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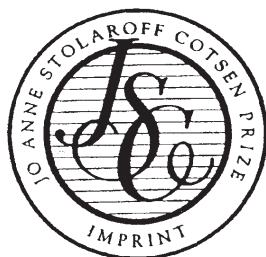
# CHINESE SOCIETY IN THE AGE OF CONFUCIUS (1000–250 BC)

## THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL EVIDENCE

LOTHAR VON FALKENHAUSEN

COTSEN INSTITUTE OF ARCHAEOLOGY  
UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, LOS ANGELES

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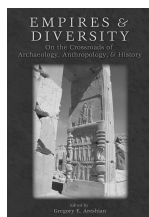


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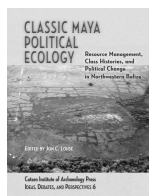


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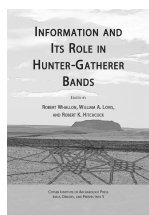
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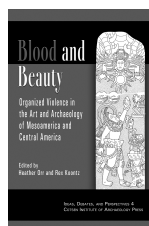
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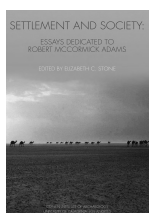
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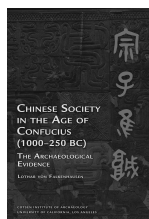
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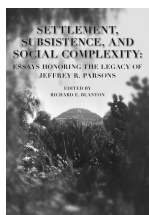
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IN THE AGE OF CONFUCIUS  
(1000-250 BC)

THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL  
EVIDENCE

LOTHAR VON FALKENHAUSEN

COTSEN INSTITUTE OF ARCHAEOLOGY  
UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, LOS ANGELES  
2006

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In Memory of Professor Yu Weichao 俞偉超 (1933-2003)  
With Respect and Gratitude

价人維藩。大師維垣。大邦維屏。大宗維翰。  
懷德維寧。宗子維城。無俾城壞。無獨斯畏。

With the honest people as a fence, the great armies as a bulwark, the great territorial states as a screen, the Major Lineage as a support, love of virtue as a source of peace, and the sons of your lineage as a fortress, nothing will let that fortress fall into decay, and there is nothing to fear about loneliness.

*Shi jing* “Da Ya: Ban” (Ode 254.7)

「點爾何如？」鼓瑟希鏗爾舍琴而作，對曰：「異乎三子者之撰。」子曰：「何傷乎，亦各言其志也。」曰：「莫春者，春服既成，冠者五六人，童子六七人，浴乎沂，風乎舞雩，詠而歸。」夫子喟歎曰：「吾與點也。」

“Dian, what about you?” He was playing his zither; he laid it aside as the strings were still faintly humming, rose and replied: “Mine is a different choice from those of the other three gentlemen.” Confucius said: “What harm is there in that? After all, each merely stated his heart’s desire.” Dian said: “In late spring, with the spring clothes already complete, together with five or six capped men and six or seven boys, to go bathing in the Yi River, dry ourselves in the breeze at the rain-dance sanctuary, and return home singing.”

The Master heaved a sigh and said: “I am with Dian.”

*Lunyu* “Xianjin” 11.26



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## PREFACE

THIS IS A book on Late Bronze Age China, but it is also a series of reflections on how to build archaeological arguments with Chinese data. The introduction presents pertinent methodological considerations together with some historical background; the rest of the book consists of case studies that are arranged topically rather than chronologically. Although most, if not all, major Late Bronze Age sites in China are mentioned somewhere (or at least included in the tables), the need for concision does not permit their detailed discussion. This book therefore cannot fill the need for a general introduction to the archaeology of Late Bronze Age China. It does, however, provide a point of departure for those wishing to familiarize themselves with this subject.

The book seeks to unite two usually distinct constituencies: readers with a general interest in archaeology, and readers interested in Chinese social and intellectual history. For those interested in social archaeology, it will offer evidence to compare and contrast with other civilizations; for those mainly interested in China or East Asia, it provides information on some too-little-known developments that are of fundamental importance to the understanding of that region, inviting reflections on the methods and priorities to be adopted in future research. I have previously published much of the research presented herein in the form of scholarly articles. In reworking this material for presentation to a broader readership, my aim has been to interrelate my earlier, more specialized studies and to focus on some of the larger issues emerging from them. Some of the details have been omitted. For these, readers are encouraged to consult the original articles, which are listed in the bibliography.

This book has grown from a course of lectures presented at Kyōto University, where I spent a rewarding year as a visiting professor in 2002–2003. I should like to thank my host in the Archaeology Department, Professor Uehara Mahito, and all members of the Department, for their interest in my work, their kind collegiality, helpful hospitality, and good cheer. Many thanks also to Professors Maekawa Kazuya, Okamura Hidenori, and Kominami Ichirō for admitting me to their research seminars at the Institute of Research in the Humanities, which provided tremendous intellectual stimulation. Particular thanks to Professor Sugiyama Masaaki (Department of Oriental History, Kyōto University) for many years of friendship, for making this stay in Kyōto a reality, and for encouraging me to write this book.

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Over the years, in many places, I have learned much from dear friends and respected colleagues. A complete listing would fill many pages, and no formulation could adequately express my gratitude. In connection with this particular effort, I am especially indebted to Rowan K. Flad, Martin Kern, Guolong Lai, Thomas Lawton, Donald McCallum, Michael Nylan, Yuri Pines, David Schaberg, and Yoshimoto Michimasa for reading earlier versions of the manuscript and offering helpful comments and corrections prior to publication. I am also deeply grateful to Moriya Kazuki, Yoneda Kenji, and once again Yoshimoto Michimasa for their efforts in producing the Japanese version of this book, which is being published simultaneously by Kyōto University Press. In connection with the Japanese edition, I would moreover like to thank Hitomi Hongō for her interest and encouragement.

My thanks to Charles Stanish, Julia Sanchez, and Shauna Mecartea for seeing the book through the publication process at the Cotsen Institute of Archaeology. All readers, and the author above all, owe special thanks to Naomi Noble Richard for her superb editing. I am very grateful to all the institutions and individuals who generously permitted to reproduce previously published illustrations, and particularly to Rebecca Hall for her efficient and ever cheerful help in formatting them for this book. Cordial thanks to two old friends in Beijing: Li Ling for suggesting the Chinese title, and Feng Shi for writing it in his beautiful calligraphy. The title comes from the *Classic of Poetry*; it is taken from a poem addressed to the Zhou king and means “With the sons of your lineage as a fortress” (for the context, see the dedication page).

Above all, my approach to the grand themes treated herein amply reflects the influence of my teachers: the late Kwang-chih Chang, Ronald C. Egan, Peter T. Ellison, the late Hayashi Minao, the late Anna K. Seidel, Stanley J. Tambiah, Peter S. Wells, the late Gordon R. Willey, Yan Wenming, and the late Zou Heng. It is only fitting to acknowledge them here. For this book’s particular topic, the strongest inspiration has come from the late Yu Weichao, who unfortunately did not live to see the result. I respectfully dedicate this book to his memory.

Los Angeles, January 15, 2006

L. v. F.



## PREFACE TO THE THIRD PRINTING

SINCE THE simultaneous publication of the English and Japanese editions of this book ten years ago, a Korean translation has appeared, and a Chinese translation is currently in press. In the course of translation, a number of mistakes were found, which I have now endeavored to correct. I am very grateful to Lai Guolong, Peng Peng, Shim Jae-hoon, Wang Yi, Wu Changqing, Zhang Hanmo, Zhang Li, and Zhang Liangren for their meticulous work on the text, and to Deidre Whitmore and Randi Danforth for their help in preparing this third printing. Needless to say, all remaining errors are my responsibility.

No attempt has been made to update the substantive contents of the book, even though there have been numerous new discoveries and scholarly publications that, if duly incorporated, might allow one to formulate more precisely the arguments made, or necessitate modifications in certain places. But such materials will, of course, keep accumulating as archaeology in China continues to advance, and there will never be a time when the book will be a perfect mirror of historical reality. Instead of delaying publication for the sake of an updating that would necessarily be piecemeal and unsatisfactory, it seems preferable to leave the arguments in the form in which they were originally presented.

In my own work over the past decade, I have further pursued some of the topics touched upon in this book, e.g., the Middle Springs and Autumns Ritual Restructuring (see Chapter 8) and the problem of archaizing miniature vessels in some large tombs from the ninth century and later (see Chapter 7). My recent publications, as well as most of my publications referenced in this book, are now accessible on Academia.edu. In its manifestly imperfect form, the book stands as an invitation to others to explore the issues raised herein in light of new and better evidence.

Los Angeles, January 2016

L. v. F.

FOLLOWING ARE SOME explanations of technicalities. The transcription of Chinese follows the Hanyu Pinyin system, with the pronunciations of the *Xinhua zidian* taken as the standard. Tones are not marked except in order to differentiate some homonyms; for homonyms that have the same tone, other forms of differentiation have been devised ad hoc. Moreover, I distinguish the provinces of Shānxi from Shǎnxi by rendering the latter as “Shaanxi,” following the convention adopted in the People’s Republic of China. In general, homonyms are only marked in the text when in my judgment there is some potential danger of confusion. All such cases are listed in the General Index.

The Hepburn romanization (as modified in *Kenkyūsha’s New Japanese-English Dictionary*) is used for Japanese.

In order to enhance readability for nonspecialists, no Chinese characters appear in the text. The General Index (pp. 537) doubles as a glossary by providing characters for all Chinese names and terms mentioned, as well as brief explanations. Characters for most place names are given in a separate Index of Archaeological Sites, arranged by province and county. Characters for the names of modern scholars mentioned in the text may be found in the Bibliography (pp. 514).

The Bibliography follows the format of the *Journal of East Asian Archaeology*, which stipulates the translation of all titles of books and articles in Asian languages (note that these translations are mine, rather than the often faulty ones provided in the original publications). The modern secondary literature is quoted by author, classical texts and inscription compendiums by title. Classical references are provided only to standard editions: *Shisanjing zhushu* for the Confucian classics with the exception of the *Zhou li* (which is cited according to Sun Yirang’s *Zhou li zhengyi*), and, wherever possible, *Zhu zi jicheng* for the works of the classical philosophers. References to classical texts include text and chapter names, the number of the chapter in the edition used, and the page in that edition; when a reprint with modern page numbers is used, that number is given in addition. Translations can be found by consulting the relevant chapters in Loewe (ed.) 1983.

The following abbreviations appear on many of the Tables:

— *Main era names*: S = Shang; WZ = Western Zhou, CQ = Springs and Autumns, ZG = Warring States. Uppercase E = Early, M = Middle, L = Late; these indicate archaeological periods within these main eras. Lowercase e = early and l = late indicate subperiods.

— *Provinces/Municipalities/Autonomous Regions*: AH = Anhui; BJ = Beijing; CQg = Chongqing; FJ = Fujian; GD = Guangdong; GS = Gansu; GX = Guangxi; HB = Hebei; HN = Henan; HuB = Hubei; HuN = Hunan; JL = Jilin; JS = Jiangsu; JX = Jiangxi; LN = Liaoning; NMG = Inner Mongolia; SC = Sichuan; SD = Shandong; ShX = Shaanxi; SX = Shanxi; ZJ = Zhejiang.

In tables synthesizing information from tombs, dimensions wherever possible were measured at the bottom of the tomb pit; measurements taken at the top of the pits are marked by T. Under the rubric *mudao* are the number of sloping passage ramps; *guo/guan* tabulates the numbers of nested burial chambers (left of slash) and coffins (right of slash). Funerary bronze vessels are enumerated according to conventional functional categories: food vessels; containers for liquids and drinking vessels; water containers/washing vessels; and miscellaneous, with accessories such as ladles and spoons assigned to the categories of vessels with which they are most likely to have been used. Some of the functional attributions are not completely certain. Under “musical instruments,” only the status-defining suspended chimes—bells and lithophones—are enumerated. For each type of bells, both the number of sets (left of slash) and the number of individual bells (right of slash) are indicated. It is the number of bell-chimes, not the number of individual bells, that is counted into the total number of bronzes at the bottom of the listing. Lithophones are excluded from these total counts. Sometimes items other than bronze vessels or sets of bells are included in tables; these are given in brackets and not included in the totals figures (sometimes a separate total figure of ceramic vessels is given in brackets). Miniature bronze vessels or inferior quality substitutes (*mingqi*) made of bronze, where present, are specially marked by a lowercase “m”; they are included in the totals figures, but an additional separate total figure is sometimes provided for *mingqi*. An uppercase “M” indicates elaborate non-*mingqi* miniatures.

## INTRODUCTION

CHINESE ARCHAEOLOGY, LIKE all of archaeology, straddles the Humanities and the Social Sciences. This book emphasizes the Social Science aspects. It reviews archaeological evidence on social structure, social interaction, and social change in China during the Late Bronze Age (ca. 1000-ca. 250 BC). What kind of knowledge can excavated data convey on such subjects? To what extent is such knowledge truly new, rather than merely recasting or reiterating what we already know from texts? If there are kinds of information that only archaeology can provide, what are they, and how might we obtain further, and perhaps better-quality, information of these kinds? New and better information is certainly needed to resolve the many apparent discrepancies between the material record and the rich and venerable textual heritage of Late Bronze Age China. Consider, for instance, the glaring contradiction between traditional textual accounts and new archaeological evidence concerning the origin of the institutional basis of Chinese society during the lifetime of Confucius (ca. 551-ca. 479 BC).

Confucius and his followers believed that the principles underlying the political and religious system of their own age had been devised at the beginning of the reigning Zhou dynasty (ca. 1046-256 BC). They regarded the dynastic founders—King Wen, King Wu, the Duke of Zhou, and the Duke of Shao—as cultural heroes who had established a pattern of good governance and correct behavior that could serve as a model for all time. The Duke of Zhou, a brother and adviser of King Wu and the founding ancestor of the ruling family of Confucius's home polity of Lu, was, perhaps not coincidentally, their supreme role model. He was credited with having created the Zhou ritual code, which assigned to all members of society their proper places in the ranked hierarchy and prescribed their roles during the religious performances through which this society continually legitimated itself.<sup>1</sup> By Confucius's lifetime, however, this

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<sup>1</sup> These ideas were given their most comprehensive expression by Hayashi Taisuke 1916, who condensed pertinent accounts in the classical texts into an extremely impressive synthesis; but similar constructions recur even in very recent scholarship. The Duke of Zhou is, in particular, traditionally credited with the compilation of the *Zhou li* (*Rites of Zhou*), one of the three Ritual Classics of the Confucian canon (see Boltz 1993; Nylan 2001: 168-201 passim), which purports to enumerate the administrative apparatus of the Zhou kingdom. On the mythopoetic aspects of the recurrent Forceful Ruler/Wise Minister accounts in the early Chinese historical literature, see Allan 1981.

ideal order had fallen into abeyance. Confucius and his followers saw their task as resuscitating it and making it relevant for their own time. For this purpose it had to be reinterpreted. The great contribution of the early Confucian school, it is often said, consisted in intellectualizing the ritual institutions of the royal Zhou, removing them from their original time-specific and class-specific frame of reference, and extracting from them a set of human values universally applicable to all polities and to future ages.<sup>2</sup> Seeing his own role as “a transmitter, not a creator,”<sup>3</sup> Confucius aimed thereby to lay the basis for a restoration of the Golden Age of the Duke of Zhou.

But modern archaeology has revealed that such a view of the early Zhou is in large part a historical fiction—a projection of latter-day philosophical fantasy into a dimly and selectively remembered past. As will be shown in Chapters One and Two, archaeological finds dating from Western Zhou times (ca. 1046-771 BC) down to Confucius’s own epoch now allow us to pinpoint the actual—considerably later—time of origin of the ritual institutions that became the blueprint for Confucius’s intellectual innovations. In fact, for its first two centuries the Zhou essentially continued the traditions of the preceding Shang dynasty (ca. 1600-ca. 1046 BC), and it was only during the Late Western Zhou period, about 850 BC, that they devised their own distinctive rituals, and with them, a new political order.

This “Late Western Zhou Ritual Reform” was the first of at least two deliberate attempts, during times when the power of the Zhou royal house was in decline, at stabilizing the social order through a reorganization of ritual practices. The second attempt, here referred to as the “Middle Springs and Autumns Ritual Restructuring” (see Chapter Eight), occurred during the half-century or so preceding Confucius’s own lifetime. If it had not been for the strenuous efforts of archaeologists over some eight decades, neither of these two transformations would be known today, as neither is explicitly recorded in any extant written sources. But archaeological evidence reveals clearly and unambiguously that they occurred. As will be shown below, the excavated data strongly suggest that Confucius and his contemporaries, far from either reverting to the remote past or being radically innovative in their own time, reflected on, and gave philosophical expression to, currents of comprehensive change that had been ongoing for about a century, and which broadly manifested themselves in the ritual practices of their epoch. Such a realization necessitates a fundamental reevaluation of the nature, and especially of the

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<sup>2</sup> See, e.g., Mote 1971: 29-52; Fingarette 1972; Hall and Ames 1987; Roetz 1992; Lewis 1999 a: 172 and passim; Hsu 1999: 585-586.

<sup>3</sup> *Lunyu* “Shu’er” 7.1 (*Shisanjing zhushu* 7.25, p. 2481). On the nature of “creation” in early Chinese political thought, see Puett 2001.

originality, of the early thinkers' alleged intellectual innovations.

The tension between texts and archaeology is potentially a fruitful one, because it enables us to broaden the scope of inquiry and ask new questions about ancient China. This book attempts to do just that. But before any further methodological considerations, let us briefly review the history of the period under scrutiny.

## HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

The "Age of Confucius," as here understood, starts half a millennium before the eminent philosopher's birth. It roughly coincides with the eight centuries of the Zhou dynasty or, in archaeological terms, with the final two-fifths or so of China's great Bronze Age.<sup>4</sup> The Zhou was the longest-reigning dynasty in all of Chinese history, and in later historiography it came to be regarded as a paradigm of good government for all later eras.<sup>5</sup> This was the time when the bodies of writing we now know as the Chinese Classics took shape.<sup>6</sup> It was

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<sup>4</sup> Even though bronze use in China can now be traced back to the early third millennium BC, if not earlier, the dates of the Chinese Bronze Age are conventionally given as ca. 2000 BC to at least the beginning of the Warring States period in ca. 450 BC, or indeed to the Qin unification in 221 BC (as in Fong [ed.] 1980). Iron was available to Chinese users for much of the first millennium BC, and cast-iron objects were being produced on an industrial scale since the late sixth century BC. Even though, therefore, much of the period treated in the present book might well be said to constitute China's "Iron Age," it is not, in fact, so designated by Chinese archaeologists. Referring to the entire Zhou period as part of the Bronze Age is justifiable because of the eminent cultural importance of bronze objects throughout this period (see Falkenhausen 1999a: 463).

<sup>5</sup> Kuhn 1991: 165-66; Shaughnessy 1999: 292, 351. Apart from textbook-type accounts, Maspero 1927 (English edition 1978) seems to be the only monograph-length historical account of the Zhou dynasty as a whole in any language. For relatively in-depth treatments within longer histories of ancient China overall, see Liu Zehua et al. 1985; Du Zhengsheng 1992. For Western Zhou, see Creel 1970; Vandermeersch 1977-80; Shirakawa 1978; Matsumaru et al. 1980; Xu Zhuoyun 1984 (or its somewhat inferior English version, Hsu and Linduff 1988); Itō 1987; Yang Kuan 1999; Matsui 2002; Li Feng 2006. For Eastern Zhou overall, see Walker 1953; Hsu 1965; Li Xueqin 1985; for Springs and Autumns, see Hsu 1999; Gu Derong and Zhu Shunlong 2001; for Warring States, see Yang Kuan 1980; Lewis 1999b.

<sup>6</sup> For a comprehensive view of the Five Classics, see Nylan 2001; Loewe (ed.) 1993 provides useful basic information on almost all texts transmitted from the pre-Qin and Han periods.

also the time when the traditional ritual system of China came into being—the foundation, at least for Confucian thinkers of later periods, of an ideal world order. “I follow the Zhou,” said Confucius when comparing the institutions of China’s alleged three earliest royal dynasties, of which the Zhou was the third and last.<sup>7</sup> In actuality, however, the “Age of Confucius” was anything but a time of stability: it was marked, to the contrary, by cataclysmic political, social, technological, and intellectual change.

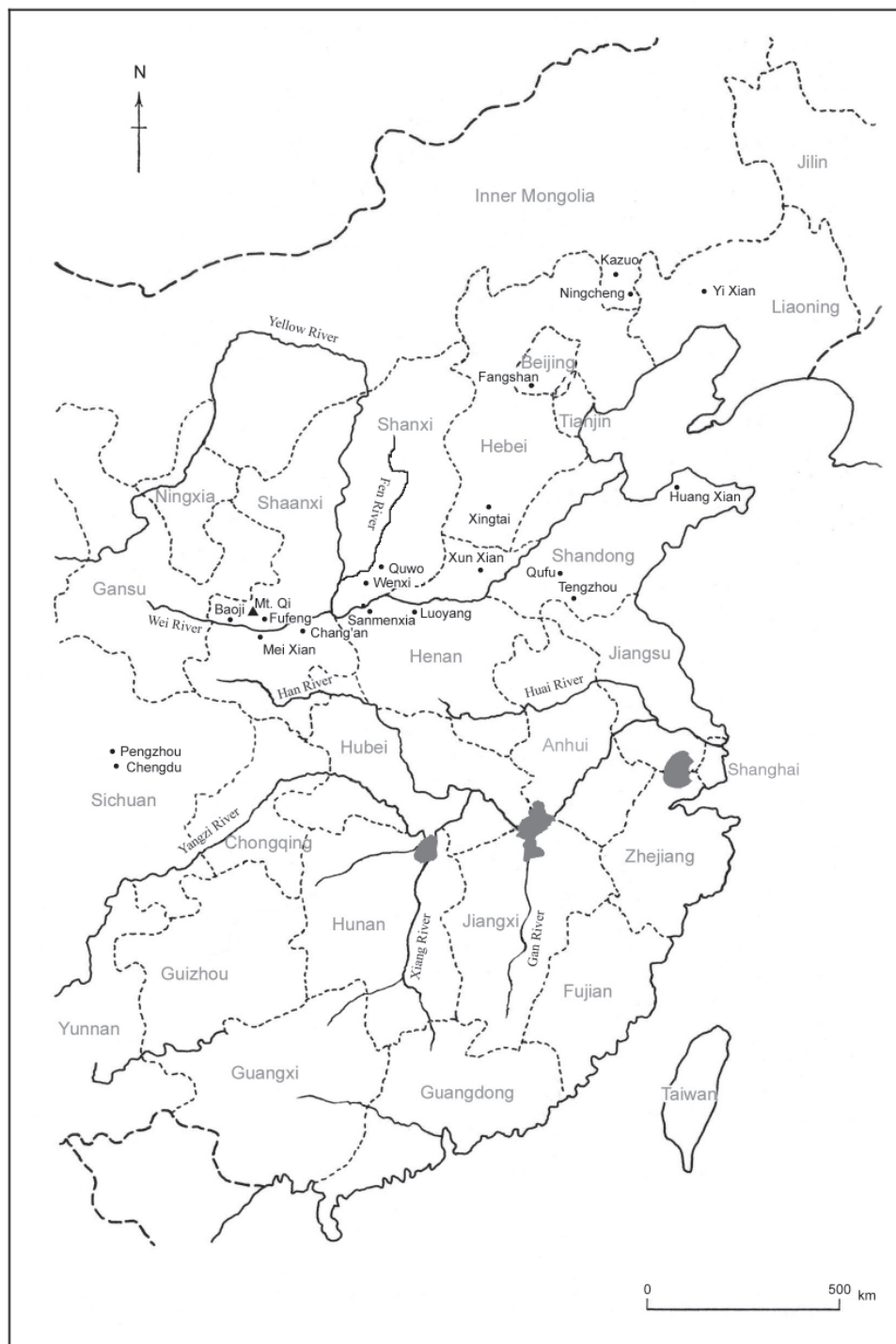
Politically, the Zhou realm was quite fragmented. Originating in the northwest corner of China proper in what is now central Shaanxi Province, the predynastic Zhou rulers, of the Jī clan, established several capitals (see *Map 1*): their old ritual center at the foot of Mt. Qi (see Chapter One); the twin capitals Feng and Hao near Xi’an; and possibly others elsewhere in their home area. Another capital, founded after the beginning of the dynasty, was located farther to the east at present-day Luoyang (see Chapter Four), in the territory conquered from the preceding royal dynasty, the Shang. During the first century or so, Zhou dynastic rule appears to have been relatively strong. New, subordinate polities ruled by junior relatives of the royal house and of its allies were established in outlying areas, in order to reinforce control over a wide territory that spanned most of the middle and lower reaches of the Yellow River basin, some of the neighboring areas to the north and east, as well as most of the Huai and parts of the Yangzi river systems (*Map 1*). In each of these areas, numerous polities, some of them of pre-Zhou origin, coexisted and interacted, forming a more or less stable alliance network centered around the Zhou royal house. From the mid-tenth century onward the power of the Zhou kings declined, eventually becoming largely symbolic, while the rulers of regional polities emerged as major political actors. Much weakened, and virtually reduced to the Luoyang region after 771 BC, the Zhou royal house nevertheless continued for another half millennium as the nominal pivot of the sociopolitical order.

Narrative accounts of Zhou political history are largely concerned with the ever-shifting alliances and almost yearly wars between the various regional polities, the stronger of which absorbed the weaker in the course of time, leaving only about a dozen by 400 BC. Seven of these—Weì, Hán, Zhao, Qì, Yan, Chu, and Qin—developed into major kingdoms; one of them, Qin, eventually conquered all the others and, under the First Emperor (Qin Shihuangdi, r. 246-210), established China’s first centralized empire in 221 BC.

Historians usually divide the Zhou period into three segments of approximately equal length (see *Table 1*): the Western Zhou, the Springs and Autumns, and the Warring States (the latter two combined are referred

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<sup>7</sup> *Lunyu* “Bayi” 3.14 (*Shisanjing zhushu* 3.11, p. 2467).



**Map 1.** Distribution of major sites from the first half of the Zhou period. Place names given are those of present-day counties and cities.



Time	Archaeological Periods	Historical Periods		Synchronisms in Old World History
		Broader/	Finer Division	
1050	1050	ca. 1046		End of New Kingdom (Egypt)
1000	EARLY WESTERN ZHOU	WESTERN		Aryan Invasions (India) David (d.ca. 962) (Israel) Etruscan city states (Italy)
950	950			Dark Age (Greece) 25th Dynasty (Egypt) Rise of Assyrian Empire (Mesopotamia, Syria)
900	MIDDLE WESTERN ZHOU		ZHOU	
850	850			
800	LATE WESTERN ZHOU			Carthage founded (814) (N. Africa)
750	770	771	770 TRANSITION PERIOD	Rome founded (753)
700	EARLY SPRINGS AND AUTUMNS		722	Sargon II (enthroned 721) (Assyria) Hallstatt Period (Central Europe)
650	650		SPRINGS	Assyrian invasions of Egypt (671, 663)
600	MIDDLE SPRINGS AND AUTUMNS		AND	<i>Zoroaster (ca.628-551)</i> Neobabylonian Empire (612-539) Greek colonies in Sicily
550	550	EASTERN	AUTUMNS	<i>Buddha (ca.560-480)</i> <i>Confucius (ca.551-479)</i>
500	LATE SPRINGS AND AUTUMNS		481	Achaemenid Empire (Persia/Mesopotamia/Syria) Asia Minor/Egypt)
450	450	ZHOU	453	<i>Socrates (ca.470-399)</i>
400	EARLY WARRING STATES		403	Peloponnesian War (431-404) (Greece)
350	MIDDLE WARRING STATES		WARRING	Roman Republic (509-21) Alexander the Great (356-326)
300	300 LATE WARRING STATES		STATES	Maurya Empire (321-185) (India)
250	221	256	221	First Punic War (264-241)
200	QIN	QIN		Parthian Empire (Persia/Mesonotamia)

to as Eastern Zhou). Different historians assign somewhat different exact dates to these segments, depending on the events they choose to mark their beginning- and end-points.

The beginning of Western Zhou can be counted either from the founding of the dynasty by King Wen or from the conquest of Shang by his successor, King Wu.<sup>8</sup> Even in the time of the great Hàn-dynasty historian Sima Qian (ca. 145–ca. 85 BC), the exact chronology of this period was no longer clear. The earliest uncontroversial date given by Sima Qian is the beginning of the Gonghe regency in Late Western Zhou, in the year corresponding to 841 BC. From the analysis of ancient astronomical records, it is virtually certain that King Wen proclaimed the Zhou a kingdom not long after a constellation of the five visible planets that occurred in 1059 BC.<sup>9</sup> Dates proposed by historians ancient and modern for King Wu's overthrow of the Shang range from 1127 to 1018 BC, but the majority of scholars now accept the 1040s. The recent state-sponsored “Three Dynasties Project,” which assembled some of the most prominent specialists in China to resolve the issue through multidisciplinary approaches, has promulgated a date of 1046 BC; this, however, may not be the last word.<sup>10</sup>

The end of Western Zhou and the beginning of Eastern Zhou uncontroversially coincide in the year 771 BC, when the Zhou kings were ousted from their homeland in present-day Shaanxi by invaders coming from the northwest, and were forced to take up residence in their eastern capital at Luoyang. For convenience, archaeologists usually take this year as the beginning of the Springs and Autumns period, although the *Chunqiu* (*Springs and Autumns*) chronicle, after which the period is named—an annalistic record of events compiled in the Lu polity, which later tradition spuriously ascribed to Confucius—begins only in 722 BC.<sup>11</sup> The sparsely documented first half-century of Eastern Zhou is sometimes separately labelled, e.g., as the

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<sup>8</sup> The scholarly literature on the chronology of Western Zhou is vast (for useful overviews, see Nivison 1983a; 1983b; Asahara 1986; Shaughnessy 1991: 217–87; Hirase 1996). In this book the dates of Western Zhou royal reigns are given according to Shaughnessy 1991.

<sup>9</sup> Pankenier 1981–1982; Shaughnessy 1991: 223.

<sup>10</sup> The preliminary results of the Three Dynasties Project have been reported in Xia Shang Zhou Duandai Gongcheng Zhuanjiazhu 2000. The Project spawned the publication of a number of major monographs, such as Beijing Shifan Daxue Guoxue Yanjiusuo (ed.) 1997, and Zhu Fenghan and Zhang Rongming (eds.) 1998. For a selection of assessments of the Project in English, see Lee (ed.) 2002. Jiang Zudi (2002) has produced an extremely critical assessment of the Project's methodology.

<sup>11</sup> For basic information and further references concerning the *Chunqiu* chronicle, see Cheng 1993; Nylan 2001: 253–396.

“Eastward-Transfer Period”<sup>12</sup> (alluding to the removal of the Zhou political center from Shaanxi to Luoyang).

The *Chunqiu* chronicle continues through 481 BC (not counting early additions that continue to 479 and 468 BC), and some authorities take 481 BC—the year when the members of the Chen (or Tian) lineage usurped the government of the eastern polity of Qi—as the beginning of the Warring States. Alternative proposed dates for the latter range throughout the fifth century BC, the latest being the recognition of the new kingdoms of Wei, Hàn, and Zhao in 403 BC.<sup>13</sup> For archaeological purposes, setting the divide between Springs and Autumns and Warring States at circa 450 BC seems most practical. This happens to be close to the date (453 BC) when the formerly dominant northern polity of Jin was carved up among the ascendant Wei, Hàn, and Zhao lineages—the latest event mentioned in the two major works of historical narrative on the Springs and Autumns period, the *Zuo zhuan* (*Zuo Transmission*) and the *Guo yu* (*Narratives on the Politics*). That same event is also the earliest episode mentioned in the *Zhanguo ce* (*Discourses on the Warring States*), a collection of political anecdotes that gave its name to the Warring States period.<sup>14</sup>

During the final centuries of its reign, the much-weakened Zhou royal house split into two rival houses, which were annihilated by Qin in 256 BC and 249 BC, respectively, marking the end of the Eastern Zhou period in a strict sense; but both historians and archaeologists generally take the Qin unification of China in 221 BC as the end of the Warring States period, approximately three decades after the end of the Zhou dynasty.

The Late Bronze Age witnessed the transition from patrimonial state to centralized empire in China. Over time the kin-based, tiered aristocratic hierarchy that had reigned supreme during the early centuries of the dynasty became obsolete. Instead, despotic rulers arose in the various territorial polities during the Eastern Zhou period. In governing their domains with

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<sup>12</sup> E.g., by Yoshimoto 1987.

<sup>13</sup> Other commonly used dates are 476 BC (the accession of King Yuan of Zhou, which Sima Qian chose as the dividing line of the chronological tables of his *Shi ji*) for the beginning of the Warring States, and 468 BC (the year of the last *Zuo zhuan* entry) for the end of the Springs and Autumns.

<sup>14</sup> It seems that the compiler(s) of the *Zhanguo ce* deliberately began where the *Guo yu* and *Zuo zhuan* left off. The same event in 453 BC is also the latest mentioned in the so-called *Chunqiu shiyu*, a short collection of episodes from the Springs and Autumns period discovered among the manuscript texts from the Early Western Hàn Tomb 3 at Mawangdui, Changsha (Hunan). (For this information I am beholden to Prof. Yuri Pines [personal communication, 2002; see also Pines 2003].) On the nature and history of compilation of the *Zhanguo ce*, see Tsien 1993.

ever-increasing efficiency, they came to rely on a centralized administrative apparatus, a ranked, largely nonhereditary bureaucracy, strict law codes, and a sophisticated system of taxation and *corvée* labor. (These institutions of Eastern Zhou origin continued to play a central role in the government of imperial China until 1911.) Despite its often violent politics, the Warring States period saw a great increase in the standard of living even of the ordinary population, triggering significant demographic growth. The rise of a large-scale iron industry, which made warfare more deadly, also made agriculture more productive. A rudimentary currency system facilitated trade, and the ever wider geographical and social spread of ever more elaborate items of luxury craftsmanship attested considerable economic prosperity.

Probably linked to such sociopolitical and economic developments was an intellectual florescence without parallel in either earlier or later epochs of premodern Chinese history. Not only Confucius and his disciples, but almost all the major classical thinkers—the founders of what later tradition has come to regard as early China's contending philosophical "schools"—lived during the final three centuries or so of the Zhou dynasty. Their intense and protracted debates are documented, at least in part, by their surviving writings,<sup>15</sup> but few texts of any sort—and no philosophical texts as such—have been transmitted from the period before Confucius.<sup>16</sup> Clearly, however, Confucius and others built on the intellectual achievements of earlier thinkers, which had been generated in the context of political practice since the beginning of the Zhou dynasty, and which were handed down through oral records and court documents, eventually to be written down in such books as the *Zuo zhuan* and the *Guo yu*.<sup>17</sup> Model court documents and hymns from the early Zhou

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<sup>15</sup> For basic information on their transmitted works, see Loewe (ed.) 1993. Among a multitude of comprehensive accounts of the intellectual history of late Eastern Zhou, I should like to mention in particular Feng Youlan 1931 (or, preferably, Derek Bodde's English translation, Fung 1937); Schwartz 1985; Graham 1986; Lewis 1999a.

<sup>16</sup> The syntheses cited in nn. 5 and 15 attempt, each in its own way, to reconstruct the intellectual milieu (or "mentality") of pre-Confucian China from nonphilosophical textual materials. Sustained efforts of this nature have been made by a number of scholars, e.g., Granet 1934; Mote 1971: 13-28; Liu Zehua 1987; Kominami 1992; Kryukov 1994, 2000; Shaughnessy 1997; 1999: 313-322, 331-342; Pines 1997a; 1997b; Poo 1998: 29-40; Puett 2001: 28-38; 2002: 54-79.

<sup>17</sup> For basic information and additional bibliography on these texts see Cheng 1993 (*Zuo zhuan*) and Chang I-jen et al. 1993 (*Guo yu*); on the *Zuo zhuan*, see also Nylan 2001: 253-396, *passim*. Their historiographical significance is discussed in two mutually complementary recent monographs by Schaberg 2001 and Pines 2002. For an iconoclastic recent rereading of the *Zuo zhuan*, see Hirase 2003.

were, furthermore, transmitted and canonized in the *Shangshu* (*Documents from Antiquity*) and the *Shi jing* (*Classic of Poetry*), which in time became part of the Confucian Classics.<sup>18</sup> In their debates the later Zhou-dynasty thinkers constantly referred back to these texts, traditions, ideas, and events of the five or so centuries before Confucius, which therefore—like the succeeding three centuries, which gave rise to ancient China’s major philosophical works—form an integral part of the “Age of Confucius.”

## ARCHAEOLOGY AND TEXTS

Over the past half century excavations in many parts of China have yielded a wealth of archaeological data that now enable us to see this crucial period in new ways.<sup>19</sup> The present book aims to present a summary of this evidence, and to emphasize the fresh and sometimes unexpected insights it has made possible. As mentioned at the beginning, parts of the picture emerging from an unbiased consideration of the archaeological finds seem directly to contradict the long-accepted accounts from transmitted textual records. Rather than attempting to resolve such contradictions, I shall here construct an *archaeological* view of the “Age of Confucius,” using evidence that is to date far less known than the texts concerned with the period. Since good translations into Western languages are available for virtually all of the latter,<sup>20</sup> non-sinological readers interested in juxtaposing the archaeological and the textual versions of the story will be able to do so easily, and to draw their own conclusions.

The aim of this book, then, consists in presenting and explaining the archaeological materials on which such future juxtapositions may be based. It will be valuable foremost for providing crucial information on the wider context of Zhou intellectual developments. For as in the other Old World civilizations that brought forth distinctive intellectual traditions during the “Axial Age” about the middle of the first millennium BC—India, Iran, the Levant, and Greece—the earliest philosophical efforts in China closely reflect their specific social and political milieu.<sup>21</sup> Information on this milieu is of particular relevance

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<sup>18</sup> For basic information, bibliography, and additional discussion, see Shaughnessy 1993 and Nylan 2001: 120-167 (*Shangshu*); Loewe 1993 and Nylan 2001: 72-119 (*Shi jing*).

<sup>19</sup> For material-culture-centered surveys of Zhou archaeology, see Beijing Daxue Lishi Xi Kaogu Jiaoyanshi Shang Zhou Zu 1979: 144-274; Zhongguo Shehuikexueyuan Kaogu Yanjiusuo 1984: 248-323; Iijima 1998; Rawson 1999a (Western Zhou); Falkenhausen 1999a (Springs and Autumns); Wu Hung 1999 (Warring States).

<sup>20</sup> For references, see Loewe (ed.) 1993.

<sup>21</sup> Nods to Karl Jaspers’s (1949: 19-42) concept of the “Axial Age” (which Jaspers dates to 800-200 BC) may be found, e.g., in the works of Schwartz (1985: 2-3) and

to understanding the Chinese case because, from Confucius's predecessors in the age documented by the *Zuo zhuan* to the Hàn empire (202 BC-AD 220), almost all the early thinkers saw themselves as political agents and social reformers. In promulgating their ideas, they sought to exert influence in their own time. Their intellectual contributions were not, and cannot be understood as, "pure thought." The archaeological finds treated in this book make it possible to assess much more concretely than ever before the social hierarchies within which the early thinkers operated; the target audience for their ideas; the privileges of the rulers they were trying to influence, as well as their own relative position vis-à-vis those rulers; and the social horizon in which their ideas were originally grounded. Looking beyond the scope of material-culture studies, this book seeks to point the way toward a new, historically informed interpretation of early Chinese thought.

It is true that China's rich corpus of classical texts, chief among them the writings of the early philosophers themselves, also provides considerable information relevant to the understanding of the texts' own sociopolitical context or contexts. But these sources are incomplete and often biased. Alleged descriptions of social realities usually occur in the context of proposals aiming to change the very realities that are being described; such descriptions are likely, therefore, to be rhetorically fitted to their respective authors' agenda. Surviving original inscriptions on ritual bronzes, treaty slips made of polished stone, and manuscripts written on wood, bamboo, and silk can provide additional information, but that information, as well, is in need of careful interpretation. Bronze inscriptions and treaty slips, for instance, are religious documents (as discussed in Chapters One and Seven) and thereby tinged with bias;<sup>22</sup> and interpreting the excavated manuscript texts from the Warring States and Hàn periods, as well, requires, before all else, an understanding of the religious ideas and customs that prompted the burial of such "books" in tombs.<sup>23</sup>

The archaeological discovery of these manuscripts has led, since the 1970s, to a complete transformation of Chinese classical studies, forcing

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Nivison (1999: 746, n. 4); for a comprehensive application to Confucian ethics, see Roetz 1992. It is rarely pointed out that Jaspers' concept is rooted in the work of his colleague at Heidelberg Alfred Weber (e.g., Weber 1951:24 [first published 1935]; I am grateful to Professor Rudolf G. Wagner [personal communication, 2005] for having alerted me to this). Of great interest in this connection is Gore Vidal's (2002) historical novel *Creation*, in which the author imagines a single individual (a Persian) encountering Zoroaster, the Buddha, Confucius, and Socrates during one lifetime.

<sup>22</sup> On this point, see Falkenhausen 1993b; 2004b.

<sup>23</sup> For further discussion, see Lai 2002; Falkenhausen 2003a; Pines 2003; Poo 1998 *passim*.

a radical rethinking of many core questions. What is a text (or “book”)? What is the relationship between author and text? What is literacy? Who practiced writing, and for what purposes? What is meant by a “philosophical school” (or “tradition”)? How were ideas disseminated? What status did “philosophical” ideas have among the various kinds of ideas current in their time? What other kinds of ideas were recorded in writing, and how does the consumption of such texts compare with that of philosophical texts? These and related questions currently occupy many among the foremost Early China specialists.<sup>24</sup> Ultimately, such questions all concern the society that not only produced these texts, but also formed their archaeological contexts. Whatever the correct answers may turn out to be, they are likely to influence profoundly the interpretation of the Confucian Classics and other transmitted texts. It is unlikely that the answers will come entirely from within the texts, for archaeological data provide information on many aspects of early society that are not addressed in any known text, transmitted or excavated, and they can thus significantly widen the scope of inquiry.

One instance in which archaeology has independently verified preexisting textual knowledge is the revelation of an extremely close connection between the social order and the ritual practices required by the ancestral cult of the Zhou élite—a connection abundantly attested by the material evidence examined in the following chapters, and also much emphasized in Confucian writings. Such a nexus is, of course, a common phenomenon in early societies. Yet a direct linkage of social status to ritual privilege may well have been taken more for granted in early China than in other early civilizations. Moreover, in contradistinction to Japan and Europe, where the introduction of Buddhism and Christianity, respectively, virtually obliterated the custom of burying the deceased with the trappings of their status, tombs and tomb furnishings in China, throughout the period under discussion and for many centuries before and after, fairly consistently expressed the graded privileges of the social hierarchy. The existence of such sumptuary rules obviously facilitates the present inquiry, although closer examination will show (e.g., in Chapters Two and Three) that the mortuary expression of social privilege could be rather complex in practice—much more so than pertinent textual sources suggest.

In general, a meaningful juxtaposition of archaeological data and written texts requires that each of the two kinds of evidence first be clearly understood on its own terms. In China a traditional and prevalent perception (shared, alas,

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<sup>24</sup> Li Ling (1993a; 2000) has mapped out a promising approach to the understanding of intellectual filiations in Early and Early Imperial China. For further reflections on the nature of early texts and the social context of their transmission, see, *inter alia*, Lewis 1999a; Harper 1999; Giele 2003; Kern 2002; 2003; Lloyd and Sivin 2002: 16-81.



by many archaeologists) has seen the chief role of archaeology as a supplier of supportive evidence, preferably inscribed material, to text-based historiography. At variance, perhaps, with the current mainstream of anthropological archaeology in the United States, I emphatically agree that the ultimate aim of archaeological research is or should be to contribute to the understanding of history. But I would insist equally strongly that in order to do this effectively, archaeology must be released from the leash of text-based inquiry. Only under a research design uninfluenced by extraneous textual agenda can archaeological data provide an epistemologically independent source of information: only thus can an archaeological argument stand up as an objective counterpart to text-based historical reasoning. Since excavated nonwritten materials can speak to a great variety of subjects that fall outside the purview of known inscriptions and transmitted texts—environment, adaptation, subsistence, settlement, natural-resource extraction, craftsmanship, technology, and trade, to mention only a few—an archaeology thus liberated offers the opportunity of greatly expanding the reach of historical inquiry. This is particularly obvious in the context of a study of Zhou social history, where textual records are virtually limited in their coverage to members of the ranked aristocracy, and archaeological data constitute the only potential source of information on the rest of the social spectrum. Not only can archaeological data thus provide a basis for a more comprehensive, more reliable, and far more subtle treatment of the social history of the Zhou dynasty, but they may also furnish insights leading to a new and improved understanding of the available textual sources (though whether they do so or not need not be of any concern to the archaeologist). Yet archaeological work in China is still very far from having realized this potential.<sup>25</sup>

## THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL EVIDENCE

In Western countries as well as in Japan “social archaeology” has been a burgeoning field for several decades;<sup>26</sup> but even though Chinese archaeologists as well have long had a keen interest in social history, the methods and approaches developed by specialists working in other areas of the world have so far hardly been applied to Chinese evidence. This is especially true of work on historically documented periods. Regarding the Zhou dynasty, for instance, archaeologists

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<sup>25</sup> The fundamental considerations in this paragraph were clearly spelled out with respect to the Chinese situation by Xia Nai 1984; for further comments see Falkenhausen 1993c.

<sup>26</sup> As far as I know, the term “social archaeology” was coined by Renfrew 1984, although important scholarship falling under such a category has been produced since long before then.



today still tend to be preoccupied by such traditional concerns as the identification of specific individuals, ethnic groups, or social-status categories mentioned in the classical texts. And even though historians of the period have been making increasingly sophisticated use of newly excavated inscribed materials, they also tend to reduce archaeological data to the status of supporting evidence in an essentially text-based analysis. In this book, to the contrary, I focus mainly on the archaeological data and on extracting from them as much information as possible without immediate reference to other kinds of information. This is admittedly something of an experiment, and the results should complement, rather than replace, the preexisting, more traditional accounts. My rationale for emphasizing excavated data is that these furnish the most challenging, most novel, and so far least exploited body of information on social realities in early China, and are therefore more likely than other sorts of evidence to reveal new information. Hence I find it useful—at least this once—to present the archaeological perspective in isolation and to encourage the reader to savor fully the specific kinds of insights it offers. Additionally, a mingling of approaches seems premature because of the limitations of the archaeological evidence at hand: rather than a full and consistent panorama, this evidence affords merely some vague glimpses, to be modified as new and sometimes surprising data continue to be unearthed. The written sources are similarly fragmentary. In such a situation, although speculative interpolation (sometimes textually informed) will be necessary on occasion in order to make sense of the excavated materials, it seems advisable not to complicate one's thinking by constantly mixing sources of evidence and avenues of reasoning.<sup>27</sup>

Today it is difficult to imagine that archaeology was once mostly limited to describing and classifying artifacts, with little other purpose than to establish their chronology. Since the 1950s, in Western countries as well as in Japan and Korea, the field has been transformed by very welcome efforts to apply the results of description and classification to broader underlying questions of subsistence, environmental adaptation, living conditions, cultural and religious customs, and social relations.<sup>28</sup> As a result, archaeology has become considerably more interesting both to the general public and to its own practitioners, and also more relevant to other branches of scholarship. The discipline's reorientation has undoubtedly been facilitated, if not indeed necessitated, by the tremendously increasing amount of available evidence.

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<sup>27</sup> For helpful comparative perspectives on how to deal with the vexing problem of "Archaeology vs. Texts," see, e.g., Berlo (ed.) 1983; Palaima and Shelmerdine 1984; Bennett (ed.) 1985; Gates 1988; Small 1995.

<sup>28</sup> These developments are chronicled in Trigger 1989; Willey and Sabloff 1980; and, for Japan, rather preliminarily in Tsunoda (ed.) 1994 and Sasaki 1999.

In China historical circumstances have delayed this development. To begin with, modern archaeology was introduced to China relatively late: scientific excavation only started in the 1920s and proceeded on a large scale only after 1950, following more than a decade's interruption due to war. Ever since, the main aim of archaeological activity in China has been the construction of a valid chronological framework, using the twin core methods of archaeology, stratigraphic excavation and typological seriation. This task, however unglamorous, must be brought to a certain level of completion before any broader questions can be put to the findings. Today such elementary chronology-building still continues in some parts of China,<sup>29</sup> but in the areas considered central to the development of the country's early civilization—the Yellow River basin, the Shandong peninsula, the Huai River basin, and the Middle and Lower Yangzi basin—usable archaeological chronologies have been in place since the 1990s. This has at last enabled some Chinese archaeologists to turn from the perpetual contemplation of the “Shape of Time”<sup>30</sup> toward questions of substance that have long interested their colleagues elsewhere. The transition is still ongoing today.<sup>31</sup>

In this book I analyze evidence distilled from the voluminous archaeological literature published in China since the 1950s. Making sense of such data requires skills of the same order as those of a textual historian specialized in the study of a certain kind of archival sources, for Chinese archaeological reports constitute a peculiar genre of academic writing, governed as they are by their own textual conventions and conveying their information in sometimes idiosyncratic ways. A certain amount of acculturation is often required to discern the scholarly perceptions contained in them. The case studies presented in the following chapters will bring out both their invaluable contributions and some of their limitations.

Adhering to more or less universal conventions, most Chinese archaeological reports begin with a brief account of the excavation, followed by a description of the site and its archaeological features. The bulk of every report is devoted to the presentation of excavated artifacts, which are classified according to material and shape. Following the methodology first formulated by the great Swedish archaeologist Oscar Montelius (1843–1921) at the beginning of the

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<sup>29</sup> E.g., in Sichuan, the far southern areas of China, much of Inner Mongolia, and parts of the Chinese Northeast. Systematic chronology-building has hardly yet started in Yunnan, Xinjiang, and Tibet.

<sup>30</sup> Apologies to Kubler 1962.

<sup>31</sup> For authoritative assessments of the current situation by respected senior figures in the field, see Zhang Zhongpei 1994; Yu Weichao 1996; and especially Yan Wenming 1997.

twentieth century,<sup>32</sup> each artifact class is further subdivided into types and subtypes, and these are arranged in chronological sequences according to the perceived progression of their formal features. By coordinating the sequences of various kinds of artifacts (as in *Figs. 12, 31-33, 39, 40*), the researcher can establish a chronology for a site, which can then be integrated with those of other sites, yielding a chronological framework for a region and, ultimately, for an entire culture area. In a typical Chinese archaeological report, such broader contextualization is usually attempted in the concluding section. Many reports additionally contain appendixes devoted to specialized technical and epigraphic studies.

First introduced to China in the 1930s, Montelian typology is still practiced in China with an exclusiveness and orthodoxy probably unparalleled anywhere else.<sup>33</sup> And the method works well in most cases—although nobody quite understands why it does. Contrary to some of its practitioners' claims, Montelian typology is not an exact science, but rather an artisanal *habitus*.<sup>34</sup> Whereas in some cases the seriation of ornamentation motifs follows an intelligible internal logic,<sup>35</sup> such developments are not the ineluctable result of any laws of nature: despite some semimystical claims to the contrary,<sup>36</sup> no inherent driving force impels makers of artifacts to change the artifacts' shape in predictable ways over time. Small wonder that, in Chinese archaeological reports, the definition of formal features for classification often seems subjective, with the result that the typologies of different reports are not always

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<sup>32</sup> Montelius 1903.

<sup>33</sup> Yu Weichao and Zhang Zhongpei (1984: 316-17) proudly proclaimed this to be one of the defining characteristics of the "Chinese School of Archaeology" in their influential afterword to Su Bingqi 1984. Su is credited for having extended the scope of Montelian typology from artifacts to sites, groups of sites, archaeological cultures, and entire groups of cultures. An impressive and relatively open-minded display of the potential of the method as applied in China may be found in the contributions to Yu Weichao (ed.) 1989. Out of respect for senior scholars, criticism of the method in China has been rather muted so far; for one specific instance, see Li Ling 1991a: 68-71. For a philosophically informed contemporary presentation of the uses and limitations of archaeological typology, see Adams and Adams 1991.

<sup>34</sup> Cf. Bourdieu 1972.

<sup>35</sup> For a recent example from Oceania, where such a logic can in fact be observed, see Ishimura 2002.

<sup>36</sup> E.g., by Focillon 1955, brilliantly developed by Kubler 1962. There has been considerable speculation as to the connection of stylistic changes with regularly predictable human psychophysical proclivities, but such connections have not been explained in a satisfactory manner so far.

easy to compare. Chronologies defined by this method must therefore be approached somewhat critically. Still, as far as the present study is concerned, the typological sequences for North, East, and Central China during the Bronze Age tend mutually to support one another. They are also backed up by the far more reliable results of stratigraphic excavation (which, regrettably, are not always available)<sup>37</sup> and by the absolute dates that can be obtained by such methods as radiocarbon dating and dendrochronology. Despite all methodological misgivings, therefore, the chronological framework for the “Age of Confucius” is by and large secure.

One often remarked-upon characteristic of Chinese archaeology is that the lion’s share of available data comes from tombs, whilst there is a dearth of information on other kinds of sites, especially on settlements. Lately this imbalance has begun to be redressed in part, but not for the Late Bronze Age, where the scarcity of settlement data remains a significant hindrance to the archaeological study of its social conditions. It is not that settlements are unknown: an excellent recent synthesis of data on ancient walled cities in China presents 428 such sites from the Eastern Zhou period alone, plus 39 from the earlier part of the Bronze Age.<sup>38</sup> But due to a lack of interest, experience, and funds on the part of local archaeological institutions, serious archaeological work at these cities has been extremely limited, and almost nowhere does the available information allow meaningful inferences on the lifeways and social interactions of their inhabitants. Moreover, practically nothing is known about nonurban settlements of the Bronze Age, or about their spatial, economic, and social relationships to cities.<sup>39</sup> Of course, such sites must exist in great numbers, and they undoubtedly preserve clues to entire dimensions of social life for which written documentation is lacking. But the recovery of this information remains a desideratum for the future.

The most fundamental obstacle to the study of ancient Chinese society as pursued in this book, and the major stumbling block that has slowed down the transition to new modes of inquiry in Chinese archaeology in general,

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<sup>37</sup> In China, deeply stratified settlement sites are comparatively rare; moreover, stratigraphic excavation is rarely possible at cemeteries and tombs, which have yielded the bulk of the presently known evidence from the Zhou period (see below). Hence the archaeological chronologies for this period are, at least so far, mainly based on typological seriation and only in rare instances backed up by known stratigraphic overlay.

<sup>38</sup> Xu Hong 2000.

<sup>39</sup> The currently ongoing Sino-French excavations at Gongying, Nanyang (Henan), promise to yield, for the first time, a coherent and relatively ample body of evidence on one non-urban settlement of early first-millennium BC date (Olivier Venture, personal communication, 2003).

is the limited amenability to quantitative analysis of the archaeological data so far reported. For the new research goals necessitate a new kind of data, as well as a new attitude toward data. Rather than dealing with individual sites that can be assigned to archaeological cultures, and artifacts that can be fitted into typological lineages, researchers now must assemble large and above all *statistically representative* datasets that comprise many different and interrelated kinds of information, from artifacts to geological and environmental evidence. The gathering, management, and analysis of such evidence demand the use of advanced methods of quantification. Without large bodies of data from which can one draw valid statistics, it is difficult if not impossible to apply rigorous social-science methods of analysis to archaeological materials. Unfortunately, most of the bodies of Chinese archaeological data so far reported were not intended to be either comprehensive or representative in a statistical sense. Statistical calculations based on such nonrepresentative samples can, as I shall show (e.g., in Chapter Three), be downright misleading. This problem is by no means limited to China, but it is particularly severe there due to the country's forty-years-long isolation (1949-ca. 1990) from international developments of the archaeological discipline, which coincided with the period during which statistically-based methods in archaeology were pioneered in other parts of the world.

The absence of statistically informed data gathering is also in part an outgrowth of the circumstances under which archaeological work takes place in China today. Pressed to keep up with the rapid pace of construction work all over the country, Chinese archaeologists—again, like many of their colleagues in other parts of the world—rarely have leisure (or funds) to carry out issue-driven research excavations. Faced with the need to salvage a site threatened with destruction, they are understandably prone to dig wherever they expect the most valuable objects, rather than to apply scientific sampling strategies that might yield more representative data while missing some “beautiful things.” Recent years have seen large-scale international collaborative efforts at systematic data gathering in several parts of China.<sup>40</sup> Even though these are for the most part concerned with prehistoric or protohistoric epochs, I hope that their intellectual impact will eventually extend to work on the fully historical periods, including the “Age of Confucius.” In the near future, however, the kinds of datasets needed in order to make significant progress in the social archaeology of Late Bronze Age China are likely to be slow in coming. Meanwhile, we shall

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<sup>40</sup> For some preliminary publications see Zhang Changshou and Zhang Guangzhi 1997; Jing, Rapp, and Gao 1997; Liu Li et al. 2002-2004; Chen Xingcan et al. 2003; Underhill et al. 1998; Fang Hui et al. 2004; Linduff et al. 2002-2004; Chifeng Zhongmei Lianhe Kaogu Yanjiu Xiangmu 2003; Falkenhausen and Li (eds.) 2006.

have to make do with the information at hand, assessing in every case to what extent such information can yield insights into questions of social archaeology that would ideally be addressed by quantitative methods.

## APPROACH

The following nine chapters will examine excavated data with a view to exploring human relationships in Late Bronze Age China—how people lived together, interacted, and negotiated their social roles. The two great tasks at the core of such an inquiry are to define hierarchical ranks and to perceive the pattern of social change over time.<sup>41</sup> Of course, the major social formations studied in this book—lineages, clans, and ethnic groups—were also the constitutive building blocks of polities or states; yet here I am less interested in their political functions than in their internal organization, their interrelationships, and the position of individuals within them. Although I shall inevitably touch on the mutual influences between government institutions and social units, I shall not specifically isolate them for analysis. Instead, I shall focus on concrete individuals and groups in their associations with others.

My main reason for adopting such a perspective is a pragmatic one: what archaeology does best is to document specific social situations in their local contexts. As in any scientific inquiry, the eventual goal in considering such individual cases is to point out regularities and to reach more general insights. But archaeology is, in its initial approach to its materials, very much a science of the concrete. Field archaeologists are not much inclined to generalize, because doing so might force them to disregard the unique and exceptional characteristics of their cherished data. For distilling regular patterns (or, even more riskily, rules or laws) from individual observations in the field necessarily involves glossing over detail. Eventually, of course, this must be done if one is to illuminate larger social issues through archaeology. But in order to minimize potential distortion, I try in this book to be explicit about how information of relevance to wider issues is obtained from individual archaeological discoveries.

In any case, it is not my goal to reconstruct the society of Late Bronze Age China *as a system*; for one thing, the data are insufficient, for another, such an

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<sup>41</sup> The literature on this subject is, of course, vast. Among works that have influenced the present book, let me mention Elias 1939; Murdock 1949; Friedman 1975; 1979; Mann 1986. With specific respect to Chinese society, my analysis has been considerably influenced by work on Chinese family and kinship in the ethnographic present, such as Feng 1937; Lang 1946; Hsü 1948; Fried 1953; Freedman 1958, 1966, 1979; Baker 1979; Watson 1982; Ebrey and Watson (eds.) 1986; Chun 1996.

attempt may be wrongheaded, considering how multifaceted Chinese society was and how rapidly it changed during the period under analysis. Instead, the findings in each of the following chapters apply immediately only to specific areas and times. Once they are considered in conjunction, however, the outlines of larger pictures will emerge, and with the necessary modifications, the pieces of the puzzle may yet be found to cohere and to allow extrapolating the situation in larger chronological and geographical units. The advantage of this approach is that, by looking closely at data from specific places, one can both convey some of the regional variation that was a defining feature of Early China's sociocultural reality, and also at the same time evaluate the relative extent of such variation. In a perspective of cross-cultural comparison, as well, the initial focus on individual situations brings out China's cultural specificity more fully than would an attempt to reconstruct an overarching system of social organization. The latter would likely turn out to be bland and sterile, little different from the general models in social-theory textbooks. Rather than trying to *assimilate* Chinese social history to preexisting normative accounts, my goal is to discern points where Chinese data might be adduced to *modify*—or even overturn—such accounts.<sup>42</sup>

The resulting picture of ancient social realities may nevertheless be skewed. For, willy-nilly, a researcher's life experience and conscious or unconscious prejudices influence any interpretation s/he may propose.<sup>43</sup> Many Chinese archaeologists, for instance, are even today under the sway of received knowledge from a millennial tradition of textual and antiquarian scholarship.<sup>44</sup> Many Western archaeologists, on the other hand, especially anthropologically trained archaeologists in the United States, tend to take simplistic methodological constructs, such as the stages of social evolution, as something close to revealed truth, rather than as the auxiliary epistemological tools they were designed to be.<sup>45</sup> (Marxism has introduced such ideas to China as well, but their impact on Chinese archaeological thought seems minor as compared to that of the classical texts.<sup>46</sup>) Whatever the intellectual current they have been trained in, archaeologists are always in danger of imposing ready-made ideas onto the archaeological record, and if they do, the information they then draw from their archaeological data is not really new, but merely a tautological restatement of familiar knowledge.

Inescapably, on the other hand, any new item of information must be integrated with, and related to, preexisting knowledge: it must be entered into

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<sup>42</sup> This priority was emphasized by Chang 1989.

<sup>43</sup> See Collingwood 1946. This has been rightly emphasized in recent "post-processual" archaeology (e.g., Hodder 1986).

<sup>44</sup> See Falkenhausen 1993c.

<sup>45</sup> Service 1962, 1975.

<sup>46</sup> See Goodrich 1981-1982; Okamura 1995.



the “hermeneutic circles” (or “spirals”) of understanding.<sup>47</sup> No analysis can proceed without categories of analysis. The danger lies not in having categories, or even in having simplistic or wrongheaded categories, but in being insufficiently aware of what one’s categories are, and insufficiently ready to allow new information to modify them. In other words, what we must guard against is accepting only those items of information that appear to confirm what we already think we know. There is no foolproof way to avoid this. But I will make every effort to be *explicit* about my assumptions and to be explicit when rejecting alternatives to my proposed interpretations. I shall, moreover, highlight methodological issues as they arise.

For instance, in stating above (p. 8) that “the Late Bronze Age witnessed the transition from patrimonial state to centralized empire,” I have implied the acceptance of a theoretical model of political evolution leading from bands via tribes and chiefdoms to states and empires.<sup>48</sup> Much of contemporary archaeological work in the United States is concerned with tracing such a sequence of development in various geographical areas of the world. In China, as well, it is an undeniable fact that, over the course of the five millennia or so preceding the Qin unification, social formations became increasingly complex, and that Zhou China represents “state-level society” in a highly developed form.<sup>49</sup> Here, however, I shall not be concerned with matching social forms in China to ideal types of sociopolitical evolution. Instead, I wish to emphasize two things.

First, “state-level society” assumed a variety of forms in Late Bronze Age China; I am interested in these different concrete manifestations, their changes through time, and the relationships among their constituent individuals and groups—not in “state-level society” as an abstract category, nor in mechanically determining whether or not a certain society fit that category.

Second, surrounding and intermeshed with the several early kingdoms and polities in the Yellow, Huai, and Yangzi river systems, there were other social formations that may well not have been “states” but are nevertheless important.<sup>50</sup> “States” and “non-states” were all linked in complex networks of interaction. Aspects of the relations between the inhabitants of the

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<sup>47</sup> Gadamer 1960.

<sup>48</sup> Service 1962. In Chinese archaeology, this neo-evolutionist approach has recently been promulgated by several of the currently ongoing international collaboration projects (see n. 40 for some references); see also Shelach 1999; Liu and Chen 2003.

<sup>49</sup> Xu Lianggao (1999) presents a useful archaeological overview of how this complexity developed from Neolithic to Zhou times.

<sup>50</sup> Following a cue from Friedman (1975), I shall occasionally refer to the political organization of such non-state societies as “tribal” in the present book; I do so fully cognizant of the problematic history of this term (cf. Fried 1983).



(“state-level”) Central Polities (Zhongguo, a term which now means “China” but in its earliest usage in Western Zhou period bronze inscriptions and in the Confucian Classics must be understood in the plural) and their neighbors are discussed in Part Two, but a full treatment of these manifold neighbors falls outside of the scope of this book.<sup>51</sup> In any case, I should like to avoid unconscious denigration of the “non-state societies,” which, in their respective environments and with the technologies available to their members, may well have been optimal social adaptations. Rather than being inferior, they may well have been just different—deliberately different—from their historically better known “state-level” neighbors.

Though focused on China, this study is based on tenets of general social theory. The epistemological gap between excavated artifacts and grand theoretical abstractions such as principles of kin organization or the stages of social evolution is bridged by a host of lower-level (or “middle-range”) theoretical constructs, which I shall endeavor to make explicit case by case.<sup>52</sup> Following up on what I said above with respect to the relationship of archaeology and texts, I should emphasize that in this analysis, textual and lexical evidence from historical sources can only have the status of data, not of theory. Even though the Chinese Classics sometimes record events and ideas that seem to converge with the tenets of anthropological theory, such incidental, anecdotal evidence can be adduced only as an illustration, never as the basis, of an argument. When, for instance, the *Zuo zhuan* states: “The main affairs of the state lie in sacrifices and warfare,”<sup>53</sup> this is relevant as an emic expression of the perceived social and intellectual reality at the time; yet, even though it seems to echo what some social theorists have said about the characteristics of the patrimonial state, such a statement in its original context does not form part of a logically consistent system of concepts devised specifically to describe and explain the patrimonial state; nor can it possibly claim cross-cultural validity, as

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<sup>51</sup> I hope one day to address, in a separate monograph, the dynamics between state and non-state societies in pre-Imperial China.

<sup>52</sup> This has been much emphasized in the United States since the 1970s; Watson et al. 1971, in their attempt to make as transparent as possible the steps involved in inferring general laws of cultural evolution from archaeological data, took their philosophical cues from Hempel (1965). Although, as intimated above, I am myself more inclined toward conceptualizing the basic epistemological processes in archaeology through a hermeneutical approach, I recognize the importance of remaining mindful of one’s middle-range theory, or theories.

<sup>53</sup> *Zuo zhuan* “Cheng 13” (*Sbisanjing zhushu* 27.209, p. 1911); I myself referred to this locus prominently in Falkenhausen 1994b, and use it obliquely in the Conclusion, below.

any theory must. It is thus emphatically not a building block of a general theory of the state. Some colleagues in China, with disastrous scholarly consequences, commingle classical quotations with (usually Marxist) social theory;<sup>54</sup> I rather commend the approach of K. C. Chang, who used both wherever possible, but always kept them conceptually separate.<sup>55</sup>

I should like to emphasize, additionally, that the analytical vocabulary used in this book is that of the modern Social Sciences. I make no attempt to reconcile it with the vocabulary in use during the time under analysis. When discussing “lineages” and “clans,” for instance, I mean a specific type of descent group so designated by social anthropologists—an abstraction derived from, and of heuristic usefulness for, cross-cultural comparison. As a working definition, we may use the following one by Roger M. Keesing: “A *lineage* is a descent group consisting of people patrilineally or matrilineally descended from a known ancestor through a series of links they can trace.... A larger descent category... [comprising people] who believe they are descended from a common ancestor but do not know the actual connections is called a *clan*.”<sup>56</sup>

These entities are, of course, abstractions. It would be a mistake to essentialize their specific manifestations in the following chapters. Again, two points of clarification are in order. First, the goal of this exercise is not to prove that “lineages,” “clans,” or “ethnic groups” objectively existed in Late Bronze Age China. Instead, I have chosen these widely current terms—some of the most basic in the anthropological study of human societies—as a convenient and, I hope, relatively uncontroversial way of conceptualizing levels of social organization, and as heuristic tools for making the inchoate materials at hand amenable to social analysis.<sup>57</sup> I have no wish to insist on this terminology. Other words could undoubtedly be substituted, and better data will hopefully allow a finer and more sophisticated categorization in the future. But for the time being, this triad seems most practical. Second, these terms are emphati-

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<sup>54</sup> E.g., by Guo Moruo 1930; 1952; for an authoritative revision of Guo’s theories, see Peng Bangjiong and Song Zhenhao 1996. An admirable but ultimately unconvincing attempt to synthesize Marxist theory with epigraphic and archaeological data concerning rural organization in pre-Qin and Hàn China is presented by Yu Weichao 1988.

<sup>55</sup> See especially the essays collected in Chang 1976.

<sup>56</sup> Keesing 1976: 251 (emphasis in the original).

<sup>57</sup> As the *Zhuangzi* (“Waiwu,” *Zhuzi jicheng* [*Zhuangzi jijie*] 7.26, p. 181) puts it: “It is for the fish that the trap exists; once you’ve got the fish, you forget the trap.... It is for the meaning that the word exists; once you’ve got the meaning, you forget the word. Where can I find the man who will forget words so that I can have a word with him?” (translation by Zhang Longxi 1992: 30.)

cally not used as direct translations of Chinese terms, e. g. “lineage” for *shi*.<sup>58</sup> Doing so would embroil one into bottomless philological quagmires. True, many or most of the entities I call “lineage” were historically called *shi*, and the appropriate translation of *shi* may well be “lineage” in many (though not in all) contexts. But not all lineages were necessarily called *shi*; some lineages, for instance, were called *zu*. The exact distinction between the kinds of entities ancient texts refer to as *shi* and *zu* is still obscure; as living languages do not usually classify with scientific rigidity, an exact distinction may well not have existed, and if it did, it is likely to have changed through time. Nor did all entities called *shi* (or *zu*) conform to the social-scientific definition of “lineage”: in some instances, “tribe,” “corporation,” or “family” might be more appropriate. As the equivalent for “lineage” some Chinese secondary works use the modern word *shizu* (originally a Japanese calque translation of “clan,” not of “lineage”), which obfuscates meaning by suggesting semantic connections that are not, or should not be, intended. Determining the semantic fine points of the terms *shi* and *zu* in their occurrences in early texts is an appropriate task for a philological study, the results of which are of potential interest *as data* for a study such as the present one.<sup>59</sup> But such an analysis should be pursued separately and independently from the search for the basic constituent units of society on the basis of archaeological data.

## PREVIEW

Critical readers may well question whether anything like a “Chinese society” existed during the “Age of Confucius.” Recent scholarship has particularly emphasized the social, ethnic, and cultural diversity in mainland East Asia.<sup>60</sup> Since this area was not even referred to as “China” during the time under discussion, the use of this name might be deemed anachronistic. Indeed, China—even modern China—is emphatically not an undifferentiated whole, nor does the centralized Chinese nation-state of modern times extend into remote antiquity. But in the present context I feel on safe ground in speaking of “Chinese society” because, as the following chapters will show, the social formations examined extended, albeit with some local variations, over a

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<sup>58</sup> For some discussion of this issue in a modern context, see Freedman 1966: 25–26 and *passim*.

<sup>59</sup> Numerous excellent studies of this nature have appeared in recent years, e.g., Zhu Fenghan 1990; Du Zhengsheng 1979; 1992. For a text-based anthropological assessment, see Chun 1990.

<sup>60</sup> In the context of Bronze Age China, this has been done particularly forcefully by Bagley 1999.

reasonably broad geographical area in the Yellow, Huai, and Yangzi river basins, which make up the geographical core of China; and because they are directly ancestral to, albeit by no means identical with, the traditional Chinese society of the ethnographic present.<sup>61</sup>

The present investigation traces the rise of a society that (1) transcended the boundaries between the various political entities within the Zhou culture sphere; (2) was aware of its own distinctiveness vis-à-vis surrounding societies; and (3) expanded from what may have been, at first, mainly an élite affair into a totalizing structure that encompassed most if not all inhabitants of the various political entities within the Zhou culture sphere. To be sure, this has long been known, or could have been known, from texts, but the archaeological evidence provides ample new substantiation of these ongoing centripetal processes and illustrates them from a new angle. Moreover, as already intimated, the archaeological data allow us to date some of the major developmental stages in this process differently from, and arguably more precisely than, can be inferred from the written sources. The historiographical implications are profound.

Briefly stated, the book's narrative proceeds as follows. Part One (Chapters One to Three) focuses on lineages and their internal organization. It presents the sumptuary rules that were introduced about 850 BC, and which thereafter were adopted, political disunity notwithstanding, as a unifying standard of reference in élite ritual practice throughout the Zhou culture sphere; later, they also became the point of reference in Confucian conceptions of ritual orthodoxy. Archaeological assemblages reflecting the application of these rules provide valuable information on the internal stratification of lineages, as well as on gender-based discrimination. Part Two (Chapters Four to Six) shifts the focus to the archaeological reflections of differences at the clan and ethnic-group levels. The data presented suggest a relatively high degree of social cohesion within the Zhou culture sphere, evolving in tandem with increasing differentiation from outside groups. Part Three (Chapters Seven to Nine) traces social change in the archaeological record, mostly through mortuary data. It shows how the structure of society within the Zhou culture sphere was transformed from the sixth to third centuries BC, coinciding with

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<sup>61</sup> Witold Rodzinski (1979, vol. 1: 17) states that it was with the Zhou that Chinese civilization assumed the characteristics now regarded as Chinese. By contrast, David N. Keightley (1990) sees the facets of a Chinese cultural identity fully developed at the transition from the Neolithic to the Bronze Age; K. C. Chang (1986: 234-94) locates it as far back as the Longshan Period (third millennium BC); and Su Bingqi et al. (1994) would have it begin no later than 3500 BC. I have no wish to take a stance on this issue here, except to note that the criteria of definition are obviously quite different in each case.

the intellectual florescence of that time. The Conclusion points out where archaeological finds have provided novel evidence and highlights questions in need of further research.

The interpretations suggested in the course of this analysis are all in need of further substantiation. I hope that this book will spur others to engage in a more systematic search for the new kinds of data needed to build a truly solid foundation for the analysis attempted here, and I look forward to the day when their research will have made this book obsolete. In the meantime, I hope, above all, to impress all readers with the tremendous information potential of Chinese archaeology and to convey some of the intellectual excitement of this fast-evolving field of research, undoubtedly one of the most dynamic on the contemporary academic scene.

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PART I

**NEW STANDARDS OF  
RANKING AND THEIR  
APPLICATION**



IN CHINA DURING the “Age of Confucius” patrilineal kin groups constituted the basic units of social, political, and military organization. These groups, which I shall hereafter refer to as lineages,<sup>1</sup> held land and other property in common, and membership in them was passed down from fathers to sons. As lineages grew over time, they split into different segments or branches, with trunk lineages—segments headed by genealogically senior individuals—retaining some authority over junior branches. Lineages were affiliated with clans, as well as forming the building blocks of ethnic groups. Any individual thus had a layered identity: beyond one’s own lineage segment, one identified with the trunk lineage from which it had split off (or indeed with several senior segments, if several successive splits had occurred); with a clan; and—at least during the later part of the Zhou period—with an ethnic group. Clans and ethnic groups were by no means nested categories: for even though ethnic groups are, in principle, larger than clans, clans could cut across several ethnic groups; and whereas clans, at least in Zhou China, were exogamous, ethnic groups are, in principle, endogamous. We shall consider clans and ethnic groups in Part II; the following three chapters are concerned with archaeological indications of lineages only.

The cult of deceased lineage ancestors constituted the major form of religious activity. Membership in a lineage entailed the right as well as the obligation to participate in ancestral sacrifices that expressed, and thereby validated, social relationships within the lineage. This nexus between social organization and religious practice is of fundamental importance to archaeology. Not only were the paraphernalia of ancestral sacrifice the most highly prized possessions of a lineage and the most splendid artistic and technological achievements of their time, but they are also, today, the most visible material remains through which archaeologists can endeavor to understand details of ancient lineage organization. Herein lies the task of the following three chapters, which will investigate ritual practices in several Zhou-period lineages through their archaeological remains.

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<sup>1</sup> For a definition, see Introduction, p. 23. Another often quoted definition is that of George Peter Murdock (1949: 46): “A consanguineal kin group produced by either rule of unilinear [i.e., either patrilinear or matrilinear, L. v. F.] descent is technically known as a *lineage* when it includes only persons who can actually trace their common relationship through a specific series of remembered genealogical links in the prevailing line of descent.”

## CHAPTER ONE

# THE REORGANIZATION OF THE ÉLITE IN LATE WESTERN ZHOU (CA. 850 BC)

AS ALREADY NOTED in the Introduction, the Zhou dynasty witnessed a series of attempts—all ultimately vain—to stabilize the social order by active intervention in ritual practice. The first of these was the so-called Late Western Zhou Ritual Reform, the culmination of a profound transformation of social organization that began about the middle of the tenth century and was essentially completed in 850 BC.<sup>1</sup> This reform entailed a thorough redefinition of elite privileges. It can be perceived today through a series of interrelated, conspicuous changes in the material record, as well as, indirectly, through changes in the formulation and contents of bronze inscriptions, which afford valuable insights into the organization of Western Zhou lineages. These developments in the material record indicate the beginning of a new archaeological period, and they provide a convenient starting point for our investigation.

The exact circumstances of the Late Western Zhou Ritual Reform remain somewhat nebulous because, even though it must have been of great importance in its time, the reform is virtually unmentioned in the sparse written record of Western Zhou history.<sup>2</sup> And although the sources hint at some of the possible

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<sup>1</sup> Shaughnessy (1999: 323–28), mainly on the basis of bronze inscriptions, regards the reign of King Mu (r. 953–918 BC) as an age of reform affecting military organization, court offices, and land tenure. As shown below, archaeological evidence of pervasive ritual changes dates to approximately a century after that time. Future research must explain this apparent discrepancy between the written and material sources, and to clarify whether (and if so, how) these two phenomena were connected.

<sup>2</sup> There are a few textual *loci* mentioning ritual change around the transition to Late Western Zhou, such as a passage in the *Li ji* “Jiao tesheng” stating, “That the Son of Heaven abandoned protocol [*shi li*] and descended from the temple-hall [to greet visiting regional rulers] was from King Yi onward” (*Shisanjing zhushu* 25.29, p. 1447); and, perhaps more pertinently, a passage in *Guo yu* “Zhou yu-xia” that traces the troubles of the Zhou royal house during late Springs and Autumns to the fact that “[King] Li started to alter the code [*dian*]” (*Guo yu* 3.7b). But none of these hint even remotely at the comprehensive restructuring of Zhou institutions that is reflected in the archaeological record.





**Fig. 1.** Hoard 1 at Zhuangbai, Fufeng (Shaanxi).

rationales behind it, which we shall explore below, it is not clear at present who enacted it. Whereas some of the archaeologically observable changes occurred gradually over a relatively long time, others—notably changes in the types and assemblages of vessels constituting the ritual paraphernalia—appear to have been sudden, suggesting that at least certain aspects of the reform were consciously planned and executed at specific points in time.<sup>3</sup> The relative stability of vessel types and assemblages during the following two centuries or so suggests that the new regulations were effectively enforced.

For an initial discussion of the Late Western Zhou Ritual Reform and its effects on Zhou lineage organization, this chapter will focus on a single archaeological find: a hoard of ritual bronzes, known as Hoard 1, discovered in 1976 at Zhuangbai, in Fufeng County (Shaanxi Province).<sup>4</sup> With 103 objects (75 vessels and 28 bells), Hoard 1 constitutes the richest assemblage of Western Zhou bronzes so far documented in situ (*Fig. 1*). Seventy-three of these bronzes (57

<sup>3</sup> Rawson 1990, pt. A:108-10.

<sup>4</sup> First reported in Shaanxi Zhouyuan Kaogudui 1978. For comprehensive illustrations of all but two of the excavated items, see Shaanxi Sheng Kaogu Yanjiusuo, Shaanxi Sheng Wenwu Guanliweiyuanhui, and Shaanxi Sheng Bowuguan 1980a, nos. 1-95.

vessels and 16 bells) bear inscriptions, many of which mention members of a Weí lineage, whose members hereditarily served as scribe-officials at the royal Zhou court.<sup>5</sup> Before being hidden underground, these bronzes had been used by members of the Weí lineage in the performance of their ancestral sacrifices.

For the purposes of analyzing the organization of this lineage, I consider the inscriptions on its bronzes as part of the archaeological record, relevant not because they can be linked to other written evidence concerning Western Zhou history, but because they can help us to comprehend more fully the objects they are inscribed on, as well as those objects' excavation context. All my discussions of inscribed texts are thus epistemologically secondary to the analysis of material artifacts, employed merely to make the results of that analysis more precise.<sup>6</sup> In starting the book with a joint material-cum-epigraphic study of this kind, I hope to ease those readers who are used to looking at ancient China from a text-centered perspective gently into the more material-culture-centered approach of the following chapters; for more archaeologically minded readers, this chapter will serve as an introduction to some of the complexities involved in the study of the material record of the "Age of Confucius."

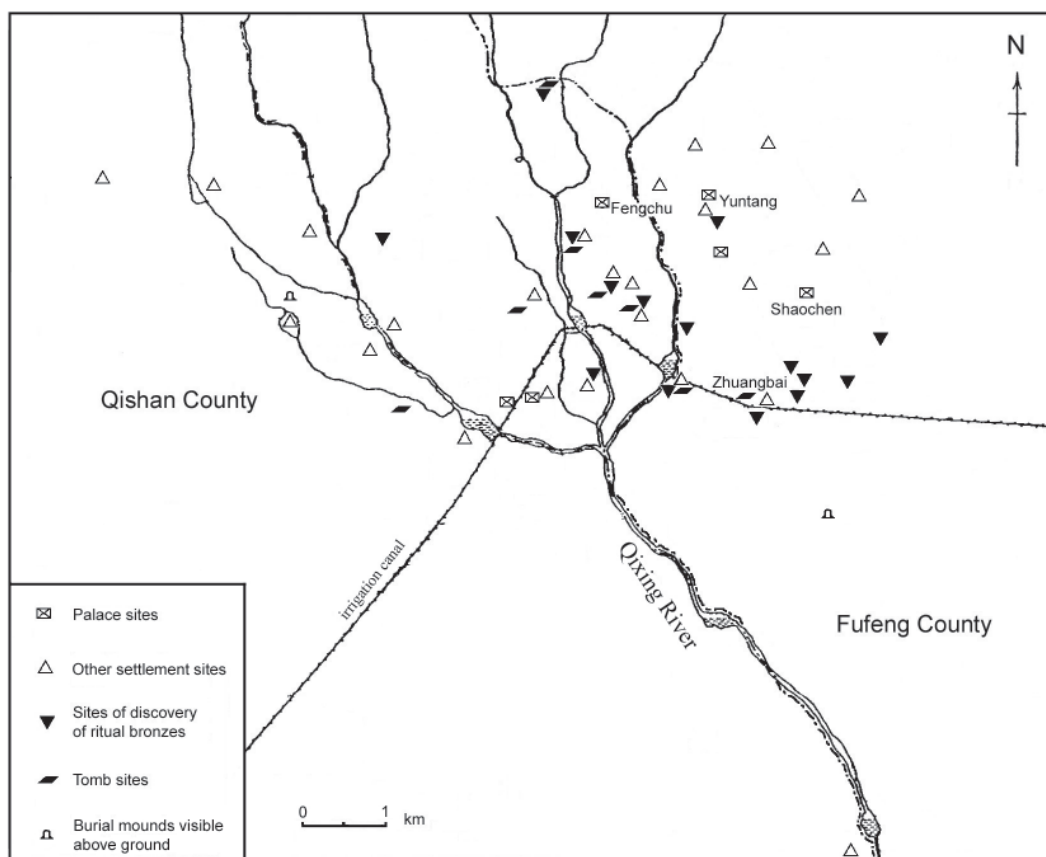
## THE PLAIN OF ZHOU AND HOARD 1 AT ZHUANGBAI

Let us start with the context. The modern village of Zhuangbai is located in the Plain of Zhou (Zhouyuan), a fertile loess plateau at approximately 600-800 meters above sea level (see *Map 2*). Immediately to the north, the highest peak of Mt. Qi rises to 1675 meters (*Fig. 2*). Shielded by that picturesque mountain

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<sup>5</sup> A comprehensive discussion of these inscriptions may be found in Liu E and Yin Shengping 1992. Yin Shengping (ed.) 1992 conveniently assembles the major epigraphic studies published until that time (by Tang Lan, Li Xueqin, Huang Shengzhang, Wu Shiqian, Liu Qiyi, Xu Zhongshu, Qiu Xigui, Yi Xingwu, Yu Haoliang, Dai Jiaxiang, Hong Jiayi, Lian Shaoming, and Li Zhongcao). A new synthesis, also considering evidence found elsewhere around the Zhouyuan, is offered in Beijing Daxue Kaogu Wenboyuan and Beijing Daxue Gudai Wenming Yanjiu Zhongxin (eds.) 2002. I have previously discussed these inscriptions in Falkenhausen 1988: 963-999 and Luo Tai 1997. For an explanation of the terms "donor," "dedicatee," and "beneficiary," which are used throughout this chapter, and for additional discussion of the nature of bronze inscriptions, see Chapter Seven.

<sup>6</sup> This is a point worth insisting on: the dating of the Late Western Zhou Ritual Reform offered below depends crucially on the stylistic sequence of the Zhuangbai bronzes, without which the research questions addressed in the inscription-based part of the argument could not even have been raised. By the same token, any inscription-based dating running counter to the stylistic sequence would obviously be unacceptable.



**Map 2.** The Plain of Zhou, in Qishan and Fufeng (Shaanxi).



**Fig. 2.** The Plain of Zhou. View from near Shaochen, Fufeng (Shaanxi) toward Mt. Qi.

range from the rough northern winds, the Plain of Zhou enjoys favorable microclimatic and environmental conditions. It was settled by the ancestors of the royal Zhou in predynastic times.<sup>7</sup> In fact, the Plain of Zhou seems to have been the place referred to as “Zhou” in early inscriptions,<sup>8</sup> and it remained, throughout the Western Zhou period, the principal political center of the dynasty. This is also suggested by the discovery in 2004 of what appears to be the royal necropolis, with associated remains of extensive temple-palace structures, at Zhougongmiao, Qishan County, some 25 km to the west of Zhuangbai.<sup>9</sup> It now appears that Zhuangbai and its surroundings, notwithstanding their rich archaeological deposits, may have been no more than a distant suburb to the royal center; but additional survey work is needed to ascertain this area’s degree of prominence within the capital in the Plain of Zhou.<sup>10</sup>

Whether the Plain of Zhou during Western Zhou times qualifies as a “city” is unclear. The exact boundaries of the settled area have not been established, and evidence for a walled enclosure, which Chinese archaeologists convention-

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<sup>7</sup> The origins of the Zhou are under debate; Sima Qian (*Shi ji* “Zhou benji” 4.113-14) recounts that the royal lineage moved into the Plain of Zhou from an area directly to the north of Mt. Qi, but an alternative theory (embraced by Shaughnessy 1999: 303-7; q.v. for further references) contends that it came from present-day Shanxi to the east. Several archaeological cultures coexisted in central Shaanxi during the Early Bronze Age in a complex and ever-changing constellation. Archaeological studies attempting to identify the remains of the predynastic Zhou within this complex archaeological panorama have by and large emphasized continuity from local Neolithic and Early Bronze Age cultures into the time just preceding the Zhou conquest of Shang (Hu Qianying 2000; Li Feng 1991; Iijima 1998: 18-86).

<sup>8</sup> Yin Shengping 1983; Matsui 2002: 64-73. In the epigraphic record Zhou as a place-name occurs in dozens of bronze inscriptions and also on several of the inscribed oracle bones excavated in the Plain of Zhou.

<sup>9</sup> Feng Tao 2004. Xu Tianjin, personal communication, 2004 and 2005; Chong Jianrong, personal communication, 2005. Thanks to the generosity of Peking University’s School of Archaeology and Museology and the Shaanxi Institute of Archaeology, I was able to view the new excavations at Zhougongmiao in August 2005 during an international symposium. Experts are still debating whether the newly-discovered necropolis is that of the royal house or of the Duke of Zhou and his descendants. I am preliminarily inclined to the former view.

<sup>10</sup> For summaries of archaeological work done in what now appears to be only the eastern portion of the Zhouyuan area, see Chen Quanfang 1988; Xu Tianjin and Zhang Enxian 2002. A full-coverage survey of the Qixinghe river system, which comprises that area, was recently undertaken by the Institute of Archaeology, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences (Xu Lianggao, personal communication, 2005).

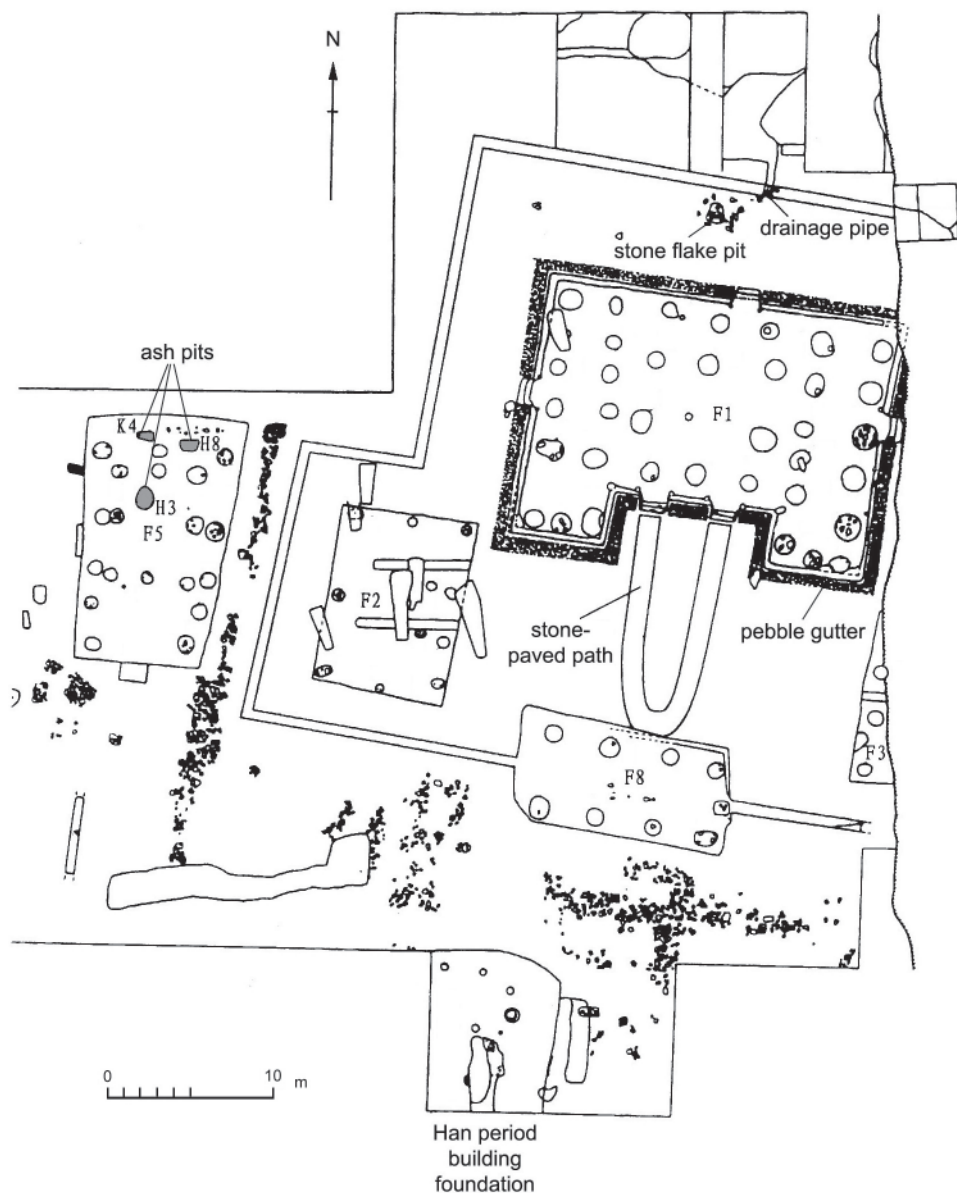
ally consider a crucial indicator of urbanism, is so far inconclusive.<sup>11</sup> Anyone walking across the Plain of Zhou today may observe the stamped-earth foundations of large buildings in many places where recent earth movements have exposed profile sections. These buildings belonged to architectural complexes thought to have served simultaneously as the metropolitan residences of major lineages and as their ancestral temples (*Fig. 3*). Partial information has been published on three such complexes, at Shaochen and Yuntang in Fufeng County and at Fengchu in Qishan County (*Map 2*);<sup>12</sup> a number of others have fallen victim to large-scale brick-making operations since the 1980s. Archaeologists have also found some cemeteries, as well as artisanal workshops (ceramic, metal-working, and bone-working) such as are commonly associated with elite settlements in Bronze Age China.<sup>13</sup> In anticipation of further destruction, a multiyear project of archaeological excavation has recently been launched, which promises to clarify the nature of the site as a whole. The data available so far suggest that—in a possible parallel with earlier political centers such as pre-Shang Erlitou and Late Shang Anyang—the Western Zhou capital in the Plain of Zhou consisted of a fairly haphazard agglomeration of major religious-cum-residential compounds scattered over an area of perhaps 200 square kilometers, with spacious tracts of agricultural land in between.

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<sup>11</sup> Remnants of two parallel stretches of east-west walls, each over 700 m long, one with a moat, were discovered by remote sensing near Fengchu, Qishan, in 1986-1990; but they have not yet been dated with exactitude (Xu Tianjin and Zhang Enxian 2002: 19). Xu Hong (2000: 61-62) does include the Zhouyuan among his Bronze Age “city” sites.

<sup>12</sup> On Fengchu, see Shaanxi Zhouyuan Kaogudui 1979; on Shaochen, Shaanxi Zhouyuan Kaogudui 1981; on Yuntang, Zhouyuan Kaogudui 2002. For architectural reconstructions and interpretations, see Fu Xinian 1981a; 1981b; Wang Entian 1981; Yang Hongxun 1981; and Xu Lianggao and Wang Wei 2002. See also Chen Quanfang 1988: 37-69; Iijima 1998: 87-96. By analogy with modern courtyard-centered houses in North China, and emphasizing textual evidence, Li Xixing (1984) interprets the building plan at Fengchu as that of the residence of a segmentary lineage (in his parlance, a “family commune”) with each of its rooms allocated to a different segment according to seniority.

<sup>13</sup> For comprehensive remarks on the technologically innovative luxury industries of the Plain of Zhou (bronze, silk, lacquer, stoneware [the last-mentioned usually considered to have been imported from south China], jade, glass, and gold), see Chen Quanfang 1988: 74-98. A bronze foundry site is reported in Zhouyuan Kaogudui 2004. For bone workshops, see Shaanxi Zhouyuan Kaogudui 1980. A specialized study of Western Zhou ceramic production does not seem to exist; for a good typological treatment of pottery from the Wei River basin, see Nishie 1994-1995. Li Feng 1988b includes a good discussion of Western Zhou period elite tombs in the Plain of Zhou.



**Fig. 3.** Building complex at Yuntang, Fufeng (Shaanxi). Ninth-eighth centuries BC. The walled courtyard was accessed by a gate building to the south; the large central building was flanked by two symmetrical lateral structures (one now incomplete).



Hoard 1 at Zhuangbai is one of several dozen hoards of ritual bronzes that have been found in the Plain of Zhou. As attested by their inscriptions, these hoards belonged to many different aristocratic lineages, including both consanguineous relatives of the Zhou royal house and affiliates of other, non-royal clans.<sup>14</sup> These hoards are thought to have been hurriedly interred when the Zhou court and the élite residents of its capitals in present-day Shaanxi had to flee eastward in 771 BC, and each of them presumably contains the furnishings—or rather, some of the furnishings—of a nearby ancestral temple. The widely scattered distribution of such hoards is one indicator of the dispersion of élite settlement and ritual activity in the area. In the absence of archaeological survey work aiming to identify architectural remains in the vicinity of the hoards, however, it has not yet been possible to associate any one of them with a specific temple compound, and we do not know how far away from the temples such hoards were usually buried. The architectural remains at Shaochen, Yuntang, and Fengchu, with their cardinally aligned, rectangular wooden buildings on low earthen platforms, grouped around spacious central courtyards, merely allow some general clues as to the kind of environment in which the bronzes had been used.

The bronzes found in these hoards had been part of the inventories of their associated lineage temples and thus directly reflect the ritual activities that had gone on in these temples during the time just preceding their interment. Yet unlike most assemblages found in tombs (which will be discussed extensively in Chapter Two and later chapters), assemblages from hoards do not usually form complete ritual sets. As a case in point, Hoard 1 at Zhuangbai lacks *ding* tripods, the kind of vessel most prominent in Zhou ancestral sacrifices, which were deployed in sets in which the number of vessels and their quality were keyed to the status of the owner. Moreover, none of the several chimes of bells interred in Hoard 1 constitutes a complete set of eight.<sup>15</sup> The owners may have

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<sup>14</sup> Luo Xizhang 1980; updated in Beijing Daxue Kaogu Wenboyuan and Beijing Daxue Gudai Wenming Yanjiu Zhongxin (eds.) 2002; Cao Wei 2004: 55-65. For surveys of the lineages documented through these hoards, see Zhu Fenghan 1990: 361-80; Zhang Maorong and Wei Xingxing 2002: 31-40.

<sup>15</sup> The 28 bells from Zhuangbai comprise one partial set of seven (reported as Groups II and IV; herein referred to as the Second *Xīng-yongzhong*), one of six (Group III; herein referred to as the Third *Xīng-yongzhong*), and parts of several other chimes (Group I, one bell, herein referred to as the First *Xīng-yongzhong*; Group V, three bells; Group VI, two bells; Group VII, two bells; and seven vertically suspended small bells, which may have been intended as a chime. Their dates range from Middle Western Zhou through Late Western Zhou, and some of them (especially those of Group VII, which feature inscriptions in an unknown writing system) seem to have been imported from the Middle Yangzi area. On early Chinese bells and their music, see Falkenhausen 1993a.

**Table 2.** Chronological Listing of the Bronzes from Hoard 1 at Zhuangbai

VESSELS	
I. SHANG/EARLY WESTERN ZHOU STYLE	b) <i>Uninscribed vessels</i> 4 <i>gu</i> (2 possibly Middle Western Zhou) 4 <i>shao</i> 1 double-storied <i>ding</i> 1 chambered stove 2 <i>li</i>
a) <i>Inscribed vessels</i> : Geng Ji- <i>zun</i> (a.k.a. Shang- <i>zun</i> ) Geng Ji- <i>you</i> (a.k.a. Shang- <i>you</i> ) Ling- <i>fanglei</i> Lü Fu Yi- <i>gu</i> Yangce- <i>zhi</i> Zhe- <i>gong</i> Zhe- <i>zun</i> Zhe- <i>fangyi</i> Zhe- <i>jia</i> Meng- <i>jue</i> Wang- <i>jue</i>	SUBTOTAL: 45 vessels
b) <i>Uninscribed vessels</i> : 2 <i>gu</i> (possibly Middle Western Zhou) 1 <i>bi</i>	<b>TOTAL NUMBER OF VESSELS: 75</b>
SUBTOTAL: 14 vessels	
BELLS	
I. SHANG/EARLY WESTERN ZHOU STYLE	—
II. MIDDLE WESTERN ZHOU STYLE	a) <i>Inscribed bells</i> First Xing- <i>yongzhong</i> (1 bell) Seventh set of <i>yongzhong</i> (2 bells with inscriptions in an undecipherable script)
a) <i>Inscribed vessels</i> : Feng- <i>zun</i> Feng- <i>you</i> 3 Feng- <i>jue</i> Fu Xin- <i>jue</i> Shi Qiang- <i>pan</i> 2 Qiang- <i>jue</i> 2 Xing- <i>xu</i> 2 Shisannian Xing- <i>bi</i>	b) <i>Uninscribed bells</i> Fifth set of <i>yongzhong</i> (3 bells) Sixth set of <i>yongzhong</i> (2 bells)
b) <i>Uninscribed vessels</i> : 2 <i>zhi</i> (possibly Early Western Zhou) bird-ornamented <i>jue</i>	SUBTOTAL: 8 bells belonging to four sets
SUBTOTAL: 16 vessels	
III. LATE WESTERN ZHOU/EARLY SPRINGS AND AUTUMNS PERIOD STYLE	III. LATE WESTERN ZHOU/EARLY SPRINGS AND AUTUMNS-PERIOD STYLE
a) <i>Inscribed vessels</i> 2 Sannian Xing- <i>bi</i> 8 Xing- <i>gui</i> 5 Wei Bo- <i>li</i> 2 Xing- <i>pen</i> Xing- <i>fu</i> 3 Xing- <i>jue</i> 2 Xing- <i>bi</i> 10 Bo Xianfu- <i>li</i>	a) <i>Inscribed bells</i> Second Set of Xing- <i>yongzhong</i> (includes so-called Fourth Set) (7 bells) Third Set of Xing- <i>yongzhong</i> (6 bells)
	b) <i>Uninscribed bells</i> 7 clapper-bells, seemingly forming a set (an early chime of <i>niu zhong</i> ?)
	SUBTOTAL: 20 bells belonging to three sets.
	<b>TOTAL NUMBER OF BELLS: 28, belonging to seven sets</b>
	<b>TOTAL NUMBER OF BRONZES: 103 items</b> (or, counting sets of bells rather than individual bells as items, 82)



wished to diffuse the risk by burying their treasures at several different locations; very probably, moreover, they took some of their most cherished bronzes with them when they fled to their new home in the east.

Another difference between bronze assemblages from hoards and from tombs is that tomb assemblages tend to be stylistically uniform, whereas hoards frequently comprise specimens from more than one period—objects that had been accumulated by several generations of a family or lineage, and which the original donors' descendants treasured as tokens of their ancestors' glorious achievements. In many cases, their inscriptions allude to historical events in which members of the lineage had participated. During the sacrifices, prestigious earlier vessels were used alongside newer acquisitions, thus constituting visible points of reference to the past and anchors of historical memory. Hoard 1 at Zhuangbai has attracted particular attention because it furnishes the most conclusive of several known instances in which the genealogy of a lineage—in this case, the Weí lineage—can be traced through the inscriptions on ritual bronzes formerly in the same ancestral temple. This is of interest because both the constellation of ancestors represented and the several different ways they are referred to reveal important details of lineage organization. I shall explain this after some further preliminaries.

## THE STYLISTIC SEQUENCE

Art historically, the chronological depth of Hoard 1 at Zhuangbai is significant because the assemblage documents all three main stages in the stylistic development of Western Zhou bronze décor (*Table 2*). Their main characteristics are as follows.

The stylistically earliest bronzes from the hoard, such as the *Zhe-gong*, *-zun*, and *-fangyi* (*Fig. 4*), in their principal zones of decoration feature animal masks in high relief, framed by prominent hooked flanges. Smaller animals shown in profile fill the subordinate decoration bands. Derived from Shang bronze décor, this type of decoration is characteristic of the Early Western Zhou period (ca. 1050-950 BC). The fourteen or so instances from Hoard 1 mostly date from the late phase of Early Western Zhou, as defined by Hayashi Minao.<sup>16</sup>

The next stage, as observable on the *Feng-zun* and *-you* set (*Fig. 5*), is characterized by patterned animals, mainly birds, which are rendered in almost flat relief. The heavy flanges seen on earlier vessels are gone; these vessels show smooth outlines and surfaces. The insistent prominence of the main animal motifs has given way to emphasis on vessel shape. Gradually over time, the bird and animal motifs become dissolved and geometricized. More pronounced

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<sup>16</sup> Hayashi 1984.



**Fig. 4.** Zhe vessels from Hoard 1 at Zhuangbai. Middle of tenth century BC. Upper row: Zhe-zun, Zhe-gong; lower row: Zhe-jia, Zhe-fangyi.



**Fig. 5.** Feng vessels from Hoard 1 at Zhuangbai. Second half of tenth century BC. Upper row: Feng-zun, Feng-you; lower row: Feng-jue I-III.

manifestations of this process are exemplified by the Shi Qiang-pan (Fig. 6), famous for its long inscription, and the Xing-xu (Fig. 7). This new style, likewise represented on some fourteen vessels from Hoard 1, is characteristic of the Middle Western Zhou (ca. 950-850 BC).

The majority of vessels from Hoard 1, forty-five in number, feature a completely abstract, geometric décor. The individual motifs have developed out of the constituent parts of the former animal motifs, but recognizable animals are absent from the surface decoration, which serves instead to enhance the vessel shape. Realistic zoomorphic and even, sometimes, anthropomorphic decoration does, however, occur on the appendages (feet, handles, knobs) of vessels ornamented in this style. Such abstract decoration, seen on the pair of elegantly shaped Third-Year Xing-hú, the eight Xing-gui on their square socles, the Wéi Bo Xing-fu with its openwork foot,<sup>17</sup> and many other vessels (Fig. 8), was predominant during the Late Western Zhou period (ca. 850-771 BC) and persisted with astonishingly little change during the first century or so of Eastern Zhou.

<sup>17</sup> In conventional bronze terminology, vessels of this class are referred to as *dou*, but their own inscriptions designate them as *fu* (see Li Ling 1991a: 85-86).



Fig. 6. Qiang vessels from Hoard 1 at Zhuangbai: Shi Qiang-pan (2 views) and Qiang-jue I-II. First half of ninth century BC.



**Fig. 7.** Xing vessels from Hoard 1 at Zhuangbai (earlier stylistic group). Second quarter of ninth century BC. Upper row: Thirteenth-year Xing-bú (pair); lower row: Xing-xu I-II.

If the percentages of vessels from different periods found in Hoard 1 are at least roughly representative of those kept in the ancestral temple of the Wei lineage in 771 BC, the predominance of Late Western Zhou bronzes may be taken to indicate that the main ritual assemblage in use at the time of deposition consisted of fairly new vessels; only a relatively small number of historically important earlier bronzes had been retained as prestige objects. The hoard also shows a remarkable typological imbalance between the vessels from different periods: all 34 food-offering vessels and implements (8 *gui*, 17 *li*, 2 *pen*, 1 *fu*, 2 *xu*, 2 stoves, and 2 pointed spoons) and at least 21 of the 28 bells date from Late Western Zhou, whereas the Early and Middle Western Zhou vessels found, aside from a small number of water containers and washing vessels, are predominantly associated with the consumption of alcoholic beverages (see *Table 3*). Such differences would be difficult to interpret if limited to a single archaeological context, but the archaeological record at large confirms that Late Western Zhou bronze assemblages were radically different from those of preceding periods. This was due, no doubt, to the introduction of new kinds of rituals.

## INDICATORS FOR THE RITUAL REFORM

The stylistic development of Western Zhou bronzes may be interpreted as reflecting the gradual disappearance or transformation of religious beliefs that had been transmitted from the earlier part of the Bronze Age. The details remain obscure, as we no longer know the exact meaning, or meanings, of the animal imagery seen in Shang and Early Western Zhou art.<sup>18</sup> There are, nevertheless, some possible hints. Insisting that every detail of Shang and Zhou bronze decoration referred to some aspect of the natural world and was imbued with a specific iconographic meaning, Hayashi Minao has linked these details to similar decoration elements with textually documented meanings in the art of later periods and has reconstructed a rich pantheon of nature deities.<sup>19</sup> In archaeological parlance this constitutes an application of the “Direct Historical Approach.” The results are valid and of great interest, but as a matter of principle one must keep in mind that the motifs in question—even if indeed they are continuous manifestations of the same motifs—might have acquired different meanings over time. An alternative, complementary approach compares the motifs in question with forms of artistic expression in the ethnographic present or in

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<sup>18</sup> Kesner 1991 provides a sophisticated discussion of the long-standing debate surrounding the meaning of ancient Chinese bronze art. Different points of view on the issue (including, most notably, Bagley 1993a) are assembled in Whitfield (ed.) 1993.

<sup>19</sup> Hayashi 1985; 2002; 2004.





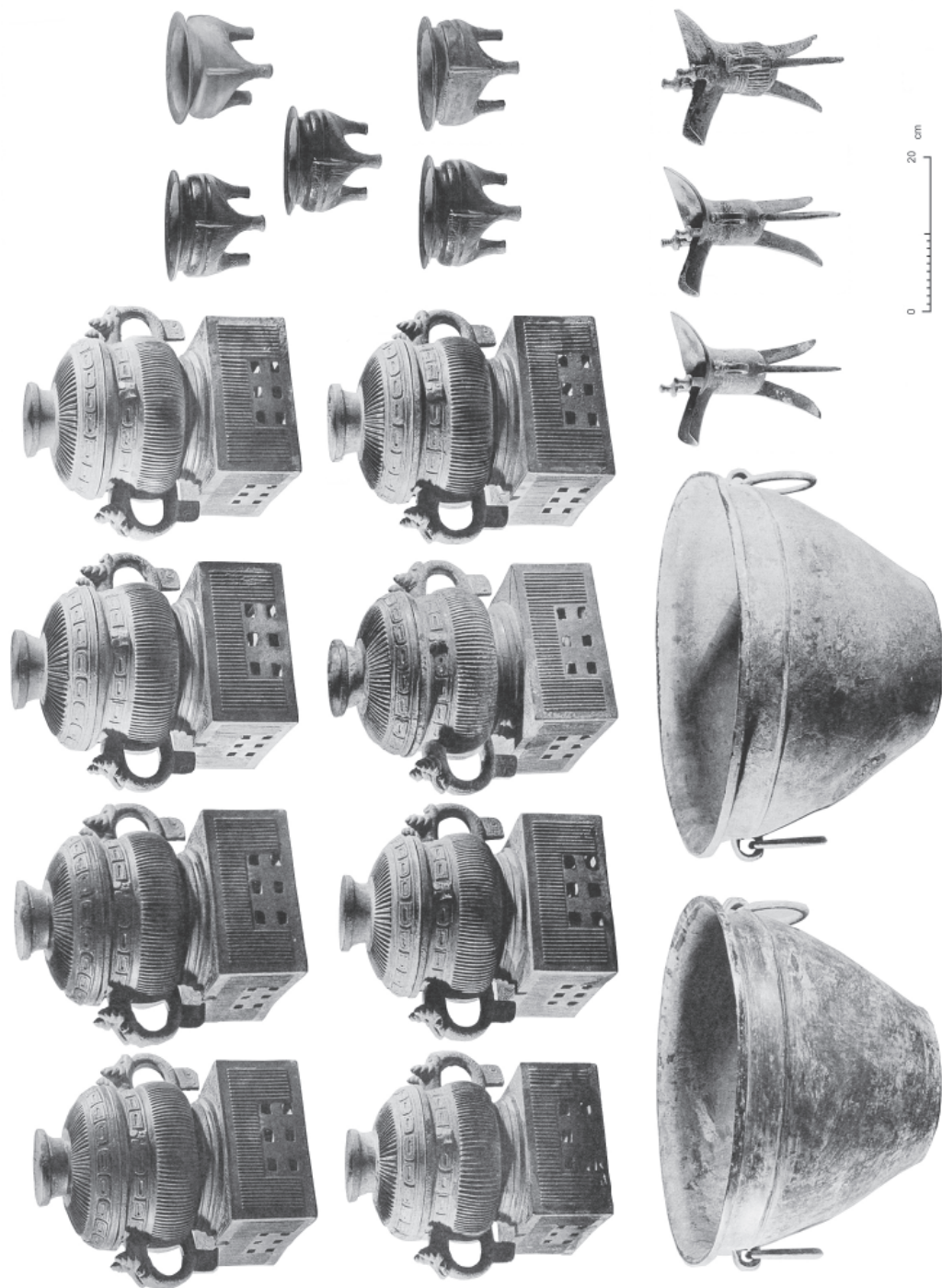


Fig. 8. Xing vessels from Hoard 1 at Zhuangbai (later stylistic group). Third quarter of ninth century BC. Upper third: Third-year Xing-*bi* (pair), Wei Bo Xing-*bi* 1-II, Wei Bo Xing-*gui* 1-VIII, Wei Bo-*li* 1-V; lower third: Wei Xing-*pen* 1-II, Xing-*jue* 1-III.



**Table 3.** Tabulation of the Bronzes from Hoard 1 at Zhuangbai, Fufeng (Shaanxi) (According to Functional Categories)

Type	S/EWZ	MWZ	LWZ/ECQ	Totals
FOOD VESSELS AND THEIR ACCESSORIES				
<i>li</i>			17	17
<i>gui</i>			8	8
<i>xu</i>		2		2
<i>pen</i>			2	2
<i>fu</i>			1	1
double-bottom <i>ding</i>			1	1
stove			1	1
pointed spoon ( <i>bi</i> )			2	2
<i>Subtotal</i>	—	2	32	34
LIQUOR CONTAINERS AND DRINKING VESSELS				
<i>jue</i>	2	7	3	12
<i>gu</i>	3		4	7
<i>zhi</i>	1	2		3
<i>jia</i>	1			1
<i>you</i>	1	1		2
<i>zun</i>	2	1		3
<i>fangyi</i>	1			1
<i>bü</i>	1	2	2	5
ladle ( <i>shao</i> )			4	4
<i>Subtotal</i>	12	13	13	33
WATER CONTAINERS/WASHING VESSELS				
<i>fanglei</i>	1			1
<i>gong</i>	1			1
<i>pan</i>		1		1
<i>Subtotal</i>	2	1	—	2
<b>Total (Vessels)</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>16</b>	<b>45</b>	<b>75</b>
BELLS				
<i>yongzhong</i>		4/8	2/13	6/21
<i>niuzhong</i> (?)			1/7	1/7
<i>Total (Bells)</i>	—	4/8	3/20	7/28
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>20(24)</b>	<b>48(65)</b>	<b>82(103)</b>

other ancient civilizations. Of course, the insights yielded of such comparisons are more general in nature than those obtained through the Direct Historical Approach. Comparisons of this sort, especially with New World cultures, have led K. C. Chang to explain Shang and Zhou zoomorphic imagery—plausibly, in my opinion—as representing the animal companions or vehicles used by shamanistic practitioners when entering into trance to make contact with the spirits.<sup>20</sup> But that explanation still does not offer the specific meanings of the individual motifs. One should emphasize, furthermore, that “shamanism” is not a particular kind of religion, but a religious technique that can be—and has been throughout history—employed in the service of the most diverse theologies.<sup>21</sup>

In any case, it seems obvious that the animal motifs decorating Shang and Zhou bronzes must have had, at least originally, some semantic connection with the sacrificial activities within which the vessels were used. That the vessels were made for use in the ancestral cult is evident from their own inscriptions. The inscriptions also confirm the accounts in early texts such as the *Shi jing* and the later Confucian ritual compendia, which inform us that the rituals took the form of communal meals in the temples, to which the ancestors were thought to descend.<sup>22</sup> Even though, by the time the ritual compendia were written down, the “impersonators” (*shi*)—junior family members who embodied the ancestors during the rituals—were largely passive and did not enter into trance,<sup>23</sup> spiritual communication in a state of shamanic ecstasy may have played a role in similar rituals during earlier times. Indeed it still did during Zhou times, in certain forms of religious worship outside the ancestral cult.<sup>24</sup> Perhaps, therefore, the zoomorphic décor on Early and Middle Western Zhou bronzes is a leftover

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<sup>20</sup> Chang 1981; 1983: 44–80 and *passim*.

<sup>21</sup> As first remarked by Eliade 1951. The subject of “shamanism” in ancient China remains deeply controversial. Although I remain unconvinced by overly enthusiastic treatments such as Tong 2002, I also cannot help finding deep conceptual flaws in those assessments (e.g., Keightley 1998; Puett 2002: 31–79) that downplay or completely deny its relevance to understanding ancient Chinese religious practices (see Falkenhausen 2004a). In my opinion, aside from possible quibbles over the choice of words, the explanatory framework proposed by Chang (see n. 20) holds for the Shang and Early Western Zhou periods, and may also be applied to the growing body of Neolithic ritual imagery.

<sup>22</sup> *Shi jing* “Xiaoya: Chu ci” (*Shisanjing zhushu* 13–2:199–202, pp. 467–70; discussed in Falkenhausen 1993a: 27–28; 1993b: 149–50; Kern 2000); *Yi li* “Tesheng kuishi li” (*Shisanjing zhushu* 44–46, pp. 1178–95), *et passim*; *Li ji* “Jitong” (*Shisanjing zhushu* 49, pp. 1602–9), *et passim*.

<sup>23</sup> On impersonators, see Carr 1985.

<sup>24</sup> Falkenhausen 1995a.

of archaic mediumistic communication with the ancestors, dating from a time when such practices were already on the wane.

I am thus skeptical toward the view, influential in art-historical circles in Western countries since the mid-twentieth century, that the zoomorphic motifs on Shang and Early Western Zhou bronzes were inherently without meaning and instead—to the extent that they had any function at all—served exclusively to mark the vessels as ritual objects and to enhance their precious, luxurious, and awe-inspiring aura.<sup>25</sup> I do believe, however, that the decomposition of these motifs during the Middle Western Zhou period, and their near-disappearance in Late Western Zhou, eventually led to a situation in which vessel decoration fulfilled just such a function.<sup>26</sup> In my opinion the Western Zhou transformation of the Shang-derived animal décor into “pure ornament”<sup>27</sup> must reflect an attenuation of its original religious meaning, whatever that meaning may have been. Eventually, this meaning was forgotten or became irrelevant to religious practice. This development, I would argue, indicates a profound change in the conceptualization of the vessels as well as in their ritual use, and it intimates a fundamental religious shift in the sphere of the ancestral cult: away from “dionysian” rituals centered upon dynamic, even frenzied movement, to a new kind of far more formalized ceremonies of “apollonian” character, in which it was the paraphernalia themselves, and their orderly display, that commanded the principal attention of the participants.<sup>28</sup>

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<sup>25</sup> Loehr 1968: 11-14; Bagley 1987: 49-50, n. 47. Loehr (1968: 13) gave this point of view its most pointed, and most extreme, formulation, when he wrote: “If the ornaments on Shang bronzes came into being as sheer design, form based on form alone, configurations without reference to reality or, at best, with dubious allusions to reality, then, we are almost forced to conclude, they cannot have had any ascertainable meaning—religious, cosmological, or mythological—meaning, at any rate of an established, literary kind. Quite possibly these ornaments were iconographically meaningless, or meaningful only as pure form—like musical forms and therefore unlike literary definitions.”

<sup>26</sup> See Falkenhausen 1999b.

<sup>27</sup> This transformation is well described by Koerner 1985, who does, not, however, concern himself with determining the time when it occurred (on this point, see Luo Tai 1997). For another excellent discussion of these developments in the broad sweep of the history of Chinese bronze decoration, see Thote 2002.

<sup>28</sup> Nietzsche’s (1872) use of the terms “dionysian” and “apollonian” as a way of contrasting two contrasting tendencies of psychophysical motion in ancient Greece, first imported into anthropology by Benedict (1934), may be effectively applied to characterize the Western Zhou situation. It should be stressed that both “dionysian”

The notion of such a decisive transformation of the ancestral sacrifices is corroborated by three concomitant changes observable in the archaeological record at large. The first is that, as already observed in connection with the assemblage from Hoard 1, the vessel types prominent before the Late Western Zhou ornamentation styles appeared were different from those dominant later on. Most tellingly, one notes the disappearance of “wine vessels,” which had constituted the most prominent—and typologically most varied—component of bronze assemblages from Shang through Middle Western Zhou (the assemblage from Hoard 1 is somewhat atypical in that it contains a couple of *jue* wine-drinking vessels with Late Western Zhou ornamentation). Instead, Late Western Zhou as well as Eastern Zhou bronze assemblages are centered on sets of *ding* (for meat) and *gui* (for grain), as well as other vessels related to food consumption. Chime-bells also became more prominent. Almost certainly, people in Late Western Zhou did not suddenly cease to consume alcohol, but they do seem to have stopped sacrificing alcohol to their ancestors, and intimations of drunken trance—formerly perhaps a central component of ritual performances—vanish.<sup>29</sup> Even if Shang and Early Western Zhou ancestral ritual still had some residual “shamanistic” component, it seems definitely to have disappeared by the onset of Late Western Zhou.

The second important development is the institution of standard sets of vessels, which were correlated with élite ranks according to strict sumptuary

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and “apollonian” rituals continued to coexist in Zhou religion after the Late Western Zhou Ritual Reform, and have continued to do so in Chinese religion ever since; “dionysian” ritual expression was merely banned henceforth from the ancestral cult. The replacement of religious virtuosi capable of communicating with the ancestors in a trance state, by nonspecialist performers legitimated by their kin relationship to the ancestors venerated, was no doubt a crucial step in assuring the ordered transmission of power within lineages, and it would have been particularly important to ruling lineages. This explains, perhaps, why mediumistic cults eventually came to be associated with non-élite religious practices.

<sup>29</sup> Concern about drunkenness is voiced in the inscription of the Larger Yu-*ding*, an unprovenanced tripod from the late part of Early Western Zhou (*Yin Zhou jinwen jicheng* 5.2837; depicted in Rawson 1990, Pt. B: 295, fig. 21.1), which ascribes the downfall of Shang to immoderate consumption of alcohol and proscribes alcohol use during royal sacrifices. Drunkenness is also condemned—even threatened with the death penalty—in *Shangshu* “Jiu gao” (*Shisanjing zhushu* 14.93-96, pp. 205-8), a text of controversial date that Shaughnessy (1997: 83) assigns to the reign of King Cheng (r. 1042/35-1006 BC). Again, there seems to be a puzzling disparity in date between the written record and the archaeologically observable changes in ritual-vessel constellations during Late Western Zhou times (cf. n. 1), and more research is needed to clarify whether there is any connection.

rules (see *Table 4*).<sup>30</sup> In Hoard 1, adherence to these rules is indicated by the eight-part set of *gui*, two pairs of *bú*, the two sets of *li*, and, probably, the several chimes of bells. Note that they all date from the time of Xīng or thereafter. Even though, as noted, *ding* tripods for some reason were not buried in this hoard, a set of eight *gui* implies the presence of a complementary set of nine *ding*,<sup>31</sup> intimating that the head of the Wéi lineage in Late Western Zhou times claimed a privileged position near the top of the élite rank hierarchy.<sup>32</sup> Of course archaeological assemblages from earlier periods and phases of the Chinese Bronze Age also manifest a general correlation between wealth and status, but the standardized sets that appear after about 850 BC seem to be a new phenomenon. Thereafter, this new, strict sumptuary system came to be commonly adhered to throughout the Zhou culture sphere. In the following chapters we shall explore its manifold archaeological manifestations.

A third concomitant change in the archaeological record is that several of the new types of vessels introduced by the Ritual Reform seem deliberately simple and humble; some (like *li* and *ying*) can be derived from ceramic kitchen vessels, others (like *fú*) from basketry prototypes (*Fig. 9*).<sup>33</sup> This suggests a desire to reform the spirit of ritual by reducing its complexity and linking it with everyday activities. Very probably, this was thought of as a return to the practices of a hallowed past: an instance of deliberate archaism,<sup>34</sup> and by no means the last in the art history of the “Age of Confucius” (see Chapter Eight).

These Late Western Zhou changes in the spirit and performance of ancestral sacrifices must have constituted, in the collective consciousness of their time, a major break with earlier practices. It is all the more strange, therefore,

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<sup>30</sup> The classical treatment of Zhou sumptuary rules is Yu Weichao and Gao Ming 1978-1979.

<sup>31</sup> Yu Weichao and Gao Ming 1978-1979 (1985 edition): 86.

<sup>32</sup> The number of *ding* corresponding to the highest rank in the Zhou sumptuary hierarchy is still controversial. Following the Eastern Hàn commentator He Xiu (*apud Gongyang zhuan* Huan 2; *Sbisanjing zhushu* 4.20, p. 2214), Yu Weichao and Gao Ming (1978-1979) regard a nine-part set as indicative of the highest rank, interpreting the presence of such sets in connection with individuals of nonroyal rank, such as Xīng of Wéi at Zhuangbai, as a usurpation of royal privilege. By contrast, Li Xueqin (1985: 461-64), basing himself on the *Zhou li* (“Tianguan: Shanfu,” *Zhou li zhengyi* 7:241-44) believes that the king had a right to a set of twelve *ding*, with nine-part sets such as the one putatively associated with Xīng of Wéi, pertaining to the second rank in the hierarchy. This issue may never be resolved as the newly discovered royal tombs at Zhougongmiao appear to have been thoroughly plundered before excavation.

<sup>33</sup> This is Jessica Rawson’s insight (1990, pt. A: 108-109).

<sup>34</sup> Rawson 1990, pt. A: 105-8; Falkenhausen 1999b.

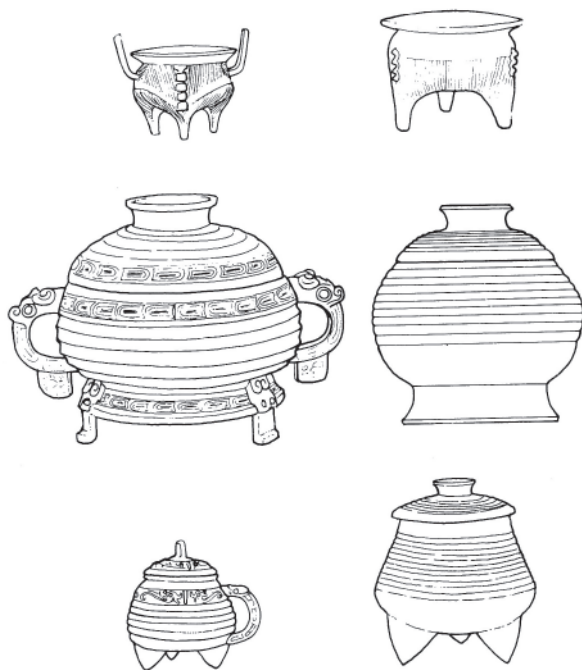
Table 4. The Zhou Sumptuary System

I. Sumptuary distinctions as reconstructed from later textual data					
		ALTERNATIVE I (Yu Weichao and Gao Ming 1978/79)		ALTERNATIVE II (Li Xueqin 1985)	
Rank	Corresponding social position	<i>ding</i>	<i>gui</i>	<i>ding</i>	<i>gui</i>
I	King (Son of Heaven: <i>Tianzi</i> )	9	8	12	10
II	Rulers of Subordinate Polities ( <i>zhubou</i> )	7	6	9	8
III	Ministers ( <i>qing</i> ), Upper Magnates ( <i>shangdaifu</i> )	5	4	7	6
IV	Lower Magnates ( <i>xiadaifu</i> )	3	2	5	4
V	Gentlemen ( <i>shi</i> )	2	1	3-0	2-0
VI	~ ~	1	1		
VII	~ ~	1	0		

II. Sumptuary distinctions among aristocratic males in Late Western Zhou and Early Springs and Autumns as tentatively reconstructed from archaeological data				
Rank	Corresponding social position	<i>ding</i>	<i>gui</i>	<i>bells and lithophones</i>
I	King (conjectural: no royal assemblages have been reported)	[12]	[10]	[several sets]
II	(e.g. high court officials)	9	8	several sets
III	(e.g. administrators of royal domain)	7	6	one or several sets
IV	(e.g. rulers of outer territories [ <i>hou</i> ])	5	4	one set or one of each
	Heads of aristocratic lineages/ lesser officials	3	2 - 0	—
	~ ~ ~ ~ ~	2	1 - 0	—
	~ ~ ~ ~ ~	1	1 - 0	—

that none of the written accounts of Western Zhou history (all written many centuries afterward) make any explicit mention of it. Does this very fact attest the pervasive success of the Late Western Zhou Ritual Reform? Had its innovations, in other words, been “naturalized” by participants in later Zhou society? Was this because they had been presented—spuriously but perhaps effectively—as a restoration of early Zhou precedent? Whatever the case, traditional scholarship on the Western Zhou period, while by no means unaware of the pervasive changes in the material record about 850 BC, has been hesitant to address them.<sup>35</sup> It was not until the late 1980s that Jessica

<sup>35</sup> Karlgren 1936, 1937; Rong Geng 1941; Guo Baojun 1981: 62-69; Zou Heng 1980: 203-15; Bagley 1980; Hayashi 1984, vol. 1:161-63 and passim.



**Fig. 9.** Affinities of some Late Western Zhou bronze vessel types (right) to ceramic kitchen vessels (left). Upper row: *li*; middle row: *gui*; lower row: *ying*.

Rawson became the first to study them as indicators of a major historical phenomenon.<sup>36</sup> The joint analysis of excavated artifacts and bronze inscriptions, e.g., those from Zhuangbai, suggests that the transformation of Zhou ritual and its paraphernalia may well have been secondary to a much more comprehensive reorganization of elite society. Given the importance of ritual in early civilizations in general, and the prominence of the ancestral cult in Chinese society throughout historically documented times, that is a thoroughly plausible inference.

<sup>36</sup> Rawson 1988, 1989, 1990, 1996, 1999a. For pertinent remarks on Rawson 1990, see Falkenhausen 1993b: 196–223. Other studies on the Late Western Zhou Ritual Reform include Luo Tai 1997; Falkenhausen 1999b; Cao Wei 1998. Rawson (followed by Pratt 1986) on occasion uses the even more dramatic term “ritual revolution;” I prefer “reform” because the goal, as far as can be told, seems to have been to shore up, rather than to replace, the ruling apparatus.

## USING BRONZE INSCRIPTIONS AS HISTORICAL EVIDENCE

Before turning to the analysis of the inscriptions from Hoard 1, I should like to offer some fundamental cautions on the use of bronze inscriptions—archaeologically provenienced or not—as sources of social information.<sup>37</sup> Crucially, a bronze inscription should never be considered as “pure text,” but must be related to the material appearance, style, type, and position in the ritual assemblage of the inscribed object. Like the bronzes themselves, their inscriptions reflect the ritual context in which they were used, and they can throw light on the changes this context underwent during Western Zhou times.

With a little additional training, bronze inscriptions are accessible to anyone literate in Classical Chinese: they are written in an archaic version of the Chinese language and—mostly—with graphs that, even though they look different from those of the modern Chinese script, are usually little more than an early style (or “font”) thereof.<sup>38</sup> Their greatest advantage is that they are authentic written materials from their own period. Since as a rule they were produced in the process of casting the inscribed object (only a very small minority having been secondarily carved on), they can be dated with some exactitude by reference to the relatively fine-tuned stylistic and typological sequences established for the bronzes themselves. For properly provenienced examples, the archaeological context can provide additional clues to their dating. Nonetheless, we must not make the mistake of thinking that, by virtue of being authentic, these inscriptions are unquestionably objective and truthful; nor are they necessarily—counterintuitive as this may seem at first—primary documents.

Let us first discuss the more obvious of these two points. Bronze inscriptions occur on vessels and bells that had specific functions in the performance of ancestral sacrifices. It follows that the inscribed texts, as well, functioned within this religious context. Each text was initially redacted shortly before the bronze to be inscribed was cast. Once the vessel was ready, the inscribed message was communicated to the ancestors in the course of a dedication ceremony; afterward, whenever in the course of a ceremony a vessel was used to offer food and drink, or a set of bells to play music, the inscribed messages

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<sup>37</sup> The following discussion summarizes Falkenhausen 1993b: 141–72 (building in part on insights by Kane 1984), as revised in Falkenhausen 2004b in response to Venture 2004.

<sup>38</sup> For convenient introductory works, see Gao Ming 1987; Qiu Xigui 1988; Shaughnessy 1991. It is true that the correspondence between modern Chinese and bronze inscription writing is not one hundred percent; some characters are no longer understood, some words are now written with characters different from those used in antiquity, and the repertoire of Chinese characters has, of course, grown tremendously since the Bronze Age. Even so, the continuity is very strong.



would continue, as it were, to reverberate, activating the prestige of the past for the purposes of the present. Since the main objective of casting and ritually using bronzes was to secure the continued celestial blessings of the ancestors, the messages conveyed, first and foremost, whatever was thought would please the spirits. And the spirits could not be addressed casually; the messages had to be encoded in the appropriate formulaic expressions—in a ritual language detached from ordinary discourse. The constraints of this specialized code significantly affected the contents of what was communicated. It follows that the bronze inscriptions constitute anything but an objective record of history; any “historical” information an inscription may contain is likely to have been modified according to overriding ritual needs.

The reason why bronze inscriptions nevertheless hold significant value as historical documents lies in the nexus of ritual and politics, a nexus that early China shares with other early civilizations. The performance of ritual—in China, the sacrifices to the ruler’s ancestors—was one principal business of rulers; indeed, political activity essentially took the form of ritual.<sup>39</sup> Hence the themes touched upon in the texts inscribed on bronzes made for use in the ancestral cult often carried considerable importance beyond the merely religious sphere. Perhaps in contradistinction to some of the other civilizations of the ancient world, the primary function of writing in Shang and Zhou China was to sanctify and thereby to legitimize what was written.<sup>40</sup> This was true indiscriminately of ritual and of administrative writing. Tellingly, the conventions of the ritual language encountered in the bronze inscriptions are extremely similar to those of government documents of the time, some instances of which have been transmitted (albeit in somewhat edited form)

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<sup>39</sup> This nexus has been classically described by Fustel de Coulanges 1864; Wheatley 1971 discusses the Chinese case in the context of a worldwide comparison; for China-focused accounts, each emphasizing different aspects, see Granet 1929; Chang 1983; Keightley 2000.

<sup>40</sup> Shirakawa 1973: 1-167; Vandermeersch 1977/1980, vol. 2: 473-481. Vandermeersch pertinently writes (1977/1980, vol. 2: 477): “La nature de l’écriture et de la langue qui s’est formée sur celle-ci en Chine [i.e., the Shang and Zhou ritual language, L. v. F.] est dominée par une caractéristique génétique primordiale: leur portée originellement transcendante. L’une et l’autre n’ont pas été créées plus ou moins spontanément pour la communication entre les hommes, mais inventées méthodiquement pour la communication avec les esprits.” See also Lewis 1999a: 14-18 and *passim*. The attempt by Postgate et al. 1995 to argue that, in parallel to other early writing systems, the invention of writing in China was linked to commercial and utilitarian concerns, is ill-founded and suffused with misunderstandings.

in the *Shangshu*.<sup>41</sup> Indeed, bronze inscriptions often contain passages that are clearly excerpted from bureaucratic records, such as records of official appointment,<sup>42</sup> the originals of which were written on perishable materials such as wooden or bamboo strips (in fact, the layout of the inscriptions sometimes seems to mimic such originals). But the inscriptions rarely quote such records in their entirety; instead, the records are often radically abbreviated, in the apparent expectation that the spirits would be able to extrapolate the omitted portions. One principal determinant of the excerpt seems to have been the amount of space available for inscription on a bronze.

In this sense, the inscriptions are, then—and this is the second fundamental point I should like to insist on—not primary texts, but edited and often radically abbreviated versions of what must have been longer and more elaborate documents inscribed on perishable mediums such as wooden or bamboo strips. As will be further discussed in Chapter Seven, any excerpts from official documents included in the ritual messages were embedded into a textual structure that made them suitable for transmission to the ancestral sphere. This entailed, for example, the addition of a statement of dedication and of a final prayer. These appended prayers, which are often rhymed, seem to be derived from a body of oral formulas that was shared with ritual hymns such as those preserved in the *Shi jing*. Many inscriptions contain the same formulas and even whole chunks of identical text.

One example of such intertextuality may be seen in two of the major inscribed documents from Hoard 1 at Zhuangbai: the Shi Qiang-*pan* inscription (see *Fig. 6*), which is one of the longest (450 characters) and most famous Western Zhou inscriptions,<sup>43</sup> and the inscription on the six bells of the Third Xīng-yongzhong chime (*Fig. 10*).<sup>44</sup> Both texts recount the history of the Wéi lineage in parallel with that of the Zhou royal house. The Shi Qiang-*pan* inscription presents a fuller account down to the time of its donor, Qiang, whereas the text inscribed on the Third Xīng-yongzhong gives a much-abbreviated version but extends to the generation after Qiang. Despite some difference in formulation, due in part to the different times of redaction, the identical language at the beginning of both documents reveals that they were

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<sup>41</sup> Shirakawa 1962-86, vol. 41: 2-5 and passim; Dobson 1962.

<sup>42</sup> This connection is in fact made explicit in the inscriptions, which mention documents comprising a written royal mandate, which were read out aloud during a court audience (Huang Ranwei 1978; Chen Hanping 1986; Kern 2007).

<sup>43</sup> *Yin Zhou jinwen jicheng* 16.10175. For a translation see Shaughnessy 1991: 3-4, 183-92. Studies of the text are collected in Yin Shengping (ed.) 1992.

<sup>44</sup> *Yin Zhou jinwen jicheng* 1.251-56. Translated and discussed in Falkenhausen 1988: 975-78.

derived from a common model text, now lost, that presumably was kept at the Weí lineage archives. These two inscriptions, as well as two additional long inscriptions on *yongzhong* chime-bells from Hoard 1,<sup>45</sup> are the main source for reconstructing the genealogy of the Weí lineage.

