

A Group of Chinese Stoneware Buddhist Sculptures Reunited

LECTURE GIVEN BY NICK PEARCE ON 22 FEBRUARY 1994

In terms of life size Chinese stoneware Buddhist figures, arguably the most famous are the group of Liao period Luohans discovered in a cave at Yizhou (present-day Yixian), in 1912 by Friedrich Perzynski. The following year, seven complete figures made their way to the West via S.M. Franck & Co, eagerly sought by some of the great European and North American museums for their rapidly developing East Asian collections.⁽²⁾ Two Luohans were acquired by the Metropolitan Museum, New York and one each by the University of Pennsylvania Museum; the Nelson-Atkins Gallery, Kansas City; the Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto; the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston and the British Museum in London. All the figures have been widely published and they are justly celebrated for their technical virtuosity and their remarkable individualism.⁽³⁾

Much less celebrity surrounds a later group of five life size stoneware Buddhist figures, four of which are linked together by inscriptions which also date them to AD 1484. The figures are: a seated Luohan in The Burrell Collection, Glasgow (fig. 1); a seated Guanyin in the Lady Lever Art Gallery in Port Sunlight, Liverpool (fig. 2) a seated Budai in the British Museum (fig. 3) and a seated Bodhidharma in the Victoria & Albert Museum (fig. 4). The fifth figure I will also discuss, a standing Weituo in the Royal Museum of Scotland in Edinburgh (fig. 5), is later in date than the other pieces, but possibly related by provenance. They have never been published together and as individual figures within their respective collections, their exposure has been limited.⁽⁴⁾



Fig. 1. Seated figure of a Luohan. Stoneware with *sancai*-type glazes. Dated by inscription to the twentieth year of Chinghua, 1484. Height: 127cm. Glasgow Museums, The Burrell Collection.





Fig. 2. Seated figure of Guanyin (*Avalokitesvara*). Stoneware with *sancai*-type glazes. Dated by inscription to the twentieth year of Chenghua, 1484. Height: 140 cm. Reproduced by courtesy of the Board of Trustees of the National Museums & Galleries on Merseyside (Lady Lever Art Gallery, Port Sunlight).

These figures are also an iconographically diverse group in so much that they lack — on the face of it at least — the unity which is inherent in the Yizhou group of Luohans: that they were probably part of a larger set of sixteen or eighteen Luohans. Our group lacks such an obvious unity, but an iconographical link can be made between the figures and it is possible to place them within a theoretical context. First the figures themselves, beginning with the four seated and dated examples.

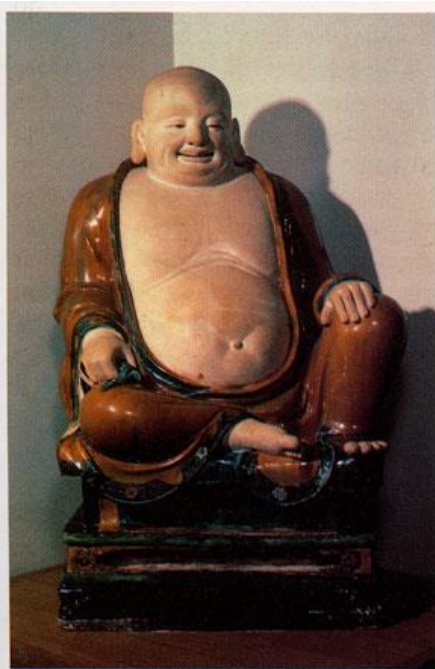


Fig. 3. Seated figure of Budai. Stoneware with *sancai*-type glazes. Dated by inscription to the twentieth year of Chenghua, 1484. Height: 117cm. Reproduced by courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum.



Fig. 4. Seated figure of Bodhidharma. Stoneware with *sancai*-type glazes. Dated by inscription to the twentieth year of Chenghua, 1484. Height: 134.6cm. Reproduced by courtesy of the Trustees of the Victoria & Albert Museum.

