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THE HAN FAR SOUTH

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While our conception of the material culture and, indeed, social organization of Early China throughout the Shang and Zhou, even as late as the Warring States period, is dominated by the image of bronze vessels whose forms and more specifically decors provide us with an outline of the cultural development of the upper class, the early imperial era of Qin and Han provide no such unifying image. As society evolved through the Late Bronze Age, bronze vessels retained their value as status symbols, but lost their exclusivity, becoming widely produced for members of the elite who would not, in earlier times, have had access to them in such abundance.[1] While predynastic Qin participated in the Bronze Age, by the time of the Qin unification of China in 221 B.C., Qin bronze vessel forms had become simplified in form and in décor. (Pl. 1) Most common are long-necked bottles *(hu)* and squat cooking vessels with a rounded body and broad, flaring neck *(mou);* both are undecorated.[2] Widespread in pre-Han China, these forms continued in production throughout the Han in chronologically indistinguishable form. These vessels characterize most Han bronze production: simple and utilitarian, producing forms identical to those used in ceramic, but with generally less décor than the latter. The highly decorated bronzes of Mancheng with the "bird script" inlay are, as far as can be determined from the current archaeological record, the exception in Han bronze casting, and not the rule.[3] Like decorative attachments, mirrors,

1 For summary of socio-political changes leading to expanded accessibility of bronzes, see Lothar von Falkenhausen, *Suspended Music: Chime-Bells in the Culture of Bronze Age China*. Berkeley/Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1993, 320-321ff.

2 Eg., Zhumadian diqu wenguanhui, Miyangxian wenjiaoju, "He'nan Miyang Qinmu," *Wenwu* 1980.9, 16, f. 4:3 (*mou*), 4 (*hu*); *Yunmeng Shuihudi Qinmu*. Beijing: Wenwu, 1981, Pl. 27:2-4 (*mou*); Pl. 28:1 (*hu*).

3 Mancheng bird-script *hu* M1:5015, 5018: Zhongguo shehui kexueyuan kaogu yanjiusuo, Hebeisheng wenwu guanlichu, *Mancheng Hanmu fajue baogao*. Beijing: Wenwu, 1980, v. 2, Pl. 19-20. Mancheng *hu* M2:4028 (v. 2, Color Pl. 21) and M2:4029 (v. 2, Pl. 169:1) are genuinely old, dating to the Middle-Late Warring States and Late Warring States, respectively. Contrast Jessica Rawson, "Chu Influence on the Development of Han Bronze Vessels," *Arts Asiatiques* 44

and other ornaments, the most decorated Han-produced bronze objects are not vessels *per se,* but incense burners and cosmetics boxes *(lian)* or vessels for heating alcohol *(zun),* the latter often confused in archaeological reports with the similarly-shaped *lian.* In these cases, the decorative aspect of the object is not a function of the bronze itself, but of the artisan's choice: as with vessels, the ceramic versions are as likely to be highly decorated as the bronze, with the obvious exception of the application of gilding. In this context, bronze is valued for the form or décor it has been used to embody, rather than being a precious metal in and of itself. During the Han, the focus of creative experimentation and the recipient of the most highly developed or highly prized forms of décor shifted from bronze to ceramic. In this context, as China moves toward what might be called the Ceramic Age, the emergence in the first century A.D. of a new bronze tradition assumes additional significance.

This new tradition is first attested in the Guangxi site of Hefu, whose large number of bronzes all bear a distinctive décor.[4] Although the date of this site proves to date to ca. 90 A.D., one *hu* may be dated through formal comparisons to ca. 65 A.D.[5] (Pl. 2, left.) This then provides the earliest date for the new bronze decors whose distribution is centered in the Far South (Guangdong, Guangxi, Guizhou) but extends to a central intermediary zone between this region and the north of China (Zhejiang, Jiangsu, Jiangxi, Anhui) and is occasionally attested, undoubtedly as an import, in the north, as in the cache of objects from Chang'an (Xi'an, Shaanxi).[6] As with other decors, this Far South innovation appears on ceramics as well as bronze, but in contrast with usual Han practice, the décor is most fully developed in its bronze versions. For this reason, we may assume that it was developed not as an independent exploration of ornament, but specifically for bronze.

(1989), 84-99, who, viewing Han as the continuation of Zhou funerary customs, interprets the Mancheng bronzes as typical of Han bronze "assemblages".

4 Guangxi Zhuangzu zizhiqu wenwu kaogu xiezuo xiaozu, "Guangxi Hefu Xi Han muguo mu," *Kaogu* 1972.5, 20-30, Pl. 4-7.

5 Guangxi, "Hefu," *KG* 1972.5, 24, f. 4:3.

6 Zhongguo shehui kexueyuan kaogu yanjiusuo Han Chang'ancheng gongzuodui, "Han Chang'ancheng faxian Xi Han jiaozang tongqi," *KG* 1985.5, 400-403, Pl. 2. Far South examples include the covered box H1:5 (p. 401, f. 4) and vase *hu* H1:9 (p. 402, f. 5:1).

The décor is typified by a combination of geometric and floral motifs, arranged in horizontal registers in an echo of the pre-imperial Chinese treatment of bronze décor, a convention which continues in Han ceramic décor as well. The number of motifs employed is limited: elongated, vertically striped triangles; horizontally repeating lozenges marked with concentric lozenges; staggered rows of semi-ovoid lines framing a flower-like motif of a vertical line flanked by inward-curving simple spirals; and a gridwork of vertically-placed lozenges formed of fine, short lines that create a feathered appearance, and which frame triangles and irregular forms. Without Han precedent, this décor appears to be the product of Western Han Far South ceramic decorative schemas, pre-imperial bronze décors, and the influence, common not only in the Far South but in the entire southwest of Han China, of southern non-Chinese cultures including the Vietnamese Dong-Son. One of the most elaborate representations of this décor occurs in a tray *(pan)* from the Hefu tomb.[7] (Pl. 2, right.) Its flat, circular surface carries concentric bands of concentric lozenges, triangles, again concentric lozenges, feathered lozenges, concentric lozenges, and a central pattern of the quatrefoil, common particularly in the Warring States and Han but with antecedents in the Late Western Zhou[8], filled in this case with the floral mirror-image spirals used in Far South bronze décor, and flanked between each "petal" with four alternating deer and phoenix executed in highly elongated style. Unlike the phoenix, the deer's heads are turned to face the rear. The tray's three feet are hollow cast in the form of crouching humans. To analyze the origins of this piece, we must first examine the development of vessel décor in the Han Far South.

With the gaps in the record of reliably-dated archaeological material, our understanding of the Far South is limited. While the cemetery of

7 Guangxi, "Hefu," *KG* 1972.5, 25, f. 5. The same décor (with animals) appears on the bronze lidded box Guangzhou M3028:31: Guangzhoushi wenwu guanli weiyuanhui, Guangzhoushi bowuguan, *Guangzhou Hanmu.* Beijing: Wenwu, 1981, v. 1, 285, f. 169.

8 Is the broad, petaled form on the lid of the Early Western Zhou *lei* from Pengxian, Sichuan a prototype for this form? Sichuansheng bowuguan, *Ba Shu Qingtongqi.* Chengdu: Chengdu chubanshe / Macao: Sinobrothers, n.d., Pl. 7.

Guangzhou provides examples of earlier material[9], the most extensive sampling available for the Western Han period at this time remains the tomb of the Chinese King of Nanyue (Guangzhou, Guangdong)[10], not only because of the status of the deceased, but because of the choices he made in creating his own heritage. As Zhao Mei, the occupant of the "tomb of the king of Nanyue", following the first king of Nanyue (his grandfather, Zhao Tao), sought political equality with the Han emperor Wu, his tomb indicates that he sought cultural equality – that is, perhaps, equal social status – as well. The tomb is filled with pre-imperial Chinese bronzes, although usually not dating to earlier than the Late Springs and Autumns, with large numbers of jades including Warring States products, but also, and more significantly to my mind, with non-Chinese objects both from the north (imports from the Xiongnu and Han-produced imitations of Xiongnu products)[11] and from the south. The latter include bronze buckets whose décor matches that of the Dong-Son-type bronze drums well-documented in southern China. The décor of these bronze buckets is visible on ceramic buckets which appear to imitate the bronze, and, in modified form, on almost all ceramics recipients of any form found within the same tomb.[12] (Pl. 3) The elements of this Dong-Son derived décor include continuous, interlocking zigzag lines whose intersection forms a modified Greek key or

9 Guangzhoushi, *Guangzhou Hanmu*. For complete typology-chronologies and analysis, see Psarras, *Han Material Culture* and *International Relations: Cultural Exchanges Between Early China and the "Other Asias"* (both forthcoming). All dates offered are based on those of positively-dated tombs whose objects provide basis for comparison. For vessels, comparisons are established by form alone; for weapons, by form and décor, with special emphasis on exact comparisons of the latter, particularly in the southern non-Chinese context.

10 Guangzhoushi wenwu guanli weiyuanhui, Zhongguo shehui kexueyuan kaogu yanjiusuo, Guangdongsheng bowuguan, *Xi Han Nanyue wang mu*. Beijing: Wenwu, 1991. 2 vol.

11 Objects which may be accepted as Xiongnu products include Nanyue D73-1 (identical to E116), gilded bronze plaque, Guangzhoushi, *Nanyue*, v. 1, 166, f. 104:1 (showing Han influence in the turtles); Xiongnu-derived Han products include Nanyue D160 (gold plaque), *Nanyue*, v. 1, 208, f. 137:1; E21, 22 bronze plaques, *Nanyue*, v. 1, 225, f. 150; H51 gilded bronze plaque, v. 1, 20, f. 13:2.