## WEÍ GENEALOGY AND THE DATE OF THE RITUAL REFORM<sup>46</sup>

Above, in order to illustrate my description of the stylistic sequence of the bronzes from Hoard 1, I adduced vessels donated to their ancestral temple by four successive heads of the Weí lineage: Zhe (*Fig. 4*), Feng (*Fig. 5*), Qiang (*Fig. 6*), and Xīng (*Figs. 7-8*). Not only is this chronological order clear from the changes in the shape and especially in the ornamentation style of these objects, but it is also confirmed by the comprehensive accounts of Weí lineage genealogy in the long inscriptions on the Shi Qiang-*pan* and on Xīng's three principal sets of *yongzhong*. By coordinating the personal names employed in their own lifetimes (*ming*)—which occur on the bronzes donated by the person named—with the posthumous appellations (*shi*) adopted after their deaths, one can establish that, in each case, a son succeeded his father. The inscriptions also mention some additional, earlier ancestors who are not documented as donors of extant vessels. The full sequence of Weí lineage heads, with the various names used for each, is shown in *Table 5*.

The Late Western Zhou Ritual Reform must have occurred during the lifetime of Xīng, the last of the four Weí lineage heads known by their personal names through the inscriptions from Hoard 1; for of the 22 vessels from Hoard 1 bearing his name, 4 (a set of 2 *xu* and a pair of *bú* vessels) carry Middle Western Zhou bird design (see *Fig. 7*), while the vast majority (a set of 8 *gui*, another pair of *bú*, 3 *jue*, 1 *fu*, and 2 pointed spoons; *Fig. 8*) feature decoration in the new, abstract style characteristic of Late Western Zhou. (To these one might add a set of five *li* inscribed on behalf of an unnamed head of the Weí lineage, quite possibly Xīng; two *pen* also inscribed with Xīng's name are unornamented and therefore of no use to this analysis.) The fact that the stylistically less advanced of Xīng's two pairs of *bú* vessels (see *Fig. 7*) is dated to a “thirteenth year” and the more “modern” pair (see *Fig. 8*) to a “third year”

<sup>45</sup> *Yin Zhou jinwen jicheng* 1.246 (First Xīng-*yongzhong*) and 1.247-50 and 257-59 (Second Xīng-*yongzhong*); cf. n. 15. For translation and discussion of the three long *yongzhong* inscriptions from Zhuangbai, see Falkenhausen 1988: 963-99.

<sup>46</sup> The following discussion summarizes Luo Tái 1997 (further clarified by Li Ling 2002), where more detailed discussion of individual inscriptions is provided.

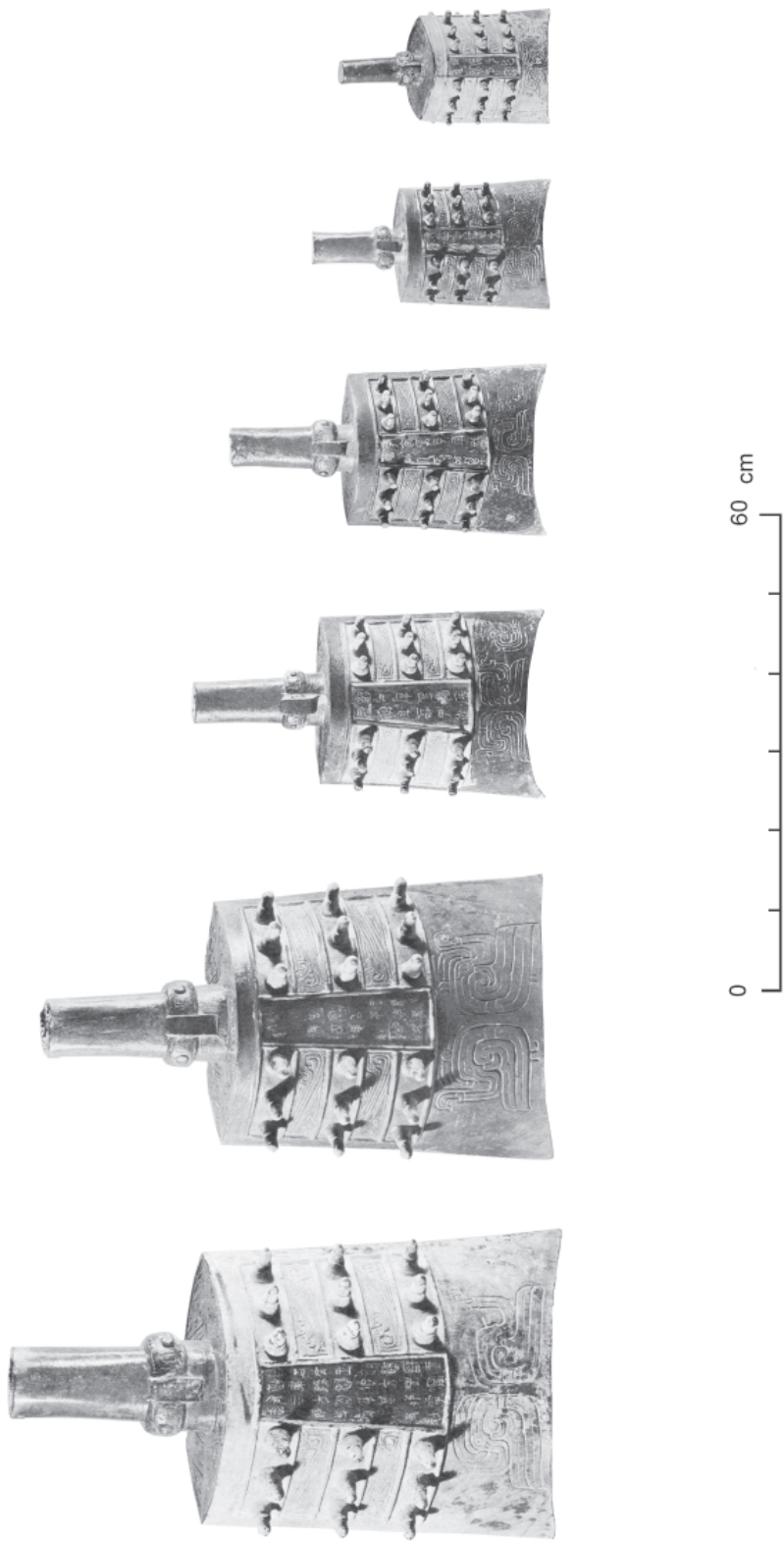


Fig. 10. Third Xing-yongzhong from Hoard 1 at Zhuangbai. Mid-ninth century BC. A standard chime of *yongzhong* contained eight bells; two are probably missing from the excavated set.

**Table 5.** List of Weí Lineage Heads Documented in the Bronze Inscriptions from Hoard 1 at Zhuangbai (in Genealogical Order)

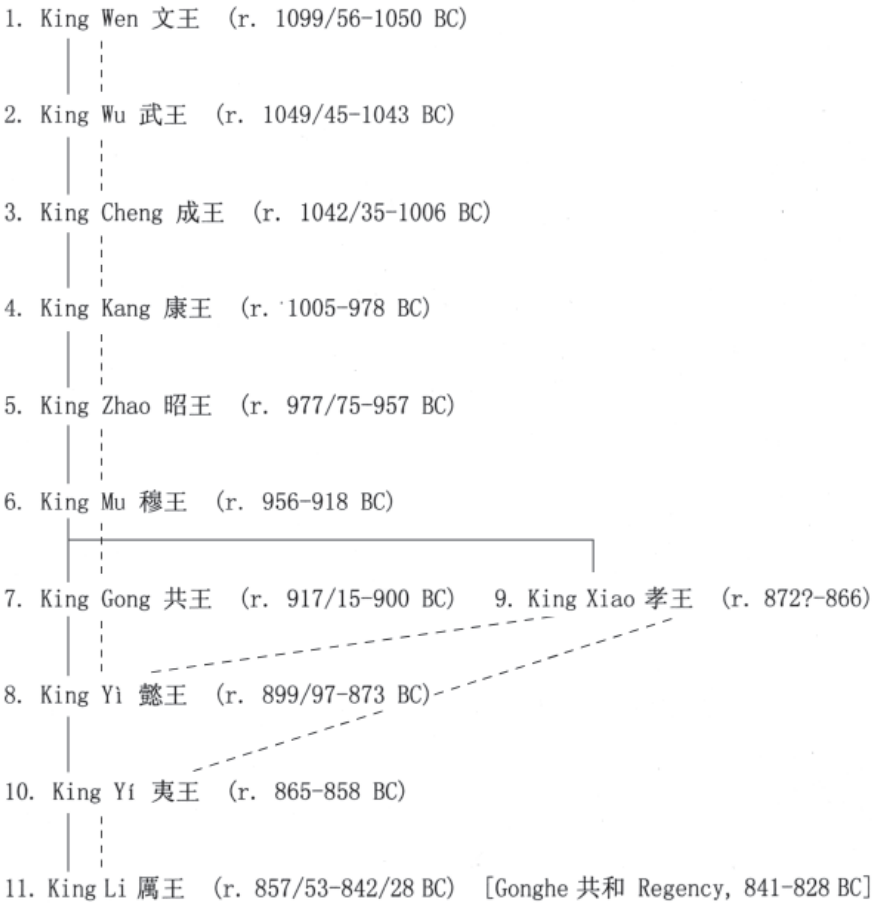
Posthumous appellation	Personal name (title)	Notes
Gaozu	Not recorded	
[Weí shi liezu]	[—]	Probably not the name of a single ancestor, but a collective term referring to several generations of Weí ancestors
Yi zu/Fu Yi [?]	Not recorded [Shang?]	Possibly the dedicatee of the Lü Fu Yi- <i>gu</i> ; that he might be the donor of the Shang- <i>you</i> and - <i>zun</i> found in Hoard 1 is merely a conjecture.
Yazu zu Xin/Fu Xin	Zhe	
Wen kao Yi gong /Wen zu Yi gong	Feng	
Huang kao Ding gong	Qiang (Shi Qiang)	
Not recorded	Xing (Wei Bo Xing)	
[Not recorded]	[Bo Xianfu]	Donor of some Late Western Zhou vessels from Hoard 1; it is uncertain whether he was a Weí lineage head.

strongly suggests that they were made under two different kings.<sup>47</sup> It follows that the changeover from the dissolved animal motifs of Middle Western Zhou to the abstract, geometric décor of Late Western Zhou vessels was abrupt rather than gradual; and the concomitant changes in vessel constellation and ritual practices are likely to have been imposed through a one-time decision, very probably at or near the start of a new royal reign.

But when did this occur? In order to determine an absolute date for Xing’s lifetime and the Late Western Zhou Ritual Reform, we shall have to take a closer look at some of the above-mentioned long inscriptions from Hoard 1, notably the Shi Qiang-*pan* inscription, which conveniently enumerates the Zhou kings from the inception of the dynasty to its own time (see *Table 6*). From the dynastic founder King Wen (r. 1099/56-1050 BC) down to King Mu (r. 956-918 BC), they are listed by their posthumous appellations; only the reigning king at the end of the Shi Qiang-*pan* account is referred to simply as *wang* (“the King”),

<sup>47</sup> Such dates refer to the reign of the current king, whose identity is never specified but can sometimes be guessed based on the style of the inscribed bronzes and/or the contents of their inscriptions.

Table 6. Royal Zhou Genealogy (through 841 BC).



Straight lines indicate genealogical descent; dotted lines indicate the order of succession to the throne. Dates given according to Shaughnessy 1991 (q.v. for more explanation).

because his personal name was taboo (unless used by himself) and a posthumous appellation was only assigned after death. Consequently, Li Xueqin dates the Shi Qiang-*pan* to the reign of King Mu’s successor, King Gong (r. 917/15-900 BC) (Table 7).<sup>48</sup> If this were correct, since Xīng succeeded Qiang as head of the Wéi lineage, the Xīng bronzes—and with them the Late Western Zhou Ritual

<sup>48</sup> Li Xueqin 1979; Li’s problematic dating has been followed almost universally in the later literature.

Table 7. Coordination of Wei and Royal Zhou Genealogies

Time	Zhou kings	Wei lineage heads	
		ALTERNATIVE I (Li Xueqin 1980)	ALTERNATIVE II (Luo Tai 1997)
1100	Wen		a) <i>short</i>
		Gaozu	b) <i>long</i> Gaozu
1050	Wu Cheng	Weí shi liezu	...
			[several generations of <i>liezu</i> ]
1000	Kang  Zhao	Yizu	...
		Zhe	...
950	Mu		Yi zu
		Feng	Zhe
900	Gong Yi	Qiang	Feng
			Feng
850	Xiao Yi Li	Xīng	Qiang
	[Gonghe] Xuan		Xīng
800	You		[Bo Xianfu?]
		...	[Bo Xianfu?]
771	[END OF WESTERN ZHOU/DEPOSITION OF ZHUANGBAI HOARD]		

Reform—would date from the reigns of King Yì (r. 899/97-873 BC), and King Xiao (r. 872?-866 BC), or possibly down to King Yí (r. 865-858 BC). In fact, however, the correspondence is probably not quite so straightforward. There are two problems: stylistic and demographic.

The stylistic problem is that other Western Zhou bronzes commonly assumed to date from the Yì-Xiao-Yí period feature decoration of dissolved bird and animal motifs in the Middle Western Zhou style. Objects featuring the geometric decoration seen in the majority of Xīng's bronzes, by contrast, are usually associated with the last three reigns of Western Zhou (from King Li [r. 857/53-842/28] onward) and the beginnings of Eastern Zhou, commencing about the middle of the ninth century BC at the earliest.



Moreover, since Xīng is the latest major donor of bronzes from Hoard 1,<sup>49</sup> it would seem somewhat likely that he lived not too long before 771 BC, the date at which the bronzes are thought to have been deposited at Zhuangbai. Consequently, Li Xueqin's suggested date for the Xīng bronzes appears to be at least one generation too early; and his dating of the Qiang bronzes should be adjusted correspondingly.

The demographic problem is that, even though the Shi Qiang-*pan* lists successive Weí lineage heads in parallel with the Zhou kings, the inscription mentions far fewer Weí lineage heads than that Zhou kings (see *Table 7*). At first sight this might be taken as a point in support of an early date for the Shi Qiang-*pan*, but the number of generations on the Weí side is so small that, even with the earliest possible date, the number of years per generation would be so large as to defy probability. The text makes it explicit that both sequences start at the beginning of the Zhou dynasty. For the Zhou kings, the average number of years per generation for the seven generations from King Wen to King Gong is 28.4, which is by and large consistent with long-term demographic trends in premodern populations (overall figures for the Zhou royal house down to 256 BC are 24.1 years per reign—or 22.1, counting three kings who each reigned less than one year—and 25.6 years per generation, taking into account that in one case the succession descended from grandfather to grandson and twice from elder brother to younger brother). But to fill the same timespan from the foundation of the Zhou dynasty to Qiang's time, only five generations of the Weí lineage are documented, yielding a completely unrealistic average generation length of forty or so years if the Shi Qiang-*pan* dates from King Gong's reign—and even longer if it dates from a later time, as seems likely based on stylistic considerations. (Even if one follows Li Xueqin in taking the term “Weí shi liezu” as denoting

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<sup>49</sup> The hoard's only other inscribed bronzes of Late Western Zhou style are a set of ten *li*, a bridal gift for the wife, sister, or daughter of one Bo Xianfu, whose lineage affiliation is not given (Shaanxi Sheng Kaogu Yanjiusuo, Shaanxi Sheng Wenwu Guanliweiyuanhui, and Shaanxi Sheng Bowuguan 1980a, nos. 84-93; *Yin Zhou jinwen jicheng* 3.649-658). Huang Shengzhang (1978) suggested that Xianfu was a Weí lineage head in a later generation; Li Xueqin (1979:30) intimates the possibility that he was Xīng's son. Or possibly “Xianfu” was the style name (*zi*) of Xīng (one would expect to see the *zi* on a bridal-vessel inscription). Of the female beneficiary of the Bo Xianfu-*li*, only the personal name, Da(?), is indicated; her relationship to Bo Xianfu is therefore unclear (the composition of the graph suggests that she may have been his oldest daughter, but such a graph-based reading seems risky).

an additional ancestor following the founder,<sup>50</sup> the resulting average generation length of 33.3 years down to King Gong would still be unusually long.<sup>51</sup>) The most likely conclusion is that the listing of Weí ancestors in the Shi Qiang-*pan* is incomplete: the text appears to have skipped several generations between the founder of the lineage (Gaozu) and Zhe's father, whose posthumous appellation is given on Zhe's own vessels as Fu Yi ("Father Yi") and in vessels from later generations as Yi zu ("The Yi Ancestor") ("Yi" in both cases indicating that the sacrifice to this ancestor was performed on the second day of the ten-day sacrificial cycle). The consideration, below, of segmentary lineage organization under the Zhou will enable us to reconstruct the number of generations likely to have been left out. For the moment, we should remember above all that the small number of Weí lineage ancestors mentioned in the inscription is at the very least no reason for dismissing the stylistically warranted dating of the Qiang and Xing bronzes to points in time considerably later than those proposed by Li Xueqin.

Such a later dating is corroborated by the very limited historical evidence available for the Middle Western Zhou period, which suggests that the unnamed reigning king mentioned in the Shi Qiang-*pan* inscription may well not be King Gong. The royal genealogy in Sima Qian's *Shi ji* intimates significant irregularities in the succession to the throne during this span of Western Zhou (see *Table 6*).<sup>52</sup> The principle of father-son succession appears

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<sup>50</sup> In fact, the term "Weí shi liezu" should probably be understood as a collective reference to the many "resplendent ancestors of the Weí lineage." Such an interpretation is suggested by the occurrences of the term *liezu* in the classical texts, notably the *Shi jing* ("Xiaoya: Bin zhi chuyan" [*Shisanjing zhushu* 14-3.217, p. 485], "Lu song: Panshui" (20-1.343, p. 611), "Shang song: Na" [20-3.352, p. 620], and "Liezu" (20-3.353, p. 621). The expression "Weí shi liezu" also occurs in the abbreviated account of Weí family history inscribed on the Third Xing-*yongzhong*, where none of Xing's other ancestors between the lineage founder and the donor are referred to individually, further suggesting that "Weí shi liezu" refers to them all.

<sup>51</sup> Yoshimoto 2000 has conducted comprehensive calculations for various polities during the Zhou period and has concluded that generation lengths of more than 30 years, while not ubiquitous, were a reality in some of the ruling families of the period, resulting in unusually long reigns. Given the prevailing principle of father-to-son succession and primogeniture, such unusually long generation lengths, if real, can only have been caused by the delayed production of offspring in these families, hinting that, perhaps, the biographies of territorial rulers followed an exceptional pattern. I suspect, however, that the impression of long generation lengths is an artifact of incomplete preservation of records, for they are grossly at variance with known premodern demographic realities worldwide (for related considerations see Chapter Two, n. 30).

<sup>52</sup> *Shi ji* "Zhou benji" 4.140-41.

to have been temporarily abandoned: King Yi, who succeeded his father King Gong, is recorded to have been succeeded by his uncle (King Gong's brother) King Xiao; after King Xiao, the throne is said to have reverted to the main line with the accession of King Yi's son, King Yi. But the genealogy in the *Shi ji* may be a subsequent attempt to camouflage major dynastic strife. In his important study of calendrical notations in Western Zhou bronze inscriptions, David S. Nivison noted that after King Gong's time, for perhaps as long as a half-century, two distinct royal calendars were used, most likely reflecting a split of the dynasty into two contending rival houses.<sup>53</sup> Of course, any bronze inscription composed during that time would have had to reflect only the side to which the respective donor was loyal. I find it likely that the Shi Qiang-*pan* was made during this turbulent period by an adherent of King Xiao. Since King Xiao presumably considered himself his father King Mu's only legitimate successor, the text could not make mention of King Gong and his line. Now, the traditional linear king list, which we know from a recently excavated inscription to have already been current by the early eighth century BC,<sup>54</sup> places King Xiao's reign after that of his brother and nephew, perhaps based on evidence that King Xiao was alive until relatively late in the Middle Western Zhou period. Such a date would be consistent with the style of the Shi Qiang-*pan*, which, as noted, represents a relatively advanced stage in the dissolution of the typical Middle Western Zhou bird motif; if it is correct, then the bronzes donated by Qiang's son Xing would be correspondingly later in date, and the Late Western Zhou Ritual Reform—some years into

<sup>53</sup> Nivison 1983a; 1983b: 49–50.

<sup>54</sup> This is the Qiu (or Lai)-*pan* inscription from Yangjiacun, Mei Xian (Shaanxi) (for images and rubbings, see Shaanxi Sheng Kaogu Yanjiusuo, Baoji Shi Kaogu Gongzuodui, and Mei Xian Wenhuguan/ Yangjiacun Lianhe Kaogudui 2003; Shaanxi Sheng Wenwuju and Zhonghua Shijitan Yishuguan 2003; for readings of the inscription and the interpretation of its genealogy, see, among others, Dong Shan 2003; Li Ling 2003; Li Xueqin 2003; Wang Hui 2003; Zhang Tian'en 2003; tentative translation in Falkenhausen 2004b; discussed in Luo Tai 2006 and Falkenhausen 2006). It recounts the achievements of meritorious members of the Shan lineage in the service of the Zhou kings from King Wen through the reigning king, who must be King Xuan (r. 827–780). The kings are enumerated completely, and their order exactly corresponds to Sima Qian's. Different from the Shi Qiang-*pan* inscription, the achievements of the Shan lineage members are not listed separately but integrated into a single chronological narrative. Whether the enumeration of Shan lineage members includes each generation is dubious, as they seem to have been selected mainly for the importance of their service, rather than with the aim of constituting a complete linear sequence of the donor's ancestors.

Xīng's tenure as head of the Weí lineage—would fall sometime around 850 BC, most probably within King Li's reign.<sup>55</sup>

These historical circumstances, though very incompletely known, may provide one initial clue as to the possible impetus to the Late Western Zhou Ritual Reform. If, as suggested by the suddenness of the stylistic changes observable, this reform was enacted in one fell swoop, it may have constituted part of an effort at political consolidation following the reestablishment of unified royal Zhou rule.<sup>56</sup> The reorganization of the ancestral cult, then, may have been motivated by a desire to restore order among lineages who had been riven by dissent during half a century.

## WESTERN ZHOU LINEAGE ORGANIZATION

A closer look at the genealogical terminology used in the inscriptions on the Shi Qiang-*pan* and the Xīng bells (see *Table 5*) makes it obvious that the ancestors listed in both documents belong to two principal categories: recent ancestors and "focal ancestors" from the more remote past. The recent ancestors comprise chiefly the donor's father and grandfather (Western Zhou bronze inscriptions rarely go beyond these); the "focal ancestors" include the founders of the trunk lineage and of the lineage segment (branch lineage) to which the donor belonged. The inscriptions from Hoard 1 refer to the founder of the Weí trunk lineage as *Gaozu* ("High Ancestor"), a generic term attested in such

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<sup>55</sup> That the Ritual Reform had taken place fairly early in King Li's reign is suggested by the Late Western Zhou style of three extant bronzes—one vessel and two bells—that were commissioned by this king: the Hu-*gui* excavated at Qicun, Fufeng (Shaanxi Sheng Kaogu Yanjiusuo, Shaanxi Sheng Wenwu Guanliweiyuanhui, and Shaanxi Sheng Bowuguan 1980b, no. 138; *Yin Zhou jinwen jicheng* 8:4317); the unprovenienced Hu-*yongzhong* (a.k.a. Zongzhou-*zhong*) in the National Palace Museum, Taipei (*Gugong tongqi tulu* vol. 2, pt. I: 238; *Yin Zhou jinwen jicheng* 1: 260), and the Wusi Hu-*yongzhong* from Baijiacun, Fufeng (Mu Haiting and Zhu Jieyuan 1983; *Yin Zhou jinwen jicheng* 2: 358).

<sup>56</sup> The available sources reflect a curious situation in the temple cult of the royal lineage during the latter part of Late Western Zhou: Kings Kang, Zhao, Mu, Yí, and Li seem to have had major temples, but not Kings Gong, Yi, and Xiao (see the inscription on the Yi-*gui* [an unprovenienced vessel in the Nara National Museum; Hayashi 1984, vol. 2: 128, fig. 378; *Yin Zhou jinwen jicheng* 8.4287]; see also Tang Lan 1983). What this selection of ancestors signifies, and how it is to be reconciled with the genealogy and segmentary system is as yet unclear. I am grateful to Prof. Kominami Ichirô for explaining this in his research seminar (Research Institute of Humanistic Studies, Kyôto University, February 4, 2003).

a meaning in the transmitted texts.<sup>57</sup> As to the founder of Qiang's and Xīng's lineage segment—the individual already known to us by his personal name Zhe—the Shi Qiang-*pan* and Third Xīng-*yongzhong* inscriptions designate him as *Yazu* (“Subordinate Ancestor”). This term is not seen in any transmitted text, but it occurs in several other Late Western Zhou bronze inscriptions. In one of these, the Nangong Hu-*yongzhong* inscription,<sup>58</sup> it follows upon the donor's *Xianzu* (“First Ancestor”), even more clearly than *Gaozu* a term designating a lineage founder; the individual here referred to as *Xianzu* has been identified as one of the statesmen who participated in the founding of the Zhou dynasty, well over two centuries before the casting of this inscription, whereas the *Yazu* must have lived much closer to the donor's own lifetime.<sup>59</sup> In the recently excavated Qiu-*pan*,<sup>60</sup> *Yazu* is the second last in a long list of ancestors, not necessarily all in a single genealogical line of descent, going back to the beginning of the Zhou dynasty; all of these are referred to by the epithet “August High Ancestor” (*Huang Gaozu*).<sup>61</sup> This confirms that the “Subordinate Ancestor” is

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<sup>57</sup> *Shangshu* “Pan Geng” (*Shisanjing zhusbu* 9.60, p. 172) and “Kang Wang zhi gao” (i.e. “Guming” pt. 2; *Shisanjing zhusbu* 19.132, p. 244); *Zuo Zhuan Zhao* 15 (*Shisanjing zhusbu* 47.376, p. 2078). In a second meaning of slightly later origin, the term *Gaozu* designates the First Ancestor in a lineage segment spanning five generations, i.e., the grandfather's grandfather of the most junior member of the lineage segment (*Zuo Zhuan Zhao* 17 [*Shisanjing zhusbu* 48.381, p. 2083]; *Li ji* “Sangfu xiaoji” [*Shisanjing zhusbu* 32.267, p. 1495]). In the genealogical account of the Shan lineage inscribed on the recently discovered Qiu-*pan* (see n. 54), *Huang Gaozu* is used as a generic term for all trunk-lineage ancestors above the branch-lineage founder or “Secondary Ancestor” (*Yazu*) (cf. Cao Wei 2003).

<sup>58</sup> This bell, which must once have been part of a chime, was excavated at Baozigou, Fufeng (Shaanxi) (Shaanxi Sheng Kaogu Yanjiusuo, Shaanxi Sheng Wenwu Guanliweiyuanhui, and Shaanxi Sheng Bowuguan 1980b, no. 140; *Yin Zhou jinwen jicheng* 1.181; for an extensive treatment of the inscription, including a translation, see Falkenhausen 1988: 1000–39).

<sup>59</sup> *Shi jing* “Xiaoya: Siyue” (*Shisanjing zhusbu* 13-1.194, p. 462); *Shangshu* “Duoshi” (*Shisanjing zhusbu* 16.107, p. 219). The *Xunzi* (“Lilun”, *Zhuji jicheng* 13.233) explicitly glosses *Xianzu* as “origin of a kind” (similarly in *Li ji* “Liyun” [*Shisanjing zhusbu* 21.188, p. 1416]; see also *Chunqiu fanlu* “Guande” [*Chunqiu fanlu yizheng* 9: 269]).

<sup>60</sup> Or Lai-*pan*. For references, see n. 54.

<sup>61</sup> Wu Zhenfeng (1987: 54 [entry Gong Zhong], 207 [entry Zu Xin]) takes *Yazu* to mean “grandfather,” and there is no denying that the person so designated happens to be the donor's grandfather both in the case of the Shi Qiang-*pan* and (probably) that of the Qiu-*pan* from Yangjiacun. This is, however, not so clear in the case of the Second Xīng-*yongzhong* and the Nangong Hu-*yongzhong*, where the formulation suggests that

separated from the founding ancestor of the trunk lineage by quite a number of generations. Those who sacrificed to a “Subordinate Ancestor” belonged to a segment of their respective lineage that had either split off the main trunk lineage and become a separate branch lineage, or had reconstituted itself as a new, scaled-down trunk lineage; the “Subordinate ancestor” is the founder of this secondary-level unit within a lineage.

The inscriptions just discussed are the earliest explicit manifestation now extant of cultic practices that limited ancestral sacrifices to lineage founders and ancestors from the relatively recent past. Such discrimination in the ritual realm mirrors two essential features of segmentary lineage organization: the differentiation of a lineage into a trunk and several branches (segments) that were unequal vis-à-vis one another, and the role of these ranked lineage segments or branch lineages as the basic building blocks of the social order.

Such a system is documented in the “Dazhuan” and “Sangfu xiaoji” chapters of the *Li ji* (*Records on Ritual*), one of the three Confucian ritual classics, which was compiled in the first century BC but contains earlier material.<sup>62</sup> These *loci* stipulate that branch lineages (*zu*) were to split off from a trunk lineage (*zong*) every five generations (Fig. 11). The head of such a branch lineage was inferior by one rank to the contemporaneous head of the trunk lineage. Senior branch lineages would in turn become trunk lineages vis-à-vis new lineages split off from them, and the latter’s heads were ranked one notch below the head of the branch lineage from which they had split off. As this process repeated itself through a number of generations, the more remote descendants were progressively demoted in rank. Only the senior descendants in the central trunk lineage continued to hold the rank of the original lineage founder. They were in charge of the sacrifices to the founding ancestor of the lineage, which were maintained in perpetuity on behalf of all the constituent branch lineages. The cult to other focal ancestors—founders of lineage segments or branch lineages—was likewise continued in perpetuity. All other ancestors were removed from the regular cult after five generations. Although this representation is no doubt idealizing, and there may have been considerable flexibility in actual ritual practice, the terminology used in the inscriptions from Hoard 1 at Zhuangbai suggests that Zhou elite lineages were organized according to such general principles at least by Qiang’s time.

The relevance of lineage splitting and the exclusion of non-focal ancestors from the ritual schedule is corroborated by the fact that only lineage heads from the

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*yazu*, like *gaozu* and *xianzu*, designates a fixed position in the ancestral sequence, whose position vis-à-vis the *ego* of reference changed from generation to generation (for further discussion see Luo Tai 1997).

<sup>62</sup> *Li ji* “Sangfu xiaoji” (*Shisanjing zhusbu* 32.267, p. 1495); “Dazhuan” (*Shisanjing zhusbu* 34.280, p. 1508). On the *Li ji*, see Riegel 1993; Nylan 2001: 168–201 passim).

“Subordinate Ancestor” Zhe downward appear as donors of vessels in Hoard 1 (see *Table 5*); even though some earlier ancestors are mentioned in the inscriptions, none of their vessels seem to have been preserved.<sup>63</sup> From this it appears that the lineage had reconstituted itself in Zhe’s generation. If, at that time, new branch lineages were formed every five generations, as stipulated much later in the *Li ji*, Zhe must have been Gaozu’s fifth-generation descendant. It would follow—confirming our reasoning based on generation lengths—that the listing of Weí lineage heads in the Shi Qiang-*pan* inscription is incomplete: the text would seem to omit two ancestors between Gaozu and Zhe’s father Yizu (or three, depending on whether or not Gaozu counts as one of the five).<sup>64</sup> It would also follow that more time must have elapsed between the founding of the dynasty and Qiang’s lifetime than stipulated by Li Xueqin’s chronology. This is another argument in support of redating the Shi Qiang-*pan* to the late phase of Middle Western Zhou, and of dating the Late Western Zhou Ritual Reform to about 850 BC.

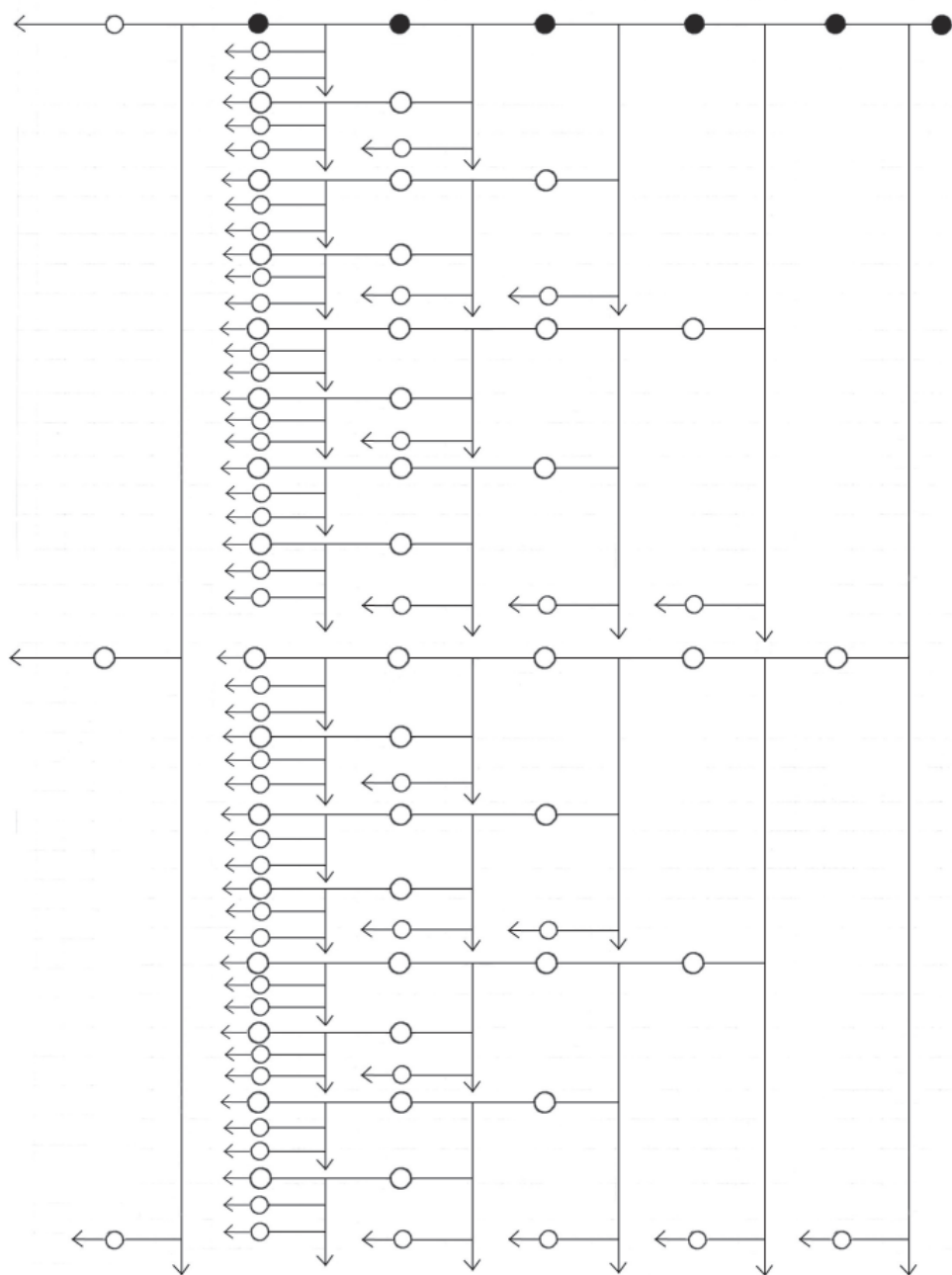
The advantages of such a system of lineage splitting are obvious: it limited the ancestors to whom sacrifices were to be offered to a manageable number and thus prevented ritual obligations from becoming an unsustainable drain on resources. (Such “ritual involution” may have plagued the Shang dynasty and been one cause of its downfall.) In the world of the living, moreover, a system of regular lineage-splitting automatically created a hierarchy based on kin seniority and genealogical distance from the focal ancestors, thereby establishing clear differences in access to the prerogatives of status. It also created viable subunits in lineages that otherwise, over the course of the generations, would have grown too large; relatives within five generations of kin can still

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<sup>63</sup> Liu Shi’e and Yin Shengping (1992: 58-79), in an attempt to flesh out the Weí genealogy, identify the donor of the Geng Ji (a.k.a. Shang) vessels (on which see n. 75 below) with Zhe’s father, who is referred to in the Shi Qiang-*pan* inscription as Yizu (as explained in n. 75, this is probably wrong); they also try to pinpoint the position within the Weí lineage of the donors of other inscribed vessels found in Hoard 1 who do not explicitly identify themselves as members of the lineage. This is somewhat risky because there is every reason to assume that the Weí lineage may have counted among its holdings vessels obtained from other lineages, either through marriage or by other means. Even so, it is possible, for instance, that Yizu was the dedicatee of the Lü Fu Yi-*gu* and/or the Ling-*fanglei*, whose donor(s) would, in such a case, have had to be Weí lineage members in Zhe’s generation. Note, however, that these identifications are somewhat difficult to reconcile with the respective vessels’ style.

<sup>64</sup> Thus, even if the problematic term “Weí shi liezu” designates one specific individual (more probably, it is a collective designation), at least one generation would have been left out of the list.





**Fig. 11.** Structure of a segmentary lineage. Each circle indicates a male lineage member; wives (originating from other lineages due to the rule of exogamy) and daughters are omitted. Three sons per generation are shown. The trunk of the lineage is on the far left side. Branches split off to the right of it, and the trunk lineage reconstitutes itself five generations after the founder. This is a highly idealized schema.



interact efficiently.<sup>65</sup> Small units of social organization were also important to ensure the efficiency of military organization, which during the early centuries of the Zhou dynasty was kin-based (the smallest units being known as *zu*, “lineage segments”).

We do not know whether the Zhou, whose ritual practices were initially very much in the mold of those of the Shang, practiced a system of lineage splitting from the beginning, or whether such a system was instituted in response to demographic growth over the course of the dynasty. In any case, the need for segmentary differentiation was probably not felt very strongly as long as the dynasty was still young and expanding, and the number of prerogatives was not far exceeded by the number of eligible claimants. Access to privilege had to be curtailed, presumably, beginning about 100–150 years after the founding of the dynasty. Indications of lineage splitting are virtually absent before that time but abound thereafter.<sup>66</sup> In the history of the Weí lineage, if our dating of the Shi Qiang-*pan* is correct, this time corresponds to the tenure of Zhe as lineage head, and to the foundation of a new branch lineage by Zhe. This was also about the time when trouble was beginning to brew for the royal house.

Just after that time one may observe important, pervasive, and apparently quite sudden change in the forms of names by which living individuals are

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<sup>65</sup> Recent studies suggest that human beings are psychophysically equipped to interact socially on a basis of personal acquaintance with a maximum of some 500 people, and the numerical threshold for the next-higher order of social grouping—a “regional group” within which information is disseminated informally through a small number of key individuals—is around 2,000–3,000 people (Kosse 1990; I am indebted to my colleague Charles Stanish for directing me to this work). To reach 2,000 starting from zero in one century (= four generations, assuming an average length of 25 years per generation) presupposes a growth rate of 2.995 (using the formula given in Hassan 1981: 139), which is well within the possibilities indicated by the cemetery data from Shangma (see Chapter Three and *Table 13*). If similar rates of demographic growth prevailed for the Western Zhou élite, it would follow that lineages imperatively had to split in the fifth generation so as to make possible their continued functioning as internally cohesive social units. This is all the more warranted given that, presumably, the circle of acquaintance of a Western Zhou élite lineage member was not entirely limited to his or her own relatives.

<sup>66</sup> Junior lineages are documented for a majority among the fourteen Western Zhou lineages documented by bronze inscriptions from the Plain of Zhou and scrutinized by Zhu Fenghan (1990: 361–380). On lineage splitting in Western Zhou see also Matsui 2002: 208–42. Li Xixing (1984) interprets architectural data to the effect that lineage splitting commenced sometime about the middle of Western Zhou; this is a promising line of argument, but more evidence is needed.

referred to in bronze inscriptions.<sup>67</sup> Once again, a felicitous combination of epigraphic analysis and archaeologically based dating methods enables us to identify such a shift and to pinpoint the approximate time when it occurred. In Shang and Early Western Zhou inscriptions, donors usually give only their personal name or that of their lineage (the latter often in the form of an emblem rather than a normal character). In a seeming break with this earlier practice, in bronze inscriptions from Middle Western Zhou onward donors' names frequently came to contain an element indicating the individual's seniority among his or her siblings: *bo* (for females, *meng*), "Eldest"; *zhong*, "Second-born"; *shu*, "Junior"; and *ji*, "Youngest."<sup>68</sup> On some bronzes from Hoard 1, for instance, Xīng is referred to as *Wéi Bo Xīng*, "Xīng, Eldest of Wéi." In an extension of their original meaning, these terms could also denote the relative seniority of a branch lineage: *Wéi Bo Xīng* thus might also mean "Xīng of the Senior Branch of the Wéi Lineage" (unfortunately it is rarely possible to be certain which of the two meanings is intended).<sup>69</sup> The use of such names may well be connected with the increasing prevalence of lineage splitting; for in a situation where junior members of a lineage were now subject to demotion, one's exact position within one's generation became increasingly important.

The Late Western Zhou Ritual Reform, instituted about 850 BC—a century or so after the onset of pervasive lineage splitting in Zhou elite society—appears to have been an attempt to deal with the social consequences of this essentially demographic phenomenon. In particular, the new sumptuary rules devised at that time may have aimed to give clear expression to the rank differences between trunk lineages and branch lineages of differing grades of seniority. We shall have ample occasion to explore these gradations in the coming chapters.

## THE SOCIAL POSITION OF THE WÉI LINEAGE

In any segmentary lineage society, descent is the decisive criterion in negotiating social inequality. In the Zhou culture sphere it became ever more so as a result

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<sup>67</sup> This development was discovered by Hayashi (1983) in his attempt to use lexical elements and phrases in the bronze inscriptions as dating criteria. I first explored the implications for the understanding of lineage structure in Falkenhausen 1994a, but a more comprehensive study is needed. Sheng Dongling 1983 is an excellent study of the typology and semantics of Western Zhou personal names.

<sup>68</sup> *Lǐ jī* "Tāngōng shàng" (*Shìsānjīng zhùshù* 7.58, p. 1286) refers to *bo* and *zhong* as terms of address for males over the age of 50. This should not be confused with the Western Zhou use as indicators of lineage seniority.

<sup>69</sup> Few scholars have commented on this problem. See Shirakawa 1962-1984, *passim*; Vandermeersch 1977/1980, vol. 1: 154-177; Sheng Dongling 1983.

of the Late Western Zhou Ritual Reform. Continuity of descent from as prestigious as possible an ancestral figure in the distant past—and seniority among those descended from that ancestor—entailed access to privilege and power. The ancestral cult provided a platform for the iterative reconstitution of the lineage and its self-representation both to the human and to the supernatural realm. It enabled living lineage members to reaffirm their ties with one another, to reaffirm their own position in the history of their lineage, and thereby to create and shape collective memory. In other words, it created corporate solidarity. The treasuries of ritual objects accumulated at the ancestral temple lent material expression to lineage identity. For the Weí lineage, Hoard 1 at Zhuangbai offers some glimpses into such a construction of identity.

The locus of discovery of Hoard 1 in the Plain of Zhou attests that the Weí lineage was one among a number of élite lineages in the entourage of the Zhou king. The inscriptions show its members asserting the position of their lineage in what must have been a relentless and complex competition for status and privilege. As hereditary officials, they were in charge of drafting documents that conveyed the royal will. Perhaps as a reflection of the importance of this task, the sumptuary rank they claimed after the Late Western Zhou Ritual Reform was high. In the Shi Qiang-*pan* and Third Xīng-yongzhuang inscriptions, the Weí lineage heads do not hesitate to list their own and their ancestors' achievements in parallel to those of the Zhou kings. This may be read as an expression of loyalty to the royal house, but it also implies that the donors regarded the importance of their own Weí lineage and their own moral virtue as in some ways comparable to those of the Zhou kings.<sup>70</sup> In any case, these inscriptions emphasize the closeness of the ties between the two descent groups—an assertion upon which rested the prestige of the Weí lineage as well as that of every one of its members. The acceptance of that assertion in the social environment at large had to be “documented” in written form, and these documents were periodically validated by casting the gist of them on bronzes used in ritual communication with the ancestral sphere.

The exact position within its own kinship network of the specific branch lineage of the House of Weí documented by the bronzes from Hoard 1 is not entirely certain. Did they head only their own branch lineage, or was theirs indeed the senior segment, or trunk, of the Weí lineage? Were they the ritual, and possibly temporal, heads over a significant number of junior branches; and if so, how did they exercise their control? We do not know. Neither are we informed about their material subsistence base. Like most if not all élite lineages

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<sup>70</sup> The inscription on the Qiu-*pan* from Yangjiacun (for references see n. 54), the only other bronze inscription known to date to correlate the achievements of the donor's lineage with those of the Zhou kings, carries the same implications.

in Western Zhou times, the Weí lineage undoubtedly had a territory of its own. A cryptic passage that occurs in both the *Shi Qiang-pan* and the Third Xing-yongzhong inscriptions, seems to mention that the Weí were assigned land when they first arrived at the Zhou court, but perhaps this merely refers to the lineage's metropolitan residence, which was presumably located very near Zhuangbai.<sup>71</sup>

Li Xueqin has tentatively identified the founding ancestor mentioned in the inscriptions with Weí Zi Qi, a junior member of the Shang royal family who defected to the Zhou shortly before the Zhou conquest of Shang, and whose descendants were later invested with the local polity of Song and with the perpetuation of the ancestral sacrifices to the Shang kings.<sup>72</sup> Alternatively, Tang Lan and Huang Shengzhang have proposed that the Weí lineage documented by the Zhuangbai bronzes ruled one of eight small polities mentioned in the *Shangshu* as allies of the Zhou in their conquest of Shang.<sup>73</sup> In either case, were the individuals mentioned in the inscriptions from Hoard 1 identical with the rulers of the local polity assigned to their lineage? Or did the members of the Weí lineage residing at Zhuangbai constitute a separate segment of the lineage that, perhaps, represented the interests of that polity at the royal court? If the latter, it would be conceivable that, as high-ranking court officials, they enjoyed ritual precedence over their provincially based relatives; these relatives might indeed have been included among the constituency of the sacrifices to the lineage founders performed at their ancestral temples in the Plain of Zhou. Textual sources document that even during Eastern Zhou, the old families in the vicinity

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<sup>71</sup> The literature on Western Zhou landholding is huge, understandably in view of the topic's importance to Marxist historiography. The best recent treatments of the topic are Li Ling 1992a; 1993b and Lau 1999; see also Skosey 1996; Shaughnessy 1999: 319-20, 326-27. Inevitably in this connection, one is confronted with the subject of Zhou "feudalism" (Maspero 1927; Granet 1929; Creel 1970: 317-87 and passim; Vandermeersch 1998), though recent treatments have regarded the transfer of feudal terminology to Zhou realities as problematic (for a new assessment, see Li Feng 2003). The underlying terminological issue is briefly addressed in Chapter Six, below (see especially Chapter Six, n. 3).

<sup>72</sup> Li Xueqin 1978; 1979:30; Liu E and Yin Shengping 1992: 58-79. I formerly accepted this identification (Falkenhausen 1988: 983-93), but have become less convinced. Recently, a prominent Early Western Zhou tomb excavated at Taipinggong, Luyi, not far from the Song polity's capital in eastern Henan (Henan Sheng Wenwu Kaogu Yanjiusuo and Zhoukou Shi Wenhua ju 2000) has been convincingly identified as that of Weí Zi Qi on the basis of the bronze inscriptions found therein (Matsumaru 2002a, building on Wang Entian 2002).

<sup>73</sup> Tang Lan 1978: 20; Huang Shengzhang 1978: 201. The *locus classicus* is in *Shangshu* "Mushi" (*Shisanjing zhusu* 11.182, p. 183).

of the throne continued symbolically to occupy a ceremonial rank superior to that of regional overlords.<sup>74</sup> Over time, however, this traditional hierarchy became ever further divorced from the realities of contemporaneous power politics.

As the cult practiced in the ancestral temples focused on the male line of descent, and Hoard 1 reflects such a focus, it is not surprising that the information it provides on the genealogy and organization of the Wéi lineage exclusively concerns its male members. Information on Wéi females is scant. There is some indication that at least one Wéi lineage head had married a wife from a lineage affiliated with the Jī clan (of which the Zhou royal house was the most senior lineage),<sup>75</sup> but we do not know either the name of her home lineage or the identity of her presumed Wéi husband. In Chapters Two and Three, the discussion of material from cemeteries will enable further insights into the workings of the sumptuary system during the two centuries or so following the Late Western Zhou Ritual Reform; it will also enable a more detailed consideration of the position of females during that period.

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<sup>74</sup> The high ceremonial rank of ministers at the royal Zhou court vis-à-vis members of the ruling families of regional polities is reflected, for instance, in the inscription on the mid-sixth-century BC Huan Zi Meng Jiang-*hú* from the Qi polity (*Yin Zhou jinwen jicheng* 15.9729; Shirakawa 1962-1984, vol. 38: 388-99). According to *Guliang zhuan* Xi 8 (*Shisanjing zhushu* 8.31, p. 2395), in the mid-seventh century BC the royal house still took precedence over the regional polities.

<sup>75</sup> This information comes from two vessels found in Hoard 1, a *you* and a *zun*, decorated in the style of the late part of Early Western Zhou (Shaanxi Sheng Kaogu Yanjiusuo, Shaanxi Sheng Wenwu Guanliweiyuanhui, and Shaanxi Sheng Bowuguan 1980 a, nos. 3-4; *Yin Zhou jinwen jicheng* 10.5404 and 11.5997). Because the inscription has been misunderstood, these two vessels are usually referred to as the Shang-*you* and Shang-*zun*, even though the word *shang* is not the name of the donor. Huang Shengzhang (1978) refers to them by the posthumous designation of the dedicatee, as the Ri Ding vessels. Their more likely correct name is the Geng Jī vessels, after their donor (Huang Mingchong 2001). The inscription, identical on both vessels, mentions a gift from the queen (referred to, unusually, as *Di Hou*, “Divine Queen”) to one Geng Jī, whose name indicates that she was born into a Jī lineage (perhaps she was indeed a Zhou royal princess) and who seems to have commissioned the vessel. The vessels are dedicated to the donor’s deceased husband, whose sacrificial day is *ding*. The fact that the vessels ended up in the Wéi lineage temple strongly suggests that Geng Jī married into the Wéi lineage. If so, her husband may have been one of the otherwise undocumented ancestors intervening between the lineage founder Gaozu and the branch-lineage founder Zhe.

## CHAPTER TWO

# DISTINCTIONS OF RANK AND GENDER WITHIN TERRITORIAL RULING LINEAGES (CA. 1000-650 BC)

GIVEN THE CENTRALITY of ancestral sacrifice to the social and political life of the Chinese Bronze Age, hoards of ritual objects once stored in ancestral temples, such as the one from Zhuangbai discussed in Chapter One, are an appropriate starting point for an archaeological investigation of lineage organization during the “Age of Confucius.” But in China as in many other ancient civilizations, it is mortuary remains that constitute the richest and, due to their ubiquity, most immediately useful source of archaeological data pertinent to the reconstruction of ancient society. This is especially true of the Bronze Age, for which we have little information on archaeological contexts of other kinds, such as settlements. Much of the analysis presented in the following chapters will therefore be based upon tombs and their contents. Data from tombs, however, like those from the hoards discussed in the preceding chapter, have inherent limitations as evidence. To begin with, tombs are not the originally intended contexts for many of the objects found in them, including those that archaeologists tend to find most interesting. Instead, these objects were made to be used by living people; they were transformed into funerary items only secondarily, through deliberate ritual action. Viewing tombs as evidence of past ritual performances is, I would argue, fundamental to the correct understanding of the funerary objects found in them.

## MORTUARY DATA AND THEIR LIMITATIONS

Archaeologists often consider tombs and their contents as direct reflections of the social status of those interred. Most of the known ancient civilizations—China included—provided their dead with funerary goods, and it stands to reason that the relative size of a tomb, as well as the quantity of funerary goods within it, reflects the social standing of the buried deceased. That assumption has a long

history in archaeology.<sup>1</sup> But however legitimate it may be, it cannot be simplistically understood, not even for ancient China, where the correspondence between tomb wealth and social status was arguably more straightforward than anywhere else in the ancient world, and where a concern with correlating funerary wealth with social ranks is additionally corroborated by textual evidence.

First of all, despite some claims to the contrary (such as the notorious Saxe-Binford hypothesis), there is no meaningful cross-cultural rule governing such correlations.<sup>2</sup> The variety of burial practices in different parts of the world is staggering, and they are far from uniform even within a single cultural tradition, as we shall have ample occasion to observe below.<sup>3</sup> Such variety is only an outgrowth of broader historical and geographical differences; funerary behavior, after all, is connected with all other forms of culturally determined behavior and changes along with them. It follows that mortuary data must always be considered, above all, within their own cultural environment. Moreover, and even more importantly, it must be realized that they are merely a *secondary* outgrowth of a society's burial customs.<sup>4</sup> For any tomb is foremost a locus of ritual; its archaeological remains are a reflection, frozen in time, of specific sequences of ritual activity.<sup>5</sup> Rather than indicating someone's social status directly, a tomb does so—if at all—only through the “filter” of religious practice. Before imposing a social interpretation, archaeologists must therefore make every effort to understand such practices in order to perceive how they influenced the funerary representation of social realities.

Another important point is that tombs say less about the deceased occupants than about their surviving heirs and about how the latter wished to assert their own position in society. Some persons, of course, may have tried to affect their postmortem setting by preparing their tombs while still alive, or by leaving explicit instructions. But the chances of compliance with such wishes depended on social factors beyond

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<sup>1</sup> Representative readings on mortuary archaeology may be found in Brown (ed.) 1971; Chapman et al. (eds.) 1981; Roberts et al. (eds.) 1989; Beck (ed.) 1995; Morris 1987: 29–43; 1992. For a cross-cultural ethnographic survey of beliefs and behaviors associated with death and the afterlife, see Bloch and Parry (eds.) 1982.

<sup>2</sup> Basing himself on Saxe's (1970) cross-cultural investigation of correlations between social funerary treatment and social status, Binford postulated (1971: 18) that “there should be a high degree of isomorphism between (a) the complexity of the status structure in a socio-cultural system and (b) the complexity of mortuary ceremonialism as regards differential treatment of persons occupying different status positions.”

<sup>3</sup> This point is made very persuasively by Morris 1992.

<sup>4</sup> For an important case study demonstrating this, see Morris 1987. The analysis offered in this and the subsequent chapter owes much to this work.

<sup>5</sup> Flad 2001 has shown how this played out in an Early Bronze Age context in northeast China.



the deceased person's control, such as the religious ideology and the degree of piety that might shape the survivors' consciences. We know, for instance, that in Early Imperial China, under the sway of Confucian doctrine, it was advisable for even an indifferent heir to adhere scrupulously to the wishes of the deceased, so as to create the socially desirable reputation of being a filial son or daughter;<sup>6</sup> quite conceivably, such notions were already current during the "Age of Confucius." Be that as it may, a tomb is at best only partially a statement by the deceased person about him/herself; it is primarily the record of the instrumentalization of the deceased person by other members in the society for their own purposes.

Fortunately, we know quite a bit about the burial customs that, in early China, mediated the translation of social status into material assemblages. The three Confucian ritual classics (*San li*)—the *Zhou Li* (*Rites of Zhou*), *Yi li* (*Protocols of Ceremony*), and *Li ji* (*Records on Ritual*), dating in their present form from the fourth to first centuries BC, but digesting earlier material—describe the basic sequence of the funeral and enumerate the categories of participants.<sup>7</sup> Since burial goods and the sumptuary rules governing their allotment are mentioned only in passing,<sup>8</sup> these transmitted records are valuable less for any concrete information they may furnish than for documenting an overall cultural preoccupation with the material expression of rank gradations within the social hierarchy. On how this was actually done, especially during the centuries following the Late Western Zhou Ritual Reform, the archaeological finds yield far richer and more reliable information than any now-extant texts.<sup>9</sup> In fact, what we know today about the sumptuary rules

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<sup>6</sup> Powers 1991: 97-103 and *passim*.

<sup>7</sup> The ritual protocol of funerals is detailed most comprehensively in *Yi li* "Shi sangli," "Jixi li," and "Shi yuli" (*Shisanjing zhushu* 35.184-43.234, pp. 1128-78). These ritual sequences constitute the implicit point of reference whenever the role of members of the royal court as celebrants in funerary ceremonies is mentioned throughout the *Zhou li*, and when specific points of funerary ritual are discussed in the *Li ji* (especially in "Sang daji," *Shisanjing zhushu* 44.343-46.359, pp. 1571-87). For a pioneering archaeological study of these texts, see Chen Gongrou 1956.

<sup>8</sup> Often, in fact, these are discussed only in later commentaries (cf. Chapter One, n. 32), some of which nevertheless preserve an astonishingly accurate understanding of authentic practices during much earlier times (for discussion, see Falkenhausen 2008).

<sup>9</sup> The search for verification of sumptuary stipulations mentioned in the classical texts has been a task of major interest to Chinese archaeologists for more than half a century, starting with Guo Baojun's (1959: 41-47, 51-52, 72-73) research on the finds from the Eastern Zhou cemeteries at Shanbiaozhen and Liulige (see also Guo Baojun 1981). The most important study on the subject is Yu Weichao and Gao Ming 1978-1979; for divergent opinions and further insights, see Song Jian 1983; Li Xueqin 1985: 461-64; Wang Fei 1986; Lin Yun 1990; Li Ling 1991a; Liu Binhui 1991; Falkenhausen 2008.

during the “Age of Confucius” could have been reconstructed from archaeological data alone. Still, one is naturally gratified that textual and archaeological sources complement one another in this instance.

The only textually based assumption crucial to the analysis in the following two chapters (less essential in later chapters) is that the Late Bronze Age cemeteries revealed through recent excavations are lineage cemeteries: that their occupants were members of patrilineal kin groups like the Weí lineage discussed in the preceding chapter. The *Zhou li* is quite explicit on this point and mentions specialized personnel in charge of the planning and upkeep of the cemeteries.<sup>10</sup> Today, DNA analysis furnishes a potential means of proving or disproving consanguineous relationships among the occupants of a cemetery, but so far Late Bronze Age skeletal data from China have not been studied with this question in mind. For the time being, therefore, we must take the *Zhou li* at face value and can do so with some confidence as the text’s information on this point is consistent with what common sense would assume (and cross-cultural observation would confirm) to be the case in a society in which lineages constituted the primary units of organization.

Having seen, in Chapter One, how patrilineal descent and segmentary lineage organization manifested themselves in the furnishings of an ancestral temple, we shall now investigate their operation in funerary contexts. Our aims in this chapter will be (1) to observe in action the sumptuary system instituted through the Late Western Zhou Ritual Reform; and (2) to assess gender differences as they were articulated by that system. For such an analysis, one needs complete funerary assemblages. Other topics, pursued in later chapters, can also make use of finds unearthed from looted tombs, which in China as in most other civilizations that cultivated traditions of lavish burial constitute the bulk of available mortuary evidence. The present chapter, however, focuses on three cemeteries in North China where some large and important tombs were found still intact. Bear in mind that none of the cemeteries was excavated in its entirety or with the intention of recovering a statistically representative sample of tombs of all different ranks. Any mention of numbers or percentages, therefore, can only, at best, indicate general trends. How potentially unreliable these figures are will become clear in Chapter Three, where we shall have the rare occasion to juxtapose such impressionistic, nonrepresentative data with a set of statistically valid figures.

The materials under analysis in the present chapter all date to the first half of the “Age of Confucius.” Mortuary developments after ca. 600 BC will be discussed in Part III.

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<sup>10</sup> *Zhou li* “Chunguan: Zhongren” (*Zhou li zhengyi* 41: 1694-1705); “Mudaifu” (*Zhou li zhengyi* 41: 1705-07).

## THE THREE CEMETERIES; ISSUES OF DATING

The cemeteries considered in this chapter are that of the Yu lineage in the southern suburbs of Baoji City (Shaanxi Province), the cemetery of the Jin lineage at Tianma-Qucun in Quwo County (Shanxi Province), and the cemetery of the Guo lineage at Shangcunling in Sanmenxia City (Henan Province) (see *Map 1*). Each of these three lineages hereditarily controlled a territory in the surrounding area for a significant length of time. The Baoji cemeteries date from the middle of Early Western Zhou to the latter part of Middle Western Zhou; they are here adduced to illustrate conditions in the time before the Late Western Zhou Ritual Reform.<sup>11</sup> The Jin cemetery at Tianma-Qucun dates from Early Western Zhou to the first century of Eastern Zhou; like Hoard 1 at Zhuangbai, it straddles the Late Western Zhou Ritual Reform. Shangcunling entirely postdates that reform. Each cemetery contains the rich tombs of lineage heads as well as the more modest tombs of far lower-ranking lineage members.

*The Baoji Cemeteries.* The tombs of the Yu lineage, at three apparently unconnected cemeteries at the localities of Zhifangtou (hereafter, Baoji Locus I), Zhuyuangou (Baoji Locus II), and Rujiashuang (Baoji Locus III), are located in the valley of the Qingjiang River, which descends from the steep Qinling mountain range and flows northward into the Wei River opposite the present-day city of Baoji.<sup>12</sup> The Yu polity presumably controlled the fertile alluvial land at the confluence of the two rivers. Settlement remains contemporaneous with the cemeteries have been found in two locations on the east bank of the Qingjiang River at the foot of the mountains, but only small portions have been archaeologically examined, and it is uncertain whether either settlement was the (walled?) town where the leaders of the Yu lineage dwelled. Locus III is located in the floodplain northeast of the settlements; Locus II is farther to the south, on the steep slopes of the narrow ravine through which the Qingjiang River flows

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<sup>11</sup> Another important example of a Western Zhou cemetery predating the Ritual Reform is the cemetery of the ruling lineage of Yan at Liulihe, Fangshan (Beijing), in the northeastern border zone of the Zhou realm (Beijing Shi Wenwu Yanjiusuo 1995; Zhongguo Shehuikexueyuan Kaogu Yanjiusuo and Beijing Shi Wenwu Yanjiusuo/Liulihe Kaogudui 1990; Beijing Shi Wenwu Yanjiusuo and Beijing Daxue Kaoguxue Xi 1996; cf. also Beijing Daxue Kaoguxue Xi and Beijing Shi Wenwu Yanjiusuo 1996; Liulihe Kaogudui 1997). Even though the two lineages differed in their clan affiliation (Yan was a branch of the royal Jī clan, whereas Yu belonged to a different clan that intermarried with Jī-affiliated lineages) and, probably, in their overall status, the basic observations on funerary customs and assemblages here made on the basis of the Baoji data may also be applied, with some modifications, to the data from Liulihe.

<sup>12</sup> The definitive report on these cemeteries is Lu Liancheng and Hu Zhisheng 1988.

**Table 8.** Bronze Assemblages at the Yu Lineage Cemeteries at Baoji (Shaanxi)

LOCUS	I	II	V	P	LOCUS	I	II	P	V	LOCUS	I	II	P	V	LOCUS	I	II	P	V	LOCUS	I	II	P	V	LOCUS	I	II	P	V
Tomb	1	13			Tomb	1	7			Tomb	1	7			Tomb	1	8			Tomb	1	19			Tomb	1	11		
Assemblage					Assemblage					Assemblage					Assemblage					Assemblage					Assemblage				
Chamber area	?	14.3			Chamber area	?	11.6			Chamber area	?	11.6			Chamber area	?	5.6			Chamber area	?	5.7			Chamber area	?	2.8		
Depth	?	3.8			Depth	?	3.2			Depth	?	3.2			Depth	?	2.2			Depth	?	3.0			Depth	?	1.6		
No. of mudao	0	0			No. of mudao	0	0			No. of mudao	0	0			No. of mudao	0	0			No. of mudao	0	0			No. of mudao	0	0		
Condition	dist.	intact			Condition	dist.	intact			Condition	dist.	intact			Condition	dist.	intact			Condition	dist.	intact			Condition	dist.	intact		
Date	EWZ	EWZ			Date	EWZ	EWZ			Date	EWZ	EWZ			Date	EWZ	EWZ			Date	EWZ	EWZ			Date	EWZ	EWZ		
gao/guan	?	1+2			gao/guan	?	1+2			gao/guan	?	1+2			gao/guan	?	1+1			gao/guan	?	1+1			gao/guan	?	1+1		
Occupant's sex	?	M			Occupant's sex	?	F			Occupant's sex	?	F			Occupant's sex	?	F			Occupant's sex	?	?			Occupant's sex	?	M		
FOOD VESSELS AND THEIR ACCESSORIES																													
dmg	2	3			dmg	2	2			dmg	2	2			dmg	2	1			dmg	2	1			dmg	2	1		
fangting	2	2			fangting	2	2			fangting	2	2			fangting	2	1			fangting	2	1			fangting	2	1		
bianziding	1	1			bianziding	1	1			bianziding	1	1			bianziding	1				bianziding	1				bianziding	1	1		
fendangting	1	1			fendangting	1	1			fendangting	1	1			fendangting	1				fendangting	1				fendangting	1			
li	2	1			li	2	1			li	2	1			li	2				li	2				li	2			
yan	1	1			yan	1	1			yan	1	1			yan	1				yan	1				yan	1			
gui	5	3			gui	5	3			gui	5	3			gui	5	1			gui	5	1			gui	5	1		
fu	1	1			fu	1	1			fu	1	1			fu	1				fu	1				fu	1			
pointed spoons					pointed spoons					pointed spoons					pointed spoons					pointed spoons					pointed spoons				
LIQUOR CONTAINERS AND DRINKING VESSELS																													
jue	1	1			jue	1	1			jue	1	1			jue	1				jue	1				jue	1			
gu	1	1			gu	1	2			gu	1	2			gu	1				gu	1				gu	1			
zbi	1	1			zbi	1	1			zbi	1	1			zbi	1				zbi	1				zbi	1			
you	2	2			you	2	2			you	2	2			you	2				you	2				you	2			
zan	1	1			zan	1	1			zan	1	1			zan	1				zan	1				zan	1			
round hui	1	1			round hui	1	1			round hui	1	1			round hui	1				round hui	1				round hui	1			
rounded spoons	1	1			rounded spoons	1	1			rounded spoons	1	1			rounded spoons	1				rounded spoons	1				rounded spoons	1			
WATER CONTAINERS/WASHING VESSELS																													
lei	1				lei	1				lei	1				lei	1				lei	1				lei	1			
pan	1	1			pan	1	1			pan	1	1			pan	1				pan	1				pan	1			
be+	1				be+	1				be+	1				be+	1				be+	1				be+	1			
ying					ying					ying					ying					ying					ying				
MISCELLANEOUS																													
animal "zam"					animal "zam"					animal "zam"					animal "zam"					animal "zam"					animal "zam"				
bird figures					bird figures					bird figures					bird figures					bird figures					bird figures				
human figures					human figures					human figures					human figures					human figures					human figures				
boxes (he#)					boxes (he#)					boxes (he#)					boxes (he#)					boxes (he#)					boxes (he#)				
incense burners					incense burners					incense burners					incense burners					incense burners					incense burners				
cushions					cushions					cushions					cushions					cushions					cushions				
MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS																													
yongzhong					yongzhong					yongzhong					yongzhong					yongzhong					yongzhong				
nao					nao					nao					nao					nao					nao				
diao					diao					diao					diao					diao					diao				
Totals																													
14	23	3	14	4	10	16	7	7	5	2	2	1	1	2	2	41	10	23	51	1	9	18	41	1	10	23	51	1	
PaY totals:																													

Locus I = Zhifangou; Locus II = Zhuyuangou; Locus III = Rujiashuang  
P = Principal tomb occupant; V = Principal victim (in tombs in which a victim is buried in a separate coffin with her own funerary goods). In these cases two totals figures are provided—for the individual assemblages in the first line, and for the tomb total in the second.  
Figures in brackets indicate tin *mingqi* vessels (not included in totals).  
This table excludes Zhuyuangou M17, which yielded a single gu vessel.

before entering the floodplain. Locus I is in the plain on the west side of the Qingjiang River. Yu, which is not mentioned in any written sources except for the inscriptions on the bronzes found in several of the tombs at these cemeteries, appears to have been one of several small polities in the Baoji area. Located barely 80 kilometers west of the Zhou capital at Zhouyuan, it may have been an early local ally of the Zhou royal house in its struggle against the Shang.<sup>13</sup> The clan affiliation of its ruling house is unknown, but bronze inscriptions from the tombs attest a wide network of (possibly hereditary) marriage alliances with neighboring polities, including some that were governed by lineages affiliated with the Zhou royal house, belonging to the Ji clan. Given the rule of clan exogamy, the rulers of Yu thus cannot have been consanguineous relatives of the Zhou kings.

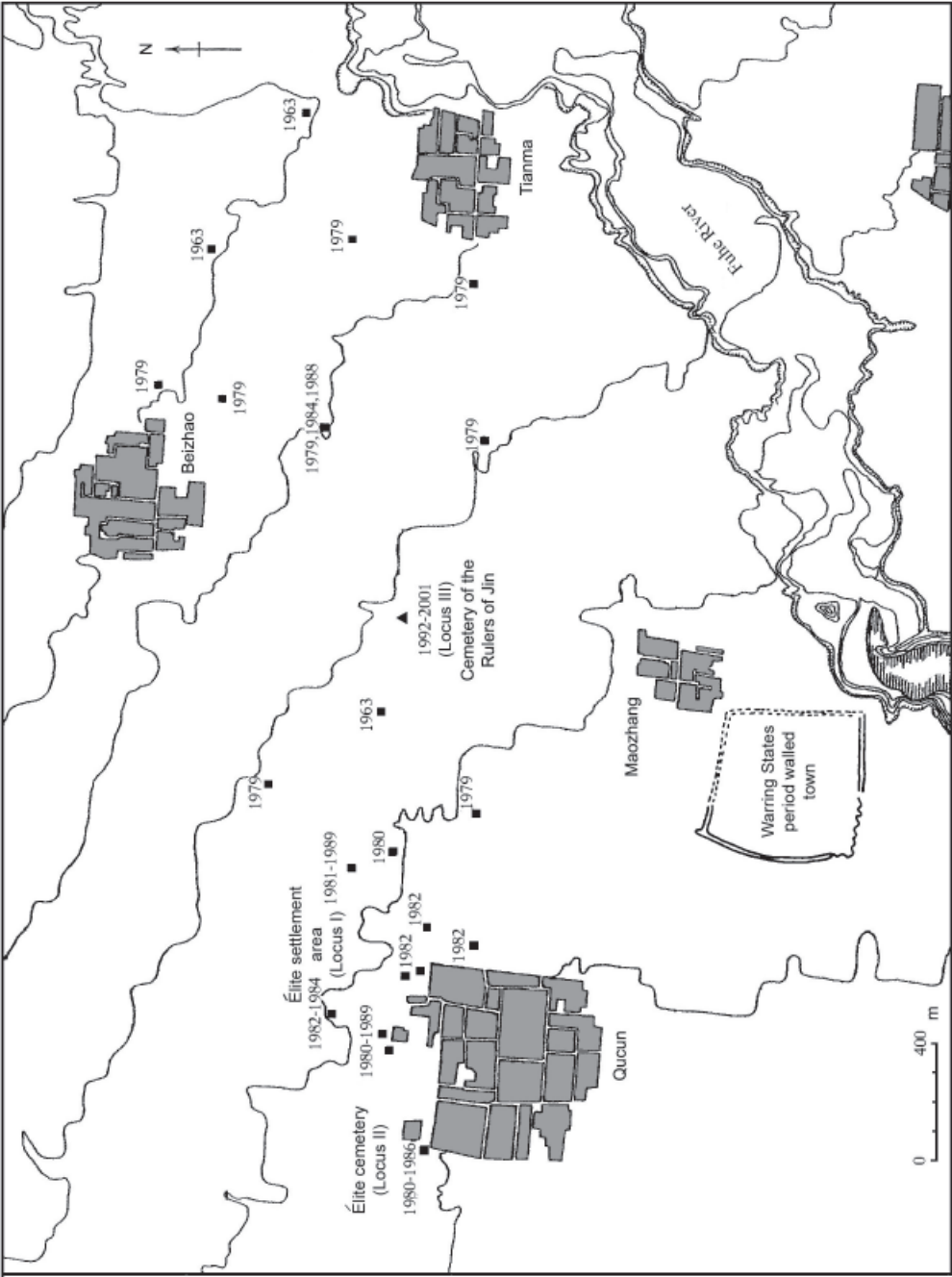
The Baoji cemeteries were excavated in 1974-1981. The excellent two-volume archaeological report by Lu Liancheng and Hu Zhisheng covers the finds from one tomb at Locus I (part of what may once have been a larger cemetery, now largely destroyed); a group of twenty-two tombs, including three tombs of lineage-heads, at Locus II; and four tombs at Locus III, including the paired tombs of a lineage head and his principal wife, as well as another likely tomb of a male lineage head. Obviously, these constitute only a portion of the funerary remains of the Yu lineage; the number of additional as-yet unreported tombs in the area remains unclear. The bronzes from Locus I and all but three of the tombs at Locus II date from the Early Western Zhou; the tombs at Locus III and the remainder of those at Locus II (only one of which yielded any bronzes) date from the Middle Western Zhou period (see *Table 8*). Thereafter Yu disappears from the historical and archaeological record.

*Tianma-Qucun.* In its physical characteristics, the area around Tianma-Qucun resembles the Plain of Zhou—an open, well-watered loess plain on the south side of a towering mountain range. A settlement (hereafter, Qucun Locus I) was located to the north of the modern village of Qucun (*Map 3*), but only small portions of it have been excavated.<sup>14</sup> Even though no evidence of large

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<sup>13</sup> Considering their geographic vicinity to the Plain of Zhou, the idiosyncratic nature of much of the material-culture elements at the Baoji cemeteries is remarkable. In particular, there are indications of cultural relationships with the Hàn river valley and Sichuan to the south, as well as with areas farther to the west (see Lu Liancheng and Hu Zhisheng 1983, 1988: 431-462; Sun Hua 2000: 80-86 and *passim*; Falkenhausen 2003c). A strange fact not previously much commented on is that no bronzes with Yu-related inscriptions other than those excavated from the Baoji cemeteries are known so far. Normally one would expect at least some to have turned up in neighboring polities, in testimony to inter-lineage alliances.

<sup>14</sup> Beijing Daxue Kaoguxue Xi Shang Zhou Zu and Shanxi Sheng Kaogu Yanjiusuo (Zou Heng [ed.]) 2000, vol. 1: 33-281.



Map 3. Archaeological sites around Tianma-Qucun, Quwo (Shanxi). The locations of excavated portions are shown with the respective years of excavation.

buildings or surrounding walls have been identified, Zou Heng is confident that this was an early capital of the Jin polity.<sup>15</sup> Other scholars disagree.<sup>16</sup> In any case, there seems to be little room for doubt that the sprawling Western Zhou cemetery to the west and north of this settlement (hereafter, Qucun Locus II) was indeed that of the ruling lineage of Jin, one of the historically best-known and most powerful polities of the Zhou realm. Founded in Early Western Zhou to govern what was then a northern border territory, Jin was governed by a junior branch of the Zhou royal house, affiliated with the Jī clan.

Three contiguous tracts of Qucun Locus II—together some 1.36 hectares—were exhaustively excavated by Peking University archaeologists during the 1980s (*Map 3*).<sup>17</sup> They contained 626 densely spaced tombs, overwhelmingly of Western Zhou date (36 percent Early, 22 percent Middle, 14 percent Late Western Zhou, 4 percent Springs and Autumns, 24 percent unclear).<sup>18</sup> The occupants of these tombs can be identified with some confidence as Jin ruling lineage members of nonruling-aristocrat and commoner status. Published in a magnificent four-volume report, the excavations are said to cover no more than about 1/35 of the Tianma-Qucun cemetery.<sup>19</sup> The remainder has probably by now been thoroughly pillaged by the local villagers.

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<sup>15</sup> Zou Heng 1994; Li Boqian 1998c affirms that this was indeed the initial capital of Jin (this point is disputed by Tian Jianwen 1994, reacting to an earlier version of Li Boqian's article published in *Zhongguo wenwubao* 1993.12.12).

<sup>16</sup> Out of respect for Professor Zou, such disagreements have mostly been expressed informally. The only scholar to have openly doubted that the cemetery at Qucun Locus III could have been that of territorial rulers (and, by extension, that the adjacent settlement could have been the capital of a polity) is Mikhail V. Kryukov (Liu Kefu 2000; 2002), who finds the tomb assemblages paltry compared with those of contemporaneous heads of other major lineages (including those of the Guo lineage from Shangcunling), and inconsistent with the stipulations concerning rulers' sumptuary privileges in the transmitted texts. The following discussion will dispel some of these—in principle, very justified—misgivings.

<sup>17</sup> Beijing Daxue Kaoguxue Xi Shang Zhou Zu and Shanxi Sheng Kaogu Yanjiusuo (Zou Heng [ed.]) 2000, vol. 2: 281-937. This portion of the report includes fifteen tombs at the Qucun Locus I settlement, raising the total number of excavated tombs to 641.

<sup>18</sup> Many tombs from Warring States and Hàn times were also found in the same parts of the site (reported in Beijing Daxue Kaoguxue Xi Shang Zhou Zu and Shanxi Sheng Kaogu Yanjiusuo (Zou Heng [ed.]) 2000, vol. 3: 941-1093), but these do not seem to have succeeded directly upon the earlier ones and are not counted as part of the quoted total figure of 626.

<sup>19</sup> Beijing Daxue Kaoguxue Xi Shang Zhou Zu and Shanxi Sheng Kaogu Yanjiusuo 2000 (Zou Heng [ed.]), vol. 2: 283.



In the course of this looting activity, in 1992, a precinct containing the large tombs of the rulers of Jin (hereafter, Qucun Locus III) was discovered near Beizhao, due east of Qucun Locus II. Peking University and the Shanxi Provincial Institute of Archaeology immediately launched a large-scale archaeological rescue operation, but unfortunately eight of the nineteen tombs found until now had been looted before excavation, six of them severely. Some of the looted bronzes were subsequently acquired on the Hong Kong antiques market for the Shanghai Museum and the National Palace Museum, Taipei. So far, these finds have been published only in a preliminary fashion;<sup>20</sup> the listing of bronze assemblages in Table 9 is therefore tentative and incomplete.

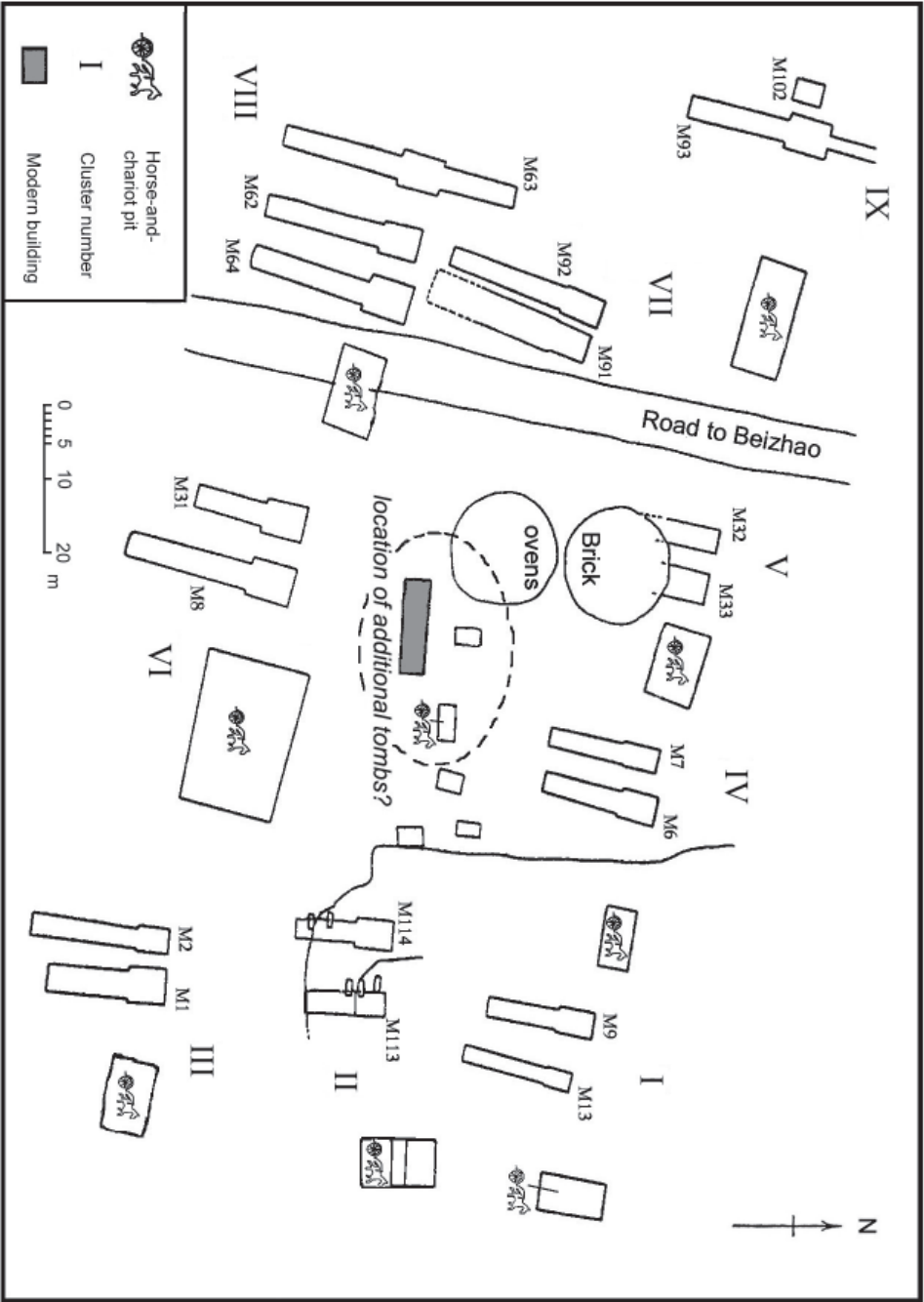
It would be difficult to exaggerate the historical importance of this discovery. Each of the (so far) nine tomb clusters at Qucun Locus III contained the paired tombs of one ruler of Jin and his principal wife (in one cluster, there are two wives' tombs), to which are associated subsidiary tombs of retainers or victims, as well as horse-and-chariot pits. Since one cluster thus represents one generation in the main trunk of the Jin lineage (though, as Jay Xu has pointed out, a ruler's tomb is not necessarily contemporaneous with that of his wife),<sup>21</sup> they may be assumed to form a sequence. Specialists have expended a great deal of effort in attempts to establish their chronology and to identify the occupants with historically known rulers of Jin. These studies have mainly employed four criteria: (1) the layout of the cemetery, (2) the chronology of ceramic *li* vessels, (3) bronze typology, and (4) bronze inscriptions. None of these criteria has so far proved conclusive. Stated very briefly, the reasons are as follows.

(1) Early attempts were made to construe the sequence of tombs from their alignment in the burial precincts (*Map 4*)—e.g., Li Boqian's theory of two

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<sup>20</sup> There are six preliminary reports: Beijing Daxue Kaogu Xi [sic] and Shanxi Sheng Kaogu Yanjiusuo 1993; Beijing Daxue Kaoguxue Xi and Shanxi Sheng Kaogu Yanjiusuo 1994; 1995; Shanxi Sheng Kaogu Yanjiusuo and Beijing Daxue Kaoguxue Xi 1994b; 1994a (published in reverse order!); Beijing Daxue Kaogu Wenbo Yuan and Shanxi Sheng Kaogu Yanjiusuo 2001. For good illustrations, including some of the bronzes sold on the international antiquities market, see Shanxi Sheng Wenwuju et al. 2002. Articles introducing the latter include Li Chaoyuan 1993; Ma Chengyuan 1993; 1996; Chen Fangmei 2000; Zhou Ya 1996; 2004. The proceedings volume of a 2002 conference at the Shanghai Museum (Shanghai Bowuguan 2002) assembles much relevant scholarship, as well as publishing additional illustrations. The publication of a complete, final report is envisaged.

<sup>21</sup> Xu 1996: 196.



Map 4. The Jin rulers' burial compound at Beizhao (Qucun Locust III), Quwo (Shanxi). Clusters of tombs are marked with Roman numbers, tombs with Arabic numbers.

successive east-west rows proceeding from the northeast corner.<sup>22</sup> These have been thrown into disarray by the subsequent discovery, on the east side and centered between Li Boqian's two rows, of a pair of tombs missed during previous surveys (Tombs 113 and 114), which seem to be earlier than all others. Additional tombs may still await discovery nearby. For instance, one pair of tombs was very likely once located (it may now be destroyed) underneath a modern building to the west of Tombs 113 and 114; a horse-and-chariot pit uncovered near there may have belonged to that pair. Further tombs may yet be located along the incompletely surveyed perimeters of the Locus III burial precinct. Any attempt to discern a rule determining the alignment of a newly discovered pair of tombs with respect to the preexisting ones seems premature as long as the burial compound remains incompletely surveyed; and rather than being a predictive instrument for dating, such a rule, if it is ever discovered, will most likely have to be inferred from the tomb contents once the latter have been dated by other means.

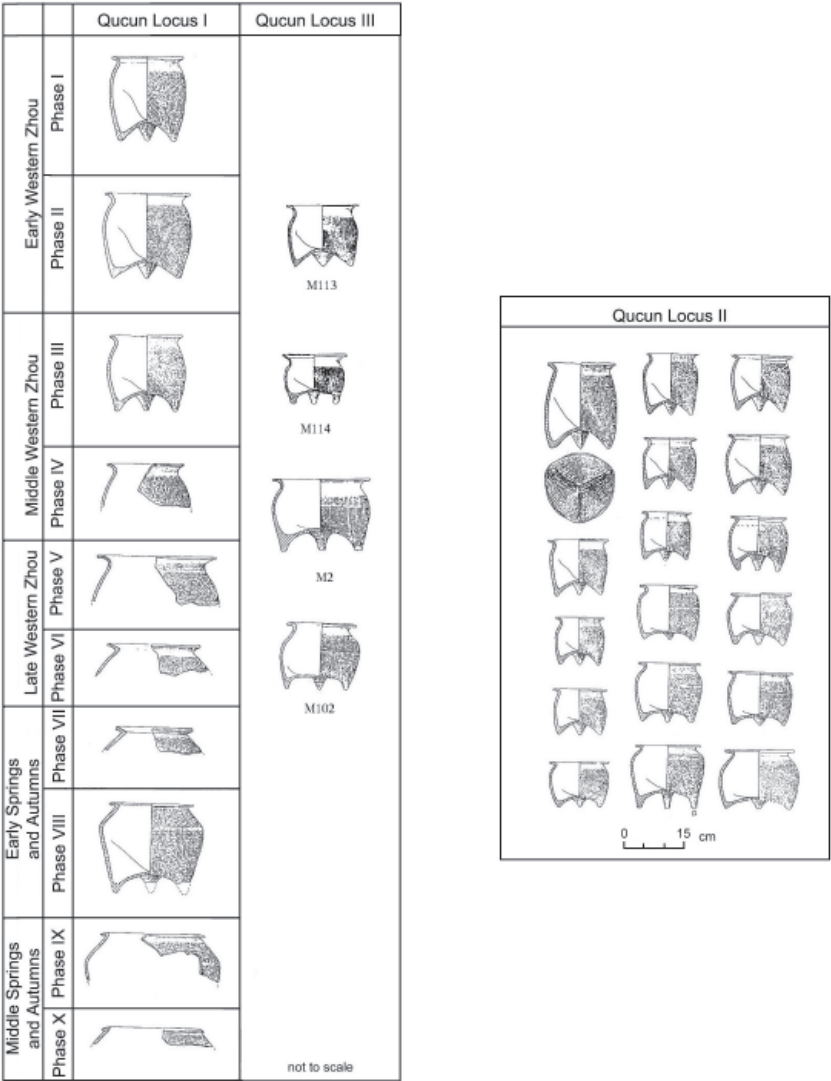
(2) The chronology proposed on the basis of the seriation of ceramic *li* vessels in the second preliminary excavation report on the Jin rulers' cemetery is difficult to follow.<sup>23</sup> *Li* are tripodal kitchen vessels with pouch-shaped feet; they are considered the quintessential element in Bronze Age ceramic assemblages in China. When juxtaposing the proposed *li* sequences for Qucun Locus III with those reported elsewhere within Tianma-Qucun (*Fig. 12*), it becomes clear that the *li* from Locus III belong to what the excavators of the settlement at Locus I and the cemetery for nonruling aristocrats and commoners at Locus II consider to be two separate typological filiations of *li* vessels;<sup>24</sup> if the latter are correctly defined, the excavators' proposed unilineal seriation of all specimens from Locus III is badly in error. Puzzlingly, moreover, most of the drawings of *li* in the preliminary reports on the Locus III tombs do not seem exactly equivalent to those excavated at Locus I or Locus II. Given that the *li* must all have been made at the same kilns and during the same overall time period, this lack of correspondence is worrisome, though it

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<sup>22</sup> Li Boqian 1997: 1014-16. Li's main point, which seems to hold even with the new evidence, is to refute the notion that the arrangement of tombs at Qucun Locus III followed the *zhao mu* system (mentioned in *Zhou li* "Chunguan: Zhongren" [*Zhou li zhengyi* 41.1695] in connection with tomb arrangements), according to which the tombs of successive generations of lineage heads would have been symmetrically placed at opposite sides of a central axis emanating from the centrally placed tomb of the founder. So far, indeed, there seems to be no archaeological evidence substantiating the use of the *zhao mu* system anywhere in pre-Imperial China.

<sup>23</sup> Beijing Daxue Kaoguxue Xi and Shanxi Sheng Kaogu Yanjiusuo 1994: 8-11, 13 fig. 14.

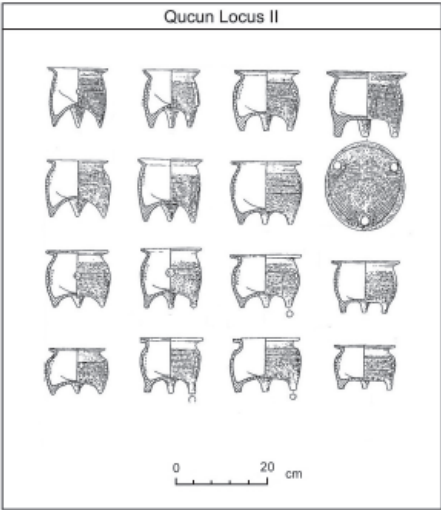
<sup>24</sup> Beijing Daxue Kaoguxue Xi Shang Zhou Zu and Shanxi Sheng Kaogu Yanjiusuo (Zou Heng [ed.]) 2000, vol. 1: 62-64, 65; vol. 2: 322-25.



TYPE I

Fig. 12. Ceramic *li* vessels from Qucun, Quwo (Shanxi). Western Zhou to incipient Springs and Autumns period. Within each type, the funerary specimens from the Jin rulers' burial compound at Beizhao (Qucun Locus III, middle row) are coordinated with the ten-phase sequence of full-sized *li*

		Qucun Locus I	Qucun Locus III
Early Western Zhou	Phase I		 M7  M13  M92  M51  M1  M8  M31  not to scale
	Phase II		
Middle Western Zhou	Phase III		
	Phase IV		
Late Western Zhou	Phase V		
	Phase VI		
Early Springs and Autumns	Phase VII		
	Phase VIII		
Middle Springs and Autumns	Phase IX		
	Phase X		



TYPE II

excavated at the settlement (Qucun Locus I; left row), and juxtaposed with those from the associated elite cemetery (Locus II; unperiodized, right row). Two major types of *li* are represented. The similarity between the specimens from Locus III and the others is astonishingly limited.

Table 9. Bronze Assemblages at the Jin Rulers' Cemetery at Beizhao (Qucun Locust II), Quwo (Shanxi) (tentative listing)

CLUSTER	I	1	II	II	III	III	IV	IV	V	V	VI	VI	VII	VII	VIII	VIII	IX	IX
Tomb	13	9	113	114	1	2	6	7	33	32	8	31	91	92	64	62	63	93
Size	?	?	21.8	37.4	37.3	21.2	?	?	24.8	?	37.2	29.3	34.4	29.2	35.8	27.6	38.4	34.6
Depth	?	?	12.0	11.0	7.5	7.6	?	?	8.4	?	6.7	4.8	8.4	8.4	7.9	6.55	7.37	7.8
No. of undecorated	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	2
Condition	intact	intact	intact	looted	looted	looted	looted	looted	?	?	looted	intact	intact	intact	intact	intact	intact	intact
Date	A?	A?	A	A	B	B	?	?	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B
gun/gun	1+1	1+2	1+1	1+1	2+1	1+2	1+1	?	?	?	1+1	1+3	1+2	1+2	1+2	1+2	1+2	1+2
Sex	F	M	F	M	M	F	M?	F?	M?	(F?)	M	F	M	F	M	F	F	F
Orientation	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	?	?	?	N	N	S	S	N	N	N	N
FOOD VESSELS																		
ding	5+1	7	6	present	2(+)	1(+)		2+	present	5	3	7	2	5	3	3	5+1m	3+1m
fangding			2	2+														
li								present					2	present				
zun	1	1	1	1+				present		1m	4	2	1	1	4	4	2	1
gui	4	present	6	present				1+	present				5				6+1m	4+1m
yu					4	4		2(+)					1					
xu	present				present									2				
bin					present								3	1				
ju					1													
LIQUOR CONTAINERS AND DRINKING VESSELS																		
jue	2	present								1			2		1	1m	1m	1m
gu	1																	
zhi	3	1						present								1m	1m	1m
jiu	present							present					1					
you	2	1						1					1				1m	1m
zun	present							1					1				1m	1m
fangyi																		
fanghu																		
round bu	1							1(+)		2	2	2	1	2	2	1	2	1
WATER CONTAINERS/WASHING VESSELS																		
pan	1	1			1						1m	1	1	1	1	1	1+1m	1
be+	1				1						1m	1	1	1	1	1	1	1m
yi													1					
MISCELLANEOUS																		
animal "zun"			1	1						3					4	1M		1
boxes (he)																		
cylindrical vessel			1													3M		
"xiaoguan"																		1
sanzhuang																		
shuang yuqian			1															
undecorated																		
MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS																		
yangshang	present										1/16		1/7	1/8	1		1/16	
zhong															pr			
chimestones					pr			(1/10+)			(1/8+)		(1/-20)					
Totals	13+	?	29	14+	10+	5+	?	?	11+	?	19+	9	32	8	23(+?)	14	15	25
of which										3m						3m	3m	8m
																		18

The numbering of clusters proceeds from North to South and from East to West (no chronological ordering is implied). In each cluster, the enumeration starts from the East. Period A indicates a likely date before, Period B after the Late Western Zhou Ritual Reform.

may reflect no more than inaccuracy in the drawings. Generally in ceramic-based seriations in Chinese archaeology, the criteria chosen as chronologically distinctive tend to be subtle and difficult to convey two-dimensionally. Hence it is usually not advisable to attempt an alternative to the seriation proposed by the excavators without access to the original vessels.

(3) It is easy enough to distinguish manifestly early bronzes from manifestly late ones, but when trying to match the bronzes already reported from the Locus III tombs with the master sequences in Hayashi Minao's *Conspectus of Shang and Zhou Bronzes*,<sup>25</sup> one quickly finds that the latter's chronological brackets of fifty years or so per period are not fine enough to distinguish successive generations. One can say only that the bronzes from the westerly portions of the burial precinct (Clusters V-IX; see *Map 4* and *Table 9*) are quite close to one another in date, ranging from the late phase of Middle Western Zhou through the Early Springs and Autumns period. It is also evident, from both bronze ornamentation style and inscriptions, that the tomb assemblages are not altogether internally contemporaneous; they often include bronzes handed down from preceding generations. (This phenomenon seems peculiar to rich tombs: bronze assemblages from modest tombs tend to be stylistically uniform.<sup>26</sup>) The periodization of bronzes would thus yield only a *terminus post quem*, and not an exact date, for the tombs.

(4) The personal names of at least six (possibly eight or even ten)<sup>27</sup> Jin rulers

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<sup>25</sup> Hayashi 1984, vol. 2.

<sup>26</sup> Cf. Li Feng 1988b.

<sup>27</sup> Those identified as *hou* (marquis) in their own inscriptions include Dui (vessels found in Tombs 1, 2, 92), Pi (Tomb 8), Su (Tomb 8), Boma (Tombs 33, 91, and 92), Bangfu (Tomb no 64), and Xifu (Tombs 91 and 92). Moreover, Shu Ze, donor of a *fangding* tetrapod found in Tomb 114 (Li Boqian 2001), is regarded by many as identical with Tang Shu Yú, the founder of the Jin polity. It is perhaps the same individual who is referred to simply as “Shu” on a *ding* from the adjacent Tomb 113 (Beijing Daxue Kaoguxue Xi and Shanxi Sheng Kaogu Yanjiusuo 2001: 19). The incorporation into his name of the seniority indicator *shu*, “Junior” (see Chapter One), probably indicates the relative standing of the rulers of Jin vis-à-vis their senior relatives, the Zhou kings. If this form of self-identification was perpetuated by rulers in later generations, it would seem possible that Jin Shu Jiafu (donor of bronzes found in Tombs 64 and 93 [for the latter, see Beijing Daxue Kaoguxue Xi and Shanxi Sheng Kaogu Yanjiusuo 1995: 23, 25-26, 28; those from Tomb 64 are so far unreported]) could also be the name of a ruler of Jin (pace Zhang Changshou 1998: 41-42); the same would be possible for Shu Zhaofu, donor of a *yan* from Tomb 64 (Shanxi Sheng Wenwuju *et al.* 2002: 148-49). Moreover, the otherwise unspecified Shushi who is the dedicatee of a set of *gui* from Tomb 64 might also be a ruler of Jin, and if he was, so might the donor of these vessels, of whom only the personal name, Jiang Xiu [?], is mentioned (Shanxi Sheng Kaogu Yanjiusuo



are mentioned in bronze inscriptions unearthed from Qucun Locus III. With two possible exceptions, none of them corresponds even remotely to the names listed in Sima Qian's *Shi ji* genealogy of Jin rulers.<sup>28</sup> Only the posthumous names of rulers who are mentioned as dedicatees of vessels have equivalents on Sima Qian's list, but there are only one or two of these. What this most likely shows is that the *Shi ji* account is unreliable—itself an important realization, but not one that will help resolve the dating of the tombs at Locus III. The latter problem is further complicated by several cases in which vessels with inscriptions mentioning the same person were found far apart from one another in different clusters of tombs, and, contrariwise, bronzes inscribed with the names different rulers were found in the same tomb. Hence, at Qucun Locus III, a person named in the inscription on a bronze from a given tomb cannot necessarily be assumed to be the tomb occupant—usually a safe assumption about tombs containing few inscribed bronzes or a coherent body of inscribed material.

These problems encapsulate some of the methodological pitfalls besetting any attempt to arrange mortuary data in a single chronological line—even when, as here, it seems likely that the tombs (or at least those of male occupants) do indeed form a single line. At present, based on bronze ornamentation style (more specifically, the style of the status-defining sets of *ding* and *gui* vessels in the Jin rulers' tombs), I shall merely, somewhat hesitatingly, divide the Qucun Locus III tombs into an Early and a Late Group, with the Early Group probably beginning in the late phase of Early Western Zhou and the Late Group reaching well into the Springs and Autumns period; the dividing line is the Late Western Zhou Ritual Reform about 850 BC. As can be seen in Table 9, at least six of the nine clusters of tombs seem to fall into the Late Group. Assuming that all the tombs from this late phase are known, that the inferred date of circa 850 BC for the Late Western Zhou Ritual Reform is correct, and that one generation lasted twenty-five years on average, this would place the end of occupation of Qucun Locus III at about 700 BC. Such a date is not only stylistically plausible, but it is also roughly compatible with the historical circumstances. For in 679 BC, a junior line of the Jin ruling

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and Beijing Daxue Kaoguxue Xi 1994a: 5). In addition to these, one or possibly two rulers of Jin are named by their posthumous titles on vessels cast in their memory: Li Hou occurs on a vessel fragment from Tomb 91 (Beijing Daxue Kaoguxue Xi and Shanxi Sheng Kaogu Yanjiusuo 1995: 12, 9); and an unpublished, looted bronze from a private collection (seen at the International Symposium on the Bronzes Unearthed at the Cemetery of the Marquises of Jin in Shanghai, August 2, 2002) bears an almost indecipherable inscription possibly mentioning Cheng Hou.

<sup>28</sup> *Shi ji* "Jin Shijia," 39.1635-40; "Shi'er zhuhou nianbiao," 14.502-70.

house usurped the government;<sup>29</sup> about that time, the title used in the inscriptions from Qucun Locus III, *bou* (“marquis,” which in Chinese as in Western languages originally carries the connotation of “ruler of a border territory”), came to be replaced with the generic designation *gong* (“ruler, patriarch”), and the Jin capital was moved elsewhere.<sup>30</sup>

If Qucun was indeed the Jin political center until 679 BC, it seems curious that the excavations at Qucun Locus II—the cemetery for the nonruling members of the Jin ruling lineage—yielded such a preponderance of Early and Middle Western Zhou tombs (constituting 76% of datable tombs), even though the 850-679 BC time span is approximately equal in length to that of the pre-850 occupation of the site. The most likely explanation is that those areas of the cemetery containing the bulk of Late Western Zhou and Early Springs and Autumns tombs must have been left untouched by the excavators. In other words, the published sample of tombs at Qucun Locus II, though exhaustive for the areas chosen for excavation, is very probably not representative for the full chronological extent of the cemetery.

*Shangcunling.* Shangcunling is located on a loess ridge overlooking the south bank of the Yellow River. Remains of a walled settlement thought to have been the seat of the Guo polity have been found on the banks of the Jian River about three kilometers to the south of the cemetery; it remains virtually unexcavated. Although Guo is mentioned variously in transmitted sources (as well as being amply documented through bronze inscriptions),<sup>31</sup> no genealogy of its rulers has been transmitted, obviating the frenzied efforts at historical correlation occasioned by the discovery of Qucun Locus III.

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<sup>29</sup> *Shi ji* “Jin Shijia,” 39.1640.

<sup>30</sup> Note that the coordination of this scenario with the transmitted genealogy presents some difficulties. The *Shi ji*, for the time span between 840 and 679 BC, lists a total of eleven rulers in nine generations. Three rulers (including the last in the senior line) were not assigned posthumous epithets and are thus not to be expected to have tombs at the rulers’ cemetery. This leaves eight rulers in eight generations occupying the throne during the 130 years from 840 to 710, which, if evenly divided, makes for a worryingly brief total of 16.25 years per generation/reign. But Qucun Locus III apparently presents only six rulers’ tombs datable to this period—a so far unreconciled discrepancy. Since the *Shi ji* record of the early history of Jin is unusually sketchy and inconsistent (perhaps because documents were lost due to the dynastic change in 679 BC and the later breakup of the polity in the fifth century BC), it must be considered with great caution.

<sup>31</sup> Guo Moruo 1958, pt. 3: 244b-246a; Chen Mengjia 1995: 235-54 (also in Wang Bin [ed.] 2000: 32-50); Chen Pan 1969: 156a-159a (Eastern Guo), 171a-175a (Western Guo); Chen Pan 1970: 109a-b (Little Guo). Many recent studies of questions related to Guo history are assembled in Wang Bin (ed.) 2000.

The Guo lineage heads did not, like those of Jin, rule over a border polity as marquises (*hou*). Instead, the lineage possessed a number of far-flung territories in the central part of the Zhou realm. It is clear that from the very beginning there were several Guo lineages (or sublineages), some or all of them descended from younger full brothers of the Zhou dynastic founder, King Wen. Apparently, members of several of these sublineages were buried at Shangcunling, perhaps suggesting that all descendants of junior males in King Wen's generation of the Zhou ruling house (or at least of those born of the same mother as King Wen) considered themselves as members of the same corporate kin-group, which, like Jin, formed a branch of the royal house and was affiliated with the Jī clan.

A large chunk of the Shangcunling cemetery—234 tombs—was excavated in 1956-1957 and reported in a monograph.<sup>32</sup> In response to the resumption of large-scale looting after 1987, additional excavations took place in an area to the northwest in the 1990s; twelve tombs from these later campaigns have been published in a two-volume report,<sup>33</sup> and another report on seven additional tombs is under preparation.<sup>34</sup> So far, the exact boundaries of the cemetery area are unclear (or have not been reported). It is also unclear whether all existing tombs in the area explored in the 1990s have been recorded; if so, the density of tombs in that area would be far lower than in the part of the cemetery excavated in the 1950s (see *Map* 5). As to the cemetery's exact date, some scholars assign all of it to the Springs and Autumns period,<sup>35</sup> others admit the possibility that some tombs date from Late Western Zhou.<sup>36</sup> The latter alternative seems likely to me as well, even though it is hard to be certain as the ritual-vessel shapes and ornaments established by the Late Western Zhou Ritual Reform remained astonishingly stable well into Eastern Zhou times, and aside from bronzes shaped in that fashion and ornamented in that style, the tombs have yielded very little material amenable to dating. In any case, the conquest of Guo (or at least of the Guo located in the Sanmenxia area) by Jin in 655 BC provides a *terminus ante quem*.

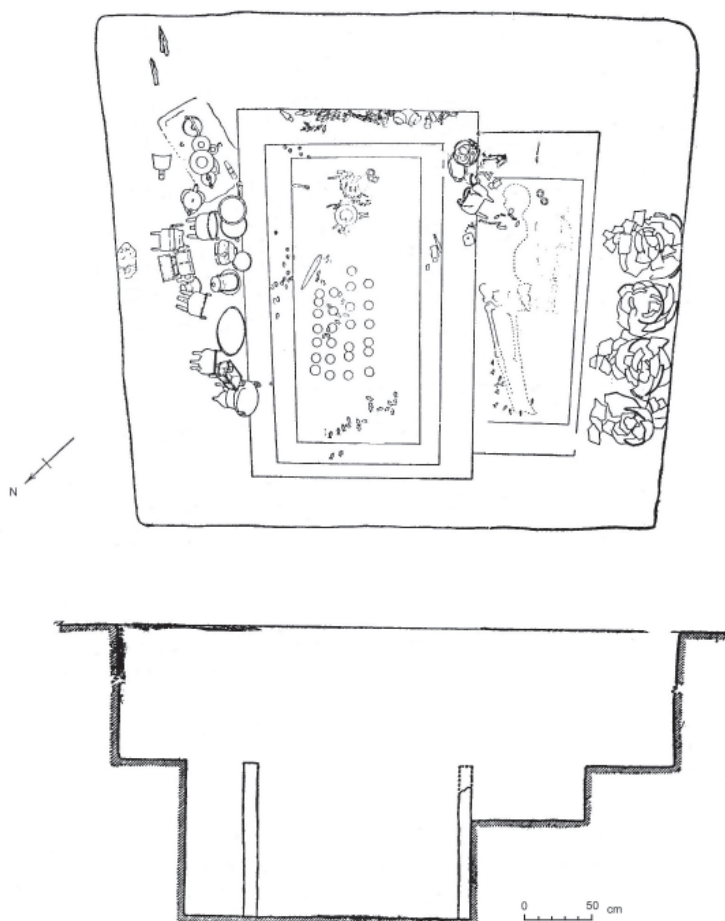
<sup>32</sup> Zhongguo Kexueyuan Kaogu Yanjiusuo 1959a.

<sup>33</sup> Henan Sheng Wenwu Kaogu Yanjiusuo and Sanmenxia Shi Wenwu Gongzuodui 1995; 1999.

<sup>34</sup> Some preliminary information may be gleaned from Henan Sheng Wenwu Yanjiusuo 1994: 245-49; Henan Sheng Wenwu Kaogu Yanjiusuo and Sanmenxia Shi Wenwu Gongzuodui 1999: 7-11; Wang Bin (ed.) 2000: 24-25 (reprinted newspaper notice on Tomb 2009).

<sup>35</sup> Hayashi 1984, vol. 2, *passim*.

<sup>36</sup> Lin Shoujin 1961b; Wang Shimin in Zhongguo Shehuikexueyuan Kaogu Yanjiusuo 1984: 83-85; Li Feng 1988a; Henan Sheng Wenwu Yanjiusuo 1994: 245-49; Zhao Shigang 1996; Li Jiuchang 2003.



**Fig. 13.** Tomb 13 at Zhuyuangou (Baoji Locus II), Baoji (Shaanxi). First half of tenth century BC. The consort's burial is in a separate coffin to the (stage) left of the main tomb occupant.

## TOMB AND CEMETERY ARRANGEMENTS

The tombs at Baoji Locus II are aligned in more or less orderly rows that follow the contour of the slope. No placement principle is discernible that would have singled out the three richly furnished tombs of the Yu lineage heads—Tombs 4, 7, and 13—from the surrounding far less opulent tombs. The former stand out chiefly because each contains not only the principal occupant in a burial chamber and two nested coffins, but also an adjacent smaller burial chamber with a single coffin containing the remains of a female sacrificial victim (*Fig. 13*). The excavators in each case identify this woman as a concubine (an inscribed vessel found with the woman in Tomb 7

designates its original owner as *fu*, “consort”). Her position—lying on her side, with her head turned toward the male in the adjacent coffin—signifies submission. The excavators note the similarity to the burial customs of the Early Bronze Age Qijia culture in Gansu and Qinghai, west of this area;<sup>37</sup> and at least one scholar has suggested a relationship between the latter and the Indo-European custom of widow sacrifice (*suttee*).<sup>38</sup> Yet it is uncertain that the sacrificed “concubines” were indeed “widows” in the sense of being the tomb master’s principal wives. Their funerary goods, although far more modest than those accompanying their masters, attest that they enjoyed a certain degree of ritual status. They must have ranked incomparably higher than ordinary sacrificial victims—this much is clear from Tomb 1 at the later Yu cemetery at Baoji Locus III, which contains both a burial chamber for a “concubine” and seven sacrificial victims in the principal tomb occupant’s burial chamber (*Fig. 14*). As mentioned above, however, Tomb 1 was paired with Tomb 2, whose female occupant was very likely the principal wife of the occupant of Tomb 1. The “concubine” in Tomb 1 thus must have been a woman of slightly lesser status. Perhaps, therefore, the “concubines” found in the tombs of lineage heads at Baoji Locus II likewise were not their masters’ principal wives. If so, some of the more modest tombs at Locus II may be those of the principal wives of the lineage heads buried nearby.<sup>39</sup> Though such “concubine” sacrifice was, on the whole, uncommon in Late Bronze Age China, the exact same hierarchy of ordinary victims, victims in their own coffins entombed with their masters, and full wives in separate tombs of their own is also encountered, for instance, at the Eastern Zhou Chu cemetery at Xiasi, discussed in Chapter Eight.<sup>40</sup>

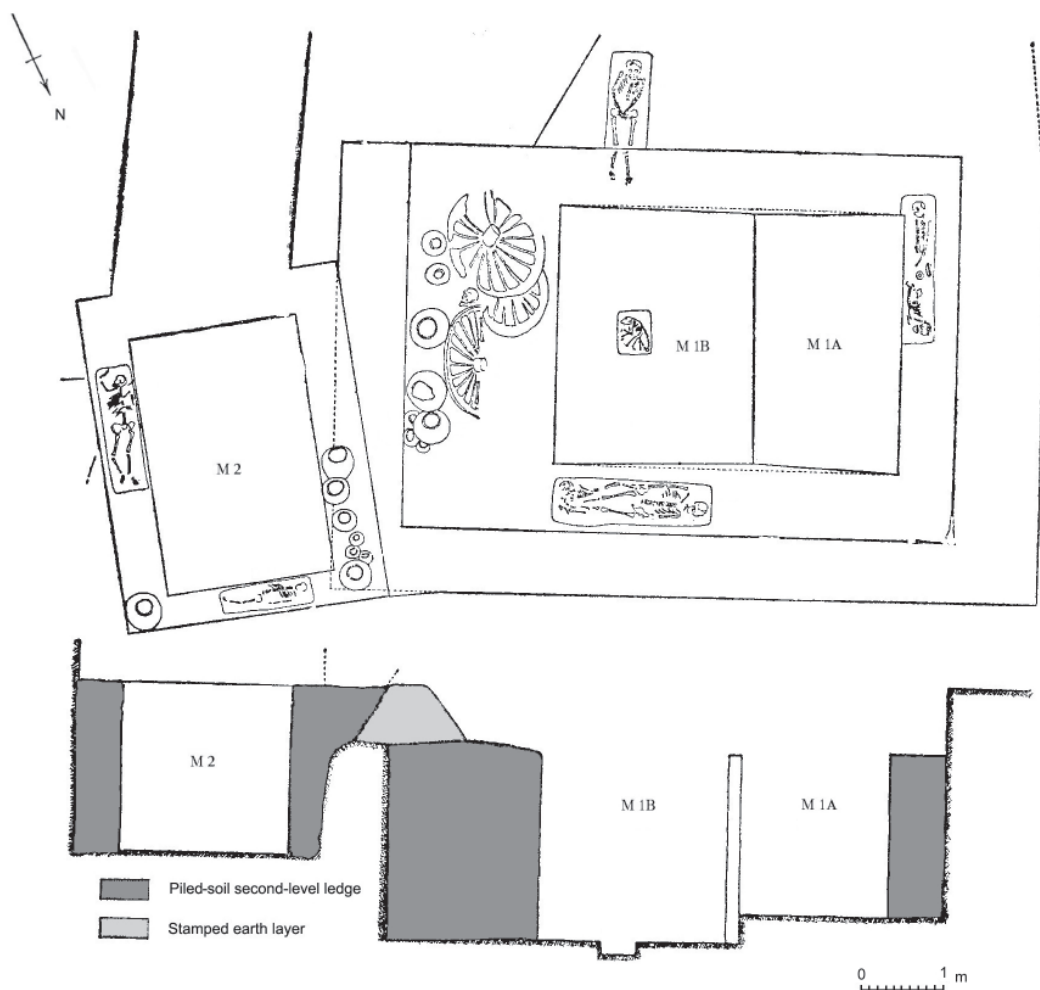
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<sup>37</sup> Lu Liancheng and Hu Zhisheng 1988, vol. 1: 425–26. On the Qijia materials, see Xie Duanju 1986; for a more cautious discussion see Debaine-Francfort 1995: 220–23 (q.v. for further references). Debaine-Francfort notes (1995: 267, 302) that tombs of couples are one of the characteristics common to the Qijia culture and the approximately contemporary Keshengzhuang II culture, which might constitute a (very indirect) connecting link to the practices observed at the Baoji cemeteries. Lu Liancheng and Hu Zhisheng (1988: 423–27) place the phenomenon in the context of the mainstream Chinese cultural sequence.

<sup>38</sup> Huber 1995: 38 and n. 57.

<sup>39</sup> An alternative possibility is that the custom somehow changed, with widow sacrifice practiced in the early period represented by the tombs at Baoji Locus II, but replaced by the burial of a stand-in during the later time of the Locus III tombs.

<sup>40</sup> A possibly important difference is that, at Xiasi, not only the tombs of prominent males, but some of the wives’ tombs as well contain a victim prominently encoffined within the main burial chamber. Xiasi is not included among Lu Liancheng and Hu Zhisheng’s (1988: 427) possible Eastern Zhou parallels to human-sacrifice practices at Baoji.



**Fig. 14.** Tombs 1 and 2 at Rujiashuang (Baoji Locus III), Baoji (Shaanxi). Around 900 BC. Tombs 1B (note waist-pit!) contained the remains of a ruler of Yu; Tomb 1A is that of a consort who was possibly sacrificed at her husband's funeral, and Tomb 2 is thought to have been that of the ruler's principal wife.

All the tombs at Baoji Locus II are rectangular vertical-pit tombs. By contrast, three of the four tombs at Baoji Locus III, including the paired Tombs 1 and 2, feature a sloped passageway (*mudao*) leading from ground level toward the tomb chambers—a mark of prestige also found in other Zhou-period rulers' cemeteries, e.g., at Qucun Locus III.

By comparison with the Baoji cemeteries, Tianma-Qucun and Shangcunling are far larger, comprising hundreds (at Tianma-Qucun, thousands) of tombs. Li Boqian has observed that Tianma-Qucun and Shangcunling present different types of layout, which may document different emphases in lineage organization.<sup>41</sup>

At Shangcunling, in the layout of the area of the cemetery excavated in the 1950s (see *Map 5*), paired large tombs form a north-south row at the center, with smaller tombs clustered around them in more or less orderly rows oriented east-west. Stylistic analysis of their contents confirms that the large tombs were constructed in a sequence, probably for successive heads of a branch of the Guo lineage, whose lower-ranking relatives (of lower aristocratic or commoner status) were buried in the immediate vicinity. Each cluster, comprising a central pair of tombs and the smaller tombs surrounding it, would thus represent one generation. Given the likelihood of ever larger age differences among members of the same generation developing in the course of time, this would not necessarily imply the contemporaneity of all the tombs in one cluster. The tomb contents are not datable precisely enough to allow a more exact chronology for each cluster. They do, however, provide evidence of very significant inequality among lineage members, possibly reflecting degrees of genealogical distance from the founders. For instance, only 36 among the 234 tombs excavated in the 1950s, or 15 percent, contained bronzes; the burial of privileged and poor lineage members in the same area may attest an emphasis on lineage solidarity. We cannot tell whether this also holds true for the more recently excavated northwestern portion of the cemetery, which contains the richest and presumably highest-ranking tombs (as well as some truly gigantic associated horse-and-chariot pits), because we do not know how comprehensively it has been excavated.

At Tianma-Qucun, by contrast, the enormous tombs of the rulers of Jin, with their chariot pits, are in their own compound, Qucun Locus III, separate from the cemetery for the nonruling lineage members (aristocrats as well as commoners) at Qucun Locus II, of which only a small and perhaps non-representative portion has been excavated. This may indicate a different conception of the relationship between the ruling segment of a lineage and the rest of its members, perhaps foreshadowing trends toward the complete separation of the two, which will be traced in Chapter Eight. In Locus II we cannot tell whether

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<sup>41</sup> Li Boqian 1997: 1013-14.





**Map 5.** The cemetery of the Guo lineage at Shangcunling, Sanmenxia (Henan). The locations of major bronze-yielding tombs listed in Table 10 are indicated. Within the area excavated in 1956-1957, four central pairs of tombs (perhaps representing four successive generations of senior members of a Guo branch lineage) are specially marked. Other tombs do not tend to be paired.

lower-ranking tombs are clustered around those of their betters, because not enough of the cemetery has been excavated to allow us to discern the pattern of tomb alignment. The excavators note at least four instances of paired, male- and female-occupied tombs (Tombs 6130 and 6131, 6231 and 6080, 6195 and 6197, and 5189 and 5150), which may have served as foci in the cemetery layout, as at Shangcunling. Significantly, they all belong to the small minority of tombs yielding bronze vessels. Because tomb orientation at Qucun Locus II is far less regular than at Shangcunling, where all tombs are oriented roughly north-south, it is difficult to say more about spatial arrangements. Approximate north-south orientation is also maintained in the Jin rulers' tombs at Qucun Locus III (with the heads of the deceased normally at north, except for the paired Tombs 91 and 92, where, inexplicably, they point south). But a sizable minority of lower-ranking tombs at Qucun Locus II are oriented east-west, and the bodies of those interred are oriented in all four cardinal directions.<sup>42</sup> We do not know what significance this may have had; the question will recur in Chapter Five. In general, at Zhou period cemeteries tombs tend to be more carefully oriented in proportion to the rank of the occupant.

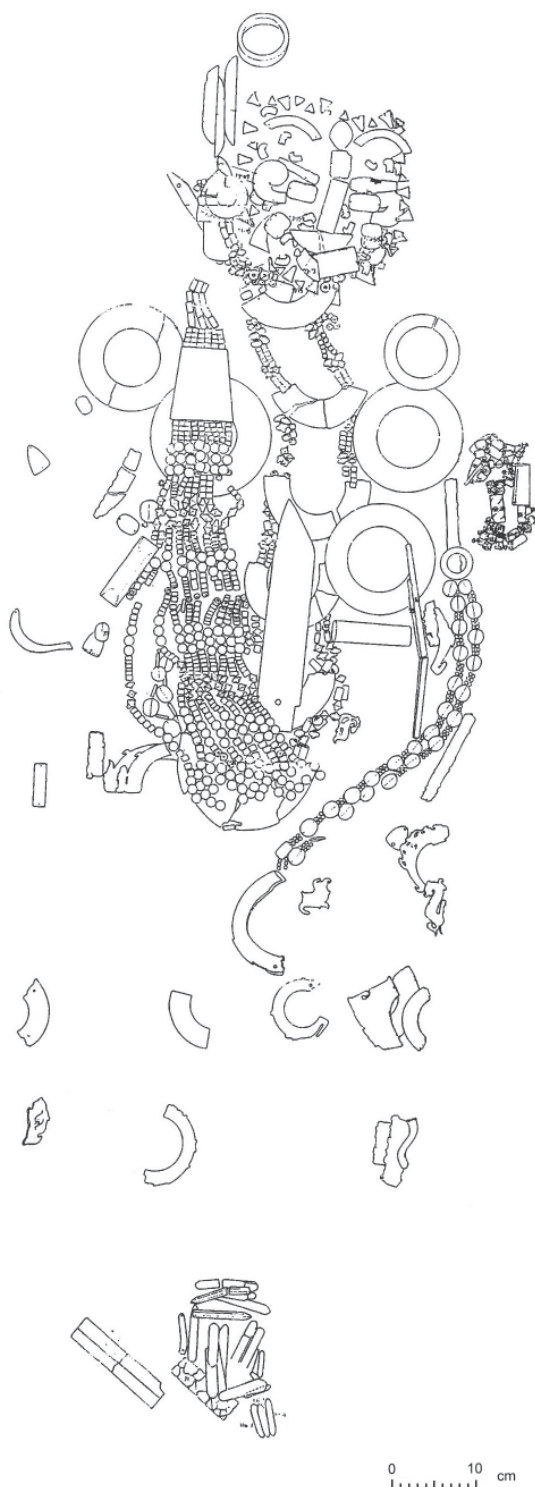
### SUMPTUARY ANALYSIS

A new feature appearing with the Late Western Zhou Ritual Reform was bronze vessels in standardized sets that correlated with aristocratic ranks. Table 4 juxtaposes the standard sets of *ding* as stated in scattered textual sources with what can be established through modern archaeological research. By comparison with the neat correlations of sets and rank levels seen in the texts, the archaeological evidence is more diffuse. The primary reason is that the rank system changed over the centuries: the straightforward hierarchy of king-territorial ruler-minister-magnate-gentleman-commoner that is suggested in late Eastern Zhou sources does not seem to fit earlier realities. That much is reflected in Western Zhou and Early Springs and Autumns period bronze inscriptions.<sup>43</sup> Moreover, the archaeological evidence suggests that the rules were applied somewhat differently in various lineages and polities, and that there was considerable flexibility in how they were applied within local contexts.

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<sup>42</sup> As indicated in Beijing Daxue Kaoguxue Xi Shang Zhou Zu and Shanxi Sheng Kaogu Yanjiusuo (Zou Heng [ed.]) 2000, vol. 2: 290, the bodies in 362 (56.5%) of the tombs at Qucun Locus II point north, 241 (37.6%) east, 33 (5.1%) west, and 3 (0.5%) south, with two instances (0.3%) remaining unclear. (The total number of 641 tombs includes fifteen tombs within Qucun Locus I.)

<sup>43</sup> Li Feng 2003: 133-35; for Springs and Autumns-period developments, see Yoshimoto 1994.

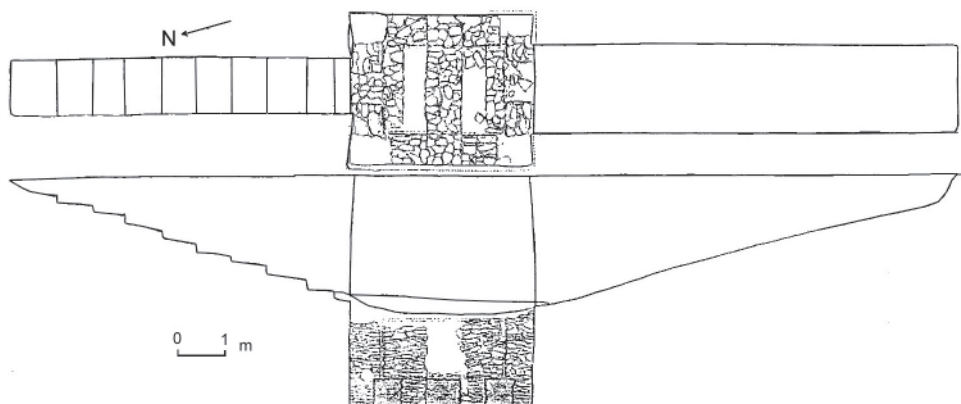


**Fig. 15.** Face- and body-covering jades from Tomb 31 at Beizhao (Qucun Locus III), Quwo, Shanxi. Probably between 850 and 700 BC.

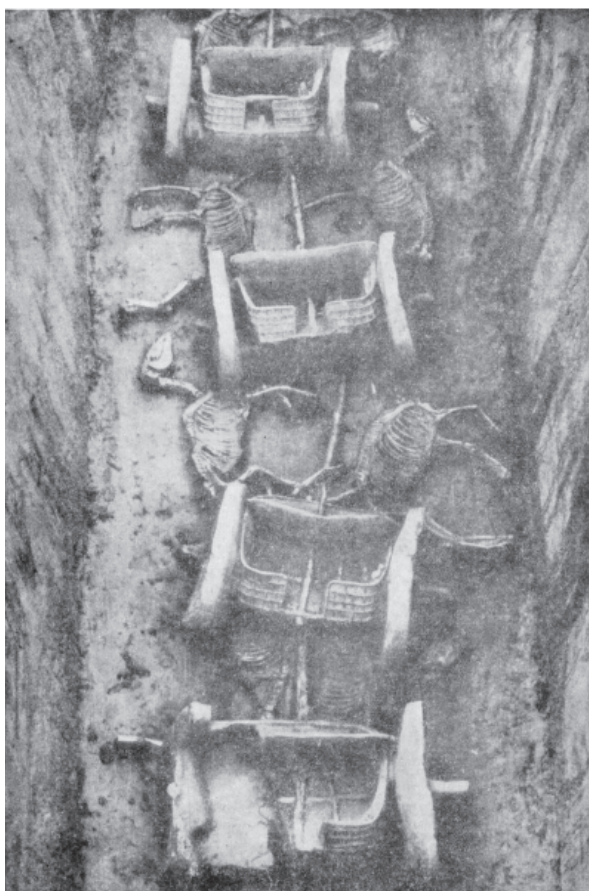
Nevertheless, archaeological discoveries are now sufficiently ample to demonstrate that standardized graded bronze-vessel sets were indeed in use after the Late Western Zhou Ritual Reform; it stands to reason that the differences in ritual status that they demarcate were tantamount to distinctions in social rank. As we shall see, it seems to have been *within* lineages rather than *among* lineages that such distinctions were primarily drawn: the sumptuary sets apparently served primarily to manifest the differences in privilege among members of the same family. Cemetery data abundantly attest the social diversity within lineages, which, as indicated in the preceding chapter, comprised segments (or branches) of vastly different standing.

Even though we shall here focus on sumptuary sets of ritual bronzes, this emphasis may be one-sided if not misleading. Other aspects of the tomb as well are likely to have been subject to sumptuary restrictions. Placement (as mentioned) and size of the tomb generally are good indicators of the status of its occupant. Additional status differentiations may be inferred from tomb shape, burial furniture, and funerary goods: the presence of a burial chamber (*guo*) and nested coffins (*chongguan*) (see *Figs. 13, 14*); the presence and opulence of jade body coverings (*Fig. 15*); the presence of a specially fashioned tomb pit with masonry walls and filled with layers of charcoal (*jishi jitan*) (*Fig. 16*); the presence and number of sloping entry ramps into the tomb (*mudao*) (*Fig. 16*); the presence of associated horse-and-chariot pits, and the number of chariots within them (*Fig. 17*); the presence and number of chariots and horses in the tombs or in their entry ramps; and the presence of associated sacrificial pits and the number of victims within them. All of these features are present in at least some of the tombs at Baoji, Tianma-Qucun, and Shangcunling.

At the Yu cemeteries the difference between the tombs of lineage heads and those of their lesser-ranking relatives is most clearly manifest in the absolute number of burial goods. The numbers of bronzes in the bronze-vessel-yielding tombs listed in Table 8 speak for themselves (apart from these, nine tombs at Baoji Locus II and two at Baoji Locus III yielded no bronze vessels). Almost every assemblage includes *ding* tripods and *gui* tureens, and the richer tombs differ from the more modest ones mainly in the number of “wine” vessels they contain, but there are virtually no indications of standardized sets of *ding* and *gui* as listed in Table 4; to the contrary, even within assemblages *ding* and *gui* show impressive typological variety (*Fig. 18*). The only—and very puzzling—exception is the sacrificed “concubine” in Tomb 1 at Baoji Locus III, who was provided with coordinated sets, each matched in shape, of five *ding* and four *gui* (*Fig. 19*); as Jessica Rawson has noted, this is the earliest known occurrence of such sets, which at that time (ca. 900 BC) were absent from the tombs of more privileged individuals. That they were found at Baoji, in the territory of a non-royal lineage, adds to the surprise. Rawson suggests that the Late Western



**Fig. 16.** Tomb 93 at Beizhao (Qucun Locus III), Quwo, Shanxi. The tomb has two sloping ramps (*mudao*). Note the stone-built foundations and wall of the burial chamber, a rarely seen mark of high status. Probably 8th century BC.



**Fig. 17.** Horse-and-chariot Pit 1727 at Shangcunling, Sanmenxia (Henan). Late ninth to early seventh century BC.



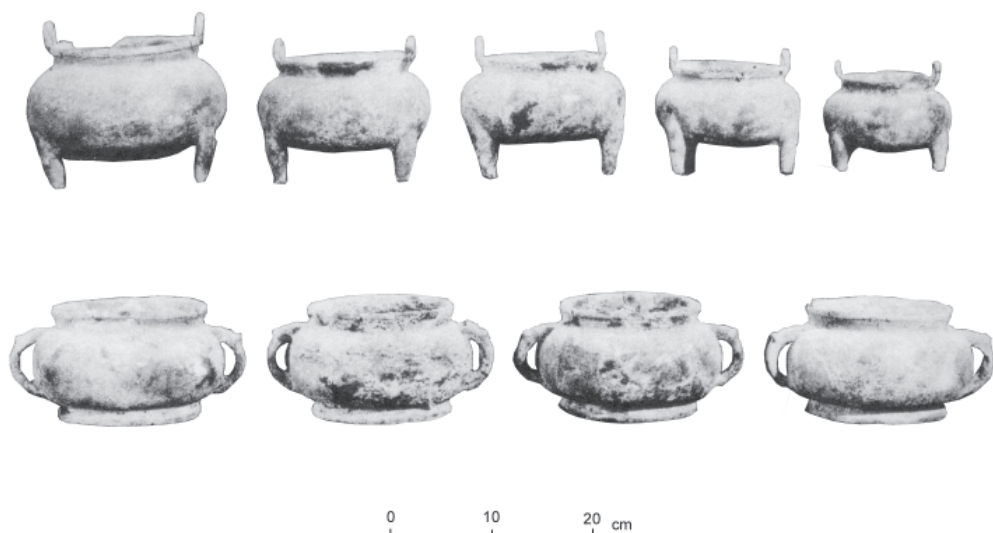


**Fig. 18.** Bronze vessel assemblage from Tomb 13 at Zhuyuangou (Baoji Locust II), Baoji (Shaanxi). First half of tenth century BC. Upper three rows: finds from the main tomb occupant's coffin; first row: five round *ding* (first from left: Zuo Fu Xin-*ding*; fourth: Fu Xin-*ding*; fifth: Ge-*ding*), two



*fangding* (left: Zi Gao-*fangding*); second row: *yan*, three *gui*, Shi Fu Yi-*dou*, *zhi*, *gu*, *nao*, *dou* (above); third row: set of two *you* and one *zun*; *pan*, *jue*, *be*+, Fu Ji-*bú*. Lower row: finds from the sacrificed consort's coffin; 2 *ding*, 1 *gui*.





**Fig. 19.** Coordinated sets of bronze *ding* and *gui* vessels from the “concubine’s” burial chamber in Tomb 1 (i.e. Tomb 1A) at Rujiazhuang (Baoji Locus III), Baoji (Shaanxi). Around 900 BC. Note the unusually high degree of similarity in shape between the *ding* (upper row) and *gui* (lower row); both sets are unornamented.

Zhou Ritual Reform may have promulgated customs that had previously been pioneered in local contexts.<sup>44</sup>

In summary, at the Baoji cemeteries one may glean the ranks of the deceased from the wealth of their bronzes, but the latter do not form graded sumptuary sets. By contrast, Shangcunling presents very clear evidence of the workings of the sumptuary rules (see *Table 10*). Sets of seven *ding* were found in four tombs (Tombs 2001, 2011, 1052, and the as-yet unpublished 2009) (*Fig. 20*); three others had sets of five *ding* (Tombs 2012, 1810, and 1706); and larger numbers of tombs held sets of three or two *ding*, or a single *ding*. The concomitant sets of *gui* are likewise clearly in evidence; they usually comprise the next lower even number of vessels. Tombs with seven *ding* also contain chimed musical instruments, such as bells and/or chime-stones; the prestigious large *hú* vessels, almost always occurring in pairs, are slightly more widely distributed. There are some irregularities: aside from the vessels forming standardized sets, some tombs (e.g., Tomb 2011) contain sundry additional specimens of *ding* or *gui*, differing in their shape from those of the status-indicating sets; and whereas M2011 has a set of chime-stones and a single *zheng* bell, it lacks the chime-bells seen in the other tombs of seven-*ding* rank. Another potential element of irregularity is the occurrence of sets of *mingqi* bronze vessels (*Fig. 21*),

<sup>44</sup> Rawson 1990, pt. 1: 104.

including *ding* and *gui* but also the wine vessels that had been made obsolete by the Late Western Zhou Ritual Reform. Such *mingqi* assemblages are also seen in some of the Late Group tombs at Qucun Locus III; they seem to have been a privilege of very high-ranking aristocrats, apparently constituting an allusion to archaic ritual practices (this will be further discussed in Chapter Seven). The precise significance and function of this fascinating phenomenon is unknown, but it may have had to do with attempts to display the antiquity of the lineage's status—an attempt to forge a ritual link to early, pre-Ritual Reform, stages of lineage history.