They are all near life-size with a greyish body composition somewhere between stoneware and earthenware and similar to other Ming period temple figures and architectural pieces. Technically, they seem to have been made using a combination of moulding and modelling, with a final finishing provided by a layer of finely levigated clay, seen very clearly on the unglazed areas. Like the Yizhou Luohans, they would have been constructed over an armature and inside the Burrell Luohan, the holes for this support are clearly visible. Unlike the Yizhou Luohans, the platform on which each figure sits is an integral part. The decoration again is typical temple and architectural pieces of the period, being a low-fired lead-flux glaze, applied to a pre-fired biscuit which is then fired on at a lower temperature. Known Ming *sancai*, the palette of the glaze — green, cream, amber, yellow and turquoise is derived from Tang style funerary wares.

In comparison with the Yizhou Luohans, which seem to be individual portraits designed to highlight the particular qualities of each figure — especially facially — all five figures in our later group lack such individuality. The posture of each is standard and varies very little either from that of the group as a whole or from the stock iconographical formula appropriate to it. This is particularly marked in the seated Budai, whose rotund grinning face, large bare belly and general demeanour represent a copybook image seen even today in the small so called 'laughing Buddhas'. The face of the youthful Luohan forms the model for the face of Guanyin, whose seated posture is identical and Bodhidharma, again follows closely a standard representation — covered head, body hair that emphasise his Indian origins. By making these points, I do not wish to lessen the importance of these sculptures — they are a remarkable group — but they do adhere to a more systematic recipe than do the Yizhou Luohans.

The Burrell Collection Luohan (38/419) (fig. 1) which measures 127 cms, in height, sits cross-legged on a stylised rocky pedestal with his hands folded in his lap. He wears an undergarment beneath a simple sleeved amber coloured robe tied at the waist, which has a Tang-style incised floral border edged in green. The green is picked-up in his outer garment, a Kasaya, draped over his left shoulder, which again has the floral border and which still retains traces of coloured lacquers — predominantly red. The design can still be seen in places and imitates a rich brocade. This may have been applied at its manufacture in 1484, or at any stage in its subsequent history. The continuous redecoration of temple figures — especially polychrome wood figures — was a common feature and so this application of lacquer could have been part of the redecoration process, although this is unusual in the case of glazed wares. His uncovered head, pendant ears and youthful almost female-looking face are unglazed, except for a residue again of a pale lacquer dressing which must have been applied at some period in its history. Indeed, this milky-like substance can be found on parts of the torso and especially on the exposed sleeves of his under garment.



Fig. 5. Standing figure of Weituo. Stoneware with *sancai*-type glazes. Ming dynasty, 16th–17th century. Height: 210 cm. Reproduced by courtesy of the Trustees of the National Museums of Scotland.



Fig. 6. Military figure, part of the Spirit Way or approach to the Ming Tombs north of Peking. Height: 3 m. Photograph by the author.

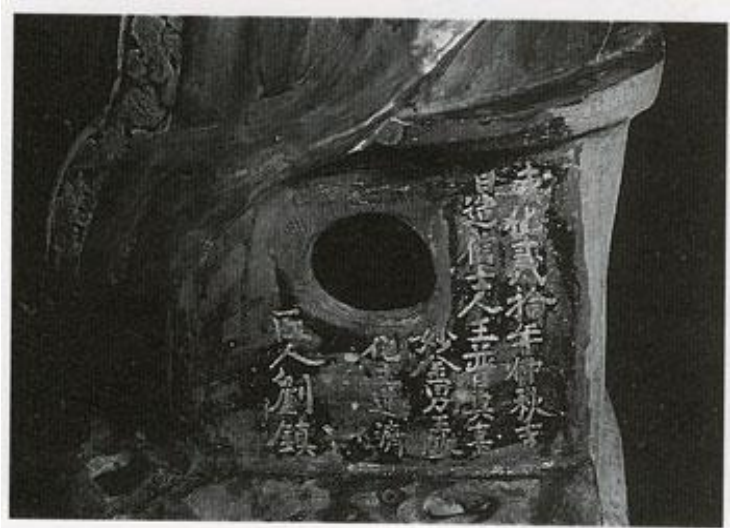


Fig. 7. Detail of the inscription on the seated Luohan in The Burrell Collection. Glasgow Museums, The Burrell Collection.

