Front cover: figure 26b, progenitodeistic icon on jade kuei. (The two-line Chinese inscription at top was carved upside-down by Ch’ien lung Emperor, r. 1736–1795)
Inside front cover: figure 29, ritual implements for the linking of heaven and earth.
FROM SEVERANCE TO LINKAGE —
COMMUNICATING WITH HEAVEN IN PREHISTORIC CHINA

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The Monopolization of Sacrificial Rites

In the Ch'u Yu chapter of the classic Kuo Yu (from the Warring States period, 5th – 3rd cent. B.C.) there is a dialogue between the Ch'u King Chao and Kuan She-fu that goes something like this:

King Chao asked, “In the Chou Shu, it says that the two men Chung and Li severed the communicative links between heaven and earth. What does this mean? It couldn't possibly mean that if Chung and Li never existed, anybody could just climb right up into heaven, could it?

Kuan She-fu replied, “No, that's not what it means at all! Most people of old couldn't come into contact with the gods, either. The spirits would only descend on those people of particular wisdom, intelligence, and holiness. Such a man was called a “shaman (hsi)” and a woman, “shamaness (wu).” Next in order of importance was the person who made offerings to the ancestors, or the ”chu.” A person of this position was in charge of sacrificial matters pertaining to the spirits of nature, such as those governing the mountains and streams, as well as clan founders and subsequent distant ancestors. Beneath this, a person of the position called ”tsung” looked after matters pertaining to the worship of familial ancestors, including such things as jades, silks, sacrifices, and ceremonial items. In this way, the people were faithful and honest, and the gods were of the highest virtue. Each acted according to his role, with the gods ensuring good harvests for the people and the people offering sacrifices to the gods in return. There were no disasters and the people lacked none of the basic necessities of life. However, after the decline of the tyrant Shao Hao, the Chiu Li clan wreaked havoc throughout the land, and subsequently, the established order among gods and man was thrown into chaos. Every family had their own shaman who worshipped in a reckless fashion, suddenly putting the people on equal ground with the gods. The gods lost their awe-inspiring air and began to ignore the people. As a result, there were great disasters and famine. The god
Chuan Hsu saw this situation and ordered the Nan Cheng official, named Chung, to rectify matters pertaining to the gods; and he ordered the Huo Cheng official, named Li, to rectify matters pertaining to the people. Soon, the previous order was regained, and the people no longer desecrated the gods, nor did the gods allow famines to occur. This is what is called “severance of the communicative links with heaven,” the significance of which lies in the principle of eliminating direct communication between the people and the gods.

This important historical record from the Eastern Chou dynasty has baffled Chinese people for over two thousand years.

Dr. Chang Kwang-chih, professor and chairman of the Archaeology Department at Harvard University, has made a penetrating analysis of the above passage. He said, “The myth of the severance of heavenly communication does not really mean a complete division of heaven and earth. In fact, in the state of Ch’u, communication between heaven and earth was very common. The essence of the myth lies in the melding of shamanism and government, which meant a gradual monopolization of the means of communication between heaven and earth. This is to say that with the help of shamanism, supernatural animals, and different kinds of shamanist implements, anybody could communicate with the gods; but with the development of society to a certain point, this means of communication came to be monopolized by a small minority.”

He also says, “In examining the means involved in the concentration of political power in ancient China, one finds that it is the concentration of shamanism, the concentration of the means of contact between god and man, that is the most important. How do people get in touch with the gods, what is it that allows the living to communicate with the dead, and how can the living come into contact with their descendants? The shamanism of ancient China was one of many methods, and the shamanist implements employed were of paramount importance.”

These two paragraphs point out the real significance of that passage from the Chou Shu, “and commissioned Chung and Li to sever communicative links with heaven.” In the late Neolithic Age, as society was being stratified, there arose a clique of shamans possessing both political and religious authority, with the king as head. This authoritarian clique came to monopolize the sacrificial rites, in which they used shamanist implements to communicate with gods and ancestors. It was this concentration of political power that propelled ancient China from a clan society to the level of full-fledged nationhood.

Feng Hu-tzu’s “Age of Jade Weaponry”

From the Neolithic Age down through the early historical Hsia, Shang, and Chou dynasties, shamanist implements used for communication with gods and ancestors were made of many different materials, such as jade, earthenware, bronze, ivory, animal bones, cowry shells, and wood. The shapes of and designs on these utensils were the reason
the early Chinese attributed to them special powers of heavenly communication.

Of the materials just mentioned, jade was the most beautiful, the rarest, and the least inclined to decomposition. During the early years of the Neolithic Age, the people of the Hsing-lung-wa culture at Chahai, Liaoning, were already using nephrite to make tools and chüeh-earrings. Beginning in the late Neolithic Age (ca. 3000 - 1800 B.C.), the art of jade carving came to be common throughout all of China. In addition to decorative items, jade was also used to make axes, adzes, spades, and other tools, as well as pi, ts'ung, and other ceremonial utensils. According to archaeological data garnered from neolithic China’s east coast, a great number of jade artifacts with abundant markings have been excavated in an area extending in the North from the Hung-shan culture of the Liao River valley, moving southward to the Ta-wen-k'ou culture of southern Hopeh, Shantung, and northern Kiangsi to the Shantung Lung-shan culture, continuing south through the Liang-chu culture of southern Kiangsu and northern Chekiang around Tai Lake, all the way to the Shih-hsia culture of Kwangtung. Of special interest are the large-eye masks that are made up of two side-by-side sets of multi-layered concentric circles. Because so many engraved jades have been unearthed from the regions of the neolithic eastern cultures, they have received quite a bit of attention from archaeological circles. Recently some jade artifacts resembling the jade ts'ung of the Liang-chu culture were excavated in Kiangsi province, providing evidence that in the frequent exchanges between cultures of the time, the Tai Lake Liang-chu culture may have spread southward across the Kan River to Kwangtung’s Shih-hsia culture. It may also be surmised that the art of jade carving spread upriver along the Yangtze, influencing the Kuanghan area near Chengtu, Szechwan.

The vast territory in Western China has also yielded occasional late neolithic jades. Early on, a cache of jade pi, axes (fu), and ts'ung belonging to the Pan-shan, Ma-chia-yao culture were collected and excavated in Kansu and Tsinghai by J. G. Andersson. They are now stored in the Far Eastern Museum in Stockholm. According to reports in recent years, there have also been findings of exquisite jade axes (fu), spades, and ts'ung of the Ch'i-chia culture, which extended from Kansu to Inner Mongolia. Sites at Shihmao in Shenmu, Shensi have also yielded large amounts of jade tools and weapons. And in Shansi, there have been excavations of Lung-shan culture jade pi, ts'ung, etc. at Taossu, Hsiangfen. These bits and pieces of information bring to mind a passage from the Yüe Chüeh Shu in which Feng Hu-tzu says to the king of Ch'u, “From antiquity onward there has been a succession of eras in which people used first stone to fashion weapons, then they used jade, then bronze, up to the present age of using iron.”

Between the stone and bronzes ages in China, there was a period of time in which jade was one of the principle materials used in the manufacture of tools and weapons. Perhaps it could be called the “age of jade weaponry.” (For more information on Neolithic excavations of jade tools and weapons, see another article by the author.) The Shuo Wen, a dictionary compiled around 100 A.D., contains the following passage: “Jade — a beautiful stone possessing five virtues.” Although to the early Chinese there was no strict definition of jade, simply called a beautiful stone, of that which has
been excavated from neolithic sites, most has been nephrite, originating in the hills near Tai Lake\textsuperscript{15}, originating in Hotien, Sinkiang\textsuperscript{16}, or originating proximal to Baikal Lake in Siberia\textsuperscript{17}; further research is needed to arrive at a conclusive provenance. In addition, there are also finds of bowenite\textsuperscript{18}, skarn\textsuperscript{19}, etc., depending on which mineral deposits were located near each individual culture.

