

The First Empires: Social Structures and Developing a Cultural Identity

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[From the Online Exhibit, "From Heaven and Earth: Chinese Jade in Context:"]

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Social Structure and Developing Cultural Identity

Political conflict and intellectual ferment marked the centuries that preceded the end of the Zhou dynastic era. With the advent of the Qin and Han dynasties in the last quarter of the third century BCE, the great age of the art of bronze for ritual and burial in China came to an end. There can be no doubt, however, given the captivating evidence that has been recovered through recent archaeological research, that religious and philosophical beliefs continued to be of great importance to the evolving social structure and developing cultural identity of China. The great traditions of Daoism and Confucianism, for which China is renowned, flourished alongside one another and became integrated with preexisting, fundamental beliefs about life in this world and in the next.¹ Daoism evolved from the religious and philosophical views related to the teachings of Laozi (born c. 604 BCE) and his followers, which advocated simplicity and selflessness in harmony with the manner in which the universe functions. Confucianism developed out of a system of ethical precepts for the management of society propounded by Confucius (traditional dates 551-479 BCE) and his followers.²

Although it seems not to have been widely established until the third or fourth century the common era, as early as the first century CE, the third major tradition, Buddhism, filtered its way into China from two directions, the Silk Route and the southern sea route. Directed toward the release from suffering through the subjugation of desire, Buddhism was founded in India by a religious philosopher and teacher named Siddhartha Gautama (traditional dates 563-483 BCE). The philosophies and beliefs of these three systems, which became intertwined, were understood, and practiced at different levels within the social structure. All three developed scriptural texts, rituals, and architectural traditions, as well as sets of accoutrements and images to represent their deities.

The Creation and Preservation of an Empire

Following the forceful unification of the Zhou Warring States in 221 BCE under the king of the state of Qin, who proclaimed the first of China's empires and took the title *Shi Huangdi* (First Emperor), a new national consciousness emerged.³ Captivating ideas associated with unity and order offered the promise of stability, peace, and prosperity. While founded on preexisting traditions, many changes were introduced by the First Emperor.⁴ Standardized systems for written language, jurisprudence, and weights and measures were imposed, and communication and transportation networks were improved through the augmentation and extension of highway and canal systems.⁵

The succeeding House of Han (206 BCE - CE 220) successfully preserved this new national identity and further increased its influence to create a vast empire. Bureaucratic methods of

control established during the Qin era (221-207 BCE) were continued and gradually expanded in combination with a comprehensive moral cosmology that focused on the emperor. Characterized by a rationale for organizing society beginning with a cosmic order and a hierarchy of inferior and superior relationships, Confucian teachings were embraced.⁶ Through focused concepts related to China as the "Middle Kingdom" or center of the world, and to the emperor as "Son of Heaven," the Han traced their imperial mandate back to legendary rulers of the remote past.⁷ With the new unity and order established under the authority of the Han, Chinese power and influence expanded into neighboring regions, especially Central Asia.⁸ These expansions brought with them a corresponding growth in foreign relationships and economic success.⁹

Court Life and the Quest for Eternity

While developing along religious and secular tracks and incorporating a wide range of different materials, the arts continued to display a remarkable consistency in high quality relative to the significant number of objects produced. Beginning as early as the Warring States period (475-221 BCE), workshops were producing extraordinary objects of lacquer, silk, ivory, and jade.¹⁰ Clearly, highly organized manufacturing processes had become a corporal part of the overall structure of Chinese society, where a disposition for order and harmony found expression in many aspects of life.¹¹ Central to this order was the traditional Confucian idea that, if each individual knew his or her place and acted appropriately, peace and prosperity could prevail. Society was divided into hierarchies, with rank and position clearly marked. Luxury items were used in many contexts to emphasize status (*fig. 1*). The materials from which these objects were made denoted positions in a hierarchy, with objects of jade, bronze, and silk ranking as most prestigious.¹²

Under the late Zhou, Qin, and Han dynasties, jade and bronze remained the materials of choice for state ceremonial objects and for internment, although styles and forms changed. Interest declined in the early jade types and in the large sets of bronze ritual vessels as new forms of fine jades, bronzes, and lacquers, the luxurious appointments of court life, came into fashion. Many of these items, created for daily use among the courtiers, were buried with the deceased along with numerous other objects manufactured specifically to satisfy the pleasures and requirements of a future life. Much of what is known about the material culture of these centuries has been gleaned from objects recovered from burials.