The Guanyin, or *Guanshiyin* figure in the Lady Lever Art Gallery (LL 6000) (fig. 2), measures 140 cms, in height and stylistically is very close to the Luohan. In fact it was the striking resemblance which provoked this present investigation into all the possible figures in the group. Like the Luohan, Guanyin sits cross-legged on a near identical rocky pedestal, with her hands folded in her lap but with her hands revealed in the *dhyana mudra* gesture of meditation. She has three layers of garments a brilliant yellow under garment with a black skirt tied at the waist and an outer green garment, identical in colour and border pattern to that worn by the Burrell Luohan. Hanging from her neck are the princely jewels of a Bodhisattva highlighted in turquoise enamel and on her head is a high elaborate crown-like covered headdress — yellow with turquoise highlights — in which appears the image of Amitabha of whom Guanyin, or Avalokitesvara, is a manifestation.

The Budai figure in the British Museum (OA. 1937.1-13.1) (fig. 3), measures 117 cms. He sits on a rectangular open-work plinth in a position close to that of *maharaja lilasana* or 'royal ease'. In his right-hand he holds the knotted rope of his hemp bag the rest of which is tucked beneath his right arm. His characteristically jolly features, bare head, elongated ears and distended belly are unglazed, as are his hands. His amber coloured enamelled robe is edged with an incised scrolling floral border detailed in green, amber and aubergine - close in design to the borders seen on both the Luohan and Guanyin figures. The colours found on the robe cover and detail the plinth.

The Victoria & Albert Museum's Bodhidharma figure (C.110-1937) (fig. 4), measures 134.6 cms in height. He sits cross-legged in meditation on an openwork pedestal, identical to that of Budai, with his hands folded in his lap. Unlike the previous three, this figure is completely glazed, his bearded face and bare abdomen having a dark purple brown glaze, applied no doubt to emphasise Bodhidharma's Indian origins. He wears a dark green robe which is drawn up over his head and edged very simply with a black and amber border. His under garment, tied at the waist, is of the same sombre colours. Again the colours found on the robe are repeated on the plinth.

The last figure, Weituo, in the Royal Museum of Scotland (1937-505) (fig. 5), is not an original member of the 1484 group. He bears no inscription, is stylistically later, probably 16th-17th century and is on a slightly larger scale, measuring approximately 210 cms, in height. I have included him in the discussion however, because his recent history from the late 1930s, is linked to the other four figures and perhaps his original provenance in China may have been the same.

The youthful looking Weituo is the most imposing and elaborate of the figures, standing on an integral plinth, helmeted and dressed in full armour. His armour is carefully detailed and close in style to the military officials carved in stone that form the guard of honour on the Spirit Way to the Ming Tombs north of Peking (fig.6). Yellow, green, white and black enamels provide vivid contrasts of colour and both the hands and face are glazed. Across his raised arms joined palm to palm, is Weituo's attribute: a sceptre-shaped sword.

With the exception of Weituo, the four seated figures can, stylistically, be said to form part of a single group. However, it is the inscriptions which unquestionably link these four figures, not only in terms of their date, 1484, but because the inscriptions also reveal the officiating priest and, more unusually, the maker of the figures.

We will look at the Burrell Collection Luohan first, largely because it has the clearest inscription, no characters of which have been obscured by any damage. The inscription has been incised into the left-hand side of the pedestal (fig. 7), and can be translated thus: first three columns, reading from the top right: 'Chenghua, twentieth year — 1484 — [written in long form], in the mid autumn on an auspicious day, the believer Wang Jinao, his wife Miaojin and his son Wang Qin.' The fourth column tells us the priest's name: 'the priest Dao Ji.' The last column says: 'the craftsman, Liu Zhen.'



Fig. 8. Detail of the inscription on the seated Guanyin in the Lady Lever Art Gallery. Reproduced by courtesy of the Board of Trustees of the National Museums & Galleries on Merseyside (Lady Lever Art Gallery, Port Sunlight).