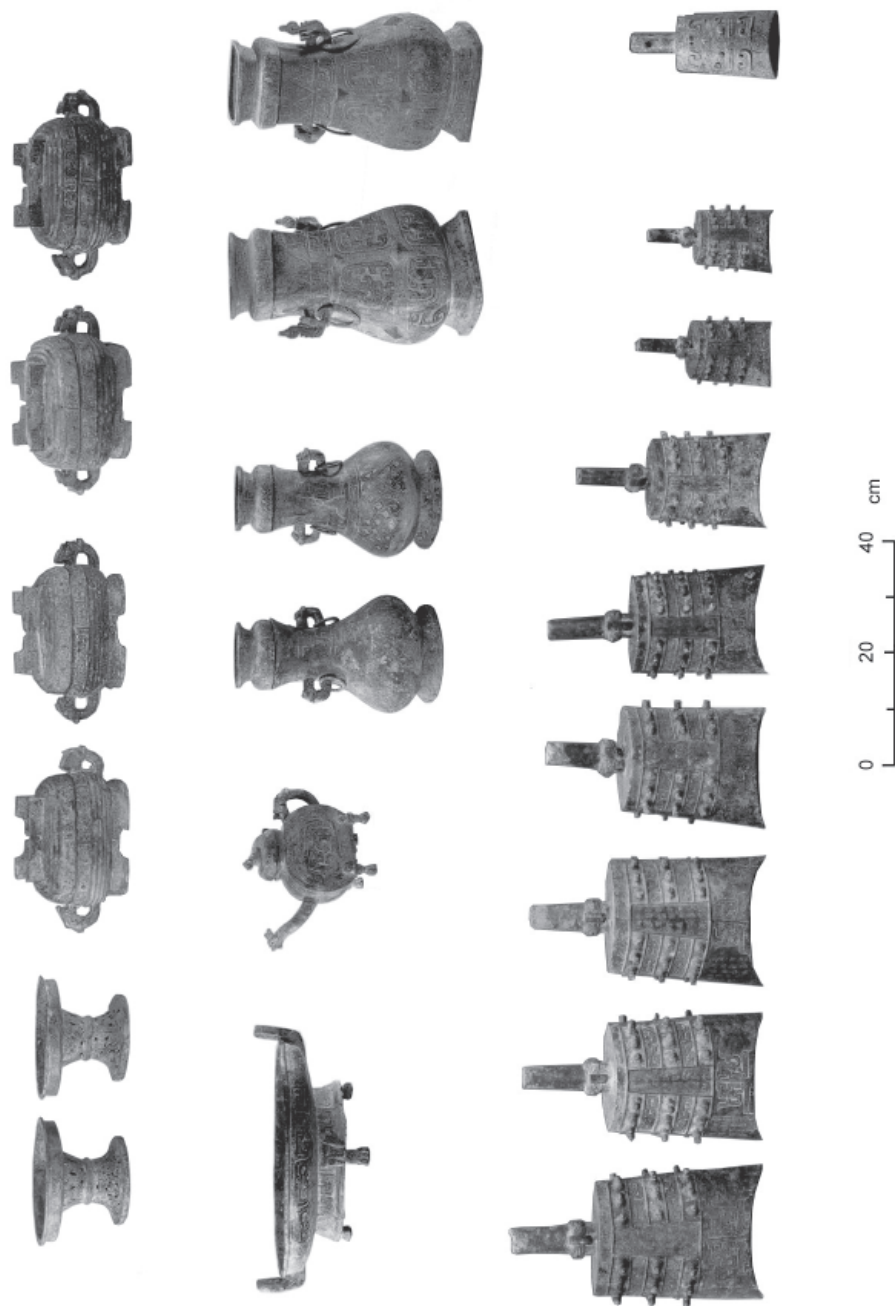
Compared with either Baoji or Shangcunling, the situation at Tianma-Qucun is once again more complicated. For one thing, it is hazardous to compare the rulers' burial compound at Qucun Locus III with the nearby cemetery of their lesser-ranking kinfolk because in the excavated portions of the latter, at Locus II, the vast majority of bronze-yielding tombs (30 out of a total of 44, or 68%) happen to date from Early Western Zhou, a period scarcely attested at Qucun Locus III. The small number of bronzes in most of the Locus II tombs makes it difficult to infer general principles in the constellation of vessels beyond the obvious marked preference (as at all Western Zhou cemeteries) for *ding* and, secondarily, *gui* (see *Table 11*). Perhaps it is significant that four Early Western Zhou tombs feature three *ding* and two *gui*—one of the standard sets that the Late Western Zhou Ritual Reform was to institute; but no instances of vessels made as matching sets are seen in these four tombs.<sup>45</sup> Since only six of the bronze-yielding tombs at Locus II postdate the Late Western Zhou Ritual Reform, each of them yielding but a very modest assemblage, it is difficult to gauge the local impact of the Reform at this social level.

The best evidence for the functioning of the sumptuary system in the Jin ruling lineage comes from the rulers' burial compound at Qucun Locus III,

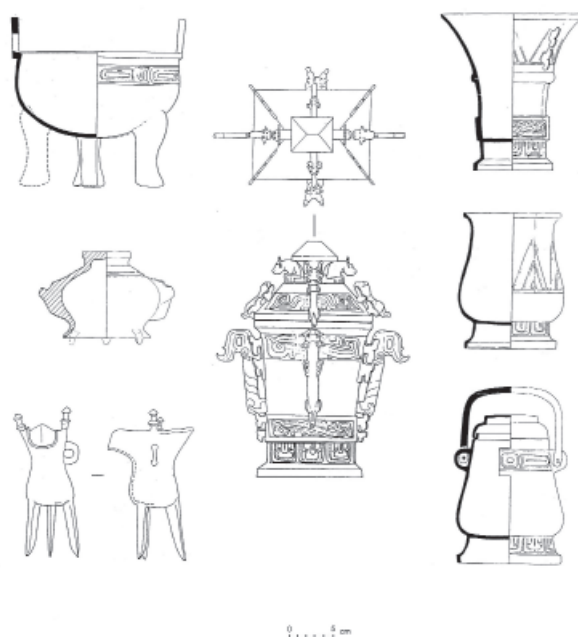
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<sup>45</sup> The Qucun Locus II excavators, in constructing their hierarchy of ranks, consider only the number of *ding* in a tomb, but not whether they constitute matching sets. Their idea of combining round and rectangular *ding* vessels into a single set with the aim of constructing a special category of “first-rank aristocrats” entitled to four *ding*, and then identifying the occupant of the only excavated tomb of that rank class (Tomb 6081) as Tang Shu Yú, the first ruler of Jin (Beijing Daxue Kaoguxue Xi Shang Zhou Zu and Shanxi Sheng Kaogu Yanjiusuo (Zou Heng [ed.]) 2000, vol. 3: 1133), is certainly wrong. Most basically, this idea fails to consider that only a small portion of the cemetery has been excavated, and that it is therefore impossible to know whether Tomb 6081 was really the wealthiest Early Western Zhou tomb in the cemetery as a whole. The discovery of Tombs 113 and 114 at Qucun Locus III (Beijing Daxue Kaogu Wenboyuan and Shanxi Sheng Kaogu Yanjiusuo 2001), which contained bronzes possibly connected with Tang Shu Yú, has further undermined this hypothesis.





**Fig. 20.** Set of bronze vessels from Tomb 2001 at Shangcunling, Sanmenxia (Henan). Probably early to mid-eighth century BC. First row: set of seven Guo Ji-lie ding; second row: set of eight (two sets @ four?) Guo Ji-li; third row: set of six Guo Ji-gui; fourth row: pair of Guo Ji-fu; fifth row: set of four Guo Ji-pu and he+ (uninscribed); pair of round he+ (uninscribed); sixth row: chime of eight Guo Ji-yongzhong; single zhong signal-giving bell (uninscribed).



**Fig. 21.** Bronze *mingqi* vessels from Tomb 93 at Beizhao (Qucun Locus III), Quwo (Shanxi). Probably 8th century BC. Right row (top to bottom): *ding*, *gui*, *jue*; middle: *fangyi*; left row: *zun*, *zhi*, *you*.

although there the situation is confused due to looting and to incomplete reporting (see *Table 9*). In the earliest cluster of tombs (Tombs 113 and 114), the situation is similar to that at the Baoji cemeteries: the eminent position of the tomb occupants is marked by large assemblages of bronzes, but without fixed numbers of vessels of any particular kind. No information is available for the other tombs in the Early Group as tentatively defined above. In the tombs of the Late Group, as far as one can see, the sumptuary rules were adhered to: most male tomb occupants are accompanied by status-defining sets of five *ding*, one or two by seven *ding*;<sup>46</sup> vessels of other types, as well, conform to the standard groupings.

<sup>46</sup> Tombs 9 and 91 each yielded seven *ding*. The *ding* in both tombs remain unpublished. Tomb 9 (Beijing Daxue Kaoguxue Xi and Shanxi Sheng Kaogu Yanjiusuo 1994: 6-11) seems transitional in date and may predate the Late Western Zhou Ritual Reform; it is unclear whether its *ding* were made as a set. The seven *ding* from the later Tomb 91, however, do seem to constitute a set (Beijing Daxue Kaoguxue Xi and Shanxi Sheng Kaogu Yanjiusuo 1995: 8-12).

Comparison between the sumptuary sets from the rulers' tombs at Qucun Locus III and those from the largest and richest tombs at Shangcunling (*Table 10*) reveals that the latter are on average more opulent. At Shangcunling seven-*ding* sets seem to have been the rule in the largest tombs. From bronze inscriptions we know that two of these (Tombs 2001 and 2009) are tombs of lineage heads and the others (Tombs 1052 and 2011), tombs of heirs apparent. By contrast, five seems to have been the normal number of *ding* in post-Ritual Reform tombs at Qucun Locus III. Why one or two tombs held sets of seven *ding* is unknown. Possible reasons include a non-hereditary promotion in rank as a reward for services to the royal house; a token of an office held only by the tomb occupants in question (an Eastern Zhou instance of this will be considered in Chapter Eight); a particularly prestigious marriage alliance; or a temporary arrogation of superior privilege during a time when royal power was particularly weak. Strangely, whereas the number of bronzes reported for the ruler in Tomb 91 at Qucun Locus III is higher than for any other tomb at that cemetery, Tomb 92, occupied by his wife, contained only two *ding* instead of the three seen in other wives' tombs (see below).<sup>47</sup>

Similarly unclear is the rationale behind the apparent difference in sumptuary standing between the Jin and Guo lineage heads. Was Jin simply poorer and weaker than Guo? Did it have less access to the raw materials and/or the skills needed to make bronzes? This is unlikely: mineral resources abound in the mountains surrounding Jin, and the rulers of Jin are known to have wielded considerable political power. The difference probably arose, instead, from the place of the two lineages in the Zhou kinship hierarchy. Here, historical records provide some useful hints. Even though both lineages were affiliated with the Ji clan of the Zhou royal house, their founding ancestors differed in seniority. Whereas the heads of the Guo lineage were descended from full brothers of the founder of the Zhou dynasty, King Wen,<sup>48</sup> Tang Shu Yú, the first ruler of Jin, was merely a junior son (*shu*) of the second Zhou king, King Wu.<sup>49</sup> The

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<sup>47</sup> As mentioned, these two tombs are also abnormal in that the deceased persons' bodies point southward.

<sup>48</sup> The *Zuo zhuan* (Xi 5, *Shisanjing zhushu* 20.93, p. 1795) mentions two brothers of King Wen, Guo Zhong and Guo Shu, both of whom served as King Wen's ministers. Each was given his own territory within the royal domain. The records about the various Guo lineages and sublineages have become confused, and it is not certain that the individuals referred to as Guo Zhong and Guo Shu in extant inscriptions of ninth- through early seventh-century date are necessarily descendants, respectively, of the Guo Zhong and Guo Shu in King Wen's generation.

<sup>49</sup> Even though Sima Qian states unambiguously that "Tang Shu Yú of Jin was a son of King Wu of Zhou and a younger brother of King Cheng" (*Shiji* "Jin Shijia" 39:1635),

Guo lineage heads thus outranked those of Jin due to the greater antiquity of their descent. In addition, the self-reference, in some bronze inscriptions from Qucun Locus III, of individuals who may be Jin lineage heads as *shu* (“Junior,” perhaps referring to the lineage as a whole rather than to the respective individual’s position among his brothers), may reflect the relatively low rank of the Jin lineage due to Tang Shu Yú’s younger-son status.<sup>50</sup> The point of reference in this hierarchical scheme was, of course, the royal house. By the Springs and Autumns period, such lesser rankings would be camouflaged, in Jin as well as other polities, by use of the designation *gong*, “ruler, patriarch,” which lacks any reference to the relative seniority of their ruling houses within the genealogical hierarchy. In Western Zhou times, by contrast, such purely kin-based status differences still seem to have mattered, and the differences between the sumptuary privileges observed at Shangcunling and at Tianma-Qucun very possibly reflect the internal stratification of the dominant kin-group that was centered upon the Zhou royal house.

This stratification was also spatially expressed by the geopolitical placement of the two polities: the marquises of Jin were rulers of a local polity on the margins of the Zhou culture sphere, whereas Guo was situated inside the royal domain, near the capitals, and its rulers hereditarily occupied high positions in the entourage of the Zhou king. Closeness to the royal person entailed higher ritual status. Even during the Springs and Autumns period, according to the *Zuo zhuan* (and confirmed by inscriptions),<sup>51</sup> royal ministers were still ceremonially ranked above territorial rulers, despite the latter’s by then massively greater “real” power. The comparison of the Shangcunling and Qucun Locus III cemeteries may furnish an archaeological illustration of how this principle operated in practice.

This quite plausible scenario emerges when one interprets the differences between Shangcunling and Tianma-Qucun in the light of the archaeologically provenienced epigraphic materials in conjunction with transmitted textual sources. Yet if one were to approach the comparison without such knowledge, one might well emphasize other things. Before accommodating the tombs from both cemeteries within a comprehensive system of (archaeologically defined) sumptuary rules, one would take note of the overall consistency with which

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for two centuries scholars have debated his position in the family, pointing to indicators in both transmitted texts and inscriptions that Tang Shu Yú was older than King Wu’s successor Cheng Wang (see Chen Pan 1969: 36a–38a). Alternatively, Tang Shu Yú may have been a junior son of King Wen (and thus a brother of King Wu), or perhaps the son of a lesser-ranking consort of King Wu.

<sup>50</sup> See n. 27. This is my own interpretation, which I offer somewhat hesitantly.

<sup>51</sup> See Chapter One, n. 74.



rank differences are marked within each cemetery. And indeed, the two lineages may have been little aware of each other's specific burial practices. Primarily, it would seem that each followed its own established family rules, with local ritual specialists setting a standard for expression of rank that was intended primarily to ensure consistency within their own respective cemeteries. This seems particularly likely as an explanation for the Qucun Locus III tombs all (with one exception) having sloping entry ramps (*mudao*), while none of the Shangcunling tombs do, despite the higher overall rank suggested by their sumptuary sets. At the Baoji cemeteries attitudes toward entry ramps seem to have changed between Early and Middle Western Zhou, as evident from the absence of entry ramps in the tombs of Yu lineage heads at Baoji Locus II, and their presence in the later Baoji Locus III tombs. Moreover, inconsistencies appear at Qucun Locus III: Tombs 63 and 93 have two *mudao*, whereas all the others have only one. Even more puzzlingly, Tomb 63, with two *mudao*, belongs to a woman, whose husband's tomb (Tomb 64, if the excavators' identification is to be believed) has only one *mudao*; and Tomb 102, the pendant to a man's two-*mudao* Tomb 93, alone among the major tombs at Qucun Locus III found so far, lacks even a single *mudao*! Jay Xu consequently doubts that sloping entry ramps were a status-defining feature.<sup>52</sup> But until at least the Springs and Autumns period, their presence does normally seem to signify high privilege; the newly discovered Western Zhou royal tombs at Zhougongmiao, mentioned in Chapter One, each have four *mudao*; and as we shall see in Chapter Eight, the rule that only royal tombs could have four *mudao* appears to have been taken quite seriously all the way through the Qin dynasty. Needless to say, none of the tombs of nonruling members of the Jin lineage at Qucun Locus II have any *mudao*. Inter-cemetery comparison suggests that the ritual specialists responsible could assign them with some flexibility.

In general, mortuary data are more likely to be internally consistent within a single cemetery than to be comparable among cemeteries. But even their internal consistency is somewhat limited, partly due to changes through time, partly for ad hoc reasons beyond the reach of archaeological reconstruction.

## GENDER DIFFERENTIATION

Despite complexities, the data from the three cemeteries under consideration provide converging information on one important social phenomenon which is hardly addressed in non-archaeological sources: the treatment of females in the Zhou sumptuary system. As one would expect in a system in which status

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<sup>52</sup> Xu 1996: 201.

Table 10. Bronze Assemblages at the Guo Cemetery at Shangcunling, Sanmenxia (Henan). (Continues on next page.)

Tomb	2001	2012	2011	1052	2010	1810	1706	1689	2006	1820	1602	1705	2013	1721	1711	1777	1640
Condition	intact	intact	intact	intact	intact	intact	intact	looted	intact	intact	looted	intact	intact	intact	looted	looted	looted
Period																	
<i>guo/guan</i>	1+2	1+2	1+2	1+2	1+2	1+2	1+2	1+2	1+1	1	1	1+1	1+1	1+1	1+1	1+2	II
Sex	M	F?	M	M	M?	M?	M?	F?	F	F	M?	M?	M?	M?	M?	F?	F?
FOOD VESSELS																	
<i>ding</i>	7+3m	5+6m	7+2	7	5	5	5	4	3	3	3	3	3	3	2	1	1?
<i>yiding</i>																	
<i>ti</i>	8	8	8	6	4	4	4	4	4	2	2					1	
<i>yan</i>	1	1	1	1	1	1	1		1	1	1					1	
<i>gu</i>	6+3m	4+6m	8	6	4	4	4	5		4	4	4					2
<i>xu</i>	4								2								
<i>bi</i>	2	2							1	2			2				
<i>cheng/pen</i>			1														
<i>fu</i>	2	2	1	1	1	1	1			1							
<i>guan</i>										1							
LIQUOR CONTAINERS AND DRINKING VESSELS																	
<i>jue</i>	3m	4m									1m						
<i>gu</i>		1m															
<i>zhi</i>	2m	6m									1m						
<i>zun</i>	3m										1m						
<i>fangyi</i>	2m	5m									1m						
<i>fangbi</i>	2	2	2	2	2	2	2			2		2					
round <i>bi</i>	2		2						2								
WATER CONTAINERS/WASHING VESSELS																	
<i>pan</i>	1+3m	1+6m	1	1	1	1	1	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1		
<i>he+</i>	1+2m	1+5m		1	1m			1	1m			1	1	1	1		
<i>yi</i>		1m	1					1				1	1	1			
MISCELLANEOUS																	
" <i>shouxingdou</i> "				1													
" <i>xuoguan</i> "		2								1		1					
MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS																	
<i>yong-bang</i>	1/8			1/9													
<i>nizhong</i>				1													
<i>zheng</i>	1		1														
chimestones	[1/10]	[1/18]															
Totals	59	68	35	27	14	19	18	13	19	19	11	12	7	5	4	3	3
of which	21m	40m				1m			5m								

Table 10. (Continued from previous page.)

Tomb	2017	1616	1715	1691	1612	1819	1704	1761	1701	1702	1714	1744	1720	1765	1601	1767
Condition	intact	intact	intact	looted	intact	intact	intact	intact	intact	intact	intact	intact	intact	looted	intact	looted
Period				I		I		II	II	III		III		I	I	I
<i>gou/guan</i>	1+1	1+1	1+1	1+1	1+1	1+1	1+1	1+2	1+2	1+2	1+1	1+2	1+1	1+2	1+1	1+2
Sex			M?	F?	F?	F?	F?	F?	F?	F?	F?	F?	F?	F?	F?	ME
FOOD VESSELS																
<i>ding</i>	1+1m	1+1m	2	2	2	2	1M	1	1	1	1	1	1	1		
<i>yiding</i>																
<i>li</i>							1									
<i>yan</i>																
<i>gui</i>	1m	1m														
<i>xu</i>																
<i>bi</i>	1															
<i>chang/pen</i>													1			
<i>fu</i>																
<i>guan</i>																
LIQUOR CONTAINERS AND DRINKING VESSELS																
<i>jue</i>																
<i>gu</i>																
<i>zhi</i>																
<i>zun</i>																
<i>fanyi</i>																
<i>fancha</i>													1			
round <i>bi</i>																
WATER CONTAINERS/WASHING VESSELS																
<i>pan</i>	1m	1m						1	1	1	1	1			1	1
<i>bei+</i>																
<i>yi</i>								1	1	1	1				1	1
MISCELLANEOUS																
" <i>shouxinglou</i> "																
" <i>xiaoguan</i> "							1									
MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS																
<i>yongzhong</i>																
<i>nizhong</i>																
<i>zheng</i>																
chimestones																
Totals	5	4	2	2	2	2	3	3	3	3	3	2	2	2	2	2
of which	3m	3m														

Internal periodization according to Li Feng 1988. Sex determined on the basis of inscribed bronzes (no question mark), and on presence/absence of weapons (question mark). This table omits 13 bronze-yielding tombs with a single bronze vessel (almost always a *ding*; in one case a *li*) listed in the 1959 report.

Table 11. Bronze Assemblages at the Jin Cemetery at Tianma-Qucun (Qucun Locus II), Quwo, Shanxi. (Continues on next page.)

PAIR Tomb	6081	6069	6195	6197	6210	6308	5189	5150	6231	6080	6214	6130	6131	6105	6054	6071	6121	6126
chamber area	14.1	6.4	12.0	7.7	9.8	5.0	12.9	12.7	14.0	10.4	7.1	7.4	6.0	5.2	4.7	4.5	7.4	4.0
depth	7.5	6.3	8.3	6.8	8.1	7.2	8.1	8.1	9.4	6.6	7.0	4.5	?	?	5.9	6.0	5.3	2.7
Condition	intact	intact	intact	intact	intact	intact	intact	intact	intact	intact	intact	intact	intact	intact	intact	intact	intact	intact
Date	eWZ 1+1	eWZ 1+1	eWZ 1+1	eWZ 1+1	eWZ 1+1	IEWZ 1+1	ILWZ 1+1	ILWZ 1+2	IEWZ 1+1	eWZ 1+1	eWZ 1+1	ILWZ 1+1	ILWZ 1+1	eWZ 1+1	eWZ 1+1	eMWZ 1+1	eWZ 1+1	eWZ 1+1
Sex, Age	M	F	M30	F25-30	M>56	35-40	M30	F20	M35	F14-15	F50-55	M(ad)	F45	M(ad)	F	M?	F25-30	M20-22
Orientation	N	E	E	E	E	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	E	E	E	N	N
FOOD VESSELS																		
ding	3	3	3	2	3	3	2	1	2	2	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
fangding	1																	
li		1	1	2	1				2	1	1							
yan	1	1	1		1				1		1	1						
gui	2	1	2	2	2	2	2		2	2	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	
bi								1										
LIQUID CONTAINERS AND DRINKING VESSELS																		
jue	1				1				1								1	
gu																		
zhi	1	1			1				1		1						1	
you	1	1			1				1		1							
zun	1				1				1		1							
bi																		
WATER VESSELS/WASHING VESSELS																		
pan	1						1	1										
he+								1										
yi																		
bowl																		
MISCELLANEOUS																		
unidentifiable																		
MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS																		
yongzhong																		
Totals	12	8	7	6	11	5[1]	6	4	12	5	9	3	2	1	2	2	4	1

Table 11. (Continued; continues on next page.)

PAIR Tomb	6127	6179	6190	6204	6235	6242	6243	6372	6384	6390	6434	[6496]	7003	7004	[7005]	7014	7029	7052
Size	5.3	4.1	5.1	5.0	4.1	5.0	4.8	4.3	3.65	6.7	5.7	4.6	4.0	2.3	4.8	2.7	3.9	1.8
Depth	7.1	6.4	6.5	6.2	5.0	5.9	7.7	6.3	6.3	5.3	6.0	5.7	3.3	3.4	4.6	6.1	4.6	4.3
Condition	intact	intact	intact	intact	intact	intact	intact	intact	intact	intact	intact	intact	intact	intact	intact	intact	intact	intact
Date	eFWZ	eFWZ	eFWZ	eFWZ	eFWZ	eFWZ	eFWZ	eFWZ	eFWZ	eLWZ	eMWZ	0+1	1+1	1+1	1+1	eMWZ	1+1	eMWZ
<i>gua/guan</i>	1+1	1+1	1+1	1+1	1+1	0+1	0+1	1+1	1+1	1+1	1+1	0+1	1+1	1+1	1+1	1+1	1+1	1+1
Sex, Age	M50	M30	F40-45	M56+	F30-35	M40	M17-18	F(adL)	M	F	M45	M	M	M35	F50+	M25	F	M25-30
Orientation	E	N	N	E	N	N	N	E	N	E	E	E	N	N	N	E	W	N
FOOD VESSELS																		
<i>ding</i>	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	[1]	1	1	[1]	1	1	1
<i>fangding</i>																		
<i>li</i>																		
<i>yan</i>																		
<i>gui</i>			1				1		1						[1]			
<i>hu</i>	1										1	[1]						
LIQUOR CONTAINERS AND DRINKING VESSELS																		
<i>jue</i>																		
<i>gu</i>																		
<i>zhi</i>																		
<i>you</i>																		
<i>zun</i>																		
<i>bi</i>																		
WATER CONTAINERS/WASHING VESSELS																		
<i>pan</i>																		
<i>he+</i>																		
<i>yi</i>																		
howl																		
MISCELLANEOUS																		
unidentifiable								[1]		1?								
MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS																		
<i>yongzhong</i>																		
Totals	2	1	2	1	1	1	2	1[1]	10	1	2	[2]	1	1	1	2	1	1

Table 11. (Continued from previous page.)

PAIR		7092	7095	7113	7146	7164	[7165]	7176	7185	6123	7161	7070
Tomb		6.7	6.5	4.8	4.3	5.0	3.8	4.8	5.8	2.5	5.9	4.9
chamber area		5.2	5.2	6.9	4.9	3.0[d]	?	2.6	?	1.4	6.4	5.0
depth		intact	intact	intact	intact	intact	intact	intact	intact	?	?	?
Condition		eMWZ	IMWZ	IMWZ	IEWZ	eMWZ	?	eMWZ	IEWZ	IEWZ	eEWZ	eLWZ
Date		1+2	1+1	1+2	1+1	1+1	0+1	1+1	1+1	0+1	1+1	1+1
guo/guan		M50	M35	F20	M45	M30-35	M22-24	M22-24	M35-40	?6	F25	M55+
Sex, Age		N	N	E	N	N	N	N	W	N	E	N
Orientation												
FOOD VESSELS												
ding		1	1fr	1	1	1	[1]	1	1			
fangding												
li										1	1[1]	
yan												
gui		[1]		1			[1]					1
bi												
LIQUOR CONTAINERS AND DRINKING VESSELS												
jue												
gu												
zhi												
you												
zun												
bi												
WATER CONTAINERS/WASHING VESSELS											[1]	
pan												
he+												
yi												
bowl						1		1				
MISCELLANEOUS												
unidentifiable								[1]	[1]			
MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS												
yangzong		1										
Totals		2[1]	1	2	1	2	[2]	2[1]	1[1]	1	1[2]	1

The dating follows the original report (Beijing Daxue Kaoguxue Xi Shang Zhou Zu and Shanxi Sheng Kaogu Yanjiusuo [Zou Heng, ed.], 2000). Figures in square brackets are tin *mingqi* vessels.

prerogatives were inherited through the patriline, we find that élite women were systematically assigned privileges lower than those of their husbands.

Before examining these differences, we should take note of the rule of clan exogamy in Zhou society (which continues in traditional Chinese society to the present day in the form of the prohibition against marriage between people of the same surname).<sup>53</sup> Though lineages constituted the basic units of social organization, clans were a higher unit of descent reckoning, each clan comprising a large number of lineages. We have seen, for instance, that the Guo and Jin ruling lineages, as well as the Zhou royal house, all belonged to the Jī clan (and were consequently forbidden to intermarry);<sup>54</sup> the Weí lineage discussed in the preceding chapter, if indeed it was descended from the Shang royal house, would have belonged to the Zī clan (and as we have seen, at least one of the Weí lineage heads seems to have married a Jī woman). Whereas the founding ancestors of lineages were historically traceable individuals (King Wen in the Zhou royal house; his younger brothers Guo Zhong and Guo Shu in Guo; Tang Shu Yú in Jin; and “Gaozu,” possibly identical to Weí Zī Qī, in Weí), clan founders were mythological figures of remote antiquity (the grain god Hou Jī of the Jī clan; a hero named Xie, who was born after his mother had swallowed an egg, of the Zī clan).<sup>55</sup> The rule of clan exogamy entailed that wives and husbands had to belong to lineages affiliated with different clans. Each marriage represented lineage alliances across clan boundaries (*not*, as is sometimes stated, inter-clan alliances, for clans

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<sup>53</sup> On the institutions of marriage in early Chinese civilization, see Granet 1953: 1-62 (originally published 1920), 63-94 (originally published 1912). For an anthropological analysis of Springs and Autumns-period élite marriages, see Thatcher 1991; for gender relations during part of the time under investigation, see Du Fangqin 1995. See also Pulleyblank 2000.

<sup>54</sup> On occasion this rule was broken in Eastern Zhou; Wen Gong of Jin (Jī clan) took a Jī-clan woman from the Di tribes (*Zuo zhuan* Xi 23; *Shisanjing zhushu* 15.113, p.1815), and bronze inscriptions from the tomb of the Marquis Shen of Cai (Jī clan) attest that the marquis had given his daughter in marriage to the king of Wu, which also claimed Jī affiliation (Anhui Sheng Wenwu Guanliweiyuanhui and Anhui Sheng Bowuguan 1956, pls. 13.1-3, 37-38; *Yin Zhou jinwen jicheng* 11.6010; 16.10171); the pair of Wu Wang Guangjian (*Fig. 59*), also found in this tomb (Anhui Sheng Wenwu Guanliweiyuanhui and Anhui Sheng Bowuguan 1956, pls. 15, 39-40; *Yin Zhou jinwen jicheng* 16.10298-99), may have been made by the Wu king as presents for his bride, or possibly attest that the marriage alliance was a reciprocal one, with a Wu princess simultaneously marrying the ruler of Cai.

<sup>55</sup> For Hou Jī, see *Shi jing* “Daya: Shengmin” (*Shisanjing zhushu* 17-1.260-65, pp. 528-33; adapted by Sima Qian in *Shi ji* “Zhou benji,” 4.111-12); for Xie, see *Shi jing* “Shangsong: Xuanniao” (*Shisanjing zhushu* 20-3.354-57, pp. 622-25; adapted by Sima Qian in *Shi ji* “Yin benji,” 3.91).



themselves were not units of political or economic organization); and the practice of polygyny enabled every elite male to forge several alliances of this kind. Some of the wider implications of this system will be discussed in Chapter Four.

Unlike the names of males, in which the name of the *lineage* was the principal identifying element, names of Zhou-period elite women always comprise that of their natal clan, to which the name of a lineage, an indicator of seniority, and (more rarely) a personal name could be joined. We find such names inscribed on the so-called bridal bronzes: ritual vessels that were commissioned for female beneficiaries by their male lineage relatives as part of their dowries, and also sometimes given to them by their husbands or fathers-in-law.<sup>56</sup> Confusion sometimes arises because the lineage names included in the names of females differ according to who was speaking: fathers and brothers would identify a woman by the name of the lineage into which she had married; husbands and fathers-in-law would refer to her by her natal lineage. The name of her natal *clan* remained constant. A systematic, anthropologically informed study of female anthroponymy in Zhou bronze inscriptions still waits to be undertaken;<sup>57</sup> it stands to provide significant insights into lineage organization.

Each of the three cemeteries under analysis in this chapter furnished some bronzes commissioned by members of alien lineages, some of which are explicitly marked as bridal gifts; some of the others may also have constituted part of a dowry. The Yu tombs at Baoji provide more than a dozen instances of such extraneous vessels.<sup>58</sup> Among them, the clearest examples of bridal vessels come from Tomb 2 at Baoji Locus III: four round *ding*, one *ding* with a coal tray, one *yan*, one *gui*, and one animal-shaped vessel, all given to Xíng Jī, the presumed occupant of the tomb, by her husband Yu Bo (*Fig. 22*). Both names are generic: Yu Bo (“Eldest of Yu”) indicates no more than that he was a head of the Yu lineage, and Xíng Jī designates “a Jī-clan woman from Xíng.” Because she was buried at the Yu lineage cemetery, and because we know from other sources that Xíng was a lineage of the Jī clan,<sup>59</sup> we can be certain

<sup>56</sup> The Bo Xianfu-*li* vessels from Hoard 1 at Zhuangbai, discussed in the preceding chapter (see Chapter One, n. 49), are an example of such bridal vessels.

<sup>57</sup> Ample materials for such a study may be found in Wu Zhenfeng 1987.

<sup>58</sup> Lu Liancheng and Hu Zhisheng (1988, vol. 1: 413) note that nine different lineages are mentioned in inscriptions on vessels from Tomb 13 at Baoji Locus II alone, and they discuss (1988, vol.1: 416-23) the relationships of Yu with the neighboring polities of Ze, Ling, Feng, and Xíng.

<sup>59</sup> For historical data on the Xíng polity, see Chen Pan 1969: 180b-184b. Western Zhou archaeological finds relating to Xíng at its political center near present-day Xíngtai (Hebei) are discussed in “Sandai wenming yanjiu” Bianjiweiyuanhui 1999: 4-147; the mortuary remains of high-ranking Xíng lineage members resident at the Zhou capital of Feng are reported in Zhongguo Shehuikexueyuan Kaogu Yanjiusuo 1999.

that the name here does not mean “a Jī clan woman married to a male from Xíng.” The inscriptions on two of her *díng* are unusual in containing a preamble specifying what these bronzes were to be used for. The text runs as follows:

Xíng Jī Fu [possibly her personal name] also(?) [here follows an unknown character, probably meaning “presents”] to her ancestors and her deceased father, the [unknown character, an epithet] rulers, a filial *sì* sacrifice and a filial *jì* sacrifice at the lineage-temple hall. Herewith I, Yu Bo, make tripods and tureens for the use of Xíng Jī.<sup>60</sup>

Evidently Xíng Jī, even after her marriage to Yu Bo—and even after death—continued to offer sacrifice to her own ancestors, thereby validating the alliance between the Xíng and Yu lineages.

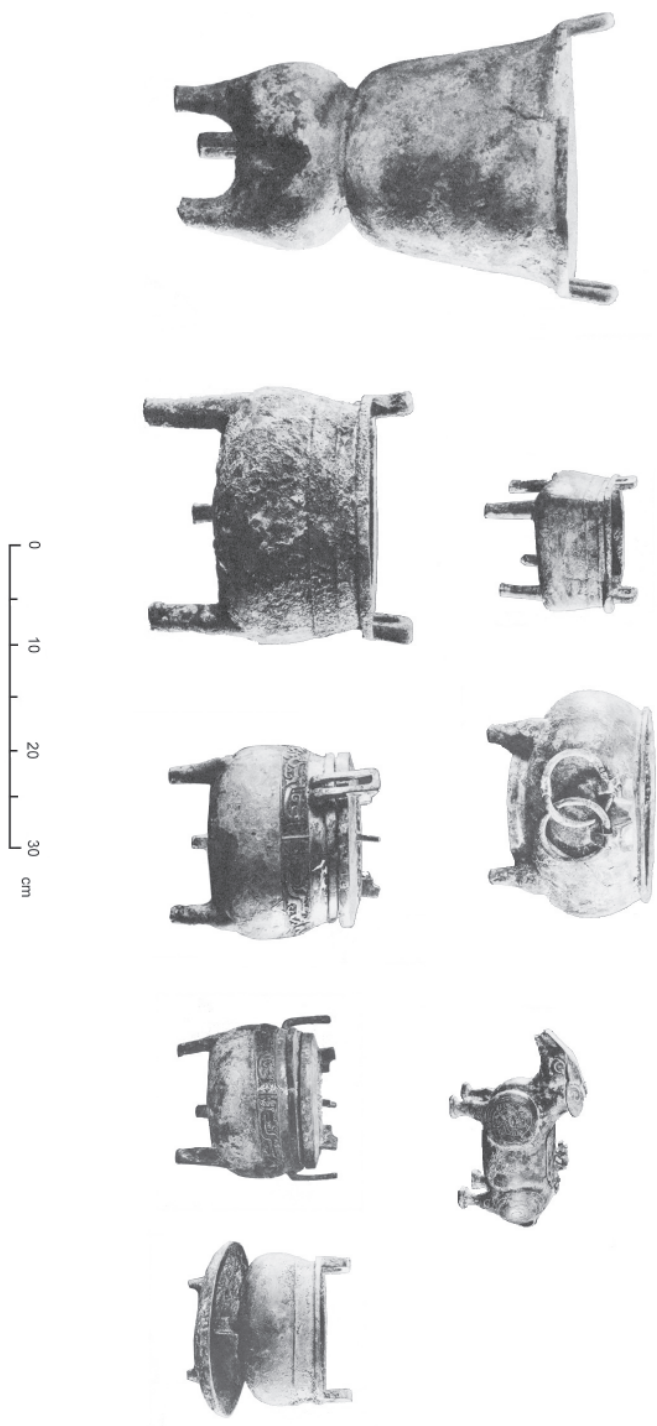
At Tianma-Qucun, vessels from Tombs 13, 63, and 64 at Qucun Locus III testify to marital alliances of Jin with the Bai and Yang lineages(?) of the Jí clan,<sup>61</sup> and with an unnamed lineage of the Jiang clan (possibly Qi).<sup>62</sup> At Shangcunling, ties are documented with the Su lineage of the Qǐ clan (?) (Tombs 1820 and 1753),<sup>63</sup>

<sup>60</sup> Lu Liancheng and Hu Zhisheng 1988, vol. 1: 363-366, 370; vol. 2, pll. 197.1, 198.1, color pl. 21.2; *Yin Zhou jinwen jicheng* 5.2676-2677.

<sup>61</sup> One Bai Jí is mentioned as the beneficiary of the Shu Zhaofu-*yan*, a bridal vessel excavated from Tomb 64 (Shanxi Sheng Wenwuju et al. [ed.] 2002: 148-49. The pair of Yang Jí-*bú* from Tomb 63 (Shanxi Sheng Kaogu Yanjiusuo and Beijing Daxue Kaoguxue Xi 1994a: 17, 14; Shanxi Sheng Wenwuju et al. [ed.] 2002: 161) has aroused some discussion as a rare piece of evidence concerning the Yang lineage (Wang Rencong 1996; Li Xueqin 1998b: 106-108; Li Boqian 1998), though I wonder whether Bai (“Paulownia”) and Yang (“Willow”) might actually be the personal names of two Jí-clan women whose lineage affiliation is not given. (The inscriptions from the recently found hoard at Yangjiacun, Mei Xian [Shaanxi] [see Chapter One, n. 54] attest that after the reign of King Xuan, Yang was governed by a royal Zhou prince [Jí clan] rather than by a lineage of the Jí clan.) Note that Yang Jí is herself the donor of her two *bú* vessels; she may be the occupant of the tomb in which they were found. By contrast, the bridal vessel mentioning Bai Jí was found in the tomb of a ruler of Jin—the husband of the woman buried in Tomb 63. If Shu Zhaofu, the sponsor of the *yan* mentioning Bai Jí, was indeed the occupant of Tomb 64 (cf. n. 27 for the suggestion of such a possibility), it would follow that he was simultaneously married to two women from the Jí clan. The custom of a male marrying several sisters or female cousins at the same time as a way of guaranteeing the inter-lineage alliance thus created is attested for the Springs and Autumns period (Thatcher 1991: 311).

<sup>62</sup> Cf. the Jin Jiang-*gui* from Tomb 13 (Shanxi Sheng Wenwuju et al. [ed.] 2002: 60). A Jin-Qi marriage is attested in 808 for Mu Hou (*Shi ji* “Jin shijia” 9: 1637; *Zuo zhuan* Huan 2, *Shisanjing zhushu* 5.41, p. 1743); it is likely that the alliance was periodically renewed.

<sup>63</sup> Su vessels found at Shangcunling include the Su Hao-*fu* from Tomb 1820 (Zhongguo Kexueyuan Kaogu Yanjiusuo 1959a, pl. 62.1; *Yin Zhou jinwen jicheng* 9.4659) and the Su Zi



**Fig. 22.** Bridal vessels of Xingji from Tomb 2 at Ruijiazhuang (Baoji Loculus III), Baoji (Shaanxi). Around 900 BC. Vessels: Xingji-fengding, 1 Yu Bo-gui, 1 Xingji-yucui (animal-shaped vessel), 1 Xingji-fanzaiding, 1 Xingji-yun, 4 round Xingji-fu-ding, 1 Xingji-fu-ding, 1 Xingji-fu-ding, 1 Xingji-fu-ding, 1 Xingji-fu-ding.

the Liang lineage of the Ying clan (Tomb 2012),<sup>64</sup> the Shou(?) lineage of the Jí clan (Tomb 2006),<sup>65</sup> as well as an unnamed lineage of the Jiang clan (Tomb 2013).<sup>66</sup> Not all of these occur in tombs of women; why bridal vessels sometimes ended up in tombs of males is not known.<sup>67</sup> Even though this evidence is fragmentary and is likely to grow with the more complete publication of finds, it shows that the system of marital alliances based on clan exogamy was firmly in place.

Let us now consider the funerary remains of such women. At the outset, we note that at all three cemeteries under analysis, burial of husband and wife in adjacent tombs seems to have been a criterion of privilege; this is true at other Western Zhou cemeteries as well, and continues almost throughout Eastern Zhou. Small and modest tombs, whether of males or of females, are virtually always single. This may suggest that the value of females may have been considered important as a token of inter-lineage association only above

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Shu (or Shu zuo Su Zi)-*ding* from Tomb 1753 (Zhongguo Kexueyuan Kaogu Yanjiusuo 1959a, pl. 64.2; *Yin Zhou jinwen jicheng* 4.1926). That this was a hereditary marriage was first pointed out in the original report (Zhongguo Kexueyuan Kaogu Yanjiusuo 1959a: 51-52), citing other unprovenanced inscriptions testifying to such an alliance; in one of those inscriptions, the sponsor was the beneficiary's mother, a woman from the Ren clan.

<sup>64</sup> Liang Jī, the donor of the Liang Jī-*guan* (or *bū*) from Tomb 2012 (Henan Sheng Wenwu Kaogu Yanjiusuo and Sanmenxia Shi Wenwu Gongzuodui 1999, vol. 1: 251, 254; vol. 2: pls. 94.2, 94.3, cpl. 27.3, 27.4) must have been a Guo (or other Jī lineage) princess married off to Liang, a polity affiliated with the Ying clan (Chen Pan 1969: 225b-227a). Why one of her vessels ended up in a woman's tomb at the Guo-lineage cemetery begs an explanation. In a situation of hereditary intermarriage between two lineages, a Liang woman married off to Guo (known as Guo Ying to her own relatives and as Liang Ying to her Guo in-laws) would naturally have been the daughter of a Guo woman married off to Liang (Liang Jī to her own relatives, Guo Jī to her Liang in-laws); and this Liang woman could well have received some of her mother's bridal vessels as part of her dowry. In any case, Tomb 2012 is unlikely to have been Liang Jī's tomb (despite the excavators' claim to that effect).

<sup>65</sup> For the two Meng Jí-*xu*, bridal vessels for a woman from the Shou(?) lineage, see Henan Sheng Wenwu Kaogu Yanjiusuo and Sanmenxia Shi Wenwu Gongzuodui 1995: 7, 10-11, front cover; the as-yet-unpublished inscriptions are discussed *ibid.*, p. 30. The excavators believe that the beneficiary of these vessels is the tomb occupant.

<sup>66</sup> For basic information on the as-yet-unpublished Tomb 2013, see Henan Sheng Wenwu Kaogu Yanjiusuo and Sanmenxia Shi Wenwu Gongzuodui 1999, vol.1: 11; the excavators believe that one "Chou [Xiu?] Jiang", who appears in the bronze inscription on an *yi* from this tomb, is the tomb occupant.

<sup>67</sup> Perhaps some of the bronzes in question had been obtained as war booty rather than through marital alliances.

a certain level in the society. We shall consider this point from another angle in Chapter Eight.

Comparison of the contents of paired tombs reveals significant discrepancies. For Early Western Zhou, the clearest instances at our three cemeteries are three of the four pairs of bronze-yielding tombs from Qucun Locust II (*Table 11*). The women consistently have fewer bronze vessels than their husbands; a similar disparity also governs other kinds of funerary goods. For Middle Western Zhou, the difference in the number of bronzes between Tombs 1 and 2 at Baoji Locust III strikingly conveys the same picture at a higher social level (*Table 8*); so do the Early Group tombs at Qucun Locust III, even in their incomplete state of publication (*Table 9*).

Like rank differences, gender differences were systematized with the Late Western Zhou Ritual Reform, as attested by the finds from Shangcunling and the Late Group tombs at Qucun Locust III. At Shangcunling (*Table 10*), due to looting, we are unable to juxtapose complete assemblages from any pair of tombs. It is nevertheless of interest that all four seven-*ding* tombs at the cemetery were the final resting places of males. In the five-*ding* category, if we compare the two known tombs of male occupants (Tombs 1819 and 1706) with the “female” Tomb 2012, we notice that the overall numbers of bronze vessels is considerably higher in the latter; this is true of other funerary goods as well. This does not, however, mean that within the five-*ding* rank category, females ranked higher than males. Instead, the reason for this situation is almost certainly that the female in Tomb 2012 was the wife of an individual of seven-*ding* rank; her apparent five-*ding* privilege, even though accompanied with richer trappings of status than are seen in five-*ding* tombs of males, turns out to be a lesser, female, version of her husband’s seven-*ding* privilege. The same reasoning applies to three-*ding* tombs: those of female occupants (Tombs 2006 and 1820) are clearly richer than those of males (Tombs 1602, 1705, and 1721), and the likely explanation is that the former are the pendants of tombs of males of five-*ding* rank.

This impression is confirmed by the Late Group tombs at Qucun Locust III, where the contents of some pairs of tombs are directly comparable. As mentioned, the normal complement of Jin rulers after the Late Western Zhou Ritual Reform seems to have been five *ding* (as in Tombs 93 and 64), whereas their wives (in Tombs 102, 62, and 63) had only sets of three. Apart from the already-mentioned enigmatic discrepancy in the case of Tombs 91 and 92 (seven versus two *ding*), the general rule thus seems to have been that females were given the number of *ding* due to a male ranked one sumptuary step below their husbands; wives, in other words, systematically ranked one notch lower than their husbands.<sup>68</sup>

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<sup>68</sup> For an analysis of these differences, see also Yong Ying 2002.

This institutionalized discrimination extends to other aspects of the burial as well. At Baoji Locus III, not only was the male occupant of Tomb 1 accompanied by a “concubine” in her own burial chamber, but he additionally had seven ordinary sacrificial victims in his tomb, whereas his wife in Tomb 2 had no companion and only two ordinary victims. At Qucun Locus III and Shangcunling, not only is the absolute number of bronzes much higher in tombs of males than in those of females, but at both sites musical instruments are the exclusive privilege of males. At Shangcunling, horse-and-chariot pits associated with tombs of males are consistently richer than those of females. At Qucun Locus III, such horse-and-chariot pits are associated with each tomb cluster, and it is unclear whether they pertained to the tombs of the wives as well as the rulers, or to the rulers’ tombs exclusively. In any case, the number of chariots and chariot fittings buried *within* the Qucun Locus III tombs is vastly higher for males than for females.

Despite of such manifest inequities, it bears stating that differences in rank, at least during Late Western Zhou and Early Springs and Autumns, were materially more consequential than gender differences. Our findings from Shangcunling would suggest that, for instance, wives of persons of seven-*ding* privilege were vastly richer (and, perhaps, wielded greater power) than males of the next lower rank level, even though both had sets of five *ding*. In order to understand better how gender was socially constructed during that period, one needs more juxtapositions of this kind. So far, we have only considered high-élite females. At a lower social level, as well, analysis of the tombs of nonruling members of the Jin lineage at Qucun Locus II reveals that ritual vessels occur preponderantly in tombs of males (61% of bronze-yielding tombs had male occupants, as opposed to 34% with female occupants; the remaining cases are unclear). By contrast, assemblages with large numbers of ceramic kitchen vessels are predominantly found in tombs of females (54% vs. 30%, the remainder unclear). Were some of the women buried with such assemblages the wives of bronze-vessel owning men? Should the contrasts between their tomb furnishings, if real, be read as an association of women with food preparation in a domestic context and men with “public” ritual activity? With the sparse evidence currently in hand, I hesitate to push this line of argument. In any case, males predominate again as occupants of tombs yielding either a single ceramic vessel or no vessels at all (46% vs. 26% females), but here the large number of unclear cases (28%) adds a strong note of uncertainty. We shall encounter more women of relatively low status in the following chapter.

If the ritual paraphernalia—chief among them sets of ritual bronzes—expressed the legal standing of their owners, these findings make it manifest that élite females in Western Zhou had fewer rights than males, and probably enjoyed whatever rights they did through their husbands. At the same time it

should be cautioned that cemeteries of patrilineal corporate groups and paraphernalia for the cult to the male ancestors of such groups may not be the most valid context in which to seek evidence for a comprehensive and evenhanded picture of women's position in Western Zhou society. This topic is still very much in need of research. Bronze inscriptions—again perhaps not the most objective of sources, but one of the few available at present—hint at the existence of separate hierarchies of female officials, special kinds of rituals for women, and the transmission of vessels from females to females (as well as to males).

To illustrate the complexities of the evidence, let me adduce just one example of a bronze inscription concerned with women's affairs, on a vessel that was possibly made on behalf of a female donor. It appears on the *Man-gui*, an unprovenanced Late Western Zhou period vessel in the Shanghai Museum:<sup>69</sup>

It being the second quarter of the sixth lunar month, day Xin Zi [wrong character, should read Si], the King ordered Man and Shu Xianfu to transfer Yú Jī's [sacrificial] food vessels. Shi Huang, when hosting Man, presented one jade sceptre and a pair of horses. Yú Jī, when hosting [Man], presented a bolt of silk cloth. Man in response extolled the grace of the Son of Heaven and on account of it made [this] venerable *gui* vessel. Ji Jiang.

The inscription records how an unnamed Zhou king dispatched the vessel's donor, named Man, together with another individual, Shu Xianfu, to convey a royal present of a set of bridal bronzes on the occasion of the wedding of Yú Jī, a female relative of the king. When they had arrived at their destination, Man received valuable presents both from Yú Jī herself and from Yú Jī's husband, the Shi official Huang.<sup>70</sup> The inscription ends with a formulaic expression of thanks to the king for entrusting Man with a mission both honorable and lucrative.

Whereas the name Shu Xianfu unquestionably designates a Zhou aristocratic male, the exact denotation of the donor's name, Man, is less clear. Previous

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<sup>69</sup> *Yin Zhou jinwen jicheng* 8: 4195. The following interpretation is from Falkenhausen 1998: 173–74, where further references are listed.

<sup>70</sup> The name Yú Jī has occasioned slight dissension among commentators. Yú was a minor lineage of the Jī clan, residing in southern Shanxi. It would seem most straightforward to assume that Yú Jī was a woman from that lineage. Ma Chengyuan (1986–1990, no. 325) has, however, proposed that she was a royal princess who was married into another Yú lineage, of the Gui clan, residing in present-day Henan. Ma's reading better accounts for the king's role as the donor of her bridal vessels; for such vessels were usually provided by close lineage relatives of the bride. Note that in the first interpretation, Yú would be the name of this woman's natal lineage, and in the second, that of her marital lineage. Her clan name, of course, remains constant.



commentators are unanimous in considering Man a male official of unknown lineage affiliation. They take the dedicatory sentence to mean “[Man] made [this] venerable *gui* vessel for Ji Jiang,” and Ji Jiang (“Youngest daughter from the Jiang clan”) as either the wife or the daughter of Man. The main trouble with this interpretation is that “Ji Jiang” is not the grammatical object of the dedicatory sentence, but stands apart in a way similar to the lineage emblems appearing at the end of numerous Western Zhou inscriptions. If the text as it is written is not a scribal mistake, or an “inversion” (as all previous commentators are forced to assume, though such “inversions” are otherwise unknown as well as unallowable in Classical Chinese grammar), it follows that the name Ji Jiang, rather than indicating the dedicatee, must designate some aspect of the donor’s own identity. In this case, since “Ji Jiang” is unmistakably a generic name for an aristocratic woman, one would have to conclude that Man was a female, Man being her personal name and Jiang that of her natal clan, with the element Ji (“Youngest”) possibly indicating her position among the women of her generation within her natal lineage, which is unnamed. The vessel would have been intended for use in the sacrifices to her own ancestors.

Even though this interpretation cannot presently be advanced with ultimate certainty, several factors seem to favor it. First, if “Ji Jiang” were the object of the dedicatory sentence, the name, appearing where it does, could not possibly refer to a living beneficiary (such as a wife or daughter), but would have to be the name of a dead ancestress. In Zhou inscriptions, however, names like Ji Jiang usually refer to living women, whereas posthumous names of females comprise honorary titles and epithets. Second, inscriptions of vessels made by males as gifts for females do not usually contain “statements of past merit” recounting royal favors received by the donor, as seen in this inscription. Third, the event referred to in the inscription has to do with women’s affairs. In connection with the transfer of sacrificial vessels to a woman of the royal clan (perhaps indeed from the royal lineage), it is easy to visualize Man as a female official occupying a position of responsibility on the staff of the royal harem, who, when conducting business outside, was escorted by a male official, in this case by Shu Xianfu. So far, the Man-*gui* inscription is the only known record of such activities, which urges some caution in hypothesis, but future research may well reveal additional pertinent evidence.

The preceding epigraphic digression is intended as a reminder that the situation of females may have been somewhat less starkly subaltern than is suggested by the consideration of sumptuary rules and sets of ritual vessels alone. Confirming this, scrutiny of the data from Qucun Locus III and Shangcunling also reveals that no systematic difference was drawn with respect to tomb size, number of sloping entry ramps, the presence or absence of nested coffins, or the wealth of funerary jades. At both cemeteries the archaizing *mingqi* displays

seen in some post-Ritual Reform tombs are, if anything, more lavish in tombs of females than in those of males. Moreover, pairs of husband-and-wife tombs at Zhou cemeteries show little consistency in placement of the woman's tomb (stage right or left) with respect to the man's.<sup>71</sup> At Baoji Locus III and the two apparently earliest clusters of tombs at Qucun Locus III, the woman's tomb is on the left, in the later clusters at Qucun Locus III it is on the right, and the four pairs of tombs at the Tianma-Qucun lineage cemetery are evenly divided. The relative positions also vary among pairs of tombs at later, Eastern Zhou, cemeteries.<sup>72</sup> It is unclear whether placement on one or the other side reflected privilege.

All in all, the data examined in this chapter intimate that, despite increasing systematization over time, Zhou ritual rules were by no means rigidly inflexible. To the contrary, we should think of ancient Chinese ritual as a set of tools for regularizing the infinite variety of daily social reality; how these were applied quite probably depended in large measure on ad hoc decisions and very crucially on individual social skills. Power lay not only in the possession of ritual privilege, but perhaps even more in the ability to manipulate the rules and accommodate them to actual situations. As the unified standards of Zhou ritual promulgated in the Late Western Zhou Ritual Reform came to be widely adhered to, different micro-traditions arose as the ritual specialists of various lineages developed their own somewhat divergent ways of applying them. Both males and females, by skilful handling, could benefit from the considerable flexibility inherent in the system.

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<sup>71</sup> Guo Baojun (1959: 55) asserts that a Zhou ritual rule existed according to which a woman had to be buried to the left (= stage right) of her husband. Such a rule, if it existed, seems to have been broken with some frequency. On the cultural significance of right and left in ancient China, see Granet 1953: 261-78.

<sup>72</sup> At the cemetery of Shangma, Houma (Shanxi) (extensively discussed in Chapter Three), two Early Springs and Autumns-period pairs of tombs with chariot pits furnish contradictory evidence: Tomb 1284 (male) is located on the proper left of Tomb 1283 (female), whereas the reverse is true of the nearby pair of Tombs 1288 and 1287. The Late Springs and Autumns-period pair of Tombs 269 (male) and 270 (female) at Fenshuiling, Changzhi (Shanxi) embodies Guo Baojun's alleged rule, and so, probably, does one of the two pairs of Early Warring States tombs at Fenshuiling, Tombs 12 (male?) and 25 (female?). But the other pair, Tombs 14 (male?) and 26 (female?), reverses that placement. If one can take differences in tomb wealth as indicative of sex, Guo's alleged rule was also flaunted in two Middle to Late Warring States-period pairs: Tombs 20 (male?) and 21 (female?), and Tombs 36 (male?) and 35 (female?). (For Fenshuiling, see Shanxi Sheng Wenwu Guanliweiyuanhui 1957; Shanxi Sheng Wenwu Guanliweiyuanhui and Shanxi Sheng Kaogu Yanjiusuo 1964; Bian Chengxiu 1972; and Shanxi Sheng Wenwu Guanliweiyuanhui Jin Dongnan Gongzuozu and Shanxi Sheng Changzhi Shi Bowuguan 1974.)

## CHAPTER THREE

# A NORTH CHINESE COMMUNITY (CA. 800-450 BC): DEMOGRAPHY AND RANKING

**T**IANMA-QUCUN AND SHANGCUNLING may be considered representative of large lineage cemeteries from the later centuries of the first half of the “Age of Confucius.” Numerous tombs have been reported from both, but their unsystematic recovery and their often looted condition preclude statistically relevant insights. Of course we can calculate, for instance, that the proportion of bronze-vessel-yielding tombs at Shangcunling is about 15 percent (data from the 1950s only), and 7 percent at Qucun Locus II; these figures suggest that bronze ownership in both lineages was restricted to a rather small part of the population. But which of the two figures is closer to the true percentage in Zhou society at large? Or is the quest for one figure for the whole of Zhou society meaningless, because of the substantial differences among lineages? Do the two figures indicate a difference in social standing between the Guo and Jin lineages, or perhaps, since the chronological ranges of the two cemeteries are somewhat different, changes over time? We cannot tell. Since the two figures are derived from statistically nonrepresentative datasets, they do not reliably indicate the percentage of individuals in each lineage who belonged to its privileged, bronze-owning elite segment: they can merely indicate a general tendency. Given the relatively large amount of data from which these figures are derived, they may do so somewhat more accurately than figures derived from smaller nonrepresentative samples, but even about this it is impossible to be certain.

It is likely that the reports on Shangcunling and Tianma-Qucun contain instances of all the different social ranks whose members were buried within their respective cemeteries; but the number of tombs reported for each stratum may well not be in proportion to the population of the respective strata. Archaeologists in Western countries, especially those working in Cultural Resources Management situations, where complete excavation of sites is often impossible, have made valiant efforts to devise “sampling strategies” in order to generate datasets in which the evidence recovered, though limited, is representative of the actual conditions at a site. Such approaches work best with settlement sites, but they could conceivably be tried at a Chinese Bronze Age cemetery

as well. Systematic probing from the surface can reveal not only the location but also the outlines and sizes of tombs; one might survey an entire cemetery, classify the tombs by size, and then excavate tombs of each class in proportion to their frequency at the site. To my knowledge, however, such an approach has never been adopted; and as the evidence to be considered in this chapter shows, its underlying assumption—namely, that the size of the tomb pit is a reliable indicator of wealth and social rank—sometimes needs modification.

So far, the only cemetery from the Chinese Bronze Age to have yielded data that may be considered statistically representative is Shangma in Houma city (Shanxi province).<sup>1</sup> The reason is, quite simply, that the 1,387 tombs excavated represent almost the totality (95%) of tombs at this cemetery,<sup>2</sup> and of these, only one had been looted. Being virtually complete as well as ample, this dataset justifies some confidence that any observable regularities are not merely a chance impression. We may therefore extract from it statistical information on the internal social stratification of the lineage that buried its members here. Whether the results apply to Zhou society in general is a different matter: Chapter Two has already alerted us to the considerable variations among lineages in the material manifestations of their social differences. It would therefore be unwise to generalize on the basis of the Shangma data alone. In their very specificity, however, they do provide an extremely valuable benchmark for comparison, and one hopes that further data of similar quality will become available so that one may draw a more comprehensive picture of social realities.

## SHANGMA AND ITS SURROUNDINGS

Shangma was first excavated in the early 1960s and then again from 1978 to 1987. The site is located in the heartland of the Jin polity, less than 50 kilometers southwest of Tianma-Qucun, the likely location of the Jin capital at the time when the cemetery came into use in the Late Western Zhou period, and adjacent to the last capital of Jin, Xintian (at present-day Houma), which was founded in 585 BC.<sup>3</sup> Shangma is also close to a Warring States-period

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<sup>1</sup> Reported in Shanxi Sheng Wenwu Guanliweiyuanhui Houma Gongzuozhan 1963 and Shanxi Sheng Kaogu Yanjiusuo 1994a. I have presented a comprehensive analysis of the data in Falkenhausen 2001b. The present chapter summarizes and slightly expands on that earlier study.

<sup>2</sup> The absence of data from the 5% of unexcavated tombs might conceivably have distorted our figures; but it is unlikely that such distortion would be very significant.

<sup>3</sup> See *Zuo zhuan* Cheng 6 (*Sbisanjing zhushu* 26.200-1, pp. 1902-3). The extensive archaeological fieldwork undertaken at Xintian since the 1950s is summarized in Shanxi Sheng Kaogu Yanjiusuo Houma Gongzuozhan 1996.

city in the southwestern part of Quwo county, a local administrative center of the Wèi kingdom, which ruled the area after the break-up of Jin in 453 BC;<sup>4</sup> but by that time, the Shangma cemetery was no longer in use. Both Xintian and the Warring States city in Quwo have their own associated cemeteries. The Shangma cemetery must therefore have belonged to a separate settlement, which was presumably located underneath the modern walled village of Shangma, to judge by some Zhou-period dwelling remains found there.<sup>5</sup> As explained in Chapter Two, our basic assumption is that the cemetery represents a single lineage, which presumably occupied that settlement. We do not know its name or clan affiliation. Epigraphy is of no help, as the only inscribed objects found at the cemetery are two tripods made for a prince of Xu in southeastern China, more than a thousand kilometers away.<sup>6</sup> They must have been acquired from the outside, perhaps as war booty or—less likely, given the physical distance and, probably, difference in rank—through a marriage alliance.

The cemetery is laid out in six sectors, with unequal numbers of tombs in each (see *Table 12*; *Map 6*). Whether these sectors corresponded to residential divisions in the settlement is now unknowable, but the excavators assume, reasonably I think, that each was the burial ground of a distinct branch lineage; the only likely exception is Sector IV, where tombs are mostly concentrated along the margins and thus appear to belong to adjacent sectors, chiefly to Sector I. Sector V presumably belonged to the most senior branch lineage, as it contains the four earliest tombs in the cemetery, dating from Late Western Zhou times. All six sectors were simultaneously in use beginning in the Early Springs and Autumns period. The first sector to be abandoned was Sector III, where the latest tombs date from the first half of Late Springs and Autumns; in Sectors II and VI, as well, occupation ended before the end of Springs and Autumns; and the cemetery's final phase (transition to Warring States) is only represented in Sectors I (with IV) and V.

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<sup>4</sup> Preliminary notices in Shanxi Sheng Wenwu Guanliweiyuanhui 1959: 222-23; Shanxi Sheng Wenwu Guanliweiyuanhui and Shanxi Sheng Kaogu Yanjiusuo 1960a: 15; Wu Zhenlu 1986. This city, in present-day Quwo county, is also known as the Fengcheng city (Xu Hong 2000: 109-110). It is not to be confused with Old Quwo in Wenxi county, the seat of the junior lineage of the ruling house that usurped the government of Jin in 679 BC.

<sup>5</sup> See Shanxi Sheng Kaogu Yanjiusuo 1994a: 272-280. On the same site are also Warring States-Han-period settlement remains (*ibid.*, pp. 280-87); possibly occupation continued even after the cemetery was abandoned.

<sup>6</sup> These are the two Geng'er-ding from Tomb 61M13 (Shanxi Sheng Wenwu Guanliweiyuanhui Houma Gongzuozhan 1963: 238, 236-237, pl.1.1; *Yin Zhou jinwen jicheng* 5.2715-16; Zhang Han and Zhang Wanzhong 1963).

The excavators' nine-phase chronology of the tombs is based on the seriation of earthenware *li* vessels; for reasons explained in the preceding chapter, such a ceramic-based sequence is unverifiable by outsiders, but if one is to work meaningfully with the published Shangma data, one must accept it as reported. For the purposes of the following analysis, I assume, furthermore, that the nine phases were all of approximately equal length; this may be problematic, but should not be of very great consequence on account of the relatively short time span (45 years or so) assigned to each phase. All the cemetery data—tomb contents as well as sex and age of the skeletons recovered—are presented in a handy table at the end of the archaeological report on Shangma.<sup>7</sup>

## DEMOGRAPHIC DEVELOPMENTS

If the Shangma cemetery represents the full funerary record of the community to which it belonged, one would expect that its data reflect the settlement's population history. Cultural habitudes, however, excluded some categories of people from burial at the lineage cemetery, with the result that the population of tomb occupants at Shangma is likely to differ systematically from the actual population of the settlement. To begin with, children are almost completely absent from the mortuary population (only 19 tombs, or 1.8% of the total, contained the remains of children under the age of 10)—a finding grossly at variance with infant mortality in premodern societies, which usually amounts to at least 50 percent. We must conclude that the vast majority of Shangma lineage members who died in childhood were not buried at the cemetery. Also unlikely to have been buried there would have been any residents of the Shangma settlement who were not kin of the dominant lineage, including servants and slaves, unassimilated foreigners (about whom we shall hear more in Chapter Five), and possibly others. Moreover, some women may have been excluded from burial at the lineage cemetery, as apparent from the male-female ratio among tomb occupants, which is skewed in favor of males (112 males to 100 females),<sup>8</sup> whereas a natural population would show a slight preponderance of females (96 males to 100 females). Perhaps certain categories of adult females (e.g., married women who died before achieving connubial status by giving birth to an heir) were denied burial at their husbands' lineage cemetery. Of course,

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<sup>7</sup> Shanxi Sheng Kaogu Yanjiusuo 1994a: 307-97; translated and rearranged in Falkenhausen 2001b: 152-65. Despite the authors' own modest understatement, the Shangma report represents an epoch-making achievement in the history of Chinese archaeology.

<sup>8</sup> Interestingly, exactly the same ratio prevails in the sample of 626 tombs from the Jin aristocratic cemetery at Qucun Locus II.





**Table 12.** The Cemetery at Shangma, Houma (Shanxi): List of Tombs by Date and Sector

Period Phase	I 1	(LWZ) 2	II 3	(ECQ) 4	III 5	(MCQ) 6	IV 7	(LCQ) 8	V 9	Period unclear	Total
DISTRIBUTION BY SEX											
Adult	2	14	45	61	93	82	30	11		155	493
Females											
Adult Males	2	14	42	72	81	95	40	15	3	186	550
Sex Unclear		8	21	26	55	42	19	14	3	136	324
Children			1							18	19
Totals	4	36	109	159	229	219	89	40	6	495	1386
DISTRIBUTION BY SECTOR											
Sector I		8	15	23	35	40	14	7	3	91	236
Sector II		1	4	4	16	11	19	17		91	165
Sector III		9	22	33	36	33	8			65	206
Sector IV		1	10	3	19	12	8	3	2	15	73
Sector V	4	6	33	61	75	74	24	1	1	70	349
Sector VI		11	25	35	47	48	16	12		155	350
Totals	4	36	109	159	228	219	89	40	6	487	1377

These tabulations do not include one tomb containing a male and a female skeleton in separate coffins (M 1028; period undetermined), five sacrificial pits containing animal skeletons, and three horse-and-chariot pits. The tabulation by sector does not include nine tombs with unclear sector locations. The total number of excavated tombs at the cemetery is 1387.

other reasons are possible for the gender imbalance observed: bones of females, being less robust, are likely to be less well preserved underground than those of males (hence, of the 23% of tombs whose occupants' sex could no longer be determined, the majority may have contained females);<sup>9</sup> female infanticide may have been practiced, as it still was occasionally in twentieth-century China; and girls may have been treated—and fed—less well than boys during childhood, possibly resulting in higher female infant mortality (and thus exclusion from the cemetery on the basis of age at death rather than gender).

It is thus evident that, rather than the population history of the entire appertaining settlement, the Shangma cemetery data reflect only that of the settlement's *adult core population*. In reconstructing the its history, the first step is to plot the total number of tombs from each phase in a curve (*Table 13*). From four tombs in Phase 1, the numbers grow steeply from Phase 2 (late part of Late Western Zhou) to Phase 5 (early part of Middle Springs and Autumns), and then fall again continuously until Phase 9 (transition to Warring States), after which time the cemetery ceased to be used. We may even calculate growth rates from phase to phase. Using one of several possible mathematical formulae correlating the number of tombs for each of the nine archaeological phases, the length of each phase, and the average life expectancy of adults in premodern society, we arrive at approximate population figures indicating the average

<sup>9</sup> Weiss (1972) determined that on account of such discrepancies in preservation, males tend to be overcounted by 12% on average (cf. Morris 1992: 82).

number of adult core inhabitants of the settlement alive at any one time during each phase. The maximum figure is likely to have been between 250 and 350 by the mid-seventh century BC—a figure that should be at least doubled to include children, additional low-status women, and resident outsiders, i.e. to yield the overall population of the settlement. Today this would only be a small village, but it may well have been a quite respectable-sized town by Springs and Autumns-period standards, although it was far smaller—perhaps by a factor of ten or more—than the capital of a major polity.<sup>10</sup>

If the cemetery data reflect the history of the Shangma lineage from its very inception, the four Phase 1 tombs in Sector V represent the founding couple and its offspring in the first generation. The high growth rates until Phase 5 are presumably mainly due to procreation, though the rapid rate of increase at the

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<sup>10</sup> This factor of difference is, frankly, speculation. My only basis for asserting it is the extent of the Tianma-Qucun cemetery, discussed in Chapter Two, which probably represents the adult core population of the capital of Jin. If the excavated portion of the cemetery really constitutes 1/35 of the total; and if the density of tombs was the same throughout the area; one might then calculate from the 626 tombs a total “population” of tombs of 21,910, almost sixteen times that of Shangma. If the time of occupation is the same for the entire cemetery as for the reported tombs (from Early Western Zhou to Middle Springs and Autumns), we can set the overall duration of the occupation at circa 450 years. According to the two formulas used by Morris (1987: 74-75), we would then get the following figures:

$$\frac{1000}{30 \times 450 / 21910} = 1622$$

or (using the average-age-at-death figure for Shangma)

$$\frac{39.09 \times 21910}{450} = 1903.$$

This would have been, presumably the average adult core population at Qucun Locus I, which, doubled or more, would approximate the total population of the Jin capital. These figures assume that population remained constant over time, which of course it did not; but due to nonrepresentative excavation, we have no way of tracing the changes of population size over time at Tianma-Qucun, as we can do, at least tentatively, for Shangma. Thus, the maximum population is likely to have been considerably in excess of the figures given. It would follow that the Jin capital in Western Zhou times might have had at least six times on the average—and at times quite possibly more than ten times—the number of inhabitants of Shangma at its maximum extent in mid-Springs and Autumns. Of course, these figures are extremely rough. They can, however, serve to show that even the capital of a major polity during the first half of the first millennium BC was a far cry from the populous metropolises of the Warring States period.

Table 13. Demographic Development of the Shangma “Burying Group”

RECONSTRUCTED POPULATION FIGURES (ADULTS ONLY):										
Phase	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	Average
<b>First Method</b>										
A	3.0	26.7	80.7	117.8	169.6	162.2	65.9	29.6	4.4	73.2
B	4.6	41.5	125.8	183.5	264.7	252.7	102.7	46.2	6.9	114.2
<b>Second Method</b>										
A	3.5	31.2	94.5	137.8	198.5	189.8	77.1	34.7	5.2	85.8
B	5.4	48.6	147.2	214.7	309.3	295.7	120.2	54.0	8.1	133.5
A: Raw Figures; B: Figures prorated to account for undatable tombs. The figures under B should probably be at least doubled to arrive at the actual number of inhabitants of the settlement to which the Shangma cemetery belonged. The different calculation methods are explained in Falkenhausen 2001.										
GROWTH RATES (FROM PHASE TO PHASE):*										
	3.56	2.22	0.83	0.80	-0.10	-1.88	-1.55	-3.33		

\* calculated according to the formula  $r = \ln \left( \frac{N_2}{N_1} \right) / t$ , where  $N_2$  is the population size reached from an initial population  $N_1$  after a time period  $t$  (Hassan 1981: 139).

beginning makes one wonder whether other factors may have been at play, such as the incorporation (e.g., by way of adoption) of a certain number of outsiders into the lineage (to verify this, DNA analysis might be helpful). As the data reflect the lineage’s growth over time, they also reflect its increasing internal social stratification. Various status symbols appeared one after another. Burial chambers began to occur in Phase 2, bronze vessels and nested coffins in Phase 3 (see *Tables 15, 17*). The introduction of ceramic imitations to replace “real” bronze vessels in Phase 7 may have religious rather than social reasons (see Chapter Seven). As to the apparent population decrease from Phase 6 on, the excavators have plausibly ascribed it to the effect of the founding of the Xintian capital nearby, which no doubt absorbed part of the Shangma settlement’s population.<sup>11</sup> In its final phase the Shangma cemetery seems to have been used only exceptionally, and only for the burial of individuals of relatively high rank.

The skeletal data also allow us to calculate the average age at death of those buried at Shangma. Since, as we have seen, not all members of the population were buried there, these figures are not the same as those for average life expectancy at birth (or at any other time in life). They do, however, cumulatively reflect the age to which members of the “burying group”—those relatively privileged, mostly adult people who were granted burial at the lineage cemetery—normally lived. We find that among individuals who lived beyond the age of ten, the proportion of females who survived beyond age thirty-six (45%) was very significantly lower than that of males (68%) (*Table 14*), though there were significant differences between individual phases.<sup>12</sup> The main reason

<sup>11</sup> Shanxi Sheng Kaogu Yanjiusuo 1994a: 301-2 and *passim*.  
<sup>12</sup> At Qucun Locus II this difference is almost absent: 44.9% of males and 44.1% of

for this disparity was almost certainly death in childbirth, the most common cause of female death in populations throughout the world before the arrival of modern medicine.

What happened to the part of the associated population that was not buried at the cemetery? Even though information so far is scanty, it seems most likely that they would have been disposed of within the settlement. At the few Late Bronze Age settlements so far excavated in China, burials of low-ranking persons have been found with some regularity. They range from modestly furnished tombs with coffins (15 instances at Qucun Locus I)<sup>13</sup> to the apparently rather unceremonious “discard burials” (*qizang*) in refuse pits (seen at the Xintian sites and elsewhere).<sup>14</sup> But the vast majority of people disposed of in this way are likely to remain forever invisible to the archaeologist. This is especially true of children, if only because their bones decay even more rapidly and completely than those of adults. Hence, even if the Shangma settlement were more completely known, it

females had lived beyond age thirty-five. Only in the tombs for which the age but not the sex of the occupant is known do young dead significantly outnumber old dead, with a mere 31.8% living beyond age thirty-five. As discussed above, these young dead are likely to be for the most part females; hence the average age at death of females might after all be somewhat lower than that of males. But the real surprise is the comparatively low average age at death of the Qucun Locus II males. It seems that the burying group represented by that cemetery enjoyed a lesser longevity overall than the Shangma burying group. Possible reasons for this might have to do with the difference in date, as the Qucun Locus II tombs are predominantly of Western Zhou and those from Shangma mostly of Springs and Autumns period date; or perhaps with the difference in status between the two lineages (see below). One might speculate, for instance, that more Qucun Locus II males than Shangma males had died in warfare, either because most of the former had lived in a more violent age, or because advances in military technology, or in medicine, decreased the risk of death in warfare over time; or that the Qucun Locus II burying lineage, being part of the ruling core of the Jin polity, was more likely to be involved in warfare than the Shangma burying lineage. Such ideas might be tested by close examination of the skeletal data from both cemeteries for possible evidence of violent death.

<sup>13</sup> Beijing Daxue Kaoguxue Xi Shang Zhou Zu and Shanxi Sheng Kaogu Yanjiusuo 2000, vol. 2: 919-25.

<sup>14</sup> E.g., five instances at the Houma foundry workshop (Shanxi Sheng Kaogu Yanjiusuo 1993, vol. 1: 439-40) and three at the Eastern Zhou cemetery at Yonglegong in Ruicheng, Shanxi (Shanxi Sheng Wenwu Guanliweiyuanhui and Shanxi Sheng Kaogu Yanjiusuo 1960b: 21). For an instance of six persons discarded in a single large pit at the Western Zhou bronze foundry at Luoyang, see Luoyang Shi Wenwu Gongzuodui 1983: 432-34; for an Eastern Zhou example at Luoyang, see Guo Baojun and Lin Shoujin 1955: 92.

Table 14. Sex Disparities in Age at Death at Shangma

i. PERCENTAGES IN AGE-AT-DEATH BRACKETS, LISTED BY SEX (ADULTS ONLY):										
PERIOD	Early Springs and Autumns		Middle Springs and Autumns		Late Springs and Autumns					
AGE	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males				
56+	9.4	15.8	12.6	13.0	9.8	5.4				
51-55	5.6	8.8	6.8	7.9		9.1				
46-50	7.5	17.5	6.3	17.6	2.4	18.2				
41-45	9.4	17.5	6.8	14.8	17.1	23.6				
36-40	12.3	10.5	13.7	13.6	17.1	10.9				
31-35	17.0	12.2	10.2	11.3	12.1	12.7				
26-30	13.2	6.1	15.4	10.2	4.9	12.7				
21-25	13.2	6.1	16.0	7.9	29.2					
16-20	6.6	0.9	6.8	1.1	4.9					
11-15	1.8	0.9	1.1							
Other Adult	3.7	3.5	4.0	2.2		7.2				

ii. PERCENTAGE OF DECEASED ABOVE AND BELOW AGE 35, LISTED BY PERIOD										
Phase	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	Sum Undatable
Females										
Above 35	—	28.5	50.0	43.3	44.9	51.9	48.3	45.4	—	46.6
35 and Below	—	71.4	50.0	56.6	55.0	48.1	51.7	54.5	—	53.3
Males										
Above 35	—	84.6	68.3	75.3	67.9	69.2	72.2	73.3	—	71.0
35 and Below	—	15.3	31.7	24.6	32.1	30.8	27.8	26.6	—	28.9

Calculations do not include skeletons of indeterminable sex/age.

would in all likelihood still remain impossible to locate the skeletal remains of all those inhabitants who are missing from the lineage cemetery.<sup>15</sup>

INDICATORS OF SOCIAL STRATIFICATION

Like the lineages discussed in the preceding chapter, the Shangma lineage was marked by internal stratification, which presumably (at least in principle) was based on descent. Again, this inequality among lineage members is materially reflected in the relative distribution among tombs of status-indicating features such as the following:

- (1) The placement of a tomb within the cemetery, especially the pairing of husband-and-wife tombs (as at Baoji Locus III, Tianma—Qucun, and Shangcunling, there are only a few instances of paired tombs at Shangma, all of relatively high rank);
- (2) The overall size of a tomb;

<sup>15</sup> Another way to arrive at a rough population estimate for a settlement might be based on the area covered by dwellings; but so far archaeological work on the Chinese Bronze Age has generated no settlement data of sufficient completeness to serve as the basis for such a calculation.

(3) The presence of a burial chamber (*guo*), which transmitted texts report as the decisive indicator of whether an occupant was a member of the ranked élite (*Fig. 23*);<sup>16</sup>

(4) The presence and number of coffins (*guan*). Some tombs of high-ranking occupants have nested coffins (*chongguan*), whereas some others at the lower end of the rank order have none at all;

(5) An associated horse-and-chariot pit, horse pit, or cow pit (three, four, and one instances, respectively); these were presumably status symbols, but instances at Shangma are too few to allow detailed insights;

(6) The presence of human or animal victims in a tomb (they occur in several instances but, surprisingly, do not clearly correlate with the principal occupant's rank);

(7) The presence and number of ritual vessels made of bronze (*Fig. 24*) or, during the final phase of the cemetery, ceramic (*Fig. 25*) (we have already begun to explore this important criterion in Chapters One and Two);

(8) The presence and number of weapons (at Shangma, unlike many other Eastern Zhou cemeteries, these are only seen in tombs also yielding bronze vessels);

(9) The presence and number of ceramic kitchen vessels (*Fig. 26*), which constitute the excavators' preferred dating criterion, as they occur in a majority of tombs (including almost all tombs yielding bronze vessels);

(10) The presence and number of jade, polished stone, or bone objects, mostly adornments for the corpse or, in the case of stone tablets, serving in a now-obscure part of the burial ritual (*Fig. 27*). Such objects are ubiquitous but so far not amenable to dating.

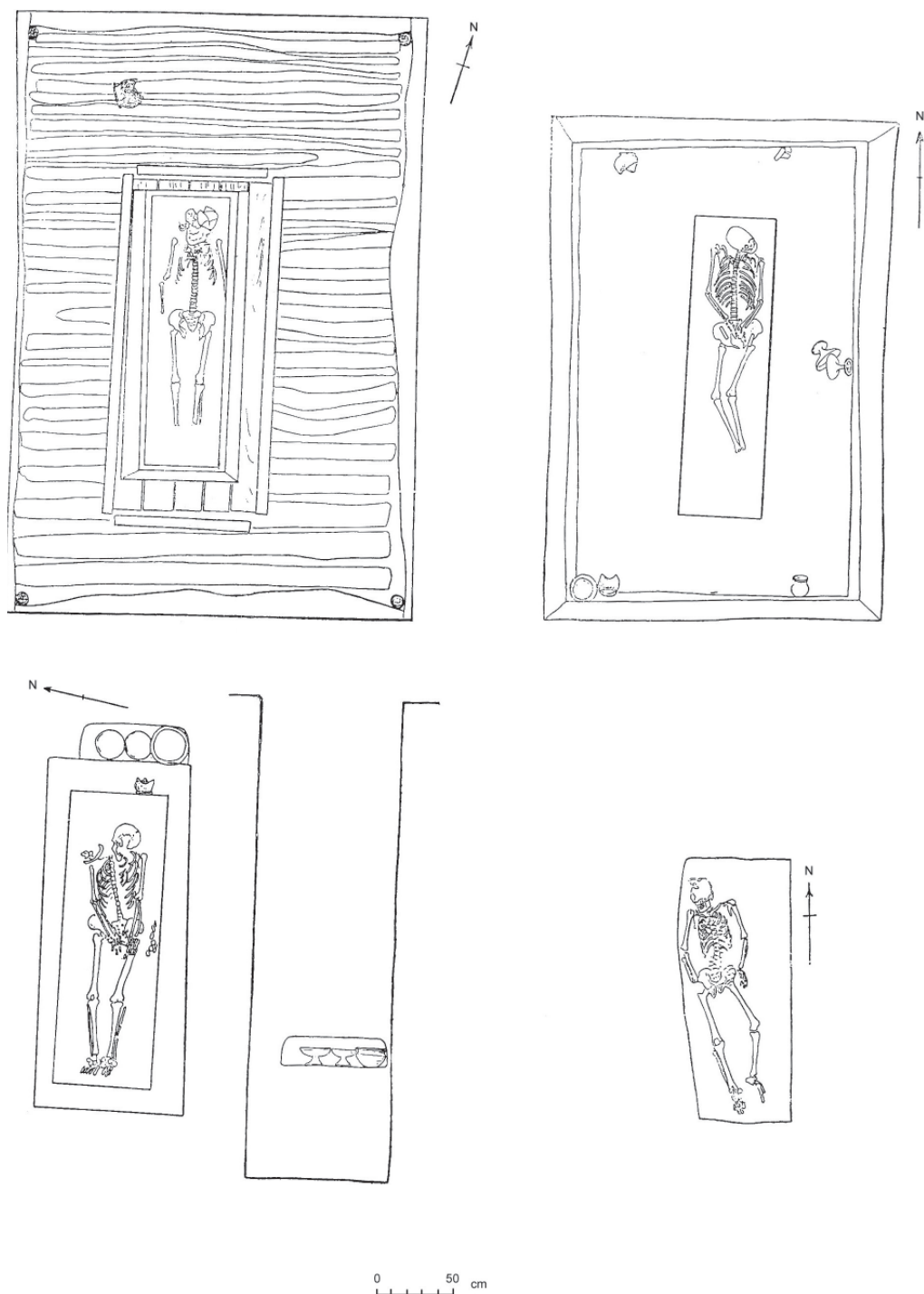
In reconstructing a rank order from such evidence, I shall bundle these ten features under two basic categories, tomb furniture and burial goods, which I shall at first treat separately. This procedure yields two parallel hierarchies, revealing apparent disparities that call for interpretation.

## TOMB FURNITURE

Burial chambers occur in 177 tombs (13.5%) at Shangma, 19 of which also feature nested coffins. No tombs contain more than two nested coffins (in

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<sup>16</sup> See *Li ji* "Tangong shang" (*Shisanjing zhushu* 6.17-18, pp. 1275-76) and "Sangfu daji" (*Shisanjing zhushu* 45.351-57, pp. 1579-1585). The discussion of Yan Hui's funeral in *Lunyu* "Xianjin" (*Shisanjing zhushu* 11.42-43, pp. 2498-99) seems to presuppose that—in Lu during Confucius's time, at any rate—a tomb with burial chamber was the mark of a member of the ranked élite, as opposed to commoners, who were buried in coffins only (see Poo 1990: 26-27 and *passim*).



**Fig. 23.** Tombs with different kinds of burial furniture at Shangma, Houma (Shanxi). Upper left: Tomb 1283 (burial chamber and nested coffins); upper right: Tomb 2146 (burial chamber and single coffin); lower left: Tomb 1203 (no burial chamber, single coffin; note wall niche); lower right: Tomb 4003 (no burial chamber, no coffin). Eighth to mid-fifth centuries BC.



some Eastern Zhou tombs at other cemeteries the maximum is three; cf. *Table 18*); moreover, *nested* coffins are never seen in tombs without burial chambers. Tombs with a coffin but no burial chamber are by far the most common. At the poor end of this hierarchy, 49 tombs lack any tomb furniture whatsoever. The tomb-furniture hierarchy thus comprises the following four rank categories (*Table 15*):

- i. Tombs featuring burial chambers and double coffins (1.4%)
- ii. Tombs featuring burial chambers and single coffins (12.1%)
- iii. Tombs featuring single coffins but no burial chambers (83.0%)
- iv. Tombs featuring neither burial chambers nor coffins (3.5%).

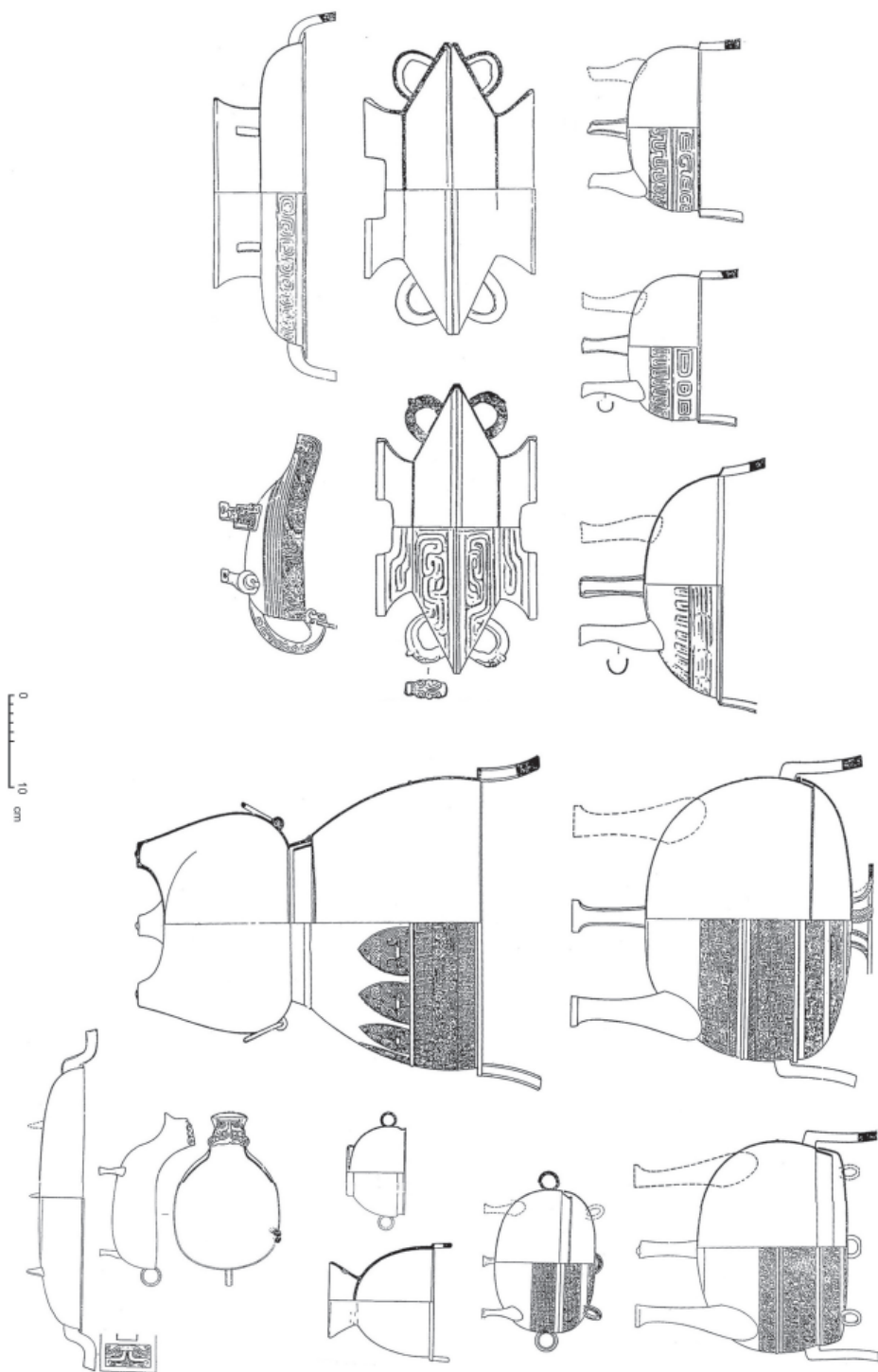
Amounting to 83 percent of the total, tombs with a coffin but no burial chamber (category iii) are not only the “standard” for Shangma, but were also in use for the longest time, starting in Phase 1. As noted, category ii tombs appear for the first time in Phase 2, and category i tombs in Phase 3. Since the vast majority of tombs in category iv are undatable, it is difficult to be certain about their historical position, but the fact that the few datable examples are all relatively late in the sequence may intimate that social differentiation became exacerbated both at the top and at the bottom of the rank order as time went on.

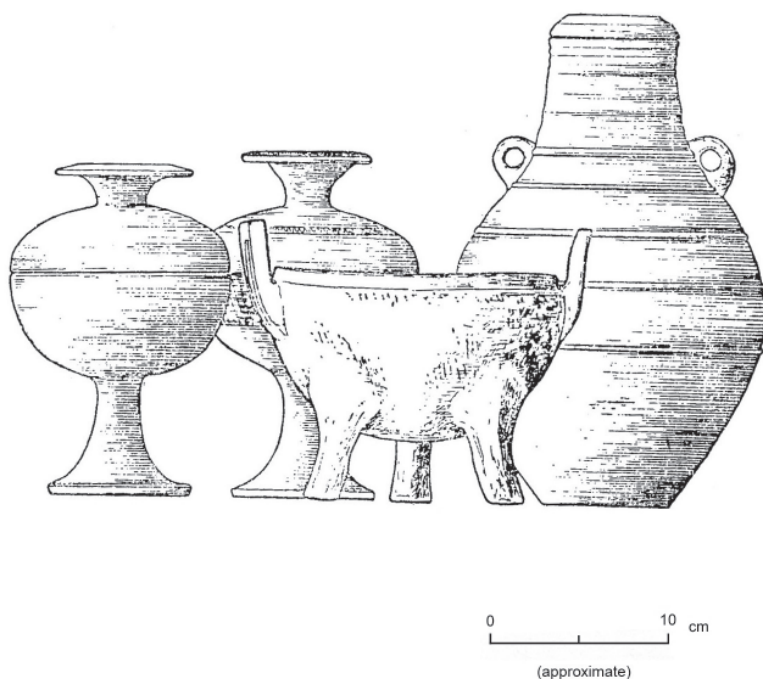
Note, moreover, that tombs of categories ii, iii, and iv occur in all six sectors of the cemetery, albeit in somewhat different proportions; whereas category i tombs do not occur in Sectors III and VI. If each sector did indeed contain the tombs of a separate branch lineage, this might suggest some inequality among these branch lineages with respect to ritual standing. We observe that by far the greatest number of tombs with a burial chamber occur in Sector I (72 tombs, or 40% of the total, to which one should probably add most of the 26 tombs with burial chamber in the problematic Sector IV). Interestingly, by contrast, the most senior branch lineage, in Sector V (the only part of the cemetery to have been occupied since Phase 1), has only a relatively small number of tombs with burial chambers. Which raises the question: how far, in this lineage and in this period, did seniority entail wealth and ritual prestige?

## FUNERARY GOODS

At Shangma, as at the cemeteries discussed in Chapter Two, the numerical groupings of ritual bronzes approximately correspond to the sumptuary rules promulgated in the Late Western Zhou Ritual Reform (*Table 16*). Once again, *ding* tripods for meat sacrifice are the predominant kind of status-defining vessel; by Springs and Autumns times, *gui* tureens for grain sacrifice had mostly been replaced, in this area (and in this range of the hierarchy) by other, functionally equivalent kinds of vessels: *cheng*, *dui*, and *dou*, more rarely

Fig. 24. Bronze-vessel assemblages from Shangna, Houma (Shanxi). Left: Tomb 4078 (3 coverless *ding*, 2 *bi*, *pan*-and-*yi* set). Early Springs and Autumns period. Right: Tomb 2008 (2 covered *ding*, 1 *yan*, 1 *diu* [a second, identical one not depicted], *he*\*, *fu* cauldron, *pan*-and-*yi* set). Late Springs and Autumns period.



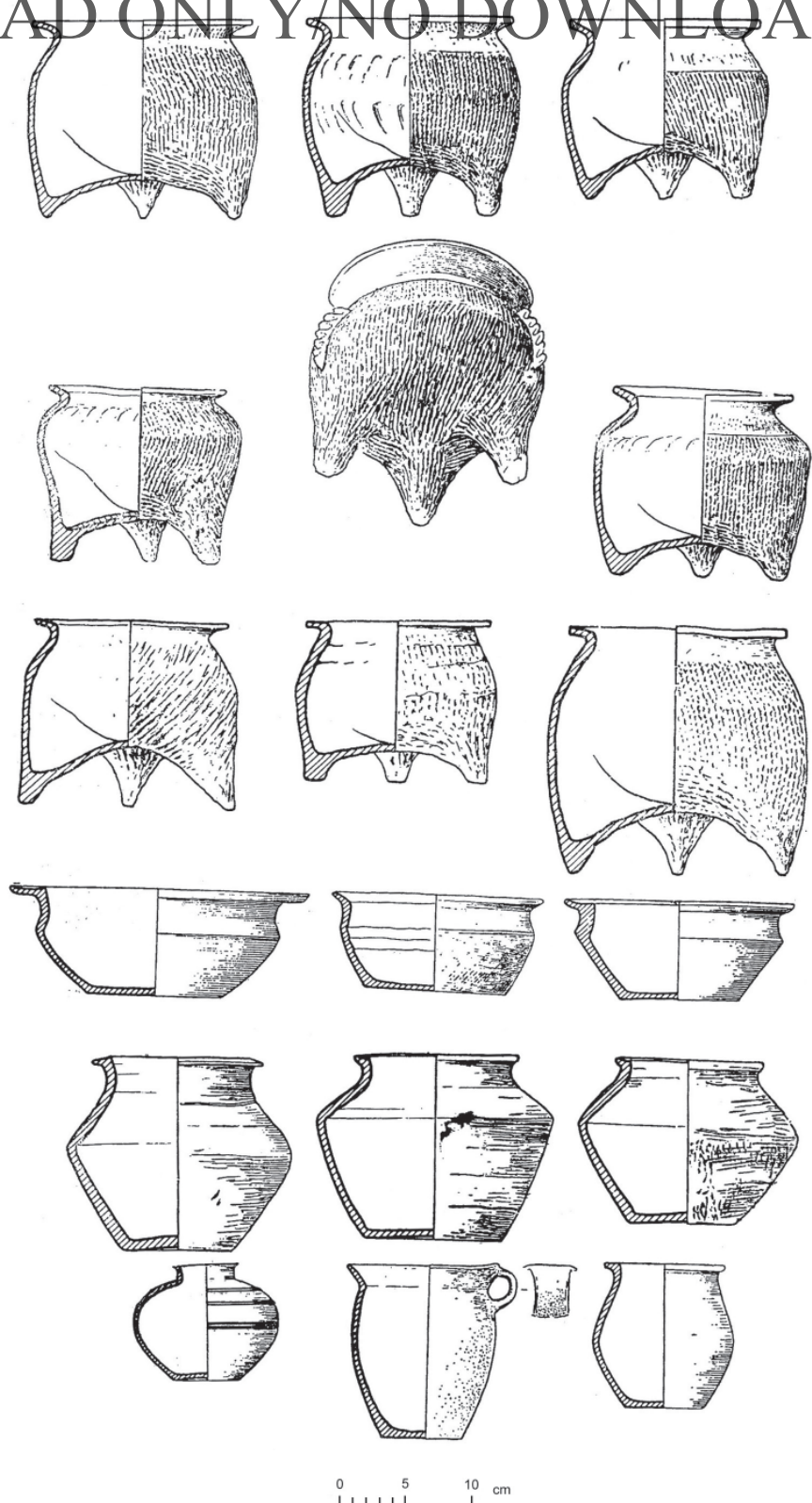


**Fig. 25.** Ceramic *mingqi* vessel assemblage from Tomb 1007 at Shangma, Houma (Shanxi): *ding* (cover missing), 2 *dou*, round *bu*. Mid-fifth century BC.

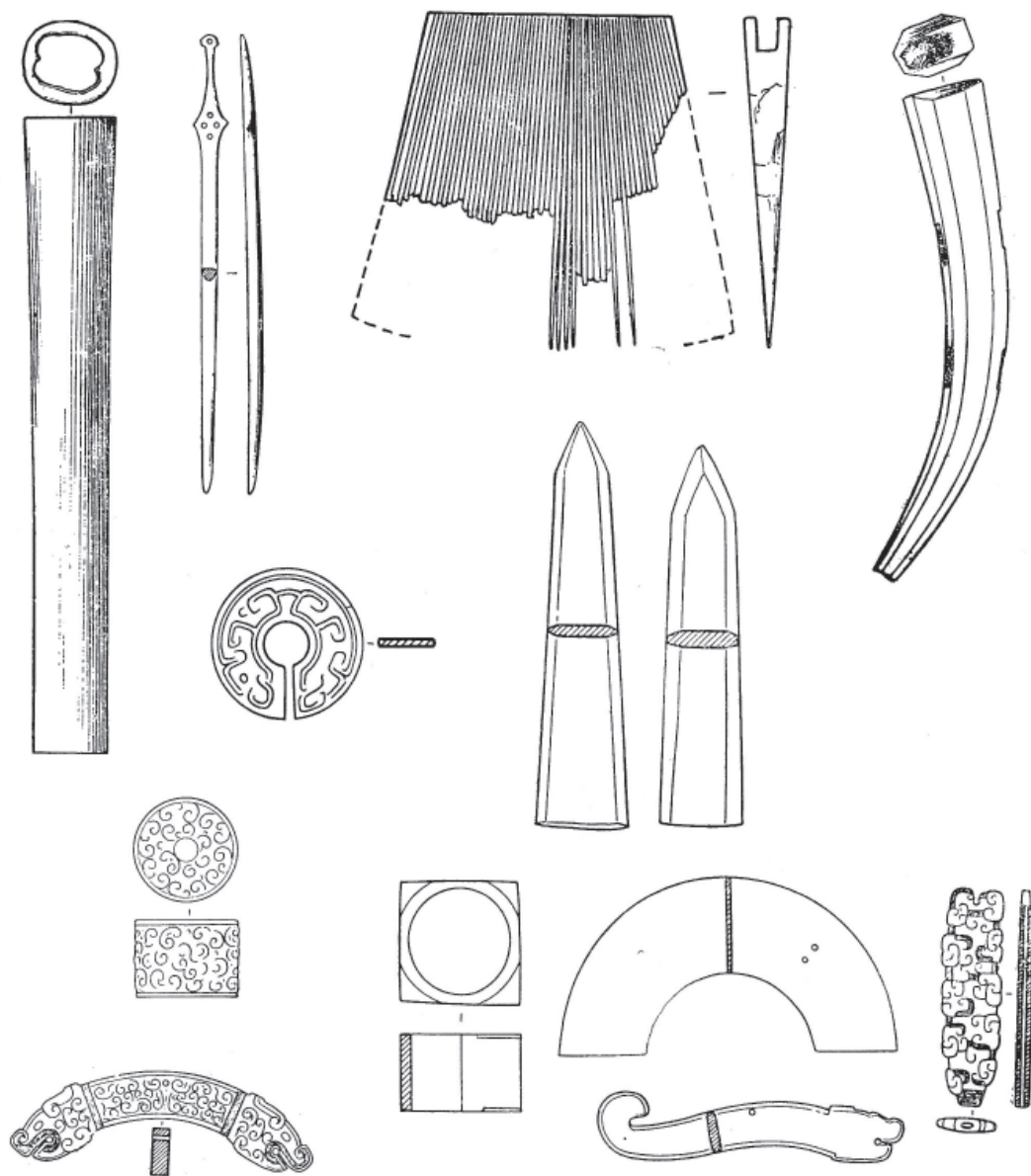
*bu*. Overall, the distribution of bronze vessels at Shangma is very restricted, however, comprising only 23 instances or 1.7 percent of all tombs (if one includes the eight tombs with ceramic equivalents of ritual vessels [*mingqi*], the percentage rises to 2.2 percent). The overwhelming majority of tombs at Shangma merely contained earthenware kitchen vessels and simple ornamental items, and a considerable number of them had no burial goods whatsoever.

One may establish the following rough hierarchy of tombs according to their burial-good assemblages (*Table 17*):

- A. Tombs containing ritual bronzes (as well as, usually, other things; 1.7%);
- B. Tombs containing ceramic *mingqi* ritual vessels (0.6%);
- C. Tombs containing utilitarian earthenware vessels (64.8%). Here one may additionally distinguish between
  - C+. Tombs that feature other kinds of objects besides earthenware vessels (43.4%), (i.e., a combination of Type C and D assemblages); and
  - C. Tombs containing only earthenware vessels (usually a single vessel; 21.5%);



**Fig. 26.** Ceramic kitchen vessels from tombs at Shangma, Houma (Shanxi). Top three rows: *li*; fourth row: *pen*; fifth and sixth rows: *guan*. Eighth to mid-fifth centuries BC.



not to scale

**Fig. 27.** Miscellaneous objects from tombs at Shangma, Houma (Shanxi). Top row: bone tube from Tomb 2159; bone hairpin from Tomb 5195; bone comb from Tomb 1027; bone horsebit end (*biao*) from Tomb 4094. Middle row: jade earring (*jue*) from Tomb 6020; 2 pentagonal stone tablets (*gui*) from Tombs 3021 and 5190. Lower row: jade bead from Tomb 1004; arch-shaped jade ornament from Tomb 5218; jade tube (*cong*) from Tomb 4078; jade semicircle (*buang*) from Tomb 1005; tiger-shaped jade ornament (*bu*) from Tomb 63M15; tubular jade bead from Tomb 1004. Eighth to mid-fifth centuries BC.

**Table 15.** Burial Chamber/Coffin Arrangements at Shangma (Adults Only)

Phase	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	?	Total
<i>i. Adult tombs with burial chamber and two stacked coffins (excluding nine unclear cases from the 1961 excavations)</i>											
Female			1	1	1					3	6
Male				2	1	1	2	1	2	2	11
Sex Unknown									1	1	2
Total			1	3	2	1	2	1	3	6	19
<i>ii. Adult tombs with burial chamber and one coffin (including looted Tomb 1005)</i>											
Female		2	2	2	5	9	1	1		3	25
Male			4	6	7	17	10	2	1	16	63
Sex Unknown		3	7	4	13	13	4	6	2	18	70
Total		5	13	12	25	39	15	9	3	37	158
<i>iii. Adult tombs with single coffin but no burial chamber (excluding one tomb with two burials in separate coffins)</i>											
Female	2	12	44	59	87	73	29	10		130	446
Male	2	14	38	64	74	76	27	11		154	460
Sex Unknown		5	13	21	40	26	15	8		98	226
Total	4	31	95	144	201	175	71	29		382	1132
<i>iv. Adult tombs containing neither burial chamber nor coffin</i>											
Female										12	12
Male						1		1		14	16
Sex Unknown				1		1				19	21
Total				1		2		1		45	49

D. Tombs containing some sundry items, but no vessels (16.4%);

E. Tombs containing no burial goods at all (15.3%).

Again, one is struck by the concentration of ritual-vessel-yielding tombs in Sectors I (where 52% of all tombs with bronze vessels are located) and IV (which, as noted, may represent the same branch lineage as Sector I); by contrast, tombs yielding ritual vessels are completely absent from Sectors III and VI, once again suggesting considerable inequality among the branches of the Shangma lineage.

## RANK INHERITANCE AND THE ASSIGNMENT OF STATUS INDICATORS

Let us now try to correlate the two hierarchies of burial furniture and funerary goods (*Table 18*). We find, first of all, that assemblages of bronze or ceramic ritual vessels occur exclusively in tombs with burial chambers. Such a finding is significant because it suggests that, at least at Shangma, ownership of ritual bronzes was contingent on membership in the ranked élite. Ritual-vessel assemblages are more than three times as likely to occur in tombs with burial chambers and nested coffins (31.5% of instances) as in tombs with burial chambers and single coffins (10.1%). But of the totality of tombs with burial chambers (with nested coffins or without), only a minority contain ritual vessels. In the overwhelming majority of



Table 16. Sumptuary Sets at Shangma

Tomb	<i>dīng</i>		<i>gui</i> equivalents	<i>bū</i>	musical instruments	chariot pit	Phase
61M 13	7	6	(4 <i>dui</i> , 2 <i>bū</i> )	1 pair	2 sets		6
1004	5	4	(4 <i>dui</i> )	1 pair	2 sets	no. 2	8
5218	5	4	(2 <i>dou</i> , 2 <i>bū</i> )	1 pair	3 sets		9
4078	3	2	(2 <i>bū</i> )				3
1027	3(?)	2	(2 <i>chéng</i> )				5
4006	3	2	(2 <i>dou</i> )				8
63M 15	3	2	(2 <i>dou</i> )				9
61M 5	3	1	(1 <i>chéng</i> )				6
1284	3	0				no. 3	4
1287	3	0				no. 1	4
61M 11	2	2	(2 <i>bū</i> )				5-6
2008	2	2	(2 <i>dui</i> )				7
4090	2	2	(2 <i>dou</i> )				9
1015	2	1	(1 <i>dui</i> )				6
1006	2	1	(1 <i>chéng</i> )				7
1010	1	1	(1 <i>chéng</i> )				5
2148	1	1	(1 <i>dui</i> )				5
1013	1	1	(1 <i>chéng</i> )				6
1026	1	1	(1 <i>dui</i> )				7
1011	1	1	(1 <i>dui</i> )				7
1002	1	1	(1 <i>dou</i> )				9
61M 14	1	0					4-5
4094	1	0					5

all tombs, earthenware cooking vessels are the only kinds of vessels seen: Type C or C+ assemblages occur in 61.5 percent of tombs with burial chambers and 66.2 percent of tombs without. Likewise, vessel-less assemblages of Type D occur with almost equal frequency in tombs with burial chamber (15.0%) and those without (16.9%). Only 7.0 percent of tombs with burial chamber lacked any burial goods whatsoever, as opposed to 16.8 percent of tombs without burial chamber; but note that even of tombs with burial chamber and nested coffins, some 5.3% are devoid of any burial goods. These discrepancies are very curious. They indicate that, at Shangma, the assignment of burial chambers—the fundamental indicator of ranked elite status, if we can believe the texts<sup>17</sup>—followed rules that differed from those governing the assignment of the ritual paraphernalia that (as we have seen at Qucun Locus III and Shangcunling) demarcated rank and gender divisions within the elite stratum of a lineage.

<sup>17</sup> See n. 16. In principle, it does not matter to the present discussion whether the texts are reliable on this point, as the two distinct hierarchies are, in any case, clearly reflected in the mortuary data.





Table 17. (Continued.)

SECTOR	I	I	I	I	II	I	IV	I	?	IV	V
CLUSTER	I-1	I-1	I-1	I-1	2008	1004	4006	1002	63M15	4090	5218
Tomb	61M13	1026	1006	1011	2008	1004	4006	1002	63M15	4090	5218
Date	LMCQ	eLCQ	eLCQ	eLCQ	eLCQ	ILCQ	ILCQ	CQ/ZG	CQ/ZG	CQ/ZG	CQ/ZG
Sex/Age	1+1	1+1	1+1	1+1	1+1	1+1	1+1	1+1	1+2	1+2	1+1
	n/a	M/mid-age	M/50-55	?	M/mid-age	?	?	?	M/?	M/35-40	M/30-40
FOOD VESSELS											
<i>ding</i> <sup>2</sup>	7	1	2(1)	1	3(1)	5	3	1	3	2	5
<i>yan</i>	1				1				1		1
<i>li</i>	2(1)	(1)		(1)		(1)	(1)	(1)		(1)	2(1)
<i>bi</i>	2										2
<i>cheng</i>			1								
<i>dai</i>	4	1		1	2	4	2	1	2	2	2
<i>dou</i>			(1)								
lidded oval vessel											
<i>he</i> <sup>*</sup>	2	1	1		1	2	1	1	2	1	
LIQUOR											
CONTAINERS											
<i>bi</i>	2								2		2
WATER CONTAINERS/WASHING VESSELS											
<i>yufan/lei</i>						2					
<i>pan</i>	1	1	1		1	1	1		1	1	1
<i>yi</i>	1	1	1		1	1	1		1	1	
<i>jian</i>	2										2
MISCELLANEOUS											
<i>guan</i>											
shouldered jar		(1)			(2)		(1)	(1)		(1)	(1)
cauldron	1				1						
MUSICAL											
INSTRUMENTS <sup>*</sup>											
<i>bo</i>						1/9					1/4
<i>nitchang</i>	1/9										1/9
chimestones	{1/10}					{1/10}					{1/10}
TOTAL	27(1)	5(2)	6(2)	2(1)	10(3)	17(1)	8(2)	3(2)	12	7(2)	20(2)

Periodization according to Shanxi 1994a, and, for Tombs 61M5, 61M13, and 61M14 according to Hayashi 1988. Figures in brackets are ceramics, unbracketed figures are bronzes. Further details in Falkenhausen 2001b.

Taking a closer look at Table 18, we notice another, possibly related, disparity, which has to do with the continuity of the various markers of high status throughout the chronological sequence. In each of the five sectors (not counting Sector IV), the number of tombs with burial chambers is sufficient for at least one or two individuals per generation. Thus, the privilege expressed by the presence of a burial chamber could have been, and probably was, transmitted hereditarily within each of the five branch lineages, even though the number of individuals entitled to this privilege differed from branch lineage to branch lineage. But this is not the case with nested coffins; nor is it true of ritual-vessel assemblages. The instances of these two status markers are too few, and they are too scattered over the various sectors and chronological phases, to allow for the possibility of their hereditary transmission within branch lineages. In fact, ritual-vessel assemblages amount, on average, to less than one per gender per generation across the entire cemetery! Moreover, in an important parallel to Tianma-Qucun and Shangcunling, these assemblages were by no means uniform. As evident from Table 16, status-defining sets range from seven-ding down to single-ding assemblages. But unlike Tianma-Qucun and Shangcunling, they occur so infrequently that these rank privileges could not possibly have been handed down to one member in each generation; or if they were, the cemetery data fail to reflect this.

One naturally longs for an explanation of this curious mixture of hereditary and (apparently) nonhereditary transmission of privilege. That *some* subgroups within the Shangma lineage continuously enjoyed ranked elite status after Phase 2 seems evident from the presence and distribution of burial chambers. Yet the ritual-vessel assemblages that, as attested by archaeological finds at other cemeteries as well as by textual records, demarcated the finer rank divisions within the elite stratum, are here lacking from most of the tombs whose occupants, to judge from their burial furniture, belonged to these elite subgroups. At Shangma, such sets of ritual vessels seem to have been assigned more or less ad hoc. What does this indicate? Was the Shangma lineage as a whole of such low rank that its members were normally barred from owning ritual vessels? If so, the few assemblages seen might have been acquired under exceptional circumstances, e.g., as a reward for meritorious service, as a token of the ruler's favor, as marriage dowry, or as war booty. Or did many more members of the ranked-élite subgroup of the Shangma lineage *theoretically* have the right to own ritual vessels than were *actually* buried with them? If so, perhaps they were only placed into the tombs of those who enjoyed exceptional material wealth, or had particularly ostentatious filial offspring. Where the paraphernalia were absent, was this seen as regrettable parsimony? Or was it perceived as meritorious moderation by

Table 18. Correlation of burial furniture and funerary-goods assemblages at Shangma

Phase	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	?	Total
<i>i. Tombs with burial chamber and two stacked coffins</i>											
A				2	1				2		5
B									1		1
C+			1	1	1		2	1			6
C						1					1
D										5	5
E										1	1
Subtotal			1	3	2	1	2	1	3	6	19
<i>ii. Adult tombs with burial chamber and one single coffin (excluding looted Tomb 1005)</i>											
A			1		2	3	4	2	2		14
B							1	1			2
C+		4	9	6	17	24	8	5		4	77
C		1	3	6	6	12	2		1		31
D										21	21
E										12	12
Subtotal		5	13	12	25	39	15	8	3	37	157
<b>Total (Tombs with burial chamber)</b>											
		5	14	15	27	40	17	9	6	43	176
<i>iii. Adult tombs with single coffin but no burial chamber (including one tomb with two burials in separate coffins)</i>											
C+	3	19	60	95	128	120	48	18		24	515
C	1	12	34	48	73	54	23	12		7	264
D										189	189
E										165	165
Subtotal	4	31	94	143	201	174	71	30		385	1133
<i>iv. Adult tombs containing neither burial chamber nor coffin</i>											
C+				1		1		1		1	4
C						1					1
D										11	11
E										33	33
Subtotal				1		2		1		45	49
<b>Total (Tombs without burial chamber)</b>											
	4	31	94	144	201	176	71	31		430	1182
TOTALS:	4	36	108	159	228	216	88	40	6	473	1358

The letters A, B, C+, C, D, and E indicate burial-good assemblage types (see text). These figures exclude four cases of Type A assemblages and five of Type B assemblages from the 1961 excavations where the number of coffins is unclear.

proto-Confucian-minded ritualists who questioned the waste of resources on precious funerary objects? We cannot know for sure, but the latter alternative does not seem altogether impossible in the intellectual climate of the Springs and Autumns period.<sup>18</sup>

<sup>18</sup> The *Lunyu* states (“Bayi” 3.4, *Shisanjing zhushu* 3.10, p. 2466) that “it is better to be parsimonious rather than being luxurious” as the most fundamental principle of ritual. For some textually based notions on this topic, see Pines 1997a, 1997b, 2002. Warring States ideas on moderation in burial are reviewed in Riegel 1995.

## GENDER DIFFERENTIATION

Some phenomena documented by the Shangma data, such as the apparent frequency of death in childbirth, though stemming from the biological difference between the sexes, may also have played a role in the social construction of gender differences. And as mentioned, the slight underrepresentation of (adult) women at the cemetery may perhaps be read as indirect evidence of discrimination against females during childhood, if not of outright infanticide. Even though the details remain unclear, there can be no doubt as to the male-centered character of the society that produced this cemetery.

With respect to burial furniture and funerary goods, the discriminatory treatment of females is clearest among the 19 tombs with burial chambers and nested coffins, of which 11 (58%) hold males and only 6 (31%) hold females (2 cases are unclear) (cf. *Table 15*). The other criteria are less easy to measure: among tombs with burial chambers and single coffins, those of males are two and a half times as numerous as those of females, but in 44 percent of these tombs it was impossible to determine the occupant's sex (most of them presumably held females), rendering any proportion dubious; and among tombs featuring ritual vessels (whether of bronze or ceramic), males outnumber females 11 to 2, but both figures are dwarfed by the number holding undetermined remains (18). In the lower ranks of the burial-furniture and funerary-assemblage hierarchies, females and males seem just about equally represented—indicating, no doubt, that members of the corresponding social groups were equally disenfranchised regardless of their gender.

As at Baoji Locus III, Tianma-Qucun, and Shangcunling, adjacent burial of husband and wife seems to have been a privilege reserved to only a few members of the Shangma lineage. The report mentions two instances, neither completely unproblematic—one because it includes the cemetery's sole looted tomb, the other because the two tombs are dated to different, albeit consecutive, periods (cf. *Table 17*). In the latter pair, the tomb of the male (Tomb 1027) includes weapons, while its alleged female-occupied pendant (Tomb 1026) does not. Interestingly, the latter has the greater number of bronze vessels (8 as opposed to 6), and the higher-ranking set of *ding* (3 as opposed to 1). Horse-and-chariot pits are associated with tombs of females and males in equal number (2 each; 3 cases unclear); human and horse sacrifices in tombs—both rare at the cemetery overall—also occur in approximately equal number for both sexes, whilst the two instances of dog sacrifices are both in tombs of females. Altogether, the contrasts in the funerary treatment of males and females are more ambiguous than at the cemeteries discussed in Chapter Two.

As to the origin of the females buried at Shangma, the available data offer few clues. Because inscriptions are lacking, none of the bronzes can

be unambiguously identified as “bridal bronzes,” though some of them may have been. On the other hand, as noted, the absence of bridal vessels might indicate that the Shangma lineage was not high enough in status to engage in politically significant inter-lineage alliances. The possibility that some Shangma brides came from beyond the Zhou culture sphere has been raised by Tian Jianwen, who has remarked the presence, in Tombs 61M13 and 2008, of “alien” bronzes—ring-footed buckets of a type widespread in the Central Eurasian steppes, which were not usually part of Zhou ritual assemblages (see *Fig. 43*).<sup>19</sup> Tian suggests that these objects may have come into the possession of the Shangma lineage through marital alliance. This is a possibility (one of several, as we shall see in Chapter Five), but it should be noted that the occupant of Tomb 2008 was sexed as male, and the sex of the occupant of Tomb 61M13 could not be determined. Marriages of Jin aristocrats—even rulers—to non-Zhou females are attested in the transmitted texts;<sup>20</sup> it would be interesting to know to what extent lower-ranking lineages, such as the one whose members were buried at Shangma, participated in such inter-ethnic exchange during Springs and Autumns times.

## COMPARISONS

The above data give us a quite detailed idea of the relative social position of Shangma tomb occupants vis-à-vis one another, thus illuminating the internal stratification of their lineage. We have seen that the Shangma lineage—indeed, apparently each of its constituent branches—comprised a ranked-élite and a commoner component which were roughly in the proportion of 86.5 percent to 13.5 percent. The élite rank occupied by some members clearly did not translate into blanket privilege for all the others, although some branch lineages seem to have outranked others. The generally modest finds from Sector V, which includes the earliest tombs at the cemetery, also seem to indicate, somewhat surprisingly, that at Shangma, seniority of descent played at best a very partial

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<sup>19</sup> Tian Jianwen 1993. It should be noted that Pan Qifeng, in his study of the skeletal data from Shangma (in Shanxi Sheng Kaogu Yanjiusuo 1994a: 398-483) has not found any obvious racial (e.g., Mongoloid vs. Eurasian) heterogeneity among the skeletal sample; but that would not necessarily be expected.

<sup>20</sup> E.g., Wen Gong of Jin (r. 636-628 BC), perhaps the most celebrated Springs and Autumns period ruler of Jin, both was the son of a Rong (“Western Barbarian”) woman (*Zuo zhuan* Zhuang 28; *Shisanjing zhushu* 10.79, p. 1781) and took one of his wives from the Di (“Northern Barbarians,” *Zuo zhuan* Xi 23; *Shisanjing zhushu* 15.113, p.1815). For a listing of Di tribes in areas adjacent to the Jin polity, see Yang Chunyuan 1992; cf. also Chen Pan 1969: 540a-564b, Chen Pan 1970 *passim*.

role in determining a branch lineage's prestige. Instead, above-average wealth and ritual privilege were enjoyed by the apparently more junior branch lineage occupying Sector I and part of Sector IV. But ritual prestige may not necessarily have been tantamount to access to material resources; in the majority of tombs at Shangma, this does not, in fact, seem to have been the case.

Such internal ranking must be distinguished from inter-lineage ranking, as we have already seen in Chapter Two, when we compared the tombs of Guo lineage heads at Shangcunling with those of Jin lineage heads at Tianma-Qucun and found indications that, during the time documented by these two cemeteries, the Jin lineage as a whole may have ranked lower than the Guo lineage. What would the standing of the Shangma lineage have been among the various lineages of its time? The answer to this question is not straightforward. As a glance at Table 16 will confirm, some of the Shangma tombs yielded status-defining sets of seven and five *ding*, the same numbers as seen in the tombs of the heads of the Guo and Jin lineages. But when we compare the Shangma finds even cursorily with those from Tianma-Qucun and Shangcunling, a number of observations suggest that the Shangma lineage as such was far less distinguished and of far lower rank than those major lineages. (1) The small percentage of ritual-vessel-yielding tombs (2.2%) is striking—it amounts to less than one third of the still very low 7 percent figure for Qucun Locus II; at Shangcunling, bronze vessels occur in 16.2 percent of tombs excavated during the 1950s, and in almost all of the tombs reported more recently. This suggests that, at Qucun Locus II and Shangcunling, the percentage of those entitled to bronze vessels and buried with them was larger than at Shangma. In rulers' tombs, e.g., at Qucun Locus III, suppression of funerary assemblages was not an issue. (2) Given how important bronze inscriptions were for signaling a lineage's standing in the context of ancestral ritual, it may be telling that Shangma, very much in contrast to Tianma-Qucun and Shangcunling, yielded no inscribed bronzes generated within its burying lineage; the absence of inscribed bridal vessels may additionally indicate the lineage's low status vis-à-vis its neighbors. (3) Even though children's tombs are rare at Bronze Age lineage cemeteries, it may nevertheless be significant that Shangma has only half the percentage (1.8%) of Qucun Locus II (3.5%). While still small (as well as being derived from a non-representative sample), the larger figure may indicate an ever so slightly greater emphasis on inherited (ascribed) as opposed to achieved (acquired) status. (4) The apparently much smaller percentage of tombs with burial chambers (13% at Shangma as opposed to 37.3% at Qucun Locus II, and 59.4% at Shangcunling [figures from the 1950s]) may also indicate that the ranked elite segment of the Shangma lineage was less prominent, both within its own lineage and overall. (5) Moreover, at Shangma, ritual vessels are limited to tombs with burial chambers, which



contrasts with their occasional occurrence in tombs without burial chambers at cemeteries of ruling lineages, e.g., at Tianma-Qucun (three instances at Qucun Locus II) and at the important Eastern Zhou cemetery of Shangguo in Wenxi County (Shanxi) (seven instances),<sup>21</sup> thought to be the resting place of the branch of the Jin ruling lineage that took the throne in 679 BC. In such lineages even the non-élite members would thus seem to have ranked higher overall than those of the Shangma lineage.<sup>22</sup>

Since the bulk of the Shangma finds date from a later period than either Tianma-Qucun or Shangcunling, such comparisons are not absolute. Moreover, it cannot be emphasized enough that, unlike Shangma, neither Tianma-Qucun nor Shangcunling provided statistically representative samples. Even so, the general tendencies are unmistakable. Their interpretation is problematic, in part because we do not know to which clan the Shangma lineage belonged. If it was a junior branch of the Jī clan, and thus consanguineous with the Jin and Guo ruling lineages, it may have been more aware of the ritual practices in other Jī lineages than if it was affiliated with a different clan that had its own divergent “family rules.” Under the latter alternative, it might be somewhat easier to make sense of the relative modesty of the Shangma tombs and the poor craftsmanship of the funerary goods found within them. If indeed the Shangma lineage belonged to a set of ranked lineages in a non-Jī clan whose rank may have been lower overall than that of

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<sup>21</sup> Zhu Hua 1994; Shanxi Sheng Kaogu Yanjiusuo 1994b; 1994c; Yuncheng Xingshu Wenhua ju and Yuncheng Diqu Bowuguan 1983. These finds are comprehensively discussed in Falkenhausen 2005b.

<sup>22</sup> On the other hand, this does not hold for the Guo cemetery at Shangcunling, which (as discussed in Chapter Two) arguably represents a lineage of higher ceremonial standing than either Qucun Locus II or Shangguo; once again, different sets of “family rules” may have come into play. At Shangcunling, all 38 bronze-yielding tombs found during the 1956/57 excavations, without exception, had a burial chamber, and 18 among them had two nested coffins. In other words, of burial-chamber tombs with double coffins, more than two thirds contained bronzes, as compared with only about one-sixth of the burial-chamber tombs with single coffins. Thus, as at Shangma, ownership of ritual bronzes was contingent on membership in the ranked élite; on the other hand—in another important parallel to Shangma—the absence of bronzes from the majority of burial-chamber tombs seems to indicate that by no means all claimants to ranked-élite status were actually buried with the sumptuary trappings of their rank. It is of great interest that this apparent parsimony, and the suggestion of economic divergences within the élite segment of the lineage, was by no means limited to low-ranking lineages such as the Shangma lineages, but was also observed by what was probably one of the most prestigious ministerial lineages of the Zhou royal domain.

the Jī clan,<sup>23</sup> the occurrence of a set of seven *ding* at Shangma, even though a manifestation of the same ritual principles, would have had a quite different point of social reference from a set of seven *ding* at cemeteries of Jī-clan affiliated lineages such as Qucun Locus III or Shangcunling. Alternatively, as Yu Weichao and Gao Ming have suggested, the allocation of tripods in the Shangma tombs could be an indicator of social development through time: a sign that, in Springs and Autumns times, formerly low-ranking groups were “usurping” the privileges of more prominent, senior, lineages.<sup>24</sup>

Although we do not know how representative the statistics obtained from the Shangma cemetery data are for their time, the virtual completeness of the Shangma dataset stands in salient contrast to other reported finds. To illustrate this, Table 19 juxtaposes with the Shangma data evidence on the distribution of burial chambers and coffins at 26 cemeteries in north China (22 of them Eastern Zhou cemeteries in the Jin area) (*Map 7*). Among these cemeteries the proportion of tombs of each rank category varies wildly. In a total of 1,657 tombs (excluding Shangma) for which burial-furniture data have been reported, 55.2 percent feature a burial chamber, more than one tenth of those with nested coffins (our above category i). The single largest category is that of tombs with burial chamber and single coffin (category ii), which comprises 49.8 percent; tombs without burial chambers (categories iii and iv) altogether amount to less than 40 percent. The discrepancy vis-à-vis the Shangma figure of 13 percent for tombs with burial chambers and 87 percent for tombs without is enormous. Conceivably, some of it is due to the overall low status of the Shangma lineage; the higher proportions of ranked-élite tombs can be expected at cemeteries of ruling lineages such as Tianma-Qucun, Shangguo, Shangcunling, Zhangjiapo (which is associated with Feng, one of the Western Zhou royal capitals near Xi’an; see Chapter Five), and the cemeteries at the capital of Lu at Qufu in Shandong (see Chapter Four). Yet the larger part of the discrepancy, especially in the Eastern Zhou data, undoubtedly results from unsystematic excavation and skewed reporting. Table 19 therefore stands as a resounding warning against any attempt to draw quantitative conclusions from evidence that is not statistically representative.

## INTERMEZZO

The archaeological finds discussed in Chapters One and Two demonstrate that the ritual system idealized by Confucius and his followers did not come into existence

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<sup>23</sup> It would probably be unwise to imply, however, that all non-Jī clans were necessarily inferior in overall rank to the Jī clan. Such differences are, at any rate, more likely to have been conceptualized on the lineage than on the clan level.

<sup>24</sup> Yu and Gao 1978-1979.

Table 19. Percentages of Burial Chambers and Coffins at Some Zhou Cemeteries, Compared with Shangma

Site	Time Span	Number of Tombs	Burial Chamber (guo)/Coffin (guan)				Constellations (in %)			Unclear cases
			0 guo 0 guan	0 guo 1 guan	1 guo 1 guan	2 guan	1 guo 3 guan	Catacomb tombs		
Shangma, Houma SX	LWZ-MZG	1387	3.5	83.0	12.1	1.4				
Zhangjiapo, Chang'an ShX (1983-86 data only)	EWZ-LWZ	365	1.1	17.8	63.6	11.2		5.8		
Shangcunling, Sammenxia HN (1956-7 data only)	LWZ-ECQ	234	2.6	38.0	48.3	11.1				
Qucun, Quwo SX (Loc II and III)	EWZ-ECQ	660	3.2	53.9	36.7	1.4	0.2			4.7
Qufu SD, cemeteries in Lu capital Group A (5 locations)	LWZ-CQ	78		12.8	59.0					28.2
Wangfutai (Group B)	LWZ; LCQ-ZG	51		21.6	56.9	13.7(?)				7.8
Niucun, Houma SX	CQ-EZG	15			present					100.0
Xiapingwang, Houma SX	MCQ-MZG	40	2.5	5.0	75.0	15.0		2.5		
Miaoqiancun, Wanrong SX	eLCQ-MZG	6				100.0				
Shangguo/ Quijiazhuang, Wenxi SX	LWZ-EZG	77	3.9	36.4	58.4	1.3				81.5
Chengcun, Linyi SX	M-LCQ	54			18.5		2.6			97.4
Jinshengcun, Taiyuan SX	LCQ(?) -ZG	39								
Yonglegong, Ruicheng SX	M-LCQ	10	10.0		90.0					
Tandaocun, Ruicheng SX	ECQ; LCQ	2			100.0					
Yaowacun, Jiaokou SX	LCQ/EZG	1			100.0					
Sanjiao, Lin Xian SX	E-MZG	14		35.7	35.7	28.6				100.0
Mao'erling, Yuci SX	M-LZG	55		large minority	plurality	small minority				
Wanghuling, Yuci SX	LZG-Han	7			100.0					
Xiaoshantou, Changzhi SX	LCQ-EZG	9		33.3	66.7					
Fenshuiling, Changzhi SX	LCQ-LZG	34		35.3	29.4	8.8		5.9		21.4
Yanguangou/ Niujiapo, Zhangzi SX	LCQ(?) -LZG	8			75.0	12.5	12.5			
Mengjiazhuang, Zhangzi SX	M-LZG	24		ca.50	ca.50					100.0
Luhe, Lucheng SX	MCQ(?) -ZG	8		present	present	12.5				87.5
Wujiagou, Tunliu SX	LCQ(?)	1			100.0					
Nandawang, Xingtai HB	LCQ-EZG	7			14.3					85.7
Baijiacun, Handan HB	LCQ(?) -ZG	81	2.5	16.0	34.6					46.9
Shanbiaozhen, Ji Xian HN	LCQ(?) -ZG	8		50.0	25.0	12.5		12.5(?)		
Zhaogu, Hui Xian HN	ZG	7		85.7	14.3					

at the beginning of the Zhou dynasty, as was believed until very recently. Instead, its principal features—systematic ranking of ancestors and of living lineage members and sacrifices of food in graded sets of vessels (with alcohol use conspicuously deemphasized)—took shape during a decisive reform in the mid-ninth century BC, the consequences of which can be observed at Hoard 1 at Zhuangbai as well as at such cemeteries as Tianma-Qucun, Shangcunling, and Shangma. Indeed, the material features of the new system, especially its status-defining sets of ritual vessels, are seen in Late Western Zhou and Springs and Autumns period tombs from all over the Zhou culture sphere, showing that the new standards came to be widely accepted within a relatively short time of their initial promulgation. Table 20 provides a partial tabulation, illustrating the wide geographical spread of pre-600 BC instances now known (see also *Map 7*).

Bronze inscriptions such as the one on the Shi Qiang-*pan* from the Zhuangbai hoard suggest that the early history of the royal house was being comprehensively rethought in the period directly preceding the Late Western Zhou Ritual Reform (see Chapter One).<sup>25</sup> This may have led to casting the Zhou founders as heroic figures, which they would remain to later philosophers. It has also been suggested that the *Shi jing* and the *Shangshu*, later to figure among the Confucian Classics, were initially codified at that time; each of them gives great emphasis to events surrounding the dynasty's foundation. The greatly changed aesthetic emphases in ritual vessels—their simplified decoration and the emphasis on their arrangement in orderly sets—suggest a ritual environment that had, by ca. 850 BC, become less concerned with religious experience than with correct performance. The king was no longer thought to rule exclusively by virtue of his backing by supernatural forces; his religious authority became less personal and more abstract. This undoubtedly was an important step toward the creation of the ideological atmosphere in which the Confucian philosophical views of ritual and of the origins of civilized behavior were eventually to take shape.

At the same time, as in all ritual systems, there were discrepancies between the conception and the enactment of the new rules. The Shangma data, for instance, demonstrate that the newly defined material status indicators are by no means always present in the tombs of holders of a given status. Archaeological data, simplistically interpreted, will oblige with falsehoods. On the other hand, the gap between the possession of status and its complete material expression, evident in this complete and well-reported dataset, may have a significance of its own: it intimates that, to members of the Shangma lineage, correct ritual attitude

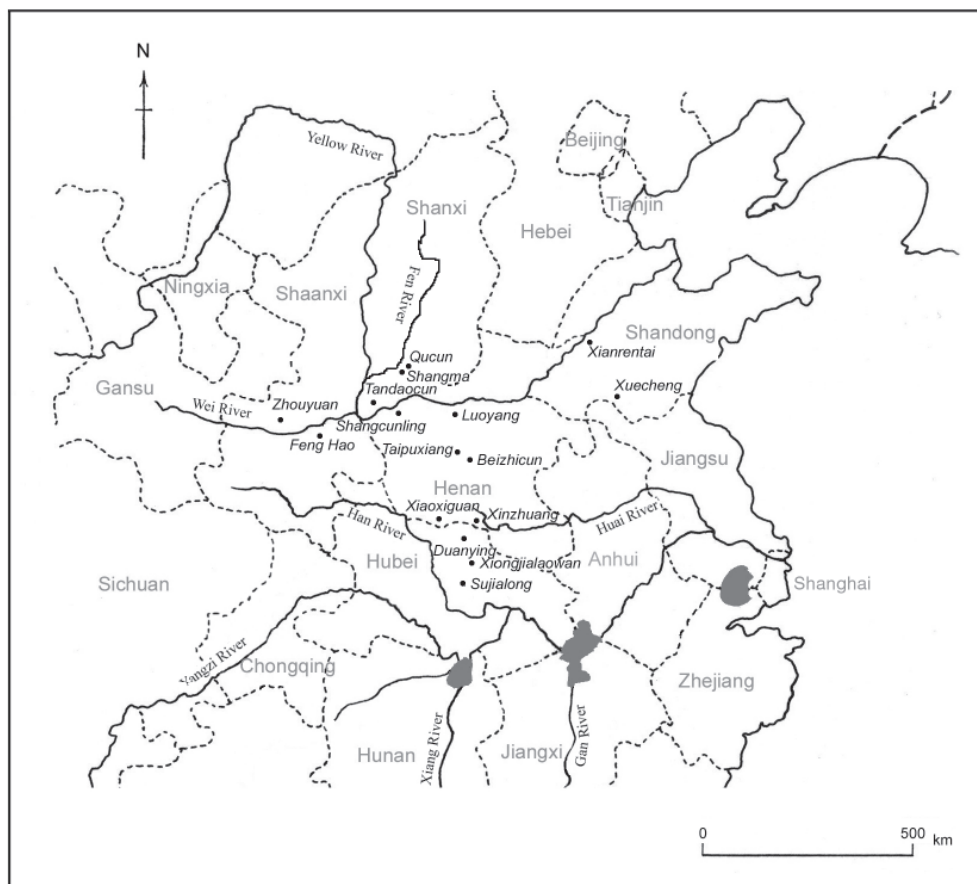
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<sup>25</sup> The inscription on the early eighth-century Qiu-*pan* recently excavated at Yangjiacun, Mei Xian (Shaanxi; see Chapter One, n. 54 and *passim*) already reflects the results of such rethinking (see Falkenhausen 2006).

