Dingling* Imperial Ming tombs at Beijing, Changping county 昌平县. Upper half of incense burner shows a sinuous dragon amid a stylized cloud pattern ascending from water pattern. Photograph by the author.



Figure 6.36: *Liuli* three colour glazed tripod *ding*-shaped incense burner in openwork, with a cover in the style of a *boshan lu*.

Yuan Dynasty.

H. 36 cm; MD 17 cm.

Depicted with a sinuous dragon and a Chinese phoenix flying amid cloud and flower patterns on body, and a *pan*-dragon raising his neck and opening his mouth on cover, unearthed at ruins of Kujing 枯井 of the Yuan in Xiupeichangyuannei 修配厂院内, the Huang temple 黄寺, Desheng menwai 德胜门外 in Beijing. Collection of Capital Museum, Beijing. From *Zhongguo meishu quanji*, Ceramics, vol.3 (ceramics): xia, no.60.

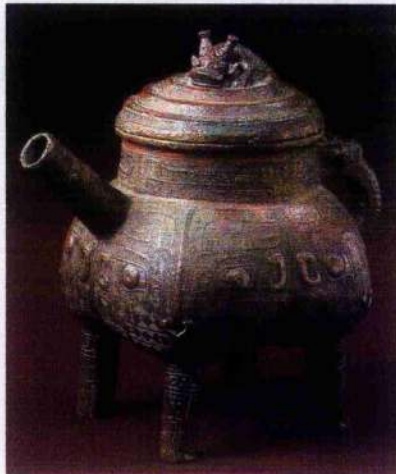


Figure 6.37a: Bronze *he* 盃 wine vessel.

Early Western Zhou Dynasty, c. 12th century BC.

H. 57.6 cm; weight 4,650 g.

Vessel used for heating and mixing depicted with a coiled dragon in high relief on the cover and *kui*-dragon and animal mask décor on the body. Collection of National Palace Museum, Taiwan. From Guoli Gugong bowuyuan bianji weiyuanhui, *Guo zhi zhongbao*, Taipei: National Palace Museum, 1983, no. 2.

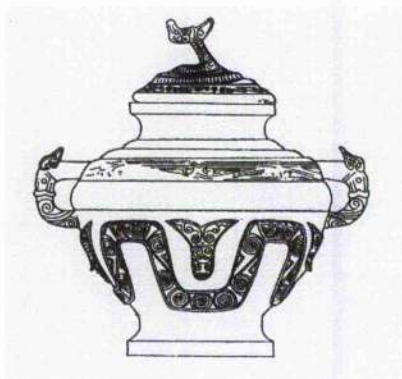


Figure 6.37b: Bronze *ling* wine container.

Spring and Autumn period.

H. 54 cm; MD. 22.7 cm.

With coiled dragon on cover and animal mask décor on the body with animal head handles, unearthed from tomb no. 2 at Liujiadianzi 刘家店子 village, Yishui 沂水 county in Shandong province. From Shandongsheng wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo and Yishuixian wenwu guanlizhan, "Shandong yishui Liujiadianzi Chunqiu mu fajue jianbao", *Wenwu*, 1984, no.9, fig.13.

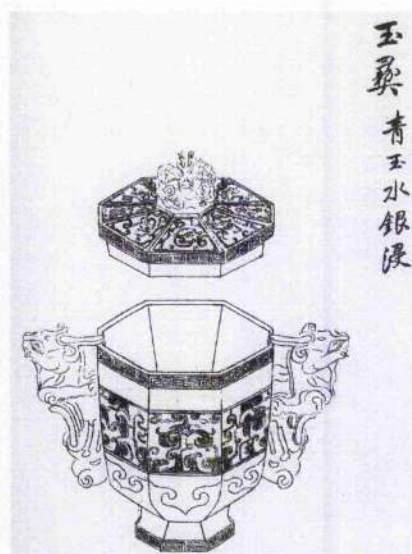


Figure 6.38: Jade yi 彝 ritual vessel, with a jade cover and jade openwork dragon finial. Illustrated in *Taozhai guyu tu* compiled by Duan Fang of the Qing. From Sang Xingzhi *et al.*, eds., *Shuo yu*, Shanghai: Shanghai keji jiaoyu chubanshe, p.704.



Figure 6.39a: Soap stone incense burner (*xiang xun* 香薰) in the shape of a lion.

Tang Dynasty.

H. 12.8 cm; H. (lion) 9 cm; MD (base) 4.8 cm; Dia. (base) 7 cm.

Unearthed from the Tang tomb at Dongjiao Fangzhichengguomian Sanchang 东郊纺织城国棉三厂 in Xi'an 西安. Square base depicted with *boshan* pattern. Two through holes; the mouth of lion and the front of base. Collection of Xi'an shi wenwu baohu kaogusuo, Shaanxi 西安市文物保护考古所. From Liu Yunhui, ed., *Beizhou Sui Tang Jingji yuqi*, Chongqing: Chongqing chubanshe, 2000, fig. T22-24.

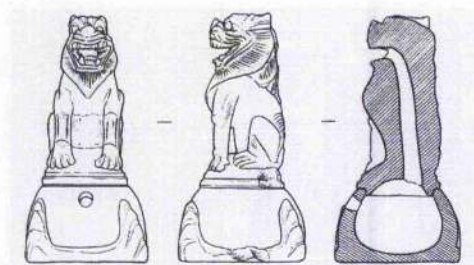


Figure 6.39b: Drawing of structure of Figure 6.39a.

From Wang Zili, "Shixing xiangxun", *Gugong wenwu yuekan*, 2002, no.232, p.68.



Figure 6.40a: Soap stone incense burner (*xiang xun* 香薰) in the shape of a lion.

Tang Dynasty.

H. 24 cm.

Unearthed from the joint tomb of Li Yu 李郁 and his wife, Cui 崔氏 at Xingyuan 杏园 village in Yanshi 偃师 county, Henan province. It consists of three pieces, the middle piece depicting three dragons, and the base decorated with a *boshan* pattern. Four through holes from mouths of lion and three dragons, and one in base. From Higuchi Takayasu and Wu En eds., *Kentoshi ga mita Chugoku bunka*, Nara: Kashihara kokogaku kenkyujo fuzoku hakubutsukan, 1995, no.36.

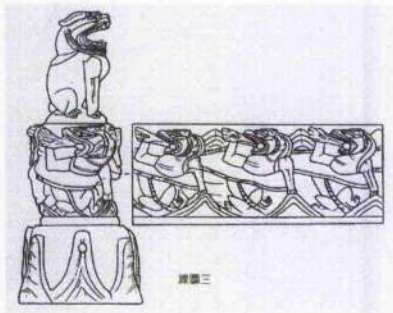


Figure 6.40b: Drawing from Figure 6.40a.

From Wang Zili, "Shixing xiangxun", *Gugong wenwu yuekan*, 2002, no.232, p.69.



Figure 6.41: Celadon glazed incense burner with cover in the shape of lion.

Koryŏ Dynasty, 12th century.

H. 21.2 cm.

Collection of National Museum of Korea, Seoul. From National Museum of Korea, *National Museum of Korea*, Seoul: T'ongch'ŏn munhwasa, 2000, p.179.



Figure 6.42: Bluish white incense burner with cover in bird shape.
Northern Song Dynasty.
From Chen Qingguang, *Gugong lidai xiangju tulu*, Taipei: National Palace Museum, 1994, fig. 33 (p.58).



Figure 6.43: Cover of incense burner (*xiang xun* 香薰) with a lion.
Unearthed from Shi 史 family tomb at Houtaibao village 后太保村 in Shijiazhuang 石家庄, Hebei province.
Yuan Dynasty, c. AD 1316.
H. 25 cm; H. (lion) 17 cm; Dia. (base) 31 cm.
From Hebeisheng wenwu yanjiusuo, "Shijiazhuang Houtaibaocun Shishi jiazhu mu fajue baogao", in *Hebeisheng kaogu wenji*, Hebei: Dongfang chubanshe, 1998, pl. 4:1.



Figure 6.44: Pale dark green jade dragon finial.
Dated to the early Yuan Dynasty.
H. 12.6 cm; Dia. (base) 6.4 cm.
Dragon with protruding eyes on a stylized lotus base, with left fore paw grasping a precious ball. One large hole and a pair of small holes in one line in the centre of the base for insertion of attachment. Collection of Palace Museum, Beijing.
From *Zhongguo yuqi quanji*, vol. 5, no.166.



Figure 7.1: Celadon glazed lamp in the shape of flying fish.

Liao Dynasty.

H. 9.3 cm.

Unearthed from tomb 1, Shuiquan 水泉, Beipiao 北票, Liaoning province. From Xu Bingkun and Sun Shoudao, *Dongbei wenhua*, Hong Kong: The Commercial Press Ltd., 1996, no.234.



Figure 7.2: Celadon glazed ewer in the shape of fish-dragon.

Koryŏ Dynasty, 12th century.

H. 24.3 cm; Dia. (base) 10.3 cm.

National Treasure no. 61. Collection of National Museum of Korea, Seoul. Ho-Am Art Gallery, *Taegoryo kukpojon*, Seoul: Samsŏng munhwajaedan, 1995, no.129.



Figure 7.3a: Ewer with combined flying deity and fish dragon motifs.

Liao Dynasty, 10th - early 11th century.

L. 19.3 cm.

White stone ware with transparent glaze over white slip, from Balin Youqi. Collection of the People's Republic of China. From Watson, William, *Tang and Liao Ceramics*, London: Thames and Hudson, 1984, no. 281.



Figure 7.3b: Stone dragon-fish shaped ornament.

Liao Dynasty.

W. 6.4 cm.

Unearthed at no. 1 tomb in Shuiquan 水泉, Beipiao 北票, Liaoning province. From Xu Bingkun and Sun Shoudao, *Dongbei wenhua*, Hong Kong: The Commercial Press Ltd., 1996, pl. 201.



Figure 7.4: Lion on circular stand, licking its hind paw.

Liao Dynasty, 10th century.

H. 18 cm.

White stoneware with transparent glaze. Collection of Victoria and Albert Museum, London. From Watson, William, *Tang and Liao Ceramics*, London: Thames and Hudson, 1984, no. 224.



Figure 7.5: Celadon glazed incense burner with impressed design of waterfowl in a lotus pond.

Koryō Dynasty, the first half of 12th century.

H. 11.1 cm; L. 16.2 cm.

Collection of Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, gift of Mrs Albertine W.F. Valentine. From Rhee Byung-chang, *Kankoku bijyutsu shusen*, Tokyo: University of Tokyo Press, 1978, no.77.



Figure 7.6: Maebyōng vase and cover with cranes and clouds.

Koryō Dynasty, mid-12th century.

H. (with cover) 39 cm; (without) 36.3 cm; D. (mouth) 6.1 cm; (foot) 13.3 cm.

Stoneware with celadon glaze, inlaid in *sanggam* technique. Collection of National Museum of Korea, Seoul. From Whitfield, Roderick *et al.*, *Treasures from Korean Art through 5000 years*, London: British Museum Publication Ltd., 1984, pl.152.



Figure 7.7a: Celadon gourd-shaped bottle with inlaid design of egrets in a lotus pond.

Koryŏ Dynasty, 13th century.

H. 36.2 cm.

Private collection. From Rhee Byung-chang, *Kankoku bijyutsu shusen*, Tokyo: University of Tokyo Press, 1978, no.130.



Figure 7.7b: Maebyŏng (Prunus Vase), celadon with inlaid design of egrets and clouds.

Koryŏ period, late 13th-early 14th century.

H. 29.2 cm.

Collection of Metropolitan Museum of Art, Fletcher Fund. From Smith, G. Judith, ed., *Arts of Korea*, New York: Metropolitan Museum, 1998, pl.18.



Figure 7.8: Part of a set of silver belt-plaques with children motif.

Song Dynasty.

H. 4.3 cm; W. 3.8 cm; thickness 0.9cm.

Carved with playful children in high relief each enclosed in precious flower shape 宝相花形, surrounded by flower motifs, unearthed in 1972 at Liujia village 柳家村 in Fufeng county 扶风县, Shaanxi province. Reverse with silver tube welded to each plaque to admit leather belt. Collection of Fufeng Municipal Museum, Shaanxi. From *Zhongguo meishu quanji*, Metal Work, Glass and Enamel Wares, vol. 10, no.107-9.





Figure 7.9: Part of a set of silver gilt belt-plaques with children motif.

Liao Dynasty.

L. 13.7 cm (belt-end); H. 6 cm.

Carved with playful children in high relief on background of leaf patterns, unearthed from a tomb at Qianchuanghu village 前窗户村, Chaoyang county 朝阳县, Liaoning Province. Collection of Chaoyang Museum, Liaoning. From *Zhongguo meishu quanji*, Metal Work, Glass and Enamel Wares, vol. 10, no.123-4.



Figure 7.10a: Wine ewer and basin, with design of boys playing among grapes.

Koryŏ Dynasty, second half of 12th century.

H. 34.2 cm; Dia. (basin) 17.9 cm.

Stoneware with celadon glaze, inlaid in *sanggam* technique and underglaze copper-red. A large lotus leaf is engraved inside the bowl. Collection of National Museum of Korea, Seoul. From Whitfield, Roderick *et al.*, *Treasures from Korean Art through 5000 years*, London: British Museum Publication Ltd., 1984, p.147 (pl.164) and National Museum of Korea, *National Museum of Korea*, Seoul: T'ongch'ŏn munhwasa, 2000, p.18.

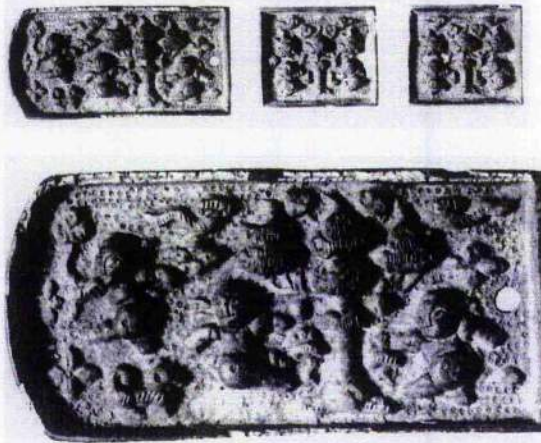


Figure 7.10b: Part of a set of gilded bronze belt-plaques carved with playful children in high relief.

Koryŏ Dynasty.

H. 3.5 cm; W. 4 cm and 8 cm (belt-end).

Collection of National Museum of Korea, Seoul. From Chosen sotokufu, *Chosen koko shiryō shusei 4*, Tokyo: Shuppan kagaku sogo kenkyūjo, 1982, no. 4179.



Figure 7.11: Gilded bronze ornament with a boy sitting on lotus leaf and holding branch.

Koryŏ Dynasty.

L. 1.9 - 4.0 cm.

Collection of National Museum of Korea, Seoul. From Ho-Am Art Gallery, *Taegoryo kukpojŏn*, Seoul: Samsŏng munhwajaedan, 1995, no. 261.



Figure 7.12: Greenish white jade ornament, with design of recumbent boy holding object.

Koryŏ Dynasty.

H. 3.3 cm; W. 5 cm.

There is a hole from the right shoulder to the base for attachment. Collection of National Museum of Korea, Seoul. Photograph reproduced courtesy of the Museum.



Figure 7.13a: Gold baby

Southern Song Dynasty.

L. 2 cm; weight 6 g.

Sprawling and holding a lotus branch in the left hand and a ring in the right hand, unearthed from tomb of Shi Shengzu 史绳祖 at Jiaowai Guayuan village 郊外瓜园村 in Quzhou 衢州市, Zhejiang province. Collection of Quzhoushi wenwu guanli weiyuanhui, Zhejiang. From *Zhongguo meishu quanji*, Metal Work, Glass and Enamel Wares, vol. 10, no. 110-1.

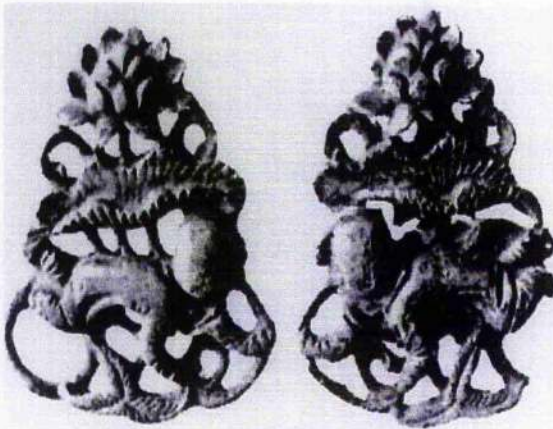


Figure 7.13b: Gilded bronze baby with a lotus motif (pair).

Koryŏ Dynasty.

H. 3.1 cm; W. 2.5 cm.

Sprawling and holding a lotus branch. Collection of National Museum of Korea, Seoul. From *Chosen sotokufu, Chosen kokoshiryo shusei 4*, Tokyo: Shuppan kagaku sogo kenkyujo, 1982, no. 4148.



Figure 7.14: Greenish white jade boy.

Date assumed between Song and Yuan.

Possibly holding a toy. From Zhou Nanquan, *Zhongguo guyu duandai yu bianwei 3*, 1995, Taiwan: Wenpei Art Picture Book Publishing House, pl. 254-4.

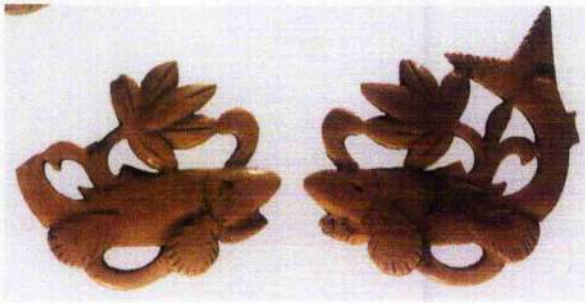


Figure 7.15: A pair of grayish yellow jade fish ornaments, with lotus branch.

Koryŏ Dynasty.

H. 4.2 cm; depth 0.5-6 cm.

Both jade pieces are completely opaque. Collection of National Museum of Korea, Seoul. Photograph reproduced courtesy of the Museum.



Figure 7.16: Crystal fish.

Northern Song Dynasty.

L. 8 cm; W. 2.5 cm; depth 0.5 cm.

Unearthed at base of pagoda of Jingzhi temple 静志寺 at Dingzhou 定州市 in Hebei province. Collection of Dingzhou Municipal Museum, Hebei. From *Zhongguo yuqi quanji*, vol. 5, no. 125.

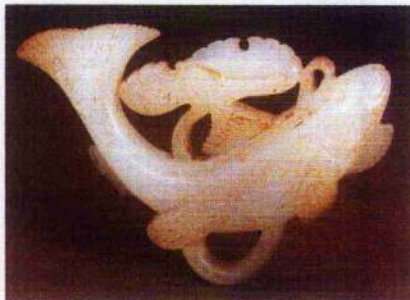


Figure 7.17: White jade fish pendant.

Song Dynasty.

L. 6.2 cm; W. 4 cm; depth 0.6 cm.

Qing Court Collection. From Zhou Nanquan, ed., *Yuqi*, vol.2, Hong Kong: The Commercial Press (Hong Kong) Ltd., 1995, no. 42.



Figure 7.18: White jade set of pendants.

Middle of Liao Dynasty (before AD 1018).

L. 18.2 cm.

Consisting of a jade lotus-shaped openwork ornament attached to silver gilt chains with six jade tools: scissors, two drills, a file, a ladle and a knife, unearthed in 1986 from site of the tomb of Princess of Chen, Naiman Banner. Collection of Archaeological Research Institute of Inner Mongolia. From *Neimengguzizhiqu wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo and Zhelimuming bowuguan, Liao Chengguo gongzhumu*, Beijing: Cultural Relics Publishing House, 1993, pl.Y 130.



Figure 7.19a: Enamelled pendant set with five ornaments (*ojak norigae*) and tassels.
Chosŏn Dynasty, 19th century.

L. 35 cm.

Ornaments including fish. Collection of Chang Pudeok Memorial Gallery. From Tamin Bokshik Museum, ed., *The Inaugural Exhibition Catalogue of The Chang Pudeok Memorial Gallery*, Seoul: Ewha Womans University Press, 1999, pl.107.



Figure 7.19b: Silver pendant set with three ornaments (*samjak norigae*) and tassels.
Chosŏn Dynasty, 19th century.

L. 35 cm.

Ornaments including small knife (*jangdo*). Collection of Chang Pudeok Memorial Gallery. From Tamin Bokshik Museum, ed., *The Inaugural Exhibition Catalogue of The Chang Pudeok Memorial Gallery*, Seoul: Ewha Womans University Press, 1999, pl.110.

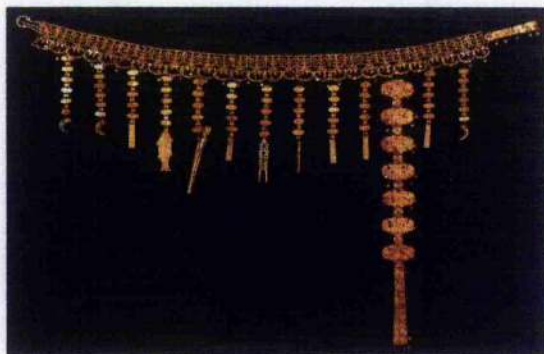


Figure 7.20: Gold girdle with pendants.
Silla, 5-7th century.

L. 77.5 cm.

Pendants including a comma-shaped jade ornament, a gold fish and a small knife in a curved sheath, unearthed in 1974 from Hwangnam daech'ong, north mound, Kyŏngju. Collection of National Museum of Korea, Seoul. National Treasure no. 192. From Whitfield, Roderick *et al.*, *Treasures from Korean Art through 5000 years*, London: British Museum Publication Ltd., 1984, p.97 (colour pl.92).

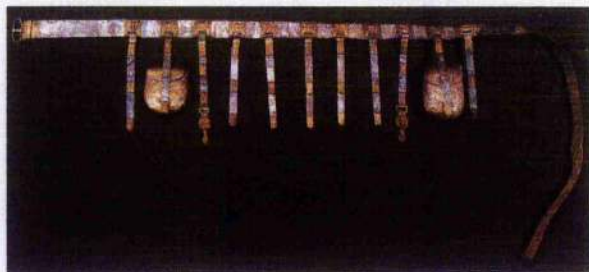


Figure 7.21: Gold and silver *diexie* belt girdle.
Middle of the Liao Dynasty (before AD 1018).

L. 156 cm.

With ornaments including two small silver gilt bags carved with phoenix motifs, unearthed in 1986 from the tomb of the consort of a Princess of Chen, Naiman Banner. Collection of Archaeological Research Institute of Inner Mongolia. From Neimengguzizhiqu wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo and Zhelimuming bowuguan, *Liao Chenguo gongzhumu*, Beijing: Cultural Relics Publishing House, 1993, colour pl. 17(XVII').

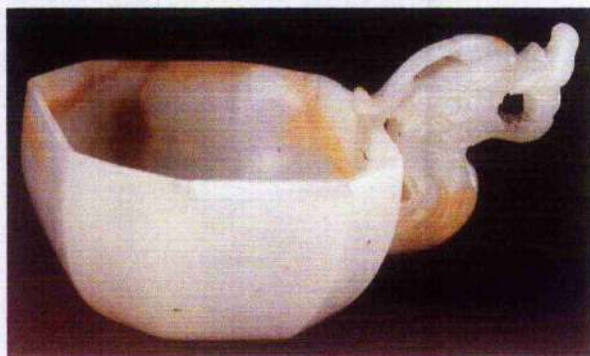


Figure 7.22: White jade octagonal cup with a dragon-shaped handle.

Dated Song Dynasty.

H. (handle) 5 cm; MD. 6.1 x 7.7 cm.

Qing Court Collection. From Zhou Nanquan, ed., *Yuqi*, vol. 2, Hong Kong: The Commercial Press (Hong Kong) Ltd., 1995, no. 104.



Figure 7.23: Silver-gilt cup.

Koryŏ Dynasty, 12-13th century.

H. 2.8 cm; MD 8 cm.

Collection of National Museum of Korea, Seoul. From Ho-Am Art Gallery, *Taegoryo kukpojŏn*, Seoul: Samsŏng munhwajaedan, 1995, no. 239.



View from top.

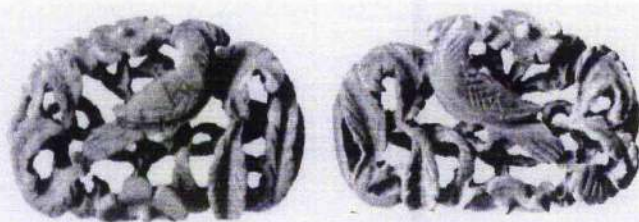


Figure 7.24: A pair of pale yellow jade ornaments with bird on flowering branch.

Koryŏ Dynasty.