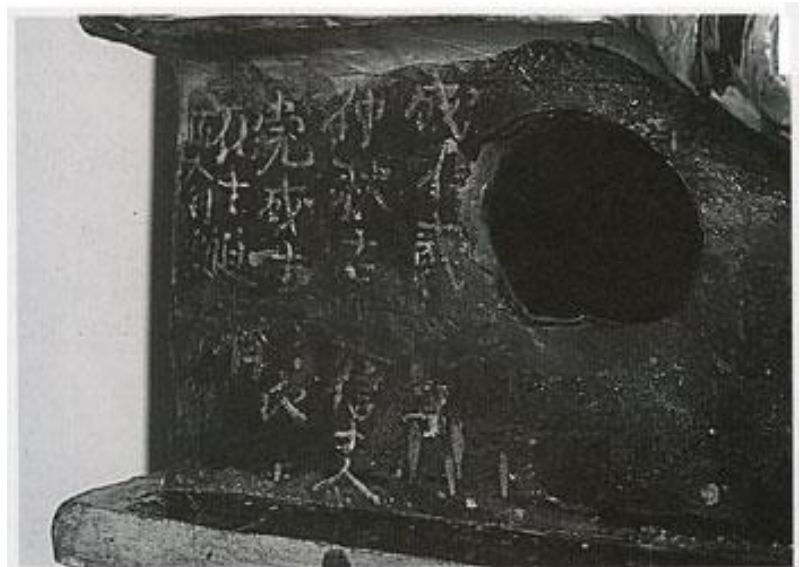


Fig. 9. Detail of the inscription on the seated Budai in the British Museum. Reproduced by courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum.

The inscription incised into the left-hand side of the pedestal of the Guanyin (fig. 8), has a similar formula, although it is very faint in places and its translation has been helped by having reference to the Burrell Luohan inscription in particular, but also to the inscription on the Budai. It can be translated thus: again, the first three columns from top right: 'Chenghua, twentieth year — 1484 — [written in long form], in the mid Autumn on an auspicious day, the believer Dang (possibly Zao but this character is unclear), his wife Chong shi [a family or maiden name].' The fourth column, the last two characters very faint, reads: 'the priest Dao Ji.' The last column, again very faint, reads: 'the craftsman, Liu Zhen.'

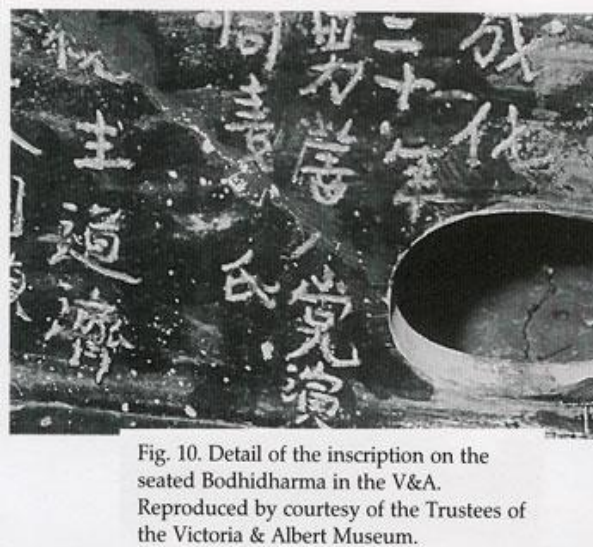


Fig. 10. Detail of the inscription on the seated Bodhidharma in the V&A. Reproduced by courtesy of the Trustees of the Victoria & Albert Museum.

On the Budai figure (fig. 9), the inscription is on the right-hand side of the pedestal and follows this familiar formula. A further problem with this inscription occurs because, as we will see later, the figure was damaged and repaired and part of the restored area cuts through all five columns of characters. Nevertheless, with the Luohan and Guanyin inscriptions as our model, most of the Budai inscription can be translated. It reads: first three columns: 'Chenghua, twentieth year — 1484 — [written in long form], in the mid Autumn on an auspicious day, the believer Dang Cheng, his wife? [this character is totally obliterated], shi (a family or maiden name). The fourth column reads: 'the priest Dao Ji' and squeezed into the last column: 'the craftsman, Liu Zhen.'

