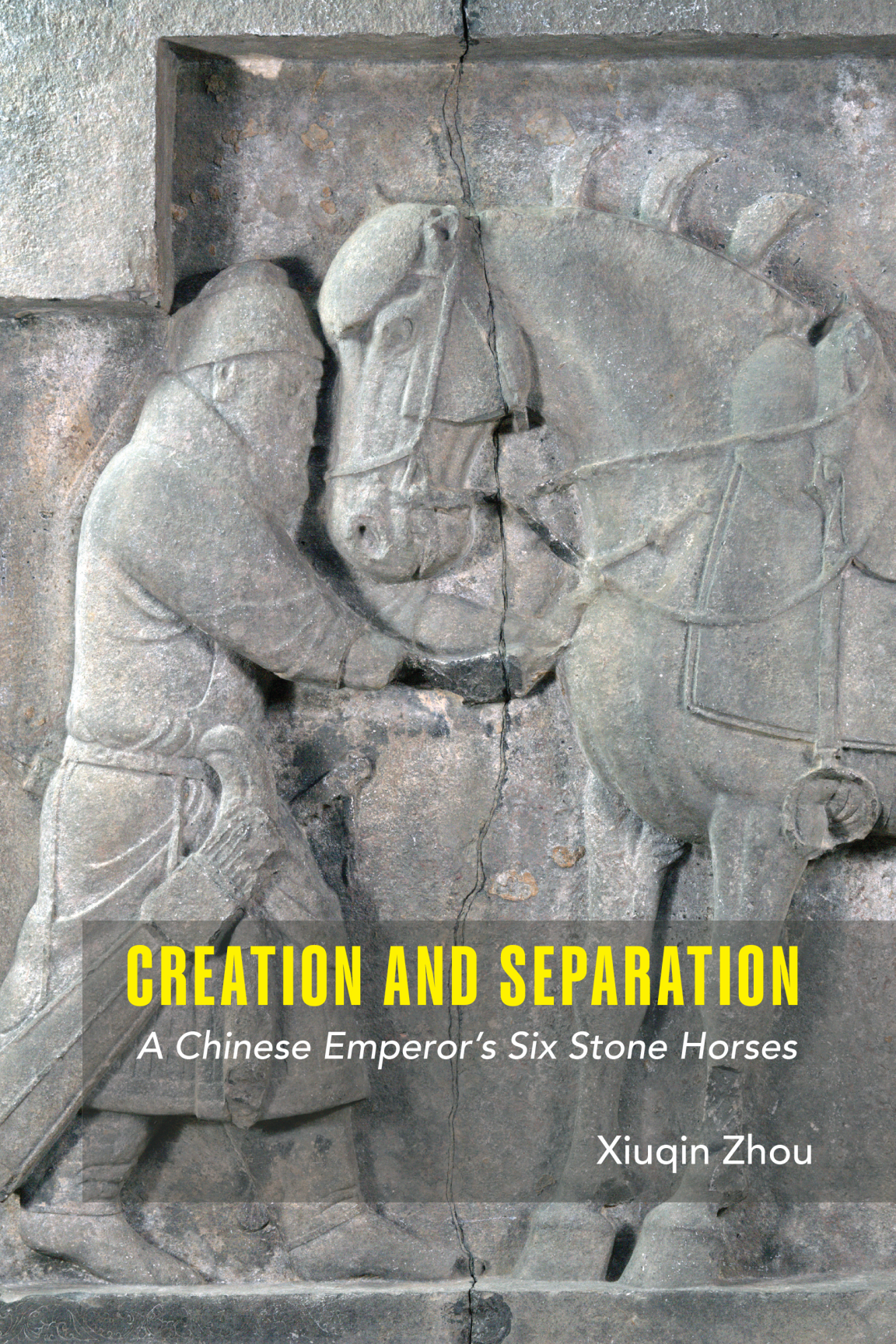


CREATION AND SEPARATION

A Chinese Emperor's Six Stone Horses

Xiuqin Zhou

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Six Stone Horses



frontispiece Map of the Tang ca. 700 CE. After a map by Ian Mladjov and redrawn by Ardeth Anderson

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A Chinese Emperor's Six Stone Horses

Xiuqin Zhou

University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology | Philadelphia

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Names: Zhou, Xiuqin, author.
Title: Creation and separation : a Chinese emperor's six stone horses / Xiuqin Zhou.
Identifiers: LCCN 2023038651 | ISBN 9781949057218 (hardback) | ISBN 9781949057225 (ebook)
Subjects: LCSH: Six stone horses of Zhao Ling. | Tang Taizong, Emperor of China, 597-649--Art patronage. | Lu, Qinzhai, 1880-1957. | Cultural property--China. | China--Antiquities. | University of Pennsylvania. Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology--History--20th century. | Art--Collectors and collecting--History--20th century. | Cultural property--Protection--China--History.
Classification: LCC NB1049.6.S59 Z49 2024 | DDC 731.4/630951--dc23/eng/20231206
LC record available at https://lccn.loc.gov/2023038651

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Printed in the United States of America on acid-free paper.

Dedication

I dedicate this book to Dr. Pamela H. Jardine (1939–2021), the former Assistant Director of Museum Services at the Penn Museum. Dr. Jardine provided me with immense and unwavering trust and support as my supervisor, even after she retired. She was a life-changing supervisor, friend, and mentor, and a source of inspiration throughout my 25 years at the Museum. I am eternally grateful to her. With deep indebtedness and profound respect, I dedicate this book to her.

Contents

Dedication v
List of Figures ix
List of Tables xiv
Abbreviations xv
Acknowledgments xvii
Chronology of Chinese Dynasties xxiv
Timeline of the Six Stone Horses and Related Events xxvii
Introduction: The Story of the Six Stone Horses xxxvii

I. Creation

1 Li Shimin and His Warhorses 1
Who Was Tang Taizong 5
The Li Family 6
Li Shimin's Training and Education 10
Assisting the Revolt in Taiyuan 11
Alliance with the Turks 12
Taking Chang'an 13
Li Shimin and Six Warhorses in Battle 15
Li Shimin's Triumph 26
The Struggle for Power 28
The Coup 31
Establishing Legitimacy 34

2 The Creation of Zhao Ling and the Six Stone Horses 43
Zhao Ling Site Selection and Layout 43
Creation of the Six Stone Horses 58
Completion of the Six Stone Horses 73
Placement of the Six Stone Horses 79

3 Challenges to Authenticity 88
Six Horses Carved in Stone 88
Inscribing the Horse Eulogies 98
Establishing Authenticity 109