The scale and layout of famous tombs, such as the extraordinary sepulchers of Qin Shi Huangdi or those of the Western Han, as well as the technical skills employed in the manufacturing of the burial objects found in these tombs, provide insight as to the status of the individual and relative importance of different types of objects buried within. Beginning with the more than six thousand life-size infantrymen, charioteers, and horses of Qin Shi Huangdi, ceramic models of animals, attendants, and buildings became conventionalized components of tomb furnishings with the intention of providing for all

the pleasures and necessities of a future existence.¹³ Typically, tombs were constructed with a long central passageway off of which opened rooms for the storage of food and other supplies as well as a stable for chariots and horses. The main chamber, approached through this passageway, was filled with rows of vessels, lamps, and ceramic models (fig. 2)¹⁴ Because of the valued functions associated with these artifacts and ceramic models, many were executed with great skill, and, in the case of tomb figurines, considerable attention was paid to animation and life-like detail.

The finest contents of these burials, however, were reserved for the rear chamber in which the deceased was placed, sometimes in a full suit of jade, as in the case of Prince Liu Sheng.¹⁵ Highly expressive ceramic figures of court musicians (fig. 3), and entertainers were among the conspicuous objects that might be included in the rear chamber. Traditionally, the rear chamber also contained personal valuables, such as elaborate necklaces of jade and garment hooks along with mirrors, complex and beautifully designed incense burners and lamps, and fine serving and storage vessels of bronze, including *hu*-type vessels for wine. So concerned were the living to make sure that life in the next world would be of the same standard as life on earth, vast numbers of treasured objects were buried.¹⁶

Jades for the Living and the Deceased

The tradition of fashioning and using jade for a variety of ritual and secular purposes, a practice which began during the Neolithic period, was continued into the Han period although, over time, the sizes, types, and styles of the jade objects were altered (fig 4). From the Zhou through the Han eras, increased interest in jade for its rich and decorative possibilities as accouterments to dress (fig. 5) is evident in the wide-spread acceptance of pectoral and girdle ornaments used to decorate the robes of the literati.¹⁷ Patterns and shapes of sacred ritual design from earlier periods were revived and fashioned into elegantly inventive, lengthy assemblages of jade, which were draped down the front of both male and female aristocrats. These ornaments, with elaborate schemata of texturally varied patterns, were appreciated not only for their aesthetic qualities but also for the jangling sounds they made.¹⁸

As jade was considered a preservative and thought to prevent decay, those of wealth and position had thin sheets of jade cut into plaques for burial suits, shrouds or other coverings for the deceased.¹⁹ Jade burial sets were produced. These sets frequently included orifice stoppers, a cicada for the mouth, plaques for over the eyes and a pair of diminutive stylized carvings of pigs to be placed in the hands.²⁰ At the same time, interest grew in fashioning other small figures of animals as amuletic and decorative objects for the living, undoubtedly part of what has been referred to as "the dawning age of sculpture." Works in jade of both real and mythological subjects are similar to larger works in bronze (fig. 6) ceramics, and stone in conveying a sense of validity and a subtle awareness of form.

Ceramics

Toward the end of the Bronze Age, great progress had been made in the methods of firing and achievements of high temperatures, resulting in the production of the first stonewares. Stylistically, Han dynasty ceramics reflect a focus based on manufacturing works in imitation of bronze vessels, thus, many of the finer extant pieces are essentially funerary in purpose (fig. 7). A portion of these wares are gray, fine-grained and hard while others are buff in color and enriched by a newly discovered lead glaze.²¹ With efforts concentrated on the refinement of stoneware and experimentation with green glazes, which culminated in the celadons of the Southern Song (1127-1279) a thousand years later, technology continued to advance.²²