Last is the inscription on the Bodhidharma (fig. 10), also incised on the right-hand side of the pedestal and also partly obscured because of damage and subsequent repair. The inscription is slightly shorter than the others although the formula remains identical. It reads: first four columns: 'Chenghua, twentieth year — 1484 — [written in common form this time], the (gentleman) donor Dang Yen and his wife [?] shi.' The fifth column reads like the others: 'The priest Dao Ji', as does the last column: 'the craftsman, Liu Zhen.' Unlike the other figures, reference to the 'mid Autumn' or 'an auspicious day' is omitted.

If it can be established by their inscriptions that these figures form a group, can anything else be established about them? The inscriptions tell us nothing about their origins — the temple for which they were made, or in which part of China they were made. There is also the question of their iconography. It has already been said that they seem a diverse group and not as obviously cohesive as the Yizhou Luohans. However, it is possible to posit some suggestions as to their original grouping.

Assuming that the later Weituo figure originated from the same temple — and there is a tenuous reason, which will be explained, for assuming this — and was perhaps a replacement for an earlier sculpture, he would probably have been situated in the first hall of the temple acting as its protector. His origins seem to seem from the Hindu god Deva, protector of the Law or Buddha and Buddhist temples and is General-in-Chief under the Four Great Kings who guard the world and watch over every Buddhist temple. His image is often placed behind that of Maitreya, the future Buddha, of whom Budai is an incarnation. Like Weituo, Maitreya watches over and controls the interests of Buddhism so the Budai figure could have had this function in the temple. Alternatively, he could have formed part of a group of eighteen Luohans which would have been placed along either side of the main hall of the temple. In China, two further disciples were added to the original sixteen Luohans, one of which was Maitreva or Budai.

The Luohan could have, as we have suggested, formed one of the sixteen or eighteen Luohans, or he may have been one of the two Luohans which can sometimes be found flanking the main Buddha image, along with two Bodhisattvas, or as tutelary figures either side of Guanyin. Guanvin — transformed in China into a female deity and worshipped as Goddess of Mercy — is

very often the main figure in the principal hall or at least has a separate shrine at the back of the chief altar, facing the north door.

The presence of Bodhidharma indicates the possibility that the group belonged to a Chan temple. Bodhidharma, or Damo dashi, is the first Patriarch of Chinese Buddhism and founder of the Meditative or Chan School. He travelled from India to China, arriving first at Canton in about 527. He then went on to Nanjing and from there to the Shaolin Monastery in Henan province where he spent nine years sitting in meditation facing a wall. Bodhidharma's teaching did not rely on sacred books, but upon a mystical approach involving meditation and prayer.

More would be known if any one of these sculptures had a more definite provenance. Unfortunately, as we know to our cost, so many objects that came out of China during the first decades of this century were poorly documented. This was recognised at the time for we get R.L. Hobson in his *Chinese Pottery and Porcelain*, published in 1915, lamenting that objects were: 'gathered haphazardly...and under the least favourable of conditions for adequate classification.'**(5)** The provenance of objects was either lost or never known in the first place and with this group there are problems of inadequate documentation.