12 Numerous examples of Nanyue bronze buckets, including C61, Guangzhoushi, *Nanyue*, v. 1, 79, f. 53:6; B57-59, v. 2, Pl. 17:3,4. All Nanyue ceramics bear the Dongson-derived décor.

concentric lozenge pattern; continuous, interlocking spirals; repeating vertical lines; and a repeating dot pattern. Elongated, repeating triangles appear, seemingly not on the buckets, but on Dong-Son-type bronze drums, including examples found from the tombs of Luobowan (Guixian, Guangxi)[13], contemporaneous with the tomb of the king of Nanyue. While the Nanyue and Luobowan tombs are not the first expression of this décor, Nanyue is at present the fullest and most explicit. This vocabulary remains standard in Far South ceramics throughout the Western and Eastern Han, thus obviating its use in dating artefacts. In addition, the Nanyue tomb provides evidence, unusual only in its extent, of the continued circulation in the Han era, of pre-imperial bronzes. The Nanyue examples reflect not only southern (i.e., Chu) pre-imperial bronze traditions, but northern as well.[14] Despite the availability of such material, neither the Far South nor the rest of China typically imitated pre-imperial bronzes either for bronze or ceramic forms or décors, with few exceptions dating to the Early Western Han.[15] One such exception, involving footed bowl form incense burners with openwork lids in an interlocking lozenge design, is less a matter of archaism than of the consistent appearance of a form from Chu dating to the first half of the Warring States.[16] (Pl. 4, left.) This form appears in closely-related form at the 168 B.C. Mawangdui M1 burial

13 Guangxi Zhuangzu zizhiqu bowuguan, *Guangxi Guixian Luobowan Hanmu*. Beijing: Wenwu, 1988, eg., Color Pl. 1 (M1:10); Pl. 9 (M1:10-11).

14 Including, apart from Qin bronze vessels, northern-type products: Middle Warring States brazier C53, Guangzhoushi, *Nanyue*, v. 1, 79, f. 53:5; Early Warring States brazier G40, v. 1, 282, f. 195; Chu-type products: Early Warring States *fanghu* B51, v. 2, Pl. 16:3; Middle Warring States *ding* C265, v. 2, Pl. 34:3, inter alia.

15 Mancheng M1:5014, a gilded bronze *hu*, appears an Early Western Han deliberate imitation of Middle-Late Warring States décor such as that on the silvered bronze ox from Qiujiahuayuan (Shouxian, Anhui) in Li Xueqin, *Qingtongqi* (*xia*). Beijing: Wenwu, 1986, Pl. 138; see Zhongguo shehui kexueyuan, *Mancheng*, v. 2, Pl. 18. The bronze *hu* with gold and silver plating and glass inlay, Mancheng M1:5019 (*Mancheng*, v. 2, Pl. 17) imitates Middle-Late Warring States inlaid *hu* such as one from Jincun (Luoyang, He'nan) in Li Xueqin, *Qingtongqi* (*xia*), Pl. 119. The Mancheng *hu* forms correspond to Early Western Han types, thus allowing identification as archaistic pieces.

16 Hu'nansheng Yiyang diqu wenwu gongzuodui, "Yiyang Chumu," *Kaogu xuebao* 1985.1, 100, f. 20:18 (Heshandian M24:1).

(Changsha, Hu'nan)[17], where geography makes the perpetuation of Chu forms unsurprising (although limited); in a closely-related bronze form at ca. 113 B.C. Mancheng (Hebei)[18]; and in ceramic form nearly indistinguishable from the Mawangdui M1 examples not only in the tomb of the king of Nanyue[19], but in tombs dating to both the Western and Eastern Han in the Guangzhou cemetery.[20] Both the interlocking lozenge and concentric, repeated triangle are common to both the ca. 65 A.D. *ad quem* Far South bronze motifs and to Dong-Son-derived bronze décor, but both motifs likewise appear not only on Chu incense burners, but on such pre-imperial Chinese bronzes as ca. 5 c. B.C. "figured bronze" products and on ceramic décors of the Late Warring States which seem to derive from Zhongshan, Yan, and the area of Luoyang, extending in modified form to the Chu site of Yunxian (Hubei).[21] (Pl. 5)

The northern versions of these ceramics as well as the earlier figured bronzes from which in part they derive include the use of elongated animals with turned heads, a manner of representation common in northern China throughout the Warring States. The Nanyue tomb yielded a gold footed cup *(zhi),* C151-3, inlaid with ivory carved with a (colored) décor of repeating, interlocking zigzags framing the repeated image of an

17 Hu'nansheng bowuguan, Zhongguo kexueyuan kaogu yanjiusuo, *Changsha Mawangdui yihao Hanmu*. Beijing: Wenwu, 1973, v. 2, Pl. 238.

18 Zhongguo shehui kexueyuan, *Mancheng*, v. 2, Pl. 33:2 (M1:5003); Pl. 176:2 (M2:3044).

19 Guangzhoushi, *Nanyue*, v. 1, 240, f. 162 (E28).

20 Guangzhoushi, *Guangzhou Hanmu*, v. 1, 126, f. 69:2 (M1136:5, ca. 122 B.C.), f. 69:4 (M1152:40, ca. 122 B.C.), f. 69:4 (M1116:12, ca. 5 A.D.); Sanmenxiashi wenwu gongzuodui, "Sanmenxiashi Lijiaqiao Xi Han mu fajue jianbao," *Huaxia kaogu* 1994.1, 14, f. 4:1 (M4:23, ca. 174 A.D.).

21 Inter alia: in Jiangsu, Huaiyinshi bowuguan, "Huaiyinshi Gaozhuang Zhanguo mu," *KGXB* 1988.2, 198, f. 11; 200, f. 13; 201, f. 14:1; 202, f. 15, all bronze *pan*. In ceramic, for Zhongshan: *Zhongshan: tombes des rois oubliés*. Paris: Association française d'action artistique, 1984, nos. 78-88; for Yan: Hebeisheng wenhuaju wenwu gongzuodui, "1964-1965 nian Yan Xiadu muzang fajue baogao," *KG* 1965. 11, 552, f. 6:2, 4, 5, 7, 8, 11; in the Luoyang area: Luoyangshi wenwu gongzuodui, "Luoyangshi xigongqu Dong Zhou mu," *Wenwu* 1995.8, 5, f. 2:1-2; at Yunxian: Zhongguo shehui kexueyuan kaogu yanjiusuo Changjiang gongzuodui, "Hubei Yunxian Dong Zhou Xi Han mu," *Kaoguxue jikan* 6 (1989), 146, f. 10.

elongated feline with turned head; the cup's lid bears a trefoil design.[22] (Pl. 6) If, as the excavation report maintains, this piece is of Han production, it makes use of purely Warring States decorative motifs. Nonetheless, within the current archaeological record, this is the only example that I have found of such deliberate archaism with reference to pre-imperial material in the Han Far South. In contrast, in the non-Chinese cultures of the southwest, both of Dian and the "cist grave culture" of Sichuan and western Yunnan, archaism was a vital part of contemporary design. We know these cultures to have been in contact with the Far South, not only through shared Dong-Son-type drums and buckets, but through the distribution of the products of the Far South. If archaism may be accepted as rare within the Far South, it becomes necessary to search for contemporary sources of the motifs used in Far South design.

Exchanges, as well as a shared body of influences from the rest of China and Dong-Son, between the non-Chinese southwest and the Han Far South are evident in the occurrence of specifically Far South vessel forms within the non-Chinese southwest. These forms include era-specific *mou* and basins, tripod cooking vessels *(san zu fu),* a ceramic pot *(guan)* form, and *hu.* Unlike *mou* and *hu* which maintain Qin forms intact (Pl. 1), these *mou* and basins are identifiable as associated specifically with ca. 65, 67, and 90 A.D. sites, respectively, in Sichuan, Guizhou and the Far South, although the basin is attested in Qianping (Yichang, Hubei).[23] The specificity of these pieces not only allows us to claim Far South commercial contact with the southwest, but, for the first time, to date specifically sites heretofore dated only with reference to the Han dynastic histories. As the principal cemeteries associated with the culture of Dian (i.e., Shizhaishan and Lijiashan) are redated, our appreciation of historical developments in this region changes radically. Through Far South comparisons, Lijiashan (Jiangchuan County, Yunnan) M20[24] may be dated to ca. 65 A.D., exceptionally, not through vessel comparison, but through sword hilt décor: significantly, a Dian-type hilt paired with a Chinese bevelled

22 Guangzhoushi, *Nanyue*, v. 1, 140, f. 88 (C151-3).

23 Yichang diqu bowuguan, "1978 nian Yichang Qianping Hanmu fajue jianbao," *KG* 1985.5, 419, f. 11:2 (M109:14, bronze, ca. 90 A.D.).

24 Yunnansheng bowuguan, "Yunnan Jiangchuan Lijiashan gumuqun fajue baogao," *KGXB* 1975.2, 117, f. 18:4 (M20:19, bronze).

and cannelated blade from the Han tomb Guangzhou M1175[25] (Pl. 7); Shizhaishan (Jinning County, Yunnan) M7 to ca. 67 A.D[26]; Shizhaishan M6, Lijiashan M17, 18, and 26 all to ca. 90 A.D.[27]; Shizhaishan M9, to ca. 96 A.D.[28] (Pl. 8) Internal comparisons of material from Shizhaishan and Lijiashan further date Shizhaishan M3, 6, 13, and 22[29], Lijiashan M10, 13, 17, 18, 21, 24, and 26[30], as well as the "cist grave

25 Guangzhoushi, *Guangzhou Hanmu*, v. 1, 140, f. 81:1 (M1175:18, bronze sword, ca. 65 A.D. tomb).

26 Michèle Pirazzoli-t'Serstevens, *La civilisation du royaume de Dian à l'époque Han*. Paris: Ecole française d'Extrême-Orient, 1974, f. 1 (M7:82), identical to: Guizhousheng bowuguan kaoguzu, "Guizhou Pingba Tianlong Hanmu," *Wenwu ziliao congkan* 4 (1981), 129, f. 1:9 (bronze basin, ca. 67 A.D.).

27 Pirazzoli-t'Sterstevens, *Dian*, f. 1, Shizhaishan M6:131, identical to Qianping M109:14, see note 23; Yunnansheng, "Lijiashan," *KGXB* 1975.2, 129, f. 34:5, *hu* M17:11, identical in form to Guangzhoushi, *Guangzhou Hanmu*, v. 2, Pl. 131:4, ceramic *hu* M5080:23, ca. 90 A.D.; Lijiashan *hu* M18:2, *KGXB* 1975.2, 129, f. 134:4, identical in form to Guangzhou M2055:13, ceramic, *Guangzhou Hanmu*, v. 1, 214, f. 210:1, ca. 90 A.D. and Hefu ceramic *hu*, Guangxi, "Hefu," *KG* 1972.5, 23, f. 3:1, ca, 90 A.D.; Lijiashan M26:5 bronze tripod pot, *KGXB* 1975.2, 129, f. 34:3, of a ca. 90 A.D. Far South type distinct from earlier forms by its lack of sharp upper belly ridge, see *Guangzhou Hanmu*, v. 2, Pl. 98:6, ceramic version, M4008:10.

