

ライオンと一角牛：獅子と狛犬の比較研究
その起源と変遷の図像学的な分析

Lion and Single-horned Bull: Shishi and Komainu: A Comparative Study
The Origin of Guardian Lions and Iconographic Analysis of their Transition

09DT004

Sharareh MOTALLEBI

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Lion and Single-horned Bull: Shishi and Komainu: A Comparative Study

The Origin of Guardian Lions and Iconographic Analysis of their Transition

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1. Introduction:

This research aims to investigate the manifestation of Near Eastern iconography in the design of Japanese guardian lions and parallels of this phenomenon in other cultures in Asia, namely Egypt, Mesopotamia, Iran, Gandhara and India and China. I use a visual comparison method to examine two specific visual qualities in the design of Japanese shishi and komainu influenced by the image of guardian lions in the ancient Near East; leonine body markings and komainu's single horn. The objection of this research is that these two visual features work as a sign to designate shishi and komainu as guardian creatures associated to sun and moon.

The first visual feature is a form of torsional body marking known as 'shishi moyou' in Japan. There are numerous examples available from Egypt, Mesopotamia and ancient Iran that represent lions—and occasionally other animals—with similar form of body marking. In this research, I argue that this torsional motif can be a reference to the solar nature of guardian lions.

The second visual feature is komainu's single horn. By making a comparison between the image of komainu and Near Eastern single-horned bull, I argue that komainu's single horn is an adaptation from the image of Near Eastern bull and works as an iconographic reference to the lunar nature of komainu.

2. Chapter I: Pan-Asian Concept of Guardian Lions:

2.1. Phenomenology of the Sacred Place:

This chapter offers an explicit description on basic structure of sacred area and its connection to chaotic space. Sacred places, regardless of the culture they represent, have two common qualities. First, sacred places are designed to reflect the cosmology of ruling religion. Second, their function is defined within carefully delimited area.

Since sun and moon are always in motion and they disappear and reappear in the sky, in the mythology of many cultures, they are believed to travel between different cosmic areas; world of living and underworld. Therefore, sun and moon are often depicted marking the borderline between two areas of sacred and profane.

In ancient Near East, Lions are believed to guard the cosmic gateways between world of living and underworld and they also protect the sun in its nighttime journey to the underworld. Therefore, lions share similar qualities with the sun. On the other

hand, bull is an animal associated to the moon; the source of bull's lunar power is in its horn, which imitates the shape of a crescent moon. Therefore, these two animals represent sun and moon and this makes them the perfect guardians for sacred places to mark the line between the sacred and the profane.

2.2. Pan-Asian Concept of Guardian Lions:

This section is an introduction to various representations of guardian lions used by the cultures mentioned above. Additionally, various examples have been used to portray commonalities between the images of guardian lions from different cultures. In round up section of this chapter, common visual representations of guardian lions in the art of mentioned cultures are reviewed in the following categories:

1. Lions as Guardians of Cosmic Gateways,
2. Lions as Guardians of the sun.
3. Lions Throne,
4. Ceremonial Lion Beds,
5. Lions as Guardians of Sacred Place,
6. Gods and Goddesses Ridding on Lion,
7. Lion Pillars,
8. Guardian Lions' Facial Expressions,
9. Lion Sphinxes.

3. Chapter II: Shishi and Leonine Body Markings:

The first visual feature that is examined in this research is a form of round or torsional motif that appears on different locations on lions—and occasionally other animals—in numerous visual examples from all of the cultures under discussion (Figure 1).

3.1. Literature Review:

Tanabe Katsumi mentions the torsional motif in the design of green fabric usually attached to the rim of lion masks used in Japanese lion dance performances. He claims that; "because this motif was introduced to Japan long time ago, there is no official name for it. However, it is called as 'lion's hair' in Kyushu Prefecture.¹ This motif is called as 'shishi moyou' or 'the lion motif' by Takashi Katano in his book titled the encyclopedia of Japanese motifs.²

Leonine body ornament was used in the vast region of Asia for thousands of years and it was translated to various forms and patterns with different naturalistic and iconographic attributions.

¹ Katsumi Tanabe, "Shishimai kara Mesopotamia.Ejiputo-e." *Bulletine of Kakegawa-west High School Vol. 20* (1989): 3.

² Takashi Katano, *Nihon Monyou Jiten* (Tokyo: Kawade Shobo Shinsha,1984), 55.

However, very few researches had been dedicated to this subject. An article by Helene J. Kantor, published in *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* is the first significant work dedicated to this subject.³ Kantor offers numerous examples of shoulder ornaments from ancient Egyptian and Syro-Palestinian art. She offers various theories concerning the origin of the leonine shoulder ornament and its source of inspiration. These theories with the pros and cons related to each of them are argued in the forth section of this chapter; 1. Natural hair whorl, 2. Applique or an element of decoration, 3. Sign of goddess, 4. Sun symbol

3.2. Method of Research:

Since visual comparison is the main method used in this chapter, 274 examples are collected form all the mentioned cultures that show different variations of animal body markings.

Detail images of body markings available are organized in the form of a timeline table in the sixth section of this chapter. This timeline table covers a span of time between third millennium BCE to present and using this table; we can observe how the body markings evolve as they were transited from culture to culture.

Next to each of the images in the timeline table, there are one or multiple notes—number of notes depends on number of body markings depicted in that image—and it includes information about each of the animal body marking depicted in that particular artifact. 414 notes are included in timeline table and each of these notes describe three factors about the body marking they are associated with:

1. The motif that is used to mark the animal. All the motifs available in all 414 notes are categorized into 18 groups.
2. The animal that is illustrated with a specific body marking. There are 14 kinds of animals identified with body marking.
3. The location of marking on animals' body. The marking occurs on 14 different locations on animals' body.

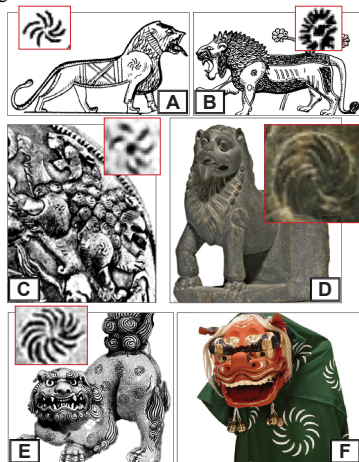


Figure 1: A(1-E-18), B(1-M-22), C(1-I-43), D(1-GI-16), E(1-C-16), F(1-J-50).

³ Helene J. Kantor, "The Shoulder Ornament of Near Eastern Lions," *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 6 (October 1947): 250-274.

3.3. Sampling Method:

The sampling method used for this research is simple random sampling. Animal body markings analyzed in this research are very popular in both Near Eastern and East Asian art and the collection available to this research is just a small share of them. In this chapter, all the examples mentioned by previous researches are collected, as well as other examples collected from other references—such as books, museum online databases—and each of the examples at least have one of the qualities below: the animal body marking represents a circular or whirl shape, the animal with the body marking is a lion or bull or the body marking represented on the shoulder or rump of the animal. The reason that these qualities are chosen is that they have a critical role in revealing the iconographic meaning of the shoulder ornament.

3.4. Conclusion:

The animal body markings are used in a long period of time across the vast continent of Asia. Therefore, it is possible that the body markings bear different iconographic attributions in different circumstances of time and place. However, looking at the examples collected, it is clear that some visual qualities have a very distinguished popularity. Therefore, the conclusion of this chapter is based on the popularity of the visual qualities:

1. 87% of all the notes refer to the body markings on lions and bulls. This proves that the body markings are intended for lions and bulls and other markings are local imitations of the leonine and bovine markings.
2. Collected examples show that locations of leonine and bovine markings are different in early ages; leonine markings are mostly used on the torso of the animal, while the bovine markings are used on the forehead of the animal. Later, the leonine and bovine markings were completely mixed up and the whirl motif on the forehead of the bulls was replaced by a form of leonine marking on the body and vice versa.
3. Many of the motifs used as animal body marking are mainly known as solar symbols. "The Iconography of the sun is represented by a vast range of emblems. These include the gold disk, the rayed winged disk, the half-disk with rays, the circle with center point, and a star, spiral, ring, wheel, Swastika, heart, rosette, lotus, sun flower and chrysanthemum."⁴ Thus, the body markings represent the sun.

4. 30% of all the motifs available are formed in the shape of a whirling symbol and they symbolize changing from one state or condition to another; like death and rebirth, sacred and profane and etc. This idea aligns with the solar nature of the guardians, as well

⁴ Jack Tresidder, edit. , *The Complete Dictionary of Symbols* (San Francisco, 2005), 455.

as their role as the connector between the sacred place and profane.

4. Chapter III: Komainu and Near Eastern Single-horned Bull:

The second visual quality is komainu's single horn. I argue that komainu's single horn is an adaptation from the image of single-horned bull that appears in numerous Near Eastern representations accompanied by lion (Figure 2-A). I use the iconography of the horn in ancient Near East to prove that komainu's horn is a reference to resurrection power of the moon.

There are clear differences in the appearance of early komainu used during the late Heian Period, and komainu, as we know it today. *Ruiju Zatsuyosho No.4* is originally a document from late Heian Period, however the illustrations are added in Edo period.⁵ Based on the illustrations available in this document (Figure 2-B), the early image of komainu resembles an animal with a long neck and hooves, but the image of komainu as we know it today is very similar to shishi and it more resembles a canine animal with claws. What interests this research is that why during the process of change, komainu kept its single horn. The answer to this question lies in iconography of the horn in Near Eastern design and its mythical association to the resurrection power of the moon.



Figure 2: A(2-I-29), B(2-J-2).

4.1. Literature Review:

A number of Japanese documents on imperial court rituals and ceremonies from tenth century to fifteenth century offer descriptions on the appearance of shishi and komainu. In these documents, shishi is often described as seated on the left side, yellow complexion and mouth open, while komainu is seated on the right side, with a white complexion, the mouth closed and a single horn on top of its head. Numerous Japanese documents describe the detail visual features of shishi and komainu, but these documents offer little clue to the iconographic attributions of these visual qualities. Only recently, studies have attempted to interpret symbolic meaning of these guardian lions' visual features. General consensus among recent scholars is that "shishi with the mouth open is a male or yang, representing the heaven and the sun.

⁵ Shigeo Kawamoto, Kazuko koizumi, *Ruiju zatsuyō-shō sashizukan* (Tokyo: Chuo-Koron Bijutsu Shuppan, 1998), intro-1.

Komainu with the mouth closed is a female or yin, representing the earth and the moon."⁶

4.2. Method of Research:

The objection of this chapter is to compare visual features of komainu with the visual features of Near Eastern single-horned bull, in order to find a possible connection between these two guardian animals. Once the connection between komainu and Near Eastern single-horned bull is established, we can prove the lunar association of the bull's horn in ancient Near Eastern mythology, and its connection to the resurrection power of the moon. Hence, it is worth to consider similar iconographic attribution for komainu's horn as well.

We can establish the connection between komainu and Near Eastern single-horned bull through textual evidences as well. Based on the early documents mentioned in the third chapter of this research, ji, a Chinese mythical single-horned animal was used in Japanese court as a gateway guardian before komainu has ever existed. On the other hand, this Chinese creature is named to be the ancestor of komainu. After the connection between the komainu and the Chinese creature is established, Chinese and Iranian ancient texts are used to make the connection between the China and Iran.

4.3. Chinese Unicorn Ji, the Link Between Single-horned Bull and Komainu:

The single horn bull was used in China as a tomb guardian as early as first century. According to *Engishiki*, a single-horned Chinese mythical bull named ji was used as gateway guardian in Japanese court during the Engi Era (901-923).⁷ Ji was mentioned in ancient Chinese book of *Sen Gai Kyo* (Figure 3), as a creature with the appearance of a bull. It was mentioned in the late Heian Period scroll, *Ruiju Zatsuyosho No.4* and in this document, Xiniu is introduced as the same animal as ji. Ji appears in the classical poetry of China like *Tao Te Ching* and *Shi Jing. Guan Yin Zi* by Xi Yin are another documents that offer a passage that refers to the lunar association of ji. Another note on the origin of xiniu and ji is found in the *Book of Han*—finished in 111. This book reveals the origin of three very important guardian animals used in China and it says: in the land of Wuyi "there exist taoba, lion and xiniu."⁸ Land of Wuyi is the name referring to parts of present Afghanistan and Iran. This quote proves that all of these guardian animals come from the Near East. On the other hand, *Bun'an Gosokui Chodonozu*, written in mid-twelve century,⁹ includes an

⁶ Kohei Sugiura, *Nihon no Katachi, Ajia no Katachi* (Tokyo, 1994), 27.

⁷ Chisato Uesugi, *Komainu Jiten*, (Tokyo, 2001), 111.

⁸ 《汉书·西域传上·乌弋山离国》：“有桃拔、师子、犀牛。”

⁹ Toshio Fukuyama, *Jutaku Kenchiku no Kenkyu* (Tokyo: Chuo-Koron Bijutsu Shuppan, 1984),187.

illustration of shishi and komainu with a short annotation that reads; “the image of ji becomes komainu.”¹⁰ Based on *Bun’an Gosokui Chodonozu*, we can claim that the image of komainu is originated from the image of single-horned guardian, ji. Hence, ji is the link that connects komainu with its distant ancestor the Near Eastern single-horned bull.

4.4. Conclusion:

In early illustrations, shishi and komainu are depicted as very different creatures. Although later the image of komainu changed and it became very close to shishi in appearance, but some of the features in the design of komainu was preserved. These visual features are very similar to the visual features of the Near Eastern bull; therefore, they can play an important role in discovering komainu’s original iconographic attributions. All of these visual features and their similarities to the Near Eastern bulls are discussed throughout this chapter and they are separately analyzed in the conclusion section of this chapter. The list of these visual features are as followed:

1. Having a single horn, 2. Depicted/described accompanied by lion, 3. Being used as guardian of sacred places, 4. Having a white complexion, 5. Associated with the right side, 6. Representing the end/death, 7. Considered to be female

5. Conclusion of this Research:

Main purpose of this research is to reveal the connection between shishi and the sun, komainu and the moon, through the visual analysis of two of their visual features, shishi moyou and komainu’s single horn. In order to establish these connections, the iconography of these visual features is analyzed in the ancient Near Eastern design, which is the origin of the image of the lion guardians. First chapter of this research is an introduction to the commonalities in lions’ representations in mentioned cultures. These commonalities are analyzed to show the similar roles of lions as guardian animals in all of the cultures above.

The second chapter of this research is dedicated to shishi moyou or leonine body marking that occurs on some animal representations in the art of the ancient Near East. Most of the motifs used as lion markings are the motif known as solar symbols and the most popular location of the motif occurs on the shoulder of the animal, which resembles the sun rising over the back of lion. This depiction of lion and sun refers to the role of lions as guardians of the cosmic gateway. Moreover, whirling form, which is the most popular form of the body marking, is a sign associated with solar cycle and the cycle of time. In this sense, the round and torsional motif closely interprets the function of the lion

as the guardian and connector between the sacred place and the profane.

In the third chapter of this research, the origin and the iconographic meaning of komainu’s single horn is examined. We know that komainu is a guardian creature innovated in Japan, however, it holds various features of the guardian animals introduced to Japan via China and Korea; such as bull and dog. Here, the focus is where komainu’s single horn has originated from. Based on the analysis in this research, the origin of komainu’s single horn can be found in the image of single-horn bull used as guardian in the ancient Near East. This mythical animal influenced a Chinese version of single-horned bull, known as ji and the single horn of ji was later adapted by komainu. Moreover, in ancient Iranian mythology, the horn is associated to the regeneration power of the moon. Based on the Chinese documents discussed in chapter 3, similar iconographic meaning was later introduced to China and Chinese ji is also related to the moon and its horn is believed to capture the moon’s essence.

In conclusion, the analysis of two visual features that was used in the design of shishi and komainu shows that these two guardian creatures are related to the sun and moon. Shishi moyou represents the sun and its journey through the heaven and underworld, and komainu’s single horn reveals the Near Eastern origin of this guardian animals and it represents the regenerating power of the moon.

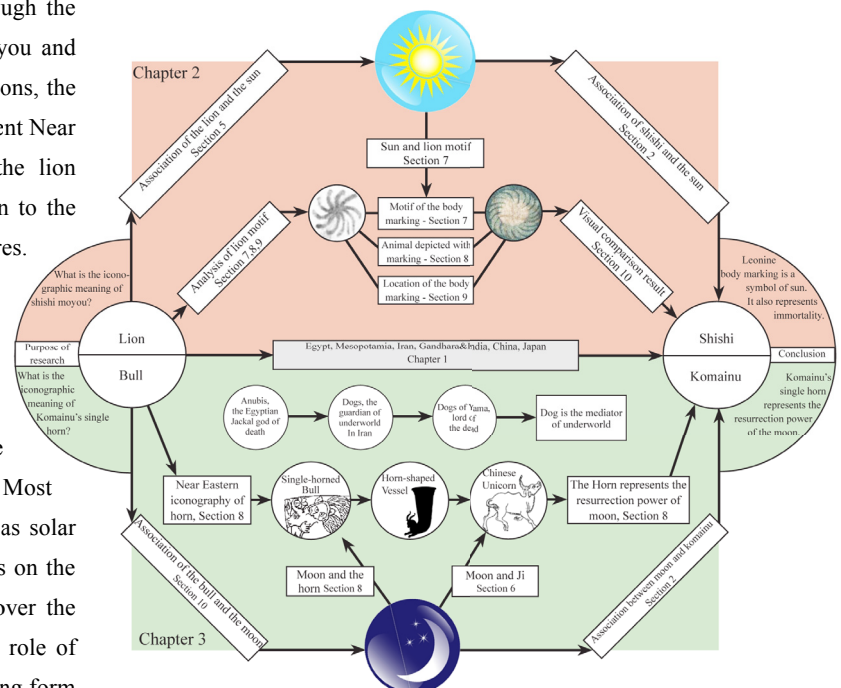


Figure 3: The pink part of the diagram above demonstrates the issues discussed in the second chapter and the green part shows the process of the research in the third chapter of this research. The hypothesis and conclusion of each chapter is depicted in the half-moon shapes on both sides of the diagram.

¹⁰ Chisato Uesugi, *Komainu Jiten*, (Tokyo, 2001), 110.

ライオンと一角牛；獅子と狛犬の比較研究

その起源と変遷の図像学的な分析

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1. はじめに本研究では、日本の獅子と狛犬像の起源とその変遷をエジプト、メソポタミア、イラン、ガンダーラとインド及び中国の守護神像を比較研究することを通して、図像学的に調査・分析することを目的としている。本稿は視覚的な比較方法を用い、西アジアから伝播した獅子と狛犬に見られる「獅子模様」と、狛犬の「一角」という二つの視覚的特徴を観察し、獅子と狛犬にみられる二つの視覚的特徴と太陽と月との関係を論ずる。

まず、獅子の身体に見られる獅子模様という渦巻きのような形について観察し考察を行う。この模様の歴史的な起源はエジプトのライオン像にあり、さらに、メソポタミアとイランにおいてもライオンや場合によっては他の動物にも同じ模様が用いられていた。本稿では、最初にこの渦巻きの模様とこれらの動物に象徴される太陽との関係について論じる。次に、狛犬と西アジアで守護神として使われた一角牛との比較をふまえて、狛犬の一角が西アジアの図像から継承した特徴であり、月の再生の力を象徴するものであることについても論じる。

今まで獅子と狛犬の研究は様々行ったが、本研究の最も重要な事は、これまで誰も西アジアから東まで通して比較したことがない。本研究は獅子と狛犬のルーツとされている古代西アジアのライオンと牛の視覚的な特徴を日本の獅子と狛犬と比べて、さらに獅子と狛犬の聖なる場所での重要な図像学的な役割を検討する。

2. 第一章：アジア全域に見られるライオンのイメージ

2.1. 聖なる場所の構造

本稿の第一章では、聖なる場所の基本的構造と定義を示しながら、聖なる場所と俗の関係を具体的に説明する。各文化に見られる聖なる場所は以下に示すの二つの点で共通している。一つ目は、聖なる場所はそこで信仰されている宗教の宇宙観を表していること、二つ目は、聖なる場所として機能するのは慎重に区切られた空間のみに限定されているということである。また、太陽と月は宇宙の光として宗教的な宇宙観における構造では重要な役割を持つ。太陽と月はともに空を横断したり周期的に消えては再び現れることから、神話においては地下の世界に入っても戻ることができるものとして信じられている。故に、太陽と月は地下と地上の世界の境界を指すために使われていた。

古代エジプトとメソポタミアでは、ライオンは宇宙のゲートを守り、太陽が地下へ旅をする間、つまり夜間に太陽を守る動物と信じられていた。こういった背景から、神話ではライオンが太陽と同じ役割を持っていた。他方では、牛も月と関係があり、三日月に似ている牛の角は月の再生の力を象徴する。すなわち、ライオンと牛は西アジアでは太陽と月を表し、これらと同じ力を持つと言うこと

ができる。この特徴は、ライオンと牛は守護神として重要な図像学的な意味を持ち、聖なる場所と俗との間の境界を示すものであることを示している。

2.2. アジアの各地に見られる守護神としてのライオン

本章では、古代エジプト、メソポタミア、イラン、ガンダーラ、インド、中国及び日本で見られるライオンの様々な構造を比較する。さらに、多数の例を用いながら、ライオンが使われた様々な造形物の図像学的な特徴を上述の文化間で比較する。本章のまとめの部分では、比較された構造を以下のように区分した：

1. 宇宙のゲートの守護神としてのライオン
2. 太陽の守護神としてのライオン
3. 獅子座
4. 儀式で使われたライオンのベッド
5. 聖なる場所の守護神としてのライオン
6. 神々が乗ることのできるライオン
7. ライオン柱
8. 阿吽のライオン
9. ライオンのスフィンクス

本論の付表1から付表5までは、同一図像学的な役割をもつライオン像が、各文化においてどのような変遷が見られるかを実証したものである。

3. 第二章：獅子とライオン模様

本章では、日本で「獅子模様」と呼ばれる渦巻きのような模様の視覚的特徴について分析する。この模様は古代西アジアから渡来した模様であり、様々な文化においてライオンの姿で多用され、図像学的な意味をもつ(図1)。

3.1. 先行研究

田辺勝美は、獅子模様とその起源について日本で初めて研究し、その中で、獅子舞の面に使われている緑の布に見られる渦巻きのような模様とイランとガンダーラの文化との関連性について以下のように論述している：「有職故実の専門家に聞いたところ、この巻毛状文様が日本に入ってきた時代が遠いから、正式な名称がない、ということである。しかし、九州の方では「獅子毛」と呼んでいるし、また域内文様事典では「獅子文様」と記してあるが、適切な呼称とは言い難い。」¹ ライオン模様はアジアの様々な地

¹ 田辺勝美, “獅子舞からメソポタミア、エジプトへ。” *Bulletine of Kakegawa West High School* Vol. 20 (1989), p. 3.

域で長い間に渡って存在した模様で、いろいろな形やパターンへと変化を遂げ、自然観や図像学的な意味もそれぞれ異なる。しかし、こういった獅子模様の変遷については十分に検証されることはなかった。今日までに最も影響を与えたこのモチーフについての研究はヘレン・カンターによって書かれた論文である。この論文で、カンターは、古代エジプト、シリアとパレスティナにおけるライオン模様の例を多数挙げながら、本章の4に見られるように、模様の起源について四つの仮説を紹介している。1. 自然的な旋毛、2. 装飾的なアププリケ、3. 女神の象徴、4. 太陽の象徴。

3.2. 研究方法

本稿では図像学的な分析を主要な方法として用い、上述の各文化におけるライオン模様に見られる様々の形274件の事例を収集し、年代表に沿って分析した。この年代表は紀元前3000年から現代までの期間を示し、各例に見られるライオン模様の詳細画像を年代順に羅列したものである。年代表に特定の期間に見られるライオン模様を上述の各文化ごとに分類し、時間の経過と共にライオン模様の進化した形や構造の様相をできる限り綿密に示した。調査模様数は、ひとつの例の中に複数の模様が確認できる場合もある為、それらすべてを合計すると414件にのぼった。各調査模様数の隣にある括弧の中は、それぞれの調査模様数についての三つの特徴を明らかにしたものである。それらを識別するため、以下に示す3点の属性を設定した。

1. N1 は模様がどの種に属するかについて

収集された調査対象に見られる模様を 18 グループに分類する

2. N2 は模様がどの動物に見られるかについて

収集された調査対象に見られる動物は 14 種である

3. N3 は模様が動物にある部位について

収集された調査対象は動物の 14 部位に表現されていること

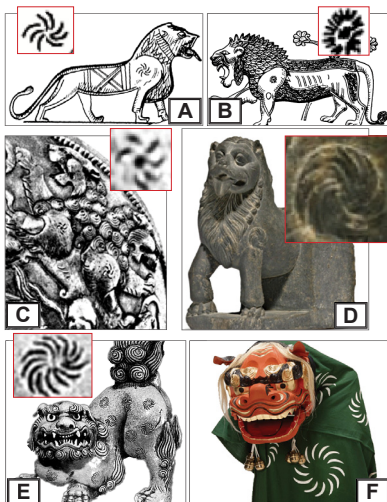


Figure 1: A(1-E-18), B(1-M-22), C(1-I-43), D(1-GI-16), E(1-C-16), F(1-J-50).

3.3. サンプルング[抜き取り]方式

本章では分析した事例はランダム・サンプリング方式で収集した。ライオンの模様は西アジアと東アジアの美術で大多数の例に用いられている。本研究で分析されている事例はそれらの一部

である。第二章に獅子模様の分析のため、まず先行研究に紹介されている事例を収集し、そして他の参照(本や博物館データベースよインターネット)に発見した例を加えた。収集した例は少なくとも一つの以下の特徴を持っている: 模様の種(渦巻きや丸形)、動物の種(獅子や牛)、模様の部位(肩や尻)。これらの三つの特徴は本研究で分析されている特徴で、獅子模様の図像学的な意味と関係があると仮説する。

3.4. ライオン模様の視覚的な特徴の比較

ライオン模様として使われたモチーフ、動物の種類とその模様が配置された身体部位についての調査結果は本章の7、8と9に記している。7では、ライオン模様として使われた様々な模様を図像学的な観点から調査し、それぞれに関する図像学的な意味を具体的に説明する。ライオン模様の起源や各文化での変遷を明らかにするために、それら模様の形と図像学的な意味を解明する。表7は分類した模様の18グループに関する統計を示している。また、それぞれの18グループに関する図像学は別々のセクションで説明されている。

次に、模様と施されている動物の種類との関係性を考察するためにその統計を表8に示した。年代表に示した通り、当該の模様が14種の動物に施されていたことを確認することができる。動物の種類の内訳は、ライオンと牛が87%を占め、残りは他の12種の動物となっている。ライオンと牛が大半を占めることから、身体に見られる模様はその二つの動物の特徴として推測されるものであり、それが後に他の動物の身体にも見られるようになったと考えるのが妥当であろう。表9は、各文化にみられるライオン模様と牛の模様の数を年代順に示している。この表を見ると、西アジアから日本までのライオン模様の流れを把握することができる。

次に調査した特徴は、模様が配置された動物の身体部位についてである。ここに見られる模様を動物の身体部位別に分類し、それぞれに関する統計を表10に示した。それぞれの身体部位に見られる模様と動物の種類については別々の表でも分析されている。

3.5. 第二章の結論

ライオン模様は、長い期間に渡ってアジアの様々な地域で見られるデザインである。そのため、時代と場所によって異なる図像学的な意味をもつ可能性が高い。しかし、調査対象に見られるように、大多数の例において共通する視覚的な特徴がみられる。そのため、本章の結論ではライオン模様の起源と日本における変遷を明らかにするため、これらの多くの例に共通する視覚的な特徴に関して図像学的な分析を行う。

1. 調査対象となった模様の87%はライオンと牛の身体、残りは他の12種の動物の身体に用いられている。このように大半がライオンと牛であることから、まず、最初にこの模様がその二つの動物の特徴として捉えられ、その後、各地でその土地で重要だとされる動物の身体にも模倣されるようになったと考えられる。

2. 紀元前2000年には、ライオン模様と牛の模様はそれぞれ違う身体部位にみられた:ライオン模様の場合は主に胴体__肩や尻__にみられ、牛の模様の場合は主に額にみられる。そして、初期では、ライオン模様として使われた不自然的なモチーフが多いが、牛の模様を見ると旋毛のような渦巻きのモチーフが多い。故に、ライオン模様と牛の模様の起源は異なるものであると思われる。しかし、紀元前2000年からそれらは互いに影響を与え、次第にデザインに類似性がみられるようになった。

3. ライオンと牛の身体に見られる模様は殆ど太陽の象徴として解釈されている。シンボル学のジャック・トレスジダーによると:「太陽の図像学は広範囲の模様で表現されている。それが含まれて、金円盤、光線の有翼の円盤、光線半円、同心円、星、らせん、リング、車輪、まんじ、ハート、ロゼット、蓮華、ヒマワリ、キク属である。」² これに従えばライオン模様は太陽を象徴するということになる。

4. 調査対象の30%には渦巻きのようなモチーフが使われている。このモチーフは太陽の象徴として解釈され、さらに、変換と変化の象徴としても捉えられ、変遷という意味もある;死と再生または、聖と俗。この図像学的な意味は、聖なる場所と俗の境界を指し示すライオンと牛の役割に一致する。

4.第三章: 狛犬と古代西アジアの一角牛

本章では、狛犬の角とその起源及び日本における変遷について論じている。狛犬像に見られる視覚的な特徴と古代西アジアの牛の像等との比較を通じて、西アジアの一角牛は狛犬の角の起源であると考えられるであろう事を明らかにし、一つの重要な特徴としてとらえ、角と月の再生の力との関係を考察する。『類聚雑要抄・巻四』は元々平安時代の文献であるが、現在に存在するのは江戸時代編集され、図が付け加えられ、前の年代のものとして位置づけ参照されている。³本書では獅子と狛犬像は異なる動物の形で表現されている(図2)。獅子はライオンの姿で表されて

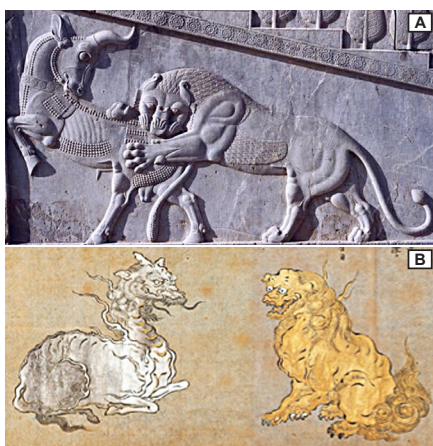


Figure 2: A(2-I-29), B(2-J-2).

² Jack Tresidder, edit., The Complete Dictionary of Symbols (San Francisco: 2005), p. 455.

³ 川本 重雄, 小泉 和子, 類聚雑要抄指図巻(東京:中央公論美術出版,1998), p. 序言-1.

いるが、狛犬は獅子よりむしろ牛に似ている姿で表現されていることが大きな特徴である。なぜ狛犬は獅子と同じ動物の姿に進化したかについては本研究の課題ではないので詳細には触れない。本研究では、なぜ狛犬はこの進化してもなお角を保ったのかという事を課題にする。狛犬の角は図像学的に重要な意味と役割をもち、狛犬の角以外の外見的特徴が変わっても決して角は失なわれることがなかった。本章ではその理由を解明するため、狛犬の起源を探り、西アジアの一角牛像に見られる角の図像学的な意味について論じた。

4.1.先行研究

獅子と狛犬は日本の平安時代後期から室町時代まで宮殿で行なわれた儀式やその格式などを説明した古代文献で言及され、これらの視覚的特徴に付いての説明がなされている。本研究で参考にした日本の古代文献と、これらの中で見られる獅子と狛犬の視覚的特徴は論文の付表25に記されている。すなわち獅子像は奥から見ると左側に置かれ、黄色で口を開く。狛犬は右側に置かれ、白で口を閉じていて一角をもつ。日本の古代文献には獅子と狛犬の外見についての記載はあるが、それぞれの視覚的特徴の起源や図像学的な意味については説明がなされていない。しかし、現在では、獅子と狛犬の起源や形については様々なビジュアルや歴史の研究方法を用いた研究が行われている。以下に示す杉浦の見解は、今日行われている一連の研究を要約している:「口を開く獅子は雄であり、陽にして天.日輪をあらわす。口を閉じる狛犬は雌.陰であり、大地や月を象るとされている。」⁴

4.2.研究方法

本稿ではビジュアル比較方法で狛犬と古代西アジアによく見られる一角牛像を比較し、それら七つの類似する特性を考察する。そして様々なイラン、中国と日本の古代文献を用い、初期の狛犬像は西アジアから日本に伝播されたということを明らかにする。そして角に関係する図像学を調査し、狛犬の角は西アジアの牛像の角に基づいているという事を明らかにする。さらに、角の図像学的な意味を西アジアの文献や美術で調査し、狛犬の角も西アジアでの牛の角と同じく月の再生の力を象徴すると結論づける。

4.3.中国の神話に登場する一角の兕, 西アジアの一角牛と狛犬の間をつなげる役割を果たす動物

一角牛は古代中国では墓の守護神として位置づけられていた。そして、『延喜式』によると、兕という動物は日本の延喜時代(901-923)の宮廷では守護神とされていた、と記されている。『山海経』では兕は以下のように紹介されている:「兕は(…)その状は牛の如く蒼黒くて一角。」⁵ 兕は日本の平安時代後期の文献でも言及され、兕と犀は同一の物として紹介されている。

⁴ 杉浦康平、日本のカタチ、アジアのカタチ(東京:株式会社三省堂、1994)、p. 27.

⁵ 徐朝竜、山海経(東京:平凡社、1973)、p. 493.

『道德経』、『詩経』と『關尹子』でも兕と犀について様々な記述があり、それらの虎との関係、または兕と犀の角と月との関係について記されている。

『漢書』(111)によると、それらの動物は烏弋山离国から中国に伝播された物であるとされる。烏弋山离国という地域は現在のイランとアフガニスタンに位置する地域である。『文安御即位調度図』は1444年に書写したもののだが、福山敏男によると、「結局永治元年(1141)、永万元年(1165)、仁安三年(1168)の三度のうちいずれかにおかれるものである。」⁶ 本書では、狛犬の起源について「兕像云々其体狛犬也云々」⁷ という短い説明が記されている。この文献によると、狛犬の姿は兕の姿に基づいて出来ているとある。兕は狛犬と西アジアの一角牛との間に関連性があると考えられる。

4.4. 狛犬と西アジアに共通する牛の視覚的な特徴

前述のように、『類聚雑要抄・卷四』に見られる獅子と狛犬は大きく異なる動物として描かれていたが、時代の経過とともに同じ外見をもつ動物に進化したと考えられる。しかし初期の狛犬にみられた視覚的な特徴は、後の時代の狛犬像においても認められる。なぜなら、狛犬は西アジアでよく使われていた牛像に基づいており、これらの特徴はアジアの牛像と狛犬の図像学的な関係を示しているからである。この共通する特徴は第三章の結論で具体的に説明している：

1. 一角をもつ、2. 獅子が同伴する、3. 聖なる場所の守護神として使われる、4. 身体が白ということが記載されている、5. 右に関係する、6. 「終わり」と「死」を象徴する、7. 雌であるとの記載がある。

5. まとめ

本研究の課題は、獅子模様と狛犬の角という獅子と狛犬の外観を構成する二つの視覚的な特徴の分析を通じて、獅子と太陽、狛犬と月の関係を明らかにする事である。それらの関係性を明らかにするため、獅子模様と角の起源である西アジアでの図像学的な意味を解明した。第一章は、上述のアジア文化での守護神としてのライオンの役割を様々な構想で紹介する。第二章では、日本で獅子模様と呼ばれる渦巻きのようなモチーフについて各文化ごとに調査を行った。収集した例は殆ど円形のモチーフを表して、太陽の象徴として解釈されている。西アジアで見られるこの模様はライオンの肩に描かれ、ライオンの背後から昇る太陽を現している。そして、この構造は、宇宙のゲートを守るライオンの役割を示したものであると考えられる。さらに、渦巻きモチーフは死と再生および聖と俗にみられる変換と変化や、その過程や時間そのものを現したものである。このような図像学的な意味は、聖なる場所と俗の境界を指摘するライオンと牛の役割と一致する。

⁶ 福山敏男、住宅建築の研究(東京:中央公論美術出版,1984), p. 187.

⁷ 上杉千郷、狛犬辞典(東京、恵比寿、2001)、p. 111.

第三章は、狛犬の角の起源と図像学的な意味を課題としている。前述したように、獅子と狛犬の初期の像を見ると獅子はライオンと似ている動物として描かれているが、狛犬はライオンよりもむしろ牛に似ているという、両者は外観が大きく異なっている。しかし、今日現存する狛犬は獅子と似ており、頭上に一角をもつ。本稿の課題は、なぜ狛犬は獅子と似ている動物に変わったのかについてではなく、狛犬の外観が変わったにも関わらずなぜ角は頭上の残ったかということ、そして、狛犬の角はなぜなくてはならない要素になったのかという二点について解明することである。

本稿で行った分析によると、狛犬の角の起源は西アジアで守護神として使われていた牛像にあると考えられる。西アジアの一角牛像の影響で「兕」という想像的な動物が中国で誕生し、そして狛犬は兕の影響で生み出された。さらに、西アジアでは角の図像は月と深い関係にあり、イランの神話において角は月の再生の力を象徴する。第三章でふれた中国の古代文献によると、同じ解釈をもつ図像は中国に伝播し、兕も月に関係し、角は月の本質を捉えたものであるとされている。

結論として、獅子模様は太陽とその地下と地上の旅を象徴し、その変換と変化を象徴する渦巻きの形というのは、獅子が境界を示す役割を担っているということと合致する。そして狛犬の角は西アジアの牛の角に基づいたもので、月の再生の力を表す。角は狛犬の図像学的な意味をもつため、狛犬の外観が獅子と似ている動物へと変化を遂げた際にも狛犬の頭上に残ったものと考えられる。

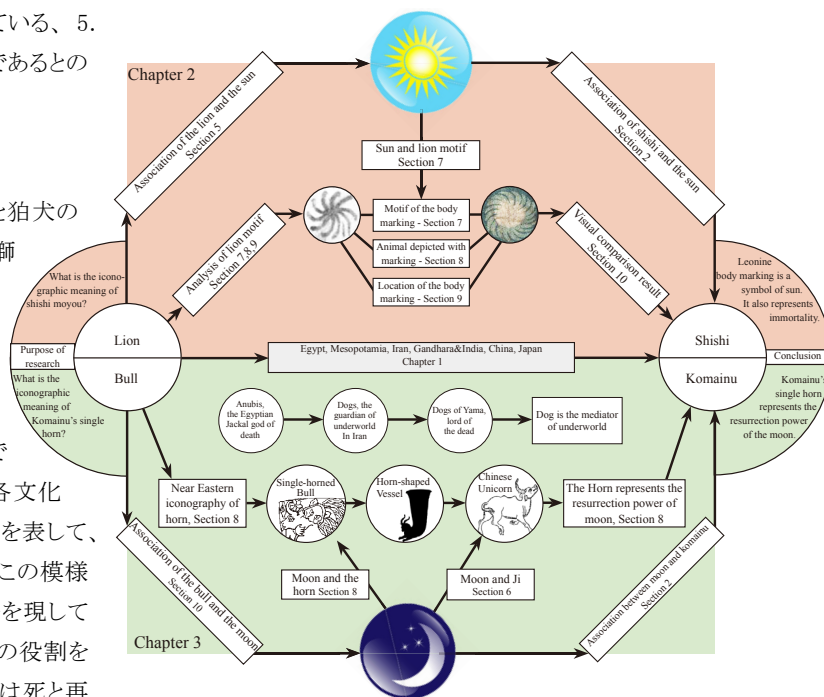


Figure 3: ダイアグラムは本研究の流れを表している。赤色の部分は第二章の獅子模様の分析方法を示し、緑色の部分は第三章の狛犬の角の起源と変遷の調べの流れを表す。それぞれの章の仮説と結論は上述したように、ダイアグラムの左右で簡単に記されている。

Introduction

Introduction

Shishi and Komainu are the Japanese guardian lions that are often seen at the entrance of Shinto shrines and in some cases, Buddhist temples to ward off malicious spirits. Based on historical and linguistic evidences, they are originated from the image of ancient Near Eastern guardian lions and during the seventh and eighth century; these guardian lions were introduced to Japan via China along with other teachings Buddhist (see Chapter 1). There are numerous court documents on the rules and regulations of Japanese imperial palace available from the late Heian Period—around tenth or eleventh century and some of these documents name shishi and komainu as the guardian animals used in Japanese court. These documents are very specific about the appearance of shishi and komainu. While these early documents mention shishi and komainu as a pair, they are very clear that they represent different creatures in nature. Ruiju Zatsuyosho No.4 from late Heian Period is a script on the arrangements and furniture for ceremonial use in the inner palace. In this document shishi and komainu are described as; “shishi on the left, yellow color, mouth opened, komainu on the right, white color, mouth closed, horned.” While the visual features of shishi and komainu are described carefully in these old documents, there is no explanation available of the iconographic attributions of these visual features. However, the general consensus among the modern scholars is; “shishi with the mouth open is a male or yang, representing the heaven and the sun. Komainu with the mouth closed is a female or yin, representing the earth and the moon.”¹

The main purpose of this research is to utilize the visual comparison method in order to find the original iconographic meanings of two distinguished visual features that are often seen in the appearance of Japanese shishi and komainu. The first visual feature is a form of torsional body marking known as ‘shishi Monyou’ in Japan. The history of this motif goes back to the shoulder ornaments used on the body of lions in ancient Egypt and there are numerous visual examples available from Mesopotamia and ancient Iran that represent lions—and occasionally other animals—with similar form of body marking. In this research, through the visual compari-

son method, I argue that this torsional motif can be a reference to the solar nature of lions in the art of ancient Near East, and accordingly, shishi in Japan. The second visual feature is the most unambiguous difference in the appearance of shishi and komainu; komainu’s single horn. By making a comparison in the image of komainu and the Near Eastern single-horned bull, I argue that the single horn of komainu is adaptation from the image of the Near Eastern bull and it works as an iconographic reference to the lunar nature of komainu. The visual representation in the religious art among all the cultures can provide us with a tremendous amount of information on the cosmology and the belief system of the religions they are associated with. Particularly, in some cases that we do not have reliable textual evidences on the matters, visual comparison method is specifically useful to support the research arguments. In case of this research, it is the first time that very specific visual features such as ‘shishi monyou’ and komainu’s horn are used as the evidence to assign particular iconographic attributions to these Japanese mythical guardians. This research introduces both methods of analysis based on the timetable and the visual qualities of design to provide support for a pre-existing theory; the iconographic attributions of shishi and komainu to the sun and moon and it achieves this goal by making a visual comparison between the image of shishi and komainu known in Japan and their distant ancestors in ancient Near east.

To achieve this goal, we have to turn to the origin of guardian lions. Therefore, a number of 479 examples of different representations of guardian lions are collected in different cultures that will be used for visual comparison in this research. In the first chapter, the images of the guardian lions in Japan as well as other Asian culture, namely Egypt, Mesopotamia, Iran, Gandhara and India, China are analyzed. The reason these cultures have been chosen is that they have been most influential in forming the appearance of shishi and komainu as we know them today.

Hence, chapter one is an introduction to various forms of guardian lions used by the cultures under discussion. This chapter is dedicated to a rather detail explanation of different representations of guardian lions used in the cultures mentioned above. Additionally, in case that there are commonalities between the image of

¹ Kouhei Sugiura, *Nihon no katachi, Ajia no katachi* (Japan: Sanseido, 1994), 27.

guardian lions from different cultures, various examples have been used to portray these commonalities in each case. In round up section of this chapter, common visual representation of guardian lions among the six regions of Egypt, Mesopotamia, Iran, Gandhara and India, China and Japan are reviewed in the following categories:

- 1- Lions as Guardians of Cosmic Gateways.
- 2- Lions as Guardians of the sun.
- 3- Lions Throne.
- 4- Ceremonial Lion Beds.
- 5- Lions as Guardians of Sacred Place.
- 6- Gods and Goddesses Ridding on Lion.
- 7- Lion Pillars.
- 8- Guardian Lions' Facial Expression.
- 9- Lion Sphinxes.

Tables 1 through 5 are designed to facilitate the visual comparison between the similar representations of guardian lions from each of the cultures mentioned above. These tables are very useful to demonstrate the commonalities in the design of guardian lions in various contexts used by different cultures throughout Asia.

The first visual quality, which is examined in the second chapter of this research, is the leonine body markings. Leonine body marking is often depicted in the form of a whirl motif on the shoulder, rump or all over the body of guardian animals both in ancient Near East and East Asia. My theory about the leonine body marking is that it could function as a sun symbol that designates the lion as a sun related animal. This motif has very specific visual qualities that are easily recognizable, however, for the lack of textual evidence, it is very under-examined. Therefore, since, there is no textual evidence that explains the iconographic meanings of the body markings on the guardians, the visual comparison method using different representations of lions depicted with body marking is the only method available to tackle this issue. Hence, 274 examples of animal body markings from all of the six cultures mentioned above are collected in the format of a timetable to facilitate synchronic examination of transformations of the motif used as animal body markings throughout different periods. This table helps us to compare all the specific elements in the design of body marking motifs in all of the six cultures according to the specific period they belong to. With this method, we can see the process

of evolution in the form of the motifs that were used as body markings and it also helps us to see how the motif was transmitted from culture to culture all the way from ancient Mesopotamia and Egypt to Japan.

The second visual quality that is analyzed in the third chapter of this research is komainu's single horn. I argue that komainu's single horn is an adaptation from the image of the Near Eastern bull that appears in numerous representations accompanied by lion. Based on the ancient Mesopotamian believed, the pairing of the lion with a single horned animal is considered to have magical power of protection.

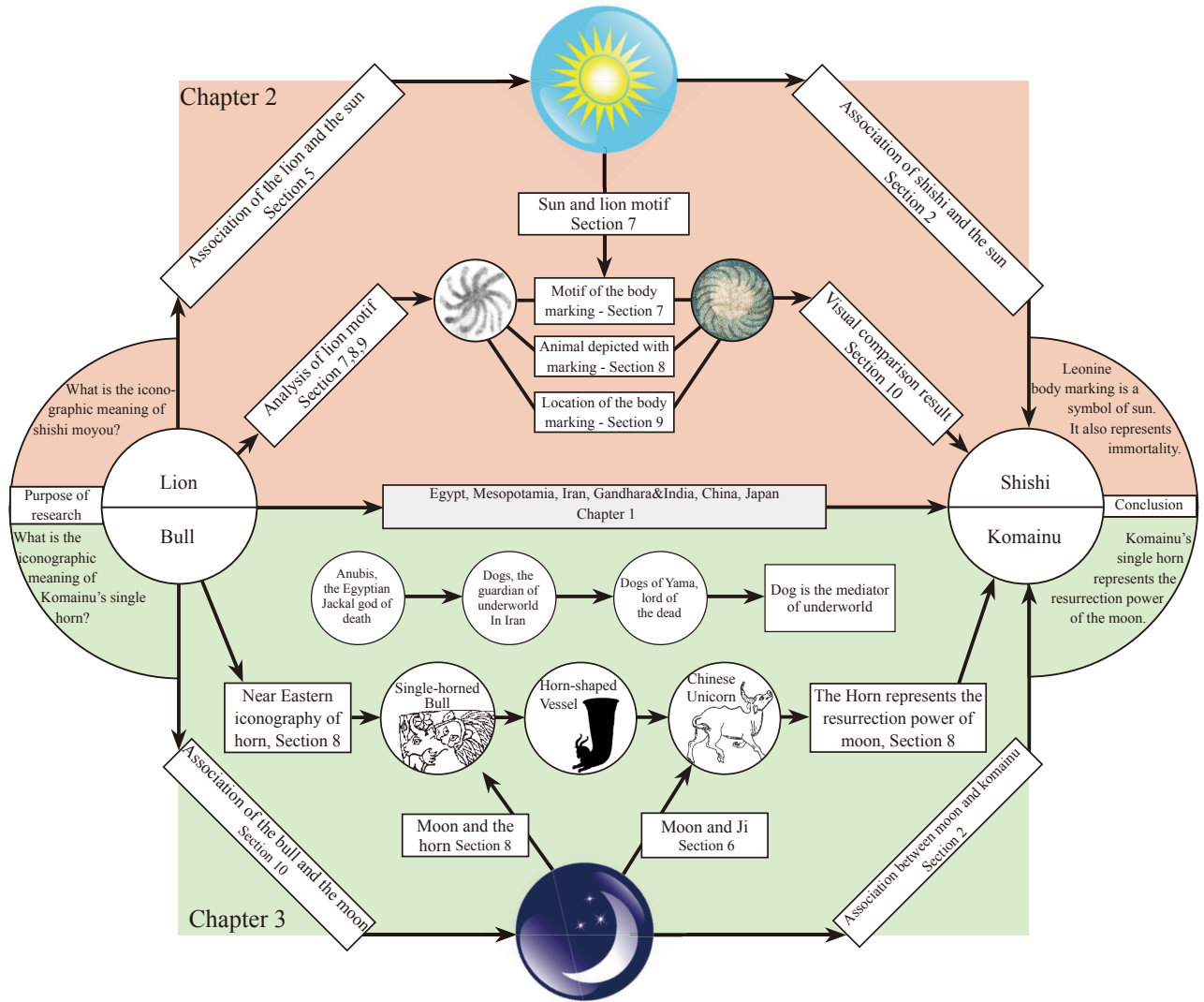
Ruiju Zatsuyosho No.4 scroll is a historical document written during the mid-Heian Period and later, it was illustrated during the Edo Period. This document presents a rather rare image of komainu as an animal with a long neck and hooves. Although the animals represented in this illustration does not resemble a dog—or any canine or feline animal for that matter—but it is clearly named as a dog in the text. Today, we do not know what inspired the artist to depict komainu in this style, but it is possible that this illustration give us a clue about the origin of komainu and the earlier guardian animals that influenced the image komainu as we know it today.

This research suggests that komainu is a guardian creature inspired not only by the iconography of the dog as an animal related to death and guardian of the underworld in other cultures such as ancient Egypt and Near East, but it is also influenced by the image of the single-horned bull, prevalent among all the cultures from ancient Egypt, Mesopotamia, Central Asia and South Asia and it represents the resurrection power of the moon.

Along with all the visual examples that depict the single horn animals as guardians of sacred places in ancient Near East, there are numerous documents and text from ancient Iran and also ancient China that support the theory of iconographic connection between the horn and the moon. Moreover, there are other visual qualities in the appearance of komainu that demonstrate further commonalities between the komainu and the single-horned Near Eastern bull, such as;

1. Having a single horn.
2. Depicted/described accompanied by lion.
3. Being used as guardian of sacred places.

Graph 1:Diagram depicting the process of research in the second and third chapter.



4. Having a white complexion.
5. Associated with the right side.
6. Representing the end/death.
7. Considered to be female.

Each of these visual features and the similarities between shishi and komainu and the single-horned bull is explicitly discussed in the third chapter of this research.

Diagram above demonstrates the process of research in the second and third chapters of this research. The area depicted in pink color is the analysis on the evolution of the leonine body markings in the visual art of different cultures in Asia and analysis based on three visual qualities of the animal body markings; the motif that is used as body marking, the animals that are depicted with body markings and the location of the markings on the animals' body. The result of the visual

analysis based on these three factors are included in the tenth section of the second chapter.

The area depicted with green color in the diagram above illustrates the process of research in the third chapter of this research. In the third chapter, the iconography of the single horn in the ancient Near Eastern art is analyzed in order to find the origin of the single horn on komainu's head. Through this analysis, it is made clear that the horn in the art of the ancient Near East is related to the moon and the same concept was introduced to China in the form of a single horn bull called ji and according to a Japanese document mentioned in the third chapter of this research, komainu's horn is originated from the image of ji. Therefore, it is clear that the origin of the komainu's horn is the Near Eastern iconography and it is related to the resurrection power of the moon.

Chapter I: Pan-Asian Concept of Guardian Lions

1.1. Introduction

This chapter addresses some early examples of guardian lions in religious art from different cultures along the Silk Road. I engage six major cultures in Asia that had a distinguish influence on the present image of Japanese guardian lions. These six cultures include Egypt, Mesopotamia, Iran, Gandhara and India, China and of course Japan. In this chapter, I investigate how the idea of guardian lions transited through Asia and transformed into the present image of guardian lions found in Shinto shrines throughout Japan.

Prior to that, the first section of this chapter focuses on examining some of the beliefs behind the idea of guardian lions and the phenomenology of sacred place. I engage the work of Romanian historian of religion, Mircea Eliade, in order to analyze the nature of the sacred place and the function of guardian lions in a sacred setting. Some of the questions we will answer in this section is; what are these guardians protecting and who are they protecting it from.

Due to the scope of this research, I will NOT interrogate why lions are one of the most commonly used animals to picture as the guardians of sacred places in different cultures or where the idea has originated. The fact that Japanese guardian lions are originated from Egyptian and Mesopotamian concepts has been proven through historical and linguistic evidences. Rather, the main purpose of this Chapter is twofold:

1. The first purpose is to find out what is the iconographic role of lion guardians as the protectors of the sacred places. In other word, what is the role of guardian lions in the cosmology of sacred place?

2. The second purpose is to make a visual comparison between the qualities in the design of guardian lions from different cultures, in order to track down the iconographic concepts that might have been transited from culture to culture along the Silk Road.

In the following sections of this chapter, the visual characteristics of various images of guardian lions represented by religious art in mentioned cultures will be analyzed in separate sections. Guardian lions are the common theme in the religious art of various cultures throughout Asia and they were repeatedly represented protecting the gateways of the palaces, temples, tombs

and other forms of sacred area. Lions are also considered the animal associated with numerous gods and goddesses by several cultures and they are also used as the guardians of the throne or the sitting area of a king or emperor. All the six mentioned cultures introduce several representations of the guardian lions in their protective role and each of these representations will be visually analyzed in separate sections.

Finally, in the round up section of this chapter, the images of the guardian lions from these cultures are categorized in the tables based on the subject. These tables visualize the transition of the images and ideas from one culture to another. Therefore, these tables give us the opportunity to explore the possible transition of the iconographic concept and meaning through the transition of the visual features in the design of guardian lions from one culture to another.

1.2. Eliade and Phenomenology of Sacred Place

As it is clear from the name, the main function of guardian lions, used by religious art in many cultures, is to protect sacred areas such as; tombs, palaces, shrines or even the seating area of the kings or deities. The Romanian historian of religion and philosopher, Mircea Eliade, conducted many researches around the world, exploring the meaning of sacredness in different religions from the most primitive to the major religions such as Christianity and Islam. He collected the result to his researches and analysis in two books, *Patterns in Comparative Religion* and *the Sacred and the Profane: The Nature of Religion*. As a result of his studies on the nature of sacred place in many religions, Mircea Eliade came up with a common feature, significant in all sacred places defined by religions around the world. Eliade claims that: “Every *kratophany* (manifestation of power) and *hierophany* (manifestation of divinity) whatsoever transforms the place where it occurs; hitherto profane, it is thenceforward a sacred area.”¹ In other words, it is the manifestation of power and divinity that change the quality of a normal area or space and turn it into a sacred place. The sacred place is an area that is empowered and distinguished by the presence of a source of power, like an emperor, or a source of sacredness, like a deity.

¹ Mircea Eliade, *Patterns in Comparative Religion*, 367.

After an area or place is blessed with the presence of supernatural power and divinity, thereafter by the devotees, it is considered as the center of the world. This means that it is a place where the three cosmic areas of earth, heaven and under world meet. Eliade further analyzes: “In this way, the place becomes an inexhaustible source of power and sacredness and enables man, simply by entering it, to have a share in the power, to hold communion with sacredness.”² Everywhere around the world, the sacred places are designed and built based on the cosmology of the ruling religion and they reflect the natural order of the world based on the teachings of the associating religions. The sacred place is a smaller image of the whole cosmos. It is where the devotees can see a picture of the world order and cross the boundaries between the world of man and the world of divine to share the power of sacredness. A sacred place is the medium of connection between common and supernatural.

Sacred places from different cultures around the world have another commonality, which is their function to carefully delimit areas. It is the demarcation and limitation that defines a sacred area as a special point where makes an ordinary man able to connect the source of divinity and power. Eliade affirms that these places are “organized, made cosmic, in other words, provided with a ‘center,’ inside of a chaotic space peopled with demons, evil and malicious spirits.”³ Thus, there must be a border between these two different areas in order to guarantee the separation between sacredness—which is organized like the cosmos—and evilness—or the chaotic space. The nature of the boarder that is to demarcate the sacred from the profane ensures the border of the sacred area as an important region in itself and crossing this border usually has its own special rites and customs.

In Mythical stories, the only way that one can pass the border between different cosmic areas is death. In many cultures, we find mythological stories of deities and heroes who cross the border between two cosmic areas without dying. Regardless of them passing to the heaven or hell, to cross the boundaries between the worlds and come back is an act always followed by

2 Mircea Eliade, *Patterns in Comparative Religion*, 368.

3 Ibid, 371.

a massive achievement for these deities or heroes. We have the myths of Persephone⁴ and Herakles⁵ in Greek mythology, Ishtar (Innana)⁶ and Gilgamesh in Mesopotamia, Savitri⁷ in India, and Izanagi⁸ in Japan. In the mythical narratives, all these deities and heroes descend to the underworld to confront the Gods of underworld and by rising up again, they hold higher divine powers. These stories parallel to the sun and his night journey to the underworld. In other words, every night the sun disappears in the west—direction of the underworld—and the next morning it rises again at the east—the gateway of the heaven—but “sunset is not recognized as a death of the sun, but as a descent to the lower regions, into the kingdom of the death. Unlike the moon, the sun has the privilege of passing hell without undergoing the condition of death.”⁹ The sun is considered immortal. It is the only being that can pass the underworld without dying. In the story of Gilgamesh, when he attempts to cross the sea to find the secret of immortality, he is told that only Shamash, the sun god, passes the sea everyday and no immortal had done so before. Moreover, it is also believed that if the dead spirits follow the sun in the underworld,¹⁰ they can come back to the world of living with sunrise.¹¹ Based on this quote, it was believed in ancient Mesopotamia that the sun not only has the ability to transcend between life and death, but it also can lead the spirits of the dead to the underworld, or guide them back to the world of living.

On the other hand, the moon is also considered immortal, but in a different style. The moon is the master of resurrection. “The moon is the first of the dead. For three nights the sky is dark; but as the moon is reborn on the forth night, so shall the dead achieve a new sort of existence.”¹² Symbolism of the moon and its resurrection on the dark moon suggests that death is es-

4 Evans Lansing Smith, *The hero journey in the literature: parables of poesis* (New York: University Press of America), 46.

5 William Tyler Olcott, *Sun Lore of All Ages* (South Carolina: Forgotten Books, 2008), 94.

6 John Maier, *Gilgamesh: A Reader* (Illinois: Bolchazy Carducci Pub, 1998), 143.

7 R. K. Singh, *Savitri: a spiritual epic* (Delhi: Prakash Book Depot, 1984), 164.

8 William Tyler Olcott, *Sun Lore of All Ages*, 95.

9 Mircea Eliade, *Patterns in Comparative Religion*, 136.

10 Maier, John. *Gilgamesh : A Reader.*, 135.

11 Mircea Eliade, *Patterns in Comparative Religion*, 136.

12 Ibid, 171.

sential in order to be resurrected and thereafter immortal; “It is through the moon’s phases—birth, death and resurrection—that man came to know at once their own mode in the cosmos and the chances for their survival or rebirth.”¹³ It was through the lunar phases that mankind came up with the idea of resurrection after death. Since the fear of death and the wish to be immortal have always been great concerns to the mankind, the whole network of the moon symbolism formed around the resurrection power of the moon.

Therefore, sun and moon are two cosmic forces that are closely related to both heaven and hell and life and death, and they carry the feature from both of these two cosmic areas. While the sun crosses over to the world of dead every night and come back to the world of living the next day, the moon dies every month and travels to the world of the dead for three days and resurrected after the fourth night. Sun and moon are the only beings that can pass to different cosmic areas repeatedly and periodically, one through immortality and the other one resurrection. Since sun and moon can go through the gateways between the cosmic areas frequently and they hold qualities of the world of living and dead, therefore they have been used by teachings of many religions to mark the sacred areas at the gateways.

As the border is protecting the area of sacredness, only the gateways are the way to enter the sacred place. The cosmic gateways are a common theme in the mythology of many different cultures. In most cases, we find magical creatures protecting these gateways. Since the sun and the moon are considered as the cosmic travelers, it is only natural that they have a close bond to the guardians of the cosmic gateways.

As it represented in many examples of ancient Egyptian and Mesopotamian religious art (see the next section) lions are the guardians of the gateways at the border of different cosmic areas. Since the lions are the guardians of the sun protecting it while passing the underworld, it is believed that lions can guide the spirit of the dead back to this world as well. Hence, they share similar role with the sun as the connector and the leader of the spirits of dead between the world of living and the world of dead.

¹³ Mircea Eliade, *The Sacred and the Profane: The Nature of Religion* (San Diego: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1987), 156.

Although the ancient Near East is considered as origin of the idea of lion as guardians, the receiving cultures always have made extensive adaptations to the imported iconographic images and for sure, the images of guardian lions are not an exception. In the following sections, we will make a visual comparison between the early images of guardian lions introduced by the cultures mentioned above.

1.3. Pan-Asian Concept of Guardian Lions

1.3.1. Guardian Lions in Egypt

In Egyptian mythology, Akeru or Akerui lions (the plural form for Aker) are the guardian gods who protect the gateways of the underworld. They are pictured as two lions, seated facing opposite directions and the sun rising over the mountain behind their back (Figure 1). In ancient Egyptian mythology, horizon line is considered as the borderline between the world of living and the world of dead. It was believed that Akeru lions protect the gateways between these different cosmic areas on the horizon. In other words, the Akeru lions are the guardians of the gateway to underworld, which is located at the horizon line and therefore, they are believed to symbolize the horizon line as well. Ikegami also points out that “Akeru lions are the oldest gods of earth in Egyptian mythology.”¹⁴ It has been thousands of years that the path sun travels in the sky everyday is used as a way to define different directions on the earth. Since in Egyptian mythology, Akeru lions have a close relationship with the daily journey of the sun in the sky, they also represent different directions on earth. They are often depicted as two lions seating back-to-back, representing east and west, the sunrise and sunset points. In some cases, they are represented as four lions seating back-to-back, which represents four cardinal directions.

Akeru lions are also related to the concept of time, as talker noted; “Representing the sun’s daily course, rising in the east and setting in the west, the paired guardian lions evoke the passage of time along with the birth and death of daylight.”¹⁵

¹⁴ Shouta Ikegami, *Ejiputo no kamigami* (Tokyo: Shinkigensha, 2004), 222.

¹⁵ Linda Tucker, *Mystery of the white lions; Children of the Sun God* (South Africa: Npenvu Press. 2004), 194.



Figure 1: (1-E-23).

Therefore, the Akeru lions not only represent the concept of space, but they also represent the concept of time and they developed both of these qualities in their close relationship to the sun. According to Desroches-Noblecourt, one of these lions symbolizes yesterday, while the other does so for tomorrow, situating the sun in between resembling today, which in turn indicates the internal rebirth of the sun every day after crossing the underworld during the night.¹⁶

In fact, the sun and the Akeru lions are very closely related in the ancient Egyptian mythology. They are not only protecting the gateways of sunrise and sunset, but they also protect the sun god from his all time enemy Apopis, the Egyptian demon of chaos, during his night time journey across the underworld.¹⁷ In ancient Egypt, people made the best of the protective role of the Akeru guardian lions and by placing the statues of recumbent Akeru lions at the doors to their temples, houses and tombs, they tried to protect these important places against malicious spirits and unwanted visitors.

Akeru lions in Egypt are often pictured in a naturalistic design with no wings or horn or any embellishment, leaning or setting calm, facing back to each other and holding up the sun over their backs. In some ancient Egyptian mural paintings and papyruses, they are also shown with a punter like skin (Figure 1).

In some representations, Akeru lions were also depicted as lions with human head in the stela between the paws of the Giza sphinx (Figure 2-A). According to Wiedemann, “The Egyptian sphinx plays the part of the guardian for a temple or a deity, hence the god Aker, the watchman of the underworld and the guardian of the god Ra [one of the Egyptian sun gods] during the hours of the night, is generally shown as a sphinx when

¹⁶ Christiane Desroches-Noblecourt, *Ejiputo no Kamigami no zuzou-gaku* (Tokyo: Kawade Shobo Shinsha, 2001), 11.

¹⁷ Shouta Ikegami, *Ejiputo no kamigami*, 222.

represented as going forth to destroy the enemies of sun god.”¹⁸ Therefore, in the role of the gateway guardians, Akeru are depicted in the form of lions, but with a more aggressive function of destroying the enemies of the sun god, they also represented with the human head as a pair of addorsed sphinxes. A similar concept is also illustrated on this Akkadian cylinder seal (Figure 2-B). It portrays the Mesopotamian sun god, Shamash, on his boat crossing the sea between the world of living and the underworld. His guardian in the form of a lion with human face is depicted with him inside the boat. This example shows that commonality between the belief system in Ancient Mesopotamia and Egypt.

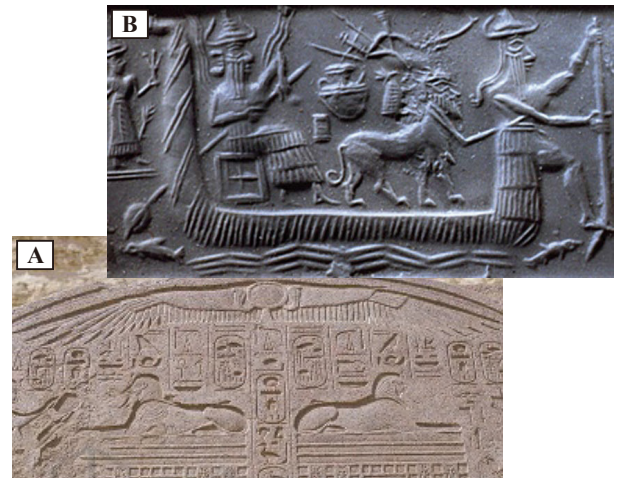


Figure 2: A(2-E-2), B(2-M-23).

Guardian lions are also used in the design of the royal thrones in ancient Egypt. Since the royal pharaoh is believed to be direct descendant of the sun god, the Akeru lions that are the guardians of the sun god are also used as the guardians of the pharaoh’s throne. The gold throne of Eighteenth Dynasty’s pharaoh, Tutankhamen (1336-1327 BCE) features the lions’ heads on the armrest and legs of the throne end in a lion’s claws (Figure 3-A). Since the lions protect the cosmic gateway, they also have the role to delimit the sitting area of the king and to provide it with the connection to the source of power and sacredness. This function of the guardian lions will be discussed explicitly in the round up section of this chapter.

¹⁸ Alfred Wiedemann, *Religion of ancient Egyptians* (London: H. Grevel and Co., 1897), 194.

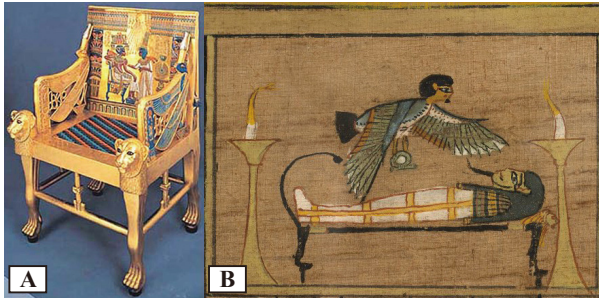


Figure 3: A(2-E-8), B(2-E-10).

Among the treasure found in Tutankhamen's tomb, there are three ceremonial beds that designed in the form of animals. One of these beds has a lion's body forming each of the side-poles of the bed (Figure 2-E-9). In many of the wall paintings in ancient tombs, the mummified bodies are also pictured over ceremonial beds with a carving of a lion's body on each side (Figure 3-B). As we stated before, the mythological role of the guardian lions and the sun are very much intertwined and the guardian lions share many of the mythological powers that was is associated to the sun by the ancient believers. The ancient Egyptians believed that similar to the sun that has the ability to bring back the dead, the guardian lions have the ability to lead the deceased spirits to the underworld and also guide them back to the world of living and this is the concept behind the Egyptian ceremonial beds. "The lion bed is a symbol of resurrection."¹⁹ It is said that Osiris, the god of the underworld in Egyptian mythology, was resurrected on a lion bed; therefore the double-lion bed was used during the funerary ceremonies and the mummified body of the deceased was placed on it to ensure that the lions will lead him to the underworld and they can also ease his way to the resurrection and guide him back to the world of living.

1.3.2. Guardian Lions in Mesopotamia

Several goddesses from various cultures in Mesopotamia are associated with lion and many of these goddesses are depicted either standing on lions or seated on a throne with lions on the both sides. The earliest known example is the 8000 years old statuette of an unknown goddess found in present Turkey (Figure 4-A). Others are the Elamite goddess Nurundi and Ishtar or Innana, which are both known as the goddess of war,

¹⁹ Dieter Arnold, Helen M. Strudwick, Nigel Strudwick, *The Encyclopaedia of Ancient Egyptian Architecture* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2003), 86.

love and fertility by various cultures in Mesopotamia. In a statue from Susa, Narundi is depicted seated on a throne with six lions pictured all around it (Figure 1-I-1). On the other hand, the typical image of the Ishtar is showing her standing on a lion (Figure 2-M-9, 2-M-10). Similar concept of goddess standing on the lion



Figure 4: A(2-M-1), B(2-C-9).

was later introduced to Egypt and we find the image of Qadesh, the Syro-Palestinian goddess, standing on a lion along side with Egyptian gods in numerous presentations (Figure 1-E-17). Nevertheless, the Chinese statuette of the Queen Mother of the West with a griffin on the right side and a dragon on the left side represented in a very similar way as the earlier goddesses on the Near East (Figure 4-B).

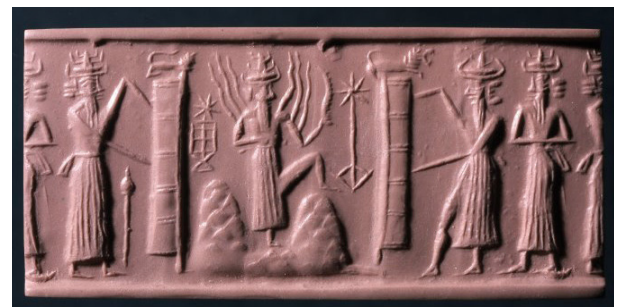


Figure 5: (2-M-19)

Lions are often pictured as the guardians of the underworld in the art of ancient Mesopotamia as well. There are a number of cylinder seals found in Mesopotamia depicting the sun god, Shamash, rising over the mountains, and two lions are protecting the gateway (Figure 5). His attendants are holding the gates for him, while on the right side of the god; the gate is surmounted by a calm seated lioness and on the left side; by a roaring lion. In this example, we clearly see that the ancient Babylonians—the same as the Egyptians—believed that the sun god Shamash, passes the gate of the underworld guarded by lions to rise up again in the

world of living everyday. Since lions were considered the gateway guardians of the underworld, therefore, the statue of guardian lions were also used at the gateway to the temples throughout Mesopotamia, like the temple of a Sumerian city in Tell Harmal, located in today's Iraq (Figure 6).



Figure 6: Guardian lions from the temple in Tell Harmal, painted terracotta. Mid second millennium BCE, National Museum of Iraq.

Big stone statues of lions also were found in different palace locations in Mesopotamia, namely in Hittite or Assyrian palaces, with the role of gateway guardians. As far as the number of guardians at each gateway, the same pattern as ancient Egypt was used in Mesopotamia. They are always in even numbers of two or four guardians protecting each gateway. These guardians are usually installed on both sides on the gateway, as if each of them is guarding one direction. Similar to the guardian lions in Egypt, the image of guardian lions in early Mesopotamia also has a naturalistic approach. However, while Egyptian guardian lions are often depicted calm and in seating position, guardian lions in Mesopotamia during the first millennium BCE are often pictured roaring and walking.

Although guardian lions were widely used in ancient Mesopotamia, they were not the only form of guardians in the region. Human-headed lions or bulls were also used as pairs at gateways in different cultures of Mesopotamia. Lions with human head were also commonly used in ancient Egypt, usually carved with the faces of Egyptian dead pharaohs and placed in their tombs. Among scholars, there is no agreement as to what was their true purpose. On the contrary, the protective function of Mesopotamian man-head lions or bulls has been long established. Lion sphinxes are considered as the guardian of the sun god in mythology of Mesopotamia. An Akkadian cylinder seal depicted the sun god

Shamash crossing the underworld in a boat formed as a torso of a man in the front and a lion sphinx who guard him through this journey (Figure 2-M-23). The connection between the sun and the lion sphinx is also specially clear in the position of the great sphinx of Giza, as it was built facing east, the rising point of the sun. These examples show the commonality between the Egyptian and Mesopotamian sphinxes and the association they both have to the sun.

The sphinx guardians can be traced back as early as the second millennium BC in a wall painting in the palace of King Zimri Lim at Mari (Figure 7). Black and Green state that “Monumental sculptures of man-headed bulls and lions carved a round of a massive piece of a stone were particularly common in the Neo-Assyrian Period (883-612 BCE) as gateway guardians.”²⁰

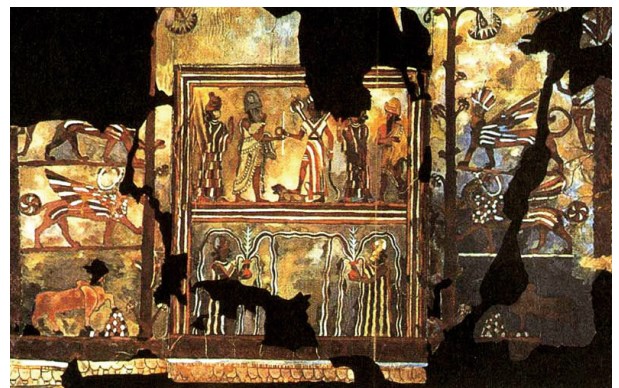


Figure 7: Detail of (1-M-9).

These Neo-Assyrian guardians were called Lamassu and Shedu and they were widely used in the design of the Assyrian palaces (Figures 2-M-36, 2-M-44). While the Egyptian sphinxes have a naturalistic body of a lion, the Mesopotamian forms of sphinxes push further the imagination boundaries and hold a set eagle's wings. In the male form they are wearing the signature horned helmet of the gods and embellished beard. The form of the wings is straight up at the end. At the front, the statue of lion appears to be standing straight, but in the profile view, there is an extra fifth leg that renders the statue in a walking position.

1.3.3. Guardian Lions in Iran

The guardian role of lions and bulls in Iran had been established as early as third and second millennium BCE. Numerous scripted statues of guardian lions

²⁰ Jeremy Black, Anthony Green, *Gods, demons and symbols of ancient Mesopotamia: an illustrated dictionary* (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press. 1992), 51.

and bulls, dated second millennium BCE, were found in Choqa Zanbil temple in the ancient city of Susa in southwest of present Iran that describe the power of these creatures in diminishing the evil and confronting the enemies of kings and deities (Figures 2-I-6, 2-I-7, 2-I-8). Later in the second half of first millennium BCE by the rise of the Achaemenid Empire (550-330 BCE), a great influence from the art of ancient Mesopotamia is clearly recognizable in the art and iconography of the newly rise empire. In Achaemenid palace of Persepolis, "...the Assyrian influence is particularly clear in the colossal human-headed winged bulls in the Gate of All Nations, but there are perceptible differences between the Persepolitan bulls and their Assyrian counterparts."²¹ (Figure 8) Unlike the Assyrian winged bull-men statues, the statues in Persepolis have curved wings and only four legs. Two legs in the front are put together as in the standing position, while the legs on the back are shown in the walking position. Two colossal bulls protect another gate in Persepolis, which is called the unfinished gate. Bull statues at both of these gateways emphasize on the importance of the role of this animal as gateway guardian during the Achaemenid Era (Figure 2-I-32).



Figure 8: A(2-I-32), B(2-M-44).

Beds and thrones in the form of lion were also popular in the iconography of the Achaemenid art. On the tomb reliefs of four Achaemenid kings in Naqsh-e Rostam, we find a great representation of a lion ceremonial bed. Above the entrance of each of the tombs, on the side of the mountain, there is a detailed carving of deceased king standing on a dais placed on a bench or a bed that is lifted by representatives from thirty nations within the empire (Figure 9-B). The platform part of the bed is depicted ending in the form of single horn lions on each side and the legs of the bed is formed as

21 John Curtis, Nigel Tallis, Beatrice Andre-Salvini, *Forgotten empire: the world of ancient Persia* (CA: University of California Press, 2005), 54.

a lion's claw placed above an inverted lotus basis. The form of this ceremonial bed is very much recalls the Egyptian resurrection beds (Figure 2-E-9, 2-E-10). The image of a similar bed was represented being carried by two servants in the carvings of the Neo-Assyrian palace of Khorsabad (Figure 9, A).

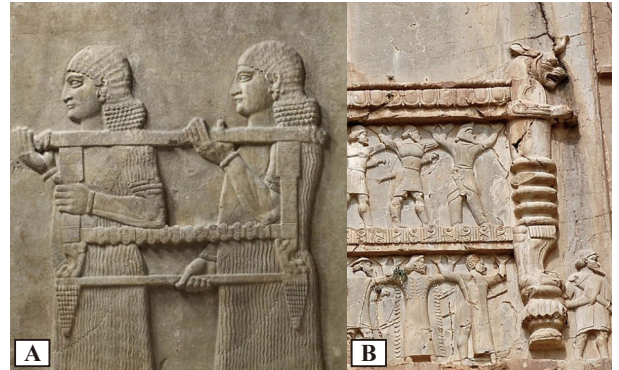


Figure 9: A(2-M-40),B (2-I-33).

As for the king's throne, a bas-relief in Persepolis showing Darius the Great's on the throne, the legs of his throne are depicted ending in lion claws. Furthermore, the legs of the footstool under the king's feet end in hooves (Figure 2-I-31). The use of the lion's claws and bull's hooves together suggests the companionship of lion and bull, as will be further discussed in the third Chapter.



Figure 10: A(2-E-13), B(2-I-35).

Another important location in Achaemenid Empire is the Darius's palace in Susa. In this palace, the colorful glazed bricks are the main feature of the decoration and the gateways are protected by single horn winged bulls and griffin-lions pictured on the wall (Figure 2-I-34). Another representation is a glazed brick panel of seated man-headed lions with curved wings and horned

headdress (Figure 10-B). A winged disk, which is a sun related symbol, is shown above their heads; hence this makes the design comparable to the Egyptian Image of Akeru lions (Figure 10-A). Although the bodies are facing each other, the lions turned back their heads toward different directions and similar to the Akeru lions of Egypt, the sun symbol is hovering above their heads.

In general, lions were one of the most common motives in Achaemenid Era. Lion, bulls and griffin motives were used widely on the walls of the entrance to the main halls of king Darius's palace in Susa, pillar capitals in Persepolis and imperial cylinder seals.



Figure 11: (2-I-48).

Furthermore, guardian lions were also used by later Iranian empires, like Parthians (250 BCE-229 CE), who were originally from northeastern part of Iran and took over most parts of Mesopotamia and Iran after the collapse of Alexander's successors. A lintel stone from a decorated doorway in the north hall of a Parthian palace in Hetra in northern Mesopotamia shows two winged lions standing face to each other (Figure 11). Each of them has one of his paws over a vase containing a stylized lotus leaf and two tendrils. The lion on the left side of the panel has his mouth closed and the lion on the right side of the panel has his mouth open with his tongue picking out. This form of the facial expression is comparable to the image of the guardian lions at the gateway of the underworld depicted on the Akkadian cylinder seal discussed earlier. The guardian lions of Shamash in this cylinder seal also had open mouth on one side and closed mouth on the other. This facial expression is very well-known in East Asia and it is called A-Un in Japanese language. There is a whole section dedicated to this very important visual feature in the third chapter of this research and it will be explicitly discussed later.



Figure 12: A(Bakhtiari stone lions, Khuzestan in southwest Iran), B(2-I-54).

Lions are one of the most popular themes even during the Islamic Era in Iran. They appear in the design of numerous artifacts. Stone Guardian lions are used repeatedly in Islamic Era architecture; at the gateways or entrances or on the pillar basis (Figure 12-B, Figure 2-I-53). Similar form of the stone lions is also used as tomb guardians by Bakhtiari tribe in the central and southwestern parts of Iran (Figure 12-A). Although, the stone lions are still used over the tombs in southwestern Iran, but the protective role of these statues is long forgotten and the general idea is that; these lion are representing the bravery of the deceased.

1.3.4. Guardian Lions in Gandhara and India

The visual representations of religious meaning were extremely important for both ancient Egyptian and Indian cultures. Among all the representations of religious and mythological beliefs in various art forms, it is interesting to find evidences of direct contacts between India and Egypt. Doshi and El Abbadi affirm that; "The influences from ancient Egypt on India are not only on Indian art and design, but there are remarkable parallel concepts in Egyptian and Indian Mythology. Especially, India and Egypt were in a close relationship during the reign of Mauryan Emperor, Asoka (third century BC)."²²

The most celebrated piece of art from the reign of the emperor Ashoka is the lion capital of Asoka in Sarnath, which was adopted as the national emblem of India on Republic Day of India on 26 January 1950 (Figure 13-A). This pillar capital is showing four lions

²² Saryu Doshi, Mostafa El Abbadi, *India and Egypt : influences and interaction* (India: Marg Publications, 1993), 65.

seating back-to-back over a cylinder base with reliefs of four chariot wheels aligned with each of these lions. Between the wheels, there are carvings of an elephant, a galloping horse, a bull and a lion on the cylinder base and the base is placed over a bell-shaped lotus. This capital was originally mounted with a dharmachakra.²³ “The term dharmachakra means “Wheel of the Law” and it represents the spreading of the Buddhist doctrine.”²⁴ Similar pillar capital with the dharmachakra on the back of lions was often seen carved in stone reliefs (Figures 2-GI-16).

