



SOCIETY FOR ASIAN ART

Volume 19 Number 2

# Lotus Leaves



Spring 2017

**The Bronze Age Cemeteries of Ancient Dilmun**  
by Benjamin W. Porter and Alexis T. Boutin

2

**Flower Power**  
by Dany Chan

17



# The Bronze Age Cemeteries of Ancient Dilmun

**The Peter B. Cornwall Collection in  
the Phoebe A. Hearst Museum of Anthropology  
by Benjamin W. Porter and Alexis T. Boutin**



Figure 1-1: Map of Bahrain showing key Bronze and Iron Age settlements. Image modified from Google Earth 2011 (Image: US Geo-logical Survey; Data: SIO, NOAA, US Navy, NGA, GEBCO; © 2012 Cnes/Spot Image).

Falling in between the cracks of Western Asia's Bronze Age civilizations was ancient Dilmun, a maritime civilization that spanned much of the eastern edge of the Arabian Peninsula with a significant presence on what is today the island kingdom of Bahrain (Figure 1-1). Cuneiform texts described Dilmun as a Persian/Arabian Gulf entrepôt through which products and luxury goods circulated between Mesopotamia and the Indus River Valley. Dilmun was also likened to an otherworldly paradise in Mesopotamia's literary imagination. A key episode in the Epic of Gilgamesh describes how the hero, after his friend Enkidu's tragic death, sought the secret of eternal life in Dilmun from Utnapishtim, a mythical figure whose life story was an antecedent to the Hebrew Bible's Noah (Genesis 5-9).<sup>1</sup> Informed by this Mesopotamian perspective, the first European explorers to Bahrain explained the thousands of dome-shaped tombs they found throughout the landscape as a necropolis for Mesopotamian elites who shipped their bodies to the island to be buried closer to 'paradise' (Figure 2-1).

This was all that was known about Dilmun in the first quarter of the twentieth century. Archaeology had only recently been established as a professional discipline, and those scholars excavating in Dilmun's vicinity focused their excavations in Mesopotamia, Egypt, and the Indus River Valley. Societies rarely mentioned in historical sources such as Dilmun often waited for the moment that scholars would choose them next for exploration. Such a moment emerged with Peter B. Cornwall, a Harvard graduate student from a prominent San Francisco Bay Area family. Cornwall, despite being completely deaf and facing the uncertainties of World War Two, crossed the Pacific Ocean in 1940 to explore Bahrain and the Arabian Peninsula. The evidence he recovered transformed the way scholars understood the history and society of ancient Dilmun. And thanks to new research, fresh discoveries continue to be made by the current authors working in the Phoebe A. Hearst Museum of Anthropology at the University of California, Berkeley, where Cornwall's evidence is now accessioned.



Figure 2-1 and on Cover: Dilmun era burial mounds, blue sky and clouds, at Aali, Kingdom of Bahrain  
Gareth Dewar / Alamy Stock Photo



## Peter Cornwall: Portrait of a Young Explorer

**P**eter Cornwall was born in 1913 in San Francisco to a prominent California family dating back to the mid-nineteenth century.<sup>2</sup> His grandfather, Pierre Cornwall, had served in the first California legislature and on the University of California Board of Regents. Peter's father, Bruce Cornwall, was successful in real estate, serving as partner in the firm Coldwell Banker. The family maintained several residences throughout California, including in San Francisco and Marin County. Peter lost his capacity to hear around 11 years of age, possibly during an influenza outbreak. Nevertheless, Peter went on to attend Stanford University briefly, eventually graduating from the University of Toronto with his bachelor's degree. He later earned a master's degree from Christ Church College at Oxford University where his teachers described him as hardworking and inquisitive despite their challenges in communicating with him. According to his resume, the young student travelled widely and participated on archaeological projects around the Mediterranean.

Cornwall began graduate studies in Anthropology at Harvard University in the 1930s. How he came to be interested in ancient Dilmun is difficult to determine. Scholars had already been debating in previous decades about Dilmun's precise location, so he would have certainly been aware of the search for the ancient kingdom. Archived correspondence sheds some light on Cornwall's motivations. A 1940 letter from his advisor, the Harvard anthropologist Carleton Coon, to University of California Museum of Anthropology's (today Hearst Museum) physical anthropologist Theodore McCown is revealing,

*Cornwall is 100% deaf, and we have to communicate with him by writing things on a pad. His own voice is normal... Living in a world of his own, with books instead of friends, he has developed a mania – that of an archaeological survey of the parts of Saudi Arabia controlled by the Standard Oil Company of California. As it stands, he has the permit, but insufficient funds.<sup>3</sup>*

Coon's letter mentioned how Cornwall used his family's connections with Standard Oil to make his expedition's arrangements. The letter also described the challenges Cornwall faced as an archaeologist due to his deafness. Coon wrote that despite his confidence in Cornwall's abilities, his faculty colleagues refused to financially support an expedition that would send a 'deaf man to Arabia.'<sup>4</sup> Coon was therefore writing to McCown to send advance notice that Cornwall would soon contact him to ask if the Berkeley museum could support his project expenses. The request made sense given the Cornwall family's close connections with the University of California.<sup>5</sup> Cornwall set off for Arabia in the late fall of 1940 despite these financial obstacles and his university's lack of confidence in his abilities. He crossed the Pacific by steamer, stopping off in several ports including Honolulu, eventually disembarking in Bahrain on October 25.

A detailed record of Cornwall's expedition, such as a field diary, has yet to be discovered.<sup>6</sup> A partial itinerary can be pieced together from a limited amount of field notes, photographs, and publications now kept at the Phoebe Hearst Museum. Cornwall excavated at least 24 burial mounds on the northern and western sides of the island ([Figures 3-1 and 4-1](#)). Nearly all burials were found in stone-lined chambers on which dirt and gravel were placed to create a large mound that protected the body and associated objects. Thousands of these burial mounds littered Bahrain's landscape when Cornwall visited. Today all but approximately 10 percent have been destroyed due to Bahrain's population growth in the latter half of the twentieth century.<sup>7</sup> In many tombs, Cornwall discovered largely intact human skeletons that were surrounded by an assortment of objects such as ceramic vessels, jewelry, and metal weapons. Often, the body was laid on its side with legs flexed and hands curled under the head in a sleeping position. A butchered sheep or goat was also occasionally included in the tomb.<sup>8</sup>

After exploring Bahrain, Cornwall made the short crossing to the Eastern Province of Saudi Arabia where foreign companies were exploring the landscape for petroleum.<sup>9</sup> He visited several



Figure 3-1: Cornwall's team excavating the Bronze Age Tumulus B3 in Bahrain, circa 1940. Accession file 831. © Phoebe A. Hearst Museum of Anthropology and the Regents of the University of California.

archaeological sites from various time periods as he travelled up the coast to the province's capital, Dammam. Cornwall visited important sites such as Uqair, Tarut Island, and Jubail, often encountering the dome-shaped tombs littering portions of the landscape. Surprisingly, Cornwall did not take the time to visit Thaj, one of the region's largest ancient cities and the ancient capital of Gerrha. Whenever possible, Cornwall picked up objects—stone tools, ceramic vessels, and metal objects—from the surface that had eroded from the buried sites. These objects helped him assign relative dates to the settlements, information that he used to write a partial history of this relatively understudied region.<sup>10</sup> Many of the sites Cornwall visited on his journey are no longer visible due to population expansion during the twentieth century.