Table 20. Selected Funerary Assemblages Showing the Spread of the Late Western Zhou Sumptuary Rules

PROVINCE COUNTY	HN Pingdingshan Beizhichuan	HN Pingdingshan Beizhichuan	HN Pingdingshan Beizhichuan	HN Jia Xian Taipuxiang	HN Xinye Xiaoxiguan	HN Tongbai Xinzhuang	SX Ruicheng Tandaocun	SD Tengzhou Xuecheng	SD Tengzhou Xuecheng
SITE	HN Pingdingshan Beizhichuan	HN Pingdingshan Beizhichuan	HN Pingdingshan Beizhichuan	HN Jia Xian Taipuxiang	HN Xinye Xiaoxiguan	HN Tongbai Xinzhuang	SX Ruicheng Tandaocun	SD Tengzhou Xuecheng	SD Tengzhou Xuecheng
Tomb	1	95	47	1	2	1	1	2	4
<i>gao/guan</i> Polity	LWZ/ECQ 1+1 Ying	IMWZ 1+1 Ying	LCQ ? Ying	ECQ ? Zheng?	LWZ 1+1 Zeng	ECQ ? Shen?	ECQ ? Yu?	E/MCQ 2+2 Xue	E/MCQ 1+3 Xue
FOOD VESSELS AND THEIR ACCESSORIES									
<i>dmg</i> <i>fengding</i> <i>yiding</i>	5	5+?	5	5	3+	3	3	7	7+?
<i>li</i>								1	
<i>yan</i>	1	4			4	2	4+1m	6	6
<i>gu</i>	6	1		1	1				
<i>yu</i>		6+?		4	4	4		6	6
<i>xu</i>		3							
<i>bi</i>			4	4				2	2
<i>fu</i>									
<i>chang/pen/dian</i>								2	2
<i>du</i>				1	1				1
<i>xing</i> <i>he*</i>									
pointed spoon									
dish							4	1	1
LIQUOR CONTAINERS AND DRINKING VESSELS									
<i>jue</i>									3
<i>hai</i>									
<i>zhi</i>									
<i>zan</i>		1m							
<i>fanyi</i>	1m								
rectangular <i>bi</i>	2	2		2	2	2	2	2	2
round <i>bi</i>								1	1
<i>bianbi</i>				1					
<i>ritianghu</i>			1						
rounded spoon									
WATER CONTAINERS/WASHING VESSELS									
<i>fu/guan/lei</i>									
<i>pan</i>	1	2	4	2				6	1
<i>be+</i>	1		1	1	1	1	1	1	1
<i>yi</i>		2	1	1	1	1	1	1	
ladle									
MISCELLANEOUS									
<i>*xiaoqian*</i> two-tiered vessel									1
MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS									
<i>yong/bong</i> <i>ritianzhong</i>		1/7 1/9(?)							
<i>bo</i>			1/9 1/13						
<i>zheng</i> chimestones		{1/4}	{1/13}						
TOTALS of which	17 1m	28+? 1m	18	22	17	13	16 2m	33	34

For additional examples, see Tables 9 (Qucun), 10 (Shangcunling), and 17 (Shangma).



**Map 7.** Distribution of ritual-vessel assemblages reflecting the standards of the Late Western Zhou Ritual Reform. Place names given are those of cemetery sites.

may have taken precedence over the conspicuous display of splendid ritual paraphernalia. Such a situation would have been eminently congenial to the early Confucian thinkers. What makes the Shangma data particularly relevant to the study of Chinese intellectual history is that the conditions possibly reflecting such “proto-Confucian” attitudes can be archaeologically shown to have prevailed at Shangma continuously from at least two centuries before Confucius’ lifetime down to a half-century or so after Confucius,<sup>26</sup> thus relativizing, at least to some extent, the originality of Confucian intellectual innovations.

As discussed above, the institution of the new rituals was most likely a reflection of changes in lineage organization, which in turn may have been

<sup>26</sup> The data from Shangcunling strongly corroborate such a situation for the early part of this time span (see n. 22).



triggered at least in part by demographic developments. The data discussed in Chapters Two and Three show a great deal of inequality, not only among lineages (this would be no surprise), but also, and especially, within them: significant differences between their ranked-élite and commoner components, differences among the various gradations of ranks within each of these components, and the invariably inferior treatment of females. Yet we wonder: was all the social inequality in Late Bronze Age China expressed in such a regular fashion? Was the paramount class difference in society that between members of the ranked élite and commoners who belonged to the same lineages? If so, we would be dealing with a comparatively homogeneous social fabric—one in which the ruling and the ruled considered one another as kin. Compared with a continental European notion of aristocracy, this seems quite extraordinary, but traditional descriptions of social realities in ancient China do indeed tend to present such a picture.<sup>27</sup>

Still, this picture is idealizing. Although it may be justifiable to refer to the network of intermarrying lineages so far considered as the “core group” (or “social mainstream”) of Zhou society, it is clear that Others—an underclass ranking below those commoners who were members of segmentary lineages—existed in Late Bronze Age China. Perhaps the greatest mystery in the study of pre-Imperial China is the question of how large a proportion of the population these unassimilated outsiders constituted. Since they were not eligible to be buried in lineage cemeteries, their physical remains, except for chance finds of “discard burials” and modest tombs in settlements, remain for the most part invisible to the archaeologist. And because the transmitted historical texts make few references to them, historians likewise have tended to treat them as a negligible quantity. But is this correct? At present, nothing precludes the possibility that many—perhaps a majority—of the inhabitants of the Zhou culture sphere belonged to the underclass. Some of its members may have been, perhaps to varying degrees, unfree.<sup>28</sup> The archaeological finds considered so far, in other words, might illustrate only one side of what might have been Bronze Age China’s most important social divide. But perhaps not. We simply do not know. Some preliminary information of possible relevance to the understanding of this issue will be discussed in Chapters Four and Five. For the future, however, one hopes that it can be addressed directly, systematically, and on a grand scale. One might, for instance, devise

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<sup>27</sup> The ground-breaking early twentieth-century work on which modern reconstructions of the Shang and Zhou social system are based is Wang Guowei 1927 (first published in 1917); see also Granet 1929; K. C. Chang 1976: 72-92 and *passim*; and many others.

<sup>28</sup> For a recent comprehensive study of slavery in ancient China, see Yates 2001.

an archaeological project aiming to come up with population figures for a settlement, or a settlement system, which could then be juxtaposed with demographic data from associated lineage cemeteries. But such a project presupposes a degree of site preservation and chronological specificity that may be unrealistic to expect in a continually settled cultural landscape such as China Proper. Hence chances appear slim that we shall ever be in a position to assess with confidence how large a proportion of the population has dropped below the radar screen of our investigation.



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PART II

**INTERNAL  
COALESCENCE  
AND OUTWARD  
DELIMITATION**

THE NETWORK OF intermarrying segmentary lineages considered in Part I constituted the core of “Chinese society” during the first half of the Age of Confucius. It has already been noted that these lineages were affiliated with clans.<sup>1</sup> We have seen, furthermore, that the members of this “Chinese society” were by no means the only inhabitants of the Zhou culture sphere. Throughout most or all of the Zhou period the area now known to geographers as China Proper presented a highly fragmented ethnic situation, and the core lineages lived in constant contact with “Others.” Some of the latter may have constituted an underclass within the lineage society centered upon the Zhou royal house; others are known to have formed independent social units on the margins of, or interspersed among, the Zhou core lineages.<sup>2</sup> In any case, contacts among members of such different groups must have constituted a significant aspect of social life at the time.

Ethnic groups are in no way eternal. They form and dissolve under specific historical circumstances, just as royal dynasties rise and fall or biological species evolve and die out. Their existence depends to a considerable extent—though not entirely—on the deliberative (and often opportunistic) action of their members. A social formation traceable through time may constitute a distinct ethnic group at certain stages in its development but not at others.<sup>3</sup> Therefore, whether one takes archaeological finds or texts as one’s point of departure, the consistent definition of ethnic groups in the Zhou period presents great problems. In particular, it is difficult to draw a clear distinction between ethnic groups and clans. In the early twentieth century various scholars came to believe that clans such as the Ji of the Zhou and the Zi of the Shang royal houses had originated as distinct ethnic groups,<sup>4</sup> some even claiming that the Shang and Zhou “peoples” originally spoke completely different languages.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> This analysis focuses not on how smaller and less complex social units may be amalgamated into larger ones (as traced, e.g., by Friedman 1975), but on clarifying their relationships within a tiered system of social units. That this system is not static but continually evolving goes without saying.

<sup>2</sup> For basic information regarding many of these groups see Chen Pan 1969, esp. pp. 491a-684a; 1970. Shu Dagang 1994 presents a useful discussion of their geographical distribution during early Eastern Zhou times. For a general consideration of Zhou attitudes toward “Others,” see Müller 1980a.

<sup>3</sup> Wang Mingke 1997, 1999b.

<sup>4</sup> Most influentially, Fu Sinian 1935, echoing Haloun 1923a, 1923b.

<sup>5</sup> This idea, originating with August Conrady (who, however, never published it), is still occasionally mentioned. For instance, Eberhard (1977: 23) writes: “There are some indications that the ruling house of Chou may have been related to the Turkish ethnic group, while their population consisted mainly of Tibetan tribes. Whether the Chou language contained elements of these languages is not yet clear.” See also Pulleyblank 1983.

The latter point is not borne out by any evidence currently available. But it does seem likely that, at the beginning of the Zhou period, at least some clan-level social units within the Zhou social framework retained strong and distinctive cultural traditions that perhaps harked back to an earlier stage when they had formed separate ethnic units. We shall investigate archaeological indications of this in Chapter Four. The evidence suggests that, over time, clan-level idiosyncrasies gradually disappeared, and one may infer that the significance of clans as entities determining the identities of members of “Chinese society” became ever more tenuous. Textual data confirm that, while “Chinese society” defined itself ever more saliently vis-à-vis “alien” ethnic groups, the distinction between the clans and lineages within it eventually became obsolete. In the Warring States period, the term *xing*, which had originally referred to clans, came to mean “surname,” designating a new type of exogamous group that originated from the *lineages* (not clans!) of earlier times.<sup>6</sup>

The major operating factor responsible for the merging of clans into an ever more homogeneous “Chinese society” was, no doubt, intermarriage. We do not know at what stage in Chinese history the obligation to marry outside one’s clan was established, but there are some indications that it was, at least, not universally upheld during the Shang period (the Shang royal house, for instance, appears to have been endogamous).<sup>7</sup> If the institution of clan exogamy was a Zhou innovation, it may have stemmed from a deliberate policy, intended—like Alexander’s command to his Macedonian officers to marry Persian women—to unify the Zhou realm by eliminating preexisting ethnic and cultural differences within it. Another potential strategy for incorporating outsiders into a kin-based network is adoption. As a possible instance of this, Warring States texts document a variety of attempts to coordinate all or most of the clans of the Zhou culture sphere under a common genealogy descended from the mythical Yellow Emperor (Huangdi), who may have been invented for that very purpose.<sup>8</sup> Contrary to many historians who take these constructions as historical fact, I believe that they represent retrospective attempts to shape historical memory and to conceptualize relationships among ever larger populations in terms of “fictive kinship.” (One indicator of mythopoeia is the curious fact that the later

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<sup>6</sup> Cf. Kryukov 1966.

<sup>7</sup> K. C. Chang 1976: 79-86, 95-106; 1978. Pulleyblank (2000) argues that such endogamous practices were continued by the Zhou royal house; based on phonological reconstructions, he denies that the Jī clan of the royal Zhou and the Jiang clan, from which the Zhou obtained most of their queens, were different groups. This seems, however, debatable; in any case, Jī and Jiang were considered distinct clans by the time of the *Zuo zhuan*.

<sup>8</sup> Karlgren 1946; Wang Mingke 1999.

the sources, the more ancient are the allegedly shared ancestors.) Such processes are commonplace among ethnic groups all over the world.<sup>9</sup>

The eight centuries of the Zhou dynasty comprise the period during which a notion of an overarching “Chinese” (Hua, Xia, zhu Xia, or Hua Xia) ethnic (or national) identity took shape. Texts of Confucius’s own time convey the notion of a central civilized group of Zhou royal subjects surrounded by less advanced “Barbarians;” but such a concept, far from being perennial and immutable, developed gradually over the course of the centuries, and the “Barbarians,” far from being considered innately doomed to an unenlightened existence, were consistently regarded as amenable, at least in principle, to the benefits of civilization.<sup>10</sup> At first, the difference between the various clans within the Zhou core group and the “Barbarian” tribes outside it may have been quite vague—indeed, the two concepts probably overlapped. There is evidence that some of the non-Zhou “Others” were organized in lineages resembling those of the Zhou core population. In Eastern Zhou China, as in Central and Southeast Asia in the ethnographic present, clan affiliations are known to have cut across political and ethnic distinctions; in other words, lineages affiliated with the same clan could exist within various political units and constitute elements of various ethnic groups.<sup>11</sup> Although it was sometimes broken in practice, the principle of clan exogamy theoretically applied whether or not a clan cut across ethnic boundaries.<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>9</sup> The use of fictive kinship as a way of unifying a disparate population has many parallels in ancient history; modern scholarship regards the tribes of ancient Israel as one such example (Nitsche 2002: 63–69). Nitsche writes very pertinently (2002: 64; my translation): “The nation of Israel was not a homogeneous ethnic group, as the texts would make one believe. A look at the construction of kin relationships by means of a fictive genealogy, still customary today among the Bedouin tribes of the Sinai peninsula, enables one to perceive the purpose behind the genealogy of Israel: it was to describe more exactly the relationships between the individual groups within a nation in the process of constituting itself.... These genealogies are thus not interested in transmitting historical data, but exist in order to describe existing relations and to create new ones. From this one can see that the very diverse ethnic groups living in Palestine during that time... really grew together into the nation of Israel. Their common ancestry, however, is a fiction.”

<sup>10</sup> See, e.g., *Lunyu* “Zihan” (9.13; *Shisanjing zhushu* 9.35, p. 2491), “Zilu” (13.19; *Shisanjing zhushu* 13.51, p. 2507).

<sup>11</sup> Friedman 1979; Liu Kefu 1994.

<sup>12</sup> One instance of this is Wen Gong of Jin (Jī clan), whose mother was from a Jī-affiliated lineage among the Rong tribes (*Zuo zhuan* Zhuang 28, Xi 23; *Shisanjing zhushu* 10.79, p. 1781; 15.113, p. 1815). For more about Wen Gong, and for another instance of a marriage alliance between two lineages of Jī clan affiliation, see Chapter Two, n. 54.



One fundamental yet gradual tendency in social development during the Zhou period was the subsumption of the clans under a larger unit that we may somewhat anachronistically call the “Hua Xia nation,” and the exclusion of the “Barbarians” from that nation. As normal demographic growth swelled the membership of the core group of intermarrying lineages, one may observe, as in many expanding societies, a dialectic between an evolving universalizing agenda and an exclusivist, inward-turning tendency. On the one hand, outsiders—individuals as well as groups—were continually drawn into the established lineage network through marriage and by constructing pseudo-kin ties. On the other hand, centuries of intermarriage within the network led to increased homogeneity; consequently, ever greater genetic, psychological, social, and cultural barriers arose between the members of the core lineages and any unaffiliated “Others.” The emerging “Hua Xia” supra-clan entity was endogamous: marriage to unacculturated Others, though apparently not proscribed, was not encouraged.

The archaeological record reflects these centuries-long simultaneous processes of integration and exclusion in a number of different ways. Using archaeological data to identify ancient clans and ethnic groups has been, for the past twenty years or so, a favorite sport of Chinese archaeologists. The results are of great interest and deserve detailed discussion, despite considerable methodological difficulties. In the following chapters, we shall first consider inter-clan relationships (Chapter Four) and then the relationships among higher-level social units such as ethnic groups or nations (Chapter Five). These two chapters are concerned with developments within the politics of the Zhou culture sphere. In Chapter Six we shall look at the expansion of distinctly Zhou patterns of social organization into formerly peripheral areas and the amalgamation of the aboriginal populations of those areas.



## CHAPTER FOUR

# CLAN DIFFERENCES WITHIN THE ZHOU CULTURE SPHERE (CA. 1050-500 BC)

LINEAGES, ESPECIALLY LINEAGE segments no more than five generations deep (see Chapter One), were relatively small units, within which it was possible for an individual to be acquainted with, or at least know of, all other members. Clans, by contrast, were far larger entities, comprising dozens if not hundreds of lineages. By contrast to lineages, clans lacked a central organization and clan-specific religious festivities; the worship of their mythical founders was conducted within each clan's most senior lineage (e.g., by the Zhou royal house in the case of the Jī clan), and its importance was apparently far inferior to the cult of lineage ancestors. Clans were emphatically *not*—at least during the “Age of Confucius”—units of political, economic, military, or religious organization. Clan affiliation was nevertheless important as a basis for reckoning the descent of women (as discussed in Chapter Two); and conceivably there existed clan-specific cultural traditions, perhaps in part transmitted through the female line, that might be archaeologically identified. The discussion of potential archaeological indicators of such clan-level differences is the task of the present chapter.

One may think of the dynastic changes in Bronze Age China as kaleidoscopic shifts in the constellation of clans as they regrouped around a new royal house. (To regard a kingdom as an alliance of clans, however, would be inexact, since alliances were concluded among lineages—albeit often, as in the case of marriages, across clan lines.) In this sense, the Zhou conquest of Shang entailed the ascendancy of the Jī clan and its allies along the western fringes of China proper over clans based in the eastern part of north China, who had formerly been headed by the Zi clan of the royal Shang. But the erstwhile Shang affiliates by no means disappeared; they were integrated into the new, Jī-clan-centered network, which was structurally more or less homologous to its Zi-clan-centered predecessor. On the premise that the cultural traditions of these two clan-level groupings should be archaeologically distinguishable even at places where their members were living side by side, archaeologists have attempted since the 1950s to pinpoint material differences between the Zhou conquerors

and “leftover Shang subjects” during Zhou times. We shall here discuss the two places in former Shang territory for which such arguments have been advanced most strongly: Luoyang in central Henan, site of the eastern capital of the Zhou kings, and Qufu in western Shandong, the capital of Confucius’s home polity of Lu. Intermittent reference will be made additionally to Yan, a polity located to the south of present-day Beijing.<sup>1</sup>

Readers may object that without the historical knowledge of Jī-Zi cohabitation at Luoyang and Qufu, the problem of how to tell apart the remains of the two clans would never have been raised. The search for clan distinctions in the material record, they might argue, is entirely predicated on text-based notions. Hence, indeed, my strategy in the following discussion is to subject the arguments so far advanced on the issue to a skeptical, archaeological reevaluation that reckons with the strong possibility that no evidence of inter-clan differences will, in fact, be found. As will be shown, however, parts of the earlier arguments withstand such questioning, and the interpretation of a limited number of features as clan-related cultural facets is at least possible. Moreover, if this interpretation holds, the inter-clan contrasts during the “Age of Confucius” may be fruitfully juxtaposed with evidence alleged to pertain to an analogous distinction during earlier times, indicating changes over time in the articulation of such distinctions; I do this in a coda following the discussion of Luoyang and Qufu. The resulting potential gain in the archaeologically grounded knowledge of Zhou social developments is, I would argue, worth the effort.

## LUOYANG AND QUFU

A new capital at Luoyang, complementing rather than replacing the earlier dynastic seats in present-day Shaanxi, was founded during the reign of King Cheng (r. 1042/35-1006 BC) with the aim of consolidating Zhou royal rule over its newly conquered eastern territories.<sup>2</sup> Luoyang was no doubt chosen

<sup>1</sup> On the various groups resident in and around Yan during Western Zhou times, see Miyamoto 2000: 119-48. For a brief treatment in English, see Sun Yan 2003.

<sup>2</sup> The most important early textual sources regarding the founding of Luoyang are *Shangshu* “Shao gao” and “Luo gao” (*Shisanjing zhushu* 15.101-7, pp. 211-17) and *Yi Zhou shu* “Zuo Luo” (*Yi Zhou shu huijiao jizhu* 5.47, pp. 544-79); the capital is mentioned also in other authentic *Shangshu* chapters and in several bronze inscriptions, most notably the He-zun (Shaanxi Sheng Kaogu Yanjiusuo, Shaanxi Sheng Wenwu Guanliweiyuanhui, and Shaanxi Sheng Bowuguan 1984, no. 97; *Yin Zhou jinwen jicheng* 11.6014). Among the very numerous epigraphic studies on Western Zhou Luoyang, Chen Gongrou 1989 stands out.

for its central location at the pivot of traffic routes going in all directions. Moreover, the valley of the Luo River is ecologically and climatically favored. Hence it has repeatedly served as the seat of numerous dynasties throughout the history of Imperial China. A Zhou military encampment may have existed there previous to the foundation of the capital. Historical texts relate that the core population of the Shang capital was settled at Chengzhou (“Victorious Zhou”) after the defeat of a major anti-Zhou rebellion in the early years of King Cheng’s reign. Scholars still debate whether Chengzhou was the same place as the walled town known as Luoyi (“Settlement on the Luo”); both are mentioned in ancient texts and inscriptions. Archaeology has not been able to resolve this issue: under the superimposed remains of many subsequent dynastic capitals, urban remains from the Zhou period—especially Western Zhou remains—are difficult to detect.

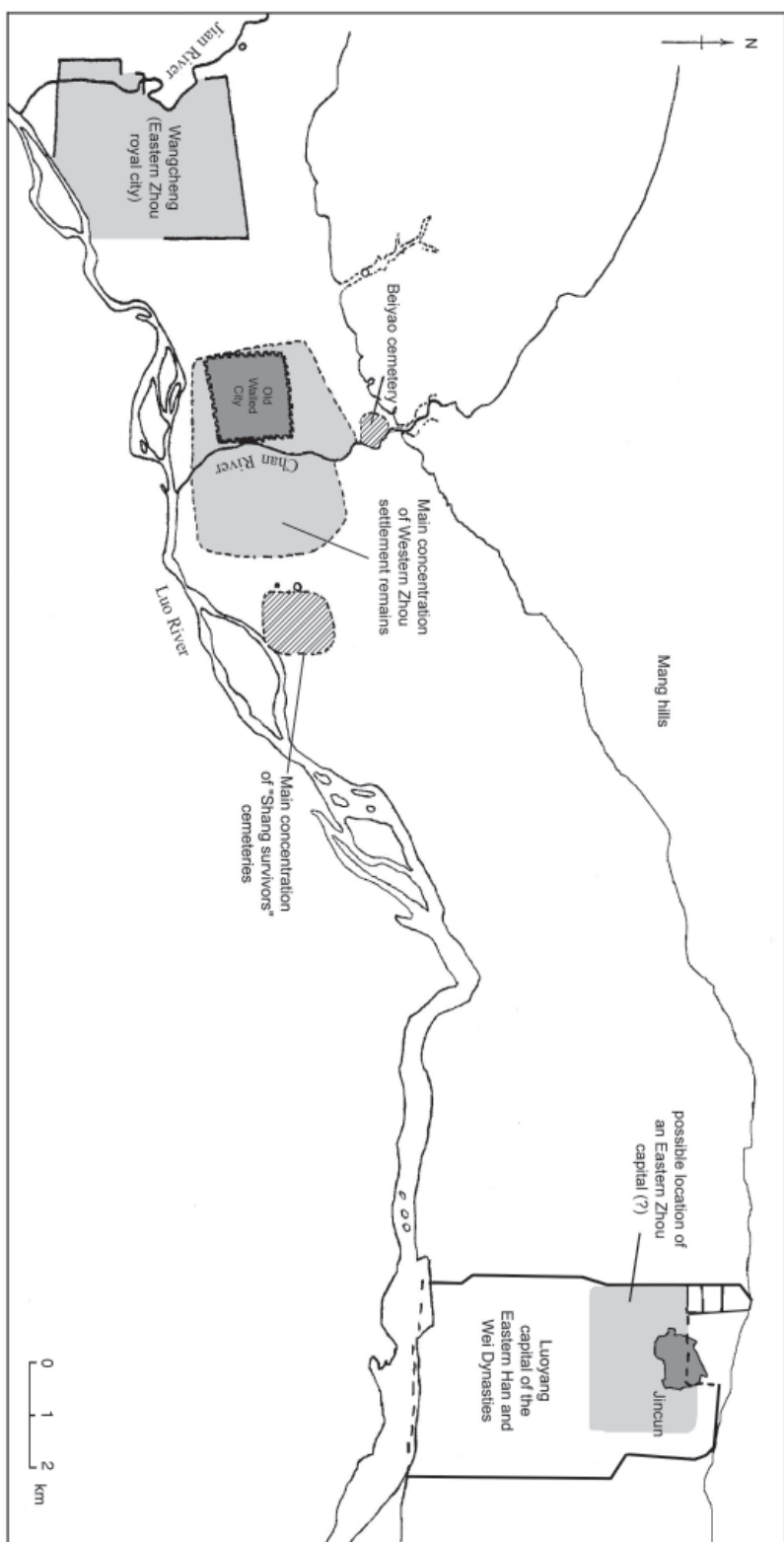
During the more than five centuries of Eastern Zhou, Luoyang was the sole seat of the Zhou kings, whose political power was by then much diminished. During the Warring States period, the royal domain was further divided in two. The Eastern Zhou walled city known as Wangcheng, the remains of which have been identified on the western periphery of modern Luoyang, may be identical with the seat of “West Zhou” of the Warring States period;<sup>3</sup> and the remains of Zhou period walls that were later incorporated into those of the capital of the Eastern Hàn and Northern Wèi dynasties some twenty kilometers to the east may correspond to the Warring States “East Zhou” city (*Map 8*).<sup>4</sup> Construction at the latter site may go back to the Western Zhou period. But the greatest concentration of settlement remains dating from Early to Middle Western Zhou has been found in a roughly rectangular area near the Luoyang train station, now, alas, mostly overbuilt; it is here that archaeologists tentatively situate the royal capital of that time.<sup>5</sup> No traces of a city wall have been discovered in this location. Even more enigmatically, no unambiguous settlement remains of Late Western Zhou through Middle Springs and Autumns date have so far been located anywhere in the Luoyang area, leaving a gap of two and a half centuries before the initial construction of Wangcheng about 600 BC.

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<sup>3</sup> Guo Baojun 1955; Guo Baojun et al. 1956; Kaogusuo Luoyang Fajuedui 1959; Zhongguo Shehuikexueyuan Kaogu Yanjiusuo 1989: 107-165. More recent finds are summarized in Ye Wansong 1992: 40-42.

<sup>4</sup> The Zhou-period walls at Eastern Hàn and Northern Wèi Luoyang, with their successive later enlargements through Qin times, are reconstructed in Zhongguo Shehuikexueyuan Kaogu Yanjiusuo Luoyang Han Wei Cheng Dui 1998. For a brief historical discussion of this area, see Li Xueqin 1985: 33-34 (the translation here is somewhat infelicitous; cf. the revised Chinese edition, p. 27).

<sup>5</sup> Ye Wansong et al. 1991.



**Map 8.** First-millennium BC sites around Luoyang (Henan). Western Zhou settlement remains are concentrated along the Chan river, whereas the major Eastern Zhou-period settlements appear to have been at Wangcheng to the west and in the area of the Han to Northern Wei Luoyang capital to the east.

Since settlement remains are so scarce, our main source of evidence for Zhou-period Luoyang are tombs. Looting of the ample cemeteries in the Luo River valley started in the early part of the twentieth century. Since the 1950s, hundreds of tombs have been archaeologically excavated, but large-scale looting has resumed since 1987. Since excavations proceeded in tandem with rapid urbanization prompted by Chairman Mao's ambitious plan to turn the sleepy old town of Luoyang into a major industrial center, they were unable to proceed very systematically. So far, 400-plus Western Zhou tombs from all over the Luoyang region have been published (from among more than 800 excavated). Of these, 348 are at the cemetery of Beiyao, directly north of the main Western Zhou settlement area, and adjacent to the site of a major Western Zhou-period bronze foundry.<sup>6</sup> They date mostly from the Early through Middle Western Zhou period. Like the nearby settlement remains, the cemeteries feature a puzzling scarcity of Late Western Zhou and Early Springs and Autumns-period tombs. Conversely, the number of later Eastern Zhou tombs in the Luoyang region is large. Some 310 tombs along Zhongzhoulu—a grand new boulevard extending westward from the old town of Luoyang—were reported in 1959 with the aim of establishing a master sequence for Eastern Zhou bronzes and ceramics that was intended to be valid for all of China.<sup>7</sup> While the relative chronology still holds up to scrutiny, it is now evident that the sequence starts, not from Early Springs and Autumns, as the excavators thought, but from sometime around the middle of the Springs and Autumns period.<sup>8</sup> Besides the monograph reports on Beiyao and Zhongzhoulu, many additional tombs have been preliminarily reported in journal articles, and an even greater number (especially small ones) remain unpublished but are occasionally mentioned in secondary works.<sup>9</sup>

Whereas Luoyang was founded to impose the Zhou royal presence onto formerly Shang lands, Qufu was the seat of one of the new regional polities assigned to branch lineages of the royal house (Ji clan) in order to “show the flag” in the more outlying areas of the ex-Shang realm. Like Jin on the northern periphery of the Zhou culture sphere, Lu was established on the eastern periphery to supervise and control the previously established polities of that area. Yan in the northeast is another instance of this type of polity. Jin, Lu, and

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<sup>6</sup> Luoyang Shi Wenwu Gongzuodui 1999a. On the bronze foundry, see Luoyang Bowuguan 1981: 58–61 and *passim*; Luoyang Shi Wenwu Gongzuodui 1983; more recent work summarized in Ye Wansong 1992: 40–42.

<sup>7</sup> Zhongguo Kexueyuan Kaogu Yanjiusuo 1959b.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Hayashi 1986: 7–8 and *passim*; Li Xueqin 1985: 23–29; Gao Ming 1981.

<sup>9</sup> For overviews of Eastern Zhou tombs in Luoyang incorporating more recent discoveries (but still adhering to the faulty dating scheme of the Zhongzhoulu report), see Zhang Jian 1996: 21–24; 1999 (qq.v. for further references).





**Map 9.** Archaeological sites at Qufu (Shandong). Until the early 1980s, modern settlement was mainly confined to the Ming dynasty county seat, which occupied only the southwestern corner of the much larger Eastern Zhou capital. Eastern Zhou strata are overlaid by extensive remains from the Han period, when the old town served as a regional administrative seat.



**Fig. 28.** The Walls of Qufu (Shandong). First constructed during the Late Western Zhou or Springs and Autumns period and frequently repaired at least through the Hàn period. The photograph shows a section of the south wall that was not reused as part of the enclosure of the Ming dynasty Qufu county seat (see Map 9).

Yan were all ruled by junior branches of the Zhou royal house and thus were affiliated with the Jī clan. The first nominal ruler of Lu is said to have been none other than the Duke of Zhou (Zhou Gong Dan), whom Confucians later wrongly credited with the creation of the Zhou ritual system.<sup>10</sup> The *Zuo zhuan* records that “six [élite] lineages of Shang” were presented to Bo Qin, the Duke of Zhou’s son, who resided as the first ruler in Lu; and it mentions that Lu was established in the locale of the former Shang ally Yān (not to be confused with the Yan polity near Beijing), whose population presumably constituted the core of the new polity.<sup>11</sup> Bo Qin’s descendants ruled at Qufu until the middle of the Warring States period.

The surrounding walls of the Zhou-period Lu capital, though much repaired over the centuries, can still be made out in the landscape (*Fig. 28*), and they have been well studied archaeologically. Rare for a Bronze Age city in China, considerable portions of the area within the walls have also been excavated, exposing the remains of élite residences, settlement and workshop areas, as well as cemeteries (*Map 9*). With its approximately rectangular shape, nine (?) gate openings, and centrally located palace compounds, Qufu appears to come closer than any other

<sup>10</sup> *Shi ji* “Lu shijia” 33.1515–24. Perhaps the later exaggeration of the Duke of Zhou’s role in establishing the Zhou institutions is connected with the Lu origin of Confucius and several of his major disciples.

<sup>11</sup> *Zuo zhuan* Ding 4 (*Shisanjing zhusu* 54.432, p. 213).

walled settlement from the Zhou period to the urban ideals formulated in the third-century BC(?) “Kaogongji” (“Notes on Examining the Artisans”).<sup>12</sup> Unfortunately, most traces of Zhou-period structures were obliterated by overbuilding during the Hàn period, when Qufu served as a local administrative seat. Even so, it is clear that the enclosed area was largely reserved for the activities of ranked lineages. In contrast to Hàn tombs, which at Qufu as well as at Luoyang are without exception placed outside walled areas, the most important élite cemeteries of the Bronze Age at both places were located within the enclosures, in the immediate vicinity of areas of élite residence. Within old Qufu, a large number of Zhou tombs (some 200 so far) have been excavated, many of them unfortunately looted in the early twentieth century. It is likely that the majority of the urban population dwelled outside the walled area, but little archaeological work has taken place there to date.

An impressive archaeological report has been published on excavations undertaken at Qufu during 1977-1978, dealing with both settlement remains and tombs.<sup>13</sup> As with the Zhongzhou tombs at Luoyang, the periodization proposed is by and large correct in relative ordering, but mistaken in the absolute dates. The sequence starts only in Late Western Zhou, not in Early Western Zhou as claimed by the excavators.<sup>14</sup> This is immediately clear from the style of the bronzes found, but it has also been nicely demonstrated from another angle by Cui Lequan’s systematic Shandong-wide study of Zhou-period ceramics.<sup>15</sup> Early and Middle Western Zhou archaeological remains are so far lacking from the Qufu area; the capital and cemeteries of that period must have been located elsewhere.<sup>16</sup>

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<sup>12</sup> Originally an independent text, the “Kaogongji” has been preserved as an appendix to the *Zhou li*. For its description of urban construction, see *Zhou li* “Kaogongji: Jiangren” (*Zhou li zhengyi* 83.3423-48). The use of this passage by archaeologists in order to explain the layout of ancient city sites, especially Qufu, has been subjected to a withering critical assessment by Xu Hong (2000: 171-84).

<sup>13</sup> Shandong Sheng Wenwu Kaogu Yanjiusuo et al. 1982. A partial English translation, based mainly on preliminary reports published earlier, was published as Buck (ed.) 1986.

<sup>14</sup> This was first pointed out in print by Wang Entian 1988.

<sup>15</sup> Cui Lequan 1992.

<sup>16</sup> Kikawada Osamu (2001b) believes that the earliest location of the Lu capital may have been near the cemetery of Qianzhangda in Tengzhou (Shandong), which Chinese scholars have preliminarily dated to the Late Shang dynasty. He argues that Shang-like features persisted in the eastern parts of the Zhou culture sphere and points out that some of the local ceramic types found at Qianzhangda are typologically later than other known Late Shang ceramics. In the same vein, Kikawada (2001a) proposes, again on the basis of ceramic typology, that the site of Nanguan in Zoucheng (Shandong), reported as a Shang site, actually represents unacculturated non-Zhou inhabitants contemporary with Middle Western Zhou.

At both Luoyang and Qufu archaeologists have made great efforts to distinguish the remains of the Zhou conquerors from those of the Shang descendants who were resettled there at the beginning of Western Zhou. Since DNA analysis of skeletal data has not yet been applied, the material inventory is so far the only basis for making such distinctions, which, if real, would correspond to those between clan-based cultural traditions within Zhou society.

## “SHANG” AND “ZHOU” TOMBS AT LUOYANG

For Western Zhou-period tombs in the Luoyang region the following principal criteria have been proposed in order to distinguish “Zhou” (Ji clan) from “leftover Shang” (Zi clan) remains.<sup>17</sup>

(1) *Cemetery location*. The major “Zhou” elite burial area is located on the west bank of the Chan River relatively close by the major Western Zhou settlement remains (see *Map 8*). The most important (and best-published) cemetery in that area is Beiyao. “Shang” tombs, by contrast, are said to be mainly concentrated on the east bank of the Chan River, along the Jian River farther to the west, and in scattered locations elsewhere throughout the Luoyang area.<sup>18</sup> Incomplete publication makes it hard to evaluate that distinction, but some “Shang” tombs have been found at Beiyao, and several tombs with typically “Zhou” features have turned up in parts of the Luoyang area quite far removed from the Chan River system. The “Zhou” funerary presence at Luoyang, therefore, was certainly not a self-contained island in a “Shang” sea.

(2) *Tomb shape and size*. The authors of the Beiyao report opine that the long-rectangular shape of some tombs at this cemetery is a “Shang” trait (they imply that “Zhou” tombs are usually closer to square), but data from all over the Zhou culture sphere do not seem to support this idea.<sup>19</sup> From presently reported data, it is also unclear whether the difference between “Shang” and “Zhou” correlates with differences in size.

(3) *Body orientation*. In addition, it has been proposed that the occupants

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<sup>17</sup> For a recent synthesis with a similar list of criteria, see Zhang Jian 2002, q. v. for further reference. See also the works cited in the present chapter’s nn. 5–9, esp. Luoyang Shi Wenwu Gongzuodui 1999a: 373.

<sup>18</sup> For an overview of “Shang” tombs incorporating recent discoveries, see Xie Hujun 2003 (q.v. for further references).

<sup>19</sup> At the cemetery of Beilü, Fufeng (Shaanxi), for instance (Luo Xizhang 1995), it is true that tombs dating to the “proto-Zhou” period are narrow-rectangular in shape, but those from the period after the founding of the Zhou dynasty do not seem to differ significantly in their proportions from average Shang tombs. The question requires a comprehensive statistical study.

of “Zhou” tombs are buried predominantly with the head to the north, while those of “Shang” tombs were placed with the head to the south as a sign of their submission to Zhou rule (the bodies in Shang-period tombs at Anyang are normally north-oriented). I am not fully convinced of this; for one thing, skeletal orientation in most “Shang” tombs at Luoyang is unreported, and there seem to be a number of instances containing bodies with their heads to the north; moreover, occasional south-pointing skeletons have also been found at Western Zhou period cemeteries elsewhere, including even in two of the most lavishly appointed of the Jin rulers’ tombs at Qucun Locus III (see Chapter Two), where it would seem absurd to interpret the phenomenon as an expression of submission. Still, in view of the concurring evidence from Qufu (see below), the possibility that skeletal orientation was a meaningful criterion must be considered, even though its significance is now unknown.

(4) *Sloping Entry Ramps*. The tombs presumed to be those of “leftover Shang subjects” exhibit a remarkable range of sizes and features. Some of them even have sloping entry ramps (*mudao*)—normally, at least in this period, a feature limited to the tombs of very high-ranking people (see Chapter Two). In a few *mudao*, the portion nearest to the ground level opening bends off at a right angle (Fig. 29). This, too, has been interpreted as a sign of submission, allegedly showing that the power of the occupant’s lineage has quite literally been “broken.”<sup>20</sup> But not only does this seem far-fetched and anachronistic, but a tomb with similarly bent-off *mudao* has been excavated at the cemetery of the ruling lineage of Yan at Liulihe (in Fangshan County, Beijing Municipality), whose members were Ji-clan relatives of the royal Zhou and certainly no “leftover Shang subjects.”<sup>21</sup> More probably, bent *mudao* answered to the needs of the terrain or of cemetery planning.

(5) *Waist-pits (yaokeng)*. These are rectangular pits at the bottom of the tomb, beneath the tomb occupant’s coffin, often containing a sacrificed dog (Fig. 30); other animals are but rarely seen. In Western Zhou period tombs in Shaanxi, waist-pits are rare, but they are common in Shang tombs at Anyang, and were among the first distinctive “Shang” cultural elements to have been earmarked at Luoyang in 1955 by Guo Baojun and Lin Shoujin.<sup>22</sup> We shall discuss them at greater length below.

(6) *Sacrificial customs*. The excavators note that no human victims have been found at the “Zhou” cemetery at Beiyao, fuelling the conventional wisdom

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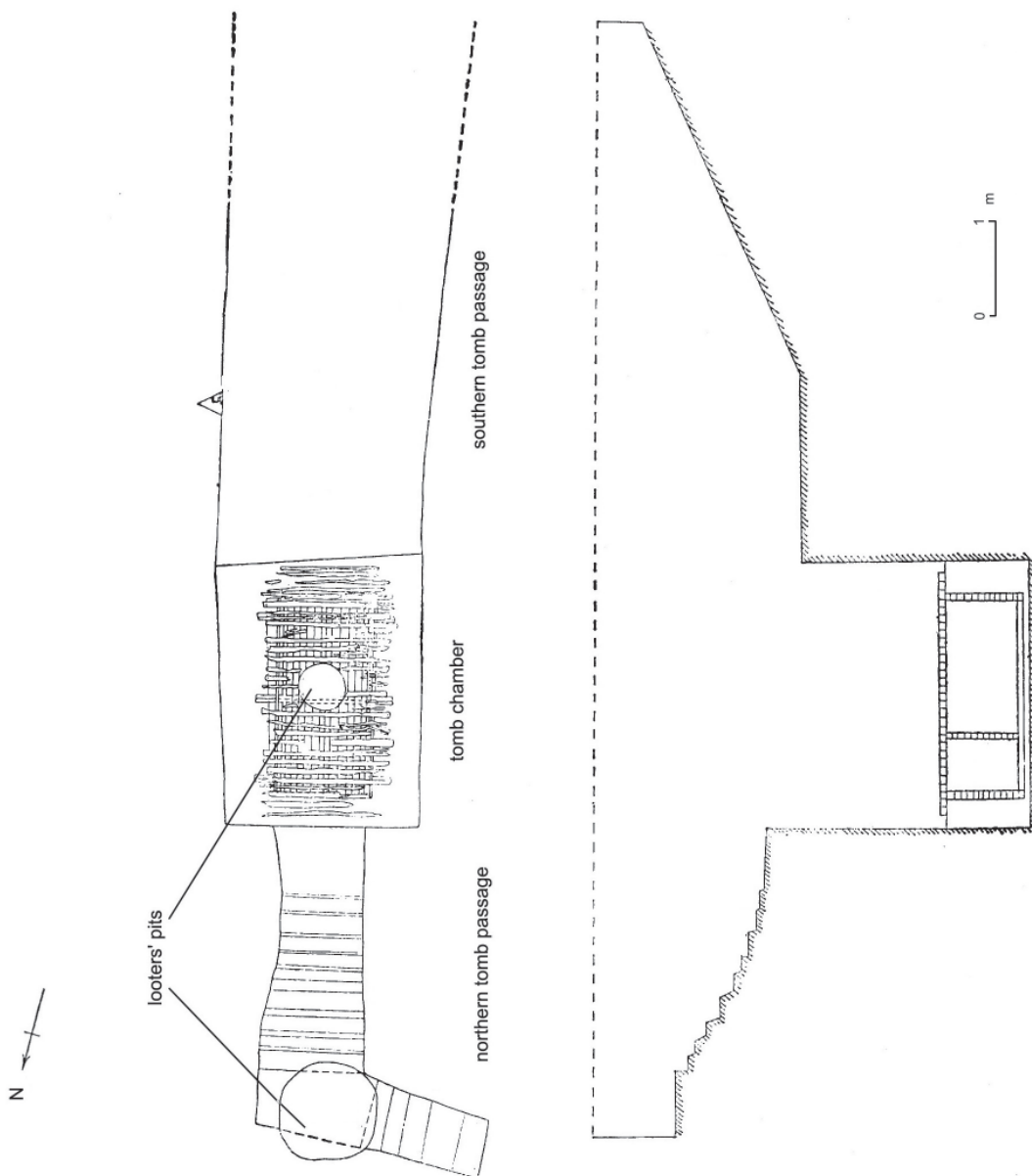
<sup>20</sup> Guo Baojun and Lin Shoujin 1955: 95, 103.

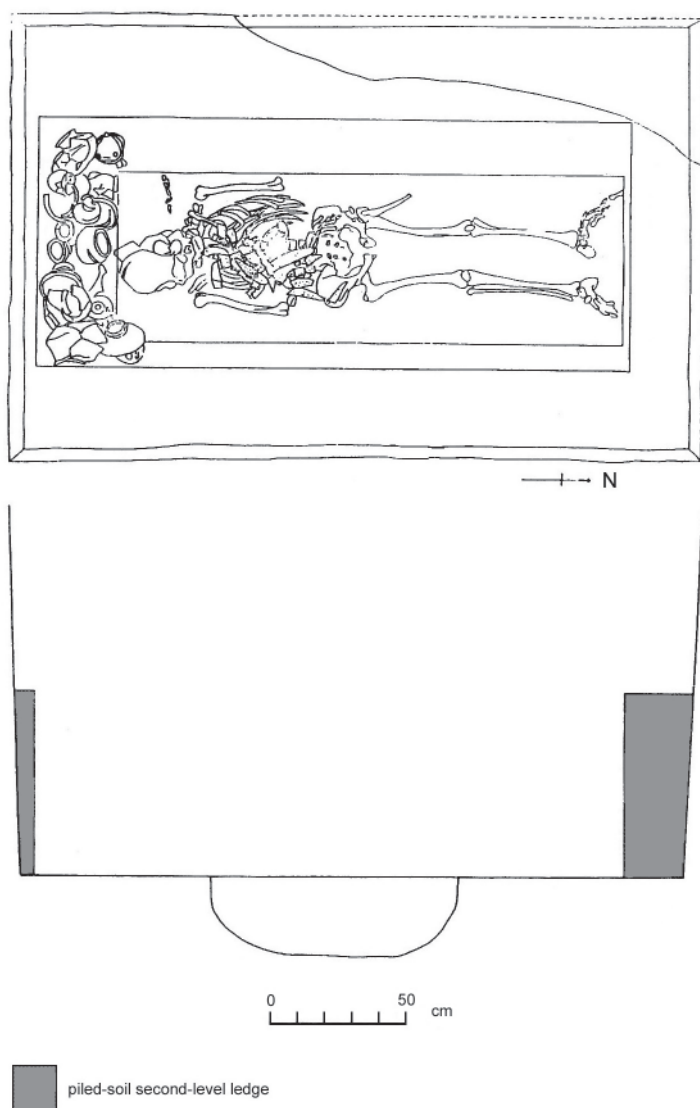
<sup>21</sup> Beijing Shi Wenwu Yanjiusuo 1995: 16–18. Xie Hujun (2003: 37–38) additionally points out that even one of the Shang royal tombs at Anyang, Tomb 1217 at Xibeigang, has a “broken” *mudao* and interprets this as a specifically Shang status symbol.

<sup>22</sup> Guo Baojun and Lin Shoujin 1955: 96, 115.



Fig. 29. Tomb 202 at Liulihe, Fangshan (Beijing). Early Western Zhou. Note the "broken" tomb passage at north end of the tomb's main burial chamber.





**Fig. 30.** Tomb 120 at Yaopu, Qufu (Shandong). Typical instance of a “Group A” tomb. Note waist-pit (*yaokeng*); all funerary vessels are ceramic. Probably no earlier than 9th century BC.



that the Zhou—very different from their Shang predecessors—avoided human sacrifice.<sup>23</sup> None of the quite numerous horse-and-chariot pits reported from the Luoyang area contain the skeletons of sacrificed charioteers, which might also be taken to indicate that the occupants of the associated tombs were “Zhou.”<sup>24</sup> But the “Shang” tombs in the Luoyang area do not feature human victims either—be it due to a Zhou-imposed interdiction, to lack of means, to a change in religious customs, or to other, now unknown, reasons. Moreover, many instances of human sacrifice are archaeologically attested in “Zhou” contexts during both Western and Eastern Zhou, both within the former Shang sphere and in areas outside it (e.g., at the Baoji cemeteries, Tianma-Qucun, Liulihe, and Shangma).<sup>25</sup> The report on the Yan cemetery at Liulihe explicitly ascribes this to lingering Shang influence;<sup>26</sup> but one suspects that the Zhou and their non-Shang allies were by no means opposed to the practice. Instead, the misguided glorification of Zhou “humanism” may be an idealizing (and ideologically motivated) extrapolation from Confucius’s much later alleged opposition to human sacrifice.<sup>27</sup> Even in Confucius’s own time archaeological evidence shows human sacrifice still being practiced in places close to his home at Qufu.<sup>28</sup> At most, the apparent decrease in human sacrifice

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<sup>23</sup> Luoyang Shi Wenwugongzuodui 1999a: 373. For a general overview of human sacrifice in China, see Huang Zhanyue 1990.

<sup>24</sup> To the evidence enumerated by Zhang Jian 1996: 18, one should now add Luoyang Shi Wenwu Gongzuodui 1999b.

<sup>25</sup> For Baoji and Tianma-Qucun, see Chapter Two; for Liulihe, see Beijing Shi Wenwu Yanjiusuo 1995: 7; for Shangma, see Chapter Three.

<sup>26</sup> Beijing Shi Wenwu Yanjiusuo 1995: 252–53.

<sup>27</sup> The subject is not addressed in the *Lunyu*, regarded as the most likely source of potentially authentic Confucian sayings; the oft-quoted statement of Confucius’s opposition to human sacrifice is in the far less reliable *Li ji* (“Tangong-xia,” *Shisanjing zhushu* 9.75, p. 1303), and it may reflect later (in particular, Mencian) sensibilities.

<sup>28</sup> One likely instance of human sacrifice has been found at Qufu itself (see n. 42); remarkably, it is at a “Group B” cemetery that the excavators assign to the Zhou conquerors (see below). Elsewhere in Shandong Springs and Autumns-period instances of human sacrifice have been reported at 4 tombs at Qilu Yixichang, Xindian (Wenwu Bianjiweiyuanhui 1990: 170–172); 2 tombs at Cunliji, Penglai (Shandong Sheng Yantai Diqu Wenguanzu 1980; mistakenly reported as Western Zhou tombs); the tomb of a ruler of Ju at Liujiadianzi, Yishui (Shandong Sheng Wenwu Kaogu Yanjiusuo and Yishui Xian Wenwu Guanlizhan 1984), with at least 35 human victims; the tomb of a member of the ruling family of Yu(?) at Fenghuangling, Linyi, with at least 14 victims (Shandong Sheng Yanshi Tielu Wenwu Kaogu Gongzuodui 1987); and 8 tombs of members of the ruling family of Xue at Xuecheng, Tengzhou (Shandong Sheng Jining

between Shang and Western Zhou (which still needs verification by a statistical study cognizant of the relationship between rank and practice) might be taken as a very tentative first step toward a “proto-Confucian mentality.”

Dog sacrifice, whether or not in a *yaokeng*, has also been flagged as typically “Shang,”<sup>29</sup> though this custom (as well as the sacrifice of other kinds of animals) was common at Zhou cemeteries everywhere. Tombs containing human or animal sacrifices are not always the largest or wealthiest ones; so far, it is difficult to tell what determined the inclusion of such victims.<sup>30</sup>

(7) *Deposition of Funerary Goods*. The Beiyao report considers the custom of depositing funerary goods in several superimposed layers a “Zhou” feature.<sup>31</sup> The reasoning behind this seems to be that such a practice proceeded from the greater wealth of the victors. And indeed, the “Shang” tombs of the Luoyang region tend to have relatively few funerary goods. The contrast is, however, difficult to establish (and impossible to quantify) because many of the tombs in question have been looted.

(8) *Bronzes*. The Beiyao report regards certain bronze objects as “Zhou,” such as willow-leaf-shaped swords, hooked halberds, and animal-headed linchpins. All these objects were new in Western Zhou, and they should be regarded as innovations rather than as indicators of cultural or ethnic difference from the Shang. Their absence from contemporaneous “Shang” tombs may simply reflect differences in wealth. The same seems true of typically “Zhou” ritual vessels such as bowl-shaped *ding*,<sup>32</sup> and square-socled *gui* (now known to have been made at Anyang as well, though perhaps only at the very end of that site’s occupation).<sup>33</sup>

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Shi Wenwu Guanliju 1991). That the practice continued well into the Warring States period is attested by the large Qi aristocrats’ tombs at Langjiazhuang, Linzi (Shandong Sheng Bowuguan 1977), Zihedian, Linzi (Shandong Sheng Wenwu Kaogu Yanjiusuo 2000), and Nülangshan, Zhangqiu (Jiqing Gonglu Wenwu Kaogudui Xiuhui Fendui 1993); another likely instance is Zangjiazhuang, Zhucheng (Shandong Zhucheng Xian Bowuguan 1987). This list is undoubtedly incomplete.

<sup>29</sup> Guo Baojun and Lin Shoujin 1955: 115; Luoyang Shi Wenwugongzuodui 1999a: 373.

<sup>30</sup> For a comprehensive treatment of the sacrificial role of different kinds of animals in early China see Okamura 2003, 2005.

<sup>31</sup> Luoyang Shi Wenwugongzuodui 1999a: 367, 373.

<sup>32</sup> Luoyang Shi Wenwu Gongzuodui 1999a: 373. The designation, by the authors of the Beiyao report (*ibid.*) of *zhi* as typically “Zhou” and of *jue* and *fanglei* as typically “Shang” bronze vessels seems to have no merit. (Xie Hujun [2003: 35] also includes high-status stoneware (“proto-porcelain”) vessels among the alleged “Zhou” privileges.)

<sup>33</sup> One fragmentary casting mold for such a socle is depicted in Li Yung-ti 2003: 260,

(9) *Mingqi replicas*. Some authors identify as “Shang” tombs containing miniature ritual vessels made of lead, as such vessels were also found at Anyang,<sup>34</sup> but they have also turned up—sometimes made of tin rather than lead—in the “Zhou” tombs at Beiyao and elsewhere, e.g., at Shangcunling and Qucun Locus II and Locus III (see *Fig. 21*). Rather than a distinguishing criterion of clan or culture, metal *mingqi* well be one instance of ritual continuity from the Shang to the Zhou. We shall discuss the religious significance of *mingqi* in Chapter Seven.

(10) *Weapons*. The practice of rendering bronze weapons unusable before burial, flagged as a “Zhou” characteristic,<sup>35</sup> has not, to my knowledge, been systematically studied, and it is unclear how widespread it was. That it is undocumented in “Shang” tombs at Luoyang may well be due simply to the absence of weapons in the tombs so classified. This absence in turn may conceivably indicate an attempt on the part of the Zhou to demilitarize their erstwhile opponents, but it seems even more likely to reflect differences in wealth. The likelihood that this is an indicator of cultural or clan difference seems slim. (In principle, before advancing such a claim, one should first examine the situation at Shang period cemeteries, e.g., at Anyang; this has not been done to my knowledge.)

(11) *Ceramic assemblages*. When discussing funerary ceramics, we must consider separately the grouping of vessels and the preference for certain vessel types (see next heading). As to the grouping of vessel types, Zhang Jian notes that constellations of “*li* or *guan*” (from Early Western Zhou onward) and “*li* + *guan*” (Middle Western Zhou, also sometimes Late Western Zhou) typically occur at the cemeteries believed to be “Zhou” in character, whereas the “Shang” cemeteries feature typologically richer assemblages (“*li* + *gui* + *dou*” [from Early Western Zhou onward]; “*li* + *gui* + *dou* + *guan* + *lei*” [Middle Western Zhou]; and “*li* + *gui* + *dou* + *guan* + *yu*” [Late Western Zhou]).<sup>36</sup> But Zhang’s data have no basis in statistics and seem merely to reflect his own subjective impression; and if they were valid, an explanation in “ethnic” terms would not be the only one possible. At least as plausibly, one could take them as reflecting differences in social rank, though this cannot be done in a simplistic way. Although it may at first appear counterintuitive, one observes that the more modest ceramic assemblages often occur in tombs that are relatively large and lavish, whereas a greater variety of ceramic vessels tends to be associated with smaller and poorer

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fig. 6.16. Thanks to the generosity of Dr. Tang Jigen, I was shown a number of similar fragments during a visit to Anyang in 2001.

<sup>34</sup> Guo Baojun and Lin Shoujin 1955: 98.

<sup>35</sup> Luoyang Shi Wenwugongzuodui 1999a: 367–368, 373.

<sup>36</sup> Zhang Jian 1993, elaborating on Guo Baojun and Lin Shoujin 1955: 101.

tombs. The paradox dissolves when one remembers that the vast majority of tombs at Luoyang have been looted, often several times. As local archaeologists know well, the looters usually take bronzes and jades but leave pottery behind. In fact, therefore, equivalents of the kinds of ceramic vessels present in “Shang” but absent in “Zhou” tombs may well originally have been present in many of the latter as well, but in the form of bronze vessels now gone. Thus the alleged difference between “Zhou” and “Shang” tombs may be nothing more than the difference between “bronze-vessel yielding tombs” (which usually also contain some ceramics—minimally, a single *li* vessel) and “ceramic-vessel yielding tombs” (which sometimes hold quite an array of earthenware vessels in spite of their lack of bronzes)—a difference typical of Late Bronze Age cemeteries all over northern China, even in places where no “Shang”—“Zhou” dichotomy has ever been suspected, e.g., at Tianma-Qucun, Shangcunling, and Shangma. The contrast is thus one of wealth (and ritual rank as well as, perhaps, social status), but not of clan or ethnic identity.

(12) *Ceramic typology*. As to differentiating preferences for certain vessel types, the Beiyao report lists the following as typically “Zhou” vessels (Fig. 31): *li* with curled rim and pouch-shaped legs separated at the “crotch” (*juanyan fendang daizuli*) Subtype I; *li* with spliced “crotch” (*biedangli*); *li* with linked “crotch” (*liandangli*) Subtype III; and stemless *dou*.<sup>37</sup> All these are said to derive from prototypes in Shaanxi, where the Zhou originated. By contrast, the following types are said to be directly derived from Anyang: *li* with broken-profile rim and separated “crotch” (*zheyang fendangli*); *guan* with rounded shoulder, rounded belly, and concave bottom (*yuanyan yuanfu aodiguan*); *pou* with rounded-profile rim and slanted belly (*yuanyan xiefupou*); tureen (*gui*); and stemless *dou*. How the stemless *dou* can be distinctive of both “Zhou” and “Shang” eludes me. But the ethnic interpretation of *li* typology has a long and complicated history in Chinese archaeology and needs further discussion below.

To summarize, the majority of the criteria proposed are highly impressionistic and in many cases reflect the authors’ unfamiliarity with the archaeological record of areas other than Luoyang. Moreover, we cannot exclude the possibility that the excavators have been tendentious in assigning virtually all late second millennium BC tombs in the Luoyang region to the Western Zhou period. Until the Zhou conquest the Luoyang area had been, after all, a flourishing and quite central part of the Shang domain, and one would thus expect to encounter signs of a Late Shang occupation there. Conceivably, therefore, some if not many of the alleged “leftover Shang subjects” tombs actually predate the Zhou conquest. And even if they are really for the most part of Zhou date, it would still be virtually impossible to tell whether their occupants were forced

<sup>37</sup> Luoyang Shi Wenwugongzuodui 1999a: 373.

0 10 cm  
(approximate)

**Fig. 31.** Ceramic *li* vessel typology at the Beiyao cemetery, Luoyang (Henan). Mid-eleventh to mid-eighth centuries. The typological identity of four Middle Western Zhou *li* not covered by the table is unexplained. A single Late Western Zhou “long-legged *li*” is not included.

immigrants from Anyang or simply members of lineages indigenous to the Luoyang area who remained in place under the new régime.<sup>38</sup>

Several of the distinguishing criteria (e.g., nos. 7, 8, 10, 11) seem to indicate differences in wealth rather than in clan traditions. If indeed such wealth differences significantly correlate with the distinction between “Shang” and “Zhou” tombs, and the tombs do date from the same period, these differences would indicate, perhaps not all that surprisingly, that the “leftover Shang subjects” were less prosperous than their newly arrived Zhou overlords; but the existence of such a correlation could be ascertained only if at least some of the above distinguishing criteria do in fact denote clan affiliation. Otherwise, the correlation would be tautological, as the interpretation of the observable distinctions would be based on the assumption that the “leftover Shang subjects” were poor, rather than demonstrating that fact.

Despite these somewhat discouraging preliminary results, it is too early to abandon the search for possible manifestations of clan distinctions: at least two criteria in the above list, waist-pits (no. 5) and *li* typology (no. 12), seem worth further investigation. Before we turn to this task, let us first bring Qufu into the discussion.

## “SHANG” AND “ZHOU” REMAINS AT QUFU<sup>39</sup>





















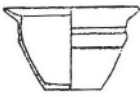



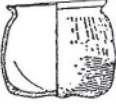


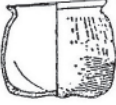


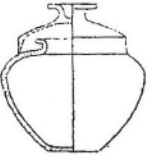

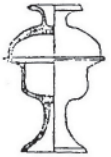




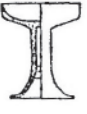
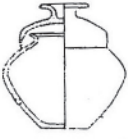

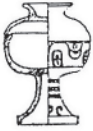

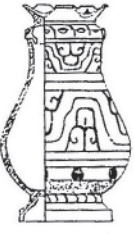
In his study of the cemeteries within the Qufu walled city, Zhang Xuehai proposes a distinction between two groups of tombs, which we may call Group A and Group B. Group A he assigns to “leftover Shang subjects” who, as at Luoyang, may have been either immigrants from Anyang or descendants of the area’s pre-Zhou inhabitants. Group B are the tombs of “Zhou” immigrants.<sup>40</sup> In the final monograph report, each of the six loci (probably parts of more extensive cemeteries) is said only to contain tombs of one group or the other. The main differences are as follows.

Group A (“Shang”) comprises five cemeteries with a total of 78 tombs (Yaopu: 34 tombs, dated to Western Zhou through Springs and Autumns; Doujitai: 27

<sup>38</sup> The first to state these points cogently was Hu Qianying (1955).

<sup>39</sup> The following discussion reprises and expands upon Falkenhausen 1999a: 497-501.

<sup>40</sup> Zhang Xuehai first published this study under the pseudonym Tian An (1982: 5-9; English translation in Buck [ed.]: 19-25); see also Shandong Sheng Wenwu Kaogu Yanjiusuo et al. 1982: 89-92, 114-120. (The “Postface” to that report [ibid., separate p. 1 following plates] lists Zhang Xuehai as the author of these portions of the report; no individual named Tian An [“Field Brink”] is mentioned as having participated in the archaeological work at Qufu.)

		 li	 gui	 dou	 guan	 yu	 lei	 hu
Period I	M120							
	M107							
Period II	M310							
	M320							
Period III	M328							
	M316							
Period IV	M202 (looted)							
Period V	M207 (looted)							
	M209 (looted)							
Period VI	M116 (looted)							

0 10 cm

Fig. 32. Ceramic typology in Group A tombs at Qufu (Shandong). Approximately 9th-6th centuries.



tombs, dated to Western Zhou through Springs and Autumns; the northwest corner of the Ming county seat: 14 tombs, dated to Springs and Autumns; Beiguan: 2 tombs, dated to Warring States; and Huayuan: 1 tomb, dated to Western Zhou). Twenty-nine of these tombs (about one-third) have waist-pits. Moreover, occupants are predominantly buried with head to the south. Bones of sacrificial animals are seen in many tombs, and one tomb contained a human victim, placed on top of the principal occupant's coffin; on the other hand, no horse-and-chariot pits were found at these tombs. The funerary ceramics are mostly nonfunctional *mingqi* reduced in size vis-à-vis their everyday equivalents seen at contemporaneous settlements; utilitarian vessels included in the Group A tombs comprise *li* of an "eastern" (Shang-derived) type without flanges (Fig. 32).

Tombs of Group B ("Zhou") occur at two cemeteries with a total of 81 tombs (the report mentions only Wangfutai with 51 tombs, dated to Western Zhou and Late Springs and Autumns/Warring States; the gap between the two episodes is filled by the 30 Springs and Autumns tombs at Linqiancun,<sup>41</sup> but since the Linqiancun finds are as yet unreported, they could not be included in the percentage calculations given below). None of the Group B tombs have waist-pits, and their occupants are buried with head pointing north. Moreover, Wangfutai features six horse-and-chariot pits. The tombs contain no bones of sacrificed animals. One tomb, Wangfutai Tomb 4, holds a human victim in a separate coffin within the burial chamber.<sup>42</sup> Funerary ceramics are almost entirely *mingqi*. Early tombs contain *li* of "Zhou" type with lateral flanges. In later tombs *li* give way to *fǔ*, a class of vessels absent from Group A tombs; there are other, minor, differences in ceramic typology (Fig. 33). Zhang points out that Group A has a greater range of ceramic types, taking this, too, as a marker of ethnic preference or clan tradition.

Such an interpretation of these differences is, however, problematic. As Cui Lequan indicates, many of the ceramic features adduced to differentiate Group A and Group B tombs reflect changes over time; *fǔ* are absent from Group A tombs, for instance, most likely because the Group A cemeteries held no ceramic-yielding tombs from the Warring States period, when that vessel type was current.<sup>43</sup> As at Luoyang, most of the other observable differences are likely

<sup>41</sup> Mentioned in Wenwu Bianjiweiyuanhui 1990: 170-72.

<sup>42</sup> The report (Shandong Sheng Wenwu Kaogu Yanjiusuo et al. 1982: 128) explains this away as an instance of husband and wife buried in the same tomb, which would be unparalleled in the period. I should rather point to the parallels at the Yu cemeteries in Baoji, discussed in Chapter Two.

<sup>43</sup> Cui Lequan 1992. In fact, the replacement of *li* by *fǔ* most likely reflects the introduction of new types of ovens (and with them, cooking methods) during the Warring States period.

to reflect primarily differences in wealth and, possibly, overall lineage rank. The proportion of tombs with burial chambers is almost 12 percent higher for Group B, though both figures—59.0 percent in Group A, 70.6 percent for Group B (cf. *Table 19*)—are exceedingly high, indicating either the extremely high status of the burying lineages, or nonrepresentative excavation, or both.<sup>44</sup> The contents of the Wangfutai tombs (Group B), as well, strike one as far richer on average than those of the Group A tombs. Nested coffins and various kinds of luxury objects—weapons, horse-and-chariot gear, personal ornaments, remains of funerary tents, body-covering assemblages of funerary jades, lacquer vessels, and glass-frit beads—are altogether limited to Wangfutai. Moreover, whereas 50 percent of the Group A tombs contained no burial goods whatsoever, every tomb at Wangfutai, despite heavy looting, still held something, and 12 Group B tombs (32.5%) yielded some ritual bronze vessels, as opposed to 8 (10.3%) at the Group A cemeteries. As I have suggested above regarding Luoyang (criterion 11), the likely reason why the Group A tombs exhibit more ceramic variety than Wangfutai is that they contained only ceramics whereas a contemporaneous tomb at Wangfutai would have contained bronze vessels that have now in part been lost to looting. Thus, on the face of it, wealth and status rather than clan identity may be the primary explanation for the differences observed. Of course, as at Luoyang, it is possible that lineages affiliated with clans other than that of the ruling lineage enjoyed lesser economic privileges, but if all the proposed indicators of inter-clan difference fail, we should have no way of knowing that the economically disadvantaged cemeteries were indeed affiliated with such clans.

Yet, as at Luoyang, we are left with residual differences between Groups A and B that just conceivably might reflect the distinct cultural traditions of clans. Even though, at Qufu, *li* of eastern regional type and waist-pits are far from ubiquitous at the Group A cemeteries, their complete absence from the Group B cemeteries in spite of their close proximity and at least partial contemporaneity is curious. These two criteria seem most promising for more detailed investigation; we may additionally keep in mind the placement of bodies with heads to the south in many of the “Shang” tombs at both Luoyang and Qufu.

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<sup>44</sup> Given that these cemeteries are located within the seat of the ruling family, it goes almost without saying that the lineages buried there must have been high-ranking; nevertheless, it gives one pause to note that the purported non-Zhou Others represented by Group A enjoyed status privileges so essentially similar to those of the Zhou occupants of the Group B tombs.

			Ceramics						
			鬲	釜	甗		壺	甗	小甗
			li	fǔ	guan		hu	lei stoneware guan	xiaohu / xiaoguan
Western Zhou	Period I	M57							
	Period II	M23 M11							
		M48							
	Period III	M49							
	Period IV	M14							
Eastern Zhou	Period I	M1 M2							
	Period II	M52							
		M3							
	Period III	M58							
		M54							

0 10 cm

Fig. 33. Ceramic- and bronze-vessel typology in Group B tombs at Qufu (Shandong). Approximately 9th to late 5th centuries. Bronze types include: Tomb 11: *ding*; Tomb 23: *ding*; Tomb 48: *ding*, *bü*, *xu*, *gui*, *pan* (2 types), *yi*, *yan*, and a local-style *bü*; Tomb 49: *ding*, *gui*, *pan*, *yi*; Tomb 14: *ding*; Tomb 52: *jiaobe*+; Tomb 3: *tiliangbü*; Tomb 54: *jiaobé*, *bü*; Tomb 58: *ding* (Chu type with long legs), *guan*, tripod *fou*.

0      10 cm

**Fig. 33.** (Continued)

## WAIST-PITS

Waist-pits are a standard feature of Shang tombs at Anyang and elsewhere. In some easterly areas that had constituted part of the core of the Shang domain, e.g., in Shandong, waist-pits occurred with some frequency through at least the middle of Eastern Zhou.<sup>45</sup> In Qufu, as we have seen, they are actually documented only from Late Western Zhou onward. At Luoyang, by contrast, there are no known instances later than Middle Western Zhou. Thus we cannot be sure that waist-pits had exactly the same meanings in these two places. Moreover, at Luoyang, the situation is far from unambiguous, as some waist-pits occur in tombs at purported “Zhou” strongholds such as the Beiyao cemetery and the adjacent bronze foundry. In the latter case, an ad hoc explanation has identified the tombs with waist-pits as those of Shang master craftsmen (*baigong*) working at the foundry.<sup>46</sup> The style of Early Western Zhou bronzes from Luoyang does strongly suggest continuities with Anyang. But even if the founders came from there, we still know too little about their social status to know whether they would have had any possibility of asserting their funerary preferences. Indeed, if the large tombs at the foundry site had anything to do with the workshops at all, they are more likely to have been those of supervising (Zhou?) officials.

Waist-pits, though far less frequent than during the Shang, seem to have been fairly widespread in Zhou times. Instances have been reported in Western Zhou tombs in areas to which no “leftover Shang subjects” are known to

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<sup>45</sup> A probably incomplete listing of ninth-to-fifth century Shandong instances aside from those at Qufu would include the following sites: Liangchun, Linzi (Shandong Sheng Wenwu Kaogu Yanjiusuo and Qicheng Yizhi Bowuguan 1989); Guziping, Yiyuan (Shandong Daxue Kaogu Xi et al. 2003); Jingyanggangcun, Yanggu (Liaocheng Diqu Bowuguan 1988); Yuejiahe, Changle (Shandong Sheng Weifang Shi Bowuguan and Shandong Sheng Changle Xian Wenguan 1990); Liugezhuang, Penglai (Yantai Shi Wenwu Guanliweiyuanhui 1990); Tomb 2 at Lüjiabu, Qixia (Qixia Xian Wenwuguan 1988); Xingjiazhuang, Qixia (Yantai Shi Wenwu Guanliweiyuanhui and Qixia Xian Wenwu Guanlisuo 1992); Wanggou, Changdao (Yantai Shi Wenwu Guanliweiyuanhui 1993); Tomb 1 at Xuecheng, Tengzhou (Shandong Sheng Jining Shi Wenwu Guanliju 1991); Zhongqigou, Linyi (Linyi Shi Bowuguan 1987). The latest instances, at Nanhancun, Linzi (Yu Jiafang 1988) and a somewhat questionable case in Tomb 9 at Jingouzhai, Yantai (Yantai Shi Bowuguan 2003), date from well into the Warring States period.

<sup>46</sup> Ye Wansong 1992: 40; see also Iijima 2002. Note that excavations in the 1950s yielded bronze-casting debris then said to be of Shang date in two pits along the Jian River (Zhongguo Kexueyuan Kaogu Yanjiusuo Luoyang Fajuedui 1956: 17-18), possibly hinting at the existence of an earlier bronze industry in the area before the advent of the Zhou.

have been assigned—e.g., at Qucun Locus II,<sup>47</sup> at Shangcunling,<sup>48</sup> at the Yan cemetery at Liulihe,<sup>49</sup> at Fengxi near Xi'an in the Zhou metropolitan area in present-day Shaanxi,<sup>50</sup> and even farther to the west at Baoji Locus III.<sup>51</sup> I am also aware of Eastern Zhou instances at Qin cemeteries in Gansu and Shaanxi (e.g., the Jin ruler's tomb at Dabuzishan, Li Xian [Gansu], discussed in Chapter Eight and depicted in *Fig. 73*),<sup>52</sup> and in the Chu area to the south (e.g., at the large Warring States tombs at Baoshan, Jingmen [Hubei; *Fig. 93*] and Changtaiguan, Xinyang [Henan], to be discussed in Chapter Eight),<sup>53</sup> and there are surely more. Their presence has inspired some scholars to argue that the ruling houses of Qin and Chu were directly descended from the Shang kings, but this seems far-fetched;<sup>54</sup> such an argument also seems illogical, because waist-pits occur only in a tiny minority of Qin and Chu aristocratic tombs,

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<sup>47</sup> Beijing Daxue Kaoguxue Xi Shang Zhou Zu and Shanxi Sheng Kaogu Yanjiusuo 2000, vol. 2: 295. The nine tombs with waist-pits constitute 1.4% of those reported; the excavators note that, with one exception, they are all located close together, and they all belong to the minority of tombs in which the skeleton of the deceased is oriented to the west (see Chapter Two, n. 42); the six datable instances range from the beginning of Early Western Zhou through Late Western Zhou. Male and female occupants are about evenly represented (3 female, 4 male, 2 unclear), vitiating the potential hypothesis that *yaokeng* might have been requested by females of “Shang” descent who had married into the Jin lineage.

<sup>48</sup> Zhongguo Kexueyuan Kaogu Yanjiusuo 1959 a: 3 (5 tombs with waist-pit, or 2% of the tombs excavated in the 1950s). It is perhaps significant that none of the high-status tombs excavated in the 1990s feature a waist-pit; nor do the Jin rulers' tombs at Qucun Locus III.

<sup>49</sup> Beijing Shi Wenwu Yanjiusuo 1995: 251. Largely on the basis of the presence or absence of waist-pits, the excavators attempt (problematically, in my opinion) to assign separate sections of the Liulihe cemetery to “Shang survivors” and Zhou conquerors.

<sup>50</sup> Zhongguo Kexueyuan Kaogu Yanjiusuo 1962: 115 (waist-pits in 55 tombs—one third of those reported); Zhongguo Shehuikexueyuan Kaogu Yanjiusuo 1999: 36 (30 instances, amounting to 8.6% of vertical-pit tombs reported).

<sup>51</sup> One waist-pit in the tomb of a female (Tomb 1A) at Baoji Locus III (Lu Liancheng and Hu Zhisheng 1988, vol. 1: 272).

<sup>52</sup> Dai Chunyang 2000. For references to other Qin occurrences, see Falkenhausen 2003b: 160, n. 18 and Table A.

<sup>53</sup> Hubei Sheng Jingsha Tielu Kaogudui 1991; Henan Sheng Wenwu Yanjiusuo 1986. Other Chu cases are discussed in Falkenhausen 2003a: 475–76 (for Tomb 14 at Dongyuemiao, see Hubei Sheng Bowuguan 1982: 503; for five cases at Jiudian, see Hubei Sheng Wenwu Kaogu Yanjiusuo 1995: 12).

<sup>54</sup> Han Wei 1986; Mase 1992.

whereas one would assume them to be predominant if they really represented the preferred practice of the respective ruling groups.

Rather than positing a direct link between waist-pits and clan affiliation, therefore, I would propose a more indirect connection. As part of the tomb, waist-pits must have had a specific religious significance, reflecting beliefs and practices that, to judge from their archaeological distribution, were more central to high-élite ideology in Shang than in Zhou times. The animals buried in them might, for instance, have been valued as psychopomps who could guide the spirits of the deceased to the ancestral realm; more generally, the custom may have been linked to some form of shamanistic use of animal vehicles during ritual communication.<sup>55</sup> Anyhow, the decision to construct a tomb with or without a waist-pit may have been up to the religious preferences of the individual (or that individual's post-mortem handlers). If so, the presence of a waist-pit in a Zhou period tomb would not directly signify the buried person's clan affiliation; but past association with the Shang élite may still have been a relevant factor in an individual's decision to include such a feature. This explanation is therefore compatible with the idea that the religious beliefs expressed by the waist-pits, whatever they were, may have had a relatively strong following among people descended from formerly Shang clans at Luoyang and Qufu.

The noted discrepancies in date make comparison between the two places difficult. At Qufu tombs with waist-pit continue well into Eastern Zhou, whereas at Luoyang they end in Middle Western Zhou. Does this reflect political or religious developments (such as attempts to suppress inter-clan differences or certain forms of religious belief) that made themselves felt at the capital, but not in outlying regions? Or are our present impressions no more than the artifact of incomplete data?

## CERAMIC *li* TYPOLOGY

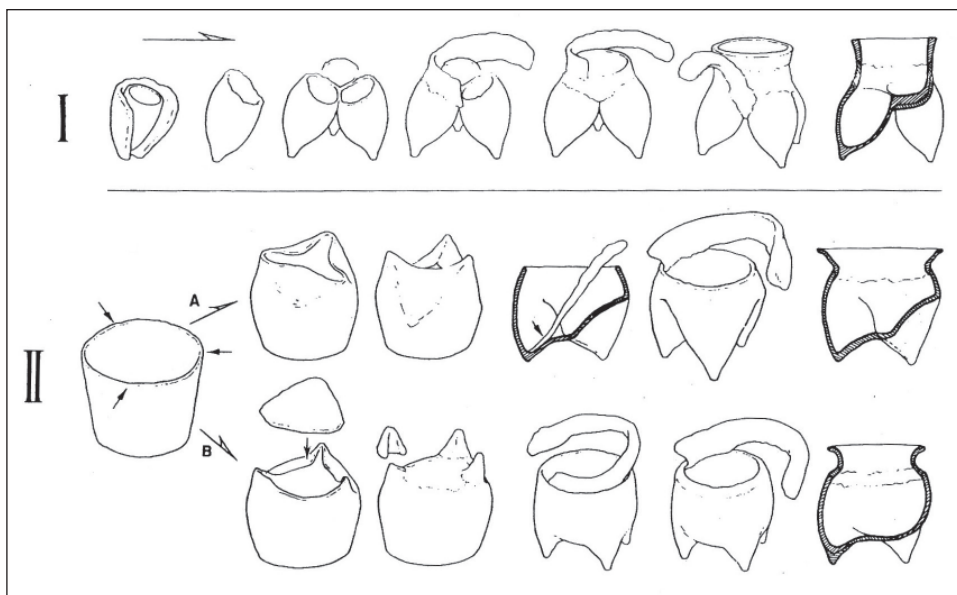
Evaluating the claim that ceramic typology can reflect ethnic difference involves a quite different set of considerations. I shall largely confine this discussion to *li* vessels from Luoyang, though the conclusions also apply, mutatis mutandis, to Qufu and to other vessel types.<sup>56</sup> At the outset, one must recognize the difference between the two most characteristic *li* types of Early Western Zhou date at

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<sup>55</sup> K. C. Chang 1981. The disappearance of *yaokeng* at the capital may perhaps have accompanied the changes in religious ideology pointed out in Chapter One.

<sup>56</sup> Note that, for chronological and possibly geographic reasons, the types of *li* that are regarded as characteristic of "Shang" and "Zhou," respectively, are different for Luoyang and Qufu.





**Fig. 34.** Diagram showing the stages in manufacturing different types of *li* vessels during “proto-Zhou” and Early Western Zhou times. I: *fendangli* with preformed pouch-shaped legs (Liujia); II: *biedangli* with legs obtained by folding the rim of a clay cylinder (Zhengjiapo, Beilü). Shang *fendangli* from Anyang look different from the “proto-Zhou” specimens illustrated here, but their construction principle is the same.

Luoyang—the “Shang” *zheyang fendangli* and the “Zhou” *biedangli* (Fig. 34). To wit, in the *fendangli*, the three pouch-shaped feet are manufactured separately (from slabs of clay or in molds) and then joined at the “crotch;” then either the upper portion is added directly on the wheel, or a prefabricated upper portion is joined onto the three linked feet. By contrast, the *biedangli* is made from a slanted cylindrical tube of clay that is folded into the center at three equidistant points on the wider (lower) end of the tube; three pouch-shaped feet are formed by joining the folded-in portions as shown in Fig. 34 IIA. To seal the vessel bottom, the edges of the three folded portions, which have become the center lines of the pouch-shaped feet, are joined by kneading. The “crotch” in such *li* lies at the midpoints of the three folded portions. The telltale distinguishing feature between the two *li* types—sutures of kneaded clay at the “crotch” in *fendangli* and in the center of the feet in *biedangli*—is impossible to see on most published drawings, though it immediately strikes the eye when one holds a *li* in one’s hand. (Once again, this illustrates the futility of attempting a serious ceramic-based study without access to the original specimens.)

These two *li* types can indeed be shown to originate in different areas. The *fendangli* was the most characteristic type of *li* at Anyang (and in turn

developed from Early Bronze Age Erligang and Erlitou predecessors), whereas the *biedangli* was invented in the Zhou core area in central Shaanxi during the time contemporary with Late Shang, in what archaeologists problematically call the “proto-Zhou culture.”<sup>57</sup> The other principal Western Zhou *li* types encountered in the Luoyang area (see *Fig. 31*) developed from these two: the *liandangli* developed from the *biedangli*, and it too originated in the western parts of the Zhou culture sphere during Early Western Zhou; whereas the *pingdangli* is probably a Western Zhou-period offshoot from the *fendangli* invented locally in the Luoyang area.

The occurrence of *biedangli* and *liandangli* at Luoyang does thus indicate some sort of connection with the Zhou core area, whilst the presence of *fendangli* and *pingdangli* probably reflects developments from Shang earthenware-making traditions. But further interpretation is difficult. We must at absolutely avoid the trap of taking “pots for people.” In principle, all that ceramic typology can reflect directly are the working habits of earthenware-making workshops in a given locality. Such habits are passed down the generations of potters. In some prehistoric societies, where ceramics were produced at the household level, this may have included a wide representation of the population (e.g., all women); in others, these working habits may have been the professional skills of a small group of full-time specialists. The latter scenario is likely for Late Bronze Age China, where the division of labor was advanced.

Ceramics by themselves cannot prove such things as population displacement or cultural influence. In order to deduce the possible meaning of the co-occurrence of ceramic types from different areas, as at the Western Zhou Luoyang, one needs reliable statistics indicating their relative proportions in the entire assemblage. We should like to know, for instance, whether “Shang” and “Zhou” *li* types occur in roughly equal proportions, or whether specimens of one or the other type might be just isolated occurrences. Such data, however, are hard to come by for the Luoyang region. All we have are the figures from the Beiyao cemetery (*Fig. 31*)<sup>58</sup> and two articles reflecting the impressions of Ye Wansong and Yu Fuwei,<sup>59</sup> who, as longterm fieldworkers in the Luoyang area, can be trusted to know the material well.

The sample from Beiyao is small: 348 tombs yielded only 51 *li*, making one suspect that tomb looters did take off with some of the earthenware after all. Only 1 of these was a *biedangli* (datable to Early Western Zhou) and 4 were *liandangli* (assigned to 3 subtypes, all of Middle Western Zhou date), together

<sup>57</sup> Nishie 1994-1995.

<sup>58</sup> Luoyang Shi Wenwu Gongzuodui 1999: 62-64 and 346-47, 349 fig. 177.

<sup>59</sup> Ye Wansong and Yu Fuwei 1985, 1986. Zhang Jian 1993 is useful mostly for its consideration of ceramic assemblages rather than ceramic typology.

making 9.8 percent of the total. By contrast, there are 16 instances of *zhēyan fēndānglǐ* and 20 of *píngdānglǐ*, totaling 70.6 percent. Even though the sample is too small to have statistical value, the percentages may nevertheless indicate very roughly the preponderance of Anyang-derived *li* types over Shaanxi-derived ones in this area, even at sites like Beiyao, which the excavators associate with “Zhou” intruders. In their assessment of Western Zhou-period ceramics from all over the Luoyang region, Ye and Yu come to the same conclusion.<sup>60</sup> They concur that the mainstream ceramic-making tradition in the Luoyang area followed in the mold of the Shang, with Zhou-derived types constituting only a small minority of intrusions. Over time (during Middle and Late Western Zhou), they observe an increasing assimilation, both of vessel shapes and of sets of vessels, to those of the Western Zhou metropolitan area in Shaanxi, but the ceramic types of the two areas never do completely merge. Ye and Yu are quick to point out that this is only what one would expect: in an area so close to the Shang centers and long part of the Shang culture sphere, Shang artisanal traditions would naturally have continued more or less unbroken under the new régime. From this they plausibly conclude that the observed prevalence of “Shang” ceramics does not necessarily have any connection with the presence of “leftover Shang subjects” relocated from Anyang; instead, very probably, it simply reflects the traditions of the local workshops of the Luoyang area, which continued producing after the Zhou conquest.

In such a scenario the Zhou conquerors, after descending on the Luoyang region, would have used the Shang-derived earthenware produced by the local workshops.<sup>61</sup> As long as these vessels met their functional and symbolic needs, they had no need to call for a change in shape. Nor does it appear very likely that the newcomers brought along significant quantities of ceramics from home, given the material’s bulk, weight, fragility, and limited prestige value. At most, one might expect them to have introduced new vessel types reflecting their long-established eating or food-preparation habits, to the extent that they diverged from those of the conquered people. Conversely, the absence of any indications of such a change in the Luoyang area at the transition from Shang to Zhou may

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<sup>60</sup> Ye Wansong and Yu Fuwei 1986: 1110-11.

<sup>61</sup> So far, the evidence from excavated Western Zhou ceramic manufacturing sites in the Luoyang region is very limited: cursory descriptions are available for two kilns at the Beiyao bronze foundry (Luoyang Shi Wenwu Gongzuodui 1983: 432) and for a single kiln on the east bank of the Chan River (Luoyang Shi Diyi Wenwu Gongzuodui 1988), both within what is currently considered to have been the main urban center at that time. The predominantly “Shang” nature of ceramics from the Beiyao foundry site (not all of which were necessarily manufactured there) has been stressed by Ye Wansong (1990: 40-42; Ye Wansong and Yu Fuwei 1985).

be taken to indicate that the foodways of the two groups were quite similar. (This similarity extends to the ritual use of ceramics, e.g., to hold food and drink offerings in tombs.) A sudden burgeoning of “Zhou” *li* types might indicate an end to the local ceramic-making traditions, and the Zhou conquerors bringing in potters from their home area. But that does not seem to have happened. The few “Zhou” vessels seen could have been brought in from Shaanxi (this should, however, be tested through chemical analysis); local potters might have experimented with duplicating or adapting such imported objects, leading to the assimilation processes noted by Ye and Yu; in any case, the typological developments observed were gradual and occurred in tandem with overall changes in the material inventory throughout the Zhou culture sphere.

Qufu presents a slightly different picture, perhaps one of local ceramic workshops producing *li* of a previously unfamiliar type in response to a demand by immigrant customers. The “bronze vessel-imitating *li*” (*fangtongli*) seen in the earliest (Late Western Zhou) Group B tombs at Wangfutai, which are actually *liandangli* with clay “flanges” added on, appear to have their prototypes in areas farther west; they occur, for instance, at Fengxi and Tianma-Qucun (their puzzling absence at Luoyang may be due to the already mentioned chronological gaps in the archaeological sequence there). At Qufu they are not only absent from tombs of Group A, but, significantly, they have never been found at the settlement site. Apparently they were only made as *mingqi* for the specific ritual needs of the lineages whose members were buried at the Group B cemeteries. The predominant type of *li* produced by local workshops, for utilitarian as well as for ritual purposes, was the flange-less “eastern” type with pointed hollow legs. The difference in use and connotation between the two kinds of *li* remains unclear, but the idea that they were made—perhaps at the same workshops—for different clienteles within the local population does carry a certain amount of plausibility.

Ceramic typology rarely permits such glimpses into the preferences (and, possibly, identity) of the *consumers*. More frequently, ceramic types can speak to the geographical, cultural, and social identity of the *producers*. At Luoyang, for instance, the small proportion of earthenware vessels of Shaanxi typological lineage, if confirmed in the light of larger datasets, may indicate something about the social position of Zhou potters: they were not part of the population that moved either in the course of a conquest or in its wake. This is no surprise considering the nature of the potter’s profession, but it is nevertheless of interest to the concerns of this book. The Luoyang ceramic data hint that Western Zhou period potters—perhaps like many artisans in their time—were members of an unfree class whose movements may have been controlled not only by logistical limitations, but also by legal or quasi-legal strictures.

## ASSESSMENT

At the end of this long discussion, it is becoming increasingly clear that archaeology cannot, in principle, be expected to recover categories of clan or ethnic self-identification, nor indeed of lineage self-identification.<sup>62</sup> When inferences can be made, they are always indirect and relative, based on the observable contrasts in the mute archaeological record. In ritual contexts such as tombs, the distribution patterns of certain kinds of material-culture items sometimes do reveal categorizations of human beings. But it is usually difficult to tell what kind of categorization is being made. If a linkage to historically known social or ethnic divisions is to be drawn, it must be rigorously argued for. This has been tried above for Luoyang and Qufu, but with inadequate data. Most worrisome is that, at both places, the binary division of tombs and artifacts into “Shang” and “Zhou” groups still lacks a firm statistical basis. If more systematic research one day confirms that the divisions drawn are indeed valid, it will perhaps give substance to the following still largely hypothetical scenario:

(1) Lineages belonging to clans based in former Shang territory maintained their organizational integrity and their internal hierarchy under the Zhou. (To what extent these were relocated aristocrats from Anyang is uncertain, however.) (2) Members of these lineages were more likely than the immigrants from Shaanxi to perpetuate certain religious customs that had been common under the Shang. (3) On the whole, these lineages, though forming part of the intermarrying core group of Zhou society, tended to be economically disadvantaged and lower-ranking compared with the various branches of the Jī clan and their closest allies. (4) These distinctions eventually disappeared, and they may have done so much earlier at the Luoyang dynastic center than in peripheral areas such as Qufu.

Even if every one of the various proposed differences between the “Shang”- and “Zhou”-centered clan groups unexpectedly turns out to be valid, it must be noted, finally, that they are all rather minute. Although there is no objective measure for the degrees of difference, it is probably correct to state that they are no greater than the differences between lineage-level units within the same clan, such as those between Guo and Jin, discussed in Chapter Two. This, if true, would perhaps confirm that, by Zhou times, inter-clan differences were becoming ever more inconsequential, although at Qufu, the differences between Groups A and B continued beyond the time of the Late Western Zhou Ritual Reform. The reason may be that the differing features observed in the tombs at Qufu did not directly pertain to the ancestral cult, which was the main object of that reform. Overall, in any case, it is clear that the clan-level formations represented by the “Shang”- and “Zhou”-type archaeological

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<sup>62</sup> Boas 1911: 1-11; Hodder 1982.

assemblages shared most of the same material-culture repertoire, obtained their goods from the same workshops, and formed part of the same society. Similar examples of archaeologically traceable minute differences, probably reflecting social distinctions at the clan level, abound in Eastern Zhou times as well. The distinctions between Zhou (Jī clan) and Qin (Ying Clan), for example, will occupy us in the following chapter.

## CODA: A “PROTO-ZHOU” CASE

That material-culture differences between clans may not always have been so minute is suggested by another much-discussed instance, dating from a stage in the history of the Zhou dynasty slightly earlier than the period treated in this book. The instance concerns, once again, the Jī clan of the royal Zhou, this time in its relationship vis-à-vis the Jiang clan. Tradition has it that during the time contemporary with the Late Shang dynasty, the two clans resided in close proximity to each other in what is now central Shaanxi. Various lineages of the Jiang clan were allies of the Zhou in their overthrow of the Shang, and the Zhou royal house exchanged brides with them from generation to generation throughout dynastic times. A Jī-Jiang intermarriage pattern also prevailed among several local ruling lineages. This long-enduring social practice periodically reenacted the myth of the Jī clan’s legendary founding hero Hou Jī and his mother Jiang Yuan, a Jiang-clan woman.<sup>63</sup>

Recently, archaeologists have attempted to reconstruct the early relationship between these two clans on the basis of excavated data. Their clues come from the tendentiously named “proto-Zhou Culture”—more probably a conglomerate of distinct archaeological cultures or phases—that flourished in the latter-day Zhou metropolitan area in central Shaanxi during the time contemporaneous with the Late Shang.<sup>64</sup> Excavations at “proto-Zhou” sites have yielded two extremely different types of *li* (Fig. 35), which some local archaeologists have come to identify, respectively, with the Jī and Jiang clans.<sup>65</sup> The alleged “Jī clan *li*,” the forerunner of the *biedangli* discussed above, was found at the settlement site of Zhengjiapo in Wugong county,<sup>66</sup> and at the

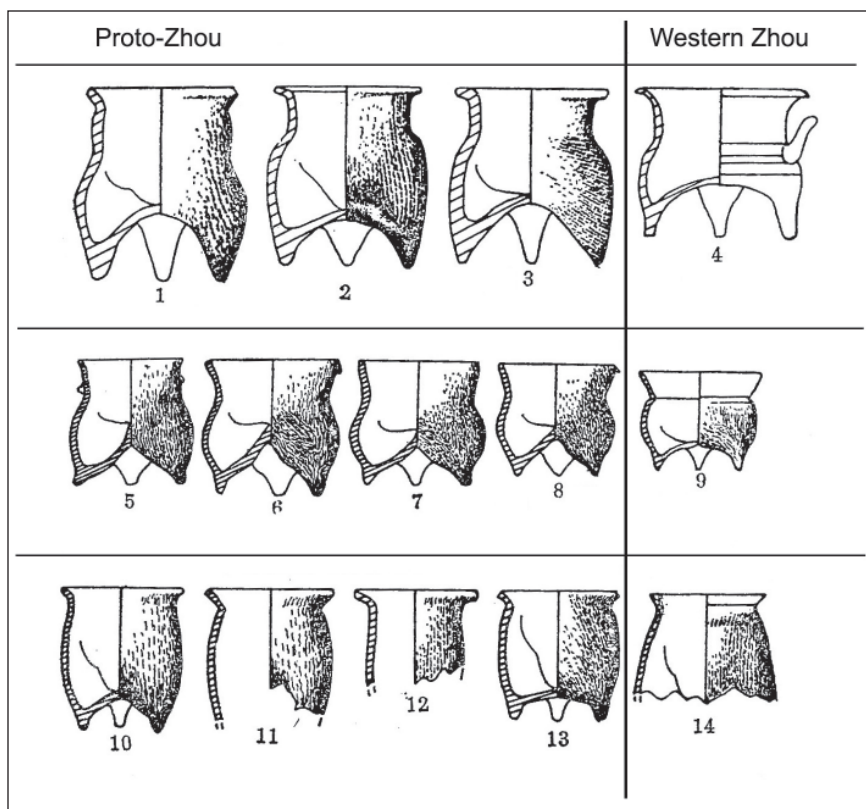
<sup>63</sup> See *Shi jing* “Da Ya: Shengmin” (*Shisanjing zhushu* 17.1, pp. 528-532).

<sup>64</sup> Among a voluminous literature on this subject, I recommend Zou Heng 1980: 297-356; Li Feng 1991; Sun Hua 1994; Iijima 1998: 18-86; and particularly Hu Qianying 2000. For linguistic considerations concerning the clan names Jī and Jiang, see Pulleyblank 2000.

<sup>65</sup> See, for instance, Wang Zhankui 1993; Lu Liancheng 1993; Liu Junshe 1994 (and see references in n. 64).

<sup>66</sup> Baoji Shi Kaogu Gongzuodui 1984.





**Fig. 35.** “Proto-Zhou” *li* ceramic vessels and their Early Western Zhou descendants. Upper row: *biedangli*; 1, 2: Beilü, Fufeng (Shaanxi); 3: Hejiacun, Qishan (Shaanxi); 4: Beiyao, Luoyang (Henan). Second row: *fendangli*; 5-8: Liujia, Fufeng (Shaanxi); 9: Dongguan, Luoyang (Henan). Third row: local type of *fendangli*; 10-12: Zhengjiapo, Wugong (Shaanxi); 13: Nanmiao, Wugong (Shaanxi); 14: Beiyao, Luoyang (Henan).

cemetery of Beilü in Fufeng county.<sup>67</sup> The “Jiang clan *li*,” characterized by extremely pronounced, separately preformed pouch-shaped legs, was first identified at the cemetery of Liujia in Fufeng county.<sup>68</sup> The distribution areas of these two distinctive kinds of vessels overlap, covering a relatively small area in the Middle Wei River system. Yet each site exclusively or very predominantly yielded *li* of only one of the two types, and the presence of either the one or the other type of *li* correlates with pronounced differences in the material inventory, indicating different living habits and religious customs and justifying their assignment to distinct archaeological complexes (phases or cultures). It is not yet clear whether these two complexes are exactly contemporaneous. What we

<sup>67</sup> Luo Xizhang 1995.

<sup>68</sup> Shaanxi Zhouyuan Kaogudui 1984.



do know is that they are derived from different geographical origins: whereas Zhengjiapo is based in a local Shaanxi sequence and linked to ceramic traditions to the north and northwest, Liujia seems to be an offshoot of a cultural tradition originating farther to the west, in eastern and central Gansu, where some authorities would see the origins of the Qiang tribes and the Jiang clan. If the two complexes are indeed contemporaneous, they might indicate the simultaneous coexistence, within the Plain of Zhou during the time preceding the founding of the Zhou dynasty, of two distinctive groups. It is premature at this point to judge the validity of the suggested clan identifications.<sup>69</sup> In the following chapter, I shall argue that contrasts of such order are likely to reflect differences between ethnic groups rather than merely between clans.

That the Ji and the Jiang had indeed been distinct ethnic groups during the time contemporary with the Shang dynasty is also suggested by the Shang Oracle Bone Inscriptions, where the term Qiang (probably a synonym of Jiang) appears as a designation of an alien group in the west, the preferred source of human victims, and a quintessential “Other” of the Shang. Later on, not least due to hereditary intermarriage with such intermediary groups as the pre-dynastic Zhou, the Jiang—or at least some lineages thereof—were integrated into the social fabric of their eastern neighbors. Some day it may become possible to pinpoint with greater exactitude the time when this happened. That part of the ethnic group that gave rise to the Jiang clan remained outside the Zhou social framework is indicated by the continuous use of the term Qiang to designate “alien” ethnic groups during later historic times; even today, the government of the People’s Republic of China recognizes a “Qiang minority” in the mountains of Sichuan.<sup>70</sup>

After the founding of the Zhou kingdom and throughout its existence, at any rate, the relationship between Ji and Jiang was that of intermarrying clans within the framework of the Zhou segmentary lineage society. I know of no convenient archaeological instantiation of Ji-Jiang differences in the time after the founding

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<sup>69</sup> Hu Qianying 1993, based on his study of the finds from Nianzipo, Changwu (Zhongguo Shehuikexueyuan Kaogu Yanjiusuo Jing Wei Gongzuodui 1989), which most of the writers listed in nn. 64 and 65 ignore, delivers the most convincing criticisms of this binary scheme.

<sup>70</sup> Text-based accounts of this issue include Fu Sinian 1930; Gu Jiegang 1980; Ren Naiqiang 1984. For studies attempting to identify the Qiang in the archaeological record, see Yu Weichao 1979; 1983; Zhou Qingming 1984. Sophisticated anthropological assessments may be found in Wang Mingke 1992, 1997. Divergent from the consensus of scholars, Pulleyblank (2000) denies that Jiang and Qiang are related words, arguing instead for the identity of Jiang and Ji (see also Introduction to Part II, n. 7). I remain unconvinced by Pulleyblank’s argument.

of the Zhou dynasty. Even Zhang Xuehai, who tries to demonstrate the existence of fundamental differences in material culture between Lu (Jī clan) and Qi (Jiang clan) in Shandong,<sup>71</sup> is constrained to admit that differences between sites within either polity are sometimes as pronounced as his alleged inter-polity differences, if not more so.<sup>72</sup> Overall, the material culture of the Shandong area during Zhou times seems quite uniform, and any differences that do exist do not seem to correlate with the clan affiliations of the ruling houses. Although this impression may be due to inadequate data, it may also be the case that, in the early period represented by the “proto-Zhou culture,” inter-clan differences were larger than later on. If so, the comparison of Jī-Jiang relations during the “proto-Zhou” phase with this chapter’s findings concerning Jī-Zi relations at Luoyang and Qufu would signify that the nature of inter-clan relationships changed as Zhou society became more unified over time.

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<sup>71</sup> For a tabulation of Lu-Qi dynastic marriages during the Springs and Autumns period, see K. C. Chang 1976: 91.

<sup>72</sup> Zhang Xuehai 1989; see also Cui Lequan 1992.

## CHAPTER FIVE

# ETHNIC CONTRASTS WITHIN THE ZHOU CULTURE SPHERE (CA. 1050-350 BC)

WE SHALL NOW consider archaeological remains that have been associated in some way with members of non-Zhou ethnic groups (or *nations*, as used in designating the “Indian Nations” of the United States) whose members were living in close proximity to the lineage-centered polities of the Zhou. Such interspersed non-state populations are a common phenomenon in ancient states as well as in the modern world. A visitor to Jerusalem today may well encounter a makeshift encampment of bedouins right next to the campus of the Hebrew University. In India, hunter-gatherer groups still live side by side with—and largely oblivious of—the mainstream voting public of the modern nation. And in the island of Honshū, unassimilated mountain tribes coexisted (sometimes not at all peacefully) with the institutions of the Japanese state until well into the Middle Ages. In China as well, the presence of “alien” groups within the Zhou culture sphere is attested for the Late Bronze Age;<sup>1</sup> even today, “national minorities” (now mostly integrated into the modern nation state) continue to inhabit not only the outer regions, but also many areas within China proper, especially in the south.

Like their colleagues around the world, Chinese archaeologists believe that contrasts between ethnic groups are directly reflected in the material record.<sup>2</sup> Although recent advances in the theory of ethnicity suggest the unlikelihood of any connection remotely so simple,<sup>3</sup> the thesis understandably captures strong popular interest. A study such as the present one cannot ignore it. Rather than rehearsing generalities, I shall discuss concrete archaeological evidence relevant to the issue. In order to define some parameters for an archaeological discussion of ethnic differences in a Chinese context, the present chapter will consider examples from the northwestern part of the Zhou culture sphere. Chapter Six,

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<sup>1</sup> See Introduction to Part II, n. 2.

<sup>2</sup> This belief was articulated with particular confidence by the late Professor Yu Weichao, and it informs his now-classic studies on the archaeology of the southern and western borderlands of the Zhou culture sphere (collected in Yu Weichao 1985).

<sup>3</sup> Jones 1997; Hodder 1982.

which is mainly concerned with changes in ethnic affiliation over time, will extend the discussion to the eastern and southern areas.

## “ALIENS” AT THE ZHOU AND JIN CAPITALS DURING WESTERN ZHOU

*Occupants of Catacomb Tombs at Zhangjiapo.* One possible instance of inter-ethnic differences may be observed at Zhangjiapo, an extensive necropolis adjacent to Feng, one of the Western Zhou twin capitals near present-day Xi'an.<sup>4</sup> From 1983 to 1986, 365 tombs, 3 horse-and-chariot pits, and 22 horse pits were excavated there from two parcels totaling approximately 3.3 hectares. These finds undoubtedly constitute the entire archaeological record in the excavated area, but that area comprises only a fraction of the entire cemetery, the actual size of which is unreported. Consequently, any statistics based on the published data are of dubious value, as we do not know what percentage of the total number of tombs at the cemetery they represent, or whether the quantitative distributions of traits and features observed are representative for the cemetery as a whole. Still, these data reflect cultural contrasts possibly due to differences in ethnic affiliation.

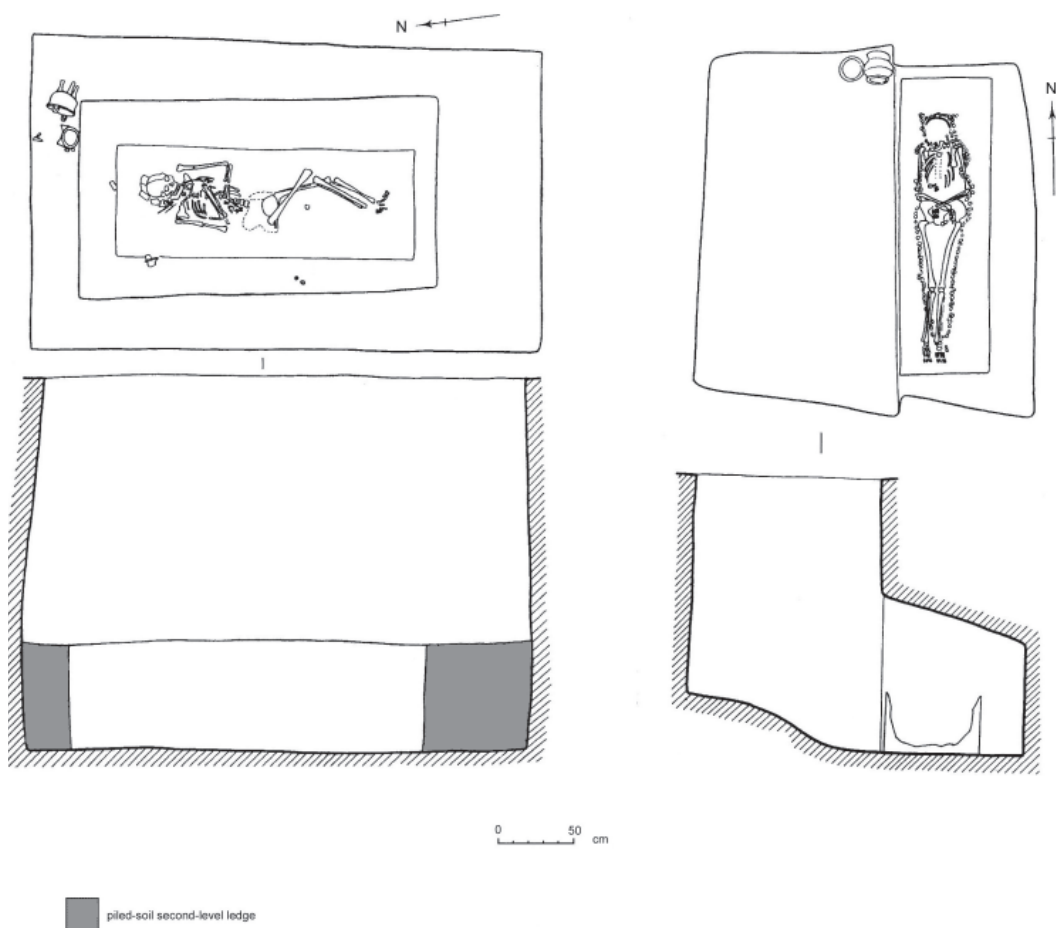
Such differences are manifested most clearly in the shapes of tombs. The largest tomb excavated at Zhangjiapo (Tomb 157) was a vertical-pit tomb with two sloping entry ramps (*mudao*). Inscribed bronzes attest that its occupant was a marquis of Xíng, a lineage of the Jī clan related to the royal house, one female member of which we encountered in Chapter Two as the wife of a ruler of Yu.<sup>5</sup> Many of the surrounding tombs presumably belonged to members of the Xíng lineage as well. The vast majority of the tombs at Zhangjiapo were, like Tomb 157, vertical-pit tombs, but without sloping ramps, just like those we have encountered in previous chapters, e.g., at Tianma-Qucun and Shangma; that was the predominant type of tomb in China from Neolithic times through the Qin unification. But Zhangjiapo also included a small number of catacomb tombs: tombs in which the coffin is placed in a chamber dug laterally into one side of a vertical pit (*Fig. 36*). Twenty-one tombs of this type were excavated in 1983-86, constituting 5.8 percent of the total number excavated.<sup>6</sup> Twenty

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<sup>4</sup> Two archaeological monographs have been published on Zhangjiapo: Zhongguo Kexueyuan Kaogu Yanjiusuo 1962 and Zhongguo Shehuikexueyuan Kaogu Yanjiusuo 1999; the present analysis is concerned with material from the latter report.

<sup>5</sup> For basic references concerning Xíng, see Chapter Two, n. 59.

<sup>6</sup> Both the excavation report and Liang Xingpeng 1996 give the percentage of catacomb tombs as 5.4%; this misleadingly counts the 25 horse-and-chariot pits as part of the total number of tombs. In any case, this is not a statistically useful figure since it is not clear how large a portion of the original cemetery was excavated, or whether the proportion of catacomb tombs is similar throughout the entire cemetery.



**Fig. 36.** Principal tomb types at Zhangjiapo, Chang'an (Shaanxi). Left: Pit tomb (Tomb 215). Right: Catacomb tomb (Tomb 145). Early Western Zhou period.

of these are located relatively close together, and nine of them form a cluster without any vertical-pit tombs in between.<sup>7</sup>

By closing off the horizontal chambers of catacomb tombs with wooden boards or, more frequently, with mats, their builders rendered them functionally analogous to wooden burial chambers in vertical-pit tombs. In light of our considerations in Chapter Three, where burial chambers are shown to be indicators of aristocratic rank, this suggests that the occupants of catacomb tombs occupied a relatively high social position, superior to that of people buried in vertical-pit tombs without burial chambers. The contents of the catacomb tombs are comparable to those of other small to medium-size tombs at Zhangjiapo. Some yielded ritual bronzes

<sup>7</sup> Liang Xingpeng 1996.

and horse-and-chariot fittings, and almost all contained ceramic vessels identical in their shapes to those found in the vertical-pit tombs, making it possible to fit them into the cemetery-wide dating sequence (they range from the latter part of Early Western Zhou through the beginning of Late Western Zhou, with most dating from Middle Western Zhou). The grouping of vessel types (*Table 21*), however, differs from those seen in contemporaneous vertical-pit tombs. Together with the idiosyncratic tomb form of the tombs and the clustering pattern observed, their ceramic assemblages seem to indicate that these twenty-one tombs were constructed by or for a social group with funerary customs that differed systematically from those of the Zhou mainstream, here represented by the Xíng lineage.<sup>8</sup>

Catacomb tombs are commonly seen in the Neolithic and Bronze Age cultures of areas to the west of central Shaanxi—in Gansu, Ningxia, and Qinghai, as well as farther afield in Xinjiang and Central Eurasia (*Map 10*).<sup>9</sup> Each of these archaeological cultures has a highly distinctive material inventory, and none of them is considered to have been ancestral to that of the Zhou. The suggestion that the Zhangjiapo catacomb tombs may be connected to one of the non-Zhou ethnic groups in these areas therefore seems plausible, though with the evidence still incomplete, we cannot say to which of the various westerly “Barbarian” groups whose names are known from historical texts they may have belonged. Liang Xingpeng links the Zhangjiapo catacomb tombs to the geographically closest of such tombs so far recorded, at the “proto-Zhou” site of Liujia in the Plain of Zhou, which has already been mentioned in the coda to Chapter Four.<sup>10</sup> He regards Liujia as a local manifestation of the Xindian culture, which flourished mainly in eastern Gansu from the second

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<sup>8</sup> One would be tempted to assume that intermarriage played a role in integrating this group into the Zhou mainstream; if so, one might expect a majority of women among the occupants of the catacomb tombs. The data, unfortunately, do not speak meaningfully to this issue. One of the catacomb-tomb occupants was sexed as a woman (Tomb 215), another as a man (Tomb 183); one other case may be tentatively presented as the tomb of a woman on the basis of a bronze inscription (Tomb 284). Apparently, none of the others yielded data amenable to the identification of sex.

<sup>9</sup> Xie Duanju 1987.

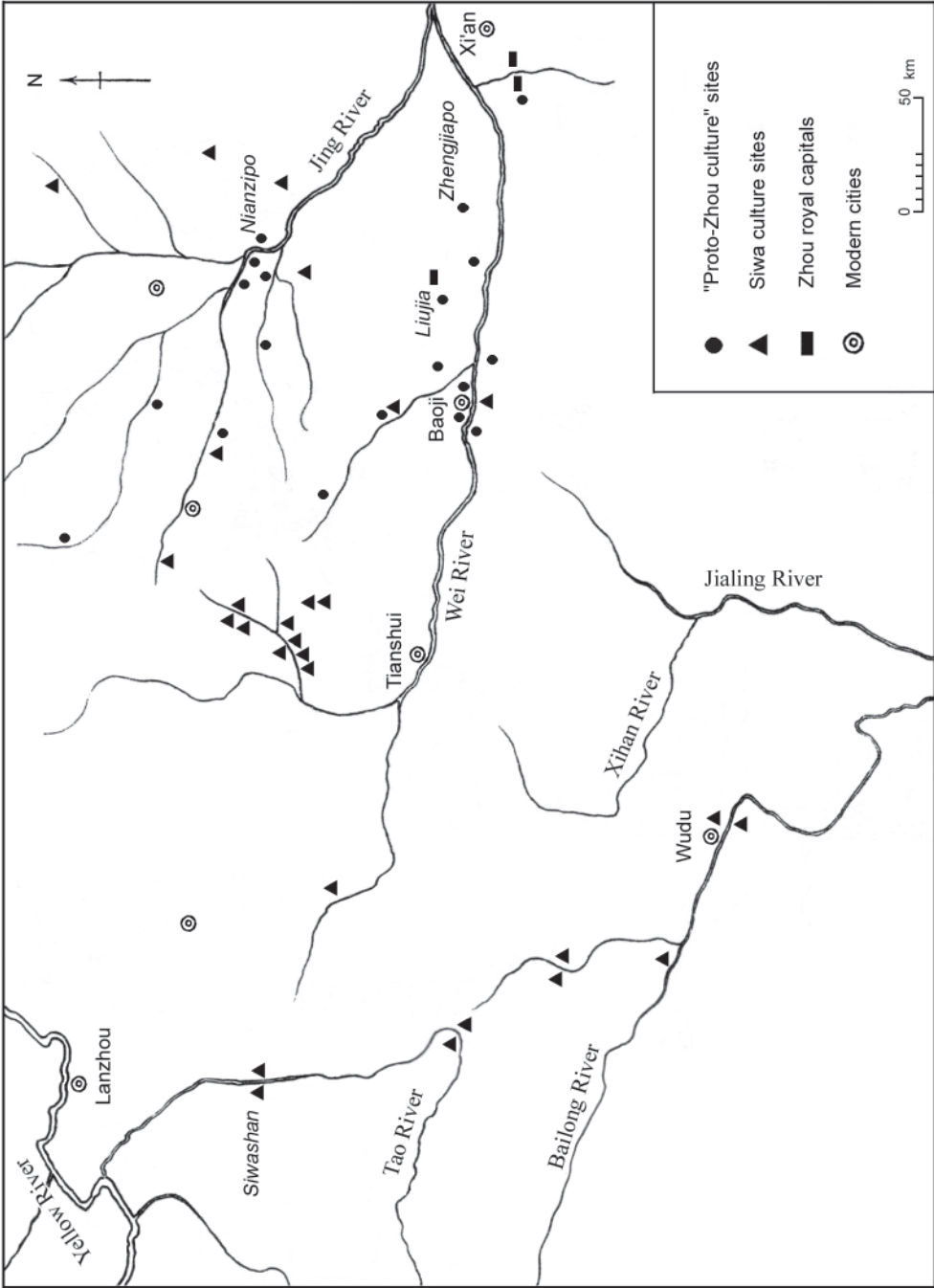
<sup>10</sup> Liang Xingpeng 1996: 457–59. On Liujia, see Shaanxi Zhouyuan Kaogudui 1984. I agree with Liang Xingpeng’s acceptance of Hu Qianying’s (1993) strongly held view that Liujia is not directly ancestral to Western Zhou and that Western Zhou probably descends from the Nianzipo Phase. If so, the occurrence of two catacomb tombs among the approximately 200 tombs at the “proto-Zhou” Nianzipo cemetery in Changwu (Shaanxi) (Zhongguo Shehuikexueyuan Kaogu Yanjiusuo Jing Wei Gongzuodui 1989) might be interpreted as an earlier instance of the same social phenomenon that is observable at Zhangjiapo.

Table 21. Vessel Assemblages in the 21 Catacomb Tombs at the Xing Linage Cemetery at Zhangjiapo, Chang'an (Shanxi)

<b>Tomb</b>	<b>136</b>	<b>285</b>	<b>113</b>	<b>114</b>	<b>141</b>	<b>183</b>	<b>215</b>	<b>283</b>	<b>284</b>	<b>106</b>	<b>107</b>	<b>109</b>	<b>111</b>	<b>112</b>	<b>120</b>	<b>259</b>	<b>115</b>	<b>275</b>	<b>273</b>	<b>282</b>	<b>309</b>
Period	1	1	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	4	4	?	?	?
FOOD VESSELS																					
<i>ding</i>		1				2			1	1				1							
<i>bi</i>	(1)	(1)	(1)	(1)		(1)	(1)		(1)	(1)	(1)	(1)	(1)	(1)	1(1)	(1)		(1)			
<i>yun</i>						1															
<i>gui</i>		1			(1)	1			1	(1)											
LIQUOR CONTAINERS AND DRINKING VESSELS																					
<i>jue</i>						1															1
<i>bi</i>																					
WATER CONTAINERS/WASHING VESSELS																					
<i>pan</i>	(1)						(1)			(1)							(1)		(1)		
<i>guan</i>				(1)						(1)	(1)	(1)			(1)						
<b>TOTALS</b>	<b>(2)</b>	<b>2(1)</b>	<b>(1)</b>	<b>(2)</b>	<b>(1)</b>	<b>5(1)</b>	<b>(2)</b>	<b>./.</b>	<b>2(1)</b>	<b>1(3)</b>	<b>(2)</b>	<b>(2)</b>	<b>(1)</b>	<b>1(1)</b>	<b>1(2)</b>	<b>(1)</b>	<b>(1)</b>	<b>1(2)</b>	<b>./.</b>	<b>./.</b>	<b>./.</b>

Figures in brackets are for ceramics, unbracketed figures for bronzes.





Map 10. Western Zhou-period cultural configurations in the northwestern periphery of the Chinese culture area.

half of the second through about the middle of the first millennium BC,<sup>11</sup> and he argues (following Xie Duanju) that both Liujia and the catacomb tombs at Zhangjiapo belonged to the Qiang tribes from whom the Jiang clan was supposedly descended (see Chapter Four).<sup>12</sup> The Liujia catacomb tombs, however, predate the earliest instances at Zhangjiapo by a century, and the nearest currently known catacomb tombs approximately contemporaneous with those at Zhangjiapo are located much farther away, at sites of the Shajing culture in the Hexi corridor of west-central Gansu.<sup>13</sup> In their material inventory, moreover, both Liujia and Shajing differ completely from Zhangjiapo, as well as from one another. Neither Liujia nor Shajing show any evidence of political and social institutions even remotely comparable in their complexity to those of the Zhou kingdom during Western Zhou times.

Whoever the sponsors of catacomb tombs may have been, the probability that their ethnic origin differed from that of the Zhou core lineages seems relatively strong—not so much because the differences between the two tomb types are striking (although they are indeed far less subtle than those between “Shang” and “Zhou” tombs at Luoyang and Qufu, discussed in Chapter Four), but because of the archaeologically traceable parallels with phenomena in faraway and culturally distinct areas. Especially important is the difference in the level of social complexity between the areas under comparison. At the same time, it should be emphasized that the occupants of the Zhangjiapo catacomb tombs used the same material-culture items as their contemporaries in the vertical-pit tombs nearby, albeit in different constellations. These include status differentiators such as nested coffins (1 instance) and ritual bronzes (seen in 6 of the 21 tombs), some of which are inscribed (6 vessels, from 3 tombs). In keeping with our considerations in Chapter Four, the occurrence of locally made ceramic types, albeit in slightly idiosyncratic combinations, should not be surprising.<sup>14</sup> Their owners, even if they were members of a non-Zhou tribal group dwelling among the Zhou metropolitan population, must have been closely integrated within the Zhou elite structure. Their burial in close proximity to the Xíng lineage members

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<sup>11</sup> On the Xindian culture, see Nan Yuquan 1989; Zhang Xuezheng et al. 1993.

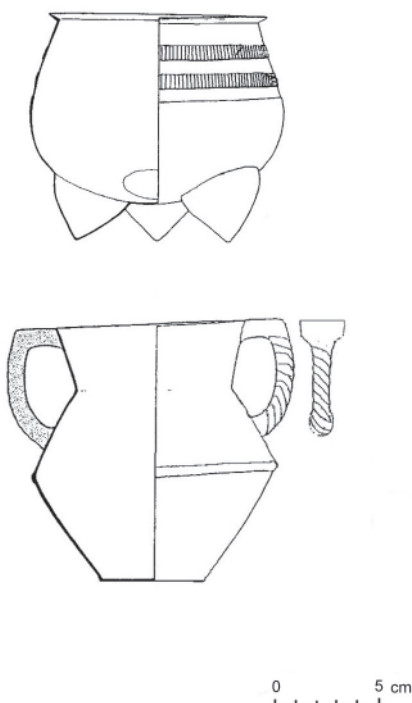
<sup>12</sup> Xie Duanju 1990.

<sup>13</sup> E.g., at Hamadong, Xigang, and Chaiwangang in Yongchang (Gansu); see Gansu Sheng Wenwu Kaogu Yanjiusuo 1990: 216-21; 2001.

<sup>14</sup> To the contrary, it would be surprising if non-Zhou minority residents of the Feng capital had lugged their own distinctive ceramics to Feng from their former home areas, or established their own stylistically distinct ceramics workshops at Feng. It is far more plausible that they used, and perhaps slightly adapted, the kinds of ceramic vessels that were locally available at Feng.

of the royal Zhou Jī clan indicates this also. Perhaps, in their time, the use of catacomb tombs represented a symbolic facet of a remembered ethnic difference that had already become very nearly inconsequential.

*Owners of Exotic Vessels at Qucun.* Another possible instance of ethnic difference in a Western Zhou-period élite context has been pointed out by Chen Fangmei in her analysis of the bronze assemblage from Tomb 113 at the Jin rulers' cemetery of Qucun Locus III.<sup>15</sup> Her conclusion depends, not on an archaeological feature such as tomb structure, but on the presence of exotic artifacts. Tomb 113, roughly datable to the mid-tenth century BC and one among a cluster of what might be the earliest Jin rulers' tombs at the cemetery, includes two bronze vessels of types that are not ordinarily seen among Shang or Zhou ritual paraphernalia (Table 9): the three-footed urn (*sanzuweng*) and the double-handled jar (*shuang'erguan*) (Fig. 37). As ceramic vessels, these



**Fig. 37.** Bronze *sanzuweng* and *shuang'erguan* from Tomb 113 at Beizhao (Qucun Locus III), Quwo (Shanxi). Probably early to mid-tenth century BC.

<sup>15</sup> Chen Fangmei 2002: 159-64; 2005: 15-26.

two types were well established among the farmers and pastoralists, both sedentary, who flourished in the transitional zone between the agricultural core of China proper and the Central Eurasian steppes (Shanxi, southern Inner Mongolia, and northern Shaanxi).<sup>16</sup> The archaeological cultures associated with these populations go back to the Late Neolithic and the Early Bronze Age—many centuries before any part of this area came under the control of polities governed by lineages of the Jī clan, and before any indications of urban civilization, an aristocratic rank order, or ancestral ritual ever became locally manifest. Noting that Tomb 113 was occupied by a female, Chen suggests that she may have been a member of a non-Zhou tribe who was married to a ruler of Jin, and that these two vessels reflect this identity. One might speculate that, since bronze specimens of these vessel types have never been found in the cultures where their ceramic prototypes originated, the two specimens from Tomb 113 were made at the Jin foundries in imitation of ceramics the tomb occupant had brought from her home. Chen notes that a small number of ceramic specimens of these two exotic vessel types have also turned up at Zhou lineage cemeteries such as Tianma-Qucun and Zhangjiapo, predominantly (as far as can be told) in tombs of females. In all cases, they were combined with standard Zhou funerary items.

As with the catacomb tombs at Zhangjiapo, the claim that these objects represent the presence of non-Zhou “aliens” is based mainly on the archaeological links with remote and culturally distinct areas. To this one might add the consideration that neither *sanzuweng* nor *shuang’erguan* fulfilled a function that could not have been easily accomplished by established vessel types of the Zhou ceramic repertoire. This suggests that their significance in Zhou contexts was symbolic rather than utilitarian and increases the likelihood that they served to signify the possessor’s ethnic origin.

*Discussion.* Finds such as these may point to instances of intermarriage not only among the clans within the Zhou core population, but between the Zhou and ethnically distinct groups (even though, as observed in Chapter Four, the distinction between clans and ethnic groups was not always clear-cut early on). Moreover, their occurrence at high-ranking lineage cemeteries like Zhangjiapo and Qucun Locus III shows that sometimes such ties were wrought at an elevated social level, perhaps for political reasons. Presumably, “alien” spouses would have been accompanied by a retinue of members of their own group of origin; consequently, elite settlements such as the Western Zhou capital of Feng may have had something approaching a cosmopolitan atmosphere. At least this seems possible for Early and Middle Western Zhou times. Later, even though the textual record attests occasional elite marriages transcending the

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<sup>16</sup> This is discussed, in a different context, by Lu Liancheng 1993.

boundaries of the Zhou lineage society, the archaeological evidence for such diversity becomes much less clear, as we shall see below.

In both Western Zhou examples discussed, as the distinctions manifest in both cases concern ritual behavior, an ethnic interpretation cannot be presented with complete confidence. It remains conceivable that some members of the indigenous Zhou core lineages at Feng, for instance, changed their mode of burial for religious or other reasons, or, at the Jin capital, took a collector's interest in exotic objects. In the future DNA analysis of skeletal evidence might prove useful for checking the descent of associated individuals. At present, however, the spatial, chronological, and quantitative distributions of material-culture features are the only indicators on which an archaeological analysis of ethnic differences can rely. Such differences should be more easily recognizable when the patterns apparent from these distributions coincide with differences in lifeways. We shall encounter a possible Eastern Zhou instance of this presently. But even here, what the record shows is the ancient population's material universe and not its ethnic self-identification. The inference as to the latter is always an indirect one, and there is some residual danger that our final assessment may be influenced by our knowledge of the transmitted texts.

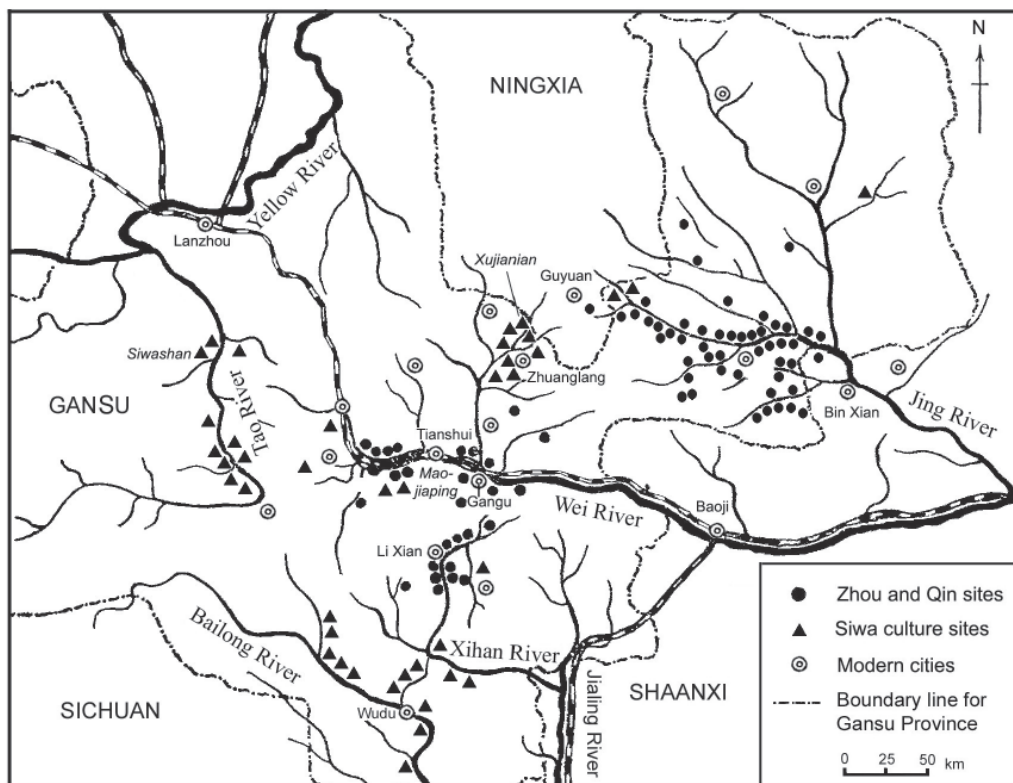
The rest of this chapter concerns finds from the Qin polity, which established its power base in the former Zhou metropolitan centers in Shaanxi following the removal of the royal house to Luoyang in 771 BC. Given that the Qin ruling group is often held, albeit by no means unanimously, to have originated from one of the "alien" groups to the northwest of the Zhou, its part of Eastern Zhou-period China is an especially appropriate arena in which to pursue our search for material indicators of ethnic differences. Below, we shall investigate two interlinked problems: How can we differentiate the Qin core population from resident "strangers in their midst," whose status may have resembled that of the catacomb-tomb occupants at Zhangjiapo during Western Zhou times? And what archaeological clues might elucidate Qin's own ethnic affiliation?

## EASTERN ZHOU-PERIOD QIN TOMBS

The Wei River basin, the political core first of the Zhou kingdom until 771 BC and then of the Qin polity during Eastern Zhou times, is situated in the north-western borderlands of China proper (*Map 11*). It was, and has remained until fairly recent centuries, a multiethnic region, and the coexistence of a variety of material-culture complexes during prehistoric and early historic times suggests that such a situation also prevailed here in the distant past.<sup>17</sup>

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<sup>17</sup> Some preliminary observations on this issue have been presented in the final portion of Chapter Four in connection with the "proto-Zhou culture"; q.v. for further references.



**Map 11.** Cultural configurations in eastern Gansu during early Eastern Zhou times. (Note: sites in adjacent parts of Shaanxi and Ningxia are not indicated.)

The Qin, like the Zhou before them, appear to have arisen among local populations originally quite unaffected by the complex, agrarian-based, proto-urban (later fully urban) civilization that was flourishing along the middle and lower reaches of the Yellow River since the third millennium BC. Even so, one must emphasize that during Eastern Zhou, Qin was one of the leading local polities *within* the Zhou culture sphere and a major dynamo of its expansion into formerly “Barbarian” territories (see Chapter Six). Still, during the same period, non-Zhou tribal people were present in Qin territory. In order to spot their possible remains in the archaeological record, it is necessary first to establish a basis of comparison. To see how the Zhou ritual standards were usually applied in Eastern Zhou-period Qin, we shall briefly review data from normal Qin tombs, which constitute the overwhelming majority of Eastern Zhou-period mortuary evidence so far known in the Wei River basin. We shall then

discuss a single tomb that, although located in the same area and dated to the same period, yielded a completely different inventory of funerary goods.<sup>18</sup>

Normal Qin tombs occur in cemeteries—presumably, lineage cemeteries—similar to those discussed in the preceding chapters. These cemeteries are mostly located in the vicinity of the capitals of the day, possibly indicating sizable population shifts whenever Qin relocated its political center, as it did five times between ca. 750 and 350 BC. Like other Zhou-period cemeteries, Qin cemeteries comprise mostly vertical-pit tombs, whose different constellations of coffins and burial chambers possibly indicate social divisions within lineages. They also contain assemblages of bronze and/or ceramic vessels which may likewise correlate—albeit not always simply—with the lineage rank of the deceased (*Table 22*).

Qin tombs differ in two respects from Eastern Zhou-period tombs elsewhere in the Zhou culture sphere: they are overwhelmingly oriented east-west rather than north-south, and they feature flexed rather than extended burial (*Fig. 38*). These idiosyncrasies have been taken as markers of an alien ethnic identity of the Qin people.<sup>19</sup> And indeed it is impressive to observe how the predominant tomb orientation at central Shaanxi cemeteries suddenly shifted by 90 degrees at the transition from Western to Eastern Zhou, when the Qin took over the area from the royal Zhou (*Map 12*). But neither east-west orientation nor flexed burial was limited to Eastern Zhou-period Qin. At Qucun Locus II during Western Zhou, for instance, fully 42.8 percent of skeletons in tombs were oriented either east or west, and flexed burial occurred in 16.1 percent of all tombs;<sup>20</sup> later, as well, both features occurred as minority practices in areas well beyond the political boundaries of Qin.<sup>21</sup> In light of what we know about the historical situation at the time, it would seem unwise to claim that the spread of such features indicates a substantial Qin ethnic presence in areas

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<sup>18</sup> The following presentation is partly adapted from Falkenhausen 2003b (q.v. for comprehensive references). Major studies of Qin tombs (and, more broadly, of “Qin culture”) include Han Wei 1981; Ye Xiaoyan 1982; Shang Zhiru 1983; Chen Ping 1984; Okamura 1985; Huang Xiaofen 1991; Wang Xueli et al. 1994: 254-325; Xu Pingfang 1999; Teng Mingyu 2002.

<sup>19</sup> E.g., by Yu Weichao 1979; Liu Qingzhu 1982; Zhao Huacheng 1987; 1989; Gong Qiming and Hu Lingui 1990; Huang Xiaofen 1991.

<sup>20</sup> Beijing Daxue Kaoguxue Xi Shang Zhou Zu and Shanxi Sheng Kaogu Yanjiusuo 2000, vol. 2: 297-98.

<sup>21</sup> For additional discussion see Huang Xiaofen 1991, who opines (unnecessarily, I believe) that the occurrence of these features indicates the presence of ethnically Qin individuals. Han Wei 1980, indefensibly in my opinion (see Falkenhausen 2003: 135-48), interprets flexed burial as a marker of political subservience.



Table 22. Bronze Assemblages at Eastern Zhou-Period Qin Cemeteries in the Wei River Basin. (Continues on next page.)

