

Chapter I

Introduction

Ritual and Economy in East Asian Archaeology

Rowan Flad and Anke Hein

Ritual, economy, and the connections between them are topics interwoven throughout the work of Lothar von Falkenhausen, as most clearly reflected in the topics of his three most prominent monographs: *Suspended Music: Chime-Bells in the Culture of Bronze Age China* (Falkenhausen 1993), *Chinese Society in the Age of Confucius (1000–250 BC): The Archaeological Evidence* (Falkenhausen 2006 for the original English version and the Japanese translation, 2011 for the Korean translation, and 2017 for the Chinese translation), and the forthcoming *Economic Trends in Late Bronze Age China (1050–250 BC): The Archaeological Evidence* (preliminary title). These volumes reflect Falkenhausen's tremendous impact on the field of East Asian archaeology, an impact due not only to his comprehensive, erudite, and detailed treatment of the source materials and subject matters of concern but also to the fact that his work situates Bronze Age China squarely within a global discourse that interrogates the past to develop a deeper understanding of the nature of society, the relationships between individuals and institutions, and the fundamentals of the human condition.

Suspended Music, which was based on his PhD dissertation (1988), focused on ritual and its strong connection with music, an unsurprising topic given the author's strong musical talent and great love of music. The heart of that volume concerns reconstructing the music of bronze chime bells from the Shang and Zhou Dynasties and how tonal concepts and musical theory intertwined with political

concepts that governed their creation and use. The book is not limited to music and politics, however. The very first chapter discusses socioeconomic issues; bronze production is the focus of another chapter. Altogether the book provides a discussion of the closely entangled relationship between ritual, politics, and technical aspects of bell creation and usage, and it effortlessly contributes to the field of musical theory.

The monograph *Chinese Society in the Age of Confucius* provides a social history of pre-Imperial China during the first millennium BCE. Von Falkenhausen produces a fresh analysis of archaeological evidence, particularly graves, as a window on elite and commoner society. Instead of allowing interpretation to be guided by textual narratives, his synthesis examines how a complementary and distinct view of ritual and society can be produced through careful attention to the material world within which people lived and acted. In particular, the book discusses the role of bronze vessels in ritual actions in both life and death, investigating what changes over time in these assemblages tell us about social and political structures. The work emphasizes the connection between ritual practices and social structures, discussing not only social stratification but also ethnicity, gender, and other forms of identity. It describes the Zhou lineage system as reflected in rituals and the way social structure and rituals changed during a ritual reform of the Middle/Late Western Zhou period (ca. ninth century BCE). The volume ends with a discussion of issues insufficiently

explored in previous research on pre-Imperial China: demography, territorial expansion, military developments, and especially the economy. Economic topics, including trade, crafts, and agriculture, are fundamental components of society and are the center of his most recent monograph, in its final stages of publication when this volume was being produced.

This constant interweaving of ritual and economy in von Falkenhausen's work, sometimes emphasizing one and then the other, but always connecting the two, is at least partially a response to the preponderance of burial evidence in the archaeology of Bronze Age China. Ritual bronze vessels from burial contexts were particularly important in denoting rank, power, and also economic might. Producing these vessels required control over raw materials, manpower, symbolic representation, and technological know-how. Using them involved rituals through which individuals argued for and reinforced control over these economic levers. These rituals materialized social connections, social tensions, and social order, as did the various economic activities that were less directly implicated in the material culture of ritual.

On the occasion of Lothar von Falkenhausen's sixtieth birthday, June 6, 2019, dozens of students, colleagues, and other scholars influenced by his scholarship convened a conference and workshop titled *The Art and Archaeology of Ritual and Economy in East Asia* to further interrogate these themes and their connections. Participants presented and discussed a wide range of scholarship inspired by von Falkenhausen's work (Figure 1.1). In various ways, the scholarship explores different aspects of the nexus between ritual and economy, and participants shared a concern for clear terminology and explanation of underlying concepts. Accordingly, all contributions to this volume explicitly consider terminological and conceptual issues. Furthermore, several themes crosscut the contributions, and these themes reflect four issues central to the study of the relationships between ritual and economy not only in East Asia but in the ancient world more broadly. These issues give names to the four parts of this volume: "Ritual Economy," "Ritual and Sacrifice," "Technology, Community, Interaction," and "Objects and Meaning."