Cornwall returned to the United States after eight months to analyze the evidence he had collected. He studied the materials in a laboratory that he had built in his family's home in Ross, California, eventually publishing the results in his Harvard doctoral dissertation.<sup>11</sup> Cornwall also published his results in scholarly venues, one of which advanced the then-controversial idea that the ancient kingdom of Dilmun should be asso-



Figure 4-1: Peter Cornwall and his hired laborers posing for a photograph in front of an unspecified tumulus in Bahrain, circa 1940. Accession file 831. © Phoebe A. Hearst Museum of Anthropology and the Regents of the University of California.

ciated with Bahrain and surrounding countries.<sup>12</sup> Cornwall eventually made good on his commitment to give all collected materials to the Berkeley museum in exchange for funds that were needed to ship the evidence from Bahrain to the United States. A few years later, Cornwall moved his permanent residence to Rome where he lived until 1972, passing away at age fifty-nine.<sup>13</sup>

## The Discovery of Ancient Dilmun

Archaeologists and historians continued to build on Cornwall's earlier results in the decades since his groundbreaking journey. Today scholars widely agree that Dilmun spanned much of the western shore of the central Gulf coast, from Kuwait down through the al-Hasa Eastern Province of Saudi Arabia, Qatar, and the island of Bahrain. Only a limited amount of written sources shed light on the region's ancient history. A few sources have been discovered in Dilmun, written in the wedge-shaped cuneiform writing system commonly used in Mesopotamia. In fact, it is Mesopotamian scribes who mentioned Dilmun in their writings, often focusing on the



kingdom's luxury products of dates, pearls, and textiles.<sup>14</sup> These products circulated through an international exchange network that linked Dilmun with Mesopotamian markets to the north and Indus River Valley markets to the south, in what is today Pakistan and northwest India.

However, it is archaeological research that currently provides the best source for piecing together Dilmun's history.<sup>15</sup> Recent excavations at Qala'at al-Bahrain, Barbar, Failaka, and Saar have collectively determined that Dilmun's political and economic robustness oscillated greatly between the third and first millennia BCE. The evidence that Cornwall recovered largely dated to Dilmun's first period of growth, the Early Dilmun Period, that occurred at the very end of the third and the beginning of the second millennia BCE. It was during this time when evidence such as cylinder and stamp seals, weights, and distinct ceramic vessels point to commercial and cultural connections with Mesopotamia, western Iran, the Oman Peninsula, and the Indus River Valley.<sup>16</sup> While most people lived in small villages that combined animal herding, grain agriculture, and fishing for subsistence, a limited amount of public architecture (e.g., fortifications, temples) did appear in major settlements such as Qala'at al-Bahrain (Period IIb-c) and Barbar (Temple II). The Early Dilmun kingdom began to decline in approximately 1800 BCE, possibly due to disruption in the international trade networks in which they participated. The region remained relatively dormant until Dilmun's next cycle of growth began in 1500 BCE.

## Enter the Dilmun Bioarchaeology Project

Cornwall's materials sat carefully cared for in the Hearst Museum since the time that they were accessioned, although they received next to no dedicated attention from researchers. In 2009, the authors, who had recently relocated to California for academic positions at their respective institutions, were glad to discover an under-explored collection for research. As a bioarchaeologist who

uses skeletal evidence from archaeological sites to reconstruct cultural practices of past societies, Boutin was well positioned to study the human remains. A Near Eastern archaeologist interested in mortuary practices, Porter took up the analysis of the associated objects. Together, they established the Dilmun Bioarchaeology Project to use Cornwall's assemblage to answer several research questions about the biological profiles of ancient Dilmunites and the nature of their mortuary rituals.

Boutin's bioarchaeological analysis began by creating an inventory of the human remains in the Cornwall collection to determine how many individuals had been excavated from the 24 burial mounds. This inventory revealed that the remains of at least 35 people were present: some were represented by only one bone, while the skeletons of others were mostly complete. Most individuals seem to have been buried alone, although there are a handful of double burials, as well as one containing the remains of at least five people (three adults and two children).

After the inventories were complete, certain areas of the skeletons were studied further to reveal details about their age, sex, and health. The progressive development and degeneration of the teeth and joint surfaces can reveal the age at which a person died. In the Cornwall collection, nearly three-quarters of the skeletons belong to adults, ranging in age from 18 to 80, with the largest group aged between approximately 35 and 50 years. But younger age groups are also represented, including adolescents, children, infants, and one fetus. Assessing the shape and size of the pelvis, skull, and weight-bearing bones of the arms and legs can suggest whether an adult was female or male. Of the 25 individuals whose skeletons were sufficiently mature and well-preserved for sex estimation, more than three-quarters are male, with the remainder being female. It seems that while people of all ages and both sexes could be buried in the mounds, it was adult males who received this mortuary treatment most regularly.

Many of the individuals' skeletons exhibit evidence of having suffered from poor health at some point in their lives. Several of them display



Figure 5-1: Anterior view of 12-10156's cranium. Note the differential preservation of right and left halves and linear enamel hypoplasias on LI2. © Phoebe A. Hearst Museum of Anthropology and the Regents of the University of California. Photography by B.W. Porter.



Figure 6-1: Extensive ante-mortem loss of mandibular dentition in Individual 12-10142a. © Phoebe A. Hearst Museum of Anthropology and the Regents of the University of California. Photography by B.W. Porter.

healed porous lesions in the roofs of the eye orbits (cribra orbitalia) and thin lines in the enamel of tooth crowns (linear enamel hypoplasia): these indicate the persistence of significant stressors, such as nutritional deficiencies and/or chronic infectious disease, during childhood (Figure 5-1).<sup>17</sup> At the other end of the life course, degenerative changes are found frequently in the skeletons of older individuals. Schmorl's nodes (eroded areas on the vertebral bodies resulting from prolapsed intervertebral discs) and osteoarthritis of the shoulders, elbows, hips, and knees were conditions common to those who lived into or beyond their fifth decade. Dental problems are also common in the Cornwall collection. As early as adolescence, these Dilmunites were plagued by frequent cavities and even tooth loss prior to death. Many of the oldest individuals had lost most or all

of their teeth years before dying (Figure 6-1). Other scholars have pointed to agriculture-based diets containing fermentable carbohydrates (e.g., dates) as a cause.<sup>18</sup> Acute, infectious diseases attack the body's circulatory, respiratory, or neurological systems first, killing the person before a bony response has time to develop. Consequently, like most skeletons recovered from archaeological contexts, direct evidence for these Dilmunites' causes of death is not preserved in bone.

## Osteobiographies of Ancient Dilmun

It is difficult to make meaningful generalizations about the life- and death-ways of the people

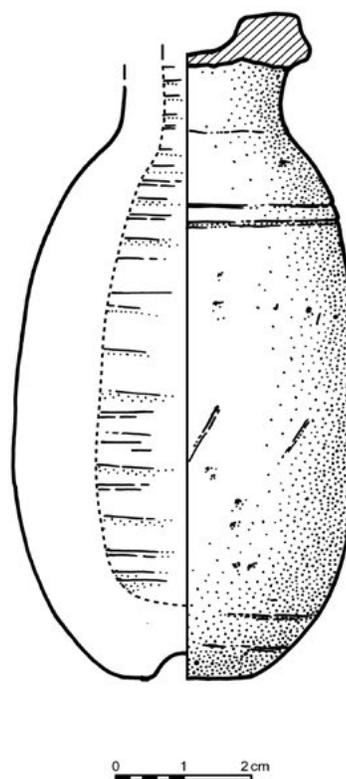


Figure 7-1: A small alabaster juglet was associated with Individual 12-10146. © Phoebe A. Hearst Museum of Anthropology and the Regents of the University of California. Photography by C. Morgan; Drawing by K. Killackey; Catalog No. 9-4682.

represented in the Cornwall collection because their remains were recovered from burial mounds scattered across the island. Therefore, they cannot be considered a cemetery population that accurately reflects its contemporary living counterparts. The absence of Cornwall's field notes also prevent knowing whether the burial mounds had been looted prior to their excavation, or whether Cornwall collected all of the objects and bones that he encountered. These challenges are inherent to many small, long-curated collections. Fortunately, the osteobiography method offers a productive way forward. By drawing on a wider range of contextual evidence from archaeology, ancient texts, and clinical medicine, bioarchaeologists can reconstruct experiences of individuals across the life course, as recorded in bone. The osteobiographies of two notable Dilmunites from

the Cornwall collection are presented below. Both of them suffered considerable challenges to their health during life, but their commemoration in death varied dramatically.

