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Zhaoling: The Mausoleum of Emperor Tang Taizong

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Zhaoling: The Mausoleum of Emperor Tang Taizong

by

Xiuqin Zhou

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For Jinming, and
in memory of my parents

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Abstract

Zhaoling: The Mausoleum of Emperor Tang Taizong

Xiuqin Zhou and Nancy Steinhardt

Zhaoling is one of the very few imperial mausolea that have received considerable attention in its 1,400-year history. This attention has largely been confined to general description and limited individual subjects. This study launches an effort to comprehensively investigate Zhaoling in the context of the multi-ethnic and multi-cultural background of the early Tang, and by comparison with ancient Iran, the steppes and China. It examines Zhaoling's general layout, its architectural features, stone monuments and auxiliary burial complex. It also conducts a detailed study of the six stone horse reliefs. The study reveals that Zhaoling followed Chinese traditional concepts and replicated the capital city of Chang'an and its palatial scheme. The ratio of auxiliary tomb occupants indicates that Zhaoling was built not as a royal graveyard, but rather a complex for holding a political entity. Auxiliary tombs were used as tools to extract loyalty from high officials, Chinese and non-Chinese, to form Taizong's "political family" for his political concept of *tianxia weigong* (empire is open to all). The erection of stone monuments of the six horses and fourteen officials, traced to Turkic custom, manifests another fulfillment of Taizong's political concept. The duality of Taizong's titles — the Chinese emperor and Heavenly Qaghan for western tribal states — brought integration into the design of Zhaoling, a blend of Chinese imperial mausoleum traditions with Turkic burial customs. An element-by-element study of the stone horse reliefs demonstrates that the development of an effective Chinese cavalry, initiated in northern China in 307 BC, necessitated a systematic importation of equestrian elements from the nomads on the Chinese border. The horse's mane, tail, saddle, armor, bow and arrows, which show strong nomadic influences, can all be traced to ancient West Asian sources. The sculptural form of the six horse reliefs could also be inspired by Sasanian rock relief. The seeds receptive to interaction and assimilation of foreign elements were sown during the early dynastic period from pre-Qin into Sui. Emperor Taizong continued this course, expanded his political concept and made the early Tang a dualistic empire of international spirit.

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List of Abbreviations

Institution:

UPM University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology,
Philadelphia, PA, USA

Publications:

- BBCJ* Bǎibù cóngshū jíkān (百部叢書集刊)
BBCS Bǎibù cóngshū jíchéng (百部叢書集成)
BS Běishǐ (北史)
CAZ Cháng'ān zhì (長安志)
CAZT Cháng'ān zhìtú (長安志圖)
CFYG Cèfǔ yuánguī (冊府元龜)
CSJC Cóngshū jíchéng jiǎnbiān (叢書集成簡編)
CYQZ Cháoyě qiānzài (朝野僉載)
DTCQ Dà Táng chuàngyè qǐjūzhù (大唐創業起居注)
ESSS Èrshísì shǐ (二十四史)
ESSY Èrshísì shǐ quányì (二十四史全譯)
GXJC Guóxué jīběn cóngshū (國學基本叢書)
HHS Hòu Hànsū (後漢書)
HS Hànsū (漢書)
JSBK Jīnshí bèikǎo (金石備考)
JSCB Jīnshí cuībiān (金石萃編)
JSL Jīnshí lù (金石錄)
JSWZ Jīnshí wénzì jì (金石文字記)
JTS Jiù Tángshū (舊唐書)
JWDS Jiù Wǔdàishǐ (舊五代史)
LBCZ Lèibiān Cháng'ān zhì (類編長安志)
LDBZ Lìdài bēizhì cóngshū (歷代碑誌叢書)
LS Liángshū (梁書)
MS Míngshǐ (明史)
NQS Nán Qíshū (南齊書)
QTW Quán Tángwén (全唐文)
SBCK Sìbù cóngkān zhèngbiān (四部叢刊正編)
SGZ Sānguózhì (三國志)

<i>SJ</i>	Shǐjì (史記)
<i>SJWH</i>	Shaanxi jīnshí wénxiàn huìbiān (陝西金石文獻彙編)
<i>SJZ</i>	Shuǐjīng zhù (水經注)
<i>SKQS</i>	Sikù quánshū (四庫全書)
<i>SKSL</i>	Shíkè shǐliào xīnbiān (石刻史料新編)
<i>SMJH</i>	Shímò juānhuá (石墨鏤華)
<i>SQSB</i>	Shíqu suíbǐ (石渠隨筆)
<i>SS</i>	Suíshǐ (隋史)
<i>SS2</i>	Sòngshǐ (宋史)
<i>ST</i>	Shítōng (十通)
<i>SXFZ</i>	Shaanxi dìfāngzhì cóngshū (陝西地方志叢書)
<i>SXJS</i>	Shaanxi jīnshí zhì (陝西金石志)
<i>TD</i>	Tōngdiǎn (通典)
<i>TDZL</i>	Táng dà zhàoling jí (唐大詔令集)
<i>THJW</i>	Túhuà jiànwén zhì (圖畫見聞誌)
<i>THY</i>	Táng huìyào (唐會要)
<i>TJ</i>	Táng jiàn (唐鑿)
<i>TLD</i>	Táng liùdiǎn (唐六典)
<i>TYJ</i>	Táng yánjiū (唐研究)
<i>WS</i>	Wèishū (魏書)
<i>WXTK</i>	Wénxiàn tōngkǎo (文獻通攷)
<i>WY</i>	Wùyuan (物原)
<i>XJZJ</i>	Xījīng zájì (西京雜記)
<i>XSKQ</i>	Xùxiū sikù quánshū (續修四庫全書)
<i>XTS</i>	Xīn Tángshū (新唐書)
<i>XWDS</i>	Xīn Wúdàishǐ (新五代史)
<i>YH</i>	Yùhǎi (玉海)
<i>YL</i>	Yōnglù (雍錄)
<i>ZBSJ</i>	Zhōubì suànjīng (周髀算經)
<i>ZDCS</i>	Zhāodài cóngshū (昭代叢書)
<i>ZGMS</i>	Zhōngguó měishù quánjí (中國美術全集)
<i>ZGSZ</i>	Zhōngguó shěngzhì huìbiān (中國省志彙編)
<i>ZGWD</i>	Zhōngguó gǔdiǎn wénxué dúběn cóngshū (中國古典文學讀本叢書)
<i>ZGWJ</i>	Zhōngguó gǔdiǎn wénxué jīběn cóngshū (中國古典文學基本叢書)
<i>ZMFQ</i>	Zhōngguó měishù fēnlèi quánjí (中國美術分類全集)
<i>ZS</i>	Zhōushū (周書)

ZL Zhōulǐ (周禮)
ZZTJ Zīzhì tōngjiàn (資治通鑿)
ZZZY Zhēnguān zhèngyào (貞觀政要)

Chapter One: An Overview

1. Introduction

The subject of this study is Zhaoling 昭陵, the mausoleum of Emperor Taizong 唐太宗 (r. 626–649) of the Tang dynasty 唐朝 (618–907). Tang Taizong was one of the greatest monarchs in all of Chinese history. His mausoleum has attracted considerable attention not only for its historical significance but also for its design. The complex of Zhaoling is unique among imperial mausolea (Fig. 1), especially because of its novel presentation of associated stone monuments including the six stone horse reliefs known as Zhaoling Liujun 昭陵六駿 (six horse reliefs of Zhaoling) (Figs. 2a and 2b).

The earliest references to Zhaoling are characterized by a general brief description of the mausoleum and an in-depth study of the stone inscriptions carved on tomb stelae, known as *jinshixue* 金石學 (epigraphy). During the first half of the twentieth century, Western scholars debated the history and authenticity of the six stone horses. But for more than 50 years, there have been no further discussions. In that same period, Japanese scholars surveyed the Tang imperial tombs; these surveys became the focus of Chinese archaeologists during the second half of the twentieth century. More recently, Chinese scholars have conducted excavations on sections of Zhaoling and continued research on selected topics.

Zhaoling has been included as an important early Tang imperial tomb in studies of the eighteen Tang imperial mausolea at Shaanxi 陝西 and as part of the Chinese imperial burial systems. Except for a few articles on the subject of Zhaoling's auxiliary burial system, the complex has never been studied by itself with serious scholarship. The study of the unique six stone horse reliefs generally has been confined to visual descriptions. Some Chinese scholars have pointed to a possible Turkic influence in the placement of the horse reliefs, but that assertion has not been investigated systematically.

These six stone horse reliefs have been acclaimed as incomparable masterpieces without parallel in Chinese sculptural history. The statement itself suggests possible foreign influence,

but no serious scholarly study has been done. A systematic investigation of possible non-Chinese elements and their origins and the socio-political environment of the early Tang at time of the placement of the horse reliefs is required.

The social and political background of the early Tang was complex. Tang was the direct heir to the short-lived Sui dynasty 隋朝 (581–618), which was built on the legacy of the alien rule of the Northern Dynasties 北朝 (396–589), together with the Southern Dynasties 南朝 (420–589) in the south, known as the Period of Division and also period of "innovation."¹ Tang also took the Han dynasty 汉朝 (206 BC–220 AD), a great empire built on the heritage of the Qin dynasty 秦朝 (221–207 BC), as a "political model."² In recent decades, scholars have been re-examining the period between Han and Tang on the basis of newly discovered archaeological materials³ with obvious multi-cultural elements.

The current study is organized in seven chapters. Chapter One introduces the subject, objectives and methodology. It follows the world of Tang Taizong with emphasis on the mixed social, ethnic, cultural and political aspects of the pre-Tang and early Tang to serve as a basis for understanding the importance of the discussion concerning the subject that unfolds thereafter.

Chapter Two reviews the scholarship on the subject. It cites historical writings documenting Zhaoling from the Tang to the Qing 清朝 (1644–1911) dynasties and the epigraphy on tomb stelae that have survived from Zhaoling and its auxiliary tombs. It also introduces scholarship of the twentieth century covering various aspects, both inside and outside of China.

Chapter Three is devoted to a history and description of Zhaoling, including an account of the site's selection and a detailed presentation of the general layout, architectural features, stone monuments and auxiliary tomb complex. The description incorporates information from the most recent archaeological excavations, which were conducted in 2002–2003. Of special

¹ Dien (2007): 1.

² Wright (1973): 1.

³ For an overview of most important archaeological discoveries, one may refer to Kaogu zazhishe (2002) and Yang Xiaoneng (1999). Recent archaeological discoveries with obvious multi-cultural elements, directly associated with this study, are represented by publications such as Zhongguo shehui kexueyuan kaogu yanjiusuo (1980), Shanxi sheng kaogu yanjiusuo (1983), Ningxia Huizu zizhiqu bowuguan (1985), Luo Feng (1996), Shanxi sheng kaogu yanjiusuo et al. (2001), Juliano (2001), Shaanxi sheng kaogu yanjiusuo (2003), Watt (2004) and La Vaissière (2005).

import is the chronicle of the removal of the six stone horse reliefs from the mausoleum and the University of Pennsylvania Museum's (UPM) subsequent acquisition of two of the reliefs.

Chapter Four is dedicated to a discussion of the three major aspects of Zhaoling: the general layout, the auxiliary tomb complex and the stone monuments. The layout is examined in the context of early imperial tombs and Tang imperial city planning. The practice of auxiliary tombs and erection of stone monuments are reviewed in the context of the early Chinese imperial history and non-Chinese customs. The results lead to an interpretation of Tang Taizong's political concepts.

Chapter Five concentrates on the six stone horse reliefs: chronology, origins of the relief sculptural form in Chinese art and details of specific iconography. The study involves tracing the origins of their iconography and function in both China and the West, which exposes intercultural contacts with West Asia and the Steppes throughout Chinese history.

Chapter Six explains Zhaoling's impact on Qianling 乾陵, the tomb of Taizong's son, Emperor Gaozong 唐高宗 (r. 650–683) and his Empress Wu Zetian 武則天 (r. 684–704). Zhaoling was the connecting link between early Chinese imperial mausolea and Qianling, which institutionalized the layout of the Tang imperial mausolea.

Chapter Seven is a general conclusion providing an overview of the preceding discussions and interpretations.

2. The World of Tang Taizong

Tang Taizong's world began in the middle of the Sui dynasty, the period of a transitory but successful unification of a China that, after the fall of the Han dynasty, had been disunited for almost 400 years. Those 400 years were characterized by political upheavals and alien rule, mostly, by nomadic people from the north, who formed a succession of short-lived dynasties, known as the Northern Dynasties 北朝 (386–589).

Taizong's world was connected closely with Chinese aristocratic families as well as the non-Chinese ruling classes of the Northern and Sui dynasties. His ancestry can be traced with certainty as far as his great grandfather, Li Hu 李虎, one of the *bazhuguo* 八柱国 (Eight Pillars of

State),⁴ the chief commanders associated with Yuwen Tai 宇文泰⁵ (507–556) in the founding of the Northern Zhou 北周 (557–589). Li Hu's grandfather was Li Xi 李熙 and his father was Li Tianxi 李天錫, both prominent military commanders under the Northern Wei 北魏 (386–534). The Tang royal house claimed that Li Xi's great grandfather was Li Song 李嵩, the founder of the Western Liang 西涼 (400–416) and that Li Hu's family was thus descended from the prominent northwestern Li clan of Longxi 隴西李氏.⁶ This claim, however, has been challenged. It has been suggested that the Li clan was neither connected with the royal house of Western Liang nor with the prestigious Li clan of Longxi. It represented, rather, a minor offshoot of an eastern lineage, the Li clan of Zhaojun 趙郡李氏 in Hebei 河北, who had settled in the northwest under the Tuoba 拓跋 Northern Wei, and who had intermarried widely with the non-Chinese tribal aristocracy. Two of the men who were among the ancestors of Li Hu were the generals Li Chuguba 李初古拔 and Li Maide 李買得, whose names show that they had either adopted or been granted the Chinese surname Li, but retained alien, perhaps Tuoba, personal names.⁷

Taizong's grandmother was one of the seven daughters of Dugu Xin 獨孤信 (502–557), a member of a very prominent Turkic clan. Her two sisters were married to the first Northern Zhou emperor Mingdi 北周明帝 (r. 557–561) and the first Sui emperor Wendi 隋文帝 (r. 581–605), respectively.⁸ Taizong's mother was a member of an extremely powerful clan, the Dou 竇, originally surnamed Hedouling 紇豆陵, obviously non-Chinese.⁹ Her elder sister was the consort of Yang Guang 楊廣, the future Sui Yangdi 隋煬帝 (r. 605–618). This clan continued to be very influential throughout the early Tang, producing three empresses, several royal consorts and a

⁴ *JTS*: 1, 1, 1. Hucker (1985): 181–82. The translation of official titles in this thesis is primarily referenced to this source unless otherwise stated.

⁵ *BS*: 9, 9, 313–30, 97–101. Yuwen Tai was a key player in the establishment and running of the Western Wei (535–556). One year after his death, the Western Wei abdicated to the Eastern Zhou (557–589); Yuwen Jue 宇文覺 (r. 557), Yuwen Tai's son, took the throne and conferred upon Yuwen Tai posthumously the title Emperor Wen 文皇帝.

⁶ *JTS*: 1, 1, 1.

⁷ Chen Yinke (2001b): 185–89. Twitchett (1979): 151.

⁸ Twitchett (1979): 151.

⁹ *Ibid.*: 188.

great number of officials of high ranks.¹⁰ Taizong's mother had been brought up at the court of her uncle, Emperor Wu of the Northern Zhou 北周武帝 (r. 561–578) (whose elder sister was her mother), where Li Yuan 李淵, the future Tang Gaozu 唐高祖 (r. 618–626), is said to have won her hand in an archery contest.¹¹ Taizong was not only descended from a line of prominent military men and a member of the mixed Chinese and Tuoba/Turkic aristocracy, which dominated northwestern China, he was also closely related through his grandmother and mother to the royal families both of the Northern Zhou and of the Sui.¹²

Taizong, the second son of Gaozu, was born on the day of *wuwu* 戊午 of the twelfth moon of the eighteenth year of the Kaihuang reign 開皇 (January 22, 599)¹³ at Wugong 武功 in modern Shaanxi. He was given the civilian name, Li Shimin 李世民, literally "rescuing the world and pacifying the people," based on a prophecy.¹⁴ At the age of seventeen he married the daughter of Zhangsun Sheng 長孫晟 (551–609), a descendant of the brother of the Northern Wei Emperor Xianwen 獻文帝 (r. 466–471), the former general for both Sui Wendi and Sui Yangdi.¹⁵ The Zhangsun clan, originally Tuoba, produced distinguished officials and generals for the successive dynasties from the Northern Wei through Sui.¹⁶

Taizong's childhood and youth were devoted to the pursuits common to the sons of noblemen at that time: the rudiments of the Chinese language and calligraphy and training in horsemanship and the arts of warfare. When he was seven, Yang Guang became Sui Yangdi, who either expedited the death of his father, Sui Wendi, or killed him for the throne.¹⁷ The impact of this incident on the young Shimin is not certain. In 615, Sui Yangdi was trapped by the

¹⁰ *JTS*: 61, 11, 2364. Twitchett (1979): 188. They produced "two empresses, six consorts of royal princes, eight husbands of royal princesses, and a great number of officials of highest ranks."

¹¹ *JTS*: 51, 1, 2163.

¹² Twitchett (1979): 151.

¹³ Xu Xiqi (1992). All the dates of the Chinese lunar calendar appeared in this thesis below are converted to the western calendar based on this book.

¹⁴ *JTS*: 2, 1, 21. When Shimin was four, a seer said that "Shimin has the dragon–phoenix appearance and the Heaven–Sun bearing. At the age of 20, he must be able to rescue the world and pacify the populace."

¹⁵ *Ibid.*: 65, 15, 2446.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁷ *ZZTJ*: 180, 4, 5602–04.

Eastern Turks in Yanmen 雁門 (modern Daixian, Shanxi 山西代縣) and summoned help. Shimin responded, contributed tactical guidance for dissolving the besiegement and rescued the emperor from the peril.¹⁸ This was the first time, at the age of only seventeen, that Shimin displayed his military talent.

The threat from the rising Eastern Turks was only one of the troubles the Sui regime was facing. The Yellow River 黃河 flood in 611, Sui Yangdi's lavish spending, burdensome corvée impositions, the repeated and ruinously expensive military campaigns against Koguryō in 612, 613 and 614, and defense against the resurgent power of the Turks were directly responsible for dozens of domestic rebellions. The revolt by Yang Xuangan 楊玄感 (d. 613), *Libu shangshu* 禮部尚書 (Minister of Ministry of Rites), in 613, the first defection by a major political figure, although it lasted only two months, caused a great disruption in the functioning of the Sui dynasty. From the end of 616 to the spring of 617, the Sui officials, elite and peasants launched more revolts. Some of them detached from the Sui, claiming themselves to be monarchs of areas under Sui control, and some became subjects of the Eastern Turks.¹⁹ All sections of the empire were in turmoil, and the imperial troops were engaged on a dozen fronts in an effort to contain or exterminate the rebels.

Li Shimin's father, then Li Yuan 李淵 (566–635), inherited the title of *Tang Guogong* 唐國公 (Duke of Tang) at age seven. In the 610s, he was the governor of two prefectures, and became *Weiwei shaoqing* 衛尉少卿 (Junior Chamberlain of the Court for the Palace Garrison)²⁰ in 613. That same year he supervised the transportation of military supplies for Yangdi's second Koguryō campaign and then was sent to suppress Yang Xuangan's revolt. In 615 and 616, Li Yuan was dispatched to Shanxi and Hedong 河東,²¹ where he destroyed local "bandit" groups and successfully opposed Turkic incursions across the border. In recognition of Li Yuan's victories, in early 617, Yangdi promoted him to the post of garrison commander of Taiyuan 太原,

¹⁸ *JTS*: 2, 2, 21.

¹⁹ *TD*: 197, 12, 605–721.

²⁰ Hucker (1985): 565.

²¹ *Cihai bianji weiyuanhui* (1979): 911. During the Daye reign (605–618) Puzhou was part of the Hedong District 大業時蒲州為河東郡

headquartered in Jinyuan 晉源.²² Li Yuan took Li Shimin along, leaving the first and fourth sons, Li Jiancheng 李建成 (589–626) and Li Yuanji 李元吉 (603–626), in Hedong.²³ Until this time Li Yuan had been a loyal and extremely valuable supporter of the Sui royal house.²⁴

By the time of Li Yuan's appointment at Taiyuan, the Sui regime was plagued by more widespread rebellions. In 614, a monk made a prophecy that "the next person to occupy the throne would be surnamed Li" and advised Sui Yangdi to wipe out all those surnamed Li.²⁵ Sui Yangdi became suspicious of any of his generals surnamed Li, which resulted in his killing of Li Jincai 李金才 (d. 615), *Youxiaowei dajiangjun* 右驍衛大將軍 (General of the Right Courageous Guards), and more than 30 members of his clan.²⁶ Li Yuan feared that he would be the next, as Sui Yangdi had grown discontented and suspicious of him.²⁷ Li Yuan was imprisoned waiting to be taken to the capital for punishment, usually a death penalty, for a battle that was lost to the Turks. A few days later, Sui Yangdi changed his mind and had him released.²⁸

Li Yuan, who faced a critical point of his destiny, decided to revolt. His role in the Taiyuan uprising has not been truly revealed in Tang histories, such as *Jiu Tangshu* 舊唐書 (*JTS*; Old history of the Tang), *Xin Tangshu* 新唐書 (*XTS*; New history of the Tang) and *Zizhi tongjian* 資治通鑑 (*ZZTJ*; Comprehensive mirror for aid in government). He was depicted as "a mediocre and lackluster man, devoid of ambition and burdened by the weight of years." Li Shimin, however, has been portrayed as a "superb military leader, forceful, ambitious and charismatic" and "given full credit for founding the Tang."²⁹ Scholars have re-examined the accounts of this event on the basis of "private" and "independent" work to enable us to "counterbalance the

²² *XTS*: 1, 1, 2.

²³ *DTCQ*: 1a, 4, 303–958.

²⁴ Twitchett (1979): 153.

²⁵ *ZZTJ*: 182, 6, 5695 and 183, 7, 5709. Two versions of the prophecy or two different prophecies are recorded.

²⁶ *QW*: 1, 1, 11. *JTS*: 1, 1, 7–8. Three months after Gaozu was enthroned, he conferred on general Li Jincai and his son, Li Min, posthumous titles and allowed their clan members to return to their hometown from exile.

²⁷ *JTS*: 1, 1, 2. *DTCQ*: 1a, 4, 303–958.

²⁸ *DTCQ*: 1a, 4, 303–958.

²⁹ Twitchett (1979): 154–55.

bias"³⁰ by the official histories written under Tang Taizong, such as *Da Tang chuangye qijuzhu* 大唐創業起居注 (*DTCQ*; Court diary of the founding of the great Tang) in which Li Yuan "was portrayed as a courageous leader and a cunning strategist," "who masterminded the Taiyuan revolt and ably guided the Tang army to victory."³¹ They conclude: "important elements were probably fabricated during the reign of Taizong at the emperor's own insistence."³² Not only did Li Shimin "play a secondary role in these events, but he contributed no more to the founding of the dynasty than did his elder brother, Li Jiancheng."³³

Such efforts are fully justified in restoring the true importance of Li Yuan in the founding of the Tang dynasty. The last part of the conclusion, however, that Shimin "contributed no more than his elder brother," ignores the degree of his involvement and needs discussion. This statement is based on the following:

Early in the 5th moon of 617, Li Yuan sent word to his eldest and fourth sons, Li Jiancheng and Li Yuanji, who were serving in southern Shanxi, to raise additional troops in their area, and ordered his second son, Li Shimin, Liu Wenjing and others to do the same in Taiyuan. Within ten days almost 10,000 troops were recruited and encamped at the Xingguo Monastery in Jinyang.³⁴

It is true that Li Yuan ordered Li Jiancheng to raise troops in Hedong and Li Shimin to gather supporters in Jinyang, as verified by *DTCQ*. But Liu Wenjing 劉文靜 (568–619), *Jinyangling* 晉陽令³⁵ (District Magistrate of Jinyang), could not have participated as he was jailed by Yangdi for a family marriage connected with general Li Mi 李密 (582–619), another rebel leader. It was Li Shimin who went to the jail to recruit him;³⁶ whether he initiated the action or it was on the order of his father is not clear. Shimin also bribed Pei Ji 裴寂 (d. 629), the *Jinyang*

³⁰ Twitchett (1992): 41.

³¹ Twitchett (1979): 155–56.

³² *Ibid.*: 155.

³³ *Ibid.*: 156.

³⁴ *Ibid.*: 156.

³⁵ *JTS*: 56, 7, 2290.

³⁶ *ZZTJ*: 183, 7, 5729.

Gong fujian 晉陽宮副監³⁷ (Vice Supervisor of Jinyang Palace), with "several 10,000" Chinese cash for gambling.³⁸ The claim could be arguable, but the action matched the assertion in *DTCQ* that "both brothers understood their father's plan and exhausted their wealth."³⁹ Recruiting or nourishing these two figures, Liu and Pei, proved to be indispensable to the revolt. Shimin played an important role in a way that his father could not have conveniently done himself during the initial stage of the revolt.

The same source, *DTCQ*, records that Li Yuan revealed his intent and plan confidentially to Li Shimin more than twice and involved him in the key steps of the revolt. After receiving his new assignment as garrison commander of Taiyuan, Li Yuan was happy and disclosed to Li Shimin that "My being here was given by destiny; if I do not take it, calamities will fall upon us."⁴⁰ And on another occasion, "The Sui is going to doom; heaven's order has fallen upon my family. I have not risen to revolt because your brothers have not gathered here."⁴¹ By accompanying his father in Taiyuan, Shimin had the advantage of knowing his father's intent and plan directly and accurately and, therefore, could assist him accordingly in an efficient and timely manner.

The Jinyang Palace Incident 晉陽宮事變 is a good example. On the day of *guihai* 癸亥 of the fifth moon (June 22, 617), Li Yuan "dispatched Zhangsun Shunde 長孫順德 (fl. early seventh century) and Zhao Wenke 趙文恪 (d. ca. 619) to lead a total of 500 men encamped at Xingguo Monastery 興國寺, under the general commander of Li Shimin, to ambush at the east gate of Jinyang Palace."⁴² The next morning, the two Sui officials, sent by Yangdi to spy upon Li Yuan, were seized and executed, thus declaring Li Yuan's "upholding the righteousness and rising to revolt" 遂起義兵,⁴³ signaling the official commencement of the revolt.⁴⁴ Based on the confidential

³⁷ *JTS*: 56, 7, 2285.

³⁸ *ZZTJ*: 5730.

³⁹ *DTCQ*: 1a, 6, 303–958.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*: 1a, 3, 303–957.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*: 1a, 5, 303–958.

⁴² *Ibid.*: 1a, 9, 303–960.

⁴³ *JTS*: 1, 1, 3.

⁴⁴ Zhao Keyao (1984): 17.

talks mentioned above, there is no reason to suggest that Shimin was excluded from the process of planning and its execution. As a matter of fact, he was the commander of these 500 troops. He must have played a key role, probably part of a good father-and-son team, together with many others, in plotting and carrying out the incident and the revolt successfully.

Jiancheng, absent from the official start of the revolt, remained in Hedong recruiting troops. Before the Jinyang Palace Incident, Li Yuan "sent a secret messenger to Puzhou 蒲州 (Hedong) to summon Jiancheng to speed up and come to Taiyuan."⁴⁵ On the way to Taiyuan, Jiancheng met with Chai Shao 柴紹 (d. 638), Li Yuan's son-in-law, and suggested that they seek help from local bandits as a temporary measure because the road to Taiyuan was long and dangerous. The idea was rejected by Chai. Later, when they learned "the uprising had already broken out, they celebrated among themselves" 知己起義, 於是相賀.⁴⁶ Jiancheng and Yuanji finally arrived in Taiyuan on the day of *jimao* 巳卯 of the sixth moon (August 7, 617),⁴⁷ one and half months after the Jinyang Palace Incident. In addition, Shimin must have played an important role in soliciting Turkic assistance, another crucial aspect of the revolt, which will be discussed below.

Hence it is more reasonable to assume that Li Yuan orchestrated the revolt. Shimin facilitated the revolt preparation, making contributions in the first few critical months leading up to the revolt itself. During this time, his elder brother was absent from Taiyuan and could therefore not match Shimin's contributions.

Before Li Yuan could safely move forward with the revolt, he needed to remove the threat from the Turks and their allies. At the end of the Sui, the Eastern Turks, an extremely powerful coalition of tribes, were the dominant power from the Qidan 契丹 (an ancient tribal state active in modern Inner Mongolia) in the east to the Tuyuhun 吐穀渾 (an ancient tribal state active in modern Linxia, Gansu) and to Gaochang 高昌 (Khocho) in the west.⁴⁸ Since 613, many of the rebels who had appeared in northwest China had declared themselves to be Turkic subjects.⁴⁹ Li

⁴⁵ *DTCQ*: 1a, 8, 303–960. 遣密使往蒲州催皇太子.

⁴⁶ *JTS*: 58, 8, 2314.

⁴⁷ *ZZTJ*: 183, 8, 5737.

⁴⁸ *THY*: 94, 1687.

⁴⁹ *TD*: 197, 12, 605–721. Chen Yinke (2001b): 322–24.

Yuan sent Liu Wenjing as an envoy to the Turkic camp with a letter to Shibi Qaghan 始畢可汗 (r. 609–619), claiming that his campaign was for the sake of the populace and for restoring friendly relations between the Chinese and Turks, which had existed during the early Sui period. Li Yuan offered the Turks two options: fight together or remain neutral⁵⁰ and share in the spoils of the battle. The Qaghan replied that he would help only if "Duke of Tang (Li Yuan) claimed himself the Son of Heaven."⁵¹ Whether Li Yuan declared that he was a subject of the Turks has not been clearly stated in the histories. What Taizong confessed, that Gaozu "admitted himself a subject to Turks" 稱臣於突厥⁵² and the facts that the Turks provided horses and armed men to help Li Yuan to Chang'an,⁵³ and after his enthronement, "gifts and bestowals [to Turks] were too numerous to be counted,"⁵⁴ however, matched perfectly with the deal between Gaozu and the Turks. Shimin's role in this negotiation, not recorded, may be supported by Yuanji's accusation. When Shimin opposed persistently the removal from the capital in order to avoid the Turks' attacks in 624, Yuanji convinced Gaozu that Shimin desired to fight the Turks in order to gather troops and plot for power.⁵⁵ If Shimin was not the key player in soliciting Turkic assistance during the Tang founding, why would he be suspicious in this way? An in-depth study by Chen Yinke 陳寅恪 (1890–1969) reveals not only that Li Yuan claimed himself a subject to the Turks, but also that Li Shimin could be the one who facilitated and insisted on it.⁵⁶

The Taiyuan revolt moved forward vigorously. In the seventh moon, Li Yuan led his army south to capture Chang'an. After fighting successfully for three months, they reached Chang'an and besieged it with more than 200,000 troops. On the day of *bingchen* 丙辰 of the eleventh moon (December 12, 617), Chang'an was conquered. On the day of *guihai* 癸亥 (December 19, 617), Sui Yangdi was given the title *Taishanghuang* 太上皇 (Retired Emperor)

⁵⁰ If Turks remained neutral, Li Yuan could fight against the Sui army without worrying about possible Turkic attacks from the back, the north.

⁵¹ *DTCQ*: 1a, 11, 303–961. *THY*: 94, 1687. 唐公自作天子, 我當以兵馬助之

⁵² *JTS*: 67, 17, 2480.

⁵³ *DTCQ*: 1a, 14, 303–963. 送馬千匹來太原交市, 仍許遣兵送帝往西京[西安].

⁵⁴ *JTS*: 194a, 144a, 5155.

⁵⁵ *XTS*: 79, 4, 3542.

⁵⁶ Chen Yinke (2001a): 108–21.

and the Prince of Dai, You 代王侑 (r. 617) was elevated as the new emperor of the Sui, who in turn conferred on Li Yuan the power to take charge of all affairs, both civil and military. On the day of *jiazi* 甲子 of the fifth moon of 618 (June 18, 618), the last Sui emperor was deposed, and Li Yuan ascended the throne himself at the Taijidian 太極殿 (Extreme Polar Hall) by naming the new dynasty Tang 唐 and the reign, Wude 武德. One month later, Gaozu's eldest son, Jiancheng, was appointed the Crown Prince, and Shimin, the second son, was made the Prince of Qin 秦王 and Yuanji became the Prince of Qi 齊王.⁵⁷

The new dynasty occupied the capital, but it was only one of the many regional regimes. Several other major rebel groups claimed thrones elsewhere; at the end of the Sui and during the early Tang, there were more than 200 rebel organizations.⁵⁸ While the Crown Prince remained in Chang'an assisting Gaozu in running state affairs, the Prince of Qin was charged with wiping out other contenders in order to unite China under one ruler.

This task was arduous and took seven years to complete, seven times longer than the founding of the Tang. During these years, Shimin commanded and won several major campaigns, riding on many fine horses. Six of these are depicted on the stone reliefs. The first campaign dealt with Xue Ju 薛舉 (d. 618), who had controlled a large part of Gansu since the middle of 617 and had proclaimed himself emperor. The Prince of Qin took one year, by going through successive wins and losses, and finally made Xue Ju's successor, Xue Renguo 薛仁果 (d. 618), surrender.⁵⁹ This victory was a great encouragement to the newly founded Tang regime as a big threat from the west was removed.

The second campaign came three months later in response to the threat from Liu Wuzhou 劉武周 (d. 622), who occupied northern Shanxi and was allied with the Turks, having received the Turkic title, *Dingyang Qaghan* 定楊可汗 (Qaghan for Subduing Yang).⁶⁰ Supported by the Turks, Liu captured Bingzhou 并州 and Jinzhou 晉州 and threatened Taiyuan. The entire court was shocked and wanted to give up the Hedong area. The Prince of Qin requested 30,000 crack

⁵⁷ *JTS*: 1, 1, 6–7.

⁵⁸ Twitchett (1979): 161.

⁵⁹ *JTS*: 2a, 2a, 23–24.

⁶⁰ *ZZTJ*: 183, 7, 5723. *JTS*: 55, 5, 2253.

troops to conquer Liu and Liu's general Song Jingang 宋金剛 (d. 620), so as to recover the base of their revolt.⁶¹ The Prince of Qin not only drove both Liu and Song out of these cities to the Turkic area, but also returned to the capital with the surrendered generals, such as Yuchi Jingde 尉遲敬德 (585–658),⁶² who were indebted to the Prince of Qin's trust and became staunchly loyal to him.

After securing the areas in the west and north, the Tang turned attention to Luoyang, the eastern capital 東都, occupied by Wang Shichong 王世充 (d. 621), who proclaimed himself emperor in 619. The famous generals such as Qin Shubao 秦叔寶 (571–638) and Cheng Zhijie 程知節 (593–665) who had formerly served Wang, surrendered to Tang. The Prince of Qin surrounded Luoyang on three sides and blocked their supply lines. Unexpectedly, a large army, claimed to be as many as 100,000 men, led by Dou Jiande 竇建德 (573–621), another contender, from Hebei, came to Wang's rescue. By employing good tactics, the Prince of Qin won the famous "battle at Wulao" 武牢之戰, capturing Dou, and forcing Wang to surrender in the fourth year of the Wude reign (621).⁶³ These victories were decisive for the stability of the newly established Tang regime.

The conquest of the Hebei area, once occupied by Dou Jiande, was not accomplished in one campaign. In the fourth moon of 621, the execution of Dou aroused discontent among his followers, who gathered again to revenge him; an uprising broke out, led by Liu Heita 劉黑闥 (d. 623). After a mixture of wins and losses, Liu was killed in the beginning of 623.⁶⁴ The major campaigns that resulted in wiping out strong and organized opponents finally came to an end. In the seventh year of Wude reign (624), Gaozu proclaimed a formal amnesty and issued new laws to his united and pacified empire.⁶⁵

⁶¹ *JTS*: 2a, 2a, 25.

⁶² *Ibid.*

⁶³ *Ibid.*: 2a, 2a, 27–28 and 54, 4, 2241–42.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*: 55, 5, 2258–60.

⁶⁵ *CFYG*: 83, 30–31.

The Prince of Qin became a national hero for crushing all the contenders and securing a large territory for the Tang Empire. His triumphant return to Chang'an after his victories over Liu and Dou in 621 is described in *JTS* as below:

太宗親披黃金甲，陳鉄馬一萬騎，甲士三萬人，前後部鼓吹，俘二偽主及隋氏器物輦輅獻于太廟。高祖大悅，行飲至禮以享焉。高祖以自古舊官不稱殊功，乃別表徽號，用旌勳德。十月，加號天策上將，陝東道大行臺，位在王公上。增邑二萬戶，通前三萬戶。⁶⁶

Taizong, clad in gold armor, led an array of 10,000 cavalry horses wearing iron armor and 30,000 armored soldiers, accompanied by music bands in front and at the rear, to present to the ancestral temple the two captured contenders and the Sui dynasty vessels and chariots. Gaozu was thrilled and granted the Prince of Qin the ritual rights regarding procession and wine drinking. Gaozu did not think that all the old official titles could match his extraordinary achievements and therefore created separate titles to honor his exceptional virtue. In the tenth moon, the Prince of Qin was given titles above all the royal princes, Tiance Senior General and Grand Commissioner for State Affairs of Shaanxi East Circuit. He was entitled to a stipend from taxing a total of 30,000 households with an increase of 20,000 households.

Taizong's remarkable accomplishments made his reputation soar. Unfortunately, it also became a source of jealousy to the heir apparent, who saw the Prince of Qin as a great threat to his succession to the throne. The Crown Prince and the Prince of Qi formed an alliance and plotted schemes to harm and kill the Prince of Qin. Some incidents have been recorded in *ZZTJ*⁶⁷ but their accuracy has been questioned by modern scholars.⁶⁸

The power struggle between the two brothers became intense, which led to the Xuanwumen 玄武門 (Dark Warrior Gate) Incident on the day of *gengshen* 庚申 of the sixth moon of the ninth year of the Wude reign (July 2, 626). The Prince of Qin and his followers lay in ambush at Xuanwumen. When the Crown Prince and the Prince of Qi approached the Gate, they noticed things were abnormal, but it was too late for them to escape. The Prince of Qin killed the

⁶⁶ *JTS*: 2a, 2a, 28.

⁶⁷ *ZZTJ*: 191, 7, 6004–05.

⁶⁸ Twitchett (1979): 182–87. And see notes 88 and 89 on p. 184.

Crown Prince, and Yuchi Jingde slew the Prince of Qi. The Prince of Qin sent Yuchi, whom Gaozu had recently sentenced to death, to announce the result of the coup to Gaozu, who was relaxing in his palace compound. The Xuanwumen Incident turned the situation in favor of the Prince of Qin, who became the Crown Prince and took over control of all the state affairs. Two months later, Gaozu abdicated and became the Retired Emperor; the Prince of Qin took the throne and became the second Tang emperor,⁶⁹ known posthumously as Taizong.

Emperor Taizong ruled China for 23 years, and his reign, Zhenguan 貞觀, was marked with peace and prosperity at home and unrivalled success in foreign relations. His reign has been praised by later Chinese historians as *Zhenguan zhizhi* 貞觀之治 (good government of the Zhenguan reign).

At the beginning of the Zhenguan reign, Taizong faced the challenge of, without radically transforming the basic institutions and political practices⁷⁰ derived from on the legacy of the Sui and his father, nevertheless consolidating, improving and making the system work for the greatly expanded empire and changed social order.⁷¹ After hundreds of years of alien rule with constant power shifts, as well as the rough rule under Sui Yangdi, together with the numerous uprisings and wars as well as the bloody coup of the Xuanwumen Incident, the society and the court desired political stability and a peaceful environment in which to move forward. Taizong created a drastically changed administration for developing a harmonious government and orderly country to fulfill his refined political concept. Having learned lessons from former rulers, such as Sui Yangdi, who lost their mandates, Taizong took to heart the well-being of his people and made great efforts "to run government frugally, reduce impositions, improve the quality of local officials,"⁷² revive the relief granaries and improve the codes of law. These policies facilitated a peaceful society for agriculture and economic development under the new regime.

Taizong adopted a lenient policy and fitting style to run his government. After he took the throne, he reburied the former Crown Prince and the Prince of Qi with proper rites, pardoned

⁶⁹ *JTS*: 1, 1, 17. *XTS*: 2, 2, 26–27.

⁷⁰ Twitchett (1979): 37.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*: 6.

⁷² *ZZTJ*: 192, 8, 6026.

their entourages and continued to trust and use some of them, such as Wei Zheng 魏征 (580–643) and Wang Gui 王珪 (570–639), who were advisors of the former Crown Prince. These measures helped in healing the wounds caused by his rise to power and pacified the court. He entrusted high positions to surrendered generals and non-Chinese officials, among them several officials and generals mentioned above. These actions demonstrated his charismatic character. He was also willing to heed the excellent counsel of his ministers and, as modern scholars have noted, he “remained on surprisingly close to equal terms with his high officials, who were more of his colleagues than the emperor’s servants.”⁷³ Taizong was conscientious about the doctrine of running the state and the discussion on the subject with his ministers is well recorded in *Zhenguan zhengyao* 貞觀政要 (*ZZZY*; Essentials of government of the Zhenguan era).⁷⁴ He relied on the wisdom of his ministers to manage state affairs, treated officials, Chinese or non-Chinese, with trust and equality, and included them in his extended “political family”⁷⁵ for fulfilling his political concept. The monarch and his ministers worked extremely well together; this was the key to the success of the Zhenguan reign and became a potent model for future rulers to follow. The “larger than life” image of Taizong, as portrayed in the *JTS* and *XTS*, has been challenged by Western scholars.⁷⁶

Taizong’s success in external affairs is unparalleled in Chinese history. Under Taizong’s reign, the one-time dominant Eastern Turkic power was destroyed, and the Western Turks were

⁷³ Wright (1978): 204. This remark is included in Chapter 10, written by Robert M. Somers.

⁷⁴ *ZZZY*: 1–12.

⁷⁵ Wechsler (1985): 229.

⁷⁶ Twitchett (1979). Wright (1973). Wright (1978). These authors believe that the images of the two Sui emperors, Wendi and Yangdi, and the first ruler of the Tang Gaozu, have been overshadowed by Tang Taizong’s “larger than life” image. The first three emperors made great contributions in unifying China and establishing central organization. Under Tang Taizong’s reign, however, “no new institutions or any major swing in government policy” were made (Wright, 1973:26) or “in no major institution do we find important Tang innovations” (Wright, 1978:2201). They discover with surprise that “Taizong remained on surprisingly close to equal terms with his high officials” (Wright, 1978:204). The author of the thesis considers that the relationship between Taizong and his ministers reflects elements of modern democratic management of a government. Thus it is a surprise to see also that elements of modern democracy were practiced by Taizong 1,400 years ago. Taizong’s style of governmental management is labeled as merely “a personal style” (Wright, 1973:26) or viewed as a sign of incompetence by some of these authors.

broken up, Tuyuhun and Xueyantuo 薛延陀 (Syr-Tardouch;⁷⁷ an ancient tribal state active in the north of China), were subdued and several oases of Central Asia were brought to heel. Tang enjoyed unrivaled dominance and expanded its territories mostly widely since the Han. After Taizong conquered the Eastern Turks, the leaders of the Western States came to Chang'an to request that Tang Taizong assume the title of *Tiankehan* 天可汗 (Heavenly Qaghan), the Qaghan of qaghans. Taizong declaimed that "I who am the Son of the Heaven for the Great Tang will also deign to carry out the duties of the qaghans."⁷⁸ This dual title must have had great impact on Taizong and his political concept for a long-lasting Tang Empire by adhering to the policy of "inclusivity"⁷⁹ and making the "empire open to all."⁸⁰ The assimilation of non-Chinese, especially large numbers of Turks after the fall of the Eastern Turks, into the Chinese populace, turned China into a multi-ethnic society. Further, Taizong's open mind led foreigners to throng to Chang'an: foreign merchants came and went; foreign monks were permitted to practice their religions, such as Nestorian, in Chang'an and to erect their temples; and foreign communities were built. Various cultures, exotic goods, alien beliefs and foreign styles all met in Chang'an. The control of the Western Regions greatly facilitated and expanded the trade and cultural transmission through the silk roads, where new ideas and foreign elements flooded into Tang China and Chinese elements spread outside. Seventh-century Chang'an became the breeding ground for cosmopolitanism;⁸¹ it was open to foreign influences of all kinds.⁸² It is in the context of a multi-ethnic and multi-cultural cosmopolitan center of the early seventh century, mixed with cultural strands from the Qin, Han and Northern dynasties that we should examine Zhaoling, the mausoleum of Emperor Tang Taizong.

⁷⁷Chavannes (1900): 175.

⁷⁸ *ZZTJ*: 193, 9, 6073.

⁷⁹ Wechsler (1985): 226.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*: ix.

⁸¹ Adshead (2004): xiii. Steinhardt (1990): 93.

⁸² Wright (1973): 1.

Chapter Two: Scholarship

Zhaoling is one of the very few imperial mausolea that have received considerable attention throughout Chinese history. Mention was made in the written records even before the complex was built, and it has continued to be documented ever since. Zhaoling, including the six stone horse reliefs and fourteen stone statues of officials, has been frequently recorded in standard histories, private histories, gazetteers, literature and other forms of writing. The documentation is extensive, covering a time span of 1,400 years. Among such a wealth of materials, the author has chosen to focus on the texts from representative historical writings and to arrange them into two sections—historical documentation and scholarship of the twentieth century—to demonstrate the historical development of the study of Zhaoling.

1. Historical Documentation

This section traces the documentation of Zhaoling, from the Tang dynasty through the nineteenth century. The information is presented chronologically.

1). Historical Documentation during the Tang and Five Dynasties

Excellent records exist about the Tang period. The imperial burial system was an important part of the dynastic history and was recorded in several Tang official and unofficial records (Table I). Documentation of Zhaoling in the Tang dynasty provides first-hand information on the background and the selection of the site of Zhaoling, the establishment of the Tang imperial burial system and a brief description of the layout.

Zhaoling was first mentioned in the *JTS* in association with Emperor Taizong's Empress Wende 文德皇后 (601–636), who died in the sixth moon of the tenth year of Zhenguan reign 貞觀 (636) and was buried in Zhaoling in the eleventh moon of the same year.⁸³ One year earlier, the death of Gaozu, already had prompted a heated debate between Taizong, who favored an

⁸³ *JTS*: 3, 3.

extravagant burial, and his ministers, who recommended a simple mountain burial.⁸⁴ Taizong finally decided to build the mausoleum, named Xianling 獻陵, in Sanyuan County 三原縣, Shaanxi, for Gaozu with an earthen mound of a height of six *zhang* 丈.⁸⁵ A mountain burial was first used for the Empress; Taizong selected *Jiuzongshan* 九峻山 (Mount Jiuzong) as her burial place and eventually for himself. This imperial burial ground is named Zhaoling.

In the following years, Taizong issued several edicts granting permission to the meritorious officials and their descendants to build auxiliary tombs at Zhaoling.⁸⁶ The brief information about the construction of Zhaoling, including Xuangong 玄宮 (Mortuary Palace), Qingong 寢宮 (Resting Place) and the erection of stone monuments, is contained in various passages in *JTS* and *XTS*; and was gathered in *Tang Huiyao* 唐會要 (*THY*; Tang Essential Documents), collated and presented to the throne by Wang Pu 王溥 (922–982) in 961.⁸⁷ Two volumes are directly relevant to this discussion: volume 20 provides the description of the establishment of the Tang imperial burial system, and volume 21 classifies the sacrificial rites held at imperial tombs including Zhaoling, various types of imperial tombs and lists of auxiliary tombs.⁸⁸

Zhaoling is also included in miscellaneous texts by various scholars. Feng Yan 封演 (fl. second half of the eighth century), who obtained a *Jinshi* 進士 (Metropolitan graduate) degree in the year of 756, made note in his *Fengshi wenjianji* 封氏聞見記 (Jottings of Feng's hearing and seeing) that the Tang imperial mausolea took mountains as burial mounds and mentioned specifically the stone monuments of horses and figures at the mausoleum of Tang Taizong.⁸⁹

During the Tang, Zhaoling was very well protected under the Gaozong reign and to a lesser degree during the rest of the Tang. When the general, Fan Huaiyi 範懷義, unintentionally cut down a cypress 柏樹 at Zhaoling, Gaozong ordered that he be punished by death. Fan was

⁸⁴ *THY*: 20.

⁸⁵ Hanyu dacidian bianji weiyuanhui (1997): 7763. One *zhang* equaled 3.0 (small ruler) or 3.6 (large ruler) meters during the Tang dynasty.

⁸⁶ *THY*: 76 and 63.

⁸⁷ Twitchett (1992): 84–119.

⁸⁸ *THY*: 20–21.

⁸⁹ Feng Yan (1987): 6, 8.

able to escape the death penalty only because of two remonstrances by Di Renjie 狄仁傑 (630–700), Zaixiang 宰相 (Grand Councilor), but he did lose his position.⁹⁰

People treated Zhaoling as a sacred place, and Taizong and his famous chargers were idolized and deified. Many people who had been treated wrongly were found tearfully complaining to Taizong at Zhaoling, seeking help.⁹¹ When Chang'an was sacked by the An Lushan 安祿山 (703–757) rebels in 757, the critical situation made people yearn for the victorious days under Taizong. In a battle at Lingbao, Henan 河南靈寶, the rebels who temporarily took an upper hand saw a troupe led by a yellow flag gallop onto the battlefield from nowhere. After the rebellion army was defeated, the yellow-flagged army disappeared in a sand storm. Then the Zhaoling guards reported to the court that the stone horses and official statues at Zhaoling were all sweating heavily. People believed that it was these stone horses and officials that had formed the yellow-flagged army.⁹²

The same sentiments are found in works by great poets. After the capital was sacked, Du Fu 杜甫 (712–770), wrote a poem, "A break at Zhaoling" 行次昭陵, in the eighth moon of 757, which reads:

玉衣晨自舉, 石馬汗常趨⁹³

Jade suit [refers to Taizong] rises itself in the morning,
Stone horses sweat frequently.

He wished that Emperor Tang Taizong and his horses would reappear to lead the army into battle. Two months later when the capital was recovered, Du Fu composed another poem, "Passing by Zhaoling Again" 再經昭陵,

陵寢盤空曲, 熊羆守翠微. 再窺松柏路, 還見五雲飛.⁹⁴

⁹⁰ XTS: 115, 40, 4207.

⁹¹ Cao Jiguan (1935): 63.

⁹² Yao Runeng (1995): c, 16.

⁹³ Du Fu (1999): 386.

⁹⁴ Ibid.: 402.

The mausoleum winds through the high mountains,
Brave warriors guard the green environs.
Peek again through the pine road,
Still see the five-colored clouds.

The poem reveals the fact that Zhaoling reflects the poet's joyful feelings and optimism about the state as he was seeing auspicious clouds. On another occasion, when the commander Li Sheng 李晟 (727–793)⁹⁵ recovered the capital in 783, Li Shangyin 李商隱 (813–858) was thrilled and wrote the poem, "Capital Recovered" 復京:

天教李令心如日, 可要昭陵石馬來。⁹⁶

Heaven made Commander Li loyal,
Why need the stone horses from Zhaoling.

Probably the most complete and authoritative descriptions of Zhaoling were the texts, such as *Tang lingyuan ji* 唐陵園記 (Record of the Tang mausolea),⁹⁷ *Lingmiao ji* 陵廟記 (Record of mausolea and temples),⁹⁸ *Zhaoling Jianling tu* 昭陵建陵圖一卷 (Illustrations of Zhaoling and Jianling, one volume) and *Wang Fangqing's Jiuzongshan ji* 王方慶九峻山記一卷 (Records on Mount Jiuzong by Wang Fangqing [d. 702], one volume)⁹⁹ and *Huiyao* 會要 (Essential documents). Unfortunately, none is extant.¹⁰⁰

Although many of the imperial mausolea were built in mountains, still they could not escape a tragic plight after the fall of the Tang. *Jiu Wudaishi* 舊五代史 (*JWDS*; Old history of the Five Dynasties) indicates that when Wen Tao 溫韜 (d. ca. 926) served as *Yaozhou jieshi* 耀州節使 (Military Commissioner of Yaozhou), he opened all the Tang imperial mausolea in the region

⁹⁵ *JTS*: 133, 83, 3661–67.

⁹⁶ Li Shangyin (1978): 132–33.

⁹⁷ You Shixiong (1089): Inscription.

⁹⁸ *CAZ*: 16, 587–200.

⁹⁹ Shen Qingya (1969): v. 4, 2055. Mu Xingping (2006): 124–32. Wang Fangqing was a tenth-generation descendant of a brother of Wang Xizhi 王羲之, the famous Tang calligrapher.

¹⁰⁰ Shen Qingya (1969): 4, 70, 2055.

except one and took away the tomb treasures.¹⁰¹ Due to the unstable political situation of the late Tang and the frequent power changes during the Five Dynasties and Ten States (907–960), in addition to the harm caused by nature, Zhaoling and other Tang imperial tombs were neglected.

2). Historical Documentation during the Song Dynasty

Negligence of earlier imperial mausolea was brought to the attention of the first emperor of the Song dynasty (960–1279), Taizu Zhao Kuangyin 太祖趙匡胤 (r. 960–976). Shortly after setting up the new regime, he wasted no time in making special efforts for their renovation and preservation. These efforts came from the central government as well as local administrations. The Song dynasty also witnessed a heyday of highly developed disciplines of historiography and epigraphy. Influential works pertinent to Zhaoling were produced and have been used as important references about the tomb even until today. Publications and works of art with the subject of Zhaoling and its six horses were also created.

It is recorded in the *Song shi* 宋史 (SS2; Standard history of Song) that in the sixth moon of the first year of the Qiande reign 乾德 (963), Emperor Taizu promulgated an edict that “the former successive emperors are entitled to receive sacrifice once every three years; memorial temples for Emperor Guangwu of the Eastern Han and for Emperor Taizong of the Tang are to be erected.”¹⁰² Ten years later, Emperor Tang Taizong’s memorial temple, located in the Old-county village, Junma town of the Liquan County 醴泉縣駿馬鄉舊縣村, was completed. A stele, *Da Song xinxiu Tang Taizong miaobei* 大宋新修唐太宗廟碑 (Great Song stele dedicated to the newly built Tang Taizong’s temple; hereafter referred as the “Temple stele”), was erected in the sixth year of Kaibao 開寶 (973).¹⁰³ The stele, eight *chi* 尺¹⁰⁴ in height and four *chi* 尺 in width, is written in running script with 23 lines and 50 characters in each line. The inscription reveals that

¹⁰¹ *JWDS*: 40, 28, 350.

¹⁰² *SS2*: 1, 1, 13. 丙申, 詔歷代帝王三年一饗, 立漢光武, 唐太宗廟

¹⁰³ *JSCB*: 124, 2, 6–729.

¹⁰⁴ *Hanyu dacidian bianji weiyuanhui* (1997): 7763. One chi equaled 0.31.2 m. during the Song dynasty.

“abundant resources were given and special artisans were hired” for the construction of the new Tang Taizong’s temple and the temple was erected with great ceremonies.¹⁰⁵

Cefu yuangui 冊府元龜 (*CFYG*; Outstanding models from the storehouse of literature) compiled by Wang Qinruo 王欽若 (962–1025) in 1013 gives the history of the actual horses that are depicted in the six stone sculptures, particularly the story of Saluzi 颯露紫.

初帝有駿馬名颯[颯]露紫霜，每臨陣多乘之，騰躍摧鋒[金柝]所向皆捷。嘗討王[世]充於隋益馬坊，酣戰移景。此馬為流矢所中，騰上古堤，右庫直立[丘]行恭拔箭而後馬死，至是追念不已，刻石立其像焉。¹⁰⁶

Initially, the Emperor had a steed named Saluzishuang [also called Saluzi] and rode it to engage in most of the battles. It galloped, leaped and was ever victorious. When Taizong was battling with Wang Shichong at Yimafang, the combat was fierce and speedy. Saluzi was hit by an arrow and leaped to the dam. After the arrow was pulled out by the Duty Officer of the Right Storehouse,¹⁰⁷ Qiu Xinggong (586–665), the horse died. Taizong recalled the horse always and had it carved on stone and erected.

Gazetteers are another source for imperial tomb information. Most of the Tang gazetteers were lost, and those that survived from Yuan mostly dealt with southern China and few dealt with northern China.¹⁰⁸ Lü Dafang 呂大防 (1057–1097) made detailed drawings and included them in the *Chang’an tuji* 長安圖記 (Records of Chang’an with illustrations) when he was the commander of the *Yongxingjun* 永興軍 (Yongxing troop) in 1080. It served as the basis for later works,¹⁰⁹ which will be discussed below. An ancient version of *Chang’an ji* 長安記 (Record of Chang’an) might have existed at one time, but it was certainly different from the surviving *Chang’an zhi* 長安志 (*CAZ*; Zhang’an Gazetteer).¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁵ *JSCB*: 124, 2, 6–729. *SMJH*: 5, 1, 2–449. Zhao commented that the inscription was written tediously, failing to represent a fine Song style.

¹⁰⁶ *CFYG*: 42, 477.

¹⁰⁷ The author would like to thank Professor Victor Mair for providing the translation of this title.

¹⁰⁸ Yan Yiping (1965): Preface.

¹⁰⁹ Huang Wei (1986): 32–33, 236.

¹¹⁰ *YL*: 7.

CAZ, compiled in 1076 by Song Minqiu 宋敏求 (1019–1079) in 20 volumes, fortunately has been handed down. In addition to general information including its location and the six stone horses, the author provides a list of 166 auxiliary tomb occupants organized by groups of prince, princesses, meritorious officials and generals;¹¹¹ it was the most complete list at that time.

Song scholars continued paying attention to Zhaoling, either to facilitate the preservation of antiquities or because they had a special interest in epigraphy. Among them is the prominent official scholar You Shixiong 游師雄 (1038–1097), who erected the *Zhaoling liujun bei* 昭陵陸駿碑 (Stele of the Zhaoling six stone horses; hereafter referred as the "Liujun stele") in the fourth year of the Yuanyou reign 元佑 (1089) (Fig. 3) on the same site as the "Temple stele." The top section of the stele carries an inscription describing the historical background of the erection of the six stone horse reliefs, an engraving of the eulogies of the horses and the reason for making the reliefs. The lower section is incised with the images of the six horses, three on the left and three on the right, each labeled with its name and an eulogistic poem.¹¹²

This stele is the earliest preserved source of information about the author, calligraphers of the eulogies and the arrangement of the six horses with images. This information exists in no other place and has become a benchmark in the study of the Zhaoling six horse reliefs. Given its importance for our discussion, it is necessary to quote the text in full and translate it below:

昭陵陸駿圖碑 運判奉儀游公題六駿碑：師雄舊見唐太宗六馬畫像世傳以為閻立本之筆十八學士為之贊晚始得唐陵園記云太宗葬文德皇后於於昭陵禦制刻石文並六馬像贊皆立於陵後敕歐陽詢書高宗總章二年詔殷仲容別題馬贊於石座即知贊文乃太宗自製非天策學士所為明矣歐陽詢書今不復見惟仲容之字仍存如寫白蹄烏贊云平薛仁果時乘由此益知唐史誤以果為杲耳距陵北五里自山下往返四十里崕徑峭險欲登者難之因諭邑官倣其石像帶箭之狀並丘行恭真塑于邑西門外太宗廟廷高庫豐約洪纖尺寸毫毛不差以便往來觀覽者又別為繪圖刻石於

¹¹¹ CAZ: 16, 16–18, 587–200/01.

¹¹² You Shixiong (1089). Ferguson (1931): 61–72. The author is deeply indebted to Ferguson for having translated the inscriptions into English. The original Chinese inscriptions quoted by Dr. Ferguson in his article contain some errors. The above version was directly transcribed from the rubbing donated to the University of Pennsylvania Museum by Professor Victor H. Mair, who purchased it from the Zhaoling Museum in Liquan in 2004. The translation provided by Ferguson is slightly different from mine.

廡下以廣其傳焉元祐四年端午日武功游師雄景叔題京兆府禮泉縣尉刁玠書主簿蔡安時篆額知縣事呂由聖立石。¹¹³

Shixiong once saw the reliefs of the six horses of Taizong of the Tang dynasty. The paintings from which these were made were said to have been the work of Yan Liben and the verses in praise of the horses that of the Eighteen Scholars. Later I obtained a copy of the *Tang Lingyuan Ji* (Record of the Tang mausolea), in which it is said that when the Empress Wende was buried at Zhaoling, Emperor Taizong composed a memorial inscription for a stone stele in honor of his Empress and verses in praise of the six horses. These stones were all placed at the back of the tomb, and the inscriptions were prepared by Ouyang Xun (557–645). In the second year of Zongzhang of the Gaozong's reign (669), Yin Zhongrong was ordered to inscribe separately on the bases of the stelae. It is thus evident that the verses were composed by Taizong himself and not by the Eighteen Scholars. The inscription of the verses written by Ouyang Xun has disappeared but the writing of Yin Zhongrong is still preserved. We see from this writing that in the case of the horse with white feet, it is stated that it was ridden in the battle against Xue Renguo, and that *JTS* made a mistake in writing the third character of this name as *gao* 杲. The stone horse reliefs are placed about five *li* on the north of the mausoleum, thus making a round trip to the foot of the mountains about forty *li* in length.¹¹⁴ The mountain path is very rough and steep, very inconvenient for sightseers. Therefore, an order was made to the county officials to make replicas of these stone horses showing the pierced arrows and also Qiu Xinggong, with no variation from the size, proportions or measurements. These are to be set up in the temple dedicated to Taizong, which is located outside the west gate of the county, for the convenience of the sightseers. Additionally, a stele with horse images engraved should also be placed in a big hall so that a remembrance of them may be widely disseminated.

Fourth year of Yuanyou, fourth day of the fifth moon.

Inscribed by You Shixiong, styled Jingshu, from Wugong.

¹¹³ You Shixiong (1089).

¹¹⁴ It is not clear from what point a round trip of 40 *li* started. Based on the text, it is mostly likely started from the Taizong Temple at the west of the Liqian county. However, Song Minqiu's *CAZ* indicates that Zhaoling is located 50 *li* north to the Liqian County and *Tang Ling Yuan Ji* mentions 30 *li*, which must be the distance from the Mausoleum to the east of the old Liqian County.

Writing of the inscription by Diao Jie, Liquan County Military Commandant,
Writing in seal script of the heading by Cai Anshi, the Master of Records, and
erection of stele by Lü Yousheng, District Magistrate.

As You mentioned, the eulogies inscribed by Ouyang Xun did not survive, but that the inscription of Yin Zhongrong on the bases of the stone horses were still visible in 669. He also recounted that You made a set of exact replicas of the reliefs and placed them at Taizong’s memorial temple for the convenience of sightseers. Unexpectedly, this has become a source of heated debate, and it will be discussed in more detail later in this thesis.

Five years later (1094), another stele, *Tang Taizong Zhaoling tu* 唐太宗昭陵圖 (The Tang Taizong Zhaoling Map stele; hereafter referred as the “Map stele”) was carved,¹¹⁵ not on an independent stele, but on the back of the “Temple stele” of 973. The “Map stele” also has two sections: the top carries an inscription by You Shixiong stating the decreasing number of auxiliary tomb stelea, which prompted the erection of the stele, and the bottom section is the map of Zhaoling with a vast array of auxiliary tombs (Fig. 4).

It is very fortunate that the two stelae—embracing the “Liujun stele” (1089) and the shared stele with the inscription on the obverse dedicated to the new Tang Taizong Temple in 973 and the “Map stele” added on its reverse in 1094—have survived and are on exhibition at the Zhaoling Museum in Liquan, Shaanxi. The author was able to study them during research trips in 1999 and 2003.

In addition to their efforts towards the preservation of imperial tombs and temples, Song scholars actively engaged in the study of inscriptions on bronze and stone. Zhao Mingcheng 趙明誠 (1081–1129), an outstanding epigrapher, published *Jinshi lu* 金石錄 (Records of metal and stone inscriptions), a monumental work on the study of inscriptions found on more than two thousand ancient monuments and artifacts, many of which are stone monuments from the Guanzhong region. His study on antiquities still is considered one of the most authoritative. Zhao was the first one to challenge You, stating that the eulogies for the six horses, composed by Emperor Taizong, “were all inscribed by Ouyang Xun 歐陽詢 in the script of *bafen shu* 八分書

¹¹⁵ Zhang Pei (1993): 93–94.

(Han-styled script). It is incorrect to attribute the inscribing of the horse eulogies to Yin Zhongrong. Yin was the one who inscribed the names and titles on the pedestals of the statues depicting the surrendered non-Chinese generals.¹¹⁶

Some scholars used the Zhaoling stone horses as the subject of their art. Upon seeing the stone horse rubbings brought to him by a friend, the poet Su Shi 蘇軾 (1036–1101), composed a poem to recall the glorious time of the six horses and Zhaoling. The poem reads, "The heavenly generals plunged into the Sui chaos, the emperor dispatched the six dragon-horses. Zhaoling *que* is now abandoned; the ancient stelae are buried with moss."¹¹⁷ His contemporary, Zhang Lei 張耒 (1054–1114), also wrote a poem, describing how Quanmagua was portrayed in a painting and that the six horses were long gone and could hardly be replaced.¹¹⁸ This implies that there must have been a picture or pictures of the six horses, and Zhang must have seen at least an image of Quanmagua, which inspired him to create this poem. Alas, these images seem to be lost. But a painting, or copy of the painting, of the six horses in color by artist Zhao Lin 趙霖 (fl. 1136–1149) has survived. The six horses are depicted, three on each side, with eulogies, in the same manner as on the "Liujun stele" (Fig. 5).¹¹⁹ The painting measures 4.44 m long and 0.27 m in width, and is now at the collections of the Palace Museum, Beijing.

3). Historical Documentation during the Yuan Dynasty

Not to be compared with the accomplishments of the Song dynasty in the field of epigraphy, the Yuan dynasty (1271–1368) produced only major texts in the *Wenxian Tongkao* 文獻通考 (*WXTK*; Comprehensive review of documents and texts)¹²⁰ and local gazetteers. At least two types of gazetteers survive; they are organized by classified grouping or by illustrations.

¹¹⁶ *JSL*: 397–98. 初太宗以文德皇后之葬，自為文，刻石於昭陵，又琢石象平生征伐所乘六馬，為贊刻之，皆歐陽詢八分書。世或以為殷仲容書，非是。至諸都將名氏，乃仲容書爾。

¹¹⁷ Su Shi (1982): 49, 8, 2725. 天將划隋亂，帝遣六龍來.... 荒涼昭陵闕，古石埋蒼苔。

¹¹⁸ Zhang Lei (1990): 47–48. 誰將尺素畫駿馬，云是文皇昔日拳馬駒。

¹¹⁹ *SQSB*: 4.

¹²⁰ *WXTK*.

Guanzhong 關中, where imperial tombs with stone monuments and a large number of Buddhist imagery are located, especially Zhaoling, is the center of the Tang stelae. If Song witnessed the heyday of the textual study of epigraphy and production of monumental works of the field represented by *Jigu lu* 集古錄 (Records on collection of antiquities)¹²¹ and *Jinshi lu*, with emphasis in Guanzhong, the Yuan dynasty was surely at the low ebb in this regard. The major works of the Yuan, such as *Guke congchao* 古刻叢鈔 (Records of various ancient inscriptions) by Tao Zongyi 陶宗儀 (1316–1368), do not mention even the stone stelae from Guanzhong.¹²²

Compiled by Ma Duanlin 馬端臨 (1254–1340),¹²³ *WXTK* has several volumes (vols. 123–27) dedicated to the history of imperial burials throughout the early historical periods. Ma spelled out the discussions on the burial of the first emperor of Tang and the subsequent establishment of the Tang imperial burial systems, with emphases on building thrifty tombs and permitting auxiliary tombs. After a brief mention of the general layout, access to the Mortuary Palace and the burial of Empress Wende, Ma gives most of the space to the listing of auxiliary tombs individually. The erection of the fourteen statues of officials is mentioned in passing, but the six stone horses are completely left out.¹²⁴ Although this source has compiled good information on Zhaoling, it does not provide anything new.

The production of gazetteers continued and gained in popularity. We are very fortunate that two major gazetteers, produced in creative ways, survive today. Both are based on the previous versions. Luo Tianxiang 駱天驥 (fl. thirteenth century), an official in the capital, was a native of Chang'an. In 1296, when he was staying at home during the Yuanzhen reign 元貞 (1295–1297), he consulted previous gazetteers, visited local sites, interviewed local people and compiled the gazetteer, *Leibian Chang'an zhi* 類編長安志 (*LBCZ*; Chang'an gazetteer by categories) (10 卷). A considerable improvement over previous ones, *LBCZ* is considered one of the major gazetteers extant today.¹²⁵ As its title suggests, this gazetteer is organized by categories,

¹²¹ *JGL*.

¹²² *LBCZ*: 16.

¹²³ Versions of his death year include 1323, 1325 or 1334.

¹²⁴ *WXTK*: 125, 20.

¹²⁵ Huang Wei (1986): 59–60, 242.

instead of the traditional arrangement by places. Under the category of *miao* 廟 (temple), Luo mentions the dates of the building and destruction of the temple of Taizong.¹²⁶ Under the sub-heading of mountain burials, he describes the geographic location of Zhaoling, the group numbers of auxiliary tombs and the location of the six horse reliefs.¹²⁷ Volume ten deals with 140 famous stelae from the Guanzhong region, which include the stelae dedicated to the Empress Wende and the two stelae erected by You Shixiong. Although each entry is brief, this book is probably the only Yuan period source with references to the stone sculptures from Guanzhong.¹²⁸

Li Haowen 李好文 (fl. 1321–1350) of the Yuan dynasty composed *Chang'an zhitu* 長安志圖 (*CAZT*; Gazetteer of Chang'an with illustrations) when he was stationed in Shaanxi in the early years of the Zhizheng reign 至正 (1341–1368). Li's own preface indicates that he found a group of illustrations of Chang'an included by Lü Dafang in the third year of Yuanfeng 元豐 (1080). Li based seven illustrations with some modifications on these earlier drawings.¹²⁹ By referencing other books, such as *Sanfuhuangtu* 三輔黃圖 (Illustrated description of the three districts of the metropolitan area), and adding the results of his own investigation, Li's *CAZT* contains 22 illustrations classified into three groups—Chang'an city, drawings of rivers and canals, and ancient sites. The latter section includes illustrations and a description of Zhaoling, Jianling 建陵, Qianling and other famous sites in Shaanxi. The two (upper and lower) illustrations dedicated to Zhaoling depict the heart of the complex, where Taizong was buried. This area is flanked by two officials in Chinese outfits and three round-carved stone horses on rectangular bases on both the east and west sides. It has Xiandian in the south side of the mountain and the Xuanwumen (also called the north gate) at the back (north). Each corner has a *que* 闕 (gate tower). Ninety-two auxiliary tombs radiate from the heart of Zhaoling.¹³⁰ The text that followed provided the group listing of the auxiliary tombs; this apparently was copied from Song Minqiu's

¹²⁶ *LBCZ*: 5, 149.

¹²⁷ *Ibid.*: 8, 233.

¹²⁸ *Ibid.*: Introduction, 16.

¹²⁹ *CAZT*: 471.

¹³⁰ *Ibid.*: 587–483.

CAZ, but contains several errors.¹³¹ Li's illustrations may have added confusion and caused future debate, which will be discussed when we get to the twentieth century scholarship.

Special attention needs to be given to the versions of *CAZ* and *CAZT*, as some confusion has developed over time. *CAZT* became detached from Li Haowen and incorporated into *CAZ*. The preface of the current version of *CAZT*, published in 1781, states that "During the Ming dynasty, the governor of Xi'an prefecture, Li Jing 李經 engraved the Li Haowen's illustrations and attached them to the Song Minqiu's *CAZ*. Haowen's illustrations, however, were not designed for the Song's gazetteer, so the combined book added confusion and diffused the original intention of the authors. Here we reprint them separately in two books."¹³² This reprint has rightfully attributed the authorship of the *CAZT* to Li Haowen; some other reprints, such as the one in the version of *jingxuntang congshu* 經訓堂叢書 (Collections of books from Jingxun studio) and edited by Bi Yuan 畢沅 (1730–1797) in 1787, remain confused as to the distinction between the *CAZT* as *CAT* and list Song Minqiu as the author of the contents of *CAZT* and provide a preface to *CAZ* there.¹³³ Readers should be cautious when using these references.

Li Haowen's *CAZT* is a valuable source of reference in its own right; Ji Yun 紀昀 (1724–1805) commented in the preface that "it is a mistake that Li's book was not included in the Yuan Official Histories."¹³⁴ Together with *CAZ* by Song Minqiu, the most valuable one, and *LBCZ* by Luo Tianxiang, these three works are considered the major extant gazetteers concerning north China.¹³⁵

¹³¹ The group listing of *CAZT* is similar to that of the *CAZ*. *CAZT* claims to have 165 auxiliary tombs in total, but it should be 166 if it copies that of *CAZ*. *CAZ* lists 21 princess's tombs, *CAZT* lists 31 by error. Additionally, *CAZ* does not list nine non-Chinese generals separately and *CAZT* does; and they should still be included in the total of 64 tombs of generals. If one does not compare it with the group listings of *CAZ*, *CAZT* could have listed as many as 185 auxiliary tombs.

¹³² *CAZT*: Preface, 587–470.

¹³³ Yan Yiping (1965).

¹³⁴ *CAZT*: 470.

¹³⁵ Huang Wei (1986): 59. Yan Yiping (1965): in the second introduction by Wang Mingsheng 王鳴盛.

4). Documentation during the Ming and Qing Dynasties

The Ming, and particularly the Qing, dynasties witnessed new trends in the study of Zhaoling. The discipline of epigraphy, which was not very important during the Yuan dynasty, was revived and advanced to new levels. In the study of the stone horse reliefs, the discussion of inscriptions by calligraphers of the horse eulogies was resumed, and the question of the authenticity of the stone horse reliefs gave rise to much controversy.

In the meantime, local gazetteers flourished. The Liquan gazetteer records that Taizong's memorial temple was destroyed during the end of Yuan. The new temple was built on a new site at the end of the Wanli reign 萬曆 (1573–1620). In 1632, the county governor, Fan Wenguang 範文光 (fl. first half of the seventeenth century), added a three-bay Xiandian to the temple and recorded the event by erecting a stele. The stele, bearing Tang Taizong's portrait in the center (Fig. 6), is now at the Zhaoling Museum, Liquan, Shaanxi.¹³⁶

As mentioned above, the discussion of the calligraphers of the horse eulogies started with You Shixiong, whose view was challenged by Zhao Mingcheng. Four hundred years later, the debate was reopened.

Zhao Han 趙岫 (fl. 1585–1620) was the one who launched the challenge. First of all, he quotes what Yang Yongxiu 楊用修 (1488–1529) wrote in the *Danqian luji* 丹鉛錄記 (Records of textual criticism):

六馬贊云在秦中, 殷仲容撰, 歐陽詢書。¹³⁷

It is said that eulogies of the horses are in Qinzhong (central plain); [they were] composed by Yin Zhongrong and inscribed by Ouyang Xun.

The word “云” indicates that Yang did not see the horse reliefs at Zhaoling himself and either heard or read about them. Assuming Yang must have seen the rubbings of the You Shixiong's “Liu jun stele,” which was spread far and wide, Zhao makes the comments in his *Shimu junhua* 石墨鏤華 (*SMJH*; Stone ink and beautiful carving) as follows:

¹³⁶ Cao Jiguan (1935): 230. Zhang Pei (1993): 98.

¹³⁷ *SMJH*: 5–450.

六馬贊唐文皇禦制歐陽詢書石與文德皇后碑同立陵后。高宗又詔殷仲容別題馬贊于石座，則贊宜有歐殷二公書也。今文德皇后碑與歐書都亡，而陵上馬無石座書.... 今石馬正在陵下，不數十武，又無座書，其非唐馬無疑.... 今馬身半刻而無座字，製亦不類唐人。且太宗以天下全力，豈難作一石馬而半刻之耶。¹³⁸

The eulogies of the six horses were composed by Emperor Wen [Taizong] and inscribed by Ouyang Xun. They stood at the back of the mausoleum together with the stele dedicated to the Empress Dowager. Gaozong also ordered Yin Zhongrong to inscribe separately the verses on the horse bases. So there are two inscribed versions by Ou and Yin respectively. Now the Empress Dowager’s stele and Ou’s inscription are all gone, and the stone horses at the mausoleum do not have their inscribed bases.... Now the stone horses are at the mausoleum within [the distance of] fewer than ten steps, and they do not have bases, so they are doubtlessly not the Tang horses.... Today the horses are carved in relief without bases, the making does not look like that of the Tang. Taizong had complete power under the heaven, it should not have been difficult for him to carve the horses in the round instead of in bas-relief.

Zhao apparently went back to the old view concerning the calligrapher of the horse verses, which was also held by You Shixiong, who gave it up after he had read the *Tang Lingyuan ji*, as inscribed in the “Liujun stele” mentioned above. Zhao’s observation of the stone horses was a result of his site visit to Zhaoling in 1618. During the visit, he also straightened up the falling stelae, pulled out those buried under the earth and obtained rubbings.¹³⁹ He particularly recorded his travel routes in locating the two dozen stelae; these are an important reference, as travel routes were seldom recorded in similar texts. Zhao’s assertion of the two sets of inscriptions and his questioning of the authenticity of the horse reliefs, however, has provoked much controversy, lasting even until today.

Gu Yanwu 顧炎武 (1613–1682), another epigrapher, recorded more than 20 Zhaoling stelae and their surviving characters in his work *Jinshi wenzi ji* 金石文字記 (Records of

¹³⁸ Ibid. Zhao’s active dates are based on his title of juren 舉人 (Provincial graduate), obtained in 1585 and the publication of his work, SMJH.

¹³⁹ Ibid.: 2–467/69.

inscriptions on metal and stone). Gu made two trips to Zhaoling between 1659 and 1674, but his travel notes were no more than quotations from Zhao Han's travel journey.¹⁴⁰ He focused on the inscriptions of the Zhaoling stelae and did not bother about other issues.

The debates certainly aroused the attention of Zhang Chao 張昭 (1624–after 1693). Puzzled by two inscribers for the eulogies and two locations for their engraving, Zhang paid a visit of homage to Zhaoling and recorded his findings in the *Zhaoling liujun zanbian* 昭陵六駿贊辯 (Ascertaining the eulogies of the Zhaoling six stone horses) written in 1693

各馬頭之一階皆留石一尺正方，與邊界相平，隱隱有字跡，是當日刻贊處也。下座每邊三馬相連，各離尺許，其置一座，座而之石，即與地平。合縫有鐵錠連屬，是石座無容書處也。不知景叔何以不察？子函以為馬無座書，誠是矣。¹⁴¹

Above the head of each horse, a squarish space, one *chi*¹⁴² on each side, goes flush with the border. Characters are faintly visible. It must be the space where the eulogies were inscribed. The three horses on each side stand on stone strips connected by metal clamps. The distance between every horse is one *chi*; base surface is flush with the ground. There is no place for inscribing. I do not know why Jingshu [You Shixiong] did not observe it? Zhao Han believes that there is no base for the inscription. [Zhao Ming] cheng is correct.

Zhang believed that the squares were where Ouyang Xun inscribed the verses, and he was able to spot some faint traces. He questioned why You Shixiong did not examine the bases of the horses before he inscribed the "Liujun stele." He considered it unnecessary to argue further as Zhao Mingcheng had made the situation very clear 400 years previous. He also mentioned the fragmentary condition of the fourteen statues of the officials and noted that their inscriptions could not be seen on their chests. In the text, he also provided drawings of the six horses, which were copied from You Shixiong's "Liujun stele," but he did not copy the three-crenellated manes, one of the features of the six horses. Zhang was the first scholar to detect faint traces of the inscriptions by carefully studying the horses at Zhaoling over a period of several

¹⁴⁰ *JSWZ*: 2–517.

¹⁴¹ Zhang Chao (1990): 286–87.

¹⁴² *Hanyu dacidian bianji weiyuanhui* (1997): 7764. One chi equaled 0.32 m. during the Qing dynasty.

days. He left behind the detailed description about the conditions of the horse reliefs and other aboveground monuments.

Zhang Chao 張潮 (1650-ca.1676), the compiler of the *Zhaodai congshu* 昭代叢書 (ZDCS; Selection of works from Zhaodai), also wrote a commentary. He determined that, given a total of 99 characters and the space within the square of one *chi* 尺 on each side, every word could not have been bigger than two *cun* 寸, similar to the size of *Jiucheng Gong* 九成宮 (Jiucheng Palace style), a calligraphy style popular during the Tang period.¹⁴³ Since the space was not large enough and line carving probably was used which made the character strokes thin,¹⁴⁴ the inscriptions were easily subject to erosion and have therefore mostly disappeared.

Lai Jun 來濬 (fl. seventeenth century), who compiled the *Jinshi beikao* 金石備考 (References to the metal and stone inscription) with a preface dated 1694, listed a number of Tang stelae associated with Zhaoling. Although he did not provide many comments, he did point out that one of the stelae, the Zhaoling "Liu jun stele" was "written by Ouyang Xun in bafen shu" 歐陽詢八分書.¹⁴⁵

Lin Tong 林侗 (1627–1714) provided the most comprehensive study to that date on Zhaoling by an individual scholar. His five-volume work *Tang Zhaoling shiji kaolue* 唐昭陵石跡攷略 (Study of stone monuments of Tang Zhaoling) includes six prefaces and postscripts praising his more than 30 years of dedication to the epigraphy of Zhaoling stelae, and he also wrote five notes detailing his visits to Zhaoling. Lin went to Zhaoling on three occasions in 1660, 1664 and 1691, and described the history, dignity and grandeur of Zhaoling and the changes to that had occurred to it on each subsequent occasion.¹⁴⁶ He presented a study of sixteen stelae from the auxiliary tombs, six stelae fewer than those described by Gu Yanwu a few years earlier. Noticing

¹⁴³ Zhang Chao (1990): 286. Hanyu dacidian bianji weiyuanhui (1997): 310. In the summer of 632, Ouyang Xun escorted Tang Taizong to the summer palace, Jiucheng Gong (Jiucheng Palace), where he produced the calligraphy on the stele. Named after the palace, this calligraphy has been the model for practicing Chinese calligraphy ever since.

¹⁴⁴ Zhang Chao (1990): 287.

¹⁴⁵ *JSBK*: 2–336.

¹⁴⁶ Lin Tong (1965): 99–136.

the rapid disappearance of tomb stelae, Lin felt that it was urgent to document the stelae before more misfortune befell them.

Of the five volumes of main text, Lin devoted one volume to the general description and two volumes to the study of the sixteen tomb stelae. His chapters on the stelae included not only their original sites, their calligraphers and script styles and current condition, and number of characters which survived, but also biographical references and his eulogistic commentary for each stele and tomb occupant. Volumes four and five contain the description of the fourteen statues of officials and the six stone horses respectively. He specifically clarified the placement of the stone horses which were arranged three in a row with the first on the west side being the first of the six, following the statues of officials. He also attempted to answer Zhao's comments on carving the horse images in the round verses in bas-relief, by explaining that if the horses had been carved in the round, they would not have been as vivid as they were now, carved in bas-relief.¹⁴⁷ Lin did not take a stand on other issues.

Published in the thirteenth year of Yongzheng reign 雍正 (1735), the *Shaanxi tongzhi xu tongzhi* 陝西通志續通志 (Gazetteer continuation to the Shaanxi Gazetteer) gives a general background of Zhaoling and then focuses on the auxiliary tombs. Recognizing the discrepancies among various references pertinent to the number of auxiliary tombs, the gazetteer listed the number as 177 and called for further study of this subject. Additionally, it brought to attention that the rule of the positioning of the auxiliary tombs, "civil officials and military generals split left and right" as so recorded in the texts, did not seem to be followed."¹⁴⁸ Further, it described conditions of the architecture and stone monuments at the site, not recorded in other sources, as below:

陵有獻殿, 有後殿, 山巔亦有游殿, 今俱廢. 惟陵北猶存石屋三楹, 六駿列于左右....
十四人像琢石列之北司馬門內, 今皆不完. 其周垣重門甬路諸舊跡尚存也.¹⁴⁹

¹⁴⁷ Ibid.: 133–34.

¹⁴⁸ Shen Qingya (1969): 4, 2054–57.

¹⁴⁹ Ibid.

The Mausoleum has an offering hall, another hall at the rear and Youdian atop the mountain. They are all abandoned now. Only surviving is a three-bay stone house at the north, where the six horses are standing left and right.... The fourteen stone statues of officials stood in rows at the North Sima Gate. Today all are fragmentary. The ruins of the encircling wall, multiple-doors and passageways still exist.

Bi Yuan, as already mentioned above, was another official scholar deeply associated with Zhaoling. In his *Guangzhong shengji tuzhi* 關中勝跡圖志 (Illustrated gazetteer of historical sites in Guanzhong) compiled in 1776, he provided a good description of Zhaoling including history, its architecture and auxiliary tombs. He journeyed to Zhaoling in 1775 and recorded locations of major auxiliary tombs and their distance to the heart of Zhaoling. He noticed that the number of auxiliary tombs was not consistent among the various texts, such as *JTS*, the "Map stele," *WXTK* and *THY*.¹⁵⁰ He further pointed out the omission and mistakes in the listing of the auxiliary tombs and criticized You by saying:

似目不覩史傳人所書。師雄既謬于前此，又承而不改，何其陋也。¹⁵¹

As if not seeing what were recorded in the history and other books, Shixiong was misled by these writings, and inherited them without correction. It is clumsy indeed.

During his tenure as an officer, Bi Yuan's major contribution was his efforts towards the protection and preservation of ancient sites and monuments in Shaanxi. He renovated the Beilin, an institution for the preservation and collecting stone monuments (present Beilin Museum) and put it directly under the jurisdiction of the provincial government. He also set up the stipulation that no rubbings were allowed to be made in the three winter months except by professionally trained people. Deeply upset to see that the former garden, like the mausoleum, had been reduced to ruins in the past thousand years, Bi fenced the Zhaoling area in 1777 and in 1783, and erected stelae to educate people about the preservation of the mausoleum. Additionally, he clarified the

¹⁵⁰ Bi Yuan (1987): 8, 33–36, 588–614.

¹⁵¹ Yan Yiping (1965): comment in *juan zhong* 卷中.

responsibilities of those households who lived inside the mausoleum areas, and he erected stelae at each imperial mausoleum site to teach people about its history and cultural value.¹⁵²

Scholars actively engaged in the study of the inscriptions on stone stelae are so numerous that it is impossible to list them all. Here only a few are selected. Wang Chang 王昶 (1724–1806) published in 1805 a monumental work, *Jinshi cuibian* 金石萃編 (Collection of fine metal and stone inscriptions) in 160 volumes. Here he presents the complete text of You Shixiong's inscription on the Zhaoling "Liujun stele" and Zhao Han's commentary from *SMJH*. He also believed that the stone horses were carved with eulogies and stood at the backside of the mausoleum.¹⁵³ According to Luo Zhenyu 羅振玉 (1866–1940), Wang was the first epigrapher who started "making rubbings of the lower parts of the stelae" as opposed to the traditions "of making rubbings of the upper parts only."¹⁵⁴ In Wang's work, the stelae are recorded with full texts for the first time. This was a big improvement in the documentation of stelae, which laid the groundwork for an effective comparative study of the changes in the condition of the stelae over the time.

Sun Xingyan 孫星衍 (1753–1818) was the co-compiler of the *Liquan xianzhi* 醴泉縣志 (Liquan County gazetteer), which was completed in 1784. Its contents, "detailed on Zhaoling and lighter in other areas," were incorporated into the 1935 version of the *Xuxiu Liquan xianzhi* 續修醴泉縣志 (Continuation of the Liquan County gazetteer).¹⁵⁵ From the latter, we notice that it contained information that was not commonly seen in other similar texts. This includes such details of the imperial visits to Zhaoling, seven times during the Ming dynasty and twenty-one times during the Qing period. The official ranks¹⁵⁶ and the number of people responsible for guarding Zhaoling also are given. In terms of auxiliary tombs, sources of reference for each tomb

¹⁵² Cao Fengquan (1989): 79–83 and 81. The author did not have the chance to read the gazetteer compiled by Sun Xingyan.