H. 2.4 cm; W. 3.5 cm.

Collection of National Museum of Korea, Seoul. From Chosen sotokufu, *Chosen kokoshiryo shusei 4*, Tokyo: Shuppan kagaku sogo kenkyujo, 1982, no. 4497.

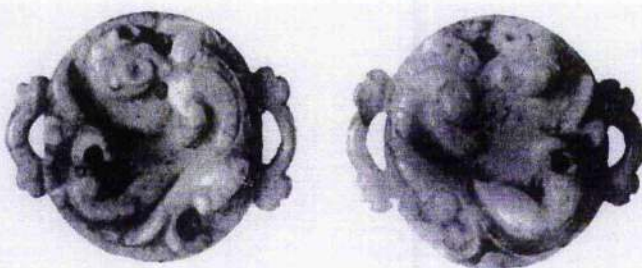


Figure 7.25: A pair of white jade ornaments with fork-tail *chi*-dragon.

Koryŏ Dynasty.

H. 3 cm; W. 4cm.

Collection of National Museum of Korea, Seoul. From Chosen sotokufu, *Chosen koko shiryo shusei 4*, Tokyo: Shuppan kagaku sogo kenkyujo, 1982, no. 4495.

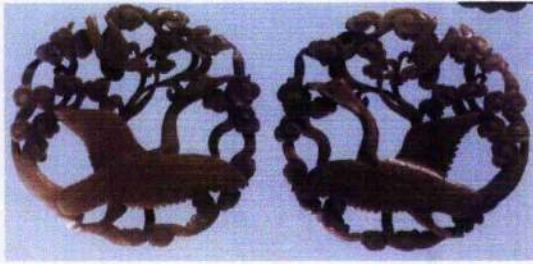


Figure 7.26a: A pair of greenish white jade openwork ornaments with swan attacked by falcon amid cloud pattern.

Koryŏ Dynasty.

Dia. 4.7 cm; thickness 0.4 - 0.8 cm.

Collection of National Museum of Korea, Seoul.
Photograph reproduced courtesy of the Museum.



Figure 7.26b: Detail of Figure 7.26a.

The greater part of the pieces are of whitish opaque jade. But some places are translucent greenish white, viz. centre and lower left of Figure 7.26b. It seems suggestive of burial disintegration.

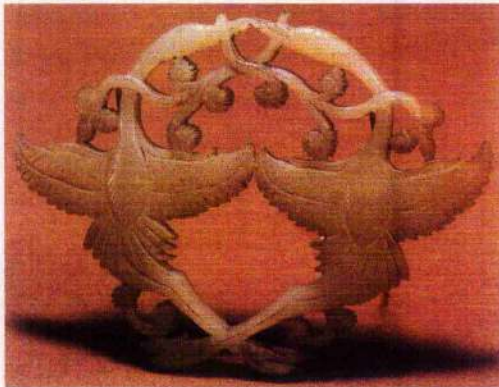


Figure 7.27: Greenish white jade openwork ornament with a pair of cranes holding tendrils in their bills.

Early Jin Dynasty.

H. 6 cm; L. 8.2 cm; thickness 0.6 cm.

Unearthed in 1974 from the tomb of Shiguo 石椁, Changgouyu 长沟峪, Fangshan 房山 county, Beijing. Collection of Capital Museum, Beijing.
From *Zhongguo yuqi quanji*, Jades, vol. 5, pl.83.

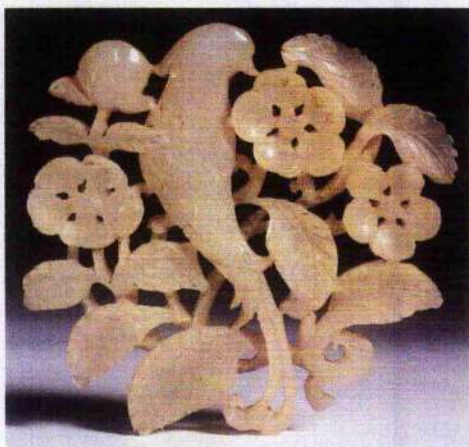


Figure 7.28: White jade openwork ornament with an Asian Paradise-flycatcher amid a flower motif.

Early Jin Dynasty.

Dia. 7-10 cm; thickness 1.3 cm.

Unearthed in 1980 from the tomb of Wugulun Wolun in Fengtaiqu, Beijing. Collection of Capital Museum, Beijing. From Shanghai Museum, ed., *Zhongguo Sui Tang zhi Qingdai yuqi xueshu yantaohui lunwenji*, Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2002, colour pl.27 (p.449).



Figure 7.29 (Left): Common style and design of incised and painted patterns seen in Jin ceramics. A swan (or wild goose) amid flower and leaf motif. From Liu Liangyou, *Zhongguo lidai taoqi jianshang* 3, Taipei: Shangya meishu chubanshe, 1992, p.89.

Figure 7.30 (Right): Pattern of a goose on Liao silver-gilt ewer.

From Zhu Tianshu, *Liaodai jinyinqi*, Beijing: Cultural Relics Publishing House, 1998, fig. 13-2.

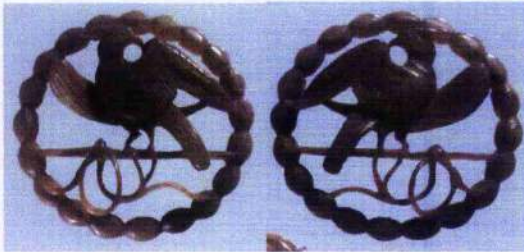


Figure 7.31a: A pair of white jade hawk ornaments.

10th to 14th century, Koryŏ Dynasty.

Dia. 3.2 cm; thickness 0.6 cm.

A hawk tied with a rope standing on a pole, enclosed with a beaded pattern. Collection of National Museum of Korea, Seoul. Photograph reproduced courtesy of the Museum.



Figure 7.31b: White jade ornament with a pair of parrots in openwork.

Dated to Yuan Dynasty.

H. 6.5 cm; W. 7.2cm; depth 1.4 cm.

Qing Court Collection. From Zhou Nanquan, ed., *Yuqi*, vol.2, Hong Kong: The Commercial Press (Hong Kong) Ltd., 1995, no. 118 (p.146).



Figure 7.31c: White Eagle, embroidery on cut silk.

Song Dynasty.

Collection of National Palace Museum, Taiwan.

From Lin Yutang, *Imperial Chinese Art*, Hertfordshire: Omega Books Ltd, 1961, no.49 (p.97).



Figure 7.32: Oriental Honey-buzzard, and distribution.
From MacKinnon, John and Phillipps, Karen, *A Field Guide to the Birds of China*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000, pl. 49 (458).

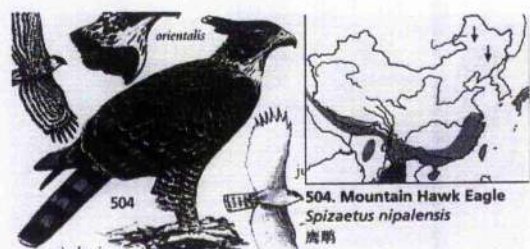


Figure 7.33: Mountain Hawk Eagle, and distribution.
From MacKinnon and Phillips, 2000, pl. 54 (504).



Figure 7.34: Pattern of a wild goose on Tang silver cup.
From Zhu Tianshu, *Liaodai jinyinqi*, Beijing: Cultural Relics Publishing House, 1998, fig. 13-1.



Figure 7.35: A pair of white jade openwork ornaments in two tiers, with a flower and bamboo motif.
Koryŏ Dynasty.
Dia. 2.4 cm; thickness 0.6 cm.
Collection of National Museum of Korea, Seoul. Photograph reproduced courtesy of the Museum.



Figure 7.36: Greenish jade openwork ornament in the shape of a bamboo.
Beginning of the Jin.
L. 6 cm; W. 5 cm.
Unearthed in 1974 from the tomb of Shiguo 石椁, Changgouyu 长沟峪, Fangshan 房山 county, Beijing. Collection of Capital Museum, Beijing.
From *Zhongguo yuqi quanji*, vol. 5, pl. 82.



Figure 7.37a: Common incised and painted pattern in Jin ware, wild goose or duck swimming in a lotus pond.

From Liu Liangyou, *Zhongguo lidai taoqi jianshang* 3, Taipei: Shangya meishu chubanshe, 1992, p.89.

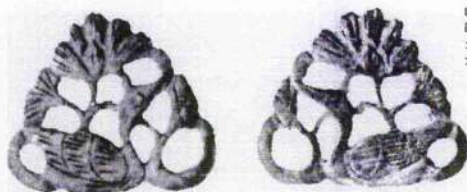


Figure 7.37b: A pair of pale yellow jade ornaments, with a duck (or goose) swimming in a lotus pond.

Koryŏ Dynasty.

H. 2.2 cm; L. 2.7 cm.

Collection of National Museum of Korea, Seoul. From Chosen sotokufu, *Chosen koko shiryō shusei* 4, Tokyo: Shuppan kagaku sogo kenkyujo, 1982, no. 4496.



Figure 7.38: *Ayam*, back and front, Chosŏn woman's hat for winter.

Chosŏn Dynasty.

Decorated with jade carvings at the front and back. From Kim Young-sook and Son Kyŏnja, *Chosen ocho Kankoku fukushoku zuroku*, Kyoto: Rinsen shoten, 1984, p.323 (128 a, b).



Figure 7.39: *Ayam*, Chosŏn woman's hat for winter.

Chosŏn Dynasty.

Dia. 30 cm; L. 11cm.

Decorated with jade carvings at the side. Collection of Onyang Folk Museum. From Onyang misulbangmulgwan hagiyeŏn-gushil ed., *Chosŏnshidae ūi kwanmo*, Onyang: Onyang Folk Museum, 1988, no.113.



Figure 7.40: A pair of pale greenish white jade ornaments with lotus motif.

Koryŏ Dynasty.

Dia. 2.7 cm; thickness 0.3-0.4 cm

A pair of looped holes at top of back. Collection of National Museum of Korea, Seoul. Photograph reproduced courtesy of the Museum.

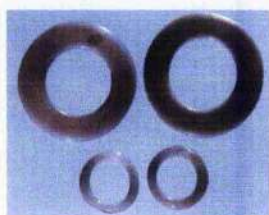


Figure 7.41: Two pairs of white jade rings.

Koryŏ Dynasty.

Dia. 2 cm (small) and 4 cm (large).

Collection of National Museum of Korea, Seoul. Photograph reproduced courtesy of the Museum.



Figure 7.42a (Left): *Chokturi*, woman's ceremonial cap, decorated with ornaments. Chosŏn Dynasty, 19th century. H. 9.8 cm; Dia. 9.5 cm. Collection of Chang Pudeok Memorial Gallery. From Tamin Bokshik Museum, ed., *The Inaugural Exhibition Catalogue of The Chang Pudeok Memorial Gallery*, Seoul: Ewha Womans University Press, 1999, no. 213.



Figure 7.42b (Right): Drawing of woman wearing *chokturi*. From Kim Youngsook and Son Kyŏnja, *Chosen ocho Kankoku fukushoku zuroku*, Kyoto: Rinsen shoten, 1984, p. 295 (114 d).



Figure 7.43: *Chŏllip* 戰笠 (military hat) with a gilded bronze finial and peacock feathers. Chosŏn Dynasty, 19th century. H. 20 cm. Collection of Chang Pudeok Memorial Gallery. From Tamin Bokshik Museum, ed., *The Inaugural Exhibition Catalogue of The Chang Pudeok Memorial Gallery*, Seoul: Ewha Womans University Press, 1999, p.76.



Figure 7.44a: Portrait of King *Ch'ŏlchong* 哲宗 (r. AD 1850-1863) repainting by Choi Kwangsoo 崔光守. AD 1989 (Copy after Chosŏn Dynasty 19th century original). H. 201.4 cm; W. 105.5 cm. Wearing military costume (*kunbok* 軍服) and hat (*chukchollip* 竹甕笠) with peacock tail and jade finial in the shape of a phoenix (i.e. *ongno*) for an outing to the countryside. Ink and colour on silk. The original was partially burnt during the Korean War. From Han-guk munhwajaeboho chaedan, *Chosŏn wangjo yumuldogam*, Seoul: Han-guk munhwajaeboho chaedan, 1993, no. 22. and Kwon Oh-chang, *Chosŏnshidae uriot*, Seoul: Hyunam Publishing Co., 1998, p.52.

Figure 7.44b: Detail of original portrait of King *Ch'ŏlchong*. From Yu Song-ok, *Chosŏnwangjo kungjung-ŭigwehokshik*, Seoul: Suhaksa, 1991, front colour plate.



Figure 7.45a: Portrait of Yi Sung-in (AD 1349-1392). Anonymous.
Copy after Koryŏ or Chosŏn original.
H. 140 cm; W. 80 cm.
Wearing black hat with a jade finial. Colour on silk. Sŏngsansa Collection. Photograph by the author.



Figure 7.45b: Detail of Figure 7.45a.



Figure 7.45c: Inscription on right in Figure 7.45a.



Figure 7.46a: Portrait of a notable civil official, Yi Toyŏn (AD 1269-1343). Anonymous.
Copy after Koryŏ or Chosŏn original.
H. 140 cm; W. 83 cm.
Wearing a hat with a string of beads. Colour on silk. Sŏngsansa Collection. From Kwŏn Sunyong, *Han-gugŭi mi*, Seoul: Chung-ang-ilbosa, 1981, no. 100.



Figure 7.46b: Detail of Figure 7.46a.
Photograph by the author.



Figure 7.46c: Mural painting of the occupants of a tomb.

Yuan Dynasty, late 13th century.

H. 94 cm; L. 243 cm.

Discovered on north wall of a tomb at Yuanbaoshan 元宝山 in Chifeng 赤峰市, Inner Mongolia. From *Zhongguo meishu quanji*, Mural painting, vol.12, no. 184.



Detail of Figure 7.46c showing occupant of tomb wearing hat finial.



Figure 7.47a: Portrait of a civil official, Yi P'o 李褒 (AD 1287-1373), a son of Yi Toyön. Anonymous.

Copy after Koryŏ or Chosŏn original.

H. 142 cm; W. 80 cm.

Wearing a hat in Mongolian style. Colour on silk. Sŏngsansa Collection. From Kwŏn Sunyong, *Han-gugŭi mi*, Seoul: Chung-ang-ilbosa, 1981, no. 101.



Figure 7.47b: Detail of Figure 7.47a.
Photograph by the author.



Figure 7.48: Portrait of a civil official, Yi Inmin
李仁敏 (AD 1331-?), a son of Yi P'o.
Anonymous.
Copy after Koryŏ or Chosŏn original.
H. 140 cm; W. 83 cm.
Wearing a hat with string of beads. Colour on silk.
Sŏngsansa Collection. Photograph by the author.



Figure 7.49: Portrait of a civil official, Yi Won-gu
李元具 (AD 1293-?). Anonymous.
Copy after Koryŏ or Chosŏn original.
H. 140 cm; W. 83 cm.
Wearing a hat with a black hat finial and string of beads. Colour on silk. Sŏngsansa Collection.
From Yi Ponghun, *Sŏngjuissise jinnok*, 1965, 17.
Kajŏnggong yangyŏk 稼亭公略歷.



Figure 7.50: Mural painting.

Late Koryŏ period.

Discovered in AD 2000 in the tomb of Park Ik 朴翊 (AD 1332-1398) on the east wall, in Milyang 密陽.

From http://211.248.135.1/beukhwa/page_01.htm



Figure 7.51: Portrait of Kim Sisŭp 金時習 (AD 1453-1493). Anonymous.

H. 72 cm; W. 48.5 cm.

Wearing a black hat with a string of beads. Colour on silk. Collection of Muryang temple 無量寺. Kwŏn Sunyong, *Han-gugŭi mi*, Seoul: Chung-ang-ilbosa, 1981, no. 104.



Figure 7.52: Portrait of Zhang Jimin and his wife Zhao.

Ming Dynasty, 17th century, or later copy.

H. 143.2 cm; W. 105.8 cm.

Hanging scroll, ink and colour on silk. Collection of Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, Smithsonian Institution, Washington D.C.; Smithsonian Collections Acquisition Program and partial gift from Richard G. Pritzlaff. From Stuart, Jan and Rawski, S. Evelyn, *Worshipping the ancestors: Chinese commemorative portraits*, Washington D.C.: Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, Smithsonian Institution, 2001, p.59.



Figure 7.53: Ancestral portrait of the Yao family 姚氏.

Ming Dynasty.

H. 24.5 cm; W. 28.6 cm.

Hanging scroll, ink and colour on silk. Collection of Shanghai Museum. From Zhongguo gudai shuhua jianding zu, ed., *Zhongguo gudai shuhua tumu*, Vol. 4, 1990, hu 1-2121, (1).



Figure 7.54: Detail of mural paintings of twelve officials.

Late Koryŏ period.

Discovered in AD 1956 in tomb of King Kongmin, at Kaep'unggun 開豐郡 in Kyŏnggido, two officials, holding tablets and wearing headdresses representing tiger (left) and rabbit (right) zodiac signs. From Chosŏn yujŏgyuml togam p'yŏnch'anwiwŏnhoe, *Chosŏn yujŏgyuml togam*, vol. 11, P'yŏng-yang, 1992, no. 46.



Figure 7.55: Figurines holding tablets and wearing headdresses representing twelve zodiac signs.

Song Dynasty.

Unearthed from a tomb at Lianjiang in Fujian province. From Ceng Fan, "Fujian Lianjiang Song mu qingli jianbao", *Kaogu tongxun*, 1958, no.5, pl. 6:3-5.



Figure 7.56: Embroidered official rank insignia with egret motif.

Chosŏn Dynasty, AD 1550-1600.

H. 29.5 cm; L. 30 cm.

Collection of Korea University Museum. From Suk Joo-sun, *Hyungbae*, Seoul: The Suk Joo-sun Memorial Museum of Korean Folk Arts, Dankook University, 1979, no. 20 (p.37).



Figure 7.57a (Left): White jade openwork egret and lotus hat finial with a gilt-brass (or gilt-bronze) mount.

Chosŏn Dynasty, 16th century.

H. 6 cm; Dia. (base) 5 cm; H. (jade) 4.8 cm; Dia. (jade) 4.5 cm.

Four egrets amid lotus and reeds. Three bats depicted on the mount. Three pair of holes on the mount for attachment. Collection of Hyŏnch'ung-sa, Onyang. National Treasure no.326. Photograph by the author.

Ren finial (Right) for comparison.



Left: Second view of Figure 7.57a showing an egret at centre stooping under looped reed; another on left is the same egret as above centre.

Right: Third view showing an egret at centre looking back.



Left: Fourth view showing an egret at centre crouching, looking forward.

Right: Fifth view showing a large drooping lotus flower at centre.



Figure 7.57b: Underneath of base of Figure 7.57a.



Figure 7.57c: Line on surface of base of Figure 7.57a which may be corroding solder, indicative of fusion of base and mount.



Figure 7.58: Leather belt with gold plated horn belt-plaques with tiger and cloud pattern. Ming Dynasty, 16th century. Collection of Hyöndch'ung-sa, Onyang. National Treasure no. 326. From *Kankoku bunkazai hogokyokai*, *Kankoku bunkazai taikan*, vol. 7, Tokyo: Maruzen, 1991, no. 1-3 (p.60-1). Details photographed by the author.



Catalogued as tiger, but perhaps lion.



Figure 7.59: Pair of gilt-bronze cups and saucers in peach shape. Ming Dynasty, 16th century. Collection of Hyöndch'ung-sa, Onyang. National Treasure no. 326. From *Hyöndch'ung-sa*, Catalogue of *Hyöndch'ung-sa*, Seoul: Ujin munhwasa, 1999, p.55 and *Kankoku bunkazai hogokyokai*, *Kankoku bunkazai taikan*, vol. 7, Tokyo: Maruzen, 1991, no. 1-4 (p.62).





Figure 7.60: Silver cup in half peach shape with a branch, stem and leaves forming handle.
Ming Dynasty.

MD. 7.6-7.7 cm.

Excavated from a tomb at Nanming 南明, Guadi village 瓜地村 in Tongdao county 通道县, Hunan province. Collection of Huaihuadiqu wenwugongzuodui 怀化地区文物工作队, Hunan. From *Zhongguo meishu quanji*, Metal work, Glass and Enamel Wares, vol. 10. pl.175.



Figure 7.61: Pale greenish jade (Xinjiang jade) peach-shaped cup.

Ming Dynasty.

H. 6 cm; MD. 10.1 x 8.5 cm.

Qing Court Collection. From Zhou Nanquan, ed., *Yuqi*, vol.2, Hong Kong: The Commercial Press (Hong Kong) Ltd., 1995, no. 197 (p.256).

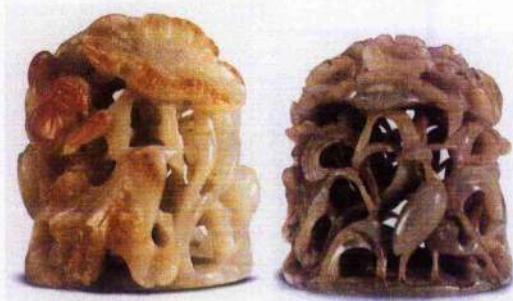


Figure 7.62: Pale white jade openwork egret and lotus finial.

Dated to Yuan Dynasty.

H. 4.2 cm; Dia. (base) 3.8 cm.

Depicted with four egrets amidst reeds, lotus leaves and flowers, unearthed in 1992 in the base of the Xilin pagoda, Songjiang district, Shanghai. Three pairs of holes on the base for attachment. Collection of Shanghai Museum. From Huang Xuanpei, ed., *Shanghai chutu Tang Song Yuan Ming Qing yuqi*, Shanghai: Shanghai renmin chubanshe, 2001, no.90.



Comparison with the Ren finial (right).

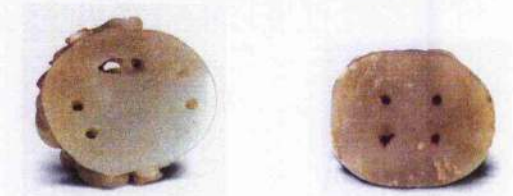
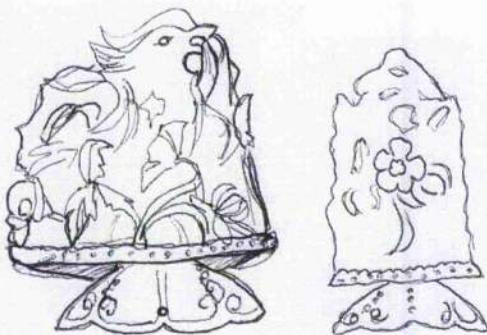




Figure 7.63a: Black box and pouch.
Chosŏn Dynasty or later (box).
Box: H. 11 cm; W. 7.5 cm; Depth 7.5 cm.
Collection of Hyŏnch'ungsa, Onyang. Photograph
by the author.



Figure 7.63b: Lacquer decoration and inside of
box in Figure 7.63a.



right profile

front

Figure 7.64: Drawing of right profile and front
views of white jade openwork mandarin duck hat
finial mounted with a gilt-bronze stand.
Chosŏn Dynasty, 16th - 17th century.
H. 6.8 cm; H. (mount) 1.6 cm; H. (jade) 5.2 cm;
Dia. (mount) 3.2 cm; W. (jade) 4.1 x 2.6 cm.
With mandarin duck holding lotus spray in its bill,
amid lotus and flower motifs. Collection of Jinju
National Museum. National Treasure No. 668.
Drawing by the author.



Figure 7.65a: Gourd-shaped gilt-bronze hat finial
on a flower-shaped stand.
Beginning of the Qing Dynasty (about AD 1650).
H. 3 cm; W. 5.6 cm.
With a red crystal inset in the middle of the finial.
From Yang Hao, "Qingchu Wu Liuqi mu ji
qixunzang yiwu", *Wenwu*, no. 1982, no.2, fig.1
(p.39).



Figure 7.65b: High-ranking Uighur (?) on right wearing a hat finial, taking part in Buddhist ceremony.

Tang Dynasty.

H. 160 cm; W. 135 cm.

Depicted at cave 32 in cave-temples at Bezeklik in Xinjiang. Collection of Indian Art Museum, Berlin, Germany. From *Zhongguo meishu quanji*, Murals of Xinjiang, vol. 16, no. 225.

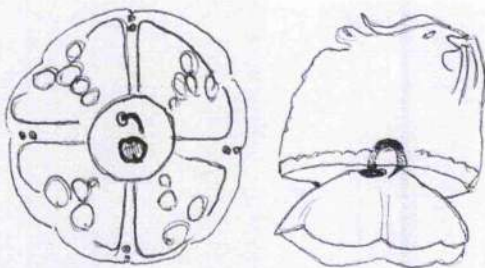


Figure 7.66: Underneath of mount of Figure 7.64 (left).

