

JADE DEMONIC IMAGES FROM EARLY CHINA

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THE HUMAN IMAGE IS RELATIVELY RARE IN pre-Buddhist China¹ and often tells little when it does occur out of pictorial or other context.² Animal imagery, on the other hand, is incomparably rich and original. There are therianthropic images of bronze, jade and wood, however, of semi-human or demonic aspect. It is from these that the jades here were gathered.

More than one scholar has been drawn to these works. Carl Hentze included a number of them in his wide-ranging books, noting trans-Pacific affinities.³ Umehara Sueji 梅原末治 in Japan grouped some in 1955 and more in 1966.⁴ Na Chih-liang 那志良 illustrated the best known ones again in his valuable two-volume study of jades.⁵ Last but not least, Alfred Salmony published most of the jade demons and related

material known to him and came closest to the dates suggested here in his first major work on archaic jades, but in his last book he was moving them backward in time toward the Shang style or period, which many reflect.⁶ Salmony's puzzlement and willingness to change his dates was fair enough, however. The jades are not easy to place.

Many have been fascinated by the demonic images of early China, witness Salmony's book on the lacquered wood "guardians" of the tombs of the Yangtze state of Ch'u 楚.⁷ No one to date has noted the scope and import of this particular group of jades, not at all out of line with the mentality and even the type represented by the antlered and tongued apparitions of Ch'u. Thus we have lacked much of the primary or in-

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¹ I am deeply indebted to Professor Loehr for reading my thesis on this subject before his recent trip to China.

² For a most valuable compendium of human figures in early pictorial context see Charles Weber, *Chinese Pictorial Bronze Vessels of the Late Chou Period* (Ascona: Artibus Asiae, 1968). With Käthe Finsterbusch's two volume *Verzeichnis und Motivindex der Han-Darstellungen* (Wiesbaden, 1971) and my own (projected) work on the human image in earliest Chinese art up to and other than this Late Chou and Han material, writers on both art and religion may have a fairly complete and convenient body of primary documents for all kinds of early Chinese beliefs, appearances and practices.

³ See especially Carl Hentze, *Die Sakralbronzen und ihre Bedeutung in den frühchinesischen Kulturen*, 2 vols. (Antwerp, 1941), pls. 77-80, and pre-Columbian designs included in his *Mythes et symboles lunaires*

(Anvers, 1932) and *Objets rituels, croyances et dieux de la Chine antique et de l'Amérique* (Anvers, 1936).

⁴ Umehara Sueji 梅原末治, *Shina Kogyoku Zuroku* 支那古玉圖錄 [Illustrated Catalogue of Ancient Chinese Jades (Kyoto and Tokyo, 1955) and "Ku Kung Hakubutsu-in no Rikikei no Kogyoku San Shū" 故宮博物院の利器系の古玉三種 [Three forms of ancient Jade tools in the Palace Museum], *Ku Kung chi-k'an* 故宮季刊 [National Palace Museum Quarterly (*NPMQ*)] vol. 1, no. 1 (July, 1966), pp. 2-21.

⁵ Na Chih-liang, *Yü-ch'i t'ung-shih* 玉器通釋 [A Study of Jades] (Hong Kong and Taipei, 1964 and 1970).

⁶ See Alfred Salmony, *Carved Jade of Ancient China* (Berkeley, 1938); *Archaic Chinese Jades from the Edward and Louise B. Sonnenschein Collection* (Chicago, 1952); and the posthumously published *Chinese Jade through the Wei Dynasty* (New York, 1963).

⁷ A. Salmony, *Antler and Tongue* (Ascona: Artibus Asiae, 1954).

ternal evidence for placement afforded by sheer numbers of examples.

Only two of the pieces gathered here were excavated under controlled conditions. With this scarcity of objective or archaeological evidence, the time-and-space conclusions drawn here are necessarily tentative. Yet the fullness and arrangement of material may bear witness as yet uncited, and the results of this essay, if not "true", may at least come closer to the ancient and complex reality. In any case they suggest that this subject in the study of early Chinese jade is important (1) for isolating and understanding something of regional arts in pre-Buddhist China, (2) for studies in Pacific art, and (3) as a partial basis for reconstructing early Chinese religious beliefs and practises, notably the survival of early forms of shamanism in the South. Place and, above all, time of manufacture are the main concerns here, however. These are as the prime factors of historical import stressed again and again by Professor Loehr.⁸ Unsure or unknown, meaning is only briefly touched upon.

The jade and stone primary material for study is shown in *figures 1-40*. *Figures 41-76* illustrate designs for comparison in all media both inside and outside of China. The forty images from thirty-six jades fall into interlocking series beginning at An-yang 安陽 and probably still current when the Buddha was on the doorstep. They are grouped here according to their most striking attribute, the headdress. There is often some doubt even as to the exact description

of this, but until clarified by further finds the following four groups may serve well enough as a framework: These are: (1) images with branching headdresses suggestive of ornate, usually rigid, horns or "rococo" antlers; (2) masks with plumed headdress; (3) horned and plumed demons; and (4) capped heads linked in one way or another with the foregoing.

The jades are "catalogued" under these four headings as to form and color, image type, size or maximum dimension and published photos, drawings and dates. (My best effort at dating follows the long dash at the end of each entry.) A brief discussion of my reasoning and conclusions comes at the end. Most of the images were worked in incised line, flat or low relief, some higher relief, and notably the so-called *yang-wen* 陽文 line associated first and foremost with the finest of the Late Shang jades. This *yang-wen* style, however, has variations of some significance for dating, although quality and workshop differences may also be allowed even for Shang times and certainly enter the picture later. Thus the *yang-wen* style might be characterized in three ways: (1) proto or pseudo *yang-wen*—double incised line; (2) semi *yang-wen*—semi-relief line or double incised line with the stone rubbed away to some extent to either side of the incised lines, but incompletely; and (3) true *yang-wen*—line isolated in clear relief against background or surface almost fully abraded away.⁹

I. The "Horned Crown" Group (*figs. 1-16*)

1.—PLAQUE: Flat, thick plaque of medium green jade with cream and grey-brown shadows, white flecks

⁸ Max Loehr, "Chinese Painting," *Catalogue of the Exhibition of Chinese Calligraphy and Painting in the Collection of John M. Crawford, Jr.* (New York, 1962), p. 33 and elsewhere.

⁹ See also Doris Dohrenwend, *Chinese Jades in the Royal Ontario Museum* (Toronto, 1971), p. 36.

and amber veining. Sole surface detail, engraved broken lines about openwork on one face. Max. width: 7 3/8 in. (18.8 cm.). Collection of Dr. Arthur M. Sackler, New York.—Late Shang.

2.—PLAQUE: Flat, thick plaque of calcified light green jade. Possibly incomplete, since engraved lines include unbroken ones on "crown" not associated with silhouette or openwork. Diagonal scar across otherwise plain back. W. 4 1/16 in. (10.3 cm.). Eugene Fuller Memorial Collection, Seattle Art Museum. Museum's date (following Salmony's verbal "Middle Chou"): "Ch'un Ch'iu."—Possibly Ch'un Ch'iu 春秋; not earlier than the ninth century B.C.

3.—PLAQUE: Curved plaque, which stands alone, of calcified light green and buff jade. Back concave and plain. Front shows early demonic image in semi-*yang-wen* or low relief line with horn-like crown

¹⁰ References for this section not previously cited: Arden Gallery, *Three Thousand Years of Chinese Jade* (New York, 1933).

d'Argencé, R.-Y. L., *Chinese Jades in the Avery Brundage Collection* (Kodansha International, 1972).

Hansford, S. H., *Chinese Carved Jades* (London, 1968).

Hentze, C., *Frühchinesische Bronzen und Kultdarstellungen*, 2 vols. (Antwerp, 1937).

Huang Chün 黃濬, *Heng Chai ts'ang-chien ku-yü t'u* 衡齋藏見古玉圖 [Illustrations of Ancient Jades in the Heng Chai Collection] (Peking, 1935).

Jenyns, R. S., *Chinese Archaic Jades in the British Museum* (London, 1951).

Ku-kung po-wu-yüan 故宮博物院 [National Palace Museum], *Ku-kung Yü-ch'i hsüan-tsui* 故宮玉器選萃 [Masterworks of Chinese Jade in the National Palace Museum] (Taipei, 1969).

Liang Ssu-yung 梁思永 and Kao Ch'ü-hsün 高去尋 comp., *Hou-chia-chuang 1001-hao ta-mu* 侯家莊號大墓 [Hou-chia-chuang Royal Tomb 1001], 2 vols. (Nankang, 1962); *Hou-chia-chuang 1217-hao ta-mu* 侯家莊 1217 號大墓 [Hou-chia-chuang Royal Tombs 1217], (Nankang, 1968).

Liu Tun-yüan 劉敦愿, "Chi Liang-ch'eng-chen i-chih fa-hsien-ti liang-chien shih-ch'i" 記兩城鎮遺址發現的兩件石器 [Two Stone Implements Discovered at the site of Liang-Ch'eng-chen], *K'ao-ku* 考古 [Archeology] (KK, 1972), no. 4, pp. 56-57.

Norton Gallery of Art, *An Exhibition of Chinese Archaic Jades*, C. T. Loo, Inc. (Catalogue) (West

(peaked at center), earspools or flanged ear-rings, and paired tusks (inners up, outers down) flanking two rows of teeth in slightly up-turned rimmed mouth. H. 2 in. (5.1 cm.). Grenville L. Winthrop Bequest, Fogg Art Museum, Harvard. Salmony, *Chinese Jade through Wei*, pl. 12: 5: "Early Western Chou."—Chou.

4.—PLAQUE: Curved piece of translucent light green jade with brown markings at banded neck edge. Back acutely concave and plain. Front shows same demon as above but for higher relief of nose, eccentric elaboration of ears and down-curling ends of crown (cf. *figs. 1* and *6*). Neck perforation for stringing probably not original. Earspools perforated through from front. W. 1 7/8 in. (4.8 cm.). Center of Asian Art and Culture, Avery Brundage Collection, San Francisco. See Y. d'Argencé, *Chinese Jades*, p. 10: "Western Chou or Ch'un Ch'iu period (tenth-sixth century B.C.)."¹⁰—Eastern Chou.

Palm Beach, 1950).

Shih Chang-ju 石璋如, "Yin-hsü tsui-chin chih chuang-yao fa-hsien fu-lun Hsiao-t'un ti-ts'eng" 殷墟最近之重要發現附論小屯地層 [Recent Important Discoveries at Yin Hsü with a note on Hsiao-t'un Stratigraphy], *Chung-kuo K'ao-ku hsüeh-pao* 中國考古學報 [Chinese Journal of Archaeology] (CK KKH), vol. 2 (1947), pp. 1-83; "Yin-tai t'ou-shih chü-li" 殷代頭飾舉例 ["Examples of the Headdress of the Yin Period"], *Chung-yang yen-chiu-yüan* 中央研究院 *li-shih yü-yen-chiu-so chi-k'an* 歷史語言研究所集刊 [Bulletin of the Institute of History and Philology of the Academia Sinica] (BIHP), vol. 28 (Taipei, 1957), pp. 611-70.

Sirén, O., *Kinas Konst under Tre Artusenåren*, 2 vols. (Stockholm, 1942).

Szu-ch'uan Sheng Po-wu-kuan 四川省博物館 [Szechwan Provincial Museum] *Szu-ch'uan ch'uan-kuan-ts'ang fa-chüeh pao-kao* 四川船棺葬發掘報告 [Szechwan Boat Coffins Monograph] (Peking, 1960).

Trousdale, W. B., "Chinese Jade at Philadelphia," *Oriental Art (OA)*, vol. 10, no. 2 (Summer, 1964), pp. 107-114.

Umehara, Sueji, *In-kyō* 殷墟 [Yin Hsu, Ancient Capital of the Shang Dynasty at Anyang] (Tokyo, 1964).

The University Museum, *Archaic Chinese Jades* (A Special Exhibition, Feb., 1940) (Philadelphia, 1940).

Watson, W., *Handbook to the Collection of Early*

5.—FITTING: Sharply curving form of light green jadc. Back plain and concave with perforations for attachment to unknown object. Front shows same crowned, earspooled and tusked demon as nos. 3 and 4, except for higher relief of eyes as well as nose, awkwardness of nose design, spiral-incised crown center and eccentric, ridged bands about mouth. W. 2 1/8 in. (5.5 cm.). H. J. Oppenheim Bequest, British Museum. Photo, Jenyns, *Chinese Archaic Jades*, pl. 31 top: "Chou or earlier." See also Salmony, *Carved Jade*, pl. 32: 2-3: "Early Eastern Chou;" Hentze, *Sakralbronzen*, pl. 80: 155: Shang or Early Western Chou; Umehara, *Shina Kogyoku*, pl. 73: 3; Watson, *Handbook*, pl. 31d: "10th-8th century B.C.;" and Na, *Yü-ch'i*, vol. 2, p. 126, fig. 28.—Late Eastern Chou to Han.

6.—FITTING: Curved appliqué of light green jade with faintest amber markings at neck and on back. Back concave and plain but for grooves, cavities, and six meeting pairs of perforations for attachment: two in sides of top; two above earspools; and two in center of back meeting in central, vertical perforation. Drilling rather sharp-edged and regular. Front shows similar demon as nos. 3-5 but of more mechanical and contained feature and outline. No tusks, no ornately projecting horns. Earspools not bored all the way through. Bow-tie-like spirals on neck band. H. 1 13/16 in. (4.6 cm.). Freer Gallery of Art. See Salmony, *Chinese Jade through Wei*, pl. 12: 6: "Early Western Chou;" Wills, *Jade of the East*, p. 59, pl. 36: "Chou."—Late Eastern Chou to Han.

7.—SCEPTER (*fig. 28* shows mask on reverse): Long trapezoidal form with rounded cutting edge and two perforations below main design and borders (upper one larger, conical and drilled from this side; lower one near butt and smaller). Calcified, grey-green stone, gold-tinged above, with dark area at butt end. *Fig. 7* shows round-eyed, mouthless "demon" with peak-centered "horned crown" in true *yang-wen* and flat relief. Ch'ien-lung 乾隆 period inscription in opposing position to mask image. L. 9 11/16 in.

Chinese Antiquities (London: The British Museum, 1963).

Wills, G., *Jade of the East* (New York, Tokyo and Hong Kong, 1972).

(24.6 cm.) National Palace Museum, Taipei. See Umehara, *NPMQ*, vol. 1, no. 1 (1966), p. 14, fig. 2: 3; also *Ku Kung Yü-ch'i*, pl. 4: "Chou."—Eastern Chou.

8.—SCEPTER: Off-white jade tablet with gold clouding. Slender proportions. Single, conical perforation below border at butt end. Mask-like designs on both faces show eyed spirals under peak-centered "horned crown." *Yang-wen* carving of main mask and borders. Finely engraved geometric patterns on "mouldings." Ch'ien-lung period inscription as above. National Palace Museum, Taipei. Umehara, *NPMQ*, vol. 1, no. 1 (1966), p. 1 left: "Shang."—Late Eastern Chou to Han.

9.—SCEPTER: Near rectangular tablet bevelled on one side above and appearing truncated below (design right at butt edge, no perforation). Calcified dark green stone. Incised design on both faces. One side shows round-eyed bracket-mouthed, long-toothed mask with rococo horn motif stiffly vertical (no tusks, earrings). Reverse shows frontal mask-like design of spiral-eyed, confronting "profiles," noses united by three lines and heads by peaked crown above with more usual lateral horns. L. 7 1/16 in. (18 cm.). Discovered 1963 in village near Lungshan 龍山, site at Liang-cheng-chen 兩城鎮 Shantung, and now in the Shantung Provincial Museum. After Liu, *KK*, 1972/4, pp. 57-58: Lungshan.—Eastern Han.

10.—SCEPTER: Long tablet, near rectangular form of green jade with brown markings. Identical design on both faces suggests "crowned" nose (cf. noses in *figs. 13* and *24*) incised in small panel flanked by vertical fluting. Above and below are incised triple *guilloches*, with additional incised border design over upper *guilloche* band. One large perforation between décor and straight butt edge. L. 13 7/16 in. (34.2 cm.). A. F. Pillsbury Collection, Minneapolis Institute of Arts. Salmony, *Carved Jade*, pl. 33: 2: "Early Eastern Chou."—Eastern Han.