¹⁵³ *JSCB*: 139, 7–244.

¹⁵⁴ Luo Zhenyu (1979): 10711.

¹⁵⁵ Cao Jiguan (1935): 6.

¹⁵⁶ *Cihai bianji wenyuanhui* (1979): 64. Starting from the Wei and Jin periods, nine ranks were assigned to the official ranking system. Underneath an emperor, the first rank was the highest and ninth rank was the lowest. Within each rank, there were sub-ranks.

occupant were listed, such as *JTS*, *XTS*, *THY*, *CAZ* and *WXTK*, and discrepancies among these sources also were supplied. Sun further investigated the issue of the occupants of the auxiliary tombs and commented that *THY* and *CAZ* are the two earliest sources on Zhaoling. Other texts, such as *WXTK* and gazetteers followed and copied them. Sun's investigation of the occupants of the auxiliary tombs is the "most solid and reliable and cannot be matched by others."¹⁵⁷

Sun Sanxi 孫三錫 (fl. 1821–1860) was another scholar who specialized in the study of Zhaoling stelae. He visited Zhaoling in 1855, collected and examined the inscription of 29 Zhaoling stelae in twelve volumes. He dedicated the last volume to the comparative study of their biographic and historical information as they appeared in the three major sources, *THY*, *CAZ* and *WXTK*.¹⁵⁸ His study results, however, are critiqued by Luo Zhenyu as being "speculative" while he tried to correct errors made by Wang Chang.¹⁵⁹

The above-mentioned scholars and many others were committed to the study of inscriptions on the stelae by examination, verification, recording their condition changes, comparing them with historical documentation and correcting errors. Dedicated to epigraphy, they valued inscribed works as treasures and made efforts to preserve them for future generations. Their work served as a good basis for comparative study and for noticing changes to the monuments throughout history.

During the mid Jiaqing reign 嘉慶 (1796–1820), *Quantangwen* 全唐文 (*QTW*; Complete prose of the Tang), which collates comprehensive documents concerning Tang and Five Dynasties into one source, was compiled. Volumes five to ten contain skeletal information about the selection of Zhaoling and the eulogistic poems concerning the six stone horses.¹⁶⁰

It is owing to the above-mentioned abundance of information today that further research can be conducted.

¹⁵⁷ Sun Xingyan (1996): 3, 75.

¹⁵⁸ Sun Sanxi (1979): 10777–928.

¹⁵⁹ Luo Zhenyu (1979): 10771.

¹⁶⁰ *QTW*: 5–10, 68–69, 124.

2. Scholarship of the Twentieth Century

While the study of epigraphy and of the auxiliary tombs pertinent to Zhaoling continued in the twentieth century, the interest in Zhaoling has expanded to other topics including the Chinese imperial burial systems, the architectural features and the aboveground stone monuments. In the twentieth century, the study of Zhaoling has spread beyond the limits of Chinese and other Asian scholars to include Western experts, also.

To best cover the overwhelming amount of information, this section is divided into two parts, before 1949 and after 1950. The scholarship up to 1949 will be presented chronologically, while research efforts since 1950 will be discussed by subject.

1). Scholarship 1900–1949

The beginning of the twentieth century featured the involvement of Japanese and Western scholars in the study of Chinese imperial mausolea including Zhaoling and their aboveground stone monuments. Several monumental works on the Tang imperial tombs were produced.

Édouard Chavannes (1865–1918) was the first Western scholar who formally introduced Chinese monumental stone sculpture to the West. He traveled in China in search of sites mentioned in local historical gazetteer and found, recorded and photographed monuments in situ. In his book, published in 1909–1915, he captured the scenes of the six stone horse reliefs in situ at Zhaoling before they were removed. He also photographed the *shanmen* 山門 (Gatehouse, literally "mountain gate") and the *dongwu* 東廡 (East Veranda) where the three horse reliefs were placed at that time; neither the Gatehouse nor the verandas survive now.¹⁶¹ This book was important in opening peoples' horizons about Chinese art and sculpture, and it remains a major reference source for scholars the world over.

Taking the opportunity of teaching in Xi'an from 1906 to 1910, Adachi Kiroku 足立喜六 (1871–1949) surveyed imperial mausolea there, including the eighteen Tang mausolea, and published his findings in 1933.¹⁶² He dedicated one chapter to the history of the Tang imperial

¹⁶¹ Chavannes (1909–15): Figs. 438–45. The six horse reliefs were placed in both the East and West Verandas and only the East Veranda is shown in the photograph.

¹⁶² Adachi Kiroku (1933).

burial systems, the mausoleum structures and seven Tang mausolea including Zhaoling. The seven mausolea are illustrated with maps indicating their layout and arrangements of aboveground stone monuments. The photographs of important monuments, including those at Zhaoling, were reprinted from Chavannes's book. Since Adachi's book was translated into Chinese in 1935, these photographs sometimes have been mistakenly credited to him and treated as the earliest photographic documentation on this subject.¹⁶³

Another Japanese scholar, Sekino Tadashi 關野貞 (1867/68–1935), also left his footprints in Shaanxi in 1907. He surveyed Zhaoling and three other Tang mausolea, and published his work in 1938.¹⁶⁴ In addition to a general introduction to Zhaoling, he recorded the arrangements of stone monuments consisting of figures, rams, lions, columns and stelae that marked the auxiliary tombs of Li Ji 李勣 (594–669), Li Jing 李靖 (571–649), Wen Yanbo 溫彥博 (575–637)¹⁶⁵ and Princess Changle 長樂公主 (621–643).¹⁶⁶ This book and the two mentioned above have become important sources for documentation and comparative study, as some of the stone monuments were removed or have since disappeared. These three studies, all of multiple volumes, are the earliest and most influential scholarly work dedicated to the investigation and documentation of Zhaoling and other Chinese imperial mausolea by non-Chinese scholars.

In 1912, Harada Yoshito 原田淑人 (1885–1974) wrote an article on the six stone horses from Zhaoling, *Zhaoling no mushun sekizō ni tsuite* 昭陵の六駿石像に就いて (A study of the six horse stone reliefs at Zhaoling). In addition to background information about Zhaoling and the eulogies of the six horses, he briefly discussed some iconographic elements, such as mane, war garments and weapons carried by the figure.¹⁶⁷ He draws information primarily from the Chinese texts with a sketchy comparison with Japanese sources.

¹⁶³ In 2002, when the author was in contact with a colleague who was preparing an article on the six stone horses, she learned that Chinese scholars treated Adachi's photographs as the earliest photographic documentation on the stone horses. Subsequent research has indicated that Chavannes's photographs were published much earlier, as Adachi himself states in his introduction [see Adachi (1933): 22].

¹⁶⁴ Sekino Tadashi (1938): 83–90.

¹⁶⁵ *Zhongguo lishi dacidian Sui-Tang-Wudaishi juan bianzuan weiyuanhui* (1995): 742–43. Another source gives his dates as 573–635.

¹⁶⁶ Sekino Tadashi (1938): 88–89.

¹⁶⁷ Harada Yoshito (1912): 76–84.

In the 1910s, the six horse reliefs were removed from the mausoleum by foreign antique dealers on two separate occasions. In spite of local attempts to block the removal, two of the horses found way to the West and into the collections of UPM. This story will unfold in Chapter Three. Since then, the removal and the loss of the six stone horses has become a subject that frequently appears in all kinds of Chinese literature. Here quoted are the two poems by two contemporary scholars, Jing Meijiū 景梅九 (twentieth century) and Fu Hao 符浩 (b. 1916), in learning the loss of the horse reliefs:

«聞昭陵二駿被盜»

盛唐文物惜無証, 殉葬蘭亭早失憑。 抔土當中誰敢盜, 又聞石馬走昭陵。¹⁶⁸

"I heard of the theft of the two stone horses"

Evidence of flourishing Tang cultural relics sadly lost,
The Lanting Pavilion inscription disappeared even earlier.
Who dared to rob the mausoleum?
Again, I heard the stone horses left Zhaoling.

«登昭陵望秦川»

一上昭陵千古恨, 肢離六駿添新仇。¹⁶⁹

"Climbing Zhaoling to look over Qinchuan"

Up on Zhaoling deep resentment arose,
Separation of the six horses, added a new enmity.

In 1918, Carl W. Bishop (1881–1942), published "The Horses of T'ang T'ai-Tsung" in the *Museum Journal*.¹⁷⁰ He introduces the prominent role that the horse has played since earliest times in the life of the Chinese people and the characteristics of art in the Tang period. He touches on the issue of influences from West Asia and Buddhism on the art of the Tang, in general.¹⁷¹ The type of horse depicted on the Taizong's stone reliefs reminds him of the same

¹⁶⁸ Cao Jiguan (1935): 957–58.

¹⁶⁹ Ibid.: 958.

¹⁷⁰ Bishop (1918): 244–72.

¹⁷¹ Ibid.: 259.

type of breed on Sassanian rock reliefs.¹⁷² Bishop traces the "flying gallop" adopted by the Chinese horse since the Western Han to the "art of ancient Crete" through "the medium of the so-called Scythian culture."¹⁷³ Aside from all this, as Bishop claims, "there was a certain element which gave it its distinctively Chinese character and individuality."¹⁷⁴ Additionally, Bishop identifies Yu Jing-shu (You Shixiong) as the carver of the reliefs and the figure accompanied by the one relief "groom."¹⁷⁵

In response to Bishop's article, Arthur Waley (1889–1966) pointed out two errors. First, the reliefs were not carved by Yu Jing-shu (You Shixiong), who was responsible for erecting the stele. Second, the man with the horse was "not a groom" but the image of a distinguished Chinese general,¹⁷⁶ which will be discussed in Chapter Five.

Bishop also mentions that the stone horse reliefs were removed from the tomb site by a local warlord to his office. Bishop's remarks attracted a letter dated June 29, 1921, from a dealer, named Paul Mallon of the *Importation de Chine et des Indes* of Paris, regarding the "true story" of the removal of the stone horse reliefs from Zhaoling.¹⁷⁷ He revealed the names of the dealers directly responsible for the removal of the horses from the mausoleum in the early twentieth century, details of which will be deliberated in Chapter Three. In the same year, Stephen Bushell published a rubbing of You Shixiong's "Liujun stele" to show the Chinese artist's treatment of horses during that period.¹⁷⁸ He made errors in attributing the erection of the "Liujun stele" to Emperor Taizong and dated the "Liujun stele" (1089) wrongly to the seventh century. It was, however, the first time that the image of the "Liujun stele" was published in the West.

¹⁷² Ibid.: 252.

¹⁷³ Ibid.: 264.

¹⁷⁴ Ibid.: 258–263.

¹⁷⁵ Ibid.: 266 and 269.

¹⁷⁶ Waley (Sept. 1923): 117–18.

¹⁷⁷ Mallon (1921): 1–2.

¹⁷⁸ Bushell (1921): 32–33. He mentions that Mr. Solomon Reinach has reproduced, after a Chinese engraving, one of the chargers in his article on La représentation de gallop dans l'art ancien et moderne in *Revue Archeologique*, 1900, p. 92. The author found the article, though it is numbered 245–59, but could not find the image of the charger mentioned.

The most heated battle regarding the six stone reliefs probably was the one between John Ferguson (1866–1945) and Helen Fernald (1891–1964), at that time Curator of Chinese art at UPM. The center of the controversy rested on the inscription by You Shixiong for the "Liujun stele." Ferguson believed that the "writing of Ou-yang Hsun [Ouyang Xun] was never actually incised on any part of the tablets"¹⁷⁹ and that the six horse reliefs, including the two at UPM, could be the "Sung [Song] dynasty replicas."¹⁸⁰ Confronting this challenge, Fernald was prompted to take a stand. She stated firmly that the two horse reliefs at UPM were original Tang sculptures, but this did not calm the dispute. A second round of debate was launched shortly. The details of the debates will be covered in the discussion of dating of the horses in Chapter Four.

This debate did not concern China, as no scholarly work had yet been done on this subject. Chinese scholars still concentrated only on the epigraphy. Luo Zhenyu stood out as an accomplished epigrapher of this period. In his work, *Zhaoling beilu* 昭陵碑錄 (Recording of Zhaoling stelae), he studied 28 stelae from Zhaoling and stated that there were 88 stelae mentioned since Song, but that only 28 were now extant and two of them had already lost all trace of characters. He also summarized, by charts and lists, 17 sources documenting the number of stelae and number of characters on each stele to show the progressive changes from 88 down to 28 stelae and how the number of characters changed over these years.¹⁸¹

In 1935, Wu Shushan 武樹善 (fl. early twentieth century), another scholar in epigraphy, published *Shaanxi jinshi zhi* 陝西金石志 (Collection of metal and stone from Shaanxi), where he lists a number of auxiliary tomb stelae and records the texts of the six horse eulogies and the "Liujun stele."¹⁸² He commented that "saying that Gaozong decreed Yin Zhongrong to engrave separately the verses on horse bases is incorrect. What has said by Zhang Chao who visited Zhaoling once and Song Boru 宋伯魯 (1854–1932), a native of Liquan who climbed up the Zhaoling twice, should hence be considered not erroneous."¹⁸³ He also mentioned that "the stone

¹⁷⁹ Ferguson (1931): 63.

¹⁸⁰ Ibid.: 71.

¹⁸¹ Luo Zhenyu (1979): 10759–767.

¹⁸² *SXJS*: 8, 17–103/18.

¹⁸³ Ibid.: 8, 17–113.

monuments were burned and broken into sections. After the Xinhai Revolution 辛亥革命 (1911), they were exhibited in the provincial governor's gallery for people to visit. Then, rubbings of the six horses themselves started to be made."¹⁸⁴

Wu's comments on the rubbings of the six stone horses are confirmed today by Luo Hongcai 羅宏才¹⁸⁵ from Xi'an. The removal and separation of the six stone horses aroused great interest and demand for their rubbings. People were no longer satisfied with the rubbings made from the You's stele, which is not the same as the horse reliefs. But there were no rubbings made directly from the stone horse reliefs due to the difficulties of making rubbings from the uneven surface of the reliefs. Li Yuexi 李月溪 (1881–1946), inspired by making rubbings from embossed bronze pieces, created a method of combining rubbing with imitation, and thus successfully produced full-size rubbings from individual horse reliefs. His son, Li Yousong 李友松, made the rubbings of individual horse reliefs into smaller versions for easy handling. Xia Zixin 夏子欣 (1877–1956) maintained the small-sized rubbings, but made each rubbing contain two horse images. Ke Xinnong 柯莘農 (1887–1945) developed rubbings with adjustable sizes. Each type of rubbing has its strengths and weakness, and they all became popular items. Luo concluded that since the Song dynasty there have never been any rubbings directly made from the stone horse reliefs¹⁸⁶ unless combined with other techniques.

Lu Xun 魯迅 (1881–1936), the prominent revolutionary writer, praised the horse reliefs by saying that

漢人的墓前石獸，多是羊，虎，天祿，辟邪，而長安的昭陵上，卻刻着帶箭的駿馬，還有一匹駝鳥，則辦法簡直前無古人。¹⁸⁷

Han tombs are mostly marked with [stone] rams, tigers, tianlus and bixie;¹⁸⁸ but Zhaoling at Chang'an has placed there war chargers carrying enemy arrows. Additionally, there is a [stone] ostrich. Their production is simply unprecedented.

¹⁸⁴ Ibid.: 8, 17–113/14.

¹⁸⁵ Luo Hongcai (2003): 255–70.

¹⁸⁶ Ibid.: 262–65.

¹⁸⁷ Lu Xun (1973): 1, 118. See *Kanjing yougan* 看鏡有感 (Reaction to the review of a mirror) written on Feb. 9, 1925.

Probably directly inspired by this praise, Chinese scholars have ever since acclaimed Emperor Taizong's six stone horse reliefs as incomparable masterpieces of Chinese art and history of sculpture.

2). Works on Zhaoling Since 1950

From the 1950s to the 1970s, a period right after the establishment of the People's Republic of China, Chinese archaeologists conducted several surveys of Zhaoling. At the same time, the six Zhaoling horse reliefs were used more as a subject for patriotic education than for scholarly research. Since the 1980s when China adopted an open-door policy, the study of Zhaoling has expanded to several new areas and resulted in numerous publications on various subjects. To better present this overwhelming amount of information, it has been divided into seven subheadings by subject: A. Patriotic Education, B. Surveys and Excavations, C. Imperial Burials, D. Auxiliary Tombs, E. Stone Monuments, and F. Other Related Study.

A. Patriotic Education

The patriotic movement started with Mao Zedong 毛澤東 (1893–1976), who wrote an article, "Friendship or Invasion,"¹⁸⁹ one month before he declared the founding of the People's Republic of China on October 1, 1949. Mao condemned the American imperialists focused on the intellectual invasion, ranging from religious dissemination and charitable activities to the cultural affairs.¹⁹⁰ This view soon became dominant in China, thus setting the ideological framework for the Chinese people and guiding their way of thinking and behavior. In such a political climate, Wang Yeqiu 王冶秋 (1909–1987), the director of the State Bureau of Administration of Cultural Relics (now the State Bureau of Cultural Relics), published an article listing the crimes of plundering of Chinese artifacts by American imperialists, including the two

¹⁸⁸ Lin Meicun (1998):96–101. Tianlu and Bixie, mythical animals adorning tombs and palatial architecture, appeared in the Eastern Han. Their names are rooted in ancient Chinese vocabulary, but their iconography is influenced by the Western Regions.

¹⁸⁹ Wang Yeqiu (1960): 2.

¹⁹⁰ Ibid.

horse reliefs at UPM.¹⁹¹ It was not a surprise that he took the two horse reliefs as an example because the Shaanxi people had demonstrated patriotism concerning the removal of the six horse reliefs.

Since then, almost every Chinese publication mentioning the Zhaoling horse reliefs contains a condemnation of American imperialists' plunder of Chinese treasures. This trend has lessened slightly in recent years, but still remains to some degree.

B. Surveys and Excavations

In 1965, a team headed by Tian Xingnong 田醒農 surveyed the Zhaoling site and conducted partial excavation. The relics found, including a large fragment of a roof ridge, are now on exhibit at the Zhaoling Museum,¹⁹² but the information of this initial excavation effort was not preserved.

In 1980, He Zicheng 賀梓城 summarized the efforts made in the 1950s to 1960s on the investigation of the eighteen Tang imperial mausolea. In his article, Zhaoling receives more attention than the other tombs, but the summary is still cursory.¹⁹³ He probably initiated the study of comparing the structures of the Tang mausolea with that of the Tang imperial palace; details of his interpretation are not all accepted by other scholars.¹⁹⁴

Based on his surveys, Huang Zhanyue 黃展岳 updated the total number of auxiliary tombs at Zhaoling to 167, including 57 tombs whose occupants are confirmed. He states that auxiliary tombs were arranged according to the "sequence of their burial time," instead of "dividing the civil and military officials placed on the left and right, respectively,"¹⁹⁵ the view first voiced in the gazetteer compiled by Shen Qingya 沈青崖 in 1935. He continues that "starting from Qianling,

¹⁹¹ Ibid.: 3.

¹⁹² Zhang Jianlin (2005): 224–25.

¹⁹³ He Zicheng (1980): 139–53.

¹⁹⁴ Shen Ruiwen (1999): 427.

¹⁹⁵ Huang Zhanyue (1981): 535.

the mausoleum's general layout copied that of the city Chang'an and the tomb interior followed that of the imperial palace.¹⁹⁶ He does not, however, support this statement with details.

From 1973 to 1978 Liu Qingzhu 劉慶柱 and Li Yufang 李毓芳 conducted a survey of the eighteen Tang mausolea and published their complete results in 1987.¹⁹⁷ They introduced major components of Zhaoling and the newly discovered groups of stone caves on three sides of the mountain. They claim the total number of auxiliary tombs to be 167 and provide the patterns of the placement of stone monuments for different types of auxiliary tombs.¹⁹⁸

In 1982, Li Quan 李全 and Shi Gen 石根 conducted a survey of the north gate of Zhaoling. Their results were published in 1985.¹⁹⁹ They found the original places for the fourteen stone statues, the six stone horses and the *sanchuque* 三出闕 (triple-que gate tower), but mistakenly treated some Qing additions, such as the entrance gate, pavement and some halls, as "Tang architecture remains."²⁰⁰

These surveys and area excavations facilitated a better understanding of Zhaoling, but they still leave many questions dangling, such as which are the Tang originals and which are the later additions. Opportunities to find some answers came when Zhang Jianlin 張建林 and his team conducted scientific excavations at Zhaoling for two seasons in 2002 and 2003.²⁰¹ They were able to distinguish the Tang remains from Ming and Qing additions, clarify the architectural layout on the north slope of the mountain and configure the original architecture and placement of the six horse reliefs and statues of fourteen officials. Additionally, fragments of the stone horses²⁰² and the statues of officials²⁰³ and their bases were found. Their scientific excavation has yielded convincing proofs to some pending issues, the details of which will be included in the description of Zhaoling in Chapter Three.

¹⁹⁶ Ibid.: 536.

¹⁹⁷ Liu Qingzhu (1987): 216–63.

¹⁹⁸ Ibid.: 218–20.

¹⁹⁹ li Quan (1985): 108–13.

²⁰⁰ Zhang Jianlin (2005): 225.

²⁰¹ Zhang Jianlin (2006): 17–22.

²⁰² Li Langtao (2003): 289–90.

²⁰³ Zhang Jianlin (2004): 82–87.

In addition to planned surveys and area excavations, Chinese archaeologists also conducted salvage excavations. Jingling 靖陵, mausoleum of Xizong 僖宗 (r. 874–888), the last Tang ruler buried in Shaanxi, was salvaged unexpectedly in 1995. The tomb was surprisingly small and simple, to a degree that indicates that the late Tang could not even afford the deceased emperor's coffin bed, which was composed of the two auxiliary tomb stelae from Qianling.²⁰⁴ If it were not for the jade memorial tablets found there to verify the status, one would never have expected it to be the imperial mausoleum for the last Tang ruler buried in Shaanxi. Jingling is a great contrast to Zhaoling, the tomb that represents the early and rising Tang Empire. Some of the auxiliary tombs of Zhaoling also were excavated as a result of salvage operations, and selected excavation reports were published. More information on this subject will be covered in the next chapter.

Since the 1990s, scholars from China and Germany have collaborated in the investigation of the Tang imperial mausolea. Aimed at conducting comprehensive research, their work has included site visits and measuring, interviewing local people, spot testing, photography of regular and satellite views, reconstruction of models of layout and publishing the results in both Chinese and German. The book entitled *Qiaoling* 橋陵 (Das Qiaoling), the tomb of Ruizong 睿宗 (r. 684–690; 710–712), was published in 2002,²⁰⁵ and work on Zhaoling is under way.

C. Imperial Burials

Since the 1950s, the study of Chinese imperial burial systems has received increasing attention. Zhaoling, as an outstanding example of the Chinese imperial tomb, has always been included in such studies and related publications. Some of the books²⁰⁶ trace Chinese imperial mausolea of successive dynasties through the means of impressive and colorful illustrations,

²⁰⁴ Han Wei (1998): 5–6. The two tomb stelae originally were erected for the two officials, Doulu Qinwang 豆盧欽望 and Yang Zaisi 楊再思, who were buried in the precinct of Qianling.

²⁰⁵ Gong Qiming (2002).

²⁰⁶ Some of the publications include Wang Boyang (1993) and Xu Jianrong (1996).

such as *Imperial Mausolea and Tombs* by Wang Boyang 王伯陽²⁰⁷ and *Gongdian-lingmu* 宮殿·陵墓 (Palaces and mausolea) by Xu Jianrong 徐建融 and others.²⁰⁸

Publications focusing on the general history of Chinese imperial tombs are represented by the works of Xie Mincong 謝敏聰,²⁰⁹ Ren Changtai 任常泰,²¹⁰ Chen Anli 陳安利²¹¹ and Liu Xiangyang 劉向陽.²¹² The first two authors give an introduction to the imperial tombs throughout Chinese history, and the last two place emphasis on the Tang imperial mausolea, targeting their writing for the general public. The exhibition catalogue, *Imperial Tombs of China*, provides a brief history of ancient imperial mausolea accompanied by artifacts.²¹³

Several other scholars have contributed short research articles on the subject: Zhou Ming 周明 provides a short article about the major architectural layouts of Tang imperial mausolea,²¹⁴ and Yun Shi 允時 contributes an overall introduction to Zhaoling.²¹⁵ Although brief, Yun’s article is probably the earliest publication giving accurate general and overall information about Zhaoling in a Chinese source. Wang Renbo 王仁波 (1940s–2003), by analyzing the Crown Prince Yide’s tomb and several other Tang imperial auxiliary tombs, attempts to show that the auxiliary tombs were “restrictedly regulated” and the tomb structures, murals and burial furnishings were regulated according to the social statuses of the tomb occupants.²¹⁶ Sun Chi 孫遲 conducts research on the establishment of the Tang imperial burial system by using hills as imperial

²⁰⁷ Wang Boyang (1998). The original title of the book, *Zhongguo gujianzhu daxi – Diwang lingqin jianzhu* 中國古建築大係-帝王陵寢建築 (Ancient Chinese architecture—Imperial mausolea and tombs), was published in Chinese in 1993.

²⁰⁸ Xu Jianrong (1996).

²⁰⁹ Xie Mincong (1976).

²¹⁰ Ren Changtai (1995).

²¹¹ Chen Anli (2001).

²¹² Liu Xiangyang (2003).

²¹³ {Strassberg, 1995 #585@: 1.}

²¹⁴ Zhou Ming (1994): 64–77 and 63.

²¹⁵ Yun Shi (1977): 60–62.

²¹⁶ Wang Renbo (1979): 400–06.

mounds. He states that the difference in the number of auxiliary tombs measures the success or decline of a given political regime.²¹⁷

An in-depth scholarly study of Chinese imperial mausolea is represented by Yang Kuan 楊寬 (1914–2005) in his 1985 book, *Zhongguo gudai lingqin zhidushi yanjiu* 中國古代陵寢制度史研究 (A study of the regulations of funerary structures in ancient China). He traces the evolution of imperial burial practices and systems, discusses functions and evolution of key mortuary architectural structures in the political context of the given periods and describes the layouts of imperial mausolea. He states briefly that the Tang imperial mausolea were all "built by following the layout of Zhaoling."²¹⁸ He further examines the relationship between types and heights of mounds, and the social statuses of their tomb occupants.²¹⁹

The research by Western scholars on this subject is exemplified by Ann Paludan. Her book, *The Chinese Spirit Road*, is a benchmark in the study of Chinese imperial tombs in association with ancestor worship, the importance of the tomb and the regulated use of aboveground stone monuments for the spiritual paths of Chinese imperial tombs. In addition to a study of the spirit road of each mausoleum, Paludan credits Tang Taizong for designing Zhaoling, "with a stroke of imaginative genius" and his "exuberant appropriation of a whole mountain for a tumulus was followed by most of the later Tang emperors."²²⁰ She further states that the Tang imperial mausolea were built "based on the plan of Chang'an, with three enclosures (the inner, imperial and outer cities) delimited by three pairs of earthen *que*."²²¹

As mentioned above, the question of the Tang imperial mausolea imitating the layout of Chang'an has already been raised by Chinese archaeologists. The relationship between the city plan and tomb layout could not have been studied at the current level without the parallel research in the fields of art and architecture.

²¹⁷ Sun Chi (1985): 82–107.

²¹⁸ Yang Kuan (1985): 47–51.

²¹⁹ *Ibid.*: 68–71.

²²⁰ Paludan (1991): 86.

²²¹ *Ibid.*

Nancy Steinhardt has contributed to this study through several books and articles, such as *Chinese Imperial City Planning*.²²² With Fu Xinian 傅熹年, Steinhardt has confirmed the relationship between the imperial burials underground and the living quarters aboveground. The structure of Crown Prince Yide's tomb with three gates and one *dian* 殿, imitated the regulated layout of the Dong Gong 東宮, the crown prince's palace; and the structure of two gates and one *dian* of the tombs of Princess Yongtai 永泰 (reburied in 706) and Prince Wei Jiong 葦洞 (d. 692; reburial in 708)²²³ match with those of the palaces of prince and princess. After a meticulous comparative study, Fu concludes that the entire burial structure, which includes uncovered and covered passageways, and inner-chambers combined with painted murals, truthfully depicted the basic aboveground palace architecture.²²⁴ Steinhardt believes Fu's research articulates the closest correspondence to date between the architecture of these two worlds²²⁵ and is "path-breaking."²²⁶

In the West, the most recent book, probably the first monograph in English on the subject of a Tang tomb, is *Imperial Tombs in the Tang China, 618–907* by Tonia Eckfeld in 2005.²²⁷ This book, however, avoids the major tombs and issues important to the discussion of the Tang tomb, and contributes little to the study of the subject, certainly not the study of Zhaoling.²²⁸

²²² Steinhardt (1990). After introducing the literary and archaeological records, Steinhardt traces the development of the imperial palace from the very beginning of Chinese history. As for Chang'an, the Tang capital, she states that the most intensive building period was in the early decades of the seventh century. Special attention was given to Daming Gong, which took its name in 635 and served as the main imperial residence (p. 101). Her groundwork has facilitated scholarly attention to this subject and provided a solid base for comparative studies between the city planning and the mausoleum layout. See also Steinhardt (2002). *Chinese Architecture*, a collaborative work of Steinhardt, Fu and others, has further expanded the study of this subject. In each chapter, such as the chapter of the Sui, Tang and Five Dynasties, they discuss not only the planning of the capitals, Chang'an and Luoyang, and the main imperial building of Daming Gong, they also describe the tombs and their features, articulating the relationships of the architecture of the two worlds. Their thorough and solid study of the imperial architecture, both aboveground and underground, have made these books benchmarks in the study of Chinese imperial mausolea. Her other works include Steinhardt (1984) and Steinhardt (1997).

²²³ Qi Dongfang (2006): 26.

²²⁴ Fu Xinian (1998): 245–63. Fu's article was originally published in "文物與考古論集" by Wenwu chubanshe in 1987.

²²⁵ Steinhardt (1990): 103.

²²⁶ Steinhardt (2006): 217.

²²⁷ Eckfeld (2005).

²²⁸ Steinhardt (2006): 216–17. As this is the first book-length study of a princely tomb of the Tang dynasty, Nancy Steinhardt questions why the author picked Li Xian's tomb, not Yide's or Yongtai's or another of the well-

D. Auxiliary Tombs

Zhaoling has the largest number of auxiliary tombs of any imperial burial. One can hardly study Zhaoling without mentioning its auxiliary tombs. The above-mentioned scholarship has already touched on the subject of Zhaoling, but it is only natural that auxiliary tombs constitute an independent subject of study and have attracted scholarly attention.

From Tang to Qing many sources have mentioned the number of auxiliary tombs at Zhaoling. In 1977, based on their investigations, *Zhaoling Wenwu Guanlisuo* 昭陵文物管理所 (Administrative Office for Zhaoling Cultural Relics) announced that there is a total of 167 tombs, among which fourteen were found during the 1970s and fifty-seven belong to the group with identified tomb occupants. Additionally, they studied shapes, heights and double burials, and concurred that the tombs were not arranged by left or right based on their civil or military posts, but according to the sequence of the time of their burials.²²⁹

Jiang Baolian 姜寶蓮 does not agree. She believes that the regulation of burying civil officials to the left and generals to the right was followed at least until the second year of Longshuo 龍朔 (662). According to Jiang several cases of mixed arrangements appeared at later periods, some of which may have their own reasons, but should not be used to deny the existence of this left and right regulation at Zhaoling.²³⁰ She also reasons that the decline of the auxiliary burial system was due to the power struggle within the Tang court and the institutionalization of the layout of Qianling. The regulated spirit road with aboveground stone monuments replaces the decorative role and rank system played by the auxiliary tombs.²³¹

Shen Ruiwen 沈睿文 believes that burying civil officials on the left and generals on the right is a general principle, but that, in practice, there are other factors involved such as

documented, painted tombs of Tang royalty for the study. The author has also noticeable omissions of arguments on the scholarship on the Chinese tombs, Han through to Tang. Steinhardt states that this is less than a synthetic, contextual work that places Tang tombs in the history of the imperial burial tradition in China.

²²⁹ *Zhaoling wenwu guanlisuo* (1977): 33–40, 49.

²³⁰ Jiang Baolian (1994): 74–80.

²³¹ *Ibid.*: 80.

“symmetry” 對稱 and “opposition” 相反.²³² The layout of the auxiliary tombs follows that of the imperial city 皇城, however, with the positioning of the civil officials and generals at Zhaoling reversed. He suspects that it was an intentional move to reflect the difference between “dwellings for the dead” 陰宅 and “dwellings for the living” 陽宅.²³³

Ng Pak-sheung 伍伯常 has attempted a new angle in the study of the institutionalization of auxiliary tombs exemplified by Zhaoling. By comparing the ethnic origin, geographic background, meritorious deeds and official careers of the 44 meritorious officials sampled for investigation, he analyzed the ratios between the civil and military officials and between the Guanlong clique 關隴集團 and non-Guanlong cliques. The results demonstrate Tang Taizong’s attitude towards the regional factions and non-Chinese officials, the political and military significance of his administration and his outstanding leadership skills in advancing with the changing world.²³⁴

It is not easy to resolve the issue of the total number of auxiliary tombs at Zhaoling. Several variations have already been mentioned above. *Liquan xianzhi* 醴泉縣志 (Liquan County gazetteer), published in 1999, claims that eighteen more tombs have been found since 1961, for a total of 185 auxiliary tombs (containing more than 200 individuals, as some tombs have double occupants). Among them, 58 tomb occupants have been identified. More than 40 tomb stelae have been located and are now preserved in the Zhaoling Museum (formerly the Zhaoling cultural relics administrative office).²³⁵ Liu Xiangyang claims there are a total of 194 auxiliary tombs²³⁶ and, as of May 2003, occupants of 74 tombs have been identified and listed in the accompanying chart²³⁷ (Table II).

²³² Shen Ruiwen (1999): 427–28.

²³³ Ibid.: 432.

²³⁴ Ng Pak-sheung (2005): 2–56.

²³⁵ *Liquan xianzhi bianzuan weiyuanhui* (1999): 856 and 860.

²³⁶ Liu Xiangyang (2003): 56.

²³⁷ Ibid.: 378. Liu states that the chart containing 74 known tomb occupants was provided by a staff member of the Zhaoling Museum.

E. Stone Monuments

Zhaoling, with its famous stone monuments including the six stone horse reliefs and the stone statues of fourteen officials, is featured in various publications of the second half of the twentieth century. Due to their historical, artistic and political significance, the six horse reliefs are usually mentioned in all pertinent publications. Discussion often includes descriptive narratives of the names of the six horses, eulogies, famous battles and, in Chinese sources, patriotic remarks. Publications with such repetitive passages are too numerous to be individually listed here. A few publications about the horses and the stone statues, however, are worth mentioning.

The publications cited below either contain new information to facilitate the study or offer views on the origins of, and possible foreign influences on, these stone monuments. The discussion starts with the resurfacing of the horse reliefs by Édouard Chavannes, who was responsible for introducing them to the West at the beginning of the twentieth century.

In *The Great Statuary of China*, by Victor Segalon (1878–1919), published posthumously in 1978, he states how the reliefs were first exposed to Western scholars. "One day, Édouard Chavannes found himself standing in front of them—to his great surprise, for he thought they had been lost,"²³⁸ during his visit to Zhaoling in 1907 as part of his China archaeological mission. Segalon comments that, "The Tang horse, which owes nothing to any of its sculptural predecessors, is an accurate image of a living horse."²³⁹ Ann Paludan states in *The Chinese Spirit Road* that "these Tang spirit road sculptures give vivid confirmation that tomb statuary reflects the spirit of the age."²⁴⁰ As already mentioned, Bishop points out the foreign influence on Tang art in general and makes reference to the breed of the six stone horses in comparison to Sassanian rock reliefs and the flying gallop to the art of the ancient Crete.

The foreign influence on Tang art is also recognized by Chinese scholars. Lu Xun, in addition to the quotation above, praises the openness of the Tang in absorbing foreign elements

²³⁸ Segalon (1978): 135.

²³⁹ Ibid.: 137.

²⁴⁰ Paludan (1991): 98.

in the development of its art.²⁴¹ Lu's view has been adopted by other scholars. For example, Yun Shi, who provides an introduction to Zhaoling, quotes exactly Lu's words in his article.²⁴² Sun Chi 孫遲 states that the bas-relief was originated from "the bronze casting technique, which has also been widely used in Buddhist art."²⁴³

In recent years, Chinese scholars have looked into the possible Turkic influence in association with the horse reliefs. Ge Chengyong 葛承雍 has contributed a special article to this study. He attributes four out of the six horses to the Turkic fine horse breeds,²⁴⁴ transcribes the six horse names phonetically to the Turkic language and pronunciation and connects the horse worship, the mountain burial and the number "six" to Turkic burial beliefs and customs.²⁴⁵ Hu Yuanchao 胡元超 believes that the six horse reliefs were created by combining Buddhist grotto art with the Turkic stone carving tradition as well as the Indian high bas-relief technique with the Chinese traditional round carving skills.²⁴⁶

Regarding the fourteen stone statues of officials, Sun Chi²⁴⁷ and Zhang Jianlin²⁴⁸ provide basic information in their publications. Sun traces their biographies by focusing on text research; Zhang, the excavator of the Zhaoling site, bases his writing on the archaeological discoveries combined with text research. The newly discovered fragmentary statues and their bases help to verify the titles and identifications of the officials, clarify the inconsistencies among texts and confirming their placement at the mausoleum. In *Tangling shike jianlun* 唐陵石刻簡論 (Brief discussion of stone sculptures from the Tang mausolea), Li Yufang not only traces the history of each type of stone monument that has adorned the Tang imperial mausolea in Chinese texts, but also notes a possible influence from tributary scenes at Persepolis in West Asia on the erection of

²⁴¹ Lu Xun (1973): 1, 118.

²⁴² Yun Shi (1977): 62.

²⁴³ Sun Chi (1985): 97.

²⁴⁴ Ge Chengyong (1999): 186.

²⁴⁵ *Ibid.*: 188–204.

²⁴⁶ Hu Yuanchao (2003): 1–7. The author is indebted to Hu Yuanchao, the deputy director of the Zhaoling Museum, for sharing the unpublished article.

²⁴⁷ Sun Chi (1984): 56–63 & 5.

²⁴⁸ Zhang Jianlin (2004): 82–87.

the fourteen stone statues.²⁴⁹ Chen Anli, as mentioned above, seems to accept this view and has quoted Li’s passage in his book.²⁵⁰

F. Other Related Study

Progress has been made in other related areas of study on Zhaoling that are more difficult to categorize.

The issue of a set of stamps depicting the six stone horse reliefs by the Chinese government in October 2001 led to a new surge in the study of the six horse reliefs. The Beilin Museum, where four of the horses are housed, became the center for this study and research results have been published in *Beilin jikan* 碑林集刊 (Beilin Museum Journal).

In designing the stamps, people discovered that the arrangements of the two horses, Shifachi 什伐赤 and Qingzhui 青騅, currently at Beilin Museum, are different from what was captured in the photographs (originally published by Chavannes in 1909) in Adachi Kiroku’s book of 1933. This discovery aroused a controversy, still unresolved, and a desire to match the images of these horses with their names. Ma Chenggong 馬成功 believes that “You Shixiong made an error,” switching their positions when he was responsible for the erection of the Zhaoling “Liujun stele.”²⁵¹ Chen Songsui 陳誦睢 opposes this idea and argues that the images carved on the Zhaoling “Liujun stele” are correct, and the misplacement occurred when local people restored the reliefs after earthquakes between 1573 and 1645, as Emperor Qianlong 乾隆 (r.1736–1795) noticed the misplacement in his colophon (1763) on the painting of the six horses by Zhao Lin.²⁵²

The controversy also reopens the discussion of the Zhaoling “Liujun stele” erected by You Shixiong in 1089. Li Jugang 李舉綱 scrutinized each character of the inscription on the “Liujun stele” and speculated that “the eulogies inscribed by Ouyang Xun could be done on a

²⁴⁹ Li Yufang (1994): 35.

²⁵⁰ Chen Anli (2001): 199.

²⁵¹ Ma Chenggong (2002): 244.

²⁵² Chen Songsui (2002): 252. This controversy has led to the issuance of the six stamps without labeling the horse's name on the individual stamp.

separate stele." Then it makes sense that later Yin Zhongrong was asked to "inscribe the verses separately on the horse bases."²⁵³ One of the possibilities was to have the horse eulogies inscribed on the Empress stele,²⁵⁴ which is a conjecture lacking any firm support at this time.

Finally, a collection of stelae from Zhaoling precinct was compiled by Zhang Pei 張沛 and published in 1993.²⁵⁵ This is the most comprehensive work on the subject to date; it includes 43 tomb stelae, 46 epitaphs, seven inscriptions from the bases of the statues and sixteen other works of art from the Zhaoling precinct. The study of Zhaoling and the stone monuments, particularly the six stone horses, remains active in China.

3. Summary

The study of Zhaoling in the past 1,400 years can be summarized according to the characteristics of each period. During the Tang dynasty, there was basic documentation about Zhaoling and the formation of the Tang imperial burial system. Tang histories, such as *JTS*, *XTS*, *THY* and *ZZTK*, serve as primary sources for this information. Although the documentation in the succeeding dynasties is based on citing Tang texts, the study of Zhaoling still increased during subsequent dynasties. The Song dynasty saw a trend toward appreciation of history and antiquities and the formation of several disciplines. The building of a new Tang Taizong Temple and the erection of three stelae, important for the study of Zhaoling, took place during that time. Additionally, major works of epigraphy, *Jinshi lu*, and the gazetteer, *CAZ*, influential in the study of Zhaoling even today, were produced. During the Yuan period, the continued production of gazetteers, in more varieties, and the compilation of *WXTK* were the main contributions to the study of Zhaoling. During the Ming and Qing dynasties, efforts were focused on the epigraphic study of the stelae by many scholars. A large number of monographs, including both the documentation of inscriptions and the verification of the texts, was produced, marking another peak in the epigraphy study. Zhaoling is not only included in most of these works, but also covered in periodically updated local gazetteers as well as other works by individual scholars.

²⁵³ Li Jugang (2002): 256–60.

²⁵⁴ Li Langtao (2004): 90.

²⁵⁵ Zhang Pei (1993).

The twentieth century witnessed the participation of foreign scholars and wide expansion of the subject matter concerning the study of Zhaoling. The first half of the century was characterized by surveys and scholarly discussion on the authenticity of the stone horses by foreign scholars. During the second half of the century, research was concentrated on the surveys and excavations by Chinese scholars. The collaboration between Chinese and Western scholars resulted in research on a variety of subjects, such as imperial burial systems, the relationship between the imperial mortuary architecture and the architecture for the living, and auxiliary tombs and stone monuments.

Although there has been continued interest and research on Zhaoling throughout the centuries, topics for study have in no way been exhausted. The epigraphic study of Zhaoling's stelae, for example, has received great attention and achieved a high level of success. The study of the six stone horse reliefs, however, remains on the level of narrative description for the most part. Although efforts have been made in recent years to explore the origins of and possible foreign influences on these reliefs, these attempts are primarily based on conjectures lacking support and systematic approach. The attempts at identifying the Turkic influence certainly need to be pursued. Further, earlier studies treat subjects individually: there is a need for a more comprehensive scholarly effort to embrace multiple subjects and give Zhaoling the attention of an independent study.

Chapter Three: Description and History of Zhaoling

Zhaoling is situated on Jiuzongshan 九峻山 (Mount Jiuzong), literally “Nine-crest” Mountain (Figs. 7a and 7b). As its name indicates, Mount Jiuzong features nine ridges, which taper from the top to an irregular terrain of gorges and ravines on the east and west sides, a cliff on the south side and a slope on the north side. The precipitous cliffs and deep ravines set off the grandeur of Mount Jiuzong, which stands 1,224 m²⁵⁶ above sea level and overshadows other mountains in the area. Mount Jiuzong is located 22.5 km northeast of Liquan County 禮泉縣 and 90 km northwest of Xi’an 西安, former Chang’an. During the tenth year of the Zhenguan reign (636), Liquan County was formed by annexing two counties, Yunyang 雲陽 and Xianyang 咸陽. This is when Mount Jiuzong was selected as the site of Emperor Taizong’s mausoleum.²⁵⁷

1. Selection and Construction of Zhaoling

The discussion regarding the Tang imperial mausoleum system unfolded in the ninth year of the Zhenguan reign (635) upon the death of the first Tang ruler, Gaozu. On his deathbed, Gaozu requested that “The mausoleum system be simple and thrifty” 園陵制度，務從儉約。²⁵⁸ Taizong, who forced his father’s abdication in 626, wanted to show his filial piety and ordered that Tang Gaozu’s mausoleum “must follow that of the Changling 長陵 [the mausoleum of Gaozu, the first Emperor of the Han 漢高祖, r. 206–195 BC, with a mound nine *zhang* in height] and must be extravagant” 依漢長陵故事，務在崇厚。²⁵⁹ This order attracted two memorials from the Secretary, Yu Shinan 虞世南 (558–638), who argued that building “large mounds with rich burial objects” 高墳厚壙 was “a burden to the loved ones” 親之累 and “cannot be called filial piety” 非曰孝也。²⁶⁰

²⁵⁶ Shaanxi sheng kaogu yanjiusuo (2006): 3. According to Zhang Jianlin, Mount Jiuzong was measured with a height of 1,224 meters in 1988. Other sources suggest the height of 1,188 meters.

²⁵⁷ *CAZ*: 16, 12, 587–198.

²⁵⁸ *TDZL*: 11, 67.

²⁵⁹ *THY*: 20, 393.

²⁶⁰ *Ibid.*

He declared that in history no state had lasted forever, and rich burials only attracted robbery and humiliation. Baling 霸陵 of the Emperor Wen of the Han 漢文帝 (r. 179–157 BC) "used the mountain peak [for his burial site] and it looked natural and lofty without a mound" 既因山勢, 雖不起墳, 自然高敞.²⁶¹ Since the place divined for building Gaozu's mausoleum was flat, he then suggested that the "tomb and mound size should be reduced" 方中制度, 事事減少 and "burial objects should all be made of clay or wood" 明器所須, 皆以瓦木.²⁶² Persuaded by Yu and other ministers, Taizong compromised and ordered Gaozu's mausoleum, Xianling 獻陵, "to be built with a mound of six *zhang* (18 or 21.6 m), following Yuanling 原陵, the mausoleum with modest height belonging to the Emperor Guangwu 光武帝 (r. 25–57), the first ruler of the Eastern Han 東漢 (25–220)."²⁶³

Taizong was able to apply his minister's suggestion of utilizing a mountain for his burial mound when he selected his own resting place. Familiar with Mount Jiuzong due to his previous military experience and hunting activities,²⁶⁴ Emperor Taizong commented to his ministers:

九嶷山孤聳迴繞, 因而旁鑿, 可置作山陵之處。²⁶⁵

Mount Jiuzong, a solitary peak, is soaring and winding. By chiseling from the side, this place can turn into a mountainous mausoleum.

The selection must have been finalized shortly after the death of Taizong's Empress in the sixth moon of the tenth year of the Zhenguan reign (636) if not before. In the eleventh moon of the same year, Taizong buried Empress Wende at Zhaoling²⁶⁶ and erected a stele dedicated to her (hereafter referred as the "Empress stele"). The main text of the inscription is preserved in *ZZTJ* and is quoted below:

²⁶¹ *Ibid.*: 20, 394.

²⁶² *Ibid.*

²⁶³ *Ibid.*

²⁶⁴ Cao Jiguan (1935): 60.

²⁶⁵ *THY*: 20, 395.

²⁶⁶ *JTS*: 3, 3, 46.

皇后節儉,遺言薄葬.... 朕之本志,亦復如此.... 今因九峻山為陵,鑿石之工才百餘人,數十日而畢.不藏金玉,人馬,器皿,皆用土木,形具而已,庶幾奸盜息心,存沒無累.當使百世子孫奉以為法.²⁶⁷

The Empress lived a simple life and wanted to be buried thriftily.... My original desire is also the same. Now Mount Jiuzong has been selected to build the mausoleum. [The Empress's tomb] was completed by 100 or so carvers within a dozen days. Instead of gold and jade, the tomb is equipped with figures, horses and grave objects, all made of wood or clay, representing their forms only. As such, there should be little pillaging of the tomb because the objects are not valuable. My descendants of a hundred generations must make this a law.

In the second moon of the eleventh year of Zhenguan (637), three months after burying the Empress, Taizong issued an edict to reiterate and publicize the Tang burial practices. The excerpt from the edict reads as follows:

猶恐身後之日,子子孫孫尚習流俗,猶循常禮,加四重之襯,伐百祀之木,勞擾百姓,崇厚墳陵.今預為此制,務從儉約.於九峻之山,足容一棺而已.積以歲月,漸以備之.木馬塗車,土桴葦籥,事合古典,不為世用.又佐命功臣,義深舟楫,或定謀帷幄,或身摧行陣,同濟艱危.克成鴻業.追念在昔,何日忘之....漢氏使將相陪陵,又給以東園祕器,篤全終之義,恩義深厚.古人之志,豈能我哉.至今已後,功臣密戚及德業尤著者,如有薨亡,宜賜塋地一所,及給以祕器.使窀穸以時,喪事無關.所司依此營備,稱朕意焉.²⁶⁸

I am afraid that after my death my descendants will follow the old customs and rituals to make the four-layer caskets, cut down hundred-year old trees for building sacrificial chambers and cause hardship to the common folk for making a luxurious mausoleum. Today I set up the system that all the burials must be simple and thrifty. At Mount Jiuzong, my tomb needs to be big enough only to fit one coffin. It can be built up in months and years and added to bit by bit. The use of burial objects, such as wooden horses, painted chariots, coarse boats and reed musical instruments, is in conformity with classical rules but these objects have no use in our world. Additionally, meritorious officials and loyal ministers either mapped out strategies or braved themselves in fierce battles, shared with me

²⁶⁷ *ZZTJ*: 194, 10, 6122.

²⁶⁸ *TDZL*: 76, 431. This quotation also appears in *THY* (20, 395), which gives it a date of the eighteenth year of Zhenguan and could be an error.

hardships and perils and participated in the founding of this grand enterprise. Recalling what they have experienced, I think of them every single day.... The Han dynasty allowed its generals to be buried in auxiliary graves at *lingyuan*, literally "funerary parks" and provided them with funerary objects, showing loyalty and righteousness until the very end. According to records of the ancients, how can I be different? From now on, meritorious officials, imperial family members and relatives, and those officials with outstanding virtues and achievements, will be given, upon their death, a plot in the mausoleum and provided with burial objects. At the time of interment, things needed for funerary ceremonies are all in place. The government office should make the arrangements and stock accordingly. This will satisfy me.

The text proclaims the following messages: Emperor Taizong selected Mount Jiuzong as the site on which to build his own tomb, established the rules of thrifty burials for all the Tang imperial tombs that all descendants should follow, and permitted imperial family members and meritorious officials to build auxiliary tombs at Zhaoling. The edict also signifies the start of the construction of Taizong's own tomb. Yan Lide 閻立德 (d. 656) was charged with the construction of Zhaoling.²⁶⁹ The building of the mausoleum took thirteen years, until Emperor Taizong's death on the day of *jisi* 己巳 of the fifth moon, 23rd year of Zhenguan reign (July 10, 649). He was interred at Zhaoling on the day of *gengyin* 庚寅 of the eighth moon of the same year (September 29, 649).²⁷⁰

2. General Layout

The formation of Zhaoling started upon the death of Empress Wende in the middle of the Zhenguan reign (636) and continued more than 100 years after Taizong was buried. The number of burials of meritorious officials and imperial members has made Zhaoling the largest among the eighteen Tang imperial mausolea in Shaanxi and probably one of the largest royal mausolea in the world. It occupied an area with a circumference of 60 km and a total of 20,000 hectares. Such a large area necessitated careful planning and landscaping and won the name *baicheng* 柏城

²⁶⁹ *JTS*: 77, 27, 2679.

²⁷⁰ *Ibid.*: 3, 3b, 62.

(Cypress City).²⁷¹ The choice of cypress must have been the reflection of an ancient belief that "aquatic monsters are afraid of tiger and cypress; thus tigers are erected and cypress is planted in front of tombs" 岡象畏虎與柏，故墓前立虎與柏。²⁷² Its garden-like surroundings attracted literary attention.

In addition to the poetic description of the picturesque environment of Zhaoling by Du Fu, mentioned in Chapter Two, a Qing scholar, Lin Tong, considered Zhaoling lacking competitors among Chinese imperial mausolea. He commented that:

當時百六十塚皆有穹碑，夾以蒼松翠柏，長楊巨槐。下宮寢殿與表裏山河相為映帶，其規制豈漢宋諸陵所得並哉。²⁷³

At that time 160 mounds were all equipped with arch-shaped stelae amidst green pine, emerald cypress, tall poplars and large scholar trees. The Lower Palace [Resting Palace] was set off against the background of mountains and rivers. How can the imperial tombs from the Han and Song dynasties match these?

The entire mausoleum area can be divided into five major components: 1) Mortuary Palace, where Emperor Taizong is buried; 2) the south slope, where funerary architecture and stone monuments are erected; 3) the north slope, where major funerary architecture and stone monuments are erected; 4) Qingong, where the soul of the deceased carries out daily life; and 5) large auxiliary tombs, which are scattered at the mountain and on the plain south of the mountain foot. These five components will be described individually with focus on their layout and arrangements. The stone monuments and the auxiliary tombs will receive additional discussion.

1). The Mortuary Palace

The Mortuary Palace, known as Xuangong 玄宮 or Yuangong 元宮, is the burial place of Emperor Taizong. Cut into the south side of the mountain, it is located in the heart of Mount Jiuzong, equipped with a passageway 75 *zhang* 丈 (equivalent to 232.5 m) in length. Empress

²⁷¹ *THY*: 20, 398–99.

²⁷² Feng Yan (1987): 6, 862–446.

²⁷³ Lin Tong (1965): 104.

Wende was buried inside the Mortuary Palace; behind her there are five sets of stone doors. Outside the stone door, a double plank road 雙棧道 was built along the cliff, and one must walk 230 steps²⁷⁴ on the plank road before reaching the Mortuary Palace. Houses were built for the palace ladies to perform services to the Empress as if she were alive. After the burial of Emperor Taizong, the plank road was removed to discontinue the access to the tomb for its safety.²⁷⁵ The removal of the plank road, and the publicizing of the edicts, did not stop wily tomb robbers. The account by Wen Tao, the robber mentioned above, provides a description of the interior of the Mortuary Palace.

韜從埏道下，見宮室制度閎麗，不異人間，中為正寢，東西廂列石床，床上石函中為鐵匣，悉藏前世圖書，鍾，王筆跡，紙墨如新，韜悉取之，遂傳人間。²⁷⁶

Wen Tao went through the passageway and saw the interior of the burial chambers spacious and luxurious, no different from that of the living world. The center is the main burial chamber; two side chambers are arranged in the east and west lined with stone couches, on top of which are placed stone caskets with metal boxes inside. Paper and ink of treasured books and calligraphy of Zhong (Yao) and Wang (Xizhi, 321–79 or 303–61) were as fresh as new. Tao took them all, hence, these calligraphic works became known in this world.²⁷⁷

The same Wen Tao, who opened all the Tang imperial tombs in the region when it was under his jurisdiction for seven years, also claimed that the construction of "Zhaoling was the most solid."²⁷⁸ Wen Tao's accounts directly inform us of the three chambers and treasured books and calligraphy once stored inside them. His reports may also imply that the Mortuary Palace was probably decorated with murals. The word 閎麗 *hongli*, which means grand and beautiful, usually is not employed to describe a normal tomb interior. The choice of this word naturally

²⁷⁴ Yang Kuan (1985): 47. One step 步 equaled six chi 尺 and 230 steps equaled 414 m.

²⁷⁵ *THY*: 20, 395.

²⁷⁶ *JWDS*: 40, 28, 350.

²⁷⁷ *QTW*: 107, 13, 1095. Emperor Ming of the Later Tang (r. 926–933) issued an edict for the execution of Wen Tao for his desecration of imperial mausolea. *JWDS*: 96, 11, 914. After Wen Tao's death, the calligraphy of Zhong and Wang was passed onto Zheng Xuansu 鄭玄素, Wen Tao's nephew.

²⁷⁸ *JWDS*: 40, 28, 350.

leads readers to envision an environment decorated colorfully and beautifully. The imperial tombs that have been excavated so far, such as Li Shou's (630), Princess Changle's (643), Shunling's (reburial in 684 and expansion in 689), Princess Yongtai's (706), Crown Prince Yide's (706), one stone chamber found at Zhaoling²⁷⁹ and one of the last Tang emperors, Xizong,²⁸⁰ were all decorated with murals, so we have strong reasons to believe that Taizong's tomb was also adorned with wall paintings.

Atop the Mortuary Palace is Youdian 游殿,²⁸¹ or Shenyoudian 神游殿,²⁸² spirit-roaming pavilion, a place for the soul or spirit of the deceased to wander about. When Xuanzong 玄宗 (r. 712–755) was paying homage to Zhaoling in 725, it is reported that people saw from distance Taizong standing in front of the Shenyoudian.²⁸³ It is believed that this was Taizong's spirit.²⁸⁴

2). The South Slope

Due to the mountain's geographical shape, the south slope provides only a limited space for architectural structures. Ruins allow us to trace several architectural establishments: the South Gate, a pair of *que* 闕 (gate tower) and Xiandian 獻殿. The *que* and the South Gate cover an area of 400 m. The pair of *que*, placed 14 m outside of the gate, was the closest architecture on the slope before approaching the steep ravine. The South Gate, known as Vermillion Sparrow Gate 朱雀門, was built between the *que* and Xiandian, but there are only few remains. The two *que*, 90 m apart, were made of tamped earth. The fragmentary base of the west *que* measures 28 m in diameter and 8 m in height; the base for the east *que* is 23 m in diameter and 6.5 m in height. Numerous fragmentary bricks and tiles are scattered around the *que*.²⁸⁵

²⁷⁹ Zhang Jianlin (2005): 227.

²⁸⁰ Han Wei (1998): 185–90.

²⁸¹ *THY*: 20, 395.

²⁸² *Ibid.*: 20, 401.

²⁸³ *Ibid.*

²⁸⁴ Yang Kuan (1985): 90. See note 39.

²⁸⁵ Chen Anli (2001): 45.

Xiandian, the main architecture at Zhaoling, was a special place for performing homage or holding important sacrifices at the mausoleum.²⁸⁶ The Xiandian ruins occupy an area measuring 40 m on each side. The south side of the Xiandian had three doors and its interior was paved with bricks. Murals can be detected on the fragmentary walls. Among many other architectural materials collected on the site was a large architectural fragment of ceramic ornament shaped like *chiwei* 鷗尾 (owl's tail) and measuring 1.3 m high, 1 m long, 0.65 m wide and weighing 150 kg from the end of the ridgepole. Based on the size of the fragment, Xiandian must have had nine bays and two roof ridges, each 10 m high in order to be in proportion (Fig. 8).²⁸⁷ When Xuanzong paid homage to Zhaoling, as mentioned above, his entourage visited Xiandian. It is recorded that:

高力士于太宗獻殿見小梳箱一，柞木梳一，黑色篦子一，草根刷子一。嘆曰，此先帝 [太宗] 遂身服用，惟留此物。²⁸⁸

At Taizong's Xiandian, Gao Lishi [Xuanzong's eunuch] saw one small cosmetic box, one oak comb, one black fine-toothed comb and one grass-root tooth brush. He was astonished, and said that, "How is it that these were the only personal belongings passed down by the former emperor Taizong!"

This passage indicates that Xiandian functioned as a place for exhibiting the personal belongings of the deceased emperor for the purpose of commemoration and paying homage.

The *jiaolou* 角樓 (corner towers) that stood at each corner of the inner enclosure of Zhaoling as indicated in *CAZT* have not been verified by recent surveys and investigation.²⁸⁹

3). The North Slope

The north slope, which featured a terrace slanting from the south towards the north, provided a large area for the construction of the majority of Zhaoling's structures. The north

²⁸⁶ Yang Kuan (1985): 49.

²⁸⁷ Liu Qingzhu (1987): 218. Sun Chi (1985): 89.

²⁸⁸ Sun Chi (1985): 91.

²⁸⁹ Zhang Jianlin (2005): 224.

slope, historically referred to as *Bei Simamen* 北司馬門 (North Sima Gate),²⁹⁰ has a total length of 86 m from the south to the north, and a width of 61 m between the east and the west ending at the deep ravines on both sides. The architecture is laid out on the south–north axis, and symmetrically to its east and west. These features allow us to reconstruct the architecture of the east side, of which very little actually remains, based on what has survived on the west side.

The north slope is made up of five platforms with a drop of 31 m. Fragmentary bricks and architectural remains can be seen from the third platform and above. In two seasons, August 2002 to January 2003, and June to November, 2003, Zhang Jianlin and his team excavated a total area of 5,100 square m from the third platform to the fifth platform (Fig. 9). Evidence of architectural remains of the Tang, Ming and Qing dynasties was revealed and was published in the excavation report²⁹¹ and other related articles.²⁹²

A. Tang Remains

The Tang ruins are found in the area spreading from the third platform to the fifth platform. They measure 86 m from south to north and 61 m from east to west. The architectural remains are arranged parallel to the south and north axis. On the third platform, the bases of two *que*, two rectangular architectural elements, and four small structures were discovered. Remains of the gate, the north wall and the brick drainage were found at the north edge of the fourth platform. From the fourth platform to the fifth platform, remains survive only on the west side, which include a *piandian* 偏殿 (side hall), small square structures, a *jietizhuang changlang* 階梯狀長廊 (Terraced Long Corridor) and remnants of the south wall (Fig. 10).

The two *que*, placed 31.5 m apart on the east and west sides, are made with tamped earth and faced with brick. The earth is yellow mixed with red soil and rock chips, and each layer is about 0.08–0.10 m thick. The remains of the east *que* measure 4 m high, 14 m in length from east to west, 7.2 m wide at the east end and 7.67 m wide at the west end. Both the south and north sides of the *que* were expanded, 0.18~0.22 m each, running from the east towards the west,

²⁹⁰ Zhang Jianlin (2006): 18.

²⁹¹ Shaanxi sheng kaogu yanjiusuo (2006): 3–13.

²⁹² Zhang Jianlin (2005): 224–29. Zhang Jianlin (2006): 17–22.

forming a triple *que* (Fig. 11). The *que* is similar to what is found in a mural in the tomb of Crown Prince Yide (Fig. 12). The *que* is surrounded by a 0.86-m.-wide apron for dispersing water, which also widened twice in the same manner. The west *que* is identical to the east *que*.

The two architectural elements, similar in size and shape, are placed vertically behind the horizontally positioned *que* (Fig. 13). The east architectural element measures 10 m from south to north and 5.7 m from east to west. Its length on the west wall runs flush with that of the east *que*. Its north wall is 1.75 m away from the south wall of the *que*. Due to the 1.5 m drop of the terrain, the north side has been raised to make it level. According to the pillar bases, this architectural element consisted of three bays in length from south to north. Each bay is 2.25 m wide, and one bay is 2.95 m in depth. The absence of tamped earth indicates that this must have been an open structure without walls. The archaeologists assert that these are the remains of *liejilang* 列戟廊 (Halberd-display Pavilion),²⁹³ a place for exhibiting halberds to reflect the social status of the deceased.

The *wudianshi men* 廡殿式門 (Gate with a Hipped Roof) and inner and outer precincts, placed in the center behind the two *que*, officially separated the inside and outside of the mausoleum. The Gate site is 25.8 m from east to west and 12.6 m from south to north. The remains include the base for a raised platform, tamped-earth wall, brick apron, pillar bases and a door socket (Fig. 14). The Gate must have been built on a raised platform with tamped earth inside and covered with brick. Below the steps, there is an apron for dispersing water. Measured from the pillar bases, the gate with hipped roof must have been two bays in depth and five bays in length. The middle three bays were built into three entrance doors and the two bays on the sides were partitioned into two separate halls. Extending from the left and right sides of the Gate were two sections of gable, which connected with the two ends of the surrounding wall. A model of the original Gate has been reconstructed (Fig. 15).

South of the Gate with a hipped roof, a drainage ditch runs east to west. It is 1.1 m wide and 0.3–0.5 m deep and partially covered. The sections under the roads and architecture are built

²⁹³ Zhang Jianlin (2006): 18. Based on email correspondence with Zhang Jianlin, similar remains found at the South Gate should be the Halberd-display Pavilion.

with brick or stone, and the remaining section is aboveground and open. The drainage outlet is built with stone strips, and inside an iron grille is installed. It is still intact (Fig. 16).

The Terraced Long Corridor runs parallel along the east and west sides. It is the architecture farthest to the south of the slope. The ruins on the west are all that remain today. In the long and narrow area, eight rows of pillar bases with three in each row have been discovered; their sizes vary (Fig. 17). The central pillar base is 3.5 m from the west pillar and 1.9 m from the east pillar. The distances between the central pillars are from 3.25 to 3.55 m. Based on extant pillar bases, the Terraced Long Corridor must be one-and-a-half bays or 5.25 m wide from east to west and 23 m in length from south to north. There are enough for seven pavilions. They were built on a terrace slanting from south towards north with a drop of 0.30–0.40 m from one pavilion to another. Designed for sheltering the fourteen statues and the six stone horses, four bases of the statues are found in situ (see Fig. 17). They are shaped close to square with a length of 0.87–0.90 m, width of 0.85–0.90 m and height of 0.50–0.57 m. The names and titles of the officials (Fig. 18) are carved on these bases. The first four pavilions were assigned to hold seven statues; the first three each accommodated two statues, one standing in front of the other, and the fourth pavilion held one statue. The last three pavilions were reserved for the three horses, one occupying each pavilion (Fig. 19).

One horse base, found in the pavilion farthest to the north, is made of five stone strips connected by *yanweicao* 燕尾槽 (butterfly clamps) with a total measurement of 2.7 m in length, 1.1 m in width and 0.3 m thick. Its sides are polished, and the top surface is flat with butterfly-shaped holes for the clamps (Fig. 20a and 20b). Found not on the site of the pavilions but in the excavation area is another type of horse base, which is a bit smaller with a flat surface and a border (Fig. 21). Excavators believe that the former was the bottom layer of the base and the latter served as the second layer. Judging from the width of the second layer, there probably was a third layer, which should have been narrow enough to secure the horse relief,²⁹⁴ but this layer has not been found on site.

²⁹⁴ Zhang Jianlin (2006): 19.

The fact that the six horse reliefs and the fourteen statues of officials were placed in the Terraced Long Corridor on the east and west sides has led excavators to believe that rearrangements might have taken place as indicated by different pillar bases and walls. The horse reliefs, carved during the Zhenguan reign, could have been removed and the site expanded to accommodate the addition of the fourteen statues.²⁹⁵

Two types of walls are also found on the excavation site. One is the 1.3–1.5 m thick wall, which functioned as a partition; the other is the 2 m thick exterior wall enclosing the structures, starting from the North Sima Gate and ending at the southernmost side of the Terraced Long Corridor. The exterior wall has a brick apron; a large amount of fragmentary round tiles, flat tiles and tile ends are scattered around it. This is the evidence that the wall was once covered by *liangmian poqiang* 兩面坡牆 (wall with two-sloped roof) with ceramic tiles. The remnant exterior wall on the east side of the North Sima Gate indicates that the wall is coated with *baihuimian* 白灰面 (white lime) and painted with a red band at the bottom. Inside the band, there is a red stripe running vertically towards the bottom. This is similar to *yingzuo mugou* 影作木構 (shadowed wooden structure) shown in tomb murals; the wide bottom band resembles *dijiaolan* 底腳欄 (bottom railing) and the vertical stripe suggests a *langzhu* 廊柱 (corridor pillar). A similar wall is described in the text as a *xingqiang* 行牆 (running wall)²⁹⁶ or *shenqiang* 神牆 (spirit wall).²⁹⁷

B. Ming and Qing Remains

The Ming and Qing cultural layer overlaps with, and in some areas breaks through, the Tang cultural layer. At the first platform stands the stele erected by Bi Yuan of the Qing dynasty, inscribed with the characters 唐太宗昭陵 (Zhaoling of Tang Taizong). A dozen or so stelae are found on the fourth platform, which was erected on the occasion when the emperors of the Ming and Qing dynasties paid homage to Zhaoling. It is recorded in the third year of Hongwu reign 洪

²⁹⁵ Zhang Jianlin (2006): 19. The author would like to add another possibility. The site could have been rearranged to accommodate the six stone horse reliefs, which could have been placed elsewhere at one time, such as at the foot of the *que* as mentioned in *THY* 20, 395–96. See p. 133 for the quotation.

²⁹⁶ *Ibid.*

²⁹⁷ Yang Kuan (1985): 55. Gong Qiming (2002): 5–6.

武 (1370) that Taizu of the Ming dynasty 明太祖 (r. 1388–1398) dispatched an envoy to inspect former imperial mausolea:

陵寢發者掩之, 坏者完之. 廟敝者葺之. 無廟者設壇以祭.²⁹⁸

Among mausolea, that which is opened should be covered and that which is damaged should be repaired. Temples which were ruined should be restored. Where temples have been destroyed, construct sacrificial altars.

During the third and fourth years of Hongwu, Emperor Taizu sent envoys twice to pay homage to Zhaoling, and during the second trip, a stele was erected, which is still standing. Since then more than 27 imperial trips were made to Zhaoling,²⁹⁹ which could be the reason that the North Sima Gate was later called *jitan* 祭壇 (sacrificial altar).

Jitan is surrounded by a brick wall and is rectangular with a length of 95 m from south to north and a width of 54 m from east to west. At the northern most point stood the Gatehouse, which was located on the third platform and served as the entrance to Jitan. The photograph from Chavannes' book indicates that the Gatehouse was made of brick and equipped with three arched doors (Fig. 22). It measured 13 m from east to west and 3.75 m deep with its east and west sides connecting to the surrounding wall. Within the remnant Gatehouse on the east side, fragments of horse bases were found.³⁰⁰ From the third platform to the fifth platform, there was a three-lane path with the central lane the widest. On the fourth platform, foundations of three halls were found, but their specific functions were not certain.

On the fifth platform, foundations for another three houses were found. The Central Hall was a five-bay structure, 16.7 m wide and 8.75 m deep from south to north. There were 10 pillar-base pits; originally probably there were twelve. The floor was paved with square and other shaped bricks. North to the Central Hall, there were houses on two sides called *dongwu* 東廡 (East Veranda) and *xiwu* 西廡 (West Veranda). The foundation of the East Veranda shows that it is 9.3 m long from south to north and 6.35 m wide from east to west, and the floor is paved with

²⁹⁸ *MS*: 50, 26, 1291–92.

²⁹⁹ Cao Jiguan (1935): 68–80.

³⁰⁰ Shaanxi kaogu yanjiusuo (2006): 5.

brick. The West Veranda was the same in size and style. Both verandas served as shelters for the stone horse reliefs, three in each hall standing on the Tang stone bases³⁰¹ as captured by the Chavannes' photograph (Fig. 23).³⁰²

4). Qingong

Qingong 寢宮 (Resting Palace or Inner Palace), also known as Xiagong 下宮 (Lower Palace), is located southwest of Zhaoling. It is believed that the spirit or soul of the tomb occupant carries on a regular daily life at this place. It is also the living quarters for the palace ladies who performed daily services to the deceased, and for the officials and their staff who guarded and patrolled the mausoleum.³⁰³

Zhaoling's Qingong was originally constructed in the mountain. As an illustration in *CAZ* (see Fig. 1) shows that Qingong consisted of one large palace hall and two small ones, the latter presumably the two *que*. The lack of wells caused the water supply to Qingong very difficult. After some good years, Qingong was completely burnt down by wild fire and was then reconstructed adjacent to the Yaotai si 瑤臺寺 (Magnificent Platform Monastery), eighteen *li* southwest to the mausoleum,³⁰⁴ off Mount Jiuzong but still within the mausoleum territory. Its removal from the high mountain down to the flat plain could have earned it a new name, Xiagong or Lower Palace.³⁰⁵

During the fourteenth year of Zhenyuan reign 貞元 (798), the court held a discussion as to whether to repair the Qingong in situ or move it to a more convenient place. The suggestion of moving it to a more convenient place, which would relocate it out of the mausoleum area, did not receive wide support, as it violated the traditional practice of placing Qingong close to the mausoleum. Further, some inconveniences of maintaining Qingong near Yaotai Si could not be compared to Taiong's mighty achievements of building the Tang dynasty. Emperor Dezong 德宗

³⁰¹ Ibid.: 5–6.

³⁰² Chavannes (1909–15): Fig. 439.

³⁰³ Yang Kuan (1985): 49.

³⁰⁴ *CAZ*: 16, 18, 587–201.

³⁰⁵ Yang Kuan (1985): 50.

(r. 780–805) ordered the maintenance of Taizong's Qingong near Yaotai Si and dispatched Cui Sun 崔損 (d. 803) to oversee the rebuilding of 378-bay Qingong.³⁰⁶ This text indicates that the scale of Qingong, which should include several hundred bays of houses, was much larger than what was illustrated on the map in *CAZ*.

Zhang Jianlin and his team have recently resurveyed the Qingong site and dug some trial trenches. The results indicate that the site of Qingong is a fairly regular area measuring 301 m from south to north and 238.5 m from east to west (Fig. 24). It was a walled enclosure equipped with three gates, one in the south, named South Gate, and two at the north, named North Gate and Chongxuan Gate 重玄門.

The North and Chongxuan gates are 47 m apart. The North Gate has remains measuring 23.2 m from east to west and 9.5 m from south to north and 1.2 m high (Fig. 25). Chongxuan Gate is 24.6 m from east to west and 12.4 m from south to north. It has three doors with the central one 2.5 m in width and two other doors each 1.3 m wide. The two far side ones, each 3.7 m long, served as partitions connecting with the gable 3.9 m in length (Fig. 26).

In the south, there are remains of two *que*, triple-bodied with tamped earth interiors faced with brick. The remaining *que* on the west side is 3.5 m high, 3, 3.25 and 7.85 m in length and 6.65, 6.95 and 7.4 m in width. The east *que* is the same.

Other remains from Qingong include the base of the south gate, piles of tiles (Fig. 27) and a large stone pillar base (Fig. 28). The pillar base is said to be from Qingong, but its original placement is lost, as it was recently retrieved from a local house.

Due to the absence of real excavation, the exact number of halls and houses at Qingong cannot be reconstructed. The model has been made to provide a general view of Qingong.

5). Auxiliary Tombs

Zhaoling has a large group of auxiliary tombs. When Taizong selected Mount Jiuzong as his resting place, he also established the auxiliary burial system, which was publicized in three edicts,³⁰⁷ dated the second moon of the eleventh Zhenguan reign (637), eleventh moon of the

³⁰⁶ *THY*: 20, 400. *JTS*: 86, 136, 3755.

³⁰⁷ *TDZL*: 346, 347 and 431.

same year (637) and eighth moon of the twentieth Zhenguan (646). The first two decrees announced that Emperor Taizong would honor the contributions made by meritorious officials and allow them to receive burial objects and to be buried at Zhaoling. The third decree extended such permission to the descendants of the auxiliary tomb occupants. During more than 100 years from the eleventh year of Zhenguan reign (637) to the twenty-seventh year of Kaiyuan reign 開元 (739), more than 100 auxiliary tombs were built at Zhaoling, forming a giant imperial cemetery which spread out like a fan on the plain below the south side of the mountain (Fig. 29).

As mentioned above, the exact number of auxiliary tombs at Zhaoling varies in publications. *JTS* listed 74, *THY* provides a list of 155 tombs, *WXTK* mentions 155, *CAZ* and *CAZT* both recorded 166 tombs,³⁰⁸ You Shixiong’s Zhaoling stele inscribed 85, Zhaoling wenwu guanlisuo 昭陵文物管理所 (present-day Zhaoling Museum) announced 167 tombs with 57 known tomb occupants; and the most recent Lique County Gazetteer, published in 1999 claimed a total number of 185 tombs (with 58 known tomb occupants, but only stated 56 known) containing more than 200 individuals.³⁰⁹ Liu Xiangyang increased it to 194 tombs with 74 known tomb occupants (see Table II).³¹⁰

The tomb occupants can be classified into three groups: imperial family members by blood or marriage, meritorious officials, both civil and military and both Chinese or non-Chinese, and spouses or descendants of auxiliary tomb occupants. The tomb lots could be granted during one’s lifetime or after one’s death. In the case of Zhangsun Wuji 長孫無忌 (ca. 600–659), who was forced to commit suicide, he was allowed to be reburied in a tomb at Zhaoling, which was already built on the lot granted to him during his lifetime.³¹¹ Fang Xuanling, Li Jing and Li Ji also were given lots when they were still living.³¹²

³⁰⁸ *CAZ*: 21, 412–414. *CAZT*: 1b, 7, 587–485. The list, copied from *CAZ*, gives only group numbers. It says 165 tombs but actually lists 166.

³⁰⁹ Lique xianzhi bianzuan weiyuanhui (1999): 856–60. It mentions 56 tombs whose occupants are known, but the chart lists 58 tombs with known occupants.

³¹⁰ Liu Xiangyang (2003): 56.

³¹¹ *THY*: 21, 414.

³¹² Zhaoling wenwu guanlisuo (1977): 39.

Zhaoling is impressive not only for the large number of auxiliary tombs but also because of their various mound shapes and surrounding features. Among the 193 auxiliary tombs, there are five different tomb types.³¹³

The most remarkable type is a tomb that has taken a natural peak for its mound and is equipped with two earthen *que*. Between the tumulus and *que*, tomb stelae 墓碑, stone human statues 石人, rams 石羊 and pillars 石望碑 are found. There are two examples, those of Wei Zheng 魏征 (571–649) and Princess Xincheng 新城公主 (ca. 633–663). Wei Zheng was the most outstanding remonstrant during the Taizong reign, and his tomb is closest among the auxiliary tombs of officials. It was built on Mount Fenghuang, southwest of Taizong's tomb and 900 m above sea level. The tomb of the Princess Xincheng, Taizong's favorite and the youngest daughter by Empress Zhangsun, is closest of all the tombs to Taizong's. Her tomb was built on a mountain, 1,000 m high, southeast of Taizong's.

The second type is a tomb with *fudouxing* 覆斗形 (truncated pyramid-shape mound) with four *que*. Tomb stelae with tortoise bases, stone statues, animals and pillars are found in the walled area between the tomb and *que*. There are three examples: one has not been identified and two are identified as those of Princesses Changle 長樂公主 (621–643) and Chengyang 城陽公主 (d. 670–674), both born to Empress Zhangsun. Their proximity to Taizong's tomb and locations on the mountain make them the next-highest-level burials.

The third type refers to a tomb with a mound imitating a mountain 象山形, or *shanzhong* 山冢, granted to a very few generals in recognition of their exceptional military achievements. Historical records document that generals, such as Li Simo 李思摩 (d. 647)³¹⁴, Ashina She'er 阿史那社爾 (d. 655), Li Ji and Li Jing received this type of mound, but only the tombs of Li Ji and Li Jing have been found. Li Jing's tomb has a circular shape in the center and a rectangular shape on each side, resembling Mount Xiangyin 象陰山 and Mount Jishi 積石山, where he won decisive victories. His tomb is equipped with stone statues, stone animals and a tomb stele with a dragon head. Li Ji's tomb consists of three mounds, forming an upside down Chinese character 品, to resemble Mount Xiangyin, Mount Tie 鐵山 and Mount Wudejian 烏德鞬山 (Ötülkan Mountain),

³¹³ Ibid.: 34–38. Jiang Baolian (1994): 77–78.

³¹⁴ *JTS*: 194a, 144a, 5156.

where he conquered enemies triumphantly. His tomb is accompanied by a tomb stele with a dragon head and a tortoise base, stone statues and animals.

The fourth type is a tomb with *yuanzhuixing* 圓錐形 (circular-shaped mound), the most common form used by more than 100 tombs. Except for a very few princesses and selected officials who were buried at the mountain close to Taizong's tomb, the majority are spread out on the plain, arranged according to the principle of "civil officials left and military officers right." As time went by and probably also due to the availability of space, this principle was not as strictly adhered to as in the early period.³¹⁵

The fifth type is a tomb without a mound, which is represented by the tomb of Gao Shilian 高士廉 (d. 647). The stone slab placed in front of his tomb is inscribed, "tomb was built but without a mound" 墓而不墳.³¹⁶ Several tombs of Taizong's harem are without mounds.

As of 1999, more than 30 auxiliary tombs of the 193 known tombs had been excavated.³¹⁷ Twelve excavation reports have been published, which include the tombs of Zheng Rentai 鄭仁泰 (601–663),³¹⁸ Ashina Zhong 阿史那忠 (611–675)³¹⁹ Zhang Shigui 張士貴 (586–657),³²⁰ Li Zhen 李貞 (625–686),³²¹ Princess Linchuan 臨川公主 (d. 682),³²² Yuchi Jingde 尉遲敬德 (585–658)³²³, Princess Changle 長樂公主 (621–643),³²⁴ An Yuanshou 安元壽 (607–683),³²⁵ Li Chengqian 李承乾 (d. 644),³²⁶ Duan Jianbi 段簡璧 (617–651),³²⁷ Princess Xincheng 新城公主 (633–663)³²⁸ and the six tombs of Emperor Taizong's harem.³²⁹

³¹⁵ Jiang Baolian (1994): 78.

³¹⁶ Zhaoling wenwu guanlisuo (1977): 38. Zhang Pei (1993): 127.

³¹⁷ Shen Ruiwen (1999): 422. Table II shows that 36 auxiliary tombs were excavated.

³¹⁸ Shaanxi sheng bowuguan (1972): 33–41.

³¹⁹ Shaanxi sheng wenwu guanli weiyuanhui (1977): 132–38.

³²⁰ Shaanxi sheng wenwu guanli weiyuanhui (1978): 168–78.

³²¹ Zhaoling wenwu guanlisuo (1977): 41–49.

³²² Zhaoling wenwu guanlisuo (1977): 50–59.

³²³ Zhaoling wenwu guanlisuo (1978): 20–25.

³²⁴ Zhaoling bowuguan (1988a): 10–30.

³²⁵ Zhaoling bowuguan (1988b): 37–49.

³²⁶ Zhaoling bowuguan (1989): 17–21.

Information on some other tombs, although their excavation reports have yet to be published, has been published in the *Selected Relics from Zhaoling* 昭陵文化精華.³³⁰ They include the objects from the tombs of Li Ji 李勣, Cheng Zhijie 程知節 (589–665), Li Zhen 李震 (617–665), Lady Qibi 契苾夫人 (656–721), Yang Gongren 楊恭仁 (568–639), Wang Jun'e 王君愕 (595–645) and Niu Jinda 牛進達 (595–651). Most of the tomb stelea and/or epitaphs are included in the Zhang Pei's book, *Zhaoling beishi* 昭陵碑石 (Zhaoling tomb stelea, epitaphs and other stone monuments).³³¹

The tomb of Wei Guifei 韋貴妃 (Precious Consort Wei) (597–665), found in the 1970s and excavated in 1991, is now open to the public but the excavation report has not yet been published. Other auxiliary tombs, also open to the public, are the tomb of Li Ji, where the Zhaoling Museum is now located, and the tomb of Princess Changle.

The rich archaeological materials from these tombs, such as elaborate murals, abundant painted and glazed pottery burial figurines, animals and daily utensils as well as early porcelain wares, serve as important sources for the study of Tang and the Tang burial systems.

3. Stone Monuments

Extant from Zhaoling are its famous stone monuments: the six stone horse reliefs, the fourteen statues of officials and the "Empress stele" from the north slope, which is also called North Sima Gate. Additionally, a pair of stone lions found in a nearby village and a great number of stone stelae and stone monuments were erected at the auxiliary tombs.

1). Stone Sculptures from the North Sima Gate

The North Sima Gate, the north slope at Zhaoling, was probably customarily used during the Tang period. In 639 when Emperor Taizong paid homage to Xianling, the Emperor Gaozu's

³²⁷ Zhaoling bowuguan (1989): 3–13.

³²⁸ Shaanxi sheng kaogu yanjiusuo et al. (1997): 3–38.

³²⁹ Sun Dongwei (1987): 83–95.

³³⁰ Han Wei (1991): 1–80.

³³¹ Zhang Pei (1993).

mausoleum, his court officials were lined up at the "Sima Gate."³³² Since Zhaoling's main structures and stone monuments were built on the north slope, people usually refer to it as the North Sima Gate. During the Ming and Qing dynasties, the place was known as Jitan, or sacrificial altar, because officials frequently paid homage, as mentioned above. The term North Sima Gate is used here for the discussion.

A. Six Stone Horse Reliefs

In 618, after assisting in the enthronement of his father as the first ruler of the Tang dynasty, Emperor Taizong, then the Prince of Qin, continued his military career by suppressing rivals who were great threats to the newly established regime. The six horses represented on the reliefs carried him to major victories and to the conquest of vast territory for the dynasty. He had special affection for these horses as they were closely connected with his major military triumphs that enabled him mount the throne in 626. In planning and constructing his own eternal resting place at Mount Jiuzong, he chose the six chargers from among many and ordered that their images be carved on stone slabs for his mausoleum. This text records that

朕自征伐以來所乘戎馬，陷軍破陣，濟朕於難者，刊石為鏤真形，置之左右，以申帷蓋之義。³³³

Since I engaged in military campaigns, those war chargers which carried me rushing on the enemy and breaking the line, and which rescued me from perils, their true images should be portrayed on stone and be placed left and right of my tomb to demonstrate the righteousness of "curtain and cover."³³⁴

Six horses were selected, and each is represented on a separate gray stone slab measuring approximately 0.17 m high, 0.20 m wide and 0.40 m thick. It is said that the brother of Yan Lide, President of the Construction of the Mausoleum, as mentioned above, Yan Liben 閻立本 (d. 673), a famous court painter, made the drawings of the six horses, upon which the reliefs were

³³² *THY*: 20, 400.

³³³ *CFYG*: 42, 12, 477.

³³⁴ Cihai bianji weiyuanhui (1979): 782. In old days, masters usually saved chariot curtains and covers for the burial of their horses and dogs to show their affection and righteousness.

based.³³⁵ The bodies of the horses are executed in low relief (approximately 0.15 m deep), against a deeply recessed plain background surrounded by a raised border. The fine heads, strong necks, flowing lines of the muscles, shapely legs, delicate hooves and the sturdy and well-rounded barrel-shaped bodies are no less lifelike. Three of the six are shown in a pose of *feiben* 飛奔 (flying gallop gesture); two are walking; and the remaining one is standing with a man extracting an arrow from its chest. Four horses also are shown with the arrows they received in battles.

The horses are depicted with crenellated manes, tied-up tails, round stirrups and five-striped saddles. Each slab has a flat squarish space (approximately 0.25–0.30 m high and wide) on either the left or right upper corner. It is said that the horses' names and laudatory poems were composed by the Emperor and written by the noted calligrapher, Ouyang Xun, in this space. But some scholars question whether the inscribing ever took place as there are now no traces of writing on the slabs. Although the writing has not survived, the You Shixiong stele erected in 1089, as mentioned above, records the horses' names and poems composed by the Emperor.³³⁶

The translation of the horses' names, poems and other related information is based on the version provided by John Ferguson,³³⁷ with minor changes, as follows:

Saluzi 颯露紫 (or Ziyianliu 紫鸞騮) meaning 'Autumn Dew' was also known as 'Whirlwind Victory.' This bay horse was ridden in 621 during the siege of the eastern capital Luoyang. When the horse was hit by an arrow, General Qiu Xinggong gave his own horse to Li Shimin. The relief depicts Qiu pulling the arrow out of Saluzi who is stoically bearing the pain. This relief, the only one to include a man, is a specific depiction of the event. It was originally displayed as the first on the west side, the first of the six horse reliefs. Its laudatory poem reads:

紫鸞超躍，骨騰神駿，氣讐³³⁸三川，威凌八陣。

³³⁵ Sirén (1973): 1, 96–103. There is a special article introducing Yan Liben. Yu Jianhua (1985): 1439. It provides a brief biography of Yan Lide and Yan Liben, respectively.