**Beautiful and Eternal Jade Shamanist Implements**

Jade was not the only material used by the early Chinese in making shamanist implements used for communicating with gods and ancestors, but its durability has allowed it to survive for thousands of years while other materials have broken, decayed, or been destroyed. Besides appreciating ancient jade for its elegant workmanship, subtle lines, calm glaze, and distant tranquillity, some things really worth examining are its specific shape and decor. In this way, one may ascertain the real reason why the early Chinese chose this solid and lustrous material as a medium of communication with their gods and ancestors.

If one wishes to comprehend the significance of shamanist implements being made of jade, certain characteristics of ancient Chinese cosmology and religion must first be understood. Although few written materials such as inscriptions in pottery, oracle bones, and bronzes have survived from ancient times, most written historical records, such as the *Book of History*, the *Book of Odes*, the *Tso Chuan*, the *Kuo Yu*, and the *Chou Li*, were compiled during the Eastern Chou dynasty (770 — 221 B.C.). And although books did not appear until one or two thousand years after the Neolithic Age, because the authors of such were a part of a larger tradition, the material upon which they based their writings should have been the various written and oral histories passed down from antiquity. Therefore, by looking at documents from the Eastern Chou dynasty, one can infer certain characteristics of neolithic culture. Of course such conclusions could never be one hundred percent veracious, but they should be accurate to a certain degree. From recent archaeological excavations, it has been proven that the cosmological view of a “round heaven and square earth” and the religious belief of a “reciprocity between heaven and man” began to take form as early as the Neolithic Age.

From many myths, it can be seen that the ancient Chinese believed that the origin of their clan was closely and inseparably linked to a kind of supernatural animal. From the *Book of Odes*: “Heaven ordered a mystical bird to descend and generate the Shang [people]”; “God created a swallow that generated the Shang [people].” These passages reflect the common belief among ancient eastern tribes in China that a heavenly power dispatched a mystical bird which begat their earliest ancestors. The eastern tribes revered one named K‘u as their god. According to legend, he impregnated Ch‘ang Yi with Chih, the progenitor of the Shao Hao clan, and impregnated Chien Ti with Hsieh, the progenitor of the Shang clan. It may be that this is the same legend with different names, but it does reflect the extensiveness of the legend. According to research, the avian nativity myth originated in the Pohai Bay. From there, it spread to Shantung
and other regions in the north, then as far as Korea and even Siberia.  

The overseer of the deities of nature, God (Ti), was somehow involved with the birth of the clan forebears, and playing an intermediary role was a supernatural animal such as a bird. Dead ancestors were seen as a bridge between the people and the gods. Thus, there arises a trinity comprised of deity, ancestor, and animal, (the so-called zooprogenitodeistic trinity) the three components of which were capable of mutual transformation. So, among the eastern tribes, one finds the Tai Hao clan with a surname Feng, as in feng (phoenix), and the Shao Hao clan with a given name Chih, as in chih ying (birds of prey). A famous descendant of the Shao Hao clan named Kou Mang is said to have been deified after he died, and according to both the Mo Tzu and the Shan Hai Ching, the god Kou Mang "had the body of a bird, the visage of a man, and road two dragons."

Taking this preliminary evidence as a basis, over the years the author has collected information on ancient jades with mysterious engravings for the purpose of researching the artistic manifestation of the anthropomorphic deity in this ancient belief.

The Trinity of Deity, Ancestor, and Supernatural Animal

A jade ts'ung (fig. 1a, b) and a jade axe (yueh) (fig. 2a, b) belonging to the Liang-chu culture (3100 - 2200 B.C.) have recently been unearthed from a tomb at Fanshan, Yuhang, Chekiang. The ts'ung in fig. 1 is 17.6 cm wide and weighs 6.5 kg, making it the largest and heaviest ts'ung ever excavated; for this reason it has been dubbed "king of the ts'ung" by archaeologists. The engraved markings (figs. 1c, 2c) clearly exhibit the early Chinese belief of the zooprogenitodesitic trinity and the idea of its components' capability of mutual transformation. In the original report, the markings were identified as a "composite deity-man-beast (shen-jen-shou) mask icon," but on closer analysis one can see that in addition to deity, man, and beast components, there is also a 'bird' component represented by claws and a feathered crest. The original report identifies the bird claws as the 'god-man's' lower appendages, but as can be seen in the markings in figures three and four, the bird claws should really belong to the animal component. Also, that supernatural animal most commonly seen on ancient art, the dragon, said by some scholars to be an elaborate development of the domestic pig, actually has a long, round body, thus possibly derived from a kind of reptile, like the present day snake or alligator. But the word beast (shou) is a general term for a viviparous, four-limbed, vertebrate animal with fur, which includes neither snakes nor birds. It may be that the combination of these two are the actual mystical animal motifs of the phoenix and the dragon so often seen on ancient Chinese artifacts. As for the root word 'progenito (tsu),' it refers not to living people but rather to dead ancestors. Thus, it is the author's belief that the correct appellation for the markings in question should be "composite god-ancestor-animal (shen-tsu-dongwu) mask icon," or "zooprogenitodeistic icon."

Taking a close look at figure 1c, it can be seen that in an area three centimeters
high by four centimeters wide, the Liang-chu people minutely brought forth the image of their sacred "trinity," with the god-ancestor mask (progenitodeistic mask) in the shape of an inverted trapezoid. In addition to clear representations of eyes, nose, mouth, and teeth, this image is surmounted with a headdress, with the inner layer of over ten extremely fine swirling cloud designs representing its headband. The outer layer is a feathered plumage rising up and radiating out, encircling the entire upper portion of the icon in a rectangular frame, with a point in the center of the top. The arms of the god-ancestor, elaborated all over in rectangular swirling cloud decor, are extended straight outward and then bend sharply inward at the elbows, with the five fingers of each hand extended and grasping the outer rim of the eyes of the animal mask. The animal has a pair of circular eyes, the outer rims of which are comprised of finely articulated multiple concentric circles forming ellipses of a roughly triangular shape. Each of these ocular rims is divided into three sections of layered, rather flat semicircles, and around the very outer edges of the upper half are added swirling cloud decor and more semicircular segments, making the rims appear oval in shape. Between the eyes, there is a short connecting segment representing the bridge of what is a very broad nose. The mouth is also quite broad and inside are four triangles representing fang-like teeth. The inner pair point upward while the outer pair point downward. Extending outward from both sides of the mouth are the animal's forelimbs, also covered in rectangular swirling cloud decor and bent inward at the elbows. A pair of claws is evident directly beneath the mouth. The main portion of the work, from the progenitodeistic mask and pointed crown to the animal's eyes, nose, etc., is brought forth in low relief, with the details incised on top. The remaining parts, such as the arms of the god-ancestor and the animal's mouth and forelimbs were incised directly onto the surface of the jade.

The above-mentioned icon is carved in stacked pairs on all four sides of the ts'ung. The report from the Fanshan site also says that in "decor area number two" of the jade ts'ung, with the vertical edge as axis and extending inward from there, there is a rectangular area in which a similar but simplified icon is carved. On each side of the simplified animal mask, there is a bird design, with stylized head, wings, and body, entirely elaborated with swirling cloud decor and semicircular segments. This image can be identified as the "supernatural bird."

In keeping with this line of thought, the "small-eye mask" commonly seen on ts'ung is actually a simplification of the "progenitodeistic mask," and the "large-eye mask" is a simplification of the "animal mask." On top of the small-eye mask, there are two long horizontal lines that can be interpreted as the god-ancestor's headdress. Therefore, the commonly seen pattern of a small-eye and a large-eye mask positioned one on top of the other, is actually a simplified version of the iconographic trinity. Figure 5 is a jade ts'ung unearthed at Ssutun, Wuchin, Kiangsu. On its surface can clearly be seen this formation with the small-eye mask on top and the large-eye mask on the bottom.24
Liang-chu Inlays and Ornaments With the Engraved Icon

The above-mentioned markings often seen on Liang-chu type jade ts'ung are even more often found on inlays and ornamental items, such as costume accessories, hairpins and pendants. There are many different forms of these markings. Sometimes it is the complete composite zooprogenitodeistic mask, and other times only the top or bottom half appears. The small-eye mask and large-eye mask may also appear one on top of the other, or perhaps just the small-eye mask will appear repeated in vertical succession, or, then again, maybe just one large-eye mask will appear individually. Whatever the case, their significance is all the same — they all signify the trinity of god, ancestor, and animal. Of these iconographic jades, some were used as ancestral tablets and others may have been accessories to a shaman's accoutrement, denoting his prestige and power.