Cornwall excavated Skeleton 12-10149 from the Dar Kulayb mound cemetery near Bahrain's western coast. This man died sometime in his 40s, 50s or 60s. Like many of his age, the bones of his back were afflicted with Schmorl's nodes, he had moderate osteoarthritis in his hips, and he had lost at least 14 teeth. What sets this skeleton apart is the exuberant bone growth at sites of muscle, tendon, and ligament attachment. The soft tissues attached to 12-10149's skeleton were slowly turning into bone, no doubt causing him stiffness and pain, and limiting his mobility. A likely cause is skeletal fluorosis, a metabolic

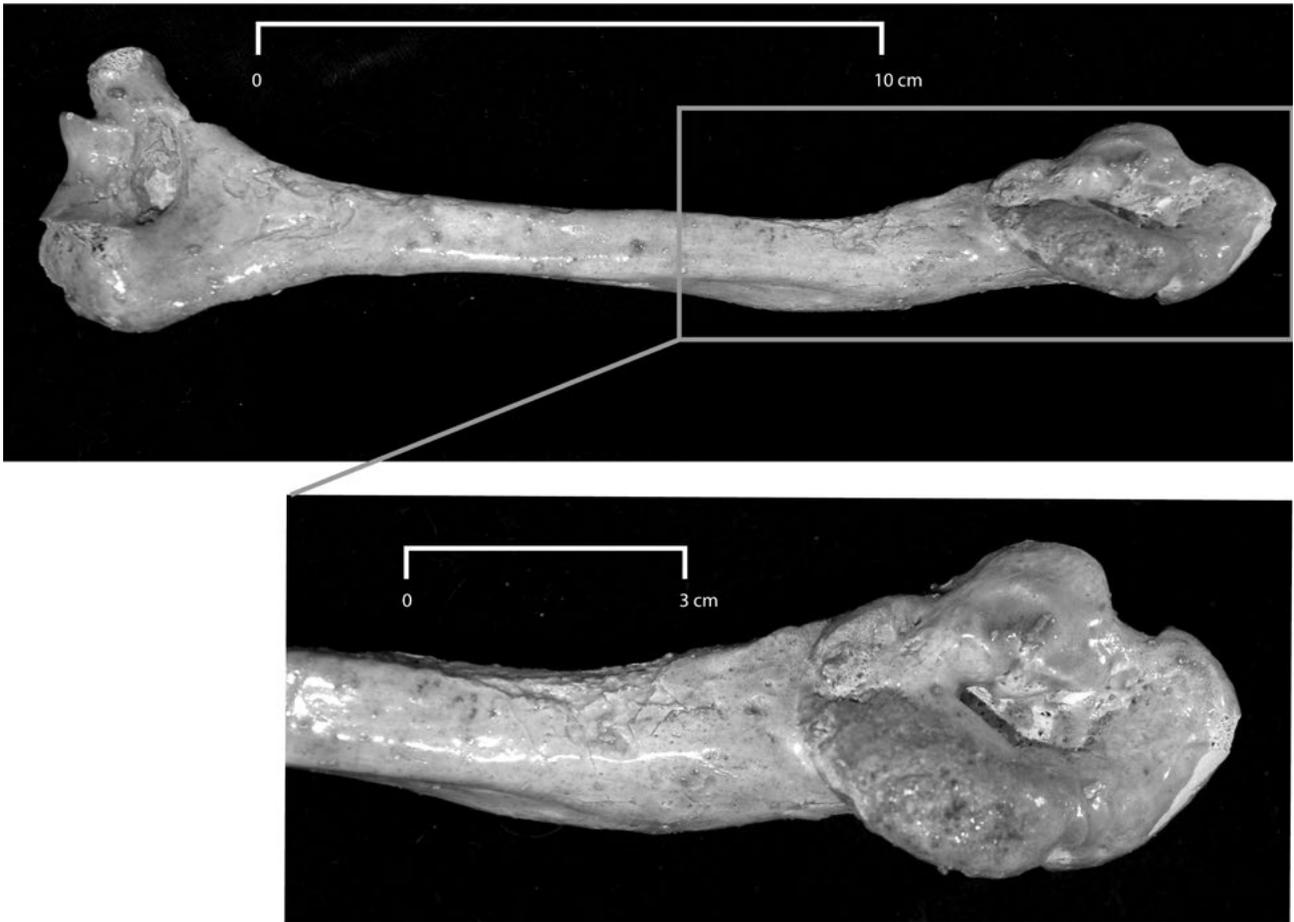
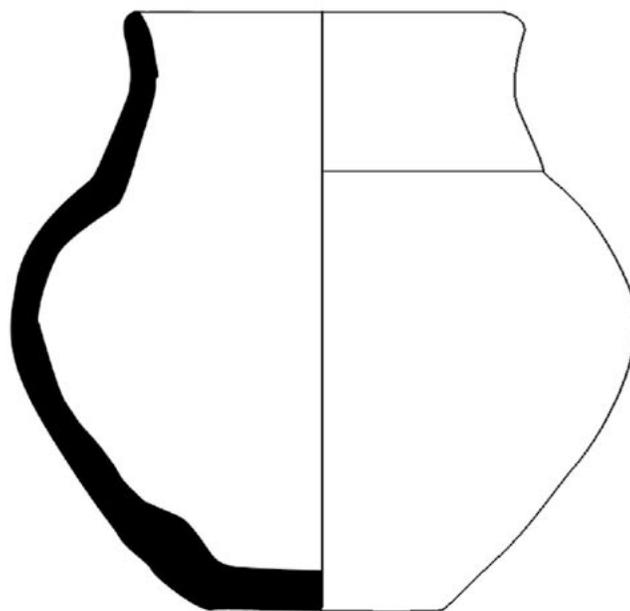


Figure 8-1: Medial view of proximal end of 12-1046's right humerus. © Phoebe A. Hearst Museum of Anthropology and the Regents of the University of California. Photography by C. Morgan.

disease caused by excessive fluoride intake. High frequencies of the condition in males over age 50 have been identified on Tylos-period Bahrain (250 BCE-250 CE), where high fluoride levels in groundwater, as well as other environmental and cultural factors, are thought to be predisposing factors.<sup>19</sup> If this diagnosis can be confirmed for Skeleton 12-10149 via chemical analysis, it would be only the second known instance of skeletal fluorosis from the Early Dilmun period.<sup>20</sup> Notably, no animal bones or objects accompanied this man to the grave.

The burial of Skeleton 12-10146, a woman who died in her late teens or early 20s, presents a stark contrast in commemorative practices. Excavated from a mound at the north end of the island, at least 12 objects were buried with her. These

included two vessels unique in the Cornwall collection: a calcite alabaster juglet that may have been imported from eastern Iran (Figure 7-1), and a ceramic vessel lined with tar-like bitumen to make it leak-proof, which probably came from Mesopotamia or Iran.<sup>21</sup> The elaborate nature of her burial is especially intriguing given the many physical challenges that she experienced. Her right upper arm was unusually short, and her right shoulder permanently rotated so that her hand would have faced away from her body (Figure 8-1). Deformities at the hips caused her legs to be inwardly rotated, producing a “knock-kneed” appearance and awkward gait. She also was very short of stature, likely standing between 4 feet 6 inches and 4 feet 9 inches tall. By contrast, her dental health was very good compared to others in Cornwall's assemblage.<sup>22</sup>



0

5 cm

Figure 9-1: A small nearly complete wheel-thrown ceramic vessel associated with Tumulus G20 and Individual 12-10156. © Phoebe A. Hearst Museum of Anthropology and the Regents of the University of California. Photography by C. Morgan; Drawing by K. Leu; Catalog No. 9-4048.



Figure 10-1: A public exhibit, “From Death to Life in Ancient Bahrain,” was curated at Sonoma State University in 2013. Photography by B.W. Porter.