PROVINCE	ShX	GS	ShX	ShX	ShX	ShX	ShX	ShX	ShX	ShX	ShX	ShX
COUNTY	Baoji	Lingtai	Long Xian	Long Xian	Baoji	Baoji	Nanyangcun	Nanyangcun	Hu Xian	Hu Xian	Hu Xian	Hu Xian
SITE	Jiangchengbu	Jingjiazhuang	Bianjiazhuang	Bianjiazhuang	Nanyangcun	Nanyangcun	Nanyangcun	Nanyangcun	Songcun	Cuijiabu	Cuijiabu	Cuijiabu
Tomb	?	1	5	1	?	3	1	3	3	74	82	
Condition	ECQ	ECQ	ECQ	ECQ	E/MCQ	E/MCQ	MCQ	MCQ	MCQ	MCQ	MCQ	
Date	?	1+1	1+1	1+1	?	1+1	1+1	1+1	?	1+1	1+1	
FOOD VESSELS												
<i>ding</i>	3	3	5	6	3	5(5)	5	5	5	7	7	
<i>liandangding</i>												
<i>yan</i>	2	1	1	1	2	(4)	1	4	4	6	6	
<i>gai</i>			4	4								
<i>pen/yu/cheng</i>												
<i>dai</i>												
<i>dou</i>												
<i>he*</i>												
LIQUOR CONTAINERS												
rectangular <i>bi</i>	2		2	2	2	(2)	2	2	2	2	2	
round <i>bi</i>						(2)						
high-stem <i>bi</i>												
WATER CONTAINERS/WASHING VESSELS												
<i>fou</i>	1		1	1	1	(1)	1	1	1	1	1	
<i>pan</i>	1		1	1		(1)						
<i>he+</i>						(1)						
<i>yi</i>					1	(1)	1	1	1	1	1	
<i>juan</i>												
MISCELLANEOUS												
box ( <i>he</i> #)												
Totals	9	4	14	15	9	5	14	13	17			

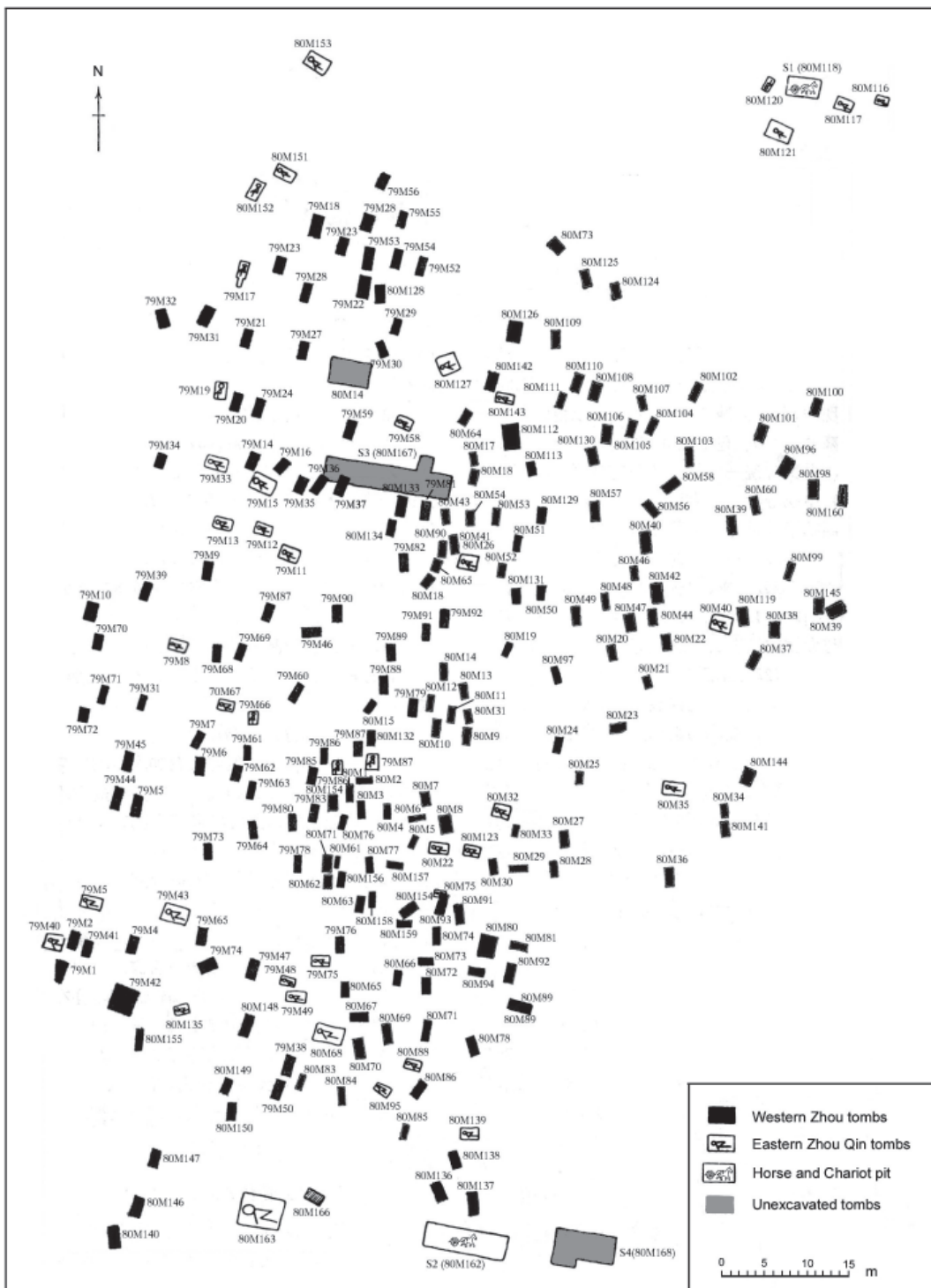
Table 22. (Continued; continues on next page)

PROVINCE	GS	GS	ShX	ShX	ShX	ShX	ShX	ShX	ShX	ShX
COUNTY	Li Xian	Li Xian	Baoji	Baoji	Baoji	Fengxiang	Fengxiang	Fengxiang	Fengxiang	Fengxiang
SITE	Yuangdingshan	Yuangdingshan	Fulinbu	Qinjiagou	Qinjiagou	Qinjiagou	MCQ	MCQ	MCQ	MCQ
Tomb	1	3	1	1	2	2	1	1	1	1
Condition	intact	intact	MCQ	MCQ	MCQ	MCQ	intact	intact	intact	intact
Date	1+1	1+1	1+1	1+1	1+1	1+1	1+2	1+2	1+2	1+1
gao/guan										
FOOD VESSELS										
ding	6	2(2)	3	3	3	3	3	3	1(2)	(2)
liandangding										
yan	2		1				1	1	1	1
gai			2	4	4		1	1	1	
pen/ya		1	1							
dou										
he*	1							1	1	(1)
LIQUOR CONTAINERS										
rectangular bu	2		2	2	2					(3)
round bu	1									
high-stem bu										
WATER CONTAINERS/WASHING VESSELS										
fou										
pan	1		1	1	1				(1)	1
he+	1									
yi	1		1	1	1			(1)	(1)	1
fan										
MISCELLANEOUS										
box (he#)	2									
Totals	17	3	11	11	11	7	5	3+	3	

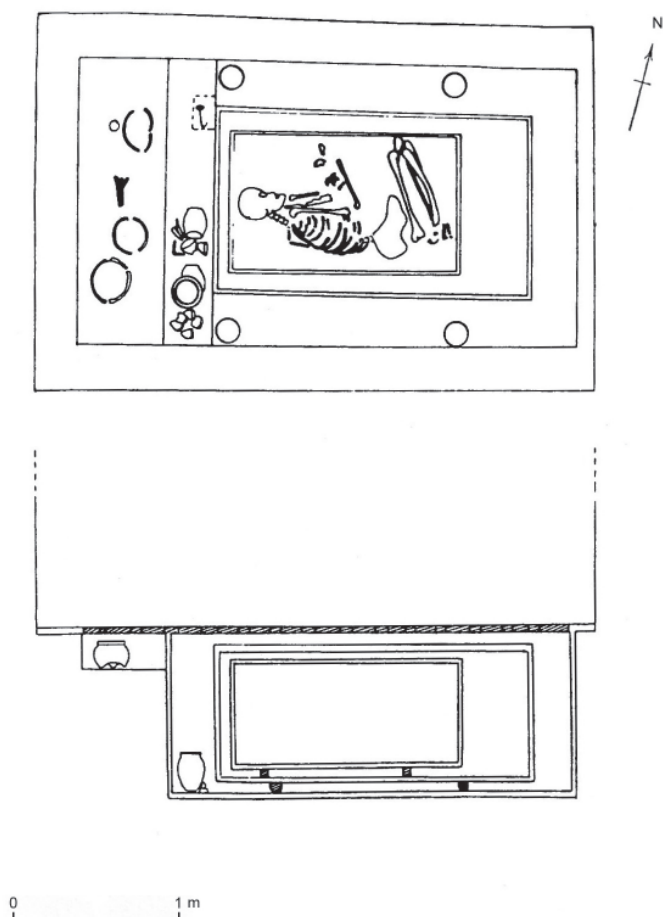
Table 22. (Continued from previous page)

PROVINCE	ShX	ShX	ShX	ShX	ShX	ShX	ShX	ShX	ShX	ShX	ShX	ShX
COUNTY	Fengxiang	Fengxiang	Fengxiang	Fengxiang	Fengxiang	Changwu	Changwu	Chang'an	Fengxiang	ShX	ShX	ShX
SITE	Baotun	Baotun	Gaozhuang	Gaozhuang	Gaozhuang	Shangmengcun	Shangmengcun	Keshengzhuang	Baotun	202	C9	Xianyang
Tomb	14	26	49	48	27	48	27	202	C9			Renjiazui
Condition	LCQ	intact	EZG	EZG	EZG	EZG	EZG	MZG	looted			MZG
Date	1+1	1+1	1+2	1+1	1+1	1+1	1+1	1+1	1+0(?)			1+1
FOOD VESSELS												
<i>ding</i>	1?	3	3	1(2)	1(2)			2	3			3
<i>liandangding</i>												1
<i>yan</i>	1	1	1	1(1)	1			1	1			1
<i>gai</i>			(2)	(2)				2				2m
<i>pan/ya</i>	1		1(1)		(1)							
<i>du</i>		2	(2)	1								
<i>dou</i>			2									
<i>he*</i>									2			
LIQUOR CONTAINERS												
<i>fu</i>		1	2(1)	(2)								1
rectangular <i>bü</i>		2										
high-stem <i>bü</i>								2	2(2)			2
WATER CONTAINERS/WASHING VESSELS												
<i>pan</i>	1	3	1(1)	1(2)				1	1			
<i>he+</i>												
<i>yi</i>	1	1	1(1)	1(1)				1				
<i>jian</i>			(1)									
MISCELLANEOUS												
box ( <i>be#</i> )												
Totals	5	13	8	5	2	10	10+	9				

This table omits the Late Warring States–Qin assemblages from Tombs 16, 17, 46, and 47 at Gaozhuang, which are non-traditional in character. Unbracketed figures are for bronzes; bracketed numbers indicate ceramic specimens. For further explanations, see Falkenhausen 2003b.



**Map 12.** The cemetery at Nanzhihui Xicun, Fengxiang (Shaanxi). Note the shift in tomb orientation from Western Zhou to Eastern Zhou, when this area came under the rule of Qin.



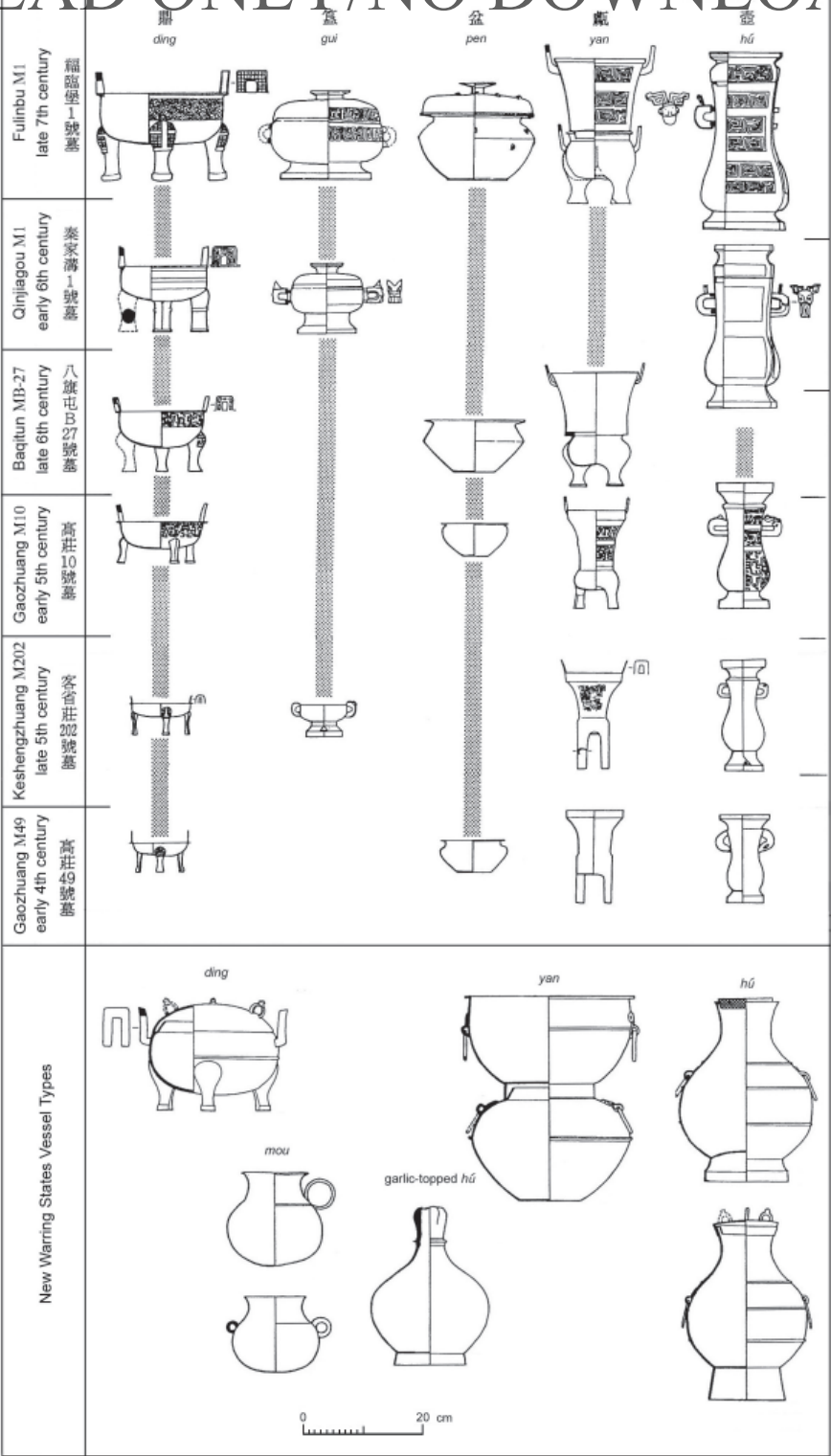
**Fig. 38.** Tomb 1 at Zaomiao, Tongchuan (Shaanxi). Late Springs and Autumns period. Note flexed burial and westward orientation.

beyond the Qin polity. Instead, like the waist-pits discussed in Chapter Four, east-west orientation and flexed burial are probably best explained as manifestations of specific religious practices that were spreading through the Zhou culture sphere, and which in some areas enjoyed greater elite support than in others. That they were particularly prevalent in the northwestern border areas of China may indicate that these practices, and the now-unknown religious ideas associated with them, had originated in areas farther beyond: in central or western Eurasia, where both practices are well attested.<sup>22</sup> But this question needs further study.

<sup>22</sup> This was first pointed out by Gao Quxun 1947.

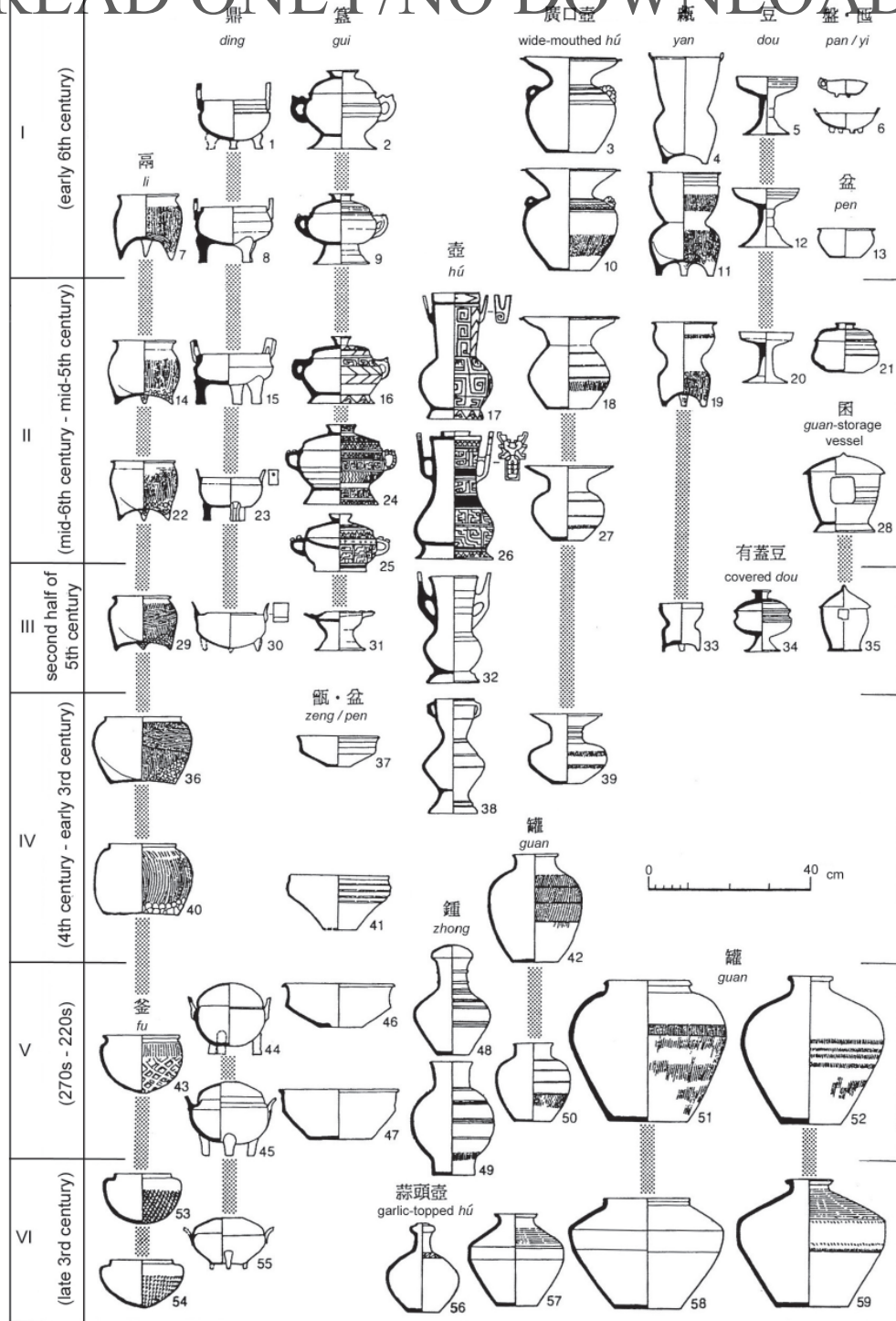
The grave goods found in normal Eastern Zhou-period Qin tombs accord with the customs observed in other parts of the Zhou area. Qin funerary bronzes, in particular, are notable for being conservative in their shapes (*Fig. 39*). For reasons now obscure, they remained cut off from the typological and technological changes and the development toward increasingly complex ornamentation affecting ritual bronzes made everywhere else in the Zhou culture sphere after about 600 BC (see Chapter Seven); instead, they show a scrupulous adherence to Late Western Zhou vessel shapes and sumptuary sets. The bronze vessels found in tombs are often miniaturized, though, and from Middle Springs and Autumns onward, were overwhelmingly replaced by mass-produced ceramic equivalents, the shapes of which still mimic those of Late Western Zhou bronzes but are subtly accommodated to the exigences of ceramic manufacture (*Fig. 40*). It is sometimes insinuated that the poor casting quality of bronzes from Qin tombs reflects either the material poverty of the Qin region or the lack of skill of its “Barbarian” inhabitants; in fact, however, non-funerary bronzes from the Qin area, though few in number so far, display excellent workmanship, attesting continued high-level production at the erstwhile Western Zhou metropolitan workshops under Qin rule. Some Warring States-period Qin bronzes stand out even by comparison with the best contemporaneous products from areas farther east. But Qin ritualists early on drew a hermetic distinction between funerary bronzes and bronzes meant for use in temples—a distinction that eventually spread throughout the Zhou culture sphere. This was part of a fundamental religious transformation about which we shall have more to say in Chapter Seven. An ethnic marker it was not.

In the Middle Warring States period, *mingqi* ritual-vessel assemblages in Qin tombs very belatedly gave way to new vessel shapes partly resembling vessels then in use in areas farther east (see the lower portion of *Fig. 39*); we shall discuss the possible meaning of this transition in Chapter Seven. What interests us here is that flexed burial and east-west orientation remained characteristic of Qin tombs even after this transformation of their contents. In all other respects, however, Qin tombs are by and large comparable in shape and furnishings to those of other parts of the Zhou culture sphere, testifying to an obvious wish on the part of Qin ranked lineages to conform with Zhou ritual standards (see also Chapter Eight). The minute differences vis-à-vis their counterparts in other parts of the Zhou culture sphere are at most on the order of the inter-clan differences discussed in the preceding chapter. We can therefore take what we have learned in Chapters One through Three about the Zhou ritual standards as a basis for assessing a tomb that departs quite radically from these norms: Tomb 2 at Yimencun.



**Fig. 39.** Typological sequence of bronze vessels from Qin tombs. *Ca.* 650-210 BC. Provenience of Warring States vessels: Tomb 7 at Miaozhuang, Pingliang (Gansu): *ding*; Tomb 7 at Miaozhuang: round *bu*; Tomb 1 at Gaozhuang, Fengxiang (Shaanxi): *mou*, garlic-topped *bu*, round *bu*; Shangjiaocun, Lintong (Shaanxi): *mou*, *yan*.





**Fig. 40.** Typological sequence of Qin funerary ceramics. Sixth to third centuries BC. Provenience: 1-6: Tomb 3 at Xigaoquan, Baoji (Shaanxi); 7-13: Tomb 2 at Xigaoquan; 14-17, 21: Tomb B11 at Baqitun, Fengxiang (Shaanxi); 18-20: Tomb 6 at Rujiashuang, Baoji (Shaanxi); 22-24, 27-28: Tomb 12 at Gaozhuang, Fengxiang (Shaanxi); 25-26: Tomb 10 at Gaozhuang; 29, 32-35: Pit T93K3 at Majiazhuang, Fengxiang (Shaanxi); 30: Tomb 24 at Gaozhuang; 31: Tomb 3 at Rujiashuang; 36-39: Tomb C9 at Baqitun; 40-42: Tomb 115 at Banpo, Xi'an (Shaanxi); 43: Tomb 9 at Banpo; 44, 48: Tomb B29 at Baqitun; 46, 47: Tomb 107 at Chaoyi, Dali (Shaanxi); 45, 49-52: Tomb 7 at Miaozhuang, Pingliang (Gansu); 53-59: Shangjiaocun, Lintong (Shaanxi).

## TOMB 2 AT YIMENCUN

Tomb 2 is located on the south bank of the Wèi River near Baoji City (Shaanxi Province), close to the Early to Middle Western Zhou-period Yu cemeteries discussed in Chapter Two. The site is a mere twenty kilometers southwest of Yong (present-day Fengxiang), the Qin capital from 677 to 384 BC, and various “mainstream” Qin cemeteries have been found nearby.<sup>23</sup> We do not know whether Tomb 2 was part of a cemetery: the only other tomb excavated at Yimencun remains unpublished, and it is unknown whether its furnishings resembled those of Tomb 2.<sup>24</sup> Based on the ornamentation style of some of the objects found within, Tomb 2 can be dated roughly to the late sixth century BC.<sup>25</sup> Although it is not large—2.8 by 1.5 meters at the bottom, just big enough to contain a simple coffin nested within a small wooden burial chamber (*Fig. 41*)—it yielded a stunning profusion of luxury items: 104 gold ornaments with a total weight of more than 3 kilograms (the largest amount of gold ever found in a pre-Imperial context in China), 84 jade items, 108 (according to another report, 104)<sup>26</sup> agate beads, 40 turquoise items, and 1615 glass-frit beads of different types, as well as bronze horse gear, a belt-hook, and 25 items of weaponry: 3 short swords, 21 knives, and 1 bronze arrowhead (*Fig. 42*).

The inordinate wealth of Tomb 2 seems out of proportion to its modest size. And even more than for what it contains, the assemblage is interesting for what it does not contain—above all, for its lack of either ceramic or bronze vessels, given that sets of ritual vessels were *de rigueur* in tombs of the Zhou/Qin élite. Similarly odd, from an orthodox Zhou standpoint, is the presence of horse gear without chariot gear (by contrast, the occurrence of chariot gear without horse gear is not uncommon in Zhou tombs). Moreover, all the weapons found in the tomb, except for four bronze knives and the lone arrowhead, were made of iron, at this time still a rare material in East Asia. The absence of vessels and the de-emphasis on bronze coupled with the profusion of gold and iron set this tomb radically apart from contemporaneous élite tombs in the same area.

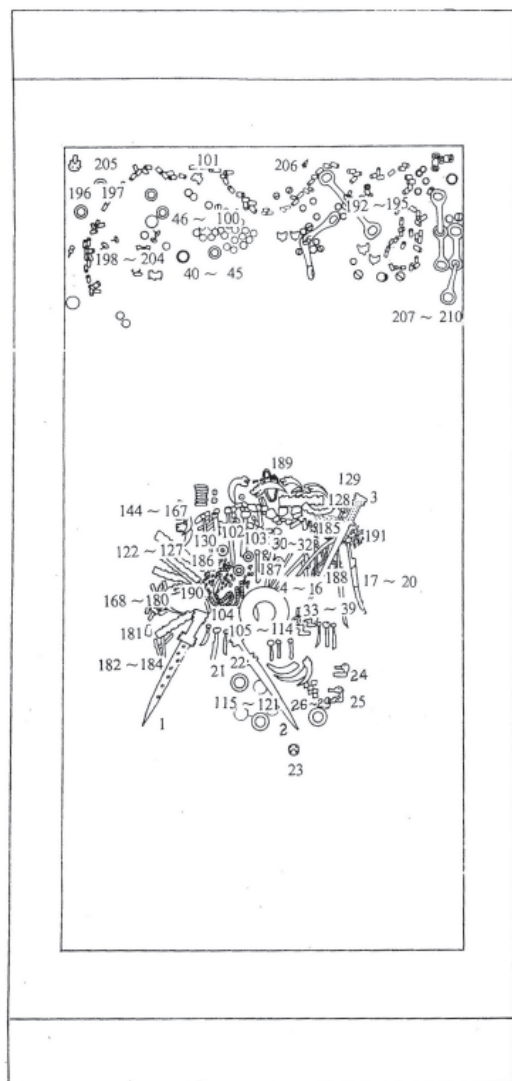
Gold is rarely encountered in early China, and, although known to have been considered precious, it seems to have played no role in defining sumptuary

<sup>23</sup> For a listing, see Falkenhausen 2003b: 111-12, q.v. for further references.

<sup>24</sup> The finds from Tomb 2 only are reported in Baoji Shi Kaogu Gongzuodui 1993a; 1993b.

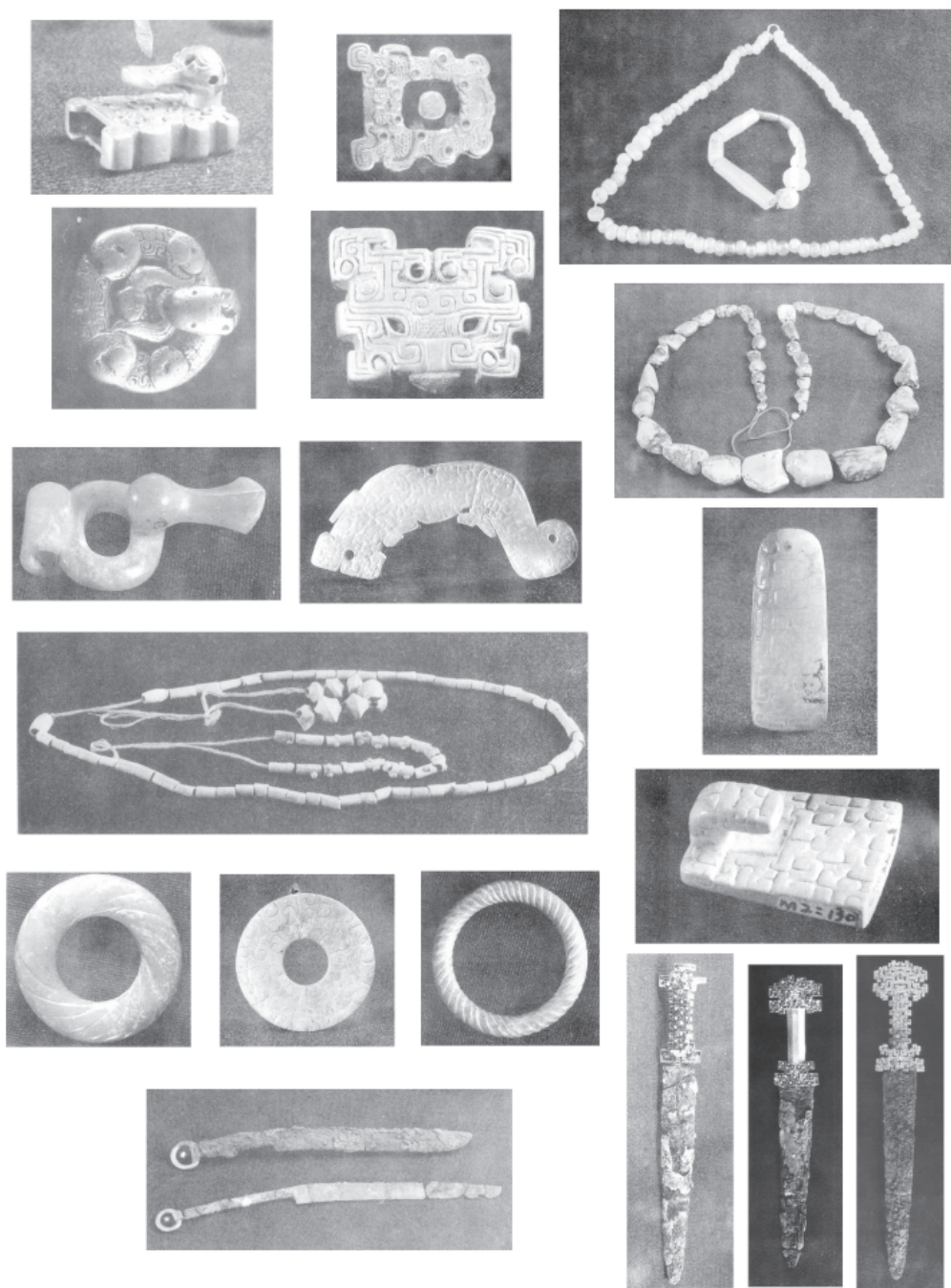
<sup>25</sup> Li Xueqin 1993; Zhao Huacheng's (1997) tentative argument for an earlier dating, motivated by the wish to forge a link to historical writings by correlating the tomb with Mu Gong of Qin's campaigns against the Rong in the mid-seventh century BC, seems incompatible with the style of the finds.

<sup>26</sup> Baoji Shi Kaogu Gongzuodui 1993a vs. 1993b.



- 1~3. Swords with gold handles
- 4~16. Iron knives with gold ring-handles
- 17~20. Bronze knives with gold ring-handles
- 21, 22. Slanted iron-bladed knives with gold-ring handles
- 23~25. Gold belt-hooks
- 26~32. Gold rectangular bosses
- 33~39. Gold belt knobs
- 40~45. Gold rings
- 46~100. Gold round bosses
- 101. Gold tubular bridle ornaments
- 102, 103. Iron knives with gold animal-shaped handle
- 104. Gold beads
- 105~114. Jade dishes
- 115~121. Jade bracelets
- 122~127. Tablet-shaped jade ornaments
- 128. Tiger-shaped jade ornament
- 129. Duck-shaped jade ornament
- 130. Jade belt hook
- 131~143. Jade knot fasteners
- 144~167. Jade *huang*
- 168~180. Rectangular jade ornaments
- 181. Axe-shaped jade ornaments
- 182~184. Bamboo-section shaped jade ornaments
- 185. Turquoise beads
- 186. Agate beads
- 187. Cruciform jade ornament
- 188. Glass bead
- 189. Glass-frit tubular bead
- 190. Glass-frit tubular bead
- 191. Bamboo-section shaped glass-frit bead
- 192~195. Bronze hinges
- 196, 197. Bronze rings
- 198~204. Bronze belt knobs
- 205. Bronze belt hook
- 206. Bronze arrowhead
- 207~210. Bronze horsebit

Fig. 41. Tomb 2 at Yimencun, Baoji (Shaanxi). Late sixth century BC.



**Fig. 42.** Selected finds from Tomb 2 Yimencun, Baoji (Shaanxi). Upper zone: 2 duck-shaped gold belt ornaments; jade mask ornament; turquoise necklaces. Middle zone: duck-shaped jade belt ornament; tiger-shaped jade ornament; jade celt; glass-frit bead necklace. Lower zone: jade rings; jade belt hook; gold-ring iron knives; iron-bladed swords with inlaid gold handles. Late sixth century BC. Not to scale.

distinctions.<sup>27</sup> Possibly, to participants in the cultural mainstream of Eastern Zhou-period China, gold carried “Barbarian” cultural connotations.<sup>28</sup> As to iron, recent discoveries in Xinjiang suggest that the technology for smelting and casting it in all probability reached China from Central (and, ultimately, Western) Eurasia sometime during the second quarter of the first millennium BC.<sup>29</sup> Besides Yimencun, other Springs and Autumns-period Qin sites, as well as Shangcunling in Sanmenxia (Henan) farther to the east, have yielded iron objects of relatively early date that may point to the importance of the Weì River basin in this technological transfer.<sup>30</sup> Even so, at the end of the sixth century BC, iron still carried exotic connotations, and the iron blades from Yimencun may well have been imports from distant areas to the west. That they were still precious luxury commodities is sufficiently evident from their elaborate and beautiful fittings of gold, gemstones, and glass frit (another precious substance likely of westerly derivation); these fittings, however, are unmistakably Chinese in style and had probably been made at a Qin workshop. A major iron industry for the mass-production of tools and weapons did not arise in Qin until a little over a century later.

The constellation and types of many of the objects from the Yimencun tomb—especially of the horse gear, belt ornaments, and short swords—suggest connections with contemporaneous cultural complexes in the Central Eurasian steppes, well beyond the orbit of the Zhou culture sphere. Closer to the Qin core area, similar finds have also been made on the margins of the Weì River system, where excavations at elite cemeteries of nomadic populations have yielded tombs comparable to the one at Yimencun in the relationship between tomb size and wealth of furnishings, choice of objects buried, and predilection for gold.<sup>31</sup> These affinities have prompted suggestions that the occupant of the Yimencun tomb, as well, was a member of a non-Qin, horse-riding ethnic group.

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<sup>27</sup> For an initial summary of early Chinese goldsmithry, which includes a brief discussion of the Yimencun finds, see Louis 1999: 55-76.

<sup>28</sup> Bunker 1993.

<sup>29</sup> Tang Jigen 1993.

<sup>30</sup> That this transfer may have begun as early as Late Western Zhou is suggested by an iron blade fitted with a lavish bronze-and-jade grip from Tomb 2001 at Shangcunling, but the precise date of that tomb is as yet under debate (see Chapter Two, nn. 35-36). Certainly, the presence of an iron object can no longer be taken as indicating a post-Western Zhou date.

<sup>31</sup> See, e.g., Ningxia Wenwu Kaogu Yanjiusuo and Ningxia Guyuan Bowuguan 1993; Ningxia Wenwu Kaogu Yanjiusuo 1995; Xu Jin and Li Jinzeng 1993; Linduff et al. 1997: 41-47; Miyamoto 2002. The Late Bronze Age inhabitants of this area may correspond to ethnonyms found in ancient texts, such as Western Rong or Yiqu.



This identification has not been uniformly embraced, however. The original excavators, for instance, insist that the tomb occupant must have been ethnically Qin, citing the vertical-pit tomb with its burial chamber-cum-coffin structure, as well as its east-west orientation, both characteristics of Qin elite tombs, and pointing to the Qin ornamentation style of the gold and bronze objects buried.<sup>32</sup> And indeed, even though the *typology* of the objects as well as their constellation in the tomb are unusual, their *ornamentation* is very similar to that of contemporary metalwork found in Qin elite tombs. But so is the ornament on many items of horse gear found in steppe contexts. The likely explanation is that, from Late Springs and Autumns on, as metal production in much of Zhou China became increasingly commercialized, Qin metal workshops produced luxury goods for their northern neighbors.<sup>33</sup> It stands to reason that some of these objects could have remained in Qin. If so, it is still difficult to determine in principle whether they belonged to members of non-Qin ethnic groups living in Qin or to members of core Qin lineages who for some reason fancied them. At Yimencun Tomb 2, however, the absence of the conventional trappings of elite status makes the former alternative plausible; with a mainstream Qin aristocrat as wealthy as the person buried in Tomb 2, one would expect these exotic objects to be present *in addition to*, but not *instead of*, ritual vessels and the like. The “Qin-style” tomb construction and orientation noted by the excavators could plausibly be the result of local Qin tomb-diggers having prepared the tomb in their usual way. Moreover, tombs with these characteristics are quite common at non-Zhou cemeteries in the northern steppe region.

Zhao Huacheng speculates that the occupant of Tomb 2 may have been a hostage at the Qin court, or the leader of a semi-assimilated client group of nomads who had settled in Qin territory;<sup>34</sup> but such specifics are probably beyond the reach of archaeological inquiry. Even so, Tomb 2 at Yimencun furnishes the most convincing Eastern Zhou-period case up to now of an archaeologically attested member of a non-Zhou ethnic group within the Zhou culture sphere. As in the two Western Zhou instances adduced above (the Zhangjiapo catacomb tombs and the exotic bronzes at Qucun Locus III), what clinches the argument (to the extent that it can be clinched) is the manifest link to distinctive archaeological complexes of a geographical distribution that is clearly separate from that of mainstream “Qin culture.”

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<sup>32</sup> Baoji Shi Kaogu Gongzuodui 1993: 13-14. For a more elaborate argument along the same lines, see Shi Dangshe and Tian Jing (2002), who propose that the tomb occupant was a high-ranking Qin aristocrat who had fallen from favor.

<sup>33</sup> This point is well argued in Bunker 1991; 1995.

<sup>34</sup> Zhao Huacheng 1997.

## “ALIEN” ELEMENTS IN EASTERN ZHOU-PERIOD QIN TOMBS

Quite common in Eastern Zhou-period Qin are tombs in which exotic objects such as those seen at Yimencun Tomb 2 occur in association with sets of ritual vessels. In such tombs, one may encounter, in particular, the following three kinds of steppe-associated objects; they differ slightly in their chronological span.

*Bronze cauldrons.* Nomadic populations all over the Eurasian steppes used bronze cauldrons or mounted buckets for boiling meat. Such objects, surprisingly uniform in shape, were manufactured in many localities from Hungary to eastern Mongolia over a long time span (ca. 1000 BC-AD 500). A number of them, mostly quite small, have turned up in Eastern Zhou-period tombs in the Jin and Qin areas (*Fig. 43*).<sup>35</sup> Some of them are unornamented, as are most of those excavated across Eurasia; others feature ornamentation in the style of Qin or Jin ritual bronzes, indicating that they must have been made within the Zhou culture sphere. Even though they are not part of the traditional ritual-vessel assemblage, specimens are sometimes found in association with ritual vessels (e.g., in Tombs 2008 and 61M13 at Shangma, as mentioned in Chapter Three), perhaps (as claimed by Tian Jianwen) as a material reminder of the deceased's worldly associations, or—perhaps more likely—because they could be functionally assimilated to *gui* grain containers, one of the most widespread Zhou ritual-vessel types. Others were presumably made for export to nomadic groups.

*Ornate swords.* Of related interest are Late Springs and Autumns-period short swords (or daggers) with lavishly ornate handles, similar in shape to the inlaid gold-handled, iron-bladed ones from the Yimencun tomb (see *Fig. 42*), but more modest in their materials (for the most part, bronze for both handle and blade). They have been found at various locations in Qin territory.<sup>36</sup> Although the short sword itself, as well as this specific type of handle, are ultimately of Western Eurasian derivation, the execution and ornamentation of the ones excavated leave no doubt that they were made in Qin.

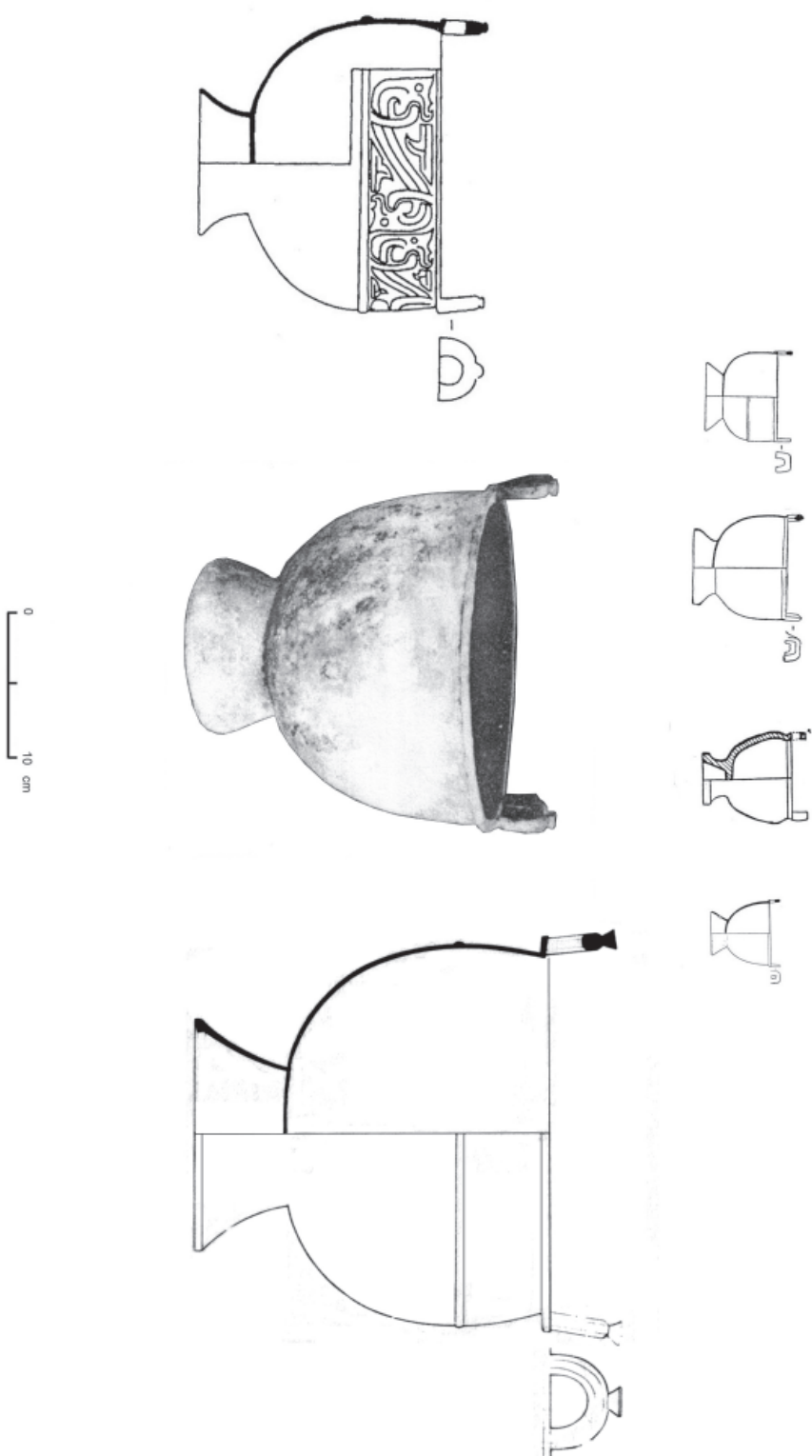
*Belt plaques.* A third category of objects with “northern” associations consists of belt plaques decorated with animal motifs (*Fig. 44*), seen occasionally in Warring States-period Qin contexts.<sup>37</sup> Like the golden belt ornaments found at Yimencun,

<sup>35</sup> Liu Li 1987; Li Chaoyuan 2004; on Eurasian parallels, see Erdy 1995.

<sup>36</sup> Li Xueqin 1993; Chen Ping 1995; Zhang Tian'en 1995. For a broader study, see Chen Ping 1986.

<sup>37</sup> E.g., at Keshengzhuang, Chang'an (Shaanxi) (*Zhongguo Kexueyuan Kaogu Yanjiusuo* 1962: 131-38) and Zaomiao (Shaanxi Sheng Kaogu Yanjiusuo 1986: 10, fig. 4.17); there are, moreover, many stray finds. For additional discussion, see Bunker 1997: 217-55, *passim*.





**Fig. 43.** Caudrons. Upper row: from Chengcun, Linyi (Shanxi) (2); Tombs 2008 and 61M13 at Shangma, Houma (Shanxi). Lower row: from Dongshe, Fengxiang (Shanxi); Ganyu, Baoji (Shaanxi); Tomb 76M1 at Shanguo, Wenxi (Shanxi). Seventh-sixth centuries BC.

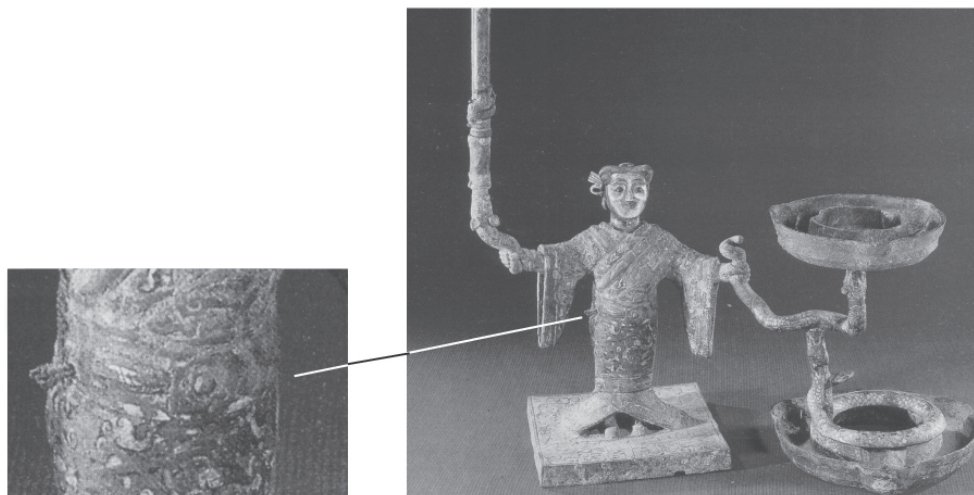


**Fig. 44.** Belt plaques. Upper row: from Keshengzhuang Tomb 140, Chang'an (Shaanxi); Xichagou, Xifeng (Liaoning). Lower row: from Aluchaideng, Hangjin Banner, Inner Mongolia); Tomb 25 at Zaomiao, Tongchuan (Shaanxi) (an identical, better-preserved specimen is in the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities, Stockholm). Fifth-third centuries BC.

they were part and parcel of equestrian dress, which, aside from belts, included riding coats (*qipao*), trousers, and studded boots. Such dress was eventually adopted by the Warring States-period élite throughout the Zhou culture sphere. At that time elaborately ornate bronze belt-hooks (*daigou*) became a standard part of personal apparel; they are regularly seen in tombs (Fig. 45). The belt plaques here referred to, however, differ considerably in their shape from the belt-hooks ordinarily seen in Qin contexts, and both the subjects and the execution of their decoration are idiosyncratic. Even so, technical properties suggest that they were probably cast at Qin workshops, which during the Warring States period were very versatile. Besides exotic motifs, these workshops, like those of adjacent polities, also adapted technological innovations that originated among their steppe neighbors, such as a new method of coating bronze surfaces with tin in order to impart a silvery sheen.<sup>38</sup>

*Discussion.* The distribution areas and chronological spans of these three kinds of artifacts vary, but all three encompass portions of both the Zhou culture sphere and the northern steppes during part of the Eastern Zhou period. Although during all this time they were presumably still being manufactured in the Inner Asian areas where they originated, such objects were also produced within the Zhou culture sphere, e.g., in the border polities of Qin

<sup>38</sup> Bunker 1990; Han Rubin and Aima Bangke 1993.



**Fig. 45.** Belt-hooks (*daigou*) and their usage. First row: from Shangwang, Linzi (Shandong; second from left from Tomb 2, the others from Tomb 1). Second row: Ta'erpo, Xianyang (Shaanxi); Third row: from the tomb of King Cuo (Tomb 1 at Sanji, Pingshan [Hebei]). Fourth-third centuries BC. Depiction of usage on a human-figure shaped lamp from the tomb of King Cuo.

and Jin, where sophisticated workshops were willing and able to adapt their production to the needs of customers that were culturally completely “Other”. This obviously complicates any inference as to ethnic “identity” in the archaeological record. Steppe customers may well have appreciated embellishments that were alien to them, such as the Qin-style ornaments on the cauldrons. Conversely, the discovery of such items in normal Qin tombs may be interpreted as showing that participants in the mainstream culture of the Zhou élite also appropriated exotic objects, either because they found them useful (some of their functions apparently did not duplicate those of established artifacts), or because they found them esthetically appealing, prefiguring the “nomadic fashions” of later periods.<sup>39</sup>

We do not and probably never will know what the objects in question were exchanged for, what their exchange value was, who profited from the exchange on either side, and through what mechanisms they were circulated in the absence of a full monetary system. Were they traded in market-driven commerce or—as so often in ancient China—in a system of diplomatic gift giving? Whatever the answer, we are dealing with a highly complex situation of interaction in which living habits, aesthetic tastes, technical abilities, and economic structures are all intertwined.

Such manipulation of objects within different cultural contexts, of course, falls well short of cultural fusion, or even inter-cultural understanding. Still, it indicates that the cultural boundaries between the Zhou border polities and their northern neighbors were by no means impermeable: people on both sides were engaged in various forms of border crossing. But it is also obvious that ethnicity cannot be read directly into material objects. To feel somewhat confident about inferring an ethnic association (as with Zhangjiapo, Tomb 113 at Qucun Locus III, and Tomb 2 at Yimencun), one needs both a clear archaeological context for the “alien” evidence, and a well-documented non-“alien” background to contrast it with.

## THE ETHNIC IDENTITY OF QIN: A VIEW FROM MAOJIAPING

To view this evidence of Qin-“alien” contact in perspective, we must now turn to ask: What was the ethnicity of the Qin “mainstream” population vis-à-vis that of other Zhou polities? This is a long-standing and deeply problematic question in text-based historiography. To what extent can archaeology even hope to contribute to its resolution?

Traditional historiography blames the “Dog Barbarians” (Quanrong) for having displaced the Zhou from their Shaanxi capitals in 771 BC, and credits

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<sup>39</sup> Schafer 1963: 28-32 and passim; Cahill 1999.

the Qin—allegedly a lineage of the Ying clan based in eastern Gansu, who before that time had been raising horses for the Zhou kings—with reconquering the erstwhile Zhou metropolitan area on behalf of the Zhou royal house.<sup>40</sup> Out of gratitude, so the account goes, the Zhou kings thereafter allowed them to establish their own polity in that area. But would one not expect, in such a situation, the Zhou kings to have wished to return to their own former capitals? Such doubts prompted critical historians in the twentieth century, starting with Meng Wentong, to propose that the Qin were none other than the conquering Quanrong.<sup>41</sup> This argument, however, is also problematic. Warring States-period derogatory references to the Qin as “Barbarians,” adduced by Meng and others in support of their view, are not necessarily reliable evidence, because ethnic slurs of this sort were part of the standard arsenal of polemical rhetoric at the time; or the Warring States-period detractors may have been referring to the historical fact that Qin by then had absorbed adjacent areas to the north and west and in Sichuan containing significant “alien” populations. Moreover, it is now clear that the Qin ruling lineage’s self-affiliation with the Ying clan is at least not a Warring States-period construction: their descent from the mythical Emperor Zhuangxi (Gaoyang), from whom the Ying clan traced its origin, is claimed in the inscription on a set of chime stones found in the tomb of a mid-sixth century BC ruler of Qin,<sup>42</sup> Tomb 1 at Nanzhihui, Fengxiang (Shaanxi Province), about which we shall have more to say in Chapter Eight.

Recently, archaeologists have also become engaged in the debate about Qin’s ethnic identity. Proponents of the so-called “eastern-origin theory” have tried to retrace the migration itinerary of the Ying clan to the Wei River valley from their alleged original homes along the lower course of the Yellow River (Fan Xian, on the border of present-day Henan and Shandong provinces) about the time of the Shang-Zhou transition.<sup>43</sup> One of the points that has been adduced in favor of an eastern (Shang) connection of the Qin is the occurrence of waist-pits in some Qin tombs (see Chapter Four).<sup>44</sup> Against this, adherents of the “western-origin theory” have tried to pinpoint material indicators that suggest a separate Qin identity. Yu Weichao, for instance, identified the practice of flexed

<sup>40</sup> *Shi ji* “Qin Benji” 5:179.

<sup>41</sup> Meng Wentong 1936; 1956; followed by Yu Weichao 1979; Zhao Huacheng 1989; and others.

<sup>42</sup> Wang Hui, Jiao Nanfeng, and Ma Zhenzhi 1996.

<sup>43</sup> A large number of modern scholars, starting with Wei Juxian 1936: 49-51 and Xu Xusheng 1943 (1960 ed.: 56, 204), have espoused this point of view. For a recent, archaeologically supported statement, see Niu Shishan 1996 (to be further discussed shortly below). See also Takada 2000; Teng Mingyu 2002: 54-56.

<sup>44</sup> Han Wei 1986.

burial, *li* vessels with “spade-shaped” feet (*chanzuli*), and the catacomb tomb as the distinguishing features of the “Barbarian” (Rong, Qiang, and Hu) populations of areas stretching from the upper Weì River valley westward into central Gansu and Qinghai provinces during the Neolithic and Early Bronze Age.<sup>45</sup> From the alleged occurrence of these features among the Eastern Zhou-period remains of “Qin culture” in Shaanxi, Yu inferred that the ethnic origin of the Qin people must likewise be “Barbarian”. Subsequent discoveries have necessitated significant modifications of these ideas. Flexed burial, as mentioned earlier, could be at least as convincingly explained as an element of religious behavior independent of ethnic affiliation; catacomb tombs, after the instances at Liujia and Zhangjiapo discussed above, are absent from the archaeological record of the Weì River valley for the first four or five centuries of Qin (they recur there in the Warring States period; see Chapter Seven). This leaves ceramic classification. In order to assess its usefulness in resolving this issue, we shall now look at the earliest known site thought to represent the Qin: Maojiaping in Gangu (Gansu province), which Yu Weichao chose for excavation in 1982-1983 with the explicit intention of recovering the roots of “Qin culture.”

Maojiaping was a riverine village settlement site with an attached cemetery.<sup>46</sup> Its unbroken occupation spans the period between the transition from Middle and Late Western Zhou all the way through the early fifth century BC. As the ceramics from the later portions of the Maojiaping sequence are virtually identical to Eastern Zhou-period Qin finds in Shaanxi, the excavators inferred that the antecedent parts of the sequence, which differ slightly from contemporaneous mainstream Western Zhou remains in Shaanxi, must represent the Qin before their occupation of the Western Zhou metropolitan area. This is corroborated by the presence of the two above-mentioned typical features of “Qin” funerary practice: east-west tomb orientation and flexed burial.

Zhao Huacheng has divided the ceramics from Maojiaping into two typologically distinct complexes, labelled Complex A and Complex B (*Fig. 46*).<sup>47</sup> Complex A, which is dominant at the site and is the only one represented during the “proto-Qin” phase contemporary with the Western Zhou, seems to have no immediate local predecessor; instead, it is derivable from the sequence of late prehistoric cultures and phases of the middle Weì River valley (Anban III—Keshengzhuang II—Zhengjiapo [“proto-Zhou”]), which is also broadly ancestral to Western Zhou ceramics farther downstream. It is Complex A that is typologically continuous, and contiguous, with Eastern Zhou-period Qin ceramics in Shaanxi while yet being somewhat distinct from contemporaneous

<sup>45</sup> Yu Weichao 1979.

<sup>46</sup> Gansu Sheng Wenwu Gongzuodui 1987.

<sup>47</sup> Zhao Huacheng 1989.



		Complex A					Complex B				
		联 裆 鬲		盆	豆	罐	其 它	分 裆 鬲			双耳罐
		<i>li</i> with linked "crotch"		<i>pen</i>	<i>dou</i>	<i>guan</i>	others	<i>li</i> with spliced "crotch"			double-handled <i>guan</i>
		A	B	C							
Period I	1										
	(Early Western Zhou)										
Period II	2										
	(Middle Western Zhou)										
Period III	3										
	(Late Western Zhou)										
Period III	4										
	(Early-Middle Springs & Autumns)										
Period IV	5										
	(Early-Middle Warring States)										
Period IV	6										
	(Late Warring States)										

0 20 cm  
(approximate)

Fig. 46. Ceramic typology at the settlement site at Maojiaping, Gangu (Gansu). Eleventh-thirteenth centuries BC.



Western Zhou ceramics in that area. It represents, in other words, a local variant of Western Zhou that continued to develop and expand eastward during Eastern Zhou.

That the upper Weì River valley was culturally mixed during the period in question seems certain. Contemporary with the “proto-Qin” component of Complex A, ceramic vessels derived from those of the Siwa culture—an as-yet ill-defined Bronze Age culture that flourished in eastern Gansu and adjacent areas between approximately the 13<sup>th</sup> and the 7<sup>th</sup> centuries BC—have been found in the surrounding area (*Fig. 47*).<sup>48</sup> Ceramics of Siwa types also show up at Maojiaping itself, but only in the Eastern Zhou strata, where they are associated with Complex A ceramics that by now are virtually indistinguishable from utilitarian Qin ceramics in areas farther east. This Siwa-derived Complex B includes the “*li* with spade-shaped feet” highlighted by Yu Weichao. Significantly, Complex B ceramics at Maojiaping do not occur at the cemetery but only among the settlement remains (including some burials within the settlement). The excavators therefore interpret the Complex B ceramics as indicating the presence of a “Barbarian” (Qiang Rong) ethnic component at the site, whose social position was inferior to that of the dominant (Ying Qin) lineage, and which was of course barred from burial at the latter’s cemetery. In this view, the Qin inhabitants of the area inhabited the valley bottom and pursued a settled and at least partly agrarian way of life, whereas the distribution of Siwa and Complex B ceramics suggest that their users were transhumant livestock raisers dwelling for the most part in areas of higher elevation. Analogous configurations of mainstream and minority populations may be observed in many parts of China affected by the spread of the Hàn nationality down to the ethnographic present.

Thus it turns out that at Maojiaping, far from the members of Qin lineages being somehow marked as non-Zhou “aliens,” there was, at least during Eastern Zhou times, a marginal presence of other “aliens” contrasting with the Qin mainstream. Different from Yu Weichao’s original suggestion, “*li* vessels with spade-shaped feet” are not now considered representative of the Qin polity’s own ceramic-making tradition. Instead, that position is now assigned to the Complex A ceramics, which resemble mainstream Western Zhou ceramics, but not completely. Interpreting them in ethnic terms is difficult: do they indicate immigration by members of mainstream lineages from farther east? Or do they reflect the adoption of certain ceramic-making habits of middle Weì River valley origin by an indigenous group? Even if one or the other of these alternatives could be substantiated, one could still not safely infer from it the provenience of the population of Maojiaping as a whole: for as we have seen in Chapter Four, these ceramic-based considerations apply primarily to

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<sup>48</sup> Hu Qianying 1979; Shui Tao 1989.

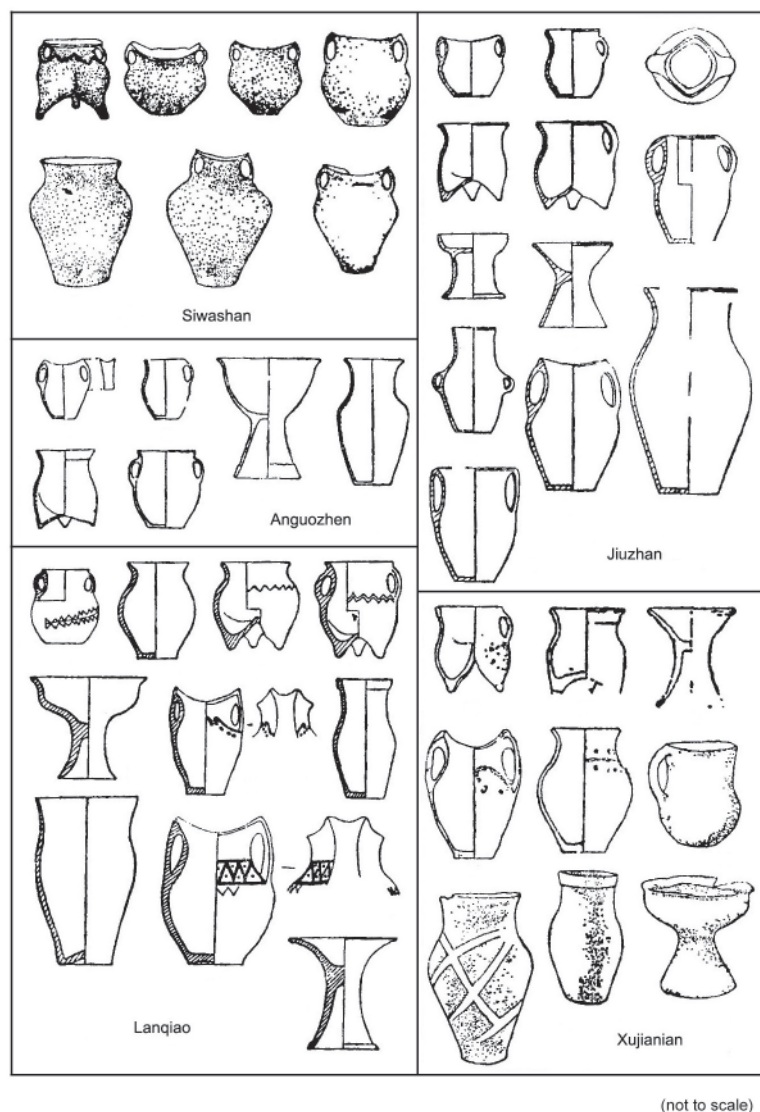


Fig. 47. Ceramic typology of the Siwa culture. Twelfth(?)–seventh(?) centuries BC.

those, presumably rather few, members of the Maojiaping community who were engaged in ceramic production.

Conceivably, thus, the presence of Zhou-related ceramics in association with the earliest identifiable members of the Qin core group—if such they are—might indicate no more than the presence in the area of potters working in a Western Zhou tradition that, once transplanted here, developed separately from the Zhou mainstream in Shaanxi. But the possibility of immigration from easterly areas cannot be excluded. In any case, the material culture identified as “Qin” at Maojiaping is a local form of Zhou culture. Of course, some or all of its users nevertheless could conceivably have been acculturated non-Zhou “Others.” Perhaps, in the future, DNA research on physical remains will be able to verify whether there were any kin relationships, e.g., between the inhabitants of the Maojiaping site and their Siwa culture (non-Zhou) neighbors. Ceramics alone cannot resolve that question.

Niu Shishan, who convincingly derives the Group A ceramics at Maojiaping from local traditions in Shaanxi, yet believes that the Qin ruling lineage originally immigrated from Henan, has asserted that the Qin ancestors altered their material culture in chameleon-like fashion as they worked their way into eastern Gansu.<sup>49</sup> In his view, they successively “used” Shang culture and “proto-Zhou culture” before developing their own semidistinctive cultural repertoire at Maojiaping. Niu’s conceptual separation of archaeological cultures from ethnic groups can only be applauded from the standpoint of contemporary Western archaeological theory. But he follows with a reconstruction of developments that is entirely text-based. Archaeological data, in such a scenario, no longer serve as substantiating evidence, but are merely pigeonholed into a ready-made narrative of Qin migrations derived mainly from Sima Qian’s account. Niu does not appear to realize that this type of argumentation relegates to irrelevance his own painstaking analysis of the Maojiaping ceramics.

What Niu’s study does highlight very effectively, however, is that the controversy about the ethnic origins of the Qin ruling group is insoluble in principle on archaeological grounds. Rather than an essentializing view emphasizing biological descent, a view of local polities on the margins of the early dynastic cores as hybrid entities combining local and immigrant elements (e.g., a core lineage of Zhou type, intermarrying with elements of a preexisting indigenous population) may well have greater historical plausibility. The Maojiaping data could be interpreted in support of such a scenario in early Qin. As in later periods of Chinese frontier history, ethnicity was not a part of every person’s immutable essence, but a highly malleable and negotiable attribute.<sup>50</sup>

<sup>49</sup> Niu Shishan 1996.

<sup>50</sup> Cf. Wang Mingke 1997.

## ASSESSMENT

Despite these cautionary tales, the Western Zhou- and Springs and Autumns-period cases discussed in this chapter (the catacomb tombs at Zhangjiapo and the exotic bronzes from Qucun Locus III for the former, and Tomb 2 at Yimencun and the contrasting ceramic assemblages at Maojiaping for the latter period) stand as relatively promising instances of situations where a broadly based archaeological analysis may justify the inference of ethnic-level social contrasts. Tentatively, the Zhangjiapo and Qucun finds may be taken as preliminary testimony that, during Western Zhou times, certain individuals or groups of non-Zhou ethnic origin were fully integrated into high-ranking Zhou aristocratic lineages. In both cases, the putative indicators of “alien” ethnicity are combined with features of the mainstream Zhou funerary system in a manner that indicates the adoption of essential features of Zhou ritual even as “alien” material features continued to be maintained.

Such evidence is so far lacking for Eastern Zhou-period Qin, even though archaeological data confirm that there was no dearth of “aliens” in Qin’s immediate vicinity. Siwa-derived archaeological complexes continued to flourish on the margins of Qin throughout at least the first half of Eastern Zhou,<sup>51</sup> and Eastern Zhou-period tombs of fully nomadic populations have been found not far to the northwest, e.g., at Yanglang, Guyuan (Ningxia).<sup>52</sup> These neighboring societies—whether nomadic, transhumant, or settled—certainly differed greatly from the Qin core population in their livelihood and social organization; and although it is virtually impossible to prove in each case that they self-identified as ethnically distinct from Qin, this does seem likely. There is very little indication that individuals from these areas were integrated into the Qin core lineages in ways analogous to what we have observed in a Western Zhou context at Zhangjiapo. To be sure, Tomb 2 at Yimencun seems to indicate the presence of “aliens”—or rather, one very rich alien—in the midst of Qin society; but the tomb shows few or no concessions to the Zhou ritual system. Instead, the “alien” objects, though largely Qin-manufactured, form a distinctly non-Qin assemblage that contrasts starkly with tomb assemblages at nearby Qin cemeteries. Of course, it is unwise to generalize on the basis of just one example; but if it were representative, it might suggest that non-Qin “Others” living interspersed among the Qin core lineages stood apart from, rather than being integrated into, the Qin social fabric in this time. It would follow that, in Eastern Zhou-period Qin, only fully non-Zhou assemblages such as the one from Yimencun can be taken as indicating the physical presence of non-Qin “aliens” in the Qin archaeological record; whereas (in contrast

<sup>51</sup> Zhao Huacheng 1989; for additional references, see n. 48.

<sup>52</sup> See n. 31.

to the interpretation applicable to Western Zhou cases such as Tomb 113 at Qucun Locus III) the occupants of normal Qin tombs containing both objects of “alien” association and sumptuary assemblages of Zhou type, were most probably not “aliens” themselves, but members of mainstream Qin lineages engaging in the consumption of exotic prestige goods. Whether this holds true for Eastern Zhou as a whole remains to be seen.<sup>53</sup>

One may then suggest that during the Western Zhou period relationships between the Zhou core lineages and “alien” groups within the Zhou realm were quite similar in nature to inter-clan relationships (as scrutinized in Chapter Four), whereas by Eastern Zhou times, the social differences may have become aggravated, with the result that “aliens” living among the Zhou core lineages now kept themselves, or were kept, hermetically separate. If future evidence supports such a scenario, one might infer that after the Middle Western Zhou period, the “ethnic-group” (or “nation”) level—the boundaries between those within and outside the Zhou social order—became more clearly and visibly separated from the clan level of differentiation within Zhou society. The background of this change should be explored from both sides of the socio-cultural divide. It is worth remembering, for instance, that the systematization of the lineage system in the Late Western Zhou Ritual Reform (see Chapter One) brought about a more rigid social order, which may have been less able or willing than before to accommodate outsiders. On the part of the steppe inhabitants, the sharpening of the divide vis-à-vis the Zhou lineages seems to have coincided with the onset of full pastoral nomadism, which occurred circa 950-800 BC in areas adjacent to China and brought about a completely new way of life and political organization.<sup>54</sup> Whether there is any direct causal linkage between these two roughly contemporaneous developments is a question that needs and deserves further research.<sup>55</sup>

In any case, Tomb 2 at Yimencun and, to an even greater extent, the finds of Qin-manufactured objects of exotic association in contemporaneous mainstream Qin tombs attest a considerable amount of give-and-take across cultural boundaries. Such findings may suggest that before *ca.* 400 BC, the social

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<sup>53</sup> If it does, then Tian Jianwen’s (1993) interpretation of the bronze cauldrons at Shangma as indicators of the “alien” ethnic identity of their owners (see Chapter Three, n. 19) might be questionable. In any event, the evidence in that case is less unambiguous than in that of the exotically shaped bronze vessels in Tomb 113 at Qucun Locus III.

<sup>54</sup> Průšek 1966; 1971; Linduff et al. 1997: 33-74; Di Cosmo 1999: 909-14 and *passim*.

<sup>55</sup> Pertinently, perhaps, the *Shi ji* (“Zhou benji,” 4.135-136) intimates that King Mu (r. 956-918 BC) unilaterally broke off what had been a regular diplomatic relationship between the Zhou and their northwestern neighbors.

antagonism and ritual incompatibility between the inhabitants of China proper and their northern neighbors were considerably less severe than they were to become later on, when Qin expanded aggressively into formerly tribal areas and enclosed them within its Great Walls (see Chapter Six and Conclusion). By analogy with the political uses of intermarriage discussed in the introduction to Part II, the Qin élite's (continuing?) flexibility with respect to the "use" of material-culture elements of both Zhou and non-Zhou origin conceivably may have been part of a wider deliberate attempt to create greater cultural uniformity; such an attempt might have stemmed from the Qin rulers' ambition to universal kingship, which is strikingly reflected in their bronze inscriptions as well as in their funerary monuments (see Chapter Eight).

Although one cannot exclude the possibility that the Qin core group was of non-Zhou origin, it bears emphasis that throughout the Eastern Zhou period, Qin society as a whole—at least inasmuch as it is represented in the archaeological record—was fully integrated into the Zhou social framework. Later on, with the foundation of the unified Qin empire, it even became the embodiment of the Chinese cultural mainstream.<sup>56</sup> Not by accident is the word Qin, by way of Sanskrit, the etymological origin of "China." Qin presents a good example of a continually traceable sociopolitical entity that was, in successive phases of its development and perceived from different points of view, a tribe and a state; a lineage and a nation.

The developments in the Weì River valley traced here provide the most coherent archaeological illustration currently available of the dual tendency, noted above, toward greater homogeneity within and sharper differentiation from the outside, which is one running theme of the overall sociopolitical development during Zhou times. Analogous processes probably occurred, with various modifications due to local circumstances, everywhere along the borders of the Zhou culture sphere, as we shall see in the following chapter.

Let me close with a methodological point concerning archaeological classification. It emerges from the preceding discussion that a concept such as "Qin culture," sometimes advanced by local archaeologists in the former Qin area intent on emphasizing the area's uniqueness and importance, is not only formally questionable, but actually mistaken. There are two basic reasons for this, one procedural and one substantive. Procedurally, first of all, in order to avoid prejudging the historical interpretation of finds, archaeological cultures and phases are conventionally named after the first type-site

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<sup>56</sup> This is a point that deserves stressing; despite the vilification of the Qin by Hàn political ideologues, the Hàn dynasty established itself squarely and explicitly within the institutional and cultural framework created by its Qin predecessor.

discovered, not after ancient polities attested in historical texts.<sup>57</sup> But more seriously, secondly, the phenomena that we have here found characteristic of Qin—from its early existence at Maojiaping all the way through the end of Eastern Zhou—quite simply do not meet the standards of distinctiveness required of an archaeological *culture*.<sup>58</sup> At best, they may be taken to define a *phase* within the (as-yet-unnamed) archaeological culture of the Zhou realm. In this particular instance, the difference observed seems to coincide, in the social realm, with an inter-clan difference—Ying vs. Ji—similar to the Ji vs. Zi differences discussed in Chapter Four. But it would be risky to claim that material differences between archaeological phases *always* correspond to social differences at the level of the clan. The same is true of archaeological cultures vis-à-vis ethnic groups. Although this chapter has adduced several instances where differences between archaeological cultures are somewhat likely to indicate ethnic-group level social differences, research in other parts of the world—from Africa to Southeast Asia to the United States—warns us against assuming that this is always the case. The case of the Jiang/Qiang, discussed in the coda to Chapter Four, is just one Chinese example suggesting much greater fluidity and complexity. In practice, even when textual records are available, it is often impossible to determine whether a contrast in the material record corresponds to an ethnic difference.

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<sup>57</sup> If Qin were an archaeological culture, that culture should probably be named after the site of Doujitai in Baoji (Shaanxi), where Eastern Zhou-period Qin ceramics were excavated for the first time during the early 1930s (Su Bingqi 1948).

<sup>58</sup> In China, Xia Nai 1959 stands as the definitive (though, in practice, widely disregarded) statement on how to define an “archaeological culture;” Xia took his cues from Childe (1956: 123–28). Wolfram Eberhard’s work (1942; 1942–1943) stands as a monumental and pioneering effort to define the cultures of the various ethnic groups in and around China on the basis of the historical texts; although it is still worth reading, the results have been rendered obsolete by modern research. The concept of an archaeological culture, albeit firmly established in scholarly thinking in China and elsewhere, is itself deeply problematic and in need of serious rethinking (cf. Wagner 2001, ch. 2); I intend to undertake this, using Chinese data, in a future work.



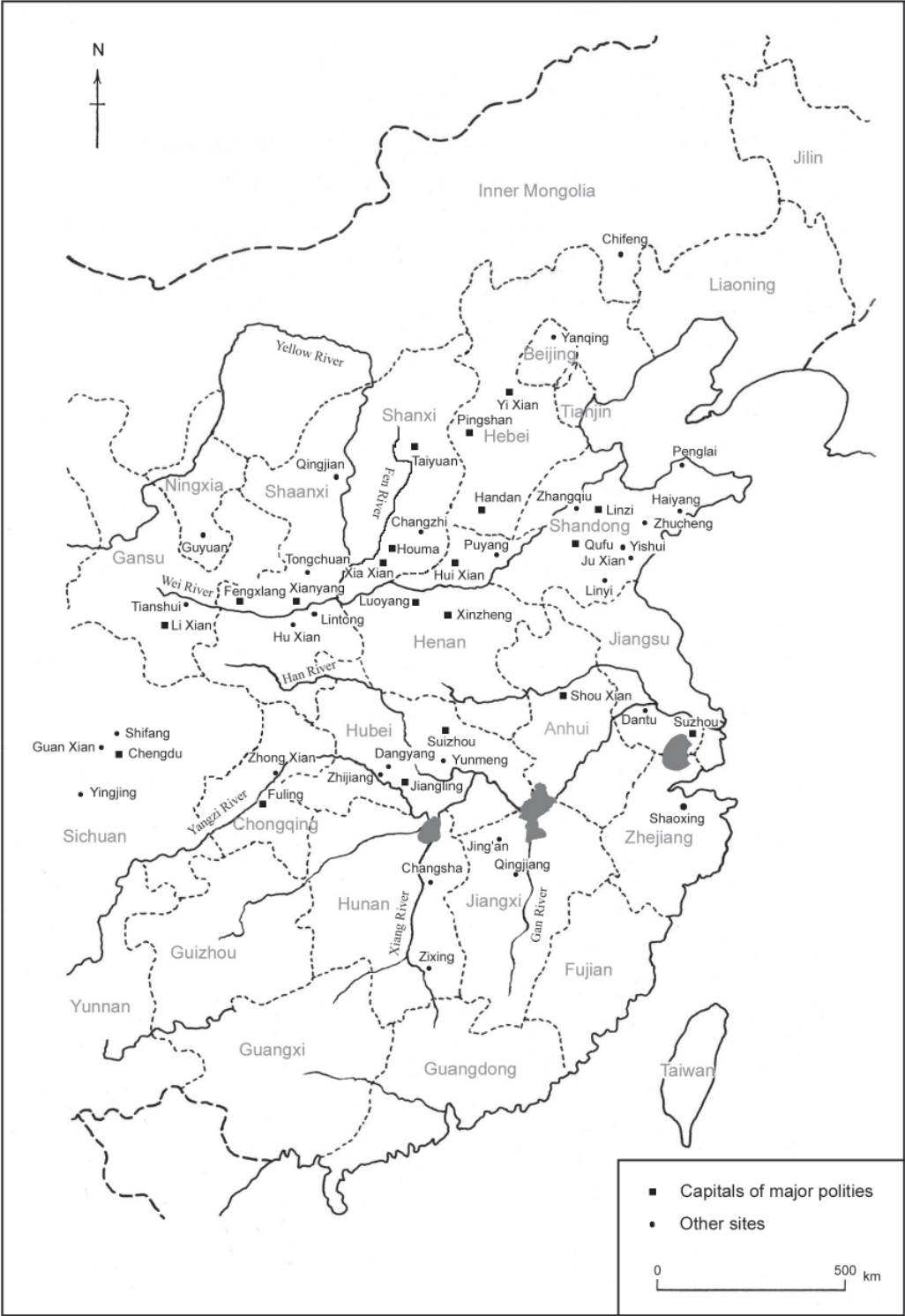
## CHAPTER SIX

# AN EXPANDING SOCIETY (CA. 1050-221 BC)

BESIDES THE DUAL tendencies of consolidation within and increasingly clear definition of differences from those “outside,” a third general tendency in social developments all over the Zhou culture sphere during the Age of Confucius was the expansion of typical Zhou modes of social organization into the surrounding non-Zhou areas (*Map 13*). Such expansion was achieved mainly by two processes: out-migration from the core areas of the Zhou culture sphere, and the reorganization of formerly non-Zhou populations along the principles of Zhou lineage organization. In many cases, this second process was no doubt a consequence of the first. Such reorganization and its archaeological manifestations are of particular interest to the present study. The main mechanisms at work, presumably, were once again marriage alliance and adoption involving the construction of fictive kinship bonds, already discussed in the introduction to Part II. Of course, the expansion of Zhou lineage society was often, though perhaps not always, an epiphenomenon of political events such as military conquest. In modern historiography, therefore, the discussion of such events easily becomes a loaded issue, as any mention of an expansion of the boundaries of “China,” however defined, evokes the “sinicization” debate. In other words, when the expansion of Late Bronze Age society is placed in the broad sweep of Chinese history, nationalistic historians often feel tempted to take it as evidence of the irresistible attraction of superior Chinese civilization and of its ability to transform less than fully human “Barbarians” into civilized human beings.<sup>1</sup> I have no wish to go down this path, even though the data discussed in this chapter are indeed potentially susceptible to longer-term historical analysis from various angles. For the purposes of the present project, it seems preferable to avoid addressing such wider implications. Therefore, in tracing the spread into surrounding areas of the lineage-based society described in Chapters One to Three, I shall focus strictly on the archaeological record; I shall view any observable tendencies of expansion and amalgamation as primarily social rather than political phenomena (though, as in previous chapters, the nature of the evidence makes it necessary to infer social information

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<sup>1</sup> For historical orientation on this complex of issues, see Holcombe 2001; Hansen 2000.



**Map 13.** Distribution of major sites from the second half of the Zhou period. Place names given are those of present-day counties and cities.

from what are, in the first place, traces of ritual activity); and I shall consider such tendencies as specific to their own epoch rather than as representative of a timeless pattern, or as a foretaste of things to come.

## EARLY TRENDS

During Western Zhou, in a practice later historians came to refer to as the *fengjian* system,<sup>2</sup> the Zhou kings established various branch lineages of the royal house, as well as other politically allied lineages, as deputy rulers in outlying territories, where they intermarried with local lineages. The new polities thus created no doubt acted as catalysts for the spread of Zhou modes of social interaction and ritual behavior over a wide area encompassing the Middle and Lower Yellow and Huai and Middle Yangzi basins, thus contributing significantly to the formation of a Zhou culture sphere that was socially integrated at least at the élite level. The cemeteries of the Jin and Yan lineages mentioned in Chapters Two and Four can be read as material testimonies of this early expansionary initiative, and they show that the Zhou social network with its specific ritual practices had at least started to encompass these distant areas.

At first, the practice of *fengjian* seems to have extended mainly to areas that had already been well within the orbit of the Shang political network during the preceding epoch. In areas beyond, evidence of social interaction with the inhabitants of the Zhou realm during Early Western Zhou times takes forms that resist interpretation in terms of Zhou social expansion. Such evidence includes several hoards of spectacular Early Western Zhou bronzes, in part inscribed, that have been found at the tip of the Shandong peninsula in the east,<sup>3</sup> in the mountainous area of Liaoning and southeastern Inner Mongolia

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<sup>2</sup> First in Japanese and later in Chinese, the term *fengjian* (“assign and establish”) has come to be used to render the European term “feudal” with all its historical baggage in non-Marxist as well as Marxist intellectual contexts. Lydia Liu (1995: 317) includes it in her list of “return graphic loans,” terms that, though ultimately derived from Classical Chinese, were reimported from Japan in completely different, modernized meanings. Occasioned in the main by this arbitrary lexical import, much ink has been spilled, quite unnecessarily, on the analysis of semantic and historical similarities between the Zhou practice of *fengjian* and medieval European feudalism (for references, see Chapter One, n. 71). At present, the scholarly consensus is that the analogy is more prone to mislead than to clarify; the *Cambridge History of Ancient China* (Loewe and Shaughnessy [eds.] 1999) eschews “feudal” vocabulary completely.

<sup>3</sup> Three caches were found in Huang Xian (Shandong). Qi Wentao 1972:5-8 and 16 n. 17.

Table 23. Western Zhou Bronzes Found in Hoards along the Zhou peripheries

PROVINCE COUNTY SITE Hoard	SC Pengzhou Zhuwajie (1959)	SC Pengzhou Zhuwajie (1981)	NMG Kazuo Haidaoyingzi	NMG Kazuo Beidongcun	NMG Kazuo Beidongcun	NMG Kazuo Shanwanzi	SD Huang Xian Xiaoliuzhuang	SD Huang Xian Guicheng Jiangjia	SD Huang Xian Luliagou (1897)
FOOD VESSELS									
<i>ding</i>			1		2			2	2
<i>fangding</i>					1				
<i>li</i>						1			
<i>yan</i>			1			1		1	1
<i>gui</i>			4			10			
<i>yu</i>			1		1	1			
round dish(?)						1			
LIQUOR CONTAINERS AND DRINKING VESSELS									
<i>jue</i>								2	
<i>zhi</i>	2						1	1	1
<i>you</i>			2			1	1	1	
<i>zan</i>	1					1	1	1	
<i>pou</i>				1					
<i>hu</i>			1					1	2
WATER CONTAINERS/WASHING VESSELS									
<i>lei</i>	5	4	2	5	1	3			
<i>pan</i>			1						
<i>be+</i>							1		
ladle					1				
MISCELLANEOUS									
duck-shaped vessel			1						
unidentified			2						
MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS									
bells									3(?)
Totals	8	4	16	6	6	20	4	9	9(?)

in the northeast,<sup>4</sup> and in Sichuan to the southwest.<sup>5</sup> The typological constellations of vessels in them vary (*Table 23*), but in no hoard do they constitute a complete set necessary to perform the ancestral sacrifices for which these bronzes had originally been intended. One may infer that the inhabitants of these areas in all likelihood did not practice such rituals, and that the ancestors whose names are inscribed on some of the vessels found in these hoards were unrelated to their local owners. Instead, the function of these ritual objects was in all likelihood redefined to fit local needs.<sup>6</sup> At the two hoards found at Zhuwajie, Pengzhou (Sichuan), for instance (*Fig. 48*), the dominant vessel type was the *lei* liquid container, which in standard Early Western Zhou vessel assemblages is of at best secondary importance. Yet *lei* must have been central to the otherwise undocumented ritual preoccupations of the inhabitants of Sichuan, who may well have used them in locally specific ways different from those stipulated by Zhou ritual.<sup>7</sup> Aside from their religious function, it stands to reason that the objects from these hoards were valued as prestige possessions by their non-Zhou owners. We do not know how they had been diffused to such far-away locations—as diplomatic gifts, as part of a dowry, as war booty,

<sup>4</sup> For a cache found at Hua'erlou, Yi Xian (Liaoning), see Sun Sixian and Shao Fuyu 1982. Four caches have been reported from Kazuo, in a part of Inner Mongolia was briefly part of Liaoning province during the Cultural Revolution. (Kazuo, a contraction of Kalaqin Zuoyi Mengguzu Zizhixian ["Karačín Left Wing Mongol Autonomous County"] is commonly misspelled as "Kezuo" in Western-language publications.) See Rehe Sheng Bowuguan Choubeizu 1955; Liaoning Sheng Bowuguan and Chaoyang Diqu Bowuguan 1973; Kazuo Xian Wenhuguan et al. 1974; 1977. Three additional localities in Kazuo have yielded deposits of bronzes, but the finds have not yet been properly reported; for preliminary information, see Xu Bingkun and Sun Shoudao 1998: 52-57; Guo Dashun 1987; Xu Yulin 1993: 323 and *passim*. For pertinent discussion, see Hirakawa 1994; Miyamoto 2000: 134-41; for a brief treatment in English, see Sun Yan 2003: 768-69.

<sup>5</sup> Two caches were found at Zhuwajie, Peng Xian (Sichuan). See Wang Jiayou 1961; Sichuan Sheng Bowuguan and Peng Xian Wenhuguan 1981. For discussion and further references see Falkenhausen 2001c, 2003d.

<sup>6</sup> Li Ling (2004: 30-36) interprets these finds as ritual deposits connected to ceremonial altar platforms, testifying to a religious custom of mountain worship that was widespread in many areas along the borders of the Shang and Zhou culture sphere.

<sup>7</sup> For instance, in the Middle and Upper Yangzi basin, Shang and Western Zhou bronze vessels have repeatedly been found filled with jades and other precious objects—a use unknown in north China, but resemblant of the (much later) bronze cowrie containers of the Dian culture in Yunnan. For references and further discussion, see Falkenhausen 2003c.



**Fig. 48.** Bronze vessels from two caches at Zhuwajie, Pengzhou (Sichuan). Early tenth century BC. Upper part: Assemblage excavated in 1959 (5 *lei*, 2 *zhi*, 1 *zun*). Lower row: Assemblage excavated in 1980 (4 *lei*).

or (less likely, during the period in question) through commercial exchange. In any case, their presence attests some level of engagement on the part of the Zhou rulers, or their representatives in the border polities, with the political élites in the non-Zhou areas beyond; and on the part of the latter, to some level of awareness of Zhou cultural production. Our findings in Chapter Five suggest that such interactions may have been accompanied, at least sometimes, by élite social alliances across ethnic boundaries.

The Late Western Zhou Ritual Reform enhanced élite-level cohesion *within* the Zhou realm. It seems likely that the social networks created earlier by the practice of *fengjian* were instrumental in facilitating the speedy and comprehensive spread of the new institutions. But if the *fengjian* system had been intended, originally, to expand Zhou sociopolitical institutions into distant areas, the Late Western Zhou Ritual Reform, by fixing the position of each participant, seems to have been intended mainly to create stability. In a sense, therefore, it may have constituted a step toward the increasing self-delimitation of Zhou society observed in Chapter Five. That complete sets of the new kinds of vessels promulgated in Late Western Zhou have never been found in non-Zhou archaeological contexts forcefully attests the inseparability of their ritual use and membership in Zhou lineage society.<sup>8</sup> Individual bronzes of these new types do occasionally occur in non-Zhou areas; the earliest instances that come to mind are from the tombs of the so-called Upper Xiajiadian culture at Nanshangen, Ningcheng (Inner Mongolia), where Late Western Zhou/Early Springs and Autumns-period *wawen*-decorated *gui*, as well as *ding* tripods of Zhou manufacture, are intermixed with locally made bronzes executed in a completely different style (Fig. 49). It is unclear whether the two kinds of bronzes were intended to be used in conjunction, and if so, how.<sup>9</sup> In the Middle Springs and Autumns period similar combinations have been reported from the tombs of the problematically named “Mountain Barbarians” (Shanrong), a nomadic group active just to the north of modern Beijing.<sup>10</sup> But overall, even though any assessment at present is based

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<sup>8</sup> In arguing in this sense, here and elsewhere, we must of course beware of the tautology of *defining* the Zhou by its ritual bronze sets; the presence of such objects is to be taken merely as a probable *indicator* of the Zhou.

<sup>9</sup> Liaoning Sheng Zhaowuda Meng Wenwu Gongzuozhan and Zhongguo Kexueyuan Kaogu Yanjiusuo Dongbei Gongzuodui 1973; Xiang Chunsong and Li Yi 1995. As Mayke Wagner (2001: 293) has pointed out, the designation Upper Xiajiadian is a misnomer, commingling what in reality are several separate cultural traditions.

<sup>10</sup> Beijing Shi Wenwu Yanjiusuo Shanrong Wenhua Kaogudui 1989. See also Linduff et al. 1997: 62–67. The problematic label Shanrong, derived from exceedingly scanty records in the *Chunqiu* and *Zuo zhuan* (Zhuang 30 and Xi 9; *Shisanjing zhushu* 10.80, p. 1782 and 13.98, p. 1800), is unlikely to have been the ethnonym of a specific group.





**Fig. 49.** Bronze vessels from Nanshangen, Ningcheng (Inner Mongolia). Upper row: local-style double container vaguely inspired by *gui* vessels; two imported *ding* of Zhou manufacture. Middle row: imported *gui* of Zhou manufacture; two locally made tripod vessels inspired by *ding* vessels. Lower row: imported *hu* of Zhou manufacture. Eighth-seventh centuries BC.

on a very small and statistically meaningless sample, one has the impression that the number of occurrences as well as the size and preciousness of Zhou ritual-vessel exports declined after 850 BC. On the one hand, this might be taken as an indication of political weakening on the part of the Zhou; but on the other, it may illustrate the closing-in of Zhou lineage society vis-à-vis outsiders. In other words, there may have been less and less tolerance for intermediate situations in which a non-Zhou group would selectively participate in some aspects of Zhou culture while maintaining itself as a separate social entity with its own rituals and customs. This seems to have been true in particular along the northern peripheries of the Zhou culture sphere. As the Eastern Zhou period wore on, marginal groups were increasingly facing the alternatives of joining in or remaining outside—of giving up all of their own traditions or being compelled to be radically different. It goes without saying that they were not always in a position to choose freely between the two, but archaeology is not well equipped to determine

the circumstances. In the present chapter we shall be mostly concerned with the material manifestations of those who, for whatever reasons, joined in.

## THE AMALGAMATION OF THE “EASTERN BARBARIANS”

A tendency to replace non-Zhou local material with mainstream Zhou artifacts during the centuries following the Late Western Zhou Ritual Reform is most pronounced in the eastern coastal region. In today's Shandong province, a plethora of polities existed side by side, some ruled by former Shang subjects, some (like Lu, discussed in Chapter Four) invested by the royal Zhou, and still others governed by ruling houses of the aboriginal “Barbarian” (Eastern Yi) inhabitants of the area.<sup>11</sup> The distinctive non-Zhou archaeological complexes (or “cultures”) that still existed in the remote eastern portion of the Shandong peninsula during Western Zhou and into Early Springs and Autumns times (presumably representing unacculturated Eastern Yi populations) seem to have come to an end by Middle Springs and Autumns at the latest.<sup>12</sup> Springs and Autumns-period tombs and artifacts associated by inscriptions and/or historical geography with polities governed by Eastern Yi lineages are well-nigh undistinguishable from those of their Zhou-affiliated neighbors. As an example, Table 24 lists bronze vessel assemblages from the Ju polity in southwestern Shandong. From this area, cemeteries comparable to those analyzed in Chapters Two to Five have not yet been reported, and all we have to go by are individual tombs; moreover, a number of assemblages are incomplete due to looting. Nevertheless, the constellation of types is identical with what may

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<sup>11</sup> Wang Xiantang 1979; Wang Xun 1994. The distinction between Eastern Yi and former Shang subjects may be unwarranted (cf. Kikawada 2001a), given that at least part of the Eastern Yi are likely to have been encompassed in the Shang state network; the issue is unresolved, as is the notion, first advanced by Fu Sinian (1935) that the Shang themselves might have been of Eastern Yi origin. Luan Fengshi (1996) traces the development of the Eastern Yi through the cultural sequences of Shandong. For a sophisticated analysis of archaeological attempts to reveal an Eastern Yi ethnic identity in the earlier part of the Bronze Age, see Cohen 2001.

<sup>12</sup> The local Bronze Age cultures of the Jiaodong Peninsula (the eastern part of present-day Shandong province) are still very incompletely explored. The best-reported sites with remains contemporaneous with the Zhou-period are Zhishui in Yantai and Nanhuangzhuang (a.k.a. Nanxieshan) in Rushan (Shandong) (Yan Wenming et al. 2000: 96-150, 244-68, and *passim* for other contemporaneous finds). For further discussion, see Yan Wenming 1986: 83-86; Luan Fengshi 1996: 354-68. The blending of “Eastern Yi” and Zhou material cultures is described by Wang Xun 1994: 96-114; related discussion in Wang Qing 2002: 186-201.

**Table 24.** Bronze Assemblages at Ju Cemeteries in the Shandong Peninsula

COUNTY	Linyi	Yishui	Pingyi	Linyi	Yishui	Yishui	Yishui	Ju Xian	Linyi	Junan	Junan
SITE	Zhongqiagou	Lijiazhuang	Caizhuang	Ezhuangqu	Lijiazuan	Liujiadianzi	Donghebeicun	Tianjingwang	Fenghuangling	Dadian	Dadian
Tomb	1	?	?	?	1	2	1	?	subidiary pit	1	2
Condition	intact	?	?	eMCQ	intact	intact	frag.	MCQ	looted	frag.	looted
Date	ECQ	IECQ	IECQ	MCQ	MCQ*	MCQ	MCQ	MCQ	eLCQ	LCQ	LCQ
guo/guan	1+1	?	?	?	2+1+k	1+1?	?	?	1+2	1+1	1+1
FOOD VESSELS											
<i>ding</i>	4		2	3	16	9	1	6	10	2(7)	(7)
<i>yiding</i>	1	1									
<i>li</i>	1	1	1	1	9		1		1(8)	(1)	(6)
<i>yan</i>					1				3		(1)
<i>yu</i>			4		1				2		
<i>hai</i>					1				1		
<i>cheng</i>					2				3	3(6)	
<i>dui</i>					7						
covered <i>dou</i>											
coverless <i>dou</i>											
<i>guan</i>		2			1(13)	pres.			(6)	(10)	(12)
<i>weng</i>									(9)	(2)	(2)
<i>be*</i>					2		1		(13)	1	2
LIQUOR CONTAINERS											
“ <i>you</i> ”		1			7	pres.			3	1(7)	2
<i>bu</i>								1	1		(9)
<i>paobu</i>					2						
<i>pou</i>											
WATER CONTAINERS/WASHING VESSELS											
<i>lei</i>					4	2		2			
<i>pan</i>	1	1	1	1	1	1		1	1	1	
<i>be+</i>					1				1		
<i>yi</i>			2	1	1	1					
<i>jun</i>								1			(1)
MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS											
<i>yongzhong</i>				1/9	4/20						
<i>nuzhong</i>					1/9						
<i>bo</i>					1/6			1/6	1/9	1/9	1/9
<i>chunyu</i>					2			1/3	1/9	1	
<i>zhang</i>					1						
<i>duo</i>									1	{1/12}	
chimestones											
Total:	7	6	10	7	64	16+	3	14	3+	10	5

An additional set of bronzes (1 *ding*, 1 *li*, 1 *pen*, 1 “*xiaoguan*” [or “*humbi*”]) was found in the horse-and-chariot pit adjacent to Tomb 1 at Liujiadianzi. Bracketed figures are ceramics (not included in totals)

be observed in other parts of the Zhou culture sphere at the time, and the shape and execution of the ritual vessels found also corresponds to trends in neighboring territories ruled by lineages affiliated with the Jī and Jiang clans. Some vessels additionally feature inscriptions showing that, by this time, the Ju élite kept records and formulated ritual messages in Chinese. Evidently, it had fully embraced the rituals of its Zhou neighbors. The same observations can be made in other Yi polities such as Zhu (Zou) and Ji. The integration of the Yi into Zhou society is also documented in the *Chunqiu* and the *Zuo zhuan*, where representatives of Yi polities such as Ju are frequently listed among the participants in inter-polity alliances. Any observable idiosyncrasies—such as the unusual eleven-part set of *ding* in the tomb of a Ju ruler at Liujiadianzi, Yishui (Shandong),<sup>13</sup> the unusually large number of human victims in several of the tombs listed in Table 24, and the division of some of the larger tombs in two chambers (one for the coffin and the other for the funerary objects), must be seen, not as indicators of a separate ethnic or cultural identity, but as piecemeal modifications *within* the Zhou ritual code. And indeed, similar features are also seen in non-Yi contexts in the eastern portions of the Zhou realm.

Some uncertainties remain; in particular, there are no finds that could show whether or not the non-élite populations of the erstwhile Eastern Yi polities followed their rulers' assimilation to the ways of the Zhou. If the latter's intention in joining the Zhou alliance system had been to insure the political survival of their polities, this strategy did not meet with any long-term success. In time, the former Eastern Yi polities were all absorbed by the major Zhou-affiliated polities of the area; Ju, for instance, was extinguished by Chu in 431, though most of the former Ju territory was eventually swallowed up by Qi. The inscriptions on a set of bells excavated at the Early Warring States-period cemetery at Zangjiazhuang, Zhucheng (Shandong), far away from the original Ju territory, document a descendant of the ruling family of Ju who had become a local administrator within the Qi kingdom.<sup>14</sup> This individual's "Eastern Yi" ethnic origin was apparently irrelevant to his status as a member of the Qi élite.

## THE KINGDOM OF ZHONGSHAN

Another, later, example of a Zhou-type polity governed by an originally "alien" group was Zhongshan, on the foothills of the Taihang mountain range in present-day central Hebei.<sup>15</sup> Its rulers were descended from the Di tribes.

<sup>13</sup> Shandong Sheng Wenwu Kaogu Yanjiusuo and Yishui Xian Wenwu Guanlizhan 1984.

<sup>14</sup> Shandong Zhucheng Xian Bowuguan 1987.

<sup>15</sup> The following section is adapted from Falkenhausen 1999c.

Seldom mentioned in the historical texts, Zhongshan was apparently founded sometime before 530 BC and flourished for approximately two centuries. By 323 BC at the latest, its rulers had adopted the title of king,<sup>16</sup> following the practice of other Warring States-period rulers. The course of Zhongshan's history was largely determined by its relations with its mightier neighbors: the state was temporarily annexed by Wei in 406-378 BC, participated in a victorious coalition war against Yan in 312 BC, and was finally annihilated by Zhao in 296 BC.<sup>17</sup>

Archaeological investigations during the 1970s revealed extensive remains of the Zhongshan capital of Lingshou and the royal cemeteries on the north bank of the Hutuo River at Sanji, Pingshan (Hebei).<sup>18</sup> The capital consisted of several adjacent enclosures with rammed-earth walls and moats, apparently resembling those of neighboring kingdoms. So far, its total extent has not been determined, and the settlement inside remains largely unexcavated. Excavations have focused instead on the numerous cemeteries in the area, which include two regularly aligned complexes of royal tombs, one within the walls of the Lingshou capital, the other some two kilometers to the west.<sup>19</sup> Following a custom new in the Warring States period, each ruler's tomb was topped by a huge, rammed-earth, terraced mound (see Chapters Seven and Eight; *Figs. 66, 76*). In antiquity, these mounds were surmounted by wooden buildings. Particularly impressive is the tomb of King Cuo (d. ca. 308 BC),<sup>20</sup> the second-last king of Zhongshan. Its mound originally rose some 20 meters high (including the height of the foundation platform) and measured some 60 meters on each side at its base. As it had been partly eroded before excavation, archaeologists salvaged only scanty remains of the colonnades surrounding

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<sup>16</sup> In the inscription on a *yue* axe from King Cuo's tomb (Hebei Sheng Wenwu Yanjiusuo 1995, vol. 1: 294-296, 396-398; vol. 2, cpl. 36.1, pl. 211.1; *Yin Zhou jinwen jishi* 18.11758), the Son of Heaven (Tianzi)—i.e. the Zhou king—is mentioned and the ruler of Zhongshan is referred to as marquis (*bou*). The axe is thought to have been a Zhou royal gift, conferred at the occasion of the Yan campaign referred to in the other inscribed bronzes from the tomb. If so, local kings even in Late Warring States still used their old titles vis-à-vis the Zhou king. What makes this interpretation somewhat uncertain is the object's unusual style, which seems to belie its manufacture at the Zhou royal workshops; as weapons, *yue* axes had long become obsolete by this period.

<sup>17</sup> Hebei Sheng Wenwu Yanjiusuo 1995, vol. 1: 3-5; Li Xueqin 1985: 93-107.

<sup>18</sup> Hebei Sheng Wenwu Yanjiusuo 1987; Xu Hong 2000: 104 fig. 51.

<sup>19</sup> Hebei Sheng Wenwu Guanlichu 1979.

<sup>20</sup> Hebei Sheng Wenwu Yanjiusuo 1995. The name Cuo is sometimes transcribed as Xi. The character used is otherwise unattested; the transcription as Cuo is here followed for the sake of phonetic contrast.

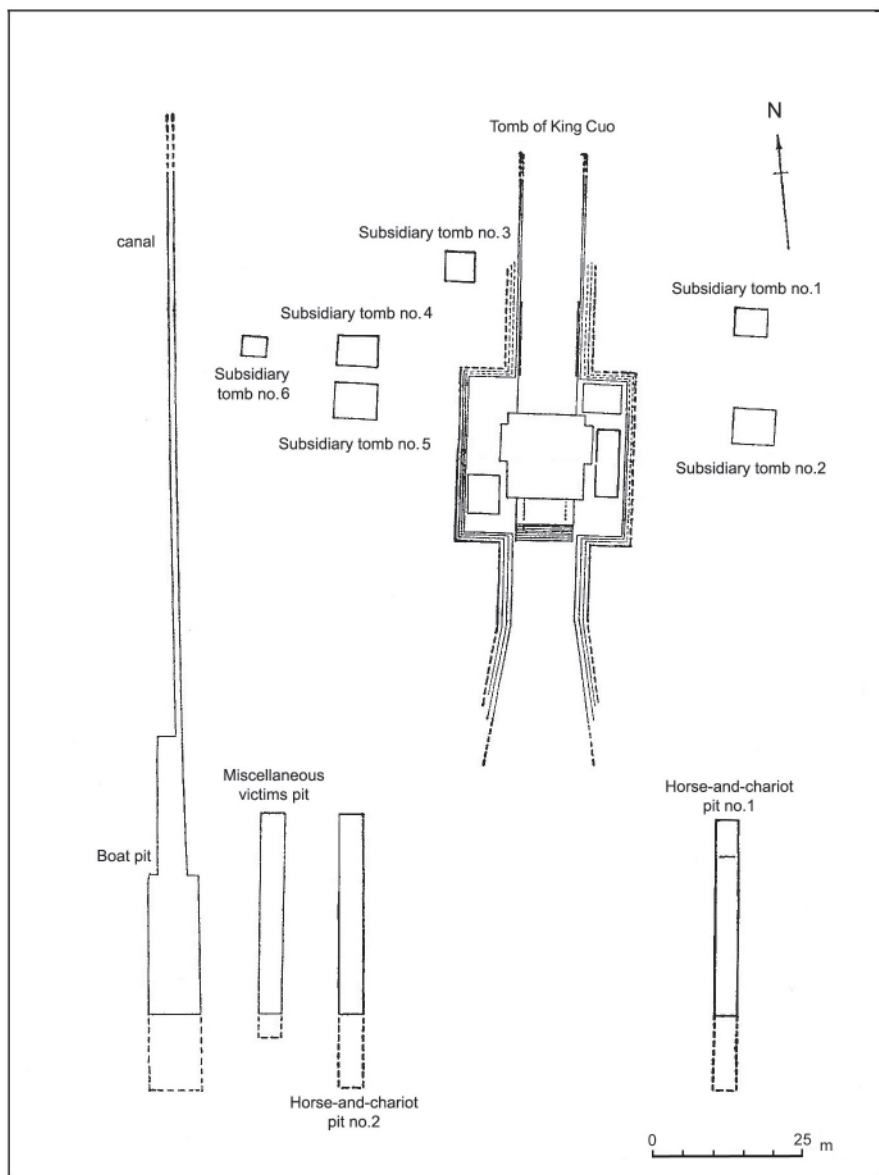
its earthen core at three different levels. Underground, the total length of the tomb pit is 97 meters, the two sloping entry ramps (*mudao*) extending far beyond the perimeter of the mound and its foundation platform (Fig. 50). The stone-lined central burial chamber had been looted virtually empty before excavation; but two of three wooden storage compartments on the surrounding second-level ledge still contained plentiful bronze and ceramic vessels, jades, and musical instruments, as well as traces of objects made of organic materials such as lacquered wood. In addition, the underground portions of King Cuo's tomb also included six subsidiary tombs, probably of persons closely associated with the king in life (whether they were sacrificed at the time of his death is unclear); two horse-and-chariot pits, each holding twelve horses and several chariots with their equipment; a "mixed victims pit" filled with the skeletons of ten sheep and six horses; and a boat pit containing three boats, which was apparently linked to the Hutuo River by a narrow underground canal. In layout and size King Cuo's tomb is typical for those of Warring States-period rulers, and its assemblage of funerary goods is the most comprehensive now preserved from the highest level of society during the late fourth century BC.

Long inscriptions incised on several bronzes found in the West Storage Compartment—one square *hú*, one round *bú*, and one *díng*—justify the king's participation in the 312 BC war against Yan and praise the competence and loyalty of his chief minister.<sup>21</sup> Couched in the sententious ritual language typical for Zhou bronze inscriptions (see Chapter Seven) and laced with stock phrases from classical texts, these texts extol the political values that were being propounded in this period by mainstream political thinkers, including those of Confucian intellectual lineage. Like the funerary assemblage in its entirety, they show that, despite its relative obscurity and its "Barbarian" origins, Warring States-period Zhongshan operated fully within the Zhou cultural and intellectual mainstream.

Scholars seeking indications of the Di "Barbarian" origins of Zhongshan in the material finds from King Cuo's tomb have focused on a set of five large, unornamented, three-pronged bronze objects from Horse-and-Chariot Pit 2 (Fig. 51).<sup>22</sup> In the stems, wood remains are preserved to a length of up to 48

<sup>21</sup> Hebei Sheng Wenwu Yanjiusuo 1995, vol. 1: 111-12, 118-21, 124-25, 343-401; *Yin Zhou jinwen jicheng* 5. 2840, 15, 9735. One of these inscriptions is translated in Mattos 1997: 104-11.

<sup>22</sup> Hebei Sheng Wenwu Yanjiusuo 1995, vol. 1: 102-3; vol. 2: cpl. 1, pl. 86. The excavators believe that a looted horse-and-chariot pit arranged symmetrically with Pit 2 must have originally contained additional objects of the same kind. There is another set of six of these objects from the still unpublished Tomb 6 at the Eastern Necropolis inside the Lingshou capital (see Fong [ed.] 1980, no. 92).



**Fig. 50.** Plan of the tomb pit of King Cuo of Zhongshan at Sanji, Pingshan (Hebei). Late fourth century BC. The plan shows the main tomb pit and all subsidiary tombs and pits.



centimeters, indicating that these objects were mounted on poles, presumably for display. Enigmatic symbols on the stems may have specified their order of placement. Two of the five specimens additionally feature short inscriptions; but rather than indicating their function and significance, they merely give the official affiliation and names of the staff members in charge of them.<sup>23</sup> When such objects were first exhibited in the United States in 1980, the catalogue text stated: "Visible from long distances and awesome at close range, they are effective emblems of power and reflect dramatically the nomadic, tent-dwelling origins of the Di barbarians, who became rulers of Zhongshan in the Warring States period."<sup>24</sup> The excavators of King Cuo's tomb even provide reconstruction drawings showing these pronged objects placed around a Mongolian-style yurt (see *Fig. 51*).<sup>25</sup> But it should be realized that the Di had never been steppe nomads, but were descended from mountain-dwellers who had been settled for several millennia before the rise of the Zhongshan kingdom.<sup>26</sup> There can be no doubt that the economy of Zhongshan during the Warring States period was agrarian, just like that of its neighbor states in the North China Plain. Although they had probably lacked state-level political structures until sometime about the middle of the first millennium BC, the lineage organization of the Di paralleled that of the Shang and Zhou, with whom they had interacted and intermarried over many generations, as attested by scattered textual records. The proposed associations with nomadic life are anachronistic and almost certainly fanciful.

The excavators suggest a slightly more plausible line of interpretation in observing that the three-pronged shape evokes the character *shan*, "mountain," which forms part of the name Zhongshan; these "standard tops" may thus have constituted a specific emblem of that state. But the *shan* shape also appears elsewhere in Eastern Zhou art, e.g., in the pronged bronze fittings on coffins in various aristocratic tombs in north China dating from the ninth to fifth centuries BC.<sup>27</sup>

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<sup>23</sup> Their official affiliation was "Zuoshiku gong" (Workers [attached to] the Official Treasury of the Left); their personal names were Xi and Cai (Hebei Wenwu Yanjiusuo 1995, vol. 1: 436-437). These were probably not the craftsmen who cast these bronzes, but low-ranking administrators.

<sup>24</sup> Jenny F. So in Fong (ed.) 1980: 319.

<sup>25</sup> Hebei Sheng Wenwu Yanjiusuo 1995, vol. 1: 286-87.

<sup>26</sup> Průšek 1971; Di Cosmo 1999.

<sup>27</sup> E.g., in Tomb 1706 at Shangcunling (see Zhongguo Kexueyuan Kaogu Yanjiusuo 1959a, pl. 50.1), where a central prong is flanked by two birds, perched atop a trapezoid-shaped shield. A similar object was found in an eighth-century BC tomb at Xidazhuang, Ju Xian (Shandong) (Ju Xian Bowuguan 1999: 616, fig. 3.10). Hayashi Minao (1966: 84) links this motif to early pennants; elsewhere, he associates the central prong with pentagonal gui jade tablets, which served as insignes of persons of rank during ceremonies and could serve as a writing medium for ritually sanctified covenant texts (Hayashi 1991: 74-79).

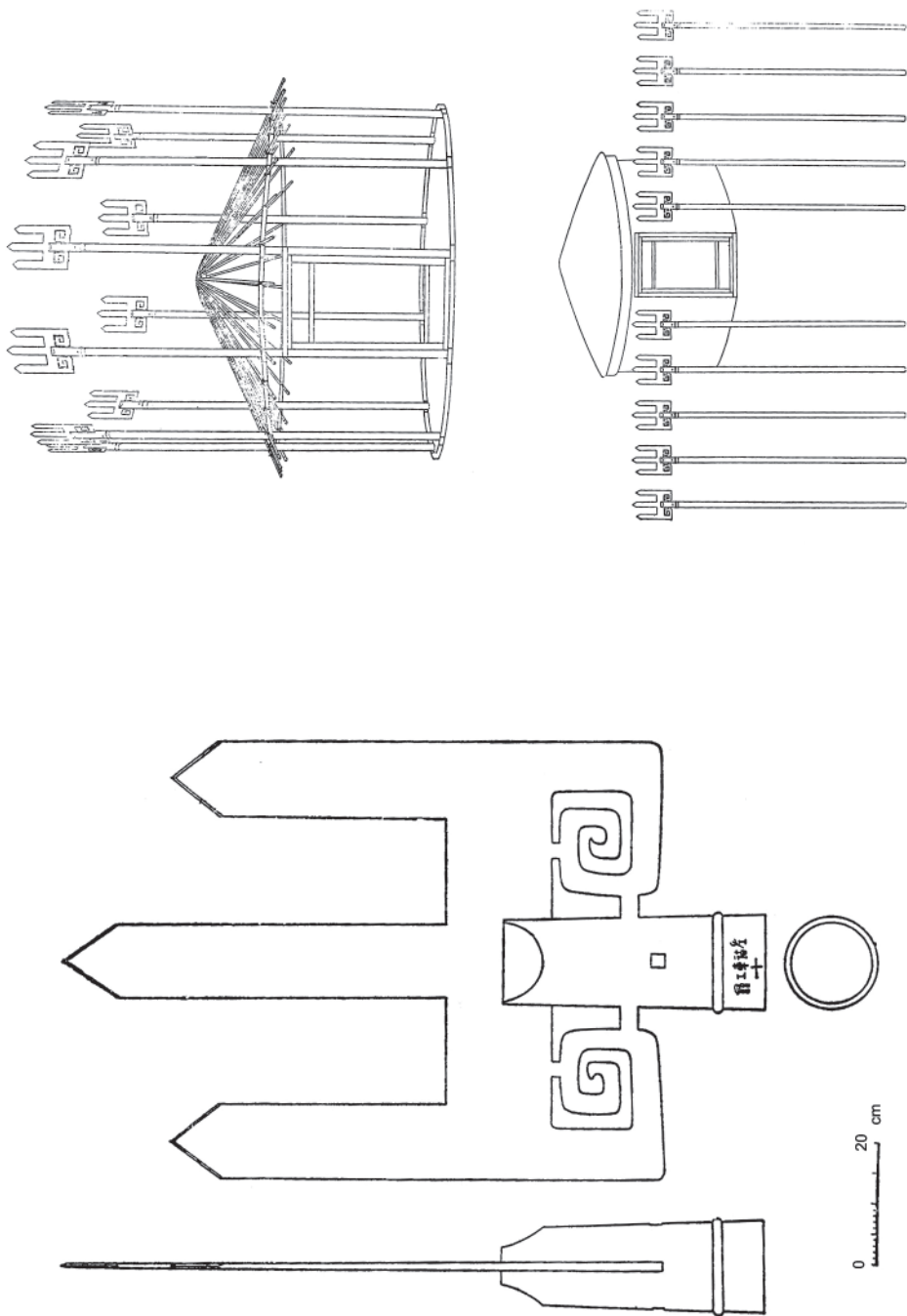


Fig. 51. Bronze three-pronged standard top from the tomb of King Cuo of Zhongshan at Sanji, Pingshan (Hebei). Late fourth century BC. The two proposed reconstructions of the display of such objects in front of a yurt are probably fanciful.

Similar motifs also occur in Hàn and later iconography connected with the cult of immortality.<sup>28</sup> Such evidence suggests a semantic connection between the “standard tops” and the religious dimensions of their funerary setting (see also Chapter Seven). Reflecting general developments in Warring States ideas about tombs and the afterlife, they might have served, for instance, to avert evil from the tomb, or to conjure numinous power into the tomb. Similar objects may well have been part of the insignia of any Warring States-period ruler. That they have so far been found only in Zhongshan is probably because all other contemporaneous tombs of comparable rank so far excavated had been looted long before excavation.

Another focus of unwarranted “Barbarian” associations in previous analyses of the Zhongshan finds are two pairs of winged beasts, made of bronze inlaid with gold and silver, found in the above-mentioned storage compartments flanking King Cuo’s burial chamber.<sup>29</sup> Probably made to serve as supports for wooden screens or other luxurious pieces of furniture, they are among the most dramatic pieces of sculpture from pre-Imperial China (*Fig. 52*). They combine the features of several animals—tigers, reptiles, and birds.<sup>30</sup> Winged dragons and felines suddenly appeared as a common motif in Chinese art during the mid-fifth century BC. It has been suggested that they derived from the Near East,<sup>31</sup> and thence may have reached China by way of Iranian and/or Scythian intermediaries. This has prompted interpretation of the sculptural beasts from King Cuo’s tomb as an indicator of Zhongshan’s “Barbarian” identity. But in the late fourth century BC, this iconography was well established all over the Zhou culture sphere, and it is

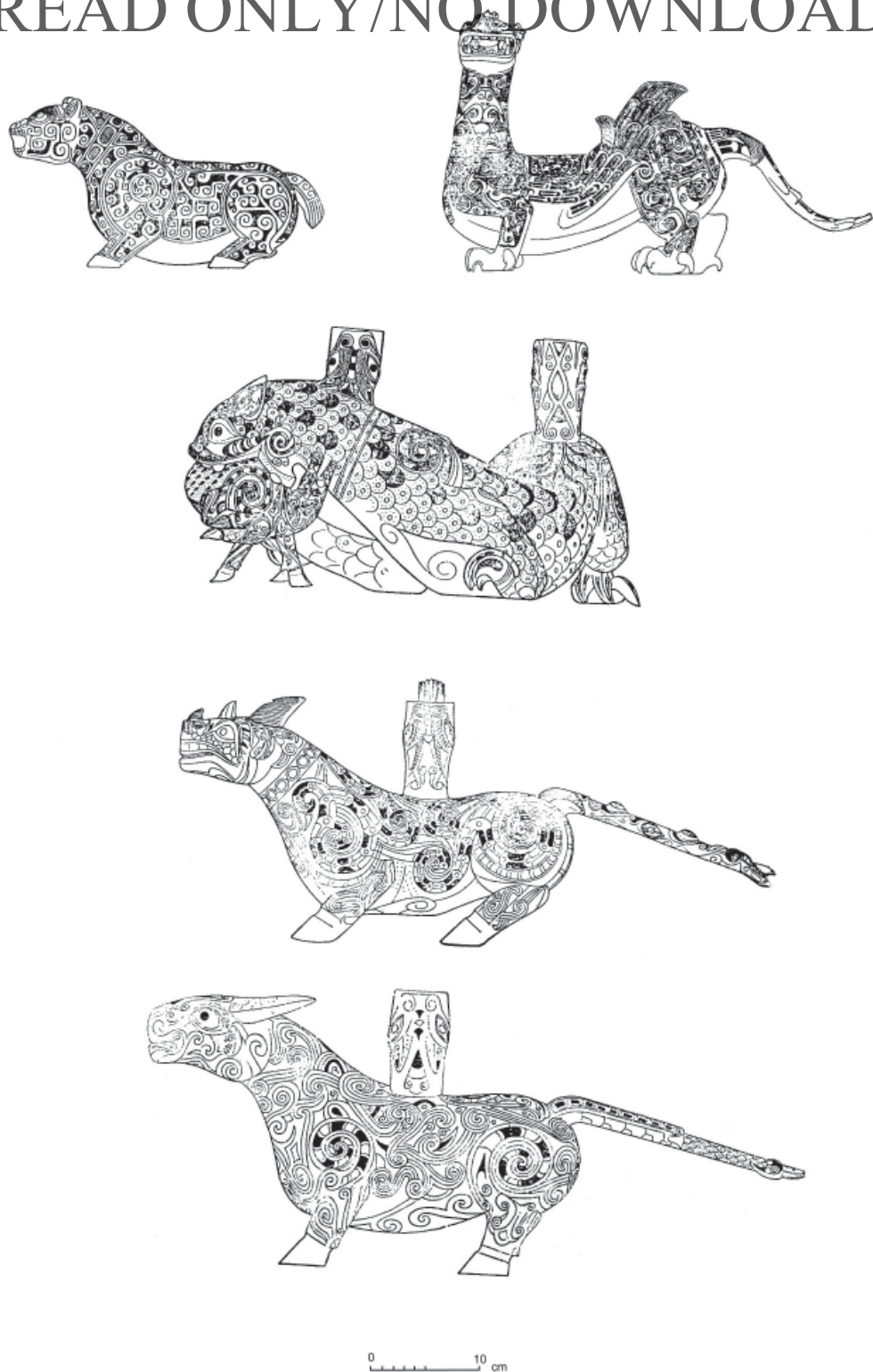
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<sup>28</sup> In particular, triple prongs forming the shape of the Chinese character for “mountain” (*shan*)—but not necessarily carrying such a meaning—occur in Eastern Hàn iconography (e.g., in the tomb carvings at Beizhaicun, Yinan [Shandong]) as attributes of apotropaic deities (see Hayashi 1989: 129-45 and *fig. 2*).

<sup>29</sup> Hebei Sheng Wenwu Yanjiusuo 1995, vol. 1: 141-43; vol. 2: cpl. 16, pll. 94-95.

<sup>30</sup> Hayashi (1988: 295) classifies them as “running dragons.” Similar winged chimeras are also depicted on the elaborate basis of an ornately inlaid bronze “table” from the Eastern storage compartment of King Cuo’s tomb (Hebei Sheng Wenwu Yanjiusuo 1995, vol. 1: 137-39; vol. 2: cpl. 14, pl. 91).

<sup>31</sup> Rawson 1999b: 22; Li Ling 2001, 2004: 136-44. I have noticed at least two instances of winged chimeras in Chinese bronze art that long predate the mid-fifth century BC: on the Deng Zhong-*xizun*, a pair of Late Western Zhou-period animal-shaped bronze vessels from Tomb 163 at Zhangjiapo (Zhongguo Shehuikexueyuan Kaogu Yanjiusuo 1999: 161-64), wingtips emerge from the lower side of the belly; and—very surprisingly—a spindly winged-dragon figure at the basis of the famous “bronze tree” from Sacrificial Pit 2 at Sanxingdui, Guanghan (Sichuan), the product of an idiosyncratic local bronze-manufacturing tradition contemporaneous with the Shang dynasty (see Falkenhausen 2003c for references and further discussion).



**Fig. 52.** Inlaid-bronze animals from the tomb of King Cuo of Zhongshan at Sanji, Pingshan (Hebei). Late fourth century BC. The winged beast on the upper right is from the western storage compartment, the others from the eastern storage compartment in the main tomb pit.

disingenuous to take it as indicating a “Barbarian” cultural identity in Zhongshan but not elsewhere. The elegant, powerfully dynamic shape of these winged beasts is light-years away from any known West Asian prototypes, unmistakably indicating a Late Zhou artistic sensibility. As with the pronged standard tops, the religious context should be foremost in the interpretation of such creatures. They are, in fact, the fountainhead of a long tradition of winged protecting beasts (*bixie*) placed inside or in front of tombs. As part of a demonic iconography newly evolving during the Warring States, they may have been associated with ideas of immortality and travel through limitless space (see Chapter Seven).

These observations on individual works of art exemplify once again the pitfalls of trying to read ethnic identity into material objects, and the extent to which ethnic stereotypes (especially about nomads) can prejudice archaeological interpretations. In fact, everything about the Zhongshan tombs and their contents shows a close adherence to Zhou ritual norms. Like the Eastern Yi elite lineages in Shandong, the Zhongshan ruling house appears to have been fully integrated into the Zhou lineage network. This integration had effectively reduced the erstwhile ethnic distinction to a level comparable to that of the inter-clan distinctions discussed in Chapter Four, which in turn, by Warring States times, were of a similar order as distinctions between lineages. This parallels the case of Qin, discussed in Chapter Five, except that there is only inconclusive evidence for the Qin ruling house ever having been ethnically distinct from the Zhou elite mainstream. Chu, which we shall discuss presently, is a similar case.

As to the lower strata of the Zhongshan population, we have no direct information, but the elaboration and luxury of the capital and its royal tombs would not have been possible without an efficient administrative apparatus which could coordinate the necessary labor force. The existence of a fairly elaborate bureaucracy is also indicated by inscriptions on many of the objects from King Cuo's tombs, naming a plethora of administrative units in charge of them. This situation virtually presupposes that in Zhongshan the basic pattern of non-élite as well as élite social organization resembled that in other Warring States-period kingdoms.

## THE YANGZI RIVER BASIN

By comparison with the phenomena of social amalgamation observed in northern China during Eastern Zhou times, the Yangzi River system presents a more ambiguous case. In contrast to the Eastern Yi politics in Shandong, and to Zhongshan, the ethnically and linguistically distinctive populations of this area manifested themselves in material-culture complexes that were highly idiosyncratic. The sources indicate the existence of major unassimilated non-Zhou politics in two areas: the Lower Yangzi with northern Zhejiang, and the

Sichuan Basin. They name the kingdoms of Xu, Wu, and Yue in the former area, and Ba and Shu in the latter, but this list is unlikely to be exhaustive.<sup>32</sup> In all probability, these local polities as well as their unrecorded peers had their roots in the well-developed and stylistically distinctive bronze-producing cultures that had existed in the Yangzi River basin since Middle Shang times, and had long been in intermittent contact with the early dynasties in the Yellow River Basin.<sup>33</sup> Even so, they remained in a state of relative political and cultural isolation until the second half of the Springs and Autumns period. Wu is recorded to have joined the Zhou state network in 584 BC,<sup>34</sup> Yue in the early fifth century BC,<sup>35</sup> and inscriptional evidence suggests that Xu had become part of the Chu state system before it was conquered by Wu in 512 BC (discoveries of inscribed bronzes document descendants of former Xu rulers in Chu later on).<sup>36</sup> Wu was swallowed by Yue in 473 BC,<sup>37</sup> and Yue by Chu in 307 BC.<sup>38</sup> The more remote polities of Ba and Shu, though sometimes mentioned in Eastern Zhou texts, do not seem to have engaged in full-fledged diplomatic contact with their peer-polities in the Zhou culture sphere; they were conquered by Qin in 316 BC.<sup>39</sup> In each case, the distinctive local material culture soon disappeared, and so did the local languages.

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<sup>32</sup> The basic textual data on these five kingdoms are presented in Chen Pan 1969: 268a-274a, 50a-71b, 394a-402a, 218b-223b; 1970: 17a-23b. Chen also lists a host of more obscure polities.

<sup>33</sup> Bagley (1987: 32-36; 1999) has insisted with especial forcefulness on the independence of these cultural traditions from the early dynasties in the Yellow River basin.

<sup>34</sup> *Chunqiu/Zuo zhuan* Cheng 7 (*Sbisanjing zhusbu* 26.201, p. 1903); *Shi ji* “Wu Tai Bo shijia” (*Shi ji* 31.1448).

<sup>35</sup> The *Zuo zhuan* (Ai 21, *Sbisanjing zhusbu* 60.478, p. 2180) explicitly records the first ambassadorial contact between Lu and Yue in 474 BC. It is unknown whether Yue had established diplomatic relations with any other Zhou polities previous to that time.

<sup>36</sup> *Zuo zhuan* Zhao 30 (*Sbisanjing zhusbu* 53.424, p. 2126); Li Xueqin 1985: 190-191. Two finds of inscribed Xu bronzes in Jiangxi—at Qingquan, Gao’an in 1888 (Guo Moruo 1958, pt. 3: 162a-b) and at Lijia, Jing’an in 1979 (Jiangxi Sheng Lishi Bowuguan and Jing’an Xian Wenhuaquan 1980), in the latter case together with objects of Warring States date—may indicate the area where Xu descendants resided after the demise of their polity of origin. A Warring States-period bronze-yielding tomb at Qingjiang (Jiangxi) (Jiangxi Sheng Bowuguan and Qingjiang Xian Bowuguan 1977) has also been interpreted in this sense (Wang Shimin in *Zhongguo Shehuikexueyuan Kaogu Yanjiusuo* 1984: 317).

<sup>37</sup> *Zuo zhuan* Ai 17 (*Sbisanjing zhusbu* 60.477, p. 2179).

<sup>38</sup> *Shi ji* “Yue Wang Goujian shijia” (*Shi ji* 41.1751).

<sup>39</sup> Cf. *Shi ji* “Qin benji” (*Shi ji* 5.207).



Below, we shall take a closer look at the Lower Yangzi region, for which archaeological data are relatively ample, to see how its absorption into the Zhou culture sphere reflected itself materially. As with Qin in Chapter Five, in order to assess the region's distinctiveness, a basis of comparison must be established. In the Yangzi River basin, the best counterpart for such a comparison is Chu in the Middle Yangzi region, sandwiched between Ba and Shu to the west and Xu, Wu, and Yue to the east.

The massive walls of the Warring States-period Chu capital of Jinancheng are still well preserved on the outskirts of modern-day Jiangling (Hubei),<sup>40</sup> an area blessed with waterlogged soils in which, unusually for China, organic materials such as lacquered wood and silk textiles have been preserved in considerable quantities. Dazzled by these unique archaeological treasures, many scholars and impressionable laypersons have been clinging to the romantic notion that Chu was a separate southern civilization, an elegant and exuberant Other to the dour, disciplined Zhou in the north.<sup>41</sup> But in fact, Chu rather resembled Qin (cf. Chapter Five) in being a strong polity of Zhou type that acted as a major motor in the expansion of Zhou social patterns into the southern areas. As with Qin, all surviving Chu texts are written in classical Chinese, with practically no discernible dialect difference from contemporaneous written materials found elsewhere in China; far from being a separate script, the writing style of Chu bronze inscriptions and bamboo-strip manuscripts closely resembles those of northern areas; and the Chu political system as described in the *Zuo zhuan*, the *Guo yu*, and other transmitted texts corresponds closely to that of other Zhou polities.<sup>42</sup> As with Qin, Chu politics were guided from early on by the ambition to supplant the Zhou royal house and eventually to gain universal rulership. As it absorbed a growing number of neighboring polities from the seventh to the fifth centuries, Chu endeavored to set up a rival alliance system modeled upon that of the Zhou. Chu-manufactured Zhou-style ritual bronzes were lavishly gifted to local rulers in token of their allegiance to the Chu king; a number of these are

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<sup>40</sup> Hubei Sheng Bowuguan 1980a; Höllmann 1986; Guo Dewei 1999.

<sup>41</sup> The literature on "Chu culture/civilization" is extremely voluminous (for representative statements, see Zhang Zhengming 1988; Cook [ed.] 1999). Its impetus derives at least in part from politically minded attempts to give a cultural identity to Hubei province (and, to a lesser extent, to neighboring provinces into which Chu is known to have extended); on this point, see Falkenhausen 1995b.

<sup>42</sup> Blakeley 1992. Against the notion that Chu official titles (and, by implication, the Chu administrative system) differed from those in other polities of the Chu culture sphere, one should note that, e.g., the title Lingyin, which designated the chief minister in Chu, is documented at the Zhou court in the inscription of the Late Western Zhou-period *Yi-gui* (*Yin Zhou jinwen jicheng* 8.4287).



extant, some even archaeologically provenienced.<sup>43</sup> The most complete sets come from the tombs of two allied rulers, both heads of lineages affiliated with the Ji clan: Marquis Shen of Cai (d. 491 BC) at Ximennei in Shou Xian (Anhui; *Fig. 53*)<sup>44</sup> and Marquis Yi of Zeng (d. not long after 433 BC) at Leigudun in Suizhou (Hubei; finds from the latter will be further discussed in Chapter Seven).<sup>45</sup>

Another point of similarity vis-à-vis Qin is that the Chu ruling house, of the Mi clan, may have been non-Zhou in origin. Yu Weichao and others have attempted to trace “Chu culture” back to the local prehistoric culture sequences in southwestern Hubei—defining, for instance, a “Chu type *li*” (*Fig. 54*).<sup>46</sup> But the early existence of a Chu polity in that area is difficult to verify with current data, and one cannot exclude the possibility that the Chu ruling house had moved into the Middle Yangzi region from areas farther to the north. As with Qin, historical texts are ambiguous on the matter.<sup>47</sup> And just as with Qin, a derivation from peripheral “Others,” even if real, would have no bearing on an assessment of the cultural habits and the social system of the Chu polity during the time that is archaeologically documented. For such an assessment, it is most relevant to note that—just as in Qin—the known Chu funerary record adheres in all essential respects to the Zhou sumptuary system (details in Chapter Nine). Just as for Qin, one may infer, therefore, that the social organization of the Chu elite conformed to that of the Zhou core lineages, and that Chu lineages consistently marked their internal social distinctions by the same material parameters that are documented elsewhere within the Zhou culture sphere. I shall not rehearse this point in detail here; for even though it is clear from bronze inscriptions that the Chu polity existed from at least the middle of Western Zhou,<sup>48</sup> no Chu-related archaeological materials from before circa 600 BC have been found in the Middle Yangzi area. Hence it is impossible to trace (as one can do for Qin) the continuous development of a Zhou-type segmentary lineage society in Chu from Western Zhou times. The ample materials extant from the Middle Springs and Autumns and later periods will be extensively discussed in Chapters Eight and Nine.

<sup>43</sup> Falkenhausen 1991: 84–86; for further detail, see Falkenhausen 1999a: 514–25.

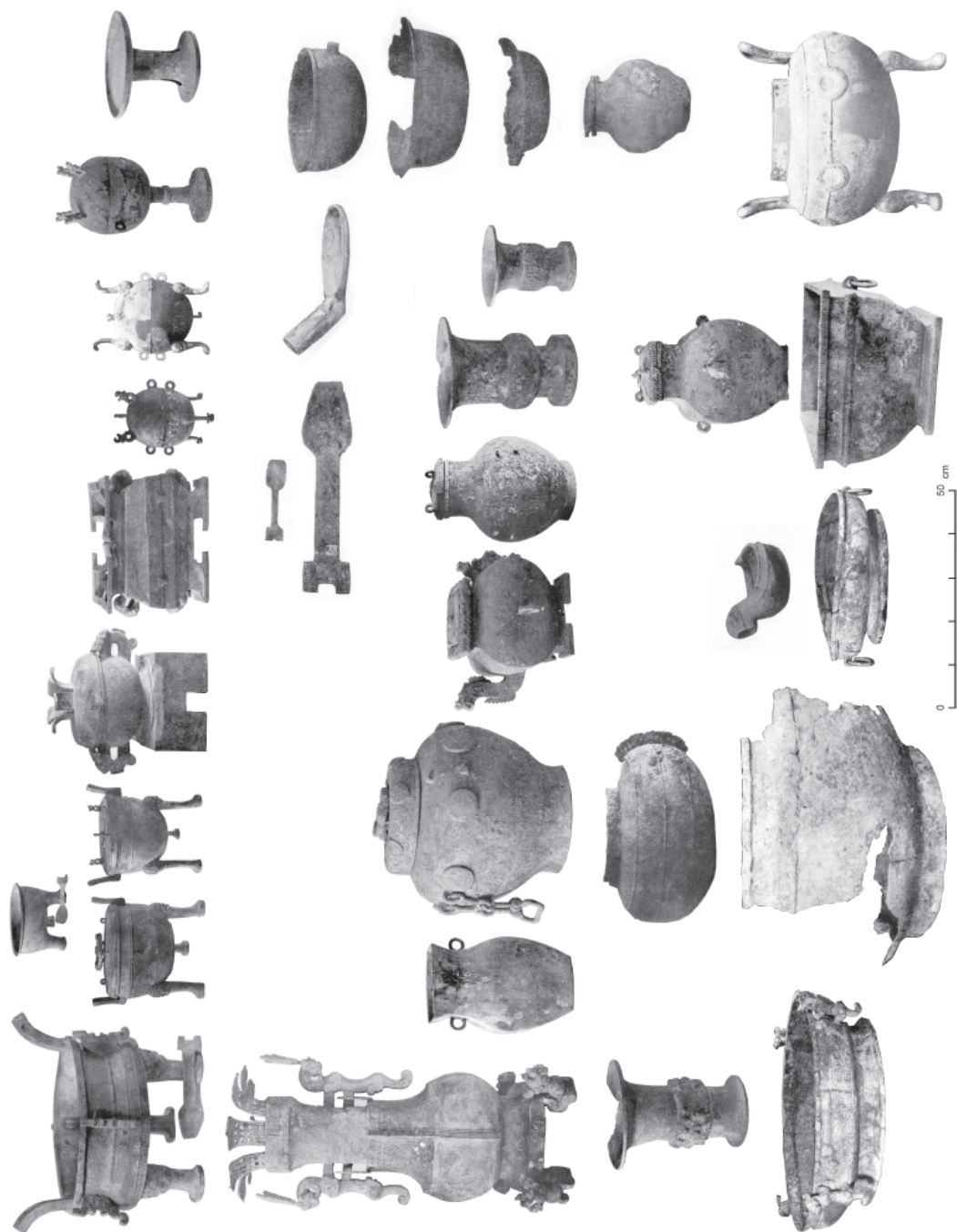
<sup>44</sup> Anhui Sheng Wenwu Guanliweiyuanhui and Anhui Sheng Bowuguan 1956.

<sup>45</sup> Hubei Sheng Bowuguan 1989.

<sup>46</sup> Yu Weichao 1980a; 1980b; 1982a; 1982b; 1984; 1987; 2000.

<sup>47</sup> Blakeley 1988, 1990; Shi Quan 1988; Xu Shaohua 1994: 235–313.

<sup>48</sup> To the Western Zhou-period inscribed Chu bronzes discussed in Li Ling 1986 (also by Liu Binhui 1988), one should now add the Chu Gong Ni-*yongzhong* chime from Tomb 64 at Qucun Locus III (Shanxi Sheng Kaogu Yanjiusuo and Beijing Daxue Kaoguxue Xi 1994 a: 5–7 and cpl. 2; Li Xueqin 1995), in all likelihood war booty obtained by one of the Jin rulers.



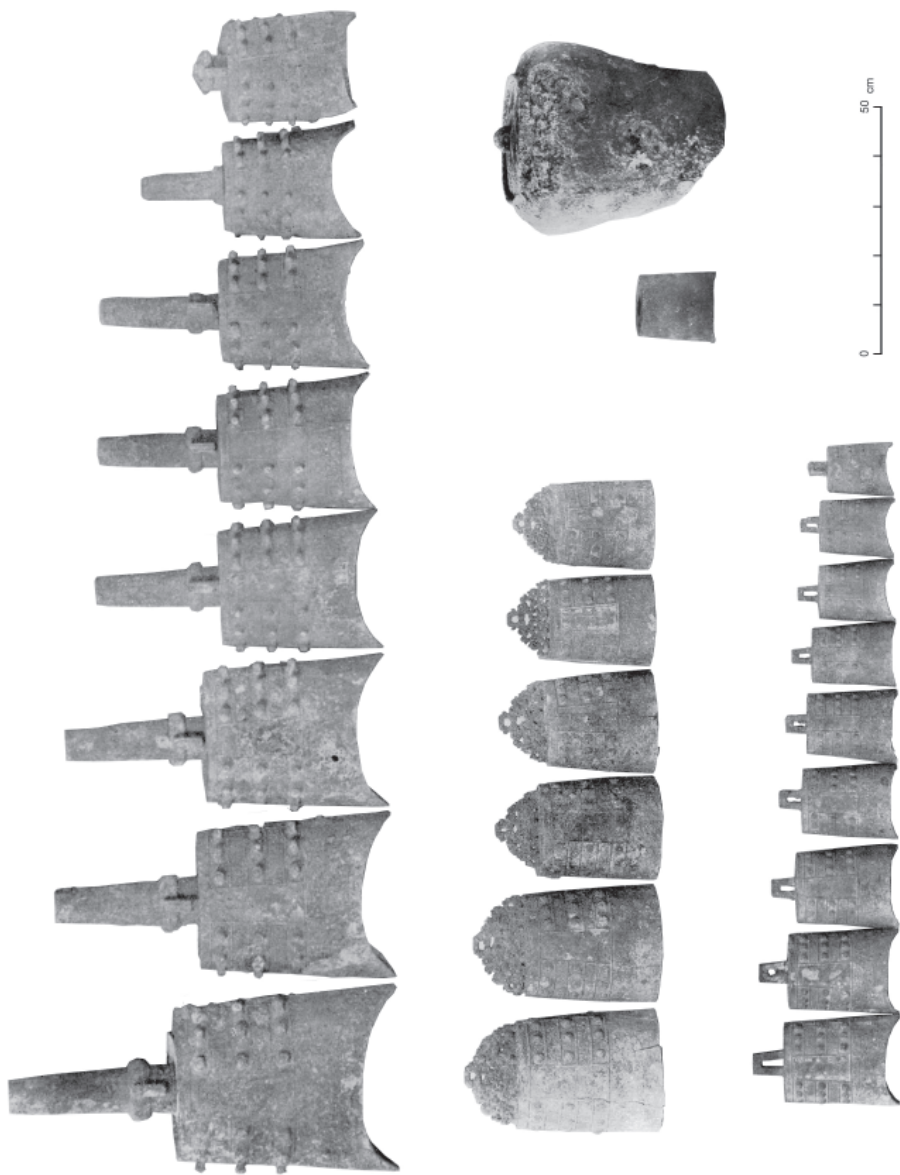
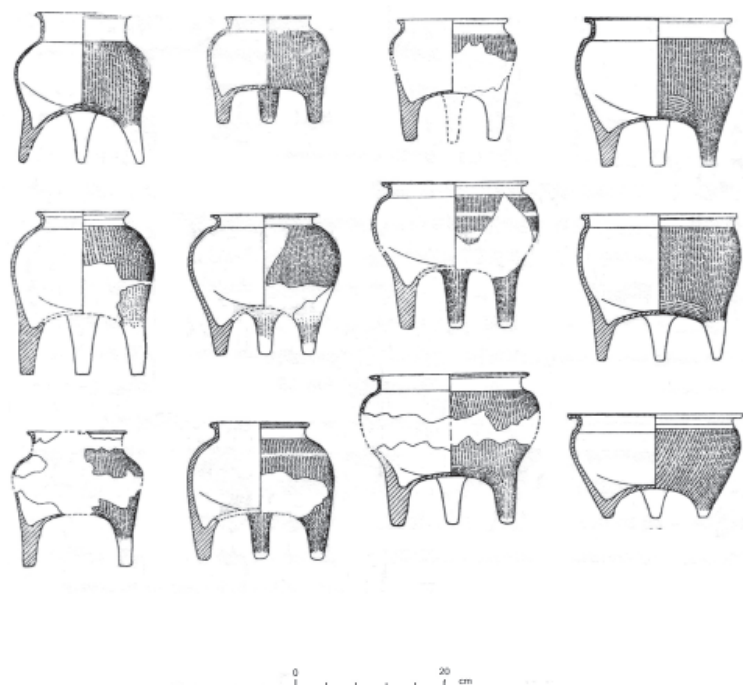


Fig. 53. Bronze-vessel and bell assemblage from the tomb of Marquis Shen of Cai at Ximennei, Shou Xian (Anhui). Before 491 BC. For vessels occurring in sets, only one item is depicted; for vessel numbers see Table 29.