4 Protection and Damage 121
Protection during the Tang 122
The Plunder of the Five Dynasties 125
Protection, 960–1911 126
Damage, 960–1911 128
Damage to the Six Stone Horses 131

II. Separation

5 Three Sales of the Six Stone Horses in China 142
The First Incomplete Sale and Removal 143
The Second Incomplete Sale and Mutilation 151
The Third Partial Sale and Separation 159
Removal of the Four Stone Horses in 1917 188

6 The Penn Museum, China, and C.T. Loo 196
Building a Top-Notch Museum 196
Two Trips to China 201
Bishop and the Six Stone Horses 212
Rotunda Inauguration and Chinese Exhibition 215
C.T. Loo and the Penn Museum 221

7 Competing for the Two Stone Horses in the West 235
The Two Stone Horses Arrive in New York 236
The Two Stone Horses Offered to Cleveland 237
The Two Stone Horses Come to Philadelphia 244
Competition from Boston 249
Acquisition by the Penn Museum 255
Other Competitors 265

8 On Exhibit at Penn 286
Original Exhibition 286
Exhibition in London 292
Conservation Project 307

9 Conclusion 320

References 327
Glossary-Index 342

Figures

	Map of the Tang ca. 700 CE	*frontispiece*
0.1	Rotunda Gallery at the Penn Museum	xxxviii
0.2a,b	Pair of stone animals	xxxix
1.1	Saluzi	2
1.2	Quanmaogua	2
1.3	Baitiwu, courtesy of the Beilin Museum	3
1.4	Telebiao, courtesy of the Beilin Museum	3
1.5	Qingzhui, courtesy of the Beilin Museum	4
1.6	Shifachi, courtesy of the Beilin Museum	4
1.7	Portrait of Emperor Tang Taizong (r. 626–649), provided by the Palace Museum, Beijing	6
1.8	The route of Li Yuan's Army from Taiyuan to Chang'an	14
1.9	Map of the Tang conquest	27
1.10	The city of the Tang Capital, Chang'an	32
2.1a–c	Mount Jiuzong	45–46
2.2	Map of Zhao Ling (14th century)	48
2.3	The layout of the auxiliary tombs, courtesy of the Zhao Ling Museum	50
2.4a,b	An aerial view and model of the 2002 Zhao Ling excavation site, courtesy of Zhang Jianlin	52–53
2.5	The three-door brick mountain gate	54
2.6a,b	Steles erected in the names of the Ming and Qing emperors, courtesy of Zhang Jianlin and Li Jugang	55
2.7	The Six Stone Horses standing in two houses	56
2.8a,b	Tip of Mount Jiuzong and the North Slope under excavation in 2002; the excavation site showing pillar bases and plinths, courtesy of Zhang Jianlin	57
2.9a,b	Fragmented statues of the 14 foreign leaders, courtesy of Zhang Jianlin	58
2.10a,b	Stone head fragments detached from the statues, courtesy of Zhang Jianlin	58

2.11	Model–the terraced-pavilions, courtesy of Zhang Jianlin	59
2.12	Horse trampling a human figure from the tomb of Huo Qubing (140–117 BCE)	60
2.13a,b	Stone reliefs of ostriches at Qian Ling	61
2.14	The Image Stele erected by You Shixiong in 1089	64
2.15	Quanmaogua pierced by nine arrows	66
2.16	The layout of 18 Tang imperial mausoleums in Shaanxi	70
2.17a,b	Epitaph of Yuchi Jingde (585–658), courtesy of the Zhao Ling Museum	74–75
2.18	Tombstone of Xu Luoren (577–662), courtesy of the Zhao Ling Museum	78
2.19	The statue plinth for one of the 14 foreign leaders	82
3.1	Saluzi in segments	89
3.2	The three-tier plinth	90
3.3a,b	The bottom tier of the plinth	91
3.4	The middle tier of the plinth	92
3.5	Floral patterns on Saluzi	92
3.6	Sasanian rock relief—Triumph of Shapur I over Valerian Naqsh-i Rustam (near Persepolis), courtesy of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago	93
3.7a–c	Mane with a square tuft, courtesy of Qin Shihuangdi Terracotta Army Museum and Dang Shixue	96–97
3.8	Mane with two tufts on a ceramic tile, courtesy of the Royal Ontario Museum	97
3.9	Weapons worn by Qiu Xinggong (586–665)	98
3.10a–c	Tombstone of Li Ji (594–669). Adorned with dragons and on a turtle plinth, courtesy of Zhang Jianlin	101–2
3.11	The repurposed Empress Stele, courtesy of Li Langtao	106
3.12	The eulogy for Quanmaogua	106
3.13a,b	The Stone Horse plinths	110
4.1	Saluzi at Zhao Ling in 1907	134
4.2	Quanmaogua at Zhao Ling in 1907	135
4.3	Baitiwu at Zhao Ling in 1907	136
4.4	Telebiao at Zhao Ling in 1907	136
4.5	Qingzhui at Zhao Ling in 1907	137
4.6	Shifachi at Zhao Ling in 1907	137
5.1	Letter, Paul Mallon to the Penn Museum, June 29, 1921	145
5.2	Portrait of Marcel Bing (1875–1920)	152

5.3	Standing statue, Shaanxi, 706	153
5.4	Portrait of C.T. Loo (1880–1957), Freer Gallery of Art and Arthur M. Sackler Gallery Archives	161
5.5a–d	Paris Pagoda, exterior; Paris Pagoda, interior, Freer Gallery of Art and Arthur M. Sackler Gallery Archives	162–64
5.6	Letter, Wang Changxuan to the Beijing House, February 4, 1914	167
5.7	Letter, Wang Changxuan to Wu and Miao, February 14, 1914	168
5.8	Letters, Wang Changxuan to Wu Qizhou, February n.d. and to Huang and Wu, March 7, 1914	170
5.9	Letter, C.T. Loo to George B. Gordon, March 12, 1915	174
5.10	Pang Laichen's painting collection, 1915	175
5.11	Letter, C.T. Loo to George Gordon, October 26, 1915	177
5.12	Letter, C.T. Loo to George Gordon, October 18, 1916	178
5.13	Letters, C.T. Loo to Wu Qizhou and Wu to the Beijing House, November 1915	179
5.14	C.T. Loo's Announcement of Liquidation in March 1950	186
6.1	Portrait of Charles C. Harrison (1844–1929)	199
6.2	Portrait of George B. Gordon (1870–1927)	200
6.3	Portrait of Carl W. Bishop (1881–1942), Smithsonian Institution Archives	202
6.4	Carl W. Bishop in Peking office, 1926. Smithsonian Institution Archives	203
6.5a,b	Postcard, C.T. Loo to George Gordon, July 28, 1917	210
6.6	The facade of the Penn Museum	216
6.7	Blueprint of the original plan of 1898	217
6.8	Opening exhibition in the Harrison Rotunda, 1916	219
6.9	Pratyekabuddha (a lone Buddha)	223
6.10	Bronze square vase	226
6.11	Jar with lid	226
6.12	Boddhisattva	226
6.13	Boddhisattva head	227
6.14	Statue base	227
6.15	Statue of Maitreya Buddha	228
6.16	Seated Shakyamuni Buddha	228
6.17	Rotunda, ca. 1941	229
7.1	Letter, Langdon Warner to Frederick Whiting, March 17, 1917	240

