CEILING PAINTING IN THE MOGAO CAVE-TEMPLES

Volume One

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Abstract

has been done largely by the <u>Dunhuang</u> Institute,

<u>Wen-wu yan-jiu-suo</u>, (abbreviated hereafter as

<u>Yan-jiu-suo</u>). The majority of these caves have been dated by the <u>Yan-jiu-suo</u>. Many of the caves however are attributed only to 'Early Tang',

'Floruit Tang' or even vaguely as 'Tang'. The purpose of this thesis is to advance an alternative system of dating based upon the study of the decorative motifs and their schematic arrangment on the ceilings of the caves. But the present study does not aim at a complete survey of all the ceiling designs. Only those with marked changes in design are selected to provide a representative example of the chronology.

The first chapter gives an account of the general history of the series of Mogao caves, known also as the Qin-fo-dong, or Caves of the Thousand Buddhas, and is followed by a review of current work on the subject. The second chapter groups the ceilings into two catagories and gives a catalogue of the thirty-five selected ceiling designs. The third chapter consists studies of 3 major motifs in comparison with those appearing at other sites and on various artifacts. The fourth chapter deals with the schematic layout and the evolution of the ceiling designs. The fifth chapter

points out particular caves where the accepted dating may call for revision, and gives a conclusion.

Three circumstances affecting the history of the ceilings in general emerge from the study. The individual motifs are drawn not only from the religious repertory, but also from secular art of metropolitan China and thus reflect the intercommunication between the two areas. The ceiling designs as complete patterns were not however adopted in metropolitan China, and remained provincial, confined to North-west China. There is strong evidence suggesting the use of pattern books or stencils shared by painters when decorating the ceilings.

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Abbreviation

DH Dunhuang

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Preliminary Note

The ceilings studied here are all painted decorations ranging from the fifth century to the tenth century comprise thirty-five published designs. Although much has been written on various aspects of Dunhuang art, the ceiling paintings have been left untouched and there is much to be explored. There are two significant points regarding the ceiling design. First, they construct a stream of decorative pattern separate from the murals, and so show an independent evolution which deserves close attention. Secondly, the dating of the caves can be more securely established by considering ceiling ornament together with murals, inscriptions, and documentary evidence.

The Yan-jiu-suo uses the terms 'Early Tang',
'Floruit Tang', 'Middle Tang' and 'Late Tang',
apparently attributing to these the dates traditionally
used in Chinese literature, viz,

 Early Tang
 AD 618-712

 Floruit Tang
 AD 713-754

 Middle Tang
 AD 755-820

Late Tang AD 821-907

In one work however the Institute speaks of an Early Tang period extending from AD 618 to 754, dividing this into a first and second phase at 713. From this Floruit Tang is omitted all Together. In other publications however the normal system is adhered to. The terms 'Turfan period' and 'Gui-yi-jun period' (period of the loyal general)

are adopted from Fujieda. 'Turfan period' lasts approximately from the second half of the eighth century to AD 848 when the Tibetan invasion cut off communication between <u>Dunhuang</u> and metropolitan China. The early <u>Gui-yi-jun</u> period refers to the time when <u>Dunhuang</u> was under the administration of the <u>Chang</u> family from AD 848 to AD 905, and the late <u>Gui-yi-jun</u> period divides control of the <u>Cao</u> family from AD 924 to AD 1035.

The caves have been numbered by Pelliot,

Chang Da-Qian a system adopted also by Xie Zhi-liu,

Shi Yan and the Dunhuang Institute. A conversion

table of the systems excluding that of Shi Yan is

appended at the end of Chapter One. The system

adopted in the thesis is that of the Yan-jiu-suo.

Whenever the number of the cave preceded by the word

'cave' in capital letters, the cave indicated is one

studied here. At the end of the chapter is also a map

of the Mogao caves. Footnotes are placed at the end

of each chapter.

The terms 'central China' and 'metropolitan China' used throughout the thesis refer to Henan and Shaanxi provinces.

Titles and names of places and people in transliteration are underlined.

The Chinese Calendar referred in the text

Han	206 BC - AD 220
Three Kingdoms	AD 220 - 265
Jin/Sixteen Kingdoms	265 - 316
Northern Wei	386 - 535
Western Wei	535 - 556
Northern Qi	550 - 580
Sui	581 - 618
Tang	618 - 907
Five Dynasties	907 - 960
Northern Song	960 - 1127
Xi Xia	1035 - 1227

Chapter 1

History of the Mogao Caves 1.1.1.-1.1.9.

Review of current study 1.2.1.-1.2.5.

Chapter 1

1.1.1.

1.1.2.

History of the Mogao Caves

The Mogao caves 1 lie within the Dunhuang Prefecture 25 kilo meters southeast of the town of Dunhuang. Long before the opening of the caves, Dunhuang Prefecture was already one of the four prefectures established along the Silk Road by the Han Emperor Wu Ti in 111 B.C.. The town had been an important meeting and departing point connection China and the Central Asian countries, both economically and culturally (Fig. 1). The caves were excavated in the steep face of a cliff 1.600 meters long situated between San-wei and Ming-sha mountains (Fig. 2). The work continued intermittenly over the period from the 4th to 11th century. According to inscriptions on a Tang dynasty tablet dated AD 698 (or known as the Li Huai-rang tablet)2 there were over one thousand caves by that time. The present caves are numbered up to 492 by the Yan-jiu-suo. difference of these totals may be reduced when more caves, now buried under the sand, come to light. Moreover it can be shown at present that some smaller caves were incorporated into larger ones, but these instances do not include any of the caves studied here.

The opening date of Mogao caves is generally quoted from the Li Huai-rang tablet, which stated that in AD 366 (the second year of Jian-yuan, Early Qin) the first cave was opened by a Monk Le-zun. Although its authenticity has not gone unquestioned, the date is the most acceptable of those proposed? In

AD 382 ten thousand colonists arrived in <u>Dunhuang</u> from central China, under a decree of the <u>Fu-jian</u> Kingdom. The <u>Mogao</u> caves cannot have been widely known at that time, as <u>Fa-xian</u> made no remark on it when he passed by AD 400, recorded in his diary <u>Fo-guo-ji</u>.

1.1.3.

Unfortunately there is no cave known today can attributed to the AD 366 date given by the Li Huai-rang tablet. The earliest instance of a cave dated by inscription is CAVE 285, belonging to the early 6th century. It falls in the governing period of the Dong-yang-wang, who was appointed to the area between AD 525 and 542. His arrival at Dunhuang marked another landmark in the development of the caves, as recorded on the Li Huai-rang tablet.

Moreover his time of office marks a close link between Dunhuang and the metropolitan China, since he came from Loyang as a member of the royal Wei family.

1.1.4.

None of the early group of caves is attributed stylistically to a date earlier than AD 470. They have been dated to around AD 476 on an argument involving comparison with embroidery. They had hitherto been attributed in general to the mid-Northen Wei period. 7

1.1.5.

CAVE 302⁸ and CAVE 305⁹ are inscribed with dates of 584 and 585 respectively. The caves are likely to have been opened under the supervision of court officials sent from Loyang in AD 581-600 to

supervise construction at Dunhuang. 10

1.1.6. The caves flourished in the 6th and 7th centuries as the <u>Li Huai-rang</u> tablet indicates. Cave 220¹¹ bears the earliest <u>Tang</u> inscription with a date corresponding AD 642, CAVE 390¹² has been attributed to the period of AD 618-624, and CAVE 335¹³ is inscribed with a date corresponding to

1.1.7.

AD 686.

In the middle of 8th century, the opening of caves was not discontinued even though Dunhuang was at wars with the Tibetans, whose occupation of Liang-zhou and Long-zhou practically cut off communication between Dunhuang and central China. Cave 386 4 was opened in AD 761, and Cave 180 5 was inscribed in AD 748. Cave 14816 was constructed in AD 775. In AD 781 after more than twenty years of struggle, Dunhuang eventually fell under the control of the Tibetans of Turfan. Although a noticeable decline in the production of scriptures suggests a less enthusiastic attitude of the Turfan regime towards Buddhism, 17 the opening of further caves was certainly not prohibited, and went on under the supervision of the local Chinese. Cave 365 18 was opened between AD 832-34 by the monk Hong-ren. 19 When Tibetan rule was overthrown in AD 848 by Chang Yi-chao, who was appointed governor with the new title of Jie-dao-shi, the Monk Hong-ren was honoured by the bestowal permission to use purple (ie won

imperial approval) and continued the opening of caves such as Cave 16, beneath his earlier Cave 365. 20 Chang's family ruled continuously until AD 905. In that year Chang Cheng-feng assumed the imperial title, Tien-zi, and named the area Xi-han Jin-shan-guo (Western Han Golden Mountain Kingdom). 21

1.1.8.

Cave 84²² bears a Nian-hao date Jing-ming the 5th year, equivalent to AD 916. This is the only dated cave so far discovered within the seventeen years of short life of the Jin-shan Kingdom. 911 the kingdom was degraded by force to the status of 'filial' state, with Urguit as its 'father' state. Soon after the death of the first and the last emperor of the Kingdom in AD 923, the official Cao Yi-Jin was elected leader. Following the example of Chang Yi-chao he handed over Sha-zhou, including Dunhuang Prefecture, to later Tang regime and was also awarded the same title Gui-yi-jun and office Jie-dao-shi. The Cao family took charge of Sha-zhou until AD 1035, the year of the invasion by the Xi-xia (Western Tangut Kingdom). During this Late Gui-yi-jun period, several Mogao caves were renovated, and are now identified by the titles and names of the Cao family. Apparently for lack of further cliff face at Mogao the Cao family gave their patronage to work at Yu-lin, where most of the caves were opened on their initiative. Tangut occupation lasted from 1035 to AD 1227 and activity at Mogao caves apparently

ceased around this period. Cave 17, the Library, is believed to have been sealed in the middle of the 11th century, 23 the sign of termination of any large scale work. 24

1.1.9. The <u>Dunhuang Yi-shu yan-jiu-suo</u> was established in 1944. In 1951 was renamed <u>Dunhuang</u>

<u>Wen-wu yan-jiu-suo</u>. Its first director, <u>Chang Shu-hong</u>, continues in office to the present.

Review of current study

1.2.1.

Comparatively little has previously been published, apart from photographic illustration, which bears on the subject of this thesis. Here four publications are major sources : (1) Dunhuang Tangdai tu-an-xuan, published by the Dunhuang Institute, illustrates 18 coffered-square designs; (2) Dunhuang zao-jing tu-an, published by the Zhong-yang mei-shuxue-yuan, provides 14 ceiling designs; (3) Dunhuang pi-hua and (4) Dunhuang pi-hua-xuan, both published by the Dunhuang Institute, provide the three other designs. The total of 35 ceilings available for the present study extends from the 5th century to the 10th century. Illustrations and reproductions from these sources must be handled with caution, as some attributions do not correspond with the photographs published in recent books. The brief texts associated with the reproductions are far from satisfactory. Methods used for dating are not indicated. As some caves have been renovated one or more times, it is quite unsatisfactory to find a single period date stated when the possibility of redecoration is present.

1.2.2. As regards literature specially concerns the ceilings, work in Chinese is limited to two articles, and a chapter of Lao Gan's book, though some other fragmentary studies are scattered in Wen Wu. 27 These writings mainly speak of the aesthetic qualities of the designs without attempting any formal analysis. Lao Gan's Dunhuang yi-shu, though published twenty years

ago and based on photographic materials alone, proves a more intelligible approach to the subject. His work, summarising the development of the ceiling designs and outlining the general motifs, forms a general background to the subject. Lao Gan's study, nevertheless, needs much expansion and must be placed in a more accurate perspective.

1.2.3.

The contribution made by Japanese scholars does not include discussion of the ceiling design, and the subject has not been previously touched on by western scholars. The two great works, Les Grottes de Touen-houang by Pelliot and Serindia by A. Stein however remain indispensable for their illustration as much as for their detailed written record. A third source of comparable importance as regards inscriptions is Xie Zhi-liu's Dunhuang yi-shu xu-lu, a record made in his journey in 1942. Shi Yan's Dunhuang shi-shi hua-xiang ti-shi supplements Xie's record.

1.2.4.

Study of the silk paintings from Cave 16 by
Waley and Matsumoto, in which chronology and iconography
are the exclusive themes, have only an indirect bearing
on the present subject. In certain instances dated
paintings are cited in connection with ceiling design,
and the iconography of the paintings contributed to the
question concerning the dating of motifs.

have been published mostly in <u>Wen Wu</u> and <u>Kao Ku Hsueh</u>

Pao. Among them special issues carry particular

material on the caves. <u>Wen Wu</u>, volumes 4 and 5 of 1951,

were a collection of essays celebrating the 1950

<u>Dunhuang Art Exhibition in Peking. The recent issue</u>

of <u>Wen Wu</u>, Vol.12 of 1978, gives the latest information

on the caves. <u>Lan-zhou da-xue xue-bao</u>, a new issue is

dedicated to articles concerning <u>Dunhuang Mogao</u> caves.

Dated Caves at Mogao by inscriptions 28

1.	AD 538/539	CAVE 285	Datung the 4th/5th year
2.	AD 584	Cave 302	Kai-huang the 4th year
3.	AD 585	Cave 305	Kai-huang the 5th year
4.	AD 618-624	CAVE 390	wu-de
5.	AD 642	Cave 220	Jing-guan the 16th year
6.	AD 648	Cave 432	Jing-guan the 22nd year
7.	AD 686	Cave 335	Chui-gong the 2nd year
8.	AD 748	Cave 180	Tien-bao the 7th year
9.	AD 761	Cave 386	Shang-yuan the 2nd year
10.	AD 832-834	Cave 365	Inscriptions in Xi-xian language
11.	AD 871	Cave 107	Xian-tong the 12th year
12.	AD 919	Cave 84	Jing-ming the 5th year
13.	AD 934	Cave 387	Qing-tai the 1st year
14.	AD 936	Cave 412	Tien-fu the 1st year
15.	AD 950	Cave 78	Qian-you the 3rd year
16.	AD 952	Cave 124	Guang-shun the 2nd year
17.	Ad 970	Cave 427	Qian-de the 8th year
18.	AD 976	Cave 444	Kai-bao the 9th year
19.	AD 980	Cave 431	Tai-ping-tien-guo the 5th year

Footnotes to Chapter 1

- 1. Mogao Caves. The name 'Mogao' first appears in the Tang tablet inscription. How and when the name was adopted is unknown. The term 'Thousand Buddha Caves' however is more recent, being the title of a poem by Wang Lung, written in 18th century. The name 'Thousand Buddha Caves' occurs elsewhere in China, so that 'Mogao Caves' is more appropriate to Dunhuang.
- 2. The Huai-rang tablet was originally located in Cave 148, according to Xie Zhi-liu's record, whereas in Su Bai's article of 1963 it was located in Cave 322. It is now housed in the Yan-jiu-suo, but much damaged. A copy of this inscription was collected in Xu Song's Xi-Yu shui-dao-ii, ca 1820, and another in Xi-chui Shi-ke-lu of Luo Zhen-yu. The text reads:

"The Mogao Caves were constructed in the second year of Jian-yuan of Early Qin. In that year, the humble monk Le Zun, observant of strict Buddhist edicts, placid and devoted, wandering among forests and wilderness with his staff. When he came to the mountain, he saw golden rays making the images of a thousand Buddhas He constructed a cave. Then the monk Fa Liang came from the East and built another cave by the side of that built by his predecessor Le Zun. Thus the construction of the temple was initiated by two monks. Later the officials Jian-ping and Dong-yangwang followed ... Le Zun and Fa Liang were initiators and Jian-ping and Dong-yang-wang promoted the temple affairs. Hence forth. in sometime over four hundred years, more than a thousand caves have been constructed."

There are two versions of the opening date. 3. Li Huai-rang tablet date is further supported by an inscription on the North wall of the Front Chamber of Cave 156, the so-called Mogao Cave Record (Mogao Ku-ii) dated 865. The Pelliot manuscript scroll 3720 (P.3720) repeats the content of the Li Huai-rang tablet. Although the Mogao Cave Record agrees in the date of Le Zun's arrival, its contents are otherwise full of contradictions. second version of the opening date is that given in the Pelliot manuscript scroll P.2691. It records that the caves were open in AD 353, thirteen years earlier than the date in the Li Huai-rang tablet. The Yan-jiu-suo advocated the AD 353 date in its 1947 publication Dunhuang shi-shi hua-xiang-ti shi but its later publications acknowledge the date 366.

4. Fa Xian, Fo-guo-ji

- 5. On the North wall there are two inscription bearing dates correspond to AD 538 and 539. See the catalogue in Chapter 2 for a more detailed description of the ceiling.
- 6. Also known as Yuan Rong. It is recorded that more than 400 rolls of scriptions were completed under the auspices of Yuan Rong in the year 532. Similar records can be seen on Stein manuscript scroll No. 4415 and 4528.
- 7. Su Bai, 1978, pp. 405 The Dunhuang Institute, 1972
- 8. An inscription under the South wall of the central shrine reads the eleventh day of the sixth month of the fourth year of Kai-huang AD 584. See Xie Zhi-liu, 1957, p. 175; The Dunhuang Institute, 1959, pl.74-77; Silva, 1967, pl. 112, 117, 118-9.

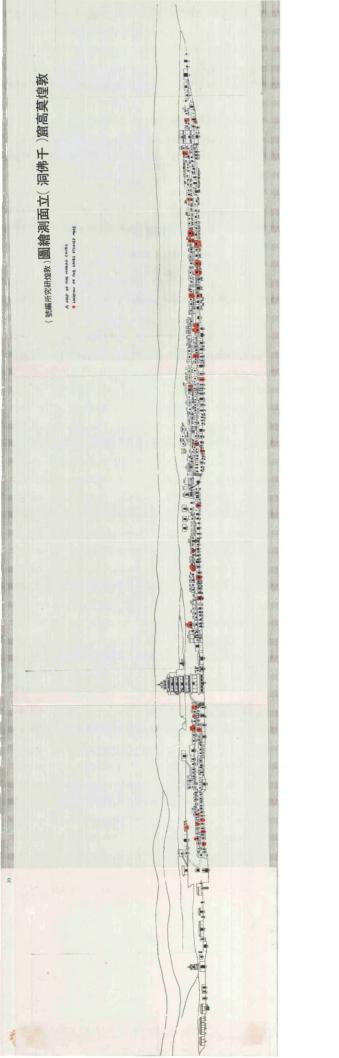
- 9. Xie's record does not include any dated inscription for this cave; however in Shi Yan's record in 1947 it reads "Kai-huang Wu-nian..." (the fifth year of Kai Huang) AD 585.
- 10. Sui Shu section 35, Quan-Sui-wen, section 2.
- 11. On the east wall at the entrance and below the North wall may be read the sixteenth year of Jing-kuan AD 642. The cave is also inscribed with the dates corresponding to AD 925, AD 857, AD 939. The discovery of the AD 642 inscription is reported on Wen Wu. 1978, no. 12, pp.41-46.
- 12. Su Bai, 1951, Mian-biao
 Xie Zhi-liu, 1957, p.7
- 13. Su Bai, 1951, Nian-biao
- 14. Ibid.
- 15. Ibid.
- 16. Ibid., Fujieda. 1967, pp. 25-30
- 17. Giles, BSOAS, 1934, pp. 60-72
- 18. Ma Shi-liang, 1978, pp. 24-25
- 19. Ibid., Hong-ren held the office of the Chief Monk at Dunhuang from AD 851 to 862. His statu was found in cave 137 and later moved to Cave 17, which was believed to be its original place. Inscriptions bearing his name appear only in Caves 365 and 217.
- 20. Ibid.
- 21. Pelliot manuscript, no. 2594, 2838.

 The extent of influence of the Chang family is

shown in inscriptions and in the manuscript rolls from the Mogao caves.

- 22. Shi Yan, 1947.
- 23. Ma Shi-liang, 1978, pp. 26-29.
- 24. The history of Dunhuang after the 11th century does not concern the present study. In AD 1279 Genghis Khan reconquered the region. The history of the fifty years from AD 1227 to 1279 gap is unclear except that one Xi-ning Wang propably a local tribe leader, renovated certain unidentified Mogao caves at some time between 1271 and 1351. (see Su Bai, 1951, nian-biao) Cave 3 is believed to be a Yuan date because of the costumes appearing on the murals. Very little work can be traced after the mid-14th century. In the late 14th century the frontier retreated 200 miles to the east; Dunhuang then ceased to be a frontier town. and for a time received little mention. AD 1516 to 1715 Dunhuang was once again under the control of Turfan, and thereafter came under the Qing Government. Although poems of the 18th and 19th centuries recorded the greatness of the caves. they were largely forgotten. The Qing Government showed little interest in patronizing or preserving this Buddhist place of pilgrimage. The caves were in the charge of a monk Wang Yuan-lu, in the late 19th century. Even Wang's dramatic discovery of the Library Cave 17 in 1900 failed to arouse official enthusiasm. It was not until the expedition of Aurel Stein in 1907 and that of Pelliot in 1908 that Dunhuang was brought to universal attention. (See Ma Shi-liang, ibid; Xie Zhi-liu, 1957, pp. 2-3.)

- The drawing of CAVE 390 reproduced in Thong-yang 25. mei-shu xue-yuan, 1953, pl.6 bears an entirely different drawing from that which appears in Tang Jian-wu's Tonko no rvoko. 1978. Another confusion comes from Cave 361: there are two different versions of ceiling designs produced by the Dunhuang Institute, 1959, tu-an-xuan, pl.47, 48, and another drawing of the same cave produced by Zhong-yang mei-shu xue-yuan, 1953, pl.17. All these three drawings are different. It is not yet certain which one of these three is the accurate design for the cave. The reproduction of CAVE 285 ceiling design appears in Zhong-yang mei-shu xue-yuan, 1953, and in Enjoji, 1978, do not agree with the one published in Yu Jian-hua's work, 1958. In addition to all these confusions, pl.8. Folio II of Duahuang pi-hua xuan, published by the Dunhuang Institute, is attributed to Cave 273 which does not exist in the Dunhuang Institute numbering system at all. CAVE 205 however corresponds with Chang Da-qian's number 273; the drawing of pl.8, Folio II is also identical with that of CAVE 205. Apparently the Dunhuang Institute adopted the Chang's numbering system (by mistake?) but without stating it.
- 26. <u>Jin Wei-le</u>, 1956. Chang Shu-hong, 1956.
- 27. Wen Wu, vol.12, 1978; vol.4 & 5, 1951.
- 28. Su Bai, 1951, nian-biao; Shi Yan, 1947; Ma Shi-liang, 1978.



CONVERSION TABLE OF THE THREE

NUMBERING SYSTEMS

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Chang Da-qian system

The Dunhuang Institute system

Pelliot system

Chapter 2

Classification of the ceiling designs 2.1.1.-2.1.9.

Catalogue of the ceiling designs 2.2.1.-2.2.36.

Chapter 2

Classification of the ceiling designs

2.1.1.

The ceiling designs are classified here into two groups; the pseudo-corbelled-dome pattern (P.C.D.)

(Fig. 3a) and the coffered-square pattern (C.S.) (Fig. 3b).

2.1.2.

The pseudo-corbelled-dome pattern derives from the structure of a corbelled-dome built by arranging the quadrace forming tiers, blocks of wood or stone in quadrangles, the sides of each cutting off the angles of the one below it, and projecting further upwards to the ceiling. The angles of the blocks are rounded off on the inner side forming a dome with a corbelled-corner (Fig. 4). The arrangement of the decoration in the P.C.D. pattern preserves the divisions of the architectural form while producing a satisfactory two-dimensional interpretation of them. The decoration can be viewed in three separate components (Fig. 5): (a) The quadrag forming the frame of the pattern are the first component. The tiers are ornamented with continuous or repetitive motifs, which are different in each tier but remain uniform within the same layer. This arrang@ement gives an illusion of depth. (b) The second component is constituted by the isosceles triangles in the interstices of the quadrae in two sets of four, the sets being separated by the middle tier, each set having a distinctive decorative motif so as to suggest an area of space between them. The

disposition of the motifs used to fill the divisions of the design thus obtained also respects the functional reasons of the original architecture. Motifs used at each unit of the outer set of triangles are either a lotus, or single apsaras. The lotus is represented in profile as if the flower were sectioned vertically down the centre. It is also to be noticed that the motifs are arranged in three orientations : clockwise/anti-clockwise (v. CAVE 428), in symmetrical pairs on north-south axis (v. CAVES 285, 249, 254). The last is the commonest scheme. In contrast to the outer arrangements, the triangles of the inner set are uniform and symmetrical along the diagonals, and all contain the same flame motif. (c) The third component is the central square, where the flatness of the real structure is always suggested by the radiating and concentric lines of a full blossom lotus in rosette form.

2.1.3.

Once the flat scheme derived from the corbelleddome was adopted, the P.C.D. pattern could be used on
ceilings of caves both of the pointed-vault type and the
coffered-dome type³ (Fig. 6). On the ceiling of pointedvault caves it is repeated on a small scale in alignments
on the lower horizontal part of the roof. The decorative
motifs and scheme used on the upper vertical slopes of
the roof belong to another repertoire distinct from
those appearing on the horizontal roof, and are not
treated in the present study (Fig. 7). When the P.C.D.

pattern is used on a coffered-dome it appears as a single large unit occupying the flat area at the top, and sometimes spreading further on to the upper part of the ceiling slopes (Fig. 8).

2.1.4.

The second pattern, the coffered-square (C.S.), consists of a central square framed with concentric bordering panels, and usually finished on the edge with a band of the canopy motif (Fig. 3b). Unlike the P.C.D. pattern, the C.S. pattern shows little illusion of depth, and is used only on the coffered-dome roof. The decoration is divided and organized along the lines of the architectural form of the caves. The central square occupies the recessed flat panel in the centre of the ceiling. The upper parts of the stepped ceiling slopes are decorated with bordering panels descending around the central square (Fig. 9).

2.1.5.

It remains uncertain whether the C.S. pattern is to be regarded as an adaptation of the design already derived from the P.C.D. pattern, or as something conceived independently, deriving from the apex of the coffered-dome structure. For the first possibility there are clear instances of the adaptation of the P.C.D. to the decoration of the central panel at the top of the coffered-dome (v. CAVES 285, 249), and this entails two hypotheses: that in a period of transition the P.C.D. scheme was accepted for the ceiling of the

coffered-dome roof, or that it was used contemporaries by with the C.S. for a time, after which the C.S. scheme became standard ornament, as being more proper to the coffered-dome roof.

2.1.6

As regards the logical possibility that C.S. pattern arose as simply a simplified portion of the P.C.D., it is significant that similar decoration occupies the central square in both patterns. It is to be noted, for example, that there is in most cases a rosette of lotus blossom placed in the middle of the central square of both patterns. In the C.S. pattern the four corners at the central square are usually ornamented in triangular format, evidently a Vaminiscence of the isosceles triangles of the P.C.D. pattern. Moreover, there is a clear effort of the C.S. pattern to imitate the three tiers structure. CAVE 381, where the second band is decorated by triangles, well examplifies this intention (Fig. 41).