There is an often seen ornamental plate of the Liang-chu culture, the shape of which is quite similar to that of the aforementioned markings. It often takes the shape of an inverted trapezoid with slightly concave sides and sharp corners at the top. It is also common for the top edge to curve slightly inward toward the middle, culminating in a small point upward at the very center, like the headdress shown in figure 1c. Along the bottom edge there is a horizontal row of small perforations that seem to indicate that the jade plate was meant to be a decoration inlaid on the top end of some kind of shaft made of an easily decomposed substance. An example is figure 6. unearthed from tomb no. 2 (M2:1) at Yaoshan, Yühang, Chekiang. According to the accompanying report, at the time of excavation there were traces of cinnabar on the bottom edge of the plate and it was attached to an eight centimeter long wooden fiber. In the center of this trapezoidal inlay, there is an engraved design similar to that of figure 1c, but slightly simplified: there is a feathered headdress above a trapezoidal progenitodeistic mask and there is an animal mask with large eyes and a broad mouth with fangs, all distinct and well defined; the arms of the god-ancestor are simplified to resemble two wings, and there are no forelimbs to the animal. In each of the upper corners of the plate there is a geometric bird design facing outward.

The artifact in figure 3 was excavated from tomb no. 17 (M17:8) at Fanshan and is engraved only with an animal mask with forelimbs and claws. From tomb no. 7 at Yaoshan, a trapezoidal inlay was found, and although it was undecorated, from circumstances at the site it is clear that it was meant to be inlaid on something along with twenty-six small jade pellets. This trapezoidal jade ornamental inlay may have represented an ancestral tablet. A necklace of eighteen beads was hung from the bottom, see figure 7.

In addition to trapezoidal inlay plates in the shape of the progenitodeistic mask, there is another kind of inlay piece which is rounded at the bottom and has three square projections at the top (henceforward referred to as the 'fork' shape). The artifacts in figures 8 and 9 were unearthed at tomb no. 10, at Yaoshan and tomb no. 14 at Fanshan, respectively. The former (M10:6) is a bit thicker, and there is a hole running lengthwise through the center of it beginning in the middle ‘prong.’ Carved on the
face of the artifact is the animal mask with broad mouth and fangs. The face of the artifact in figure 9 (M14:135) is slightly convex. In the bottom center and on the back, uniform with the prongs, are thick, square protruberences. There are holes running lengthwise through these protruding squares. In the middle of the face of the artifact there is an engraved animal mask with forelimbs and claws. Near the top of the left and right prongs are engraved supernatural birds, one on each prong. On the back of each of the four square protruberences there are two finely incised round eyes and swirling cloud decor. From the excavation position of this kind of piece and other jades that accompanied it in burial, it is evident that it was an ornament on a hat, which was also decorated with feathers and awl-shaped ornaments.

The artifact in figure 10 is stored in the National Palace Museum. Its entire surface is a beautiful red ochre color, and its shape is similar to that of figure 9, with four square protrusions on the back and a lengthwise hole through each. There may have originally been a Liang-chu style decor on this piece that was later polished away and replaced by the engraving of a cloud, phoeix, etc. decor. In addition to the above shapes, there is also a D-shaped kind of ornament, like the artifact in figure 11, stored at Bei Shan Tang, Hongkong. This article is in the shape of the letter D, slightly convex, with double eyelets in each of the top corners. The presence of these eyelets indicates that this piece was probably meant to be sewn onto a garment. Engraved on the face is a simplified composite zooprangenitideistic mask. This type of ornament is often found in sets of four near a persons head and may be an ornament for the head.
The engraving of some ornaments are done in openwork and incised lines, while that of others is done mostly in openwork with barely a trace of incised lines. The artifact in figure 12, excavated from tomb no. 16 (M16:4) at Fanshan, has an icon carved in both openwork and incised lines. The animal mask is in the center with the progenitodeistic portion separated and situated on both sides of the animal's round eyes. The artifact in figure 13, excavated from tomb no. 11 (M11:84) at Yaoshan, is shaped like a huang, with a design mostly bow-carved. In the National Palace Museum collection, there are two Liang-chu ornaments in openwork design. One is that in figure 4 (see inside back cover), the design of which is done in openwork with added incisions, creating the large eyes of an animal along with its forelimbs and claws. The other is the huang-shaped ornament depicted in figure 14. The three round holes representing eyes and mouth were bored halfway through from both sides, and the other openwork irregular geometric designs were begun from a perforation, then executed with a bow. This piece is very similar to that excavated from tomb no. 16 at Fanshan (Fig. 15). The ornament in figure 14 is an almost opaque ivory white, which may have something to do with the Liang-chu custom of immolating graves. Being sealed in a chamber of such high temperature may have led to the discoloration of the jade.

On hairpin and awl-shaped pendants one finds all kinds of icons in their simplified forms. The three artifacts in figure 16 were unearthed at Fuchuanshan, Shanghai. The longest is fifteen centimeters in length and may have been used as a hairpin. The marking engraved on its surface is an alternately repeating pattern of small- and large-eye masks. The other two articles are shorter, and their decor is much simpler in
style. This kind of awl-shaped pendant may have been strung together with others as part of a necklace, like that in figure 17.\textsuperscript{39}

In the National Palace Museum there are several jade bracelets whose distinguishing characteristic is that on their outer surface there are several symmetrical ovals in relief, each uneven with undulations, and incised with very distinctive animal masks. The bracelet in figure 18 is a good example. From its rubbing one can see the following distinguishing features of this kind of animal mask: a pair of horns, like a bull’s horns; concentric circular eyes; the bridge of the nose is a circle in the very center of the piece and encompassed by a double-line rhombus at the very bottom of which there is a sprig of cloud decor representing the tip and sides of the nose; between the bridge and tip of the nose two sprigs of cloud decor curl upward and outward, almost parallel with the horns. In Chu Te-jun’s (14th century) Catalogue of Ancient Jades in I Cheng Hall\textsuperscript{40} written during the Yuan dynasty, he called this kind of bracelet a "ch’ih you bracelet." This technique of incising an animal mask on an oval surface carved in relief is similar in style to jade carvings of the Liang-chu culture. For this reason, in an article written in 1986 the author discussed the possibility of it being a Han dynasty reproduction of the Liang-chu style.\textsuperscript{41} Excavations from Yaoshan in 1988, though, revealed the same type of artifacts, identified in the report as “dragon head bracelets” (M1:30, fig. 19), also similar in style to so-called “dragon head disks” (M2:17, fig. 20). From the accompanying graphic depiction, one can see that it is quite similar to the museum’s ch’ih you bracelet, only that the Yaoshan piece includes the animal’s mouth and teeth. The report identified this as a “dragon head.”\textsuperscript{42}

A jade dragon head huang was found in tomb no. 11 at Yaoshan (M11:94, fig. 21), along the rounded outer edge of which are carved four oval protuberances, on top of each of which is an incised dragon head.\textsuperscript{43} This piece brings to mind a larger jade huang in the museum (fig. 22, see inside back cover), the outer and inner edges of which are carved five and four oval protuberances respectively. As can be seen from the detail, there is a large-eye mask carved on each, which is comparable to the Liang-chu large-eye mask with upward slanted eye rims. The eyes on this piece are elongated ovals. Both ends of the piece are carved to represent a dragon’s nose and mouth. There is a row of teeth which is quite similar to those of figures 20 and 21. In the past, we were accustomed to seeing Eastern Chou huang with dragon decor, so, naturally, this piece was also identified as such; and in the author’s article of 1986, because of the large-eye masks on it, she identified it as an Eastern Chou huang done in imitation of the Liang-chu style.\textsuperscript{44} Now, though, considering new data, this piece may be an genuine product of the Liang-chu culture or of another neighboring neolithic culture that has yet to be discovered by archaeologists. More information is still necessary to be sure. Among the different kinds of Liang-chu jade ornaments, there is also a kind of tubular ornament which connoisseurs often call a “square le.” These were strung together to form a necklace or strung in pairs from the end of an axe (yueh) handle. However, because this ornament is square on the outside and round on the inside with a hole running lengthwise through the middle, it closely resembles a jade ts’ung. In archaeological reports, it is often called a “small ts’ung” or a “ts’ung-like tube.” It may
be that it is the antecedent of the larger ts'ung, and for this reason it will be treated together with the ts'ung below.