Some the most impressive objects in field of ceramics are not serving or storage vessels but earthenware figurines created specifically for the afterlife and known as "spirit articles" (*mingqi*). Among these burial figurines, which became standard components of tomb furnishings, are finely executed examples of warriors and their mounts, court attendants, entertainers and musicians.²³ Horses, which were highly valued, offer dramatic views into the economic, cultural and aesthetic values of the Qin and Han eras.²⁴ Many of these earthenware images are highly stylized and animated, effectively conveying the speed and the spirited personalities of a Western breed of horses (fig 2), the fabled "sweat blood horses." Deep-chested, powerful, and fast, this line, as well as other Central Asian and Iran breeds, was highly prized from the Warring States period through the Han eras.²⁵ In contrast to these dramatic and powerful images are the humorous images of entertainers, often sculpted with great sensitivity and animation, and the elegant images of court attendants and musicians (fig. 3).²⁶

Bronzes

In addition to serving and storage vessels for food and wine, a range of valued objects for personal use, such as fibulae and mirrors, represent well the art of bronze casting under the Han.²⁷ From approximately the seventh century BCE through the second century CE, garment hooks designed for attachment to either cloth or leather, were fashioned from both bronze and jade or in combinations of materials that might also include gold, silver, and turquoise.²⁸ The rare and delicate beauty of some examples, suggests the work of craftsmen from imperial ateliers (fig. 8). Garment hooks of this type are believed to have been adopted by the Chinese from their nomadic northern neighbors, with the earliest, more modest examples attributed to the seventh century BCE.²⁹

First appearing around the sixth century BCE, mirrors of bronze with a polished reflective surface began to play an important role in the religious beliefs and shamanistic practices of the ancient Chinese.³⁰ The ornamentation on the back of these mirrors was customarily part of the original casting and generally configured in concentric bands around a central

knob designed to hold a silk cord from which to suspend the mirror.³¹ Often found in ancient burials among the personal items interred with the deceased, mirrors bore a direct relationship to both personal and general societal issues related to well-being and attest to ongoing concerns for accord with the cosmos and its deities.³² Inscriptions with references to a search for success in the present life and for harmony with spiritual forces are not uncommon to such mirrors (fig. 9).³³

Han cosmology was represented in various types of the diagrams used to ornament the backs of mirrors. For example, mirrors popularly known as "TLV mirrors" received their name from design forms similar to the T, L, and V letters in the Roman alphabet. In other examples, the diagram is composed of a series of symmetrically positioned squares and circles representing the principles of the universe (fig. 10). In addition to these forms, other mirrors display animals representative of the primary and secondary directions of the cosmos.³⁴ In some examples, the refinements of the inlay and fine detailing of their symbolic ornamentation suggest manufacturing by highly skilled artisans of the level also employed to produce fine garments hooks, vessels, lanterns, and incense burners.³⁵

Among the most impressive objects in bronze are large wine containers, clearly developed out of the Shang and Zhou ritual vessel tradition.³⁶ By the beginning of the Han era, however, most of the ancient ritual vessel types had been replaced by other types of vessels that are more simple in shape and designed for secular and everyday purposes (fig. 11). Highly desired were large wine vessels of the *hu* type (fig. 12), decorated in relief with a pair of *taotie* masks to which two rings are attached (fig. 11). The popularity of the *hu* is attested by its frequent occurrence in painted pottery and in red and black lacquer. Although the Chinese continued to regard bronze as a precious metal, with the fall of the Han dynasty, the art of large bronze vessel manufacturing virtually disappeared.³⁷

SUGGESTED FURTHER READING

Warring States Period

The artistic culture of the Warring States period through the Han dynastic era was one of considerable complexity and scope. For an excellent introduction to the arts of the pivotal Warring States period, see Thomas Lawton, *Chinese Art of the Warring States Period: Change and Continuity, 480-222 B.C.* (Washington, D.C.: Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution, 1982).

Qin Dynasty

A number of monographs on the tomb of Qin Shi Huangdi have been published in recent years. For a general text with insight into new evidence and conclusions reached by archaeologists and historians, see the publication compiled by the archaeological team that excavated the tomb, Shilan Huashi and Peng Huashi, *Terra-cotta Warriors and Horses at the Tomb of Qin Shi Huang, the First Emperor of China* (Beijing: Cultural Relics Publishing House, 1987); see also Arthur Cotterell, *The First Emperor of China: The Greatest Archaeological Find of Our Time* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1981).