2.1.7.

On the other hand the C.S. pattern possibly came together with the introduction of the coffered-dome roof which was first constructed at <u>Dunhuang</u> in the sixth century since the pattern is used exclusively on coffered-dome roof. The raised ceiling of the coffered-dome roof is known in China in actual building from the 2nd century AD, as seen in <u>Yi-nan</u>

Tomb (Fig. 10). Decorated version of such domes were built at <u>Wu-wei</u>, <u>Jiu-quan</u> of <u>Kansu</u> province (Fig. 11) and <u>Shanxi</u> province, extending from the second century to the end of the 5th century. It is possible

therefore that the painted version seen in the <u>Dunhuang</u> caves derives from an ancient design closely associated with the coffered-dome roof which was current in northern China, and is strictly independent of the ceiling schemes already in use at <u>Dunhuang</u> before the 6th century.

- 2.1.8. Thus two types of roof structure are seen imitated at <u>Dunhuang</u>: the corbelled-dome structure is reproduced in painted form in P.C.D. pattern, whereas the coffered-dome roof is copied structurally in the stepped slopes of the cave ceiling and is also possibly reflected in the arrangement of the C.S. decoration applied by the painters.
- 2.1.9. The pointed-vault roof is attributed to an earlier period than the coffered-dome roof on the evidence of the murals, the pointed-vault roof usually being accompanied by painting in the <u>Wei</u> style. It would follow that the P.C.D. is an earlier design than the C.S. The latter came into fashion in the early 6th century when its introduction coincides with the general adoption of the coffered-dome roof.

Catalogue of the ceiling designs (v. page 33)

2.2.1.

The dates attributed to the caves are those accepted by the Dunhuang Institute. The dates marked with (C) are those given particularly to ceiling designs by the <u>Dunhuang Institute</u>; (Z) indicates the source of illustration.

2.2.2. CAVE 254 (Fig. 12)

Date Northern Wei

Pattern Pseudo-corbelled-dome (P.C.D.)

Roof Pointed-vault

Ref. a. Zhong-yang mei-shu xue-yuan, 1953, pl.2. (2)

b. <u>Xie Zhi-liu</u>, 1957, No.240

c. Enjoji, 1970, pl.9.

2.2.3. CAVE 249 (Fig. 13)

Date

Northern Wei

Pattern

P.C.D.

Roof

Coffered-dome

- a. Enjoji, 1978, pl.31 (Z).

 The cave is here attributed to Western Wei.
- b. The <u>Dunhuang</u> Institute, 1959, pl.42-45.
- c. Yu Jian-hua, 1958, pp.

 184-185. He suggests that
 this cave is earlier than
 CAVE 285 (ie before AD 538)
- d. Xie Zhi-liu, 1957, No. 250
- e. Gray, 1959, pl.11A, 12.

2.2.4. CAVE 428 (Fig. 14)

Date

Northern Wei

Roof

Pointed-vault

Ref.

- a. The <u>Dunhuang</u> Institute.

 <u>pi-hua</u>, 1959, pl.16 (z)(Fig|4b)
- b. The <u>Dunhuang</u> Institute, 1957, <u>Hua-ku</u> series, vol.3, pl.1.
- d. Xie Zhi-liu, 1957, No. 213.

 He observed that the cave had been renovated in the Five Dynasties period.
- e. <u>Enjoji</u> 1978, pl.35-26. (Northern <u>Zhou</u>)
- Zhong-yang mei-shu-xueyuan, 1953, pl.1. (Z) (Fig.14a)

2.2.5. CAVE 285 (Fig. 15)

Date

Western Wei

Pattern

P.C.D.

Roof

Coffered-dome

- a. The <u>Dunhuang</u> Institute, 1953, pl.21 (Z)(Fig15a)
- b. Enjoji, 1978, pl.10 (Z)(Fig15b)

 There are notably less
 petals in one ring than
 that of the reproduction
 (Ref. a)
- zhong-yang-mei-shu-xueyuan, 1953, pl.4.
- d. Xie Zhi-liu, 1957, No. 83.

 (Dated inscription of AD 538 and AD 539)
- e. Su Bai, 1956.

2.2.6. CAVE 390 (Fig. 16)

Date

Sui

Pattern

Coffered-square (C.S.)

Roof

Coffered- dome

Ref.

- yuan, 1953, pl.6. (2)(Fig.16a)
- b. Tang Jian-wu, 1978. (Z)
 (Fig. 16b) The photograph
 published here does not
 correspond with the
 reproduction appears in Ref.
 a. This version of the
 pattern is preferred.
- c. Xie Zhi-liu, 1957, No. 190

 He proposed that the cave had been painted in the Sui period, between AD 618 and 624, and the Five Dynasties.

2.2.7. CAVE 311 (Fig. 17)

Date

Sui

Pattern

C.S.

Roof

Coffered-dome

- a. Zhong-yang mei-shu xue-yuan.
 1953, pl.5 (Z)(Fig. 17a)
- b. Xie Zhi-liu, 1957, No. 100.
 The cave consists works
 of Sui, Tang and Song
 periods.
- c. Gray, 1959, pl.35, though
 the number of this cave
 does not agree with the
 one of Ref. (a), the
 pictorial representation of
 the 2 are identical.(Z)
 (Fig. 17b).

2.2.8. CAVE 392 (Fig. 18)

Date

Sui

Pattern

C.S.

Roof

Coffered-dome

Ref.

a. The <u>Dunhuang</u> Institute, 1952, II, pl.7.

b. Zhong-yang mei-shu xue-yuan,
1953, pl.8. (Z)

The cave consists works of Sui, Early Tang, Late Tang and Song periods.

2.2.9. CAVE 407 (Fig. 19)

Date

Sui

Pattern

C.S.

Roof

Coffered-dome

- 2hong-yang mei-shu xue-yuan,
 1953, pl.9 (Z)(Fig.19a)
- b. Tang Jian-wu, 1978. (Z)(Fig. 196)
- c. Xie Zhi-liu, 1957, No. 200.

 The cave consists works of
 Sui and Song periods.

2.2.10. CAVE 209 (Fig. 20)

Date Early Tang (C)

Pattern C.S.

Roof Coffered-dome

Ref. a. The <u>Dunhuang Institute</u>, 1959, <u>tu-an-xuan</u>, pl.1. (Z)

b. The Dunhuang Institute, 1953, pl.61.

Zhong-yang mei-shu xue-yuan, 1953, pl.10.

d. The <u>Dunhuang</u> Institute, 1957, <u>Hua-ku</u> series, vol.3, <u>front-cover</u>.

e. Xie Zhi-liu, 1957, No. 260.

2.2.11. <u>CAVE 334</u> (Fig. 21)

Date Early Tang (C)

Pattern C.S.

Roof Coffered-dome

Ref. a. The <u>Dunhuang</u> Institute, 1959, tu-an-xuan, pl.6. (Z)

b. The <u>Dunhuang</u> Institute, 1957, <u>Hua-ku</u> series, vol.3, pl.2.

c. Xie Zhi-liu, 1957, No.136.

2.2.12. CAVE 329 (Fig. 22)

Date Early Tang (C)

Pattern C.S.

Roof Coffered-dome

Ref. a. The <u>Dunhuang</u> Institute, 1959, <u>tu-an-xuan</u>, pl.4 (Z)(Fiq.22a)

> b. The Dunhuang Institute, 1957, Hua-ku series, vol.3, pl.13.

c. Enjoji, 1978, pl.62 (Z) (Fig. 22(b))

d. Xie Zhi-liu, 1957, No. 132

(Side) He suggests that the cave is a Late Tang one.

2.2.13. CAVE 331 (Fig. 23)

Date Early Tang (C)

Pattern C.S.

Roof Coffered-dome

Ref. a. The <u>Dunhuang</u> Institute, 1959, tu-an-xuan, pl.5 (Z)

b. The <u>Dunhuang</u> Institute, 1957, <u>Hua-ku</u> series, vol.3 pl.7.

c. Xie Zhi-liu, 1957, No. 133.

2.2.14. CAVE 319 (Fig. 24)

Date

Floruit Tang (C)

Pattern

C.S.

Roof

Coffered-dome

Ref.

a. The Dunhuang Institute, 1959, tu-an-xuan, pl.24. (Z)

b. Zhong-yang mei-shu xue-yuan,
1953, pl.15.

c. Xie Zhi-liu, 1957, No. 124.

2.2.15. CAVE 79 (Fig. 25)

Date

Floruit Tang (C)

Pattern

C.S.

Roof

Coffered-dome

Ref.

a. The <u>Dunhuang</u> Institute, 1959, tu-an-xuan, pl.16. (Z)

b. Xie Zhi-liu, 1957, No. 64.

2.2.16. <u>CAVE 205</u> (Fig. 26)

Date

Floruit Tang (C)

Pattern

C.S.

Roof

Coffered-dome

Ref.

- a. The <u>Dunhuang</u> Institute, 1959, <u>tu-an-xuan</u>, pl.22. (Z)
- b. The <u>Dunhuang</u> Institute, 1957, <u>Hua-ku</u> series, vol.3, pl.14.
- c. The Dunhuang Institute, 1952,

 Rong-ba0-zhai, pl.8, vol.II.

 The number given to this
 ceiling is Cave 273, but
 there is no such a number
 according to the Yan-jiu-suo's
 system. The pattern however
 is identical with the one
 appears on Ref. a. Besides,
 the number 205 of the Yanjiu-suo is equivalent to
 the number of 273 of Chang
 Da-qian.
- that the cave was named

 'Cha-xin-fo-tang' and was
 opened in Early Tang, but
 had been repainted in Late
 Tang and the Five Dynasties
 periods.
- e. Xie Zhi-liu, 1957, No. 273.

 There are inscriptions
 bearing the titles of the
 Cao family.

2.2.17. CAVE 217 (Fig. 27)

Date

Floruit Tang (C)

Pattern

C.S.

Roof

Coffered-dome

- a. The <u>Dunhuang</u> Institute, 1959, <u>tu-an-xuan</u>, pl.23. (Z)(Fig. 27a)
- b. The DH Institute, 1957, <u>Hua-ku</u> series, vol.3, pl.15.
- c. Gray, 1959, pl. 45. (Z)(Fig. 27b)

2.2.18. CAVE 320 (Fig. 28)

Date

Floruit Tang (C)

Pattern

C.S.

Roof

Coffered-dome

Ref.

- tu-an-xuan, pl.25 (Z)(Fig.28a)
- b. Xie Zhi-liu, No. 125.

 The cave consists works of Early Tang, Floruit Tang.
- c. Photograph (Singer)
 (Fig. 28(b)) (Z)

2.2.19. CAVE 123 (Fig. 29)

Date

Floruit Tang (C)

Pattern

C.S.

Roof

Coffered-dome

- a. The <u>Dunhuang</u> Institute, 1959, <u>tu-an-xuan</u>. pl.17. (Z)
- b. The <u>Dunhuang</u> Institute, 1953, pi-hua-ji, pl.62.
- c. Su Bai, 1951, nian-biao, the cave was opened between AD 695 697.
- d. Xie Zhi-liu, 1957, No. 26.

 The cave consists works
 of the Floruit Tang and
 the Five Dynasties periods.

2.2.20. CAVE 49 (Fig. 30)

Date

Floruit Tang (C)

Pattern

C.S.

Roof

Coffered-dome

Ref.

a. The <u>Dunhuang</u> Institute, 1959, tu-an-xuan, pl.15. (2)

b. Xie Zhi-liu, 1957, No. 104.

2.2.21. CAVE 126 (Fig. 31)

Date

Floruit Tang (C)

Pattern

C.S.

Roof

Coffered-dome

Ref.

a. The <u>Dunhuang</u> Institute, 1959, tu-an-xuan, pl.18.(Z)

b. Xie Zhi-liu, 1957, No. 23.

The cave consists works of the Floruit Tang.

Late Tang and Five Dynasties periods.

2.2.22. CAVE 166 (Fig. 32)

Date

Floruit Tang (C)

Pattern

C.S.

Roof

Coffered-dome

Ref.

a. The <u>Dunhuang</u> Institute, 1959, <u>tu-an-xuan</u>, pl. 19.(Z)

b. Xie Zhi-liu, 1957, No. 296.

The cave consists works
of the Floruit Tang,

Late Tang and the Five

Dynasties

2.2.23. CAVE 171 (Fig. 33)

Date

Floruit Tang (C)

Pattern

C.S.

Roof

Coffered-square

Ref.

a. The <u>Dunhuang</u> Institute, 1959, tu-an-xuan, pl.20. (Z)

b. Xie Zhi-liu, 1957, No. 293.

The cave consists works
of the Early Tang, and
Song periods.

2.2.24. CAVE 175 (Fig. 34)

Date

Floruit Tang (C)

Pattern

C.S.

Roof

Coffered-square

Ref.

a. The <u>Dunhuang</u> Institute, 1959, <u>tu-an-xuan</u>, pl.21. (Z)

b. Xie Zhi-liu, 1957, No. 21.

The cave consists works
of the Floruit Tang,
Late Tang and Song periods.

2.2.25. CAVE 120 (Fig. 35)

Date

Tang (C)

Pattern

C.S.

Ref.

a. Zhong-yang-mei-shu-xueyuan, 1953, pl.12. (Z)

b. Xie Zhi-liu, 1957, No. 29
It consists works of the
Floruit Tang and the Five
Dynasties periods.

2.2.26. CAVE 159 (Fig. 36)

Date

Late Tang (C)

Pattern

C.S.

Roof

Coffered-dome

Ref.

- a. The <u>Dunhuang</u> Institute, 1959, <u>tu-an-xuan</u>, pl. 45. (Z)
- b. Xie Zhi-liu, 1957, No. 302.

 The cave consists works
 of the Floruit Tang and
 Late Tang periods.
- c. The Dunhuang Institute,
 1959, pi-hua, pl. 174 176. There are murals
 of Turfan costumes
 therefore the cave is
 attributed to the Middle
 Tang period.

2.2.27. CAVE 31 (Fig. 37)

Date

Middle Tang (C)

Pattern

C.S.

Roof

Coffered-dome

- a. The <u>Dunhuang</u> Institute, 1952, <u>Rong-bao-zhai</u>, I, pl. 7. (Z)
- b. Zhong-yang mei-shu xueyuan, 1953, pl.16. It is here broadly attributed to Tang.
- c. Xie Zhi-liu. 1957, No. 115.

 The cave consists works
 of the Early Tang, Floruit
 Tang periods.

2.2.28. CAVE 85 (Fig. 38)

Date

Late Tang (C)

Pattern

C.S.

Roof

Coffered-dome

Ref.

- a. The <u>Dunhuang</u> Institute, 1959, pl. 44. (Z)
- is identified as the
 'Ji-jia ku' belonging to
 the Ji family originally.
 Because of the images
 of the Cao family members
 on the corridor murals
 the cave is taken to have
 been renovated in the
 period 924 931.
- dated inscription in

 Xi-xia language reads that
 the cave was opened in
 AD 862 and finished in
 AD 867.

2.2.29. CAVE 360 (Fig. 39)

Date

Late Tang (C)

Pattern

C.S.

Roof

Coffered-dome

- a. The Dunhuang Institute, 1959, tu-an-xuan, pl. 46.(Z)
- b. Xie Zhi-liu, 1957, No. 168.

 It is attribited to the
 'Turfan period'.

 (AD 757 848)

2.2.30. CAVE 369 (Fig. 40)

Date Late Tang (C)

Pattern C.S.

Roof Coffered-dome

Ref. a. The Dunhuang Institute,

1959, tu-an-xuan,

pl. 49 (Z)

b. Xie Zhi-liu, 1957, No. 173.

It is attributed to Song here.

2.2.31. CAVE 381 (Fig. 41)

Date Tang

Pattern C.S.

Roof Coffered-dome

Ref. a. Zhong-yang-mei-shu xueyuan, 1953, pl. 11. (Z)

b. Xie Zhi-liu, 1957, No. 183.

It is attributed to Sui period.

2.2.32. CAVE 326 (Fig. 42)

Date

Tang (C)

Pattern

C.S.

Roof

Coffered-dome

Ref.

- Zhong-yang-mei-shu-xue-yang.

 1953, pl. 13. (Z)
- b. Xie Zhi-liu. 1957, No. 129.

 The ceiling of this cave was painted in the Song period.

2.2.33. CAVE 61 (Fig. 43)

Date

Song

Pattern

C.S.

Roof

Coffered-dome

- Zhong-yang-mei-shu-xue-yuan,
 1953, pl. 18. (Z)
- b. Xie Zhi-liu, 1957, No. 75.

 It is opened in Song
 by the Cao family.
- c. Jin Wei-le, 1959.
- d. Sui Bai, 1951, Special

 Issue, p.49. The mural

 'Wu-tai shan' is after a

 model of AD 840. The
 inscription of this
 mural reads AD 981 to 995.

2.2.34. CAVE 207 (Fig. 44)

Date Xi-xia (C)

Pattern C.S.

Roof Coffered-dome

Ref. a. The <u>Dunhuang</u> Institute, 1953, pl. 69. (Z)

b. Xie Zhi-liu, 1957, No. 264.

He proposes that the cave is a Late Tang one.

2.2.35. CAVE 13 (Fig. 45)

Date Song (C)

Pattern C.S.

Roof Coffered-dome

Ref. Zhong-yang-mei-shu-xue-yuan. 1953, pl. 19. (Z)(Fig. 45a).

b. <u>Xie Zhi-li</u>u, 1957, No. 154 (Side)

c. Singer, (z)(Fig. 45b).

2.2.36. CAVE 234 (Fig. 46)

Date Song (C)

Pattern C.S.

Roof Coffered-dome

Ref. a. The <u>Dunhuang</u> Institute, 1952, III, pl. 8. (Z) (Fig. 46 a).

b. Singer, (Z)(Fig. 46b).

Footnotes to Chapter 2

- 1. The term used by the Chinese varies from Mo-jiao dou-si dou-si zao-jing, to die-se zao-jing or more generally zao-jing. The lantern ceiling, as it is generally termed in English, originated in the effort to cover over large interior spaces created by omitting pillars at the normal spacing of bays, while raising the ceiling height. In temple architecture such a structure allowed the placing of colossal images. In the original form of the structure, the roof space so created was square in plan, shorter timbers being laid successively across corners as it rose.
- 2. Dunhuang Institute, 1955, pl. 16.
- 3. Pointed-vault type. The Chinese writers call this type of roofing ren-zi-pi because of the inverted V shape of the slopes. Apart from the slopes the roof is horizontal and flat (Fig. 6(a)) (see <u>Dunhuang</u> Institute, 1955, pl. 16); Coffered-dome type. The term is used for roofs in reversed trapezoid shape. It is known as <u>fu-dou</u> in chinese. Here consistently apply the 'coffered-dome' term to the reversed trapezoid roof (Fig. 6 (b)).
- 4. Dunhuang Institute, 1959, pp. 3-4.
- 5. Zheng Zhao-ju, 1956, Drawing 13.
- 6. Kansu Museum, 1979, pl. 10. 1974, pl. 2.
- 7. Shanxi Museum, 1959, pl.2, p.44.

Chapter 3

General analysis of select motifs

Introduction	3.1.1.
The floral motif : Lotus	3.2.1 3.2.48.
The canopy border	3.3.1 3.3.15.
The animal motifs	3.4.1 3.4.9.
Appendix: The triple-hare pattern	3.5.1 3.5.3.

Chapter 3

General analysis of select motifs

- 3.1.1. Motifs composing the ceiling ornament are here classified into the following types:-
 - 1. Floral
 - 2. The canopy-border
 - 3. Animal figure
 - 4. Buddhist iconic figures
 - 5. The flame motif
 - 6. Jewelled motifs

The present study deals with one of the floral motifs, with the canopy-border and the animal motifs. The former two are found in continuous use, whereas the last one is peculiar to certain periods. Jewelled motifs are discussed as far as they appear combined with the above three motifs.

3.2.1. The floral motif : lotus

The floral category comprises lotus, grapes, honey-suckle, guava, roses, peony and some unidentifiable plants. The lotus in a rosette form, the subject of the analysis which follows, is the commonest, and the honey-suckle comes next in frequency. The ubiquity of the lotus is natural in Buddhist ornament, particularly in schemes inspired directly or indirectly by the Suddharam -pandarika Sutra. When the lotus convention takes the form of a

rosette this varies from a design where the lotus identity is clear (CAVE 390), to designs variously stylised (CAVE 217), though the latter convincingly derived from the simpler and more explicit versions.

- The location of the lotus decides its 3.2.2. design. When used at the central square it is always shown as a blossom formed into a rosette, whereas seen elsewhere it is always depicted in profile. For classification the lotus rosette is best analysed in terms of its petals. These are either drawn in silhouette or are shown in linear stylization with some indication of detail (Fig. 47). Five types of silhouette are used, here termed the spear, almond, comma, heart and ogival shapes. The linear stylizations can be divided into four types : i) the section-petal, when the motif appears as a section of a flower cut vertically so as to show the pollen box and incurving petals; ii) the scalloped-petal, when details of the petals are drawn by sets of parallel lines; iii) the curled-petal, when the petal is represented curving inwards with interior lines showing detail; iv) the niche-petal, named after its shape.
- 3.2.3. The lotus rosette appears on the ceilings of thirty-one of the thirty-five caves selected in the catalogue (v. 2.2.2. 2.2.36.). In the silhouette

lotus there is a distinction between petals in separate rings (ie non superimposed) and those where the layers of petals overlap (ie are superimposed). In the latter case the sepals are included in the design. The group in linear stylization includes designs with petals differentiated in the four manners described in the previous paragraph, in sets of multiple units i.e. (more than eight), eight, or four units. The list then is as follows:-

Lotus A Silhouette Manner

- Lotus A. 1 Multiple petals in silhouette in two separate (ie not superimposed) rings
- Lotus A. 2 Eight petals in silhouette arranged in two superimposed layers with sepals.

Lotus B Linear stylization

- Lotus B. 1 Multiple petals in square section-petal manner
- Lotus B. 2 Eight petals in section-petal manner
- Lotus B. 3 Four petals in section-petal manner
- Lotus B. 4 Eight petals in scalloped-petal manner
- Lotus B. 5 Multiple petals in curled-petal manner
- Lotus B. 6 Eight petals in curled-petal manner
- Lotus B. 7 Eight petals in niche-petal manner
- 3.2.4. The following points of analysis are relevant to the argument concerning the evolution

and chronology of the designs as it will be proposed in Chapter 4.

Lotus A.1 Multiple petals in silhouette in two separate rings. e.g. CAVES 254, 249, 428, 285 (Fig. 48-51).

The other common features of this type are that the petals are painted over a background of coloured rings; that the receptalce always carries scattered seeds; that there is no definite number of petals in each ring; that the rosette is flat with no illusion of space except in CAVE 285, and that the petal shapes of the two rings are identical.

stage of the invention, since no regular over-all order has yet been adopted. The shapes and the number of petals vary from one example to another. The example in CAVE 254 is in almost silhouette with twenty-seven petals in the outer ring, the inner ring consisting twenty-four petals. CAVE 428 shows more than one silhouette style in the same cave. CAVE 285 displays the comma silhouette with sixteen and fourteen petals in outer and inner rings respectively. It is also to be observed that the coloured rings were drawn first and the outlines of the petals added subsequently. CAVE 249, although only a poor illustration is

available, follows this procedure also. The version in CAVE 285 bids fair to be the latest within the lotus A.1 group, since there are no coloured rings serving as background to the petals, and there is an evident effort to show more modelling in the design. Here, the comma-shape of the petals anticipated to a degree the incurving form of the curled-petal manner belonging to the Lotus B group.

3.2.6.

There are elsewhere no exact parallels to the Lotus A.1. The examples included in Fig. 52-56 show certain points of resemblance but none of them can be considered closely related. First a very dim comparable comes from the Northern Wei Cave 72A at Maijishan (Fig. 52) where the painted lotus is so much faded that it has even been taken for a sun disc.2 Fortunately the seeds and the coloured rings remaining can still be identified as a design similar to Lotus A.1 especially to the specimen of CAVE 249. The date of Cave 72A at Maijishan is estimated to be not later than the first quarter of the 6th century. The lotus in the Yungang caves, belonging to the period of second half 5th century, does not qualify any better comparison with the Lotus A.1 Dunhuang motif since the typical Yungang lotus used throughout the twenty caves, with its generally eight-pointed, protuberant. bi-segmented petals, arranged in a single layer with

sepal departs from the <u>Dunhuang</u> convention (Fig. 53).³

The representation of the seeds and of the painted rings found at <u>Yungang</u> lotus however duplicate the like feature of the Lotus A.1 at <u>Dunhuang</u>.

3.2.7. The comma-silhouette petal of CAVE 285 is comparable with the drooping half-palmette surrounding the lotus on the ceiling of Lianhua Cave at Longmen (Fig. 54)4. When seen from a distance, the half-palmette closely resembles the comma shape itself. The evidence gathered from the latter half of the 5th century to the first half of the 6th century shows that there was a general adoption of drooping palmette surrounding a lotus rosette in that period. There is the same halfpalmettes arrangement in the circle carved on the floor of Xiang-tang-shan Cave V (Fig. 55). The Lianhua Cave is attributed to the second decade of the 6th century. while Xiang-tang-shan belongs to the Northern Qi (AD 560-577) period. The introduction of the drooping halfpalmette has an earlier history on tiles excavated from Tang-xian and Fu-jian tombs (Fig. 56) with date

3.2.8. The reason for the small number of surviving examples of the Lotus A.1 type lies probably in the evanescence of the paint chiefly used in representing it.

This design, calling for line and colour, does not favour representation in carved or moulded form in the 5th and 6th century.

attribution to the Qi and Liang period (AD 479-577).

3.2.9.

Because of the lack of significant parallels, Lotus A.1 can only be broadly dated to a period beginning somewhat earlier than the opening of Yungang cave (ie ca 450) and finishing before the time of the opening of Lianhua Cave at Longmen (ie ca 535). The uniformity in petal design of the rosette as seen throughout the caves at Yungang suggests that this version is somewhat later than Dunhuang type. The latter, varying from one version to another, appears to be nearer the beginning of the evolution of the design, although the difference seen at the two sites need not imply the passage of much time. There is an historical record for the transfer of craftsmen in AD 439 from Liangzhou of Kansu to Datong, the area of Yungang caves and capital of the Northern Wei regime. No monuments survive in central China to record an evolution of the lotus design between AD 439 and the opening of the Yungang caves. It is therefore difficult to contradict the view that the Lotus A.1 at Dunhuang is in fact earlier than the more uniform version of Yungang. As to the lower limit of dating : there is no instance at Dunhuang of a Lotus A.1 rosette resembling the design on the ceiling of the Lianhua Cave which are close to Lotus A.2 (v.3.2.15). This gives some reason for the thinking that the Lotus A.1 type at Dunhuang had already been established before the work on the

Lianhua Cave in the AD 530's.