28 Shizhaishan M9:10 ceramic jar, Pirazzoli-t'Serstevens, *Dian*, f. 20:6, form identical to Suidexian bowuguan, "Shaanxi Suide Han huaxiang shi mu," *WW* 1983.5, 32, f. 8:2, positively dated to 96 A.D.

29 Shizhaishan axe M6:71 (Pirazzoli-t'Serstevens, *Dian*, f. 6B) bears décor identical to Shizhaishan axe M3:85, M6:93, M13:210 *(Dian*, f. 7); ornaments M6:16 and M13:39 *(Dian*, f. 29) may be considered the same; iron swords with bronze hilts M3:55 and M22:52 *(Dian*, f. 34:3, 1) bear the same décor and follow the same form.

30 The Shizhaishan M6:71 axe (note 29) dates, through identical décor, Lijiashan axe M13:25 (*KGXB* 1975.2, 112, f. 14:3); Lijiashan axes M24:19 and M21:97 bear identical décor (*KGXB* 1975.2, 115, f. 16:1; 114, f. 15:7); Lijiashan *ge* M21:67 and M13:1 bear closely related décor, reasonably sufficient for contemporaneity (*KGXB* 1975.2, 107, f. 10:4, 1); décor of Lijiashan sword M10:8 combines décor used on the spearheads M24:102 and M24:29, as well as the axe M21:95 (*KGXB* 1975.2, 117, f. 18:3; 110, f. 12:4, 1; 111, f. 13:2); and Lijiashan *ge* M13:24 and M21:68 bear the same décor (*KGXB* 1975.2, 107, f. 10:2, 3).

culture" site of Moutuo (Mao County, Sichuan) M1 to ca. 90 A.D.[31] Dapona (Xiangyun County, Yunnan) is datable to ca. 65 A.D.[32] (Pl. 9) As late as these dates initially may seem, the presence of 73 B.C.-produced *wushu* coins in Lijiashan M26 had already obviated the Middle Western Han dates suggested by historical texts.[33] We are thus presented not with the extinction of the culture of Dian concommitant with that state's extinction as an independent polity by the end of the Western Han, but with the continuation of this culture at least through the first century A.D. Rather than seeing the non-Chinese southwest as excluded from active participation in Han cultural development, this area becomes an important part of the development of the Far South.

The role of cultural influence from the pre-imperial essentially Chinese states of Ba and Shu (Sichuan) in the culture of Dian and the "cist grave culture" has been remarked since the discovery of these sites. The manifestation of this influence, however, varies in each culture. In the "cist grave culture", Ba is represented primarily through genuinely old (Warring States) artefacts buried in Han-era graves, more than in the forms and decors of contemporary weapons. The connections between Ba and the "cist grave culture" are so strong as to suggest the deliberate maintenance of archaic objects in order actively to maintain a culture otherwise disappeared. Within the Ba-Shu tradition but especially in the Han-era southwest, Ba products and Ba-derived forms and decors perpetuate Western Zhou motifs and are therefore inherently archaistic, or, if we may assume that this archaism was unconscious, highly conservative in comparison to the evolution of forms and decors in China's Central Plains. Examples of this conservatism include the décor on the Moutuo M1

31 Maoxian Qiangzu bowuguan, Abazangzu Qiangzu zizhizhou wenwu guanlisuo, "Sichuan Maoxian Moutuo yihao shiguan mu ji peizangkeng qingli jianbao," *WW* 1994.3, 36, f. 55:8, 9, swords with threepronged extension of the hilt onto the blade and a hilt strongly marked by a twisted rope décor date the site to ca. 90 A.D. Note that these swords have no reinforcing ridge on the blade. See also Lijiashan M21:26, *KGXB* 1975.2, 141, f. 46:2.

32 Yunnansheng wenwu gongzuodui, "Yunnan Xiangyun Dapona muguo tongguan mu qingli baogao," *KG* 1964.12, 611, f. 7:7, the threepronged hilt extension sword with twisted décor hilt, but with pronounced median ridge the length of the blade. This ridge dates the sword to ca. 65 A.D. See also Lijiashan M20:13, *KGXB* 1975.2, 116, f. 17:3.

33 Lijiashan M26, *KGXB* 1975.2, 140, f. 45:3-4.

annex pit K2:15 *ge,* identifiable as a Warring States era Ba *ge* such as a Sichuan find illustrated in *Zhongguo gudai bingqi tuji*[34], which strongly recalls a *ge* from the Early Western Zhou site of Baicaopo (Lingtai, Gansu)[35]. (Pl. 10-a) Moutuo K2:10, also a Warring States-produced *ge* nearly identical to an example from Chengdu (Sichuan)[36], makes use of bronze decors common in the Central Plains of China from the Late Shang through Western Zhou. (Pl. 10-b) While the Moutuo M1 weapons with archaistic tendencies are Warring States products, with the exception of the Eastern Zhou Ba-type *ge* Lijiashan M21:67[37] (Pl. 10-c), we have no basis for claiming Lijiashan weapons with similar characteristics as being genuinely early objects. In part this is due to the current absence of identifiable Western Han sites attributable to Dian; the redating proposed above leaves a blank in the archaeological record which we cannot, it seems, at present remedy. In the absence, therefore, of indications to the contrary, we must assume that Lijiashan weapons are generally contemporary products. By this token, they therefore represent Han-era archaism. The Lijiashan M24:19 and M21:97 axes[38] seem to make deliberate use of decorative patterns found on Middle Shang weapons such as an axe from Lingbao (He'nan)[39]. (Pl. 11) What the physical connection between the original and the Dian reprise might be remains indiscernable, but the continued presence of genuinely old artefacts both among the Chinese and the non-Chinese implies that some physical connection is possible.

Lijiashan material represents not so much the direct influence of Ba-Shu as the independent perpetuation of a mode of decoration which, from the standpoint of Central China, also appears archaistic. The *ge* Lijiashan M13:1[40] incorporates the continuous spirals found in Ba ornamentation,

34 Moutuo *ge* K2:15, *WW* 1994.3, 35, f. 54:4; Cheng Dong, Zhong Shaoyi, *Zhongguo gudai bingqi tuji*. Beijing: People's Liberation Army Press, 1990, 107, f. 4-158, c-II.

35 Cheng/Zhong, *Gudai bingqi*, 50, f. 3-126.

36 Moutuo *ge* K2:10, *WW* 1994.3, 35, f. 54:5; Cheng/Zhong, *Gudai Bingqi*, 107, f. 4-148, a-II.

37 Lijiashan *ge* M21:67, *KGXB* 1975.2, 107, f. 10:4.

38 Lijiashan axes M24:19, M21:97, *KGXB* 1975.2, 115, f. 16:1; 114, f. 15:7.

39 Cheng/Zhong, *Gudai bingqi*, 28, f. 2-35.

40 Lijiashan *ge* M13:1, *KGXB* 1975.2, 107, f. 10:1.

but adds the concentric lozenge motif common in the Far South, as noted above. (Pl. 10-d) In the case of Lijiashan, the source for this motif may indeed be Warring States products; multiple sources are also possible. There seems to be no way of making a specific attribution in this case precisely because of the archaistic tendencies of the culture. A variant spiral motif in the form of snakes echoes Warring States Chinese bronze decors, and is sometimes combined with the twisted loop motif common on Dong-Son-derived Far South ceramic décor, as on Lijiashan M21:95 (axe) and M24:63 (armor).[41] When the twisted loop motif, together with repeated vertical lines, and concentric repeating triangles appear on the Lijiashan Far South-type bronze *hu* M17:11 and M18:2[42] (Pl. 8), the immediate source of these motifs, again, is not apparent: ultimately, they derive from the bronze drum, but their immediate source may be the Far South, a supposition reinforced by the Far South source of the form of these *hu*. In both cases, the non-Dian vessel forms and their décor are combined with Dian animal forms surmounting Dian-type lids. The tendency toward apparently conscious archaism in Dian and the persistent presence of early Sichuan cultural forms in the non-Chinese southwest provides an explanation for the source of the human-form legs of the Hefu tray, as well as its use of Early Warring States-type animal forms.

The legs of the Hefu tray recall too exactly Late Shang era Sichuan statuary[43] to be anything but a deliberate imitation. (Pl. 12) The leg on a bronze stand from Nanyue (D19-11)[44] in the form of a human kneeling, surrounded by snakes, which he grasps in his hands and mouth, is related in the modeling of the man's face to earlier Sichuan work, but still removed from it. (Pl. 13) This removal suggests an ultimately Sichuan derivation, but not archaism. The use of snakes, indeed, recalls Dian figured bronze plaques[45] – but these pieces now postdate Nanyue. (Pl. 14) A belt buckle which appears to be of Warring States make found in Ansai

41 Lijiashan axe M21:95, *KGXB* 1975.2, 111, f. 13:2.

42 Lijiashan bronze *hu* M17:11, M18:2, *KGXB* 1975.2, 129, f. 34:5, 4.

43 Eg., Zhongguo wenwu jinghua bianji weiyuanhui, *Zhongguo wenwu jinghua 1990.* Beijing: Wenwu, 1990, Pl. 32 (Sanxingdui, Guanghan, Sichuan).

44 Guangzhoushi, *Nanyue*, v. 2, Color Pl. 28, detail, D19-11 bronze stand.

45 Eg., Lijiashan M13:7, *KGXB* 1975.2, 128, f. 33:6.

County, Shaanxi[46] bears the related décor of a crouching feline holding in its mouth the snake that twists below its body. (Pl. 15) This snake-and-human iconography has no parallels in currently-known Warring States or Western Han sites, and may indicate a borrowing from contemporaneous early or prototypical Dian culture. Given that Ba retained a stronger presence in Moutuo M1 and the "cist grave culture", this seems the likeliest source for the Sichuan-imitating legs of the Hefu tray.

The grouping of four animals in the center of the Hefu tray recall the common Han depiction of the "animals of the four directions", with two of these directions represented twice, to the exclusion of the other two. While the phoenix on the Hefu tray are typically Han and occur in the round in Far South ceramics and bronzes (in this case, clay appears the more natural medium of execution), with the extension of this specific bird form into Han Sichuan[47], the elongated deer of the tray appear archaistic. From the sinuous animals of Warring States art, one of the most common styles of animal representation in Han art consists of the extreme drawing-out of animal bodies, to the extent that these appear snake-like and, at times, even become nearly indistinguishable from the thin "cloud" décor with which they may be paired. Alternately, animals may be realistically depicted, or reflect imitation of Xiongnu stylization. In most cases where animals are depicted with heads turned toward the rear, they do not resemble Warring States Chinese representations of this type to any great degree.

