

**Archaeological Manifestations of Rank and Status,
The Wooden Chamber Tombs in the Mid-Yangzi Region (206 B.C.-A.D. 25)**

by

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Abstract

This thesis is centered on the roles of wooden chamber tombs in defining, negotiating and reinforcing status and identity of their owners in early imperial China. The archaeological materials under discussion are wooden chamber burials in the mid-Yangzi region, including the modern provinces of Hubei, Hunan, Sichuan and north Anhui. The first reason why I have chosen this area is because these tombs are well-preserved and provide excellent examples to examine the different material expressions of rank and status at each rank in mortuary contexts. They are complemented by some extensive contemporary texts written on bamboo strips recently discovered in the same general area. The waterlogged burial environment in the mid-Yangzi region allows organic materials, such as textiles, lacquers and bamboo manuscripts, to survive while in other regions, such as the Central Plain, they often perished.

Secondly, these tombs are also of a traditional form—constructed as a wooden chamber dug into a vertical pit, and can therefore be considered in relation to earlier Zhou practices. Wooden chamber tombs started to flourish from the eleventh century and became more elaborate from the sixth to the first century B.C. From the first century onward, such a burial type still prevailed in the mid-Yangzi region, while they were replaced by horizontal tombs built with bricks or stones in other areas. Many scholars have, therefore, regarded the prevailing timber structure in the area as a cultural continuity from Zhou system. They interpret them in terms of funeral regulations, especially linking them to archaic ranks and ritual norms drawn from transmitted texts. However, many of these texts that archaeologists consult and cite were written long after the burials and sites were constructed and used. These later texts were modified and passed through many editorial hands over the centuries, and there are considerable inconsistencies between different textual sources. Therefore the second reason why I have chosen this area is because it provides data demonstrating that the text-centered assumptions with respect to archaeological material do not contribute to a better understanding of social relationships in early Han society.

Thirdly, there is a strong connection with local Chu tombs. The Jiangnan Plain was the heartland of the Chu state before the Qin unification. The tomb construction of the Chu state incorporates a striking preference for timber structures. The timber structure tombs grew more widespread and dominant in this area during the early Han dynasty. In using multiple burial chambers and nested coffins, the local Han elites in the mid-Yangzi region seem to have followed the Chu mortuary practice, as well as in burying a large number of lacquers and bamboo manuscripts. The abundant material evidence of Chu tombs in the area sheds light on understanding of changes in funerary beliefs, showing that the tombs were arranged to meet specific needs of tomb owners.

Rather than simply seeing a wooden chamber burial as a passive reflection of written regulation, I consider it as a medium for conveying the different thoughts of its owner and their associates. The material evidence manifested the status and identities of the deceased in concrete physical form. The burial assemblages belong to carefully planned contexts, and serve to constitute idealized social relations, rather than necessarily mirroring day to day reality. As such, burial evidence not only exhibited a part of the biography of the dead, but also expressed identity and socio-political claims of the living. This thesis will show that rank is not the only and major determinant, but is accompanied or outperformed by status and identity.

The period covered by this thesis is the initial stage of early imperial China. The Western Han Empire (206 B.C.--A.D. 25) is traditionally regarded as a period when a unified social, political, and ideological framework was initially established. In 202 B.C., Liu Bang (256--195 B.C.) from the former Chu state in eastern China, defeated Xiang Yu (232--202 B.C.) and set up the Western Han imperial court, with its capital in Chang'an (modern Xi'an, Shaanxi province). The Han Empire was briefly interrupted by the Xin Dynasty (A.D. 9--23), established by Wang Mang (45 B.C.--A.D.23), a Confucian official from the Liu family. This interregnum divides the Han dynasty into two periods: the Western Han (206 B.C.--A.D.9) and the Eastern Han (A.D.25--220).

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Chapter 1 Introduction

爵位上下之禮，王道綱紀

The hierarchy of honorary ranks is the means by which to separate the superior and subordinate, to legitimate authority and to secure state principles.¹

Our text-centered picture of early Han society mainly derives from the transmitted literature, in which the classical historians described their own society in Ban Gu 班固 stated that, when Emperor Gaozu established the early Han Empire, people's ranks were dependent on their achievements, and the officials' grades were decided by their capabilities.² The social order was maintained by sumptuary rules and regulations concerning land, property, servants, carriages, clothing, coffins and objects for sacrificial and secular uses according to a hierarchy of ranks.³

What happens when we put aside those historical records, and look, instead, at the excavated material? Recent archaeological discoveries have yielded rich

¹ *Han shu*, 84.3414.

² *Han shu*, 17.677. “爵以功為先後，官用能為次序。” The *Han shu* 漢書 (Former Han History), China's first dynastic history, was written mostly by Ban Gu (A.D.32-92), took the project over from his father, Ban Biao (A.D.3-54). After Ban Gu's death, his sister Ban Zhao (A.D.51-120) completed the work. It covers the Western Han from the first emperor in 206 B.C. to the fall of Wang Mang in 23 B.C. On the authorships of the *Han shu* see Hulsewé 1993: 129-136.

³ *Han shu*, 10. 324: “The Sage kings set ritual systems and institutions to differentiate the privileged [ranks] from the humble ones, make different carriages and clothing to signify [people with] virtue, [those people] who processed wealth but did not hold honorable status, shall not transgress the rules. 聖王明禮制以序尊卑，異車服以章有德，雖有其財，而無其尊，不得逾制。” *Han shu*, 91. 3679: “According to the former king's institutions, for people ranging from the Son of Heaven, the nobles (*gong*, *hou*, *qing* and *dafu*, *shi*) to the commoners, hard labor of guarding the gate and of striking the rattle, their ranks, income, prosperities, housing, carriages, clothing, coffins, everyday life items and objects for sacrifice and funerals should correspond to a hierarchical order. The lower ranks should not surpass the higher ones, and the humble should not be superior to the noble. 昔先王之制，自天子，公，侯，卿，大夫，士，至於皂隸，抱關，擊柝者，其爵祿奉養，宮室車服，棺槨祭祀，死生之制，各有差品，小不得僭大，賤不得逾貴。”

epigraphic sources, including individuals' names, ranks and titles, that were mentioned on inscriptions of seals, artifacts and manuscripts recovered from burials in the mid-Yangzi region. The excavated bamboo manuscripts in Hubei have provided fresh material for the study of the ranking system in Han society. Two primary sources deserve attention: the Han codes from Zhangjiashan tomb 247 (186 B.C.) at Jiangling, Hubei recorded twenty honorary ranks from the *cheshou* 徹侯 (marquis) down to the *gongcheng* 公乘 (government chariot), and can be matched with the system that described in the *Han shu*.⁴ The second source is a group of legal documents "Statute on the Funerals" from Shuihudi tomb 77 (157 B.C.) at Yunmeng, Hubei, describing specific funeral regulations prescribed for the rank of marquis.⁵

In the winter of 2007, a large-scale wooden chamber burial was excavated at Xiejiaqiao 謝家橋, the south-eastern part of present-day Jingzhou city, Hubei province. This tomb was built as a rectangular wooden casket placed into a vertical pit with 4.9 meters deep, installed with a sloping ramp. The outer chamber was 4.64 meters long and 3.08 meters wide, comprising one central compartment and four side

⁴ In the December of 1983, the tomb 247 of Zhangjiashan at Jiangling, Hubei province yielded 1,236 bamboo strips, including the legal document entitled *Ernian liling* 二年律令 (Statutes and Ordinance of the Second Year), a calendar, *Zouyan shu* 奏讞書 (Reported Dispute Cases), *Mai shu* 脈書 (Writing on Mai Vessels), *Suanshu shu* 算數書 (Mathematics), *He Lu* 籒廬 (He Lu, king of Wu in the Spring and Autumn period) and *Yin shu* 引書 (Callisthenics manual) in the burial chamber. The *Ernian liling* is a collection of various Han codes enacted by previous emperors, compiled in 186 B.C. It comprised 24 different types of statutes. "The second year 二年" was derived from the heading of on the strip no.1. For the dating of the *Ernian liling*, many scholars, such as Li Xueqin, Gao Min and Zhu Shaohou, suggest that "*Ernian* 二年 the second year" refers to the second year of Empress Lü (186 B.C.). Li and Xing 2001: 125-146. Loewe 2010b: 253:265. Gao Min 2004: 151. Zhu Shaohou 2003: 51. For the brief report of tomb 247 see Zhangjiashan 1985. Introductory articles and related discussions in English see Osamu 2001: 119-142. Li and Xing 2001: 125-146. For the discussion on the Twenty Orders see chapter 2.

⁵ Shuihudi tomb 77 was excavated at Yunmeng, Hubei province in 2006, in the burial chamber, a bamboo casket contained 2,137 bamboo strips, including calendars, divinations, mathematic texts, legal documents, literary texts, and five strips entitled as "*Zang li* 葬律 (the Statute on Funerals)". The tomb occupant was a lower ranking official in the South Commandery. According to the latest year recorded in the calendar, this burial was dated to 157 B.C., Shuihudi 2008.

compartments (Fig. 1-01a). All wooden planks of the outer chamber were joined with mortis and tenon. The tomb occupant was an elderly woman, buried in a lacquer coffin in the central compartment. The burial was richly furnished with 489 artifacts. In the eastern compartment, a set of bronze vessels, including four tripods, two square flasks, a *jiao*-flask, two garlic-head flasks and a ladle, were found with a *xuan*-basin for washing (Fig.1-01 b, c). A large number of lacquer dining vessels, including *yu*-vessel, *zun*-container, round boxes, circular boxes, plates, *zhi*-cups, ear-cups (Fig.1-01d) and ladles were placed in the western and northern compartments,⁶ here, also a tableau comprising miniature horses and carriages was installed, accompanied by 38 human figurines (Fig.1-01 e-g).⁷ This well-preserved tomb has been regarded as the most important discovery in the mid-Yangzi region since the remarkable finding of Mawangdui cemetery at Changsha in the 1970s.

More interestingly, three inscribed bamboo tablets were found along with 208 bamboo strips in the eastern compartment of Xiejiaqiao tomb 1, one of which recorded the name and status of the deceased (Fig.1-01 h):

“In the fifth year, the eleventh month in which the first day was *guimao*, on the *gengwu* day, the assistant magistrate of the west village dared to declare: the court secretary, the [*wu*] *dafu*, Chang himself declared: [his] mother, elderly woman *Hui* died, she was provided with clothing, grave furniture and attendants, including sons, their wives and concubines, servants accompanying with her, along with horses, cattle, objects and

⁶ A wood or fabric-core object covered with a lacquer coat is referred to as lacquer ware. All Han lacquer wares consist of three-tiered coating: a coarse and relatively thick base layer, the second a thinner covering layer, and an ornamental layer of red or black. Color could be added to the lacquer by mixing oil or color pigments, which was then used for the final layer, giving the object a sturdy and glossy shine.

⁷ The western and northern compartments of Xiejiaqiao tomb1 also contained three cooking vessels, including one stove, one steamer, one cauldron and some pottery jars and granary for food storage. A *se-zither* model was found in the northern compartment. The most remarkable finds in this tomb were the various kinds of silk textiles, including four embroidered coffin curtains; many were well preserved. Xiejiaqiao 2009.

people [recorded on] one slip [of inventory list], [totally] 197 slips of [funerary inventory]. Chang's household should not pay taxes. This is the command for declaiming the assistant magistrate of the underworld to deal with affairs [according to statutes and decrees], hereby dare to report.

五年十一月癸卯朔庚午，西鄉辰敢言之：郎中[五]大夫昌自言母大女子恚死，以衣器、葬具及從者子、婦、偏下妻、奴婢、馬、牛、物、人一牒，牒百九十七枚。昌家復毋有所與。有昭令，謁告地下丞以從事，敢言之。⁸

There were five other examples of this genre discovered in Western Han period wooden chamber graves in the mid-Yangzi region.⁹ The earliest discovery was a wooden tablet (Fig.1-01i) from Fenghuangshan tomb 10 at Jingzhou, Hubei, excavated in 1973, inscribed as follows:

“In the fourth year, the ninth month, the day of *Xinhai*, the *wu dafu* of Ping village, Zhang Yan, declared to the authority of underworld, Yan [has been provided with] clothing and objects, it is a command for officials to deal with affairs according to statutes and decrees.

四年後九月辛亥，平里五大夫偃(張)偃敢告地下主：偃衣器物，所以[已]具器物，可令吏以律令從事。¹⁰

In the above documents, Zhang Yan 張偃, the tomb occupant of Fenghuangshan

⁸ Xiejiaqiao 2009.

⁹ So far, seven such kind of documents were found in the Western Han wooden chamber tombs distributed in Hubei, Hunan and Jiangsu. These documents were termed by Chinese scholars as the *gao di shu* 告地書 (announcement to the underworld authority), as they were all addressed to the *di xiacheng* 地下丞 (the assistant magistrate of the underworld), their dates ranged from 184 B.C. to 71 B.C. In addition to Xiejiaqiao tomb1, another six burials, including tomb 10 and tomb168 at Fenghuangshan cemetery, Maojiayuan tomb 1 at Jingzhou, Kongjiapo tomb 8 at Suizhou in Hubei; Mawangdui tomb 3 at Changsha in Hunan; Huchang tomb 5 at Hanjiang in Jiangsu. The nature of Mawangdui tomb 3 tablet is still debated, Huang Shengzhang and Li Rusen defined it as the *gao di shu*, Huang Shengzhang 1977: 43-50. Li Rusen 2003: 179-181. Chen Songchang and Michael Friedrich both argued that the different composition showed that the document from Mawangdui tomb 3 should not be categorized as a type of *gao di shu*. Instead, this document is a part of the funerary inventory and functions as the checklist that was read publicly in the ritual based on the *Yili*, Chen Songchang 1994: 64-70. Chen Songchang 1997: 61-70. Friedrich 2010: 7-15. Huang Shengzhang suggests that the date recorded in the “announcement to the underworld” refers to the exact date of death, which should be the last day of the dead individual in lifetime and the first day in the underworld. Huang Shengzhang 1996: 124-134. For the details of texts see Appendix 2 Tomb documents.