³³⁶ The horses' names and poems, preserved on You Shixiong's stele (1089), are still legible. The Chinese citation in the text is transcribed from the rubbing of the stele collected by UPM, 2004–14–1.

³³⁷ Ferguson (1931): 61–72.

³³⁸ Ibid.: 68. Ferguson transcribes it as "警" incorrectly.

It was as restless as a purple swallow,
It pranced with its high spirits;
It was feared along the region of the three rivers,
It struck awe into the enemy on all battlefields.

Telebiao 特勒驃 had yellow and white hair with a slight black snout. He was ridden in battle against Song Jingang in 619. Li Shiming did not take off his armor and the horse's saddle for three full days during the battle. The horse is depicted walking steadily on an icy road, full of confidence before the battle. It was originally displayed as the first on the east side. The accompanying poem reads:

應策騰空, 承聲半漢, 入險摧敵, 乘危濟難.

When whipped, it reared into the air,
The noise of its neighing reached the half Han [China];³³⁹
Rushing toward danger it bore down on the enemy,
It appeared at the critical moment and saved the difficult situation.

Quanmaogua 拳毛騮, a saffron-yellow horse with a wavy coat of hair described as 'Curly', was ridden in battle against Liu Heida 劉黑達 (d. 623) in 622. The horse is shown walking briskly forward with rare spirit and animation despite grievous wounds sustained from nine arrows—six from the front and three from the back. It was originally second on the west side of the mausoleum. The poem describing Quanmaogua reads:

月精按轡, 天駟橫行, 弧矢載戢, 氛埃廓清.

The moon rabbit grabbed the bridle,
The stars of Scorpio crossed the heaven in their course,
The dog-star carried the halberd,³⁴⁰
The dusty mist brought the end.

³³⁹ Ibid.: 67. Ferguson's translation reads: The noise of its neighing came down as from the sky.

³⁴⁰ Ibid.: 68. Ferguson's translation reads: The dog-star announced the halt.

Qingzhui 青騅, a piebald, was ridden in battle against Dou Jiande in 621 and received five arrows from the front. It was originally placed second on the east side. The poem reads:

足輕電影, 神發天機, 策茲飛練, 定我戎衣。

Light-footed, a streak of lightening,
It was full of natural spirits.
I whipped up this flying steed,
And was able to lay down my armor.

Baidiwu 白蹄烏, a black horse with four white feet, was referred to as a "white-hoofed crow." He was ridden in battle against Xue Renguo in 618. One night, this charger carried Li Shimin, for 200 *li* (about 100 km or 62.5 miles). Baidiwu was depicted in flying gallop and was originally placed third on the west side. The poem about Baidiwu reads:

倚天長劍, 追風駿足, 聳轡平隴, 回鞍定蜀。

With a sword long enough to touch the sky,
This swift steed could run with the wind;
On a gallop I recovered Long,³⁴¹
[With one look] On saddle to return I brought peace to Shu.

Shifachi 什伐赤, a brick-red horse, was ridden in battle against the forces of Dou Jiande and Wang Shichong in 621 and helped Li Shimin conquer two opponents in one battle. He was hit by four arrows from the front and one from the back. Originally positioned third on the east side, the poem reads:

漚澗未靜, 斧鉞申[伸]威, 朱汗驄足, 青旌凱歸。

There was trouble in the region of the Chan and Jian Rivers (that is, Luoyang),
With halberds and battle-axes I showed my power;
In red sweat this horse dashed forward,
Under the green flag our army returned singing the song of victory.³⁴²

³⁴¹ Long refers to the Gansu area in general.

³⁴² Ferguson (1931): 67.

After they were carved during the Zhenguan reign, as many scholars believe,³⁴³ the original placement of the six stone horse reliefs is not certain as they could be originally placed or removed to the Terraced Long Corridor. However, the excavators believe that they stood at one time on three-layered bases, although only two layers, the bottom and middle, have been found as mentioned above.

Later, the horse reliefs must have been removed from the Terraced Long Corridor and placed on one base, the bottom-layer base. As described by Zhang Chao in the early Qing, each side has three horse reliefs with a foot distance in between, all on the same strip of base; the surface of the base is flush with the ground, and the stone strips are connected by metal clamps. The architectural elements, known as "East Veranda" and "West Veranda," which Chavannes saw during his mission in 1909, must have been built in the Qing dynasty to shelter the horses. What Chavannes captured in the photographs are the only surviving historical photographic documentation and visual evidence of the horses standing in these two halls³⁴⁴ before they were removed from Zhaoling.

Between 1909 and 1915, the publicizing of these wonderful sculptures in Western languages attracted great attention from serious scholars as well as unscrupulous antique dealers. The six horse reliefs were removed from the mausoleum in the mid-1910s. The story is told below.

The empty East and West Verandas could still be seen with fragmentary walls in the late 1950s but were demolished in 1958 for brick recycling by local people, leaving behind only the foundation remains. The stone bases where the horses stood inside the halls, just as described by Zhang Chao, had been partially preserved, and the author saw the remaining bases on both the east and west sides during her 1999 visit (Fig. 30a and 30b). It is verified by the archaeologists that the surviving stone bases with the chiseled surface are the bottom layer of the Tang original.

The nearly 1,400-year-old horse reliefs all survive, but each has sustained damage and mutilation. The surface of the horse slabs has been weathered, and arrows depicted on the horses are mostly eroded. Horse legs and hooves have suffered breakage or complete loss. Several

³⁴³ Li Jugang (2002): 255–60.

³⁴⁴ Chavannes (1909–15): Fig. 439.

reliefs have been broken into sections, probably due to earthquakes and other natural phenomena.³⁴⁵ Comparing the current conditions with the conditions captured in the photographs of 1907, some new breaks must have occurred after 1909. Two horses, Saluzi and Qingzhui, without vertical breaks in the 1909 photographs, now show major vertical cuts: Saluzi has two (Figs. 31a and 31b) and Qingzhui has one (Figs. 32a and 32b). The position of the cuts and the execution of the straight lines attest that they were thoughtfully planned and purposely cut for easy transport from Zhaoling.

During the excavation, four fragments of horse hooves were found in the trash pit 60 m northeast of the North Sima Gate.³⁴⁶ Two of them can be matched with the broken parts of the two reliefs, Qingzhui and Shifachi. The fragment matching Qingzhui still shows refined carving of hoof's hair (Fig. 33), the preservation of such detailed carving under ground indicates that the fragments could have very likely been detached a long time ago.³⁴⁷

B. Fourteen Statues of Officials

The death of Emperor Taizong on the day of *jisi* 己巳 of the fifth moon of the twenty-third year (July 19, 649) and the burial two months later generated great sorrow among his loyal generals; some of whom had been captured by or surrendered to the emperor.

[貞觀二十三年八月]庚寅，安葬太宗皇帝在昭陵，廟號太宗。阿史那社爾，契苾何力請殺身殉葬，上遣人諭以先旨不許。蠻夷君長為先帝所擒服者頡利等十四人，皆琢石為其像，刻石列於北司馬門內。³⁴⁸

On September 29, 649 the Emperor was interred at Zhaoling and given the posthumous temple title Taizong. Ashina She'er and Qibi Heli pleaded be allowed to kill themselves in sacrifice. Emperor Gaozong sent a messenger to announce that the edict of the former Emperor did not permit so. The non-Chinese generals who were captured by or served the former Emperor, including Jieli and others,

³⁴⁵ Liqian xianzhi bianzuan weiyuanhui (1999): 168–70. Several earthquakes hit the Shaanxi area during the years 788, 879, 996, 1072, 1161–1189, 1487, 1501 and 1556.

³⁴⁶ Zhang Jianlin (1/22/2007).

³⁴⁷ Zhang Jianlin (2006): 19.

³⁴⁸ *ZZTJ*: 199, 15, 6269.

fourteen in all, were ordered to have their images carved in stone and erected in line inside the North Sima Gate.

上欲闡揚先帝徽烈,乃令匠人琢石,寫諸蕃君長.貞觀中擒俘歸化者形狀,而刻其官名.³⁴⁹

To spread the mighty achievements of the former Emperor, Emperor (Gaozong) ordered artisans to carve the portraits of the officials, those who were captured and those who surrendered during the Zhenguan reign, and label them with their official titles.

It is believed that the fourteen officials' statues were carved by the order of Emperor Gaozong during his early reign, although a specific year cannot be confirmed. The list of the fourteen officers has been recorded in texts with various inconsistencies and errors. For example, *JTS* records in the biographies of eight officials that their portraits were erected at Zhaoling. *THY* lists fifteen officials, and the Zhaoling "Map stele" erected by You Shixiong in 1094 truncates the names and titles of the fourteen officers into 12, among other errors. Due to the disappearance of the statues and their bases, texts of later periods contain more errors.³⁵⁰

Recent surveys and excavations have discovered pieces of some of the lost statues and bases. These include four bases found in 1965; three bases and eleven fragments representing torso (1), bust (1), legs (3) and head (6) found in 1982; two fragments showing upper torso and lower torso in 2001; and twenty fragments depicting heads (14) and torsos (6) in 2002.

These fragments have made it possible to identify thirteen of the fourteen bases carrying discernible characters. These bases are generally 0.88 m in length and width and 0.32 m in height. Some contain as many as 22 characters divided into six lines, and some have only four characters written in one line. The inscribed characters provide their names, titles and names of the states that they served or belonged to initially. They were inscribed on the bases by Yin Zhongrong³⁵¹ in *Bafen lishu* 八分隸書 (Bafen running script; Han-styled script). The format of the inscription is arranged based on the placement of the statues: those placed on the west side, their names and

³⁴⁹ *THY*: 20, 395–96.

³⁵⁰ Zhang Jianlin (2004): 82.

³⁵¹ *JSL*: 398.

titles read vertically from left to right; those erected on the east, their names and titles read vertically from right to left. The slashes indicate the change of lines as they appear in the inscription. Based on the positions of the inscriptions and of the five bases, which are still in their original posts, the placement of the fourteen officials has been restored by Zhang Jianlin as below:

西側: 薛延陀真 / 珠毗伽可 / 汗³⁵² (see Fig. 18)
于闐王 / 伏闐信
吐蕃贊府
焉耆王龍 / 突騎支
高昌王左 / 武威將軍 / 麴智勇
龜茲王訶 / 黎布失畢
吐谷渾河 / 源郡王烏 / 地也拔勤 / 豆可汗慕 / 容諾曷鉢

West side:

Zhenzhu Biqie Qaghan, Xueyantuo (Syr–Tardouch)
Fuduxin, King of Yutian (Khotan)
Zanfu, Tubo (Tibet)
Long Tuqizhi, King of Yanqi (Qarashahar)
Qu Zhiyong, General of the Left Awesome Guard; King of Gaochang
(Khocho)
Helibushibi, King of Qiuci (Qizil or Kucha)
Morongnuo'ebo, Wudiye baqindou Qaghan, King of Heyuan, Tuyuhun
(Linxia, Gansu)

東側: 突厥頡利可汗左衛大將軍阿史那咄苾
突厥突利可汗右衛大將軍阿史那什鉢苾
突厥乙沱 / 泥孰侯利 / 苾可汗右 / 武衛大將 / 軍阿史那 / 思摩
突厥答布 / 可汗右衛 / 大將軍阿 / 史那社爾
婆羅門帝 / 那伏帝國 / 王阿那順
林邑王范 / 頭黎
新羅樂浪 / 郡王金真 / 德³⁵³

³⁵² The symbol “/” refers to a separate line as shown on carved bases.

³⁵³ Zhang Jianlin (2004): 85 & 87.

East side:

Ashina Duobi, Generalissimo of the Left Guard; Turkic Qaghan Jieli
Ashina Shenbobi, Generalissimo of the Right Guard; Turkic Qaghan Tuli
Ashina Simo, Generalissimo of the Right Awesome Guard; Turkic
Yilinisuhoulibi Qaghan
Ashina She'er, Generalissimo of the Right Guard; Turkic Dabu Qaghan
Anashun, King of Nafudi, Brahman (modern India)
Fan Touli, King of Linyi (modern South Viet Nam)
Jin Zhende, King of Lelang, Silla (modern South Korea)

Their placement probably was organized by geographic locations. Those that stood on the west side came from the west regions including Gansu, Xinjiang, Qinghai and Tibet. Those lined in the east side were dominated by the Turkic chieftains and those from the Korean Peninsula and the South or Southeast Asia.³⁵⁴

As mentioned above, from fragments acquired during the surveys and excavations conducted in 1965, 1982, 2001 and 2002–2003, thirteen out of the fourteen bases have been found. Additionally, thirteen heads and eleven torsos can also be restored or recognized.³⁵⁵

- The bust, currently on exhibit in the Zhaoling Museum, is restored from a large fragmentary torso and head fragments found in 1982. His hair is knotted and hanging, touching both shoulders. He has an up-curved mustache and an outfit with large collars across each other and wide open. His two arms are folded and hands are inside the sleeves.
- The fragmentary statue found in 1982 is 1.20 m high and 0.49 m wide across the shoulders and 0.003 m thick. He wears a tight-sleeved long robe with a belt. He is in a standing position with two thin braids, measuring 0.69 m, hanging down to his belly.
- A fragment, measuring 0.78 m high, shows the bottom part of a figure. He wears a belt with a knife hanging at the belly and a sheath in the waist. The skirt has a thick hem and *leng* 棱 (crest line).

³⁵⁴ Ibid.: 87.

³⁵⁵ Ibid.

- A fragment, 0.93 m high, is the bottom of a torso. At the waist of the skirt hang belt, hooks, pendant and *yufudai* 魚符袋 (fish-shaped tally bags).³⁵⁶
- Originally depicting a figure standing on a board, the fragment shows a three-layered robe and the tips of a pair of small feet. It is ascertained that the fragment belongs to the statue of Jin Zhende, King of Lelang, Silla.
- A head fragment has thick eyebrows and big eyes. His wrinkles spread on his eye corners and forehead, and he has an up-curved mustache.
- A fragmentary lower torso carries a knife at the belly, and wears a sheath at the left and a fish-shaped bag at the right of the waist.
- A fragmentary bottom torso is measured 0.98 m high. He wears a belt, crescent-shaped knife, decorative pendant on the right side, fish-shaped tally bags 魚符袋 on the left side, skirt and boots.
- A 1.30-m. high fragmentary statue wears a tight-sleeved long robe, carries a knife and sheath at his waist, and has five thick braids hanging to reach his waist. The braids are of 0.56 m long and 0.23 m wide, and the lower part of the braids are clipped with hair ornaments (Fig. 34).
- The other one is short of stature and wears a robe with right shoulder exposed and sash covering the shoulder. At his waist, there is a twisted cotton belt. Based on the stylistic garments suitable for warm climate, he could be either Ananshun from South Asia or Fan Touli from Southeast Asia (Fig. 35).³⁵⁷
- A fragmentary torso, 1.10–1.30 m high, is depicted with round-collared, and tight-sleeved robe with belt. His two arms are folded into the sleeves at the belly. He has seven thick braids, measuring 0.58 m long and 0.24 m wide and hanging over his waist (Fig. 36).
- Other fragments depict heads with curled hair, bulged eyes and ornate head decorations (Fig. 37).

³⁵⁶ Cihai bianji weiyuanhui (1979): 2014. Officials in the fifth rank and above were allowed to wear these bags for holding tallies or seals.

³⁵⁷ Telephone communication with the excavator, Zhang Jianlin, in April 2008.

The above descriptions indicate that the fourteen statues were executed based on actual details. The life-size stone statues captured the characteristics of each official and depicted them with their distinctive facial and hair features, original ethnic costumes as well as weapons.

The fourteen statues and the six stone reliefs stood in two rows in front of Taizong's tomb, creating a majesty and solemn environment. Different from other tomb sculptures, which are ceremonial, they represent the political accomplishments achieved by Emperor Taizong.³⁵⁸

C. The Empress Stele

At the time of burying the Empress, in the eleventh moon of the tenth year of Zhenguan (636), Emperor Taizong composed the text and ordered the "Empress stele,"³⁵⁹ the very first stele, officially erected at Zhaoling. It is said that the famous Tang calligrapher, Ouyang Xun, inscribed the stele, but some people cast doubt on its existence as no one had seen it for several hundred years. Last seen in the Ming dynasty (1368–1644), the fragmentary "Empress stele" was surprisingly rediscovered in 2001, after 500 years of disappearance, during a regular restoration survey, as reported by Li Langtao 李浪濤.³⁶⁰

This stele, located on the fourth platform, carries an imperial inscription of the Ming dynasty. It is 1.22 m high, 0.67 m wide and 0.4 m thick, the thickest among all the stelae at Zhaoling. When the stele was pulled out of the base for reinforcement, it was noticed that several characters still remained on its edge from its previous inscription, which reads

率更令臣歐陽詢奉

Director of the Court of the Watches, Ouyang Xun is taking the order (Fig. 38).

The script style, which is that of Ouyang Xun, who was "taking the order" to carve the inscription, and the stele itself being the thickest, suggest that this is the first stele at Zhaoling. The extant inscription, though brief, has confirmed the stele's original identity.

³⁵⁸ Yang Kuan (1985): 78.

³⁵⁹ *ZZTJ*: 194, 10, 6122.

³⁶⁰ Li Langtao (2004): 89–91.

The "Empress stele" apparently was cut and made into a new Ming stele by turning its width to be the height. The top of the stele, which was adorned with six entwined hornless dragons, was found to have been carved and reused as a base for another stele. The base for the "Empress stele" has also been found, broken into two, at a spot 60 m north of the east *que*.³⁶¹

D. Pair of Stone Lions

A pair of lions also survives from Zhaoling, and are currently on exhibit at the Beilin Museum, Xi'an. The museum's label indicates that the lions were originally placed in front of Zhaoling.³⁶² Yang Kuan points out that the lions were at the Houzhai Village 後寨村 before they were removed to the museum.³⁶³ Liu Qingzhu informs us that Houzhai Village is 9 km (5.6 miles) south of Mount Jiuzong and believes that the lions must have stood in front of a gate marking the boundary of Zhaoling.³⁶⁴

The pair of lions includes a standing lion and another lion with a sculpture of a man carved in one piece. The lions both are 1.79 m high, 3.45 m long and 1.85 m wide.³⁶⁵ They are depicted with protruding eyes and wide-open mouths, as if they were roaring. The man, as big as a lion's leg, stands with his back to the animal. He wears an open-collared tight tunic over a short skirt with a belt knotted in the front. His head is broken, yet he has strong chest muscles, with two arms positioned behind the back and the left leg kicked back (the right leg is broken off). The man's posture and the disproportion between the man and the animal make this sculpture a very fascinating piece (Fig. 39).

2). Stone Monuments from Auxiliary Tombs

The stone monuments from auxiliary tombs are represented by tomb steles and animal stone sculptures. Among the 74 auxiliary tombs whose occupants are identified, most survive

³⁶¹ Ibid.

³⁶² Xi'an Beilin bowuguan (2000): 96.

³⁶³ Yang Kuan (1985): 248.

³⁶⁴ Liu Qingzhu (1987): 219.

³⁶⁵ Xi'an Beilin bowuguan (2000): 96.

with tomb stelae, and only eleven are adorned with stone figures, stone animals and stone pillars.³⁶⁶

a). Tomb Stelae

The vast auxiliary tombs complex produced abundant tomb stelae. As already mentioned, more than "160 mounds were equipped with arch-shaped tomb stelae amidst green pine, emerald cypress, tall poplar and large scholar tree."³⁶⁷ After the fall of the Tang dynasty, tomb stelae started to disappear. Eighty-eight tomb stelae were recorded since the Song, and the number was reduced to 28 in the Qing dynasty.³⁶⁸

In recent years, more than a dozen have been rediscovered, for a total of 42 tomb stelae surviving today.³⁶⁹ The list of the surviving stelae is included in Table II.

Among them, stelae with exceptional shapes have been recorded. Those of the three princesses buried in the mountains, Xincheng, Changle and Chengyang, all born to Empress Wende, are adorned with six entwined hornless *chi*-dragons 螭 on the top and rested on tortoise-shaped bases. Other princesses, not born to the Empress, were buried on the plain south of the mountain, and their stelae are equipped with rectangular bases. Wei Cheng and Li Ji, also buried on the mountain, had tomb stelae adorned with hornless-dragon motif and tortoise bases. Emperor Gaozong even inscribed the tomb stele for Li Ji. Li Jing's tomb stele was decorated with *chi*-dragons with a square base.³⁷⁰ Tomb stele for other officials, such as Pei Yi 裴藝 (d. 649) and Kong Yingda 孔穎達 (d. 648), are also ornate (Fig. 40).

Many of these stelae were inscribed by famous calligraphers of the time and even emperors. Emperor Taizong inscribed Wei Zheng's tomb stele, which unfortunately was completely erased. Emperor Gaozong left his elegant calligraphy on the tomb stele of Li Ji. Scripts of famous calligraphers, Ouyang Xun, Chu Suiliang 褚遂良 (596–659) and Wang Zhijing

³⁶⁶ Jiang Baolian (1994): 78.

³⁶⁷ Lin Tong (1965): 105.

³⁶⁸ Luo Zhenyu (1979): 10711.

³⁶⁹ Liqun xianzhi bianzuan weiyuanhui (1999): 860–62.

³⁷⁰ Zhaoling wenwu guanlisuo (1977): 36–37.

王知敬 (fl. 684–704), serve as important evidence of ancient Chinese calligraphy during the early Tang.

These stelae also serve as a library of biographies of many individuals who may not be recorded in history and that supplement what had been written. Further, they help to provide additional information on many historical events.

b). Stone Sculptures

The auxiliary tombs are found to be equipped with stone figures and stone animals. Emperor Taizong had six stone horse reliefs and a pair of lions for his tomb site, which are extant today. The auxiliary tombs were allowed to use other animals, such as tigers and rams. The stone sculptures surviving from the tomb of Princess Changle probably represent the most complete set of stone sculpture arrangements among auxiliary tombs of the period. She died in 643, and her tomb has two stone statues (one fragmentary), two tigers, two rams and one pillar base. Originally there was a pair of pillars, but they are now lost.³⁷¹

The same arrangement was repeated for the tomb of Princess Xincheng, who died in 663, twenty years after Princess Changle. The surviving sculpture is similar, that is, two stone statues, one ram and two pillars.³⁷² Another unknown tomb located southeast of Mount Jiuzong had two stone figures, three tigers, three rams and two pillars. The tomb of consort Yanshi 太妃燕氏, also on the mountain, has one figure, two rams and two pillar bases. The tomb of Li Jing also has a stone statue, ram and tiger. Li Ji's tomb has two statues, three tigers and three rams.³⁷³ Stone rams and tigers were found in front of the Wen Yanbo and Duan Zhixuan's 段志玄 (d. 642) tombs; three tigers and three rams came from Zheng Rentai's tomb. The surviving stone animals from auxiliary tombs may vary, but they attest that there was a practice, likely regulated arrangements, for placing the stone animals in front of the auxiliary tombs. Such arrangements, including the

³⁷¹ Zhaoling bowuguan (1988a): 10.

³⁷² Zhaoling wenwu guanlisuo (1977): 34.

³⁷³ Yi Mu (1985): 119. Zhonggong Liquean xianwei xuanchuanbu (1999): 38–39. The stele, adorned with dragon motifs at top and sitting on a tortoise base, is 6.65 m. in height. The inscription, written by Emperor Gaozong, has been well preserved.

tomb location and type, stone monuments and burial objects permitted, were regulated by the deceased's relationship with the imperial families and their official ranks and social status.

4. Removal of the Six Horse Reliefs

At the beginning of the twentieth century, the six stone horses were removed from the mausoleum. Four horse reliefs are now in the Beilin Museum, Xi'an, and two reliefs eventually made their way to UPM (then called the University Museum). The story of the removal of the horse reliefs from Zhaoling and how UPM acquired them is told below.³⁷⁴

1). The Acquisition of the Two Horse Reliefs by UPM

On March 9, 1918, Dr. George B. Gordon (1870–1927), the museum's director from 1910 to 1927, saw the two horses (see the top two images in Fig. 2a) for the first time in New York. In his letter of March 13, 1918, to Loo Ching-tsai 盧芹齋 (C. T. Loo, 1880–1957), owner of Lai-Yuan and Co. 來遠公司, Dr. Gordon wrote,

On Saturday [March 9] your assistant took me to the Metropolitan Storage Rooms and showed me the two stone horses. I was very glad to see these famous sculptures which I understood for sometime were in this country. I will turn over in my mind what will be the best way of dealing with them on the part of the Museum and will consult with my associates as to the possibility of their being bought.

In the following month, their correspondence focused on subjects related to the display of the reliefs at the museum, such as photographs, molds, display plans and designs. On April 19, 1918, Gordon formally reported to the Museum Board of Managers on the offer of C. T. Loo to lend to UPM, "without expense to it, two sculptures representing a pair of horses in high relief which came from the ancient capital of Si'an-fu." On May 7, the horses were transported by special motor truck and arrived at the museum the following day. The shipping charge was US\$140.

³⁷⁴ The information is drawn from the University of Pennsylvania Museum Archives unless otherwise stated.

When Gordon expressed difficulties in obtaining bank loans to secure the purchase, Loo immediately followed with a letter urging the museum to give "the less important one" (the relief without the man) to a museum in Boston that had received a large bequest for collection purchases.³⁷⁵ This letter alerted the museum, and accordingly the Board of Managers made an immediate decision to authorize raising funds of up to US\$150,000 for the purchase of the two horses. An agreement was eventually reached with Loo that the museum would instead purchase a Chinese bronze vessel for US\$20,000 immediately, and "allow the Museum an option until April 1, 1921, to purchase the two sacred Chinese Horses (then deposited in the University Museum) for the sum of US\$150,000, agreeing hereby not to negotiate with any other person or institution for the two above-named Horses."³⁷⁶

During the next two years, the museum made painstaking efforts to raise the funds but without success. Loo wrote numerous letters urging the conclusion of the transaction. The turning point came in November 1920 when Eldridge R. Johnson (1867–1945), a Philadelphia philanthropist and member of the Board of Managers (1920–1931), initially contributed US\$50,000 and then increased the sum to a total of US\$150,000 for the purchase of the two horses. As the museum was able to negotiate the price to US\$125,000, Johnson allowed the balance to be kept for expedition projects. The purchase was completed in three payments in December 1920, January 1921 and March 1921. The transaction for the purchase of the two reliefs, which began three years earlier, was finally completed. Since then a plaque crediting the acquisition as a 'Gift of Mr. Eldridge R. Johnson' has been placed under the reliefs.

The more serious question is how these horses were removed from the Emperor's tomb and China. Clues which were not available to UPM at the time of the purchase have gradually surfaced.

b). The Removal of the Horse Reliefs from Zhaoling and China

It has been the museum's practice since 1897 to publish its recent acquisitions in *The Museum Journal*, a quarterly magazine (predecessor of current *Expedition*). The first article on

³⁷⁵ Loo Ching-tsai (1927).

³⁷⁶ Loo Ching-tsai (1919).

the Tang horses was published in the September–December issue of 1918.

Paul Mallon from Paris wrote to the museum on June 29, 1921, requesting a subscription to the journal. He also provided the following information, saying "[I] thought that it would interest you to know the details in view of restoring the famous horses' history." He continued:

In 1912, Monsieur A. Grosjean from Peking tried to obtain these horses... dispatched a man, Galenzi, to visit these pieces with the order to write as soon as possible the best way he considered for taking them away. In May 1913, the horses were taken from the Emperor's tomb; unhappily the men transporting them were attacked by peasants and the precious relics thrown down a precipice. The fragments were confiscated and trusted in 1917 to the Sian-Fu Museum. They were later sold to Messrs Loo and Marcel Bing from whom you have them. I am particularly fit to give you this information as I wanted to acquire the horses through the intermediary of Mr. Grosjean and as I advanced a big sum of money which was lost to me in consequence of the confiscation of the horses.

Mr. Mallon's account coincides with one that was provided by Loo on September 10, 1927. Loo claimed:

Those chargers were stolen from the Tomb by a foreigner in 1912, the removal of the heavy stones being discovered, the slabs being confiscated and taken in possession by the then Governor of Shansi [Shaanxi] Province. In 1915 the late President Yuan Chi-Kai (Yuan Shikai) had them officially removed to Peking, a few months after, they were sold to us through another man. It was absolutely legal, those horses were sold by the supreme authority of the country.

A recently discovered source has cast further light on this issue. It is recorded in the *Su An Magazine* 蘇庵雜誌 that

自辛亥后,石駿為師長張雲山取其二移置長安舊督署(俗稱南院).然斷泐不堪矣.³⁷⁷

After the 1911 Revolution, Zhang Yunshan (d. 1915), the Division Commander, took two horses and moved them to the old Military Commander's Office (also called South Compound). They were severely damaged.

³⁷⁷ Song Liankui (1918): Zhaoling liujun 昭陵六駿.

Zhang was the Division Commander from March 1912 to September 1914 in Shaanxi province and died in 1915. He had given the horses to Lu Jianzhang 陸建章, then the provincial military commander, to win his favor. Lu later allowed the horses to be sent to Beijing with the understanding they were to be given to Yuan Shikai 袁世凱 (1859–1916), the leading warlord and the president of Republic of China at the time. The same source further provides that

乃未幾,復為某洋商所覬覦,竟舉陵北所餘四石輦之而去。當道者急追之,始璧還,今存圖書館陳列所中。³⁷⁸

Shortly after, a certain foreign dealer again had designs on [the horses] and took away the remaining four from the north slope of the mausoleum. The local head immediately pursued after him and was able to retrieve them. Now they are exhibited in the gallery of the Library.

According to the book by Chen Chongyuan 陳重遠 (b. 1928), a Chinese dealer in Beijing named Zhao Hefang 趙鶴舫 (1881–1936) was involved in the sale of the two horses. Zhao made the acquaintance of Yuan Kewen 袁克文 (1889–1931), the second son of Yuan Shikai, through a curio and antique business. Zhao suggested to Yuan Kewen that he would be able to obtain interesting stones and rocks to decorate the *Yuan Jia Huayuan* 袁家花園 (Yuan-family Imperial Garden), as Yuan Shikai was preparing to be crowned emperor. With the help of special seals provided by the Yuan family, the two horses left Xi'an and were transported to Beijing without any problem.³⁷⁹

Thus in March 1918, when Gordon saw the two horses in storage in New York, they had been in the USA for some time already. It is very likely the two horses were shipped out of Beijing between 1916 and 1917. The important issue of who sold the horses to Loo remains uncertain. Loo claimed it was "through another man... by the supreme authority."³⁸⁰ Was the other man mentioned by Loo Zhao Hefang? Did Zhao use Yuan Shikai as a pretext to cover the sale for his own sake? Who was Loo referring to when he mentioned "the supreme authority"?

³⁷⁸ Ibid.: Shijun zaizhi 石駿再志.

³⁷⁹ Chen Chongyuan (1996): 295–97.

³⁸⁰ Loo Ching-tsai (1927).

Were the Tang horses sent to Loo by the local government in order to raise money to build schools?³⁸¹ Is the local government the same as Loo's "the supreme authority"? We should also be aware that Loo had powerful connections with important figures in the Kuomintang government that ruled China at the time. The special network may have helped Loo and his company sell many important Chinese artworks abroad without competition or trouble. Who was actually behind the sale of the horses remains puzzling. The Chinese art world awaits answers.

The account would not be complete without mentioning Carl W. Bishop (1881–1942). Bishop was the Assistant Curator of Oriental Art at the University Museum from 1914–1918. During his tenure, he went to China twice, prospecting, albeit unsuccessfully, for archaeological sites in the northwest. In October 1917, he visited the Shaanxi Provincial Library and studied the four horses then remaining. They were transferred to the Beilin Museum in the early 1950s and have been there ever since. After the two reliefs were acquired by UPM, the museum and Bishop were labeled "cultural thieves." Ironically, Bishop's failure to secure an excavation caused his recall from China in December 1917 and the termination of his services at the museum in early 1918, even before the horses made their way to Philadelphia. There is no evidence in the Museum archives showing any involvement by Bishop or UPM in removing the horses from either the tomb or China.³⁸²

³⁸¹ Crownover (1971).

³⁸² Zhou Xiuqin (2001): 40–46. Zhou Xiuqin (2002): 225–40. These two articles provide a more detailed account of the removal of the horse reliefs from the mausoleum and China.

Chapter Four: Zhaoling in the Context of Early Imperial Tombs

The previous chapter provided a detailed description of Zhaoling. In this chapter, the origin and significance of these four elements of Zhaoling—a mountain burial, funerary architecture, the largest auxiliary burial complex and magnificent stone monuments—will be explored. The goal is to ascertain which of these funerary components were inherited from earlier imperial burial practices and which first appeared at Zhaoling.

1. Mountain Burial

A mountain burial refers to a burial in a hilly place, using a natural peak, instead of a man-built earthen heap, as a mound. The Tang imperial mausolea are characterized by mountain burials, as represented by fourteen of the eighteen imperial tombs spread along the north bank of the River Wei outside Xi'an in Shaanxi (see Table I). Their arrangement is neither in the order of seniority of the deceased nor by date of death. All of these sites were selected after the death of emperors, except in two cases, Zhaoling and Tailing 泰陵. The selection of imperial mausolea followed an early Chinese tradition of geomancy, or *fengshui*, to ensure auspiciousness and determine a positive balance of natural forces,³⁸³ as exemplified by the site choices of Qianling and Tailing.³⁸⁴ Zhaoling is the first Tang imperial tomb to be situated as a mountain burial, but—as we shall see—this practice is not unprecedented in Chinese history.

Mount Jiuzong was selected personally by Emperor Taizong as the site of his mausoleum, not only because of its physical features, but also for the ultimate goal of protecting it from looting.

In the edict of 637, Emperor Taizong felt it crucial to announce that his tomb would be economical, stating that his tomb "needs to be big enough only to fit one coffin" and the burial objects should "have no use in our world." This intention was reinforced by another decree dated

³⁸³ Steinhardt (1990): 12. Paludan (1991): 59.

³⁸⁴ *THY*: 20, 397. Emperor Xuanzong selected Jinsushan as his burial site because of the auspiciousness. "The mountain and peaks symbolize the place for coiled dragon and soaring phoenix."

in the third moon of the seventeenth year of Zhenguan (643), an admonition against extravagant burials.³⁸⁵ Scholars disagree as to whether the construction of a mountain burial should be considered a cost-savings. Some praise it as an economic move compared to the massive labor put into the construction of lavish mausolea, such as those for Qin Shihuangdi 秦始皇帝 (r. 221–210 BC) and Han Wudi 漢武帝 (r. 156–87 BC).³⁸⁶ Other scholars argue that a burial "using mountain as a mound" is much more complicated and thus more costly than making a "man-made heap as a mound."³⁸⁷

Using a mountain as a burial site surely has the advantage of making more land available for agriculture; however, opening a tomb on a rocky mountain must be laborious and time consuming. Without getting into a detailed account of the construction costs of an imperial mausoleum such as Zhaoling's Mortuary Palace,³⁸⁸ which is much larger than just a space "only big enough to hold a coffin," I argue that frugality, one of the principles practiced over all during the early Tang,³⁸⁹ also was reflected in the imperial burial customs. Building a six-*zhang*, instead of nine-*zhang*, mound for Xianling, the simple burial for Empress Zhangsun and the "absence of precious gold and jade objects"³⁹⁰ in the burials at Zhaoling are examples of cost-conscious burials in the early Tang as compared to the extravagant burials of the Qin and Western Han periods. Frugality might be one reason for a mountain burial, but it is not the only one and probably not the main one.

The primary reason for choosing a mountain burial was fear of grave robbers or tomb desecration by political rivals. Harsh examples of the pillage of earlier imperial tombs were known to the Tang rulers. For example, the mausoleum of Qin Shihuangdi 秦始皇帝陵 was so opulent that it became the target of immediate dishonor.³⁹¹ After Xiang Yu 項羽 (232–202 BC)

³⁸⁵ *TDZL*: 80, 642–43.

³⁸⁶ *JSCB*: 141, 9.

³⁸⁷ Sun Chi (1985): 88. Taking Qiaoling as an example, the 3,900 slabs used for sealing the doors and other related work would have needed 100 carvers working for one year.

³⁸⁸ Gong Qiming (2002): 11.

³⁸⁹ *ZZZY*: 185–90.

³⁹⁰ *THY*: 20, 394.

³⁹¹ *TDZL*: 80, 462–63.

sacked the capital, he burned Qin Shihuangdi's tomb; this is verified by the burned soil found in the excavated areas at the mausoleum. In 26, the rebel troop, Red Eyebrows 赤眉, looted the tombs of the Western Han sovereigns; their jade suits were ripped off and skeletons ruined.³⁹² A similar fate met the tombs of the Eastern Han sovereigns near Luoyang at the hands of Dong Zhuo 董卓 (d. 192) in 191.³⁹³ Emperor Wen of the Wei State 魏文帝 (r. 220–226) summarized that event:

自古及今, 未有不亡之國, 亦無不掘之墓也。³⁹⁴

From ancient times and today, no dynasty will last forever without being overthrown; no tomb will be intact without being looted.

Drawing lessons from history, Taizong decided to follow the model of Baling, the mausoleum of Emperor Wen of the Han. He "used the mountain peak [for his burial site] and it looked natural and lofty without a mound." Taizong confirmed his intended choice in his last edict that

園陵制度, 務從儉約, 昔者霸陵不掘, 則朕意焉。³⁹⁵

The mausoleum system must be thrifty. In the past Baling was not robbed. This is the way I want to be.

The use of burial objects of no use to our world, such as wooden horses, painted chariots, coarse boats and reed musical instruments, as mentioned above, is also intended to stop the ferocious robbers.

盜賊之心, 止求珍貨, 既無珍貨, 復何所求。³⁹⁶

³⁹² *SGZ*: 2, 2, 82.

³⁹³ Thorp (1979): 105.

³⁹⁴ *SGZ*: 2, 2. *THY*: 20, 393.

³⁹⁵ *TDZL*: 11, 67.

³⁹⁶ *ZZTJ*: 194, 10, 6123.

Robbers and thieves are driven only by treasured objects; if there are no such objects in tombs, what else will they look for?

It is evident that the Emperor Taizong's choice of a "thrifty" mountain burial was prompted by his desire to safeguard the mausoleum. This also makes it clear that Emperor Taizong was not the first to employ a mountain burial; this practice developed during the Han and probably originated even earlier. Emperor Wen was the only one of the eleven Western Han emperors to adopt the mountain burial type; this practice then prevailed during the Southern Dynasties. The choice of a mountain site for the Southern Dynasties was "partly dictated by practical considerations" because of the wet plain; these tombs are "small in scale" and "lacked the grandeur of their Han predecessors."³⁹⁷ They merged into the landscape, "even today the distance between the statuary and tomb poses serious difficulties for archaeologists trying to identify the tomb to which a particular spirit road belongs."³⁹⁸ Even though the Southern Dynasty sovereigns used mountain burials, they made additional efforts to protect their tombs from violation.

It is evident that Emperor Taizong adopted the mountain-burial type from his predecessors of the Western Han and probably also the Southern Dynasties. Nevertheless, he made his own innovations. Taizong publicized the edict declaring his selection of Mount Jiuzong for his eternal resting place in order to "pre-set"³⁹⁹ an economical burial on the mountain without valuable objects. In this manner, he made it impossible for his descendants to construct an extravagant burial for him. Additionally, he made this burial system mandatory for his descendants:

儻使百世子孫奉以爲法⁴⁰⁰

My descendants for a hundred generations must take it as a law.

³⁹⁷ Paludan (1991): 60.

³⁹⁸ Ibid.

³⁹⁹ *TDZL*: 76, 431.

⁴⁰⁰ *ZZTJ*: 194, 10, 6122–23.

Emperor Taizong's order resulted in fourteen out of the eighteen Tang imperial mausolea being constructed in the high mountains along the north bank of the Wei River. Unlike the mausolea of the Southern Dynasties, which are lost in the countryside, the Tang imperial mausolea, even though they did not contain precious objects, but instead mostly pottery, occupy a unique and spectacular location, making them among the most spectacular tombs in the world.

2. Funerary Architecture

The ancient Chinese believed that each human being possesses a body and a soul. The soul lived on after the body died. Tombs were built not only to house the dead bodies but also to nurture the eternal living souls. People treated the dead in the same way as the living; only if the souls of the deceased were properly cared for would their spirits protect their descendants from adversity and bring them good luck and fortune. The tradition of designing "tombs imitating real houses"⁴⁰¹ has a long history⁴⁰² and also is reflected in the Tang imperial mausolea.⁴⁰³

Zhaoling shows similarities in planning to that of the capital city, Chang'an, and the palatial architecture within the imperial city. In analyzing the relationship between Zhaoling's funerary architecture and the imperial architecture, ten factors should be considered: (1) general planning, (2) orientation, (3) symmetry, (4) outer wall, (5) *que*, (6) gate, (7) Halberd-display Pavilion, (8) Xiandian, (9) Qingong and (10) Mortuary Palace.

1). General Planning

The concept of imperial mausoleum planning is epitomized in the Tang capital, Chang'an. The city was comprised of three enclosures: *huangcheng* 皇城 (imperial city) as the administrative city, *gongcheng* 宫城 (palace city) as the residential area of the emperor and his immediate relatives, and *waikuocheng* 外廓城 (outer city) as the residential area for ordinary people, which surrounded the first two on the east, west and south (Fig. 41).⁴⁰⁴ Zhaoling also

⁴⁰¹ *TDZL*: 80, 463.

⁴⁰² Fu Xian (1998): 251.

⁴⁰³ Shen Ruiwen (1999): 427.

⁴⁰⁴ He Zicheng (1980): 140.

encompassed three components although their specific designation varies. One version has the three parts as the underground Mortuary Palace, the mountain peak and Xiandian. The spirit road with stone officials and animals represented the imperial-city. The large auxiliary tomb complex symbolized the outer city.⁴⁰⁵ The other version holds that the spirit road with its stone officials served the function of "attending guards at the palace"; only the "auxiliary tomb complex" resembled the imperial-city.⁴⁰⁶ Regardless of the variations, there is a consensus that the general planning of Zhaoling "resembled a living city"⁴⁰⁷ whose plan was modeled after Chang'an.

2). Orientation

Regarding the point of orientation, one recalls that Chinese geomancy, or *fengshui*, was practiced in the selection of imperial burial sites; this same practice was used in choosing a site for the Chinese imperial city and is called siting.⁴⁰⁸ Emperor Taizong selected Mount Jiuzong because it was "auspiciously shaped."⁴⁰⁹ The choice was publicized by the edict entitled, "Decree on the divination of mausoleum at Mount Jiuzong" 九嶷山卜陵詔⁴¹⁰ indicating that the selection process was made according to the concept or process of divination.

Closely related to *fengshui* is the cardinal orientation of imperial architecture. Since the Han period, it became paramount that "the tomb was correctly placed in relation to the cosmos."⁴¹¹ South is "the direction of summer" and "the cardinal direction the emperor faced when seated in his hall of audience, and thus most of the imperial buildings of an imperial city have a southern exposure."⁴¹² Paralleling the southern orientation of the imperial city, Zhaoling was built as much as possible along those same lines. Its Mortuary Palace is tunneled into the

⁴⁰⁵ Ibid. Paludan (1991): 86.

⁴⁰⁶ Shen Ruiwen (1999): 428.

⁴⁰⁷ Paludan (1991): 87.

⁴⁰⁸ Steinhardt (1990): 12.

⁴⁰⁹ Paludan (1991): 86.

⁴¹⁰ *TDZL*: 76, 431.

⁴¹¹ Paludan (1991): 59.

⁴¹² Steinhardt (1990): 8.

south side of the mountain. Emperor Taizong was buried with his head to the north and face to south as if still overlooking the court. Due to the steep slope on the south side, funerary architecture had to be placed on the gentle north slope; the primary architecture for ritual services, Xiandian, was still built on the south slope, however, to retain the southern exposure.

3). Symmetry

Symmetry is another fundamental feature of Chinese architecture. "Good *fengshui* demanded, as far as possible, a north–south axis."⁴¹³ Further, the symmetry is "bilateral."⁴¹⁴ Most of the Chinese architectural complexes are arranged with main halls "along a strict north–south line" and other hall complexes of less significance on "secondary east–west axes."⁴¹⁵ Such designs were realized in the cases of Taiji Gong 太極宮,⁴¹⁶ Daming Gong 大明宮⁴¹⁷ and Dong Gong 東宮,⁴¹⁸ the three main complexes for accommodating the court activities and private life of the Tang emperors and crown princes (Figs. 42 and 43). The North Sima Gate at Zhaoling was built in a similar way. "The main entrance and the pathways served as the central north–south axis" and "the buildings flanking the central axis were placed in east and west symmetry, but on a small scale."⁴¹⁹ The Terraced Long Corridor, placed on both sides, east and west, at one time accommodated the six stone horse reliefs and the statues of fourteen officials, which were equally divided between the two sides, following the principle of symmetry. The bilateral symmetry can be seen clearly through the drawing by the excavator, although not all the architectural structures survive, and the functions of some structures have yet to be identified (see Fig. 10).

⁴¹³ Paludan (1991): 59.

⁴¹⁴ Steinhardt (1990): 106.

⁴¹⁵ *Ibid.*: 102–03.

⁴¹⁶ Taijing Gong, located at the north center of the palace city, was where the Tang emperors held their courts. In 629 Emperor Taizong moved in.

⁴¹⁷ Steinhardt (1990): 101.

⁴¹⁸ Dong Gong was the residential complex for the crown prince. Emperor Taizong was inaugurated there and held court there until he moved to Taiji Gong in 629.

⁴¹⁹ Zhang Jianlin (2006): 20.

4). Outer Wall

We turn now to the fourth point of comparison, the outer wall. Chinese believed that "the universe is round and the earth is square."⁴²⁰ The square form, highly respected and dominant in people's minds, was important in the building of imperial cities and tombs.⁴²¹ "The fundamental feature of a Chinese imperial city is four-sided enclosure. Every Chinese imperial city is encased by four outer walls (segments) which meet at right angles to form a rectangle."⁴²²

An imperial mausoleum enclosed by a wall was first used at the mausoleum of Qin Shihuangdi and continued during the Western Han.⁴²³ The Eastern Han tombs were built both with and without enclosing walls.⁴²⁴ The use of enclosures was suspended during the Southern and Northern Dynasties but revived in the Tang.⁴²⁵ Qin Shihuangdi's mausoleum is shaped rectangular by connecting two squarish cities, equipped with as many as eight gates.⁴²⁶ Maoling 茂陵, the mausoleum of Han Wudi, and Yangling 陽陵, the mausoleum of Emperor Jing of the Western Han 漢景帝 (r. 156–141 BC), each had a four-sided enclosure.⁴²⁷ Similarly, the north slope, the main component of Zhaoling, was originally encircled by a wall. The extant remnant of the outer wall shows that it was once covered by a two-sloped roof with ceramic tiles, and the bottom of the wall space was coated with a white wash and painted with a red band.⁴²⁸ Such elements were common to the regular palace buildings; therefore, Zhaoling was not only enclosed by walls, but by walls closely imitating actual walls of the Tang imperial city.

⁴²⁰ *ZBSJ*: a, 17, 12.

⁴²¹ Steinhardt (1990): 116. Yang Kuan (1985): 67–68.

⁴²² Steinhardt (1990): 6.

⁴²³ Zhou Ming (1994): 65. Shaanxi sheng difangzhi bianji weiyuanhui (1997): 49–50.

⁴²⁴ *Ibid.*: Zhou states that the Eastern Han tombs were built without encircling walls. Yang Kuan (1985): 39. Yang mentions that the Eastern Han tombs are seen with or without encircling walls.

⁴²⁵ Zhou Ming (1994): 65.

⁴²⁶ Shaanxi sheng kaogu yanjiusuo (2000): 10.

⁴²⁷ Yang Kuan (1985): 39.

⁴²⁸ Zhang Jianlin (2006): 19.

5). Gate

All the four-sided and walled Chinese cities had gates. The main gates pierced the centers of these cardinal walls, which enclosed the imperial city. Steinhardt takes note that

Tradition associates each of the four world quarters with a symbolic animal, color, metal and season.... South is the direction of summer, fire, the bird (often a phoenix), and the color vermilion.... Continuing around the square, east is the quadrant of spring, wood, and the azure dragon; north is winter, water, and the dark warrior; west is autumn, metal and the white tiger.⁴²⁹

The four gates of a tomb enclosure were named after these quadrant animals, namely *Zhuquemen* 朱雀門 (Vermillion Sparrow Gate), *Qinglongmen* 青龍門 (Azure Dragon Gate), *Xuanwumen* 玄武門 (Dark Warrior Gate) and *Baihumen* 白虎門 (White Tiger Gate).

Such cardinal gates were also components of the Tang imperial mausolea. Due to its physical shape, Zhaoling was equipped with only two such gates—the Vermillion Sparrow Gate at the south and the Dark Warrior Gate, known as North Sima Gate, at the north.⁴³⁰ Also called *Shenmen* 神門 (Spirit Gates), they were built usually on hilly places and may not always have been lined up as perfectly as the imperial city gates.⁴³¹ In the case of Zhaoling, the two gates were located on the south slope and the north slope, respectively.

The Dark Warrior Gate, or the North Sima Gate, was constructed with a hipped roof. Gates with a hipped roof have been found in two places: Zhaoling and Daming Gong. Daming Gong was begun but not finished by Emperor Taizong for the abdicated Gaozu in 634–635. The hipped roof was on the North Sima Gate, which went through the inner wall. The Gate was a five-bay structure with the center three bays opened to serve as three doorways. One gate at Daming Gong, not a primary gate, had three bays with only a one-doorway passage.⁴³² Its south main gate, the Danfeng Gate 丹鳳門, was equipped with three doorway passes.⁴³³ Additionally, at

⁴²⁹ Steinhardt (1990): 8.

⁴³⁰ Qianling is equipped with four gates named after the cardinal quadrants.

⁴³¹ Zhou Ming (1994): 65.

⁴³² Zhang Jianlin (2005): 225–26.

⁴³³ Zhongguo kexueyuan kaogu yanjiusuo (1959): 15.

Taiji Gong 太極宮, where Emperor Taizong exercised his ultimate power from 629–649, the Chengtian Gate 承天門, the main gate, had three doorway passes. The North Sima Gate at Zhaoling, the five-bayed main entrance, may have been built to resemble the main gates at these two palaces, although the roofs of those two gates were not preserved.

Furthermore, the placement of the six stone horse reliefs at the North Sima Gate was also influenced by the typical design of the palace city. During the Tang period, the six imperial stables, three on each side,⁴³⁴ flanked the North Sima Gate of the imperial city. Emperor Taizong must have had a special affection for the north gate as that was the area where he seized power through a successful coup. Erecting the six stone horse reliefs, three on each side, of the North Sima Gate of Zhaoling was certainly "not a coincidence."⁴³⁵

6). Que

The gate towers (*que*) always were placed in pairs framing the gate or approach. Each *que* consisted of a main tower, which stood either alone or with one or two shorter contiguous "supporting towers." These were known as single, double, or triple *que*, and their use was regulated according to rank. The triple *que* were reserved for the emperor; the double for the four highest ranks of officials corresponding to provincial governor or above.⁴³⁶

Que are known since the Qin dynasty. Excavation suggests that two gates of each of the two palace compounds, Weiyang 未央宮 and Changle 長樂宮, had *que*.⁴³⁷ In the case of Weiyang Gong, *que* marked the eastern gate, through which feudal lords came to court, and also the north gate where officials entered for such functions as presentation of memorials to the throne.⁴³⁸ Recently, triple *que* were found at the Qin Shihuangdi's mausoleum.⁴³⁹

⁴³⁴ *YH*: 149, 1.

⁴³⁵ Zhang Jianlin (2006): 20.

⁴³⁶ Paludan (1991): 34.

⁴³⁷ Steinhardt (1990): 57. Ye Dasong (1977): 1, 399. *Zhongguo shehui kexueyuan kaogu yanjiusuo* (1996).

⁴³⁸ Steinhardt (1990): 57.

⁴³⁹ This information was verbally confirmed by Zhang Yinglan 張穎嵐, Deputy Director of the Museum of the Terracotta Warriors and Horses in 2005. In March 2007, Duan Qingbo 段青波, also a Deputy Director at the same museum, gave a talk on the archaeological discovery including the ruins of triple *que* at the National Museum of Natural Sciences, Taiwan.

The Qin tradition of erecting *que* at a tomb site continued during the Han. At the south gate of Yangling, a pair of triple *que* recently has been excavated.⁴⁴⁰ After the death of Huo Guang 霍光 (d. 68 BC), the minister in power, his family expanded the tomb site by adding a spirit road and marking it with triple *que*.⁴⁴¹ Placing *que* at tombs was popular in the Eastern Han; this is attested by images carved on the tomb tiles and by surviving *que* still standing in Sichuan and other places (Figs. 44 and 45).⁴⁴²

Triple *que* were in use throughout the Tang. A pair of *que* was found in front of Hanyuandian 含元殿 of Daming Gong.⁴⁴³ Two pavilions, Qifeng Ge 栖鳳閣 and Xiangluan Ge 翔鸞閣, which stood in front of Hanyuandian, were built on bases showing twice one-meter expansion (or recession),⁴⁴⁴ a typical triple-bodied structure. This design is similar to the pair of triple *que* at the North Sima Gate of Zhaoling.⁴⁴⁵ The *que*, made of tamped earth faced with brick, was placed outside of Dark Warrior Gate. Each *que* was expanded twice by 0.2 meters, corresponding to the base design of the Daming Gong pavilions.

At Qianling, the tomb of Emperor Gaozong and Empress Wu, two pairs of triple *que* were discovered, presumably one pair for each ruler.⁴⁴⁶ A complete view of a Tang triple *que* can be seen on the mural of Crown Prince Yide's tomb (see Fig. 12), which was upgraded to be a *ling*, or mausoleum,⁴⁴⁷ a term reserved for royal tombs.⁴⁴⁸ As a general rule, the Tang emperors were entitled to have triple *que* for both their palaces and for their mausolea.

⁴⁴⁰ Han Wei (1998): 4.

⁴⁴¹ *HS*: 68, 38.

⁴⁴² Zao Wou-ki (1976): 113.

⁴⁴³ Han Wei (1998): 4.

⁴⁴⁴ Yang Hongxun (1989): 533.

⁴⁴⁵ Zhang Jianlin (2006): 20.

⁴⁴⁶ Han Wei (1998): 4.

⁴⁴⁷ *XTS*: 81, 6, 3593.

⁴⁴⁸ Yang Kuan (1985): 13.

7). Halberd-display Pavilion

The Halberd-display Pavilion reflected the rank and social status of the interred. The number of halberds allowed to be displayed in a row outside a gate was strictly regulated during the Tang and is recorded in *XTS*:

凡戟, 廟, 社, 宮, 殿之門二十有四, 東宮之門一十八, 一品之門十六, 二品... 之門十四.⁴⁴⁹

Regarding halberds, the gates of ancestor temple, shrine, emperor's palace and grand hall⁴⁵⁰ are entitled to 24 of them; the gate of the Dong Gong, 18; the gate of the first-rank official, 16; and the gate of the second-rank [and others], 14....

Although this text does not specify the use of the halberds for tombs, several archaeological examples prove that the regulated halberd-display system was copied and became part of the burial customs. The mural from the tomb of Li Shou is painted with a pair of halberd racks with seven halberds on each (Fig. 46).⁴⁵¹ This number indicates that Li was a second-rank official at the time of his death. The tomb of Crown Prince Yide was equipped with two halberd racks with twelve halberds in a row on each rack, equal to the status of an emperor (Fig. 47). The placing of halberds was not limited to males. Princesses enjoyed the same privilege. In the tomb of Duan Jianbi 段簡璧 (617–651), niece of Emperor Taizong, was painted in the first shaft a rack with six halberds.⁴⁵²

The excavators of Zhaoling determined that the two architectural elements behind the triple *que* are the remains of the Halberd-display Pavilions.⁴⁵³ Based on Tang texts and archeological evidence, it is safe to assume that each pavilion at Zhaoling accommodated twelve halberds, for a total of 24, to symbolize the status of Emperor Taizong.

⁴⁴⁹ *XTS*: 48, 38, 3, 1249.

⁴⁵⁰ Chen Fuhua (2003). The translation of these terms was based on the definitions given in this dictionary. 廟: 宗廟, p.1065; 社: 祭祀土地神的地方, p.1380; 宮: 帝王之宮殿, p. 473; 殿: 帝王之大殿或供神佛之大殿, p.317.

⁴⁵¹ Shaanxi sheng bowuguan (1974): 73.

⁴⁵² Zhaoling bowuguan (1989): 6.

⁴⁵³ Zhang Jianlin (2006): 18.

8). Xiandian

The Xiandian, a place for performing homage or holding major ritual sacrifices at a mausoleum, was developed based on Eastern Han practice. During the Warring States and the Western Han, *qin* 寢 (living quarters), a place for the soul of the interred to wander and to perform daily activities, was built at the tomb site; the ancestral temple, where ritual services and major decisions took place, was erected outside of the tomb grounds.⁴⁵⁴ Emperor Ming of the Eastern Han 東漢明帝 (r. 58–75) moved the New Year's state of the union address from the court to the *qin* and performed major ritual ceremonies there instead of in the imperial ancestral temple.⁴⁵⁵ The shifting of the ritual services caused the *qin* to serve three functions: a place for ceremonial services, for the soul of the interred to wander and for the soul to perform its daily life activities.

These three functions were dealt with differently at Zhaoling. Instead of confining all three customs to one building, the *qin*, three separate structures were erected. There was a special pavilion for the soul to wander atop the Mortuary Palace, a practice not adopted for other Tang tombs except Qianling. The Xiandian, whose importance increased, became a place exclusively for holding important sacrifices and ritual rights, and for paying homage to the deceased emperor. The Qingong, the Resting Palace for the soul of the deceased, also was built. After Zhaoling, Xiandian and Qingong developed into primary components of the Tang imperial mausolea.⁴⁵⁶

At Zhaoling, the large fragmentary ridgepole, or owl's tail, indicates that the Xiandian must have had nine bays and two ten-meter-high roof ridges, which was probably four bays fewer than the reconstructed Hanyuandian (Fig. 48).⁴⁵⁷ Its architectural scale and decorative style need no further explanation, suggesting that the Xiandian was built as a large Tang palace structure.

⁴⁵⁴ Yang Kuan (1985): 32–33.

⁴⁵⁵ *Ibid.*: 34–35.

⁴⁵⁶ *Ibid.*: 51.

⁴⁵⁷ Yang Hongxun (1989): 529.

9). Qingong

The Qingong, originally constructed in the mountain, was later moved southwest to the mausoleum at the foot of the Mount Jiuzong. A total of 378 bays⁴⁵⁸ were constructed in 798, plausibly including the original five-bay main hall 五間殿.⁴⁵⁹ A recent reconstructed model made by the excavators shows the architectural scale and general view of Zhaoling's Qingong (Fig. 49).

This huge Qingong complex accommodated a large contingent, including the harem and servants, who were assigned to serve the spirit of Emperor Taizong as they had served him in life: they arranged his bedding, prepared his bath water, and laid out his toilet articles all according to a precise schedule.⁴⁶⁰ Similarly, when the Empress passed away, houses were built near the Xuangong for the palace ladies to perform the same services for her spirit. The surviving tomb stelae belonging to Taizong's concubines and palace ladies were found near Xuangong; their inscriptions state that they died in "Chongsheng Gong" 崇聖宮 or "Zhaoling Gong" 昭陵宮. These palaces must have been located at the Qingong.⁴⁶¹ Further, the place called "Zhaoyang" 昭陽, the palace where lady Jin 金氏, of the third rank, served, as inscribed on one stele, must refer to the place south of the mountain,⁴⁶² probably Qindian.

Based on the information gathered above, the large Qingong complex was built in the palace style. Not only did the scale and the architectural style resemble the palatial scheme, the structures also were given the names usually assigned to imperial palace buildings. Even the name, Qingong or Resting Palace, implies palace-type architecture. The resemblance of the Qingong architecture to that of imperial palaces supports the theory that the deceased were treated as living beings and continued to reside in architectural settings similar to the one that they had inhabited in their lifetime.

⁴⁵⁸ *THY*: 20, 400.

⁴⁵⁹ *CFYG*: 30, 3, 330.

⁴⁶⁰ Wechsler (1985): 144.

⁴⁶¹ Shen Ruiwen (1999): 424 and 437. See note 45.

⁴⁶² *Ibid.*: 424 and 437.

10). Mortuary Palace

The final point of discussion concerns Xuangong, or the Mortuary Palace. Dwellings for the interred imitating the house lived in during their lives has a long tradition in China, as already mentioned. Architectural elements of dwellings for the living are depicted in the design of tombs. The tomb of Zeng Houyi 曾侯乙 of the early Warring States (475–221 BC) had four rooms equipped or painted with a curtain, resembling actual rooms in a house.⁴⁶³ Prince Liu Sheng of Mancheng 滿城劉勝王 (179–112 BC), Western Han, was buried in a rock-carved tomb whose chambers were sculpted with the designs of tile roofs and wooden brackets, and a winding corridor furthered the impression of a palace building.⁴⁶⁴ The Eastern Han tomb from Dahuting, Mixian 密縣打虎亭, was carved with a horizontal lintel and a lantern ceiling. The Northern Wei lacquered coffin from Guyuan, Ningxia, was painted with two figures looking through a vertical-barred window (Fig. 50), creating an architectural environment designed for the living.⁴⁶⁵

Further development was witnessed during the Tang. From tombs already excavated, it is clear that the Tang imperial tombs featured the underground dwellings resembling imperial palatial architecture and depicting the life experience of the interred. These underground structures included passageways, covered or not, with the architectural scenes depicted on the tomb walls.⁴⁶⁶ Before 670, architectural scenes were painted only on the doorway or in burial chambers of the Tang tombs; by the last quarter of the seventh century, the tombs were fully painted.⁴⁶⁷

The tomb of Crown Prince Yide is an example of the later, fully painted chambers. Fu Xinian has established a parallel between the funerary architectural and painting program and the city of the living prince, Chang'an. Fu's research suggests a direct correspondence between the

⁴⁶³ Fu Xinian (1998): 251.

⁴⁶⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁶⁵ Guyuan xian wenwu gongzuozhan (1984): 56.

⁴⁶⁶ Fu Xinian (1998): 251–52.

⁴⁶⁷ Ibid.

plan of Crown Prince Yide's tomb and the apartments of the Chang'an Eastern Palace, his residence.⁴⁶⁸

It is impossible to conduct a more thorough study since neither Taizong's Mortuary Palace nor any of the early Tang mausolea have been excavated.⁴⁶⁹ From historical records and the accounts from Wen Tao, we know that the Zhaoling Mortuary Palace is equipped with a set of "five stone doors" and "a central chamber with two side chambers." The five stone doors symbolize the multiple gates or halls, a typical scheme for the three major imperial palatial complexes in the palace-city. Zhaoling may have imitated Taijidian, where Taizong ruled the state for most of his reign, and Dong Gong or Eastern Palace, where Taizong held his inauguration and Empress Wende gave birth to Gaozong.⁴⁷⁰

Su Bai 宿白 suggests and Fu Xinian concurs that Zhaoling, and probably other Tang imperial Mortuary Palaces, must have been equipped with "three main chambers, front, central and rear" and with "east and west side chambers."⁴⁷¹ This is the layout of Daming Gong, as it had three main halls aligned on the central axis, and also the layout of the west side hall, Lindedian 麟德殿 (Fig. 51). Daming Gong, designed for the abdicated Gaozu, was begun in the eighth year of Zhenguan, and the construction of Zhaoling started two years later. The proximity in time of these two projects, directly associated with the residential or Resting Palace of the first two Tang emperors, invites the assumption that there might be a close association between the two. In any case, the design of the Zhaoling's Mortuary Palace falls into the basic imperial palatial design, and its interior, quoting the comment made by Wen Tao, the tomb robber, was "no different from that of the living world."⁴⁷²

⁴⁶⁸ Steinhardt (1990): 103–8.

⁴⁶⁹ Han Wei (1998). Jingling 靖陵 tomb of Emperor Xizong 僖宗 the last Tang emperor buried in Shaanxi, was salvaged in 1995. It was exceptionally simple: a passageway, a tunnel and one burial chamber.

⁴⁷⁰ Fu Xinian (1998): 258–59.

⁴⁷¹ Su Bai (1995): 47. The Mortuary Palace with three chambers and antechambers is verified by the two tombs of the Nan Tang 南唐 period, which are claimed to inherit the Tang systems, excavated in Nanjing area. Fu Xinian (1998): 262.

⁴⁷² *XWDS*: 40, 28, 350.

3. Auxiliary Burial System

The practice of allowing auxiliary tombs to be built in the imperial mausoleum precinct has a long history. It may have started earlier, but the extant examples point to its first appearance in the Western Han. By early Tang, its zenith is represented by Zhaoling, the largest auxiliary tomb complex in Chinese history. Such an occurrence during the early Tang warrants an analysis of the establishment of the Tang auxiliary burial system, the relationship between Emperor Taizong and the occupants of the auxiliary tombs in combination with the social and political background of the period.

1). Establishment of the Tang Auxiliary Burial System

This brief review of the establishment of the auxiliary burial system begins with three Tang edicts. The first edict, dated to the second moon of the eleventh year of Zhenguan (637), publicized the selection of Mount Jiuzong as the site for Zhaoling and laid out the concept and initial contents of the Tang auxiliary system. It states that the Tang ruler would follow the Han auxiliary burial practice to allow auxiliary burials and provide burial objects for meritorious officials.

Nine months later, the second edict, entitled "Decree on bestowal of auxiliary plots to meritorious officials" 賜功臣陪陵地詔, contained an exclusive statement on the auxiliary burial practice. Huo Qubing's tomb of the Western Han is mentioned and the history of auxiliary practice is traced to an even earlier period. Different from the first edict, however, is the widening of the auxiliary burial list to include the non-Chinese officials. Adding this category must have been of considerable importance as it deserved a separate decree to publicize it. This reads:

周文創陳其禮，大臣陪陵。魏武重申其制。去病佐漢，還奉茂鄉之塋。夷吾相齊，總託牛山之墓。... 密戚懿親，舊勳宿德，委質先朝，特蒙顧遇者。自今以後，身薨之日，所司即以聞，賜以墓地，並給東園祕器，事從優厚。⁴⁷³

⁴⁷³ TDZL: 63, 346.

King Wen of Zhou (eleventh century–771 BC) established this rite and allowed ministers to be buried in the precinct of his mausoleum; this system was reiterated by Marquis Wu of the Wei (396–371 BCE); [Huo] Qubing helped the Han and was rewarded with a tomb at Maoling in return; Yi [non-Chinese] and we share happiness and hardship together; all should finally be at rest in the tombs on the Niu mountains.... Royal family members, imperial relatives, veteran meritorious officials, aged with good reputation and virtues, and those who came to the court and pledged allegiance and received privileges, starting from now, on the date of their death, upon hearing the news, the government office should appropriate a plot and provide East Garden funerary objects and be generous with funerary affairs.

Issued nine years later, the third edict extended the permission for auxiliary burial to an even wider group of people:

於昭陵南左右廂，封境取地，仍即標誌疆域。擬為葬所，以賜功臣。其父祖陪陵，子孫欲來從葬者，亦宜聽許。⁴⁷⁴

At the left and right sides, south of Zhaoling, seal the border and take the land; then mark the territory and erect the signs. Turn it into a burial ground to be bestowed on the meritorious officials. Sons or grandsons of the interred can also be allowed burial.

These three edicts outline the process of perfecting the Tang auxiliary burial system. The first edict granted the auxiliary burial privilege to imperial relatives and meritorious officials. The second decree added the non-Chinese officials. The third edit extended the privilege to the descendants of those who had already been permitted to be interred at Zhaoling. The wide inclusiveness, featured in the early Tang auxiliary tomb system, was imbued with political significance.

These three edicts also trace the history of auxiliary burial practice, which was initiated in the Western Zhou, reiterated during the Warring States period and continued by the Western Han. Despite its inception by the Western Zhou, the Tang monarchs selected the practices of the

⁴⁷⁴ Ibid.: 63, 346. 見‘賜功臣陪陵地詔’.

Western Han and the Northern Wei as their models. On his death bed, Tang Gaozu requested that, as for the mausoleum system, "the Han and Wei systems be appropriately consulted and made into regulations" 斟酌漢魏, 以爲規矩.⁴⁷⁵ This testament, issued on the fifth moon of the ninth year of the Zhenguan reign (635), together with the death of the Empress in 636, must have compelled Emperor Taizong to resolve the question of the imperial burial system, a matter of state importance, in a timely manner. The task was accomplished, following Tang Gaozu's request, by choosing to adopt the practices of Western Han and the Northern Wei.

In developing the Tang imperial burial system, Emperor Taizong took the concept of auxiliary burial practice and mound shapes from the Western Han. The majority of Western Han imperial mausolea are found with auxiliary burial complexes to the east. Changling is recorded to have had more than 70 auxiliary tombs.⁴⁷⁶ The famous tomb of Huo Qubing 霍去病 (140–117 BC) is one of the auxiliary tombs of Maoling. Except for Baling, which was a mountain burial, the other twelve Western Han mausolea were buried under truncated pyramidal-shaped mounds of different heights.⁴⁷⁷

Xianling, the first Tang imperial mausoleum, was built with a truncated pyramidal mound, as were the other three mausolea (Zhuangling 莊陵, Duanling 端陵 and Jingling 靖陵) using artificial mounds. The height of the mound for Xianling was selected based on Han tombs. Like the Western Han auxiliary tombs, Xianling's 67 auxiliary burials were spread in the east or northeast direction.

In preparing his own resting place, Tang Taizong also followed the models of the Western Han. He selected a mountain burial following the model of Baling and was influenced directly by Maoling in developing the auxiliary burial system as exemplified by Huo Qubing's tomb.

From the Northern Wei, Taizong may have borrowed the general layout of the imperial mausolea in addition to the concept of auxiliary burial practice. Changling 長陵, the mausoleum

⁴⁷⁵ Ibid.: 63, 346.

⁴⁷⁶ Yang Kuan (1985): 220. Among them the tombs numbered 4 and 5, excavated in the early 1970s, are believed to be the resting places for the father and the son, Zhou Bo 周勃 and Zhou Yafu 周亞夫. See *Wenwu* 10 (1977): 16.

⁴⁷⁷ Xu Pingfang (1981): 522.

of Emperor Xiaowen 孝文帝 (r. 471–499) of the Northern Wei, is located at Beimang 北邙 west of the River Chan 滙河 and north of Luoyang with his empress' tomb built to the northwest. All other auxiliary tombs were spread east to the river to northwest, north, east or southeast. The area closest to Changling is occupied by Emperor Xiaowen's royal family members. Beyond this area, Emperor Xiaowen's harem were buried and then came the tombs of other imperial relatives, meritorious officials and those with different surnames scattered about (Fig. 52).

Zhaoling's auxiliary tomb complex has a similar design scheme. Located in the heart of the Mount Jiuzong, the Mortuary Palace was surrounded in three directions by almost 200 auxiliary tombs. The closest royal family members and a few prominent ministers were buried on the mountain; all others were spread on the plateau at the foot of the mountain. There are similarities in the general layout to those of the Northern Dynasties, but Zhaoling's layout had developed to resemble a palace city, imperial city and outer city. Zhaoling also departed from the general plan of the Northern Dynasties by spreading its auxiliary tombs to the south instead of the east. This change was forced by the geographic limitations of Mount Jiuzong and prompted by the general planning of Chang'an and its imperial city.

2). Significance of the Tang Auxiliary Burial System

As of 2003, 194 auxiliary tombs have been located at Zhaoling; 74 tomb occupants have been identified.⁴⁷⁸ There are several sources providing a total number of auxiliary tombs, but with great variations. Three of those, *THY*, *CAZ* and *CAZT*, will be used for the discussion below.

THY records 155 tomb occupants individually but unfortunately contains some errors. The obvious one is the omission of the two key Turkic generals, Ashina She'er 阿史那社爾 (604–655) and Qibi Heli 契苾何力 (d. 677), from the list. Using the total number of 166⁴⁷⁹ from *CAZ*, *CAZT* lists them by groups. Although fewer than the 194 tombs claimed by the Zhaoling Museum in 2003, this list is the most suitable one for the purpose of the current study.⁴⁸⁰ The

⁴⁷⁸ Liu Xiangyang (2003): 56.

⁴⁷⁹ Both *CAZ* and *CAZT* claim to have 165 auxiliary tombs but actually list 166.

⁴⁸⁰ Zhaoling Museum provided the total number of 167 in 1977 (see Wenwu 1977/10) and increased it to 194 in 2003 (see Liu Xiangyang, 2003) with minimal information except on the 74 tombs with identified occupants.

seven groups provided in *CAZT* are combined into two main categories, imperial and official. The imperial group includes 36 imperial family members; of these only seven were princes, the remaining 29 were all female family members, either princesses or members of the harem. The official group consists of 130 officials—66 civil officials and 64 generals (including nine non-Chinese generals).⁴⁸¹

It is interesting to note that the official group is more than three times larger than the imperial group. Perhaps Zhaoling was built not as a royal graveyard, but as a final resting place for the Emperor's court as a whole.

An analysis of each group reveals the dominance of politics in the implementation of the auxiliary tomb system. Taizong had 14 sons, 13 grandsons and 21 daughters, as recorded in both *JTS* and *XTS*.⁴⁸² It seems that most of the princesses were interred at Zhaoling, but not the male descendants.

The fates of the princes and their interments were fraught with political intrigue. Of Taizong's fourteen male heirs, Gaozong was buried in Qianling, three died young and the other ten either were killed or committed suicide due to political factors. Seven of the princes were buried at Zhaoling; at least three who had been buried elsewhere were after many years reinterred at Zhaoling thanks to a changed political situation. Prince of Yue, Zhen 越王貞 (625–686) and his son, Prince of Langxie, Chong 琅邪王沖 (d. 686), both revolted against Empress Wu and were permitted to be reburied in Zhaoling during the Kaiyuan reign (718).⁴⁸³ In 738, almost 100 years after his death, Prince of Hengshan, Chengqian 恆山王承乾 (d. 645), the deposed Crown Prince, was allowed to be reburied at Zhaoling as the result of repeated petitions by his grandson during the Kaiyuan reign.⁴⁸⁴ Of Taizong's grandsons, of whom there must be more than thirteen as recorded in *JTS* and *XTS*, only one is officially recorded as being reburied in

⁴⁸¹ *CAZ*: 1b. 見"昭陵圖說". 陪葬諸臣 166 [165]人: 諸王蜀王愔以下 7 人; 公主清河公主以下 21 人; 嬪妃越国大妃燕氏以下 8 人; 宰相李勣以下 13 人; 臣郎三品戶部尚書唐儉以下 53 人; 功臣大將軍尉遲敬德以下 64 人; 內蕃將阿史那忠等 9 人. The nine non-Chinese generals must be included in the group of 64 generals.

⁴⁸² *JTS*: 76, 26, 2647–66. *XTS*: 80, 5, 3563–84 and 83, 8, 3645–49. It is certain that Emperor Taizong must have many grandsons, but only a total of thirteen is mentioned in both *JTS* and *XTS*.

⁴⁸³ Zhaoling wenwu guanlisuo (1977): 49.

⁴⁸⁴ Zhaoling bowuguan (1989): 17 and 21. Li Chengqian died in 645 and was reburied in Zhaoling in 738.

Zhaoling. This was one of the five sons of the Prince of Ji, Shen 嗣紀王慎; the Prince and his sons were all the victims of politics.⁴⁸⁵

These episodes indicate that auxiliary burial was not a simple matter of funerary arrangement. Even for the sons of Emperor Taizong, their burial at Zhaoling was not dependent solely on birthright, but was influenced by the political situation. Only those who were in line with the politics of the monarch in power were allowed to be buried in Zhaoling, and the instances of later reburial at Zhaoling signified a restoration of political status after the political power changed hands.

Politics was also the governing factor in granting auxiliary burial permission to the official group members. Taizong recalled more than once the life-and-death experience shared with his meritorious officials. Their exceptional services were rewarded by the highest possible honor—a permanent resting place within the imperial mausoleum precinct. Some of them were granted permission during their lifetime, and others received it upon death, an extraordinary honor in either case. Only those who were of one heart and one mind with the court, however, were entitled to such a privilege. Even after interment, the dead could still be deprived of this privilege or humiliated if the political situation changed. For instance, shortly after the death of Wei Zheng, Emperor Taizong became discontented with him and had Wei's tomb stele pulled down.⁴⁸⁶ Fang Xuanling 房玄齡's (579–648) tomb was desecrated and was deprived of receiving *peixiang* 配享 (ritual worship and food) when his son, Fang Yi'ai 房遺愛 (d. 653), caused trouble.⁴⁸⁷

The permission to receive auxiliary burials for non-Chinese who had served at the Tang court was also politically motivated. Of 64 generals, nine were listed as non-Chinese. It is not known exactly which nine, but several Turkic generals, such as Ashina She'er, Ashina Zhong 阿史那忠, Qibi Heli⁴⁸⁸ and Li Simo 李思摩, certainly were included, as they were either recorded in

⁴⁸⁵ *JTS*: 76, 26, 2665. *THY*: 21, 412. Yang Kuan (1985): 255. According to Yang Kuan, Prince Langxie Chong was reburied as a descendant of his father, Prince Yue Zhen.

⁴⁸⁶ *XTS*: 97, 22, 3881.

⁴⁸⁷ *JTS*: 66, 16, 2467.

⁴⁸⁸ *XTS*: 110, 35, 4114–21.

texts or confirmed by the survey of the Zhaoling auxiliary tombs.⁴⁸⁹ Zhishi Sili 執失思力 (d. 622 or 623), also a meritorious Turkic general, married to Princess Jiujiang 九江公主, did not receive the privilege to be buried in Zhaoling because of the political problems caused by Fang Yi'ai.⁴⁹⁰ Again, only those who were loyal to the Tang court were entitled to this privilege. The inclusion of the non-Chinese generals in the auxiliary tomb practice, warranting a second edict, signifies the importance of the matter to Emperor Taizong. Quoting the words from the edict: "Yi [non-Chinese] and we share happiness and hardship together; all should eventually rest in the tombs on the Niu Mountain."⁴⁹¹ Emperor Taizong valued the services and friendship of the non-Chinese and treated them equally with the Chinese. His concept is expressed more explicitly in the following statement:

自古皆貴重華，賤夷，狄，朕獨愛之如一，故其部落皆依朕如父母。⁴⁹²

Since ancient times, all rulers have honored the Chinese and denigrated *Yi* and *Di* (ethnic non-Chinese). I alone love them the same. Therefore, the tribal peoples have all cleaved to me as if I were their father and mother.

Ruling the new empire was not the same as military conquest, and it required the Tang ruler to "shift his compliance structure away from coercion toward more congruent modes."⁴⁹³ One of the congruent modes adopted by Emperor Taizong was to treat non-Chinese with equality. The exceptional services of the non-Chinese generals to the Tang Empire have been impressively recorded in the Tang histories. In return, Emperor Taizong trusted them to serve in upper administrative levels, bestowed imperial marriages upon them and permitted them to be buried in the imperial mausoleum precinct. Taizong's actions won over the hearts of many non-Chinese.

Treating non-Chinese the same as Chinese had another political implication. Emperor Taizong was requested to take the title of Heavenly Qaghan by the Western States in 630.⁴⁹⁴ By

⁴⁸⁹ *JTS*: 194a, 144a, 5163–65.

⁴⁹⁰ *XTS*: 110, 35, 4116–17.

⁴⁹¹ *TDZL*: 63, 346.

⁴⁹² *ZZTJ*: 198, 14, 6247.

⁴⁹³ Wechsler (1985): 6.

⁴⁹⁴ *JTS*: 3, 3, 39–40.

wearing dual titles, the "Son of the Heaven for the Tang" and "the Heavenly Qaghan" for the Western States,⁴⁹⁵ it would only be reasonable for Taizong to adopt the open-minded concept of "social bonding as opposed to social separation"⁴⁹⁶ and treat the non-Chinese officials the same as Chinese officials.

Such a concept also was a guideline in awarding a burial at the imperial mausoleum precinct, which symbolized the highest honor and prestigious status, to not only the imperial family members, and to the Chinese officials, but also to non-Chinese officials. An auxiliary tomb thus was used as a tool to generate support, to form a political alliance and to extract loyalty from the high officials, both Chinese and non-Chinese. Permission to receive an auxiliary burial could even be extended to their descendants and to other family members. Additionally, many meritorious officials, both Chinese and non-Chinese, were tied to the emperor through royal marriages. There are more examples than can be cited here of Chinese meritorious officials whose exceptional services won royal marriage for their sons, and of not a few non-Chinese generals whose new loyalty tied them in marriage with the Tang princesses or royal palace ladies.⁴⁹⁷ Through the tools of auxiliary burials, royal marriage and political allegiance, Taizong gathered the widest support and loyalty from all sides, both royal and non-royal, Chinese or non-Chinese, to form his extended "political family."⁴⁹⁸

Taizong's political family was supported by the concept of *tianxia weigong* 天下為公 (the empire is open to all) as contrasted to *tianxia weijia* 天下為家 (the empire belongs to one family).⁴⁹⁹ Although the institution of dynasty is based on lineal succession, and thus is an embodiment of *tianxia weijia*, early Tang rulers did all they could to emphasize non-familial criteria, for example, by the granting of auxiliary burial privilege to more officials than to royal members.

⁴⁹⁵ *ZZTJ*: 193, 9, 6073.

⁴⁹⁶ Wechsler (1985): 226.

⁴⁹⁷ *XTS*: 97, 22, 3858 and 110, 35, 4114–20. For example, Fang Xuanling's son married Princess Gaoyang. Ashina She'er, Ashina Zhong and Zhishi Sili married Princesses Hengyang, Dingxiang and Jiujiang, respectively.

⁴⁹⁸ Wechsler (1985): 229.

⁴⁹⁹ *Ibid.*: ix–x.

This characteristic connotes "inclusivity as opposed to exclusivity."⁵⁰⁰ The "inclusivity" can be summarized as an ideology by which Taizong persistently sought to create a more extended and more politically oriented collectivity by embracing a large range of people. In the early Tang, the idea of *gong* 公 seems largely to have prevailed over *jia*, and symbols of inclusivity largely to have prevailed over symbols of exclusivity.⁵⁰¹ Inclusivity, or *gong*, is the key concept behind the "open mind" ideology that succeeded in reinforcing the ultimate position of the emperor and at the same time a prosperous multi-ethnic empire.

4. Stone Monuments

Various kinds of stone monuments are extant at Zhaoling. These were originally placed at the North Sima Gate and the auxiliary tombs. The six stone horse reliefs and the stone statues of fourteen officials from the North Sima Gate, directly associated with Emperor Taizong and his burial, are the focus of the following discussion.

1). Historical Review

Evidence for erecting stone monuments at imperial mausolea appears much earlier in the written record than the archaeological one. The earliest record is associated with the legendary figure, Yao 堯 (ca. twenty-first century BC). His tomb and that of his mother are said to have been adorned with stone camels.⁵⁰² It is also recorded that King Xuan of Western Zhou 周宣王 (r. 827–782 BC) started placing "stone drums, stone figures, *ni*-tigers 狻猊, rams and horses"⁵⁰³ at his tomb; and the two *qilin* 麒麟 (mythical animal) are said to have come from the Qin Shihuangdi's mausoleum,⁵⁰⁴ but neither has been confirmed by archaeological work.⁵⁰⁵

⁵⁰⁰ Ibid.: 226.

⁵⁰¹ Ibid.

⁵⁰² Li Yufang (1994): 32.

⁵⁰³ *WY*: 16, 3. "周宣王始置石鼓, 石人, 狻猊, 羊馬."

⁵⁰⁴ *XJZJ*: 3, 3, 10.

⁵⁰⁵ Li Yufang (1994): 32.

There are neither archaeological finds nor textual evidence to verify the existence of stone monuments marking the Western Han imperial mausolea. The famous tomb of Huo Qubing is an auxiliary tomb to Maoling, the mausoleum of Emperor Wu of Western Han. In the Eastern Han, stone monuments became popular at official tombs, but only one imperial tomb, Yuanling of Emperor Guangwu of Eastern Han, is recorded to have "stone horses lined along the tunnel," and of fine quality.⁵⁰⁶ Stone animals mark a few imperial mausolea of the Jin and Northern Dynasties, and almost every mausoleum of the Southern Dynasties.⁵⁰⁷

Among the variety of stone animals from or associated with imperial mausolea predating the Tang, extant stone horses are found from two tombs. One stone horse came from the tomb of He Liangui 赫連璜 (424) of the Xia kingdom (407–432).⁵⁰⁸ This horse resembles the horses from the tomb of Huo Qubing, whose association with the Han Emperor Wu and whose outstanding military achievements won him an exceptional burial at Maoling's precinct.

Huo's burial mound was built in the shape of the Qilian Mountains (modern Gansu), where he had crushed Xiongnu and won one of his many victories in the Western Regions. His tomb has survived with a group of the earliest and most complete stone monuments in the shapes of elephant, ram, oxen, horse and others. Given the fact that some large granite boulders still cling to the slopes of the mound, and many boulders were given only a cursory carving, it has been suggested that they could have been made to "add realistic touches to the recreation of the mountain scenery" including "both natural and sculpted stones."⁵⁰⁹ Because of its flat and rectangular base, the famous standing horse trampling a barbarian may not have been designed to be placed on the mountain slope but rather to stand on level ground, possibly the tomb path.⁵¹⁰ The Xia horse is an almost exact copy of Huo's trampling horse, but without the barbarian.⁵¹¹ Leaving aside legendary evidence or that recorded in texts but lacking archaeological support,

⁵⁰⁶ *SJZ*: 4, 23.

⁵⁰⁷ Wang Luyu (1992): 49–50.

⁵⁰⁸ Lin Shuzhong (1984): 12 & Fig. 30.

⁵⁰⁹ Thorp (1979): 244.

⁵¹⁰ *Ibid.*: 245–46.

⁵¹¹ *Zhongguo meisu quanji bianji weiyuanhui* (1988): Fig. 30.

Huo's horses are the earliest examples. Huo's mountain-shaped mound and the scene of the horse trampling a barbarian point to a connection with the Western Regions, where Huo spent his short but triumphant years. The motif of the trampling horse may be an influence from West Asia.⁵¹²

Emperor Taizong's horses differ from these earlier examples. For one thing, they were carved in relief on slabs rather than in the round. Although the horses from Huo's tomb were known to the Tang rulers, as they had been mentioned more than once in edicts, there is no resemblance between them and Taizong's horse reliefs. Some scholars point to the Turkic influence on the motif and design of Taizong's horse reliefs, which warrants further study.

The fourteen stone statues of officials of the early Tang court, representing leaders from different tribes or states, were portrayed with their physical features and traditional costumes in a realistic manner. This is among the few examples in Chinese history of the depiction of non-Chinese at a burial site. Dedicating such realistic and life-sized statues to the deceased, certainly not a Chinese tradition, has been associated with Turkic customs.

2). Turkic Mourning and Burial Customs

During the early days of the Tang regime, several Turkic qaghans closely connected with Emperor Taizong died. At the death of the Shibi Qaghan 始畢可汗 in the second year of the Wude reign (619), Gaozu "ordered nation-wide mourning and suspended the court for three days."⁵¹³ When Taizong's sworn brother, Tuli Qaghan 突利可汗, died in the fifth year of Zhenguan (631), Emperor Taizong personally mourned for him and asked for a special epitaph to be written by the court.⁵¹⁴ Four years later, when Jieli Qaghan 頡利可汗 passed away in Chang'an, Taizong asked his Turkic followers to bury him according to their own customs.⁵¹⁵

What were the Turkic burial customs? Archaeological finds demonstrate that erecting stone figures at tomb sites was a common practice among the Turkic people. Many stone figures

⁵¹² Hentze (1926): 31–36.