Dian was also in contact with steppe cultures, from which it absorbed a number of ornamental forms. These include surface finds from Lijiashan such as #346, identified as a bronze ornament, which recalls closely the hilt of an Upper Xiajiadian shortsword, Nanshan'gen M101:36, in the form of two tigers crouching belly to belly.[48] (Pl. 16-a, b) This image is

46 Ansai Co., Shaanxi bronze buckle and chain, Zhongguo wenwu jinghua bianji weiyuanhui, *Zhongguo wenwu jinghua 1992*. Beijing: Wenwu, 1992, Pl. 112.

47 Guangzhoushi, *Guangzhou Hanmu*, v. 1, 435, f. 270:5, M5054:22 bronze *zun*; v. 2, Pl. 137:1, M5018:8 ceramic incense burner. In Sichuan, eg., Sichuansheng wenwu guanli weiyuanhui, Wulongxian wenhuaguan, "Sichuan Wulongxian Jiangkoudian Hanmu qingli jianbao," *Kaogu yu wenwu* 1990.6, 42, f. 7:1, bronze *hu*. Also found in He'nan cache, Gongxian wenhuaguan, "He'nan Gongxian faxian yipi Handai tongqi," *KG* 1974.2, Pl. 9:2, bronze incense burner.

48 Lijiashan find #346, *KGXB* 1975.2, 149, f. 52:3; Nanshan'gen M101:36 bronze shortsword, Liaoningsheng Zhaowudameng wenwu gongzuozhan, Zhongguo

not presently attested among Xiongnu material, but neither does it appear typical of Upper Xiajiadian imagery. Lijiashan find #330 (Pl. 16-c), of the same form as Shizhaishan M6 and M13 pieces[49], is a bronze ornament consisting of a central circle inlaid with small, circular pieces of turquoise, flanked around the outer edge by repeated animals (at Lijiashan, a sort of deer; Shizhaishan M6:16, oxen; Shizhaishan M13:39, monkeys), a form closely related to a gold piece with a central ring rather than an inlaid circle from the Siberian Collection of Peter the Great[50] and Early Sarmatian prototypes, in which the central ring is compositionally less prominent[51], from the late 5/early 4 c. B.C. in the southern Ural region. This form has what may be a Xiongnu analogue in a bronze plaque consisting of a central ring formed by the curled body of a tiger, surrounded by the repeating image of a boar, a find from Dongchengdian, Mulei County, Xinjiang).[52] (Pl. 16-d) The Lijiashan rectangular bronze plaque, find #343, bears the décor of a horse and rider set within a frame of continuous zigzags; an eight-pointed star is set between the horse's legs and, apparently, behind his hind feet as well.[53] (Pl. 16-e) This piece, obviously steppe in derivation, has no clear comparisons at this time, although it recalls later Xianbei work. A silver belt buckle inlaid with gold from Shizhaishan M7 (M7:72), with its décor of a winged tiger (Pl. 16-f), is derived from similar pieces found in granulated and filigreed goldwork in

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kexueyuan kaogu yanjiusuo Dongbei gongzuodui, "Ningchengxian Nanshan'gen shiguo mu," *KGXB* 1973.2, 33, f. 5:1, dating to ca. 141-122 B.C.

49 Lijiashan find #330, *KGXB* 1975.2, 149, f. 52:5; Shizhaishan M6:16, M13:39, Pirazzoli-t'Serstevens, *Dian*, f. 29:1, 2. Steppe influence is likewise visible in the related rectangular bronze ornaments Lijiashan M20:30, M2:3, M10:11, *KGXB* 1975.2, Pl. 17:1-3; as well as, in unrelated ornaments, Lijiashan M21:12, M4:1, *KGXB* 1975.2, Pl. 16:7, 9.

50 Jeannine Davis Kimball, Vladimir A. Bashilov, Leonid T. Yablonsky, ed., *Nomads of the Eurasian Steppes in the Early Iron Age*. Berkeley: Zinat Press, 1995, 293, top.

51 Davis Kimball, *Nomads of the Eurasian Steppes*, 127, f. 22-i.

52 Wang Binghua, "Xinjiang dongbu faxiande jipi tongqi," *KG* 1986.10, 888, f. 2:2. A Xiongnu attribution is highly problematic, given the piece's close stylistic relation to Aržan (Tuva).

53 Lijiashan find #343, *KGXB* 1975.2, 149, f. 52:8.

Xinjiang (Heigeda, Yanqi) and the Han commandery of Lelang (M9, ca. 90 A.D.), in present-day Korea.[54]

The visual reinforcement of the background of the Lelang buckle with the representation of dragons so highly curved and abstracted that their bodies become masses of clouds with barely discernable heads and claws, as well as the fluidly-drawn body of the central dragon, indicate Han production. The Shizhaishan example, less ornate, is likely to be of steppe production; more specific attribution now appears impossible. Despite these links with both the eastern and western steppe, the stylistic execution visible on the winged tiger from the Shizhaishan M7 buckle is anomalous in Dian, although the horse in Lijiashan find #343 is consistent in style with animal representation on the bronze armor piece Lijiashan M13:4[55], particularly of the cervids (Pl. 17), and with the cervids on the bronze *hu* Shizhaishan M17:24[56]. These elongated, thin forms with turned heads contrast with the realistic style used in Dian ornaments and three-dimensional small sculptures, such as those seen on the lids of containers of various types. The elongated style maintains foreign-inspired Warring States Chinese animal representation while animal representation in the contemporary steppe had changed with the appearance of new cultures producing their own artistic styles. At that time, the only non-Chinese culture which also maintained a similar manner of expression was Yuhuangmiao, located in the Beijing area.[57] If we seek to identify a potential

54 Shizhaishan M7:72, Sun Ji, "Woguo gudaide gedai," in: Wenwu chubanshe, ed., *Wenwu yu kaogu lunji*. Beijing: Wenwu, 1986, 304, f. 6:5; Lelang M9, Sun Ji, "Woguo gudaide gedai," 304, f. 6:4; Heigeda (Yanqi, Xinjiang), Zhongguo wenwu jinghua bianji weiyuanhui, *Zhongguo wenwu jinghua 1993*. Beijing: Wenwu, 1993, Pl. 113.

55 Lijiashan bronze armor M13:4, *KGXB* 1975.2, 121, f. 25.

56 Shizhaishan bronze *hu* M17:24, Pirazzoli-t'Serstevens, *Dian*, f. 12:3.

57 As I define the Yuhuangmiao culture, it presently includes both the name-site (Yuhuangmiao, Yanqing Co., Beijing Municipality), and Xiaobaiyang (Xuanhua, Hebei), as well as the geographically distant Wudaohezi (Lingyuan, Liaoning). See Yuhuangmiao YYM226:4, Beijingshi wenwu yanjiusuo Shanrong wenhua kaogudui, "Beijing Yanqing Jundushan Dong Zhou Shanrong buluo mudi fajue jilue," *WW* 1989.8, Pl. 4:2; Xiaobaiyang M18:2, M31:4, M22:1, Zhangjiakoushi wenwu shiye guanlisuo, Xuanhuaxian wenhuaguan, "Hebei Xuanhuaxian Xiaobaiyang mudi fajue baogao," *WW* 1987.5, 48, f. 15:5, 8, 15; Wudaohezi M10:4, M8:3, Liaoningsheng wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo, "Liaoning Lingyuanxian Wudaohe-

contemporary source for the Hefu tray deer, we must look either to Yuhuangmiao or to Dian. There is no evidence in the Far South of imports from Yuhuangmiao, when these are distinguishable from the Xiongnu influence dominant in that culture. We are left, therefore, with Dian.

In three respects, the Far South bronze décor may be said to reflect Warring States traditions. One concerns the application of this décor on rounded boxes whose lids are ornamented with three (or four) reclining animals executed in the round. This common Warring States convention appears with some frequency in Han art, not limited by chronology or geographical distribution.[58] The application of these animals therefore constitutes the continuation of earlier decorative patterns rather than deliberate archaism. Likewise, the "floral" motif of a central vertical line flanked by mirror-image, inward-curving, simple spirals appears on some Chu products from the first half of the Warring States, such as the footed cup form incense burner from Yiyang County (Hu'nan), Heshandian M24:2, mentioned above. The motif occurs as well on ceramic ware from the tomb of the king of Nanyue.[59] (Pl. 4, right) Its reappearance in a different context in Far South decorative schemas is therefore unsurprising, and undoubtedly indicates the continuity of this ornamental motif. In contrast, one squared jar *fanghu* from the ca. 5 A.D. tomb of Hejiayuan M1 in Anhui[60], normally the northernmost extension of the Far South bronze tradition, raises questions about the date of origin of the latter. (Pl. 18) Hejiayuan M1:2, following Early Warring States *fanghu* form, bears a décor arranged in horizontally rectangular registers of identical patterning surmounted around the neck by a row of repeating triangles, which are filled with a scroll and spiral motif common on Middle and Late Warring

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zi Zhanguo mu fajue jianbao," *WW* 1989.2, 56, f. 8:21, 24. These pieces establish contemporaneity among these tombs. Yuhuangmiao culture as a whole dates from the Han, and perhaps slightly earlier.

58 Multiple examples are available, among which: Li Xueqin, *Qingtongqi* (*xia*), Pl. 175, Middle-Late Warring States *dun* (bronze); Guangzhoushi, *Guangzhou Hanmu*, v. 2, Pl. 77:5-6, ceramic *zun* (with schematic Far South bronze décor); Pl. 94:3-4, ceramic lidded boxes, the latter bearing a detailed Far South bronze décor.

59 Guangzhoushi, *Nanyue*, v. 1, 24, f. 16:2; the décor is also common on the stamped bricks of Han tombs such as Liu Songgen, Xue Wencan, *He'nan Xinzheng Handai huaxiang zhuan*. Shanghai: Shuhua, 1993, 139.

60 Anhuisheng wenwu gongzuodui, Wuhushi wenhuaju, "Wuhushi Hejiayuan Xi Han mu," *KGXB* 1983.3, 385, f. 2:1, *fanghu* M1:2.