It is hollow. Note how a nail-like wire attaches mount to finial. Drawings by the author based on information kindly supplied by the Curator of the Museum.

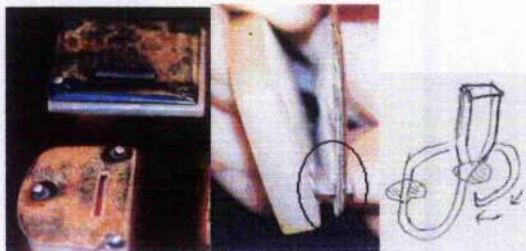


Figure 7.67: Jade belt-plaque and tortoiseshell attached with nails.

Dated to Tang Dynasty.

Collection of Lin Zonghan, an antique dealer in Taipei. Photographs and drawing by the author.

Drawing shows how jade plaque and tortoiseshell are attached together by the nail.

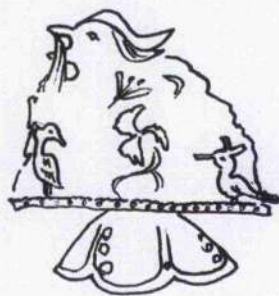


Figure 7.68: Left profile of Figure 7.64.

With small egret-like bird forward left and a pheasant-type bird to rear right amid flower motifs. Drawing by the author.



Figure 7.69: Portrait of Yi Hyonpo.

Chosŏn Dynasty, c. AD 1536.

H. 130 cm; W. 95 cm.

Entitled as *okjunsangin* 玉俊上人, wearing a wide brimmed hat with hat finial. Colour on silk. Yi Yonggu 李龍九 Collection. National Treasure No. 872. From Kwŏn Sunyong, *Han-gugŭi mi*, Seoul: Chung-ang-ilbosa, 1981, no. 105.



Figure 7.70: Second important group of Chosŏn envoys in Japan 中官, wearing *yungbok* and *chöllip* decorated with jade-like openwork hat finials.

Edo period, 19th century.

H. 35 cm; L. 603 cm.

Detail of 'Outfit of the Korean Envoys in AD 1811' 朝鮮人物旗杖轎輿之図 by Yinokai Masa? 猪飼正穀 Detail of handscroll. Colour on paper. Detailed shapes and materials of costumes and personal adornments are noted at the side of figures. Collection of Hosa Bunko, Nagoya, Aichi. From Tokyo National Museum, *Chosen tsushinshi*, Tokyo: Tokyo National Museum, 1985, no. 18 (p.9).



Figure 7.71: Second important group of Chosŏn envoys in Japan 中官, smoking pipes and wearing *yungbok* and *chöllip* decorated with gold-like hat finials.

Edo period, 19th century.

H. 30.3 cm; L. 994 cm.

Detail of 'Portraits of the Korean Envoys' 朝鮮人物正写朝鮮正使御餐忘之節, a copy possibly after Kondo Shibun. Detail of handscroll. Colour on paper. Private collection. From Shin Gisu and Nakao Hiroshi, eds., *Taikei chosen tsushinshi*, Tokyo: Akashi shoten, 1993, vol. 8, p.11, 83.

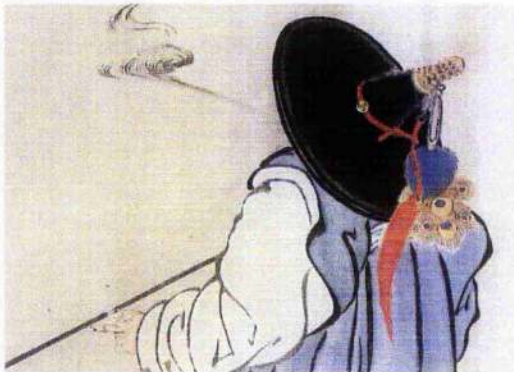




Figure 7.72a: White jade openwork mandarin duck-shaped hat finial with a silver-gilt mount. Chosŏn Dynasty, dated c. AD 1800. H. 5 cm; H. (jade) 4 cm; W (jade). 5.3 cm; Depth (jade) 2.5 cm.

Mandarin duck sitting on a large lotus leaf and holding a lotus branch with seed pod in its bill. Two pairs of relatively large loop-shaped holes on the back of jade base to attach a silver-gilt stand with wires. Five bats are depicted on the silver-gilt stand and three small pairs of holes on base for attachment. Collection of Suk Joo-sun Memorial Museum of Korean Folk Arts, Dankook University. From Suk Joo-sun, *Kwanmo ūi sushik*, Seoul: The Suk Joo-sun Memorial Museum of Korean Folk Arts, Dankook University, 1993, no. 12 (p.24).



Figure 7.72b: Pattern of quartered circles, commonly used for border decorations and banded patterns in Yuan Dynasty porcelain. From Liu Liangyou, *Zhongguo lidai taoqi jianshang* 3, 1992, p.285.



Figure 7.73: Pale green jade crane-shaped hat finial with a silver-gilt mount. Chosŏn Dynasty, dated c. AD 1750. H. 5 cm; W. 2.5 cm.

Crane with round bare spots on the top of the head. Three small pairs of holes are perforated on a silver-gilt mount for attachment. Collection of Suk Joo-sun Memorial Museum of Korean Folk Arts, Dankook University. From Suk Joo-sun, *Kwanmo ūi sushik*, Seoul: The Suk Joo-sun Memorial Museum of Korean Folk Arts, Dankook University, 1993, no. 12 (p.24).



Figure 7.74: White jade egret-shaped hat finial with silver-gilt mount. Chosŏn Dynasty, dated c. AD 1750. H. 4 cm; W. 2.7 cm.

Small ring attached to mount for holder of bird feather. Collection of Suk Joo-sun Memorial Museum of Korean Folk Arts, Dankook University. From Suk Joo-sun Memorial Museum of Korean Folk Arts, *Suk Joo-sun kinyŏmminsok pangmulgwan*, unpublished Museum brochure.



Figure 7.75: White jade egret-shaped hat finial with a silver mount.
Chosŏn Dynasty, dated c. AD 1850.
H. 3.5 cm; W. 2.3cm.
Four pairs of small holes on the mount for attachment. Collection of Suk Joo-sun Memorial Museum of Korean Folk Arts, Dankook University. From Suk Joo-sun, *Kwanmo ūi sushik*, Seoul: The Suk Joo-sun Memorial Museum of Korean Folk Arts, Dankook University, 1993, no. 12 (p.24).

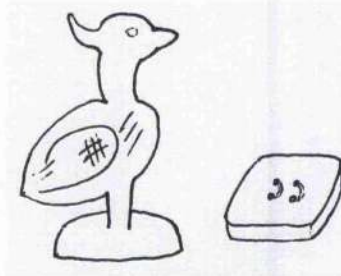


Figure 7.76a (Left): White jade egret-shaped hat finial.
Chosŏn Dynasty, dated c. 1800.
H. 3 cm; W. 2 cm.
Collection of Suk Joo-sun Memorial Museum of Korean Folk Arts, Dankook University. Drawing by the author.

Figure 7.76b (Right): Bottom of the square-shaped jade base of Figure 7.76a.
Two pairs of loop-shaped holes are in the centre. Drawing by the author.



Figure 7.77: Pale greenish white jade egret-shaped hat finial.
Chosŏn Dynasty, dated c. 1800.
H. 3.7 cm; W. 2.2 cm.
Collection of Suk Joo-sun Memorial Museum of Korean Folk Arts, Dankook University. From Onyang misulbangmulgwan hagyeŏn-gushil ed., *Chosŏnshidae ūi kwanmo*, Onyang: Onyang Folk Museum, 1988, no. 161.

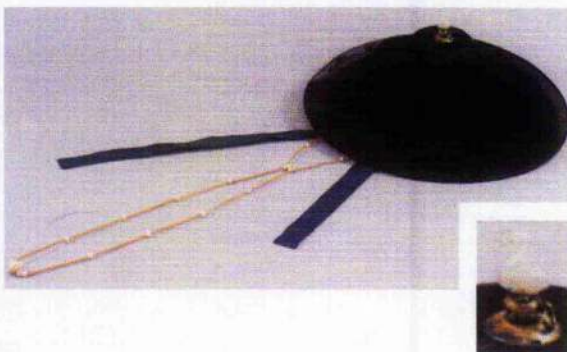


Figure 7.78: Black *kat* hat with a jade egret-shaped hat finial.
Chosŏn Dynasty, c. 1750 (hat).
H. 10.5 cm.
Collection of Suk Joo-sun Memorial Museum of Korean Folk Arts, Dankook University. From Suk Joo-sun, *Kwanmo ūi sushik*, Seoul: The Suk Joo-sun Memorial Museum of Korean Folk Arts, Dankook University, 1993, no. 12 (p.24).



Figure 7.79a (Left): White jade openwork egret hat finial with gilded mount.
Late Chosŏn period.

H. 5.7 cm; H. (jade) 4.5 cm; W. (jade) 2-2.5 cm;
Dia. (mount) 3.5 cm.

Three alert egrets standing on a lotus flower, bud and leaf motif, looking backward. The gilded mount is depicted with five bats. Three pairs of small holes on the mount are for attachment. Collection of Korea University Museum. Photograph by the author.

Figure 7.79b (Right): Underside of Figure 7.79a.
Photograph by the author.



Figure 7.80a (Left): Painting of a white egret, by Yang Kihun (AD 1843-1898).
Chosŏn Dynasty, 19th century.

H. 126.8 cm; W. 34.4 cm.

Ink on silk. Kim Joungwon, ed., *Ilbon sojang Han-guk munhwajae*, vol. 3, Seoul: Han-gukkukche gyoryujaedan, 1997, no. 171.



Figure 7.80b (Right): Painting of a white egret, by Yang Kihun (AD 1843-1898).
Chosŏn Dynasty, 19th century.

H. 104.2 cm; W. 41.5 cm.

Ink on silk.
Kim Joungwon, ed., 1997, no. 172.



Figure 7.81: Two white jade egret-shaped hat finials with gilt-bronze (left) and gilt-silver (right) mounts.
Chosŏn Dynasty, 19th century.

Right: H. 6 cm; Dia. (base) 3.3 cm.
Left: H. 4 cm. Dia. (base) 2.5 cm.

Collection of Chang Pudeok Memorial Gallery, Ewha Womans University. From Tamin Bokshik Museum, ed., *The Inaugural Exhibition Catalogue of the Chang Pudeok Memorial Gallery*, Seoul: Ewha Womans University Press, 1999, pl.80 (p.75).



Figure 7.82: Yellowish jade openwork egret and lotus hat finial mounted on gilt-bronze stand. Chosŏn Dynasty, 19th century. H. 7 cm; Dia. (base) 5 cm; H. (jade) 4.8 cm; Dia. (jade base) 3-4 cm.

Four egrets in a lotus pond. Collection of Chang Pudeok Memorial Gallery, Ewha Womans University. From Tamin Bokshik Museum, ed., *The Inaugural Exhibition Catalogue of the Chang Pudeok Memorial Gallery*, Seoul: Ewha Womans University Press, 1999, pl.78 (p.73).

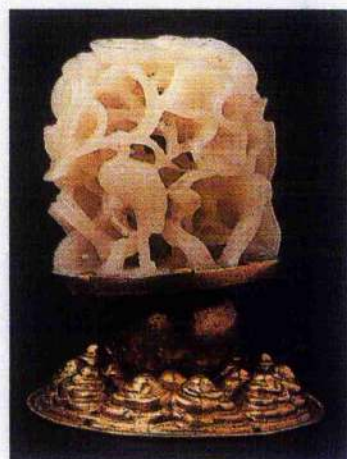


Figure 7.83: Yellowish jade openwork egret and lotus hat finial mounted with gilt-bronze stand. Chosŏn Dynasty, 19th century. H. 5.8 cm ; Dia. (base) 4.3 cm; H. (jade) 4 cm; Dia. (jade base) 3.4 cm.

Eight egrets with lotus flowers and leaves, and lingzhi fungus. Collection of Chang Pudeok Memorial Gallery, Ewha Womans University. From Tamin Bokshik Museum, ed., *The Inaugural Exhibition Catalogue of the Chang Pudeok Memorial Gallery*, Seoul: Ewha Womans University Press, 1999, pl.81 (p.75).

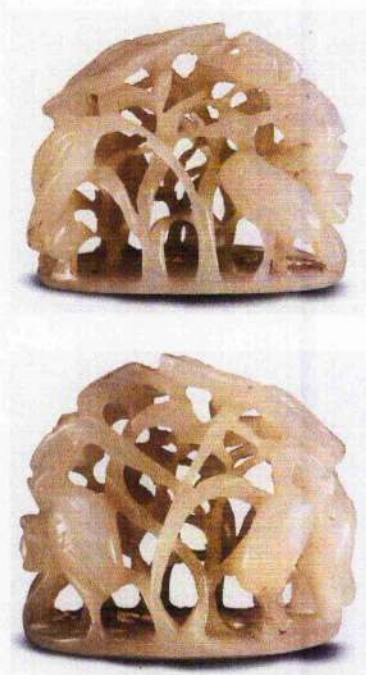


Figure 7.84: White jade openwork egret and lotus finial.

Dated to the beginning of the Ming.

H. 2.8 cm; Dia. 2.1 - 3.2 cm.

Unearthed from Xilin pagoda at Songjiang in Shanghai. Four egrets in a lotus pond. Two pairs of holes on the base for attachment. Collection of Shanghai Museum. After Huang Xuanpei ed., *Shanghai chutu Tang Song Yuan Ming Qing yuqi*, Shanghai: Shanghai renmin chubanshe, 2001, no.96.

Reverse view.



Bottom view of Figure 7.84.



Figure 7.85: Pale greenish white jade openwork bird and flower hat finial with gilt-bronze mount. Chosŏn Dynasty, 19th century.

H. 5.7 cm; Dia. (base) 3.9 cm; H. (jade) 4 cm; Dia. (jade) 2-2.5 cm.

Two birds amid flowers with five-petal and bud motif. Collection of Chang Pudeok Memorial Gallery, Ewha Womans University. From Tamin Bokshik Museum, ed., *The Inaugural Exhibition Catalogue of the Chang Pudeok Memorial Gallery*, Seoul: Ewha Womans University Press, 1999, pl.81 (p.75).



Figure 7.86: Greenish white jade openwork hat finial with a *sip changsaeng* motif mounted on gilt-silver stand. Chosŏn Dynasty, 19th century.

H. 7.5 cm; Dia. (base) 6.5 cm; H. (jade) 5.5 cm;

Dia. (jade base) 4 - 4.5 cm.

The motif with spotted deer, crane, turtle, *lingzhi* fungus, pine-trees, bamboo leaves and so forth (i.e. *sip changsaeng*). The mount was repaired in 1998. Collection of Chang Pudeok Memorial Gallery, Ewha Womans University. From Tamin Bokshik Museum, ed., *The Inaugural Exhibition Catalogue of the Chang Pudeok Memorial Gallery*, Seoul: Ewha Womans University Press, pl.78 (p.73).



Figure 7.87: Greenish jade openwork finial with a *qiushan* motif.

Dated to Yuan Dynasty.

H. 3cm; Dia. 2-2.9 cm.

Unearthed from Xilin pagoda at Songjiang in Shanghai. Deer in autumnal oak grove (i.e. *qiushan*) with *lingzhi* fungus motif. Holes in base for attachment. Collection of Shanghai Museum. From Huang Xuanpei, ed., *Shanghai chutu Tang Song Yuan Ming Qing yuqi*, Shanghai: Shanghai renmin chubanshe, 2001, no.95.



Reverse view of Figure 7.87.



Figure 7.88: Hat finial, with silver bird in gilt-silver flower motif standing on a round agate. Chosŏn Dynasty, 19th century.

H. 5.6 cm; Dia. (agate) 3.3 cm.

Wood-like fragment is embedded in hole in base of agate. Collection of Chang Pudeok Memorial Gallery, Ewha Womans University. From Tamin Bokshik Museum, ed., *The Inaugural Exhibition Catalogue of the Chang Pudeok Memorial Gallery*, Seoul: Ewha Womans University Press, pl.79 (p.74).



Figure 7.89: Silver openwork hat finial.

Chosŏn Dynasty, 19th century.

H. 7.5 cm; Dia. 5.2 cm.

Collection of Chang Pudeok Memorial Gallery, Ewha Womans University. From Tamin Bokshik Museum, ed., *The Inaugural Exhibition Catalogue of the Chang Pudeok Memorial Gallery*, Seoul: Ewha Womans University Press, 1999, pl.83 (p.78).



Figure 7.90: Three gilt-bronze openwork hat finials.

Chosŏn Dynasty, 19th century.

H. 2.6 - 4.8 cm. Dia. 2.4-3.5 cm.

Collection of Chang Pudeok Memorial Gallery, Ewha Womans University. From Tamin Bokshik Museum, ed., *The Inaugural Exhibition Catalogue of the Chang Pudeok Memorial Gallery*, Seoul: Ewha Womans University Press, pl.85 (p.79).



Figure 7.91a: Black lacquered *kat* hat (*ongno lip*) with white jade openwork egret and lotus hat finial mounted on gilt-bronze stand.

Chosŏn Dynasty.

H. (hat) 13.5 cm; Dia. (hat) 15 cm; H. (jade with mount) 6.9 cm; H. (jade) 4.5 cm; W. (jade) 4 x 5 cm.

Collection of National Museum of Korea, Seoul. Photograph reproduced courtesy of the Museum.

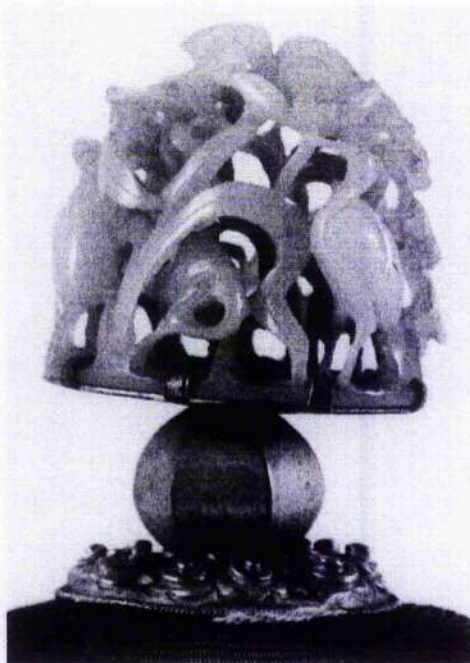


Figure 7.91b: Jade openwork finial of Figure 7.91a. Five egrets in a lotus pond.

► Note the thread.



Figure 7.92: Black lacquered *kat* hat (*ongno lip*) with yellowish jade openwork egret and lotus hat finial (Figure 7.82).

Chosŏn Dynasty, 19th century.

H. (hat) 12.2 cm. Dia. (hat) 38 cm. Collection of Chang Pudeok Memorial Gallery, Ewha Womans University. From Tamin Bokshik Museum, ed., *The Inaugural Exhibition Catalogue of the Chang Pudeok Memorial Gallery*, Seoul: Ewha Womans University Press, 1999, pl.77 (p.72).



Figure 7.93: Ritual tripod enameled brass incense burner and a cover with a dragon-shaped finial.

Chosŏn Dynasty.

H. 28 cm; MD 13.1 cm; Dia. (cover) 12.2 cm. Collection of Ch'angdŏkkung 昌德宮. Cultural relic no. 118. From Munhwa gongbobu munhwajaegwalli-guk, *Kungjung yunmul torok*, Seoul: Munhwa gongbobu, 1986, no. 87.



Figure 7.94: Ritual tripod brass incense burner and a cover with a dragon head finial.

Chosŏn Dynasty.

H. 18 cm; MD. 13cm; H. (foot) 8 cm.

Collection of Royal Ancestral Mausoleum (Chongmyo 宗廟) in Seoul. From Munhwa gongbobu munhwajaegwalli-guk, *Kungjung yunmul torok*, 1986, no. 95 and Han-guk munhwajaeboho chaedan, *Chŏson wangjo yumuldogam*, Seoul: Han-guk munhwajaeboho chaedan, 1993, 1993, no.79.



Figure 7.95: Two jade openwork tripod incense burners in *ding* shape. Chosŏn Dynasty.

Left: H. 21 cm; MD. 10 cm.

Right: H. 27 cm; Dia. 12.2 cm; Dia. (cover) 14.8 cm.

Left: Dragon head finial on a cover. Cultural relic no. 112. Right: *pulloch'o*-shaped handles. Cultural relic no. 110. Collection of Ch'angdŏkkung. Cultural relic no. 118. From Munhwa gongbobu munhwajaegwalli-guk, *Kungjung yunmul torok*, 1986, no. 87 and Han-guk munhwajaeboho chaedan, *Chŏson wangjo yumuldogam*, 1993, no. 67.



Figure 7.96: Screen depicting bookshelf and stationery (*ch'aekkado* 冊架圖). Anonymous. Chosŏn Dynasty.

H. 193 cm ; L. 240 cm.

Colour on silk. Collection of Ch'angdŏkkung. Cultural relic no. 65. From Munhwa gongbobu munhwajaegwalli-guk, *Kungjung yunmul torok*, 1986, no. 22 and Han-guk munhwajaeboho chaedan, *Chŏson wangjo yumuldogam*, Seoul: Han-guk munhwajaeboho chaedan, 1993, no. 29.



Detail of Figure 7.96.

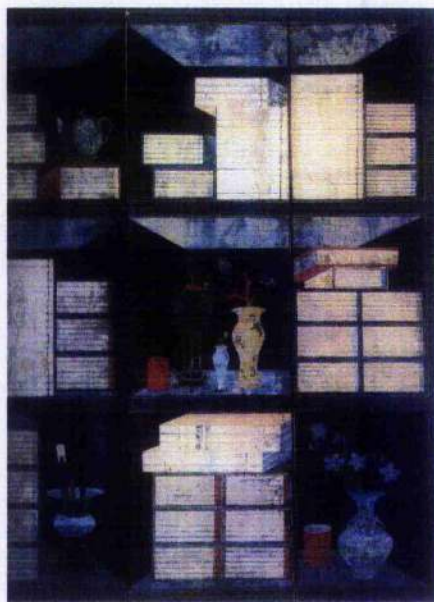


Figure 7.97a: Section of screen depicting bookshelf and stationery. Anonymous. Chosŏn Dynasty, 18th century.

H. 146 cm; L. 285 cm.

Colour on paper. Collection of Kurashiki Folk Crafts Museum, Okayama. Kikutake Jyunichi and Yoshida Hiroshi eds., *Sekai bijyutsu daizenshu*, vol. 11, 1999, no. 60.



Figure 7.97b: Detail of Figure 7.97a.

Left: display object in style of Chinese *ding* bronze vessel with cover and stand.

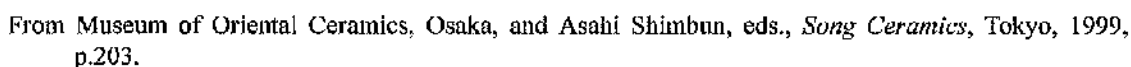
Right: brush stand in style of Chinese *gu* ware.