⁵¹³ *JTS*: 194a, 144a, 5154.

⁵¹⁴ *Ibid.*: 5161.

⁵¹⁵ *Ibid.*: 5160.

associated with burials have been found at sites in the Altai Mountains where Russia, China, Mongolia and Kazakhstan come together. In Xinjiang, stone figures can be found in every county of the Altai region, although finds from only selected counties have been reported. Along the range of the Tianshan Mountains, where the Turks originated, stone figures have been surveyed and reported (Fig. 53). These stone statues, believed to be historical ruins left behind by the Turks who were active in these regions, are datable to the sixth to ninth centuries.⁵¹⁶

The Turkic tradition of erecting stone portraits continued during the Sui and Tang periods. At the death of Que Tegin 闕特勤 (Kül Tegin) in 731, the Tang ruler sent envoys to the Western Turks for the funeral and for erecting a stele with inscriptions composed by the emperor Xuanzong 唐玄宗 (r. 712–756). In addition to the portrait of the deceased carved on stone, four walls of the tent were painted with battle scenes, in which the deceased had previously been engaged.⁵¹⁷ The stele, known as *Que Tegin bei* 闕特勤碑, has fortunately survived; its inscription verifies that the Piqie Qaghan 毗伽可汗 (Bilgä Qaghan; d. 734) invited Chinese court artists to build a tomb for his deceased younger brother. The tomb was decorated with marvelous paintings and sculptures.⁵¹⁸ A portrait of the dead was also erected for another leader, Xinjia Qaghan 忸伽可汗.⁵¹⁹ The custom of carving a portrait in stone was to mark the burial sites⁵²⁰ on the vast grassland as the nomads migrated according to seasons. The stone portrait helped to identify the person to whom homage was to be paid.

In the case of Taizong, carving his portrait in stone was not necessary, as the towering image of Taizong would remain forever with the everlasting Mount Jiuzong. By adopting this custom and erecting the fourteen statues of his officials, Taizong was commemorating his success with far-reaching significance in foreign relations.

⁵¹⁶ Wang Binghua (1993): 322.

⁵¹⁷ *JTS*: 194a, 144a, 5177.

⁵¹⁸ Rui Chuanming (1998): 219. The Kül Tegin stele, erected in 731, and the Bilgä Qaghan stele, erected three or four years later, were both discovered by the Russian expedition in the Inner Mongolia in 1889. Both steles, erected by Bilgä Qaghan, are inscribed with Bilgä Qaghan's instructions and Turkic life experience.

⁵¹⁹ Cen Zhongmian (1958): 841.

⁵²⁰ Wang Binghua (1993): 322.

In addition to the portrait depiction, *Beishi* 北史 (*BS*; History of the Northern Dynasties) provides a detailed description of additional Turkic mourning and burial customs.

死者, 停尸於帳, 子孫及親屬男女各殺羊, 馬, 陳於帳前祭之, 遶帳走馬七匝. 詣帳門以刀斨面且哭, 血淚俱流, 如此者七度乃止. 擇日, 取亡者所乘馬及經服用之物, 並屍俱焚之, 收其餘灰, 待時而葬... 葬日, 親屬設祭及走馬, 斨面如初死之儀. 表為塋, 立屋, 中間畫死者形儀, 及其生時所戰陣狀, 嘗殺一人, 則立一石, 有至千百者. 又以祭之羊, 馬頭, 盡懸之於標上.⁵²¹

The deceased was placed inside the tent, male and female descendants and relatives placed separately; then they slaughtered sheep and horses and displayed them outside the tent for sacrificial services. They circled the tent seven times, used the knife to incise the face in front of the tent door while crying, blood and tears were mixed and this process was repeated seven times. Selecting a day, taking the horses, religious books, clothes and other objects used by the deceased to be burned together with the corpse, they gathered the ashes for interment at a later date.... On the burial day, relatives repeated the same process of sacrificial services, circling on horses and incising their faces. They set up a grave on the surface, erected a house, hung a picture of the deceased in the center and arranged an array of battles in which the deceased had participated. If the deceased killed one enemy, one stele would be erected. Some people had up to hundreds or even a thousand stelae. Again, there were sacrifices of sheep and horse heads, which were hung on the stelae.

These practices, such as cremation and face incising, can be verified by other recorded examples. The practice of cremation among the Turks is supported by the fact that Jieli Qaghan was "cremated at the east of the Ba River"⁵²² and by archaeological excavation of Turkic burials marked with stone figures at which skeletal fragments and ashes were found.⁵²³ When Jieli Qaghan died, Huludaguan Tuyuhunxie 胡祿達官吐穀渾邪 killed himself as a sacrifice. Taizong treated him in a special manner by bestowing upon him a posthumous title, *Zhonglangjiang* 中郎將 (Garrison Commandant), and he was buried next to the Jieli Qaghan's tomb.⁵²⁴ The Bilgä

⁵²¹ *BS*: 99, 87, 845.

⁵²² *JTS*: 194a, 144a, 5160.

⁵²³ Wang Binghua (1993): 328.

⁵²⁴ *JTS*: 194a, 144a, 5160.

Qaghan stele records that mourners attending his father's funeral "chop off their hair and cut apart their ears."⁵²⁵

A similar episode took place when Tang Taizong passed away. Two Turkic generals, Ashina She'er and Qibi Heli, requested that they be allowed to sacrifice themselves⁵²⁶ to guard Tang Taizong forever. Instead of allowing them to be sacrificed, Gaozong ordered that the images of the fourteen non-Chinese officials, who had served or been friendly with the Tang court during the Zhenguan reign, be portrayed in stone and erected at Taizong's tomb site to follow typical Turkic customs. The mourning services on the death of Emperor Taizong also included the Turkic practice of face-incising mixed with blood and tears. "Several hundreds of non-Chinese from all over, including the officials who served in court or came as tributaries, crying with deep grief upon hearing about the death of Taizong, they chopped off their hair, incised their faces, cut apart their ears, bled and spread it all over the ground."⁵²⁷

Furthermore, Turks also have the custom of erecting stelae at tomb sites. When Huludaguan Tuyuhunxie sacrificed himself, his deed was inscribed on the stele erected at his tomb site.⁵²⁸ When another Turkic general, Heru 賀魯, died in 659, a stone stele was erected to record his deeds.⁵²⁹ They also erected stelae, corresponding to the number of enemy killed. The same Bilgä Qaghan stele documents that Bilgä Qaghan erected the stone portrait of general Kuge 窟哥將軍 as the killing stone when his eldest son passed away.⁵³⁰

The erecting of Taizong's stone horse reliefs also can be associated with Turkic customs. Turks erected stelae and hung their sheep and horses outside tents or on stelae. They also hung the portrait of the deceased and restaged victorious scenes from his life. Emperor Taizong had

⁵²⁵ Rui Chuanming (1998): 267.

⁵²⁶ *ZZTJ*: 199, 15, 6269. 阿史那社爾, 契苾何力請殺身殉葬, 上遣人諭以先旨不許. 蠻夷君長為先帝所擒服者頡利等十四人, 皆琢石為其像, 刻石列於北司馬門內.

⁵²⁷ *Ibid.*: 199, 15, 6268. 四夷之人入仕於朝貢者數百人, 聞喪皆慟哭, 翦髮, 斃面, 割耳, 流血灑地.

⁵²⁸ *JTS*: 194a, 144a, 5160.

⁵²⁹ *Ibid.*: 194b, 144b, 5187. During the 22nd year of Zhenguan, Helu came to join the Tang. Shortly after Taizong's death, he revolted. When captured, he asked that he be brought to Zhaoling to beg for forgiveness from Taizong before being executed.

⁵³⁰ Rui Chuanming (1998): 267.

the images of his favorite chargers carved on slab; the horses were shown galloping and with arrow wounds to commemorate fierce battles. Similarities between Zhaoling and Turkic customs are evident.

3). Taizong and Turkic Peoples

Taizong's family was deeply intertwined with the nomadic people residing north of China. As mentioned in Chapter One, Taizaong's great grandfather, Dugu Xin, was a member of a very prominent Turkic clan.⁵³¹ His maternal grandmother, the elder sister of the emperor Yuwen Yong 宇文邕 (r. 561–578), came from the Tuoba family. Taizong's mother was raised in the Yuwen's palace.⁵³² Taizong's Empress Zhangsun was a descendant of the third brother of the Emperor Xianwen of the Northern Wei. His father-in-law held the position of *You xiaowei jiangjun* 右驍衛將軍 (General of the Right Awesome Guard)⁵³³ and dealt with Turks effectively on many occasions, including serving as the Sui envoy to the Turks on several occasions.⁵³⁴

Much of Emperor Taizong's behavior demonstrates his mixed Turkic or nomadic ethnicity. Taizong, then the Prince of Qin, killed his elder brother, the Crown Prince, and his younger brother in a power struggle for the throne. Emperor Gaozu was impelled to relinquish his control of state affairs and shortly after abdicated in favor of Prince of Qin, then the Crown Prince, who became Tang Taizong. While his fratricide and lack of filial piety were considered crimes by traditional Chinese, such actions were in keeping with traditional Turkic power struggles⁵³⁵ and with their "principle of tanistry" that the tribe should be led by "the most competent of the eligible heirs."⁵³⁶ Emperor Taizong also took his deceased brother's consort as his own. This was considered a crime of incest and was severely criticized by later Chinese

⁵³¹ Twitchett (1979): 151.

⁵³² *JTS*: 51, 1, 2163.

⁵³³ *Ibid.*: 65, 15, 2446.

⁵³⁴ *BS*: 99, 87, 848. Wang Xiaofu (1997): 2–33. This section describes Zhangsun Sheng's involvement in dealing with the Turks, which demonstrated his wisdom and contribution to the eventual downfall of the Turks during the Tang.

⁵³⁵ Barfield (1989): 141.

⁵³⁶ Fletcher (1986): 17.

historians.⁵³⁷ In nomadic customs, however, taking the deceased father's or brother's wives⁵³⁸ was accepted behavior, or even a rule. Emperor Taizong favored martial virtues and personal participation in warfare or hunting and loved horses. These activities were more in keeping with nomadic Turkish cultural traits than traditional Chinese ones. Taizong's nomadic traits undoubtedly can be seen in his son, the Crown Prince, Chengqian 承乾, whose behavior "was strongly acculturated away from Chinese norms in many respects."⁵³⁹ It is said that he spoke the Turkic language and loved to wear Turkic costumes. He even went so far as to stage mock funerals in the Turkic style in the imperial complex. It is recorded:

太子作八尺銅爐，六隔大鼎，募亡奴盜民間馬牛，親臨烹煮，與所幸廝役共食之。又好效突厥語及其服飾，選左右貌類突厥者五人為一落，辮髮羊裘而牧羊，作五狼頭纛及幡旗，設穹廬，太子自處其中，斂羊而烹之，抽佩刀割肉相啗。又嘗謂左右曰：“我試作可汗死，汝曹效其喪儀。”因僵臥於地，眾悉號哭，跨馬環走，臨其身，斃面。良久，太子歎起，曰：“一朝有天下，當帥數萬騎獵於金城西，然後解髮為突厥...”⁵⁴⁰

[During the third moon of the seventeenth year of the Zhenguan reign (643)] the Crown Prince had an eight-*chi* brass furnace and six-partitioned tripod made. Hiring fugitives to steal horses and sheep from civilians, the Crown Prince personally inspected the steaming and cooking. He then enjoyed the food together with his servants and others. He also liked to speak the Turkic language and wear their clothes. He selected those who had Turkic appearance and divided them into groups of five. They braided their hair, wore sheepskin clothes and herded sheep, creating a banner decorated with five wolves' heads. They set up a tent for the Crown Prince to live in. They slaughtered the sheep, cooked them and used their waist knives to cut the meat into pieces for serving. He also said to his people: "I shall play a game of dying as a Qaghan and all of you should follow [Turkic] mourning customs." Then he lay motionless on the ground. Others cried loudly, rode on the horses to make circles around him and incised their faces. After a while, the Crown Prince suddenly rose up and said "Once I have the throne, I

⁵³⁷ *TJ*: 6, 685–511.

⁵³⁸ *SS*: 84, 49, 1864, 475.

⁵³⁹ Abramson (2008): 34.

⁵⁴⁰ *ZZTJ*: 196, 12, 6189–90.

certainly will lead ten thousand troops to hunt in the west of Jingcheng, and then let my hair loose to become a Turk...."

The Crown Prince's Turkic behaviors and affinities show that Taizong as parent, and perhaps the palace life as a whole, provided a Turkic environment. This would not have happened if Taizong had not supported it in the court. In addition to nomadic traits, Emperor Taizong had the qualities of a strong steppe leader who was capable of establishing policies that pacified the nomadic people.

In the second year of the Wude reign (619), the Turks launched an attack. Taizong received a decree to fight back and was victorious. He became a sworn brother to the Tuli Qaghan who surrendered in the fourth year of Zhenguan (629).⁵⁴¹ In 626, the Turks again invaded the Chang'an region when Taizong took the throne. He galloped out of Xuanwu Gate and proceeded to the River Wei 渭水, speaking with Jieli Qaghan across the water and reproaching him with forsaking their agreement. Jieli retreated and made a peace proposal. The peace proposal was accepted and confirmed by a white horse that was sacrificed the next day.⁵⁴² Through brotherhood ceremonies with Tuli Qaghan and horse sacrifices, he established personal links with the most important Turkic leaders. On such occasions, Taizong demonstrated typical nomadic traits and embodied qualities admired by the Turks. Chen Yinke has labeled Taizong "as Chinese and at the same time as a Turk."⁵⁴³

After he defeated the Turks, Taizong accepted a large number of Turkic immigrants and allowed them to live in small tribes led by their own leaders. He granted official titles, fifth rank and above, to more than 100 Turkic elite and allowed more than 1,000 prominent Turkic families to live in Chang'an.⁵⁴⁴ In doing this, the emperor incorporated Turkic tribal structure into the Tang Empire; Turkic leaders became Tang officials and Turkic people became subjects of the

⁵⁴¹ *JTS*: 194a, 144a, 5159.

⁵⁴² *Ibid.*: 2, 2a, 30.

⁵⁴³ Chen Yinke (2001a): 120.

⁵⁴⁴ *JTS*: 194a, 144a, 5162–63. *ZZTJ*: 193, 9, 6076–77.

Tang Empire. The Turks accepted this new position, perhaps in part because Taizong had all the personal qualities of a steppe qaghan,⁵⁴⁵ or simply because they considered him a Turk.

An even more significant event took place after Taizong subdued the Eastern Turks. This event had a great impact on Taizong and the early Tang. It is recorded that

四年三月，諸蕃君長詣闕，請太宗為天可汗，乃下制。令後璽書賜西域北荒之君長，皆稱皇帝天可汗。諸蕃渠帥有死亡者，必下詔冊立其後嗣焉。統治四夷，自此始也。⁵⁴⁶

In the third moon of the fourth year (630), the northwestern tribal leaders came to court inviting Taizong to assume the title, Heavenly Qaghan. The regulation was made that from then on the imperial letters sent to the leaders in the Western Regions and the northern area should all be sealed with Emperor–Heavenly Qaghan. Upon the death of their leaders, [Taizong] should appoint heirs and confer titles upon them by decree. The ruling of all the non-Chinese started then.

The Heavenly Qaghan was equivalent to a supreme suzerain, the Qaghan of qaghans. By accepting this title, Taizong was the emperor of China as well as Qaghan ruling over the Western States. As the supreme suzerain, he had the power to mediate disputes among them, send troops to protect them against invasion, distribute material in case of disasters and appoint heirs upon the deaths of their leaders.⁵⁴⁷ The acceptance of this title was extraordinary for the Tang Empire; Gaozu had once been a vassal to the Turks and now the Tang territory had expanded to unprecedented heights. Taizong's reputation had reached its zenith. Consequently, scholars such as Gu Jiguang 谷霽光 have labeled the Tang dynasty "a dualistic empire" 二元性帝國.⁵⁴⁸

With the new title, Emperor Taizong was supportive of the policies of inclusiveness. He granted court positions to numerous non-Chinese civil and military officials during his reign. According to a chart in *XTS*, among 269 ministers from 98 clans, 32 people of 32 clans were

⁵⁴⁵ Barfield (1989): 145.

⁵⁴⁶ *THY*: 100, 1796.

⁵⁴⁷ Luo Xianglin (1955): 54. Luo Xianglin (1955): 54.

⁵⁴⁸ Gu Jiguang (1982): 117. Tangdai 'huangdi tiankehan' suoyuan 唐代‘皇帝天可汗’溯源 (The origin of the Tang "Emperor–Heavenly Qaghan," was originally published in *Yishibao* 益世報 (Yishi Newspaper), Tianjing on February 18, 1936, p. 3.

non-Chinese.⁵⁴⁹ Among generals and military officials, the ratio of non-Chinese was even higher. Emperor Taizong once made the statement, as mentioned above, that "since ancient times, all rulers have honored Chinese and denigrated ethnic non-Chinese. I alone love them the same. Therefore, the tribal peoples have all cleaved to me."⁵⁵⁰ Tang Taizong certainly "has the best reputation of any Chinese ruler in history for assimilationist policies and rhetoric."⁵⁵¹ With his talents and traits, the new title gave Emperor Taizong an opportunity to exercise in a powerful and free way his roles as the Chinese Emperor and the Heavenly Qaghan over nomadic tribes. He was respected and admired tremendously by the nomadic people and was able to keep the country peaceful and prosperous.

As a Heavenly Qaghan of many nomadic tribes and having a strong Turkic background, Emperor Taizong was adept at nomadic customs, which could easily be incorporated into the planning and development of his mausoleum. He sent a decree allowing meritorious officials, among whom were some of his non-Chinese generals, to be buried in auxiliary tombs of Zhaoling. He selected the images of his war chargers, which had carried him through major battles to be depicted on stone and erected close to his mortuary chamber. Additionally, statues of the fourteen non-Chinese officials in their traditional apparel, including four Turkic qaghans, were erected on the same platform as the six stone horse reliefs. The whole mausoleum was imbued with nomadic elements, and the layout represents the power of the sovereign and unity of a large empire with different ethnic groups. In other words, Tang Taizong created a dualistic empire and perpetuated a modified tradition of dual organization in his court and a dual layout in his mausoleum, combining Chinese traditions with nomadic customs.

5. Conclusion

The duality of Emperor Taizong's personality and family background, together with his leadership capabilities, brought integration into the design of his mausoleum and into the lives of his people. As emperor of China, Tang Taizong's mausoleum was built in imitation of a palace

⁵⁴⁹ Lin Enxian (1992): 583.

⁵⁵⁰ *ZZTJ*: 198, 14, 6247.

⁵⁵¹ Abramson (2008): 145.

for the living; it followed the layout of the Chinese imperial palace and imperial city. Like earlier Chinese rulers, Emperor Taizong wanted to keep his tomb intact and undeseccrated for eternity. Therefore, he ordered his tomb construction and furnishings to be economical and located in the mountains, establishing a new rule for his descendants and a new phase of imperial burial system in Chinese history.

As the Heavenly Qaghan of the nomadic peoples, his mausoleum featured carved stone horse reliefs to commemorate his military achievements, a reflection of Turkic burial customs; non-Chinese meritorious officials were buried in auxiliary tombs to emphasize political inclusiveness instead of exclusiveness; and his tomb was flanked by fourteen statues of the non-Chinese officials. In this respect, Taizong's mausoleum represented the unity of various ethnic peoples and the great achievements of a successful and powerful Qaghan of qaghans.

Chapter Five: Context of the Six Stone Horse Reliefs

In Chapter Five, the examination of Zhaoling will focus on the six stone horse reliefs. Elements pertinent to the reliefs including the sculptural form, the presentation of the mane, tail, stirrup, saddle and groom and their significance will be handled individually. The discussion starts with the authenticity of the horse reliefs.

1. Dating

Many scholars hold the view that the set of the six stone horse reliefs was carved during the Zhenguan reign between 636 and 649. There are, however, different opinions about the dating. Two views, in particular, need to be discussed. One holds that the reliefs were carved at the beginning of the Gaozong reign (650–683), at the same time as the statues of the fourteen officials.⁵⁵² The second attributes the reliefs to replica from the Song period (960–1127).⁵⁵³ Information from literature, recent excavation and an analysis of the artistic features of the reliefs helps to resolve this chronological dispute. *THY* records that:

突厥頡利可汗... 等 14 人, 列于陵司馬北門內, 九巖山之陰, 以旌武功. 乃又刻石為常所乘破敵馬六匹, 于闕下也.⁵⁵⁴

Turkic Qaghan Jieli... and others, 14 officials, are lined up inside the North Sima Gate at the back of the mausoleum to commemorate [Emperor Taizong's] military prowess. Also carved are the images of the six horses, frequently ridden [by Emperor Taizong] to overcome enemies, which are placed at the foot of the *que*.

The mention of the carving of the six stone horses, immediately following the remarks on the fourteen officials' statues, has led some scholars to suspect that the horse reliefs were carved right after the officials' statues,⁵⁵⁵ that is, after Taizong's death in the beginning of the Gaozong

⁵⁵² Li Jugang (2002): 255–260.

⁵⁵³ Ferguson (1931): 61–72.

⁵⁵⁴ *THY*: 20, 395–96.

⁵⁵⁵ Li Jugang (2002): 255–60.

reign. This text is ambiguous; other historical documents add some clarification. As mentioned above, *CFYG* documents that Emperor Taizong ordered that those horses, which carried him through fierce and victorious battles, be portrayed on stone and be placed at his tomb site. This order was made to his ministers in the eleventh moon of the tenth year of Zhenguan reign (636).⁵⁵⁶

After the edict of 636, Emperor Taizong ruled China for another thirteen years. It is hard to believe that his ministers would have put off carrying out the Emperor's order for so many years, awaiting the reign of Emperor Gaozong to fulfill it.

A date for the carving of the six stone horses during the Zhenguan reign also is supported by a passage in the biography of Qiu Xingong 丘行恭 (586–665), who was Taizong's general, in *JTS*.

貞觀中，有詔刻石為人馬以象行恭拔箭之狀，立於昭陵闕前。⁵⁵⁷

During the Zhenguan reign, an edict was issued to portray in stone the scene of Qiu Xingong pulling the arrow out of the horse and erect it in front of the *que* at Zhaoling.

Unlike the ambiguous language in *THY*, the above source explicitly relates that there is an edict issued during the Zhenguang reign for the carving of one of the stone horses—Saluzi—accompanied by Qiu, the only horse relief which includes a man. If the relief of Saluzi was carved during the Zhenguan reign, the other horses were surely done at the same time. There is also a reference to the carving of horses and figures for another of Taizong's generals at about this same period.

[秦叔寶]貞觀 12 年卒。陪葬昭陵。太宗特令所司就其塋內立石人馬，以旌戰陣之功焉。⁵⁵⁸

⁵⁵⁶ *CFYG*: 42, 12, 477.

⁵⁵⁷ *JTS*: 59, 9, 2327.

⁵⁵⁸ *Ibid.*: 68, 18, 2502.

[Qin Shubao] died in the twelfth year of Zhenguan (638) and was buried in Zhaoling. Emperor Taizong ordered stone horses and figures be erected in his tomb area to commemorate his military feats.

Additionally, the tomb of Taizong's fifth daughter, Princess Changle, who died in the seventeenth year of Zhenguan (643) and was buried very close to Taizong's Mortuary Palace, as mentioned above, was adorned with three pairs of stone figures and animals, and most of them survive today.⁵⁵⁹ The official Tang text and archaeological material indicate that the practice of erecting funerary stone horses and figures, initiated by Emperor Taizong, was prevalent during the Zhenguan reign. It is difficult, therefore, to imagine that stone horses and figures would have been erected for one of Taizong's generals in 638, two years after the Emperor's edict ordered such sculptures for his own tomb, and the stone sculpture for his daughter in 643, without the carvings already having been in process, if not completed, for the emperor's own tomb. It is, therefore, safe to date the six stone horses to the second half of the Zhenguan reign, between 636 and 649.

Other scholars, however, question the authenticity of the six stone horses and suspect that they were Song replicas or works of later periods. Zhao Han was the first to present this theory, stating explicitly that "beyond doubt they are not the Tang horses" as mentioned in Chapter Two.

His statement is based on the absence of the base where the inscription was supposed to have been inscribed. Recent excavation at Zhaoling may shed light on this issue. Judging by the two types of base used for erecting the Tang stone horses found on the site (see Figs. 20 and 21), the excavators are certain that there must have been a third narrower base to secure the horses to the main bases. This third missing base might have been the location for the inscription.⁵⁶⁰ The absence of the third base may not be sufficient to state that the stone horses were not made during the Tang dynasty.

John Ferguson points out that there were four sets of stone horses: (1) the original reliefs erected by the order of Emperor Taizong and placed near the tomb of the Empress Wende; (2) the standing horses made at the death of the Emperor Taizong and erected in front of his tomb; (3)

⁵⁵⁹ Zhaoling bowuguan (1988a): 10–30.

⁵⁶⁰ Zhang Jianlin (2006): 19.

the set of exact replicas made in the Song dynasty and set up in Taizong's Memorial Temple; and, (4) the set of tablets placed in the covered passageway of that temple.⁵⁶¹

The first and second sets actually constitute only one, the set ordered by Emperor Taizong during the Zhenguan reign. After the stone horses were carved, they could have been erected elsewhere temporarily before being placed near the Emperor's tomb upon his death. Emperor Taizong's favorite war chargers were meant to show his military prowess.⁵⁶² There is no evidence to indicate that Empress Wende earned any military merit in association with the war chargers. Placing the stone horses near her tomb until Taizong's tomb was completed upon his death is possibly a logical conclusion, but, it is documented that, the Empress was later buried in the Emperor Taizong's Mortuary Palace, thus further emphasizing that there was no need for two separate sets of horse reliefs.

In Ferguson's view, the second set is carved 'ronde-bosse,' probably inspired by the illustration in the *CAZT* (see Fig. 1).⁵⁶³ He interprets the characters, figures 形 and shapes 像, to signify that both the officials' statues and the six horse reliefs were carved in the round. This statement stirred a debate with Helen Fernald.⁵⁶⁴ Emperor Taizong composed eulogistic verses for the horses by using animated and dynamic phrases, such as "pranced," "reared into the air," "run with the wind" and "dashed forward" to praise his favorite chargers. When the Emperor ordered that the "true image" 真形⁵⁶⁵ of the horses be portrayed in stone, the depiction of the flying gallop posture, which is represented on three out of the six horses, would have been extremely challenging in the round. If they had been carved in the round, "the horses' legs would break in the middle and technically it could not be done without leaving stone posts beneath the bellies."⁵⁶⁶

⁵⁶¹ Ferguson (1931): 68.

⁵⁶² *XTS*: 90, 15, 3779.

⁵⁶³ *CAZT*: 587–483. Ferguson (1931): 68–69.

⁵⁶⁴ Ferguson (1936): 4–5. Fernald (1941): 4–5.

⁵⁶⁵ *ZZTJ*: 42, 12, 477.

⁵⁶⁶ Fernald (1941): 10.

Lin Tong commented that large stone slabs might have served as screens, "the images of the six horses are depicted in bas-relief and are as vivid as if alive... If they were carved in the round, they would not be as dramatic as they are now."⁵⁶⁷ The bas-relief was a purposeful choice over carving in the round and the best method to achieve realistic and dynamic effect as well as sturdiness.

As indicated by You Shixiong on the "Liujun stele," dated 1089, the carvings of the six stone horses, were based on drawings "by the brush of Yan Liben." Since the drawings were made on flat surfaces, it is quite natural to transform the flat images to the similar relief sculpture. Without any other evidence, it is hard to convince people that the images have been changed from flat to "ronde-bosse." The possibility of the existence at one time of the statues of standing horses at the entrance of the north gate, as shown in Fig. 1, however, cannot be ruled out, but they are not the famous reliefs of the Emperor's battle chargers. "There is no reason for thinking that there was ever an earlier set of Taizong's horses in the round."⁵⁶⁸

The third set, if it had been made, as argued by Helen Fernald, was not of stone but of some more perishable material.⁵⁶⁹ You Shixiong ordered the copies to be made as *zhensu* 真塑 (true model); the character *su* 塑 means primarily "to model in clay." You Shixiong stated that the replicas were made to be exhibited in the Taizong Memorial Temple for the convenience of sightseers. There is an agreement on the fourth set, which refers to the line images incised on the "Liujun stele" (1089), the important source for preserving the names and images of these horses (see Fig. 3).

Ferguson supports the theory of the Song replicas and claims "the original carvings of the officials as well as of the horses were destroyed by Wen Tao."⁵⁷⁰ He further asserts that the six stone reliefs extant are "of the Song dynasty replicas"⁵⁷¹ and "may be fixed definitely as dated

⁵⁶⁷ Lin Tong (1965): 133.

⁵⁶⁸ Fernald (1941): 11.

⁵⁶⁹ Fernald (1935): 423.

⁵⁷⁰ Ferguson (1936): 5.

⁵⁷¹ Ferguson (1931): 71.

973.”⁵⁷² Quoting the bibliography of Wen Tao, which describes his pillage of the Taizong’s Xuangong, Ferguson admitted “there was no reference to the stone figures of the six horses or of those of chieftains, but it can be taken for granted that they suffered the same fate as the tomb of T’ai Tsung [Taizong].”⁵⁷³ Fernald replied “things cannot be taken for granted in submitting proof.”⁵⁷⁴ Moreover, Ferguson’s is a strange statement since it has not been recorded that Taizong’s Mortuary Palace was destroyed. What Wen Tao actually did was to take away many treasured but portable articles from the burial chambers. There is no mention of any destruction of the Mortuary Palace nor of the stone monuments outside of the tomb. It is unclear what, if any, proof Ferguson had for Wen’s destruction of the sculptures. Fernald concluded that there is no evidence that Wen Tao did anything to the six horse reliefs.

Ferguson also states that in the record of the restoration undertaken during the Kaibao reign 開寶 (968–976) of the Song dynasty, he “found no reference to these carvings, but without doubt these tablets [reliefs] were made at this time as part of the restoration. They can therefore now be accurately dated as A.D. 973.”⁵⁷⁵ In 973, the “Temple stele” was dedicated to commemorate the reconstruction of Taizong’s Memorial Temple; there is no mention in that inscription of any reproduction of the horse reliefs.⁵⁷⁶ If the stone horses were duplicated as part of that reconstruction project, it hardly can be imagined that such an important event would have been omitted from the inscription and not be recorded in any local gazetteer or historical works of the time.

Assuming that the stone horses are copies, it is uncertain which set of horses served as their models. Ronde-boss horses did not do much justice to the stone horse reliefs that survive

⁵⁷² Ferguson (1936): 6.

⁵⁷³ *Ibid.*: 4.

⁵⁷⁴ Fernald (1941): 7.

⁵⁷⁵ Ferguson (1936): 5. In this article, Ferguson gives the replicas fixed dates of 973. But in his 1931 article, he believed that the Song replicas were made by You Shixiong in 1094.

⁵⁷⁶ *JSCB*: 6–729/30. This source provides the complete inscription of the “Temple stele,” on which it is inscribed that the people praised the mighty deeds of Emperor Taizong, repaired the old burial site and prepared official robes and other garments, as well as reconstructed the memorial temple.

today. If the original set has been carried off or destroyed, they could not have been copied. Therefore, the original set of stone horses was in relief and still at Zhaoling during the Song.

This raises still more questions about the making of the copies. If the copying had been done at Zhaoling, did the copies remain there in place of the original slabs? If so, what happened to the original set? It is not logical for the replicas to have been left at Zhaoling and the originals to have been moved to the temple. In the inscription on the "Liujun stele," You Shixiong stated that he "ordered the district officials to make a reproduction of these stone figures to be set up in the temple dedicated to T'ai Tsung which is located outside of the west gate of the city."⁵⁷⁷ The original placement of the replicas is clearly spelled out, and it is not necessary to impose a new location in the mountains for these reproductions. There is no historical documentation supporting this idea, nor does it seem practical that the original set was switched with the replicas.

Ferguson makes a fair statement that, "It is only possible to clear up the discrepancies of the records by excavations on the spot."⁵⁷⁸ Seventy years later the excavations took place at the north slope, the location of the horse reliefs. Zhang Jianlin and his team recovered two layers of the base for the stone horses on site. From these they inferred that there must have existed the third narrow base, now lost. The fact that the horses needed three layers of base supports the theory of the reliefs as only relief sculpture, not horses in the round, for the latter would not have required multiple layers of base. They also found five fragments detached from the original horse reliefs, and three have been matched successfully with missing parts of the horses.⁵⁷⁹ One of the fragments still preserves the fine carving of a hoof's hair (see Fig. 33), detailed enough to indicate that they were detached not too long after they were carved, probably between the end of Tang and the early Five Dynasties.⁵⁸⁰ The excavators reported that no traces of stone horses carved in the round were found on the site.

⁵⁷⁷ Ferguson (1931): 64.

⁵⁷⁸ *Ibid.*: 69.

⁵⁷⁹ The fragments have been successfully matched with the two reliefs currently at the Beilin Museum, Xi'an, Shaanxi.

⁵⁸⁰ Li Langtao (2003): 289–90.

So far, no text or archaeological evidence has mounted a challenge to the originality of the extant horse reliefs. The evidence against the horse reliefs being later replicas lies in the sculptures themselves.

The stone reliefs exemplify the beauty of early Tang sculpture; the images are realistic yet powerful, created with simplicity and matured craftsmanship. Despite the surface erosion and damage, small sections carved with floral motifs, typical of early Tang art, have survived on one of the reliefs.

At the lower left corner of Saluzi, the front narrow border is decorated with a continuous floral motif; the vertical part measures 0.13 m high and 0.06 m wide, and the horizontal section measures 0.57 m long and 0.05 m in width. On the left side, at the thickness of the relief, one can see peach-shaped motifs filled with intertwined scrolls, which is preserved only half way up, measuring 0.89 m high and 0.37 m wide (Fig. 54).

Floral motifs similar to those on the front narrow border of Saluzi can be found from the following tombs: the epitaph of Li Shou (d. 630) (Fig. 55), the epitaph of Dugu Kaiyuan (d. 642) (Fig. 56), the threshold for the first stone door from the tomb of Princess Changle (d. 643) (Fig. 57), the threshold and door panels from the tomb of Zhang Shigui (d. 657) (Fig. 58) and the epitaph of Zheng Rentai (d. 663) (Fig. 59).

The motif on the left side of Saluzi has parallels at Xianling on a stone column decorated with an intertwining, stylized, peach-shaped motif from the mausoleum of Gaozu, the first Tang ruler, who died in 635 (Fig. 60).⁵⁸¹ Despite the dullness of the image, the general contour of the peach-shaped design, the long and flared stem and minor patterns filling in the space are similar. A smaller version of the pattern is found on the threshold of Li Shou's tomb door (see Fig. 55), on the epitaph of Princess Changle (Fig. 61), on the epitaph of the Princess Xincheng (d. 663) (Fig. 62) and on the stone door frame of the tomb Shi Kedan (d. 669) at Guyuan (Fig. 63).⁵⁸² A similar motif is also seen on an early tomb of Sima Jinlong (d. 484) of the Northern Wei (Fig. 64).⁵⁸³

⁵⁸¹ Paludan (1991): 91.

⁵⁸² Luo Feng (1996): 64.

⁵⁸³ Watt (2004): 21.

The appearance of similar generalized floral motifs on a number of Northern Wei and Tang tombs, many of them imperial, indicates that these motifs were popular and widely used and obviously lend further weight to the evidence that the reliefs date to the early Tang.⁵⁸⁴

Thus, the original stone horse reliefs at Zhaoling are the first set of the horse reliefs and were made during the Zhenguan reign between 636 and 649. With this as a prerequisite, it is possible to analyze the relief form, presentation and significance in the context of the early Tang.

2. Sculptural Form

The six stone horse reliefs are represented on six separate stone slabs, each measuring approximately 2.0 m long and 1.7 m high and 0.4 m thick.⁵⁸⁵ They are carved in low relief, a form not common in the Chinese sculptural tradition. The presentation of the horse reliefs can be associated with the Sasanian reliefs dating from the third and fourth centuries.

1). Historical Review of Sculpture in Early China

In tracing the sculptural forms in early China before Tang, there are three general types: carved in the round 圓雕, incised in line 石刻綫畫,⁵⁸⁶ and engraved in relief 浮雕. Sculpture in the round is three-dimensional, freestanding and visible from all sides. It can be traced back to the pottery and jade figures of the Neolithic Period. "Stone was a latecomer in Chinese sculpture" and "did not enter the Chinese sculptural scene until more than 1,000 years after figures were being made in jade or bronze."⁵⁸⁷ A group of statues of animal and human figures from the tomb of Fu Hao 婦好 of the Shang dynasty (sixteenth-eleventh centuries BC) (Fig. 65) seems to "have been an isolated phenomenon."⁵⁸⁸ Not until the Han did stone sculpture become a recognized element in Chinese life.⁵⁸⁹ Examples from that period include stone carvings in various animal

⁵⁸⁴ Fernald (1941): 3.

⁵⁸⁵ Minor variations in measurement exist among the six horse reliefs.

⁵⁸⁶ Zhongguo huaxiangshi quanji bianji weiyuanhui (2000): 1.

⁵⁸⁷ Paludan (2006): 99.

⁵⁸⁸ Ibid.: 101.

⁵⁸⁹ Ibid.: 99.

shapes at the tomb of Huo Qubing (Fig. 66) of the Western Han (206 BC–8 AD) and stone monuments, such as winged animals, surviving in Henan, Shandong and Sichuan of the Eastern Han (26–220). Many colossal stone figures and animals are extant in Jiangsu from the Southern Dynasties. Many Buddhist statues also are carved in round.

The technique of line carving was first used for tomb pictures in stone or pottery tile and then spread to other funerary furnishings (such as stone sarcophagi, epitaphs, lintels and pillars) and religious imagery.⁵⁹⁰ The line carving, popular in Henan, Shaanxi, Shandong, Jiangsu, and Sichuan, is exemplified by the scene carved on the stone sarcophagus from Nanjing, Jiangsu (Fig. 67). Although carved, these images focus on graceful lines⁵⁹¹ and render a two-dimensional quality, like a painting.⁵⁹²

In between the sculpture in the round and incised in line, is relief sculpture, in which the figure and design project from the background.⁵⁹³ Those carved far out from the background are considered *gaofudiao* 高浮雕 (high relief) and the shallow are *qianfudiao* 淺浮雕 (low relief), best known as bas-relief. Some of the Chinese pictures carved in stone are labeled as *bofudiao* 薄浮雕 (thin relief),⁵⁹⁴ a category between the low relief and line carving. Reliefs from Wu Liang ci 武梁 and Xiaotangshan 孝堂山 shrines 祠 from Shandong, pictures in stone from Nanyang 南陽畫像石, Henan, and cliff tomb carving from Sichuan 四川崖墓壁刻 have been classified in this group.⁵⁹⁵

Buddhist sculptures were made in the round and in all the categories of relief. Many were rendered low relief; most of these large low reliefs are scattered in various Buddhist caves. One excellent example is the relief depicting an imperial procession 帝禮佛圖 of the Northern Wei from the Gongxian 鞏縣 caves in Henan (Fig. 68).

The distinction between the thin relief and low relief needs further definition. Although most of the surviving Han stone imagery is engraved in line or in thin relief, some thin relief,

⁵⁹⁰ Zhongguo huaxiangshi quanji bianji weiyuanhui (2000): 1.

⁵⁹¹ Ibid.

⁵⁹² Paludan (2006): 267.

⁵⁹³ Random House (1991): 1137.

⁵⁹⁴ Zhongguo huaxiangshi quanji bianji weiyuanhui (2000): 1.

⁵⁹⁵ Ibid.

such as the one from Zhaojiacun, Quxian County, Sichuan, already has the effect of low relief (Fig. 69). This piece includes modeled figures or architectural elements, such as brackets. In general, Han stone imagery, either rendered in line or thin relief, is usually attached to mortuary architecture or burial furnishings, such as lintels, columns, doors, walls and *que*. Rarely is it used as independent pieces, such as some examples of Buddhist sculpture or the six horse reliefs from Zhaoling.

Angela Howard believes that sculpture "was not an art form indigenous to the Han Chinese."⁵⁹⁶ Ann Paludan relates her view with more specific comments. "The Buddhists brought no new technical methods for handling stone but they introduced two lasting innovations."⁵⁹⁷ One of these innovations "is seen most clearly in pictorial representations on cliffs and steles."⁵⁹⁸ Based on the Han carving tradition, the illustrative panels on stelae "convey an impression of depth lacking in the linear Han treatment."⁵⁹⁹ Judith Lerner holds a similar view. She notices that in contrast to the "most traditionally Chinese style of carving" by which the figures are engraved into the otherwise smooth surface or delineated as low-relief silhouettes, the second part of the sixth century saw a "sculptural trend" in which "the figures are emphasized by a more plastic treatment."⁶⁰⁰ In creating various Buddhist images, Chinese carvers must have had contact with Buddhists—some of whom might have been "trained foreign sculptors."⁶⁰¹ There is a list of Buddhists and travelers who might have been instrumental in bringing new art influences, strong in Greco–Roman background through India, into China,⁶⁰² but the list is not inclusive. The depiction of the young Buddha among Chinese people against a background of Chinese architecture and rendered in low relief, dated to the late fifth century (Fig. 70),⁶⁰³ is a good

⁵⁹⁶ Howard (2006): 7.

⁵⁹⁷ Paludan (2006): 255.

⁵⁹⁸ *Ibid.*: 256.

⁵⁹⁹ *Ibid.*

⁶⁰⁰ Lerner (2005): 15.

⁶⁰¹ Paludan (2006): 209.

⁶⁰² Mahler (1959) 135–142.

⁶⁰³ Paludan (2006): 204. Fig. 123.

example of such a combination. Chinese craftsmen received foreign "inspiration"⁶⁰⁴ and ample opportunities to practice and expand their technical skills on new types of artwork.

This foreign "inspiration," when it reached China, was a "hybrid product." At Dunhuang 敦煌 in Gansu and Yungang 云岡 in Shanxi, the Gandhāran style came along with "motifs from Sasanian Persia." At Longmen 龍門 in Henan, influences from "Greek, Persia and Central Asia"⁶⁰⁵ are evident.

Both high and low reliefs are commonly employed in creating Buddhist images as examples from the large caves, but these techniques are also seen in tomb furnishings. Approximately 30 sets of stone sarcophagi or couches of the Northern Dynasties were discovered during the twentieth century.⁶⁰⁶ Most of them are carved in line, or engraved into the otherwise smooth surface, by following Chinese traditional technique; they are usually attributed to Chinese.⁶⁰⁷ A few examples that are carved in low relief, reflecting a sculptural trend, were most likely commissioned for non-Chinese.⁶⁰⁸

The funerary couch unearthed from the tomb of An Qie 安伽 (557–581) (Fig. 71) and the sarcophagus uncovered in Yu Hong's 虞弘 (ca. 550–592) (Fig. 72) tomb, both stone and both for immigrants to China, have images in low or thin relief. An Qie was a Sogdian holding the position of *sabao* 薩寶⁶⁰⁹ (in charge of the affairs of the ethnic people), and the reliefs on his funerary bed depict scenes of life of ethnic people rooted in Central Asia. Yu Hong, who originated from the Yu State probably in Central Asia, was sent to Persia as an ambassador and

⁶⁰⁴ Ibid. Howard (2006): 7.

⁶⁰⁵ Paludan (2006): 205–06 and 211.

⁶⁰⁶ He Xilin (2003): 341, 368–73.

⁶⁰⁷ Twenty-two out of 30 stone mortuary furnishings have been included in publications dedicated to the study of line carving, either in *Zhongguo huaxiangshi quanji bianji wenyuanhui* (2000) or Huang Minglan (1987).

⁶⁰⁸ The sarcophagus of Kang Ye, discovered in 2004, is an exception. Kang was a Sogdian descendant but his sarcophagus is carved in a traditional Chinese style and technique. He may have been assimilated into Chinese culture to a very high degree. The author had the privilege to review the Kang Ye's sarcophagus together with Professor Annette Juliano during their visit to Xi'an in May 2004 and discussed the issue again in 2008. Lerner (2005): 15. Lerner lists five sarcophagi reflecting a sculptural trend: An Qie, Kooros, Shi Jun, the Miho panels and Yu Hong.

⁶⁰⁹ Shaanxi kaogu yanjiusuo (2003): 62–63. Rong Xinjiang (2001a): 111–78.

then served in the Northern Qi, Northern Zhou and Sui courts.⁶¹⁰ His sarcophagus is decorated entirely with Persian scenes. These examples of foreign influences, as well as the independent presentational form of the six stone reliefs, suggest sources of inspiration west of China, possibly the rock reliefs of the Sasanian Empire (224–651).

2). Comparison with the Sasanian Rock Relief

The Sasanian rock reliefs provide a good comparison with Taizong's six stone horse reliefs. There are similarities in the presentational form and political motivation.

The monumental Sasanian reliefs are concentrated at two sites near Persepolis, Naqsh-e Rostam and Naqsh-e Rostam. Dated to the third and fourth centuries, they were carved below the tombs of the Achaemenid kings. These Sasanian rock reliefs demonstrate "one of the most coherent and remarkable periods of rock relief art in Iran."⁶¹¹ Erich Schmidt lists nine oversized rock reliefs carved on the great cliff at Naqsh-e Rostam and four at Naqsh-e Rostam.⁶¹² Five reliefs from Naqsh-e Rostam, A-E, and one from Naqsh-e Rostam, F, have been selected as the best comparative Persian material for this study. The following description is drawn primarily from Schmidt's introduction.⁶¹³

A. *The Investiture of Ardashir I* (r. 224–241), 6.3 to 6.65 m long and 4.2 m high, depicts Ardashir I, the founder of the Sasanian Empire (Fig. 73). Mounted on a horse, he is wearing a crown and receiving a ring, the symbol of the right to rule. He is in a mantle draped over sleeves, and his belted coat and folds of trousers are draped behind his leg. The horse has a clipped mane and ornate headgear with a ribbon on the forehead and two reins. Three disks with embossed lion heads are applied to the breast collar above the trilingual inscriptions on the chest. The long tail is tied with a ribbon at top.⁶¹⁴

⁶¹⁰ Shanxi sheng kaogu yanjiusuo et al (2001): 50.

⁶¹¹ Herrmann (2000): 36.

⁶¹² Schmidt (1970): III, 13 and 122. Herrmann (2000): 36. Herrmann states that of the total of some 34–35 Sasanian reliefs, the majority, some 28 in all, are in Fars. Most of them are at these two sites.

⁶¹³ Ibid.: 122–32.

⁶¹⁴ Ibid.: III, 122–23.

B. *The Triumph of Shapur I* (r. 241–272), approximately 7.95 m long and 6.10 m high, is probably the best known among all the Sasanian reliefs (Fig. 74). It depicts Shapur I's victory over two Roman emperors, Valerian and Philip the Arab. The king wears a crown, carved beyond the frame of relief and filleted with two long wavy ribbons. Adorned with a large necklace, he is clad in a sleeved and belted jacket and trousers with flowing wavy folds. The king's horse has its right foreleg flexed. Disks with rosette patterns are applied to straps on shoulder and on rump. A pair of ribbons is tied at the top and at the tip of the long tail.⁶¹⁵ There is a squarish space, not carved, at the top left corner. The entire image is framed by an unworked surface.

C and D. *Equestrian Combat* has two scenes, each measuring 7 m long and 3 m high and 6.70 m long and 2.35 m high, respectively (Fig. 75). The upper relief shows Bahram II (r. 276–293), to the left, attacking a mounted foe. His crown is carved beyond the frame of relief and two long wavy ribbons float behind his helmet. He is marked with armor on his body and limbs, although erosion has removed most of the traces. His right hand is grasping a long lance and a long quiver is behind the king's leg. The horse is shown in flying gallop with ornament on the forehead and caparison below his belly.⁶¹⁶

The lower relief shows the prince, to the left, attacking a mounted foe. He wears ring armor on his right arm and scale armor on the lower part of the belted coat. He is grasping a long lance with a quiver behind the leg. The horse is in flying gallop with ornament on forehead and caparison below the chest and belly. Ribbons are tied at the side of his head and foot and at the top and trussed-up end of the tail.⁶¹⁷

E. *Equestrian Combat of Hormizd II* (r. 302–309), 8.4 m long and 4.10 m high, depicts Hormizd killing a foe (Fig. 76). He wears a crown filleted with two long wavy ribbons. Clad in armor scales below the waist, ring armors on his arms and legs, he is grasping a long lance and accompanied by a quiver containing a bow and arrows. The horse is shown in a flying gallop with globular forehead ornament and caparison marked below his chest and belly. An ornamental

⁶¹⁵ Schmidt (1970): 127.

⁶¹⁶ Ibid.: 130.

⁶¹⁷ Ibid.: 131.

tassel is seen on the croup tied with a pair of ribbons. The saddle blanket shows waving laces, and the tail is doubled up and tied with ribbon.⁶¹⁸

F. *Shapur I Mount with Suite on Foot*, 7 m long and 4 m high, shows the king mounted and followed by a suite of nine persons on foot (Fig. 77). The king wears a crown filleted with two long wavy ribbons. Clad in a mantle draping over the shoulders and fluttering behind his back, he wears a coat with wavy folds marked on back of the horse and loose trousers with undulating folds. The horse has an oblong forehead ornamented with two ribbons fluttering upward. The lunate section of the upper mane is trimmed and three wavy strands are flying at his side. Ornamental disks show on his breast collar and on his breeching. Three small disks are attached to the undulating bands of the flank. His tail is marked by neat vertical lines and ringed at top.⁶¹⁹

The development of the Sasanian reliefs "drew upon diverse sources" and was influenced "in form, style and content by the presence of foreign artisans living in Iran,"⁶²⁰ and it has also been suggested that Roman sculptors worked on these reliefs.⁶²¹ Sasanian rulers employed rock relief as "propaganda sculpture"⁶²² or "an official art form."⁶²³ Most of these rock reliefs depict a single scene; Georgina Herrmann considers them "to be the equivalent of advertisement hoarding. They present a relatively simple message on a large scale located in a reasonably public place with the aim of influencing passers-by."⁶²⁴ Even so, these places probably were accessible only to "a restricted audience,"⁶²⁵ groups of people who had access to royal ground.

⁶¹⁸ Ibid.: 135.

⁶¹⁹ Schmidt (1970): 126.

⁶²⁰ Harper (2006): 70–71.

⁶²¹ Herrmann (2000): 40.

⁶²² Dutz (1997): 31.

⁶²³ Herrmann (2000): 36.

⁶²⁴ Ibid.: 40.

⁶²⁵ Ibid.: 41.

Sasanian rock reliefs are usually three or four times larger than the Taizong reliefs. Despite this major difference in dimensions, their presentations share obvious similarities and associations.

First, each of Emperor Taizong's six reliefs is represented on a rock surface with neatly cut border to frame the scene within the rectangular stone slab. The Sasanian relief also is framed by a border using the unworked surrounding space. The relief of *The Triumph of Shapur I* has a squarish space at its top left corner; such a squarish space also appears on either the top left or the top right corner of each of Taizong's slabs. The visual effect of both types of relief is surprisingly comparable.

They are products of the same carving technique. The Sasanian and Taizong's reliefs are carved in low relief, although the Sasanian reliefs are cut a bit deeper than the Taizong reliefs.

Both sets of relief feature horses with royal embellishments. The horses, without exception, are depicted with an elaborate or complete set of bridles and saddle or saddle blankets; the Sasanian horses are adorned further with ornamental disks, bud-shaped tassels and flying ribbons. The mane of the horse in the *Equestrian Combat of Hormizd II* is trimmed in lunate shape and the manes of the Taizong's horses are crenellated into three notches. That same Sasanian horse has three bands attached to its saddle. Taizong's horses are adorned with five bands hanging from their saddles.

The horses in reliefs C, D and E are depicted in a flying gallop, as are three of the Taizong horses. The Sasanian horses have their tails trussed up and tied with ribbons; Taizong's horses also have their tails doubled up and ringed twice. The only detail that is different between the two groups of horses is that the Sasanian ones have more ornate trappings.

Some Sasanian reliefs have inscriptions. Two reliefs, *The Investiture of Ardashir I* and *Shapur I Mount with Suite on Foot*, are inscribed with trilingual inscriptions on the chests of the horses. The texts identify the figures on the reliefs as kings and gods empowered to rule.⁶²⁶ The Taizong horse reliefs are believed to have been engraved with the names and verses eulogizing the horses in each of the squarish spaces at the upper corner, but no writing is visible now. There

⁶²⁶ Schmidt (1970): 123 & 126.

is a space that could have had inscriptions on the upper left corner of *The Investiture of Ardashir I*, also.

Both the Sasanian and Taizong reliefs portray the monarchs, either visibly or by implication. The Sasanian rock reliefs depict the Sasanian kings wearing crowns in the center of the scenes, and in many cases as riders; the horses on Taizong's reliefs are riderless, but one horse is accompanied by a figure on the side. The absence of the image of Emperor Taizong is by no means a denial of his ownership of these horses. On the contrary, the complete harnessing of the horses, the affixed saddles and the positioned stirrups, suggest that these horses are ready for their master. The sight of Taizong's galloping horses makes viewers imagine a skillful equestrian on these swift horses. The eulogistic verses, presumably carved on the upper corners, complemented by the arrows depicted on the horses, add to the image of the life-and-death battles that Emperor Taizong and his war chargers endured together. The subtle way of focusing on the famous war chargers by rendering them without riders differs from the direct depiction of the Sasanian images.

More importantly, the two sets of reliefs may also share similar political motives. The Sasanian dynasty, starting with Ardashir I in 220, considered itself a revival of "legitimate" Iran after the "barbarian" Parthian occupation. They used the sites near Persepolis for propagandistic sculpture.⁶²⁷ Tang Taizong was also a usurper who seized the throne by killing his brother, the heir apparent, and forcing his father to abdicate. Commemorating the horses symbolizes venerating Emperor Taizong; immortalizing the horses in stone underlines the perpetuation of the memory of the Emperor himself. By praising these six horses, which are tied to his legitimate credentials to be on the throne, Taizong aimed to legitimate his usurpation of the throne and to call attention to his military prowess and feats.

3). Contact between China and the Sasanian Empire

It is evident that there are striking similarities between the Sasanian reliefs and Taizong's six horses in form, theme and rendering of the horses, in addition to political implications. It is

⁶²⁷ Dutz (1997): 31.

interesting to speculate about how the Sasanian reliefs, dating to the third and fourth centuries, could have affected the Taizong's six horse reliefs in the mid-seventh century. There may have been contact between China and the Sasanian Empire providing channels for distribution and assimilation of the motifs of the Sasanian reliefs.

The discussion of the contact between China and Sasanian Empire unavoidably leads to the "Silk Road," the ancient connection between China and many areas west of China, known as the Western Regions. Scholars believe that unofficial contact via silk roads can be "traced to the 13th or 12th century BC."⁶²⁸ Zhang Qian 張騫 (d. 114 BC), an envoy sent by the court, however, marks the first official endeavor of the Western Han to explore the Western Regions. He was sent on this mission twice, the first lasting thirteen years⁶²⁹ (139–126 BC) and the second, five years (119–114 BC).⁶³⁰ He made the first known Chinese report on the Parthian Empire (248 BC–224 AD), a power that ruled until the time of the Sasanian Empire.

In Zhang's accounts, Parthia is named Anxi 安息, a transliteration of 'Arsacid,' the name of the Parthian dynasty. His accounts are preserved in *Shiji* 史記 (*SJ*; Records of the Grand Historian):

安息在大月支西可數千里。其俗土著，耕田，田稻麥，蒲陶酒。城邑如大宛。其數小大數百城，地方數千里，最爲大國。臨媯水，有市，民商賈用車及船，行旁國或數千里。以銀爲錢，錢如其王面，王死輒更錢，效王面焉。⁶³¹

Anxi is situated several thousand *li* west of the region of the Great Yuezhi (in Transoxania). The people are settled on the land, cultivating the fields and growing rice and wheat. They also make wine out of grapes. They have walled cities like the people of Dayuan (Ferghana), the region containing several hundred cities of various sizes. The kingdom, which borders the Gui (Oxus) River, is very large, measuring several thousand *li* square. Some of the inhabitants are merchants who travel by carts or boats to neighboring countries, sometimes journeying several thousand *li*. The coins of the country are made of silver and

⁶²⁸ Wang Binghua (1993): 2.

⁶²⁹ *HS*: 61, 31, 2689.

⁶³⁰ *Ibid.*: 2692–93. The second mission is mentioned but does not provide specific dates.

⁶³¹ *SJ*: 123, 63, 3162, 800.

bear the face of the king. When the king dies, the currency is immediately changed and new coins issued with the face of his successor.⁶³²

初,漢使至安息, 安息王令將二萬騎迎于東界.東界去王都數千里.... 漢使還, 而後發使隨漢使來觀廣大, 以大鳥卵及黎軒善眩人, 獻于漢.⁶³³

When the Han envoys first visited the kingdom of Anxi, the king of Anxi dispatched a party of 20,000 horsemen to meet them on the eastern border of his kingdom. The capital of the kingdom is several thousand *li* from the eastern border.... When the Han envoys set out again to return to China, the king of Anxi dispatched envoys of his own to accompany them, and after the latter had visited China and reported on its great breadth and might, the king sent some of the eggs of the great birds which live in the region, and skilled tricksters of Lixuan, to the Han court as gifts.⁶³⁴

Following Zhang Qian's embassy and report, contacts between China and Parthia and the Western Regions increased. During the first century BC, quite a few Chinese missions were sent to the west; these were recorded in *SJ*:

漢始筑令居以西, 初置酒泉郡以通西北国. 因益發使抵安息, 奄蔡, 黎軒, 條枝, 身毒国.... 諸使外國一輩大者數百, 少者百餘人.... 其後益習而衰少焉. 漢率一歲中使多者 十餘, 少者五六輩, 遠者八九歲, 近者數歲而反.⁶³⁵

The Han first built fortifications west of the district of Lingju (northwest of Gansu province) and established the Jiuquan Prefecture in order to provide a safe route to the lands of the northwest. As a result more and more envoys were sent to Anxi (Parthia), Yancai (ancient name of Alains),⁶³⁶ Lixuan (Hyrkania), Tiaozi (Mesopotamia), and Shendu (India).... The largest of these embassies to foreign states numbered several hundred persons, while even the smaller parties included

⁶³² Sima Qian (1993): 2, 235.

⁶³³ *SJ*: 123, 63, 3172, 802.

⁶³⁴ Sima Qian (1993): 243.

⁶³⁵ *SJ*: 123, 63, 3170, 802.

⁶³⁶ Chavannes (1900): 69. Mallory (2000): 58. Yancai were nomads similar to those of Kangju and were 2,000 li northwest of Kangju.

over 100 members, though later, as the envoys became more accustomed to the route, the number was gradually reduced.... In the course of one year anywhere from five or six to even ten parties would be sent out. Those traveling to distant lands required eight or nine years to complete their journey, while those visiting nearer regions would return after a few years.⁶³⁷

During the Eastern Han, such contacts continued, probably at a reduced rate and size. It is recorded that in the thirteenth year of the Yongping 永平 reign (70) “the state of Anxi sent an envoy to offer lions and large birds from Tiaozi 條支.”⁶³⁸ In the second year of the Zhanghe 章和 reign period (88), “the state of Anxi sent an envoy to present lions and *fuba* 符拔 [antelopes].”⁶³⁹

Chinese general Ban Chao 班超 (32–102), stationed in the Western Regions for 31 years, won numerous battles to defend the Chinese control of the Western Regions. His troops went as far west as the Caspian Sea and established direct military contacts with the Parthian Empire. Around 101, he dispatched his son, Ban Yong 班勇 (d. ca.128) “to escort the embassy from Anxi to present lions to the central plain [inland].”⁶⁴⁰

In addition to sending exotic gifts to China, Parthia also played a role in the Silk Road transmission of Buddhism from Central Asia to China. In the year 148, An Shigao 安世高 (fl. 148–170), a Parthian prince, gave up the throne and devoted himself to life as a Buddhist missionary in China. He came to the capital city, Luoyang, where he established temples and became the first man to translate Buddhist scriptures into Chinese.⁶⁴¹

After the fall of the Han dynasty, the contact was suspended due to frequent change of hands of political powers, such as the rise and fall of the Three Kingdoms 三國 (220–265) and the Sixteen States 十六国 (317–420). During the fifth and sixth century, contact was resumed with the Sasanian Empire, which came to power in the third century (Persia, Bosi 波斯, in Chinese historical records), and embassies were sent out with unprecedented frequency.

⁶³⁷ Sima Qian (1993): 240–41.

⁶³⁸ *HHS*: 4, 4, 18, 252–103.

⁶³⁹ *Ibid.*: 4, 4, 4, 252–96.

⁶⁴⁰ Fan Ye (1987): 77, 37, 14, 253–87.

⁶⁴¹ Ciyi (1989): 3, 2394b.

In response to the envoys with tribute representing various states in the Western Regions, the Northern Wei sent 20 missions to the Western Regions in the first year of the Taiyan 太延 reign (435) and dispatched six more missions the following year.⁶⁴² The mission sent to Bosi was headed by Han Yangpi 韓羊皮⁶⁴³ and Zhang Daoyi 張道義.⁶⁴⁴ Like the Parthians, the Sasanians pursued active foreign relations with the Northern Wei and frequently sent envoys to China. *Weishu* 魏書 (History of the Wei) and *Zhoushu* 周書 (History of the Zhou) report at least twelve Sasanian embassies to China "to offer tribute."⁶⁴⁵ During the Shengui reign 神龜 (518–520), one of the tributes was accompanied by a memorial, which reads:

“大國天子, 天之所生, 願日出處常為漢中天子. 波斯國王居和多千萬敬拜.” 廷嘉納之. 自此每使朝獻.⁶⁴⁶

“The Son of Heaven of the great nation, whom Heaven begat, may Your Majesty always be the Son of Heaven in the Han land over which the sun rises! The king of Bosi, Juheduo (Kavad I, 499–531)⁶⁴⁷ salutes innumerable times in respect.” The imperial court accepted this with praise. From then on it often sent envoys to present tribute.

During the Northern Zhou, embassies were exchanged between the Northern Zhou (Yuwen Zhou 宇文周) and the Sasanians with the possible plan of forming an alliance against the Turks.⁶⁴⁸ Chinese envoys to Persia must have had an audience directly with the Sasanian king, because they provided such vivid descriptions of the Sasanian king upon their return:

⁶⁴² Yu Taishan (2004): 307.

⁶⁴³ *WS*: 102, 90, 2263.

⁶⁴⁴ *ZS*: 36, 28, 642.

⁶⁴⁵ *WS*: 5, 5, 115. (太安元年[455]; 5, 5, 120 (和平二年[461]); 6, 6, 126 (天安元年[466]); 6, 6, 128 (皇興二年[468]); 7a, 7a, 142 (承明元年[476]); 8, 8, 205 (正始四年[507]); 9, 9, 225 (熙平二年[517]); 9, 9, 228 (神龜元年[518]); 9, 9, 232 正光二年[521]; 9, 9, 233 正光三年[522]). *ZS*: 50, 42, 920 (廢帝二年[553]); 5, 5, 74 (天和二年[567]).

⁶⁴⁶ *WS*: 102, 90, 2272.

⁶⁴⁷ Yu Taishan (2004): 329. Courtesy of Yu Taishan's translation. Additional note: Juheduo (Kavad I) was in power twice, 488–496 and 499–531. If the envoy was sent "during the Shengui (not Shegui) reign (518–520)," then it must have been during the Juheduo (Kavad I)'s second reign.

⁶⁴⁸ Zhang Xinglang (2003): 1052–53.

其王姓波氏，名斯。坐金羊床，戴金花冠。衣錦袍，織成帔，飾以珍珠寶物。⁶⁴⁹

The king is surnamed Bo and named Si. He sits on a golden-sheep throne and wears a golden-flower crown. He is clad in a brocade robe and woven drapery (ribbon), both adorned with pearls and precious objects.

Contacts with Western Regions also extended to the Southern Dynasties. The *Liangshu* 梁書 (History of the Liang) reports that the Persian envoys presented Sakyamuni’s tooth to the court in the second year of the Zhongdatong reign 中大通 (530),⁶⁵⁰ and came to offer tributes in the fifth year of Zhongdatong reign (533) and in the first year of Datong reign 大同 (535).⁶⁵¹

Two paintings of the Southern Dynasties, probably later copies, *Fangguoshi tu* 方國使圖 (The portraits of envoys from various states) ordered by Pei Ziyue 裴子野 (468–530)⁶⁵² and *Zhigong tu* 職貢圖 (Tribute-paying) attributed to Xiao Yi 蕭繹 (508–555), later Emperor Yuan of the Liang 梁元帝 (r. 552–555), have preserved tributary images, including an envoy from Persia.⁶⁵³

The Sui, though short-lived, also exchanged embassies with the Sasanian Empire. During Yangdi’s reign (605–618) Li Yu 李昱 was dispatched to Persia and in return the Sasanian Empire sent their own agents to offer tributes.⁶⁵⁴

The early Tang witnessed another wave of frequent contacts with the Western Regions. In the twelfth year of Zhenguan (635), Emperor Taizong issued an edict to allow the Persian monk Rabbon 阿羅本 to preach Nestorianism and establish the first Nestorian temple, staffed with 21 monks/priests in Chang’an.⁶⁵⁵

⁶⁴⁹ *WS*: 102, 90, 2271.

⁶⁵⁰ *LS*: 54, 48, 815.

⁶⁵¹ *CFYG*: 968, 11385.

⁶⁵² *LS*: 30, 24, 443.

⁶⁵³ Jin Weinuo (1960b): 14–17. According to Jin Weinuo, the painting was originally painted by Xiao Yi around 540, not by Yan Lide or Yan Liben of the early Tang. The extant painting now in the collection of the Nanjing Museum is a Song copy. Yu Taishan (2004): 341.

⁶⁵⁴ *SS*: 83, 48, 1856, 473.

⁶⁵⁵ *THY*: 49, 864. Harper (1981): 22; note 53. The Chinese delegation to Persia arrived in 616 or 617.

According to record, the exchange of embassies is portrayed in paintings, such as *Waiguo tu* 外國圖 (The painting of foreign states) attributed to Yan Liben,⁶⁵⁶ *Wanghui tu* 王會圖 (The gathering of kings) by an unknown artist⁶⁵⁷ and *Bunian tu* 步輦圖 (On the sedan chair) also attributed to Yan Liben.⁶⁵⁸ Unfortunately, only *Bunian tu*, depicting the Emperor Taizong in audience with Tibetan envoys, has survived, making it necessary to rely on historical records.

The seventh century witnessed major political power changes, which greatly affected the contacts between the Tang and Sasanian empires. The newly established Tang dynasty firmly grasped power and led China toward prosperity; the Sasanian Empire was in a state of emergency. When Yazdgard III (伊嗣俟) (r. 632–651) assumed the throne in 632, attacks from Muslim Arabs started.⁶⁵⁹ Yazdgard sent an envoy to the "Chinese court for offering tribute" in 639,⁶⁶⁰ which seems a normal occurrence in the manner of Chinese historical records, but by that time the Sasanians had already lost several battles in fighting the Muslims from Dashiguo 大食国 (Arabs) on the Arabian Peninsula. In 642, Yazdgard amassed all his troops in Nihavand (modern Hamadan province in Iran) to launch a major campaign. Again he was defeated in this decisive battle. After that, the Sasanian king lacked the power to organize any meaningful resistance, and the counter-attacks were handled locally.⁶⁶¹ The king sent envoys two years in a row, in 647 and 648,⁶⁶² to desperately "seek assistance from the Chinese court with the hope to form a new army."⁶⁶³ In 651, the king fled to Merv in Tokharistan 吐火羅 and was murdered there.

His son, Peroz (d. 677), in exile in Tokharistan, sent envoys to China to relay the situation and undoubtedly sought help in the fifth year of the Yonghui reign 永徽 (654) and in the

⁶⁵⁶ Yu Jianhua (1985): 1439.

⁶⁵⁷ *ZZTJ*: 193, 9, 6068.

⁶⁵⁸ Yu Jianhua (1985): 1439. Ji Dongshan (2006): 150–51. The mural from the tomb of Prince Zhanghuai (706) depicts the scene "Tang officials greeting foreign envoys."

⁶⁵⁹ Litvinsky (2002): 385–88.

⁶⁶⁰ *CFYG*: v. 12, 970, 11399.

⁶⁶¹ Litvinsky (2002): 388.

⁶⁶² *CFYG*: v. 12, 970, 11400–01.

⁶⁶³ Litvinsky (2002): 390.

first year of the Longshuo reign 龍朔 (661).⁶⁶⁴ In 661, as a response to these requests, the Tang court established the city, Jilingcheng 疾陵城, in Tokharistan, as the Bosi dudufu 波斯都督府 (Persian Military Commander Prefecture), and Peroz was appointed as the *Dudu* 都督 (Military Commander).⁶⁶⁵ Peroz sent envoys to Chang'an in 667 and 671.⁶⁶⁶ He came himself to the court in 673; he returned to Chang'an in 674⁶⁶⁷ and died there in 677. His son, Narsieh (d. 708), who remained in Chang'an, inherited the throne in 678. One year later, the Chinese army accompanied Narsieh in order to restore him to the Sasanian throne and stopped in Tokharistan, where Narsieh fought against the Muslim Arabs for more than twenty years; in 708 he at last returned to Chang'an. He was given the title *Zuoweiwu jiangjun* 左威衛將軍 (General of the Left Awesome Guard).⁶⁶⁸ After his death in 708, his descendants and entourage remained in China.⁶⁶⁹

The official documentation in support of the contact between China and Parthia, and later the Sasanian Empire, is vast. These contacts can be described as frequent and official. Westerners came to the Chinese court for a purpose, not aiming for direct barter with the court, but intending to fulfill their "diplomatic and political missions."⁶⁷⁰ This long-honored relationship and possible political alliance, which will be discussed below, must have led the Sasanian princes to turn to China to seek both military help and life-long exile in the middle of the seventh century.

4). Discussion

Although there is no literature directly linking the six stone horses to the Sasanian reliefs, the subject of a mausoleum or stone horses could have been brought up during these frequent court-level contacts. When Emperor Taizong ordered that the design for his mausoleum include

⁶⁶⁴ Rong Xinjiang (2002): 59.

⁶⁶⁵ *CFYG*: v. 12, 970, 11402.

⁶⁶⁶ *Ibid.*

⁶⁶⁷ *Ibid.*: v. 12, 999, 11718.

⁶⁶⁸ Chavannes (1900): 170–74. *JTS*: 84, 34, 2802. This source reveals that the Chinese may have used escorting Narsieh to Iran as a pretext to conquer two western tribes on the way.

⁶⁶⁹ *JTS*: 198, 148, 5313. Zhang Xinglang (2003): 1078–91.

⁶⁷⁰ Rong Xinjiang (2002): 61.

"real images" of his favorite war chargers, a departure from Chinese tradition of tomb sculpture, it would have been natural that his ministers would contribute their input or those in charge of the project would seek suggestions. Possibly they sought opinions from foreign guests including the Sasanian envoys. The curiosity of the Chinese people toward the people from the west was not limited to their rare or exotic products, but also extends to their culture and customs. The narrative of Zhang Qian's exploration, as recorded in *SJ*, touches on multiple aspects of the social life of the Anxi people, which included the issuance of a new coin at the death of a king. *WS* introduces their memorial services in which they dedicated the "12th day of the 1st moon to the sacrifice to the ancestors."⁶⁷¹ Xiao Yi or Emperor Yuan of Liang wrote in the preface to the painting, *Gongzhi tu* 貢職圖, now at the Nanjing Museum, as follows:

Your vassal, who is a man of no ability, was appointed to guard the upper reaches [of the Yangtze River], where the songs of the Yi 夷 people flow as if from the pen of a master, and the *Hu* people gather from distant places. [They] sincerely submit to [Your Majesty], coming and going at Jingmen 荊門 along the river. [I] observe their appearance and have them tell their customs. If someone coming directly to the capital to present tribute does not arrive in Hannan 漢南, I will gather information separately to widen the knowledge, for that which is named *Gongzhi tu*.⁶⁷²

If the court officials who were sent as envoys explored the funeral customs of the people who lived in the West, there is no reason to doubt that other court officials would have had the same curiosity when they encountered foreign envoys in China. The Persian envoy was depicted in mid-sixth century Chinese painting, and the Sui delegation paid an official visit to the Sasanian court in 616 or 617. The subject of Sasanian rock reliefs could have been mentioned during such contact. More than a few court officials served as envoys to the Western Regions during the Northern Dynasties. Some of them might have had opportunities to visit the famous sites of Naqsh-i Rostam and Naqsh-i Rostam and shared descriptions of them on their return to

⁶⁷¹ *WS*: 102, 90, 2272.

⁶⁷² Yu Taishan (2004): 341. The painting is also called *Zhigongtu* 職貢圖. See Jin Weinuo 金維諾, *Wenwu* 1960 (7): 14–17.

China. Official envoys from Persia also could have spread information about Sasanian reliefs. It should be noted that polo from West Asia was introduced into China between the Sui and early Tang and soon became popular among the Tang elite.⁶⁷³ The necklace found in the tomb of Li Jingxun 李靜訓 (599–608), believed to be of western Central Asian or possibly Sasanian origin,⁶⁷⁴ also landed in the hands of the Sui royal family. Therefore, it is possible that the form of Sasanian relief could have been introduced to China by Persian envoys or by Chinese officials who had been to Persia even before the Taizong's reign.

There is also the possibility that the relief format could have been introduced around the time when Taizong and his court were discussing burial plans for two members of the royal family, his father in 635 and his empress in 636. Taizong and his officials might have encountered Persian ideas and objects through contact with the Nestorians who built the Nestorian church in 635 as well as during the Sasanian embassy in 639. People who traded Sasanian products to the Chinese were a diverse group; besides official envoys, "many of them were Nestorian Christians."⁶⁷⁵ During 635–639, in the time frame of the selection and planning of Zhaoling, such direct contacts between Emperor Taizong and the envoys from the Sasanian Empire might have had an impact on the design of the six horse stone reliefs.

In addition to the exchange of ideas on the court level, there might have been contact on other levels, such as among artists. Yan Lide was in charge of the construction of Zhaoling and certainly had a role in designing the form of the stone monuments and their placement at the mausoleum. His brother, Yan Liben, is said to have made the drawings of the horses to be carved in the relief format. Both of them were the successors of their father, Yan Pi 閻毗 (563–613). Yan Pi, married to a Northern Zhou princess, possessed excellent painting and craft skills.⁶⁷⁶ Serving both the Northern Zhou and Sui courts, he was a contemporary of Yu Hong, the owner of the non-Chinese sarcophagus, who was Rouran's 柔然 envoy to Persia in the middle of the sixth

⁶⁷³ Luo Xianglin (1955): 136–66. Xiang Da (1933): 81. Xiang wrote that Polo was introduced to China during the Tang Taizong's reign.

⁶⁷⁴ Harper (2006): 116.

⁶⁷⁵ Ibid.

⁶⁷⁶ Yu Jianhua (1985): 440.

century and later served in the Northern Qi 北齊 (550–577), Northern Zhou 北周 (557–581) and the Sui courts.⁶⁷⁷ Yan Pi could have encountered non-Chinese people from the Western Regions and shared what he learned with his two sons. There were other artists whose work showed influence from the art of the Western regions. One is Cao Zhongda 曹仲達, active during the Northern Qi, who developed his own style, *chaoyi chushui* 曹衣出水 (Cao's treatment of garment and its folds like floating water), and who originated from the Cao state of the Western Regions.⁶⁷⁸

Yuchi Yiseng 尉遲乙僧 (fl. 639–710), whose fame is said to have equaled that of Yan Liben,⁶⁷⁹ was a native of Yutian or Tokharistan; he was recommended by the king of his state to the Emperor Taizong for his "marvelous red and blue" 丹青奇妙. It has been suggested that he was a prince sent to serve the Tang court as a hostage.⁶⁸⁰ He may have been an artist, however, serving either in Yutian or Tokharistan before he came to serve in Taizong's court during the early Zhenguan reign.⁶⁸¹ Edward Schafer unambiguously claims he was

a foreigner, a Khotanese, with the Saka name of Viśa Īrasangā, called in Chinese Yü-ch'ih I-seng [Yuchi Yiseng]. He came to the Chinese court about the middle of the seventh century, recommended by his king, bringing with him a new painting style of Iranian origin, in which modeled and shaded polychrome figures seem to stand out in relief, or even to float free from their background.⁶⁸²

Schafer's view is supported by the *Zhongguo meishujia renming cidian* 中國美術家人名辭典 (Dictionary of Names of Chinese Artists). There it is stated that his works on figures, flowers or birds "resemble things foreign and are alien to Chinese appearance."⁶⁸³ Yuchi was raised in the Western Regions where he developed his artistic style. He would have been familiar with

⁶⁷⁷ Shanxi sheng kaogu yanjiusuo et al (2001): 50.

⁶⁷⁸ Yu Jianhua (1985): 894.

⁶⁷⁹ Jin Weinuo (1960a): 64. Sirén (1973): 72.

⁶⁸⁰ *CFYG*: 12, 968, 11378.

⁶⁸¹ Yu Jianhua (1985): 794–795. Jin Weinuo (1960a): 64. Yuchi Yiseng might have come to the Tang court as a hostage and came as late as the 13th year of Zhenguan.

⁶⁸² Schafer (1963): 32.

⁶⁸³ Yu Jianhua (1985): 794.

artistic styles and skills that prevailed in the Western Regions, and the famous Sasanian relief might have been in his realm of study. He might have visited or had contact with "his elder brother, who also was good at painting but did not come to serve the Tang,"⁶⁸⁴ and still remained in the Western Regions.

Since Yuchi was a contemporary of Yan Liben at the Tang court and the construction of Taizong's tomb was "conducted mainly under government supervision"⁶⁸⁵ by involving the best people from all fields, Yuchi might have played a role in that project. Shafer's explicit attribution of his roots as "Saka" and his painting style as of "Iranian origin" establishes a significant potential link between the Sasanian rock reliefs and the Emperor Taizong's six stone reliefs.

3. Stone Horse Reliefs and Groom

Each element of each of the six horse reliefs, namely the horse's mane, tail, saddle, stirrup and groom, represents not only a logical stage in the development of equestrianism, but also can be associated with major historical events. The development of each element also demonstrates a strong interaction with non-Chinese cultures.

The research in this section is centered on three areas: ancient Iran, the steppes and China. The core examples are drawn from several significant groups of material: Assyrian and Sasanian reliefs, Scythian relics, Pazyryk barrows, Turkic relics, Sasanian silver plates, Qin Shihuangdi's terracotta warriors and horses, ceramic tiles from Henan tombs and Tang relics.

1). Mane

The manes of Taizong's six horses are crenellated.⁶⁸⁶ As Otto Maenchen-Helfen points out, "the practical function of the crenellated mane is nil: a horse does not run faster, a mounted bowman will not shoot better or farther whether the mane is crenellated or not."⁶⁸⁷ The

⁶⁸⁴ Ibid.

⁶⁸⁵ Howard (2006): 3.

⁶⁸⁶ The term crenellated or crenellation refers to trapping the horse mane into multiple notches or tufts.

⁶⁸⁷ Maenchen-Helfen (1957/58): 85.

fascinating practice of crenellation has served as an invaluable criterion for his study in establishing historical connections.⁶⁸⁸

The practice of crenellation started with the nomads in the steppes, and the Chinese may have borrowed the practice from these neighbors at different time periods in history.

A. Historical Review

Trimming or clipping the mane has a long tradition in ancient Iran. The Assyrian relief with the lion-hunting scene from the Palace of Ashurbanipal (seventh century BC) depicts the horse's mane trimmed into a short ridge with hair falling on the neck. The mane is neat and clear-cut but is not notched or plaited (Fig. 78).

This practice continued for another 1,000 years. During the Achaemenid period (sixth-fourth century BC) "the mane was not crenellated."⁶⁸⁹ The reliefs on the east stairway of the Apadana (the Great Audience Hall) at Persepolis show the horses either with manes clipped short or with waving hair falling on their necks (Figs. 79a–79c).⁶⁹⁰ The horse's mane of the Parthian period (248 BC–224 CE), as a rule, was closely clipped.⁶⁹¹ No crenellated manes are found in the western regions under Parthian influence.⁶⁹² The long tradition of trimming manes in Iran⁶⁹³ seems not to have produced or preserved recognizable examples of horse crenellation on reliefs or related objects⁶⁹⁴ up to that point.

Examples of crenellated manes have been found in the steppes, dated to the fifth and the first half of the fourth century BC. At the Pazyryk barrows, or kurgans, in the Altai Mountains of

⁶⁸⁸ Ibid.: 85–138. For more detailed and comprehensive discussion on the history of crenellated mane, one should read this entire article.

⁶⁸⁹ Ibid.: 100.

⁶⁹⁰ Ghirshman (1964): 176–84.

⁶⁹¹ Maenchen-Helfen (1957/58): 100. See also his note 63.

⁶⁹² Ibid.: 109.

⁶⁹³ Rudenko (1970): 119. Rudenko points out that the ridden horse in Assyria and in Achaemenid Persia had its mane trimmed, but this was not done on draught-horses. This example will be referenced in the text later.

⁶⁹⁴ Haskins (1952): 337. Haskins points out that on the Standard of Ur of the third millennium BC, a horse pulling a four-wheeled chariot has a tuft of mane rising from the crest. Zettler (1998): 45. The animals pulling the chariot are onagers, or wild asses.

Siberia, horses have been found buried with headdresses or mane-covers.⁶⁹⁵ The headdress from barrow II shows four hair tufts sticking out from the teathed-crest, a well-developed idea of crenellation even if the horse mane was not itself crenellated (Fig. 80). The horse from barrow V wears a mane-cover in addition to a reindeer mask. The mane-cover is tied to the horse's neck and its hair was trimmed flush through or above the mane cover, as if in a wide rectangular tuft (Fig. 81).

True mane crenellation is depicted on a large felt painting from barrow V from Pazyryk (Fig. 82). The painting contains several repeated scenes; each shows a rider mounted on a horse with a two-notched mane, worshipping a goddess seated on a throne. The rider, however, is not a man from Pazyryk. His head, big nose, wavy black hair, short tight dress and close fitting trousers suggest that he is probably an "Assyro-Armenoid type" person.⁶⁹⁶

This non-native rider has been compared with the horseman on a gold plaque (Fig. 83) at the Hermitage, St. Petersburg. That horseman wears a similar costume with short jacket and boots. Attributed to Sarmatia⁶⁹⁷ and dated to the fifth to fourth century BC, the plaque shows a different type of mane: a square tuft sticking out on the horse crest.

A similar square tuft is found on an earlier bronze statuette also at the Hermitage, St. Petersburg. While it is crude, this statuette clearly shows a single square tuft sticking out from the mane of a horse-like animal (Fig. 84). It has been attributed to the "archaic" Scythian period, eighth or seventh century BC,⁶⁹⁸ or a local culture representing a native horseman, a chief from the region of the Kuban, who could have been an enemy of the Scythians.⁶⁹⁹

A fully developed Scythian style is represented by a pair of gold belt buckles, one the mirror image of the other, dated to the fifth to fourth century BC. Depicting the warriors "Breaking the Journey," each of the two horses has a single square tuft on its mane (Fig. 85). It is

⁶⁹⁵ Rudenko (1970): 181.

⁶⁹⁶ Maenchen-Helfen (1957/58): 126.

⁶⁹⁷ Ibid.: 136.

⁶⁹⁸ Haskins (1952): 341.

⁶⁹⁹ Rostovtzeff (1922): 40.

attributed to the Scythian culture and is in the collections of the Hermitage, St. Petersburg.⁷⁰⁰ The Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York used this same attribution in an exhibition catalogue, *From the Lands of the Scythians*,⁷⁰¹ but other scholars refer to it as a “late Sarmatian” gold plaque of the first and second century.⁷⁰²

In China, however, it is in the early third century BC that the crenellated mane appeared and then only briefly. In the 1970s, the excavation of Qin Shihuangdi’s mausoleum yielded the earliest examples of crenellation in China. Among the army array of 8,000 life-size horses and warriors, the tufted mane is found on a terracotta horse (Fig. 86) as well as on the eight bronze horses pulling the Emperor’s two bronze chariots (Figs. 87a and 87b). All eight are adorned with a single square tuft on their manes, the same as those on the Scytho-Sarmatian gold and bronze plaques (see Figs. 83–85).

Another group of horses with crenellated manes comes from Henan. A number of stamped tiles, unearthed in Kaifeng 开封, Zhengzhou 鄭州 and Jincun 金村 in western Henan 河南 around 1925, have their manes crenellated.⁷⁰³ They are notched with two tufts, some with curved triangles and some rectangular consisting of multiple strands (Figs. 88–91). The triangular tufts resemble the notched manes on the felt painting from Pazyryk barrow V. The Henan tiles belong to a period of transition between Qin and Han, about the third century BC.⁷⁰⁴ After the discovery of these two important examples of crenellated manes, there are only a few instances of

⁷⁰⁰ From the website of the State Hermitage Museum, Collections highlights, Prehistoric art, the Siberian collection of Peter I.

⁷⁰¹ Metropolitan Museum of Art (1975): 115.

⁷⁰² Haskins (1952): 340.

⁷⁰³ White (1939): 5. White states that in 1925 tomb tiles began to appear in large numbers in Western Henan, twelve miles east of modern Luoyang. Sixty of them went to the Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto, and form the basis of this study.

⁷⁰⁴ *Ibid.*: 14 and 18. Many of these tiles have written characters, instructions for their placement in the tomb, in the style of the script practiced from the end of the Warring States (475–221 BC) into the Western Han (206 BC). Therefore, they are given a date of the third century BC. White also states that this script would probably have affinities with what is known as *guwen* 古文 (ancient script), which preceded *xiaozhuan* 小篆 (small seal script) and *lishu* 隸書 (running script) of the Qin period. It has been suggested that one reason for the burning of the books in 213 BC may have been the desire to obliterate the ancient script that was used by the scholars. It is generally accepted that towards the end of the third century BC the script was unified and standardized, and many current variant forms of characters were suppressed.

crenellation for the next several hundred years in China;⁷⁰⁵ their usage would finally re-emerge in the early Tang on Emperor Taizong's six stone horses.

Crenellation did appear, however, among the Turkic peoples who roamed the Altai Mountains in northern Mongolia and on the steppes of Central Asia during the early centuries of the Christian era. Several examples of the crenellated manes associated with Turkic peoples all have three curved triangles. The fragment of a Kok-Turk petroglyph from Kudirge, East Altai, depicts a woman and a child, both clad in rich Chinese brocade, and several horses with notched manes (Fig. 92). Some scholars consider the woman a goddess or protector of children; others believe she belongs to the rapidly ascending Turkic aristocracy. This monument is dated to the fifth to sixth centuries.⁷⁰⁶

Other examples of horses with crenellated manes are found on a petroglyph at Sulek (Figs. 93 and 94), the galloping horse from the tomb 9 at Kude'erde (Fig. 95) and the rock-carving of a mounted lancer clad with plate mail from Yenisei, Siberia (Fig. 96). These horses all have three curved triangles sticking out from their manes. Sun Ji 孫機 dates them to the fifth to seventh centuries.⁷⁰⁷

Around this period, another significant group of crenellated manes is represented on Sasanian silver plates. Nine samples, carefully studied by Harper and Meyers,⁷⁰⁸ have been selected for this study. They show two styles of crenellations: Type A with three slightly curved tufts in a row; and Type B with single square tuft or multiple square tufts in a row.

Type A is represented on two plates, one depicting Shapur II (r. 303–309) hunting boars, now in the Freer Gallery of Art (Fig. 97), and the other illustrating Peroz (r. 457–484) or Kavād I (r. 488–496; 498–530) hunting rams, now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art (Fig. 98). Both are dated ca. fifth century. The mane of each horse is trimmed, and three tufts stick out from an

⁷⁰⁵ Haskins (1952): 338. Haskins points out that a plumed mane occurs in relief on the limestone slab in the tomb of Wu Liangci (147 AD) in Shandong province, but the image on p. 339, Fig.1 does not show the bushel prominently.