11.—KNIFE END (*fig. 30* shows design on center of blade): Large, trapezoidal blade (broken at smaller end) with two unevenly conical perforations about 1 1/2 in. in from spine and smaller conical hole at broken end for hafting or hanging. Finely bevelled,

slightly concave cutting edge. Notches on short side only partly related to design, which may be later than blade. Softly polished, grey-green jade with buff and white clouding and grey patches. Finely incised on both sides of end shown (faintest traces at opposite end of similar design) is ornate profile version of horned crown at finest with elaborate system of pendants. No clear human image. L. 19 in. (48.3cm.). Collection of Dr. Arthur M. Sackler, New York.—Late Shang or Early Western Chou.

12.—FITTING: Flat plaque of light green jade with traces of calcification below carved in *yang-wen* and flat band relief. Five conical bores in (flat) top edge of crown; earspools biconically perforated. Both sides show horn-crowned, tusked and earspooled demons. One row of teeth only. Flat but ornate, linear nose design resembles downward-flying bird seen from above. W. 2 3/4 in. (7 cm.). John Gellatly Collection, National Collection of Fine Arts, Smithsonian Institution. See Hentze, *Sakralbronzen*, pl. 79: 154: Shang or Early Western Chou; Salmony, *Carved Jade*, pl. 31: 6-7: "Early Eastern Chou;" Umehara, *Shina Kogyoku*, p. 74: 2 and *NPMQ*, vol. 1, no. 1 (1966), p. 14, fig. 2: 4.—Eastern Chou.

13.—FITTING: Flat, fine plaque of yellow-green jade with brown markings. Three holes in (straight) top edge of crown, three in base; side perforations joined by bores from back for attachment. One side only carved in true and exquisite *yang-wen* style. Horn-crowned, round-eye, ear-spooled and bracket-mouthed or "sad" demon. One short row of long upper teeth only and perhaps a protruding tongue. W. 3 1/2 in. (9 cm.). Edward and Louise B. Sonnenschein Collection, Art Institute of Chicago. See Hentze, *Sakralbronzen*, pl. 79: 153: Shang or Early Western Chou; Salmony, *Carved Jade*, pl. 32: 1: "Early Eastern Chou"; and *Sonnenschein Catalogue*, pl. 36: 2: "Early Western Chou."—Han; southern or southwestern.

14.—FITTING: Bar-shaped fitting of light green jade with white and gold clouding and faintest traces of calcification. Bifacial ("tragi-comic") mask theme above and two-sided small animal mask below. One conical bore in center of flat top edge of horned crown, another below (they do not meet). True *yang-wen* design. Tusked demon has "smiling" mouth

with peak-centered upper lip (cf. fig. 28), two rows of teeth, and ear extensions or pendants below (biconically perforated) earspools. Round-eyed mask on reverse side has bracket mouth with long uppers but no clearly suggested tongue. L. 2 7/8 in. (7.4 cm.). From the John Gellatly Collection in the National Collection of Fine Arts, Smithsonian Institution. See Salmony, *Carved Jade*, pl. 31: 4-5: "Early Eastern Chou;" Umehara, *Shina Kogyoku*, pl. 74: 1; and Na, *Yü-ch'i*, vol. 2, p. 297, pl. 19 ab.—Han.

15.—PLAQUE: Trapezoidal appliqué plaque of light-colored, green jade carved in openwork. Fourteen perforations for attachment spaced about flat, plain edge. Latter frames "horn"-crowned, round-eyed, beak-nosed creature. Flat bands with raised edges of body and plumes of bird deity suggest late jade version of Li-yü 李峪 bronze style. W. not known. Coll. of Heinrich Hardt, Berlin. See Sirén, *Kinas Konst*, vol. 1, pl. 52b: "Eastern Chou."—Han, possibly Szechwan.

16.—PENDANT or implement recarved as semi-human profile from ring of translucent light green jade. Horned (?) "crown" or notch-toothed crest above. Prominent forehead and nose over grooved, flat relief lips. Incised, frontal, circle-in-crescent eyes. Perforation for stringing in long, curving neck, unevenly serrated along thinner outer edge. L. 2 7/8 in. (7.4 cm.). Collection of Dr. Arthur M. Sackler, New York. See Trousdale, *OA*, vol. 10, no. 2 (1964), p. 109, fig. 7: "Shang."—Late Eastern Chou to Han; provincial, possibly Yunnan.

II. The "Plumed" Group (figs. 17-30)

17.—SICKLE: Stone blade showing traces of painted design excavated 1930's from Hsi-pei-kang 西北岡 Tomb 1001 of royal cemetery at Anyang. About midway down cutting edge from broken tip is human profile with rectangular eye, large and sideways-C-shaped ear and small mouth and chin. Above eye rises angularly curving plume (?) Type and position of image (if drawing and reading accurate) as that on Karasuk stele in fig. 64. Collection of the Academia Sinica, Taipei. After Liang and Kao, *1001*, pl. 105: 2—Late Shang (Anyang).

18.—FITTING OR FINIAL: Partly calcified, light green jade not meant for appliqué since representation is two-sided. Under same bifurcated, four-plumed headdress with criss-cross forehead band (cf. *figs. 31* and *62*) is ram (?)-horned animal mask on one side and high-eared (no earpools or tusks) human mask on other. Conical perforation in tenon below chin/snout drilled from human side—as was similar, if more erratically placed, hole in mask's left cheek. *Yang-wen*, incised and flat relief carving. H. about $1\frac{1}{2}$ in. (3.8 cm.). Collection of J. Eguchi 江口治郎, Osaka. See Umehara, *Shina Kogyoku*, pl. 73: 2.—Western Chou.

19.—PENDANT OR IMPLEMENT: Recarved for human profile from ring segment of calcified pale green jade. Two rough perforations above for stringing and fairly sharp, slanting edge below. Flat nose, grooved mouth, small chin and large round eye. High plume or crest flanged front and top. Semi-*yang-wen* verticals on plume, continuing meaninglessly on neck, suggest design remained from grooved disk of type recovered recently in Western Chou bronze *yu* 卣 bucket from Ning-hsiang Hsien 寧鄉縣, Ch'ang-sha 長沙, Hunan. L. $1\frac{15}{16}$ in. (5 cm.). Mr. and Mrs. W. L. McKim, Palm Beach. See Norton Gallery, *Jades Exhibition Catalogue*, pl. 22: 11: "Late Western Chou."—Late Shang disk or ring; profile image Western Chou, ninth or eighth century B.C.

20.—FITTING: Light green jade with traces red pigment. Carved to near rectangular form. Tripartite flange elements frame plaque on three sides; notched, slant-edged tenon below. Back plain but for rib or scar down center. Image on front cf. conventional Western Chou *t'ao-t'ieh* 饕餮 except for H-form mouth design, which may reflect the up-and-down-tusked demon jaw. Biconical perforation just below center of mouth. H. $3\frac{1}{8}$ in. (8 cm.). Edward and Louise B. Sonnenschein Collection, Art Institute of Chicago. See Salmony, *Carved Jade*, pl. 21: 4: "Early Western Chou" and *Sonnenschein Catalogue*, pl. 36: 3: same; Hentze, *Frühchinesische Bronzen*, vol. 2, pl. 14a; Na, *Yü-chi*, vol. 2 p. 135: "Shang."—9th or 8th century B.C.; central tradition.

21.—FITTING: Trapezoidal plaque of mottled yellow and green jade, much calcified. Form and type

similar to *no. 20* but for greater flare above and more ornate flanges. Back plain. On front near-rectangular eyes and round nostrils of mask in lowest flat relief. All other detail in Late Shang or semi-*yang-wen* style. H-form mouth as in *no. 20*, with conical perforation below center. Large conical hole above mask's right eye probably pre- or post-dates plumed demon image. H. $1\frac{7}{8}$ in. (4.8 cm.). Formerly Collection of A. W. Bahr, Weybridge; now Collection of Dr. Arthur M. Sackler, New York. See Salmony, *Carved Jade*, pl. 21: 8: "Early Western Chou."—Western Chou.

22.—HANDLE? FITTING: Roughly rectangular fitting of pale green jade with lighter and darker markings. Back plain. Front shows contained rectangular mask with more or less deeply but singly and somewhat roughly incised features including tusk-derived, H-form mouth. Concave border above mask; indented "handle" end done as vertically fluted high plume. Tenon has broken conical bore in base for attachment. H. $3\frac{7}{16}$ in. (8.8 cm.). Formerly Heng Chai Collection; now Edward and Louise B. Sonnenschein Collection, Art Institute of Chicago. See *Heng Chai Catalogue*, vol. 1, 3b; Salmony, *Carved Jade*, pl. 32: 5: "Early Eastern Chou Handle" and *Sonnenschein Catalogue*, pl. 36: 4: "Early Western Chou Handle;" Hentze, *Sakralbronzen*, pl. 78: 151: Shang or Early Western Chou; and Na, *Yü-ch'i*, vol. 2, p. 119, *fig. 21c*.—Eastern Chou; provincial.

23.—PLAQUE: Flat, thick fitting of wholly calcified jade diagonally broken above and apparently smoothed in antiquity. Back smooth but plain. Front shows lower part of demonic mask recognizable by tusks (H-form but curvilinear as in *no. 22* rather than rigid as in *no. 20*), earpools (conically bored from the front) and band-edged neck. One row of teeth only. Ears have pointed lobes (?) below open spools. Headdress lost; place in this group based wholly on mouth formation. Pseudo *yang-wen* or double incised line detail. W. $2\frac{3}{8}$ in. (6.1 cm.). Collection of Dr. Arthur M. Sackler, New York. See University Museum, *Archaic Chinese Jades Catalogue*, pl. 11, no. 207 and p. 44: Shang.—Eastern Chou.

24.—PLAQUE: Thin bordered plaque with incurving sides bevelled to fine edges. Light green jade (above) shading into amber with faint traces of calcification.

Smooth, slightly convex back plain but for small uneven projections pierced for attachment at corners. Front center decorated with almond-eyed, ear-spooled head with plumed-band headdress and shoulder length hair. Above and below image are designs in opposing position about eyed spirals. True *yang-wen* and flat relief carving. H. 2 13/16 in. (7.5 cm.). Formerly Collection of C. T. Loo, Paris; now Freer Gallery of Art. See Salmony, *Carved Jade*, pl. 32: 6: "Early Eastern Chou;" Hentze, *Sakral-bronzen*, pl. 78: 152: Shang or Early Western Chou; and Na, *Yü-ch'i*, vol. 2, p. 296, pl. 18d.—Han.

25.—PENDANT OR IMPLEMENT: Arc form probably due to recarving from older disk or ring of light green jade with brown markings. Sharp, slanting nether edge; biconical perforation in crown for stringing. Detail partly rubbed away but human profile clear. Flat nose, long chin, incised eye and eyebrow. Long frond of hair down back. Faintly grooved, flaring, cap-like "crown" probably represents short plumes (cf. *figs. 24 and 67*). L. 3 in. (7.7 cm.). Mr. and Mrs. W. L. McKim, Palm Beach. See Norton Gallery, 1950 West Palm Beach, *Jades Exhibition Catalogue*, pl. 22: 9: "Late Western Chou;" Na, *Yü-ch'i*, vol. 2, p. 123, fig. 26b.—Late Eastern Chou to Han.

26.—FITTING: Mottled grey jade plaque with semi-circular outline above, straight edge below. Lowest relief carving on front of "spectacle-eyed," bar-mouthed geometric mask, above which is trapezoid amid radiating curving lines suggesting a richly plumed frontal mask. W. 3 1/4 in. (8.3 cm.). A. F. Pillsbury Collection, Minneapolis Institute of Arts. See Arden Gallery, *3000 Years*, p. 73, no. 125 and p. 30: "Late Western Chou."—Han; southern.

27.—FITTING, possibly for scabbard: Calcified, smoke-toned stone resembling chalcedony. Back flat and polished but plain, except for four pierced, barrel-shaped projections for attachment. Front shows same wide-plumed trapezoid as preceding but with facial features and an ogee-arched outline above. Below is roughly incised version of same geometric mask as in *no. 26*, like the one above facing in opposite direction *vis a vis* plaque outline from analogues on Minneapolis piece. W. 2 7/16 in. (6.2 cm.). Formerly A. F. Pillsbury Collection; now

Collection of Dr. Arthur M. Sackler, New York. See Salmony, *Carved Jade*, pl. 28: 4: "Late Western Chou.—Han; southern or Dongson connections.

28. SCEPTER (see also under *no. 7*): This side of National Palace Museum's calcified, grey-green *kuei* scepter shows almond-eyed, double-tusked and earspooled demon (cf. Fogg plaque in *fig. 3*) while complementing round-eyed "horned" image in *fig. 7* in bifacial scheme. Curving headdress taken as plumed here due to likeness to shaman's plumed headgear in *fig. 60*. Type falls between tusked demon image of Western Chou bronze horse coronet in *fig. 43* and Hupei-discovered *ko* 戈 shaman in *fig. 60*, probably Warring States. Earspool pendants (?) of *figs. 28 and 75* also important for Eastern Chou date.

29. AXEHEAD: Trapezoidal, near-rectangular slab with single, large perforation about one third of way in from butt. Semi-translucent olive green stone incised on both faces with superimposed pairs of eyes and plumes (shaped like horns but bending like plumes) suggesting relation to clearer demon mask in *fig. 28*. Peaked headdress-centerpiece, stepped "nose" and base. L. 5 in. (12.7 cm.). G. L. Winthrop Bequest, Fogg Art Museum, Harvard.—Eastern Chou.

30. KNIFE, CENTRAL DESIGN (see *no. 11*): Detail of grey-green Sackler blade of *fig. 11* showing mask-related (?) configuration of curving lines and angular bands roughly comparable with imagery in *figs. 28 and 29* but rubbed nearly to oblivion on both faces.

III. *The Horn-and-Plume-Crowned Group* (*figs. 31-36*)

31.—PROFILE HEAD, FINIAL(?): Double profile image (no perforations) of medium green jade with some calcification. "Shang eye," rolled-under nose, Ordos style mouth and high, bean-shaped ear; no tusks or earspools. Back-bending, flanged plume rises vertically from criss-cross-decorated headband (cf. *figs. 18 and 62*), while behind band and ear extends horn-like process, making this earliest instance of horned and plumed demon—without, as yet, the other two attributes of the type. Semi-*Yang-wen* style. H. 3 3/8 in. (8.6 cm.). Excavated from Hsiao-t'un 小屯, Section C, Tomb 331. Collection of the

Academia Sinica, Taipei. See Umehara, *Yin Hsü*, pl. 152: 2, Na, *Yü-ch'i*, vol. 1, p. 21, figs. 72, 73; Shih, *BIHP*, vol. 28 (1957), pl. 14: 2; and Hansford, *Chinese Carved Jades*, pl. 8d.—Late Shang period; Anyang.

32.—KNIFE (see *fig. 40* from same blade): Large trapezoidal blade of marbled and mottled tobacco-brown and sea-green jade. Three perforations along spine. Human profile carved out of shorter end, head bladeward, neck spineward. High almond eye, down-curling mouth corner as in *fig. 72* representing tusk or grimace, and (unperforated) ear-spools. Crown has decorated, high cap-like center "rococo" antler attached. Two back-bending profile peacock feathers rise from straight top of horn. Striated, S-curved swatch of hair. Semi *Yang-wen* and incised line detail same on both sides. L. 28 5/16 in. (72 cm.). Freer Gallery of Art. See Salmony, *Carved Jade*, pls. 7–8: "Shang;" Umehara, *Shina Kogyoku*, pl. 48; Na, *Yü-ch'i*, vol. 2, pl. 14; and Wills, *Jade of the East*, figs. 19–20: "Early Chou Dynasty."—Early Eastern Chou; possibly from Szechwan.