The thirty-three page publication by William Lindesay, *The Terracotta Army of the First Emperor of China* (Kowloon: The Guidebook Company, 1998), which is part of the series titled *The Genius of China: A Close-Up Guide*, is very useful as an introductory guide for general audiences and for students.

Han Dynasty

The essays in the exhibition catalogue *Pathways to the Afterlife* by Julia M. White and Ronald Y. Otsuka, (Honolulu: Denver Art Museum and University of Hawaii Press, 1993), provide a useful introduction early Chinese Art. On extended loan to the Denver Art Museum, the objects discussed, including a number of Han dynasty works, are from the Sze Hong collection, which is owned by the family of Warren and Shirley King.

A study by Michèle Pirazzoli-t'Serstevens titled *The Han Dynasty* (New York: Rizzoli International Publications, Inc., 1982), offers an introduction to cultural values and arts of the Han dynasty, one of the most vibrant dynastic eras in the history of China.

Recently Excavated Archaeological Materials with Photographs

In recent years, a number of exhibitions and publications, such as those listed below, have provided invaluable introductions to archaeological treasures that would otherwise have remained largely inaccessible to Western audiences.

Cultural Relics Unearthed in China (Peking: Wenwu Press, 1972), presents a varied selection of objects from excavations which postdate 1965.

Hao Qian, Heyi Chen and Suichu Ru, *Out of China's Earth: Archaeological Discoveries in the People's Republic of China* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., 1981).

Historical Relics Unearthed in New China (Peking: Foreign Language Press, 1972) contains many large photographs of the more than two hundred objects that make up this catalogue.

Treasures: 300 Best Excavated Antiques from China (Paramus, New Jersey: Cypress Book Company, 1992).

Science, Technology, and the Arts in Ancient China

In ancient China, elegant works in bronze constituted a major artistic genre. Insight into the technological mastery of bronze casting is provided by a number of researchers, such as Christian Deydier in his well illustrated work *Chinese Bronzes* (New York: Rizzoli International Publications, 1980).

For a western view of Chinese contributions to scientific advancement, see Joseph Needham, *The Development of Iron and Steel Technology in China* (Cambridge, United Kingdom: Newcomen Society Publications, 1964).

See also the multi-volume series by Needham, et al., *Science and Civilization in China* (Cambridge, United Kingdom: Cambridge University Press, 1954-).

REFERENCED IMAGES:

Figure 1. Bronze Ding:



Figure 2. Tomb sculpture in the form of a horse with saddle:



Figure 3. Kneeling Musician Playing a se (a wooden string instrument)



Figure 4. Miniature Prismatic Tube (cong)



Figure 5. Thumb or Archer's Ring



Figure 6. Seal surmounted by a miniature sculpture of a turtle



Figure 7. Storage Vessel ornamented with an all-over geometric pattern stamped repeatedly from the base to the rim.



Figure 8. *Tai-kou* (garment or belt hook with a single shaft)