⁷⁰⁶ Maenchen-Helfen (1957/58): 120–121.

⁷⁰⁷ Sun Ji (2001): 111. Laufer (1914): 222. Laufer dates it to the Han period.

⁷⁰⁸ Harper (1981). Examples selected from this book include pls. 10, 15, 17, 18, 21, 23, 25 and 26 and fig. 46. Additional examples can be found in the same book and *Sasanian Silver* by Oleg Grabar, University of Michigan Museum of Art, 1967.

angular projection with long waving hair falling on the neck. They are thought to have been made by the Sasanian court workshop; Harper classifies them as "Central Sasanian" silver plates.⁷⁰⁹ They are of extremely high quality and the most exquisite examples of Sasanian silver plates surviving today.

Type B is found on seven silver plates with one, three, or four square-or angular-shaped tufts, and in one case, a round one (Figs. 99a–99f). Although, most of the figures wear royal crowns, they may actually depict crown princes or local noblemen rather than the king himself. This group is categorized as "provincial works"⁷¹⁰ and is dated to late or post Sasanian eras,⁷¹¹ probably around the seventh century.

At last in the early Tang, crenellated manes were to reappear in China on Emperor Taizong's stone reliefs. Each Emperor's horse has three tufts sticking out 0.12 m from the clipped mane, arranged in a row separated by 0.06–0.07 m in between. Each tuft is cut into a cluster of hair 0.04–0.05 m wide and sticking out 0.12 m from the base. The tufts, tapering at the top, are curved backward.

The style of Taizong horse's mane to a certain degree resembles the Turkic examples (see Figs. 95 and 96). Taizong horses' manes seem more protruding than the Turkic manes and lean backward, instead of forward. The stylistic depiction of the Taizong horses also resembles the crenellation on the "Central Sasanian" Type A plates, but with some modifications. The projection, placed between the crest and tufts on the Sasanian silver plates, has disappeared. The tufts on the silver plates start to taper from its base, making them narrow and thin; Taizong's horses' manes, on the other hand, taper from the top, making them wide and thick and, without the projection, even longer. Despite these variants, the crenellated manes of Taizong's horses still are closest to that of the Type A of the Sasanian silver plates.

The stylistic depiction of crenellation on the Tang horses after Taizong's reign more or less coincides with Sasanian Type B plates. On the spirit road leading to Qianling, one stone horse has three rectangular noches sticking out of its mane (Fig. 100). Several *Sancai* 三彩 (three-

⁷⁰⁹ Harper (1981): 5.

⁷¹⁰ *Ibid.*: 8.

⁷¹¹ *Ibid.*: 124–142.

color glazed) pottery horses, excavated from Tang tombs, also have crenellated manes. Examples include a horse with three-tufted mane from Crown Prince Yide's tomb (Fig. 101), a horse with three-tufted mane from the Prince Zhanghuai's tomb (Fig. 102), two pairs of horses from Xianyu Tinghui's tomb — one pair with three-tufted manes and other with one-tufted manes (Figs. 103a and 103b).⁷¹² These tufts are all square, but other variants do occur. The royal horses in the painting, *Lady Guoguo on a Spring Outing*, attributed to Zhang Xuan 張萱 (fl. 713–755), have tufts cut in the shape of three large half-circles (Fig. 104). A Tang pottery horse shows three irregular notches, a drastic variation from the commonly seen square or tuft notched manes (Fig. 105).

This general overview of the occurrence of horse mane crenellation from ancient Iran to the steppes and to China reveals two separate waves of crenellation in China. The mane crenellation seems to have started with the Scytho–Sarmatian nomads, including those buried at Pazyryk during the fifth century BC. The first wave of crenellation in China took place around the third century BC, as represented by the crenellated manes depicted on the Henan tiles and on the Qin Shihuangdi's horses. Despite a long gap of several hundreds years, the style resurfaced in Turkic petroglyphs and on Sasanian silver plates around the fifth century. The early seventh century witnessed the second wave of crenellation in China featured with the imperial horses of the early Tang.

The occurrence of two waves of crenellation in China was not a chance phenomenon. Each must be examined in the context of the political and social background of the time. It is necessary to examine this issue from two perspectives: the historical context of the occurrence of crenellation and the source of its spread to China.

B. Background of the First Wave of Crenellation in China

The appearance of the first wave of mane crenellation in China during the third century BC seems to coincide with several major historical developments both outside and inside China:

⁷¹² Zhongguo shehui kexueyuan kaogu yanjiusuo (1980): 63–65. Xianyu Tinghui did not belong to the Tang imperial family. However, his epitaph reveals that he assisted Li Longji (Tang Xuanzong) in suppressing the revolt of the Empress Wei in 712. Li was enthroned in 713 and must have awarded Xianyu with high positions. Upon his death, Xianyu could have been buried as if a royal family member.

the emergence of new Iranian military tactics, Alexander the Great's conquests, warfare on China's northwest frontiers, and military reform launched by the northwestern Chinese states.

The new Iranian military tactics are credited to Cyrus (r. 550–529 BC), the founder of the Achaemenid Empire. After breaking the habit of skirmishing at a distance, Cyrus armed both his men and their horses with breastplates, gave each soldier a javelin, and trained them in close fighting.⁷¹³ This allowed his horsemen to engage in close combat with fast speed using the javelin, spear and lance. These innovations spread out from Iran and had far-reaching significance throughout the ancient world.⁷¹⁴

More than 100 years later, Alexander the Great (356–323 BC), the King of Macedon (r. 336–323 BC), conquered a large part of the known world, including the Persian Empire and Northwestern India. His Central Asian campaigns forced many pastoral tribes, such as the Yuezhi, to move eastward into the grassland bordering Northwest China.⁷¹⁵

The growing population of pastoral tribes along the northwest border of China created increased instability. Although warfare between China and the nomads had already started in earlier times,⁷¹⁶ the situation apparently became more intense around the fourth century BC. Three out of seven vassal states, Qin 秦, Yan 燕 and Zhao 趙 bordered on Xiongnu 匈奴.⁷¹⁷ After King Huiwen of the Qin state 秦惠文王 (r. 337–311 BC) sacked 25 cities belonging to Yiqu 義渠, Rongwang 戎王, the king of the Xiongnu,⁷¹⁸ the Qin built defensive walls to resist further attacks by the *hu* 胡, or Xiongnu. The state of Yan followed suit,⁷¹⁹ and the state of Zhao also built major defensive walls in 333 BC,⁷²⁰ but all of this was not enough.

⁷¹³ Laufer (1914): 220.

⁷¹⁴ Ibid.: 217.

⁷¹⁵ Bunker (1991): 22.

⁷¹⁶ *SJ*: 110, 50, 2881–82, 729. These passages indicate that there was constant warfare with nomadic hordes at China's northwest borders in ancient times. During the eighth to the seventh centuries BC, for example, the nomads of *shanrong* 山戎 crossed the State of Yan 燕 to attack the State of Qi 齊, and years later invaded the State of Yan 燕 and then challenged King Xiang of Zhou 周襄王 (r. 651–619 BC) by force.

⁷¹⁷ Ibid.: 2886, 730.

⁷¹⁸ Ibid.: 2885, 730.

⁷¹⁹ Ibid.

⁷²⁰ Ibid.: 43, 13, 1806, 459.

In 307 BC during the Eastern Zhou period, an epoch-making event took place. King Wuling of the Zhao state 趙武靈王 (r. 325–299 BC) launched a reform and decreed that

今吾將胡服胡騎以教百姓。⁷²¹

Now I will instruct my people to wear *hu* (nomadic) dress and learn *hu* riding astride [and shooting].

變服騎射，以備燕，三胡，秦，韓之邊。⁷²²

Reform the dress and learn to ride astride and shoot so as to guard the borders shared with Yan, the three *hu*,⁷²³ Qin and Han.⁷²⁴

The purpose of the reform, clearly stated, was to protect the border from Xiongnu attack. King Wuling's decision to turn to the nomads for improving the military effectiveness of his troops attests that the nomads must have gained the upper hand in military affairs by employing a strong cavalry. Historical documents indicate that this reform met with resistance, but the King was so determined that he himself "wore *hu*-dress to hold court the next day. The decree of wearing *hu*-dress was thus issued."⁷²⁵ King Wuling's decision demonstrated his courage, vision, and determination and caused a comprehensive and systematic reform. The results of this reform probably can better be attested by Zhao's neighbor and successor, the Qin state.

The state of Qin (770–222 BC; Qin dynasty, 221–207 BC) is credited with being the first to adopt the state of Zhao's military reforms.⁷²⁶ The victory of taking over Yiqu's 25 cities, as well as the love and killing story between Yiqu and Empress Dowager Xuan 宣太后,⁷²⁷ Qin

⁷²¹ *SJ*: 43, 13, 1809, 459.

⁷²² *Ibid.*: 460.

⁷²³ *Ibid.*: 1810, 460. Note 8: refers to Linhu 林胡, Luofan 樓煩 and Donghu 東胡.

⁷²⁴ The "Han" here reads as "Hán," the second tone; the "Han" referring to the Han dynasty reads as "Hàn," the fourth tone.

⁷²⁵ *SJ*: 1809, 460. 明日，服而朝。於是始出胡服令也。

⁷²⁶ Juliano (1991): 26.

⁷²⁷ *SJ*: 110, 50, 2885, 730. 秦昭王時，義渠戎王與太后亂，有二子。宣太后詐而殺義渠戎王於甘泉，遂起兵伐殘義渠。於是秦有隴西，北地，上郡，筑長城以拒胡。

Shihuangdi's grandmother,⁷²⁸ who plotted the death of Yiqu and the annexation of his vast land, must have benefited the growth of military power of the Qin state. Qin was able to annex its neighbors one by one, the Zhao state being the last, and eventually unify China in 221 BC. These victories indicate that Qin, like the state of Zhao, must have conducted a military reform. Their invincible military forces are exemplified by the awesome 8,000-man army array buried at the accompanying pits at Qin Shihuangdi's mausoleum.

At Qin Shihuangdi's mausoleum, there are multiple elements that could be the results of the military reform. The army array in pit II includes a cavalry troop of 108 soldiers. Although the cavalry only occupies a small percentage of the entire army, its existence signifies that the Chinese military, originally composed only of fighters in massed war chariots and foot soldiers, already had undergone some reform. Cavalrymen were identified by their tight-sleeved jackets and other war garments, which will be further discussed below..

Additionally, the horse gear reflects foreign influence. A comparison between the saddles and bridles worn by the cavalry horses from Qin Shihuangdi's terracotta army and those excavated at Pazyryk clearly demonstrates the Chinese debt to the mounted tribes of the Eurasian steppes, not only for the technology of riding astride but for the riding gear that facilitated that practice.⁷²⁹ Annette Juliano points out that "the horses show a bridle system that is the same as one found at Pazyryk" and "the S-shaped check piece was developed first by the Scythians."⁷³⁰ The crenellated manes with square tufts found on the horses pulling Qin Shihuangdi's chariots appear to duplicate the single square tufts on the horses of the Scythian gold and bronze plaques.

The tomb tiles from Henan are more evidence of the crenellated mane. In addition, the type of horse depicted is not usually considered indigenous to China.⁷³¹ Further, the archers, in nomadic costume, are pursuing stags and shooting skillfully from the back of galloping horses, and are indistinguishable from typical nomadic people (Fig. 106). Archers are depicted in squads shooting skillfully back (Fig. 107), shooting from the back of horses equipped with Scythian bits,

⁷²⁸Juliano (1991): 27.

⁷²⁹ So (1995): 29.

⁷³⁰ Juliano (1991): 27–28.

⁷³¹ White (1939): 40.

bridles and saddle-pads (Fig. 108) and wearing pointed Scythian caps, tight jackets and trousers. Figs. 107 and 108 show archers shooting backward in what is called the "Parthian shot." These traits all point to typical nomadic customs or Iranian traditions.

The appearance of the crenellated mane and other non-Chinese elements associated with cavalymen, horse gear and trappings from the Qin Shihuangdi mausoleum, and the non-Chinese elements depicted on the tomb tiles from Henan all indicate that the crenellated mane did not come to China in isolation. Nomadic influence and adaptation could have occurred long before the fourth century BC when the Chinese interacted with the nomads, but the phenomenon of the sudden and large-scaled occurrence of foreign elements in a systematic, or wholesale, manner can only be interpreted as a result of a purposeful and organized movement. Coupled with the Alexander the Great's campaigns and other historical events, King Wuling's visionary military reform served as an incentive to a comprehensive and systematic importation of every possible item associated with building a strong cavalry. This influence was derived from many sources and eventually affected the Western Han.

C. Who Was Responsible for the First Wave of Crenellation in China?

The question of who was responsible for spreading the crenellation and other foreign elements to China is complex and has been the subject of much scholarly debate. Laufer believes that the new Iranian military tactics "have filtered through the Huns into the Chinese."⁷³² The Chinese derived their "whole system of cavalry from the Huns, both cavalry tactics and cavalry equipment," and "there can be no doubt of the fact that the Chinese made exactly the same use of cavalry as the Huns,"⁷³³ or Xiongnu, as they are more commonly referred to today. This may have been true for the cavalry, its technique and equipment, but it may not necessarily apply to the issue of crenellation. Xiongnu did not practice crenellation and "all their horses have clipped manes."⁷³⁴ The scene of battle with Xiongnu preserved on the stone monument of the

⁷³² Laufer (1914): 232.

⁷³³ Ibid.

⁷³⁴ Maenchen-Helfen (1957/58): 96.

Xiaotangshan 孝堂山 does not show crenellation on Xiongnu horses.⁷³⁵ Is it possible that the Xiongnu introduced the crenellation to China but did not practice it themselves at that time?

Maenchen-Helfen asserts that both Sarmatians and Yuezhi-Tokharians were responsible for the spread of crenellation. "Sarmatians brought crenellation and the scabbard slide to the Black Sea region," and Late Zhou China probably received the crenellation from the "Yuezhi-Tokharians."⁷³⁶ Emma Bunker has expanded this discussion. The *hu*, who appeared on the northwestern frontiers and introduced "mounted warfare" to the Zhao, may have belonged to the Yuezhi confederacy. Yuezhi were the dominant group of a huge tribal confederacy composed of mixed ethnic backgrounds on the northwest borders of China during the late Warring States period. The Indo-European-speaking Yuezhi were culturally related to many tribes located farther west, such as the Massagetae, Saka, and Scythians. Further, it is possible that the Yuezhi were the intermediary between China and the Pazyryk tribes, and they may even have been culturally related to some of those buried at Pazyryk.⁷³⁷

There are no examples of crenellation practiced by Yuezhi, but this does not mean that they did not practice or could not have transmitted the practice of crenellation to China. Sarmatia rose during the fourth century BC; its heavy cavalry units played a decisive part in the destruction of the Scythians during the closing centuries of the pre-Christian era.⁷³⁸ They might have had trade contact with China. A number of Sarmatian scabbard slides have been found that are made of jade; since "the Sarmatians had no access to gem stone, they must have obtained the jade slides from the Chinese," and "some of their jade slides are even ornamented with Chinese dragons."⁷³⁹ Additionally, in Pazyryk barrow V, an example of embroidery on Chinese silk with the Chinese bird motif was found.⁷⁴⁰ Michael Rostovtzeff maintains that "the whole military life

⁷³⁵ Luo Zhewen (1961): 49; Fig. 4.

⁷³⁶ Maenchen-Helfen (1957/58): 138. .

⁷³⁷ Bunker (1991): 22.

⁷³⁸ Artamonov (1969): 13.

⁷³⁹ Maenchen-Helfen (1957/58): 93.

⁷⁴⁰ Rudenko (1970): 178.

of China was reorganized by the kings of the Han dynasty on Iranian lines." The Iranian influence reached China "through the medium of the Sarmatian tribes."⁷⁴¹

The styles of the crenellated manes can be classified into two groups: the two or three-tufted crenellation (the Pazyryk felt painting and the Henan tiles) and the single square tuft (the Scythian and Sarmatian gold plaques and the Qin Shihuangdi's horses). Although it is impossible in this study to be more specific about how crenellation was introduced into China to cause the first wave of crenellation, these two styles indicate that crenellation spread to China through more than one route and by more than one transmitter, plausibly including Sarmatians and Yuezhi.

D. Backdrop for the reoccurrence of crenellation in the early Tang

The horse is of paramount importance to the Tang Empire. The success of the revolt against the Sui dynasty, which led to the establishment of the Tang dynasty, could not have been achieved without strong mounted troops. Desperately needing mounted cavalry to prepare for the revolt, Li Yuan, who later became the first emperor of the Tang, was obliged to humble himself to the Turks in 617 in exchange for badly needed Turkic horses.⁷⁴² Upon request:

始畢遣其特勤康稍利等獻馬千匹,會于絳郡。又遣二千騎助軍,從平京城,及高祖即位,前後賞賜,不可勝紀。⁷⁴³

Shibi dispatched Tegin Kangli and others to escort 1,000 horses to the meeting place of *Xiangjun*. Additionally, he sent 2,000 mounted soldiers to assist the conquest of the capital city. After Gaozu was enthroned, he rewarded and bestowed them on countless occasions.

Historical documents indicate that, "since the Qin and Han, the Tang horse is most flourishing."⁷⁴⁴ This certainly was not the case even several years after the Tang was established.

⁷⁴¹ Rostovtzeff (1922): 203.

⁷⁴² *DTCQ*: 1a, 13, 303–962. 公若更不從突厥,我亦不能從公。今士眾已集,所乏者馬蕃人未是,急需胡馬,待之如渴。

⁷⁴³ *JTS*: 194a, 144a, 5153.

⁷⁴⁴ *XTS*: 50, 40, 1067. 秦漢以來,唐馬最盛。

When Emperor Taizong was enthroned, there were only "3,000 horses" dispersed across "Longyou" 隴右 pastureland.⁷⁴⁵ After 40 years, they were proudly able to claim as many as "706,000 horses" spread across "eight" pasturelands.⁷⁴⁶

The drastic increase of horse population was required for maintaining a strong empire and its borders. It took Emperor Taizong seven years on horseback to suppress tough rivals threatening the newly established Tang. After his enthronement, Emperor Taizong turned his attention to the contenders at the borders. *XTS* states:

天子又銳志武事，遂弱西北蕃。⁷⁴⁷

The Son of the Heaven advances irresistibly in military affairs, so the foreign states to the northwest are weak.

When the casualty of 184,900 government horses was reported,⁷⁴⁸ *TS* plainly pronounced, "Horses are the military preparedness of the states; if Heaven takes this preparedness away, the state will totter and fall."⁷⁴⁹

Horses were needed not only for military purpose but also for nation-wide postal service. To transmit information nationwide and facilitate commerce between the north and south, numerous posts were set up to network the enormous empire including the border areas. The Daluyi 大路驛 (grand postal relay road) connecting the two capitals, Xi'an and Luoyang, with a distance of 800 to 865 *li* (equivalent to 250 to 270 miles), was equipped with nineteen imperial travel posts and 32 to 33 regular stations.⁷⁵⁰

At the frontier, post roads or the "Silk Roads," were officially set up or expanded to connect China with the Western States. One of the roads, named after the Heavenly Qaghan, was

⁷⁴⁵ *THY*: 72, 1302. It refers to the area west of the Long Mountain.

⁷⁴⁶ *Ibid.*: 72.

⁷⁴⁷ *XTS*: 50, 40, 1067.

⁷⁴⁸ *THY*: 72, 1302.

⁷⁴⁹ Schafer (1963): 58.

⁷⁵⁰ Yan Gengwang (1969): 605–606. People usually travel two to three posts each day and take ten to sixteen days to travel between the two capitals.

equipped with 68 postal stations to link Xi'an, Turkic tribes in the north, and the Huihe 回紇 (Uygurs), also called Huihu 回鶻, in the further north. There, horses, wine, and meat were provided for the envoys.⁷⁵¹

To sustain such a network, a large number of horses would have been needed for the postal service alone. Horses also were necessary for local transportation by officials or for royal leisure; illustrating the latter case, a scene is depicted in *Lady Guoguo on a Spring Outing* (see Fig. 104).

The huge demand for horses was compounded by Emperor Taizong's enthusiastic affection for them. Growing up on horseback, he treasured horses and treated them almost as humans. The erection of the stone images of his six most favorite war chargers at his tomb site for perpetuity supports this idea. Taizong was so furious at the death of one of his beloved horses that he ordered the groom executed; this sentence was only withdrawn at the Empress Zhangsun's remonstrance.⁷⁵² Emperor Taizong was also a horse specialist. He was able to spot fine horses on the battlefield and would signal his general to capture the rider for the sake of the horse.⁷⁵³ Shortly after his enthronement in 626, Emperor Taizong ordered an investigation throughout the country to find the missing *Shizicong* 師子驄 (Master Piebald), a *qianlima* 千里馬 (thousand-*li* horse) imported from Ferghana 大宛 during the Sui. The horse was found in a grinding hut and later bred five thousand-*li* horses.⁷⁵⁴ In the late years of his reign, Emperor Taizong selected ten fine horses from among 100 sent by Gulikhan 骨利幹 and listed their features with great familiarity.⁷⁵⁵

The rapid growth of the horse population with royal support resulted in the establishment of an elaborate state organization for horse management. This structure was headed by the official *Taipusiqing* 太仆寺卿 (Chamberlain for the Imperial Stud), ranked three; he oversaw 61 assistants, ranked from four to nine, and many rankless workers including 600 veterinarians and

⁷⁵¹ ZZTJ: 198, 14, 6245.

⁷⁵² ZZZY: 2, 5.

⁷⁵³ Ma Junmin (1995): 92–93.

⁷⁵⁴ CYQZ: 5, 16, 1035–272.

⁷⁵⁵ THY: 72, 1302.

100 students.⁷⁵⁶ Each of the eight pasturelands, monitored by a commissioner, was further divided into 48 *jian* 監 (units), each with a superintendent in charge.⁷⁵⁷ When there were more horses than these 1,230-hectare pasturelands could accommodate, eight more units were added in the vast fields of Hexi 河西 (in Gansu).⁷⁵⁸

There was also a *Shangchengju* 尚乘局 (Livery Service) responsible for the imperial use of the horses. It consisted of four officials ranked five, ten ranked seven, and eighteen ranked nine. The magnitude of the *Shangchengju* can be attested by "500 people for training and perfecting horse riding skills and habits, ...5,000 people responsible for rearing horses... 70 veterinarians" responsible for the physical care of the horses.⁷⁵⁹ Horses designated for emperor's use were reared in separate stables. The Tang text records:

有左右仗廄: 左曰奔屋, 右曰內駒。兩仗內又有六廄: 一曰左飛, 二曰右飛, 三曰左萬, 四曰右萬, 五曰東南內, 六曰西南內。⁷⁶⁰

There are stables of trustworthy mounts on the left and right: the left one is called *Benwu* (Gallop Hall) and the right one named *Neiju* (Interior Pony). Within the two stables, there are *Liujiu* (Six Stables): *Zuofei* (Left Flying), *Youfei* (Right Flying), *Zuowan* (Left Ten-thousand), *Youwan* (Right Ten-thousand), *Dongnannei* (Interior Southeast) and *Xi'nannei* (Interior Southwest).

Liujiu 六廄 was alternatively called *Liuxian* 六閑 (Six Corrals)⁷⁶¹ and *xian* and *jiu* 閑廄 were sometimes used together without distinction.⁷⁶² Emperor Taizong referred to the horses from *Liuxian* as *Feiqi* 飛騎 (Flying Steeds). These stables held as many as "10,000 horses"⁷⁶³ at

⁷⁵⁶ *TLD*: 17, 1, 595–166.

⁷⁵⁷ *THY*: 72, 1302.

⁷⁵⁸ *Ibid.* *YH*: 149, 4, 272b.

⁷⁵⁹ *TLD*: 11, 15, 595–116.

⁷⁶⁰ *YH*: 149, 1, 2725.

⁷⁶¹ *Ibid.*

⁷⁶² *Ibid.*: 149, 2, 2725. Later, the two stables had a total of *shi'erxian* 十二閑 with *liuxian* on each left and right stable.

⁷⁶³ *Ibid.*: 149, 1, 2725. It is recorded that in the early Kaiyuan reign (713–756), *liuxian* contained as many as ten thousand horses.

one time. Each year, "30 fine horses" and "100 sturdy horses"⁷⁶⁴ were selected from the pasturelands to replenish the imperial stables.

One of the main tasks of the state-run pasturelands was horse breeding. Although good foreign breeding stock entered China through tribute, most horses came through trade. The early Tang imported horses from many places. From the north, ranging from Mongolia to Siberia, 28 kinds of horses are recorded; from the Western Regions including the western part of the China, Central Asia and West Asia, 34 breeds of horses are mentioned. There were also horses from the Northeast region including Korea and southwest region of Tibet and India.⁷⁶⁵ A comprehensive system with detailed registration and severe penalties was established to give horses the best possible care from the trading posts at the borders to arrival at the state pasturelands and their treatment afterwards.⁷⁶⁶

Upon arrival at the state pasturelands, the horses were subjected to a detailed registration process. A special set of codes, in the form of marks branded on the horses, was used to distinguish the ownership, age, type, quality, and condition of the horses. The detailed system is spelled out in *THY*:

凡馬駒以小官字印印右膊，以年辰印印右髀，以監名依左右廂印印尾側。若形容端正，擬送尚乘者，則須不加監名。至二歲起脊，量強弱。漸以飛字印印右膊，細馬次馬俱以龍形印印項左。送尚乘者，

⁷⁶⁴ *TLD*: 17, 16, 595–173.

⁷⁶⁵ Ma Junmin (1995): 70–71.

⁷⁶⁶ *YH*: 149, 5, 2727. The government-sponsored horse trading post was established in Shouxiangcheng 受降城. Schafer (1963): 63–66. At various trading posts, horses were bartered with an average of 40 bolts of silk for each. Horses were received and examined and sent on to the appropriate pasture or to the imperial stables. On the road from the frontier, the horses went by groups of ten, each group under a single herdsman. From then on, the horses were tenderly watched by the state, and the greatest care was taken lest any be injured, lost, or stolen. The person in charge of a government horse at any moment was responsible for its safety and welfare. Horses were not to die, but if one died, the procedure for establishing proof of its death was prescribed in the smallest detail. Once arrived in the government pasturelands, a set of procedures with penalties was established to insure that the government horses reproduced steadily and were given the best possible care. Penalties for the loss or death of the horses and failure to meet the quota (certain number of horses to be bred each year) or inappropriate raising of the horses were severe. Punishments could range from ten to hundred blows of a bamboo staff, a three-year jail sentence, or even an exile of 3,000 *li* away. Ma Junmin (1995): 65. Attention is also given while the horses are in use. Each post horse is allowed to carry not more than 10 *jin* for personal belongings and not to exceed four posts for a single day. Misuse of the post horse or horses assigned for official use is subject to another set of severe punishments. There is also a decree forbidding the slaughter of horses.

於尾側依左右閑印以三花。其餘雜馬齒上乘者，以風字印左膊，以飛字印左髀。經印之後，簡習別所者，各以新入處監名印印左頰，官馬賜人者，以賜字印。諸軍及充傳送驛者，以出字印，並印右頰。⁷⁶⁷

For a pony, a small character *guan* (official) is branded on its right shoulder; its birth date mark, on its right thigh. The name of the unit and left or right *xiang* (quarter of a stable) where the horse will be placed is so marked on the side of its tail. Those that have good appearance and are geared for Shangchengju need not to be branded with pasturage's name. At the age of two when the spine is grown to shape, the horse is tested for its strength. Those that are still growing should be branded with the character *fei* (flying) on their right forelegs; those which are either superior or inferior are all branded with a dragon-shaped mark on the left side of their necks. Those that are selected for sending over to the Shangchengju are branded with *sanhua* (three flowers) at the side of their tails according to their placements of the left or right stable. Among the remainder are those that are with superior teeth are marked with the character *feng* (wind) on their left forelegs and the character *fei* (flying) on their left gaskins. After the initial branding, the horse should be branded with the name of the new *jian* on its left cheek if it is transferred to another stable for training, or with the character *ci* (bestow) if it is to be gifted away. The horses will be branded with *chu* (sent forth) on their right cheeks if they are sent for army or for postal service.

This text confirms that both superior and inferior horses, selected for the *liuxian* of Shangchengju, were branded with *sanhua* on the side of their tails. Other miscellaneous horses, also sent over to Shangchengju but not for *liuxian*, were branded with only the characters *feng* on the right forearm and *fei* on the left.⁷⁶⁸ It is evident that *sanhua* was branded only on the horses designated for the *liuxian* of the imperial stables. It is therefore reasonable to assume that those horses branded with *sanhua* on the side of tails enjoy the same privilege of having their manes' *sanhua* crenellated.

⁷⁶⁷ *THY*: 72, 1305.

⁷⁶⁸ Fontein (1973): 172–173. The placement of the two characters can be attested by a ceramic horse, now at the Royal Ontario Museum. "Flying Phoenix" 飛鳳 could be an error as the characters 鳳 (phoenix) and 風 (wind) are similar in writing and pronunciation.

An additional set of signatures was used to track the places of origin of the foreign horses. Thirty-five marks in pictorial representation have been preserved in *THY* (Fig. 109) showing this type of signature. Among them, eleven types of Turkic horses are listed in the same group and labeled as “from various tribes but of the same species;”⁷⁶⁹ four other types of horses⁷⁷⁰ are also considered Turkic.⁷⁷¹ There could have been as many as sixteen types of signatures preserved that were associated with the Turkic horses. *THY* also states that no mark is assigned to Gulikhan horses as people there did not “have a custom to brand the horse but cut its ears and nose as signatures.”⁷⁷² This passage indicates that foreign horses would have been marked with their tribal brands only if such a practice had been established there. In other words, the Tang’s signature system was based on the customs of the nomadic tribes from whom they imported their horses.

During the Tang, horses with *sanhua* crenellation are documented in literature, other writing and art works. Guo Ruoxu 郭若虛 (fl. 1070–1075) of the Song dynasty described the horses in two horse paintings by Han Gan 韓幹 (active 742–756) as being *sanhua* crenellated.⁷⁷³ The painting, *Lady Guoguo on a Spring Outing*, provides support to Guo’s testimony, but one also finds that not all the imperial horses in the scene are crenellated. The painting by Han Gan, *Night-shining White* 照夜白圖 (now at the Metropolitan Museum of Art), shows a horse with a flying mane (Fig. 110).⁷⁷⁴ The manes of the two horses in another Tang-style painting, *Pastoral Scene* 牧馬圖, from the Palace Museum, Taipei, are also clogged (Fig. 111).

The historical texts help explain why all of the imperial horses did not have crenellated manes. Both *TLD* and *JTS* state:

⁷⁶⁹ *THY*: 72, 1305. It mentions 42 types of marks, but only 35 have been preserved.

⁷⁷⁰ *Ibid.*: 72, 1305–08.

⁷⁷¹ Esin (1965): 196.

⁷⁷² *THY*: 72, 1305. Rudenko (1970): 118. Fig. 56. A similar method was practiced by the people buried at Pazyryk who cut the ears of horses to mark ownership.

⁷⁷³ *THJW*: 129. They are entitled “Imperial relatives viewing horses” 貴戚觀馬圖 and “Imperial *sanhua* horses” 三花禦馬

⁷⁷⁴ Fong Wen (1992): 15–19.

凡外牧進良馬，印以三花飛風之字而為志。⁷⁷⁵

Those fine horses that are imported from the outer pasturelands are branded with *sanhua* and the characters *fei* (flying) and *feng* (wind) for distinction.

The Chinese character, 進 (jin), here refers to importation. The author's reading of this sentence is that the branding of the mark *sanhua* and the characters *fei* and *feng* are limited only to the directly imported horses. In other words, those horses that have resulted from interbreeding at domestic pasturelands were not to be considered as direct imports and, therefore, were not marked by *sanhua*. *THY* provides further information:

康国馬，康居国也。是大宛馬種，形容極大。武德中，康国獻四千匹。今時官馬，猶是其種。⁷⁷⁶

Kanguo horses are from the Kangju state (Samarkand). Of the same species as those of the Ferghana horses, they are significant in size. During the Wude reign, the Kang state made a tribute of 4,000 horses. The official horses used today must be their offspring.

It can thus be interpreted that the imperial horses with uncrenellated manes appearing in the paintings mentioned above could well have been products of interbreeding of imported stock, such as the Ferghana horses from the Kang state. Those horses with crenellated manes are the directly imported foreign horses. For this same reason, the Emperor Taizong's six horses, all *sanhua* crenellated, must all be direct imports. According to Ge Chengyong 葛承雍, four of the six horses are from the east or west Turkic lands; Teqinbiao was a Fergana breed and Quanmagua might have been a Mongolian breed.⁷⁷⁷ Yang Hong 楊泓 believes that all the six horses must have been Turkic horses.⁷⁷⁸ Zhaoling Museum identifies Shifazhi as a Persian horse.⁷⁷⁹

⁷⁷⁵ *JTS*: 44, 24.

⁷⁷⁶ *THY*: 72, 1306. There are several versions concerning the number of horses available in the early Tang, 3,000 or 5,000.

⁷⁷⁷ Ge Chengyong (1999): 185–86.

⁷⁷⁸ Yang Hong (2005): 209.

⁷⁷⁹ Zhonggong Liquan xianwei xuanchuanbu (1999): 154.

All the crenellated examples cited above make their appearance in images connected with god, kings, emperors, princes, and the aristocratic elite. Further, most of these examples of crenellation are found in groups. The felt painting from Pazyryk contains six repeated images (Fig. 112); the single tuft mane appears on a dozen or so of the Qin Shihuangdi's horses; the horses depicted on Sasanian silver plates mostly have crenellated manes; the Turkic examples are associated with the elite; the Emperor Taizong's six stone horses are *sanhua* crenellated; and examples of crenellated manes on other Tang horses also have an association with emperor or princes. This phenomenon can be explained only if crenellation was not a sporadic practice but a deliberate and well-planned action to serve a specific purpose.

As Maenchen-Helfen points out, the crenellation "remained what it apparently had been from its first appearance: a sign of distinction, either of the horse, or its rider, or both. We may assume that it originated in a strongly stratified society."⁷⁸⁰ Schafer considers the conception of horsemanship in China "an aristocratic privilege" and the crenellation certifies the "nobility of both horses and rider."⁷⁸¹ Fontein and Tung Wu 吳同 assert that the use of crenellations should be associated with persons of exalted, imperial rank.⁷⁸² In China, ancient Iran, and possibly other parts of the world, the crenellated mane was an imperial privilege.⁷⁸³

The reoccurrence of the second wave of crenellation in the early Tang was a response to the increasing demands of horses required by the new empire for the purposes of military, postal service, transportation, and leisure. The explosive growth of the horse population was accompanied by the establishment of a complex government organization that effectively managed the quality and use of the horses. The importation of different breeds of horses led the development of a registration system to differentiate the origin, age, ownership, and conditions of foreign horses. The *sanhua* brand and presumably the *sanhua* crenellation were applied only

⁷⁸⁰ Maenchen-Helfen (1957/58): 138.

⁷⁸¹ Schafer (1963): 59 and 69.

⁷⁸² Fontein (1973): 172.

⁷⁸³ Xianyu Tinghui was an exception as he was a non-imperial family member. See note 712 above for an explanation.

to the imported fine horses; they were reserved for imperial use and served as an imperial emblem in China.

E. How Did the Second Wave of Crenellation Spread to China?

Eventually, Scythian, Sarmatian, and Pazyryk tribes dissolved or disappeared, even though their culture or elements of their culture still were felt in Asia. In searching to trace the route of the spread of the second wave of crenellation in the Tang, it is necessary to study the people who were most active during the fourth to seventh centuries: Sasanians and Turks.

a.) China and the Sasanian Empire

The interaction between China and Iran since the time of the Western Han has been explored above. Contact between China and the Sasanian Empire is important to understand the reappearance of crenellation.

"Central Sasanian" silver plates, produced through central government-controlled workshops, are of extremely high quality. The *sanhua* manes of the Emperor Taizong's horses resemble those depicted on "Central Sasanian" silver plates. The crenellated manes on the horses during the Gaozong reign and thereafter, on the other hand, are closer in type to the various manes on those Sasanian silver plates that were provincially made.

The "Central Sasanian" silver plates, as explained by Prudence Harper, are more or less official gifts. Although there is no way of determining how or when these plates left Iran, it is quite possible that they were sent abroad as official gifts at the time that they were made. The plate depicting Peroz or Kavad I hunting rams would have served as an appropriate gift from the Persian king to the Byzantine ruler Zeno, who had provided the ransom demanded by the Hephthalite captors of Peroz (r. 459–484)⁷⁸⁴ during the late fifth century. There are other examples showing the silver ware functioning as gifts in South Russia.⁷⁸⁵

⁷⁸⁴ Harper (1981): 127.

⁷⁸⁵ Rostovtzeff (1922): 217. There are silver dishes found in the fourth-century tombs in South Russia, inscribed with the name of the Emperor Constantius (r. 324–337) and showing that the Bosphoran kings received "presents" (disguised tribute) from the Roman emperors.

It is feasible to speculate that the King Peroz might have sent “Central Sasanian” silver plates along with his envoys, who went on three occasions, 639, 647, and 648, to plead with Taizong for military assistance against the Arabs. Or the Sasanian princes might have brought such silver plates when they visited the Tang court. Coming empty-handed does not lead to successful diplomacy.

Many Sasanian political refugees, including members of the last Sasanian royal family and their entourage, finally settled in China. They likely carried with them “cultural artifacts and traditions.”⁷⁸⁶ The art and imagery of the Sasanian realm became widely known as objects of prestige and luxury—notably the silver and glass vessels, textiles, seals, and coins—that increasingly reached foreign lands.⁷⁸⁷

The similarities in treating the manes on the “Central Sasanian” silver plates and the six stone horses strongly suggest a close connection. The most likely occasion on which to present the silver plates would have been in 639 as this predates the stone horse reliefs. There is also a possibility that the “Central Sasanian” silver plates could have been brought to the Chinese court before the Tang, as Sasanians frequently sent envoys to the courts of the Northern Dynasties and the Sui dynasty. The silver plate excavated from the tomb of Feng Hetu 封和突 (438–501) in Datong, Shanxi⁷⁸⁸ depicts a Sasanian king, probably Bahram I (r. 273–276), hunting boars on foot (Fig. 113). It is conjectured that the plate could have been presented to Feng Hetu after the Northern Wei court had received it as a tribute; or that the plate could have been in Qizil first and then been taken as a trophy by the Northern Wei when they sacked Qizil.⁷⁸⁹ Harper also states that the plate may have traveled to China in the hands of one of the trade or diplomatic missions to the Northern Wei kingdom in the fifth and early sixth centuries.⁷⁹⁰

Silver ware might have arrived in China by other means in the beginning of the sixth century. *Luoyang qielan ji* 洛陽伽藍記 (Record of Buddhist monasteries of Luoyang) records that

⁷⁸⁶ Harper (2006): 116.

⁷⁸⁷ Ibid.: 115.

⁷⁸⁸ Ma Yuji (1983): 1–4.

⁷⁸⁹ Ma Yong (1983): 12.

⁷⁹⁰ Harper (2006): 124.

Chen 琛 (fl. 497–524), the Duke Hejian 河間王,⁷⁹¹ while serving as the Governor of Qinzhou 秦州, sent people as far as Persia for horses and often showed off his possession of "more than 100 gold vases and silver vessels" "all coming from the West" to the imperial members,⁷⁹² which in all likelihood might have included Sasanian silver plates.

Starting in the 630s, the Sasanian Empire lost battles to Muslim Arabs and their central government was weakened. Princes and local noblemen who ruled provincial areas became strong; this allowed for the imitation of "Central Sasanian" silver plates on the provincial level. These imitations still carried traditional royal images and attributes but with modifications and usually lesser quality.⁷⁹³

The provincial silver plates show manes crenellated into single or multiple tufts and in square or round shapes. Such variants, the Type B as mentioned above, also appear in China on the stone and terracotta horses dateable to Gaozong's reign and later. This can be explained by the contacts between the Tang court and the fleeing Sasanian government, royal family members and officials on numerous occasions during the second half of the seventh century.

When they were in exile in China, the Sasanian princes and their entourage probably resided in a Persian community, one of the foreign communities established in Chang'an,⁷⁹⁴ and a Zoroastrian temple was requested by Peroz to be built for their religious activities.⁷⁹⁵ Noticeable figures originating from Iran were not few. Abraham 阿羅憾 (616–710) was the grand chief of the Persian state in Tang China⁷⁹⁶ and Li Yuanliang 李元諒 (723–784) was a Tang military leader recorded in the Tang official history.⁷⁹⁷ The study of the epitaph of Li Su 李素

⁷⁹¹ *BS*: 7b, 7b, 183, 59. It is recorded that Chen was the son of Qi Jun Wang 齊郡王 (District Duke of Qi) in the 21st year of Taihe (497). *BS*: 9, 9, 232–234, 71–72. In 521, the Duke of Hejian, Chen, was sent to suppress rebels. His dukedom was removed due to his corruption in 523 but restored in 524.

⁷⁹² Yang Xuanchi (1987): 4, 12, 587–40.

⁷⁹³ Harper (1981): 8.

⁷⁹⁴ Yang Xuanchi (1987): 3, 9, 587–31. Lerner (2005): 1–50. The presence of a Sogdian community in Xi'an is indicated by the three stone sarcophagi recently excavated, dated to the late sixth century. Since they were Central Asians, the iconography depicted on their burial furnishings is solely and intrinsically Sogdian or Iranian.

⁷⁹⁵ Rong Xinjiang (2002): 72.

⁷⁹⁶ Ma Xiaohe (2004): 99–127.

⁷⁹⁷ Zhang Xinglang (2003): 1080–84. *XTS*: 156, 81, 4901–03.

(744–817) reveals that he might be associated with, if not the direct descendant of, Peroz and his queen, both of whom died in Chang'an.⁷⁹⁸ The epitaph of the wife of Su Liang 蘇諒妻 (d. 874) claims that the deceased and her husband, Su Liang, were both the descendants of Sasanian noblemen.⁷⁹⁹

The Sasanian Empire officially ended in 651, but their princes kept the Sasanian court alive in other parts of the world, such as in China and Tokharistan, until the early eighth century. These princes and their entourage traveled between Chang'an and their provisional government headquarters in the West and possibly had contact with other fleeing court members. This contact might have given them access to Sasanian provincial silver plates. They in turn might have facilitated the circulation of provincial silverwork to China.

The presence of the Sasanian princes and their entourage seeking asylum in Chang'an coincides with the appearance in China of the variant crenellation, as depicted on the Sasanian provincial works. This makes it reasonable to assume that the direct contact with Sasanian princes and their entourage might have been responsible primarily for the diffusion of the provincial silver plates depicting crenellated manes to Tang China. There might be other possibilities, such as the Chinese who fought in the West, or who escorted the princes to the West, or other people traveling to the West who could also have brought back provincial silver plates.

The spread of the crenellated mane as depicted on the silver plates and the actual practice of the crenellation, however, are two separate matters. Based on the interpretation of his name and description, Shifachi 什伐赤, one of Emperor Taizong's six horses, was believed to have come from Persia.⁸⁰⁰ Importing horses from Persia was not impossible as it was one of the 34 places in the West from which the Tang imported horses, as mentioned in *THY*. The ancient Iranian people of the Assyrian and Achaemenid periods only had their horse manes trimmed, but "Persians belonged to the same race as the Scythian,"⁸⁰¹ who have left with us many good

⁷⁹⁸ Rong Xinjiang (2001b): 238–57.

⁷⁹⁹ Shaanxi sheng wenwu guanli weiyuanhui (1964): 458–61.

⁸⁰⁰ Zhonggong Liqun xianwei xuanchuanbu (1999): 145. Yi Mu (1985): 119.

⁸⁰¹ Rostovtzeff (2000): 63–64.

examples of crenellation. Scythians might have played a "transmitting role"⁸⁰² between the Achaemenids and the people of Pazyryk; the latter also practiced crenellation as depicted on their felt painting. The presence of crenellation on the Sasanian silver plates indicates that Iranians had started practicing crenellation during the Sasanian period or simply copied patterns of crenellation purely for decoration.

It seems that direct contact between the Sasanian Empire and China might have made the presentation of crenellation on the Sasanian silver plates known to the Chinese court and elite and consequently inspired the creation of various styles of crenellation in China. It is doubtful that such an interaction would have had much bearing on the practice of crenellation at the Tang state-run pasturelands. There is evidence that non-Chinese played a major role in horse management under the Tang, but such evidence lacks support for a visible role attributed to Iranians. Rather it reveals a significant role played by other ethnic people, such as Turks.

D. The Role of Turks in the Spread of the Crenellation

Turks were a nomadic people, born as fighters, living by hunting, and relying on their herds. Legend goes that a female wolf rescued the Turks from extinction. Therefore, the wolf became their totem, and its image was customarily hung at their tents to express their gratitude.⁸⁰³ Descended from Xiongnu⁸⁰⁴ or politically allied and culturally similar to Xiongnu,⁸⁰⁵ the Turks shared customs similar to those of the Xiongnu's.⁸⁰⁶ According to Sima

⁸⁰² Wu Xin (2005): 345.

⁸⁰³ *BS*: 99, 87, 3285, 845.

⁸⁰⁴ *Ibid*.

⁸⁰⁵ Horváth (2007): 59 and 63. A tenth-century Uyghur Buddhist monk, Sinqu Sali, translated a Chinese seventh-century book on the famous Tang monk Xuan Zhuang, called *Biography of the Great Xuan Zhuang, teacher of the Great Ci'en Temple*. Sinqu translates the Chinese word "Xiongnu" (Hun) into Uyghur (a Turkic language) as "turk yucul budun," which means "nomadic or free Turkic people." Yasin Ashuri, a Uyghur Chinese scholar at the Institute of Ethnology of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences in Beijing, has recently uncovered this translation. According to Izabella Horváth, this is a significant discovery in shedding new light on the question of Hun identity. This information affirms the notion that "Turk," "Uyghur," and also "Xiongnu" were names given—through time—interchangeably to groups of politically allied and culturally similar tribes, north of the Great Wall, reflecting the changes in political structures there; the names do not refer only to their language or physical appearance.

⁸⁰⁶ *BS*: 99, 87, 3289, 846.

Qian, Xiongnu "taught their children to practice riding on the backs of sheep and to shoot birds and rodents with bow and arrow. Every soldier strong enough to bend a bow will become a cuirassed horseman."⁸⁰⁷ They migrated with large numbers of sheep, cows and horses, the latter known for their exceptionally fine beasts, such as *Taotu* 騊駼, *Juetei* 馱駞, *Tuotuo* 橐駝 and *Tuoxi* 騊駼.⁸⁰⁸ Turkic horses were praised highly and were as good as those Xiongnu horses.⁸⁰⁹

The Turkic influence on Tang China started even before the Tang Empire was established. In preparation for the revolt, Gaozu, then Li Yuan, not only purchased horses from Turks but also trained his cavalry specifically like "Turks."⁸¹⁰ *DTCQ* provides the following description:

同其所好, 習起所好.... 乃簡使能騎射者二千餘人, 飲食居止, 一同突厥.⁸¹¹

Do what they like and practice what they are good at.... [Gaozu] selected more than 2,000 men who were good at riding astride and shooting and made them drink, eat, act and dwell the same as the Turks.

To "Turkicize" his army, Gaozu must have admired the power of the Turkic cavalry and its exceptional riding and shooting skills. Such training could only have been achieved by someone who was born Turkic and was already in service in Gaozu's army. Tang history documents persons of this type. Shi Danai 史大奈 (d. 638)⁸¹² was a Tegin of Western Turkic descent who came to serve the Sui court in 611. In 617, when Gaozu revolted in Taiyuan, Shi Danai led his cavalry troop to join Gaozu.⁸¹³ His outstanding military merits in several vital battles won him high official titles and a royal marriage for his son.⁸¹⁴ This is not the only example; several other Turkic qaghans or Tegins, including Ashina She'er, Zhishi Sili and Qibi

⁸⁰⁷ *SJ*: 110, 50, 2879.

⁸⁰⁸ *Ibid.*

⁸⁰⁹ *THY*: 72, 1306.

⁸¹⁰ Wang Jian (1981): 227.

⁸¹¹ *DTCQ*: 1a, 13, 303–962.

⁸¹² *Zhongguo lishi dacidian Sui-Tang-Wudaishi juan bianzhuan weiyuanhui* (1995): 176.

⁸¹³ *XTS*: 110, 35, 4111–12.

⁸¹⁴ Wang Jian (1981): 160.

Heli, all served in the Tang court.⁸¹⁵ They must have brought along the Turkic styles of management of cavalry, and horse and horse trappings.

During the Tang, foreign horses came to China via tribute and barter. Among 83 types of horses imported from a variety of places, the Turkic horse received special praise for "exquisite riding skills and appropriately proportioned body structure; able to handle a hardy and long journey and peerless as hunters."⁸¹⁶ Possessing superb horse stock and living nearby enabled the Turks to be a major horse supplier to Tang China.

After the Tang was established, the new regime engaged in frequent contact with Turkic peoples, both Eastern and Western. One of Emperor Taizong's horses, Teqinbiao 特勤驃,⁸¹⁷ is believed to have been a Turkic horse as a Turkic title appears in the horse name, and the horse must have been directly imported from the Turkic people.⁸¹⁸ Starting from 618, both the Eastern and Western Turks sent envoys to the Tang court to present tribute. After the Eastern Turks were destroyed by Emperor Taizong in 630, the Western Turks continued these court visits. What offerings each embassy brought to the court is not listed in detail, but missions with fine horses numbering in the hundreds and thousands are recorded.

In 626, Tongyehu Qaghan 統葉護可汗 sent 5,000 horses and 10,000 precious objects for a royal wedding, which was granted but did not come to be realized.⁸¹⁹ Jieli Qaghan offered 3,000 horses and 10,000 sheep; when these were rejected, he offered next more than 10,000 horses and cows.⁸²⁰ In 635, 500 horses were presented by another qaghan for a wedding.⁸²¹

Horse management requires experienced hands. Along with these large herds of imported horses or tributes to the Chinese court, it is only natural that experienced Turkic grooms "must have come in great numbers."⁸²² Additionally, Turks launched several immigration waves to

⁸¹⁵ *XTS*: 110. 35.

⁸¹⁶ *THY*: 72, 1306.

⁸¹⁷ Some scholars believe the horse is named Telebiao 特力標

⁸¹⁸ Sun Ji (1981): 87.

⁸¹⁹ *JTS*: 194b, 144b, 5181–82. The royal marriage did not take place because the Qaghan was assassinated.

⁸²⁰ *CFYG*: 970, 11397.

⁸²¹ *JTS*: 194b, 144b, 5183.

⁸²² Mahler (1959): 62.

China, the most noticeable were reported with a cumulative number of more than one million in 629⁸²³ and as many as 100,000⁸²⁴ in 630, after Emperor Taizong destroyed the Eastern Turks. Among hundreds and thousands of Turkic immigrants, there must have been many experienced horsemen who could have entered the work force at the "eight pasturelands spread in 48 units covering a thousand *li*"⁸²⁵ or even the imperial stable. More than 100 Turkic generals remained in Chang'an, to provide services to the Tang court; among them there also must have been expert horsemen.

Evidence survives that the horse industry was portrayed with non-Chinese imagery on archaeological finds. Good examples are the Tang *sancai* 唐三彩 (tri-color glazed) horses and grooms from the tombs of Zheng Rentai (664) (Fig. 114), Crown Prince Yide (see Fig. 101), Prince Li Chongjun (Fig. 115) and anonymous tombs (Figs. 116a and 116b). The best among all is the scene depicting a foreign groom preparing the horse at the imperial stable from the tomb of Princess Yongtai (Fig. 117).⁸²⁶ The facial features and costumes of the grooms indicate that they were non-Chinese. Non-Chinese horsemen are also recorded in *JTS*. During the early Zhenguan reign, Tang Taizong received a remonstrance stating that "Wei Panti 韋槃提 and Husi Zheng 斛斯正, who know nothing but horses, could be rewarded by silver and silk. How can they be allowed to sit and eat together with ministers at a state banquet?"⁸²⁷ Thanks to their exceptional horse management skills, these two men received exceptional rewards from Emperor Taizong. Although it is not all possible to identify the origins of every non-Chinese horseman, many of them were Turkic grooms, possibly including the two just mentioned.⁸²⁸ An unsuccessful assassination attempt on Emperor Taizong provides a strong testimony. In 639, Jieshelü 結社率, a half-brother of Tuli Qaghan and "employed in the imperial stable like many submitted Turkic

⁸²³ *JTS*: 2, 2, 37. In 629, the Household Registration Department reported a total of 1,200,000 immigrants including the Turks from several migrations and people from other tribes.

⁸²⁴ *Ibid.*: 194a, 144a, 5162.

⁸²⁵ *THY*: 72, 1302.

⁸²⁶ Ji Dongshan (2006): 181. Fig. 103.

⁸²⁷ *JTS*: 74, 24, 2615.

⁸²⁸ www.chinabbz.com claims they are Turkic horsemen. See 李世民和柘木弓的故事 (The story of Li Shimin and cudrania bows.)

khans, enlisted some 40 confederates of his own race" and plotted to slay Emperor Taizong to avenge the destruction of Turkic power.⁸²⁹ The conspiracy was smashed but the number of Turkic people recorded as working in the imperial stable is impressive. The Tang poet, Yuan Cen 袁岑, listed "Turkish horsemen" as one of the exotic subjects during the Tang.⁸³⁰ The episode and the poet's comment not only support the existence of the Turkic horsemen but also attest that there must have been large numbers of Turkic grooms who played a major role.

The presence of Turkic generals in the Tang army and Turkic horsemen in the horse business must have had a significant impact on Tang horse management and horse trappings. The foreign horses were branded with special marks for tracing their origins and features, and sixteen Turkic marks out of 35 marks have been preserved in *THY*. These marks, or runes, in the shape of a character of the ancient alphabet, are actually tribal signatures, known as "tamga tribal symbols."⁸³¹ Three examples show that the horses were branded with runic marks on their hindquarters. One found on a wall painting in the synagogue in Dura-Europos is suggested to be the work of a Sasanian Persian who might have been in the Sasanian army that occupied the city in the middle of the third century (Fig. 118).⁸³² A rock carving with Turkic runes from Tuva (Fig. 119)⁸³³ and another of a mounted lancer clad with plate mail from Yenisei (see Fig. 96) provide further evidence of Turkic use of tamgas on the horses. The marking system practiced at the Tang state pasturelands seems similar to the Turkic runic writing system. It is also possible that the Tang borrowed the Turkic branding system in managing its imperial stable.

The Turkic curved-triangle crenellation is rendered in a free style while the Sasanian curved-triangle crenellation (as on the Central Sasanian silver plates) seems much more formal and mature. Emperor Taizong's horses' manes bear resemblance to the Turkic crenellation style, but are more imbued with a mature and formal style akin to that of the Sasanian crenellated

⁸²⁹ *JTS*: 194a 144a 5161. Fitzgerald (1933): 159.

⁸³⁰ Schafer (1963): 33. The text reads, "such exotic subjects as imported rhinoceroses and elephants, Turkish horsemen, and Burmese orchestras."

⁸³¹ Seaman (1992): 119.

⁸³² Maenchen-Helfen (1957/58): 112.

⁸³³ Seaman (1992): frontal page.

manes, although they lack projections between the crest and the tufts. Maenchen-Helfen suggests that "crenellation reached the Turks in the Altai and beyond, directly or indirectly, from the eastern provinces of the Sasanian Empire."⁸³⁴ If this theory is accepted, China's crenellation could have been influenced by both Turks and Sasanians.

In attempting to explain two possible modes for the dissemination of the crenellation to China by Turks and Sasanians, the author argues that Turks' spread of crenellation to China was primarily via the horse management and Sasanian transmission through depictions in their art. There is no direct evidence to prove that crenellation was actually practiced on horses by Sasanians, nor do we have sufficient texts to indicate a strong Sasanian presence in the Chinese horse industry or in the state stable. The royal hunting scenes depicted on Sasanian silver plates may not have represented something that was practiced in actuality; they were "exclusively symbolic" to serve as "dynastic icons."⁸³⁵ The crenellation depicted on silver plates has been viewed in this study as solely a form of artistic decoration. "The art and imagery of the Sasanian realm became widely known as objects of prestige and luxury—notably silver and glass vessels...—increasingly reached foreign lands."⁸³⁶ If these silver vessels reached China, they would more likely have been circulated among the imperial family, court officials, possibly including court painters, as well as social elite. The chance of their getting into the hands of the horsemen would be slim. Even if these vessels with crenellation images reached the hands of people in charge of horse management, it would hardly have been feasible for them to develop horse crenellation or a marking system based on the imagery on silver plates. Rather, this imagery would have sparked the inspiration of the Tang court painters and artisans to use the patterns in depicting on their stone and ceramic horses, as the crenellation may have already in practical use. Crenellation, a privilege reserved for the imperial horse, can only have enhanced the prestige of their artwork and pleased their patrons. It is very likely that the Sasanian silver vessels could have played a role in introducing the depiction of crenellation in art, rather than introducing the actual practice of crenellation to China.

⁸³⁴ Maenchen-Helfen (1957/58): 40–41.

⁸³⁵ Harper (2006): 29.

⁸³⁶ *Ibid.*: 115.

The role of introducing the practice of crenellation in the early Tang should be credited to the Turks. The Turkic examples of crenellation found so far are depicted either on petroglyphs or in tombs. Such imagery probably was not accessible to Chinese horsemen or artisans who worked on the stone or terracotta polychrome horses, although one should not rule out the possibility of its spread to China. The author argues that the most plausible way for the Turks to introduce the crenellation to China was through horse management. Turkic fine horses were likely differentiated with tribal signatures when they were sent to China. Crenellation, also a signature or symbol, could have come along as part of special horse trappings. The adoption by the Chinese state stables of the sixteen Turkic tribal marks out of 35 that survived, as well as of experienced Turkic horsemen working in state and imperial stables, attests that the Turks played a major role in the Chinese horse industry and could be responsible for introducing the practice of crenellation to China. "In all matters dealing with horses, horse breeding, and cavalry, Turkic influence upon the Tang court was extremely strong."⁸³⁷

2). Tail

Similar to mane crenellation, horsetails are treated with variations. Their styles and relation to horse trappings also deserve attention.

A. Historical Review

Same as the mane, a historical review of the tail treatment starts with ancient Iran. On the relief with the lion-hunting scene from the Ashurnasirpal Palace (ninth-century BC), the tail of the Assyrian horse is treated with neatly-incised lines and tied into one long strand. At the midpoint where the tie is placed, a thin strand of hair is plaited (Fig. 120). The relief of Tiglathpileser III (eighth-century BC) includes a horse with tail neatly incised and tied in segments with the end folded over (Fig. 121).

⁸³⁷ Maenchen-Helfen (1957/58): 120.

During the Achaemenid period, as represented at Persepolis (sixth–fifth century BC), the horses of various foreign delegations depicted in relief along the stairways have either long tails or docked tails terminating in bows of different shapes (Figs. 122 and 123).

The tails depicted on the Sasanian reliefs at Naqsh-e Rostam and Naqsh-e Rostam are treated in several styles. Some tails are docked much shorter than those of the Achaemenid horses and the bows are much larger. The low part of the hair is curled over and tied with flying ribbons (Fig. 124). One horse in the scene *Triumph of Shapur I over Valerian* has a long sleek tail tapering to the end (see Fig. 73). Both the root and the end of the tail are fastened with wide flying ribbons.

A variety of horse tail styles are rendered on Sasanian silver plates. The majority of the tails are bowed and tied with two thin flying ribbons (see Figs. 97, 98 and 99b). If these bows indicate minor variations, the silver plates of later periods show a greater deviation, but are still within the framework of bowed tails (see Fig. 99c). The treatment of another tail is somewhat unusual; it hangs almost free without a bow and is tied midpoint along its length with a ribbon (see Fig. 98).

The treatment of the tails on images of Scythian horses is distinctive. Some horses have their hair completely loose, as on a square gold plaque from Kul Oba with a mounted Scythian hunting (Fig. 125). The gold comb ornamented with Scythians in a combat scene has a horsetail in a single long strand tapering from the midway towards the end (Fig. 126). Similar horsetails are seen on a gold pectoral, but the texture of the tail surface suggests that the hair might have been in a spiral or plaited (Fig. 127). The gold plaque depicting a warrior lying under a tree with two horses shows the tails hanging and plaited. Their upper parts are encased in short covers (see Fig. 85).

The horsetails from Pazyryk were normally plaited from three tresses, less often twisted in a spiral, and only one example was plaited from five tresses (Fig. 128).⁸³⁸ Several horsetails from barrow I were tied in knots. In the middle of the plaited tail was usually a leather fillet faced with gold. The carpet painting from barrow V is clearly docked and then plaited (see Fig. 82). Findings from barrow I reveal that horsetails are covered with special cases made from

⁸³⁸ Rudenko (1970): 119.

pieces of leather sewn together. These covers are decorated, edged at the bottom with a stripe of dark-blue colored fur and a fringe of horsehair dyed red.⁸³⁹

In China, a bronze horse with a rider, dated to the Spring and Autumn or Warring States Period (sixth–fifth century BC) and now in the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities, Stockholm, shows the horsetail long and plain (Fig. 129). From Qin Shihuangdi's mausoleum, some horsetails are plaited and encased. The tail of a cavalry horse (pit 2) is made of three parts. After a short encasement, the tail is braided and then terminates in three parallel strands shaped like a trident (Fig. 130). The horses drawing the bronze chariots show a different tail treatment. Their tails are much thicker than those of the cavalry horses. Each tail-end is rolled several times and secured by a cord (Fig. 131).

Plaiting and encasing tails also can be seen on Han tiles. Some horses are depicted with curved tails (Fig. 132). The section close to the root is stretched forward, which may suggest something solid holding it in this position. Based on the tail-covers on Scythian and Pazyryk horses, it is very likely that these tails could be encased. The lower section of the tails seems to have been impressed with some patterns, but is unrecognizable. Such a pattern is fortunately demonstrated in another example (Fig. 133) and indicates that its tail is clearly plaited. The section of the tail close to the root can only be made in an upward position possibly supported by a stiff tail-case. We probably can assume that most of such upturned tails are all encased, if not all plaited. The bronze horse from Maoling presents the tail unambiguously curved upwards by the support of the tail encasement (Fig. 134). The tails of the Western Han cavalry horses are rolled up and upturned (Fig. 135).

The horsetails on the Yu Hong sarcophagus are tied with short ribbons at the midpoint and the lower part of the tails is terminating in a bident. Additionally, ribbons are tied to each of the four legs (Figs. 136a and 136b).

The tails of Emperor Taizong's six horses are treated in a similar manner. Each horse's long tail is rolled up and tied into a knot twice leaving the end hair loose. The twice-looped knot is placed between the root and the end of the tail (see Fig. 2a). The horses on the tomb murals of

⁸³⁹ Ilyasov (2003): 260.

Prince Zhanghuai (706) have tails which are either tied into knots (Fig. 137), much tighter and shorter than those of the Taizong's horses, or loose and flying (Fig. 138).

B. Discussion

Tail decoration is a long-time tradition and was practiced in ancient Iran, the steppes and China. Certain associations existed among these practices.

China did not practice tail decoration during the sixth-fifth century BC, as shown by the bronze horse and rider (see Fig. 129). The earliest example is found on the terracotta horses from Qin Shihuangdi's mausoleum. These tails are treated in two distinctive styles: the long and thin tail is encased, plaited and terminated in a trident; and the short and thick tail is rolled and fastened. Both styles can be associated with the practice in ancient Iran. Although Assyrian and Sasanian reliefs have not provided similar examples of the style first, the comparable example is found on a much earlier Mesopotamian object.

On the Standard of Ur from the royal cemetery (ca. 2,500 BC), the tails of onagers are sticking out from their rumps. The upper part looks sleek and the lower part is in the shape of a trident (Fig. 139). It seems that the upper part is encased, but is hard to be certain as the image is very small. The overall shape of the tails between the Standard of Ur and the Qin Shihuangdi's horses bears such close resemblance that the Qin Shihuangdi's horsetail could well be influenced by the ones on the Ur Standard. Onagers are not horses, but donkeys or wild asses;⁸⁴⁰ however, it is possible that such a tail treatment also was used on horses. The horsetail on the Yu Hong sarcophagus (sixth century) terminates in not a trident but a bident. Yu Hong's sarcophagus has strong Persian flavors as reflected in the flying ribbons adorning the horsetail and horse legs and other features.⁸⁴¹ Although sufficient evidence is lacking, the Yu Hong example suggests that the trident tail likely was used on the horse, and the trident shape could have evolved to become a bident shape.

Another style of tail decoration on Qin Shihuangdi's horses can be associated with Assyrian reliefs. The tail on a horse on Ashurbanipal's relief, ninth century BC, forms a long

⁸⁴⁰ Zettler (1998): 44–45.

⁸⁴¹ Shanxi sheng kaogu yanjiusuo et al (2001): 34.

strand tied at the midpoint (see Fig. 120). The tail on Tiglathpileser's relief, eighth century BC, looks shorter because its end is rolled (see Fig. 121). The horses on the Achaemenid reliefs at Persepolis, sixth-fifth century BC, show their tails docked to three-quarters length and terminated with a bow (see Figs. 122 and 123). The horses drawing Qin Shihuangdi's chariots have tail-ends rolled more than once (see Fig. 131), similar to that of the Tiglathpileser's relief. From their stylistic development, it seems that the Iranian tail decoration could have inspired the docked and bowed tails on the Achaemenid reliefs and also the rolled-up horsetails of Qin Shihuangdi's army. This style also could have influenced the tail decoration on Han cavalry horses, where they also are rolled and become shorter and even upturned.

Examples of encased or plaited horsetails, not detected on the Assyrian and Achaemenid reliefs, have been found on the Scythian plaques. Most of the Scythian horses have flying tails, but the horse on the gold plaque with warriors resting under a tree, clearly depicts an encased and plaited horsetail (see Fig. 85). The tail is thick and plaited and the top section near the root, if not the entire tail, is encased. The Maoling horsetail is encased halfway, in the style similar to that of the Scythian gold plaque (see Fig. 134). Qin Shihuangdi's horsetail is encased and also adorned with a single square tuft (see Fig. 130), exactly the same as the one on the Scythian gold plaque. It seems possible that Scythian mane and tail decoration found their way to China.

The horsetails depicted on the Henan tiles possibly can be associated with the finds from the Pazyryk barrows. Most of the horsetails on the Henan tiles are depicted in two sections, the top section near the root is turned upwards and the lower section is braided, which is clearly shown on one horse (see Fig. 133). The horsetails from the Pazyryk barrows are reported to have leather encasements, which now have all rotted, and plaited tails in three or five tresses. The felt painting from barrow V provides an additional example of horsetail treatment. The horsetail depicted on the Henan tile (see Fig. 133) can be directly referred to that of the felt painting (see Fig. 82). Both tails have the section close to the root stretched out; the lower section shows the texture that indicates it is braided. The representational style and length of both horsetails are very alike. Additionally, the curved delineation of the Maoling tail (see Fig. 134) also is comparable to that of the Pazyryk horsetail and the Henan tails. These examples imply that there might have been a direct contact between Pazyryk and the Han.

The horsetails of the Sasanian period are arranged in a variety ways. Except for the long tail in the *Triumph of Shapur I over Valerian* (see Fig. 74), most of the them are short, either docked, tied or rolled, and adorned with flying ribbons. Two of the Sasanian tails might provide some resemblance to the Emperor Taizong's horsetails. The rock relief (see Fig. 124) and the silver plate (Fig. 140) show the tails bowed in the midpoints and with flying ribbons. Instead of tying midway with flying ribbons, the Taizong's horsetail is tied twice with a flying tail-end. Except for this resemblance, Taizong's horsetails, generally are treated with simplicity, do not follow the general trend of fancy and ornate style depicted on the Sasanian reliefs and silver plates. The treatment of the horsetails during Gaozong's reign and later, those docked even shorter, follows the style of the Taizong period.

The horsetail treatment, represented by the examples from Qin Shihuangdi's mausoleum, Henan tiles, Yu Hong's sarcophagus and the Tang imperial tombs, indicates a direct borrowing or possible influence from ancient Iran, Scythia or Pazyryk. The direct contact with ancient Iran before Han, not recorded in texts, is more likely to be realized through intermediaries. Scythians may have played a "transmitting role"⁸⁴² between Achaemenid and Pazyryk. Scythians or their successors, the Samartians, could have acted as intermediaries by linking China with West Asia and the steppes.

The discovery of the similarities in horsetail decoration and possible adoption of such practice from West Asia and the steppes should not be surprising in view of the fact that Chinese imported horsemanship and riding equipment as the results of the military reform by the King of Zhao in 307 BC. The examples of horsetails show clearly that the Chinese learned horse trappings, from the crenellated mane to the tail decoration, from their nomadic neighbors or (through an intermediary) from West Asia.

According to Jangar Ilyasov, the treatment of the tail, similar to that of the mane, has little practical use.⁸⁴³ Nevertheless, the tail-covers for the two horses from Pazyryk "served not a practical, but a ritual-decorative purpose."⁸⁴⁴ Despite possible ritual purpose, the practical

⁸⁴² Wu Xin (2005): 345.

⁸⁴³ Ilyasov (2003): 259.

⁸⁴⁴ *Ibid.*: 260.

function of tail treatment might require reconsideration. Wang Renbo points out that tail-tying could reduce the impediment caused by flying hair and help to improve the performance of horses and the riders for freely raising his sword or knife.⁸⁴⁵ The use of tail-rolling only on the Qin Shihuangdi's chariot horses may explain how such treatment could have helped to reduce the obstruction of flying tailhair among the chariot equipment. Apparently, tying the tail, more than tail encasing, bears some practical use, in addition to other symbolic meanings.

3). Saddle

Unlike the crenellated mane and elaborate horsetail treatments, saddles served a practical purpose. A saddle makes the rider more comfortable and provides stability on horseback.

The evolution of the saddle took a long time. Initially horses were ridden bare-back or with rudimentary saddles made of a simple mat or blanket.⁸⁴⁶ Many cultures have preserved early examples of proto-saddles, which will be generally referred to as saddle blankets and, in some instances, saddle pads.

A. Historical Review

The Assyrian relief from the Ashurnasirpal Palace (ninth century BC) shows an Assyrian horse drawing a royal chariot without saddle blanket; the Assyrian archers shoot at the fleeing Syrian archers⁸⁴⁷ who are riding on horses equipped with saddle blankets secured by a cinch 肚帶 (Fig. 141). Tiglathpileser III (eighth century BC) is shown wearing armor but riding bareback on a horse (see Fig. 121). In the seventh century BC, saddle blankets appear on the Sennacherib relief (705–681 BC). They are patterned and fringed, or plain with two cinches (Fig. 142). Blankets with various patterns continue into the Sasanian period; there are examples of saddle blankets with fancy fringes on several rock reliefs (see Figs. 76 and 77) and on two silver plates

⁸⁴⁵ Verbal communication in 1995 with Wang Renbo, who served as the Director of the Beilin Museum, Xi'an and then the Deputy Director the Shanghai Museum. He passed away in 2003.

⁸⁴⁶ Azzaroli (1985): 42.

⁸⁴⁷ Hall (1928): 35.

(see Figs. 97–99a). Each plate shows a sign that a folk, an upright piece attached at the front of the saddle near the front end,⁸⁴⁸ was already developed in the fifth century.

Scythians are shown riding on galloping horse with a pad or a saddle. One Scythian fighter is rising on a horse padded with a bordered blanket (Fig. 143). A scene on the Chertomlyk vase portrays a Scythian hobbling his horse. The horse is equipped with a saddle, and probably a folk, as it is shown raised at its front end (Fig. 144).

Examples of actual saddles survive from ancient tombs in Tarim Basin, Xinjiang and the Pazyryk barrows, Altai Mountains. Two saddles were preserved with mummies at Zaghunluq (1,000–600 BC) and at Subeishi in Toyuq Gorge (ca. 400 BC).⁸⁴⁹ The mummies "may be assigned a probably (proto-) Tocharian identity" and were later joined by "other Iranian populations," such as Yuezhi and Wusun.⁸⁵⁰ The saddles from Pazyryk are also well preserved. Sergei Rudenko claims that they belong to a thoroughly evolved and evidently widespread Scythian type. Classified into two types, all the saddles have pairs of straps secured to the edge of the cushion from the back, an upper girth-strap, and breast-and crupper-straps.⁸⁵¹ They are exemplified by an elaborate saddle from barrow V (Fig. 145) and another saddle from barrow I (Fig. 146).

The saddle does not seem to have appeared in China before the third century BC. Two terracotta figurines from the Ta'erpo tomb at Xianyang, Shaanxi 咸陽塔爾坡墓,⁸⁵² datable to the 337–307 BC,⁸⁵³ are riding on bareback horses with bridles (Fig. 147).⁸⁵⁴ The absence of the

⁸⁴⁸ Beatie (1981): 97.

⁸⁴⁹ Mallory (2000): 25 & 153.

⁸⁵⁰ Ibid.: 318. See the same source, p. 30: Wusun refers to the major tribal confederation to form in the pasturelands to the northwest of the Tarim Basin. The Yuezhi are the people who in historical times were forced to make the long trek west from the corridors of frontier China into the eastern realms of the former Persian Empire, where they founded the Kushan Empire.

⁸⁵¹ Rudenko (1970): 129.

⁸⁵² Xianyang shi wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo (1996): 1–8.

⁸⁵³ Yang Hong (2005): 98–99. The tomb is datable between the time of King Huiwen 秦惠文王 (337–325 BC) to King Wu 秦武王 (310–307 BC) of the Qin state.

⁸⁵⁴ Sun Ji (2001): 97. In this article, a revised version of the same one in the *Wenwu* 1981 (10), Sun states that the "saddle appeared in pre-Qin with no evident sign of folk and cattle." But no evidence or details are provided.

saddle may not be interpreted as an oversight, as the bridles are in place, but as evidence that the saddle did not exist prior to King Wuling's reform. The terracotta horses from the Qin Shihuangdi's mausoleum are shown with saddles, finely designed and raised at the two ends to suggest a folk and a cantle, an upright portion although very low⁸⁵⁵ at the back of the saddle to prevent the rider from going off the back end of the horse⁸⁵⁶ (Fig. 148). The saddle and saddlecloth are secured with three straps and thin strings at ends (see Fig. 86), but there are no cinches to go around the horse's chest to better secure the saddle. They probably are early versions of the saddle.⁸⁵⁷

This earliest representation of the saddle in China appears to have been carefully designed and well made. The abrupt emergence of such a saddle only suggests influence from outside as it must have necessitated some development of its own. In comparing Qin Shihuangdi's saddle with the Scythian ones (see Fig. 144) similarities are evident. The basic design of both saddles is alike. The centerpiece, without fringes, is laid on the horse's back and secured by cinches. The number of cinches varies, but the front cinch is positioned in the same place, although the Scythian one goes around further. Both ends of the saddles are raised, suggesting cushions underneath to serve as cantles. The image of the Scythian saddle is too small to provide much detail; however, Charles Chenevix-Trench records that "the Scythian saddle consisted of two cushions two-feet long, well stuffed with deer's hair, resting on the saddlecloth, one on each side of the spine, joined by cross-straps."⁸⁵⁸ Such details are clearly shown also on Qin Shihuangdi's horse (see Fig. 148). The cantle is made of two cushions, which are placed on the either side of the horse's spine. There was thus no pressure even on a prominent spine, and the rider's weight was borne by the dorsal muscles and ribs. This was a great advance in riding and "may well be the explanation for the Scythians' superior mobility."⁸⁵⁹

⁸⁵⁵ Sun Ji (1981): 83. Yang Hong considers it a saddle pad as it does not have a folk or cantle. See Wenwu 1984 (9): 46.

⁸⁵⁶ Beatie (1981): 108.

⁸⁵⁷ Yuan Zhongyi (2003): 58.

⁸⁵⁸ Chenevix-Trench (1970): 49.

⁸⁵⁹ Ibid.

Qin's saddle is adorned with patterns of indented small, circled dots in the center.⁸⁶⁰ Such a pattern is a typical Scythian motif that appears on the Scythian fighter's trousers (see Fig. 143) and on a gold plaque from Kul Oba (Fig. 149). The appearance of this typical Scythian motif on the Qin's saddle, together with similarities in the saddle design, supports the argument that the Scythians could be credited with introducing the saddle to China during the third century BC or earlier.⁸⁶¹ Others have also noted that the S-shaped check piece was developed first by the Scythians.⁸⁶²

It should be noted that other scholars conducted a similar study comparing the saddles and bridles worn by the cavalry horses from Qin Shihuangdi's terracotta army and those excavated at Pazyryk. The results demonstrate the Chinese debt to the mounted tribes of the Eurasian steppes.⁸⁶³

Saddles developed during the Han dynasty. Although the saddle is not represented on the Han tiles, cavalymen excavated from the early Han tomb (179–141BC) of Yangjiawan, Xianyang 咸陽楊家灣漢墓 are equipped with fairly complete sets of horse trappings with bridle and saddle (without stirrup),⁸⁶⁴ although the folk and cantle may still not be high.⁸⁶⁵ The story of the Han general, Li Guang 李廣 (fl. 166–119 BC), who ordered his fellow 100 cavalymen to untie their saddles and rest when confronting a large number of Xiongnu cavalry,⁸⁶⁶ indicates that the saddle commonly was used by Han cavalymen. Based on the patterns drawn on the parts of the bronze chariot from Ding County, Hebei 河北定縣, dated to the end of the Han, the saddle is shown with a high cantle.⁸⁶⁷

⁸⁶⁰ Dr. Elfriede R. K. Knauer suggests that this pattern is the result of quilting.

⁸⁶¹ Metropolitan Museum of Art (1975): 21.

⁸⁶² Juliano (1991): 27–28.

⁸⁶³ So (1995): 29.

⁸⁶⁴ Zhan Li (1977): 25. The excavation report (Wenwu 1977[10]: 10–16) dates the tomb to the reigns of Emperor Wen (r. 179–157 BC) and Emperor Jing (r. 156–141 BC). According to Yang Hong (Wenwu 1977[10]: 27–32), these horses have saddlecloths, but not saddles (p. 28).

⁸⁶⁵ Sun Ji (1981): 83.

⁸⁶⁶ *SJ*: 109, 49, 2868.

⁸⁶⁷ Sun Ji (1981): 83.

The increase in the height of the folk and the cantle has earned the saddle the name of *gaoqiao an* 高橋鞍 (saddle with high-raised folk and cantle), or *liangqiao chuzhi an* 兩橋垂直鞍 (saddle with vertical folk and cantle).⁸⁶⁸ The saddle with a high folk and a cantle became popular in the Jin period 晉 (265–316). For example, the saddle modeled on the pottery cavalry figure from a Western Jin tomb in Changsha, dated to 302, shows vertical folk and cantle (Fig. 150).⁸⁶⁹ Other examples include those from the tombs of Feng Sufu (d. 415) of Liaoning, Xiaomintun of Anyang, and others.⁸⁷⁰

The adjustment to the height of the folk and cantle started during the Northern Dynasties. From the tomb murals of Lou Rui 婁叡 (d. 570) (Fig. 151) and Xu Xianxiu 徐顯秀 (fl. 550–577) (Fig. 152),⁸⁷¹ both of the Northern Qi (550–571), each horse is equipped with a saddle and covered by a saddlecloth. The contour of the saddle shows the height and curvature of the folk and the cantle.

The Tang dynasty saddle further refined the basic Northern Dynasties' arrangement making the folk even higher and the cantle lower and leaning backwards. The space between the front and rear portions forms a curved surface for the convenience of mounting and comfort of the rider. The Tang-type saddle is called *Houqiao qingxie an* 後橋傾斜鞍 (saddle with backward-slant seat).⁸⁷² The saddles on Emperor Taizong's six horse reliefs represent this type of fully developed style.

B. Discussion

The evolution of the saddle started with Assyrians and nomadic tribes in the steppes. The saddle emerged in China during the third century BC and was further developed in the later periods and formalized during the Northern Dynasties and the Tang.

⁸⁶⁸ Ibid.: 84.

⁸⁶⁹ Yang Hong (1984): 46.

⁸⁷⁰ Ibid. Sun Ji (2001): 100.

⁸⁷¹ Shen Weichen (2005): 21 & 24.

⁸⁷² Sun Ji (2001): 100.

The introduction of the saddle into China around the third century BC, together with other horse trappings, certainly can be associated with several historical events of that time. In 307 BC, King Wuling established the Chinese cavalry troop as part of his military reform. The saddle naturally would have been developed along with the formation of the cavalry. Going hand-in-hand with the saddle is the stirrup, which came into being much later and will be addressed below.

4). Stirrup

Although the stirrup seems simple and insignificant, it exerted a major impact on the effectiveness of cavalry in warfare. Its invention made the cavalryman "far more formidable" for it provided him with "the support which was almost indispensable for exerting force in attack." A mounted archer supported by a saddle with stirrups could aim better and pull harder than a stirrup-less horseman. A horseman seated on a saddle with stirrups could wield his sword with greater accuracy and strength.⁸⁷³

A. Historical Review

The ancient Assyrian and Achaemenid periods did not produce any representations of riders with stirrups. The figure of the Assyrian king Shalmaneser III (860–825 BC) on the bronze gates of Balawat is shown riding with a crude support, not a stirrup, under his foot (Fig. 153).⁸⁷⁴

In 522 BC, Herodotus described how Cambyses, the Achaemenid king, received his fatal wound: "As he leapt upon his horse, the cap of his sword-sheath fell off, and the sword being left bare struck his thigh."⁸⁷⁵ This story indicates that the stirrup was not used then, and mounting a horse required considerable effort, which might cause severe injury. The strap loop hanging from

⁸⁷³ Wittfogel (1949): 507.

⁸⁷⁴ Ibid.: 505. Bivar (1955): 61. Fig. 3. Bivar went on to say that "we need not imagine the stirrup was in existence at so early a date as this. Elsewhere the redoubtable Assyrian cavalry are never shown using such a device."

⁸⁷⁵ Herodotus (1914): III, 64.

the horse on a Parthian plaque at the Louvre Museum has been interpreted as the stirrup-leather (Fig. 154).⁸⁷⁶

The horse scenes on Sasanian rock reliefs of the third-fourth century and the Sasanian silver plates of the fifth century or later often show the riders' feet hanging straight down with toes pointed toward the ground, completely unsupported. As Erich Schmidt points out, "As usual, there is no stirrup, this device apparently being unknown to the Sasanians."⁸⁷⁷

In the steppes, the Chertomlyk vase, dated to the fourth century BC, shows Scythian horses standing saddled and bridled. One horse has a strap hanging from the saddle folk, which has been interpreted as a stirrup-leather⁸⁷⁸ or a loose attachment of the cinch (see Fig. 144).⁸⁷⁹ On the basis of this and of remains found in Scythian tombs, a Russian scholar, W. Arendt, has reconstructed a putative Scythian saddle with stirrups attached not to the saddle but to the cinch. If such a useful discovery as stirrups was made in the third century BC, why did it not spread?⁸⁸⁰

Based on the itemized inventory lists, there is no evidence of any stirrup in the Pazyryk barrows.⁸⁸¹ M. Rostovtzeff credits the Sarmatians for bringing Iranian military equipment, including new forms of horse-trappings and probably stirrups, from Iran to South Russia.⁸⁸² Carl Bishop claims that the discovery of the earliest stirrups in South Russia was in a tomb (probably Sarmatian) of perhaps the first century BC."⁸⁸³ In both cases, unfortunately, no details are provided. Turkic tombs of the seventh and eighth centuries contain iron stirrups.⁸⁸⁴

⁸⁷⁶ Qi Dongfang (1993): 74.

⁸⁷⁷ Schmidt (1970): 135.

⁸⁷⁸ Bivar (1955): 61. Bivar cites this example but also doubts whether the invention if so early could have remained long unknown. Qi Dongfang (1993): 74. Sun Ji (1981): 88.

⁸⁷⁹ Bivar (1955): 61. The straps tied to the rider's feet seem like stirrups, but they are not. The same straps are tied to their feet when they are not on horseback.

⁸⁸⁰ Chenevix-Trench (1970): 64.

⁸⁸¹ Rudenko (1970): 311–327.

⁸⁸² Rostovtzeff (2000): 80. Stirrups are mentioned as quoted but without much detail. Haskins (1952): 263. Under note 73, Haskins writes that "stirrups have been reported as having come from Sarmatian tombs." This quote cannot be verified by the references provided.

⁸⁸³ White (1939): 33.

⁸⁸⁴ Wittfogel (1949): 507.

It appears that examples of foot support or stirrup-leathers from West Asia or the steppes of the early period might have been used only for mounting and therefore were not real stirrups,⁸⁸⁵ but rather, as Bivar called them, "stirrup-like devices."⁸⁸⁶ For the invention of the stirrup in a practical form, it is necessary to study the material from East Asia.

Examples from the Western Han, such as the pair of stirrups carved on a reclining water-buffalo from Huo Qubing's tomb, or from the Eastern Han, such as the stirrups depicted on a rubbing from the Wu Liang ci 武梁祠 and the Wuwei bronze horse, have been mentioned,⁸⁸⁷ however, there is not sufficient information to show that the stirrup was in general use in the reign of Emperor Wu of the Western Han (140–87 BC).⁸⁸⁸ Stirrup-like devices may have been noted from nomadic tombs. The strap loop hanging from the horse depicted on the Ordos plaque found at Keshengzhuang 客省莊, Shaanxi, and dated to the third century BC, probably is a stirrup⁸⁸⁹ or precursor of the stirrup (Fig. 155).⁸⁹⁰ In the Xiongnu tomb groups at Xichagou 匈奴西岔溝古墓群 of the first century BC, some suspect that the circular items hanging from the horse

⁸⁸⁵ Sun Ji (1981): 88.

⁸⁸⁶ Bivar (1955): 61.

⁸⁸⁷ Carl Bishop believes that he "was the first one to point out that on the kneeling figure of a water-buffalo at the tomb of Huo Qubing (117 BC), there is represented a saddle-pad with stirrups [see White, William Charles (1939):33]. Wu Bolun 武伯倫 urges that discussion concerning the history of stirrup needs to consider this pair of stirrups although it appears that the set on the water-buffalo and might have been added at a later date [see Wu Bolun 3 1961):163]. Yang Hong 楊弘 rejects this example in his study [see Yang Hong 12 (1961): 695]. Qi Dongfang 齊東方 further points out that using of the stirrups without saddle and saddle-pad and their placement on a water-buffalo instead of horse looks very odd indeed [see Qi Dongfang 4(1993): 74. Joseph Needham reproduces a rubbing from the Wu Liang ci of the Han (147) of a figure on a galloping horse, which very clearly indicates a stirrup (Fig. 25). White was skeptical about the reliability of the rubbing [see Lynn White (1964): 141]. It has been claimed that stirrups were painted on bronze horses from the late Eastern Han tomb at Leitai, Wuwei, Gansu [see "Wuwei Leitai Han mu" in Kaogu xuebao, 1974, no. 2, p. 91], but this is denied by Sun Ji, who checked the piece [see Sun Ji (1981):88, n. 5]. See Albert Dien (1986), note 4 and 5, for more discussions.

⁸⁸⁸ Loewe (1974): 100.

⁸⁸⁹ Qi Dongfang (1993): 74. The article gives the date from the end of Warring States to before the Western Han.