APPENDICES

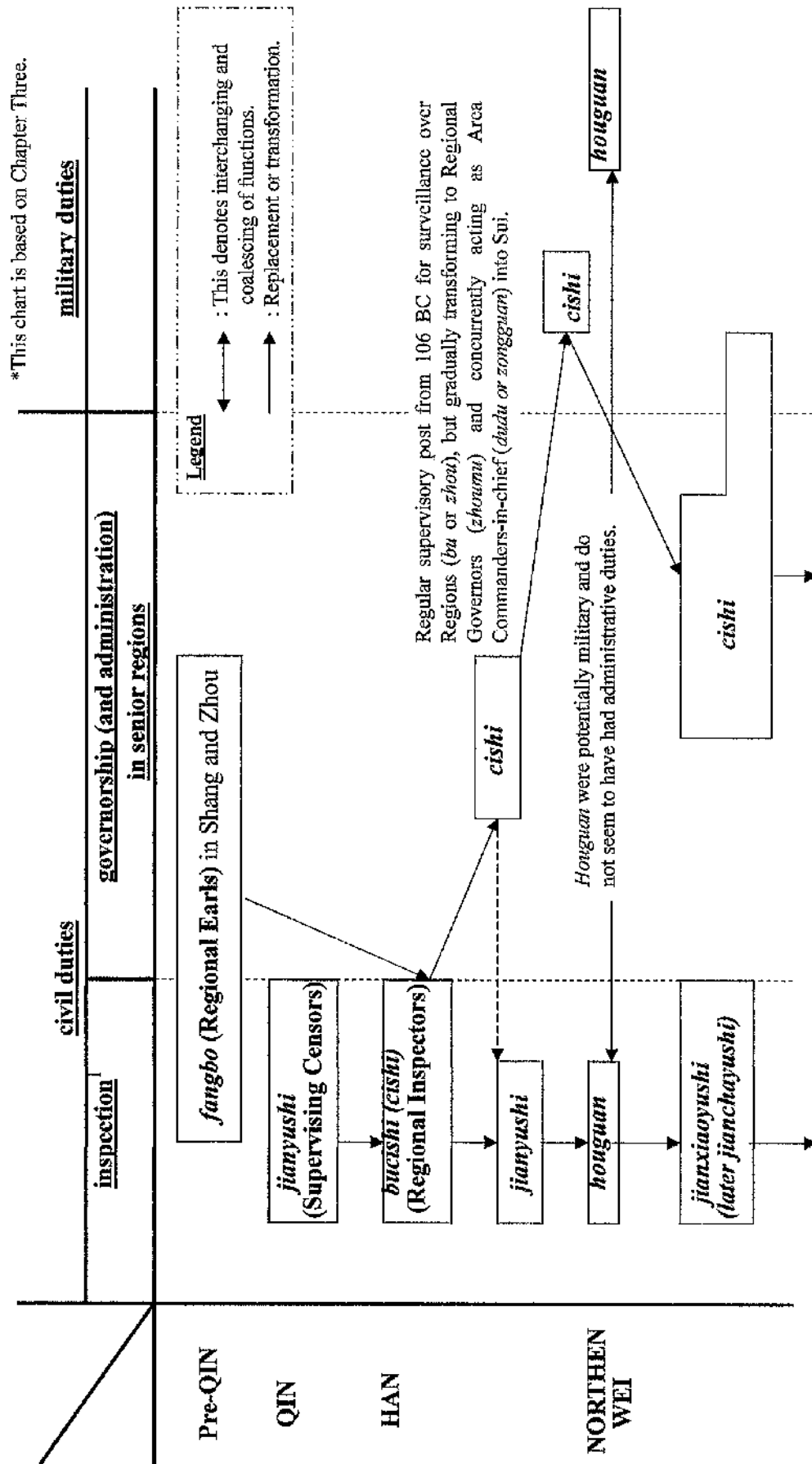
Appendix 1: Chronological Table

Chronology of Chinese History

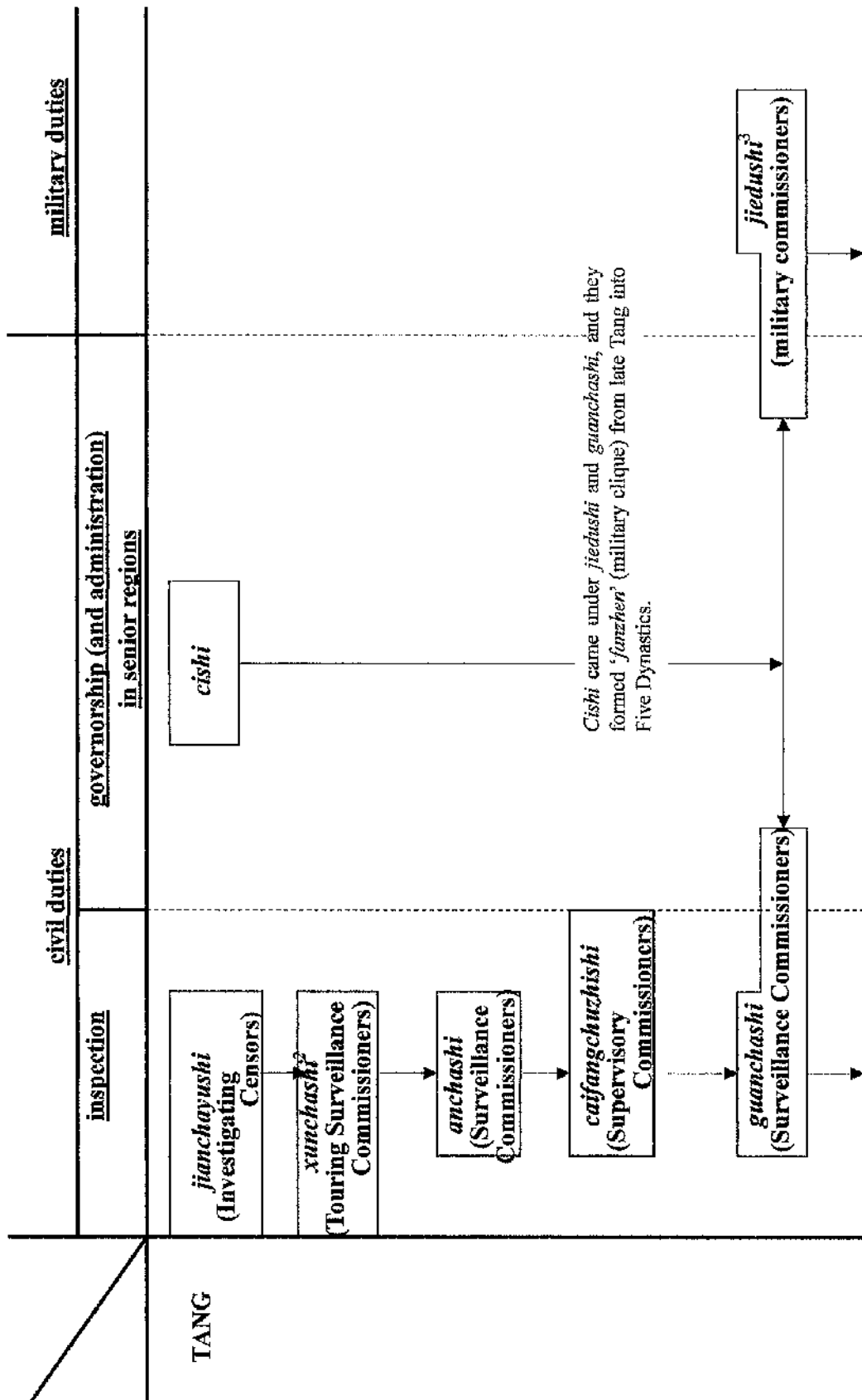
<u>Neolithic Period</u>	<i>c.</i> 5000 -- <i>c.</i> 1600 BC
<u>Early Dynasties</u>	
Shang	<i>c.</i> 1500 -- <i>c.</i> 1050 BC
Western Zhou	<i>c.</i> 1050 -- 771 BC
Eastern Zhou	770 -- 221 BC
Spring and Autumn Period	770 -- 475 BC
Warring States Period	475 -- 221 BC
<u>Imperial China</u>	
Qin	221 -- 206 BC
Han	206 BC -- AD 220
Former (Western) Han	206 BC -- AD 9
Xin	AD 9 -- 25
Later (Eastern) Han	AD 25 -- 220
Three Kingdoms	AD 221 -- 280
Southern Dynasties (Six Dynasties)	265 -- 589
Northern Dynasties	386 -- 581
Sui	589 -- 618
Tang	618 -- 906
Five Dynasties	907 -- 960
Liao	907 -- 1125
Song	960 -- 1279
Northern Song	960 -- 1126
Southern Song	1127 -- 1279
Jin	1115 -- 1234
Yuan	1279 -- 1368
Ming	1368 -- 1644
Qing	1644 -- 1911



Appendix 2: Chart of Transformation of Duties of Regional Inspectors

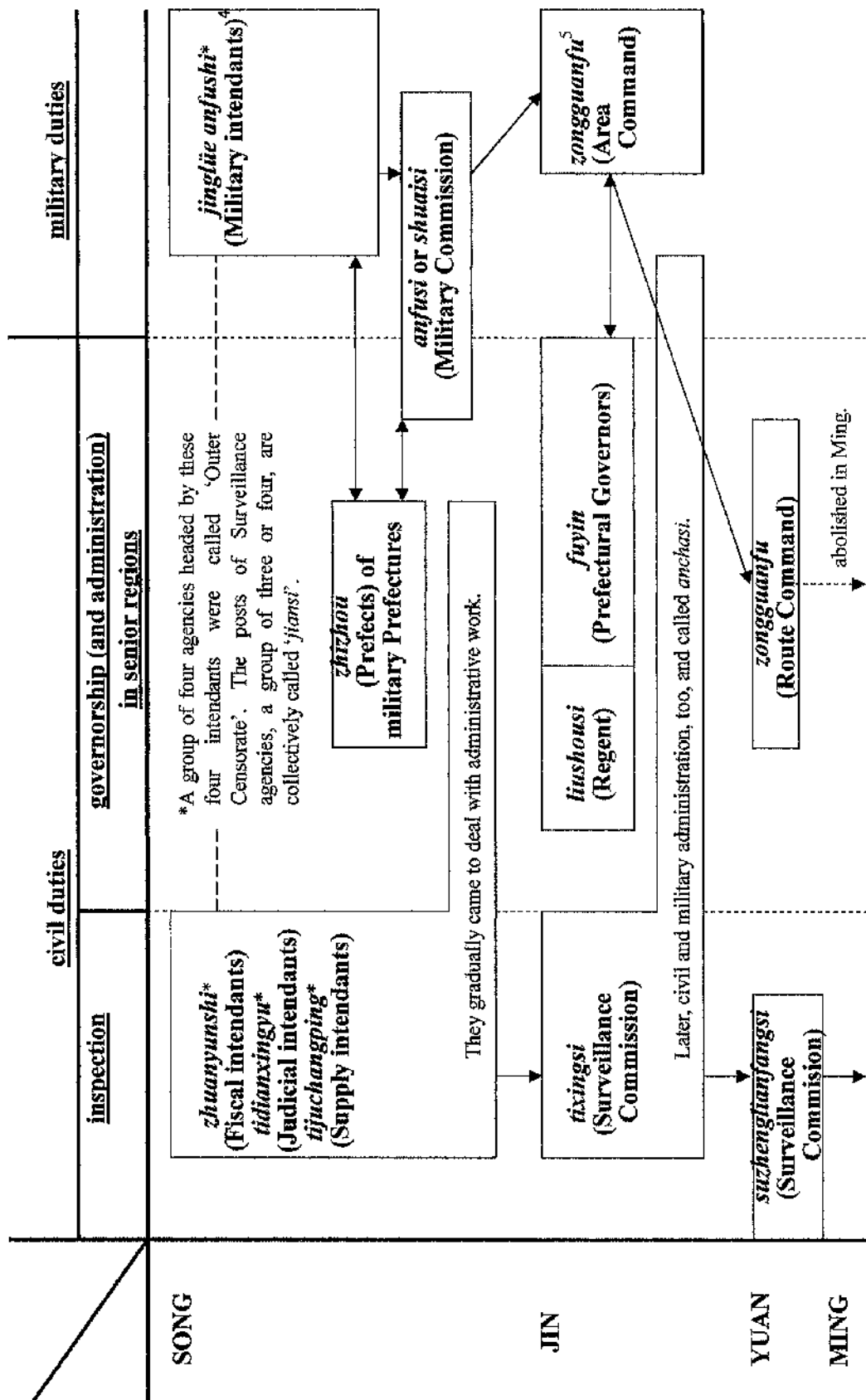


1 The 'inspectors' used here encompass officials holding broader inspectorate and surveillance duties.



² Xuanchashi were also held by anfushi (Pacification Commissioners), later Military intendants of the Song.

³ Both posts of jiedushi and guanchashi were occasionally held by the same official in the late Tang.



⁴ It is currently debatable among scholars whether Military intendants were included in *jiansi* or not.

⁵ *Zongguanfu* supervised military affairs, civil administration and the law in *lu* Route headed by *zongguan*.

Appendix 3: Catalogue of Jade Openwork Finials in Europe and the United States

Jade openwork finials in European and American collections and in mainland China and Taiwan which are excluded in the main text will be illustrated here.¹ Jade finials in openwork carving have been selected but not jade finials such as *lingzhi* fungus and lotus bud.² In China, in particular, not a few publications illustrate jade openwork finials, including finials in private collections. However, here illustrations from collections in China are limited only to not well-known objects from reliable sources able to supply good photographs.³ Jade openwork finials that the author viewed and examined both in the Palace Museum, Beijing, and Nanjing Museum were not available for a photographic service, and they are therefore not included.⁴ Museum and private collection finials will be divided into three groups as follows:

A. United Kingdom and Continental Europe (13)⁵:

1. Burrell Collection, Glasgow (2)
2. Smillie Collection, Hunterian Museum, University of Glasgow (1)
3. Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge (1)
4. Ashmolean Museum, Oxford (2)
5. British Museum, London (2)⁶

¹ Illustrating jade openwork finials in the Chinese collections is not a main concern in this section, as many important examples have been already discussed in the text.

² For these examples and discussion, see Chapter Six.

³ Private Collections in China are omitted here. See, for example, Sydney Fung and Yeung Chun-tong, eds., *Exquisite Jade Carving: Figures, Animals, Ornaments*, Hong Kong, 1996, no. 190 (p.213) and Ip Yee, *Chinese Jade Carving*, Hong Kong, 1983, no. 207-8 (p.230).

⁴ It is worth noting that both Museums hold perhaps the richest collections of heirloom jade openwork finials (from the imperial collections) in the world. A number of jade openwork finials are on display in the Nanjing Museum, but they are not available in publications. For examples of jade openwork finials in the Palace Museum, see ZYQ:S5, no.130-1, 154, 167, 239, and Zhou Nanquan, *Yuqi (zhong)*, 1996, Hong Kong, no.94, 97-100, 149-153, 182. Two jade openwork dragon finials are also exhibited in the jade gallery in the Palace Museum. The Shanghai Museum is also known to preserve a very fine collection of jade openwork finials which include many important unearthed pieces. For more examples other than examples in our discussion, see Huang Xuanpei, ed., *Shanghai chutu Tang Song Yuan Ming Qing yuqi*, 2001, Shanghai, no.89-97, 104.

⁵ Illustrated here are, I believe from my enquiries, all the jade openwork finials preserved in British Museums known for public jade collections (enquiries to other countries sometimes went unacknowledged). For this Museum list, see Roger Keverne, ed., *Jade*, London, 1991, p.350-2.

6. Victoria and Albert Museum (1)
7. Museum of East Asian Art, Bath (2)
8. Staatliches Museum für Völkerkunde Dresden (State Museum for Ethnology, Dresden) (2)

B. United States (4):

1. Metropolitan Museum of Art (2)
2. Smithsonian Institution, Freer Gallery of Art (1)
3. Victor Shaw Collection (1)

C. China PRC and Taiwan (5):

1. Liaoning Provincial Museum, Shenyang (1)
2. Xi'an Municipal Administrative Committee of Cultural Relics (1)
3. Guangdong Provincial Museum (1)
4. National Palace Museum, Taiwan (2)⁷

⁶ There are not a few examples of jade finials in the Museum. However, the majority seem to be finials in the shape of *lingzhi* fungus, lotus bud, round stone and so forth, attached on wooden covers with yellow glue or wire.

⁷ A couple of jade openwork finials are on display in the jade gallery and the exhibition of Miniature Curio Cabinets. See also Chen Qingguang, *A Special Exhibition of Incense Burners and Perfumers throughout the Dynasties*, Taipei, 1994, no.13-4, 17, 51, Shi Shouqian and Ge Wanzhang, eds., *Age of the Great Khan*, Taipei, 2001, IV-7, IV-14, IV-15, Li Yumin, *Through the Prism of the Past*, Taipei, 2003, II-11D, III-44.



A:1:1 Jade openwork finial with a dragon amid peony

Ming or Qing Dynasty

H. 4.7 cm; L. 5.7 cm

Pale grayish green jade

Burrell Collection, Glasgow (registration no. 22/145)

Photograph reproduced courtesy of the Museum

A coiled dragon emerging from the top of a complex mass of scrolling foliage and peony flowers intricately carved and pierced in multiple layered high relief. The dragon body is an entwined composition inside foliage. The dragon teeth are carefully carved and his tongue seems to have once existed but now broken. The dragon's head and face do not seem typically Yuan, Ming or Qing in style; however the shape of the finial does not seem characteristic of the style of jade finials of incense burner covers (Compare the shape of finials A:5:1 and A:8:2). The slightly concave base with two pairs of holes is suggestive of attachment. For a similar piece, see Shi Shouqian and Ge Wanzhang, eds., *Age of the Great Khan*, Taipei, 2001, IV-7 (p.122).



A:1:2 Jade mandarin duck finial mounted on a wooden cover of jade *gui* vessel

Qing Dynasty (vessel: Ming Dynasty, 16th - 17th century)

H. 3 cm (vessel: H. 14 cm; L. 20 cm; Dia. 12 cm)

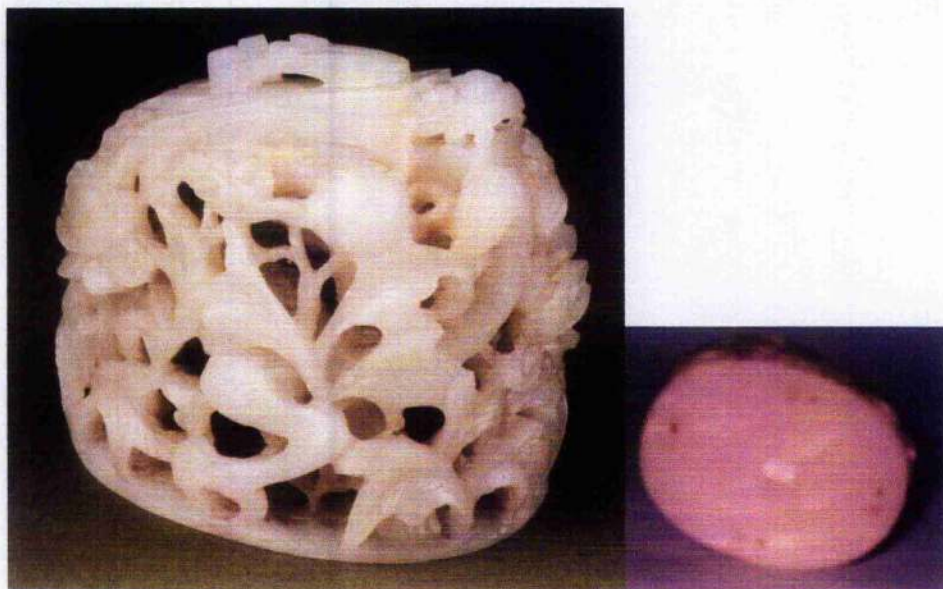
'Mutton-fat' jade with brown marking (vessel: green with brown jade veins)

Burrell Collection, Glasgow (registration no. 22/25)

Purchased from the London dealer, Sidney L Moss in 1948 by William Burrell

Photograph reproduced from slide kindly supplied from Mr Nicholas Pearce

Jade finial in the shape of mandarin duck holding a lotus spray in its bill. This type of jade finial was excavated from the late Ming tomb of Prince Yixuan and his two consorts at Nancheng in Jiangxi (Figure 5.87), but the example here is not so complex in its carving as the Ming example. Jade finial was attached with glue. The wooden cover bears a mark *bing* 丙 in the centre on the under side. Compare with Figures 6.5b, 6.12 and 6.26.



A:2:1 Jade openwork finial with a dragon amid peony and foliage.

Late Qing Dynasty

H. 5.8 cm

Pale greenish white jade with white inclusion and area of light brown marking

Nephrite, $p = 2.82$

Smillie Collection, Hunterian Museum, University of Glasgow (inventory no. GLAHM 106721)

Collected by Andrew Smillie in 1930s and gifted to the Museum by his daughter, I.J. Smillie in 1971

Photograph reproduced courtesy of the Museum; jade base photographed by the author.

A coiled dragon embedded on the top of a complex mass of scrolling foliage of peony. The dragon body is a winding composition inside foliage, and the sinuous tail which is carefully carved rises up towards the dragon's mouth. A pair of branching horns is in a stylized manner. A flaming pearl is clasped in its five claws. Playful dragon, round eyes, squarish horns, and neat appearance all suggesting late Qing. Four small pairs of holes are perforated in the slightly concave base.



A:3:1 Jade openwork finial with a dragon amid peonies mounted on a wooden cover
with *jun* ware two handled tripod incense burner vessel

Yuan or Ming Dynasty (vessel: Yuan Dynasty)

H. 7 cm; Dia. (base) 7.5 x 5 cm (vessel: H. 33 cm; MD 28 cm)

White jade with brown marking (jade skin)

Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge (acq. no. OC.79-1946)

Bequeathed to the Museum by Oscar Raphael

Photograph reproduced courtesy of the Museum

A coiled dragon emerging from the top of dense scrolling foliage, complex carving in multiple layered openwork. The upward muzzle and the jointed legs are shown on Yuan porcelain,⁸ but there is no example of this jade dragon finial from an archaeological discovery, so far, in this example the dragon's raised muzzle is short and square,

⁸ Dragons depicted on a marble fence in the ruins of Yuan Dadu at the site of Palace Museum, Beijing, also well demonstrate characteristic Yuan taste. I am grateful to Mr Zhang Guangwen, Curator at the Palace Museum, for his valuable guidance on Yuan dragons, and for showing me the marble fence. For a similar example of the finial, See also Zhou Nanquan, ed., *op. cit.*, no. 182 (p.230).

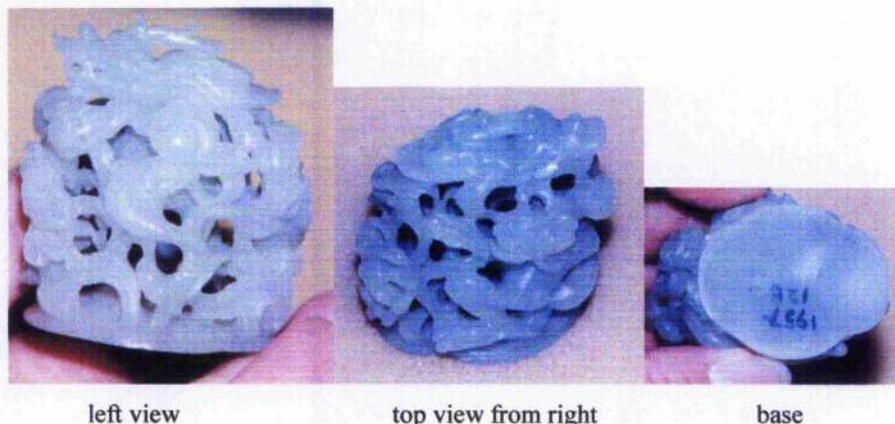
suggesting a Ming or Qing dragon. The veins of leaves are deeply incised lines and tool marks are visible,⁹ suggesting the Yuan. The scales of the dragon's legs are finely carved like crosshatching. The finial is attached to the wooden cover by wire and four small holes on the jade finial base seem to be utilized for this. The wooden cover has been repaired before and a wooden stand also accompanies the vessel.

This piece was formerly in the Larkin collection and originally came from Hankou (Hubei province) and may have been stolen from Tuanfang, the Viceroy. A Japanese bought this in Shanghai in 1907 and sold it to Larkin. It eventually came to Oscar Raphael in the Larkin sale at Christie's in 1918.¹⁰

For similar example, see Figure 6.34.

⁹ The Ming jades were carved with careful and deliberate chiseling and grinding techniques and are different from the Yuan jades. (Yang Boda, "The Glorious Age of Chinese Jades", in *Jade* edited by Roger Keverne, p.136).

¹⁰ I am grateful to Mr Robin Crighton, Curator of the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, for this information. See also Christie's catalogue, July 15, 1918, lot no. 270.



A:4:1 Jade openwork finial with a dragon amid peony

Yuan or Ming Dynasty

H. 4.3 cm; Dia. (base) 4 x 3

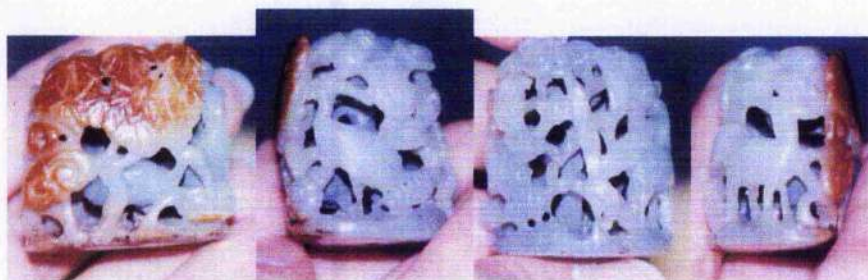
Pale green jade with black small flecks

Ashmolean Museum, Oxford (acq. no. EA1957.128)

Hildburgh bequest to the Museum in 1957

Photograph by the author

A sinuous dragon emerges from the top of scrolling foliage and peony flowers. The slightly upward muzzle and long narrow eyes suggest rather the Yuan than the Ming, comparing other media, like porcelain. A pair of branching horns and a mane are long and wave backwards, in typical style for jade dragon finials. The object is smoothly carved and not as rugged in finish as the Yuan example, the Ren finial (see Figure 1). The concave base has two pairs of holes in the centre in looped shape. The finely carved and chamfered base seem to suggest that a mount may not be suitable structurally for this object. See examples of mounts, Figures 5.86 and 7.57a.



from various angles



base

A:4:2 Jade openwork finial with cranes, tortoise and deer design

Yuan or Ming Dynasty

H. 3.2 cm: Dia. (base) 3 x 2 cm

Pale greenish white jade with brown marking (jade skin)

Ashmolean Museum, Oxford (acq. no. EA1957.129)

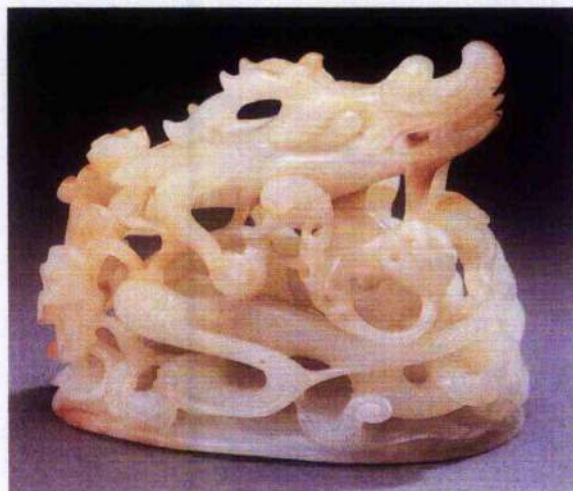
Hildburgh bequest to the Museum in 1957

Photograph by the author

Auspicious motifs are abundantly used for this finial: cranes, tortoise, deer, *lingzhi* fungus, bamboo leaves, all alluding to 'longevity'.¹¹ Brown jade skin colour is skilfully used to form maple leaves and *lingzhi* fungus. There are two small through holes on the bottom and its slightly convex surface showing attrition around the edge suggests attachment to something in intensive motion. The taste of utilizing a large area of jade skin not carved in openwork is similar to Figure 6.6d.¹² For the style of deer, compare Figure 6.6c.