3.2.10.

Lotus A.2 Eight petals in silhouette arranged in two superimposed layers with sepals. e.g. CAVE 390,311,407 (Fig. 57-59)

The other common features of this type are that the inner ring has an ogival silhouette and the outer ring a cordiform silhouette; that the petals are no longer painted over coloured rings but instead each layer of petals has its own colour; and that the petal shape of the two rings are not identical but similar.

3.2.11.

This type shows a great advance over the Lotus A.1 inasmuch as great care is taken in arranging the order of the unit of design, there is a definite number of petals for each layer and the design as a whole was completed in outline before paint was applied. In view of the irregularities in the design, the version of CAVE 390 should be regarded as the earliest. The inner layer consists of eight petals in ogival silhouette, and the outer one of nine heart silhouette. (Fig. 16b) the petals are coloured to show the different layers, as in CAVE 285, A.1. The space between petals is however not well-calculated, as shown by the 8th petal of the layer (12th o'clock) being hidden beneath the first and seventh petals. Moreover, the 5th petal of the outer layer (5 o'clock) is the smallest among its companions, evidently being squeezed into position after a miscalculation of space. Such shortcomings

certainly indicate that the design was executed without previous draft. The inner ring starts at one o'clock while the outer ring starts at 6 o'clock, making it appearing that two painters worked at one ring simultaneously, moving in the same direction.

3.2.12.

The Lotus A.2 type also marks a period of representing the lotus as a complex unit. Two flowers, each with sepals, and of different shapes, are now superimposed to form one rosette. This point is concluded from two further observations: (a) in the example of CAVE 311 there are radiating lines texturing the outer rings, with the suggestion of space between the two rings; (b) the arrangement of the lotus in CAVE 311, with petal tips in each ring pointing in the same direction, is a botanical impossibility, Here the rosette seems not representing a single flower. On the other hand, CAVE 407 has a highly orderly design, in which the relation of the petals between the rings is arranged in 'pin' (00) character form. This secures the correct positioning of the outer ring and avoids placing the tips of the two layers on the same radiating line; a more successful execution and thus a more mature stage in evolution.

3.2.13.

The most suggestive but also remotest parallel to the heart-shaped petal is the quatrefoil on bronze mirrors of the Loyang and Han types, which

are dated from the 3rd century B.C. onwards. This design is not however a convincing source for the cordiform motif at <u>Dunhuang</u>. The quatrefoil on some mirrors are demonstrably intended to point to the four quarters but the heart-shaped petals at <u>Dunhuang</u> are not so orientated.

3.2.14

The earliest appearance in China of Lotus as decoration of a ceiling is the relief eight-petal design see on Yi-nan tomb in Shangtung (Fig 60a). Next comes the painted lotus possibly of eight petals with sepals on the ceiling of Jiu-quan JM5 tomb (Fig. 60b). In these instances the petals are more sharply pointed than in Lotus A.2. They are comparable with the Dunhuang motif only because they are both in the silhouette manner. At Jiu-quan this feature has eight petals in a ring and occupies the central ceiling areas as it does at Dunhuang. Yi-nan is attributed to the early 2nd century AD while Jiu-quan tomb is to be dated between AD 386-441. The more significant point to be noted is that both of these tombs are roofed in the coffered-square technique, the same as Lotus B.2. On this evidence, the argument appears in paragraph 2.1.7. finds its support in terms of lotus design.

3.2.15

The typical Yungang lotus which has little

in comparison with Lotus A.l. bears much resemblance to Lotus A.2, notably the representation of sepals, and the outline of the petal shape: in Cave IX at Yungang the lotus is arranged in a complex unit with superimposed layers, each layer with sepals, this arrangement being also a feature of Lotus A.2 (Fig. 61). 10 On the west wall of the antechamber to Cave IX, the lotus supported by an apsaras is a single layer of heart-shaped lotus with sepals(Fig. 62). The painted detail of the Dunhuang version allies it to the rarer painted version used at Yungang, rather than to the sculptured lotus at this site. The omittence of the bi-segmented detail on the Yungang painted version draws nearer the comparison. The lotus with cordiform petals carved in the Lianhua Cave (Fig. 54) shares some qualities of Lotus A.2 as seen at Dunhuang: there are seeds in the pod, and the inner ring of the petals is ogival shape, whereas the outer ring is an oblong cordiform. In addition to having sepals, the Lianhua lotus has its two layers of petals arranged in 'pin' $\binom{\square}{\square \square}$ form, a feature of CAVE 407. A simplified version of this Lianhua Cave lotus is seen carved on the ground of Cave V at South Xiang-tang-shan, which is dated to the Northern Qi period (AD 550-557) (Fig. 55). However, the practice of reducing the multiple petals to eight and executing the shape in plain ogival form is first seen on the ceiling of the Gong-xian caves, which are dated the third and fourth decades of the sixth century 12 (Fig. 63). The version of the flower is adopted almost exclusively for the lotus on the

Dunhuang version is apparently closer to that of Gong-xian than those from Yi-nan and Jiu-quan. The latest example from the Buddhist caves of central China relevant in our context is the ceiling lotus inside the Wan-fo-dong at Longmen, which is dated AD 680¹³ (Fig. 64). It shows the multiple ogival shape petals, with sepals, arranged in superimposed layers. The adoption of the ogival or the cordiform petals in Buddhist decoration prevails in the 6th century in Korea and Japan as well. One of the many examples is the halo of the standing Bodhisattva, dated AD 565, preserved in the Fujii Yurinkan Museum, kyoto (Fig. 65).

- 3.2.16. In secular arts, the design is used spanning from the late 5th century to the 8th century. A version similar to Lotus A.2, with sepals, seeds and eight or multiple petals is not uncommon on greenstoneware at the end of the 5th century and the first half of the 6th century 16 (Fig. 66). A related design survives after AD 700, which appears with eight petals as the decoration of the suspension knob of a mirror 17 (Fig. 67).
- 3.2.17. The abve parallels reflect Lotus A.2 only in certain details, being different either in the

rosette arrangement or in having a varying numbers of petals. The <u>Dunhuang</u> lotus thus appears to have certain features in common with those used in central China, Korea and Japan, from the late 5th century onwards but it never conforms exactly to the metropolitan version.

- from the thirties of the 6th century, with the Gongxian lotus as the upper limit, to the seventies of
 the 7th century, with the version seen at the Wan-fo-dong
 at Longmen as the lower limit, but is most popular in
 the latter half of the 6th century. As an independent
 motif the cordiform petal is widely used on the ceilings
 and floors of cave-temples and in the halo of images.
 In secular decorative art the design continues in
 use as a primary motif through the 8th century. 18
- 3.2.19 Lotus B.1 Multiple petals in square sectionpetal manner. e.g. CAVES 392,
 329 (Fig. 68-69)

The size of the receptacle is relatively smaller than those of the previous types, but there are still seeds in the pods. The Lotus B.1 marks a further stage of increasing complexity. The complex rosette is developed by the addition of further elements such as radiating bands in different colours, and

the formal 'ru-yi' head. The section-petal remains the dominant element over all other complexities. Lotus A.2 and Lotus B.1 appear as two version of the lotus rosette which clash at certain time or being introduced within a short space of time. There is no clear sign of close continuity from A.2 to B.1 On the contrary, some of the features in B.1 relates more convincingly with A.1. For example B.1 and A.1 both have seeds and multiple petals. The connexion would therfore appear to be:

the two subsequent designs deriving both in equal measure from A.1.

3.2.20. No rosette of the exact Lotus B.1 form is to be found elsewhere in China. Only the treatment of certain details can be paralleled. For example the petals in halo of the Vairocana Buddha in Feng-xian-si (AD 672-675)¹⁹ (Fig. 70) are of similar design, with the same square section-petal treatment. Here the elongated petal with squared shoulder, the incurled petal top, and the small floret lying inside the petal chamber representing the pollen box, are also features present in Lotus B.1. Another distant example of this petal design comes from a Korean roof-tile of the Great Silla period²⁰ (ie dating before AD 668).

It is moulded with the same incurled petal (Fig. 71).

- 3.2.21. A mirror in the Minusinsk Museum (Fig. 72)

 was ornamented with the radiating and twisting bands of

 Lotus B.1. The mirror is attributed by Lubo
 Lesnitchenko²¹ to the Northern <u>Song</u> period. If indeed

 it is of such late manufacture, it must be thought to

 incoporate a much earlier design, inspired from China

 at latest in the Tang period.
- 3.2.22. In the lack of complete and exact parallels, the B.1 version of the motif can be only approximately dated. Being not a popular design of the 6th century (v.3.2.15) B.1 probably starts at the earliest, the first half of the 7th century, thus confronting the design of Lotus A.2, and appears not to have survived beyond the third quarter of the 7th century.
- 3.2.23. Lotus B.2 Eight petals in the sectionpetal manner. CAVES 334, 320, 31,
 381, 217, 166, 331, 123, 126, 319
 (Fig. 73-81)

Apart from the petals, the examples of this type are linked as follows :-

- a. The receptacle does not hold seed but is in itself
 a small rosette, not usually joined to the main ring.
- b. The main ring consists of more than one design unit, in addition to the section-petal which still holds a dominant position.

- c. The sepals are always represented in scallopedpetal manner and are much emphasized both in size
 and in their contribution to the complexity of the
 design.
- d. The petal shape is more circular than that of Lotus B.1.
- e. The 'ru-yi' head, a design unit also used in Lotus

 B.1 (v.3.1.19) is consistently used throughout the

 design at the base of the petals, but in various

 versions and placed in different directions.

 (ie facing inwards or outwards)
- f. There is evident care in the exact orientation of the rosette. It is placed so that the perpendicular axes given by the rectangle of the ceiling either run through the centres of petals or run exactly between petals.
- 3.2.24. The B.2 type was the most popular pattern seen at <u>Dunhuang</u>. The petals are more globular than that of Letus B.1. All the elements developed into a close-knit unit in an extremely exuberant pattern. Among the ten examples of the design there are three stages of elaboration. At the first stage the ring of section-petals is conspicuous and the receptacle is represented as a separate item. The rosette remains sufficiently distinct for differentiating the constituent elements. CAVES 334. 320. 31 and 381 fall

into this group. Next comes a design so rich in details that it is almost impossible to distinguish the elements, as in the designs of CAVE 217 and 166. The third stage has as its characteristic element a unit of design comprehensing the near sides of adjacent petals and the sepals appearing between them. As regards the organic form, an ambiguity is created through this combination of the incurved edges of petals, and the sepals behind them. The resultant unit somewhat resembles a butterfly flying away from the inner part of the rosette. Examples of this type are seen at CAVES 331, 123, 126 and 319.

3.2.25.

B.2 has numerous parallels in a wide variety of objects, including gold and silver vessels, stone, decorated tomb roofs, pottery vessels, textiles, lacquer work, ivory art and bronze mirror. Examples can be drawn from Korea, Japan and Xin-jiang as well as from Henan and Shaanxi provinces. On gold and silver wares the rosette with eight or six section-petals is frequent. The examples shown on Figures 82 - 84 illustrate three phases of the design of the Gyllensvärd classification. The box in Seattle Art Museum attributed to 'Early Tang' has a rosette in the simple clear form of an eight petal flower. The incurled sides of the petal are only meagrely

shown, and the sepals are in scalloped-petal.

features are comparable to the first group at Dunhuang (v.3.2.24.). Gyllensards 'High Tang' rosette is represented on the box cover of a piece in the Erickson Collection. 24 (Fig.83)

Collection. It is elaborate, with six petals, the incurled sides split into small twigs which tend to become a half-palmette. This complex rendering recalls some features of the second group (v.3.2.24), but the Dunhuang examples are however even more complicated. The silver bowl in the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities represents Gyllensvärd's 'second half of High Tang' period. 25 (Fig. 84) receptacle, no longer a tiny rosette, tends to be encircled by rings which correspond to the coloured rings in the painted version. The petal becomes less complicated, and the whole rosette is less complex than that appears in the High Tang bowl, but the linear aspect of the design is still much emphasized. The Lotus B.3 of CAVES 120, 205 can also be associated with the version used on this bowl. (v.3.2.35) Diagrammatically:

Dunhuang examples

Gyllensvärd's Classification

1. Lotus B.2. (a)

Early Tang

2. Lotus B.2. (b)

High Tang

3. Lotus B.3.

Second Phase of High Tang.

3.2.26.

The dating of Gyllensvärd's three phases can be further narrowed down by reference to other datable parallels. Gyllensvärd's 'Early Tang' rosette cannot be earlier than the last decade of the 7th century. This date is based firstly upon negative evidence. The halo of the Vairocana (v.3.2.20), finished at about AD 675, was still decorated with the square section-petal, thus indicating that the section-petal of Lotus B.2 was not yet in vogue by the eighth decade. A rosette of the similar 'Early Tang' design on silver ware is attributed to the early 8th century. 26 (Fig. 84b).

3.2.27.

The earliest datable section-petal so far traceable in China is on an engraved stone box bearing a date corresponding to AD 694²⁷ (Fig. 85). This piece is pertinent in two respects. First the gold and silver coffins within the box bore no example of the section-petal. They are likely to have been made some time before the date inscribed on their stone container. We may thus hazard a guess that the section-petal became current in ornament in AD 694, or immediately before that year. Secondly the box was found at Kansu thus strongly indicating that section-petal design existed in the north-west China at that time.

3.2.28.

This same section-petal design is found in

general use throughout the first five decades of the 8th century especially in Henan and Shaanxi. A Buddhist stele decorated with section-petal scroll bears a date corresponding to AD 704 (Fig. 86).29 A complete rosette, having eight petals in a ring, can be seen engraved on the stone coffin of Yung-tai which is dated to AD 706 (Fig. 87). The memorial slabs of Wei Dong, Yang Ji-yi, Zhang Qu-che. Que Yuan-shou which dated 706, 724, 747, and 750 respectively, 31 all bears the similar section petal design. (Fig. 88-91). The Design on these stones are more complex than that on the Early Tang box in Seattle, but they are not given the same linear effect as that of the version seen on the Erickson box. second group of Lotus B.2 at Dunhuang compares more closely with the version seen on the stone slabs and stele than that with the version used on gold and silver vessels.

3.2.29.

Rosettes appearing on <u>Tang</u> lead-glazed pottery (Fig. 92) also points to a date within the first half of the 8th century. The design is used almost exclusively on the <u>p'an</u> tray with three loop-feet, where it usually has a ring of six petals. It closely resembles the design that appears on the ceiling of <u>Yong-tai's</u> tomb, where the receptacle is a separate tiny rosette and the section-petal is

treated with equal simplicity.³³ Another group of rosette design used in the polychrome pottery of the same period apparently develops from the section-petal, illustrating a principle similar to that of the third group of Lotus B.2. The pattern maintains the same outline as the section-petal but the main interest has shifted to the creation of a unit in which sepals and the margins of the adjacent petals combine to suggest spreading leaves³⁴ (Fig. 93).

- The extension of the Lotus B.2 to ornaments cast on bronze is demonstrated by a mirror excavated in Zheng-zhou attributed to the 'Floruit Tang' (Fig. 94). Here the motif is virtually identical with that seen in CAVE 320.35
- and in pattern to the Lotus B.2 have been found in Dunhuang and at sites in Xin-jiang. Those excavated from Astana Tomb No. 20 are particularly close ³⁶

 (Fig. 95). From the same tomb there is a document with a date corresponding to AD 706.
- 3.2.32. The dating of the section-petal design confined in the first half of the 8th century is confirmed also by the artifacts stored in Shōsōin.

 A silk brocade preserved there shows a rosette with eight section-petals closely approximating to the form seen in CAVE 166. 37 (Fig. 96). Another instance

is a rosette with six section-petals and seals on a mirror back of cloisonné enamel³⁸ (Fig. 97). It was pointed out above (v.3.2.28) that the <u>Dunhuang</u> design is distinct from that used in general on metal, and this distinction is borne out also in the case of the <u>Shōsōin</u> mirror. Examples of Lotus B.2, also distinct from the <u>Dunhuang</u> type, are numerous on the object of ivory and lacquer in the imperial collection. 39

- 3.2.33. While all the above examples point towards a dating between the end of the 7th century and the first half of the 8th century, the evidence of tiles found at Kyongju in Korea has been interpreted by one authority in favour of a rosette motif to be dated as early as AD 680⁴⁰ (Fig. 98). The same design however has been attributed elsewhere to the 8th century and thus agrees better with the Chinese evidence.
- Journal of all above evidence, the

 Lotus B.2 appears to have been current in metropolitan

 China, in Xin-jiang and in Japan during the first half

 of the 8th century. In metropolitan China this version

 of the motif was no longer in vogue after the mid-8th

 century.
- 3.2.35.

 Lotus B.3 Four petals in section-petal
 manner CAVES 205, 120 (Fig. 99-100)
 The receptacle of these two examples are rendered in
 two rings, either blank or containing animals. Instead

of a complex rosette, the section-petal and the sepals

are the only elements attached to the receptacles. This comparative simplicity, with stress on linearity of design, is also a feature of Gyllensvärd's second phase of 'high Tang' style, as typified by the Stockholm bowl 41 (v.3.2.25).

- Although rosettes painted on the roof of Yong-tai, Yi-de tombs 42 and pottery 'hu' (Fig. 101) consist of four section-petals in a ring, they compare more closely with Lotus B.2 than with Lotus B.3, since they follow B.2 in having tiny rosettes as the receptacles. Lotus B.3 attempts to complete the circle with four petals that are nearly circular. Parallels to this type are exceedingly rare. Since it consists of a collocation of elements taken from the B.2 type, and appears to be a simplification from this, it is likely to be later, ie. falling in the second half of the 8th century.
- 3.2.37. Lotus B.4 Eight petals in scalloped-petal manner e.g. CAVES 79, 49, 171, 175, 326. (Fig. 102-6)

Further common features shared by the examples of this type are a receptacle represented as a smaller rosette, which may or may not be linked with the dominant ring; there are no seeds in the receptacle.

3.2.38. Two groups of this design, showing different

interpretations of the scalloped-petal, are represented by CAVES 79 and 49 as the first group, and CAVES 171. 175 and 326 as the second group. THE first group maintains the complex form of Lotus B.2. except that the scalloped-petal is substituted as the chief petal motif. CAVE 79 is peculiar in having two versions of scalloped-petal alternately arranged within one ring. The sepals in this instance project from the main ring on stalks. In these respects CAVE 79 anticipates the alternating coloured petals found in Lotus B.5 and B.7 the sepals on stalks projecting away from the rosette which characterize B.7. The second group shows the convention declining into monotony and regularity. The two or three layers of petals, which are not separated from the receptacle, are superimposed and repetitive. No seeds or other additional elements are included. The flower of this group is often taken to be peony rather than lotus.

feature, the scalloped-petal had been used exclusively as the sepal design in Lotus B.2 and B.3. It is also notable that in the ceiling decoration of the Yi-de and Yong-tai tombs both the scalloped-petal and the section-petal (Lotus B.2, B.3) are used in combination for the main ring (Fig. 101). It is only on the three-colour pottery that the scalloped-petal is seen independently in an eight-petal ring without sepals 43 (Fig. 107). Nevertheless, the Dunhuang group-one of

B.4 examples do not much resemble either the ceiling rosette of the royal tombs or the pottery motif.

They more probably result from a development of Lotus B.2 than from the influence of a new instrucsive version of the motif. The second group of Lotus B.4 has however very close parallels on gold and silver vessels. Two silver bowls excavated at He-jia-zhuang (Fig. 108) illustrate a version of the scalloped-petal rosette in repousse. The arrangement of the superimposed layers is particularly close to its Dunhuang counterpart.

3.2.40.

The Lotus B.4 must be approximately contemporary with Lotus B.2. Apart from the Yi-de, Yong-tai example, Lotus B.2 and Lotus B.4 co-exist also on an ivory measure in the Shōsōin. 45 Further, the decoration on the memorial tablet of Wei Heng dated AD 718 shows the scalloped-petal 46 (Fig. 109). Such parallels indicate that the employment of the Lotus B.4 begins in the first half of the 8th century, when it was not however so popular as its contemporary, the Lotus B.2. On the evidence found at He-jia-zhuang, Lotus B.4 of the second group can be as late as the third quater of the 8th century.

3.2.41.

Lotus B.5 Multiple petals in curled-petal manner e.g. CAVES 85, 360, 61, 13 (Fig. 110-113)

The further common feature of this type are :

- a. The absence of a regular limit of petals, their number ranging from ten to sixteen.
- b. The placing of an animal or an emblem instead of seeds in the circular receptacle.
- c. The ring immediately next to the receptacle made the main ring of curled-petals. Where there is an additional outer ring, this is composed of 'ru-yi' heads unconnected with the inner ring.
- d. The curled-petals, arranged in scheme of two alternate colours, being turned in one direction.
- e. The sepals are also drawn in curled-petal manner.
- 3.2.42. The example of this type in CAVE 61 has an outer ring of florets (peony?) detached from the main ring. This feature is also found in Lotus B.4 (CAVE 79) and is matched even more closely in Lotus B.7 (CAVE 159).
- Jotus B.6 Eight petals in curled-petal
 manner e.g. CAVE 369 (Fig. 114)

 This type is very much the same as Lotus B.5, except
 that it resembles Lotus B.2 in having a regular
 number of petals. The incurved part of the petal is
 so large that its darker inside is shown only by
 short radiating lines.
- 3.2.44. There are very few close parallels to Lotus
 B.5 and 6 available in China. They can be taken as a
 dynamic application of the incurving principle
 prevailing in Lotus A.1 (CAVE 285) and Lotus B.2

(the section-petals seen in the examples). The incurled petal bears resemblance to the cloud design figuring in <u>Dunhuang</u> murals of the 'Early <u>Tang'</u> period (Fig. 115), 47 but the version used in Lotus B.5 and B.6 is more mature in execution and more successfully in achieving three-dimension effect. Thus the ceiling version should be taken as a later intrepretation of the cloud design on murals.

- on gold and silver vessels (Fig. 116). Here again the <u>Dunhuang</u> design is more descriptive and more elaborate than those adopted by the metal worker. A piece of rug preseved in <u>Shōsōin</u> however shows a design very close to that of CAVE 61 (Fig. 117). This version is however not as bold as its <u>Dunhuang</u> counterpart: the size of the curled-petal is comparatively smaller and there is no animal or emblem placed within the receptacle. The <u>Shōsōin</u> example is most probably not a work of the first half of the 8th century.
- 3.2.46. The upper limit of Lotus B.5 and 6 is unknown, but since Lotus B.5 derives (as has been argued) from Lotus B.2, it cannot have been introduced before the first half of the 8th century. The earliest date of introduction may have been in the late 8th century.

CAVE 369 is the earliest among the curled-petal rosettes since it has its unvarying eight petals, a feature of Lotus B.2.

- Dotus B.7 Eight petals in niche-petal
 manner. e.g. CAVE 159 (Fig. 118)

 The large receptacle consists of seeds, which have
 been absent since Lotus B.2, encircled by two colour
 rings. The alternating colour scheme of the petals is
 reminiscent of Lotus B.5 and B.6. The main ring is
 surrounded by a ring of eight realistic florets with
 twigs, a feature already seen in Lotus B.5 (CAVE 61).
- invites comparison with the lotus panels on designs of the Yuan period, such as the rosette seen at the Qu-yong-guan⁵⁰ and on pottery⁵¹ (Fig. 119). Lotus B.7 has some connexion with Korean tiles (Fig. 120). When these represent the complete rosette, the parallel is especially close, for it coincides in having both niche-petal and an additional outer ring of florets. The Korean example must date to the mid-10th century at the earliest.

3.3.1. The Canopy-border

The canopy-border surrounds the ceiling with a single or a double row of pendants. It is found mainly accompanying the coffered square pattern (v.2.1.7.). CAVE 185 is exceptional in combining the canopy-border with the pattern we have termed the pseudo-corbelled-dome (v. 2.1.2.). The canopy-border is composed of a selection from the following elements (Fig. 121):-

1. Frame

- a. scale frame
- b. box frame
- 2. Triangular pendants
- a. single layer pendants
- b. superimposed layer
 pendants
- c. petal pendants

- 3. Ribbon
- 4. Pleated curtain
- a. straight-pleated curtain
- b. box-pleated curtain
- 5. Looped valance
- 6. Jewellery

- a. pearl tassel
- b. jewellery garland
- c. medallion

7. Bell

- a. cylindrical bells
- b. oval bells
- 3.3.2. The canopies are classified here into four designs according to the combination of these elements:

 Canopy 1 Single layer pendants with ribbons and pearl tassels

Canopy 2 Superimposed layer pendants with frames adorned with jewellery

Canopy 3 Superimposed layer pendants with tassel
Canopy 4 Bells as the chief elements

3.3.3. Canopy 1 Single layer pendants with ribbons and tassels. e.g. CAVE 285

(Fig. 122a)

There are two rows of single layer of triangular pendants bordering the pattern. Each row consists of nine pendants at one sides. The pendants are symmetrically painted in different colours.

This design calls for comparison with ceilings at Yungang, where there are also canopy borders of single and double rows of pendants (Fig. 123). 53 These differ however from those of Dunhuang by the absence of the ribbon. On the east part of the south wall of Cave XIII at Yungang there is a small canopy niche made up of two rows of pendants: a layer of single pendants above a layer of superimposed pendants. (Fig. 122b) In the latter, pearl tassels are attached. This arrangement, though still without ribbons, is closely comparable with that of CAVE 285, Dunhuang. Only in these two instances are two rows of pendants to be seen, and pearl tassels are attached to the lower pendants.

3.3.5.

apsaras in the Yungang examples are absent in CAVE 285, the pearl tassels of CAVE 285 are punctuated by a commashaped figure which can be interpreted as a poor imitation of the garland design. It is not surprising in view of the practice at Longmen to see the Dunhuang decorators copying the style of the canopy-niche at Yungang rather than that of the ceiling canopy-border. It is thus possible to argue that the Canopy 1 dates shortly after Yungang Cave XIII (ie AD 496), the execution of this feature of the decoration of CAVE 285 at Dunhuang belongs to the very end of the 5th century at the earliest and is taken over by another style in the 530's.

3.3.6.

Canopy 2 Superimposed layer pendants with frames adorned with jewellery. e.g. CAVES 390, 311, 407, 329, 392, 209. (Fig. 124 -9)

The design of this type can be subdivided into three groups, according to the treatment of detail. The first group consists of the examples in CAVES 390, 311 and 407. These examples form one group by reason of the vivid box-pleated curtain, the employment of frames with decoration suggesting strongly of stone quality in medallions. There are also the scalloped outline of pendants suggesting the imitation of cloth. The box frames of Canopy 2(a),

less sharply angled than 2(b) and 2(c), possibly derive from the trabeated niche of <u>Yungang</u> caves, especially from those of later date e.g. Caves I and X (Fig. 131). The radiating floral design in both cases is also similar. Apart from this there are few comparisons to be made for this group.