31.—SCEPTER: Long *kuei* tablet of calcified amber to russet jade with one perforation at calcified butt end. Finest *yang-wen* work gives similar mask-bird combination as *fig. 37*, with an ornamental border and later addition of Ch'ien-lung period inscription. Mask-like design centered upon eyed spirals. Above rise "antlers" and plumes. To either side are complex, out-facing arcs possibly related to ear ornament (cf. *fig. 28*). Frontal bird of prey on reverse. L. 12 1/16 in. (31.5 cm.). National Palace Museum, Taipei. See Umehara, *NPMQ*, vol. 1, no. 1 (1966), pl. 1 and pp. 12 and 16: "Shang;" *Ku Kung Yü-ch'i*, col. pl. 3: "Shang;" Na, *Yü-ch'i*, vol. 2, p. 174, fig. 77a: "Shang;" and Wills, *Jade of the East*, p. 43, pl. 8: "Shang."—Late Eastern Chou to Han.

34.—PENDANT: Two-sided profile image of calcified light green jade. Incised back-scrolling plume above. Horn-like element at side. Up and down tusks. Single perforation in diagnostic ear-spools, below which is curl of hair (?) Like detail on both sides in incised line, semi-*yang-wen* and flat relief. L. 1 7/16 in. (3.6 cm.). Collection of Dr. Arthur M. Sackler, New York.—Late Western Chou.

35.—FITTING: Possibly for handle, in form of somewhat awkwardly done demon mask. Mottled green jade with white marbling and calcification above. Teardrop-shaped eyes with incised outlines. Bulbous, drop-shaped nose. Mouth reveals up and down-pointing tusks and two rows of teeth. Bifurcated plume with incised quill divisions separated from head by recessed band. "Horns" of headdress above ear-spools at sides. One perforation for attachment in chin; several tentative bores in lower back of fitting. Back plain but for step setting off crown from plume. H. 2 5/8 in. (6.7 cm.). Formerly Collection of A. W. Bahr, Weybridge; now Collection of Dr. Arthur M. Sackler, New York. See Hentze, *Sakralbronzen*, pl. 78: 150: possibly Shang or Early Western Chou; Salmony, *Carved Jade*, pl. 32: 4: "Early Eastern Chou."—Eastern Chou.

36.—FINIAL: High plumed bifacial mask of semi-translucent, light green jade with white flecking; traces of calcification in plume. Single conical bore in base for attachment. One side shows double-tusked, almond-eyed demon; reverse, round-eyed creature with drooping mouth. Biconically perforated ear-spools. Subtle relief effects. H. 3 in. (7.7 cm.). John Gellatly Collection, National Collection of Fine Arts, Smithsonian Institution. See Umehara, *Shina Kogyoku*, pl. 74: 3; Salmony, *Carved Jade*, pl. 31: 2–3: "Early Eastern Chou;" Hentze, *Sakralbronzen*, pl. 77: 149: Possibly Shang or Early Western Chou; Na, *Yü-ch'i*, vol. 2, p. 297, pl. 19 in Shang context.—Han; southern.

IV. Capped Images in Jade (figs. 37–40)

37.—SCEPTER: Relatively small and narrow *kuei* tablet of brown jade with areas of semi-translucent green. Single perforation at thick butt end; bevelled from both sides to dull edge above. Forehead shield of earspooled human mask on one side (no crown, tusks) ends in convex arc above face, linking image to "capped" group. Bird of prey in worn *yang-wen* carving on reverse. Border of three concave bands separated by grooved ridges toward bamboo effect. L. 7 1/4 in. (18.5 cm.). Freer Gallery of Art. See Salmony, *Carved Jade*, pl. 31: 1: "Early Eastern Chou;" Umehara, *NPMQ*, vol. 1, no. 1, (1966), pp. 12 and 16: Yin; and Na, *Yü-ch'i*, vol. 2, p. 174, fig. 77c: Shang.—Early Eastern Chou; possibly

Szechwan.

38.—SCEPTER: Long trapezoid of reddish-brown jade, regular in form except for slant above toward slightly chipped edge. Two neat perforations: upper or smaller one in center of cap-like crown of geometric mask near butt end of tablet; larger biconical one below mask. Image worn by rubbing and re-touched. Rounded, rectangular eyes in bordered flat relief have spectacle-like frames finely engraved with dense and semi-angular spirals or *lei-wen* 雷文. Nose is geometrically patterned, tower-like form over engraved bar-shaped mouth. Above mask, and with incised geometric pattern like the rest, is crowning "cap" motif with raised edges. Mask's left eye, upper nose and mouth re-incised where pattern nearly gone. Back plain. L. 12 in. (30.5 cm.). Edward and Louise B. Sonnenschein Collection, Art Institute of Chicago. See Salmony, *Carved Jade*, pl. 27: 1: "Late Western Chou;" and *Sonnenschein Catalogue*, pl. 54: 2 and Frontispiece: Middle Chou.—Late Eastern Chou to Han.

39.—BEAD OR TOGGLE: Small toggle of semi-transparent, light-clouded, grey-green jade. Flat oval cross section. Back has plain but slightly rounded vertical panel at center. Biconical boring through center for stringing resulted in break seen in cap and forehead. Blank, doubly outlined almond eyes. Simple human nose in low relief. Lenticular mouth blank of teeth but with double outline. Imperforate earpools link image to demonics though tusks absent. Cap-like, relief-bordered band across forehead suggests Han date. Plain-edged, slightly rounded, flaring neck. H. 1 5/16 in. (3.4 cm.). J. M. Menzies Collection, Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto. See Dohrenwend, *Chinese Jades*, p. 79: "Eastern Chou (?)"—Late Eastern Chou to Han.

40.—KNIFE (see no. 32): Simple, rough and somewhat peculiar engraved imagery on great Freer blade with fine end profile of *fig. 32*. Same figures repeated just under notching. Crouching rhinoceros (?) has angular "r"-shaped nose projection, and forward-curling ear and helpless-looking feet of an arc-form jade feline in Brundage Collection. Flanges on rhino spines roughly follow those below which they occur. Before snouts (of similar shape also to nose of jade feline) are disembodied

and again awkward and rough human profiles with shoulder length hair and plain flaring caps. See Na, *Yü-ch'i*, vol. 2, p. 158, fig. 63; Salmony, *Carved Jade*, pls. 7–8: "Shang . . . The engraving at the top and side of the knife must be considered as modern additions."—Han; Szechwan or Yunnan.

Discussion

The jades of Group I showing the horned crown and related designs form the largest of the four groups. Some crowns are peaked or gable-centered, others flat-topped. There are forms with shorter or longer, more or less elaborate, up-turned or down-curving branches. At their most decorative, as in *figures 11, 13* and *33*, they bear some resemblance to the antlered crown of the fifth or fourth century B.C. felt sphinx from Pazyryk 5 in *figure 56*. One of the earliest flat-topped crown-like designs in Chinese art can be seen in the inlaid ghost of a wooden stand in Royal Tomb 1217 at Anyang (*fig. 42*). Like the stand, the relatively large Sackler plaque in *figure 1* shows a crown only. There is as yet no human image. The plaque is dated late Shang not only on the basis of this stand but also through the likeness of its relatively simple and angular openwork to that of an exquisite early *huang* 璜 neckpiece discovered *in situ* in smaller Tomb 2099 at Houchia-chuang 侯家莊.¹¹ The medium green color of the Sackler crown plaque is also not unknown from among Anyang-excavated jades; it is similar to that of the paired jade masks with "claw"-ended curved bar found near the horse's nose bone in Hsiao-t'un C164.¹² Thus it seems likely

¹¹ See Umehara, *Yin Hsu*, pls. 13:1 (*in situ*) and 158:1.

¹² *Ibid.*, pl. 139 (upper right, mask only); and Shih, *CK KKHHP*, vol. 2 (1947), p. 23, fig. 6 (diagram with masks and bar as found).

that this is the earliest jade in Group I.

The frontal and profile crown design in *figures 2 and 11*, still without clear human imagery, allow much less sureness of dating. The Seattle plaque in *figure 2* is lighter green than the Sackler one, more curvilinear in outline and fuller in form; there is space for a mask although none is drawn in. One can only call it "Chou" for the time being. This may be true also of the splendid double-branched headdress with multiple pendants on the (strictly speaking) faceless profile of the grey-green Sackler knife in *figures 11 and 30*. (The profile or crown is at the larger, rather than smaller, end of the blade, but its top is bladeside as in the case of the Freer jade knife of *figures 32 and 40*, bottom spineward.) Its abstract quality and refinement seem of the earlier rather than later kind and so suggest the late Shang or earlier Western Chou date. The resemblance of the more curvilinear frontal design on the blade center, however, to those in *figures 28 and 29* could point to a later date.

Figures 3 to 6 form a clearer sequence and show a development of the crowned, tusked and earspooled jade demon image of early China which is the main theme of this paper. Variations noticeable in *figures 5 and 6*, both perforated at edges and back for attachment to unknown objects, may be due to time, place or simply to human idiosyncrasy. A general likeness is visible, however, and the trend is toward higher relief of feature, especially of the nose. All four pieces are plain and slightly concave at the back. The Freer demon in *figure 6* lacks the branching lateral horns, the tusks, the complete perforation of the earspools, and he sports bow-tie-like spirals on his narrow neckband; he lacks something of

the magical character of the others.

The finely engraved spiral-decorated crown center of the British Museum demon in *figure 5* is echoed in a crown-like motif in the flange or collar of the Royal Ontario Museum jade in *figure 47*. Formerly thought either a bracelet or a cover this is identifiable as an earspool through the exact likeness of its form, with decorative flange, to that of a hammered and cut gold earspool, one of a pair, from Peru, perhaps roughly the same date.¹³ The engraved jade earspool design can in turn be compared with incised ornate bands on a semicircular brownish jade plaque in the Freer (*fig. 46*). This has a "spectacle-eyed" geometric mask over the incised band decoration which includes confronting and vestigial looking hands. These skimpy claws are of identical character and posture to those (also engraved) on a thin bronze Dongson *t'ao-t'ieh* mask appliqué.¹⁴ By this indirect route we arrive at a probable Han date for the British Museum demon (*fig. 5*), otherwise thought much earlier, and suggest a Dongson or deep southern connection. The Freer fitting of *figure 6ab* may not be earlier than Han—if, in fact, it is not archaic; for even in this context of eccentrics it is peculiar.

The Hardt plaque in *figure 15*, with rich-plumed, bird-demonic image, has a crown related to those of Group I, though simpler.

¹³ Roughly the same size, perhaps about the same date. Found in the Lambayeque Valley of the north coast of Peru in 1928 and believed late Chavin, ca. 400–200 B.C. See A. Wardwell, *The Gold of Ancient America*, New York Graphic Society Catalogue (1968), pp. 13–16.

¹⁴ See O. Janse, *Archaeological Research in Indo China, I: The District of Chiu-chen during the Han Dynasty* (Harvard University Press, 1947), pl. 60:1 and drawing.

The image is so close in general character to the bird deity on a carved lacquer disk (pommel?) in the Fritz Low-Beer collection, on the one hand,¹⁵ and to the composite bird-beaked divinity of the Fogg gold belthook in *figure 67*, on the other, that despite its Li-yü style bands (revival or survival) it is almost surely of Han date. It may also be from the province of Szechwan, where horned headdresses of somewhat comparable character are known from an interesting but little noted group of horned and tongued pottery tomb guardian heads, relatives and descendants of the wood ones of the Ch'u Kingdom.¹⁶

The Snerd-like profile and slipping crest or "crown" of the Sackler jade demon in *figure 16* (dated Shang by William Trousdale in 1964 but of Middle Chou aspect) is so like those visible now in procession on bronze cowrie containers of the Tien 滇 Kingdom in Yunnan (cf. *fig. 69A*, lower row, fourth from the left) and also similar to the simpler, rubbed-looking stones from Shih-chai-shan 石寨山 tombs,¹⁷ that one is tempted to date it late, late Eastern Chou to Han and to place it with the Yunnanese products.

The earliest of the bifacial images of "tragic-comic" type are those decorating

¹⁵ Cf. F. Low-Beer, "A Carved Lacquer Plaque of the Late Chou Period," *Bulletin of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities (BMFEA)*, vol. 21 (Stockholm, 1949), pl. 1.

¹⁶ See Cheng Te-k'un, *Archaeological Studies in Szechwan* (Cambridge, 1957), pl. 38:3—one of several known examples.

¹⁷ See Yun-nan Sheng Po-wu-kuan, ed., 雲南省博物館 [Yunnan Provincial Museum], *Yun-nan Chin-ning Shih-chai-shan ku-mu-chün fa-chüeh pao-kao* 雲南晉寧石寨山古墓群發掘報告 [Report on the Excavation of a Group of Ancient Tombs at Shih-chai-shan, Chin-ning, Yunnan] 2 vols. (Peking, 1959), pl. 116: 2.

the National Palace Museum's calcified green jade scepter in *figures 7* and *28*. *Figure 7* shows a round-eyed, mouthless creature under peak-centered "crown" with lateral extensions related indirectly to the horned demon crown in *figure 13*. This image is detable to Eastern Chou through the relation of its "alter ego" in *figure 28* to a plume-crowned shaman decorating the Hupei-excavated bronze *ko* in *figure 60*, almost surely of Eastern Chou date. As in other cases it is in the "Shang revival" or *yang-wen* style of the Eastern Chou period, which allowed combination with flat bands or relief. This same combination of *yang-wen* and flat relief on the Gellatly jade in *figure 12*—the earliest of the three Gellatly pieces left to the National Collection of Fine Arts in Washington—suggests that it is also of Eastern Chou or Warring States date. The important *ko* shaman, possibly originally from Szechwan, has been dated from late Western Chou to Warring States.¹⁸ It is probably closer to the latter time, considering its comparability to the multitude of shamanistic figures on the pictorial bronze vessels of Charles Weber's Group VII, estimated sixth-fifth centuries B.C. by him in 1968 and of central origin.

Most beautiful in technique, proportion and detail of all the demonic images here is the round-eyed or "foreign" mask with drooping mouth from the Sonnenschein collection in the Art Institute of Chicago (*fig. 13*). This type of round-eyed mask is, in a sense, secondary to the more inde-

¹⁸ See Yü Wei-chao 俞偉超 " 'Ta-wu k'ai ping' t'ung ch'i yü Pa-jen-ti 'ta wu' wu' 大武開兵銅戚與巴人的大武舞 [The 'Ta-wu k'ai ping' bronze axe and the war dance of the Pa], *KK* (1963), no. 3, p. 153; cf. *Wen Wu* 文物 (*WW*) (1963), no. 1, p. 64.

pendent almond-eyed and tusked type. The Sonnenschein plaque is plain in back. This piece implies the prior existence of complementary bifacial images like those of *figures 7 and 28* and seems relatively late in the tradition. It may reflect the type seen in *figure 7*, although it is from a slightly different tradition. It is also fairly clearly related to those Eastern Chou antlered, long-tongued, round-eyed and long-toothed monsters of lacquered wood which guarded the Ch'u tombs at Chang-sha and especially the ones at Ch'ang-t'ai-kuan, Hsin-yang Hsien 信陽縣, southern Honan (see *fig. 57*). It might be compared with the (probably) Han tile mask from the collection of the late Oswald Sirén (*fig. 50*), with its relief linework and bowed mouth, and also with the like-mouthed mask (with earspools?) on a tin plaque recovered from the Siamese Gulf site of Oc-éo (*fig. 51*), the once flourishing port of Funan in Dongson and Han times.¹⁹ Finally, it is not unlike the round-eyed, long-toothed, relief-line-defined mask in *figure 52* from a Yunnan, Eastern Han money-tree—even though this last is the face of a dragon. All this suggests that the Sonnenschein demon be dated Han and given without hesitation to the South of China, even though nothing precisely like it has been excavated there—or anywhere else in China. Its closest analogues, in fact, are such images as that in *figure 70* of a Tlaloc rain god priest of considerably later date from pre-Columbian Mexico.