Iconography of the Shantung Area

In addition to jade artifacts from the Liang-chu culture having the zooprogenitodeistic trinity markings, to the north in the Shantung area, there were two other neolithic cultures the artifacts of which also possess similar iconography. The Ta-wen-k'ou culture (4300 – 2400 B.C.)\(^{45}\) came first and was followed by the Shantung Lung-shan culture (2400 – 2000 B.C.).\(^{46}\)

The icons shown in figures 1c and 2c are each crowned with a feathered headdress. This headdress has a small point in the top middle from which the top extends outward horizontally left and right; then rounded corners lead to vertical lines downward, which at the very bottom extend outward horizontally again. From the markings and shapes of jade artifacts shown in figures 3, 4, 6, 7, 9, 12, etc., it can be seen that this kind of pointed crown image is a symbol of supernatural power. Symbols somewhat similar to this pointed crown also appear engraved on pottery wine vessels of the Ta-wen-k'ou culture, as shown in figures 23 and 24. The carved designs on these wine vessels were painted in with red paint, and it has been shown that this red paint was used for worshipping the wine god.\(^{47}\)

A jade adze (fig. 25) unearthed in the town of Liangchengchen, Jihchao, Shantung, is thought to be a product of the Shantung Lung-shan culture.\(^{48}\) The markings appearing on both sides of the piece both have the pointed crown type symbol in the top center representing the headdress of the progenitodeistic icon, with a variation being that the ends of the horizontal lines curl upwards like the eaves on a Chinese temple. In figures 26 and 27 are two jade kuei-tablets stored in the National Palace Museum (see back cover). In the center of both sides of each, there are four unique patterns executed in low relief. In the middle of every one of these is this same kind of pointed crown. Even the eagle on the left in figure 27b shown darting upward with both wings extended down, contradicting its natural attitude, is a representation of this same pointed crown image.\(^{49}\)

The humanoid (?) mask shown in figure 26b (see front cover) and on the left in figure 26c can be linked in style to a great number of Chinese jades in collections outside of China. One example is that of a piece stored in the British Museum (fig. 28).\(^{50}\) This style of jade art from the Shantung Lung-shan culture may have continued all the way through the Shang and Chou dynasties, as Western Chou\(^{51}\) artifacts recently excavated at Fenghsi, Shansi and Spring & Autumn period artifacts excavated from Kuangshan, Honan\(^{52}\) possess similar styles.

Figures 25 through 27 show both abstract and realistic renderings of progenitodeistic images. An eagle and the plumage of the phoenix (the portion extending upward from the eyes on the right in figure 27b) represent the supernatural bird of the eastern tribes in the Shangtung region. This has been discussed by the author in another article\(^{53}\) and so will not be further expounded upon here.

— 16 —
Shapes of Shamanism — the Pi and Ts’ung

The early Chinese created peculiar markings believing that they possessed a special supernatural power enabling them to communicate with heaven.

They also created special shapes, thinking that if an object had the same shape as the gods, then it would possess a supernatural power. These objects were the jade pi and jade ts’ung.

The ancients believed that heaven was round and the earth was square. Therefore, they used jade to create the round pi and the prismatic ts’ung to worship the gods of heaven and earth. They were simple people, and believing that “that used in worshipping the gods, must resemble their kind,” they erected implements in the shapes of gods on their altars for worship, summoned the gods and the souls of ancestors through music and dance, and believed that through the jade shamanist implements the gods could know of the people’s prayers and thus respond to their needs. This is what is called “reciprocation between god and man.”

The early Chinese bored holes through the centers of the round pi and the rectangular ts’ung. The significance of this hole lies in “linking.” According to the direction of its markings, the long ts’ung was stood upright, steadied by a fixed pole on the altar, wider at the top and slightly tapering toward the bottom, and a pi was placed horizontally on top. In this way, the holes of the two pieces were “linked” together (fig. 29, inside front cover). When this set of shamanist implements was set high up on the altar and looked at from below by the people, the jade ts’ung would look uniform in width. This may explain why most jade ts’ung taper toward the bottom.

A “shamanist implement” refers to an implement employed by a shaman. After the formation of the Chinese nation, shamanist implements came to be associated with the ceremonial system and, in fact, are basically the same in meaning as the ritual implements mentioned in the ritual canon. During the late Neolithic period, the pi and ts’ung came to be paired as a set of jade shamanist implements, perhaps persisting this way into the Shang dynasty. In oracle bone script, there is the word 甲, which has been mistakenly interpreted as both 亝 亝 and 亝 chüeh. In his textual research, Shen Zhiyu took it to be ts’ung, explaining that the two characters from oracle bone script 亝亝 meant the raising of a ts’ung in worship. The author believes that the character 亝 may be a visual representation of figure 29, a pi placed horizontally on a vertical ts’ung. The oracle bone script character 聲 (shih) seems also to be representative of this structure, with a vertical ts’ung surmounted by a horizontal pi. The word 甲 (chu), with shih as a component, appears to be a person kneeling in front of the ts’ung-pi combination.

In the Chou Li and the Yi Li, the words pi and ts’ung are often mentioned together. In addition to the well known “Use a bluish-green pi to worship heaven, use a yellow ts’ung to worship earth,” there are also the lines: “In honoring the king, use a pi; in honoring the queen, use a ts’ung;” “The nobles should use a pi and ts’ung of nine ts’un (about 32 cm) to honor the queen;” “Use pi and ts’ung of eight
ts'un (about 29 ern) to honor visiting diplomats;”59 and especially worth attention, “In preparing a corpse, channel ( 疏 shu) the pi and ts’ung.”60 Cheng Hsüan (2nd cent.) and Chia Kung-yen (7th cent.) both interpret 疏 shu as 通 t’ung, postulating that these were used to “link (t’ung) heaven and earth.” Also, the word 通 shu t’ung (to communicate) is still used in modern Chinese.

The pi and ts’ung are often found together in neolithic tombs, not only from the Liang-chu culture but also from the Shih-hsia culture in Kwangtung and the Lung-shan culture in the Yellow River valley as well. But, why is it that excavations have yet to show a single instance where a pi is situated on top of a ts’ung? A ts’ung is long and must be laid flat in a tomb. Even if the ts’ung and pi were attached together with a stick or rope, eventually that stick or rope would decompose. This is not to mention disruption by the dirt itself when filling the grave or disturbances by farmers and robbers. For these reasons, it is difficult to find a tomb with the arrangement of its objects preserved from the original burial. It should also be noted that an object is not necessarily buried in the same position in which it is placed on an altar. Interestingly enough, the top and bottom of the “king of the ts’ung” featured in fig. 1 are both in the shape of horizontal jade pi.

In ancient texts such as the Book of History, the Book of Odes, the Tso Chueti, etc., which transmit to us the way of life of the people of the Chou dynasty, there are certain passages that mention jade implements in the performing of worship ceremonies. They mention the pi, or the kuei and the chang, or the kuei and the pi, but rarely do they mention the ts’ung in relation to worship. According to archaeological reports, tombs of the Chou and Han dynasties rarely contain ts’ung-type jades, and excavations from sacrificial pits mostly yield jade and stone kuei. This may be a trend in Chou dynasty culture — that the kuei and the chang came to replace the ts’ung. The pi, on the other hand, seems to have retained its supernatural powers from the Neolithic Age to become the prominent ritual utensil. When the Duke of Chou wished to help King Ch’eng recover from an illness, he prayed to King Ch’eng’s ancestors King T’ai, King Chi, and King Wen, and in the process, he “erected a pi and held up a kuei.”61

The Development of the Liang-chu Jade Ts’ung

The ts’ung has always been a problem in the research of jade implements, mainly due to its unusual shape. In recent years, jade ts’ung have been excavated in great numbers from sites of the Liang-chu culture, and because of this, have garnered a growing interest among researchers, causing more and more theories to be formulated concerning its shape, markings, and function.