Canopy 2(b) is found in CAVES 329 and 392 3.3.7. which are furnished with a single row of scale frames and a superimposed layer of pendants. The presence of ribbons betrays that Canopy 2(b) has its tradition found in the painted version at Pinyang Cave 55 (Fig. 130). The floral ornaments decorating the pendants found in the Pinyang Cave can also be paralleled among the canopies of the Canopy 2(b) except that the former show flat florets while the more thorough execution of the latter suggests the more direct influence of embroidered or inlaid ornament. 56 Although both the 2(a) and 2(b) examples are all decorated with the floret ornaments on the frames and the pendants, Canopy 2(a) has greater emphasizes on the stone-like effect and is therefore closer to the Yungang canopy-niche decoration, whereas Canopy 2(b) reveals a closer version to those found in Pinyang Cave. Since 2(b) is closer to Pinyang Cave version, it is likely to be dated around the third quarter of the 7th century; 57 Canopy 2 (a) can be dated earlier than 2(b) because of its comparison with Yungang version.

3.3.8.

Canopy 2(c) is represented by a single example. in CAVE 209. It combines a row of box-frames with a row of scale-frames, a device present already in Canopy 2(b). The distinctive character is one of decline : the decoration on the frames degenerates from designs intended to represent large and luminous stones, to a simple double ring. The remaining elements are entirely plain, anticipating the fashion of Canopy 3. It is logical to suppose that the Canopy 2(c) style is imitating a carved model generally applied in caves of the mid-6th century: Xiang-tang-shan and Gong-xian caves 58 where elaborated detail is limited (Fig. 132-3). Another version of the design occurs at Horyu-ji in Japan. Here the canopies of the Kondo Trinity and of the Tachibana shrine are both painted with ornament very close to 2(c)⁵⁹ (Fig. 134). These wooden canopies were executed sometime in the last three decades of the 7th century. A similar date may perhaps be assumed for the lower limit of type 2(c).

3.3.9.

canopy 2 thus has elements paralleled variously in the cave-temples at central China, and at the Horyu-ji temple in Japan. These connexions support a date from the late 5th to the last quarter of the 7th century. Canopy 2(a) probably first executed at the very end of the 6th century, and is outlasted by 2(c) in the first half of the 7th century.

Employment of the 2(b) at Dunhuang focused around the mid-7th century while 2(c) goes on till the end of the century.

3.3.10. Canopy 3 Superimposed layer pendants with tassel. e.g. CAVES 331, 381, 49, 217. (Fig. 135-8)

In this simple type, jewellery decoration is reduced to a minimum. Attention is paid chiefly to elongating the scale frames and schematizing them into unvaried patterns. After the heavily jewelled work of Canopy 2, the artists seem to have lost interest in elaborating the design, and are content with a reduced scheme. Since no comparison with this type can be made outside Dunhuang, its date can be estimated only in terms of the local evolution. Canopy 3 then appears to be later than Canopy 2 for it lacks the ribbon motif which figures perminently in two versions of Canopy 2 (ie 2(a) and 2(b)) and by combining the box-pleated curtain with a looped valance, a characterisitic feature of Canopy 2 is at once exaggerated and elaborated. The date of Canopy 3 thus possibly lies between Canopy 2 and 4, ie from AD 700 onwards.

3.3.11. Canopy 4 Superimposed layer pendants with bells as the chief element.

e.g. CAVES 120, 166, 85, 360, 369, 123, 79, 126, 171, 175, 320, 326.

(Fig. 139-50)

The Canopy 4 is here further classified into three types :-

Canopy 4(a): This version of canopy retains the arrangement of scale-frames and triangular pendants resembling those of Canopy 3 but has the cylindrical bells of convex and concave profile combined alternately in a row. This canopy type is represented by the forms seen in CAVES 120 and 166. No other examples are known to exist. Being similar to Canopy 3 (but not the bells) the <u>Dunhuang</u> treatment of Canopy 4(a) appears to be the earliest in the bells category. The employment of this design is unlikely to have begun earlier than AD 680 when the cylindrical bell form was first adopted in central China at <u>Da-yan-ta</u>⁶¹ (Fig. 151).

- 3.3.12. Canopy 4(b): This version of design appears to be the second stage following that of 4(a) since there is a more orderly arrangement of the bells. These bells are all shown in the same concave profile but alternate in size and are linked up with jewellery garland. CAVES 85, 360 and 369 are cases in point.
- 3.3.13. Canopy 4(c): a canopy using petal pendants and oval bells. These two elements are new introductions to Dunhuang but their counterparts can be found in Henan and Jiangsu provinces. At the Xiu-ding-si, Henan there are oval bells carved on the remaining walls (Fig. 152). The temple had been renovated in Tang. 62

 Parallels to the petal pendant can be drawn from a

Carved Birth scene at the base of the Relic pagoda in <u>Jiang-ning-xian</u> in <u>Jiangau</u>. Here at the right-hand top corner of the pagoda, the roof of Maya's palace (Fig. 153) is supported on brackets of petal shape. The pagoda is dated to AD 851.63

- 3.3.14. In the light of the dated silk paintings found at <u>Dunhuang</u>, the lower limit of the use of the bells and the petal pendants can be fixed as late as the end of the 10th century. Over one third of the dated paintings, covering a period from AD 863 to 983, bear the cylindrical bell. Three paintings dated between AD 968 and 983 have a version of petal pendants. 64
- 3.3.15. Since the bells and petal pendants are not the result of a local evolution, it would appear that Canopy 4 was introduced into <u>Dunhuang</u> from elsewhere. The question of the dating is further discussed in para. 4.1.7.

Animal Motifs

3.4.1.

The animals included in the ceiling design include dragon, hare, pheonix, qi-lin and paired birds. The first two, which are examined here, mostly occupy the receptacle position, while the rest are seen either on the surrounding bands or around the rosette. The only other instance of the employment of animal ornament in a cavetemple, other than those of <u>Dunhuang</u>, is seen at <u>Yungang</u>, where the dragon is carved on ceilings. Only at <u>Dunhuang</u> is there a wide variety of animal motifs to be found. The animals are not necessarily connected with Buddhist story; the dragon, phoenix, birds and qi-lin preserve the forms familiar in secular art.

Dragon e.g. CAVES 369, 61, 207, 234. (Fig. 154-157)

The dragon is presented in a coiled form within the circular receptacle of the rosette. This creature is always shown in a three-dimensional perspective, as indicated by the twisting spine and three quarter profile and there are more than one plane of the body entering the design. With one exception (CAVE 369) the dragon is associated with a flaming pearl.

3.4.3.

These dragons are winged, horned and have three to four claws. A particular characteristic is the regular upright stance of the upper part of the body. The Mane and fins help shaping the spine. The examples in CAVES 61, 207 and 234 possibly share the same model, with minor variations. Their postures are identical, especially in the forelimbs and the

tails, their differences being only in the position of the pearls and the shape of the horns. The dragon in CAVE 207 has three horns in trident form and those in CAVES 61 and 234 have horns resembling those of a deer. The example of CAVE 369 differs from the other three in beginning and ending the circle at twelve o'clock whereas his counterparts elsewhere in <u>Dunhuang</u> all end at six o'clock. The dragon of CAVE 369 is distinct besides in lacking the flaming pearl and in having rhinoceros-like horns.

3.4.4.

Yungang in the 5th century, although this placing of the motif has an older history. The coiled version of the motif appears however at Yungang only once, in Cave XXIIIb 65 (Fig. 161). The form of a single coiled dragon is clearly identifiable, although the available reproduction of this cave ceiling is too poor to show stylistic detail. Whether this Yungang example can be regarded as the model followed by the Dunhuang artisans is not certain; but the fact is that in available publication no instance of the dragon motif, the coiled form, or any other is to be found in the ceiling decoration at any other cave-temples.

3.4.5.

An example of a dragon shown in upright position comes from Temple 19 at Bazaklik which is dated 9th to 10th century. The upper half of the

Bazaklik dragon⁶⁶ (Fig. 158) closely resembles the one in CAVE 207. The detail, such as the wide opening mouth showing the number of the teeth, the twisting of the neck and the gesture of the forelimbs, suggests that the Bazaklik dragon may come from the same pattern book, if not the same hand.

- 3.4.6. The coiled dragon carved on jade belts excavated in Szechuan from the Wang Jian tomb 67

 (AD 918) shows a pattern similar to that of CAVE 207 but is more forceful (Fig. 159). The twisiting of the tail around the lower timbs as seen on the belt plaques is also a feature of the dragon painted in CAVES 207, 61 and 234. The dragon design on Yueh stoneware is also in this 10th century fashion but the examples drawn from the east coast resemble the Dunhuang motif less than does the Wang Jian dragon (Fig. 162). 68
- included in the murals of <u>Dumhuang CAVE 159</u>, which is dated to the <u>Xi-xia</u> period. The design adorns the gown of the <u>Xi-xia</u> emperor, and is again almost identical in treatment with the dragon of CAVE 207, except that it is facing the other direction (Fig. 160).
- 3.4.8. Most of the above Chinese parallels lead to an association with royal uses from the early 10th century onwards. The dragon design at Dunhuang may

share the same association. The dragon of CAVE 234 appears to be latest of the <u>Dunhuang</u> versions of the motif, for its upward pointing mane is a characteristic which survives in the <u>Song</u> and <u>Yuan</u> periods and later. 70

3.4.9. Hare e.g. CAVES 407, 205. (Fig. 163-4)

An identical hare design is seen in both of these caves in receptacle of the rosette, where the three animals combine into a single pattern. They exactly fit the roundel of the rosette, running clockwise in CAVE 407 and anti-clock-wise in CAVE 205. The ears form a triangle at the centre of the design. No parallels to this motif have been traced in metropolitan China. The dating of the hare motif is a topic in Chapter 4, and a more general discussion of the motif in its relation to Buddhist iconography is placed in an appendix to the present chapter.

Appendix to Chapter 3 The triple-hare pattern

- be related to any preceding design, although the hare motif exists in secular art long before Buddhism. 71

 The usual allusion of the hare to the moon legend is not relevant at <u>Dunhuang</u>, since there are no identifiable background elements associated with it.

 The <u>Dunhuang</u> pattern appears not to have evolved in the normal course of secular art.
- Although in Buddhist scriptures there are jataka stories dedicated to hares, the triple hare on the Dunhuang ceilings does not appear to be a motif based on literary description. Nothing of the personnages or background landscape of the scripture is provided. The jataka stories are usually shown in consecutive narrative scenes on the murals, and no single event or feature is singled out to be represented in the scheme. It is unlikely that the hare jataka should provide the allusion when other better known animals in jataka are not used.
- 3.5.3. Since no parallel to the <u>Dunhuang</u> motif survives in any Chinese art, the design would appear to be of alien origin. If the pattern comes from the west, ie Central Asia, it could not have been introduced earlier than the

first quarter of the 6th century, since the design is not traceable in the Yungang, Longmen or Gong-xian caves. The dates attributed to the Dunhuang CAVES 407 and 205 add to the difficulty of dating of the hare design. In the Dunhuang Institute chronology the former is regarded a Sui cave, while the latter is attributed to the 'Floruit' Tang. If these two dates are accepted, the hare motif appears to be first adopted in the beginning of the 7th century, then fell into disuse, and was closely copied again in the first half of the 8th century. A logical assumption on this dating would be that the design was introduced in Sui period and was revived again in 'Floruit Tang' time. The other possibility however is that the design could belong to the latter date and was introduced in CAVE 407 at the time of a renovation. The latter interpretation would be supported by three observations. First, the practice of placing animal figures in the roundel (ie receptacle of the rosette) did not come into fashion until the 9th century, as demonstrated by the use of dragons. The receptacle is always reserved for placing lotus seeds, since the introduction of Lotus A.1 to Lotus B.4 (ie from AD 450 to 800). If the hare, a highly successful design, is assigned to the Sui period, it would be in contradiction to the general trend. Secondly, according to Xie Zhi-liu's data, it appears that both CAVES 407 and 205 underwent heavy renovation during the Five Dynasties and Song periods. 73 Thus the hare design could have been introduced to the caves simultaneously when redecoration was undertaken. The last piece of evidence comes from an Iranian brass tray of the 12th or early 13th century, which bears a closely comparable motif (Fig. 165). This use of the hare motif or another three animals, chasing one another in a circle, is a characteristic device of Persian art in general in the 11th and 12th centuries. Thus, in conclusion, while dating of the triple hare at Dunhuang remains uncertain, the second hypothesis stated above, ie a later dating than Sui, is the more probable.

Footnotes to Chapter 3

- Davidson, 1954. 1.
- Sullivan, 1969, pl.90, p.51. 2.
- Mizuno. 1956. 3.
- Longmen Institute, 1961, pl.45, p.3 4.
- Tokiwa, 1927, vol.III, pl.101; Luo Qia-zi, 1955, 5. Xiang-tang-shan section. The above two books consist illustrations of the rosette design carved on the ceilings and the gound of Cave V.
- 6. Nanking Museum. 1959.
- Fu-jian Museum, 1980, fig.4, 3. 7.
- 8. Zheng Zhao-ju. 1956, pl. 18(1) (4).
- Kansu Museum, 1979, pl.10, pp.10-11. 9.
- 10. Yungang Institute. 1977. pl. 49.
- 11. Yungang Institute, 1977, 1.44.
- Henan Cultural Working Team, 1963, Cave V. pl.285. 12. 284.
- Longmen Institute, ibid, pl.119, p.4. A dated inscription corresponding to AD 680 is carved around the lotus.
- 14. Mizuno, 1957, pl. 167, 170, p. 153.
- Sekai Bijutsu Zenshu, vol.14, pl.19. 15.
- 16. Koyama, 1957, pl.17. This piece of pottery is dated to 'Tang' period, but the one with an identical design was found in a tomb of AD493. (v. Ping Jiang 1980, pl. 6(1)
- 17. Moriya, 1970, pl.38.
- Watson, 1975. 18.
- 19. Longmen Institute, 1961, pl.110, p.4.
- Sekai Bijutsu Zenshu. 1967, vol.18, pl.55. 20.
- 21. Lubo-Lesnichenko, 1975, pl. 47.
- 22. Gyllensvard, 1957, pp.170 - 185
- Gyllensvard, 1957, pl.4(c), p.170. 23.
- 24. Gyllensvard, 1957, pl.8(c), p.177.
- 25. Gyllensvard, 1957, pl.14, p.182; Gyllensvard places it in the second phase of High Tang (ie 700 - 755), whereas Cammann relates the style to 'Middle and Late Tang'.

- 26. Jenyns, 1963, pl.21.
- 27. Kansu Relics Committee, 1966, Fig. 3.
- 28. Kansu Relics Committee, 1966, pl.4.
- 29. Siren, 1925, vol.4, pl.484.
- 30. Osaka Shiritsu Bijutsu Kan, Fig. 40, p. 260.
- 31. Osaka Shiritsu Bijutsu Kan, Fig. 42, 44, 45, 46, 47. p. 260.
- 32. Medley, 1972, p.6.
- 33. Mizuno, 1961, pl. 27, 31.
- 34. Mizuno, ibid, p1.28, 29.
- 35. Henan Cultural Working Team, 1960, pl.8(4). The mirror is dated 'High Tang'.
- 36. Xin-jiang Museum, 1972, pl.57, and 1975, pl.153.
- 37. Shosoin Jimusho, 1963, vol.1, pl.1, 6. It is called the Karahana pattern.
- 38. Shosoin Jimu-sho, 1961, vol.2, pl.1.
- 39. Shosoin Jimu-sho, 1961, vol.1, pl.37, 35.
- 40. Nara National Museum, 1978, pl.62-1, pl.63-1. The description of pl.62-1 suggests that a tile of the same 'shape' bears a date corresponding to AD 680. The same design however has been attributed to the 8th century (see Turner, 1979, pl.101) and thus agrees better with the Chinese evidence.
- 41. Gyllensvard, ibid, see footnote 26.
- 42. Shaanxi Museum, 1974, pl.40.; 1964, pl.V(2); Ösaka Shiritsu Bijutsu Kan, ibid, pl.75.
- 43. Mizuno, ibid, pl.30.
- 44. Chu-tu-wen-wu Exhibition Working Team, 1972, pl.56, 50. See also the text reporting the excavated vessels from He-jia-zhuang, WW, vol.7, 1972.
- 45. Shosoin Jimu-sho, 1961.
- 46. See footnote 38.
- 47. Dunhuang Institute, 1959, Dunhuang pi-hua, pl.132.
- 48. Chu-tu-wen-wu Exhibition Working Team, ibid, pl.46.

- 49. Shosoin Jimu-sho, ibid, vol.1, pl.102. The author suggests that this piece of rug does not belong to the collection of the 8th century, since its dimension does not correspond to the Imperiol Record for works collected before the mid-7th century. Mizuno seems to agree that it is a later work (see Mizuno, 1956, pl.14).
- 50. Murata, 1955, vol.II, pl.80.
- 51. Sun Ying-zhou, 1966, Fig. 38.2
- 52. Nara National Museum, ibid, pl.64.
- 53. <u>Mizuno</u>, 1956, Cave XIX, pl.12; Cave VIII, pl.41; Cave I, pl.6-9; Cave II, pl.45; Cave IX, pl.28; Cave V, pl.8; Cave XIII, pl.23.
- 54. The practice of imitating the canopy-niche rather than the ceiling canopy is also found in Pinyang Cave (Middle). Throughout the Yungang caves there are niches carved in canopy-border shape with scale frame and geometric patterns. In the later Yungang caves there is even the tendency to decorate the scale and the lintel. The Pinyang ceiling is closer to the canopy-niche than to monotonous ceiling canopy of Yungang.
- Pinyang Cave (Middle) is the only cave at Longmen adorned with the canopy motif on the ceiling. The scale-frame is introduced above the rectangular pendants, and ribbons are hung alternately between the pendants. These are new elements absent in Yungang caves. Another noticeable feature is that the scale frames and the pendants are all decorated with small florets, a reminiscence of the jewellery medallion in Dunhuang (see Longmen Institute, 1961, pl.17, 15; Tokiwa, 1927, II, pl.63).
- 56. Watson, 1975, jewelled motif.
- 57. The Pinyang Cave (Middle) is generally taken as work of early 6th century (see Longmen Institute, 1961, text pp.3-5); but the design of its ceiling when compared with the latest Yungang ceilings marks a more advanced stage of elaboration.

A recent argument appears in Chang Ruo-yu's article, 1980, vol.1, WW, pp.22-23, proposing that the Pinyang Cave (Middle) may have been renovated in the middle of the 7th century. The later date is adopted in this thesis.

- 58. Henan Cultural Working Team, 1963, Drawings 5-22.
- 59. Mizuno, 1974, pl.8, pl.114.
- 60. Although there are also canopy designs used in the Central Asia areas, especially Turfan and Kucha areas, (see Stein, Serindia, 1921), the sites bearing these canopy motifs do not propose reliable dates.
- 61. Wang Zi-yun, 1956, pl.4, p.30.
- 62. Henan Museum, 1979, pl.21, p.14.
- 63. Tokiwa, 1927, vol.IV, pl.7. There has been controversy over the dating of this pagoda, whether the surviving building is the work of AD 601 or of a restoration made in AD 851. This thesis follows the argument of Xiang Da, 1957, 'She-shan fo-jiao shi-ke xiao-ji', where the later date is preferred.
- 64. <u>Matsumoto</u>, 1937, pl.96, 108, 138, 168, 174, 179, 217(a) (b), 219(b)
- 65. Mizuno, Cave XXIII(b) Rubbing 5.
- 66. Bussagli, 1978, p.109. The painting is dated to 9th-10th century.
- 67. Feng Han-qi, 1964, pl.XXXIV. The tomb is dated AD 918.
- 68. Koyama, 1957, pl.6, 7. They are attributed to the Five Dynasties period.
- 69. Enjoji, 1978, pl.100, Cave 409.
- 70. Fujioka Nioichi,
- 71. There are jade plaques of the hare dating from the 10th century BC, and representations of it engraved on funerary slabs of the Later Han period. (see British Museum collection and Finsterbusch, pl.744)

72. There are several occasions where the hare is cast in a leading role in Buddhist literature:
Section 21 of 六度雜烃
Section 6 of 菩薩本生经
Section 31 of 生烃
Section 6 of 菩薩本生经
Section 11 of 雜尾旅经
Section 11 of 雜尾旅经

These texts were all translated before the <u>Sui</u> period, except the 養養之生矣, which was translated in the <u>Song</u> period. The story given in all these scriptures, goes that the hare sacrifies itself for the sake of a Brahman and is afterwards transformed into a Bodhisattva.

- 73. Xie Zhi-liu, 1957, No.200, No.273.
- 74. Fehérvári, 1976, pl.74.
- 75. Grube, 1976, pl.25-27, 29-30, 71, 99; p.64.

Chapter 4

Evolution of the motifs

4.1.1. - 4.1.11

Evolution and chronology of the ceiling designs

4.2.1 - 4.2.9

Chapter 4

Evolution of the select motifs

4.1.1 Following the analysis of Chapter 3, now the evolution of the three motifs may be determined as follows:-

Lotus (Fig. 169). The Lotus A.1 is the earliest form of the design on the ceilings, whatever previous ancestry the motif may have had elsewhere. It is followed by Lotus A.2. B.1. B.2. B.4. B.5. B.6. B.3 and B.7. Lotus A.1 lasts from the last quarter of the 5th century to the first quarter of the 6th century. (v.3.2.9.) In terms of the evolution of the ceiling design, A.1 figures well as the earliest version, a certain roughness and spontaneity in the execution suggesting that no earlier model dictates the treatment of detail. The shapes of the lotus of this type are not uniform, reflecting the touch of many painters working individually, without a shared pattern or stencil. In the next stage of development comes Lotus A.2, whose upper limit may closely follow the discontinuation of Lotus A.1; probably in the fourth decade of the 6th century. A.2 marks a period of close approximation to the fashion which prevailed in central China during most of the latter three quarter of the 6th century but the design is continuously to be used as late as mid-7th century. All the examples of this

type at Dunhuang show a uniform rosette, which implies that the painters at this stage accepted a common pattern. A similar inference may be applied to the subsequent Lotus rosette types. The custom of making a rosette of eight petals, first established in Lotus A.2. is followed through by Lotus B.2. Lotus B.4, to Lotus B.6. The lotus rosette is rapidly elaborated from the middle of the 7th century, as attested by Lotus B.1. The principle followed is one of increasingly intricate florets woven into one pattern. Chinese 'ru-yi' head is brought into the design. lotus petal shape of B.1 at Dunhuang can again be seen to imitate the style of central China, though the rosette as a whole shows a local preference by incorporating elements of A.1. viz. seeds and multiple petals. Lotus B.1 coexists with A.2 in the mid-7th century, but the subsequent evolution shows that B.1 lent itself better to further development. The next stage of development is Lotus B.2. This type has parallels in many materials distributed in China, Japan and Korea in the first half of the 8th century. Dunhuang adopted the fashion and prolonged it beyond the mid-8th century. Lotus B.4 finds parallels also in the first half of the 8th century in central China, but becomes dominant there only during the second half of the century. Basically B.4 has the same complex pattern as B.2. except that the petals are in the scalloped-manner and the rosette is less complicated.

After the 8th century, lotus designs at Dunhuang find fewer comparable works elsewhere. Besides there is the tendency towards simplification; the rosette complex now consists of fewer units. Lotus B.5 and B.6 belong to this group. Lotus B.3 is no doubt a simplified version deriving from B.2, but it became less interesting and more sterotyped. The dating of B.3 is uncertain since there is no comparison to be made elsewhere. But it agrees with the general trend towards simplification. Had it followed without a break from B.2, it might be expected to show greater similarity in the detail of the design. As it is, we should probably suppose a certain passage of time between the abandonment of B.2 and the introduction of B.3. Lotus B.7 marking the latest stage, includes elements of Yuan art in its composition. It cannot be earlier than mid-10th century.

4.1.2 The treatment of the receptacle of the rosette follows the development trend of the petal shape.

From the 5th to the 7th century, the receptacle carries lotus seeds. When petal shapes become elaborated in the 8th century, smaller rosettes fill the space of the receptacle, and later this same space is occupied by animal motifs, mainly dragons. As the petal shapes take on a revival to simplicity after the beginning of the 9th century, lotus seeds reappear in receptacle of the rosette.

- back to simplicity again is reversely reflected in the use of petal numbers. Simple petal shapes provide more space for the rendering of more petal numbers. Since elaboration of petal designs requires more room for the depiction of details, the number of petals used has to be limited. To sum up, simple petal shapes generally appear with multi-petals, while elaborated petal shapes go with the eight-petal design.
- with its own individual design. From the second quarter of the 6th century, the trend tends to follow closely the metropolitan style. Intercommunication between central China and Dunhuang as seen through the spread of parallels of the lotus motif, reaches its height in the first half of the 8th century. The B.2 Lotus is the prevailing style, and it is for this reason that it fits in the context of the Tang international Style. (Fig. 168). After this period, a more provincial treatment appears.

4.1.5. Canopy Border (Fig. 170)

The canopy-border motif, having no ancestry in China earlier than the latter half of the 5th century appears to be imported from the west, and is confined in use to Buddhist works. In China, the earliest evidence of this motif is found in Yungang caves.

The same motif spreads throughout the Buddhist caves at Longmen, Dunhuang, Tian-long-shan, Xiang-tang-shan and Gong-xian caves in the 6th and mid-7th century.

No other instances can be found in China to suppose that the canopy-motif is continuously in use for decorating ceiling after the mid 7th century except at Dunhuang, where the motif is used consistantly on ceilings from the 6th to the 10th century.

- huang follows the sequence of Canopy1, 2, 3 and 4.

 The development of this form changes from a simple, outlined manner (Canopy 1) in the early 6th century to a richly decorated design in the 7th century (Canopy 2).

 The treatment of the motif retreats to a more plain approach (Canopy 3) after the 7th century and is continued by a period of heavy effort in imitating a big canopy up the cave.
- 4.1.7. Canopy 4 shows a sudden flood of new elements not traceable in the former types therefore these new elements must have been imported from somewhere outside Dunhuang. The 'Turfan period' (AD 757 848) may account for the introduction of the bells into the design of Dunhuang. This observation is also supported by the murals of the 'Turfan period' caves. The upper limit of 4(a) may well be the mid-8th century and it is continued by a more orderly execution, Canopy 4 (b).

The introduction of the petal pendants into Dunhuang around AD 851 coincides with the time of changing government at the area: the Early Gui-vi-jum period starts in AD 849 and is presumably followed by a period favourable for communication between Dunhuang and central China. The Jiangsu example (v. 3.3.13) indicates that the petal pendants is already in use in the area near Henan in the mid-9th century, The lower limit of the Canopy 4(c) is likely to be sometime in the first half of the 10th century. The practice of employing canopy motif for the ceiling bordering decoration dies out after the 7th century in Central China. Instead of being used on ceilings, the canopy motif is exclusively used on stone pillars from the latter half of the 9th century onwards and is rarely seen since the first half of the 10th century. 2 Then the Canopy 4(c) for ceiling bordering decoration at Dunhuang appears to be ended around the mid-10th century.