¹¹ Compare Zhou Nanquan, ed., *op. cit.*, no.149 (p.178).

¹² Figure 6.6d does not show the reverse, the part not in openwork. The object was on display in the Shanghai Museum in March, 2001.



A:5:1 Jade openwork finial with a dragon amid cloud tendrils

Dated Yuan or early Ming Dynasty, 14-15th century

H. 6.4 cm; W. 7.6 cm

Pale green jade with brown markings

British Museum, Sir Joseph Hotung collection¹³

Jessica Rawson, *Chinese Jades from the Neolithic to the Qing*,

London: British Museum Press, 1985, no. 25:15 (p.338)

A dragon with sinuous body emerging from the top of cloud tendrils shows some characteristic features of the Yuan dragon: raised face and long upper jaw and long narrow eyes. The round and large protruding eyes also suggest the taste of the Ming and Qing. The tongue is finely carved, the appearance aggressive. A flaming pearl is clasped in its claws. This object appears not such complicated openwork as example A:3, and is smoothly carved. A mixture of Yuan and later dynasty taste seems to demonstrate a later date than the Yuan. Two pairs of holes on the base.

¹³ This object is currently on display from Autumn 2003 in the exhibition '7000 Years of Chinese Jade from the collection of Sir Joseph Hotung'. The author viewed it in April, 2004.



A:5:2 Jade openwork oval finial with a pair of *chi*-dragons and *lingzhi* fungus mounted on wooden openwork cover of two handled bronze incense burner with an Arabic inscription

Yuan or Ming Dynasty (vessel: Ming Dynasty, Zhengde period)

H. 3 cm; W. 3.8 cm (finial) W. 19.8 cm (vessel)

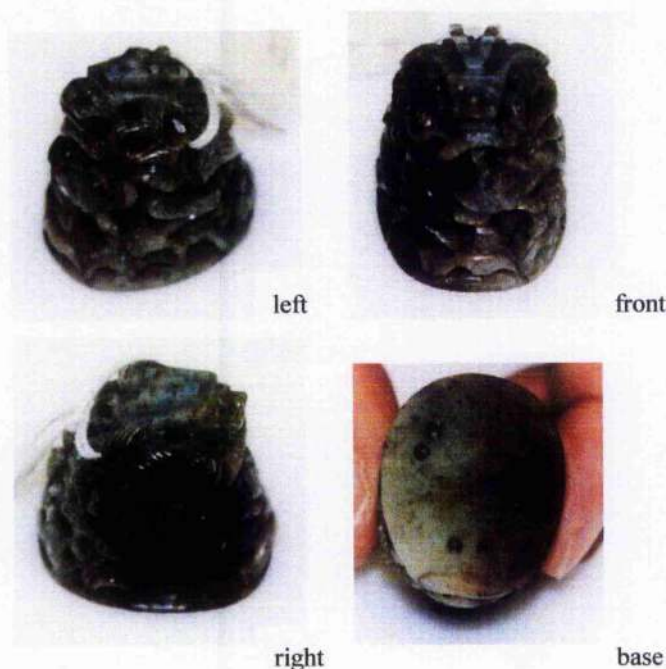
Pale green jade with black flecks

British Museum, Franks Collection (acq. no. 94 1-8 21)

Photocopying of the photograph on the catalogue card courtesy of the Museum

A pair of *chi*-dragons with sinuous bodies and bifurcated tails embrace a stone with *lingzhi* fungus design. Double thin wires are used to attach to the wooden cover, through two pairs of holes on the jade base. The bronze vessel bears the mark of the Zhengde period, 1506 to 1521. Similar examples have been discovered from underneath (*digong* 地宫) the Xilin pagoda.¹⁴ See also Figure 5.83.

¹⁴ Huang Xuanpei, ed., *Shanghai chutu Tang Song Yuan Ming Qing yuqi*, 2001, Shanghai, no.93.



A:6:1 Jade openwork dragon finial

Qing Dynasty, perhaps 18th-19th century

H. 3.5 cm

Dark green jade with brown marking

Victoria and Albert Museum¹⁵

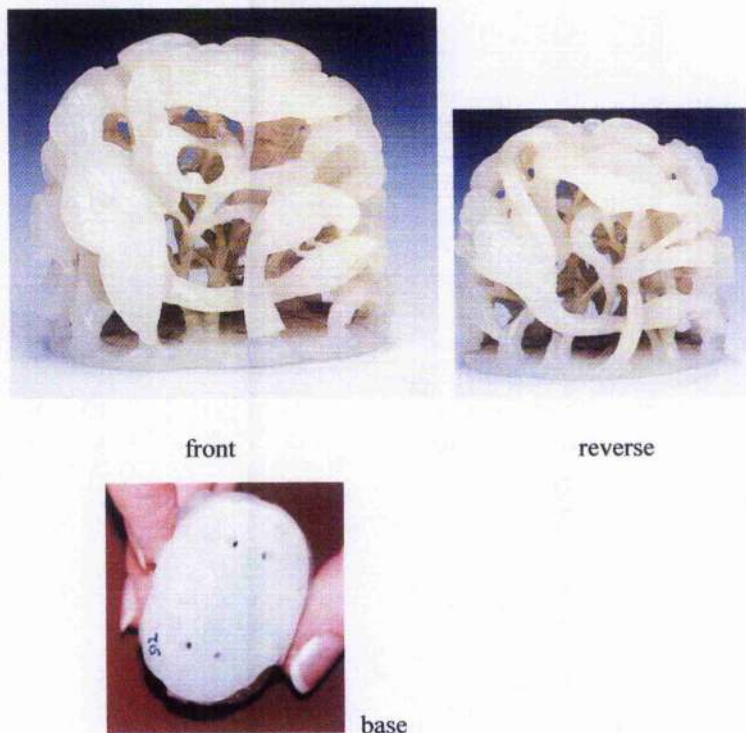
Photograph by the author

A dragon with a sinuous body stretching out from the top of a tendril of flowers, a flaming pearl in its claws.¹⁶ The dragon's legs are entwined with the tendrils of the flowers. A geometrical and stylized pair of horns suggests a typical later period taste, late Ming onwards, and is similar to the example A:2:1. Protruding round eyes also suggest Ming and Qing dragon features. Jade finials for incense burner covers were popularly produced in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.¹⁷ Three pairs of loop-shaped holes in the base.

¹⁵ A record is not available, since the original acquisition number of this object is lost.

¹⁶ A flaming pearl in the dragon's claws first appeared in the thirteenth century originally in association with wisdom, through Buddhist influence (Cheng Te-k'un, "Tang and Ming Jades", *Transactions of the Oriental Ceramic Society*, 1953-4, no. 28, p.33).

¹⁷ I am grateful to Mrs Ming Wilson, Senior Curator at the Victoria and Albert Museum, for this information.



A:7:1 Jade openwork finial with a 'Spring hunting' design

Dated Liao, Jin, or Yuan Dynasty, 11th - 13th century

L. 4.7 cm; H. 4.5 cm; W. 3.2 cm

White lychee-flesh coloured jade

Museum of East Asian Art, Bath (acq. no. BATEA 512)

Angus Forsyth and Brian McElney, *Jades from China*, Bath, 1994, no. 218

Photograph of the base by the author

Two geese or swans depicted in jade, the one in the front view being attacked by a hawk among lotus, known as '*chunshui*' (lit. spring water) motif. Two pairs of holes are penetrated diagonally in the base. Compare with Figure 5.90a.¹⁸

¹⁸ See also Zhou Nanquan, ed., *op. cit.*, no.97 (p.112).



profile



base

A:7:2 Jade openwork finial of mandarin duck and lotus

Dated late Ming Dynasty

L. 4.5 cm; H. 3.8 cm; W. 3.3 cm

White jade with slight orange suffusions

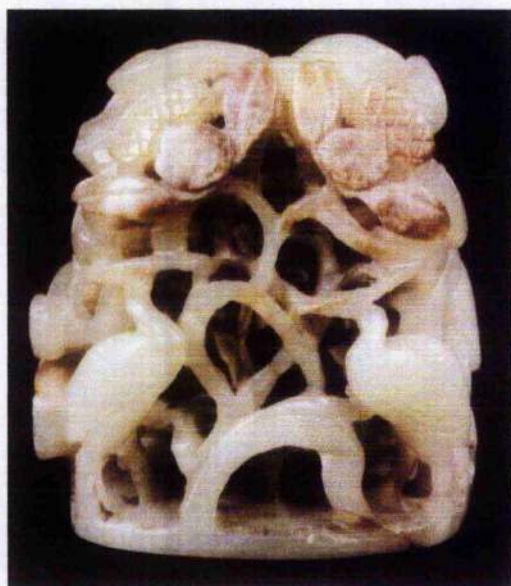
Museum of East Asian Art, Bath (acq. no. BATEA 470)

Angus Forsyth and Brian McElney, *Jades from China*, Bath, 1994, no. 305

Photograph of the base by the author

A mandarin duck sits on a lotus leaf and holds a lotus flower spray in its bill. A similar style of finial was unearthed from the late Ming tomb of Prince Yixuan and his two consorts at Nancheng in Jiangxi (Figure 5.87), but the example here shows a much more smooth and simple appearance than the late Ming example. Comparing with A:1:2, the example here is clearly a more delicate carving, and could be Qing or even later. Compare also with the Korean example, Figure 7.72a.¹⁹ Two pairs of holes in the concave base at the centre. The piece on the whole is well-polished.

¹⁹ Compare also Shi Shouqian and Ge Wanzhang, eds., *op. cit.*, IV-15.



A:8:1 Jade openwork finial with egrets in a lotus pond

Dated Yuan to Ming Dynasty, 14th century

H. 4.2 cm; Dia. (base) 3.5 x 3.2 cm

Grey green nephrite with brown markings

Staatliches Museum für Völkerkunde Dresden (State Museum for Ethnology, Dresden) (item no. MVD 5060) Pieschel collection

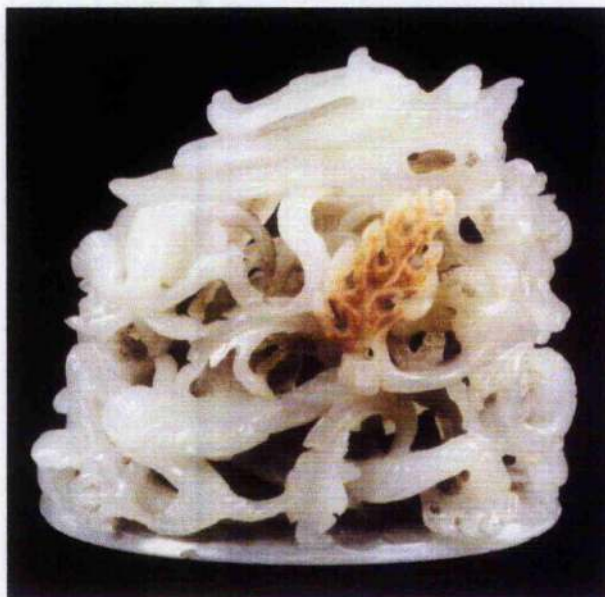
Photograph reproduced courtesy of the Museum

Two egrets face each other among reeds and lotus flowers.²⁰ Lotus flowers are carved with highlights from the jade skin, in exquisite craftsmanship. Four holes penetrated diagonally in the concave base. Compare with the Yuan and early Ming examples, Figures 1.1, 5.85 and 7.62.

This finial was acquired in Beijing by Carl Pieschel, a leader of the 'Eulenberg-Expedition' in 1860-61, and was sold to the Museum in Dresden in 1875.²¹

²⁰ Egrets are catalogued as cranes (Herbert Bräutigam, ed., *Schätze Chinas aus Museen der DDR*, Leipzig, 1989, no. 82 (p.176).

²¹ *Ibid.*, p.2.



A:8:2 Jade openwork finial with a dragon among peony

Dated Yuan to Ming Dynasty, 14th century

H. 5.5 cm. Dia. (base) 5.5 x 4.2 cm

White nephrite with brown markings

Staatliches Museum für Völkerkunde Dresden (State Museum

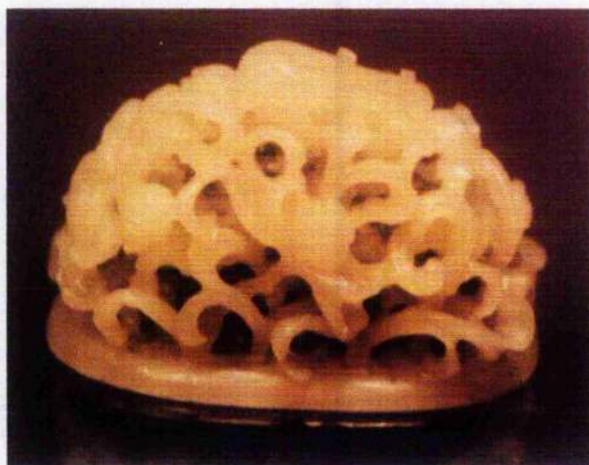
for Ethnology, Dresden) (item no. MVD 5061)

Pieschel collection

Photograph reproduced courtesy of the Museum

A dragon with a sinuous body emerges from the top of a tendril of peony flowers, a flaming pearl in its five claws. A flame from the pearl skilfully employs the jade skin. The edge of the base is well treated and there are two pairs of holes underneath. The dragon is very similar to A:4:1.²²

²² Compare also with Zhou Nanquan, ed., *op. cit.*, no.182 and Shi Shouqian and Ge Wanzhang, eds., *op. cit.*, IV-7.



B:1:1 Jade openwork finial with a dragon among tree peony

Ming Dynasty

H. 4.2 cm; Dia. (base) 6.4 x 3.8 cm; weight 69.261 g

White with faint greenish tint, nephrite, $p = 2.9589$; hardness: 6.5

Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (acq. no. 02.18.391)

Heber R. Bishop collection

Heber R. Bishop, comp., *The Bishop Collection: Investigations and Studies in Jade*, New York, 1906, vol.2, no.391 (p.130). Photograph by the author²³

A dragon with a sinuous body projecting from the top of dense scrolling foliage and flowers of the tree peony. The stylized two horns in geometric shape, round eyes and playful appearance suggest late Ming and Qing. The slightly concave base is drilled with nine holes.

²³ This finial was on display in July 2000, and to remove it from the display case for examination was not allowed. However, photography in the gallery was permitted without flash.



B:1:2 Jade openwork finial with birds among tree peonies and lotus plants.

Ming Dynasty

H. 5.6 cm; Dia. (base) 4.5 cm

Light grayish white nephrite, $p. = 2.9734$; hardness: 6.5

Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (acq. no. 02.18.392)

Heber R. Bishop collection

Heber R. Bishop, comp., *The Bishop Collection: Investigations and Studies in Jade*, New York, 1906, vol.2, no.392 (p.131). Photograph by the author

A peacock stands upon a rock on the right, a bird with a long bill stretches its neck under the shade of the peony in the centre. On the other side, a long-tailed bird like a parrot perches on a peony branch, and beside the lotus a couple of storks²⁴ are standing. A similar composition of birds can be found in the Qing Court Collection.²⁵ Four small holes are drilled in the base.

²⁴ Bishop explains them as storks (Heber Bishop, comp, *The Bishop Collection*, 1906, New York, p.131). They could be egrets, but it was not clear in the gallery in the display case and in dim lighting.

²⁵ Zhou Nanquan, ed., *op. cit.*, no.150 (179).



front (slightly left)



front



reverse (slightly left)



top

B:2:1 Jade openwork finial with egrets in a lotus pond mounted on wooden cover of cloisonné *li*-shaped tripod incense burner

Yuan or early Ming Dynasty (vessel: Ming Dynasty, 15-16th century).

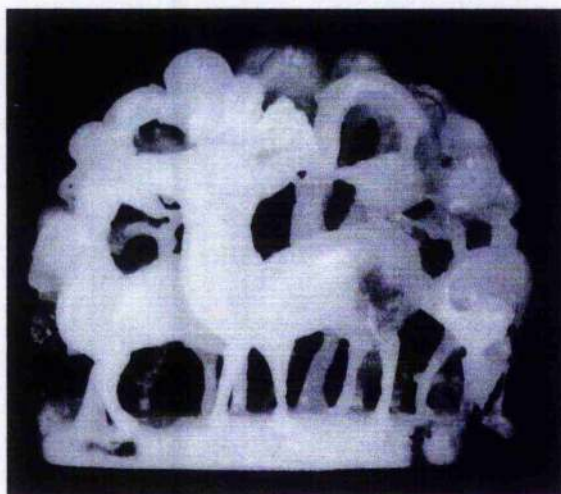
H. 4 cm; Dia. (base) 4 x 3.3 cm (vessel: H. 14 cm; Dia. 19 cm)

White jade with slight pale brown markings and small black specks

Smithsonian Institution, Freer Gallery of Art (accession no. F1961.12)

Photograph by the author

Five egrets depicted in different postures in a lotus pond. Three egrets are in front (slightly left); first egret at left stoops as if searching its prey, second egret at centre crouches, watching the first egret, and third egret at right stands behind the second one. On the reverse, two alert egrets stand among lotus branches. The finial is attached to the wooden cover with yellow glue and wires. Two pairs of holes appear to be drilled in the base. Carving and treatment of egrets and lotus leaves are very similar to Figures 7.57a and 7.62. The wooden cover bears a 'bing' mark in the centre inside.



B:3:1 Jade openwork with deer, stork and tortoise

Dated Late Ming, second half 16th - first half 17th century

H. 3.3 cm; L. 3.9 cm; W. 3.8 cm

White jade with yellow, brown, and black markings

Victor Shaw Collection

James C.Y. Watt, *Chinese Jades from Han to Ch'ing*, New York, 1980, no.182 (p.192)

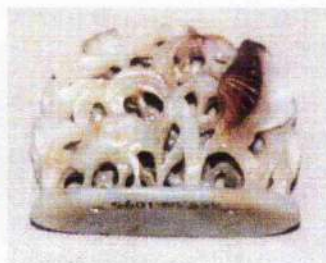
Three deer in a (probably autumn) grove with *lingzhi* fungus, browse on the fruits and fungus. A stork stands on one leg, looking back at a tortoise behind him.²⁶ Deer and tortoise are auspicious creatures associated with 'longevity'.²⁷ Two pairs of holes drilled in the base. Thick rim of the jade base suggests it was once mounted. The subject of this finial is similar to A:4:2.

²⁶ A stork described by James Watt may be a crane or egret.

²⁷ Watt points out that deer, stork, and tortoise have Daoist connotations.



front



reverse



side



base

C.1.1 Jade openwork finial with egrets in a lotus pond

Late Yuan or Ming Dynasty

H. 3.1 cm; Dia. (base) 3.9 x 2 cm; weight 17.3 g

Pale greenish white jade with brown markings

Liaoning Provincial Museum, Shenyang (item no. 6653BE1095)

Photographs by the author

Three alert egrets in different postures among complicated branches of reeds with a lotus leaf and fruit. Two tall standing egrets flanked by a large reed in front view. Third stooping egret is searching his prey behind a large drooping lotus leaf at left in reverse view. The large drooping lotus leaf and fruit on the top of the finial elaborately enhance the artistic quality of this finial by employing the colour of the jade skin. Egret eyes are round.²⁸ Two pairs of holes are diagonally drilled in the oval base. This oval shape is unusual for jade openwork egret finials. The bottom near the edge is visibly worn, suggesting that the finial was once attached to something hard.

²⁸ Egrets in Ren family jade finial have triangular eyes.



C:2:1 Jade openwork finial with a sage and crane

Dated Ming Dynasty

H. 3.5 cm; W. 3.7 cm

Pale greenish white jade

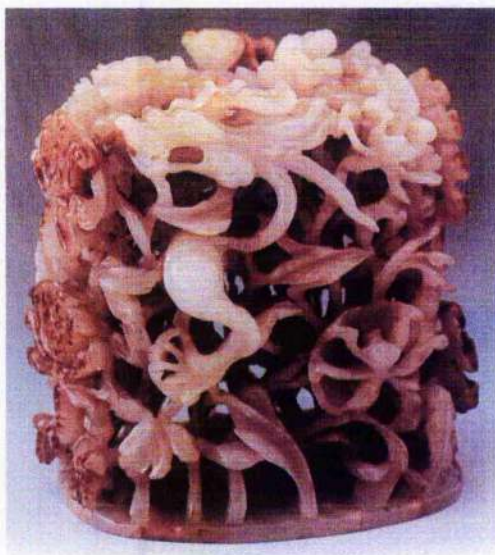
Municipal Administrative Committee of Cultural Relics

Collected in Xi'an city in 1980

Wang Zhangqi, ed., *National Treasure Collection of Rare Cultural Relics of Shaanxi Province*, Xi'an, 1999, p.288-9

An old man wearing a long gown tightened with a belt and a crane beside him looking back are depicted under a pine tree with *lingzhi* fungus; all have auspicious meanings, 'longevity' and 'immortality'.

The convex bottom has a pair of holes.



C.3.1 Jade openwork finial with a dragon among peony

Dated Yuan Dynasty

H. 9 cm; Dia. (base) 7.7 cm

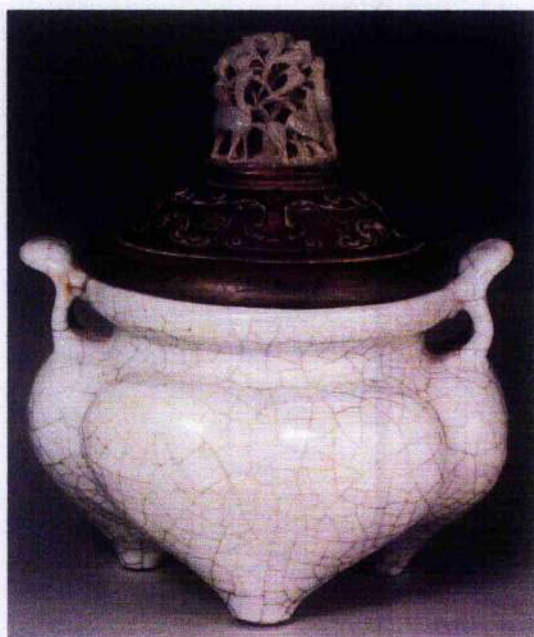
Greenish white jade with brown markings

Guangdong Provincial Museum

Guangdong Provincial Museum, ed., *Collection of Guangdong Provincial Museum*, Beijing, 1999, no.39 (p.203)

A dragon emerges from the side of dense peony flowers. The dragon's turning leg with five claws and a fin at the joint of the leg, the long upward muzzle, a flowing long mane and long narrow eyes, all are a Yuan dragon features. Peony flowers with jade skin colour enhance the artistic quality of this piece. A similar piece can be found in the Palace Museum, Beijing and the Nanjing Museum.²⁹

²⁹ The example in the Palace Museum was not on display but in storage in March, 2001. The composition of the dragon in this piece emerging from the side is not unusual, according to Mr Zhang Guangwen, Curator of the Palace Museum. The similar piece in the Nanjing Museum was on display, March, 2001.



C:4:1 Jade openwork finial with deer under an oak tree mounted on a wooden cover of *li*-shaped incense burner (imitation of *ge* ware).

Probably H. 5 cm (vessel: H. 10.2 cm; Dia. 10.5 cm)

Late Yuan or early Ming Dynasty.