All five figures can be traced back to one London dealer: John Sparks. In the 1920s and 30s, Sparks, along with C.T. Loo of Paris, were two of the few European dealers «in the privileged position of having offices in both Peking and Shanghai.**(6)** According to the John Sparks' cash-book, Burrell bought the seated Luohan for £350 on 31st December, 1943. Burrell recorded the transaction in his Purchase Book after he received delivery in April, 1944. Again according to Sparks' records, the figure was from stock, implying that the Luohan had been with them for some time — probably from just before the outbreak of the Second World War. Indeed, Registered Papers in the Victoria & Albert Museum, indicate that the Luohan may have come to Sparks in 1936-37, along with at least three other figures belonging to the group, for in a letter from Peter Sparks to H. A. Kennedy, dated 31st May, 1937, we have reference to the Bodhidharma, the Budai and the Weituo figures. In this letter, Peter Sparks offered as a gift to the V&A both the Bodhidharma and Weituo sculptures, having, he said, already donated the Budai to the British Museum. The reason for the gift was that both pieces were damaged: the tragedy is that both these figures, on their shipment here, were very very badly damaged. Although inscribed, when they are repaired they will be difficult to sell as we are naturally obliged to tell prospective clients the tremendous amount of damage done to them. The Budai given to the British Museum was also damaged in transit.

In correspondence between Sparks and Mr Kennedy and Bernard Rackham, the Victoria & Albert Museum agreed to accept the Bodhidharma and recommended the Royal Scottish Museum as the recipient of the Weituo. Before final agreement, Bernard Rackham went with F.J. Abbott (Sparks' agent in Shanghai), to the warehouse of J. Hewitt and Co, at 98 Leadenhall Street, to examine the damage. He reported that although the figures were shattered, the heads were intact and that repair was possible.**(10)** We do not have any details relating to the restoration of the Victoria & Albert or British Museum pieces, but we do have a photographic record provided by Mr Robertson and the joinery and technical staff of the Royal Museum of Scotland, of the restoration carried out on the Weituo sculpture (fig. 11). Steel tubes were inserted up the legs and bolted through a mahogany wooden base Scaffolding was erected around the figure and the torso lowered down. Apparently cement was poured in as far as the waist. The work lasted 4 months and the figure today is a marvellous testament to the skills of the technicians at the time.**(11)**

The Guanyin was not part of the original gift by the first Lord Leverhulme to the Lady Lever Art Gallery. Nor was it acquired by Lord Leverhulme before his death in 1925 and in fact he bought largely from Christie's not through dealers such as John Sparks. The figure seems to have been acquired by the Second Lord Leverhulme most likely from John Sparks with whom, records show, he had dealings. According to the archives in the Lady Lever Art Gallery, the Second Lord Leverhulme, in his capacity as Chairman of the Trustees, visited John Sparks together with the Curator early in May 1928 and '...inspected examples of early Chinese pottery...'.**(12)** Further evidence of the Second Lord Leverhulme's interest in Chinese ceramics is given in another report

of April 1937, when 'The Trustees approved the taking over of the Chinese Funeral Procession from Lord Leverhulme at the price he paid for it.'**(13)** Sometime between 1928 and 1939, he acquired the figure of Guanyin for his own collection as in July, 1939, it is reported that "Viscount Leverhulme lent, for exhibition, a large figure of Quan Yin (sic) of the period 1465-1487'.**(14)** The figure remained in the Leverhulme collection until 1980, at which time it was given to the Gallery.

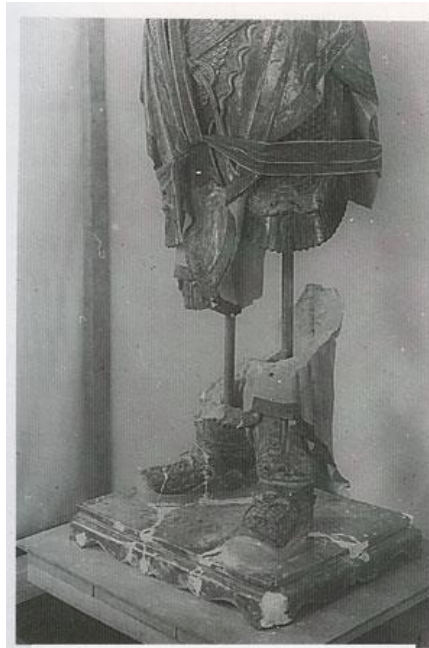


Fig. 11. Weituo in process of restoration.
Reproduced by courtesy of the Trustees of
the National Museums of Scotland.