4.1.8. Ceilings of CAVES 319, 205, 159, 31, 61,207, (Fg.166-7)

13 and 234 show no use of the canopy motif on the photographic reproductions. It is uncertain whether the absence of this motif is a reflection of the general trend in central China (ie the abandonment of the motif in central China). It is suspected that the bordering bands and canopy motifs are purposely left out when copied by the Yan-jiu-suo, since these supporting ornaments are more or less the same in the Late Tang and Five Dynasties periods.

4.1.9. The use of a pattern book may also be supposed to have been used for the canopy motif, especially in the cases of Canopy 3 and Canopies 4(b) and (c). Examples within these types are so uniform as to indicate that some generally accepted patterns must have been circulating among the painters.

4.1.10. Animal (Fig. 171)

all the examples of dragon occur at earliest from the mid-9th century. It coincides with the government of the Chang family, the Western Han Golden Kingdom and the Cao family (v.1.1.7. and1.1.8.). The dragon motif, here as elsewhere, must signify imperial protections afforded to the Buddhist religion. At Dunhuang the dragons are all more or less in the same posture, agreeing with the design used in Szechuan and Jiejiang. It is likely that the Dunhuang painters got their coiled dragon from those areas.

tacle as the dragon does. But it is still doubtful whether this hare design was adopted in the 7th century or the 8th century, or even later. (v. chapter 3, The use of the appendix). Animal motifs is a regular feature at Dunhuang only after the mid-8th century and becomes very popular in the 10th century.

Evolution and chronology of the ceiling designs

- for the three separate motifs studied, another chronology table for the ceiling design can be constructed by combination of the three (Fig. 172). From this table, it is able to deduce six types of ceiling design. The first five types are established because the various motifs used all point to the same dating, each representing the typical design of the period indicated.
 - a. Ceiling design I: CAVE 285

 from the end of the 5th century

 to the first quarter of the 6th

 century.
 - b. Ceiling design II: CAVES 390, 311

 from the mid-6th to the mid-7th
 centry.
 - c. Ceiling design III: CAVES 329, 392

 from the mid-7th century to the
 beginning of the 8th century.
 - d. Ceiling design IV: CAVES 331, 381, 217, 49
 first half of the 8th century.
 - e. Ceiling design V: CAVES 85, 369, 360

 from the mid- 9th to the mid-10th

 century.

- 4.2.2. The following caves having no common pointers established by the use of various motifs, which served as a guide to their dating as those of the above paragraph, however, they can be considered as a group typical of the desgin of the later period, i.e. after AD 950, by considerating their lotus motif and additional features of the ceiling decoration.
 - f. Ceiling design VI: CAVES 159, 31, 13

 from the mid-10th century onwards.
- 4.2.3. We now proceed to a reconstruction of the general development of the ceiling decoration (Fig. 172) Ceiling design I from AD470-525 e.g. CAVE 285 CAVE 285 is to be taken as representative of the style of the early 6th century. Its diagnostic features are (i) that the pseudo-corbelled-dome pattern is used singly, on a large scale, instead of being repeated on a small scale in regular alignments as in CAVES 254 and 428: (ii) that the canopy motif is here first introduced as a vivid substitute for an actual structure of wood and textile. These two innovations coincide in time with the adoption of the coffered-dome roof type at Dunhuang (v.2.1.9.). Ceilings such as those of CAVES 254 and 428 make no attempt to represent a canopy in shape or material, and so are to be accounted earlier than the ceiling of CAVE 285. They still are notlikely to have been executed before the third quarter

of the 5th century (v.2.1.7.). It follows from this inference that in the second half of the 5th century ceilings were decorated with the P.C.D. pattern arranged in alignment, while at the beginning of the 6th century the P.C.D. pattern is used singly in coffered-dome roofings. Ceilings of the second half of the 5th century stress the linear effect of the design (v.3.2.4.), whereas from the early 6th century the detail is defined in flat colour notably in the treatment of petals. In the early 6th century also comes the last phrase of the P.C.D., as also reflected in the ceiling of CAVE 285, which uses the same vegetable decoration on all the three tiers, an arrangement not to be found earlier. With the P.C.D. pattern distributed as identical units in regular defined areas, the end of the development of this design is reached. Animal motifs are rarely used before the 6th century. The only example is a pair of confronted tigers in CAVE 428.

4.2.4. Ceiling design II, from AD 550 to 650 (CAVES 390,311)

The ceilings of the mid-6th to the mid-7th century continue the use of the unmistakable textile canopy motif as it was conceived in the early 6th century. They are in the C.S. pattern. Ceilings of this period combine Lotus A.2 (cordiform rosette) with canopy 2(a) and(b) (jewellery ornament). Again no animal motif is employed. Characteristic of design at this period is the use of stone-like ornaments on canopy borders and the permanent use of the cordiform

rosette with sepals. Another notable feature is the use of pearls in a panel to distinguish two sets of motifs: vegetable scroll on the upper layer and canopy broder frames on the lower. The location of this pearl panel is always at the intersection between the vertical jamb and the slopes, thus functioning to underline the structure of the ceilings.

- 4.2.5. In this period the coffered-dome (C.D.)

 pattern is firmly established together with the use of coffered-dome roofing(v.2.1.7.). The pattern however shows a relatively simple construction: a rosette and its/surrounding undulating scroll form a big central square while the vertical zone is adorned with double rows of vegetable scrolls separated from another two rows of frames by a panel of pearls.
- 4.2.6. Ceiling design III from AD 640 to 700 e.g. CAVES 329 and 392

Towards the middle of the 7th century the cordiform rosette is replaced by the square section-petal(Lotus B.1). It is combined with Canopy 2(b) so continuing the tradition followed from the previous century. The arrangement of the bordering panels varies from what precedes in that the double rows of vegetable and frame motifs are placed alternately, with the pearl panel still separating them.

Particular features of the middle 7th century are having flying apsarases around the rosette, and the quarter rosettes at the corners of the central square. The heavy jewellery decoration used in the past century is transformed into more vegetable-like motifs.

4.2.7. Ceiling design IV from AD 700 to 750

e.g. CAVES 331, 381, 217,49

Decoration of this period combine the Lotus B.2 (CAVES 331, 381, 217) or B.4 (CAVE 49) with Canopy 3 (i.e. without jewellery decoration). The main interest of the design focuses on the variety of section-petals which constitute the main elements of the complete design. The canopy-border decoration, compared with the rosette, has little that is novel. The jewellery has gone and there is very little variation from one cave to another. No set order is observed in arranging the border panels, and no animal motifs are yet introduced. The ceilings of CAVE 331 should be taken as the earliest among these four, since it still retains the double-square and double-scroll panels, though not in the same order as those of the mid-7th century. The panel of pearls no longer functions as a separating device for different sets of motifs, but its location is still at the change of plane. ceiling decoration now expands and is enriched by sumptuous floral ornaments downwards on the slopes.

4.2.8. Ceiling design V from AD 850 to 950

e.g. CAVES 85, 369, 360

There is a gap of one century between the design mentioned in the last paragraph and the present The time gap is possibly filled up with the last phase of 8th century style and the preliminary phase of the 9th century style. Designs between mid-9th and mid-10th century show once again a standard canon in the arrangement of the rows of hordering ornaments. The details of the canopy are nearly identical in every cave, sharing the same cylindrical bells hung alternately with garlands (ie Canopy 4b). The rosette is always built of the incurled-petal (Lotus 5 and 6) and animals appear decorating the roundel of the receptacles. Unlike the ceilings of the first half of the 8th century, the emphasis of the design is predominantly on the symmetry and the balance between different elements.

4.2.9. Ceiling design VI from AD 950 onwards e.g. CAVES 159,

The design of this period are characterised by the omission of the canopy motif entirely in most instances and its redecoration to a mere row of pendants in two designs. This type also see the revival of lotus motifs used in the earlier period. CAVE 13 revives Lotus B.5 in a highly still manner, while CAVE 31 that of Lotus B.2 but is never the same exuberant.

The typical 10th century petal design is Lotus B.7 represented in the receptacle of CAVES 31 and 159. In addition the use of 'hui' () character panel is a fashion of this period (CAVES 13,31).

Footnotes to Chapter 4

- 1. A cross-section view of the roof of the coffereddome cave shows the shape of the ceiling decoration
 conforming with an umbrella (Fig. 6b). Umbrella of
 this shape and decoration is generally used throughout
 the works at Yungang caves (Mizuno, 1956, Cave XIV,
 pl.6; Cave XIII, pl.18; Cave X, pl.3) over
 Buddhist figures. Soper in his article (1947) also
 points out that the design is closely imitating a
 tent made of textile. (Soper, 1947, pp.242-244)
- 2. Tokiwa, 1927. vol.IV, pl.116, stone pillar at Shangtong of Late Tang period; vol.IV, pl.130, stone pillar of Late Tang; vol.V, pl.29, stone pillar at Da-fo-guang-si (AD 857); vol.V, pl.30, stone pillar at Fo-guang-si (AD 877).

Chapter 5

The chronology of the ceiling design and the conventional dating of the caves

5.1.1. - 5.1.10.

Concluding and Summary remarks

5.2.1. - 5.2.5.

Chapter 5

The chronology of the ceiling designs and the conventional dating of the caves

tructed in Chapter 4 (Fig. 172) the dating of the following caves: CAVES 285, 392, 320, 123, 126, 79, 171, 175 and 326 as originally given by the <u>Dunhuang Institute</u> call for reconsideration. When a date is followed by an (E) it means that the dating is the outcome of this study; when it is followed by a (D), the dating giving by the <u>Dunhuang Institute</u> is referred.

5.1.2. CAVE 285 : Ceiling-AD 500-525 (E)

Cave - Western Wei (D)

This Western Wei dating is based upon inscription on the north wall with dates corresponding to AD 538 and AD 539. This epigraphical evidence fixes the period of the murals on the north wall. The painting of the ceiling however, on our evidence, favours a time about ten years earlier. Probably the execution of the painting in this cave occupied a considerable time, but the ceiling painting was carried out prior to the murals on the north wall. This assumption has support from Su Bai 1, who arrives at the same conclusion on the evidence of costumes, colour, and the detail of the apsaras appearing in different parts of the cave.

5.1.3, <u>CAVE 392</u>: Ceiling - ca AD 650 (E)

AD 581-618 (D)

The ceiling painting of this cave is almost identical with that of CAVE 329, yet it is described by the Institute as an 'Early Tang' (AD 618-712) cave. In the light of the observation made by Xie², CAVE 392 was built in Sui and was renovated in the Early Tang, Late Tang and Song periods. The ceiling of this cave appears to have been painted for the first time, or repainted over a Sui origin, in the mid-7th century. Xie's record however casts a doubt on all of these and the problem can only be settled after further inspection of the cave, as his description of this ceiling differs notably from the picture reproduced by the Dunhuang Institute 3. Either Xie's record is incorrect or that the Dunhuang Institute has confused the cave numbers.

5.1.4. CAVE 320, 123,126 : Ceiling - ca AD 850 (E)
AD 712-754 (D)

Yu Jian-hua is right in referring CAVE 320 to the Late Tang 4. Xie recognises that CAVE 126 underwent redecoration in the Late Tang period, and that both CAVES 123 and 126 were repainted in the Five Dynasties time because of the costume of the doners. Although CAVE 123 is reliably identified as a cave opened in the period AD695 - 697⁵, the surviving ceiling design certainly belongs to a time a century and a half or two centuries later.

5.1.5. CAVES 79, 171, 175 and 326: Ceilings - partly AD 750800 and partly AD 850 - 900 (E)
the first three ceilings: ca AD 712-754 (D)
and CAVE 326 as a whole belongs to Tang
Dynasty (D)

These caves have been renewed and repainted in the Late Tang, Five Dynasties and Song period. The four caves as a group allow two interpretations:— (a) renovation has been taken place after mid-9th century, when the canopy border and the bordering panels were repainted while the original 8th century Lotus in the middle of the ceiling was retained; or (b) the complete ceiling was repainted in the general style of the mid-9th century, but repeated the earlier rosette without change.

the dating we have proposed for the lotus rosette taken in isolation includes the time to which the <u>Dunhuang</u>

Institute ascribes to the work. Additional features of the ceiling decoration however suggest a date posterior to that adopted by the Institute.

CAVE 319: Ceiling - partly the style of AD 700-750

and partly that of a redecoration dating after

AD 950. (E)

-AD 713-754)D)

Apart from the absence of the canopy border, the paintings of the last two outermost bordering panels hint that a late renovation has taken place. The Dunhuang Institute

allowsthat this cave has been renovated once after being opened in the Floruit Tang period.

5.1.7. CAVE 159 : Ceiling - in post AD 950 style (E)
- AD 821 - 907 (D)

Although none of the literature has suggested a date for this cave later than the Late <u>Tang</u>, the evidence given in Chapter 3 and 4 above shows that the painting of this ceiling cannot be earlier than the mid-10th century.

5.1.8. The stylistic dating of the following ceilings agrees with the date proposed by the <u>Dun-huang</u> Institute, but on the arguments we have advanced the dates can be further narrowed down.

CAVES 254,428 : Ceilings - AD 470-500 (E)

Caves - AD 381-535 (D)

CAVE 249 : Ceiling - the first quarter of the 6th century, not earlier than the ceiling of CAVE 285 (v.4.2.3.)

CAVE 209 : Ceiling - AD 650-700 (E)
- AD 618-712 (D)

The same opinion is shared by YU Jian-hua 7.

<u>CAVE 329</u>: ceiling - ca AD 650 (E)

AD 618-712 (D)

CAVES 85. 360. 369 : Ceilings - ca AD 850 (E)

AD 821 - 907 (D)

CAVE 381 : Ceiling - AD 700 -750 (E)

- not dated by the Institute, but elsewhere described broadly as 'Tang'8.

- 5.1.9. Finally, the dating of three ceilings is made doubtful by their inclusion of two elements more or less problematic: CAVES 407, 205, 120
 - (a) the dating of Lotus B.3 could not be closely specified above in paragraph 3.2.36, where it was attributed broadly to the period after AD 750.
 - (b) The question of the origin and date of the hare motif remains unresolved.

The caves, with the relevant motifs and datings, are as follows:-

CAVE	Lotus	Canopy	Animal	Dating
407	A.2 (550-650)	C2(a)(600-650)	Hare	Sui
120	B.3 (post 750)	4a (750-850)	-	Floruit Tang
205	B.3 (")	Nil(post 950)	Hare	11

As has been argued, Lotus B.3 is a simplified and remote version of Lotus B.2, which can be dated to the first half of the 8th century. As regards Lotus B.3, already shown to be subsequent to the mid-8th century, would through this association appears to date to the first half of the 9th century. In CAVE 205, which lacks the canopy and so dates after 950, we conclude that the Lotus B.3 is still in use in the later 10th century.

thrown if it can be shown that parts of the painting of ceilings in certain cases belong to separate times. However, no observations on this aspect of the problem has been made by previous writers. This dissertation has indicated instances where the stylistic analysis points toward double dating of the surviving ceiling designs. Only closer inspection at the site, ideally with technical means, can settle this matter finally.

Concluding and summary remarks

5.2.1. The following concluding remarks can be arrived at from the previous chapters.

1. Shifts of patterns

Only the P.C.D. pattern is used before the first quarter of the 6th century. The C.S. pattern is in vogue afterwards and becomes the only pattern used until the termination of activities at Mogao caves. The time for the shift coincides with the time of the introduction of coffered-dome roof. Since the P.C.D. pattern derives from a corbelleddome structure, its decoration also preserves the divisions of the architectural form. The same P.C.D. design can be found elsewhere in China in its painted versions. The C.S. pattern however cannot find any parallel in metropolitan China. Thus the design can be regarded as a local design. Both the P.C.D. and the C.S. patterns evolve from simplicity towards elaboration and finishes in being standardized. Such a development is best exemplified through the C.S. patterns.

5.2.2. 2. Decorative Motifs

The motifs comprising the pattern are mainly floral. The lotus is the commonest and is used mainly at the central square of both the P.C.D. and the C.S. patterns. This particular motif develops from a simple silhouette representation to a complex rosette.

The canopy motif is confined in use to C.S. pattern except in CNS 285.

only. It borders around the whole ceiling pattern.

The examples of canopy design at <u>Dunhuang</u> are the most successful and faithful representation of the textile of an umbrella when compared with its counterparts elsewhere in cave-temples of China. This design evolves from a simple ornamented outline which imitates the carved original from <u>Yungang</u>, to a richly painted version with jewellery decoration. The development of the canopy motif had once been stopped by the abandonment of jewellery ornament, but it is followed by a growth towards the extensive use of illustrating hanging bells. The change corresponds to the change in political situation.

Animal motif is not dominant in ceiling designs. It is usually employed to replace the receptacle of the rosette.

Only very rarely do animals appear on bordering panels.

5.2.3. Communication

Although parallels of complete cofferedsquared pattern does not exist in China, the motifs
composing the design however, have close resemblance
with those found in central China. It thus reflects
a close communication between <u>Dunhuang</u> and central
China, and <u>Dunhuang</u> has not been isolated from the
mainstream of art. At one time, in the mid-8th century,

parallels of B.2 Lotus motif are to be found in areas extending from Xin-jiang in the west to Korea and Japan in the east. Although parallels of the canopy motif cannot be served to illustrate the intense communication existing between Dunhuang and elsewhere in China as the Lotus B.2 motif does, canopy 2(c) has been seen reaching as far as Japan. This lack of sufficient parallels may attributed to the fact that canopy motif is seldom used in secular arts.

5.2.4. Pattern Book

At earlier periods, it has been proved that individual painters work on their own liking and intuition. The irregularities of design as well as the inconsistencies in execution appear that there is no set order established among painters themselves.

However, in the design of the caves of the later period consistencies among designs, and there are even instances where the ceiling designs are identical, the same rendering of bordering panels and animal motifs, strongly support the possibility that some sort of "pattern book" must have been circulating among the painters.

5.2.5. Dating

There are some inconsistencies in the dating given by the Institute and the ones derived from the stylistic development constructed by this thesis. dates of the caves cannot simply be attributed to one single period since many of them has undergone renovation and repainting over a long period of time. It follows that the dating of the ceilings may not be the same as the date of excavation. Some ceilings have been proved to be later or earlier than the murals. Moreover, there are cases in which the ceilings are considered to have been partially redecorated, keeping certain parts of the ceiling in its original form. The possibilities of complete renovation or partial redecoration cannot be satisfactorily distinguished by the designs alone, since on redecoration painters of later period may follow the original design in certain parts of the ceiling. This discrepency could only be narrowed down by the incorporation of scientific research on the paint and materials used for decoration.

Footnotes to Chapter 5

- 1. Sui Bai, 1956
- 2. Xie Zhi-liu, 1957, pp.244-245. There are murals of the Early Tang and Late Tang on the west wall; Murals of the Song period on the east wall and at the entrance; and there is an inscription bearing a Song nian-hao 'Yong-dai'.
- 3. Xie records that the lantern painting is a red lotus with a pair of dragons. The picture appearing in Fig. 18 does not show an equivalent illustration.
- 4. YU Jian-hua, 1958. CAVE 320. The murals on the north wall are works of Late Tang period.
- 5. Xie Zhi-liu, 1957. Except those at the entrance, the murals in CAVE 123 is very likely done by the same painters of the adjacent CAVE 124 which bears a nian-hao of AD 695 697. CAVE 126 is mostly painted in Late Tang style but there are murals of the Five Dynasties period at the entrance.
- 6. Xie Zhi-liu, 1957.
- 7. Yu Jian-hua, 1958.
- 8. Zhong-yang-mei-shu-xue-yuan, 1953, Pl.11.

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Abbreviations:

BSOAS Bulletin of School of Oriental and African

Studies, London.

BMFEA Bulletin of the Museum of Far Eastern

Antiquities, Stockholm.

KG Kao-gu

KKHP Kao-ku-hsueh-pao

WW Wen-wu

WWCKZL Wen-wu can-kao-zi-liao

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Cao Yi-jin

Cha-xin-fo-tang

Chang Cheng-feng

Chang Da-qian

Chang Shu-hong

Chang Yi-chao

Chu-tu-wen-wu

Datung

Da-yan-ta

Die-se zao-jing

Dou-si zao-jing

Dong-yang-wang

Dunhuang wen-wu yan-jiu-suo

Fa-liang

Fa-xian

Feng-xian-si

Fo-guo-ji

Fu-dou

Fu-jian

Fujii Yurikan

Gong-xian

Gui-yi-jun

Henan

Hong-ren

Horyu-ji

Hu

Ji-jia ku

Jian-ping

Jiangsu

Jiang-ning-xian

曹义金

利心佛堂

張承奉

張 大千

常書鴻

張散潮出土文物

大同

大雁塔

叠 沿藻井

斗四藻井

東陽王

敦煌文物研究所

法良

法願

奉先寺

佈自記

獲斗

福建/符堅

藤井有鄰館

鞏 縣。

婦义軍

河南

决 翌

法 隆寺

空

维家窟

建平

江蘇

江宁縣

Jie-dao-shi

Jin Wei-le

Jiu-quan

Ju-yong-guan

Kansu

Kyongju

Lao Gan

Le-zun

Li Huai-rang

Lianhua Cave

Liang

Liang-zhou

Longmen

Long-zhou

Loyang

Maijishan

Ming-sha Mountain

Mogao

Mogao-ku-ji

Mo-jiao dou-si

Nian-hao

Pinyang Cave

Qi

Qin-fo-dong

Qing

Qu Yuan-shou

Ren-zi-pi

Ru-yi

節度使 金维豫 酒泉 后庸例 甘肃 庆州 荡 幹 樂傅 準 議

莲花洞

凉州 施门 僧州 洛陽

麥積山 鸣沙山

莫高

莫高窟記 株角斗四

年號

采 阳洞

千佛洞

屈无序 人字披

如意

San-wei

Shaanxi

Shangtung

Shi Yan

Shosoin

Sian

Su Bai

Sui

Sui Shu

Szechuan

Tang-xian

Tien-zi

Wan-fo-dong

Wang Jian

Wei

Wei Dong

Wong Yuan-lu

Wu Ti

Wu-wei

Xi-han jin-shan-guo

Xiang-tang-shan

Xin-jiang

Xiu-ding-si

Yi-de

Yi-nan

Yong-tai

Yuan Rong

Yungang

Yueh

Zao-jing

Zheng-zhou

三陕山史正西宿隋隋危西東岩倉安白 書

四下天萬

为主意

幸王武

武武成

西漠金山园响堂山

新修生

態 德 角

八永元

云尚

藻井

Supplementary Notes

A trip to the Mogao caves and the Bazaklik caves was made shortly after the submission of the dissertation. Having examined the original painting. the following points have arisen:-

1. Corrected information

The confusions over the number of the caves which are due to the incorrect information published. can now be cleared (v. footnote 25, Chapter 1)

- a. CAVE 390 The genuine pattern for that of CAVE 390 is the one published by Tang Jian-wu (Fig. 10b) which is also preferred in the study (v. 2.2.0.). The so-called CAVE 390 ceiling pattern published by the Thong-yang-mei-shu-xue-yuan (Fig. 10a) is not a correct representation of that of the cave.
- appearing in the publications of the Yan-jiu-suo and the Zhong-yang-mei-shu-xue-yuan

 (Fig. 18) does not at all correspond to the genuine pattern. The pattern of CAVE 392 in fact appears in Fig. loa. Mistakenly published as CAVE 390. It is therefore necessary to cancel CAVE 392 from the present study, reducing the total number of the caves studied from 35 to 34. The analysis of Cave 392 appears in para. 2.2.8., 3.2.19., 3.3.6., 3.3.7., 4.2.1.(c) 4.2.6. and 5.1.3. Xie Zhi-liu's literary record of the cave stands valid.

- c. CAVE 319 The ceiling pattern of this cave is rectangular, fitting well with the shape of the roof (Fig. S.1). It is a rare shape among the designs in the Mogao caves. It consists of three identical rosettes in alignment, not the single rosette published by the Yan-jiu-suo and shown in my Fig. 24.
- d. CAVE 381 The picture shown in Fig. 41 for this cave should in fact belong to Cave 384.

 Therefore CAVE 381 should be read CAVE 384 in the text which occurs at para. 2.2.31., 3.2.23., 3.2.24., 3.3.10., 4.2.1.(d), 4.2.7. and 5.1.8.
- e. CAVE 234 Fig. 46a is a closer representation of the original painting except that the ring of petals surrounding the dragon should be B.5. as shown in Fig. 46b.

2. Partial redecoration of the ceiling patterns

The possibility of such work has been suggested at para. 4.2.9.. 5.1.0. and 5.2.5. Judging from the difference in colour scheme and the vivid sytlistic discrepancy within one ceiling decoration, it can easily be seen that some ceilings have undergone partial redecoration. The newer part of the pattern stands out as brighter and cleaner. It usually has a white background and is more schematised in the arrangement of the decoration, contrasting with the older part of the painting. Two manners of partial redecoration, all on C.S. pattern, have so far been observed.

- redecorating some outer bordering panels. e.g.

 CAVE 319, 321 and 334. In these instances, the central square and a few descending bordering panels are much darker in tone. The murals immediately next to these panels are usually repetitive small Buddhas. The usual canopy-border motif for completing the pattern is missing, apparently because the outer part of the original design, including the canopy-border, was covered up with the images of the small Buddhas when renovation was carried out (Fig. S.2).
- b. The completeness of the pattern is disturbed by redecorating also the central part of the pattern. Although this type of partial redecoration is not relevant to the caves studied here, it is worth noticing that some caves have been repainted in such a way, e.g. Caves 328 and 180. In Cave 328 the outer part of the pattern has apparently been obliterated by the small Buddhas during repainting, as has also occured in the previous examples quoted above para. 2a. The central square and one side of the vertical section however show a different colour tone from the rest of the pattern (Fig. S.3). The part C in Fig. S.3 is decorated with the canopyborder design. The location of the motif contradicts the usual practice in being so close to the central

A more reasonable explanation would be that the central square, the part C and the outer part of the bordering panels were repainted, retaining the middle section of the ceiling pattern in its original form and colour, when renovation was undertaken. A similar situation can be detected in Cave 180, as illustrated in Fig. S.4.

Deriving from the above observation regarding the use of the canopy-border motif, it can be confirmed that towards the middle of the loth century the motif was deliberately omitted from the C.S. ceiling pattern (v. para. 4.1.8.. 4.2.9 and 5.1.0.). The motif was replaced by small Buddhas when redecoration was done. An additional panel of the canopy-border motif however can be seen at the joining section between the vertical wall and the sloping roof, noticably at the entrance (Fig. S.5). of the Song and Xi-xia caves. The aim in the 10th century seems to have been is to include the whole roof of the temple within the notion of a canopy by moving the canopy-border motif from the original ceiling pattern to the bases of the roof. Such a practice appears to have been followed in the 11th century.