## Putting a Face on Ancient Dilmun

Based on the exciting results of this work, project members decided to develop a gallery exhibit that would present their research to public audiences (Figure 10-1). Bahrain was already in the international news due to the 2011 Arab Spring uprisings, so the time was ripe to educate audiences about the antiquity of the island nation. The exhibit premiered at Sonoma State University in 2013, followed by the Badè Museum of Biblical Archaeology at the Pacific School of Religion in Berkeley in 2014, and Sacramento State University’s Museum of Anthropology in 2015.

The exhibit’s design required some ingenuity as the original objects and skeletons could not be displayed due to security and conservation concerns in the selected galleries. Interpretive exhibits were built to provide a setting for different research findings, such as a reconstructed tomb with an artificial skeleton. Students from Sonoma State University’s Department of Art studied the

original ceramic jars and produced replicas that were installed throughout the exhibit. Visitor feedback was collected at the Sonoma State installation to gauge the effectiveness of the exhibit’s interpretive panels and displays.

The most popular part of the exhibit was the two facial reconstructions of a teenaged boy and an older man. A laser scanner was used to document the contours of these two individuals’ skulls in three-dimensional space (Figure 11-1).<sup>23</sup> This digital information was then used to print plastic models of each skull. Project member and forensic artist Gloria Nusse used these models as a foundation to create facial reconstructions (Figure 12-1). Nusse combined biological information with cultural and historical background from Bronze Age Gulf societies, and her anatomical expertise in soft tissue reconstruction to craft the individuals’ features and clothing. (Figure 13-1 and Figure 14-1). This exercise drew on the latest digital and non-destructive technologies to put a face on the people of ancient Dilmun to help visitors envision—and empathize with—Bahrain’s ancient peoples.



Figure 11-1: Individual 12-10156's skull on a turntable platform, with a NextEngine portable 3D scanner in the background. The image captured by the scanner is visible on the laptop computer. Photography by A.T. Boutin.



Figure 12-1: Gloria Nusse attaches tissue depth markers to specific cranio-facial landmarks on the plastic model of 12-10156's skull. Photography by B.W. Porter.



Figure 13-1: Completed facial reconstruction of the teenage boy, 12-10156. Reconstruction by G. Nusse; Photography by B.W. Porter.

## Conclusion

Cornwall's research has provided a rich archive of materials that continues to shed light on a wide range of issues, from the burial practices of Bronze Age Gulf societies to the health and life experiences of individual members. There is, indeed, a relative dearth of well-documented cemeteries from the Bronze and Iron Ages of Western Asia that are available for scientific analysis, making the Cornwall Collection all the more valuable. As the authors refine their understanding of the collection and prepare the materials for final publication, they are also addressing questions concerning the health and diet of Dilmun's populations. Drawing on relatively new analytical techniques such as stable isotope analysis, the researchers plan to assess how dietary preferences and places of residence changed over time. The new discoveries this research will make are already well beyond what Cornwall could have imagined nearly 80 years ago when he embarked on his uncertain journey to discover ancient Dilmun.



Figure 14-1: Facial reconstruction of an elderly male, 12-10152. Note collapsed, asymmetrical appearance of lower face. Reconstruction by G. Nusse; Photography by P. Hamme.

## Acknowledgements

The authors thank the staff of the Phoebe A. Hearst Museum of Anthropology for their many years of research support. They also thank their colleagues in the Dilmun Bioarchaeology Project, especially Daniel Cusimano, Jennifer Jacobs, Gloria Nusse, Jennifer Piro, and Athna May Porter. Portions of this research have been supported by the University of California, Berkeley and Sonoma State University.

**Benjamin W. Porter, PhD**, is director of the Phoebe A. Hearst Museum of Anthropology and an Associate Professor of Near Eastern Archaeology at the University of California, Berkeley.

**Alexis T. Boutin, PhD**, is an Associate Professor of Anthropology at Sonoma State University.

## Endnotes

1. See Tablet 11 in Andrew R. George, trans. & ed, *The Babylonian Gilgamesh Epic: Critical Edition and Cuneiform Texts* (London: Oxford University Press, 2003).
2. "Pierre B. Cornwall, Capitalist and Pioneer Lawmaker, is Dead," *San Francisco Call*, September 26, 1904.
3. Letter from Coon to McCown, March 20, 1940 in Hearst Museum Accession File 831.
4. *ibid.*
5. The Museum initially declined this request for support, citing their tight wartime budget. However, there is mention in a passing note in the accession file that the Museum did ultimately provide partial funding for shipping costs.
6. A more complete and detailed description of Cornwall's expedition and discoveries can be found in Benjamin W. Porter and Alexis T. Boutin, "The Dilmun Bioarchaeology Project: A First Look at the Peter B. Cornwall Collection at the Phoebe



- A. Hearst Museum of Anthropology," *Arabian Archaeology and Epigraphy* 23 (2012): 35-49; and Alexis T. Boutin and Benjamin W. Porter, "Commemorating Disability in Early Dilmun: Ancient and Contemporary Tales from the Peter B. Cornwall Collection," in Pp. 97-132 in *Remembering the Dead in the Ancient Near East: Recent Contributions from Bioarchaeology and Mortuary Archaeology*, eds. Benjamin Porter and Alexis Boutin (Boulder: University of Colorado Press, 2014).
7. Michael Slackman, "In a New Age, Bahrain Struggles to Honor the Dead While Serving the Living," *The New York Times*, September 17, 2009.
  8. A total of 86 animal bones, teeth, and shell were recovered from 12 of the 24 burial mounds. As was typical of Early Dilmun mortuary practices, sheep and goat represent all of the identifiable animal specimens. Butchering marks were found on 14 of the bones, suggesting that the animals were slaughtered and likely consumed during mortuary rituals.
  9. Peter B. Cornwall, "Ancient Arabia: Explorations in Hasa, 1940-41," *The Geographical Journal*, 107 (1946): 28-50.
  10. *ibid.*
  11. Peter B. Cornwall, "Dilmun: The History of Bahrein Island before Cyrus. (PhD diss., Harvard University, 1944).
  12. Peter B. Cornwall, "On the Location of Dilmun," *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 102 (1946): 3-11.
  13. Cornwall's public death certificate lists the cause of death as cirrhosis of the liver due to complications with alcoholism.
  14. Geoffrey Bibby, *Looking for Dilmun* (London: Collins, 1970).
  15. Flemming Højlund, *The Burial Mounds of Bahrain: Social Complexity in Early Dilmun* (Moesgaard, Denmark: Jutland Archaeological Society Publications, 2007), 123-127; Steffen Terp Laursen, "Early Dilmun and Its Rulers: New Evidence of the Burial Mounds of the Elite and the Development of Social Complexity, c. 2200-1750 BC," *Arabian Archaeology and Epigraphy* 19(2) (2008): 156-67.
  16. Daniel T. Potts, *The Arabian Gulf in Antiquity. Vols. 1 and 2* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990), 192-231.
  17. A recent historical example illustrating the relationship between these skeletal indicators and stressors, both physiological and psychosocial, in childhood is presented by Jonny Geber "Skeletal Manifestations of Stress in Child Victims of the Great Irish Famine (1845-1852): Prevalence of Enamel Hypoplasia, Harris Lines, and Growth Retardation," *American Journal of Physical Anthropology* 155 (2014): 149-61.
  18. Judith Littleton and Bruno Frohlich, "An Analysis of Dental Pathology and Diet on Historic Bahrain," *Paléorient* 15 (1989): 59-75; Judith Littleton and Bruno Frohlich, "Fish-Eaters and Farmers: Dental Pathology in the Arabian Gulf," *American Journal of Physical Anthropology* 92 (1993): 427-47.
  19. Judith Littleton, "Paleopathology of Skeletal Fluorosis," *American Journal of Physical Anthropology* 109 (1999): 465-83.
  20. The first was published by Bruno Frohlich, Donald J. Ortner, and Haya Ali al-Khalifa, "Human Disease in the Ancient Middle East," *Dilmun* 14 (1989): 61-73.
  21. Daniel T. Potts, "Babylonian Sources of Exotic Raw Materials," in 124-140 in *The Babylonian World*, ed. Gwendolyn Leick (New York: Routledge, 2007), 132; Jacques Connan, Pierre Lombard, Robert Killick, Flemming Højlund, Jean-François Salles, and Anwar Khalaf, "The Archaeological Bitumens of Bahrain from the Early Dilmun Period (c. 2200 BC) to the Sixteenth Century AD: A Problem of Sources and Trade," *Arabian Archaeology and Epigraphy* 9 (1998): 141-81.
  22. For more about the burial of this young woman, see Boutin and Porter, "Commemorating Disability in Early Dilmun;" Alexis T. Boutin, "Exploring the Social Construction of Disability: An Application of the Bioarchaeology of Personhood Model to a Pathological Skeleton from Ancient Bahrain," *International Journal of Paleopathology* 12 (2016): 17-28.
  23. A full account of the procedures used to build the reconstruction can be read in Alexis T. Boutin, Sabrina B. Sholts, Gloria L. Nusse, and Benjamin Porter, "Face-to-Face with the Past: Reconstructing a Teenage Boy from Early Dilmun," *Near Eastern Archaeology* 75(2)(2012): 68-79.