States vessels from Chu.[61] (Pl. 19) The rectangular registers carry a pattern of a grid of semi-circular lines terminating in small spirals which frame a flower-like shape. The framing lines are marked by small cross-hatching, creating a feathery appearance. The floral quality of this décor, together with the feathery markings, bring it into relation with the Far South bronze décor, yet the two are by no means identical. Despite the relative lack of chronological distinction to be made in *fanghu* forms, Hejiayuan M1:2 seems datable to the Middle-Late (particularly Late) Warring States through the scroll and spiral décor on its neck. When this motif appears on Han products, the precision of the Middle and Late Warring States execution of the scroll and spiral is replaced by broader lines derived from Qin and Han "cloud-scroll" patterns commonly used on pieces with parcel gilding, such as a *hu* from the Musee Guimet which William Watson seems justified in dating to ca. 1 c. B.C.-1 c. A.D.[62] Those bronze *hu* from Mancheng which likewise bear the Warring States version of this motif are genuinely old pieces dating to the Middle and Late Warring States. The Hejiayuan piece therefore does not constitute the earliest manifestation of the Far South bronze décor, but may have played a role in its development. Such influence would represent an attenuated form of archaism, since no direct copying would have been involved.

The latest excavated example of Far South bronze décor known to me is a tray from Nanchang 72M2 (Jiangxi), dating to ca. 101 A.D., which may constitute either a Far South product or a Jiangxi-produced piece utilizing the Far South style.[63] (Pl. 20, left.) Like the Hefu tray, the Nanchang tray bears a décor arranged in concentric registers including concentric lozenges; concentric triangles; layered concentric lozenges; the repeated image of an elongated, striding feline, head forward, facing a candelabra-like tree growing from the summit of a minute mountain; a further register of concentric triangles frames a central phoenix. The legs on the Nanchang tray, also in the form of humans, are not highly

61 Eg., *Yunmeng Shuihudi Qinmu*, 44, f. 53 (M3:3); Guangzhoushi, *Nanyue*, v. 1, 48, f. 31 (B51, *fanghu*); Hubeisheng Jingzhou diqu bowuguan, *Jiangling Mashan yihao Chumu*. Beijing: Wenwu, 1985, 73, f. 62 (*hu* Mashan M2:17-21).

62 William Watson, *Ancient Chinese Bronzes*. 2nd edition. London: Faber and Faber, 1977, Pl. 73.

63 Cheng Yinglin, "Jiangxi Nanchang shiqu Hanmu fajue jianbao," *Wenwu ziliao congkan* 1 (1977), 118, f. 8 (M2, *pan*).

distinctive in the excavation report drawing. The human figures appear to be kneeling, arms drawn in front of the body; features seem stylized, but no marked influence of early Sichuan human representations may be supposed. In this later example, execution of the feline still recalls Warring States precedent, but is marked by a dragon-like Han or Xiongnu-derived muzzle and a heraldic stance oddly reminiscent of Achaemenid and related work.

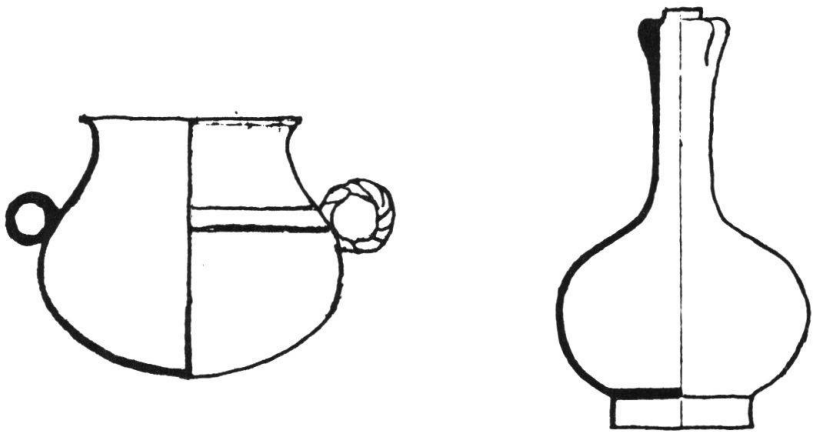
This form has no exact equivalent, to my knowledge, except in the related bronze bottle H1:8 from the Chang'an cache cited above as having yielded examples of ca. 90 A.D. Far South bronzes.[64] (Pl. 20, right.) H1:8, like the Nanchang tray, includes both Far South motifs and the heraldic, sinuous feline, but places the latter in the context of a mountain landscape. While the depiction of animals on a mountainside is common throughout the Western and Eastern Han, on the stamped bricks and carved stones of tomb walls, on the moulded décor of ceramic ware *(hu, guan, ding* tripods, *lian* cosmetics boxes, *zun* for heating alcohol), as well as in three-dimensional rendering on the mountain-form incense burners *(boshanlu),* these standard forms of representation vary from that of Chang'an cache H1:8 in their use of space. Generally speaking, Han animal-and-mountain iconography tends to make use of small animal forms perched on the upper edges of the mountains.[65] On Chang'an H1:8, the felines are large and placed both above and below the repeatedly curving line symbolizing the mountain ridge. The felines are therefore both on and in the mountains, their paws at times appearing to compress the mountain line. Instead of the mountains being dominant, they are subordinate to the animals, serving as a fluid frame. This compact use of space characterizes Xiongnu art far more than Han, and recalls a bronze Xiongnu plaque in the

64 Chang'an cache *hu* H1:8, Zhongguo shehui kexueyuan, "Han Chang'ancheng," *KG* 1985.5, 402, f. 5:2.

65 For instance, on carved stones from Han tombs: Wang Jianzhong, Shan Xiushan, *Nanyang Liang Han huaxiang shi.* Beijing: Wenwu, 1990, Pl. 5; on the silver and gold plated bronze *zun* from Youyu, Shanxi, dated by inscription to 26 B.C., Zhonghua renmin gonghe guo chutu wenwu zhanlan, *Zhanpin xuanji.* Beijing: Wenwu, 1973, Pl. 84; on the décor of a gold and silver inlaid bronze tube from Dingxian, Hebei, Zhonghua renmin, *Zhanpin xuanji*, Pl. 85.

collection of Elie Borowski (Toronto).[66] (Pl. 21) In this plaque, boar, camels, deer, and birds flow into a mountain range which, as in Chang'an H1:8, becomes part of the animals. A gilded bronze plaque in an anonymous private collection, published by Emma C. Bunker and Jenny F. So, demonstrates the Han version of the same piece.[67] Consistent with Han aesthetics, the Chinese version maintains essentially the same composition, but loosens the tension by separating individual elements from one another. Into the extra space thus created, an additional animal is inserted. The result, while a close imitation of the Xiongnu product, in comparison appears disjointed and incoherent. Chang'an H1:8 appears directly related to Xiongnu work of the type represented by the Borowski plaque. In Chang'an H1:8, therefore, the Far South bronze décor, with all its antecedants and southern non-Chinese sources, rejoins the contemporary non-Chinese north directly.

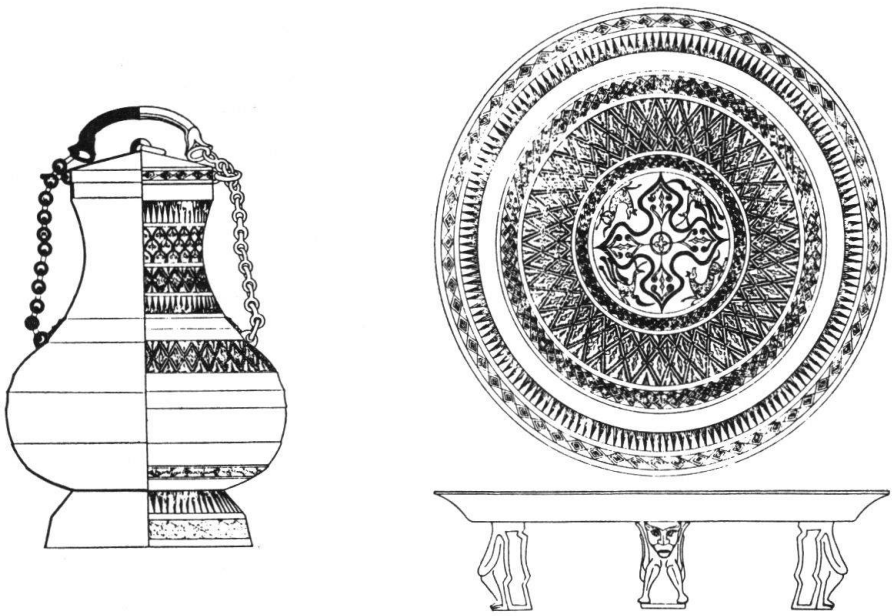
ILLUSTRATIONS



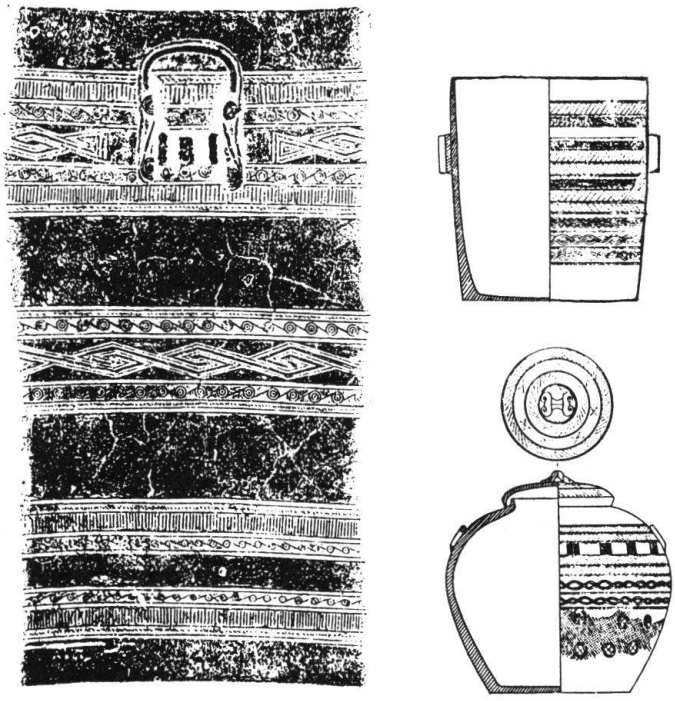
1. Qin bronze *mou* and *hu*: Yongcheng kaogudui, "Shaanxi Fengxiang Gaozhuang Qin mudi," *Kaogu yu wenwu* 1981.1, 27, f. 17:10, 12 (M33:1, M46:11).

66 The Borowski plaque is discussed in Psarras, "Pieces of Xiongnu Art," *Central Asiatic Journal* 40.2 (December 1996), 234-259.