7.2	Letter, C.T. Loo to Frederick Whiting, March 18, 1917	242
7.3	Letter, George Gordon to C.T. Loo, March 13, 1918	245
7.4	Manhattan Storage and Warehouse–42nd and Lexington, 1912–1916, the New York Public Library Digital Collection	246
7.5	Quanmaogua in pieces	250
7.6	Letter, C.T. Loo to George Gordon, November 28, 1918	252
7.7a,b	Assyrian sculpture installation at Pepper Hall, c. 1930	260–61
7.8	The first installment	266
7.9	The second installment	267
7.10	The third and final installment	267
7.11	Plaster cast of Saluzi on exhibit, 1920, courtesy of The Cleveland Museum of Art	271
7.12a,b	British Museum's registration of the two plaster casts	274
7.13a,b	Letter, George Crofts to Charles Currelly, July 13, 1921, courtesy of the Royal Ontario Museum	276
8.1a–c	Pepper Hall with a great archway carved out from the back wall, ca. 1918; Antechamber gallery with a glimpse of Saluzi, ca. 1918; Antechamber gallery with a glimpse of Quanmaogua, ca. 1918	289–90
8.2	Pepper Hall exhibiting the Assyrian reliefs	291
8.3	Pepper Hall without the Assyrian reliefs	291
8.4	Exterior of Burlington House, Royal Academy of Arts, London/© Fraser Marr	293
8.5	The exhibition plan of the galleries at Burlington House, © Royal Academy of Arts, London	293
8.6a,b	The British Royal Navy cruiser, HMS Suffolk; British and Chinese officials on deck overseeing unloading, © Royal Academy of Arts, London	295
8.7a,b	Luohan exhibited at Burlington House, © Royal Academy of Arts, London; Luohan at the Rotunda, Penn Museum.	296
8.8	Maitreya Buddha	297
8.9a–c	Letter, C.T. Loo to Charles Harrison, September 10, 1927	299–301
8.10	International Exhibition, London—Central Hall with Amitābha Buddha, © Royal Academy of Arts, London	304
8.11	Saluzi at the International Exhibition, London, © Royal Academy of Arts, London	308
8.12	Penn Museum conservator at work	310
8.13	Quanmaogua and the support design	312

8.14 Chinese conservators at work 312
8.15 Three types of fills 313
8.16 Fitting the plaster cast of a fragment to Quanmaogua 315

Tables

1.1	Li Clan Line (Six Generations from Li Shimin)	7
1.2	Marriage Connections between the Li Clan and Other Powerful Families	8

Abbreviations

Institutions:

BLBW Bēilín bówùguǎn (碑林博物館)
CASS Zhōngguó shèhuì kēxuéyuàn kǎogǔsǔo (中國社會科學院攷古研究所)
MFA Museum of Fine Arts, Boston
NCHA Guójiā wénwùjú (國家文物局)
ROM Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto
SAFZ Shaǎnxī shěng dìfāngzhì biānjì wěiyuánhuì (陝西省地方志編輯委員會)
SAKY Shaǎnxī shěng kǎogǔ yánjiūyuàn (陝西省攷古研究院)
SALB Shaǎnxī lìshǐ bówùguǎn (陝西歷史博物館)
ZGHX Zhōngguó huàxiàngshí quánjí biānjì wěiyuánhuì (中國畫像石全集編輯委員會)
ZLBW Zhāo Líng bówùguǎn (昭陵博物館)
ZLWG Zhāo Líng wénwù guǎnlǐsuǒ (昭陵文物管理所)

Publications:

BBCJ Bǎibù cóngshū jíkān (百部叢書集刊)
CAZ Cháng'ān zhì (長安志)
CAZT Cháng'ān zhìtú (長安志圖)
CFYG Cèfǔ yuánguī (冊府元龜)
CH Cíhǎi (辭海)
CYQZ Cháoyě qiānzǎi (朝野簽載)
DTCQ Dà Táng chuàngyè qǐjūzhù (大唐創業起居注)
DTXY Dà Táng xīnyǔ (大唐新語)
ESSS Èrshísì shǐ (二十四史)
ESSY Èrshísì shǐ quányì (二十四史全譯)
JSL Jīnshí lù (金石錄)
JTS Jiù Tángshū (舊唐書)
JWDS Jiù Wǔdàishǐ (舊五代史)
LDBZ Lìdài bēizhì cóngshū (歷代碑誌叢書)
LDMH Lìdài mínghuà jì (歷代名畫記)

LQZ Lǐquán xiàn zhì (醴泉縣志)
MS Míngshǐ (明史)
QTW Quán Tángwén (全唐文)
SJ Shǐjì (史記)
SJWH Shaǎnxi jīnshí wénxiàn huìbiān (陝西金石文獻彙編)
SKQS Sìkù quánshū (四庫全書)
SKSL Shíkè shǐliào xīnbiān (石刻史料新編)
SMJH Shímò juānhuá (石墨鐫華)
SS Sòngshǐ (宋史)
SSGS Shàngshū gùshí (尚書故實)
STZX Shaǎnxī tōngzhì xù tōngzhì (陝西通志續通志)
TDZL Táng dà zhàolìng jí (唐大詔令集)
THY Táng huìyào (唐會要)
TJ Táng jiàn (唐鑒)
TLD Táng liùdiǎn (唐六典)
WXTK Wénxiàn tōngkǎo (文獻通攷)
XTS Xīn Tángshū (新唐書)
XWDS Xīn Wǔdàishǐ (新五代史)
ZDCS Zhāodài cóngshū (昭代叢書)
ZGSZ Zhōngguó shěngzhì huìbiān (中國省志彙編)
ZGZY Zhēnguān zhèngyào (貞觀政要)
ZLBK Zhāo Líng bēikǎo (昭陵碑攷)
ZLSK Táng Zhāo Líng shǐjì kǎolǜè (唐昭陵石蹟攷略)
ZLZB Zhāo Líng liùjùn zànbiàn (昭陵六駿贊辯)
ZMFQ Zhōngguó měishù fēnlèi quánjí (中國美術分類全集)
ZZTJ Zīzhì tōngjiàn (資治通鑒)

Acknowledgments

I am thankful for numerous people who provided me with encouragement and support over the past twenty-five years, helping me to shape and ultimately complete this book. Without their help, the book would not have been achievable.