# Flower Power

by Dany Chan

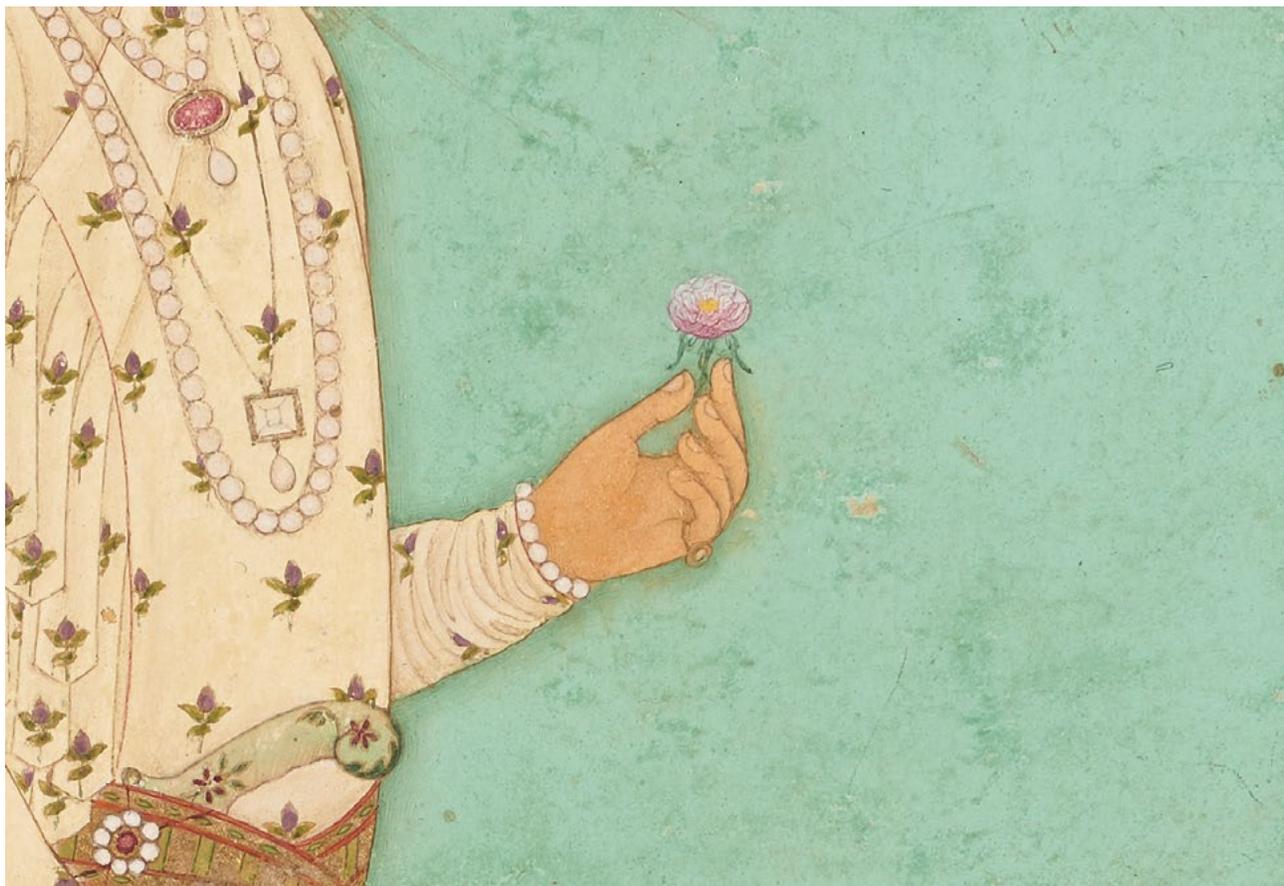


Figure 8-2A: Detail of [Figure 8-2, Page 24](#): A Mughal prince, approx. 1675–1710. Northern India, Mughal period (1526–1857). Opaque watercolors and gold on paper. *Asian Art Museum, Gift of Dr. and Mrs. David Buchanan, 2007.36.a-b*. Photograph © Asian Art Museum.



Figure 1-2: *ARLINGTON, VA – OCTOBER 26 1967*: Antiwar demonstrators tried flower power on MPs blocking the Pentagon Building in Arlington, VA on October 26, 1967. Photo by Bernie Boston/The Washington Post via Getty Images.

## Introduction

When a young man inserted a flower into the menacing tip of a soldier's rifle during a 1967 protest of the Vietnam War ([Figure 1-2](#)), he was echoing one of the most lasting symbols of that era: the flower as a symbol of peaceful power. The 1967 Summer of Love brought masses of people to San Francisco to protest the Vietnam War, demand for civil rights, and unite for social justice.<sup>1</sup> The movement also brought many aspects of Buddhist art and religion into the American mainstream. One aspect explored in this article, and in the Asian Art Museum's exhibition *Flower Power* (Jun 23 – Oct 1, 2017), is the traditions of floral symbolism in Asia. In particular, the article sketches the con-



Figure 2-2: The Buddha overcomes the demon Mara and his forces, and the Earth Goddess creates a flood, approx. 1800–1850. Thailand. Opaque watercolors and gold leaf on wood. *Asian Art Museum, Gift from Doris Duke Foundation's Southeast Asian Art Collection, 2007.77*. Photograph © Asian Art Museum.

ceptual and symbolic connections between the Summer of Love's "flower power" and its Buddhist inspiration. Yet, the symbolic function of flowers traces back thousands of years in Asian art and culture. Featured in this article are six such celebrated flowers—lotus, tulip, rose, plum, cherry, and chrysanthemum—and the meanings they convey in the artworks they inspired.

### **“Flower Power”: 50 Years Ago & 2,500 Years Ago**

The confrontation in the photograph (Figure 1-2) happened 50 years ago in the United States; the one in the painting of the Buddha (Figure 2-2) occurred 2,500 years ago in Asia. Both show flower power in action. In both instances, we see the clash of powerful symbols: the flowers of peace render useless the guns of war.

The life story of the Buddha features such a confrontation of symbols—flowers versus weapons—during a pivotal moment in his lifelong quest for Enlightenment. In the center of the painting sits the Buddha-to-be in meditation, nearing the achievement of enlightenment (Figure 2-2A). On the right side of the painting, the multi-armed, elephant-riding demon Mara and his forces attack,



Figure 2-2A: Detail of Figure 2-2 above.

intending to put a stop to the enlightenment. Each brandishes a frightful weapon. The Buddha-to-be calls upon the Earth Goddess (the figure seated below him) to witness his resolve; she creates a flood and washes away Mara's army. On the left side of the painting, we see the aftermath: all of the demons' weapons have transformed into lotus flowers, symbolizing their defeat. With this victory, the Buddha attains his enlightenment.