¹⁰ Fenghuangshan 1974.

M10, was self-identified as the *wu dafu* of the Ping ward, while the owner of Xiejiaqiao tomb 1 was Hui 恚, the mother of Chang 昌, who held a rank of *wu dafu*. These documents addressed to the underworld authority are set up to be read. The obsession with identity and status of the dead is clearly shown up in such examples. Their identities were both associated with the rank of *wu dafu*, the ninth grade of the Twenty Orders ranking system. But strikingly there are considerable differences in burial size, tomb structure and wealth of grave goods. The mortuary variability becomes more evident when compared with another large wooden chamber tomb at the same rank in Fenghuangshan cemetery.¹¹

Conventionally, the mortuary variability of Han wooden chamber tombs has been explained by Chinese archaeologists in terms of a fixed hierarchy of ranks tied to the standard regulations drawn from the transmitted texts.¹² China has rich texts, the three Ritual Classics and the Han official histories have been used as primary textual sources by modern scholars to define the rank of tomb occupants by generalizing standard rules. In these text-based studies, archaeological record have been treated as complementary evidence to support established theories.¹³ However, such concrete examples as Xiejiaqiao tomb 1 represent a complex picture in which rank and status are displayed differently, it seems that social hierarchy is only one part of the story.¹⁴ Such diversity causes us rethink the ways in which the archaeological record can be interpreted and contribute to a better understanding of Western Han society. The wealth of material records and newly discovered manuscripts in the

¹¹ Full discussion on the mortuary variability see chapter 4 and 5.

¹² The text-based archaeological assumptions will be discussed later in this chapter.

¹³ For the critiques on historiography-orientated Chinese archaeology see K.C. Chang 1981: 156-169. Falkenhausen 1993: 839-849. Falkenhausen 2006: 1-28.

¹⁴ The gender-based status distinction represented by Xiejiaqiao tomb1 and other examples will be fully discussed in chapter 5.

mid-Yangzi region allows us to raise some central questions, such as whether there was a visible ranking system manifested in the Han tombs? Did mortuary variability express the hierarchical order of existing ranking system or the different aspects of status and identity? Were there funeral regulations or specific customs governing tomb structures? Did individuals follow the rules? What thoughts are behind the intended use of artifacts and documents? To what extent did contemporary viewpoints represented by the archaeological material differ from those preserved in the transmitted literature?

1.1 Definitions: Rank, Status and Social Class

The concepts of “rank” and “status” must be defined as they are to be used in the context of this study. Rank normally refers to an official position in a formal institutional hierarchy. During the Han dynasty, the *jue* 爵 (honorary rank), formed a mark of privilege, “conferring hierarchical rank within the Chinese community as well as certain material privileges.”¹⁵ It is necessary to differentiate the honorary ranks from the Zhou aristocratic ranks. The very foundation of hereditary aristocracy in the Zhou dynasty was associated with the kinship-based lineage (T1),¹⁶ while the

¹⁵ Loewe 1999: 485.

¹⁶ Classical historians such as Ban Gu believe that there were five grades in the aristocratic ranks, such as the *gong* 公 (Duke), the *hou* 侯 (Marquis), the *bo* 伯 (Earl), the *zi* 子 (Count), and the *nan* 男 (Baron), in the Zhou dynasty. *Han shu*, 14. 391: “The Zhou drew a lesson from [the failure of] the two dynasties [Yin and Shang], three sage [kings] made rules and established five grades of aristocratic rank, [there were] eight hundred feudal states and more than fifty were of the same clan. 昔周監於二代，三聖制法，立爵五等，封國八百，同姓五十有餘。” The commentary by the Tang scholar Yan Shigu 顏師古 (A.D.581-645) interpreted the “five grades of aristocratic rank” as “*gong* 公, *hou* 侯, *bo* 伯, *zi* 子 and *nan* 男.” *Han shu*, 14. 391. The passage of *wangzhi* 王制 (Royal Institutions) in the *Liji* stated that the Zhou aristocratic ranks in feudal states also had six subordinate levels, they were the *jun* 君, the *qin* 卿, the *dafu* 大夫, the *shangshi* 上士, the *zhongshi* 中士 and the *xiashi* 下士. The *Liji* 禮記 (Book of Rites) is a collection of texts describing ritual behavior, social form and ceremonials rites of the Zhou dynasty as they were understood in the Warring States and the early Han periods. The Book of Rites, along with the *Yili* 儀禮 (Rites and Ceremonies) and the *Zhouli* 周禮 (Rites of Zhou) are together

Han honorary rank was bestowed by the emperor as a reward for merit in civil service or in military achievement.¹⁷

The honorary rank also differs from the official grade. A high honorary rank is not always correlated with a superior standing in the bureaucratic system.¹⁸ The bureaucratic system of Han government, comprising hierarchical official grades, is not a major concern of my research, as it has been comprehensively discussed by Hans Bielenstein and Michael Loewe.¹⁹ But when we discuss honorary ranks from an archaeological perspective, it is not possible to exclude the officials who had also been rewarded honorary ranks; in some cases, we may find that political power or prestige attached to an official position in the bureaucracy could be influential to social display, this point will be elaborated in the following chapters.

1.1.1 Rank and social hierarchy

Rank is based on the prestige attached to a position in a social hierarchy, whereas status is entirely based on assessment by a community of others. Social hierarchy is an explicit rank order of individuals or groups, normally delineated by rules. Adherence to rules may be connected to one's rank, and the rules often fit into a well-defined hierarchical structure, such as the twenty honorary ranks. The Twenty Orders ranking system is known to us in the transmitted literature and excavated manuscripts (T2).²⁰ As a fundamental organizational principle of Han institutions,

known as the "Three Ritual Texts." For the dating and authorship of the *Liji* see Boltz 1993a: 293-297. *Liji zhengyi*, 11. 330-331. Fu argued that the five-grade system did not appear in such texts as the Book of Documents or the Book of Poetry. He suggested that the terms *gong*, *bo*, *zi*, *nan* were originally descriptive of status in a household. Fu Ssu-nien 1952: 97-129. For other discussions on the five-grade ranking system of Zhou dynasty see Chen Enlin 1994: 59-73. Ma Weidong 2006: 132-138.

¹⁷ Hulsewé called the *jue* of early imperial China as aristocratic ranks, it is somewhat misleading, Hulsewé 1985: 82. Hulsewé 1955: 215.

¹⁸ Full discussion on official ranks see chapter 2.

¹⁹ Bielenstein 1980. Loewe 2006.

²⁰ *Han shu*, 19. 3680. Loewe claims that the Twenty Orders ranking system formed one of three basic

which has been long regarded as a classic paradigm of successful ruling in ancient China, the Twenty Orders has attracted intensive attentions from historians in the past and the present.²¹ The fifth century scholar, Liu Shao 劉劭, provided interpretations on the twenty ranks of Han period in his texts of “*Jue zhi* 爵制 (the institution of honorary ranks)”.²² Modern scholars, such as Michael Loewe and Nishijima Sadao, emphasized the importance of *jue* in forming social order and reinforcing central authority.²³ A recent study by Li Feng also described the Han society as “a typical rank society with its elite population divided into twenty ranks that enjoyed different degrees of privilege.”²⁴

The most detailed examination of this institution is Nishijima Sadao’s monograph, *The Establishment Social Structure of ancient Chinese Empires, the Twenty Orders ranking System*. He argues that the Twenty Orders ranking system was the cornerstone of the Han institutions to maintain social order.²⁵ From his view, a high rank is correlated to a high status in the society, “ranks determined status in the village, being reflected in the seating and distribution of meat and wine at ceremonial banquets.”²⁶ As the term *jue* also refers to a wine-drinking vessel used for ritual ceremonies during the Shang and Zhou dynasties, Nishijima suggested that the wine

institutions, along with that of the *hu* 戶 (household) and the *wu* 伍 (responsibility group), whereby the empire was governed. Loewe 2012: 1-30. Loewe 1960: 97-174. Gao Min 1982: 33-57. Nishijima 2004.

²¹ The Han system was created by Shu Suntong 叔孫通, *Song shu*, 14.327. “Shu Suntong established the Han system, it was modeled by the decedents. It was said that the Qin was eliminated because the rulers used their own institution and did not follow the ancient [system]. Wang Mang was eliminated because he imitated the ancient rulers but [his institution] was not applicable [to his society]. Yet from the Han and Wei periods onwards, the historians compile the ancient system with the contemporary one, to glory the great achievement of the dynasty. 叔孫創漢制,化流後昆.由此言之,任己而不師古,秦氏以之致亡.師古而不適用,王莽所以身滅.然則漢、魏以來,各揆古今之中,以通一代之儀.” The Han dynasty set the pattern for Chinese imperial rule for over two millennia.

²² Discussion on the *Jue zhi* see chapter 2.

²³ Loewe 1960: 97-174. Nishijima 2004.

²⁴ Li Feng 2014: 282.

²⁵ Nishijima 2004: 409-410.

²⁶ Nishijima 1986: 553

drinking ceremony often took place when an honorary rank was bestowed; such a rank designated one's social standing in the ceremony.

Following this interpretation, Lewis also assumed that the fixed hierarchy of different honorary ranks and associated ritual privileges were important ways for the Han rulers to impose authority and standards.²⁷ Nevertheless, Nishijima did not give any explanation why the *jue* (honorary rank) prevailed in the Han dynasty when the ritual *jue*-vessels vanished at least five hundred years earlier, the predominant wine vessels actually were ear-cups.²⁸ Also it was the Song antiquarians who first used the term "*jue*" to define the Shang dynasty wine vessel, which is characterized by three pointed feet and a narrow spout with two posts on the lip.²⁹

In his article "The Orders of Aristocratic Rank of Han China," Michael Loewe argues that the concept of *jue* underwent some changes in early imperial China. First, the principle and practice of the tenure of the twenty honorary ranks rested on a hereditary basis. The *hou* 侯 (marquis), at the top of the twenty ranks system, no longer constituted the highest order of nobility. This was now formed by the *zhu hou wang* 諸侯王, comprising some ten to twenty Liu-clan kings appointed by the emperor.³⁰ Second, the bestowal of ranks took place more and more as recognition of civil service rather than as reward for military achievements.³¹ The appendix of this article lists different occasions when the orders of ranks were generally bestowed to limited sections of the populations.

Both Nishijima and Loewe have offered their own synthesis of information on

²⁷ Lewis 2007: 110-111.

²⁸ Nishijima 2004: 426-434.

²⁹ Zhu Fenghan 2009: 156.

³⁰ Most kingdoms of the Western Han Empire were in Eastern China, modern Jiangsu and Shandong, see chapter 2.

³¹ Loewe 1960: 109-110.

the textual evidence, and traced the evolution of the Twenty Orders, providing the background necessary to understand the ideas concerning the Han ranking system. Built on these historical studies, this thesis offers a critical study on the newly excavated manuscripts and material evidence, and hopes to provide a more informed interpretation for social differentiation in Western Han society. Fundamental to my interest in archaeological manifestations of rank and status is a concern with different ways that the Han elites expressed status and identity in burial contexts.

1.1.2 Status and social class

In defining status, Jenkins has argued that status is “conceptualized as socially constructed in constant negotiation and interaction by individuals and groups.”³² That is, status can be defined as the extent to which an individual or a group is respected or admired by others. Status is measured by sets of wider criteria, such as wealth, age, gender, political power, occupation, or a combination of these.³³

A useful way forward is to focus on what materials and strategies were chosen to transform these ideas into a physical reality for an audience. From the sociological perspective, a large influence on people’s practice is attributed to the value in having an identity and having a sense of being in a group which is distinct from other groups.³⁴ This issue can be inherently related to identification: how individuals define and reinforce the status and identity within a social group.³⁵

The concept of “social class” is significant in measuring the level of socioeconomic privileges and political power of social groups. It refers to groups

³² Jenkins 2004: 38. Babić 2005: 67-85. Goffman 1959: 1-17.

³³ Occupation is an important aspect of social distinction, Loewe has broadly separated the Han population into two categories: officials and non-officials. Loewe 2005:54.

³⁴ Tajfel 1978.

³⁵ Identification is conscious act to make a statement about the relation between self and world. Smith 2007: 414.

within a population who share certain common economic and cultural characteristics. Tung-tsu Chu was the first to deploy the sociological concept of “social class” in research on the social structure of the Han dynasty.³⁶ He proposed three criteria to evaluate social hierarchy in Han society: the distribution of prestige, wealth and political power.³⁷ By this means people in Han society have been classified into four social classes, such as the ruling class, nobles, officials and commoners. Each class is also classified into different sub-groups: the ruling class comprised emperors and imperial families; the nobles comprised the imperial relatives, the consort families and the meritorious officials, while commoners group included scholars, farmers, artisans and merchants.³⁸

Certainly, some readers will wonder about the relevance of Weber to the study of social difference, and how such a sociological perspective can shape our understanding of social order in historical contexts. Weber’s principal concern in his work on social stratification was the distribution of power. Wealth, status and influence are not necessarily synonymous.³⁹ This insight enables us to recognize that the multiple dimensions of social status. For instance, some groups may be politically

³⁶ Tung-tsu Chu 1972: 63-64. It is noteworthy that the “social class” conceptualized by Tung-tsu Chu is different from the original definition of Max Weber. Weber argues that there are three features of class: life chances, economic interest and markets. Weber’s social class is rooted in economic sphere while the status group is formed on the basis of social honor. Honor refers to “any distinction, respect, or esteem that is accorded to an individual by others. Such social recognition may be a formal process (titles, awards) or it may be in ordinary forms of social interaction whereby we respect or disrespect others.” In other words, distinctions of status separate groups that each has a common way of life and a specific legal and political identity. Weber 1946: 180. Weber 1953: 63-70.

³⁷ “Social class” has also been used by Patricia Ebrey to distinguish hierarchical superior classes from the inferior ones in the Eastern Han period, she argues that the differences in economic and political resources are the most frequent based on which people are divided into classes. Ebrey 1990: 59.