⁸⁹⁰ Litvinsky (2001): 140. Ilyasov (2003): 272. Ilyasov calls it "Ordos belt-buckle" and doubts that the strap loop can help with mounting as it is too long, hanging down almost touching the ground, and is attached behind the saddle.

backs, as depicted on the plaques, are stirrup-like devices.⁸⁹¹ Others believe that they are not associated with stirrups at all.⁸⁹²

The stirrup is firmly attested both in literary sources and by archaeological evidence in the fifth century.⁸⁹³ The first reference to the stirrup in Chinese literature is recorded in the biography of a military officer, Zhang Jing'er 張敬兒, who flourished in 477.⁸⁹⁴ The arrival by mail of a pair of stirrups as a signal of a military action indicates that the stirrup must have been commonly used by then.⁸⁹⁵

The general use of the stirrup at that time determines that the invention of the stirrup must have been earlier than the mid-fifth century. The earliest reliable representation of a stirrup, commonly cited, comes from archaeological material datable to the early fourth century. A single example painted on the left side of the horse from a Western Jin tomb in Changsha 長沙西晉 and datable to 302, is considered to be a proto stirrup because it is too short to serve as a stirrup once the rider has mounted (see Fig. 150).⁸⁹⁶ A single metal stirrup was found in tomb 154 at Xiaomintun near Anyang 安陽孝民屯, dated to the early fourth century (Fig. 156).⁸⁹⁷ What may be the earliest representation of a proper stirrup, of full length and on both sides of the horse, is modeled on the pottery horse from tomb 7 at Xiangshan near Nanjing 南京象山 and dated to 322 (Fig. 157).⁸⁹⁸

⁸⁹¹ Qi Dongfang (1993): 74. Sun Shoudao (1960): 25–32.

⁸⁹² Yang Hong (1984): 47. Yang does not think that the circular strap hanging from the horse back should be associated with stirrups.

⁸⁹³ Dien (1986): 86. In the late second century BC, India took the form of the saddle-strap and later a tiny stirrup for the big toe. It is not known whether these forms had any influence on China.

⁸⁹⁴ *NQS*: 25, 6, 466, 122. Zhang Jing'er inquired secretly of his friend, Liu Xiangbing 劉攘兵, about the possible revolt by Shen Youzhi 沈攸之. Liu did not reply but sent him a pair of stirrups.

⁸⁹⁵ Chenevix-Trench (1970): 64.

⁸⁹⁶ Yang Hong (1961): 695. Dien (1986): 33. Qi Dongfang (1993): 72.

⁸⁹⁷ Dien (1986): 33. Dien dates it to the early or mid-fourth century. Qi Dongfang dates it to the early fourth century or before. See Wenwu, 1993 (4): 72.

⁸⁹⁸ *Ibid.*: 33. Dien states the date is not certain, but the other objects found in the tomb make an early Eastern Jin date probable.

Actual stirrups have been found in tombs dated between the mid-fourth to mid-fifth century from: Yuantaizi in Zhaoyang, Liaoning 遼寧朝陽袁台子 (one pair) (Fig. 158),⁸⁹⁹ the tomb of Feng Sufu 馮素弗 (d. 415), Beipiao, Liaoning (Fig. 159),⁹⁰⁰ Wangbaoting 万寶汀 tomb 78 (two pairs) (Fig. 160) and Qixingshan 七星山 tomb 96 (two pieces) (Fig. 161), both in Ji'an, Jilin. These stirrups are made of a rattan core and covered with leather, gilt copper or iron plate.⁹⁰¹ Additional examples are found in a number of tombs dated to the Northern Dynasties.⁹⁰²

The stirrup first appeared in the early fourth century. It became more widely used during the fifth century both in the north and in the south. "By the end of the sixth century, an elegant and fully developed pattern of stirrup had been evolved, and this is the type which was worn by the war-horses of Tang Taizong."⁹⁰³ Each of Emperor Taizong's six horses is equipped with a pair of stirrups. Hanging from the saddle and fastened by a strap to the short handle, each stirrup is round with a slightly curved top and flattened wide stirrup tread for the comfort of the feet.

Some scholars contest that the stirrups from Koguryō tombs and the Silla Kingdom of the fourth–sixth century are earlier than the Chinese ones. The National Museum of North Korean claims that the earliest stirrup, datable to the early fifth to sixth century, is exhibited at their museum and credits the Koreans for its invention (Fig. 162).⁹⁰⁴

Albert Dien is inclined to accept this view. Asserting that the date of the Nanjing tomb is "uncertain" and that "the Feng Sufu's stirrups (415) are of the earliest of known date," he suggests that stirrups found in Koguryō tombs "may antedate the pair from the Feng tomb since these sites are usually ascribed to the fourth and fifth centuries." He traces the history of the stirrup by its shapes.⁹⁰⁵

⁸⁹⁹ Liaoning sheng bowuguan wenwudui et al. (1984): 29–45.

⁹⁰⁰ Li Yaobo (1973): 2–19.

⁹⁰¹ Qi Dongfang (1993): 75.

⁹⁰² Ibid.: 72.

⁹⁰³ Bivar (1955): 62.

⁹⁰⁴ Minzhu Chaoxianbao (1957): 60–61. In this article published in 1957, the Democratic Korean newspaper dates the stirrup to the fifth and sixth centuries or before.

⁹⁰⁵ Dien (1986): 34–35. On page 35, Dien also states that the stirrup appears in China and the adjacent areas to the north by the fourth century and its use was well established shortly thereafter.

Chinese scholars do not accept this theory. They argue that the stirrups found in China show a course of development from the crude single stirrup dated 302 to the mature double stirrups of the Feng Sufu of 415.⁹⁰⁶ Yang Hong believes that the stirrups from Koguryō tombs "are products influenced by the Central Plain."⁹⁰⁷ Qi Dongfang is skeptical about Dien's statement on the shapes of the stirrups. He believes that the shapes of early stirrups can hardly be exactly the same, as they were "hand-made." He declares that the appearance of stirrups in Eastern Europe, Western Europe, Central Asia and East Asian (Japan and Korea) is "later than in China."⁹⁰⁸

B. Discussion

The discussion of the early history of the stirrup has shed light on, but not firmly established, who the inventor was and where it was invented. Constructive views, however, started to form 80 years ago.

According to Paul Pelliot (1878–1945), the nomads of Central Asia, who taught the Chinese the art of riding, may have invented the stirrup. The "true stirrup" may have been carried from Inner Asia to China sometime between 200 and 400 AD.⁹⁰⁹ Albert von Le Coq (1860–1930) believes that the innovation was probably made by a people of good horsemanship who roved far, or by a non-riding people who quickly learned how to ride in order to combat their mounted enemies.⁹¹⁰ The statements made by these two outstanding scholars 80 years ago remain valid despite some significant developments in the past two decades.

Based on the historical review mentioned above, Qi Dongfang 齊東方 suggests that before the "true stirrup" was invented, there was a single-stirrup period in West Asia, Central Asia and China, probably before the fourth century. This statement is supported by the stirrups found on

⁹⁰⁶ Yang Hong (1984): 47.

⁹⁰⁷ Ibid. 48. His major argument is that the Chinese stirrups are of wooden core covered with gilt copper. But the stirrups from Yushan, Korea are of wooden core covered with iron. The relationship between these two is clear.

⁹⁰⁸ Qi Dongfang (1993): 77.

⁹⁰⁹ Wittfogel (1949): 505. The author cannot locate the original text according to the source provided (Tongbao, 1926, 262).

⁹¹⁰ Le Coq (1925): 22. Wittfogel (1949): 505. See the English translation in note 6.

the Parthian vase and the Xiongnu plaques and from the Chinese tombs datable to the early fourth century. Additionally, the leather-covered stirrups could have been used in the early fourth century before the metal stirrups came into being as they are found at the Yuantaizi tomb as well as being depicted on plaques and other pieces.⁹¹¹

Yang Hong inclines to the view that the stirrup emerged first among the non-riding peoples because of their greater need to acquire riding skills.⁹¹² Sun Ji believes that the increasing use of armored cavalry provided the incentive and favorable environment for the development and widespread use of the stirrup.⁹¹³

Based on the majority of stirrups and their imagery being found in the northern part of China and their association with Scythian and Xiongnu plaques in the north of Liaoning and northwest regions, Qi Dongfang proposes that the stirrup very likely could have been invented by nomads roving northern China before the fourth century.⁹¹⁴

Several ideas can be derived from the above discussion. The stirrup was neither invented by nor was popular among the nomadic peoples. Based on the few examples of stirrup-like devices shown on a variety of Scythian and Parthian horse images and Xiongnu plaques, it seems that the stirrup-like devices were not widely used among these nomadic people. Nomads are required to have riding skills to survive; such talents symbolize their manhood and strength. They are taught to ride as children, often learning on sheep and cows. Even if they developed certain devices to help with mounting, they had little incentive to improve and perfect them to the level of true stirrups. They might see the use of a helping device, such as a stirrup, as a signal of weakness, tarnishing their nomadic image and reputation.

The stirrup was developed for the needs of a non-riding people like the Chinese. They certainly would have needed assistance to quickly master the skill of riding, not only for mounting but also in combat with their enemies. Their mentality, different from that of the

⁹¹¹ Qi Dongfang (1993): 74–75.

⁹¹² Yang Hong (1984): 49.

⁹¹³ Sun Ji (1981): 88.

⁹¹⁴ Qi Dongfang (1993): 78.

nomads, would have been open and receptive to any riding devices to help them master riding skills fast and effectively.

The nomads, who taught the Chinese how to ride, could easily have used their stirrup-like devices, such as those depicted on the plaques, as teaching tools. The Chinese could have taken over these devices and developed them to suit their needs. The discovery of several examples from Chinese sites demonstrates a course over several hundred years of natural development of the true stirrup, probably in response to the growth of Chinese cavalry after the Han dynasty.

The stirrup was spread and perfected by interaction between the nomads and non-riding peoples. After the emergence of the real stirrup in China during the fourth century, the advantage of the stirrup quickly spread to the nomads. Probably during the fifth century, as A.D. Bivar points out, "the advantages of the stirrup became apparent to the mounted nomads of the Inner Asian frontier of China."⁹¹⁵ Once people realized the advantage of the simple stirrup, particularly its importance to the effectiveness of cavalry troops, the stirrup became widespread. It "was perfected at the frontiers of China and that it was introduced into Europe by the Avars in the sixth century."⁹¹⁶ The Chinese developed the stirrup into the type depicted on the Emperor Taizong's horses during the Tang dynasty.

5). Groom

Only one of the six stone horse reliefs, Saluzi, includes a figure along with the horse. This figure is not a groom⁹¹⁷ but Emperor Taizong's general and rescuer, Qiu Xinggong 丘行恭 (586–665).

A. Qiu Xinggong

A native of Luoyang, Qiu Xinggong was born into a military family that had produced generals for several generations.⁹¹⁸ Different from his father who was large-minded and lenient,

⁹¹⁵ Bivar (1955): 62.

⁹¹⁶ Ibid. Schmidt (1970): 135.

⁹¹⁷ Waley (Sept. 1923): 117–18. Waley points that the figure was Tang Taizong's general, not a groom as claimed by Carl Bishop (see Bishop 1918: 270).

⁹¹⁸ *JTS*: 59, 9, 2324–26.

Qiu was harsh⁹¹⁹ and even cruel.⁹²⁰ He was famed also for his excellent riding and shooting skills, and exceptional bravery.⁹²¹ These credentials won him distinctive military honors in vital battles contributing to the establishment and safeguarding of the Tang regime.⁹²² On one occasion, he even came to the rescue of Emperor Taizong, then the Prince of Qin, in a very dangerous situation. This event, occurring in 621, is well documented in the Tang official history:

[太宗] 與諸騎相失, 惟行恭獨從. 尋有勁騎數人追及太宗, 矢中禦馬, 行恭乃迴騎射之, 發無不中, 餘賊不敢復前, 然後下馬拔箭, 以其所乘馬進太宗. 行恭於禦馬前步執長刀, 巨躍大呼, 斬數人, 突陣而出, 得入大軍.⁹²³

[Taizong was] separated from his cavalrymen, and only Xinggong followed him. Shortly after, several [of the enemy's] vigorous cavalrymen pursued and got close to Taizong and one of their arrows hit Taizong's charger. Xinggong turned around and shot back. Every shot hit the target and the enemy dared not to come forward. He then dismounted to remove the arrow that hit the horse's chest, and gave his own charger to Taizong. In front of the wounded horse he wielded a long knife, leaping in gigantic bounds, and killed several men. He then charged out of that position and returned to join the main army.

This life-and-death event, the loss of his favorite charger and the bravery of Qiu, must have made a deep impression on Taizong. He rewarded Qiu with high official titles and material wealth as thanks for his exceptional military achievements. Qiu, however, got into various types of trouble several times and lost his official titles. Each time Emperor Taizong pardoned him and restored his official titles after short periods of punishment. He died at the age of 80 and was buried in an auxiliary tomb at Zhaoling.⁹²⁴

⁹¹⁹ Ibid.: 59, 9, 2326–27.

⁹²⁰ Ibid.: 69, 19, 2524. Liu Lan 劉蘭 was executed by being cut in half at the waist due to his revolt. Qiu Xinggong scooped out his heart and liver and ate them all. His behavior was reproached by Emperor Tang Taizong.

⁹²¹ Ibid.: 59, 9, 2326.

⁹²² Ibid.: 59, 9, 2326–27.

⁹²³ Ibid.: 59, 9, 2327.

⁹²⁴ Ibid.: 59, 9, 2326.

In 636, ten years after Taizong became Emperor, he ordered the scene of Qiu's removing the arrow from Saluzi's chest to be portrayed on the stone relief that was erected at his tomb site⁹²⁵ together with the other five horse reliefs. The relief captures the heart-breaking moment—Saluzi is depicted with his head lowered, apparently sustaining great pain, but he is still standing in full battle gear as if ready to return to the fighting. Qiu is portrayed in a three-quarter profile. His right leg is one-step forward and his left one-step back to form a steady position. His left hand is on the horse's chest while he uses his right hand to pull out the arrow gently. The relief freezes the sorrowful and solemn scene and provides a vivid visual narration to complement the historical documentation.

The historical significance of the relief has attracted great attention, since Tang Taizong is regarded as one of the great emperors in Chinese history. The depiction of Qiu Xinggong, on the other hand, has long been overlooked. Qiu is shown with thick eyebrows and mustache, but it is his military dress and weapons that have historical significance directly relevant to this study.

B. Military Garments

Qiu is clad in a military uniform including a set of outer garments and armor worn under the outer garments.

a). Outer Garments

Qiu's outer garments consist of a cap, a long war robe, a pair of trousers and a pair of boots. The cap has a semi-circular top with a wide brim. The brim seems adjustable; it must have been folded at least twice to make it as thick as it is. Two ribbons are hanging from the cap's brim and are bowed at Qiu's left side (Fig. 163). The cap fits tightly on his head, covering the hair, suggesting that it might be made of soft thick material, such as felt or wool. Tang documents state that "a felt cap"⁹²⁶ is provided to each soldier, so that what Qiu is wearing could

⁹²⁵ Ibid.: 59, 9, 2327.

⁹²⁶ *XTS*: 50, 40, 1325. The longer version of the citation is provided below (see note 984 and its referred text).

very likely be a felt cap. It is not uncommon for soldiers to wear felt caps. The Persian infantry, as Herodotus wrote, wore "soft felt caps called *tiaras*."⁹²⁷

Chinese texts document the use of felt during the Zhou period (1100–771 BC),⁹²⁸ but do not mention felt clothing or caps. Felt-making has been widely practiced by nomadic peoples, ancient and modern, for rugs, tents and clothing. Felt caps, clothing and blankets are found with the mummies located in the Tarim Basin. The felt cap worn by a male warrior from Subeshi is termed by Victor Mair a "felt helmet."⁹²⁹ The other gentleman from Zaghunluq has an array of caps and hats, ten altogether, and at least several were made of felt.⁹³⁰ It would not be surprising if felt caps were adopted by the Chinese while interacting with nomads sometime in their history. The felt cap and ribbons, distinctive, respectively, to Persian soldiers as recorded in texts and to Sasanian royal members as portrayed on silver plates, became associated with Qiu Xinggong's military garments. The appearance of these features provides plausible evidence of Iranian influence on Chinese war garments.

The discussion of the war robe and the boots can better be handled by comparing them with examples from Persepolis of the Achaemenid period and those excavated from the Qin Shihuangdi's mausoleum.

Qiu Xinggong is clad in a full-length war robe, known as a *kuangyi* 纁衣 (a robe worn over armor).⁹³¹ Similar full-length robes are worn by the Qin Shihuangdi's soldiers. The soldier who tends the draft horses for the chariot is wearing a full-length robe with loose sleeves (Fig. 164). A tighter, shorter robe is worn by Qin Shihuangdi's cavalryman (Fig. 165). These robes show similarities as well as differences to the garments worn by the tributaries portrayed at Persepolis, sixth–fifth century BC (Fig. 166). Qiu Xinggong's robe resembles the one worn by the chariot soldier (see Fig. 164). The Qin Shihuangdi cavalryman's robe is similar in length to

⁹²⁷ Herodotus (1914): VII, 61.

⁹²⁸ ZL: Tianguan zongzai diyi, zhangpi (天官冢宰第一, 掌皮). 共其毳 cui 毛為氈, 以待邦事 (Provide them with soft wool for making felt to prepare its use for state affairs).

⁹²⁹ Mallory (2000): 196.

⁹³⁰ Ibid.: 214.

⁹³¹ Jie Mei (1990): 9.

that of the Persepolis tributaries, but it flares with a split in the lower part. All of the robes have openings at the lower parts for the convenience of mounting and belts or belt-type objects tied at the waist. The belts of both the Qin Shihuangdi's chariot soldier and the tributaries at Persepolis have bows, although of different types.

Around the neck of the Qin Shihuangdi's cavalryman is a thick strand of fabric, known as a *quling* 曲領 (curved collar),⁹³² circling the neck, overlapping at the front and tucking both ends inside the armor. It functions as a buffer to protect the neck from abrasion from the metal armor.⁹³³ A similar high and thick curved collar is attached to Qiu's outer robe. The resemblance of their collars is surprisingly close, possibly the Tang costume is a continuation from the Qin tradition.

The sleeves of the Qin Shihuangdi's cavalryman, compared to those of the chariot soldier, are tightly fitted. They are molded with multiple round folds at the section close to the wrist. Similar folds can be found on the sleeves of Qiu Xinggong. His sleeves taper toward the wrists terminating at his low arms, showing a much tighter fit. The sleeves of the tributaries at Persepolis are fitted even tighter to their arms. Tight-fitting sleeves are a non-Chinese tradition.

The Qin Shihuangdi's cavalryman wears long and tapering trousers, as do the tributaries depicted at Persepolis. Some of Qin's soldiers wear knee-high pants that wrap their legs, and wear shoes or boots (Fig. 167).⁹³⁴ Qiu Xinggong's trousers are long and tapering towards his ankles, terminating with a hem across each ankle. The tapering shape of the trousers is no different from those worn by the tributaries.

The boots of the Qin Shihuangdi's soldiers and the tributaries at Persepolis are amazingly similar. The vamps seem to fit their feet comfortably, and the boots are secured by multiple straps. In the case of Persepolis, one strap goes around the ankle and the other strap goes around the top and the bottom, and both straps intersect at the front ankle.⁹³⁵ In the case of the Qin

⁹³² Wang Xueli (1994): 479.

⁹³³ Ibid.

⁹³⁴ Ibid.: 499–501. Wang lists the shapes of both shoes and boots in the figures III–3:24 and III–3:35.

⁹³⁵ Artamonov (1969): Fig. 196. Scythians wore boots similar to those of the Persians. Fig. 196 shows two seated Scythians wearing this type of boots.

soldiers, one type has two straps at each ankle and the third strap goes around the vamp and the sole. The other type has two straps that end with bows, one strap going around the ankle and the other securing the sole and the vamp. Qiu is also wearing a pair of similar boots with the upper part covered by his trousers. The difference is that, in Qiu's case, the strap serves as the hem of the trousers and goes around each ankle; in the cases of Persepolis and Qin Shihuangdi's soldiers, the strap seems more likely to be part of the boots or tied with the boots. The visual effect of the trousers and boots is similar.

It is noted that: "All the boots belong to the category of *hu* apparel. In olden days, King Wuling of the Zhao state wore them often when he advocated *hu*-dress. They started with a short upper and later it was modified to be tall to suit the needs of riding."⁹³⁶ The resemblance between the boots of the Qin soldiers and the tributaries at Persepolis (and also the Scythians) may provide a lead as to where the boots originated and how the boots spread to China. The use of boots in China shows an evolution from shoes to short boots and then to long boots as exemplified by the footwear of Qin soldiers and Qiu Xinggong.

The non-Chinese features of tight-sleeves, pants, legs wrapping, and boots have made some scholars confident that the garments worn by the Qin cavalry are the *hu*-dress that King Wuling instructed his subjects to wear so as to learn to shoot on horseback. This is the earliest material evidence of the *hu*-dress found so far.⁹³⁷ Even before the Qin terracotta warriors and horses were discovered, Bivar suspected that "the groom [Qiu Xinggong] who tends the wounded horse upon this relief has the appearance and equipment of a Central Asian nomad."⁹³⁸ Carl Bishop described him as "clad in Tartar costume"⁹³⁹ in the 1918 article on the horse reliefs.

Hu-dress is a general term that refers to costumes influenced by the nomadic peoples from the north and the Western Regions including Persians, Turks, and Uighurs.⁹⁴⁰ After the *hu*-

⁹³⁶ Jie Mei (1990): 17.

⁹³⁷ Yuan Zhongyi (2003): 59. Yuan, the director of the Museum of Terracotta Warriors and Horses of Qin Shihuang from 1988–1998, supervised the excavation since 1974.

⁹³⁸ Bivar (1955): 62.

⁹³⁹ Bishop (1918): 269.

⁹⁴⁰ Jie Mei (1990): 35.

dress was introduced, it continued to be popular and was adapted for both military and civilian use throughout the periods of Wei, Jin, Northern and Southern Dynasties, Sui and Tang.⁹⁴¹ Therefore, it is not a surprise to see the similarities of the robes worn by the tributaries at Persepolis and those of the Qin Shihuangdi's cavalymen and Qiu Xinggong.

b). Armor

Qiu's armor seems to be knee-length; its lower part is exposed under the up-lifting corner of his outer robe. It has an opening at his right side, which must have been designed for easy mounting. Full-length armor is probably worn by the guards of honor, who have additional shoulder pads and helmets, as depicted in the mural painting from the tomb of Princess Changle (Fig. 168).⁹⁴²

Berthold Laufer introduced two types of armor: "scale armor" and "plate armor."⁹⁴³ The laminae of scale armor, attached to a background, are arranged like roofing-tiles or the scales of a fish, one placed above another. In plate armor, the laminae are disposed one beside another, or sometimes slightly overlapping, and the background is dispensable. The plate armor, more flexible and lighter in weight than the scale armor, can be donned easily over or beneath any garment.⁹⁴⁴ Qiu seems to be clad in plate armor, judging by the arrangement of the laminae.

In Assyria, plate armor is unmistakably represented on monuments of King Sargon (722–705 BC) in connection with foot-archers, whose coats consist of six or seven parallel rows of small rectangular plates.⁹⁴⁵ King Tiglathpileser III (eighth century BC) is clad in a complete set of armor, and the top and the skirt showing different patterns (see Fig. 121). The Sasanian king, Hormizd II (302–309), is shown in armor marked with armor scales on his arms, and below the waist and legs (see Fig. 76).⁹⁴⁶ The Persian infantry and cavalry wore "body tunics of various

⁹⁴¹ Yuan Zhongyi (2003): 59.

⁹⁴² Han Wei (1991): 27.

⁹⁴³ Laufer (1914): 258.

⁹⁴⁴ *Ibid.*: 258–259.

⁹⁴⁵ *Ibid.*: 273.

⁹⁴⁶ Schmidt (1970): 131.

colors with sleeves, presenting the appearance of iron scales like those of a fish, and about the legs trousers."⁹⁴⁷

In the territory of the Scythians, plate armor was made not only of bone and horn but also of bronze and iron.⁹⁴⁸ The rock carving of the mounted lancer from Yenisei demonstrates that plate armor, presumably of iron, had penetrated into Siberia during the Iron Age (see Fig. 96).⁹⁴⁹

In China, examples of leather armor or fragments from bronze armor have been found from tombs dating as early as the Shang (sixteenth–eleventh century BC) and Western Zhou or Warring States (475–221 BC).⁹⁵⁰ Iron armor first appeared in the Warring States period. One set of iron armor in 261 loose plates, together with an almost complete iron helmet and eight iron swords, was found in Yan Xiadu, Yi County, Hebei, datable to the late Warring States period (475–221 BC).⁹⁵¹

The armor of the Qin dynasty, as shown on the terracotta warriors, can be classified into seven types. Each type is designed differently to suit the needs of general or soldier, infantry or cavalry.⁹⁵² Despite the differences in design or shape, the existing evidence suggests that the Qin terracotta warriors are clad in two-layered armor. The leather serves as the lining, which is now rotten, and the laminae are sewn to form the top layer. The laminae, molded as part of the terracotta figures, are shaped round or rectangular carrying unfixed numbers of holes for stringing. Groups of real armor, made of blue stone plates, were discovered in the pit K9801 excavated in 1998. From this warehouse of armor, one set of stone scale armor (T2G2) has been restored, which is comprised of 612 stone plates (Fig. 169).⁹⁵³ It should be noted that, among hundreds and thousands of bronze weapons from Qin Shihuangdi's pits,⁹⁵⁴ only two fragmentary

⁹⁴⁷ Herodotus (1914): VII, 61.

⁹⁴⁸ Laufer (1914): 274.

⁹⁴⁹ *Ibid.*

⁹⁵⁰ Shaanxi sheng kaogu yanjiusuo (2000): 143–44. Yang Hong (1961): 693. Yang Hong (2005): 166–170.

⁹⁵¹ Yang Hong (2005): 103 and 106. Hebei sheng wenwu yanjiusuo (1996): 52, 146, 404 and 597. Loose plates were found in other tombs at Yanxia du.

⁹⁵² Wang Xueli (1994): 487–497. Wang provides a detailed study accompanied by figures.

⁹⁵³ Shaanxi sheng kaogu yanjiusuo (2000): 106.

⁹⁵⁴ Yuan Zhongyi (2002): 248.

iron swords and a few other iron weapons have been found.⁹⁵⁵ The terracotta and stone armor are thought to be imitations of "iron armor."⁹⁵⁶

Iron armor was widely used in the Western Han.⁹⁵⁷ Three examples are the iron armor from the tombs of Marquis Ruyin 汝陰侯 (165 BC), the King of Nanyue 南越王 (154 BC) and the Prince of Zhongshan, Liu Sheng.⁹⁵⁸

Afterward the practice of wearing armor continued and expanded, not only for soldiers but also for their horses. The subject of horse armor, exemplified by Yuan Shao's 袁紹 (154–202) cavalry of the Eastern Han and Xianbei 鮮卑 cavalry of the Northern Dynasties,⁹⁵⁹ will not be elaborated upon here. During the Tang dynasty, armor for humans gained in popularity; more than thirteen types of armor are defined in the *Tang Liudian* 唐六典 (*TLD*; Compendium of administrative law of the six divisions of the Tang bureaucracy).⁹⁶⁰

Foreign influence is a major factor contributing to the appearance of iron armor in China. Laufer has conducted a detailed comparative study between the Persian and Han armor:⁹⁶¹

T[t]he new parts of the armor added in China during the Han period are exactly those which we find in ancient Persia.... Likewise the new mode of fighting prevailing in the Han period—the use of the sword in connection with shield and armor—is paralleled in Persia.⁹⁶²

In addition to armor, swords also are found in Western Han tombs, such as two swords from the Marquis of Ruyin, Anhui 安徽汝陰侯, twenty-five swords from the King of Chu from Shizishan, Xuzhou, Jiangsu 江蘇徐州獅子山楚王墓, fifteen swords from the King of Nanyue in Guangzhou 廣州南越王 and five swords from Liu Sheng, King of Zhongshan from Mancheng,

⁹⁵⁵ Yuan Zhongyi (2002): 549.

⁹⁵⁶ *Ibid.*: 173.

⁹⁵⁷ Yang Hong (2005): 166–67.

⁹⁵⁸ *Ibid.*: 128–129.

⁹⁵⁹ *Ibid.*: 174.

⁹⁶⁰ *TLD*: 16, 595–162.

⁹⁶¹ Laufer (1914): 174–236.

⁹⁶² *Ibid.*: 218.

Hebei 河北滿城陵山中山王劉勝.⁹⁶³ Shields are found on the Han reliefs as cited by Laufer (Fig. 170).⁹⁶⁴

From pre-Qin times to the Han, battle gear in China underwent a transformation from leather and bronze armor to iron armor and other related weapons. This timeline coincides with the development of the Chinese cavalry. Laufer argues that "the Turkish tribes who fought the Chinese at that time had undergone a similar development from the primitive and crude warfare of mounted archers to the principle of organized cavalry, like their Iranian neighbors" and they learned about cavalry "from the Iranians."⁹⁶⁵

It is not unreasonable for Laufer to make such an association. Cyrus, credited as the father of the new Iranian battle tactics, as mentioned in the section on the horse mane, trained his soldiers "to fight with sword, shield and armor."⁹⁶⁶ Since similarities of the Western Han equipment, such as armor and sword, can be found in Persian equipment around the sixth century BC, the possibility of dissemination and adoption, direct or indirect, exists between the two.

The colors of the armor, which have been overlooked in most previous studies, may add another link between China and Persia. The Persians wore armor of "various colors,"⁹⁶⁷ as recorded by Herodotus. The armor of Qi Shihuangdi's terracotta warriors, usually that of the general's, was also colorful.⁹⁶⁸ One set of scale-armor is colored brown and bordered with various colored patterns, which is shown best in the images with restored colors (Fig. 171).⁹⁶⁹ The plates of another armor are black, tied by vermilion red strings. In addition to plates, the exposed parts, made of leather, and the underneath supporting layer were also painted with

⁹⁶³ Yang Hong (2005): 128–129.

⁹⁶⁴ Laufer (1914): 202–208. Yang Hong (2005): 83 and 165. Yang states that leather or rattan shields were used during the Yin and Zhou periods. This tradition continued into the Qin and Han. Iron shields started to appear during the Han.

⁹⁶⁵ Laufer (1914): 222.

⁹⁶⁶ *Ibid.*: 218.

⁹⁶⁷ Herodotus (1914): VII, 61.

⁹⁶⁸ Wang Xueli (1994): 509.

⁹⁶⁹ Meng Jianming (2001): 101.

colorful patterns.⁹⁷⁰ Even after the leather rotted, bright colored patterns have remained imprinted in the mud (Fig. 172).⁹⁷¹

Among the examples known of Western Han armor, colors are not known to be preserved, but the armor plates were adorned with gold or silver flakes.⁹⁷² The reflection of these yellow and white metal pieces created an effect no less impressive than gaily colored armor, even if they were used only for "ceremonial purpose."⁹⁷³ The armor with large round metal pieces for protecting the left and right sides of the chest as well as the back, known as *mingguang kai* 明光鎧 (brightly illuminated armor), had the effect of a mirror under the sun. The armor worn by the Northern Qi (550–578) tomb figurines from Wanzhang 灣漳 was colored with red pigment.⁹⁷⁴ The warrior from the Cui Fen 崔芬 (503–551) tomb also features a gaily colored *mingguang kai*.⁹⁷⁵ The armor of the Tang dynasty worn by warrior figurines is usually applied with colorful pigments, such as those from the tomb of Zhang Shigui (Fig. 173),⁹⁷⁶ Zheng Rentai⁹⁷⁷ and Princess Yongtai.⁹⁷⁸ A similar colorful armor is on a warrior deity, as recorded by Aurel Stein (1862–1943), standing outside of a temple in Dandan–Uiliq, located in the ancient desert city of Khotan, dated to probably the eighth century.⁹⁷⁹ He states that "The gay colors of the successive rows of plates, alternately red-blue and red-green, were remarkably well preserved" (Fig. 174).⁹⁸⁰ Armor with colorful pigments is attested by ample extant archaeological examples in China, which must also be true of Persian armor, which had "various colors."

⁹⁷⁰ Wang Xueli (1994): 487.

⁹⁷¹ Yuan Zhongyi (1999): 80. Figs. 101–02.

⁹⁷² Yang Hong (2005): 169.

⁹⁷³ Ibid.

⁹⁷⁴ Ibid.: 199–200.

⁹⁷⁵ Linqiu xian bowuguan (2002): 35. Fig. 2.

⁹⁷⁶ Han Wei (1991): 45.

⁹⁷⁷ Shaanxi sheng bowuguan (1972): 35.

⁹⁷⁸ Yang Hong (2005): 216. The original excavation report (Wenwu, 1964[1]:12) does not describe specifically the pigments on the armor, but makes a general statement of the colorful nature of all the garments. Yang's description is more detailed than the report.

⁹⁷⁹ Stein (1907): 1, 252.

⁹⁸⁰ Ibid.

Laufer explicitly points to Turkic and Iranian sources⁹⁸¹ for the influence on the development of Chinese cavalry equipment:

There is no escape from the conclusion that historical contact and derivation must have been in operation, for it would be against all reason to assume that both the Huns and the Chinese should independently have run through the same stages of development of a complex series of phenomena as the Iranians did several centuries before this period. The inward identity of these developments on the three sides, resulting in the same styles of body armor improved by the utilization of metal, and the same manner of fighting, is sufficient proof for the fact that the one nation successively adopted the new practice from the other.⁹⁸²

The new military tactics and the mounted cavalry could not have been realized by resorting to the armor (and sword or shield) alone. More changes had to be made to the weaponry.

C. Weaponry

Qiu Xinggong is depicted with multiple items of weaponry. An arrow-quiver adorned with a large tassel is hanging prominently from the belt on his right side. A handle, which belongs to a sword or knife, with a strap tied to a small ring, is worn at the left⁹⁸³ side of the waist and projects under his arms. From the same left side but towards his hip, is an end with a pointed line; another end emerges from the low part of his right leg. The positions of these two exposed ends suggest that this article is shaped like a curve, which could very likely be a bow, the companion of the arrow-quiver.

What Qiu is wearing is a typical set of weapons for a Tang fighter. The Tang text on arms precisely gives the following details:

人具弓一, 矢三十, 胡祿, 橫刀, 礪石, 大鱗, 氈帽。⁹⁸⁴

⁹⁸¹ Laufer (1914): 267.

⁹⁸² Ibid.: 222–223.

⁹⁸³ "Left" or "right" refers to the proper left or right of the figure unless otherwise noted.

⁹⁸⁴ *XTS*: 50, 40, 1325.

Every man is equipped with one bow, thirty arrows, *hu*-styled quiver, a horizontal knife, a whetstone, a big awl, and a felt cap.

This text verifies that Qiu is carrying a bow and, instead of a sword, a long knife on his left side. A long knife is mentioned in the text documenting the weapon Qiu used to rescue Emperor Taizong. On his right side, there is an arrow-quiver with a full capacity assumed to be 30 arrows.

a). Bow and Arrow

The bow carried by Qiu Xinggong provides only a partial view. The full bow can be seen on the guards of honor depicted in the Crown Prince Yide's tomb (see Fig. 47). These guards are carrying swords (or knives) and encased bows, and the latter are decorated with tiger-skin patterns. These bows are completely encased while Qiu's has one end exposed.

The use of bow and arrow has a long tradition in ancient Iran.⁹⁸⁵ The earliest examples of non-composite bows in Mesopotamia are dateable to the mid-fifth millennium BC. Both non-composite and later composite bows were not regularly portrayed until the second half of the fourth millennium BC.⁹⁸⁶ The triangular composite bow was invented during the end of the tenth and beginning of the ninth century BC.⁹⁸⁷ An example of this bow is depicted in the portrait of the king of Babylon, a relief from Nabuapaliddina (c. 870 BC) (Fig. 175).⁹⁸⁸ The wounded lions in the Ashurbanipal lion-hunt relief (seventh century BC) are hit by multiple arrows (Fig. 176).⁹⁸⁹ The tributaries depicted at Persepolis carry a bow-case (see Fig. 166) or shoulder an

⁹⁸⁵ The author is grateful to Professor Victor Mair for informing her that the earliest bows were from Paleolithic Germany. According to Wikipedia: The bow was likely invented in the late Paleolithic or early Mesolithic. The oldest indication for its use in Europe comes from Stellmoor in the Ahrensburg valley north of Hamburg, Germany and dates from the late Paleolithic Hamburgian culture (ninth millennium BC). The arrows were made of pine and consisted of a mainshaft and a 0.15–0.20 m. long foreshaft with a flint point. There are no known definite earlier bows.

⁹⁸⁶ Zutterman (2003): 122–123. A composite or compound bow is made by joining two pieces of wood at the grip, partly overlapping, gluing them together and if necessary adding more layers of wood or sinew. Other materials include horn and bone.

⁹⁸⁷ *Ibid.*: 148.

⁹⁸⁸ Hall (1928): IX, 3.

⁹⁸⁹ *Ibid.*: XLVII.

arrow-quiver (Fig. 177). The Persian horsemen fighting the Greeks were mounted on horses and chiefly depended upon "shooting with bows."⁹⁹⁰ Based on this tradition, riding people of the steppes manufactured a bow that had a strong grip, rigid ears, and smaller size without losing its strength. As a consequence, these men could turn their upper bodies all the way to the rear of the horse and shoot.⁹⁹¹ Scythians must have been among the steppe peoples who improved the manufacturing of bows and arrows that were indispensable to their daily life. Their use of bows and arrows is depicted on the relics that they left behind (Figs. 178–180).

In China before King Wuling launched his reforms, weapons used for short-range combat included halberd, spear, sword, and dagger;⁹⁹² crossbow and arrow were used for long-range attacks.⁹⁹³ King Wuling's reform declared that Chinese weapons were not always effective when dealing with the nomads who were good archers and rode swiftly on horseback. When he called upon his people to learn to shoot on horseback from the *hu*, it was quite natural that bow and arrow, commonly used by nomads, would be the first line of weapons to be introduced and practiced by Chinese.

Based on the finds from the Qin Shihuangdi's mausoleum, some years after King Wuling's reform, the Qin weapons still show types commonly employed by infantry; improvements were made along the same main lines as those of pre-Qin periods with the addition of the *tongpi* 銅鉞 (sword-type metal weapon) and the *tongshu* 銅戈 (copper rod with octagonal top).⁹⁹⁴ The soldiers fighting on war chariots were equipped with crossbows and arrows primarily for medium- and far-distance shooting. These crossbows usually required more than one person to manage and launched multiple arrows simultaneously.⁹⁹⁵ Arrow-quivers containing 100, 50 or 12 arrows are found in large, medium and small sizes (Fig. 181).⁹⁹⁶

⁹⁹⁰ Herodotus (1914): IX, 49.

⁹⁹¹ Zutterman (2003): 148.

⁹⁹² Yang Hong (2005): 100.

⁹⁹³ *Ibid.*: 103.

⁹⁹⁴ *Ibid.*: 111–118.

⁹⁹⁵ *Ibid.*: 80–81.

⁹⁹⁶ Yuan Zhongyi (2003): 75–77.

A special cavalry troop was found in Qin Shihuangdi's mausoleum but with a comparatively small number of men and is equipped with insufficient and inappropriate weaponry.⁹⁹⁷ Soldiers carry crossbows and long swords.⁹⁹⁸ Crossbows were used for medium- and far-distance combat; the sword was good for close fighting.⁹⁹⁹ The sword was more for self-defense¹⁰⁰⁰ than a weapon for cavalymen on galloping horses as it was easy to break and effective only for stabbing/thrusting.¹⁰⁰¹ The limitation in weapons and the small number of only 116 cavalymen,¹⁰⁰² as compared to the vast Qin Shihuangdi's infantry, indicate that the Qin cavalry played a subordinate role in battle.¹⁰⁰³

Eighty years after the King Wuling's reform,¹⁰⁰⁴ the cavalry troop found in the Qin Shihuangdi's mausoleum is still in miniscule. The situation changed during the Western Han. Emperor Wen sent 85,000¹⁰⁰⁵ and 100,000¹⁰⁰⁶ cavalymen to fight against Xiongnu in the battles of 177 BC and 166 BC, respectively. The transformation of the cavalry troop from subordinate to primary position in battle took place during the ten years (128–119 BC) under the Emperor Wu's reign when major battles took place between the Han and Xiongnu involving 200,000 cavalymen.¹⁰⁰⁷ Cavalry troops became the main force in battles, and war chariots were assigned to protect the headquarters.¹⁰⁰⁸ The famous Han generals, such as Wei Qing 衛青 (d. 106 BC) and Huo Qubing, employed cavalry troops to win their anti-Xiongnu victories.

⁹⁹⁷ Yuan Zhongyi (2003): 60.

⁹⁹⁸ Wang Xueli (1994): 144.

⁹⁹⁹ Yuan Zhongyi (2003): 60.

¹⁰⁰⁰ Wang Xueli (1994): 151.

¹⁰⁰¹ Yuan Zhongyi (2003): 60.

¹⁰⁰² Wang Xueli (1994): 156.

¹⁰⁰³ *Ibid.*: 151.

¹⁰⁰⁴ *Ibid.*: 154. Wang outlines four phases of development of the Qin cavalry by tracing it to as early as the ninth century BC. But, the King Wuling's reform, not the Qin's cavalry, has been recorded in historical records.

¹⁰⁰⁵ *SJ*: 110, 50, 2895.

¹⁰⁰⁶ *Ibid.*: 2901.

¹⁰⁰⁷ Yang Hong (1977): 29.

¹⁰⁰⁸ *SJ*: 111, 51, 2935.

Long-distance weapons, such as the bow and arrow, were gradually increasingly employed alongside the growth of the cavalry. The arrow-quiver, originating among the nomads as indicated in the Tang text cited above, also developed. Different from the crossbow, a bow can be drawn in full by one man's arm strength¹⁰⁰⁹ and had been proven by the nomads to be effective and mobile on horseback. Bow, arrow and arrow-quiver were among the archaeological finds including the lacquered arrow-quiver, wooden bows and arrows from the tomb of Marquis Ruyin 汝陰侯墓 of the early Western Han,¹⁰¹⁰ composite bows and arrow-quivers from Mawangdui tombs of Western Han (Fig. 182),¹⁰¹¹ wooden and bamboo composite bow and leather arrow-quivers containing ten arrows from tomb 5 of Huchang, Hanjiang country, Jiangsu 江蘇邗江胡場五號墓 dated 71 BC¹⁰¹² and two complete arrows from the Han site at Juyan 居延漢代遺址 bearing titles of the officials responsible for the manufacture of arrows.¹⁰¹³

During the Tang dynasty, bows and arrows continued to be popular. Of the Emperor Taizong's horses, four out of six are depicted being hit by enemy arrows. Tang soldiers and guards of honor were equipped with bows and arrows as exemplified by Qiu Xinggong and by figures depicted on the murals from the tombs of Crown Prince Yide (see Fig. 47) and Prince Zhanghuai (Fig. 183).¹⁰¹⁴ Special attention needs to be given to the bow-cases that are adorned with spots, known as *huchang* 虎韞 (tiger bow-case). The guards of honor in the tomb mural of Crown Prince Yide are depicted with a complete view of the curved bows in cases while those of Prince Zhanghuai show lower parts but preserve more details and a decorative pattern.

The introduction of the use of bow and arrow on horseback can certainly be credited to the nomads who taught the Chinese these skills following King Wuling's reform in 307. The tomb tiles from Luoyang show an archer in a *hu*-style tight-waisted jacket, long slim pants and pointed cap, shooting on horseback with a bow in full string (see Fig. 106). Another mounted

¹⁰⁰⁹ Yang Hong (2005): 80.

¹⁰¹⁰ Ibid.: 154–155.

¹⁰¹¹ He Jiejun (2004): 207.

¹⁰¹² Yangzhou bowuguan (1981): 12–23.

¹⁰¹³ Gansu Juyan kaogudui (1978): 1–25.

¹⁰¹⁴ Zhang Mingqia (2002): Fig. 28.

archer, with reverted upper body, is drawing a composite bow with a triangular-pointed arrow (see Fig. 108). The appearance of the *hu*-archers on the Luoyang tiles serves as a testimony to the fact that shooting on horseback with bow and arrow was borrowed from the nomads.

Additional information that might shed light on the route of spread of bows to China is a mural at Qizil cave 114, dated to the fourth to fifth century. The scene on the mural depicts a rider clad in a Sasanian-type costume carrying a bow with one top-end visible (Fig. 184).¹⁰¹⁵ Another mural, from Qizil cave 14 of the sixth to seventh century, provides a view of a similar figure in Sasanian costume with a full view of an encased bow (Fig. 185).¹⁰¹⁶ The bow-case is adorned with decorative patterns. Additionally, the pointed curved end of the bow sticks out of the case, exactly the same treatment as employed with the Qiu Xinggong's bow. In Mogao cave 285 of the Western Wei (535–556), the robbers riding on armored horses in the center scene are depicted with arrow-quivers as well as bows in curved cases with half bow-cases visible (Fig. 186).¹⁰¹⁷ The treatment of Qiu's bow-case and that in Qizil cave 14, and the decorative patterns of the bow-cases depicted in the tombs of Princes Yide and Zhanghuai and the Mogao cave 285 are similar.

Ancient Iran has a long history of using bows. Based on this tradition, nomads, many of them also linguistically Iranian, made improvements on them. The nomads of the steppes could have spread these weapons to China through numerous contacts, including teaching the Chinese how to ride. The images found at Qizil and Mogao caves that bear Sasanian ethnicity features and weapons also suggest that bows and quivers could have been spread to China directly from Iran or through intermediaries via Xinjiang and then the Dunhuang region before reaching the central plain. Dunhuang was the outpost in contact with West Asia. During the Western Wei (535–556) envoys sent to Persia made stops in Dunhuang.¹⁰¹⁸ A route spreading from Iran is evidently plausible.

¹⁰¹⁵ Duan Wenjie (1992): 7. Fig. 148.

¹⁰¹⁶ Xinjiang Weiwu'er Zizhiqu wenwu guanli weiyuanhui (1989): 46.

¹⁰¹⁷ Dunhuang wenwu yanjiusuo (1982): Fig. 131.

¹⁰¹⁸ Jiang Boqin (1990): 1.

b). Long Knife

The long knife was known as *huanshou changdao* 環首長刀 (long knife with ring-handle) when it first appeared in the Western Han,¹⁰¹⁹ although short knives with ring-handles were found earlier.¹⁰²⁰

The existence of the ring-handled knife in the Western Han is supported by examples found at the tomb of Prince Liu Sheng¹⁰²¹ and the Western Han tombs located at the western suburbs of Xi'an (Fig. 187).¹⁰²² The story of the Han envoy to the Xiongnu, who signaled to Li Ling 李陵 (d. 74 BC), a Han general who had surrendered to Xiongnu, by stroking the ring-handle several times and pointing to his feet to imply the possibility of returning to Han,¹⁰²³ serves as more evidence of the common use of the ring-handled knife during the Western Han.

During the reign of Emperor Wu when the cavalry developed rapidly, the ring-handled knife emerged. As its name indicates, the knife is cast with a ring at the tip of the handle. Its blade was straight with one edge sharp and the other thickened. This way of manufacture made the knife durable and not as easy to break as a sword.¹⁰²⁴

The long knife proved more effective than the sword when a cavalryman was engaged in close combat, whether mounted or dismounted. When its advantage became known, the knife prevailed and replaced the sword in battle completely by the end of the Eastern Han (25–

¹⁰¹⁹ Yang Hong (2005): 152. Lan Yongwei et al (2001): 82. Authors of this book state that long-knives were first used during the Qin-Han periods. No example of Qin period was provided.

¹⁰²⁰ Loehr (1956): 65–70. Ring-handled short bronze knives were found in Anyang (1250–1050 BC), Henan. According to Loehr, these specimens have more or less faithful counterparts among the materials from the Ordos Desert, Suiyuan, Inner Mongolia, and Central Siberia; Mallory (2000): 328. According to Mallory and Mair, the earliest bronze metallurgy in China was stimulated by contacts with western steppe cultures, Yuan Zhongyi (2002): 540–57. Four ring-handled knives were found in Qin Shihuangdi mausoleum. They are short iron knives ranging from 0.043 to 0.35 m. in length. They are not categorized under weaponry in Yuan's study. Only five iron weapons are listed: two spears, two swords and one dagger, in addition to 222 pieces of iron tools and miscellaneous items. The extremely scanty remains of iron weaponry indicate that iron metallurgy was commonly applied to daily-life use but was not yet widely used in military. The bronze weaponry still played a dominant role in Qin Shihuangdi's army.

¹⁰²¹ Lan Yongwei et al (2001): 82.

¹⁰²² Zhongguo kexueyuan kaogu yanjiusuo Luoyang fajuedui (1963): 33. Among 217 tombs excavated, 204 knives were found from 16 tombs. Some of them are ring-handled.

¹⁰²³ HS: 54, 24.

¹⁰²⁴ Yang Hong (2005): 152–253.

220).¹⁰²⁵ Quite a few well-known images contain scenes with a ring-handled knife. The soliders depicted in the battle scene from Wu Liang ci are fighting with ring-handled knives (Fig. 188).¹⁰²⁶ In a battle scene from Yi'nan, Shandong, both the Han soldiers and Xiongnu fighters use a bow and arrows or knife and shield (Fig. 189),¹⁰²⁷ which indicates that the knife became one of the primary weapons for close-in combat.

During the Tang, the long knife became known as the *hengdao* 橫刀 (horizontal knife) and part of the set of weapons required by each cavalryman.¹⁰²⁸ The Tang horizontal knife maintained the function and basic design of the Han ring-handled knife but showed variations in hanging.

The method of hanging the weapons was modified over time. A sword hanging by a hook or scabbard slide, exemplified by the jade sword found in Luoyang, was a method that emerged on the Central Plain in the eighth century BC and spread to South Russia, the Kushan Kingdom, the Sasanian Empire and other places.¹⁰²⁹ The Prince Liu Sheng's long knife was hung by using the hook affixed close to the center of its backside (see Fig. 187). During the late Sasanian Empire, probably in the fifth century, the sword was hung by using a pair of ears, for more stability.¹⁰³⁰ This new method spread to China where it was used on the knives excavated from the tombs of Li Xian 李賢 (d. 569) and Lou Rui. The same method is depicted on the mural in Qizil and another Tang mural from Taiyuan (Fig. 190).¹⁰³¹ Qiu Xinggong's long knife is shown suspended from Qiu's belt with strings tied to the two rings (see Fig. 2a top). The Chinese way of hanging a sword by one hook spread to West Asia and other areas, and an improved method of hanging it with a pair of ears traveled from the Sasanian world and returned to China.¹⁰³² This is an example of dissemination, interaction and improvement among various cultures.

¹⁰²⁵ Ibid.: 153. Huang Minglan (1996): 28–29. This source refers the weapon held by the knights as swords.

¹⁰²⁶ Chavannes (1909–15): Fig. 110.

¹⁰²⁷ Yang Hong (2005): 153.

¹⁰²⁸ *XTS*: 50, 40, 1325.

¹⁰²⁹ Sun Ji (1996): 27–33.

¹⁰³⁰ Ibid.: 35.

¹⁰³¹ Ibid.: 35–37.

¹⁰³² Ibid.: 39.

Qiu Xinggong's garments and weapons are examples of the changes taking place after King Wuling's military reform. Qiu's felt cap and outer robe have strong *hu*-dress flavor and the boots certainly originated as *hu* footwear. The plate armor is associated with the history of Persian armor. The employment of bow and arrow on horseback is a result of the formation of Chinese cavalry who learned shooting and riding from the nomads, who could have learned it from ancient Iranians, or through a transmission route from Qizil and Dunhuang during the Sasanian period. The use of sword and knife accompanied the increased size of the cavalry. Such development could not have occurred in isolation. Similar development by nomads and centuries earlier by their neighbors in Iran could have exerted tremendous impact on Chinese military reform.

4. Conclusion

The elements discussed in this chapter should not be treated as separate matters, or "viewed as an isolated phenomenon."¹⁰³³ The sudden appearance of the crenellated mane and tail decoration, the introduction of the saddle and stirrup, and the adoption of nomadic costume and weapons for fighting on horseback can only be interpreted as the impact of a series of historical events. Starting with the campaigns of Alexander the Great in Central Asia, which forced nomadic peoples west to the borders of China, to King Wuling's military reform in 307 BC and centuries later the dissolution of the Sasanian Empire, they all contributed to the increasing importance of the horse and all its trappings in Chinese culture.

This study reveals that in the development of horse trappings, horse gear and military equipment, there are inextricable associations among cultures—ancient Iranians, Scythians, the people of Pazyryk and China. Virtually every element studied can be traced to ancient Iranian sources. Iranian elements mixed with those from the Scythians and Pazyryk influenced multiple aspects of Chinese culture, particularly in the early period of the Qin dynasty. These elements arrived in China; they were adopted, adapted, assimilated and developed into a form more suitable for Chinese use.

¹⁰³³ Laufer (1914): 217.

Emperor Taizong's six stone horse reliefs are imbued with various non-Chinese influences. They bear features directly borrowed from Sasanians, which are deeply rooted in the long Iranian tradition. There are also elements attributable to apparent Turkic influence and impacts from other nomadic people in general. It is not an overstatement that the horse is "the history-making animal"¹⁰³⁴ and the elements depicted on Emperor Taizong's six stone horse reliefs carry historical significance. They are the epitomes for the manifestation of the development of Chinese military reform and showcases for the interaction of non-Chinese influence upon various aspects in the development of Chinese culture.

¹⁰³⁴ Azzaroli (1985): 10.

Chapter Six: From Zhaoling to Qianling

Zhaoling had great impact on the formation of the Tang imperial burial system. Some of its features, such as the mountain burial and auxiliary tombs, were initiated earlier, but Zhaoling embraced them and went on to develop new features. Its impact was a direct successor in multiple aspects. The features that most influenced later burials, such as Qianling 乾陵, the mausoleum of Emperor Gaozong and Empress Wu Zetian, were the general layout, auxiliary tombs and the types of stone monuments.

1. General Layout

Mountain burial, a practice initiated in the Western Han, was adopted and regulated by Emperor Taizong. In 636, when he announced the choice of Mount Jiuzong for building his final resting place, he ordered that future Tang monarchs should take mountains as their burial sites. Following the order of Taizong and the example of Zhaoling, Qianling was built on Mount Liang 梁山, a site selected through divination (Fig. 191).¹⁰³⁵

Zhaoling was designed to represent the Tang palace of Chang'an; Qianling's was an even closer parallel. The general layout of Zhaoling can be roughly divided into three components—in a pattern that resembles that of the palace—city, the imperial-city and the outer-city. Qianling follows the same basic design but with improvements. Its three components are realized more clearly: one is encircled by a wall, and the other two are separated by three pairs of *que* on the south.

The wall-encircled area, built high in the north where the Mortuary Palace and Xiandian are located, paralleled the palace-city. Its four-sided wall is pierced by four gates; each is equipped with a pair of *que*. The area from the south *que* of the palace-city to the next pair of *que* in the south, known as *rutai* 乳台, lies along the spirit road, where stone monuments of figures and animals are flanked. The spirit road symbolizes the imperial-city lined with guards of honors,

¹⁰³⁵ Wang Shuanghuai (2005): 1.

100 officials and court officers. The outer-city corresponds to the area between the second and third pairs of *que*, known as *quetai* 鹄台, where the auxiliary tombs are scattered. The third pair of *que* are treated like the first pair, which mark the entrance of the mausoleum precinct in the south.¹⁰³⁶

Zhaoling was equipped with two gates on the south and the north; each was flanked by a pair of *que*. Qianling obviously has been expanded with a gate adorned with a pair of *que* at each cardinal direction. The corner *que* 角闕 has been placed at each of the four corners of the encircling wall;¹⁰³⁷ this was not the case at Zhaoling. Additionally, Qianling has turned Zhaoling's short memorial road, where the fourteen statues of officials and six horse reliefs were placed, into a long and solemn spirit road.

Qianling's three pairs of *que*, and its stone monuments, are arranged in bilateral symmetry the same as Zhaoling; the spirit road is the main north-south axis. The two of the three pairs of *que*, as confirmed by archaeological survey, were built as triple *que*,¹⁰³⁸ the same as those of Zhaoling.

Qianling copied Zhaoling in constructing Youdian atop Mount Liang,¹⁰³⁹ Xiandian inside of the south gate and the Mortuary Palace cut into the south side of the mountain. Youdian turned out to be obsolete after Qianling, and the Mortuary Palace and Xiandian and their positions become conventions for all the Tang imperial tombs to follow.

Qianling's Qingong did not exactly copy that of Zhaoling, but there are similarities. Zhaoling's Qingong, originally built on the mountain, was removed from the mountain to Yaotaisi, eighteen *li* southwest of the mausoleum. Qianling's Qingong also was located to the southwest, five *li* from the second *que*,¹⁰⁴⁰ the same distance as the Xianling, which also was removed and relocated five *li* from the mausoleum.¹⁰⁴¹ The scale of both Zhaoling and

¹⁰³⁶ Ibid.: 7. Gong Qiming (2002): 30.

¹⁰³⁷ Wang Shuanghuai (2005): 7.

¹⁰³⁸ Gong Qiming (2002): 33–34.

¹⁰³⁹ Wang Shuanghuai (2005): 30.

¹⁰⁴⁰ Ibid.: 8.

¹⁰⁴¹ Liu Qingzhu (1987): 217.

Qianling's Qingong was similar. The former ruins measure 334 m from north to south and 237 m from east to west; the latter closer to square with 298 m from north to south and 282 m from east to west. Qingong of the later tombs were a bit smaller in scale as compared to those of Zhaoling and Qianling, but were all situated to the southwest within three to ten *li* of the mausoleum.¹⁰⁴²

2. Auxiliary Tombs

Zhaoling has the largest auxiliary tomb complex in Chinese history. Qianling's is smaller. Zhaoling embraces 194 auxiliary tombs; based on a study of 166 tomb occupants, there are 36 imperial members and 130 officials. Qianling has only seventeen auxiliary tombs with "nine royal members and eight officials."¹⁰⁴³ All eight officials were Chinese.

The practice of similar-to-equal treatment of auxiliary tomb occupants, as reflected at Zhaoling, did not continue at Qianling. Zhaoling treated the imperial members and the meritorious officials, both Chinese and non-Chinese, more or less on equal terms by permitting them prestigious mound shapes, various stone monuments and close distance to the Taizong's Mortuary Palace. In the case of Qianling, truncated pyramidal mounds were used only to rebury the princes and princess who were the victims of political struggles. Auxiliary tombs for the imperial members had larger burial plots, were closer to the Mortuary Palace and adorned with stone monuments. The tombs for the officials, nevertheless, were fewer in number, occupied a smaller burial ground, were farther away from the main burial, and had no stone monuments.¹⁰⁴⁴

After Qianling, auxiliary tombs continued to be a component of most of the Tang imperial mausolea, but they were reduced to more or less a symbolic form as the number of auxiliary tombs diminished drastically except in two instances. Eventually, there were no auxiliary tombs at all.¹⁰⁴⁵ The auxiliary burial tombs at Zhaoling served as a tool to promote the political concept of "the empire is open to all" and the inclusivity initiated by Emperor Taizong.

¹⁰⁴² Gong Qiming (2002): 35.

¹⁰⁴³ Jiang Baolian (1994): 79.

¹⁰⁴⁴ Ibid.

¹⁰⁴⁵ Yang Kuan (1985): 245–247. Among the 15 tombs built after Qianling, three had more than ten auxiliary tombs; two had three or eight auxiliary tombs; four had one auxiliary tomb and six had no auxiliary tomb.

Qianling's auxiliary tombs still reflect the political situation, but involving fierce power struggles within the Tang ruling class.

3. Stone Monuments

The composition of stone monuments is another important component for a Tang imperial mausoleum. While inheriting the types of stone monuments featured by Zhaoling, Qianling supplemented them with new types.

Zhaoling is famous for its six stone horse reliefs and the fourteen statues of officials. Originally, a pair of stone lions also stood in front of a gate marking the boundary of Zhaoling. All three types of stone monuments were duplicated in some way at Qianling. The pair of lions extant from Zhaoling was shown in a walking position. The four pairs of lions marking the four gates of Qianling are all in a squatting pose. The six stone horse reliefs at Zhaoling, depicted vividly in talking or galloping poses, were transformed into three pairs of in the round standing and lifeless stone horses. Although they lacked the sculptural power of the horse reliefs, they were positioned at the north gate, continuing to signify the six imperial stables at the north gate of the palace-city. The form of relief, however, was adopted to depict an auspicious or red bird (Fig. 192).¹⁰⁴⁶ The practice of marking the four mausoleum gates with four pairs of squatting lions and the north gate with three pairs of standing stone horses became a formulaic component of all the succeeding Tang imperial tombs.

The erection of official statues of non-Chinese also was imitated at Qianling but with several differences. Zhaoling had fourteen statues of officials. At Qianling there were 64 statues; of these 61, all headless, are extant (Fig. 193).¹⁰⁴⁷ The fourteen officials at Zhaoling, either qaghans or kings of various states, either had been Tang high officials or were foreign allies. Among the 61 statues extant at Qianling, the titles of 36 survive. These titles, combined with

¹⁰⁴⁶ *CFYG*: 30, 3, 323. It records that a big bird, presented by a Tokhanrian in 654, was offered to Zhaoling and the bird's image was carved and erected there.

¹⁰⁴⁷ Chen Guocan (1980): Chen claims there were originally 64 statues of officials. Liu Qingzhu (1987): 222. Extant at the site are 61 statues, 29 on the east side and 32 on the west side. On the symmetry principle, there must have been 64 statues originally. Judging by the Web page at www.wfnews.com.cn/video/2008-02/01, one head has been found and matched with the one of the statues on the east side. Three semi-finished stone blocks were also discovered nearby.

some of their deeds recorded in the texts, show they were a mixed group: some had revolted and led their troops to support the Tang, some bore royal titles and came to serve the Tang, one was captured, two were foreign envoys, and seventeen were governors or military commanders of prefectures already under Chinese control.¹⁰⁴⁸ Qianling's statues certainly do not represent leaders of the highest status as do those of Zhaoling. If Zhaoling's statues honored Taizong's success in foreign relations, Qianling's statues might have denoted a lower status but still signify both internal and external relations. Empress Wu might have erected a large number of statues "to exaggerate and show off to later generations"¹⁰⁴⁹ their success, and the statues still may have served a similar commemorative purpose as the stone statues at Zhaoling.

Comparing 130 officials including nine non-Chinese generals buried at Zhaoling with the eight officials and no non-Chinese generals buried at Qianling, it is doubtful that Taizong's political concept was carried on. Taizong treated the non-Chinese equally to the Chinese; he used the auxiliary burial as a tool to serve his political concept in forming an extended "political family." While the practice of erecting non-Chinese official statues continued, Qianling might have inherited the function of commemoration and the reflection of multi-ethnic society, but lost the political substance imbued in them by Zhaoling. When this practice was continued by later Tang mausolea, as fragments of non-Chinese statues have been excavated at Tailing 泰陵, Chongling 崇陵, Zhuangling 莊陵 and Jianling 簡陵,¹⁰⁵⁰ they probably also maintained the form but lost the original political substance, given the declining political situation of the Tang Empire after the An Lushan 安祿山 (703–757) rebellion.

In addition to the three types of stone monuments borrowed directly from Zhaoling, Qianling has added other types of stone figures and animals to mark the spirit road. The spirit road started with a pair of pillars 望柱 (or 華表), a pair of auspicious animals 瑞獸, a pair of auspicious birds 祥鳥, five pairs of horses as guards of honor 仗馬, ten pairs of figures 石人 (or *wengzhong* 翁仲), two stelae 石碑 and 64 statues of officials 蕃臣像 (Fig. 194).¹⁰⁵¹ All these stone

¹⁰⁴⁸ Zhang Qun (1990): 88–94. Chen Guocan (1980): 189–203.

¹⁰⁴⁹ *CAZT*: 1b, 8, 587–486.

¹⁰⁵⁰ Li Yufang (1994): 35.

¹⁰⁵¹ Wang Shuanghuai (2005): 12–24. The author follows the terms used in this article. "Auspicious animal" 瑞獸 may be called "winged horse" 翼馬 and "auspicious bird" 祥鳥 could be named "ostrich" 駝鳥 in other sources.

monuments are carved in the round except for the pair of auspicious birds, which are in relief, like the six stone horses. This arrangement along the spirit road, with some minor variations, became the standardized model adopted by most of the subsequent Tang imperial mausolea.

4. Conclusion

Being the first Tang imperial mausoleum to utilize a mountain as a burial ground, Zhaoling's impact on Qianling, the next Tang imperial tomb, was significant.

Zhaoling, together with Xianling, has been considered the "transitional period"¹⁰⁵² in the development of the Tang imperial burial system, a period that ended with Qianling. The transitional nature of Zhaoling was characterized by its own unique features with some adaptation and improvement from the practices of early imperial tombs.

For almost the entirety of Chinese imperial history, the design of the imperial tombs and "the use of monumental statuary were chosen to produce a deliberate statement about the nature and aspiration of the dynasty."¹⁰⁵³ Employing imperial tombs to manifest the nature and aspiration of the Tang dynasty should be credited to Tang Taizong, who was the chief architect for the design of Xianling and Zhaoling and laid the fundamental principles and practices for the Tang imperial mausolea.

Celebrating the institutionalized model of Qianling, which was followed by all the succeeding Tang imperial tombs and even those of later periods, Zhaoling's role in bridging the early imperial mausolea and Qianling, and providing an innovative base for Qianling to build on, should be clearly and fully recognized.

Shaanxi sheng wenwu guanli weiyuanhui (1960): 53. This source calls the birds, vermilion bird 朱雀. Ma Liming (2006): 206–09. This source claims that the bird is an ostrich.

¹⁰⁵² Paludan (1991): 93.

¹⁰⁵³ *Ibid.*: 8.

Chapter Seven: Conclusion

Zhaoling followed many Chinese traditional concepts and practices, and replicated the Chinese architectural environment in which Emperor Taizong lived. Like the Tang capital, Chang'an, Zhaoling comprised three major components, the palace-city, imperial-city and outer-city. It featured architectural principles and schemes of facing south, bilateral symmetry and outer wall and gates. The triple *que* and the halberd-display pavilions were part of the major Tang imperial palatial complexes where Taizong lived as well as part of Zhaoling, his final resting place. Like Chinese emperors before him, Taizong planned and oversaw the construction of his mausoleum during his lifetime. He was conscientious in building a solid and thrifty tomb, which led him to choose a mountain location and filled it with worldly burial objects.

Zhaoling's auxiliary burial complex epitomizes the political conditions of the Tang Empire under the Taizong's reign. Inspired by the auxiliary burial concept and mound shapes from the Western Han and the layout of the Northern Wei, Tang Taizong formulated the largest auxiliary tomb complex in history. The study of the composition of the auxiliary tomb occupants reveals that the number of officials buried in Zhaoling is three-and-a-half times more than that of the royal family members. Zhaoling was built not as a royal graveyard, but rather, a complex similar to the court itself. The burial at Zhaoling was politically driven. The auxiliary tombs were used as tools to generate support and extract loyalty from high officials, Chinese and non-Chinese. By granting permission for burial to their spouses and descendants, Taizong built an extended and loyal "political family." The "political family" was tied to him by the political concept of *tianxia weigong*.

The erection of stone monuments manifests another fulfillment of the Tang Taizong's political concept. Placing portrayed stone monuments at tomb site can be associated with the Turkic burial customs. Turks hung their sheep and horses outside the funerary tent and erected stone stelae, the number corresponding to the number of enemy killed to commemorate the heroic deeds of the deceased. Tang Taizong selected the images of his six favorite chargers to be carved and erected at his mausoleum for the same purpose, commemorating the major events in

his life. As evidenced in historical documents and archaeological discoveries, the Turkic people were accustomed to erecting stone figures at tomb sites. The fourteen life-size statues of officials in their ethnic costumes were carved to flank Taizong's mausoleum. Treating non-Chinese with equality and practicing their customs reinforces the interpretation that Taizong embraced non-Chinese people and their cultures as tools to form his extended "political family" for fulfilling his political ideals.

The examination of Taizong's political concept is inseparable from the political context of the early Tang. Taizong assumed the title of "Heavenly Qaghan" and acclaimed: "I who am the Son of the Heaven for the Great Tang will also deign to carry out the duties of the qaghans"¹⁰⁵⁴ Taizong bestowed official titles, fifth rank and above, to more than 100 Turkic elite and generals, allowed more than 1,000 prominent Turkic families to live in Chang'an, and established prefectures to relocate a large number of Turkic immigrants, still led by their own leaders. Taizong expanded the Tang Empire by incorporating the Turkic tribal structure and made the early Tang "the dualistic empire."

Under the political and cultural context of the early Tang, the duality of the Tang Empire, the duality of Emperor Taizong's titles, his multi-ethnic family background and his nomadic leadership capabilities brought integration into the design of his mausoleum. Emperor Taizong, a great ruler for the Chinese and the northwestern nomadic peoples, perpetuated a modified tradition of dual organization in his court and dual layout in the designing of his mausoleum, a blend of the Chinese imperial mausoleum traditions with the nomadic practices, and in this case the Turkic burial customs. Taizong's mausoleum represented the unity of various ethnic peoples, a peaceful and stable Tang Empire, and a successful Chinese emperor and the Qaghan of qaghans.

The detailed examination of the six stone horse reliefs, element by element, provides solid testimony that the tradition of interacting with non-Chinese and receptiveness to foreign cultures began in the early Chinese dynastic periods, in part due to a chain of historical events.

¹⁰⁵⁴ *ZZTJ*: 193, 9, 6073. The translation follows Wechsler (1985): 232.

There are six observations based on a historical review of the elements of the horse reliefs, including form, mane, tail, saddle, stirrup, war garments, and weapons and on comparing them with examples from ancient Iran, the steppes and China.

First, the stone horses presented in the form of sculptural relief with framed border and a square at the upper corner are believed to have been influenced directly by Persian reliefs, particularly Sasanian rock reliefs. The frequent, official visits as well as interaction resulting from religious and trading activities and the arrival of artisans with non-Chinese roots, starting from the Western Han, continuing through the Northern and Southern Dynasties and going into Sui and Tang, facilitated the transmission of artistic forms and styles.

Second, the styles of early crenellated manes, represented by Scythian gold objects and the Pazyryk felt painting, dated to the eighth-fifth century BC, appeared on the horses of Qin Shihuangdi's mausoleum and Henan tiles several hundred years later. This transmission, which formed the first wave of crenellation in China, is attributed to the nomads of the Eurasian steppes including Scythian, Sarmatian and Yuezhi, having either Iranian roots or connections. The crenellated mane was employed on the Sasanian silver plates and Turkic relics around the fifth century. Two hundred years later, similarly styled manes resurfaced in China to form the second wave of crenellation, including on Tang Taizong's six horse reliefs and other Tang horses. Based on their styles, the artistic presentation could have been taken directly from the Sasanian silver plates, made by either centrally or provincially controlled workshops. The practice of the crenellated mane is likely to have been brought over by the Turks who possessed a specialized group of people, labeled "Turkic horsemen," and many of these were employed in the imperial stables.

Third, the study of the horse tail-tying or encasing, as shown on the horses from the Qin Shihuangdi's mausoleum, the Henan tiles, and the Maoling horse, demonstrates either a direct parallel from the Mesopotamian and Assyrian relics or a close association with the style from the Pazyryk and Scythian horses. The tail decoration of the Taizong's horses possibly could have associations with that of the Sasanian rock relief and silver plate, but similar to the horse mane, it is also likely to be practiced on the Tang horses by the Turkic horsemen.

Fourth, similarities are found between the saddle and saddlecloth represented by the horses from the Qin Shihuangdi's mausoleum and the Scythian horses. Saddles continued to develop under the Han and the Northern Dynasties, and achieved the refinement shown on the Tang six stone horse reliefs.

Fifth, the invention of the stirrup is controversial because three cultures, the nomads, the Koreans and the Chinese are claimed to be the inventors. The evolution of the stirrup in China shows its course from the single stirrup to the double stirrups from the early fourth century on, but devices for assistance in mounting existed earlier outside of China. The emergence and perfection of the stirrup suitable for non-riders is more likely to have been accomplished by interaction and collaboration between the riding and non-riding peoples.

Sixth, discussion of war garments and weapons reveals the connection with ancient Iran and the nomads of the steppes. Qiu Xingong's felt cap and outer robe have strong *hu*-dress flavor; the boots certainly originated as *hu* footwear. The plate armor worn by Qin Shihuangdi's soldiers and Qiu Xingong is positively connected to Persian armor with colors. Bows and arrows, used by Persian horsemen and Scythian archers,¹⁰⁵⁵ must have been the first items that the Chinese borrowed when learning riding from their nomadic neighbors. The Iranian-type images carrying encased bows found in Qizil and Dunhuang may indicate a route along which this spread. The long knife could have been developed with the growth of the Chinese cavalry.

The development of effective cavalry necessitated the importation of fine horses, equestrian equipment, riding skills, military tactics, weapons and war garments from those who possessed more advanced knowledge. Similar developments took place among the nomads on the Chinese border and their neighbor, Iran, several hundred years earlier.¹⁰⁵⁶ Iranian elements, directly or through the filter of the nomads,¹⁰⁵⁷ as well as the nomadic elements were transmitted to China. It is obvious that the seeds receptive to interaction and assimilation of foreign elements were largely sown during the early dynastic periods before Tang. Tang Taizong, a great ruler who knew how to ride the tide of his time, continued and expanded this course and ably brought

¹⁰⁵⁵ Laufer (1914): 218.

¹⁰⁵⁶ *Ibid.*: 223.

¹⁰⁵⁷ *Ibid.*: 217.

some of these seeds into blossom. The more open, multi-ethnic and vital society of the early Tang greatly surpassed the one created by the Qin and Han and served as a breeding ground for nourishing an enlarged concept: "[An] inclusive vision of a truly cosmopolitan empire"¹⁰⁵⁸ that brought forth the Tang, the most flourishing period in Chinese history.

Studying Zhaoling under this wide ranging political, social and cultural context, it is not surprising to find strong and multiple non-Chinese elements, particularly Iranian, the steppes and Turkic elements reflected in the layout and the stone monuments of Zhaoling. Some of these elements were incorporated into the institutionalization of the layout of the Tang imperial mausolea, as represented by Qianling, which exerted lasting impact on the succeeding imperial burial systems.

Zhaoling's unique and dual layout was a perfect match for the outstanding leadership role, both as Chinese emperor and the Heavenly Qaghan for the tribal people, played by Emperor Taizong in history. Zhaoling is also a true miniature of the duality (pluralism) of the early Tang Empire and the epitome of the manifestation of the strong, peaceful and "international spirit"¹⁰⁵⁹ of the early Tang.

¹⁰⁵⁸ Abramson (2008): 141.

¹⁰⁵⁹ Steinhardt (1990): 93.

Table I: Eighteen Tang Imperial Mausolea Located in Shaanxi

#	Mausoleum	Posthumous Title /Name	Year of Burial	Mound Style	Location/Sea Level	Circum. (km)	Aux. Tombs	Remarks
1	Xianling 獻陵	Gaozu Li Yuan 高祖李淵	635	Earthen truncated-pyramid mound 堆土成陵/覆斗式	Sanyuan County 三原縣	10	52	<i>THY</i> lists 25; <i>CAZ</i> , 23; Sanyuan gazetteer, 23; He Zicheng/Yang Kuan, 67.
2	Zhaoling 昭陵	Taizong Li Shimin 太宗李世民	649	Mountain 依山為陵	Liquan County; Mount Jiuzong, 1,288 m. 禮泉縣九嵎山	60	194	<i>THY</i> lists 155, <i>CAZ</i> , 166; Liquan gazetteer, 203.
3	Qianling 乾陵	Gaozong Li Zhi Empress Wu Zetian 高宗李治/皇后武則天	684; 706	Mountain 依山為陵	Qian County; Mount Liang, 1,047.3 m. 乾縣梁山	40	17	<i>THY</i> lists 15; <i>CAZ</i> , 6; <i>WXTK</i> , 17; Qianzhou zhigao 乾州志稿, 41.
4	Dingling 定陵	Zhongzong Li Xian 中宗李顯	710	Mountain 依山為陵	Fuping County; Mount Fenghuang, 751 m. 富平縣鳳凰山	20	8	<i>THY</i> lists 8; <i>CAZ</i> , 6; <i>WXTK</i> , 6; Fuping gazetteer, 6; He Zicheng/Yang Kuan, 15.
5	Qiaoling 橋陵	Ruizong Li Dan 睿宗李旦	716	Mountain 依山為陵	Pucheng County; Mount Feng, 734 m. 蒲城縣豐山	20	8	<i>THY</i> lists 8; <i>CAZ</i> , 6; Pucheng gazetteer 蒲城縣志, 13.

#	Mausoleum	Posthumous Title /Name	Year of Burial	Mound Style	Location/Sea Level	Circum. (km)	Aux. Tombs	Remarks
6	Tailing 泰陵	Xuanzong Li Longji 玄宗李隆基	764	Mountain 依山為陵	Pucheng County; Mount Jinsu, 852 m. 蒲城縣金粟山	38	1	<i>THY</i> lists 1; <i>CAZ</i> , 1; <i>WXTK</i> , 1. <i>JTS</i> , also Empress.
7	Jianling 建陵	Suzong Li Heng 肅宗李亨	764	Mountain 依山為陵	Liquan County; Mount Wujiang, 783 m. 禮泉縣武將山	20	3	<i>THY</i> lists 1 (Guo Ziyi 郭子儀); <i>CAZ</i> , 1; <i>XTS</i> , also Empress and Li Huairang 李懷讓. He Zicheng, 5.
8	Yuanling 元陵	Daizong Li Yu 代宗李豫	779	Mountain 依山為陵	Fuping County; Mount Tan, 851 m. 富平縣檀山	20	0	<i>JTS</i> lists the Empress only.
9	Chongling 崇陵	Dezong Li Shi 德宗李适	805	Mountain 依山為陵	Jingyang County; Mount Cuo'e, 955 m. 涇陽縣嵯峨山	20	1	<i>JTS</i> lists Empress. He Zicheng/Yang Kuan, 43.
10	Fengling 豐陵	Shunzong Li Song 順宗李誦	806	Mountain 依山為陵	Fuping County; Mount Jinweng, 851 m. 富平縣金甕山	20	1	<i>JTS</i> lists the Empress only.
11	Jingling 景陵	Xianzong Li Chun 憲宗李純	820	Mountain 依山為陵	Pucheng County; Mount Jinchí, 852 m. 蒲城縣金熾山	20	2	<i>THY</i> , <i>JTS</i> , <i>XTS</i> list 4; <i>CAZ</i> , 3; only 2 are found now.
12	Guangling 光陵	Muzong Li Heng 穆宗李恆	824	Mountain 依山為陵	Pucheng County, Mount Yao, 872 m. 蒲城縣堯山	20	2	<i>THY</i> lists 2; <i>CAZ</i> lists 2; He Zicheng/Yang Kuan, 53. Only one is found now.

#	Mausoleum	Posthumous Title /Name	Year of Burial	Mound Style	Location/Sea Level	Circum. (km)	Aux. Tombs	Remarks
13	Zhuang Ling 莊陵	Jingzong Li Shen 敬宗李湛	827	Earthen truncated-pyramid mound 堆土成陵/覆斗式	Sanyuan County 三原縣	20	1	<i>THY</i> lists 1.
14	Zhangling 章陵	Wenzong Li Ang 文宗李昂	840	Mountain 依山為陵	Fuping County, Mount Tianru, 783 m. 富平縣天乳山	20	1	<i>CAZ</i> lists 1; Fuping gazetteer, 1.
15	Duanling 端陵	Wuzong Li Chan 武宗李漣	845	Earthen truncated-pyramid mound 堆土成陵/覆斗式	Sanyuan County, Shaanxi 陝西三原縣	20	1	<i>THY</i> lists 1; <i>XTS</i> , 1.
16	Zhenling 貞陵	Xuanzong Li Chen 宣宗李忱	860	Mountain 依山為陵	Jingyang County; Mount Zhong, 1003 m. 涇陽縣仲山	60	0	<i>WXTK</i> lists 1.
17	Jianling 簡陵	Yizong Li Cui 懿宗李漼	875	Mountain 依山為陵	Fuping County; Mount Zijin, 889 m. 富平縣紫金山	20	0	
18	Jingling 靖陵	Xizong Li Xuan 僖宗李儂	888	Earthen truncated-pyramid mound 堆土成陵/覆斗式	Qian County 乾縣	20	0	

The information contained in the table is compiled primarily from Liu Xiangyang (2003): 362–364 with reference from Yang Kuan (1985): 245–247, He Zicheng (1980): 149–151 and *THY*, 21, 412–416.