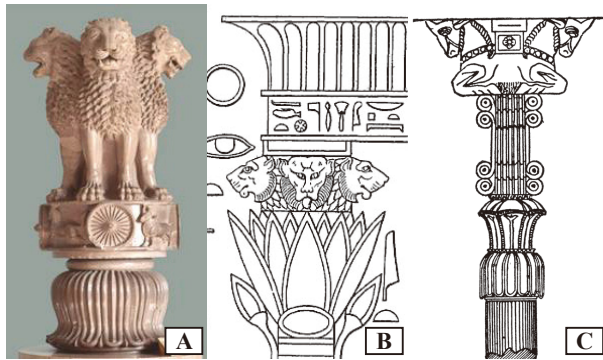


Figure 13: A (2-GI-10) , B (2-E-5) , C (Illustration of the pillar depicted in figure 2-I-30).

Although there were many pillars built by Asoka around India, Sarnath pillar is the most important. Nevertheless, it seems that it might have been inspired by an ancient Egyptian design from Eighteenth Dynasty.²⁵ (Figure 13-B) This Egyptian wall painting was designed at the time of Amenhetep II, around fourteenth century BCE and it is showing a blue lotus pillar in the two-dimensional painting, and three lion heads is depicted on the capital. Although we only see three lions head in this painting, since the pillar is supporting presumably a gateway, and for the sake of balance of the structure, there is a great possibility that another lion head is hidden in the back, which makes them a total of four lion heads. Therefore, although in the Egyptian representation the fore legs of the lions are not shown, but in both of these designs, the lions are depicted standing on a lotus flower basis.

The bell-shaped lotus flower bases were also

²³ Le Huu Phuoc, *Buddhist architecture* (MN: Grafikol, 2010), 39.

²⁴ Charles Higham, *Encyclopedia of ancient Asian civilizations* (New York: Facts on File, 2004), 92.

²⁵ Saryu Doshi, Mostafa El Abbadi, *India and Egypt : influences and interaction*, 66.

²⁶ Wallis Budge, *The Egyptian Sudan* (Whitefish, MT: Kessinger Pub Co, 2004), 135.

popular in Achaemenid architecture and the bell-shaped lotus flower basis of the Persepolis palace predates the Ashokan pillars. Figure 13-C is an illustration of one of the pillar capitals used in Apadan Hall of Persepolis palace. While similar pillars with double lion capital were used on top of the columns in the three porticoes around the Apadana Hall to provide protection, the double bull capitals were reserved for the inner column capitals and both kinds were erected upon an inverted lotus basis (Figure 14).

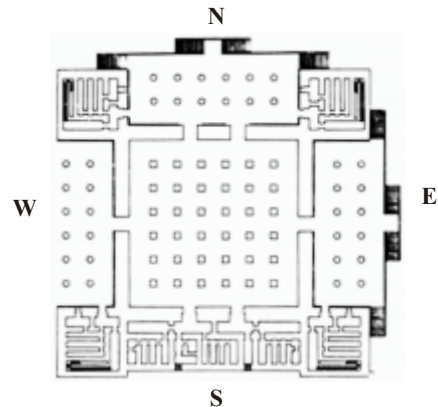


Figure 14: Plan of Apadana hall of Persepolis, ca. late sixth century BCE.

The lion pillars used in the structure of the early Buddhist temples in India had the protection function as well. A carving of a stupa on a limestone slab from the great stupa at Amaravati pictures the gate of a stupa with Buddha standing in the middle (Figure 2-GI-25). Four pillars that are surmounted by lions facing different directions surround the gate of the stupa. Lion pillars also support the structure of southern gate of Sanchi stupa (Figure 2-GI-14). Sanchi stupa is one of the oldest Buddhist stupas in India, which was founded by Asoka in the 3rd century BCE. “During the first century, an almost undecorated railing of cream-colored sandstone modeled as early bamboo fence was constructed to enclose the ambulatory passage around the stupa, with four entrances at the cardinal points.”²⁷ The Different human, plant, animal and also abstract motives are used in the design of these heavily embellished gateways. The southern gateway, “Which is obviously the main entry because of the presence of an Ashokan pillar [in front of it],”²⁸ was the first made gateway, followed up with the

²⁷ Tabassum Javeed, Ali Javid, *World Heritage Monument and Related Edifications in India, Part 1* (New York: Algora Publishing, 2008), 50.

²⁸ Le Huu Phuoc, *Buddhist architecture*, 150.

northern, eastern and western gateways.

Different images of stylized lions, majestic mythological lions with or without riders or mythological lions with or without wings in seating or walking positions are used in the design of these architraves. One of the other representations of lion on the gateways is the image of two addorsed-winged lions and the head of a third lion above their backs (Figure 15-A). This panel seems comparable to the Mesopotamian image of Imdugud, the lion-headed bird (Figure 15-B). Imdugud is a monstrous bird in the mythology of Mesopotamia, which steals the tablet of destinies from the gods. Eventually, he was killed by the god Ninurta/Ningirsu and the tablet returns to the gods. Thereafter, the image of Imdugud became the incarnation of the Mesopotamian god Ninurta. According to one theory, Ninurta represented the sun at the eastern or western horizon.²⁹ As previously explained, since the sun at the horizon is assumed to be passing the gateways between the world of living and the underworld, then this carving panel of a lion head above two addorsed lions represents the image of the sun at the gateway to the underworld. This concept is parallel to the image of Egyptian Akeru lions and the gateway of the sun god Shamash; hence, possibly, the winged lions from the carvings of the Sanchi Stupa represent the guardians of the cosmic gateways.



Figure 15: A (2-GI-18), B (2-M-13).

The next example is the Mathura lion capital. This capital was built around the first century CE in Kushanian city of Mathura and it shows two addorsed lions (Figure 2-GI-13). Although at the time most of the pillar capitals were made to support the structure, this particular pillar capital was donated to a Buddhist temple as a freestanding statue by Queen Nadasi Kassa. Lion pillar capitals were used in India from the Mauryan Period (ca. 321-185 BCE), but the structure of this statue does not resemble the typical Kushanian lions. The lions in

²⁹ Mircea Eliade, Charles J. Adams, *The Encyclopedia of religion*, Vol. 9 (US: Macmillan, 1987), 467.

Mathura capitals are more abstract and the form of their mane going back in a straight line shows influences from Achaemenid lion capitals (Figure 2-I-30). Both of the lions are showing their tongue and there is a square on the back carved with the motifs of tendril and other Buddhist auspicious symbols.

Lion sphinxes as a protective deity were used in India as well. The Indian sphinxes are called Purushamriga, which means human-beast in Sanskrit language. Most of the sphinxes found in India are located in the southern parts of the peninsula and they are believed to turn away the evil. “Purushamriga sculptures are placed near the entrance of the central shrine, sometimes on a nearby pillar, sometimes on the door-frame itself. Mandapas or halls used for the celebration of certain festival rituals have often also a Purushamriga among the decorative sculpture. Occasionally, a Purushamriga is placed near the flight of steps leading down to the temple pond, which is also a place where rituals are performed.”³⁰ A pair of sphinxes is placed on both side of an entrance in Shri Shiva Nataraja temple (Figure 16). To look in the eyes of Purushamriga is believed to purify the devotees from their sins, as they enter the temple of Shiva. Purushamriga also has a distinct role in Diparadhana, a worshipping ritual held from 1 up to 6 times per day in Shiva temples in southern parts of India.



Figure 16: (2-GI-32).

Although the existing sculptures of Purushamriga in south India are not older than ninth to tenth century, but the role of Purushamriga in Indian mythology goes a lot further back. Purushamriga was mentioned in the

³⁰ Raja Deekshithar, “Sphinxes of India” accessed May 5, 2013, http://www.sphinxofindia.rajadeekshithar.com/sphinx_egypt_india_ritual_significanceofsculpture.html.

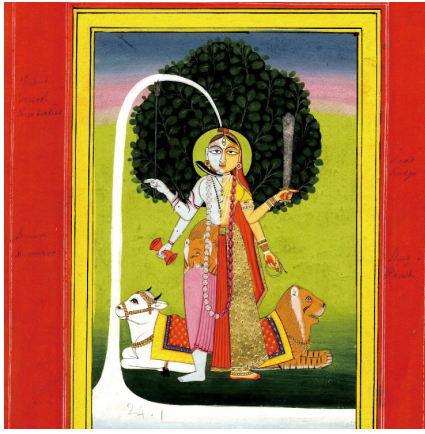


Figure 17: (2-GI-33).

Mahabharata epic story, which was originated some time in eighth to ninth century BCE. Since Purushamriga is more prevalence in southern India, it is probable that it was transmitted to India via a direct connection between India and Egypt through a sea route some time in first millennium BCE. Therefore, protective role of Purushamriga could be explained as a result cultural encounters between India and ancient Egypt.

The tradition of lion's association to the goddesses also continues in India. The goddess Parvati is the benevolence wife of Lord Shiva, the god known as destroyer and transformer.³¹ Parvati is identified with other goddesses like Durga and Kali as well. "All of these goddesses were Shiva's consorts at some time or the other. Individual myths emphasize particular aspects of the goddess, assuming that she is but one."³² Siva's consorts express benevolence in the form of Parvati and power and possible destruction in the persons of durga and kali and all of these goddesses are depicted riding a lion. The iconic image of Ardhanarisvara is a very popular theme in the Indian visual arts that evolved as early as Kushan and Gupta Periods (Figure 2-GI-34, 2-GI-35). Ardhanarisvara shows Shiva and his consort Parvati, standing on their typical rides, Shiva on a bull and Parvati on a lion and in some cases, it is depicted as a composite human form with the right side of a man and the left side of a woman (Figure 17). This image is interpreted as "biunity of the male and female."³³ In the Third chapter of this research, the companionship of

31 Rajeev Verma, *Faith and Philosophy of Hinduism* (Delhi: Kalpaz Publications, 2009), 63.

32 Sukumari Bhattacharji, *Legends Of Devi* (India: Orient Longman Limited, 1995), 26.

33 Harsha V. Dehejia, *Parvatidarpana: An Exposition of Kasmir Saivism Through the Images of Siva* (Delhi: motilal banarsidass publishers, 1997), 37.

lion and bull as the complementary forces of the nature will be further discussed and we will go over all the equal iconic designs in other cultures as well.

Other fact to know about the iconic role of lions in Indian culture is that in Indian language, the same word is used for both lion and tiger. This means that although they are two completely different animals, but there might be some confusion in their iconographic roles. In the early representations, lion's role is extremely more important than tiger, but in later times lion and tiger were used alternatively in the same iconographic roles. For example; in the eighteenth or nineteenth centuries Indian paintings, the goddess Durga is often depicted riding a tiger instead of a lion (Figure 1-GI-24, 1-GI-25).

1.3.5. Guardian Lions in China

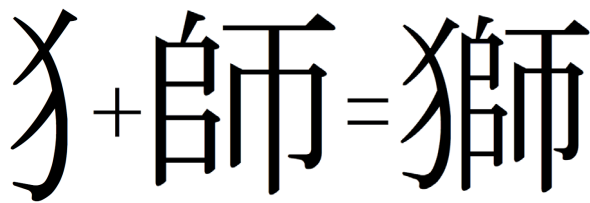
The earliest representation of the gateway of heaven found in China is a painting on silk, draped over the coffin of Lady Dai at Mawangdui from 168 BCE (Figure 18). This painted fabric shows two feline creatures—judging from the random dots on the skin probably leopards—mounted on two gates or pillars on both side of the entrance. The feline animals are represented with identical facial expressions as the guardian lions in the Akkadian cylinder seal of Figure 5 and the lintel panel of Parthian palace of Hetra in Figure 11. On the right side, the animal is shown with the mouth open and on the left side with the mouth closed. Although clearly there is a similar concept behind the Akkadian cylinder seal and Parthian lintel panel and the silk painting from Mawangdui, yet it is hard to define the connection between them.



Figure 18: Detail of (2-C-3).

Lion is not indigenous animal to East Asia and it was introduced to China by ancient Near Eastern cultures. The Chinese word for lion is "Shizi"³⁴ and it is

34 獅子 .



Beast Master, religious leader Lion

Figure 19: Chinese ideogram for lion. originated from the pronunciation of the word “Shinha,” which means lion in Sanskrit language.³⁵ But the most interesting point is the Chinese character chosen for this pronunciation. For the first syllable of the word, Shi,³⁶ the radical with the meaning of beast is combined with the Chinese character with the meaning of Master, Leader and Guide, which can express the meaning of the leading monster (Figure 19). As mentioned earlier in the last sections, guardian lions share similar role with the sun as the connector and the leader of the spirits of dead between the world of living and the world of dead and the Chinese ideograms used for lion parallels to this concept.

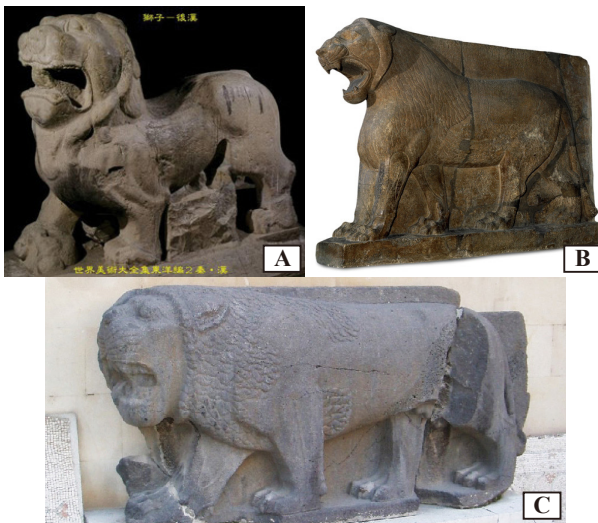


Figure 20: A(2-C-10), B: Neo-Assyrian stone lion from Nimrud, ca. 883-859 BCE, British Museum, C: Hittite Lion statue from Hama citadel, ca. 11th century BCE, Damascus National Museum.

Aside from the name, the idea of lion as gateway guardian was also introduced to China through cultural encounters with both Near East and South Asia. The earliest example of guardian lions inspired from the Near East is found in Wu Family tomb in Shandong Province (Figure 20-A). The stone statues of lions had been placed on tombs during the Han Dynasty, probably

³⁵ Koji Kawamoto, Kenichi Kamigaito, *Hikaku Shigaku to Bunka no Honyaku* (Kyoto: Shibunkakushuppan, 2012), 237.

³⁶ 獅 .

erected in 147, and they still stand on the shrine of the Wu family. Two roaring lion statues at this tomb have very naturalistic design. The lions are placed facing each other in a walking position and they do not hold any embellishment or wings and in that sense, they very much resemble the guardian lions from Mesopotamia, namely from Hittite and Assyrian cultures. The lion statues from both Assyrian and Hittite palaces have naturalistic designs with robust bodies. Figure 20 clearly shows the resemblance of the Wu family tomb’s lions and their Hittite and Assyrian counterparts.

The stone guardian lions of the tomb were not the only influence from Mesopotamia, but it seems that in another monument of China, we find undeniable resemblance (Figure 21-A,C). A funerary pillar in Nanjing date sixth century during the reign of Liang Dynasty recall a much earlier pillar basis from a Hittite temple in Tainat (Figure 21). Although there are other examples of pillar basis with double guardian creatures in Hittite culture (Figure 2-M-33, 2-M-39), but the Nanjing double-lion basis is a unique piece in China. Nonetheless, not only in the basis it represents the influence of the Near Eastern art, but also in the capital part of the pillar, a stone lion depicted standing on a lotus flower which is also based on the Indian and possibly Near Eastern tradition (see Figure 13).

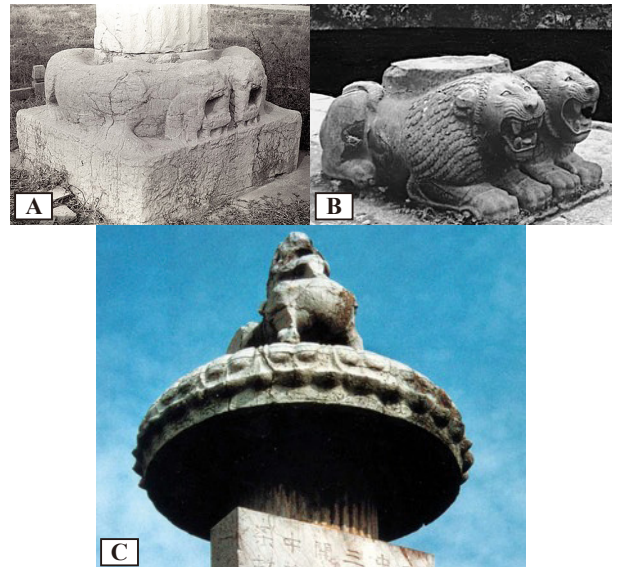


Figure 21: A(2-C-24), B(2-M-38), C(2-C-24).

Nevertheless, later examples of guardian lions reveal a different approach. The monument of Fan Min’s Gate Towers dated around 205 in Lushan County, Sichuan province has numerous Shipixie statues, which

is defined as a stone amulet used to protect from evil spirits (Figure 22-A). The tomb of Gaoyi (circa 209) in Ya'an, Sichuan province also holds similar statues (Figure 22-B). Although the walking position is kept in these lion statues, but they occasionally depicted with beards and horns and they have a little curved wings on their shoulders. While the stone lions of Wu family tomb resemble the naturalistic design of Assyrian ³⁷ Hittite lions, the wings of the Sichuan province lion statues recalls the prevalence of the wings in the Achaemenid art. Among the Mesopotamian cultures, wings are mostly seen on sphinxes and hybrid animals, but winged lions repeatedly appear the art of Achaemenid and Parthian empires (Figures 2-I-34, 2-I-48).



Figure 22: A(2-C-13), B(2-C-15).

These winged guardian lion statues did not become really popular until fifth and sixth centuries. The stone lions from that period are magnificent winged beasts, standing on guard with head lifted and rearing (Figure 2-C-18). During the Tang Dynasty (618-907CE), the winged lion was the first accompanied and then ousted by the lion we see today. The guardian lions lost their wings during the Tang Dynasty and thereafter, the sinicization continued until the completion of the Tang style image of the guardian lions during this time.

A banner from Tang Dynasty found in Dunhuang, depicts two Tang style winged robust lions with fierce face and thick mane, seating vis-à-vis on both side of a floral motif (Figure 2-C-27). One of these lion has his mouth open and the other one closed and both together, they represent the sacred word of “A-Um”. This example clearly shows the early stage of “Tang style lion” or as it is called in Japanese; “Karajishi.”³⁸ The word karajishi includes two parts; the first part is Kara, which refers to the Tang Dynasty of China and the second part is Jishi, which is another pronunciation of shishi or lion.

³⁷ Ann Paludan, *The Imperial Ming Tombs* (CT: Yale University Press, 1981), 25.

³⁸ 唐獅子.

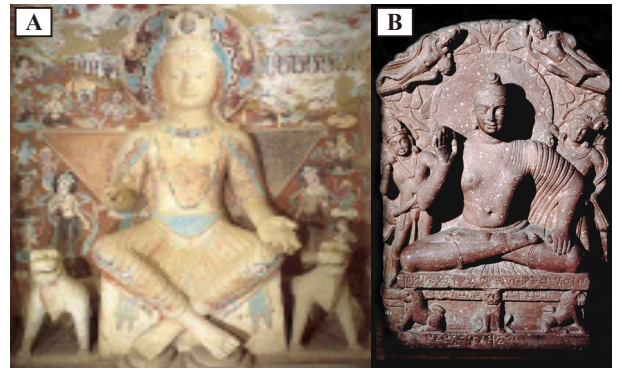


Figure 23: A(2-C-18), B(1-GI-5).

Therefore, karajishi translates as Tang style lion.

In the earlier sections, we talked about lion riding goddesses and the only similar idea on China is the Queen Mother of the West and image of seating on the throne with two mythical creatures on both sides (Figure 4-B). Although under the influence of the receiving culture, the animals on both side of the goddess changed form to a dragon and a griffin, but the concept of her throne is very much similar to the Near Eastern image (Figure 4, 1-I-1).

Lion thrones in the Buddhist art of Gandhara also had a distinguished influence on the image of lions in China. The statues of Buddha on lion throne from Gandhara inspired the statue of Maitreya and the lions next to his throne in the cave no. 275, in Magao caves complex in Dunhuang (Figure 23-A). The size of the lions in compare with the size of the god seated on the throne is very small and it recalls the Gandhara style Buddha statues with very small lions at the feet (Figure 23-B). The lion statues on both sides of the Maitreya statue in Magao cave more resemble a dogs rather than lions and they more or less remind the simplified version of the lion used in the design of Gandhara lion thrones. In a few other altarpieces from Northern Wei Dynasty to Sui Dynasty, we find the similar pattern of dog-like guardian lions (Figures 2-C-21, 2-C-25, 2-C-26) and thereafter, they gradually change to the robust lions of Tang style, which is an amalgamate of Near Eastern and Indian design features, as well as original Chinese. Chinese mythology developed the idea of mythical animals as the protective spirits long before the lion guardians were introduced to china. “The image of the lion which was brought to China from Near East was deeply influenced by the image of various sacred beasts originated in China and they formed the present image of the Chi-

nese lions, which are so different from the real lion.³⁹

One of these imaginary animal motifs original to China is Taotie. These animal-face patterns were the main theme of the decorations on the bronzes of the Shang Dynasty (1600-1046 BCE) and Zhou Dynasty (1046-256 BCE). Taotie was an imaginative voracious monster created by humans, combining some features of ox, tiger and goat (Figure 24). “We presume that by worshipping the animal-face pattern, ancient people were trying to draw support from the terrific animals to fight against the natural calamities and adversary tribes.”⁴⁰ Both Chinese characters for Taotie contain the same radical that means “to eat” and in the most common design, Taotie shown as a horned monster with fierce looking round eyes and it was said that this animal has the ability to eat the harmful demons.



Figure 24: Bronze plaque of taotie face, late Shang Dynasty, ca. 1200 BCE, Sanxingdui Museum.

Another Chinese mythical animal that had a significant impact on the Chinese guardian lions is Qilin (Figures 1-J-14). Qilin is a hybrid animal and it is considered as an auspicious animal in Chinese mythology. Qilin has an enormous horn on his head (although two were depicted in the qilins painted during the Ming Dynasty). Its horn is as sharp as spear and could be used as a weapon to banish evil spirit. “The word qilin or kilin combined the symbols or Chinese ideograms for the word male and female.”⁴¹ Ancient sketches show the male qilin – known as Ki-⁴² as having a smooth coat and the paws of a lion, whereas the Lin, or female unicorn, had scales and hooves. Both have a lion’s mane.⁴³ Qilin⁴⁴ 39 Chisato Uesugi, *Komainu Jiten* (Tokyo: Ebisu Kosyo, 2001), 127. 40 Chengdu Institute of Cultural Heritage Archaeology, *A 21st Century Discovery of Chinese Archaeology-The Jinsha Site* (China: China Intercontinental Press, 2006), 91.

41 麒麟 .

42 麒 .

43 麟 .

44 Jeremy Roberts, *Chinese Mythology A to Z* (New York: Chelsea House Publications, 2009), 102.

is another guardian animal used in China. The protective qualities of its horn and also the dual characteristics of this mythical creature, referring to the companionship of lion and bull, will be more analyzed in the 3rd chapter of this research.



Figure 25: (2-C-33).

Another form of Chinese guardians beast, common during the Tang Dynasty, are the tomb guardian beasts as burial objects (Figure 25). They are often called as Zhenmushou and at times identified as a spirit that has the power to keep the spirit of the dead from roaming. Popular from the sixth through the eighth century, zhenmushou figures are often found in pairs at the entrance to a tomb. Some scholars speculate that they evolved from dog or doglike figures found in some later Han Dynasty tombs. Others trace their roots to three-horned, four-legged creatures produced during the Western Jin Dynasty (265-317).

The origin of these guardians is unknown, but there are a few facts in their design that make them very interesting. These guardian figures are always come in pair with different physical features. Both of these creature often have wings and one figure has a head of a lion, sprouts curving antlers and a flame-like mane around or on the back of the head, while the other figure with a man’s face with huge flared ears and a single spiraling horn. Occasionally, the figure with man’s face has cloven hooves, and the one with the lion’s head has claws, but sometimes they both has similar feet of hooves or claws. Although, the origin of these tomb guardians is unknown, but we know that the cultural encounters

between Near East and China were long established before these guardians existed. The companionship of lion and a single-horned and human-faced bull guardian was pictured on a cylinder seal from Achaemenid Period. This cylinder seal shows two guardians; the guardian on the left side is depicted as a winged lion with the back feet of an Eagle and a tail of a scorpion and 2 curved horns on top of its head. The guardian on the right side is depicted as a winged single-horned lion. Both of these guardians are pictures rearing and flanking the moon god framed in a crescent. The Zoroastrian Faravahar sign—the emblem of the Zoroastrian god, Ahura Mazda—is hovering above their head. These two guardians are used frequently in the Achaemenid art and they have a lot in common with zhenmushou guardians. We will come back to these guardian beasts in the third chapter of this research, where we talk about horned creatures used as tomb guardians in China.



Figure 26: (2-I-43).

1.3.6. Guardian Lions in Japan

Shishi and komainu are the Japanese guardian lions found mostly at the entrance of the Shinto sanctuaries or in some cases, Buddhist temples to ward off malicious spirits. In pair, they are placed in the inner sanctuary of a Shinto shrine, at the porch, or on each side of the entrance to shrine or temple. The former kind is called “jinnai komainu”⁴⁵ (sanctuary komainu) and they are older in origin and made mostly out of wood or metal (Figure 27). The later kind, “sando komainu”⁴⁶ (approach way komainu), developed from the former and is made normally from stone. Although the common knowledge in Japan suggests that a Shinto

45 陣内狛犬 .

46 参道狛犬 .

shrine must have shishi and komainu, but investigations show that these guardian lions are only found in a little more than half of the Shinto shrines throughout Japan.⁴⁷



Figure 27: (2-J-16).

Lions, as the guardians of the sacred place, were introduced to Japan along with other Buddhist teachings by the time of the Nara Period on eighth century BCE. But the Japanese pairing of the horned lion and hornless lion did not appear until Heian Period, when they were used mostly indoors, in the sanctuaries or on the both side of the emperor’s resting area. Although they are always used as a pair, shishi and komainu hold different names. Different names for each of these guardian beasts suggest a different origin for them as well.

Japanese language adapted the Chinese word for lion, Shizi and it is pronounced as Shishi in Japanese.⁴⁸ In the case of Japanese guardian lions, usually the guardian creature on the left side is called shishi and the other beast placed on the right side is called komainu.⁴⁹ A more modern approach, which is used by most of the Japanese people today, is to put both shishi and komainu together in the same category and call them both komainu. “The word komainu consists of two Chinese characters. “Koma”⁵⁰ is referring to the Goguryeo Kingdom of Korea (37 BCE-668 CE) and “inu,”⁵¹ which means dog in Japanese language. Together with shishi, these names are announcing that these creatures were brought to Japan from the main land Asia via Korea and

47 Yoshaki Kotera, “Komainu: The Birth and Habitat Distribution of Shrine Guardian Lions”. *Japanese Religions* 34 (2009), 7.

48 獅子 .

49 狛犬 .

50 狛 or as in the old texts 高麗 .

51 犬 .

China.⁵² Thereafter, during the Heian Period, some time between ninthth century and twelfth century, the image of shishi and komainu as a pair was gradually changed until the development of an image adequately close to what we know today.

The use of guardian lions in Japan started in the imperial court. *Ruiju Zatsuyosho No.4* from late Heian Period is a script on the arrangements and furniture for ceremonial use in the inner palace. In the matter of Michoudai, emperor's seating area, it suggests that; "shishi on the left, yellow color, mouth opened, komainu on the right, white color, mouth closed, horned."⁵³(Figure 28-A) Another scroll mentioned Michoudai is *Kinpishou*. It is a summary of palace secrets arranged during the 13th century and it says that; "down in front of michou, there are two, on left and right side, shishi and komainu."⁵⁴

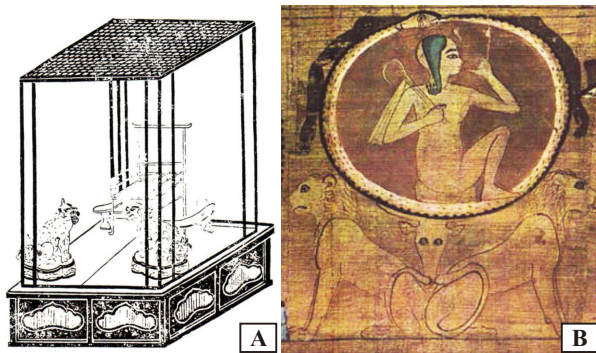


Figure 28: A (2-J-7), B(2-E-13).

In the Heian recordings on shishi and komainu, normally shishi is mentioned before komainu which prioritizes the left side over the right side. "Placing the guardian lions in front of the seating area on the emperor was a tradition adapted from Chinese court and based on this tradition, the emperor was seating facing south. This way his left side (east) is upper level, and his right side (west) is lower level. This is based on the idea of superiority of east and the reason for that is apparently because east is the rising point of the sun."⁵⁵ This statement shows how the iconographic components of the throne or seating area of the king are carefully aligned to delimit the sacred sitting area of the king and provide him with the needed connection to the source of sacredness (see the round up section of this chapter).

52 Kouhei Sugiura, *Nihon no katachi, Ajia no katachi*, 29.

53 Chisato Uesugi, *Komainu Jiten*, 109.

54 Chisato Uesugi, *Nihon zenkoku shishi komainu monogatari* (Tokyo: Ebisukoushou, 2008), 28.

55 Ibid.

This also recalls the image of Egyptian Akeru lions in the Dama Heroub papyrus (Figure 28-B) from Twenty First Dynasty (ca. 1077-943 BCE), where the Pharaoh depicted in the form of a child seated inside of an Uroboros sign. As mentioned earlier, Akeru lions are closely related to the sun and they are considered the guardians of the gateways of sunrise and sunset. Nevertheless, they also related to the concept of time and in this representation, Uroboros sign which is associated with the cycle of time replaces the sun and young pharaoh is facing to his left (east) that represents future, versus the right (west) that represents the past (Graph 2). Clearly the concept of these two thrones is similar and not only relates to the sun as a source of power and legitimacy, but it also refers to the time. This design suggests that the king sitting on the throne has his hand both on the past and future.

During the Kamakura Period, similar indoor statues of shishi and komainu were used inside of the shrines as the guardians of the gods as well. "Apart from the wooden ones, komainu statues were also made of bronze and iron in the Kamakura Period. They were in the style of indoor komainu and were offered to various shrines by influential people."⁵⁶

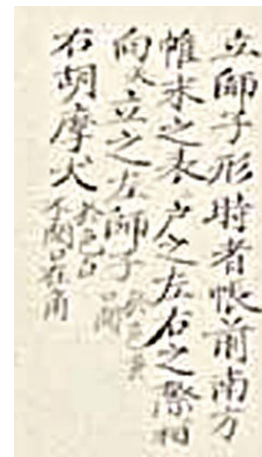


Figure 29: (2-J-3).

Visual features of shishi and komainu are carefully explained in many of the scripts on the rules and regulation palace during the Heian and Kamakura Periods, although there is no indication on the iconographic attributions of these visual features (Figure 29). To summarize the visual features repeatedly mentioned in these scripts; shishi placed on the left side, yellow or

56 Yoshimitsu Takuki, *A Complete Guide to Komainu* (Tokyo: Nana Bukusu, 2006), 21.

gold complexion and his mouth opened, komainu on the right with white or silver complexion, his mouth closed and a single horn on the head.

Occasionally, there are other visual differences in the appearance of shishi and komainu. Shishi sometimes depicted with curly mane, while komainu is pictured with straight mane. Moreover, at times shishi's ears, which are pictured downward, verses upward ears on komainu (Figures 2-J-13, 2-J-16, 2-J-17). All the opposite characteristics in the design of shishi and komainu suggest the sort of apposition and contrast in the nature of these beasts. The general consensus among the recent scholars about the iconographic meaning of visual feature of shishi and komainu is that "shishi with the mouth open is a male or yang, representing the heaven and the sun. Komainu with the mouth closed is a female or yin, representing the earth and the moon."⁵⁷ As mentioned earlier, similar facial expression was used in the guardian lions' representation from Mesopotamia, Iran and China (Figure 5, Figure 11, Figure 18). This form of facial expression, known as A-Un in Japan, has originated from the word Aum in Sanskrit language. "First it was used in Hinduism and then carried over into Buddhism and Sikhism. It is a sacred syllable for chanting in invocation or meditation."⁵⁹ Later this word was introduced to Tibet and China through Buddhism. According to the Mandukya Upanishad, a well-known ancient text of the Hindu: "the syllable Aum is the universe. It is Brahma (or the Absolute). It is time past, present and future. It is also that which transcends time."⁶⁰ Moreover, This was term known to ancient Egyptian Amen or Amun and it is still used by the Christians and Muslims as the sacred word of Amen. "This term is fundamentally dualistic in nature and expresses itself in male/female or yin/yang components."⁶¹ Hence, The dualistic nature of shishi and komainu is well represented in their facial expressions and A-Un expression is not only related to the sun and moon and life and death, but it also

57 Kohei Sugiura, *Nihon no katachi, Ajia no katachi*, 27.

58 阿吽 .

59 Thomas Merton, *The Asian Journal of Thomas Merton* (New York: New Directions, 1975), 390.

60 Acharya Bhagwan Dev, *Meditation Yoga* (Delhi: Diamond Books, 2002). p. 96.

61 Melissa Littlefield Applegate, *The Egyptian book of life: symbolism of ancient Egyptian temple and tomb art* (Florida:Health Communications Inc, 2001), 51.



Figure 30: (2-J-8).

represents the concept of time; the future and the past. The companionship of shishi and komainu and detail of their facial expressions will be explicitly discussed in the third chapter of this research.

Uesugi claims that, "during the late Murumachi Period, komainu was brought outside of the shrine for the first time and in Edo Period; it was established in the present form."⁶² Since in the new format, the shishi and komainu statues were used outdoors, it was necessary to make it resistant to the outdoor weather conditions; therefore stone was considered as a suitable material. "The oldest stone komainu in Japan, said to have erected in 1196, is found at the back of the south gate of Todaiji temple in Nara."⁶³(Figure 30) The square form of the jaws and the embellishments on the chest of these lions, also the fact that both of these lions are depicted with open mouth shows that these lions are made by Chinese artists.



Figure 31: (2-J-12).

On the other hand, the pair of shishi and komainu statues at the Kono shrine made during the Kamakura Period shows a complete different approach (Figure 31). "They clearly follow the style of indoor komainu. It is

62 Chisato Uesui, *Komainu Jiten*, 212.

63 Yoshimitsu Takuki, *A Complete Guide to Komainu*, 21.

evidenced in the way the difference between the open-mouthed lion and closed mouth komainu is expressed by the variation in the curlicues of their respective manes.⁶⁴

At the time, no one in Japan had ever seen an actual lion and years after that, Japanese common class artists continued making shishi and komainu only inspired by the world of their imaginations. In this atmosphere, variation and distinction between the local style of shishi and komainu around Japan seems natural. Until the Meiji restoration, Shishi and Komainu were used for both Buddhist temples and Shinto shrines but during this time, since guardian lions proved to be very adaptable to the Shinto believe system, they were specified to the Shinto shrines and from then on, they became one of the essential components of a Shinto shrine.

However, indoor style guardian lions are not the only source of inspiration for latter stone shishi and komainu statues. At the time, the image of Karajishi, the Tang style lion and Qilin also had been frequently represented in the Japanese art from different periods and during a long period of time, the images of both of these mythical beasts had constantly influenced the appearance of shishi and komainu.



Figure 32: A(2-I-30), B(2-GI-17), C(2-J-5), D (2-J-19).

The head and torso of Karajishi was used as a pillar capital in a number of Japanese monuments as well (Figure 32-C,D). The position of the lions' forelegs and torso in both of these examples is extremely close to

the in lions represented in the Achaemenid architecture in Persepolis palace (Figure 32-A). In both cases, lions are pictured only from the waistline up. Lions are represented back-to-back with the forelegs placed in the front. These two examples show the persistence of Achaemenid style of lion pillars as an architectural component in Japanese traditional architecture. A similar version of these pillars was carved on the stone fence of the great stupa in Sanchi, although in the Sanchi carvings, the lions are depicted with a full body, unlike the Achaemenid and Japanese version (Figure 32-B).

1.4. Roundup

Earlier this chapter, in the section about the phenomenology of the sacred place, it was reviewed that sun and moon as two cosmic forces that are able to cross over to different cosmic areas periodically and repeatedly, they are considered as the elements to mark the gateways between different cosmic areas. Lions are considered as the guardians of the cosmic gateways and they are also protectors the sun on its nighttime journey to the underworld. Hence, guardian lions are closely related to the sun and they have been frequently depicted in the religious art of many cultures throughout the Asia. In this section, we will go through all of the visual representation of lions and their iconographic meanings that has been discussed earlier in this chapter. The list of these visual representations is as followed:

- 1- Lions as Guardians of Cosmic Gateways.
- 2- Lions as Guardians of the sun.
- 3- Lions Throne.
- 4- Ceremonial Beds.
- 5- Lions as Guardians of Sacred Place.
- 6- Gods and Goddesses Ridding on Lion.
- 7- Lion Pillars.
- 8- Guardian Lions' Facial Expression.
- 9- Lion Sphinxes.

To make the visual comparison easier, each of these visual features are separated in a row of the tables 1-5 and examples of the visual representations by all of the cultures under the study is available in these tables.

The iconographic concept behind the role of the guardian lions is closely related to the sun and its ability to define both geographical directions and time. There-

64 Yoshimitsu Takuki, *A Complete Guide to Komainu*, 25.

Table 1: Lions as guardians of cosmic gateways and the sun.

	Egypt	Mesopotamia	Iran	Gandhara and India	China	Japan
Lions as Guardians of Cosmic Gateways				-		-
Lions as Guardians of the Sun						-
Date	1500-1000 BCE	26th- 23th century BCE	550-500 BCE 350-300 BCE	1st century CE	1st century BCE	-

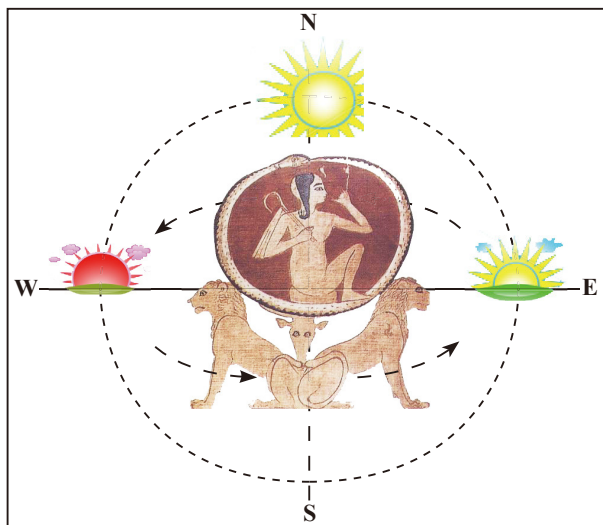
fore, the iconographic attribution of lions as guardians of cosmic gateways is twofold. On one hand, they are related to different directions on the earth. Lions are the guardians of the eastern horizon, which is the rising point of the sun—the gateway of heaven—and also they are the guardians of the western horizon, the setting point of the sun—the gateway of underworld. Different representations of the sun god rising over the mountains and flanked by two lions made by various cultures throughout Asia are collected in Table 1. In most of these images, two lions are depicted seating back-to-back or facing different directions. This form of representation parallels to the idea that each of these guardian lions are associated with different directions on earth.

On the other hand, in the iconography of ancient Near Eastern religious art the sun and accordingly, the

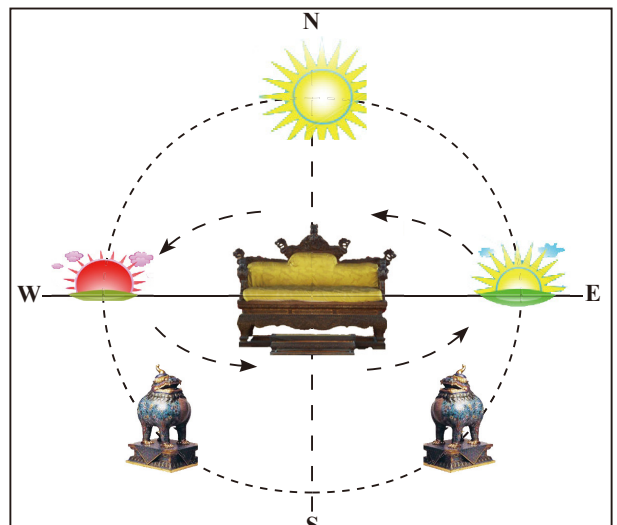
guardian lions have an important role in defining the concept of time or the future and the past. The sunset represents the end of the day, so it refers to the past and sunrise promises a new day that refers to the future.

The illustration of Akeru in Dama Heroub papyrus shows the concept of time in all its possible aspects. (Graph 2) On the back of the lions, there is a sun disk with Ouroboros sign around it. Ouroboros sign is in the form of a snake biting its own tale and it is one of the old representations of the cycle of time. Besides, two hands around the sun disk represent the morning sun or the sun at its rising point in ancient Egyptian art. Pharaoh is portrayed as a child inside the morning sun facing to the east on his left. In other words, this illustration refers to the young Pharaoh as the rising sun, who is gazing through his future.

In ancient Mesopotamia, the morning sun, rising




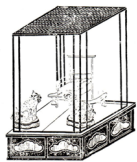





Graph 2: Arrangement of the image of pharaoh on the back of Akeru lions from Dama Heroub papyrus.



Graph 3: Arrangement of the throne or the seating area of the Chinese emperor.

Table 2: Lion throne and ceremonial beds.

	Egypt	Mesopotamia	Iran	Gandhara and India	China	Japan
Lions Throne		—		—		
Ceremonial Beds				—	—	—
Date	14th century BCE	8th century BCE	550-330 BCE	—	17th century CE	10th century CE to present

over the back of two lions is also embodied in the form of an eagle with a lion’s head. This representation portrays the monster Imdugud as the incarnation of Ninurta, the god of the morning sun (Figure 15). As it was explained earlier, this image has been used several times in the carvings on the gateways of Sanchi stupa. The persistence of this motif during a long period of time, in a vast area of Near East to India suggests nothing but the importance of the iconographic meanings of it. Moreover in Iran, the sun rising over the back of a lion has been constantly represented on the coins as early as fourth century BCE and it found its way to the national flag from twelfth century during the Seljuq Empire, until it was discarded after the Islamic revolution in 1977. We will go through the sun and lion symbol of Iran explicitly in the second chapter of this research.

The silk painting found in the burial site of Mawangdui portrays the gateway of heaven with attendants and guardian lions on each side. Both sun and the moon as the cosmic figures are also depicted above the gateway of heaven (Figure 18). Sun and moon are used by various ancient cultures to demarcate the cosmic areas. Since the sacred places were also designed to reflect a smaller version of the cosmos to the devotees, therefore the structure of a sacred place, such as a tomb, palace or temple, was also closely associated with the movements of the sun and moon in the cosmos. Hence, most of these building in the northern hemisphere are built according the cardinal directions, facing the sun in the south with east on the left side and west on the right side. Hattusa city of the Hittite empire and Sanchi stupa

in India are the perfect example for cardinal direction oriented buildings.

Although the seating area or the throne of a king is a lot smaller in portion, nevertheless as a sacred place, it still needs a demarcation in order to provide a separation between the sacred and the profane (Table 2). Throne of Chinese emperor imitates the cosmos, as it is oriented according to the movement of the sun in the sky. The Chinese emperor seats facing south, with the east on his left hand and the west on his right hand. During Qing Dynasty, a pair of incense burners in the form of lions was placed in front of the king on the both sides. The comparison between Graph 2 and Graph 3 shows a distinguished resemblance in the arrangement of Akeru with Ouroboros sign and the pharaoh and the throne of Chinese emperor. Both of these arrangements are based on the movement of the sun. In both of these graphs the left hand of the king is east, the rising point of the sun or future and the right hand is the west, the setting point of the sun or the past. In many cases, the moon replaces the setting sun, which convey a similar meaning, as for the moon comes after the sun has set. Sun and moon has a very important place among the twelve symbols used in the design of the gown of the emperor of China. The sun was portrayed on the right shoulder and the moon on the left shoulder of the gown. Sun and moon are the symbols that could only be worn by the emperor. In other words, sun and moon are the symbols that indicate the connection of the emperor to the source of sacredness and place him above the level of commoners.

Table 3: Lions as guardians of sacred place and gods and goddesses riding on lion.

	Egypt	Mesopotamia	Iran	Gandhara and India	China	Japan
Lions as Guardians of Sacred Place						
Gods and Goddesses Ridding on Lion						—
	—		—			
Date	15th century BCE	9th- 8th century BCE	14th-6th century BCE	3rd century BCE-7th century CE	2nd- 6th century CE	8th- 11th century CE

As it is stated by numerous old Japanese documents, similar arrangement was adapted by Japanese court during the Heian Period (Figure 28-A). The Egyptian pharaohs and the Achaemenid kings also used the lion throne (Figures 2-E-8, 2-I-31). As the throne of the king portrays the cosmos, the lions in the front, draw a line between the royalty and the commoners. Moreover, seating on the throne provides the king with the qualities of the cosmos and a much needed legitimacy. The throne makes a connection between the king and the source of the sacredness. The king seating on a lion throne is provided with three main qualities of the sacred area;

1. Since the throne is a smaller image of the cosmos, it introduces the king as a controlling power over the cosmos.
2. Demarcation between the royalty and commoners, per se cosmos and chaos.
3. It provides the connection between the king and source of sacredness, which legitimize his reign.

In another iconographic feature, since the guardian lions are closely associated with different directions and also the path of the sun in his night journey to the underworld, the guardian lions are believed to be the guides, who lead the spirit of the dead to the underworld and they also have the ability to guide the spirits back to

the world of living as well. This is the concept behind the Egyptian lion ceremonial beds, which was used to place mummified bodies on (Figure 3). The Egyptian ceremonial beds influenced the Achaemenid tomb carvings of the Persepolis and Naqsh-e Rostam, where the deceased kings is depicted standing on the lion beds (Figure 2-I-33). Although the concept seems lost in the transition of the lion motif to the East Asia, the only similar point that highlights the role of guardian lions as the guide and religious leader is found in the Chinese ideogram for the word with the meaning of lion. In the early stage, the word “Shizi,” meaning lion was written with the ideogram that meant master, the guide and religious leader but later the radical of monster was also added to this ideogram (Figure 19). This concept of the guardian lion as a monster with the role religious leader and guide seems very similar to the Near Eastern image of the lion that can guide the spirit of the dead to the underworld and bring them back.

Since lions are considered as the guardian of the gateways between the cosmic areas, they were also used as the guardians of the gateways to houses, palaces and tombs by different nations. Table 3 shows a few samples of these guardian lions used in each of the cultures mentioned in the sections above. The commonality among these guardian lions is that in all of

these cases, the guardian lions were often used as a pair, placed on the both side of the entrance or a gateway and in most of the cases, they are facing different directions that suggest their association to a certain direction or side. Regarding the posture of the guardian lions, in the Egyptian representation, lions are mostly depicted calm in seating or couching position and the earlier images of the lions from Mesopotamia more or less follow the same rule (Figure 2-M-24). Thereafter, by the time of the Hittite and Assyrian kingdoms, the lion guardians represented in Mesopotamian art are mostly portrayed roaring in a walking position (Figure 20-B, C).

Accordingly, the guardian lions used by Elamite based in southwestern Iran follow a similar design as the Mesopotamian prototypes. The early images of the lion guardians from this area more represent the Egyptian designs depicting tame couching lion, such as the glazed terracotta guardian lion found at the doorway near the temple of Inshushinak at Tell of the Acropolis, Susa (Figure 2-I-7). While the later Achaemenid images were influenced by Mesopotamian trends used by Late Babylonian and Neo-Assyrian art. These examples represent guardian lions roaring and in walking position. The typical Achaemenid lions are always depicted as roaring (Figure 2-I-34).









Meanwhile, the early guardian lions used in China, clearly follow two separate routs. The first trend used as early tomb guardian lions that are very similar to the Near Eastern image of lion guardians. These lions are depicted roaring in the walking posture with occasional wings and horns, such as the guardian lions, such as the guardian lions at the f Wu Family Tombs and the stone carved guardian lions from Ya'an (Figures 2-C-10, 2-C-14, 2-C-15). All of these examples show clear influences from the art of ancient Mesopotamia and Iran. The second trend is the guardian lions introduced to China along with the Buddhist art of India. As it was explained earlier, this group of lions is mostly depicted on both side of the throne of Buddha or other Buddhist saints. In compare with the figure seating on the throne, these lions are very smaller in size, hence their presence would not overpower the personality of the figure they are guarding (Figures 2-C-18, 2-C-21, 2-C-25, 2-C-26). These lions also were initially inspired from the lion thrones used by pharaohs and deities from earlier cul-

tures in Egypt and Mesopotamia.

In the religious art of ancient Mesopotamia and Egypt, various deities were often depicted riding a lion or seated on a lion throne. The major goddesses of this area, such as Ishtar, Narundi, Anahita, all depicted standing on one or two lions (Figure 2-M-9, 2-M-10, 2-M-24, 1-I-1, 2-I-1, 2-I-49). The concept later was introduced to Egypt and the Syro-Palestinian goddess, Qadesh, has been depicted standing on lion and flanked by two Egyptian gods, Min and Reshep (Figure 1-E-17). There are two distinguished ways to portray the goddess associating with lion. The first way is; to show them standing on lion or have one foot on the lion, like Ishtar, the Mesopotamian goddess of fertility and war. The second way is; to have them pictured seating on a lion throne, like the figurine of the goddess of Catal Hoyuk (Figure 2-M-1) and Narundi of Susa (Figure 1-I-1). As it is shown in the Table 3, the former way of representing goddess riding on lion was adapted by Indian traditions, like Brahman and Hindu, where the goddesses Laksmi, Parvati, Durga, Kali and others has been pictured standing on lion or tiger (Figure 1-GI-24, 1-GI-25, 2-GI-31, 2-GI-33, 2-GI-34, 2-GI-35)—since the tiger and lion are both called “Sher” in India language, the later representation of goddesses depicted them riding the tiger as well. The goddess seating on a lion throne, which was also popular in ancient Near East, seems to be a source of inspiration of the figurine of the Mother Queen of West, where she is depicted sitting on a throne with a griffin on the right side and a dragon on the left side (Figure 4-B).

By the time of first and second century BCE, when the Buddhist tradition started to spread from the Central Asia toward the East Asia, the lion thrones from both Mesopotamian and Egyptian art inspired the early Buddhist art. The early statues of Buddha made in Gandhara during the first and second century had a great influence on the later Buddhist art in both India and China. These statues were also highly affected by the Greco-Roman art, which dominated Iran from second century BCE to second century. The Greco-Roman influence is especially clear in the elements like the rendering of the folds and draping of the fabrics and clothing and the realistic approach in the design of Buddha's figure (Figure 1-GI-7, 1-GI-9, 1-GI-14). The

Table 4: Lion pillars.

	Egypt	Mesopotamia	Iran	Gandhara and India	China	Japan
Lion Pillar Capital		—				
Lion Pillar Basis	—		—			—
Date	25th centry BCE	8th century BCE	6th century BCE	2th century BCE-13th century CE	6th-9th century CE	10th century to present

lions on the side of the throne are pictured very smaller than the Buddha’s figure. Later Maitreya alters from Sui and Tang dynasties of China very much resemble these Gandhara made statues (Figures 2-C-19, 2-C-20, 2-C-22).

Manjusuri is another Buddhist figure frequently depicted riding a lion in the Buddhist art of India, China and Japan. Manjusuri—or as he is called in Japan “Monju Bozatsu”—is depicted in several statues as early as eleventh century in Japanese Buddhist art that show him sitting or standing on the back of a lion (Figure 1-J-11). In other words, after the invasion of Alexander to Iran and the rule of his successors, the early Buddhist statues in Gandhara area were adapted the aesthetic values of the Greco-Roman art through the route of Iran, which influenced the foundation of the later Buddhist art of India. Aside from the influence of the Greco-Roman art through the early Buddhist statues of Gandhara, the Buddhist art was also influenced by the earlier Indo-Iranian iconography in the art of the Brahman and Hindu traditions that emerged in the images of later Buddhist saints like Manjusuri.

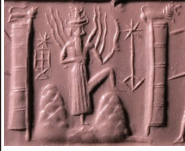






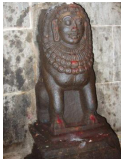

Furthermore, guardian lions are not only used on the side of the thrones or the gateways, but they are also used in the design of both freestanding pillars and the pillars supporting a structure. A few samples of the lion pillars are collected in Table 4. Lion pillars around India made by Mauryan Emperor Ashoka had a protective function. These lion pillars were used to mark the main entrance of the Buddhist sacred locations such as the lion pillar erected in front of the south entrance of the

Sanchi Stupa to mark it as the main entrance. Lion are used both in the design of pillar basis and pillar capitals by various cultures in Asia. The resemblance of the Sarnath lion pillar capital and the lion capital shown in the Egyptian mural painting is discussed earlier in the section on the Indian guardian lions (Figure 13) (see page 14).

Furthermore, in both Egyptian and Indian form of the lion pillars, lions are depicted standing on a lotus basis. The Iranian version of the lion capitals were used in three columned terraces on the north, east and west side of the Apadana palace in Persepolis (Figure 14). Each of these terraces surrounding the main hall, has 12 columns with a double-head lion capital, and the main hall itself includes 36 columns with double-headed bull capitals. The bases of all of these columns are inverted lotus flowers. As it is shown in Figure 32, the double-headed lion pillars of the Apadana palace of Persepolis are very much similar to the double-headed lion capitals used outside of the Karamon gate in Rinnou-ji. Aside from the Apadana’s double-headed lion capitals and Rinnou-ji’s, Figure 32 also includes a pillar capital depicted in the stone carvings of Sanchi stupa. Although, the pillars on the Sanchi carvings are more or less similar, but the lions are depicted in full body. On the other hand, in Apadana and Rinnou-ji pillar capitals, lions depicted back-to-back are connected to each other from the torso down. This quality in the design of these pillar capitals almost makes them identical.

The funeral column pillar in Nanjing, China, with a double lion basis and a lion standing on lotus on the

Table 5: Guardian lions' facial expression and lion sphinxes.

	Egypt	Mesopotamia	Iran	Gandhara and India	China	Japan
Guardian Lions' Facial Expression	—			—		
Lion Sphinxes						—
Date	13th- 12th century BCE	2nd millennium BCE	4th century BCE	2nd century CE to present	2nd century CE to present	9th century CE to present

capital, is a unique piece that represents the reminiscence of the pillar capitals both in ancient Near East and India (Figure 2-GI-11, 2-M-33, 2-M-38, 2-M-39). The design of the pillar capital is very much comparable to the numerous Ashokan capitals erected around India. While the basis, as it is shown in Figure 19, resembles a Hittite column basis from Tayinat. This pillar very much combines all the typical features of the lions pillar throughout the Asia.

Another visual feature that was discussed in this chapter is the A-Un facial expression of guardian lions, where the lion on one side is depicted with the mouth open and the one on the other side is pictured with the mouth closed. Although there is a section dedicated to this very important visual feature in the third chapter of this research, but as an introduction, a few images of the guardian lions with this visual feature is included in Table 5. A-Un visual feature, in fact very rarely appears in the art of the ancient Near East, but there are examples that include meaningful use of this feature in the design of the lion guardian and it is enough to prove the Near Eastern origin of A-Un visual feature, although for of lack of evidence there is no prof that it conveyed similar iconographic meanings as well. Since we know that the sacred word of Aum in Sanskrit language was originated from the Egyptian word of Amun or the Near Eastern word of Amen—which is still used as a sacred word by Christians and Muslims—it is likely that the A-Un facial expression of the lion guardians had also have similar iconographic attribution in the art of the ancient Near East. This feature also highlights the asso-

ciation of these lion guardians with opposite sides and their attribution to contrary iconographic meanings. The examples shown in Table 5 and other examples will certainly be discussed in the third chapter of this research.

The second part of the Table 5 includes images of guardian sphinxes in cultures under discussion. On a stela placed on the chest of the Giza sphinx, the Egyptian Akeru lions are depicted in the form of lion sphinxes. Since the Akeru lions were considered as guardians in the mythology of ancient Egypt, this representation of Akeru lions suggests the protective role of the sphinxes as well. Meanwhile, the lion and bull sphinxes were both popular as guardians of sacred places in Mesopotamia and the protective role of these creatures has been proven through numerous scripts found describing them confronting the malicious spirits and the enemies of kings or deities. Sphinxes used in Achaemenid palaces of Iran are very similar to the Assyrian Sphinxes and they are used at the main entrances of the lunettes above the doors or windows—similar to their Assyrian prototypes. Hence, it is only natural to consider similar protective role for them as well.

On the other hand, the Indian form of man-faced lion is called Purushamriga in Sanskrit language, and it translates as; “human beast.” Purushamriga is a protective deity and it is placed at the entrances to the main shrines and ritual facades and it is believed to turn around evil and purify the devotees from their sins. The existing statues of Purushamriga are only found in the traditions of southern India, but the origin of this beast is goes back to the ancient mythology of India and Ma-

habharata epics (see page 15). A pair of these sphinxes is placed on both side of an entrance in Shri Shiva Nata-
raja temple and it is believe that by looking in their eyes,
the devotees will be striped from their sins (Figure 16).

The Chinese version of the sphinxes are every popular during the Tang Dynasty and as mentioned above they are used as the guardians of the tombs. These guardians are called the zhenmushou and they are believed to be an amalgam of various features of local and imported guardian beasts. Although the origin of these guardian animals is unknown, but they share some of their visual features with other forms of gateway guardian throughout Asia: such as always used as a pair, placed on both sides of the entrance, lion companion, wings, A-Un facial expression and so on. As mentioned earlier, the guardians portrayed in the Achaemenid cylinder seal presented in figure are nearly identical with Tang Dynasty tomb guardians, in spite of the fact that they are almost nine centuries apart.

As explain through out this chapter, many of the visual features of guardian lion portrayed in the religious art of the cultures under study, demonstrate a close connection to the iconography of the sun as an immortal being that has the ability to travel between cosmic areas. Lions have been frequently depicted as the guardians of cosmic gateways between the world of living and the world of dead. They are also depicted as the guardians of the sun god as he travels across the underworld during the night.

As explained in the second section of this chapter, one of the qualities of the sacred place is that it replicates the cosmos in its form. Hence, guardian lions, which are believed to be the guardians of the cosmic gateways, have an important role to protect the gateways of the sacred places as well. They have an important role in the architecture of the sacred places. Guardian lions are used in different forms, such as carvings, statues and pillars and so on in massive buildings of palaces and temples, and in smaller cases, lion thrones or statues on the sides of an emperor's sitting area. These guardian lions are representing the sun at its to extreme states; sunrise and sunset. Therefore, lions on the both sides of the gateway or throne represent the concepts of different directions on earth and time. Lion on one side is on the east, or the rising point of the sun,

and it represents the future. Lion on the other side is on the west, or the setting point if the sun and it represents the past. These contrary meanings of the guardian lions are also reflected in their facial expressions, where one of them is shown with the mouth open and the other one is depicted with the mouth closed (see section fourteenth, chapter three). Through all of these visual features, the main purpose of lion guardians at the gateway of the sacred places is that to define the cosmic qualities of the sacred area and make it as similar as possible to the image of the cosmos introduced by the ruling religion. Lion guardians are visual representations of the cardinal directions and time in the architecture of the sacred places and they define these features, by the movement of the sun in the sky as an important figure in the cosmology of all the ancient religions.

This chapter included the most well-known visual representation of guardian lions in the cultures under study and it was an attempt to make a visual comparison between similar representations of guardian lions in different cultures around Asia. I hope this introduction gives the readers a better understanding of very important role of guardian lions in the design of sacred places as the earthly representation of cosmos in the religious art.

Chapter II: Shishi and Leonine Body Marking

2.1. Introduction

In numerous examples from both Near Eastern and Japanese visual arts, lions—and occasionally other animals—are depicted with special form of round or torsional body markings (Figure 33). I first realized about this commonality through an articles by Katsumi Tanabe. In his article, Tanabe mentions the torsional motif in the design of the green fabric that his usually attached to the rim of lion masks used in the Japanese lion dance performances (Figure 33-D) and he claims that; “because this motif was introduced to Japan long time ago, there is no official name for it. However, in Kyushu, it is called as “lion’s hair.”¹ This motif is name ‘the lion motif’ by Takashi Katano in his book titled the *encyclopedia of Japanese motifs*.² Regardless of the name of this motif, it has very distinguished features that make it very easy to recognize.

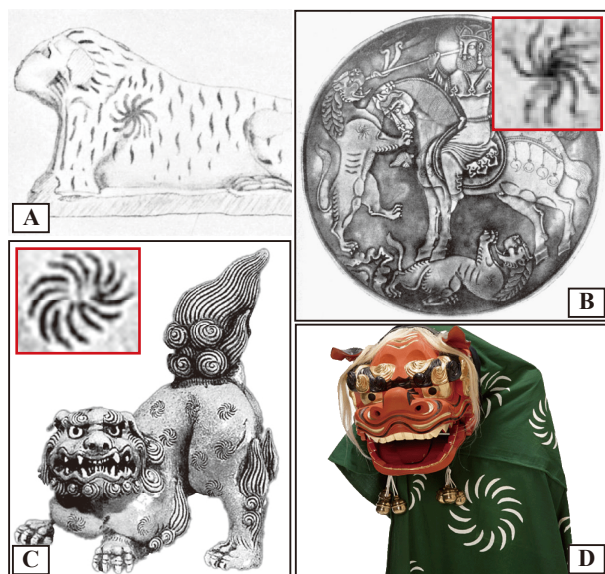


Figure 33: A(1-E-5), B(1-I-48), C(1-C-16), D(1-J-49).

This torsional motif is also seen on the body of Japanese shishi and komainu (Figure 34-B), the guardian lion statues that are used at the entrances of Shinto shrines to protect against the spirits. It is also often seen on the body of ‘Tang style lions’ known as ‘Karajishi’ in Japanese art (Figure 34-A). This form of lion is developed in China under the influence of Tang Dynasty art and it was later introduced to Japan. Other mythical animals with Chinese origin such as Kirin are also depicted in Japanese art with a similar form of body markings.

¹ Katsumi Tanabe, “Shishimai kara Mesopotamia.Ejiputo-e.” *Bulletine of Kakegawa-west High School* Vol. 20 (1989), 3.

² Takashi Katano, *Nihon Monyou Jiten* (Tokyo: Kawade Shobo Shinsha, 1984), 55.

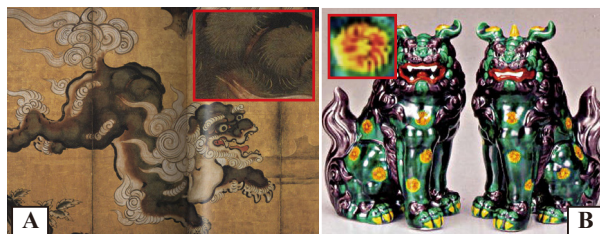


Figure 34: A(1-J-9), B(2-J-21).

Moreover, in ancient Near East these body markings are used on variety of animals; such as bulls, Ibexes, stags, falcons and so on. However, there is no textual evidence available that can reveal the iconographic attributes of this motif. As mentioned above, these motifs usually have a circular form and they resemble a whorl. In many other representations, the animal body markings appear in the form of a floral or a star or a sun-like motif. The variation of the motifs used as body markings are listed in the seventh section of this chapter.

The Near Eastern origin of Japanese guardian lions has been proven through historical and linguistic evidences. Moreover, many visual features in their appearance as well as iconographic meanings were introduced to East Asian cultures along with the image of guardian lions. Torsional body marking is one of these visual features that could possibly have iconographic attributions as well.

One of the objectives of this research is to find out if these round and torsional motifs, that have been used as animal body marking convey any solar attributions. As mentioned in the first chapter, the lion in the ancient Near East is closely associated to the sun and lions are considered to be the guardians of the cosmic gateways and protectors of the sun in its night journey to the underworld. Therefore, by analyzing the numerous examples of the animal representation in all the mentioned cultures, the aim is to examine different forms of body markings that were used by all of these cultures and to discover if any of them are used as a reference to the sun to mark the animals as a solar symbols.

Since these body markings first occur in the image of the guardian lions in ancient Egypt and Mesopotamia in the third millennium BCE, until it was introduced to Japanese culture along with the image of guardian lions in seventh to eighth century, the torsional body markings came a long way and there is no question that it went through various changes both in ap-

pearance and iconography along the way. It is possible that what is understood from these motifs in Japan today is not exactly what was intended five thousand years ago in ancient Near East. Hence, by looking at all of the examples collected from a long span of time between third millennium BCE to present in the vast regions of Egypt, Mesopotamia, Iran, Gandhara and India, China and Japan in the format of a timeline table, we can see how the form of the body markings as well as their iconographic attributions evolved over time, and from culture to culture.

2.2. Literature Review

Leonine body markings are used in the vast region of Asia for thousands of years and consequently, it was translated to various forms and patterns with different naturalistic and iconographic meanings. However, up to the present very few researches had been dedicated to this subject. There were a few indications to the existence of leonine shoulder ornament in Near Eastern art among the scholars of early 20th century, but an article by Helene J. Kantor³, published in *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* is the first significant work dedicated to this subject. In this article, Kantor names the body markings as ‘leonine shoulder ornaments’ and she offers numerous examples of the use of shoulder ornament in ancient Egyptian and Syro-Palestinian art. Based on Kantor’s argument, the torsional form of the motive was common in Assyrian art by which it was introduced to Luristan metal works, as well as Scythian and Achaemenid art. Later on, through Sassanid and Parthian art, it was handed over to central Asia.

Kantor’s article raises quite a controversy. The first review of this article was published in the next volume of the same journal by A. J. Arkell. He starts his argument with the result of his observation in Khartoum Zoo, criticizing Kantor for disregarding the theory of natural origin of the motif. He explains that based on his observations, in nature ‘the hair stream whorls’ are often seen on both sides of the lion cubs at the upper rear point of the shoulder blade, while on the fully grown up lions the hair is short and there is no trace of

the torsional hair star.⁴ According to his zoological observations, Arkell concluded that the shoulder ornament is nothing but the natural hair stream that is often seen on lion cubs (Figure 35).



Figure 35: The hair whorl on the shoulder of the lion and forehead of the bull.

The first number of *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* published in the year 1950 also holds a few notes on Kantor’s article. The first note is by Dorothea M. A. Bate that accuses Kantor to conducting exclusive museum research on a subject dealing with a living creature. She states that instead of being focused on the museum research, if Kantor paid more attention to the actual animal, she could see the natural hair whorl that inspired the leonine shoulder ornament.

In the same journal by E. Douglas Van Buren challenges Kantor’s argument on the Egyptian origin of the leonine shoulder ornament.⁵ She claims that “a search of a couple of hours in the few library books available during the summer holidays”⁶ provided her with three examples of the motif in the art of ancient Mesopotamia much earlier than the bowl of Ras Shamra mentioned by Kantor as the earliest example outside Egypt. Later on, she cites that all of these examples “appear to refuse the theory that the motif was introduced to the Near East from Egypt.”⁷ She also disregards any symbolic meanings for the motif when she in favors Kantor’s approach to the matter and says, “Miss Kantor prudently observes that in Egypt there is no evidence to indicate that the rosette had any symbolic meaning. This opinion seems confirmed by the diverse forms assumed by the motif in Egypt, for they vary from a rosette, a whirl, a bisected circle, a dot within concentric circle, and a plain dot. The essential mark of a symbol is that its form is unal-

⁴ A. J. Arkell, “The Shoulder Ornament of Near Eastern Lions,” *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 7 (January 1948), 52.

⁵ E. Douglas Van Buren, An Additional Note on the Hair Whirl, *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 6 (October 1947), 54.

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ Ibid.

³ Helene J. Kantor, “The Shoulder Ornament of Near Eastern Lions,” *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 6 (October 1947), 250-274.

terable, eternally the same and therefore immediately recognizable.⁸”

The argument on Helene Kantor’s article did not end here. Three years later Anna Vollgraff-Roes published a short article on this subject and challenged the zoological comments of Arkell and Bate. She suggests “the fact that the marking at the same time represented a natural detail could in these circumstances be forgotten, and the hair whorl be replaced by another symbol of the same meaning.”⁹ Although her article seems short and insignificant, it contains some rather interesting points. First of all, she refers to a number of the earliest examples of the shoulder ornament in Mesopotamia such as; the shoulder ornament in a circle form with two wings or tufts of long hair going out of it—which later was interpreted as winged disk—and also, the emblem on the back of lions. She concludes that these examples “do not prove or make it probable that the custom of putting a certain marking on a lion started with the more or less naturalistic shoulder ornament. It is rather seems that the primary idea was to provide the beast with an emblem, which in that case must have had a symbolic significance.”¹⁰ Thereafter, she dismisses the theory on the unalterable form of a symbol by Kantor and Van Buren as a mere speculation and cites that “this is rather a startling remark in view of the many different solar symbols on oriental seals and monuments. And solar symbols many others and I believed most of those marking to be.”¹¹ Concerning the meaning of the symbols, she cites that “whenever the meaning of the torsional designs can be made out, they seem to be solar symbols. That the rosette, wheels, stars, and concentric circles may also stand for the sun needs no proof.”¹² Roes continues with a few samples on the lions’ facial markings in the Greek, Roman, Iranian and Indian art and by bringing a modern example of the shoulder ornament in Japanese art, she is the first to point out how this Near Eastern motif persisted in the art of the Far East.

Among the Japanese scholars, Katsumi Tanabe is

8 E. Douglas Van Buren, An Additional Note on the Hair Whirl, *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 6 (October 1947), 54.

9 Anne Vollgraff-Roes, “The Lion with Body Marking in Oriental Art,” *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 12 (January 1953), 40.

10 Ibid, 43.

11 Ibid, 44

12 Ibid, 46.

the only scholar that has commented on this motif. He has published several article on this subject and collected many examples of the earlier representation of this form of body marking in Japanese art, Chinese art and the art of Gandhara and Iran. Through his persistence on this subject, many valuable examples of the leonine shoulder ornament are collected from both Japanese and Near Eastern art, and the visual analysis of these examples shows that although the leonine shoulder ornament is a forgotten motif in present day Middle East, but fortunately, it survives in Chinese and Japanese art.

Joachim K. Bautze is another author who studied the leonine markings in classical miniature painting of Northern India during the reign of Mughal Empire. Through his research, Bautze claims that although the leonine shoulder ornament disappears from the art of Northern India around eighth century, but this motif makes a come back with the Mughal paintings in sixteenth century and it appears in several representation of lion and bull on the shoulder, mane, forehead and the cheek of the animal after this time. Bautze in his article distinguishes between the forms that are imitating the hair tufts and the forms that are representing a form of markings that “do not represent anything which could consist of the hair.”¹³ In this article, Bautze divided the available examples of the leonine markings based on the locations on the body of animals, through this method he aims to find the origin of the markings and their source of inspiration. Eventually he concluded that the cheek markings of tigers and lions, which is one of the most popular forms of marking during this Era in Northern India, could simply be inspired by a natural form of marking that occasionally appears on the cheeks of tigers and there is not enough evidence available to establish any connection between the sixteenth century representations of the body marking and the older Gandhara representations of it.¹⁴

2.3. Method of Research

In this chapter, the main argument is to find out the origin and possible iconographic attributions of the torsional motif often seen on the body of Japanese

13 Joachim K. Bautze, “Some Notes on the Shoulder Ornament in the Art of Northern India.” *Silk Road Art and Archaeology* 2 (1991-1992), 221.

14 Ibid, 225.

guardian lions. In order to achieve this goal, various forms and motifs of body markings on different animal representations in the art some Asian cultures will be discussed. The culture that are discussed in this chapter include; Egypt, Mesopotamia, Iran, India, China and Japan. The reason for these choices is that these cultures are the most influential in the forming visual features of the shishi and komainu as Japanese guardian lions. As mentioned in the last chapter, there is no question about the Near Eastern origin of the Chinese and Japanese guardian lions and most of the features in the design of these animals are come from a similar origin. Therefore, to comprehend the iconographic meaning of these features, it is important to understand the meaning of these visual features in the places that they are originated from.

In the Japanese representation of the leonine body marking, they often have a round and usually torsional form. Similar forms were also used in the art of ancient Near East hand in hand with other forms such as wheel motif, winged disk and star motif. We know that most of these motifs have solar attributions. Hence, to explain the main argument in this chapter, it is to discover if the torsional body markings often depicted on Japanese guardian lions are a reference to the solar nature of these guardians.

In order to have a better understanding of the available theories by various modern scholars on the origin and iconographic attribution of the animal body marking, in the fourth section of this chapter, all the existing theories about animal body marking in all of the mentioned cultures is discussed. The theories related to this issue are studied in separate sections and pros and cons of each of these theories will be considered.

Thereafter, the iconographic attributions of the lion will be discussed in the fifth section of this chapter. As explained in chapter one, in many of the cultures mentioned above, the lion is an animal associated to the sun and there is a close connection between the sun and the lion in many of the visual representations of lion in these cultures. In this section, various forms of visual representation of the lion as a sun related animal are studied.

There is no bibliographic evidence available on the iconographic attributions of these body markings

and the visual analysis is the only method available to tackle this issue. In order to make a strong basis for the argument, a reliable number of the examples of the body markings are needed to make the visual comparison as valid as possible. Therefore, total number 274 images of artifacts from all the six cultures mentioned above are collected that include various forms of animal body markings. All of these examples are organized in a timeline table in the sixth section of this chapter. This timeline table facilitates the synchronic analysis of the motifs. Each page of this table demonstrates the examples available of the used of body markings in approximately 400 years in all of the cultures in discussion. Table 10 is a complementary table to the timeline table that shows the number of examples—divided to two groups of leonine markings and bovine markings—available in each page and it clearly demonstrates the flow of the animal body marking from ancient Near East toward East Asia.

Some of the 274 examples available to this research include image of different animals with diverse form of body markings. For each of these animals, there is one or multiple numbers of short notes available—based on the number of markings depicted on that specific animal—next to the detail image of their body markings in table 7. The total number of these notes are 414 notes and each of these notes describes three factors about the body marking they are associated with:

1. The first factor is the motif that is used to mark the animal.

All the motifs that occur on the animals in all 414 notes are categorized into 18 groups and abbreviated title of these motifs in the first factor in each of the notes.

2. The second factor is the animal that is marked with that motif.

There are 14 kinds of animals identified with body marking in all of the 274 examples.

3. The third is the location of the marking on animal body.

In all of the 414 notes, the marking occurs on 14 different locations on the animal body.

Note: Two animals of the same kind with identical body markings are both represented by only one note, however, different animals with similar markings or the same animals with different mark-

ings are represented by separate notes.

The statistics concerning each of the factors are organized in separate tables and these information is analyzed in sections seven, eight and nine of this chapter. At the beginning of each of these chapters, there is a pie chart included to show the percentage of the use of each motif or animal or location of the body marking.

In seventh section, the all of the 18 groups of motifs are analyzed and the iconography of all of these motifs in the ancient Near East is studied in order to trace a possible connection between the forms of body marking and their iconographic connection to the sun. In the eighth section, because a great majority of the examples illustrate the body marking on either lions or bulls, all of the notes are divided to two groups of leonine and bovine markings and all other animals are also classified under one of the groups above. In the ninth section, 14 different locations of body marking are analyzed in separate subsections and in each subsection, all the examples that represent the body marking in that specific location on the body of the animals are collected in the form of a table and they are divided according to the culture that they are representing. This will help us to have a better understanding of what kind of animals where more often represented with which motif on what locations of their body. Therefore, these tables included in the ninth section of this chapter contain very specific information about the collected examples.

The result of the analysis from section seven, eight and nine are first summarized in separate subsections in the conclusion section of this chapter, and then final result of the analysis of the all three factors is revealed in the final conclusion.

2.4. Theories on the Origin of Leonine Body Marking

Helene J. Kantor in her article offers various theories by other scholars, concerning the origin of the idea of leonine shoulder ornament and its source of inspiration. Theories presented in Kantor's article is as followed:

2.4.1. A Natural Hair Whorl

The first theory that Kantor refers to is by Jean Sainte Fare Garnot's. She suggested that the whirl motif

represented on the shoulder of lions has a natural origin and she claims that: the whirl motif "delineates hair tufts present on the shoulder of lions."¹⁵ However, Kantor refuses this theory, since based on her zoological observations, "in nature, such tufts are not always present, nor are they features of such prominence as to claim attention."¹⁶ In addition, she notes that only the torsional form of the shoulder ornament resemble hair and "... such types do not occur before the Second Intermediate Period, 1650-1550 BCE [in Egypt], while the early examples, covering a span of some seven centuries, are formal patterns of varying shapes without any similarities to natural features."¹⁷ Figure 36 shows a number of the earlier examples that Kantor suggests as the proof of un-naturalistic origin of the leonine shoulder ornament.

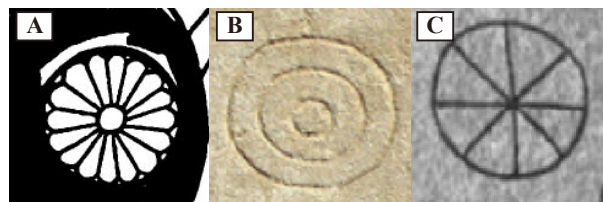


Figure 36: A(1-E-1), B(1-E-2), C(1-E-3).

In a review of Kantor's article, Arkell argues that the shoulder ornament motif is inspired by the natural hair whirl that is often seen on the shoulder of lion cubs and he suggests that "it is not surprising once the early artist noticed the hair whorl; he incorporated it in his drawing of a lion.... Since however it is not easy to get lions to seat for their portraits, artists were frequently have copied other artists rather than have work directly with the live lions. And one who had not noticed the hair whorl on the living lion would be very likely to misunderstand and alter it in his reproduction, until it becomes a rosette or the circle divided to eight segments in the earliest (Old Kingdom) examples."¹⁸ In other words, he says that although the leonine shoulder ornament was inspired by the hair whorls on the shoulder of lions, but since copying other artists was a tradition in ancient art, it was later misunderstood as a decorative form, or as a motif with special iconographic meaning.

Van Buren favors the argument by Arkell and sug-

¹⁵ Helene J. Kantor, "The Shoulder Ornament of Near Eastern Lions," *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 6 (October 1947), 253.

¹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ A. J. Arkell, "The Shoulder Ornament of Near Eastern Lions," *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 7 (January 1948), 52.

gests that; “it seems possible that in the three instances here added to Miss Kantor’s list the hair whorl was rendered as a natural feature slightly accentuated to make clear the fact that these animals were especially strong and virile, and in perfect condition and, consequently, the more meet to be dedicated to the service of the gods.”¹⁹

In another note by Dorothea M. A. Bate, she expresses her point of view on the origin of leonine shoulder ornament by refereeing to a photograph of a young lion taken in the gardens of the Royal Zoological Society of Ireland in Dublin as a proof and she states that “the shoulder ornament presents a natural hair whorl found in young lions and therefore the cult of the leonine shoulder ornament so elaborately worked out is without foundation, based on a mistaken interpretation of natural phenomenon.”²⁰

To sum up all the arguments above, due to lack of evidence, we cannot prove or discard the natural origin of the shoulder ornament, or whether it is a transformation of the hair whorl or not. However, as we will further discuss in this chapter, we will see numerous examples available of the used of leonine body marking among various cultures in Asia and all these examples show that it is possible that later on, this motif has adapted new sort of iconographic meanings based on its visual features in various cultures of Asia.

2.4.2. An Applique or an Element of Decoration

Another theory that Kantor mentioned in her article was that the motif on the shoulder of various representations of lion in art was actually used as an applique to adorn the body of lions in the court as the element that shows the ownership by the court. Jéquier proposed; “...the shoulder ornament is an element placed on tame court lions, or the design was simply painted upon the beasts.”²¹ Kantor herself, in favors this theory and she suggests that the knotted ribbons tied around the body of lions shown in earlier examples could be “... the rendering of actual bands tied around the beasts and this immediately suggests that the rosette, too, is a styl-

ized portrayal of some element added to adorn the animals.”²²(Figure 37) To support this theory, Kantor refers to the same design on the breast bands used in Libyan temples of Sahura and Neuserre, where modern tame lions would only submit to such treatment, when they suitably reared.²³

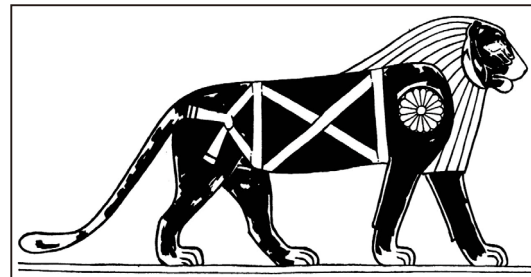


Figure 37: (1-E-1).

Moreover, there are numerous examples of the human or divine figure in Neo-Assyrian art that are depicted with wristbands or armbands or even belts that has similar rosette or star-like motif on it (Figure 52-B). However, none of these examples would help us to prove or discard this theory. Regardless of the fact that these animals are tame or divine creatures depicted with decorative applique or ornament on their body or not, in the entire examples available, it is clear that these animals are considered to have special qualifications that separate them from the common animals.

2.4.3. A Sign of Goddess

The connection between leonine shoulder ornament and the goddess is another theory that was suggested to Kantor by Machteld J. Mellink and it proposes that the shoulder ornaments found on the lions around the throne of a female figure found in Susa, “can be explained as the symbol of the goddess Ishtar placed on the animals sacred to her.”²⁴ This means that the shoulder ornament is a sign of the goddess Ishtar placed on the body of the animals associated with her. Contenau is another scholar that suggests a similar theory of connection between the body markings and the goddess and he was quoted by Kantor that the leonine shoulder ornaments “mark these lions as the property of Ishtar.”²⁵

19 E. Douglos Van Buren, “An Additional Note on the Hair Whirl,” *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 9 (January 1950), 54.

20 Dorothea M. A. Bate, The “Shoulder Ornament” of Near Eastern Lions, *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 9 (January 1950), 53.

21 Helene J. Kantor, “The Shoulder Ornament of Near Eastern Lions,” *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 6 (October 1947), 253.

22 Ibid.

23 Ibid.

24 Ibid.

25 Contenau, G. *La civilization des Hittites et des Mitanniens*, 243 quoted in Kantor, “The Shoulder Ornament of Near Eastern Lions,” 264.