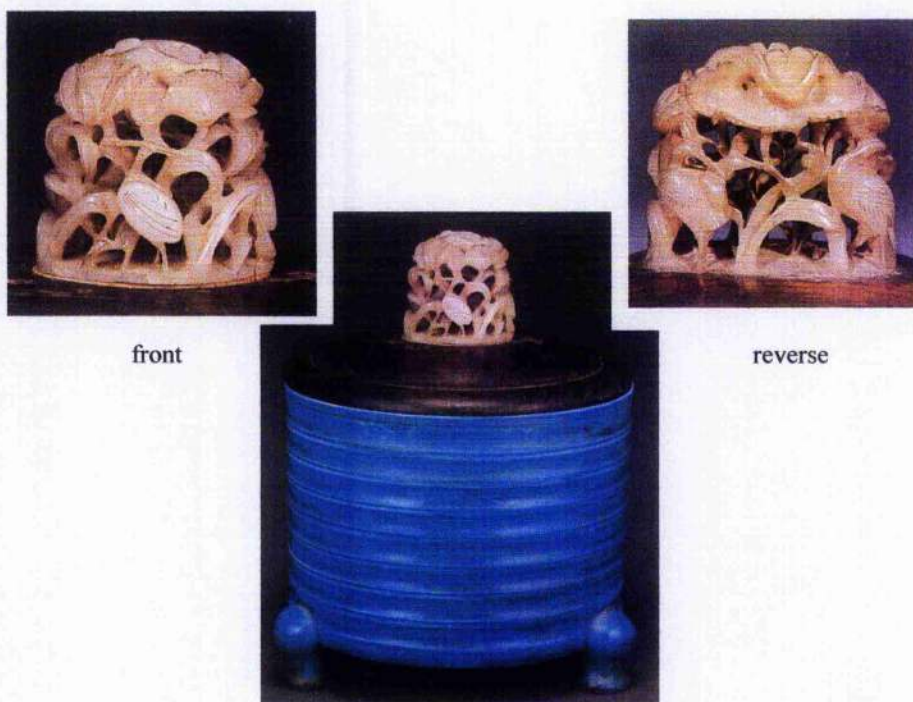
Greenish jade

National Palace Museum, Taiwan

Chen Qingguang, *A Special Exhibition of Incense Burners and Perfumers throughout the Dynasties*, Taipei, 1994, no.31 (p.175)

A deer looks up under a large oak tree at left and *lingzhi* fungus at right repeats the auspicious meaning of 'longevity' of the deer. A trunk of the oak functions concurrently as a supportive strut in openwork space. Treatment of deer and oak leaves is similar to Figure 7.87. The jade base does not fit properly into the wooden cover, and the cover may not have been specially made for this jade piece.

There is an inscription 天福 '*tianfu*' on the base of the incense burner.



C:4:2 Jade openwork finial with egrets in a lotus pond mounted on wooden cover of malachite glazed tripod incense burner with bow-string décor

Yuan Dynasty (vessel: Ming Dynasty)

H. 5 cm; Dia. (base) 4 x 4.8 (vessel: H. 12.5 cm; MD 15.1 cm) ³⁰

Pale greenish white jade

National Palace Museum, Taiwan (acq. no. zang 126 88 fujian)

Chen Qingguang, *A Special Exhibition of Incense Burners and Perfumers throughout the Dynasties*, Taipei, 1994, no.49 (p.194)

Four egrets in a lotus pond in different postures: first egret in centre of front view stands and looks backward and second egret is stooping and searching prey left below the first egret; a large lotus leaf at centre between two standing egrets at right and left in reverse view. Feature and treatment of lotus carving, triangular egret eyes, almond-shaped body and thin legs are very similar to the Ren egret finial (Figure 1.1). Two pairs of holes are attached to the wooden cover by wire. The cover bears 乙 'yi' mark at centre underneath.

³⁰ Measurement of the jade by the author at the Museum.

Appendix 4: Analysis of Fibre Sample of Jade Openwork Dragon Finial in the Burrell Collection

Fragments inside a jade openwork dragon finial in the Burrell Collection, Glasgow, were analyzed scientifically in order to investigate the historical context of the object in relation to its possible use as a hat finial (Appendix 3, A:1:1).¹ Not a few black fragments were scattered and firmly embedded on a sinuous dragon's body inside an openwork space, which were first thought by the author to be human hairs, plants or wires. If they were confirmed as hair fragments, this might suggest a hair ornament; if they were plants, the fragments may have been a part of a hat material, evidence that the jade was at one time attached to a hat.

The piece was acquired by William Burrell in the early twentieth century through an antique dealer. Although provenance of this finial is not clear, it was hoped that evidence for its historical context might be discovered.

The method of analysis chosen was by scanning through an electron microscopy (SEM) and this was kindly executed by Dr James Tate, Head of Conservation and Analytical Research in the National Museums of Scotland. The Report of Dr Tate is attached on the following page (Part One).² The further identification of the fibre samples was generously done by Dr Jennifer Miller and Dr Susan Ramsay in the Glasgow University Archaeological Research Division under the supervision of Professor Jim Dickson of the Hunterian Museum, University of Glasgow, after the analysis of the sample with SEM micrograph by Dr Jim Tate. This result was written up by the author based on their examination which follows the analytical research report by Dr Jim Tate, in Part Two.³

¹ At least ten fragments were first discovered by the author under a binocular microscope at the Burrell Collection in 1997.

² I am grateful to Dr Tate for his kind offer and his analysis.

³ I am grateful to Professor Jim Dickson, Dr Jennifer Miller and Dr Susan Ramsay for their kindness in identifying the fibre sample for me. I am especially indebted to Dr Miller and Dr Ramsay for their advice concerning reference books of plants and for checking my report on the identification.

Part One: Analytical Research by SEM micrograph

Conservation and Analytical Research

Analytical Research Section Report No. 03/29

SEM Examination of "Hair" from Burrell Jade Ornament.

Jim Tate

Date: 2 June 2003

Object Nos.: Burrell Registration number 22/145.

For : Kumiko Kurokawa, Department of Fine Art, Glasgow University.

Summary

Two fragments thought to be hair from a Chinese jade "hair ornament" were examined by low power optical microscopy and Scanning Electron Microscopy (SEM) with Energy Dispersive X-ray Analysis (EDX). The images were compared with human hair. Although the overall size is similar to human hair (around 100micron), in detail the surface appears degraded and composed of fine fibres (2-5micron). No comparisons were made with animal hair but it was concluded that the fibres are more likely to be vegetable rather than hair.

Keywords: Jade, Hair, Vegetable Fibre, Chinese.

Members of staff cannot accept liability for the opinions expressed in Analytical Research Section reports. They are internal reports not subject to refereeing and conclusions may be modified in the light of further work or information. The authors should be consulted before citing reports in any publication.

Introduction

Analysis was requested of fragment thought to be of hair attached to a Chinese jade "hair ornament". The ornament is tortoise-shell shape and worked to give a hollow lattice structure. The "hair" fragments were inside this pierced structure. Under the microscope they appeared to be attached lightly to the jade, perhaps by resin.

Two fragments were removed from the jade. Under low power optical microscope the first one ("hair 1") looked quite like hair (see photos at end of report) but the second ("hair 2") had a more fibrous and degraded appearance. Both samples were put on a carbon stub and examined in the Scanning Electron Microscope (SEM) with the results presented below.

The samples were also examined using the x-ray analytical system. The first sample showed the presence of Si, Al and other elements possibly from the Jade or other mineral powder (this shows up particularly on the elemental maps, particularly for Si). There also seem to be various salts as contamination.

Results and Discussion

Examination by optical and electron microscopy show that, although the dimensions of the fibres are similar to human hair, they do not appear to have any of the scale pattern of hair on the surface. The samples differ, with the second one showing considerably smaller diameter fibres (these are 2-5µm diameter as opposed to the main fibres which are around 100µm).

The fibres were analysed in several areas. In each case the spectra revealed Al and Si (and minor Ca, K and Na) expected from traces of the mineral of the hairpiece. Sulphur is also present in some areas as are Carbon and Oxygen. However the latter are significantly lower in concentration than in examples of modern human hair.

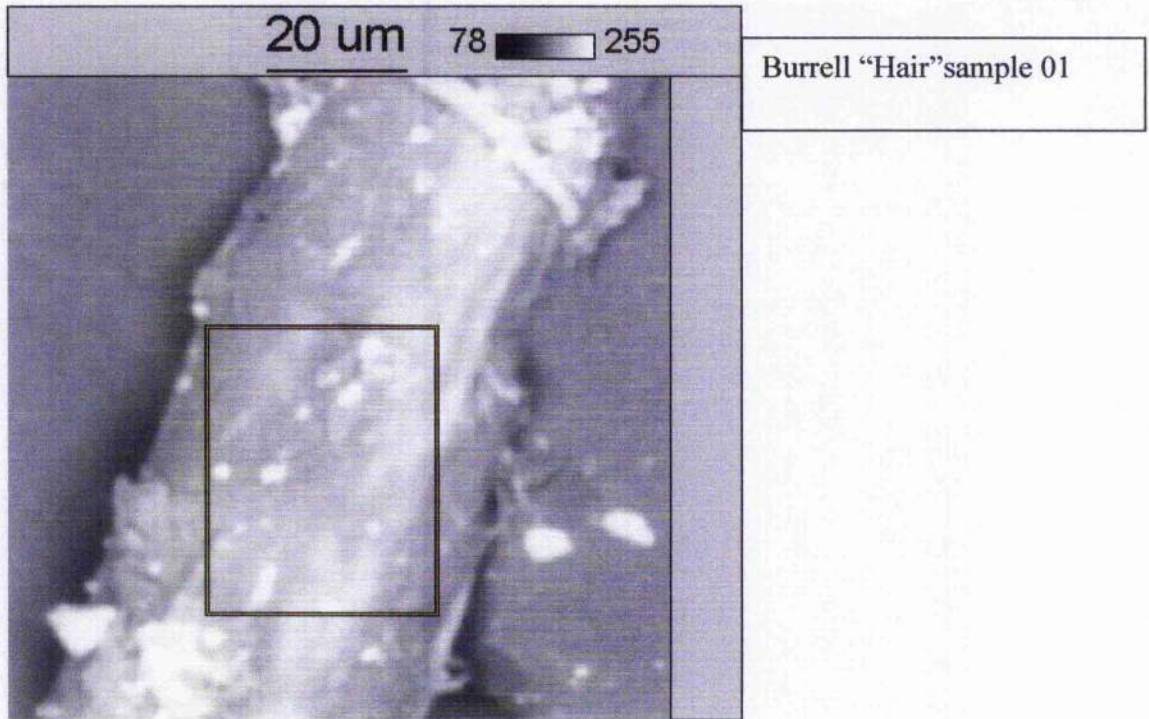
Spot analysis of some fragments attached to the samples show high Si, indicating dirt and mineral fragments.

Examination in polarized light confirms that the samples do not show the same structure as modern human hair.

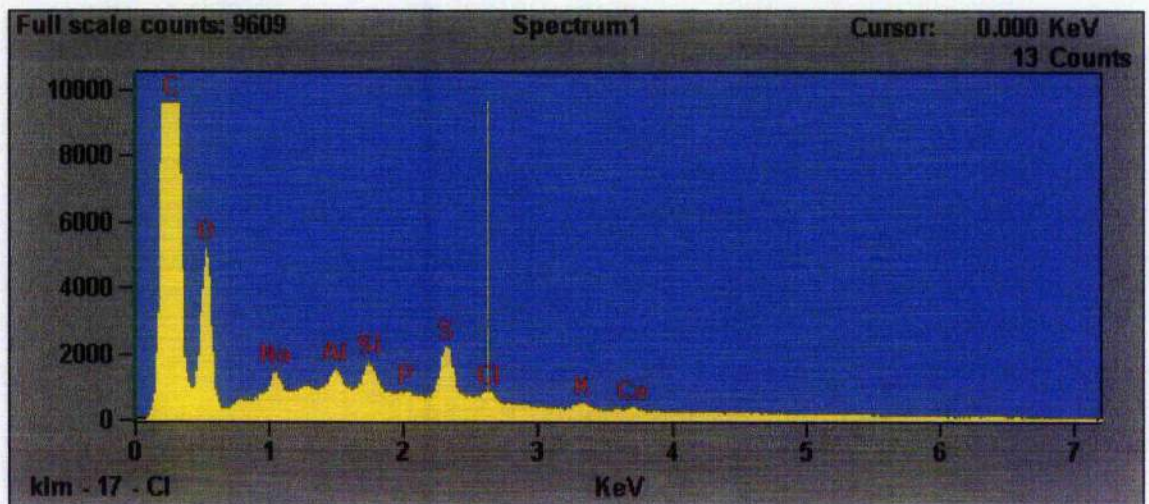
Although no comparisons have been made with animal hair or with degraded human (or animal) hair, the conclusion from the investigation is that the fibres are most likely to be vegetable in origin. The amount of mineral material associated with them suggests that they may well be ancient rather than modern contamination.

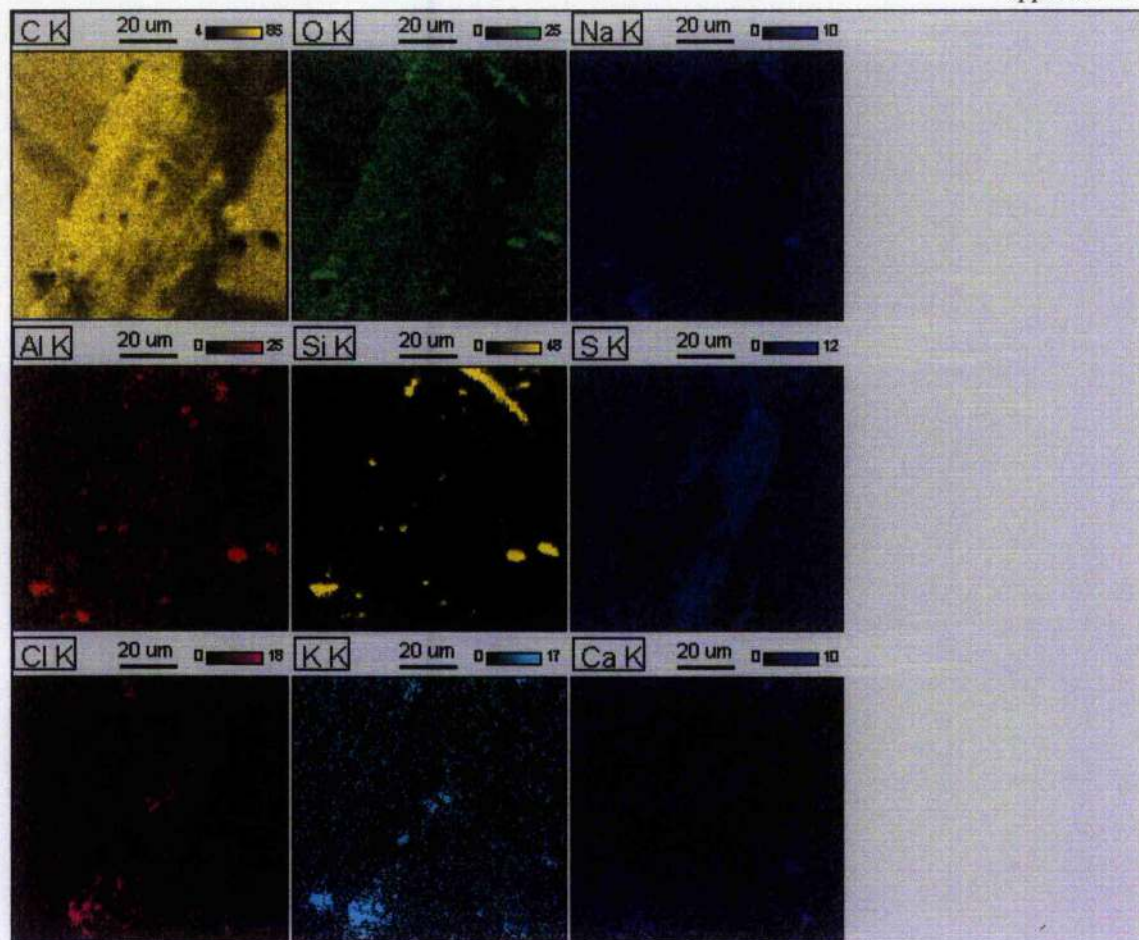
Experimental Settings

SEM examination was made under controlled pressure, varied between 25 and 40Pa. Working distance was minimized (15mm) for imaging, but a 35mm for analysis. The instrument used was a CamScan MX 2500. Voltages above 15kV could be seen to damage human hair samples, so the Burrell samples were examined at 15kV without dwelling long one location in spot mode.

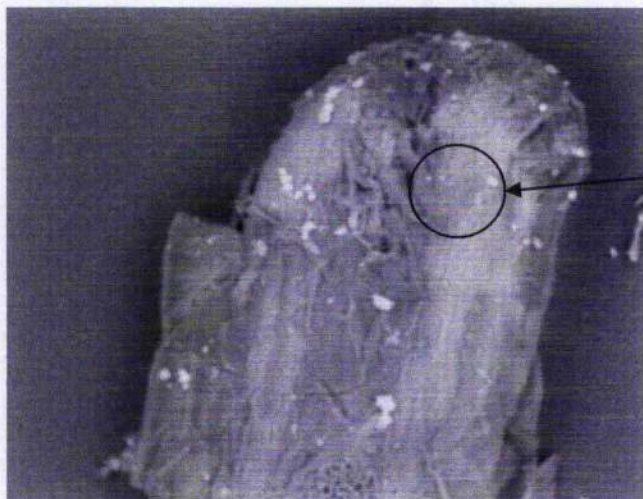


Spectrum of area above.



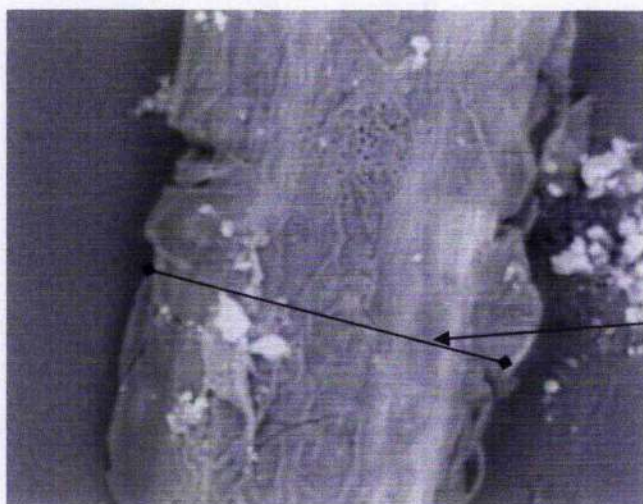


Burrell Hair 01-01



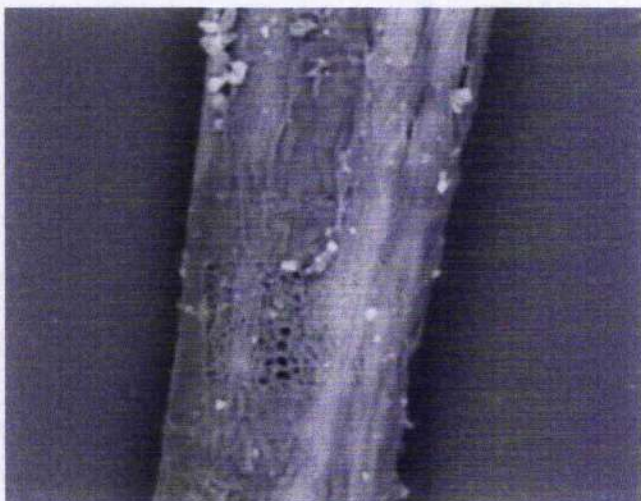
Burrell Hair 1-02

Opposite area to
"root"



Burrell Hair 1-03

131 μ m across



Burrell Hair 1-04



Burrell Hair 1-05

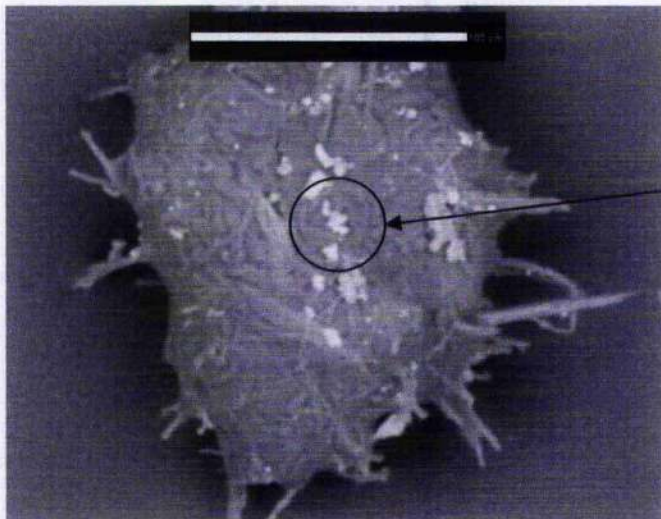
"Clean Area"
analysed



Burrell Hair 1-06

"Messy Area"
analysed.