Table II: Zhaoling Auxiliary Tombs — 74 Tomb Occupants Identified among 194 Auxiliary Tombs

No.	Name	Affiliations to Tang Taizong	Year of Interment	Mound Type	Year of Excavation	Exca. Report-Publication	Tomb Stele	Remarks
1.	Princess Changle 長樂公主	Taizong's 5th daughter; born to Empress Zhangsun 太宗第五女;長孫皇后生	643	Truncated pyramid mound 覆斗形	1986	Wenbo 3 (1988): 10–30. Zhang Pei (1993): 7–8.***	Epitaph (at tomb); stele (at Zhaoling Museum; ZM**)	The tomb is open to public.
2.	Lady Pengcheng 彭城夫人	Taizong's wet nurse 太宗乳母	644	Circular-shaped mound 圓錐形	1972	Zhang Pei (1993): 9	Epitaph	
3.	Lady Pigu Duan Jianbi 邳国夫人段簡璧	Taizong's niece; daughter of Grand Princess Gaomi 太宗外甥女; 高密長公主之女	651	Circular-shaped mound 圓錐形	1978	Wenbo 3 (1989): 3–13. Zhang Pei (1993): 21.	Epitaph	
4.	Wei Zhaorong 韋昭容	Taizong's Lady of Bright Countenance, nun surnamed Wei 太宗昭容韋尼子	656	No mound 無封土	1974	Wenwu 1 (1987): 83–88. Zhang Pei (1993): 27.	Epitaph	
5.	Grand Princess Lanling 蘭陵長公主	Taizong's 12th daughter 太宗第十二女	659	Circular-shaped mound 圓錐形		Zhang Pei (1993): 40.	Stele (at ZM)	Buried with Dou Huaizhe 駙馬竇懷哲

No.	Name	Affiliations to Tang Taizong	Year of Interment	Mound Type	Year of Excavation	Exca. Report-Publication	Tomb Stele	Remarks
6.	Princess Xincheng 新城公主	Taizong's 21st daughter, born to Express Zhangsun 太宗第二十一女，長孫皇后生	663	Circular-shaped mound 圓錐形	1994–1995	Kaogu yu wenwu 3 (1997): 3–38.	Epitaph	
7.	Princess Qinghe 清河公主	Taizong's 11th daughter 太宗第十一女	664	Circular-shaped mound 圓錐形		Zhang Pei (1993): 45.	Stele (at ZM)	Buried with Cheng Chuliang 駙馬程處亮
8	Wei Guifei 韋貴妃	Taizong's Precious Consort, mother of the Prince of Ji, Li Shen 太宗妃，紀王李慎母	665	Mountain 依山為陵	1991	Zhang Pei (1993): 52.	Epitaph and stele (both on site)	The tomb is open to the public.
9.	Consort Lu 陸妃	Consort of the Prince of Ji, Li Shen 紀王李慎妃	666	Circular-shaped mound 圓錐形		Zhang Pei (1993): 51.	Stele (at ZM)	
10.	Prince of Zhao, Li fu 趙王李福	Taizong's 11th son 太宗第十一子	670	Circular-shaped mound 圓錐形	1972	Zhang Pei (1993): 41, 59.	Epitaph and his wife's epitaph	Double burial
11	Princess Sui'an 遂安公主	Taizong's 4th daughter 太宗第四女	670	Circular-shaped mound 圓錐形	1964	Zhang Pei (1993): 56.	Wang Dali's epitaph	Buried with Wang Dali 駙馬王大禮

No.	Name	Affiliations to Tang Taizong	Year of Interment	Mound Type	Year of Excavation	Exca. Report-Publication	Tomb Stele	Remarks
12.	Consort Yan 燕妃	Taizong's consort, mother of the Prince of Yue, Li Zhen 太宗妃, 越王李貞母	671	Circular-shaped mound 圓錐形	1990	Zhang Pei (1993): 60–61.	Stele (at ZM); epitaph	
13.	Princess Chengyang 城陽公主	Taizong's 16th daughter 太宗第十六女	670–74	Truncated pyramid mound 覆斗式				Buried with Xue Huan 駙馬薛驩
14.	Princess Linchuan 臨川公主	Taizong's 10th daughter; born to the Precious Consort Wei 太宗第十女, 母韋貴妃	682	Circular-shaped mound 圓錐形	1972	Wenwu 10 (1977): 50–59. Zhang Pei (1993): 71–72.	Epitaph & edict	Buried with Zhou Daowu 駙馬周道務
15.	Prince of Yue, Li Zhen 越王李貞	Taizong's 8th son 太宗第八子	718 (reburial)	Flattened 已剗平	1972	Wenwu 10 (1977): 41–49. Zhang Pei (1993): 83.	Stele (at ZM); epitaph	
16.	Li Chong 李冲	Prince of Langya, eldest son of Li Zhen 琅琊王李貞長子	718 (reburial)	Flattened 已剗平				
17.	Li Chengqian 李承乾	Taizong's eldest son (banished crown prince), Prince of Hengshan Min 太宗長子(廢太子), 恆山愍王	738 (reburial)	Circular-shaped mound 圓錐形	1972	Wenbo 3 (1989):17–21. Zhang Pei (1993): 88–89.	Stele (at ZM); epitaph	
18.	Consort Yin 陰嬪	Taizong' consort 太宗妃	Unknown 不詳	No-mound 無封土				

No.	Name	Affiliations to Tang Taizong	Year of Interment	Mound Type	Year of Excavation	Exca. Report-Publication	Tomb Stele	Remarks
19.	Prince of Jiang, Li Yun 蔣王李愔	Taizong's 7th son 太宗第七子	Unknown 不詳	Circular-shaped mound 圓錐形				Buried with consort Yuan 妃元氏合葬
20	Wen Yanbo 溫彥博	Secretariat Director; Duke of Yu State 中書令, 虞國公	637	Circular-shaped mound 圓錐形		Zhang Pei (1993): 2.	Stele (at ZM)	
21.	Yang Gongren 楊恭仁	Master of Yongzhou 雍州牧	639	Circular-shaped mound 圓錐形	1979	Zhang Pei (1993): 3.	Epitaph	
22.	Yuwen Zhiji 宇文士及	Secretariat Director; Duke of Ying State 中書令, 郢國公	642	Circular-shaped mound 圓錐形		Zhang Pei (1993): 5.	Stele (at ZM)	
23.	Duan Zhixuan 段志玄	Grand General of Left Guards; Duke of Guo State 左衛大將軍, 褒國公	642	Circular-shaped mound 圓錐形		Zhang Pei (1993): 4.	Stele (at ZM)	
24	Wei Zheng 魏征	Central Chancellery; Duke of Zheng State 侍中, 鄭國公	643	Mountain 依山為陵		Zhang Pei (1993): 6.	Stele (on site)	
25	Chu Liang 褚亮	Scholar of Hongwen Studio; Cavalier Attendant-in-ordinary 弘文館學士, 散騎常侍	649–683	Circular-shaped mound 圓錐形		Zhang Pei (1993): 74.	Stele (at ZM)	

No.	Name	Affiliations to Tang Taizong	Year of Interment	Mound Type	Year of Excavation	Exca. Report-Publication	Tomb Stele	Remarks
26	Wang Jun'e 王君愕	General of Left Awesome Guards; Duke of Xing State 左武衛將軍, 邢國公	645	Circular-shaped mound 圓錐形	1972	Zhang Pei (1993): 10, 24.	Epitaph & his wife's epitaph	Double burial
27	Xue Ze 薛績	Grand Astrologer 太史令	646	No mound 無封土	1974	Zhang Pei (1993): 11.	Epitaph	
28	Gao Shilian 高士廉	Vice Director of the Right Imperial Secretariat; Duke of Shen State 尚書右仆射, 申國公	647	No mound 無封土		Zhang Pei (1993): 25.	Stele (at ZM)	
29	Li Simo 李思摩	General of Right Awesome Guards 右武衛大將軍	647	Mound in shape of mountain 冢象山形	1992	Zhang Pei (1993): 12–13.	Epitaph & his wife's epitaph; stele	Double burial
30	Fang Xuanling 房玄齡	Vice Director of the Left Imperial Secretariat; Duke of Liang State 尚書左仆射, 梁國公	648	Circular-shaped mound 圓錐形		Zhang Pei (1993): 23.	Stele (at ZM)	
31	Kong Yingda 孔穎達	Chancellor of the National University; District Duke of Qufu 國子祭酒, 曲阜縣公	648	Circular-shaped mound 圓錐形		Zhang Pei (1993): 14.	Stele (at ZM)	
32	Ma Zhou 馬周	Secretariat Director 中書令	648	Circular-shaped mound 圓錐形		Zhang Pei (1993): 62.	Stele (at ZM)	

No.	Name	Affiliations to Tang Taizong	Year of Interment	Mound Type	Year of Excavation	Exca. Report-Publication	Tomb Stele	Remarks
33	Pei Yi 裴藝	Posthumous Regional Inspector of Jinzhou; Duke of Sunyi 贈晉州刺史, 順義公	648	Circular-shaped mound 圓錐形		Zhang Pei (1993): 15.	Stele (at ZM)	
34	Li Jing 李靖	Vice Director of the Right Imperial Secretariat; Duke of Wei State 尚書右仆射, 衛國公	649	Mound in shape of mountain 象山形		Zhang Pei (1993): 34.	Stele (at ZM)	Double burial
35	Dou Lukuan 豆盧寬	Army Defender-generalissimo; Duke of Rui State 鎮軍大將軍, 芮國公	650	Circular-shaped mound 圓錐形		Zhang Pei (1993): 19.	Stele (at ZM)	
36	Niu Jinda 牛進達	Generalissimo of the Left Courageous Guard 左驍衛大將軍	651	Circular-shaped mound 圓錐形	1976	Zhang Pei (1993): 20, 22.	Stele (at ZM); epitaph	
37	Xue Shou 薛收	Counselor and Record Keeper of the Tiance Studio 天策府記室參事	655	Circular-shaped mound 圓錐形		Zhang Pei (1993): 26.	Stele (at ZM)	
38	Jiang Jian 姜簡	General of the Left Palace Guard; Duke of Cheng State 左領軍衛將軍, 郕國公	650–655	Circular-shaped mound 圓錐形		Zhang Pei (1993): 27.	Stele (at ZM)	

No.	Name	Affiliations to Tang Taizong	Year of Interment	Mound Type	Year of Excavation	Exca. Report-Publication	Tomb Stele	Remarks
39	Cui Dunli 崔敦禮	Junior Preceptor of the Heir Apparent; Secretariat Director 太子少師, 中書令	656	Circular-shaped mound 圓錐形		Zhang Pei (1993): 76.	Stele (at ZM)	
40	Tang Jian 唐儉	Minister of Ministry of Rites; Duke of Ju State 禮部尚書, 莒國公	656	Circular-shaped mound 圓錐形	1978	Zhang Pei (1993): 28, 90.	Stele (at ZM); epitaph	
41	Fang Renyu 房仁裕	Minister of Ministry of War 兵部尚書	657	Circular-shaped mound 圓錐形		Zhang Pei (1993): 77.	Stele (at ZM)	
42	Yuchi Jingde 尉遲敬德	Commander Unequaled in Honor; Duke of E State 開府儀同三司, 鄂國公	658	Circular-shaped mound 圓錐形	1971	Wenwu 5 (1978): 20–25. Zhang Pei (1993): 36–39.	Stele (at ZM); epitaph & his wife's epitaph	Double burial
43	Zhang Yin 張胤	Cavalier Attendant-in-ordinary 散騎常侍	658	Circular-shaped mound 圓錐形		Zhang Pei (1993): 33.	Stele (at ZM)	
44	Zhou Hu 周護	Generalissimo of the Left Courageous Guards 左驍衛大將軍	658	Circular-shaped mound 圓錐形		Zhang Pei (1993): 35.	Stele (at ZM)	
45	Zhang Shigui 張士貴	Generalissimo of the Left Palace Guard; Duke of Guo State 左領軍大將軍, 虢國公	657	Circular-shaped mound 圓錐形	1972	Kaogu 3 (1978): 168–178. Zhang Pei (1993): 30–31	Epitaph & his wife's epitaph	Double burial

No.	Name	Affiliations to Tang Taizong	Year of Interment	Mound Type	Year of Excavation	Exca. Report-Publication	Tomb Stele	Remarks
46	Li Zhen 李震	Regional Inspector of Zizhou 梓州刺史	660	Circular-shaped mound 圓錐形	1973	Zhang Pei (1993): 48, 75.	Epitaph & his wife's epitaph	Double burial; Son of Li Ji 李勣之子
47	Du Junchuo 杜君綽	Left Martial Guard Grand General 左戎衛大將軍	662	Circular-shaped mound 圓錐形		Zhang Pei (1993): 43.	Stele (at ZM)	
48	Xu Luoren 許洛仁	Generalissimo of the Left Gate Guard 左監門大將軍	662	Circular-shaped mound 圓錐形		Zhang Pei (1993): 42.	Stele (at ZM)	
49	Zheng Rentai 鄭仁泰	Generalissimo of the Right Courageous Guards; Military Commander of Liangzhou 右驍衛大將軍, 涼州都督	663	Circular-shaped mound 圓錐形	1971	Wenwu 7 (1972): 33–44. Zhang Pei (1993): 44.	Epitaph	
50	Yuwen Chongsi 宇文崇嗣	Grand Master of Palace Administration; Duke of Ying State 中禦大夫, 郢國公	663	Circular-shaped mound 圓錐形				Son of Yuwen Shiji 宇文士及之子
51	Cheng Zhijie 程知節	Generalissimo of the Left Guards; Duke of Lu State 左衛大將軍, 盧國公	665	Circular-shaped mound 圓錐形		Zhang Pei (1993): 46–47.	Stele (at ZM); epitaph	also known as Cheng Yaojin 程咬金

No.	Name	Affiliations to Tang Taizong	Year of Interment	Mound Type	Year of Excavation	Exca. Report-Publication	Tomb Stele	Remarks
52	Li Mengchang 李孟常	Generalissimo of the Right Awesome Guards 右威衛大將軍	666	Circular-shaped mound 圓錐形		Zhang Pei (1993): 50.	Stele (at ZM)	Double burial
53	Wu Heita 吳黑闥	Military Commander of Hongzhou 洪州都督	669	Circular-shaped mound 圓錐形		Zhang Pei (1993): 53.	Stele (at ZM)	
54	Li Ji 李勣	Minister of Works; Grand Preceptor of the Heir Apparent; Secretariat Director; Duke of Ying State 司空, 太子太師, 英國公	669	Mound in shape of mountain 象山形	1971	Zhang Pei (1993): 54–55, 66.	Epitaph and his wife's epitaph; stele (at ZM)	Double burial; Zhaoling Museum is located on the site
55	Husi Zhengze 斛斯政則	Generalissimo of Right Gate Guards 右監門衛大將軍	670	Circular-shaped mound 圓錐形	1979	Zhang Pei (1993): 57.	Epitaph	
56	Zhang A'nan 張阿難	General of the Right Gate Guards 右監門衛將軍	671	Circular-shaped mound 圓錐形		Zhang Pei (1993): 58.	Stele (at ZM)	
57	Ashina Zhong 阿史那忠	Generalissimo of the Right Courageous Guards; Duke of Xue State 右驍衛大將軍, 薛國公	675	Circular-shaped mound 圓錐形	1972	Kaogu 2 (1977): 132–141. Zhang Pei (1993): 63–65	Stele (at ZM); Epitaph & his wife's epitaph	Double burial with District Princess Dingxiang 定襄縣主

No.	Name	Affiliations to Tang Taizong	Year of Interment	Mound Type	Year of Excavation	Exca. Report-Publication	Tomb Stele	Remarks
58	Doulu Renye 豆盧仁業	General of the Right Awesome Guards; Duke of Rui State 右武衛將軍, 芮國公	684–704	Circular-shaped mound 圓錐形		Zhang Pei (1993): 80.	Stele (at ZM)	Son of Doulu Kuan 豆盧寬之子
59	Tang Jiahui 唐嘉會	Tang Jian's 4th son 唐儉第四子	678	No mound 無封土	1978	Zhang Pei (1993): 68, 32	Stele (at ZM); epitaph and his wife's epitaph	Double burial
60	An Yuanshou 安元壽	General of the Right Awesome Guards 右威衛將軍	684	Circular-shaped mound 圓錐形	1972	Wenwu 12 (1988): 37–49. Zhang Pei (1993): 73, 78.	Epitaph and his wife's epitaph	Double burial
61	Jiang Xia 姜遐	General of the Left Engel Guards 左鷹揚衛將軍	691	Circular-shaped mound 圓錐形		Zhang Pei (1993): 82.	Stele (at ZM)	Son of Jiang Xingben 姜行本之子
62	Zhishi Shanguang 執失善光	General of the Left Gate Guard Army; Palace Provisioner 左監門將軍兼尚食供奉	722	Unknown 封土不詳	1976	Zhang Pei (1993): 85.	Epitaph	Nephew of Zhishi Sili 執失思力之侄
63	Liang Renyu 梁仁裕	Generalissimo of the Left Imperial Insignia 左金吾大將軍	649–683	Circular-shaped mound 圓錐形		Zhang Pei (1993): 75.	Stele (at ZM)	Also attributed to Liang Min 梁敏

No.	Name	Affiliations to Tang Taizong	Year of Interment	Mound Type	Year of Excavation	Exca. Report-Publication	Tomb Stele	Remarks
64	Duan Lun 段綸	Father of Duan Jianbi; Taizong's son-in-law 段簡璧父, 駙馬	Unknown 不詳	Unknown 封土不詳				Duan Lun is mentioned in the epitaph of Duan Jianbi
65	駱君墓	Unknown 不詳	Unknown 不詳	Unknown 封土不詳			Column	駱君墓, the tombs of Luojun, is carved on the column.
66	宮人 Palace lady	Lady, 5th rank 五品亡宮	657	No mound 無封土	1974	Wenwu 1 (1987): 88–89. Zhang Pei (1993): 29.	Epitaph	Epitaph was prepared by gravetenders; poor quality*
67	宮人 Palace lady	Lady of Handsome Fairness, 3rd rank 三品婕妤	665	No mound 無封土	1974	Wenwu 1 (1987): 89–91. Zhang Pei (1993): 49.	Epitaph	Epitaph was prepared by gravetenders; poor quality
68	宮人 Palace lady	Lady of Bright Deportment, 2nd rank 二品昭儀	682	No mound 無封土	1979	Wenwu 1 (1987): 91–92. Zhang Pei (1993): 70.	Epitaph	Poor quality
69	宮人 Palace lady	Lady of Handsome Fairness, 3rd rank, surnamed Jin 三品婕妤, 金氏	689	No mound 無封土	1986	Zhang Pei (1993): 78.	Epitaph	Poor quality
71	宮人 Palace lady	Lantern keeper, 7th rank 七品典燈	677	No mound 無封土	1975	Wenwu 1 (1987): 94. Zhang Pei (1993): 67.	Epitaph	Poor quality
72	宮人 Palace lady		650–683	No mound 無封土	1979	Wenwu 1 (1987): 92–94	Epitaph	Poor quality

No.	Name	Affiliations to Tang Taizong	Year of Interment	Mound Type	Year of Excavation	Exca. Report-Publication	Tomb Stele	Remarks
73	宮人 Palace lady	Lady, 3rd rank 三品亡宮	703	No mound 無封土	1986	Zhang Pei (1993): 79.	Epitaph	Poor quality
74	Lady Pibi 契苾夫人	Daughter of Pibi Heli 契苾何力之女	721	Circular-shaped mound 圓錐形	1973	Zhang Pei (1993): 84.	Epitaph	

The information contained in the table is compiled from Liu Xiangyang (2003): 375–378, Zhang Pei (1993) and various excavation reports as specified in the table.

*** See notes 318–329 and bibliography for additional information on these excavation reports.

** ZM refers to the Zhaoling Museum, Liquan, Shaanxi.

* According to *THY*: 21, 412, the burials of palace ladies were handled by gravetenders or households responsible for guarding the mausoleum. The excavated epitaphs, which are poorly done as compared to those from other auxiliary tombs at Zhaoling, confirm this practice.

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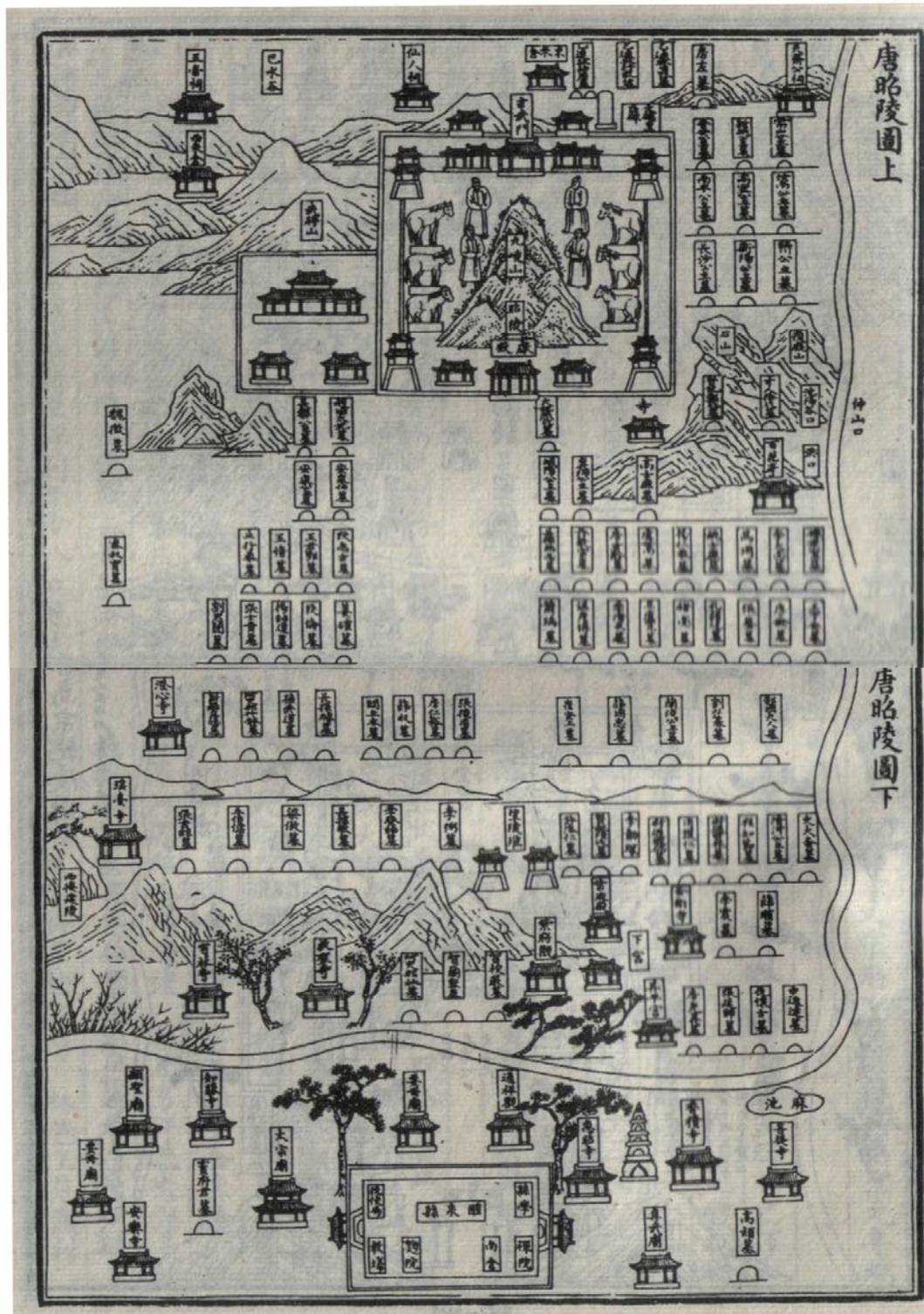


Fig. 1 The layout of Zhaoling; after CAZT, 14th century (1987): 587–483.

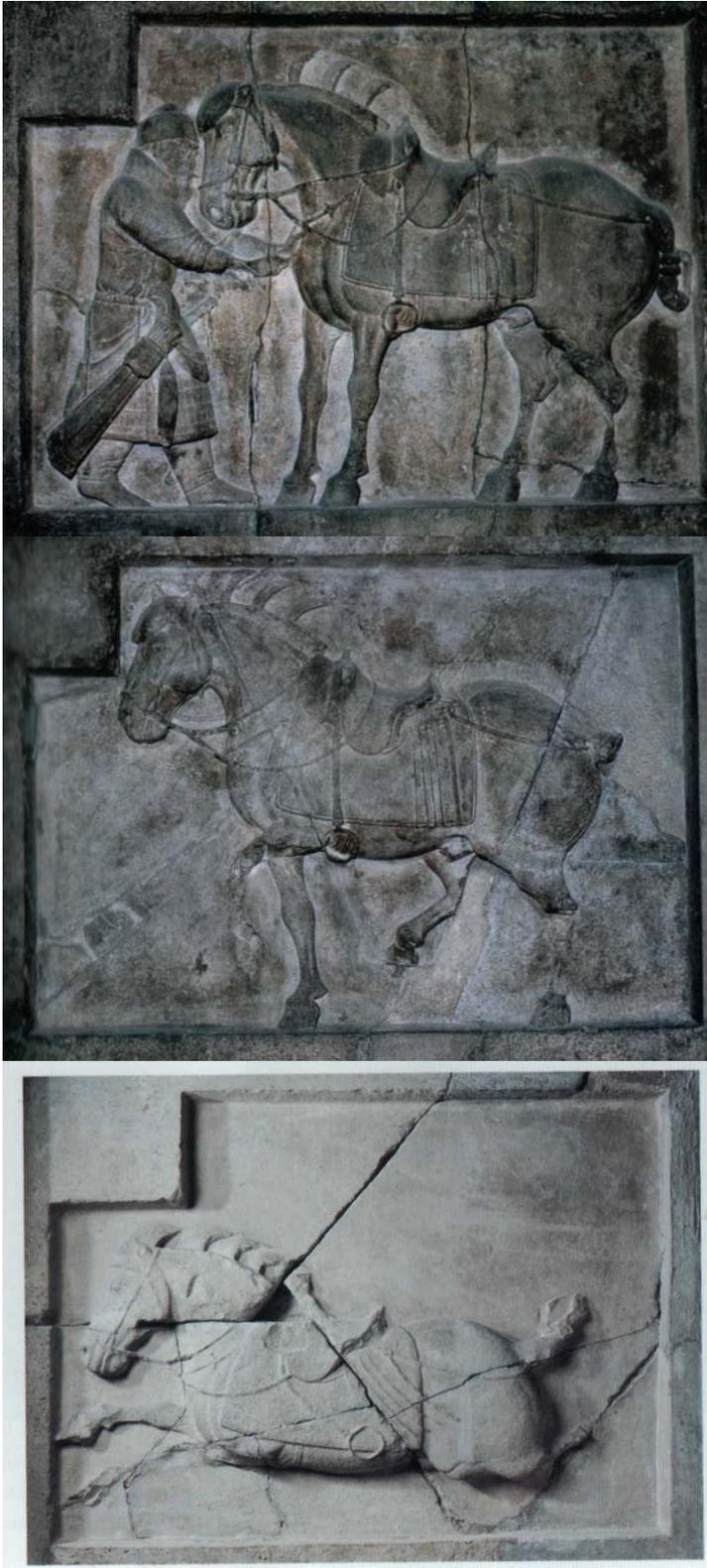


Fig. 2a Three horse reliefs originally placed at the west side of the north slope of Zhaoling; the top two reliefs are housed at UPM; the third relief is housed at the Beilin Museum (*bówùguǎn*); 636–649; after Xi'an Beilin bowuguan (2000): 95.

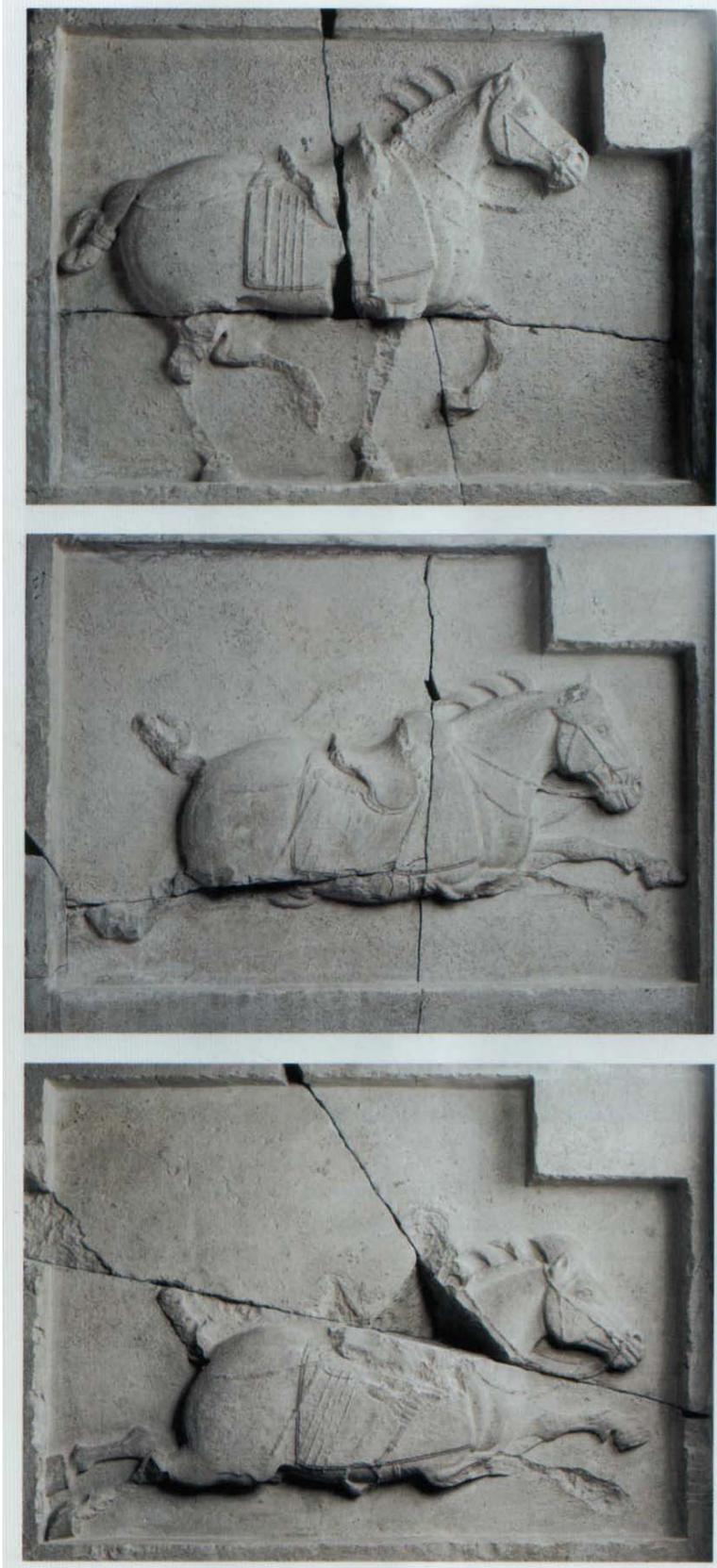


Fig. 2b Three horse reliefs originally placed at the east side of the north slope of Zhaoling; now at the Beilin Museum; 636–649; after Xi'an Beilin bowuguan (2000): 94.

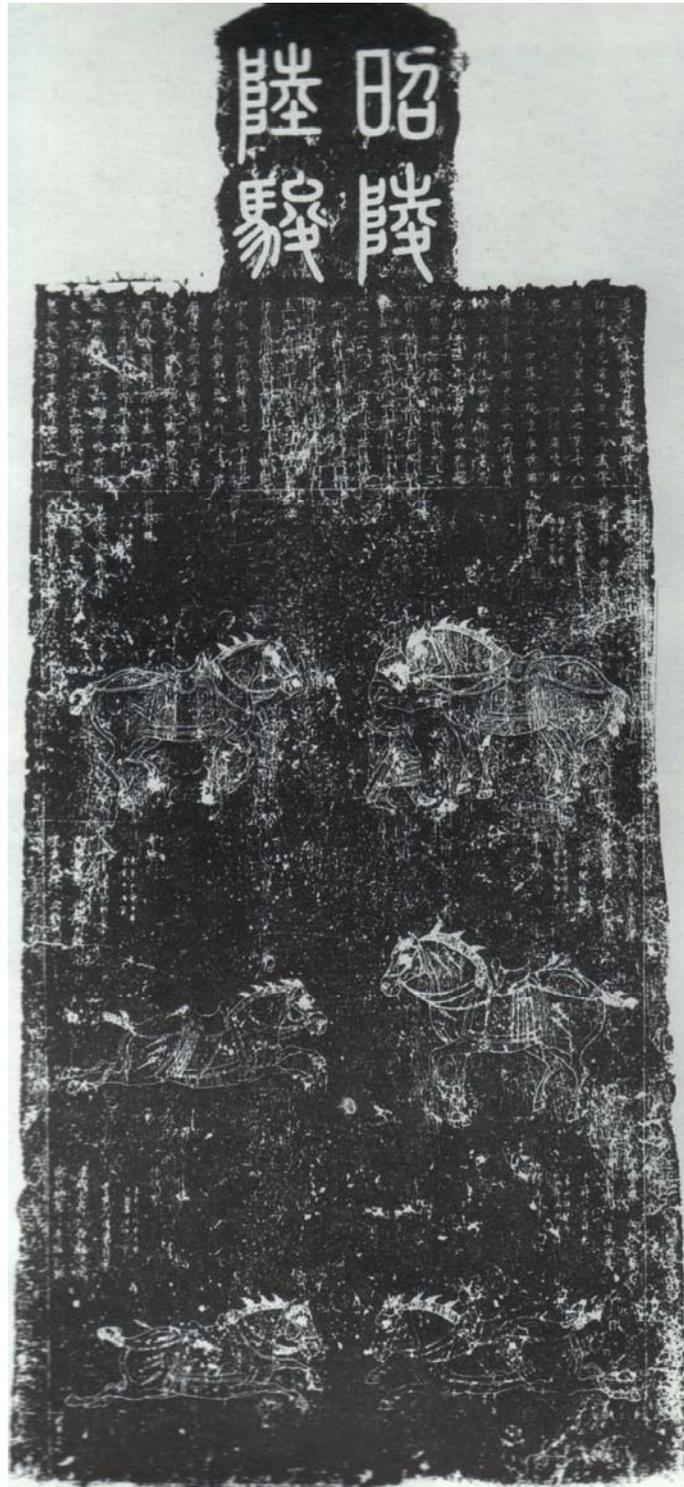


Fig. 3 The Zhaoling Liujun stele erected by You Shixiong in 1089. Zhaoling Museum, Liquan, Shaanxi; after Zhang Pei (1993): 95.

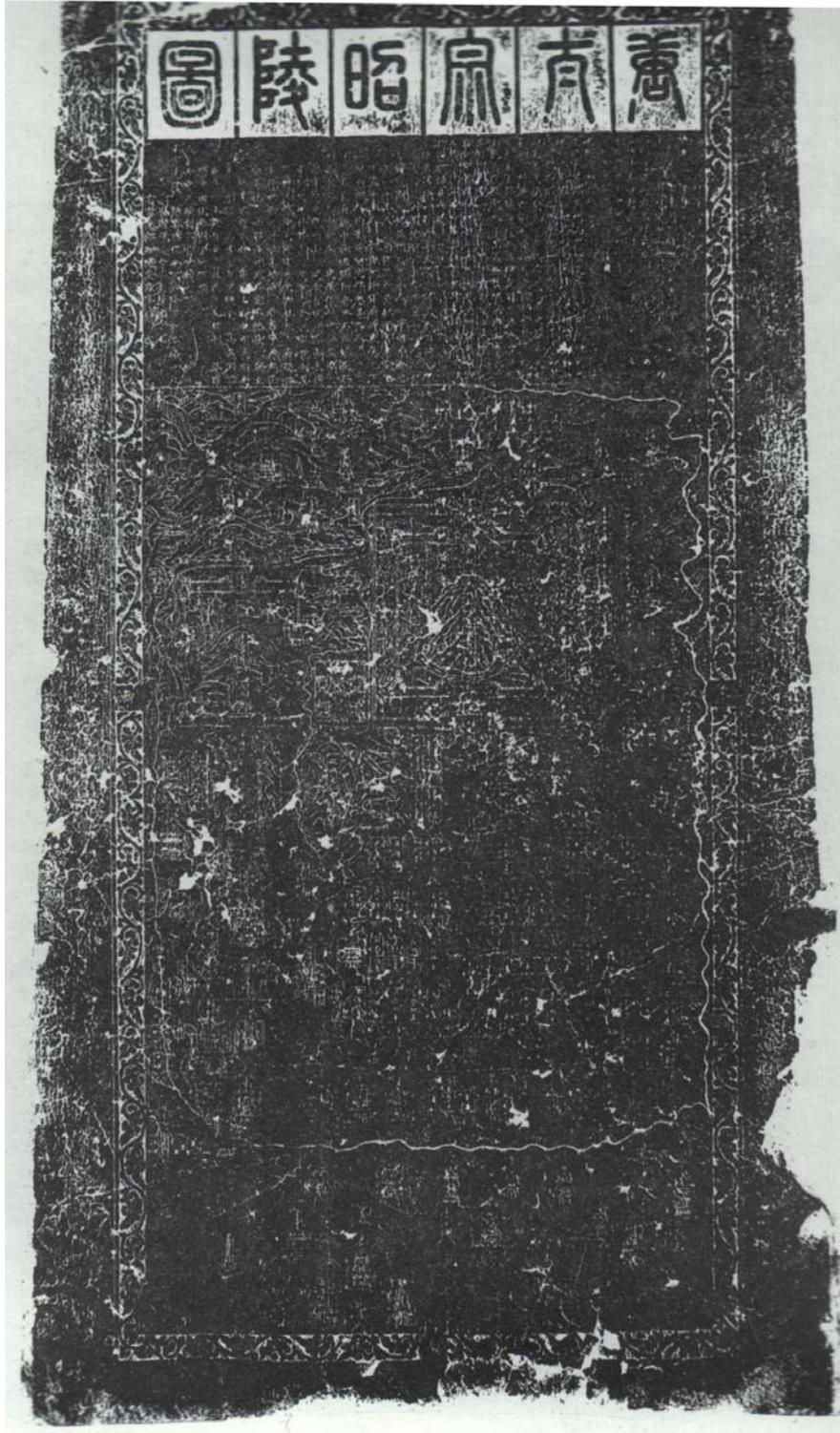


Fig. 4 The Zhaoling Map stele inscribed by You Shixiong and erected in 1094. Zhaoling Museum, Liquan, Shaanxi; after Zhang Pei (1993): 94.

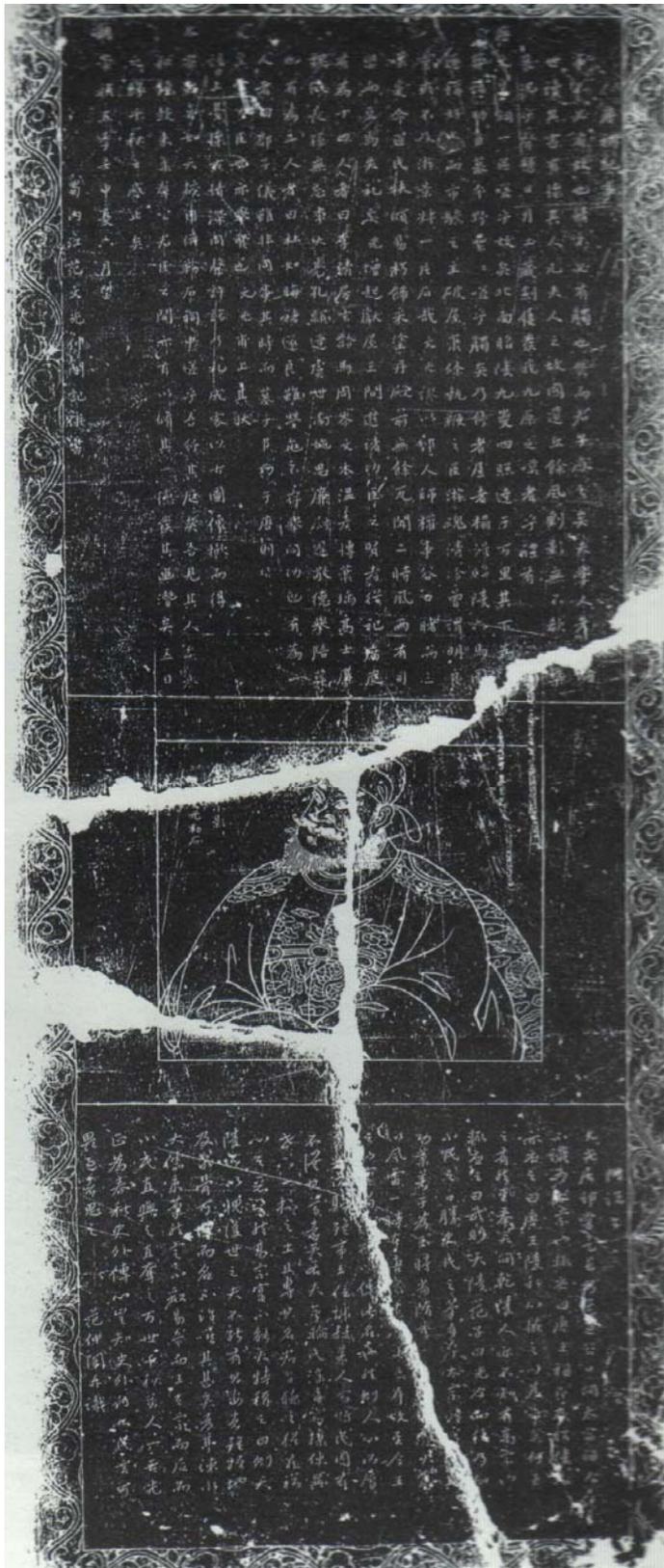


Fig. 6 The stele bearing the portrait of Tang Taizong, erected by Fan Wenguang in 1632. Zhaoling Museum, Liquan, Shaanxi; after Zhang Pei (1993): 98.



Fig. 7a Mount Jiuzong in distance; photographed by the author in 1999.



Fig. 7b The tip of Mount Jiuzong; photographed by the author in 1999.



Fig. 8 Ceramic *chiwei* (owl's tail) from the site of Xiandian; after Han Wei (1991): 80.

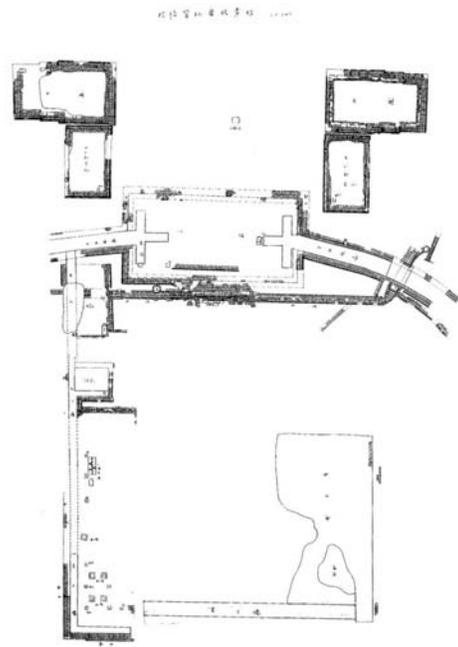


Fig. 10 A drawing of the excavation site of the north slope; after Zhang Jianlin's lecture at UPM in March 2006.



Fig. 9 Excavation at the north slope; after Zhang Jianlin's lecture at UPM in March 2006.



Fig. 11 Remains of triple *que*, showing three recesses along the edge; photographed by the author in 2003.



Fig. 12 Triple *que* painted on the passageway. Tomb of Crown Prince Yide; 706; after Shen Qinyan (2002): Fig. 5.

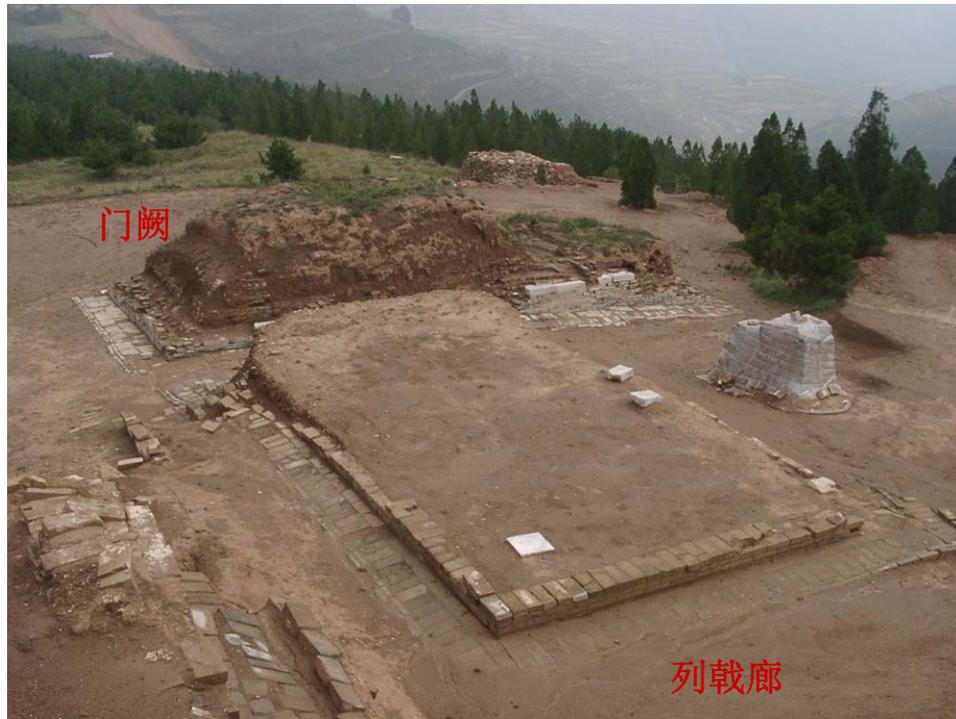


Fig. 13 Remains of the halberd-display pavilion behind the triple *que*; after Zhang Jianlin's lecture at UPM in March 2006.



Fig. 14 The door socket and remains of the gate with hipped roof; after Zhang Jianlin's lecture at UPM in March 2006.



Fig.15 Reconstructed model of the gate with hipped roof; after Zhang Jianlin's lecture at UPM in March 2006.



Fig. 18 The stone base inscribed with the name and title; photographed by the author in 1999.



Fig. 16 The drainage outlet built with an iron grille; photographed by the author in 2003.



Fig. 17 The eight sets of pillar bases, spread out in pairs; photographed by the author in 2003.

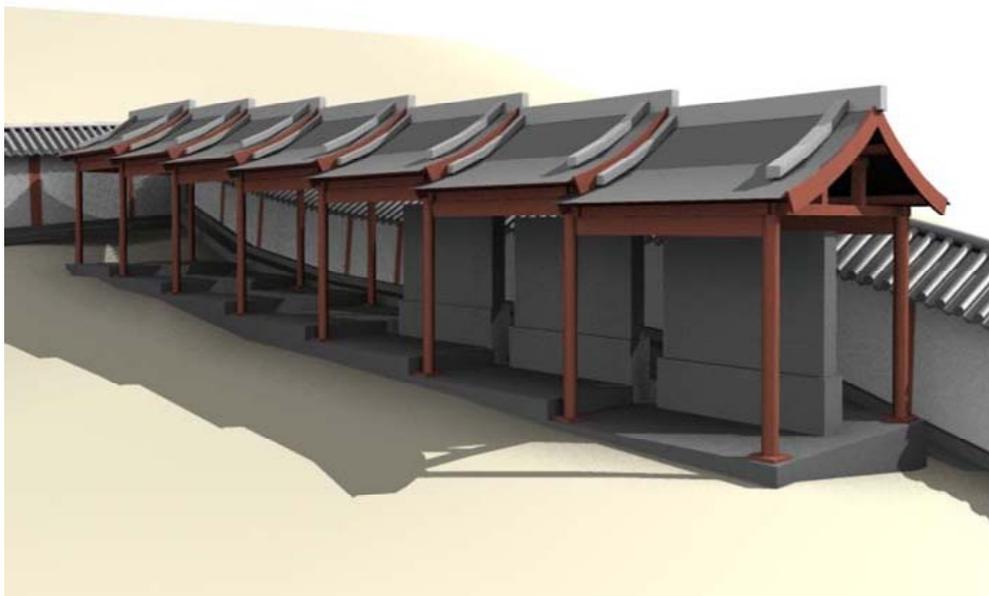


Fig. 19 Reconstructed model of seven pavilions for seven statues of officials and three horse reliefs on the west side; after Zhang Jianlin's lecture at UPM in March 2006.



Figs. 20a & 20b Stone bases for the horse reliefs with butterfly clamps; photographed by the author in 2003.



Fig. 21 Stone base for the horse reliefs with a raised border; photographed by the author in 2003.

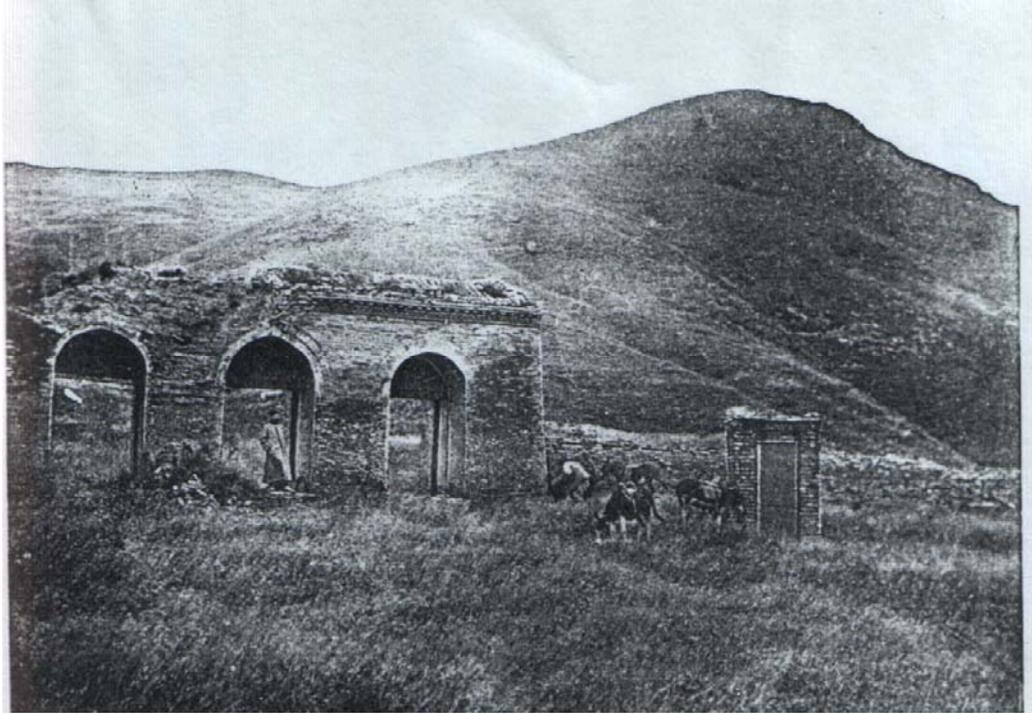


Fig. 22 The Gatehouse with three arched doors; 1909; after Chavannes (1909–1915): Fig. 438. West Veranda.

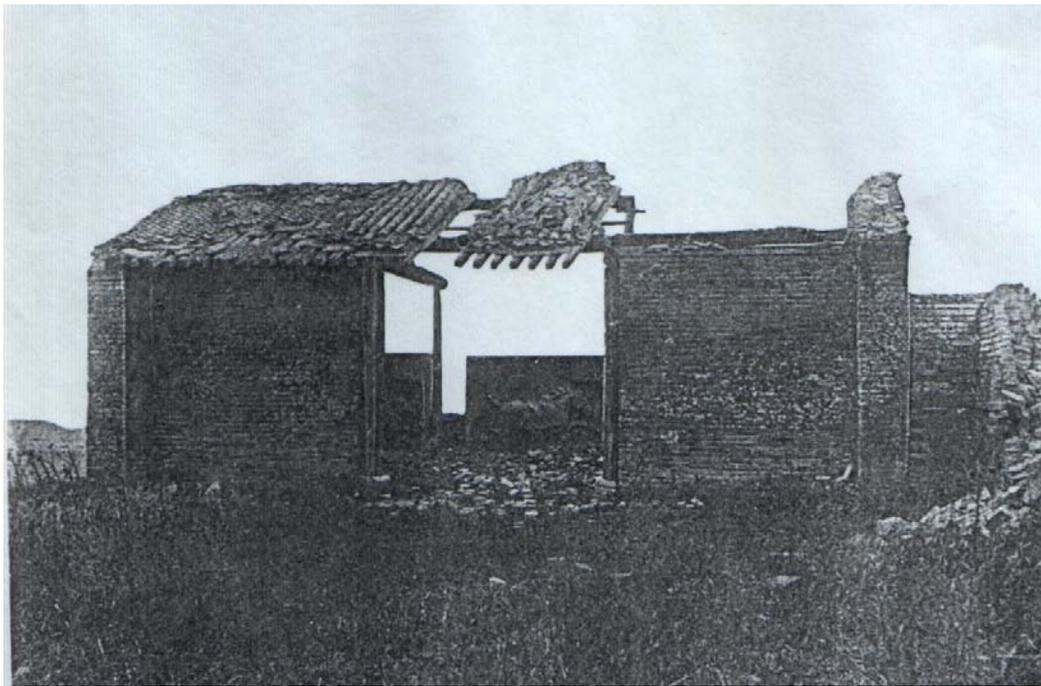


Fig. 23 Stone horse reliefs shown in the 1909 photograph, West Veranda; after Chavannes (1909–1915): Fig. 439.

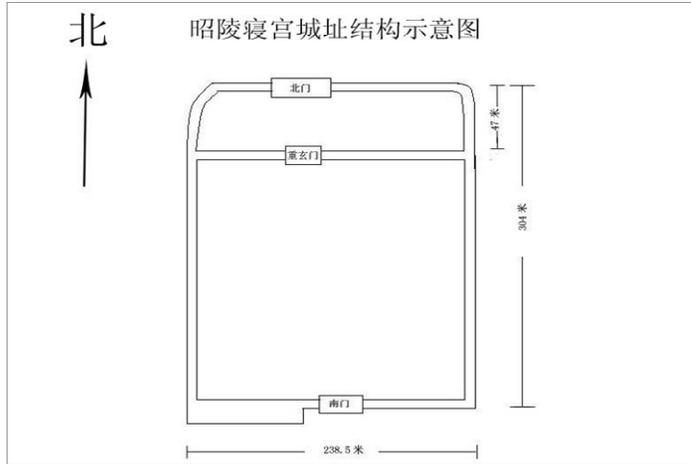


Fig. 24 The layout of Qingong; after Zhang Jianlin's lecture at UPM in March 2006.



Fig. 25 The remains of the North Gate of Qingong; after Zhang Jianlin's lecture at UPM in March 2006.

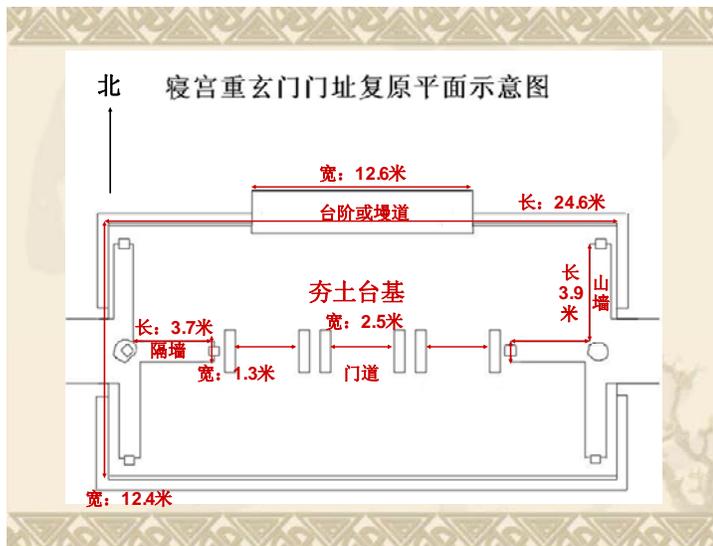


Fig. 26 The reconstructed layout of the Chongxuan Gate of Qingong; after Zhang Jianlin's lecture at UPM in March 2006.



Fig. 27 Piles of broken tiles from the ruins of Qingong; after Zhang Jianlin's lecture at UPM in March 2006.



Fig. 28 A large pillar base originally from Qingong; after Zhang Jianlin's lecture at UPM in March 2006.

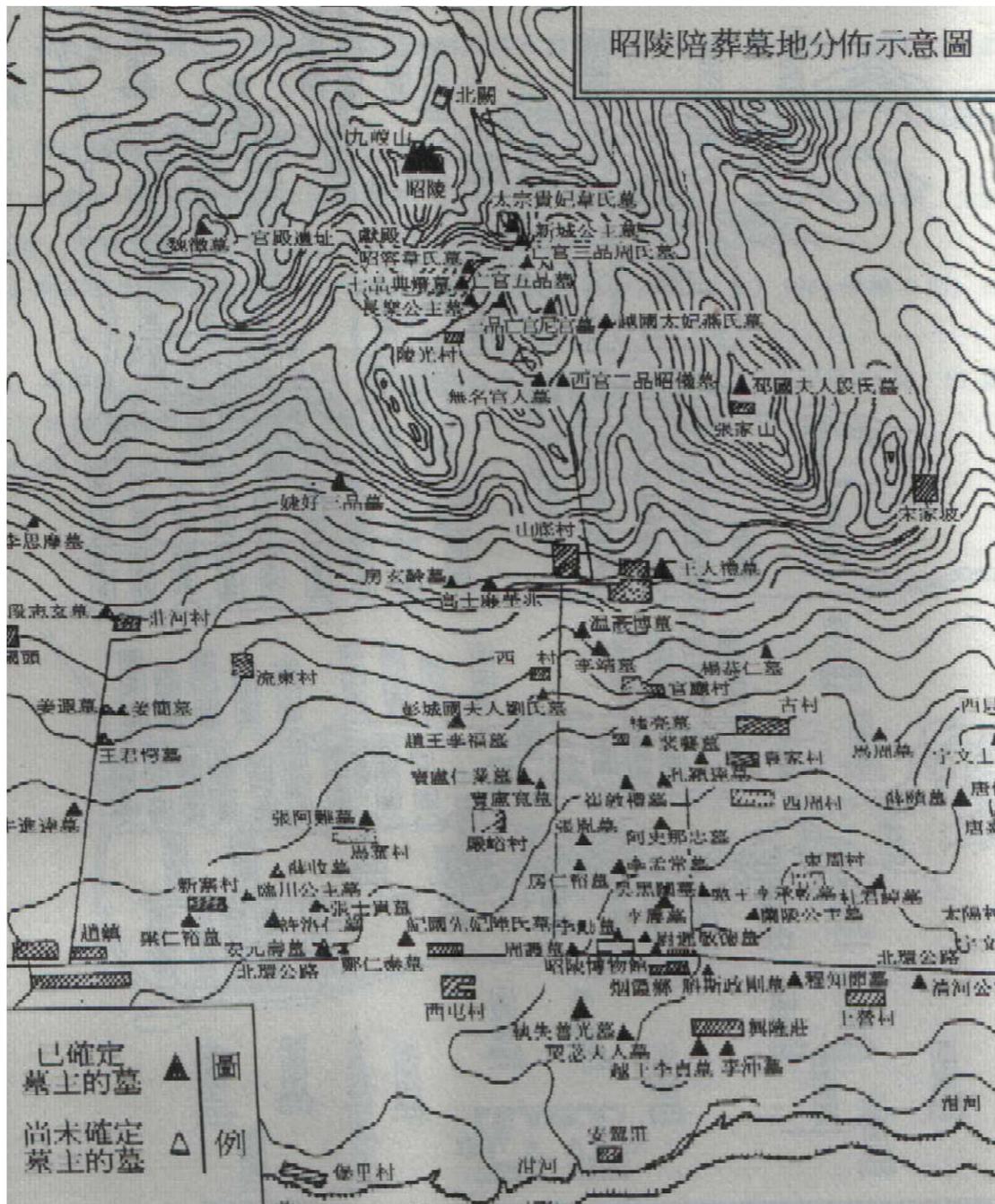


Fig. 29 The layout of the auxiliary tombs; after Shen Ruiwen (1999): 442. Fig. 2.



Fig. 30a Eastern strip of the stone relief base; photographed by the author in 1999.



Fig. 30b Western strip of the stone relief base; photographed by the author in 1999.



Fig. 31a Saluzi is shown with no cracks in the 1909 photograph; after Chavannes (1909–1915): Fig. 440.



Fig. 31b Saluzi is shown with two vertical cracks after they were removed from Zhaoling; UPM archives.

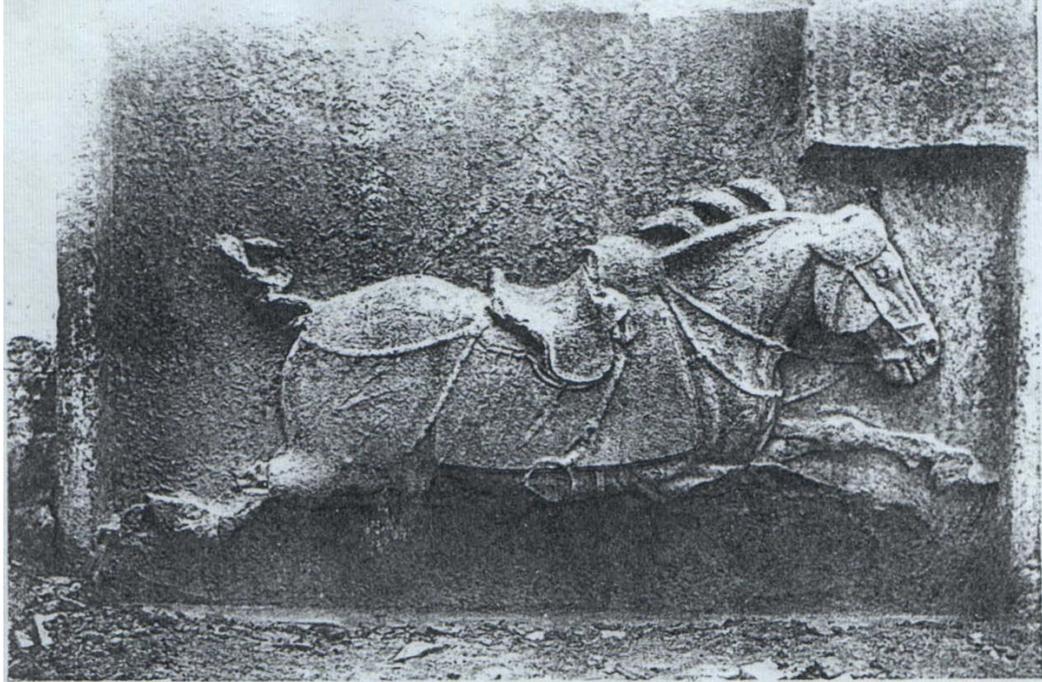


Fig. 32a Qingzhui is shown with no vertical or horizontal cracks in the 1909 photograph; after Chavannes (1909–1915): Fig. 443.



Fig. 32b Qingzhui is shown with one vertical and one horizontal crack after it was removed from Zhaoling; after Xi'an Beilin bowuguan (2000): 94.



Fig. 33 A fragment detached from the stone relief showing refined carving of the hoof's hair; courtesy of the Xi'an Beilin Museum, 2003.



Fig. 34 A fragmentary statue shows hair with five braids and clipped with hair ornaments; photographed by the author in 2003.



Fig. 35 A fragmentary statue wearing a robe with right shoulder exposed and twisted cord at waist; after Zhang Jianlin's lecture at UPM in March 2006.



Fig. 36 A fragmentary statue showing seven braids hanging over his waist; photographed by the author in 2003.



Fig. 37 Three views of a fragmentary head showing curled hair and bulging eyes; after Zhang Jianlin's lecture at UPM in March 2006.

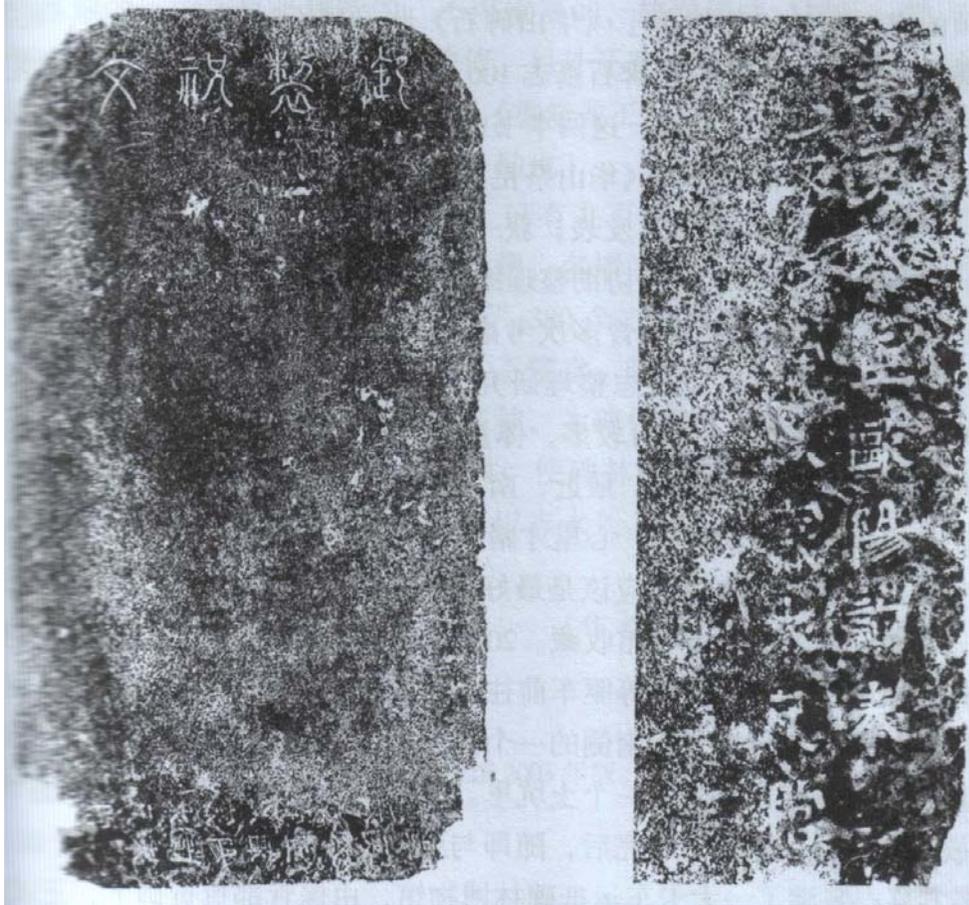


Fig. 38 The eight characters on the extant section of the Empress's stele; the bottom of the left image corresponds to the right image; 636; after Li Langtao (2004): 91.



Fig. 40 Tops of stelae; left, Pei Yi's stele and right, Kong Yingda's stele; both dated 648–649; after Zhang Pei (1999): 102.



Fig. 39 A pair of lions originally marking the boundary of Zhaoling. Beilin Museum, Xi'an, Shaanxi; 636–649; after Xi'an Beilin bowuguan (2000): 96.

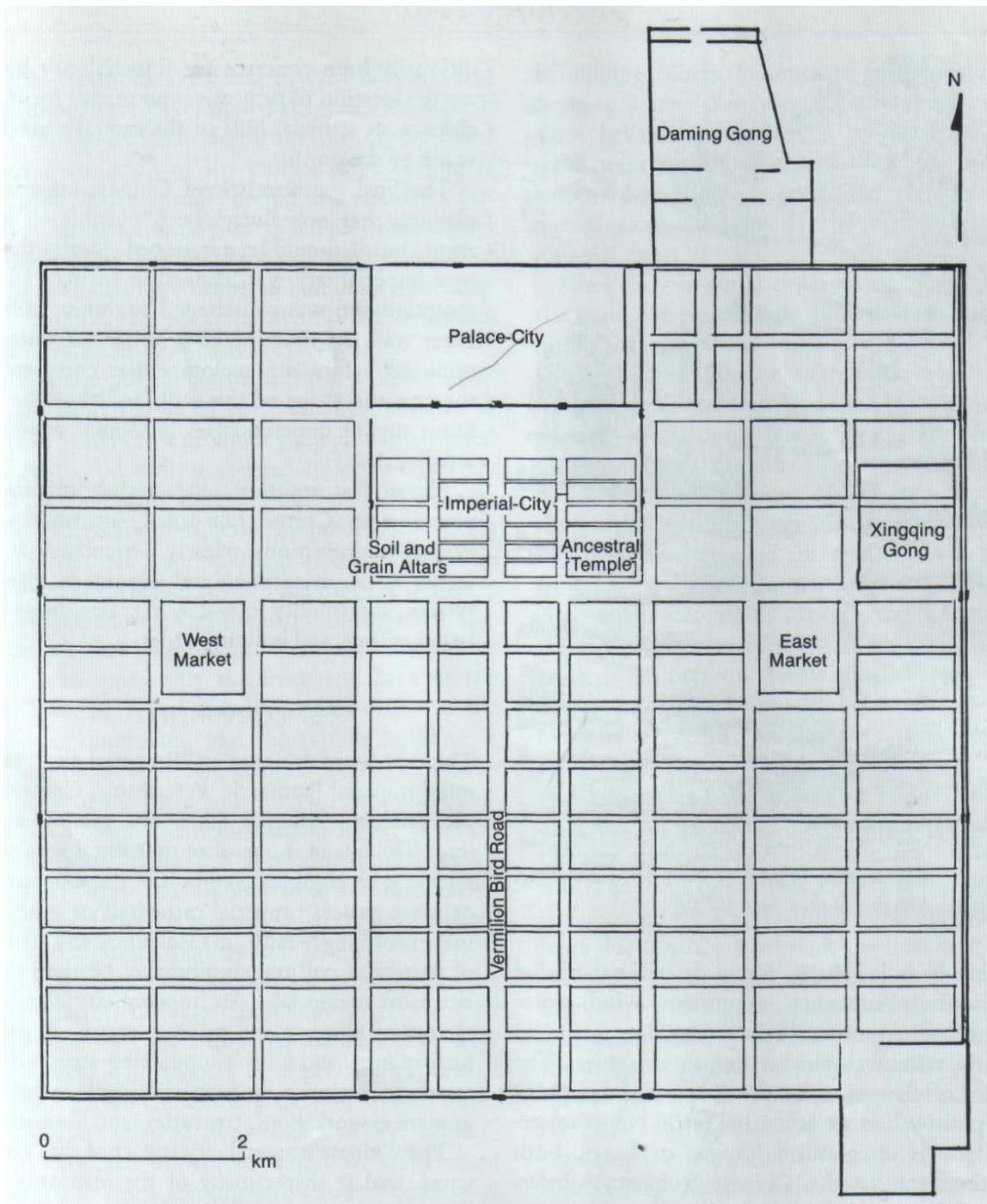


Fig. 41 The city Planning of Tang Chang'an showing its imperial-city, palace-city and outer-city; after Wenwu 9 (1977): Fig. 1 and Steinhardt (1990): Fig. 11.



Fig. 46 A halberd rack exhibiting seven halberds. East wall of the 4th shaft of the tomb of Li Shou; 630; after Ji Dongshan (2006): 47. Fig. 11.



Fig. 47 A halberd rack exhibiting twelve halberds in a row. West wall of the 2nd shaft of tomb of Crown Prince Yide; 706; after Shen Qinyan (2002): Fig. 25.

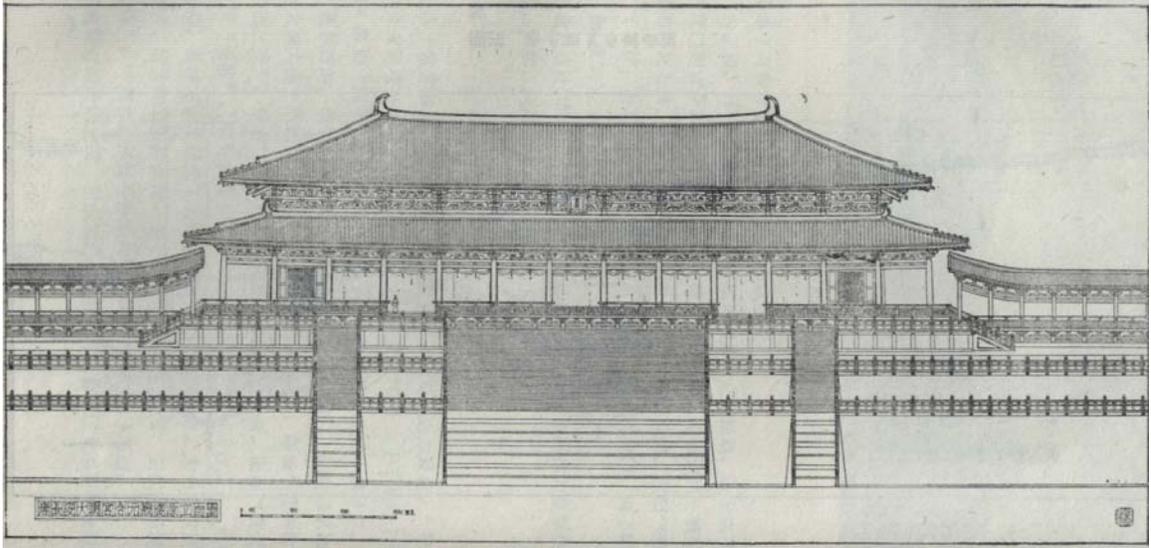


Fig. 48. Reconstructed model of Hanyuandian; after Yang Hongxun (1989): 529. Fig. 2.

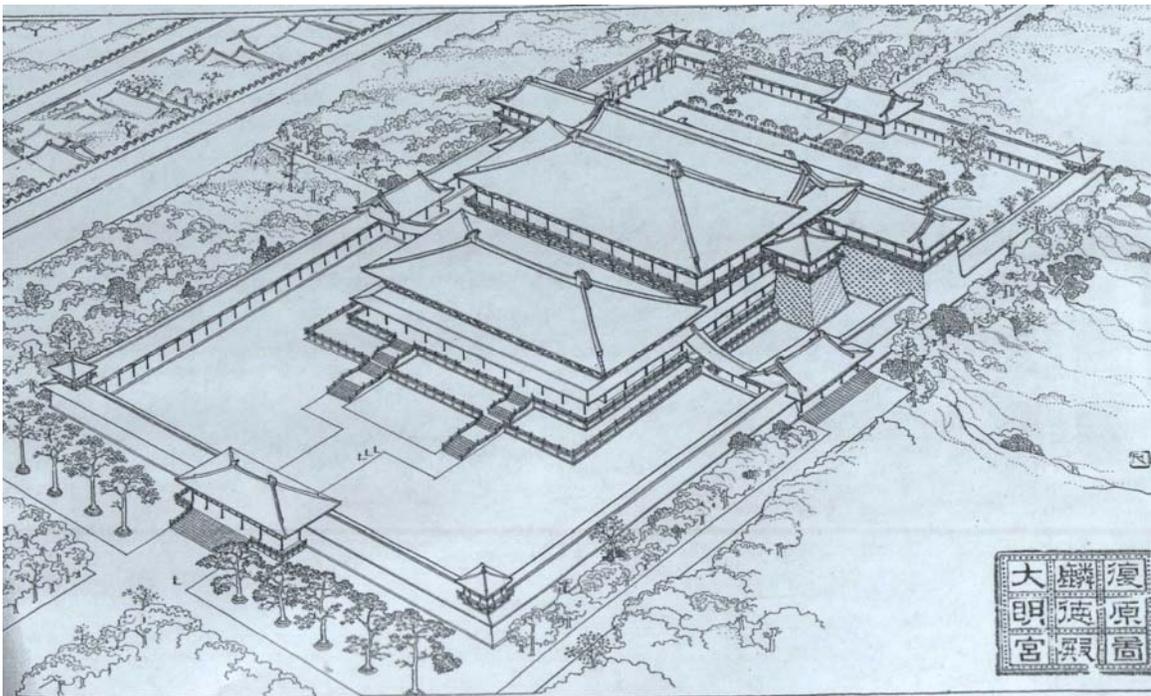


Fig. 51. Reconstructed model of Lindedian, west side of hall of Daming Gong; after Liu Zhiping (1963): Fig. 8.

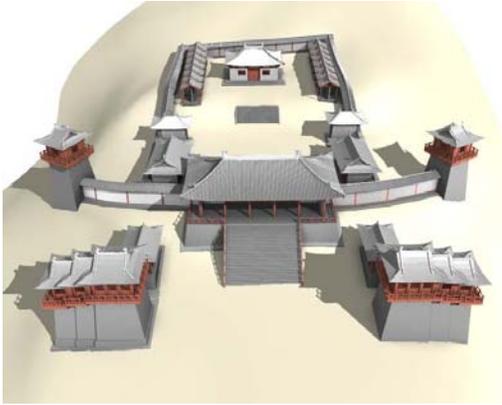


Fig. 49 Reconstructed model of *Qingong* of Zhaoling; after Zhang Jianlin's lecture at UPM in March 2006.

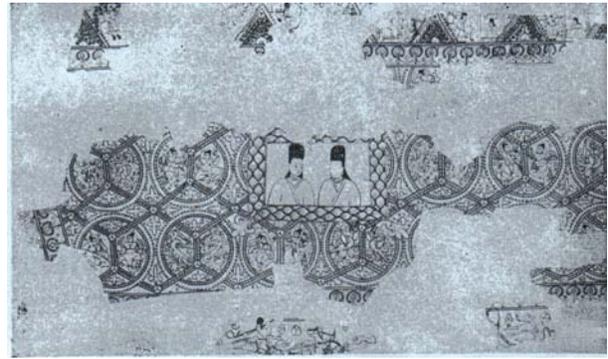


Fig. 50 The lacquered coffin showing a window. Northern Wei; after Guyuanxian wenwu gongzuozhan (1984): 56. Fig. 37.

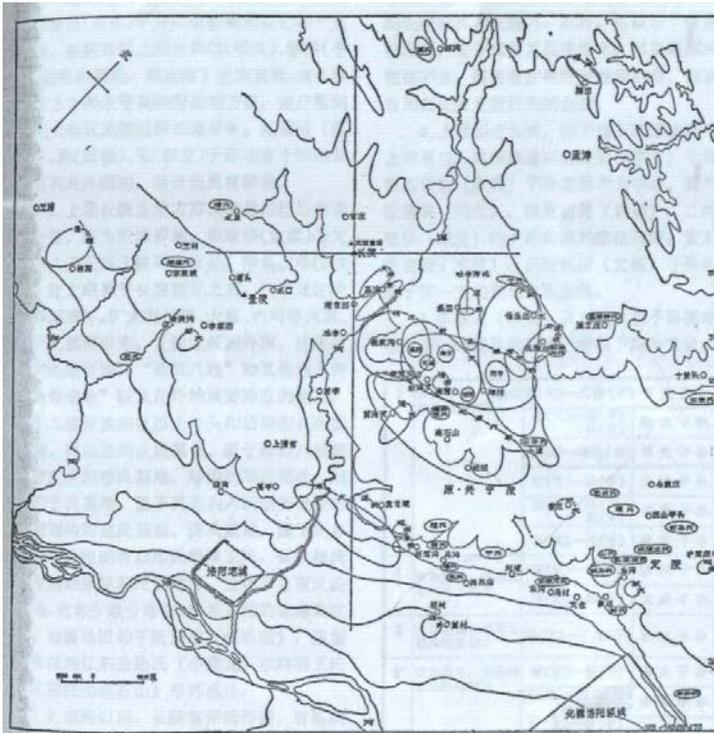


Fig. 52 The general layout of Changling, mausoleum of Emperor Xiaowen of the Northern Wei at Mangshan, Luoyang; 499; after Su Bai (1978): Fig. 2.



Fig. 53 Stone figure. Akeyazuigou, Yili, Xinjiang; 7th–10th century; after Huang Wenbi (1960): 12. Fig. 2.



Fig. 54 Saluzi relief shows floral motifs: the L-shaped rubbing is from the front border; the other one is from the left frame; 636–49; after Fernald (1935): Fig. 9.



Fig. 55 The continuous floral motif showing in the lintel of Li Shou's tomb door; 630; after Xi'an Beilin bowuguan (2000): 85.

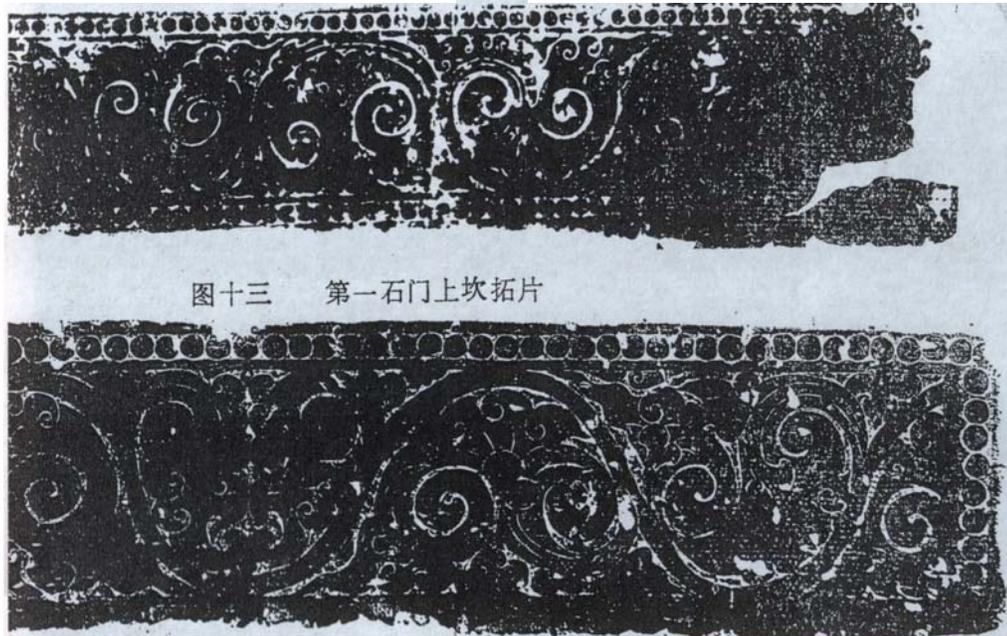


Fig. 57 Floral motif in the threshold of the first stone door. Tomb of Princess Changle; 643; after Zhaoling bowuguan (1988): 19. Figs. 13 & 14.

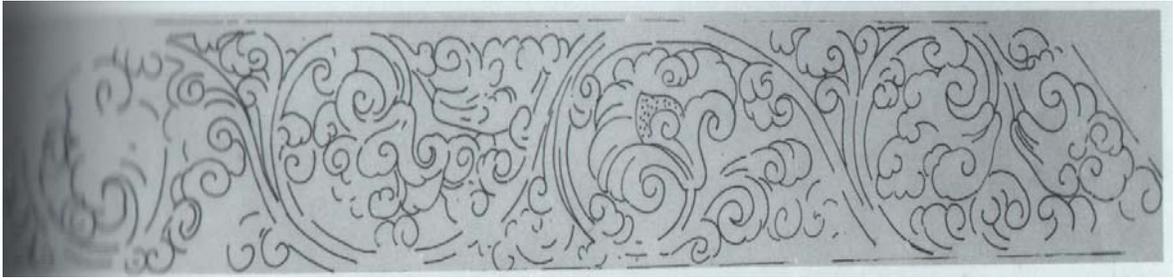


Fig. 56 Floral motif in the epitaph of Dugu Kaiyuan; 642; after Zhang Hongxiu (1992): Fig. 5.

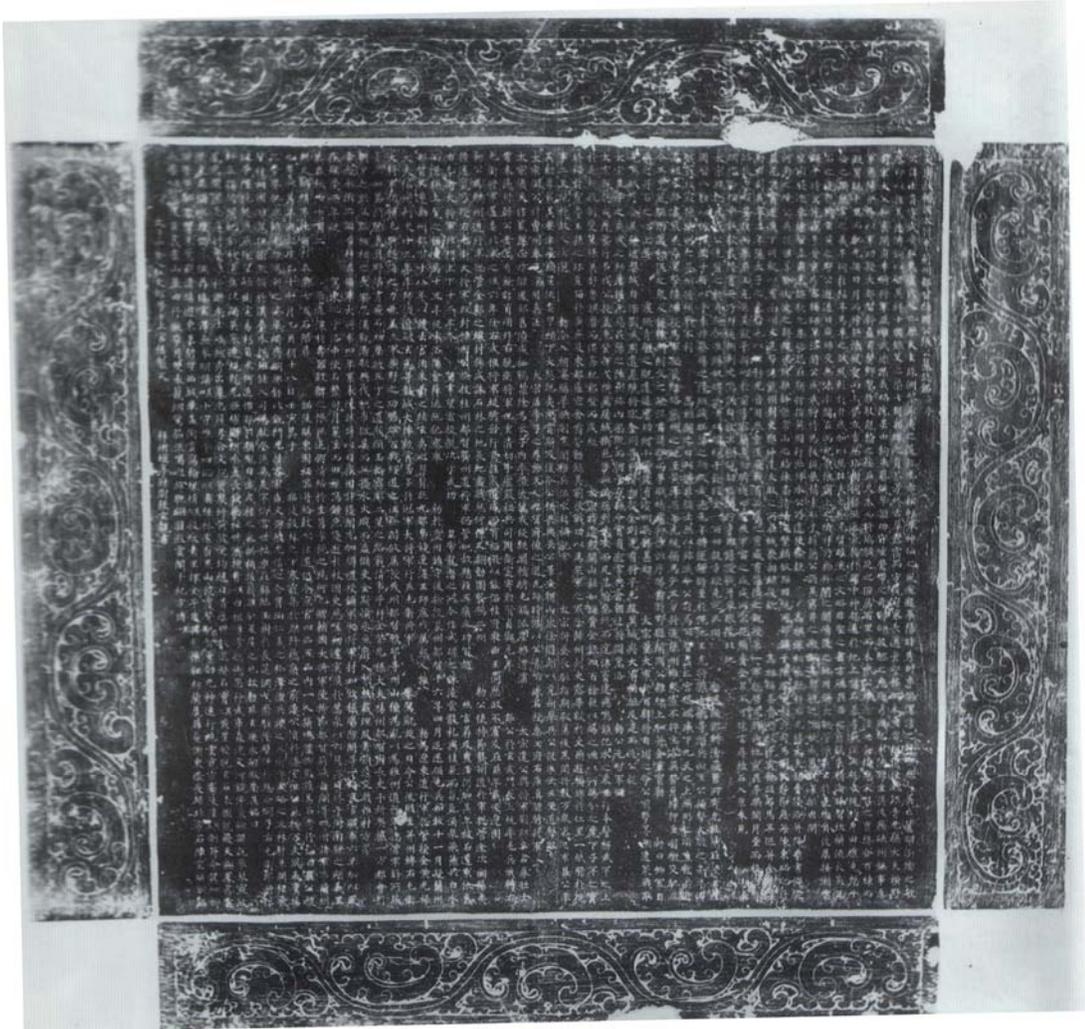


Fig. 58 Floral motif in the epitaph of Zhang Shigui; 657; after Zhang Hongxiu (1992): Fig. 8.



Fig. 59 Floral motif in the epitaph of Zheng Rentai; 663; after Zhang Hongxiu (1972): Fig. 14.



Fig. 60 Peach-shaped motif in the stone column of Xianling; 635; after Paludan (1991): 91. Fig. 106.



Fig. 61 Peach-shaped motif in the epitaph of Princess Changle; 643; after Zhaoling bowuguan (1988a): 17. Fig. 10.

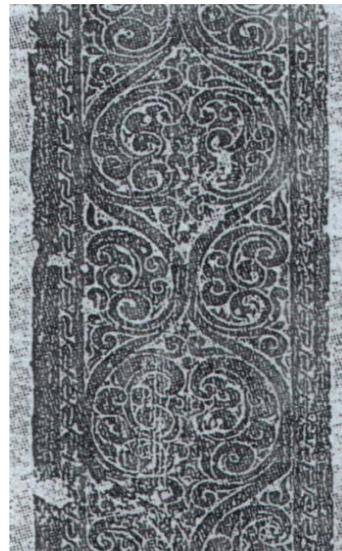


Fig. 62 Peach-shaped motif in the west door frame. Tomb of Princess Xincheng; 663; after Shaanxi sheng kaogu yanjiusuo (1997): 31. Fig. 25.

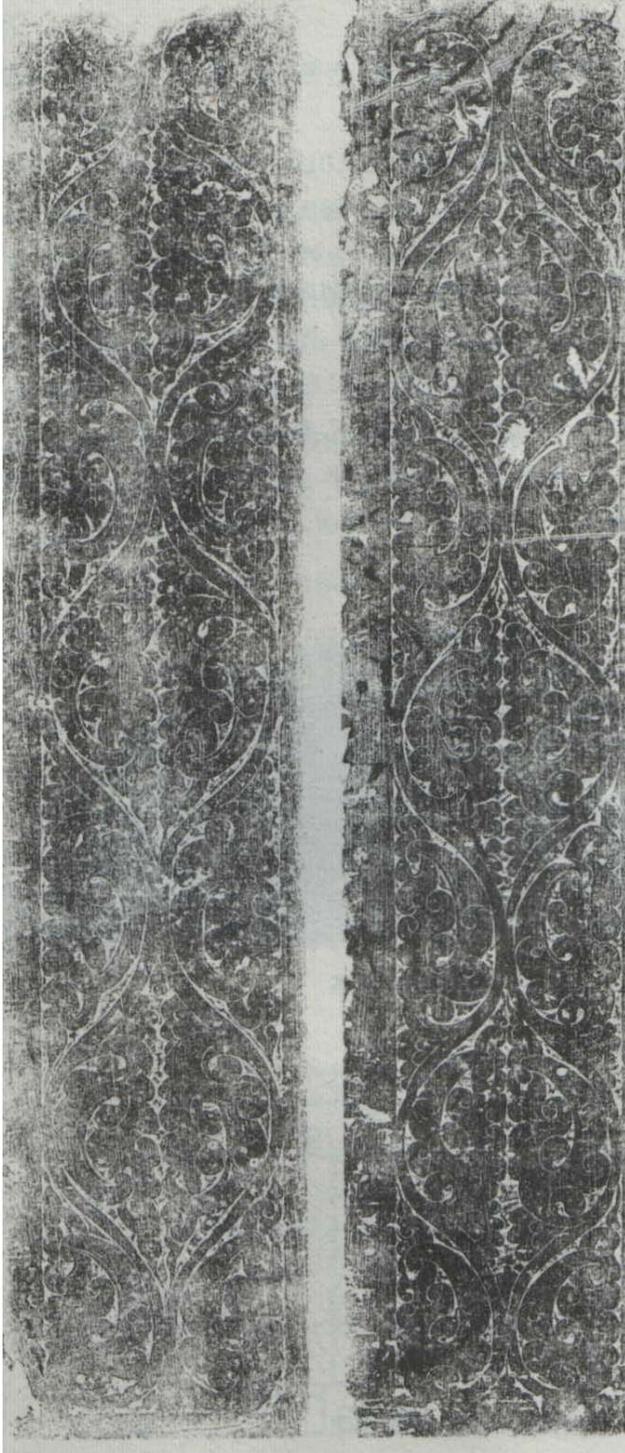


Fig. 63 Peach-shaped motif in the two sides of the door frames. Tomb of Shi Hedan; 669; after Luo Feng (1996): 64. Fig. 47.

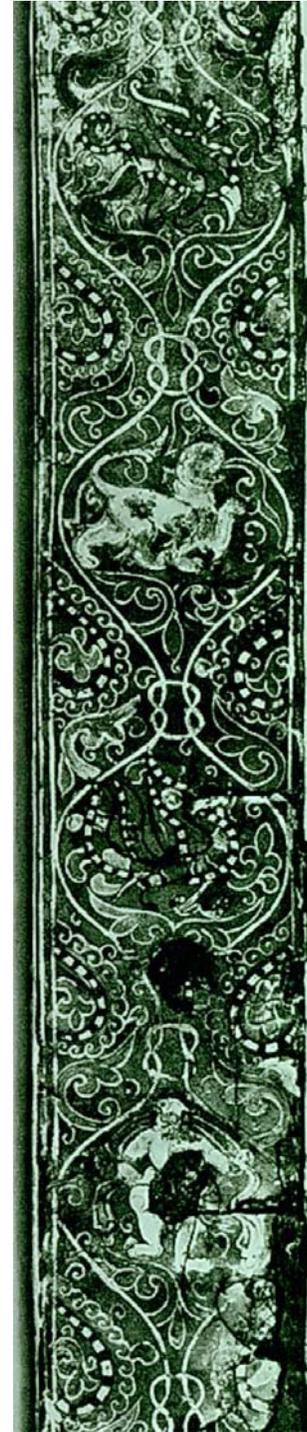


Fig. 64 Peach-shaped motif on the painted board. Tomb of Sima Jinlong; 484; after Watt (2004): 21. Fig. 17.



Fig. 65 Stone figurine. Tomb of Fu Hao; Shang dynasty; after Wei Bin (2003): 17.

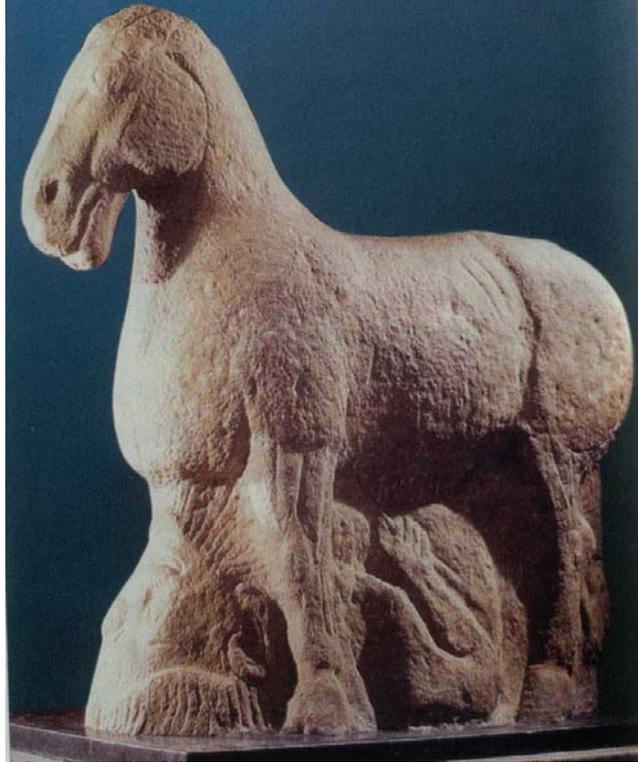


Fig. 66 The horse trampling a barbarian. Tomb of Huo Qubing; Western Han; after Wei Bin (2003): 46.



Fig. 68 Imperial procession carved in relief. Cave 1, Gongxian, Henan, Northern Wei; after Chavannes (1909–1915): Fig. 407.



五三 孝子石棺床 蔡順



五四 孝子石棺床 郭巨

Fig. 67 Sarcophagus with line-carved scenes of filial piety. Southern Dynasties; after *Zhongguo huaxiangshi quanji bianji weiyuanhui* (2000): v. 8, 40. Figs. 53 & 54.



Fig. 71
Sarcophagus of
An Qie.
Northern Zhou;
after Shaanxi
sheng kaogu
yanjiusuo
(2003): Fig. 44.



(Left) Fig. 69. Que carved with thin relief. Zhaojiacun, Quxian, Sichuan; E. Han; after Paludan (2006): 126. Fig. 76.