First and foremost, I would like to express my gratitude to the Penn Museum for providing me with invaluable opportunities to develop my career in the museum field and to engage in research and publishing endeavors. I am particularly grateful to several Directors who oversaw my employment there. Dr. Jeremy A. Sabloff, the Museum Director at the time, along with my direct supervisor, Dr. Pamela H. Jardine, to whom this book is dedicated, not only supported me in my collections management duties, but also in my research projects. In 1997, shortly after I began working at the Museum, Dr. Sabloff offered me the chance to participate in fieldwork at Abydos, Egypt, which I chose from the many excavation projects sponsored by the Museum. Upon learning of the invitation to visit the excavations at Zhao Ling in the early 2000s, he immediately entrusted me with the task of visiting and gathering firsthand information. Dr. Sabloff encouraged me to pursue academic studies at the University of Pennsylvania while also supporting my research on the Six Stone Horses. Subsequent Museum Directors, including Drs. Richard M. Leventhal, Richard Hodges, Julian Siggers, and Christopher Woods, as well as Deputy Director Stephen Tinney and Executive Director of Galleries Dan Rahimi, provided me with various forms of support and encouragement to continue my research on the Stone Horses.

I would also like to express my gratitude to the professors at the University of Pennsylvania and the curators at the Penn Museum for their essential support and guidance during my research. Specifically, I want to thank Drs. Nancy S. Steinhardt, Paul R. Gordon, and Victor H. Mair from the Department of East Asia Languages and Civilizations for their academic training and for honing my research skills. In particular, Dr. Mair published

my dissertation in his Sino-Platonic Papers in 2009 and provided valuable comments on the first version of this manuscript. I also extend my sincere appreciation to the Penn Museum curators, particularly to Dr. Adam D. Smith, Assistant Curator of the Asian Section, for his instrumental role in shaping this book into a scholarly work. He guided me in transforming an assemblage of information into focused chapters and scrutinized every term and expression used, particularly in chapters 1, 2, and 5. Additionally, I would like to thank Dr. Richard L. Zettler, Associate Professor and Curator-in-charge of the Near East Section, for his great interest and support in this research project. He generously offered advice and tips when needed and provided insightful suggestions while reviewing the manuscript's first draft.

I received valuable assistance from numerous colleagues at the Museum, and although I cannot name everyone, I would like to thank Alessandro Pezzati, Senior Archivist, and Evan Peugh, Assistant Archivist, for their exceptional knowledge of the profession and unwavering assistance in accommodating my frequent visits, email inquiries, and an extensive list of images and scans for the book. I am thankful to Francine S. Sarin and Jennifer Chiappardi for providing professional photographs and scans. Within the Collections Division, Stephen A. Lang, Keeper of the Asian Section, helped verify various object and photographic records, especially the dimensions of the horse reliefs and online research of travel dates of several people mentioned in the book. Dwaune Latimer, Keeper of the African Section, read the manuscript draft and offered comments, while Anne M. Brancati, Senior Registrar, who succeeded me, provided me with a link to a centralized online resource concerning Chinese regulations and laws on antiquities. Robert Thurlow, Special Projects Manager, helped facilitate image payment to Beijing, and Chrisso Boulis, Registrar for Records, responded to my research requests onsite or via email.

Lynn Grant, Head Conservator, and Julia B. Lawson, Conservator, kindly shared their conservation-project notes and images, which were crucial in forming the section on Conservation Project in Chapter 8 and also reviewed the draft. Shawn Hyla, Project Leader, and Rajeev Thomas, Senior IT Support Specialist, helped to set up my electronic devices to manage this project on site or remotely and rescued me from technical emergencies in times of need. Additional assistance was provided by Kristen Pearson (a Penn alum and, at the time of writing, a PhD candidate at Harvard University), who helped with the horse iconographic study, Gillian Kastner, research

assistant volunteer for two years, for her work on the archival research and language help, and Emily Zhan, spring-break intern, for cross-checking references and Chinese characters in the text, glossary, and bibliography.

I would like to express my appreciation for the ongoing support of my former colleagues at the Museum who helped me during the preparation of this manuscript. Robert Vosburgh, JD, former Director of Major Gifts, generously dedicated his spare time to improving the entire manuscript draft, making it easier for future reviewers to read. Dr. James Mathieu, former Head of Collections and Publications, also contributed by editing and reorganizing an article that was not used for its original purpose years ago but was incorporated into this book. With his years of experience in the publication field, he provided a thorough review of the first manuscript and offered an encouraging overall assessment.

During the preparation of the manuscript, my friends outside the Museum provided precious support. Dr. Ailing Kong, Professor Emerita from Saint Joseph's University, assisted in the initial editing of the book's Introduction and Conclusion. Dr. Jay Xu, Director and CEO of the Asian Art Museum, and Dr. Chen Shen (Shen Chen), Senior Curator of Chinese Art and Culture and Vice President of Art & Culture at the Royal Ontario Museum, kindly read the manuscript draft and offered encouragement. Over the past 20 years, I have been fortunate to have Dr. Annette L. Juliano, Professor Emerita of East Asian Art at Rutgers University and Research Associate at the Institute for the Study of Ancient World, as my academic advisor and mentor. She has invited me to participate in several of her projects and has consistently supported me throughout these years. Dr. Juliano provided critical feedback on certain maps and sections of the manuscript multiple times, especially on Buddhism, which unfortunately had to be omitted due to the book's narrower focus (a topic touched on in the Introduction). She has been closely involved in monitoring the progress of this book project and has offered invaluable advice and assistance whenever needed.