*The cry of “Flower Power” echoes through the land. We shall not wilt. Let a thousand flowers bloom. —Abbie Hoffman*

The connection of 1967’s “flower power” to Buddhism and to Asia was propelled, in large part, by members of the Beat Generation, a community of writers who were the forerunners of the counterculture movement that saw its flowering in the Summer of Love. The Beats “turned East,” with some notable Beats such as Gary Snyder, Allen Ginsberg, and Jack Kerouac seeking explicit Buddhist inspiration for their art and life.<sup>2</sup>

Among the Beats, poet Gary Snyder was the only Buddhist—Zen—practitioner. A San Francisco native, Snyder began his career in the 1950s as a noted member of the Beat Generation and influenced both Ginsberg and Kerouac to consider Buddhist philosophy, if not practice, for each of their works. Snyder moved to Japan in 1956 to train as a Zen monk, and he remained there for much of the late 1950s and 1960s. His involvement with Zen Buddhism has been important to his poetry from the outset and continues today in works that blend metaphysics and celebrations of nature.

The poet Allen Ginsberg is credited for inventing the concept of, if not coining the phrase, “flower power” when he published an essay titled *Demonstration or Spectacle As Example, As Communication Or How to Make a March/Spectacle* in November 1965, advocating for anti-war protesters to hand out “masses of flowers” and use other props to essentially transform protests and rallies into street theater.<sup>3</sup> During the 1960s, Ginsberg’s interest in Buddhism was primarily philosophical in nature and manifested through such public demonstrations as handing out flowers or leading chants of “*Ohm*” and “*Hare Krishna*.” Only later in the 1970s did Ginsberg start practicing Buddhism, a lifestyle change that was also seen and felt in his poetics.<sup>4</sup>

Through varying degrees of interest and understanding, the Beats contributed greatly to the popularization and development of the

Buddhist religion in America.<sup>5</sup> So by the time Hoffman invoked the Buddhist-inspired concept of “flower power” in May 1967, his rallying call indeed seemed to echo across the land.

Yet, even Hoffman’s rallying cry had its roots in Asia. “Let a thousand flowers bloom” is reminiscent of Chairman Mao Zedong’s famous words in 1957—“*Let a hundred flowers bloom; let a hundred schools of thought contend*” (*baihua qifang; baijia zhengming*)—that invited constructive criticism of the Chinese Communist Party and launched the short-lived Hundred Flowers Movement.<sup>6</sup> Hoffman was indeed more than aware of Mao’s words. Before he became a symbolic figure of the counterculture in the late 1960s, Hoffman was a student at Brandeis College in the late 1950s and studied with intellectuals whom he described as “the greatest gurus of the fifties.”<sup>7</sup> That meant engaging with the ideas of Marx, Lenin, and Mao; specifically, Mao’s *Red Book* held nuggets of wisdom related to Hoffman’s own vision of a new culture.<sup>8</sup>

Mao himself plucked the “hundred flowers” from Chinese history. In China, the motif of “one hundred flowers” has a literary and artistic tradition that reaches back thousands of years. The specific lines of “Let a hundred flowers bloom; let a hundred schools of thought contend” first appeared in the 2nd-century book, *The History of the Former Han (Hanshu)*, and alludes to an even earlier time in China’s history—the age of Confucius—when many schools of thought competed for ideological dominance. Like that age, Mao had hoped that the Hundred Flowers Movement “would allow truth to emerge from a sea of falsehoods.”<sup>9</sup>

In art, the “one hundred flowers” motif has a shorter, though no less potent, history in China. The use of flower motifs became prominent during the Ming (1368-1644) and Qing (1644-1911) dynasties, and the “one hundred flowers” motif was especially popular as it augurs good tidings. To have one hundred flowers bloom at once is auspicious and expresses the sentiment, “May blossoming flowers bring prosperity” (*huakai fugui*).



Figure 3-2: Vase with “one hundred flowers” motif. China; Jingdezhen, Jiangxi province, Qing dynasty, reign of the Qianlong emperor (1736–1795). Porcelain with overglaze enamels. *Asian Art Museum, The Avery Brundage Collection*, B65P13. Photograph © Asian Art Museum.



Figure 4-2: The Hindu deity Surya, approx. 600–700. India; Bihar state. Limestone. *Asian Art Museum, The Avery Brundage Collection*, B63S36+. Photograph © Asian Art Museum.

When a Chinese emperor employs the design of “one hundred flowers,” the blessings extend over his entire empire. A profusion of such flowers, amassed together in bloom, covers a Chinese imperial vase (Figure 3-2) in a design called “one hundred flowers ground” (*baihuadi*). This luxurious design symbolizes a wish for the Qing Empire to last as long as flowers continue to grow in the world. The Qing in fact did not last forever, but the reach of the hundred flowers symbolism extended over time and place,

from 3rd-century BCE China to 20th-century United States.

### “Flower Power” Then

Flowers have appeared in artworks across Asia for thousands of years. Represented by the following six blooms—lotus, tulip, rose, plum, cherry, and chrysanthemum—flowers offer not



only decorative appeal but convey symbolic values.

## Lotus

In Buddhist, Hindu, and even Jain, imagery, lotus flowers frequently form a pedestal or throne upon which the Buddha or a deity sits. Buddhists believe that the heart of every sentient being resembles an unopened lotus; when enlightenment is attained, the lotus blossoms. The lotus-shaped throne is symbolic of the figure's having transcended the human world through enlightenment. In both sacred and secular art, the lotus as a symbol of transcendence is celebrated across several cultures.

Another hidden meaning of the lotus—creation and renewal—is shared among Hindu art and the art of ancient Egypt and Mesoamerica. The Hindu deity Surya (Figure 4-2) is associated with the skies, and particularly with the sun. He holds the stems of two large lotus flowers, each bearing a closed bud. The connection between the lotus and the sun is both botanical and symbolic. The lotus flower blooms at sunrise and closes at sunset, an apt metaphor for the necessity of sunlight for life. The sun god Surya shares this symbolism through his connection with ideas of creation and the renewal of life. Very similar lotus symbolism appears in the ancient art of Egypt and Mesoamerica. An ancient Egyptian chalice (Figure 5-2) derives from the shape of a lotus blossom and is decorated with scenes of a watery marsh environment from which the king as a child of the sun god is born, symbolizing the rebirth or renewal of the flooded land.<sup>10</sup>



Figure 5-2: Lotiform Chalice, approx. 945–64 BC. Egypt; Tuna el-Gebel region, Dynasty 22–25. Faience. *Metropolitan Museum of Art, Purchase, Edward S. Harkness Gift, 1926.* Photograph



Figure 6-2: Dish with tulip and other floral motifs, approx. 1575–1600. Turkey, Ottoman period (1281–1924). Composite-body ceramic with multicolor decoration under clear glaze. *Asian Art Museum, Gift of the Menke family in memory of their parents and grandparents Betty and John Menke, 2015.26.* Photograph © Asian Art Museum.



Figure 7-2: Floral Still Life, 1639, by Hans Bolognier (Dutch, 1600–1645). Oil on panel. *Rijksmuseum*, SK-A-799.



## Tulip

The tulip—native to West Asia, Central Asia, and North Africa—became a symbol of the power, wealth, and sophistication of Turkey’s Ottoman Empire (1281-1924). During the sixteenth century, tulips decorated all types of objects and surfaces. Luxury textiles and ceramics (Figure 6-2) featuring the Ottoman tulip were traded in Europe; these inspired local artisans to create their own tulip designs reminiscent of those they saw on Turkish artworks.