(Below) Fig. 72 Sarcophagus of Yu Hong. Taiyuan, Shanxi; 592; after Shanxi sheng kaogu yanjiusuo (2001): 48. Fig. 39.

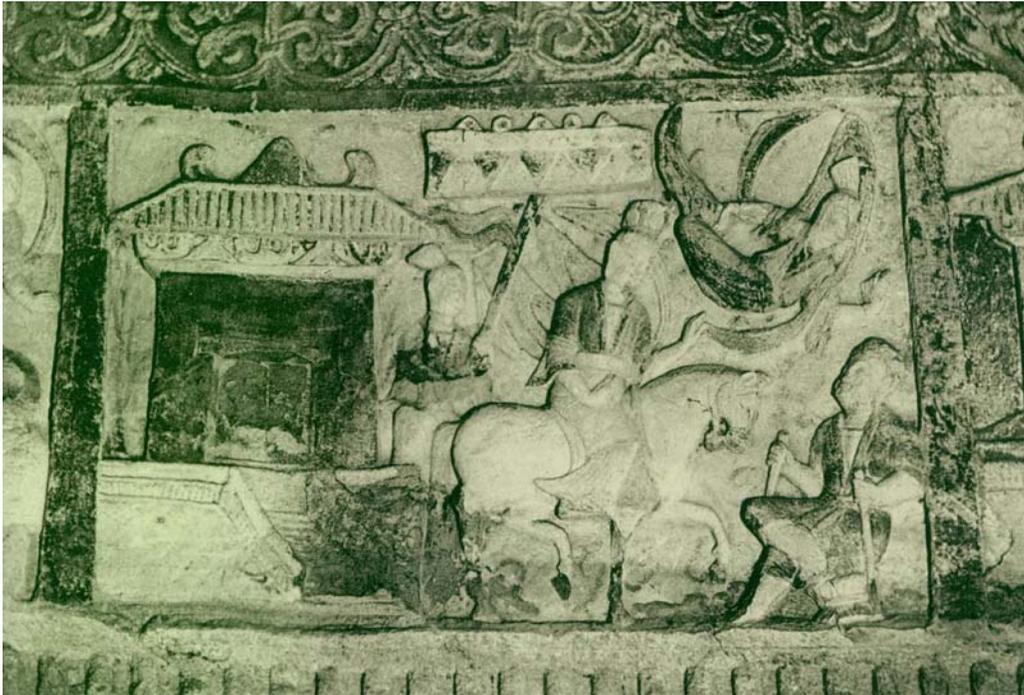


Fig. 70. Carving in low relief showing the young Buddha leaving home. Cave 6, Yungang, Datong, Shanxi; late 5th century; after Chavannes (1909–1915): Fig. 208.



Fig. 74 *The Triumph of Shapur I*. Naqsh-i Rostam; 241–272; after Schmidt (1970): Fig. 83.



Fig. 73 *The Investiture of Ardashir*. Naqsh-i Rostam; 224–241; after Schmidt (1970): Fig. 81.



Fig. 75 *Equestrian combat*. Naqsh-i Rostam; 276–293; after Schmidt (1970): Figs. 89–90.



Fig. 76 *Equestrian combat of Hormizd II*. Naqsh-i Rostam; 302–309; after Schmidt (1970): Fig. 91.

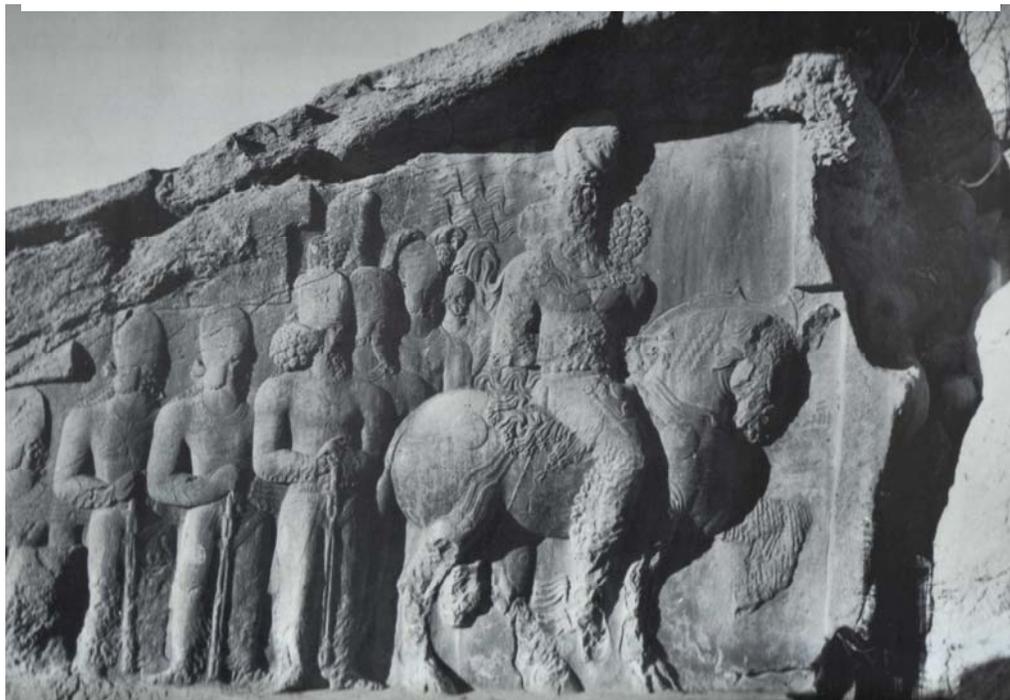


Fig. 77 *Shapur I mount with Suite on foot*. Naqsh-i Rajab; ca. 3rd century; after Schmidt (1970): Fig. 100.



Fig. 78 The mane on Assyrian relief showing neat and clear-cut. Ashurbanipal Palace; 7th century BC; British Museum; after Hall (1928): Fig. XLIX.

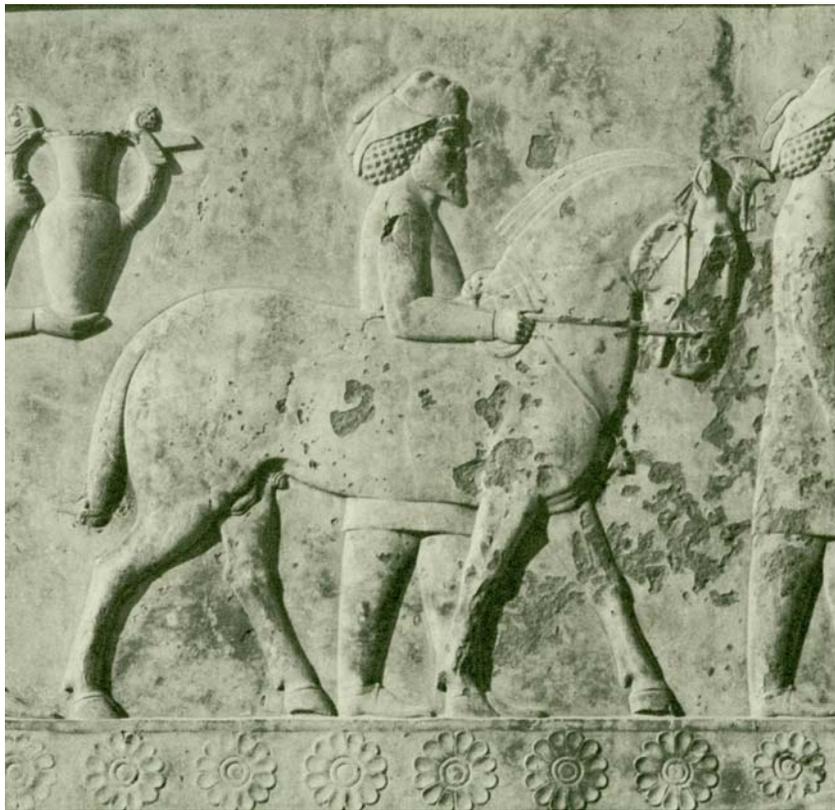


Fig. 79a Horse with clipped mane. Eastern stairway, Apadana, Persepolis; 6th–5th century BC; after Schmidt (1953): Fig. 29B.

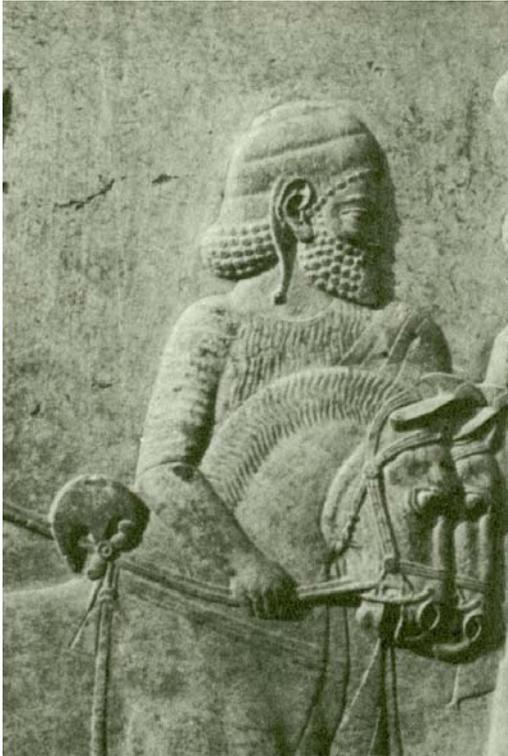


Fig. 79b Horse with flying mane. Eastern stairway, Apadana, Persepolis; 6th–5th century BC; after Schmidt (1953): Fig. 32B.

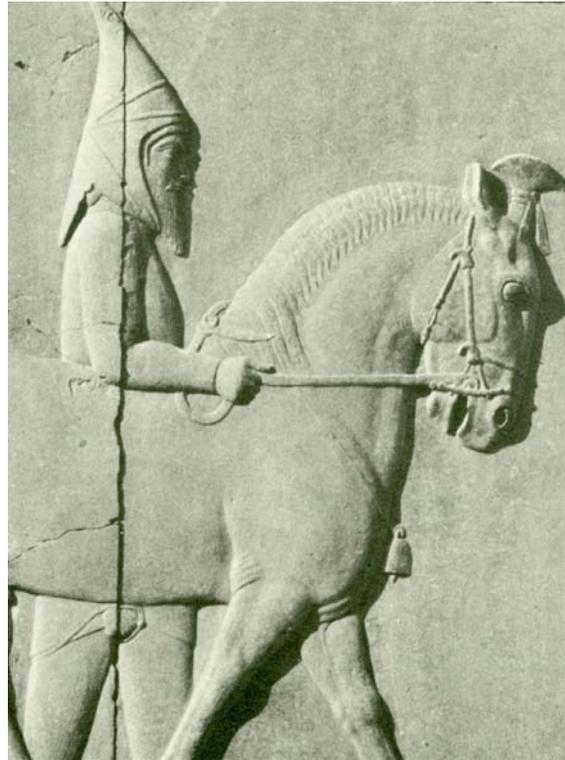


Fig. 79c Horse with flying mane. Eastern stairway, Apadana, Persepolis; 6th–5th century BC; after Schmidt (1953): Fig. 37B.

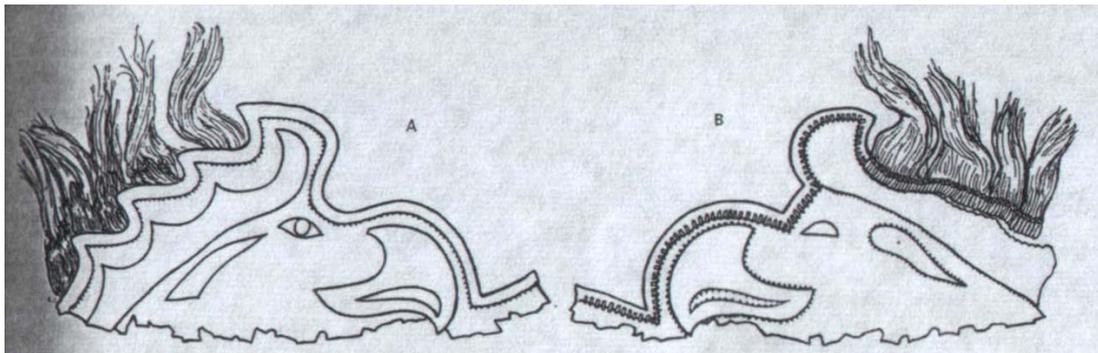


Fig. 80 The headdress showing teething crest. Pazyryk borrow II; 5th–4th century BC; after Rudenko (1970): 181. Fig. 94.

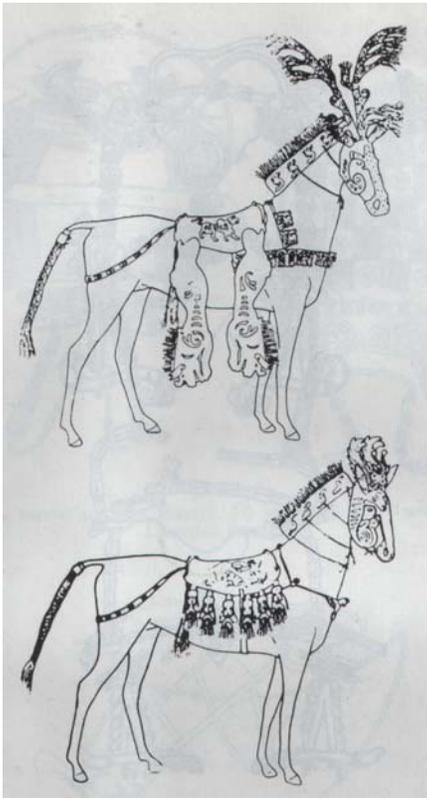


Fig. 81 The horse mane cover. Pazyryk barrow V; 5th–4th century BC; after Azzaroli (1985): 75. Fig. 41.



Fig. 82 Crenellated mane depicted on the felt painting. Pazyryk barrow II; 5th–4th century BC; after Rudenko (1970): Fig. 154.

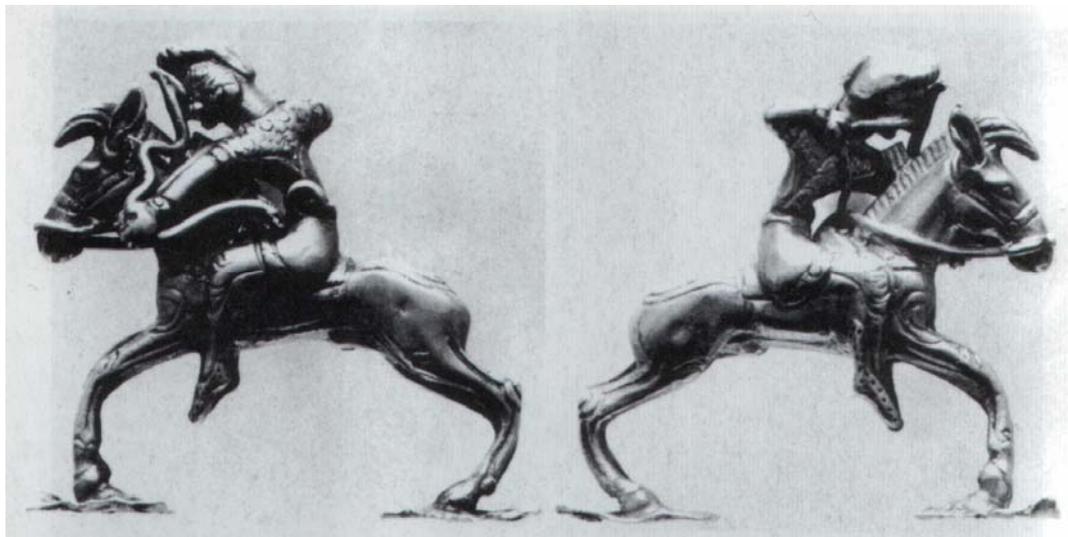


Fig. 83 Mane with a single square tuft, gold plaque. Hermitage, St. Petersburg. Attributed to Sarmatia; 5th–4th century BC; after Dandamaev (1989): 272. Fig. 39.

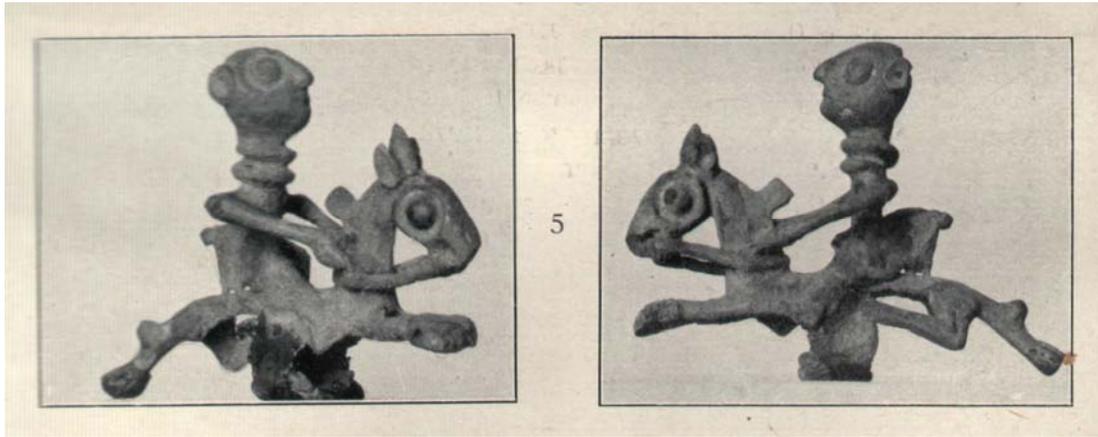


Fig. 84 Mane with a single square tuft, bronze statuette. Hermitage, St. Petersburg. Attributed to the archaic Scythian period; 8th–7th century BC; after Rostovtzeff (1922): 40b. Fig. 5.



Fig. 85 Mane with a single square tuft, gold plaque. Hermitage, St. Petersburg. Scythia; 5th–4th century BC; after Metropolitan Museum of Art (1975): Fig. 21.



Fig. 86 Mane with a single square tuft. Qin Shihuangdi's mausoleum; 221–207 BC; after Cooke (2000): 125. Figs. 102 & 103.



Fig. 87a Single square tufts on bronze horses pulling chariots. Qin Shihuangdi's mausoleum; 221–207 BC; after Meng Jianming (2001): 35.



Fig. 87b Detail of the single square tufts on the bronze horse. Qin Shihuangdi's mausoleum; 221–207 BC; after Zhang Wenli (1996): middle.



Fig. 88 Horse manes notched with two tufts, ceramic tile. Luoyang, Henan; 3rd century BC; after White (1939): Fig. XXXV.



Fig. 89 Mane with two tufts, ceramic tile. Luoyang, Henan; 3rd century BC; after White (1939): Fig. XLVII.

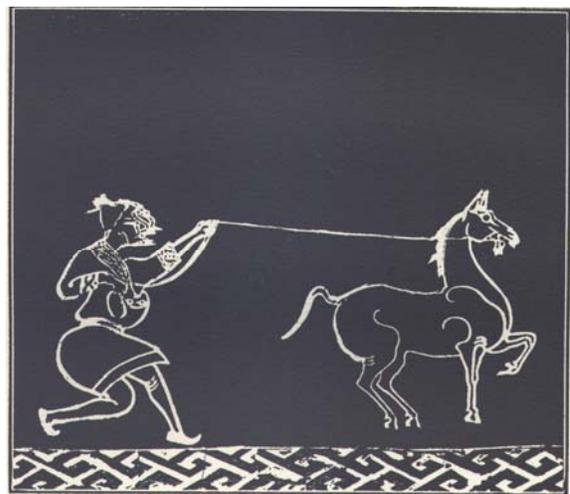


Fig. 90 Mane with two tufts, ceramic tile. Luoyang, Henan; 3rd century BC; after White (1939): Fig. LVI.



Fig. 91 Mane with two tufts, ceramic tiles. Henan; 3rd century BC; after White (1939): Fig. XXXV.

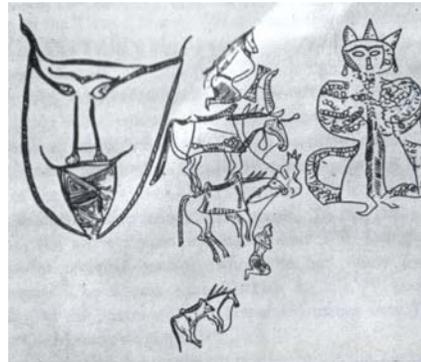


Fig. 92 Turkic horse manes with three tufts, petroglyph. Kudirge, East Altai; 5th–6th century; after Maenchen-Helfen (1957/58): 117. Fig. 28.

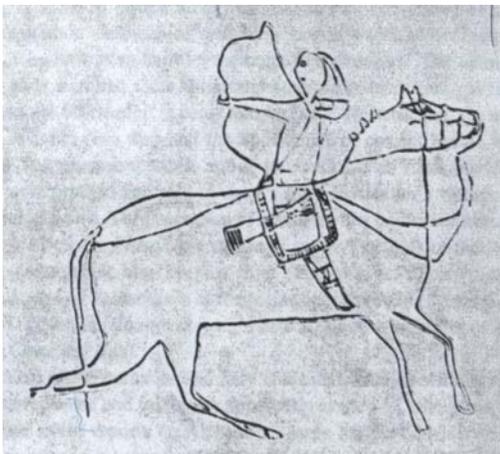


Fig. 93 Turkic horse with three tufts, petroglyph. Sulek; 5th–7th century; after Esin (1965): 214. Fig. 12.

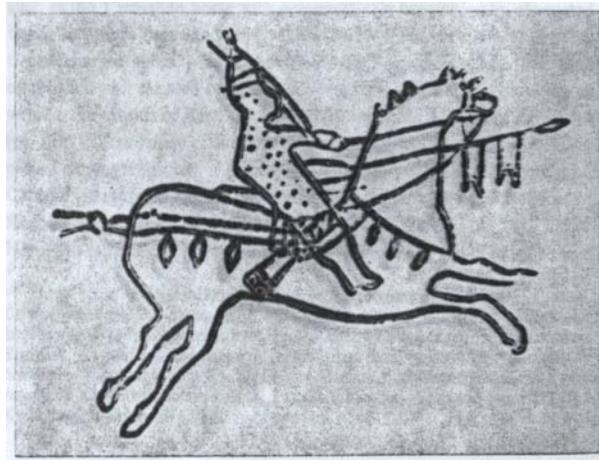


Fig. 94 Turkic horse with three tufts, petroglyph. Sulek; 5th–7th century; after Esin (1965): 214. Fig. 13.

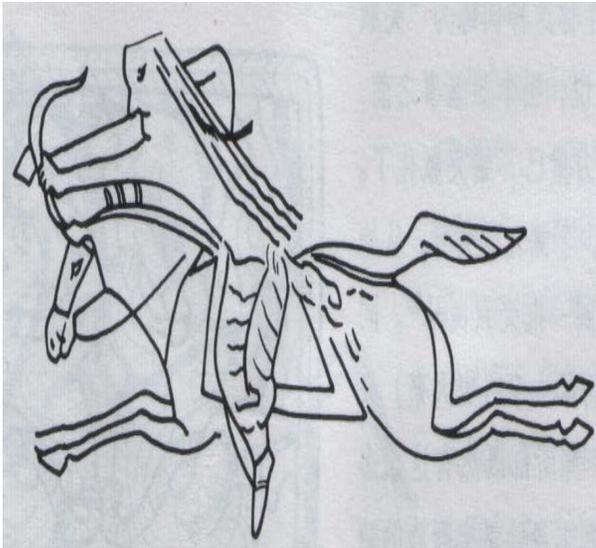


Fig. 95 Turkic horse shown with three tufts. Tomb 9 at Kude'erde; 5th–7th century; after Sun Ji (1981): 114. Fig. 8.17.3.

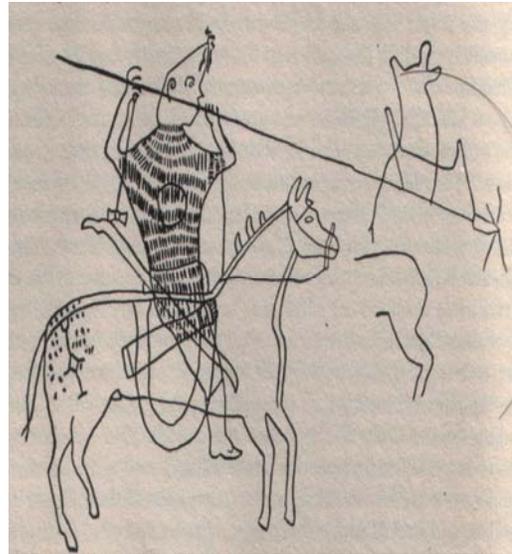


Fig. 96 Turkic horse with three tufts, petroglyph. Yenisei, Siberia; 5th–7th century; after Laufer (1914): 222. Fig. 35.



Fig. 97 Horse mane with three curved tufts. Sasanian silver plate. Freer Gallery of Art; 5th century; after Harper (1981): x.



Fig. 98 Horse mane with three curved tufts. Sasanian silver plate. Metropolitan Museum of Art; 5th century; after Harper (1981): xii.



Fig. 99a Horse mane with three tufts. Sasanian silver plate. Iran Bastan Museum, Tehran; ca. 7th century; after Harper (1981): 211. Fig. 10.



Fig. 99b Horse mane with one rectangular tuft. Sasanian silver plate. State Hermitage Museum; ca. 7th century; after Harper (1981): 219. Fig. 18.



Fig. 99c Horse mane with three square tufts. Sasanian silver plate. Pushkin Museum; ca. 7th century; after Harper (1981): 222. Fig. 21.



Fig. 99d Horse mane with three square tufts. Sasanian silver plate. State Hermitage Museum; ca. 7th century; after Harper (1981): 224. Fig. 23.



Fig. 99e Horse mane with four square tufts. Sasanian silver plate. British Museum; ca. 7th century; after Harper (1981): 226. Fig. 25.



Fig. 99f Horse mane with two or three round tufts. Sasanian silver plate. New York private collection; ca. 7th century; after Harper (1981): 227. Fig. 26.

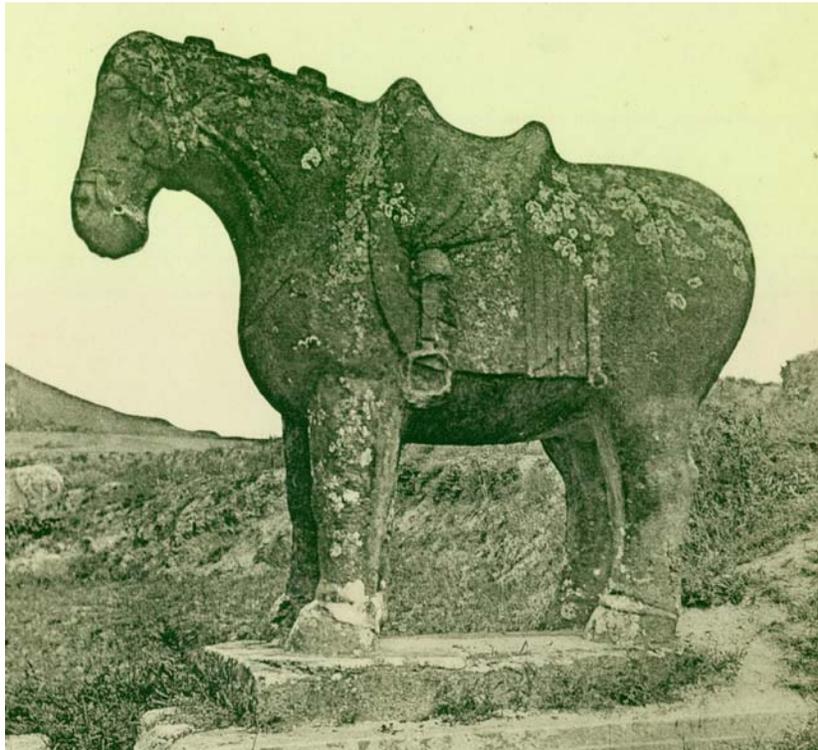


Fig. 100 Stone horse with three notches. Qianling, Shaanxi; late 7th century; after Chavannes (1909–1915): Fig. 457.



Fig. 101 Tri-color glazed horse with three tufted mane. Tomb of Crown Prince Yide. Qianling, Shaanxi; 706; after Howard (2006): fig. 2.30.

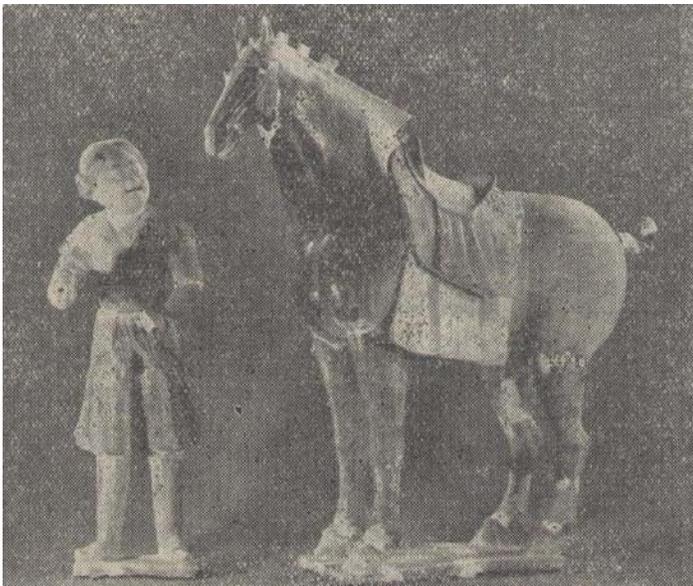


Fig. 102 Tri-color glazed horse with three tufted mane. Tomb of Prince Zhanghuai, Qianling, Shaanxi; 706 or 711; after Shaanxi sheng bowuguan (1972b): 15. Fig. 3.



Fig. 103a Tri-color glazed horse with three tufted mane. Tomb of Xianyu Tinghui, Xi'an, Shannxi; 723; after *Zhongguo shehui kexueyuan kaogu yanjiusuo* (1980): Color Fig. III.



Fig. 103b Tri-color glazed horse with one tufted mane. Tomb of Xianyu Tinghui, Xi'an, Shannxi; 723; after *Zhongguo shehui kexueyuan kaogu yanjiusuo* (1980): Color Fig. IV.



Fig. 104 Horse (center) mane with three half circles. Attributed to Zhang Xuan, 8th century; Song copy, 960–1127; after *Zhongguo meishu bianji weiyuanhui* (1984): Fig. 19.



Fig. 106
Nomadic archers
shooting from
galloping horses,
ceramic tile.
Luoyang, Henan;
3rd century BC;
after White
(1939): Fig. II.



Fig. 105 A pottery horse shown
three irregular notches. Tang;
after Maenchen-Helfen
(1957/58): 117. Fig. 27.



Fig. 107 Nomadic archer shooting backwards,
ceramic tile. Luoyang, Henan; 3rd century BC;
after White (1939): Fig. LIV.

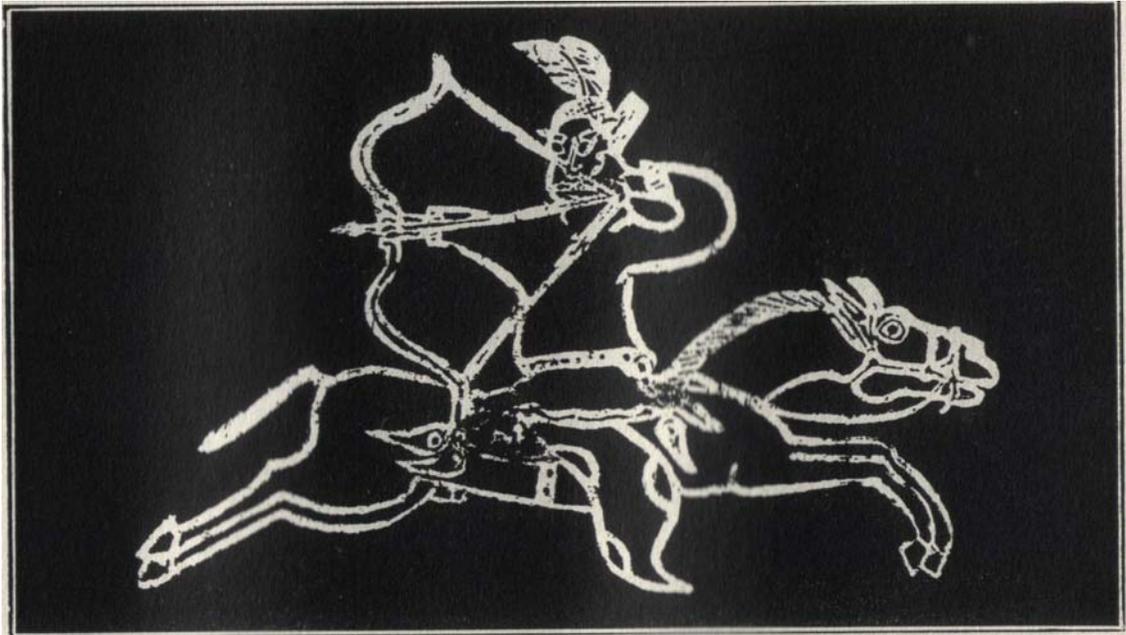


Fig. 108 Nomadic archer shooting backward from the back of a horse. Luoyang, Henan; 3rd century BC; after White (1939): Fig. LXXII.

出	(结骨马);	〇	(同罗马、延陀马);
占	(仆骨马);	木	(阿跌马);
全	(契马);	𠂇	(蹕林州鬲利羽马);
瓜	(回纥马);	𠂇	(俱罗勃马);
互	(苾羽马);	州	(余没浑马);
行	(赤马);	𠂇	(阿史德马);
青	(思结马);	𠂇	(鬲利羽马);
𠂇	(契苾马);	𠂇	(奚结马);
𠂇	(斛薛马);	𠂇	(奴刺马);
𠂇	(苏农马);	𠂇	(闷阿史德马);
𠂇	(拔延阿史德马);	𠂇	(热马)
𠂇	(舍利叱利等马);	𠂇	(阿史那马);
𠂇	(葛罗枝牙马);	巳	(绰马)
𠂇	(贺鲁马);	𠂇	(康曷利马);
𠂇	(安慕路真马);	𠂇	(安除和马);
𠂇	(沙陀马);	𠂇	(处苾山马);
U	(浑马);	𠂇	(契丹马);
𠂇	(奚马) ^①		

Fig. 109
Marks for tracking the origins of imported horses; after Ma Junmin (1995): 44.

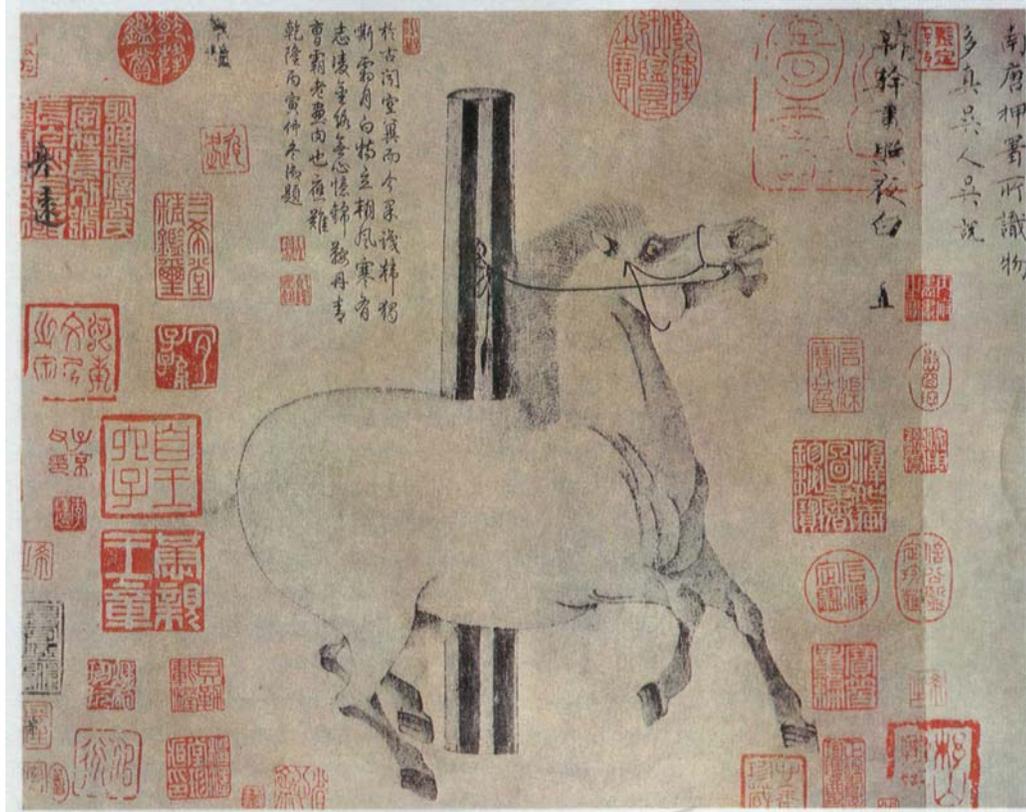


Fig. 110 Night-shining White with a splayed mane. Painting attributed to Han Gan, active 742–56. Metropolitan Museum of Art; after Fong (1992): 16–17. Fig. 1.



Fig. 111 Horses with clogged manes. Attributed to Han Gan, active 742–756; after *Zhongguo meishu bianji weiyuanhui* (1984): Fig. 27. eck)Tang; after ?? : Fig. 2?.



Fig. 113 Rubbing of a silver plate. Tomb of Feng Hetu; Datong, Shanxi; 501; after Ma Yuji (1983): 2. Fig. 4.

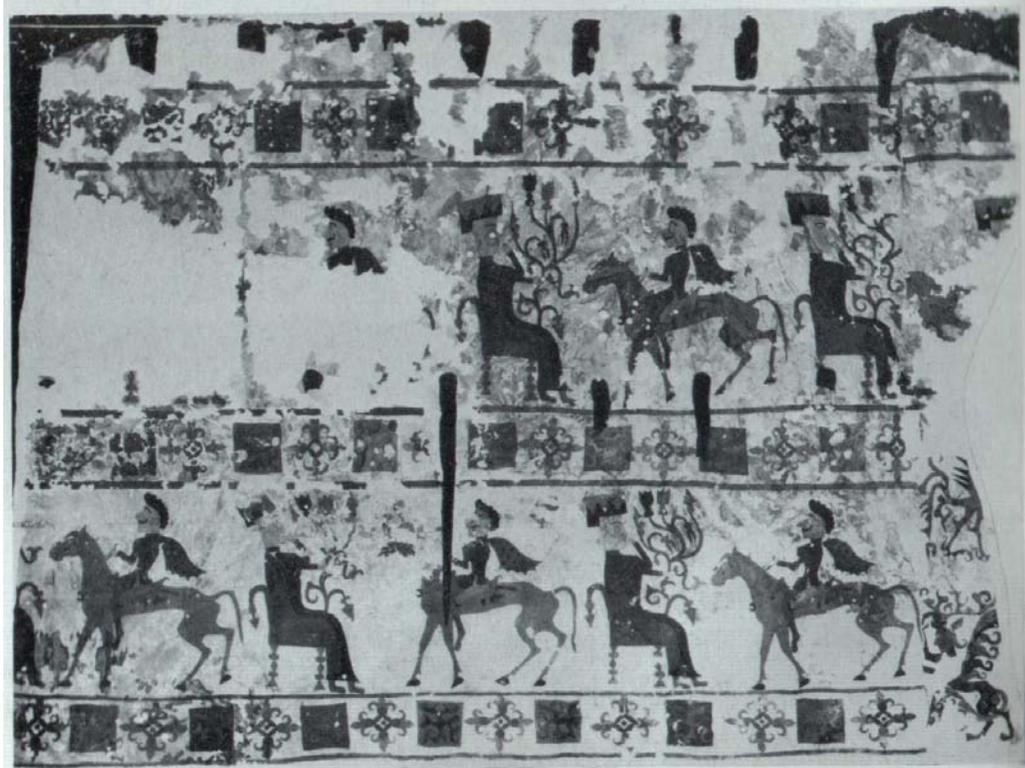


Fig. 112 Large felt painting. Pazyryk barrow V; 5th–4th century BC; after Rudenko (1970): Fig. 147.

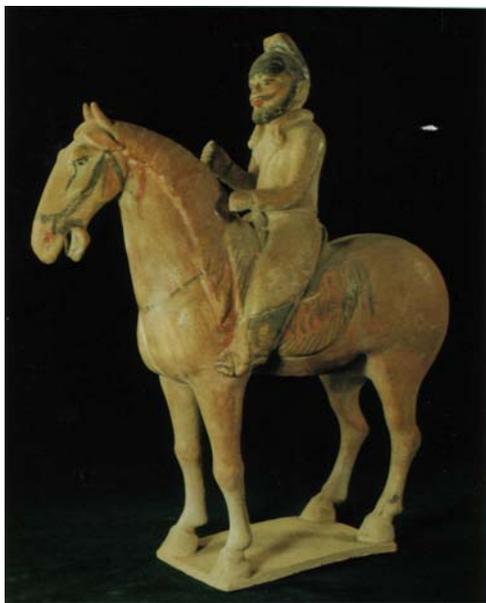


Fig. 114 Tri-color glazed horse with non-Chinese rider. Tomb of Zheng Rentai; Zhaoling, Shaanxi; 664; after Han Wei (1991): 68.



Fig. 115 Tri-color glazed horse with non-Chinese groom. Tomb of Prince Li Chongjun; Fuping, Shaanxi; 710; after Cooke (2000): 144. Fig. 130.



Fig. 116a Tri-color glazed pottery horse and foreign groom. Xi'an, Shaanxi. Tang; after Cooke (2000): 151. Fig. 138.



Fig. 116b Tri-color glazed pottery horse and foreign groom. Tang; after Lion-Goldschmidt (1960): 304. Fig. 131.



Fig. 117. Foreign groom at imperial stable. East wall of the passageway, tomb of Princess Yongtai, Qianling; 706; after Ji Dongshan (2006): 181. Fig. 103.

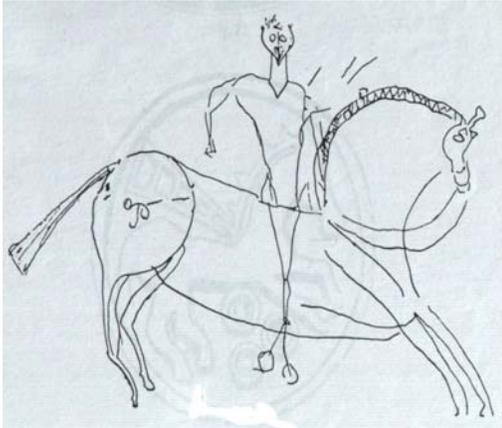


Fig. 118 Runic mark branded on a Turkic horse. Mid 3rd century; after Maenchen-Helfen (1957/58): 105. Fig. 19.

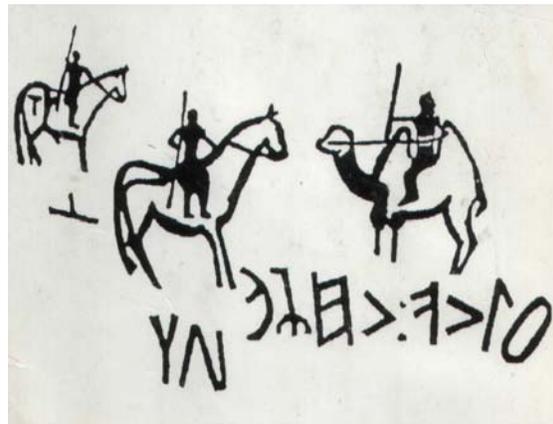


Fig. 119 Rock carving with Turkic runes. Tuva; after Seaman (1992): Front cover.



Fig. 120 Assyrian horse tail. Ashurnasirpal Palace; 9th century BC; British Museum; after Hall (1928): XVIII.



Fig. 121 Assyrian horse tail. Tiglathpileser III; 8th century BC; British Museum; after Hall (1928): XXVI.

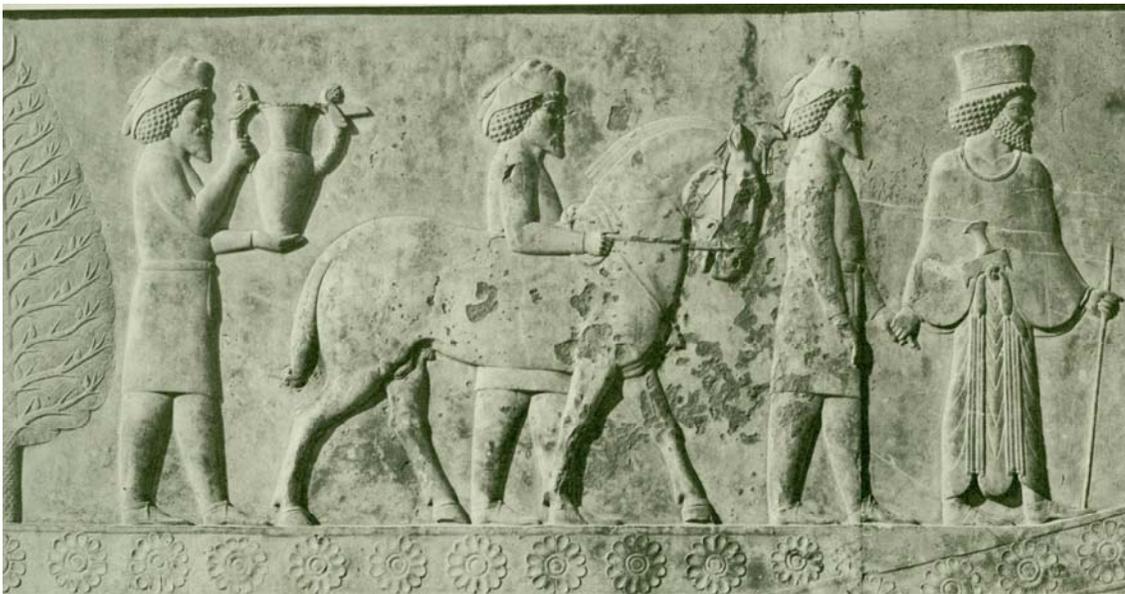


Fig. 122 Horse tail. Eastern stairway, Apadana, Persepolis; 6th–5th century BC; after Schmidt (1953): 29B



Fig. 123 Horse tail. Eastern stairway, Apadana, Persepolis; 6th–5th century BC; after Schmidt (1953): Fig. 37B.



Fig. 124 Horse tail. Naqsh-i Rostam, Sasanian period; after Schmidt (1970): Fig. 93.



Fig. 125 Horse tail in loose. Gold plaque; Kul Oba, Scythian; 4th century BC; after Artamonov (1969): 253.



Fig. 126 Horse tail in loose. Gold comb; Solokha, Scythian; early 4th century BC; after Artamonov (1969): 147.



Fig. 127 Horse tail might be twisted or plaited. Scythian; 4th century BC; after Metropolitan Museum of Art (1975): front cover.

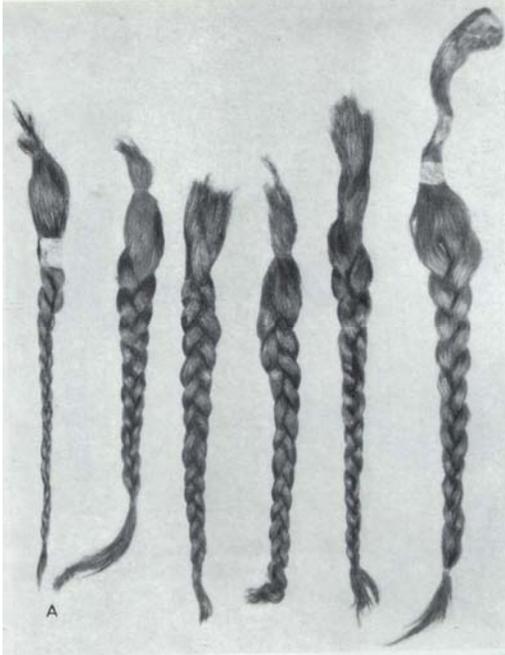


Fig. 128 Plaited horse tails. Pazyryk barrows II & III; 5th–4th century BC; after Rudenko (1970): Fig. 71.



Fig. 129 Chinese horse tail. Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities, Stockholm; 6th–5th century BC; after Tōkyō Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan (1997): 81. Fig. 137. Tail-11-China-Tokyo-f137

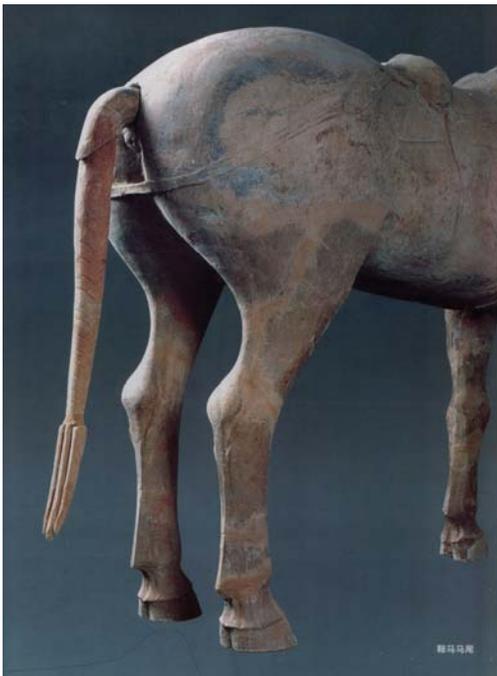


Fig. 130 Tail shown on a riding horse. Qin Shihuangdi's mausoleum; 3rd century BC; after Meng Jianming (2001): 91.



Fig. 131 Tail shown on a draft horse. Qin Shihuangdi's mausoleum; 3rd century BC; after Meng Jianming (2001): 90.



Fig. 132 Horse tails on ceramic tile. Luoyang, Henan; 3rd century BC; after White (1939): Fig. XXV.

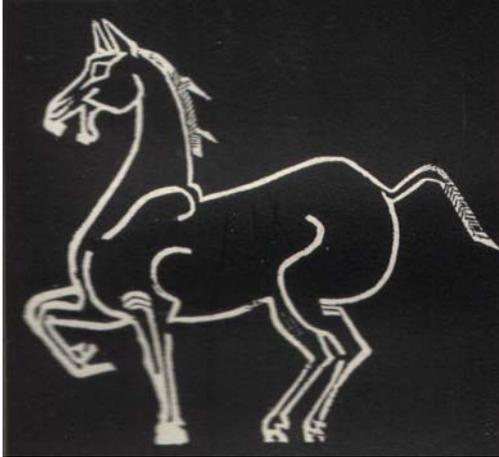


Fig. 133 Plaited tail on ceramic tile. Luoyang, Henan; 3rd century BC; after White (1939): Fig. LXXI.



Fig. 134 Plaited tail on bronze horse. Maoling Museum, Shaanxi. Western Han; after Cooke (2000): 136. Fig. 119.

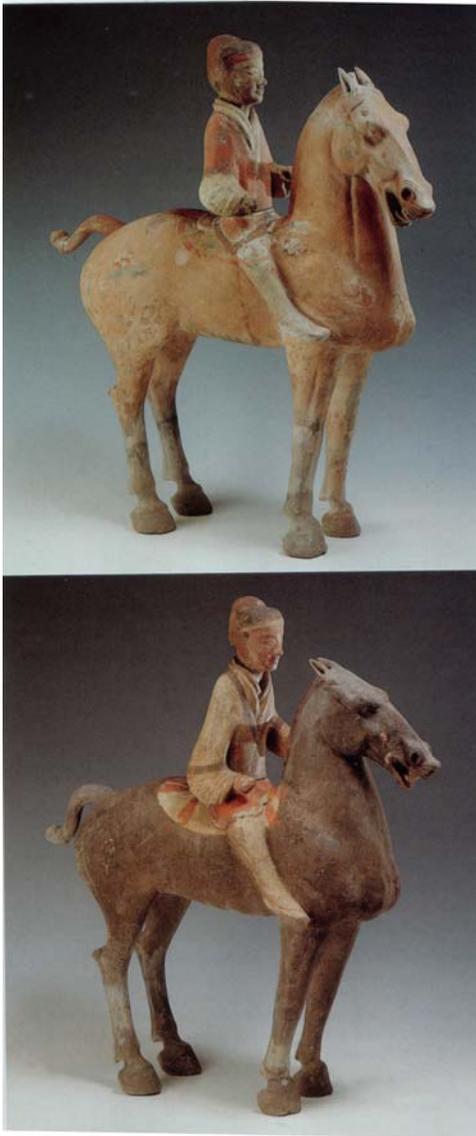


Fig. 135 Cavalry horse tails. Xianyang Museum, Shaanxi; Western Han; after Cooke (2000): 138. Fig. 121.



Fig. 136a Horse tail on Yu Hong sarcophagus. Shanxi Taiyuan Museum, Shanxi; 592; after Shanxi sheng kaogu yanjiusuo (2001): 42. Fig. 27.



Fig. 136b Horse tail on Yu Hong sarcophagus. Shanxi Taiyuan Museum, Shanxi; 592; after Shanxi sheng kaogu yanjiusuo (2001): 43. Fig. 28.



Fig. 137 Horse tails depicted on mural. Tomb of Prince Zhanghuai; 706 or 711; after Zhang Mingqia (2002): 17. Fig. 1.

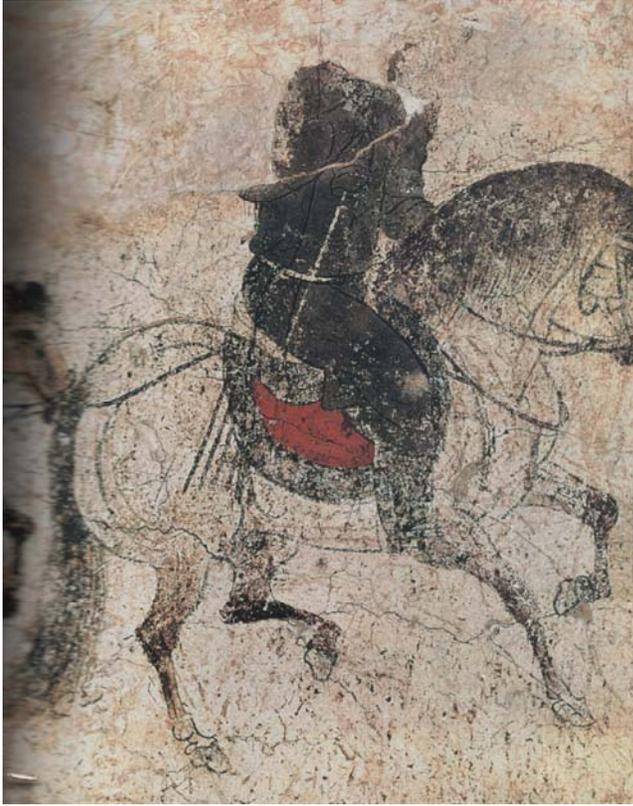


Fig. 138 Horse tails depicted on mural. Tomb of Prince Zhanghuai; 706 or 711; after Zhang Mingqia (2002): 20. Fig. 4.



Fig. 140 Tail bowed in the middle. Sasanian silver plate; after Harper (1981): Fig. xiv.

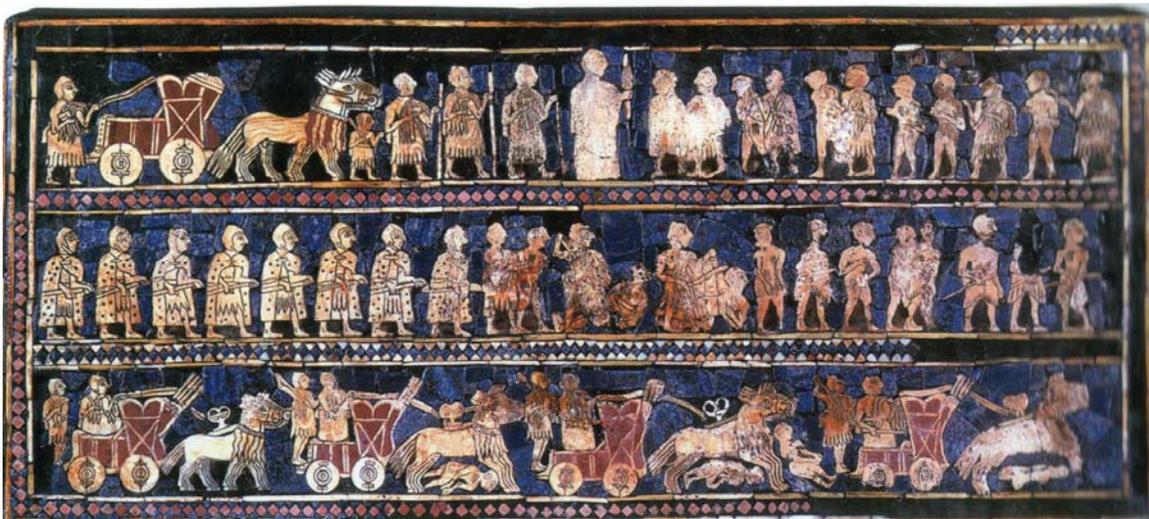


Fig. 139 Tails depicted on the Standard of Ur. British Museum; 2500 BC; after Zettler (1998): 44. Fig. 36a.



Fig. 141 Saddle blanket shown on the left horse. British Museum; 9th century BC; after Hall (1928): Fig. XVI.



Fig. 142 Saddle blankets shown on the Sennacherib's horses. British Museum; 7th century BC; after Beatie (1981): 19. Fig. 5.2.



Fig. 143 Saddle blanket shown on Scythian horse. Gold vessel; Solokha; early 4th century BC; after Artamonov (1969): Fig. 154.



Fig. 144 Saddle shown on Scythian horse. Chertomlyk vase; 4th century BC; after Artamonov (1969): Fig. 175.

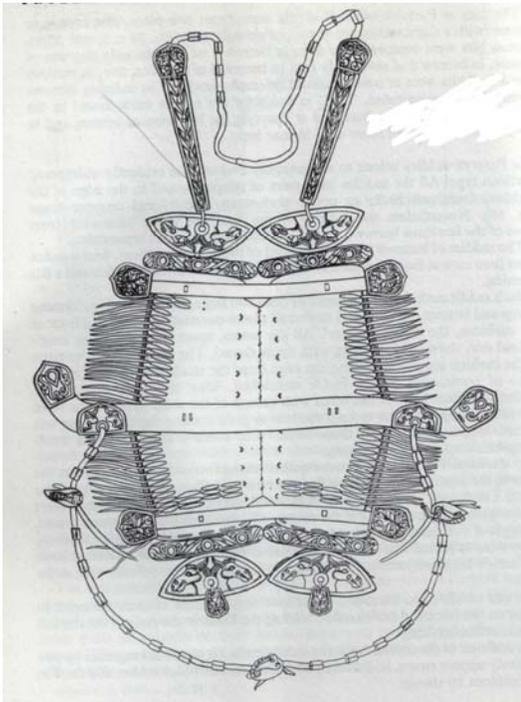


Fig. 145 Saddle. Pazyryk barrow V; 5th–4th century BC; after Rudenko (1970): 130. Fig. 66.

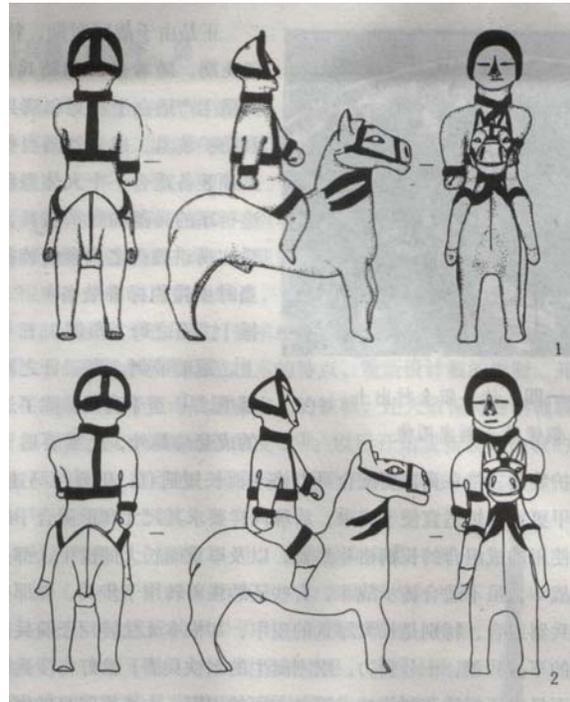


Fig. 147 Saddleless pottery horses. Xianyang, Shaanxi; 3rd century BC; after Yang Hong (2005): 99. Fig. 113.

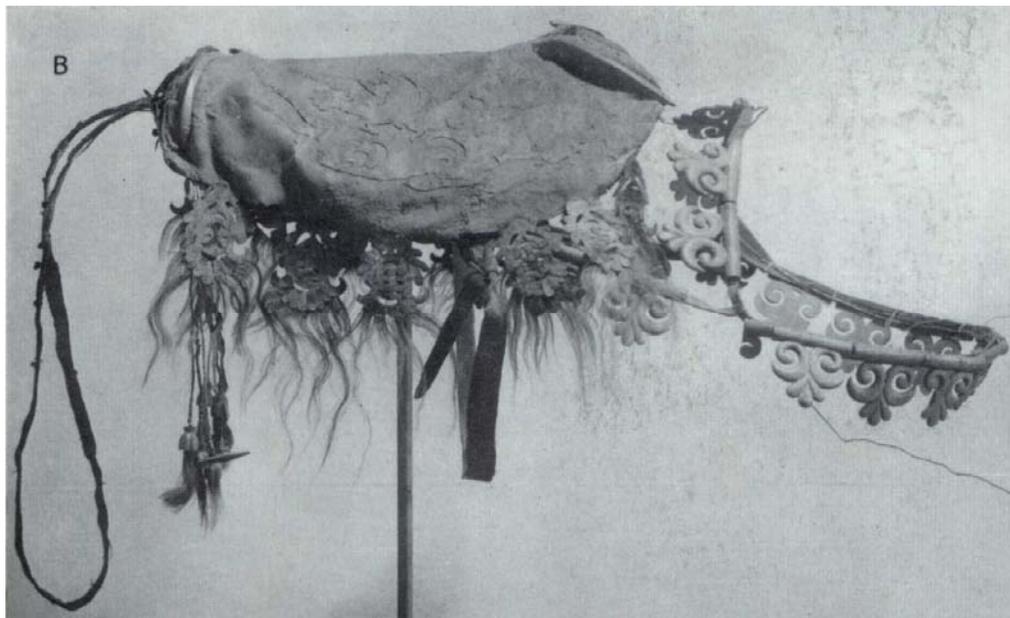


Fig. 146 Saddle. Pazyryk barrow I; 5th–4th century BC; after Rudenko (1970): Fig. 79b.



Fig. 148 Horses equipped with saddles. Qin Shihuangdi's mausoleum; 3rd century BC; after Meng Jianming (2001): 93.



Fig. 150 Pottery cavalry figure. Changsha; 302; after Yang Hong (1984): 52. Fig. 10.



Fig. 149 Gold plaque. Kul Oba; Scythian; 4th century BC; after Artamonov (1969): Fig. 256.



Fig. 151 Saddle from the tomb of Luo Rui. Taiyuan, Shanxi; 570; after Shen Weichen (2005): 24



Fig. 152 Saddle from the tomb of Xu Xianxiu. Taiyuan, Shanxi; 577; after Shen Weichen (2005): 21.



Fig. 153 A support under the foot. Assyrian; 9th century BC; after Bivar (1955): 63. Fig. 3.



Fig. 154 Stirrup-leather on a Parthian plaque. Louvre Museum; after Qi Dongfang (1993): 74. Fig. 3.

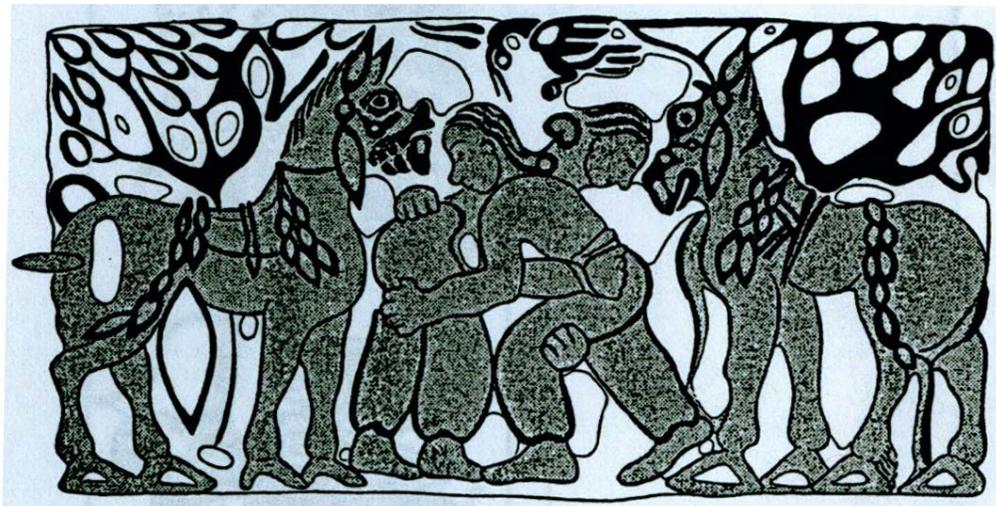


Fig. 155 Stirrup-like device. Ordos bronze belt buckle; Shaanxi; 3rd century BC; after Ilyasov (2003): 319. Fig. 4.3.

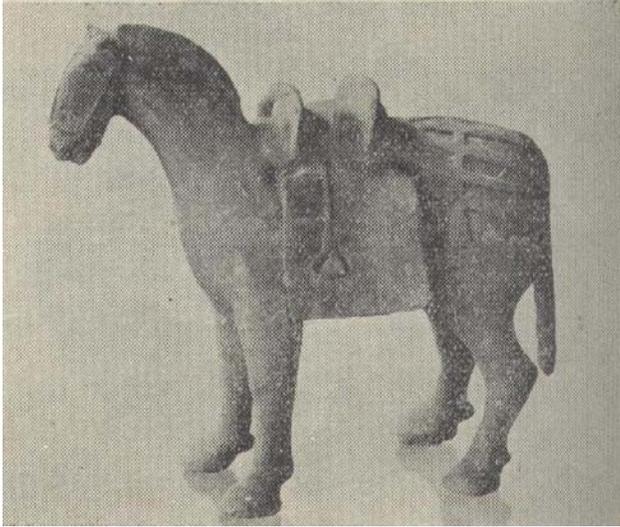


Fig. 157 Stirrups shown on both sides of the horse. Xiangshan, Nanjing, Jiangsu; ca. 322; after Wenwu 11 (1972): 40. Fig. 38.

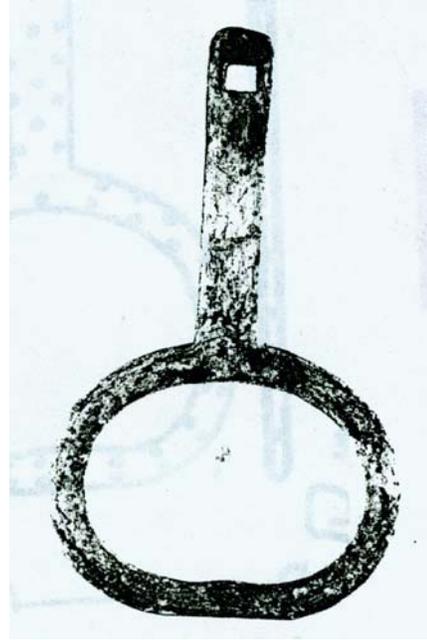


Fig. 156 A single metal stirrup. Tomb 154 at Xiaomintun near Anyang; early 4th century; after Kaogu 6 (1983): 504. Fig. 5.2.

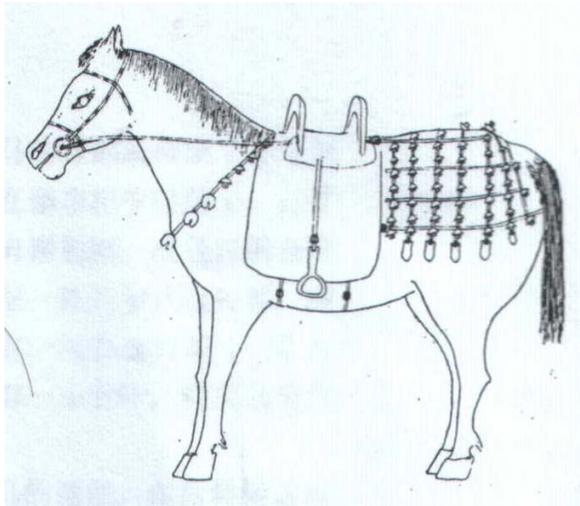


Fig. 158 Stirrups. Yuantaizi, Zhaoyang, Liaoning; mid 4th century; after Liaoning sheng bowuguan wenwudui (1984): 44. Fig. 46.

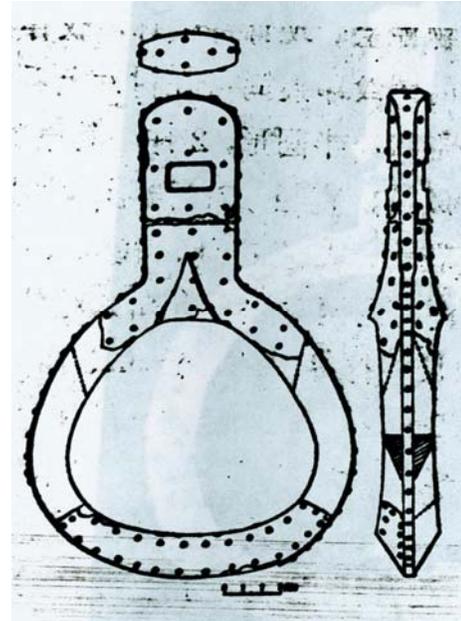


Fig. 159 Stirrups. Beipiao county, Liaoning; 415; after Li Yaobo (1973): 9. Fig. 13.

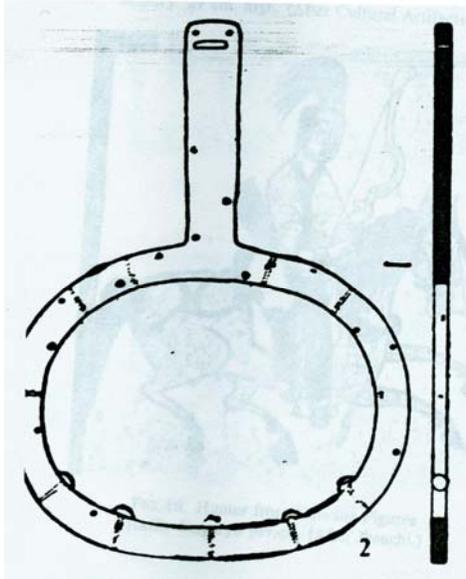


Fig. 160 Stirrups. anbaoting; early 4th century; after Kaogu 2 (1977): 124. Fig. 2.

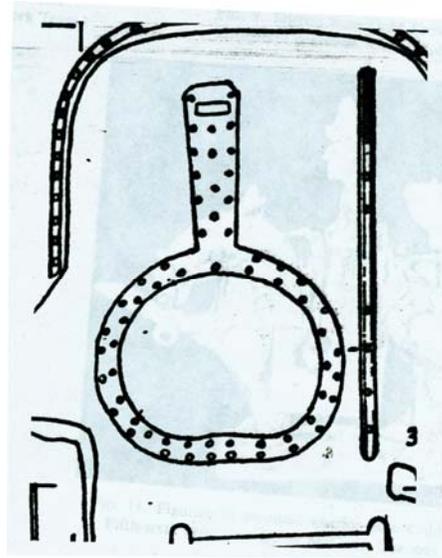


Fig. 161 Stirrups. Qixingshan; mid 4th century; after Kaogu 1 (1979): 30. Fig. 6.3.



Fig. 162 Stirrups. Silla kingdom; 4th–6th century; after Chenevix-Trench (1970): 39.



Fig. 163 Two ribbons bowed the brim of Qiu Xinggong's cap. Photographed by the author in 2008.



Fig. 164 Garment for chariot-man. Qin Shihuangdi's mausoleum; 3rd century BC; after Yuan Zhongyi (1999): Fig. 117.



Fig. 165 Garment for cavalryman. Qin Shihuangdi's mausoleum; 3rd century BC; after Yuan Zhongyi (1999): Fig. 40.



Fig. 166 Garments worn by tributaries. Persepolis; 6th–5th centuries BC; after Schmidt (1953): 37B.



Fig. 167 Boots. Qin Shihuangdi's mausoleum; 3rd century BC; after Meng Jianming (2001): 87.

Fig. 168
Armor
depicted on
mural. Tomb
of Princess
Changle;
643; after
Han Wei
(1991): 27.





Fig. 169 Stone scale armor. Qin Shihuangdi's mausoleum; 3rd century BC; after Shaanxi sheng kaogu yanjiusuo (2000): color plate 14.

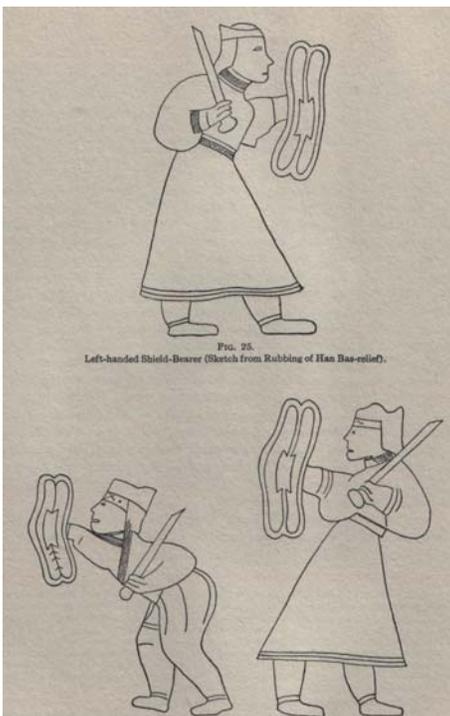


Fig. 170 Shield. Western Han; after Laufer (1914): 202. Figs. 25–26.



Fig. 171 Colored armor. Qin Shihuangdi's mausoleum; 3rd century BC; after Meng Jianming (2001): 101.

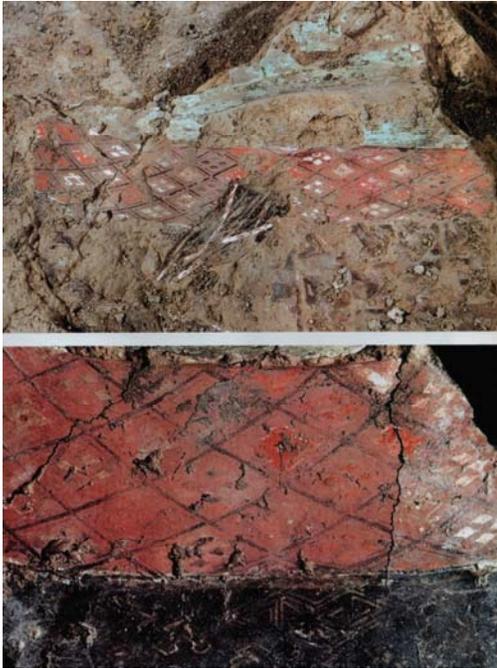


Fig. 172 Impressions of colored patterns of armor left in mud. Qin Shihuangdi's mausoleum; 3rd century BC; after Yuan Zhongyi (1999): 101–02.



Fig. 173 A general in armor. Zhaoling, Tomb of Zhang Shigui; 657; after Han Wei (1991): 45.



Fig. 174 Colored armor worn by a warrior deity. Dandan-Uiliq, Khotan; 8th century; after Stein (1907): v. 2, 30.



Fig. 176
Ashurbanipal's
lion hunt.
Assyrian relief
at Nineveh;
British
Museum; 669–
626 BC; after
Hall (1928):
XLVII.



Fig. 175 King of Babylon,
Nabu-apal-iddina. British
Museum; c. 870 BC; after
Hall (1928): IX.



Fig. 177 Arrow-quiver carried by Persian
guards. Western façade, Council Hall,
Persepolis; 6th–5th century BC; after
Schmidt (1953): Fig. 87A.



Fig. 178 Shooting with bow and arrows. Kul Oba, Scythian; 4th century BC; after Metropolitan Museum of Art (1976): Fig. 17.



Fig. 179 Fixing bow and string. Gold vase, Kul Oba, Scythian; 4th century BC; after Metropolitan Museum of Art (1976): Fig. 18b.

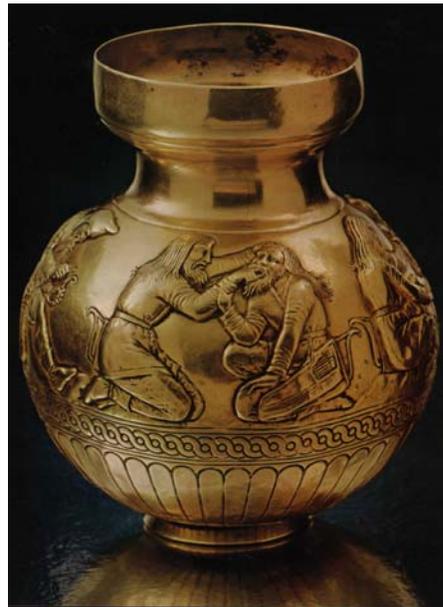


Fig. 180 Bow-case. Gold vase, Kul Oba, Sythian; 4th century BC; after Metropolitan Museum of Art (1976): Fig. 18c.

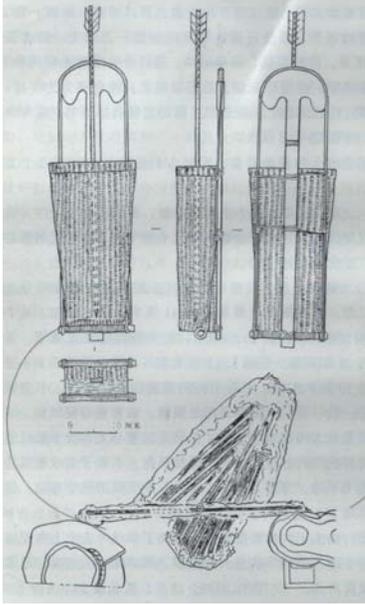


Fig. 181 Arrow-quivers. Qin Shihuangdi's mausoleum; 3rd century BC; after Yuan Zhongyi (1999): 76. Fig. 23.

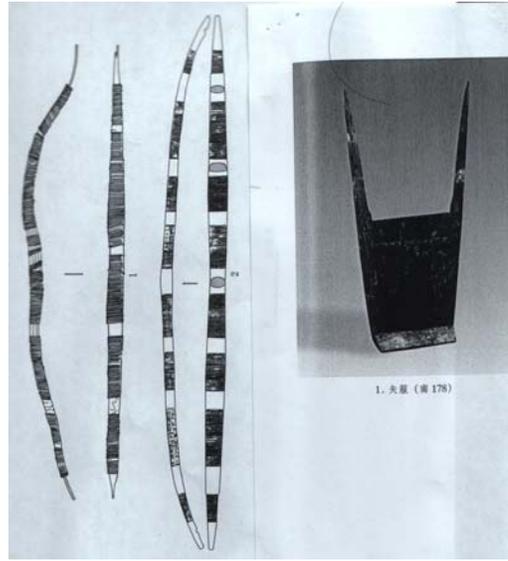


Fig. 182 Bows and arrow-case. Mawangdui, Changsha, Hunan. Western Han; after He Jiejun (2004): 206 & Fig. 39.1.



Fig. 183 Bows in cases worn by guards of honor. Tomb of Prince Zhanghuai; 706 or 711; after Zhang Mingqia (2002): Fig. 28.



Fig. 184 Zhima bensheng 智馬本生 (Jataka of Buddha and the wise horse), Qizil cave 114. Xinjiang; 4th–5th century; after Duan Wenjie (1992): Fig. 148.



Fig. 185 Zhima bensheng 智馬本生. Qizil cave 14, Xinjiang; 6th–7th century; after Xinjiang Weiwuer zizhiqu wenwu guanli weiyuanhui (1989): Fig. 46.



Fig. 186 Wubai qiangdao chengfo 五百強盜成佛 (500 robbers became enlightened). Mogao cave 285, Dunhuang, Gansu; Western Wei; after Dunhuang wenwu yanjiusuo (1982): 131.

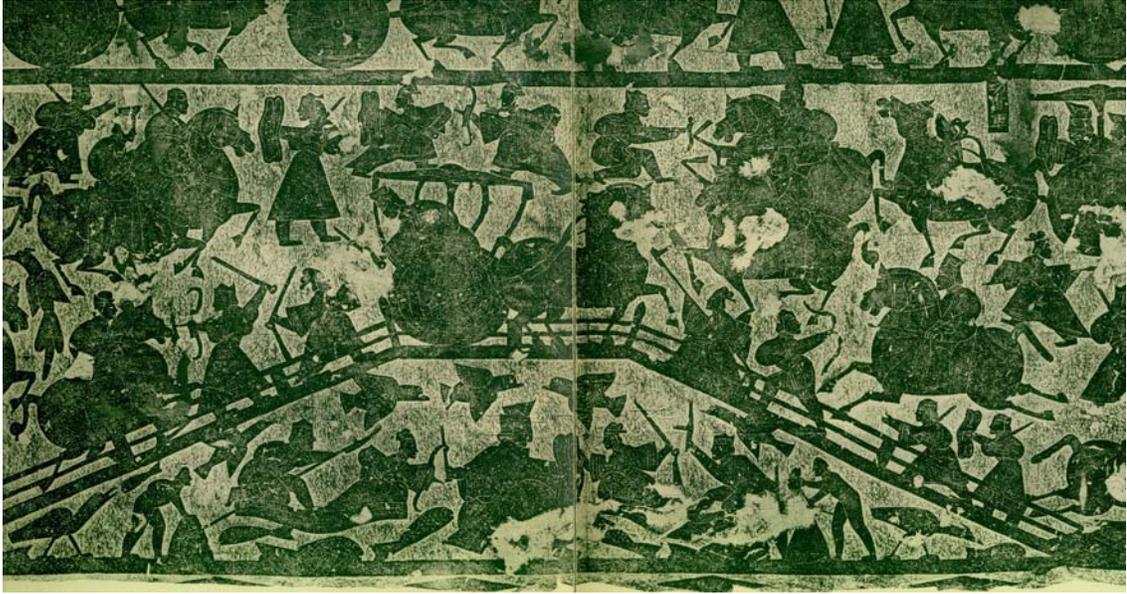


Fig. 188 Soldiers are depicted employing ring-handled knives in the battle scene. Wu Liang ci, Jiaxiang, Shandong; E. Han; after Chavannes (1909–1915): Fig. 109.

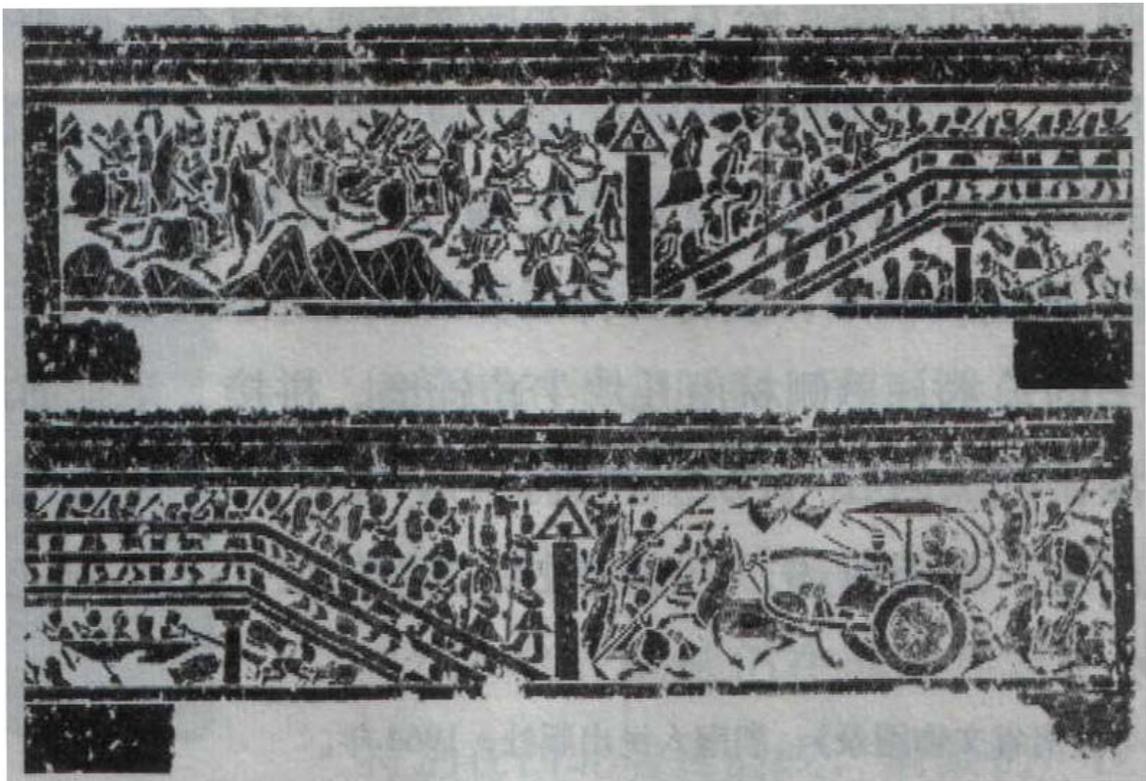


Fig. 189 Battle between Han and Xiongnu; Yinan, Shandong; Eastern Han; after Yang Hong (2005): 153; after Zeng Zhaoju et al (1956): Fig. 24.



Fig. 187. Ring-handled knife. Tomb of Prince Liu Sheng; Mancheng, Hebei; Western Han; after Lan Yongwei (2001): 82.



Fig. 190 Knives with pair of ears; after Sun Ji (1996): 36–37. Fig. 16.

1) Sasanian iron knife; 2) Tang knife in the collection of the Shōsōin 正倉院, Japan; 3) mural from Qizil; 4) Lou Rui's tomb, Northern Qi; 5) ceramic figure from Zhang Sheng's tomb, Sui; 6) tomb of Princess Yongtai; 7) tomb of Sujun in Xianyang, Tang; and 8) Tang mural from Jinsheng cun, Taiyuan.

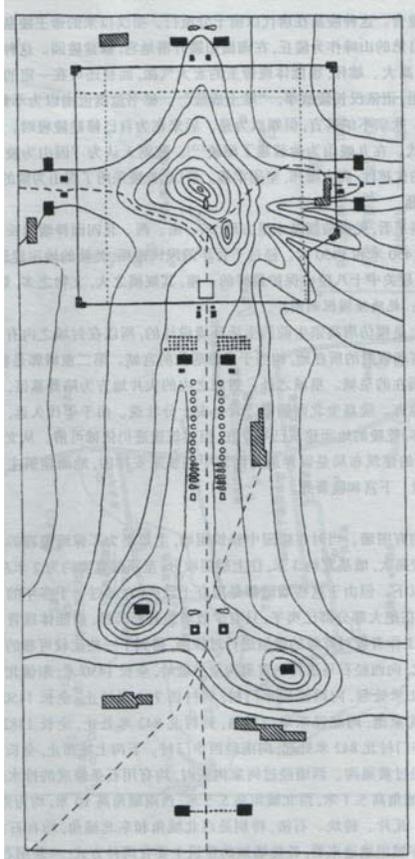


Fig. 191 General layout of Qianling. Qianxian, Shaanxi; 685 & 705; after Wang Shuanghui (2005): 6. Fig. 3.

Fig. 193 61 stone statues survive, headless. Qianling, Qianxian, Shaanxi; 685 & 705; photographed by Zhang Jianlin.





Fig. 192. Auspicious bird in relief. Qianling, Qianxian, Shaanxi; 685 & 705; photographed by Zhang Jianlin.

Fig. 194 Stone monuments along the spirit road. Qianling, Qianxian, Shaanxi; 685 & 705; photographed by Zhang Jianlin.



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