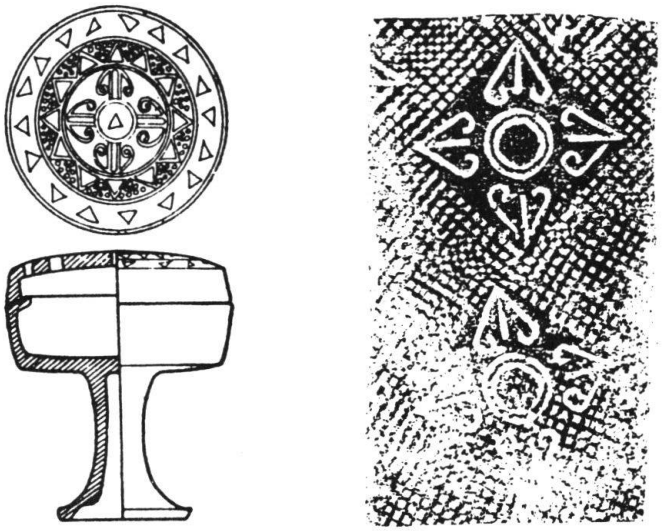
67 Jenny F. So, Emma C. Bunker, *Traders and Raiders on China's Northern Frontier*. Seattle: The Arthur M. Sackler Gallery and University of Washington Press, 1995, 74, text fig. 32.



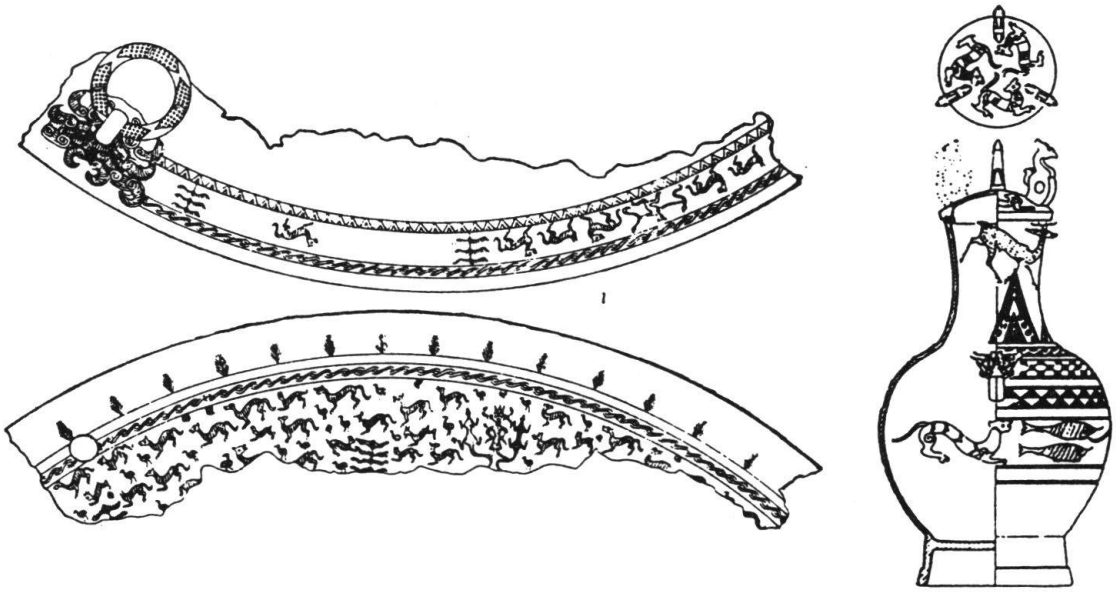
2. Left: Hefu bronze *hu*; Right: Hefu bronze *pan*: Guangxi, "Hefu," *Kaogu* 1972.5, 25, f. 5 (dia. 42 cm; h. 6.5 cm); 24, f. 4:3 (h. 38 cm; girth 19.5 cm).



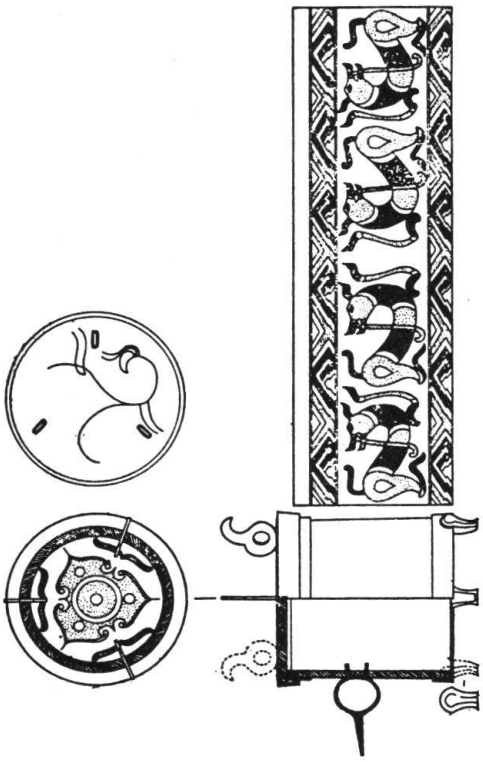
3. Left: Nanyue bronze bucket B58; Right: Nanyue ceramic bucket C89, ceramic *guan* C42: Guangzhoushi, *Nanyue*, v. 1, 53, f. 36; 116, f. 78:2, 3.



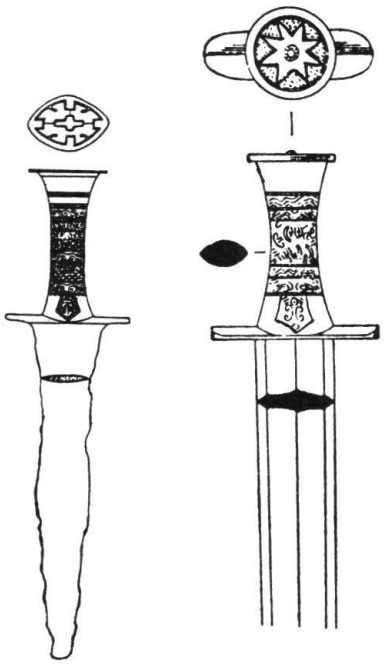
4. Left: Heshandian M24:1 Chu ceramic incense burner: Hu'nansheng, "Yiyang Chumu," *Kaogu xuebao* 1985.1, 100, f. 20:18; Right: Nanyue ceramic décor: Guangzhoushi, *Nanyue*, v. 1, 24, f. 16:2.



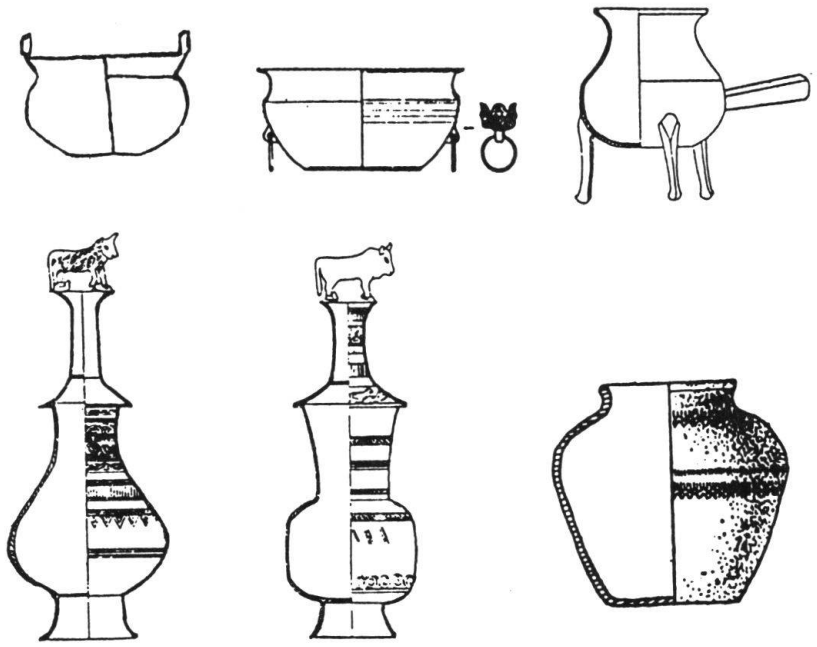
5. Left: fragments of a bronze *pan*, Huaiyinshi, "Huaiyinshi Gaozhuang," *KGXB* 1988.2, 201, f. 14:1 (M1:0146); Right: Yan ceramic *hu*, Hebeisheng, "1964-1965 nian Yan Xiadu," *KG* 1965.11, 552, f. 6:5 (M29:14).



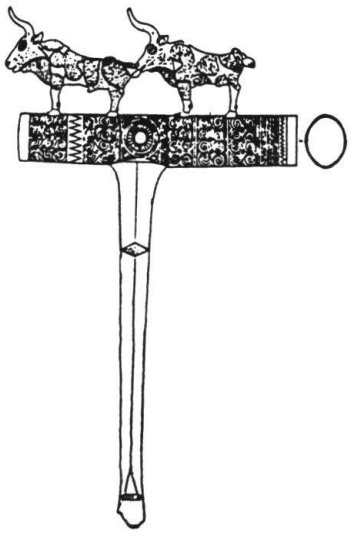
6. Guangzhoushi, *Nanyue*, v. 1, 140, f. 88 (C151-3), *zhi*.