The *kuei* scepter with two horned masks in *figure 9* from Shantung was unfortunately discovered in a house above ground, so that its provenance near a Lung-shan site

¹⁹ See L. Malleret, "L'art et la métallurgie de l'étain dans la culture d'Oc-éo," *Artibus Asiae (AA)*, vol. 11, no. 4 (1948), p. 277 and pl. VII:2.

in Shantung is meaningless in terms of date of make, although it may date from around the time of the I-nan 沂南 tomb and, like it, reflect South Chinese styles and types.²⁰ With its incised décor it is among the latest of these still-just-recognizable demonic types and is almost surely not earlier than Eastern Han.

The Gellatly jade fitting in *figure 14* with "tragi-comic" bifacial mask top cannot be far in time and perhaps in space from the Sonnenschein classic in *figure 13*, though the tongue suggestion in the latter is all but lost. Further, in the nose and other of its details there is some similarity to the lug masks in relief line on Eastern Han pottery *kuan* 罐 jars from Li-chü 漓渚, Shao-hsing 紹興, Chekiang (cf. *fig. 53*). Some Yangtze industry of Han date is probably indicated in this fine piece also with the Han bear-related small animal masks at its nether end. It is not impossible that this bar-centered piece and the Gellatly finial in *figure 36* somehow went together, but it is unlikely, as suggested by Salmony, that all three Gellatly demons—*figures 12, 14 and 36*—formed a set.²¹ Number 12 is earlier than 14 and 36 in technique and conception with its simple duplication of the same mask on the reverse.

²⁰ Hsio-yen Shih in "I-nan and Related Tombs," *AA*, vol. 22, no. 4 (1959) suggests A.D. 290–310 as the most likely date for I-nan (see pp. 310–11). Cf. Tseng Chao-yü 曾昭燏, Chiang Pao-keng 蔣寶庚 and Li Chung-i 黎忠義, *I-nan ku-hua-hsiang shih-mu fa-chüeh pao-kao* 沂南古畫像石墓發掘報告 [Report on the Excavation of an Ancient Pictorial Stone Tomb at Inan] (Shanghai, 1956), pl. 84 (rub of "topless" acrobat or entertainer) and "Yun-nan Chao-t'ung Kuei-chia-yüan-tzu Tung Han mu fa-chüeh" 雲南昭通桂家院子東漢墓發掘 [Report on an Eastern Han Tomb at Kuei-chia-yüan-tzu, Chao-t'ung, Yun-nan], *KK* (1962), no. 8, p. 398, fig. 6:6, etc.

²¹ See Salmony, *Carved Jade*, pl. 31: 2–7.

Surely later than these fully detailed and tortuously carved demons in relief line are the incised line designs from the Shantung-discovered and the Pillsbury *kuei* scepters in *figures 9* and *10*. The Pillsbury central design, which appears as a crowned, trilobed nose (like the noses in *figs. 13* and *24*), is flanked by flutings which relate it as well as to the fluted plume of the demon in *figure 36*. The white National Palace Museum scepter in *figure 8* is either slightly earlier (Ch'in or Western Han?) or higher in quality than its incised fellows, which are probably not earlier, again, than Eastern Han.

In a sense, the most important and puzzling of all horned, tusked and earspooled demons is the earliest of the Chinese "gorgons," or the stand-alone, single-faced, calcified plaque from the Winthrop Bequest to the Fogg (*fig. 3*). If the demon in China was dependent on Mediterranean prototypes (and the white stone "gorgon" from Ch'ang-sha in *figure 45* is surely related to the Greek type in *figure 44*, directly or indirectly) then the Fogg jade plaque is unlikely to antedate the 6th century B.C., if it is that early. If, however, it is independent, or dependent (as may also be the Greek and Etruscan gorgons of the 8th-5th centuries B.C.) on some more antique creation of the Near East or of Central Asia, then it may well be as early as the Early Western Chou date assigned it by Salmony in 1963.²² The *yang-wen* style is assuredly Late Shang. A possible Western

²² A tusked-mask-decorated bifrons cup from Sardis in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, estimated as c. 600 B.C. is as close to Chinese bifacial demonics (related to the Fogg demon) as the Greek gorgon in *figure 44* is to the Han stone mask from Ch'ang-sha. See Salmony, *Chinese Jade through the Wei*, p. 95.

Chou prototype or relative (with, however, only down-pointing tusks and different, downward-curving horns) exists for the jade demon in the bronze horse coronet demonics of Chang-chia-p'o 張家坡 type (cf. *fig. 43*). Given the developed crown and the upward inner and downward outer tusks, I have dated the Fogg piece to the sixth or fifth century B.C. and placed it at the immediate head of a Late Eastern Chou to Han line. It may well be earlier, however.

It might be noted here, before looking again at Group II, that since the jades in *figures 12* and *13* have bores in their crown tops which do not go through and may not be for attachment, it is not impossible that these images were fitted with jade or even real plumage (cf. the plumes in the straight bar top of the Freer knife profile in *fig. 32*), and so belong to the composite Group III. Since this is conjecture, on the other hand, they can remain here for now.

Group II is inhabited by the plumed demons, some of them relatives of the horned. The trilobed nose design in *figure 24*, for example, links this plume-topped, almond-eyed, tuskless Freer plaque mask with the round-eyed and horn-crowned Sonnenschein demon in *figure 13*. They are from one tradition and perhaps the same time and workshop. The almond-eyed, probably plumed and much-eared head in *figure 28* has a horned, round-eyed "alter ego" on the reverse of the National Palace Museum tablet.

If the drawing and my reading of it are correct and if no horn has been effaced over time, *figure 17* gives us an Anyang ancestor for jade demons with high, back-curving plumage. These reached their apogee in such images as the Gellatly jade in

figure 36. The one in figure 17 is a blade deity from HPK Tomb 1001, painted on a stone sickle. In type and placement, if not in time, is close to the human-magical profile on another sickle-shaped stone from the Minusinsk Basin in Siberia, the so-called "Karasuk" stele in figure 64.²³

Figure 18 illustrates an early bifacial jade. Both frontal masks, one human and one animal, have the same plumed headband. So similar is the plume design in essence to the upper part of the design or "mask" incised on the red pottery Neolithic cup in figure 58 from Hupei that the jade may have come from some early Ch'u center also in Hupei. Of interest, too, is a possible link between the criss-cross-decorated plumed band on the Eguchi fitting and the Pa 巴 clan sign in figure 62, however much later in Chou times such ciphers began to occur on bronzes excavated in Szechwan, particularly at Pao-lun-yüan 寶輪院 and Tung-sun-pa 冬筭壩.²⁴ The Shang V style of the Berlin bronze ceremonial axehead in figure 59, also with a band of short plumes across its broadly frontal human face, makes an early Western Chou date likely for the Eguchi jade, probably slightly later than the related bronze design and considerably earlier than the Pa sign of the feathered crown.

The McKim jade profile in figure 19, with

²³ Some features of the stele are comparable with Shang design, others with such late and playful Han representations as the "immortals" on an inlaid bronze ring disk in the Woods Bliss Coll., Washington, D.C. (see M. Rostovtzeff, *Inlaid Bronzes of the Han Dynasty in the Collection of C. T. Loo* [Paris and Brussels, 1927], pl. 1:2).

²⁴ *Szechwan Boat Coffins Monograph*, p. 54, fig. 52, and K. C. Chang, *The Archaeology of Ancient China* (rev. and enlarged ed.) (New Haven and London, 1968), pp. 417-421.

high flanged "crest" read as a plume here due to the Anyang evidence, would seem to have been recarved in an early Ch'u center in Hupei or Hunan from a ring-disk of Late Shang type decorated with concentric circles in semi-*yang-wen* line. Such disks have been found recently inside a "Shang" (Western Chou) *yü* bucket from Ning-hsiang near Ch'ang-sha in Hunan.²⁵ Aside from the curvature of the piece, recarving in the ninth or eighth century B.C. is suggested by the otherwise meaningless continuity of the *yang-wen* verticals of the high plume on the neck of the creature. The rimmed round eye, echoed much later in the white stone "gorgon" of figure 45 from Ch'ang-sha, may be an early Ch'u eye. It has a Western Chou relative in a bronze poletop face in the British Museum.²⁶

Figures 20 and 21 alone, aside from the Anyang profiles of figures 17 and 31, give the "norm" or the early central members of the jade demon family. It is striking to note how ex-centric these are for the type. The center of jade demon development, wherever and however it began, was clearly elsewhere than in Chang Kwang-chih's 張光直 Nuclear Area, whence number 20 probably came.²⁷

²⁵ See *Wen-hua Ta-ko-ming-ch'i-chien Ch'u-t'u wen wu* 文化大革命期間出土文物 [Treasures Excavated during the Great Cultural Revolution Period], (Peking, 1972), p. 31. The photo shows the bronze, but unfortunately not the jade design; a recent Chinese film including this new find did, however, show precisely similar rings with their semi-*yang-wen* patterning.

²⁶ See Watson, *Handbook*, pl. 12.

²⁷ See Chang's development of this concept, extremely useful from Shang times onward, in his *Archaeology of Ancient China* and other works. No provenance was reported for the Sonnenschein fitting; Centrality is suggested, however, by its stiffly frontal and conventional *t'ao-t'ieh*-like quality in relation to most of the other demonics.

I have read the H-form mouths on the high-plumed frontal masks of the Sonnenschein and Sackler fittings in *figures 20 and 21* as stylized versions of the up-and-down demon tusks. Both of these pieces, however, are likely to be of Western Chou date (although the Sackler jade in *fig. 21* retains a more Shang style of carving). This points to the Early Western Chou date proposed by Salmony and others for such developed demons as the Winthrop-Fogg one in *figure 3*. Unless this form of mouth represents something else of early date, such as a bit design or the Chang-chia-p'o bronze demon mask tusks (see *fig. 43*), the possibility of an earlier date than Ch'un Ch'iu for the earliest developed jade demons from China remains open.

An H-form mouth of more curvilinear, less rigid character can be seen on the Sonnenschein high-plumed mask in *figure 22* and on the Sackler (broken) frontal demon mask in *figure 23*. These are less of a problem. The mouths clearly show abbreviated renderings of the up-and-down demon tusks. The Sonnenschein "handle" face is provincial (very like a bronze mask-topped chariot ornament discovered recently in Kwangtung²⁸), and the Sackler mask is summarily carved throughout. Both *figures 22 and 23* are likely to be Eastern Chou. The so-far prototypical Fogg demon plaque, however, may be Western Chou.

The frontal mask on the superb Freer plaque in *figure 24* and the McKim profile of more three-dimensional character in *figure 25* can be dated through the resem-

blance of their short-plumed, flaring head-dresses to that on the Fogg belthook creature in *figure 67*, on the one hand, and of the Cernuschi nude jade squatter in *figure 72*, on the other. The former is generally given to Western Han period,²⁹ while the latter's S-curved body would lead one to date it Late Eastern Chou. *Figures 26 and 27* show a Dongson or southern type of geometric mask with plumage exploding now in "imperial frontality," the spectacular profile versions of which can be seen on the bird creatures in procession or in boats on the large bronze kettle drums of the South (*fig. 68*). These semicircular jade fittings, perhaps for scabbards,³⁰ are almost surely of Han or later date.

Puzzling but important among the vari-plumed jade masks are the designs in *figures 28-30* with horizontal or down-curving plumes (?) rather than the shorter or longer but vertical feathers. As noted above, the almond-eyed mask in *figure 28* is datable to the Eastern Chou period though its resemblance to the *ko* shaman in *figure 60* from Hupei or Szechwan. Its earspool-pendants (cf. the fourth or third century B.C. arcs attached to the famous Freer necklace said to be from Chin-ts'un 金村) also point to a late Eastern Chou date. Its friendly mien and contained upper outline remind

²⁹ See the Fogg Art Museum, *Grenville L. Winthrop: Retrospective for a Collector* (Cambridge, Mass., 1969), p. 50; and Jenyns and Watson, *Chinese Art: the Minor Arts*, vol. 2 (New York, 1963), p. 28, no. 7.

³⁰ Compare their shape with that of the guard on a probably southern sword from the Hellström Collection now in the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities, Stockholm (see B. Karlgren, "Bronzes in the Hellström Collection," *BMFEA*, vol. 20 [1948], pl. 46). One such jade was excavated recently from a Han grave in Chekiang (see *KK*, [1957], no. 2, pl. 12:15).

²⁸ See Mo Chih 莫稚, "Kuang-tung Ch'ing-yüan fa-hsien Chou-tai eh'ing-t'ung-eh'i" 廣東清遠發現周代青銅器 [Chou Bronzes discovered at Ching-yüan in Kwangtung], *KK* (1963), no. 2, pl. 2:1-2 and p. 60.

one of the same characteristics of the bronze horse coronet demons from Western Chou, Shensi (see *figure 43*)—a design, however, with paired down-curving tusks at each corner of the mouth and down-curving horns above the brows instead of up-and-down tusks and antlers or plumes. All three of the jade designs in question may have followed such Western Chou images either in Shensi or perhaps in Hupei (compare the design in *fig. 29* with that, again on the Hupei Neolithic bowl, in *fig. 58*), or even in Szechwan. The rococo antler-like plumes (?) in *figure 29* are taken as plumes because of the relation to the designs in *figures 28* and *60* and also because they bend instead of rigidly rising or branching. The ambiguity of these designs is part of their interest.

It is also possible that the high part of the profile demon's crown in *figure 31* is a horn or crest rather than a plume. It is taken as plume here because of its horned-crown-related processes at the sides and the criss-cross band of its center, a band which occurs in two other instances only, both involving plumes or feathers (cf. *figs. 18* and *62*). Compared with more angular and flat representations from Anyang, the jade finial with profile human head from Hsiao-t'un C 331 (a complex and "difficult" tomb in many respects, with its mixture of primitive and advanced bronzes, etc.³¹) is unusual for Late Shang despite its *yang-wen* style. Its Anyang provenance and unusually rich crown make it the earliest member of "composite" Group III. The horn and plume

³¹ See Cheng Te-k'un, *Shang China* (Toronto, 1960), pls. 16b, 20d, 21c, etc. for the more usual type of Late Shang human profile in jade; A. C. Soper in "Early, Middle and Late Shang: a Note," *AA*, vol. 28 (1966), pp. 9-10 discusses the peculiar mix of primitive (heirloom?) and florescent (Shang V) bronzes in Hsiao-t'un C331.

(not always identifiable as such, or as an eyeflower of a peacock, to be specific) occur also on a carved bone from HPK Tomb 1001 (see *fig. 41*). Although bone rather than jade and occurring in a not easily recognizable form, with ram-like horn over a conventional *t'ao-t'ieh* rather than human image, this bone design may come to mind again shortly in relation to *figure 33*.

The Anyang jade is probably followed by the also fine, if stylistically different, Sackler profile pendant in *figure 34*. This has a more closed silhouette and more smoothly back-curling plume. Probably already in Western Chou, we now have the earspools and (stylized) tusks diagnostic for the mature demon image. The awkwardly conceived horned-and-plumed demon in *figure 35* (now also in the Sackler Collection in New York) is Middle Chou in style, probably Ch'u in origin. It is easy to see that however much finer the bifacial, high-plumed demon finial from the Gellatly Collection in the National Collection of Fine Arts, Washington, is, it is heir to the role and type of this Sackler jade. The Gellatly finial is climactic within Group III. It is from a different center, but is perhaps not far in time from the trapezoidal masks of *figures 26* and *27* with their luxuriant plumage and from the Dongson drum-spirits of *figure 68*.

Among the most interesting and telling of these images, perhaps from the relatively isolated western province of Szechwan, is the splendidly refined if still barbaric profile (not clearly tusked) at the short end of the large Freer blade in *figures 32* and *40*. Szechwan was a province which tended to retain the old or central and admit the new from several directions, always creating in

every subject and time a distinctive mixture or combination of styles. Though this image on the Freer blade might seem to be Shang (*yang-wen* style retained), and related also to the squatting demon on the bronze Freer *tao* 刀 in *figure 65* (traditionally dated earliest Western Chou but perhaps not earlier than the ninth century B.C.),³² it is also a clear cousin to the Warring States jade squatter in the Cernuschi in Paris (*fig. 72*) and so is probably not earlier than Ch'un Ch'iu in date.