Each of these themes draws attention to the ways certain categories of social practice overlap with other categories. Accordingly, these themes aim to blur distinctions that, although sometimes heuristically useful, can obscure ontological overlaps and reify a notion that distinct spheres of social action are appropriate cross-culturally and transhistorically. In fact, as Michael Strevens (2020) recently discusses, the intellectual currents of the Enlightenment

that promoted the privileging of empirical data and the consequential emergence of science in Western philosophical thought involved a partitioning of intellectual domains (for example, civil and spiritual) as well as spheres of expression (public and private). Other recent scholarship criticizes the assumption that domains of society can be neatly separated as independent units that constitute a composite whole (Asad 1993) and the Cartesian distinction between the natural and the cultural (Alberti and Bray 2009; de Castro 1998). The implication of much of this scholarship is that concepts that are sometimes framed as dichotomous, such as human and animal, social and natural, secular and sacred, structure and agency, and religion and economy, are categories that are better conceptualized as mutually constituted. The four central themes that cross-cut the contributions to this volume demonstrate the fluid boundaries between some such domains and reflect a set of concerns that are broadly considered in the study of art and archaeology in East Asia and beyond.

These dominant themes in the fields of art history and archaeology in East Asia pervade the work that von Falkenhausen has produced over the years. This is not an accident, given the significant impact he has had directing these fields and training a generation of scholars. We learn about the background for his influence from a personal preface by Li Shuicheng, one of Lothar's old classmates and friends from his study days in China, and then see the impact of his scholarship in the 18 essays that follow.

Ritual Economy

A number of the essays in this volume investigate the connections between a mutual constitution of sociopolitical structures, economy, and ritual. As one of us has elaborated elsewhere (Flad and Chen 2013:209), *rituals* are patterned, performative, distinctive formal acts that enable and solidify social bonds and reflect existing cultural principles (Bell 1997; Rappaport 1999; Valeri 1985). Rituals often manifest belief and notions of the sacred (see Insoll 2004; Kyriakidis 2007; Steadman 2009:23) and are central to the social identities of the participants (see Bell 1992, 1997). The *economy* might seem a domain that is even more clearly defined: "the way in which something is managed," with particular emphasis on the management of resources (*Oxford English Dictionary*). There has been considerable debate, however, over the degree to which economics are structured according to universally applicable considerations that can be formally modeled or whether there are substantive differences between the operational principles that underlie economies in different social contexts (Burling 1962; Dalton 1975; Firth 1965; Polanyi 1957; Wilk 1996). Much scholarship