**Fig. 54.** “Chu-type” ceramic *li* vessels from the Zhaojiahu cemeteries in Dangyang (Hubei). Eighth-fourth centuries BC.

As in the case of Qin, the archaeological record of Chu lineage cemeteries—which, aside from the still visible walls and building platforms of several residential settlements in central Hubei, are practically the only sources of Chu archaeological data available—shows a certain number of idiosyncrasies in details of style and inventory. Some of these may be only apparent, as in the case of Chu’s famously ornate lacquerwork: traces of lacquer in tombs from north China suggest that such objects were just as widespread there but have not survived in that area’s harsher and more arid climate.<sup>49</sup> Other divergences from Zhou patterns are real but need not indicate an ethnic difference. Ceramic peculiarities such as the “Chu-type *li*,” for instance, should probably be explained, in analogy with our considerations in Chapter Four, primarily as a manifestation of local workshop *habitus* rather than as an embodiment

<sup>49</sup> Two spectacular instances of Eastern Zhou lacquer from non-Chu contexts, fully on a par with the best Chu products, are the finds from Zuiziqian, Haiyang (Shandong) (Yantai Shi Bowuguan and Haiyang Shi Bowuguan 2002: cpls. 17.1, 23 and *passim*), and a large basin allegedly from Liulige, Hui Xian (Henan) now in the Ōkura collection, Tōkyō (Ōkura Shūkōkan 2003: no. 127).

of conscious cultural preferences on the part of the Chu population. Similar considerations apply to the jagged curls characteristic of the eye-catching ornamentation style of Chu bronzes and jades after circa 500 BC. Likewise, the peculiarities of Chu bronze typology most probably indicate religious usages rather than ethnic identity. They include a pronounced (but not universal) tendency to assemble vessels in pairs or fours, and a preference for *bū* and *zhan* as functional equivalents for the earlier *gui* vessels, which by the sixth century had become almost obsolete throughout the Zhou culture sphere (see Chapter Eight). In rich tombs the usual ritual sets are further enhanced by a variety of water vessels that have no direct counterpart in contemporaneous contexts in north China, such as *yuding* (a.k.a. *tangding* or *kangding*)—water-heating tripods originally introduced from southeast China—as well as various washing vessels such as *dian*, *shuiyu*, and *jian* (see Figs. 59, 93, 94).<sup>50</sup> Such vessels allowed their élite owners to cleanse their bodies with heated (and possibly scented) water; this was not only agreeable in the damp climate of southern China, but would have set their owners apart from the sweaty and smelly lower classes.<sup>51</sup> Whereas such practices may have carried some ritual significance, especially at the beginning, the presence of the vessels also exemplifies a Zhou-wide tendency to include objects of luxurious living in tombs (see Chapter Seven). Other instances of this tendency are *jian* basins with matching *zunfou* containers; during banquets, the *jian* were filled with ice or hot water to chill or keep warm the alcoholic beverages in the *zunfou* (see Fig. 53).<sup>52</sup> A final apparent Chu idiosyncrasy are the “tomb-protecting beasts” (*zhenmushou*), abstract or zoomorphic figures with often bizarre features which stand on square socles.<sup>53</sup> They seem to have originated in the non-Zhou cultures to the southeast, became current in Chu during the Springs and Autumns period, and spread farther north to Shanxi during the Warring States.<sup>54</sup> Like the waist-pits

<sup>50</sup> On these vessel types, and on Chu bronze typology in general, see Li Ling 1991a; on their assemblages, see Li Ling 1992b.

<sup>51</sup> Ye Zhi 1991; echoed by Guo Dewei 1992. For a comprehensive discussion of Chu water vessels, see Chen Zhaorong 2000.

<sup>52</sup> Hou Dejun 1983.

<sup>53</sup> In some of the earliest examples only the socles are preserved. On the funerary role and derivation of Chu *zhenmushou*, see Falkenhausen 2003a: 477–478 and *passim*. On their possible significance see Salmony 1954; Wang Ruiming 1979; Peng Hao 1988; Zhang Jun 1992; Qiu Donglian 1994; Yang Yi 2004 (qq.v. for further references). Their interpretation is still controversial.

<sup>54</sup> For instance, painted antler horns found in several tombs in Shanxi are in all likelihood part of erstwhile *zhenmushou*. These include Tombs 61M1 and 62M27 at Miaoqian, Wanrong (Shanxi Sheng Kaogu Yanjiusuo 1994 d; the latter tomb apparently

considered in Chapter Four, they probably mark, not ethnicity, but a specific religious practice that may have been linked to other religious innovations that will be discussed more fully in the following chapter.

All in all, these differences, although sufficient to enable an archaeologist today (and, no doubt, a discerning member of the *élite* in their own time) to determine the Chu origin of many artifacts, certainly do not warrant defining Chu as a separate archaeological culture; at most, it constituted a regional phase of the Zhou cultural mainstream. Arguably, in fact, in material culture Chu differed even less than Qin from the polities of the Central Plains. At the level of social organization, by analogy with our findings in Chapter Four, the observable differences might correlate, at most, with the divergent traditions of the Mi (Chu), Ji (Zhou), and Ying (Qin) clans within the overall framework of Zhou society. During the Warring States period some differences from other kingdoms—weights, measures, coinage, as well as musical standards—appear to have been consciously exaggerated to emphasize Chu's independence,<sup>55</sup> but such politically motivated changes hardly affected the mortuary practices or their underlying principles of social organization.

Like Qin, Chu society undoubtedly encompassed resident aliens. Possible archaeological remnants may be seen near the Chu capital, where “Ba-style” weapons of Sichuan manufacture have been found on several occasions, as well as settlement remains of alleged Ba characteristics.<sup>56</sup> These have been interpreted as an indication of the presence of members of non-Zhou groups originating from the Three Gorges region or farther up the Yangzi River. Their social status within Chu is unclear; their apparent poverty may indicate that they were disenfranchised, differing in that respect from the individual buried at Yimencun (see Chapter Five).<sup>57</sup>

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yielded two sets of antlers), Tomb 7 at Niujiapo, Zhangzi (Shanxi Sheng Kaogu Yanjiusuo 1984), and Tombs 12, 14, 25, and 126 at Fenshuiling, Changzhi (Shanxi Sheng Wenwu Guanliweiyuanhui 1957; Shanxi Sheng Wenwu Guanliweiyuanhui and Shanxi Sheng Kaogu Yanjiusuo 1964; Bian Chengxiu 1972). Tomb 1 at Zhaogu, Hui Xian (Henan) (Zhongguo Kexueyuan Kaogu Yanjiusuo 1956: 110-20) additionally yielded a lead socle with holes into which the antlers were to be stuck.

<sup>55</sup> This exaggeration of “Chu characteristics” has been commented on by many writers on Chu culture, notably by Yu Weichao (see n. 46). But it should not be read as a reassertion of inherent Chu national characteristics, but as an expression of specific Warring States-period political concerns.

<sup>56</sup> For “Ba-style” weapon finds in the Jiangling area, see Li Zhengxin 1985; Yang Quanxi 1993b; Hubei Sheng Wenwu Kaogu Yanjiusuo 1995. On the alleged Ba settlement near Jiangling, see Taniguchi 1991 (not seen, summarized in Matsuzaki 1992: 195).

<sup>57</sup> Of course, this does not imply that Chu harbored no privileged Others, or that



With this overall picture in mind, we may now trace the spread of Zhou modes of social organization through the distribution of Chu material in outlying non-Zhou areas.

## THE LOWER YANGZI REGION DURING EASTERN ZHOU TIMES<sup>58</sup>

Late Bronze Age archaeological finds from the Lower Yangzi area show little or no sign of a society shaped by the practice of Zhou ancestral ritual. The few walled sites found in this part of China bear no similarity to those within the Zhou culture sphere and may well not have been cities.<sup>59</sup> The area's characteristic high-quality, hard-fired, and sometimes glazed stoneware (sometimes inaccurately referred to as "proto-porcelain") is technologically unique and shows aesthetic preferences quite different from those of the Zhou culture sphere.<sup>60</sup>

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Qin had no subaltern ones. One cannot overemphasize the extreme limitations of the evidence so far available.

<sup>58</sup> The following section is adapted from Falkenhausen 1999a: 525-39. For a good treatment of Wu and Yue history in English, see also Wagner 1993: 97-145.

<sup>59</sup> The best known, Yancheng, in Wujin, Jiangsu, is an irregularly shaped site some 850 m in diameter, surrounded by three roughly concentric tiers of walls and moats and accessible only by boat (see Che Guangjin 1992, where further references may be found; see also Xu Hong 2000: 123-124). Conspicuous features are three enormous burial(?) tumuli aligned in the outer enclosure, one of which was excavated and found to contain large amounts of ceramics. Neither the inner nor the outer enclosure was found to contain any remains of habitation whatsoever; the middle enclosure did yield some ceramic sherds, but as no architectural remains were identified, dwellings, if present, must have been of flimsy construction. Rather than an urban site, Yancheng might have been either a ritual center or an emergency military stronghold. A similarly irregular site with concentric double enclosures has been found at Huzhou, Zhejiang (Lao Bomin 1988). The large fifth-century BC(?) mausoleum complex, allegedly of a king of Yue, at Yinshan, Shaoxing (Zhejiang), which features a mounded tomb surmounting a long wooden-chamber tomb and enclosed by a huge moat of slanted-square shape (Zhejiang Sheng Wenwu Kaogu Yanjiusuo and Shaoxing Xian Wenwu Baohu Guanliju 2002), may represent another manifestation of the same type of installation. Possible connections with burial customs in Northeast Asia, leading up to the even later *kofun* tomb complexes of mid-first-millennium AD Japan, may deserve future exploration.

<sup>60</sup> That the inhabitants of the Central Plains were fascinated with such ceramics is suggested by the fact that specimens were traded to north China since Shang times (Bagley 1999: 171, n. 65, q.v. for further references). Recent technical analyses suggest, however, that north Chinese potters likewise produced such objects at a fairly early time (Zhu Jian et al. 2004), though at a much smaller scale than their counterparts in the south.



Most pertinently to an archaeological comparison, mortuary practices differed completely from those within the Zhou culture sphere. Rather than in pit tombs (or, rarely, catacomb tombs) dug into the ground, as in the rest of mainland East Asia, the inhabitants of the Lower Yangzi area after circa 1000 BC buried their deceased in ground-level mounded tombs (*tudunmu*), either simple earthen mounds covering the deceased together with their funerary goods, or mounds enclosing masonry chambers (*Fig. 55*).<sup>61</sup> Simple earthen mounds are distributed all over the Lower Yangzi area,<sup>62</sup> whereas stone-chamber mounds, which apparently evolved from simple earthen mounds sometime before 500 BC, are seen only in the area around Lake Tai and in Zhejiang.<sup>63</sup>

Cemeteries, some comprising hundreds of mounded tombs, have been surveyed at a number of places, but the number of properly excavated tombs is still small, and the evidence does not yet allow any firm conclusions about social organization. It stands to reason that the spatial distribution of mounds in a cemetery reflects degrees of closeness in kinship terms; and when a mound contains more than one burial (almost always in stone-chamber mounded tombs), all occupants presumably were members of the same family. But different from cemeteries within the Zhou culture sphere, rank and wealth are not correlated in an immediately obvious way; large mounds and/or single rather than multiple burials in a mound may indicate high rank, but they sometimes reflect interregional differences instead. Little regularity is evident in the composition of funerary assemblages.

The principal furnishings of these tombs are the above-mentioned stone-ware vessels, complemented in some instances by bronzes of regional styles. Numerous copper mines along the Lower Yangzi provided the raw material for these bronzes.<sup>64</sup> The small number of bronze-yielding tombs suggests that

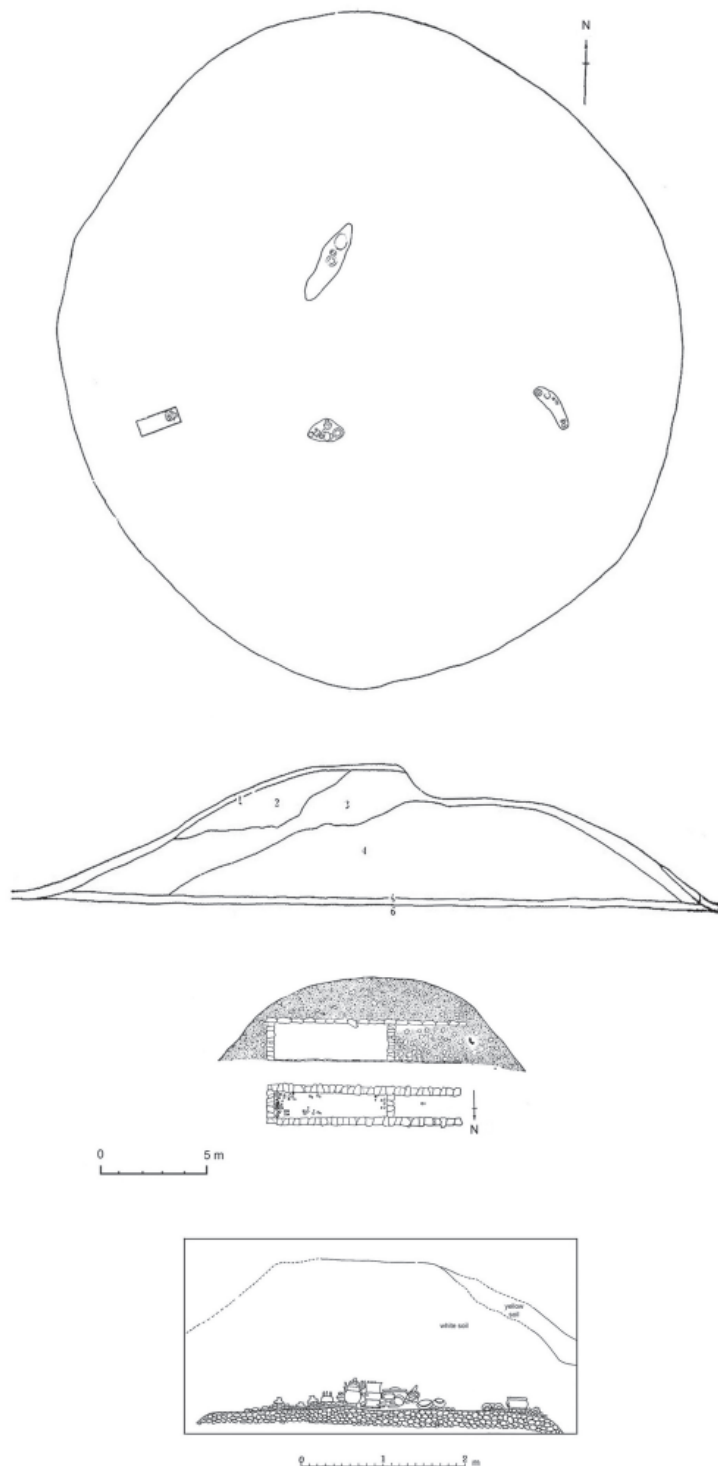
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<sup>61</sup> Mounded tombs seem to have spread northward from an area of origin somewhere to the south of the Lower Yangzi area; the earliest known instances (in southwestern Zhejiang) seem to date to the second half of the second millennium BC (Mou Yongkang and Mao Zhaoting 1981). For a general treatment of the typology and distribution of mounded tombs in the Lower Yangzi region, see Yang Nan 1998.

<sup>62</sup> Significant reports of earthen-mound tombs include Anhui Sheng Wenhuaju Wenwu Gongzuodui 1959; Yin Difei 1990; and Nanjing Bowuyuan 1993.

<sup>63</sup> In their general treatments of stone-chamber tombs, Chen Yuanfu 1988, as well as Tan Sanping and Liu Shuren 1990 (qq.v. for further references), lay to rest the fanciful interpretation, inspired by the placement of these tombs on hillcrests, that they functioned primarily as military fortifications (*zhanbao*); excavations have demonstrated beyond doubt that they are indeed tombs.

<sup>64</sup> Anhui Sheng Wenwu Kaogu Yanjiusuo and Tongling Shi Wenwu Guanlisuo 1993; Yang Lixin 1991.



**Fig. 55.** Different types of mounded tombs in the southeastern periphery of the Zhou culture area. Approximately eighth-fourth centuries BC. Top: Mound D1 at Nangangshan, Dantu (Jiangsu) (with four distinct burials); middle: Tomb 3 at Sidingshan, Wujin (Jiangsu); bottom (note different scale): Tomb 1 at Yiqi, Tunxi (Anhui).

their possession was restricted as a rule to particularly high-ranking individuals. By contrast, the stoneware manufacturers' principal repertoire comprised but a limited number of types of storage and serving vessels, which were made in great quantities and changed little over time. Whereas these ceramic types were indigenous to the area, the bronze vessel types almost without exception originated in the Yellow River basin during the Middle Shang period. There are also a small number of imported Early and Middle Western Zhou bronzes, recognizable as such by their style and, sometimes, by the presence of an inscription. Various proposed chronologies of mounded tombs, of their ceramics, and of regional-style bronzes use these early imports as reference points in establishing absolute dates, fallaciously dating the bulk of known finds to Western Zhou.<sup>65</sup> In fact, however, such objects were typically buried only after a long use life and can therefore indicate only a vague terminus post quem. The sequence of mounded tombs containing bronze vessels probably starts sometime in the ninth century BC, with most instances dating from the second quarter of the first millennium BC.<sup>66</sup>

The constellations of bronze vessel types are variable. There seems to be no regularity in the composition of assemblages; nor is there any indication of a ritual hierarchy expressed through sets of vessels. The differences vis-à-vis the Zhou culture sphere are salient. Among tripods, the most widespread are the so-called "Yue-style tripods" (*Yue shi ding*)—thin-walled and coverless, with small, rim-attached handles and spindly legs, and usually unornamented (*Fig. 56*). Soot traces show that they were used as kitchen vessels; whether they also served sacrificial purposes is uncertain.<sup>67</sup> The Late Western Zhou Ritual Reform does not seem to have affected bronze production in this area; wine vessels of the *you* and *zun* classes, for instance, obsolete in the Zhou realm since that time, continued to be made south of the Yangzi throughout the Springs and Autumns period, and, as Jessica Rawson has observed, their shapes continued to emulate those of Shang and Early Western Zhou prototypes, even though their ornaments are sometimes of much later derivation.<sup>68</sup> *Gui* tureens, as well, continued long after they went out of fashion elsewhere in the Zhou realm, all of them coverless rather than covered as had been usual in the Zhou

<sup>65</sup> E.g., Liu Xing 1979, 1985; Xiao Menglong 1985.

<sup>66</sup> Li Guoliang 1988. I would largely accept Okamura's (1986) well-argued stylistic sequence, though recent finds suggest that the absolute dates might have to be adjusted downward. Ma Chengyuan's (1987) argument that, because of the area's overall cultural backwardness, none of the regional bronzes from the Middle and Lower Yangzi basin can date any earlier than Eastern Zhou, is too extreme.

<sup>67</sup> Peng Hao 1984.

<sup>68</sup> Rawson 1990, vol. 1: 142.



(not to scale)

**Fig. 56.** Yue-type bronze *ding* vessels from the southern periphery of the Zhou culture sphere. Approximately seventh-third centuries BC. First row: Tomb 8 at Taojinkeng, Guangzhou (Guangdong); Mayu, Deqing (Guangdong). Second row: Chengqiao, Luhe (Jiangsu); Niaodanshan, Sihui (Guangdong); Tomb 1 at Matougang, Qingyuan (Guangdong). Third row: Yinshanling, Pingle (Guangxi); Yangjia, Gongcheng (Guangxi). Fourth row: Tomb 301 at Changsha (Hunan); Hepu (Guangxi). Fifth row: Tomb 1 at Yiqi, Tunxi (Anhui); Xiangtan (Hunan). Sixth row: Hengnan (Hunan); Tomb 49 at Huaqiao Xincun, Guangzhou (Guangdong).

core area since the Late Western Zhou Ritual Reform (*Fig. 57*). As with the Early Western Zhou-period bronze hoards mentioned earlier, one possible criterion of vessel-type preference may have been whether an object could be functionally equivalent or complementary to locally established ceramic types; bronze *gui*, for instance, could have been used in ways similar to the squat bowls that are prevalent in the ceramic repertoire. The minute textured decoration of locally manufactured bronzes, likewise, shows similarity to the paddle-impressed patterns seen on local ceramics. Non-Zhou religious customs are intimated by the earliest known *zhenmushou* stands (*Fig. 58*), which are made of bronze and come from Tomb 3 at the cemetery at Yiqi, in Tunxi in southern Anhui, rich in bronze vessels of unusual shapes.<sup>69</sup>

Whereas mounded tombs and idiosyncratic regional bronze styles continued to prevail in the eastern portions of the Lower Yangzi area until the middle of the first millennium BC, vertical-pit tombs and bronzes similar to those in adjacent parts of the Zhou cultural sphere began to become common in the western parts during the sixth and fifth centuries BC.<sup>70</sup> This transition is evident, for instance, at the Jianbi-Dagang necropolis in Dantu (Jiangsu), an impressive agglomeration of simple earthen mounds with bronze-yielding tombs, which extends over approximately 8 kilometers on the hilly south bank of the Yangzi just east of its present intersection with the Grand Canal (*Map 14*).<sup>71</sup> Each of the eight large mounds so far reported contains a single burial, and some are surrounded by smaller subsidiary mounds. These do not represent a full sample, as a number of mounds are known to have been destroyed and others remain unexcavated; but the finds intimate a continuous chronological sequence from about the ninth through the early fifth century BC. In the earlier mounds, the body of the deceased was deposited on leveled ground, either on a layer of rocks (*shichuang*) or in a shallow pit; funerary goods were grouped around it, and earth was piled up on top, creating the mound. No traces of wooden coffins or any other sort of tomb furniture have been identified. By contrast, the later mounds show a selective adoption of features of the Zhou ritual system: they were erected on top of pit-chambers dug into the bedrock; these pit-chambers contained wooden tomb furniture; and sometimes the pit-chamber featured a sloping entry ramp (*mudao*) and was lined with layers of rocks and charcoal, as seen, e.g., at Qucun Locus III and at the tomb of King Cuo of Zhongshan. Some tombs contained human victims (no more

<sup>69</sup> Anhui Sheng Bowuguan 1987, nos. 42-43; a pair of enigmatic pronged items from Tomb 1 (Anhui Sheng Wenhuaaju Wenwu Gongzuodui 1959: pl. 8; Anhui Sheng Bowuguan 1987: no. 44) may also be functionally related.

<sup>70</sup> Okamura 1986 (q.v. for further references).

<sup>71</sup> Xiao Menglong 1990 (q.v. for further references).



**Fig. 57.** Various local-style bronzes from the southeastern region. First row: Duck-cover *you* from Tomb 1 at Muzidun, Dantu (Jiangsu); *pan* from Tomb 1 at Yandunshan, Dantu (Jiangsu); *ding* from Tomb 1 at Yiqi, Tunxi (Anhui). Second row: *you* and *zun* from Tomb 1 at Yiqi; two *gui* from Tomb 3 at Yiqi. Third row: *gui* from Tomb 1 at Yiqi. Approximately ninth-sixth centuries BC.



**Fig. 58.** Bronze *zhenmushou* stands from Tomb 3 at Yiqi, Tunxi (Anhui). Perhaps seventh century BC.

than two per tomb) and horse-and-chariot pits. In the vicinity of these later mounded tombs, and possibly associated with them, a small number of bronze-yielding vertical-pit tombs without mounds have been found. Curiously, the two largest among the later mounded tombs, Qinglongshan and Beishanding, had been dug up and their contents deliberately smashed to pieces shortly after burial; at Beishanding this apparently happened even before the mound was erected. What this meant is not known.

Whereas bronze assemblages from the earlier tombs at the Jianbi-Dagang necropolis are dominated by idiosyncratic local products, the later tombs contain a certain number of objects that, to judge by their style, seem to have been made at Chu workshops. The most interesting among them is a set of bells from among the smashed contents of the Beishanding tomb, inscribed on behalf of a descendant of a ruler of Xu, who, as attested by the inscription on a *ding* vessel from the same tomb, was related by marriage to a king of Wu.<sup>72</sup> Bronzes with Wu-related inscriptions have also been found at other Late Springs and Autumns-period tombs in the Jiangsu area, as well as in the tomb of Marquis Shen of

Cai, who was related by marriage to a king of Wu (*Fig. 59*).<sup>73</sup> They are all conspicuous for their stylistic resemblance to Chu bronzes, suggesting that Chu was the immediate origin of the mainstream Zhou elements that were spreading to the Lower Yangzi area during this time. Farther afield, in Zhejiang, Chu bronze shapes now began to influence the production of stoneware ceramics, and highly creative attempts were made to imitate the shape, ornaments, and even color of bronzes in the ceramic medium (*Fig. 60*). At the same time, no complete ritual set of Zhou-type bronzes (or of bronze-imitating ceramics) has

<sup>72</sup> Jiangsu Sheng Dantu Kaogudui 1988; Shang Zhitan and Tang Yuming 1989.

<sup>73</sup> See Chapter Two, n. 54.





**Fig. 59.** Wu Wang  
Guang-jian from the tomb  
of Marquis Shen of Cai  
at Ximennei, Shou Xian  
(Anhui). Height: 35 cm.  
Early fifth century BC.

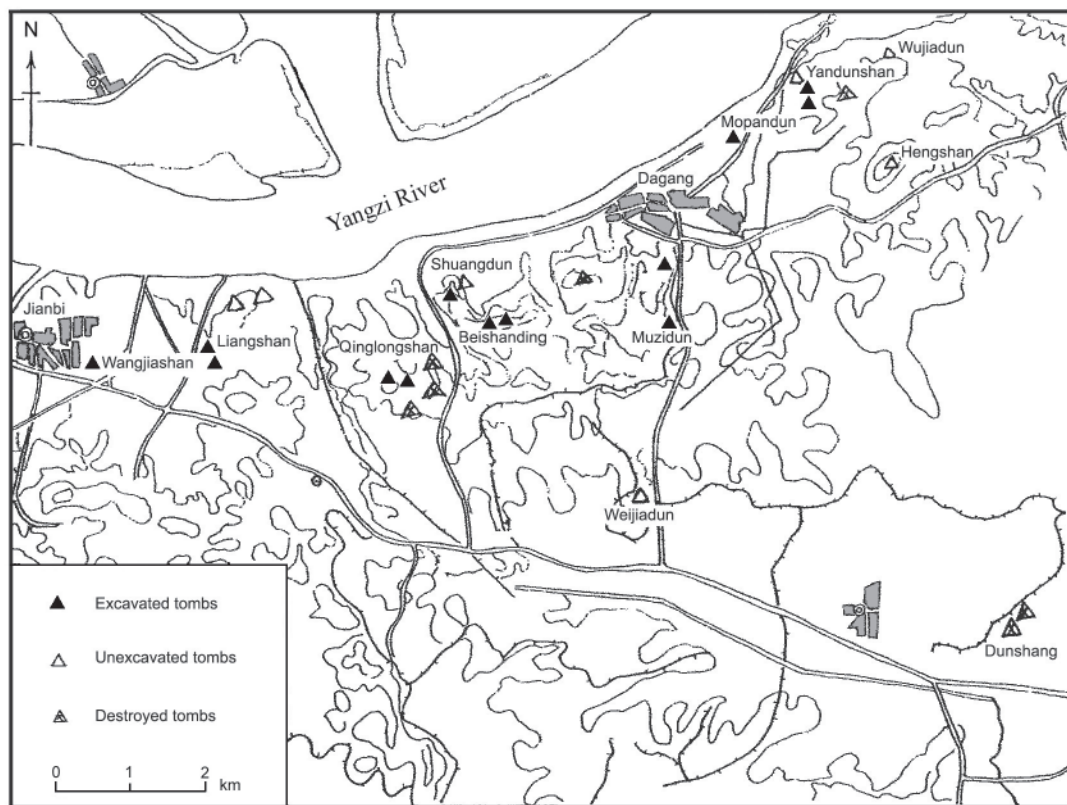


**Fig. 60.** Stoneware *mingqi* from Huangjiashan, Haiyan (Zhejiang). Upper row: bells (*yongzhong*, *niuzhong*, *chunyu*, *goudiao*). Lower row: hanging weight (?); *ding*; chimestones. Fifth to fourth centuries BC.

so far turned up anywhere in a pre-Warring States period context in the Lower Yangzi area, suggesting that local élite patrons were intent on incorporating borrowed Zhou elements into their own traditions.

In all likelihood, the Jianbi-Dagang necropolis is the resting place of a lineage of regional power holders. The consensus of local archaeologists assigns it to the kings of Wu,<sup>74</sup> conflicting with the received view that locates the political center of that polity in the Suzhou area, 150 kilometers farther to the east. The inscribed bronzes from the Jianbi-Dagang tombs have furnished no convincing epigraphic proof of that identification; and the pre-550 BC tombs at the necropolis are equaled if not exceeded in wealth and size by contemporaneous

<sup>74</sup> The following identifications, all somewhat dubious, have been proposed. Tomb 1 at Yandunshan, famous for having yielded the Yi Hou Ze-*gui* (see below), has been associated with Zhouzhang, the fourth king in the semi-legendary royal genealogy preserved in the *Shi ji* (Tang Lan 1956); the Qinglongshan tomb has been designated as that of Shoumeng, the first fully historical king of Wu (r. 585-561) (Xiao Menglong 1990); and the tomb at Beishanding, on the basis of the controversial, virtually illegible inscription on a bronze spearhead found there, has been assigned to King Yumei (r. 530-527) (Zhou Xiaolu and Zhang Min 1988; against this, see Wu Yuming 1990).



**Map 14.** The alleged royal Wu necropolis at Jianbi-Dagang, Dantu (Jiangsu).

finds, e.g., the mounded tombs at Yiqi, with their extraordinarily rich bronze and ceramic assemblages.<sup>75</sup> If the Jianbi-Dagang tombs were indeed those of the Wu royal house, it would appear that during most of the first half of the first millennium BC, Wu was merely one of several regional polities of comparable rank. By contrast, Qinglongshan and Beishanding, despite the smashed condition of their contents, are the largest and richest known Late Spring and Autumn-period tombs in the Lower Yangzi region. Their size and wealth are a clear order of magnitude above all others in the surrounding region. This and their self-conscious integration of features of the Zhou burial system into the mounded tombs of regional type may reflect the adoption of new patterns of social and political organization, corresponding to the Wu rulers' efforts, docu-

<sup>75</sup> Anhui Sheng Wenhuaaju Wenwu Gongzuodui 1959; Anhui Sheng Bowuguan 1987, nos. 22, 23, 25-28, 32, 40, 44 (Tomb 1), and nos. 21, 24, 29-31, 33-39, 41-43 (Tomb 3); Yin Difei 1990. For discussion, see Li Guoliang 1988; Zhou Ya 1997.

mented in written sources, at building a Zhou-style polity. By contrast, even the names of Wu's earlier peer polities have been lost to history. Yet we cannot exclude, at least for now, that there were other rulers in the Lower Yangzi region besides the Wu kings who adopted Zhou ways during the same period.

Whether or not the Jianbi-Dagang necropolis belonged to the Wu kingdom, the funerary evidence from the Lower Yangzi region indicates that the acculturation of the native élite was by no means complete at the end of Springs and Autumns period. Archaeology cannot tell the rest of the story, as too little Warring States-period evidence has been reported from the region.<sup>76</sup> There are, however, sundry artifacts testifying to the economic florescence of this area during that epoch, such as the elaborately ornamented weapons for which the court bronze casters of Wu and Yue were renowned. Many bear "bird-script" inscriptions, sometimes gold-inlaid, mentioning kings or other aristocrats of Wu and Yue. Such items were traded throughout the Zhou culture sphere.<sup>77</sup> Bronze tools are also found with some frequency in the Lower Yangzi area. A recent theory holds that Wu and Yue, with their abundant mineral resources, their advanced metal-casting industry, and presumably lacking the Zhou prejudice that reserved metal to the élite, were the birthplace of the large-scale iron industries of the Warring States period, which for the first time supplied the laboring masses with metal tools.<sup>78</sup>

The Springs and Autumns-period Wu kings claimed affiliation with the Jī clan, and Sima Qian writes that they were descended from a Zhou prince

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<sup>76</sup> Two mounded tombs at Zhenshan, Suzhou (Jiangsu), both unfortunately looted, have yielded a number of Chu-manufactured objects, including jades, funerary ceramics, and a small number bronzes (Suzhou Bowuguan 1999). One tomb, reported as dating from the Springs and Autumns period but clearly no earlier in date than Warring States, to judge by its furnishings, has an idiosyncratic shallow tomb chamber with three compartments, derived from earlier indigenous practices; the other, with its vertical pit, burial chamber, and coffin resembles Warring States-period Chu tombs even in its construction (in that period, mounds are no longer an exclusively southeastern cultural marker, but frequently occur in Chu; see Chapter Nine). Almost the only other pertinent material is a tomb with a full set of Late Warring States-period funerary ceramics of Chu type at Fuquanshan, Qingpu (Shanghai) (Zhou Lijuan 2003).

<sup>77</sup> See Li Xueqin 1985: 271-72.

<sup>78</sup> Wagner 1993: 145-46. Evidence for this theory is so far mostly indirect; very few actual iron objects have been found in the Lower Yangzi area, none predating the end of the sixth century BC. Whatever its later course of development, it would seem that siderurgy did not originate independently in this part of East Asia (see Chapter Five, nn. 31, 32).

in the generation of King Wen who was invested as ruler of Wu.<sup>79</sup> Tomb 1 at Yandunshan in the Jianbi-Dagang necropolis yielded an inscribed Early Western Zhou bronze vessel, the Yi Hou Ze-*gui*, which provides a rare record of the investiture of a Zhou aristocrat with a new polity, and many historians have read the inscription as confirming Sima Qian's account.<sup>80</sup> In fact, however, the localities mentioned in the inscription seem to be near the Zhou capital in present-day Shaanxi, and the vessel was in all likelihood taken to the Lower Yangzi region secondarily; the tomb in which it was found dates several centuries later than the vessel; and the Ji affiliation of the Wu kings is a likely instance of fictive kinship.<sup>81</sup> Even if that last conjecture were to turn out wrong, the archaeological data strongly suggest that, when Wu established (or reestablished) contact with its Zhou neighbors in 586 BC, the Lower Yangzi region had been cut off culturally and socially for several centuries.

What the funerary record of the Lower Yangzi area seems to show is a gradual convergence of local traditions with the ritual institutions of the Zhou, paralleling the textually documented interest shown by indigenous Wu aristocrats during the Middle to Late Springs and Autumns period in making themselves compatible with their new northern allies.<sup>82</sup> So far, the social consequences of these cultural developments are difficult to fathom, however. Even the rulers buried at Jianbi-Dagang do not seem to have accommodated themselves fully to the Zhou ritual system, although, as we have seen, the Wu kings followed them sufficiently to be able to intermarry with ruling houses in the Zhou realm. In Yue, an intellectual engagement with the ways of the Zhou is suggested by two enigmatic bell inscriptions allegedly attempting to write the local language with Chinese characters.<sup>83</sup> But how far down the social hierarchy was the emulation, albeit partial, of Zhou

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<sup>79</sup> *Shi ji* "Wu Taibo shijia" (*Shi ji* 31.1445).

<sup>80</sup> Jiangsu Sheng Wenwu Guanli Weiyuanhui 1955; *Yin Zhou jinwen jicheng* 8.4320. Many studies have appeared since the pioneering efforts by Chen Mengjia (1955) and Tang Lan (1956). For a skeptical view, see Huang Shengzhang 1983.

<sup>81</sup> Wang Mingke 1999 a.

<sup>82</sup> The often referred-to historical anecdote of Prince Ji Zha's visit to the court of Lu, recorded in detail in *Zuo zhuan* Xiang 29 (*Shisanjing zhushu* 39.304-306, p. 2006-8) suggests that an engagement with the Zhou traditions went on in the intellectual realm as well. Ji Zha showed off a wondrously profound and sensitive understanding of all the forms of court music played to him. In later memory he became a poster boy for the convertibility of the "Barbarians."

<sup>83</sup> Rong Geng 1941, vol. 1: 510, item 30; *Yin Zhou jinwen jicheng* 1.155-156. The ownership of these two bells, now conventionally referred to as Nengyuan-*bo*, is now divided among the Palace Museum, Beijing, and the National Palace Museum in Taipei.



ritual standards felt? Was there a trickle-down effect? Or did Zhou élite culture only penetrate superficially? Might the adoption of Zhou-style ritual by the highest élite in the southeastern polities actually have alienated it from the rest of the population, heightening distance between rulers and ruled and thereby contributing to the polities' downfall? The answers are so far unknown.

## EXPANSION THROUGH SETTLEMENT

The preceding discussion has mostly touched on processes of social expansion by means of bringing formerly non-Zhou groups into the Zhou kinship structure. As mentioned, immigration of Zhou-type lineages into formerly peripheral areas was another means of bringing about such expansion. Archaeological evidence for this is so far anecdotal rather than systematic. In Shanxi, for instance, the distribution of cemeteries may be taken to reflect the area's settlement history indirectly. Beginning in Middle Springs and Autumns, the number and density of these cemeteries shows a significant increase (see *Table 20*), and their distribution extends northward from the early centers of the Jin polity into the middle and upper reaches of the Fen River system as well as into adjacent mountainous regions. This seems to indicate more intensive settlement by mainstream lineages. Presumably it resulted in the displacement and/or amalgamation of unassimilated tribal (Rong, Di) populations, but the specifics are unclear.

In the northwest Qin peasant lineages expanded during the Warring States period into the loess plateau to the north of the Wei River valley, which had not formerly been touched by settlement from the Zhou realm. Cemeteries of typical Qin tombs of that period have been discovered in Dali, Yao Xian, and Tongchuan Counties (Shaanxi), and even farther north, following the Yellow River upstream, in Qingjian County (Shaanxi).<sup>84</sup> The absence of large tombs and of lavish funerary offerings may indicate a relatively egalitarian society, perhaps indirectly confirming that the occupants were pioneer settlers who had not yet developed internal stratification (comparable to the early stages in the history of the Shangma lineage, discussed in Chapter Three).

Likewise, the Siramören (Xilamulun) River basin in the northeast, formerly part of the distribution area of the so-called Upper Xiajiadian culture, was brought into the Zhou culture sphere for the first time during the Warring States period as a result of settlement by immigrants from the kingdom of Yan. In recent years, various survey projects have located their villages near Chifeng

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<sup>84</sup> Shaanxi Sheng Wenguanhui and Dali Xian Wenhuaquan 1980; Ma Jianxi 1959; Shaanxi Sheng Kaogu Yanjiusuo 1986; Shaanxi Sheng Kaogu Yanjiusuo Shaanbei Kaogu Gongzuodui 1987.

(Inner Mongolia).<sup>85</sup> So far, it is unclear which happened first—expansion of settlement or the construction of the nearby Great Wall of Yan.<sup>86</sup> In the late third century BC this part of Yan escaped conquest by Qin and became a refuge for members of the Yan élite, one of whom, Wei Man (in Korean: Wiman) was to found the earliest historically attested “Korean” kingdom.<sup>87</sup> Further survey work might locate settlement evidence for the expansion of Zhou social and political organization into these formerly peripheral areas.

For Chu in the south we lack any unambiguous settlement or cemetery data whatsoever previous to Middle Springs and Autumns, but from that time onward they become very numerous, indicating the establishment of Chu administrative centers over large areas of Hubei and southern Henan, as well as, later on, in Hunan and Anhui.<sup>88</sup> Particularly impressive is the evidence for the Chu penetration into the Xiang River valley in Hunan, as manifested by the very ample Warring States-period funerary evidence from Changsha, discussed in Chapter Nine. Interestingly, the social hierarchy reflected by the cemetery evidence from Changsha appears to be somewhat looser than in the Chu core territory—the differences are present but are not defined with similar stringency.<sup>89</sup> If not accidental, the apparent laxity of enforcement of sumptuary standards might bespeak the relative informality of life in a frontier situation, which often results in a certain degree of permeability of class boundaries. Such a social atmosphere might have constituted one element of attraction for some of those who migrated into these areas. In the surrounding hilly and marshy region, culturally distinctive remains of the aboriginal populations (which are

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<sup>85</sup> Zhongguo Shehuikexueyuan Kaogu Yanjiusuo, Neimenggu Zizhiqu Wenwu Kaogu Yanjiusuo, and Jilin Daxue Bianjiang Kaogu Yanjiu Zhongxin / Chifeng Kaogudui 2002; Chifeng Zhongmei Lianhe Kaogu Yanjiu Xiangmu 2003; Linduff et al. 2002-2004. On the Warring States-period expansion of Yan, see Miyamoto 2000: 205-35.

<sup>86</sup> Even though the Great Wall of Yan remains incompletely surveyed, historical atlases commonly show it passing just to the north of Chifeng and extending eastward all the way into present-day North Korea (see, e.g., Tan Qixiang [ed.] 1975: 35-36).

<sup>87</sup> Lee Ki-baik 1984: 16-19. The archaeological quest for the remains of this “Wiman Chosŏn” kingdom is a topic outside the scope of the present book.

<sup>88</sup> Already in the Qing dynasty, Gu Donggao pointed out that “in Springs and Autumns times, the territory of Chu did not reach as far as Hunan” (*Chunqiu Dashibiao* 4.555-557). Archaeology has richly confirmed this.

<sup>89</sup> Falkenhausen 2003a: 470-71, based on the comparison of the data from Hubei Sheng Jingzhou Bowuguan 1984 and Hubei Sheng Wenwu Kaogu Yanjiusuo 1995 with those reported in Zhongguo Kexueyuan Kaogu Yanjiusuo 1957 and Hunan Sheng Bowuguan 2000.



known in some textual sources as Yue or Yangyue, but should not be confused with the Yue in Zhejiang) can be identified in periods when Chu immigrants had already settled the river valleys;<sup>90</sup> the parallel to Qin settlement in the upper Weì River valley around Maojiaping (Chapter Five) is noticeable. Other descendants of the independent bronze-manufacturing cultures of the Xiang River valley seem to have established themselves at that time farther to the south, in Guangxi and Guangdong, apparently moving south from Hunan.<sup>91</sup> By Late Warring States, Chu material culture reigned supreme throughout the Xiang River valley. Nothing so far is known about whether this expansion was achieved violently or peacefully, or about how the aboriginal populations were treated. Did “ethnic cleansing” occur? Or did the indigenous masses just quietly adopt Chu material culture?

In contrast to the thorough penetration of non-Zhou territory witnessed in Hunan, Warring States-period tombs with Chu characteristics in the Upper Yangzi region seem to present a different situation. Such tombs have been found, for instance, at a large cemetery overlooking the Yangzi River at Yajiao (Jiangbianjie) in Zhong Xian (Chongqing municipality),<sup>92</sup> almost five hundred kilometers west of where the western boundaries of Chu are assumed to have been, and separated from Chu by the formidable barrier of the Three Gorges. The “Chu tombs” feature burial chambers, coffins, ceramic *mingqi* ritual vessels (see Chapter Nine), and some weapons, all practically undistinguishable from those seen in late fourth- and early third-century cemetery contexts in the Chu core area. But significantly, Warring States tombs at this cemetery also include so-called “tombs of Ba people,” single-coffin tombs containing local ceramics and, sometimes, bronze weapons of local manufacture. Their smaller size and lesser funerary goods suggest, above all, a difference in economic and social status between the occupants of these two kinds of tombs.

The existence of the Yajiao cemetery is probably related to the large-scale production of salt in the valley of the Ganjing River nearby, which was ongoing during the same period. That the salt was traded to the salt-poor Middle Yangzi region seems virtually certain. Those buried in the larger tombs might have been members of a local Chu expatriate community engaged in the salt

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<sup>90</sup> The most comprehensive finds of this nature come from the cemetery of Jiushi, Zixing (Hunan); see Hunan Sheng Bowuguan and Dongjiang Shuidianzhan Gongcheng Zhihuiibu Wenwu Kaogudui 1982; Hunan Sheng Bowuguan 1983; Wu Mingsheng 1982; Pei Anping and Wu Mingsheng 1987. For related considerations, see Tong Enzheng 1986; Wu Mingsheng 1989.

<sup>91</sup> Falkenhausen 2001a (q.v. for additional references).

<sup>92</sup> Beijing Daxue Kaogu Wenbo Xueyuan Sanxia Kaogudui and Chongqing Shi Zhong Xian Wenwu Guanlisuo 2003.

business;<sup>93</sup> it is also possible, however, that they were local Ba salt merchants who had taken a fancy to the trappings of Zhou-type funerary ritual during their trading visits to Chu. In any case, it seems highly unlikely that there could have been a Chu administrative or military presence in this area, and the outpost may not have been a permanent one. It is unknown whether lineage-organization patterns of mainstream Zhou type took hold in this area before the Qin conquest in 316 BC.

## ASSESSMENT

We have surveyed various indicators suggesting that, over the course of the Late Bronze Age, the Zhou ancestral cult and the system of lineage organization to which it was inextricably linked spread to areas and groups formerly outside the Zhou culture sphere. As lineages of Zhou type became increasingly predominant, other preexisting social formations were either amalgamated or suppressed, or expelled. These processes complemented the internal homogenization of “Chinese society” and the reinforcement of social boundaries between Zhou and non-Zhou groups traced in Chapters Four and Five.

These expansionary trends played out somewhat differently along the northern and southern boundaries of the Zhou culture sphere. The reasons may be mainly ecological: in the south, there is no stark environmental contrast separating Chu from non-Zhou areas of settlement. Such a contrast did, however, exist between the agricultural areas of central Shaanxi, Shanxi, and Hebei on the one side, and the steppe lands beyond on the other. The specifically Zhou mode of lineage organization was linked with the control of land holdings and inseparable from the practice of agriculture. This was not a problem in the south, but some of the northern populations—especially those who were partly or entirely non-sedentary—needed a different type of social organization. As any student of Chinese history knows, the intensifying cultural and political contrasts roiling that cultural frontier since about the middle of the Western Zhou period developed into a source of tension that prevailed for the better part of two millennia. In the south, opposition to acculturation may have been comparatively limited, though the staying power of aboriginal traditions should not be underestimated.

Throughout this chapter, I have implicitly equated the distinctions between archaeological complexes and cultures in the material realm with the boundaries between social systems and ethnic groups. As explained in Chapter

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<sup>93</sup> This is suggested by Pochan Chen (2004), who applies a “trade diaspora” model in interpreting the Yajiao finds. The same evidence has led Zhu Ping (2002) to believe that Chu actually established a political presence in the Zhong Xian area.

Five, one can never be entirely certain in proposing such equations, but for Eastern Zhou China historical texts provide relatively secure leads. And yet, the archaeological evidence contains some interesting apparent contradictions with the textual record. Without the historical knowledge of the Di origins of the Zhongshan kings, it is unlikely that anyone would ever have thought of interpreting their funerary remains as reflecting “alien,” non-Zhou cultural traditions. Conversely, in the Lower Yangzi region during the Middle and Late Springs and Autumns period, if we had only the archaeological evidence of its inhabitants’ idiosyncratic funerary practices to go by, one might not dwell very strongly on the local rulers’ assimilation to Zhou ways. In light of the material finds, it should seem at least mildly surprising that the Wu kings were claiming Jī clan affiliation in that very period, as the textual sources tell us they did. This may, of course, reinforce the suspicion that that claim was a fictive one, motivated by political expedient. It may, however, also suggest caution about taking the funerary record as one’s only scale for measuring cultural similarity and social integration: perhaps, in this respect, burial customs lagged behind other facets of material culture. For a more balanced assessment, one must await further evidence on the non-funerary dimensions of the Lower Yangzi region’s archaeological record during Eastern Zhou times.

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PART III

# **CHANGES AND REDEFINITIONS**

THE PRECEDING CHAPTERS have sketched out the internal structures and external delimitations of Chinese society during the Age of Confucius. We may now shift our focus to the ways in which these structures and delimitations were altered over time. The following three chapters will deal mainly with the comprehensive transformations that affected all aspects of Chinese civilization during Eastern Zhou, and that have been briefly characterized in the Introduction. Once again, tombs are our main source of archaeological evidence. They allow us to trace, from the Middle Springs and Autumns period onward, the redefinition of rulers of polities as a social group apart from the ranked élite; and they document strikingly how the fundamental division between ranked and unranked members of lineages, so strictly maintained in Western Zhou and throughout most of the Springs and Autumns period, became obliterated during the Warring States. This is shown in Chapters Eight and Nine, respectively. Chapter Seven outlines the religious context of these processes, which, as in previous chapters, must be understood before one can proceed to a social interpretation of the archaeological data.

The archaeological evidence adduced in Chapter Seven attests a comprehensive transformation of beliefs concerning death, the soul, and the afterlife that occurred over the course of the Eastern Zhou period. Whereas this transformation reflects itself in the mortuary practices of all social strata, Chapter Eight highlights a more circumscribed, and perhaps more deliberate, restructuring of ritual practices in connection with the ancestral cult of the ranked élite: the Middle Springs and Autumns Ritual Restructuring, which must have occurred about 600 BC. Archaeological finds reflect both processes simultaneously, and there is precious little textual evidence for either. Of the two, the Middle Springs and Autumns Ritual Restructuring—which may be interpreted as a readjustment of the Late Western Zhou Ritual Reform, discussed in Chapter One—is more immediately relevant to our task of reconstructing the articulation of social differences during the “Age of Confucius.” Interestingly, while the more general religious transformation discussed in Chapter Seven manifests itself with particular clarity in archaeological materials from Qin (and may have been inspired by areas further west), Qin is the only part of the Zhou culture sphere that seems to have been unaffected by changes in élite ritual practices described in Chapter Eight. Nevertheless, Qin over the course of the Eastern Zhou period underwent much the same social transformation as its easterly neighbor polities.

The novel religious conceptions presented in Chapter Seven relegated the time-honored ancestral cult of the Zhou lineages to a less central position than it had occupied previously. The Middle Springs and Autumns Ritual Restructuring may have been motivated by a conservative-minded intention to shore up the traditional practices; if so, the attempt ultimately turned

out futile. As the ancestral cult inexorably declined in relative importance over the course of the Eastern Zhou period, so did the primacy of lineage organization. We shall see how the segmentary lineage society characterized in the preceding chapters became, over time, a more atomized society, in which position in one's kin-based hierarchy was far less determinant of one's opportunities in life.





## CHAPTER SEVEN

# THE EASTERN ZHOU RELIGIOUS TRANSFORMATION (CA. 600-221 BC)

SINCE THE ANCESTRAL cult, during the “Age of Confucius,” constituted the paramount form of religious expression, social realities were closely, albeit idealizedly, reflected in ritual activities. The traces of such rituals in turn are embedded in the archaeological record. Although the correspondence between social reality and ritual was by no means absolute, it was arguably more direct in ancient China than in other early civilizations. Before beginning the detailed analysis (in Chapters Eight and Nine) of cemetery data that mirror the shifts in the social hierarchy during the Eastern Zhou period, the present chapter will trace more broadly the ongoing changes in religious beliefs and practices. These, too, can be observed through the analysis of tombs, as well as through the close study of ritual objects and their inscriptions. As in the earlier part of the Zhou dynasty, ritual paraphernalia remained an important—perhaps the most important—indicator of a person’s social position. One wonders: Did social change lead to ritual change or the other way around? Or is it a mistake to suppose a causal relationship in either direction? Were social and religious changes, rather, inextricably concomitant? Of course, these questions can be, and have been, raised as well for other civilizations at corresponding stages of development,<sup>1</sup> but the answers may well not be the same for all. In Zhou China, despite the close nexus between social and ritual developments, the causal relationships between the two must have been exceedingly subtle and complex.

### CHANGES IN THE FOCUS OF RITUAL<sup>2</sup>

One category in which where we can observe significant religious change from Western to Eastern Zhou is inscriptions on ritual bronzes. In Chapter One, bronze inscriptions in the Zhuangbai hoard were plumbed to furnish evidence on the genealogical succession within one lineage and indirectly—e.g., through

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<sup>1</sup> See, e.g., Trigger 2003.

<sup>2</sup> Much of this chapter is an extensive revision of Falkenhausen 1994b, which is now out of date and need no longer be consulted.

the forms of personal names—on the structure of that lineage. Such information is, however, quite incidental to the main purpose of these inscriptions, which relates to the ritual use of the inscribed objects. The contents of the texts were communicated, alongside other messages, to the ancestral spirits in the course of sacrifices.<sup>3</sup> The sacrifices in turn were structured as communal meals, at which the ancestors were thought to be physically present, having descended into junior descendants who served as impersonators (*sbi*).<sup>4</sup> Although this general context for the use of ritual bronzes remained remarkably constant over the course of the Zhou dynasty, the constellation of participants mentioned in the inscriptions, and their roles vis-à-vis one another, did change considerably, as will become clear through a comparison of Western Zhou- and Springs and Autumns-period examples.

Individuals mentioned in Western Zhou bronze inscriptions fall into various categories. Most commonly, the texts identify the person who commissioned the bronze (“donor”), and they usually also name the deceased ancestor (“dedicatee”) in whose sacrifice the bronze was to be used. The living superior (“patron”) through whom the donor obtained the privilege, and often also the means, to cast a bronze object is also often mentioned and thanked. Vessels made as a gift to a woman name that person (the “beneficiary”), as well as the (usually male) “sponsor” who commissioned their manufacture. All Western Zhou bronze inscriptions above a certain length—all those that consist of more than a single name, emblem, or stock phrase—adhere to a straightforward and fairly standardized textual scheme.<sup>5</sup> An initial “Statement of Past Merit,” in which the donor describes the circumstances under which he (sometimes she) was able to have it cast—sometimes quoting from official documents, as mentioned in Chapter One—is followed by a central statement of dedication, in which the dedicatee or beneficiary is mentioned; the final section is a formulaic, often rhymed, prayer for long life, in which the donor makes explicit how the inscribed object is to be used in the worship of the ancestors.

Western Zhou bronze inscriptions concentrate on the ancestors as the main intended object of worship during the rituals. The inscribed texts, especially their final sections, portray the spirits as actively concerned with the well-being of their progeny, whom they can help decisively by lending them supernatural support. An example is the inscription on the mid-ninth-century BC First Xīng-yongzhong from Hoard 1 at Zhuangbai, already referred to in Chapter One. The final portion of the text runs as follows:

<sup>3</sup> See Chapter One, n. 37.

<sup>4</sup> See Chapter One, nn. 23, 24.

<sup>5</sup> Falkenhausen 1993b: 152-67.

May they [i.e., these bells] be used so as to please and exalt those who splendidly arrive [i.e., the ancestors], so as to let the Accomplished Men of the former generations rejoice. May they be used to pray for long life, to beg for an eternal life-mandate, [so that I may] extensively command a position of high emolument in respected old age, [enjoying] unadulterated happiness.

My venerable august ancestors, I am facing your brilliant appearance on high, [looking on] sternly from your positions above. Richly and abundantly, forever let me [enjoy] at ease ever more ample and manifold good fortune. May you broadly open up my awareness, helping me [obtain] an eternal life-mandate; may you personally bestow upon me that multicolored good fortune [of yours].

May I live for ten thousand years. [My sacrificial bull] has even horns, it is well fattened, and [its skin] is glistening; sacrificing to the Accomplished Spirits according to propriety, may I without limit manifest my good fortune.

Using [this set of bells] to make me radiate with glory, forever I shall treasure it.<sup>6</sup>

This passage, typical of Western Zhou bronze inscriptions, replicates the dynamics of communication during the ritual: blessings from above are to be obtained in exchange for the proper sacrifices.

At first sight Springs and Autumns-period bronze inscriptions do not appear fundamentally different from their Western Zhou forerunners. The language of inscriptions underwent little change, becoming, as a result, increasingly remote from the spoken idiom. Symptomatically, from Late Western Zhou times onward the texts became ever more pervasively rhymed and rhythmicized, and their contents grew more and more formulaic.<sup>7</sup> Close scrutiny reveals, moreover, a subtle but pervasive reorientation of the ritual away from the ancestors.<sup>8</sup> In the first place, the vast majority of vessels are now stated to have been made for the donor's own use, rather than for use in the sacrifice to a specific ancestor. Secondly, the "Statement of Past Merits" now often takes the form of a list of ancestors; not only does flaunting one's pedigree take the place of extolling one's merits in the service of one's patron, but the ancestors themselves are reduced from recipients of sacrifices to deponents of the donor's social rank and political prestige. In a smaller number of instances, moreover, it becomes evident that the rituals in which the vessels were used no longer had

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<sup>6</sup> *Yin Zhou jinwen jicheng* 1.246 (for the numbering of the Xīng bells, see Chapter One, n. 15). For commentary on the translation, see Falkenhausen 1988: 1076-1116.

<sup>7</sup> On such specialized ritual languages and their functioning, see Tambiah 1968; significant comments in Kern 2000. The most comprehensive study of Eastern Zhou bronze inscriptions is Emura 2000: 19-146.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. also Mattos 1997.

the purpose of securing ancestral support, but were held to ensure the solidarity of the living community. One need not be a diehard functionalist to note that this had been, at a deep, “objective” level of reality, the rationale and effect of ancestral sacrifice even in the earlier period; but in Eastern Zhou inscriptions that purpose is for the first time made explicit, and the rituals’ former overtly religious aura and supernatural sanction (fictitious though they may have been to begin with) have all but vanished.

As a case in point, we may look at the Wangsun Gao-*yongzhong* inscription from Tomb 2 in the Chu cemetery at Xiasi (in Xichuan, Henan), to be discussed in Chapter Eight. This magnificent set of twenty-six bells, the largest single continuous chime yet found in China, dates from the middle of the sixth century BC; their donor was a member of the Chu royal family, the grandson of a king. The inscription vaunts his loyalty to his suzerain here below, the king of Chu. At the end of the text, living persons, listed in order of their rank within the donor’s social universe, are named as the addressees of the ritual performance. The pertinent portion of the text runs:

With them [i.e., these bells], in a stern and very dignified manner, reverently I serve the king of Chu. I am not overly humble, but I make no mistakes [in the observance of correct ceremonial behavior]. I am gracious in exerting my governing virtue. I am thoroughly familiar with the awe-inspiring ceremonies. I am greatly respectful; nor would I ever be negligent. I am afraid [of being neglectful] and very careful; earnestly planning [my actions], I am good at defending [my ruler]. For this I am known in the Four States [i.e., the polities in all Four Directions]. I respectfully keep my treaties and sacrifices, and as a result forever obtain happiness. In waging war against the attacking Rong [“Barbarians”], I consider and carefully plan [my strategies], and I am never defeated.

Glistening are the harmonizing bells. With them I feast in order to please and make happy the king of Chu, the various lords, and the fine guests, as well as my fathers [i.e., father and paternal uncles] and brothers and the various gentlemen. How blissful and brightly joyous! For ten thousand years without end, forever preserve and strike them.<sup>9</sup>

It is evident that these bells were to be played at a ritual banquet celebrating and sanctioning the donor’s allegiance to his overlord, rather than at a sacrifice

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<sup>9</sup> Henan Sheng Wenwu Yanjiusuo, Henan Sheng Danjiang Kuqu Kaogu Fajuedui, and Xichuan Xian Bowuguan 1991: 140-78. For an alternative English translation, see Mattos 1997: 100-1. The point of reference of the “Four States”—the implied center of the civilized cosmos—is Chu, which, as discussed in the previous chapter, was attempting to supplant the Zhou royal house. The emphasis on repelling the Rong “Barbarians” also implies the assertion of royal authority.

renewing his links with his ancestors, as had been the principal purpose earlier on. Interestingly, the list of beneficiaries in the final paragraph starts with three categories of persons—the king, regional rulers, and “fine guests” (possibly royal emissaries)—who were not part of the immediate worshipping community headed by Wangsun Gao, and who were probably higher than he in rank. His fathers/paternal uncles and brothers are the only close relatives mentioned as full participants in these ancestral sacrifices; the “various gentlemen” at the end are probably elite retainers of Wangsun Gao’s household, unrelated or only distantly related to the family. Even though Western Zhou inscriptions also frequently contain portions in which the donor thanks his patron for favors received, these patrons are never among the addressees of the rituals during which the objects were used; in that period, this role was strictly reserved to the ancestors. Conversely, in the Wangsun Gao-*yongzhang* inscription, ancestors are nowhere mentioned. Perhaps on account of his royal descent, this donor, unlike lesser-ranking aristocrats in his period, did not even feel a need to list them in order to assert his pedigree.

The contrast to Late Western Zhou inscriptions is thus salient. What had happened? Evidently, the focus of ritual had shifted from the ancestral spirits to the living ritual community. Even though the ancestors were still the nominal focus of the sacrifice, they were no longer considered potential givers of supernatural aid. If the inscribed objects were to continue in use “for ten thousand years,” it would be owing to the descendants’ own continuing ritually and politically correct behavior and not to sanction from above. This reorientation of the sacrifices is highly significant. Undoubtedly, it marked an important step in the direction of the Confucian advocacy of ritual for the sake of ensuring the social order in the here-and-now, as well as for self-cultivation.<sup>10</sup> It is interesting to find such an attitude—and in Chu of all places—at a time when Confucius, if his transmitted dates can be believed, was still a small child. Moreover, it is interesting to find it associated with a person of such high rank. Of Confucius and his for the most part relatively low-born disciples, one might suspect that in emphasizing ritual as valuable in and of itself as a means of achieving social harmony, rather than an exclusive obligation of persons with the right sort of ancestry, they were expressing their own “class interest,” aiming to open up social realms and privileges formerly inaccessible to persons of their rank.<sup>11</sup> Not so with Wangsun Gao, whose failure, in this inscription, to capitalize on his distinguished ancestry as a potential source of supernatural help, would have been astonishing by Western Zhou standards.

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<sup>10</sup> See Introduction, n. 2.

<sup>11</sup> For some provocative reflections along these lines, see Gassmann 2003.

## SHIFTS IN THE RELATION OF TEMPLE AND TOMB

I have set the stage by offering some reflections based on archaeologically provenienced texts reflecting a thorough reorientation of ritual. No known transmitted texts make any reference to it, but the material record provides ample clues as to the context within which this reorientation took place, how it unfolded through time, and what its impact was on society at large. Albeit inevitably somewhat more diffuse than texts, the archaeological evidence suggests that the changed attitude toward the ancestors observable in bronze inscriptions affected not only the very few high-élite persons who still commissioned inscribed bronzes in Eastern Zhou times, but all levels of the ranked élite. The loss of prestige of the ancestral spirits is inextricably linked—whether as a necessary precondition or by way of a more complicated causal nexus—to the rise of a new system of religious beliefs pertaining to death and the afterlife. These ideas were to become part of Chinese Common Religion, and much later, starting in the early centuries AD, were also melded into religious Taoism.<sup>12</sup> In little-changed form they continue current today.<sup>13</sup> But in Eastern Zhou times they were novel and still germinating, and archaeological finds allow us to trace their origins.

A useful way to begin envisaging the Eastern Zhou religious transformation is by reflecting for a moment on the relationship between assemblages of ritual vessels found in tombs and those assemblages contemporaneously in use in ancestral temples. In a difference of fundamental significance, temple and tomb assemblages seem to have been by and large equivalent during Western Zhou times, whereas great differences began to evolve in Eastern Zhou.

Thinking back to the Western Zhou élite tombs (e.g., those considered in Chapter Two), we may generalize that they contained the kinds of paraphernalia the occupant would have needed to perform the ritual duties corresponding to his or her social rank. In a man's tomb, chariots and weapons represent his engagement in (ritualized) warfare; his ritual vessels (including, besides bronzes, objects made of lacquer, wood, and ceramics) often, though not always, constitute the assemblage a person of his rank would have used in a temple context. *Mutatis mutandis*, the same is true of tombs with female occupants. Hayashi Minao has compellingly argued that, in his/her new

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<sup>12</sup> Anna Seidel (1982, 1985, 1987a, 1987b) pioneeringly and with exemplary clarity demonstrated the links between the Hàn-period funerary record and later Taoist religious conceptions. A growing body of recent work has clarified the Zhou (and particularly Warring States-period) roots of these ideas (see, e.g., Poo 1990; 1998; Harper 1997; 1999).

<sup>13</sup> For a repertoire of religious practices and beliefs observable in the “ethnographic present,” see De Groot 1883, 1892; updated by Ahern 1973; and the contributions to Watson and Rawski (eds.) 1988.

capacity as a revered ancestor, a deceased person was thought to continue in the performance of his ritual duties to his/her ancestors, just as that person's own descendants, using exactly equivalent vessels, would henceforth be sacrificing to him/her at the ancestral temple.<sup>14</sup> An ever-lengthening chain of links thus connected the living members of a lineage to their deceased founders. The pertinence of this basic religious idea seems to have been unaffected by the Late Western Zhou Ritual Reform.

Western Zhou funerary ritual, in other words, transformed a person into an ancestor by reducing that person to the basic ritual dimensions of his or her social existence. The newly created ancestor remained very much part of the society: s/he was kept alive, albeit in a different form of being, through the continuing worship by latter-day descendants. In contrast to the ancestral corpses, each situated in its own tomb and surrounded by its paraphernalia, the spirits were not thought of as being physically confined to the tomb: the bronze inscriptions clearly reflect the belief that, when they came to partake in the ritual repast in the lineage temple, they descended from "their high positions above," "in the entourage of God [i.e., the High God Shangdi]," i.e., from a heavenly realm.<sup>15</sup>

The inventories, or parts thereof, of ancestral temples from the end of Western Zhou are represented by the hoards of bronzes in the Zhouyuan area. As discussed in Chapter One, those vessel assemblages are not entirely identical to the ones seen in tombs of the same period: like the Zhuangbai hoard, they sometimes represent a longer period of family acquisitions than is usually reflected in a tomb. It is true that tombs of particularly high status, as at Qucun Locus III (Chapter Two) and at Xiasi (Chapter Eight), also sometimes contain a confusing *mélange* of bronzes from different generations; and the sets of ritual vessels in the Zhouyuan hoards are not always complete, be it because a family's vessels were distributed among several hoards or because some were taken away. Nevertheless, it is clear that these hoards contain largely the same sorts of vessels that are also seen in tombs—not only the same vessel types, but also vessels of roughly similar dimensions, ornamentation, and levels of workmanship. Like the tomb assemblages, and in conjunction with them, the temple assemblages emphasized the compatibility, solidarity, and interconnectedness of the living and the dead.

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<sup>14</sup> Hayashi 1993.

<sup>15</sup> The first expression is too numerous to warrant an enumeration of occurrences (for an example, see the First *Xīng-yongzhong* inscription translated above). As to examples of the second expression, see the Late Western Zhou *Bidi-yongzhong* (*Yin Zhou jinwen jicheng* 1.49) and the Middle Springs and Autumns-period Qin *Gong-gui* (*Yin Zhou jinwen jicheng* 8.4315).



The breakdown of this relationship of equivalence can be traced archaeologically through several stages. The first stage was the Late Western Zhou Ritual Reform, which, as discussed in Chapter One, appears to have brought about a thoroughgoing rationalization and systematization of the sacrifices. As the Western Zhou elite lineages began to split at regular intervals into branches of unequal status, and all ancestors except founders of lineages were dropped from the sacrificial schedule after five generations, most people could no longer count on their descendants in more remote generations to keep their spirits alive *post mortem* indefinitely through ritual (though even a remote ancestor continued to receive some minimal form of commemoration after his tablet had been removed from his own altar to a collective shrine).<sup>16</sup> This new conception of the ancestral afterlife may well have contributed to the new notion of an afterworld hermetically separate and independent from the world of the living. Moreover, the greatly increased concern with sumptuary rules appears to have led to a heightened emphasis on the expression, during ancestral rituals, of rank inequality among the living descendants, replacing the earlier celebration of the lineage's shared relationship with the departed spirits. The demise of wine-drinking during rituals may well encapsulate this loss of "communitas."<sup>17</sup> Communication with the spirits of the deceased in all likelihood was no longer a priority. Rather than their handling by ritual actors, the primary emphasis in the use of ritual vessels now became their formal display as sets. Jessica Rawson has pointed out that such awe-inspiring installations of large numbers of vessels with their new, often cruder, and more abstract type of decoration, would have been visible to larger groups of people, and at a greater distance.<sup>18</sup> Quite possibly, thus, the ritual performances now took place in larger and less intimate spatial settings; in the future, archaeological evidence should be sought to test in a statistically valid manner whether, and by how much, the size of temple compounds increased after circa 850 BC.

For Eastern Zhou times, direct evidence of temple assemblages comparable to the Western Zhou-period hoards is unfortunately lacking, although the materials from Zhonghang (in Xinzheng, Henan), discussed in Chapter Eight, provide interesting examples of vessel assemblages in a non-funerary context. Even so, enough incidental evidence is available to show that, by the mid-fifth century BC, the temple sacrifices to the ancestors had become, as it were, decoupled from the furnishing of their tombs.<sup>19</sup> Splendid ritual vessels were now made only for use

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<sup>16</sup> As specified in *Li ji* "Jifa" (*Shisanjing zhushu* 46.361, p. 1589), which gives the name of such a shrine as *tiao*.

<sup>17</sup> Turner 1969.

<sup>18</sup> Rawson 1989: 91; Falkenhausen 1999b.

<sup>19</sup> For a somewhat different account of the changing focus of postmortem ritual

in temples or for tombs of the highest-ranking élite, which, as shown in Chapter Eight, had developed into a socially and ritually separate group after the Middle Springs and Autumns Ritual Restructuring (circa 600 BC). In all other social groups, by contrast, descendants were now apparently unwilling, or unable, to commit the resources needed to provide the deceased with a complete assemblage of precious ritual objects. Instead, assemblages of special “spirit utensils” (*mingqi*),<sup>20</sup> made of inferior materials and/or of miniature size, were increasingly buried in tombs during the Springs and Autumns period, and pervasively so during the Warring States. Concomitantly, tombs became more architectural, and their furnishing with new kinds of funerary goods in addition to ritual vessels served to complete the new sense of resemblance between a tomb and a domestic setting. Structure and furnishings of these new tombs, perhaps like the now-vanished mundane architecture of the time, came to express the cosmological dimensions of human existence,<sup>21</sup> and tombs evolved into miniature models of the universe. The underlying cosmological ideas had little connection with social organization among the living, and their religious expression stood completely apart from the ancestral cult. They brought a genuinely new dimension to funerary ideology. As a consequence, in a fundamental contrast to Western Zhou- and Early Springs and Autumns-period concepts, later Eastern Zhou tombs emphasize no longer the communality, but the discontinuity between the living and the dead.

The following sections will further explore the archaeological manifestations of these ideological processes. It must be stressed that the material evidence constitutes the foundation of our knowledge about them; textual data can only provide some incidental detail.

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from temple to tomb during the pre-Qin and Hàn periods, see Wu Hung 1988; 1995: 77-142; for more detailed discussion, see Falkenhausen 1996.

<sup>20</sup> The locus classicus for the term *mingqi* (glossed as “vessels symbolizing [their owners’] numinous virtue”) is in *Zuo zhuan* Zhao 15 (*Shisanjing zhushu* 47.375, p. 2077). The term did not originally refer to low-quality substitutes made for funerary use, but it is understood in such a meaning (“vessels for the spirits”) in *Xunzi* “Lilun” (*Zhuzi jicheng* 13.244-45) and *Li ji* “Tangong shang” (*Shisanjing zhushu* 8.61, p. 1289), and has been traditionally so used by antiquarians and archaeologists. In twentieth-century usage it has also come to encompass figurines and ceramic models, which in antiquity were conceptually and functionally quite distinct from substitute vessels and were referred to by a separate term, *yong*. See Bodde 1963; for basic archaeological considerations on *mingqi*, see Cai Yonghua 1986.

<sup>21</sup> Useful treatments of Chinese traditional cosmology include Henderson 1984; Rosemont (ed.) 1984; Graham 1986; Li Ling 1993a (2<sup>nd</sup> edition): 89-231; Harper 1999; Lewis 1999a: 241-86 and passim; Wang Aihe 2000; Puett 2002 (qq.v. for further references).

## MINGQI

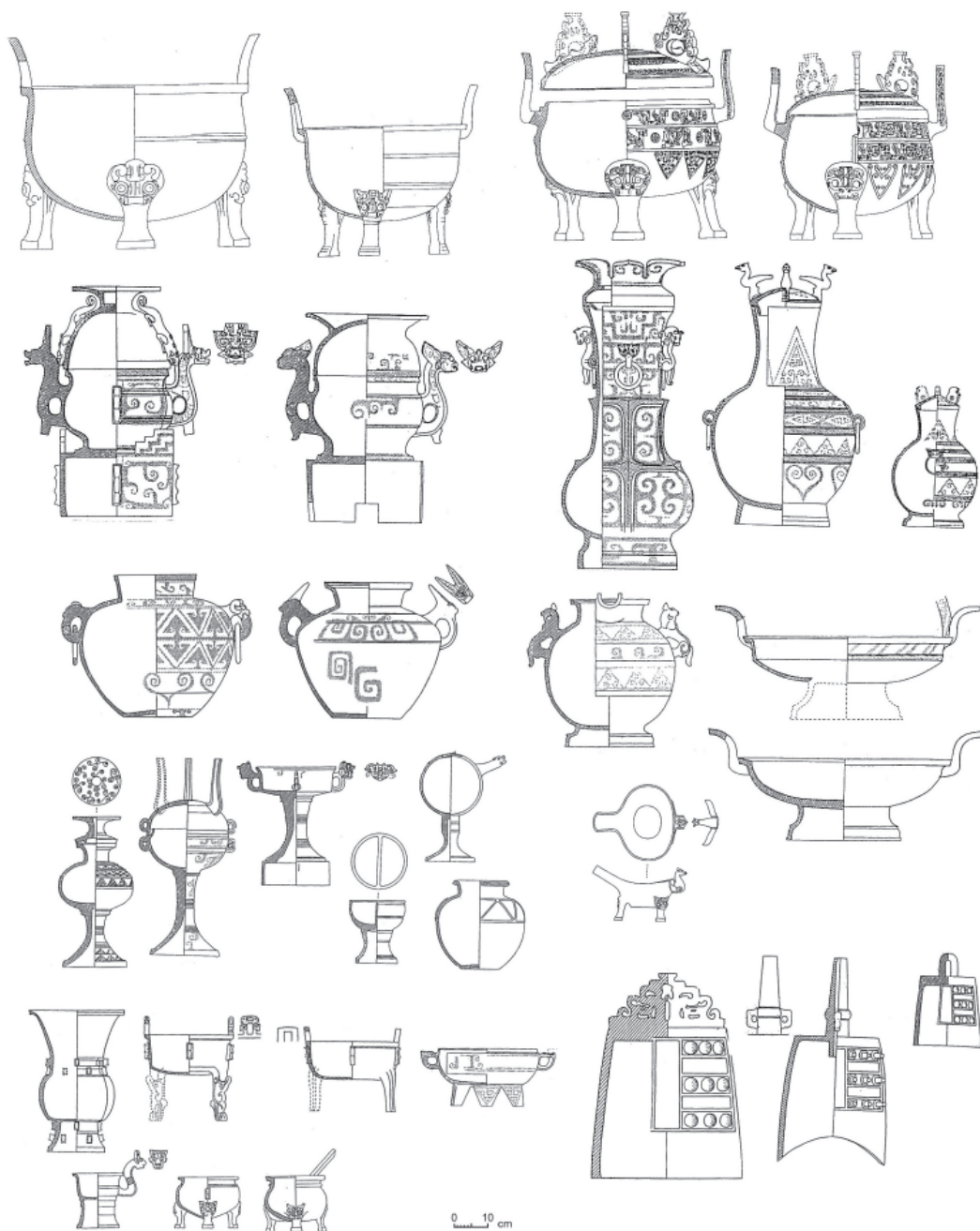
*Mingqi* vessels of ceramics or metal had existed in Western Zhou and indeed before.<sup>22</sup> The earliest served as stand-ins for “real,” usable vessels, either in the tombs of people too poor to afford real ones, or perhaps also (as suggested in Chapter Three) as expressions of a frugality deemed virtuous. Another early use of *mingqi* (encountered especially at tombs of very high-ranking individuals, e.g., at Shangcunling and Qucun Locus III; cf. *Fig. 21*) seems to have been as complement to assemblages of “real” vessels, symbolically alluding to obsolete ritual practices. It must be emphasized that before Eastern Zhou times, *mingqi* were existent but not prevalent; the archaeological record shows a pervasive preference for usable ritual vessels, or, alternatively, a renunciation of any kind of ritual vessels.

Eastern Zhou assemblages look completely different. Now, bronze vessels in tombs are quite often miniaturized, executed carelessly, or outright unusable. In time, substitution with ceramic imitations became the rule rather than the exception (see *Figs. 61, 93-97*). As noted in Chapter Five, it was in Qin that *mingqi* came into widespread use especially early; but by about 400 BC, *mingqi*, and presumably the new religious ideas implied thereby, had become established pretty much all over the Zhou culture sphere. In the environs of the major capitals of the time ceramic *mingqi* manufacture became a major industry. As we shall explore more fully in Chapter Nine, *mingqi* versions of ritual vessels were now seen not only in tombs of members of the ranked élite, but in commoners’ tombs as well. Both individually and in their constellations, *they were now a specifically funerary phenomenon*, and it is unlikely that they directly duplicated the inventories of contemporaneous ancestral temples.

In tombs of high-ranking Warring States-period individuals, *mingqi* assemblages could become extremely elaborate and exhibit a degree of creativity that is surprising in objects that are derivative by their very nature. One instance is the remains of hundreds of *mingqi* vessels and bells (the exact number has not been determined) found in Tomb 16 at the Lower Capital of Yan (Yan Xiadu).<sup>23</sup> Built for a member of the royal family of Yan during the Early Warring States period, this is a large mounded tomb. In all likelihood it did originally contain a set of bronzes as well, which had been looted before excavation. The *mingqi*

<sup>22</sup> Miniature imitations of ceramic vessels of utilitarian or ritual function have existed in China since Neolithic times (see, e.g., the miniature *ding* from the late third-millennium BC Shijiahe culture site of Xiaojiaiwuji, Tianmen [Hubei], in Hubei Sheng Jingzhou Bowuguan, Hubei Sheng Wenwu Kaogu Yanjiusuo Shijiahe Kaogudui, and Beijing Daxue Kaoguxue Xi 1999: 310-11); excavation reports, however, often do not differentiate them from ordinary, usable ceramics.

<sup>23</sup> Hebei Sheng Wenhua ju Wenwu Gongzuodui 1965.



**Fig. 61.** *Mingqi* ceramics assemblage from Tomb 16 at Yan Xiadu, Yi Xian (Hebei). First row: coverless *ding*; covered *ding*. Second row: *gui*, *fanghu*, round *bu*. Third row: *fou* (or *lei*); spouted *lei*; *pan*. Fourth row: high-stem *bu*; covered *dou*; coverless *dou*; *be+*; *guan*; *yi*; *pan*. Fifth row: *zun*, *fangding*, miscellaneous tripods, bells (*bo*, *yongzhong*, *niuzhong*). Sixth row: *dou*, *liandangding*. Mid-fifth to early fourth century BC. Only one specimen for each type is shown. Due to breakage, the exact number of vessels is not always known.

excavated from this tomb represent vessel types from various periods—Shang/Early Zhou, Late Western Zhou, Late Springs and Autumns, and Early Warring States; and they also include vessel types for which no “real” prototypes are so far known, which may be the products of a ritualist’s fanciful imagination (*Fig. 61*). The stamped decoration of these objects, as well, is quite versatile; one *jian* of Late Springs and Autumns-period shape, for instance, features patterns in three distinct period styles (*Fig. 62*). Vessel shapes and design elements all look slightly distorted compared with objects from the periods alluded to, but it is difficult to imagine how the makers’ almost archaeological interest in the whole panoply of ancient forms could have arisen without a “reference collection” of ancient bronzes, which presumably was kept at the ancestral temple of the tomb occupant’s lineage. Be that as it may, the use of *mingqi* here clearly does not reflect a lack of resources, but more likely a new set of religious ideas and priorities. Seemingly, the builders of Tomb 16 intended a symbolic embrace of the entire tradition of Zhou ritual in a funerary context<sup>24</sup>—and for this only *mingqi* were apparently thought appropriate.

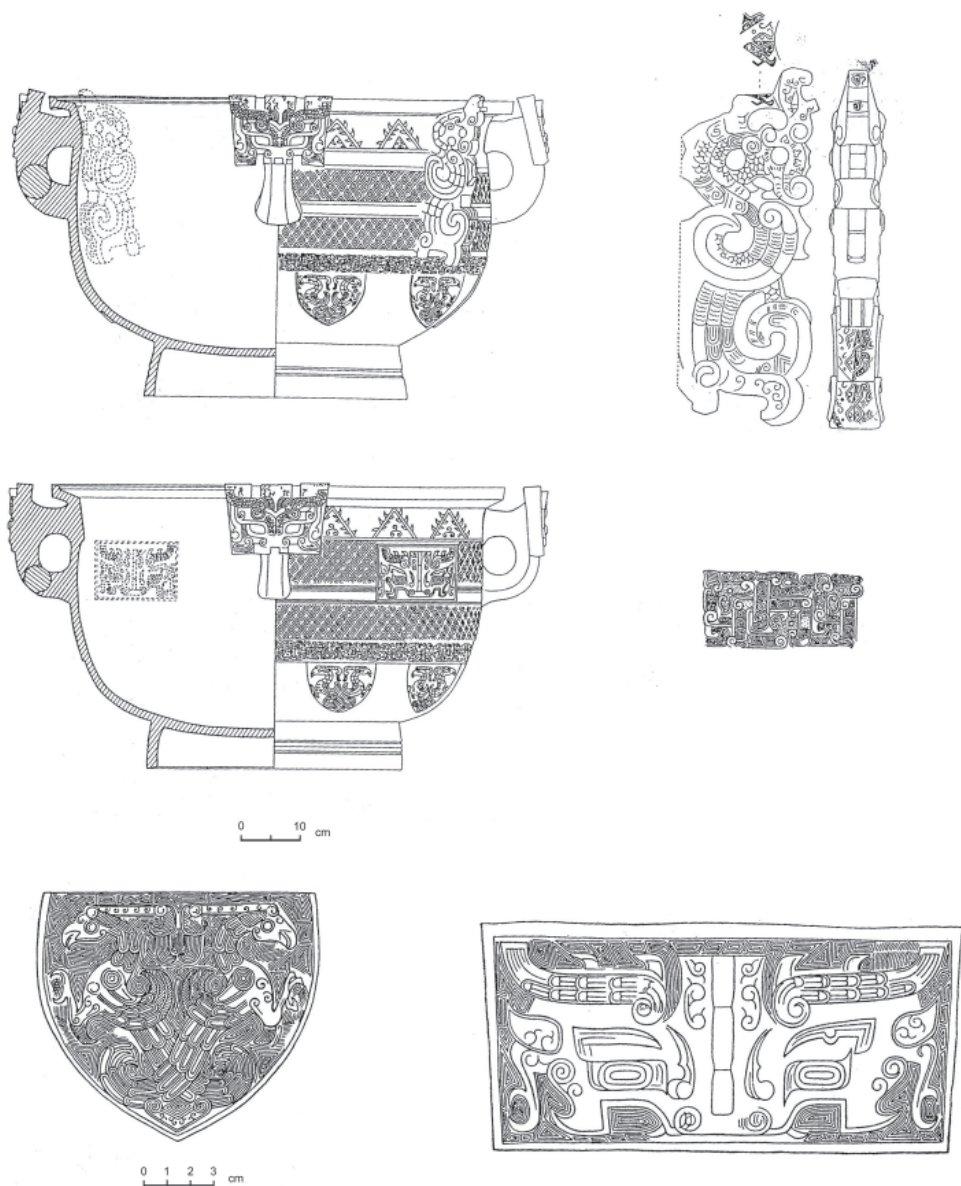
The use of *mingqi* is variously justified in pre-Qin texts. Most Warring States-period thinkers—including the most pious of Confucians—seem to be in agreement that the spirits of the dead themselves were quite unaware of, or unconcerned with, the difference between ritual objects made of precious materials and their cheap imitations. To Confucius and his disciples, the sincerity and correctness of a ritual mattered more than material display;<sup>25</sup> more utilitarian-minded thinkers objected to the waste of precious resources on funerary items. A theological justification was not difficult to come up with. The *Li ji* (in the “Tangong shang” chapter) argues that only by providing *mingqi* can one do justice to the nature of spirits *qua* spirits: “to treat the dead as dead would be inhuman; this cannot be done; to treat them as living would be unwise; this cannot be done either.”<sup>26</sup> The *Lüshi chunqiu* even posits that using *mingqi* was the filial thing to do, for a lavishly appointed tomb would soon be looted, leaving the dead destitute for all eternity.<sup>27</sup> Such discussions continued into the Hàn (206 BC-AD 220) and Six Dynasties (AD 221-589) periods. But these may be no more than posterior attempts to rationalize a religious practice by now so familiar—indeed natural—that its origins were no longer understood. As to the fundamental rationale for *mingqi* use, I suspect that the

<sup>24</sup> This feat may perhaps be compared to other totalizing intellectual endeavors of the Warring States period; cf. Lewis 1999a: 42-48, 287-308 and *passim*; see also Schaberg 2001: 96-124.

<sup>25</sup> *Lunyu* “Bayi” 3.4 (*Shisanjing zhushu* 3.10, p. 2466).

<sup>26</sup> *Li ji* “Tangong shang” (*Shisanjing zhushu* 8.61, p. 1289).

<sup>27</sup> *Lüshi chunqiu* “Jiesang” (*Lüshi chunqiu jiaoshi* 10.525).



**Fig. 62.** Decorations on a *mingqi* ceramic *jian* vessel from Tomb 16 at Yan Xiadu. Mid-fifth to early fourth century BC. The rectangular face panels allude to Early Western Zhou bronze decoration, the intertwined snakes and back-to-back griffins to the Late Springs and Autumns-period products of the Houma Foundry, and the remaining details to Warring States bronze styles.



intention to demarcate the dead as categorically different from the living, even to the appurtenances they required, was perhaps even more important than the textually attested concern over whether the dead had consciousness. In addition, the use of cheap *mingqi* facilitated the symbolic replication of the entire universe in a tomb. This could never have been done with “real” objects, if only because of their cost and size.

## TOMBS AS REPLICAS OF DOMESTIC AND SOCIAL SURROUNDINGS

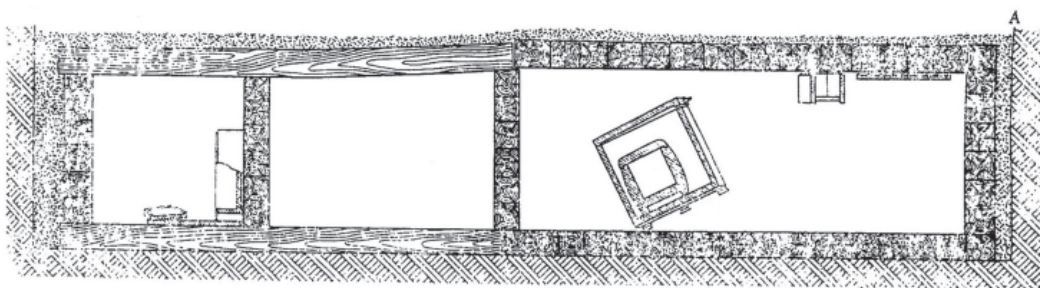
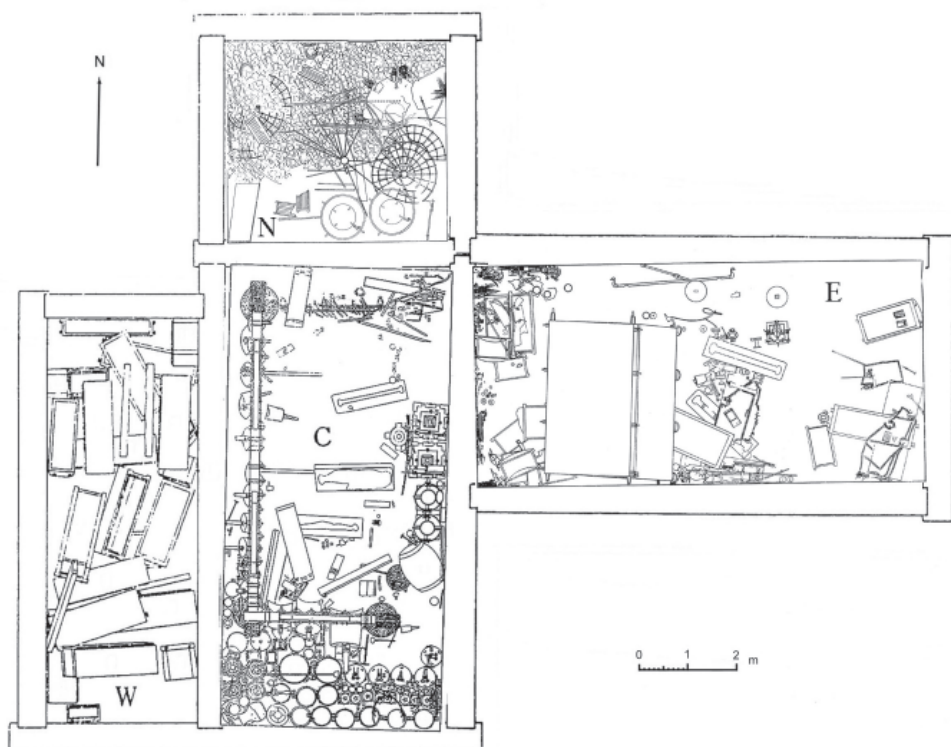
Perhaps the earliest clear instance of an ambition to recreate underground the living surroundings of the deceased is the tomb of Marquis Yi of Zeng at Leigudun, Suizhou (Hubei), dated to slightly after 433 BC (*Fig. 63*).<sup>28</sup> Its four chambers appear to stand for the four major components of a ruler’s palace compound: the ruler’s private quarters (where the marquis is buried), the ceremonial court, the arsenal, and the harem. They are filled with precious objects that pertain to the appointed function of each part of the palace. “Private quarters” and “harem” additionally contain a total of twenty-three young human female victims. The central chamber, which corresponds to the part of the palace where the ruler held court, received visiting diplomats, hosted banquets, conducted state rituals, and sacrificed to his ancestors, contains full sets of ceremonial equipment, complemented by an entire ritual orchestra. In later sources, this central and most crucial portion of the tomb is sometimes called *mingtang* (“Spirit Hall”).<sup>29</sup> Its prominence in Marquis Yi’s tomb shows that in the late fifth century, the performative enactment of Western Zhou-derived sumptuary standards was still of relevance in defining the position of the ruler, at least in a ritual setting such as a tomb. Yet the funerary assemblage in its entirety, together with the structure of the tomb itself, show that these ceremonial attributes were no longer the sole focus, as they had been through Western Zhou and most of the Springs and Autumns period.

The plan of Marquis Yi’s burial chamber is still quite schematic, but the innermost of his two lacquered wooden coffins is painted with unmistakable architectural features: on its outside a door and a window, and, flanking the door, rows of fierce guardians armed with dagger-axes (*Fig. 64*). The facial features of the guardian figures are demonic rather than human, suggesting that they represent supernatural protectors. The earliest known tomb with several chambers connected by doors is that of a mid-sixth-century BC ruler of Qin, at Nanzhihui near Fengxiang (Shaanxi), to be discussed in Chapter Eight. In

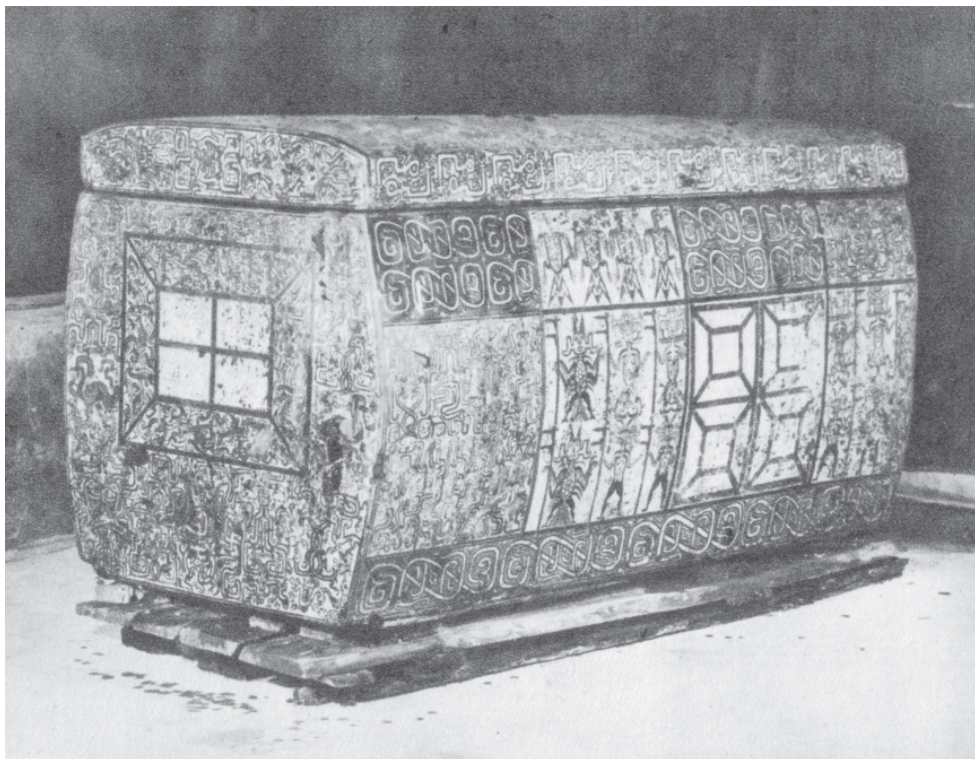
<sup>28</sup> Hubei Sheng Bowuguan 1989.

<sup>29</sup> See Seidel 1987a: 31 and n. 38; Stein 1957.





**Fig. 63.** The tomb of Marquis Yi of Zeng: Tomb 1 at Leigudun, Suizhou (Hubei). *Ca.* 433 BC. The central chamber corresponds to the ceremonial courtyard of a ruler's palace; the north chamber to the armory, the west chamber to the harem (the 13 coffins contained sacrificed young women), and the east chamber to the ruler's living quarters (Marquis Yi's coffin is here).



**Fig. 64.** Marquis Yi's inner coffin from Tomb 1 at Leigudun, Suizhou (Hubei). *Ca.* 433 BC.

Warring States-period Chu tombs, doors, windows, and other architectural elements (sometimes constructed, sometimes painted on) are also a common feature of burial chambers, illustrating the notion of the tomb as a subterranean house or palace. This entailed a spatial reconfiguration: from boxes opened at the top, tombs developed into houses entered from the side. An intention to make the tombs accessible from the side in analogy to built architecture may be attested, for instance, by the occurrence of sloping entry ramps (*mudao*)—formerly, as we have seen, a sign of great privilege—in Warring States-period Chu tombs of all ranks. Such lateral access was to become the rule from the Hàn dynasty on.

After a hiatus of about half a millennium, the resurgence of catacomb tombs (see Chapter Five) in Warring States-period Qin may likewise attest a concern, in the northwestern part of the Zhou culture sphere, with providing a “life-like” tomb environment. Since catacomb tombs had never gone out of use among the northwestern neighbors of Qin, their reappearance in Qin might signify a new wave of cultural influence from the Central Eurasian steppes or the adoption (see Chapter Five) of a “nomadic fashion.” But close

examination reveals that Warring States-period Qin catacomb tombs are subtly different from earlier ones, as well as from contemporaneous ones outside the Zhou culture sphere. In the Qin instances, the lateral coffin chamber is always separated from the vertical shaft of the tomb by means of a wooden or stamped-earth partition<sup>30</sup>—a feature that suggests an intention to imitate local forms of vernacular architecture: the cave dwellings in the loess plains of Shaanxi (traced back archaeologically to the fourth millennium BC and still made today),<sup>31</sup> in which rooms are grouped laterally around a vertically excavated courtyard.

The intention to make tombs ever more lifelike is also reflected in new types of tomb furnishings that have no immediate ritual function but pertain to the sphere of luxurious living—mirrors, lamps, belt-hooks, clothes, bolts of cloth, lacquer cups and eating implements, bronze vessels of non-ritual types, as well as written manuscripts.<sup>32</sup> Even though it is impossible to make out frequency patterns from which one might infer any sumptuary rules (indeed, it seems possible that the selection was at least partially dictated by the personal tastes of the deceased), it is clear that both their quantity and quality depended on the tomb occupant's status. By the mere fact of their entombment, all these objects acquired a religious character, regardless of their secular origins.<sup>33</sup> Unlike the ritual vessels (or their *mingqi* versions) in the same tombs, such objects were not—at least not yet in the Warring States period—*mingqi* imitations, but had been made for “real” use before being placed into the tomb. Clay and wood figurines representing servants at the tomb occupant's beck and call—another innovation of great art-historical consequence—complemented this new equipment. Tombs thus became like dollhouses for the dead spirits to revel in, or images of a hereafter to travel to—either way, never to return or wish to return to the world of the living.<sup>34</sup>

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<sup>30</sup> Some kind of wooden partition is also present in some of the Western Zhou-period catacomb tombs at Zhangjiapo (discussed in Chapter Five), but not in all. In some cases, indeed, the coffin is not even completely concealed within the lateral chamber, and this is also true in many steppe examples.

<sup>31</sup> Hu Qianying and Zhang Xiaoguang 1993; Golany 1992.

<sup>32</sup> Falkenhausen 2003a: 444, 484-86, and *passim*.

<sup>33</sup> Lai Guolong (2002) commendably insists on this point.

<sup>34</sup> Lai Guolong (2004) has adduced excavated textual evidence showing that, rather than intending to provide a “happy home” for the deceased, everyday objects in the tomb should be interpreted as provisions for a post-mortem journey to the perfected world of the Beyond. House-like tomb environments, if interpreted in the same vein, should then perhaps be seen as images of the places the spirits were traveling to, rather than as actually constituting their permanent abodes. They may have been conceived as a “virtual” aid to the recently dead in identifying the actual final abode to which they were headed.

In the tombs or tomb complexes of Warring States rulers, the new, architectural, conception of the funerary environment came to manifest itself aboveground as well, as tombs came to be topped by earthen mounds, which were often surmounted by temple buildings. The tomb of King Cuo of Zhongshan, already discussed in Chapter Six, is one particularly salient example.<sup>35</sup> The tomb yielded a bronze map showing the original plan for a wall-enclosed necropolis comprising five large mounded tombs sited on a high platform, surrounded by two circuits of earthen walls (*Fig. 65*). Only two of the tombs were actually built. This immensely lavish complex was intended for only one single generation of the Zhongshan royal family: King Cuo's large tomb in the center was to be flanked on each side by the equally large tombs of two queens (*hou*) and, on the outside, by the slightly smaller tombs of two consorts (*furen*). On each of the five mounds, splendid wooden buildings were to be concentrically placed at different levels, giving the impression of multi-storied architecture (the excavation of King Cuo's tomb revealed traces of such buildings).<sup>36</sup> The large, square buildings at the top level of each mound, labeled on the bronze map as *tang* ("Hall"), were to serve for sacrifices at the tomb, a new custom distinct from the time-honored rituals in the ancestral temples. Such sacrifices were directed to the deceased person's soul, which was thought, at least by some, to reside in or near these buildings.<sup>37</sup>

The plan of King Cuo's necropolis may be read as a three-dimensional diagrammatic representation of the state and its social hierarchy, conceived pyramidally and concentrically (*Fig. 66*). King Cuo's tomb stands for the royal residence at the center of the polity, and it embodies the social position of the ruler at the top of the social pyramid. The wives' and consorts' tombs likewise have their counterparts at the royal palace complex in the capital; their positions vis-à-vis the central tomb of the king marks the subtle hierarchical differences within that exalted group. The elevated platform on which all five mounds are placed represents the "palace enclosure" (*gongcheng*), which is part of many Warring States-period capitals, and simultaneously implies the court officials and their retainers; the wall surrounding it may be read as analogous to the walls surrounding the capital city (*guocheng*), inhabited by the metropolitan

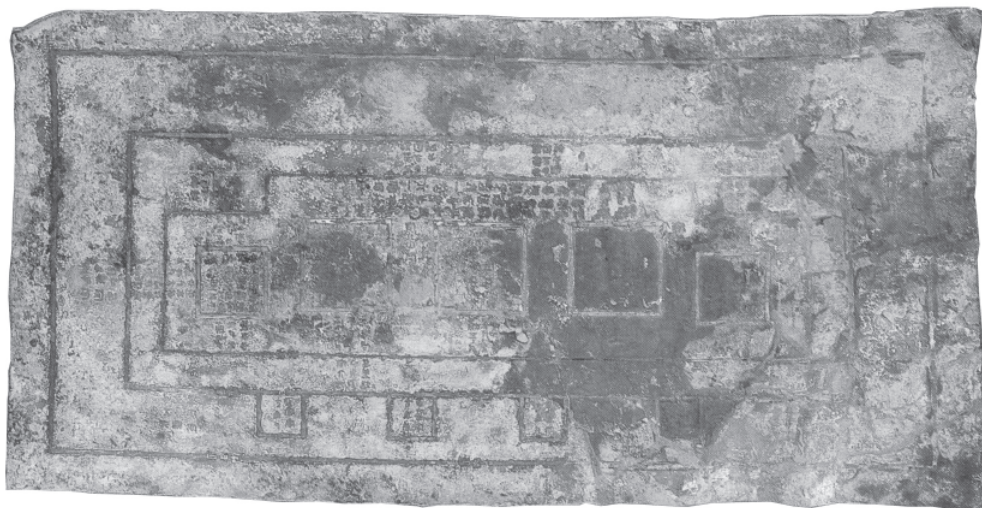
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<sup>35</sup> Hebei Sheng Wenwu Yanjiusuo 1995.

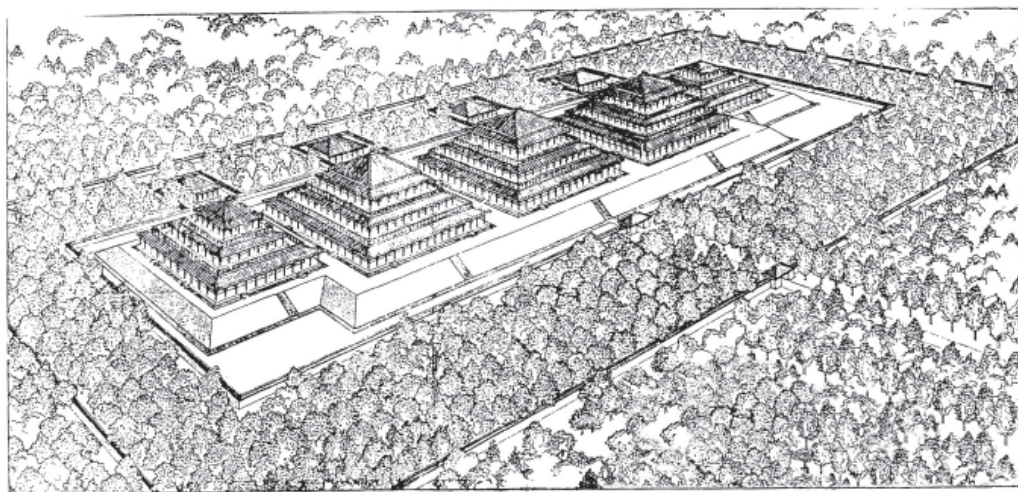
<sup>36</sup> Fu Xinian 1980.

<sup>37</sup> Wu Hung 1988. The complex theology surrounding the concept of dual or multiple souls, first documented in the late pre-Qin texts, need not detain us here; as Anna Seidel has pointed out (1987b: 228), "the *hun* as well as the *po* components of man, his whole social persona and individual being must descend under the earth," and must be accommodated in the tomb. See Dien 1987 for further details, and the important article by Brashier (1996) for a critical revision of received opinions on this subject.





**Fig. 65.** Inlaid-bronze plan of the tomb precinct for King Cuo of Zhongshan from Tomb 1 at Sanji, Pingshan (Hebei). Late fourth century BC. Only part of the complex was ever finished.



**Fig. 66.** Yang Hongxun's reconstruction of the tomb precinct for King Cuo of Zhongshan. Based on the plan in Fig. 65 and the extant archaeological traces.

population of craftspeople, merchants, military personnel, and leisured folk descended from the lesser ranks of the Springs and Autumns-period élite; and the outer walled enclosure marked on the plan stands for the confines of the polity's bounded territory—a relatively new notion in Warring States times, which was reflected in the semantic development of the term *guo* from “capital/political core of a polity” to “polity/state/kingdom.”<sup>38</sup>

### TOMBS AS MICROCOSMS

From the very beginning, the transformation of the tomb into something resembling a subterranean “house” for the deceased carried wider ramifications. Houses themselves were charged with many-layered symbolic meanings.<sup>39</sup> In replicating domestic surroundings, the builders of Warring States tombs were also perforce signifying the wider cosmic environment. The material and the square plan of Warring States-period burial mounds, for example, may have originally been intended to represent Earth in its role as polar complement to Heaven.<sup>40</sup> Introduced in Late Springs and Autumns and limited at first to rulers' tombs,<sup>41</sup> burial mounds were extended to the tombs of lower-ranking individuals in some areas after the middle of the Warring States period, but they did not become common until Hàn times, when their shape changed from square to round.

Cosmic concerns are also, in my opinion, the unifying theme of much of the manuscript literature recovered in Warring States and early Hàn tombs. For instance, the two “almanacs” from the Warring States-period Qin Tomb 1 at Fangmatan, Tianshui (Gansu),<sup>42</sup> which is dated to 239 BC, contain directions for calculating auspicious months and days for all sorts of activities, which are correlated with other cosmologically significant activities such as music. The same tomb also contained seven geographically accurate maps of areas near present-day Tianshui (*Fig. 67*),<sup>43</sup> as well as mathematical counting rods. These almanacs, maps, and calculating devices provided the spirit of the tomb occupant with the means of navigating his travels in the afterworld; they may have been intended as guides enabling him to harmonize his every postmortem action with the Way of the cosmos.

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<sup>38</sup> Stumpfeldt 1970.

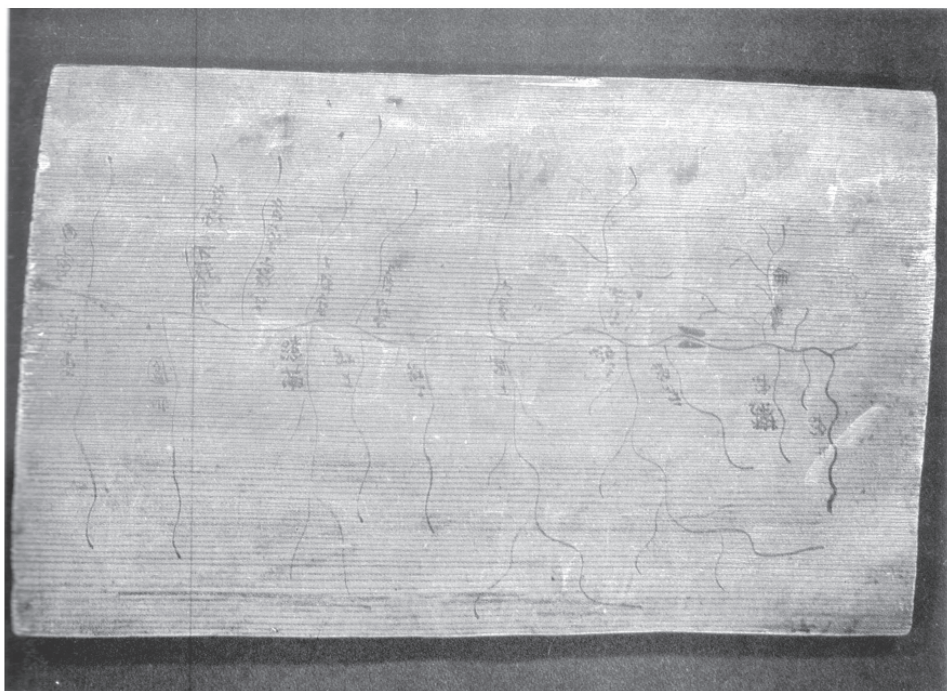
<sup>39</sup> See the magisterial comparative studies by Stein 1957; 1987: 169–253; also Hentze 1961.

<sup>40</sup> Lai Guolong 2002.

<sup>41</sup> See Chapter Eight, n. 14.

<sup>42</sup> Gansu Sheng Wenwu Kaogu Yanjiusuo and Tianshui Shi Beidaoqu Wenhuan 1989; He Shuangquan 1989b.

<sup>43</sup> He Shuangquan 1989a.



**Fig. 67.** Map tablet from Tomb 1 at Fangmatan, Tianshui (Gansu). Mid-third century BC. The map shows a river course and settlements near present-day Tianshui.

The tomb of Marquis Yi, which embodies perhaps the earliest clear intent to replicate the deceased's earthly dwelling, also furnishes some of the (possibly) earliest material evidence of cosmic concerns. In the first place, the decoration of intertwined snakes that adorns Marquis Yi's outer coffin (encasing his house-like inner coffin) is thought to represent a cosmic pattern corresponding to that which adorned the shrouds that covered the unlacquered coffins in more modest tombs (*Fig. 68*).<sup>44</sup> More famous is his clothes box (*Fig. 69*) adorned with a diagram showing the Big Dipper surrounded by the names of the twenty-eight subdivisions of the sky. The painting on another, similar, clothes box alludes to the cosmogonic myth of Hou Yi shooting down from the Fusang tree nine of the ten suns that had risen all at once and were threatening to scorch the earth.<sup>45</sup> And even Marquis Yi's peerless assemblage of sixty-five bells and

<sup>44</sup> Hubei Sheng Bowuguan 1989, vol. 1: 19-26. Similar lacquer-painted coffins, bearing intricate designs of intertwined snakes with a similar significance, have also been found elsewhere in Warring States Chu contexts, e.g., the inner coffin from Tomb 2 at Baoshan (Hubei Sheng Jingsha Tielu Kaogudui 1991, vol. 1: 61-64).

<sup>45</sup> Hubei Sheng Bowuguan 1989, vol. 1: 353-57; discussed by Nivison 1989; Harper 1999: 833-36.



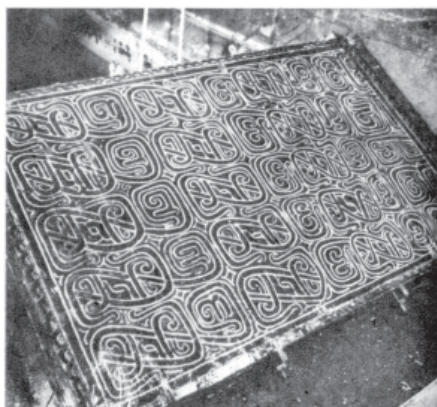
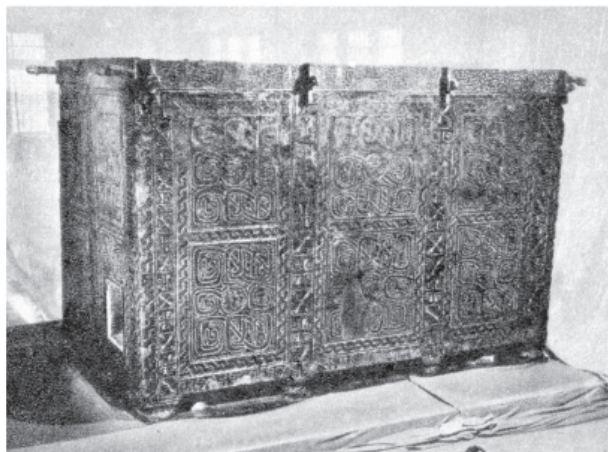


Fig. 68. Marquis Yi's outer coffin from Leigudun, Suizhou (Hubei).



**Fig. 69.** Two clothes boxes from Marquis Yi's tomb at Leigudun, Suizhou (Hubei). *Ca.* 433 BC. The box on the top carries a cosmogram showing the sign of the Big Dipper pointing at the 28 constellations (indicated through inscription), framed by the White Tiger of the West (left) and the Green Dragon of the East (right). The picture on the box on the bottom seems to be connected with the myth of the Archer Yi shooting down the nine supernumerary suns.

(originally) forty-one chime stones, aside from its unquestionable usefulness in musical performance, seems to have served as a cosmic tonometer, serving to stake out and to measure the tonal universe and, in accordance with correlative thinking, to actualize complex patterned connections with other cosmic phenomena.<sup>46</sup> A concern with cosmological connections is pervasive as well in the objects found at the Zhongshan royal necropolis, as for instance in a splendid game board with a design of snakes and hook-like elements excavated from Tomb 3 (*Fig. 70*).<sup>47</sup> It appears to be a forerunner of the Hàn cosmic game of *liubo*, the game of the Immortals, which was thought to have the power of determining a player's fate.<sup>48</sup>

## UNDERLYING RELIGIOUS CONCEPTS

The transformation of the tomb into a subterranean domestic setting that provided the dead with all manner of amenities enjoyed in life seems to have been motivated in the main by the desire to prevent the spirits of the dead from roaming about the world of the living. For by the Warring States period the deceased ancestors had changed from supernatural helpers in Heaven into potentially harmful beings; in Anna Seidel's words:

The disembodied dead have become demons, strangled life force deprived of its support and seeking frantically for a way back. ... The dead are terrifying revenants who inflict disease and misfortune, and extort propitiatory offerings of slaughtered animals to nourish their baleful energies. They have to be securely locked away.<sup>49</sup>

This change in the status of the dead, for which there are indications in the textual record, probably explains the various efforts to separate them from the living and to secure them within a universe of their own.

The conceptualization of tombs as world models, new in the Warring States period, contains the important idea that the world of the dead, although hermetically separate from ours, was nevertheless a mirror image of the world of the living, governed by a hierarchy of deities corresponding to the administrative bureaucracy of the secular state.<sup>50</sup> (The demons painted on Marquis Yi's inner coffin [*Fig. 68*] may represent low-ranking functionaries in such a

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<sup>46</sup> Hubei Sheng Bowuguan 1989, vol. 1: 77-151; Falkenhausen 1993a: 309 and *passim*.

<sup>47</sup> Hebei Sheng Wenwu Guanlichu 1979: 26.

<sup>48</sup> Yang Lien-sheng 1947; 1952; Tseng 2002; Zheng Yan'e 2002.

<sup>49</sup> Seidel 1987b: 229.

<sup>50</sup> Lévi 1989.



**Fig. 70.** Gameboard from a subsidiary tomb in Tomb Complex 3 in the royal Zhongshan necropolis at Sanji, Pingshan (Hebei). Late fourth century BC.



system.)<sup>51</sup> The prominence of this idea and its relevance to funerary customs is well documented for the Hàn period. Written proof of its full-bodied emergence in pre-Imperial times is furnished by another manuscript text from Tomb 1 at Fangmatan, which contains the story about a person who died before his time as a result of a bureaucratic mistake committed by officials of the afterworld, and who, upon discovery of the mistake, was released back into the world of the living. Such stories continued to be common in prose fiction of the Six Dynasties period and after.<sup>52</sup>

Some of the manuscripts found in Warring States tombs may be read as a direct expression of the bureaucratization of the underworld. One relatively common genre is the inventory (*qiance*), listing the precise number of items included in the tomb, sometimes additionally mentioning the individuals who had given them. The earliest known instance comes from Marquis Yi's tomb, and there are several additional instances from the Chu area.<sup>53</sup> These documents—duplicates of identical lists kept by the lineage of the deceased—were for the underworld officials to verify the tomb contents. More rarely, the manuscripts also include an official report (called *gaodice*) on the tomb occupant's death and his standing in society, explicitly addressed to the afterworld authorities.<sup>54</sup> Such customs were to proliferate from the Hàn dynasty onward.

The discovery in a Qin tomb at Fangmatan of such early evidence for the afterworld bureaucracy is particularly interesting because it seems to support the possibility that this western border area of the Zhou culture sphere was instrumental in forging or introducing at least some of the new religious creeds that engulfed all of China from the Warring States period on. The question, already brought up in Chapter Five, whether some of these ideas might have been transmitted from areas even farther west is a tantalizing one, but presently available archaeological evidence provides as yet no hint at an answer.

We also wonder: To what extent did this-worldly bureaucratic interference contribute to the transformation of religious beliefs and practices? Did the comprehensive political reforms that were conducted in various Eastern Zhou

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<sup>51</sup> For an in-depth study of the two coffins from Tomb 1 at Leigudun, see Thote 1991.

<sup>52</sup> Harper 1994; Campany 1990.

<sup>53</sup> See Giele 1998-1999 for a listing and general discussion. These documents are comprehensively discussed in Lai Guolong 2002.

<sup>54</sup> Giele 1998-1999. These documents have been relatively recently discovered, and their importance for understanding bureaucratic processes has not yet been sufficiently studied.

polities reflect themselves directly in the mortuary record?<sup>55</sup> The answer to these questions probably differs from polity to polity, but the best evidence currently available comes from Qin.<sup>56</sup> Here the funerary use of vessel assemblages derived from Late Western Zhou sumptuary sets suddenly ceased in the mid-fourth century BC (see figs. 39, 40)—perhaps not coincidentally just about the time when the reforms of Shang Yang (d. 338 BC) abolished the hereditary aristocracy and ranked the entire populace in a twenty-tiered bureaucratic-cum-military hierarchy governed by draconian laws. Qin tombs from after that time, e.g., at the large cemetery of Ta'ерpo (in Xianyang, Shaanxi),<sup>57</sup> feature completely different constellations of vessels (*Fig. 71*). Their typological lineages can be traced back to areas farther to the east, and perhaps they had been introduced as a consequence of Qin's well-known efforts to induce state-sponsored immigration from there.<sup>58</sup> They are largely derived from utilitarian vessels, and although placing them in a tomb endowed them with religious significance, their use—even their imagined use in the afterworld—probably differed radically from that of the ritual vessels that had been in use previously. Like earlier Qin funerary vessels, the new vessels are mostly *mingqi*, and they occur together with items of daily life and, occasionally, figurines. All this attests that the new concepts of tomb and afterlife that had gradually asserted themselves in earlier Qin mortuary finds remained relevant in the wake of Shang Yang's reforms. Indeed, these reforms abolished the

<sup>55</sup> The first of such reforms was allegedly instituted in Qi by the minister Guan Zhong (d. 645 BC) during the reign of Huan Gong (r. 685–643 BC), but the traditional accounts (e.g., *Shi ji* “Guan Yan liezhuan” [*Shi ji* 62.2131–2134]; *Guo yu* “Qi yu” [*Guo yu* 6]) are likely to be suffused with Warring States-period lore. Nevertheless, by ca. 400 BC, most of the major states had been transformed from ritual-centered patrimonial polities to territorial states governed by despotic rulers with the help of a more or less centralized bureaucratic apparatus. On Warring States-period institutional reforms, see Lewis 1999: 603–16. The long term institutional changes and their impact on later Chinese history are comprehensively analyzed in Du Zhengsheng 1990.

<sup>56</sup> See the sources quoted in Chapter Five, n. 20, especially Okamura 1985.

<sup>57</sup> Xianyang Shi Wenwu Kaogu Yanjiusuo 1998; discussed in Teng Mingyu 2002: 138–46.

<sup>58</sup> The exact time when these objects were introduced, and their local developmental trajectories, must still be worked out. At the time of Shang Yang's reforms in the mid-fourth century the number of immigrants to Qin may still have been small (Yuri Pines, personal communication, 2003). In the same vein, Okamura 1985 cautions not to equate Warring States-period archaeological phenomena too directly with the political developments of the time. On Warring States-period policies aiming to attract immigration, see McNeal 2000.



0 25 cm

**Fig. 71.** Ceramic vessel assemblages from Ta'erpo, Xianyang (Shaanxi). Upper group: Tomb 34223 (*pen, guan, yan, ding, be#*). Lower group: Tomb 22370 (*guan, pike, bú, mou, guan, pen*). Mid-fourth to mid-third centuries BC.

social basis for the earlier sumptuary distinctions, removing any rationale for providing the dead with the kinds of ritual vessels (even *mingqi*) by which these had previously been evoked. In this sense, it may be argued that they cleared the way for the triumph, in Qin, of the new religious ideas that had previously been in competition with lingering traditional notions and practices. No explicit stipulations concerning burial practice would have been needed to achieve this; that Shang Yang had any intention directly to influence funerary matters may be doubted. In any case, the Qin innovations were in keeping with general trends throughout the Zhou culture sphere; this is amply substantiated by finds from other parts of China, where Middle to Late Warring States-period

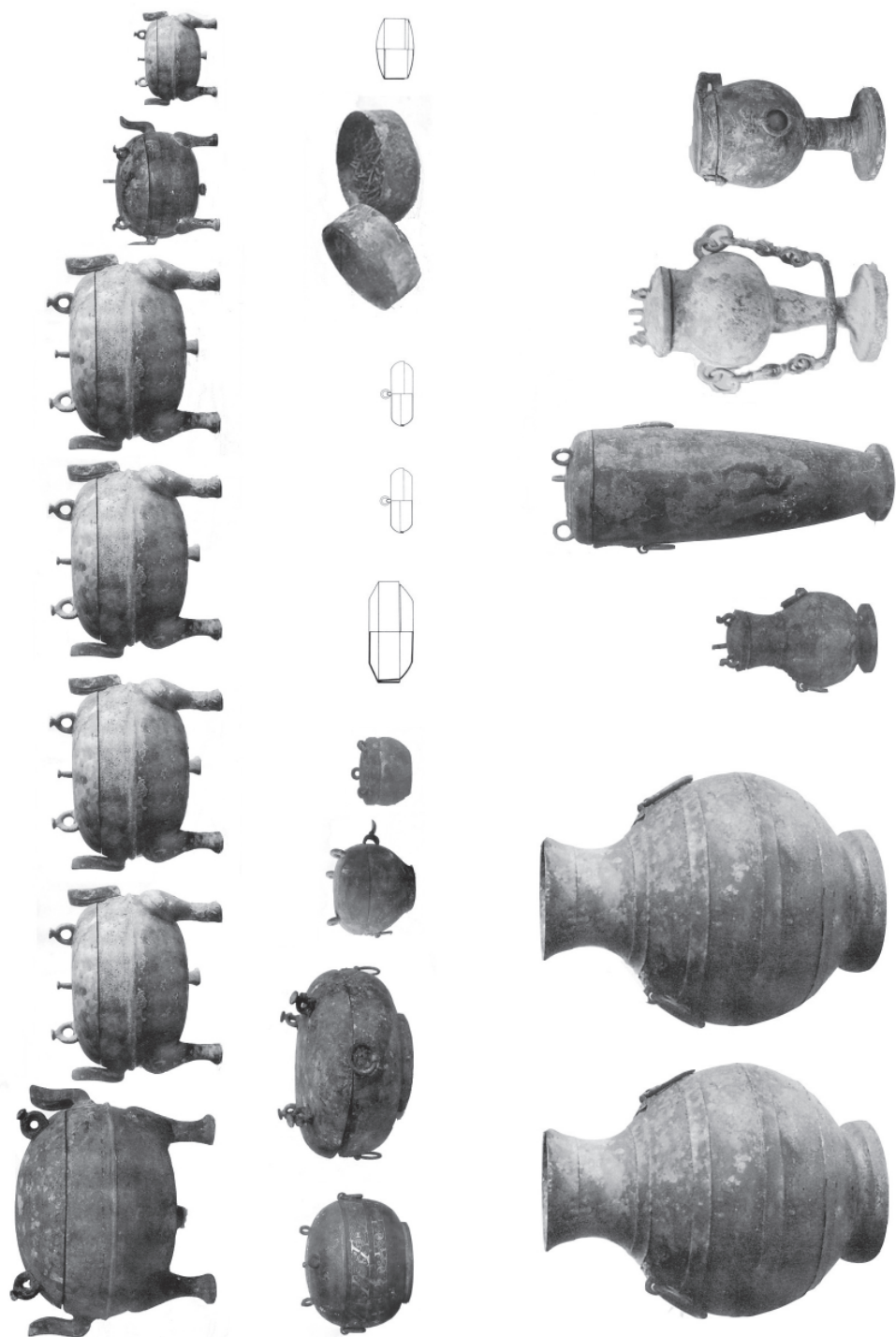


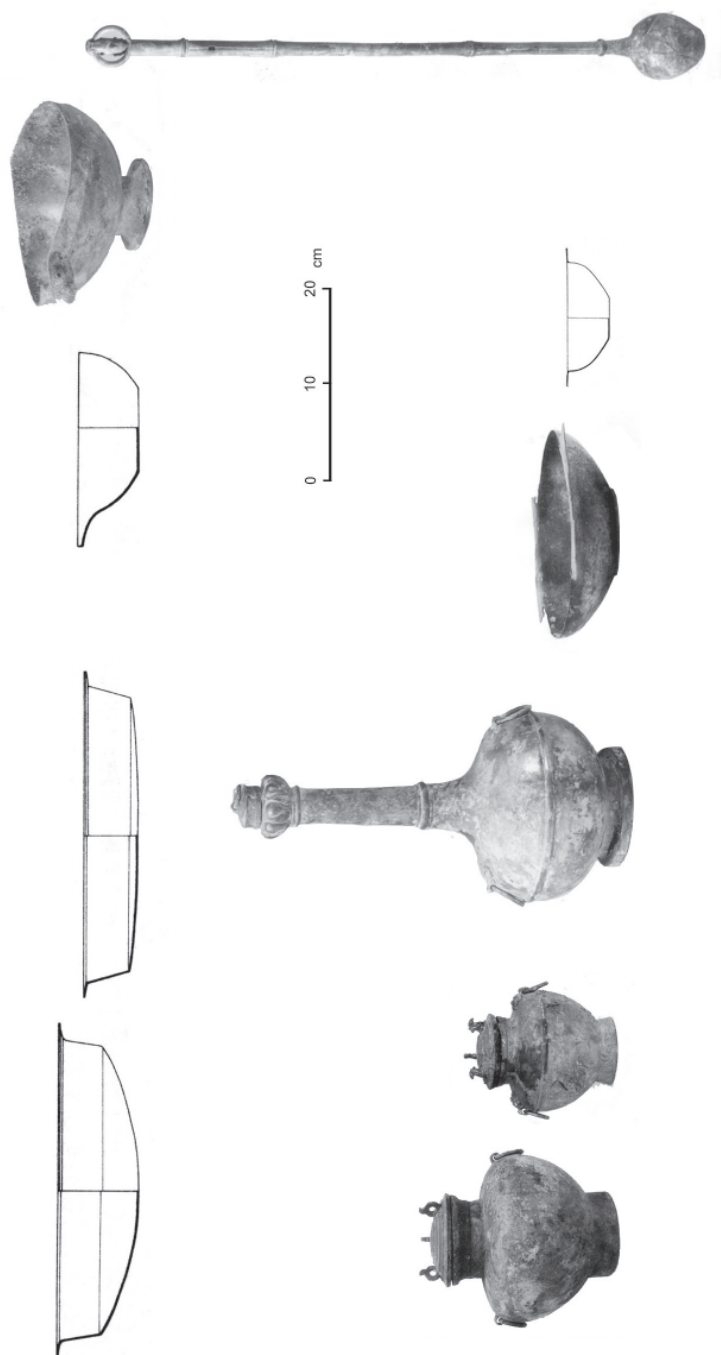
tombs—even those of members of the highest élite, such as the tomb of King Cuo—have yielded vessel assemblages (in King Cuo’s tomb, bronzes; more usually, ceramics) that no longer refer to the sumptuary conventions of Zhou ritual, but seem to aim entirely at providing the dead with the wherewithal for a luxurious afterlife. These assemblages (*Fig. 72*) differ from those of Qin only in that they accompany traditional ritual vessel sets, often somewhat reduced in their decoration.

The otherworldly bureaucracy in the Fangmatan manuscript story is, thus, the religious counterpart of Shang Yang’s new governmental organization. That the new administrative reality would so promptly spawn a religious belief in a similarly governed afterworld is remarkable, considering the usual conservatism of funerary customs. On the other hand, we have had ample opportunity to observe that religious practices had been just as inseparably intertwined with the conduct of government earlier on—albeit under different ideological premises—in the segmentary polities of Shang and Western Zhou. Such a connection was to remain extremely strong as well during Early Imperial times.<sup>59</sup>

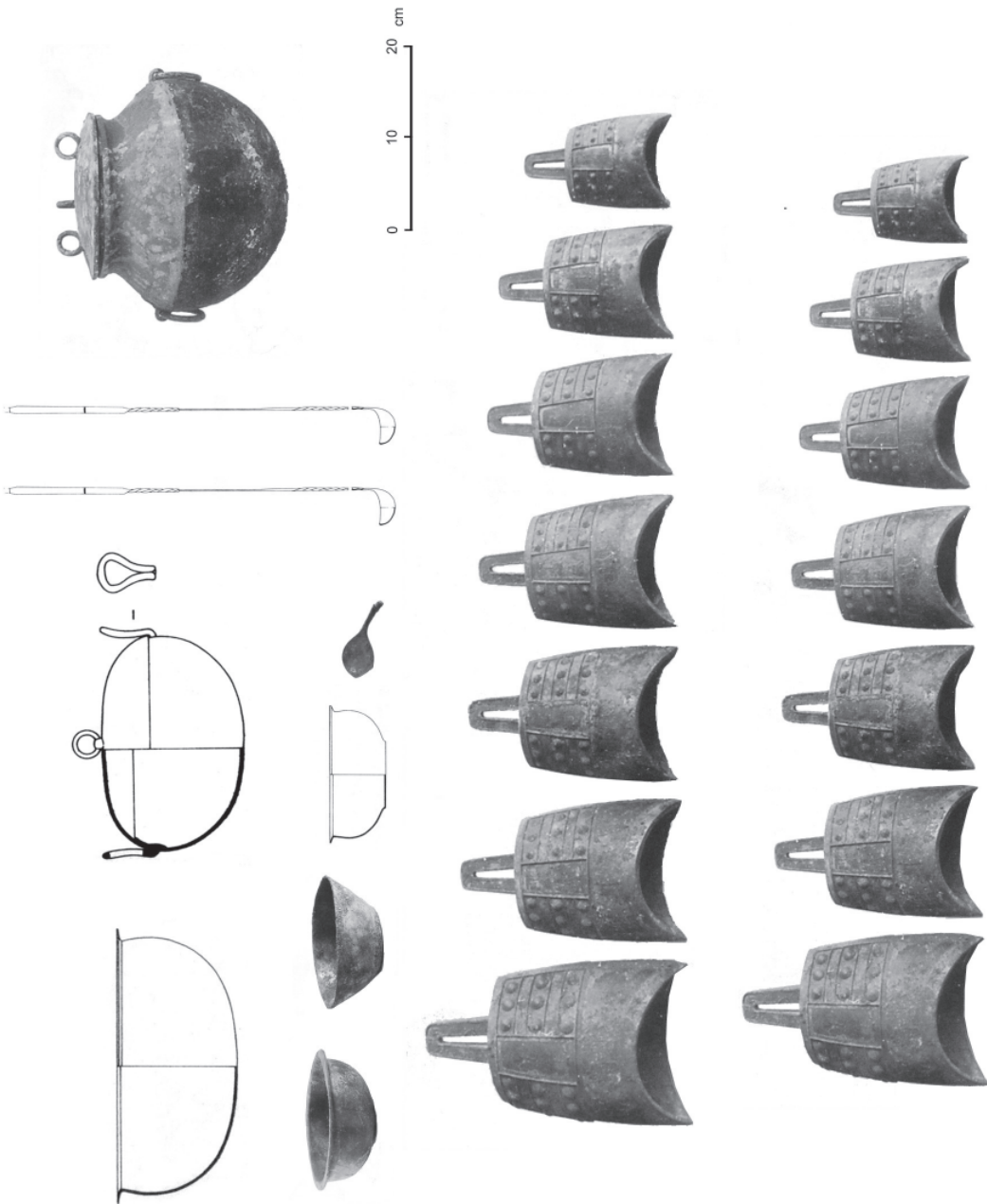
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<sup>59</sup> Lewis 1999a: 13–51 and *passim*.





**Fig. 72.** Bronze and silver vessels from Tomb 1 at Shangwang, Linzi (Shandong). Pp. 322–23, first row: covered *ding*; second row: various boxes (*hu*); third row: round *bi* and related vessels; fourth row: *pan* and *yi*; fifth row: *fa* (or *lei*), garlic-top *bi*, *erbei*, small basin, wine-serving device. Pp. 324–25, first row: various bowls; second row: small basins and serving implements; third and fourth rows: *nizhong* chime; fifth row: braziers; sixth row: censer, lamps, silver *yi* and *erbei*. Around 300 BC. (Continues on next page.)