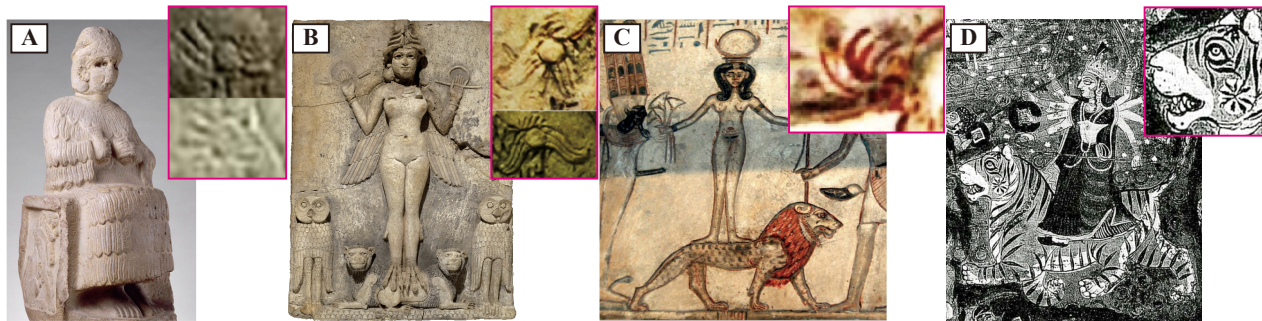


Figure 38: A(1-I-1), B(1-M-8), C(1-E-17), D(1-GI-25).

As it was explicitly explained in the first chapter of this research, lions are often associated to the goddesses in the art of Mesopotamia, Iran and India. Numerous statues of different goddesses have been found that portray the goddess seated on a lion throne; such as the statue of unknown goddess found in Catal Hoyuk (Figure 4-A), or the statue of the Elamite goddess Narundi seated on a throne with six lions depicted all around it (Figure 38-A). Ishtar/Inanna is the most famous goddess of Mesopotamia region and she was frequently depicted standing on the back of two addorsed lions (Figure 38-B)—in some cases, single-horned animals (Figure 2-M-4)—or placing one of her feet on the back of a lion (Figure 2-M-9, 2-M-10). Through the visual representation of the goddess available from ancient Egypt and India, we know that this concept was transmitted to Egypt and India as well, and some of these representations from both India and Egypt portray goddesses standing on lions with similar body markings (Figure 38-C, D).



Figure 39: Ishtar standing on lion and eight-pointed star behind her, Old Babylonian cylinder seal, 2000-1600 BCE, British Museum.

However, in two of the earliest examples in Mesopotamia and Iran, the goddesses depicted on lion—Narundi seated on lion throne and Ishtar standing on addorsed lion—with body markings in the form of winged-disk motif (Figure 38-A, B). While the eight-

pointed star motif is the well-known symbol of the goddess Ishtar (Figure 39), the winged disk is often associated with the sun gods, such as Shamash/Uta, Assure or Ninurta. Hence, although the later star-shaped motifs of shoulder ornament might suggest the connection between the goddess and lion, but we can not claim such attribution in case of the earlier examples such as above. Therefore, although the body marking can be a sign of divinity, but it is unlikely that it is as specific as a mark for merely goddesses.

2.4.4. A Sun Symbol

There are a number of scholars that consider the leonine shoulder ornament to be a sun symbol and Kantor mentions a few of the scholars in favor of this theory in her article. First, she mentions the authors of *Arsalan Tash* and cites that they recognize the shoulder ornament "...as sun symbol and explain their appearance on lions by astrological concept of lion constellation as the home of the sun."²⁶ The reason is that the sun presented itself in greatest power when it rises in the house of Loe.

As mentioned in the first chapter of this research, lion and the sun have a very close connection in the mythology of Near East. Both in ancient Mesopotamia and Egypt, it was believed that the gateways between the underworld and the world of living is located at the horizon line and the sun is the only being that can cross between the underworld and the world of living without under going the conditions of death. Every morning the sun rises at the east, and cross over the sky during the day, and in the evening, it passes the gateways to the underworld protected by lions to cross over the underworld during the night. The lions are not only the guardians of the gateway to the underworld, but they

²⁶ Thureau- Danguin. *Arsalan Tash*, 72 quoted in Kantor, "The Shoulder Ornament of Near Eastern Lions," 264.

also protect the sun on his nighttime journey through the underworld. There are many artifacts available from both Egyptian and Mesopotamian art that precisely illustrate these mythological concepts. Hence, there is a deep connection between the lion and the sun and they have similar iconographic attributions.

Phyllis Ackerman is another scholar that believes in the solar attribution of the leonine body markings. In her comments on a few Sassanid metal works, she refers to the shoulder ornament as "...the whirling rosette sun symbol."²⁷ Anna Roes took similar approach in her article on "L'animal au Signe Solaire."²⁸

We know that the Iconography of the sun is represented by a vast range of emblems. "These include the gold disk, the rayed winged disk, the half-disk with rays, the circle with center point, and a star, spiral, ring, wheel, Swastika, heart, rosette, lotus, sun flower and chrysanthemum."²⁹ The reason that most of these scholar mentioned these body marking as a sun symbols is that in most of the examples available of the leonine shoulder ornament, the form represented is following the category of the well established sun emblems. We will go through the visual qualities of the all the examples available in this research in the upcoming sections of this chapter.

2.5. Lion and the Sun

In the first chapter of this research, many examples from different cultures in Asia were introduced that represent lions as guardians of cosmic gateways. We also talked about the role of lion as guardians of the sun and we reviewed the examples that represent the lion as the guardian of the sun deity as he passes the underworld in his nighttime journey. Based on these believes, people of ancient Near East developed the custom of placing statues of lions at the doorways to their houses, palaces and tombs to protect both the living people and the deceased from all the demons and evil spirits.

Since lions are closely associated of the sun, they adapted some of the iconographic role associated with

²⁷ A. U. Pope, ed., *A survey of Persian Art 1* (Costa Mesa, California: Mazda Publishers, 2005), 729.

²⁸ Anna Roes, "L'animal au Signe Solaire," *Revue Archéologique* 7, (1938), 168-175 quoted in Helene Kantor, "The Shoulder Ornament of Near Eastern Lions," 265.

²⁹ Jack Tresidder, edit., *The Complete Dictionary of Symbols* (San Francisco, 2005), 455.

the sun as well. For example, similar to the sun, lions are also known as the spiritual leader and the guide. They are believed to have the ability to guide the spirits of the dead to the underworld and to guide them back to the world of living, therefore, they are closely associated with resurrection.³⁰ This is the concept behind the Egyptian resurrection beds in the form of lions that we talked about earlier in the first chapter (Figure 3-B). All the same, in Chinese, the word for lion is written using the ideogram of religious leader and guide, which lines with the concept of lion as the guide of the spirits in ancient Egyptian culture (Figure 19).

Association between the lion and the sun has been illustrated in the art of various cultures in different ways. One of the earliest representations of lion and sun is in the image of the Egyptian Akeru lions, the guardians of the cosmic gateways that are depicted holding the morning sun over their back (Figure 40-A). As it was explicitly discussed in the first chapter, these lions are also associated to different directions on earth, as well as the concept of time. One of the lions represents the past the other one represents future.³¹ Similar concept of the sun passes the gateways to rise is demonstrated very clearly in the art of ancient Mesopotamia. The sun god, Shamash, is depicted on a few cylinder seals from this region, rising over the mountains, while his attendants keep the gateways open for him. One gate is surmounted by a lion and the other one by a lioness (Figure 5). A double lion carving from stone fence of Sanchi stupa in India shows very similar representations of lions with a sun-like motif rising over their back (Figure 40-J). As mentioned before in the first chapter, this is one of the many visual representations available on the stone carvings of this stupa that prove the deep Egyptian, Near Eastern and Greco-Roman influence on the early Buddhist art of India.

There was a distinguished tradition of lion and sun cult in ancient Egypt and the chief center of this tradition was the city of Leontopolis, located in the delta of the lower Egypt. In Leontopolis, the Lion City, lions were considered sacred and kept in the temples.³² Two

³⁰ Hope B. Werness, *The Continuum Encyclopedia of Animal Symbolism in Art* (New York, 2006), 255.

³¹ Katherine M. Ball, *Animal Motifs in Asian Art: An Illustrated Guide to Their Meanings and Aesthetics* (New York, 2004), 57.

³² Ibid.

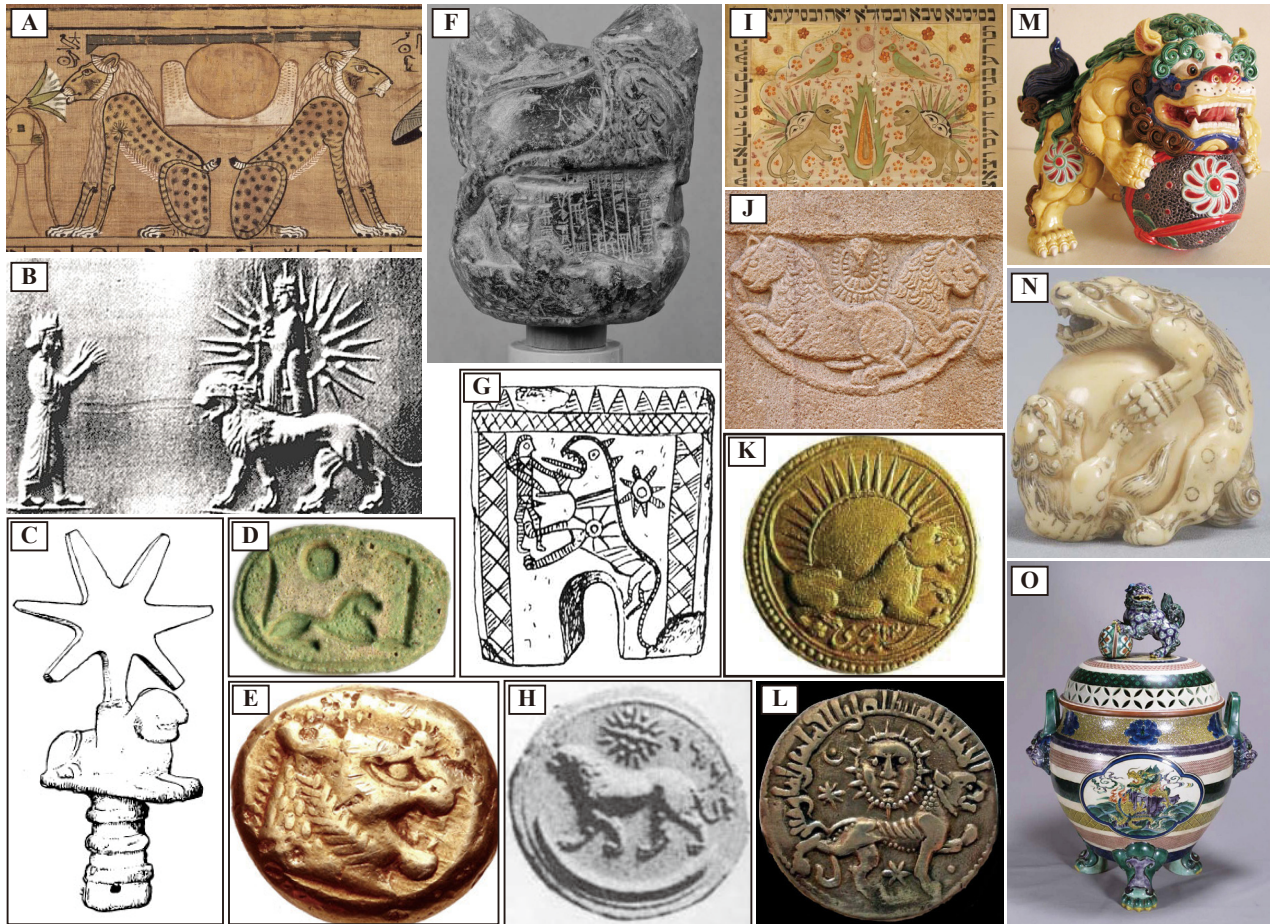


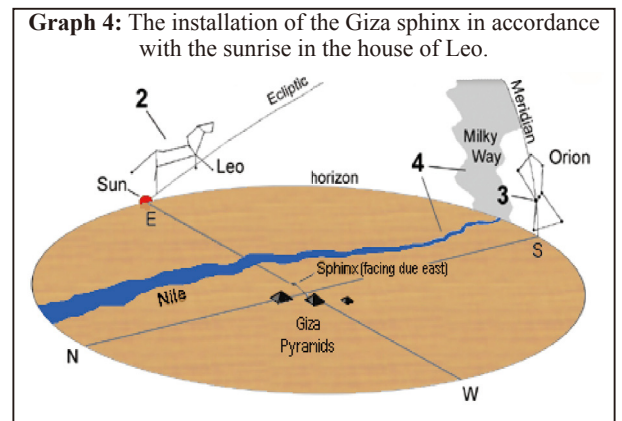
Figure 40: A(1-E-23), B(1-I-36), C(1-E-27), D(1-E-28), E(1-M-30), F(1-M-6), G(1-M-27), H(1-I-37), I(1-I-62), J(2-GI-22), K(Lion and sun on a series of coins minted by Jahangir Shah, 1611-1617), L(1-I-60), M(1-C-17), N(1-J-29), O(1-J-36).

of the artifacts found from this area show the sun over the back of a single recumbent lion. The bronze top of a standard found in Leontopolis seems to be the earliest depiction of the sun over the back of a single lion, dated circa 837-728 BCE (Figure 40-C). Numerous examples of lion designs carved on stone standards' head found near the Sumerian city of Girsu that are dated around mid-third millennium BCE (Figure 40-F). Another example of sun and lion motif from Egypt was found very close to the city of Leontopolis and it is a green glaze scarab found in Tell Defenneh, that shows a single recumbent lion with the sun hovering over its back dated fifth to fourth century BCE (Figure 40-D).

One of the most well-known interpretations of the lion and sun motif is astrological interpretation. Based on the signs of the Zodiac; the sun enters the zodiacal house of Leo on the twenty third of July, the summer solstice, and remains in occupation until the twenty third of August. "The astrologers distinguished Leo as the sole house of the sun," since it is in constellation

³³ Milton A. Pottenger, *Symbolism* (Montana: Kessinger Publishing, 2010), 251.

Leo that the sun manifests its full power and returns to his place of glory. The Sphinx of Giza is also made in the form of a recumbent lion with a human head facing the east (Figure 2-E-1). The installation of this massive statue is in accordance with the movement of the sun in the sky, in other words, the sphinx of Giza is installed the way that it looks over the sunrise in the east every morning. Graph 4 illustrates the sunrise in the constellation Leo, where the Giza sphinx looks on to the sun as it rises over the back of the lion.



The sun rising over the back of lion is a theme that appears frequently on ancient Mesopotamia and Iranian artifacts. A votive alter dated seventh century BCE found in Gezer, an ancient Canaanite city-state presently located in Israel, illustrates an image of a lion attacking a hero (Figure 40-G). The lion on this alter has a form of a marking on the shoulder and also a sun-like shape over the back. Another example of lion and sun motif is found on a Lydian coin minted during the time of Alyattes to Kroisos (Figure 40-E). This coin illustrates the head of a roaring lion with a small sun motif over its forehead.

The examples of the lion with sun over the back available from Iran are innumerable. One of the earliest examples is a golden panel from Achaemenid Period that shows Artaxerxes II, who reigned in the first half of fourth century BCE, in front of the Iranian goddess Anahita, standing in a distinguished halo of the sun, surmounted on a lion (Figure 40-B). Engheta in his book titled: *Lion and Sun: Three Thousand years old Symbol*, claims that this panel can be the origin of all the later Iranian variations of lion and sun.³⁴ Another example is a Late-Achaemenid coin by Mazaeus, the governor of the Satrap of Babylon (Figure 40-H). This coin clearly shows a lion in the walking position and a shining sun hovering over its back. Similar pattern was used frequently used on the coins minted by Iranian states, especially after the invasion of Islam.

There are numerous stories about the kings who invented the lion and sun motif in Iran, but none of these stories seem to be authentic. A coin minted by Kaykhusraw II, Sultan of the Seljuqs Empire around thirteenth century, represents a lion standing on the middle and the sun depicted with a human face is depicted over his back (Figure 40-L). There is a story that reports that Kaykhusraw II was in love with his wife who happened to be a Georgian princess. He decided that he wanted an illustration of his wife to be minted on the coins, but since this is against the Islamic teachings, a lion was illustrated and a sun with the princess's face was designed hovering over its back.³⁵ However today, we know that the history of lion and sun motif goes

³⁴ Nasser Engheta, *Shir va Khorshid: Neshan-e Sehezarsale* (California: 1997), 47.

³⁵ Ahmad Kasravi, *Tarikhchah-e Shir va Khvurshid* (Kabul, 1999), 15.

back a lot further than Seljuq Dynasty.

After Seljiq Period, the tradition of using the lion and sun motif on the coins continued during the Safavid Dynasty. Under the influence of Safavid coinage, it was introduced to India. During the reign of Jahangir Shah, the Mughal emperor of India from 1605 to 1627, many zodiacal coins were minted, and in all of these coins, the sun was depicted rising on the back of all of the zodiac signs (Figure 40-K). This representation of the sun is the proof that at least during this era, the lion and sun motif was considered as a zodiacal sign.

On the other hand, the image of the lion and the sun represented in the East Asia is quite different. In both China and Japan, there is a popular image of a lion holding a ball under its paw. In regard with this representation, Katherine Ball states that; "the naturalistic lion of the Nile and the Euphrates, however, in its migrations to Cathay was later successively transformed by Taoists and Buddhists until it no longer resembled the real creature, but became a chimera, while the sun-ball, likewise evolved into the oriental 'Chu,' became endowed with the qualities of the pearl of the dragon. But, regardless of these modifications, it has ever retained its power to protect from evil everything in front of which it was placed on guard; a fact that adds to the claim of diffusion of civilization from Egypt, for these can be no question whatever that the Egyptian lion and ball long antedated the Chinese Shi-tzu."³⁶ In this statement, the author claims that the naturalistic form of the lion and sun motif went under the major transformations after it was introduced to China. Under the influence of Taoism and Buddhism, the appearance of lion changed into a mythical creature rather than an ordinary animal and the sun that was along with it, changed to the mystic ball of Chu, that has qualities closer to the dragon's pearl rather than the sun, and it symbolizes the supreme power and the infinity of the universe (Figure 40-M). Hence, it was a sinicized version of lion was latter introduced to Japan (Figure 40-N, O). However, regardless of all the modifications, the lion remained as a guardian figure and although today, the Chinese lion is so different from its Egyptian ancestor, there is no doubt about the Near Eastern origin of it.

³⁶ Katherine M. Ball, *Animal Motifs in Asian Art: An Illustrated Guide to Their Meanings and Aesthetics*, 58.

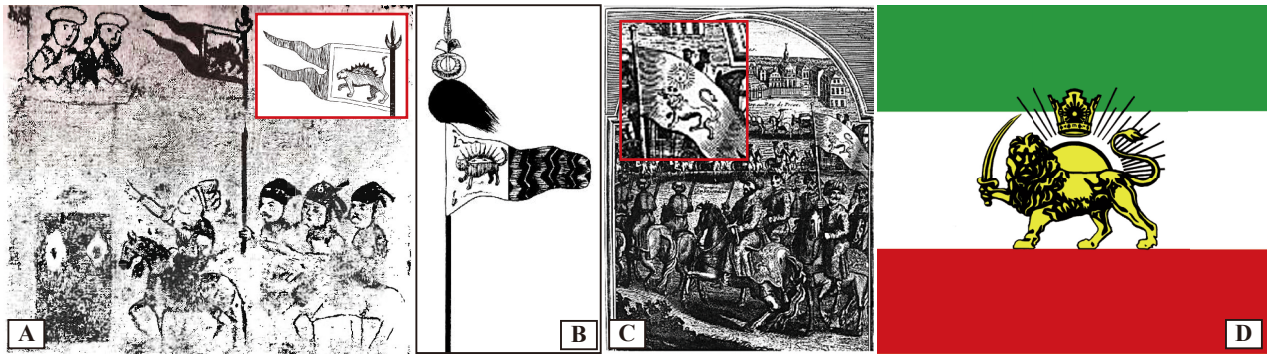


Figure 41: A(Illustration of the *Shahnameh* of Shams al-Din Kashani, 1423), B(A detail from a double-paged miniature, 1460), C(The flag of the king of Persia carried by the Persian delegation during Mohammad Reza Beg's visit to Versailles in August 1715, Carnavalet Museum), D(National flag of Iran during the Pahlavid Period).

Moreover, in Near Eastern traditions, both lion and the sun have deep connection to royalty. Shahbazi cited that: "Islamic, Turkish, and Mongol traditions also stressed the symbolic association of the lion and royalty. They likewise reaffirmed the charismatic power of the sun, and the Mongols re-introduced the veneration of the sun especially in its rising phase. As a result of these developments the heraldic use of the lion and sun symbol gained popularity and was extended, appearing on banners as well as on coins and textiles, metalwork, and luster tiles."³⁷ According to Nafisi, the earliest use of the lion and sun as a banner—or a flag that is the emblem of a state in Iran, is from a miniature painting from 1423, illustrating of the *Shahnameh* of Shams al-Din Kashani, an epic composition on the Mongol conquest (Figure 41-A). This miniature shows horsemen approaching a walled city, and one of them carries a banner on a tall rod, which is crowned by a spearhead within a crescent moon. On the square background of banner, a lion is depicted with the sun rising over its back and two floating pennons are attached to the side of the square banner. Another very similar example of banner with lion and sun design is seen in a double-paged miniature dated around 1460 (Figure 41-B). The lion and sun flag has become the national flag of Persian by the reign of first Qajar King Agha Mohammad Khan in 1742 and it remained so until the Islamic Revolution in 1977. The images of the national flag of Iran in different Eras are included in Figure 41.

A side from the national flag, especially from the Qajar Period, lion and sun motif gain so much popularity and it was adorn many vessels, official paper

works, Architectural monuments and so on. One of the examples of the use of lion and sun motif in an official context is a Jewish marriage certificate from Isfahan dated 1879 that illustrates a tree of life flanked by two lions each holding the sun depicted with a woman's face on their backs (Figure 40-I).

In many Asian cultures, the royal family is considered to be related to the sun deities. Therefore, it is only natural that the lion, which is the guardian of the sun god, is used as the guardian of the king as well. A very visual form of this connection between the royalty and the sun is presented in the design of an ivory headrest found in the tomb of Pharaoh Tutankhamen (1336-1327 BCE). This headrest is in the form of Shu, the ancient Egyptian god of air, supporting the neck rest on his shoulder and he is flanked by recumbent Akeru lions on each side (Figure 42).

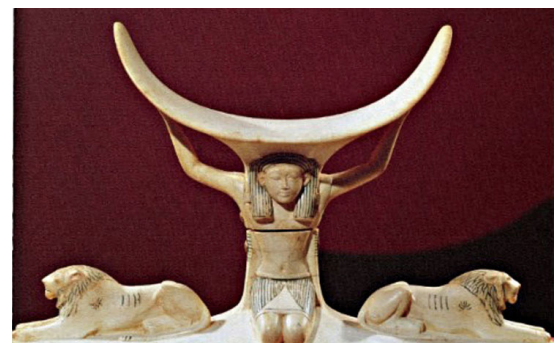


Figure 42: (1-E-14).

Akeru lions are typically shown carrying the sun on their shoulders and the rising sun is frequently depicted rising over the hands of Shu. However, in the design of this headrest, the head of the Pharaoh is substituted for the sun and changing the sun for pharaoh suggests nothing but a deep connection and similarity between the sun and the Pharaoh as the son of the sun

³⁷ Alireza Shapour Shahbazi, "Flags of Persia," *Encyclopedia Iranica*, (United Kingdom, 2001), 18.



Figure 43: A(2-E-8), B(2-I-31), C(2-C-42), D(2-J-23).

³⁸ deity.

Due to the same concept of connection between the sun and the royalty, many of the thrones or the seating places of the emperors or kings are designed either based on the movement of the sun in the sky or include sun related symbol and iconography in the design. Sometimes both of these factors are combined to convey even stronger iconographic meaning to the audience. Some of the examples of the use of lion as guardians of the king are included in Figure 43. In case of Egypt, the example offered in Figure 43-A is the throne of Tutankhamen, pharaoh of Eighteenth Dynasty. On both sides of this throne, the armrest is formed in the shape of lions' head and the legs of the throne end in the form of a lion's claw. As we discussed before, we know that although the Akeru lions, placed on the both of the sun, are identical creatures, but they have fundamental differences in their iconographic meanings. Each of these lions are associated to a different direction and one of them resembles 'yesterday' or the past and the other one resembles 'tomorrow' or the future and none of them convey the same meaning without the presence of the other. This suggests that although these

lions convey opposite meanings, but similarly they are complementary as well.

A comparable meaning exist in the iconography related to the companionship of lion and single-horned animal. This subject is explicitly discussed in the third chapter of this research, and we explained that the lion and the single-horned animal are believed to represent the complementary forces of the world order. In the ancient Iranian mythology, the lion is believed to be associated to the sun and the bull is associated to the moon. Numerous representations of these animals available in different artifacts support these iconographic associations (see chapter three, section thirteen). On a carving in Persepolis, Darius, the second Achaemenid king, is depicted seating on a throne. The legs of the throne end in the form of a lion claw—very similar to Tutankhamen's throne—and under his feet, there is a footstool that has legs in the form of bull's hooves (Figure 43-B). Hence, a similar sense of complementary forces in contrast that is depicted in Tutankhamen's throne by the image of Akeru lions facing different directions is formed in the Achaemenid throne with the use of lion representing the sun and bull representing the moon (see chapter three, section eleventh).

The arrangement of the throne of Chinese emperor

³⁸ James Henry Breasted, *Development of Religion and Thought in Ancient Egypt* (New York, 2010), 122.

and its connection to the iconography of the sun and sacred place was explicitly explained in the roundup section in the first chapter of this research (Figure 43-C, Graph 3). The emperor of china seats facing toward the south and two incense burners in the form of lion are often placed on both sides of the throne of Chinese emperor. This design is very similar to some of the ancient temples and cities, such as Hattusa city of Hittite empire, inhabited during the second millennium BCE and Sanchi stupa, started third century BCE, in India are the perfect examples of monuments built according to cardinal direction, facing the south. This from of arrangement is based on the movement of the sun in the sky and the reason is that in the northern hemisphere, the sun tents to be in the southern half of the sky, therefor all of these palaces are arranged in order to face the sun as it crosses over the sky. As the emperor seats on the throne, the east or the rising point of the sun is locate on his left side and the west or the setting point of the sun is located on his right side. Hence, the throne of the Chinese emperor, similar to the throne of Tutankhamen, represents opposing forces in the sense of both direction and time—east and west resemble the contrast in terms of direction and sunrise and sunset resemble the contrast in terms of time. Graph 1 and graph 2 demonstrate these meanings in a more visual way.

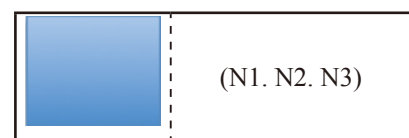
The arrangement of the seating/resting tent of the Japanese emperor, known as Michoudai, is very much influenced by Chinese culture and it is also oriented based on cardinal directions, facing the south. Japanese lion guardians are located on both sides of the southern entrance of Michoudai (Figure 43-D). Each of the Japanese guardian lions at the entrance of Michoudai has a different name and specific features in its appearance that reveal opposing iconographic attributions. As it is explained in detail in the conclusion section of the third chapter, komainu that is placed on the right side of the entrance has many visual commonalities with the Near eastern bull and it represents the moon, while the shishi on the left side of the entrance represents the sun. All of the examples above have a similar feature, which is the complementary contrast between the iconographic meanings related to the guardian animals on each side. However, while the Egyptian and Chinese guardians of the throne are represented as identical animals on

both sides, while Iranian and Japanese guardians of the throne are represented as different animals; lion and bull, shishi and komainu.

As it represented in all the examples from different culture, there is no question about the connection between the lion and the sun. We know that both lion and sun have very similar iconographic attributions, such as; they are known as the guide of the spirits, they both symbolize resurrection and they are both related to royalty. The sacred places, a city or a throne, these areas are all built to resemble the order of the cosmos and the sun, as the most powerful celestial being, has a great role in demarcation of the sacred places and the lion, as the guardian of the sun and the cosmic gateways, is always present at the threshold of the sacred place to mark the separation between the sacred and the profane and protect it from the invasion of the chaotic forces.

2.6. Timeline Table

Table below is a timetable that covers the span between third millennium BCE up to the present time in twenty first century, starting from the oldest on the first page to the most recent on the last. This timetable includes all the examples of artifacts collected for this research that portray animals with body markings. It includes all the examples collected in tables in appendix I and also a number of the artifacts that illustrate similar body marking on animals in appendix II. Hence, body markings on animals depicted in total number of 270 artifacts are included in this timetable. The format of the table is as followed:



Picture Box

Description Box

On the right, there is the cell that includes an image of the body marking on each of the animals depicted in artifact. Across from each images, there is a short note that indicates three factors about each form of the body marking used in that particular artifact. There are three scenarios possible:

1. There is one animal depicted with only one form of body marking.

In this case, there will be only one note included in the description box, e. g. , (N1. N2. N3)

2. There is one animal with different forms of body marking.

In this case, there will be one note for each of the forms of body markings, e. g. , (N1. N2. N3)
(N4. N5. N6)

3. There are multiple animals with similar or different forms of body markings.

In this case, there will be notes fore each of the animals, as many as the forms of body markings depicted, e. g. , (N1. N2. N3)

(N4. N5. N6)

(N7. N8. N9)

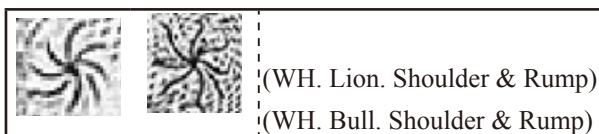
•Attention: If two animals of the same kind—two lions, or two bulls—are depicted with identical markings on the same spot of the body, there will be only one note for both of them.

The first factor included in each note (N1) is the abbreviation of the form of body marking depicted on the animal. To find out which form of body marking each of the abbreviations stand for, please refer to the seventh section of this chapter. The second factor (N2) indicates the kind of animal holding the body marking and the third factor (N3) is the location/locations of the body marking on that particular animal’s body.

In order to demonstrate how this system works, three examples are available below:



Figure 44: Example 1: (1-I-54).



In the example above, two animal, a bull and a lion, are depicted marked with similar motifs both on the shoulder and rump; therefore, we have two notes,

one for each animal, in the description box.



Figure 45: Example 2: (1-E-26).

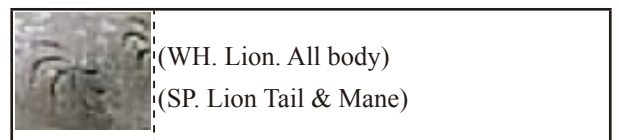


In the second example above, there are three animals depicted on the artifact, a lion, a bull and a lion sphinx. Each of these animals holds different forms of body markings; lion has a radial lines motif on the shoulder, bull has a Triple-dots motif on the rump and lion sphinx has a S-shaped motif on the rump. Hence, to describe all the animals and markings in this example, three notes are included in the description box.

Most of the examples shishi and komainu, the body marking occur on both of these animals and since they are considered as one pair, there is only one note included in their description box. As an example, look at the figure below:
















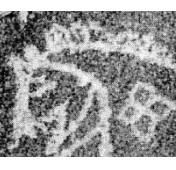
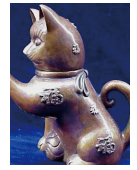
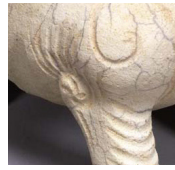


Figure 46: Example 3: (1-J-23).



All the notes categorized in the timetable are color-coded based on the kind of animals that is represented in the example. Examples depicting lions are the largest category and it is shown by the color red. Bulls are the second largest category and it is shown by the color green and all the other animals are depicted by the color blue.

Table 6: Three important qualities in the design of animal body markings.

	Egypt	Mesopotamia	Iran	Gandhara and India	China	Japan
Form of Marking: Torsional Motif						
Kind of Animal: Lion or Bull						
Location of Marking: Shoulder or Rump						

2.7. Sampling Method

The sampling method used for this research is simple random sampling. Animal body markings analyzed in this research are very popular in both Near Eastern and East Asian art and the collection available to this research is just a small share of them. There are many other artifacts that are currently known and are not included in this research and many other artifacts are yet have to be found. For the vast number of scattered artifacts representing some sort of animal body markings, there is no way to know the exact number of the artifacts showing this motif.




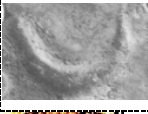







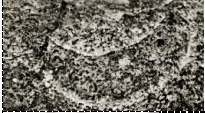
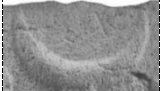



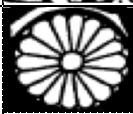

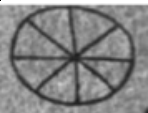
However, in this research the most well-known examples available in present museum collections and historic and monumental locations around the world as well as other examples collected from other references—such as books, museum online databases—are gathered to express the commonality of this motif in all the cultures under discussion.


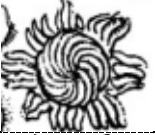










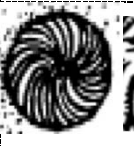

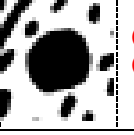
Studying the few available articles written on this subject; it was clear that there are three important qualities in the design of the animal body marking that can be very important in revealing the nature of these forms of markings as symbols with specific iconography. These three qualities are: first; the form of the marking (the animal body marking represents a circular or whirl shape), second; the animal represented with the body marking (a lion or bull) or location of body markings (the

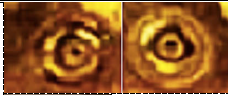











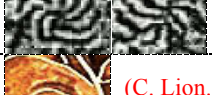

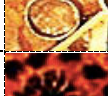
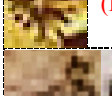








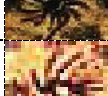

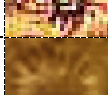
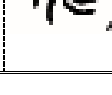

body marking represented on the shoulder or rump of the animal). The reason that these qualities are chosen is that they have a critical role in revealing the iconographic meaning of the shoulder ornament.




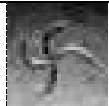






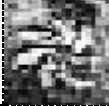






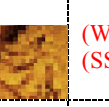
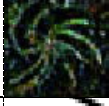

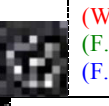
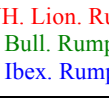








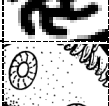




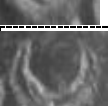


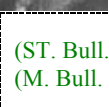
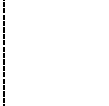


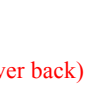

Therefore all the collected examples for this research have to have at least one of the qualities above to be considered as a legitimate sample of the animal marking associated to the iconographic meaning related to this research.









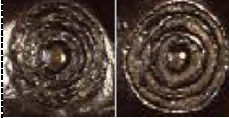




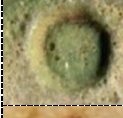


Table 7: Animals' Body Markings' Timeline Table.





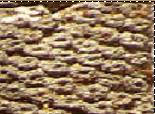
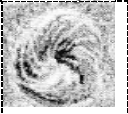

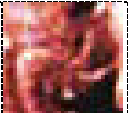





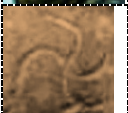




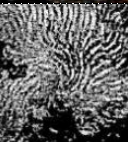




	3rd millennium BCE	2000	1750
Japan	-	-	-
China	-	-	-
Gandhara & India	-	-	-
Iran		(WD. Lion. Shoulder)	 (RL. Lion. Shoulder)
Mesopotamia		(ST. Bull. Over back)	 (M. Bull. Over back)
		(TD. Bull. All body)	 (WH. Bull. Forehead)
		(TD. Bull. All body)	 (WD. Lion. Shoulder)
		(M. Bull. Over back)	 (WH. Lion. Tail)
		(M. Bull. Over back)	
		(M. Bull. Forehead)	
		(M. Bull. Over back)	
		(ST. Lion. Back)	
		(WD. Lion. Shoulder)	
		(SU. Lion. Over back)	
Egypt		(F. Lion. Shoulder) (R. Lion. Around the body)	 (CC. Lion. Shoulder)
			 (W. Lion. Shoulder & Rump) (RD. Lion. All body)


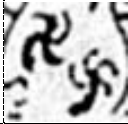




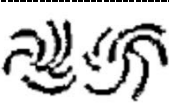





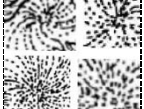




	1750		1500		1400
Japan		-			-
China		-			-
Gandhara & India		-			-
Iran		-		(RL. Bull. Forehead)	
Mesopotamia		(SU. Lion. Back)		(RL. Lion. Shoulder)	
		(RL. Lion. Shoulder)		(RL. Ibex. Over back)	
				(RL. Lion. Shoulder)	(WH. Lion. Shoulder)
				(WH. Lion. Shoulder)	
Egypt		(RL. Lion. Shoulder) (RD. Lion. All body)		(CC. Lion. Shoulder) (R. Lion. Around the body)	
		(WH. Lion. Shoulder) (RD. Lion. All body)		(CC. Lion. Shoulder) (TD. Lion. Ear) (R. Lion. Around the body)	
				(WH. Lion. Shoulder) (TD. Lion. Ear)	
				(WH. Lion. Shoulder)	
				(C. Lion. Shoulder) (RD. Lion. All body)	







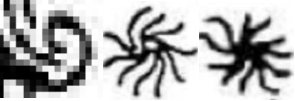




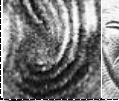

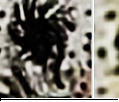

	1400	1200	1000
Japan			
China			
Gandhara			
Iran	 (CC. Lion. Shoulder) (RD. Lion. All body)	 (WH. Lion. Shoulder)	
	 (WH. Lion. Rump)	 (WH. Lion. All body)	
		 (WH. Bull. Rump) (RL. Bull. Shoulder)	
		 (SS. Lion. Shoulder & Rump)	
Mesopotamia	 (WH. Lion. Shoulder)	 (ST. Ibex. Over back) (M. Ibex. Over back)	
	 (WH. Lion. Shoulder)		
	 (WH. Lion. Shoulder)		
	 (WH. Lion. Shoulder)		
Egypt	 (RL. Bull. Forehead)	 (WH. Lion. Shoulder) (SU. Lion. Over back)	
	 (C. Lion. Shoulder) (R. Lion. Around the body)	 (C. Lion. Shoulder) (R. Lion. Around the body)	
	 (RL. Lion. Shoulder)	 (RL. Lion. Shoulder) (SU. Lion. Over back) (RD. Lion. All body)	
	 (RL. Lion. Shoulder)	 (WH. Bull. Forehead)	
	 (SU. Lion. Over back)	 (SU. Lion. Over back)	
	 (TD. Bull. All body)	 (RL. Lion. Shoulder) (SU. Lion. Over back) (RD. Lion. All body)	
	 (WH. Lion. Shoulder) (RL. Lion. Shoulder)	 (WH. Lion. Shoulder) (RD. Lion. All body)	
	 (WH. Lion. Shoulder) (RD. Lion. All body)	 (WH. Lion. Shoulder) (RD. Lion. All body)	
	 (WH. Lion. Shoulder) (R. Lion. Around the body)	 (RL. Lion. Shoulder) (TD. Bull. Rump) (S. Lion. Rump)	














	1000		800		600					
Japan		-			-					
China		-			-					
Gandhara & India		-			-					
Iran		(X. Lion. Rump)		(F. Ibex. Rump)		(WH. Ibex. Rump)		(SS. Lion. Rump)		
		(F. Bull. Rump)		(SS. Horse. All body)		(RL. Bull. Rump)		(RL. Lion. Rump)		
		(W. Hare. Rump)		(RL. Bull. Rump)		(WH. Lion. Shoulder)		(S. Bull. Rump)		
		(W. Lion. Shoulder & Rump)		(W. Bull. Shoulder & Rump)	(WH. Ibex. Rump)					
		(W. Lion. Rump)		(RL. Ibex. Rump)			(WH. Lion. Shoulder) (SS. Lion. Cheek & Rump)			
		(WH. Lion. Rump)						(WH. Lion. Rump) (F. Bull. Rump) (F. Ibex. Rump)		
Mesopotamia		(RL. Lion. Shoulder)				(WH. Lion. Shoulder)				
		(WH. Lion. Shoulder)				(WH. Lion. Shoulder)				
		(X. Horse. Rump)					(RL. Lion. Shoulder) (ST. Lion. Over back)			
		(RL. Lion. Shoulder)					(WH. Lion. Shoulder) (M. Bull. Over back)			
			(WH. Lion. Shoulder)					(WH. Lion. Shoulder) (M. Bull. Over back)		
		(ST. Lion. Forehead)					(RL. Lion. Forehead) (M. Bull. Over back)			
			(ST. Lion. Over back) (M. Bull. Over back)					(ST. Bull. Over back) (M. Bull. Over back)		
Egypt					(SU. Lion. Over back)					










































	600	400	200
Japan		-	-
China		-	 <p>(RL. Bull. All body) (RD. Lion. All body)</p>
Gandhara & India		-	 <p>(W. Bull. Forehead & Rump) (R. Bull. Around the Forehead)</p>
Iran	 <p>(WH. Lion. Rump) (SS. Bull. Rump)</p>		 <p>(F. Lion. All body)</p>
	 <p>(WH. Lion. Shoulder)</p>		 <p>(SU. Lion. Over back)</p>
	 <p>(RL. Lion. All body) (ST. Ibex. Shoulder) (ST. Stag. Shoulder)</p>		 <p>(SU. Lion. Over back)</p>
	 <p>(CC. Stag. Shoulder & Rump)</p>		
	 <p>(WH. Lion. Rump)</p>		
	 <p>(WH. Lion. Shoulder)</p>		
	 <p>(WD. Lion. Over back)</p>		
Mesopotamia	 <p>(WH. Horse. Rump)</p>		-
Egypt	 <p>(SU. Lion. Over back)</p>		<p>?</p> <p>(M. Bull. Rump)</p>
	 <p>(WH. Falcon. Cheek)</p>		
	 <p>(WH. Falcon. Cheek)</p>		

	200		00		200	
Japan		-			-	
China				(X. Dog. Forehead) (C. Dog. Shoulder & Rump)		
Gandhara & India		(W. Elephant. Forehead)		(WH. Lion. Shoulder)		(WH. Lion. Shoulder & Rump)
		(SP. Lion. Mane)		(WH. Lion. Shoulder)		(WH. Lion. Shoulder) (SP. Lion. Mane)
				(WH. Lion. Cheek)		(F. Lion. Over back) (SP. Lion. Mane)
				(WH. Lion. Shoulder) (SP. Lion. Mane)		(W. Lion. Over back) (W. Elephant. Over back)
				(WH. Lion. Shoulder)		(W. Lion. Over back) (W. Elephant. Over back)
				(SS. Lion. Cheek)		
				(SP. Lion. Mane)		(W. Lion. Over back)
Iran		(WH. Lion. Shoulder & Chest)		(WH. Lion. Ear)		
		(WH. Lion. Shoulder & Chest)		(WH. Lion. Shoulder) (SP. Lion. Mane)		
				(WH. Bull. Shoulder)		
Mesopotamia		(ST. Lion. All body) (ST. Lion. Over back) (M. Lion. Chest)		(WH. Bull. Forehead)		
Egypt		-			-	

	200	400	600
Japan	—	—	—
China	 (RL. Lion. Shoulder & Rump)	 (WH. Lion. All body)	
Gandhara & India	 (WH. Lion. Cheek)		
	 (SS. Lion. Cheek)		
	 (WH. Lion. Shoulder) (SP. Lion. Mane)		
	 (SS. Lion. Cheek)		
	 (WH. Lion. Shoulder & Rump)		
	 (WH. Lion. Shoulder) (SP. Lion. Mane)		
	 (SS. Lion. Cheek)		
	 (WH. Lion. Cheek)		
Iran	 (WH. Lion. Shoulder & Rump) (SP. Lion. Mane)	 (M. Ibex. Over back) (ST. Ibex. Front)	
	 (WH. Ibex. Shoulder & Rump) (SS. Ibex. Shoulder & Rump)	 (WH. Lion. Shoulder) (SP. Lion. Mane)	
	 (M. Bull. Over back) (ST. Bull. Front)	 (WH. Lion. Shoulder)	
Mesopotamia	—	 (WH. Bear. Shoulder)	
Egypt	—	—	—

	600	800	1000
Japan	-		-
China		(SS. Lion. Rump)	-
		(WH. Phoenix. Cheek) (SP. Phoenix. Mane) (SP. Lion. Mane)	
		(WH. Bull. Forehead)	
Gandhara & India		(SU. Lion. Forehead) (SP. Lion. Mane)	-
		(SP. Lion. Shoulder) (SP. Lion. Mane)	
Iran		(M. Stag. Over back) (ST. Stag. Front)	 (WH. Lion. Shoulder) (SP. Lion. Mane)
		(M. Ibex. Over back) (X. Ibex. Over back)	
		(WH. Ibex. Shoulder & Rump)	
		(WH. Lion. Shoulder) (WH. Ibex. Shoulder) (WH. Donkey. Shoulder)	
		(WH. Lion. Shoulder & Rump) (WH. Bull. Shoulder & Rump) (SP. Lion. Mane)	
		(ST. Lion. Shoulder) (SP. Lion. Mane)	
		(WH. Bull. Shoulder & Rump)	
		(WH. Lion. Shoulder & Rump)	
Mesopotamia		(SS. Lion. Rump)	-
Egypt	-		-

	1000	1200	1400	
Japan	-		(RD. Lion. Rump) (SP. Lion. Tail)	
China		(SP. Lion. All body)		(WH. Lion. Rump) (SP. Lion. Tail & Mane)
		(M. Bull. Over back)		(WH. Lion. Shoulder & Rump) (SP. Lion. Tail & Mane)
		(M. Bull. Over back)		
		(M. Bull. Over back)		(WH. Lion. All body)
Gandhara & India	-	-	-	
Iran		(X. Lion. Shoulder)		(SU. Lion. Over back) (M. Lion. Over back) (ST. Lion. Over back) (ST. Lion. Front)
				
				
Mesopotamia	-	-	-	
Egypt	-	-	-	

	1400	1600	1800
Japan	 (TD. Lion. All body)	 (WH. Lion. Shoulder & Rump)	 (RL. Bull. All body) (SP. Bull. Tail & Mane)
	 (SP. Lion. Tail)	 (WH. Lion. Shoulder & Rump)	 (WH. Lion. All body) (SP. Lion. Tail)
	 (RD. Lion. All body) (SP. Lion. Tail & Mane)	 (RL. Lion. All body) (SP. Lion. Tail)	 (WH. Lion. All body)
	 (RD. Lion. All body) (SP. Lion. Tail & Mane)	 (C. Lion. Rump) (SP. Lion. Tail) (ST. Lion. Front)	 (WH. Lion. All body)
	 (RD. Lion. All body) (SP. Lion. Tail & Mane)	 (RD. Lion. All body)	 (RL. Lion. All body) (SP. Lion. Tail & Mane)
		 (WH. Lion. All body) (SP. Lion. Tail & Mane)	 (RL. Lion. All body) (SP. Lion. Tail & Mane)
		 (RD. Lion. All body) (SP. Lion. Tail)	 (WH. Lion. All body) (SP. Lion. Tail & Mane)
		 (WH. Lion. All body) (SP. Lion. Tail)	 (TD. Lion. All body) (SP. Lion. Tail)
		 (WH. Lion. All body) (RD. Lion. All body) (SP. Lion. Tail)	 (WH. Lion. All body) (SP. Lion. Tail)
	China	 (F. Lion. Shoulder & Rump & Front) (WH. Lion. Shoulder) (F. Lion. Chest)	 (WH. Lion. shoulder)
 (CH. Stag. Shoulder) (CH. Stag. Rump) (CH. Stag. Back) (CH. Stag. Forehead)		 (WH. Lion. Cheek) (SP. Lion. Mane)	 (RD. Lion. All body) (SP. Lion. Tail & Mane)
 (CH. Cat. Shoulder & Rump) (CH. Cat. All body) (WH. Cat. Front) (R. Cat. Around the neck)		 (WH. Lion. Tail)	 (F. Lion. All body)
 (M. Bull. Over back)			
Gandhara & India	 (X. Tiger. Cheek)	 (X. Lion. Cheek)	 (RL. Tiger. Cheek)
		 (RL. Tiger. Cheek)	 (WH. Lion. Cheek)
		 (RL. Tiger. Cheek)	 (RL. Lion. Cheek)
		 (WH. Lion. Shoulder & Rump & Forehead)	
Iran	—	 (RL. Lion. Tail) (SP. Lion. Mane)	
Mesopotamia	—	—	—
Egypt	—	—	—














































	1800	2000		
Japan	 (TD. Lion. All body)(SP. Lion. Tail)	 (RL. Lion. Rump)	 (WH. Lion. All body)(SP. Lion. Tail & Mane)	 (WH. Lion. All body) (SP. Lion. Tail & Mane)
	 (WH. Lion. All body)(SP. Lion. Tail)	 (WH. Lion. All body)(SP. Lion. Tail & Mane)	 (WH. Lion. All body)	 (WH. Lion. Rump) (SP. Lion. Tail & Mane)
	 (RL. Lion. Rump)(SP. Lion. Tail & Mane)	 (RL. Lion. All body) (SP. Lion. Mane)	 (WH. Lion. Shoulder)	 (SU. Cat. All body)(SP. Cat. All body)
	 (RD. Lion. All body)(SP. Lion. Tail)	 (WH. Lion. All body)	 (WH. Lion. All body) (SP. Lion. Tail & Mane)	 (WH. Lion. All body)
	 (WH. Lion. All body) (SP. Lion. Tail)	 (WH. Lion. forehead)	 (WH. Lion. All body) (SP. Lion. Tail & Mane)	 (CC. Cat. Shoulder & Rump) (CC. Cat. Forehead)
	 (SP. Lion. Tail)	 (SP. Lion. All body) (SP. Lion. Tail & Mane) (F. Lion. Front)	 (WH. Lion. All body) (SP. Lion. Tail & Mane)	
	 (RL. Lion. All body)	 (WH. Lion. All body) (SP. Lion. Tail & Mane) (F. Lion. Front)	 (RD. Lion. All body) (SP. Lion. Tail & Mane)	
	 (RL. Lion. All body)(SP. Lion. Tail & Mane)	 (WH. Lion. Shoulder)	 (WH. Lion. Rump)(SP. Lion. All body) (SP. Lion. Tail & Mane) (RD. Lion. All body)	
	 (RD. Lion. All body)	 (WH. Lion. All body) (SP. Lion. Tail & Mane)	 (WH. Lion. All body)	
China	 (C. Lion. Rump) (SP. Lion. Tail & Mane)		 (WH. Lion. Cheek) (SU. Lion. Forehead)	
	 (WH. Lion. All body) (SP. Lion. Tail & Mane)		 (F. Lion. Shoulder & Rump) (SP. Lion. Tail & Mane)	
			 (F. Tiger. Rump)	
			 (WH. Tiger. Rump) (F. Tiger. All body)	
			 (WH. Bull. Shoulder & Rump) (M. Bull. Over back)	
Gandhara & India	 (WH. Lion. Shoulder)			
	 (WH. Lion. Shoulder & Rump)			
	 (RL. Lion. Cheek) (WH. Lion. Shoulder)			
	 (RL. Lion. Cheek)			
Iran	 (SU. Lion. Over back)		 (ST. Bull. Forehead)	
Mesopotamia	-		-	
Egypt	-		-	

Table 8: Different forms of the animal body markings.

Culture →		Egypt	Mesopotamia	Iran	Gandhara & India	China	Japan	Total
↓	Motif							
1	WH	12	17	32	17	16	29	123
2	SP	0	0	7	12	13	40	72
3	RL	8	8	9	6	2	9	42
4	RD	9	0	1	0	3	11	24
5	M	1	12	5	0	5	0	23
6	ST	0	9	9	1	0	1	20
7	F	1	0	5	2	8	2	18
8	SU	7	2	4	2	1	1	17
9	W	1	0	4	7	0	0	12
10	SS	0	1	6	4	1	0	12
11	R	6	0	0	1	3	0	10
12	TD	4	2	0	0	0	3	9
13	X	0	1	3	2	1	0	7
14	CC	3	0	2	0	0	2	7
15	C	3	0	0	0	2	1	6
16	ID	0	0	0	0	6	0	6
17	WD	0	2	2	0	0	0	4
18	S	1	0	1	0	0	0	2
Total		56	54	90	54	61	99	414

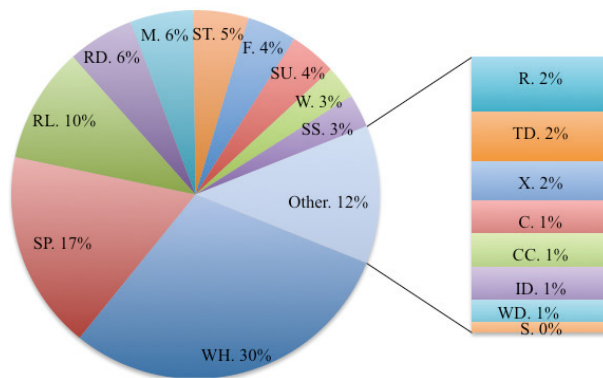
2.8. Form of the Animal Body Markings

As mentioned in the introduction section of this chapter, there are three specific factors associated to the animal's body marking that will be analyzed in this research. The first factor is the motif or forms that was represented as body markings on animals depicted in collected examples. There are a total number of 414 notes included in the timetable that cover different forms of animal body markings depicted in all of the artifacts [in appendix I and a number of the artifacts in appendix II, since some of these examples demonstrate

the features related to the arguments offered in both second and third chapter of this research.

Based on visual features, the forms used as animal body markings in all of the collected examples are divided to eighteen categories. Table 8 demonstrates the statistics on the use of these different form in each of the cultures under discussion. Accordingly, Graph 5 shows the percentage of use of each of these forms as body marking among the examples available. The titles are abbreviated in Table 8, but full title of each of the forms is listed below:

Graph 5: Percentage of different forms used as animal Body markings



1. Whirl Motif (WH):

Whirl motif is the most frequently used motif among all of the other forms of body marking. The most unambiguous visual feature of this form is that it suggests a direction of rotation. Therefore, similar to other whirling symbols, it is related to the celestial and planetary movements and represents the movement of the celestial beings in the sky. The whirling motif “is a symbol of cosmos, based partly on the conception of the turning circle through which the sun and the moon pass.”³⁹

Whirl motif is the most popular body marking among all the cultures under discussion here and it was used in one-third of the examples available. Most of the scholars interpreted the body marking as a sun symbol referring to whirl form of the motif that was used most frequently. On the other hand, because this motif is very similar to the natural hair whole, which occasionally occur of the shoulder, back or forehead of some animals, many of the scholars used the actual image of the hair whorl on the animal body and referred to this similarity as a proof of the natural origin of this motif (Figure 47). Among the entire 123 examples available of this motif, 101 examples are seen on the body of lions and 9 examples are seen on the body of bulls.

The lion mask, which is used for Japanese lion dance, has a green fabric attached to the rim of it that covers the body of the dancer during the performance (Figure 33-D). According to Tanabe, the whirl motif used on this green fabric is called as ‘lion’s hair’ in Kyushu prefecture of Japan. On the other hand, as men-

³⁹ Hilda Roderick, Ellis Davidson, *Myths and Symbols in Pagan Europe: Early Scandinavian and Celtic Religions* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press; First Edition edition, 1989), 169.

⁴⁰ Katsumi Tanabe, “Shishimai kara Mesopotamia.Ejiputo-e.” *Bul-*

tioned before, Kantor argues that the natural hair whorls are not always present on the body of animals and on their occasional appearance, their presence is not as significant as it is on the artistic representation.⁴¹ Moreover, the earliest representation of these body markings, they look very abstract and they do not resemble the form of the hair whorl.



Figure 47: The hair whorl on the shoulder of the lion and forehead of the bull.

2. Spiral Motif (SP):

Spiral motif is very similar to the whirl motif in the sense that both of these motif introduce movement and direction. Therefore, this group of the motifs are usually interpreted as a symbol related to luminaries, the apposing forces of the nature and fertility. The spiral motif is “associated to the cyclic development, the phases of the moon and their influence on water, fertility, etc., the movement of involution and involution in the entire cosmos generally, with recurrence and renewal and perhaps with labyrinth as well.”⁴²

On the other hand this group of motifs are also related to different cosmic worlds of life and death: “by adding a wheeling momentum to a circular form, the spiral also symbolizes time, the cycle rhythms of the seasons and of birth and death, along with the waning and waxing of the moon, and the sun (often symbolized by the spiral).”⁴³ This quality is not limited to the spiral, but it is also true about any of the circular motifs in this section that suggest a direction of movement as well.

Spiral motif is the second largest group of the animal body markings studied in this research. The form of spiral motif consists of one or multiple lines that twist together in the form a spiral and similar to the whirl

letine of Kakegawa-west High School Vol. 20 (1989): 3.

⁴¹ Helene J. Kantor, “The Shoulder Ornament of Near Eastern Lions,” *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 6 (October 1947), 253.

⁴² Udo Becker, *The Continuum Encyclopedia of Symbols* (London: 2000), 277.

⁴³ Jack Tresidder, *The Watkins Dictionary of Symbols* (London: 2008), 448.

motif it also suggests a direction of rotation. From the total 72 notes on the spiral motif in Timetable, 69 notes indicate the spiral motif on the body of lions. Therefore, it is clear that this form is specific to lions. On the other hand, according to Table 7, 53 note of the spiral motif indicate the spiral motif on the body lions in the art of China and Japan. In most of these East Asian representations, spiral motif is used to illustrate the tufts of hair in the animal main and tail. Similarly, 7 examples of the spiral motif in Iranian art also resemble the hair tufts of the mane and tail of the lions. The spiral form of the tail and mane did not occur on the earliest example from either ancient Near East or China. However, a form of spiral tufts of hair was used in the Neo-Assyrian and Achaemenid art to represent human and some of the hybrid animal hair (Figure 69-A).

As it was mention earlier this chapter, during the reign of Tang Dynasty in China, the image of Near Eastern lion introduced to China and it went through major reformations under the influence of the Chinese culture and a new image of a mythical animal was produced that had little resembles to the actual lion. The image of the new animals was reintroduced to Iran and especially during the Islamic period, many Chinese visual characteristics were incorporated in the design of Iranian ceramic art, architecture and so on. Figure 48 shows a ceramic plate from the Islamic Era of Iran that is designed under the Chinese influence.



Figure 48: (1-I-61).

3. Radial Lines Motif (RL):

Radial lines motif comes on the third place of popularity among the entire forms of animal body marking analyzed in this research. This motif is formed by radial

lines arranged in a circular form, or in some cases, on the outer rim of a circle without suggesting any direction of rotation. According to Table 8, there are 42 notes that indicate the use of radial lines motif as animal body markings. 31 cases of radial lines motif appear on lions, 6 cases on bulls, 2 cases on ibexes and 3 cases on tigers. Once again, we can see that the number of the lion depicted with this form of body marking is way more than other animals. Based on the information included in Table 8, this motif was relatively popular in the art of the Near East and Japan, but not as popular in China.

Different representations of radial lines motif is often used to represent stars or sun in the ancient art of Mesopotamia. Moreover, it is also depicted in the form of a halo around deities like Anahita (Figure 40-B) and Mithra in ancient Iranian art and many other deities in other cultures around the world. Nonetheless, it is hard to interpret geometric motifs like radial lines. Other scholars have attempted to interpret the radial lines motif as a sun symbol, but it has been shown to be none-proven.⁴⁴ The sun in Iranian lion and sun motif that we discussed earlier this chapter, is usually depicted very similar to the radial lines motif.

4. Random Dots (RD):

In some of the examples available in this research, animals are depicted with random dots or short lines all over body. This pattern is frequently represented on the body of Egyptian lions. However, a number of Chinese and Japanese lions are also represented with similar body markings (Figure 49). Among all the notes from the timetable, there are 24 representation of this pattern available. The statistics available indicate that all of these examples are lions and there is no other animal depicted with this pattern.

If we reinterpret the random dots pattern, it is actually solid circles that are scattered all over the body of lions. We know that real lions do not have any spot on the body, but this pattern is used often on the body of Egyptian, Chinese and Japanese lions. Despite random dots, the whirl motif is another from that was used all over the body of animals. In some cases, the two pattern are used overlapping all over the body of some Japanese

⁴⁴ Elizabeth Shee Twohig, *The Megalithic Art of Western Europe* (New York: Clarendon Press, 1981), 120.

representations of lion and bull (Figure 1-J-14, 1-J-15, 1-J-16, 1-J-27).

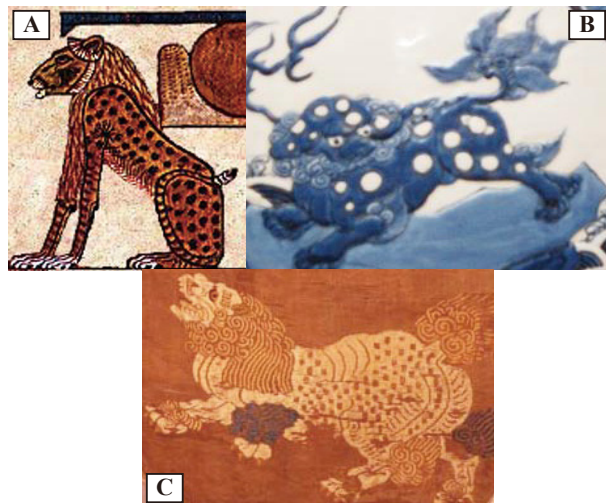


Figure 49: A(1-E-20), B(1-C-19), C(1-J-5).

5. Moon Motif (M):

Moon motif is a crescent form that is illustrated on the body or over the back of some animal representations. Among all the 414 notes on the body markings reviewed in this research, there are 23 examples of animals that are illustrated with a crescent motif. 12 examples are found in the art of Mesopotamia, 1 example is found in Egypt, 5 in Iran and 5 in China.

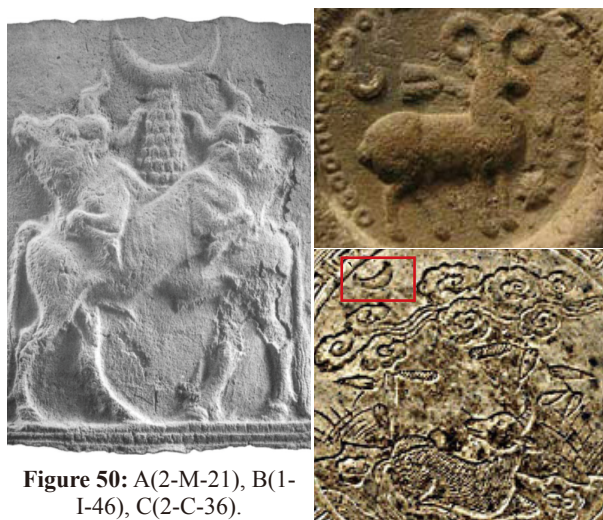


Figure 50: A(2-M-21), B(1-I-46), C(2-C-36).

17 cases the crescent moon motif engraved on the body of a bull or rises over its back, 3 examples ibexes and 1 example stag. In only two examples, the crescent is depicted over lion's body.

Therefore, in almost all of the examples the crescent is used as a bovine marking; therefore, the moon motif is clearly a motif that is associated with the bull or other horned animals. Third chapter of this research has a complete section dedicated to the connection between

the bull and the moon. The interesting point is that all the examples from China portray the crescent moon rising over the back of Ji, the mythical single-horned bull that is associated to the moon. In the third chapter, a section is dedicated to this mythical creature and its connection to the moon (Figure 50-C). The third chapter also included explicit information about the connection between the bull and the moon.

6. Star Motif (ST):

As it is indicated in timeline table, 20 cases of the total 414 notes indicate the use of star motif—occasionally enclosed within a circle—as animal body marking. Out of these 20 cases, 18 examples occur in Mesopotamia and Iran. Hence, it is clear that this form of animal body markings was not as popular in other cultures, while in Iran and Mesopotamia; it has the third rank of popularity. 11 examples of the star body markings appear on lions, while the remaining body markings are depicted on bulls, ibexes and stags.

As we explained earlier in this chapter, the star motif is closely related to Mesopotamian goddess Ishtar/Inanna (Figure 51) and her Iranian counterpart, Anahita (Figure 40-B). Ishtar often depicted with one of her feet on the back of a lion and an eight-pointed star hovering above her head. Often on the carvings on Kudurrus—big polished stones with scrimption concerning the land ownership used in ancient Mesopotamia—and cylinder seals, the eight-pointed star is depicted accompanied by a sun disk—or the winged disk—and the crescent moon. These three celestial figures together are the symbols of three major deities of Mesopotamia; Ishtar, Shamash—the sun god—and Sin—the moon god. Black and Green reveal that “in later Babylonian times, some persons dedicated to the temple slaves were branded with the devise of a star.”⁴⁵ Hence, this custom could also be true about the animal markings, where the animals that belonged to the temple would get a similar mark of the body. In some cases, the form of the star is very close to a floral motif (Figure 2-M-5); therefore, it is hard to distinguish between them. In such cases, I left the judgment to the reference of the picture.

⁴⁵ Jeremy Black, Anthony Green. *Gods, Demons and Symbols of Ancient Mesopotamia: an illustrated dictionary*, 170.



Figure 51: Ishtar with on foot on the lion and eight-pointed star over her head, Akkadian cylinder seal, 2334-2154 BCE, Oriental Institute Museum, Chicago.

7. Floral Motif (F):

There are 18 indications of floral motif on the body of animals among the examples available to this research. These examples include flower motif as well as other plant forms, such as branches and leaves. 12 examples show lions with the floral markings, 5 of which are artworks from China, 2 bulls both from Iran, 2 tigers both from China, 2 ibexes both from Iran.

Most of the examples depict a specific form of flower known as rosette in Egyptian and Near Eastern art, while in the art of China and Japan it is known as chrysanthemum. This motif formed from a simple circle in the middle and a single row of petals all around it. This motif is one of the earliest form of the body marking used in Egyptian art in third millennium BCE and Kantor refers to this example to support her theory on un-naturalistic origin of the leonine shoulder ornament in ancient Near East.⁴⁶

There is no consensus about the iconography of this symbol among the scholars. Some of the scholars refer to it as a solar symbol. Beatrice Teissier makes an explicit comparison between the image of the sun disk and the rosette and she claims that on Syro-Palestinian cylinder seals, these two symbols have been often substituted for each other.⁴⁷

46 Helene J. Kantor, "The Shoulder Ornament of Near Eastern Lions," *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 6 (October 1947), 253.

47 Beatrice Teissier, *Egyptian Iconography on Syro-Palestinian Cylinder Seals of the Middle Bronze Age* (Göttingen, 1996), 98.

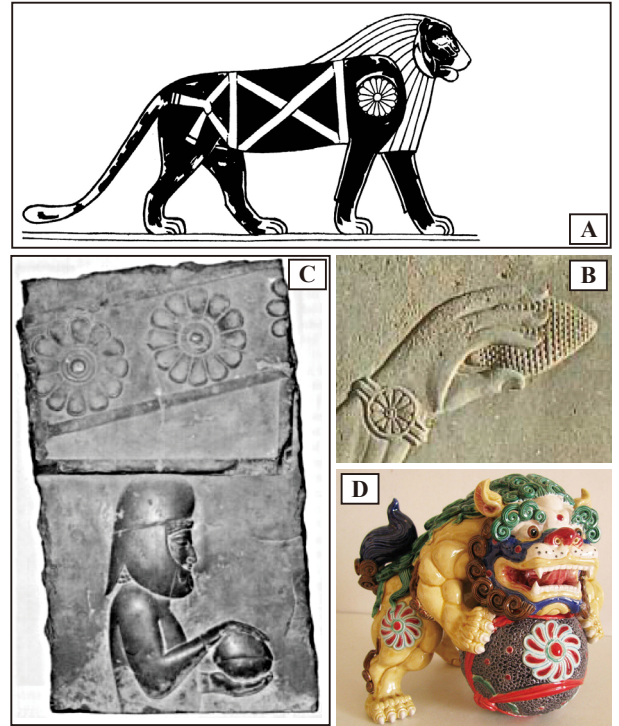


Figure 52: A(Detail of Figure 1-E-1), B(Wristlet from a Neo-Assyrian Carving), C(Stone Carving from Persepolis), D(1-C-17).

Other scholars believed that it represents the 'tree of life' and others identify the rosette as the original symbol of the goddess Ishtar/Inanna, which was later adopted by kings in different regions of the Near East as a symbol of royalty. Nili Sacher Fox refers to the jewelry used by Assyrian officials with rosette symbol in the middle. He claims "seemingly, the rosette held similar significance for Hittite rulers, as indicated by its frequent appearance in Hittite art in combination with the Egyptian Ankh or Mesopotamian winged sun disk, other symbols adopted by royalty."⁴⁸

Regardless of this motif being a solar symbol or symbol of the goddess, there is no question about its association to royalty in entire ancient Near East. This motif has been found on crowns, jewelry, clothing and weapons used by the kings and it adorned almost every monument built by the kings (Figure 52-B, C).

On the other hand, in China, "chrysanthemums blossoms are believed to resemble the sun, the rich golds and yellows of their petals highlighting the association."⁴⁹ Chrysanthemum is referred to as the 'sun

48 Nili Sacher Fox, *In the Service of the King: Officialdom in Ancient Israel and Judah* (Jerusalem, 2001), 240.

49 Patricia Bjaaland Welch, *Chinese Art: A Guide to Motifs and Visual Imagery* (North Clarendon: Tuttle Publishing, 2012), 25.

spirit⁵⁰ in China.⁵¹ An abstract form of a sixteen-petalled chrysanthemum motif, which is very popular in Japanese art, resembles the form of body marking seen on the shoulder of lion in the mural painting from funerary chapel of Queen Neith in South Saqqara in Egypt (Figure 52-A).

A whirling form of the chrysanthemum motif is also seen used as lion body marking in Chinese art. The whirling rosette is very interesting symbol, since it combines the qualities of both whirl motif and the rosette (Figure 52-D, 1-C-25).

8. Sun Motif (SU):

Sun motif is referred to the motifs that are clear representations of the sun and a total number of 17 cases are identified in this category. In 16 cases, the motif occur on the body or over the back of lions. The only example from Japanese art demonstrates this motif all over the body of a cat figurine known as Maneki Neko. Maneki Neko is the well-known Japanese beckoning cat and figurines of this cat are available throughout Japan. It is “a benevolence cat spirit of abundance, wealth and protection.”⁵² The iconography of Maneki Neko is associated with his paws. The left paw up means it invites business, the right paw up means it invokes cash and both paws up is a particularly hard working Maneki Neko.⁵³

In 13 cases among these examples, the sun is depicted rising over the back of a single or double lion(s) (Figure 40-A, B, C, D, E, H, I, J, K, L). As mentioned in the fifth section of this chapter, the connection between the sun and the lion has been well documented in many of the cultures around the world. Likewise, the visual analysis of the available examples of body marking on animals supports this claim.

Representation of the sun hovering over the back of lion(s) is not exactly interpreted as a body marking. However, clearly it affected the way that other forms of body markings are represented. As mentioned before, the idea of the sun passing the gateways in the east to rise in the sky everyday was a dominant idea when

50 日精 .

51 Kaneaki Hayashi, *Kami ni Kansuru Kogo no Kenkyuu* (Tokyo: Fuzambo International, 2000), 163.

52 Judika Illes, *Encyclopedia of Spirits* (New York, 2010), 682.

53 Ibid.

most of these artifacts were created. For this reason, we cannot separate this representation from other forms of body marking, because it could actually be the main inspiration behind most of other forms of body marking.

9. Wheel Motif (W):

Wheel motif is one of the earliest forms of body marking available and it initially appeared in the art of ancient Egypt. The only Egyptian example available of this form body marking is from early second millennium BCE, where it is depicted on the shoulder and a rump of a lion (Figure 53-A).

Seemingly, the wheel motif was popular in the metal work of Luristan and southwestern Iran between 1000 to 800 BCE. In 4 examples available, this motif appears on the rump of a variety of animals that are represented on metal pieces (Figure 1-I-12, 1-I-13, 1-I-14, 1-I-19). The wheel motif is also illustrated on the rump of a bull's statuette from Indus Valley. This statuette has two similar wheel marks on the forehead and also a ribbon tied around its forehead, with a similar wheel motif ornament attached to it (Figure 53-B). The wheel marking on this statuette shows a great resemblance to the Luristan wheel motif body marking. Similar wheel motif also appears multiple times on the forehead of a fragment of a clay elephant from Mathura in northern India (Figure 53-C).

Most of other examples illustrating the wheel motif are depicted in the Buddhist art of India, as this symbol placed over the back of one or multiple animals. The wheel surmounted over four lions—or in some cases 2 lions and 2 elephants—sitting back-to-back is very popular theme repeatedly depicted on the carvings of Sanchi stupa. Sanchi stupa is an early Buddhist temple built from first century BCE to third century CE and it is one of the oldest Buddhist monuments in India (Figure 53-D). Moreover, Ashoka, the emperor of Mauryan Period (ca. 273-232 BCE), erected several free standing pillars all around India and many of these pillars had lion capital topped with a wheel symbol, like the Sarnath pillar capital that was chosen as the emblem of India after the independence in 1947 (Figure 13-A).

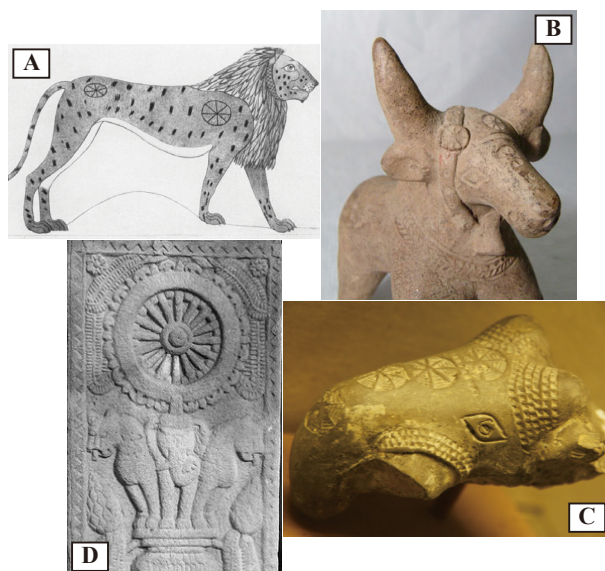


Figure 53: A(1-E-3), B(1-GI-1), C(1-GI-2), D(2-GI-16).

As mentioned in the first chapter, the Buddhist wheel symbol is known as Dharmachakra. Le Huu Phuoc mentions a historical account that helps facilitating the comprehension of the wheel symbolism on Ashokan pillars. Apparently, “Sarnath was the place where Buddha first turned the wheel of Dharma, that is preaching the first sermon, and Dharma collectively referred to his teachings, which were also metaphorically denoted as ‘Lion’s Roar’.”⁵⁴ Based on this story, he concluded; “the wheel was the emblem of his righteousness and sovereignty, which has guided him to peaceful conquest in all directions, east, west, north and south.”⁵⁵ To have the wheel symbol on the back of four adorsed lion probably symbolized the progression of Buddha’s teaching—or the Lion’s Roar—in four corners of the world. The Buddhist symbol of Dharmachakra appears in 5 examples available from Indian Buddhist art.

10. Swastika Motif (SS):

Swastika is a very well-known motif that can be described as a whirling cross. There are 12 notes in the timetable refer to the swastika motif used as a body marking on animals. 9 of these notes show lions with swastika form body marking(s), there are other images available of 1 horse, 1 bull and 1 ibex with a similar body markings. Therefore, the majority of examples portraying lion, this is another motif that seems to have special connection to this animal.

⁵⁴ Le Huu Phuoc, *Buddhist Architecture* (Lakeville, 2010), 43.

⁵⁵ Ibid.



Figure 54: A(1-I-24), B(1-GI-8), C(1-GI-12), D(1-GI-17).

The symbolic meaning of swastika has been explained in differing ways. It has been identified as a solar symbol, or as a sign for a fortress. Sometimes, it was referred to as a symbol for the four winds, cardinal directions, good fortune and so on. “Swastika is often considered as a solar symbol and is also related to the concept of movement and change, as are other motifs such as the Maltese cross and star shapes.”⁵⁶

Swastika is a very important symbol for the Indian based religions. “Hindu’s have associated the swastika with Samsara, the cycle or ‘wheel’ of birth, death and rebirth. They have also associated it with the sun and used it as a symbol of the Hindu god Vishnu [the major Hindu deity in charge with sustaining and governing the universe].”⁵⁷ In other words, although there are controversies around whether or not swastika is a sun symbol, but by its nature, swastika suggests a circular movement, therefore the fact that it should symbolize some sort of cycle of change or transformation is well established.

Swastika is also known as Buddha’s seal and it is believed to hold Buddha’s consciousness. Sometimes in Buddhist art, a swastika symbol is placed on the chest, forehead, feet or palms of the Buddha statues. However, the body marking on animals occurs much earlier than the body marking on Buddha statues and in most cases,

⁵⁶ Michael Hann, *Symbol, Pattern and Symmetry: The Cultural Significance of Structure* (London, Bloomsbury Academic, 2013), 190.

⁵⁷ Kathleen Nadeau, Jonathan, edit. H.X. Lee, *Encyclopedia of Asian American Folklore and Folk life 1* (Santa Barbara: ABC-CLIO, 2010), 87.

it follows the rules of traditional body marking of the ancient Near East and it appears on designated locations on the body of animal. All the examples of swastika animal body markings from Gandhara and northern India occur on the cheeks of lions (Figure 54-B, C, D) and this resembles a form of rare body making that also occurs in Achaemenid art (Figure 54-A). We will come back to this form of representation in the ninth section of this chapter.

11. Ribbon (R):

(See section ninth, subsection ten)

12. Triple-dots Motif (TD):

Triple-dots motif is one of the motifs that has very specific form that is easily recognizable. It consists of three dots that are arranged to form a triangle. These dots are sometimes separated and sometimes intersected to form a three-petal flower. This motif is seen in a total number of 9 cases; 5 lions and 4 bulls.

Among the examples of ancient Near Eastern art, there are two very rare examples available that show this motif on the ears of lions. However, there are three examples from Japanese art that show lions with the Triple-dots motif all over their bodies (Figure 55-C, 1-J-21, 1-J-22).

In three examples of the bull form Egypt and Mesopotamian this form of marking appear all over the body (Figure 55-A, B) of the animal and in the other example from Egypt, the bull is marked with this form on the rump. There is one example in the Indian art that very close to the interpretation of this motif on the body of bull in Mesopotamia and Egypt. Surprisingly it is a nineteenth century painting of Ardhanarisvara that shows Shiva and his consort Parvati with their mascots (Figure 55-C). In this painting, the bull, which is associated to Shiva, has a piece of fabric as cover over his back that has the same Triple-dots motif. Although this example does not count as a body marking, but it shows that in Indian art similar to Near Eastern art, this motif is associated to the bull.



Figure 55: A(1-M-1), B(1-E-15), C(Detail from figure 2-GI-34), D(1-J-2).

13. Cross Motif (X):

There are 7 examples included in timeline table that demonstrate the use of cross as animal body marking of a variety of animals: 3 lion, 1 horse, 1 dog, 1 ibex and 1 tiger. The earliest example is as old as first millennium BCE and the most recent example goes back to the eighteenth century.

The cross is one of the abstract symbols, which seems to have multiple attributions. Owing to its shape, it seems that the cross share the symbolism of the number four such as four cardinal directions, four winds or four corners of the world. Cross can also convey the meaning of two. “ If one considers only the two arms of the cross, it can also be a symbol of the interpretation of two opposing regions, especially of heaven and earth or time and space.”⁵⁸

Maltese cross is a particular form of the cross that appears frequently on cylinder seals from the Kassite Period of Mesopotamia and it is similar to the cross in (Figure 56). Maltese cross “may have been a symbol

⁵⁸ Udo Becker, *The Continuum Encyclopedia of Symbols*, 73.

of the Kassite sun deity. It appears in contexts, which strongly suggest that it is a sun symbol, substituting for a solar disk or in positions later occupied by the winged disk.⁵⁹ As it is depicted in Figure 56, in the Iranian example from sixth century, the Kassite cross is accompanied by another celestial sign, the crescent and they are illustrated over the back of an ibex. Similarly, an early form of body marking for ‘domestic goat’ was a cross placed above a lozenge, though as times, the cross alone had the same significance.⁶⁰ This statement shows that the cross was a common motif used as a body marking on domestic animals to indicate the ownership.



Figure 56: (1-I-51).

14. Concentric Circles Motif (CC):

Concentric circles motif is very similar to the circle motif. It was used on three examples available from ancient Egypt on the shoulder of lions (Figure 57-A), and on two artifacts from Iran and central Asia also occasionally illustrate this motif on the shoulder of lions or other animal (Figure 57-B). This form of the animal body markings is one of the earliest motifs used as animal body marking in the ancient Near Eastern region, however, there is no example available to this research that shows the use of this motif as animal body marking in the East Asian artifacts.



Figure 57: A(1-E-2), B(1-I-33).

59 Jeremy Black, Anthony Green. *Gods, Demons and Symbols of Ancient Mesopotamia: an illustrated dictionary*, 54.

60 Goff, Beatrice Laura, *Symbols of Prehistoric Mesopotamia* (Connecticut, 1963), 78.

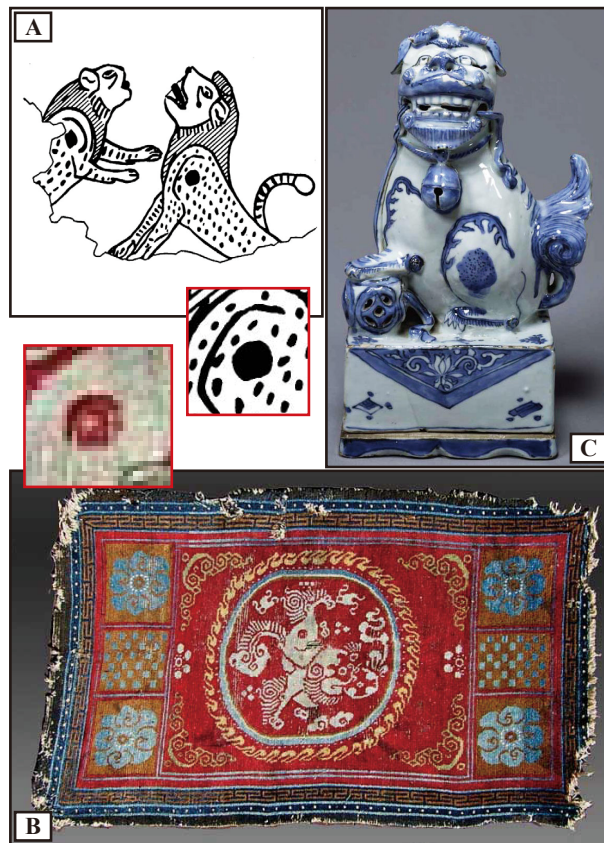


Figure 58: A(1-E-10), B(1-C-22), C(1-J-10).