The single-branched profile plumes rising from the straight top of the ornate antler projecting backward from the crown of this Freer jade knife demon will recall the Pa clan sign in *figure 62* (late Eastern Chou to Han) and also a Szechwanese type of peacock feather (known in Han times) from the head of the phoenix from a pillar of Ch'en 沈 (*fig. 63*). The ornately and eccentrically notched *chang* 璋 scepters from Szechwan (see *fig. 54*) may help to place this notched-blade deity (?) with its feathered horn crown (tentatively) in the province of Szechwan.

The important peacock feather, partly in question in the case of the Freer blade, is seen again later and more beautifully in its now organic or more "sympathetic" relation to a whole and graceful design on the amber National Palace Museum *kuei* in *figure 33*. If shown right side up from the design, if not inscriptional, point of view,

³² Closest to the peculiar figure on the Freer blade is that on a bronze chariot fitting in the Pillsbury Collection (see Karlgren, *A Catalogue of the Chinese Bronzes in the A. F. Pillsbury Collection* [Minneapolis, 1952], no. 63) dated too early by Karlgren. A Middle Chou follower is the figural bronze poletop or handle squatter in Nils Palmgren, ed., *Selected Chinese Antiquities from the Collection of Gustaf Adolf* (Stockholm, 1948), pl. 13:5. There are others of this also eccentric group.

this might also be considered as a horned-and-plumed image with traces only of round eyes, of headdress and earring arcs. It is on the exact borderline between representation and design. It is related, looking back in time, to the handle design of a bronze ladle in the Hakutsuru 白鶴 Museum in Kobe (*fig. 73a*) and to the tusked demon with earspool-attached arcs in *figure 28*. As design it preserves an early Chinese, as against the Indian, strain in such Southeast Asian patterns as the *padma-mūla* reproduced in *figure 73b*.

The Freer jade knife shows one of the most important of the horned and plumed demons—clearly horned, clearly plumed, and perhaps not far in date from the Pazyryk sphinx in *figure 56* with its antler and bird attributes. It links the Late Shang and the Karasuk (?) blade deities to the Southeast Asian serpentine blade or kris with its cut-out bladehead (see *fig. 66*). It is also one of the earliest of the five "capped" jade images known to date.

Incised by a different and less inspired hand (perhaps also in a different time or place or both) on the same great Freer blade illustrated in *figure 32*, is the capped-profile-and-crouching-animal combination visible in the rubbing in *figure 40*. There are two of these odd embellishments on each side of the blade—one under the notched part of the blade edge near the end profile, the other under the also notched opposite end of the blade. The notches may have inspired the spines or flanges on the animal backs, positioned just under them. With angular small "r"-shaped nose-projections, the beasts might possibly be rhinos; the species, however, is doubtful.³³ The snout

³³ "[The] engraving at the top and side of the knife must be considered as a modern addition"

and ear design, on the other hand, is very like that on a far finer beast, an odd jade feline plaque in the Brundage Collection, with *yang wen* detail in the style of some of the demons.³⁴ The incised human profile heads follow—roughly, of course—the capped-and-crowned head of barbaric splendor on the small end of the Freer blade. They also partake, in a now muddled way, of the old Yin-Chou theme of the human-head-in-the-animal's-jaws.³⁵ The simple looking, long-chinned profiles, incised rather than carved, are again so essentially like profiles on Shih-chai-shan bronzes (cf. *fig. 69b*, below, second from left) that one is tempted to see them not as Salmony's "modern additions" but as possible Tien additions to a Ch'u, or more probably Szechwanese, blade.

The cap-likeness of the plastic forehead shield of the mask in *figure 37* is suggestive of early capped images perhaps lost. This haunting jade face—with earplugs, without tusks—dominates the front of the small brown Freer *kuei*. Except for its almond eyes, earspools, and the absence of ornate headgear, this mask is strikingly like that on the Sumitomo 住友 drum in *figure 74*. The lobed nose design suggests a place in time between the great (Shang style but Chou date) drum in Kyoto, perhaps of

should perhaps read "could be considered" (see Salmony, *Carved Jade*, pls. VII–VIII and description opp. pl. VII).

³⁴ See d'Argencé, *Chinese Jades*, pl. 10 below.

³⁵ See the Meyer *kuang* in *The Freer Gallery of Art*, vol. 1: *China* (Tokyo, n.d.), pl. 7; the Sumitomo *yu* in S. Mizuno 水野清一, In *Shū Seidōki to Gyoku 殷周青銅器と玉* ["Bronzes and Jades of Ancient China,"] (Tokyo, 1959), pl. 69; a tiger-head axle-cap design from Tomb 1705 in *Shang-ts'un-ling Kuo-kuo mu-ti* 上村嶺號國墓地 [The Cemetery of the State of Kuo at Shang Ts'un Ling], (Peking, 1959), pl. 47:1–3 and other instances.

southern origin, and the Sonnenschein and Freer jade masks of *figures 13* and *24*, with their linear but similarly-shaped trilobed noses. Almost lost now, a heraldic eagle on the back of the tablet helps to date it in the Eastern Chou period and to place it in Hupei or Szechwan. The bird's oddly bilobed body is echoed by the bi-lobed base of the bird protome on the *tang* of the shaman *ko* in *figure 60*, thought to have been made in Szechwan. A southwestern origin for the brown Freer *kuei* is further suggested by the likeness of its simple decorative bands to the same on the Szechwan-found *ts'ung 琮* in *figure 55*, dated simply "Chou."³⁶ The Southwestern provincial origin would not be out of line with the lingering Shang style, the *yang-wen* line and the general eccentricity of this quietly striking visage with bamboo-like "mouldings" below and great bird "alter ego" behind it.

The geometric and geometrically-patterned mask on the russet Sonnenschein *kuei* in *figure 38* has a cap-like crown clearly distinct from the mask. Although again slightly different, this simple topping allows inclusion here. The "spectacle eye" seen in *figures 26* and *27*, of which these are a variant, may be a southern design based on the shape of a Han Szechwanese eyesocket.³⁷ It may go back even to the eye-frame or outline on the Chang-chia-p'o coronet in *figure 43*. Here the nose architecture and finely incised patterning are of some help in placement, for they are quite similar to

³⁶ See D. C. Graham, "A Preliminary Report on the Hanchow Excavation," *Journal of the West China Border Research Society (JWCBS)* vol. 6 (1933–34), pl. opp. p. 128.

³⁷ Cf. pottery tomb guardian heads from Han Szechwan such as that in Hsin Ping 迅泳, *Szu-ch'uan Han-tai tiao-su i-shu* 四川漢代彫塑藝術 [Szechwanese Han Period Sculptural Arts] (Peking, 1959), pl. 41.

motifs and patterns on a recently illustrated bronze *tsun* 尊 vase, believed Eastern Chou, from Kwangsi.³⁸ Since the designs on the jade are not identical, however, and since jade tends to follow bronze in renditions of like designs, a late Eastern Chou to Han date may not be too late for the *kuei* in Chicago.

The light-clouded, grey-green Menzies head-toggle in the Royal Ontario Museum is similar in type to the Freer mask fitting in *figure 6*. It is smaller in size, greyer-green, and both more austere and convincing in detail (including, unfortunately, the break in the forehead). Its band-like cap is clearly comparable, now, with caps on tomb figurine heads from Szechwan (see *fig. 76*). The lenticular mouth without sign of teeth, much less tusks, also suggests a Ch'in-Han date. The relief line detail and the mouth form, as well as the type of cap, are all known from the western province in Han times, if not in this finest jade form.³⁹ The piece is unlikely to be earlier than the Warring States period, despite its "Shang" style. Its simple cap and use as toggle or bead may well point to the later, or Han, date.

Conclusions

Of the jades studied above, the Sackler and Seattle crowns of *figures 1* and *2* were to date, unpublished. The greenstone *kuei* scepter in *figure 9*, unfortunately not excavated, was a recent discovery only lately

³⁸ "Kuang-hsi Kung-ch'eng Hsien ch'u-t'u-ti ch'ing t'ung-ch'i" 廣西恭城縣出土的青銅器 [Bronzes Excavated in Kung-ch'eng County, Kwangsi], *KK* (1973), no. 1, p. 32, *fig. 5* top and p. 41.

³⁹ See Cheng Te-k'un, *Archaeological Studies*, pl. iii:3 (*ting* leg, pottery, of Eastern Han design).

reported from China with drawings and rubbings and a Lung-shan date. The jades in *figures 23, 27, 35*, and perhaps others have changed hands since they were last published, and there has been a misunderstanding as to the whereabouts of the important demons in *figures 12, 14* and *36*, part of the John Gellatly Bequest in the (now) National Collections (not National Gallery) of Fine Arts, Smithsonian Institution. The fuller group, different arrangement and closer look suggests the "righting" of the three *kuei* scepter designs in *figures 7-28, 8* and *33*, generally heretofore published upside down perhaps because their Ch'ien-lung period inscriptions were engraved that way. It also allows the identification of the Sackler bone-white plaque of *figure 23* as the lower portion of a (broken) demon mask rather than the suggested "sarcophagus"⁴⁰ and of *figure 20* as a high-plumed, semi-human mask rather than a cicada.⁴¹ But large questions, such as the date of key pieces like the Fogg demon in *figure 3* and the Sackler blade of *figures 11* and *30*, remain. The Western Chou period knew the humanized *t'ao-t'ieh* with paired, down-pointing tusks in bronze (see *fig. 43*). Were there Chinese jade images before Ch'un Ch'iu or the eighth century B.C. with the "up inner" and "down outer" tusks of the classical gorgons?

The chief attributes of the "Mature" jade demon image in China are (1) an ornate, or in some way distinctive, headdress, (2) a tusked or semi-animal mouth and (3) earspools.

There are three main types of headdress:

⁴⁰ As in the University Museum Catalogue, *Archaic Chinese Jades*, p. 44.

⁴¹ Thus described by Hentze, *Frühchinesische Bronzen*, pl. 14a and p. 161.

the horned crown, the plumed band and the "cap." The horned-and-plumed composite headdress, first known from the Hsiao-t'un jade profile in *figure 31*, is still striking in the Gellatly image of Han date from the South (*fig. 36*).

The "mature" image had inner tusks which pointed upward from below and outer ones which pointed downward from above, as was often the case with the Mediterranean (Etruscan and Greek) gorgons. This arrangement, which does not occur on Anyang and related images, was not earlier than the ninth century B.C. and may not have occurred until Ch'un Ch'iu. Earlier images tend to show all possible teeth or two rows; later ones, often one row or none. The long upper teeth under arched or bracket-form upper lip may be a Han phenomenon based on the Ch'u guardian type in *figure 57*; the form may also somehow have survived from such addorsed-animal-profiles-derived *t'ao-t'ieh* masks as we see on the Yin-Chou bronze axe-head in the British Museum in *figure 49*. Whatever the origin, it is interesting that the form continues on Han and later bear-munching monsters, on the wild-eyed and technically primitive clay "exorcists" from Western Chin tombs,⁴² and on some early warrior figurines from the Wei Dynasty.⁴³

Most early earrings (*êrh* 珥) from China are like the slotted disks or rings so numer-

ous at the Ch'un Ch'iu site of Shang-ts'un-ling in Honan.⁴⁴ The same type occurs in Ch'u and in Tien, however, in series graded for size.⁴⁵ The jade demon earrings are different. The type can be identified from surviving jade examples such as the Royal Ontario Museum spool in *figure 47* and another in the Cernuschi in Paris, both in clear relation to the gold earspool in *figure 48* from Peru.⁴⁶ Collared or plain rings or earspools were worn within, rather than attached to, the lobe. From all available evidence they were a southern, rather than a North Chinese, ornament. That some earspools before Han had additional ornaments attached is suggested by the arcs below and beside the ears of the demon in *figure 28*.

In many instances (see *figs. 3, 4, 23, 34*, etc.), the jade demon occurs on plaques or pendants as an independent image, fetish or icon. Others, like the British Museum and Freer masks in *figures 5, 6* and *24*, are pierced for attachment to unknown objects; the semicircular plaques in *figures 26* and *7* may, for example, have been scabbard fittings, but this is only an educated guess.⁴⁷ A significant number of the most beautiful or interesting designs occur singly, bifacially, or with heraldic bird associates on the ritual jade tablets of the *kuei* family. This fact, plus the long and widespread life of early images, the

⁴² See Chiang Jo-shih 蔣若是 and Kuo Wenhsien 郭文軒, "Lo-yang Chin mu ti fa-chüeh" 洛陽晉墓的發掘 [Loyang Chin Tomb Excavations], *KK HP* (1957), no. 1, pl. 3:7, etc.

⁴³ See Akiyama et al., *Arts of China: Neolithic to T'ang*, transl. Mary Tregear (Kodansha International, 1968), p. 177, fig. 327 (Shensi Northern Wei).

⁴⁴ See *Shang-ts'un-ling* monograph, pls. 26:1, 42:1 and Hansford, *Chinese Carved Jades*, p. 83.

⁴⁵ For *êrh* of graduated size from the Tien King-

dom of ancient Yunnan, see *Yunnan, Shih-chai-shan* monograph, pl. 114.

⁴⁶ See Wardwell, *Gold of Ancient America*, col. pl. opp. p. 15 and pp. 13 and 16. The earspools were found in Northern Peru and are believed late Chavin, or about 400-200 B.C.

⁴⁷ See the semi-circular guard decorated with benign, humanized *t'ao-t'ieh* also with vestigial-looking claws or hands on the Hellström sword mentioned (*BMFEA*, vol. 20 [1948], pl. 46:1).



FIG. 1.—JADE PLAQUE. Arthur M. Sackler Collection, New York.



FIG. 2.—JADE PLAQUE. Seattle Art Museum.



FIG. 3.—JADE PLAQUE. Fogg Art Museum,
Harvard University,
Grenville L. Winthrop Bequest.

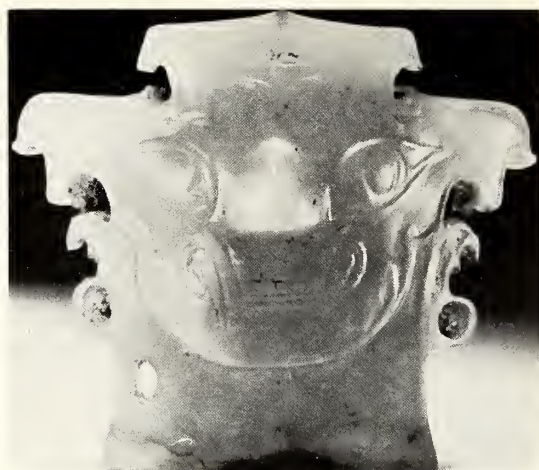
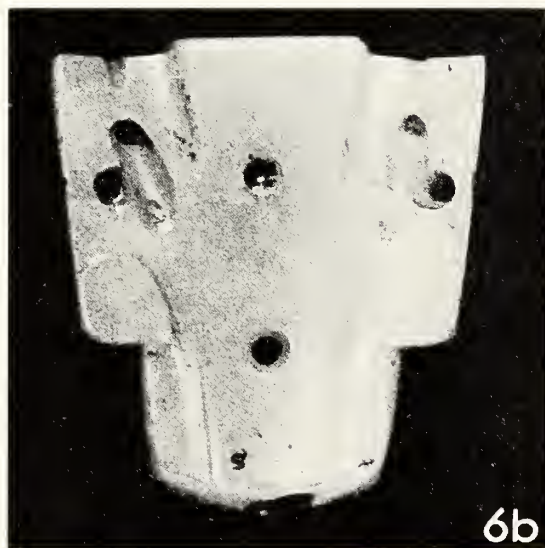


FIG. 4.—JADE PLAQUE. Center of Asian
Art and Culture, Avery
Brundage Collection, San Francisco.



FIG. 5.—JADE FITTING. The British Museum.



FIGS. 6a and b.—JADE FITTING (front and back). Freer Gallery of Art.