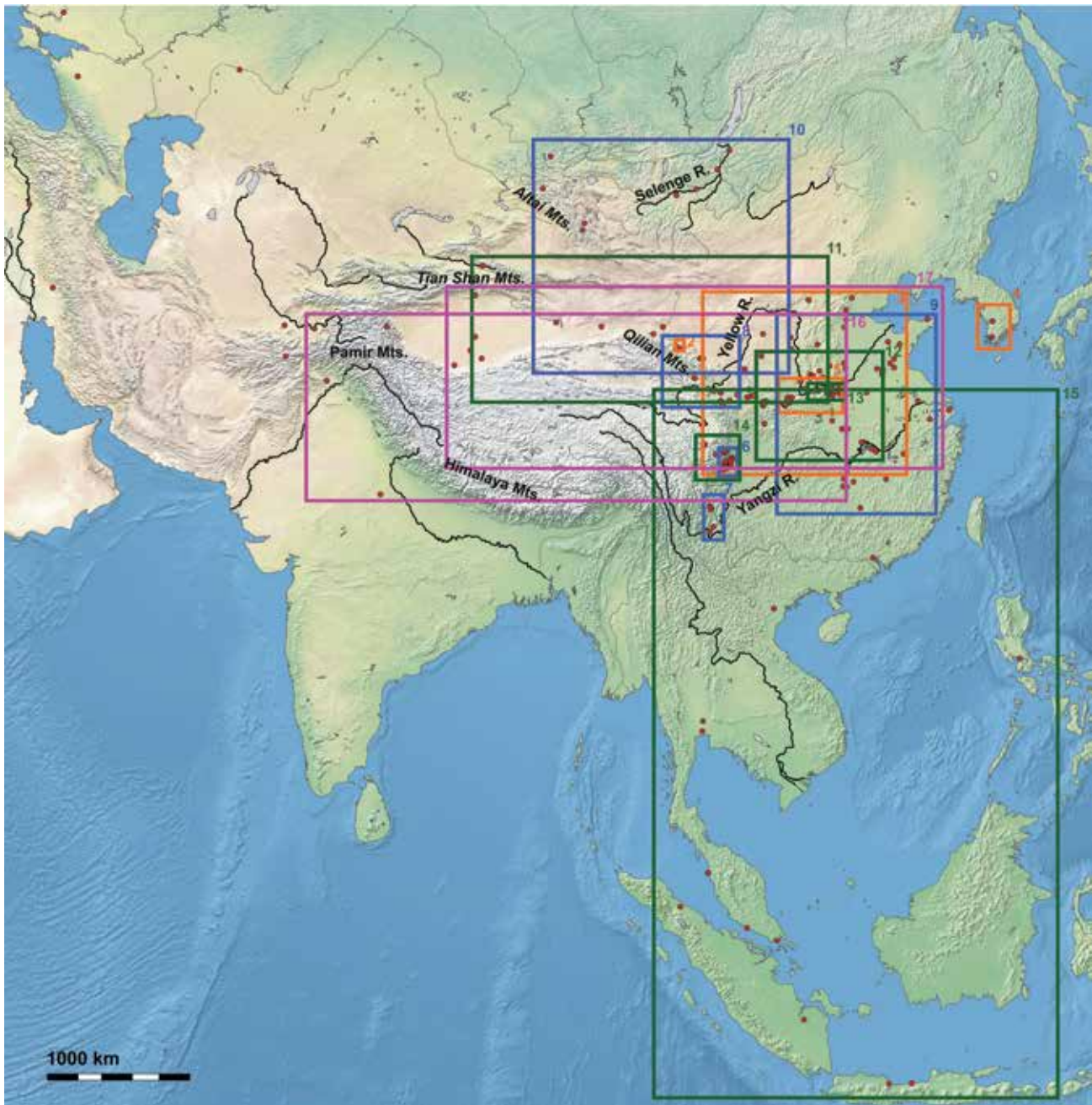


Figure 1.1. Overview map showing the locations covered in each chapter. *Created by Bryan K. Miller.*

on economics and economic anthropology has moved beyond this debate without fully resolving the underlying disagreements, but there is a shared recognition that the economy does not exist as a distinct domain that can be entirely separated from other aspects of social interactions. For example, the significance of economic concerns for political relationships is recognized by work on *political economy*, which broadly deals with the ways production

and exchange are connected to laws, government, and custom and more specifically interrogates relations of power as manifest in the practice of managing resources (Earle 2000; Heyman 2013; Roseberry 1988; Woods 2000).

The concept of *ritual economy* ostensibly concerns both the economic aspects of ritual practices and the ritualized significance of economic practices (McAnany and Wells 2008; Miller 2015; Wells 2006; Wells and Davis-Salazar

2007). In one early consideration of these issues, Peter Metcalf (1981) considers the economy of ritual in burial practice in ethnographic Borneo to explain how occasions that involve different expenditures of resources and other variations can be thought of as equivalent. He argues that death rites can be best understood through an examination of economics, maintaining a rhetorical dichotomy between these domains even while recognizing their mutual constitution. More recently, scholars have pointed out that ritual economy is a concept that can be useful in the context of small-scale societies, where “ritual institutions can function to direct economic practices in the absence of hierarchical social divisions” (Miller 2015:124), implying that concerns often considered under the rubric of political economy remain important in the absence of formal political structures. We would furthermore suggest, building on the discussion in the previous section, that the tendency to assume that the domains of ritual, economy, and politics are meaningfully distinct needs rethinking. Several chapters in this volume consider the economic aspects of ritual practices, particularly burial rituals. They do not overly emphasize these concerns as separate domains but instead illustrate the inherent and pervasive connections between ritual and economy that are evident through this volume.