One very large loose end to this story is provided by the various statements that the figures came from Zhengzhou in Henan Province. This nugget appears in the label to the Budai figure now situated in the Hotung Gallery, although not in Hobson's article in the 1937 *British Museum Quarterly*.**(15)** Reference to Henan also appears on the label to Weituo in Edinburgh, which presumably derives from a statement in the object file that says: 'said co come from Henan Province'. Sir William Burrell's Purchase Books indicate no such provenance. Intriguingly, the old label to the Lady Lever's Guanvin says: 'Northern Henan Province'. No mention of Zhengzhou or Henan can be found in the surviving correspondence between Sparks and the Victoria & Albert Museum, where there is merely the reference that the two sculptures offered to the Museum were bought by Mr Abbott in China. These references to Henan Province certainly indicate the same source for all the figures, but can Henan and in particular, Zhengzhou, be a correct provenance or was this guess work even on John Sparks' account?



Fig. 12. Seated Luohan in a museum collection
in the Peoples Republic of China. Dated by
inscription to the twentieth year of Chenghua,
1484.



Fig. 13. Detail of the inscription
found on the Luohan in fig. 12.

A tenuous link to this provenance could be the Bodhidharma figure. It has already been mentioned that the Indian monk spent nine years at the Shaolin Monastery, establishing the first Chan school there. The monastery has been associated with him ever since. Situated not far from Zhengzhou, the monastery was at the centre of an area heavily disrupted during the Civil and Sino-Japanese wars of the 1920s and 30s. This disruption gave ample opportunity for those in search of works of art. Indeed a great deal of the monastery was destroyed in 1928 when the local warlord Shi Yousan set fire to it.**(17)** Could the group have been made for this monastery?

Perhaps the location of Zhengzhou has more to do with logistics. The town is the main intersection for the old Peking-Hankou railway network. Did the figures make their way from a northern destination along this route to Mr Abbott, in Shanghai? The problem with Zhengzhou is that the manufacture of Ming period stoneware sculptures such as these is more associated with specialist kilns which also produced architectural ceramics. These appear to have been centred on either Peking in Hebei Province or Taiyuan in Shanxi Province, although architectural ceramics were also produced locally, most notably the tiles for the Bao'en (so called Porcelain Pagoda), at Nanjing. However, although kilns not far from Zhengzhou were producing sancai wares during the Tang — especially around Gongxian — is it not more likely that by the middle Ming, this group of figures would have been made at a kiln site fully familiar with the sophisticated techniques necessary for their successful manufacture, which would suggest Peking or Taiyuan?**(18)**

A recent discovery of two unmarked slides found in The Burrell Collection of a seated Luohan in a Chinese museum collection, provides some further tantalizing evidence (fig. 12). The resemblance of the figure to the 1484 group is unmistakable and the inscription which appears on the reverse of its plinth, although badly damaged and repaired, confirms its direct link with the figures here in Britain (fig. 13). The layout of the inscription differs slightly, with the date appearing in the first column on the left: 'Chenghua, twentieth year, tenth month ? ?', with, in the following column: 'the craftsman Liu Zhen' and next again 'the priest Dao Ji'. Much of the rest of the inscription is unclear with only odd phrases such as 'meritorious act', the donor: 'Mr Ma, Wu? . . . and his wife 'Cheng shi', being legible.

Unfortunately, the whereabouts of this figure is at present unknown to me. There was no documentation found with the slides and the case label accompanying the Luohan tells us very little. The surrounding gallery suggests a traditional Chinese building, such as a converted temple or palace; perhaps somewhere within the Gugong in Peking. It is hoped that further research will reveal the location of the piece - a location which will undoubtedly have a bearing on establishing the overall provenance of this important group of Buddhist sculptures.

(1) I should like to express my gratitude to the following for providing access to records and for providing various illustrations: Rose Kerr of the Victoria & Albert Museum, Jessica Harrison-Hall of the British Museum, Lucy Wood and Christina Baird of the National Museums on Merseyside, Jane Wilkinson of the National Museums of Scotland and Michael Gillingham.