3. Pattern book

There are occasions where a similar design

appears in various caves², as has been noted in the case of the canopy-border motif (v. 4.1.9. and 5.2.4.) especially towards the mid-10th century. The dragon design of CAVE 234 can be seen in Caves 400, 130 and 3-8; Caves 107 and 170 share the same vajra motif as used in CAVE 13; and the lotus rosette used in Cave 356 is identical with that of CAVE 159. With this evidence it can be firmly established that some sort of pattern book must have existed among the painters.

4. Triple-hare design

where the design is employed in the Mogao caves. There is no trace of partial redecoration in either cave. It then follows that the design was first introduced into the Mogao caves in the late 6th or early 7th century (CAVE 407) providing the earliest example of the adoption of any animal motif for decorating the receptacles of the ceiling pattern (v. 3.5.3. and 4.1.11.). The triple-hare design was clearly never a popular subject since it was then neglected for almost three centuries. It was very closely copied in the mid-10th century as illustrated in the single case of CAVE 205.

Since there is no example of the design earlier than the one shown in CAVE 407, the supposition made at para. 3.5.3. remains that the design did not evolve locally but was of alien origin, most likely coming from the west.

5. Period of revival

In view of the fact that certain earlier motifs were re-used from the early 10th century onwards, this period can be regarded as a period of revival (v. 4.2.9.). Lotus B.2 of the first half of the 8th century appearently enjoyed great popularity in this period. CAVES 31 (where Lotus B.2 is combinedly used with Lotus B.7). 320, 123 and 126 are examples (Fig. 172 No. 20, 17, 18 and 20). Lotus B.2 was adopted even beyong the Mogao caves. A version of the Lotus B.2 was used for decorating the ceiling of Cave-temple 9 at Bazaklik which is assigned to the 10th century (Fig. S.e).

When the Lotus B.2 is adopted but simplified it turns into the Lotus B.3, as shown in CAVES 205 and 120. Lotus B.5/6 of the mid-9th century was favoured in the period of revival as well, as can be seen in the Song caves such as 107 and 180.

The triple-hare design of the early 7th century was also re-used in one of the Song caves. CAVE 205. The coiled-dragon design of the mid-9th century is widely used in many Song and Xi-xia caves such as CAVES 207, 234, bl. caves 400, 130 and 388.

6. Other motifs

a. Lotus B.5/6 is a popular local design not only

- for the ceilings, but also for floor tiles such as in Cave 454.
- b. Lotus B.7 is a popular design for Song and Xi-xia caves. It was generally used on ceilings, the bases of the thrones and the walls. A similar design was also generally applied in the caves at Bazaklik.
- c. There are two pairs of tigers on the ceiling of CAVE 428, not just one pair (v. 4.2.3.).
- d. The paired-dragon design made its earliest appearance in the ceiling pattern in the early 7th century.

 Cave 392 (Fig. loa) is the only example (v. 4.1.10).

 However one dragon in a roundel fitting into the receptacle of the ceiling rosette was first used in the mid-9th century, as seen in CAVE 396.

Footnotes to the supplementary notes

- A more satisfactory conclusion should of course be derived from incorporating scientific research on the paint and material used for decoration.
- 2. Since Cave 392 does not bear the same design as CAVE 329 (v. 5.1.3.) these two caves do not serve as evidence to the use of a pattern book.
- 3. <u>YAN Wen-ru</u>. 'Xin-jiang Tien-shan yi-nan de shi-ku', <u>₩₩</u>. vol. 7/8, 1962, pp.41-59, pl.14. 同文儒 新疆天山以南的元產'

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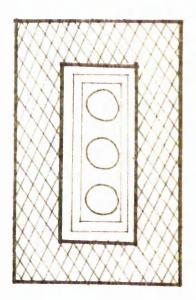


Fig. S.1 CAVP 319

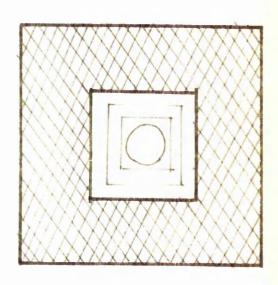


Fig. 3.2

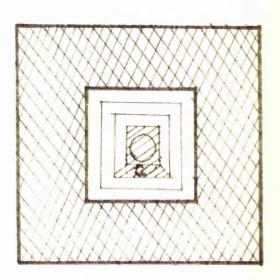


Fig. S.3

Cave 328

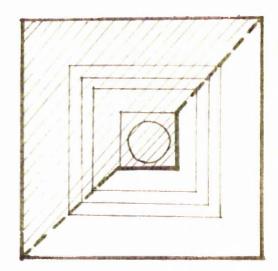


Fig. S.4 Cave 180

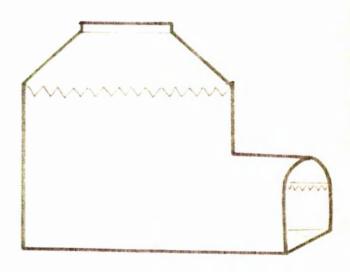


Fig. 5.5

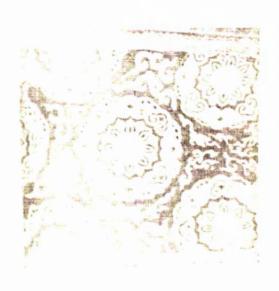


Fig. S.6

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6.	CAVE	311	17	2.2.7.
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8.	CAVE	407	19	2.2.9.
9.	CAVE	209	20	2.2.10.
10.	CAVE	334	21	2.2.11.
11.	CAVE	329	22	2.2.12.
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17.	CAVE	320	28	2.2.18.
18.	CAVE	123	29	2.2.19.
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26.	CAVE	31	37	2.2.27.
27.	CAVE	85	38	2.2.28.
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30.	CAVE	381	41	2.2.31.
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Fig. S.7 A list of Caves studied

CEILING PAINTING IN THE MOGAO CAVE-TEMPLES

Volume Two

Ho Chui-mei, Wendy

Submitted for the Degree of Master of Philosophy
in the Faculty of Arts
School of Oriental and African Studies
University of London

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DH Dunhuang

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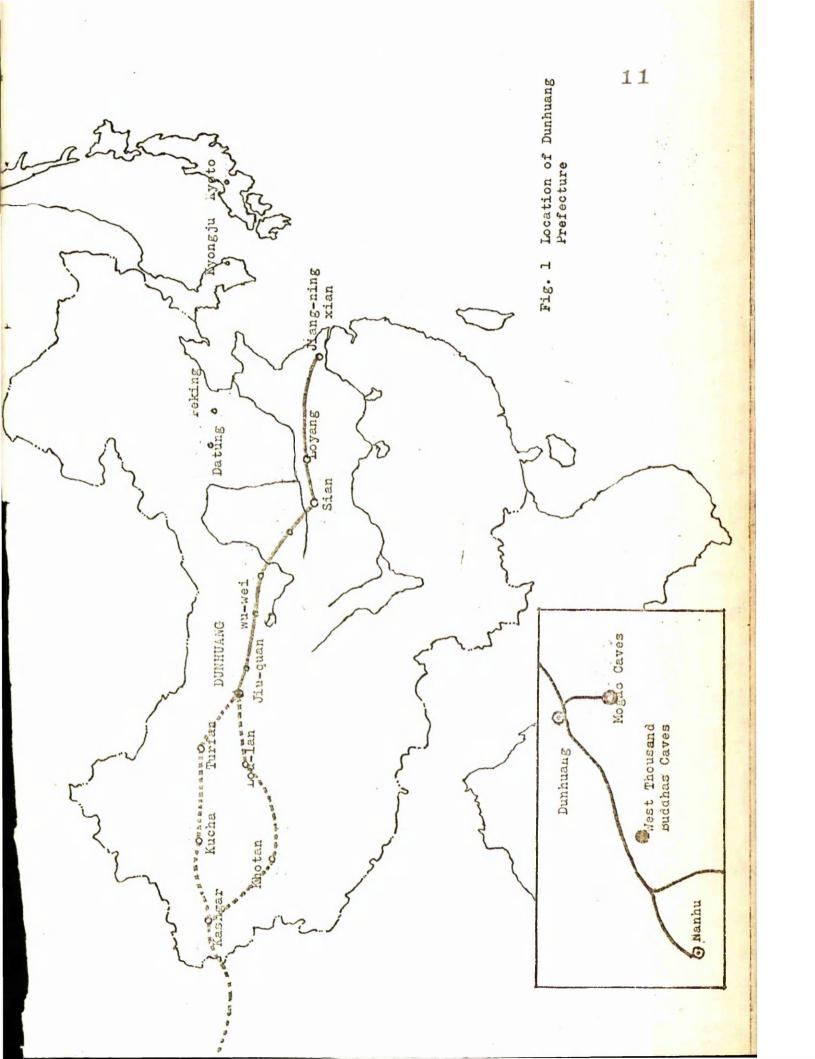
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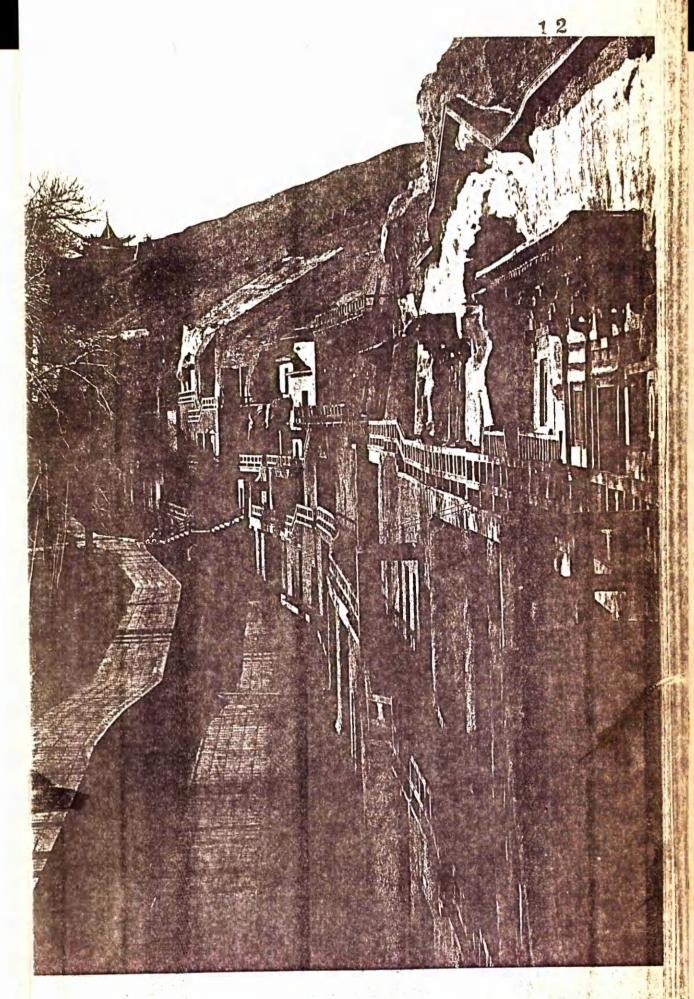


Fig. 2 A view of the Mogao caves

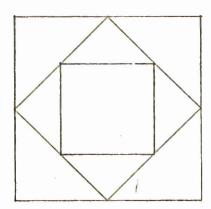


Fig. 3(a)

Pseudo-corbelled-dome pattern

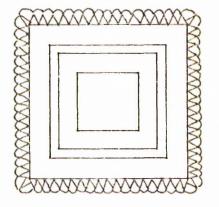


Fig. 3(b)

Coffered-square pattern

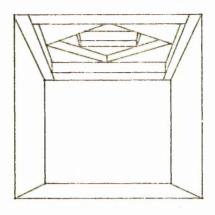


Fig. 4 A corbelled-dome Roof

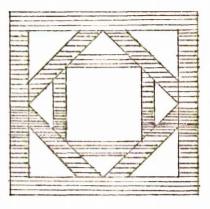
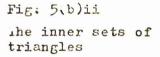
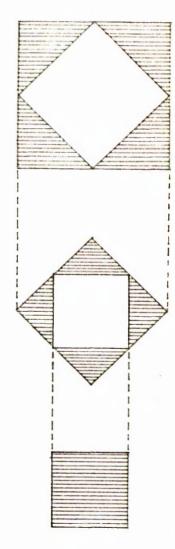


Fig. 5(a)
The first component: the tiers

rig. 5(b)i The second component: the outer sets of triangles





rig. 5(c)
The third component: the central square

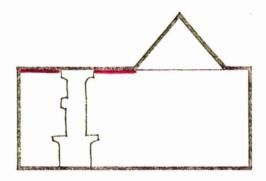


Fig. 6(a) Pointed vault-type Roof

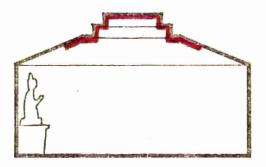


Fig. 6(b) Coffered-dome type Roof

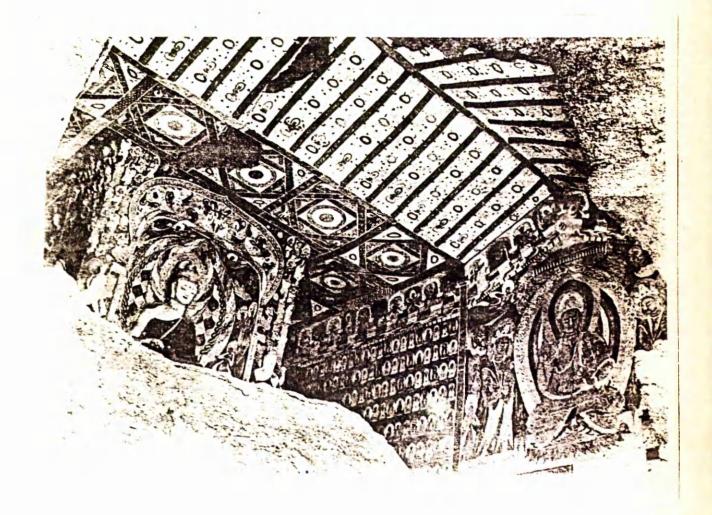


Fig. 7 The P.C.D. pattern are arranged in alignment surpounding the central pillar. Cave 75

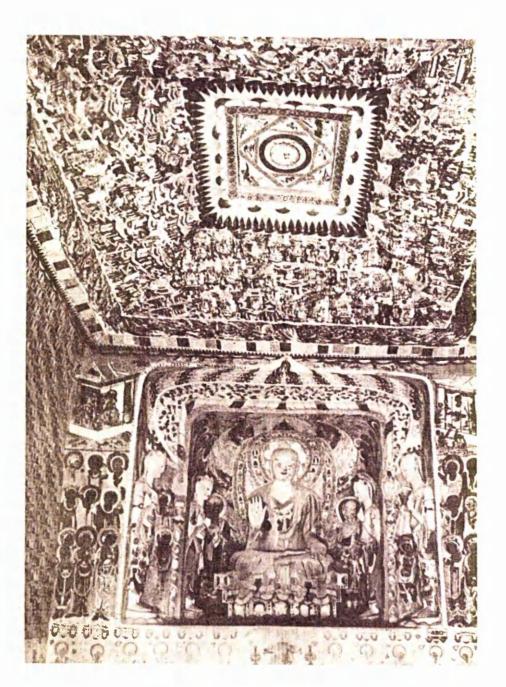


Fig. 8 Cave 420

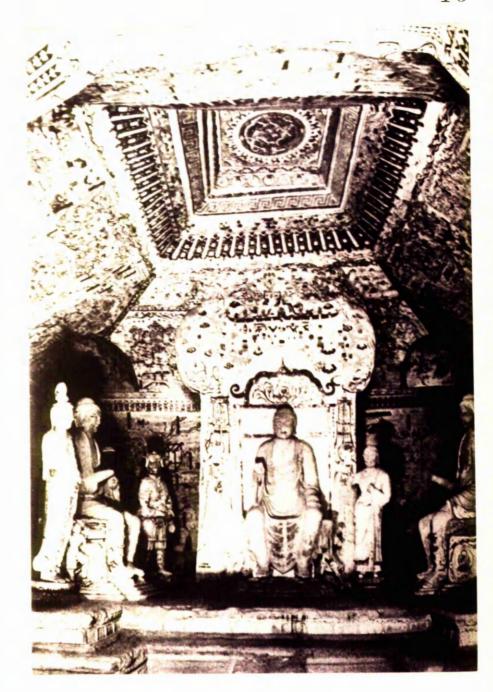


Fig. 9 Cave 55

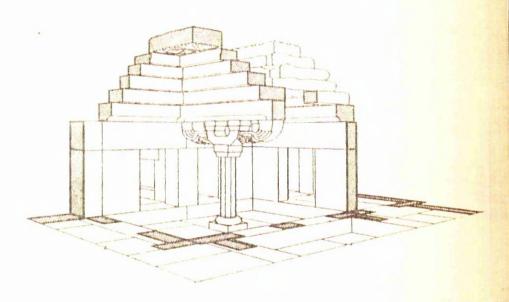


Fig. 10 Coffered-dome roof at Yin-nan comb

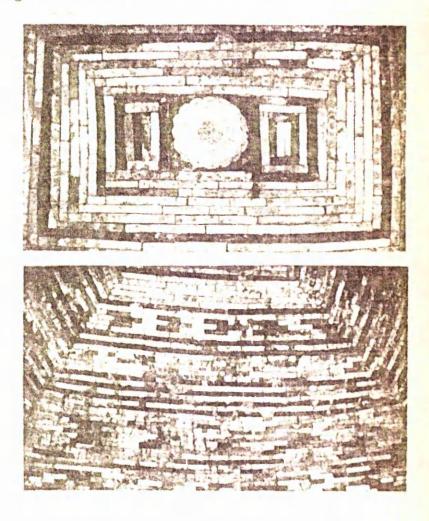


Fig. 11 (a) wu-wei

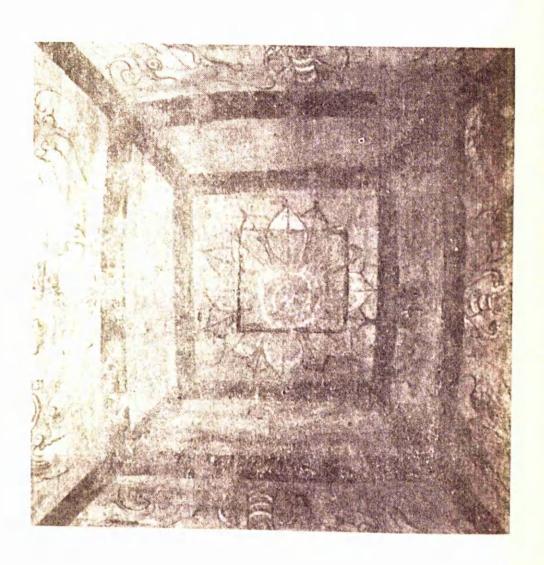


Fig. 11(b) Jiu-quan

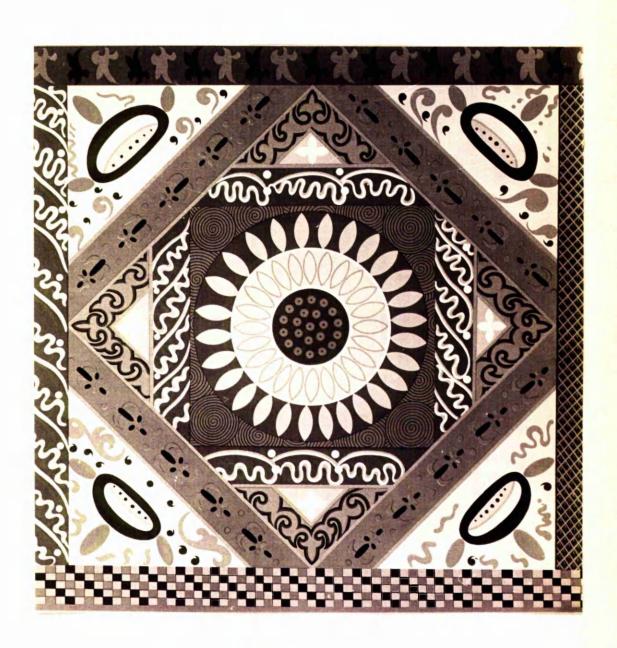


Fig. 12 CAVE 254



Fig. 13 CAVE 249

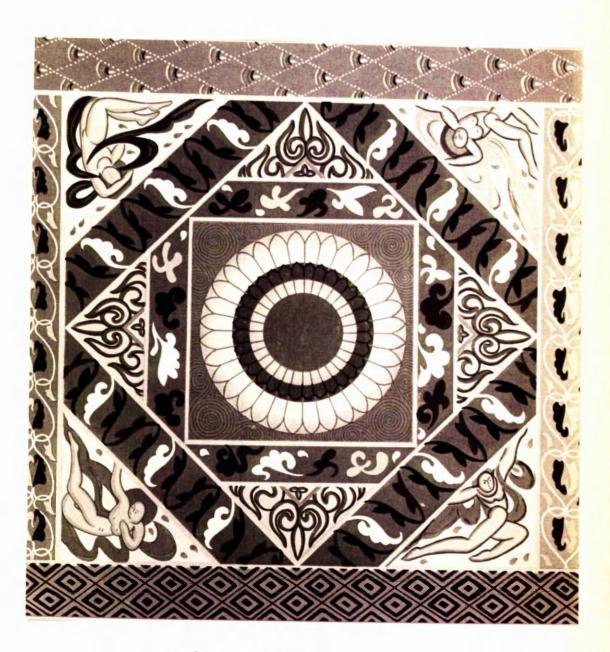


Fig. 14(a) CAVE 428

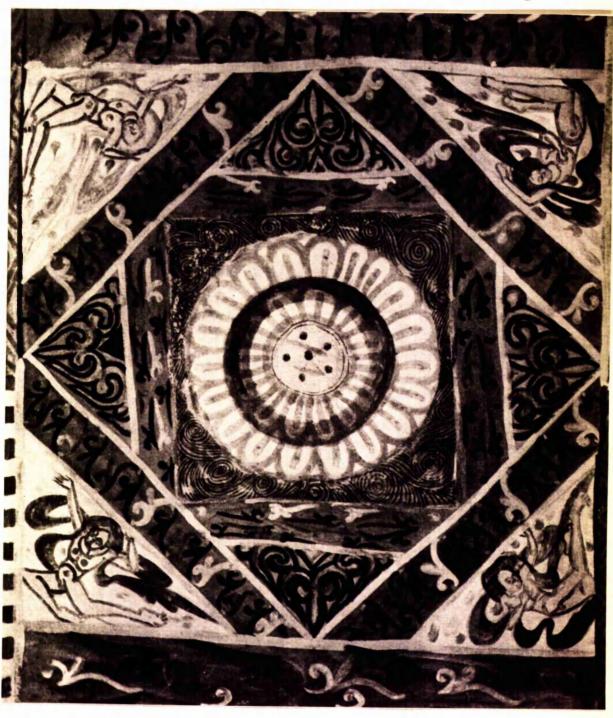


Fig. 14(b) CAVE 428



Fig. 15(a) CAVE 285

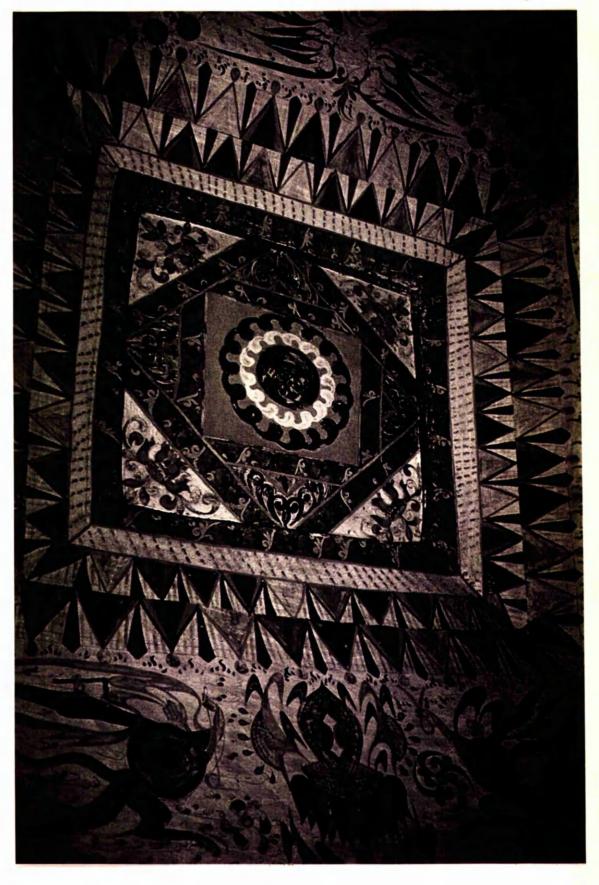


Fig. 15 (b) CAVE 285



Fig. 16 (a) CAVE 390

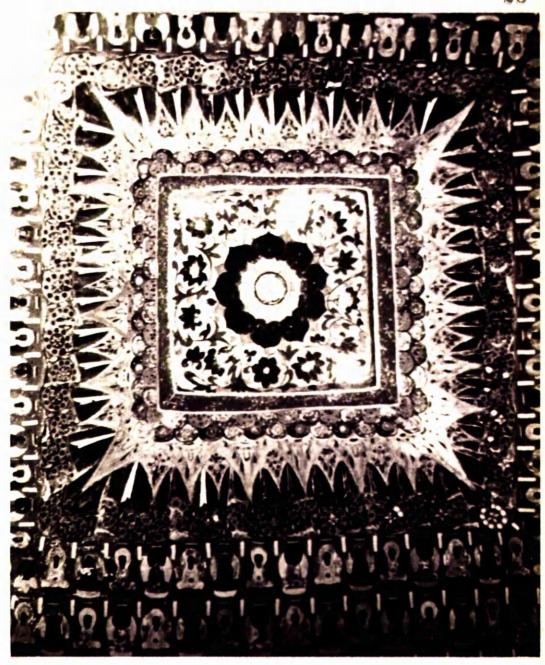


Fig. 16(b) CAVE 390



Fig. 17 (a) CAV 511

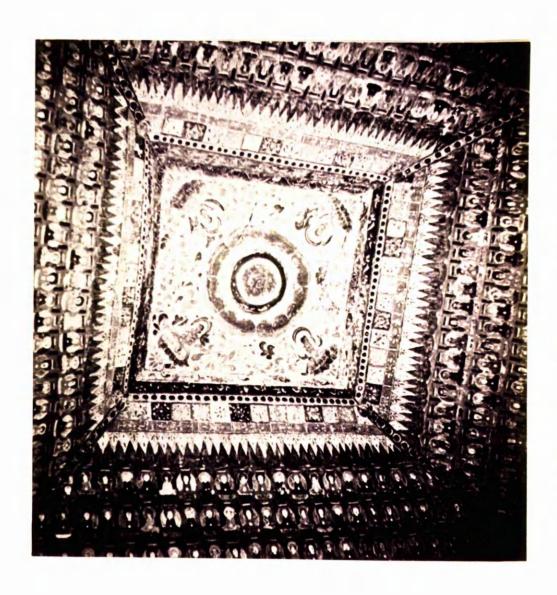


Fig. 17 (b) CAVE 314



Fig. 18 CAVE 392



Fig. 19(a) CAVE 407

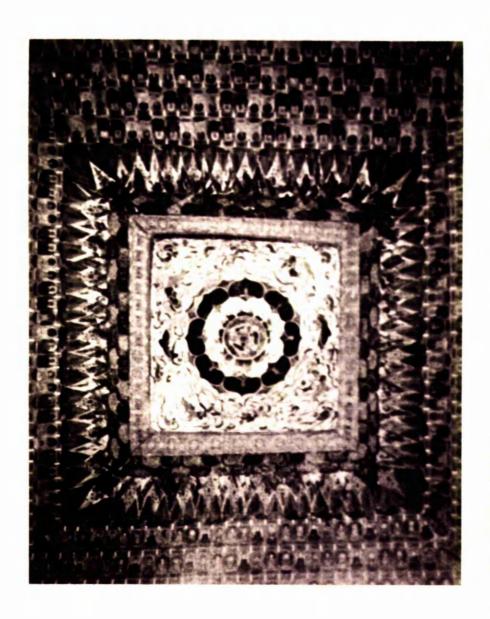


Fig. 19 (b) CAVE 407

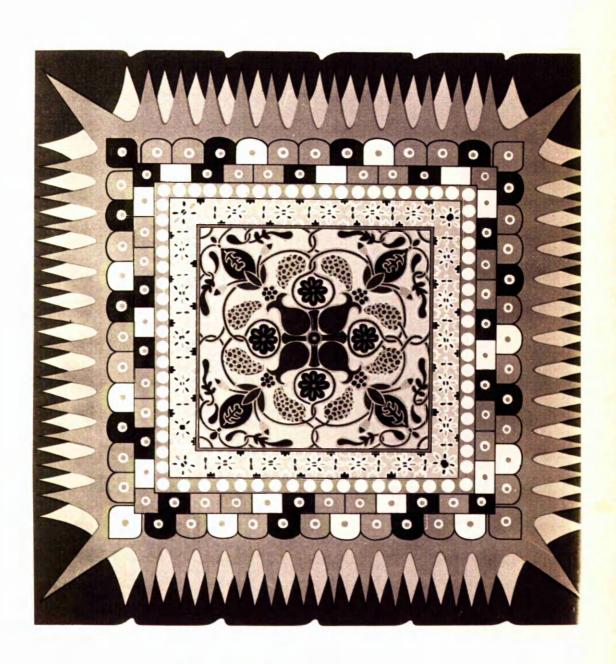


Fig. 20 CAVE 209



Fig. 21 CAVE 334

CAVE 329

Fig. 22(a)