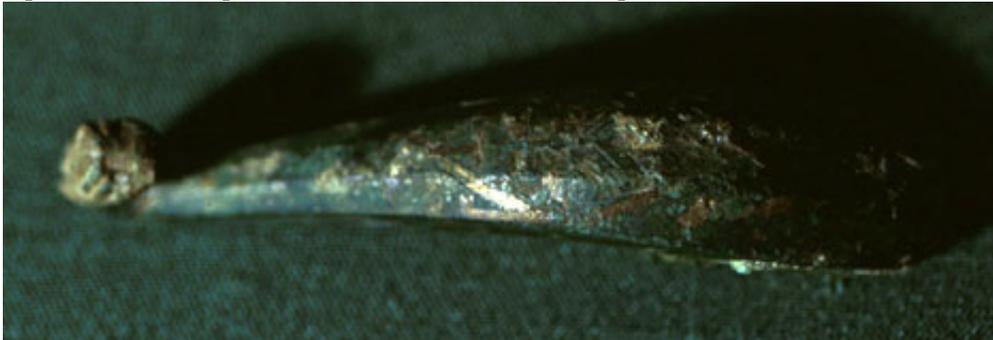


Figure 9. Mirror ornamented with a cardinal-directions design



Figure 10. Mirror ornamented with an angular pattern



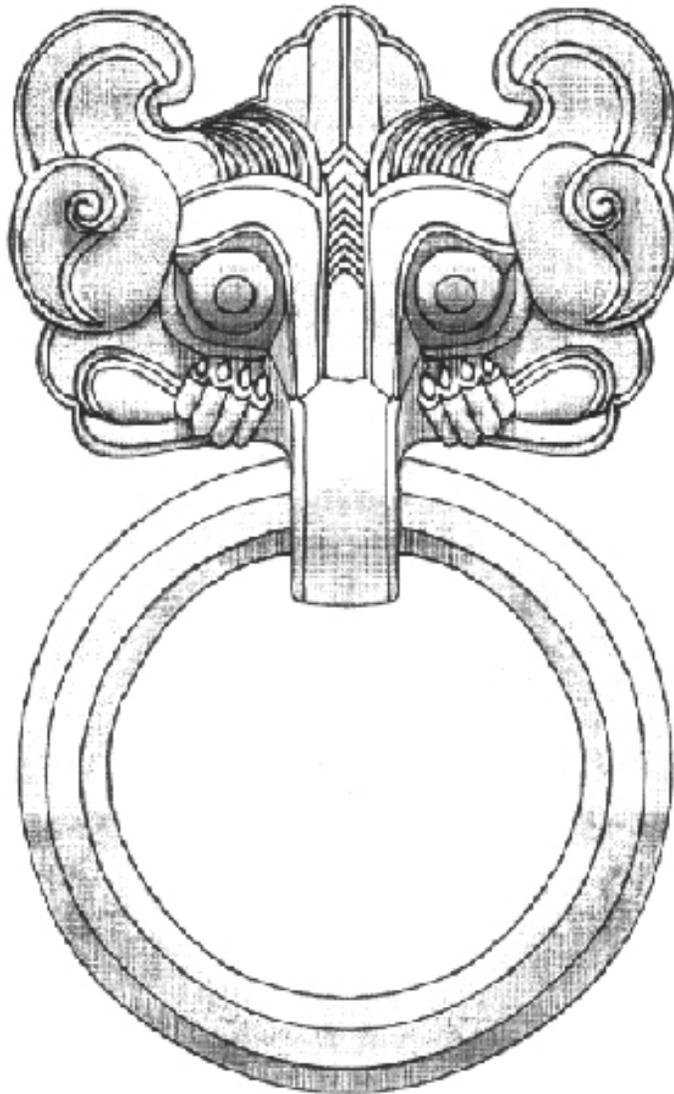
Figure 11. *Pan* (charger or basin)



Figure 12. *Hu* (wine vessels of considerable size)



Figure 13. Taotie with rings graphic



Drawing of a Han Dynasty Bronze *Taotie* Mask with Ring Handle. The mask-with-ring-handle was a very popular ornamental motif during the Han dynastic era. Typically, examples of this type were cast in high relief and designed so that the ring was supported by an extension of the nose or a hooked beak. One of the finest and largest of its type, the piece from which this drawing was made is 46.3 cm. in height. It was published by J. J. Lally and Company in an exhibition catalogue; see *Archaic Chinese Bronzes, Jades and Works of Art* (New York: J. J. Lally and Co., Oriental Art, 1994), fig. 64.

NOTES

¹ Jessica Rawson, ed., *The British Museum Book of Chinese Art* (New York: Thames and Hudson Inc., 1996), 22.

² John King Fairbank makes a number of insightful observations concerning the Confucian code and Daoism in relationship to the social and political contexts in which they flourished. See John King Fairbank, *China: A New History* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1992), 51-4, 66-71, 81.

³ Michael Loewe, "The Heritage Left to the Empires," in Michael Loewe and Edward L. Shaughnessy, ed., *The Cambridge History of Ancient China: From the Origins of Civilization to 221 B.C.* (Cambridge, England; New York, New York; Oakleigh, Australia: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 967-1032.

⁴ John King Fairbank, *China: A New History*, 47, 51.