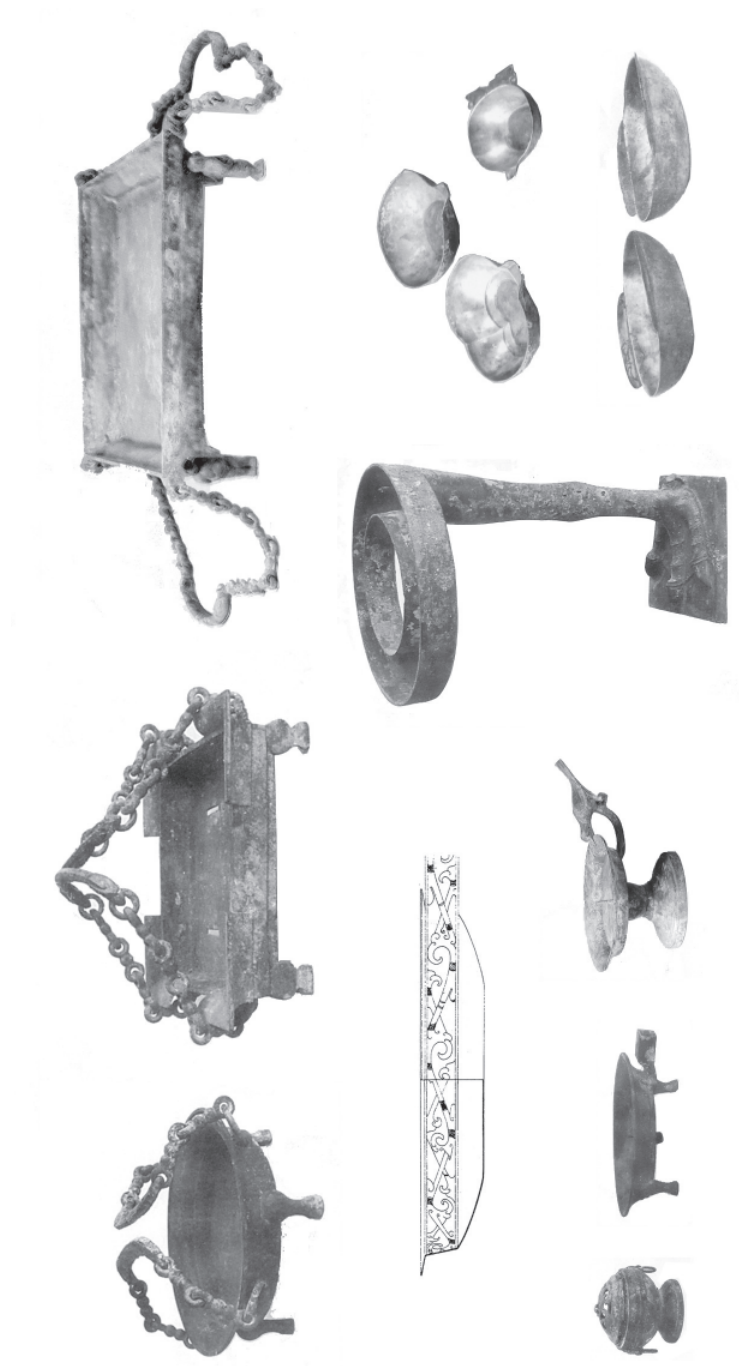


Fig. 72. (Continued from previous page)

## CHAPTER EIGHT

# THE SEPARATION OF THE HIGHER AND LOWER ÉLITES (CA. 750-221 BC)

OVER THE COURSE of the Zhou period, and particularly from the Middle Springs and Autumns period onward, one can trace the division of the ranked élite into two distinct social strata. This progressive differentiation is clearly manifested in tombs and their contents. The difference between the tombs of heads of major lineages and all other tombs changed from one of degree to one of kind. Our comparison, in Chapter Two, of the cemeteries at Tianma-Qucun (Jin lineage) and at Shangcunling (Guo lineage) revealed an early stage of this process, occurring from Western Zhou to Early Springs and Autumns. At both cemeteries the lineage heads and their principal wives were buried in far larger and richer tombs than their lower-ranking relatives; yet the data also show a continuous gradation of funerary privileges, with the largest tombs occupying the top of a more or less pyramidal hierarchy. Analogous practices can also be observed at Zhangjiapo (Xing lineage) and, during the earlier part of Western Zhou, at Baoji (Yu lineage) and Liulihe (Yan lineage). Western Zhou funerary data in general seem to express the idea that the head of a dominant lineage—even if also the ruler of a powerful polity—was not categorically different from the rest of the ranked élite; he was, instead, its highest representative. Political power, and the social prestige that came with it, were thus not concentrated in single individuals, but inherited in the lineage as a collective unit, in which every member had a stake proportional to his or her position in the genealogy. But we also noted some subtle differences with respect to this point between Tianma-Qucun and Shangcunling. For instance, the interment of the Jin rulers at Qucun Locus III, in a special compound separate from the cemetery of the non-ruling members of the lineage at Locus II, may indicate an incipient gap between the rulers and the rest of the population of the Jin capital.

By the Warring States period this gap had grown into an unbridgeable chasm. The present chapter adduces funerary evidence illustrating this. One relatively obvious criterion besides the spatial placement of rulers' tombs is their ever-increasing size, contrasting with the virtual absence of change in tomb size at lower social ranks during the "Age of Confucius." More subtle,

but no less interesting, are changes in the assemblages of ritual paraphernalia, which indicate the emergence of special rituals that were reserved to members of a newly defined rarefied subset of the ranked élite.

One unresolved problem that must be noted at the start concerns the sumptuary position of the Zhou kings. The royal tombs of the Late Shang period in the dual necropolis on the north bank of the Huan River near Anyang (Henan) stand in an enormous contrast in size and wealth of furnishing vis-à-vis all other tombs at aristocratic lineage cemeteries in the area.<sup>1</sup> The putative necropolis of the Western Zhou kings, recently discovered at Zhougongmiao, Qishan (Shaanxi), seems to suggest that a similar contrast also prevailed during the succeeding dynasty.<sup>2</sup> The Zhougongmiao tombs are, however, considerably smaller than the Shang royal tombs at Anyang, and so far we know nothing about their contents, which, if recovered, might give us a more concrete insight into the sumptuary standing of the Western Zhou kings. Possibly, they were less elevated over the heads of other lineages than the Shang kings had been; in such a case, they would presumably have claimed ritual privileges above those of everyone else but still part of the same continuum. And even if such a continuous gradation did not exist from the beginning, it may have been introduced by the Late Western Zhou Ritual Reform. If a continuous rank order obtained for however long in Western Zhou, then Eastern Zhou presents a disjunction of the high end of this formerly continuous rank order from the low end. But we cannot exclude an alternative possibility—namely that the Zhou kings, like their Shang predecessors, enjoyed sumptuary privileges far above those of even the highest-ranking of their élite subjects. If so, the Eastern Zhou developments traced here would constitute an assimilation of the privileges of local rulers and other high-ranking lineage heads to those of the Zhou kings,

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<sup>1</sup> Liang Siyong and Gao Quxun 1962-1969. The erstwhile abundance of the furnishing of these tombs is evident even in their sadly looted state.

<sup>2</sup> See Chapter One, n. 9. Some rich Warring States-period tombs at Jincun on the outskirts of Luoyang, looted in the early twentieth century, have been hypothetically assigned to the Zhou royal family (Li Xueqin 1985: 29-36; some of the finds were published by White 1934 and Umehara 1937). What would appear to be an earlier, Springs and Autumns-period, royal Zhou tomb, with a subsidiary horse-and-chariot pit containing 56 horses and 53 spoked wheels, is said to have been discovered in 2001-2002 during construction work at Middle School No. 27, Luoyang (just outside the eastern walls of the Wangcheng enclosure), but it was allegedly destroyed after investigation, and no report has been published (Nie Xiaohui, Yang Xia, and Zhang Yawu 2003; Xu Tianjin, personal communication, 2004). Newspaper reports speculate that it may have been the tomb of King Ping (r. 770-720 BC). I am grateful to Mr. Moriya Kazuki for bringing the media reports on these finds to my attention.



either by grants of royal privilege or through ritual usurpation. One hopes that future archaeological discoveries will elucidate this problem.

## EASTERN ZHOU RULERS' TOMBS AND TOMB COMPLEXES

Over the course of the Eastern Zhou period, separate cemeteries for the heads of ruling lineages became a matter of course, and the tombs within them became ever more gigantic, differing increasingly from all others in their sheer scale as well as in their contents. This can be observed most clearly, and from relatively early on, in Qin rulers' cemeteries.<sup>3</sup> At present, archaeological data (inevitably of somewhat uneven quality) are available for two cemeteries from the Springs and Autumns period, four tomb complexes from the Warring States, and—beyond the chronological confines of this book, but still relevant as the culminating point in the development traced here—the tomb complex of the First Emperor with its much-exhibited terracotta army.

The earliest Qin rulers' cemetery documented to date is located at Dabuzishan, Li Xian (Gansu), where a pair of tombs, each featuring two sloping entry ramps (*mudao*) and a gigantic associated horse pit, were excavated in the mid-1990s, unfortunately just after having been looted empty with the active participation of local authorities.<sup>4</sup> Some important Early Springs and Autumns-period bronzes sold on the international art market, including pieces inscribed as belonging to one or several unspecified "Ruler(s) of Qin," are thought to have come from Dabuzishan.<sup>5</sup> Not much information remained in situ except for the extraordinary size of the tombs (*Fig. 73*): Tomb 2 (thought to be that of a Qin ruler) is 115 meters long, and Tomb 3 (that of his principal wife), 89 meters; their depths are 15.1 and 16.5 meters, respectively. These dimensions are considerably in excess of all known Western Zhou tombs with two sloping ramps,<sup>6</sup> and the tombs are also longer and, above all, deeper than the Shang royal tombs at Anyang (see *Table 25*), attesting considerably greater expenditure of labor. The cemetery presumably dates from the time before circa 678 BC, when the Qin political center was still located in the upper Weì River basin.

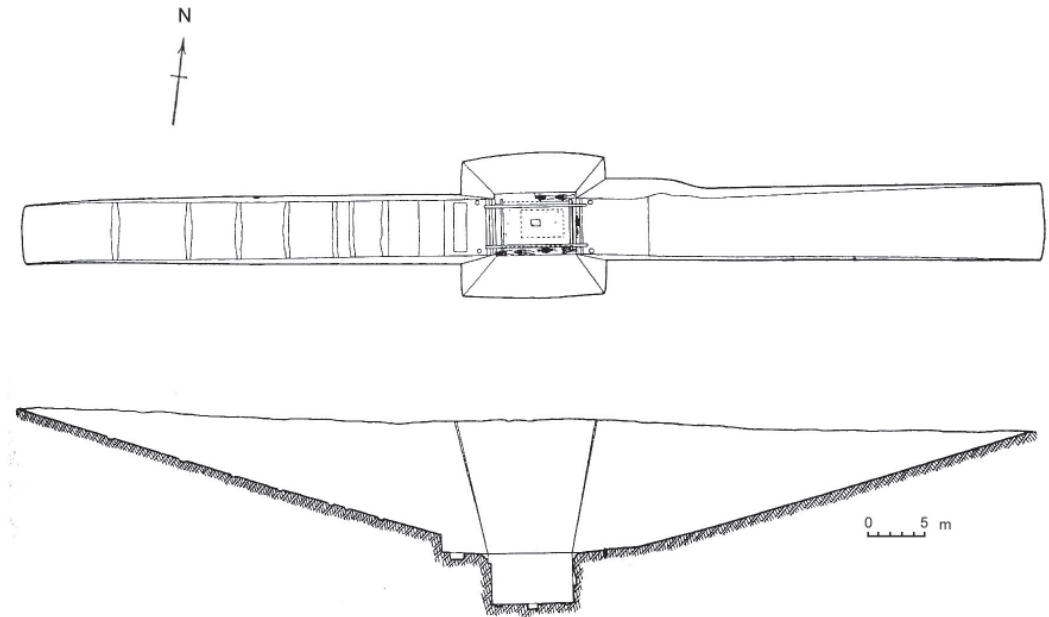
During the three centuries (677–384 BC) when the Qin court resided at Yong (present-day Fengxiang, Shaanxi), rulers and their close kin were

<sup>3</sup> The following treatment follows Falkenhausen 2003b: 116–23.

<sup>4</sup> Dai Chunyang 2000; Akiyama 2000; Teng Mingyu 2002: 65–68 (q.v. for additional references).

<sup>5</sup> Some have been bought by Shanghai Museum (Li Chaoyuan 1996), others sold on the international art market (Chen Zhaorong 1995, 1997; Matsumaru 2002b).

<sup>6</sup> Unfortunately, no measurements have yet been reported for the seven royal tombs so far identified at Zhougongmiao, each of which has four sloping ramps.



**Fig. 73.** Tomb 2 at Dabuzishan, Li Xian (Gansu). Probably late eight to early seventh century BC. Note waist-pit (*yaokeng*) at bottom. The tomb had been looted empty before excavation.

**Table 25.** Measurements of Rulers' Tombs in Early China

SITE	LOCATION	No. of ramps	length	depth	date	
<i>Qin Rulers' Tombs</i>						
Dabuzishan Tomb 2	Li Xian GS	2	115	15	ECQ	
Dabuzishan Tomb 3	Li Xian GS	2	89	17	ECQ	
Nanzhihui Tomb 1	Fengxiang ShX	2	300	24	MCQ	
Dongling Tomb I.1	Lintong ShX	4	220	?	M-LZG	
Dongling Tomb I.2	Lintong ShX	4	220	?	M-LZG	
Dongling Tomb II.(1)	Lintong ShX	4	278	?	M-LZG	
Lishan (First Emperor's tomb)	Lintong ShX	4	400+	?	Qin	
<i>Other Zhou Period Rulers' Tombs</i>						
		<i>lineage</i>				
Zhougongmiao Lingpo Tomb 18	Qishan ShX	Zhou	4	ca. 20	ca. 10	WZ
Zhougongmiao Lingpo Tomb 32	Qishan ShX	Zhou	2	ca. 25	ca. 10	WZ
Zhangjiapo Tomb 157	Chang'an ShX	Xing	2	35	8	IMWZ
Qucun Locus III Tomb 63	Quwo SX	Jin	2	35	7	LWZ/ECQ
Qucun Locus III Tomb 93	Quwo SX	Jin	2	33	8	LWZ/ECQ
Xincun Tomb 6	Xun Xian HN	Wei	2	30	7	WZ/ECQ?
Xincun Tomb 2	Xun Xian HN	Wei	2	42	11	WZ/ECQ?
Sanji Tomb 1 (Tomb of King Cuo)	Pingshan HB	Zhongshan	2	111	8	IMZG
<i>Tombs at the Shang Royal Cemetery</i>						
Houjiazhuang Tomb 1001	Anyang HN		4	68	11	LShang
Houjiazhuang Tomb 1500	Anyang HN		4	81	13	LShang
Wuguancun Tomb 1	Anyang HN		2	45	7	LShang

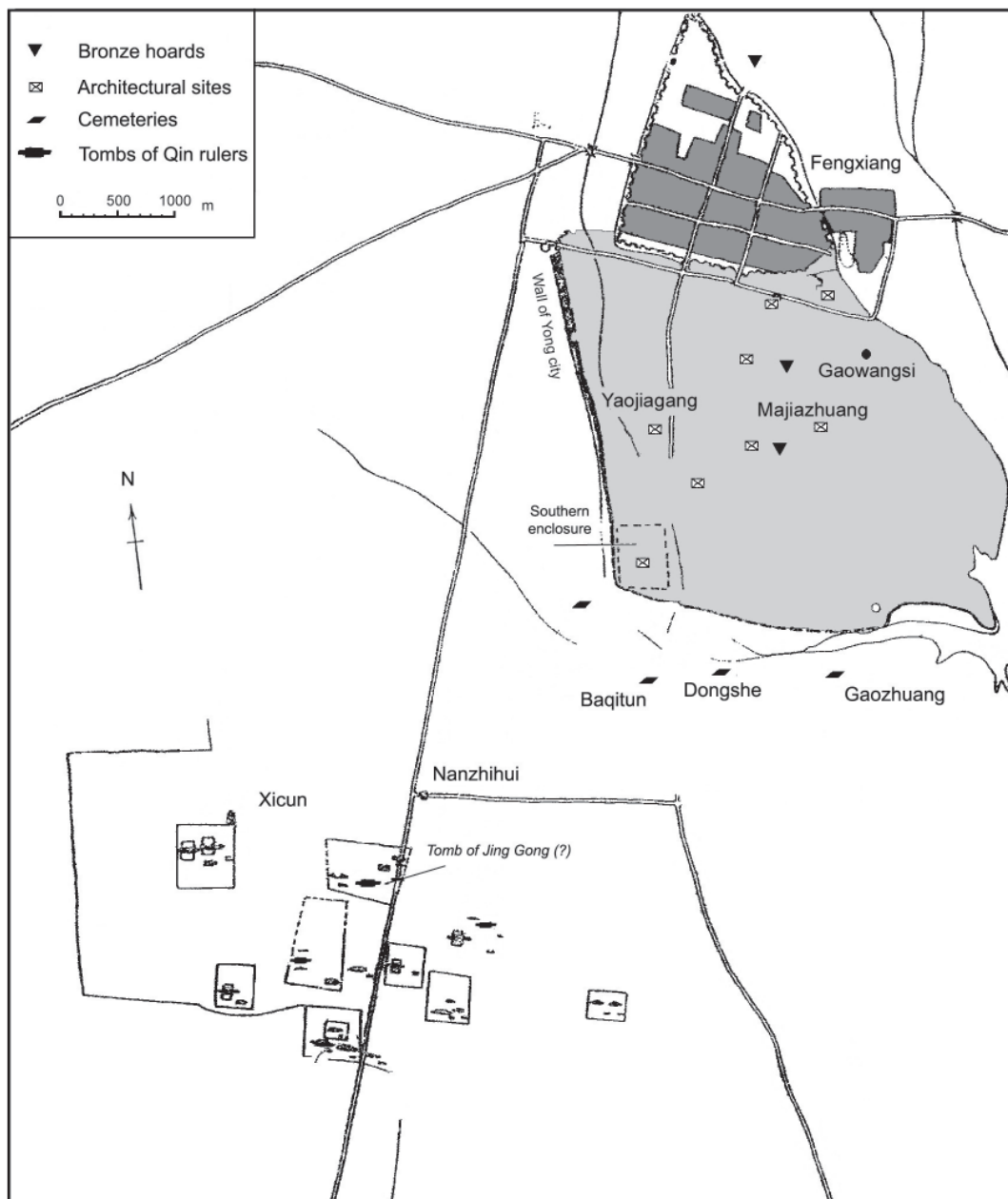
These measurements exclude above-ground construction.



**Fig. 74.** Tomb of a ruler (Jing Gong?) of Qin at Nanzhihui, Fengxiang (Shaanxi). Mid-sixth century BC (?).

buried in an extensive, moat-enclosed necropolis (24 sq. km) at Nanzhihui, immediately to the south of the walled capital (*Map 15*).<sup>7</sup> Surveys have located forty-four tombs in thirteen complexes, each complex surrounded by a moat. Of eighteen tombs thought to be those of rulers by virtue of their substantially greater size, one, allegedly the tomb of Jing Gong (r. 577–537 BC), has been completely excavated (*Fig. 74*). Having been severely looted, it failed to yield any status-indicating bronze vessel sets. The well-preserved burial chamber was constructed of the wood of the Oriental Arborvitae (*Platycladus* sp.), preferred for its density and resistance to rotting and, at least in later periods, sumptuously restricted to rulers. It comprised several compartments linked by doors, the earliest known example in China of such replication of built architecture in a tomb. The tomb pit is even larger than those at Dabuzishan, measuring 300 meters in length and 24 meters (the height of an eight-story building!) in depth. The only formal criterion by which this tomb and its as-yet-unexcavated but equally gigantic neighbors may have differed from contemporaneous royal tombs is the number of their sloping entry ramps (*mudao*): two each, whereas the Shang royal

<sup>7</sup> Han Wei 1983; Han Wei and Jiao Nanfeng 1988. No proper report has been published so far. On the inscriptions from a set of smashed chime stones found in this tomb, see Wang Hui, Jiao Nanfeng, and Ma Zhenzhi 1996.



**Map 15.** Archaeological sites at Fengxiang (Shaanxi). The Yong capital of the Qin polity is in the northern portion of the map; the rulers' necropolis as well as other cemeteries are to the south.

tombs at Anyang had four, and the recent finds from Zhougongmiao show that the Zhou kings continued that precedent.<sup>8</sup> At both Dabuzishan and Nanzhihui, it seems that the Qin rulers deliberately exceeded the tombs of the royal Zhou in scale, while still indicating *pro forma* subservience to the Zhou through the lesser number of entry ramps. If so, this is a good example of purposeful manipulation of the ritual system, showing that even in the early seventh century, and even more clearly by the mid-sixth century, Qin's strong political ambitions were overtly expressed in a ritual context. Bronze inscriptions corroborate such an impression: the texts inscribed on an early seventh-century BC set of Qin bells excavated near Baoji, for instance, employ formulations formerly reserved to the Zhou kings, thus unmistakably indicating a claim to supreme rule.<sup>9</sup>

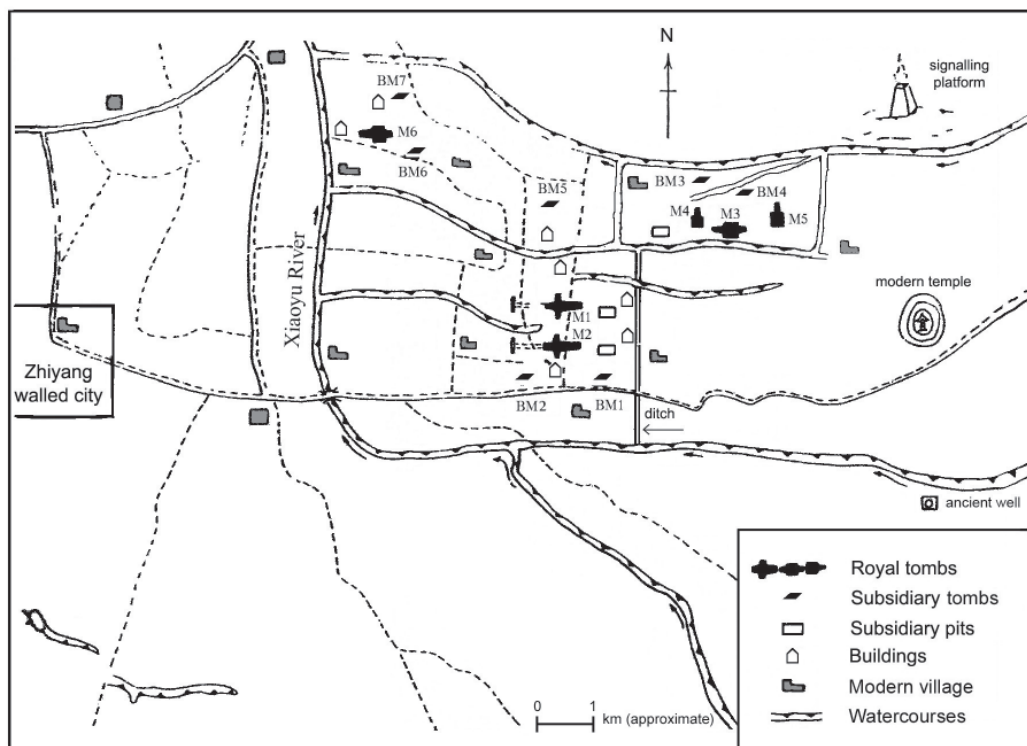
Qin's ritual-political gigantomania continued in the Middle to Late Warring States period. The rulers of Qin during that period had their resting places in enormous walled burial compounds at Zhiyang, Lintong (Shaanxi), the size of which—up to 8.8 square kilometers—much exceeds that of the earlier tomb complexes at Nanzhihui. Four such compounds have been investigated so far (*Map 16*).<sup>10</sup> Each contains the tombs of a king, a queen, and a small number of others, possibly consorts or princes. Near each compound are the foundations of magnificent temple buildings. Since the tombs were all desecrated during the civil wars following upon the death of the First Emperor of Qin in 210 BC, little of interest is likely to have remained inside. So far, therefore, none have been excavated, but their dimensions, depth, and surrounding features have been ascertained by probing from the surface. Interestingly, some of them have four sloping

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<sup>8</sup> The enigmatic Springs and Autumns-period royal tomb at Luoyang (see n. 2) also allegedly had four entry ramps. If the Zhou kings did indeed hold on to this prerogative during Eastern Zhou times, one might doubt the identification as royal tombs of the tombs at Jincun, which are reported to have had only one entry ramp each. In fact, there is a strong likelihood that the tombs pointed out to Bishop White as having yielded the Warring States treasures that have since become associated with Jincun were not of Zhou date at all (Hayashi Minao, personal communication, 1985).

<sup>9</sup> Lu Liancheng and Yang Mancang 1978; *Yin Zhou jinwen jicheng* 1.262-70; for discussion see Falkenhausen 1988: 1040-65; see also Falkenhausen 2003b: 155-56. The text also boasts an otherwise undocumented Qin marriage alliance with the Zhou royal house, which is mentioned in order to legitimize the status of Qin within the Zhou network of polities and to bolster its implicit aspiration to royal status.

<sup>10</sup> Lishan Xuehui 1987. Shaanxi Sheng Kaogu Yanjiusuo and Lintong Xian Wenguanhui 1987; Shaanxi Sheng Kaogu Yanjiusuo and Lintong Xian Wenwu Guanliweiyuanhui 1990.



**Map 16.** Funerary compounds at Dongling, Lintong (Shaanxi). Sketch map, not to scale.

entry ramps (*Fig. 75*); these very probably postdate the usurpation of the royal title by King Huiwen of Qin in 325 BC. Individual tombs measure up to 278 m in length (Compound I, Tomb 1: 220 x 128 m; Tomb 2: 220 x 137 m; unnumbered tomb in Compound II: 278 x 181 m), and they were topped by earthen mounds of now-unknown height. These tombs, though the largest known rulers' tombs from the Warring States period, are dwarfed in turn by the nearby tomb of the First Emperor, also at Lintong, whose mound, now 51 meters high but originally at least one-third higher, still constitutes a major landmark (*Map 17*).<sup>11</sup> Earlier reports to the contrary notwithstanding,

<sup>11</sup> Among the sprawling scholarly literature about the First Emperor's tomb, the best overall treatment to date is Wang Xueli 1994; for an archaeological report on excavations in the tomb precinct, see Shaanxi Sheng Kaogu Yanjiusuo and Qin Shihuang Bingmayong Bowuguan 2000. Wildly divergent figures have been given for the extant height of the mound. Wang Xueli (1994: 82-85) argues that 51 m is accurate, and amounts to no more than half the mound's original height (cf. also Li Xueqin 1985: 252). By contrast, the archaeological report gives a present height of 33.5 m, stating that

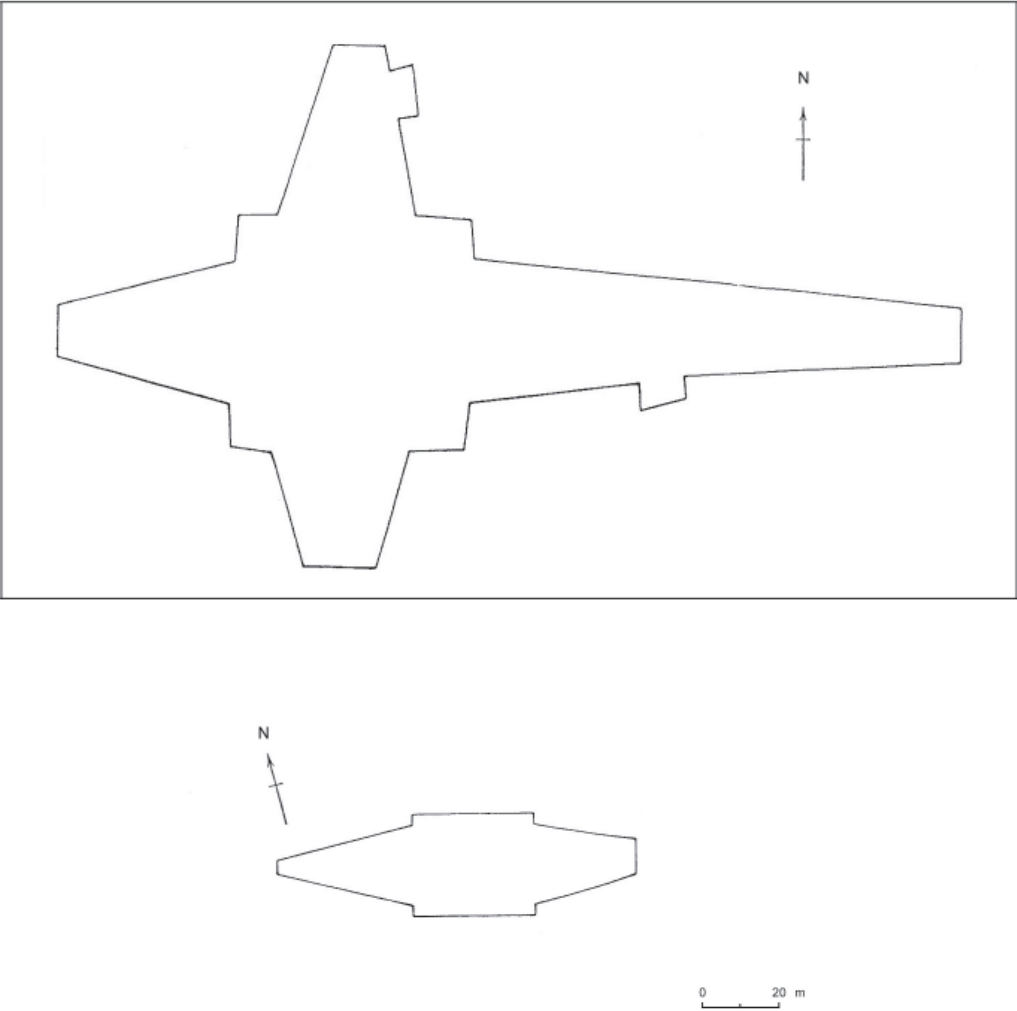
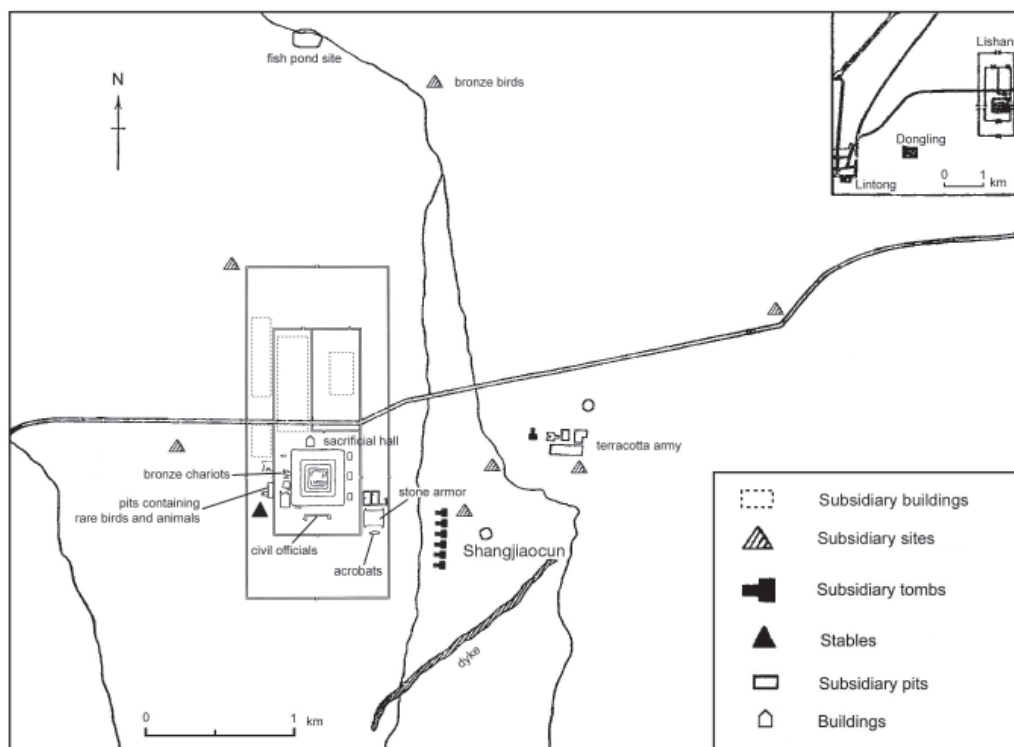


Fig. 75. Tombs II.3 and I.1 at Dongling, Lintong (Shaanxi). Late fourth to mid-third centuries BC.





**Map 17.** Tomb complex of the First Emperor of Qin at Lishan, Lintong (Shaanxi).

the tomb underneath this mound also had entry ramps on all four sides.<sup>12</sup> It occupied a double enclosure of about 8.2 square kilometers that included large temple buildings and storehouses, as well as the tombs of Qin junior princes who were put to death at the accession of the Second Emperor in 209 BC. Excavations, in progress since the 1970s, are continuing to reveal some of the manifold luxury items associated with the tomb. The world-famous

the original mound would have been merely about 6 m higher (Shaanxi Sheng Kaogu Yanjiusuo and Qin Shihuang Bingmayong Bowuguan 2000: 7). According to Wang Xueli (1994: 52), the outer tomb precinct measures 2,165 x 940 m; measurements given in the archaeological report are about 20 m more for each dimension (Shaanxi Sheng Kaogu Yanjiusuo and Qin Shihuang Bingmayong Bowuguan 2000: 10). Both publications concur that the inner tomb precinct measures 1,355 x 580 m.

<sup>12</sup> Shaanxi Sheng Kaogu Yanjiusuo and Qin Shihuang Bingmayong Bowuguan 2000: 9. Five entry ramps reportedly exist on the east, which was the principal side; each of the other three sides had one ramp. The tomb pit remains unexcavated, and no map showing its contours has yet been published.

terracotta army, one kilometer to the east of there, was only one of a number of installations that symbolically transformed the vast surrounding ritual preserve into a miniature model of the Qin imperial realm.<sup>13</sup>

Within the Zhou culture sphere, the earliest rulers' tombs surmounted by square, pyramid-like mounds are at a necropolis of the Jin polity, on the outskirts of its last capital, Xintian (present-day Houma [Shanxi]).<sup>14</sup> Obviously, such mounds greatly increased the monumental effect of the tombs, proclaiming far and wide the power of the ruling houses. During the Warring States period all the major kingdoms constructed large funerary complexes with mounded tombs, and many remain visible in the landscape around their respective capitals even today. At the present state of research, it seems safest to consider them as an early fifth-century innovation, completely independent of mound-building in contemporaneous cultures of neighboring areas such as the Lower Yangzi region (discussed in Chapter Six) and the Central Eurasian steppes.<sup>15</sup> One feature that distinguished the mounds of most rulers' tombs within the Zhou culture sphere was the grand wooden temple buildings erected on them; the mounds were constructed in the shape of stepped pyramids, with wooden structures placed on each level, creating the illusion of multistoried architecture. (Only in Qin did the temples stand next to, rather than on, the mounds; this local Qin custom was perpetuated in the construction of imperial tombs throughout the history of Imperial China.) The unfinished necropolis of king Cuo of Zhongshan (discussed in Chapter Seven; see *Figs. 65, 66*) is one typical example of an ensemble of such architecturally clad pyramidal mounds. A similar ensemble, especially well preserved but unexcavated, because the tombs are known to have been looted in antiquity, is the complex known as "Six Kings' Tombs" (Liuwangzhong) near the capital of Qi at Linzi (Shandong).<sup>16</sup> It consists of four major tombs on a huge rectangular platform, symmetrically flanked by two additional smaller tombs (*Fig. 76*). Rather than "Six Kings,"

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<sup>13</sup> The excavation of the Terracotta Army in its four pits has been in progress since 1974. A full archaeological report has so far been published only for the first eleven years of work at Pit 1 (Shaanxi Sheng Kaogu Yanjiusuo and Shihuangling Qinyongkeng Kaogu Fajuedui 1988).

<sup>14</sup> This as yet very scantily reported necropolis, at Liuquan, Xinjiang (Shanxi), featured three tombs surmounted by sacrificial buildings placed on high platforms (Shanxi Sheng Kaogu Yanjiusuo Houma Gongzuozhan 1996: 24-26); they seem to date from the Late Springs and Autumns period.

<sup>15</sup> Future research may yet conceivably substantiate Central Eurasian influences on high-élite habits of status display within Eastern Zhou China. For some bold assertions in such a direction, see Rawson 1999b: 25-26 and *passim*.

<sup>16</sup> Zhang Xuehai 1984.



**Fig. 76.** Complex of six mounded tombs (Liuwangzhong) near Linzi (Shandong). Fourth-third centuries BC.

as suggested by their modern name, they likely inhumate a single generation of the Qi royal house (Chen, or Tian, lineage); several additional complexes of similar scale are known to exist in the area. Comparable complexes also exist at Handan (Hebei; Zhao kingdom), Guweicun, Hui Xian (Henan; Wei kingdom), Jiangling (Hubei; Chu kingdom), Yan Xiadu, Yi Xian (Hebei; Yan kingdom), and Xinzheng (Henan; Han kingdom).<sup>17</sup> All these present funerary counterparts of the palace buildings erected on high platforms, the remains of which may still be seen today at the sites of Warring States-period capitals, and which constituted China's earliest efforts in the direction of a truly monumental architecture.

The burgeoning of these new kinds of burials is undoubtedly connected to the new religious beliefs outlined in Chapter Seven. Note, though, that ordinary members of the Warring States elite had nothing even remotely resembling the splendor of these funerary complexes. Although some of their

<sup>17</sup> For Handan, see Hebei Sheng Wenguanchu, *Handan Diqu Wenbaosuo*, and Handan Shi Wenbaosuo 1982; Hao Liangzhen 2003. For Guweicun, see *Zhongguo Kexueyuan Kaogu Yanjiusuo* 1956: 69-109. For Jiangling, see *Jiangling Xian Wenwu Gongzuozu* 1984. For Yan Xiadu, see Hebei Sheng Wenwu Yanjiusuo 1996: 646-731. For Xinzheng, see Cai Quanfa 2003a: 122; I saw one of the Han ruler's tomb complexes under excavation on July 31, 2002. For comprehensive treatments of mounds as part of rulers' tomb complexes in China, see Xu Pingfang 1995: 215-31; Yang Kuan 1985.

tombs, too, were impressive and luxurious, the tomb dimensions remained roughly the same as in the preceding periods, and the furnishings tended, if anything, to become cheaper due to the widespread replacement of precious ritual objects by *mingqi* (cf. Chapter Seven). The contrast with the ever-larger mounded tombs directly mirrors the growing power of increasingly despotic rulers and the decline of the old, descent-based, élite. In articulating this contrast, each of the territorial states shows some idiosyncrasies, but the overall tendencies are the same. Our impression that the aggrandizement of the rulers was visible particularly early and became particularly magnified in Qin, if not due merely to accidents of discovery, would fit the epigraphic and historical record of Qin's political ambitions. The categorical division in the *Zhou li* between *gongmu* ("rulers' tombs") and *bangmu* ("citizens' tombs")—for each of which that text draws up a separate bureaucracy in its idealized presentation of the royal Zhou government—perhaps alludes to this specifically Warring States-period situation.<sup>18</sup> (If so, this could be taken as an archaeological clue to the much debated date of the *Zhou li*.)

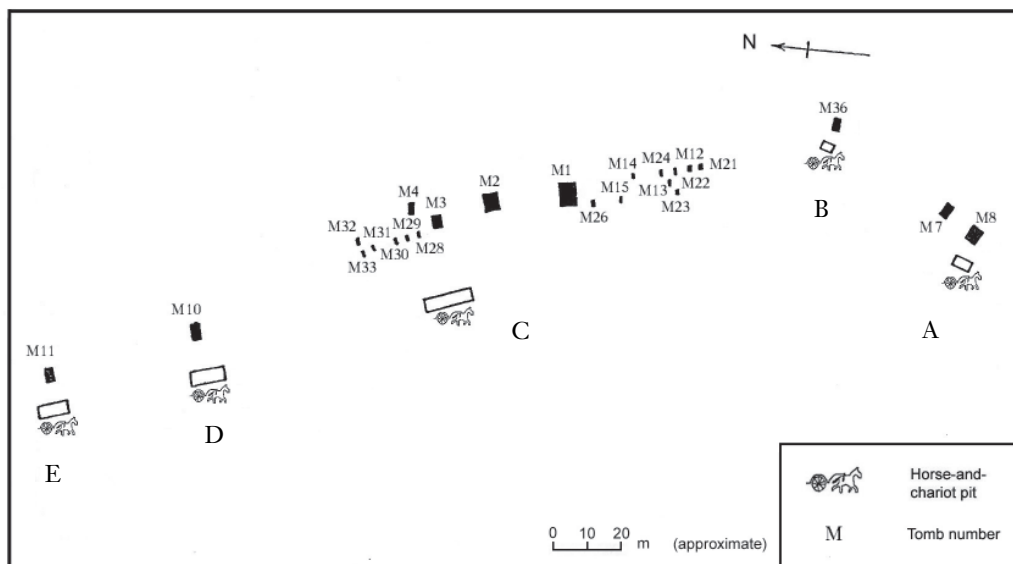
## DUAL BRONZE ASSEMBLAGES AT XIASI<sup>19</sup>

The formation of two distinct levels within the Eastern Zhou élite, starting about the middle of the Springs and Autumns period, can also be perceived through a close analysis of bronze assemblages from tombs of very high-ranking individuals. I first became aware of this bifurcation of élite sumptuary privileges when studying the finds from the Springs and Autumns-period Chu tombs at Xiasi (in Xichuan, southwestern Henan).<sup>20</sup> Xiasi is part of the cemetery of the Yuan (alternatively transcribed as Wei) lineage, which is known through historical records, and which was descended from an early Springs and Autumns-period king of Chu. The heads of the Yuan lineage hereditarily administered the territory around Xiasi, which was located on the northern margins of the Chu kingdom and had been conquered (or reconquered) by Chu only about the turn of the sixth century BC. Bronze inscriptions convey important information on the activities of the Yuan lineage heads, attesting, among other things, that they intermarried with princesses of nearby polities. Xiasi dates from the time when Chu was attempting to create its own alliance

<sup>18</sup> Cf. *Zhou li* "Chunguan: Zhongren" (*Zhou li zhengyi* 41: 1694-1705), vs. "Mudaifu" (*Zhou li zhengyi* 41: 1705-7).

<sup>19</sup> The following account is based on Falkenhausen 2002; see also 2003a: 447-50 and *passim*.

<sup>20</sup> Henan Sheng Wenwu Yanjiusuo, Henan Sheng Danjiang Kuqu Kaogu Fajuedui, and Xichuan Xian Bowuguan 1991.



**Map 18.** The cemetery at Xiasi, Xichuan (Henan). The earliest tombs are to the right. The necropolis of the Yuan lineage continues westward to Heshangling (not on map) and beyond.

network as a mirror image of that of the royal Zhou. Although the Yuan were, at least for some time, a ministerial (*qing*) lineage, their position within the Chu political structure was comparable in some respects to that of territorial rulers (*zhubou*) vis-à-vis the Zhou royal court.

The nine major tombs at Xiasi fall into five clusters, aligned from south to north, each featuring one principal tomb and one horse-and-chariot pit (Map 18); only Clusters A and C contain additional large tombs beside the principal tomb (one in Cluster A and three in Cluster C). The five clusters of tombs are thought to represent successive generations of Yuan lineage heads. The chronology starts shortly after 600 BC and continues through the first quarter of the fifth century BC, yielding a highly credible twenty-five years or so per generation. This chronology is based on the stylistic analysis of the bronze vessels, with the understanding that the date of each tomb must be determined by that of the most recent items in it, for a number of the most prestigious vessels found were already antiques when buried. Aside from Xiasi, the Yuan lineage cemetery may also encompass the slightly later tombs at nearby Heshangling and Xujialing;<sup>21</sup> here, however, we may confine our considerations to Xiasi.

<sup>21</sup> On Heshangling, see Henan Sheng Wenwu Yanjiusuo, Nanyang Diqu Wenwu Yanjiusuo, and Xichuan Xian Bowuguan 1992. On Xujialing, see Henan Sheng Wenwu Kaogu Yanjiusuo, Nanyang Diqu Wenwu Kaogu Yanjiusuo, and Xichuan Xian Bowuguan 2004; see also Cao Guicun 1986.

Cluster C stands out from the four other tomb clusters at Xiasi because of the far greater number and size range of the tombs within it. In addition to one tomb of a Yuan lineage head (Tomb 2), it contains three tombs of wives or consorts (Tombs 1, 3, and 4), as well as fifteen additional small tombs thought to be those of human victims. Additional human victims, perhaps of higher rank, were separately encoffined in the burial chamber of each of the three major tombs—similar to what we observed at the Baoji cemeteries (see Chapter Two). Tomb 2, at 58.9 square meters, is much larger than any of the other tombs at Xiasi, which average 24 square meters and range from 13.2 to 34.8 square meters.<sup>22</sup> The Cluster C tombs are also much more lavishly furnished: even partly looted, Tomb 2 still yielded 55 bronze vessels, and the unlooted Tomb 1 contained 39, many more than any of the other tombs (see Table 26). Such inequality in furnishing indicates considerable differences in rank, suggesting that the rank of the Yuan lineage head in the third generation documented at Xiasi must have been significantly higher than that of either his predecessor or his successor.

Exceptionally, evidence from transmitted textual records can directly explain the differences observed in the material record; for Li Ling has convincingly identified the principal occupant of Tomb 2, named Peng in the bronze inscriptions, with Yuan Zi Feng, a Chu chief minister (Lingyin) who died in 548 BC.<sup>23</sup> Peng was the only member of his lineage to have served as chief minister during the Middle Springs and Autumns period; neither his immediate ancestors nor his successors held the same office. The superior wealth of Peng's tomb, as well as of his consorts' tombs (although the latter reveal evidence of systematic gender-based discrimination), can be interpreted with near certainty as a reflection of Peng's acquired, nonhereditary rank. That such *ad personam* emoluments could make a difference in ritual contexts such as tombs is of great interest, as is the vastness of that difference. The Xiasi tombs provide one excellent illustration of how the bureaucratic hierarchy, the aristocratic rank order, and the sumptuary ranking system were reconciled. One notes that the transmitted texts say nothing about how complexities of this sort were handled. Future discoveries will have to clarify whether the correlation observed here was specific to this case, or whether it was representative for Chu, the mid-sixth century BC, or the Zhou realm as a whole.

Comparing the bronze assemblages from Tombs 2 and 1 in Cluster C with the other bronze assemblages from Xiasi, we discover a difference not only in

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<sup>22</sup> These figures are taken at the bottom of the pit. On Map 18, Tomb 1 looks larger than Tomb 2 because its tomb pit has slanted sides.

<sup>23</sup> Li Ling 1991b. On the ascendancy of the Chu official title of Lingyin, see Chapter Six, n. 42.

Table 26. Bronze Assemblages at the Yuan Lineage Cemeteries at Xiasi/Heshangting, Xichuan (Henan)

CEMETERY CLUSTER	Xiasi	A	B	D	C	C	C	C	E	E	Heshangting
Tomb	8	7	36	1	2	3	4	10	11	1	2
Size(sq. m.)	34.8	19.1	13.2	34.65	58.9[T]	22.5[T]	18.8[T]	23.0[T]	19.7	28.6	28.3
Condition	looted	intact	intact	intact	looted	intact	intact	intact	intact	looted	intact
Sex	M	F	M	F	M	F	F	M	M	(male?)	(female)
FOOD VESSELS AND THEIR ACCESSORIES											
<i>sheng</i>											
other <i>ding</i>	1	2	2	2	7	5	1	4	3	4 (+?)	7
<i>li</i>					11						
<i>gui</i>					2						
<i>hu</i>	4	2	2	2	1	4	1	2	2	?	2
<i>zun</i>		1		1	frag.	1				frag.	
<i>dou</i>					1			1	1		1
<i>he*</i>					1						
pointed spoon				3	9						
coal shovel				2					1		
LIQUOR CONTAINERS											
rectangular <i>bá</i>				2	frag.	1				?	2
round <i>bú</i>				2	2	2	1	2	2		
<i>zunfou</i>		1		2	2	2		2	1		1
rounded spoon											
WATER CONTAINERS/WASHING VESSELS											
<i>yafou</i>	1	2	2	2	2	2		2	1		1
<i>yuding</i>					1	1					
<i>pan</i>		1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1		
<i>he+</i>	1			1	1	1					
<i>yi</i>	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1		1
<i>shuifu</i>					1						
<i>juan</i>					1						
bowl					1						
ladle				1	3	1		1	1		1
MISCELLANEOUS											
footed box						1					
volumetric measure						1		(1)	(1)		1
<i>zhemushou</i> socle				1	2						
altar table											
MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS											
<i>yongzhong</i>					1/26					?	
<i>nuzhong</i>				1/9				1/9			1/9
<i>bo</i>				{1/13}	{1/13}			1/8			1/8
chimestones								{1/13}	{1/9}		{1/12}
TOTALS	8	10	8	38	53	25	5	18	14	7+	19

Figures in brackets indicate presence of objects made of non-bronze materials (not included in totals).



magnitude, but also in quality, typology, and style—a difference suggesting that, in assuming the position of chief minister, Peng entered an altogether different sphere of social privilege. Indeed, Tombs 2 and 1 each contain two distinct assemblages of bronzes; one, which I shall call the “Ordinary Assemblage,” comprises vessel types common to all bronze-yielding tombs at Xiasi, whereas the other—the “Special Assemblage”—consists of object types of far more restricted circulation, which, at Xiasi, are seen only in these two tombs.<sup>24</sup>

Let us consider the “Ordinary Assemblage” (Fig. 77). All tombs at Xiasi contain sets of meat-offering *ding*, which in this period usually feature a cover; grain-offering *bū* (conventionally called *fu*; these were the preferred Chu equivalent to the earlier *gui* tureens), as well as *zhan* or *dui* for the same function; liquid-containing *fou* (divisible into *zunfou* for wine and *yufou* for water); and the washing-vessels *pan* and *yi*. *Ding* and *bū* commonly occur in pairs or fours.<sup>25</sup> Comparison with finds from other lineage cemeteries in the Chu area (Table 27) confirms that this is more or less the standard equipment of a Chu elite tomb during the Middle to Late Springs and Autumns period.

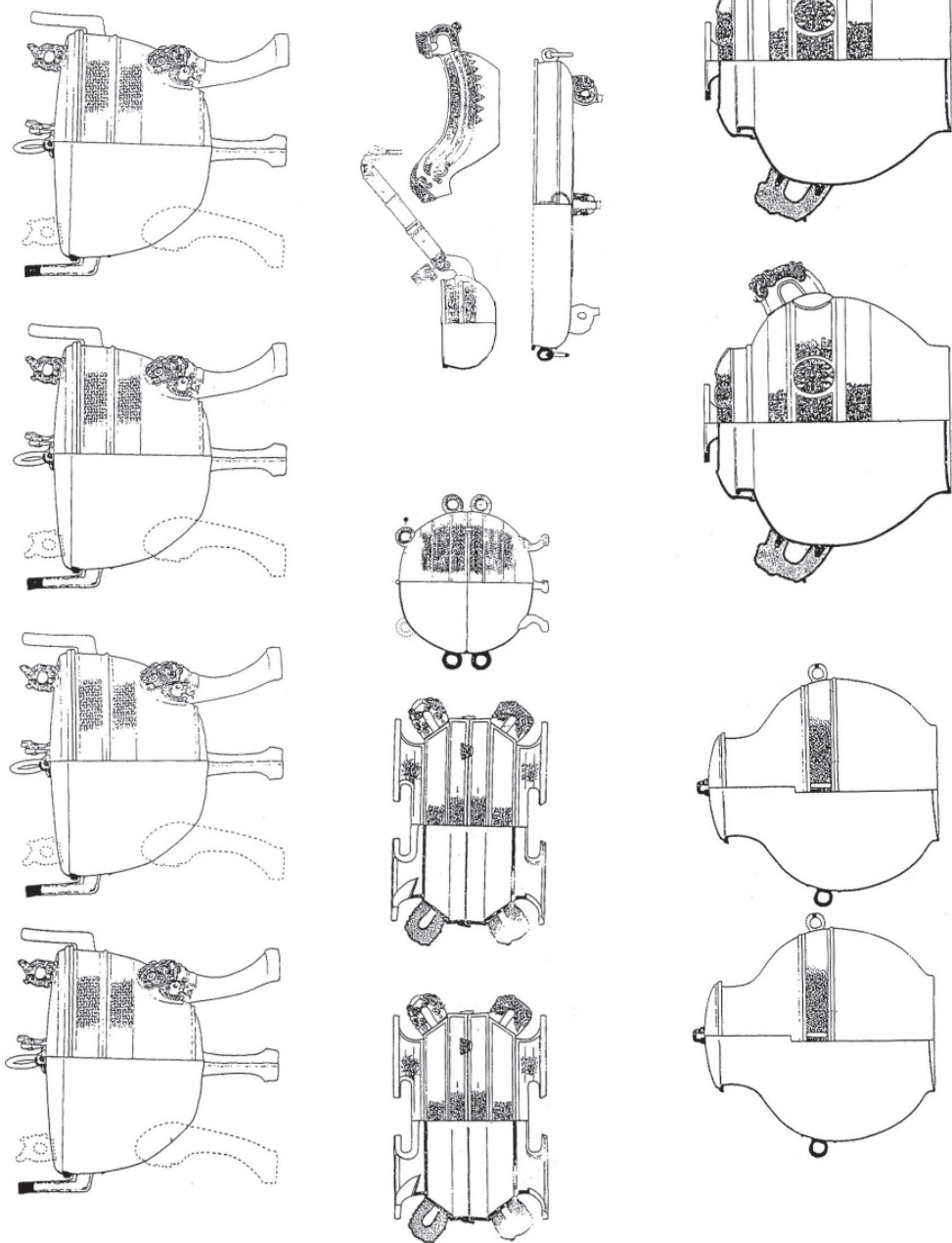
All the Cluster C tombs contain this “Ordinary Assemblage,” but in addition, the tombs of Peng (Tomb 2) and his principal consort (Tomb 1) also contain other kinds of vessels never encountered in normal Chu elite tombs (Fig. 78): flat-bottomed, coverless tripods known as *sheng*;<sup>26</sup> *gui* grain-offering vessels, otherwise obsolete in this period; pairs of rectangular *bú* (*fāngbú*, containers of alcohol or water); and ornate *li* vessels with pouch-shaped feet (derived from the type of kitchen vessel most widespread in Zhou China, but included among the ritual assemblage since the Late Western Zhou Ritual Reform; cf. Fig. 9). These objects, which I shall call the “Special Assemblage,” are all particularly well executed, lavishly ornamented, technologically sophisticated, and large. They are also—and this is particularly interesting—archaic in their shapes and in some of their decorative motifs (though not in their stylistic or technical execution!), and they pointedly and no doubt deliberately refer to specific types of bronzes promulgated by the Late Western Zhou Ritual Reform. For instance, as seen in Fig. 79, the vertical scale pattern on the *sheng* from Tombs 2 and 1 has exact

<sup>24</sup> The following observations are to some extent foreshadowed by Li Ling 1991a (q.v. for details concerning vessel nomenclature), and by Li Ling 1992b.

<sup>25</sup> This was first worked out by Guo Dewei (1983a, 1995). It must be noted that known instances, e.g., of even-numbered sets of covered *ding*, by no means account for all the evidence (Li Ling 1991b: 78); Liu Binhui (1991) observes that pairing extends to other kinds of vessels as well, possibly reflecting a tendency to multiply sets of bronzes that, in actuality, did conform to Zhou standard; and Li Anmin (1991) suggests that doubling of ritual vessels was originally a northern custom.

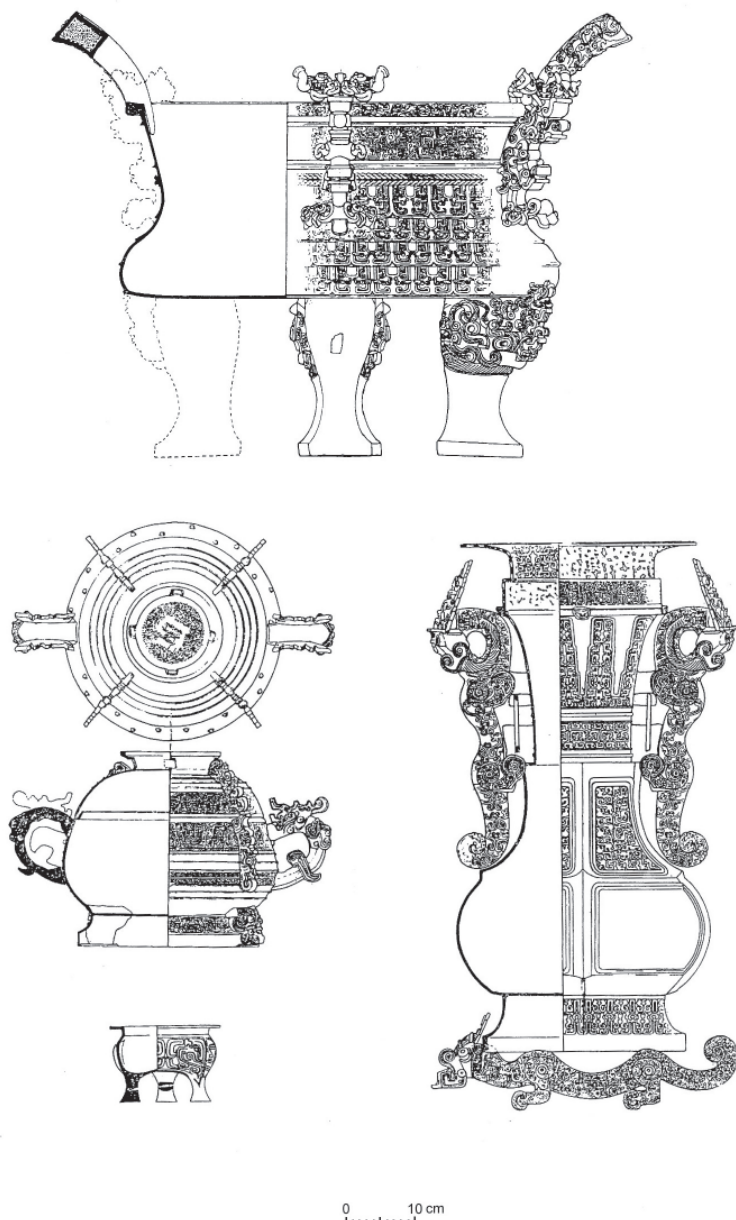
<sup>26</sup> On *sheng*, see Heng Yunhua 2003.

Fig. 77. Late Springs and Autumns-period "Ordinary Assemblage" of bronze vessels from Tomb 10 at Xiasi, Xichuan (Henan). First row: covered *ding*; second row: *hi*, *dai*, ladle, *pan*-and-*yi* set; third row: pair of *zun*/*fou*, pair of *yufou*. Around 500 BC.



0 10 cm





**Fig. 78.** Main bronze-vessel types of the Late Springs and Autumns-period “Special Assemblage,” from Tomb 1 at Xiasi, Xichuan (Henan). Top: *sheng*; lower left: *gui*, *li*; lower right: *fangbú*. Around 550 BC.



**Fig. 79.** Comparison between Late Western Zhou bronze ornamentation and that of mid-sixth century BC “Special Assemblage” vessels. *Ding* from Tomb 1753 at Shangcunling, Sanmenxia (Henan) compared with surface pattern on *dong* from Tomb 1 at Xiasi, Xichuan (Henan); Zhong Youfu-*gui* from Qijiacun, Fufeng (Shaanxi) compared with *gui* from Tomb 1 at Xiasi.

parallels on specimens of the largest type of Late Western Zhou *ding*; the decoration of the *gui* found in the same two tombs, with their horizontal ribs separating the ornament bands around the rim and foot, is clearly modelled on those of Late Western Zhou *wawen*-decorated *gui*; and the ornamentation of the *fangbú* from Xiasi follows (albeit in much elaborated form) the ornamental scheme of certain types of Late Western Zhou specimens (cf. *Fig. 20*). Significantly, moreover, the numerical constellations of the “Special Assemblage” vessels (especially Peng’s set of seven *sheng* tripods) conform to the standardized graded sets stipulated by the Late Western Zhou sumptuary rules. By contrast, the sets of *ding* and *bú* of the “Ordinary Assemblage” are combined according to a different, simpler principle that seems to have been specific to the Chu area.

From the inscriptions on the “Special Assemblage” vessels and bells from Xiasi (which include the Wangsun Gao-*yongzhong* inscription discussed in Chapter Seven), we can infer that Peng had received some if not all of them from the estate of a previous chief minister, the son of a king of Chu, whose family had fallen from grace in the course of factional strife at court.<sup>27</sup> This further corroborates that Peng owed the possession of these prestigious objects to his office and not to his position in the Chu kinship network. Since historically the post of chief minister in Chu before Peng’s time had normally been the prerogative of a close relative of the reigning king, “Special Assemblage” vessels are likely to have been, in principle, an exclusive prerogative of the ruler’s immediate family. The extension of this privilege to other members of the élite as a token of official authority seems to be a Springs and Autumns-period phenomenon revealing the loosening of the strict segmentary hierarchy instituted through the Late Western Zhou Ritual Reform.

In my opinion, the possession of “Special Assemblage” vessels not only signaled a special level of prestige and rank, but also enabled the possessors to participate in special kinds of rituals that were inaccessible to the ordinary élite. Different from the normal ancestral rites that were performed by all members of Chu lineages, these rituals may have been more ancient in derivation, or perhaps they were the outcome of a deliberate attempt to revive time-honored practices of Late Western Zhou origin that had fallen into abeyance. Most importantly, archaeological finds to be reviewed shortly can demonstrate that they were shared all over the Zhou culture sphere—anywhere where the influence of the Late Western Zhou Ritual Reform had penetrated. Possession of “Special Assemblage” vessels thus created ritual compatibility among members of the highest élite across polity boundaries.

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<sup>27</sup> The excavators fallaciously identify the tomb occupant as that fallen chief minister, Wangzi Wu (Henan Sheng Wenwu Yanjiusuo, Henan Sheng Danjiang Kuqu Kaogu Fajuedui, and Xichuan Xian Bowuguan 1991: 320–324); for a refutation and further references, see Falkenhausen 2002: 763 and 782, n. 50.



Such compatibility must have been relevant, for instance, when a Yuan lineage head concluded a marriage alliance outside the Chu kingdom. By contrast, the particular types and constellations of “Ordinary Assemblage” vessels that occur at Xiasi, though typologically related to earlier Zhou bronzes, are characteristic mainly for Chu and its subordinate polities, indicating that the specific rituals in which they were used, as well, were limited to the Chu sphere. Conceivably, the *Zhou li* distinction between “rulers’ tombs” and “citizens’ tombs” may also refer to such differences in the scope of ritual validity of tomb contents.

#### OTHER INSTANCES OF THE “SPECIAL ASSEMBLAGE”

Within the Chu realm the coexistence of “Ordinary” and “Special” assemblages of bronze vessels is by no means limited to Xiasi. The two assemblages occur as well in the only tomb of a Chu king on which we have any archaeological information, the Late Warring States-period tomb of King You of Chu (r. 237–228 BC) at Zhujiayi, Shou Xian (Anhui).<sup>28</sup> They coexist also in the tombs of a royal Chu prince and his wife at Tianxingguan, Jiangling (Hubei).<sup>29</sup> And all three of these tombs resemble the Xiasi tombs in yielding only bronze vessels and no ceramics.<sup>30</sup> The difference between the “Ordinary” and “Special” assemblage is also marked (albeit somewhat less clearly) in various Warring States-period tombs of relatives of the Chu royal family and/or governors over Chu outlying territories (*Table 28*); the most spectacular of these are Tomb 2 at Baoshan, Jingmen (Hubei) (see *Fig. 93*)<sup>31</sup> and Tomb 1 at Changtaiguan, Xinyang (Henan).<sup>32</sup> In such tombs, some of the “Special Assemblage” vessels

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<sup>28</sup> This tomb was repeatedly looted in the 1930s and never scientifically excavated. Li Jingdan 1936 reports the information then available. On the finds from this tomb, see Li Ling 1992b: 142–53; on the tomb, see Li Dewen 1986. The site now belongs to Changfeng county.

<sup>29</sup> For the husband’s tomb, which had been very severely looted, see Hubei Sheng Jingzhou Diqu Bowuguan 1982; for the better-preserved tomb of his wife, see Hubei Sheng Jingzhou Bowuguan 2003.

<sup>30</sup> This is not entirely certain, as the tomb of King You was not scientifically excavated, and both tombs at Tianxingguan had been looted. Still, it is highly suggestive that no ceramics whatsoever were unearthed from these tombs, as looters are much more prone to leave behind ceramics than bronzes.

<sup>31</sup> Hubei Sheng Jingsha Tielu Kaogudui 1991.

<sup>32</sup> Henan Sheng Wenwu Yanjiusuo 1986. Recently a similar assemblage was excavated from Tomb 7 at the same site (Henan Sheng Wenwu Kaogu Yanjiusuo and Xinyang Shi Wenwu Gongzuodui 2004; unfortunately, this preliminary report does not provide the numbers of vessels excavated, which therefore could not be included in *Table 28*).



Table 28. Vessel Assemblages from Warring States-Period Chu tombs Containing “Special Assemblage” Items

PROVINCE COUNTRY SITE Tomb	HuN Changsha (Liuchengqiao)	HN Xinyang Changgaiguan	HuB Jingmen Baoshan	HuB Jiangling Wangshan	HuB Jiangling Tianxingguan	HuB Jiangling Tianxingguan	HuB Jiangling Shazhong
	89	1	2	1	2	1	1
Condition	intact(?)	damaged	intact	intact(?)	looted	looted	intact
Date	1500-1000	1000-700	1000-700	1000-700	1000-700	1000-700	1000-700
Size(sq. m.)	23.2	68.02	31.4	27.3	19.0	132.3	17.7
gao guan	1(36)+2	2(96)+2	2(40)+2	1(36)+2	1+3	14+3	1(36)+2
Occupant's sex	?	MF?	M	M	F	M(?)	M
FOOD VESSELS AND THEIR ACCESSORIES							
sheng+ other ding	(3)	(1)	2	(3)	(2)	5	(2)
li	4(5)	5(8)	16	8(10)	5(7)	9	(6)
yan	(9)	(2)	1	(7)		5	
gu	(1)			(2)			
hu	(6)	(1)	2	(6)	(2)	5	(2)
cheng	(3)	(1)		(2)			
dou	(2)	1(1)	2	2(2)	4(4)	2	
dou	(2)	(24)+[12]	[8]	2(2)		[9]	[8]
he*	(1)	1(1)		(4)	(1)	1	(1)
qi		[12]		1(1)			
pointed spoon			1	1(2)	13		
brazier		1(2)	2	1		11	
incense burner						2	
						2	
LIQUOR CONTAINERS AND DRINKING VESSELS							
bei	[30]	[35]			[18]		
zun				(1)			
yingbu	(2)	1(1)	2[2]	(2)			(2)
round hu	(2)	2(2)	2	4(2)			(2)
zunfou	(2)			2(2)	2		(2)
high-stem hu		2(3)		(2)			
fang				(2)	[2]		
jinzun			6	2	1		(2)
rounded spoon							
WATER CONTAINERS/WASHING VESSELS							
yufou			2	1(2)	1		(1)
lei/other fou	(2)		6			1	
yuding	(2)	(2)	1	1(1)	1	1	(1)
pan	(2)	4(2)	3[1]	2	1	2	
yi	(2)	1(0)[1]	(1)	2(1)	1	2	
he+				3			1
shuiyu (pen)		(4)	2	(1)			
fian	(2)		1[6]	(2)	1[7]		(4)
ladle	1(7)						(2)
MISCELLANEOUS							
lamp			4		2		
lian		[2]					
MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS							
nuzhong		1/13			1/4	2/22	
ho			1			1/10	
diao							
chimestones							
TOTALS	5(63)	21(54)	62	21(57)	23(27)	25	56
		(14)			(1/2)		(30)

Unbracketed numbers: bronzes; numbers in round brackets: ceramics; numbers in square brackets: lacquer objects.

For Springs and Autumns period examples cf. Table 26 (Xiasi Tombs 2, 1; Heshangling Tomb 1)

are usually provided as ceramic *mingqi* whereas the “Ordinary Assemblage” vessels are functional, indicating that, to their owners and perhaps in general, “Ordinary Assemblage” vessels were of immediate practical utility in ritual, whereas the importance of the “Special Assemblage” may by then (or at this social level) have been mostly symbolic.<sup>33</sup> In some instances, both “Special” and “Ordinary Assemblage” vessels were replaced by *mingqi*. It seems that some categories of the high élite occupied a liminal position in which members might formally assert, but not actually exercise, the ritual privileges associated with the “Special Assemblage.” Such a distinction between actual and virtual ritual privileges harks back to what we have observed in connection with the *mingqi* sets of obsolete wine vessels seen at Shangcunling and Qucun Locus III, discussed in Chapter Two; in Chapter Nine, we shall encounter an analogous situation, also in Chu, at a lower social level.

In other parts of the Zhou culture sphere, as well, Springs and Autumns- and Warring States-period tombs of rulers or heads of prominent lineages show a similar binary division of their bronze assemblages—one set of typologically archaic vessels that adheres more or less to the standards of the Late Western Zhou Ritual Reform (the “Special Assemblage”), and a more “contemporary” one that shows greater local stylistic and typological idiosyncrasies (the “Ordinary Assemblage”). Instances include, in approximate chronological order, the tomb of a ruler of Zheng at Lijialou, Xinzheng (Henan) (ca. 575 BC);<sup>34</sup> the

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<sup>33</sup> Other large Chu aristocratic tombs with such mixed assemblages include Tomb 89 at Changsha (Hunan; a.k.a. Tomb 1 at Liuchengqiao, Changsha [Hunan]) (Hunan Sheng Bowuguan 1972; Hunan Sheng Bowuguan, Hunan Sheng Wenwu Kaogu Yanjiusuo, Changsha Shi Bowuguan, and Changsha Shi Wenwu Kaogu Yanjiusuo 2000: 20-22 and *passim*; see *Fig. 93*); Tombs 1 and 2 at Wangshan (Hubei Sheng Wenwu Kaogu Yanjiusuo 1996: 5-163), and Tomb 1 at Shazhong (*ibid.*: 164-223), all in Jiangling (Hubei); Horse-and-Chariot Pit 1 near Tomb 4 at Ma’anzhong (Henan Sheng Wenwu Yanjiusuo and Zhoukou Diqu Wenhua ju Wenwu ke 1984) and Tomb 16 at Pingliangtai (Henan Sheng Wenwu Yanjiusuo and Huaiyang Xian Wenwu Baoguan suo 1984), both in Huaiyang (Henan) (the latter two contained ceramics only). To these one should add the finds from two rich Middle Warring States-period tombs at Jiuliandun, Zaoyang (Hubei) (for preliminary information, see Guojia Wenwu ju [ed.] 2003: 53-56; Hubei Sheng Wenwu Kaogu Yanjiusuo 2003), which are currently being prepared for publication at the Hubei Provincial Museum; I was able to view these magnificent objects thanks to the kindness of Mr. Wang Jichao and Ms. Hu Yali on June 30, 2004.

<sup>34</sup> This tomb was discovered and cleared of its contents in 1923 without the participation of trained archaeological personnel. The finds were published in several traditional-style publications (listed in Li Xueqin 1985: 85), which have now been superseded by a recent monograph (Henan Bowuyuan and Taibei Guoli Lishi Bowuguan 2001).

Middle to Late Springs and Autumns-period tombs of rulers of Wei at Liulige, Hui Xian (Henan);<sup>35</sup> the tomb of Marquis Shen of Cai (d. 491 BC) at Ximennei, Shou Xian (Anhui);<sup>36</sup> the fragmentarily preserved tomb of a ruler of Zeng at Liujiaya, Suizhou (Late Springs and Autumns period?);<sup>37</sup> two additional tombs of rulers of Zeng at Leigudun, Suizhou (Hubei), one of which is the exceedingly famous tomb of Marquis Yi (d. after 433 BC), discussed in Chapter Seven;<sup>38</sup> and Tomb 251 at Jinshengcun, Taiyuan (Shanxi), believed to be the tomb of a head of the Zhao lineage in Jin (third quarter of the fifth century BC).<sup>39</sup> The assemblages are listed in Table 29 (cf. also *Map 19*).

The most numerous and best-documented instances of a bifurcation of “Ordinary” and “Special” assemblages come from Chu and its client polities, but so far the earliest is from north-central China: Lijialou of the Zheng polity. Numerous additional contemporaneous “Special Assemblages” have recently been found in the ritual pits at nearby Zhonghang, discussed below. These finds and those at Liulige and Jinshengcun show beyond doubt that the differentiation mentioned is by no means exclusively a southern phenomenon. Even in the south, although the rulers of Cai and Zeng were Chu clients, and many of the luxurious bronzes from Ximennei and Leigudun were indeed Chu products (as discussed in Chapter Six), that fact alone was not necessarily the reason why the ritual specialists in these polities chose, or were able, to combine the two different assemblages. As in Chu, moreover, the presence of both assemblages in the northern polities was not entirely limited to tombs of rulers. The occupant of the Jinshengcun tomb, for instance, was the head of one of the powerful ministerial lineages in Jin that, in his time, had reduced the rulers of Jin to mere puppets; soon after his time, this Zhao lineage was to become the royal house of the Zhao kingdom. The presence of “Special Assemblage” vessels in his tomb is one indication—along with (and perhaps even more telling than) the extraordinary richness and elaboration of the bronzes, funerary jades, and horse-and-chariot pits—of that individual’s aspiration to play in the highest social league and to display the exaltation of his privileges over those of the heads of ordinary elite lineages. Perhaps the exuberant ornamentation of his “Special Assemblage” vessels, which downplays the stylistic archaism seen elsewhere, expresses a *nouveau riche* taste (*Fig. 80*).

<sup>35</sup> Guo Baojun 1959: 53–76; Henan Bowuyuan and Taibei Guoli Lishi Bowuguan 2003.

<sup>36</sup> Anhui Sheng Wenwu Guanliweiyuanhui and Anhui Sheng Bowuguan 1956.

<sup>37</sup> Suizhou Shi Bowuguan 1982.

<sup>38</sup> Hubei Sheng Bowuguan 1989; Hubei Sheng Bowuguan and Suizhou Shi Bowuguan 1985.

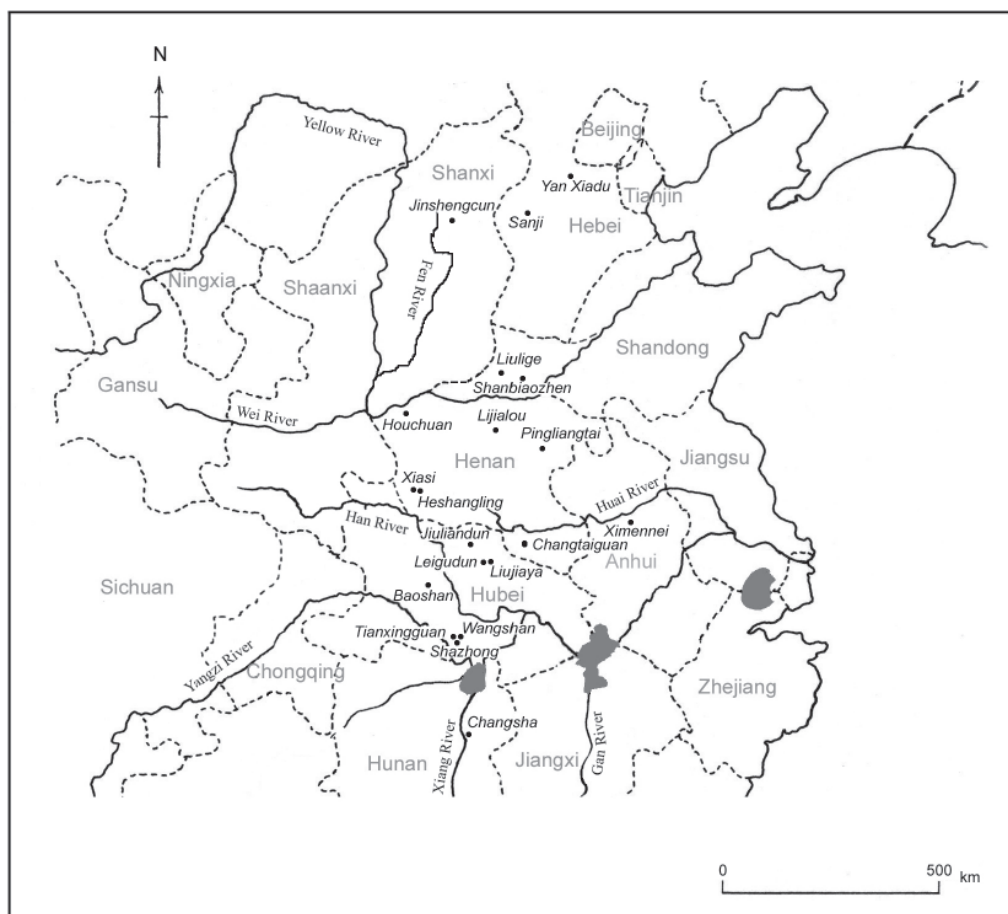
<sup>39</sup> Tao Zhenggang, Hou Yi, and Qu Chuanfu 1996.

Table 29. Bronze Assemblages from Tombs Outside Chu Containing “Special Assemblage” Items

PROVINCE COUNTY SITE Tomb	HN Xinzheng Lijialou	HN Hui Xian Liulige A	HN Hui Xian Liulige B	HN Hui Xian Liulige 60	HN Hui Xian Liulige 55	HN Hui Xian Liulige 80	AH Shou Xian Ximennei
Condition	intact?	intact(?)	intact(?)	intact	intact	intact	intact
Date	IMCQ	IMCQ	IMCQ	LCQ	LCQ	LCQ	LCQ
Size	?	113.3(?)	69.2(?)	40.6	46.0	35.5	60.0
guo/guan	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
Occupant's sex	M	M	F	M	F	?	M
Polity	Zheng	Wei+	Wei+	Wei+	Wei+		Cai
FOOD VESSELS AND THEIR ACCESSORIES							
coverless ding/sheng	9	7?	5	9	7	7	7
other ding	12+	6?	5	20	7	6	11
liandangding							
yiding							
dingxingqi							
li	9	4	4	6	6	6	8
yan	1	1	1	1		1	
gui	8	14	4	6	4	4	8
bü	4(+?)	4	4	4	4	4	4
cbeng/pen/dian	1						
zban	2						
dui						2	2
covered dou		8	1	1	2		2
covered dou w\ socle							
high-stemmed dou/fu							2
xing	2						
be *	3	1	2	1	1	1	
pointed spoon		1					15
stove with yan							
brazier	1	1					
brazier stand	1						
coal shovel		2					
LIQUOR CONTAINERS AND DRINKING VESSELS							
erbei							
rectangular bü	4	4?	1	3	2		2
round bü	3	2?					
bianbü		1					
paobü		1				1	
tiliangbü							
high-stemmed bü							
zunfou							4
rounded spoon							
WASHING VESSELS							
yufou/lei	2(+?)	2		2		2	2
pan	3	1	1	2	1	1	1
be+/jiaobe+				1		1	1
yi	4	1	1		1	1	1
guan							
jiam/xi		3	2	3	2		4
yuding							1
“zun”							3
“pan” (with “zun”)							3
bowl							3
ladle				1			6
MISCELLANEOUS							
bird-shaped vessel							
box (be#)							
censer							
volumetric measure							1
MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS							
yongzong	2/18	1/?		1/8			1/12
niuzong		1/?		1/9			1/9+frag.
bo	1/4	1/?		2/12			1/8
zheng						1	1
chunyu							1
chimestones	?			{1/11}			?
TOTALS	72+	67	31	64	37	38	96+

Table 29. (Continued)

PROVINCE COUNTY LOCALITY Tomb	HuB Suizhou Liujiaya 1	HuB Suizhou Liujiaya 00	HuB Suizhou Leigudun 1	HuB Suizhou Leigudun 2	SX Taiyuan Jinshengcun 251
Date	MCQ	M/LCQ	EZG	EZG	EZG
Size	19.6	?	220	50.4	59.84
Condition	looted	fragm.	almost intact	almost intact	intact
<i>guo/guan</i>	*	*	1(4c)+2	?	1+3
Occupant's sex	?	?	M	M?	M
Polity	Zeng	Zeng	Zeng	Zeng	Jin (Zhao)
FOOD VESSELS AND THEIR ACCESSORIES					
coverless <i>ding/sheng</i>	2	3	9	9	5
other <i>ding</i>		10+	11	7	14
<i>liandangding</i>					6
<i>yiding</i>			1		
<i>dingxingqi</i>			10		
<i>li</i>	4		10	10	6
<i>yan</i>		1	1	1	2
<i>gui</i>		4	8	8	
<i>bü</i>		4	4	4	4
<i>cheng</i>					
<i>zhan</i>					
<i>dui</i>					
covered <i>dou</i>			3	3	8
covered <i>dou</i> w\socle					4
high-stemmed <i>dou/fu</i>					2
<i>xing</i>					
<i>be*</i>					4
pointed spoon			14		present
stove w\ <i>yan</i>					1
brazier			2	1	present
brazier stand					
coal shovel			2	1	
LIQUID CONTAINERS AND DRINKING VESSELS					
<i>erbei</i>					present
rectangular <i>bü</i>		2		2	4
round <i>bü</i>	2	3	2	2	
<i>bianbü</i>					1
<i>paobü</i>					1
<i>tiliangbü</i>			2		
high-stemmed <i>bü</i>					2
<i>zumfou</i>					
rounded spoon			3		
WASHING VESSELS					
<i>yufou/lei</i>			8	6	2
<i>pan</i>		3	1	1	2
<i>be+ /jiaobe+</i>					present
<i>yi</i>			2	1	2
<i>guan</i>			1		
<i>jian</i>			4	1	6
<i>yuding</i>			1	1	
<i>zum</i>			1		
" <i>pan</i> " (with " <i>zum</i> ")			1		
bowl					
ladle			3		present
MISCELLANEOUS					
bird-shaped vessel					1
box ( <i>be#</i> )			2		
censer			2	4	
volumetric measure					3
MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS					
<i>yongzong</i>			5/45	4/36	
<i>niuzong</i>			2/19		
<i>bo</i>			1		2/19
<i>zheng</i>					
<i>chunyu</i>					
chimestones			{1/42}	{1/12}	{1/13}
Totals	8+	30+	116	66	83+



**Map 19.** Distribution of tombs with “Special Assemblage” vessels in North and South China. Place names given are those of cemetery sites.

Whereas the typological constellation of “Ordinary Assemblage” vessels differed somewhat from region to region,<sup>40</sup> the “Special Assemblage” was remarkably consistent, centered on an odd-numbered set of coverless *dīng* (in Chu and its client states, *sheng*), an even-numbered set of *gui* (at Jinshengcun, *dou* on square pedestals), and a pair of *fānghú* (at Jinshengcun, two pairs). In addition, tombs containing “Special Assemblage” vessels are far more likely than others to have been furnished with other luxurious objects. Examples include the spectacular bronze altar executed in the lost-wax technique, found in Tomb 2 at Xiasi

<sup>40</sup> As shown very pertinently in previous comprehensive studies of Eastern Zhou bronze vessels (such as Gao Ming 1981; Hayashi 1988; Emura 2000) that did not notice the division between “Special” and “Ordinary” assemblages.

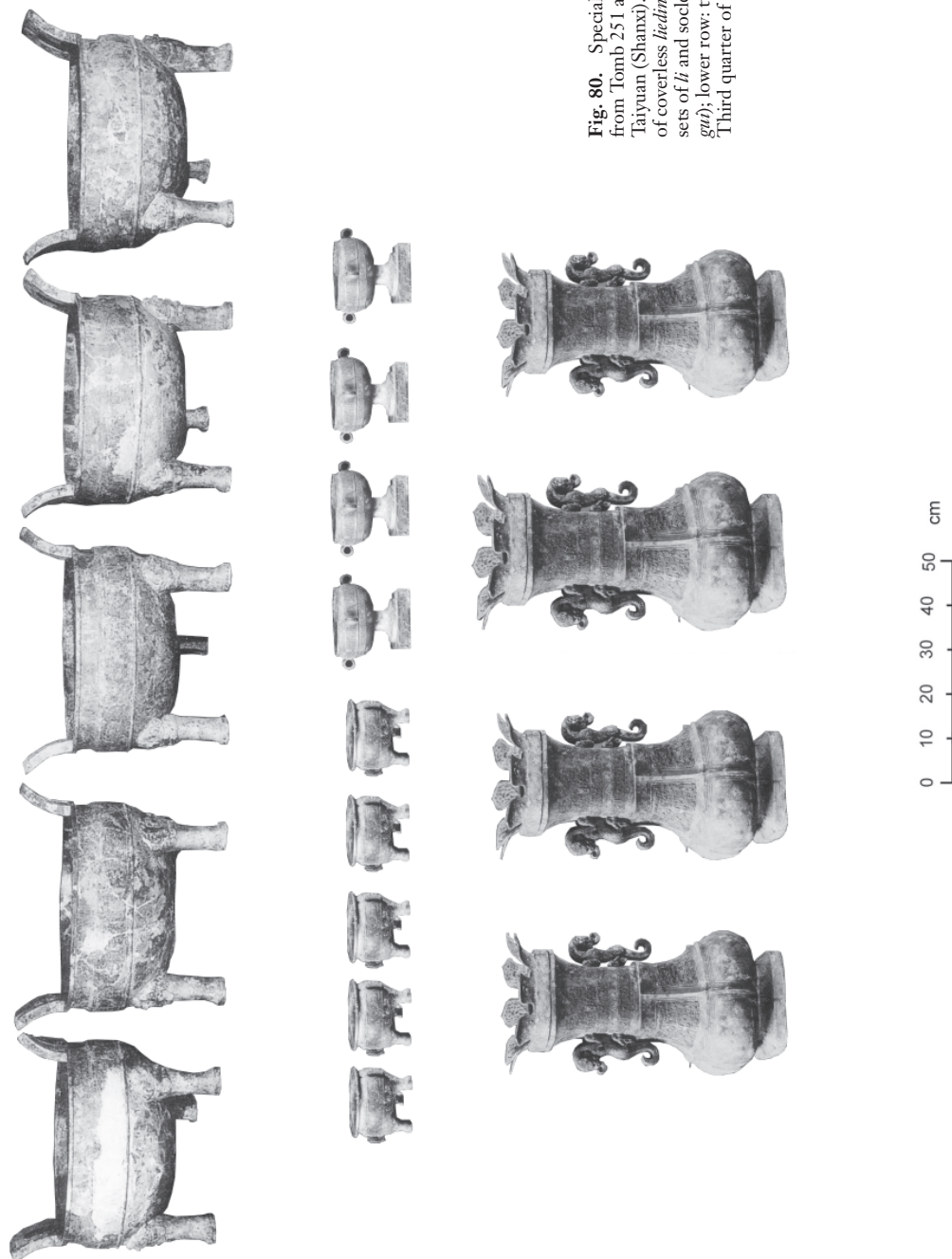
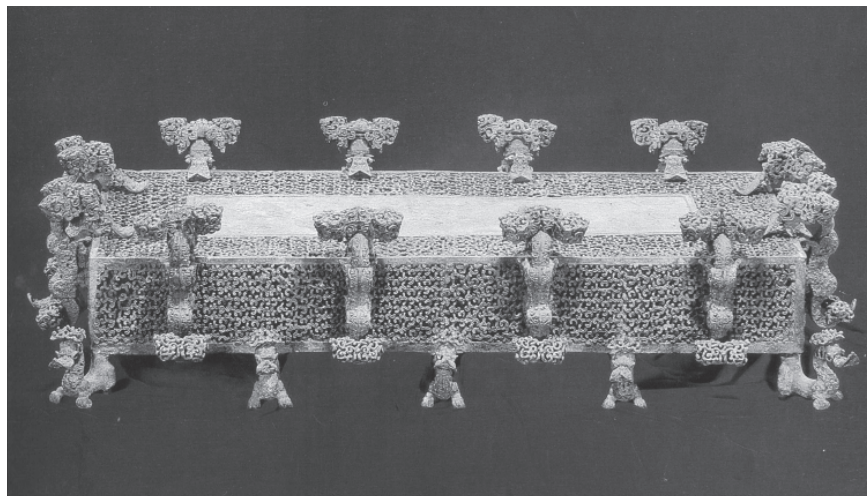


Fig. 80. Special-assemblage vessels from Tomb 251 at Jinshengcun, Taiyuan (Shanxi). Upper row: set of coverless *li*ding; middle row: sets of *li* and sooted *dou* (replacing *gu*); lower row: two pairs of *fanghu*. Third quarter of fifth century BC.





**Fig. 81.** Bronze altar from Tomb 2 at Xiasi, Xichuan (Henan). Length: 131 cm. Mid-sixth century BC.

(Fig. 81); the multipart bronze steamer-stove from Tomb 251 at Jinshengcun (Fig. 82); and, perhaps most importantly, sets of chime-bells of ever greater acoustic sophistication, the most famous being those from Marquis Yi's tomb. The mode of display of chime-bells, like that of ritual vessels, demonstratively referred to the rules of the sumptuary system. In Marquis Yi's tomb, for instance, the "suspended music" consisting of 65 bells and 41 chime stones, was arranged on three sides of the ritual chamber, in accordance with the privilege of a *zhubou* ruler. (The Son of Heaven alone could have such instruments on four sides, ministers on two sides, and magnates on one side of their temple courtyard, if the transmitted rule may be believed).<sup>41</sup> Marquis Yi's bells were so numerous as to require a three-tiered rack, which presumably infringed the spirit, though not the letter, of the ritual rules—yet another instance of creative manipulation, particularly remarkable considering that it was ritual conservatism rather than innovation that, generally speaking, marked high status in this system.

Even though chime-bells in Eastern Zhou contexts are by no means limited to tombs containing "Special Assemblage" vessels, their frequent association with such vessels intimates that bell music was an indispensable component of "Special Assemblage" rituals. Conversely, the fact that most tombs yielding only vessels of the "Ordinary Assemblage" lack bells may indicate that, even though bell music *could* accompany the rituals during which such vessels were used, it was not obligatory at those occasions.

<sup>41</sup> *Zhou li* "Chunguan: Xiaoxu" (*Zhou li zhengyi* 44.1823-27); discussed in Falkenhausen 1993a: 32-39.



**Fig. 82.** Bronze steamer and stove from Tomb 251 at Jinshengcun, Taiyuan (Shanxi). Width: 38 cm. Third quarter of fifth century BC.

## INCREASING GENDER DIFFERENCES

As in earlier periods, male-female differences in the material expression of status are difficult to make out in Eastern Zhou tombs pertaining to the lower social rungs of the social ladder. The same is true even of relatively low-ranking bronze-yielding tombs containing only vessels of the “Ordinary Assemblage.” At the social level associated with possession of “Special Assemblage” bronzes, however, we find paired tombs of husbands and wives in which gender differences are expressed with some clarity. As observed at Qucun Locus III and Shangcunling (see Chapter II; *Tables 9, 10*), and possibly in continuity with customs of that preceding period, sets of ritual objects provided for women are meager compared with those for their husbands. Indeed, the differences now appear considerably greater than during the earlier part of the Zhou

period; at least, this appears to have been the case in Chu, which affords the best archaeological evidence currently available.

Tombs 2 (male) and 1 (female) at Xiasi, dated to the mid-sixth century BC, furnish our earliest instance (see *Table 26*); for the Warring States period, paired husband-and-wife tombs have been reported from Tianxingguan (Tombs 1 [male] and 2 [female]) and possibly Baoshan (Tombs 2 [male] and 1 [female]) (*Table 28*).<sup>42</sup> In each case, the difference in tomb size is striking: the wife's tomb chamber at Xiasi and Tianxingguan is only 50 to 60 percent the size of her spouse's, and Baoshan Tomb 1 measures less than 25 percent of Tomb 2.<sup>43</sup> The tumuli surmounting the wives' tombs are also correspondingly smaller. Moreover, the number of steps in the tapering walls of the burial pit, a significant status symbol in high-ranking Chu tombs during the Warring States period, also differs significantly.<sup>44</sup> Such size differences are conspicuous by comparison with Qucun Locus III and Shangcunling, where wives' tombs are rarely less than 75 percent as large as their husbands'.

Comparisons between vessel assemblages are rendered problematic by looting. Still, it is significant that, at Xiasi, the "Special Assemblage" vessels from the unlooted tomb of Peng's principal consort (Tomb 1) number two *sheng* and one *gui*, whereas Peng's partly looted tomb (Tomb 2) yielded seven *sheng* and two *gui*.<sup>45</sup> In terms of the sumptuary rank order promulgated in the Late Western Zhou Ritual Reform (cf. *Table 4*), this would imply a difference of at least three ranks; at Qucun Locus III and Shangcunling, in salient contrast, wives' *ding* and *gui* assemblages were only one rank below their husbands'. Corroborating the notion of a great gender-based divergence in wealth and

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<sup>42</sup> See nn. 20, 29, 31. The excavators of the Baoshan tombs do not believe that Tomb 1 held the wife of the occupant of the adjacent Tomb 2; they assign it instead to a member of the *shi* ("Gentlemen") class. The remains of the deceased were too badly preserved to allow the determination of sex. I provisionally take Tomb 1 to be a wife's tomb, based on the spatial analogy with Tianxingguan.

<sup>43</sup> Due to imperfect preservation, it is difficult to correlate the reported measurements; ideally, each tomb is measured at the bottom of the pit, but that measurement is not available for all of the tombs here under examination.

<sup>44</sup> On this criterion, see Falkenhausen 2003b: 451-452. While Tomb 2 at Baoshan had fourteen steps, Tomb 1 had only three. At Tianxingguan, Tomb 1 had fifteen steps—the largest number yet seen anywhere in Chu; unfortunately, the exact number of steps in Tomb 2 can no longer be determined on account of bad preservation.

<sup>45</sup> Whereas the set of seven *sheng* from Tomb 2 is probably complete, several *gui* appear to have been looted previous to excavation. Looting is also in all likelihood the reason for the absence of *fanghú* from Tomb 2. By contrast, two *fanghú* were found in the unlooted Tomb 1.

privilege, Tomb 2 at Xiasi, even though partly looted, still contained more and better “Ordinary Assemblage” vessels than the unlooted Tomb 1. On the other hand, the presence of a set of chime-bells in Tomb 1 at Xiasi suggests that the earlier apparent ban on musical instruments in a woman’s tomb had been lifted; yet the nine *niuzhong* from Tomb 1 are inferior in number, size, prestige, and tonal complexity to the twenty-six *yongzhong* found in Peng’s tomb, suggesting a residual persistence of gender difference with respect to ritual music. Still, the principal consort in Tomb 1 was better accoutered for the afterlife than Peng’s other wives, whose Tombs 3 and 4 contained only reduced numbers of “Ordinary Assemblage” vessels, no “Special Assemblage” vessels, and no bells.

Male-female differences in ritual-vessel assemblages are less patent in Warring States-period tombs. That Tomb 1 at Baoshan yielded only ceramic vessels of “Ordinary Assemblage” type need not reflect a prescribed female inferiority; it may be due either to looting or to the low status of the wife buried in it. And we do not know how many *sheng* the male occupant of Tomb 1 at Tianxingguan had, though the extraordinary size of his badly looted tomb would suggest that he had more than the set of seven found in the less thoroughly looted tomb of his wife. Both tombs at Tianxingguan yielded chimed musical instruments, but the looters left too few behind in Tomb 1 to allow a comparison with the splendid triple set from Tomb 2.<sup>46</sup>

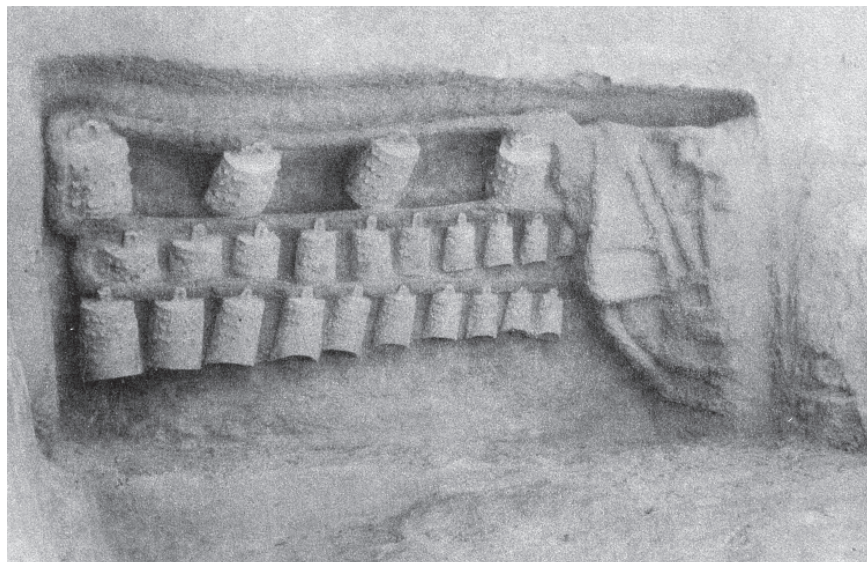
All in all, these observations suggest that women continued to play a role in the rituals derived from the Late Western Zhou Ritual Reform even after the latter had become restricted to the highest aristocratic ranks. At the same time, the standing of these exceptionally highly placed women vis-à-vis their husbands appears to have declined during Eastern Zhou times.

## SACRIFICIAL PITS AT XINZHENG

Recently, a different kind of evidence, which can help us better understand the nature of the “Special Assemblage,” has come to light during excavations at Xinzheng in central Henan. Xinzheng is an important site, having served as the capital of the Zheng polity from 806 to 375 BC and thereafter as the capital of the Warring States kingdom of Hán. During the construction of the local branch office of the Bank of China (after which the site was named Zhonghang), archaeologists uncovered part of a 7<sup>th</sup> to 6<sup>th</sup> century BC open-air ritual precinct: a vast surface densely indented by pits in which precious sacri-

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<sup>46</sup> In the future, additional insights into such sumptuary differences may be obtained by comparing the finds from the two tombs at Jiuliandun, Zaoyang (Hubei) (see n. 33), which also belonged to a husband and wife.



**Fig. 83.** Chime-Bell Pit 4 at Zhonghang, Xinzheng (Henan). Upper tier of rack: set of 4 *bo* bells; lower two tiers: two 10-piece sets of *niuzhong*. Probably first half of sixth century BC.

ficial gifts had been deposited in an orderly fashion.<sup>47</sup> The 8000 square-meter area investigated yielded six ritual-vessel pits (one of them looted), eleven chime-bell pits (two looted), and thirty-nine horse pits. Whether these pits were aligned in a regular pattern has not been reported, but their distribution appears to extend well beyond the area excavated, and in the past, similar sacrificial deposits have been found at other locations in Xinzheng as well.<sup>48</sup>

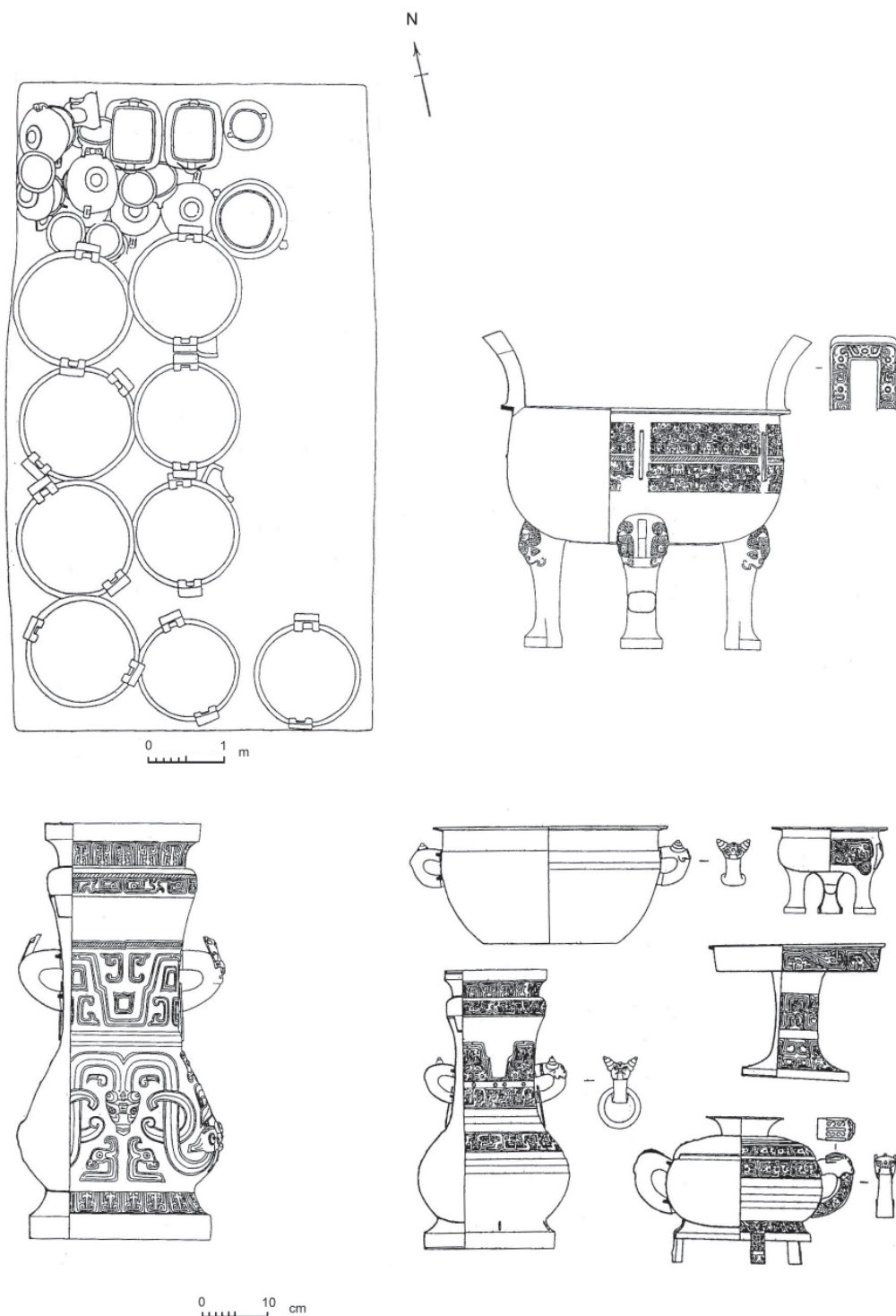
The chime-bell pits, as exemplified by Pit 4 (Fig. 83), each contained several chimes of bells and their disassembled wooden racks, as well as striking mallets and, in some pits, clay flutes (*xun*). The standard bell assemblage consisted of one four-part set of large *bo* and two seemingly identical sets of the smaller *niuzhong* (in one of the nine unlooted pits, only one *niuzhong* chime was found). The bells, which had been carefully wrapped in silk pouches and reed mats, were arranged in order of size. Curiously, aside from the clay flutes, no other musical instruments appear to have been included.

The unlooted ritual-vessel pits each contained between twenty-five and thirty bronze vessels, forming sets and arranged in an orderly fashion. Significantly, the types are virtually limited to those of the “Special Assemblage,” and the

<sup>47</sup> Henan Sheng Wenwu Kaogu Yanjiusuo Xinzheng Gongzuozhan 1998.

<sup>48</sup> Cai Quanfa 2000 describes a similar constellation of hoards at Jinchenglü, Xinzheng; unfortunately, his article does not contain any illustrations. The objects depicted in Cai Quanfa 2003b: 215-19 come from several different deposits.





**Fig. 84.** Vessels from Bronze-Vessel Pit 15 at Zhonghang, Xinzheng (Henan). Instances of each of the classes of vessels represented: coverless *lieding*, round *bú*, *fangbú*, *jian*, *li*, *fu*, and *gui*. Probably first half of sixth century BC.

number of pieces in each set accords with the standards of the Late Western Zhou Ritual Reform. For instance, Pit 15 (Fig. 84) contained a graduated set of nine *ding* with its complementary set of eight *gui*, as well as a set of nine *li*, a pair of *fangbú*, a single round *bú*, one stemmed bowl (*fu*, conventionally classed as *dou*) and one water basin (*pen* or *jian*). All vessels so far reported on, no matter from which pit, display a high degree of stylistic uniformity; they are likely to have been made within a rather short span of time, at the same workshop, and following similar instructions. Although their decoration style and method of manufacture unmistakably indicate that they were made in the later part of Middle Springs and Autumns, they are like the “Special Assemblage” vessels from Xiasi in exhibiting various degrees of deliberate stylistic archaism in their decoration; the *gui* and *fangbú*, in particular, are almost indistinguishable from Western Zhou prototypes (e.g., those from Shangcunling, see Fig. 20).<sup>49</sup>

The vessel assemblages from the Zhonghang site correspond closely to the “Special Assemblage” bronzes excavated from the above-mentioned tomb of a Zheng ruler at nearby Lijialou, with which they must be roughly contemporaneous. The bell assemblages, as well, strongly resemble those from Lijialou, even though the latter are larger and more massive, and instead of *niuzhong*, Lijialou yielded two ten-part sets of *yongzhong*. (The decoration on these *yongzhong* is very similar to that of the Zhonghang *bo*.) Like all other known tombs with “Special Assemblage” vessels, Lijialou simultaneously yielded an “Ordinary Assemblage” of bronzes resembling those seen in tombs of the nonruling élite throughout the Xinzheng area (Fig. 85), which are completely different in type, shape, decoration style, and numerical constellations from the Zhonghang vessels. The stylistic contrast thus allows one to perceive fully the archaic flavor of the “Special Assemblage” vessels and to appreciate the distinctiveness of the ritual privileges they connote.

The assemblages in the Zhonghang pits, by contrast, document the “Special Assemblage” rituals alone. There are no indications of an élite cemetery in the surrounding area, and the excavators explicitly deny that the sacrificial

<sup>49</sup> Despite more than 150 years’ difference in date, one also notes close stylistic and typological parallels with bronzes in the Late Group of tombs at Qucun Locus III (as defined in Chapter Two). For instance, the *fangbú* from Hoard 15 at Zhonghang (Henan Sheng Wenwu Kaogu Yanjiusuo Xinzheng Gongzuozhan 1998: 16, fig. 9.4 and 17, fig. 10) are similar in their principal ornamental scheme to those excavated from Tomb 8 at Qucun Locus III (Beijing Daxue Kaoguxue Xi and Shanxi Sheng Kaogu Yanjiusuo 1994, cpl. facing p. 16); and the round *bú* from Hoard 15 at Zhonghang (Henan Sheng Wenwu Kaogu Yanjiusuo Xinzheng Gongzuozhan 1998: 15, fig. 8.2 and 16, fig. 9.5) closely resemble those from Tomb 63 at Qucun Locus III (Shanxi Sheng Kaogu Yanjiusuo and Beijing Daxue Kaogu Xi 1994a: 14, fig. 24.3).





**Fig. 85.** Ordinary-Assemblage bronze vessels from the tomb of a ruler of Zheng at Lijialou, Xinzheng (Henan). Vessels include *bū*, covered *ding*, *xing*, *zhan*, *yi*, *yufou*, *jian*, *pan-and-yi*. Probably around 575 BC.

pits could have been “subsidiary pits” (*peizangkeng*) of large tombs. Neither do they seem to have been directly associated with the 133 small pit-tombs and 28 urn burials excavated at the Zhonghang site, though conceivably some of these might have contained human victims sacrificed when the Zhonghang assemblages were buried. The sacrificial pits thus constitute an archaeological testimony, rare for their period, to ritual activity in a non-funerary context. But what was that context? From presently reported evidence this is difficult to tell, because the Zhonghang site was intensively used over a long period. It contained more than 500 refuse pits and 84 wells; a portion of a Springs and Autumns-period stamped-earth wall ran across the site; and there are indications that metalworking was going on nearby during part of the Eastern Zhou period. Yet curiously, no building remains have been found with which the sacrificial pits could have been associated. The nature of the ritual activities requiring these vessels, bells, horses, and (possibly) human victims is therefore obscure.

Restricting the scope of their inquiry from the outset to rituals mentioned in the Classics, the excavators argue that, in the absence of any architecture, this must have been a precinct for open-air sacrifices to the Gods of the Soil and the Grains (*sheji*).<sup>50</sup> Although this theory cannot be dismissed, no known description of these rituals mentions that bronze vessels, bells, and horses were ritually buried—or, indeed, even used—at such occasions. Possibly the Zhonghang finds document practices previously unknown. Conceivably, moreover, the ritual activities during which the objects deposited at Zhonghang were used and presented were not actually conducted at this site. So far, the following seems clear. (1) These rituals combined sacrifice and ritual music, albeit as separate categories, to judge from the separate disposal of vessels and musical instruments. (2) They prescribed the ordered disposal of ritual paraphernalia that were intact and fully usable, in combination with the sacrifice of horses, whose fully articulated skeletons suggest that they had not been consumed. (3) The high degree of stylistic homogeneity, as well as the overwhelming similarities in the constellations of ritual vessels and chime-bells, indicate great regularity in the ritual procedures, suggesting that the time span documented by the Zhonghang deposits was relatively short. (4) Both the ritual paraphernalia and the horses sacrificed were prestige possessions. At the time they were deposited, the governing sumptuary stipulations had been operative for about 250 years and were being followed by high-ranking aristocrats throughout a wide area transcending polity boundaries. (5) These rituals explicitly profess adherence to old ritual precedent, in contrast to

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<sup>50</sup> Henan Sheng Wenwu Kaogu Yanjiusuo Xinzheng Gongzuozhan 1998: 24; Cai Quanfa 2000: 198-99. On the sacrifices in question, see Chavannes 1910; Müller 1980b.

current practices among the lower élite. The constellation and typological derivation of the paraphernalia suggest connections with traditions of ancestral sacrifice dating from Western Zhou. Given the great changes in religious practices traced in Chapter Seven, however, the rituals in question were not necessarily ancestral sacrifices (epigraphic evidence, which proves the use of bronzes in ancestral sacrifices during Western Zhou, is lacking at Zhonghang). (6) The Zhonghang bells, being less opulent than those from the Zheng ruler's tomb at Lijialou (though equal in number), might indicate a social level of patronage just below the ruler's. Even so, the association of these rituals with individuals of high rank and great wealth is evident from the large number of tripods, the conspicuous waste of precious materials, and the parallel to other contexts where "Special Assemblage" vessels occur.

## INTERPRETATION

I am inclined to view the bifurcation of the "Ordinary" and "Special" assemblages as another manifestation in the ritual realm of the ongoing disjunction between the high and low élite in Zhou society, which is also apparent from the increasing disparity in tomb sizes, traced at the beginning of this chapter. It is clear that, in the Middle and Late Springs and Autumns period, the newly privileged stratum comprised not merely rulers, but also a small number of other prominent lineages within local polities. Some of these lineages—represented in the archaeological record by the Zhao at Jinshengcun—were to develop into the royal houses of Warring States kingdoms. In Qi, the traditional ruling house of the Jiang clan was superseded by a new dynasty of the Chen (Tian) lineage, and Jin was broken up among the Wei, Hán, and Zhao lineages; but the finds from Xiasi and from Warring States-period Chu tombs show that similar a division of the élite was ongoing also in polities whose ruling families remained the same throughout the Warring States period. It is quite possible that the newly ascendant lineages were the motor of the developments observed here, since they had a particularly high stake in enhancing their own ritual standing; but rather than a mere usurpation of previously existing privileges, what occurred was a redefinition of privileges and a ritual diversification that, I would argue, was altogether new and indeed contradicted the spirit of continuous graded hierarchy promulgated in the Late Western Zhou Ritual Reform.

The formation of a specially privileged subgroup within the élite preceded, and no doubt paved the way for, the full emergence of despotic rulers during the Warring States. The use of objects (and, presumably, ritual procedures) of relatively ancient pedigree to indicate special privileges may be an indication that, notwithstanding the ongoing social transformations, the claim of descent from prestigious early figures and a direct connection to hallowed antiquity

continued to connote legitimacy, at least within the high *élite* stratum. As shown by the Zhujiaji finds, regard for antiquity continued all the way into the Late Warring States period, in spite of, and coexisting with, the thoroughgoing religious changes discussed in Chapter Seven.

Much of the previous analysis has dealt with the spectacular objects of the “Special Assemblage,” but it is really the introduction into the material repertoire of the “Ordinary Assemblage” in its different local varieties that, from the Middle Springs and Autumns period onward, indicates a new wave of ritual innovation—the second during the period covered by this book. This “Middle Springs and Autumns Ritual Restructuring” redefined the ritual practices and privileges for the entire *élite* stratum. In the process, the practices of the preceding period—or, perhaps more probably, newly invented practices based on those precedents—became an exclusive privilege of the higher *élite*. At the same time, new, simplified rituals were promulgated for the normal sacrificial practices of both the lower and the higher *élite*, even though of course the number, variety, and elaborateness of “Ordinary Assemblage” vessels for these new rituals continued to depend on the owner’s social rank.

Did this Middle Springs and Autumns Ritual Restructuring extend some *élite* ritual privileges, such as the use of ritual bronzes, to social strata that had previously been denied them? Only if all those who had previously performed the rituals instituted through the Late Western Zhou Ritual Reform continued to be entitled to perform these same rituals after the Middle Springs and Autumns Ritual Restructuring. But that does not seem to have been the case. Before the early sixth century BC, bronzes occurred in tombs belonging to a far wider spectrum of social ranks than the rarefied few who were using “Special Assemblage” vessels after the Middle Springs and Autumns Ritual Restructuring. Moreover, an “Ordinary Assemblage” set is always present in tombs featuring “Special Assemblage” equipment, suggesting that the rituals employing “Ordinary Assemblage” vessels actually supplanted, at all social levels, those employing the Late Western Zhou-derived assemblages that had been current previously. Thus, instead of enfranchising the lower ranks, the Middle Springs and Autumns Ritual Restructuring seems, rather, to have augmented the privileges of the higher ranks while at the same time simplifying the basic kinds of ancestral rituals performed by all members of the ranked *élite*. If anything, this would have reduced the ritual prerogatives of the lower *élite*, prefiguring the even more drastic reductions that were to occur during

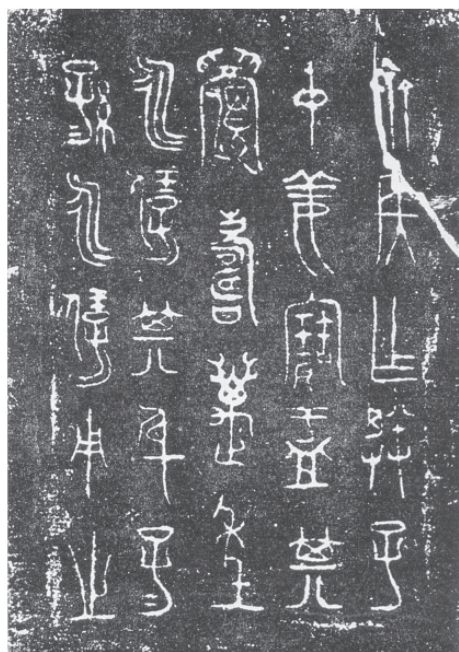
the Warring States period (see Chapter Nine). These developments may also be one indication of the decreasing social importance of the ancestral cult.

In some sense, the Middle Springs and Autumns Ritual Restructuring may be considered a reprise of the Late Western Zhou Ritual Reform—an attempt to update old standards in the face of changed social realities. Like its predecessor, it is undocumented in transmitted written sources and can only be reconstructed through the material record. It must have occurred about 600 BC, after which time the key features of the “Ordinary Assemblage”—the use of covered instead of coverless tripods, the replacement of *gui* by various functionally equivalent vessels such as *bu*, *zhan*, *dui*, *dou*, and *cheng*, and the diversification of vessels for liquids—are in evidence just about everywhere in the Zhou culture sphere. The pervasiveness and simultaneity of the transition make one wonder, once again, whether a centralized decision might have triggered it; though, as with the Late Western Zhou Ritual Reform, we cannot discover who would have made the decision. If there was some sort of concerted ruling, it is likely that it concerned, not the ritual paraphernalia directly, but rather certain principles of elite ancestral sacrifice; for as noted, the new, simplified assemblage took a somewhat different form in each of the various regions of the Zhou Culture Sphere. Elite intermarriage, migration, and diplomatic contacts are likely to have contributed to the spread of the new institutions.

The only exception from this pattern is Qin, where, as mentioned in Chapter Seven, the old vessel sets promulgated in the Late Western Zhou Ritual Reform remained in general use (albeit, in funerary contexts, reduced to *mingqi*) until Shang Yang’s administrative reforms abolished the time-honored lineage system in one fell swoop; thus, in Qin the traditional-type vessels do not stand out as a “Special Assemblage,” as they do elsewhere. The reasons for this conservatism remain obscure. Was there a lesser degree of interaction with other parts of the Zhou culture sphere? Did Qin ritual specialists shun the innovations as unorthodox? Or was it that in Qin, where the position of the rulers was stronger than in most of the eastern polities, the ministerial lineages dared not manifest their social ambition in the same way as their peers who were instrumental in instituting the new rituals elsewhere?

In the northeastern and eastern parts of the Zhou culture sphere we find the opposite situation: the “Ordinary Assemblage” is amply attested, but no tomb containing the two different assemblages has yet been found. This is mainly because all known tombs high enough in rank to yield “Special Assemblage” vessels have been looted. Nevertheless, there are indications that the Middle Springs and Autumns Ritual Restructuring did affect the east and





**Fig. 86.** Qi Hou-yu from Pingle, Mengjin (Henan). Height: 43.5 cm. Second half of sixth century or later.

northeast also. In Qi, for instance, Late Springs and Autumns- and Warring States-period products of local bronze workshops (classifiable as such by their style and provenience) include numerous objects—vessels as well as bells—of deliberately archaistic character (*Fig. 86*), which contrast with the sleek and often unornamented “Ordinary Assemblage” vessels found in contemporaneous tombs of the lower élite in this part of China.<sup>51</sup> Some of these archaizing objects can be associated with individuals of high rank by inscriptions.<sup>52</sup> Farther to the north, in Yan, the *mingqi* assemblage from Tomb 16 at Yan Xiadu, discussed in Chapter Seven, testifies to flights of archaizing fantasy in connection with high-élite burial;<sup>53</sup> although Eastern Zhou bronze-vessel assemblages from lower-élite tombs in that area (all of which are manifestations of the “Ordinary Assemblage”) are not exactly contemporaneous, it is telling that their repertoire of vessel shapes encompasses only a small part of that documented by Tomb 16.<sup>54</sup>

With all due caution, one may therefore suggest that, from Middle Springs and Autumns onward, the sacrificial customs of the ranked élite changed in roughly the same way throughout the Zhou culture sphere, with the apparent exception of Qin. Ritual archaism was consciously used to set off the highest ranks in society as an especially privileged stratum. And by the Warring States period, this elevation of the rulers over the rest of the élite was underscored all over the Zhou culture sphere (as it had long been in Qin) by the construction of gigantic tomb-temple complexes for the rulers and their immediate families. These monuments physically manifested to all concerned that rulers, once the highest representatives of the ranked élite, had become the dialectical social opposites of the ordinary élite. Once again, the developments traced in this chapter through the material record manifest the close coordination of ritual and social changes in early China.

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<sup>51</sup> This was pertinently observed by Jenny F. So 1982 (cf. also So in Fong 1980: 264; So 1995: 269). For examples of archaic-looking bronzes of Qi provenance, see also Rong Geng 1941, vol. 2: 185, figs. 347-48. A set of eight *yongzhong* of Late Springs and Autumns-period date but almost undistinguishable from Late Western Zhou prototypes, excavated at the Qi capital of Linzi and on display at the Museum of the Ancient city of Linzi, remains unpublished.

<sup>52</sup> E.g., in the case of the Chen Hou Wu-*gui* in the National Palace Museum, Taipei (*Yin Zhou jinwen jicheng* 8.4145).

<sup>53</sup> Similar *mingqi* ceramics have also been unearthed from other tombs in the surroundings of the Yan capital, e.g., from Tomb 30 at Xinzhuangtou, Yi Xian (Hebei Sheng Wenwu Yanjiusuo 1996: 685-705).

<sup>54</sup> Zhao Huacheng 1993 (q.v. for further references). On the corresponding ceramic *mingqi*, see He Yong 1989. See also Miyamoto 2000: 206-19.



## CHAPTER NINE

# THE MERGING OF THE LOWER ÉLITE WITH THE COMMONER CLASSES (CA. 600-221 BC)

THE SOCIAL DEVELOPMENTS described in the preceding chapter had the effect of demoting the vast majority of the ranked élite from the upper stratum of a two-tiered society, dominated by the contrast between the ranked and commoner members of its constituent lineages, to a newly created middle layer sandwiched between the increasingly powerful rulers above and the unranked commoners below. Having traced the formation of the hermetic upper boundary of this middle social layer (and of the aggravated gender differences within it), I shall now approach it from the opposite end by looking at the borderline between the ranked élite and the commoner stratum. Once again, the chronological parameters for this analysis extend from the Middle Springs and Autumns to the end of the Warring States. During this period, as in earlier centuries, the only commoners attested archaeologically are those who, as members of ranked lineages, were eligible for burial at lineage cemeteries. The lowest-ranking social groups continue to remain invisible.

At the cemeteries from the first half of the “Age of Confucius,” scrutinized in Chapters Two and Three, the distinction between the lower élite and unranked commoners was clearly marked by rank-specific kinds of burial furniture and funerary goods. From Middle Springs and Autumns period onward, however, this distinction was gradually dissolved. As a consequence, rank differences among tombs below the level of the heads of dominant lineages were much more indistinctly marked than heretofore. Although *prima facie* a development internal to the Zhou funerary system, this process invites interpretation as a reflection of general social trends, including the obsolescence of the earlier aristocratic hierarchy, the loss of the legitimizing significance of its ancestral cult, and the vast expansion of commercial activity. The present chapter surveys the archaeological evidence for these developments.

In Qin, as discussed in Chapter Seven, the dissolution of the distinction between lower élite and commoner tombs occurred quite suddenly, coinciding approximately with Shang Yang’s abolition of the old lineage order in

the mid-fourth century BC. Even though other major kingdoms are known to have instituted comprehensive political reforms as well, and indeed long before Qin,<sup>1</sup> comparably radical transformations of funerary customs are not observable in those kingdoms. In part this may be due to insufficient evidence—cemetery data from Qi, for instance, that could verify whether any change occurred in the material record about the time of Guan Zhong's alleged reforms in the mid-seventh century BC have simply not been reported so far. In part also, it may be that most polities retained the traditional lineages as their social building blocks even after undergoing comprehensive administrative reforms. That this was not done in Qin may have had to do with the heterogeneity of the population there, which may well have included a fair proportion of indigenous non-Zhou Others, and in the course of the Warring States period came to include a large number of immigrants from more easterly parts of the Zhou culture sphere. Here Shang Yang's reforms arguably brought about a leveling of differences that might otherwise have become a source of social instability.

As with the high élite investigated in Chapter Eight, the lower élite and commoner segments of lineages, from Middle Springs and Autumns through Warring States times, are best documented in the southern kingdom of Chu.<sup>2</sup> Proponents of the notion of a distinct "Chu civilization" might argue that an analysis of social relationships built on Chu materials is not likely to be representative for Eastern Zhou China as a whole, but the comparison of Chu archaeological remains with those of its more distinctively non-Zhou neighbors in Chapter Six, as well as our discussion of high-élite Chu tombs in Chapter Eight, have sufficiently demonstrated that such a claim has little merit. In fact, the ritual order reflected in the funerary customs of the Chu area, the lower social end of which will be scrutinized below, is simply a local version of the ritual order in other parts of the Zhou culture sphere. At the end of this chapter our comparisons with other areas will confirm that Chu differed no more from the northern polities than the northern polities differed from each other.

## EASTERN ZHOU CHU CEMETERIES

About 10,000 Chu tombs have been excavated so far: at least 4,000 in Hubei, more than 4,000 in Hunan, and hundreds more in Henan, Anhui, and, most

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<sup>1</sup> See Chapter Seven, n. 55.

<sup>2</sup> The present chapter presents, in differently structured form, the much longer argument in Falkenhausen 2003a: 454-94.

recently, Chongqing.<sup>3</sup> Monograph reports have been published on four large datasets: the six cemeteries at Zhaojiahu in Dangyang (Hubei), with a total of 298 tombs;<sup>4</sup> the cemeteries of Yutaishan (558 tombs)<sup>5</sup> and Jiudian (597 tombs)<sup>6</sup> in Jiangling (Hubei); and a corpus of 2,048 Chu tombs at various places in the city of Changsha (Hunan).<sup>7</sup> The first three of these sites contain a small proportion (up to 18 percent) of Springs and Autumns-period tombs; but the vast majority of tombs reported date from the Warring States. The Zhaojiahu cemeteries are located not far from the large walled settlement at Jijiahu (in Zhijiang County), which may have served as the Chu capital for a time after the middle of the Springs and Autumns period.<sup>8</sup> Yutaishan and Jiudian are in the suburbs of the Warring States-period capital of Jinancheng; and Changsha was a flourishing metropolis in the Xiang River valley, an area that only became part of Chu kingdom during Warring States times.<sup>9</sup>

Aside from establishing the chronology of tombs in their respective cemeteries, the four reports usefully identify the rank order represented by the tombs. The Yutaishan report was the first in the history of Chinese archaeology to give precedence to the tomb owner's rank, as inferred from a variety of material parameters, over other criteria of classification. This method has since been refined in the other three reports. The following analysis is particularly indebted to the report on the Zhaojiahu cemeteries, which attempts a bold and sophisticated reconstruction of Eastern Zhou social dynamics. But since none of the four reports either covers an ancient cemetery in its entirety, or has endeavored to extract a statistically representative sample of tombs from its respective cemeteries, the relative numbers of tombs in each rank category may not exactly correspond to their actual proportions in society. As it is, the

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<sup>3</sup> For relatively recent figures, see Benshe (ed.) 1999: 283, 301, 257, 188-89; for the new data from Chongqing, see Beijing Daxue Kaogu Wenbo Xueyuan Sanxia Kaogudui and Chongqing Shi Zhong Xian Wenwu Guanlisuo 2003. Comprehensive studies on Chu tombs include Guo Dewei 1983a; 1995; Peng Hao 1982; Chen Zhenyu 1987; and many others.

<sup>4</sup> Hubei Sheng Yichang Diqu Bowuguan and Beijing Daxue Kaoguxue Xi 1982. This very important report was written by Gao Chongwen under the supervision of Yu Weichao.

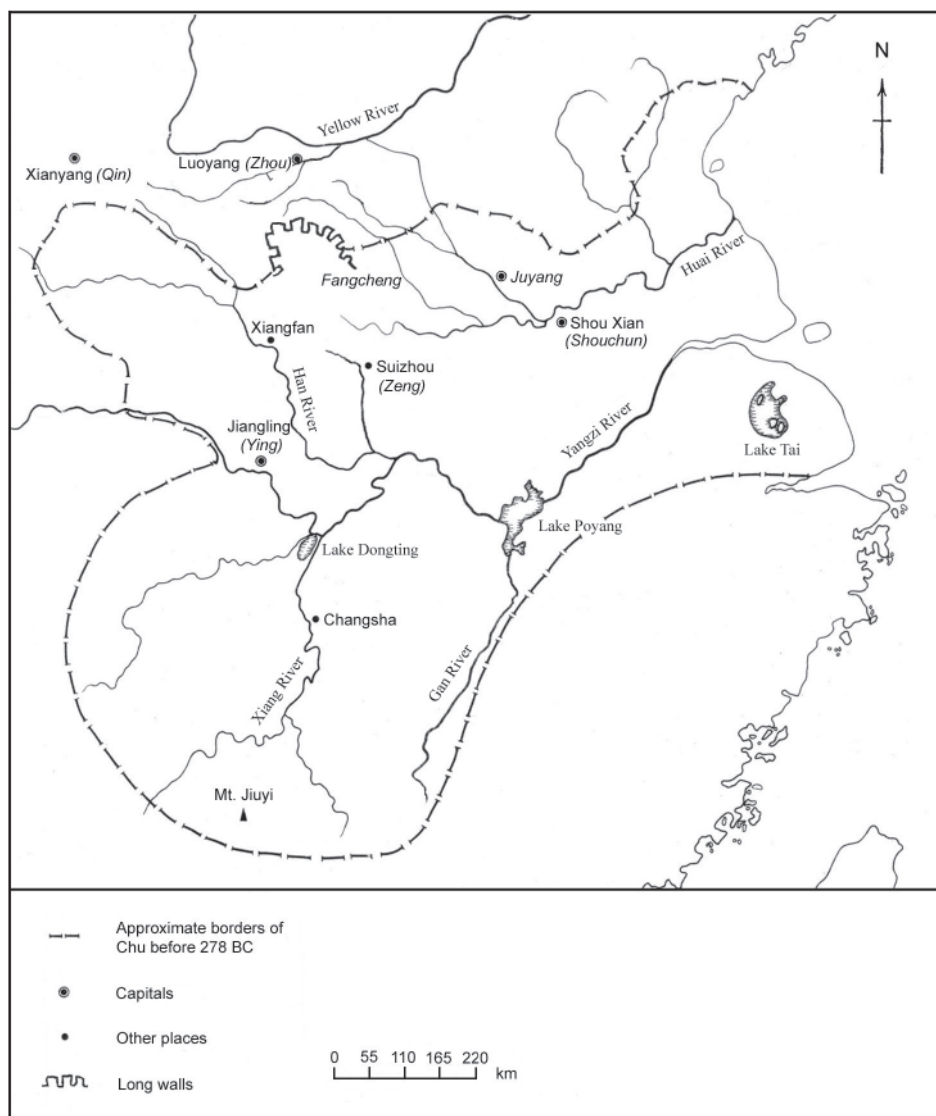
<sup>5</sup> Hubei Sheng Jingzhou Diqu Bowuguan 1984.

<sup>6</sup> Hubei Sheng Wenwu Kaogu Yanjiusuo 1995.

<sup>7</sup> Hunan Sheng Bowuguan, Hunan Sheng Wenwu Kaogu Yanjiusuo, Changsha Shi Bowuguan, and Changsha Shi Wenwu Kaogu Yanjiusuo 2000; see also Zhongguo Kexueyuan Kaogu Yanjiusuo 1957: 5-69.

<sup>8</sup> Hubei Sheng Bowuguan 1980b; Yang Quanxi 1980.

<sup>9</sup> See Wagner 1987.



**Map 20.** The Chu realm. Boundaries (except for those demarkated with a Long Wall) are approximate.

reports are likely merely to afford a comprehensive range of ranks, at least within a certain social compass.<sup>10</sup>

Collating the information from these reports and including additional evidence found in scattered journal articles, I have pieced together a tentative six-part rank sequence of Chu tombs below the level of the rulers and their immediate entourage. Since they represent neither the highest nor, probably, the lowest ranks in Chu society as a whole, I have labeled them with letters from the middle of the alphabet. This rank order is most comprehensively documented in the Chu core area in south-central Hubei, but the evidence from areas farther away—at northern sites such as Xiasi (discussed in Chapter Eight) and Xiangyang (on the Middle Han River in northern Hubei),<sup>11</sup> and at Changsha to the south (*Map 20*)—by and large fits into this scheme, with some interesting exceptions that call for interpretation. Here follows a brief enumeration of the privileges of the six ranks, first during the Springs and Autumns and then during the Warring States period. I agree with the authors of the four above-mentioned reports that the differences observable between the two periods illustrate social developments over time. While the discussion of previous chapters (especially Chapters Two and Eight) might lead us to suspect that some of the observable differences are due to gender rather than rank, the data have not, unfortunately, been reported in such a form as would permit testing this idea. For elucidation of the gender dimension one must await future excavations.

## SPRINGS AND AUTUMNS-PERIOD CHU TOMB RANKS

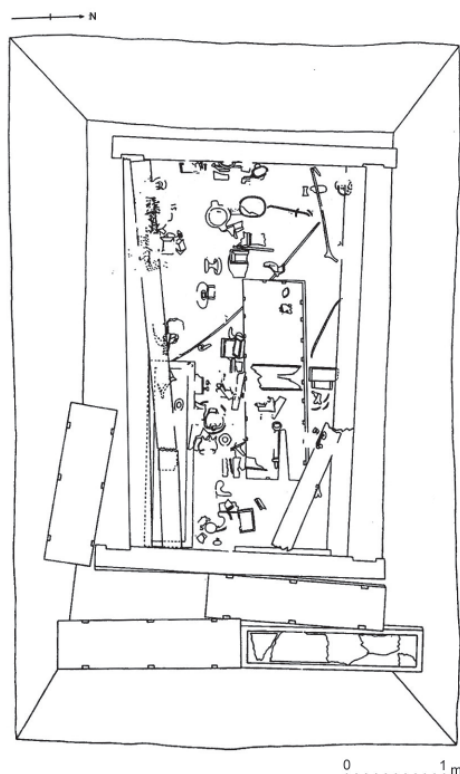
Tombs of *Rank M* have a burial chamber and two nested coffins. In this rank are the smaller bronze-yielding tombs at Xiasi (those lacking vessels of the “Special Assemblage;” see *Table 26*),<sup>12</sup> as well as two Springs and Autumns-period tombs

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<sup>10</sup> The Zhaojiahu report, for instance, excludes tombs of the higher élite strata, even though such tombs have in fact been found in at least one of the Zhaojiahu cemeteries (cf. Hubei Sheng Yichang Diqu Bowuguan 1988).

<sup>11</sup> Finds from a large necropolis at Yugang, Xiangyang, have been reported under three distinct toponyms: Shanwan (Hubei Sheng Bowuguan 1983; Chen Zhenyu and Yang Quanxi 1983; data from additional, as-yet-unreported tombs are incorporated in the tabulations by Chen Zhenyu 1987 and Gao Chongwen 1983), Caipo (Xiangyang Shoujie Yigong Yinong Kaogu Xunlianban 1976; Hubei Sheng Bowuguan 1985), and Tuanshan (Xiangfan Shi Bowuguan 1991). See also Yang Quanxi 1990 and 1993a.

<sup>12</sup> Henan Sheng Wenwu Yanjiusuo, Henan Sheng Danjiang Kuqu Kaogu Fajuedui, and Xichuan Xian Bowuguan 1991.



**Fig. 87.** Springs and Autumns-period tomb of Rank M: Tomb 4 at Zhaoxiang, Dangyang (Hubei). Middle Springs and Autumns period. Most of the furnishings are lost due to looting.

in the Dangyang area (Fig. 87).<sup>13</sup> Their sizes range from just under 15 to more than 30 square meters, suggesting that there may be additional subdivisions within this rather small group of relatively wealthy tombs. They invariably contain sets of bronze vessels of the “Ordinary Assemblage” (cf. Fig. 77), which may be complemented by lacquer vessels, funerary jades, musical instruments, and the symbolic chimeras known as “tomb-protecting beasts” (*zhenmushou*). Tombs of this size also regularly contain human victims.

Tombs of *Rank N* feature a burial chamber and a single coffin. Only a few Springs and Autumns-period examples of this rank have been reported from the

<sup>13</sup> These are Tomb 4 at Zhaoxiang (Yichang Diqu Bowuguan 1990) and Tomb 5 at Caojiagang (Hubei Sheng Yichang Diqu Bowuguan 1988).

surroundings of the Chu capitals;<sup>14</sup> they are better documented at cemeteries near Xiangyang.<sup>15</sup> Significantly smaller than those of Rank M, these tombs measure approximately 5-10 square meters (*Table 27; Fig. 88*). They contain sets of bronze vessels of the “Ordinary Assemblage” (but usually fewer pieces than Rank M tombs), as well as other prestige goods such as horse-and-chariot gear, but no funerary jades, *zhenmushou*, or human victims. Like Rank M tombs during this period, they usually yield no utilitarian ceramics.

Tombs of *Rank O* constitute a somewhat unusual subgroup, represented mostly at Zhaojiahu and documented only during Early and Middle Springs and Autumns (*Table 30; Fig. 89*). They also contain a burial chamber and a single coffin, but rarely measure more than 5 square meters (thus being smaller than those of Rank N), and they only contain some individual ritual vessels instead of sets. Interestingly, the vessel constellations do not conform to the “Ordinary Assemblage,” but for the most part feature conservative types such as the *gui* with horizontal ribbed decor (*wawen gui*) normally associated with the “Special Assemblage.” But these *gui* are of reduced size and relatively deficient workmanship, and most of them are not bronze, but ceramic; they are, in other words, *mingqi*. Aside from these, most of the vessels in such tombs are utilitarian kitchen vessels, which are generally not seen in tombs of Ranks M and N. All ceramic vessels found in tombs of Rank O are made of a polished black ware of far higher quality than that used in lesser-ranking tombs or for the Warring States-period *mingqi*. Tombs of this category feature no other luxury items or status-indicating objects.