In his study of the second millennium BCE Donghuishan cemetery in Zhangye, Gansu, China, Wen Chenghao explicitly considers the concept of ritual economy, seeking to understand the socioeconomic dimensions of funerals that occurred in the Bronze Age community at this site. Following Metcalf (1981), Wen’s investigation focuses on secondary burials at the site as a particularly useful phenomenon with which to examine provision and consumption in a ritualized context. Burial rituals were an occasion for mediating between economic inequality and a sense of community solidarity. He finds a relationship between evidence for secondary burial rituals and energy expenditure, explores other measurable aspects of the graves that illuminate the use of resources in the ritual process, and also describes how practices such as skull removal illustrate the significance of postmortem engagement with skeletons to the society at Donghuishan. This latter observation shows one way the ritual economy overlaps with the meaning of objects, a topic highlighted in the third section of this volume.

Also focusing on the region of Gansu Province in China but during the first millennium BCE, Alain Thote examines burial remains from the site of Majiayuan and other tombs associated with the Western Rong. Through a careful analysis of the material culture found in these tombs, Thote shows how the ritualized context of burials materialized the

social and economic position of the Western Rong population between the steppe cultures to their north and west and the Central Plains communities associated with the Qin and Zhou to their east. Particularly important to the identity of the Western Rong was their engagement in craft-creative practices that reflect the social, cultural, and ideological significance of manufacture and thus embody the overlapping relationships between ritual and economic domains. (See recent extensive discussions of craft in Adamson 2021; Ingold 2013; Langlands 2018; Li 2021; Rizvi 2018.)

Jack Davey likewise examines mortuary contexts as a means to investigate overlapping concerns related to ritual and economy. His study problematizes the concept of the Mahan culture through a close consideration of the variability in the features associated with so-called Mahan burials on the Korean Peninsula. This variability indicates differences in ritual practices, the use of resources within those rituals, and processes of producing burials that together suggest heterogeneous identities. He concludes that the Mahan is a “process of becoming” produced in the context of contemporary and historical research. Although rooted in typological debates, Davey shows that an attention to ritual and economic practices is necessary to evaluate what was culturally meaningful to historical groups of individuals, and he challenges overdetermined efforts to assign coherent identities that have emerged primarily as a result of later historiographical discourse to communities in the past.

A fourth study of burial practices, by Ye Wa, examines social practices associated with funeral rituals, explicitly connecting changes in mourning processions during the Tang Dynasty (619–907 CE) to broad changes in the political economy of Tang society. As in the study by Davey, Ye follows von Falkenhausen in pointing to the need to critically examine the relationship between textual and material culture as sources of understanding about the past. Using these two sets of information in a complementary fashion, rather than privileging one over the other, Ye contextualizes changes in funeral practices by considering changes in the material culture found in graves in light of contemporary discourse on funeral practices and filial piety. This discourse is entwined with concerns about the economy of the state, and thus burial practices are necessarily connected to economic factors affecting the producers of burial goods and the practitioners who oversaw funeral rites. Her analysis indicates that the changes in Tang burial rituals, rather than being a reaction to political dynamics, as some have proposed, related to tensions between philosophical and economic concerns of the state on the one hand and individual concerns about filial piety on the other.

Ritual and Sacrifice

While the first section includes essays that examine the mutually constituted domains of ritual and economy in the contexts of burial practices, other studies examine ritualized practices more broadly in East Asian archaeological contexts. Some of these contributions focus on the significance of rituals, the sacrificial form of which famously constitutes one of the two foundations of the Chinese state: “The major affairs of the state are sacrifice and war” (国之大事，在祀与戎, *Zuozhuan*, Cheng 13, Shisanjing zhushu, p. 1911). In that phrase, the term *si* 祀 is understood to mean ritual in a temple involving sacrifice, as in *jisi* 祭祀 (sacrifice), and more broadly has the connotation of worship or sacrifice to the ancestors. The Han Dynasty *Shuowen jiezi*, a dictionary dating to the first century CE, glosses the term *si* 祀 as “ji wuyi ye 祭无已也” (unceasing sacrificing). The latter term, *rong* 戎, in its earliest form is a combination of the characters for a weapon and armor or a shield, thus signifying warfare, but some scholars have pointed out that the significance here may also be understood to be “war sacrifices” (Shaughnessy 1996:159). As Rod Campbell has pointed out (2012:305), sacrifice (*jisi* 祭祀) is “usually subsumed under the broader category of *li* 礼” (ritual/propriety), an observation that illustrates that concepts in Chinese that relate to sacrifice and ritual and their intersection are numerous. Related terms include but are not limited to *si* 祀, *ji* 祭, *li* 礼, *xun* 殉 (to be buried with the dead), *xi* 牺 (using animals in sacrifice), *ci* 祠 (religious sacrifice/shrine), and other words for sacrifice, such as *zhao* 烝 and *yong* 禋. Not only are there large numbers of related terms, many of which were used at particular points in time throughout Chinese history and have roots in the Shang 商 and Zhou 周 periods (Li Yuan 2004), but the meaning of terms changed over time (Puett 2002) and were multiple. *Si* 祀, for example, meant the duration of a ritual cycle or a “round of sacrifice” (Smith 2010:21) in some oracle bone inscriptions and meant age, generation, or regnal year by the Tang Dynasty, as evidenced in the writing of Liu Zongyuan 柳宗元 (773–819 CE), if not earlier.