In preparing this book, I received indispensable help from numerous professionals working in various institutions both on and off the University of Pennsylvania campus, in the United States, and abroad. I would like to express my sincere appreciation to all of them for their time, expertise, and assistance with texts or images, via email or onsite visits. At the University of Pennsylvania Archives and Records Center, I am deeply grateful to Timothy H. Horning, Public Services Archivist, for accommodating me daily for

several weeks. In the Cleveland Museum of Art Archives, I am indebted to Leslie Cade, Director of Archives, and Peter Buettner, then Archives Assistant, for their gracious hospitality during my week-long visit accessing their archival and digital records, which yielded unexpected findings. I also appreciate Susan Hernandez, Digital Archivist and Systems Librarian, for her prompt responses to my follow-up inquiries, and Nicolas Menefield, Digital Imaging Specialist/Archivist, for processing my image request and granting the use free of charge.

In the Boston area, I would like to extend my gratitude to Dr. Daisy (Yiyou) Wang, then Curator of Chinese and East Asian Art, Peabody Essex Museum, for sharing her research on C.T. Loo with me; Dr. Nancy Berliner, Wu Tung Senior Curator of Chinese Art at the Museum of Fine Arts, for discussing the pertinent records in their department with me; and Dr. Denice Doxey, Curator of Ancient Egyptian, Nubian, and Near Eastern Art of the Museum of Fine Arts, for securing appointments with Dr. Berliner and the MFA's Registrar Office for me. At the Harvard University Central Archives, I thank their staff for providing me with all the requested records for research, especially those on Langdon Warner.

From the Freer and Sackler Gallery of Art in Washington DC, I express my gratitude to J. Keith Wilson, Curator of Ancient Chinese Art, Ryan Murray, Archivist, Najiba Choudhury, Assistant Collections Information Specialist, Deborah Shapiro, Archives Technician-Reference, as well as Heidi Stover, Archivist, Reference of the Smithsonian Institution Archives, for their varied assistance and complimentary use of images. I also appreciate the Registrar's Offices of the Detroit Institute of Art and the Minneapolis Institute of Art for mailing me the pertinent information packages and the Registrar's Office of the Oriental Institute, University of Chicago, through Susan Allison, Associate Registrar, Rights and Reproductions, for processing and granting complementary use of images.

In London, I am grateful to the staff at the British Museum, who assisted me in various ways during my time there. I extend special thanks to Virginia Smithson, Senior Administrator of the Study Room, Department of Britain, Europe and Prehistory, Francesca Hillier, Senior Archivist, Collections Projects and Resources, British Museum Central Archives, Gaetano Ardito, Library Administrator, Department of Britain, Europe & Prehistory, and Dr. Chen Yi, former Curator of Collections, Far Eastern Department. Additionally, I cannot express my appreciation enough for my Shanghai Museum

colleague, Jingxian Qiu, Painting Conservator at the British Museum. She not only introduced me to her colleagues, but also helped me navigate the museum and made me feel at home in London.

At the Royal Academy of Arts, London, I would also like to thank Mark Pomeroy, Archivist, for sharing their well-organized records for my week-long visit, and Jennifer Camilleri, Picture Library Administrator, for her quick services in furnishing required images and considerable patience in the delayed payment. At the Musée Guimet, Paris, I am thankful to Cristina Cramerotti, Director of Library, Rouhanna Kedjam-Kaly, Archivist, Pierre Baptiste, Curator of Southeast Asia, and Huei-Chung Tsao, Curator of Chinese Department. Finally, for the Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto, Canada, I am indebted to Dan Rahimi, Consulting Scholar, for introducing me to Sara Irwin, research volunteer at the Far Eastern Department, who shared important records of antiquities dealers with me, and Dr. Chen Shen for granting access and full support to my research requests, and Nicola Woods, Rights and Reproduction Coordinator, for processing my image request and granting their free use.

I received invaluable assistance from numerous institutions, friends, and colleagues in China, whose contributions were essential to the basic and critical contents of the book, whether in text or imagery. Specially, I would like to extend my sincere thanks to the Palace Museum, Beijing, and, in particular, to Dr. Duo Limei, Research Fellow at the Palace Museum, Beijing, in facilitating communication and Liu Yuehan of the Imaging and Digital Media, Department of IT, for processing my image request and accommodating varied payment methods. I am grateful to museums in Shaanxi, particularly the Beilin Museum, the Zhao Ling Museum, Museum of Terracotta Warriors and Horses, and Shaanxi History Museum, as well as their dedicated staff, for their years of support in providing me with access, information, and images throughout my research. Especially, I would like to thank the Beilin Museum for sharing photos of the four Stone Horses with me years ago, which are included in this book. Li Jugang, formerly of the Beilin Museum, generously shared his research on the Six Stone Horses and facilitated my first visit to Zhao Ling in 1999, as well as accompanying me to Zhao Ling during its excavation in 2002. Fan Bo, Archivist of Beilin Museum, helped in locating local publications and providing gallery shots of the four Stone Horses for reference. Yang Wenzong, Conservator at the Shaanxi Historical Museum, for connecting me with Wang Shiping,

the author of the 1986 interview report, and to Wang Shiping for engaging in discussion and clarification of certain points included in the report. In particular, I would express my appreciation to Li Langtao, Deputy Director of Zhao Ling Museum, and Dang Shixue, of the Museum of Terracotta Warriors and Horses, for kindly providing the necessary images and granting permission for their use. Lastly, I owe an immense debt of gratitude to Zhang Jianlin, former Deputy Director of the Shaanxi Provincial Archaeological Research Institute and Head of the 2002 excavation at the North Gate of Zhao Ling. His extensive knowledge of Zhao Ling and exceptional professional collaboration were indispensable throughout the book's preparation. He graciously allowed me to inspect the excavation site and provided me with access to the archaeological records, both text and image, which is evidenced by the vast amount of excavation data and images included in the book.

I am also deeply grateful to the two peer reviewers whose meticulous reviews and insightful feedback have significantly enhanced the quality of my manuscript. I am especially indebted to Dr. Katherine R. Tsiang, Associate Director of the Center for the Art of East Asia at the University of Chicago, whose expertise in Chinese art and additional editing made my book even stronger. Additionally, I want to express my heartfelt thanks to Dr. Naomi F. Miller, Consulting Scholar of the Near East Section of the Penn Museum, who worked tirelessly during the holiday season to give the manuscript a final review and polish before submission. Her writing skills and efforts have made my book more readable and engaging. I also want to extend my deep appreciation to Ardeth P. Anderson, illustrator for Museum Publications, for her expertise in redrawing maps and enhancing illustrations, which have made the book visually appealing and exciting.