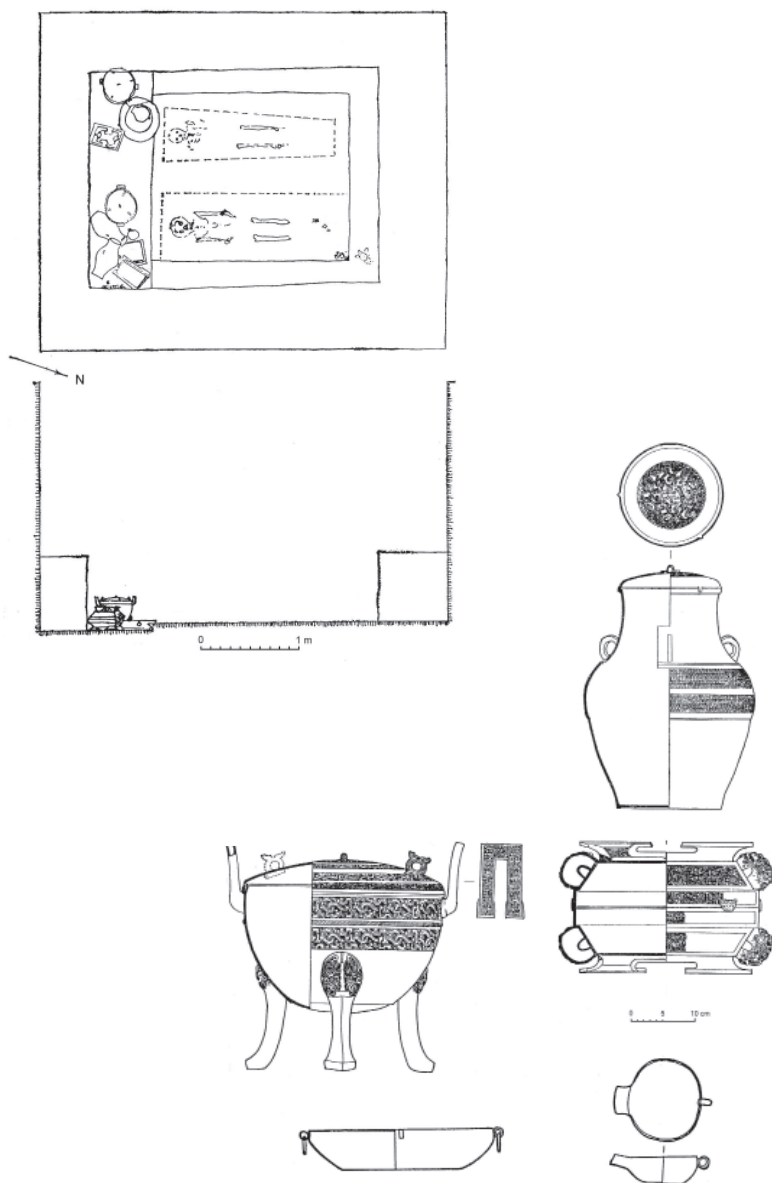
Tombs of *Rank P* also have a burial chamber and a single coffin, but they are much smaller than those of Ranks N and O, measuring approximately 2.6 square meters on average (*Table 30; Fig. 90*). These tombs are relatively numerous at cemeteries in south-central Hubei, but they have not been found elsewhere (e.g., at Xiangyang or Changsha). They contain sets of utilitarian vessels of the same kinds as in tombs of Rank O, sometimes made of the high-quality black-polished ware seen there, but more typically of a lesser, sand-tempered ware. After the late part of Middle Springs and Autumns, an occasional ritual vessel—made of lacquered wood, polished black ceramic, or metal (bronze or tin)—may occur, but sets of such vessels are never encountered in tombs of Rank P. Aside from vessels, these tombs typically yield no other artifacts.

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<sup>14</sup> Instances—mostly bronze-vessel assemblages for which the excavation conditions are reported incompletely if at all—include the finds from Dianyi, Dangyang (Yu Xiucui 1983); Gaoshanmiao, Zhijiang (Hubei Sheng Yichang Diqu Bowuguan 1989); Bailizhou, Zhijiang (Hubei Sheng Bowuguan 1972a), and Yueshan, Jiangling (Jingzhou Diqu Bowuguan 1982).

<sup>15</sup> See n. 11.



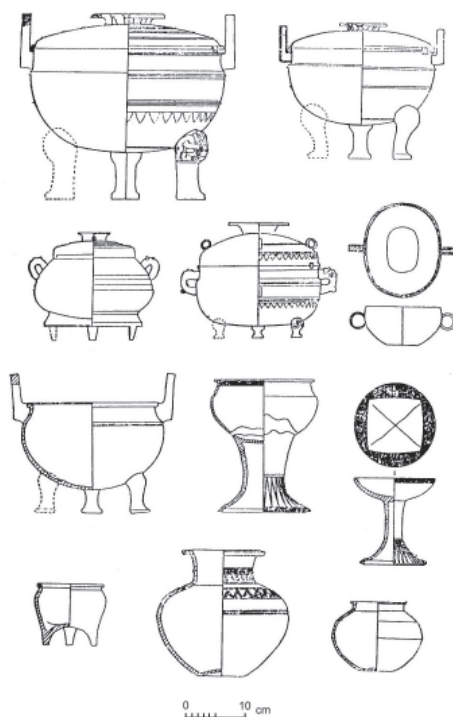
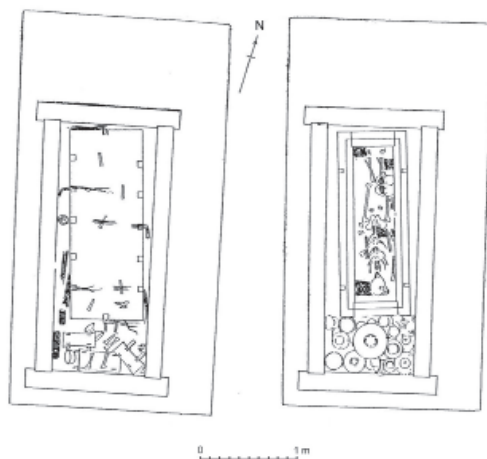


**Fig. 88.** Springs and Autumns-period tomb and assemblage of Rank N: Tomb 1 at Tuanshan, Xiangyang (Hubei). The bronze assemblage (representative examples of which are depicted) includes covered *ding*, *zunfou*, *bü*, *zunfou*, and a *pan*-and-*yi* set.

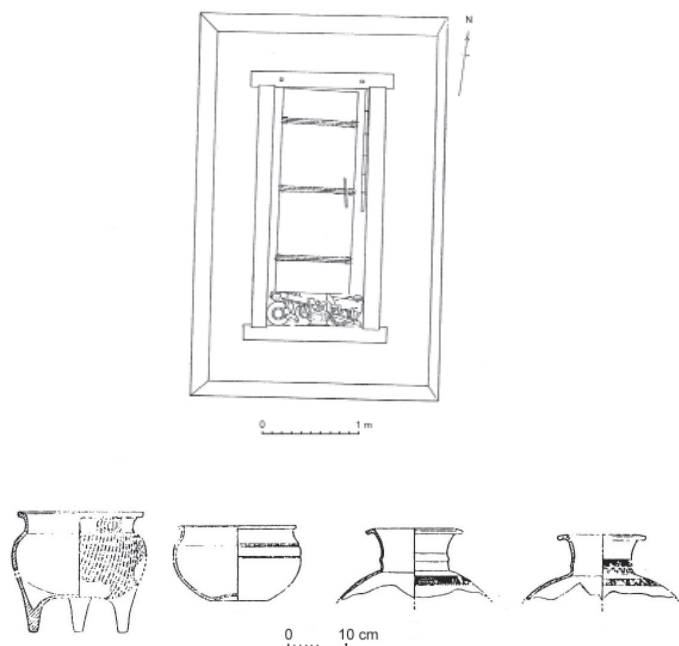
Table 30 Vessel Assemblages from Selected Springs and Autumns-Period Chu Tombs of Ranks O, P, and Q.

COUNTY SITE Tomb	Dangyang Zhaojiapang 1	Dangyang Zhaojiapang 3	Dangyang Jinjiasan 1-9	Dangyang Zhaojiapang 6	Dangyang Caojiagang 2	Dangyang Zhaojiapang 23	Dangyang Jinjiasan VI-235	Dangyang Zhaojiapang 27	Jiangling Jiudian 201	Jiangling Yutaishan 114	Jiangling Yutaishan 39
Condition	intact	intact	intact	intact	looted	intact	intact	intact	intact	intact	intact
Date	IECQ 7.7	eMCQ 16.5	IMCQ 9.5	IECQ 6.1	eMCQ 5.0	IMCQ 2.4	eLCQ 3.8	ILCQ 3.9	eECQ 1.4	MCQ 2.0	LCQ 1.6
Size (sq. m.)	O	O	O	P	P	P	P	P	Q	Q	Q
Rank											
FOOD VESSELS											
<i>li</i>	(6)	(9)	(9)	(4)	(1)	1	1			(1)	(1)
<i>dǐng</i>	(2)	1 (2)	2 (1)								
<i>gǔ</i>	(4)	2 (4)	2 (4)	(2)	(1)	(1)		(1)		(1)	(1)
<i>yú</i>			1			1					
<i>zhuān</i>							1				
<i>dǒu</i>	(2)	(4)	(4)	(4)	(1)	1	(2)	(1)	(2)	(1)	
<i>be*</i>			1								
WATER CONTAINERS/WASHING VESSELS											
<i>yǔfóu</i>											
<i>guān</i>	(4)	(4)	(3)	(2)	(1)	(1)	(1)	(1)	(2)	(1)	(1)
TOTALS	(18)	3(23)	6(21)	(12)	(4)	3(2)	2(3)	(3)	(4)	(4)	(3)

Figures in brackets are ceramics, unbracketed figures are bronzes. All sites in Hubei Province. Dating follows Hubei Sheng Yichang Diqu Bowuguan and Beijing Daxue Kaoguxue Xi 1982.



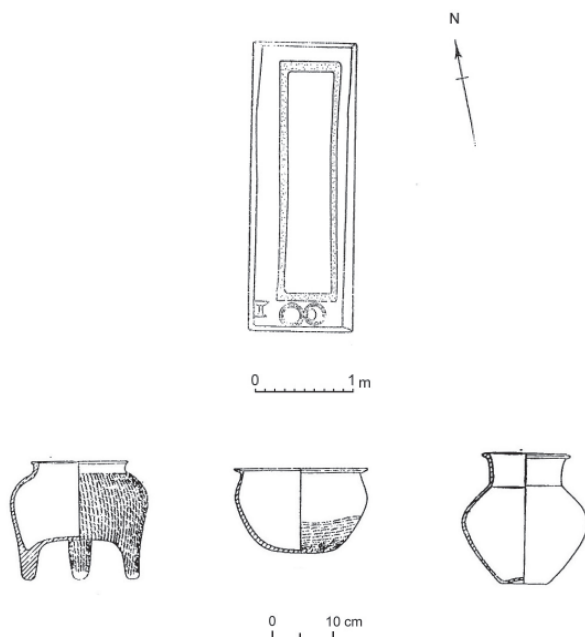
**Fig. 89.** Springs and Autumns-period tomb and assemblage of Rank O: Tomb JM9 at Jinjiashan, Dangyang (Hubei). The assemblage includes a bronze *gui* (second row, left), and ceramic covered *ding*, *zhan*, *he*\*, coverless *ding*, *dou*, a lacquered *dou*, *li*, and two varieties of *guan*.



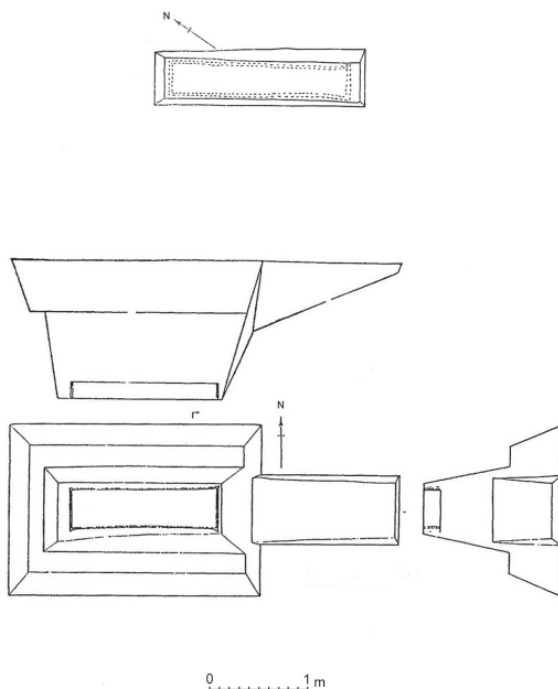
**Fig. 90.** Springs and Autumns-period tomb and assemblage of Rank P at Jinjiashan, Dangyang (Hubei): plan of Tomb JM2 and assemblage from Tomb JM1. The assemblage includes only ceramics: 1 *li*, 1 *pen*, and 2 *guan*.

Tombs of *Rank Q* lack a burial chamber, but they do have a coffin (*Table 30; Fig. 91*). They measure approximately 1.3 square meters on average, once again about half the size of tombs of the preceding rank. Burial goods are often placed in a niche in the wall of the tomb pit; they are virtually restricted to utilitarian ceramic vessels, most of the time of lower quality and always fewer than in tombs of Rank P.

Tombs of *Rank R* also lack a burial chamber, but the majority do hold a coffin (*Fig. 92*). These tombs contain no funerary goods. Lacking classifiable objects, they are not amenable to exact dating. At Zhaojiahu fifty-five tombs (18.5%; six of them lacking a coffin) fall into this category. Some scholars argue that they exemplify “social polarization” in the Warring States (see below). But at Zhaojiahu they are entirely absent from tomb clusters containing exclusively Warring States-period tombs, and at the predominantly Warring States-period cemeteries at Yutaishan and Jiudian their proportion is very small (2.5 percent and 4.5 percent, respectively; these figures should, however, be treated with caution). These findings suggest that many Rank R tombs may be, in fact, of Springs and Autumns date. But at least a few of them undoubtedly do date from



**Fig. 91.** Springs and Autumns-period tomb and assemblage of Rank Q at Jinjiashan, Dangyang (Hubei): plan of Tomb JM113 and assemblage from Tomb JM164. The assemblage includes “Chu-style *li*,” *pen*, and *guan*.



**Fig. 92.** Tombs of Rank R: Tombs JM80 and JM138 at Jinjiashan, Dangyang (Hubei). Eastern Zhou period (due to the lack of funerary goods, the exact date of these tombs cannot be determined.)

the Warring States—at least those exceptional instances that feature sloping entry ramps (*mudao*) (cf. Chapter Seven).

## WARRING STATES-PERIOD DEVELOPMENTS

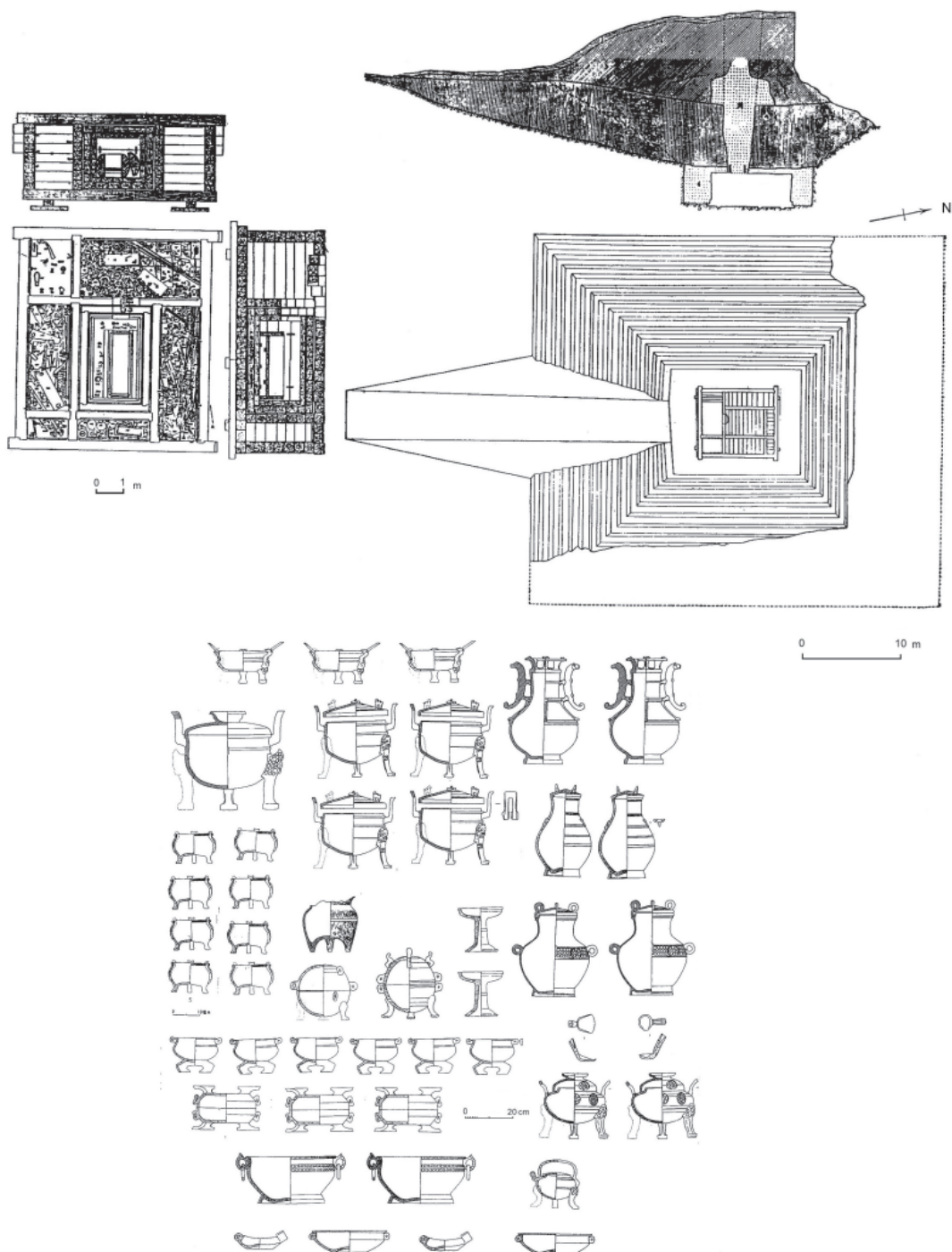
During the Warring States period this hierarchy and the correlation of tomb sizes with burial furniture remained basically constant. There were, however, some alterations in tomb shape and notable changes in the choice and quantity of funerary goods. Probably the most significant of these overall tendencies is the prevalence of *mingqi*, which, as noted in Chapter Eight, now occur to some extent even in tombs of the highest, “Special Assemblage”-owning, aristocratic ranks (Fig. 93) that fall outside of the social spectrum of the present chapter’s analysis. In addition, tomb passages and mounds become more and more common even in tombs of low ranks.

In *Rank M* tombs vessel assemblages now mostly consist of *mingqi* imitating the shape of Springs and Autumns-period bronzes of the “Ordinary Assemblage” and made of grayish-yellow sand-tempered ware quite similar to that used for contemporaneous utilitarian ceramics (Table 31; Fig. 94). These are complemented by “real” items of household use, which were chosen to serve the deceased person’s needs during the passage into the afterworld:<sup>16</sup> lacquered eating vessels, bolts of silk, clothing, accessories (e.g., belt-hooks and mirrors), lamps, as well as figurines; written manuscripts also figure among such items (cf. Chapter Seven). Human victims are still seen in some Warring States-period tombs of this category, sometimes in association with figurines, belying the oft-repeated notion that the rationale for the invention of figurines was to “replace” the sacrifice of real human beings.<sup>17</sup>

No difference between Ranks N and O is perceptible from the Late Springs and Autumns period onward; I therefore consider them as one rank (*Rank N/O*), without attempting to decide whether this indicates a social decline of the erstwhile Rank N or a rise of Rank O. These tombs are characterized by a burial chamber with a single coffin and the presence of a relatively large number of burial goods (Table 31; Fig. 95). In contrast to their Springs and

<sup>16</sup> Cf. Lai Guolong 2002.

<sup>17</sup> In fact, figurines were part of the new concept of the tomb as a microcosmic representation of the world of the living, outlined in Chapter Seven. The sacrifice of human victims, by contrast, belonged to the earlier tradition of funerary practices going back to the Late Neolithic (Huang Zhanyue 1990). It is true that this custom greatly decreased in importance as a result of the new religious conceptions introduced during Eastern Zhou times; but it did not completely disappear even during Imperial times (see Ebner von Eschenbach 2003).



**Fig. 93.** Warring States-period tomb and assemblage of members of the highest aristocratic rank: plan of Tomb 2 at Baoshan, Jingmen (Hubei) and assemblage from Tomb 89 (Liuchengqiao Tomb 1) at Changsha (Hunan). The *mingqi* assemblage includes 3 *sheng*, 5 covered *ding*, 8 *li*, 1 *yan*, 6 *gui*, 3 *bü*, 2 *dui*, 2 *dou* (possibly for use as lamps), pairs of *fangbü*, round *bü*, *zunfou*, and *yufou*, 2 *yuding*, 2 *jian*, 1 *jiaobe+*, and 2 *pan-and-yi* sets.



Autumns-period antecedents, genuine bronze vessels are absent or rare; every tomb contains a set of ceramic *mingqi* ritual vessels, which are typologically identical to (though fewer in number than) those seen in contemporaneous Warring States tombs of Rank M, while differing starkly in both shape and material from those seen in Springs and Autumns-period tombs of Rank O. As in Springs and Autumns-period tombs of Rank N, no ceramic vessels of utilitarian types are seen. Bronze weapons, funerary jades, *zhenmushou*, and household items occur, but no human victims.

In *Rank P* tombs, as well, ceramic *mingqi* ritual vessels representing the “Ordinary Assemblage” became ubiquitous during the Warring States period, replacing the former utilitarian vessels (*Table 31*; *Fig. 96*). Few tombs of this rank, however, contain a set of vessels corresponding even to the most basic assemblage needed for an ancestral sacrifice. Belt-hooks and some household items are also present; *zhenmushou* are rare. Aside from three possible instances at Xiangyang, tombs of this rank remained virtually confined to the Chu metropolitan area around Zhijiahu and Jinancheng; they are apparently absent at Changsha.

The burial chamber-less *Rank Q* tombs now contain individual *mingqi* ritual vessels (again of the “Ordinary Assemblage”), but never, at least initially, as many as needed to constitute a ritual set (*Table 31*; *Fig. 97*). Yutaishan and Jiudian also feature several Warring States-period tombs lacking coffins but containing utilitarian ceramic assemblages (and sometimes a sword); these may be provisionally subsumed under Rank Q, though they could equally be considered as a richer manifestation of Rank R. *Rank R* tombs are still defined as those without any funerary goods; as mentioned, the extent of their prevalence in the Warring States period is unclear.

Weapons, virtually absent in Springs and Autumns-period tombs from Rank M down, occur in about 44 percent of all Warring States-period Chu tombs. They are interpreted as indicators of male tomb occupants, which seems plausible, even though no skeletal data are available to confirm this. Their distribution would seem to indicate that all but the very poorest male lineage members in Warring States-period Chu were armed, possibly in contrast with their antecedents in Springs and Autumns times. It is very tempting to read this as a reflection in the ritual realm of an ongoing militarization of society, though another possible explanation may be that swords had long figured among the personal accoutrements that were only now beginning to be included in tombs as a result of changed religious conceptions. It is clear, in any case, that the possession of weapons was no longer governed by ritual or status restrictions.

Table 31. Vessel Assemblages from Selected Warring States-Period Chu Tombs of Ranks M, N/O, P, and Q.

COUNTY	Jiangling	Jiangling	Jiangling	Dangyang	Jiangling	Dangyang	Jiangling	Dangyang	Dangyang	Jiangling
SITE	Tengdian	Jiudian	Jiudian	Jinjiashan	Jiudian	Jinjiashan	Jiudian	Jinjiashan	Jinjiashan	Jiudian
Tomb	1	194	267	VIII-55	410	VII-94	26	II-237	II-210	II-183
Date	MZG	IMZG	eEZG	eMZG	eLZG	IEZG	IMZG	eLZG	EZG	eMZG
Size	148	12.5	8.4	5.5	5.6	3.3	4.3	3.9	1.7	2.5
Rank	M	M	N/O	N/O	N/O	P	P	P	Q	Q
FOOD VESSELS										
<i>ding</i>	2(5)	2(2)	(2)	(4)	(4)	(1)	(2)	(2)		(1)
<i>li</i>										
<i>bī</i>	(2)		(2)	(1)	(2)					(1)
<i>dui</i>	(2)		(1)	(1)		(1)	(2)	(1)		
<i>dou</i>	(11)[2]	2	(2)					(2)		(1)
<i>qi</i>	2									
<i>he*</i>	(1)	(1)	(1)	(1)			(1)			
LIQUOR CONTAINERS AND DRINKING VESSELS										
<i>bei</i>	17									
<i>bī</i>	2(2)	2	(4)	(2)		(1)	(2)	(2)	(1)	(1)
<i>fang</i>										
<i>zunfou</i>	(2)	(2)	(2)		(2)			(1)		
ladle		1		1						
WATER CONTAINERS/WASHING VESSELS										
<i>yufou</i>	(1)	(1)		(1)				(1)		
<i>pan</i>	1(1)	(1)	(1)		(1)	(1)	(1)			(1)
<i>yi</i>	1(1)	(1)	(1)		(1)					
<i>yuding</i>	(1)	(1)		(1)			(1)			
basin								(1)	(1)	
TOTALS	8(29)[9]	7(9)	(16)	1(11)	(10)	(4)	(9)	(10)	(2)	(3)
										(4)

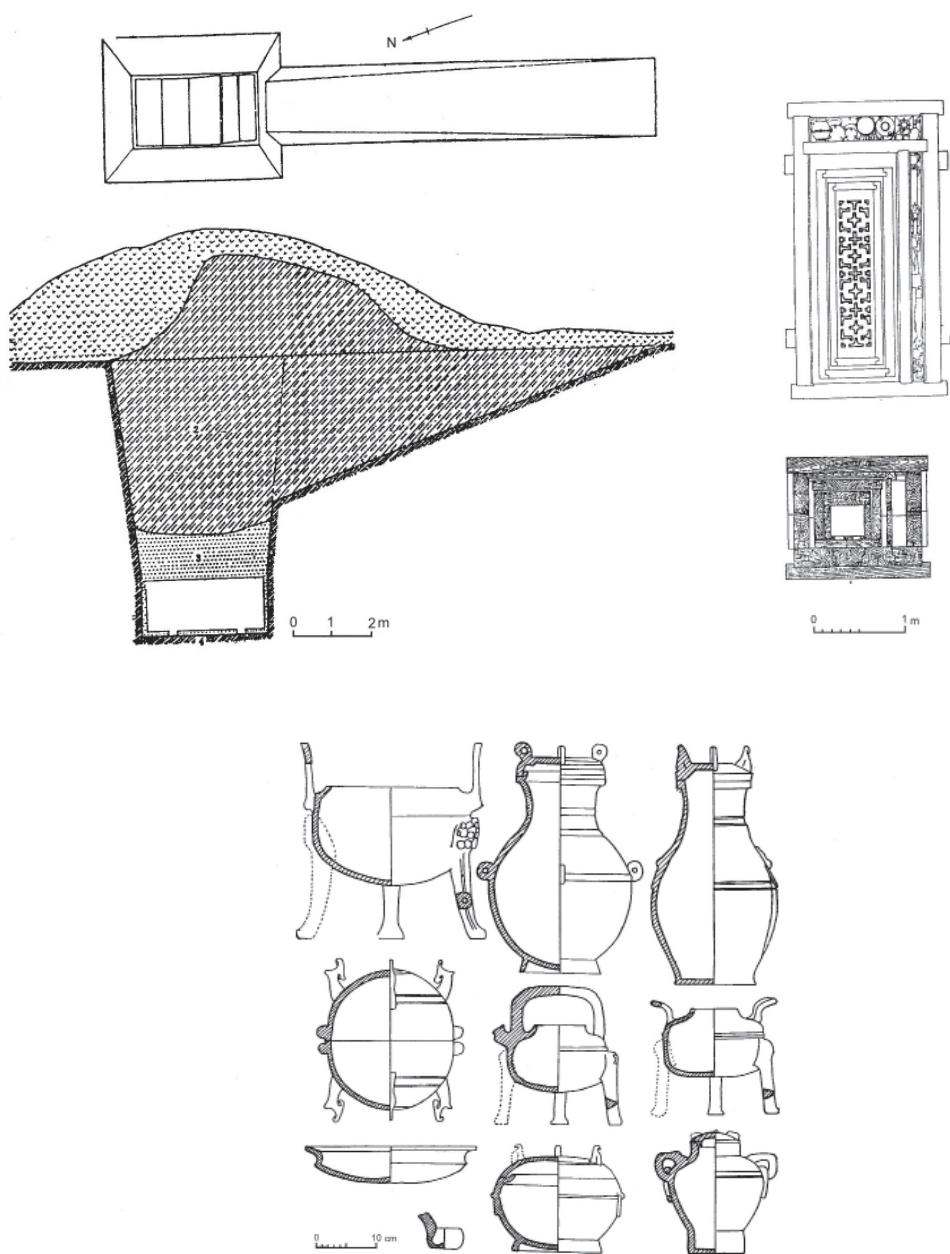
Figures in round brackets are ceramics, in square brackets lacquer; unbracketed figures are bronzes. All sites in Hubei province.

## SOCIAL INTERPRETATION

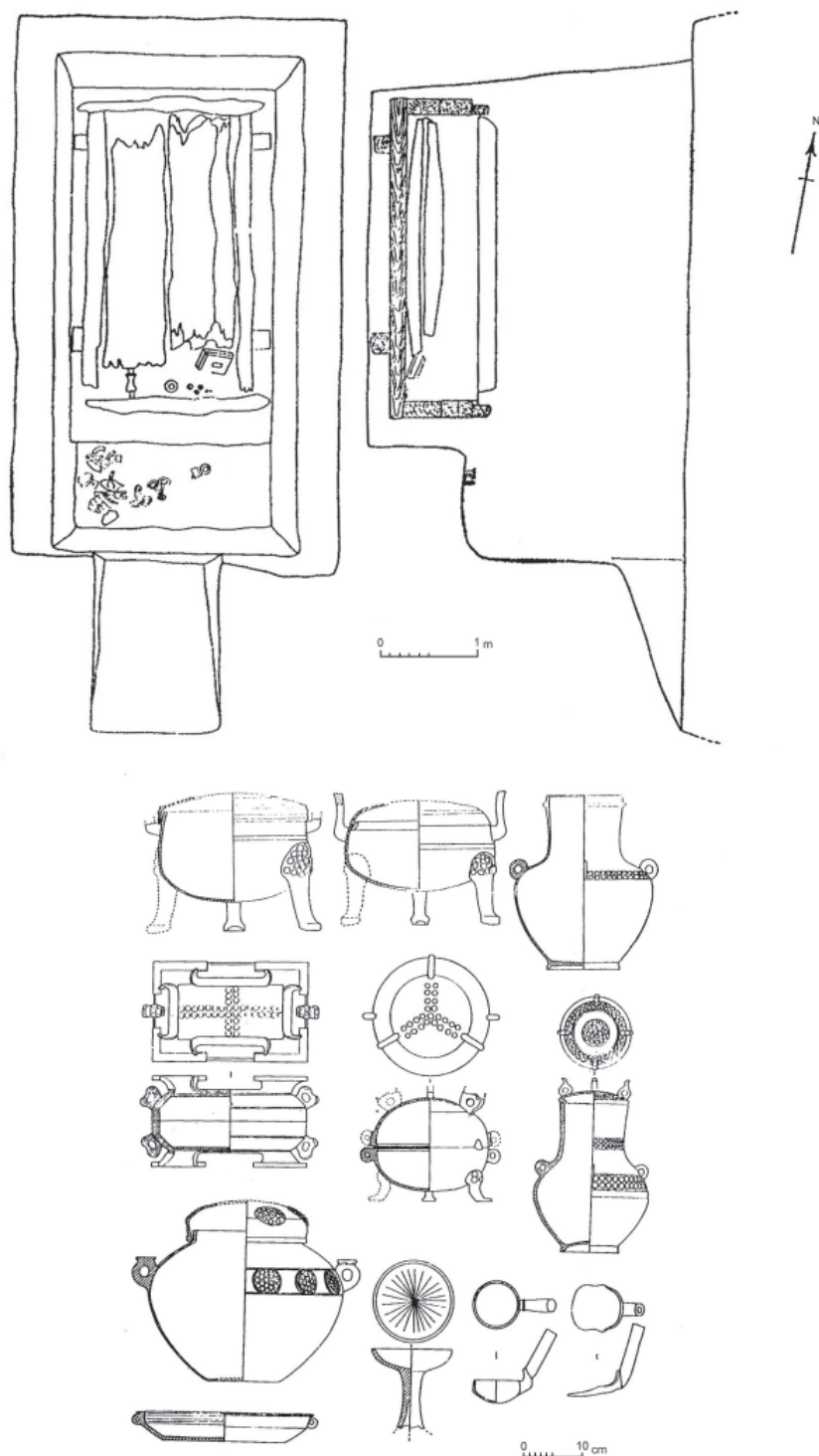
From this enumeration we gain one overall impression: tombs at lineage cemeteries in Chu tended to be far more luxuriously furnished than those in North China (e.g., Shangma, discussed in Chapter Three). For instance, during the Springs and Autumns period, at least in the environs of the Chu capitals, the proportion of tombs with burial chambers seems to be greater than anywhere in North China, though that impression may be due at least in part to selective excavation. Springs and Autumns-period Chu cemeteries, like those in North China, contain “bronze-yielding tombs” and “ceramic-yielding tombs,” but in Chu “bronze-yielding tombs” often yield no ceramics at all, whereas their northern counterparts usually contain at least one kitchen vessel. Moreover, it seems that in Chu during the Springs and Autumns period, individuals entitled to use bronze vessels were usually buried with a full set of them; there are no conspicuous examples in Chu (as there are at Shangma) of tombs with burial chambers and nested coffins but no bronzes. And unlike Shangma, Chu tombs with burial chambers and single coffins but no bronzes are routinely smaller than those that do contain bronzes, suggesting that the difference reflects sumptuary rank distinctions. There is no indication that Chu funerary assemblages were reduced due to ritual “parsimony,” as might have been the case at Shangma and other northern sites. It is unclear whether the higher incidence of bronzes in Chu tombs bespeaks greater overall prosperity, or the rich metal resources of the Yangzi River basin, or a slightly different understanding of ritual priorities; or whether it simply reflects the incompleteness of presently available evidence. In the Warring States period, at any rate, such differences in tomb wealth between Chu and its northern neighbors faded away as *mingqi* use proliferated everywhere; the reason for this was, of course, neither economic decline nor the exhaustion of metal resources, but the Zhou-wide changes in religious beliefs outlined in Chapter Seven.

In Springs and Autumns-period Chu, the overall category of tombs with burial chambers and single coffins comprises three ranks: Ranks N, O, and P. Among these, only Rank N contained sets of non-*mingqi* vessels suitable for use in ancestral sacrifices. More significantly, all three ranks are markedly differentiated by size. This is another difference from the tomb hierarchies at contemporaneous cemeteries in North China, and its interpretation has been a matter of some debate. Were only the occupants of Rank N tombs members of the ranked élite, while those of Ranks O and P were commoners who had usurped élite privileges? Or were the latter members of élite lineages who had descended into poverty? Different answers have been suggested to these questions;<sup>18</sup> archaeological evidence by its very nature cannot resolve them

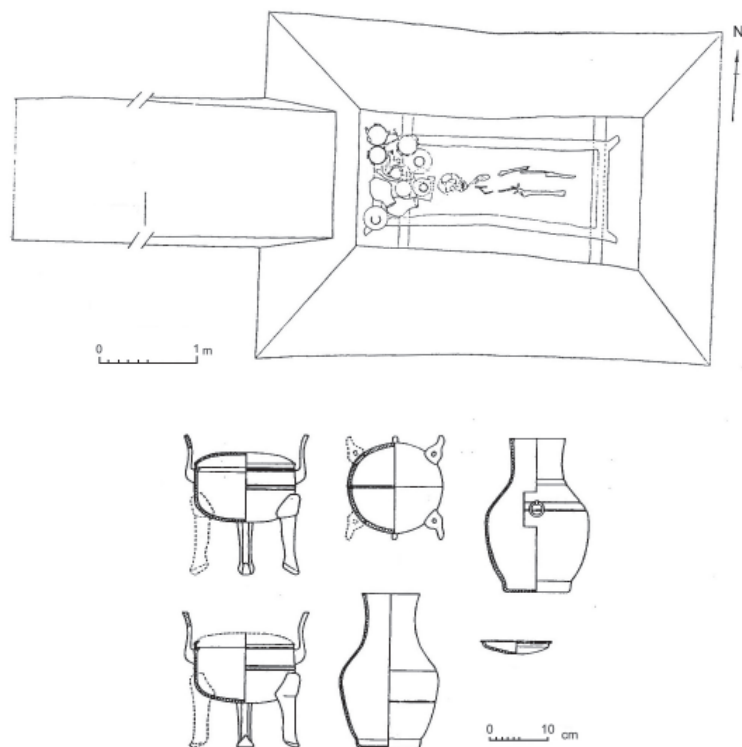
<sup>18</sup> Hubei Sheng Yichang Diqu Bowuguan and Beijing Daxue Kaoguxue Xi 1982;



**Fig. 94.** Warring States-period tomb and assemblage of Rank M: Tomb 555 at Yutaishan, Jiangling (Hubei). The assemblage includes *ding* (cover missing), *dui*, *be#*, *bú*, *zunfou*, *yufou*, *yuding*, *jiaobe+*, *pan*, ladle.



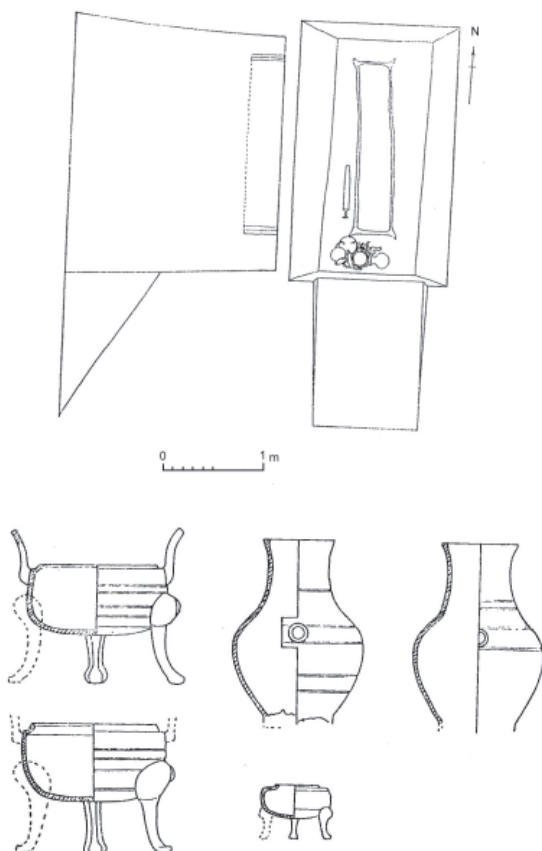
**Fig. 95.** Warring States-period tomb and assemblage of Rank N/O: plan of Tomb YM2 at Yangjiashan, Dangyang (Hubei) and assemblage from Tomb JM229 at Jinjiashan, Dangyang (Hubei). The assemblage includes covered *ding*, *dui*, *bü*, *dou* (perhaps used as lamp), *bü*, *zunfou*, *yufou*, *pan*, spoon, ladle.



**Fig. 96.** Warring States-period tomb and assemblage of Rank P: plan of Tomb JM69 and assemblage from Tomb JM 168 at Jinjiashan, Dangyang (Hubei). The assemblage includes covered *ding*, *gui*, *hu* (or *zunfou*), *pan*.

conclusively. Another riddle is the interpretation of the enigmatic assemblages of ritual vessels in tombs of Rank O, which contrast with those in Rank N tombs in material, usability, and typological filiation. The presence in these tombs (and also in a small number of Rank P tombs) of the otherwise obsolescent *gui* (more precisely, of *wawen*-decorated *gui* closely resembling their Late Western Zhou prototypes), and of nine-part sets of miniature coverless ceramic *ding*, evokes associations with the “Special Assemblage” vessels seen in contemporaneous tombs of incomparably higher rank. In Rank O and Rank P tombs the presence of such objects suggests not participation in the rarefied ritual practices involving such objects, but perhaps a certain connoisseurship that perceived the accoutrements of old and prestigious ritual traditions as

Gao Yingqin and Wang Guanghao 1982; Gao Yingqin 1991. For important related considerations, see also Guo Dewei 1983a, 1985, 1987.



**Fig. 97.** Warring States-period tomb and assemblage of Rank Q: Tomb JM35 at Jinjiashan, Dangyang (Hubei). The assemblage includes *ding* (covers missing), *bú* (or *zunfou*), *yuding*.

valuable in and of themselves. These were, in other words, conversation pieces rather than functioning ritual vessels. One might even regard their occurrence at this low rank level as possible evidence of the subjection of ritual (especially of the royal Zhou ritual institutions) to philosophical interpretation that was beginning in Springs and Autumns times. Its practitioners formed, it seems, a particular and perhaps small social group, lodged at the interstice of the ranked élite and the commoner population. To call them a “middle-class intelligentsia” would be anachronistic as well as inexact, though the virtual limitation of Springs and Autumns-period tombs of Ranks O and P to the environs of the Chu capital suggests that this social group may have been a specifically metropolitan phenomenon. Unfortunately, the tombs have yielded no finds that



might support speculation about the professional occupations of the members of this group. In any case, the diversification of tombs whose commonality was the burial-chamber-and-single-coffin constellation of burial furniture seems to illustrate that the distinction between the ranked élite and commoner segments of Chu lineages was dissolving.

Whereas in Springs and Autumns-period contexts—whether in Chu or elsewhere—the presence of a burial chamber seems to be a fairly reliable indicator of élite rank, this ceases to be the case in the Warring States. In fact, one notes (cautiously, considering the lack of statistically representative data) that the proportion of tombs with wooden burial chambers seems to increase over time—greatly at Yutaishan and somewhat less dramatically at Jiudian. Rather than indicating an expansion of the ranked élite segments of lineages, this would seem to suggest that burial chambers were increasingly acquired by people whose social position would not have previously qualified them for such trappings of élite status. Like the ubiquitous use of ritual vessels (albeit in *mingqi* form), this is another indication that the once all-important dividing line between élite and commoner members of lineages had become irrelevant.

In Chu tombs of all ranks in the Warring States period the quantity and variety of funerary goods increased notably, though given the prevalence of *mingqi*, their material value declined. More significantly, tombs of all ranks came to have an increasingly uniform *range* of contents. Reflecting the new religious ideas characterized in Chapter Seven, sundry objects of household use that were not governed by any sumptuary rules at all were now placed in tombs of all ranks, except for Rank R. Whereas the Springs and Autumns-period evidence shows a clear contrast between tombs containing ritual vessels (Ranks M and N) and tombs with utilitarian vessels (Ranks P and Q)—with Rank O ambiguously furnished—this contrast dissolved in the Warring States period, when ritual vessels, now reduced to *mingqi*, penetrated into tombs of all ranks down to Rank Q, and utilitarian vessels disappeared entirely. This was a gradual process, first seen in tombs of relatively high status during the Late Springs and Autumns and reaching down to all levels by Middle Warring States (this is particularly clear at Jiudian, but also at Zhaojiahu). In Springs and Autumns-period contexts, ritual vessels—whether “real” or *mingqi*—were material manifestations of the religious privileges of the ranked élite; in the Warring States they seem to have lost this meaning. The earlier qualitative differences between élite and non-élite funerary paraphernalia (sets of bronze vessels vs. ceramic kitchen vessels) disappeared; instead, quantitative factors—tomb size and the opulence of non-*mingqi* funerary goods—became the main criterion for determining the rank order of tombs. In other words, economic wealth superseded ritual and descent-based rank as the principal criterion for drawing social distinctions. These

distinctions were still reflected in, but no longer defined by, differences in the number of (*mingqi*) funerary vessels.

## CORRELATION WITH TEXTUAL DATA

To what specific classes in Eastern Zhou society did these different ranks of tombs correspond? For the Warring States period this question might be answerable; the order of social ranks described in contemporaneous texts,<sup>19</sup> even though idealizing and prescriptive rather than descriptive of social reality, doubtless bears at least some relationship to that reality. In the absence of comparable texts from before the fifth century BC, it is much less certain, however, whether this rank order can be projected back into earlier parts of the Zhou period, as Chinese archaeologists routinely assume. Even for the Warring States period the answer is not altogether clear-cut, because the number of archaeologically definable ranks exceeds that of basic social categories mentioned in the texts, but is smaller than the number of possible subdivisions of these categories.

I have tabulated various attempts by Chinese scholars to correlate tomb ranks and textually attested social classes (*Table 32*).<sup>20</sup> They all assign tomb ranks primarily on the basis of *mingqi* vessel assemblages in Warring States tombs, which they interpret in terms of the textually transmitted sumptuary order (see *Table 4*, Part I). In Springs and Autumns-period tombs, of course, comparable vessel assemblages are lacking (and the sets of bronzes seen in tombs of Ranks M and N, belonging to the “Ordinary Assemblage,” show little conformity to the received sumptuary rules). But since the gradation of tomb sizes remained constant throughout Eastern Zhou, the authors feel justified in determining the rank of Springs and Autumns-period tombs on the basis of the number of *mingqi* in Warring States-period tombs of equivalent size. Moreover, they

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<sup>19</sup> Warring States-period texts furnish two different and ultimately incompatible rank-ordering systems. One, used throughout the *Zhou li* and also alluded to in many other texts (such as the *Zuo zhuan*), comprises the ranks of *Tianzi* (“Son of Heaven”), *qing* (“minister”), *daifu* (“magnate”), *shi* (“gentleman”), and *shuren/shumin* (“commoner”) and is centered upon an idealized royal Zhou court; its origins date back to the Late Western Zhou Ritual Reform. The other, found (among other texts) in *Li ji* “Wangzhi” (*Shisanjing zhushu* 11.93, p. 1321), comprises the ranks of *wang* (“king”), *gong* (“duke”) *hou* (“marquis”), *zi* (“viscount”), and *nan* (“baron”) and seems to be an intellectual artifact of late Eastern Zhou derivation. Scholarly attempts to interpret the social significance of archaeological remains invariably refer to the first of these two schemes.

<sup>20</sup> Different schemes are given in each of the four major archaeological reports mentioned above; see also Gao Yingqin and Wang Guanghao 1982; Gao Yingqin 1991.

**Table 32.** Proposed Correlations of Tomb Ranks and Social Ranks at Zhaojiahu

Tomb Rank	Number of <i>mingqi ding</i>	ALTERNATIVE I ( <i>Zhaojiabu</i> report*)	ALTERNATIVE II (Gao Yingqin & Wang Guanghao 1982)	ALTERNATIVE III (Gao Yingqin 1991)
N/O	4-5	Upper Gentlemen	Gentlemen	Gentlemen
P	3	Middle/Lower Gent.	Commoners	Commoners
Q	0-2	Commoners	“	“
R		Paupers	Paupers/Slaves	Paupers/Slaves

Rank categories as defined in this chapter; the number of *mingqi ding* refers to assemblages in Warring States tombs only.  
\* Hubei Yichang Diqu Bowuguan and Beijing Daxue Kaoguxue Xi 1982.

universally assume some degree of ritual usurpation, so that in their correlations sets of five *mingqi ding*, encountered in many Warring States-period tombs of Rank N/O, do not indicate (as sets of five bronze *ding* are said to have done according to the transmitted sumptuary rules) individuals of *daifu* (“Magnate”) rank, but at best highly placed members of the *shi* (“Gentleman”) class—the lowest rank in the elite ladder. This assumption seems in general justified, even though some Springs and Autumns-period tombs of Rank M yielded inscriptional evidence suggesting that the social position of their occupants may have been quite high.<sup>21</sup> The divergence among the various tabulations arises from disagreement as to whether the presence of a burial chamber or of sets of ritual bronzes should be taken as the key archaeological criterion for distinguishing between ranked elite members and unranked commoners.<sup>22</sup> This bears chiefly

<sup>21</sup> E.g., in the Late Springs and Autumns-period inscriptions on the two Hua Zi Meng Mi Qing-*bū* from Tomb 1 at Xujialing, Xichuan (Henan) (Henan Sheng Wenwu Kaogu Yanjiusuo, Nanyang Diqu Wenwu Kaogu Yanjiusuo, and Xichuan Xian Bowuguan 2004: 23-26), and on the Wangsun Bao-*bū*, found in the “associated pit” of Tomb 5 at Caojiagang, Dangyang (Hubei) (Hubei Sheng Yichang Diqu Bowuguan 1988: 494-96; *Yin Zhou jinwen jicheng* 9.4501; for a critique of previous interpretations, see Falkenhausen 2003b: 461-62); both of these are bridal inscriptions. It should be noted, however, that inscribed bronzes of similar characteristics were also found in tombs of Rank N, e.g., the Kao Shu Zangfu-*bū* and Sai Gongsun Zangfu-*yi* from Bailizhou (*Yin Zhou jinwen jicheng* 9.4608-9, 16.10276; see also n. 14). Bronze inscriptions never explicitly mention the rank of the donors or sponsors in terms of either of the textually transmitted schemes.

<sup>22</sup> In Jin, as discussed in Chapter Three in connection with Shangma, the difference between ranked and non-ranked segments of lineages appears originally to have coincided with the presence or absence of a burial chamber, but this criterion may not have been applied exactly in the same way by ritual experts in Chu.

on the interpretation of tombs of our Rank P. Taking burial chambers as their principal criterion, the authors of the Zhaojiahu report believe that the occupants of Rank P tombs were *shi*, whereas Gao Yingqin and Wang Guanghao, judging on the basis of funerary equipment, identify them as commoners.

In line with their chosen criterion for assigning tomb rank, each of the various authors constructs a sophisticated scenario of social dynamics in Warring States Chu. The authors of the Zhaojiahu report posit that, as the higher-ranking subgroup of *shi*, the *shangshi* ("Upper Gentlemen," according to a subdivision mentioned in the *Zhou li*), began in Late Springs and Autumns to usurp *daifu* privileges, the lower-ranking *shi* (*zhongshi* ["Middle Gentlemen"] and *xiashi* ["Lower Gentlemen"]) followed suit by arrogating the privileges formerly reserved to the *shangshi*. Soon afterward, according to this reconstruction, commoners also started to use burial chambers and ritual vessels, thus increasing the numbers of Rank P tombs during the Warring States. The commoner class then split in two: some merged with the lower élite, whilst others descended into poverty (according to this view, most Rank R tombs would belong to the latter group and consequently date from the Warring States).

By contrast, Gao Yingqin and Wang Guanghao believe that Rank R tombs became uncommon in the Warring States because a general increase in prosperity allowed even low-ranking members of society to afford at least Rank Q, if not Rank P tombs. Rather than polarization, these two authors see a blanket tendency for almost everyone's ritual privileges to be augmented over the course of the Warring States period, reflecting the economic prosperity of that time.

These accounts of social development are refreshingly different from, and far more detailed and more dynamic than, the accounts in any of the transmitted texts. So far, alas, neither of them is fully verifiable; if future research were to yield statistically representative datasets, archaeologists might actually be able to measure the growth and decline of various population segments through time and thereby to test the different models proposed.

## ASSESSMENT

Despite lingering differences concerning details of interpretation, the Chu cemetery data analyzed here provide an especially gratifying instance of how archaeological materials can be made to speak to the great questions of social history. The evidence makes it abundantly clear that, at least in ritual contexts, the previously all-important distinctions between ranked-élite and unranked-commoner segments of lineages became blurred after the middle of Eastern Zhou. This was very probably related to the Middle Springs and Autumns Ritual Restructuring discussed in the preceding chapter. As to members of social groups other than the ranked lineages which are archaeologically

documented by élite cemeteries, we cannot tell at present whether they were also affected by these changes. What is evident, however, is that the most important social distinction was now between the rulers and the ruled, and no longer between the ranked and the unranked members of a lineage. Some theorists might now proceed to infer that the organization of society during the Warring States period must have become residence-based rather than kinship-based; but the Chu data provide no basis for such a notion.

Data from other parts of the Zhou culture sphere show a similar transition about this time. Next only to Chu, the amplest body of Eastern Zhou-period funerary data comes from the area of Jin and its three successor states, Wei, Han, and Zhao.<sup>23</sup> Some differences between Chu and that area have already been alluded to in passing. Nevertheless, the overall commonality of social developments in the two areas deserves to be stressed. In the Jin area as in Chu, the transition to widespread use of *mingqi* more or less coincided with the beginning of the Warring States period.<sup>24</sup> A similar progression occurred from well-made (and potentially usable) *mingqi*, dating from the Late Springs and Autumns period, to poorly made ones, dating from the Warring States, whose only conceivable function could have been in funerary display. As in Chu, utilitarian vessels disappeared from tombs in the Jin area, with *mingqi* versions of ritual vessels becoming ubiquitous in tombs of all ranks.<sup>25</sup> And as with Chu, one cannot avoid the impression that the general downward spread of ritual privileges signified by the use of graded ritual-vessel assemblages was tantamount to the elimination of the social distinctions originally implied by those privileges.

In the Jin successor states, just as in Warring States Chu, one can distinguish a descending hierarchy of tombs with bronze assemblages, tombs with mixed bronze and ceramic assemblages, and tombs with ceramics only. The two areas differ slightly, however, in the social identities of the occupants of each level. In Warring States Chu, bronze assemblages suitable for performing ancestral sacrifices are documented only at the level of the ruler (in the tomb of King You), and mixed assemblages only in tombs of high-ranking relatives of the royal houses or regional

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<sup>23</sup> For an overview of Eastern Zhou ceramic typology in the area of Jin and its successor states, see Zhang Xin 2002. As to parallel developments in other parts of North China, cf. Wang Qing 2002 for Shandong and He Yong 1989 for the Yan area.

<sup>24</sup> The Shangma materials, discussed in Chapter Three, are important here. Unfortunately their chronological range ends at the transition to Warring States. Even so, the replacement of bronze vessels with ceramic *mingqi* can be observed in the latest, relatively high-status, tombs at this cemetery (see Falkenhausen 2001b).

<sup>25</sup> Even before the near-universal replacement bronze vessels by ceramic *mingqi*, the ceramic kitchen vessels found in tombs throughout northern China are often small-scale versions of those found at settlements and thus may also be a kind of *mingqi*.

governors (see *Table 28*); in the Jin successor states assemblages of these two kinds have been found in tombs of non-metropolitan élite of apparently somewhat lower rank (see *Table 29*).<sup>26</sup> This may mirror slightly different political realities in Jin, where, as mentioned in Chapter Eight, the ruler's power devolved to local lineages in the course of the Springs and Autumns period, resulting (at least for some time) in the concentration of wealth and power at the widely dispersed seats of these lineages. The apparent absence, in Jin and its successor states, of a diversified metropolitan lower élite, as was represented in Chu by the above-discussed Ranks N, O, (N/O), and P, may also reflect the lack of a strong center in Jin at the time of transition from Springs and Autumns to Warring States.

It is also clear that, in the former Jin area during the Warring States, bronze, formerly a religiously charged, status-signifying material, had become simply an indicator of material wealth. To an even greater extent than in Chu, bronze vessels of non-ritual function were included in tombs as domestic luxuries (see, e.g., *Fig. 82*).<sup>27</sup> Some of the earlier ritual-vessel types were transformed into secular items for élite household use, e.g., certain types of *dou* vessels that now were put to use as lamps. About 350 BC, these new kinds of vessels, pioneered in the Jin successor states, suddenly became pervasive in Qin tombs, where they completely replaced the time-honored ritual-vessel types (cf. Chapter Seven). In Chu, by contrast, ritual-vessel assemblages remained in use alongside vessels of domestic function until the Qin conquest of the Middle Yangzi region in 278

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<sup>26</sup> E. g. at Luhe, Lucheng (Shanxi Sheng Kaogu Yanjiusuo and Shanxi Sheng Jindongnan Diqu Wenhua ju 1986); Fenshuiling, Changzhi (Shanxi Sheng Wenwu Guanliweiyuanhui 1957; Shanxi Sheng Wenwu Guanliweiyuanhui and Shanxi Sheng Kaogu Yanjiusuo 1964; Bian Chengxiu 1972); Niujiapo, Zhangzi (Shanxi Sheng Kaogu Yanjiusuo 1984), all in Shanxi; and at Houchuan, Sanmenxia (Zhongguo Shehuikexueyuan Kaogu Yanjiusuo 1994) and Shanbiaozhen, Ji Xian (Guo Baojun 1959), both in Henan. The rank of these tombs corresponds more or less to Rank M in the Chu system as defined in this chapter.

<sup>27</sup> An Early Warring States-period manifestation of this tendency may be observed in the large tomb at Jinshengcun, Taiyuan (Shanxi), discussed in Chapter Eight (Tao Zhenggang, Hou Yi, and Qu Chuanfu 1996), where splendid ritual-vessel sets are accompanied by such non-ritual objects as a bird-shaped vessel and a steamer-topped bronze stove complete with a collapsible chimney for traveling (*Fig. 82*). Ornate bronzes of possibly non-ritual function are also seen earlier in the Jin area, e.g., at Tombs 62, 63, and 102 at Qucun Locus III (Shanxi Sheng Kaogu Yanjiusuo and Beijing Daxue Kaoguxue Xi 1994a; Beijing Daxue Kaoguxue Xi and Shanxi Sheng Kaogu Yanjiusuo 1995), and at Tombs 74M49, 74M373, and 89M7 at Shangguo (Zhu Hua 1994; Shanxi Sheng Kaogu Yanjiusuo 1994c). These finds, dating from the 8<sup>th</sup>-7<sup>th</sup> centuries BC, may mark the beginnings of the "secularization" of the bronze medium.

BC. But all these are rather minor differences, while overall tendencies—especially the loosening of the boundaries between the lower-élite and commoner strata—are broadly consonant.

### INTERMEZZO

Our view of the social changes during Confucius's lifetime and the following two and a half centuries is inevitably conditioned by the nature of the archaeological data under consideration, which for the most part come from tombs and are thus reflections of ritual activity. It is astonishing to observe from this archaeological evidence how carefully the ritual institutions forged (from traditions going back to Neolithic times) over the course of the Western Zhou period and promulgated as a system during Late Western Zhou were conserved during the Springs and Autumns period and even—though restricted to a very elevated social stratum—all the way to the end of the Warring States. Nevertheless, the evidence reviewed in the preceding three chapters indicates pervasive change on two levels.

On one level, the developments of tomb structure and the pervasiveness of *mingqi* signal a profound transformation in religious beliefs concerning death, the afterworld, and the role of the ancestors. This transformation, which took off gradually during the Springs and Autumns period and affected all areas of China during the Warring States, undoubtedly reflects the attenuation of the traditional ancestral cult, a diminution of the religious power ascribed to ancestral divinities, and the demise of the tiered aristocratic ranking order that had provided the social basis for the earlier religious practices. These changes concern the level of the Common Religion; they occurred from the bottom up rather than from the top down, and they were not directly enmeshed with changes in the institutional apparatus of the Zhou ritual system.

On another level, we witness a new attempt, in Middle Springs and Autumns, to bring élite ritual practices into harmony with social realities, which had changed since the Late Western Zhou Ritual Reform. Now, the distinctions within the privileged stratum were emphasized by relegating conservative Zhou-style rituals to the highest élite, and individual polities were allowed considerable leeway as to how to determine the ritual paraphernalia of their local élites. But it would seem that the innovations introduced still amounted to a refreshed version of the old system. The reformed practices and their paraphernalia were successfully introduced in all parts of the Zhou culture sphere except for Qin, and they continued symbolically to express gradations of ritual rank even when the social and religious bases for such distinctions had all but disappeared. The institutions promulgated through the Middle Springs and Autumns Ritual Restructuring may be said to have formed a sort



of counterweight to the relentless socio-political and religious transformation ongoing in that time.

In the end, even these last reminders of Zhou-type ritual assemblages were abolished as Qin extended its rule over all of the erstwhile Zhou culture sphere. But the ancestral cult itself did not disappear, nor did the custom of providing the dead with ritually charged objects for use in the afterlife—objects that were largely, albeit perhaps not completely, apportioned in accordance with the deceased person's social rank during life. The flexibility with which old practices and values were adapted to changed social and religious realities deserves notice; and the introduction of new and different paraphernalia must be seen against this background of broad continuity.

At a very deep level, such efforts to maintain the spirit of ancient practices in the face of apparent change invite interpretation as an actualization of the Confucian agenda in the material realm: as a sign of the transformation of the rituals previously used to maintain and express the aristocratic rank order of the early Zhou into a system of philosophical ethics based on propositions of universal validity. If so, the introduction of pervasive *mingqi* use during the Warring States might perhaps be taken to suggest that the ritual values expressed thereby were now open to all who engaged in correct ritual practices, regardless of their position in the lineage hierarchy, just as Confucians emphasized the priority of personal virtue over social background and honesty in ritual over outward display. In the same vein, as intimated earlier, the choice of cheap, mass-produced burial goods—minimizing expenditures while yet maintaining the formalities—was eminently compatible with the Confucian redirection of the focus of ritual from the dead and the spirits to the community of the living.

Without further evidence, however, we should probably defer positing such an immediate relationship. Even if there was *some* relationship between the archaeological phenomena described above and the Confucian intellectual innovations, the direction of influence is by no means clear. *Mingqi* came into use long before Confucius' lifetime, and in areas far distant from that great thinker's home; to the extent that it is legitimate to educe the transformation of ritual into philosophy from ritual-vessel assemblages, we should not forget that (hypothetical) indications of such tendencies appeared at least a century before Confucius and are traceable throughout an astonishingly wide area; and the redirection of the focus of ritual is attested in bronze inscriptions dating well before Confucius and coming from southerly locations that (perhaps wrongly) are not usually regarded as a cradle of ritual orthodoxy.

Still, one may well imagine that Confucian ritualists found congenial in many ways the dual reorientation of ritual practices that was ongoing before their eyes. With the historical memory of Western Zhou tradition having become somewhat blurred, the innovations of the Middle Springs and Autumns

period may well have inspired them to a very considerable extent in their rethinking of the significance of ritual. This seems to have occurred *despite*, not because of, their professed allegiance to earlier royal Zhou institutions. The three Confucian ritual classics, at any rate, while containing some remnants of earlier knowledge (some of it perhaps going back even to Western Zhou times), seem to relate most directly to fairly late Eastern Zhou realities.<sup>28</sup>

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<sup>28</sup> Indeed, while the ritual classics tend to be vague on details of material culture, their Eastern Hàn-period commentaries furnish some details reflecting realities of the time between the Late Western Zhou Ritual Reform and the Middle Springs and Autumns Ritual Restructuring (Falkenhausen 2004c).



## CONCLUSION

IN DISCUSSING AN area as large and geographically diverse as China, it is never easy to do justice to regional differences while keeping sight of converging trends. In the preceding chapters we have explored social developments in various parts of the Zhou culture sphere. In retrospect, our findings suggest a surprising degree of cultural and social uniformity—surprising above all for Eastern Zhou times in view of the conspicuous political fragmentation and internecine warfare of those centuries. Since the same modes of signification for marking social differences were in fairly consistent use throughout the Zhou realm at least since the Late Western Zhou Ritual Reform, we may infer the existence of standard patterns of social interaction that transcended political divisions. I believe that such a perception captures correctly an important aspect of historical reality and constitutes a valuable corrective to regionalistic accounts of Zhou history. Without the conscious initial decision to maintain a conceptual distinction between social and political phenomena, and to focus resolutely on the former, we could not have seen this as clearly; in any case, archaeological modes of inquiry are naturally better suited to grasping social patterns than political events and institutions.

The archaeological finds reviewed allow us to observe social developments not as the work of anonymous historical forces, but in their concrete reflections in particular places and circumstances. Now it is time to take a look at the society as a whole. We have presented the archaeological reflections of different social categories—gender; lineage, clan, and ethnic affiliation; and class structure—and we have traced their changes through time. These explorations, somewhat unsystematic due to the nature of the evidence available, have shown us a society that possessed some degree of consciousness about itself as a coherent whole. The data reviewed in Part II of this book convey a sense that, over the course of the Zhou dynasty, inter-clan differences were attenuated, whereas the contrasts between the Zhou core society and other ethnic groups became ever more pronounced. In other words, Zhou society became gradually more homogeneous within, and more clearly defined vis-à-vis the outside. Moreover, the data treated in Part III of this book show that, even though lineages remained the basic building blocks of the social system, their overall importance in determining an individual's position in society waned as the differences between various low-élite and commoner status groups became less and less meaningfully articulated. Instead, within every polity a fundamental divide emerged between the rulers and the ruled; within the tiny and

especially privileged group of the rulers, status differences were still marked, whereas the formerly minutely stratified social ranks below this highest élite experienced a significant amount of equalization.

We have observed these processes largely from inside the Zhou realm. We have seen, in particular, how the members of its core lineages were gradually developing a uniform repertoire of rules for the management of human relationships—a comprehensive code of social communication. At first, its validity was very probably limited to the élite stratum, but in time it came to affect ever larger parts of the total social universe (whether it ever extended to the very lowest ranks is impossible to tell at present). This archaeologically manifested code of communication is, of course, the Zhou ritual system, long known to historians. But the archaeological data show its operation in a new light. Moreover, our analysis, conducted in a spirit of epistemological independence from textual data (as explained in the Introduction), demonstrates that, even if all written information about it had been lost, one could still, now, reconstruct significant aspects of it from the archaeological evidence alone.

By Warring States times the society that employed this code in its daily practices had come to self-identify as the Hua Xia nation, and it had extended itself over more or less the entirety of the Zhou culture sphere. This situation may not, however, have obtained during the early centuries of the Zhou period. Over time, the operation of the social patterns corresponding to the Zhou ritual system expanded both horizontally to encompass an ever vaster territory, and vertically to encompass ever more segments of the social hierarchy—reaching, in the Warring States period, the point at which the barrier between ranked élite and commoners had become largely meaningless. This dual expansion may be said to constitute the most significant long-term development in the social history of China during the first millennium BC. It must have been caused by a number of interrelated processes, among which I incline to emphasize the demographic growth of the erstwhile élite lineages. Other enabling factors probably included acculturation of non-Zhou “Others”—voluntarily through intermarriage and forcibly through conquest. The spread of Zhou social patterns was also facilitated by characteristics internal to the ritual system—its flexibility, expandability, and potential universality, brought out in the writings of the Warring States-period thinkers. To imagine a society entirely permeated by a ritually conditioned “sense of belonging” would be unrealistic, however. Given the system’s inbuilt inequality, a feeling of alienation may well have prevailed at the low-rank end of the social spectrum, about which, regrettably, all our sources are silent; and it is all too likely that, in maintaining the system in operation, the reverse side of the splendid ritual celebrations was a constant threat of violence against any form of nonconforming behavior. A need to define behavioral standards clearly may be one reason why the Zhou

(or “Hua Xia”) society was increasingly prone to emphasize the disjunction between itself and Others.

To ensure its effectiveness in mediating this remarkable sense of social unity, the Zhou ritual system was progressively adjusted to changed social realities. In the archaeological record we have observed indications for two stages of thoroughgoing reform, one in Late Western Zhou and one in the Middle Springs and Autumns period. Since neither of these events, strangely, is mentioned in preserved written accounts, we are still in the dark about who initiated, formulated, and enforced them; it seems possible that the royal Zhou court played a role, especially in the first, but all other details are unclear. Both events, especially the Late Western Zhou Ritual Reform, molded the classical tradition of Chinese ritual that was to be codified by Confucian theorists and incorporated into the Chinese Classics, to be evoked and “revived” again and again over the course of subsequent centuries.<sup>1</sup> Most of the archaeological data currently at hand pertain to the ritual sphere, and some caution is in order because potentially countervailing evidence concerning other aspects of Zhou culture is very scarce, but the evidence reviewed in the preceding chapters abundantly shows the centrality of ritual matters to the intellectual debates of the time. This much is also evident from the Zhou-period texts such as the *Zuo zhuan* and the *Guo yu*.<sup>2</sup>

At the same time, we have also seen that certain traditional perceptions—concerning, e.g., the role of the Duke of Zhou as the creator of Zhou ritual, and the originality of the Confucian philosophical reorientation of ritual discourse—must be revised in the light of the archaeological evidence now available. We now know that the orthodox ritual system of the Zhou that furnished the point of reference to Confucius and his disciples did not exist since the beginning of the dynasty, but was devised only about 850 BC. Conversely, many elements traditionally associated with the new Confucian attitudes to ritual can already be observed in the ritual practice of the century or so before Confucius’s activity as a teacher. These include the focus on the living community rather than divine ancestors;<sup>3</sup> the emphasis on honest reverence rather than sanctimonious display;<sup>4</sup> the valuation of virtue over descent;<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> On the social and intellectual context of such later revivals, see Ebrey 1991 and Chow 1994. Vandermeersch 1990 treats related developments during the Han period.

<sup>2</sup> Schaberg 2001: 125–165 and *passim*; cf. also Pines 2002.

<sup>3</sup> Fingarette 1972 (with pertinent references).

<sup>4</sup> *Lunyu* “Bayi” 3.12 (*Shisanjing zhushu* 11, p. 2467).

<sup>5</sup> As obvious from the Confucian transformation of the term *junzi* from an indicator of aristocratic status to the designation of a morally “superior man” (see Pines 2002: 164–204, with pertinent references).

the conviction that performance of ritual must be correct but the paraphernalia inexpensive;<sup>6</sup> and the archaizing regard for ritual precedent.<sup>7</sup> Confucius' self-characterization as a "transmitter, not a creator"<sup>8</sup> thus seems just, though the wisdom he transmitted had likely not been handed down from the sages of remote antiquity, but was instead of fairly recent vintage.

The close alignment of ritual practices such as funerals with the social hierarchy, and the correlation of changes in these two categories, is by no means a universal. One need only look at the Indus civilization, geographically the closest to China among the other great civilizations of the ancient world, for a counterexample: a strongly stratified, urban society that seems to have paid rather little attention to funerary matters.<sup>9</sup> Other counterexamples can easily be adduced.<sup>10</sup> In furnishing the kind of data that permit a study such as the one undertaken here, Zhou China is impressive by international standards, but it may also be unique. Caution is warranted, therefore, in any attempt to generalize cross-culturally on the basis of the results of the preceding chapters.

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To conclude, I should like briefly to review a number of open issues: topics relevant to the understanding of Chinese society in the Age of Confucius on which it is still impossible to construct sustained archaeological arguments like those presented in the preceding chapters. Here I take my cues from textual history, and I try to delineate strategies by which future archaeological research might provide new perspectives. I begin with wider social trends, then move to a brief discussion of social groups to which the preceding chapters have paid insufficient attention.

## DEMOGRAPHIC GROWTH AND POPULATION MOVEMENTS

Both archaeological and textual data from the Zhou period generally convey the sense of an expanding society, but the nature of this expansion remains obscure, and its extent is difficult to quantify. Demographic increase is likely,

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<sup>6</sup> *Lunyu* "Bayi" 3.4 (*Sbisanjing zhusbu* 3.10, p. 2466) and *passim*.

<sup>7</sup> This is perhaps the most pervasive theme of the *Lunyu*; see, e.g., "Bayi" 3.18 (*Sbisanjing zhusbu* 11, p. 2467).

<sup>8</sup> *Lunyu* "Shu'er" (*Sbisanjing zhusbu* 7.25, p. 2481).

<sup>9</sup> Allchin and Allchin (1982: 217) devote barely half a page to "burial customs" in their 94-page synthesis of "Indus Urbanism." It must be cautioned that the archaeological record of Indus-culture cemeteries is incomplete and remains largely unpublished.

<sup>10</sup> See Chapter Two, n. 1.



from time to time, to have forced the redefinition of social categories and of human relationships within them. As explained in Chapter One, I believe that such redefinitions, elicited by demographic expansion, were operative at the élite stratum in Late Western Zhou and figured importantly in bringing about the Late Western Zhou Ritual Reform. The institution of a regular procedure of lineage splitting presumably limited the number of claimants to social privilege after that time. As a consequence, most demographic growth must have taken place at the lower rungs of the social ladder, perhaps contributing to the widening social chasm between ruling families and the lower élite that found its ritual expression in the Middle Springs and Autumns Ritual Restructuring (see Chapter Eight). That the population grew very quickly during the Warring States period, spurred by the advances in agricultural technology during that period, also seems likely.

The geographic distribution of demographic growth in pre-Imperial China is likely to have been very uneven.<sup>11</sup> It was strongest in the middle and lower reaches of the Yellow River basin and in northwestern Shandong. Over the course of the Zhou period, demographic pressure triggered considerable movement of population. Not only did the central area of the Zhou culture sphere gradually fill up, but new territories on the periphery were being settled during the Warring States, considerably expanding the reach of the border kingdoms (see Chapter Six). These trends continued on an even greater scale during the Qin and Hàn dynasties. In addition, Warring States-period political theorists acclaimed the ability to attract people as a sign of good rulership, and some states, most famously the relatively underpopulated Qin, tried actively to lure immigrants.<sup>12</sup> As discussed in Chapter Seven, one possible archaeological reflection of this policy is the easterly derivation of the new, non-ritual types of funerary vessels seen in Middle to Late Warring States-period Qin tombs, e.g., at Ta'ერpo.<sup>13</sup> The lower reaches of the Wei River valley, formerly sparsely populated marshland, had only been made suitable for intensive agriculture thanks to state-sponsored canal-building

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<sup>11</sup> It seems safe to infer this from the earliest Hàn census records (AD 2), which record a total population of some 60 million for the Hàn empire of the time (see Bielenstein 1947, 1987). For general considerations of pre-Qin demographic developments, see Wan Guoding 1931. The demographic figures of 7.9 million for pre-conquest Zhou and 16 million for Western Zhou, offered by Yang Guoyong and Miao Runlian (2004), do not seem well supported but may nevertheless be worth discussing. For a new estimate of approximately 40 million for the Chinese population under the Qin dynasty, see Ge Jianxiong 1999: 16-25.

<sup>12</sup> McNeal 2000.

<sup>13</sup> Xianyang Shi Wenwu Kaogu Yanjiusuo 1998.

projects during the Middle Warring States,<sup>14</sup> and this area is likely to have been settled at least in part by immigrants from the east. The weakening of lineage cohesion during the Warring States, reflected in the archaeologically attested transformation of the ancestral cult into a more abstract kind of ritualism centered upon the living community of descendants, may have been important in enabling such mobility.

## TERRITORIAL CONTROL AND EXPANSION

A related topic, slightly better documented through textual data, is the tightening of territorial control over the course of the Zhou period. One element in this process was the development of the former nucleated polities into territorial states. In China the notion of a centrally administered bounded territory was an Eastern Zhou innovation.<sup>15</sup> In the early Bronze Age, and still throughout much of the time documented by the *Zuo zhuan*, political authority radiated outward from a polity's capital (*guo*), petering out fairly quickly as distance from that capital increased. Some Western Zhou bronze inscriptions, however, attest that the corporate lineages attached to a polity could and sometimes did fix the boundaries of their landholdings with remarkable precision.<sup>16</sup> Non-Zhou groups prevailed in the sizeable "gray areas" between polities, and as long as these areas remained sparsely populated, new polities (e.g., to accommodate split-off junior branches of the older ruling houses) could be established there with relative ease. By Warring States times, by contrast, the principal meaning of *guo* had become "state" rather than "capital," and the exact delimitation of each state's territory became a matter of major importance. As the larger polities eliminated the smaller, they made systematic attempts to extend the reach of their administration and military control evenly over their expanding realms. This involved the establishment of regional centers and the "filling-in" of areas in between, as well as the building of an infrastructure that greatly facilitated inter-area communication and trade.

Such processes of political and administrative centralization and increased economic exchange must have led to an overall homogenization of lifeways and social patterns; but the archaeological evidence available so far allows only very preliminary glimpses into the "how" of those processes. Some of the phenomena discussed in Chapter Six regarding the amalgamation of non-Zhou populations into Zhou polities may be read as manifestations of the strengthening of state control over territories during the course of Eastern

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<sup>14</sup> Tsuruma 1987; Satake 1988.

<sup>15</sup> Stumpfeldt 1970.

<sup>16</sup> Li Ling 1992a; 1993b; Lau 1999; Skosey 1996.

Zhou. Another likely indicator of increased control is the much greater number of walled cities in Eastern Zhou, noted in an impressive recent study by Xu Hong,<sup>17</sup> who documents 428 cities during Eastern Zhou as opposed to only 39 from Xia through Western Zhou times. Although the actual numbers and proportions may well be different,<sup>18</sup> the overall tendency is clear. The increasingly dense distribution of elite cemeteries in areas such as Shanxi and Hubei, though likewise so far merely an impression in need of verification, presumably mirrors this increase in the number of urban centers.

In Springs and Autumns-period Qin, cemeteries (as noted in Chapter Five) are for the most part clustered around the capitals, reflecting the nucleated nature of the polity and suggesting significant movements of elite population each time the capital was moved. If the Qin core group dwelled mostly in its walled settlements, the penetration of Qin control over the surrounding area may have been concomitantly less pronounced. This presumably changed during the Warring States period, as Qin developed into a territorial state. One archaeological indicator of increased state control in that period is the canal construction projects that opened up the lower Weì River valley (see above) and, during the early third century BC, the Chengdu Plain to settlement by agriculturalists, at least part of whom were immigrants from non-Qin areas. In the Chengdu Plain, the physical traces of these efforts can still be admired today at the much-visited Dujiangyan Weir.<sup>19</sup> Archaeological studies of Qin settlements connected to its large-scale public works projects are still a desideratum.

Qin's campaigns of military conquest injected Qin elements into the funerary record of conquered areas. Qin tombs have been found, for instance, in Sichuan, conquered in 316 BC,<sup>20</sup> as well as in the erstwhile Chu core area

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<sup>17</sup> Xu Hong 2000. A more systematic survey may well modify this ratio.

<sup>18</sup> One problem here may lie in the definition of "city." The forty cities Xu Hong lists for the Neolithic period are certainly not the same thing as Eastern Zhou cities.

<sup>19</sup> To my knowledge, no archaeological study of this impressive early water-control project has yet been undertaken; the development of an appropriate method for such a study presents a challenge for the future.

<sup>20</sup> E.g., at Chengguan, Shifang (Sichuan Sheng Wenwu Kaogu Yanjiusuo and Shifang Shi Wenwu Baohu Guanlisuo 1998) and at various locations in Yingjing (Yingjing Gumu Fajue Xiaozu 1981; Sichuan Sheng Wenwu Kaogu Yanjiusuo and Yingjing Yandao Gucheng Yizhi Bowuguan 1998). Some of the tombs in the alleged royal necropolis of Ba at Xiaotianxi, Fuling (Chongqing) also postdate the Qin conquest of the area (Sichuan Sheng Bowuguan 1974). See also Song Zhimin 1984. For Qin tombs in the formerly non-Qin area between the Qin core and Hubei and Sichuan, see Yang Yachang 1997.

in Hubei, conquered in 278 BC.<sup>21</sup> The tombs at Shuihudi, famous for their lacquers and their bamboo-strip manuscripts, are the best-known examples in the latter area.<sup>22</sup> The occupant of Tomb 11, dated to circa 216 BC, was an official in the local government who had come from the Qin core area. The legal texts found in the tomb attest that, even under the unified Qin régime, former Chu subjects were still registered as a subject population, separate from full citizens of Qin.

Similar processes undoubtedly occurred all over the Zhou culture sphere during the Warring States period. The walled city of Xue in southwestern Shandong, known through both textual records and archaeological explorations, provides an example of the capital of a formerly independent polity changing as it was turned into a regional center under one of the major kingdoms of the time. Xue was one of the most ancient indigenous principalities in the eastern part of the Zhou culture sphere;<sup>23</sup> the earliest walled settlement here is said to date from Neolithic times. Excavated remains predating the demise of the old Xue polity comprise élite residences and tombs. During the Warring States Xue was amalgamated into Qi, and the old capital was turned into a major center of iron production, with few or no contemporaneous remains of élite settlement.<sup>24</sup>

The elaborate border fortification systems popularly known as “Great Walls,” already mentioned in Chapter Six, are a palpable indication of Warring States-period boundary-marking activity. Some of these (e.g., the Fangcheng Wall built by Chu in southern Henan [see *Map 20*] and the Great Wall of Qi in Shandong)<sup>25</sup> served to ward off attacks from peer kingdoms within the Zhou culture sphere; others staked out new territory in former frontier zones. “Great Walls” of the latter type have traditionally been interpreted as bulwarks built to keep out marauding nomads from the north, but Nicola Di Cosmo has made a plausible case that the conflict with those northern neighbors, which was to become a running theme in Imperial Chinese history, was in large part

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<sup>21</sup> Aside from the Shuihudi tombs (see n. 21), Warring States-period Qin tombs have been reported from Jiudian, Jiangling (Hubei Sheng Wenwu Kaogu Yanjiusuo 1995), and tombs dating to Imperial Qin have been found at Gaotai, Jiangling (Hubei Sheng Jingzhou Bowuguan 2000), and Longgang, Yunmeng (Liu Xinfang and Liang Zhu 1997). See also Chen Ping 1983 and Guo Dewei 1983b.

<sup>22</sup> *Yunmeng Shuihudi Qimu* Bianxiezhu 1981.

<sup>23</sup> On Xue, see Chen Pan 1969: 128b-131a.

<sup>24</sup> Zhongguo Kexueyuan Kaogu Yanjiusuo Shandong Gongzuodui 1965; Shandong Sheng Jining Shi Wenwu Guanliju 1991.

<sup>25</sup> On the Chu Fangcheng, see Xiao Huakun and Ai Tinghe 2003; on the Great Wall of Qi, see Lu Zongyuan (ed.) 1999.

created by the construction of these walls, by which the adjacent Warring States kingdoms recklessly expanded their territories into former buffer zones and forced the nomads to organize.<sup>26</sup> The Great Walls of Qin, for instance, enclosed much of the area now known as the Ordos and extended west into Ningxia and Gansu—huge areas that had never before been part of the Zhou culture sphere, but had for centuries been inhabited by nomadic or semisedentary livestock-raising populations. The original inhabitants were presumably either pushed out or forced under the repressive, revenue-producing agricultural régime of Qin.

## AGRICULTURALISTS

Undoubtedly, most members of segmentary lineages, whose tombs provide the basis for much of the analysis offered in this book, made their living by tilling the soil. This would certainly seem to be true of the unranked commoners within these lineages and of those who belonged to the archaeologically invisible stratum below or outside the mainstream lineages, but also very likely of many members of the élite segments of lineages. Aside from their own subsistence needs, these multitudes produced the surplus that enabled some members of the higher élite to devote some of their time to lineage affairs and to the proverbial dual duties of Zhou aristocrats: sacrifices and warfare. Throughout much of the period under discussion—from Western Zhou through at least the Middle Springs and Autumns—the lineage organization, which also provided the structure for the ancestral cult, provided the mechanism through which this surplus was collected and redistributed. More systematic and anonymous administrative procedures for revenue gathering were gradually instituted over the course of Eastern Zhou.<sup>27</sup>

So little is known about the technological aspects of Bronze Age agriculture that it seems extremely risky to speculate about the possible size of the surplus produced. To date, the subject has been studied almost exclusively through agricultural tools, which testify to significant progress during the Warring States.<sup>28</sup> Before then, the use of metal is hardly attested in agriculture, bronze being apparently considered too costly, or too sacred and prestigious, for such a purpose. It was only when industrially produced iron tools became available that metal replaced the traditional lithic tool kit.<sup>29</sup> This technological

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<sup>26</sup> Di Cosmo 1999.

<sup>27</sup> Du Zhengsheng 1990; Lewis 1999.

<sup>28</sup> Chen Wenhua 1981; 1984.

<sup>29</sup> Wagner (1993) argues that bronze agricultural tools did become widespread in the

transformation is credited with tremendous increases in productivity, which are said to have improved the standard of living and stimulated population growth, and also to have made possible the logistics for the protracted military campaigns after which the period has been named. The poor preservation properties of iron, and the pervasive recycling of disused metal objects over the ages, make it difficult to trace its impact directly at present, but systematically gathered archaeological data may one day allow a quantitative assessment of the impact of Warring States-period agricultural changes.

Living conditions of the ordinary farming population seem to have undergone some change during Eastern Zhou times. As we have seen in Chapter Nine, some authorities believe that greater material prosperity was one determinant in the usurpation of elite ritual privileges by the commoner class. Changes in vernacular architecture may also indicate a general increase in the standard of living: ordinary folk in Eastern Zhou apparently no longer lived in semisubterranean huts, as they had done since Neolithic times, but in houses built at ground level. The new type of housing was more labor-intensive to construct, and buildings seem on average to have been larger. Their greater similarities to the platform-based elite architecture may have carried symbolic significance also. But in the near absence of settlement data, it is unclear how widespread these changes were, and when exactly they began.<sup>30</sup>

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Lower Yangzi region before the middle of the first millennium BC, and he considers this an important technological step prefiguring the mass-production of iron tools all over the Zhou culture sphere during the succeeding centuries. This remains a powerful argument, even though, by Wagner's own admission, his contention that iron-making was independently invented in the Lower Yangzi region does not stand up to the evidence currently available, which points to technological diffusion from Central Eurasia (Tang Jigen 1993). Li Xueqin (1985: 290) suggests that bronze agricultural implements were used in North China as well, although he is able to adduce only one provenienced specimen (from Yan Xiadu). According to the version of Marxist historiography adopted for secondary-school and university-level curricula in China, technical innovations *ought to* have occurred, first and foremost, for the benefit of economic production (see Guo Moruo 1952 [1984 edition]: 194-98). The intention to "prove" this probably explains, for instance, Ma Chengyuan's (1988: 27-44) insistence on the importance of bronze agricultural implements and artisans' tools, as well as the fact that, in spite of the sparsity of currently available evidence, Li Xueqin (1985: 284-94) devotes a whole chapter to such objects.

<sup>30</sup> Due to lack of data, most treatments of ancient Chinese architectural history (the best being Zhongguo Kexueyuan Ziranxueshi Yanjiusuo 1985) omit the vernacular architecture of post-Neolithic periods. Excavations of settlements from the period under study have mostly focused on elite architectural remains. The scattered and incidental

The agricultural classes of society also bore the brunt of *corvée* labor service, a governmental practice that had been instituted in China even before the onset of state-level civilization, and which enabled the successful organization of numerous large-scale public works projects.<sup>31</sup> During the Western Zhou and most of the Springs and Autumns period the labor régime was still presumably organized through lineage mechanisms, which were subsequently replaced by more anonymous bureaucratic modes of administration. The increasing efficiency of the latter manifests itself in the ever more gigantic scale of the projects undertaken—city walls, temple-palaces, rulers' tombs, irrigation projects, and roads. The shared experience of toiling in the public service may well have had the effect of bringing together people from different lineages, thus potentially serving to homogenize the lower ranks of society within a polity.

Besides *corvée* laborers, the public works projects of the Warring States period also employed large numbers of convict laborers, who had been reduced to that condition for transgressing the draconian legal codes of the period. Most of these unfortunates, as well, must have been of farmer origin. Some of the recently found Qin and Han legal manuscripts spell out their legal status and their punishments, which were graded according to the severity of their crimes.<sup>32</sup> Another reminder of this significant social phenomenon, which seems to have been new to the Warring States, is a cemetery of convict laborers of the Qin dynasty, excavated near the mausoleum of the First Emperor. As one element in the close control exercised by the administrators in charge, and perhaps also in order to apprise the bureaucracy of the afterworld, each person's term of penal servitude was inscribed on a brick that was placed into the otherwise unfurnished tomb.<sup>33</sup> Some of the gigantic monuments these people helped to construct still exist, testifying to their toil.

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evidence on ordinary housing suggests little change in commoner living conditions from Neolithic times down to the Warring States. Finds from the waterlogged tombs of the Chu area do suggest very considerable advances in wood-joinery techniques during Warring States times (Lin Shoujin 1981), and these advances may well be connected to the greater ubiquity of aboveground houses. How much of an improvement such houses actually constituted over semisubterranean ones is, in any case, unclear. Excavations at Beiwu, Houma (Shanxi), in one of several walled settlements surrounding the last Jin capital of Xintian, have revealed remains of at least one aboveground vernacular building (F102) dating from the Late Springs and Autumns period, possibly indicating that the shift began somewhat earlier than Warring States times (Shanxi Sheng Kaogu Yanjiusuo 1994e).

<sup>31</sup> Keightley 1969.

<sup>32</sup> The literature on this subject is vast. For preliminary orientation see Hulsewé 1985; Lau and Luedke forthcoming.

<sup>33</sup> Shihuangling Qin Yongkeng Kaogu Fajuedui 1982.



## THE MILITARY

Unlike *corvée* service, military conscription of the agricultural masses seems to have been an Eastern Zhou innovation. Until well into the Springs and Autumns period, warfare (and control of the supply of bronze, the prestigious, magically charged material used for arms) had been the exclusive domain of the ranked élite, and military units were lineage-based. This situation, described in the *Zuo zhuan* and other sources,<sup>34</sup> seems to be reflected archaeologically in the restricted distribution of weapons in tombs: before the Warring States period, weapons are by and large confined to tombs with burial chambers, which, as we have seen, were a hallmark of élite rank.<sup>35</sup> In discussing Chu tombs in Chapter Nine, we have observed a change in the status of bronze weapons at the transition to the Warring States period from objects sumptuously restricted to holders of élite rank to objects available to all but the very poorest males. Although this change probably had religious dimensions, it may be taken as at least indirect evidence for the militarization of society, as well as for a concomitant egalitarian thrust from the bottom rungs of society.

We still have very little archaeological evidence pertaining to soldiers as a social group during the Warring States—nothing even remotely comparable to what the First Emperor's terracotta soldiers can tell us of the period just after the Qin unification. We do know that, over the course of the Springs and Autumns period, armies enlarged significantly and developed into standing forces maintained by tax revenue; a military profession also developed. Just as iron tools affected agriculture, the introduction of mass-produced iron weapons is likely to have fundamentally changed the nature of Chinese warfare. But direct archaeological evidence for this is difficult to identify.<sup>36</sup> It is clear that even after the introduction of iron the high social ranks continued to prefer bronze weapons—understandably, considering the extremely high quality of some of the bronze weaponry now known from archaeological excavation.<sup>37</sup> In ritual contexts weapons came to be treated differently in the various kingdoms.

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<sup>34</sup> See Hsu Cho-yun 1965: 53-77.

<sup>35</sup> See Chapter Three, n. 16.

<sup>36</sup> For an overview of the Warring States-period evidence, see Yang Hong 1992: 173-82; see also Li Xueqin 1985: 315-29.

<sup>37</sup> The weaponry of the terracotta soldiers near the First Emperor's tomb, for instance, included bronze swords still sharp enough to shave one's beard with, crossbow mechanisms consisting of interlocking parts that had been fitted with amazing precision, and arrowheads of a new type, scientifically redesigned to maximize their deadliness (Shaanxi Sheng Kaogu Yanjiusuo and Shihuangling Qinyongkeng Kaogu Fajuedui 1988: 249-307). I am grateful to Director Zhang Zhongli of the Museum of the Qin Terracotta Army for allowing me to handle some of these objects on August 11, 2005.

In contrast to the Chu practice of burying most males with a bronze sword, Qin tombs postdating Shang Yang's reforms generally lack weapons.<sup>38</sup> This may have stemmed from a desire to conserve resources, or to keep weapons out of the hands of potential rebels who might rob them from tombs; or perhaps there was some religious reason, e.g., fears about armed revenant ghosts. Given the well-documented ubiquity of warfare-related pursuits in Qin—Shang Yang had organized the entire society into military ranks—the one thing that the absence of weapons in Qin tombs cannot possibly indicate is that military matters had become unimportant.

Actual archaeological evidence of warfare is also difficult to come by. Since a weapon's place of manufacture was often inscribed or can be inferred stylistically, and weapons were, in principle, manufactured for the army of the state in which they were made,<sup>39</sup> future research might plot the distributions of various weapon types as a way of tracing possible military movements. Battlefields, though long sought out by Chinese traditional scholars as places to meditate on the past, have hardly been explored archaeologically. The only evidence possibly of Zhou date that I am aware of are the mass graves at Xishuipo, Puyang (Henan),<sup>40</sup> where excavations brought to light thirty-two regularly aligned pits, each containing the skeletons of eighteen males aged twenty to twenty-five who had suffered violent deaths; in addition, varying numbers of severed heads were found in these pits (*Fig. 98*). The buried individuals total more than six hundred. Close by the site is the battlefield of Chengpu, where in 632 BC a northern alliance led by Jin decisively defeated Chu; a connection to that event cannot be proven, however, in the absence of chronologically sensitive burial goods.

## MERCHANTS AND ENTREPRENEURS

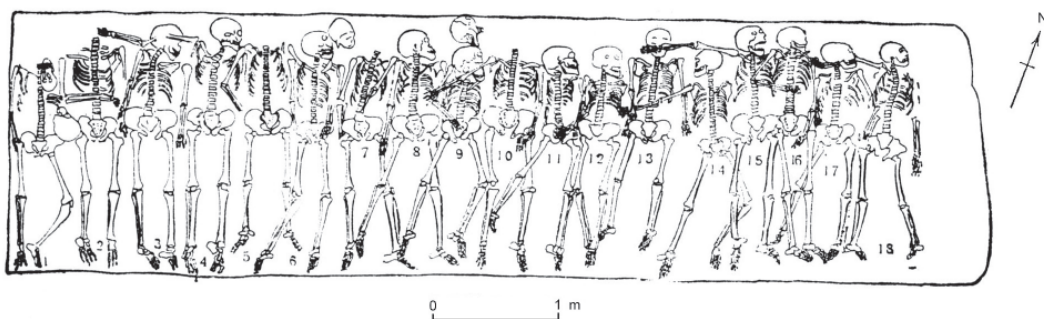
Due to traditional Confucian prejudice (which, however, largely postdates the Age of Confucius), the role of merchants and entrepreneurs has received little attention from historians, despite indications that trade and the development of large-scale factory-based production were major aspects of the Warring

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<sup>38</sup> None of the Warring States-period Qin weapons treated in Chen Ping 1987, for instance, come from Qin tombs, although some were found—as export goods, gifts, or war booty—in funerary contexts elsewhere in the Zhou culture sphere, as well as in “Ba Shu” tombs in Sichuan. In Qin, this constituted a radical change from Springs and Autumns-period practices (for which see Chen Ping 1986), which calls for an explanation.

<sup>39</sup> Sahara 1984; Emura 2000: 482–553.

<sup>40</sup> Puyang Xishuipo Yizhi Kaogudui 1989: 1063–65.



**Fig. 98.** Burial Pit 175 at Xishuiipo, Puyang (Henan). Mass grave, possibly for war dead from the Battle of Chengpu in 632 BC.

States transformation.<sup>41</sup> The mere existence of large urban centers in some of the Warring States kingdoms is evidence for the functioning of commercial networks to supply them, of diverse economic activities that sustained the sizable resident population, and of specialized groups engaging in these activities. In the segmentary lineage society described in the preceding chapters, there was no separate place for merchants.<sup>42</sup> Presumably they, too, belonged to lineages, and some of the tombs at the cemeteries analyzed above may well be merchants' tombs. So far, however, we know of no archaeological criteria by which one might tell them apart from those of non-merchants.

Although the merchants and entrepreneurs themselves thus remain archaeologically invisible, this is not true of their activities, which are attested, e.g., in manufacturing sites (see below). Plotting the distribution areas of objects of known place of manufacture that were likely to have been trade goods can, moreover, reveal patterns of economic exchange; this is a promising topic for future research. Metal coins, in use since the Middle Springs and Autumns

<sup>41</sup> Notwithstanding much accumulated evidence, it is still difficult to go beyond the summary in Hsu 1965: 116-30.

<sup>42</sup> The *Zhou li* uses two terms for "merchants," *shang* and *gu*, which may differ subtly in their connotations, though they overlap semantically. *Shanggu* form the sixth of the nine population groups enumerated in the description of the official tasks of the Taizai officials ("Tianguan: Taizai," *Zhou li zhengyi* 2.78): peasants, park-wardens, mountain guardians, marsh-intendants, craftsmen, merchants, wives and consorts, servants and concubines, and idle folk. Altogether 54 *gu* merchants are listed in the staff lists of eleven of the offices in the ideal administrative system of the *Zhou li*. Whether or not this reflects any concrete historical reality, it stands to reason that the vast majority of merchants (including, presumably, all *shang* merchants) were not in the direct employ of the state.

period, provide another basis for this type of study, particularly appropriate because their place of manufacture is unmistakable from their shapes and inscriptions. The different types of coins—the round coins of the royal Zhou (and later of Qin), the spade-shaped (or “cloth [equivalent]”) currency of the Jin successor states, the knife-shaped coins of Qi and Yan, and the “ant-shaped coins” and gold ingots of Chu, have been collected and studied for centuries.<sup>43</sup> They are found archaeologically at dwelling sites, in tombs, and quite frequently in hoards containing dozens or even hundreds of specimens; but unfortunately, the archaeological provenience of most numismatic evidence known so far is unsatisfactorily documented. Ke Peng has argued that two separate monetary spheres existed in Warring States China.<sup>44</sup> One comprised the kingdoms in the Yellow River system, where coins were circulating freely across political boundaries. Matsumaru Michio has shown that coin weights throughout this area were based on a single unit, apparently first defined at the royal Zhou court during the Western Zhou dynasty, assuring the convertibility of coins of different shapes.<sup>45</sup> By contrast, the monetary system of Chu during the Warring States period, with its unique combination of gold and bronze coins, was deliberately limited to Chu and its client polities. Peng believes that it may have been devised as an artificial means of establishing Chu as a separate economic and political area and to prevent or to control the outflow of resources. If this is true, coin usage was one means of enforcing territoriality during Warring States times. Also among the artifacts through which economic policy can be traced are the tallies and tokens by which Warring States kingdoms attempted to impose their control over the movement of goods and persons.<sup>46</sup> Their inscriptions testify to the highly regulated nature of trade, though the official trade they document may not have been the only form of long-distance economic exchange at that time. The relative importance of government-sponsored and private activity in Warring States commerce and manufacturing—a key question in assessing the social status of those engaged therein—remains unknown.

## ARTISANS, PROFESSIONALS, AND OTHERS

Artisans, like merchants, are vastly underrepresented in the written record. They are archaeologically visible mainly in their products and to a lesser extent

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<sup>43</sup> Major modern studies on this topic include Wang Yuquan 1957; Zhu Huo 1984; Huang Xiquan 2001.

<sup>44</sup> Peng Ke 1999.

<sup>45</sup> Matsumaru 1992.

<sup>46</sup> Falkenhausen 2005a (q.v. for pertinent references).

in the excavated remains of their workshops. The tremendous variety of craft products makes it difficult to generalize. So far, most of the research touching on this group in Zhou society has dealt with objects of high economic and artistic value, such as bronzes, lacquers, and jades. The best-studied manufacturing site from the Age of Confucius is the Late Springs and Autumns-period bronze foundry of the last Jin capital, at Houma (Shanxi).<sup>47</sup> Bronze manufacture had always been characterized by a relatively high degree of division of labor, but the Houma finds show new manufacturing methods, devised during the Springs and Autumns period, that led to a widening occupational and social gap between skilled craftsmen—those who designed the dazzling ornaments and those who oversaw the casting process—and the much larger number of unskilled laborers.<sup>48</sup> Administrative supervisors were indispensable for coordinating the highly compartmentalized tasks in the production process and for ensuring uniform standards of quality. Warring States bronze objects are sometimes inscribed with the names of administrative units involved in their production and/or storage.<sup>49</sup> Thus, the bronzes themselves suggest a hierarchization of the manufacturing personnel. The same is likely true for the makers of luxurious lacquer objects, which were being produced all over China throughout the Bronze Age, though most of the specimens now preserved come from Warring States Chu.<sup>50</sup> Inscriptions on products of Qin- and Hàn-period government lacquer workshops attest strict supervision and quality control;<sup>51</sup> scattered indications suggest that such a régime may date at least from Warring States times.

In other, less glamorous industries, such as ceramics or salt-making, the technology and consequently the organization of production were less complex, but the scale of production was often staggering and increased even further over the course of the Zhou period.<sup>52</sup> So far, this is mostly an impression based

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<sup>47</sup> Shanxi Sheng Kaogu Yanjiusuo 1993; Institute of Archaeology of Shanxi Province 1996.

<sup>48</sup> Bagley 1993b; 1995; elaborating on Keyser 1979.

<sup>49</sup> The largest group of provenienced objects with such inscriptions comes from the tomb of King Cuo of Zhongshan (Hebei Sheng Wenwu Yanjiusuo 1995). For Warring States-period storehouses, see Sahara 1984.

<sup>50</sup> Thote 1990; 2003. See also Satô 1988 and the articles collected in Chen Zhenyu 2003: 282–525.

<sup>51</sup> Barbieri-Low 2001.

<sup>52</sup> For preliminary observations on the early salt industry, based on fieldwork in the Upper Yangzi River basin, see Chen Bozhen 2003; Chen 2004; Flad 2004. A study on the economics of ceramic production and trade in Late Bronze Age China is still a desideratum.

on the uniformity in shape and material properties of the ceramics characteristic of each period and region (e.g., Warring States-period *mingqi* vessels from around the Chu capitals); one hopes for quantitative studies to explore this rigorously in the future.

The labor force employed at Zhou period workshops was in all likelihood hierarchically stratified (including supervisors, master craftsmen, simple workmen, etc.) and at least in part unfree. Texts attest the practice of slavery,<sup>53</sup> but we have no indications of its extent. Our observations on Western Zhou ceramic vessels in Chapter Four also provide circumstantial evidence to the effect that the social status of the potters was low. At Houma some of the workshop personnel appear to have lived right where they worked; their dismal semisubterranean dwellings suggest subalternity.

It is unknown so far whether any of the artisans were affiliated with mainstream lineages. Excavations at manufacturing sites frequently encounter tombs, presumably of people who worked there; their placement away from ranked lineage cemeteries may show that their occupants were outsiders; their modest furnishings, as well, bespeak low social rank. At the Houma bronze foundry site both simple vertical-pit tombs without burial chambers and discard burials (*qizang*) at the bottom of refuse pits were found, suggesting hierarchical differences—though there are no indicators that would permit correlating this tomb hierarchy with the hierarchy of artisans.<sup>54</sup>

Notwithstanding scant evidence, one is tempted to extrapolate that, over the course of the Zhou period, the social positions of artisans improved: highly regimented and possibly unfree in Western Zhou, they may have gained greater independence with the rise of commercial activity from Late Springs and Autumns onward. This seems plausible at least for the producers of certain kinds of high-status items. From the mid-fifth century onward, evidence excavated from tombs suggests an impressive increase in the production of luxury bronzes—ornate belt-hooks, mirrors, lamps, as well as ornamental vessels—which are more likely to have been traded privately (presumably by their makers) than the sumptuously restricted ritual vessels hitherto prevalent. Unfortunately, there is so far no way of knowing which of the various categories of people involved in artisanal production were able to profit by this change from ritual to luxury production.

Most probably, artisans in Early China transmitted their skills principally through the family line, as was the case throughout later Chinese history. Similar to and quite possibly developed out of the artisan class, a new professional stratum emerged over the course of the Zhou dynasty: physicians,

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<sup>53</sup> Yates 2001.

<sup>54</sup> Shanxi Sheng Kaogu Yanjiusuo 1993, vol. 1: 439-40.

technical specialists, as well as magicians, diviners, and other specialized religious personnel.<sup>55</sup> They, too, formed professional lineages (some descent-based, others not), within which systematically defined skills were handed down and sometimes codified in books. Their mode of organization was also imitated by some of the philosophical “schools” of the Eastern Zhou period, which likewise have left behind a rich body of texts. Aside from the possibility that the occupants of Rank O and P tombs at Eastern Zhou lineage cemeteries near the Chu capital may represent a metropolitan intelligentsia (see Chapter Nine), little direct physical evidence of this new professional stratum can be discerned in the archaeological record; but their existence and practices are fairly well attested through texts, including especially texts that have recently been excavated from tombs.<sup>56</sup>

Other low-ranking specialized groups in Zhou society—day laborers, runners, boat people, carriage drivers, innkeepers, cooks, domestic servants, entertainers, prostitutes, beggars, hermits—are currently invisible to both texts and archaeology and may well remain so. In general, current archaeological information remains distressingly incoherent on demographic developments, on the political and economic ramifications of the social processes traced in this book, and on the non-élite groups in the Zhou population.

## A CALL TO ACTION

Perhaps the most basic problem in the study of social archaeology is that the evidence available usually does not directly concern the phenomena the researcher wishes to study. To some degree, of course, this is true in all historical disciplines, but the conceptual distance is particularly great when non-textual artifacts are used, as they are in this book, as the basis of an argument concerning a mental construct such as social organization. In order to connect archaeological evidence to broad historical phenomena, chains of inference must be built up carefully. In reconstructing the social structure and social dynamics during the Age of Confucius, our main point d'appui has been the nexus of ritual practice and the social order—a nexus that endured even as both ritual and society were profoundly transformed over the course of the period. Given the nature of ritual as a performance, not of how things are, but of how things ought to be, we must remain aware that our view of Zhou society is likely to be to some extent distorted and idealized. At the same time, such a view coun-

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<sup>55</sup> Li Ling 1993a, 2000.

<sup>56</sup> It is questionable, however, whether the tombs that yielded manuscripts were necessarily those of intellectuals, or even of literate individuals. On this point, see Falkenhausen 2003b (with further references).



terbalances other kinds of distortions that arise when a society is studied only from the perspective of power politics or military movements or “geopolitical realities”—or, indeed, from the perspective of elite intellectual trends. More basically, however, ceramic typology, for instance, is not congruent with changes in the social status or ethnic affiliation of the potters or their customers; it may somehow correlate with such changes, but aspects of those topics, including very central aspects, certainly remain inaccessible through this kind of evidence. This is a basic predicament of a study such as the present one, and it is the basic reason for the lingering vagueness of its conclusions.

Nevertheless, it is obvious that far more precise results could be achieved with better-quality data. Research of a more systematic nature is urgently called for in order to obtain the statistically representative datasets needed to draw valid social conclusions from archaeological evidence. In particular, one hopes for increased archaeological information pertaining to the residential and industrial infrastructure of Zhou society. The greatest desideratum, as for all periods of Chinese archaeology, is settlement pattern surveys and settlement excavation. Although China’s size precludes a comprehensive survey of the whole country (the avalanche of data would, in any case, be unmanageable), full-coverage, chronologically sensitive survey of a number of well-chosen sample areas should disclose fairly accurately the developments over time in the size, distribution, and density of settlements. These are the sorts of data that, if available in sufficient number, could begin to give a relatively accurate idea of demographic developments, and to demonstrate how processes of political and administrative centralization and increased economic exchange led to an overall homogenization of lifeways and social patterns. In addition, the careful and systematic excavation of representative settlements of different types would yield information on the livelihoods of their inhabitants, the architectural characteristics of their dwellings, and possible changes in living standards over time.<sup>57</sup> Such research is also likely to yield non-artifactual evidence, such as plant remains, from which one can reconstruct the agricultural techniques current at the time.

To complement this information, additional representative datasets from cemeteries, comparable to those from Shangma (see Chapter Three), are also desirable. Demographic estimates from a given cemetery could be juxtaposed with an estimate of the number of the adjacent settlement’s inhabitants, based on the surface area of dwellings or on the carrying capacity of the surrounding environment (considering the agricultural techniques employed). The latter kinds of estimates are very rough, but they have the advantage of including those categories of inhabitants not represented in funerary data from lineage

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<sup>57</sup> Pertinent evidence is likely to come out of the ongoing Franco-Chinese excavations at Gongying, Nanyang (Henan); see Introduction, n. 39.

cemeteries. A comparison of different kinds of population calculations for the same site or region would be very instructive.

Although the bulk of archaeological evidence on Late Bronze Age China will no doubt continue to come from settlements and cemeteries, one also hopes for extensive datasets regarding other types of sites—production centers, fields and other sites of agricultural activity, resource-extraction sites, roads, canals, post stations, harbor facilities, ritual centers, military fortifications, etc.—in order to reveal various dimensions of social life, economic activities, and governmental control. In particular, systematic excavation of resource-exploitation and manufacturing sites would provide crucial information on the technical and economic background of the artifacts on which our archaeological chronologies are based. The results might call for a revision of parts of the currently accepted chronological framework; they would undoubtedly afford far greater accuracy.

This brief enumeration of agenda suggests the priorities for future research on the social archaeology of Late Bronze Age China, and on Chinese archaeology in general. There is no lack of suitable sites, and China is fortunate to possess a sizable pool of well-trained and enthusiastic archaeologists capable of doing the work now needed. The large, statistically representative datasets required for the next stage of research must be generated through large-scale, multiyear, interdisciplinary research projects employing large numbers of personnel. I hope that some of these projects will take the form of international collaborations, which will also enable researchers from other countries to learn about Chinese archaeology, to realize its intrinsic interest as well as its importance, and to bring their various and interdisciplinary expertises to bear on the acquisition, organization, and interpretation of data. Once the results of such research are placed into a world-wide comparative context and integrated into cross-culturally based theories and models, one may hope that at last Chinese archaeology will come to enjoy the recognition it deserves in the concert of the Humanities and Social Sciences.

## REFERENCES FOR TABLES 19-30

IN THE FOLLOWING, citations are given for the archaeological evidence used to compile Tables 19-30. Due to limitations of space, I have been unable to discuss many of these finds in detail, or even to mention them in the main text and footnotes of the book. Pertinent citations are, however, included in the Bibliography, and the reader is encouraged to consult the original publications for further information.

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Gadamer, Hans-Georg (German philosopher; founder of modern hermeneutics [1900-2002]), 21n47

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*gaodice* 告地册 (written memorial addressed to the authorities of the afterworld), 318

Gaoyang 高陽 (alternative name for the mythical emperor Zhuanxu), 234

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*gong* 公 (appellation of venerated ancestor; later also title for the ruler of a polity, sometimes translated as “Duke;” one of the aristocratic ranks in the idealizing hierarchy from the “Wangzhi” chapter of *Li ji*), 91, 110, 392n19

Gong, King 共[王] (king during part of Middle Western Zhou), 59, 59t6, 60t7, 61–63

*gongcheng* 宮城 (palace enclosure, in a major Warring States period capital), 310

Gonghe 共和 regency (the period between 841 and 827 BC, during which King Li was in exile and the Zhou government was in the hands of Elder He of Gong 共伯和), 7, 59t6, 60t7

*gongmu* 公墓 (“rulers’ tombs;” a *Zhou li* term sometimes applied to archaeological evidence), 338, 348

*Gongyang zhuan* 公羊傳 (an early work of exegesis and commentary on the *Chunqiu* chronicle), 50n32

*goudiao* 勾鐃 (chime-bells with upward-facing mouths seen only in Southeastern China during Eastern Zhou and early Hàn times), 280f60

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*gu* 觚 (liquid-serving vessel with trumpet-shaped rim), 37t2, 46t3, 67n63, 79t8, 88t9, 102–103f18, 112–113t10, 114–116t11

*gu* 賈 (one of the two different categories of merchants mentioned in *Zhou li*), 414n42

Gu Donggao 顧棟高 (Qing dynasty philologist and historian [1679–1757]), 285n88

*guan* 棺 (coffin), 137. *See* coffin

*guan* 罐 (pot; the most common type of pottery storage vessel, rarely imitated in bronze), 142f26, 146–147t17, 157–158t20, 183–184, 187f32, 190–191f33, 208t21, 236f46, 253t24, 303f61, 320f71, 352–353t29, 378t30, 379f89, 380f90, 381f91

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“Guan Zhong shijia” 管仲世家 (“Annals of the Descendants of Guan Zhong;” chapter of *Shi ji*), 319n55

“Guande” 觀德 (“Contemplating Virtue;” chapter of *Chunqiu fanlu*), 65n59

Gui 媯 (name of a clan; it comprised the ruling lineage of Chen and, during the Warring States period, the royal house of Qi), 124n70

*gui* 簋 (grain-offering tureen), 37t2, 49–50, 44–45f8, 46t3, 52f9, 56, 64, 79t8, 88t9, 89n27, 90, 100, 102–103f18, 104–105, 104f19, 106–107f20, 108f21, 112–113t10, 114–116t11, 118, 120f22, 124–125, 139, 157–158t20, 182–184, 187f32, 190–191f33, 208t21, 216–218t22, 229, 247t23, 250, 251f49, 266–267f53, 269, 274, 276–277,

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- gui* 圭 (pentagonal tablet of jade or stone), 137, 143f
- Guliang zhuān* 穀梁傳 (an early work of exegesis and commentary on the *Chunqiu* chronicle), 73n74
- “Guming” 顧命 (“Last Will;” chapter of *Shangshu*), 65n57
- guo* 槨 (burial chamber), 100, 137. *See* burial chamber
- Guo 虢 (lineage/polity in present-day western Henan), 78, 82, 91–92, 96, 109–111, 112–113t10, 117, 121n64, 127, 152–153, 199, 326
- guo* 國 (polity; originally denoted the political center of the polity, later a territorial state), 8, 312, 406
- Guo Baojun 郭寶鈞 (Chinese archaeologist [1893–1971]), 51n35, 76n9, 126n71, 135n14, 171n3, 178, 182n29, 183n34, 183n36, 351n35, 396n26
- Guo Ji 虢姬 (generic name for a woman of the Guo lineage), 121n64
- Guo Moruo 郭沫若 (Chinese poet, historian, and epigrapher; after 1949, Vice-Premier of the People’s Republic of China and head of the Chinese Academy of Sciences; a leading Marxist theoretician [1892–1978]), 23n54, 91n31, 263n36, 410n29
- Guo Shu 虢叔 (“Junior of Guo,” brother of King Wen of Zhou; founder of one of the principal lineage segments of Guo; also, that lineage segment and designation of its later heads), 109n48, 117
- Guo Ying 虢嬴 (generic name for a woman from a Ying-clan-affiliated lineage who had married into the Guo lineage), 121n64
- Guo yu* 國語 (*Narratives on the Politics*, a collection, probably compiled during the late fourth century BC of historical accounts, mainly political speeches, concerning the major polities of the Springs and Autumns period), 9, 29n2, 264, 319n55, 403
- Guo Zhong 虢仲 (“Second-born of Guo,” brother of King Wen of Zhou; founder of one of the principal lineage segments of Guo; also, that lineage segment and designation of its later heads), 109n48, 117
- guocheng* 郭城 (wall-enclosed living quarters of the ordinary population of a major Warring States-period capital), 310
- Hàn 漢 (imperial dynasty, 202 BC–AD 220), 3n6, 7, 8n14, 11, 23n54, 82n18, 171, 176, 237, 242n56, 260, 298n12, 301n19, 304, 308, 312, 316, 318, 399n28, 403n1, 405, 411, 416
- Hàn 漢[水] (major tributary to the Yangzi river in central China), 80
- Hán 韓 (a lineage in Jin; later one of the Warring States kingdoms), 4, 8, 337, 359, 365, 395
- Hao 鎬 (one of the Western Zhou royal capitals near present-day Xi’an [Shaanxi]), 4, 159m7

Hayashi Minao 林巳奈夫 (foremost Japanese specialist of Chinese archaeology [1925-2006]), 38, 43, 89, 258n27, 298, 332n8

*be+* 盞 (square or round box-shaped vessel), 79t8, 88t9, 216-218t22, 320f71, 322-325f72, 352-353t29, 387f94

He 𢆶 (also transcribed as A; donor of an Early Western Zhou *zun*, excavated at Baoji), 170n2

*be\** 鍾 (small oval vessel with ring-shaped handles; traditionally misnamed *zhou* 舟), 140f24, 146-147t17, 157-158f20, 216-218t22, 253t24, 341t26, 344t27, 349t28, 352-353t29, 378t30, 378t31, 379f89

*be+* 盞 (water-pouring vessel with tubular spout), 79t8, 88t9, 103f18, 106-107f20, 112-113t10, 114-116t11, 157-158t20, 216-218t22, 247t23, 253t24, 303f61, 341t26, 349t28, 352-353t29, 383f93. *See also* *jiaobe+*

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Hou Yi 后羿 (mythical archer who shot down nine of the ten suns from the Fusang tree), 313

Hu 胡 (non-Chinese tribes, especially to the north and northeast), 235

*bū* 匚 (rectangular grain vessel consisting of two almost identical halves), 88t9, 112-113t10, 114-116t11, 121n64, 140f24, 141, 146-147t17, 157-158t20, 190-191f33, 251f49, 253t24, 269, 341t26, 342, 343f77, 344t27, 347, 349t28, 352-353t29, 367, 377f88, 383f93, 385t31, 388f95, 393n21



*bu* 琥 (tiger-shaped jade ornament), 143f27

Hu (written as 胡 in traditional sources; personal name of King Li), 64n55

*bú* 壺 (a tall liquid container, often ornate, with lateral handles and lid), 37f2, 42f7, 44-45f8, 46f3, 50, 56, 79t8, 88t9, 102-103f18, 104, 106-107f20, 112-113t10, 114-116t11, 119n61, 140f24, 146-147t17, 157-158t20, 187f32, 190-191f33, 208t21, 216-218t22, 247t23, 253t24, 256, 303f61, 320f71, 322-325f72, 341t26, 342, 344t27, 349t28, 352-353t29, 360, 361f84, 362n49, 383f93, 387f94, 388f95, 389f96, 390f97

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Huan Zi Meng Jiang 洹子孟姜 (female donor of a mid-sixth-century BC *bú* vessel from Qi), 73n74

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Huang Gaozu 皇高祖 (“August High Ancestor;” honorific term of reference), 65

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*jia* 罍 (large tripodal alcohol-serving vessel), 37t2, 39f4, 46t3, 88t9

*jian* 鑑 (large water basin), 146–147t17, 216–218t22, 253t24, 266–267f53, 269, 279f59,  
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Jiang Yuan 姜嫄 (a legendary woman of the Jiang clan; mother of Hou Ji), 200

“Jiangren” 匠人 (“Builders;” a subsection of the “Kaogongji”), 176n12

“Jiao tesheng” 郊特牲 (“Single Sacrifice at the Suburban Altar;” chapter of *Li ji*), 29n2

Jiaodong 膠東[半島] (peninsula constituting the eastern part of Shandong Province), 252n12

*jiaobe+* 醵盃 (*be+* vessel with prominent arch-shaped handle), 190f33, 266-267f53, 352-353t29, 383f93, 387f94

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Jin Jiang 晉姜 (name of a woman from a Jiang-clan-affiliated lineage who had married into the Jin lineage, attested in a bronze inscription from Beizhao [Qucun Locus III]), 119n62

“Jin shijia” 晉世家 (“Chronicle of the Ruling House of Jin;” chapter of *Shi ji*), 90n28, 91n29, 109n49, 119n62

Jin Shu Jiafu 晉叔家父 (courtesy name of an individual mentioned in bronze inscriptions from Beizhao [Qucun Locus III]; possibly a marquis of Jin), 89n27

Jing Gong 景公 (ruler of Qin, r. 577-537), 330

*jishi jitan* 積石積炭 (accumulated stones and charcoal, lining the burial chamber of some especially fancy tombs), 100, 101f16

“Jitong” 祭統 (“The Essence of the Sacrifices;” chapter of *Li ji*), 47n22

“Jiu gao” 酒誥 (“Announcement Concerning Alcohol;” chapter of *Shangshu*), 49n29

*jiuzun* 酒樽 (small wine-container, similar to *lian*), 349t28

“Jixi li” 既夕禮 (“Rituals on the Evening Before;” chapter of *Yi li*), 76n7

Ju 莒 (an “Eastern Yi” polity in present-day central Shandong), 181n28, 254, 258

*juanyan fendang daizuli* 卷沿分襠袋足鬲 (ceramic *li* vessel with curled rim and pouch-shaped legs separated at the “crotch”), 184, 185f31

*jue* 爵 (slitted earring), 143f27

*jue* 缺 (spouted tripod liquid-serving vessel), 37t2, 40f5, 41f6, 44-45f8, 46t3, 49, 56, 79t8, 88t9, 102-103f18, 108f21, 114-116t11, 157-158t20, 182n32, 208t21, 247t23

*junzi* 君子 (superior man; ideal moral agent according to Confucian thought), 43n5

Kang, King 康[王] (king during the transition from Early to Middle Western Zhou), 64n56

“Kang Wang zhi gao” 康王之誥 (“Announcement of King Kang;” chapter of *Shangshu*, originally part of the “Guming” chapter), 65n57

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Kao Shu Zangfu 考叔隤父 (donor of a *bū* vessel found at Bailizhou, Zhijiang[Hubei]), 393n21

“Kaogongji” 考工記 (“Notes on Examining the Artisans,” late Eastern Zhou text concerning technical matters; now preserved as a section of the *Zhou li*), 176

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- Li Hou 釐侯 (Marquis Li, ruler of Jin, r. 840–823 BC), 90n27
- Li ji* 禮記 (*Records on Ritual*; one of the three Confucian ritual classics, compiled during the first century BC from earlier materials), 29n2, 47n22, 65n57, 66–67, 70n68, 76, 137n16, 181n27, 300n16, 301n20, 304, 392n19
- Li, King 厲[王] (third-last king of Western Zhou. The Late Western Zhou Ritual Reform very probably took place shortly after the beginning of his reign), 29n2, 60, 64n55
- Li Ling 李零 (contemporary Chinese philologist, epigrapher and essayist), 12n24, 16n33, 40n17, 56n46, 63n54, 72n71, 76n9, 248n6, 260n31, 265n48, 269n50, 301n21, 340, 342nn24–25, 348n28, 406n16, 418n55
- Li Xueqin 李學勤 (contemporary Chinese historian and epigrapher), 3n5, 31n5, 50n32, 59, 61–62, 63n54, 67, 72, 76n9, 119n61, 171n4, 173n8, 224n25, 229n36, 333n11, 350n34, 410n29
- lian* 奩 (covered wine container of cylindrical shape; not used in rituals), 349t28
- liandangding* 聯襠鼎 (ding tripods with pouch-like extensions at bottom, but lacking the pronounced “crotch” seen in *fendangding*/*liding*), 12of22, 303f61, 352–353t29
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- Liang Ji 梁姬 (woman from a Ji lineage who had married into the Liang lineage; donor of a vessel found in Tomb 2012 at Shangcunling), 121n64
- Liang Xingpeng 梁星彭 (contemporary Chinese archaeologist), 205n6, 207
- Liang Ying 梁嬴 (generic name for a woman of the Liang lineage), 121n64
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- lieding* 烈鼎 (set of *ding* tripods of graded sizes, featuring identical décor), 106f20, 355f80, 361f84
- liezu* 烈祖 (Resplendent Ancestor[s]; a honorific expression), 60t7, 61, 62n50, 67n64
- “Lilun” 禮論 (“Discourse on Ritual,” chapter of *Xunzi*), 65n59, 301n20
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Lu 魯 (Confucius’s home polity in western Shandong; ruled by a lineage of the Ji clan), 1, 7, 137n16, 154, 170, 173, 175, 176n16, 203, 252

Lü Fu Yi 旅父乙 (inscription of a *gu* vessel dedicated to one Fu Yi, perhaps of the Wei lineage, found in Hoard 1 at Zhuangbai), 37t2, 58t5, 67n63

“Lu shijia” 魯世家 (“Chronicle of the Ruling House of Lu,” chapter of *Shi ji*), 175n10

“Lu song” 魯頌 (“Hymns of Lu,” one of the main sections of *Shi jing*), 62n50

*Lunyu* 論語 (*Assorted Sayings*, the Analects of Confucius), 2n3, 4n7, 137n16, 149n18, 166n10, 181n27, 304n25, 403n4, 404nn6–8

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- Tianzi 天子 (“Son of Heaven,” title of the Zhou king), 51t4, 255n16, 392n19
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- Wangzi Wu 王子午 (a.k.a. Zi Geng 子庚: Chu prince and chief minister of Chu, fl. mid-sixth century BC), 347n27

- wawen* 瓦紋 (ornament of horizontal grooves, frequently seen on Late Western Zhou *gui* and *yi* vessels), 250, 347, 376, 389
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- Wei Man 衛滿 (in Korean: Wiman; general from the Yan kingdom; semi-legendary founder of Chaoxian 朝鮮), 285
- Weí shi liezu 微氏烈祖 (expression occurring in the Shi Qiang-pan inscription; sometimes taken as the name of an individual ancestor of the Wei lineage, but more probably a collective term for several early lineage members), 58t5, 60t7, 61, 62n50, 67n64
- Weí Zi Qi 微子啟 (Late Shang court aristocrat, switched allegiance to the Zhou; possibly the ancestor of the Weí lineage documented by the bronzes from Hoard 1 at Zhuangbai), 72, 117
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- Wen kao 文考 (Accomplished Deceased Father; a honorific term of reference), 58t5
- Wen, King 文[王] (Founder of the Zhou dynasty, lived in the first half of the 11th century BC), 1, 7, 58, 61, 63n54, 92, 109, 117, 283
- Wen zu 文祖 (Accomplished Ancestor; a honorific term of reference), 58t5
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- Xia 夏 (semi-legendary dynasty of early Bronze Age China; early self-designation of the “Chinese nation”), 166–167, 402–403, 407
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- Xiang 湘[江] (river in Hunan), 285–286, 372
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- Xianzu 先祖 (First Ancestor; ancestral title of a lineage founder), 65, 66n61
- Xiao, King 孝[王] (King during Middle Western Zhou; seems to have succeeded to the throne irregularly, perhaps while the royal house was divided in two contending branches), 59t6, 60, 60t7, 63
- xiaoguan* 小罐 (rare ornate globular bronze vessel, sometimes with chain-link handle; perhaps not used in rituals), 88t9, 112–113t10, 157–158t20, 190–191f33
- “Xiaoya” 小雅 (“Lesser Elegantiae;” one of the main sections of *Shi jing*), 47n22, 62n50, 65n59
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- Xin Zi 辛子 (mistakenly written day name in the inscription of the Man-*gui*; must read Xin Si 辛巳, Day 18 in the Cycle of Sixty), 124
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Xintian 新田 (last capital of the Jin polity, flourished during the sixth to mid-fourth centuries BC), 128-129, 134, 135, 336, 411n30

*xizun* 犧尊 (animal-shaped bronze vessel), 260n31

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Xue 薛 (lineage/polity in present-day southern Shandong), 157t20, 181n28, 408

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*yan* 甗 (grain steamer [sometimes transcribed as *xian*], consisting of tripodal *li* and hollow-bottomed *zeng* 甑), 79t8, 88t9, 89n27, 102-103f18, 112-113t10, 114-116t11, 118, 119n61, 120f22, 140f24, 146-147t17, 157-158t20, 190-191f33, 208t21, 216-218t22, 247t23, 253t24, 320f71, 352-353t29, 357f82, 383f93

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Yan 奄 (Shang-period polity in southwestern Shandong), 175

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Yangce 羊冊 (emblem of a scribal lineage, possibly the Wéi lineage, consisting of pictographs for “sheep” and “bamboo-strips;” seen on some vessels from hoard 1 at Zhuangbai), 37t2

- Yangyue 揚越 (indigenous non-Chu population of the Xiang River basin in present-day Hunan Province), 286
- Yangzi River 揚子江 (a.k.a. Changjiang 長江), 4, 15, 21, 25, 36n15, 246, 248n7, 262–272, 274, 276, 278, 280–283, 286, 288, 336, 386, 396, 410, 416
- yaokeng* 腰坑 (“waist-pit” on the bottom of a tomb, containing an animal sacrifice), 178, 180f30, 182, 186, 188–189, 192–194, 220, 269, 329f73
- Yazu 亞祖 (Subordinate Ancestor; ancestral title for the founder of a branch lineage/lineage segment), 65–67, 66n61
- Ye Wansong 葉萬松 (leading Luoyang-area archaeologist), 171n3, 173n6, 192n46, 196, 197nn60–61
- Yellow Emperor. *See* Huangdi 黃帝
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- Yi 伊 (donor of a Late Western Zhou gui vessel in the Nara National Museum, Japan [ex Sakamoto Collection]), 64, 264n42
- Yi 夷 (non-Zhou inhabitants of Shandong and adjacent areas). *See* Eastern Yi
- yi* 匜 (sauceboat-shaped water-pouring vessel, used in conjunction with pan), 88t9, 112–113t10, 114–116t11, 121n66, 140f24, 146–147t17, 157–158t20, 190–191f33, 216–218t22, 253t24, 303f61, 322–325f72, 341t26, 342, 343f77, 344t27, 349t28, 352–353t29, 363f85, 377f88, 383f93, 385t31, 393n21
- Yi gong 乙公 (honorific term of reference for an ancestor whose sacrifice took place on the second day of the ten-day sacrificial cycle), 58t5
- Yi Hou Ze 宜侯矢 (donor of an Early Western Zhou *gui* excavated from the Springs and Autumns period Tomb 1 at Yandongshan, Dantu [Jiangsu]), 280n74, 283
- Yi, King 懿[王] (king during Middle Western Zhou; the royal house may have been split in two contending branches during his reign), 59t6, 60, 60t7, 63
- Yi, King 夷[王] (king during the late phase of Middle Western Zhou; apparently a weak ruler), 29n2, 59t6, 60, 60t7, 63
- Yi li* 儀禮 (*Protocols of Ceremony*, one of the three ritual compendia in the Confucian classical canon; probably compiled during the late pre-imperial period), 47n22, 76
- Yi, Marquis of Zeng 曾侯乙 (d. after 433 BC; his tomb has been excavated at Leigudun, Suizhou [Hubei]), 265, 306, 313–316, 318, 351, 356
- Yi Zhou shu* 逸周書 (*Leftover Zhou documents*, Eastern Zhou miscellany containing some original Western Zhou texts), 170n2
- Yi zu 乙祖 (“The Yi Ancestor;” one of the early ancestors in the Wéi lineage genealogy), 58t5, 60t7, 62, 67
- yiding* 匜鼎 (spouted tripod), 112–113t10, 157–158t20, 253t24, 352–353t29
- “Yin benji” 殷本記 (“Basic Annals of Shang;” chapter of *Shi ji*), 117n55
- ying* 罍 (covered vessels with tapering body and separate pouch-shaped legs), 50, 52f9, 79t8
- Ying 應 (lineage/polity located in present-day south-central Henan), 157t20



Ying 嬴 (name of a clan; it comprised the ruling house of Qin), 121n64, 200, 234, 237, 243, 270

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*you* 卣 (liquid container with arch-shaped movable handle), 37t2, 38, 40f5, 46t3, 73n75, 79t8, 88t9, 102–103f18, 114–116t11, 247t23, 253t24, 274, 277f57

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Yu 鄒 (an “Eastern Yi” lineage/polity situated in southwestern Shandong), 181n28

*yu* 盂 (coverless vessel with curved profile and laterally attached handles), 79t8, 157–158t20, 120t22, 183, 187f32, 247t23, 253t24, 368f86, 378t30

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Yu Fuwei 余扶危 (Chinese archaeologist, working in Luoyang), 196n59, 197–198

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Yuan, King 元[王] (Eastern Zhou king, r. 476–469 BC; his accession is sometimes taken as the beginning of the Warring States period), 8n13

Yuan Zi Feng 蕞子馮 (or Peng 棚: Chief Minister of Chu, d. 548 BC), 340

*yuanjian yuanfu aodiguan* 圓肩圓腹凹底罐 (ceramic guan vessel with rounded shoulder, rounded belly, and concave bottom), 184

*yuanyan xiefupou* 圓沿斜腹甗 (ceramic pou vessel with rounded-profile rim and slanted belly), 184

- yucui* 孟錐 (name for an animal-shaped vessel, given on a bridal specimen from Tomb 2 at Rujiazhuang [Baoji Locus III], Baoji [Shaanxi]), 79t8, 120f22
- yuding* 浴鼎 (also called *tangding* 湯鼎 or *kangding* 滌鼎; tripod with constricted opening, used to heat water for washing), 266-267f53, 269, 341t26, 352-353t29, 383f93, 385t31, 387f94, 390f97
- Yue 越 (name for the non-Zhou populations to the south; an ancient kingdom in present-day Zhejiang and southern Jiangsu), 254, 263, 264, 271nn58-59, 282-283, 286
- yue* 鉞 (sacrificial axe; a symbol of power), 255n16
- “Yue Wang Goujian shijia” 越王句踐世家 (“Chronicle of the Descendants of Goujian, King of Yue;” chapter of *Shi ji*), 263n38
- Yue-type *ding* 越式鼎 (thin-legged tripod peculiar to southern and southeastern China), 274, 275f56
- yufou* 浴缶 (broad-shouldered water-storage vessel), 146-147t17, 266-267f53, 341t26, 342, 343f77, 344t27, 349t28, 352-353t29, 363f85, 378t30, 383f93, 385t31, 387f94
- Yumei 餘昧 (king of Wu, r. 530-527 BC), 280n74
- Ze 𡗗 (Western Zhou-period polity near present-day Baoji City, Shaanxi Province), 118n58
- Zeng 曾 (lineage/polity in present-day north-central Hubei and southernmost Henan), 157-158t20, 265, 306, 351, 352-353t39
- zhan* 盞 (lidded container vessel common in Eastern Zhou Chu), 269, 341t26, 342, 344t27, 363f85, 367, 378t30, 379f89
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- Zhang Jian 張劍 (Loyang-area archaeologist), 173n9, 177n17, 181n24, 183, 196n59
- Zhang Xuehai 張學海 (Formerly leading archaeologist in Shandong), 186, 203, 336n16
- Zhanguo ce* 戰國策 (*Discourses on the Warring States*; a collection of anecdotes on the period from 453 to 221 BC, compiled from earlier materials during the first century BC, that gave its name to the Warring States period), 8
- Zhao 趙 (a lineage in Jin, affiliated with the Ying clan; later one of the Warring States kingdoms), 4, 8, 64, 337, 351, 352-353t29, 365, 395
- Zhao Huacheng 趙化成 (Contemporary Chinese archaeologist), 215n19, 224n25, 228, 234n41, 235, 240n51, 369n54
- Zhao, King (king during the early part of Middle Western Zhou), 59t6, 60t7
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- Zhe 折 (head of the Wéi lineage during the late part of Early Western Zhou; “Subordinate Ancestor” of Qiang and Xīng), 37t2, 38-39, 39f4, 56, 58t5,

- 60t7, 62, 65, 67, 69, 73n75
- zheng* 鉦 (also called *dingning* 丁寧; clapper-less bell with round shank used for signaling in warfare), 88t9, 104, 112-113t10, 157-158t20, 253f24, 279f59, 352-353t29
- Zheng 鄭 (lineage/polity in present-day central Henan), 157-158t20, 350-351, 352-353t29, 359, 362, 365
- zhenmushou* 鎮墓獸 (tomb-protecting beast), 269, 276, 278f58, 341t26, 375-376, 384
- zheyang fendangli* 折沿分襠鬲 (*li* vessel with everted rim and divided “crotch”), 184, 185f31, 195
- zhi* 觶 (small vessel of oval cross-section used for serving liquids), 37t2, 46t3, 79t8, 88t9, 102-103f18, 108f21, 112-113t10, 114-116t11, 157-158t20, 182n32, 247t23, 249f48
- zhong* 仲 (indicator of seniority: “Second-born”), 70
- Zhongguo 中國 (the Central Polities of the Zhou realm; in modern usage, the autonym for “China”), 22
- “Zhongren” 冢人 (“Sepulture Officials;” subsection of the “Chunguan” section of Zhou li), 77n10, 85n22, 338n18
- Zhongshan 中山 (kingdom in present-day central Hebei, flourished in the middle of the 1st millennium BC), 254-262, 276, 288, 310, 316, 329t25, 336, 416n49
- zhongsbi* 中士 (“Middle Gentlemen”), 394, 393t32
- Zhou 周 (place name in present-day Shaanxi; a dynasty [1046?-256 BC], and its kingdom), 1-4; 31-33
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- “Zhou benji” 周本記 (“Basic Annals of Zhou;” chapter of *Sbi ji*), 33n7, 62n52, 117n55, 241n55
- Zhou, Duke of 周公 (personal name: Dan 旦; brother of King Wu of Zhou; one of the founding heroes of the Zhou dynasty), 1-2, 33n9, 175, 403
- Zhou Gong. *See* Zhou, Duke of
- Zhou li* 周禮 (*Rites of Zhou*, one of the three ritual compendia in the Confucian classical canon; compiled in the fourth and third centuries BC, partly based on earlier records), xxii, 1n1, 50n32, 76-77, 85n22, 176n12, 338, 348, 356n41, 392n19, 394, 414n42
- “Zhou yu-xia” 周語下 (“Narratives of Zhou, Part Three;” chapter of *Guo yu*), 29n2
- Zhouyuan 周原 (Plain of Zhou, in Fufeng and Qishan counties, Shaanxi), 30-38, 32m2, 32f2, 69n66, 80, 159m7, 299
- Zhouzhang 周章 (semi-legendary king of Wu mentioned by Sima Qian), 280n74

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zhu Xia 諸夏 (“the several Xia polities,” early self-designations of the “Chinese nation”), 166

Zhuangzi 莊子 (“Master Zhuang” [ca.369-ca.286], proto-Taoist thinker; also: the book said to contain his teaching, a.k.a. *Nanhua zhenjing* 南華真經), 23n57

Zhuanxu 顓頊 (mythical emperor; ancestor of the Ying clan), 234

zhubou 諸侯 (collective term for the “several rulers” of the Zhou polities), 51t4, 339, 356

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zi 字 (style name/courtesy name, awarded to males on reaching adulthood), 61n49

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