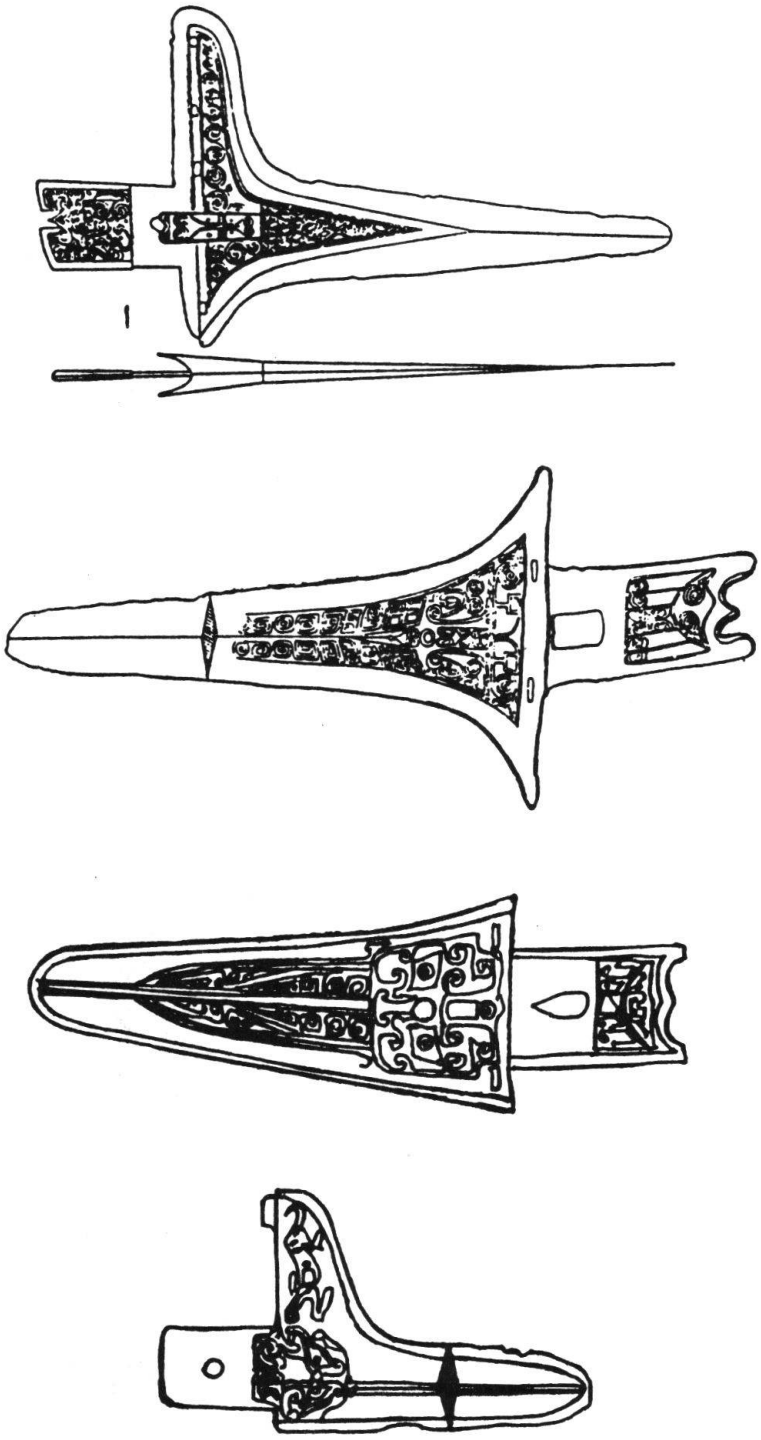
7. Bronze swords, Lijiashan M20:19, *KGXB* 1975.2, 117, f. 18:4 (l. 20.6 cm); Guangzhoushi, *Guangzhou Hanmu*, v. 1, 140, f. 81:1 (M1175:18, total 1.59 cm), detail.



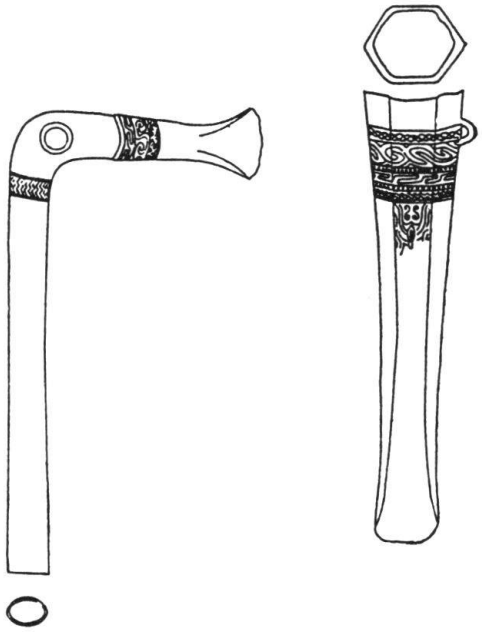
8. Top: Tianlong (Guizhou) bronze *mou* ca. 67 A.D., Guizhousheng, "Guizhou Pingba Tianlong Hanmu," *Wenwu ziliao congkan* 4 (1981), 129, f. 1:9; Qianping M109:14 bronze basin, ca. 90 A.D., Yichang diqu, 1978nian Yichang Qianping Hanmu," *KG* 1985.5, 419, f. 11:2; Lijiashan M26:5 bronze tripod pot, ca. 90 A.D., *KGXB* 1975.2, 129, f. 34:3; Bottom: Lijiashan bronze *hu* M18:2 (h. 29.2 cm) and M17:11 (h. 28.5 cm), *KGXB* 1975.2, 129, f. 34:4, 5, both ca. 90 A.D.; Sujiayituo (Suide, Shaanxi) ceramic jar, Suidexian, "Shaanxi Suide Han huaxiang shi mu," *Wenwu* 1983.5, 32, f. 8:2, positively dated to 96 A.D.



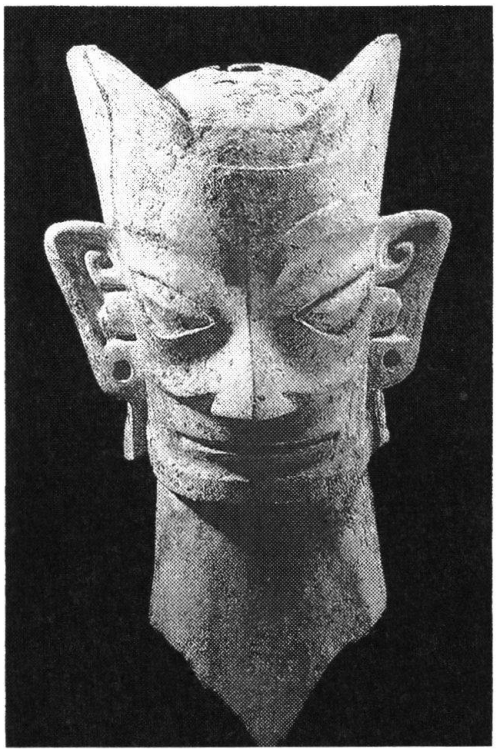
9. Lijiashan bronze axe M13:25, *KGXB* 1975.2, 112, f. 14:3 (l. 26.6 cm). (See notes 29,30.)



10. Moutuo bronze *ge* K2:15, K2:10, after Maoxian, "Sichuan Maoxian Moutuo," *WW* 1994.3, 35, f. 54:4, 5; Lijiashan bronze *ge* M21:67, M13:1, *KGXB* 1975.2, 107, f. 10:4, 1.



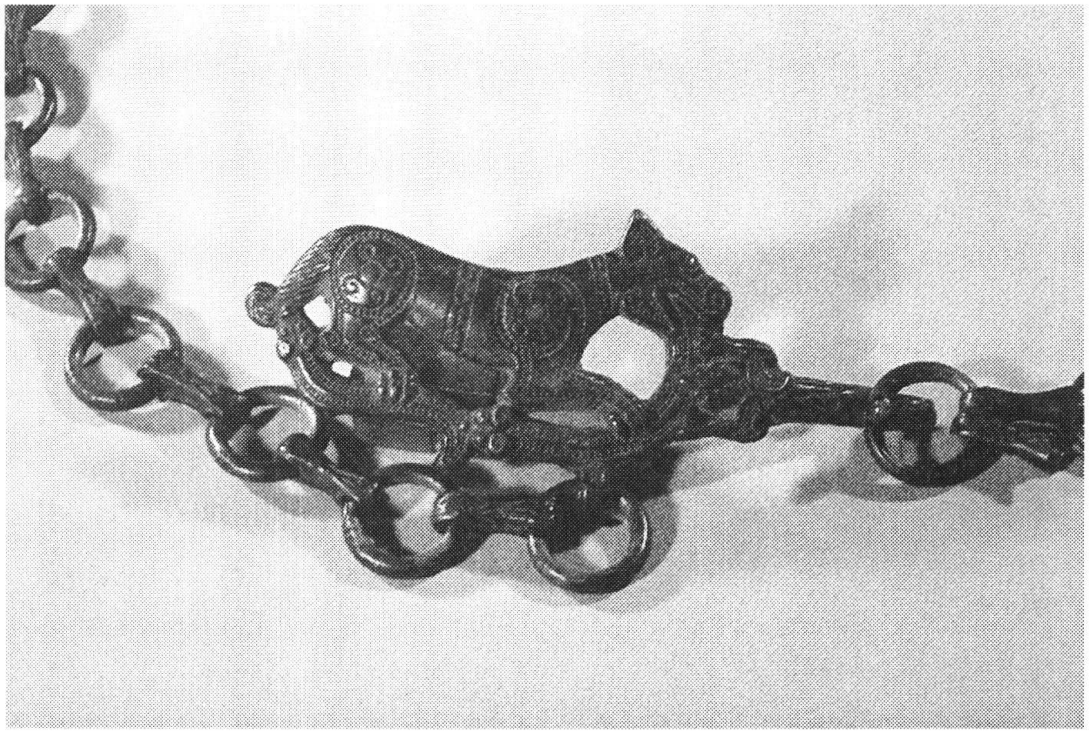
11. Lijiashan bronze axes M24:19, M21:97, *KGXB* 1975.2, 115, f. 16:1; 114, f. 15:7.