I am immensely indebted to Dr. Page Selinsky, Director of Penn Museum Publications, for her significant support throughout the entire book process, from the initial stages to the final completion. Dr. Selinsky played a critical role in shaping the first several chapters of the manuscript and provided meticulous reviews of multiple drafts with great patience and efficiency, offering thoughtful edits each time. She provided with great patience guidance on many issues, such as writing style and creating the index. Dr. Selinsky also went above and beyond in working with the Museum to address my special requests that required additional funding, showing great respect and consideration throughout. Without her extraordinary efforts

in facilitating this project, it would not have been possible to meet the tight schedule for a scholarly publication.

Finally, I would like to express my gratitude to my family members for their constant love, unwavering support, and unending confidence and pride in me throughout my journey towards achieving numerous goals. Without their perpetual encouragement and belief in me, I could not have come this far, and their presence in my life has been an invaluable source of strength and motivation. My lovely and keen on reading granddaughter, Lilli Li, has been a great joy. Her every occasional visit delighted me and renewed my efforts in completing the book, eventually!

Chronology of Chinese Dynasties

NEOLITHIC PERIOD		{CA. 8000–CA. 2000 BCE}
EARLY DYNASTIC CHINA		
XIA PERIOD (protohistoric)		{CA. 2100–CA. 1600 BCE}
SHANG DYNASTY		{CA. 1600–CA. 1100 BCE}
ZHOU DYNASTY		{CA. 1100–256 BCE}
Western Zhou	CA. 1100–771 BCE	
Eastern Zhou	770–256 BCE	
Spring and Autumn period	770–476 BCE	
Warring States period	475–221 BCE	
DYNASTIC CHINA		
QIN DYNASTY		{221–207 BCE}
HAN DYNASTY		{206 BCE–220 CE}
Western Han		206 BCE–8 CE
Xin (Wang Mang Usurpation)		9–24
Eastern Han		25–220
PERIOD OF DISUNITY		{220–589}
THREE KINGDOMS	220–265	
WESTERN JIN	265–316	
SOUTHERN (SIX) DYNASTIES		
Wu	222–280	
Eastern Jin	317–420	
Liu Song	420–479	
Southern Qi	479–502	
Liang	502–557	
Chen	557–589	

NORTHERN DYNASTIES		
Sixteen Kingdoms	304–439	
Northern Wei	386–535	
Eastern Wei	534–550	
Western Wei	535–557	
Northern Qi	550–577	
Northern Zhou	557–581	
Sui (rule the North only)	581–589	
SUI DYNASTY		{589–618}
Yang Jian, Emperor Wen	r. 581/9–604	
Yang Guang, Emperor Yang	r. 605–618	
TANG DYNASTY		{618–907}
Li Yuan, Emperor Gaozu	r. 618–626	
Li Shimin, Emperor Taizong	r. 626–649	
Li Zhi, Emperor Gaozong	r. 649–683	
Gaozong's Empress	r. 684–705	
Li Xian, Emperor Zhongzong	r. 705–710	
Li Dan, Emperor Ruizong	r. 710–712	
Li Longji, Emperor Xuanzong	r. 712–756	
Li Heng, Emperor Su	r. 756–762	
Li Yu, Emperor Dai	r. 762–779	
Li Shi, Emperor De	r. 779–805	
Li Song, Emperor Shunzong	r. 805	
Li Chun, Emperor Xianzong	r. 805–820	
Li Heng, Emperor Muzong	r. 820–824	
Li Zhan, Emperor Jingzong	r. 824–827	
Li Ang, Emperor Wenzong	r. 827–840	
Li Yan, Emperor Wuzong	r. 840–846	
Li Chen, Emperor Xuanzong	r. 846–859	
Li Cui, Emperor Yizong	r. 859–873	
Li Xuan, Emperor Xizong	r. 873–888	
Li Ye, Emperor Zhaozong	r. 888–904	
Li Chu, Emperor Ai	r. 904–907	

FIVE DYNASTIES	{907–960}
LIAO DYNASTY	{916–1125}
SONG DYNASTY	{960–1279}
JIN DYNASTY	{1115–1234}
YUAN DYNASTY	{1279–1368}
MING DYNASTY	{1368–1644}
QING DYNASTY	{1644–1911}

Timeline of the Six Stone Horses and Related Events

599

- Li Shimin (Emperor Tang Taizong) was born (name unrecorded) near Chang'an (now Xi'an), second son to the Li family; parents were [Li] Yuan and Lady Dou.

601

- Given the name Shimin, which means rescuing the world and pacifying the populace.

ca. 614

- Married Lady Zhangsun.

615–616

- Followed his father to Shanxi.
- Responded to a call for rescuing Emperor Yang of the Sui from the Turkic encirclement.
- Rescued his father who was ringed by the Turks on another occasion.

617

- Followed his father to Taiyuan, Shanxi.
- Assisted his father in launching a revolt and forming an alliance with the Turks.
- Led the Left Army Division in the capture of the Sui capital, Chang'an.

618

- Given the title Prince of Qin and his elder brother, Crown Prince, after their father took over the power from the Sui.

- Commanded the campaign in subduing Xue Renguo from Gansu, the first of the four campaigns in consolidating the new Tang.
- The warhorse in service: Baitiwu.

619

- Commanded the second campaign, defeated Song Jingang and brought downfall of Liu Wuzhou in Shanxi.

The warhorse in service: Telebiao.

620–621

- Commanded the third campaign and vanquished two adversaries, Wang Shichong in Henan and Dou Jiande from Hebei.
- Three warhorses in service: Saluzi—hit by one arrow at the chest; Qingzhui—wounded by five arrows, all from the front; and Shifachi—pierced by five arrows, four from the front and one from the back.
- Returned to Chang'an as a savior of the nation and received enormous rewards including a title above all princes second only to the Crown Prince.

622

- Commanded the fourth campaign and suppressed Liu Heita in Hebei.
- The warhorse in service: Quanmaogua wounded by nine arrows from both the front and the back.
- Power struggle with the Crown Prince surfaced, escalated, and turned deadly in the next several years.

626

- In early July, launched the "Xuanwu Gate Incident," killing the Crown Prince and forcing his father's abdication in his favor.
- Ascended the throne, the second emperor of the Tang, posthumously Taizong, and conferred upon his wife, the title Empress Zhangsun.
- Galloped out of the Xuanwu Gate to the bank of the Wei River to face the incursion made by the Turkic Khan Xieli of the Eastern Khaganate.
- Returned within days to sign a peace treaty, but conflicts with the Turks continued.