³⁸ Tung-tsu Chu 1972: 63-122.

³⁹ Weber’s class is different from Marxist conception which is based on relation to the means of production. He suggested that there were three kinds of situation in which one group of people might expect to get its own way in relationship with another group. First, power can arise on the basis of unequal access to material resources. Second, power can be a function of social status and esteem. Weber saw this as social power—the power exercised by status groups as opposed to classes. Third, one group may dominate another through the agency of the state, either by directly controlling it, or by influencing those who do control it. Weber 1946: 180. Weber 1953: 63-70.

powerful without being particularly wealthy, while those who own considerable wealth are not automatically to be thought of as a prestigious stratum or a political ruling class.

Recent works by Inge Mennen and Emanuel Mayer support the idea that Weber's view can contribute to our understanding of pre-modern history. Mennen's study on power and status of ancient Roman society shows that a senator in third century Rome, even though he has lost a position at the top of the political and military hierarchy might still maintain a high social status.⁴⁰ This type of case demonstrates that status has multiple dimensions such as birth, age, gender, education, experience, ability, wealth, lifestyle and legal condition. Mayer has identified a category in the Roman Empire that appeared similar to later European middle classes. "Middle class" stands for a social group that is defined by distinct patterns of economic behavior rooted in trade and urban production and, as importantly, cultural values that set it apart from the aristocratic elite. Such a category is archaeologically recognizable in thousands of marble sarcophagi and hundreds of decorated houses.⁴¹

Unlike their Roman counterparts, a social class in the Han dynasty was a community whose prestige derived from political and cultural, not merely economic factors. As Tung-tsu Chu summarized, a number of social classes in Han society was manifested in different ways: (1) the members of society were ranked in a hierarchical order on the basis of commonly accepted values; (2) there were indications of class consciousness; persons of similar status thought of each other as equals belonging to the same group; (3) members of the same class had a similar style of life that was distinct from others; they were aware of such symbols of prestige and

⁴⁰ Mennen 2011: 6-8.

⁴¹ Mayer 2012: 2.

made an effort to cultivate and maintain them; (4) members of the same class were considered equals or near equals, and, therefore, were acceptable to each other for social interaction. A person usually married within his class; (5) a status group enjoyed certain privileges, and sumptuary rules were formulated to guarantee these groups the monopoly of such things as style of houses, clothing, carriage, and so forth, they were also given other legal privileges.⁴²

Two features of social class in above statements are closely related to this thesis: a similar life-style and class consciousness.⁴³ In other words, individuals of the same social class might cultivate certain kinds of knowledge, such as commonly accepted status symbols or proper burial customs that identified group membership and excluded outsiders. In these ways, the individuals were able to take note of all sorts of distinctions and to locate signs of probable class membership. Both status symbols and shared practice could be archaeologically recognized in burial evidence, through general analysis on burial patterns of the wooden chamber tombs.

1.2 The Wooden Chamber Tombs

A wooden chamber tomb is alternatively known as a “shaft grave” or “open-pit timber tomb”, typically a rectangular wooden casket holds a body and grave goods, dug into a vertical earthen pit.⁴⁴ A wood frame holding coffin and burials goods is often called “*guo* 槨 (outer chamber)”. Once the outer chamber was completed, the *guan* 棺(inner coffin), containing the body, was lowered to the bottom of the outer

⁴² Tung-tsu Chu 1972: 63-64.

⁴³ Tung-tsu Chu has refined Weber’s formulation of status group, but he said little about the *jue* (honorary rank) and its relationship with status. A range of questions remain open: on what basis people are ranked? How did a social class mark status distinction by creating and deploying material symbols of wealth and status? These questions will be discussed in the following chapters.

⁴⁴ Guo Qinghua 2004: 2. Wu Hung 2010: 20-21. Erickson 2010:13.

chamber (Fig. 1-02 a-c). When the open pit is large, it would have been accessed by a sloping ramp. The wooden chamber tombs are easily identifiable as elite tombs, both through their architecture, content and epigraphic evidence provided the names and titles of the tomb owners.⁴⁵

Some large-scale Han tombs usually held multi-layered outer chambers and nested coffins; the outmost chamber was normally divided into several small compartments. Excellent examples include three large wooden chamber tombs of Mawangdui cemetery excavated at Changsha, Hunan province in 1973. The tombs were each created as a rectangular vertical earthen pit which was shaped as an inverted pyramid with an approach ramp in the north.⁴⁶ The outer chambers of M 1 (Fig.1-02 d), M2, and M3 (Fig.1-02e) were all created as wooden caskets.⁴⁷ At the bottom of the shaft pit of M1, three long, square-hewn timbers were put a layer of square-hewn timbers. Above this layer was the floor of the outer chamber also made of three thick wooden planks. Near the edge of this floor, on all four sides, were walls consisting of timbers piled horizontally one on another, and this was closed with a layer of timbers above. In the central chamber, a three-layer lacquer coffin was installed. All wooden planks of the outer chamber were joined with mortis and tenon (Fig.1-02 f, g). In this tomb the coffin chamber in the center was surrounded by four other compartments (Fig.1-02 h-k). After the burial, objects were placed into the

⁴⁵ “Elite” used in this thesis refers to politically and socially leading groups. In Han times, even the simplest wooden chamber tombs belonged to members of elite class. Unable to afford a timber structure, the poor peasant had to be buried with a few pottery vessels in a simple coffin. A commoner’s burial like tomb 24 of Gaotai was a small shallow pit and poorly furnished with four pottery vessels; a further six burials found in this site did not contain any wooden chamber and coffin, or burial goods. Gaotai 2000.

⁴⁶ The steps of vertical pit were probably used to reinforce the construction of the sides of shaft.

⁴⁷ The inscriptions on seals found at Mawangdui cemetery indicate that the tomb occupants were the Marquis Dai, Li Cang 利蒼 in tomb 2 (died in 186 B.C.), who was also the chancellor of principality of the Changsha kingdom, and his consort, Lady Dai in tomb 1 (died after 168 B.C.). Mawangdui 1973. Mawangdui 2004.

coffin and the different compartments of the outer chamber, the top of the chamber was sealed and the vertical pit was refilled with tamped earth.

1.2.1 The pre-Han tradition in using timber structure

The wooden chamber clearly belonged to the long-standing elite tradition of burial type in use from the Bronze Age. During 1934 and 1976, more than 6,000 shaft graves were discovered at a royal cemetery of Yinxu 殷墟, the Shang dynasty capital on the outskirts of Anyang, Henan province. The most remarkable discovery was the burial of Fu Hao 婦好 (dated to 1250 B.C.), queen consort of King Wu Ding 武丁 (1040 B.C.). This burial comprised a wooden burial chamber (17.5 square meters) and a lacquer coffin which has since rotted away. Like other mid-Shang elite burials, Fu Hao's tomb also had a small pit which is often called "yaokeng 腰坑 (waist pit)" at the base of the trench for a sacrificial offering (Fig.1-03 a).⁴⁸ This tomb contained hundreds of grave goods, including valuable jades, bronze ritual vessels (Fig.1-03 b, c) and weapons, accompanied by 16 human victims.⁴⁹

Fu Hao's tomb was modest in size compared with other large burials at Yinxu. The large tombs at Xibeigang 西北崗 were each above 100 square meters in area, normally equipped with two or four long ramps. These royal tombs were all heavily looted, but we can still find the imprints of the timber structure. The outer chamber of M1001 was built in a massive earthen pit, measuring 260.88 square meters, over 90 timbers used for the base of wooden chamber were found. The wooden chamber was constructed as a casket with extensions on four sides aligned with sloping passages

⁴⁸ The waist pit is referred to a small pit underlies the coffin at about the waist of the corpse.

⁴⁹ Fu Hao 1995. Liulihe 1995.

(Fig.1-03d), no internal division was detected by the excavators.⁵⁰

The Western Zhou burials in the Feng and Hao area followed these late Shang wooden chamber tombs. For instance, four large tombs were found in a cemetery at Zhangjiapo 張家坡 (present-day Chang'an county, Shaanxi province), along with some surrounding chariot and horse pits (Fig.1-04a), were identified as those of the Jing Shu 井叔 family. The largest burial, M 157 (dated to 1,020 B.C.) included an outer chamber (10.27 square meters) and two inner coffins, with two sloping ramps located to the south and north of the tomb (Fig. 1-04b).⁵¹ These burials contained 1550 bronze vessels. Several ritual vessel such as the tripods (Fig.1-04c), *xu* 盨, *fangyi* 方彝 and *zun* (Fig. 1-04 d) were inscribed with owner's names.

Similar structures were also seen in the tombs of Jin marquises and their consorts at Tianma-Qucun 天馬曲村, Shanxi province. Most of the burials (dating from 1,000 to 720 B.C.) contained one outer chamber and two inner coffins, and they were filled with charcoal and rocks surrounding the outer chambers (Fig.1-05a,b) to prevent the penetration of moisture and air. Dependant burials and sacrificial pits were also found near these tombs. Bronze ritual vessels (Fig.1-05c) and musical instruments (Fig. 1-05d) were placed between the outer chamber and inner coffins.⁵² In the royal tombs of Yan state discovered at Liulihe 琉璃河, in the district of Fangshan, Beijing, Northern China, the largest tomb contained four ramps leading to each corner of the shaft rather than at the center of each side of the shaft, with horse and chariot pits and human sacrifice (Fig.1-06 a, b); elaborate bronze ritual vessels were found in this cemetery, including the Bo Ju li 伯矩鬲 decorated with low-relief

⁵⁰ Zhongguo kaoguxue 2003: 339-340.

⁵¹ Zhangjiapo 1999.

⁵² Tianma qucun 2000.

buffalo heads (Fig.1-06 c, d).⁵³

From the Warring States period (475-221 B.C.) onwards, the timber structure became more elaborate, and the Chu tombs were divided into multiple compartments. The walls of the outer chamber were constructed of wooden planks, and mortise and tenon joints were extensively used.⁵⁴ For instance, the enormous timber structure of Tianxingguan tomb 1 at Jiangling, Hubei was 8.2 m. long and 7.5 m. wide, consisting of seven compartments, the outer chamber consumed more than 150 cubic meter timbers (Fig. 1-07 a, b, c).⁵⁵ New tomb structures emerged from the middle of the Warring States onward: the hollow-brick tombs were mainly distributed in eastern Henan (Fig.1-07d, e) from the late Warring States and the catacomb graves (Fig.1-07 f) first appeared in southern Shaanxi around the middle of Warring States (the fourth century B.C.).⁵⁶ The latter became predominant in the burials of Qin state, and then spread eastward into Henan. Both new burial types were limited to certain geographical regions.⁵⁷ It seemed that traditional timber structure burials had never been challenged by these alternative types in the mid-Yangzi region from the fifth century B.C. through to the first century B.C.

1.2.2 The mid-Yangzi Region and Chu legacy

The material of Western Han wooden chamber tombs in the mid-Yangzi is stunningly rich. This area seemed to have benefited from large forests, and timber

⁵³ Liulihe 1995

⁵⁴ Mortise and tenon joints were widely used in the producing of outer chambers and inner coffins of the Western Han burials, whereas the Eastern Han coffins used iron nails. Wang Zhongshu 1984: 91.

⁵⁵ Tianxingguan 1982.

⁵⁶ The catacomb graves were constructed by cutting deeply into native rock of a mountainside. The Spring and Autumn Chu burials had niches carved from the walls of the shaft to hold grave goods and offering. Such structure disappeared in the Warring States Chu tombs but still perpetuated in the central plain where the niches turned to cave-like graves of containing body—emergence of catacomb tombs.

⁵⁷ Wu Hung 1999: 653-665.

structure tombs grew more widespread and predominant during the Western Han period.⁵⁸ The tombs under discussion were geographically concentrated in Changsha and Jiangling. From historical view, the Changsha area in Hunan was a military outpost for the Chu state while the Jiangling area in Hubei was the heartland of Chu in the period from the middle Spring Autumn period (680-580 B.C.) to the late Warring States (278-223 B.C.).

The state of Chu was established early in the Western Zhou. The original territory of the Chu state was in the Dan River valley and in the upper reaches of the Han River valley. As Chu expanded eastward and southward, its territory lay primarily south of this Han-Huai 漢淮 line. During the late Warring States period (around the late 4th century B.C.), Chu was forced to move eastward and southwards under pressure from Qin. A majority of Chu's territory in modern Hubei and Hunan came under the control of Qin, the powerful territorial state on the Wei River in the west of China. In 278 B.C., Chu moved further eastwards to the present-day Anhui and Jiangsu area. In the late Warring States, the heartland of Chu state was in western Hubei and southwestern Henan.⁵⁹

The Changsha area The Changsha kingdom (centered on present-day Changsha, Hunan province), was established in 202 B.C. It occupied the largest territory in the mid-Yangzi region. Nine large wooden chamber tombs dated from 201 B.C. to 48 B.C. were distributed in the Changsha kingdom, including six *ticou* burials belonging

⁵⁸ Wen Daoyi 1959: 57-58. Around 50 wooden chamber tombs were found in the lower mid-Yangzi, including Yangzhou 揚州, Xuyi 盱眙, Hanjiang 邗江, Lianyungang 連雲港, Yizheng 儀征 in Jiangsu province. This area was ruled by the Guangling 廣陵 kingdom in the Western Han dynasty. Tombs were dated from 87 B.C. to 25 B.C. For general survey of Yangzhou Han tombs see Zhou Jun 2004: 32-36.

⁵⁹ Heather 2004: 99. Blakeley 2004: 9-20.

to two families of the Changsha king (Map 1).⁶⁰ The *ticou* structure normally has a multi-compartment burial chamber with a massive barricade composed of stacked wood logs surrounding the burial chamber.⁶¹ Over 13 tombs with such a structure have been discovered throughout the early Han Empire, of which six burials are in the mid-Yangzi region. Their construction flourished during the Western Han (206 B.C.-25 B.C.) and was eliminated by the mid-Eastern Han (A.D. 25-220).