Concerning the origin of the ts’ung shape, there are two possibilities. The first is that it evolved from the cylindrical bracelet, this according to the Japanese scholar Urahama Sueji.62 The second possibility is that it developed from the prismatic le-bead, this according to Ch’en Ta-nien.63
The first theory can be substantiated from artifacts. Figures 30 through 37 reveal a general progression from the bracelet to the ts’ung in the Liang-chu culture. The artifact in figure 30 is a cylindrical bracelet unearthed at Changlingshan. Figure 31 shows the earliest form of the ts’ung, a cylindrical jade bracelet with four rectangles carved in low relief on the outer surface and a large-eye mask incised on each. The large-eyes and broad mouth are similar in design to markings on the jade adze of the Lung-shan culture shown on the left in figure 25. In actuality, there is quite a high level of similarity of shape and design among the jade and stone implements of the Ta-wen-k’ou and Shantung Lung-shan cultures in Shantung and northern Kiangsu and the Liang-chu culture in northern Chekiang and southern Kiangsu.

The designs engraved on the seven artifacts in figures 32 through 37 and figure 5 are mostly incised or carved in low relief. The outer surface of the ts’ung gradually became prismatic in shape while the center remained round, finally evolving into the prismatic cylinder as seen in figures 34 through 37 and figure 5. It also slightly tapers toward the base. The four vertical edges on the outside act as axes for the mask designs extending thence inwards. If the piece is taller, the mask appears repeatedly, one stacked upon another. The designs in figures 31 and 32 are single tier large-eye masks, while those in figures 33, 34, 35, and 5 show the development of the stacking of the small-eye and large-eye masks. Figures 36 and 37 depict a single layer small-eye mask and a double layer small-eye mask, respectively. As stated above, the small-eye mask may
have developed from the progenitodeistic mask in figures 1c and 2c, and the large-eye mask from the animal mask. Although they appear individually, they should still represent the idea of the trinity.

The second theory concerning the origin of the ts'ung shape was put forth in 1937 by Ch'en Ta-nien, who believed that the le was a bead and that a pair of strings with three le to each string formed the ancient ornament chüeh. He also held that the ts'ung was an expansion of the le. The large scale excavations in recent years from the Liang-chu culture have yielded a great number of both rectangular le-type tubular ornaments and tall ts'ung, with the markings on both quite similar, but there are still no examples of what could be considered to represent a transitional phase.

From excavation sites, it can be seen that the rectangular le was used as a tubular ornament, thus being strung together with beads and pendants to form necklaces, put in pairs as ornaments on the ends of axe (yüeh) handles, and occasionally worn individually as a pendant. In archaeological reports, the le is identified as a "small ts'ung" or as a "ts'ung-type tube." See figures 38 through 43.68

The artifact represented in figure 38 is a jade tube. Although the outer surface of it was not carved into the shape of a prism, there are short rims appearing on both ends, and four large-eye masks are roughly carved on the surface. This style also appears on the le in figure 39, which is larger than most rectangular le (as figs. 40 through 43).

Designs engraved on the rectangular le-type small ts'ung appear in the following four varieties: the small-eye mask, the large-eye mask, the stacking of both the small- and large-eye masks, and a mask that is simplified into just horizontal lines.
Figures 44 through 46 are depictions of the typical tall ts'ung, the outer surfaces of which are all engraved with the small-eye mask, as on the ts'ung in figure 46 which was unearthed at Ssutun, Wuchin, Kiangsu, where almost all of the ts'ung were prismatic in shape and had thick walls with the apertures on both ends being proportionately narrow. Of this kind of thick ts'ung a minority were short with just one or two tiers, but most were tall and tapered toward the base. The engravings are the stacked, repeated, and often simplified small-eye masks. Sometimes they are so simplified that the circles representing the eyes are not clear and the horizontal ridges above the eyes are plain without horizontal incised lines. The autor has dealt with the subject of the development of the shape and decor of the ts'ung in a previous article and so will not go into it further here.

In the past, data led scholars to tend to believe that the decor of the Liang-chu jade ts'ung began with the large-eye mask, then evolved into the small-eye/large-eye composite mask, finally evolving into the stacked, repeated small-eye mask. In 1988, though, the results of excavations at Yaoshan and Fanshan in Yuhang, Chekiang were published. Both of these clusters of tombs belong to the early period of the Liang-chu culture, and the tombs within each cluster are chronologically quite proximal. According to the excavation report, all of the three types of masks mentioned above appear at these sites.

Ruins of the Liang-chu culture have already been excavated at over thirty sites in an area surrounding Tai Lake in southern Kiangsu and northern Chekiang. The
high population density at these sites prevents digging on an extensive scale, therefore it is difficult to determine their exact chronological relationships. The author feels that besides considering the chronological order of the appearance of designs on artifacts, the regions in which they appear also seem to be worth considering. Jades similar to those of the Liang-chu culture have been unearthed in the surrounding territory such as northern Kiangsu and Kiangsi. Some of the ancient jades dispersed in museums throughout the world, although they closely resemble products of the Liang-chu culture, cannot at this time be attributed to it. Verification of their actual time periods and cultural origins will have to await the results of future excavations.

Jade and Stone Ts’ung of Various Regions

The two pieces in figures 47 and 48 are both ts’ung from the Shih-hsia culture. The former is kaoling jade and the latter is skarn. According to the T’ang dynasty Yuan Ho Record of Provinces and Counties, Chükiang county’s “Jade mountain is situated in the southeastern part of the county and has deposits of jade.” To the ancient Chinese, any beautiful stone was considered to be “jade.” If the markings on jades of the Liang-chu and Shih-hsia cultures are similar, but the jade used in the two cultures is different, it is probable that the ts’ung excavated at Shih-hsia are actual products of the Shih-hsia culture.

Since 1929, there have been continuous excavations in the Kuanghan area near
Chengtu, Szechwan that have yielded exquisite examples of jade pi, axes (fu), chang, ts'ung, etc. The artifacts in figures 49 through 51 are from this period. In recent years, the same region has also yielded a large number of jades and bronzes which have been approximated to be relics of the Shang dynasty. The human figures depicted in these pieces have slanted, oval shaped eyes (fig. 52) that closely resemble the large-eye masks on Liang-chu jades.

The artifact pictured in figure 53 is a tall bronze statue of a human figure. The arms are outstretched and bent in at the elbows, allowing the figure to grasp something in its circular hands. Because the hands are rectangular on the outside and cylindrical on the inside, some scholars believe that the statue is a depiction of a shaman holding a ts'ung during a ceremony of worship. Although the hands are aligned, the line described is not straight, thus leading other scholars to believe that the statue was meant to hold an elephant tusk, many of which have also been unearthed at Kuanghan.

The artifact in figure 54 is a jade ts'ung-shaped object belonging to the Pan-shan, Ma-chia-yao culture and was unearthed by Andersson at Wakuantsui, Ningting, Kansu. Those in figures 55 through 57 are jade ts'ung belonging to the Taossu, Lung-shan culture and were excavated at Hsiangfen, Shansi. According to reports, exquisite jade ts'ung have been unearthed from the Ch'i-chia culture, which extended from Inner Mongolia into present-day Kansu and Tsinghai, but photographs and more detailed information have yet to be published. The jade ts'ung in figures 58 and 59 were recently acquired from the marketplace, where they are said to have been excavated at Ninghsia, products of the so-called "Ta-hsi-pei" culture. The distinguishing characteristics of this newly discovered culture are as yet unknown and may prove to resemble the Ch'i-chia culture.