"Tubular" fragment
analysed



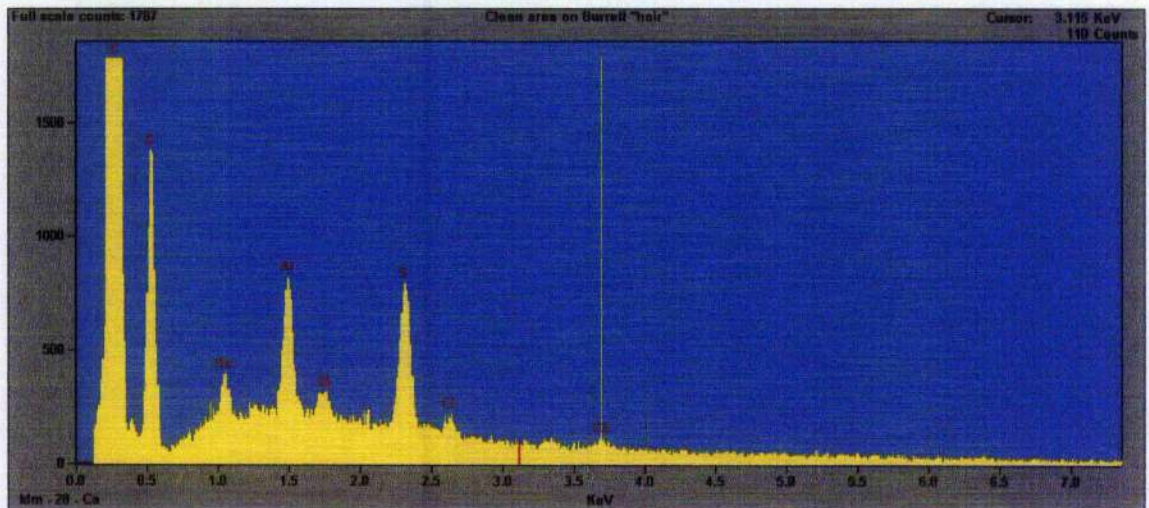
Burrell Hair 1-07

"Root end"
analysed

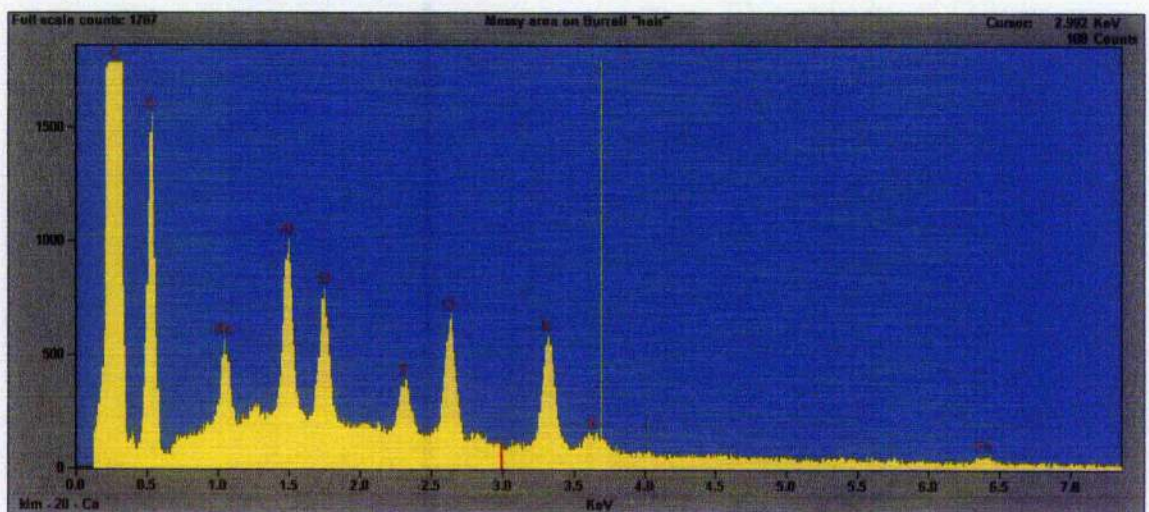


Burrell Hair 1-09

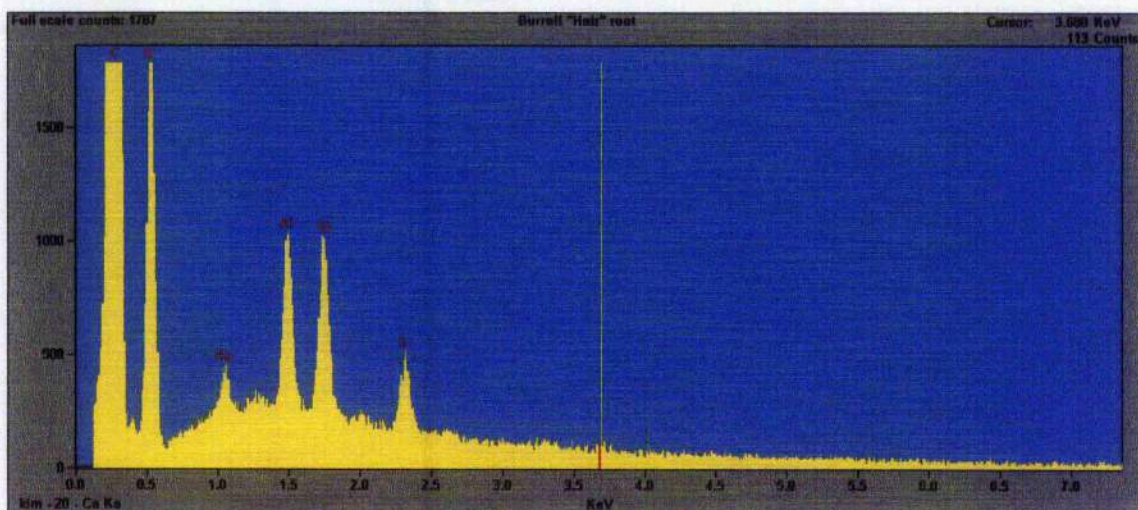
Analysis of "Clean area" of hair (middle of 1-05):



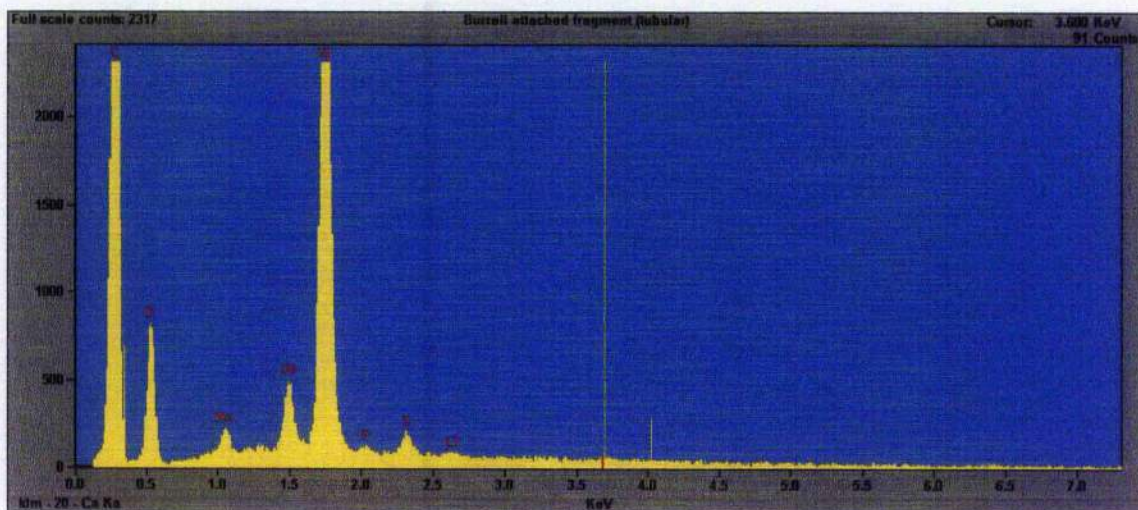
Analysis of messy area (Sample 1-06):



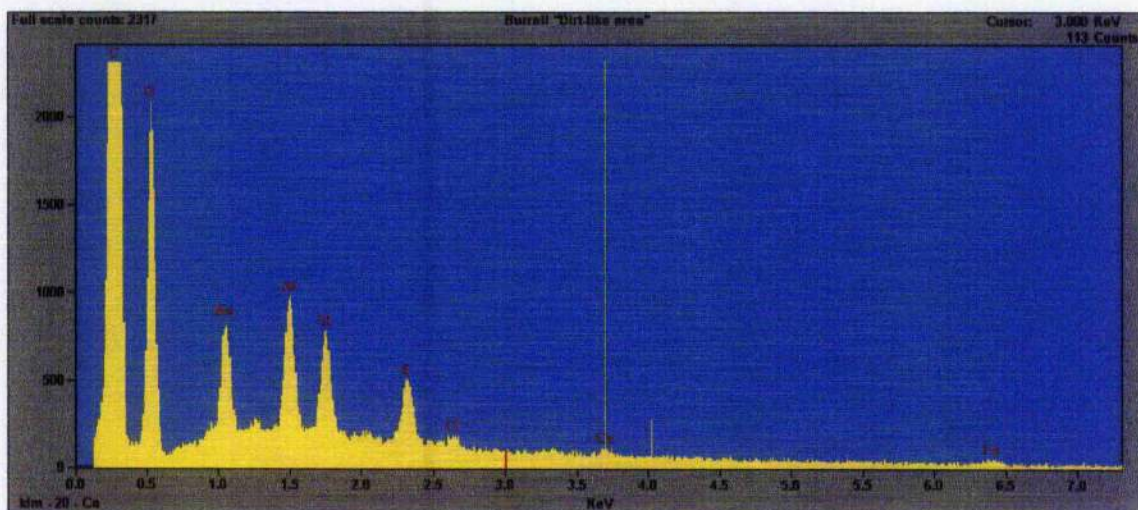
Analysis of "root" end (Sample 1-07):



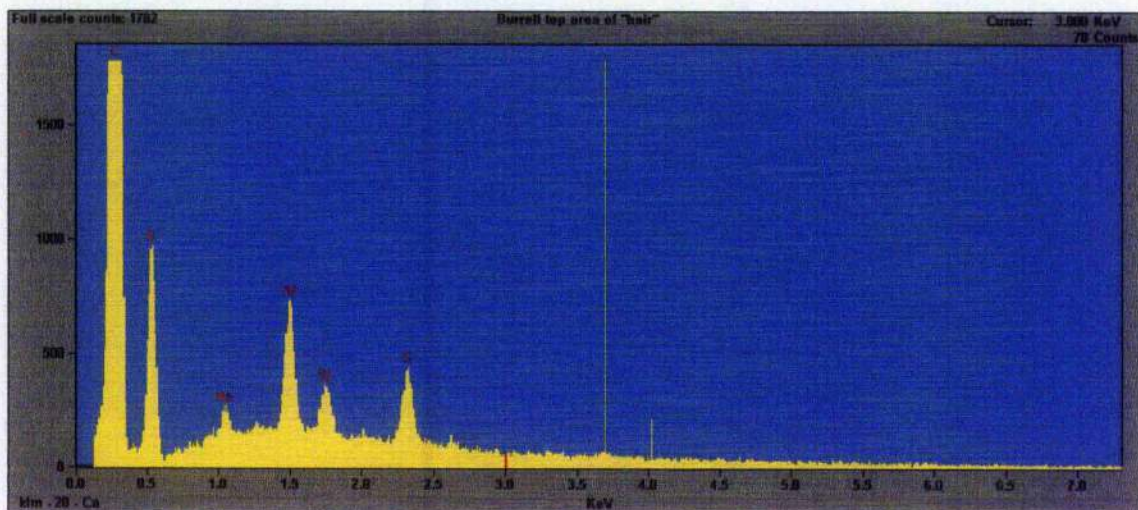
Analysis of tubular fragment next to hair (fig 1-06):



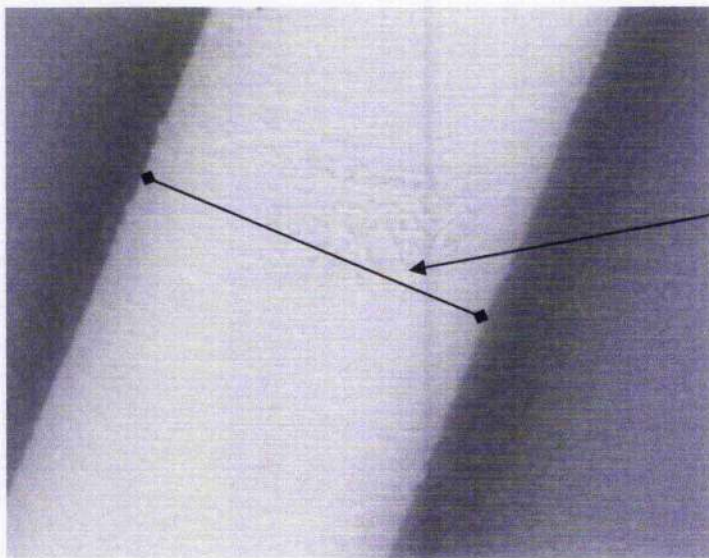
Analysis of another area:



Analysis at opposite end to "root" (sample 1-06)



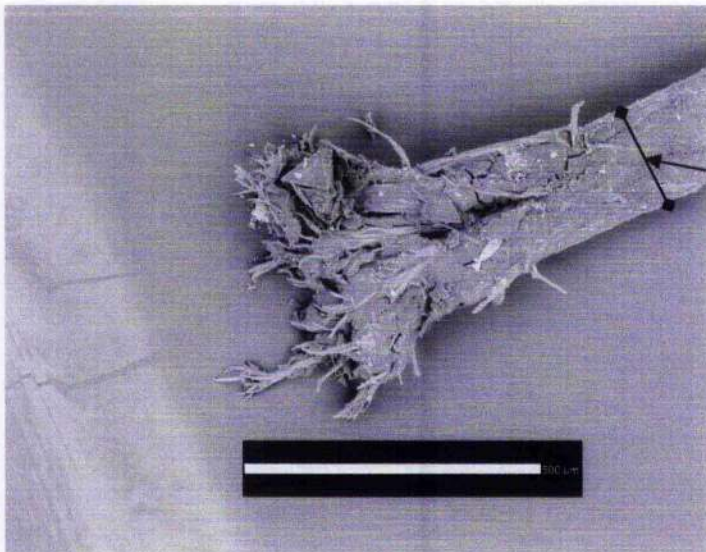
(SEM x500)



Kumiko's hair (SEM x500)

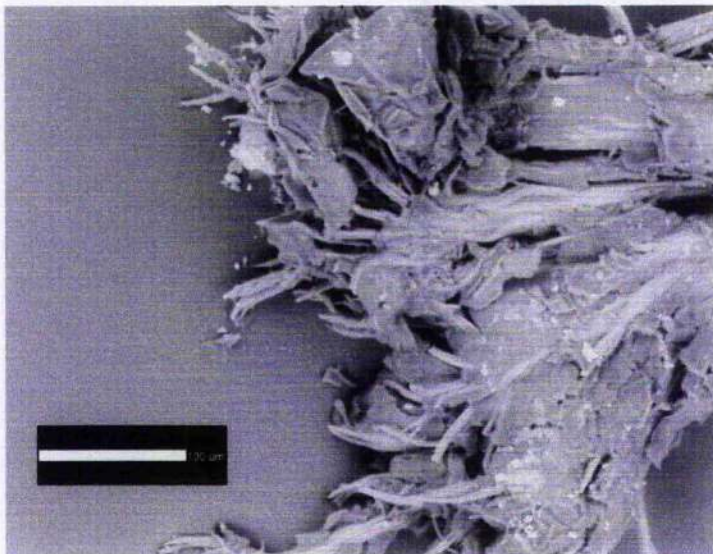
Human hair
126 μ m

Sample 02

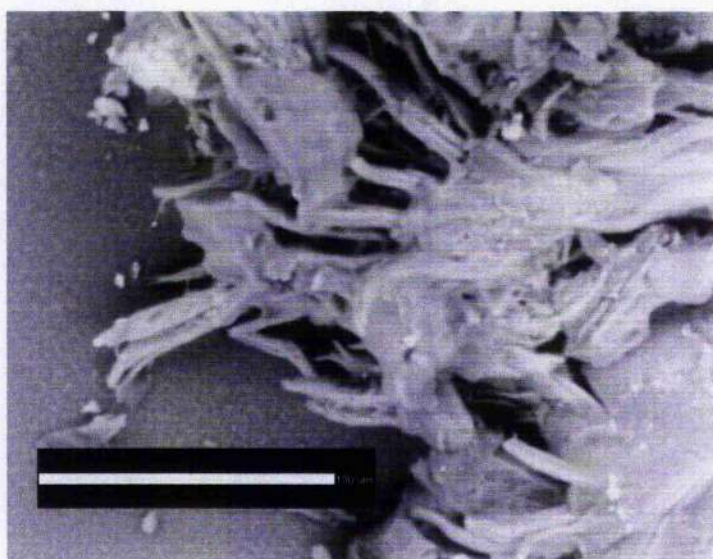


Burrell Hair 2-01

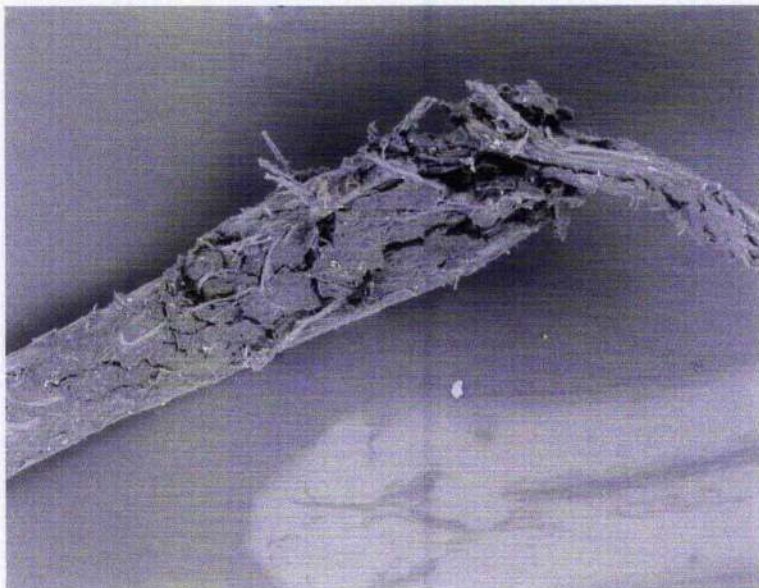
189 μ m



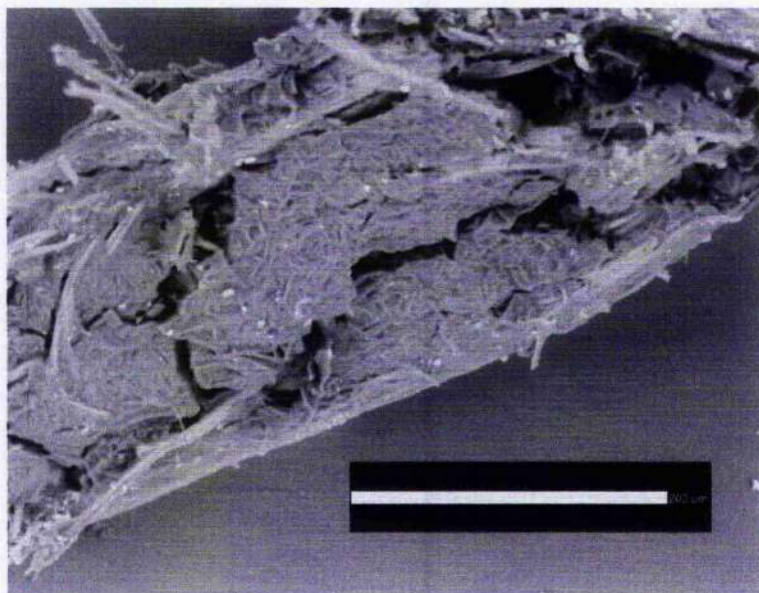
Burrell Hair 2-02



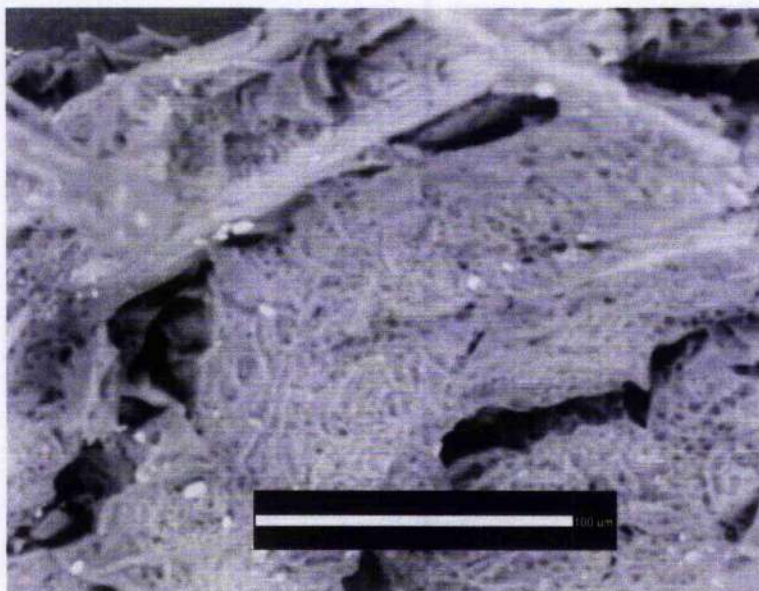
Burrell Hair 2-03



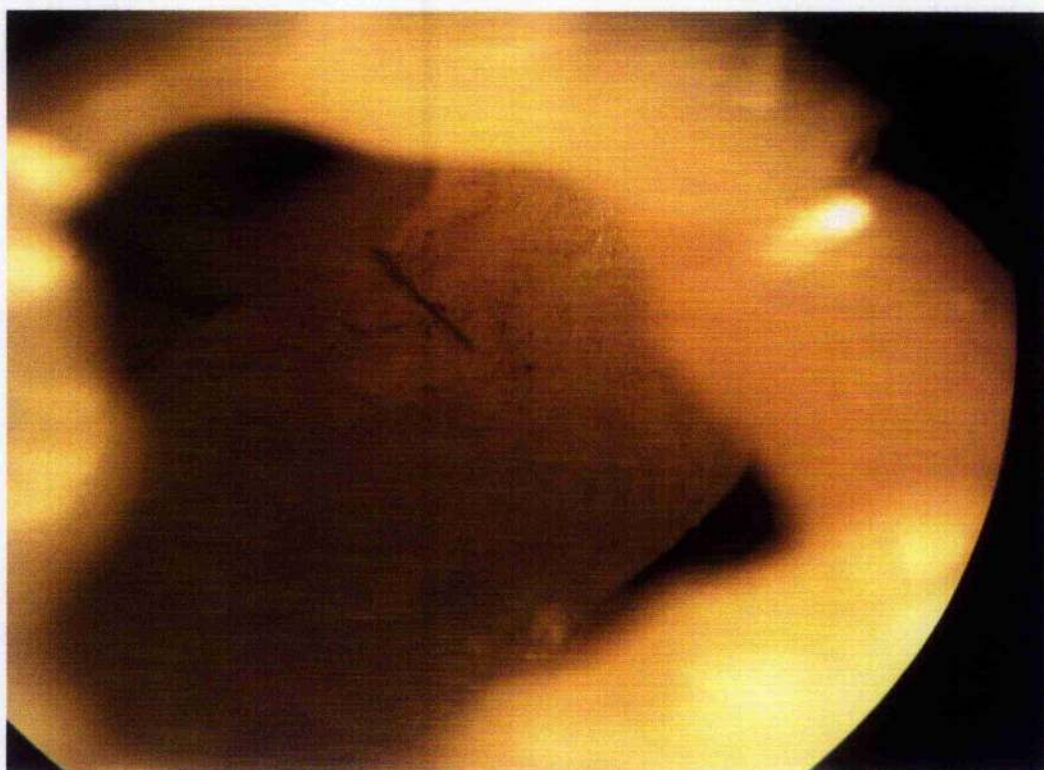
Burrell Hair 2-04



Burrell Hair 2-05



Burrell Hair 2-06



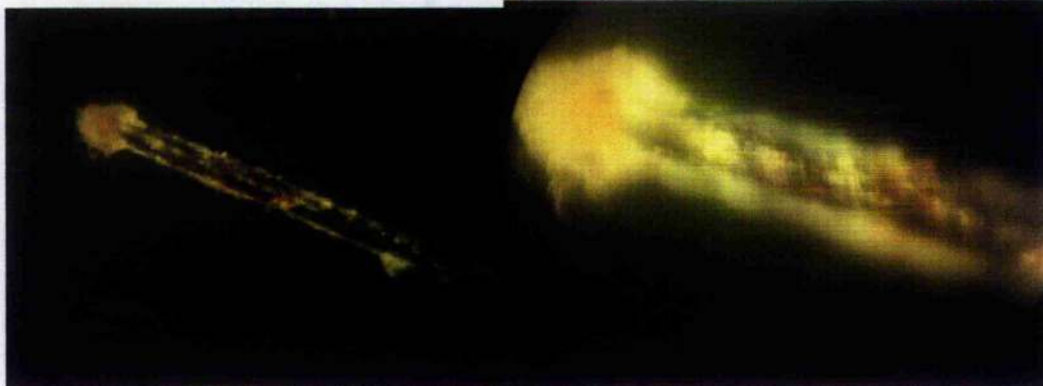
"Hair" number 1 in position within the Jade object. Under low (optical) magnification.



“Hair 1” removed from Jade, next to real hair from Kumiko. Low optical mag.



“Hair 2” removed from Jade. Low (optical) magnification. Scale at bottom is mm.



Hair 1. Polarised

Hair 1



Hair 2

Kumiko's hair

SEM examination of cross-section of Burrell Fibre 01.

Jim Tate 26th November 2003

Small segment at end of fibre cut and mounted in Perspex. Perspex polished down (maybe too much !) to see fibre. Not high polish as worried that sample would be lost – that's why there are grinding marks across the surface. However can't get any surface structure in image so not really any the wiser.

Analysis shows that the fibre is higher in sulphur than surrounding Perspex (ie suggests that not just seeing a void filled in with Perspex polish...), but not much else.

SEM settings: 15kV, controlled pressure 20Pa. Mag x 500.