The wild tulip began to be cultivated in Turkey around this time and flourished in imperial and commercial gardens. The flower was introduced into Europe in the mid-sixteenth century as a diplomatic gift from the Turkish ambassador to the Hapsburg court. A century later, the flower aroused a Dutch mercantile craze for tulips called “tulipomania,” which at its height inspired artworks such as a Dutch still-life masterpiece of a popular tulip variety (Figure 7-2). The tulip’s associations with the perceived power and sophistication of Ottoman culture fueled the flower’s popularity abroad.

## Rose

The rose has long been celebrated in Persian and South Asian cultures as a symbol of perfection and refinement. Of the many flowers in the sumptuous portrait of a Mughal Indian prince (Figure 8-2), the rose in his left hand carries powerful symbolism. The rose symbolizes several prized virtues: perfection, beauty, elegance, and refinement. His right hand rests on the hilt of a sheathed sword. These two objects—the flower and the sword—signify aspects of an ideal ruler: he is both aesthete and warrior (Figure 8-2A).

In Persian literature, the rose was popularly paired with the nightingale to symbolize the union of love (both spiritual and worldly), with the flower representing the beloved. By the seventeenth century, the rose also came to embody the person of the Prophet Muhammad.<sup>11</sup> Islamic texts compared his physical appearance to the flower’s

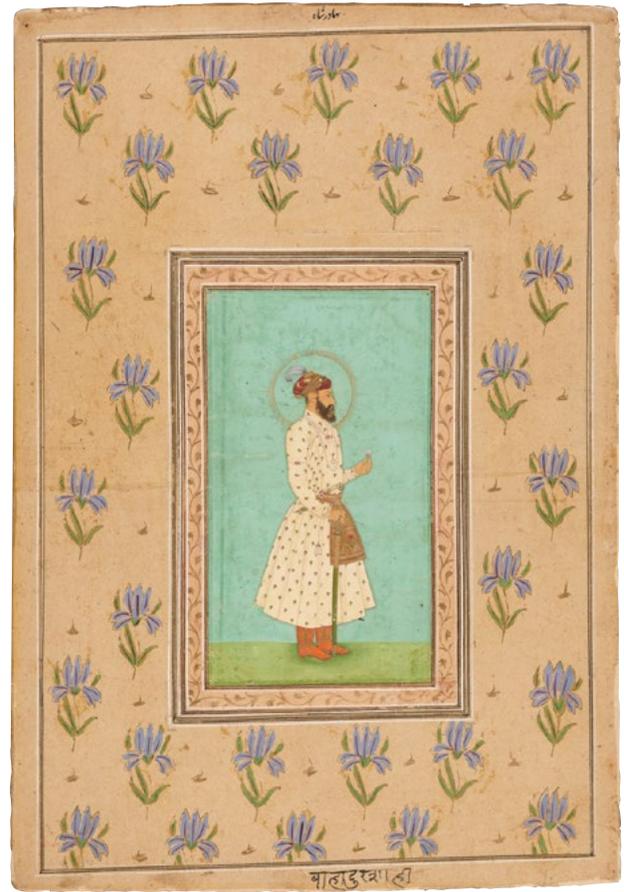


Figure 8-2: A Mughal prince, approx. 1675–1710. Northern India, Mughal period (1526–1857). Opaque watercolors and gold on paper. *Asian Art Museum, Gift of Dr. and Mrs. David Buchanan, 2007.36.a-b.* Photograph © Asian Art Museum.

color and scent; in religious art of the time, a rose often symbolized the Prophet himself.

## Plum

Plum blossoms are popular motifs in China, Korea, and Japan. Many of the plum’s botanical features are celebrated. The plum is the first flower to bloom when all others are dormant in late winter and early spring, amid the cold and frost. In China, the lunar calendar begins in early spring, and the plum blossom represents the first month. The plum also has auspicious meanings for the new year—heralding the coming of warmth and renewal—which is why the New Year’s flower market in Chinatown is crowded with plum branches.

Beginning around the 12th century in China, scholars favored an association between the plum and the moon, as both motifs evoked the cool radiance of a winter's night. The plum and moon became a popular motif in poetry, paintings, and the decorative arts. This motif came to influence like-minded scholars and artists in Japan and Korea. The scene on a Korean lacquer dish of a crescent moon shining above a flowering plum tree (Figure 9-2) was beloved by Joseon dynasty scholars. Joseon poems, such as the one below, abound in praising the sensual beauty and fragrance of moonlit plum blossoms, evoking reflection and yearning brought on by a scene of plum and moon on a winter's night.

*Briefly the east wind blows  
and melts away the fallen snow.  
Two or three branches have bloomed  
on the plum tree outside the window:  
a bold brightness,  
a fragrance deep and mysterious.  
At dusk the moon  
shines by the bedside  
as if sensing him, rejoicing  
—Is it my lord; could it be?  
I wonder, if I broke off that blossom  
and sent it to the place where my lord stays,  
what would he think  
as he looked at it?*

—Jeong Cheol (Korean, 1536-93),  
“Song of Longing”<sup>12</sup>

## Cherry

The cherry blossom has been widely celebrated in Japanese art, literature, and poetry, especially as a metaphor for the transience of life, since the tree blooms in the middle of spring for only a week. This brief blooming season is celebrated every spring in Japan. Illustrated in a luxurious screen (Figure 10-2) are typical activities of cherry-blossom viewing. Amid a profusion of cherry blossoms and peonies in full bloom, people of all ages visit the park and engage in revelry, while being entertained by a group of dancers.



Figure 9-2: Dish with plum blossom and moon motif, 1800–1900. Korea, Joseon dynasty (1392–1910). Lacquer on paper with inlaid mother-of-pearl. *Asian Art Museum, Museum purchase, 2016.44.* Photograph © Asian Art Museum.

Such celebrations of life's ephemerality and acceptance of nature's ebb and flow underlie the Japanese concept of *mono no aware* or, roughly, the pathos of things. This Buddhist-inspired sensibility suggests an emotional awareness of both the joy and sorrow that come with the fleeting nature of beauty and, ultimately, of life itself.

In the exhibition, contemporary artist Ayomi Yoshida, a fourth-generation printmaker, reflects upon the future of Japanese cherry trees with her installation, *Yedoensis* (Figure 11-2). As Yoshida describes in the accompanying video, her interest in the Yoshino cherry tree (*Prunus x yedoensis*) is connected to the aforementioned Japanese tradition of viewing cherry blossoms and to the history and cultivation of this particular species. In 2008 she articulated her interest in the trees' future in the context of climate change:



Figure 10-2: Cherry-blossom viewing, approx. 1600–1700. Japan, Edo period (1615–1868). Ink, colors, and gold on paper. Asian Art Museum, *The Avery Brundage Collection*, B62D9+. Photograph © Asian Art Museum.



Figure 10-2A: Detail of Figure 10-2 above.



Figure 11-2: Installation view of *Yedoensis* at the Northern Illinois University Art Museum, 2008, by Ayomi Yoshida (Japanese, b. 1958). Mixed media. *Lent by the artist.* © Ayomi Yoshida.



Figure 12-2: Lidded cup in the shape of a chrysanthemum, 1776. China, Qing dynasty, reign of the Qianlong emperor (1736–1795). Lacquer. *Asian Art Museum, The Avery Brundage Collection, B60M446.a.-b.* Photograph © Asian Art Museum.



Figure 13-2: *The Moving Garden*, 2009, by Lee Mingwei (American, b. Taiwan, 1964). Installation view at “Lee Mingwei and His Relations,” *Mori Art Museum, Tokyo*, 2014. Stainless steel, granite, water, and fresh flowers. Collection of Amy and Leo Shih, Taichung, Taiwan. © Lee Mingwei. Photograph © Yoshitsugu Fuminari, courtesy of Mori Art Museum.



Figure 14-2: *Rendering of Flower Interruption: San Francisco Summer of Love 2017* (detail), 2017, by Megan Wilson (American, b. 1969). Mixed media. This project is generously supported by California Arts Council, The Hearst Foundations, Inc., and San Francisco Grants for the Arts. © Megan Wilson.