The common characteristics of the six jade ts'ung in figures 50, 51, 55, 56, 58, and 59 are the upper and lower rims and the four flat, undecorated sides. This type
of jade *ts'ung* is quite common in public and private collections, alike, and can be both big or small, tall or short. According to archaeological data, during the Neolithic Age, this style was common over a wide area in the West which included present-day Ninghsia, Kansu, Shansi, Szechwan, etc. When the Shang people established their dynasty in what is modern-day Honan province (ca. 16th cent. B.C.) along the Yellow River, most of the jade *ts'ung* manufactured by them were also of this undecorated style (fig. 60). Although some were decorated with incised lines or animal head designs (figs. 61 and 62), they were almost entirely unrelated in style to the eastern Liang-chu *ts'ung* with the stacked, repeated mask designs.

**Significance of the Ts'ung**

The jade *ts'ung* used to be a great puzzle in the research of ancient jade, mainly because of its odd shape. It was difficult to imagine for what this long rectangular prism with a lengthwise hole in the middle and rims on each end could possibly have been used. In the 17th and 18th centuries, it was widely held that this object, fitted over long handles, was originally used as a shoulder rest for men carrying a sedan chair or drum cart. In the nineteenth century, its real name was discovered through the efforts of Wu Ta-ch'eng. In the present century Chinese and foreign scholars have put forth many different theories concerning the function of the *ts'ung*. The recent excavations of a great number of Liang-chu jade *ts'ung* and their complex markings have greatly attracted the attention of scholars.

Dr. Chang Kuang-chih's theory postulates that the *ts'ung* is possessive of the two characteristics "round like heaven" and "square like the earth." Therefore, "the *ts'ung* is both round and square, exactly symbolizing the linking of heaven and earth." The pole fit through the center is the column of heaven and earth, and the decor on the surface is identified as a representation of the shaman and his animal assistant, that is the "*ch'iao*" as mentioned in the *Pao P'o Tsu*, which the shaman used to increase the power in his legs. For this reason, the design could be called the "man-animal symbol" or the "shaman-*ch'iao* symbol." Therefore, he believes, "The *ts'ung* appropriately symbolizes the ancient Chinese cosmological view and their practice of communicating with heaven." He also believes that the Neolithic Lung-shan culture's use of the jade *ts'ung* as a shamanist implement represents the beginning of a concentration of political power. Therefore, between the stone and bronze ages in ancient China, there was an "age of the jade *ts'ung*,” which “saw the unification of shamanism and government, leading to the development of the privileged class and the period of the separation of heaven and earth by Chung and Li under order from the god Chuan Hsu as mentioned in the *Ch'u Yü* chapter of the *Kuo Yü*.”

The jade research of Prof. Hayashi Minao has never been limited to just the Neolithic Age, or to just archaeological finds. He has collected information from historical documents, studied jade *ts'ung* from the Neolithic age as well as the Shang (ca. 16th—11th cent. B.C.) and the Chou (ca. 11th cent. — 221 B.C.) dynasties, and has
investigated the decors on artifacts of the Han dynasty (206 B.C. — 220 A.D.). Through these efforts, he has come to believe that the ts’ung is actually a jade chu (ancestral tablet). The chu, also called a tsung, was used during worship at temples to beckon the descent of the souls of gods and ancestors. During the Chou dynasty, the emperor used wood to make the chu, which was called a mu chu. The gentry used bound up couch grass as a substitute, and an ancestral tablet made from this was called a chu. Before the Chou dynasty, it was often made of jade and called the ts’ung. All of these were rectangular in shape with a central hole, which, polished shiny and smooth, was used as a “small chamber” for deities and the souls of ancestors. Because the souls of ancestors might appear from either heaven or earth, the ts’ung was drilled with openings at both ends. The she was also used as a lodging place for gods of heaven and earth, and its function was similar to that of the chu used in temples. Therefore, an earthen she “chu,” also prismatic with a central hole, used as a tree planter, would also possess the function of linking heaven and earth. The irregular egg-shape of the eyes appearing on masks of Liang-chu jade ts’ung, is the same shape of the eyes of the sun god. This belief was passed down through the ages and is manifested in a Han dynasty mural where it appears painted on an altar. To sum up, the ts’ung was employed during worship ceremonies to summon the souls of ancestors, and the deity mask carved on its surface served to protect the souls within. If worn as an ornament, the ts’ung could also bring good fortune upon the person so adorned.94

In the past, the author has also made attempts at explaining the engravings on the ts’ung and its function. One of the conclusions was that “the ts’ung was fit on the top of a round wooden pole during rituals, symbolizing deities or ancestors.”95 The theory was that “the ancients did not make a clear differentiation between deities and ancestors.” “The progenitodeistic images engraved on the surface of a ts’ung are stacked one on top of another, and this pattern is repeated for the entire length of the piece, a method that is similar to the totem poles of the American Indians.” It was postulated that the “tsu ts’ung” from the classic the Chou Li refers to “a ts’ung with an engraved ancestor mask.”96 It was also put forth by the author that “these engraved jades might be considered to be ritual implements intended for communication with deities. Through them, people could come into contact with deities and ancestors and beseech their assistance.”97

Although the theories put forth by the above three researchers differ in details, on the whole they are quite similar. Whether it is said that it is a shamanist implement inserted with the column of heaven and earth, that it is a chu in which the souls of gods and ancestors temporarily reside, or that its engravings are the images of gods and ancestors, they all acknowledge the likelihood of the ts’ung having possessed a communicative function between god and man. Whether the ts’ung was used by a shaman to journey to the world of the gods or to summon the souls of gods and ancestors from heaven and earth through their respective ends of the ts’ung to understand the needs of the people, in the religious life of the ancient Chinese, the ts’ung was a medium of communication between the profane and supernatural realms.

—25—
Round For Heaven and Square For Earth

In spite of the above conclusions, the importance of the *pi* in this ceremony cannot be overlooked. From all available information—archaeological data, oracle bone inscriptions, bronze inscriptions, documents of the Chou and Han dynasties—the *pi* seems to be the most important of the ceremonial or religious jades, including the *ts'ung*. Not only was the *pi* common over a wider area than the *ts'ung* during the Neolithic Age, but from the Shang and the Chou onward, it has appeared in greater numbers and was in use over a longer period of time.

From ancient documents, we know that the *pi* played an important role in the lives of the aristocracy. It could be used in worshipping gods and ancestors, it could be worn as a costume accessory or held in the hands as a symbol of social status, and it could be presented as a gift from one nobleman to another. In the *Book of Odes* and other ancient literature, the *pi* is often used to describe a man's high moral rectitude. For a more extensive treatment of this subject, see another article by the author.

As stated earlier, *pi* and *ts'ung* are often mentioned together in the *Chou Li* and the *Yi Li*, and Cheng Hsüan (127–200) as well as Chia Kung-yen (ca. 7th cent.) both believed that "to channel (*rh* shu) the *pi* and *ts'ung* was actually "to link (*m* t'ung) heaven and earth." In addition, the *pi* and *ts'ung* are often found together in tombs from the Liang-chu, Shih-hsia, and Lung-shan cultures. Therefore, the author believes that to the people of the Liang-chu culture, and perhaps other Neolithic cultures as well, the *pi* symbolized the round heaven and the *ts'ung* symbolized the square earth. The reason the author postulates this is that the *pi* is a substantive object in the shape of a circle, while the hole in the center of the *ts'ung* is but an intangible circle.

Upon close observation, one finds that there are many variations to the rims appearing on both ends of the *ts'ung*. If the *ts'ung* still retains the appearance of the tubular bracelet, the rim will just be a thin circle (fig. 32). If it is a short prism, the rim will be correspondingly thicker (fig. 34–37). As for the rim on the tall columnar *ts'ung*, from the top it often appears to be slightly square, sometimes to the point of being a square with rounded corners. In looking at a side view of the tall rectangular Ssutun style *ts'ung*, the top rim seems to gradually splay outward like a trumpet, while the bottom rim remains perfectly straight (fig. 45, 46.) The "king of the *ts'ung*" in fig. 1 is a unique example, with its end rims in the shape of round *pi*. Whether or not this was originally meant as two pieces combined into one is worth investigating.