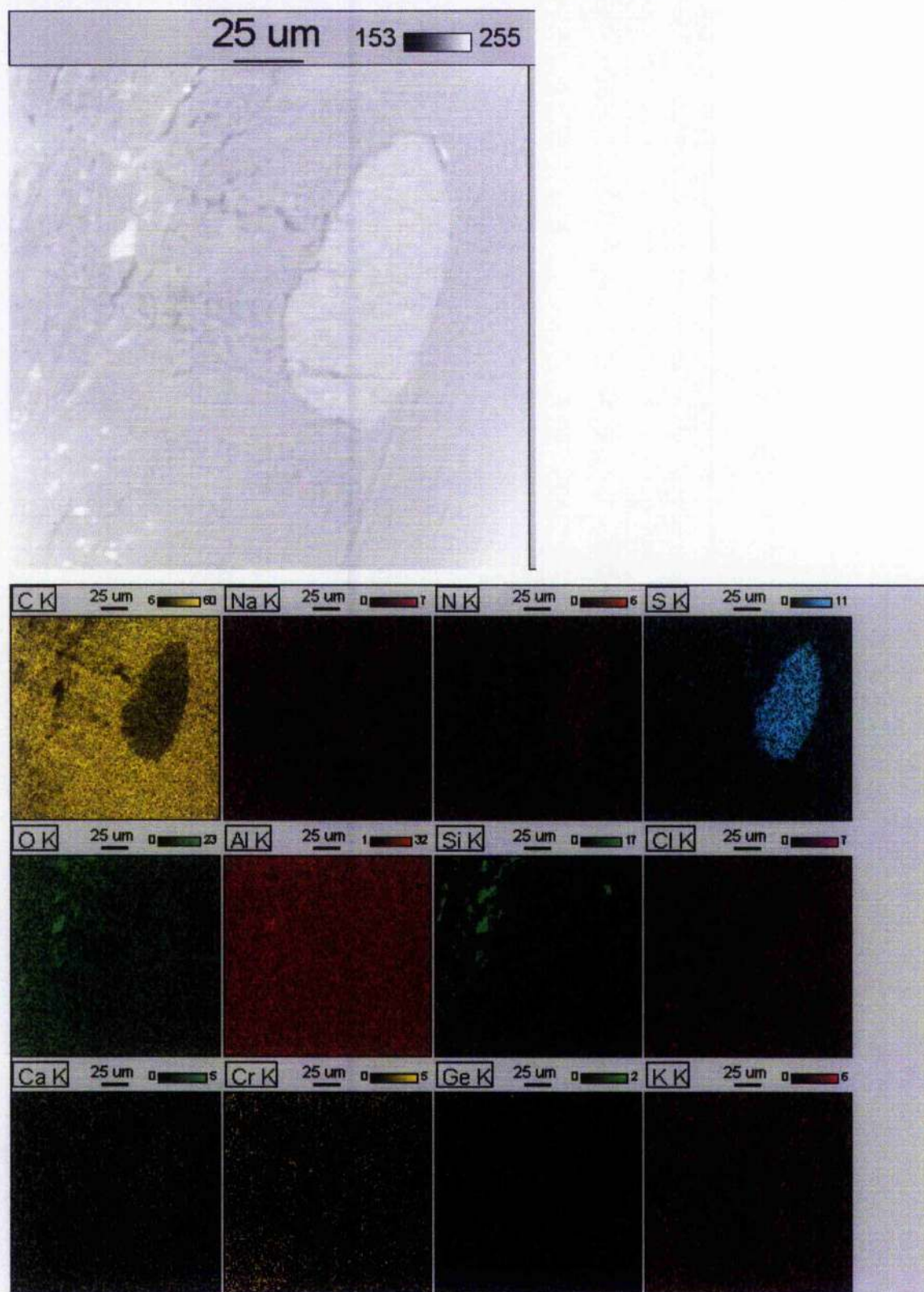
Direct SEM photo (Backscatter detector)



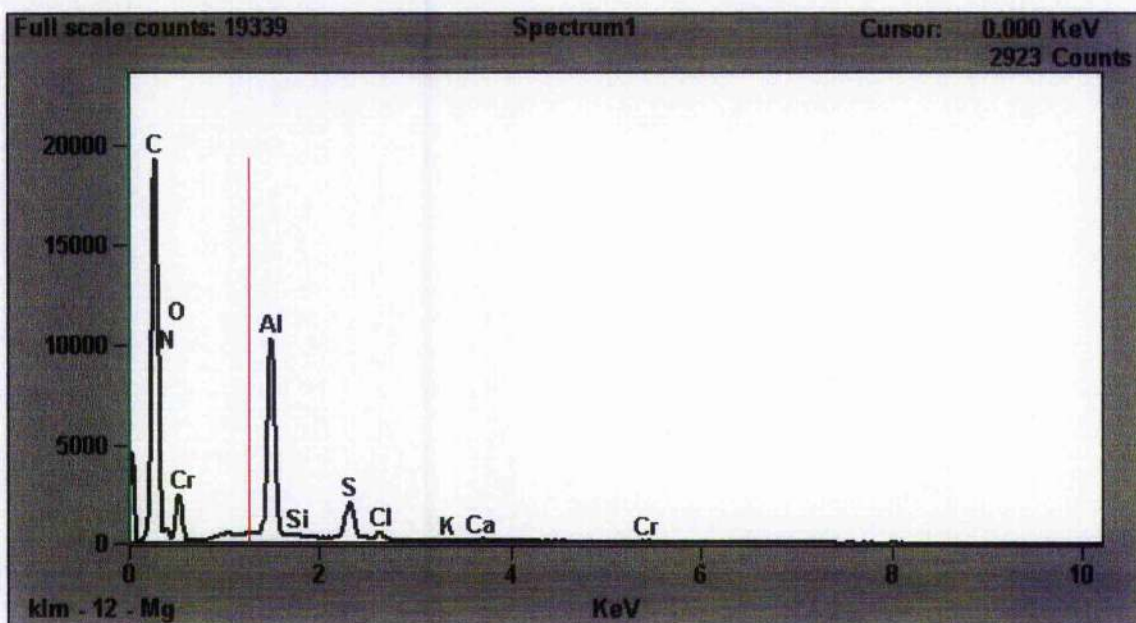
Magnification x1000, BSC 15kV



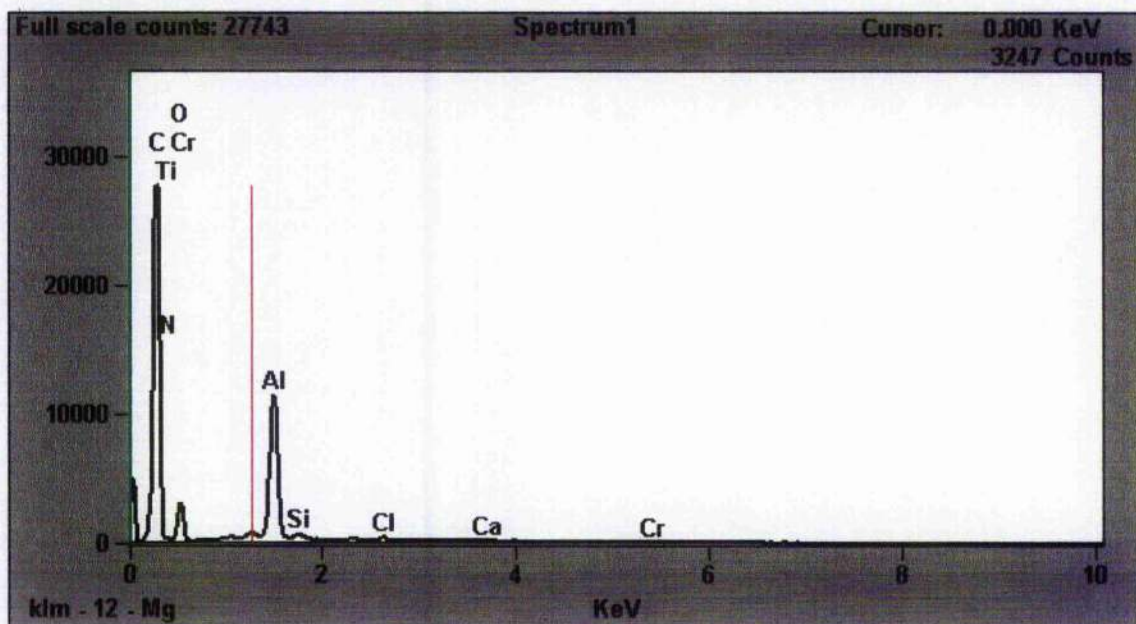
Analysis (poorer quality image as at analytical distance in SEM)

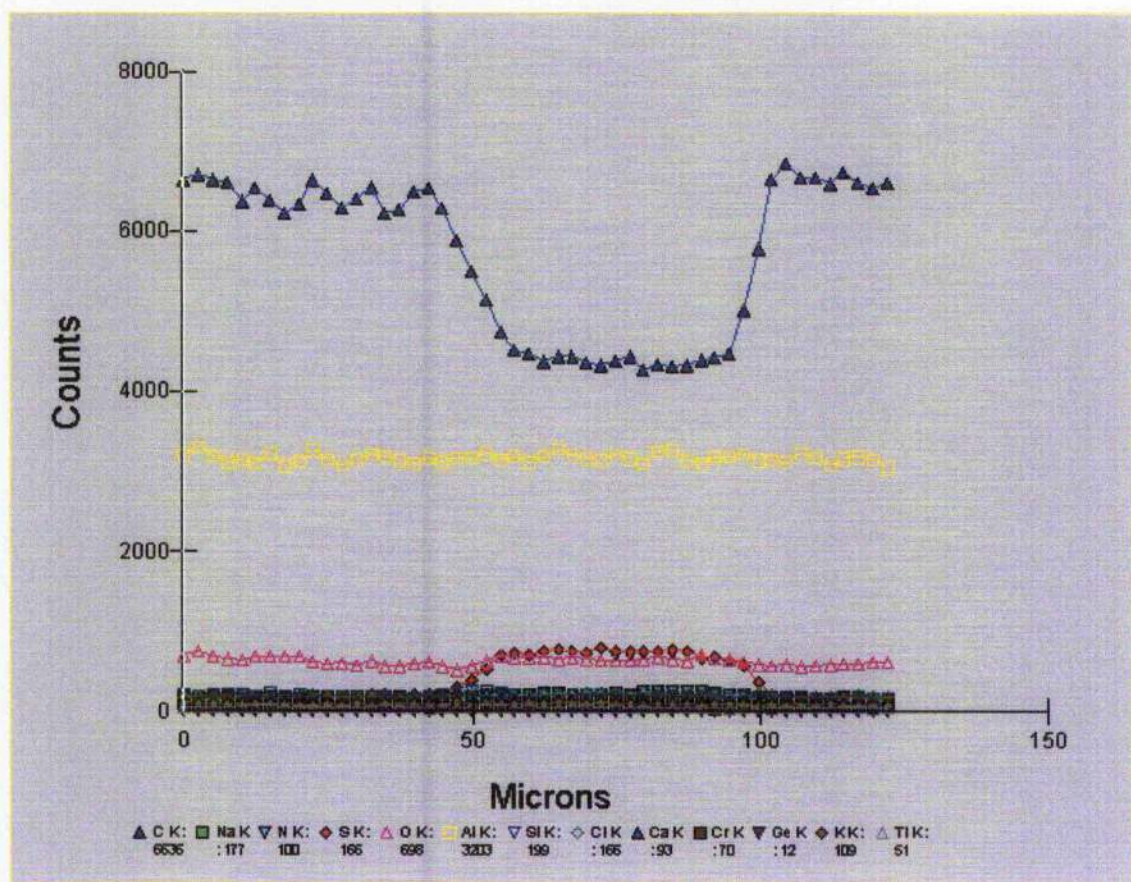
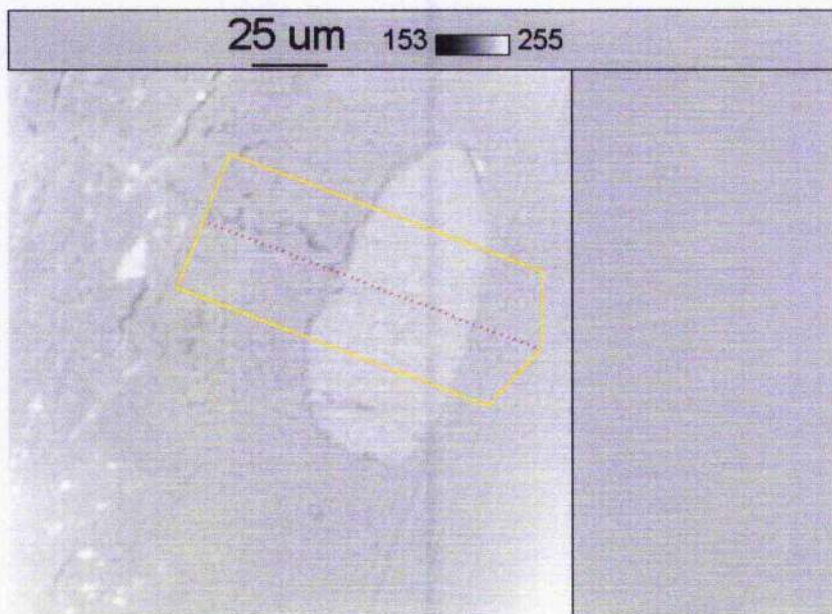


Analysis of fibre area.



Area of plastic...





Part Two: Identification of Fibre Sample

1. The Result of Identification

The sample of fibres first appeared to be from plants like hemp (nomenclature: *Canabis sativa*) or grass family (nomenclature: Poaceae) under a binocular microscope at variable magnification of x4 – x45. However, at higher magnification of x400, the material did not show flexed ridges at intervals along the fibres, and these are a characteristic feature of hemp (Fig. 1).

Secondly, wavy margins to the cells were clearly recognized, suggestive of the surface cell structure of a grass family leaf fragment (Fig. 2).

Finally, the SEM of the fibre samples shows a high peak of silica on the graph, and silica is one of the main constituents of grass family phytoliths. Phytoliths are small mineral bodies on grass family leaves. Jade (nephrite) is chemically composed of silicate of calcium, magnesium and iron so that it is also conceivable that the indication of the high rate of silica on the chart was from part of the jade fixed to the sample. However, it is perhaps less likely to be from the jade, as the artifact was not degraded.

Thus, it is possible to suggest that the material (sample) is from a grass leaf.

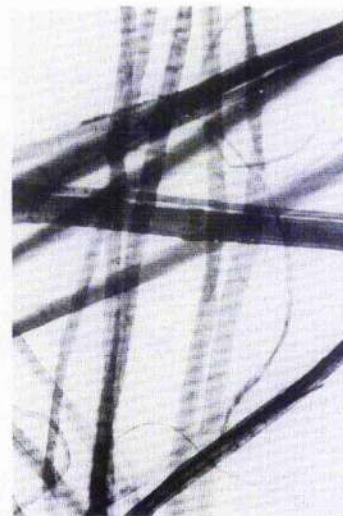


Fig. 1: *Sativa*, macerated bast fibres⁴

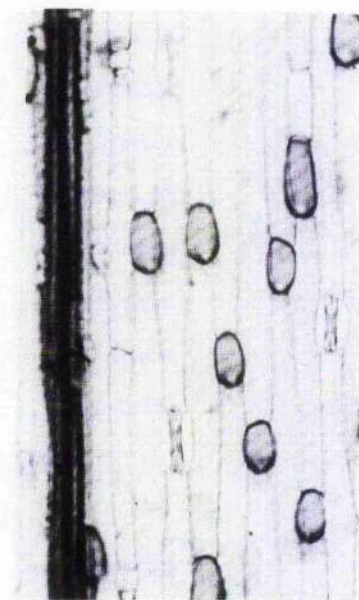


Fig. 2: *A. stolonifera*, leaf abaxial epidermis x 384.⁵

⁴ Rowena Gale and David Cutler, *Plants in Archaeology*, West Yorkshire and London, 2000, p.66, 7c.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p.290, 1.

2. Concluding Remarks

Hemp palm fibre, rattan, grass, straw and vine were typical materials for hats in Yuan China. For example, *qianyanmao* 前檐帽 (hats with front brim) (Fig.3) were woven from hemp palm fibre and *tengcaomao* 藤草帽 (square or hexagonal corrugated hat) (Fig.4) used rattan.⁶ In particular, *tengcaomao* were known as hats decorated with finials as is evident from surviving pictorial images (see Figures 5.64a and 5.75). If the jade finial from the Burrell Collection was used as a hat finial, it is possible that fibre samples were from such a hat.

In conclusion, the material from the Burrell Collection might have been part of the original fixing and might be grass leaf used for hats illustrated here Fig. 4, although this evidence is not conclusive.

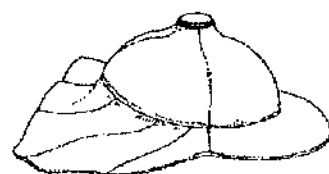


Fig.3: *Qianyanmao* excavated from a Yuan family tomb of Wang Shixian in Gansu.

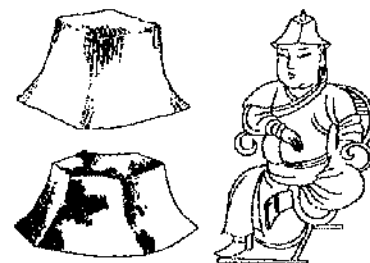


Fig.4: Left: *teng* hat and *cao* hat excavated from a Yuan tomb in Datong, Shanxi. Right: illustration from *Shilin Guangji* Yuan print.⁷

⁶ Liu Yonghua, *Ancient Chinese Armour*, Tokyo, 1998, p.169.

⁷ Fig. 3 and Fig. 4 are from *ibid.*, fig. O-20:2 and 3, O-21 (p.169). '*Tengcaomao*' the term used by Liu Yonghua seems to be the same as '*walengmao*'. See Chapter Five. A different type of hat with jade ornaments was also excavated from the same tomb as Fig. 3 (see Figure 5.80).

Appendix 5: Lists of Interviews and Letters

1. Interviews¹

China PRC and Taiwan

1. Dr Cai Meifen 蔡玫芬. November 17, 2000. Associate Research Fellow and Chief Curator, Porcelain Section, Department of Antiquities, National Palace Museum, Taiwan.
2. Dr Deng Shuping 鄧淑蘋. September 14, 1999. Research Fellow and Chief Curator, Jade Section, Department of Antiquities, National Palace Museum, Taiwan.
3. Dr Ji Ruoxin 嵇若昕. November 28, 2001. Research Fellow, Department of Antiquities, National Palace Museum, Taiwan.
4. Mr Lin Zonghan 林宗漢. April 30, 2000. Antique Dealer in Taipei, Director of the Chinese Jade Academic Society, the Yang Jianfang 楊健芳 Archaic Jade Research Institute, and member of the Chinese History of the Liao, Jin and Yuan Research Institute.
5. Dr Wang Yaoting 王耀庭. November 14, 2000. Research Fellow, Chief Curator, Department of Calligraphy and Painting, National Palace Museum, Taiwan.
6. Mr Wang Zhengshu 王正書. March 1, 2001. Curator, Shanghai Museum.
7. Dr Yang Boda 楊伯達. March 12 and 13, 2001. Research Fellow, President of the Jade Research Society of the Institute of Cultural Relics of China, and Member of the State Committee for Appraisal of Cultural Relics.
8. Dr Zhang Guangwen 張廣文. March 13, 2001. Research Fellow and Curator, Jade Section, Department of Antiquities, Palace Museum, Beijing.
9. Mr Zheng Jiahua 鄭家華. May 3, 2000. Associate Research Fellow, Chief Curator of Object d'art Section, Department of Antiquities, National Palace Museum, Taiwan.
10. Dr Zhou Xiaochang 周曉昌. March 7, 2001. Curator, Liaoning Provincial Museum, Shenyang.

¹ The lists show only persons with whom the author discussed points concerning this thesis by appointment or by letter or e-mail, and may not include people whom the author visited just to view works of art or simply contacted to inquiry whether jade openwork finials and works of art relating to this thesis were kept, as it is not feasible to list all museums and persons contacted. The names here are in

Europe and United States

1. Mrs Beth McKillop. July 3, 2000. Librarian, Korean Art Specialist, Department of Oriental and India Office Collections, British Library.
2. Dr Brian McElney. June 22, 1999. Honorary Curator, Museum of East Asian Art, Bath.
3. Mrs Carol Michaelson. November 22, 1999. Curator, Department of Oriental Antiquities, British Museum.
4. Prof Craig Clunas. July 5, 2000. Former Professor, History of Art, University of Sussex (currently Professor at University of London).
5. Prof David Houston. June 11, 2003. Zoology Department, University of Glasgow.
6. Mr Graham Hutt. June 21, 1999. Librarian, Chinese Art Specialist, Department of Oriental and India Office Collections, British Library.
7. Dr James C.Y. Watt. July 14, 2000. Brooke Russell Astor Senior Research Curator, Department of Asian Art, Metropolitan Museum of Art.
8. Dr Jan Stuart. July 18, 2000. Curator, Ancient Chinese Art, Freer Gallery of Art and Arthur M. Sackler Gallery.
9. Dr Jenny F. So. July 18, 2000. Former Curator, Ancient Chinese Art, Freer Gallery of Art and Arthur M. Sackler Gallery (currently Professor at University of Hong Kong).
10. Dr Julia M. White. July 21, 2000. Chief Curator of Asian Art, Honolulu Academy of Arts.
11. Mrs Ming Wilson. July 1, 1999. Senior Curator, Department of Asian Art, Victoria and Albert Museum.
12. Mr Peter Hardie. July 2, 1999. Formerly Curator of City Museum Art Gallery, Bristol.
13. Mr Robin Crighton. November 9, 2001. Deputy Director, Department of Oriental Art, Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge.
14. Dr Tang Jigen. July 1, 1999. Former Research Fellow, Chinese Archaeology, School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London and Director, Anyang Institute of Archaeology, Henan.

alphabetical order.

15. Dr Wang Tao. December 10, 1999. Lecturer, Chinese Archaeology, Department of Art and Archaeology, School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London.
16. Dr Bernard Zonfrillo. May 27, 2003. Ornithologist and Lecturer, Zoology Department, University of Glasgow.

Japan

1. Dr Edmond Chin. October 2, 1999 (in Tokyo). Auctioneer, Jewelry Department, Christie's Hong Kong Limited.
2. Prof Inahata Koichiro 稲畑耕一郎. October 12, 1999. Professor, Chinese Ancientology, Waseda University.
3. Dr Ishiyama Akira 石山彰. December 8, 2000. Former Honorary Professor, Bunka Women's University.
4. Dr Itakura Masaaki 板倉聖哲. October 24, 2000. Associate Professor, Research and Information Centre for Asian Studies, Institute of Oriental Culture, University of Tokyo.
5. Dr Nakano Toru 中野徹. February 22, 2001 / June 19, 2001. Director, Kuboso Kinen Museum, Izumi City, Osaka.
6. Prof Nakao Hiroshi 仲尾宏. June 18, 2001. Department of History and Culture, Kyoto University of Art and Design.
7. Dr Sugimoto Masatoshi 杉本正年. January 29, 2001. Former Lecturer, Bunka Women's University.
8. Prof Taniichi Takashi 谷一尚. October 13, 2000. Department of Art and Archaeology, Kyoritsu University.
9. Dr Miyake Toshihiko 三宅俊彦. September 6, 2000. Doctoral Fellow, Archaeology, Kokugakuin University.
10. Dr Morimoto Kosei 森本公誠. January 24, 2000. Former Chief Secretary, Todaiji Temple.
11. Dr Hatakeyama Tei 畠山慎. June 8, 2000. Member of the Steppe Archaeology Society, and Curator, Yokohama Museum of EurAsian Cultures.

Korea

1. Dr Choe Kyuchang 崔圭昌. September 29, 2000. Former Professor, Meisei University, Tokyo.
2. Dr Choi Eun-soo 崔銀水. September 25, 2000. Folklore Expert, National Folk Museum.
3. Dr Hong Na-young 洪那英. April 27, 2001. Associate Professor, Ewha Womans University.
4. Prof Kang Soon-che 姜淳弟. October 1, 2000. Department of Clothing and Textiles, Catholic University of Korea.
5. Mr Kim Jekwon 金濟權. April 29, 2001. Jade Carver, President, Bo Mi Traditional Jewelry Corporation, Seoul.
6. Dr Kim Jin-man. April 26, 2001. Research Fellow, Royal Museum.
7. Ms Kim Jooyeon 金珠連. September 26, 2000. Curator, Chang Pudeok Memorial Gallery, Ewha Womans University.
8. Dr Kim Youngsook 金英淑. April 29, 2001. Director, Korean Society of Institute of Asian Ethno-Forms and Culture.
9. Dr Kim Woo-lim 金右臨. September 27, 2000. Chief Curator, Korea University Museum.
10. Dr Lee Jae-jeong 李載貞. September 25, 2000. Associate Curator, Department of Registration, National Museum of Korea.
11. Dr Park Chongmin 朴鍾珉. October 3, 2000. Curator, Onyang Museum.
12. Dr Park Sungsil 朴聖實. September 27, 2000. Director, Suk Joo-sun Memorial Museum of Korean Folk Arts.
13. Dr Son Eun-ju 孫殷珠. December 16, 2001. Curator, Jinju National Museum.
14. Dr Son Kyōnja 孫敬子. March 23, 2001. Former Professor, Sejong University.
15. Mr Song Taesong 宋大成. April 30, 2001. Former Chief Clerk, Hyōnch'ungsa Museum.
16. Prof Yim Myung-mi 仁明美. April 24, 2001. Dongduk Women's University.

2. Letters and E-mails

China

1. Mrs Bai Ning 白寧. April 2, 2001 (letter). Curator, Nanjing Municipal Museum.
2. Dr Zhang Gai 張凱. April 15, 2001 (letters and fax). Curator, Department of Calligraphy and Painting, National Museum of Chinese History.
3. Dr Zhang Guangwen 張廣文. April 7, November 8, 2001/ March 30, April, August, 2002 (letters). Research Fellow and Curator, Jade Section, Department of Antiquities, Palace Museum, Beijing.

Europe and United States

1. Dr Lydia Icke-Schwalbe. November 29, 2001 (letter). Curator, South and East Asia, Staatliches Museum Für Völkerkunde Dresden.

Japan

1. Dr Imai Atsushi 今井敦. June 11, 2001 (e-mail). Curator, Jade and Porcelain Section, Tokyo National Museum.
2. Prof Sato Satoru 佐藤悟. October 23, 2000 / January 18, 2001 (e-mails). Professor of Japanese Literature, Jissen Women's University.
3. Dr Wada 和田. March 13, 2002 (tel / fax). Curator, Yamaguchi Prefectural Archives.
4. Dr Yoshitome Yuko 吉留優子. April 12, 2001 (fax). Curator, Dazaifu Museum, Kyushu.