The *ticou* burial was a new type of timber structure amongst the large Western Han wooden chamber tombs. There were certain fundamental changes in architecture features: the outer chamber of many large burials was enlarged and normally contained a series of chambers; and openings were created on the front walls along the central axis.⁶² The house-like design was explicitly created in the *ticou* tomb of Xiangbizui 象鼻嘴 at Changsha, Hunan province. This tomb was equipped with functional doors, and access to a sloping ramp; the ramp had a wooden roof. The burial chamber consisted of separate rooms, functioning as dining hall, kitchen and

⁶⁰ The Changsha kingdom was first ruled by the Wu family from 202 B.C. to 157 B.C., and then became the territory of the imperial family. In 202 B.C. Wu Rui 吳芮 was sent by Emperor Gao to rule the Changsha area, and the Changsha kingdom was established. In 157 B.C., the Changsha kingdom was abolished because no heir in the Wu house could inherit the kingdom. In 155 B.C., Liu Fa 劉發, a son of Emperor Jing was assigned to rule the Changsha kingdom. However this area underwent social changes when Emperor Wu undertook social political measures to reinforce central power and weaken kingly strength, the territory of the Changsha kingdom was reduced to only half of the original size. *Han shu*, 14.413. Zhou Zhenhe 1987: 119-122.

⁶¹ The *ticou* 題湊, literally “gathered heads”, refers the protecting wall of the wooden outer chamber was built of aligned logs. In the *Houhan shu*, the *Huangchang ticou* 黃腸題湊 burial system was described as an important part of funeral regulations for emperors and some high ranking nobles, including a defensive wall made from the cores of cypress wood, *zigong* 梓宮 (catalpa palace), *bian fang* 便房 and *wai cang guo* 外藏槨. Scholars have produced various interpretations for the structural elements, such as *bian fang*: (a) the outer chamber made from *bian* wood. See Li Rusen 1997: 59-65. Huang Zhanyue 1998: 20-25, Huang Zhanyue 2005: 70-74. Song Shaohua 2010: 59-64. Zhao and Zheng 2001: 1-16. Liu Dezeng 1987: 352-357; (b) a small sitting room see Xiao Kangda 2010: 53-59. For the full discussion on the *ticou* structure, see chapter 3.

⁶² Full discussion on the *ticou* burials, see section 3.4.1 and section 3.5.1 in chapter 3. Huang Xiaofen 2003: 75-78.

bedrooms (Fig.1-08 a).⁶³ Another example is the *ticou* tomb (179-157 B.C.) of Doubishan 陡壁山 at Changsha, comprising a front compartment, a back compartment and a U-shaped corridor (Fig.1-08 b).⁶⁴

The Jiangling area The Jiangling area was the location of Yingdu 郢都, a 15.75 square kilometers walled city (present-day Jingzhou, Hubei province), which became the capital of Chu state in the early middle Warring States period.⁶⁵ The Chu state was economically powerful and had established the practice of rich burials. More than 3,000 Chu tombs have been found in the land surrounding the ancient Chu Jinan city. Chu tombs generally comprise a vertical pit, with a wooden casket at the bottom, containing a further nested coffin. Most elite burials were richly furnished. Many late Chu graves such as Baoshan M2 at Jingmen 荊門, Tianxingguan M1 at Jiangling were sealed with greenish-gray and white clays as a form of preservation.⁶⁶ This technique was also widely used in Han wooden chamber tombs in the mid-Yangzi region. Of course, this can also be seen as an attempt to impede grave robbers. In the case of Mawangdui tomb 1, the vertical pit was 30 meters deep and kept the rich burial intact.⁶⁷

In the Western Han dynasty, the old Chu territory in Hubei belonged to the South

⁶³ Xiangbizui 1981.

⁶⁴ Doubishan 1979: 1-16.

⁶⁵ Ying du 郢都 is also called Jinan city 紀南城. Geographically, the Jinan city has a good defensive position, located on the alluvial plain of Hubei. It is farthest point west at the foot of the irregular Ji mountain range. It was abandoned in 278 B.C when it was conquered by Qin army. Richard 1908: 123. Li Xiacong 2004: 235-237. Blakeley 2005: 9-26. Jinancheng 1982a: 325-350. Jinancheng 1982 b: 477-508. The discussion on the establishment of Jinan city see Yin Hongbing 2010: 55-66. The large and medium-size burials were distributed in Baoshan, Wangshan, Jiuliandun, Tianxingguan and Mashan just outside the city walls while the small graves were concentrated in Yutaishan and Jiudian cemeteries to the east of the city wall. These tombs were all shaft graves with a greater variety of sizes and structures.

⁶⁶ The thickness of the white clay and charcoal were used to prevent damp and to provide strength on all sides of the wooden coffin. Guo Qinghua 2004: 1-24. Tianxingguan 1982. Baoshan 1991.

⁶⁷ The vertical pit of Mawangdui M 1 was sealed with white clay and charcoal. Mawangdui 1973.

Commandery 南郡 under the direct control of Han emperors. In the second year of Emperor Jing (155 B.C.), the South Commandery became the kingdom of Linjiang 臨江, which was ruled by Liu Yan 劉闢, the son of Emperor Jing, from 155 B.C. to 152 B.C. After his death, the South Commandery was restored.⁶⁸ At least 72 medium-size wooden chamber tombs were distributed in the Fenghuangshan cemetery, Gaotai cemetery and other sites of the Jiangling area.

The Fenghuangshan 鳳凰山 cemetery is located at the eastern south corner of the Chu Jinan city. Since the 1970's, more than 20 shaft graves of the Qin and Han periods have been excavated there. Five Western Han wooden chamber tombs were intact. M167, M168 and M169 (heavily looted) were concentrated in the central area of the cemetery;⁶⁹ M8, M9, M10 and six other individual burials were clustered in the south region. The sizes of the outer chambers ranged from 4.06 to 12.5 square meters. M168 was furnished with a double coffin, and others had single coffins.⁷⁰ Based on the tomb documents, the occupants of M10 (153 B.C.) and M168 (167 B.C.) were self-identified as the *wu dafu* 五大夫.⁷¹

The Gaotai 高臺 cemetery lay towards the southeast corner of the ancient Chu

⁶⁸ Discussions on the territory of the South Commandery see Yuan Yansheng 2009: 40-46. Liu Rui 2009: 29-38.

⁶⁹ The excavators suggested that the tomb occupants in M167 and M168 of Fenghuangshan were a couple buried in different pits, the coffin decoration of M167 such as “four *chi* 四池 (bamboo frame)” and “*weihuang* 帷荒 (curtain)” maintained the funeral rituals recorded in the *Zhouli*. However, the ritual texts do not provide detailed information about how to identify a *weihuang* and *chi*. Jilin daxue 1976: 47-50.

⁷⁰ M8, M9, M10 see Fenghuangshan 1974: 41-61; M167 see Fenghuangshan 1976: 31-37; M168 see Fenghuangshan 1993: 455-514. The reports of Fenghuangshan cemetery did not provide any information of DNA evidence, the owners of M10 and M 168 had the same surname of Zhang indicated by epigraphic material, but we do not know whether they were family members of the same household. For details of burial evidence of Fenghuangshan M8, M9, M10, M167, M168 see Appendix 3-1, Appendix 3-2 Table 3-02 c.

⁷¹ Based on the tombs documents of tax records, smaller burial size and poor grave goods in M10, Chen Zhenyu speculated that the tomb occupant was a local landlord and merchant who latterly bought the rank of *wu dafu*. Chen Zhenyu 2003 a: 246-257.

Jinan city. This site revealed a total of 44 shaft graves of Qin and Han periods, which were discovered from 1991 to 1992. The geographical distribution of individual burials suggests this cemetery comprised the tombs of at least four families. Ten well-preserved Han dynasty wooden-chamber tombs have provided detailed information about tomb structures and grave goods. Graves of M5, M11, M4, M33, M1, M2, M6 with different sizes concentrated on the north area (Fig. 1-08 c), in the middle and south regions were three small tombs, M18, M24 and M28.⁷² With the exception of one burial (M18) with a definite date, the majority of the graves could not be ascribed specific dates.

The Zhangjiashan cemetery is located in Jingzhou, Hubei, about 3.5 kilometers eastern north of the Chu Jinan city. This site had three individual wooden chamber tombs, excavated during 1983 and 1984. Apart from tomb 258, which was heavily robbed, the general conditions of M247 and M249 were good. Both vary in size, but share the same basic structure—aside from the coffin chamber, the outer chamber was divided into two compartments (Fig.1-08 d, e), which were wider at the top. More than 160 objects were found at this site, including 20 bronze vessels and 79 lacquer objects. Over 500 bamboo slips recording Han statutes were unearthed in M247, and 526 strips entitled “Statutes and Ordinances of the Second Year.”⁷³

The tomb construction of wooden chamber tombs in the mid-Yangzi region came to increasingly resemble the space of the living. Firstly, architectural elements of aboveground buildings were incorporated into the construction of timber structures. A large-scale tomb found at Guanghua 光化, Hubei province, was built as a

⁷² The excavators claimed that Gaotai cemetery was gradually built from the north to the south area. Burials in the north, eastern north and middle sections had the earlier dates. Gaotai 2000: 5-6. For the details of burial evidence of Gaotai cemetery see Appendix 3-1, Appendix 3-2 Table 3-02 c.

⁷³ Zhangjiashan 1985.

double-storey house, separated by small rooms. The rooms of each floor had functional doors, and the top storey was approached by a seven-step stairway (Fig.1-08 f).⁷⁴ The multi-storeyed structure was one of the noticeable features of gate tower and manor house, represented by pottery replicas in the Eastern Han tombs at Yunmeng, Hubei.⁷⁵

The house-like structure in the Han tombs came from Chu.⁷⁶ The use of symbolic doors and windows was very popular in the Warring States Chu tombs. Some could be opened, while others were painted.⁷⁷ In the tomb of Marquis Yi of Zeng 曾侯乙 at Leigudun 擂鼓墩, Hubei, both the openings of the outer chamber itself and the doors and windows painted on the inner coffin, indicate an imitation of a dwelling (Fig.1-09 a-c).⁷⁸ This had led some scholars to suggest that through the installment of compartments, Chu tombs had some sort of relationship with buildings of the living.⁷⁹ By the Western Han dynasty, the inclusion of functional doors and windows in the wooden chamber tombs developed vastly. In Fenghuangshan M168, a pair of doors about 76 centimeters in height are equipped with the wall between the head compartment and the coffin chamber, the door panels open outwards (Fig.1-09

⁷⁴ Guanghua 1976.

⁷⁵ For the comprehensive study on Han pottery towers see Lewis 1999: 20-21. The recent survey on pottery miniature buildings of Han dynasty see Guo Qinghua 2010: 46.

⁷⁶ Rawson has convincingly argued that the Han construction of tombs as dwellings, with separate rooms for different functions, all came from the south. Rawson 2002 a: 30-31. Among Chu tombs both rich and modest in the mid-Yangzi region, the attention has been lavished on the architecture elements modeled on aboveground building. Zeng Hou Yi 1989: 460. Wang Lihua 1994: 314-315. Thote 2000: 200. Thorp 1982: 75-76.

⁷⁷ Thorp 1982: 75-76. Wang Lihua 1994: 314-315. Thote 2000: 200. As Rawson has convincingly argued, the Han construction of tombs as dwellings, with separate rooms for different functions, all came from the south. Rawson 2002 a: 30-31.

⁷⁸ The tomb occupant of Leigudun tomb 1 was the Marquis Yi, a local ruler of Zeng state, it was dated from 433 to 400 B.C. In Leigudun tomb 1, the gigantic outer coffin was 3.2m long and 2.1 m. wide, at weight of 7,000 kilograms. It was constructed with a combination of bronze frame and thick wooden blanks. The inner coffin was wooden structure with painted with hybrid creatures composed of birds, snakes and dragons. Zeng Hou Yi 1989: 30-35.

⁷⁹ Thorp 1982: 75-76. Thote 1991: 23-46.

d-f). The door panels become larger. On the top of the doorframe is a pair of windows. The wall between the coffin chamber and the side compartment is also furnished with such doors and windows.⁸⁰

The use of nested coffins popularized in Chu burials was continued in the Western Han wooden chamber tombs. The best example is Mawangdui tomb 1. This tomb was equipped with four inner coffins (Fig.1-10 a). Most of them were elaborately decorated, the outermost coffin was painted in single color, the second was painted with celestial and supernatural beasts (Fig.1-10 b), the third was decorated with dragons, and auspicious animals (Fig.1-10 c), and the innermost coffin was painted with brocade applied to the exterior, with embroidery and feather decoration. There is ample evidence of multi-layer coffins in late Chu burials such as the Leigudun tomb 1 and Baoshan tomb 2 which suggest it was a privilege to be buried in a set of coffins. We can find that two or three coffins often appeared in larger Chu tombs with numerous artifacts (Fig.1-10 d-f).⁸¹This continuity enabled archaeologists to claim a unified continuity of Zhou ritual practice.⁸²However, we

⁸⁰ The miniature doors in Jiangling Chu tombs were normally 50 cm in height, the door panels were fixed. Yutaishan1984.

⁸¹ In Leigudun tomb 1, the gigantic outer coffin was 3.2m. long and 2.1 m. wide, at weight of 7,000 kilograms. It was constructed with a combination of bronze frame and thick wooden blanks. The inner coffin was wooden structure with painted with hybrid creatures composed of birds, snakes and dragons. Zeng Hou Yi 1989: 30-35. The burial chamber of Baoshan tomb 2 of contained a double coffin, and the inner coffin was painted with interlaced birds and dragons. Baoshan 1991: 64-65.