15. Circle Motif (C):

All of the forms of body markings that are reviewed in this chapter are in a circular shape and although, the examples of actual circles—solid or hollow—that are used as body markings on animals are few, but there are many other forms that could resemble the shape of a circle. Michael Hann claims that: “Since ancient times, a sun disk or simple circle represented the sun, appearing in visual arts of numerous cultures.”⁶¹ There are a total number of 6 examples using this form of body marking; 5 on the body of lions and 1 on a dog.

The circle motif is one of the earliest motifs that were used as leonine shoulder ornament in ancient Egypt (Figure 58-A). However, there is no example of animal body marking with the circle motif available in Iran, Mesopotamia and Gandhara and India. There are two examples of animals marked with circle motif found in China. One of these examples are an earth ware statuette of a dog, which is marked with circle on the very traditional spots of shoulder and rump (Figure 1-C-1), and the other one is a stylized lion marked with a hollow circle on the rump (Figure 58-B). The last ex-

61 Michael Hann, *Symbol, Pattern and Symmetry: The Cultural Significance of Structure* (London, Bloomsbury Academic, 2013), 190.

ample is from Japan and it is depicted as big spot on the rump of a ceramic statuette of a seated lion (Figure 58-C).

16. Ideogram (ID):

This form of shoulder ornament is only seen on two examples in Chinese art and both of these examples are from Ming Dynasty. In each of these examples, it is represented in two forms. The first example is a bronze figurine of a stag and it is marked with the following Chinese ideograms on the body: ‘good fortune’⁶² on forehead,⁶³ ‘reward’ on both shoulders, ‘felicitation and longevity’⁶⁴ on the hindquarter on both sides and ‘basin of treasures’⁶⁵ on the back (Figure 59). The other example that has a similar form of body marking, is a bronze liquor jar in the form of a cat, ‘good fortune character’⁶⁶ in illustrated in the bigger size on it’s shoulders and rump on both sides and it is also scattered around the cat’s body in a smaller size (Figure 59).

All of these characters are believed to bring good omen, but the way these characters are arranged on the body of the animals shows a great resemblance to the animal body marking in the ancient Near East.



Figure 59: A(1-C-11), B(1-C-12).

Basically, what this form of representation suggest is that it could be a more literal form of the traditional round and torsional form of body marking, where instead of the symbols that indicate the meaning of good omen or felicitation and longevity, the artist used the actual Chinese ideograms to convey the same meaning.

62 福 .

63 祿 .

64 壽 .

65 聚宝盆 .

66 福 .

17. Winged Disk Motif (WD):

Winged disk is one of the oldest symbols used in Near East and there is a lot of controversy around the origin and the meaning of this symbol. “Probably its ultimate origin was Egypt, from where it passed via the Syrians and the Hittites to Mesopotamia. It first appears there at the glyptic art of the Mitannian Kingdom, and was then transmitted to Assyrian and Babylonian art. Taken over by the Achaemenid Persians, it remained an important emblem in Iran until modern time.”⁶⁷ In Mesopotamia, the winged disk is often associated with the sun gods like Shamash/Uta, Assur and Ninurta. Moreover, Mary Boyce claims that the winged disk was known as a sun symbol in lands outside Egypt.⁶⁹

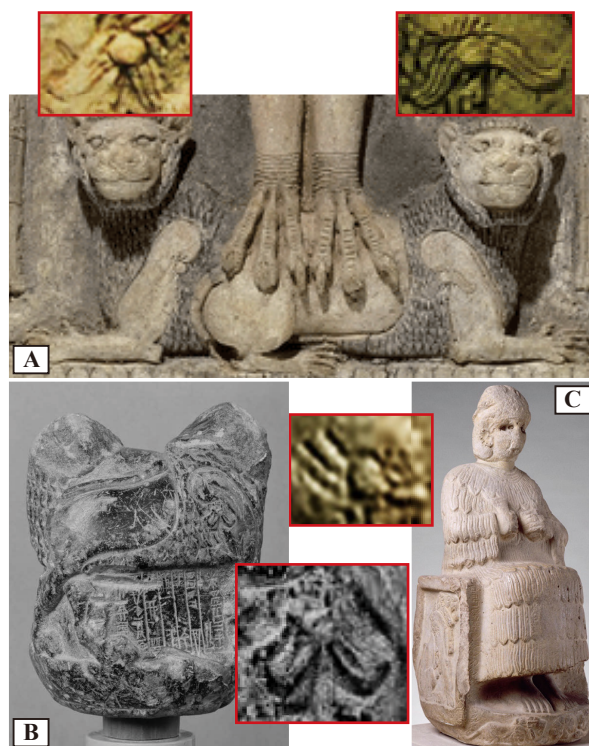


Figure 60: A(1-M-8), B(1-M-6), C(1-I-1).

Among all the examples available for this research, the winged disk is only seen in four examples: 2 in Iran and 2 In Mesopotamia. In 2 of these examples, the winged disk appears on the shoulder of lions that are mounted by a goddesses (Figure 60-A, C). In another example, the winged disk is depicted on the shoulder of two lions facing each other’s backs, on top of a round mace head (Figure 60-B).

In the last representation, the winged disk is
67 Jeremy Black, Anthony Green. *Gods, Demons and Symbols of Ancient Mesopotamia: an illustrated dictionary*, 185.

68 Ibid, 186.

69 Mary Boyce, *A History of Zoroastrianism II: Under the Achaemenians* (Leiden: Brill Academic Publishers, 1997), 104.

depicted hovering above the head of two seated lion-sphinxes facing different directions (Figure 10-B). This representation is comparable with the image of Akeru lions in ancient Egypt, and the winged disk in Achaemenid version is substituted for the sun. These brick panels are used above the windows in the Darius's palace in Susa and the location they have been installed suggest the protective function of this form of lion representation.

18. S-shaped Motif

S-shaped motif is another form of body marking that suggests a direction of rotation and it is only seen on two of the examples included in the timetable. The first example is a gold plate from twelfth to tenth century BCE, Egypt and the body marking appears on the rump of a lion griffin, which is a mythical winged animal with the body of lion and the head of a bird (Figure 61-A). The second example is a Pre-Achaemenid pottery from western Iran that demonstrates the s-shaped motif on the rump of a single-horned bull (Figure 61-B).



Figure 61: A(1-E-26), B(1-I-26).

The s-shaped motif is one of the geometric symbols that appears simultaneously in different cultures and different contexts, therefore, it is hard to assign any symbolic meanings to it. This motif is very popular among the central Asian nations. “Being visually similar in the ornaments of many peoples, its has different semantics. For instance, the Chuvash of the Central Asia believe it to be the symbol of luminaries, heavenly fire, firmament and mountains.”⁷⁰ Although, not many

70 Irina Bogoslovskaya, Zoomorphic Motifs in Karakalpak Ornamental Art, accessed August 15, 2013, http://www.sanat.orexca.com/eng/2-09/irina_bogoslovskaya.shtml

examples are available of the s-shaped motif used as a body marking on animals, but this motif is counted as one of the round and torsional motifs that can have similar iconographic attributions as all the other motifs analyzes in this chapter.

Table 9: Different animals depicted with body markings.

Culture →		Egypt	Mesopotamia	Iran	Gandhara & India	China	Japan	Total
↓	Animal							
1	Lion	49	32	53	45	38	93	310
2	Bull	5	16	16	2	8	2	49
3	Ibex	0	3	14	0	0	0	17
4	Cat	0	0	0	0	4	4	8
5	Stag	0	0	4	0	4	0	8
6	Tiger	0	0	0	4	3	0	7
7	Elephant	0	0	0	3	0	0	3
8	Horse	0	2	1	0	0	0	3
9	Falcon	2	0	0	0	0	0	2
10	Dog	0	0	0	0	2	0	2
11	Phoenix	0	0	0	0	2	0	2
12	Donkey	0	0	1	0	0	0	1
13	Hare	0	0	1	0	0	0	1
14	Bear	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
Total		56	54	90	54	61	99	414

2.9. Animals Depicted with Body Markings

Next factor that facilitate the comprehension of animal body marking is the iconographic attributions of the animals, which have been marked. The objective in this section is to find out the connection between these animals and the motif that they have been marked with. Accordingly, through this analysis, we can explore if there is any iconographic meaning that connects these animals with their body markings.

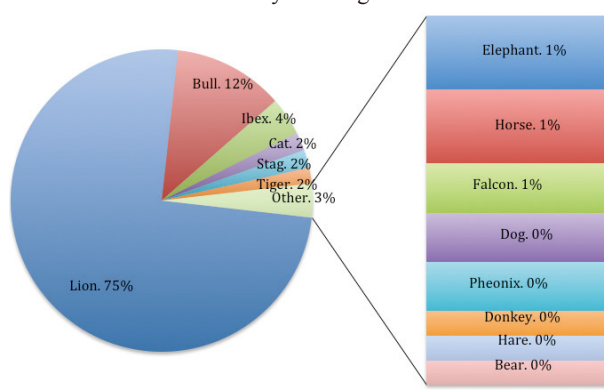
Table 8 indicated the statistics about the use of body markings on different kinds of animals. The examples collected for this research show 16 different kinds of animals depicted several methods of body markings in all the six cultures under study: Egypt, Mesopotamia, Iran, Gandhara and India, China and Japan. Each of the columns in the table designates the number of each kind of animal represented with body marking in that spe-

cific culture. The list of the animals is prioritized based on the number of the examples available from them. On the other hand, the same statistics are shown in the form percentage in the Graph 6.

As it is clear in table 8 that most of the animals are not represented by all of the cultures mentioned above and the visual depiction of them in the art is limited to a single or two neighboring cultures. Therefore, in this analysis, the animals are divided to three ranks. In the first rank, there are lion and bull. Among all the 414 notes available in the timetable, 310 notes indicated lions and 49 notes indicate bulls. The statistics show that the body marking is extremely popular on lion and bull's artistic representations in all the cultures above. The second rank, there are animals that mentioned by 4% to 2% of the total notes. This rank includes ibex, cat, tiger and stag. In the third rank are the animals with

least popularity from 1% to nothing. The animals in this rank have only local importance and they are mostly seen in one of the cultures above. The animals in this rank are elephant, horse, falcon, dog, phoenix, donkey, hare and bear.

Graph 6: Percentage of different animals represented with body markings.



related to them. The notes related to other animals that are categorized with the lion and bull in their associated groups, are depicted in blue color.

Lion and bull in the first rank are the most popular animals that were depicted with body marking in all the cultures mentioned above. Therefore, the body marking of these two animals will be analyzed in separate groups of leonine body markings and bovine body markings. The illustration of the animals in the second and the third ranks only include a small number of all the examples. Among these animals in the second and the third rank the animals that are considered as feline or predators will be analyzed along side with lion in leonine body markings group and the animals that are preys or domestic animals will be analyzed along side with bull in bovine body marking group. Hence, the animals included in the leonine body markings group are; lion, cat, tiger, elephant, falcon, dog, phoenix and bear and animals included in the bovine body marking group are; bull, ibex, stag, horse, donkey and hare. Table 10 includes the number of the notes concerning each group of animals according to the timetable. The cells colored in red resemble the number of the leonine markings and the cells colored in green resemble the bovine markings. This table also visualizes the transmission of the both leonine body marking and bovine body marking from the ancient Near East to Japan.

For better grasp of the development of the different forms of leonine markings and bovine markings, each of these two forms of animal markings are provided in a separate timetable following the sections

Table 10: Number of leonine markings and bovine markings based on the examples available in Table 7.

	30:00	20:00	17:50	15:00	14:00	12:00	10:00	8:00	6:00	4:00	2:00	0:00	2:00	4:00	6:00	8:00	10:00	12:00	14:00	16:00	18:00	20:00	Total	
	page;1	page;1	page;2	page;2	page;3	page;3	page;4	page;4	page;5	page;5	page;6	page;6	page;7	page;7	page;8	page;8	page;9	page;9	page;10	page;10	page;11	page;11	Total	
Lion	Egypt	2	3	4	10	11	17	-	1	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	51	
	Mesopotamia	3	2	2	4	4	-	6	7	1	-	3	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	34	
	Iran	1	1	-	-	3	3	4	6	6	3	2	3	2	3	6	2	1	4	-	2	1	-	53
	Gandhara & India	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	22	10	-	5	-	-	-	-	1	7	5	-	336
	China	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	2	1	1	4	-	1	5	10	11	4	9	49
	Japan	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	8	31	47	9	97
	Egypt	-	-	-	-	2	2	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5
Bull	Mesopotamia	7	2	-	1	-	2	2	5	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	20	
	Iran	-	-	-	1	-	2	7	6	4	-	1	2	4	9	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	37	
	Gandhara & India	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	
	China	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	3	-	5	-	-	12	
	Japan	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	2	
Total	13	8	6	16	20	26	19	25	14	8	7	29	15	9	26	2	5	11	24	53	57	21	414	

1. Leonine Markings

The connection between the lion and the sun, especially among all the ancient Near Eastern cultures is a well researched subject and some of the visual evidence that support this fact was mentioned in the fifth section of this chapter. Out of a total 414 examples of body marking collected for this research, 310 examples showcase lions with different forms of body markings. Lion is depicted marked with round and occasionally torsional motifs in all six cultures studied in this research. The majority of all the examples available illustrate lions marked with one or multiple form(s) of body marking.

As it is clearly recognizable in Graph 6, lions holding various form of body occupy almost three fourth of the examples of animal body markings collected. This is a very big majority and it suggests that there is an iconographic connection between the lion and the forms of body marking that lion is often depicted with.

The earliest form of the body markings known today belongs to the images of lion. In the first page of timetable, Table 7—the span of time between third millennium BCE to 1750 BCE—all the images of lion with body markings collected from this period show a very bold and distinguished body marking that does not resemble the natural hair whorl that are occasionally seen on the shoulder of lions in nature (Figure 36). During this time in Egypt, we have a floral motif, a concentric circles motif and a wheel motif represented on the body of lion and none of these representation have torsional form.

Likewise, earliest examples from Mesopotamia and Iran do not resemble the natural hair whorl either. There is a representation of the sun as a form of a disk over the back of a lion (Figure 1-M-4) and three representation of the winged disk attached to the shoulder of this animal and both of these motifs are well-known sun symbols (Figure 1-M-6, 1-M-8, 1-I-1). Moreover, we see the first torsional form of body marking in the shape of a whirling motif attached to the tail of a winged sphinx with the body of a lion and a human head on a mural painting in Zimrilim Palace in Mari (Figure 1-M-9). This is a very good example that shows how unnaturalistic the origin of the leonine body ornament is.

Moving to the second page of Table 7—the span of time between 1750 to 1400 BCE—we will see that

although the sun-like motifs continued, there are more examples of torsional and radial lines motif appear in both Egypt and Mesopotamia and all of these motif are depicted on shoulder of lions. Between 1400 to 1000 BCE, while the torsional form of the leonine shoulder ornament kept its prevalence in Egypt, it started to spread out among the cultures in Mesopotamian, Syro-Palestinian, Iranian and middle Asian cultures. During the time between 1000 to 600 BCE, the leonine body marking starts to become more variable in terms of motifs, animals and the location on the body. Wheel motif and floral motif, which were both used in early Egypt, reappear as body marking and animals such as hare (Figure 62-A), horse (Figure 62-B) and ibex (Figure 62-C) is depicted holding similar body markings as lion on some of the metal work pieces from Luristan, western Iran. Star motif, cross motif and Swastika are other important signs that first appear during this time.

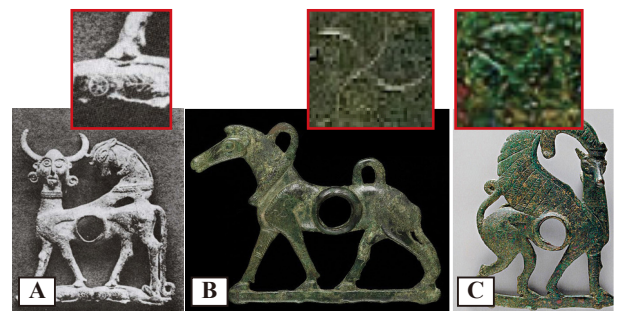


Figure 62: A(1-I-12), B(1-I-17), C(1-I-14).

During the timespan between 600 to 200 BCE, torsional and celestial forms of the body marking were continued in the Egyptian, Mesopotamian and Iranian art. During this time, the first representation of the sun hovering over the back of a lion started to appear on the Iranian coins (Figure 40-H) and other animal body marking started to occur in the art of south Asia (Figure 1-GI-1) and China (Figure 2-C-3). Starting from second century BCE, the art of Gandhara region, in present Pakistan and Afghanistan, and also the art of India shows a heavy influence from Greco-Roman, Achaemenid and Egyptian art. The torsional body markings identical to Egyptian examples were widely in use in the Gandhara and an earlier method of marking the lions on the cheek was imitated by the Gandhara and Northern Indian art. During this time, the leonine shoulder marking was also used on some animals with local significance, such as elephant in India (Figure 1-GI-2)

and dog in China (Figure 1-C-1).

The torsional motifs continued their popularity from 200 to 600, a similar form of marking started to appear in Chinese art. By this time, the whirl motif is well established in the art of Gandhara. While the method of marking all over animal body with the same form of motif was never seen in the art of Gandhara and India, but it was one of the first methods of leonine body marking appeared in Buddhist art of China (Figure 67-B).

An interesting mosaic from Kissufim Church in Israel dated sixth century shows a hero fighting a bear (Figure 63-B). This theme is a very popular theme in the art of ancient Near East, except that the heroes and kings are always depicted fighting lions. Here in this mosaic the lion is replaced by a bear with an identical form of marking on its shoulder. The artifact depicted in Figure 63-A shows a hero fighting a wild animal in a Neo-Assyrian stone carving that is dated 1300 years before the mosaic from the Kissufim Church.



Figure 63: A(1-M-26), B(1-M-34).

After Islam conquers most of the Near East and Egypt in seventh century, the leonine body marking disappears from the art of this region, while it was continues in East Asia (Figure 64). The torsional form of the body marking that was used in Chinese and Gandhara and Northern Indian art during the period from 600 to 1000, is very similar to the Pre-Islam Near Eastern body markings in terms of both form and location of the markings and the same pattern of marking continued until 1400. Around this time, the image of the ‘Tang style lion’ developed to its pick in China and thereafter, it was introduced to the Japanese art. Starting from the fifteenth century until eighteenth century, as leonine body marking has evolved to fit Chinese art, the Chi-

nese style lion gains a massive popularity in Japanese art and numerous representations of lions with various forms of body marking is available in Japanese art during this time.



Figure 64: A(1-E-18), B(1-M-22), C(1-I-43), D(1-GI-16), E(1-C-8), F(1-J-44).











The leonine body markings revived in Indian art after seventeenth century and it was also seen on tiger during this period. As mentioned in the last chapter, lion and tiger in India are considered the same animal and there is only one word for both of these animals in Indian language. Therefore, it is not unexpected for the leonine body marking to appear on tigers in Indian art. Bautze in his article observes that the triskelions that are often depicted on the cheeks of tiger in the Indian Mughal paintings might represent a natural form that occasionally appears on the cheeks of tigers; there fore the prevalence of the cheek marking during this era can be under the influence of the tigers’ natural mark on the cheek. Moreover, the replacement of the lion with tigers in Indian art is another one of his observations. While, goddess Parvati is often depicted mounting on tigers in the Mughal paintings, it is well known that her mount is a lion.⁷¹ This proves that the tiger and lions are consid-



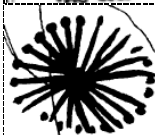





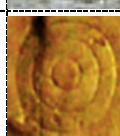

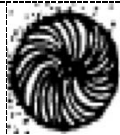



71 Joachim K. Bautze, “Some Notes on the Shoulder Ornament in the Art of Northern India.” *Silk Road Art and Archaeology* 2 (1991-1992): 225.

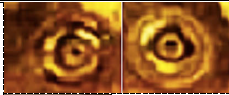







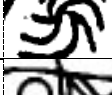

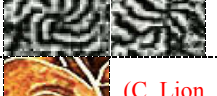
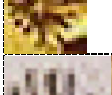








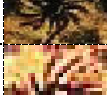
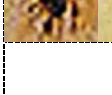
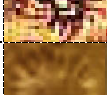

ered to be interchangeable in the art of Mughal Period in India.


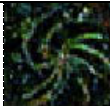

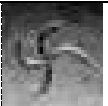






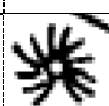




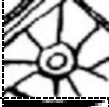





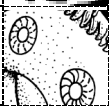



From 1800 until present time, massive amount of artifacts are made in India, China and Japan that demonstrate the leonine body ornaments not only on lines, but also on other feline animals, such as cats and tigers.




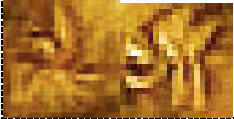


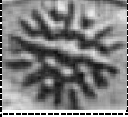






Table 11: Leonine Markings' Timeline Table.

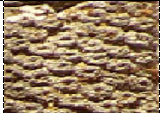


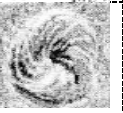














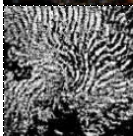


	3rd millennium BCE	2000	1750
Japan	–		–
China	–		–
Gandhara & India	–		–
Iran		(WD. Lion. Shoulder)	 (RL. Lion. Shoulder)
		(ST. Lion. Back)	 (WD. Lion. Shoulder)
		(WD. Lion. Shoulder)	 (WH. Lion. Tail)
		(SU. Lion. Over back)	
Egypt		(F. Lion. Shoulder) (R. Lion. Around the body)	 (CC. Lion. Shoulder)
			 (W. Lion. Shoulder & Rump) (RD. Lion. All body)







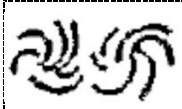




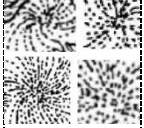


	1750	1500	1400		
Japan	-	-	-		
China	-	-	-		
Gandhara & India	-	-	-		
Iran	-	-	-		
Mesopotamia		(SU. Lion. Back)		(RL. Lion. Shoulder)	
		(RL. Lion. Shoulder)		(RL. Lion. Shoulder) (WH. Lion. Shoulder)	
				(WH. Lion. Shoulder)	
Egypt		(RL. Lion. Shoulder) (RD. Lion. All body)		(CC. Lion. Shoulder) (R. Lion. Around the body)	
		(WH. Lion. Shoulder) (RD. Lion. All body)			(CC. Lion. Shoulder) (TD. Lion. Ear) (R. Lion. Around the body)
					(WH. Lion. Shoulder) (TD. Lion. Ear)
					(WH. Lion. Shoulder)
					(C. Lion. Shoulder) (RD. Lion. All body)


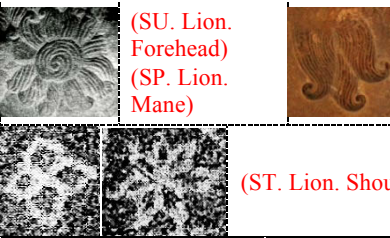






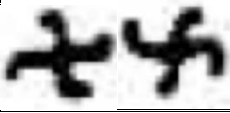
	1400	1200	1000
Japan			
China			
Gandhara			
Iran	 (CC. Lion. Shoulder) (RD. Lion. All body)	 (WH. Lion. Shoulder)	
	 (WH. Lion. Rump)	 (WH. Lion. All body)	
		 (SS. Lion. Shoulder & Rump)	
Mesopotamia	 (WH. Lion. Shoulder)		
	 (WH. Lion. Shoulder)		
	 (WH. Lion. Shoulder)		
	 (WH. Lion. Shoulder)		
Egypt	 (C. Lion. Shoulder) (R. Lion. Around the body)	 (WH. Lion. Shoulder) (SU. Lion. Over back)	
	 (RL. Lion. Shoulder)	 (C. Lion. Shoulder) (R. Lion. Around the body)	
	 (RL. Lion. Shoulder)	 (RL. Lion. Shoulder) (SU. Lion. Over back) (RD. Lion. All body)	
	 (SU. Lion. Over back)	 (SU. Lion. Over back)	
	 (WH. Lion. Shoulder) (RD. Lion. All body)	 (RL. Lion. Shoulder) (SU. Lion. Over back) (RD. Lion. All body)	
	 (WH. Lion. Shoulder) (R. Lion. Around the body)	 (WH. Lion. Shoulder) (RD. Lion. All body)	
	 (WH. Lion. Shoulder) (RL. Lion. Shoulder)	 (WH. Lion. Shoulder) (RD. Lion. All body)	
		 (RL. Lion. Shoulder) (S. Lion. Rump)	









	1000	800	600
Japan	-		-
China	-		-
Gandhara & India	-		-
Iran	 (X. Lion. Rump)	 (WH. Lion. Rump)	 (WH. Lion. Shoulder)  (SS. Lion. Rump)
	 (W. Lion. Shoulder & Rump)	 (W. Lion. Rump)	 (WH. Lion. Rump)  (RL. Lion. Rump)
			 (WH. Lion. Shoulder)  (SS. Lion. Cheek & Rump)
Mesopotamia	 (RL. Lion. Shoulder)		 (WH. Lion. Shoulder)
	 (WH. Lion. Shoulder)		 (WH. Lion. Shoulder)
	 (RL. Lion. Shoulder)		 (RL. Lion. Shoulder)  (ST. Lion. Over back)
	 (ST. Lion. Over back)		 (WH. Lion. Shoulder)
	  (WH. Lion. Shoulder)		 (WH. Lion. Shoulder)
	 (ST. Lion. Forehead)		 (RL. Lion. Forehead)
Egypt		 (SU. Lion. Over back)	










































	600	400	200	
Japan	-	-	-	
China	-		(RD. Lion. All body)	
Gandhara & India	-	-	-	
Iran		(WH. Lion. Rump)		(F. Lion. All body)
		(WH. Lion. Shoulder)		(SU. Lion. Over back)
		(RL. Lion. All body)		(SU. Lion. Over back)
		(WH. Lion. Rump)		
		(WH. Lion. Shoulder)		
		(WD. Lion. Over back)		
Mesopotamia	-	-	-	
Egypt		(SU. Lion. Over back)		
		(WH. Falcon. Cheek)		
		(WH. Falcon. Cheek)		










































	200		00		200	
Japan		-			-	
China		-			-	
Gandhara & Ind		(SP. Lion. Mane)		(WH. Lion. Shoulder)		(WH. Lion. Shoulder & Rump)
				(WH. Lion. Shoulder)		(WH. Lion. Shoulder) (SP. Lion. Mane)
				(WH. Lion. Cheek)		(F. Lion. Over back) (SP. Lion. Mane)
				(WH. Lion. Shoulder) (SP. Lion. Mane)		(W. Lion. Over back)
				(WH. Lion. Shoulder)		(W. Lion. Over back)
				(SS. Lion. Cheek)		
				(SP. Lion. Mane)		(W. Lion. Over back)
				(SU. Lion. Over back) (SP. Lion. Mane)		(F. Lion. Over back) (SP. Lion. Mane)
Iran		(WH. Lion. Shoulder & Chest)		(WH. Lion. Ear)		
		(WH. Lion. Shoulder & Chest)		(WH. Lion. Shoulder) (SP. Lion. Mane)		
Mesopotamia		(ST. Lion. All body) (ST. Lion. Over back) (M. Lion. Chest)			-	
Egypt		-			-	

	200	400	600
Japan	-		-
China		(RL. Lion. Shoulder & Rump)	 (WH. Lion. All body)
Gandhara & India		(WH. Lion. Cheek)	
		(SS. Lion. Cheek)	
		(WH. Lion. Shoulder) (SP. Lion. Mane)	
		(SS. Lion. Cheek)	
		(WH. Lion. Shoulder & Rump)	
		(WH. Lion. Shoulder) (SP. Lion. Mane)	
		(SS. Lion. Cheek)	
Iran		(WH. Lion. Shoulder & Rump) (SP. Lion. Mane)	 (WH. Lion. Shoulder) (SP. Lion. Mane)
			 (WH. Lion. Shoulder)
Mesopotamia	-		 (WH. Bear. Shoulder)
Egypt	-		-

	600	800	1000
Japan	-		-
China	 <p>(SS. Lion. Rump) (WH. Phoenix. Cheek) (SP. Phoenix. Mane) (SP. Lion. Mane)</p>	-	
Gandhara & India	 <p>(SU. Lion. Forehead) (SP. Lion. Mane) (ST. Lion. Shoulder)</p>	 <p>(SP. Lion. Shoulder) (SP. Lion. Mane)</p>	-
Iran	 <p>(WH. Lion. Shoulder)</p>	 <p>(WH. Lion. Shoulder) (SP. Lion. Mane)</p>	-
	 <p>(WH. Lion. Shoulder & Rump) (SP. Lion. Mane)</p>	-	
	 <p>(ST. Lion. Shoulder) (SP. Lion. Mane)</p>		
	 <p>(WH. Lion. Shoulder & Rump)</p>		
Mesopotamia	 <p>(SS. Lion. Rump)</p>	-	
Egypt	-		-

	1000	1200	1400
Japan	-		(RD. Lion. Rump) (SP. Lion. Tail)
China			(WH. Lion. Rump) (SP. Lion. Tail & Mane)
			(WH. Lion. Shoulder & Rump) (SP. Lion. Tail & Mane)
			(WH. Lion. All body)
Gandhara & India	-	-	-
Iran			(X. Lion. Shoulder)
		  	(SU. Lion. Over back) (M. Lion. Over back) (ST. Lion. Over back) (ST. Lion. Front)
Mesopotamia	-	-	-
Egypt	-	-	-

14		00	00	1800				
Japan		(TD. Lion. All body)		(WH. Lion. Shoulder & Rump)		(WH. Lion. All body) (SP. Lion. Tail)		
		(SP. Lion. Tail)		(WH. Lion. Shoulder & Rump)		(WH. Lion. All body)		
		(RD. Lion. All body) (SP. Lion. Tail & Mane)		(RL. Lion. All body) (SP. Lion. Tail)		(WH. Lion. All body)		
		(RD. Lion. All body) (SP. Lion. Tail & Mane)		(C. Lion. Rump) (SP. Lion. Tail) (ST. Lion. Front)		(RL. Lion. All body) (SP. Lion. Tail & Mane)		
		(RD. Lion. All body) (SP. Lion. Tail & Mane)		(RD. Lion. All body)		(RL. Lion. All body) (SP. Lion. Tail & Mane)		
				(WH. Lion. All body) (SP. Lion. Tail & Mane)		(WH. Lion. All body) (SP. Lion. Tail & Mane)		
				(RD. Lion. All body) (SP. Lion. Tail)		(TD. Lion. All body) (SP. Lion. Tail)		
				(WH. Lion. All body) (SP. Lion. Tail)		(WH. Lion. All body) (SP. Lion. Tail)		
China		(F. Lion. Shoulder & Rump & Front) (WH. Lion. Shoulder) (F. Lion. Chest)		(WH. Lion. shoulder)		(WH. Lion. All body) (SP. Lion. Tail & Mane)		(RD. Lion. All body) (SP. Lion. Tail & Mane)
		(WH. Lion. Cheek) (SP. Lion. Mane)		(RD. Lion. All body) (SP. Lion. Tail & Mane)		(F. Lion. Rump) (F. Lion. Front) (SP. Lion. Tail & Mane)		
		(CH. Cat. Shoulder & Rump) (CH. Cat. All body) (WH. Cat. Around the neck) (R. Cat. Around the neck)		(WH. Lion. Tail)		(F. Lion. All body)		
Gandhara & India		(X. Tiger. Cheek)		(X. Lion. Cheek)		(RL. Tiger. Cheek)		
				(RL. Tiger. Cheek)		(WH. Lion. Cheek)		
				(RL. Tiger. Cheek)		(RL. Lion. Cheek)		
				(WH. Lion. Shoulder & Rump & Forehead)				
Iran		–			(RL. Lion. Tail) (SP. Lion. Mane)			
Mesopotamia		–			–			
Egypt		–			–			

	1800	2000		
Japan	 (TD. Lion. All body)(SP. Lion. Tail)	 (RL. Lion. Rump)	 (WH. Lion. All body)(SP. Lion. Tail & Mane)	 (WH. Lion. All body)(SP. Lion. Tail & Mane)
	 (WH. Lion. All body)(SP. Lion. Tail)	 (WH. Lion. All body)(SP. Lion. Tail & Mane)	 (WH. Lion. All body)	 (WH. Lion. Rump)(SP. Lion. Tail & Mane)
	 (RL. Lion. Rump)(SP. Lion. Tail & Mane)	 (RL. Lion. All body)(SP. Lion. Mane)	 (WH. Lion. Shoulder)	 (SU. Cat. All body)(SP. Cat. All body)
	 (RD. Lion. All body)(SP. Lion. Tail)	 (WH. Lion. All body)	 (WH. Lion. All body)(SP. Lion. Tail & Mane)	 (WH. Lion. All body)
	 (WH. Lion. All body)	 (WH. Lion. forehead)	 (WH. Lion. All body)(SP. Lion. Tail & Mane)	 (CC. Cat. Shoulder & Rump)(CC. Cat. Forehead)
	 (SP. Lion. Tail)	 (SP. Lion. All body)(SP. Lion. Tail & Mane)(F. Lion. Front)	 (WH. Lion. All body)(SP. Lion. Tail & Mane)	
	 (RL. Lion. All body)	 (WH. Lion. All body)(SP. Lion. Tail & Mane)(F. Lion. Front)	 (RD. Lion. All body)(SP. Lion. Tail & Mane)	
	 (RL. Lion. All body)(SP. Lion. Tail & Mane)	 (WH. Lion. Shoulder)	 (WH. Lion. Rump)(SP. Lion. All body)(SP. Lion. Tail & Mane)(RD. Lion. All body)	
	 (RD. Lion. All body)	 (WH. Lion. All body)(SP. Lion. Tail & Mane)	 (WH. Lion. All body)	
China	 (C. Lion. Rump)(SP. Lion. Tail & Mane)		 (WH. Lion. Cheek)(SU. Lion. Forehead)	
	 (WH. Lion. All body)(SP. Lion. Tail & Mane)		 (F. Lion. Shoulder & Rump)(SP. Lion. Tail & Mane)	
			 (F. Tiger. Rump)	
			 (WH. Tiger. Rump)(F. Tiger. All body)	
			 (R. Lion. Around the horn)	
		 (R. Lion. Around the neck)		
Gandhara & India	 (WH. Lion. Shoulder)			
	 (WH. Lion. Shoulder & Rump)			
	 (RL. Lion. Cheek)(WH. Lion. Shoulder)			
	 (RL. Lion. Cheek)			
Iran	 (SU. Lion. Over back)			
Mesopotamia				
Egypt				

2. Bovine Markings

The bull is the second most popular animal that is depicted with a similar form of body markings in art of all six cultures mentioned above. The popularity of this kind of body marking on bulls is not as much as the lions, but it is clearly more than other animals mentioned in Table 9.

Kantor respond to Van Buren's additional notes on her last article, where she challenged Kantor on her theory of the Egyptian origin of the shoulder ornament by offering three samples from Mesopotamia, two of which are bovine forehead markings. Kantor argues "the bovine hair star seems to have been independently introduced to the art in several centuries, as indicated by several example which do not all form a single line of development."⁷² This means that the bovine forehead marking did not occur in different cultures in the Near East as a result of the cultural encounters, but it developed independently in each of these cultures, although in a later note, she reveals that the bovine marking could have influenced the leonine markings as well. Concerning the possible connection between the torsional motif represented on the shoulder of lions and the foreheads of bulls, Kantor speculated "the complete naturalistic whorls on bulls [in the art of Mesopotamia] may have influenced the manner in which [Egyptian] Eighteenth Dynasty artists rendered the markings on lions' shoulder, which up to that time had remarkably un-naturalistic form."⁷³ Hence, although the bovine marking was developed independently from the leonine markings, but the form of the bovine marking might have influenced the forms of the leonine markings. As mentioned in the last section, the earlier forms of leonine shoulder ornament did not resemble the hair whorl (Figure 36). However the later forms, after the appearance of the bovine forehead markings, resemble the torsional form of a hair whorl. For this reason, Kantor claims that the bovine forehead markings that are originated from Mesopotamia might have inspired the torsional form of later leonine body markings.

⁷² Helene J. Kantor, "The Shoulder Ornament of Near Eastern Lions," *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 6 (October 1947), 256.

⁷³ Kantor, Helene J. "A Further Comment on the Shoulder Ornament." *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 9 (Jan. 1950), 55.



Figure 65: A(1-M-7), B(1-I-3), C(1-M-12), D(1-E-22), E(1-I-39), F(1-C-6).

In the earliest representation of bovine forehead marking, the motif that is used on the forehead of the bull is a crescent moon (Figure 1-M-3). Moreover, in other examples available from the late third millennium BCE to early second millennium BCE, it seems that the artist have an intentional emphasis on the resemblance between the form of the bull and the crescent moon (Figure 96). In numerous representations, the bull is depicted with a crescent moon hovering above his head and this representation is very similar to the representation of lion with the sun disk over his back discussed in the fifth section of this chapter. This suggests that as there is a connection between the sun and the lion, there is also a connection between the bull and the moon. Celestial nature of the bull's horn is even more revealed in an illustration carved around a Babylonian bowl, where the bull is depicted with a star next to his horn (Figure 2-M-5).

The earliest form of the bovine forehead markings

appears on a mural painting from Mari and it occurs on the forehead of a sacrifice bull being taken to the altar by a man (Figure 65-A). This is the earliest example of the torsional form available to this research. After 1500 BCE, radial lines motif is also appears on the forehead of the bull in a statuette of a hybrid animals with two heads, one of a bull and one of a lion (Figure 65-B). On the images over a golden bowl from Ras Shamra, the radial lines motif was depicted on the shoulder of lions as well as over the back of addorsed ibexes (Figure 65-C).

As bovine forehead marking continued in Egyptian art (Figure 65-D), around 1200 BCE, an example from Iranian art shows confusion between the bovine marking and the leonine marking. The image of a stylized bull on the side of a silver beaker from Marlik is depicted with a whirl motif on the shoulder and a radial lines motif on the rump (Figure 1-I-8). This method of body marking was specific to the lions and from there on, it also seen on the body of bulls as well. During the time between 1000 to 600 BCE in Iranian art, different forms of body marking such as floral motif, radial lines motif, whirl motif, wheel motif, cross motif and swastika that until then were specified to lions, were also used on the body of various animals such as ibexes, horses and hares (Figure 62). In the art of Mesopotamia, the idea of the floating crescent moon over the back of the bull continued and it appeared over and over during this time.

Star form is also another motif that was used as a form of body marking on different animals between 600 to 200 BCE and by the time of first century, the bovine marking in Iran was very similar to leonine body marking and the classic method of markings the lions with a torsional sign on the shoulder appear on the bulls shoulder in the design of a bull spouted rhyton (Figure 65-E). Nevertheless, the classical form of the bovine markings on the forehead was continued during this time.

From 600 to 1000, there are two distinguished styles of bovine marking used in Iranian art. The first style is a classic form, where the horned animal is depicted with the moon rising over its back. The second method is to replicate different form of classical leonine marking—torsional motif on the shoulder and rump—on the bulls as well as other horned animals. During the

Sassanid Dynasty, the ibex was one of the most distinguished animals which was related to royalty. Therefore, there are numerous representation of the ibex on the artworks and royal seals.

One of the best examples of the bovine forehead marking in China is a horned-shaped cup that ends in the form of a bull's head—dated seventh to ninth century—made during the reign of Tang Dynasty shows a very classic form of the torsional forehead marking, which was popular in Egypt and Mesopotamia more than 2000 years earlier.

There are some Chinese artifacts available in this research that are dated between 1000 to 1400. These artifacts illustrate Ji, the Chinese single-horned bull, with the moon crescent over his back. These representation of the horned animals is very similar to the earlier classic form of the bull's representation in the ancient Near East and both of these representations suggest the iconographic connection between the bull and the moon.

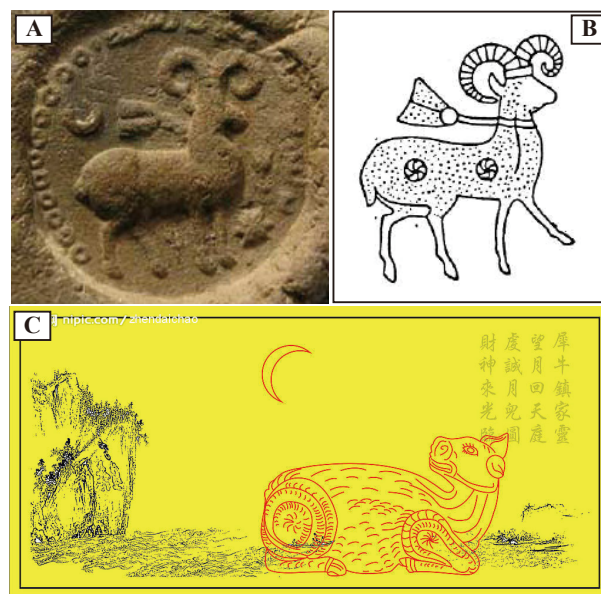


Figure 66: A(1-I-46), B(1-I-52), C(1-C-28).


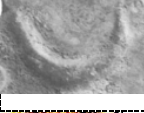

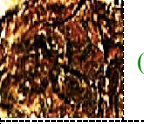

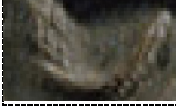



A modern work of art from China illustrates both methods of bovine body marking in the Sassanid art that we talked about earlier (Figure 66-C). This art work combines two of the major forms of bovine marking in an illustration of ji; first, the crescent moon hovering over the back of the animals which is a sign for the connection between ji and the moon and second, the imitation from the classical form of leonine marking that was latter adopted as a way of marking the bovine animals as well in the form of two torsional forms on the shoul-

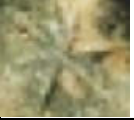

der and rump.






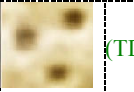
Starting fourteenth century under Chinese influences, the leonine body marking becomes extremely popular in the Japanese art and the Japanese style of leonine body markings continues until present day. Bovine marking still appears in Japanese art and in many Japanese representation of kirin, a mythical horned animals that in know as an auspicious being in the art of East Asia, this animals is depicted with whirl motif all over its body.










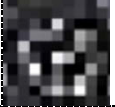





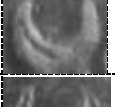
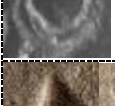


At the end, the bovine marking still exists in both Near East and East Asia. As a modern example, the statuette of a bull that I bought in a recent trip to Isfahan has a star-like motif on the forehead that shows how amazingly this motif survived for thousands of years.





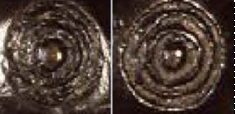

Table 12: Bovine Markings' Timeline Table.






	3rd millennium BCE	2000	1750
Japan	–		–
China	–		–
Gandhara & India	–		–
Iran	–		–
Mesopotamia	 (ST. Bull. Over back)	 (M. Bull. Over back)	
	 (TD. Bull. All body)	 (WH. Bull. Forehead)	
	 (TD. Bull. All body)		
	 (M. Bull. Over back)		
	 (M. Bull. Over back)		
	 (M. Bull. Forehead)		
	 (M. Bull. Over back)		
Egypt	–		–



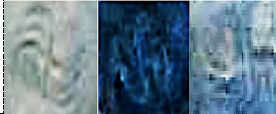
	1750	1500	1400
Japan	-	-	-
China	-	-	-
Gandhara & India	-	-	-
Iran	-		(RL. Bull. Forehead)
Mesopotamia	-		(RL. Ibex. Over back)
Egypt	-	-	-








	1400	1200	1000	
Japan	-	-	-	
China	-	-	-	
Gandhara & India	-	-	-	
Iran	-		(WH. Bull. Rump) (RL. Bull. Shoulder)	
Mesopotamia	-		(ST. Ibex. Over back) (M. Ibex. Over back)	
Egypt		(RL. Bull. Forehead)		(WH. Bull. Forehead)
		(TD. Bull. All body)		(TD. Bull. Rump)




	1000	800	600
Japan	-	-	-
China	-	-	-
Gandhara & India	-	-	-
Iran	 (F. Ibex. Rump)	 (WH. Ibex. Rump)	
	 (F. Bull. Rump)	 (RL. Bull. Rump)	
	 (W. Hare. Rump)	 (S. Bull. Rump)	
	 (SS. Horse. All body)	 (WH. Ibex. Rump)	
	 (RL. Bull. Rump)	 (F. Ibex. Rump)	
	 (W. Bull. Shoulder & Rump)		
	 (RL. Ibex. Rump)		
Mesopotamia	 (X. Horse. Rump)	 (M. Bull. Over back)	
	 (M. Bull. Over back)	 (M. Bull. Over back)	
		 (M. Bull. Over back)	
		 (ST. Bull. Over back)  (M. Bull. Over back)	
Egypt	-	-	-




	600		400		200
Japan		-			-
China		-			(RL. Bull. All body)
Gandhara & India		-			(W. Bull. Forehead & Rump) (R. Bull. Around the Forehead)
Iran					(SS. Bull. Rump)
					(ST. Ibex. Shoulder) (ST. Stag. Shoulder)
					(CC. Stag. Shoulder & Rump)
Mesopotamia					(WH. Horse. Rump)
Egypt				?	(M. Bull. Rump)

	200		00		200
Japan		-			-
China		-			-
Gandhara & India					(W. Elephant. Forehead)
					(W. Elephant. Over back)
Iran		-			(WH. Bull. Shoulder)
Mesopotamia		-			(WH. Bull. Forehead)
Egypt		-			-

	200	400	600
Japan	-	-	-
China	-	-	-
Gandhara & India	-	-	-
Iran		<p>(M. Bull. Over back) (ST. Bull. Front)</p>	 <p>(M. Ibex. Over back) (ST. Ibex. Front)</p>
			 <p>(WH. Ibex. Shoulder & Rump) (SS. Ibex. Shoulder & Rump)</p>
Mesopotamia	-	-	-
Egypt	-	-	-

	600	800	1000
Japan	-	-	-
China	 <p>(WH. Bull. Forehead)</p>	-	-
Gandhara & India	-	-	-
Iran	 <p>(M. Stag. Over back) (ST. Stag. Front)</p>		
	 <p>(M. Ibex. Over back) (X. Ibex. Over back)</p>		
	 <p>(WH. Ibex. Shoulder & Rump)</p>		
	 <p>(WH. Ibex. Shoulder) (WH. Donkey. Shoulder)</p>		
	 <p>(WH. Bull. Shoulder & Rump)</p>		
	 <p>(WH. Bull. Shoulder & Rump)</p>		
Mesopotamia	-	-	-
Egypt	-	-	-

	1000	1200	1400
Japan	-	-	-
China	 (M. Bull. Over back)		
	 (M. Bull. Over back)		
	 (M. Bull. Over back)		
Gandhara & India	-	-	-
Iran	-	-	-
Mesopotamia	-	-	-
Egypt	-	-	-

	1400	1600	1800
Japan	-	 (RL. Bull. All body) (SP. Bull. Tail & Mane)	
China	 (CH. Stag. Shoulder) (CH. Stag. Rump) (CH. Stag. Back) (CH. Stag. Forehead)		-
	 (M. Bull. Over back)		
Gandhara & India	-	-	-
Iran	-	-	-
Mesopotamia	-	-	-
Egypt	-	-	-



	1800	2000
Japan	-	-
China		 (WH. Bull. Shoulder & Rump) (M. Bull. Over back)
Gandhara & India	-	-
Iran		 (ST. Bull. Forehead)
Mesopotamia	-	-
Egypt	-	-

Table 13: Different locations of animal body marking.

Culture →		Egypt	Mesopotamia	Iran	Gandhara & India	China	Japan	Total
↓ Location on body								
1	Shoulder	23 (24)	21	21 (35)	11 (15)	3 (10)	2 (5)	81 (110)
2	All body	10	3	5	0	12	46	76
3	Rump	3 (4)	3	22 (35)	0 (5)	7 (14)	6 (9)	41 (70)
4	Multiple markings	1	0	15	5	16	25	62
5	Mane	0	0	7	11	3 (12)	1(23)	22 (53)
6	Over back	7	18	12	8	5	0	50
7	Tail	0	1	1	0	1 (10)	14 (36)	17 (48)
8	Cheek	2	0	0 (1)	16	3	0	21 (22)
9	Forehead	2	5	2	2 (4)	4	2	17 (19)
10	Ribbon	6	0	0	1	3	0	10
11	Front	0	0	4	0	2(3)	3	9(10)
12	Chest	0	1	0 (2)	0	1	0	2(4)
13	Back	0	2	0	0	1	0	3
14	Ear	2	0	1	0	0	0	3
Total		56	54	90	54	61	99	414

2.10. Location of Body Markings on the Animal’s Body

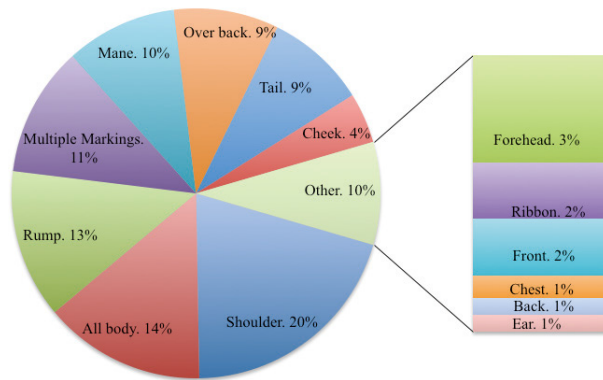
The location that the body markings appear on animal images in the art of the mentioned cultures is another factors that will be discussed in this chapter. This is one of the factors that transmitted through Asia from culture to culture and it can reveal the iconographic attributions of the body marking, therefore it is important to analyze the transformations that occur in the locations of body marking on the animal body that are represented in the art of all of the mentioned cultures.

All of the 414 notes included in Table 7, demonstrate the body markings on one—or occasionally multiple—location(s) on the body of animals and all of these locations are categorized in Table 13. This table indicates the popularity of each of these body marking locations in each of the cultures under discussion. The

number in the front row of each of these categories indicates how often it appear as the only form of animal’s body marking in the art of various cultures. The number inside the parentheses indicates the total number of examples that are shown with this form of body marking, including single and multiple markings. Therefore, the total number of the body markings in each category shows how often this form of body marking was repeated as the only form on the animal body in the art of all these cultures and the number in the parentheses shows how often it appears as single form or one of the multiple forms of marking.

The popularity of each of the categories as a body marking locations in all the cultures under discussion is shown in Graph 7 below and we will used this chart in the visual analysis throughout this section.

Graph 7: Percentage of location on the body to mark the animals.



1. Shoulder

Statistics shows that the shoulder is the most popular location for different forms of animal body markings in the art of ancient Near East, however the popularity of this method of marking on animals descend from the east to the west—although, the multiple markings with shoulder in combination with other forms of marking is most popular in Iranian representations. While the shoulder ornament is the dominant method of marking animals in ancient Egypt Mesopotamia and Iran, In the art of East Asia, the body marking representation transfers on the mane and the tail of all over the body of marked animals.

As mentioned in the sections above, leonine shoulder ornament in Egyptian art is one of the earliest examples of body marking that was depicted on the shoulder of lions and it represented a very distinguished and bold form of marking. This suggests that the body marking in these visual representations do not have any natural origin, but it represent a form of applique that was attached or painted over the shoulder of lions.

Table 14 shows the shoulder markings in each of the cultures based on the kind of animal and the form of marking they are represented with. This table shows that the whirl motif has the greatest popularity and it has been depicted a total 65 time (out of 110) on the shoulder of different animals in the art of all of these cultures and in the 56 examples, the animals represented with the whirl motif on their shoulders are lions. These statistics show the connection between the lion and torsional shoulder marking and the popularity and the consistency of this method of marking in all the cultures mentioned in table show made this the main form of the animal body marking among all the cultures.

Table 14: Motifs represented on the shoulder of animals.

	Animal with the marking motif	No.	Total	
Egypt	Lion	Whirl Motif	9	24
		Radial Lines	7	
		Wheel	1	
		Concentric circles	3	
		Circle Motif	3	
		Floral	1	
		Mesopotamia	Lion	
Radial Lines	6			
Winged Disk	2			
Bear	Whirl Motif		1	
Iran	Lion		Whirl Motif	15
		Radial Lines	1	
		Wheel Motif	1	
		Winged Disk	1	
		Star Motif	1	
		Concentric circles	2	
		Swastika Motif	1	
		Cross motif	1	
	Bull	Whirl Motif	3	
		Radial Lines	1	
		Wheel Motif	1	
	Ibex	Whirl Motif	3	
		Star Motif	1	
		Swastika	1	
	Stag	Star Motif	1	
Donkey	Whirl Motif	1		
Gandhara & India	Lion	Whirl Motif	13	15
		Spiral Motif	1	
		Star Motif	1	
China	Lion	Whirl Motif	3	10
		Radial Lines	1	
		Floral	2	
	Bull	Whirl Motif	1	
	Cat	Concentric circles	1	
	Stag	Ideograms	1	
	Dog	Circle Motif	1	
Japan	Lion	Whirl Motif	4	5
	Cat	Concentric Circle	1	

One of the popular depictions of shoulder markings is in combination with other methods of markings on the other parts of the animal body. We will talk about this methods of animal body marking later in this chapter.

2. All body

The statistics show that a small portion of all the note included in Table 7 indicate different forms of body markings that are demonstrated covering all over the body of animals. This form of body marking first appeared in the early Egyptian art, where lions were covered with random dots all over the body and the skin of bull were shown with triple-dots motif all over it. Lions' skin in nature is generally plain, but the skin of certain kinds of bulls is naturally spotted. Therefore, the three-dot motif could be a representation of natural spots on the body of bulls. However, there is no reasonable excuse for the spotted skin of lions. As it shows in Table 15, Random dots covering the body of lion is a popular pattern in the ancient Egyptian art. However, lions' images in the art of ancient Iran appear with several different forms of body markings all over their body. Although, this trend did not continue in the Gandhara and Indian representation of lion, but it occurs quite frequently in Chinese art. We see a similar pattern of diversity in the Chinese examples as well.



Figure 67: A(1-I-7), B(1-C-3), C(1-C-2), D(1-J-16).

Table 15: Animals with markings all over body.

	Animal with the marking motif		No.	Total
Egypt	Lions	Random Dots	9	10
	Bull	Triple-dots	1	
Mesopotamia	Lion	Star Motif	1	3
	Bull	Triple-dots	2	
Iran	Lion	Whirl Motif	1	5
		Radial Lines	1	
		Random Dots	1	
		Floral Motif	1	
	Horse	Swastika Motif	1	
Gandhara & India	-			0
China	Lion	Whirl Motif	4	12
		Spiral Motif	1	
		Radial Lines	1	
		Random Dots	2	
		Floral Motif	1	
	Bull	Radial Lines	1	
	Cat	Ideograms	1	
	Tiger	Floral Motif	1	
Japan	Lion	Whirl Motif	22	46
		Spiral Motif	2	
		Random Dots	10	
		Radial Lines	6	
		Triple-Dots	3	
	Bull	Radial Lines	1	
	Cat	Spiral Motif	2	

Two main motifs that were used to mark all over the body of lions in Japan are Random dots—similar to Egyptian Examples—and whirl motif. However the very interesting point is that in later Japanese representation of body markings, often two these two motifs—and sometime other motifs like spiral motif or radial lines motif—are combined together to cover the animal body. In many of the cases, the random dots is overlapped by another motif like the whirl motif and they form a new form of body marking.

3. Rump

The appearance of the body marking on the rump of the animal is one of the well-established form of body marking. This method of body marking was especially popular in Luristan and southwestern Iran during the period between 1000-600 BCE. Many pieces of metal works found in Luristan culture featuring different animals with a form of body marking engraved on their rump. In later cases, markings on the rump of animals are usually accompanied with a similar form of body marking on the shoulder of the animal.

As it is indicated in Table 16, motifs that are used a form of marking on the rump of the animals are very diverse, but once again, the while motif shows a relative popularity among Iranian, Gandhara and Indian and Japanese Examples. Some examples of this method of animal body marking is collected in Figure 68.



Figure 68: A(1-I-27), B(1-GI-15), C(1-C-4), D(2-J-22).

Table 16: Animals with markings on the rump.

	Animal and motif		No.	Total
Egypt	Lions	Wheel Motif	1	5
		S-shaped Motif	1	
		Moon Motif	1	
	Bull	Triple-dots	1	
Mesopotamia	Lion	Swastika Motif	1	
	Horse	Whirl Motif	1	
		Cross Motif	1	
Iran	Lion	Whirl Motif	8	35
		Radial Lines	1	
		Swastika Motif	3	
		Concentric Circles	1	
		Cross Motif	1	
		Wheel Motif	2	
	Bull	Whirl Motif	4	
		Radial Lines	2	
		Swastika Motif	1	
		S-shaped Motif	1	
		Floral Motif	2	
	Ibex	Whirl Motif	1	
		Radial Lines	1	
		Swastika Motif	1	
Floral Motif		2		
Hare	Wheel Motif	1		
Gandhara & India	Lion	Whirl Motif	4	5
	Bull	Wheel Motif	1	
China	Lion	Whirl Motif	2	14
		Radial Lines	1	
		Swastika Motif	1	
		Circle Motif	1	
	Bull	Floral Motif	3	
		Whirl Motif	1	
	Stag	Ideograms	1	
	Tiger	Ideograms	1	
		Whirl Motif	1	
Dog	Floral Motif	1		
	Circle Motif	1		
Japan	Lion	Whirl Motif	4	9
		Radial Lines	2	
		Random Dots	1	
		Circle Motif	1	
	Cat	Concentric Circles	1	

Table 17: Multiple markings.

	Combinations				No.	Total
Egypt	Shoulder & Rump	Lion	Wheel Motif	1	1	1
Mesopotamia	-				-	-
Iran	Shoulder & Rump	Lion	Whirl Motif	3	12	15
			Wheel Motif	1		
			Swastika Motif	1		
			Concentric Circles	1		
		Bull	Whirl Motif	2		
			Wheel Motif	1		
		Ibex	Whirl Motif	2		
			Swastika motif	1		
Shoulder & Chest	Lion	Whirl Motif	2	2		
Cheek & Rump	Lion	Swastika Motif	2	1		
Gandhara & India	Shoulder & Rump	Lion	Whirl Motif	3	3	5
	Forehead & Rump	Bull	Wheel Motif	1	1	
	Shoulder & Rump & Forehead	Lion	Whirl Motif	1	1	
China	Shoulder & Rump	Lion	Whirl Motif	1	6	16
			Radial Lines	1		
			Floral Motif	1		
		Bull	Whirl Motif	1		
		Cat	Ideograms	1		
		Dog	Circle Motif	1		
	Tail & Mane	Lion	Spiral Motif	9	9	
Shoulder & Rump & Front	Lion	Floral Motif	1	1		
Japan	Shoulder & Rump	Lion	Whirl Motif	2	3	25
		Cat	Concentric Circle	1		
	Tail & Mane	Lion	Spiral Motif	22	22	

4. Multiple Markings

In many cases, a similar form of body marking occurs on two locations on the body of animals. This is one of the other methods of marking that is relatively popular, especially in Iran, China and Japan. The use of shoulder marking in combination with markings on other locations—rump, forehead, mane, chest and

so on—includes 30 examples and 27 of the examples demonstrate the shoulder marking in combination with rump marking. This is also one of the classic methods of marking on the animals to combine the shoulder marking with the rump marking. The earliest example of this form of marking is dated as early as second millennium BCE in Egyptian art (Figure 69-A) and it was continued

in the art of Iran (Figure 69-B), Gandhara and northern India (Figure 69-C) and following the same path, it was introduced to the Chinese art, where it was used frequently in the ceramic art of Yuan Dynasty during thirteenth and fourteenth century (Figure 69-D, Figure 1-C-8). A Chinese statuette of a cat—the beckoning cat known as a lucky charm—still hold a similar combination of body marking on the shoulder and rump (Figure 69-E).

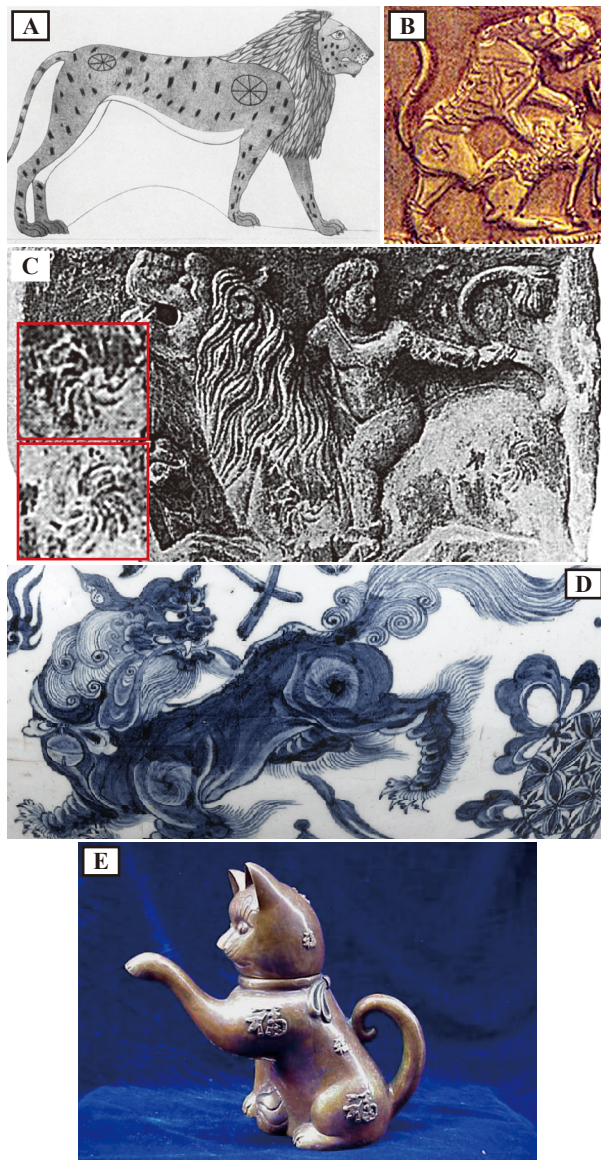


Figure 69: A(1-E-3), B(1-I-9), C(1-GI-9), D(1-C-9), E(1-C-12),

Spiral form of the tail and the mane it is very popular design, especially in Chinese and Japanese images of lion. Although the spiral form of the hair tufts in the tail and the mane of the lions does not count as body marking, however since these is evidences that cultural encounters between east and west of Asia might

have inspired this form of design, I included it as a from of body marking. Although there is no question that, the idea of Guardian lion was originated in ancient Near East, but the appearance of these guardians when through major transformations after it was introduced to Chinese art. As mentioned in the first chapter, the image of lions was deeply influenced by the Chinese original beasts and after its transformation, the image of the new guardian beast was far from the natural lion (). This image was later—by the time of sixth and seventh century—influenced the Iranian art and the curly hair tufts of the tail and mane is the Chinese innovation that appears in the art of Sassanid Period in Iran. The new image of the lion persisted in Iran through the Islamic periods until eighteenth century.

5. Mane

The spiral from is a specific form of design that was used to represent the hair tufts of the mane and tail of the lions in the art of Iran, Gandhara and India, China and Japan (Table 18). Typical Chinese and Japanese guardian lions are often designed with curly mane and tail and the tufts of their hair are formed in the shape of a spiral. This form of hair was often seen in the art of Neo-Assyrian and Achaemenid Period and it was used in the design of both human and hybrid animals (Figure 70-A).

This form of the curly hair was later seen on the lion's mane in china as early as seventh century. Lion statue on the left side of the south gate of Shunling mausoleum, the tomb of Tang Dynasty Empress Wu Ze-tian's mother, is depicted with a curly hair and its open

Table 18: Motifs represented on the mane of animals.

	Animal with the marking motif		No.	Total
Egypt	-			0
Mesopotamia	-			0
Iran	Lion	Spiral motif	7	7
Gandhara & India	Lion	Spiral motif	11	11
China	Lion	Spiral motif	12	12
Japan	Lion	Spiral motif	23	23

mouth, while the lion on the right side of the gate is depicted with straight hair and its mouth closed (Figure 70-C). A stone carving from Sanchi stupa built around first or second century shows a very similar approach in the design of the lion's manes (Figure 70-B).



Figure 70: A(2-M-44), B(2-GI-19), C(2-C-30), D(2-J-16), E(2-J-20).

From the observer's point of view, the lion on the right side is depicted with curly hair and the lion on the left side is depicted with straight hair. In both of these representations, it is clear that the difference in the design of the lion's mane is done consciously and intentionally by the artist and resembles a difference in

the iconographic attributions of the lion on the right side with its companion of the left side.

The difference in the look of the lions' mane was later carried out in the appearance of Japanese shishi and komainu as another form of visual difference between these two animals (Figure 70-D, E). As mentioned in the first chapter, all of the differences in the design of shishi and komainu, including shishi's curly mane and komainu's straight mane, resemble the polarity in the iconography associated to each of these animals. In other words, there is no specific meaning to the curly or straight mane of a single lion, but when two lions are depicted as a pair with different forms of mane, it resembles the difference in their iconographic attributions.

7. Over back

Although this method of using the torsional and round motifs over the back of animal is not exactly a form of body marking, but it is very important to the purposes of this research. Since we are looking at the possible iconographic attributions of body markings, a similar motif illustrated over the heads of the animals can help us to comprehend their symbolic connections.

Table below demonstrates the detail statistics of the representations of different motifs over the back of animals in all the mentioned cultures. There are a total of 50 notes in Table 7 portraying a form of body marking hovering over the back of the animals in the art of mentioned cultures. The motifs presented in these examples are; crescent moon, sun, star, wheel, floral and radial lines motifs. The motifs related to luminaries—sun, moon and star motifs—are indicated in 40 examples, which is a great majority of the motifs represented with a similar style. Therefore, this suggests there is a strong connection between these animals and the celestial brings. As mentioned earlier this chapter, the lion is known as the guardian of the sun and in ancient Near Eastern Mythology it was believed that everyday, the sun rises from the gateway of the east that is guarded by lions. Therefore, the sun is frequently depicted rising over the back of lion. All 13 examples of the sun motif in table feature lion as the animal related to the sun symbol. This proves the deep connection between the sun and the lion.

Table 19: Motifs represented hovering over the back of animals.

	Animal with the marking motif		No.	Total	
Egypt	Sun Motif	Lion	7	7	
Mesopotamia	Sun Motif	Lion	1	18	
	Moon Motif	Bull	10		
	Star Motif	Lions	3		6
		Bull	2		
		Ibex	1		
Radial Lines Motif	Ibex	1			
Iran	Sun Motif	Lion	4	12	
	Moon Motif	Bull	1		5
		Ibex	2		
		Stag	1		
		Lion	1		
	Star Motif	Lion	1		
	Winged Disk	Lion	1		
Cross Motif	Ibex	1			
Gandhara & India	Sun Motif	Lion	1	8	
	Floral Motif	Lion	2		
	Wheel Motif	Lion	5		
China	Moon Motif	Bull	5	5	
Japan	–		0	0	

On the other hand, in 20 examples of the moon crescent above the back of the animals, bull is the most prominent figure. 16 out of 20 examples feature the bull with the moon crescent over its back. Moreover, 3 examples illustrate the moon motif on the back of ibex and stag and as mentioned in the last section, these animals have been often substituted for the bull in the art of the Near East and they have a similar iconographic attributions. All the examples depicting the moon rising over the back of bull in Mesopotamia and China show the iconographic connection between the moon and the bull.

6. Tail

Among all the examples collected for this research, 48 examples show the body marking on the tail

Table 20: Motifs represented on the tails of animals.

	Animal with the marking motif		No.	Total
Egypt	–			0
Mesopotamia	Lion	Whirl Motif	1	1
Iran	Lion	Radial Lines	1	1
Gandhara & India	–			0
China	Lion	Whirl Motif	2	10
		Spiral Motif	6	
		Radial Lines	2	
Japan	Lion	Spiral Motif	35	36
	Bull	Spiral Motif	1	

of the animal. However, there are only 1 example that illustrate a form of body marking on the tail of the animal and all the other examples, hair tufts on the animal's tail with spiral forms of design. The earliest know examples are the lion sphinxes on the mural painting from Zimri Lim Palace in Mari, which are depicted with a whirl motif on its tail (Figure 71-A). The difference between the whirl motifs on the tail of Mari Sphinxes with the other examples is that these other examples illustrate the hair of the animal, but the Mesopotamia representation does to seem to resemble any natural representation of lion. Hence, it might have some sort of iconographic attributions.

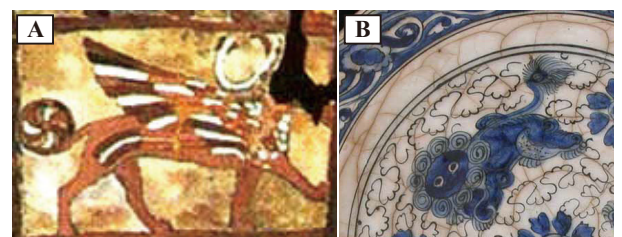


Figure 71: (1-I-9).

The other example in the Near East happens years later. It is of the body marking occurring on the tail of the animal. This image of the lion appears on a ceramic plate from eighteenth century that is decorated with the image of three lions (Figure 71-B). The motif on the lions tail seems like radial lines and these lines apparently resemble the lion's hair. As mentioned earlier, the resemblance between the image on this plate and the Chinese form of representation suggests that the Iranian

version was later influenced by the Chinese design of lions (Figure 69-D). On the other hand, the information in Table 20 approves this theory, since there are only 2 examples available from the spiral representation of the tail of the animals in the Near East, while the Chinese and Japanese examples are many.

8. Cheek

Table 21: Motifs represented on the cheek of animals.

	Animal with the marking motif		No.	Total
Egypt	Falcon	Whirl Motif	2	4
Mesopotamia	—			0
Iran	Lion	Swastika Motif		1
Gandhara & India	Lion	Whirl Motif	4	16
		Swastika Motif	4	
		Radial Lines	3	
		Cross Motif	1	
	Tiger	Radial Lines	3	
		Cross Motif	1	
China	Lion	Whirl Motif	2	3
	Phoenix	Whirl Motif	1	
Japan	—			0

As it is depicted in Table 21, a variety of different motifs have been used to mark the cheeks of the animals in different cultures. Majority of the motifs depicted on animal cheek are consist of whirling motifs and swastika, and other motifs are radial lines and cross motif. The interesting point about this method of marking is that they are very distinguished and easy to recognize. Except the Hippopotamus—which is an animals that has local significance to the Egyptian art—the earliest known leonine cheek marking appears in the Pre-Achaemenid art of Iran, where the lions on the sides of a gold bowl found in Kelardasht—located in northern Iran—are marked with a swastika symbol on their cheeks (Figure 54-A). This artifact is the only example in Iran that had been mark in this style and although the animal body markings are very common in the art of ancient Iran, no other artifact has been found that indicates this method of marking.

Approximately 200 years later, another torsional form appeared on the cheeks of two falcons made during the Late Egyptian Period (Figure 72-A, B). One of these falcons has a clear whirl motif on the cheek, while the other on is marked with a radial lines motif. The falcons in the Egyptian art are the mascot of the sun god Horus and in Egyptian art; Horus is often depicted in the form of a falcon or with a human body and a falcon's head.⁷⁴

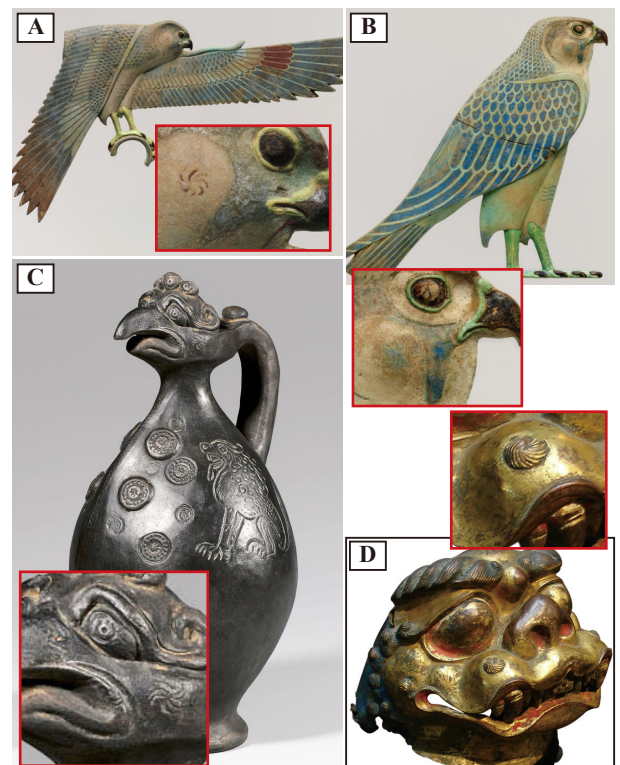


Figure 72: A(1-E-30), B(1-E-31), C(1-C-5), D(1-C-15).

The whirl motif and swastika often appear on the cheeks of the lions in the art of Gandhara and northern India around first and second century (Figure 54-B, C, D). Although these examples are centuries apart from Kelardasht bowl, but the method of marking is very similar and it suggest a link between two cultures that might have caused this similarity.

Another example of the cheek marking on a form of bird—similar to the Egypt—appear on a phoenix pottery ewer made during the Tang Dynasty (Figure 72-C). Ewers with head shaped in the form of a bird were very popular in China during the Tang Dynasty, but in this unique piece, the bird has a whirl symbol on its cheeks that very much resembles the earlier leonine markings that we talked about. Another example is made much

⁷⁴ Michael Jordan, *Dictionary of Gods and Goddesses* (New York, 2005), 128.

later during the sixteenth to seventeenth century and it a gilt lion head that was made in Tibet (Figure 72-D). The form of the marking on the cheeks of this lion head very much resembles the shoulder marking of Guardian lions from Gandhara during the first and second century.

9. Forehead

Table 22: Motifs represented on the forehead of animals.

	Animal with the marking motif		No.	Total
Egypt	Bull	Whirl Motif	1	2
		Radial Lines	1	
Mesopotamia	Lion	Radial lines	1	5
		Star Motif	1	
	Bull	Whirl Motif	2	
		Moon Motif	1	
Iran	Bull	Radial Lines	1	2
		Star Motif	1	
Gandhara & India	Lion	Whirl Motif	1	4
		Sun Motif	1	
	Bull	Wheel Motif	1	
	Elephant	Wheel Motif	1	
China	Lion	Sun Motif	1	4
	Bull	Whirl Motif	1	
	Stag	Ideograms	1	
	Dog	Cross Motif	1	
Japan	Lion	Whirl Motif	1	2
	Cat	Concentric Circle	1	

When Helene Kantor published her article on the leonine shoulder ornament in 1947, one of the controversies raised at the time was a similar form of marking that occasionally appears on the forehead of bulls. Kantor named this method of marking as ‘bovine marking’. Kantor speculated that there must be a possible connection between the leonine and bovine markings occurring in Egypt and she cited that the bovine markings on the forehead of bulls are ‘completely naturalistic whorls’ that may have influenced the methods of marking the lions.⁷⁵ In other words, the earliest form of leonine body

⁷⁵ Kantor, Helene J. “A Further Comment on the Shoulder Orna-

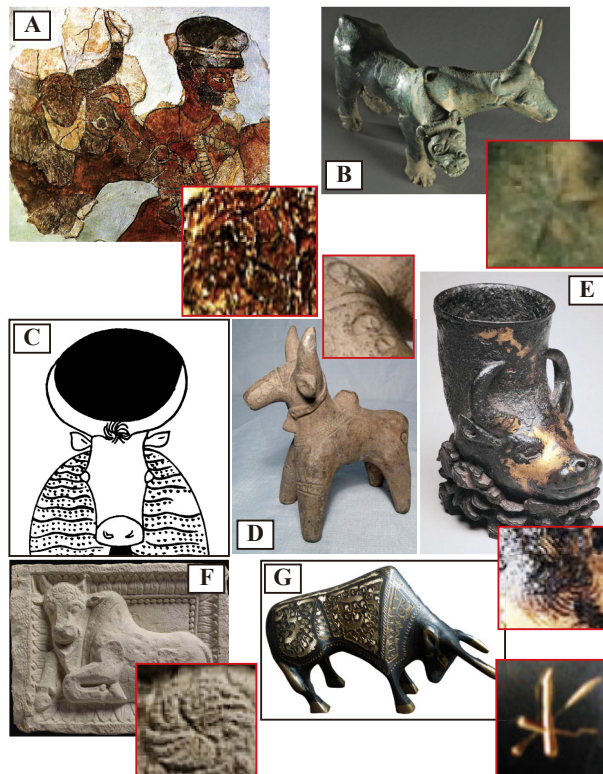


Figure 73: A(1-M-7), B(1-I-3), C(1-E-22), D(1-GI-1), E(1-C-6), F(1-M-33), G(1-I-63).

ornaments shows little resemblance to the natural hair whorl, while under the influence of the bovine marking, the latter forms of leonine markings more resemble the natural hair whorl.

On the other hand, the timetable shows that the earliest example of marking on the bull’s forehead indicates a crescent symbol and in later examples, it changed into the whirl motif in the art of Mesopotamia and western Iran that very much resembles the occasional hair whorls on the bull’s forehead. The examples shown in Figure 73 are prioritized based of the date they have been assigned to. Since the examples of the bovine marking in Mesopotamia predates the Egyptian examples, it is possible that this method of marking bulls started from ancient Mesopotamia and later it was introduced to Egypt. It is clear that the other examples of bovine markings in other cultures are inspired by the Mesopotamian bovine marking, because there is a great resemblance between the examples found in other cultures and the original Mesopotamian forms.

This argument could also be true about the leonine forehead markings (Figure 74). The earliest examples available is dated around ninth to seventh century BCE from Mesopotamia (Figure 74-A) and a very similar

ment.” *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 9 (Jan. 1950): 55-56.

form of it later occurred in the Indian art around sixth century (Figure 74-C). In both of these examples, the motif on the forehead of the lions resembles a star or a sun like features. The Japanese Maneki Neko—the beckoning cat—is also often depicted with a similar motif on the forehead. The example in Figure 74-E is a porcelain Maneki Neko made during the twentieth century and it has a clear sun motif on the forehead.

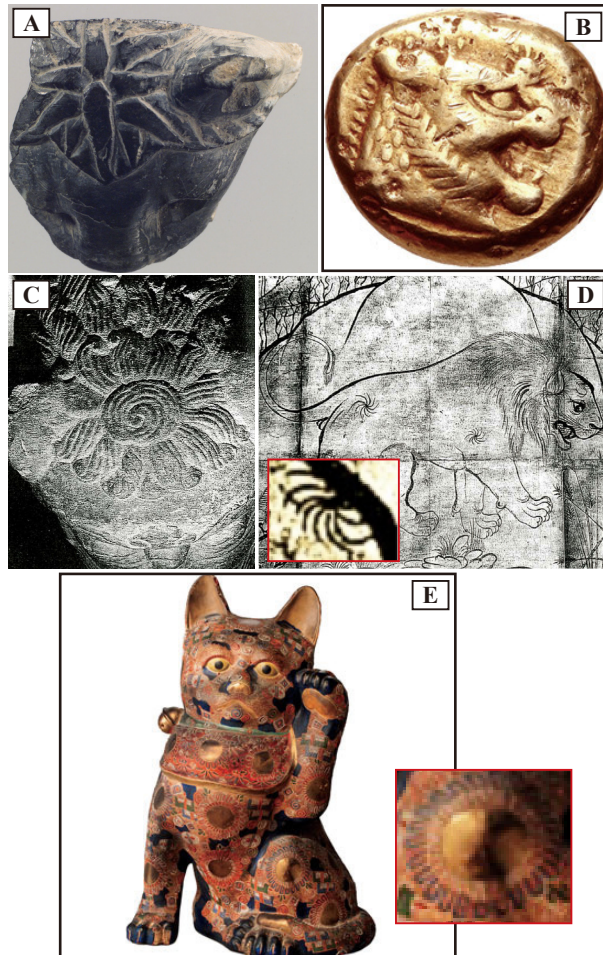


Figure 74: A(1-M-24), B(1-M-30), C(1-GI-19), D(1-GI-28), E(1-J-48).

According to Table 22, the motif used to mark the forehead of lion and bull—and few other animals—are whirl motif, Radial lines, wheel motif and celestial motifs like sun, moon, star. These motifs have very similar appearances and this make them easy to recognize.

10. Ribbon

Among all the examples available in, there are 10 examples of animal depicted with a ribbon tied around their body. 6 of these examples are found in the art of ancient Egypt dated from third millennium BCE to

1000 BCE. The colored version of this representation portrays the lion with a red ribbon tied around its waist (Figure 75-A).

Table 23: Ribbon.

	Animal with the marking motif		No.	Total
Egypt	Lion	Body	6	6
Mesopotamia	–			0
Iran	–			0
Gandhara & India	Bull	Forehead	1	1
China	Lion	Neck	1	3
		Horn	1	
	Cat	Neck	1	
Japan	–			0

Moreover, the Anubis jackal statues that are often used as tomb guardians also have a red ribbon around their necks. Kantor refers to these ribbons tied around the body of Egyptian lions and she claims that the body ornament on the shoulder of lions could also be a representation of some sort of applique added on the body of animal to adorn the beast or to designate it as a tame lion owned by the court or temple. The only example from India is a statuette of bull that has a ribbon tied around his head (Figure 75-B). In this example, a little plaque with wheel motif is attached to the ribbon and the bull is also marked on the rump and forehead with a similar motif.

The red ribbon with a flower on the middle of it is often tied around the neck of the stone guardian lions at the entrance of Chinese temples (Figure 75-D), in some cases, it is tied to the horn of lion masks used in Chinese lion dance performances (Figure 75-C). There are two accounts in Chinese mythology that can help to facilitate comprehension of the iconography related to these ribbons. The first account is a story about a lion that died and went to heaven. Later, he was beheaded and banished from the heaven, because he ate the flower of immortality that he was supposed to protect. Guanyin, the goddess of mercy, took pity on the lion and attached his head back to his body, using a magical red ribbon. Lion was so grateful and promised to do only good

⁷⁶ Kantor, “The Shoulder Ornament of Near Eastern Lions,” 253.

deeds. He uses the magical red ribbon to fight against the misfortune and malevolent spirits, since the spirits are afraid of red color.⁷⁷



Figure 75: A(1-E-7), B(1-GI-1), C(1-C-29), D(1-C-30).