Sacrifice is a form of ritualized act that involves the giving up a subject to obtain some benefit (Carrasco 2013; Flad and Chen 2013:211; Hubert and Mauss 1964 [1898]; Valeri 1994). These concepts are obviously related through the process of ritualization and furthermore should be considered as categories whose constituent practices illustrate the problem of distinguishing ritual from other domains. Although some definitions of sacrifice and ritual rely on a distinction between sacred and profane, “a distinction between religious and secular distinctions or motivations is difficult and . . . fundamentally, historically flawed”

(Campbell 2012:306; see also Bell 2007; Hesse et al. 2012), and sacrifices might be best understood as “ritualized practices combining offering and destruction” (Campbell 2012:306), typically involving performative violence “as a form of communication with a deity, gift giving, or expiation to a higher being” (Carrasco 2013:211).

Richard Ehrich considers one example of a sacrificial context in his discussion of pits filled with various jade, bronze, ceramic, gold, and ivory objects at the second millennium BCE site of Sanxingdui in the Chengdu Plain of Sichuan Province, China. He argues that these deposits result from a pattern of ritual practices that were crucial to placemaking at this site and were related to social processes intended to mitigate crises. Sacrifices, deposited in hoards, Ehrich argues, were one form of mediating with the supernatural and reinforcing the power of an elite stratum of society for the period during which Sanxingdui was a central place in this region.

Like Ehrich, Anke Hein also draws on analogous deposits in Europe to consider the nature of place-based sacrificial practices in Sichuan and wrestles with determining what terminology is most appropriate for categorizing such deposits. Her examples come from the mountainous Liangshan region of western Sichuan rather than the Chengdu Plain, and they date later than the Sanxingdui examples. Furthermore, rather than a default explanation focused on ritual and sacrifice, as is the case with the Sanxingdui deposits, the examples from western Sichuan have not always been recognized as part of a widely dispersed phenomenon. Hein argues that these are intentional deposits and that they fit into different categories, the understanding of which is enhanced by drawing on the more frequently discussed and interrogated examples from Europe.

Katherine Brunson and colleagues consider material evidence from ancient China of divination, a ritualized practice that is focused on mitigating uncertainty. The remains they present are oracle bones, a category of divination objects best known from inscribed examples from Late Shang (ca. 1250–1050 BCE) contexts from the urban center of Yinxu in Anyang, Henan, China. Those examples comprise the earliest corpus of writing from China and document the ritualized nature of much of this writing. Oracle bones are much more widely dispersed and have a long history of use, however, although most examples outside of Yinxu do not have inscriptions (see Flad 2008). Brunson and her colleagues are investigating this larger corpus through the lenses of zooarchaeology and technology, allowing chronological change and spatial variability in osteomantic divination in early China to be better understood.

Kazuo Miyamoto focuses on the dynamism of ritual from the Middle Western Zhou ritual reform (Rawson 1999) through the ritual restructuring of the Middle Springs and Autumns period, a topic that has been a particular focus of von Falkenhausen's research as well (Falkenhausen 2006). To trace this dynamism, Miyamoto considers the chronology of bells disposed of in burial contexts and in particular explores the relationship between *nao* bells of northern and southern China. With his close attention to chronology, he shows that changes in the ritual repertoire of northern China involved incorporation of southern forms and proposes that this process was part of a political and social incorporation of southern populations that used ritual practices as a means of creating harmony.