⁸² From Wu Hung's view, the tomb 1 of Mawangdui is the eternal dwelling of the deceased, each layer of coffins represents another realm for the spirit of the dead individual to occupy. He identified the innermost coffin as "*jiu guan* 柩棺" for the *bin* 殯 rite, making another outfit for the Lady Dai, as it was wrapped with textiles and tied with silk sash, similar to the manner in which the lady Dai was shrouded and bound. Wu Hung 1992: 111-144. Wu Hung 2010:128-131. Beckman sees the fourth century burial as a product of rituals, she argues that a set of coffins were constructed subject to their specific functions during the funeral rites. Beckman has rightly pointed out that the archaeological evidence of Chu burials demonstrated that a correlation between the number of coffins and the social rank of their owners was less straightforward and consistent than suggested in historical texts. But her study mainly relied on the Eastern Han commentary texts in the *Liji*, she suggested that the great coffin, the *shu* 屬 and *bei* 檨 are specific names for the outer, middle and inner coffins, such text-based assumption echoed the work of Yu Weichao. Yet it is very difficult to reconstruct complete ritual practices due to the limitations of archaeological evidence and transmitted textual sources. It is true that burial is part of

should note immediately that the Chu state occupied an area with many cultural features quite different from those of the Zhou.⁸³

1.3 The Alternative Types of Han Tombs in the North and East Areas

From at least the second century B.C., wooden chamber tombs were replaced by brick or stone chamber tombs in the Central Plain (present-day Hebei, Henan) and by rock-cut tombs in the eastern area (present-day Shandong, Jiangsu). Wood was largely replaced by stone masonry in constructing tombs in north and eastern areas during the Eastern Han period while the timber structure burials survived in peripheral areas such as Mongolia, Transbaikalia,⁸⁴ and Lelang 樂浪 near Pyongyang (Map 3).⁸⁵

A brick tomb is often characterized by ample interior space and domed roofs

a complex ritual which starts with the death of an individual, continues through the actual funeral proceedings, and ends after the period of mourning. But the graves excavated were incomplete records as a part of funeral ritual; we should be aware of their fragmentary and partial nature. Although some intact Chu tombs provided a wealth of information while the transmitted ritual texts include rules and ritual codes in considerable detail, we hardly know how effective these codes of behavior were in living practice, and it is also plausible to argue that some shared burial practices were products of written ritual regulations. Beckman 2006: 96-98. Yu Weichao 1985a: 125-131.

⁸³ The mortuary culture of Chu shows distinctive features in several aspects. Firstly, the Chu state is unique in developing the compartmentalized wooden chamber. According to Thote, the tomb construction of the Chu state underwent a major change in the fifth century B.C: the outer chamber became compartmentalized and the necessities for daily life appeared to be predominant in the burial as observed in the late Chu medium-size graves in Hubei and Hunan. Thote2000: 189-203. Secondly, burying bamboo manuscripts in burials is one of Chu practices distinguished from other states. For discussion on Chu manuscripts see Falkenhausen 2003: 440-525. Thirdly, scholars such as Li Xueqin and Li Ling have observed the distinctive features of Chu bronzes. The specific ritual paraphernalia such as the flat bottom *sheng* 鼎—tripods—chief among them sets of ritual bronzes, expressed the legal standing of their owners, they were exclusively found in the Chu aristocratic tombs. Li Xueqin 1991:14. Li Ling 2004 a: 228.

⁸⁴ Eregzen 2011: 275-284. The radio carbon isotope analysis shows that the date of the Xiongnu noble tombs was no earlier than the late first century B.C. Miniaev and Elikhina 2009: 22-26.

⁸⁵ Lo-Lang region was a Chinese colony of the Han dynasty in North Korea, tomb 219 and tomb 212 at Sekiganri, excavated during 1934 to 1942, yielded rich archaeological material. The brief report see Umehara 1954: 10-20. During 1924 and 1926, Japanese archaeologists excavated 446 wooden chamber tombs in Lelang, full reports see Sekino 1925-1927. Yoshito 1930. Pai 1992: 306-319.

over the tomb chambers.⁸⁶ Tombs of this type appeared in the late Warring States and prevailed in areas of Shaanxi and Henan from the early Western Han onwards.⁸⁷ The hollow bricks were often stamped with designs, and polychrome murals were painted in some burials such as two decorated brick tombs at Wangdu 望都 in Hebei.⁸⁸ Tomb 1 of Wangdu consisted of a front chamber, flanked by two ear-chambers, a central chamber, two side chambers and corridors that were covered by a vaulted roof (Fig.1-11 a).

Stone carved tombs flourished in the north and eastern areas, including present-day Henan, Shandong and Anhui during the Eastern Han period (A.D.25-220).⁸⁹ One splendidly preserved example is a very late, large stone chamber tomb at Yinan 沂南 in Shandong province. This tomb was constructed by large stone slabs, some striking architectural elements such as the octagonal columns and bracketing, derived from wooden structure (Fig.1-11b). The construction of the stone chambers also borrowed the carpentry techniques such as mortise and tenon joints, representing the translation of timber structural features into more durable material such as stones and bricks.⁹⁰

There is more evidence suggesting that certain parts of the wooden structure in the mid-Yangzi tombs were reproduced in the medium of stone, represented by Han

⁸⁶ The use of a *quan ding* 券頂(vaulted roof) is one of the important architectural elements used in building elaborate brick tombs and stone chamber tombs. For the foreign origin of vaulted roof see Chen Jing 2006: 23-27.

⁸⁷ Discussions on the Han dynasty burial types see Huang Xiaofen 1996: 49-69, Huang Xiaofen 2003: 26-40, and Erickson 2010: 13-21. For the origin and significance of rock-cut tombs see Rawson 1999 a: 5-58. Wu Hung 1995: 166. Wu Hung 2010: 23-25.

⁸⁸ Two brick chamber tombs were excavated in 1950's at Wangdu, Hebei province. Tomb 2 (dated to A.D. 182) was larger than tomb 1, measuring 44 m long and 30 m wide, including five main chambers and separated by 13 rooms. Wangdu 1955. Most occupants of brick chamber tombs were landowners and lower ranking officials. But some large-scale tombs with mural paintings like Wangdu belonged to higher ranking officials.

⁸⁹ The most comprehensive study on the stone carved tombs see Xin Lixiang 2000.

⁹⁰ Hsio-Yen Shih 1959: 278.

tombs in north area. The U-shaped corridor was commonly used as a passageway leading to different compartments in the *ticou* tombs in Changsha.⁹¹ Such a structure was duplicated in a late Western Han stone-chamber tomb (Fig.1-11c) at Tanghe 唐河 in Nanyang 南陽, Henan province.⁹² In this burial, at least two compartments were self-identified as rooms for different purposes: the first compartment was inscribed with “the chariot room of Fengjun ruren, the governor-general of Yuping 郁平大尹, 馮君孺人車庫” and contained carriage and horse fittings, and the inscription on the wall of the southern compartment was “the storage room of Fengjun ruren, the governor-general of Yuping 郁平大尹, 馮君孺人藏閣.”⁹³ These inscriptions provide clues for understanding the ideas behind the construction of such tombs: the multiple compartments in both timber structure grave and stone-chamber burial were actual rooms for housing the dead.

The notion that the Han tomb was modeled on a house was commonplace both in theory and in practice.⁹⁴ The trend of mimicking the residence of the living was also indicated by the princely tombs cut into mountain rocks. Rock-cut structures first appeared in Xuzhou in Jiangsu, where 15 tombs of eight generations of Chu kings (dating from 179 B.C. to A.D.8) were dug into the rock of a small limestone mountain (Map 1).⁹⁵ The largest cliff burial (175 B.C.) at Shizishan 獅子山 was dug into the

⁹¹ Dabaotai 1989.

⁹² Doubishan 1979.

⁹³ Based on the inscriptions of a stone wall, this tomb was dated to the fifth year of *shijianguo tian feng* 始建國天鳳 (A.D. 18) during Wang Mang’s usurpation. This tomb consisted of a front chamber, two side chambers and two rear chambers, surrounded by a U-shape corridor. Tanghe 1980: 239-262. For related discussion on the house-like structure of Tanghe tomb see Wu and Xiao 1985: 56. The *dayin* 大尹 refers to the governor, a high ranking official at a grade of 2,000 *dan*. The title of *taishou* 太守 (governor) was changed to *dayin* 大尹 during the interregnum of Wang Mang (A.D. 9-23). For the discussion of official ranks, see chapter 2.

⁹⁴ Lewis 2007: 119-130.

⁹⁵ The Chu kingdom here was a vassal state of Western Han dynasty, distinct from the Warring States period

mountain, totaling 5,139 cubic meters in volume. It comprises a long, neatly squared-off access passage, with small chambers either side (Fig.1-11d).⁹⁶ The tomb of Beidongshan 北洞山 had the most complicated structure in Xuzhou cliff tombs, it contained 19 compartments with different functions: including an arsenal, a hall for ceremonial music or entertainment, a kitchen, three storerooms and three lavatories (Fig.1-11e).⁹⁷ It seems that the builders of rock-cut tombs shared common interests with those of elaborate timber structure burials in the way of mimicking a dwelling.

The rich evidence of rock-cut tombs provides excellent examples for a comparison. The Han texts described the wooden chamber tomb with *ticou* structure as the most prestigious burial for high ranking nobles.⁹⁸ However, the princely rock-cut tombs in the central plain and eastern area show a grander form of burial, which was unrecorded in written texts. These alternative burial types have shown a diverse mortuary culture of Han Empire, and their owners ranged from the most prestigious social class to the modest social group. Obviously, the different choices of burial system were not necessarily determined by rules and regulations, but represented a natural flexibility allowed for a range of responses to funeral needs.⁹⁹

1.4 Source Material

More than six hundred Han period wooden chamber tombs have been excavated

Chu state. The first king of Chu was a younger brother of the first Han Emperor, Liu Bang (r. 206-195 B.C.). Xuzhou is also a place of origin of Han emperors: Emperor Gaozu, Liu Bang came from Xuzhou and established the Western Han Empire in Xi'an, Shaanxi province.

⁹⁶ For the brief report on the Xuzhou rock-cut grave see Shizishan 1998: 1-20.

⁹⁷ Li Yinde 2012: 52-53.

⁹⁸ For the sumptuary rules related to the *ticou* burial see chapter 2.

⁹⁹ Miller argues that the rock-cut tombs in the Han period marked new political agenda and elite identities during the reign of Emperor Wen. Miller 2011. For the western origin of rock-cut princely tombs in Han China see Rawson 1999a: 24-25. Rawson 2010: 79-88. For different opinion see Wu Hung 1995: 126-136. Wu Hung suggested that the emergence of rock-cut tombs in Han was probably influenced by the Indian Buddhist caves.

in the mid-Yangzi region, but since it is not possible to cover all the relevant data in one thesis, forty nine burials have been selected for analysis. One criterion for selecting these samples is that they are intact or reasonably well-preserved tombs that provide information on tomb structure and burial assemblages. The dataset presented in the summary of archaeological evidence in Appendix 3-1 includes the higher ranking nobles and middle ranking elites in the Han society. The choice is also dependent on the profile of published data.

Another reason for selecting particular tombs is the abundance of artifacts and bamboo manuscripts. Approximately 5,832 bamboo strips and wooden tablets were unearthed from 26 burials in the mid-Yangzi region, including recipes, calendars, contracts, maps and charts, military manuals, medical texts and official documents. These manuscripts were not only found in tombs of upper class aristocrats, but also in those of lower ranking officials and landlords. They convey valuable information about the ranks and identities of the deceased.

There are three kinds of source materials relevant to this research: (1) epigraphic evidence; (2) textual sources and (3) excavation reports.

1.4.1 Epigraphic evidence

Epigraphic sources found in the Western Han tombs, including seals and artifacts carrying individual's name and rank, provide direct information for identifying the tomb owner. Two official seals were discovered in tomb 2 of Mawangdui, inscribed with the title and rank such as "*Changsha Chengxiang* 長沙丞相 (The chancellor of principality of the Changsha [kingdom])" and "*Daihou zhi yin* 軹侯之印(the seal of Marquis Dai)"(Fig.1-12 a-c). Private seals were only inscribed with personal names. A few examples have provided information about gender and status. For instance,

self-reference terms written on seals such as “*bo* 伯” indicates the owner was the eldest male member of a family, while “*qie* 妾” referred to a married woman.¹⁰⁰

Clay impressions of seals found in high ranking tombs also recorded ranks and titles, but many did not belong to the tomb occupants but to the officials who prepared burial goods.¹⁰¹ In Mawangdui M1, 37 clay impressions of a seal inscribed with “*Daihou jiacheng* 軫侯家丞 (assistant of the Marquis Dai family)” were found along with bamboo caskets containing food stuff (Fig.1-12 d, e).¹⁰² Similarly, a small box containing a clay impression bearing the texts of “*Changsha weichen* 長沙尉臣 (Changsha minister of coachman)” was found in the large wooden chamber tomb at Doubishan at Changsha, Hunan.¹⁰³

Other epigraphic sources are luxury or prestige artifacts with inscriptions associated with their ownership. In tomb 1 and tomb 2 at Shuanggudui, over 40

¹⁰⁰ In Han period, most women use self-reference term “*qie*” when addressing one’s husband or superiors in social status. Lee 1993-94: 150-164. A white amber seal inscribed with “*qie* Xun 妾巽”, along with other two private seals bearing the name of “Cao Xun 曹巽” were found in the inner coffin of Doubishan tomb 1 (201-157 B.C.) at Changsha, Hunan province, one of which was placed into the mouth of the deceased. Doubishan 1979. Another example is a bronze seal inscribed with “*qie* Xin Zhui 妾辛追” buried in the tomb of Lady Dai at Mawangdui. Mawangdui 1973. A wooden seal inscribed with the names of the dead, “Zhang Yan 張偃” and “Zhang Bo 張伯” was found in tomb 10 of Fenghuangshan, Jiangling, Hubei. Fenghuangshan 1974. The “*bo*” is referred to the eldest son of the family. In ancient China, the lineage system of establishing the heir was originated from the *Zongfa* 宗法 (Lineage law) institution of Zhou. The sons of the primary wife of a lineage were differentiated by their seniority as “*bo* 伯”, “*zhong* 仲”, “*shu* 叔”, “*ji* 季”, and only the first born *bo* would succeed his father as the head of lineage. Such a lineage-related naming system was still used in late imperial China. For the discussion on the Zhou lineage system, see Li Feng 2006: 112.