The Chinese of neolithic times were simple people who believed in a religion of reciprocation between heaven and man. They believed that in order to communicate with heaven they must create ritual implements that resemble in shape their imaginary perceptions of the gods; "that used in worshipping the gods, must resemble their kind." So when it came to creating the ritual implement for worshipping heaven, of course it was to be made in the shape of a large circular disk to reflect the sacred gods and was not hidden away in the center of a prism nor created slightly jutting out from its two ends.

A particular characteristic common to both the *pi* and the *ts'ung* is that they both
have a round aperture, and these two apertures do not differ greatly in size; most are between four and eight centimeters in diameter. In considering all of the data, the author has concluded that when the shaman engaged himself in worship, it was likely that the flat pi was placed on top of the erect ts'ung, thus creating a set of shamanist implements for linking heaven and earth. (It may be that this provided a “path” such as that referred to in the Huai Nan Tzu where it says, “Heaven is round, earth is square, and the Tao (path) is in the center.” With the set placed high up on an altar, it was important that the ts'ung, itself, and its engravings grow gradually wider toward the top, thus effecting an appearance of perfect proportion when viewed from below. In figure 29, this scene has been reconstructed using a Liang-chu style pi and ts'ung from the National Palace Museum. The ts'ung is 47.2 cm tall and weighs 5,854.6 grams. According to all available information, it is the third tallest ts'ung in existence. Engraved on seventeen separate tiers are sixty-eight small-eye masks, which grow slightly smaller in width toward the bottom. The width at the top of the ts'ung is 7.7 to 7.8 cm, while that at the bottom decreases to 6.8 cm. Despite these discrepancies in uniformity, the diameter of the aperture at both the top and bottom is 4.2 cm., and looking at the ts'ung from an angle below, it appears to be perfectly symmetrical.

Jade Ritual Utensils Link Heaven and Earth

One last thing that should be emphasized is the belief among ancient Chinese of mutual transformation among gods, ancestors, and certain supernatural animals. Not only did the bird hold a mystical position among the eastern tribes, but in ancient records the dragon and the tiger were often depicted as animals mounted in pairs that could assist gods and shamans in their journeys between heaven and earth. Decors of phoenixes, eagles, swallows, owls, dragons, and tigers all appear on artifacts of the Neolithic period as well as the Shang and Chou dynasties, indicating that these animals must certainly have been accorded a special significance by the ancient Chinese.

Ancestor worship has always been a significant part of Chinese culture, and in ancient documents there are also records of the mutual transformation of ancestors and animals. At that time the king was chief among the shamans, and ancestors were ancestors of the shamans, who when living, were also shamans, the religious leaders of the clan. So, whether the markings on a jade ts'ung are identified as the “shaman-ch'iao symbol” or as the “progenitodeistic icon,” the fundamental significance is the same.

More and more archaeological data is being gathered by the day, and as it comes in, we gain a clearer picture of life in ancient China.

The little bit of data we have now has set our minds on profound tracks of thought. Just how was the pagoda of Chinese culture constructed? The road of history that leads us back is a long one. All we can surmise now is that in a time when governmental power was intimately linked with the powers of shamanism, the aristocracy rationalized the development of a set of shamanist, or ritual, implements with which to link heaven and earth.
The so-called kuei-tablet developed out of other jade tools and weapons such as the axe and the adze. Kuei such as those in figures 25 through 27 were also supposed to be possessive of supernatural communicative powers. This subject has been covered in detail by the author in another article.102

During the Neolithic Age, the ancient Chinese discovered the sturdiness and translucence of jade. Aren’t beauty and eternity the two realms that Chinese consider most worth pursuing? Whether jade was made into weapons (figs. 2, 25, and 63–65) or ritual utensils, the resulting product still represented the shamanist power of linking heaven and earth; and whether this period in time is called the “age of jade weaponry” or the “age of the jade ts’ung,” they both signify the transitional period of a primitive society maturing into nationhood.

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Notes

3. Wen Guang, “Research on Ancient Chinese Jades.” The site at Chahai is a recent discovery, and according to Mr. Xu Guangji, Chief Deputy Director of the Institute of Archaeology, Chinese Academy of social Sciences, belongs to the Hsing-lung-wa culture.
4. Teng Shu-p’ing, Five Thousand Years of Chinese Art Series: Chinese Jade, Part I, From the Neolithic Age to the Early Shang.
   Huang Xuanpei, “China’s Neolithic Jade Ware,” forward to Elizabeth Childs-Johnson’s Ritual and Power: Jades of Ancient China.
5. Teng, “Mystic Motifs Found on Ancient Jade.”
9. Institute of Archaeology, the, CASS, Archaeological Discoveries and Research in New China, p. 124.
10. Dai Yingxin, “Investigation of Longshan Culture Sites at Shimao, Shenmu County, Shaanxi” and “Longshan Jade Artifacts from Shimao, Shenmu County.”
12. Yuan K’ang, Yüeh Chüeh Shu.
   Wen Guang, “An Archaeological-geological Study in Neolithic Jades South of Jiangsu” and “Research...”
16. So far, scientific testing of jades has only revealed that jade of the late Shang (13—11th cent. B.C.) probably originated in Hotien, Sinkiang; see Zhang Peishan, “Appraisal of Jade Artifacts and Precious Stones in the Fu Hao Tomb, Yinxu, Anyang.” Although excavated jades have yet to be exposed to examination by mineralogists, the art historian Max Loehr and the author have both concluded that during the Neolithic Age, nephrite from Hotien, Sinkiang was probably already in use; see Max Loehr, “Ancient Chinese Jades from the Grenville L. Winthrop Collection in the Fogg Art Museum,” p. 5 and Teng, “Research on Neolithic Jades
in the National Palace Museum, Part II—Ts'ung and Ts'ung-like Jades," p. 47.

17. There are nephrite deposits near Baikal Lake, and from Bronze age sites of the Karasuk culture there is evidence of mutual influence between it and the Shang-Yin culture in China; see A. P. Okladnikov, Neolithic Bronzovyi Vek Pribaibailia or Henry Michael, The Neolithic Age in Eastern Siberia. Some scholars believe that Shang-Yin jades may have come from these deposits; see Alfred Salmony, Carved Jade of Ancient China, p. 5 or Chinese Jade Through the Wei Dynasty, p. 4. There are also some scholars who feel that because much of the nephrite of the Baikal Lake region has black spots, it is thus different from that used in China; see Howard Hansford, Chinese Jade Carving, pp. 42–43 or Jade, Essence of Hills and Streams, the von Oertzen Collection of Chinese and Indian Jades, p. 12. In Kansas City’s Nelson Gallery, the author has seen a Neolithic Jade bird, which was made of green nephrite with black spots, very similar to Siberian nephrite. According to the records at the gallery, the piece was acquired in Shansi, China. See Teng, Five Thousand Years of Chinese Art Series: Chinese Jade, Part I, From the Neolithic Age to the Early Shang, pp. 113–114.

18. Bowenite, a kind of serpentine, has been unearthed from sites of the Neolithic Liang-chu culture (3100–2200 B.C.); see Zheng, “Research...”

19. Of the ts'ung that have been unearthed from the Kwangtung Shih-hsia culture (3,400–2000 B.C.), some reports have identified the jade as “bluish jade, quality of the stone is soft yet strong;” see Editorial Committee for the Chinese Art Series, Chinese Art Series, Handicraft Works, Volume Nine: Jades, pl. 42, p. 16. Others have identified it as gray skarn; see Guangdong Provincial Museum & Art Gallery, Archaeological Finds from Pre-Qin Sites in Guangdong, p. 162.


21. Teng, “Mystic...”

22. Institute of Archaeology, the, CASS, op. cit., p. 145.


24. Professor Hayashi Minao postulates that the upper portion of the Fanshan icon represents the moon god, while the lower portion represents the sun god; and the headdress spreading outward from the top center represents the dissemination of vital energy from the Yin and the Yang; see his: “On Ancient Chinese Jades—The Ts'ung,” “On the Chinese Neolithic Jade Ts'ung\Cong,” and “Images of Ch'i on Ancient Chinese Artifacts.”