*“As the earth’s temperature rises, the trees that used to flower in April are now flowering in March...I once believed that the coming of spring and the cherry blossoms would always happen, but lately I am less certain. Will there come a time when the trees fail to bloom?”*

For the installation, Yoshida worked with a team of volunteers for several weeks to install thousands of woodblock-printed cherry blossoms on two-dimensional images of tree branches, knowing that the work will fail to replicate the efforts of a single cherry tree to annually burst into bloom with millions of blossoms, only to drop them in a matter of days. The installation highlights the human agency involved not only in the trees’ cultivation but also in their potential environmental threat.

## Chrysanthemum

In East Asia, chrysanthemums are celebrated as the seasonal flowers of autumn. For the Japanese, the chrysanthemum is especially significant: it is a symbol of their country. A sixteen-petaled chrysanthemum (*kiku*) serves as an emblem of the emperor and the imperial family. The flower is also celebrated for its legendary power to prolong life, partly due to its long blooming season and its purported health benefits. A legend in China tells of a pool in central China where chrysanthemums grew along the bank. Drinking from this pool allowed the people nearby to live for a hundred years.<sup>13</sup> In Japan, there is the legend of Kiku-Jido, the Chrysanthemum Boy, who confers blessings of good health and long life.<sup>14</sup> Belief in the chrysanthemum’s power of longevity takes form not only in auspicious artworks, but also in the potable form of chrysanthemum tea.

The fabled and the medicinal come together in the chrysanthemum shape of a lacquered cup and lid (Figure 12-2), which was a favored form for China’s Qianlong emperor (r. 1736-95). Inside the lid in gold is a poem by the emperor himself, praising the craftsmanship of the object and the delicate fragrance of chrysanthemum tea.

## “FLOWER POWER” NOW

Flowers continue to appeal to artists today. Flowers in contemporary art such as the following two examples offer ways of thinking about topics that are relevant to our present and provoke questions about our future.

The flowers in the sculpture, *The Moving Garden* (Figure 13-2), are not renderings or representations but actual fresh-cut flowers. The artist invites the visitor to approach the sculpture and take a flower with them when they leave the museum, on the condition that they make a detour to their next destination, find a stranger, and offer the flower as a gift.

Seemingly simple, this act of generosity may be complicated by social norms that make the interaction awkward and possibly provokes anxiety. As the artist describes in the accompanying video, *The Moving Garden* was inspired in part by Lewis Hyde’s book *The Gift*, which explores the value of creativity and the idea of art as a gift rather than a commodity.

The historical nexus of flower symbolism between Asia and the Summer of Love emerges with the mural, *Flower Interruption: San Francisco Summer of Love 2017*, by artist Megan Wilson (Figure 14-2). San Francisco in the 1960s is a significant place and time for Wilson. Her parents had lived in the city during that time, and the era’s counterculture has come to influence Wilson’s own trajectory in her artistic practice and social activism. She evokes that time with this mural commemorating the fiftieth anniversary of the Summer of Love. An installation of the *Art/Lit Living Innovation Zone* (LIZ), Pop-inspired flowers symbolizing love and joy bloom in their wildly colored glory across a 9.4-meter expanse of wall adjacent to the museum. Set in downtown San Francisco, *Flower Interruption* offers an unexpected respite in the urban landscape and aims to playfully disrupt the monotony of the predictable and the routine for the city’s residents and visitors.



Like much of Wilson's work, *Flower Interruption* is intentionally ephemeral—the mural will be painted over after three months. Rooted in Buddhist concepts, her creative practice of impermanent art reminds us of the value in celebrating the pathos of beauty in our lives: though fleeting, beauty in any form is a dream worth realizing.

From 2,500 years ago, to 50 years ago, to today, flowers remain potent symbols in the art and cultures of Asia and beyond. Commemorating the Summer of Love offers not only an opportunity to explore the Buddhist foundations of the era's flower-cum-symbol, but also hope that ideals of peace, compassion, and community might last as long as flowers bloom in the world.

**Dany Chan** is Assistant Curator for Exhibition Projects at the Asian Art Museum

## Endnotes

1. Sheila Weller "LSD, Ecstasy, and a Blast of Utopianism: How 1967's 'Summer of Love' All Began." In VANITY FAIR, <http://www.vanityfair.com/culture/2012/07/lsd-drugs-summer-of-love-sixties> (accessed 5-Apr-2017).
2. Scott A. Mitchell "Buddhism and the Beats". In *Oxford Bibliographies in Buddhism*, <http://www.oxfordbibliographies.com/view/document/obo-9780195393521/obo-9780195393521-0109.xml> (accessed 5-Apr-2017).
3. "Allen Ginsberg". In *Poetry Foundation*, <https://www.poetryfoundation.org/poems-and-poets/poets/detail/allen-ginsberg> (accessed 5-Apr-2017).
4. Tony Trigilio, *Allen Ginsberg's Buddhist Poetics* (Carbondale, IL: Southern Illinois University Press, 2007), 128.
5. Scott A. Mitchell "Buddhism and the Beats". In *Oxford Bibliographies in Buddhism*, <http://www.oxfordbibliographies.com/view/document/obo-9780195393521/obo-9780195393521-0109.xml> (accessed 5-Apr-2017).

6. Gilbert King "The Silence that Preceded China's Great Leap into Famine". In *Smithsonian.com*, <http://www.smithsonianmag.com/history/the-silence-that-preceded-chinas-great-leap-into-famine-51898077/> (accessed 5-Apr-2017).
7. Abbie Hoffman, *The Autobiography of Abbie Hoffman* (New York: Four Walls Eight Windows, 2000), 26.
8. Allen Katzman, comp., *Our Time: An Anthology of Interviews from the East Village Other* (New York: Dial Press, 1972), 290-2.
9. Gilbert King "The Silence that Preceded China's Great Leap into Famine". In *Smithsonian.com*, <http://www.smithsonianmag.com/history/the-silence-that-preceded-chinas-great-leap-into-famine-51898077/> (accessed 5-Apr-2017).
10. <http://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/548339>.
11. "Gol o Bolbol". In *Encyclopaedia Iranica Online*, <http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/gol-o-bolbol> (accessed 5-Apr-2017); Christiane Gruber, "The Rose of the Prophet: Floral Metaphors in Late Ottoman Devotional Art," in David J. Roxburgh, ed., *Envisioning Islamic Art and Architecture: Essays in Honor of Renata Holod* (Leiden, The Netherlands: Brill, 2014), 224-5.
12. David R. McCann, *Early Korean Literature: Selections and Introductions* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2000), 63.
13. Terese Tse Bartholomew, *Hidden Meanings in Chinese Art* (San Francisco: Asian Art Museum of San Francisco, 2006)m 175.
14. Michael Berman, *The Nature of Shamanism and the Shamanic Story*, (Newcastle, United Kingdom: 2007), 132.



# Society for Asian Art

The Society for Asian Art was founded in 1958 to encourage the study and appreciation of the arts of Asia. Its first objective was to help in the acquisition of The Avery Brundage Collection.

For more about the Society for Asian Art, its mission, its board of directors and advisors, please visit

[www.societyforasianart.org/about-us](http://www.societyforasianart.org/about-us)

# Become a Society Member

Join the Society for Asian Art and enjoy the many—benefits and privileges of membership. Learn more at

[www.societyforasianart.org/membership](http://www.societyforasianart.org/membership).

To join the Society online visit

[www.societyforasianart.org/membership/join-renew](http://www.societyforasianart.org/membership/join-renew).

# Lotus Leaves

Lotus Leaves is a scholarly publication focusing on issues judged to be of particular interest to Society for Asian Art members.

Address all correspondence to the Society for Asian Art, Asian Art Museum, 200 Larkin Street, San Francisco, CA 94102, or [saa@asianart.org](mailto:saa@asianart.org)

Alice Trinkl, Editor

Margaret Edwards, Associate Editor

Design: Suzanne Anderson-Carey

©2017 Society for Asian Art, All rights reserved.