¹⁰¹ According to Fu Juyou, “*jiacheng*” was the head of dependent, who was in charge of official archives, property management and funeral arrangement for the family of marquis. The official rank of *jiacheng* was equivalent to the prefect. Fu Juyou 1999: 86-96. Li Shisheng 2005: 150-155.

¹⁰² My translation of the “*jiacheng* 家丞 (assistant of the family)” is different from the “household sub-steward” suggested by H. Dubs, the family of a marquis should be differentiated from the individual household. As I have discussed in the second chapter, in the Western Han society, a marquis ruled a territory ranging from 500 to 10,000 households. Every marquis had a *jiacheng* who was responsible for the domestic duties, while an individual household normally consisted of five persons. Dubs 2009: 117. In Mawangdui tomb 1, sixteen clay impressions of “*Daihou jiacheng* 軫侯家丞 (assistant of the Marquis Dai family)” have been found along with 52 bamboo caskets containing food stuff. Twelve identical clay impressions were also found in tomb3 of Mawangdui. Mawangdui 1973: 126. Mawangdui 2004: 187.

¹⁰³ Doubishan 1979.

lacquer table wares had identical inscriptions on them, such as “*Ruyin hou bei* 汝陰侯杯 (the cup of the Marquis of Ruyin)”, “*Ruyin hou zhi* 汝陰侯卮 (the *zhi*-cup of the Marquis Ruyin)”(Fig.1-12 f). With reference to a clay impression of “*Ruyin jiacheng* 汝陰家丞 (assistant of the Marquis Ruyin family)”(Fig.1-12 g) in tomb 2 and other artifacts, the tomb occupants have been identified as the Marquis of Ruyin and his consort.¹⁰⁴

Not all inscribed artifacts are identity items.¹⁰⁵ In some cases, the prestige objects bearing inscriptions of ranks and titles found in the same burial may indicate different ownerships, for instance, in Beishantou tomb 1 at Chaohu, Anhui, thirteen inscribed objects represented different owners. They were dedicated to “*zuo chehou* 左徹侯 (the left marquis)”, “*tai guan* 大(太)官 (the imperial banquet office)”, “*Ganquan* 甘泉 (the imperial palace of Ganquan)” and “*Dong gong* 東宮 (the prince’s palace)”.¹⁰⁶ Obviously, these artifacts belonged to different persons, not necessarily the tomb occupant. In the third chapter I will explain why epigraphic sources indicating various ownership cannot serve as conclusive evidence.

1.4.2 Textual sources

Information about rank and status is found in two types of textual sources: the

¹⁰⁴ The brief report of the burial site of Marquis Ruyin family see Shuanggudui 1978. This site was near to the palace of Marquis of Ruyin at Fuyang city, Anhui province where a tile inscribed with “*Ruyin gong dang* 汝陰宮當 (the tile of Ruyin palace)” was found. Liu Feng 1996: 10-12. For the appointment and death of the Marquis Ruyin see table of *gao hui gao hou wen gongchen biao*, *Han shu*, 16. 533. *Han shu*, 28. 1594-1595. “The commandery of Wuling was established by Emperor Gao. It was renamed as Jianping by Wang Mang, belonged to Jingzhou. [The commandery of Wuling] had 3,4177 households and 185,758 populations. 武陵郡, 高帝置. 莽曰建平, 屬荊州. 戶三萬四千一百七十七, 口十八萬五千七百五十八.”

¹⁰⁵ Identity items here refer to objects or documents displaying the rank, name and status of the deceased.

¹⁰⁶ Chaohu 2007.

transmitted literature and archaeologically-recovered texts.¹⁰⁷

The transmitted literature In the standard histories of the Han period, the *Shiji* 史記 (Records of the Grand Historian), *Han shu* 漢書 (Former Han History) and *Houhan shu* 後漢書 (Later Han History),¹⁰⁸ of which the chapters on biographies of kings and marquises,¹⁰⁹ the treatises of bureaucratic system, and the tables of official administrative organization give much information on different ranks, official grades, and the records on bestowals of honorary ranks.¹¹⁰ The question as to whether official historiographies can be treated as documents containing straightforward information that can be simply extracted needs discussing. China has a long history and deep-rooted custom of organizing historical writings. The origin of Chinese traditional historiography was due primarily to the practical needs of ruling groups. The textual sources now available to the modern scholar's hand were largely annotated, modified, recombined and canonized after their composition. Some may present more theoretical systematization of the principles underlying the institutions

¹⁰⁷ In this thesis, references of textual sources are given in footnotes that are quoted in length, some long paragraphs are provided with appendix, see Appendix 1. Unless otherwise stated, the translations are mine. For the same texts need to be cited more than once, I have generally quoted it once in full, and elsewhere I have quoted as briefly, with a reference to the page where the full quotation will be found.

¹⁰⁸ The *Shiji* was traditionally accepted as having been initiated by Sima Tan 司馬談 (died in 110 B.C.) and completed by his son Sima Qian 司馬遷 (? 145-86 B.C.), Hulsewé 1993: 405-414. The south dynasty scholar Fan Ye 範曄 (A.D.398-445) compiled the *Houhan shu*, the specialized study on the treatises of the *Houhan shu*, such as the Han bureaucratic system, see Beck 1990: 217. For the *Han shu* see 1.

¹⁰⁹ There are two tables in the *Han shu*, Table of non-Liu clan kings 異姓諸侯王表 and Table of Liu clan kings 同姓諸侯王表; the six tables in the *Shiji* include “Table of 12 marquises 十二諸侯年表”, “Table of kings after the establishment of Han dynasty 漢興以來諸侯王年表”, “Table of meritorious officials and marquises during the reign of Emperor Gaozu 高祖功臣侯者年表”, “Table of marquises during the reign of Emperor Hui and Emperor Jing 惠景間侯者年表”, “Table of marquises after the year of Jianyuan (Emperor Wudi) 建元以來侯者年表”, “Table of princes and marquises after the year of Jianyuan 建元已來王子侯者年表”.

¹¹⁰ On-cho Ng and Edward Wang pointed out that history became the great literary activity of the Han dynasty, as writings inspired by Confucian ideas carried the message of moral conduct and behavior based on ethical principles, Ng and Wang 2005: 259-260.

of early imperial China, rather than substantiated regulations in practice.¹¹¹

It should be noted that some historical texts are biased. For instance, biographies devoted to some kings, marquises and officials in the Han dynastic histories were only given to political elites or important people.¹¹² They say little about the status of other social members, including women, lower ranking officials, landowners and merchants. Most of these were largely ignored in the writings of classical historians. An example of the bias of the historical texts is shown up in Yuri Pine's recent research. He critiques a revisionist view on a long-prevailing notion drawn from the transmitted textual sources. He argues that the received texts, both late Warring States philosophical literature and early Han histories such as the *Shiji* represent a biased view of Qin's "barbarian" and "marginal" nature. The picture obtained from epigraphic and material evidence actually conflicts with historian's suggestions on the Qin.¹¹³

Other related textual sources include the three Ritual Classics, such as the *Zhouli* 周禮(Rites of Zhou), the *Yili* 儀禮 (Rites and Ceremonies) and the *Liji* 禮記(Book of Rites).¹¹⁴ As these texts provide normative descriptions of mortuary practices based

¹¹¹ The written texts remain vehicles of transmission, communicative media of textual authority, Connery 1998: 7-8

¹¹² According to the statistic by Bielenstein, 77.7% of the Western Han chancellors have biographies in the *Han shu*. Bielenstein 1980: 146.

¹¹³ Yuri Pines argues that the mortuary evidence of Qin tombs displayed strict adherence to the Zhou legacy and lacking any perceptible "barbarian" features. The Qin ruling class adopted the Zhou ritual norms which were used to define cultural identity and to differentiate themselves from outsiders. Qin's adherence to Zhou ritual legacy can be exemplified by the *lie ding* system seen from ritual vessels in Qin tombs, namely, a fixed number of tripods and adjacent set of *gui*-tureens were assigned to different aristocratic ranks. Other evidence such as its written language and the formulae used in its bronze inscriptions, the layout of its capitals, its state religion also indicated that Qin rulers did not consider themselves marginal players in the Zhou culture realm. Pines 2005-2006: 34-48. Pines 2013: 236-263.

¹¹⁴ The *Zhouli* along with the *Yili* and the *Liji*, are the three most significant classics from early China for defining ritual behavior. The *Zhouli* provides detailed description on an idealized administrative structure and organization of Zhou, it is traditionally dated in the Warring States period. The *Yili* provides descriptions and explanations of proper ritual behavior for the \pm *shi* (the lowest-ranking knights or officials), dating from the 4th through 2nd centuries B.C. The *Liji* is dated from the 4th

on graded privileges of social hierarchy, they have been used as primary sources for modern archaeologists to define tomb ranks by generalizing standard regulations in using coffins and ritual vessels. However, the hierarchical ideas of the three ritual texts carry late ideas on disciplining and harmonizing society, by Confucian scholars who believed in a hierarchical stratified society, in which the upper stratum had higher privileges than the lower strata. The Eastern Han scholar Zheng Xuan 鄭玄 (A.D. 127-200), who strove to incorporate the various interpretations in his own commentaries, claimed that the three ritual canons together described a complete ritual system, “which encompasses a broad spectrum of activities from the courtesies of daily life to the most solemn affairs of state.”¹¹⁵

Outward expressions of luxury and wealth and the Han scholar’s criticism were frequently found in the literary sources, including the *Yantie lun* 鹽鐵論 (Discourses on Salt and Iron) and the *Qianfu lun* 潛夫論 (Essays of an Eremite) reveal contemporary people’s attitudes towards status indicators and social value in Han times. ¹¹⁶This documentary evidence provides valuable insights into funerary customs, mourning for the dead, but should not be prioritized over archaeological

through 2nd centuries BC, and was finally compiled in the Western Han. It is to provide a theory of ritual, including discussions on how rituals should be performed. See Riegel 1993: 293-297. The discussions on the dates and authorship of the *Zhouli* and the *Yili*, see Boltz 1993a: 24-32; Boltz 1993b: 234-243. For general survey of differences in these three ritual texts see Puett 2009: 695-720.

¹¹⁵ Nylan 2008: 174. Since Zheng Xuan incorporated varying interpretations on the fragmentary ritual texts, his commentary texts were widely used by modern scholars as a primary textual source.

¹¹⁶ The *Yantie lun* 鹽鐵論 (Discourse on Salt and Iron) by the Western Han scholar, Huan Kuan 桓寬 (1st century B.C.), represents the conflict between the economic and political ideology of Confucian scholars and that of the Han administrative officials. For English translation of the first four chapters see Gale: 1931. The *Qianfu lun* 潛夫論 (Essays of an Eremite) was written by the Eastern scholar Wang Fu 王符 (A.D. 85-163) and concerns miscellaneous topics of divination, shamanistic practice, the five Elements and Virtues and the origin of surnames, etc. The essays cover almost all the important aspects of state, society, thought and religion of later Han times. Wang Fu used historical allusions, quotations from classics to support his argument. For instance, Wang Fu referred to Confucius in order to lend authority to the position that lavish burial is improper. Kinney 1990.

evidence.¹¹⁷

The excavated manuscripts Excavated documents are the texts written on bamboo strips and wooden tablets buried in tombs.¹¹⁸ Most Han manuscripts were written on a number of *jian* 簡(bamboo strips), carrying a single column of writing. These strips were usually cut to narrow widths of 1 to 1.5 centimeters (Fig.1-12 h). Some *du* 牘(tablets of greater width of 4 cm or more) were made to accommodate longer documents (Fig.1-12 i).¹¹⁹ In the mid-Yangzi region, the length of individual strips from Han tombs varied from 14.8 to 34.2 centimeters. The manuscripts deposited in the Han tombs include many different documents: calendars and chronological charts, almanacs, divinational, mathematical and astronomical texts, medical texts, military manuals, household register books, administrative statistics and official archives, legal and judicial texts and business contracts.¹²⁰

Amongst these excavated manuscripts, the legal documents from the Zhangjiashan Han tomb provide us with fresh material regarding the Twenty Orders ranking system and specific regulations. The Zhangjiashan manuscripts were first

¹¹⁷ For the use of horse and carriage in burials, the narratives in different textual sources varied. For the details see chapter 2.

¹¹⁸ Excavated documents mentioned in this thesis are not limited to “funerary texts” which, as Seidel defined, are documents directly concerned with the burial rite and the post-mortem fate of the deceased, comprising four categories: (1) *maidì quān* 買地券(land contracts) to establish the deceased’s ownership of land in which he is buried ; (2) *zhēnmù wén* 鎮墓文(grave quelling texts) to ward off evil from the tomb; (3) *yīwù quān* 衣物券(inventories of grave goods); (4) funeral writs, including the *fú* 符(talismans), incantations and seals bearing the names and titles of the celestial deities. For Seidel, these documents were obviously intended for submission to the underworld, because they were not retained above ground. However, Rawson argues that the use of inventory lists of burial goods in the Han tombs actually provides an important link between these two worlds; the tombs were “simultaneously an extension of the world and an extension of the underworld.” I adopt the latter opinion, in the case of *gāo dì shù* (announcement to the underworld), it is a form of communication between the underground world and the living human world. Seidel 1987: 21-57. Rawson 1996: 23-44.

¹¹⁹ Loewe 1997: 166. Li Ling 2004 b: 116-117.

¹²⁰ For a general introduction of excavated manuscripts in the Han tombs see Giele 2010: 114-136. For the summary of different documents found in the mid-Yangzi region Han tombs see Appendix 3-2 Table 3-03 Manuscripts.

known to us from a brief report of *Wenwu* in 1985.¹²¹ The transcriptions of the full set of strips and photos of original manuscripts were published in *Zhangjiashan Hanmu Zhujian* 張家山漢墓竹簡 in 2001,¹²² and the revised edition in 2006.¹²³ The editors have categorized the strips into eight texts, mostly under their original titles, of which two legal texts, Statutes and Ordinance of the Second Year and Reported Dispute Cases are important sources for this research. The Zhangjiashan manuscripts quoted in this thesis are all from the 2006 revised edition.