⁵ Maxwell Hearn and Wen Fong, "The Arts of Ancient China," *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* 32 (1973-1974), 2:24 (as stated above, this Metropolitan Museum bulletin, published as an exhibition catalogue and as a monograph, may be difficult to locate as only the authors names and exhibition title appear in the publication itself).

⁶ Maxwell Hearn and Wen Fong, "The Arts of Ancient China," 2:24; John King Fairbank, *China: A New History*, 47-8, 51, 57.

⁷ The preservation and lasting charisma of these concepts is attested by the fact that the Chinese continue refer to themselves as "Han people." See John King Fairbank, *China: A New History*, 23-25; Maxwell Hearn and Wen Fong, "The Arts of Ancient China," 2:24. For a history of development, see William E. Soothill, *The Hall of Light: A Study of Early Kingship* (London: Lutterworth, 1951), cited in Michael Loewe and Edward L. Shaughnessy, ed., *The Cambridge History of Ancient China*, 832, n. 52.

⁸ John King Fairbank, *China: A New History*, 51.

⁹ As noted by Christian Deydier, the causes and outgrowths of military campaigns and territorial expansion were interrelated and expansive. Weapons such as swords and crossbows for the military were improved through progress in the metallurgy of iron. These advances also allowed for the manufacturing of better tools and equipment for farming and thus agricultural production was increased. At the same time, international commerce flourished along the routes via the Central Asian oasis states linking northern China with the West, and along other routes to the south linking southern China with South East Asia. The wealth of the empire and of the merchant class was greatly increased as a result of trade in a wide variety of luxury goods, exotica, and the importation of thorough bred horses; see Christian Deydier, *Chinese Bronzes*, (New York: Rizzoli International Publications, 1980), 111-12.

¹⁰ Maxwell Hearn and Wen Fong, "The Arts of Ancient China," 2:18-23. Many of these Chinese objects are classed as decorative in the West, a distinction not characteristic of Asia. See Jane Portal, "Decorative Arts for Display," Jessica Rawson, ed., *The British Museum Book of Chinese Art*, 168; Edmund Capon, *Art and Archaeology in China* (Melbourne and Sydney: Melbourne and Sydney, 1977), 67-8, 99-100.

¹¹ Jessica Rawson, ed., *The British Museum Book of Chinese Art*, 30-31.

¹² At the personal level, the materials used for belts, hats, and jewellery were explicitly recognized as indicators of rank as were those used for the interior furnishings of private residences. The scale and number, in addition to the material used, were also indicators of status. As materials such as jade, bronze, and silk required a high level of skilled craftsmanship in manufacturing, it is reasonable to assume that the items made from them were viewed as precious from the beginning. See Jessica Rawson, ed., *The British Museum Book of Chinese Art*, 27-30.

¹³ *Tomb Treasures from China: The Buried Art of Ancient Xi'an* (Fort Worth; San Francisco: Kimbell Art Museum and Asian Art Museum of San Francisco, 1994), 11-16.

¹⁴ Although not considered a true art in China, sculpture played an essential role in supplying images for religious practice and for the world of the dead.

¹⁵ Hao Qian, Heyi Chen, and Suichu Ru, *Out of China's Earth: Archaeological Discoveries in the People's Republic of China* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., 1981), 130-132. Edmund Capon, *Art and Archaeology in China*, 95.

¹⁶ Jessica Rawson, ed., *The British Museum Book of Chinese Art*, 38; *Treasures: 300 Best Excavated Antiques from China* (Paramus, New Jersey: Cypress Book Company, 1992).

¹⁷ Thomas Lawton, *Chinese Art of the Warring States Period: Change and Continuity, 480-222 B.C.* (Washington, D.C.: Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution, 1982), 127-177; Elizabeth Childs-Johnson, "Jade as Material and Epoch," in Howard Rogers with Naomi Richard and Sylvia Moss, eds., *China 5,000 Years: Innovation and Transformation in the Arts* (New York: Guggenheim Museum Publications, 1998), 63.