Another story is about a lion that was attacking people of a village. They asked a Buddhist monk for help and he accepted. The monk went after the lion and when he came back with the lion on his side. The monk tamed the lion with the use of his red sash. After the lion learned Buddhist teachings, he became the protector of the villagers.⁷⁸ Base on these two stories the red ribbon has two roles. It is the sign of a tame lion and it is also a reminder for lion to do only good deeds. Red ribbon scares off the malicious spirits and evil forces. In most of the examples, the lion marked with red ribbon is a tame animal. Although, there are very few representations of lion marked with ribbon, but it turned out that in both Egyptian and Chinese representations, the color of the ribbon is red.

As mentioned before the red ribbon has a flower in the middle and it is similar to the ribbon that was used by Assyrian officials. As black and green claim, “single rosettes are often seen as a decoration on the wrist

77 William Y.K. Lee, *The Chinese Art of Lion Dancing*, accessed August 15, 2013, http://chineseliondancers.webs.com/Legends_and_Myths.htm

78 William Y.K. Lee, *The Chinese Art of Lion Dancing*, accessed August 15, 2013, http://chineseliondancers.webs.com/Hidden_Meanings.htm

straps worn by both human and supernatural figures.”⁷⁹

11. Front

Table 24: Motifs represented in front of animals.

	Animal with the marking motif		No.	Total
Egypt	-			0
Mesopotamia	-			0
Iran	Lion	Star Motif	1	4
	Bull	Star Motif	1	
	Ibex	Star Motif	1	
	Stag	Star Motif	1	
Gandhara & India	-			0
China	Lion	Whirl Motif	1	3
	Cat	Floral Motif	2	
Japan	Lion	Star Motif	1	3
		Floral Motif	2	

According to Table 24, the star motif appears in 4 of the examples available from Iran in front of a variation of animals. This is a very popular for coins and stamps in Iran and celestial motifs of sun and moon and stars are usually depicted over the back or in front of the animals on the coins and stamps (Figure 1-I-37, 1-I-50, 1-I-51, 1-I-60).

On the other hand, lions in the art of China and Japan are often depicted playing with a ball that has floral or geometrical motifs on it. Concerning this representation, Katherine Ball states that; “the naturalistic lion of the Nile and the Euphrates, however, in its migrations to Cathay was later successively transformed by Taoists and Buddhists until it no longer resembled the real creature, but became a chimera, while the sun-ball, likewise evolved into the oriental ‘Chu,’ became endowed with the qualities of the pearl of the dragon.”⁸⁰ In other words, she suggests that as the image of lion went through extensive transformations as it was introduced to China, also celestial motifs that are often depicted along side of lion over the back or in the front also went through a

79 Jeremy Black, Anthony Green. *Gods, Demons and Symbols of Ancient Mesopotamia: an illustrated dictionary* (Austin, 1992), 157.

80 Katherine M. Ball, *Animal Motifs in Asian Art: An Illustrated Guide to Their Meanings and Aesthetics*, 58.

similar transformation. Hence, the sun or the star motif that was seen in front of the animals or hovering on their back changed to the image of ball with geometric designs under his paw and the iconographic meaning associated to this ball became closer to dragon's pearl of wisdom. (See chapter two, section five)

12. Chest

Table 25: Motifs represented on the chest of the animals.

	Animal with the marking motif		No.	Total
Egypt	-			0
Mesopotamia	Lion	Moon Motif	1	1
Iran	Lion	Whirl Motif	2	2
Gandhara & India	-			0
China	Lion	Floral Motif	1	1
Japan	-			0

There are 4 examples of the leonine marking available that has been illustrated on the chest of the lions. The oldest example is a lion carving from the tomb of king Antiochus I, Theos of Commagene built in first century BCE in Nemrud Dagh in present Turkey (Figure 76-A). The lion in this stone carving was interpreted as a representation of the constellation Leo for the fact that the stars on its body are arranged according to the stars in this constellation. The motif on the chest of this lion is the crescent moon and both of these celestial motifs connect this lion to the sky and celestial beings.

Other examples included two identical rhyton heads that are designed in the form of a wild cat one in Sackler Gallery in Washington, United States and the other one in a private collection in Osaka (Figure 76-B, C). There are three torsional motifs on each of these lion: two on the shoulder and one on the chest. These motifs are shaped in the form of the natural hair whorls on the animal's body. A similar form of representation of leonine body marking was later adapted by the Sassanid metal work as well.

The last example of the leonine body marking on the chest is a Chinese metal incense burner that is adorn with a floral motif on the chest, on both shoulders as well as both rumps (Figure 76-D). The markings on the

shoulder and the rumps of the lion in this incense burner depict a form of torsional design, however the floral motif on the chest of the lion is a symmetrical floral design that shows a great influence from the Islamic art of the Near East.

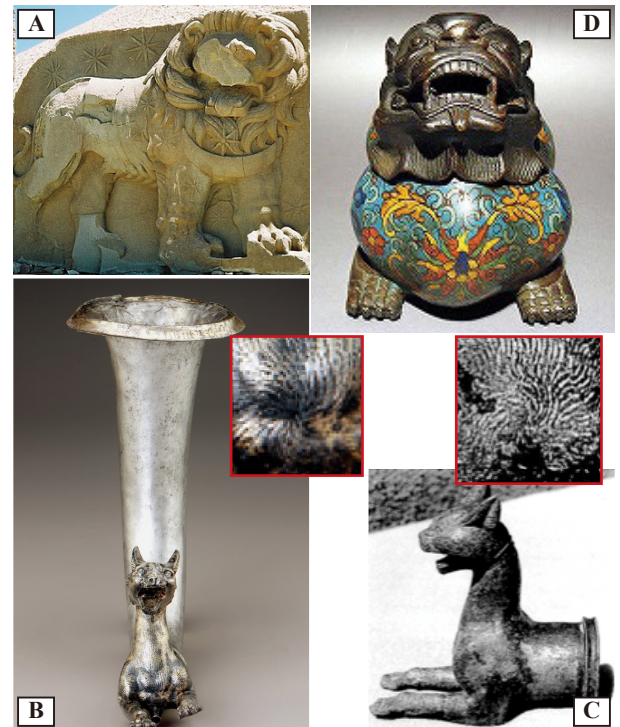


Figure 76: A(1-M-32), B(1-I-41), C(1-I-42), D(1-C-13).

13. Back

This method is another least popular animal body marking method. There are only 3 examples found that show representations of animals marked on their backs. These examples are found in the art of ancient Mesopotamia and the motifs used on the back of lions are similar to the motifs used on the other parts body as a form of body marking. In one of the examples the lion is marked with a star-like motif on the back (Figure 77-A) and in another example, the lion is marked with a sun motif (Figure 77-B). It was mentioned earlier this chapter that most of the motifs that are shown hovering over the back of lions are represent celestial beings and the sun is often represented rising over the back of a lion. Therefore, this method of marking lions perhaps can be interpreted as a similar form, where the sun is pictured on the back of the animals instead of floating over its back.

Table 26: Motifs represented on the back of the animals.

	Animal with the marking motif		No.	Total
Egypt	-			0
Mesopotamia	Lion	Sun Motif	1	2
		Star Motif	1	
Iran	-			0
Gandhara & India	-			0
China	Stag	Ideograms	1	1
Japan	-			0



Figure 77: A(1-M-5), B(1-M-10), C(1-C-11).

On the other hand, in a Chinese example, a different approach is recognizable. A bronze figurine of a stag from Ming Dynasty, 1368-1644, is marked with Chinese ideograms on several locations on its body including the back (Figure 77-C). The mark on the back of this figurine is the most distinguished mark with the longest description of all. It says ‘treasure basin.’ The treasure basin in Chinese mythology has a meaning similar to the cornucopia in the art of the Europe and it resembles fertility and it is considered as an endless natural resource.

14. Ear

Marking the ear of lions is limited to only three

examples in this research.

Table 27: Motifs represented on the ear of the animals.

	Animal with the marking motif		No.	Total
Egypt	Lion	Triple-dots	2	2
Mesopotamia	-			0
Iran	Lion	Whirl Motif	1	1
Gandhara & India	-			0
China	-			0
Japan	-			0

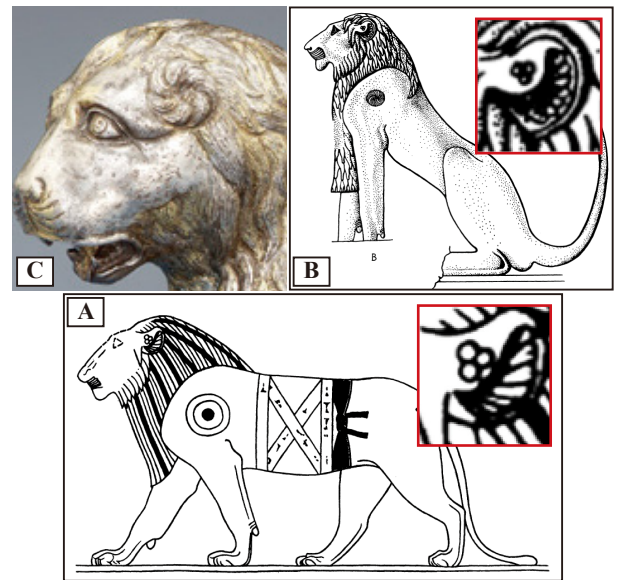


Figure 78: A(1-E-7), B(1-E-8), C(1-I-40).

Two of these examples show a triple dots motif on the ear of the lions (Figure 78-A, B). This form of leonine body marking is specific to Egyptian art and it was not seen in other cultures, however a similar motif was popular to use all over the body of lions in Japanese representations (Figure 1-J-2, 1-J-22, 1-J-23).

The other example is found in the design of a gilt rhyton—horn-shaped vessel—made during the Parthian Period of Iran from 200BCE to 200CE (Figure 78-C). This piece is a unique artifact in terms of leonine body marking, owing to the fact that the ear of this lion is replaced by a torsional motif. No other similar form of body marking has been found in any of the cultures under discussion.

2.11. Conclusion

In this section, we start with a list of arguments on the visual comparison of the animal body marking examples discussed earlier this chapter, following with conclusion based on these visual comparisons.

2.11.1. Visual Comparison Result

1. The origin of leonine body markings: The early motifs as leonine body marking appeared on shoulder or rump of the visual representations of lions during the period between late third millennium BCE and early second millennium BCE (Figure 36). These motifs do not show any resemblance to the natural form of the hair stream. Therefore, these early motifs suggest that the idea of the lion's body marking did not originate from the natural hair whorl and it was used as a form of unnaturalistic motif to convey an specific iconographic meaning.

2. The origin of bovine markings: Early images available from the bovine body markings—from early second millennium BCE in Mesopotamia to late second millennium BCE in Egypt—shows that the form of markings used on the forehead of the bulls are very close to the form of the natural hair tufts on the animals' forehead (Figure 79-C). The earliest example of the whirl motif appears on the forehead of a bull (Figure 79-A, B).



Figure 79: A(1-E-22), B(1-E-11), C(Natural form of hair whorl on the forehead of a bull).

3. The leonine and bovine body markings are the original form of animal body markings: As mentioned above the origin of the leonine and bovine body markings are different and they appear on the different location of the animals' body during the early ages: while the leonine markings are often seen on the shoulder and rump of the lions, the bovine markings appear on the forehead of the bulls. However, the examples available of leonine body marking and bovine body marking in this research show that in later period, these two forms of animal marking have influenced each other and became more similar in terms of both form and location of

the body markings on bulls and lions.

4. Body markings represented on other animals inspired by leonine and bovine markings: there are many other animals that are depicted with a similar form of body marking as lion and bull, but these forms of body markings are limited to one culture or two neighboring regions. Therefore, it suggests that these representations are merely imitations from the leonine and bovine markings that belong to a limited region and limited period.

5. The most popular location of the marking on lions and bulls during the early ages: Although examples of other methods of marking are available during the early ages, shoulder markings are the most popular method of leonine marking during the late third millennium BCE and early second millennium BCE. On the other hand, most of the early examples available of bovine marking are using the crescent motif that occurs over the back of the animal.

6. Visual representations of animals depicted with various forms of body markings are very different in context: as mentioned in the first chapter of this research, lions are depicted in many common contexts among the cultures in different regions of Asia, such as gateway guardians, guardians of the sun, mount of the goddess, lion attacking a hero, lion attacking prey, lion throne, lion pillar, and etc. The animal body marking examples studied in this research appear in many different contexts, therefore, there is no meaningful relation between the animal body markings and any of these contexts. However, it is clear that each of these lion representations have their own iconographic meanings and they represent lion and bull as animals with special powers. Therefore, the body markings are a symbol for the divine nature and magical powers of the animals.

7. Most of the available motifs are in the circular form: Looking at all the examples available, it is clear that most of the available motifs are shaped in the form of circle. Circle or disk is known as a solar symbol in the visual arts of many cultures. The round shape of a circle resembles the sky and the cosmos and it is also related to movement of the luminaries in the sky. The circular form can be featured in numerous forms, such as concentric circles, ring or disk. Based on other characteristics of the motif, it can convey other attributions as well.

8. During the second and first millennium BCE, most of the available examples of animal body markings are very bold and distinguished and they cannot be mistaken for the animals' natural hair whorl. Thus, it is clear that the body markings are not just an imitation of a natural form, but they are a specific design intended to distinguish the animal holding it. However, in some of the examples from the late Assyrian curving, the body marking very much resembles the hair tufts on the lions' mane (Figure 80-A). In a few examples from the first century BCE in Iran, a form of whirling motif was shaped in the form of the natural hair stream of the animal. This trend continued in Iran until the end of Sassanid Dynasty and invasion of Islam (Figure 80-B, C).



Figure 80: A(1-M-26), B(1-I-41), C(1-I-44).

9. Most of the motifs available are identified as sun related symbols: Among 18 categories of the motifs introduced as body markings in this research, 12 categories are related to the sun. Whirl, spiral, radial lines, star, floral motif, wheel, swastika, cross, concentric circles, circle, winged disk, s-shaped motif are the motifs that are often interpreted as a sun symbol or a symbol for luminaries and all of these forms have a circular shape. The solar attributions of these motifs are explained in the seventh section of this chapter.

10. Some of the motifs suggest a direction of movement: The iconographic meaning of these forms of symbols is commonly associated to the celestial beings and the movement of the luminaries in the sky. This is the phenomenon that defines the concepts like day and night, time and fate. It resembles the whirling cosmos, as the power engine of the nature and therefore, it is also related to fertility. This motif is also related to the concept of change and transformation, and it is related to different areas in the cosmos. It defines the meaning of change from one condition to another: like the cycle of death and rebirth.

11. The moon motif in the form of a crescent, used as animal marking, is related to the bull: the crescent is a clear representation of the moon and it was used re-

peatedly in connection to the bull among the examples available. In only examples from Egypt, the crescent is depicted on the rump of a statue of a bull and in another example from Mesopotamia, the crescent appears on the forehead of a fragment of a bull statue. In the rest of the examples—12 from Egypt, 5 from Iran and 5 from China—the crescent moon appears over the back of the animals and most of these animals are bulls (Figure 50). The popularity of the pairing of bull and the crescent moon suggest the close iconographic connection between the moon and the bull.

12. The lion and sun motif is an inspiration for the body markings: as mentioned earlier this chapter, sun and lion are closely related in both mythology and visual culture of the ancient Near East. In early representations, the sun—or the sun god—is often depicted rising over the back of lion or inside a gate that is protected by lions and the lions are believed to protect the sun god in his journey to the underworld. Moreover, this motif also has an astronomical interpretation. During the third and second millennium BCE, the constellation Leo (lion) was the home of the summer solstice (Graph 4). This means that on the day that sun reaches to its highest point in the sky in the northern hemisphere and it is the pick of the summer, the sun rises over the back of the Leo constellation. Therefore, it is believed the sun is the strongest when it is depicted on the back of lion (Figure 40).

13. Lion and bull are known as animals with special powers in Near Eastern mythology and pairing of these two animals have very specific iconography, which according to available research, it is not completely interpreted. However, we know that the pairing of these two animals is considered to have magical powers of protection; lions and bull are often placed on the threshold of the sacred places as guardians to mark the limit between the sacred and the profane. On the other hand, as mentioned above, the motifs that suggest a whirling direction also convey a meaning of change and transformation. Therefore, these motifs, which are commonly used as the animal body marking, clearly demonstrate the function of the lion and bull as gateway guardians that connect two different cosmic areas (Figure 108, Figure 110).

14. Magical powers of the animal body markings:

At the beginning of the first millennium BCE, the animal body markings were introduced to the Luristan metal work and they were used in the design of the horse cheek pieces from 1000 to 600 BCE (Figure 81). These cheek pieces from Luristan are believed to have magical protective powers and different guardian animals such as lion, bull and sphinxes are used in the design of these cheek pieces. Various form of animal body markings appear on the body of animals and therefore, it can be sign for the magical power and divinity of these animals.



Figure 81:A(1-I-13), B(1-I-14), C(1-I-15), D(1-I-16).

15. Body markings depicted all over the body of animals is a common method of marking in East Asia: In many cases available from the East Asia, specially in Japan, the animal body marking are depicted covering all over the animals' bodies. Although, Tanabe believes that this method of animal body marking is specific to East Asia, but examples available in this research show that this method of marking was used in the Iranian art as well (Figure 67).

16. Spiral motifs in the design of Chinese lions' tail and mane (Figure 82-B, C): The earliest examples that shows a torsional motif on the tail of a lion is found in the art of the ancient Mesopotamia. Although this form of the tail design is not popular in the Near East, but the only example available to this research suggests its existence in the Near East. The spiral form of the hair was very popular during the Assyrian and Achaemenid Periods and in numerous examples of the statues and

wall carving the animals' hair and the human hair are depicted in the form of spiral curls of hair (Figure 70-A). However, the first example of spiral form of hair on lions' mane and tail available is dated first century CE (Figure 82-A) and it continued in Iran until the Arab invasion. During the Islamic Era, under the influence of the Chinese visual arts—especially ceramics—the spiral form of the lions' mane and tail reappeared in the Iranian art (Figure 48).

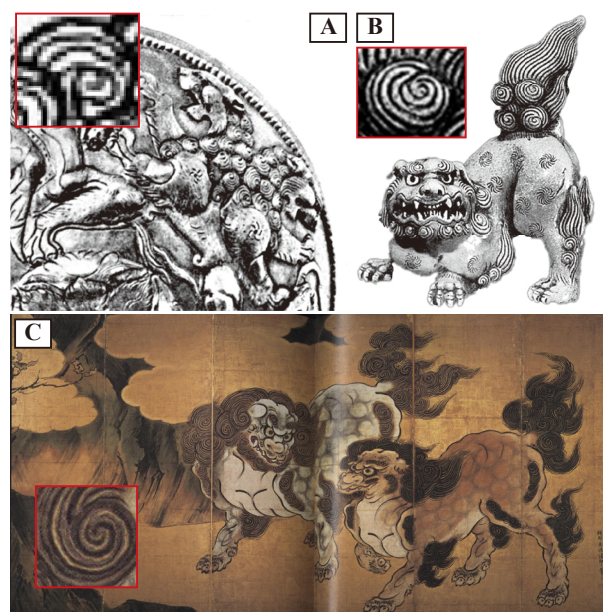


Figure 82:A(1-I-43), B(1-C-16), C(1-J-6).

17. A pair of guardian lions with different forms of mane: Japanese shishi and komainu are often depicted with different forms of mane: komainu on the right side has a straight mane and shishi on the left side has curly mane. This is another difference in the appearance of shishi and komainu that reveals their opposing nature. Although this quality is very common in Japanese design, similar quality is rarely found in the design of guardian lions in China and India as well (Figure 70-B, C, D, E). Therefore, this quality of shishi and komainu does is not related to the fact that they are originated from the image of different animals, but it reveals the opposing nature of this pair as a pair.

18. Leonine marking replaced by Chinese ideograms (Figure 59): there are two rare examples available that Chinese ideograms are used as animal body marking. Since the markings occur on the typical locations of the animals' body, such as shoulder, rump, back and forehead, there is no doubt that these markings are inspired by the Near Eastern animal body markings. The

ideograms that are used in this method are characters that are often used in the design of gifts and offerings to celebrating occasions and they have meanings such as reward, longevity, felicitation and good fortune. The fact that these ideograms replaced the usual torsional form of body marking suggests that the body marking also convey similar meanings.

19. Sun symbol on the forehead of lion (Figure 74): as mentioned earlier, the forehead marking is a method used for bulls during the early ages (Figure 73), however, because of the mutual influences between leonine and bovine markings, a similar form of markings occur on lions as well. The mirror on the forehead of the lion masks used in Chinese lion dance performances is one of the categories and it is believed that the lion fights the demons with the light from this mirror. Therefore, not only the form of this mirror is in the shape of the sun, but the light from it also has magical powers. Similar forms of forehead markings on lion in other cultures are collected in figure.

20. Magical red ribbon (Figure 75): red ribbon tied around the waist of the lions appears in a few examples from ancient Egypt. Another form of ribbon with a floral design in the middle is often occurs in Assyrian stone carvings tied around the wrist of human or divine figures (Figure 52-B). The red ribbon with a floral design in the middle reappears in the Chinese art tied around the neck of the guardian lions. Chinese myths speaking of this red ribbon are mentioned in the ninth section of this chapter. This ribbon is believed to have the power of regeneration and the goddess uses it to bring the lion back to life. Guardian lions use the red ribbon to fight against the demons. The red ribbon is another commonality in the design of the Egyptian lions and Chinese lions and it is listed with other similarities in the last section of this chapter.

21. Lion and the ball (Figure 83):

According to Katherine Ball, the naturalistic design of the Egyptian and Mesopotamian lions was changed under the influence of the Chinese Taoism and Buddhism until it hardly resembles the natural animal. The sun disk that is often depicted over the back of the Egyptian and Mesopotamian lions, also changed into a concept that is closer to the pearl of the dragon (Figure

83-D) rather than the sun.⁸¹ Moreover, the usual design used on the ball in front of lions are circular forms such as stars and floral motifs that are commonly used as leonine body markings as well. In many available examples from the Mesopotamia and Iran animals such as lions, bulls or ibexes are depicted with a star shape motif in the front that can be the source of inspiration for later representation of Chinese lion and the ball in the front.



Figure 83: A(1-I-45), B(1-I-60), C(1-C-17), D(1-C-9), E(1-J-30), F(1-J-35).

2.11.2. Conclusion

The whirling motif often seen on the body of Japanese lions is a motif introduced to Japan from the main land Asia and it occurs in different forms and shapes—usually circular—in the visual art of the ancient Egypt, Mesopotamia, Iran, Gandhara and China. Similar motif is repeatedly seen on several different kinds of animals, but the visual analysis of this research shows that the markings on lions and bull are the original animal markings and later, these markings was imitated by the artists in the design of other animals.

Despite the markings on the body of lions and bulls, these animals are often depicted with the signs

⁸¹ Katherine M. Ball, *Animal Motifs in Asian Art: An Illustrated Guide to Their Meanings and Aesthetics*, 58.

hovering over their back or their heads. Lion is an animal associated to the sun and the sun is often depicted hovering over the back or head of the lion in the art of the ancient Near East. The East Asian equivalent of this representation is the popular motif of lion and ball. On the other hand, since the bull is associated to the moon, the crescent form is often depicted hovering above its back. Many examples of this motif are presented in the next chapter of this research. The East Asian equivalent of this motif is depiction of *ji* and the moon in Chinese visual art.

Majority of the motifs used as leonine or bovine body markings are the motifs known as sun symbol and many of these motifs are in a torsional form and they suggest a direction of movement. The whirling motif, which is the most popular form of body marking, resembles the movement of the sun in the sky and accordingly, it is also related to the concepts such as fertility, fate and various cycle of nature. Through the movement, this motif also resembles change and transformation. It is connected to the opposing forces of the nature and different areas in cosmos. The whirling motif defines the meaning of change from one condition to another: like the cycle of death and rebirth, therefore it conveys the meaning of crossing limits between the cosmos and chaos. This motif is shaped in the form of the sun, because in Near Eastern mythology, the sun is the only being that can cross the borderline between the world of living and the world of dead and lion is considered to be the protector of the sun in this journey. Both lion and sun are believed to guide the spirits of the dead to the underworld and this idea, as mentioned in the first chapter of this research, is the main concept behind the Egyptian ceremonial beds. A similar concept was introduced to China and we find the evidence in the meaning of the ideogram used for lion in Chinese language. As it is shown in figure, the meaning of the ideogram for lion includes a part that means, guide and religious leader. Therefore, it is clear that the idea of the lion as the guide of the spirits is introduced to China, along with other beliefs associated to this animal.

Aside from all the meanings associated to whirling motif, it is known as 'shishimoyou' in Japan and the form of this motif is interpreted as a representation of the lion's hair. All the same, many scholars also have

interpreted the Near Eastern leonine body markings as the representation of the natural hair whorl as well. However, the early representations of the body markings on lions shows that the motif used for this purpose are very bold and distinguished and they do not resemble the natural hair whole. On the other hand, the early representations of the forehead markings on bull are very similar to the natural hair whorl on the forehead of this animal. This suggests that the leonine markings and bovine markings were later developed into very similar form of marking in term of both the motif and the location of markings.

The whirling motif is placed on the body of *shishi* and *komainu* to represent the good omen. As mentioned earlier, although the original iconographic meaning of the whirling motif is forgotten in the stream of time, but it is still hidden in the structure of the sacred place guarded by *shishi* and *komainu*. Under the influence of Chinese culture, the structure of the sacred places in Japan is formed around the movements of the luminaries in the sky. These guardian animals, which stand at the threshold of the sacred place, represent the sun and the moon in the cosmic structure and their function is to mark the limit between the sacred and the profane, to protect the sacred area from demons and malicious spirits and to guide the devotees to the sacred land. *Shishi* and *komainu* commute between the sacred area and the profane, therefore, they both share qualities of both of these places. Standing at the borderline between the sacred and profane, *shishi* and *komainu* make a connection between these two areas and the whirling motif on their body represents the dual nature of *shishi* and *komainu* as the guardians of the sacred place and conveys the meaning of transformation from one condition to another. Thus, the whirling motif as it is represented on body *shishi* and *komainu* very much suits the function of these creatures in the structure of sacred area.

Chapter III: Komainu and Near Eastern Single-horned Bull

3.1. Introduction

When I began my research on shishi and komainu, Japanese guardian lions; a series of questions came to my mind. In nature, it is the male animals that hold horns on their heads. Why komainu, which is considered to be female, possess a horn, while shishi, the male companion of komainu, does not have one (Figure 84)? What I didn't know about shishi and komainu then was that although they both appear leonine, these two creatures have fundamental differences in their designs that depict a conspicuous polarity in their iconographic attributes.



Figure 84: Shishi and Komainu, *Hoketsu Kenmon Zusetsu*.

Shishi and komainu are the leonine figures found mostly at the entrances of Shinto sanctuaries or, in some cases, Buddhist temples to ward off malicious spirit. The concept of lions as guardians of sacred places was introduced to Japan along with other Buddhist teachings by the time of Nara Period in the eighth century.

As motioned earlier, 'shishi' is the Chinese word for lion and in Japan, it is also known as 'Karajishi' (Tang style lion), which refers to the Tang Dynasty of China. On the other hand, the word 'komainu' consists of two parts of 'Koma' and 'Inu.' Koma refers to Goguryeo Dynasty of Korea and inu is the Japanese word for dog, therefore, it literally means Goguryeo style dog or Korean dog. During the Asuka Period of Japan (538-645), the imperial court and their rites and ceremonies were heavily influenced by their Chinese and Korean neighbors. A very well known example of this influence is the traditional court music known as 'Gagaku.'¹ In gagaku music, musicians are divided into two sections; on the left side of the stage is the group playing "Kara-Gaku"² (the music of China) and on the right side, are the group playing "Koma-Gaku"³ (the music of Korea).⁴ A simi-

1 雅楽 .

2 唐楽 .

3 高麗楽 .

4 Yayoi Murato, Yuugi kara Geidou e: Nihon Chuusei ni okeru Geinou no Henyou, (Tokyo, 2002), 48.

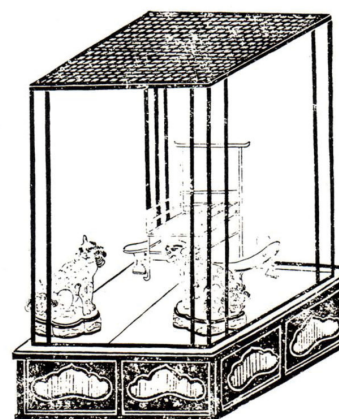


Figure 85: (2-J-7).

lar influence is clear in other aspects of Japanese court during this era: such as architecture and the regular arrangements of the court. According to a similar concept, the arrangement of karajishi and komainu on both sides of the emperor's resting area follows the same rule (Figure 85). Looking from the inside, shishi is always placed on the left side, while komainu is always placed on the right side.

Although many scholars have simply claim that "komainu is a Japanese creation,"⁵ I argue that komainu as we know it today is a complex amalgam of visual features found in other mythical creatures introduced to Japan along with guardian lions; such as dog and bull. Indeed, the emergence of the single-horned komainu and its pairing with a lion was a Japanese innovation, but there is a lot more to how the image of this magnificent guardian creature has evolved to its present representation.

This chapter is mostly focused on one of the most visually unambiguous differences between shishi and komainu: the komainu's single horn. This chapter starts with the earlier image of other single-horned animals used by Japanese imperial court as the gateway guardians in the palace during the Heian Period. Thereafter, my analysis turns to ancient Chinese sources, as well as the ancient Near Eastern form of the single-horned bull guardians, to reveal that some of the key visual features of komainu, including the single horn, were adopted from the image of single-horned bull guardian used in the ancient Near East.

In the later sections of this chapter, I engage some of the ancient Zoroastrian texts—including *Bundahishn*,⁵ Yoshiaki Kotera, "Komainu: The Birth and Habitat Distribution of Shrine Guardian Lions." *Japanese Religions* 34 (2009), 10.

Table 28: Some of the Japanese imperial court documents from the tenth century to the fifteenth century that mentioned shishi and komainu.

Document	Date	Location	Shishi	Komainu
1 Engishiki 延喜式	completed on 927 CE	At the palace entrance	–	–
2 Bun'an Gosokui Chodonozu 文安御即位調度図	Heian Period (Mid 12th century)	Palace decoration	On the right side Mouth open	On the left side Mouth closed One horn
3 Kinpishou 禁秘御抄	Kamakura Period (1221)	At the front of the Michoudai	On the right side	On the left side
4 Kokon Choumonju 古今著聞集	First half of the thirteenth century	At the palace entrance	On the right side	On the left side
5 Nachi Sankei Mandara 那智参詣曼荼羅図	Murumachi Period	At the entrance of the Shrines	On the right side Yellow complexion Mouth open	On the left side White complexion Mouth closed One horn
6 Ruiju Zatsuyosho No. 4 類聚雜要抄 卷四	Second half of the Heian Period (Illustrations added Edo Period)	At the front of the Michoudai	On the right side Yellow complexion Mouth open	On the left side White complexion Mouth closed One horn
7 Hoketsu Kenmon Zusetsu 鳳闕見聞図説	Edo Period	At the front of the Michoudai	On the right side Mouth open	On the left side Mouth closed One horn

the book of creation in Zoroastrian tradition—to investigate the iconographic meanings of the bull's horn in Zoroastrian beliefs and find the connection between the bull's horn and the resurrection power of the moon.

By analyzing the ancient Near Eastern motif of the lion-bull combat and the iconographic attributions of it, I will make the final conclusion based on the commonalities in the design of the Near Eastern single-horned bull and the Japanese komainu. The analysis reveals that Japanese komainu has numerous similarities to the image of single-horned bull in the famous Near Eastern motif of lion-bull combat. This motif is one of the most prevalent motifs of all time in the Near East and it was used in the artifacts designed in a vast region stretched from northern Africa to the Near East to South Asia. This reveals that some of the key visual features of komainu, including the single horn, were adopted from the image of single-horned bull guardian used in the ancient Near East.

In addition, the name of the komainu refers to this animal as a dog. Dog is an animal closely related to death and it is represented as the guardian of underworld and the messenger of the death in many cultures;

such as ancient Egypt, Iran, India and China. Komainu as the guardian of sacred world with a single horn on top of the head is an amalgam between the iconography of the single-horned bull as the guardian animal representing the resurrection power of the moon and the dog as a mediator between the world of living and the realm of death.

3.2. Literature Review

A number of Japanese documents on imperial court rituals and ceremonies from the second half of Heian Period in the tenth century to the mid-Muromachi Period in the fifteenth century offer descriptions of Shishi and komainu (Table 28). One of these documents is a scroll, known as *Ruiju Zatsuyosho No. 4*,⁶ which was written in the late Heian Period, however, this document is illustrated during the Edo Period. In this scroll, Shishi is described as seated on the left side, with a yellow complexion and its mouth open, while komainu is seated on the right side, with a white complexion, the mouth closed and a single horn on top of its head. *Hoketsu Kenmon Zusetsu*⁷ is another Heian Period document, *6 類聚雜要抄・卷四* (late Heian Period).
7 鳳闕見聞図説 (Edo Period).

but currently available versions of this document all published from Edo Period onward. This document also included illustrations of the shishi and komainu statues situated at the entrance of the Michoudai,⁸ the seating or resting area of the emperor. *Kinbishou*⁹ and *Kokon Choumonju*¹⁰ are other available documents that place a greater emphasis on the location of shishi and komainu statues in the imperial court. During the period between tenth to fifteenth century, shishi and komainu statues were used exclusively in the imperial court, at the south entrance Michoudai, the tent used as the resting place of the emperor. Other documents, such as *Nachi Sankei Mandara*,¹¹ include visual representations of shishi and komainu in their commonly known style: standing on both sides of the entrance to Shinto sanctuaries.

The fact that the old Japanese documents describe the visual appearances of shishi and komainu as two completely different creatures confirms that although shishi and komainu always come in pair, nevertheless, they are different in nature and to put both of these creatures in the same category and call them komainu is a very recent common mistake.

Numerous Japanese old documents describe the detail visual features of the shishi and komainu, but these documents offer little clue to the iconographic attribution of these visual qualities. Only recently, studies have attempted to interpret symbolic meaning of these guardian lions' visual features. As noted by Sugiura, the general consensus among recent scholars is that "shishi with the mouth open is a male or *yang*, representing the heaven and the sun. Komainu with the mouth closed is a female or *yin*, representing the earth and the moon."¹²

Chisato Uesugi is another scholar who carried out an explicit research on history of shishi and komainu. Uesugi's book, *Komainu Jiten*,¹³ is a very useful source on development of shishi and komainu in Japan. Yet, Uesugi stays away from a critical point of view and present a report format through out this book. There are few more recent studies that attempted to interpret symbolic meaning of Japanese guardian lions. However, no

8 御帳台 .

9 禁秘御抄 (1221 CE).

10 古今著聞集 (1254 CE).

11 那智參詣曼荼羅圖 (Muromachi Period).

12 Kohei Sugiura, *Nihon no Katachi, Ajia no Katachi*, 27.

13 Chisato Uesugi, *Komainu Jiten* (Tokyo, 2001).

study has found the conceptual origin or iconographical meaning of komainu's single horn. Why the horn became a prominent feature in the artistic representation of this mythical leonine figure in Japan has remained amystery.

3.3. Method of Research

In this chapter, instead of presenting an extensive genealogy of komainu as the guardian of sacred places, the focus is on one of the most important difference between shishi and komainu: komainu's single horn. Single horn is a very important feature in the appearance of komainu. In my opinion, this feature holds the key to the iconographic attributions of this mysterious creature. In this research, I argue that the single horn of komainu, along with some of the other visual features; such as the facial expression—A-Un expression—and the body color, can lead us to explore the iconographic meaning of komainu. The objection of this chapter is to compare these visual features of komainu with the visual features of the Near Eastern single-horned bull, in order to find the possible connections between these two guardian animals. Once the connection between the komainu and the Near Eastern single-horned bull is established, we can prove that in the mythology of the ancient Near East, the bull's horn is an iconographic representation of the resurrection power of the moon. Hence, the image of the komainu available today is a mixture between the iconography of the dog as an animal associated to death and the underworld and the single-horned bull, which represents the regeneration power of the moon.

The idea of single horn as a visual representation of the resurrection power of the moon is originated in the ancient Near East and spread to different corners of Eurasia over centuries. I argue that cultural encounter between Japan and the Near East through complex indirect routes, was very influential in the present image of the komainu and it is the key to recover the forgotten iconographic meaning of komainu's single horn. Therefore, in this work, I propose a comparative analysis of both textual and visual materials on the single-horned guardians in the ancient Near East, China and Japan, in order to investigate the iconographic attribution of komainu's single horn.

To achieve this goal, I start by looking at some of the Chinese old documents to find out more about the single horned guardians used in China before komainu has ever existed in Japan. Thereafter, I will examine some of the Japanese old documents to explore the earlier form of the single-horned creatures used as gateway guardian in Japanese imperial court. We know that the komainu did not exist before the second half of the Heian Period and therefore, the earlier forms of the horned guardian animals may give us a clue about the origin of the komainu's single horn. Thereafter, I explore the Chinese and Iranian ancient texts and classical poetry to discover more about the horned guardian animals in these regions that might have been inspiring to the design of komainu.

In the visual portion of the comparison, I engage with some of the earlier representations of komainu represented by earliest known materials to have a better understanding of the visual features of shishi and komainu in early times. The main focus of the visual analysis is to make a comparison between the earlier and present image of shishi and komainu, with lion and bull as a pair in lion-bull combat motif, used in various art forms by different Near Eastern cultures. This visual comparison reveals numerous commonalities in the visual features of the Near Eastern single-horned bull and komainu that could be instrumental to prove their shared iconographic meanings. The results for the both textual and the visual comparisons are collected in a single table that is the base for final conclusion.

3.4. Single-horned Tomb Guardians in China

In the first chapter of this research, different historic examples of lion guardians from various locations and periods in Chinese were reviewed. In this chapter, the focus is on the single-horned guardians that adorn the walls and entrances of tombs of emperors and official individuals through out China.

Two single-horned bulls appear on the carving on the stone gate of a Chinese official figure as early as first century CE (Figure 86). The ink rubbing of the stone double doors used in the tomb of Yang Mengyuan in Suide, Shaanxi Province shows two bulls, charging forward each other vigorously with tails up and horns

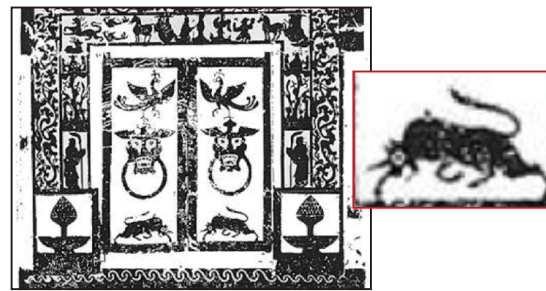


Figure 86: (2-C-8).

down to repel the evil forces. This position is called butting stance and it is the typical threatening position for fighting bulls. As mentioned in the section on the Phenomenology of the sacred place, threshold of the sacred place is the weakest point; therefore, in various cultures around the world, it is usually protected by guardian creatures to avoid unwanted visitors. In this case, the protective function of these creature is clear not only through their threatening position, but also through symmetrical positioning of the bulls on the doorway of the tomb.

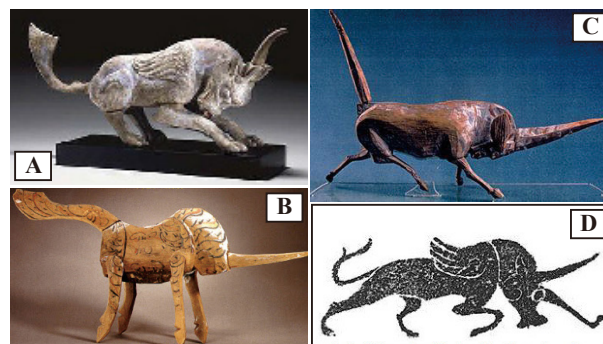


Figure 87: A(2-C-5), B(2-C-7), C(2-C-12), D(2-C-11).

Similar design was also used in an Eastern Han Dynasty tomb in Nanyang, Henan Province and the only difference in the design is the small wing on the shoulder of Nanyang guardian bull (Figure 87-D), which looks very similar to the wings seen on the stone lion guardian placed at the Fan Min's gate tower (Figure 2-C-14) and also the tomb of Gao Yi (Figure 2-C-15), both in Yaan, Sichuan Province. Since these stone guardian lions show a great influence from the Near East in their walking position and facial expression, the wing on them could also be an influence from the Near Eastern design. The similar design on their wing with the Nanyang guardian bull is clearer comparing the form of the wing on the lion in Parthian panel from Hetra in Figure 11 and Nanyang bull in Figure 87-D.

Guardian bull from Nanyang is also depicted in the threatening butting position. This is a typical posi-



Figure 88: A(2-C-28), B(2-C-35).

tion used in the design of many guardian statues made during Han Dynasty. Some of these statues have the visual features of the bull; like the long tail and the hooves (Figure 87-B, C), while other examples more resemble a lions; with claws and they hold a single horn on the head (Figure 87-A). Regardless of the appearance, the butting position is one of the typical features of these early gateway guardians. The butting position brings the single horn into the focus and this visual quality put more emphasis on the iconographic significance of the single horn and makes it the most important feature of these guardian animals.

A pair of creatures used as tomb guardians in China is called Zhenmushou.¹⁴ These guardians were exclusively popular during the Tang Dynasty and they are often made from glazed pottery (Figure 2-C-28, 2-C-33, 2-C-34, 2-C-35). As mentioned in the first chapter of this research, the origin of Zhenmushou is unknown. Zhenmushou consists of two guardians; one is called Pixie¹⁵ and it has a face of a roaring lion and it often has horns or/and sharp flaps going down on his back. Pixie is paired with another guardian figure known as Tianlu.¹⁶ Tianlu has the animal form body and the face of a man. His face is often calm with a spiral horn on its head. Pixie and tianlu often has similar bodies. Pixie and tianlu often have wings and they both depicted having either claws or hooves. There are also examples that represent them as completely different creatures. In these cases, pixie is shown with claws and tianlu with hooves (Figure 2-C-19, 2-C-33). This is a very interesting pairing that could be a clue to the Chinese pairing of

14 镇墓兽 .

15 辟邪 .

16 天禄 .

guardian lion and guardian bull. We will talk about this example in the conclusion section of this chapter.



Figure 89: (2-C-19).

Like the earlier single-horned bull guardian, pixie and tianlu were made as a pair and placed at the entrance of the tombs of the royal figures. An early example is a pair of pixie and tianlu made during the Wei Dynasty (Figure 89). In this example pixie and tianlu are depicted as two completely different creatures; pixie is depicted as a roaring lion and tianlu is depicted as a creature with a single horn—that is broken—and hooves in butting stance, similar to the single-horned bull guardian that we talked about earlier. The Chinese word of tianlu sometimes is written using the Chinese character for deer,¹⁷ but it still holds the same meaning and pronunciation.¹⁸ *The Book of Song* by Shen Yue written during the fifth century and also, *Yiwen Leiju*,¹⁹ the Chinese encyclopedia completed during the Tang Dynasty both used the Chinese character of deer referring to tianlu and they both name tianlu as a pure-spirited animal.

Pixie and tianlu were extremely popular during the Tang Dynasty. Many ceramic statues of pixie and tianlu have been found protecting various tombs. These statues are glazed with bright colors, usually red and green and in some cases, they hold wings and several flaps on the back or shoulders. Another single-horn deer²⁰ that was mentioned in Chinese old documents is Taoba. Yan Shigu, the famous author who lived during the Tang Dynasty mentioned taoba and he cited that; Taoba is also called Fuba,²¹ it looks like a deer with a long tail, when it has single horn it is called tianlu and when it

17 天鹿 .

18 《宋书·符瑞志下》：“天鹿者，纯灵之兽也。无色光耀洞明，王者德备则至。”

19 《艺文类聚》九十九引《瑞应图》：“天鹿者，纯善之兽也，道备则白鹿见，王者明惠及下则见。”

20 桃拔 .

21 符拔 .

has two horns it is called pixie.²² Based on this quote by Yan shigu, basically taoba, Fuba, pixie and tianlu are creatures with the same origin with minor differences in their appearance. This quote also suggests that these animals have a similar nature and therefore they might have come from a similar origin. *Book of Han*—finished in 111—is a classical Chinese history book that covers the history of China under the Western Han from 206 BCE to 25 CE. This book reveals the origin of these very important guardian animals and it says: in the land of Wuyi “there exist taoba, lion and xiniu.”²³ Land of Wuyi is the name referring to parts of present Afghanistan and Iran. This quote proves that all of these guardian animals come from a Near Eastern origin.



Figure 90: A(2-C-29), B(2-C-40).

Long tail guardian deer also appears protecting tombs in later China. A pair of winged deer statues is placed at the Shunling mausoleum, the tomb of Tang Dynasty Empress Wu Zetian’s mother, built circa 670 (Figure 2-C-29). These heavenly deer has robust body and a long tail, which makes its appearance closer to a bull rather than a deer. Another example is found in the imperial tombs of the Ming Dynasty in Beijing (2-C-40). Both of these examples represent the later image of tianlu—the single-horned heavenly deer—as the guardians of the imperial tombs in later ages of China.

3.5. An Earlier Form of the Horned Guardian in Japan

As mentioned in the first chapter, what is universal about the sacred place is that it is always referred to a carefully delimited area; therefore, the border is an absolute necessity for a sacred area, regardless of the loca-

22 《颜师古注引孟康曰》：“桃拔一名符拔，似鹿，长尾，一角者或为天鹿，两角者或为辟邪。”

23 《汉书·西域传上·乌弋山离国》：“有桃拔、师子、犀牛。”

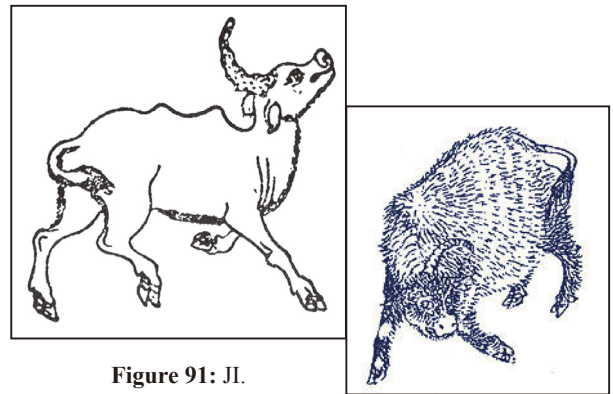


Figure 91: Ji.

tion and culture it is associating with. The border assures the separation between what is organized and sacred, and what is chaotic and profane. The border limits the manifestation of the divinity and power to a carefully marked area and the devotees could connect to the source of sacredness and power simply by crossing the borderline into the sacred area. Hence, the gateway of the sacred area is a very critical element of the sacred area. It is the breakage in the borderline and so it is the weakest point of the sacred area that needs to be protected from the demons and unwanted visitors.

To use a guardian creature at various gateways in the Japanese imperial court is an early custom and during the Heian Period, when all the rules and regulations of the imperial court was collected and documented, different from of the guardian creatures were mentioned and explicitly described in these documents. A Heian Period imperial record reveals that komainu was not the only horned animal used as a gateway guardian in Japanese imperial palaces. *Engishiki*,²⁴ the book of administrative regulations during the Era of Engi from 901 to 923, describes a single-horned animal that had been used as a gateway guardian before the existence of komainu. According to *Engishiki*, during major ceremonies, such as the enthronement of an emperor or the New Year’s Day, one statue of *Ji*²⁵ was placed at the left side of the gateway to the left ceremonial building; and another statue of *ji* at the right side of the gateway to the right ceremonial building.²⁶

Ji is among the auspicious guardian animals whose visual descriptions in ancient Japanese documents pre-date komainu’s. It was described in ancient Chinese book of *Sen Gai Kyo*, as a creature with “an appearance

24 延喜式.

25 兕.

26 Chisato Uesugi, *Komainu Jiten*, 111.

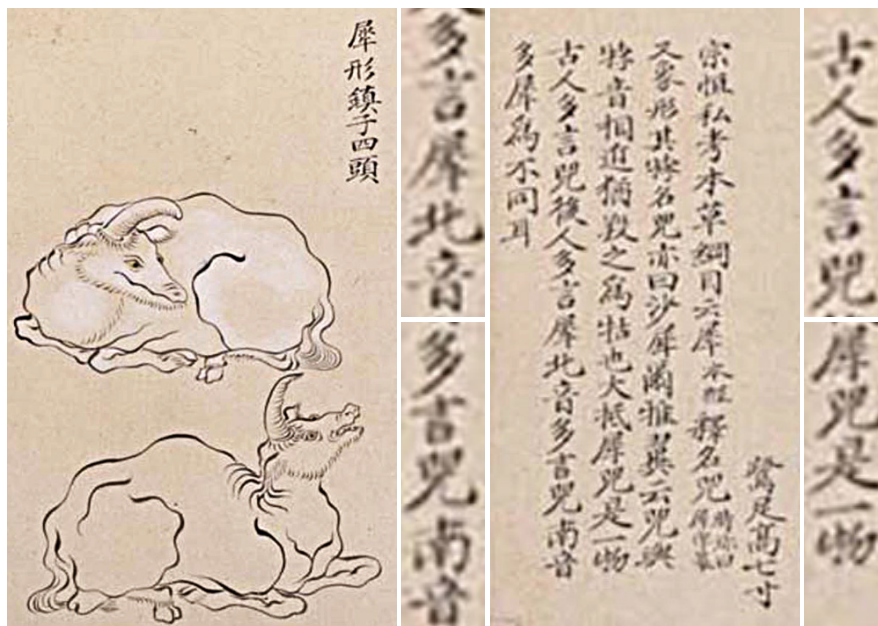


Figure 93: Illustrations of ji in *Ruiju Zatsuyosho No.4* and the annotation on the side.

of a bull, which has a dark blue complexion and a single horn (Figure 91).²⁷

a few images of ji also appears in the late Heian Period scroll *Ruiju Zatsuyosho No.4*, accompanied by a list of ancient Chinese documents that reference ji and descriptions of how the name of this animal differs in different regions of China. Ji appears very rarely in the Japanese old documents; therefore, to learn more about ji and its characteristics Chinese documents are the way to go.

3.6. Ji, the Chinese Unicorn

The first point to know about ji is that the English translations of Chinese texts and poems often refer to this creature as a “female rhinoceros.” However, based on the illustrations available of ji in Chinese ancient documents, although ji holds a single horn on the head, it does not resemble a rhinoceros. According to *Sen Gai Kyo*: “the appearance of ji is similar to that of a bull”²⁸ and the only feature that makes this animal special enough to be mentioned in *Sen Gai Kyo*, the book imaginary animals, is the single horn. Therefore, since ji is a mythical animal, I believe that the word “rhinoceros” is not a good translation for ji and the illustrations available of ji in old Chinese documents make this claim evident. Ji was also mentioned in the ancient encyclopedia

27 Miyoshi Koma, trans. *Sen Gai Kyou* (Tokyo, 1973), 493.

28 Ibid.



Figure 92: A(2-C-37), B(2-C-38).

of *Erya*.²⁹ This encyclopedia, also emphasizes on the resemblance between ji and bull and claims that; “ji looks like a bull.”³⁰

Ji is one of the animals that appear in the late Heian Period scroll, *Ruiju Zatsuyosho No.4* (Figure 93). This document provides two illustrations of ji and on the side; we find a short description about the name of this animal and different Chinese ideograms used to refer to this animal in the scripts. It explains that the name of this animal was written using two different characters in the texts from the northern and southern China. Nevertheless, although two different characters were used, both of these characters refer to the same animal, which is ji (Figure 93). These illustrations from the *Ruiju Zatsuyosho No.4* picture the small metal figurines of ji, which were used to weight down the corners of the curtains in the imperial court.

Ji was repeatedly used in China in the design of numerous artifacts. A typical depiction of ji is when it is illustrated holding its head back and gazing at the crescent moon.³² Numerous clay and bronze dishes, mirror stands and small jade figurines found featuring this imaginary creature (Figure 92). Ji has also been featured in the fabric art of the Qing Dynasty. The fact that in many of the representations ji has been accompanied

29 爾雅 .

30 兕似牛 .

31 The ideogram used in northern parts of China is 犀 and the ideogram used in southern parts of China is 兕 .

32 犀牛望月 .



Figure 94: The illustrations of ji, shishi and komainu in *Ruiju Zatsuyosho No.4*.

by the crescent moon showcases its iconographic association to the moon. Moreover, in the Chinese classic literature, we find numerous examples of association between ji and the moon. *Guan Yin Zi* by Xi Yin is one of the documents that mentions about this connection;

譬如犀牛望月 .
月形入角，特因識生，始有月形，
而彼真月初不在角 .

Which translates:

When Xiniu [ji] looks at the moon,
his horn capture the form of the moon,
for its consciousness,
it begins to adapt the form of the moon.

The curved form of a horn and its similarity to the crescent moon could well be the reason behind their iconographic association. The script above is describing a similar concept; when it says that ji's consciousness of the moon cause it to grow its horn in the form of the crescent.

There is also a strong connection between ji and tiger in Chinese classic poetry. There are numerous poems that mention ji accompanied by a tiger. *Tao Te Ching* in chapter 50 says that:

“Between their birth and death,
a third of the people will be followers of life,
a third of the people will be the followers of death,
and a third of the people will be just passing from life to death.
Why? Because they cling to life too much.
It is said that who ever excels in preserving their

life can wonder through the land
and not meet tiger and wild buffalo [ji],
can cross a battlefield and not wear armor.
In them the buffalo [ji] will find no place to thrust its horn,
a tiger no place to sink its claws,
a weapon no place to lodge its blade.
Why is this so? Because for them, there us no realm of death.”³⁵

This poem talks about immortality and immortal person that discovered his true place in the Dao. In this poem, the author says that the immortal person will not face tiger and wild buffalo [which is the word the translator of this poem chose for ji] in the wild and will not need an armor to cross the battlefield without harm. In my opinion, tiger and ji in this poem refer to the dual forces of the nature or in other words; yin and yang. By referring to tiger and ji and also the battlefield, this poem conveys that the immortal person won't be harmed by either the forces of nature—yin and yang—or by the force of human—the army.

In another poem, from the book of *Shi Jing*, part Xiao Ya, once again we find that ji and tiger are put together as the extreme forces of nature in one of the verses:

“We aren't bison [ji] or tigers,
but in the open we walk on.
We the miserable fighters,
toil from twilight to dawn.”³⁶

In this poem, tiger and ji are also used to represent

33 關尹子 .

34 五鑿 .

35 “Daode jing”, Tim Chilcott Literary Translations, accessed July 28, 2013, http://www.tclt.org.uk/laozi/Daode_Jing_2011.pdf

36 “All Plants Turn Brown” accessed July 28, 2013, http://blog.sina.com.cn/s/blog_3f4024480102dx43.html.

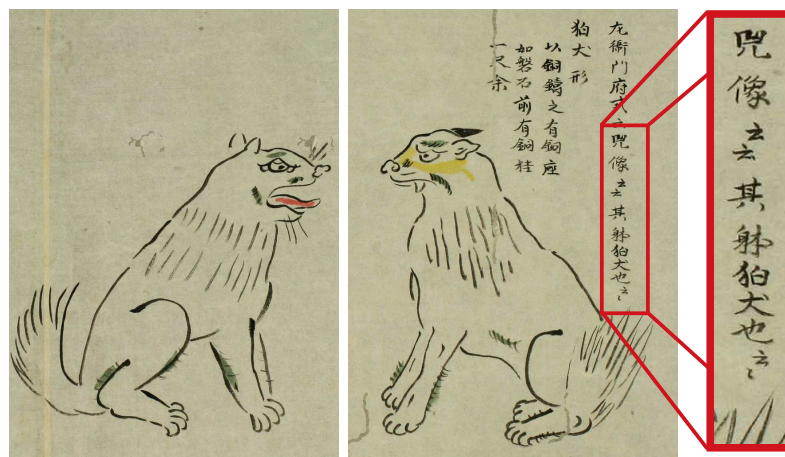


Figure 95: Image of shishi and komainu from *Bun'an Gosokui Chodozu*.

the contrasting forces of nature that influence the life of every living creature in the cosmos. Ji and tiger are representing yin and yang forces and people are cut in between these forces and affected by both of them. In the last verse, the author writes about another contrasting quality that relates to the movement of the celestial beings the sun and moon that make an interesting alignment with the contrast between ji and tiger.

3.7. Development of Komainu in Japan

The late Heian Period scroll, *Ruiju Zatsuyosho No.4* is a very important document that holds various illustrations of the furniture, statues and household goods used in the imperial palace of Heian Period. This scroll also holds one of the earliest illustrations of the shishi and komainu (Figure 94). This illustration of shishi and komainu immediately follows the section on building instructions and measurements of the emperor's resting tent, known as Michoudai. The description included in the scroll, on the right side of the illustration, explains the visual features and the placement of shishi and komainu statues. According to this text, shishi and komainu statues are always placed by the south entrance of the Michoudai and when viewed from the inside, shishi, which has a yellow complexion and an open mouth, should be placed on the left side, and komainu with one horn, a white complexion, and the mouth closed on the right side.

A closer look at this illustration shows a clear difference in the appearance of the shishi and komainu. Shishi and komainu as we know them today are very similar creatures with a few minor differences, like the horn, or the form of the mouth. But the shishi and kom-

ainu illustrated in *Ruiju Zatsuyosho No.4* represent two different animals. Shishi resembles a lion, while komainu is depicted in the form of an animal with hooves, relatively long neck and a single horn on the head.

Moreover, the image of komainu depicted in this scroll is quite different from what we know of today as komainu. Although, in the short annotation on the side of this illustration, this animal is referred to as a "dog," the visual features of this creature in *Ruiju Zatsuyosho No. 4* suggests otherwise. The komainu in the scroll has hooves and the overall representation of its physical features far from resembles that of a dog. Why was the image of komainu in the late tenth century so drastically different from the image of shishi and komainu familiar to us in twenty-first century? The answer to this question is found in a document produced a few centuries after *Ruiju Zatsuyosho No.4*. While Japanese classics rarely mentioned ji, a scroll from the mid-fifteenth century declared a very interesting point about the relationship between ji and komainu. *Bun'an Gosokui Chodonozu* is an illustrated scroll on the implements of accession during the Bun'an Period, from 1444 to 1449. This document also includes an illustration of Shishi and komainu (Figure 95). However, Shishi and komainu depicted in this document are very similar creatures with a few differences in their appearance; they both depicted in the form of a canine animal with claws and canine teeth and they are very similar to the image of shishi and komainu as we know them today. On the right side of this illustration is a short annotation, which reads; "the image of ji becomes komainu."³⁷ (Figure 95) Therefore, based on *Bun'an Gosokui Chodonozu*, we

³⁷ Chisato Uesugi, *Komainu Jiten*, 110.

can claim that the image of the komainu originated from the image of an earlier form of the single-horned guardian, ji.

However, although this annotation confirms that ji is komainu's ancestor, a comparison between the image of ji from *Sen Gai Kyo* and the komainu in *Bun'an Gosokui Chodonozu* does not necessarily make this claim evident. In these images, ji and komainu appear to be two completely different creatures. While ji resembles a bull, or an animal with a horn and hooves, komainu depicted in *Bun'an Gosokui Chodonozu* bears a closer resemblance of the image of komainu as we know it today. The komainu in *Bun'an Gosokui Chodonozu* is a fierce-looking leonine creature with paws and a picking canine tooth with a small black horn on top of its head. Examination of all of the images of ji and Komainu from the three documents discussed above simultaneously offers three stages of transition in which ji evolved into komainu. Ji as mentioned in the Chinese documents is an animal with an appearance of a bull and a single horn on top of its head and all the illustrations introduced in the last sections support this claim. On the other hand, if we compare the image of ji, shishi and komainu from *Ruiju Zatsuyoshō No.4*, the late Heian Period document, we find more resemblance in the appearance of the ji and komainu rather than shishi and komainu. Therefore, this can prove that in the early stages, komainu were an animal closer to a bull in appearance rather than a lion or even a dog. If so then why an animal that has hooves and a single horn on top of its head has been called an "inu"—Japanese word for dog? This question very well could be a topic for another study. However here, I will focus on the single horn, which is the only feature in the appearance of ji that was inherited by komainu. The question I will ask is that why during this five-century-long process of replacement, the only feature in the appearance of ji inherited by komainu was the single horn? What was so special about the horn that it remained a main feature of the new guardian creature? The answer to this question lies with the iconographic significance of the bull's horn.

3.8. The Iconography of Bull's Horn

A Babylonian hymn to Sin, the Mesopotamian

moon god, says: "he comes up, the lord of the horn, and the halo."³⁸ Because the shape of a bull's horn resembles that of the crescent moon, scholars have identified the horn as a universal symbol of the moon. Hentze claims that: "clearly, the ox's horn became a symbol of the moon, because it brings to mind a crescent; therefore both horns together represent two crescents, or the complete career of the moon."³⁹ The fact that the shape of the bull's horn could resemble the moon seems more plausible when we know that due to geographical location of the Middle East, moon lies parallel to the horizon line. In many cases, the Mesopotamian astrological texts often speak of the moon in the sky as: "first the horn is 'stretched' and when the moon is waxing, the horns are more and more 'looking' at the earth."⁴⁰

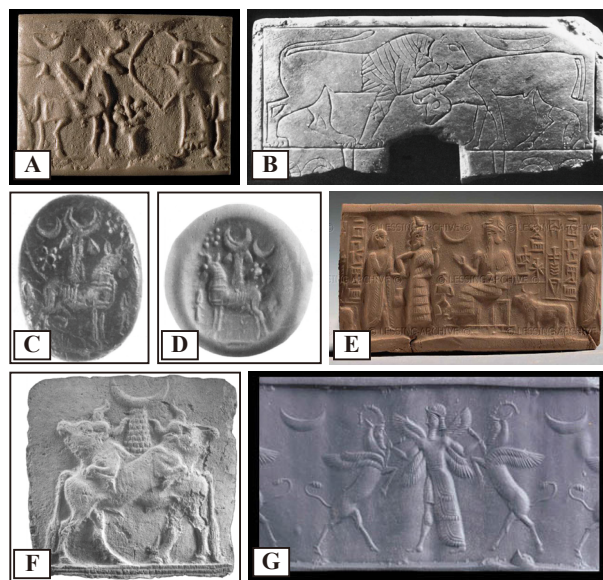


Figure 96: A(2-M-37), B(2-M-11), C(2-M-43), D(2-M-42), E(2-M-25), F(2-M-21), G(2-M-47).

Moreover, design characteristics of numerous ancient Near Eastern artifacts portrait a close association between the bull's horn and the moon (Figure 96, Figure 97). In many of these artifacts in Figure 96, the bull is depicted in the profile view and only one horn is visible on its head. We do not know for certain that a single-horned animal is what the artist actually intended to illustrate or the other horn is simply covered by the first horn out of the necessities of a two-dimensional illustration. Nevertheless, in many of the cases the connection

38 Diederik J. W. Meijer, *Natural phenomena: their meaning, depiction, and description in the ancient Near East*, 255.

39 Carl Hentze, *Mythes et Symboles Luminaires* (Antwerp, 1932), 96.

40 Diederik J. W. Meijer, *Natural phenomena: their meaning, depiction, and description in the ancient Near East* (Amsterdam, 1992), 255.

between these animals and the moon is clear through the crescent moon rising over their backs. In some cases, the bull has moon related body markings, like the statue of the Egyptian bull-god, Apis that has been marked on the right rump with a crescent symbol (Figure 97-A). In Iranian traditions, it has been said that the moon travels the sky in a chariot pulled by four bulls. Figure 97-D,E are the Iranian artifacts showing the moon god traveling in his chariot pulled by four bulls.



Figure 97: Artifacts from Egypt, Mesopotamia and Iran that showcase the association between bull and the moon. A(1-E-29), B(2-E-16), C(1-M-3), D(2-I-50), E(2-I-55).

The Iconographic Association between the moon and the horn is in fact more complicated and it is tightly related to the resurrection power of the moon. The moon is considered as the master of resurrection in mythology of most of the ancient cultures in Asia and the reason is defined by the monthly career of the moon. “The moon is the first of the dead. For three nights the sky is dark; but as the moon is reborn on the fourth night, so shall the dead achieve a new sort of existence.”⁴¹ It is through the lunar phases and appearance and disappearance of the moon in the sky that mankind came up with the idea of resurrection after death. It was always believed that there are some sort of immortality elixir in the moon and as the moon resurrects after it is dead, so shall the mankind. The resurrection power of the moon is the most important symbolic feature of it, and the whole network of the moon symbology is formed based on this one feature; the power of resurrection.

41 Mircea Eliade, *Patterns in Comparative Religion*, 162.

The horn is just one part of the vast network of the moon symbolism, and along with the plant life and water, it is associated with the divine beverage of immortality. For instance, “the moon-water-vegetation pattern” is clearly discernable in “the religious nature of the certain beverages of divine origin, such as the Indian *Soma*, and the Iranian *Haoma*.”⁴² Haoma is the name of a sacred plant in Zoroastrian tradition and a fermented juice of this plant was drunk during Zoroastrian rituals and it is believed to bestow immortality. Haoma has its origin in Indo-Iranian religions and soma is the Vedic counterpart of haoma. In Sanskrit language, soma means “the immortal elixir of the moon.”⁴³

In Iranian ancient mythology, the connection between the moon, the bull’s horn and elixir of immortality can easily be proven through *Bundahishn*, the ancient Zoroastrian script on the world’s creation. Numerous excerpts from *Bundahishn* confirm the symbolic attributions of the bull’s horn to resurrection power of the moon through its association with the divine beverage of immortality. *Bundahishn* speaks of a heavenly tree of “white haoma” and names it *Goakerena*, which is translated as the “bull’s horn.”⁴⁴ Hence, *Bundahishn* claims that the essence of immortality and renewal is included inside of a sacred tree that is named after the bull’s horn. When time comes for the world’s renewal, the ancient text claims, “from the fat of the mythical ox, *Had-hayosh*, and the sacred tree of white haoma, *Saoshyant*, the savior of the world in Zoroastrian religion, prepares *Hoosh*, a divine beverage, and gives it to all mankind and all men become immortal.”⁴⁵

The graph above (Graph 8) illustrates the connection between the moon, the beverage of immortality and the bull’s horn in a more visual way. The beverage of immortality, which is a symbol of resurrection power of the moon, comes from the sacred tree, bearing the name “bull’s horn” and also, it is served in a cup that resembles bull’s horn. Moreover, bull’s horn resembles the crescent moon, thus, it was used as a cup that contains the elixir of immortality of the moon. To take all these

42 Ibid.

43 Jules Cashford, *The Moon: Myth and Image* (London, 2002), 90-91.

44 *Bundahishn*, XXVII, 4.

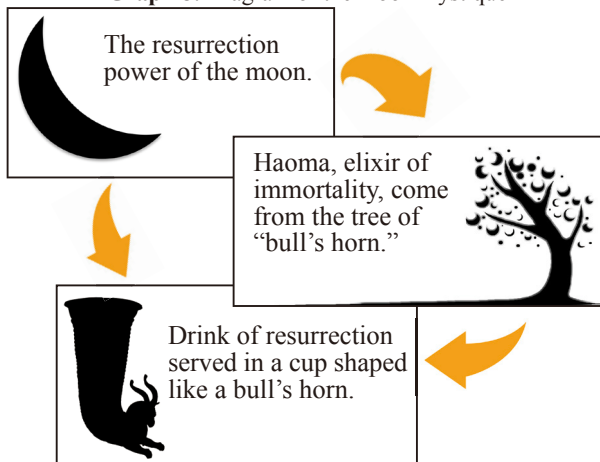
45 Mehrdad Bahar, *Pajouheshi dar Asatir-e Iran* (Tehran, 2010).



Figure 98: A(2-I-10), B(2-I-9), C(2-I-44), D(2-I-41), E(2-I-42), F(2-I-39), G(2-I-45), H(2-I-38).

accounts under consideration, it is no coincidence that horn-shaped drinking vessels widely used in ancient Zoroastrian religious ceremonies.

Graph 8: Diagram of the moon mystique



3.9. Ceremonial Horn-shaped Drinking Vessel

The horn-shaped vessel has a very long history in Iranian traditions. Numerous horn-shaped drinking vessels found from different regions around Iran dated from pre-Achaemenid Period in ninth-eighth century BCE to Safavid Period in tenth century. Many of the earlier zoomorphic drinking cups resemble the whole body of the animal (Figure 98-A,B) (Figures 1-I-27, 2-I-25), but especially during the Achaemenid Period (550-330 BCE), horn-shaped vessels with the bottom parts formed in the forepart of the body of an animal were extremely prevalent (Figure 98). In some cases, they were made

out of actual bulls horns or even elephant tusks. During the Achaemenid Period, the horn cups were mainly used in religious rituals and celebrations; namely *Nowrooz*, which is the New Year celebration in Iranian traditions and up to present day, it still remains the most important day in Iranian calendar and some of the neighboring countries.

The Achaemenid horn cups consist of three parts; first, the bottom part of the cup, which is made in the form of the head or forepart of the body of an animal. In the Achaemenid Period, some of the animals used to represent in the bottom part of the horn cups are known to be the object of the actual sacrifice in this era. Animals such as; horses, ibexes and bulls were repeatedly represented in the design of the Achaemenid horn cups. In other cases, animals like lion or even imaginary animals like winged ibexes and griffins were also used to represent the bottom of the horn cups. Usually this part of the horn cup has a tubular in the mouth or on the chest of the animal, where the liquid flows out. The second part is the body of the horn cup, which is formed in the shape of a horn and it is the part that holds the liquid. The third part is the open top of the cup, which usually has a floral or plant pattern around the rim. This floral design represent the crown made out of aromatic herbs and sacred plants, which was used by kings and court officials during the ceremonies.

A Sassanid silver gilt plate from fourth to sixth cen-



Figure 100: A(Horse-shaped Horn Cup, Gaya Confederacy, 5th century, National Museum of Korea), B(Horn-shaped Cup, Royal Tomb of King Michu, 5th-6th century, Miho Museum), C(2-C-2), D(2-C-4), E(2-C-31), F(2-C-32), G(1-C-6), H(2-C-43).

ture demonstrates the correct use of the horn cup (Figure 99). As it shows in the picture, the liquid inside the horn cup should be drunken from the tubular at the bottom and not from the rim of the cup. This way, the liquid inside the horn cup flows from one end to another and metaphorically, passes the body of the animal that the cup represents.



Figure 99: Sassanid silver gilt plate, 4th-6th century CE, Cleveland Museum of Art.

In Zoroastrian tradition, the special beverage prepared in horn cups was haoma, the liquid of immortality that is a fermented juice from a sacred plant bearing the same name. As mentioned in the last section, Zoroastrians believe that the beverage of immortality comes from the sacred tree of white haoma that is also called “bull’s horn,” which is a symbol of resurrection and regeneration power of the moon. Hence, this explains the concept behind the horn-shaped drinking vessels that was extremely popular in the ancient Near East.

Although the history behind the horn-shaped vessels goes back much further, however, the earliest known annotations about the horn cup in old Iranian

documents are found in the earliest known Persian dictionaries from the Era after Muslim conquest in seventh century. One of the earliest dictionaries is written by Asadi Tusi in mid eleventh century. In this dictionary, the horn cup is called Palogh, and Tusi explains that; “Palagh is like a wine beaker made from a bull’s horn with which they drink wine.”⁴⁶ *Farhang-i Qavvas* is another dictionary from the eighth century, which cites; “palogh is made out of actual bull’s horn that is cleaned and used as a drinking vessel.”⁴⁷ According to these two documents, the horn cup palogh is made from actual bulls horns.

The horn cup was also often mentioned in the classical Persian poetry and it is often described being used in the cheerful occasions and ceremonies. However, despite this function, it is considered to have the power to insufflate life as well. Seyf Esfarangi who is a court poet lived during the Khwarazmian Empire of Iran in the thirteenth century has a poem that says;

“By the breeze of its spiritual nourishment, on the soul,
from the atmosphere of your banquet,
the rose of the wine horn has had the effect of the breath of Jesus.”⁴⁸

46 A.S. Melikian.Chirvani, “The Iranian Wine Horn from Pre-Achaemenid Antiquity to the Safavid Age.” *Studies in Honor of Vladimir A. Livshits, Bulletin of the Asia Institute* 10 (1996), 86.

47 Fakhr al- Din Mubarakshah Qavvas, *Farhang-i Qavvas*, edited by Ahmad Nazir (Rampur, 1999), 251.

48 A.S. Melikian.Chirvani, “The Iranian Wine Horn from Pre-Achaemenid Antiquity to the Safavid Age.” *Studies in Honor of Vladimir A. Livshits, Bulletin of the Asia Institute* 10 (1996), 93.

This poem portrays a banquet that the liquor is served inside of a horn cup for the wish of resurrection and rebirth. In the last verse of the poem, it is mentioned that the wine in horn has the effect of the life-bestowing breath of Christ. In Islamic traditions, there is story of a miracle performed by young Christ. He made a bird out of water and clay and animated it by breathing inside it.⁴⁹ This story appears frequently in the classic poetry of Iran and in the poem above, this imagery conveys that the wine inside the horn cup has the same resurrecting function as the life-giving breath of Christ. This definition of the wine inside the horn cup completely aligns with the concept of haoma, the liquid of immortality that is made from the sacred tree of “bull’s horn.”

The idea of the horn-shaped vessels continued after the Achaemenid Period and various nomadic cultures of Central Asia were instrumental in adopting and spreading the use of horn cups to the rest of Eurasia. Horn cups reached China by the time of late Zhou Dynasty in the second half of the first millennium BCE (Figure 100). Cups made of actual rhinoceros horn were used for drinking wine at least as early as the Eastern Zhou Dynasty (770-256 BCE). Rhinoceros horn has been treasured in China for their ancient associations with curative effects, long life and vitality.⁵⁰ Numerous horn-shaped cups are available from Tang Dynasty that have very much in common with the Near Eastern examples. The examples of the horn-shaped vessels in the Figure 98 and Figure 100 showcase the similarities in the design of the Near Eastern and East Asian horn cups. The horn cups were also popular in Korea by the time of the Three Kingdoms in the first century. Many horn-shaped vessel were excavated from Silla and Gaya tombs in Korea (Figure 100-A,C).

There is etymological evidence that the iconographic significance of the bull’s horn through its trans-continental journey eventually reached China. Shirakawa Shizuka in *Jito*, a book of Chinese etymology, noted an interesting feature under the title of ji: “Ji has an appearance of a buffalo of a blue complexion. Its horn is used as a liquor drinking vessel and it is called

49 John Renard, *All the King’s Falcons: Rumi on Prophets and Revelation* (New York, 1994), 91.

50 Patricia Bjaaland Welch, *Chinese Art: A Guide to Motifs and Visual Imagery* (Vermont, 2012), 144.

Jikou.”⁵¹ According to this evidence, the idea of drinking from the horn reached to East Asia, however this does not convey that the concept behind this tradition in Near East—such as the liquid of immortality and the bull’s horn—also followed this tradition. Nevertheless, in the classical literature of China, we can find examples that could convey similar iconographic attributions. In the book of *Shi Jing*, part *Guo Feng*, there is a quote about the association between jikou and longevity and immortality:

“And they say; Let us kill our lambs and sheep,
and go to the hall of our prince.
There raise the cup of rhinoceros horn,
and wish him long life, – that he may live for
ever.”⁵²

There are two meanings in this poem that show a close similarity to the Near Eastern beliefs and traditions around the horn cup; sacrifice and raising the horn cup to ask for immortality.

Therefore, the connection between the horn cup and the concept of immortality is clear; in this poem the horn cup is used in the sacrifice banquet to wish immortality for a person. This is similar to the religious ceremonies that were held in ancient Near East and based on this poem, also existed in China. To put all these meanings together, there is a great possibility that the concept of wishing for immortality by drinking from a cup made out of ji’s single horn has a Near Eastern origin. This quality of the horn is the feature that made ji a special animal, because based on the descriptions in the Chinese old documents, without the magical functions of its single horn, ji would simply be an ordinary bull.

3.10. The Image of Single-horned Bull in Ancient Near East

Different representations of the single-horned bulls or ibexes frequently adorn various ancient Near Eastern artifacts. Numerous vessels, cylinder seals, tablet and other objects excavated from different parts of the region showcase a similar single horned bull or ibexes in different contexts. In a typical design, these single-horned animals are depicted in profile, flanking a
51 Shizuka Shirakawa, *Jitou*, 382.

52 Chinese Classics and Translations, accessed July 17th, 2013, <http://wengu.tartarie.com/wg/wengu.php?lang=en&l=Shijing&no=154&m=NOzh>



Figure 101: A(2-M-41), B(1-I-7), C(2-I-26), D(1-I-26), E(2-I-11), F(2-I-24), G(2-I-4), H(2-M-34), I(2-M-2), J(2-M-48), K(2-I-34).

tree or a sacred plant of some sort, or attacked by their natural predators (Figure 101).

Perhaps one of the most famous archaeological records of the single-horned bull in Mesopotamia is found on the Ishtar Gate (Figure 101-J). The Ishtar Gate was built in the sixth century BCE and it was one of the eight gateways leading to the city of Babylon. The blue façade of the Ishtar Gate was covered with glazed bricks and it was adorned with alternating white and yellow bulls and dragons. There were also lions enameled on the walls near the gateway. These fierce creatures would “protect the city’s weakest point, the main entrance from attacking armies and evil demons.”⁵³ The decorations of the Ishtar Gate was later adapted by the Achaemenids, who used similar images of bulls, griffins, and lions with some modifications on both sides of the doorways and entrances to the Darius Palace in Susa, which was built around 510 BCE (Figure 101-K). The placement of these images are very important in order to discover their iconographic functions. As mentioned earlier, in ancient Near East, it was believed that since the walls are solid and protected, the gateways windows and doors are believed to be the weakest point of the a sacred area, where the demons and malicious spirits could intrude. Therefore, the fact that the images of lions and bulls are generally located on both sides of the gateways and windows supports the idea of their protective function against unwanted intruders.

In terms of the appearance, both Babylonian and Achaemenid reliefs feature rather a slim bull with a relatively high neck from a side view, but only the Achaemenid bull has a wing (Figure 101-J, K). A single curved horn is placed on the heads of both Babylonian

⁵³ Jack Randolph Conrad, *The Horn and the Sword* (London, 1959), 44.

and Achaemenid bulls. The reason that only one horn is visible could merely be the two-dimensional depiction of the bull in profile, the way that one horn is situated behind the other. As a matter of fact, there exists no example of a single-horned bull among three-dimensional works from Babylonia around the same period—all of the three-dimensional images of bulls feature double horns. This suggests that the single horn as an important visual and symbolic feature had a rather simple origin necessitated by two-dimensional representations of bulls. However, over time, viewers outside Near East could easily have interpreted the single horn as an indispensable feature of a mythical bull.

Similarly, among numerous Achaemenid artifacts, no example of a three-dimensional single-horned bull is found, while two-dimensional examples of single-horned bulls are plenty. For example, all of the bull statues used as pillar capitals and gateway guardians in Persepolis have two horns. However, the single-horned bull appears in two-dimensional representations of the famous ancient Near Eastern motif of lion and his prey. The prey is usually a bull, but sometimes it is represented by a stag or ibex. A typical Achaemenid version of this motif appears some 26 times in the form of relief on the palace facades in Persepolis.⁵⁴ The bull is typically depicted as rearing on his hind legs and turning his head backward to face the lion, which has hooked his claws and sharp teeth in the bull’s hunch (Figure 102). It seems that even centuries after in the Islamic period of Iran, this combat motif stays closely associated with royal palaces in Iran. Anvari (1126-1189), a famous Iranian poet who lived during the Seljuq Dynasty, praises the king Naser Od-Din in his poem. Referring to his

⁵⁴ Mary Boyce, *A History of Zoroastrianism II: Under the Achaemenians* (Leiden, 1982), 105.



Figure 102: Stairway of Apadana Palace at Persepolis, 5th-4th Century BCE.

royal palace he says:

The lion and the bull without quarrel and anger
forever remain locked in combat.⁵⁵

Even later, during the Qajar Period in eighteenth century, the lion and bull combat motif still adorns the walls of the main ceremonial building in Golestan palace of Tehran. Although, the iconographic meaning of this motif changed during the time, but it maintained an important place in the architecture of the Iranian royal palaces for at least a period of 2500 years.

Although this motif—hereafter referred to as the “lion-bull combat motif”⁵⁶—has been widely researched, its complex meaning remains contested. Evidently, the detailed characteristics of the mode of representation have been fully preserved through five thousand years of changes in the cultural and political history of the region. We can find this motif on artifacts made as early as in the third millennium BCE in ancient Near East (Figure 101-I) or as recent as in the eighteenth century, such as the images on the glazed tiles from Golestan Palace in Tehran. The lion-bull combat motif was also popular in regions that stretched from northern Africa to the Near East to South Asia. It was found on a number of objects included in Tutankhamen’s tomb in Egypt built in the fourteenth century BCE (Figure 103-A, B).

55 A.S. Melikian-Chirvani, “The Iranian Wine Horn from Pre-Achaemenid Antiquity to the Safavid Age,” *Studies in Honor of Vladimir A. Livshits, Bulletin of the Asia Institute* 10 (1996), 99.

56 Willy Hartner used the term lion-bull combat in his famous article: “The Earliest History of the Constellations in the Near East and the Motif of the Lion-Bull Combat,” *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 24 (1965): 1-16. But later many scholars rejected his argument, because the combat is not always between a lion and a bull, but sometimes instead of lion, we see other predators like leopard or tiger and instead of bull, other horned animals ibex or stag. Since my argument in this article is mostly around the bull, I chose to use his term.

The motif was also used as a theme in Mughal paintings of India from the sixteenth century to the nineteenth century (Figure 103-G,H).⁵⁷

Despite such prevalence of this motif in different regions over time, there is no consensus among scholars on how to interpret its symbolic meaning. In order to ensure a nuanced understanding of the symbolic attribution of the lion-bull combat motif, it is essential to closely examine ancient Iranian mythology.