The *Statutes and an Ordinance of the Second Year* described the same Twenty Orders ranking system as the records in the *Han shu*. Amongst these legal texts, the *Jue lü* 爵律 (Statute on Honorary Ranks),¹²⁴ the *Ci lü* 賜律 (Statute on Bounties)¹²⁵ and the *Fu lü* 傅律 (Statute on Enrollment)¹²⁶ stated that the bestowal of *jue* (honorary ranks) carried varying material rewards, including the allocation of land, provisions for clothing, coffins, food and drink, and general gifts from the emperors in

¹²¹ Zhangjiashan 1985.

¹²² Zhangjiashan Zhujian 2001. So far, the earliest evidence of early imperial institutions and laws written on the bamboo and wooden strips were the Qin Statutes excavated in 1975 from Shuihudi tomb 11 (dated to 217 B.C.) at Yunmeng, Hubei. The tomb occupant of Shuihudi tomb 11, Xi喜 was *alingshi* 令史 (prefectural scribe), a low ranking person with extended responsibilities, including the investigation of criminal cases. This tomb contained one thousand bamboo strips, mostly legal documents. The legal texts consist of nearly two hundred of administrative rules, *Shuihudi Qinjian* 1978. Hulsewé 1978 a: 11-56. Hulsewé 1985, Hulsewé 1997: 153-221. It should be noted that the *fa* 法 in Qin and Han period in forms of imperial edicts, statutes and ordinance, are different from the modern concept of law or penal law. Hulsewé has used the “law” for the statutes and ordinance found at Shuihudi Qin tombs. Loewe considered them as orders and commands instead of law, he argued that the Qin and Han Empires “had orders or commands which were formulated and promulgated that did not derive from any theories of government or concept of rights, but from the practical needs of administering and controlling a population.” Loewe 2010 b: 253-254. According to Miranda Brown and Charles Sanft, *fa* refers “concretely and specifically to sections of the statutes that delineate decision-making processes for use by officials.” Brown and Sanft 2011: 283-306. I agree with Loewe the statutes and ordinance in those legal documents are different from the law in modern concept and ancient western world, they were but some specific statutes such as the Statute on Households and the Statute on Heirs and Inheritance included details for protecting the rights of individuals such as widows, as well as punishing crimes. Here I am following Hulsewé in defining the statutes and ordinance as law.

¹²³ Zhangjiashan Zhujian 2006.

¹²⁴ ZJS strips no. 392-395.

¹²⁵ ZJS strips no. 281-304.

¹²⁶ ZJS strips no. 354-366.

accordance with different ranks, as well as social privileges.¹²⁷ The *Hu lü* 戶律 (Statute on Households),¹²⁸ the *Tian lü* 田律 (Statute on Agriculture)¹²⁹ and the *Zhihou lü* 置後律 (Statute on Heirs and Inheritance)¹³⁰ concern land ownership for those with honorary ranks and below, the inheritance of honorary ranks and households, as well as the status of women in the household. The *Zei lü* 賊律 (Statute on Violence)¹³¹, the *Dao lü* 盜律 (Statute on Robbery)¹³² and the *Ju lü* 具律 (Statute for the Composition of Judgments)¹³³ cover the penalties for crimes, including stealing, robbery, bribery and forgery, and the scale of punishments with various treatments according to different honorary ranks.¹³⁴

The excavated manuscripts provide valuable information, which was rarely documented in transmitted literature, and may reflect contemporary views on how the ranking system was regarded in the Han society. These new findings also necessitate rethinking many previous perceptions drawn from the transmitted literature. For instance, there was a nearly identical law concerning the punishment of criminals documented in both Zhangjiashan manuscripts and the *Han shu*. The law concerns the social privilege of avoiding punishment for the rank holders. The Statute on the Composition of Judgment of Zhangjiashan manuscripts said that the reduction of punishment could be extended to the wife of persons with the rank of *Shangzao* or

¹²⁷ For the social privileges attached to different honorary ranks see chapter 2.

¹²⁸ ZJS strips no. 305-346.

¹²⁹ ZJS strips no. 239-257.

¹³⁰ ZJS strips no. 367-390.

¹³¹ ZJS strips no. 1-55. Strip no. 61 Statute on Violence: “徼外人來入為盜者，要斬。吏所興能捕若斬一人，爵一級。不欲拜爵及非吏所興，購如律。”

¹³² ZJS strips no. 56-80.

¹³³ ZJS strips no. 82-125.

¹³⁴ The translations of different titles of statutes in this chapter have followed Loewe's texts. Loewe 2010 a: 253-265.

above,¹³⁵ but strikingly the character “*qi* 妻 (wife)” was lacking in the same statute described in the *Han shu*.¹³⁶ Zhu Shaohou has suggested that Ban Gu deliberately erased this character when the *Han shu* was compiled.¹³⁷

It is not surprising that Ban Gu reduced women’s status and privileges in the case of avoiding punishment. In the *Han shu*, the lineages of kings and marquises are all constituted by the male descendants. It seems that women did not have a legal position in such a power structure.¹³⁸ Ban Gu was also the author of *Bai hu tong* 白虎通 (Virtuous discussions of the White Tiger Hall), in which he explained why he excluded women from the receipts of rank and household.¹³⁹ Evidently, the transmitted texts represent a distorted picture of the conventional concept of social hierarchy. Amongst the surviving literary works, there was a chapter of *Lie nü zhuan*

¹³⁵ ZJS strip no. 82: “When a person who has the rank of *shangzao* or above, the wife of a person at that rank, or a grandson or grand-grandson of the imperial clan, commits a crime, if he or she needs to be punished with mutilation and condemned to male wall-builders or female grain-pounders, lessen the punishment [of one degree] to *nai* 耐 (shaving off the beard and hair) and make him or her a male gatherer of firewood for spirits or female sifter of white rice. 上造、上造妻以上及內公孫、外公孫、內耳玄孫有罪，其當刑及當為城旦舂者，耐以為鬼薪、白粲。” Zhangjiashan Zhujian 2006: 20.

¹³⁶ *Han shu*, 2. 85. “A person who has a rank of *shangzao* or above, and a grandson or grand-grandson of the imperial clan, commits a crime, if he or she needs to be punished with mutilation and condemned to male wall-builders or female grain-pounders, lessen the punishment [of one degree to] to *nai* and make him or her a male gatherer of firewood for spirits or female sifter of white rice. 上造以上及內外公孫，耳孫有罪當刑及當為城旦舂者，皆耐以鬼薪、白粲。”

¹³⁷ Zhu Shaohou 2007 a: 76-78.

¹³⁸ The Empress Dowager Lü was an exception, who acquired power by becoming regent for a youthful Emperor Hui after her husband, Emperor Gaozu (r. 202 B.C.-195 B.C.) passed away. Hinsch 2011: 103.

¹³⁹ The passage *jue* 爵 of the *Bai hu tong* 白虎通 (Virtuous discussions of the White Tiger Hall) stated: “why cannot females have honorary ranks [of their own]? They are *yin* and humble and have no business outside the household. Therefore, they adhere to the principle of the “three followings.” [“The three followings”] means throughout her life a woman must obey the men around her: in her youth she follows her father and elderly brother, when married she follows her husband, and when widowed she follows her son. Therefore the husband is respectable at court, while the wife is honorable in the room, [the wife] should follow her husband. 婦人無爵何，陰卑無外事，是以有三從之義。未嫁從父，既嫁從夫，夫死從子。故夫尊於朝，妻榮于室，隨夫之行。” *Bai hu tong shuzheng* 白虎通疏證 1994: 21-22. In A.D. 83, Emperor Xuandi ordered an assembly of Confucian scholars to expound the Five Classics and to compose the *Bai hu tong delun*. Ban Gu 班固 who was also the author of the *Han shu*, was given that orders to compile the collected material. For the authorship and dating of *Bai hu tong*, see Loewe 1993: 347-356. Ban Gu’s statement was influential to modern historians. Nishijima has quoted the *Bai hu tong* texts and argued that no women held honorary ranks in the Han times. Nishijima 2004: 435-439.

列女傳 (Biographies of Exemplary Women) devoted to women in the *Houhan shu*, but it aimed to advocate the subordinate position of women in the relationship with men and male authority, in terms of womenly virtues. Once again, many images of Han women were projected by Confucian scholars' views of female inherent inferiority.¹⁴⁰ In this thesis, the fifth chapter will look into the material records associated with women's status in light of the recently recovered legal documents from Zhangjiashan Han tomb, and argue against the traditional view of excluding women as recipients of honorary ranks and of households.

They are no transmitted historical texts like the Zhangjiashan manuscripts for defining the ranks by the Han legal system. We have to rely on these incomplete archives. Yet the Zhangjiashan statutes and ordinances do not tell us how they were interpreted. The interpretations of the same law vary greatly.¹⁴¹ Another important textual source was the *Zanglü* 葬律 (Statute on the Funerals) written on five bamboo strips discovered from Shuihudi M77 (after 157 B.C.) at Yunmeng, Hubei.¹⁴²

As regulations were mentioned in the above texts, it is possible for us to gain some information to underpin such textual evidence though burial analysis. The existence or nonexistence of a homogeneous pattern may bring us closer to

¹⁴⁰ The Biographies of Exemplary Women was compiled by the imperial bibliographer Liu Xiang 劉向 (79-8 B.C.) in 34 B.C. devoted to the moral education of women. For the English translation see Kinney 2014.

¹⁴¹ For instance, the *fu lü* 傅律 (Statute on the Enrollment) of Zhangjiashan manuscripts stated that "The sons of persons with the rank of *dafu* up to the *wu dafu*, persons with the rank of *xiaojue*, from the *bu geng* up to the *shangzao* at the age of 22, the sons of *qing* or above, and persons with the *xiaojue*, the *dafu* and above at the age of 24, they all should register the enrollment [for statutory service]. 大夫以上至五大夫子，及小爵不更以下至上造年廿二歲，卿以上子及小爵大夫以上年廿四歲，皆傅之。”Liu Min interpreted the “*xiaojue* 小爵” as young honorary rank holders whose age are normally below twenty while Zhu Shaohou regarded it as the lowest grade in the Twenty Orders, including the rank of *gongshi* down to the *bu geng*. I agree with Zhu Shaohou that the *xiaojue* refers to the junior honorary rank in the Twenty Orders, for the discussion on grading the twenty honorary ranks see section 2.4.2 in chapter 2. Liu Min 2007: 94-104. Zhu Shaohou 2007 b: 67-72.

¹⁴² Shuihudi 2008: 31-45. The full discussion on the Statute on Funerals see chapter 3.

understanding the degree to which Han society was organized by these regulations. For instance, the burials with a highly regular set of burial objects and standardized structures may be a consequence of a normative, formulated ranking system. However, such regularity might equally be the result of shared practice, with no connection to formerly promulgated rules.

Tomb documents carrying name and rank

Certain wooden or bamboo tablets, which are often termed as *gao di shu* 告地書 (announcement to the underworld authority), providing a wealth of material on identity and social standing of their owners, allow us to examine the material expressions of different ranks and statuses. So far six burials containing such wooden tablets carrying names and titles have been found in the mid-Yangzi region. Three of these were associated with the rank of *wu dafu*, the ninth level in the Twenty Orders. In addition to Xiejiaqiao tomb 1 and Fenghuangshan tomb 10, the third example is tomb 168 at Fenghuangshan cemetery. The tomb occupant of M168 was Zhang Sui 張遂, the *wu dafu* of Siyang. Two individual burials discovered in Jingzhou, Hubei yielded wooden tablets ascribed to the wife or the concubine of the *guannei hou* 關內侯 (the marquis of imperial domain), one of two highest ranks with the Twenty Orders, following the rank of marquis.¹⁴³ The tomb occupant of Maojiayuan tomb 1 (168 B.C.) was Jing 精, a widow of the *guannei hou* at Siyang, with the same status as the tomb occupant of Gaotai tomb 18 (173 B.C.).¹⁴⁴

¹⁴³ The marquis of the imperial domain 關內侯 had no territorial fief, but consisted of merely in the reception of the taxes from a certain number of households, see Dubs 2009: 121.

¹⁴⁴ Maojiayuan 1988: 204. The discussion on different transcriptions of Maojiayuan tablet see chapter 4.

Table 1-01 Honorary ranks recorded in the epigraphic evidence from Han tombs

Level	Written rank	Related burial	Date (B.C.)	Tomb owner
20	<i>chehou</i> 徹侯	11 burials	186 -46	kings, marquises and their consorts
19	<i>guannei hou</i> 關內侯	Maojiayuan M1	168	Jing 精
		Gaotai M18	173	Yan 燕
9	<i>wu dafu</i> 五大夫	Xiejiaqiao M1	184	Hui 憲
		Fenghuangshan M10	153	Zhang Yan 張偃
		Fenghuangshan M168	167	Zhang Sui 張遂
8	<i>gongcheng</i> 公乘	Songbai M1	133	Zhou Yan 周偃
5	<i>da fu</i> 大夫	Xiejiaqiao M1	168	Hui 憲
4	<i>Bu geng</i> 不更	Xiejiaqiao M1	168	Hui 憲

As these ranks within the existed hierarchical system and sumptuary rules have been found in epigraphic evidence and documents excavated from tombs, a systematic study on these tombs with comparable ranks and dates will illuminate our understanding of social differentiation in the early Han society. We should be also aware that in some cases the legal status and rank recorded in the tomb documents or displayed on the objects do not necessarily provide an accurate picture of the identity of the dead individual in real life, but rather reflect an ambition to maintain a social status. Certain people may have exaggerated their position in creating an image that they wish to present at their death. Thus a given inscription is not conclusive evidence. Here I resist the tendency to use material evidence to support established theories of the hierarchy system described in transmitted texts, alternatively I shall offer concrete examples of specific rank categories in the case studies.