Drawing inspiration from Valerio Valeri (1994), Bryan Miller discusses the multiple dimensions of animal sacrifices recovered from Xiongnu graves dating to the period from about 200 BCE to 200 CE in Mongolia. Drawing on examples from two cemeteries that reflect broader patterns seen across the entirety of the Mongolian steppe, Miller shows that attention to the specific placement of animal parts in burial contexts reveals that animal sacrifices had multiple meanings in Xiongnu practices and that different portions of the same animals might have been employed in different ways with different significance at the same time. Accordingly, this Mongolian case study further demonstrates a nuanced perspective on the categories of ritual and sacrifice.

Technology, Community, Interaction

Other essays in this volume focus on topics typically considered to more closely align with the concerns of economy, including the nature of intercommunity and intracommunity contacts, exchange, and identity formation. These essays consider various scales of interaction and how different scales must be simultaneously examined to understand the nature of the social significance of economic practices. By examining the overlap among domains of production, consumption, use, exchange, and innovation, these essays show how scales of place and practice reflect on the interplay between ritual and economy.

The paper by Flad provides an exhaustive discussion of the nature of technology and argues that technological change must be considered as a process by which new or different ways of doing fit into existing practices. Taking a broad view of technology, including not only craft production but also subsistence practices and all other "practices interrelating transformation of material resources, abstract and practical knowledge, social and political relationships, and cultural beliefs" (Brezine 2011:82), Flad focuses in particular on the significance of different scales of distance

in the processes by which innovation, appropriation, and adoption occur. In particular, he examines a case study of technological change in Northwest China associated with the emergence of the proto-Silk Road. Based on a discussion of evidence for subsistence, jade, and metal technology, he argues that selective adoption reflects a constant, localized process of evaluating the value of new ways of doing things in light of the costs necessarily associated with technological change. In prehistoric Northwest China in particular, old and newly introduced technologies (such as bronze metallurgy and new domesticates) were constantly being negotiated, with people weighing the costs and benefits of adopting or discarding one or the other. However, as Flad points out, these seemingly economic calculations were tied in with ritual practices and construction of value, making it crucial to discuss them together rather than seeing them as separate or even diametrically opposed elements. Technology and technological change, Flad argues, should always be considered through the mutually constitutive lenses of production processes, consumption, interaction, and community.

In his discussion of copper mining and smelting in the middle Yangzi River valley, Shi Tao focuses on the organization of resource extraction (in this case copper mining), taking a bottom-up approach by focusing on local labor organization in the middle Yangzi River rather than viewing the organization of resource extraction from the centers of Shang and Zhou rule in the Central Plains. While it was previously assumed that metallurgical work was centrally controlled, be it from the Central Plains or on a more local level, Shi argues that, at least prior to the Springs and Autumns period, mining was organized in a decentralized manner. This perspective pushes against the often still pervasive Central Plains-centric view of early dynastic China. While later periods saw a more centrally administered territory and maybe also production system, Shi's research draws attention to the fact that while different parts of what is now China became increasingly more interconnected in the search for and exploitation and working of metals, as well as distribution of the resultant products, many aspects of resource extraction and maybe also production were organized on a more local level based on local circumstances. Interestingly, recent research on the Terracotta Army of the first emperor suggests that such trends may have continued even into periods of strong centralized control, as seen in the early Chinese Empire (e.g., Bevan et al. 2018; Quinn et al. 2017).

While Shi discusses an early stage in production—resource extraction—Lee Hsiu-ping focuses on production—consumption relationships in the case of white pottery produced at a second millennium site called Nanwa. These

ceramics may largely have been consumed at Erlitou, an important Early Bronze Age site in Henan, China. Like Shi, Lee argues against the narrative of strong central control of production, in this case during the Early Bronze Age and possibly later periods, emphasizing the agency of local producers and consumers alike. In his study, Lee is particularly concerned with the concept of interaction, in this case the small-scale interaction between two archaeological sites rather than the large- and medium-scale interregional or even continent-spanning types of contact that often receive most attention in archaeological research. By focusing on the smallest scale of interaction, Lee considers the agency of communities and even individual producers and consumers. He traces daily decisions made by both groups and how they shape patterns of production, consumption, and interaction between individuals, groups, and ultimately regions based on availability of resources, know-how, and the local demand for products.