3.11. Iconographic Significance of Single-Horned Bull in Lion-Bull Combat Motif

With the vast usage of the lion-bull combat motif in terms of both time and place, it is hard to see it as a pure naturalistic theme with no iconographic attribution. Hence, there have been numerous attempts to identify iconographic meanings of this motif. However, as mentioned above, this motif has been repeatedly used during a very long period of time—almost five millenniums—and to make a single interpretation of this motif seems very unlikely. Although none of the interpretations below are completely agreeable, but none of them cannot be discard either.

One of the most influential theories has been the astronomical interpretation of this motif proposed by Willy Hartner. Hartner associated the lion-bull combat motif with marking the beginning of spring by ancient Near Eastern agrarian societies. He has claimed that the lion-bull combat motif represents the Leo constellation crossing over to the house of Taurus at the spring New

57 In many Indian representation of this motif, elephant replaces the bull, since bull has other symbolic attributions as well.



Figure 103: A(1-E-16), B(1-E-13), C(2-M-5), D(2-I-25), E(2-I-2), F(2-I-52), G(1-GI-24), H(1-GI-26).

Year in February, 4000 BCE.

Thus, this theory suggests that as agricultural development allowed an increasing number of Near Eastern cultures to become sedentary societies, images like the lion-bull combat emerged to showcase an iconographic representation of the seasonal changes important to these societies. This definition of the lion-bull combat motif seems plausible, since it could be related to the ancient Iranian New Year ceremony, known as Nowrooz, which was held at the spring equinox. During the Achaemenid Period, this ceremony was celebrated in Apadana Palace of Persepolis, and the main entrances of this palace on the northern and Eastern sides are decorated with lion-bull combat motif stone carvings on both sides of the entrance. Arthur Pope, the great Archaeologist expert in ancient Iran, recognizes the Apadana palace as a site for the Nowrooz celebrations.⁵⁹ Aside from the lion-bull combat motif, other stone carvings on the staircase of this palace portrait “delegations from twenty-three countries under Persian control bringing gifts to a meeting that was also attended by nobles or important officials,”⁶⁰ which could be interpreted as a scene for a very important meeting or ceremony of the year.

Another interpretation of the lion-bull combat motif has suggested that the motif symbolizes a battle

between Zoroastrian god, Ahura Mazda, represented by the lion and Ahriman, the force of evil, which is represented by the bull. However, this interpretation, in which the bull emerges as a symbol of evil, is far less plausible, because the bull has always been a dominant symbol for what is good and beneficial in the Zoroastrian tradition. Among other various explanations offered includes the lion’s representation of the sun and the bull’s representation of the moon. In this case, the combat in which the lion emerges victorious signifies the light overcoming the darkness: Shapour Shahbazi claims that “the fact that lion symbolizes the sun is common knowledge and the relations between moon and the bull can be proven through the ancient Iranian scripts. The moon was described as “the bull face” in Avesta, an ancient Zoroastrian sacred text, perhaps because of the resemblance of horn to the crescent moon. Therefore, it is possible to interpret this relief as the representation of a specific time in Zoroastrian calendar, when the sun immerses victorious over the moon and there is no sign of shadow and darkness remained.”⁶¹

Moreover, *Bundahishn*’s descriptions of the material creation of the world support the above claim: “Fifthly, he [the god, Ahura Mazda] created the sole-created ox in Eranvej, in the middle of the earth, on the shore of the river Veh-Daitya... She was white and shining like the moon... Gayomard [the first-created man] was created on the left side and the ox on the right side.”⁶² Furthermore, the moon was also described as the

58 Willy Hartner. “The Earliest History of Constellations in the Near East and the Motif of Lion-Bull Combat.” *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 24 (1965): 1-16.

59 Arthur Upham Pope, “Persepolis as a ritual city,” *Archaeology* 10/2, 129-130

60 John E. Curtis, Nigel Tallis. *Forgotten Empire: The World of Ancient Persia* (Berkeley, 2005), 54.

61 Alireza Shapour Shahbazi, *Rahnamay-e Mostanad-e Takht-e Jamshid* (Tehran, 2005), 110.

62 Behramgore Tehmuras Anklesaria, trans. *Greater Bundahishn*

holder of the seed of the sole-created ox. According to *Bundahishn*, the sole-created ox died from the demons' attack and "the seed of the ox was carried up to the moon station; there it was thoroughly purified, and produced the manifold species of animals. First, two oxen, one male and one female, and afterwards, one pair of every single species was let go into the earth."⁶³

In the above excerpts from *Bundahishn*, the connection between the bull and the moon becomes clear. The bull described in Zoroastrian texts is white as the moon and the moon described as "the bull face." Thus, bull and moon are considered to have a similar nature and they could represent one another. The key to the iconographic network of the moon is its power of resurrection and regeneration. This quality of the moon—symbolized in its ability to appear and disappear from the sky and lunar phases—is the central feature in the symbology of the moon and its power of regeneration. The moon represents the endless cycle of life and this quality of the moon is stated in the lion-bull combat motif by representing the bull as defeated and moribund.

Iranian mythology has at least two stories that illustrate the crucial role of the bull's death, as a source of the world's renewal: one Zoroastrian and the other Mithraic. According to the Zoroastrian version, when Ahriman, the devil, killed the sole-created ox, various kinds of grains and medicinal herbs grew from its body parts. Then, from its seed, purified at the moon station, all living animals were created. This myth suggests that although the bull is dead, but it is resurrected in a different form. In case of the Mithraic version of this story, the image of Tauractony, which is found in most of the ancient Mithraeums across the Eauroupe, Mithra is depicted slaying the bull in an act of creation (Figure 104). There are numerous similarities between the two stories. For example, both Zoroastrian ox is described as; "white like the moon."⁶⁴ In many Mithraic representations, the bull is pictured white and its blood is depicted as ears of grain; similar to the way Zoroastrian ox's blood was represented as the source of creation.

The role that both of these myths are suggesting

(Bombay, 1956) Ia-12-13.

63 E. W. West, trans. *Sacred Books of the East*, Vol. 5 (London, 1880), XIV-3.

64 Behrangore Tehmuras Anklesaria, trans. *Greater Bundahishn* (Bombay, 1956) Ia-12-13.



Figure 104: Tauroctony fresco in the mithraeum of Santa Maria Capua Vetere in Italy, 2nd century.

for the bull is to assure the resurrection of the nature through its death. As mentioned in the last section, the bull has the moon's elixir of resurrection inside its horn and its death will ensure the fertility and resurrection of nature in the New Year, as death and resurrection of the bull in the lion-bull combat motif suggests the beginning of a cycle of time. Therefore, it is plausible that this motif marks the beginning of a spring new year. Another visual feature that is an iconographic reference to the meaning of resurrection in lion-bull combat motif is the representation of a plant form alongside of the lion-bull combat motif. Various plants and trees often depicted along with Near Eastern design of the lion-bull in combat motif. A few of the available examples are listed in the appendices of this research and they portray a form of plant growing in the background of the lion-bull combat seen (Figures 1-E-13, 1-E-16, 2-M-2, 2-M-15, 2-M-45, 1-I-54).

A case on point is an Achaemenid seal found in Sardis and first published by Dusinberre.⁶⁵ This seal depicts a lion attacking a bull from the front, locking its claws on the bull's side and biting its back (Figure 105). A form of a sun symbol is carved above the lion's head and it is an iconographic reference to the association between the lion and the sun. On the other hand, a crescent moon is carved above the bull's head and it represents the connection between the bull and the moon. There is also a floral motif carved on the back of the bull. This plant represents the typical plant form that we talked about earlier. This floral motif refers to the resurrection powers of the bull's death and how it contributes to the resurrection of the nature and causes fertility and abun-

65 Elspeth R. M. Dusinberre. *Aspects of Empire in Achaemenid Sardis* (United Kingdom, 2003), 274.

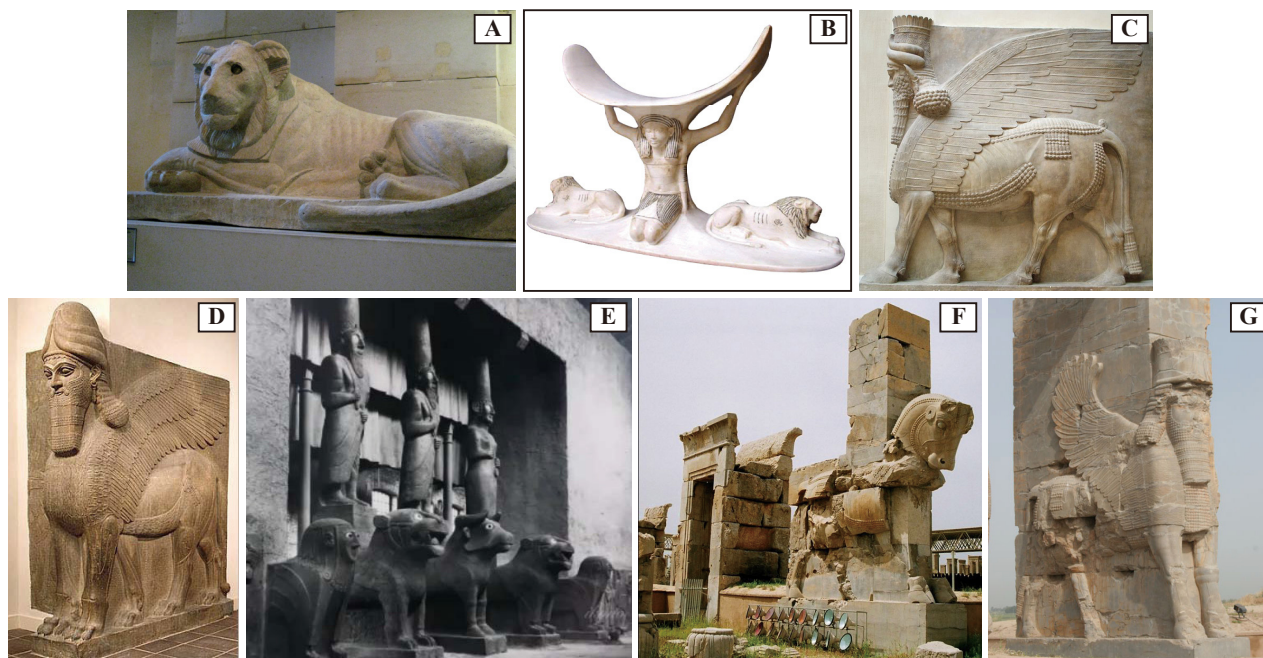


Figure 106: A(2-E-6), B(1-E-14), C(2-M-44), D(2-M-44), E(2-M-35), F(2-I-32), G(2-I-32).

dance in a new form.

Thus, various ancient sources from Near Eastern and Mediterranean regions confirm that the bull in the lion-bull combat motif, although depicted almost moribund, is not necessarily defined as a dead or defeated force. As discussed earlier, the divine beverage of immortality had its roots in the bull's horn and since the bull represents the regeneration power of the moon and the endless cycle of the nature, its death does not represent an end, but rather a source of regeneration of the world.



Figure 105: (2-I-36).

3.12. The Protective Role of Lions and Bulls in Ancient Near East

Lions and bulls are represented in various forms with significance beyond their decorative function in the ancient Near Eastern art. As mentioned in the first chapter of this research, Akeru lions—the guardians of the sun in ancient Egyptian traditions—appear very

frequently as guardians of the entrance of the Egyptian tombs and palaces. Figure 106-A shows one of a pair of guardian lions at the entrance to a chapel of the Serapeum of Saqqara. This chapel is built during the reign of Amenophis III around fourteenth century BCE and two recumbent lions placed back-to-back are protecting the entrance of the chapel. Another example of the guardian lions is found in the design of a headrest found in the tome of pharaoh Tutankhamen(Figure 106-B). Two recumbent lions are placed at both sides of the headrest and the Egyptian god of air, Shu, is depicted as the support of the head. The design of this headrest suggests a resemblance between the pharaoh's head and the sun; as the sun raises over the back of the lions, so the head of the pharaoh (see chapter one, section three).

Moreover, numerous artifacts from ancient Mesopotamia have been found that portrait lions and bulls as guardian animals. Many of temples and palaces in Mesopotamia region are protected by stone statues of lions and bulls at the gateway. Bit Bahiani palace built in early ninth century BCE by king Kapara in Tell halaf is one of these palaces (Figure 106-E). The entrance of the palace protected by multiple guardians from human form of guardians to bulls, lions and sphinxes. The seventh century BCE Assyrian King Assurbanipal had two silver bulls made for the temple of Sin—the moon god—at Harran. The following description was engraved to proclaim the function of these guardians:

“Who strike down my foes, to pierce the adversary to smash my enemies.”⁶⁶ These bull guardians made by Assurbanipal are very interesting pieces. For one thing, they are made from silver that is the metal related to the moon. Moreover, these guardians in the form of the bulls are made for the temple of an important Mesopotamian moon god, Sin. This example of the guardian bull confirms the iconographic attribution between the moon and the bull, the idea that they are sharing similar nature; since the bull related to the moon usually share the same color as the moon, which is silver or white.

The lion and bull guardian figures also appear in the Art of Achaemenid Period. Many cylinder seals, vessels and other objects have been found that portrait the lions, bulls and griffins flanking a god or a sacred plant. The gate to the Hall of Hundred Columns in Persepolis was protected by bulls on both sides of the doorway (Figure 106-F).

Lions and bulls in the art of the ancient Near East are depicted either in their pure animal forms—like the examples above—or in quasi-human figures with the head or sometimes the forequarter body of a human. Yet, regardless of the form, in many of these representations, the attribution of guardian and protector is ascribed on these animals. A case in point is the famous pair of guardian deities Shedû and Lamassu, the colossal stone guardians found in Assyrian palaces (Figure 106-C,D). They are protective deities, often depicted as having the body of a winged bull or lion with human faces and wearing the horned headdress of the Mesopotamian gods. They are placed on both sides of the gateway and they are usually the mirror image of each other. Shedû and Lamassu often appear together as kind guardian spirits in ancient Mesopotamian texts. The names of these deities are found in an ancient tablet describing magic designed to ward off evil spirits: “may the god shedû walk at my right hand, may the god lamassu walk at my left hand.”⁶⁷ This quote actually emphasizes on the association between the protective animals and both right side and the left side. The placement of shedû and lamassu on both sides of the gateway provides a full protection from these gods.

⁶⁶ E. W. West, trans. *Sacred Books of the East*, Vol. 5 (London, 1880), XIV-3.

⁶⁷ W. O. E. Oesterley, *Immortality and the Unseen World: A Study in Old Testament Religion* (Toronto, 2004), 5.

In another script engraved on a tablet, Esarhaddon, the king of Assyria, who reigned during the seventh century BCE, informs us about the function of the giant stone guardians used in his palace: “Shedû and Lamassu of stone, which by their nature repel the evil one, which guard the path and keep safe the path of the king who had them fashioned.”⁶⁸

The Assyrian human-headed bull guardians later find their way to the architecture of Achaemenid Period in Iran. Many artifacts are adorned by images of human-headed bulls and the Assyrian gateway guardians in quasi-human forms were adapted by the Achaemenids and—with some modifications—to be used in Persepolis, notably in the design of the All Nations’ Gate (Figure 106-G).

In case of China, we talked about several kinds of gateway guardian creatures in the first chapter and also in the first section of this chapter. Leonine animals as the guardian of the gateway of heaven appear in the Chinese art as early as the second century BCE on the silk painting found over the coffin in the grave of Lady Dai at Mawangdui, near Changsha in Hunan. Aside from that, multiple statues of the horned pixie and tianlu with the bodies of lions or bulls found in various tombs in different locations in China and until the end of the Tang Dynasty, these statues were the inseparable parts of the Chinese tombs. Thereafter, the stone statues of different animals including lions and bull in massive size adorn the approach way of the Ming and Qing Dynasties imperial tombs.

In conclusion, it is clear that in all of the cultures mentioned in this section lions and bulls play an important role in protecting the sacred places and they are figures that are protecting these places from the harm of the malicious spirits and demons.

3.13. Visual Representations of Lion and Bull Companionship

Lions in the art of ancient Near East are often depicted accompanied by either double or single-horned bull or ibex. As mentioned before, the lion-bull combat motif could be an example of the companionship of lion and horned animals. However, in this section we will

⁶⁸ Tzvi Abusch, Karel Van Der Toorn, *Mesopotamian Magic: Textual, Historical and Interpretive Perspectives* (Groningen, 1999), 158.

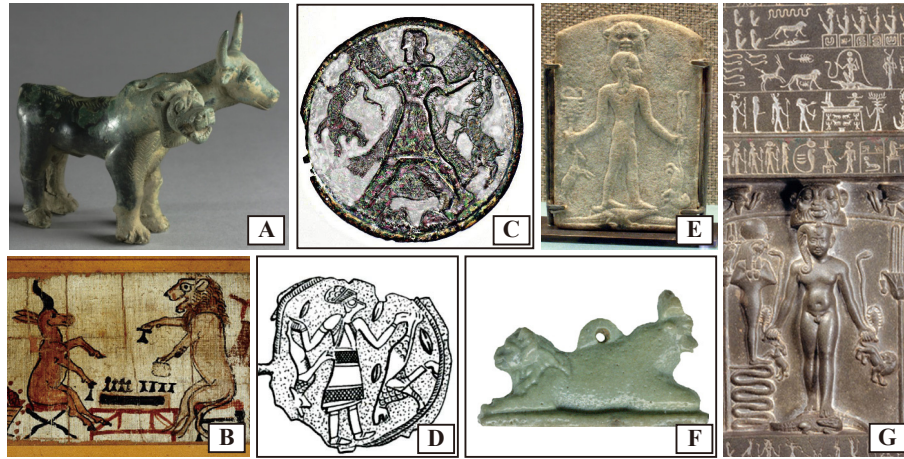


Figure 108: A(1-I-3), B(2-E-12), C(2-I-13), D(2-I-14), E(2-E-19), F(2-E-20), G(2-E-21).

review other examples of their companionship.

A very interesting representation of the lion and bull companionship is an Elamite seal from early third millennium BCE that portrays a lion and a bull in a quasi-human pose (Figure 107). They are standing upright as humans, while lion has his hands on the back of two bulls and bull has his hands on the head of two lions. The whole scene resembles a form of balance between two rival animals. Black and green suggest that bulls and lions in quasi-human pose “have been interpreted as the elementary principles of the world order.”⁶⁹ Therefore, based on this interpretation, this seal portrays the balance between lion and bull representing two contrasting natural forces—the elementary principals of the world order—that could be the Near Eastern prototype of the Chinese yin/yang.

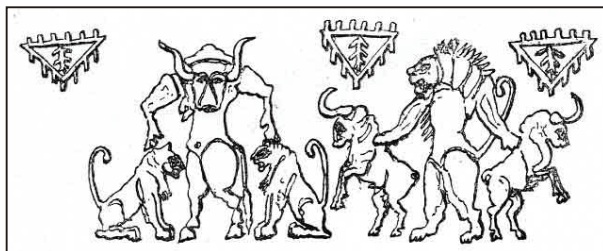


Figure 107: (2-I-3).

One of the earliest examples of the lion and single-horned animal companionship in Egypt is a Ramesside papyrus from the Nineteenth Dynasty—made between 1250-1150 BCE. This papyrus is a comic book that illustrates anthropomorphic image of different animals. The animals depicted in this papyrus are paired with their natural predators; goats and geese are driven by hyena, fox and wildcat ; in other words, it is

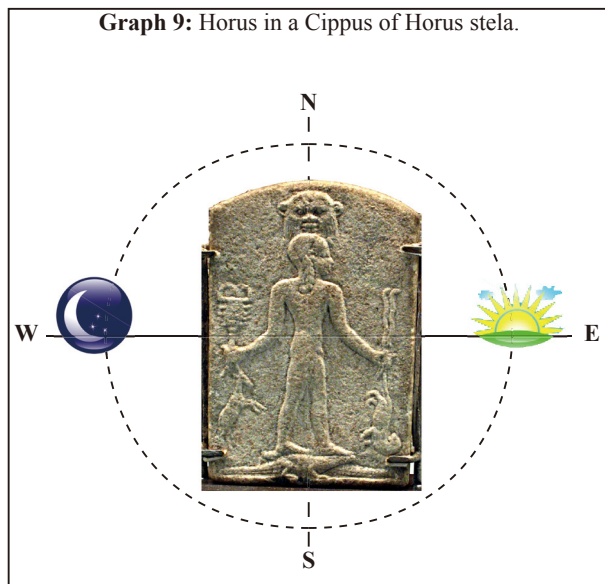
69 Jeremy Black, Anthony Green, *Gods, Demons and Symbols of Ancient Mesopotamia: An Illustrated Dictionary* (Texas, 1992), 48.

comic version of the lion-bull combat motif. In one of the scenes from this papyrus, a gazelle and a lion are depicted playing a board game—probably Senet, an ancient Egyptian board game—and apparently, the lion comes out triumphant (Figure 108-B).⁷⁰ This illustration is clearly a comic interpretation of the classic lion-bull combat motif. Instead of their usual battle scene, lion and single-horn gazelle are depicted battling in a board game, where similar to their natural battle, lion is victorious. Besides from the battle motif, there are other representation of the lion and bull companionship; like the hybrid animal consisted form lion and bull. A pendant made around 664-332 BCE in Egypt designed in the form of a double-headed animal, with the head of a lion on one side, and the head of a bull on the other side (Figure 108-F). Another form of hybrid animal appears in an earlier example of a bronze figurine, found in northwestern Iran (Figure 108-A). This figurine, made some time between 1500 to 1000 BCE and it shows a composite animal with the right half of body of a lion and the left half of body of a bull. This creature has two heads; one of a bull and one of a lion. This shared quality of the last two artifacts signifies the dual nature of the hybrid beasts represented by them.

Another example of the lion and ibex companionship is represented in the design of cippus of Horus (Figure 108-E,G) (also see figures 2-E-15, 2-E-19, 2-E-21 to 26). Cippus of Horus is a “magical stela offering protection against the bite of the animals, particularly snakes and scorpions.”⁷¹ This stela shows the child

70 “British Museum Collection Online” accessed July 25, 2013, http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=117404&partId=1.

71 Robert K. Ritner, *The Libyan Anarchy: Inscriptions from Egypt's*

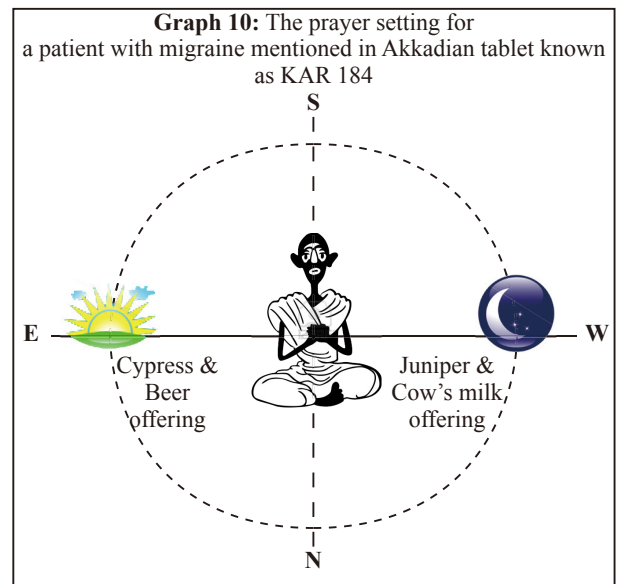


Horus, one of the sun gods of the ancient Egypt, standing on a pair of crocodiles. In his right hand, he grasps one or sometimes two scorpions, along with the horn of an ibex. In his left hand, he grasps on a couple of snakes and the tail of a lion (Graph 9). In some cases, the child Horus is facing forward, but often he is depicted in profile, looking at his left at the lion. On the back of the stela, there is often an inscription that praises Horus and other Egyptian gods and asks for protection and healing. This inscription is not for reading, but it has magical powers. It is believed that the water poured over the back of the stela and collected has the power to allay pain.⁷² This proves that the companionship of lion and its single-horned prey considered having a magical power in ancient Near East.

Similar design with some differences appears on a copper disk from northwestern Iran and a metal pinhead from Luristan, which both seems to be magical objects and were used as offerings to temple. In the copper disk from northwestern Iran, a winged divine figure is depicted grasping on the lion's tail in his right hand and the ibex's horn in his left hand. On the other hand, the figure depicted on the pinhead from Luristan has both animals captured by the leg. While both of these figures are depicted in profile and both have their face toward the lion. Although there are differences in the design of these Iranian artifact with earlier Cippus of Horus, but it is clear that all of these artifacts have magical powers and probably medical purposes to protect against

⁷² *Third Intermediate Period* (Atlanta, 2009), 68.

⁷² Ibid.



diseases and injuries and placement of the animals in the left hand or the right hand in fact has a very important iconographical significance in ancient Near Eastern medical treatment procedure.

In the ancient Mesopotamia, the concept of medical treatment was basically understood as dealing with the ghosts and spirits that possessed a patient's body. An Akkadian tablet, known as tablet KAR 184 and owned by the Staatliche Museum of Berlin, introduces a medical treatment for a man with a migraine, who is pestered by the spirits of the dead. Based on the teachings of this tablet the following procedure ought to be done to cure him: "On the fifteenth day, the day that Sin and Shamash stand together, you clothe that man in a linen sheet, you incise his temple with an obsidian knife and make his blood flow. You have him sit in a reed hut; you will direct his face to the North. To Sin, to the west, you set up an incense alter of juniper, you libate cow's milk. To the east, you set up an incense altar of cypress, you libate beer. That man will speak as follows: To my left side (is) Sin; the crescent of the great heaven, to my right side (is) Shamash; the judge, father of the black-headed."⁷³ The prayer setting explained above happens at the dawn. The patient or the devotee is faced toward the north and sun rising at the east is located on his left and the moon fading in the daylight is located on his right (Graph 10). Therefore, from the eyes of the god who is located on the north, facing the devotee; the moon is on the right side and the sun is on the left side. This

⁷³ John M. Steele, *Calendars and Years: Astronomy and Time in the Ancient Near East* (United Kingdom, 2010), 134.

prayer setting is very famous in the medical texts of Mesopotamia and it has been referred as; “they [sun and moon] stand (on the horizon) together⁷⁴” or “when moon and sun are equally present.”⁷⁵ As mentioned before, in the ancient world sickness or diseases were understood as demon’s presence. Therefore, the magical power of the sun and moon in the form of a religious ceremony was used to help the patient to recover from the sickness. This prayer setting has similar design as the Cippus of Horus, where the god is holding the ibex, which represents the moon, in this right hand and he holds the lion, which represents the sun, in his left hand. Therefore, it is just the matter of seeing the prayer setting from the eyes of the god or the eyes of the devotees, which changes the sides associated to the sun or the moon(compare Graph 9 and Graph 10).

Similar implementation referring to having the lion’s tail and bull’s leg in hands emerges in Iranian classical poetry. There are at least two couplets in *Shahnameh*, epical book by Ferdowsi (940-1020 CE), that describe the hero in a similar setting. Ferdowsi says:

He began to paly and sat smiling
Holding a bull’s horn and a wolf’s tail.⁷⁶

In this couplet, Ferdowsi describes a party setting, where the hero is seating and having a good time. In my opinion, although wolf—an animal with alike predator nature as lion—replaced the lion, but the companionship of the wolf and the bull still represent the same iconographic meaning. Lion and bull in this couplet refer to the elementary principles of the world order. Hence this expression—to have the bull’s horn in one hand and the wolf’s tail in other hand—is a metaphor for being in complete health and peace and also, being in control of the matters in life.

In another couplet Ferdowsi says;
Holding the bull’s horn [and] the wolf’s tail
Having measurably crashed their heads with his mace.⁷⁷

Similar to the last couplet, the bull and the wolf

represent the contrasting forces of nature that influence the life of every living creature in the cosmos and by overcoming them, the hero celebrates his undisputed supremacy.

Both bulls and lions are used frequently as the guardians of the sacred beings or sacred places in the ancient Near East. However, in most cases, the paired guardians on both sides resemble either bulls or lions. It is relatively rare in the Near Eastern art to find examples that lion and bull are put together as a pair of guardian animals, but there are a few available examples. These examples below prove that the companionship of lions and bulls as the guardians of the sacred places existed in the ancient Near East, China and India, before it shaped into the idea of shishi and komainu in Japan.



Figure 109: A(2-M-51), B(2-M-54), C(2-M-52).

A fifth-century mosaic covers the pavement of the Beit Alfa synagogue in Israel (Figure 109-A). At the very top of the mosaic floor, a lion and a bull are depicted flanking a piece of holy inscription as guardians. In front of them, a few devotees are pictures bringing offering to the god. Viewing from the god’s side, the lion is placed on the left side and it is pictured roaring, in golden and brown color. On the right side, the bull is pictured standing calm in grey and white color.

Lion and bull as guardian companions also appear on several other artworks from Syro-Palestinian region. A similar episode of a bull and a lion paired as guardians appears in a inter-columnar panel on the Martyr church mosaic as Beth She’an and on the south aisle of the Holy Martyrs church at Tayibat al-Imam Hamah.⁷⁸

78 Rachel Hachlili, *Ancient Mosaic Pavements: Themes, Issues, and Trends: Selected Studies* (Leiden, 2009), 205.

74 Diederik J. W. Meijer, *Natural phenomena: their meaning, depiction, and description in the ancient Near East* (Amsterdam, 1992), 256.

75 Ibid.

76 A.S. Melikian.Chirvani, “The Iranian Wine Horn from Pre-Achaemenid Antiquity to the Safavid Age,” *Studies in Honor of Vladimir A. Livshits, Bulletin of the Asia Institute* 10 (1996), 89.

77 Ibid.

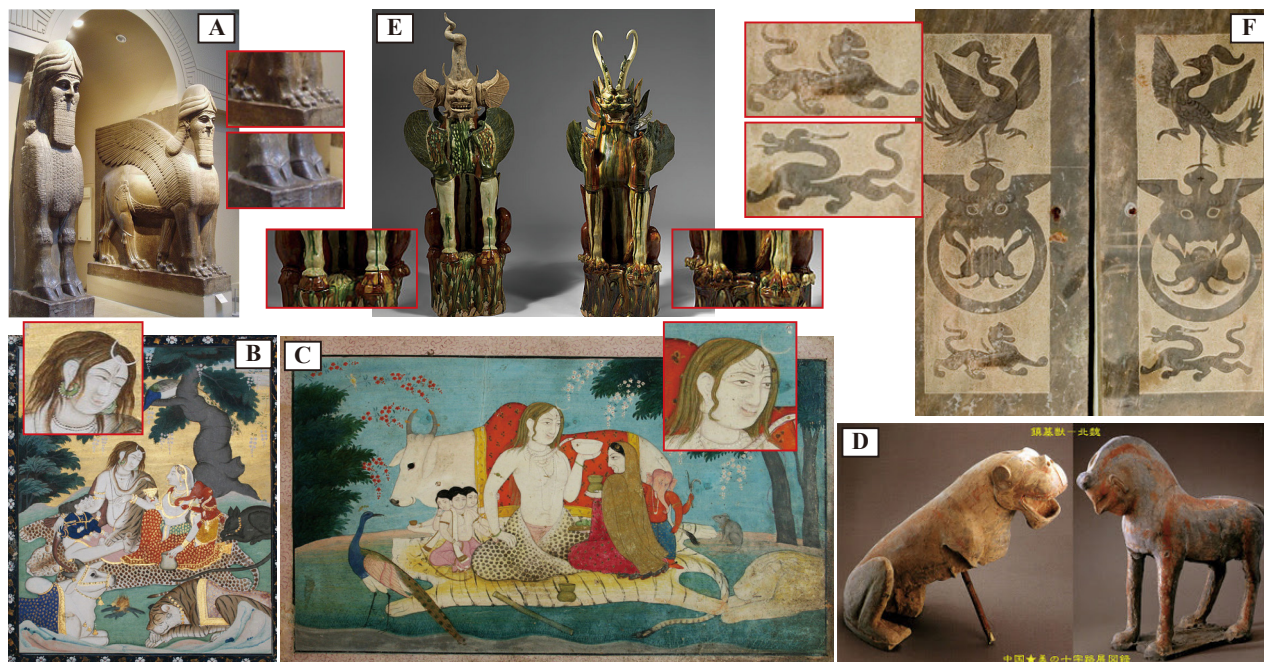


Figure 110: A(2-M-36), B(2-GI-35), C(2-GI-34), D(2-C-19), E(2-C-33), F(2-C-6).

A Byzantine mosaic tablet from fifteenth century, preserved at the Beit ed-Dine palace in Lebanon also shows golden roaring lion facing a calm-standing white bull. Most probably this panel were used to be hanged on tom of an entrance or doorway (Figure 109-B). Another example of the lion and bull confrontation is depicted on the mosaic pavement of the lower baptistery chapel at Madaba in Jordan, made around sixth century (Figure 109-C). In this example lion and bull are depicted flanking a vine tree, lion has a golden color and roaring toward the bull, yet blue-gray colored bull is standing still.

One of the very important visual features of the design of these examples mentioned above is that in all of these examples the lion is pictures with a brown or golden complexion and the bull is pictured with a gray or white complexion. Some of the earlier examples in tis chapter also show a similar feature for the bull; like the *Bundahishn*'s lone-created ox, the white bull that is scarified by Mithra and the silver bulls that were dedicated to the temple of Sin, the moon god, by Assyrian King Assurbanipal as the guardians of the temple. We can find a similar feature in the design of the iconic image of Ardhanarisvara, which is a very popular theme in the Indian visual arts that evolved as early as Kushan and Gupta periods (Figure 17, Figure 110-B, C). Ardhanarisvara shows Shiva and his consort Parvati, standing on their typical rides, Shiva on a white bull and Par-

vati on a golden lion. Shiva in the Indian mythology is known as the god of death and destruction and he is associated with the moon and water. Occasionally, Shiva has a crescent moon on his forehead (Figure 110-B, C) and the water stream is running on his back (Figure 17). As mentioned earlier this chapter in the section concerning the iconography of the horn, there is a very close iconographical connection between water, moon and the horn and together they represent the resurrection power of the moon. On the other hand, from the gods' perspective, Shiva—along with his bull—is always placed on the right side and Parvati—along with her lion—is always placed on the left side. A side from the white color of the bull and golden color of the lion, the sides they are taking is another very important feature that we will talk about in the conclusion section of this chapter.

A good example of the companionship of lion and bull as guardians of a sacred place in China is one of the zhenmushou statues that we talked about earlier in this chapter. This pair of statues was made during the Northern Wei Dynast and it was found in Song Shaozu tomb in Datong city, where they were used to ward of the demons and evil spirits (Figure 110-D). This pair is unique piece, because it demonstrates very different features for each of the guardians. Pixie clearly has features of a lion; on the other hand, tianlu is pictures in the form of an animal human face, hooves and a single horn on top of its head. Apparently, this style continues during

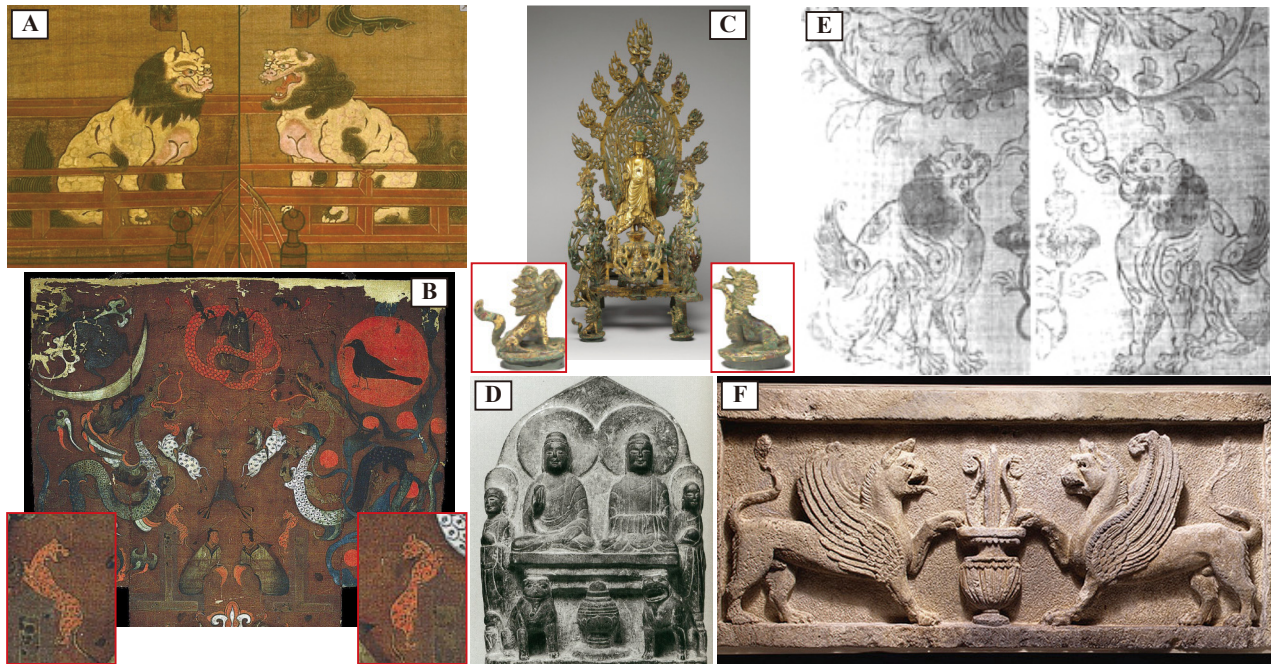


Figure 111: A(2-J-13), B(2-C-3), C(2-C-21), D(2-C-26), E(2-C-27), F(2-I-48).

the Tang Dynasty and there are examples to prove this claim. A pair of Zhenmushou guardians made during the Tang Dynasty has a clear difference in the design of their front legs. As shown in the Figure 110-E, pixie is depicted with claws and tianlu is pictured with hooves. Another very similar example of pairing two guardian animals, one with claws and one with hooves, is the unique sphinx statues found guarding the gate of Assyrian palace of Nimrud (Figure 110-A). These guardians are installed facing out ward and the statue with the body of a bull is placed on the right side of the gate, while the statue with the body of a lion is placed on the left side of the gate. These are two great examples that show the companionship of lion with semi-bull animal as the guardians of a sacred place.

There is an earlier example from China that shows lion accompanying a single-horn creature, which appears to be a dragon (Figure 110-F). Lion is pictured with a small wing on the shoulder and the dragon is pictured with a very long tail and long single horn on its head. Although the animal paired with lion on this stone door is clearly not a bull, but the fact that the lion is paired with a completely different creature that has a single horn to guard the tomb is very interesting point. This suggests that the companionship of the lion and the single-horn animal as the guardians of a sacred place existed in China as early as the first or second century CE and with a great possibility, it might have inspired

the design of the early shishi and komainu in Japan. An early image of Japanese shishi and komainu from *Ruiju Zatsuyoshō No.4* shows a great similarity to the lion and the dragon on the stone door from Western Han Dynasty. Similar to the dragon, komainu is also depicted with a long neck and a long tail and single horn on the head. In the following conclusion section, we will study more features in the design of the Japanese komainu that reveals its connection to the horned guardian introduced in several sections of this chapter. At the end of this section, there is one question remained. What is so important in lion and bull's—or rather a honed animal's—companionship that was repeatedly presented in different art forms by many cultures. As we know, in the ancient world, religion had a very important role in people's life and the sacred place was considered the center of the world order. When these two animals, different in appearance and different in nature, are used in pair, then it means that they are have to be seen together. Thus, what appears to be difference in their design, actually becomes complementary.

Next section is about “A-Un” facial expression, one of the clearest differences in the image of shishi and komainu. we will talk about more of these complementary differences in the conclusion section of this chapter.

3.14. A-Un Facial Expression

Japanese old documents that illustrate shishi and

komainu often show each of these guardian animals with a specific facial expression. Shishi is often described to have an open mouth and komainu is described to have his mouth closed (Figure 111-A). In Japanese language, both of these facial expressions together are known as “A-Un,”⁷⁹ and clearly, it takes two animals to convey the meanings associated to this expression. This expression is one of the reasons that proves that shishi and komainu, aside from all the differences, are meant to be seen and understood as a pair.

The facial expressions of shishi and komainu symbolize two letters of ancient Sanskrit alphabet, “A” and “Un.” Shishi has its mouth open, which is known as “A kei”⁸⁰ in Japanese, renders the expression of letter “A,” which is the first letter of the Sanskrit alphabet. This expression represents the beginning of all things. Komainu, with its mouth closed, known as “Un kei,”⁸¹ is believed to express “Un,” the last letter of Sanskrit alphabet and it represents the end of all things.⁸² Therefore, by showing “A-Un” expression, shishi and komainu together represent the beginning and the end of all things.



Figure 112: The sacred word of Aum in Devanagari alphabet.

This expression is known quite differently in India (Figure 112). The expression used in India is Aum, which consists of three letters of A-U-M from Sanskrit alphabet. It starts with the first letter “A,” which is pronounced with the mouth open and ends with the last letter of the alphabet “M,” the sound of which is generated by closing the mouth and it is considered sacred in both audible and visible form. In India, “first it was used in Hinduism and then carried over into Buddhism and Sikhism. It is a sacred syllable for chanting, in invoca-

79 阿吽 .

80 阿形 .

81 吽形 .

82 Chisato Uesugi, *Komainu Jiten*, 121.

tion or meditation.⁸³ Later this word was introduced to Tibet and China through Buddhism. Some of the scholars believe that this term was introduced to India from the ancient Egypt and it is originated from the name of the Egyptian well-known god, Amun. In the Abrahamic religions, it changed its sound to the sacred words of ‘Amen’ in Christianity and ‘Amin’ in Islam.⁸⁴

“Later in China, this term took a dualistic nature and expressed itself in male/female or yin/yang components.”⁸⁵ The first known visual form of A-Un is found in China as early as second century BCE. A silk banner found in Mawangdui, draped over the coffin in the grave of Lady Dai, has the image of two lions standing on top of pillars on both sides of the entrance to the heaven (Figure 111-B). Lions are depicted back-to-back, turning their head toward each other. Looking from the perspective of the god depicted on the top of the banner, lion on the right side—which is the side associated to the moon and has a crescent on top—has its mouth open and lion on the left side—which is associated to the sun and has a sun symbol on top—has its mouth closed. Comparing figure , we can see that this arrangement is not exactly what is customary in Japan. As mentioned before, in Japanese traditions the lion with the mouth open is placed on the left side and it is related to heaven and sun and the lion with the mouth closed is placed on the right side and represents earth and moon.⁸⁶

Similar form of arrangement as Mawangdui banner continued in China as it shows in other examples in Figure 111-C and Figure 2-C-25. However, later examples the arrangement of the lions was changed. Lions switched places and in later examples lion in the right side is depicted with the mouth closed and lion on the left side has his mouth open (Figure 111-D, E).

Another very interesting point is that there is that an ancient Iranian door lintel from Hetra, made during second or third century, shows great resemblance to the examples above in terms of lions’ facial expressions (Figure 111-F). Lion on the left side of the picture is depicted with its mouth open and its tongue sticking

⁸³ Thomas Merton, *The Asian journal of Thomas Merton* (New York, 1975), 390.

⁸⁴ Robert Deleau, *Wor(l)d Religions: A Philosophic Approach to the Religious Archetype of the Logos* (Indiana, 2003), 13.

⁸⁵ Melissa Littlefield Applegate, *The Egyptian book of life: symbolism of ancient Egyptian temple and tomb art* (Florida, 2001), 51.

⁸⁶ Kohei Sugiura, *Nihon no Katachi, Ajia no Katachi* , 27.



Figure 113: A (Anubis and lion guardian in a mural painting, tomb of Khaemwaset, one of the sons of Ramesses III, 1186 - 1155 BCE), B (Book of the Dead, Papyrus of Hunefer, sheet 3, 1300 BCE, British Museum).

out, while lion on the right side of the picture is shown with its mouth closed—the lower jaw is broken. This example is a unique piece to my knowledge and I could not find any other artifact that feature similar quality. Therefore, with only one example in hand, to establish a connection between the uses of A-Un expression in ancient Near East and East Asia is very unlikely. However, we can tell the idea of A-Un expression was very familiar in China, before it was used as a prevalent feature in the image of Japanese shishi and komainu.

As mentioned above, A-Un is one of the visual features in the design of shishi and komainu that proves the iconography of these two guardian creatures are intertwined and cannot be separately interpreted. In the next section, we will review other visual qualities of this kind that showcase the unity of shishi and komainu as a pair, as well as their complementary iconographic meanings. These visual qualities also reveal multiple similarities in the design of komainu and Near Eastern single-horned bull that prove the Near Eastern single-horned bull to be a direct or indirect—via China—source of inspiration for Japanese komainu.

3.15. Dogs, Guardians of the Underworld

Dogs are known as the guardians of the underworld almost universally. This role of the dog probably linked to the fact that dogs were used as a domestic guardian animal from early ages, therefore they are considered as the link between the inner sacred space and the outer chaotic space. Thus, dogs mediate the change from one condition of being to another and they are placed at the threshold of the sacred place.

The most ancient form of tomb guardians known

today is Egyptian Anubis. Anubis is known as the Jackal god of mummification and often depicted in the form of one or two jackals seating face to face above or on both sides of the entrances to the tombs or coffin rooms and other death related ritual rooms (Figure 113-A). Anubis is not only prepares the newly dead for their journey to the underworld by mummification, but it also has a role in the final judgment of the souls. Anubis is the god who leads the deceased to the court of Osiris, god of the underworld for judgment and he is often depicted seating on the right side of a scale and weighting the heart of the deceased against the feather of the Ma'at, the symbol of truth and justice (Figure 113-B). “If the deceased’s heart was as light as the feather, then it would be presented to Osiris, but if the heart was heavier, then it was fed to Ammit and destroyed.”⁸⁷

On the other hand, dog is an important creature in Zoroastrian faith and it is very closely related to the symbolism of death and underworld. The entire 13th chapter of the Zoroastrian book of *Vandidad* is dedicated to the dog as a holy animal. Note, however, that all kinds of creatures—the hedgehog, the dog, the otter and so on are actually called as ‘dog’ in *Avesta*.⁸⁸

Dog was used in death related rituals in Zoroastrian teachings; “orthodox Zoroastrians not only regard the dog as a clean and righteous creature to feed and care for which is meritorious; they also consider that food given to a dog in the name of someone who has died will nourish that person in the hereafter.”⁸⁹

⁸⁷ Clifton D. Bryant, Dennis L. Peck, *Encyclopedia of Death and the Human Experience* (New York, 2009), 344.

⁸⁸ Albert De Jong, *Traditions of the Magi: Zoroastrianism in Greek and Latin Literature* (Leiden, 1998), 182.

⁸⁹ Mary Boyce, *A History of Zoroastrianism: The Early Period* (Leiden, 1996), 303.

‘Sagdid’ which has been translated as “the gaze by the dog death ritual,” is a very important death ritual in Zoroastrian tradition. This is a ritual revolving around the eyes of the dog, where a dog is brought out to gaze upon the corpse. It is believed that the gaze of a dog will purify the corpse from demonic spirits. In earlier times, dogs were believed to have the power of discerning between life and death: “a dog is also said to be a favored Ahuric [Sacred] creature, capable of slaying three thousand demons in a night.”⁹⁰

Based on the teaching of *Vendidad*, the dog used for sagdid rite “should be four-eyed.” This means it should have two eye-like spots above its eyes, which is not a rare quality among both canine and feline animals or, the dog should be white with yellow ears.⁹¹ The former quality refers to ‘Zarringoosh’—golden ears—that is the dog guarding the Chinwat Bridge, the bridge that the spirits suppose to pass in order to enter the heaven. While the earlier quality—the dog having four eyes—refers to the dogs of Yima, the god of death in Indo-Iranian traditions.

In Indo-Iranian mythology, Yima is mentioned as a king and he was among the first ancestors of human beings, however, he ended up being a sinner. He was banished by the Zoroastrian god Ahura Mazda upon a lie and he lost his kingship glory and immortality. Then he was killed by a demon and as the first person who died; he became the king of the underworld. Yima was mentioned as Jamshid in *Shahnameh*—the Book of Kings, the Iranian epic poem written around 10th century.

Similarly, Yama, the ruler of the dead and the god of underworld, is a very famous god in the Vedic culture of India. He is often personified in the form of a setting sun as he descends to the underworld. “His messengers are the aspects of spotted four-eyed dogs, two in number, which are called Sarameya, the name connected with Sarama, the storm. They have been interpreted as meaning the morning and evening breezes, which carry away the souls of the dying, there, being the natural association between the moving air and the depart-

90 Peter Clark, *Zoroastrianism: An Introduction to an Ancient Faith* (UK, 1998), 116.

91 Mary Boyce, *A History of Zoroastrianism: The Early Period*, (Leiden, 1996), 302.

ing spirits.”⁹² The Spirits of the dead in their journey to the underworld should pass by the Yama’s two dogs, Sarameya. *Rig Veda* says: “Pass by a secure path beyond the two spotted four-eyed dogs, the progeny of Sarama, and join the wise pitrs who rejoice joyfully with Yama.”⁹³ Another passage reads: “Entrust him, O king, to your two dogs, which are your protectors, Yama, the four-eyed guardians of the road, renowned by men, and grant him prosperity and health.”⁹⁴

Cerberus is a terrifying three-headed dog and it is the companion of Hades, the Greek god of the underworld. Cerberus is described as seating at the entrance of the underworld facing inward—or downward—and his job is to prevent the spirit of the dead to escape the underworld by tearing them apart. Another interesting point about Cerberus is that “his three heads were said to represent the past, the present and the future.”⁹⁵

The role of the dog as the guardian also inspired some of the rites related to crossing the spiritual or geographical boundaries in China. Different rites concerning the dogs were held in China as early as Shang Dynasty from 16th century BCE to 11th century BCE. Dog sacrifice was one of the major ritual during this era and hardly ever, any building was made without dog sacrifice. Dogs were buried under the foundation, gates roadsides and paths close to human settlements. “In this sacrifice, dogs were torn apart at the gates of the city, thus serving as surrogates for humans who would otherwise be struck down by the ill attendant to the heat of midsummer.”⁹⁶ In another custom, the doorways were anointed by the blood of a white dog to ward off the evil.⁹⁷

Another form of the dog sacrifice prevalent during the Shang Dynasty and Zhou Dynasty (11th century BCE to 3rd century BCE) was associated with the role of the dog as the mediator for the passage between dif-

92 Sir John Taylor Coleridge, Baron Rowland Edmund Prothero Ernle, William Gifford, George Walter Prothero, John Gibson Lockhart, Whitwell Elwin, William Macpherson, Sir William Smith, John Murray, *The Quarterly Review*, Vol 196 (USA, 1902), 477.

93 Mitra Ara, *Eschatology in the Indo-Iranian Traditions: The Genesis and Transformation of a Doctrine* (New York, 2008), 135.

94 Ibid.

95 Ian Frederick William Beckett, *Encyclopedia of Guerrilla Warfare* (New York, 2001), 144.

96 David Gordon, *White Myths of the Dog-Man* (Chicago, 1991), 174.

97 Susan L. Beningson, Cary Yee-Wei Liu, *Providing for the Afterlife: Brilliant Artifacts from Shandong* (New York, 2005), 63.

ferent geographical territories. “Dogs were dismembered or crushed by royal chariots before setting out on a journey (the so-called Ba or driving-over sacrifice).⁹⁸ Sometimes sacrificial dog blood was smeared on the wheels of a chariot.”⁹⁹ Similar to the cultures above, this sacrifice is to invoke the four winds and its shows the association between the dog and wind.¹⁰⁰

Comparably, in many Chinese folklore stories dogs are closely related to the death and afterlife. *Li chi* (the book of Rites, 100 BCE to 200 CE) explains that a grandee officer of the Empire who leaves his state in a self-exile should “... wear morning clothes... slippers of untreated leather, the axle of his wagon is covered with the hide of a white dog...¹⁰¹” The same reference also attested that to ward off the evil spirits, a white dog should be slaughtered and the blood should be applied to the doorposts and windows.



Figure 114: (1-C-1).

During the Shang Dynasty, it is likely that the emperors were buried together with their watchdogs. However, during the Han Dynasty (206 BCE, 220 CE), they were replaced by green-glazed ceramic dogs placed in the tombs as guardians (Figure 114).

Based on all the accounts above, the connection between dog and the underworld in mentioned cultures is clear. Because of their dual nature and their role as the mediators between the sacred and profane, dogs protect the thresholds from the evil forces and malicious spirits. They also have the ability to recognize dead from alive

98 韞 .

99 Roel Sterckx, *The Animal and the Daemon in Early China* (New York, 2002), 232.

100 David Gordon, *White Myths of the Dog-Man*, 174.

101 Ibid, 172.

and friend from the enemy and they are the messengers of the gods of the underworld and they lead the spirits to the realm of the death.

As mentioned above, the white dog seems to have a special place among both Iranian and Chinese customs. This aligns with the descriptions of komainu available from Heian Period documents. This quality of these guardian animals will be further discussed in the conclusion section of this chapter.

3.16. Conclusion

3.16.1. Similar Visual Qualities in the Design of Komainu and Near Eastern Single-Horned Bull

One of the main purposes of this research is to reveal the origin of the komainu’s single horn and find the iconography associated to its horn. I argue that the single horn of Japanese komainu is an adaptation from the image of the bull guardian, which is very popular theme in the art of ancient Near East and it was introduced to Japan through China. Moreover, komainu’s single horn, the same as the horn of Near Eastern bull, is an iconographical reference to regeneration and resurrection power of the moon. In order to support this claim, we need to look at the earlier images available from Japanese komainu. The early images of shishi and komainu from Japanese resources reveal that these two creatures are very different in nature and the appearance of komainu in the earlier times was closer to a bull rather than a lion. Although later the image of komainu changed and it became very close to shishi in appearance, but some of the features in design of komainu—including the single horn—was preserved. These visual features can play an important role in discovering komainu’s original iconographic attributions. The list of these visual features are as followed:

1. Having a single horn.
2. Depicted/described accompanied by lion.
3. Being used as guardian of sacred places.
4. Having a white complexion.
5. Associated with the right side.
6. Representing the end/death.
7. Considered to be female.

3.15.1.1. Having a single horn;

In order to trace the origin of komainu’s single

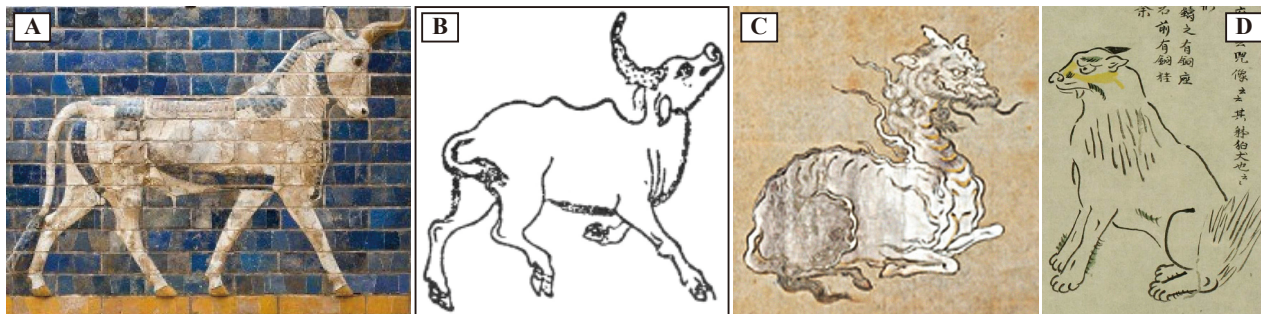


Figure 115: A(2-M-48), B(2-C-1), C(2-J-2), D(2-J-15).

horn, there are a few notes from last sections of this chapter that I would like to bring to attention. First note is a quote from Book of Han, finished in 111, from the forth section of this chapter. This book reveals the origin of three very important guardian animals that were used at the entrance of sacred places in ancient China. *Book of Han* says: in the land of Wuyi “ there exist taoba, lion and xiniu.”¹⁰² Land of Wuyi is the name referring to parts of present Afghanistan and Iran. This quote proves that all of these guardian animals come from a Near Eastern origin. This quote is the link between the Chinese guardian bull, xiniu, and Near Eastern bull guardian. But what is xiniu? There is a quote in an old Japanese document that tells us about xiniu. A late Heian Period scroll, *Ruiju Zatsuyosho No.4* holds two illustrations of xiniu and offers a description about how the name if this animal was pronounced in different parts of China. As shown in Figure 115, it explains that the xiniu and ji are the same animals and they both look like a single-horned bull. Basically, the only difference is that it was called with different names in different parts of China. In northern parts of China, this animal is called xi and in southern parts of China, it is called ji. Aside from the note above; there is also another similarity between the Near Eastern bull and ji and that is the tradition of drinking from their horns. The ninth section of this chapter gives an explicit explanation about the horn-shaped cup and iconography related to it in both ancient Near East and China and how it represents resurrection power of the moon. Since horn resembles the moon crescent in shape, it is believed to be associated with the moon and share its power as a source of resurrection. Hence, horn-shaped cups were used for ceremonial purposes both in ancient Iran and China and it was associated with immortality and longevity. The horn-shaped

cup is mentioned repeatedly in the classical documents of both Iran and china (see section nine).

On the other hand, there is another Japanese document that reveals the connection between ji and komainu. As mentioned in the seventh section of this chapter, *Bun'an Gosokui Chodonozu* is an illustrated scroll on the implements of accession during the Bun'an Period, from 1444 to 1449. This document also includes an illustration of shishi and komainu. On the side of this illustration, there is a short annotation that reads; the image of ji becomes komainu. This annotation from *Bun'an Gosokui Chodonozu* is the link between Chinese single-horned bull, known as ji, and Japanese komainu and it proves that although by the time of fifteenth century, Japanese komainu looked more like a lion rather than a bull, but it was originally inspired by a Chinese single-horned bull known as ji. Hence, komainu has inherited its horn from ji and as mentioned above, ji is a mythical creature with Near Eastern origin.

Figure 115 shows four images to demonstrate the stages of transformation from Near Eastern single-horned bull to Japanese Komainu. Figure 115-A is the famous single-horned bull of the Ishtar gate in ancient Babylon, built in sixth century BCE. It is the image of a white bull captured from a profile view and there is a curved single horn on top its head. It is not known that the artist illustrated this bull actually intended to show a unicorn animal, or the single horn on top of the bull's head is out of necessity of a two-dimensional design, when the horn in the back is hidden behind the horn in the front, therefore only one of the horns is visible. However, since there are no statues of the single-horned bull guardian found in Mesopotamia around the same era, it is less likely that the single horn is intentional. Nonetheless, viewers from outside Near East could easily have interpreted it as an indispensable feature of a

102 《汉书·西域传上·乌弋山离国》：“有桃拔、师子、犀牛。”

mythical bull, which only has a single horn.

Figure 115-B is the image of Chinese *ji*, as it is illustrated in *Sen Gai Kou*. In this book, *ji* has been described as an animal with “an appearance of a bull, which has a dark blue complexion and a single horn.”¹⁰³ Comparing the images from the Ishtar gate bull and *ji*, the only difference is the color; while *komainu* and Ishtar gate bull is white, *ji* is described as having a dark blue complexion.

The next image in the row is the Japanese *komainu* is from *Ruiju Zatsuyosho No.4* (Figure 115-C). Although this document written during the Heian Period around tenth century, but the illustrations included in this document has been added much later in Edo Period around eighteenth century. *Komainu* illustrated in this document is very different from the image of the *komainu*, as we know it today. It resembles an animal with hooves, a long neck and a single horn on the head. Comparing this illustration with the earlier images from Mesopotamia and China demonstrates the similarity between *komainu* and the creatures it was originated from; first the Near Eastern bull and then *ji*, the Chinese unicorn.

However, the *komainu* as we know today is very similar to the image provided by *Bun'an Gosokui Chodonozu*, illustrated in fifteenth century. As shown in Figure 115-D, the *komainu* from *Bun'an Gosokui Chodonozu* resembles a canine animal with claws and sharp teeth. Although, comparing *komainu* from *Bun'an Gosokui Chodonozu* with the other images we reviewed in this section, it is clear that it a very different animal, yet we can still find the single horn on top of its head. The reason that *komainu*'s horn was preserved in this process of transformation is that it serves as a reference to *komainu*'s original iconographic significance. As mentioned in sections sixth and eighth of this chapter, both Near Eastern bull and *ji* are animals associated with the moon and a great part of this association is the similarity between the crescent moon and the shape of their horns. The horns of these animals are considered to share the mystical powers of the moon that includes immortality through resurrection after death. Therefore, horn is a very important visual feature in the image of both Near Eastern bull and Chinese *ji* and later in Japan,

¹⁰³ Miyoshi Koma, trans. *Sen Gai Kyou*, 493.

when the image of these two animals were transforming into a new guardian animal, the single horn was a feature that was iconographically important enough to be preserved. The single horn is one of the visual features that references to the lunar nature of Japanese *komainu*.

3.15.1.2. Depicted/described accompanied by lion;

In the literature review section of this chapter, we saw that *shishi* and *komainu* are mentioned in numerous Japanese court documents as two completely different animals (see Table 28). All of these documents are very particular about the differences in the appearance of *shishi* and *komainu* and where they are supposed to be located. This tells us three points about *shishi* and *komainu*;

1. Placement of *shishi* and *komainu*—always at the entrance of sacred places— shows that *shishi* and *komainu* are creatures designed to be guardians.

2. Differences in the appearance of *shishi* and *komainu* are very carefully described and documented. This reveals that each of these visual features have very distinguished iconographic meanings that attributes to their role as guardians.

3. Although *shishi* and *komainu* are named and described as completely different creatures, but they are always paired together. This shows that although they have distinguished features that might have different iconographic meanings, but these meanings are complementary.

We can summarize their three points in one sentence; *Shishi* and *komainu* are inseparable. They are two creatures as a pair and one pair that include two creatures. Thus, the iconographic attributions of each of the visual features in their design are complementary, although they might seem different. Hence, none of them is complete without its all time companion.

On the other hand, Chinese unicorn, *ji*, is a mythical creature with multiple attributions and to be used as a guardian animal is one of these attributions. As mentioned in sixth section of this research, in Chinese mythology, *ji* is associated to the moon, the horn-shaped cup and longevity. On the other hand, *ji* appears in classical poetry of China paired with tiger. *Tao Te Ching* in section 50 says that whoever “excels in preserving their life”—or in other words, become immortal—will not

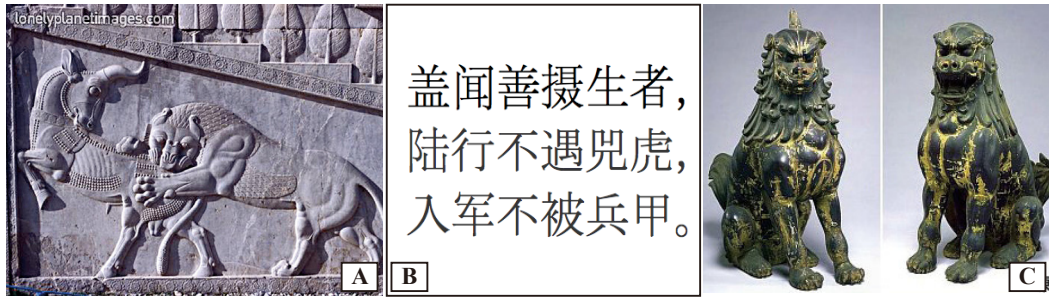


Figure 116: A(2-I-29), B(a passage from *Tao Te Ching*, section 50), C(2-J-11).

be harmed by the attack of ji or tiger (Figure 116-B), which are representing the extreme forces of nature. Here in this poem, immortality is described as overcoming ji and tiger as the elementary forces of nature.

Near Eastern bull also is often shown accompanied by lion, either in a calm and balanced setting or in combat. The famous motif of lion-bull combat motif is a very good example of this companionship (Figure 116-A), although in some cases other prey and other predator animals were used instead of lion and bull. As described in the eleventh section of this chapter, lion-bull combat motif has been used by various cultures around the Near East and Mediterranean region for a very long time. Therefore, it is inevitable that this motif holds an important iconographic significance. As Willy Hartner and Richard Ettinghausen suggest; the iconographic significance of lion-bull combat motif undoubtedly changed during the course of time; first it is an astronomical symbol in its earliest occurrences, later it changed to symbol of royalty, and finally it was understood as a religious motif.¹⁰⁵ Shapour Shahbazi offers a very interesting interpretation of the lion-bull combat motif. He proposes that in this motif lion represents the sun and bull represents the moon and together, they represent a “specific time in Zoroastrian calendar, when the sun immerses victorious over the moon and there is no sign of shadow and darkness remained.”¹⁰⁶ Although there still is a lot of room for argument in this interpretation, but the fact is that lion and bull in this motif represent some sort of rival forces. Hence, regardless of the iconographic significance of this motif, lion and bull are inseparable companions and lion-bull combat motif

should be seen as a whole to be understood correctly. This quality is very much similar to the companionship of shishi and komainu. Although they represent different creatures, but in order to showcase their significance, they should be always used as a pair.

There are numerous examples of lion and bull companionship in thirteenth section of this chapter and also appendices of this research. Lion and bull represented in the form of a hybrid animal is one of the manifestations of this companionship. Figure 108-A, F are two examples from ancient Egypt and Northwestern Iran that show two-headed hybrid animals with one head of a lion and one head of a bull. Lion and bull also appear as companions in quasi-human form. Figure 107 portrays lion and bull in anthropomorphic poses. As black and Green claim; bulls and lions in quasi-human pose “have been interpreted as the elementary principles of the world order.”¹⁰⁷ Despite the interpretation, pairing of lion with bull—or other animals with horn and hooves—is an extremely popular theme in the ancient Near East and Chinese ji also appears in Classical poetry paired with tiger. Therefore, it seems that Japanese pairing of shishi and single-horned komainu is something more than merely a coincidence.

3.15.1.3. Being used as guardian of sacred places;

Many old Japanese court documents that had mentioned shishi and komainu as guardian figures used during the main ceremonies or on daily bases at the entrance of the resting tent of the emperor known as Michoudai (see Table 28). On the other hand, we know that there was another horned creature used in Japanese imperial court as guardian before komainu even existed. According to *Engishiki*, the book of administrative regulations during the Era of Engi from 901 to 923, during major ceremonies, such as the enthronement of

¹⁰⁴ “*Tao Te Ching*”, Tim Chilcott Literary Translations, accessed July 28, 2013, http://www.tclt.org.uk/laozi/Daode_Jing_2011.pdf

¹⁰⁵ Willy Hartner and Richard Ettinghausen, “The Conquering Lion; The Life Cycle of a Symbol”, *Oriens* 17 (Dec. 1964): 161.

¹⁰⁶ Alireza Shapour Shahbazi, *Rahnamay-e Mostanad-e Takht-e Jamshid*, 110.

¹⁰⁷ Jeremy Black, Anthony Green, *Gods, Demons and Symbols of Ancient Mesopotamia: An Illustrated Dictionary* (Texas, 1992), 48.



Figure 117: A(Tauroctony fresco in the Mithraeum at Marino, Italy, third century), B(2-GI-34), C(2-J-3).

an emperor or the New Year's Day, one statue of ji was placed at the left side of the gateway to the left ceremonial building; and another statue of ji at the right side of the gateway to the right ceremonial building. This document proves that ji as the guardian animal used in the Japanese court during the Heian Period.

Moreover, lion and bulls are the main guardian animals used at the entrance of many palaces and temples throughout ancient Egypt, Mesopotamia and Iran. They are used in various forms, such as; their natural form, in the form of composite animals and in the form of sphinxes—with the human head and animal body. One of the features of Near Eastern guardians is that they are usually come in pair, and they are usually places on the both sides of the entrance or the gateway they are guarding. However, the statues from a pair usually represent the same animal. Some examples of lions and bulls used as gateway guardian are presented in Figure 106. Despite that, there are some of examples of Syro-Palestinian mosaic works from sixth century that represent lion and bull as a pair of guardians (Figure 109). Although pairing of lion and bull as gateway guardians is not as popular either in ancient Near East, but existing examples mentioned above are the evidence that it was not unthinkable either.

3.15.1.4. Having a white complexion;

Bundahishn, the ancient Zoroastrian script on the world's creation, has a passage that describes the creation of sole-created ox, a heavenly creature in Zoroastrian traditions. This passage reads as: "Fifthly, he [the god, Ahura Mazda] created the sole-created ox in Eranvej [location], in the middle of the earth, on the shore of the river Veh-Daitya... She was white and shining like the moon."¹⁰⁹ This passage of the *Bundahishn* clearly describes the heavenly ox as a female creature, with a

¹⁰⁸ Chisato Uesugi, *Komaiju Jiten*, 111.

¹⁰⁹ Behramgore Tehmuras Anklesaria, trans. *Greater Bundahishn*, la-12-13.

white complexion. Additionally, *Bundahishn* takes one step further and associates the white complexion of the ox to white color of the moon. This is a statement that shows the deep iconographic connections between the bull and the moon in Iranian traditions. Sole-created ox is the sacred animal that was created by the Zoroastrian god, Ahura Mazda, and eventually it was killed in an attack by demons of Ahriman, the evil force, and after it was dead, the ox's body parts turned into different kind of plants and other natural materials.

Another myth from Mithraism tenet describes similar scene. The only difference is that Mithra himself is depicted killing the bull. Often representations of Tauroctony—Mithra killing the bull—in the form of a painting or sculpture is placed above the altar in Mithraeums across Europe (Figure 117-A). In the colored versions of these works, the bull is depicted with a white complexion, similar to the bull described by *Bundahishn*.

In addition, white bull has been repeatedly shown as the animals associated to the Hindu god, Shiva, especially in Ardhanarisvara form. Ardhanarisvara is a depiction of Shiva and his consort, Parvati in the form of a composite body with Shiva forming the right side and Parvati forming the left side—some times this theme is represented as companionship of Shiva and Parvati (Figure 117-B). Ardhanarisvara is a great representation of the companionship between lion and bull. Although in some cases, lion is replaced by tiger, but tiger and lion are considered to be the same animal in Indian culture. In most of Ardhanarisvara paintings, the god Shiva is depicted with a crescent moon on his forehead. This representation reveals the connection between the white bull and the moon.

On the other hand, although we know that ji, the Chinese unicorn is associated to the moon through numerous representations of ji gazing at the moon and also

Chinese classical poetry, but the classical Chinese documents describe *ji* with a dark blue complexion. Therefore, it is very interesting when *komainu*, which is inspired by *ji*, is often described with a white complexion (Figure 117-C). Some of the old Japanese documents that commented on the color of *komainu* are included in table 26. In many of the visual cases, yellow color of *shishi* is interpreted as gold and white color of is interpreted as silver.

Therefore, as the observations above indicate, Japanese *komainu* and Near Eastern bull both have been described with a white complexion. Although, ancient Zoroastrian documents on the bull specifically describe it as white and shining as the moon, but there is no comment available on the iconography of the white color of *komainu*. However, Sugiura claims that: “the color of the dogs waiting at the entrance is important. The yellow color resembles life, while the white resembles death.”¹¹⁰ Hence, the yellow color of *shishi* resembles life and the white color of *komainu* resembles death. We will come back to the iconographical meanings of the colors of *shishi* and *komainu* and their connection to life and death in the following sections of this research.

3.15.1.5. Associated with the right side;

Another shared visual quality between Japanese *Komainu* and Near Eastern bull is that they are both associated with the right side. As discussed above, is customary in Japan that looking from the inside of the sacred place, *Komainu* is always placed at the right side of an entrance or gateway. In *Ruiju Zatsuyosho No.4*, a scroll dated the end of Heian Period, the appearance of *shishi* and *komainu* are described in detail. This scroll notes that: “on the left side, *shishi* is placed, with yellow complexion and its mouth open. On the right side, *komainu* is placed with white complexion, its mouth closed and a single horn.”¹¹¹ Very same costume is still practiced in the Imperial Palace of Kyoto and *shishi* and *komainu* are still placed at the entrance of *Michoudai*, the resting place of the emperor in the same style (Graph 11-C). Looking from the inside, *shishi* is placed on the left side of the entrance and *komainu* is placed on the right side of the entrance. As mentioned earlier this chapter, there is an explanation about the names of

110 Kohei Sugiura, *Nihon no Katachi, Aija no Katachi*, 29.

111 天立之左獅子於色黃口開、右胡摩犬於色白、不開口在角。

shishi and *komainu* and its relation to their placement on the left side or the right side of the entrance. Chinese and Korean cultures had a great influence on Japan during the Asuka Era around seventh century CE. These influences are clear in different aspects such as religion, ethics, science and arts. For instance, in Japanese tradition music referred as ‘Gagaku,’ different styles of music introduced to Japan via China and Korea are bright together as one; while the musicians on the left side are performing the Chinese style—known as *Kara-gaku* to Tang style music referring to Tang Dynasty of China—the musicians on the right side perform the Korean style music—known as *Koma-gaku* or Korean style music referring to *Goguryeo* Dynasty of Korea. Apparently, a similar system of arrangement was used in the placement of *shishi* and *komainu*; where *shishi* also known as *karajishi*—Tang style lion—is placed on the left side of the entrance and *komainu*—*Goguryeo* style dog—is placed on the right side of the entrance.

There is another reason that the ‘Korean dog is associated to the right side and it is the association to death and underworld. It is explicitly discussed in the fifteenth section of this chapter that Dogs are closely associated to the underworld in the Near Eastern, Indian and Chinese cultures. Facing the south, the west or the setting point of the sun is located on the right side and in many of the cultures above, that is where the gates of the underworld are located. Therefore, *komainu* which is a combination of the iconography of the dog and the bull is also located on the right side or the west.

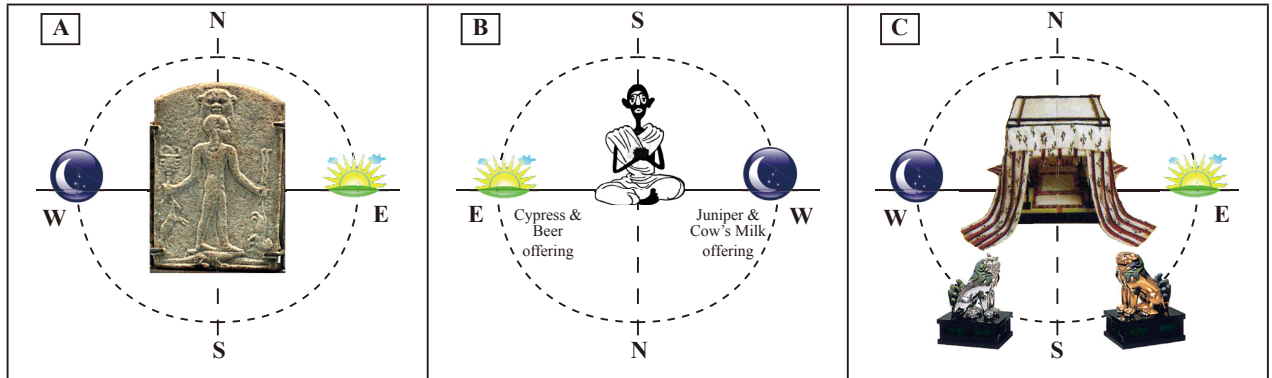
On the other hand, Near Eastern bull is also associated with the right side. In Zoroastrian mythology, there are numerous myths that describe the bull. According to *Bundahishn*, the sole-created ox was first created on the right shore of *Daitya* River.¹¹² Also, according to the ancient Iranian mythology, “*Gayomard* [the first-created man] emerged from the left arm of the god *Ahura Mazda*, and the sole-created ox emerged from his right arm.”¹¹³

Furthermore, we can see the magical power of the placement of horned animal on the right hand and lion on the left hand in the nature of the *Horus* stela (Graph

112 Behramgore Tehmuras Anklesaria, trans. *Greater Bundahishn*, Ia-12-13.

113 Mehrdad Bahar, *Pajouheshi dar Asatir-e Iran*, 91.

Graph 11: A(Horus in a Cippus of Horus stela, 2-E-19), B(The prayer setting for a patient with migraine mentioned in Akkadian tablet known as KAR 184), C(Traditional setting of Michoudai in Imperial Palace of Kyoto).



11-A). These Egyptian stela depict the Egyptian god, Horus, holding the horn of an ibex in the right hand and the tail of a lion in the left hand. Most of tablets of this kind are dated after seventh century BCE and artifacts with identical design from Luristan and Northwestern Iran predate the Egyptian version. Thus, it is possible that the magical power of protection associated to this design has Mesopotamian or west Iranian origin. For example, as mentioned in the thirteenth section of this chapter, the Akkadian tablet known as KAR 184 has an explicit description of a medical treatment. In this tablet, cow's milk is libated to the moon god, sin, on the left side of the patient, which is from the god's point of view the right side (Graph 11-B). This example clearly shows the connection between the moon, the bull and the right side.

Based on the graphs above (Graph 11), we can easily identify the sides associated to lion and the horned animal. In case of Horus stela and Japanese Michoudai, lion is on the left side of the god and it resembles the sun. While the horned animal is located on the right side and it resembles the moon. Whereas, in case of the Akkadian tablet, since we are looking at the setting from the devotees' point of view, the placement is mirrored. However, if we look at it from the god's point of view, it is identical to the Egyptian and Japanese setting. The symbols associated to the sun god are located on the left side and the symbols associated to the moon god are located on the right side.

3.15.1.6. Representing the end/death;

As mentioned earlier, komainu is a combination of visual features found in other mythical creatures introduced to Japan along with guardian lions; such as dog

and bull. Although, the emergence of the single-horned komainu and its pairing with a lion was a Japanese innovation, but there is a lot more to how the image of this amazing guardian creature has evolved to its present appearance.

In order to examine the next shared visual quality between Komainu and the bull, we need to revisit the meaning of the word komainu. Komainu is translated as 'Korean dog,' which refers to the fact that komainu is among the guardian animals that are introduced to Japan from the mainland Asia.¹¹⁴ Therefore, from the name of this animal it is clear that komainu is considered as a dog, not a lion. In the fifteenth section of this chapter, the iconography of the dog and its association to death and the gods of underworld is discussed and it is clear that in ancient Egypt, Iran, India and China dogs are known not only as guardians, but also as the connectors between the world of living and the world of the dead. Because the dogs are believed to seat at the threshold of the human and demonic worlds, they are believed to have a mixed nature and they have the ability to recognise the dead from alive.

A-Un is another visual quality that explains the connection between the komainu and the end or death. A-Un and the facial expression of Japanese guardian lions, shishi and komainu. As mentioned earlier, facial expressions of shishi and komainu symbolize two letters from the Sanskrit alphabet, "A" and "Un."¹¹⁵ Shishi with its mouth open—known as A kei in Japanese—renders the expression of "A," which is the first letter of the Sanskrit alphabet representing the beginning of all

¹¹⁴ Chisato Uesugi, *Komainu Jiten*, 102.

¹¹⁵ 阿形 .

things. Komainu, with its mouth closed—or, Un kei¹¹⁶ in Japanese—is believed to express “Un,” the last letter of the Sanskrit alphabet representing the end of all things.¹¹⁷ Thus, through the “A-Un” expression, shishi and komainu together represent the beginning and the end.

All the same, we can find a similar concept in the design of lion-bull combat motif. In most representations of Lion-bull combat motif, the lion—the predator—is depicted hooking his sharp teeth in either the hindquarter or the throat of his doomed prey. Therefore, the bull—or, the prey—appears to be defeated, and it resembles the end or death. However, as studied in eighth and ninth section of this chapter, bull’s horn is the medium of the moon’s immortality, as the horn is believed to contain the divine beverage of resurrection and immortality. Therefore, while the bull is depicted as moribund, but death is not the conclusion of its life. Bull in lion-bull combat motif represents the moon itself. “The moon is the first of the dead. For three nights the sky is dark; but as the moon is reborn on the forth night,¹¹⁸ so shall the dead achieve a new sort of existence.” This quote is the core of the moon symbology. Since moon appears and disappears from the night sky, it is believed to be travelling between the world of dead and living, therefore the moon holds the secret of resurrection and rebirth. Bull in lion-bull combat motif has similar lunar iconography. Although it is depicted at the end of its life, but it is expected to resurrect through the power of the moon in his horn. As mentioned before, there are two myths from the region of Near east and Mediterranean that speak of the killing on the bull and in both of these myths, the death of the heavenly bull is recognized as a source of fertility and resurrection of the world. In both of these stories, after heavenly bull is dead, its body parts turn into plants and other natural materials that could be interpreted as a new sort of existence.

Here, we can conclude that since the bull’s horn holds the secret of the moon’s power of regeneration, the bull’s death is not the conclusion of his life. The bull in the lion-bull combat motif represents the moon itself, and although it is represented at the end of its life, it

also symbolizes rebirth and regeneration: by the power of resurrection of the moon held in his single horn, the bull has the ability to return from death.

Hence, it is common between komainu and the Near Eastern bull to represent either end or death. As komainu implies to the end by the facial expression of Un, the near Eastern bull indicates death as a prey in the claws of its predator.

3.15.1.7. Considered to be female;

As we can see in table 26, none of the available documents give any comment about the gender of Japanese komainu, but the general consensus about komainu is that it is a female creature. As mentioned before, Japanese komainu was deeply inspired from the image of the Chinese unicorn ji and ji was named as female xiniu by some of the Chinese ancient documents.¹¹⁹ Ji is a mythical creature that is closely association with the moon. It is described as a female character and classified as a yin creature in Chinese cosmology. This does not necessary means that ji is a female creature, but because the concept of yin is closely associated to being female, it also could have been misunderstood as the sex of the animal.

When ji was chosen as a source of inspiration for the new guardian creature, Japanese komainu inherited this quality. Nonetheless, there are numerous visual representations of komainu in Japan that embody this creature as a masculine figure. In some cases, komainu is even portrayed with the male organs. However, at the end, because komainu is inspired by ji and ji is associated to the moon, therefore komainu also takes after ji and it is considered to be female and associated to the moon.

In case of ancient Near East, the sole-created ox mentioned in Zoroastrian ancient texts is described as a female creature. *Bundahishn* includes a passage that reads; “she was white and shining like the moon.”¹²⁰ Based on this passage, the heavenly ox is female. However, most of the visual representations of the bull depicted in ancient artworks portray it as a male animal, with the male organs attached to its body.

116 阡形 .

117 Chisato Uesugi, *Komainu Jiten*, 121.

118 Mircea Eliade, *Patterns in Comparative Religion*, 162.

119 “Chinese online dictionary” accessed August 25, 2013, <http://www.zdic.net/z/15/js/5155.html>.

120 Behramgore Tehmuras Anklesaria, trans. Greater *Bundahishn*, Ia-12-13.

Therefore to sum up, on one hand, there is the Near Eastern bull that is named as female in Zoroastrian texts but in visual representations, it is often a male animal, and on the other hand, there is komainu that is mostly known as female and inherited this quality from the female Chinese unicorn, ji.