36

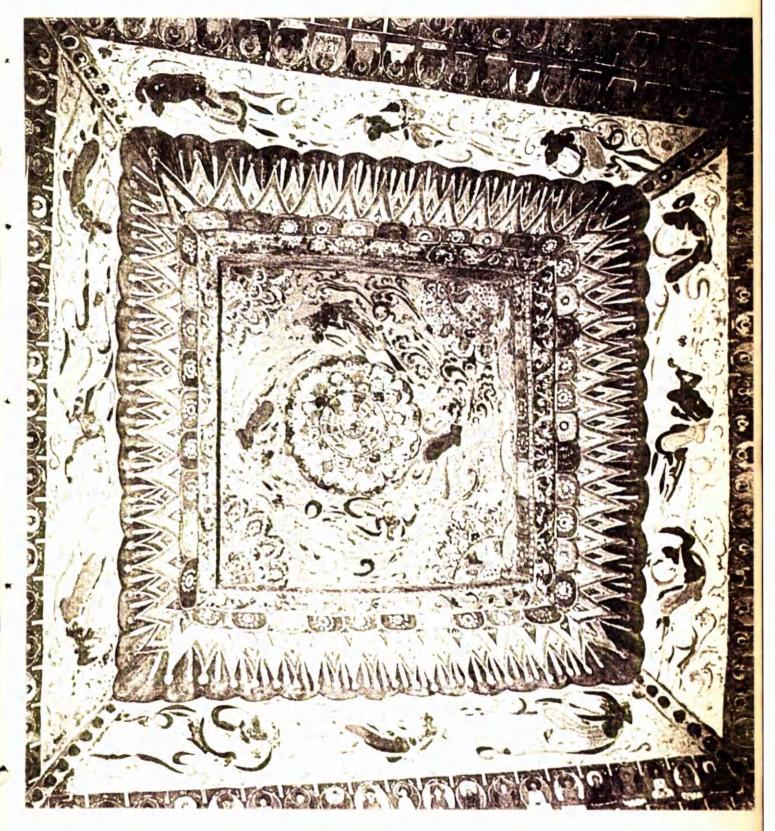


Fig. 22 (b) CAVE 329



Fig. 25 ChV: 351



Fig. 24 CAVE 319

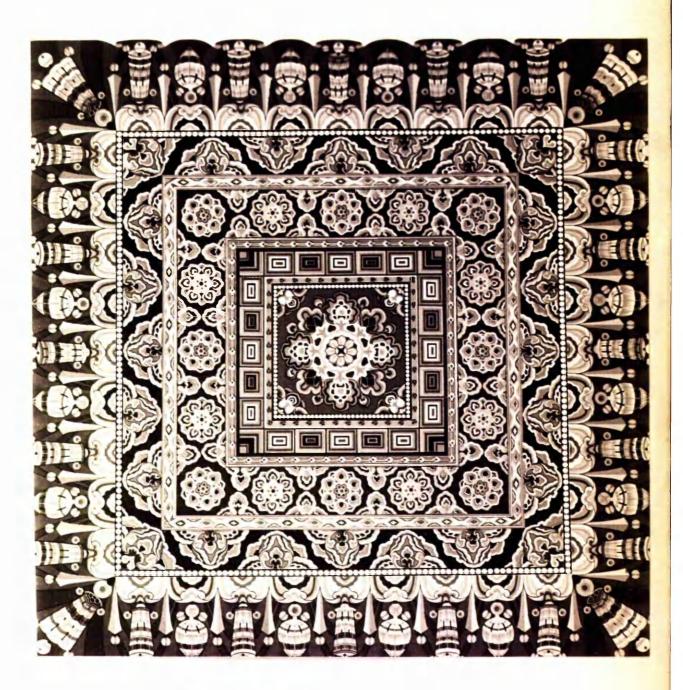


Fig. 25 CAVE 79

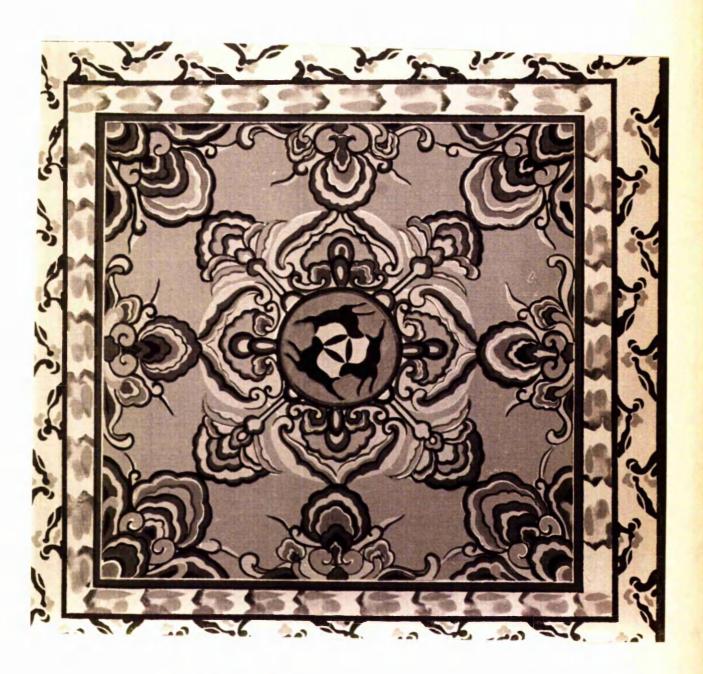


Fig. 26 CAVE 205



Fig. 27 (a) CAVE 217

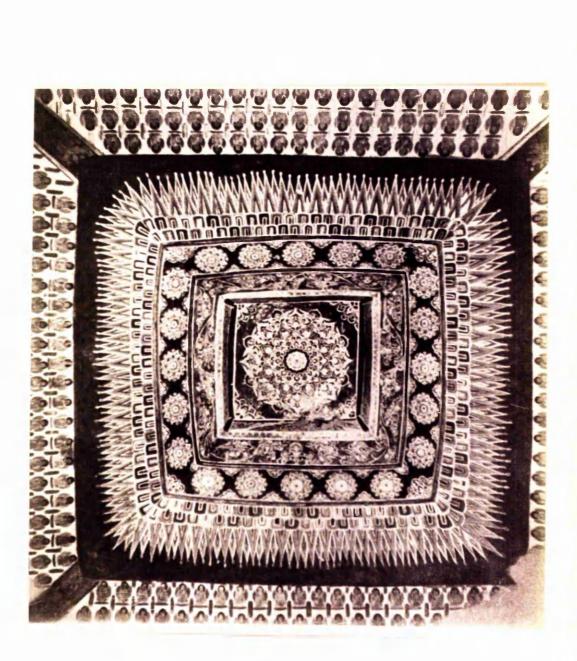


Fig. 27(b) CAVE 217

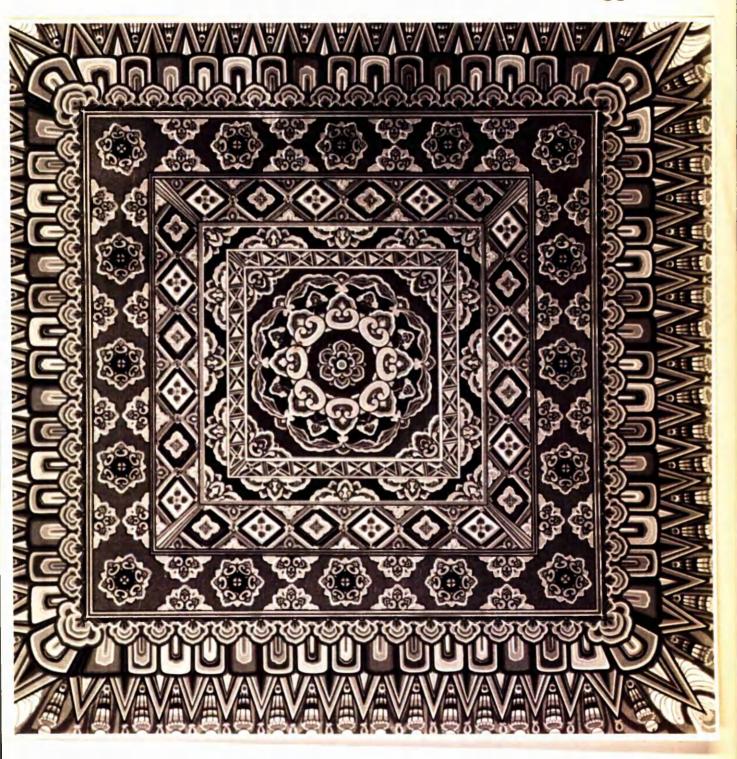


Fig. 28 (a) CAVE 320

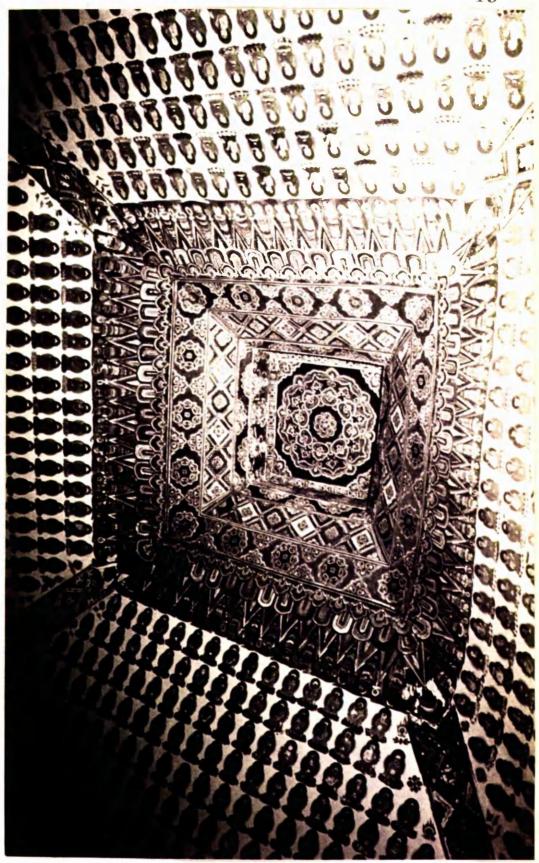


Fig. 28(b) CAVE 320



Fig. 29 CAVE 123

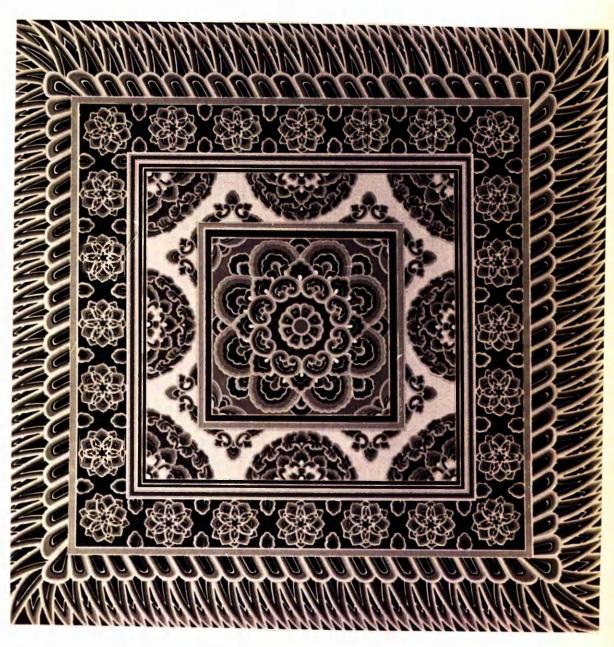


Fig. 30 CAVE 49

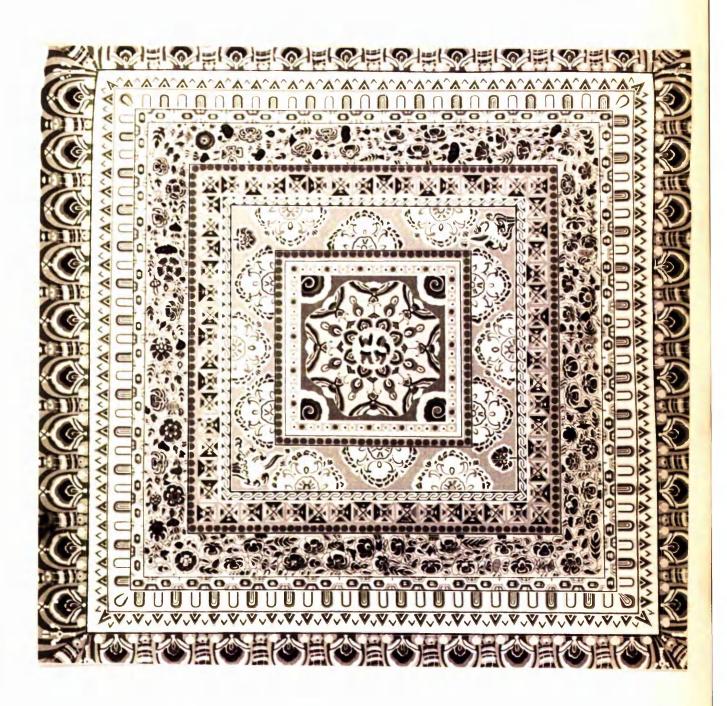


Fig. 31 CAVE 126



Fig. 32 CAVE 166



Fig. 33 CAVE 171



Fig. 34 CAVE 175

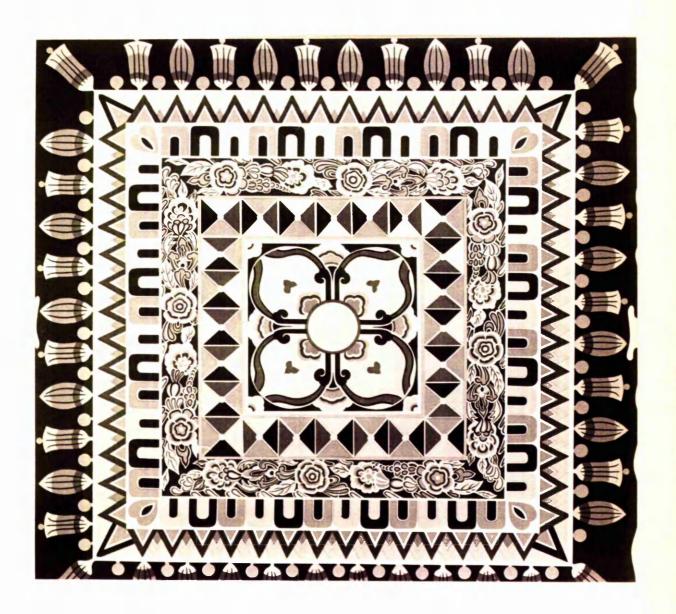


Fig. 35 CAVE 120



Fig. 36 CAVE 159



Fig. 37 CAVE 31

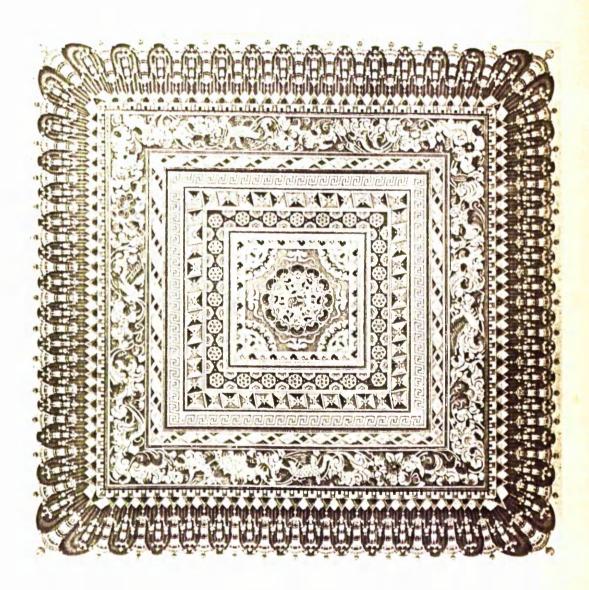


Fig. 38 CAVE 85



Fig. 39 CAVE 360

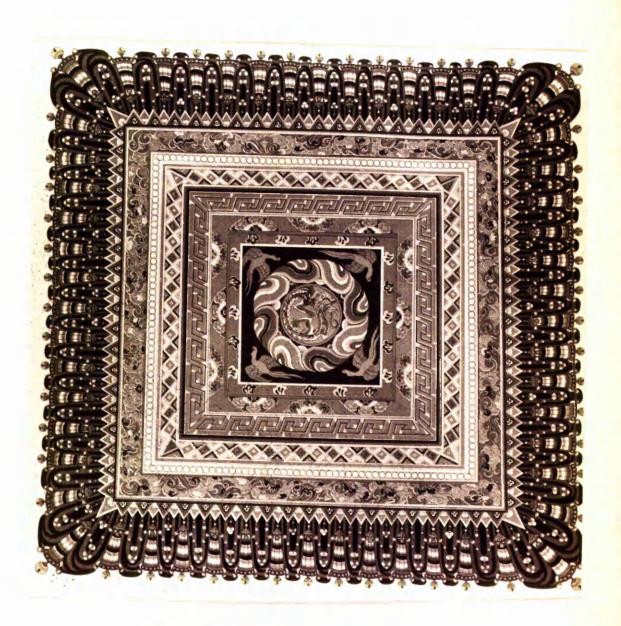


Fig. 40 CAVE 369



Fig. 41 CAVE 381



Fig. 42 CAVE 326

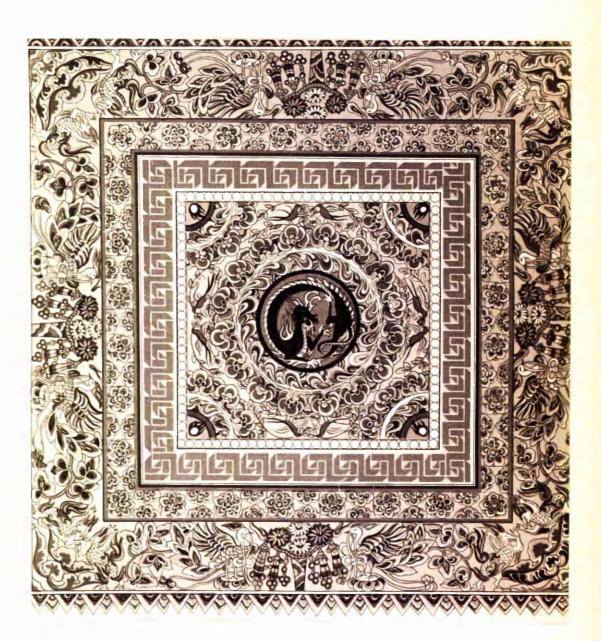


Fig. 43 CAVE 61

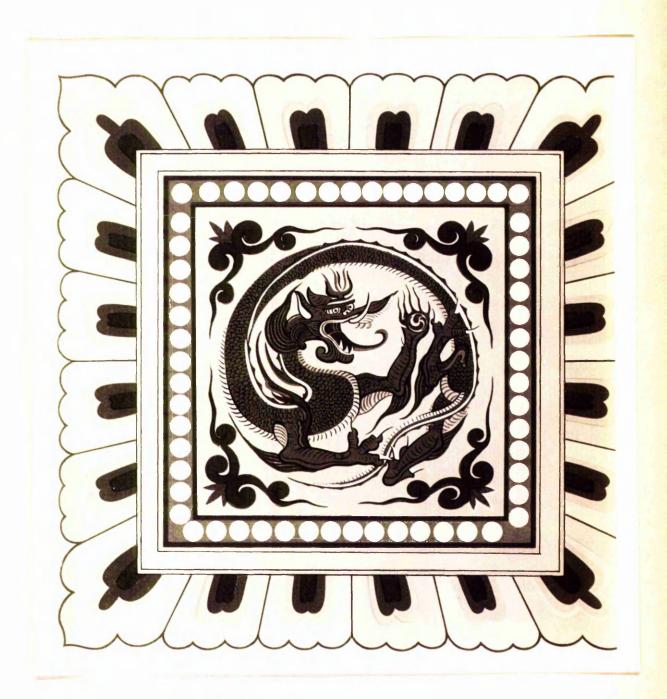


Fig. 44 CAVE 207

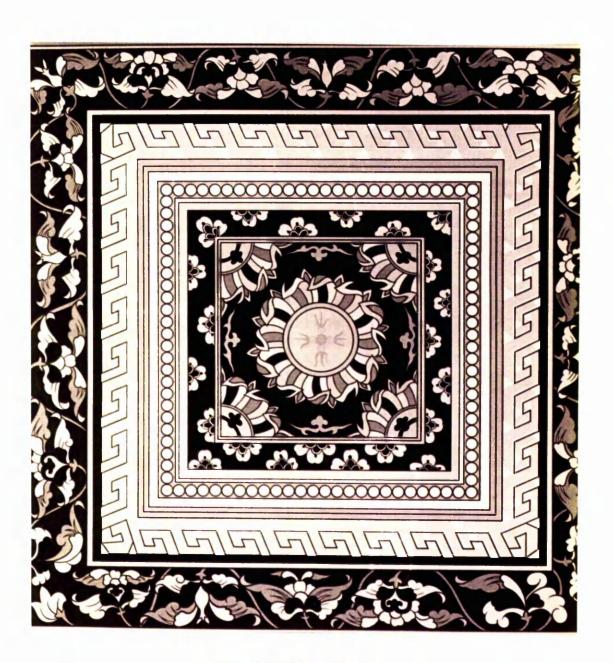


Fig. 45(4)CAVE 13



Fig. 45(b) CAVE 13

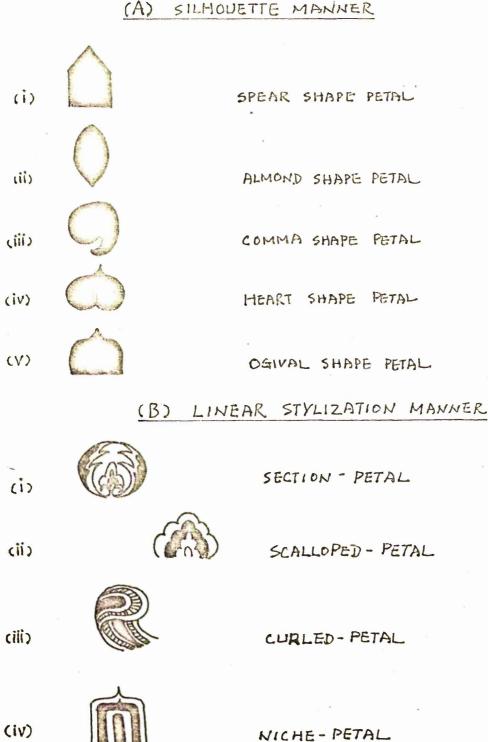


Fig. 46(a) CAVE 234



Fig. 46(b) CAVE 234

FIG. 47 LOTUS PETAL DESIGNS: (A) SILMOUETTE MANNER



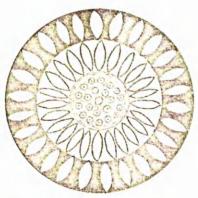


Fig. 48 CAVE 254

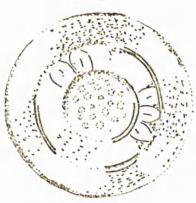


Fig. 49 CAVE 249

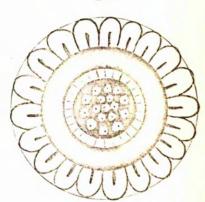


Fig. 50 CAVE 428

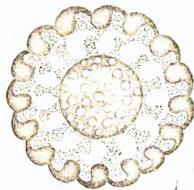


Fig. 51 CAVE 285



Fig. 52 Cave 72A

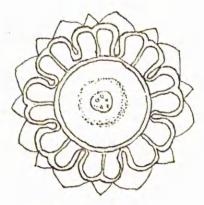


Fig. 53 CAV

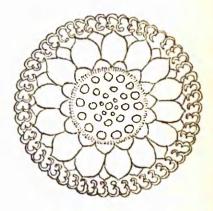


Fig. 54



Fig. 55



Fig. 56



Fig. 56



Fig. 68 CAVE 392



Fig. 69 CAVE 329

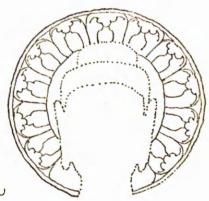


Fig. 70

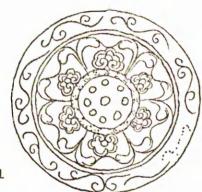
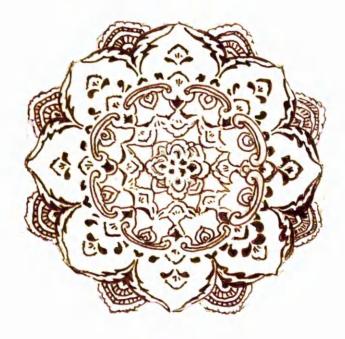
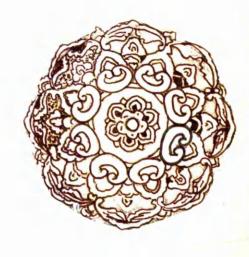