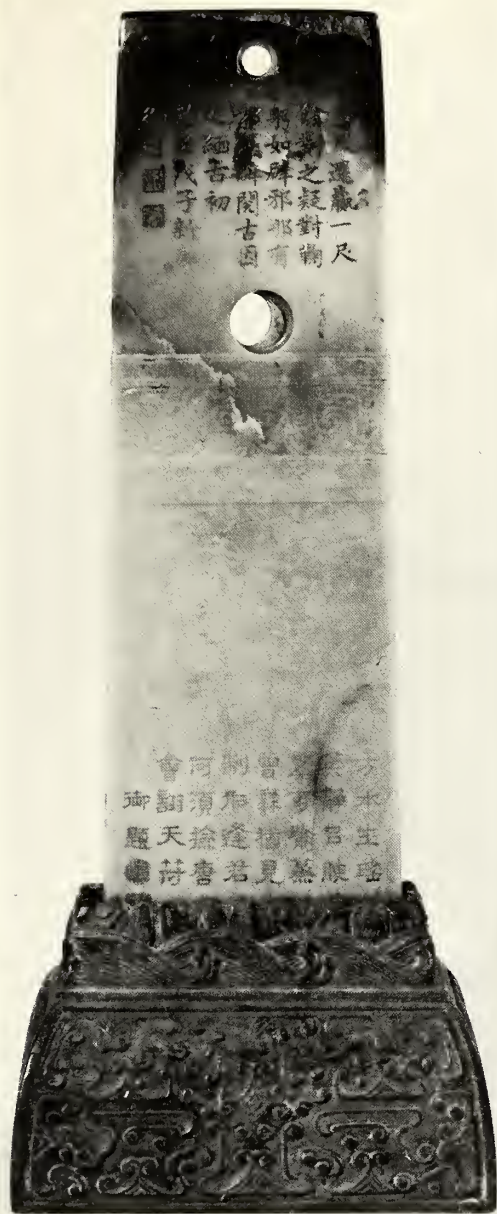


FIG. 7a.—JADE SCEPTER.
National Palace Museum, Taipei.



FIG. 7b.—Drawing of mask design.

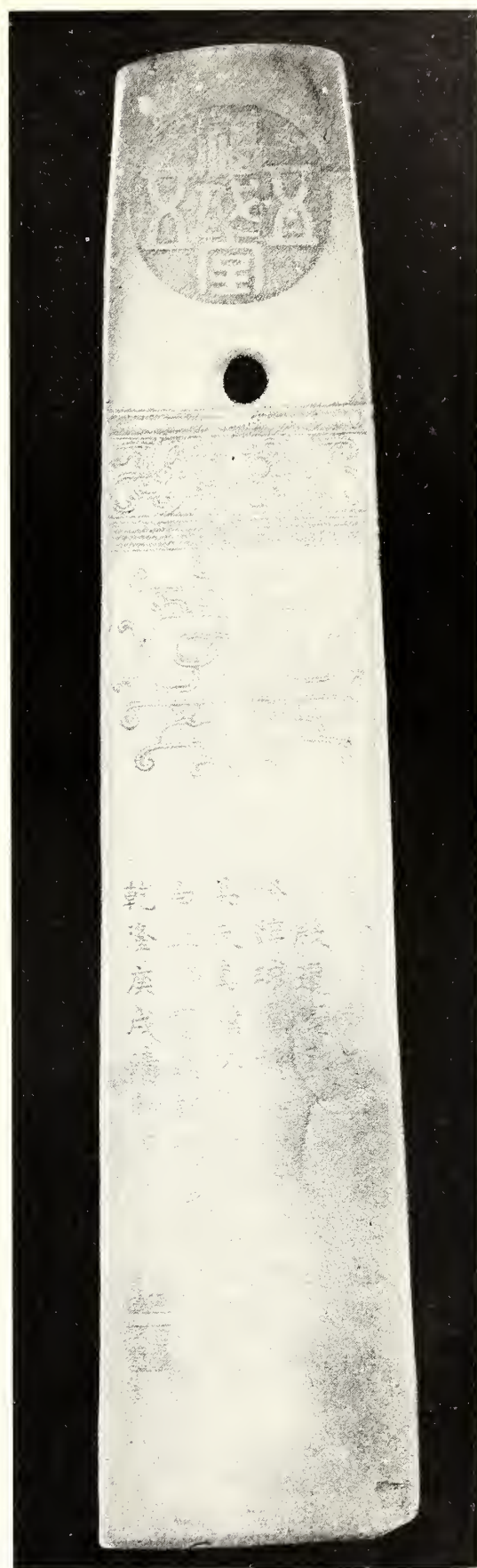


FIG. 8.—JADE SCEPTER.
National Palace Museum, Taipei.

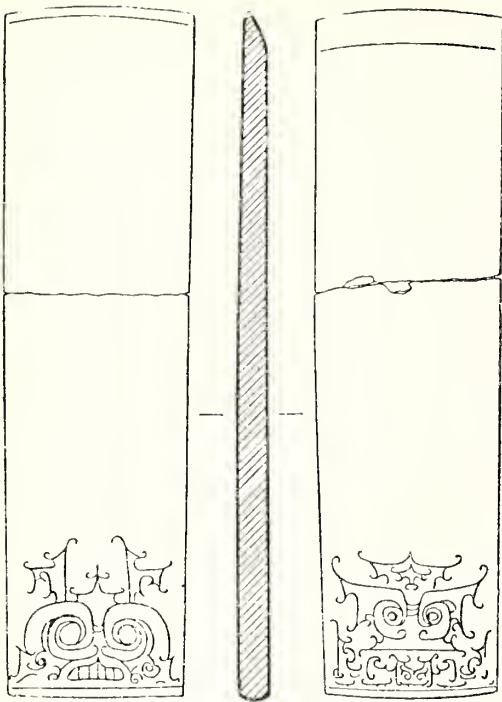


FIG. 9.—JADE SCEPTER (drawing).
Shantung Provincial Museum.

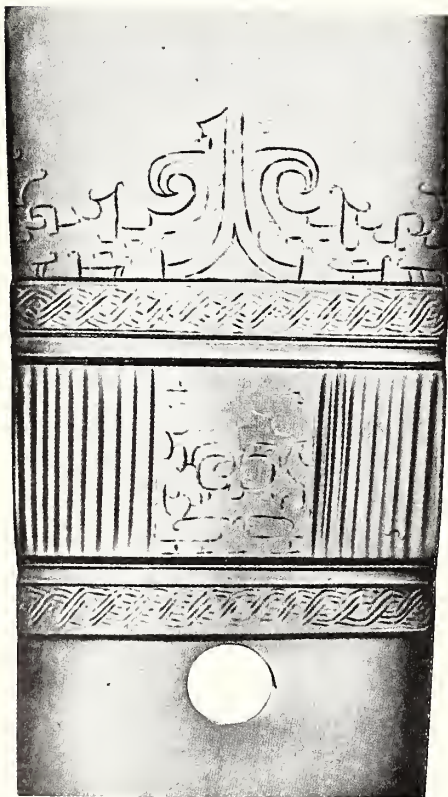


FIG. 10.—JADE SCEPTER (detail).
A. F. Pillsbury Collection.
Minneapolis Institute of Arts.



FIG. 11.—JADE KNIFE END (*fig. 30* shows central image).
Arthur M. Sackler Collection, New York.



FIG. 12.—JADE FITTING. National Collection of Fine Arts,
Smithsonian Institution.



FIG. 13.—JADE PLAQUE. Edward and Louise B. Sonnenschein Collection,
Art Institute of Chicago.



FIG. 14a.—JADE FITTING.
National Collection of Fine Arts,
Smithsonian Institution.



FIG. 14b.—Rubbing of reverse.

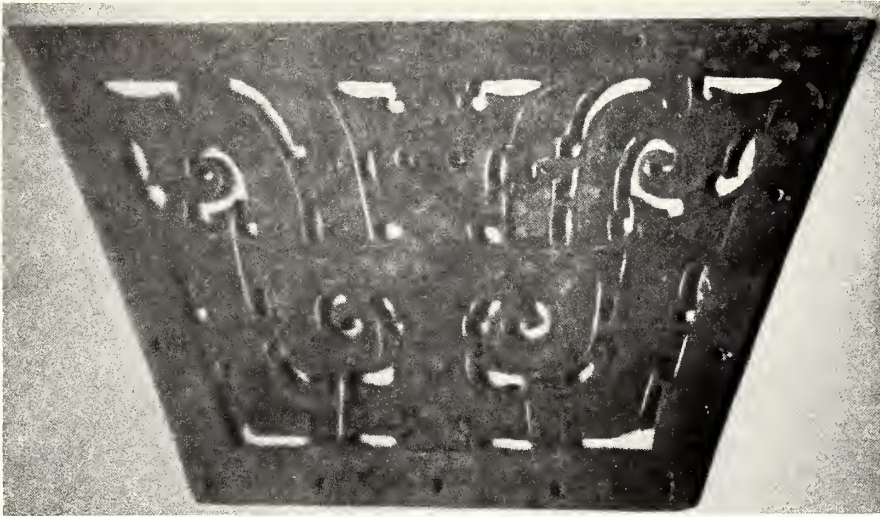


FIG. 15.—JADE PLAQUE. Heinrich Hardt Collection, Berlin.



FIG. 16.—JADE PENDANT.
Arthur M. Sackler Collection, New York.

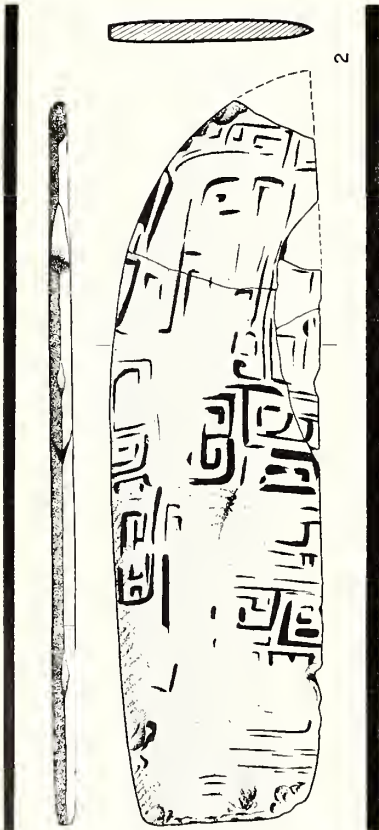
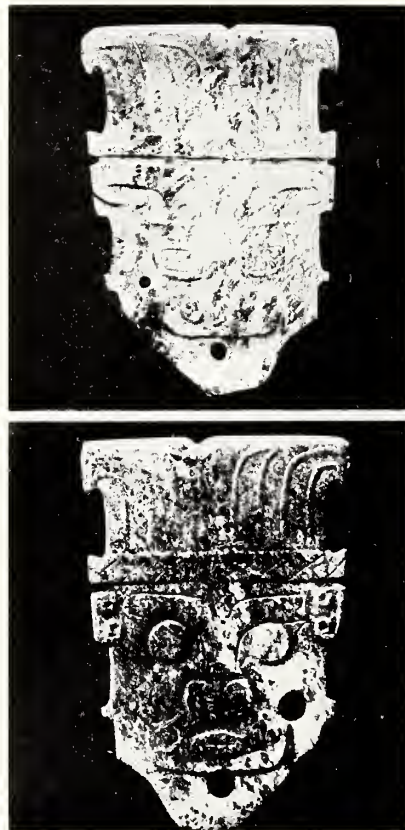


FIG. 17.—STONE SICKLE (drawing).
Academia Sinica, Taipei.



FIGS. 18a and b.—JADE FITTING OR FINIAL
(front and back).
J. Eguchi Collection, Osaka.



FIG. 19.—JADE PENDANT.
William L. McKim Collection,
Palm Beach, Florida.



FIG. 20.—JADE FITTING.
Edward and Louise B. Sonnenschein
Collection, Art Institute of Chicago.

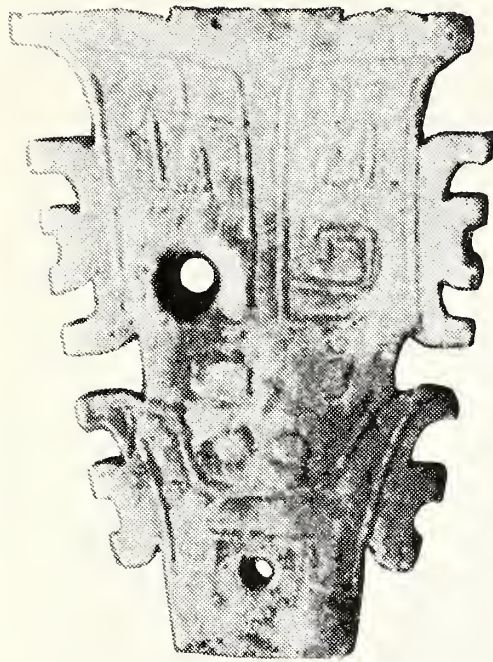


FIG. 21.—JADE FITTING.
Arthur M. Sackler Collection, New York.



FIG. 22.—JADE HANDLE FITTING.
Edward and Louise B. Sonnenschein
Collection, Art Institute of Chicago.

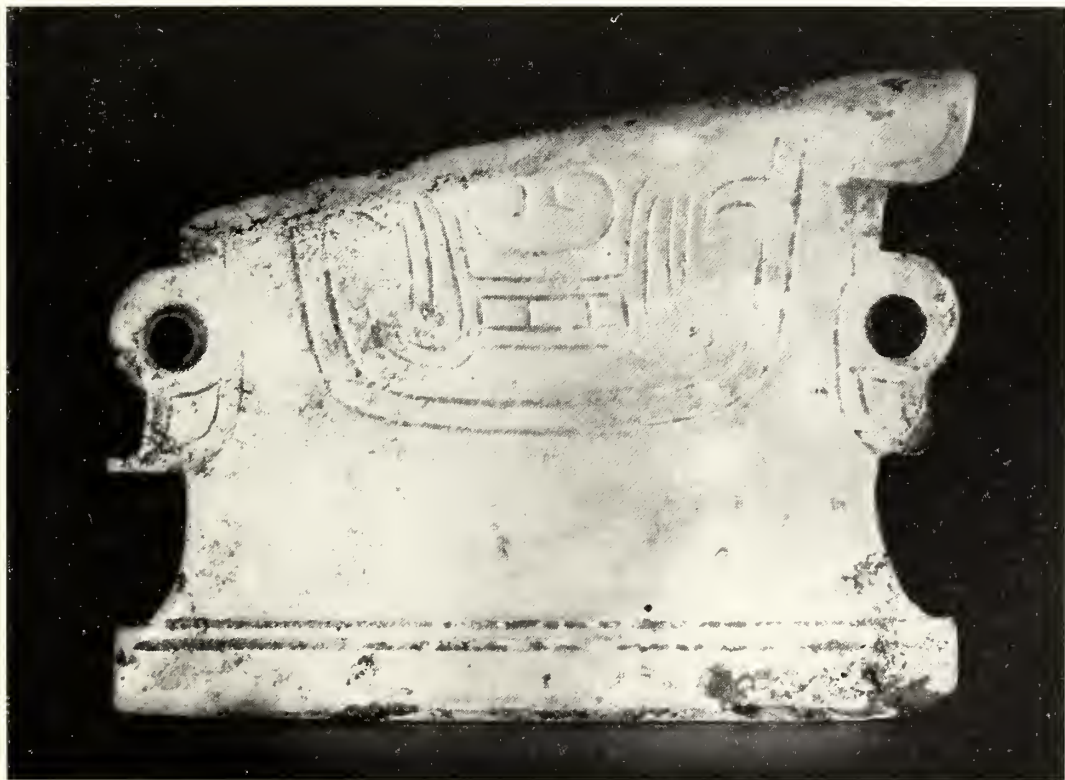


FIG. 23.—JADE PLAQUE (broken). Arthur M. Sackler Collection, New York.



FIG. 24.—JADE PLAQUE.
Freer Gallery of Art.



FIG. 26.—JADE FITTING.
A. F. Pillsbury Collection, Minneapolis Institute of Arts.



FIG. 25.—JADE PENDANT.
W. L. McKim Collection, Palm Beach, Florida.



FIG. 27.—CHALCEDONY FITTING.
Arthur M. Sackler Collection, New York.



FIG. 28a.—JADE SCEPTER (*fig. 7* shows reverse).
National Palace Museum, Taipei.