12. Sanxingdui (Guanghan, Sichuan) bronze statue; *Zhongguo wenwu jinghua 1990*, Pl. 32 (h. 34 cm).

13. Nanyue bronze stand D19-11, Guangzhoushi, *Nanyue*, v. 2, Color Pl. 28, detail.

14. Lijiashan bronze plaque M13:7, *KGXB* 1975.2, 128, f. 33:6.

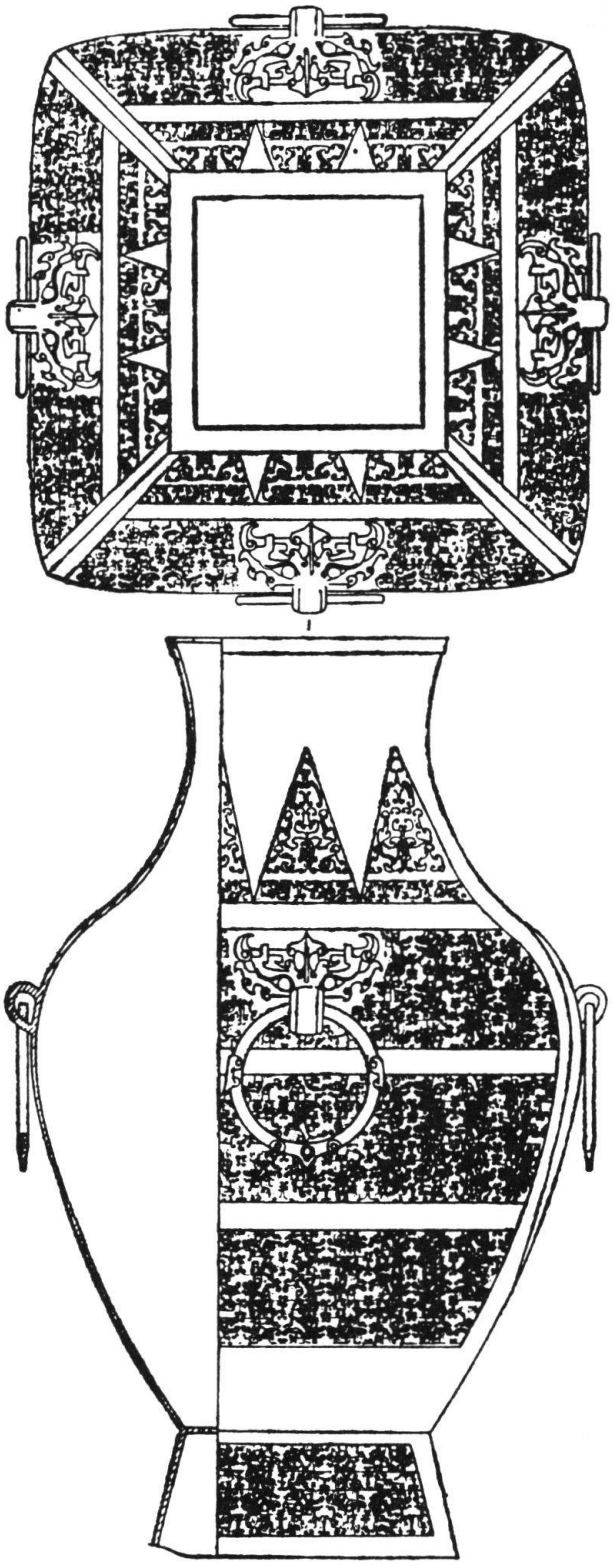


15. Ansai Co., Shaanxi, bronze belt, *Zhongguo wenwu jinghua 1992*, Pl. 112 (plaque l. 10.2 cm; chain l. 66 cm).

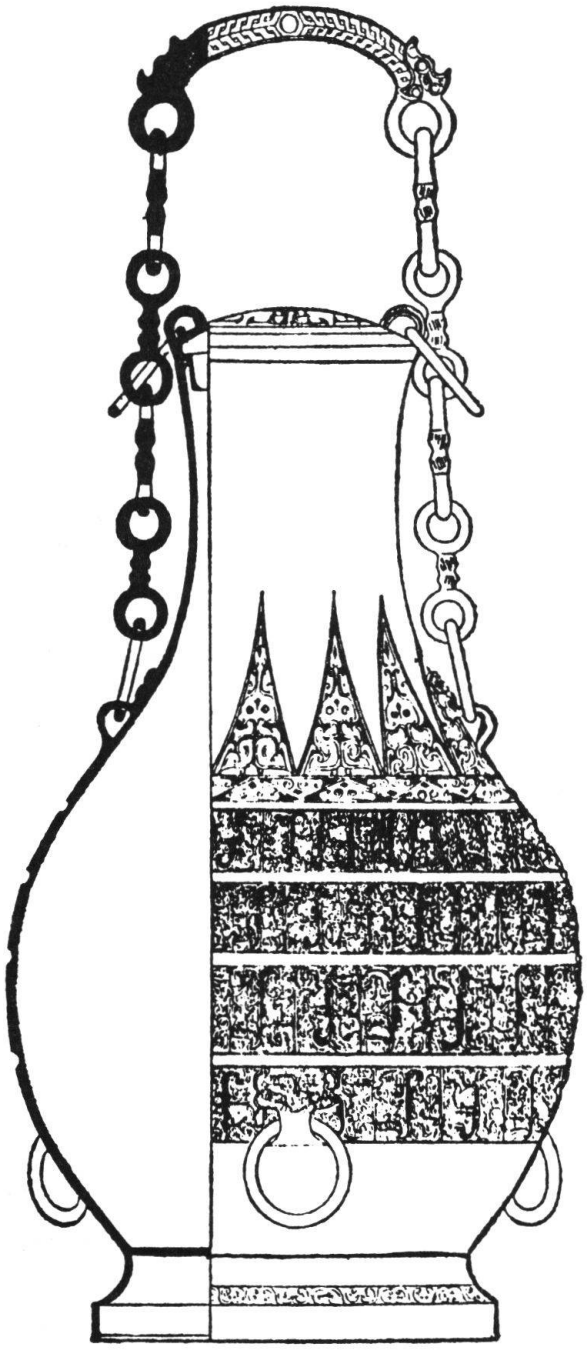
16. Top: Lijiashan find #346, *KGXB* 1975.2, 149, f. 52:3 (bronze); Nanshan'gen shortsword M101:36, Liaoningsheng, "Ningchengxian Nanshan'gen," *KGXB* 1973.2,

33, f. 5:1 (bronze); Lijiashan find #330, *KGXB* 1975.2, 149, f. 52:5 (bronze, turquoise inlay); Dongchengdian (Mulei, Xinjiang) plaque, Wang Binghua, "Xinjiang dongbu," *KG* 1986.10, 888, f. 2:2 (bronze); Bottom: Lijiashan find #343, *KGXB* 1975.2, 149, f. 52:8 (bronze); Shizhaishan M7:72 plaque, Sun Ji, "Woguo gudaide gedai," in: *Wenwu yu kaogu lunji*, 304, f. 6:5 (bronze, gold and silver inlay).

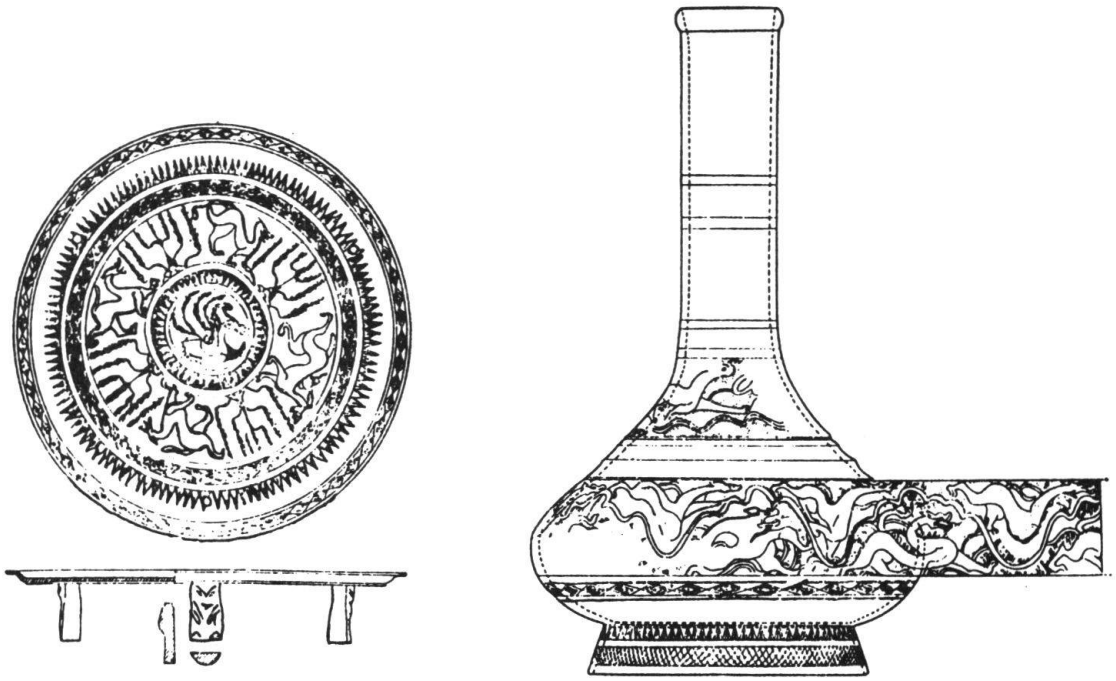
17. Lijiashan bronze armor M13:4, *KGXB* 1975.2, 121, f. 25.



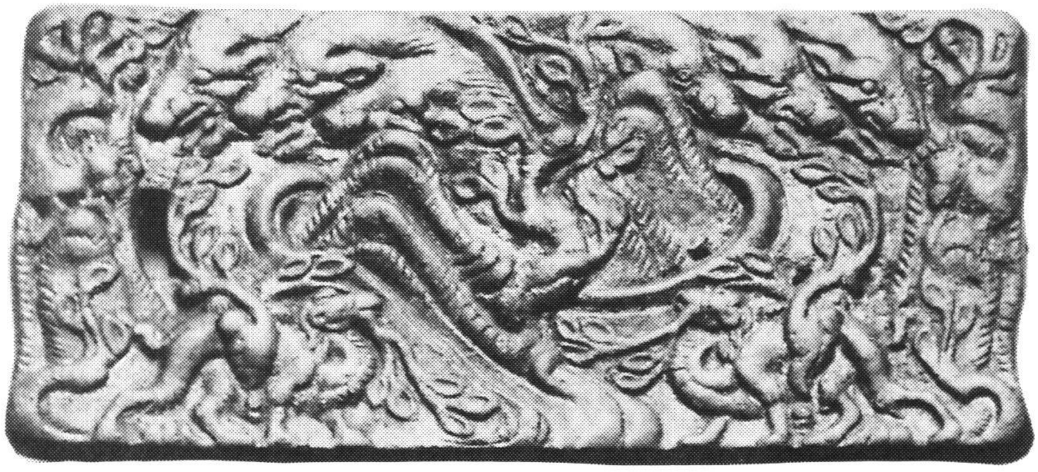
18. Hejiayuan bronze *fanghu* M1:2, Anhuisheng, "Wuhushi Hejiayuan," ***KGXB*** 1983.3, 385, f. 2:1.



19. Mashan M2:17-21 bronze *hu*, Hubeisheng, *Jiangling Mashan yihao Chumu*, 73, f. 62.



20. Left: Nanchang 72M2 (ca. 101 A.D.) bronze *pan*, Cheng Yinglin, "Jiangxi Nanchang," *Wenwu ziliao congkan* 1 (1977), 118, f. 8; Right: Chang'an cache bronze *hu* H1:8, Zhongguo shehui kexue yuan, "Han Chang'ancheng," *KG* 1985.5, 402, f. 5:2.



21. Xiongnu bronze plaque, collection of Elie Borowski (Toronto). Photograph courtesy of Dr. Elie Borowski.