Similarly, Lin Kuei-chen focuses on communities as a unit of analysis. For her, communities encompass several households but remain smaller than the medium- or large-scale units of region or state. Following Chang (1968), she argues that a community is the context for social interactions that form the background for material remains, making it an archaeologically meaningful unit. Changes in daily practices within communities then lead to large-scale cultural transformations, Lin argues, following Birch (2013). Lin's study examines production and a broad range of object consumption activities, in particular ritual. Her study focuses on the presence of both local-style and exotic goods in Neolithic and Bronze Age Sichuan, China, identifying evidence for increasingly more wide-ranging exchange and other forms of interaction. At the same time, increasingly consistent pottery types and frequent ceremonial and public activities may have served to strengthen community cohesion within and among settlements. Communities at these settlements were integrated by both production and ritual activities, areas that show considerable overlap, as seen in production modes for both ritual and daily needs. Places such as Sichuan, Lin argues, were not passive peripheries; their gradational participation in ritual systems helped them shape and strengthen community identities on the local level. They were engaged with urban centers elsewhere yet had their own self-contained economies supporting local ritual practices.

Ellen Hsieh identifies similar processes of construction of local social identities involving imported Chinese-made porcelains used mainly for ritual purposes in eighteenth and nineteenth century Southeast Asia. By focusing on Bencharong and Peranakan porcelain wares and the context

of their usage and deposition, she traces overseas Chinese networks, identifying instances of creolization of practices and identities in Chinese and non-Chinese elements. She outlines entanglement among objects and people involved in their production, exchange, and use, leading, for instance, to Chinese double-happiness wedding plates appearing in an Islamic tomb. This paper thus makes a call for research into both unique occurrences and general patterns, connecting investigation into local developments with broader views of interregional networks and global trends.

Flad, Shi, Lee, Lin, and Hsieh thus all grapple with scales of analysis and the scale of networks, identities, and interactions, as well as their reflections in the material record, discussing patterns of exchange, production, and consumption in ritual and daily actions, providing a range of possible ways of approaching these issues.

Objects and Meaning

The papers in this section delve more deeply into terminological and conceptual concerns, combining textual, artistic, and archaeological evidence to explore ontological issues that focus on the meaning of objects. Although not explicitly framed in terms of the ontological turn that has become an increasingly significant part of archaeological discourse in the past decade (e.g., Alberti and Bray 2009; Alberti et al. 2011; Bauer 2019; Costa and Fausto 2010; Olsen et al. 2012; Olsen and Whitmore 2015; Preucel 2016), these articles illustrate ways that objects cannot be neatly categorized into distinct domains such as ritual and economy. It is through the lens of meaning attributed to objects that the connections between economic and ritual practices become most clearly manifest.

Minku Kim discusses a rare example of a Kharoṣṭhī inscription on the base of a gilt-bronze Buddha image found in Xi'an. He provides a new translation and argues, based on the terminology, phonology, and onomastics, that the text was produced by a person from Kroatina. Considering artistic and technological details of the statue itself, Kim confirms the previously suggested date of the mid- to late fourth century CE and points out various multicultural undercurrents. Additionally, he raises the potential that the old Chinese manufacturing technique of piece-mold casting may have been used rather than what he calls the "more international" lost-wax technique. His study thus shows the subtle interplay of technology, religion, ritual economy, and cross-cultural interaction that is characteristic for Buddhist practices and associated material culture. As this study skillfully shows, these complex connections are ideally understood in multi-method, multisource research combining methods from art history, history, archaeology, and linguistics.

Zhang Hanmo likewise combines textual and material evidence, considering the name, religious meaning, and material and artistic particularities of what in English are generally called *boshan* incense burners. Combining artistic evidence, information on ritual and religious meaning, and taxonomy, Zhang argues that these objects do not represent a mountain as usually assumed but instead depict flowing *qi* clouds. Additionally, he suggests that items that are referenced in texts as *boshan* burners were used to burn a specific fragrant grass called *boshan* and that the designs on such objects can vary, not needing to be mountains and often including clouds. This study thus cautions us not to take established terms for granted or let them guide our interpretation of objects. Instead we must be sensitive to the subtle interplay of form, design, meaning, function, and terminology. Terms like *boshan*, known from textual sources, may not neatly overlap with categories of objects created through art historical analysis. Taxonomic terms created for different purposes ultimately have different associated meanings.