¹⁸ Girdles and pectorals were ubiquitous in China throughout the Western and Eastern Zhou periods. See the *Chuci* (*Songs of the South*) for references to exquisite belt buckles and other types of art, cited by Elizabeth Childs-Johnson, "Jade as Material and Epoch," in Howard Rogers with Naomi Richard and Sylvia Moss, eds., *China 5,000 Years*, 63-65. A complete necklace made up plaques and *bi* of jade and beads of gold was recovered from the tomb of King Nanyue in Guangdong Province: see *Treasures: 300 Best Excavated Antiques from China*, 46-7, fig. 32.

¹⁹ For good photographs and information related to the jade suits worn by Liu Sheng, Prince Jing of Zhongshan, and his wife Dou Wan, see *Treasures: 300 Best Excavated Antiques from China*, 41-43.

²⁰ Elizabeth Childs-Johnson, "Jade as Material and Epoch," in Howard Rogers with Naomi Richard and Sylvia Moss, eds., *China 5,000 Years*, 63-65; Hao Qian, Heyi Chen, and Suichu Ru, *Out of China's Earth: Archaeological Discoveries in the People's Republic of China*, 130-132, figs. 195, 196.

²¹ Daisy Lion-Goldschmidt and Jean-Claude Moreau-Gobard, *Chinese Art: Bronzes, Jade, Sculpture, Ceramics* (New York: Rizzoli International Publication, Inc., 1980), 178.

²² William Watson, *Art of Dynastic China* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1981), 333; Edmund Capon, *Art and Archaeology in China*, 100, pl. 70.

²³ The archaeological and literary evidence suggests that grave figurines were first used as substitutes for human and animal sacrifices of the earlier centuries and that the concept was based on ritual function and symbolism. See Wu Hung, "The Art and Architecture of the Warring States Period," in Michael Loewe and Edward L. Shaughnessy, ed., *The Cambridge History of Ancient China: From the Origins of Civilization to 221 B.C., 732-44*; Maxwell Hearn and Wen Fong, "The Arts of Ancient China," 2:4.

²⁴ *Tomb Treasures from China: The Buried Art of Ancient Xi'an*, 34-5, 40-1, 45

²⁵ *Treasures: 300 Best Excavated Antiques from China*, 216-19.

²⁶ Wu Huang, *Grave Goods. Realities of Life after Death: Constructing a Posthumous World in Funerary Art* (New York: Guggenheim Museum Publications, 1998), 103-113.

²⁷ For information and color plates of some of the most inventive and finely crafted works from late Zhou and Han tombs, see *Treasures: 300 Best Excavated Antiques from China*; palace lamps discussed and illustrated on pages 209 and 218 are of particular interest due to engineering characteristics which allowed for the control of light, smoke, and dust.

²⁸ For an informative essay on and excellent illustrations of garment hooks, see Thomas Lawton, *Chinese art of the Warring States Period*, 89-126.

²⁹ Maxwell Hearn and Wen Fong, "The Arts of Ancient China," 2:18.

³⁰ Thomas Lawton, *Chinese Art of the Warring States Period*, 31.

³¹ Michael R. Cunningham, Stanislaw J. Czuma, Anne E. Wardwell, and J. Keith Wilson, *Masterworks of Asian Art* (Cleveland: The Cleveland Museum of Art in association with Thames and Hudson, 1998), 42.

³² Thomas Lawton, *Chinese Art of the Warring States Period*, 81-88; Maxwell Hearn and Wen Fong, "The Arts of Ancient China," 2:18, fig. 31.

³³ Jessica Rawson, "Jades and Bronzes for Ritual," in Jessica Rawson, ed., *The British Museum Book of Chinese Art*, 72.

³⁴ Maxwell Hearn and Wen Fong, "The Arts of Ancient China," 2:33, fig. 53. For illustrations of the types of decoration found on bronze mirrors, see Christian Deydier, *Chinese Bronzes*, 104.

³⁵ Some of the finest examples of Han dynasty bronzes are found in palace lanterns and incense burners. See *Treasures: 300 Best Excavated Antiques from China*, 208-09, 218, figs. 194, 195, 204; Hao Qian, Heyi Chen, and Suichu Ru, *Out of China's Earth: Archaeological Discoveries in the People's Republic of China*, 132-137, figs. 197-200.

³⁶ Thomas Lawton, *Chinese Art of the Warring States Period*, 19-80 passim.

³⁷ Christian Deydier, *Chinese Bronzes*, 112-133.