FIG. 29.—JADE AXEHEAD.
Fogg Art Museum, Harvard University,
Grenville L. Winthrop Bequest.



FIG. 28b.—Drawing of Demon Image.

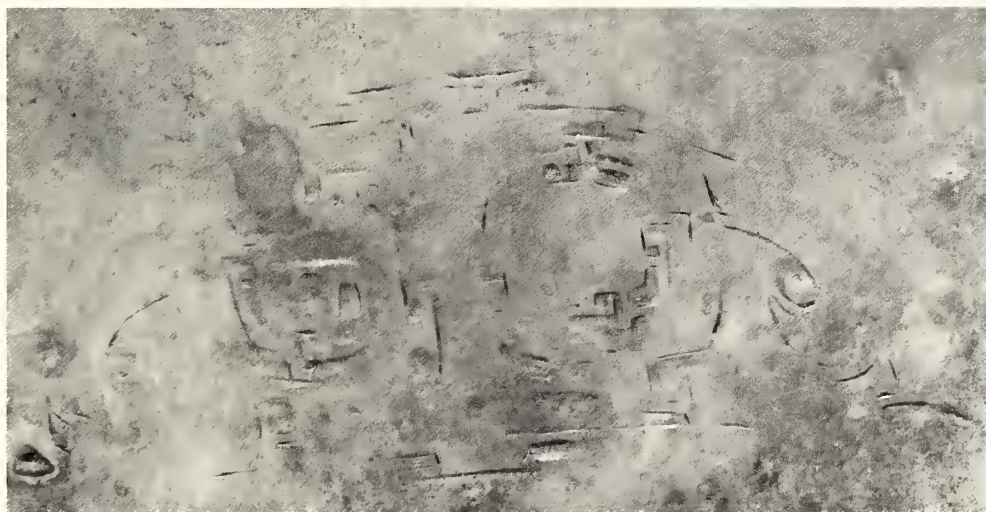


FIG. 30.—JADE KNIFE, CENTRAL DESIGN (*fig. 11* shows end image).
Arthur M. Sackler Collection, New York.



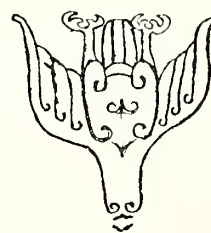
FIG. 31.—JADE PROFILE HEAD, FINIAL.
Academia Sinica, Taipei.



FIG. 32.—JADE KNIFE, END
(fig. 40 shows additional imagery).
Freer Gallery of Art. 18 |



FIG. 33a.—JADE SCEPTER.
National Palace Museum, Taipei.



FIGS. 33b-d.—Drawings of details.



FIG. 34.—JADE PENDANT.
Arthur M. Sackler Collection, New York.



FIG. 35.—JADE FITTING.
Arthur M. Sackler Collection, New York.

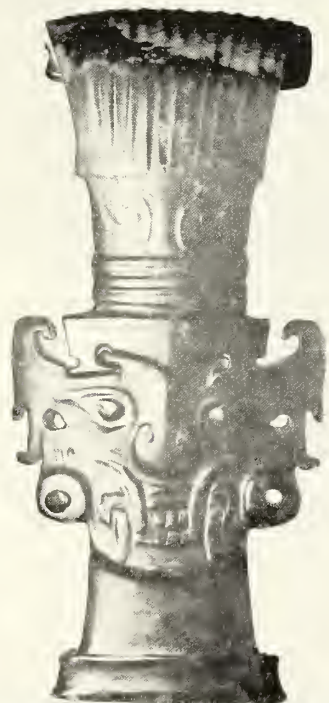


FIG. 36a.—JADE FINIAL (front).
National Collection of Fine Arts,
Smithsonian Institution.



FIGS. 36b and c.—Back view and rubbing.

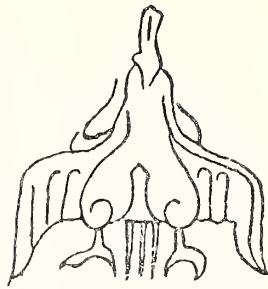


FIG. 37b.—Drawing of reverse side.

FIG. 37a.—JADE SCEPTER. Freer Gallery of Art.



FIG. 38.—JADE SCEPTER (detail). Edward and Louise B. Sonnenschein Collection, Art Institute of Chicago.



FIG. 39.—JADE BEAD OR TOGGLE. Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto.



FIGS. 40a and b.—JADE KNIFE, INCISED IMAGE, AND RUBBING (fig. 32 shows chief image). Freer Gallery of Art.



FIG. 41.—CARVED BONE.
Late Shang; Anyang.



FIG. 42.—INLAID GHOST OF WOOD STAND. Late Shang; Anyang.



FIG. 43.—BRONZE HORSE CORONET.
Chariot pit 2, Chang-chia-p'o, Sian, Shensi. Western Chou.



FIG. 44.—GREEK GORGON ON MANTLE OF ATHENA.
Detail from Amphora.
Andokides Painter. Later 6th century B.C.

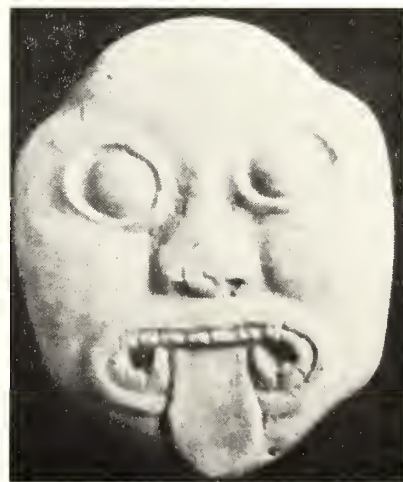


FIG. 45.—WHITE STONE MASK.
Reported to be from Chang-sha. Han.



FIG. 46.—BROWN JADE PLAQUE. Han; probably southern.
Freer Gallery of Art.



FIG. 47a.—GREEN JADE EARSPOOL. Han; southern.
Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto.



FIG. 48.—CHAVIN HAMMERED AND CUT GOLD EARSPOOL.
Peru. Muscum of American Indian, New York.



FIG. 47b.—Rubbing of "collar."



FIG. 49.—BRONZE CEREMONIAL AXE. Shang V style, possibly early Chou. The British Museum.

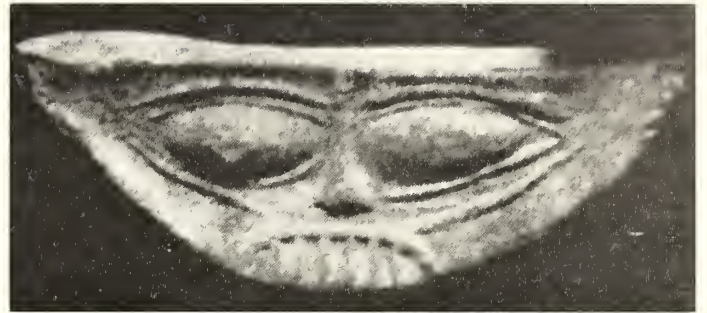


FIG. 50.—POTTERY TILE. Han. Formerly O. Sirén Collection.



FIG. 51.—TIN PLAQUES OR PENDANTS. Han(?). Retrieved at Oc-èò, Gulf of Siam.

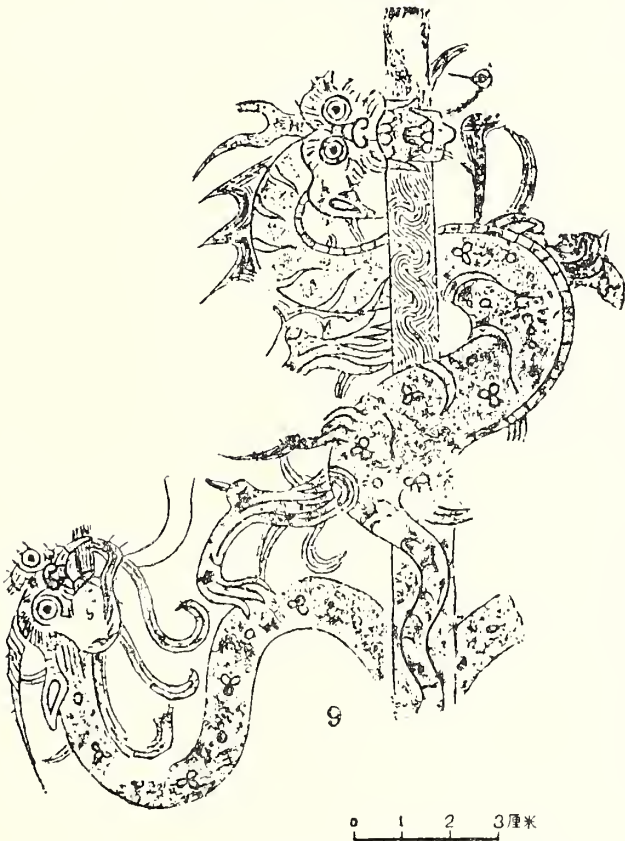


FIG. 52.—CLIMBING DRAGONS. Drawing of detail from "money tree" fragment. Han; Shih-chai-shan, Yunnan.



FIG. 53.—POTTERY KUAN HANDLE DESIGNS. Rubbings from jars excavated (1955) at Li-chu, Shao-hsing, Chekiang.



FIG. 54.—RITUAL JADES AND STONES. Chengtu Plain. Chou.

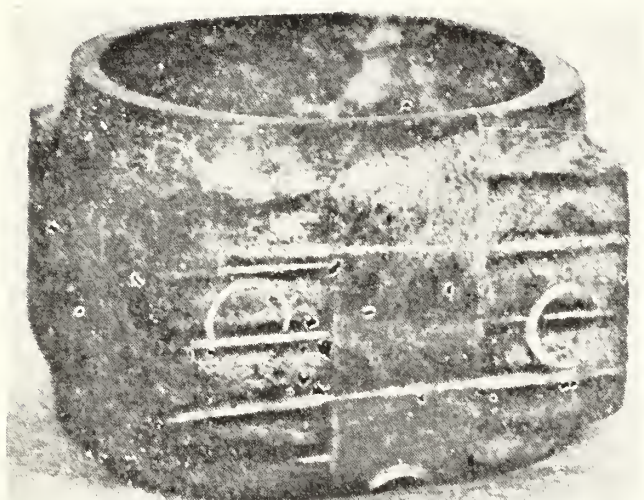


FIG. 55.—JADE *Ts'ung*. Szechwan. Chou.



FIG. 56.—COMPOSITE CREATURE. Detail of felt hanging from Barrow 5, Pazyryk, Altai. Ca. 400 B.C.

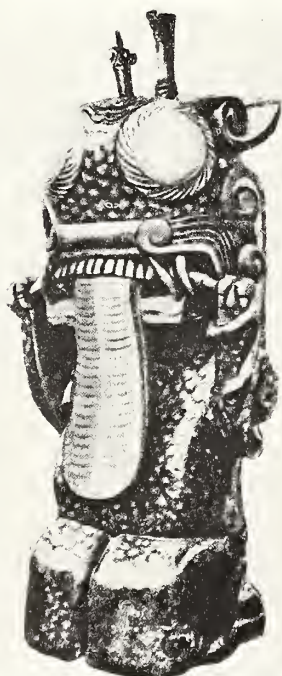


FIG. 57.—LACQUERED WOOD TOMB GUARDIAN. Excavated at Ch'ang-t'ai-kuan, Hsin-yang, Honan. Ca. 500 B.C.



FIG. 58.—RED POTTERY VESSEL. Excavated at Shih-chia-ho, T'ien-men Hsien, Hupei. Neolithic.



FIG. 59.—CEREMONIAL AXE. Shang V. Staatliche Museen, Ostasiatische Kunstabteilung, Berlin-Dahlem.

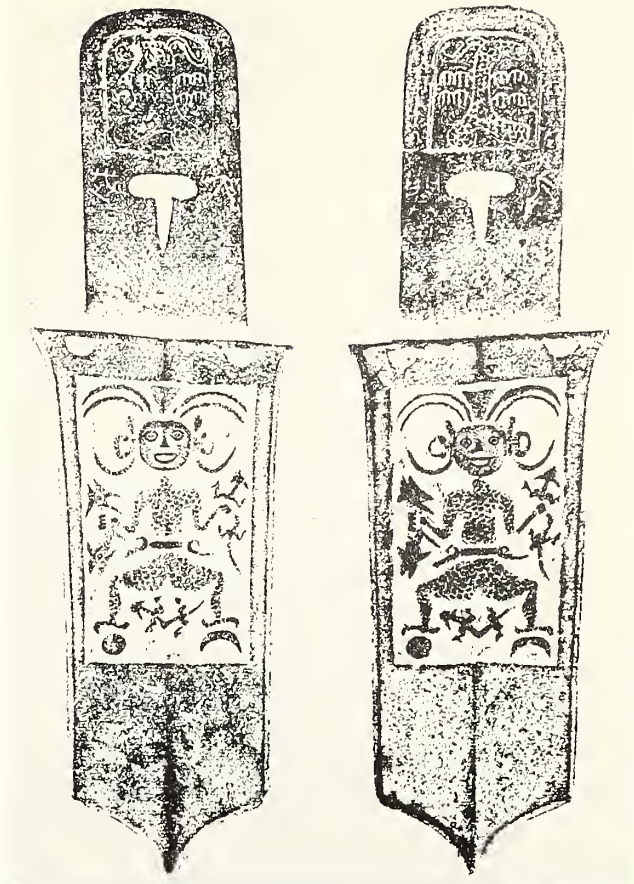


FIG. 60.—BRONZE *K'o*. Rubbings. Excavated (1960) in Ch'ing-men Hsien, Hupei. Eastern Chou.



FIG. 61.—BRONZE CAP FOR AXE SHAFT. Western Chou; ca. 9th c. B.C. Shensi(?). A. Schoenlicht Collection, The Hague.



FIG. 62.—CLAN(?) SIGNS FROM SZECHWAN BRONZES. Drawings. Late Eastern Chou to Han.



FIG. 63.—SZECHWAN PHOENIX DESIGN. Han.

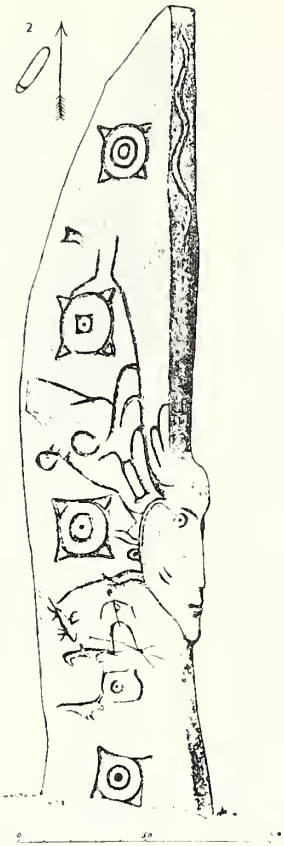


FIG. 64.—SIBERIAN STELE DESIGN. "Karasuk."



FIG. 65.—BRONZE POLE-BLADE. Reported to be from Chün Hsien, Honan. Western Chou; ca. 9th c. B.C. Freer Gallery of Art.



FIG. 66.—SOUTHEAST ASIAN SERPENTINE BLADE OR KRIS. Probably from Borneo. Date unknown.



FIG. 67.—GLASS-INLAID GOLD BELTHOOK. Western Han. Fogg Art Museum, Harvard University, Grenville L. Winthrop Bequest.



FIG. 68.—BRONZE DRUM-SHAPED "COWRIE CONTAINER" TOP. Rubbing. Han; from Shih-chai-shan.



FIGS. 69a and b.—BRONZE COWRIE CONTAINER DESIGNS. Han; Shih-chai-shan.



FIG. 70.—TOLTEC CLAY TLALOC PRIEST. Early Post-classic. National Museum of Anthropology, Mexico.



FIG. 71.—MAYAN PERSONAGE. Late Classic Painted Vase. National Museum of Anthropology, Mexico.



FIG. 72.—JADE FIGURE PLAQUE.
Warring States; provincial.
Cernuschi Museum, Paris.



FIG. 73a.—BRONZE LADLE.
Late Shang.
Hakutsuru Collection, Kobe.