630

- Ordered the Tang army to launch decisive battles against the Turks, resulting in the capture of Khan Xieli and dissolution of the Eastern Khaganate.
- Several tribal states northwest to China came to the Tang capital to offer Taizong the title, *tiankehan* 天可汗 (the Heavenly Khan, or the Khan of the khans), becoming subject to the Tang's rule for many years.

635

- Buried his father in Xian Ling with a man-made mound in Sanyuan, Shaanxi.

636

- Selected Mount Jiuzong in Liquan, Shaanxi by taking its high peak as the mound to construct a mausoleum for the newly deceased Empress Zhangsun and eventually himself.
- Ordered realistic images of the six warhorses that he had ridden in the four victorious campaigns to be carved in stone and flank his tomb.
- Composed texts for the first two steles of the mausoleum: one in honor of his empress (The Empress Stele) and the other in praise of his six warhorses with eulogistic verses for each of them (The Eulogy Stele).
- Ordered Ouyang Xun to provide his calligraphic script for inscribing these texts onto the two steles.
- Erected the two steles at the back of Mount Jiuzong, Empress Zhangsun's provisional burial site.
- Appointed Yan Lide to supervise the construction of the mausoleum but stripped him of the title shortly after criticizing him for not working hard enough.

639

- Restored Yan Lide to his original position resuming the mausoleum project including the carving of the images of his six warhorses.

642

- Composed laudatory verses for the 24 meritorious officials and

ordered Yan Liben to paint their portraits to be hung in the Lingyan Pavilion of the Palace City.

644

- Completion of the mausoleum and the Six Stone Horses.
- Empress Zhangsun was relocated to the Mortuary Palace around that time (specific date unknown), leaving behind the Empress Stele at her temporary burial site.
- The Six Stone Horses, carved in relief, were erected on the three-tier plinths at the 3rd terrace of the mausoleum in front of the *que* gate towers. Instead of inscribing the horse eulogy in the upper corner of each relief in a space reserved for the purpose, they were accompanied by the Eulogy Stele relocated from the temporary burial site of the Empress.
- Ordered Yan Lide to the Korean Peninsula to prepare for a war against Goguryeo.

646–648

- Ordered Yan Lide, who had just returned from Korean Peninsula, to supervise the renovation of two imperial palaces consecutively and Emperor Taizong spent time in the second palace.

649

- Emperor Taizong died. The Tang court asked Yan Lide to return to oversee the interment. Emperor Taizong was buried in the Mortuary Palace of the mausoleum, prefixed by an honorific word "Zhao" (illumination), hereafter, the Zhao Mausoleum or Zhao Ling.
- Taizong's successor and son Emperor Gaozong ordered the portraits of the 14 foreign leaders be carved in stone, with the name and title of each inscribed by Yin Zhongrong on the statue plinth. These statues were completed shortly thereafter and placed inside the 14 terraced-pavilions at the 5th terrace of Zhao Ling.

669

- Emperor Gaozong ordered Yin Zhongrong to inscribe the horse eulogies on the Stone Horses' plinths (presumably on the top tier), making the inscription style in line with that of the 14 statues of

foreign leaders for relocation of the Stone Horses from the 3rd terrace to join the 14 stone statues in sharing the 14 terraced-pavilions at the 5th terrace.

- With eulogies carved on the individual horse plinths, the Horse-Eulogy Stele did not follow the Six Stone Horses to the 5th terrace and eventually sank into oblivion (mostly likely repurposed beyond recognition).

910s–920s

- Wen Tao, the military leader in charge of the Shaanxi area, pillaged the Mortuary Palace, tunneled deep from the south cliff, by removing portable treasures from inside, but did not seem to have gone to the north side to harm the Six Stone Horses.

1089

- You Shixiong, a scholar official, erected the Image Stele by incising in line the Six Stone Horses in miniature preserving each horse's name, coat color, eulogy, and campaign with arrows hit (if any) (see Fig. 2.14).

1094

- You Shixiong erected the Map Stele illustrating the layout of Zhao Ling including auxiliary tombs (see Fig. 2.2).

14th c.

- The Empress Stele was recorded standing alone at the back of Mount Jiuzong.

17th c.

- The inscribed top tier of the horse plinths was recorded missing.
- The Stone Horses were found standing on the bottom tiers connected by metal clamps.

18th c.

- Local gazetteers recorded that the Six Stone Horses had mostly been fragmented, likely being the victims of the severe earthquakes of 1556, causing damage to and toppling many stone monuments in the Shaanxi region.

1907

- Édouard Chavannes, a French Sinologist, photographed the Six Stone Horses in situ at the 5th terrace of Zhao Ling

1909

- In Paris, Chavannes published his monumental work on Chinese sculpture including the Six Stone Horses.

1912

- Paul Mallon, an antiquities dealer of Paris, initiated the first attempt on the business dealing of the Six Stone Horses. He hired an intermediary in Beijing, A. Grosjean, who sent his field agent, Marcel Galenzi, to Shaanxi to strike a deal.

1913

- In May, these French dealers arranged the first attempt to remove the Six Stone Horses. The shipping crew members deinstalled the horses from where they had been standing, but were blocked by the local people, leaving the horses lying on the 4th terrace, still within the core area of Zhao Ling.
- Late in the year, a different group of French dealers instigated the second attempt on purchasing the Six Stone Horses. They mutilated several Stone Horses into multiple segments for easy transport, but were still unable to remove them from Zhao Ling.

1914

- Before February, Zhang Yunshan, a Shaanxi military leader, removed two of the Six Stone Horses from Zhao Ling to his office at the Shaanxi Governmental Compound (Offices) in Xi'an.
- In early February, a local dealer, an intermediary for the local officials, spread the news about the sale of the Six Stone Horses, claiming to raise funds for building local schools. C.T. Loo's associates in China heard the news and got interested, but Loo did not take any action because his business in Paris was in lowest ebb due to WWI.

1915

- In March, Loo moved his business to New York. After a successful

first several months, Loo revived the sale of the horse reliefs. Loo's associates in China headed by Wu Qizhou implemented the plan by involving agent Zhao Hefang to engage Yuan Kewen, a son of the then President Yuan Shikai. Yuan Kewen telegraphed the Shaanxi Military Governor, Lu Jianzhang, to send the two horse reliefs, already in Xi'an, to Beijing, for which, Lu dispatched the local army. Yuan followed with the second telegraph asking Lu not to release the horses to Zhao.