The meaning of objects is also at the center of Hans Barnhard's contribution, though he is critical of focusing on objects with inscriptions. He argues that texts reflect only elite views and in turn may color the views of archaeologists. Barnhard points to the importance of objects not as individual treasures but as data that, in the aggregate, carry information. He admits difficulty transcending the attractiveness of special or beautiful objects, but he sees it as the duty of archaeologists to emphasize this information, and not the objects that embody it, to both themselves and the public. The importance of objects to archaeologists, he highlights, is facilitated by the fact that creation and use of objects connect functionality with meaning (building on, e.g., Gosden and Marshall 1999; Hodder 2012; Malafouris 2013).

Besides past meanings and functions, there is also the modern context in which ownership, preservation, and storage become an issue once an object has entered the archaeological realm. In this context, Barnhard discusses the role of museums, which have increasingly moved into the public realm, combining traditional roles of preserving objects and memories and creating narratives and a sense of community through research and education. This raises the question "Who owns the past?" which is often raised in relation to issues of repatriation from colonial contexts (e.g., Hicks 2020). Barnhard focuses more on the issue of authenticity in the context of restoration—that is, to what state an object with a complex history should be restored—and the use of copies and digital renderings (e.g., Brenna et al. 2019). Barnhard calls for a data-driven (rather than treasure-driven) holistic study of artifacts involving consultation with multiple stakeholders.

This last paper, therefore, in addition to elaborating the concerns with ritual, economy, and meaning that pervade the work of Lothar von Falkenhausen, also ties into his important engagement with international policies on heritage and antiquities. Serving on the Presidential Cultural Property Advisory Committee of the United States from 2012 to 2020 (Falkenhausen 2016), Falkenhausen was involved in discussions and recommendations concerning international agreements about the trade in antiquities. It is in realms such as this where scholarship on the meaning of past material culture and policies of the contemporary world come into most intimate connection. The meanings ascribed to objects position them firmly within social discourse that is situated in international trade and politics of identity, including the ritualized discourse that creates the imagined communities integral to the creation and maintenance of modern nation-states (Anderson 1991).

Conclusion

The volume concludes with an epilogue by Willeke Wendrich. Her essay also concerns meaning and ontology, focusing on value and meaning expressed in certain number systems, but her contribution relates to Lothar von Falkenhausen in a more personal manner. While she focuses mostly on the meaning of certain numbers within the context of ancient Egyptian society based on symbolism, textual references, and material manifestations evident in the archaeological record, she was motivated to reflect on the significance of numbers because of a number that holds particular importance in East Asian calendrical systems: 60. On the occasion of the sixtieth birthday of Lothar von Falkenhausen, nothing could be more apt than examining how numbers like 60 have culturally specific significance.

Adam Smith, one of von Falkenhausen's students, has explained the significance of the sexagenary cycle on which East Asian calendars are based and the connections of this cycle to ritual (2010). The textual evidence for this system extends as far back as the earliest writing in China and involves the combination of stem (*gan* 干) and branch (*zhi* 支) cycles of 10 and 12 graphs respectively. The 12-cycle stems are eventually associated with the 12 animals of the zodiac, and the return to a *jihai* 己亥 year of the pig in 2019 marked five cycles of 12 since the year of Lothar's birth. As Smith further points out, "The 10-cycle and 60-cycle also underlay the calendrical apparatus that was used to schedule sacrificial performances directed towards these same dead kin, a central religious preoccupation of elites and probably the early Chinese population more broadly during the late second millennium" (Smith 2010:2). Through the Shang and Zhou periods, the 60-cycle of days was an important

feature of the ritualized calendrical system. By the Han, as represented on silk manuscripts buried in 168 BCE at Mawangdui, the 60-cycle was applied to the counting of years (Smith 2010:28), setting the stage for our celebration of Lothar in 2019.

It is fitting, given the influence he has had over so many people, that the scholars who converged in Los Angeles that June presented work with many overlapping themes. The sections into which we have arranged this volume were not preordained but instead reflect general trends and broad themes of importance in East Asian archaeology that resonate in many ways with the considerable corpus of Lothar's work. Each essay reflects on these connections and the ways his influence has shaped the work under discussion. The impact that has developed in this 60-cycle is something we can only hope will be repeated in the next.

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