3.16.2. Conclusion

In the first section of conclusion, seven visual features of komainu had been explicitly discussed and we talked about what makes these visual features special enough to last as a prominent feature in the design of this guardian creature. The list of these visual features is as followed;

1. Having a single horn.
2. Depicted/described accompanied by lion.
3. Being used as guardian of sacred places.
4. Having a white complexion.
5. Associated with the right side.
6. Representing the end/death.
7. Considered to be female.

The first visual quality is the single horn. As explained earlier, single horn is one of the prominent features of komainu and it is one of the features that survived the major changes that komainu went through, after it was first appeared toward the end of Heian Period. Both Near Eastern bull and komainu are often—not always—depicted with a single horn on the head. In my opinion, the reason that the single horn was preserved was its iconographic connection to the moon and its resurrection power. In the eighth and ninth sections of this chapter the iconographic connections between the moon and the bull's horn was reviewed and it was explained—based on the classical Chinese and Iranian texts—that how in the ancient China and Iran drinking from the horn was believed to bring resurrection and longevity. Therefore, the single horn of Near Eastern bull inspired the Chinese unicorn ji and ji worked as an inspiration for komainu. The horn on the head of all these of three mythical creatures represent the moon and its power of resurrection and rebirth.

The second shared quality between the Near Eastern bull and komainu is that they are both accompanied by lion. As explained above the iconography in the design of shishi and komainu is so intertwined that if

seen separately, they would both lose their iconographic attributions. Therefore, komainu is always represented accompanied by shishi. Similarly, lion-bull combat motif, which we talked about in the eleventh section of this chapter, is also one of the motifs that has to be seen in the style that is represented, or it will not transfer the meaning that it is designed for. The companionship of lion and the prey in this motif and victory of lion in the battle has very specific iconographic meaning. The fact that this motif was used by many nations in the region of Near East, during a very long time span, shows that lion-bull combat motif is more than just a simple imitation of the nature. Moreover, numerous other examples is presented throughout this chapter and also in appendices section of this research that demonstrate the connection between lion and bull—or in some cases, other animals with horn and hooves—and their connected iconographic attributions.

As mentioned above, komainu, or the Korean dog is designed as a companion for shishi or Chinese lion. Therefore, the iconographic attributions of shishi and komainu as different animals are very much intertwined. In other words, although shishi and komainu represent different animals, but they are only complete in the presence of each other. Their visual features are not only contrary, but also complementary. While the Chinese lion represents the immortality of the sun, the Korean dog is associated with death and the gods of underworld. As described in the fifteenth section of this chapter, dogs in Near Eastern, Indian and Chinese cultures are closely associated to death and underworld and because they are the animals that leave on the threshold of the house as guardians, they are also considered to be the mediators who connect between the opposing areas of sacred and profane. Therefore, dogs are not only the guardians and they prevent the mixture between the dead and living, but they also guide the passing spirits to the underworld and they provide the connection between the two worlds.

However, Near Eastern bull is a creature with different iconographic attributions. As explained in eighth section of this chapter, the bull is also closely associated with the moon in ancient Near East and this is the reason that it is often used as the guardian of the moon god. Both lions and bulls are used repeatedly as protectors of

sacred palaces in ancient Near East and many examples are available in appendices section of this research.

While shishi is originated outside Japan and it was introduced to Japan around sixth or seventh century, komainu is a guardian animal somewhat original to Japan. Komainu is a combination of multiple guardian animals. Komainu has an appearance close to shishi, it bears the name of a dog and it holds the horn of a bull.

During the tenth century, when komainu first appeared, it was made out of wood and it was only used indoors in the imperial court. However, the new age komainu is usually placed outdoor at the entrance of shrines and it is usually made from stone that is more durable in outdoor conditions. While many of recent statues of shishi and komainu sharing the same color, but old documents of Japanese imperial court describe shishi and komainu with different appearances; shishi has a yellow complexion and komainu has a white complexion. Hence, it is clear that when komainu first appeared it was often made with a white complexion. All the same, numerous examples mentioned in this chapter show that in many Near Eastern depictions of the bull, it is also portrayed as a white animal. Moreover, *Bundahishn* not only describes the bull as white, but it also clearly associates this color to the white color of the moon. Although Chinese unicorn ji was also associated to the moon, but the ancient Chinese texts describe it as a single-horned bull with a dark blue complexion.¹²¹ Consequently, it is clear that the white color of komainu is not inspired by ji, and it might have been a direct influence from the image of the Near Eastern bull. Regardless of the origin, this quality—like the single horn—is one of the qualities that stayed intact in transformation process during the tenth to fifteenth century. This fact shows that this visual feature has an important iconographic meaning that is crucial to the image of komainu, and in my opinion, this feature is another reference to the connection between komainu and the moon.

Another visual quality is the placement of komainu. Looking from the inside, komainu is always placed on the right side of the entrance to sacred places. As discussed earlier, the custom of placement of shishi on the left side and komainu on the right side is associated with the fact that they are imported guardian

¹²¹ Miyoshi Koma, trans. *Sen Gai Kyō*, 493.

animals. It has been mentioned earlier that a similar system also used in the traditional court music, known as ‘Gagaku.’ In the gagaku performances, the musicians are divided to two groups; Kara-gaku is the group on the left side and they play the music with the Chinese origin. While the group on the right side are called Komagaku and they play the music originated in Korea. Shishi which often called as karajishi represent the Chinese lion guardian, while komainu seating on the right side represents the Korean dog guardian. While lion represents the sun, komainu in most of the cultures discussed in this research is known as an animal related to the underworld. In India, the dogs are believed to be the messenger of the god Yama, the lord of the underworld who is often represented as the setting sun,¹²² therefore, the right side which represents the west is most suitable location for the dog who is associated to the underworld and the setting sun.

Near Eastern bull is also closely associated to the right side. Quotes from *Bundahishn*, the creation myth of ancient Iran, cites that the heavenly bull was created from the right arm of the god Ahura Mazda, and it was first created on the right side on the mythical river Veh-Daitya.¹²³ Moreover, in many representations, such as Horus stela, the horned animal is placed in the right hand of the god. All these account and more listed in the appendices section, show that association to the right side is common between the Near Eastern bull and Japanese komainu.

This is another visual quality of komainu that is carefully recorded by the old Japanese documents and it was followed as a custom throughout the ages. It is known that the east, as the location of sunrise, is the side associate to the sun and the west side, as the location of the sunset, and because it is where the night starts, associated to the moon. The akkadian tablet of KAR 184 clearly states this association, and it is demonstrated in Graph 10. We also know that the god—or in some cases, the emperor—were usually placed facing the southward. Therefore, the left side of the sod would be the East, or the side associated to the sun, and the left side of the god would be the west, or the side associated

¹²² Arthur Anthony Macdonell, *Vedic Mythology*, (Stockton, 2004), 173.

¹²³ Behramgore Tehmuras Anklesaria, trans. *Greater Bundahishn*, Ia-12-13.

to the moon. In my opinion, the reason that both komainu and the bull are described or pictured at the right side is that they are both related to the moon. The right side in both of these cultures considered to be associated to the moon.

The last quality is that both Near Eastern bull and Japanese komainu are believed to be female creatures. The accounts describing the Near Eastern bull as a female animal are not many. The only document that considered the sole-created ox as a female animal is *Bundahishn*¹²⁴ and the visual representations of the bull on various artifacts are usually portray it as a male animal. It is all the same in case of the Japanese komainu. None of the old documents that mentioned komainu include any comment about the gender of this creature, but general believe is that komainu is a female animal. Ji, the Chinese prototype of komainu, was name as a female creature in the ancient documents.¹²⁵

We know that in East Asian cosmology, femininity is one of the qualities that is associated to the force of yin and also the moon. Sugiura cites that: “shishi with the mouth open is a male or yang, representing the heaven and the sun. Komainu with the mouth closed is a female or yin, representing the earth and the moon.”¹²⁶ Therefore, regardless of the belief on the gender of single-horned bull in the Near East, because it is associated to the moon, the bull could easily be interpreted as a female animal among the East Asian cultures. Hence, this quality is also one of the qualities that demonstrate the connection between komainu and the moon.

In conclusion, we can say that although the komainu known today resembles a canine animal, but as it shows in the earlier illustrations, komainu is inspired by the image of a single horn bull known as ji. Ji is a Chinese mythical animal that is inspired by another mythical creature from the Near East, the image of a single-horned bull. Numerous accounts such as their association to the moon and their horn used as a drinking vessel prove their connection.

Although the appearance of the komainu has changed drastically over time, but some of the visual

features that komainu inherited from its ancestor, Near Eastern single-horned bull, remained unchanged. These visual qualities are the main focus of this chapter, and by closely studying them; we can find not only the origin of komainu, but also the iconography behind the visual features in its appearance.

Most of the visual features listed above are common in both the appearance of komainu and Near Eastern single-horned bull. All of these commonalities and all the accounts examined through out this chapter prove that the idea of komainu—directly or indirectly—is heavily inspired by the idea of single-horned bull in the Near East and both of these creature reflect similar iconography. Both of these mythical creatures are visual representations of the moon and despite all the changes that komainu went through, the reason that the single horn of komainu was preserved is that the horn is a source of resurrection and regeneration. It gives the komainu the ability to transcend between the world of living and the world of dead. For a guardian creature, this is a crucial ability, because as a guardian placed at the borderline between the sacred and the profane, komainu holds qualities from both of these areas. In this sense, komainu, by the power of the moon in its horn, is a creature that can traverse between the world of living and the world of dead. This quality has made komainu the ideal gateway guardian in Japan that stands at the threshold of a shrine and connects the sacred space to the profane.

124 Behramgore Tehmuras Anklesaria, trans. *Greater Bundahishn*, 1a-12-13.

125 “Chinese online dictionary” accessed August 25, 2013, <http://www.zdic.net/z/15/js/5155.html>.

126 Sugiura, *Nihon no katachi, Ajia no katachi*, 27.

Conclusion

Conclusion

In this research, I examine two visual features commonly used in the design of Japanese guardian lions, in order to discover the iconography associated to these guardian animals: the motif known as ‘shishimoyou’ and komainu’s single horn. To examine the iconographic background of these visual features, I trace down similar visual features in the design of ancient Near Eastern guardian animals, which are known as the origin of Japanese shishi and komainu. Although the iconography of these visual features might have been changed or forgotten throughout the ages, but this research in the detailed visual features of shishi and komainu can explain a lot about the history, as well as the function of these guardian animals as a gateway guardians in the structure of the sacred places in Japanese culture.

Two visual features examined in this research are leonine body marking, which is a torsional motif that usually appears on the body of shishi and komainu, and komainu’s single horn. A visual comparison method is used to argue that the Japanese pairing of shishi and komainu as the guardians of sacred places is deeply influenced from the image of the Near Eastern lion and bull guardians. The torsional body marking that was introduced to Japan from the ancient Near Eastern visual art is a reference to the solar nature of shishi. The whirling motif that is often seen on the body or in the design of tail or mane of Japanese guardian lions is a motif that was introduced to Japan from the art of the main land Asia. This motif has a very long history in the ancient Egypt and Mesopotamia and it appears on lions’ bodies as early as third millennium BCE. Since there is no bibliographic evidence on the iconographic meanings of this motif, the examples available from the visual arts are the only reliable source of information available. Through the visual analysis in the second chapter of this research, it is clear that most of the motifs used as animal body markings on lions are sun related symbols. The whirling forms of these motifs represent the movement of the luminaries in the sky and it also represents the whirling core of the cosmos that causes fertility and abundance in the world.

The reason that the lions are depicted with this motif is that based on the Near eastern mythology, lions

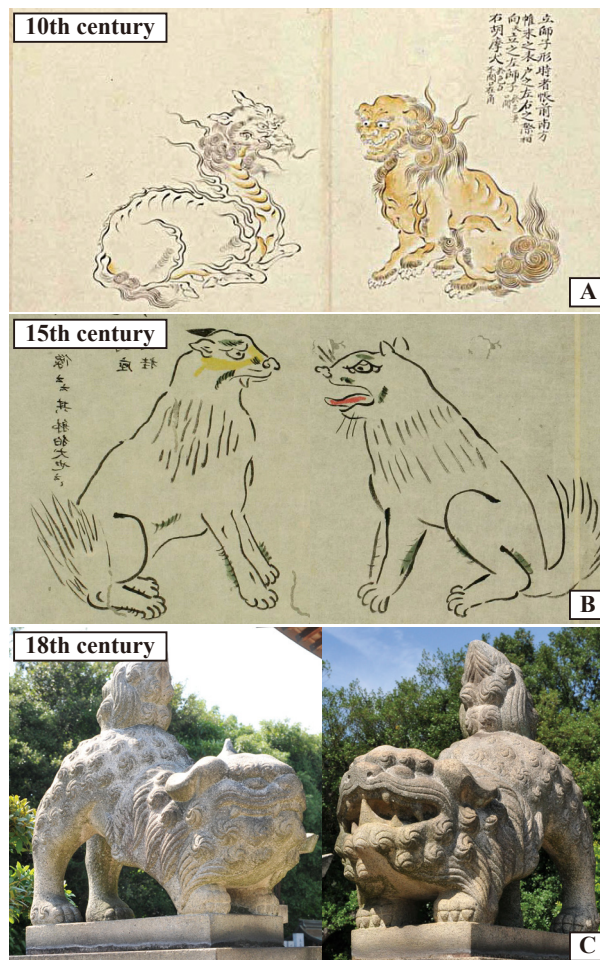


Figure 118:A(2-J-3), B(2-J-15), C(1-J-23).

are the guardians of the cosmic gateways between the world of living and the world of dead. Lions are also associated to the sun. The sun is the only living being that travels to the underworld every night and comes back to the world of living in the morning. Lion is the protector of the sun during its night time journey to the underworld, therefore, the lion is closely associated to the movements of the sun in the sky, that define concepts like time and cardinal directions. Therefore, since the sacred place is a small imitation of the cosmos, lion guardians are needed to not only define a limit between the sacred place and the profane, but also represent such concepts as past and future, as well as the directions of the movements of the sun in the sky.

On the other hand the whirling motif, which is the most popular form of the animal body marking, represents the concept of change and transformation from one condition of being to another: such as death to rebirth or sacred to profane and so on. Hence, the whirling form of the motif has the meaning of passing the borderline to a new condition of the time and space.

Therefore, considering the function of the lions as the guardians that seat at the borderline of the sacred place, the whirling form of the body marking is very suitable motif.

The iconography of komainu's single horn is studied in the third chapter of this research. komainu's horn is an adaptation from the image of the ancient Near Eastern bull and it is a sign to the lunar nature of komainu. Bun'an Gosokui Chodonozu is a Japanese scroll dated 1444 CE, which includes an annotation that cites the image of komainu is inspired from the image of Ji, a Chinese mythical unicorn (Figure 118-B). Ji was used as a gateway guardian in the Japanese court since the Era of Engi (901-923) and based on the Chinese documents quoted in the third chapter of this research, ji is a single horn animal with the appearance of a bull and it was introduced to China from the Land of Wuyi, which refers to parts of present Afghanistan and Iran. Moreover, the early illustrations available from shishi and komainu show a clear difference in the appearance of these two guardian creatures.

In Japanese historical texts, komainu is often described with following visual characteristics, such as; the single horn, white completion, association to the right side and so on. These characteristics are common between the image of the Near Eastern bull and komainu and the reason that komainu kept these characteristics is the iconographical meanings associated to these visual features. These visual features are associated to the moon and assign a lunar nature to komainu. Specially, komainu's single horn, which according to the Near Eastern mythology is the source of the resurrection power of the moon, has an outstanding role in the iconography associated to this guardian animal.

Although komainu is often depicted with the horn of the head, but after all, it is referred as a dog in all the related documents and literal translation of the name komainu is the 'Goguryeo style of dog' and the first part of the name 'koma' refers to the Goguryeo Dynasty of Korea. This suggest that the idea of komainu was introduced to Japan from the mainland Asia via Korea, and as explained earlier in the third chapter, komainu is a combination of the iconography of the bull and the dog. While komainu's horn is a reference to resurrection power of the moon, as a dog it is associated with death

and underworld. Dog is almost universally associated to the death related rituals and in ancient Egypt, Iran, India and China, it is believed to be the guardian of the underworld. Dogs are also known as the leaders of the passing souls to the afterlife.

Dogs had been used as guardians since early ages and they were placed on the entrance or the threshold of the buildings. Therefore, they are believed to act as the connectors between the sacred and the profane. This quality of these animals and the fact that they can recognize the dead from the alive, make these animals the perfect guardians of the sacred palaces such as shrines and tombs all around the Asia.

Therefore, the function of the shishi and komainu at the threshold of the sacred place is similar to the function of the Near Eastern lion, bull and dogs as the mediators between the worlds. Shishi and komainu represent the sun and moon as natural luminaries in the structure of the sacred place. They also represent associating concepts such as time (future and past) and cardinal directions on the earth, and they mark the limit between the sacred and the profane spaces.

Lions were first introduced to Japan, during the seventh to eighth century CE, along with other Buddhist teachings and they were used as the guardians of the Buddhist temples. Today, shishi and komainu are mostly used in Shinto shrines and they look very different from the early guardian lions. Although, the concept of the lions as guardians of the sacred place is not original in Japan, but shishi and komainu evolved to Japanese-made creatures. Yet, based on all the analysis above, Japanese shishi and komainu collect the essence of many guardian creatures from different cultures: ancient Egypt, to Mesopotamia, Iran, India and China.

Postscript

Sacred places designed by different cultures have a few commonalities in their design. One of these commonalities is that sacred places are designed to reflect the cosmology of the ruling religion. This cosmology is the structure of the cosmos and the universe based on the teachings of ruling religion. The second shared quality among sacred places in different cultures is that the function of sacredness is defined by carefully delimited area. This suggests that the sacredness is not recognized without the idea of profane and the existence of these two meanings are intertwined with their opposing function. Therefore, the boarder between the sacred area and the profane is as important as the sacred place itself, since it shares the qualities of both of these areas.

On the other hand, sun as moon as the natural luminaries and cosmic forces have a distinguished role in the structure of the cosmos in all of the cultures under discussion. The reason is that the concept such as time and space are defined with the movement of sun and moon in the sky. Since sun and moon are always in motion and they disappear and reappear from the sky, they are considered to have the ability to travel between different cosmic areas, therefore, the sun and the moon are often depicted marking the borderline between two areas of sacred and profane. In ancient Mesopotamian mythology, the sun is the only being that can pass the cosmic gateways between the world of living and the underworld, while moon has the power to rise from the death after waning phase and the dark moon. Hence, the sun is the immortal force, while the moon is the source of resurrection.

In ancient Egypt and Mesopotamia, Lions are considered as the guardians of the cosmic gateways and also the guardians of the sun. Thus, they share similar qualities with the sun, itself. On the other hand, bull is an animal associated to the moon and source of the bull's lunar power is in its horn, which imitates the shape of the crescent moon. In Iranian mythology, the horn is the source of the lunar elixir of resurrection and therefore, the bull is also considered as an immortal being that has the power of resurrection after death. Through this research, we realize that these two animals represent the sun and the moon and they hold similar

powers as the sun and the moon. This quality makes them the perfect guardians for the sacred places to mark the line between the sacred and the profane and to represent the sun and the moon as luminaries.

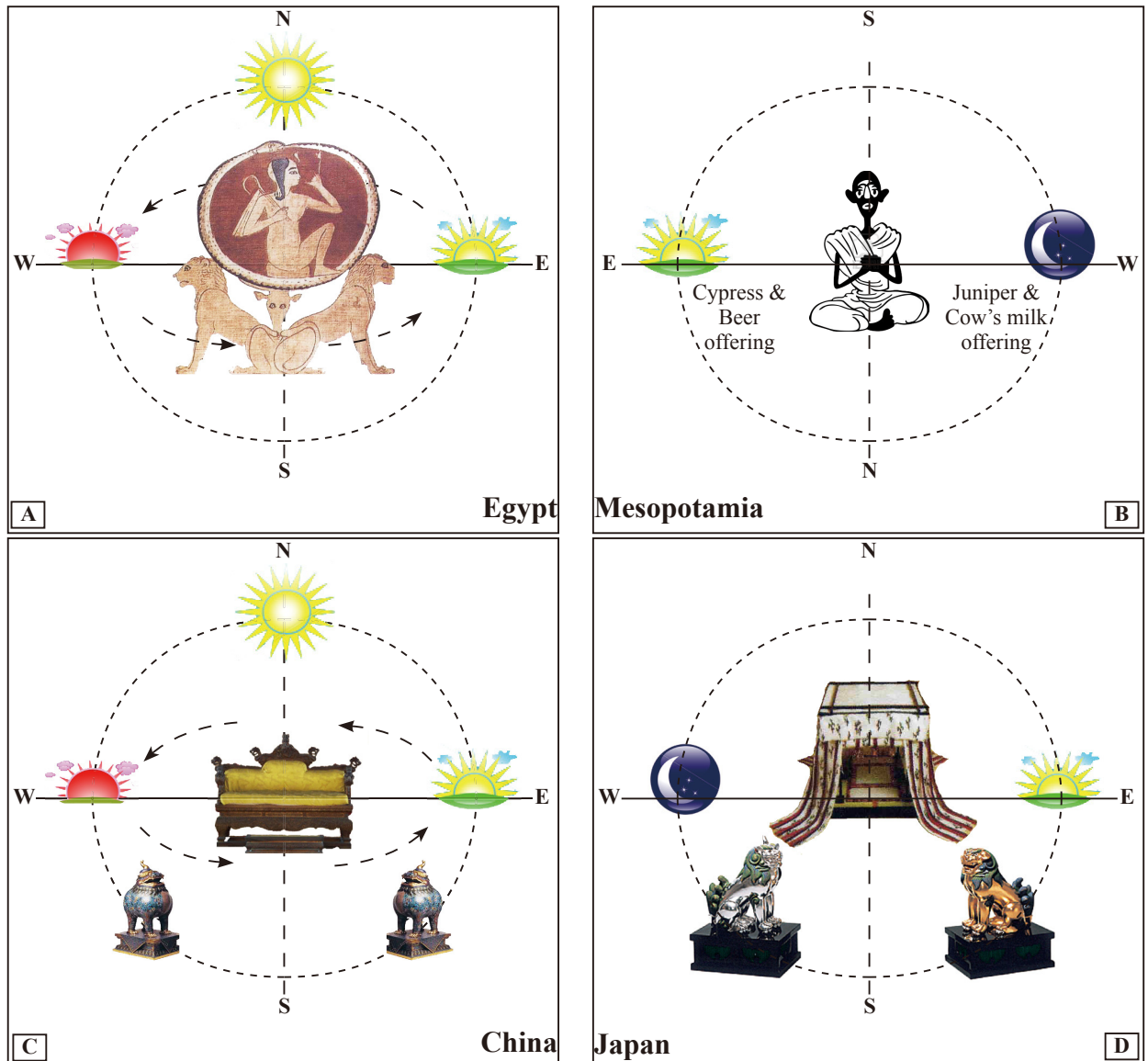
On the other hand, this research is a pioneer research that realizes the opposing nature of lion and bull in the iconography of the ancient Near East and how these two animals represent an idea similar to the East Asian concept of yin/yang. This is a fundamental concept of cosmology that is translated into the different visual art forms and similar to other religious concepts from the ancient Near East and because of massive time gap, there is no reliable textual evidence to explain it. Thus, the visual evidence is another way to research cultural and ideological concepts from the ancient world. Using visual comparison method, we can follow different phenomenon from culture to culture and track down the changes they went through to adapt to the needs of the hosting nations and religious iconography associated to these needs.

In the future researches, the function of the guardian lions in the structure of sacred place in different cultures can be further analyzed. As it is shown in Graph 12, the structure of the sacred places and the protective functions of the lion and the bull as a pair of guardian is very similar in the Near Eastern and East Asian cultures.

Graph 12-A demonstrates an Egyptian sacred structure where the young pharaoh is sitting on the back of two addorsed lions—Akeru lions, the guardians of the cosmic gateways in Egyptian mythology—inside an Ouroboros ring. Lion on the left side of the god faces to the East, rising location of the sun and the lion on the right side of the god faces to the west, the setting location of the sun. Therefore, it resembles both the concept of the time and the direction of the movement of the sun in the sky. Akeru lions together resemble the sun in opposing states of rising as setting, followed up with associated meanings such as the cycle of time, fate, the earth and different directions.

All the same, Graph 12-C showing seating area of the Chinese emperor also has two lions on both sides and in terms of the iconography, it is very similar to Egyptian structure and lions on both sides resemble the sun on opposing states of rising and setting. On the other hand, the graph concerning the Mesopotamian

Graph 12: Egypt (Horus in a Cippus of Horus stela, 2-E-19), Mesopotamia (The prayer setting for a patient with migraine mentioned in Akkadian tablet known as KAR 184), China (Arrangement of the throne or the seating area of the Chinese emperor), Japan (Traditional setting of Michoudai in Imperial Palace of Kyoto)



structure is mirrored.

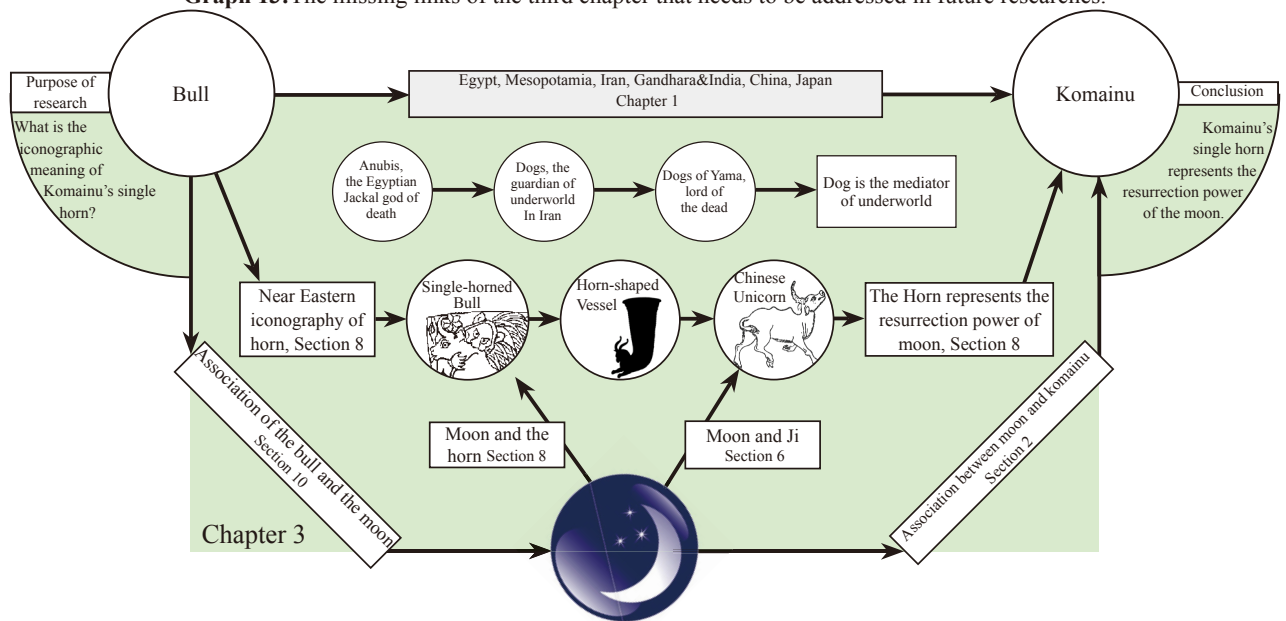
This graph is designed based on an Akkadian tablet that explains the procedure needed for a medical treatment (Graph 12-B). The person depicted in the graph is the patient facing the north. Therefore, the east is on his right and the west is on his left. As a part of the procedure, is to libate beer on the right side of the patient and offer cow's milk on the left side of the patient. The patient is asked to say: "To my left side (is) Sin [moon god]; the crescent of the great heaven, to my right side (is) Shamash [sun god]; the judge, father of the black-headed."¹ Hence, it is clear that facing south, the left side is associated to the sun and the right side is associated to the moon. Accordingly, the sitting area of

1 John M. Steele, *Calendars and Years: Astronomy and Time in the Ancient Near East*, 134.

the Japanese Emperor as a sacred place is very similar to the Mesopotamian structure (Graph 12-D). The emperor seats facing to the south and on the left side the sun represented by shishi and the moon is represented by komainu.

In the Egyptian and Chinese structure of sacred place, left side and right side represent two states of the sun—rising and setting—however, in the Mesopotamian and Japanese structure, two different animals are used as guardians on each sides and they are associated to the sun and the moon. In Egyptian and Chinese structure, the same kind of animal appears on both side of the sacred structure. Although these lions on both side represent opposing conditions, such as left side and right side, sunrise and sunset, future and past, east and

Graph 13:The missing links of the third chapter that needs to be addressed in future researches.



west and life and death, but these opposing concept are still represented with the same animals. However, in case of Mesopotamia and Japan, the animals on the left side and the right side are represented as different animals; lion and bull in Mesopotamia and shishi and komainu in Japan. Therefore, a similar concept of opposing sides is also applied in the Mesopotamian and Japanese structure, but the animals on each side represented with different natures. The visual comparison method offered in this research can be utilize for further analysis on the function of the guardians used in the structure of the sacred place.

Another animal that has an equal importance in meanings associated with shishi and komainu is dog. As explained earlier, 'inu' is the Japanese word for dog and the name komainu refers to the fact that the idea of komainu was introduced to Japan via mainland Asia.

Dog is an animal associated to the death and the gods of the underworld by many ancient cultures, including Egypt, Iran, India and China. Anubis, the jackal god of dead in ancient Egypt had the responsibility to mummify the corps and prepare them for their afterlife journey to the west, the realm of the dead. In many available versions of the Book of the Dead (the Egyptian text on the afterlife), Anubis is depicted guiding the deceased to the court of Osiris, the god of the underworld and he is depicted judging the deceased acts during the lifetime by measuring their heart against the feather of Ma'at. Therefore, Anubis had the function of

preparing leading and judging the dead spirits.

In addition, based of Indo-Iranian traditions, the king of the dead, Yima (Iran) /Yama (India) is believed to be accompanied by two four-eyed dogs. Dogs are believed to be the guardians of the underworld and the passing spirits are suppose to pass in front of them, before attending their judgment in yima/yama's court.

Many of the Chinese folklore stories mentioned people, who were brought back to the life by a dog or in the form of a dog.² Finally, the dogs function against the demonic spirits as the mediator between the world of the living and the dead. Li Chi (the book of Rites, 100 BCE to 200 CE) attested "in the slaughter of white dogs and the apotropaic appliance of dog blood on he door posts and windows to ward off baleful events."³

All the accounts above, suggest a deep connection between the dog and death in all the cultures that influence Japan prior or during the time komainu was first appeared; around seventh century CE and the color and the location of komainu—on the right side or the west—suggest a similar iconographic role for komainu. In this research the main focus was to reveal the iconographic meaning of the komainu's horn, however, the connection between the komainu and the dog and also the dog and the bull is a very important subject that needs to be further discussed in the future researches.

Moreover, another issue mentioned in this research is the evolution of komainu after it first appeared

² Roel Sterckx, *The Animal and the Daemon in Early China*, 232.

³ Ibid.

during the late Heian Period. When shishi and komainu was first introduced as the gateway guardians, they were designed as two completely different animals. Different appearance and different names assigned to them very clearly states that these two animals were considered to be different in nature. The similarities and differences between shishi and komainu and the iconographic reasons behind the pairing of these two animals is another issue that should be the subject for another research.

In the research, one of the main issues is the iconography associated to the Near Eastern pairing of lion and bull and the protective role of this pair. Many examples are introduced in the process of this research that demonstrates the companionship of lion and bull and their association to the sun and moon. Moreover, the popular motif of lion and bull in art of ancient Near East shows a form of a struggle between the preliminary forces of nature represented by lion and bull. This concept is very similar to the East Asian concept of yin/Yang. There are numerous subjects and motifs that can be studied to examine the parallels of the yin/yang concept in the ancient Near East, however, I suggest a visual comparison research on this subject that examines the iconography related to the lion and bull and their functions and attributions as a pair with magical powers.

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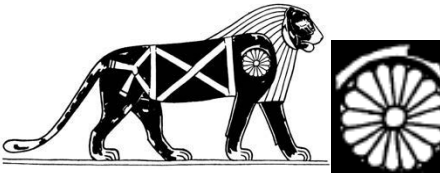

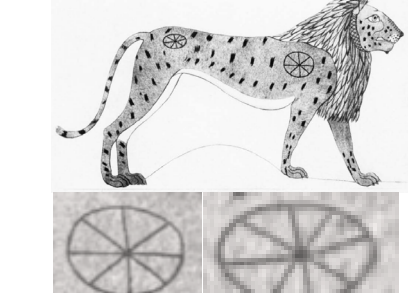

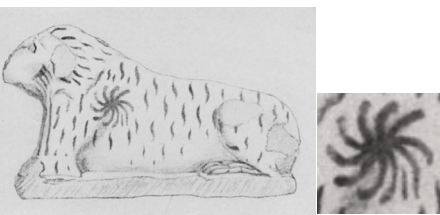

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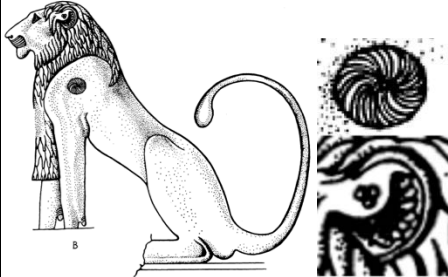



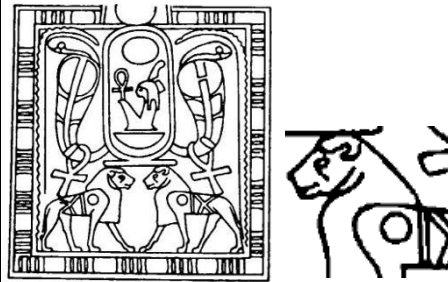
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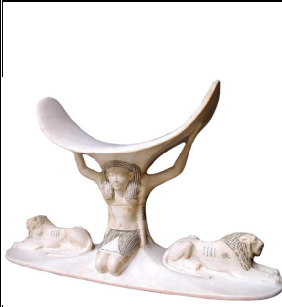


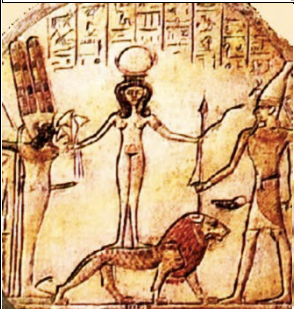

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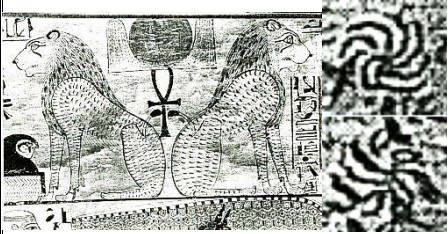
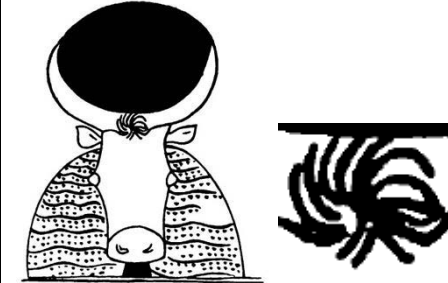

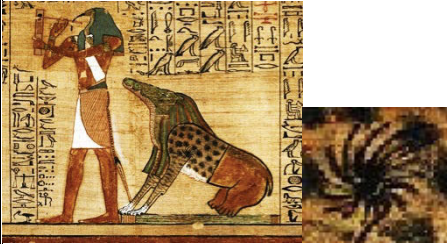
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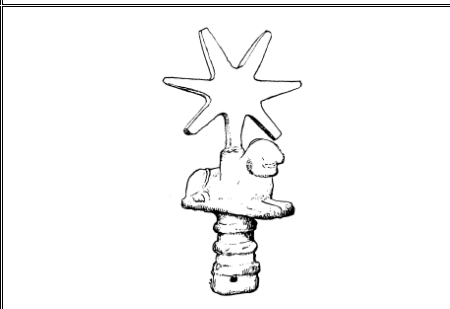




**Appendix I: Shishi and Leonine
Body Marking**



1.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Mural from the funerary chapel of Queen Neith in south Saqqara. • Ca. 2278-2184 BCE. • Necropolis of Memphis. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Table 7, 36, 37, 46, 62.
2.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Wall curving from the chapel of Sesostris I. • Ca. 1971-1926 BCE. • Amon Temple in Karnak. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Table 7, 36, 66.
3.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Wall painting from the tomb of Khnumhotep III. • Ca. 1897-1878 BCE. • Vizier. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Table 7, 36, 64, 101.
4.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Typical Egyptian magic ivory wand. • Ca. 1850-1640 BCE. • Metropolitan Museum of Art. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Table 7.
5.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Small glazed lion statue found at Kerma in the corridor of Tumulus X. • Ca. 1674-1549 BCE. • Boston Museum of Fine Arts. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Table 7, 4, 5.
6.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Wall curving of the south sanctuary of Amon temple made by Tuthmosis III. • Ca. 1479-1425 BCE. • Karnak. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Table 7.






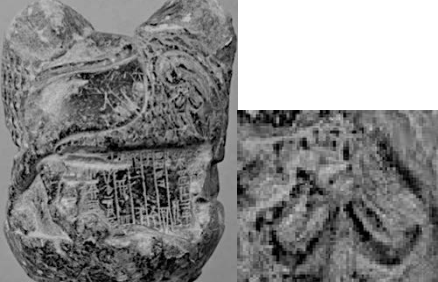
<p>7.</p>		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Speos of Hathor built by Hatshepsut. Ca. 1479-1458 BCE. Deir Al Bahri. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Table 7, 107, 109.
<p>8.</p>		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Lion adorn the newel spot of a balustrade made during the reign of Hatshepsut. Ca. 1479-1458 BCE. Deir Al Bahri. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Table 7, 109.
<p>9.</p>	<p>No image available.</p> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> A lion hieroglyph in the tomb of Qenamun, built during the reign of Amenhotep II. Ca. 1427-1400 BCE. Thebes. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Table 7.
<p>10.</p>		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Painted Fragment of gesso considered as a piece of a bow case. Ca. 16th-13th BCE. ? 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Table 7, 66.
<p>11.</p>		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> A painting from the reign of Tuthmosis IV. Ca. 1398-1388 BCE. ? 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Table 7, 64, 110.
<p>12.</p>		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Wall painting from Tomb 226. Ca. 1388-1350 BCE. Thebes. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Table 7.







13.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Gold dagger from Tutankhamen treasure. • Ca. 1333-1323 BCE. • Egyptian Museum of Cairo. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Table 7, 132.
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Radial Lines Motif. • Lion and prey. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lion with radial lines motif on the shoulder.
14.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Alabaster headrest from Tutankhamen treasure. • Ca. 1333-1323 BCE • Egyptian Museum of Cairo. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Table 7, 42, 134.
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Radial Lines Motif. • Pair of lions. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lions with radial lines motif on the shoulders.
15.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ceremonial bed from Tutankhamen treasure. • Ca. 1333-1323 BCE. • Egyptian Museum of Cairo. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Table 7, 65.
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Triple-dots Motif. • Pair of bulls. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Bulls with triple-dot motif all over body.
16.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Unguent Container from Tutankhamen treasure. • Ca. 1333-1323 BCE. • Egyptian Museum of Cairo. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Table 7, 132.
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Whirl Motif. • Radial Lines Motif. • Lion and prey. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lion with whirl motif on the shoulder. • Lions with radial lines motif on the shoulder.
17.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Qadesh stela found in Deir al-Medina. • Ca. 1292-1186 BCE. • Egyptian Museum of Turin. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Table 7, 26, 38.
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Whirl Motif. • Random dots. • Lion and goddess. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lion with whirl motif on the shoulder. • Lion with random dots all over body.
18.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The ornament on a Ramesside stela. • Ca. 13th century BCE. • Museum of Fine Arts, Moscow. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Table 7,73.
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Whirl Motif. • Ribbon design. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lion with whirl motif on the shoulder. • Lion with ribbon design around the body.













<p>19.</p>		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Cloisonne bracelet. • 19th Dynasty, ca. 1550-1069 BCE. • Louvre Museum. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Table 7.
<p>20.</p>		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Akeru lions. • 19th Dynasty and after, ca. 1550-1069 BCE. • ? 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Table 7, 24, 61.
<p>21.</p>		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Akeru lions found in funeral tank. • Ca. 1303-1213 BCE. • Egyptian Museum of Cairo. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Table 7, 61, 125.
<p>22.</p>		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Hathor cow from a tomb mural painting. • 19th Dynasty, ca. 1300-1100 BCE. • Deir Al-Medina. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Table 7, 86, 105, 110.
<p>23.</p>		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Akeru lions from the Book of the Dead', Papyrus of Ani. • 19th Dynasty and after, ca. 1250 BCE. • British Museum. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Table 7, 9, 40.
<p>24.</p>		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ammit from Book of the Dead Papyrus of Ani, sheet 3. • 19th Dynasty, ca. 1250 BCE. • British Museum. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Table 7.







25.	 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ammit. • 19th Dynasty, ca. 1292-1189 BCE. • ? 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Table 7.
26.	 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Gold plate decorated with hunting scene. • Ca. 1300-1000 BCE. • Louvre Museum. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Table 7, 45, 68.
27.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Bronze top of a standard found in Leontopolis. • Ca. 837-728 BCE. • Feuquet Collection. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Table 7, 40.
28.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Green glaze scarab found in Tell Defenneh, located in the delta of lower Egypt. • Ca. 672-343 BCE. • British Museum. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Table 7, 40.
29.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Apis bull from the Serapeum of Saqqara. • Late Period, Thirtieth Dynasty, 378-341 BCE. • Louvre Museum. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Table 7, 126.
30.	 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Inlay depicting a falcon, Hermopolis. • Late Period to Ptolemaic Period, 4th century BCE. • Metropolitan Museum of Art. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Table 7, 46, 104.
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Whirl Motif. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Falcon with whirl motif on the cheek.

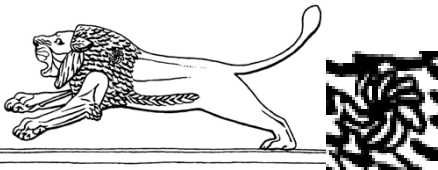

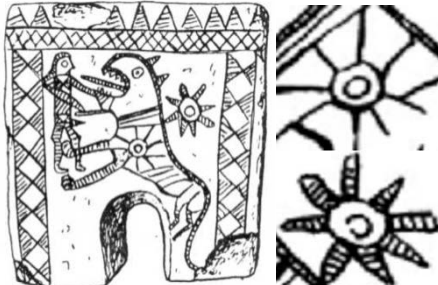
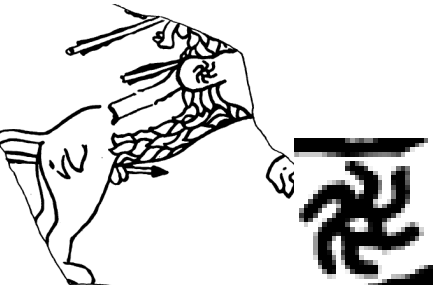
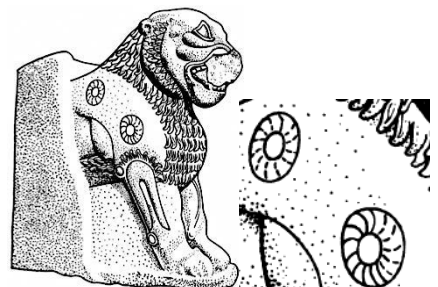

31.	 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Inlay depicting a falcon, Hermopolis. • Late Period to Ptolemaic Period, 4th century BCE. • Metropolitan Museum of Art. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Table 7, 104.
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Whirl Motif. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Falcon with whirl motif on the cheek.





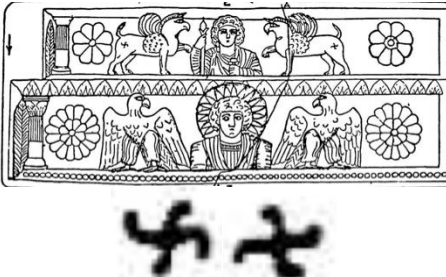
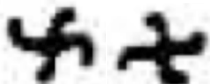
<p>1.</p>		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Inlaid marble calf, likely a votive offering to the goddess Inanna. • Late Uruk-Jemdet Nasr, ca. 3300-2900 BCE. • Louvre Museum. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Table 7, 65.
<p>2.</p>		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Black marble seated bull figurine from Djemet-Nasr. • Ca. 3100-2900 BCE. • Louvre Museum. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Table 7.
<p>3.</p>		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Copper alloy head of a young bull that is broken from a relief from temple of Ninhursag in Tell Al-Ubaid. • 2500 BCE. • British Museum. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Table 7, 126.
<p>4.</p>		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • One of the king Gudea's standards shown on a relief in Girsu. • Ca. 2144-2124 BCE. • Girsu. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Table 7.
<p>5.</p>		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Hurrian foundation pegs or Urkish lions found in Tell Mozan. • Ca. 21st BCE. • Louvre Museum and Metropolitan Museum of Art. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Table 7, 109.
<p>6.</p>		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • King Dungi's mace head. • Ca. 21st-20th BCE. • Louvre Museum. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Table 7, 40, 67.
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Winged Disk Motif. • Pair of lions. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Two lions with winged disk motif on the shoulder.


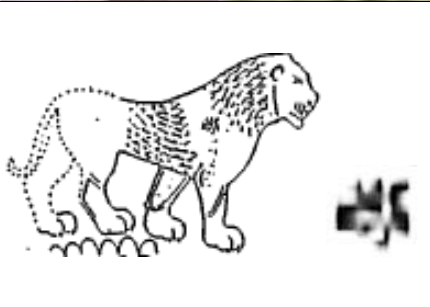


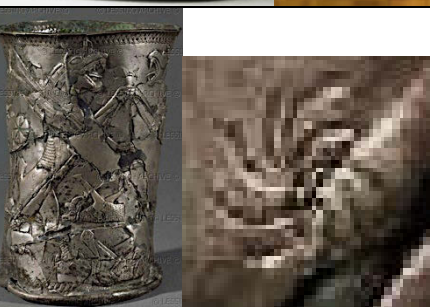
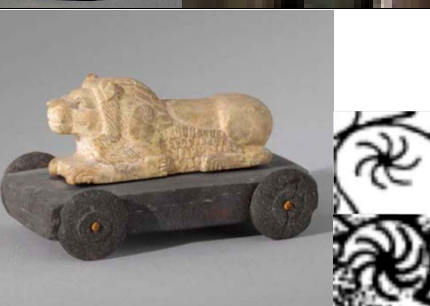
7.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A sacrificial bull, fragment of a mural painting, Zimri-lim Palace. • Ca. 2040-1870 BCE. • Van Buren Museum Brussels. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Table 7, 86, 105.
8.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Two adorsed lions paired with goddess, Babylonian relief found in southern Iraq. • Ca. 19th-18th BCE. • British Museum. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Table 7, 38, 67.
9.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Mural drawing from Zimri Lim Palace in Mari. • Early 18th century BCE. • Louvre Museum. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Table 7, 11, 103.
10.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Baking mold in the shape of lion found in royal kitchen of Mari. • Ca. 20th-15th BCE. • Louvre Museum. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Table 7, 109.
11.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Terra cotta lion excavated at Tel Megiddo. • Ca. 15th century BCE. • Museum of the German Protestant Institute in Jerusalem. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Table 7.
12.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Golden bowl of Ras-shamra. • Ca. 14th BCE. • Syria National Museum. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Table 7, 86.




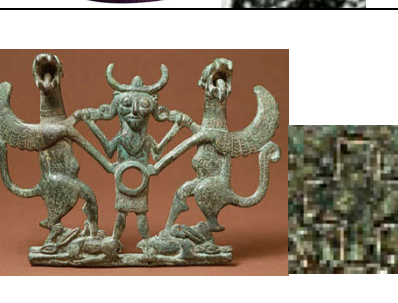

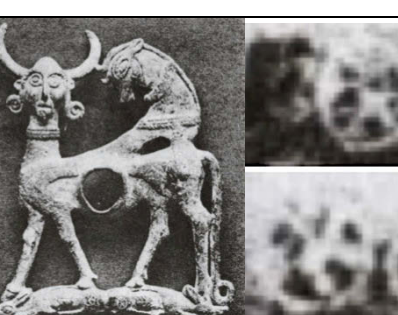
13.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Basalt relief of lion and lioness at play from Beth Shan. Ca. 14th BCE. Israel Museum. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Table 7.
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Radial lines Motif. Whirl Motif. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Lion with radial lines motif on the shoulder. Lion with whirl motif on the shoulder.
14.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The naked goddess pendant mounted on a lion, gold amulet from ancient Ugarit. Ca. 14th-13th BCE. Louvre Museum. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Table 7.
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Whirl Motif. Lion and goddess. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Lion paired with goddess, with whirl motif on the shoulder.
15.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Lion fighting a bull, Kassite tablet found in Babylon. Ca. 16th-12th BCE. ? 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Table 7.
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Whirl Motif. Lion and prey. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Lion with whirl motif on the shoulder.
16.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Lion fighting a bull, Ivory fragment found in Ekron. Ca. 1350-1150 BCE. ? 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Table 7.
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Whirl Motif. Lion and prey. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Lion with whirl motif on the shoulder.
17.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Lion fighting a hero, Ivory fragment found in Ekron. Ca. 1350-1150 BCE. ? 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Table 7.
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Whirl Motif. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Lion with whirl motif on the shoulder.
18.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Lion fighting a griffin, ivory fragment found in Ekron. Ca. 1350-1150 BCE. ? 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Table 7.
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Whirl Motif. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Lion with whirl motif on the shoulder.






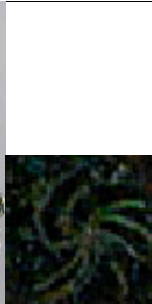


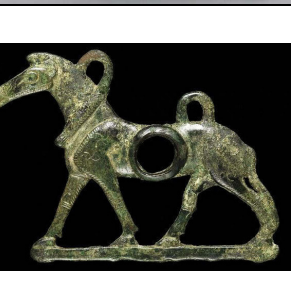



<p>19.</p>		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Lion hunting scene, relief of Assurnasirpal II. Ca. 883-859 BCE. British Museum. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Table 7.
<p>20.</p>		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Lion hunting scene, relief from Assyrian palace in Nimrud. Ca. 875-860 BCE. British Museum. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Table 7.
<p>21.</p>		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Wall painting from Assyrian palace. After 856 BCE. Tell Barsip. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Table 7.
<p>22.</p>		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Lion paired with a tree of life, bronze bowl found in Nimrud in the Northwest palace built by Assurnazirpal II. Ca. 9th-8th BCE. ? 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Table 7, 73.
<p>23.</p>		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Plaques in the form of sphinxes from Syria. Iron age II, ca. 8th century BCE. Metropolitan Museum of Art. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Table 7, 46.
<p>24.</p>		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Lion head fragment from Neo-Assyrian Palace of Nimrud. Ca. 9th-7th century BCE. Metropolitan Museum of Art. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Table 7, 106.


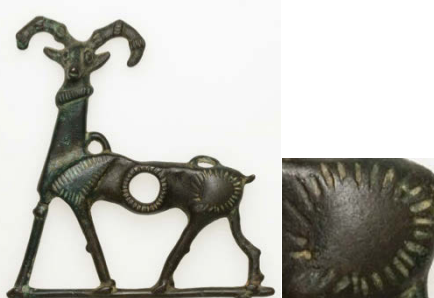

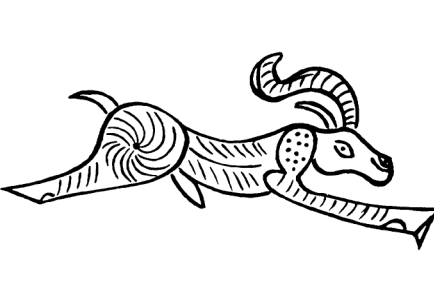


<p>25.</p>		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lion hunting scene, Assurbanipal relief found in Nineveh. • Ca. 661-631 BCE. • British Museum. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Table 7.
<p>26.</p>		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lion fighting a hero, Assurbanipal relief found in Nineveh. • Ca. 661-631 BCE. • British Museum. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Table 7, 73.
<p>27.</p>		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lion fighting a hero, votive alter from Gezer. • Ca. 7th BCE. • ? 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Table 7, 40.
<p>28.</p>		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lion hunting scene, glazed tile knob found in Assur. • Late Assyrian Era, ca. 7th century BCE. • ? 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Table 7.
<p>29.</p>		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Guardian lions of the Ishtar temple. • Ca. 7th BCE. • Arsalan Tash. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Table 7.
<p>30.</p>		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lydian coin depicting the head of roaring lion minted during the time of Alyattes to Kroisos. • Ca. 610-546 BCE. • ? 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Table 7, 40, 106.

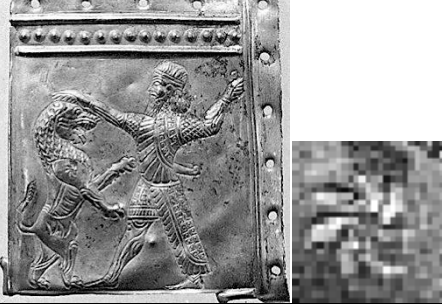


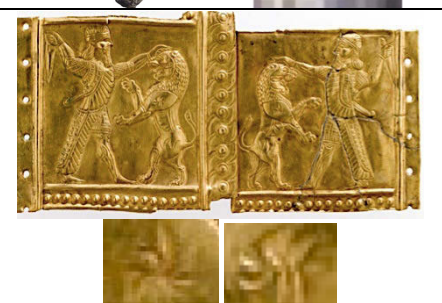
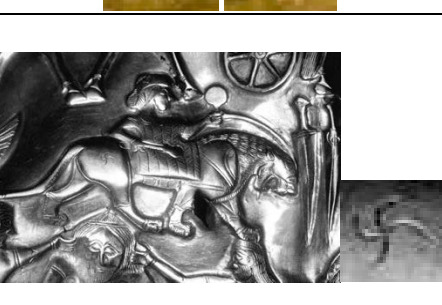

<p>31.</p>		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Clay tablet from the Lydian temple of Duver, Turkey. • Ca. 546 BCE. • Dutch National Museum of Antiquities. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Table 7.
<p>32.</p>		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lion carving from the tomb of king Antiochus I, Theos of Commagene. • Ca. 70-31 BCE. • Nemrud Dagh in modern Turkey. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Table 7, 108.
<p>33.</p>		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Relief of a lying ox from Palmyra. • Late 2nd-early 3rd CE. • Louvre Museum. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Table 7, 46, 105.
<p>34.</p>		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Mosaic floor of a Byzantine church of Kissufim, north Negev. • 6th century CE. • South Israel. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Table 7, 46, 73.
<p>35.</p>		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Decoration panel in Ba'al Temple. • Ca. 7th-8th century CE. • Palmyra. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Table 7.
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Swastika Motif. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lion-griffins with swastika motif on the rump.

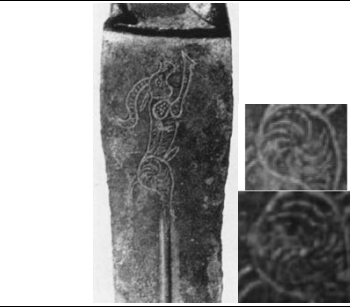
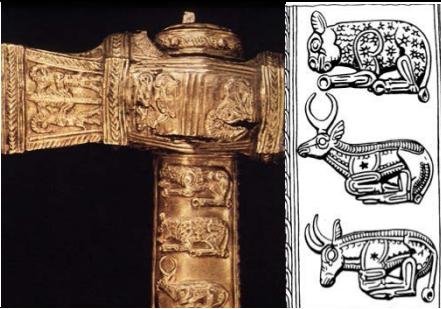
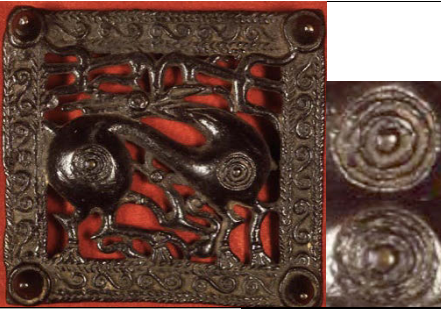

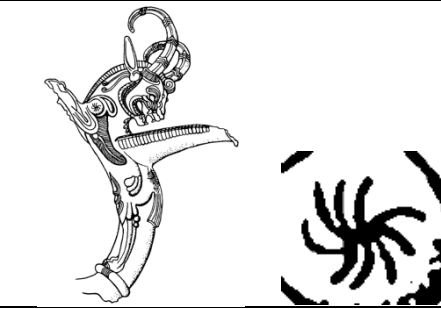
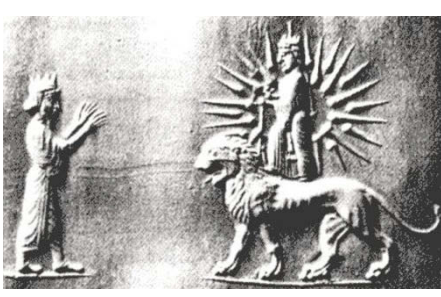
<p>1.</p>		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Six lions on the throne of goddess Narundi made during the reign of Pazur-Insushinak from Susa. • Ca. 2144-2124 BCE. • Louvre Museum. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Table 7.
<p>2.</p>		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Silver cup, Gilan. • Ca. 2nd mill BCE. • ? 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Table 7, 26, 38, 67.
<p>3.</p>		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Bronze statuette of composite Lion and Bull, northwest Iran, possibly Koffrabad. • 1500-1000 BCE. • Cleveland Museum of Art. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Table 7, 86, 105, 136.
<p>4.</p>		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lion-griffins attacking single horn ibexes, gold cup from Marlik. • Ca. 14th-11th century BCE. • Louvre Museum. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Table 7.
<p>5.</p>		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lion-griffins fighting over a dead single horn ibex, Silver goblet from Marlik. • Ca. 14th-11th century BCE. • Louvre Museum. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Table 7.
<p>6.</p>		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Small limestone lion found in temple of Inshushinak in Susa. • Ca. 12th century BCE. • Louvre Museum. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Table 7.





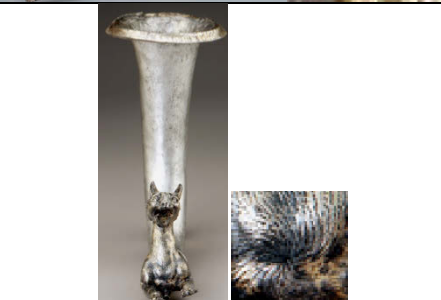

7.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lion attacking a single horn ibex, Silver beaker from Marlik. • Ca. 14th-9th century BCE. • British Museum. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Table 7, 98, 130.
8.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Stylized bulls, silver beaker from Marlik. • Ca. 1100 BCE. • Private collection, London. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Table 7.
9.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lion attacking a stag, gold cup from Gilan. • Ca. 1000 BCE. • Iran Bastan Museum. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Table 7, 101.
10.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Griffins fighting a hero, horse cheek piece from Luristan. • Ca. 700 BCE. • Los Angeles County Museum of Art. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Table 7.
11.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Horse cheek piece from Luristan. • Ca. 1000-650 BCE. • Sackler Gallery. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Table 7.
12.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lion attacking a sphinx standing on two addorsed hares, horse cheek piece from Luristan. • Ca. 1000-650 BCE. • Mozafar Kohan Collection. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Table 7, 72.







13.	 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Cheek piece of a horse bridle in the form of a winged sphinx Luristan. • Ca. 1000-650 BCE. • Asian Art Museum of San Francisco. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Table 7, 112.
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Wheel Motif. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Sphinx with wheel motif on the shoulder and rump.
14.	 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Horse cheek piece from Luristan. • Ca. 1000-650 BCE. • Los Angeles County Museum of Art. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Table 7, 72, 112.
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Wheel Motif. • Single-horned animal. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ibex with wheel motif on the rump.
15.	 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Horse cheek piece from Luristan. • Ca. 1000-650 BCE. • Los Angeles County Museum of Art. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Table 7, 112.
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Whirl Motif. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lion-sphinx with whirl motif on the rump.
16.	 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Horse cheek piece from Luristan. • Ca. 1000-650 BCE. • Los Angeles County Museum of Art. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Table 7, 112.
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Floral Motif. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ibex with floral motif on the rump.
17.	 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Horse cheek piece from Luristan. • Ca. 9th-7th century BCE. • British Museum. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Table 7, 46, 72.
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Swastika Motif. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Horse with swastika motif all over body.
18.	 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Horse cheek piece from Luristan. • Ca. 9th-7th century BCE. • British Museum. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Table 7.
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Radial Lines Motif. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Sphinx with radial lines motif on the rump.

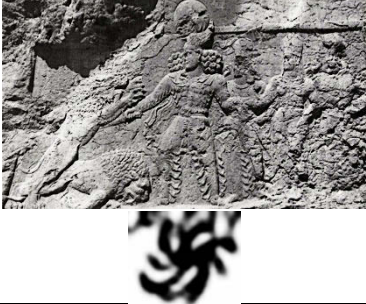


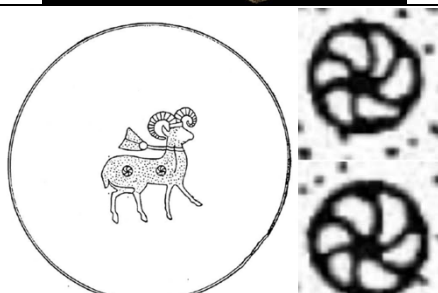

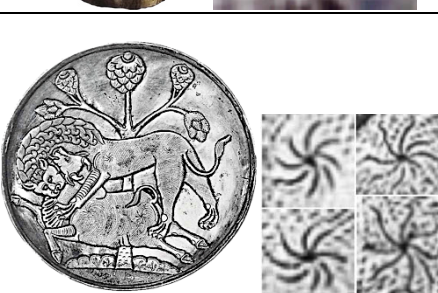
19.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Horse cheek piece from Luristan. • Ca. 9th-7th century BCE. • British Museum. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Table 7.
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Wheel Motif. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Sphinx with wheel motif on the shoulder and rump.
20.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Horse cheek pieces in form of ibex from Luristan. • Ca. 8th-7th century BCE. • Asian Art Museum of San Francisco. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Table 7.
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Radial Lines Motif. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ibex with radial lines motif on the rump.
21.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Quiver plaque with animals and mythological scenes, maybe Luristan. • Ca. 8th-7th century BCE. • Metropolitan Museum of Art. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Table 7.
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Whirl Motif. • Floral Motif. • Pair of lions. • Pair of bulls. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lions with whirl motif on the rump. • Lions, ibexes and bulls with floral motif on the rump.
22.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Pin from Luristan. • Ca. 8th-7th century BCE. • Boston Museum of Arts. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Table 7.
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Whirl Motif. • Single-horned animal. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ibex with whirl motif on the rump.
23.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Stylized bull, head of a pin from Luristan. • Ca. 8th-7th century BCE. • Metropolitan Museum of Art. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Table 7.
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Radial Lines Motif. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Bull with radial lines motif on the rump.
24.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Three lions on a gold bowl from Kelardasht. • Ca. 8th-7th century BCE. • Iran Bastan Museum. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Table 7, 64.
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Swastika Motif. • Whirl Motif. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lions with swastika motif on cheeks and on the rump. • Lions with a whirl motif under the arm.






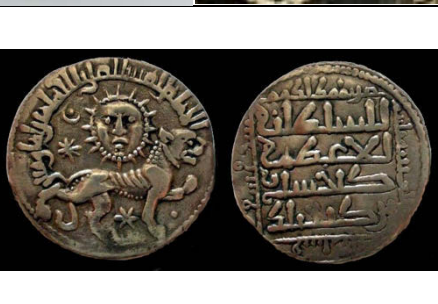
<p>25.</p>		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Hero fighting a lion, gold panel fragment from Ziwiye. • Ca. 8th-7th century BCE. • Metropolitan Museum of Art. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Table 7.
<p>26.</p>		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Bulls paired with tree of life, jar found in Ziwiye. • Ca. 8th-mid 6th century BCE. • Metropolitan Museum of Art. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Table 7.
<p>27.</p>		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Two lions fighting a bull, Pre-Achaemenid spouted rhyton. • Ca. 8th-6th century BCE. • Miho Museum. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Table 7, 99.
<p>28.</p>		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Hero fighting lion, quiver Fragment from Ziwiye. • Ca. 8th-mid 6th century BCE. • Louvre Museum. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Table 7.
<p>29.</p>		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Hassanlu gold bowl. • Ca. 7th-6th century BCE. • Iran Bastan Museum. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Table 7.
<p>30.</p>		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Three lions on Kalmakare rhyton. • Ca. 7th-6th century BCE. • Hirayama Ikuo Silkroad Museum. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Table 7.
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Radial Lines Motif. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lions with radial lines motifs on the rump.







31.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Two ibexes on each side of a dagger from Luristan. • Late Assyrian Era, 7th-6th century BCE. • Oriental Institute of University of Chicago. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Table 7.
32.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Akinakes (short sword) from a Scythian burial site. • Ca. 7th-6th century BCE. • ? 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Table 7.
33.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Scythian plaque. • Ca. 8th-4th century BCE. • ? 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Table 7, 66.
34.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Fragmentary figure of a man and a lion in combat. • Ca. 1st millennium BCE. • Metropolitan Museum of Art. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Table 7.
35.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Handle of a silver ewer. • Ca. 6th century BCE. • ? 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Table 7.
36.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A golden panel showing king Artaxerxes II in front of the goddess Anahita. • 405-359 BCE. • Hermitage Museum. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Table 7, 40.



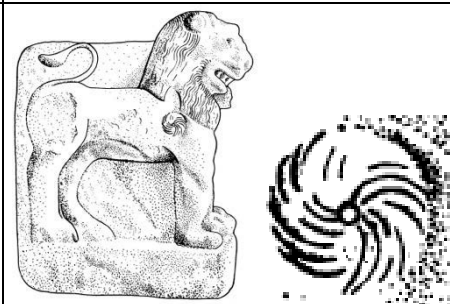

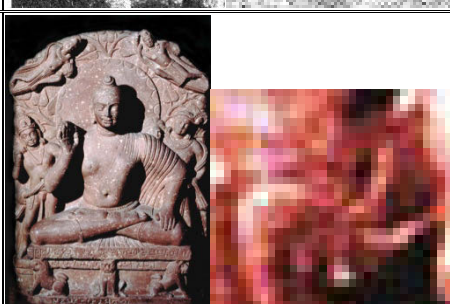

37.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The coin struck by Mazaeus in the Achaemenid Satrap of Babylon. 333BCE. ? 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Table 7, 24, 40, 46.
38.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Felt tissue found in Pazyryk, Altai Mountains. Scythian, ca. 300 BCE. Hermitage Museum. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Table 7.
39.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Spouted rhyton. Ca. 1st century BCE to 1st century CE. Sackler Gallery. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Table 7, 86.
40.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Spouted rhyton. Ca. 1st century BCE to 1st century CE. Sackler Gallery. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Table 7, 109.
41.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Spouted rhyton. Ca. 1st century BCE to 1st century CE. Sackler Gallery. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Table 7, 108.
42.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Spouted rhyton. Ca. 1st century BCE to 1st century CE. Private Collection in Osaka. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Table 7.






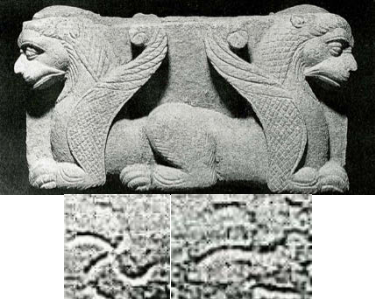
43.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Lion hunting scene, Sassanid bowl found in Perm. Ca. 2dn century CE. Hermitage Museum. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Table 7, 73, 112.
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Whirl Motif. Pair of lions. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Lions with whirl motif on the shoulder.
44.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Lion hunting scene, Sassanid plate. Ca. 3rd-4th century CE. Iran Bastan Museum. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Table 7, 111.
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Whirl Motif. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Lions with whirl motifs on the shoulder and rump.
45.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Engraved stamp-seal depicting a sphinx. Sassanid period, 4th CE. British Museum. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Table 7, 113.
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Moon Motif. Star Motif. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Man-headed winged bull with star motif below chest and moon motif above rump.
46.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Sassanian earthware fragment with seal impression. Ca. 200-600 CE. Barakat Gallery. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Table 7, 61, 87.
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Moon Motif. Star Motif. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Ibex with a star motif in the front and the moon motif over the rump.
47.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Hunting scene on Sassanid plate. Ca. 4th-5th century CE. Hermitage Museum. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Table 7.
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Whirl Motif. Swastika Motif. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Ibexes with whirl motif on the shoulder and rump. Ibexes with swastika motif on the shoulder and rump.
48.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Lion hunting scene, Sassanid silver bowl. Ca. 420-438 century CE. ? 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Table 7, 32.
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Whirl Motif. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Lion with whirl motif on the shoulder.



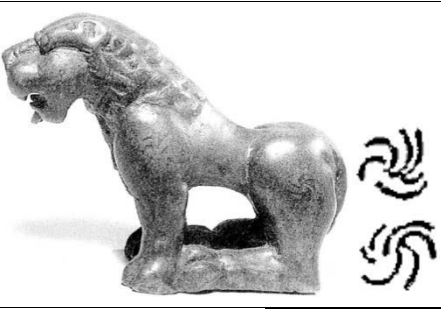


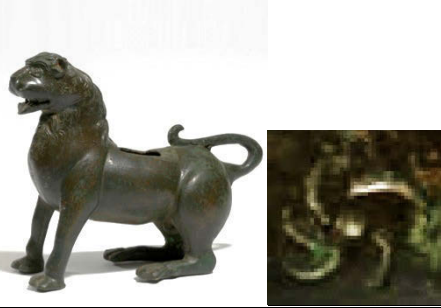
49.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lion hunting scene, Sar-Mashhad relief. • Ca. 6th-7th century CE. • Sar Mashhad. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Table 7.
50.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Earthware jar fragment with a seal impression on it. • Late Sassanid period, 6th-7th century CE. • British Museum. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Table 7.
51.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Earthware jar fragment with a seal impression on it from Nineveh. • Late Sassanid period, 6th-7th century CE. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Table 7, 66.
52.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Sassanid silver plate found in Lankaran. • Ca. 7th-8th century CE. • ? 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Table 7, 46, 87.
53.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lion fighting a donkey and two ibexes, Sassanid gilt silver vase. • Ca. 7th-8th century CE. • Miho Museum. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Table 7.
54.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lion fighting a bull paired with tree of life, Sassanid silver bowl found in Perm. • Ca. 7th-8th century CE. • Hermitage Museum. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Table 7, 45.

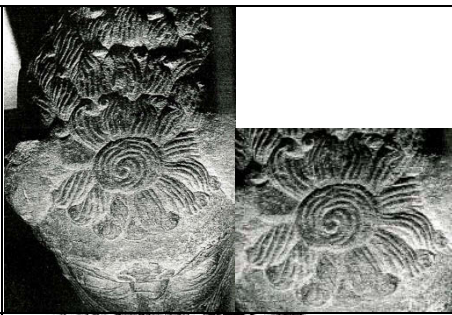
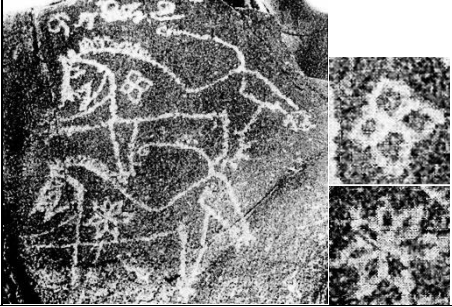

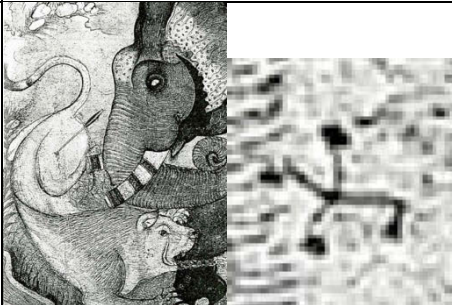

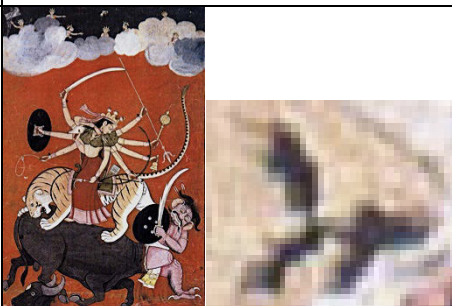
55.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Crossed lions, Sassanid silver ewer found in Russia • Ca. 7th-8th century CE. • National Library of France. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Table 7.
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Star Motif. • Pair of lions. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lions with star motif on the shoulder.
56.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Sassanid silver plate found in Perm. • Early 7th-8th century CE. • Hermitage Museum. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Table 7.
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Whirl Motif. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Bull with whirl motif on the shoulder and rump. • Falcon, a solar animal, replaced lion
57.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Hero fighting a lion, Post-Sassanid gilt silver plate. • Ca. 8th century CE. • Currently on auction in Christie's dealer. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Table 7.
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Whirl Motif. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lion with whirl motif on the shoulder and rump.
58.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lion hunting scene, Late Sassanid plate. • Ca. 806-817 CE. • ? 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Table 7.
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Whirl Motif. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lions with whirl motif on the shoulders.
59.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Two Ewers with Lamp-shaped Spouts • Khurasan • Late 12 century CE. • Metropolitan Museum of Art. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Table 7.
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Cross Motif. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lion with cross motif on the shoulder.
60.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Dirham coin of Kaykhusraw II, the sultan of the Seljuqs Empire. • 1236-1245 CE. • ? 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Table 7, 40, 113.
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Sun Motif. • Moon Motif. • Star Motif. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Sun rising over the back of lion.

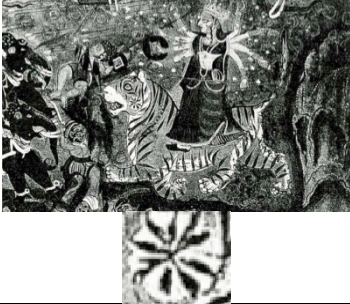



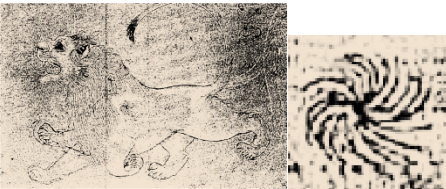
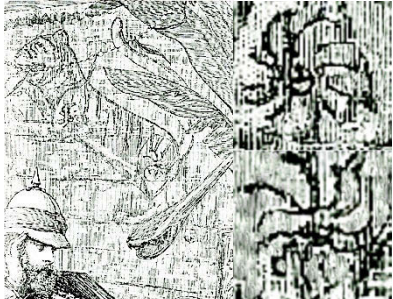
<p>61.</p>	 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ceramic dish decorated with Three Lions. • 18th century CE. • Metropolitan Museum of Art. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Table 7, 60, 103.
<p>62.</p>	 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Two lions guarding a tree of life, Marriage certificate from Isfahan. • 1879 CE. • Minneapolis Institute of Arts 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Table 7, 40.
<p>63.</p>	 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Small bull statuette from Shiraz. • Contemporary. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Table 7, 105.
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Radial Lines Motif. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Bull with radial lines motif on the forehead.



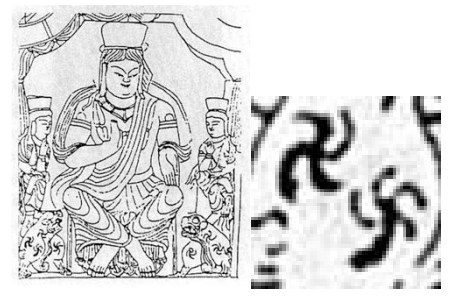
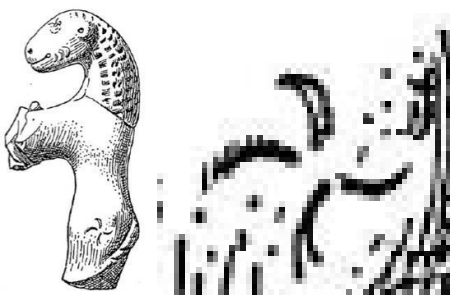


<p>1.</p>		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Bull deity, terracotta found in Indus valley, Afghanistan. • Ca. 2nd -3rd century BCE. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Table 7, 64, 105, 107.
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Wheel Motif. • Ribbon. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Bull with wheel motif on the forehead and rump. • Bull with a ribbon design around the head.
<p>2.</p>		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Elephant head made of hand-modeled clay from Mathura. • 2 century BCE. • National Museum, New Delhi. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Table 7, 64.
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Wheel Motif. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Elephant with wheel motif all over forehead.
<p>3.</p>		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lion guardians at a staircase in the Buddhist monastery of Shotrok in Begram. • Ca. 1st century CE. • Kabul. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Table 7.
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Whirl Motif. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lion with whirl motif on the shoulder.
<p>4.</p>		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lion statue from Sanghao. • Ca. 1st- 2nd century CE. • Lahore Museum. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Table 7.
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Whirl Motif. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lion with whirl motif on the shoulder.
<p>5.</p>		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Buddha or bodhisattva seated on the lion throne from Mathura. • Ca. 1st- 2nd century CE. • Government Museum of Mathura. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Table 7, 18.
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Whirl Motif. • Pair of lions. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lions with whirl motif on the cheeks.
<p>6.</p>		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lion statue from Gandhara. • Ca. 1st- 2nd century CE. • Private collection in London. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Table 7.
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Whirl Motif. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lion with whirl motif on both shoulders.




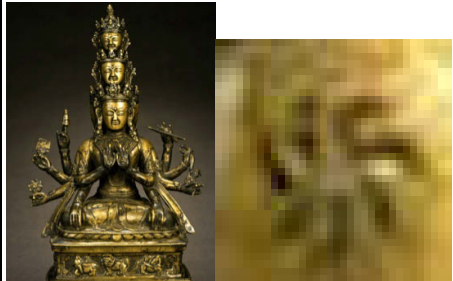


7.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Meditating Buddha on lion throne. • 2nd century CE. • Royal Scottish Museum. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Table 7, 26.
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Whirl Motif. • Pair of lions. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lions with whirl motif on the shoulder.
8.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lion capital from Khokhrakot. • Kushan Dynasty, ca. 2nd century CE. • National Museum, New Delhi. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Table 7, 64.
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Swastika Motif. • Pair of lions. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lions with swastika motif on the cheeks.
9.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A hero paired with Lion, tablet depicting Eros riding a lion. • 2nd century CE. • Kolkata Museum. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Table 7, 101.
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Whirl Motif. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lion with whirl motif on the shoulder and rump.
10.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Gandhara guardian lion. • 2nd century CE. • Hirayama Ikuro Silkroad Museum. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Table 7.
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Whirl Motif. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lion with whirl motif on the shoulder.
11.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Small stone lion head found in Mathura. • Ca. 1st -3rd century CE. • Museum of Indian Art, Berlin. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Table 7, 46.
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Whirl Motif. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lion with a whirl motif on the cheek.
12.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lion capital from central India. • Ca. 1st -3rd century CE. • ? 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Table 7, 64.
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Swastika Motif. • Pair of lions. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lions with swastika motif on the cheeks.




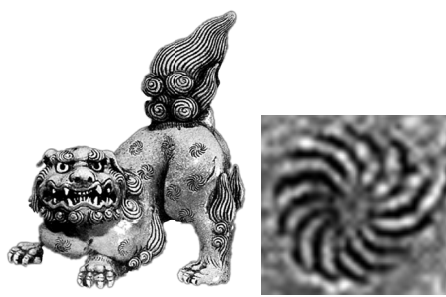


<p>13.</p>		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lion statue from Gandhara. • Ca. 2nd-3rd century CE. • Art Institute of Chicago. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Table 7.
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Whirl Motif. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lion with whirl motif on the shoulder.
<p>14.</p>		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The throne of a Tirthankara from Mathura. • Ca. 2nd-3rd century CE. • Government Museum of Mathura. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Table 7.
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Swastika Motif. • Pair of lions. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lion with swastika motif on the cheek.
<p>15.</p>		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Bronze lion figurine. • Ca. 2nd-3rd century CE. • Ishigoro Collection, Osaka. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Table 7.
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Whirl Motif. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lion with whirl motif on the shoulder and rump on each side.
<p>16.</p>		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A gray schist figure of a lion from Gandhara. • Ca. 2nd-3rd century CE. • Christie's dealer. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Table 7, 73.
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Whirl Motif. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lion with whirl motif on the shoulder.
<p>17.</p>		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lions supporting the throne of Buddha, Tirthankara from Kankali Tila. • 3rd century CE. • Government Museum of Mathura. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Table 7, 64.
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Swastika Motif. • Pair of lions. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lion with swastika motif on the cheek.
<p>18.</p>		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Statuette of a Crouching Lion from Gandhara. • 3rd-4th CE. • David Aaron Ancient Arts collection. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Table 7.
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Whirl Motif. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lion with whirl motif on the cheeks.


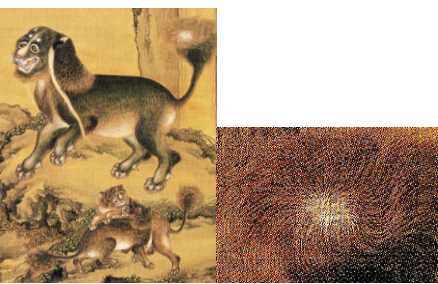


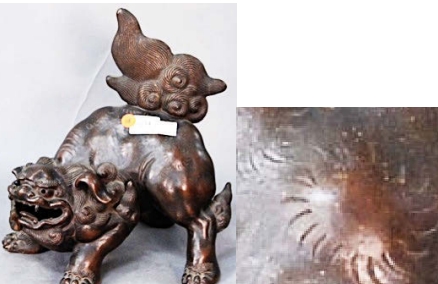

19.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Lion head fragment. Post Gupta period, after 6th century CE. Linden Museum. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Table 7, 106.
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Sun Motif. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Lion with sun motif on the forehead.
20.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Rock carving from Hodar, northern Indus valley. Unknown (prob. After 7th century CE). Pakistan. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Table 7, 46.
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Floral Motif. Star Motif. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Lion with floral motif on the shoulder. Lion with star motif on the shoulder.
21.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Akbar-Nameh illustration. Ca. 1590 CE. Victoria & Albert Museum. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Table 7.
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Cross Motif. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Tiger with cross motif on the cheek.
22.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Lion hunt scene depicting a lion fighting an elephant. Early 17th century CE. London private collection. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Table 7.
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Cross Motif. Lion and prey. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Lion with cross motif on the cheek.
23.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Detail from a Mewari painting. Early 18th century CE. Private collection. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Table 7, 46.
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Radial Lines Motif. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Tiger with a radial lines motif on the cheek.
24.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Lion paired with goddess Durga fighting Mahishasura, the buffalo-demon. Early 18th century CE. ? 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Table 7, 26, 132.
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Radial Lines Motif. Lion and prey. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Tiger with a radial lines motif on the cheek.