(2) For a brief history of their discovery and acquisition by various museums, see: Marion Wolf, 'The Lohans From I-Chou', *Oriental Art*, ns. 15, no.1, Spring 1969, pp. 51-7. See also: Charles Trick Currelly, *I Brought The Ages Home*, Toronto, 1956.

(3) The most recent publications on the Yizhou Luohans include: R. Smithies, 'The search for the Lohans of I-chou (Yixian)', *Oriental Art*, vol. 30, 1984, pp. 260-74; S. J. Vainker, *Chinese Pottery and Porcelain*, London 1991, pp. 166-68; Jessica Rawson (Ed), *The British Museum Book of Chinese Art*, London 1992, pp. 158-60; Royal Ontario Museum, *Homage to Heaven, Homage to Earth: Chinese Treasures of the Royal Ontario Museum*, Toronto, 1992, pp. 174-75.

(4) The Luohan in The Burrell Collection has been published by Rosemary E. Scott in: Richard Mars-Jones (Ed), *The Burrell Collection*, London and Glasgow, 1983, pp. 54-5; by the same author in Julia Huth *Understanding Far Eastern Art*, London, 1987, pp. 106-07 and by this author in an article 'Oriental Art i: The Burrell Collection', *Arts of Asia*, May-June, 1990, pp. 102-04.

The seated Bodhidharma figure in the Victoria & Albert Museum has been published by John Ayers in: *Far Eastern Ceramics in the Victoria and Albert Museum*, London, 1980, fig. 156.

The seated Budai in the British Museum was published soon after its acquisition in 1937, by R.L. Hobson in: *The British Museum Quarterly*, Vol. XI, 1936-37, London, 1937, pp. 112-13 and again by Sheila Riddell in: *Dated Chinese Antiquities 600-1650*, London, 1979, pp. 116-17.

The seated Guanyin in the Lady Lever Art Gallery, has never been published before, nor the standing figure of Weituo in the Royal Museum of Scotland - with the exception of newspaper reports soon after its acquisition in *The Scotsman* and *Glasgow Herald* on 23rd November, 1937 and the *Weekly Herald* 11th December, 1937.

(5) R.L. Hobson, *Chinese Pottery and Porcelain*, London, 1915, p.XX.

(6) Rose Kerr, 'Traditional and Conservative Styles in the Ceramic Art of China', *Style in the East Asian Tradition*, *Colloquies on Art and Archaeology*- in Asia No.14, London, 1987, p. 178.

(7) The figure was entered in John Sparks' Cash Book for December 1943 as purchased from the Tonying Company for £150 and sold to Sir William Burrell on 31st December 1943, itemised as (T) PW229.

The purchase was entered by Sir William in his first Purchase Book for 1944, on 14th April, p. 78.

(8) John Sparks Registered Papers in the Victoria & Albert Museum.

(9) Letter from Peter Sparks to H.A. Kennedy, dated 31st May, 1937 in the John Sparks Registered Papers held in the Victoria & Albert Museum.

(10) Minutes between the Director, H. A. Kennedy and Bernard Rackham dated 7th, 8th and 15th June, 1937 and contained in the John Sparks Registered Papers in the Victoria & Albert Museum.

(11) The fullest description of the restoration was reported in the *Weekly Herald* on 11th December, 1937

(12) Curator's Report to the Trustees for the month ending 31st May, 1928 in the Lady Lever Art Gallery archives.

(13) Curator's Report to the Trustees for the month ending 30th April, 1937 in the Lady Lever Art Gallery archives.

(14) Curator's Report to the Trustees for the month ending 31st July, 1939 in the Lady Lever Art Gallery archives.

(15) R. L. Hobson, *The British Museum Quarterly*, Vol. XI, 1936-37, London, 1937, pp. 112-13.

(16) Object file 1937. 505, in the Royal Museum of Scotland.

(17) "Luo Zhevan and Shen Peng, et al., *Through The Moon Gate: A Guide to China's Historic Monument*, Hong Kong, 1986, p. 169.

(18) See: Chai Zejun, ed, *Shanxi Liuli (Glazed Tiles of Shanxi)*, Beijing, 1991.