27. Fanshan Archaeological Team, op. cit., pl. II:5, figs. 39 and 40.

28. Institute of Archaeology, Zhejiang Province, op. cit., fig. 25.
29. Mr. Mou Yongkang identified this type of trapezoidal inlay plate as a hat for the gods and called it a “hat-shaped object;” see “Investigating Deity Woiship from Liang-chu Jades.” The author postulates that this is not a hat of the gods but is itself a divine image; see Teng, “Research on Neolithic Jades in the National Palace Museum, Part IV—Decorative Ornaments.”

30. Fig. 8: Institute of Archaeology, Zhejiang Province, op. cit., pl. V:4. fig. 26.

31. Mou, the preface of the book Jades of the Liang-Chu Culture.

32. Childs-Johnson, “Dragons, Masks, Axes, and Blades from Four Newly documented Jade-producing Cultures of Ancient China,” fig. 30.

33. Mou, the preface of...

34. Fanshan Archaeological Team, op. cit., color pl. II:1, fig. 43.

35. Institute of Archaeology, Zhejiang Province, op. cit., fig. 28:8.

36. This piece was published in the book Jades of the Liang-chu Culture, pl. 160.

37. Teng, “Research... Part II, ..., ” p. 46.


41. Teng, “Mystic...”

42. Institute of Archaeology, Zhejiang Province, “Excavation...,” pl. V:2; figs. 35:3, 21, and 28:9; p. 51.

43. ibid., pl. VI:5, fig. 37.

44. Teng, “Mystic...,” pl. 11, p. 12.

45. Institute of Archaeology, the, CASS, op. cit., pp. 89—91.

46. ibid., p. 100.

47. Wang Shu-ming, “Ta-wen-k‘ou Culture Clay Chalices and Their Inscriptions.”

48. Liu Dunyuan, “A Record of Two Stone Artifacts Discovered at a Site at Liangchengzhen.”

49. Teng, “Research..., Part III...,” color plates 15, 16; figs. 95 b, c, 96 b, c.


52. CPAM of Xinyang Prefecture and CPAM of Guangshan County, “Excavation of the Tombs of Prince Meng and His Wife of the Huang State in the Early Spring and Autumn Period.”

53. Teng, “Mystic...”

54. Cheng Hsüan, annotation to the Tsung Po section of the Ch‘un Kuan chapter of the Chou Li.

55. Shen Zhiyu, “Discourse on the Character 甲 .”

56. Li Hsiaoting, A Lexicography of Oracle Bone Script Characters.

57. Chou Li, Ch‘un Kuan chapter, Tsung Po section.
58. Yi Li, *Pin Li* chapter.
60. *ibid.*, Ch'un Kuan chapter, *Tien Jui* section.
62. Urahama Sueji, "On Ts'ung from Yinxu Tombs."
63. Ch'en Ta-nien, "Discourse on Jade, Stone, and Glass Artifacts Collected by Ch'en Ta-nien."
66. Liang-chu style jades have recently been found at Ta-wen-k'ou culture sites in northern Kiangsu; see: Nanjing Museum, "The 1987 Excavation of the Xinyi Parlor Site in Jiangsu," pp. 1 - 26.
67. Figure 32: Chen Lihua and the Changzhou City Museum, "Neolithic Artifacts from Sites at Sidun, Wujin, Jiangsu," pl. 2:7, p. 20, fig. 17.
   Figure 33: CPAM, the City of Shanghai, *op. cit.*, pl. 1:5, p. 2, fig. 17.
   Figure 34: Institute of Archaeology, Zhejiang Province, "Excavation...," pl. 5:1, p. 63, fig. 5:1.
   Figure 35: *ibid.*, pl. 6:1, p. 40, fig. 15:2.
   Figure 36: Wu Guoliang and the Wujiang County Cultural Building, "First Excavation of Jade Cong at Wujiang County."
   Figure 37: Institute of Archaeology, Zhejiang Province, "Excavation...," p. 39, fig. 14:2.
68. Figure 38: Institute of Archaeology, Zhejiang Province, "Excavation...," fig. 14:5.
   Figure 39: Nanjing Museum, "Brief...," fig. 24:3.
   Figure 40: Changshou City Cultural Relics Management Committee, "Artifacts of the Liangzhu Culture at Changshou, Jiangsu" fig. 2:3.
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   Figure 42: Institute of Archaeology, Zhejiang Province, "Excavation...," fig. 14:4.
   Figure 43: Nanjing Museum, "Artifacts...," fig. 9:3.
69. Figure 44: Institute of Archaeology, Zhejiang Province, "Excavation...," fig. 15:4.
   Figure 45: Nanjing Museum, "Excavation of Sites at Sidun, Wujin, Changzhou, Jiangsu," fig. 9:1.
   Figure 46: *ibid.*, fig. 9:7.
70. Teng, "Excavated..."
71. Huang, "Brief..."
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72. An Zhimin, "Some Problems Concerning the Liangzhu Culture — on the 50th Anniversary of the Discovery of the Liangzhu Culture."
73. Nanjing Museum, "The 1987..."
74. Wan, *op. cit.*
   Zhou Diren, "A Few Museum Artifacts from Dean County."
75. Guangdong Provincial Museum & Art Gallery, op. cit.
   Fig. 47: ibid.
   Fig. 48: ibid., pl. 27.
76. Li Chi-fu, Yuan Ho Record of Provinces and Counties, pl. 13:d.
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77. Figure 50: Cheng Te-k'un, Studies in Chinese Archaeology, pl 13:d.
   Figure 51: Feng Hanji and Tong Enzheng, “A Record of Jade and Stone Artifacts Excavated at Guanghan,” fig. 1.
79. CPAM of Sichuan Province, Institute of Archaeology in Sichuan, and Culture Center of Guanghan County, “Excavation of Burial Pit Number 1, Sanxingdui Site in Guanghan.”
80. Shen Zhungchang, “Preliminary Notes on a Bronze Upright Human Statue from Sacrificial Pit Number 2 at Sanxingdui,” p. 17.
81. This opinion was made known to the author by Dr. Chang Kwang-chih as being held by a number of scholars in mainland China, although to the author’s knowledge, it has yet to appear in print.
82. Andersson, op. cit., pl. 47:1.
84. The Institute of Archaeology, CASS, op. cit., p. 124.
85. Figure 60: The Institute of Archaeology, CASS, Yinxu Fuhao Tomb in Anyang, pl. 81:3.
86. Figure 61: ibid., pl. 81:2.
   Figure 62: Liang Ssu-yuan and Kao Ch'u-hsüan, Hou Chia Chuang, Volume III, HPKM 1002, pl. 21:1.
87. Wu Ta-ch'eng, An Illustrated Examination of Ancient Jade Artifacts.
88. Chang, “Discussion of the Ts'ung and It's Significance in Chinese History.”
89. Ko Hung, Pao P'u Tzu.
90. Chang, “Puyang's San Qiao and the Source of the Man-animal Motif in Ancient Chinese Arts.”
91. Chang, “The Significance...”
92. Kao, op. cit.
93. Chang, “The Significance...”
96. Teng, Five..., p. 164—165.
97. Teng, “The Neolithic...”
98. Teng, “Research on Neolithic Jades in the National Palace Museum, Part I—The 
Pr-disk and the Notched Pr-disk.”
99. Cheng Hsüan, op. cit...
100. Huai Nan Tzu, T’ien Wên Hsün chapter.
101. In ancient literature, the dragon is usually mentioned as that animal which is 
mounted by a shaman and travels between heaven and earth (see the Shan Hai 
Ching), but there are also other animals such as the tiger and the deer which 
can assist the shaman in linking heaven and earth; see Chang, “Puyang’s...” for 
a detailed discussion.
102. Teng, “Research..., Part III...”

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   b. Graphic reproduction
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