1916

- Yuan Kewen held the two Stone Horses at the entrance of an antiquities store in Beijing for months before receiving financial benefits and releasing them to Zhao. Loo completed the purchase of the these two Stone Horses in Beijing and then shipped them to New York.
- By late September, Wu Qizhou arrived in New York.

1917

- In early February, Wu Qizhou left New York for Shanghai.
- In March, the two Stone Horses became available on the art market. Langdon Warner saw them in New York and engaged the Cleveland Museum of Art for their purchase, but it did not work out.
- The French dealers who engaged in the first incomplete sale returned to Shaanxi to pursue the remaining four Stone Horses. They were able to remove them out of Zhao Ling, but not Shaanxi. The Shaanxi local forces intercepted them in transit and entrusted the four horse reliefs to the local museum for safe keeping.
- Carl Bishop, heading the Penn Museum's two research trips to China between 1915 and 1917, arrived in Xi'an in mid-October and stayed for two weeks where he saw the four Stone Horses newly installed in a gallery and returned the following day to conduct a special study.
- In November, the Penn Museum terminated its China research and recalled Bishop.

1918

- In early January, on his way back to America, Bishop met with Langdon Warner in Tokyo. They likely exchanged information about the four horse reliefs in Xi'an and the two in New York, respectively.
- Bishop returned to Philadelphia but did not seem to have a meeting

with the Museum Director George Gordon until late February or even early March. He left the Museum in the fall.

- On March 9 (Saturday), Gordon saw the two Stone Horses at Loo's warehouse in New York and expressed interest. Loo agreed to loan them to the Penn Museum with an option to purchase.
- Loo made molds out of the two reliefs.
- On May 7, the two Stone Horses departed New York by motor truck(s).
- On May 8, the two Stone Horses arrived at the Penn Museum in Philadelphia.
- In late November, the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston requested to buy one of the two Stone Horses. The Penn Museum's Board approved fundraising towards their purchase and Gordon promised Loo payment by January 31, 1919.

1919

- The Penn Museum made special arrangements twice with Loo for extending the loan with option to buy until April 1, 1921. Loo agreed in writing not to negotiate with other individuals or institutions for the sale of the two horse reliefs.
- Loo offered a set of plaster casts made from the molds taken in 1918 to the Cleveland Museum of Art.

1920

- Late in the year, the Penn Museum secured a major donor and settled the price with Loo for the two Stone Horses at $125,000 (from original asking price of $150,000).
- The Penn Museum made the first of the three installments in December.

1921

- The balance was made in two installments in January and March.
- With the Penn Museum's permission, Loo presented the two sets of plaster casts to the British Museum and the Musée Guimet.
- News spread of the Penn Museum's purchase of the two horses, and Loo's distribution of their casts to European museums aroused more schemes on the remaining four stone horses in China, but any attempts

were to no avail because of the local government's firm stand on the horses' preservation.

- Paul Mallon, the French dealer who initiated the first attempt in purchasing the Six Stone Horses, wrote to the Penn Museum disclosing his role and related events.

1927

- Loo wrote to Charles Harrison, Chairman of the Penn Museum Board, about having troubles (being placed on the list for arrest) with the Chinese government for the alleged "illegal sale of the two Stone Horses."

1935–1936

- The Penn Museum refused to loan Saluzi to the International Exhibition of Chinese Art, London due to C.T. Loo's fear of being arrested resulting from the alleged "illegal sale of the two Stone Horses." With assurances from Chinese government representatives in London for not raising any questions, Saluzi was loaned to and exhibited in London for eight months.

1949–1950

- The four Stone Horses remaining in China were transferred to the independent Shaanxi Provincial Museum, which is now the Beilin Museum, Xi'an and remain there.

2001

- One of very first two steles of Zhao Ling, the Empress Stele, repurposed into a Ming imperial stele, was discovered onsite. It remains eight characters from the original inscription, naming Ouyang Xun's official title and his involvement (inscribing the texts for the two steles), attesting the accuracy of the historical texts and the existence at a time of the Eulogy Stele.

2002

- Chinese archaeologists excavated the North Gate area of Zhao Ling and yielded new evidence in facilitating the study concerning the locations of the Six Stone Horses at the North Gate area, including upon their completion in 644 and subsequent relocation in 669.

2009–2010

- The Penn Museum launched a major conservation project on the two Stone Horses with the last of the four phases completed in collaboration with Chinese counterparts from Shaanxi.
- Chinese conservators brought plaster casts of stone horse fragments excavated from Zhao Ling in 2002 and matched one to Quanmaogua's saddle.

Introduction

The Story of the Six Stone Horses

Upon entering the Rotunda Gallery of the Penn Museum—a magnificent hall with a high arched ceiling exhibiting Chinese works of art—visitors are soon met by two large stone reliefs (Fig. 0.1). Their prominence comes not from their imposing size and presence, but because they are unlike any of the other Chinese objects in the gallery.

The Rotunda showcases a selection of Chinese art objects, featuring early sculptural works from periods pre-Song (960–1279 [unless noted, all dates CE]), which are—except ritual bronze vessels—largely divided into two broad categories, Buddhist art or mortuary art. The Buddhist sculpture, epitomized by Buddhist imagery, reached its zenith in China from the 5th to the 9th centuries. These pieces are free-standing and carved in the round or carved in relief (against a plain ground), following standardized rules. The mortuary stone sculpture, on the other hand (outside of burial furnishings), is typified by figures of humans (i.e., civil or military officials) or animals (factual or mythical creatures), placed aboveground and carved in the round in stereotypical forms (Fig. 0.2a,b). Exceptions include a realistic group of carvings represented by the statue of a horse trampling a human figure from the 2nd-century BCE tomb of Huo Qubing 霍去病 (140–117 BCE) in Shaanxi (see Fig. 2.12).

The two large stone reliefs under discussion in this volume belong neither to the category of Buddhist art nor the family of mortuary sculpture with carved images of stereotypical animals. Dating to the mid-7th century, they are close-to-life size portrayals of two equines, fully tacked in a posture of heading off to or galloping into battle. In contrast to Huo Qubing's



0.1 The Rotunda Gallery at the Penn Museum with the two Stone Horses visible at left against wall. Photo by Tom Stanley for the University of Pennsylvania.



0.2a,b Pair of stone animals. Niuqiu county, Hebei province; Han dynasty, ca. 200; stone; H: 1.52 m; L (top): 2.08 m; L (bottom): 2.13 m. Penn Museum collection, C656, C657 (Images 299148; 299152)