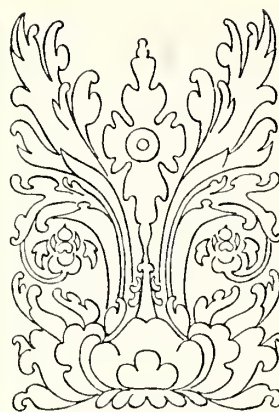


FIG. 73b.—SOUTHEAST
ASIAN PADMAMŪLA
(LOTUS ROOT) DESIGN.



FIG. 74.—MASK DETAIL FROM BRONZE BARREL DRUM.
Shang IV-V style; Western Chou date.
Provincial. Sumitomo Collection, Kyoto.



FIG. 75.—JADE "NECKLACE." Lower part. Reported to be from
Chin-ts'un, Honan. 4th-3rd c. B.C. Freer Gallery of Art.



FIG. 76.—POTTERY HEAD OF TOMB FIGURINE.
From Eastern Han cave tomb,
Chengtu region, Szechwan.

conservativeness of types and styles (the continuing refinement, for example, of the laborious, originally Shang, *yang-wen* style), the often exquisite workmanship, the non-burial (after Shang), and above all the precious material, jade—all these considerations suggest strongly that although they may have begun as designs and ended as designs, in their flourishing period these jade masks represented deity.

The elaborate crown design, the peacock feather and horn combination, and a high-plumed human profile in jade are all known from Anyang, though whether the jade was made at Hsiao-t'un where it was buried is uncertain. None of the other specimens was excavated from either a western, northern or southern site. The Sonnenschein handle (?) demon in *figure 20* seems of central manufacture. Most other examples here, however, probably belong to the Yangtze River system and points south, rather than to the Yellow River and points north. The suggested relation of such images as the round-eyed, horned Sonnenschein plaque in *figure 13* to the bulb-eyed, long toothed, tusked and antlered creature from Hsin-yang in *figure 57* suggests a more southern origin, as do all other comparisons discovered for this image. The ear-spool, as stated, is a striking and important southern element in these designs as may also be the highest and widest of the later plumed crowns. One of the most exquisite of the demon mask-derived patterns, that on the National Palace Museum's *kuei* in *figure 33*, is clearly well on the way toward the luxuriant or tropical splendor of such Southeast Asian motifs as the *padmamūla* in *figure 73b*. Believed Indian in inspiration, and no doubt so, the lotus root design, like the Kāla head of Cambodia and Indonesia, may well have a touch of

South Chinese blood in it as well.⁴⁸ Such elements and aspects of Chinese jade demonology suggest retention and adaptation of types as early as Anyang in South China and Vietnam into Han and probably even later times.

Together with what they may tell about jade working and divinity from the Shang through the Han, and from Szechwan and Hunan to Annam and the sea, the later dating of some of the demonics and the links with Southeast Asia bring the Chinese imagery so often compared with pre-Columbian closer to the latter in time and space, thus adding a few briquettes of fuel to the fires of controversy over questions of trans-Pacific contacts. (Compare, for example, Yunnanese and Mayan feathered beings holding feathered lances in *figs 68* and *71*.)⁴⁹

In terms of human interest, embryonic psychology and complementarity in Chinese religious art, perhaps the most significant of all the jade demon designs are the bifacial ones—not just man-animal or man-bird or man-mirrored types but also the “tragi-comics” of *figures 7–28, 14, and 36* where there is a real distinction between almond and round eye, with up-turned tusked mouth and drooping maw, respectively.

Possibly there are we-they, even sun-rain connotations. One might see in these images also the dual aspect of some major divinity known to have had such connotations, such as the Han Hsi Wang Mu 西王母 perhaps traceable to the Western-Eastern

⁴⁸ See F. Bosch, *The Golden Germ: An Introduction to Indian Symbolism* (S Gravenhage, 1960), p. 44, fig. 9c.

⁴⁹ The Mayan “Person of Importance” was probably painted on the vessel after A.D. 500 (see I. Bernal et al., *The Mexican National Museum of Anthropology* [London, 1968], chart on p. 19).

Mothers of the oracle bones, the jade-decked goddess-howler of the *Shan-hai-ching* 山海經 and ultimately Madame Tung Wang Fu 東王父 in Eastern Han.⁵⁰ Jenyns and Watson tentatively identified the creature on the Fogg gold belthook, with head and plume so like that of the Freer jade plaque mask in *figure 24*, as Hsi Wang Mu.⁵¹ But names are not the point here, only faces, only those splendid if still barbaric masks which met the Buddha.

Illustrations

Publications from which the following illustrations were taken (for figures not listed below, photographs were obtained through the courtesy of the collector or gallery):

- FIG. 5. Jenyns, *Chinese Archaic Jades*, pl. 31.
 FIG. 6a and b. Salmony, *Chinese Jade through Wei*, pl. 12:6 ab.
 FIG. 7b. Drawing after Umehara, *NPMQ*, vol. 1, no. 1 (1966), p. 14.
 FIG. 8. Umehara, *NPMQ*, vol. 1, no. 1 (1966), pl. 1:left.
 FIG. 9. Drawing after Liu, *KK* (1972), no. 4, p. 57.
 FIG. 10. Salmony, *Carved Jade*, pl. 33:2.
 FIG. 12. Hentze, *Sakralbronzen*, pl. 79:154.
 FIG. 13. Hentze, *Sakralbronzen*, pl. 79:153.
 FIG. 14. Rubbing, Umehara, *Shina Kogyoku*, pl. 74:1.
 FIG. 15. Sirén, *Kinas Konst*, vol. 1, pl. 52b.
 FIG. 16. Trousdale, *OA*, vol. 10, no. 2 (1964), p. 109, fig. 7.
 FIG. 17. Liang and Kao, *1001*, pl. 105:2.
 FIG. 18. Umehara, *Shina Kogyoku*, pl. 73:2.
 FIG. 19. Norton Gallery, *1950 Exhibition Catalogue*,

⁵⁰ For the reference to Eastern and Western Mothers in the oracle bones from Anyang see H. G. Creel, *Birth of China* (London, 1936), p. 180; for the *Shan-hai-ching* 山海經 [Classic of Mountains and Seas] reference to Hsi Wang Mu, see F. Waterbury, *Early Chinese Symbols and Literature: Vestiges and Speculations* (New York, 1942), pp. 32-33; and for the Hsi Wang Mu-Tung Wang Fu dualism, see such Eastern Han mirrors and other designs as that in *Sekai Bijutsu Zenshū* 世界美術全集 [Complete Collection of World Art] (*SBZ*), vol. 13, p. 178, fig. 73.

⁵¹ Jenyns and Watson, *Chinese Art*, vol. 2, p. 28.

- pl. 22:11.
 FIG. 20. Salmony, *Sonnenschein*, pl. 36:3.
 FIG. 21. Salmony, *Carved Jade*, pl. 21:8.
 FIG. 22. Hentze, *Sakralbronzen*, pl. 78:151.
 FIG. 25. Norton Gallery, *1950 Exhibition Catalogue*, pl. 22:9.
 FIG. 26. Arden Gallery, *3000 Years*, p. 73, no. 125.
 FIG. 27. Salmony, *Carved Jade*, pl. 28:4.
 FIG. 28. Drawing after Umehara, *NPMQ*, vol. 1, no. 1 (1966), p. 14.
 FIG. 31. Umehara, *Yin Hsu*, pl. 158:2.
 FIG. 32. Wills, *Jade of the East*, fig. 19.
 FIG. 33. Umehara, *NPMQ*, vol. 1, no. 1 (1966), pl. 1 (drawings after pp. 12 and 16).
 FIG. 36bc. Reverse side and Rubbing, Umehara, *Shina Kogyoku*, pl. 74:3.
 FIG. 37. Salmony, *Carved Jade*, pl. 31:1 (drawing after Na, *Yü-ch'i*, vol. 2, p. 174, fig. 77c).
 FIG. 38. Salmony, *Carved Jade*, pl. 27:1.
 FIG. 40. Wills, *Jade of the East*, fig. 20 (rubbing, Umehara, *Shina Kogyoku*, pl. 48:left).
 FIG. 41. Liang and Kao, *1001*, pl. 207:12.
 FIG. 42. Liang and Kao, *1217*, pl. 19.
 FIG. 43. Chung-kuo k'o-hsüeh-yüan k'ao-ku yen-chiu-so 中國科學院考古研究所 [Chinese Academy of Sciences, Archaeological Institute], *Feng-hsi fa-chüeh pao-kao* 豐西發掘報告 [Report of the Excavations in Feng-hsi] (Peking, 1962), pl. 106:1.
 FIG. 44. P. Arias, *A History of Greek Vase Painting*, transl. M. Hirmer (London, 1962), pl. 84.
 FIG. 45. Chiang Yüen-yi 蔣玄怡, *Ch'ang-sha: Ch'u min-tzu chi ch'i i-shu* 長沙: 楚民族及其藝術 [Ch'ang-sha: The Ch'u Tribe and its Art] (2 vols.) (Shanghai, 1949-50), vol. 2, pl. 31a.
 FIG. 46. Salmony, *Carved Jade*, pl. 28:5.
 FIG. 47. Dohrenwend, *Chinese Jades*, pp. 5 and 17.
 FIG. 48. Wardwell, *Gold of Ancient America*, col. pl. p. 15.
 FIG. 49. Karlgren, *BMFEA*, vol. 17, pl. 10:55.
 FIG. 50. Sirén, *Kinas Konst*, vol. 1, pl. 75.
 FIG. 51. Malleret, *AA*, vol. 11, no. 4 (1948), p. 277, pl. VII: 2.
 FIG. 52. *KK*, (1962), no. 7, p. 398, fig. 6:9.
 FIG. 53. Chu, *KKHP* (1957), no. 1, p. 137, fig. 2.
 FIG. 54. Dye, *JWCBRS*, vols. 3-4 (1930-31), pl. opp. p. 102.
 FIG. 55. Graham, *JWCBRS*, vol. 6 (1933-34), pl. opp. p. 128.
 FIG. 56. S. I. Rudenko, transl., *Frozen Tombs of Siberia* (Berkeley, 1970), pl. 173.
 FIG. 57. Watson, *China Before Han*, pl. 72.
 FIG. 58. Watson, *Early Civilization in China*, pl. 38.
 FIG. 59. Goepper and von Ragué, *Kunst Ostasiens*

(Berlin, 1963), pl. 1.

FIG. 60. Yü, *KK* (1963), no. 3, p. 153, fig. 1.

FIG. 61. H. Visser, *Asiatic Art* (New York, 1948), pl. 33:39.

FIG. 62. *Szechwan Boat Coffins* monograph, p. 57, fig. 57.

FIG. 63. Finsterbusch, *Verzeichnis und Motivindex*, vol. 2, pl. 25:95.

FIG. 64. Jettmar, *BMFEA*, vol. 22, pl. 7:2.

FIG. 66. V. Solc, *Swords and Daggers of Indonesia*, transl. T. Gottheiner, (London, 1958) pl. 10.

FIG. 67. Jenyns and Watson, *Chinese Art*, vol. 2, pl. 7.

FIG. 68. Rubbing, *Yunnan Shih-chai-shan* monograph, pl. 119.

FIG. 69. *Ibid.*, p. 121.

FIG. 70. I. Bernal et al., *Catalogue of the Mexican National Museum of Anthropology* (1968), fig. 35.

FIG. 71. *Ibid.*, p. 148, col. pl. 117.

FIG. 72. Salmony, *Chinese Jade through Wei*, pl. 12:3.

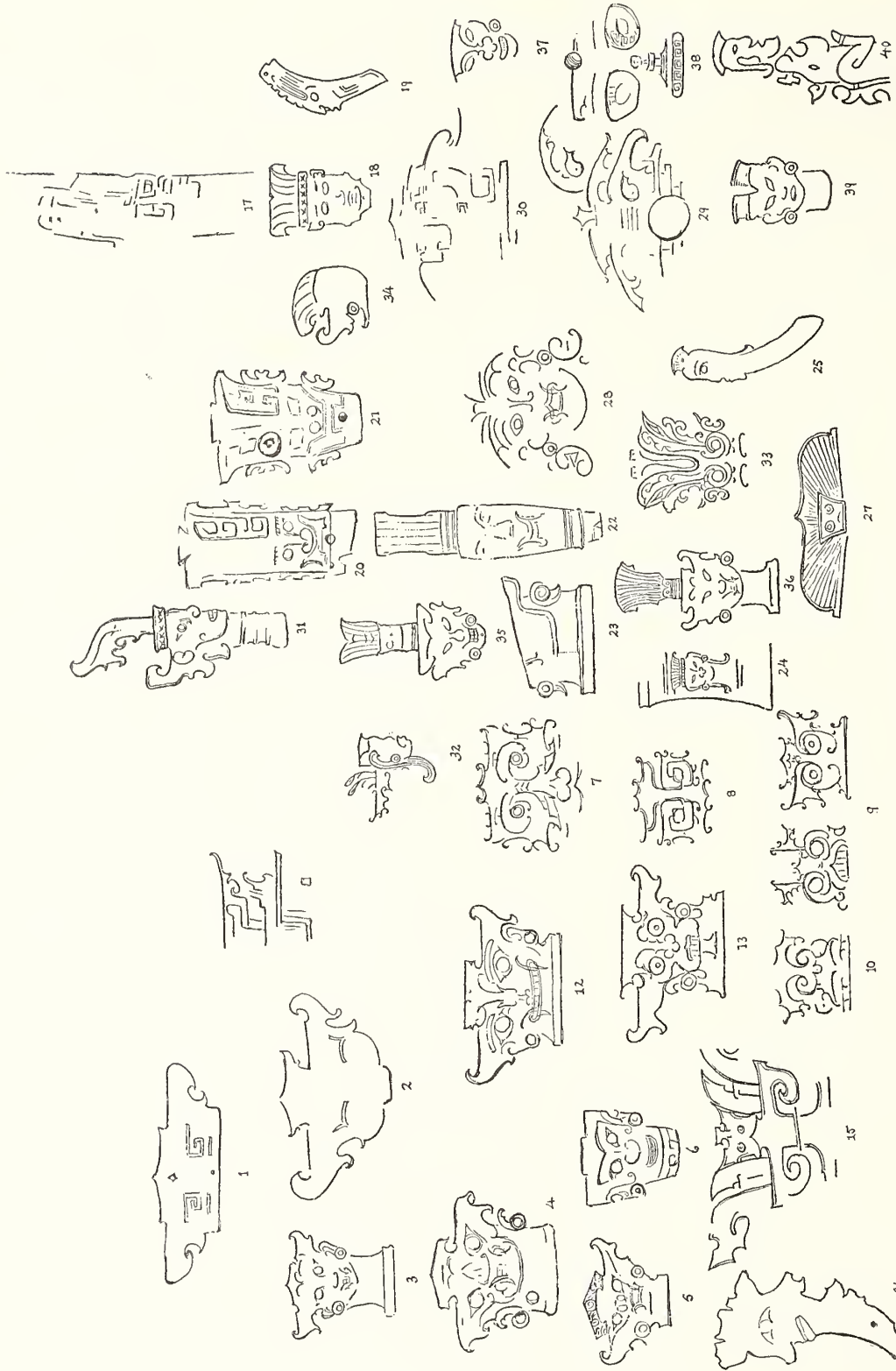
FIG. 73a. Umehara, *Shina Kodō Seika, Nihon Shūchō*, vol. 1, pl. 50.

FIG. 73b. Drawing after Bosch, *The Golden Germ*, p. 44, fig. 9.

FIG. 74. S. Minkenhof, "An Early Chinese Bronze Mask," *Bulletin of the Stedelyk Museum*, vol. 29 (April, 1950), p. 20, fig. 5.

FIG. 75. Salmony, *Carved Jade*, pl. 52:1.

FIG. 76. Liu, *KKHP* (1958), no. 1, pl. 10.



TEXT FIG.—The Early Chinese Jade Demon Families and their Relations from Late Shang (or Anyang) (above) to Eastern Han or later (lowermost)

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THE ARTS OF ISLAM AND THE EAST



Freer Gallery of Art

This volume is dedicated to Professor Max Loehr

VOL. 10

1975

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