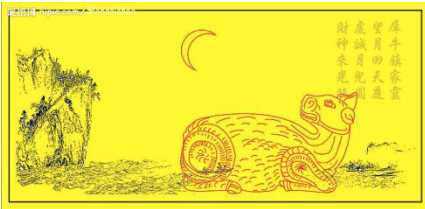


<p>25.</p>		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lion paired with goddess, Mewari Devimahatmya, folio 91. • 18th century CE. • Private collection. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Table 7, 38.
<p>26.</p>		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A painting picturing a lion and an elephant fighting from Bundi, Rajasthan. • Ca. 1770 CE. • National Museum, New Delhi. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Table 7, 132.
<p>27.</p>		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Durga fighting buffalo-demon Mahisha, a scene from the Devi Mahatmya from Himachal Pradesh. • Ca. 1780 CE. • Metropolitan Museum of Art. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Table 7.
<p>28.</p>		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Kota drawing. • Late 18th century CE. • ? 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Table 7, 106.
<p>29.</p>		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Recreation of an 18th century painting from Kota. • Early 19th century. • ? 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Table 7.
<p>30.</p>		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Illustration depicting the Prince of Wales passing a group of musicians in Poona. • Late 19th century CE. • ? 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Table 7.







1.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Dog figurine from Shaanxi province China. • Eastern Han dynasty, ca. 25-220 CE. • Asian Art Museum of San Francisco. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Table 7, 66, 144.
2.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Candle Stick Holder in the form of Lion. • Western Jin dynasty, 265-316 CE. • Zhenjiang Museum. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Table 7, 98.
3.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lion guardians, niche on the center of the northern wall of cave no. 16. • Northern Wei dynasty, 460 CE, during the reign of the Emperor Wencheng. • Yungang Grottoes. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Table 7, 98.
4.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • An earth ware handle fragment from Khotan. • Tang dynasty, 7th-8th century CE. • Sven Hedin's Archaeological Collection from Khotan. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Table 7, 99.
5.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Black burnished pottery Ewer. • Tang dynasty, 618-906 CE. • J.J. Lally & Co. Oriental Art. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Table 7, 104.
6.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Jikou, inlay horn-shaped drinking vessel. • Tang dynasty, 618-906 CE. • Prince Kung's Mansion. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Table 7, 86, 105, 128.
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Whirl Motif. • Horn-shaped vessel. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Bull with a whirl motif on the forehead. • Horn-shaped vessel with bull protome.




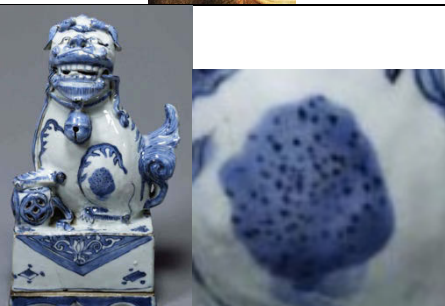
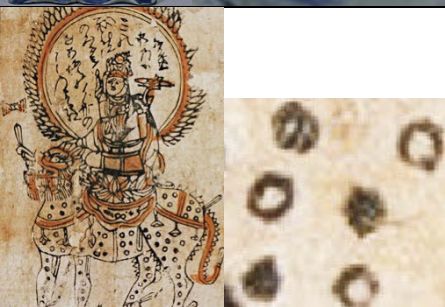

7.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> A Lohan mounted upon a lion Li Gonglin. Qing dynasty, ca. 1049-1106. Sackler Gallery. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Table 7.
8.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> A large porcelain plate. Yuan dynasty, 1271-1368 CE. Chinese Treasure of Tobkapi Palace. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Table 7, 73.
9.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> A porcelain vase decorated with four lions. Yuan dynasty, 1271-1368 CE. Private collection. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Table 7, 101, 113.
10.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The Bonpo deity alter, bronze with silver inlay western, Tibet. 1300 CE. Asian Art Museum of San Francisco. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Table 7.
11.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Bronze figurine of a stag. Ming dynasty, 1368-1644 CE. Private collection, Shanghai. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Table 7, 67, 109.
12.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Bronze liquor jar. Ming dynasty, 1368-1644 CE. Private collection, Shanghai. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Table 7, 46, 67, 101.


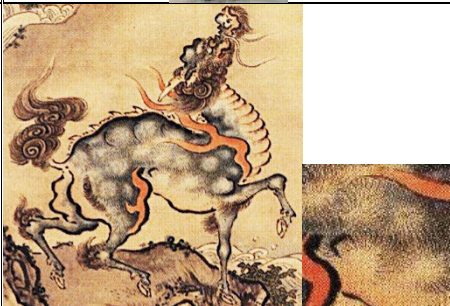




13.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Old copper incense burner. • Ming dynasty during the reign of Xuande, 1425-1435 CE. • Private collection. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Table 7, 46, 108.
14.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Chinese lion and cubs by Zhou Quan. • Ming dynasty, 16th century. • Tokyo National Museum. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Table 7.
15.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A Tibetan gilt head of a lion. • 16th -17th century CE. • Private collection. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Table 7, 46, 104.
16.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Glazed earth ware lion figurine. • Qing dynasty, 1661 to 1722 CE. • Shaanxi Provincial Museum. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Table 7, 32, 112.
17.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Buddhist lion leaning on a ball. • Qing dynasty, 1644-1911 CE. • ? 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Table 7, 40, 62, 113.
18.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A Buddha, two lions, and four attendants. • Qing dynasty, 1644-1911 CE. • Sackler Gallery. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Table 7.




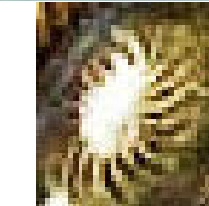
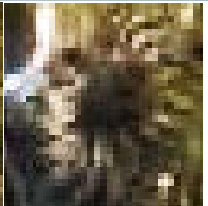

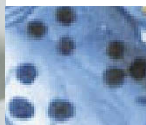






19.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Pair of hand painted blue and white porcelain with mythical animal design. • Mid to late Qing dynasty, ca. 18th century CE. • Sam Feldman collection. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Table 7, 61.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Random dots. 		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lion with random dots all over body. 	
20.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lion and cubs, hanging scroll by Shen Nanpin. • Qing dynasty, 1758 CE. • Private collection. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Table 7.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Whirl Motif. 		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lion with a whirl motif on the tail. 	
21.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Pair of imperial burners in the form of qilin. • Qing dynasty, ca. 1736-95 CE. • Pairs of incense burners, like these, lined the pathways to the thrones in the emperor's palaces in Beijing. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Table 7.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Floral Motif. • Single-horn animal. 		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Floral motif all over body. • A pair of single-horned lions. 	
22.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Tibetan Plateau textile. • Before 19th century CE. • ? 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Table 7, 66.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Circle Motif. 		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lion with circle motif on the hindquarter. 	
23.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Large Chinese clay lion. • 19th century CE. • Nadeau's Gallery. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Table 7.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Whirl Motif. 		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lion with whirl motif all over body. 	
24.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Chinese lion dance ceramic. • Contemporary. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Table 7.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Whirl Motif. • Sun Motif. 		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lion with whirl motif on the cheeks. • Lion with sun motif on the forehead. 	




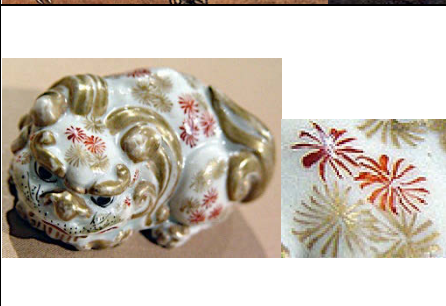
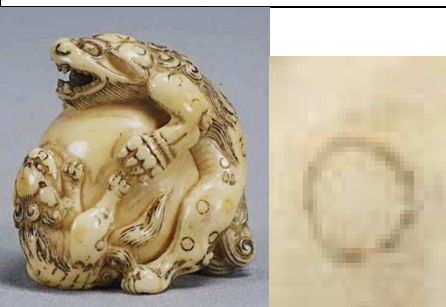
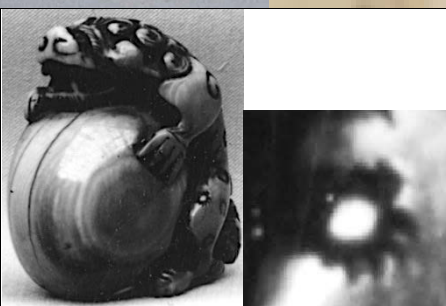
25.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Paper-cut art from Fu county of Yuan, Shaanxi. Contemporary. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Table 7.
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Floral Motif. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Lion with floral motif on the shoulder and hindquarter.
26.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Paper-cut art from Ansai county of Yuan, Shaanxi. Contemporary. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Table 7.
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Floral Motif. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Tiger with two floral motifs on the hindquarter.
27.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Paper-cut art from Ansai county of Yuan, Shaanxi. Contemporary. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Table 7.
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Whirl Motif. Floral Motif. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Tiger with whirl motif on the hindquarter. Tiger with floral motif all over body.
28.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Contemporary artwork depicting ji. Contemporary. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Table 7, 87.
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Whirl Motif. Moon Motif. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Ji with whirl motif on Shoulder and rump. Ji, gazing at the moon.
29.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Red ribbon flower tied around the horn of the lion mask used in Chinese lion dance performance. Contemporary. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Table 7, 107.
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Ribbon. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Red ribbon around the horn of the lion.
30.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Red ribbon tied around the body of a stone lion in a local temple. Contemporary. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Table 7, 107.
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Ribbon. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Red ribbon around the neck of the lion.












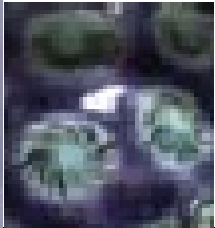
<p>1.</p>		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Two A-Un lions, one on each side of a gilt copper reliquary. • Kamakura period, 13th century CE. • Seidai-ji in Nara. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Table 7.
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Random dots. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lions with random dots all over body.
<p>2.</p>		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Bronze mirror with lion, peonies, butterflies and birds design. • Kamakura period, ca. 1442 CE. • Joushin-ji. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Table 7, 65.
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Triple-dots Motif. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lion with triple-dots motif all over body.
<p>3.</p>		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Gold or silver lacquer mirror case with lion and cubs and peony design. • Murumachi period, 15th century CE. • Tokyo National Museum. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Table 7, 46.
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Spiral Motif. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lion with a spiral motif on the tail.
<p>4.</p>		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lion and peony design saddle. • Murumachi period, 16th century CE. • Tokyo National Museum. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Table 7.
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Random dots. • Spiral Motif. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lion with random dots all over body. • Lion with spiral motif on the tail.
<p>5.</p>		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lion design battle surcoat. • Momoyama period, ca. 1568–1600 CE. • Tokyo National Museum. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Table 7, 61.
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Random dots. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lions with random dots all over body.
<p>6.</p>		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Chinese lion painted on three panels by Kano Eitoku. • Right panels: Azuchi-Momoyama period, 16th century CE. • The Museum of the Imperial Collection. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Table 7, 112.
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Random dots. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lions with random dots all over body.

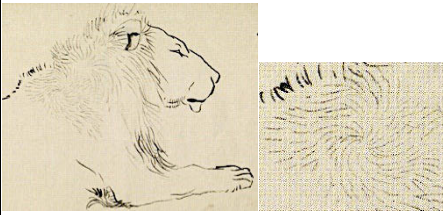





7.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Incense burner. Momoyama-Edo period, ca. 17th century CE. Tokyo National Museum. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Table 7.
8.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Incense burner. Momoyama-Edo period, ca. 17th century CE. Tokyo National Museum. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Table 7, 46.
9.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Chinese lion painted on three panels by Kano Tsunenobu. Left panels: Edo period, 17th century CE. The Museum of the Imperial Collection. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Table 7, 32.
10.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Lion design ceramic incense burner with blue pattern. Edo period, 17th century CE. Tokyo National Museum. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Table 7, 66.
11.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Woodblock print depicting Monju Bosatsu riding a lion. Edo period, 17th century CE. ? 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Table 7, 26.
12.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Lion illustration from Shinzeikogakuzu. Edo period, 17th century CE. Tokyo University of the Arts. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Table 7.
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Random dots. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Lion with random dots all over body.




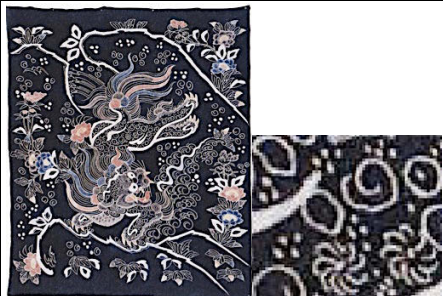


<p>13.</p>		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Shishi and komainu on the rooftop of the entrance to the Shousoin building in Toudai-ji. 17th century CE. Nara. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Table 7.
<p>14.</p>		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Kirin under the karamatsu. Edo period, Late 17th and early 18th century CE. Tokyo Souji Shrine. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Table 7, 46.
<p>15.</p>		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Chinese Lion, hanging scroll by Yokoya Somin (1669-1733). Edo period, 18th century CE. Metropolitan Museum of Art. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Table 7.
<p>16.</p>		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Lion and waterfall hanging scroll by Hanabusa Itocho. Edo period, 18th century CE. Tokyo National Museum. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Table 7, 98.
<p>17.</p>		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Wooden netsuke with lion dance design. Edo period, 18th century CE. Tokyo National Museum. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Table 7.
<p>18.</p>		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Stirrup with lion and peony design. Edo period, 18th century CE. Tokyo National Museum. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Table 7.


<p>19.</p>	 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Kosode with indigo background and Karajishi design. • Edo period, 18th century CE. • Tokyo National Museum. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Table 7.
<p>20.</p>	  	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Japanese sword equipment with lion and peony design • Edo period, ca. 18th century CE. • Tokyo National Museum. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Table 7.
<p>21.</p>	 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Painted plate with lion and peony design. • Edo period, ca. 1781-1789 CE. • Tokyo National Museum. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Table 7.
<p>22.</p>	 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Painted plate with lion and peony design. • Edo period, c. 18th -19th century CE. • Tokyo National Museum. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Table 7.
<p>23.</p>	 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Shishi and komainu in front of the sanctuary of Honjo Hachimangu. • Ca. 1830 CE. • Okayama. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Table 7, 45, 156.
<p>24.</p>	 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lion and peony red lacquer ware seal case. • Edo period, 19th century. • Tokyo National Museum. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Table 7.

<p>25.</p>		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Lion, Katsushika Hokusai. Edo period, 19th century CE. Tokyo National Museum. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Table 7.
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Random dots. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Two lions with random dots all over body.
<p>26.</p>		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Lions from the birds and beasts series by Utagawa Kuniyoshi, woodblock print Edo period, ca. 1839-1841 CE. Hiraki Ukiyo-e Foundation. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Table 7, 4.
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Whirl Motif. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Lions with whirl motif all over body.
<p>27.</p>		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Shoki riding the lion, hanging scroll by Katsushika Hokusai. Edo period, 1844 CE. Idemitsu Museum of Art. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Table 7.
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Radial Lines Motif. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Lion with radial lines motif all over body.
<p>28.</p>		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Netsuke of a Chinese lion. Edo period, 19th century CE. Raymond and Frances Bushell Collection. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Table 7.
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Radial Lines Motif. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Lion with radial lines motif all over body.
<p>29.</p>		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> A-Un lions playing with a ball, ivory netsuke. Edo period, 19th century CE. Tokyo National Museum. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Table 7, 40.
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Random dots. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Lions with random dots all over body.
<p>30.</p>		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Lion with a ball, ivory netsuke. 19th century CE. Metropolitan Museum of Art. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Table 7, 40, 113.
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Radial Lines Motif. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Lion with radial lines motif all over body.



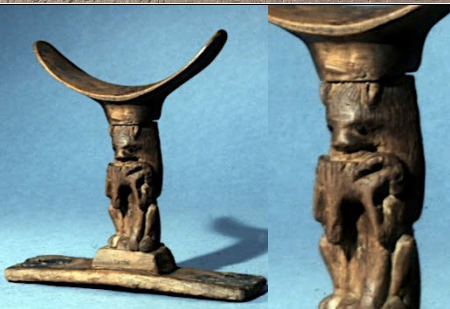

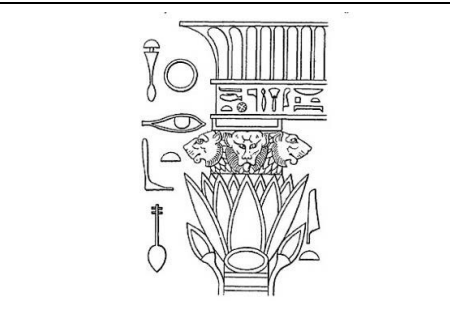

<p>31.</p>	 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Kabuki robe. • Edo period, mid 19th century CE. • Private collection. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Table 7.
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Whirl Motif. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lions with whirl motif all over body.
<p>32.</p>	 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lion dance wood painting. • Meiji period, 19th century CE. • Tokyo National Museum. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Table 7.
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Radial Lines Motif. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lion with radial lines motif on the body.
<p>33.</p>	 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ivory netsuke of lion dance. • 19th century CE. • Metropolitan Museum of Art. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Table 7.
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Whirl Motif. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lion with whirl motif all over body.
<p>34.</p>	 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Two panel screen by Kobayashi Kiyochika, color on silk. • Meiji period, 1885 CE. • Chiba City Museum of Art. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Table 7.
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Whirl Motif. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lion with whirl motif on the forehead.
<p>35.</p>	 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Jar, designed by Kinkozan Sohei VII. • Meiji period, 1892 CE. • Tokyo National Museum. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Table 7, 113.
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Spiral Motif. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lion with spiral motif all over body.
<p>36.</p>	 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Incense burner with Phoenix and Dragon designs. • Meiji period, 1892 CE. • Tokyo National Museum. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Table 7.
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Whirl Motif. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lion with whirl motif all over body.







<p>37.</p>		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lion sketch by Sakakibara Shiho. • 1903-1907 CE. • Kyoto municipal Museum of Art. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Table 7.
<p>38.</p>		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Shishi and komainu in Suwa Shrine. • Meiji period, 1906 CE. • Hokkaido. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Table 7.
<p>39.</p>		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Shishi and komainu from Fukuse Shrine. • Taisho Era, 1912-1926 CE. • Miyazaki. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Table 7.
<p>40.</p>		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Bizen ware shishi and komainu of Kitakozu Shrine. • Taisho Era, 1912 to 1926 CE. • Okayama. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Table 7.
<p>41.</p>		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lion, Sakakibara Shiho. • 1927 CE. • Kyoto Municipal Museum of Art. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Table 7.
<p>42.</p>		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Shishi and komainu placed in front of the sanctuary of Oyafuru Shrine. • Offered to the shrine in 1935 CE. • Hokkaido. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Table 7.

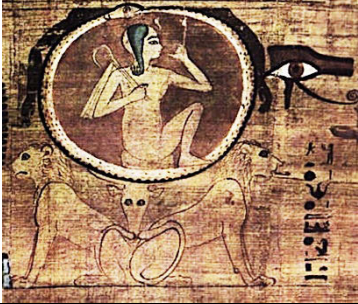

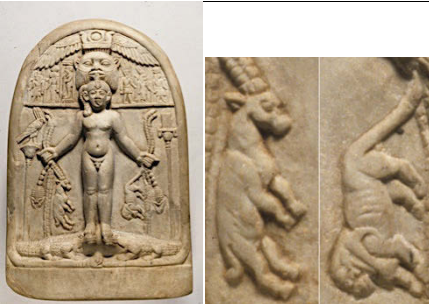

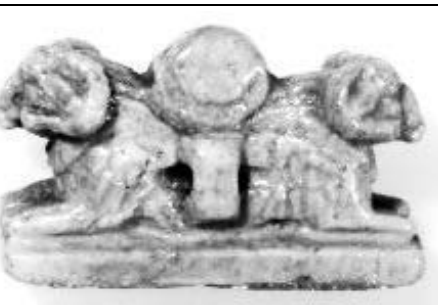

43.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Alone standing komainu in Tsunehise Shrine. • Before 1944 CE. • Miyazaki. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Table 7.
44.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Futon sheet with lion and peony design made with paste resist indigo dying technique. • 20th century CE. • Santori Museum. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Table 7.
45.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Futon sheet with lion and peony design made with paste resist indigo dying technique. • 20th century CE. • Santori Museum. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Table 7.
46.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Futon sheet with lion and peony design made with paste resist indigo dying technique. • 20th century CE. • Santori Museum. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Table 7, 73.
47.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Shishi and komainu in Kitakozu Shrine. • 2007 CE. • Okayama. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Table 7.
48.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Japanese porcelain maneki neko. • 20th century CE. • Bellevue Arts Museum. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Table 7, 106.
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Sun Motif. • Spiral Motif. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Cat with sun motif all over body. • Cat with spiral motif all over body.





<p>49.</p>		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • New Year shishi-mai mask. • Contemporary. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Table 7, 32.
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Whirl Motif. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lion with whirl motif all over body.
<p>50.</p>		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Maneki neko, Pop art. • Contemporary. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Table 7.
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Concentric Circles Motif. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Cat with concentric circles motifs on the shoulder and Rump on both sides.





**Appendix II: Komainu and Near
Eastern Single-horned Bull**



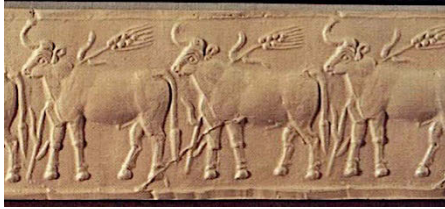



1.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Giza sphinx with human head and lion's body. Built during the reign of Khefren, ca. 2500 BCE. Giza plateau. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 29.
2.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Stela between the paws of Giza sphinx. Ca. 2500 BCE. Giza plateau. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 9.
3.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Wooden headrest shaft in form of lion eating gazelle. 1st intermediate Period, ca. 2181-2055 BCE. British Museum. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Extra example that is not mentioned in the text.
4.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Box decorated with hunting scenes. 18th Dynasty, ca. 1550-1295 BCE. Louvre Museum. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Extra example that is not mentioned in the text.
5.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Three lion heads above a lotus pillar, mural painting in a shrine during the reign of Amenhotep II. Ca. 1427 to 1401 BCE. Drawing by Lepsius. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 14, 28.
6.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Lions at the entrance to a chapel of the Serapeum of Saqqara. During the reign of Amenophis III, ca. 1400-1350 BCE. Louvre Museum. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 26, 134.
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Pair of lions. Lion guardian. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> A pair of lions as guardians of a temple.







7.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Taweret amulet with double head lion. Ca. 1390-1213 BCE. Metropolitan Museum. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Extra example that is not mentioned in the text.
8.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The golden throne of Tutankhamen. 14th century BCE. Egyptian Museum of Cairo. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 10, 25, 43.
9.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Ritual beds from Tutankhamen's tomb. Ca. 1333-1323 BCE. Egyptian Museum of Cairo. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 25.
10.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Ceremonial bed of lions depicted in Book of the Dead of Ani, sheet 23. Ca. 1250-1150 BCE. British Museum. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 10.
11.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Akeru lions depicted in Book of the Dead of Ani, sheet 23. Ca. 1250-1150 BCE. British Museum. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Table 7,
12.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> A Ramessid papyrus depicting a gazelle and lion playing the board game. Ca. 1250-1150 BCE. British Museum. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 136.
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Lion and prey. Single-horned animal. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The lion does not attack the gazelle but plays a board game, probably Senet, with it.






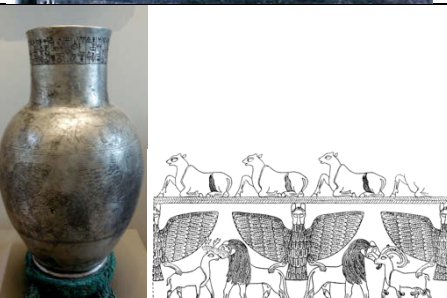

<p>13.</p>		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Detail of the painting of ceremonial papyrus of Dama Heroub. 21st Dynasty, ca. 1077-943 BCE. British Museum. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Table 7, 12, 21, 24, 156.
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Pair of lions. Sun Motif. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Pair of lions with sun motif on the back.
<p>14.</p>		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Couch legs in the form of lion and bull. Late Period, ca. 712-332 BCE. British Museum. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Extra example that is not mentioned in the text.
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Lion and prey. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Lion and bull as the legs of a couch.
<p>15.</p>		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Cippus of Horus. 664-630 BCE. Metropolitan Museum. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 136.
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Lion and prey. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> God holding an ibex by the horns in the right hand and a lion by the tail in the left hand.
<p>16.</p>		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Glazed composite amulet. Ca. 685-525 BCE. British Museum. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Table 7, 126.
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Pair of bulls. Moon Motif. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Bulls with moon motif on the back.
<p>17.</p>		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Glazed composite amulet. Ca. 685-525 BCE. British Museum. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Table 7, 126.
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Pair of ibexes. Moon Motif. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Rams with moon motif on the back.
<p>18.</p>		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Tarracotta lid of a jar depicting an ibex devoured by a lion. 26th Dynasty, ca. 664-525 BCE. Louvre Museum. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Extra example that is not mentioned in the text.
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Lion and prey. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Lion attacking an ibex.







<p>19.</p>		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The magical cippus of Horus. • 664-380 BCE. • Metropolitan Museum. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 136, 137, 147.
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lion and prey. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • God holding an ibex by the horns in the right hand and a lion by the tail in the left hand.
<p>20.</p>		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Pendant with the head of a lion on one side, and the head of a bull with a sun disk on the other side. • 664-332 BCE. • Walters Art Museum. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 136.
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lion and prey. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lion and bull represented back to back.
<p>21.</p>		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Magical Stela from Late Period, reign of Nectanebo II found in Alexandria. • 30th Dynasty, 360-343 BCE. • Metropolitan Museum of Art. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 136.
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lion and prey. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • God holding an ibex by the horns in the right hand and a lion by the tail in the left hand.
<p>22.</p>		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Stele of Horus inscribed with magical spells. • Ptolemaic Dynasty, Ca. 330-305 BCE. • Sackler Gallery. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 136.
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lion and prey. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • God holding an ibex by the horns in the right hand and a lion by the tail in the left hand.
<p>23.</p>		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Black steatite cippus of Horus. • Late 4th century BCE. • British Museum. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 136.
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lion and prey. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • God holding an ibex by the horns in the right hand and a lion by the tail in the left hand.
<p>24.</p>		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Cippus of Horus from Macedonia. • Ptolemaic Period, ca. 332-280 BCE. • Metropolitan Museum of Art. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 136.
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lion and prey. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • God holding an ibex by the horns in the right hand and a lion by the tail in the left hand.


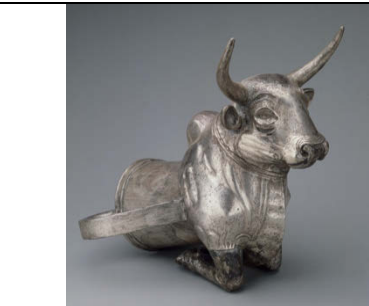



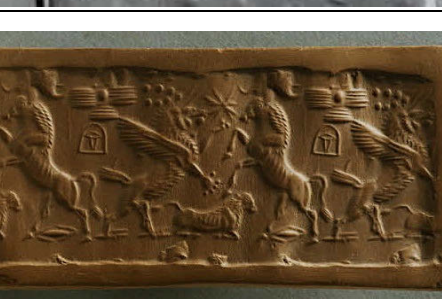
25.			<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Horus Stele or Cippus • 3rd century BCE. • The Walters Art Museum. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 136.
26.			<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Cippus of Horus on the Crocodiles. • 3rd century BCE. • Brooklyn Museum. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 136.
			<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lion and prey. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • God holding an ibex by the horns in the right hand and a lion by the tail in the left hand.







1.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Seated Mother Goddess flanked by two lionesses from Catal Hoyuk in Turkey. Ca. 6000-5500 BCE. Museum of Anatolian Civilizations in Ankara 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 10.
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Pair of lions. Lion and goddess. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Goddess seated on a lion throne.
2.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> A Sumerian black stonite cylinder seal. Ca. 3200-3000 BCE. ? 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 130.
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Lion and prey. Single-horned animal. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Lioness attacking a single-horned ibex and tree of life on the back.
3.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Cylinder seal depicting cattle passing through a field from Uruk. Ca. 4th-3rd millennium BCE. Louvre Museum. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Extra example that is not mentioned in the text.
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Single-horned animal. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Single-horned bulls, the symbol of harvest.
4.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Plaque depicting a winged goddess, possibly Ishtar, standing on two ibexes from Ras Shamra. 3rd millennium BCE. Louvre Museum. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Extra example that is not mentioned in the text.
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Pair of ibexes. Single-horned animal. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Goddess standing on the back of two addorsed ibexes.
5.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Fragment of a seashell goblet depicting the combat between a lion and a bull from Tello. Ca. 3000 BCE. Louvre Museum. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Table 7, 7, 132, 157.
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Lion and prey. Star Motif. Single-horned animal. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Lion attacking a single-horned bull. Bull with a star motif over the forehead.
6.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Assyria seal depicting a lion attacking a bull and a deer grazing. Dynastic I period, Ca. 2800 BCE. Louvre Museum. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Table 7.
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Lion and prey. Single-horned animal. Moon Motif. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Lion attacking a single-horned bull. Moon sign over the head of lion and bull.







7.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Mace decorated with eagle clutching two deer from Girsu. • Ca. 2900-2340 BCE. • Louvre Museum. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Extra example that is not mentioned in the text.
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Pair of lions. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lion-bird on the back of two addorsed lions.
8.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Sumerian Inlay cup depicting the combat between a human-headed bull and a lion-headed eagle. • Ca. 2600-2500 BCE. • Metropolitan Museum of Art. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Extra example that is not mentioned in the text.
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lion and prey. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lion-bird is attacking a man-headed bull.
9.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Terracotta tablet depicting the goddess Ishtar. • First half of the 2nd millennium BCE. • Louvre Museum. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 26.
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lion and goddess. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Goddess standing on lion.
10.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Terracotta tablet depicting the goddess Ishtar. • First half of the 2nd millennium BCE. • Louvre Museum. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 26.
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Pair of lions. • Lion and goddess. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Goddess standing on lion.
11.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • New Votive Plaques found in the level VIII of the Inanna temple in Nippur. • Early Dynastic III period, 2550-2500 BCE. • Oriental Institute, University of Chicago. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Table 7, 125.
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lion and prey. • Moon Motif. • Single-horned animal. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lion attacking a single-horned bull with a crescent over the back.
12.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A carved Plaque depicting the imdugud attacking a man-headed bull. • Dynastic III period, 2550-2500 BCE. • Beijing World Art Museum. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Extra example that is not mentioned in the text.
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lion and prey. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lion-bird attacking a man-headed bull.

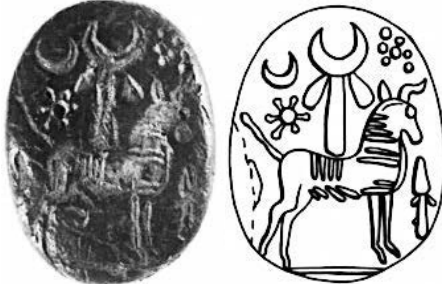





13.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Votive relief of Ur-Nanshe representing the lion-headed eagle. Dynastic III period, 2550-2500 BCE. Louvre Museum. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 15, 24.
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Pair of lions. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The lion-bird standing on the back of two addorsed lions.
14.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Mace head decorated with two addorsed lions and one lion on the top. Ca. 2500 BCE. Louvre Museum. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Extra example that is not mentioned in the text.
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Pair of lions. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> A pair of addorsed lions and another lion on their back.
15.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Sumerian gaming-board 2600–2400 BCE. British Museum. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Extra example that is not mentioned in the text.
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Lion and prey. Single-horned animal. Pair of bulls. Pair of ibexes. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Lions attacking stag, ibex and bull. Single-horned bull and stag. A pair of bulls and a pair of ibexes depicted flanking a tree.
16.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Copper relief on a wood core of Imdugud from the temple of Ninhursag in Tell al-Ubaid, southern Iraq. Ca. 2600-2400 BCE. British Museum. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Extra example that is not mentioned in the text.
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Lion and prey. Pair of stags. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Lion-headed Imdugud bird on the back of two stags.
17.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Perforated plaque of Dudu, priest of Ningirsu temple in the time of Entemena, prince of Lagash. Early Dynastic Period III, ca. 2450 BCE. Louvre Museum. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Extra example that is not mentioned in the text.
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Pair of lions. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Lion-bird on the back of two addorsed lions.
18.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> A silver vase, offering of Entemena, king of Lagash, to Ningirsu temple in ancient Tello. Ca. 2400 BCE. Louvre Museum. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Extra example that is not mentioned in the text.
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Lion and prey. Pair of lions. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Lion-bird on the back of a pair of lion and a pair of ibex and stag. Lions attacking ibex and stag.





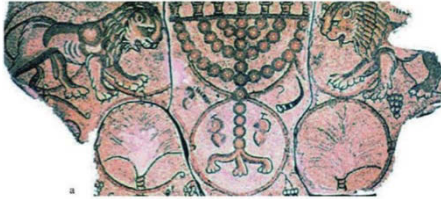

19.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Akkadian cylinder seal impression. Ca. 2300 BCE. British Museum. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 10, 24, 29.
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Pair of lions. Lion and sun god. A-un facial expression. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Pair of A-Un lions as the gateway guardian, lioness on the right side and lion on the left side.
20.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Cylinder seal impression. Akkadian period, ca. 2334-2154 BCE. The Morgen Library and Museum. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Extra example that is not mentioned in the text.
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Lion and prey. Single-horned animal. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Hero fighting a lion on the right side of the tree Hero fighting a single-horned bull on the left side of the tree.
21.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Small terracotta plaque. Akkadian period, ca. 2334-2154 BCE. Israel Museum. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Table 7, 61, 125.
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Pair of bulls. Moon Motif. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Two bulls with crossing bodies and a moon sign over their heads.
22.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Terra cotta plaque. Later of 19 BCE. British Museum. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Table 7.
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Pair of bulls. Moon Motif. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Two bulls with crossing bodies and a moon sign over their heads.
23.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Akkadian seal impression from Tell Asmar. Ca. 2200 BCE. University of Chicago, Oriental Institute Museum. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 9.
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Lion and sun god. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Guardian sphinx protecting the sun god in the boat.
24.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The Queen of the Night relief from the southern Iraq. Old Babylonian period, Ca. 1800-1750 BCE. British Museum. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 38, 67.
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Pair of lions. Lion and goddess. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Goddess standing on the back of two addorsed lions.


25.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Offering scene depicted on a Hematite cylinder seal. Paleo-Babylonian period, ca. 1780 BCE. Louvre Museum. 	125.
26.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Rhyton from Hittite Empire period found in central Anatolia. Hittite Empire period, 15th-13th century BCE. Metropolitan Museum of Art. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Extra example that is not mentioned in the text.
27.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Rhyton from Hittite Empire period found in central Anatolia. Ca. 15th-13th century BCE. Metropolitan Museum of Art. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Extra example that is not mentioned in the text.
28.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Golden bowl of Ras-shamra. Ca. 14th BCE. Syria National Museum. 	Table 7, 86.
29.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Miidel Assyrian cylinder seal from Surkh Dum. Ca. 13th century BCE. Metropolitan Museum of Art. 	Table 7.
30.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> A winged lion attacking a bull among them, a small calf in the sky the winged disc. 2nd millennium BCE. Louvre Museum. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Extra example that is not mentioned in the text.



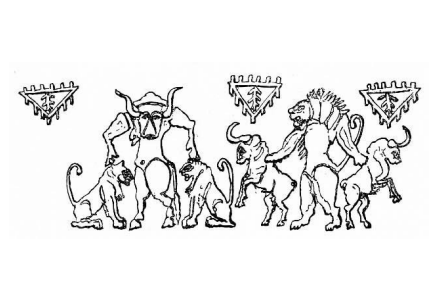

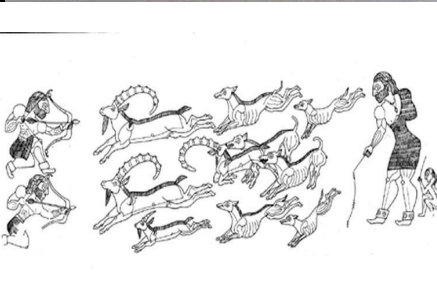

31.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Mesopotamian cylinder seal impression. Ca. 2nd millennium BCE. Louvre Museum. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Extra example that is not mentioned in the text.
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Lion and prey. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Two lions standing on the hind legs attacking an ibex.
32.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Meeting between the goddess Kubaba on a bull and the Storm God on a lion. Hittite empire, ca. 1400-1190 BCE. Ankara Museum of Anatolian Civilizations. 	32.
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Lion and prey. Single-horned animal. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Lion is paired with god on the left side of the tablet and the bull is paired with the goddess on the right side.
33.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Hittite rock reliefs, a double lion headed column basis. Late Bronze Age or early Iron Age, ca. 12th–10th century BCE. Archaeological Museum of Adana. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Extra example that is not mentioned in the text.
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Pair of lions. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Pair of lions as a column basis.
34.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Neo-Assyrian cylinder seal depicting a hero, a bird, a lion and a bull. Ca. 10th-7th century BCE. Louvre Museum. 	Table 7, 130.
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Lion and prey. Single-horned animal. Moon Motif. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> A hero against a lion attacking a single-horned bull.
35.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The gate of Bit Bahiani palace built by king Kapara in Tell halaf. Early 9th century BCE. Pergamon Museum in Berlin. 	134.
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Lion and prey. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Lions and a bull as gateway guardians of the palace.
36.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Gate of the palace of Nimrud guarded by winged man-headed bull and lion. 9th century BCE. British Museum. 	139.
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Lion and prey. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Lion guardian on the left side and the bull guardian on the right side.







37.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Faience cylinder seal from Nimrud. Neo-Assyrian period, ca. 850-700BCE. British Museum. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Table 7, 125.
38.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Roaring lions on the base of a Hittite temple column in Tainat at the border of the Syria and Turkey. 8th century BCE. Antakya Archaeological Museum. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 17, 23, 28.
39.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Column base with double sphinxes at the palace of the Aramean King Barreku. Late Hittite, 8th BCE. Turkey Museum of Oriental Antiquities, Istanbul, Turkey. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Extra example that is not mentioned in the text.
40.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Neo-Assyrian carving from the Khorsabad palace. Ca. 8th century BCE. Louvre Museum. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 12, 25.
41.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Assyrian bronze disc from Khorsabad. 8th century BCE. Boston Museum of Fine Arts. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 130.
42.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Stamp seal from the temple of Ishtar at Nineveh. 8th-7th BCE. British Museum. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Table 7, 125.
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Single-horned animal. Moon Motif. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> A single-horned bull with a moon sign on the back and a crescent moon over the behind.



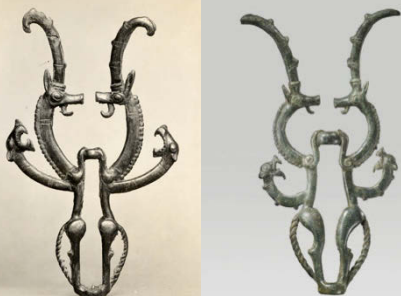



43.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Stamp seal of found in Israel. 8th-7th century BCE. Israel Museum. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Table 7, 125.
44.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Winged man-headed bull from the king Sargon II's palace at Khorsabad, ca. 713–716 BCE, Louvre Museum. Winged man-headed lion from the North-West Palace of Ashurnasirpal II in Nimrud, ca. 883-859 BCE, Metropolitan Museum of Art. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Lion and prey. Lammasu and shedu, the Assyrian gateway guardians are always depicted either as lion or bull. 12, 29, 102, 134.
45.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Gold plate from the tomb of Regolini-Galassi at Cerveteri. Middle of the Assyrian kingdom, 7th century BCE. National Etruscan Museum. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Extra example that is not mentioned in the text. Lion and prey. Two lions attacking a bull.
46.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Cylinder seal impression. Neo-Babylonian period, ca. 1000-539 BCE. The Morgen Library and Museum. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Extra example that is not mentioned in the text. Lion and prey. Single-horned animal. A hero and a lion killing a single-horned bull.
47.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> A Neo-Babylonian cylinder seal. Ca. 800-600 BCE. Currently on auction in christies' dealer. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Table 7, 125. Single-horned animal. Moon Motif. Two single hoen man-headed bulls flanking a hero. The moon sign behind the bulls.
48.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Single-horned bull of the Ishtar gate. Neo-Babylonian Period, ca. 575 BCE. British Museum. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 130, 145. Single-horned animal. Single-horned guardian bull.







49.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Coin minted by Croesus King of the Lydia. • Ca. 560-547 BCE. • British Museum. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Extra example that is not mentioned in the text.
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lion and prey. • Single-horned animal. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lion attacking a single-horned bull.
50.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Kingdom of Cilicia, Mazaios satrap of Cilicia. • Ca. 361-334 BCE. • Private Coin Auction. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Extra example that is not mentioned in the text.
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lion and prey. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lion attacking a bull.
51.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The mosaic floor of Beit Alpha ancient synagogue. • 6th century CE. • Beit Alpha. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 133, 138.
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lion and prey. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lion on the right side of the entrance and bull on the left side.
52.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Mosaic pavement of the lower Baptistery Chapel depicting a pair of animals, the Cathedral Church. • 6th century CE. • Madaba, Jordan. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 138.
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lion and prey. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lion on the right side of the entrance and bull on the left side.
53.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Menorah flanked by lions, mosaic design in Ma'on synagogue. • 6th-7th century CE. • Nirim, Israel. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Extra example that is not mentioned in the text.
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Pair of lions 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lions on the both sides of a sacred chandelier.
54.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Byzantine mosaic of a bull and a lion. • 15th century CE. • Preserved at the Beit ed-Dine Palace in Lebanon. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 138.
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lion and prey. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lion on the right side of the entrance and bull on the left side.






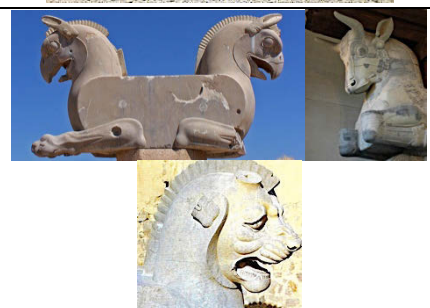
55.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Polychrome painted pottery plate from Turkey. • Ottoman period, ca. 1600 CE. • Berlin State Museum. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Extra example that is not mentioned in the text.
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lion and prey. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lion attacking a bull.

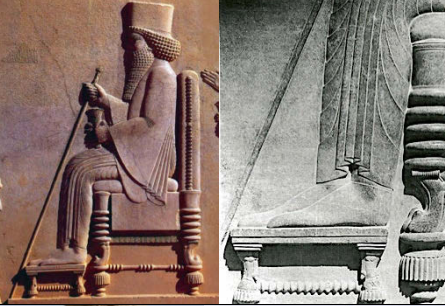

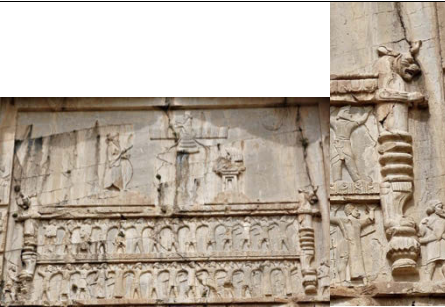
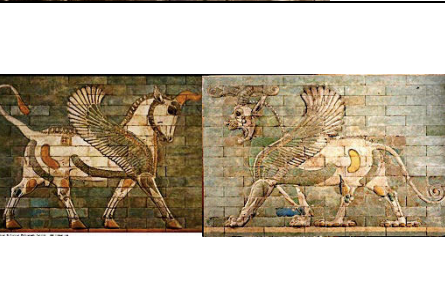
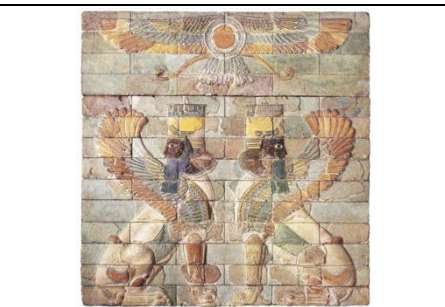

1.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Southeastern Iranian white stone cylinder seal depicting two kneeling figures flanking a sun motif. • Late 3rd Millennium BCE. • Metropolitan Museum of Art. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Extra example that is not mentioned in the text.
2.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Rock weight from Jiroft. • 3rd millennium BCE. • Azerbaijan Museum of Tabriz. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 132.
3.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Seal impression from Susa. • 3rd millennium BCE. • ? 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 136.
4.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Bowl with buffalos and tree of life from Susa. • Neo-Sumerian period, 2150-2000 BCE. • Louvre Museum. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 130.
5.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Silver cylindrical cup with agricultural and ceremonial scene from Bactria. • Late 3rd - 2nd millennium BCE. • Miho Museum. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Extra example that is not mentioned in the text.
6.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Sitting lion figurine from Susa. • Ca. 1800 BCE. • Iran Bastan Museum. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Extra example that is not mentioned in the text.
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Pair of lions. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A pair of lion guardians.







7.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Glazed terracotta lion door guard, found near the temple of Inshushinak at Tell of the Acropolis, Susa. • Middle Elamite period, 14th century BCE. • Louvre Museum. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 26.
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Pair of lions. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Clay statue of a lion as guardian of temple.
8.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Glazed pottery guardian bull sculpture dedicated to Inshushinak. Located at the gate of Chogha zanbil ziggurat. • Ca. 1250 BCE. • Iran Bastan Museum. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Extra example that is not mentioned in the text.
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Bull guardian. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A scripted clay statue of a bull as guardian of temple.
9.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ibex-shaped vessel. • Ca. 1000 BCE. • Walters Art Museum. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 127.
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Single-horned animal. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Rhyton with single-horned ibex protome.
10.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • An Iranian pottery bird and hare rhyton. • Early 1st Millennium BCE. • Currently on auction on bonhams' dealer. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 127.
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lion and prey. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Eagle, another solar animal, has replaced lion and hare, a lunar animal, replaced bull.
11.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Bactrian silver cylindrical cup with a single-horned goat. • Ca. 1000-650 BCE. • Miho Museum. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 130.
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Single-horned animal. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A single-horned goat along with other seated domestic animals.
12.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Cup found from western Iran. • Iron Age II-III, ca. 1000-650 BCE. • ? 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Extra example that is not mentioned in the text.
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Single-horned animal. • Pair of bulls. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Facing single-horned bulls.







13.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Copper Disk from northwest of Iran. • Ca. 1000-550 BCE. • Sackler Gallery. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 136.
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lion and ibex. • Single-horned animal. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lion on the right side and ibex on the left side of the hero.
14.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Pin head from Luristan. • Ca. 1000-550 BCE. • ? 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 136.
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lion and ibex. • Relating to sides. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lion on the left side of the hero and ibex on the right side.
15.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Copper alloy wild goat standard-finial showing a stylized lion attacks the back of each of the two goats, • Ca. 9-8 century BCE. • British Museum, Louvre Museum. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Extra example that is not mentioned in the text.
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lion and prey. • Single-horned animal. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Two lion attacking two ibexes.
16.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Decorated bronze cup from Luristan. • Ca. 9th-7th Century BCE. • Cleveland Museum of Art. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Extra example that is not mentioned in the text.
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Single-horned animal. • Pair of ibexes. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Single-horned ibexes flanking an overflowing vase.
17.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Pre-Achaemenid gilt silver rhyton. • Ca. 9th - 7th century BCE. • Miho Museum. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 127.
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Horn-shaped vessel. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Rhyton with ibex protome.
18.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Spouted bowl with handle from northwestern Iran. • Ca. 9th - 7th century BCE. • Miho Museum. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Extra example that is not mentioned in the text.
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lion and prey. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Two lions attacking a bull.







19.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Glazed ware jar from Ziwiye, Kurdistan. • 1st Millennium BCE. • Iran Bastan Museum. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Extra example that is not mentioned in the text.
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Single-horned animal. • Pair of ibexes. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Single-horned ibex paired with a floral design.
20.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Glazed ware jar from Ziwiye, Kurdistan. • 8th - 7th century BCE. • Barakat Gallery, Los Angeles. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Extra example that is not mentioned in the text.
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Single-horned animal. • Pair of ibexes. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Single-horned ibex paired with a floral design.
21.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Elamite bronze sculpture of a Lion attacking an ibex. • Ca. 900-600 BCE. • Barakat Gallery. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 127.
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lion and ibex. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lion attacking an ibex
22.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Statuette in form of a unicorn goat from Luristan. • Ca. 800-700 BCE. • Asian Art Museum of San Francisco. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Extra example that is not mentioned in the text.
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Single-horned animal. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Single-horned ibex.
23.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Head of pin from, Surkh Dum. • Iron Age III, ca. 8th-7th century BCE. • Metropolitan Museum of Art. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Extra example that is not mentioned in the text.
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Single-horned animal. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Single-horned ibex.
24.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Glazed tile from Kurdistan. • 8th-7th century BCE. • Hirayama Ikuo Silkroad Museum. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 130.
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Single-horned animal. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Single-horned ibex.

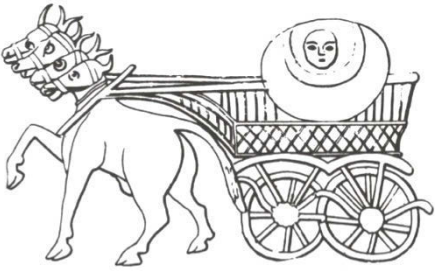
25.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Pre-Achaemenid silver and gold vessel in the form of a lion attacking a bull. • 8th-6th century BCE. • Miho Museum. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 132.
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lion and prey. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lion attacking a bull.
26.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lower part of a ceremonial hatchet handle, Kelermes kurgan. • Ca. 7th - 6th century BCE. • Hermitage Museum. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 130.
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Single-horned animal. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Single-horned ibexes flanking a tree.
27.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Eagle devouring a hare from Kalmakare. • 6th century BCE. • Mexico's National Anthropology Museum. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • None.
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lion and prey. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Eagle, a solar animal, replaced lion and hare, a lunar animal, replaced bull.
28.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Fragment of small ivory plaque representing an ibex from Ziwiye. • Mid-6th century BCE. • Louvre Museum. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Extra example that is not mentioned in the text.
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Single-horned animal. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Single-horned ibex.
29.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lion-bull combat motif in both side of the northern entrance of the Apadana palace. • Ca. 515 BCE. • Persepolis, Shiraz. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 131, 147.
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lion and prey. • Single-horned animal. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lion attacking a bull.
30.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Pillar capitals used in Persepolis. • Ca. 515 BCE. • Persepolis, Shiraz. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 14, 28.
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Pair of lions. • Pair of bulls. • Pair of griffins. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Pillar capitals in the form of addorsed horned lion, griffins and bulls.







31.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Embossed relief of Darius I accepting representatives from Achaemenid empire in Persepolis. Ca. 515 BCE. Persepolis, Shiraz. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 25, 43.
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Lion and prey. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Throne with lion legs and stool with bull legs.
32.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The guardian sphinx of the All Nation's gate and unfinished bull gate in Persepolis of the Persepolis. Ca. 515 BCE. Persepolis, Shiraz. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 12, 29, 134.
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Pair of sphinxes. Bull guardians. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Winged griffin gateway guardian.
33.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The carving above the Achaemenid cave-tombs. Ca. 5th century BCE. Naqsh-e Rostam. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 12, 15.
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Pair of lions. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> A pair of lions on both sides of bed.
34.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Glazed tile from the palace of Darius I in Susa. Ca. 522-486 BCE. Louvre Museum. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 130.
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Lion and prey. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> A pairing of lion and bull griffins.
35.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Siliceous bricks with decoration in relief, Apadana palace of in Susa. Ca. 522-486 BCE. Louvre Museum. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Table 7, 12, 24.
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Pair of lions. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> A pair of man-headed winged lions.
36.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Achaemenid seal with a lion-bull combat motif excavated in Sardis. 5th-4th century BCE. Istanbul Archaeological Museum. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 134.
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Lion and prey. Sun Motif. Moon Motif. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Lion and bull with sun and moon carved above their heads.



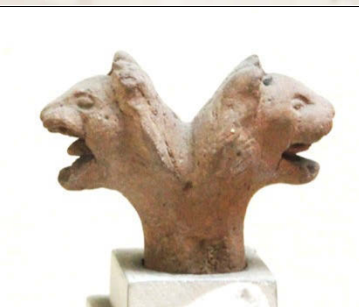
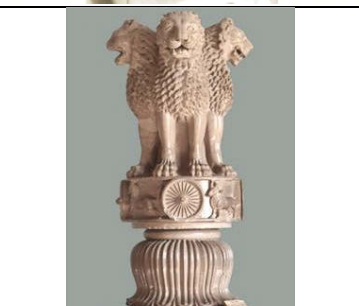


37.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Achaemenid gold dagger. 5th-4th century BCE. Iran Bastan Museum. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Extra example that is not mentioned in the text.
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Lion and ibex. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Lion-headed Handle and Ibex-headed Hilt.
38.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Achaemenid silver rhyton with horned lion. Ca. 6th -4th century BCE. Miho Museum. 	127.
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Horn-shaped vessel. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Rhyton with lion protome.
39.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Achaemenid silver rhyton. Ca. 6th -4th century BCE. Bonyad Museum, Tehran. 	127.
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Horn-shaped vessel. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Rhyton with bull protome.
40.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Bronze Ibex rhyton. Ca. 6th -4th century BCE. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Extra example that is not mentioned in the text.
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Horn-shaped vessel. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Rhyton with ibex protome.
41.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Silver Achaemenid rhyton. Ca. 6th -4th century BCE. Metropolitan Museum of Art. 	127.
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Horn-shaped vessel. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Rhyton with ibex protome.
42.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Achaemenid gold lion rhyton. Ca. 6th -4th century BCE. Iran Bastan Museum. 	127.
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Horn-shaped vessel. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Rhyton with lion protome.





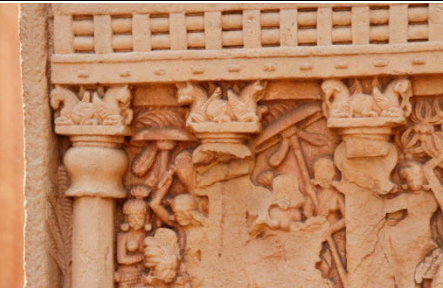

43.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Achaemenid cylinder seal from Persepolis. • Ca. 6th -4th century BCE. • Sourena Collection. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 20.
44.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Achaemenid spouted vessel with gazelle protome. • Ca. 500-400 BCE. • Sackler Gallery. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 127.
45.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Achaemenid rhyton. • Ca. 5th century BCE. • Metropolitan Museum of Art. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 127.
46.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Achaemenid silver amphora with lion and ibex Handles. • Ca. 475-425 BCE. • Collection of the Getty Villa, Los Angeles. Metropolitan Museum of Art. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Extra example that is not mentioned in the text.
47.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Gold bracelet from Meotian culture found in Karagodeuashkh Barrow. • Late 4th century BCE. • Hermitage Museum. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Extra example that is not mentioned in the text.
48.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Door lintel with griffins and vase with lotus leaf from Hetra. • Parthian period, 2nd–3rd century CE. • Metropolitan Museum of Art. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 13, 29, 140.


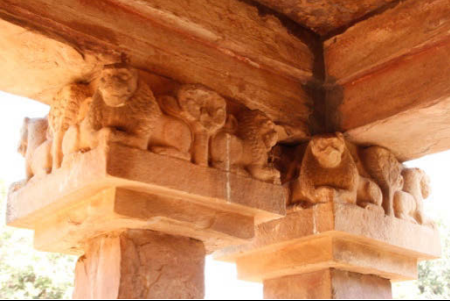




49.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Sassanid silver bowl with high-relief decoration showing deity Anahita. 4th century CE. ? 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Extra example that is not mentioned in the text.
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Lion and goddess. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Goddess sitting on the lion.
50.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Sassanid gilt silver plate depicting the moon's chariot. Ca. 225-630 CE. Boston Museum of Fine Arts. 	126.
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Moon Motif. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Four bulls pulling the moon's chariot.
51.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Unglazed clay bath scraper from Iran Selcuk period, 12th-13th Century CE. L. A. Mayer Memorial Collection. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Extra example that is not mentioned in the text.
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Lion and prey. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Lion attacking a bull.
52.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Lion and Bull about to engage in Combat Siyah Qalem School. Late 15th century CE. Topkapi Palace Museum, Istanbul. 	132.
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Lion and prey. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Lion and bull fighting.
53.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Lion pillar in Chehel Sotoun, one of the four pillars around a small basin. 17th century CE. Esfahan. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Extra example that is not mentioned in the text.
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Lion pillar. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Lion pillar capital with four back to back lions.
54.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Guardian lions on each side of the staircase Tizno house. 1501-1736 CE. Dezful. 	13.
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Pair of lions. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Pair of lion seating on the both sides of the entrance.




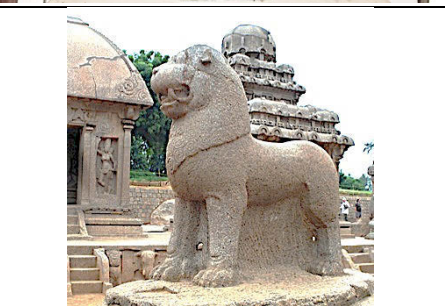


55.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • An illustration depicting the moon chariot from ArdaViraf Nameh. • ? • Abraham Anquetil-Duperron Collection. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 126.
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Moon Motif. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Four bulls pulling the moon's chariot.




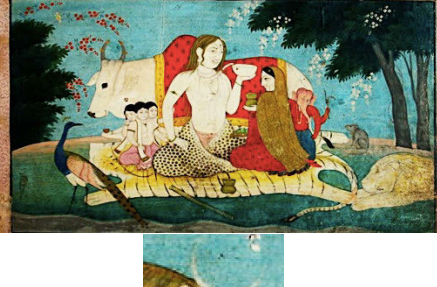

1.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lime stone seal from Mohenjo-Daro. • Ca. 2700-2000 BCE. • National Museum, New Delhi. • 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Extra example that is not mentioned in the text.
2.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A stamp seal Mohenjo-Daro depicting a single horn bull. • Ca. 2500-2000 BCE. • British Museum. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Extra example that is not mentioned in the text.
3.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A stamp seal depicting heads of animals with 0, 1 or 2 horns in a swirl design from Mohenjo-daro. • Ca. 2500-1900 BCE. • ? 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Extra example that is not mentioned in the text.
4.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A stamp seals depicting a 3 headed animal with one unicorn-head from Mohenjo-Daro. • Ca. 2500-1900 BCE. • ? 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Extra example that is not mentioned in the text.
5.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Indus stamp seal depicting a single horn animal from Nindowari, western India. • Ca. 2300 BCE. • ? 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Extra example that is not mentioned in the text.
6.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Bronze pin from Mohenjo-Daro. • Ca. 2500 BCE. • National Museum, New Delhi. • 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Extra example that is not mentioned in the text.


7.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Miniature animal figurines from Mohenjo-Daro. Ca. 2700 to 2000 BCE. Boston Museum of fine Arts. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Extra example that is not mentioned in the text.
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Single-horned animal. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Figurine of a single horn bull.
8.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Miniature animal figurines from Mohenjo-Daro and Harappa. Ca. 2700 to 2000 BCE. National Museum, New Delhi. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Extra example that is not mentioned in the text.
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Single-horned animal. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Figurine of a single horn bull.
9.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> A miniature clay figurine from Mohenjo-Daro. Ca. 2700 to 2000 BCE. National Museum, New Delhi. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Extra example that is not mentioned in the text.
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Pair of lions. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> A pair of addorsed lions.
10.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The lion capital of Emperor Ashoka of Sarnath. Ca. 250 BCE. Sarnath Museum. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 14, 28.
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Pair of lions. Lion Pillar. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Pillar capital with two pairs of addorsed lions.
11.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The single lion capital in Vaishali erected by Emperor Ashoka. Ca. 250 BCE. Sarnath Museum. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Extra example that is not mentioned in the text.
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Lion pillar. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Pillar capital in front of a Buddhist monastery.
12.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Lion sculptures in top of pillar in front of chaitya, Karli Caves. Satavahana dynasty, ca. 120 BCE. Karli, Maharashtra. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 14.
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Pair of lions. Lion Pillar. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Pillar capital with two pairs of addorsed lions.

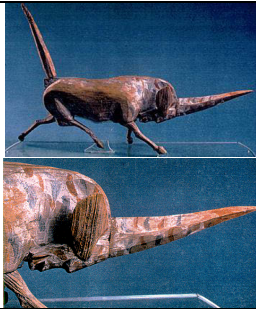
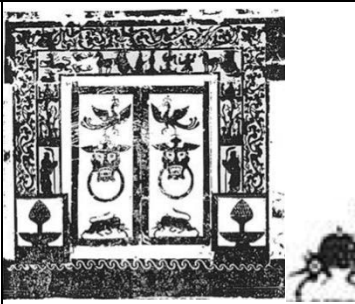




13.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Mathura freestanding lion capital made as an offering to stupa by Queen Aiyasi Kamuia, the ruler of Mathura. • 1st century CE. • British Museum. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Table 7.
14.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Gateways of Sanchi Stupa. • 1st century CE. • Madhya Pradesh. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 14.
15.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Wheel on the back of four elephants (northern gate) and four lions (western gate) of Sanchi stupa no.1. • 1st century CE. • Madhya Pradesh. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Table 7.
16.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lions and elephants holding a wheel on the back, carving of Ashokan pillar from Sanchi. • 1st century CE. • Madhya Pradesh. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Table 7, 64.
17.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Carvings of double headed pillars on the stone fence of Sanchi stupa. • 1st century CE. • Madhya Pradesh. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 23.
18.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lions in the carvings on the gateways of Sanchi Stupa. • 1st century CE. • Madhya Pradesh. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 15, 24.




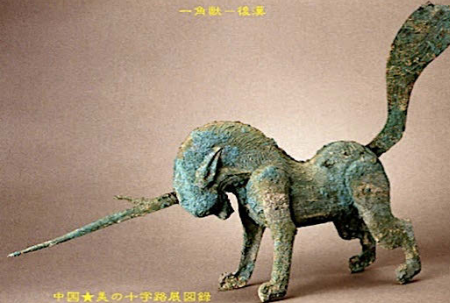
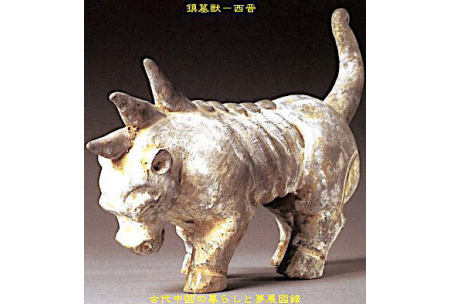

19.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Carving of a pair of lions on the stone fence of Sanchi stupa. • 1st century CE. • Madhya Pradesh. 	102.
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Pair of lions. • Lion and prey. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A pair of lion attacking a bull.
20.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Carving of a pair of lions on the stone fence of Sanchi stupa. • 1st century CE. • Madhya Pradesh 	None.
		Lion pillar.	Addorsed lion as pillar capital.
21.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Carving of a pair of lions on the stone fence of Sanchi stupa. • 1st century CE. • Madhya Pradesh. 	Table 7.
		Floral Motif.	Lion sphinx with a floral motif over the back.
22.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Carving of a pair of lions on the stone fence of Sanchi stupa. • 1st century CE. • Madhya Pradesh. 	Table 7.
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Sun Motif. • Pair of lions. 	Sun over the back of the addorsed lions.
23.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A carving depicting a stupa with pillars from Gandhara. • 2nd century CE. • East Asian Art Museum, Berlin 	Table 7.
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Pair of lions. • Wheel Motif. • Lion Pillar. 	Pair of lions holding a wheel motif on the back.
24.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A rare gray schist double-sided lion support from Gandhara. • Ca. 2nd -3rd century CE. • Currently on auction in Christies' dealer. 	Extra example that is not mentioned in the text.
		Pair of lions.	A pair of addorsed lions.







25.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Carving of the great stupa on a limestone slab, from the great stupa at Amaravati, Guntur district, Andhra Pradesh. 3rd century CE. British Museum. 	26.
		Lion pillar.	Buddha between four lions facing different directions.
26.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Lion pillars of Varaha cave temple dedicated to Lord Vishnu. 7th century CE. Mahabalipuram. 	28.
		Lion pillar.	Lions as pillar base at the entrance of the cave.
27.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Lion pillar capital from Gawallor, Maghya Pradesh. Ca. 7th century CE. National Museum, New Delhi. 	Table 7.
		Spiral Motif. Pair of lions. Lion Pillar.	Lions with spiral motif on the shoulder. A pair of addorsed lions.
28.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Lion statue of Draupadi Ratha. 7th century CE. Mahabalipuram. 	Extra example that is not mentioned in the text.
		Lion guardian.	Lion in front of a sanctuary.
29.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> A man headed lion among the other forms of lions carved on the side of a staircase. 7-9 century CE. Mahabalipuram. 	Extra example that is not mentioned in the text.
		Sphinx.	Guardian sphinx.
30.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Lion and elephant, stone carved on the rooftop of the cave temple no. 16, Ellora caves. Constructed during the Rashtrakuta period, ca. 8th-10th century CE. Aurangabad. 	Extra example that is not mentioned in the text.
		Lion and prey.	Lion attacking an elephant.

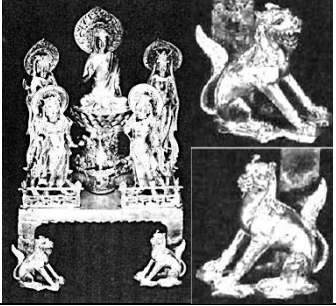

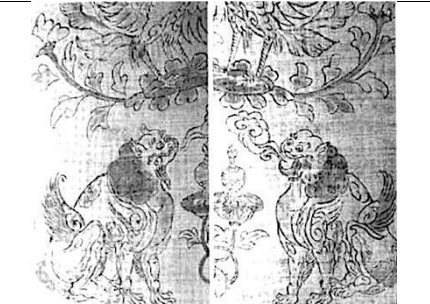

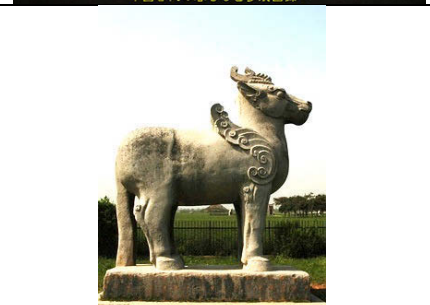

31.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The statue of lord Shiva and his consort Paravati from Bihar. 11th century CE. National Museum, New Delhi. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Extra example that is not mentioned in the text.
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Lion and prey. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Lion and bull paired with goddess and god respectively.
32.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Purushamriga or Indian sphinx guarding the entrance of the Shri Shiva Nataraja temple in Chidambaram. 12th-13th century CE. Cuddalore District. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 15, 29.
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Pair of lions. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Pair of lion sphinxes on both sides of the entrance.
33.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Ardhanarisvara (Shiva and Pavarati) gouache painting on paper, Rajasthan. Ca. 1800 CE. British Museum. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Table 7, 16.
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Lion and prey. Swirl Motif. Radial Lines Motif. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Lion and bull paired with goddess and god respectively. Lion swirl motif on the shoulder. Lion radial lines motif on the forehead.
34.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Lord Shiva and his consort Pavarati. Ca. 1825 CE. ? 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 65, 139, 148.
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Triple-dots Motif. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Lion associated to the goddess seating on the left side and the bull associated to the god seating on the right side. The cover on the back of bull has triple-dot motif all over it.
35.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Lord Shiva and his consort Pavarati. Ca. 1830 CE. Doris Wiener Gallery. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Table 7, 139.
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Lion and prey. Radial Lines Motif. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Lion associated to the goddess seating on the left side and the bull associated to the god seating on the right side. Lion with radial lines motif on the cheek.







1.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Ji as pictured by the Classics of Mountain and Sea. Date is unknown. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 4, 121, 145, 157.
2.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Spouted horn shaped drinking vessel from Shanxi. Late Shang Dynasty, ca. 1300-1046 BCE. Shanxi Provincial Museum. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 128.
3.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Painting on silk was found draped over the coffin in the grave of Lady Dai at Mawangdui, near Changsha in Hunan. Western Han Dynasty, ca. 168 BCE. Hunan Provincial Museum. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Table 7, 16, 24, 140.
4.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> White jade from Guangzhou gong Western Han Dynasty, ca. 206 BCE -220 CE. The Museum of the Nanyue King Mausoleum. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 128.
5.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> A rare large painted red pottery figure of a mythical unicorn beast. Han Dynasty, ca. 206 BCE- 220 CE. Christie's dealer. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 119.
6.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Stone tomb Doors. Western Han Dynasty, ca. 202 BCE -220 CE. Ball State University Museum. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 139.
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Single-horned animal. Lion and prey. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> A pair of lion and single-horned animal guardians.







7.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> A wooden figurine of a unicorn discovered from a tomb at Wuwei. 1st-2nd century CE. Gansu Province. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 119.
8.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Ink rubbing of the stone double doors of the tomb of Yang Mengyuan. Ca. 96 CE. Suide, Shaanxi Province. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 119.
9.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Earthenware figurine depicting the Queen Mother of the West. Eastern Han Dynasty, ca. 2nd century CE. Joey and Toby Tanenbaum Gallery of China at the Royal Ontario Museum. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 10, 26.
10.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Guardian lions at the Tombs of Wu Family. Eastern Han Dynasty, ca. 147-189 CE. Jiaxiang County, Jining, Shandong Province. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 17.
11.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Ink rubbing of a Unicorn image from an Eastern Han Dynasty tomb. Eastern Han Dynasty, ca. 25-220 CE. Nanyang, Henan Province. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 119.
12.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Single-horned beast, painted wood found in Wuwei. Eastern Han Dynasty, ca. 25-220 CE. Gansu Provincial Museum. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 119.





13.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Mythical animal excavated in Luoyang, Henan. • Eastern Han Dynasty, ca. 25-220 CE. • National Museum of Chinese History, Beijing. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 18.
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Single-horned animal. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Single-horned beast.
14.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Fan Min's gate towers and sculptures in Yaan. • Eastern Han Dynasty, 205 CE. • Sichuan Province. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Extra example that is not mentioned in the text.
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Winged lion guardians. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Statue of winged lions guarding the gateway.
15.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A lion by a stone-carved que (part of the walled structures around tomb entrances), at the tomb of Gao Yi in Yaan. • Eastern Han Dynasty, 209 CE. • Sichuan Province. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 18.
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Winged lion guardians. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Winged lion guarding the gateway.
16.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Bronze single-horned beast found in Jiuquan, tomb No. 18. • Late Eastern Han Dynasty, 220 CE. • Gansu Provincial Museum. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Extra example that is not mentioned in the text.
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Single-horned animal. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Single-horned beast.
17.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Painted pottery beast with unknown origin. • Western Jin Dynasty, ca. 265-316 CE. • Private collection. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Extra example that is not mentioned in the text.
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Bull guardian. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Magical bull with three spikes on the back.
18.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Seated Maitreya from the cave no. 275, Magao cave. • Ca. 366-439 CE. • Dunhuang. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 18, 26.
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Pair of lions. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Two lions on both side of a god.






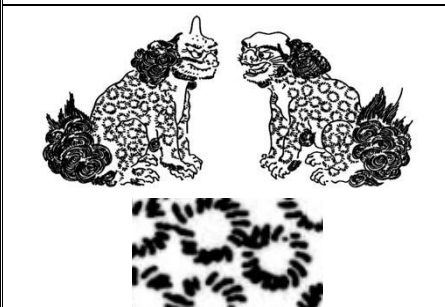
<p>19.</p>		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Burial statues of tomb guardian found in Song Shaozu tomb in Datong city. Northern Wei Dynasty, 477 CE. Datong City Archaeological Research Center. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 120, 139.
<p>20.</p>		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Burial statue of a tomb guardian (one of a pair) found in Sima Jinlong grave in Datong city. Northern Wei Dynasty, 484 CE. Datong Museum. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Extra example that is not mentioned in the text.
<p>21.</p>		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Altarpiece dedicated to Buddha Maitreya. Northern Wei Dynasty dated 524 CE. Metropolitan Museum of Art. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 140
<p>22.</p>		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Burial statue of tomb guardian (one of a pair) found in a tomb in Luoyang. Northern Wei Dynasty, Jianyi Period, 528 CE. Luoyang Museum. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Extra example that is not mentioned in the text.
<p>23.</p>		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Stone lion in front of tomb of Xiao Hong. Southern Dynasties Period, ca. 420-589 CE. Nanjing. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Extra example that is not mentioned in the text.
<p>24.</p>		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Lion standing on the Buddhist lotus flower on a funeral column. Liang Dynasty, ca. 502–587 CE. Nanjing. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 17, 28.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Pair of lions. Lion capital. 		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Two beasts (maybe tigers or lions) facing one another at the base of the column. 	

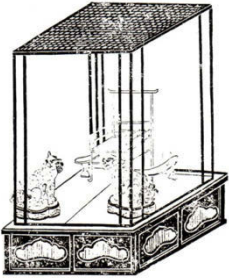





<p>25.</p>		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Gilt bronze altarpiece from Xian. Sui Dynasty, the 4th year of emperor Kaihuang, 584 CE. Guimet Museum. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Extra example that is not mentioned in the text.
<p>26.</p>		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Limestone statue of 2 Buddha sitting side by side. Sui Dynasty, the 15th year of emperor Kaihuang, 595 CE. Osaka City Museum. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 29, 140.
<p>27.</p>		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Silk banner found in Dunhuang. Tang Dynasty, ca. 7th to 9th century CE. Guimet Museum. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 140.
<p>28.</p>		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Burial statue of tomb guardian found in the tomb Shi Daoluo in Guyuan. Tang Dynasty, 658 CE. Guyuan Museum. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 120.
<p>29.</p>		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> One of a pair of winged statues at the Shunling mausoleum, the tomb of Empress Wu Zetian's mother. Tang Dynasty, ca. 670 CE. Xianyang City in Shaanxi Province. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 121.
<p>30.</p>		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Lion statues outside the south gate the Shunling mausoleum, the tomb of Empress Wu Zetian's mother. Tang Dynasty, ca. 670 CE. Xianyang City in Shaanxi Province. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 26,102.







31.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Jikou, the horn shape vessel. Tang Dynasty, 618-906 CE. Asian Art Museum of San Francisco. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 128.
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Horn-shaped vessel. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Horn-shaped vessel with bull protome.
32.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Ibex-headed agate gong inlaid with gold. Tang Dynasty, 618-906 CE. Shanxi Provincial Museum. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 128.
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Horn-shaped vessel. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Horn-shaped vessel with ibex protome.
33.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Pixie and Tianlu, guardian figures. Tang Dynasty, 618-907 CE. ? 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 19, 29, 139.
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Lion and prey. A-un facial expression. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Horned lion paired with a man-headed Single-horned bull as tomb guardian.
34.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Pixie and Tianlu, guardian figures. Tang Dynasty, 618-907 CE. Shanghai Museum. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Extra example that is not mentioned in the text.
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Pair of bulls. A-un facial expression. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Both of the beasts have the body of a winged bull. One has a face of a lion and the other has the face of human.
35.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Pixie and Tianlu, guardian figures. Tang Dynasty, 618-907 CE. Asian Civilizations Museum. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 120.
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Pair of bulls. Single-horned animal. A-un facial expression. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Both of the beasts have the body of a winged bull. One has a face of a lion and the other has the face of human. Single-horned winged bull with human face.
36.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Mold for a dish with design of a xiniu gazing at a crescent moon. Jin Dynasty, ca. 12th century-mid13th century. Freer & Sackler Gallery. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Table 7, 61.
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Single-horned animal. Moon Motif. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Ji, gazing at the moon.






37.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Mirror with the design of ji gazing at the moon on the back. Jin Dynasty, ca. 1115-1234 CE. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Table 7, 122.
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Single-horned animal. Moon Motif. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Ji, gazing at the moon.
38.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Bronze gilded mirror stand depicting xiniu gazing at the moon. 13th century CE. V&A Museum. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Table 7, 122.
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Single-horned animal. Moon Motif. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Ji, gazing at the moon.
39.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Forbidden City Imperial Guardian Lions. 1406-1420 CE. Beijing. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Extra example that is not mentioned in the text.
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Pair of lions. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Pair of lions guarding the gateway.
40.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Guardian (one of a pair) from the imperial tombs of the Ming Dynasty. Ca. 15th-17th century CE. Beijing. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 121.
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Pair of bulls. Single-horned animal. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> A pair of Single-horned bulls guarding the tomb.
41.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Copper basin with design of ji gazing at the moon. Ming Dynasty, ca. 15th-17th century CE. Panlong District, Kunming City, Yunnan Province. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Table 7.
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Single-horned animal. Moon Motif. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Ji, gazing at the moon.
42.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Emperor's throne in Shenyang Imperial Palace. Started in 1625 by the command of Emperor Taizu of Qing Dynasty. Shenyang. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 25, 43.
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Pair of lions. Single-horned animal. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> A pair of Single-horned lions on each side of the emperor's throne.

43.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Horn-shaped jade gong. Late Ming to early Qing Dynasty, ca. 1522-1735 CE. Taiwan National Palace Museum. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 128.
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Horn-shaped vessel. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Horn-shaped vessel with dragon protome.
44.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Recumbent Figure of Unicorn. Qing Dynasty, ca. 18 century. Metropolitan Museum. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Extra example that is not mentioned in the text.
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Single-horned animal. Moon Motif. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Ji, gazing at the moon.
45.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Qilin in front of the Hall of Benevolence and Longevity in Summer Palace. Opened 1750 CE. Beijing. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Extra example that is not mentioned in the text.
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Magical bull. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The guardian qilin in front of the palace.
46.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Lions on both side of the Eastern Palace gate in the Summer Palace. Opened 1750 CE. Beijing. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Extra example that is not mentioned in the text.
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Pair of lions. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Pair of lions guarding the gateway.

<p>1.</p>		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Shinzeikogakuzu, Chinese Tang period ceremonial dances introduced to Japan. • Early Heian period, 9th-11th century CE. • The university Art Museum, Tokyo University of Art. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Extra example that is not mentioned in the text.
<p>2.</p>		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Shishi and komainu as represented in Ruiju zatsuyosho scroll No.4. • Late Heian Period. • Tokyo National Museum. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 123, 145.
<p>3.</p>		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Shishi and komainu as represented in Ruiju zatsuyosho scroll No.4. • Late Heian Period. • Shousoin. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 21, 145, 148, 156.
<p>4.</p>		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The inside of the front shrine of the Rinnou-ji. • Ca. 8th century and after. • Nikko city, Tochigi. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Extra example that is not mentioned in the text.
<p>5.</p>		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The pillars outside of the Karamon gate in Rinnou-ji. • Ca. 8th century and after. • Nikko city, Tochigi. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 23, 28.
<p>6.</p>		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The sitting area of the emperor in council hall in the imperial palace depicted in Hoketsu Kenmon Zusetsu. • Late Heian period, 11th-12th century CE. • ? 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Table 7, 116.

7.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The sitting area of the emperor in council hall in the imperial palace depicted in Hoketsu Kenmon Zusetsu. Late Heian period, 11th-12th century CE. ? 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 21, 25, 116.
8.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Lion statue at the Great South gate of Todaiji. 1196 CE. Nara. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 22.
9.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Komainu statue (one from a pair of shishi and komainu). Ca. 1200-1300 CE. Asian Art Museum. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Extra example that is not mentioned in the text.
10.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Shishi and komainu from Taiho shrine. Kamakura period, ca. 12th-14th century CE. Kyoto National Museum. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Extra example that is not mentioned in the text.
11.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Shishi and komainu from Toji temple. Kamakura period, ca. 12th-14th century CE. Kyoto National Museum. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 26, 147.
12.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Shishi and komainu from Kono shrine. Kamakura period, ca. 12th-14th century CE. Miyazu, Kyoto. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 22.

<p>13.</p>		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Mandala of the Four Deities of Mount Koya. 14th century CE. Metropolitan Museum of Art. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 140.
<p>14.</p>		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Nachisankei mandara. Murumachi period, 15th century CE. Owned by Kuma no Nachitaisha. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Extra example that is not mentioned in the text.
<p>15.</p>		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Shishi and komainu represented in Bun'an Gosokui Chodonozu 1444 CE. Waseda University Library. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 124, 145, 156.
<p>16.</p>		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Shishi and komainu statues made from Cypress wood, gold lacquer (Urushi) and crystals. Murumachi period, ca. 1450 CE. Indianapolis Museum of Art. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 20, 102.
<p>17.</p>		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Shishi and komainu statues from Ninna-ji. 17th century CE. Kyoto. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Extra example that is not mentioned in the text.
<p>18.</p>		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> A pair of shishi and komainu. Ca. 17th century CE. Currently on auction in Ancient East Antiques dealer. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Table 7,

19.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The pillars outside of the Karamon gate in Taiyuin, the mausoleum of Tokugawa Iemitsu. Ca. 17th century CE. Nikko city, Tochigi. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Table 7, 23.
20.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Shishi and komainu inside of the front gate of the Nikkou Tōshō-gū. Ca. 17th century and after. Nikko city, Tochigi. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 102.
21.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Kutani ware shishi and komainu. Contemporary. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Table 7, 32.
22.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Shishi and komainu inspired by Okinawa guardian lions (Shisa). Contemporary. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Table 7, 61, 99.
23.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Michoudai, Kyoto Imperial Palace. Contemporary. Kyoto. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 43.
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Pair of lions. Single-horned animal. A-un facial expressions. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Shishi seating on the left side with his mouth open and komainu seating on the right side with the mouth closed.