Fig. 71



Fig. 72





CAVE 334

CAVE 320

Fig. 73

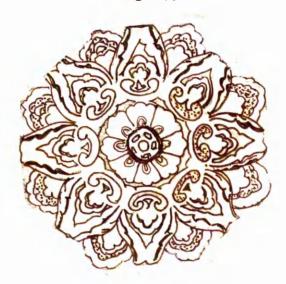


Fig. 74 CAVE 31



Fig. 75 CAVE 381

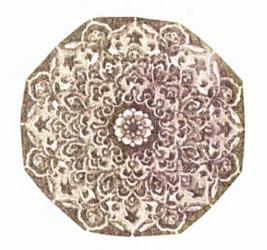


Fig. 76
CAVE 217



Fig. 77
CAVE 166

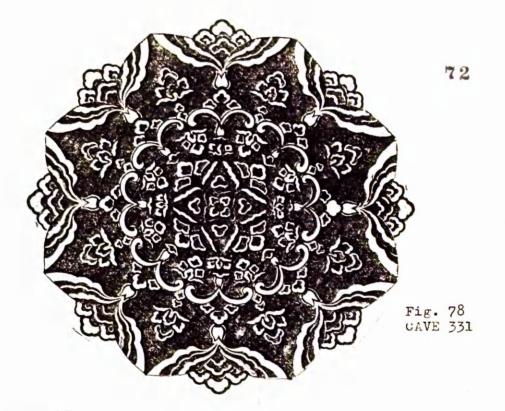




Fig. 79 CAVE 123

Fig. 80 CAVE 126





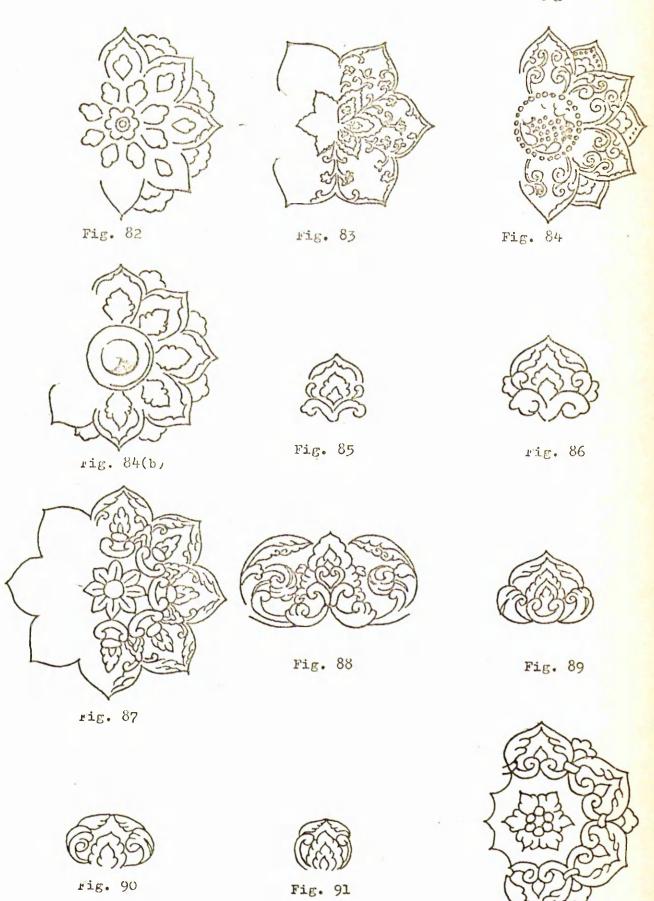
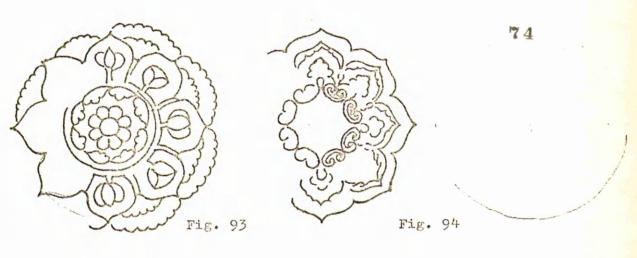
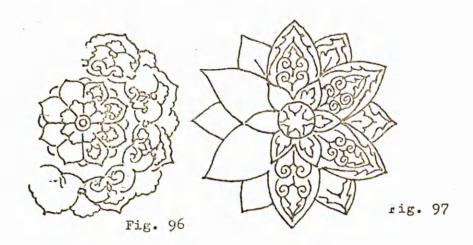
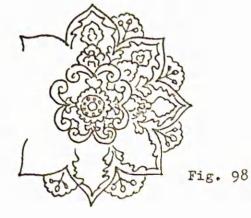


Fig. 92









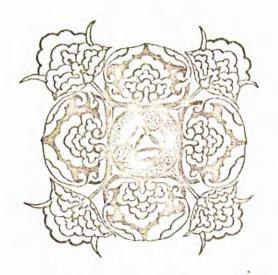


Fig. 99 CAVE 205



Fig. 100 CAVE 120

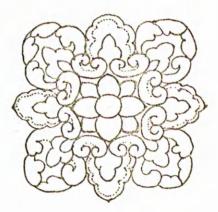


Fig. 101 (a)



Fig. 101 (b)



Fig. 101 (c)

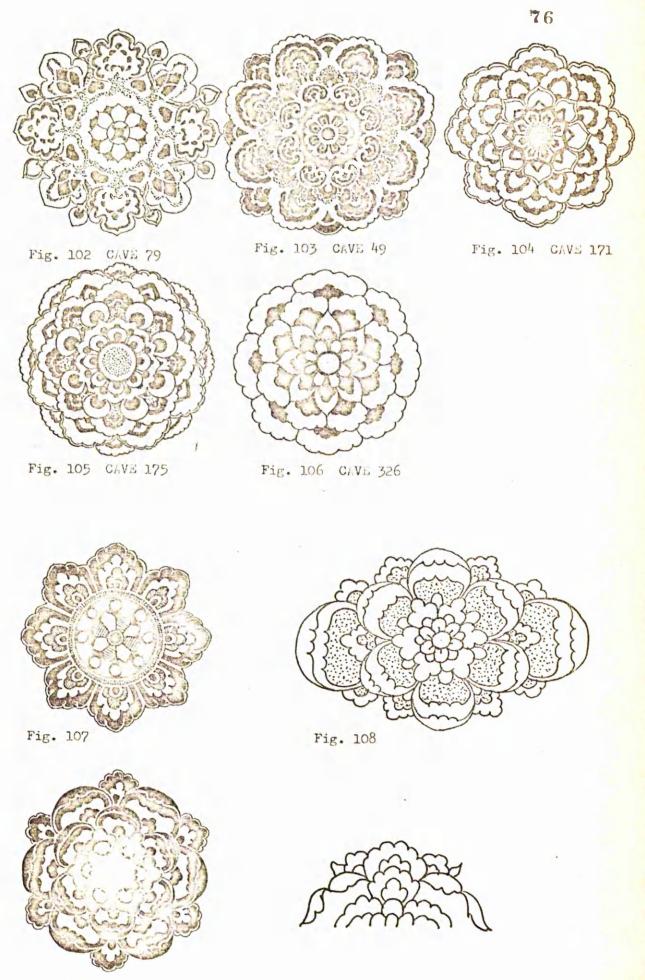
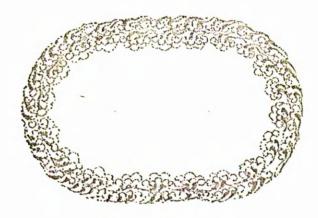


Fig. 108 Fig. 109







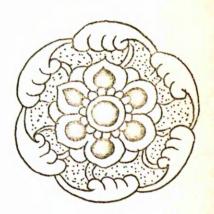


Fig. 116

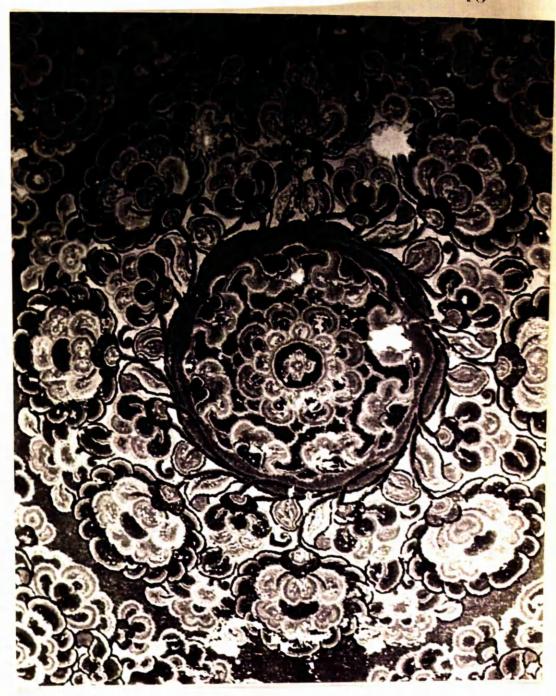


Fig. 117 Shoscin rug

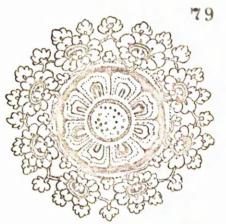
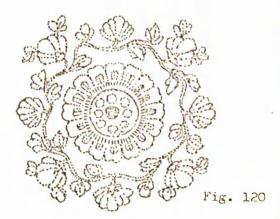
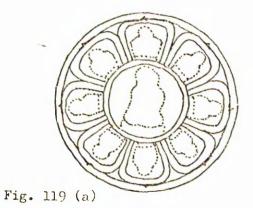


Fig. 118 CAVE 159





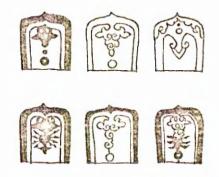


Fig. 119(b)

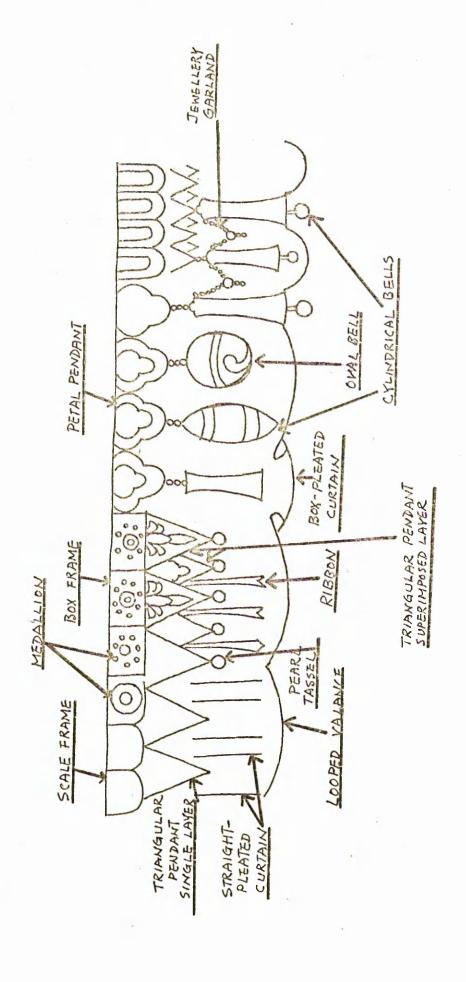


Fig. 121 Elements composing the canopy border design at Dunhuang

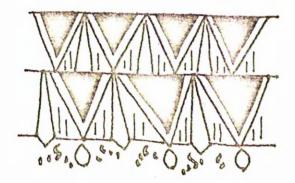
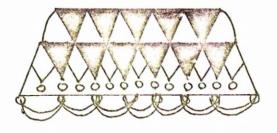
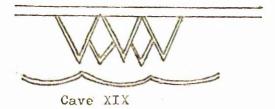
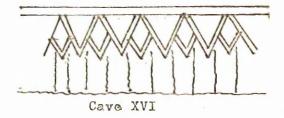


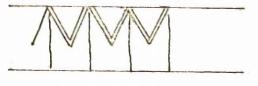
Fig. 122(a) Dunhuang CAVE 285



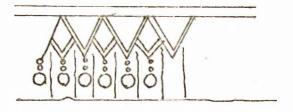
rig. 122(b) Yungang Cave XIII



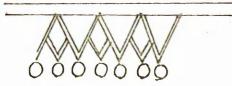




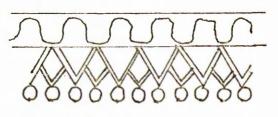
Caves VII & VIII



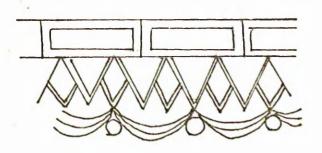
Caves I & II



Cave IX



Cave X



Cave V

Cave XIII

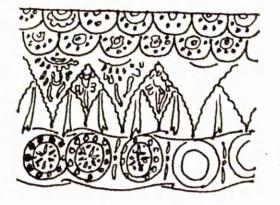


Fig. 124 CAVE 390

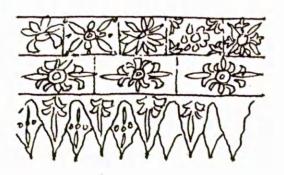


Fig. 125 CAVE 311, DH

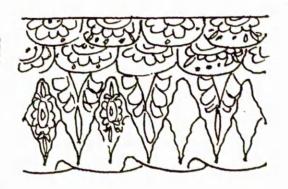


Fig. 126 CAVE 407

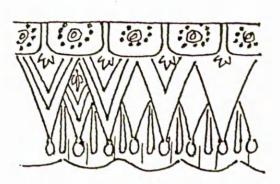


Fig. 127 CAVE 329

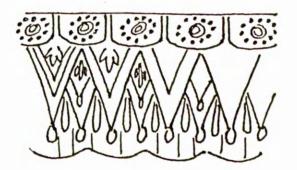


Fig. 128 CAVE 392

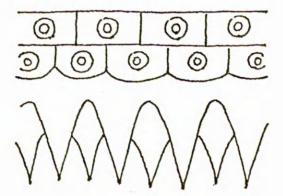


Fig. 129 CAVE 209

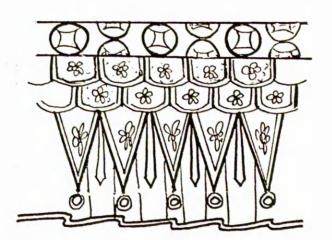


Fig. 130 Finyang Cave (Middle)

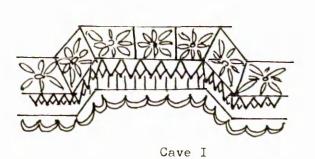
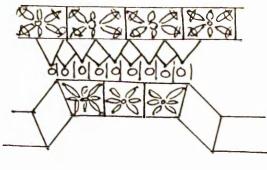


Fig. 131



Cave X

Fig. 133 Gong-xian caves

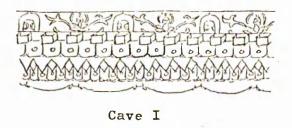
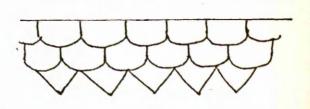


Fig. 13 South Xiang-tang-shan



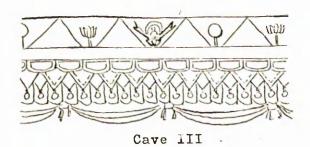
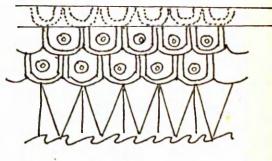
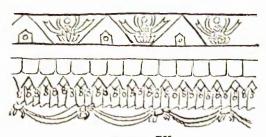


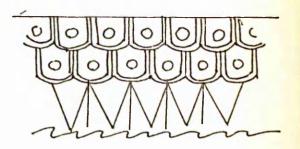
Fig. 134



Kondo



Cave IV



Tochibana

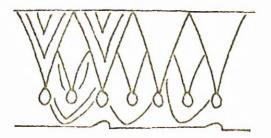


Fig. 135 CAVE 331,DH

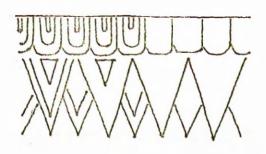


Fig. 136 CAVE 381, DH

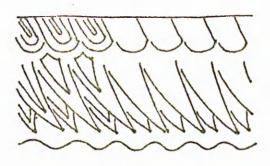


Fig. 137 CAVE 49, DH

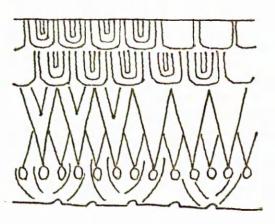


Fig. 138 CAVE 217, DH

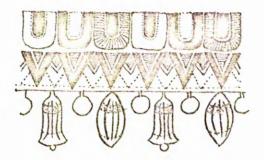


Fig. 139 CAVE 120

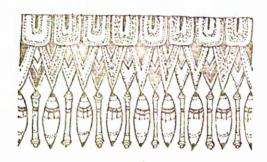


Fig. 140 CAVE 166

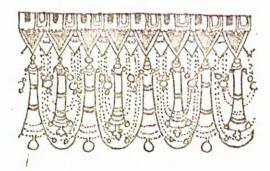


Fig. 141 CAVE 85

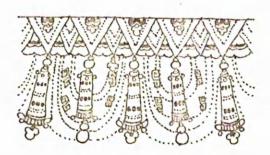


Fig. 142 CAVE 360

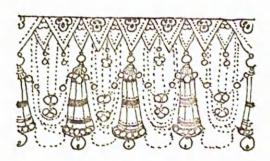
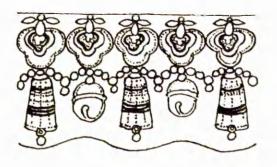


Fig. 143 CAVE 369

rig. 144 CAVE 123



rig. 148 CAVE 175

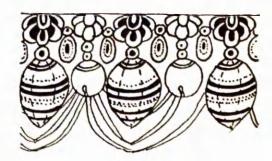
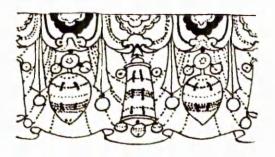


Fig. 145 CAVE 79



rig. 149 CAVE 320

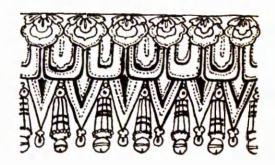
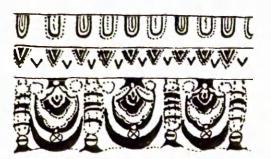


Fig. 146 CAVE 126 Fig. 150 CAVE 326



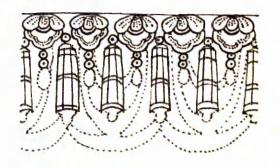
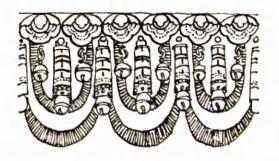


Fig. 147 CAVE 171



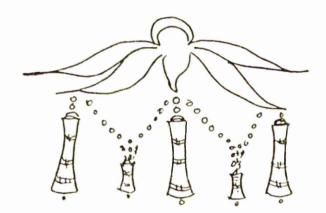


Fig. 151



Fig. 152

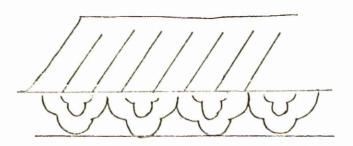


Fig. 153



Fig. 154 CAVE 369



Fig. 155 CAVE 61

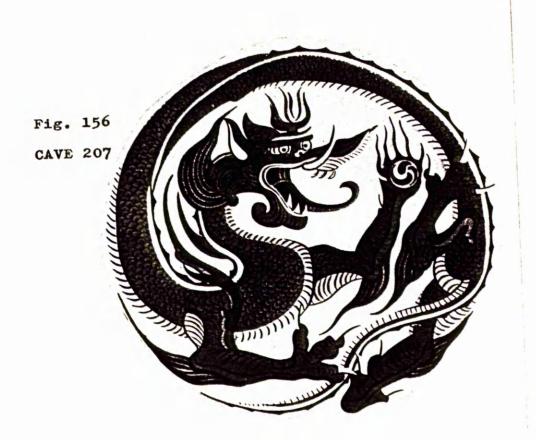




Fig. 157 CAVE 234

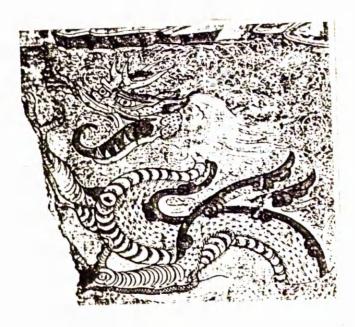


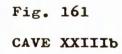
Fig. 158

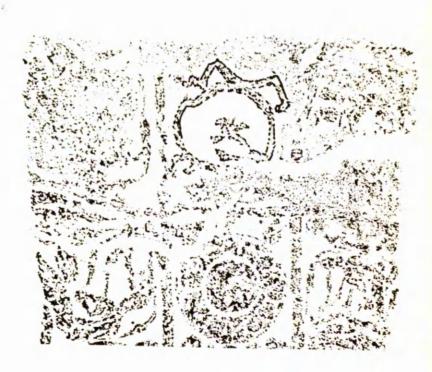


Fig. 160 CAVE 159



Fig. 159





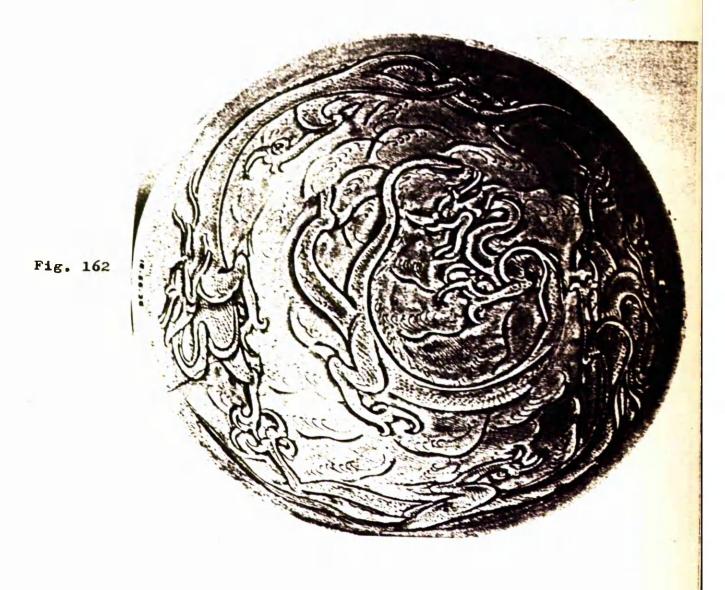




Fig. 164



Fig. 163 CAVE 407



Fig. 165



Fig. 166 CAVE 61



Fig. 167 CAVE 207

		٠,						XIN-JIANG
	: 4							KOREA · ·
								JAPAN
								SniANXI
								HERAI/SHAAAA
								DUNEUANG
A.1	A,2	B,1	B.2	B.3	в.4	B.5/6	B.7	,

LUTUS

			i,	** .				19,0
								JAPAN
								SHANTONG
								IXMAHZ
							•	SHAANXI
								HENAN
								DUNHUANG
1	2(a)	2(b)	2(c)	3	4(a)	4(b)	4(c)	

CANOPY-BORDER

PERSIA

XIN-JIANG
SZECHUAN
JIEJIANG
DUNHUANG
Hare Dragon

lears blank

A NIMALS

Fig. 168 Location of the parallels to the select motifs

1000								
056								
006								
850								=
800			1					
750								
200					_	-		
650								
009								
550								
500			*					
450								
RECEPTACLE	SEEDS	SEEDS	SEEDS	ROSETTE	ROSETTE	ANIMALS	SEEDS	SEEDS
No. OF PETALS	O/Q MULTIPLE	EIGHT	MULTIPLE	EIGHT	BA (B)/(M) EIGHT	MULTIPLE EIGMT	FOUR	MULTIPLE
MOTIF	0/0	3	\{\}	£((()))	(w)/(w)			
	A,	A2	81	82	84	85/	B3	87

Fig. 169 Evolution and chronology of Lotus rosette

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0001								
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8006		•						
850	,							
800	, , ,							
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750		,		,		1//	•	
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550							٠,	
200					,			
56	122							·
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MOTIP D.			Keraria V	NAW.		\$.00.¢		P P P
	Н	2ª	26	2 c	M	4a	44	4c

Fig. 170
Evolution and chronology of canopy border

	/											
	MOTIF A. D.	450	200	550	909	650	. 700	600 650 700 750 800	800	000	0.16	9
HARE	3				MIN				È			
PRAGON	8											

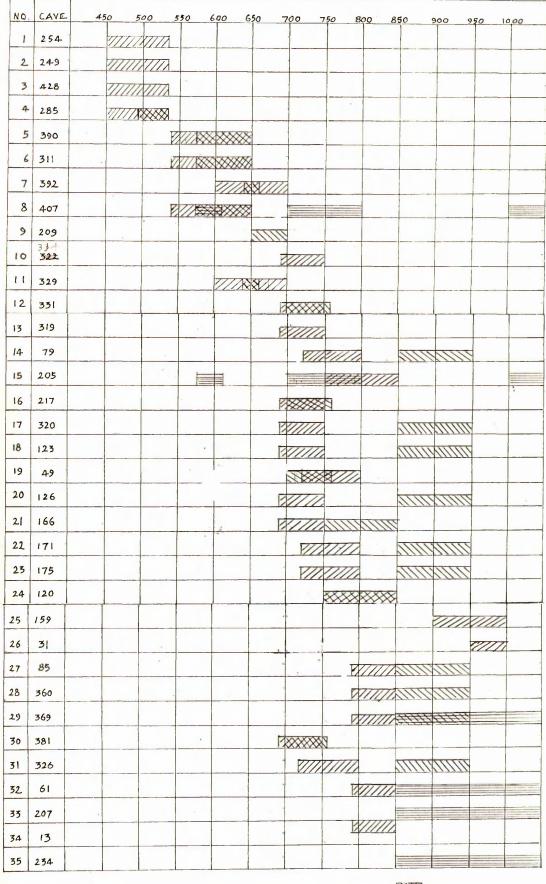


Fig. 172

Canopy Motif

Table showing the dates of the select motifs in the CAVES

Animal Motif