On the nature of tomb documents

Entombed documents have been often used as complementary textual sources to elucidate questions concerning administrative organization, land ownership, funeral regulation and local religion. Yuri Pines had classified the documents into four categories: funerary inventories; technical texts; administrative documents; philosophical, historical and military writings.¹⁴⁵ For the functional use, they are traditionally thought to be either expressions of hierarchical orders, or to be categorized as *mingqi* 明器 (spiritual articles) for their unusual formats or disarranged forms.¹⁴⁶ Giele argues that using excavated manuscripts as historical source requires a specific methodology. The non-functional principle of *mingqi* can be extended to manuscripts, especially for those incomplete samples of originally complete bodies.¹⁴⁷

I agree with Giele that some incomplete manuscripts, such as the chapter list from Shuanggudui, were not made for practical use in life, but perhaps in another world after death. Another example is the household register book discovered at Yuanling, which is only 14 cm. long, much shorter than normal size of Han documents (23 cm.). It is probably a replica to serve a representational function, or especially produced for funeral use. Nevertheless, such examples were only a small portion of excavated texts in Han wooden chamber tombs. The functions and social

¹⁴⁵ Pines 2003: 101-126.

¹⁴⁶ Scholars such as Chen Mengjia proposed that a variety of physical features of bamboo manuscripts indicate hierarchical ranks, a higher rank is often correlated to the longer length of individual strip, this idea was supported by Hu Pingsheng, Hong Shi and Liu Guosheng. Chen Mengjia 1980: 291-299. Hu Pingsheng 2000: 66-74. Hu and Ma 2004: 20-27. Hong Shi 2001: 59-70. Liu Guosheng 2005: 229-241.

¹⁴⁷ Giele 2003: 409-424. For the discussion on *mingqi*, Wu Hung summarized three methods for identifying a bronze *mingqi*: miniaturization, distort the form and mechanism of a standard vessel; to deliberately lower its manufacturing; coexistence with the regular vessels, see Wu Hung 2006: 72-81 and Wu Hung 2010: 94-95. However, Rawson has argued that the concept of *mingqi* itself is problematic. Such definitions do not help us to understand their functions and meanings in burial contexts. Jessica Rawson has contributed discussions about the disparity between the concept of *mingqi* described in the surviving texts and material remains, see Rawson 2002 b: 123-154.

meanings of tomb documents need to be examined case by case. Meanwhile, the significant resemblance between the archival materials buried in tombs and those discovered from settlements of Qin and Han periods, questions the simplified definition as *mingqi*.¹⁴⁸

Clearly, the nature of tomb documents is more complicated than any single view noted above. Tomb documents should be treated as artifacts rather than purely historical textual source. They provide more definite contexts than the manuscripts found at other sites. Tomb documents only make sense when their location in a tomb or their appreciation to specific objects is taken into consideration. In this way, we may learn from them the meaningful use of artifacts in mortuary context. We cannot be absolutely sure that the age, legal status and rank recorded in the tomb documents provide an accurate picture of the identity of the dead individual in real life, yet they do reflect the effort to maintain a social status was important to certain people and the image that they wish to create at death.

1.4.3 Sources for Archaeological Sites

Burial evidence in the mid-Yangzi region is the primary source for mortuary analysis. Relevant materials are mainly from two types of archaeological literature: excavation monographs on large graveyards, and brief reports on individual tombs in archaeological journals. Chinese excavation reports all have a similar formulaic method to describe burial evidence. Most volumes start with a brief account of the excavation, followed by a description of the site and its archaeological features.

¹⁴⁸ The multi-strip documents made for administrative purposes were discovered at frontier garrisons in Juyan 居延 and Dunhuang 敦煌, the northwest of China. For the discussion on the common features between specific tomb documents in Jiangling and the household registers found in Juyan and Dunhuang see chapter 4. For a comprehensive study on different types of excavated manuscripts, see Loewe 1997: 161-191.

Tables of vessel types commonly reflect a predominant medium-orientated classification. Each of the categories is described individually, rather than as groups of artifacts within specific dispositional contexts. The difficulties in defining a functional assemblage are compounded by such scattered arrangement of the accounts.

Five excavation reports are important, four of which describe wooden chamber tombs in the mid-Yangzi region. Two archaeological reports on the Mawangdui cemetery are important for the analysis of high-ranking burials. The excavated material of Mawangdui tomb 1 was published in a two-volume book in 1973.¹⁴⁹ The excavators suggested that the text-centered approach was too reliant on the ritual classics, which should not be considered as a reliable source. But this understanding was influenced by the anti-Confucian political thinking when this report was written during the Chinese Cultural Revolution (1966-1976). The two volumes of Mawangdui tomb 1 showed the general weakness of early Chinese archaeological reports in the 1970s: all artifacts were divided into different categories in terms of different fabrics, such as textiles, bronzes, lacquers and pottery. Such an approach provides little information on a functional assemblage. The excavation report of tomb 2 and tomb 3 at Mawangdui was published in 2004 and adopted the stereotype established in the full report of tomb 1. The content was arranged in the sequence of tomb structure and vessel types, then followed by a discussion on dating and the identity of tomb occupant. The texts remained highly descriptive.¹⁵⁰

The archaeological report concerning three individual wooden chamber tombs at Chaohu, Anhui, published in May 2007, also deployed traditional medium-orientated

¹⁴⁹ Mawangdui 1973.

¹⁵⁰ Mawangdui 2004.

classification and typological study. This site comprised 44 medium-sized wooden chamber tombs during Qin and Han periods at Jingzhou, Hubei province. The excavated objects were classified into different categories such as bronzes, lacquers, jades and pottery in terms of different materials, and each type of artifact was divided into different subtypes for functional use. The fourth report of Gaotai cemetery deployed a similar text-based approach: tombs were categorized into four types in terms of size of pits and structure; the numbers of outer chambers and inner coffins were regarded as important status indicators.¹⁵¹

The monograph on Beidongshan site at Xuzhou is a useful reference for comparison.¹⁵² This site comprises two large rock-cut tombs belonging to imperial members of the Liu family, representing a new horizontal design different from traditional timber structures. The tomb was looted in 1954 and a scientific excavation was undertaken in early November of 1986. The Beidongshan report shows no difference from other archaeological reports of wooden chamber tombs and uses the medium-orientated classification. Although some illustrations of tomb structure and layout were finely produced, the functions and meanings of artifacts were insufficiently studied.

1.5 Previous Studies on the Rank and Status in Tombs

So far, no systematic study has been undertaken on the Han period wooden chamber tombs. In the field of Chinese archaeology, text-based approaches have been predominant in mortuary analysis. In the case of Han wooden chamber tombs, the continual use of timber structure and nested coffins in some large burials makes it

¹⁵¹ Gaotai 2000.

¹⁵² Beidongshan 2003.

tempting to many scholars to consider a connection with the Zhou practice. When interpreting the variables of burial evidence, the differentiation of material wealth in Han tombs was often correlated to the fixed hierarchy of different noble ranks of the Zhou in terms of the *guan guo* 棺槨 system and *lie ding* 列鼎 regulation drawn from the ritual texts.

1.5.1 Text-based archaeological assumptions and their limits

The *guan guo* system, namely, the numbers of *guan* (coffin) and *guo* (outer chamber) thought to have been allocated according to different ranks from the *tianzi* (Son of Heaven) to the *shi* (the lowest-ranking knights or officials), has been generally accepted as applying to the Han.¹⁵³ The remarkable excavation at Mawangdui cemetery in 1973 brought much attention to the elaborate timber structure comprising one outer chamber and fourfold coffins in the tomb 1 of Lady Dai.¹⁵⁴ Scholars such as Xia Nai, Wang Zhongshu and Yu Weichao generalized the *guan guo* regulation by referring to the transmitted ritual texts *Liji* and later commentaries.¹⁵⁵ Based on limited examples of nested coffins found in large-scale

¹⁵³ *Liji zhengyi*, 8.247.

¹⁵⁴ The outermost coffin was painted with singular color, the second was painted with celestial and supernatural beasts, the third was decorated with dragons, and auspicious animals, and the innermost coffin was painted with brocade applied to the exterior, with embroidery and feather decoration. Mawangdui 1973.

¹⁵⁵ Scholars have different opinions for defining the *guan* and the *guo* in Mawangdui tomb 1, the brief report of Mawangdui tomb 1 said it had three *guo* and three *guan*. Yu Weichao and Tang Lan defined the four inner coffins of Mawangdui tomb 1 with different names such as “*da guan* 大棺”, “*shu guan* 屬棺”, “*bei guan* 裨棺” and “*guo guan* 裹棺” according to the *Liji* texts. Tang Lan 1972: 11. Yu Weichao 1985a: 125-131. The full report of tomb 1 published in 1973 has adapted the suggestions of Shi Wei and Yu Weichao, it stated that tomb 1 had one *guo* and four *guan* structure. Wang Zhongshu 1984: 86. Xia Nai (Shi Wei) argued that the timber structure of Mawangdui M1 actually comprised one *guo* and four *guan*, instead of three *guo* and three *guan* mentioned in the previous report. The full archaeological report of Mawangdui M1 published in 1973 has adopted Xia's opinion on the standard for the rank of marquis. Shi Wei is the pen name of Xia Nai (1910-1985), a pioneering Chinese archaeologist. He studied Egyptology in University of College London, and got his doctorate degree in 1946. Xia returned to China and became a leading figure in Chinese archaeology field. Xia's assumption was mainly built a limited number of Chu and early Han tombs excavated in Hunan during 1951 and 1973. Shi Wei 1972: 48-52. Tang and Yu 1972: 55-56.

burials discovered since the 1970s, it has been widely accepted that the *guan guo* regulation governed the tomb construction in Han times,¹⁵⁶ and earlier period wooden chamber tombs.¹⁵⁷ It has been argued that three layered coffins indicated the rank of marquis.¹⁵⁸

But this theory seems inadequate to explain the differences in timber structure and material wealth between three individual tombs at Mawangdui.¹⁵⁹ The rank and identity of the occupant in tomb 3 (dated to 168 B.C.) is still debated.¹⁶⁰ The Lady Dai of tomb 1 had four coffins; the Marquis Dai in tomb 2 was only buried with two coffins; while the owner of tomb 3 had three. Based on the different numbers of coffins, the excavators suggested the tomb 3 occupant held a lower rank while the Lady Dai of tomb 2 had the same rank as her husband. But tomb 3 contained more rich artifacts and a larger timber structure than other two burials. Also, there is no evidence to indicate the Lady Dai also had a rank of marquis. The extra coffin of Lady Dai probably represents wealth and high status, not necessarily high rank. The Mawangdui cemetery is not the only example that demonstrates that the variability of burial evidence is not solely determined by rank and written regulations. More examples will be included in the following chapters.

If we examine closely the various textual sources, we find that they contradict each other. In the passage “*Tangong* 檀弓” of the *Liji* 禮記, the texts only described

¹⁵⁶ Zhao Huacheng 1998: 27-54. Li Rusen 2003: 75-78. Lai Delin 2011: 1-19.

¹⁵⁷ The *guan guo* regulation was thought to be established during the middle of Spring Autumn and early Warring States periods see Zhao Huacheng 1998: 27-54; Song Lingping 2008: 53-58; Yin Qun 2001: 152-180.

¹⁵⁸ Shi Wei 1972: 48-52.

¹⁵⁹ Mawangdui 1973, Mawangdui 2004.

¹⁶⁰ The skeletal evidence revealed that the occupant of tomb 3 was a young man aged between approximately 30 and 40 years old. Judging by the fewer numbers of coffins and tripods, the excavators speculated that he was a brother of Li Xi 利豨, who was the second marquis of Dai (r.185-165 B.C.), and it was unlikely that he had ever held the rank of marquis. Mawangdui 2004: 239-240. Gao Zhixi 2000: 124-130.

the highest level for *the Son of Heaven*, “*Tianzi si chong* 天子之棺四重 the coffin of the Son of Heaven is fourfold”, no further information is provided for other ranks.¹⁶¹

Zheng Xuan interpreted this as “the *zhu gong* has three layers [of coffin], two for the marquis, one for the *dafu* and no layer for the *shi* 諸公三重, 諸侯再重, 大夫一重, 士不重.”¹⁶² Clearly, the standard for the marquis in this text was inconsistent with two other sources, the *Xunzi* and the *Zhuangzi* both stated “five coffins for the marquis.”¹⁶³ These written texts did not describe the construction process in sufficient detail. They were compiled by literate officials, who may have had little or no experience of the practical matters of the actual processes of burials.

Another widely accepted theory is the *lie ding* system, that is, the higher and middle level aristocrats were thought to be distinguished by the deployment of specific ritual bronze vessels in tombs.¹⁶⁴ This idea has been widely used in the analysis of bronze-yielding tombs from the early Western Zhou dynasty (1027 B.C.)

¹⁶¹ *Liji zhengyi*, 8.247.

¹⁶² *Liji zhengyi*, 8.247. According to the commentaries by Kong Yingda 孔穎達, a Tang period scholar (A.D.574-648), “*chong* 重” was interpreted as “two layers”, but he did not mention whether it was referred to inner coffin or outer chamber. From my view, the “*chong* 重” was probably referred to the outer chamber. It is not reasonable if we read the “*bu chong* 不重” as “no coffin”. From the archaeological evidence of tombs during the Zhou and Han times, we know even a commoner was buried in a simple coffin.

¹⁶³ *Xunzi jijie* 荀子集解, 13.359. *Zhuangzi jishi* 莊子集釋, 7.1074-1075: “諸侯五重, five coffins for the marquis.” The *Zhuangzi* and the *Xunzi* were ascribed to Zhuang Zhou 莊周 (370-319BC) and to Xun Kuang 荀況 (313-238BC) respectively. But their dates and authenticity are still debatable, for instance, the last five passages of the *Zhuangzi* contained the similar texts as the *Chunqiu Gongyangzhuan* and the *Liji*, thus scholars such as Jin Dejian regards it as latter work completed by Confucian scholars during the Han dynasty. Jin Dejian 1941. *Liji zhengyi* 8.247.

¹⁶⁴ The passage *Shanfu* 膳夫 of the *Zhouli* suggests that the specific ritual bronze vessels, notably the graded *ding* 鼎 (meat offering tripods) and *gui* 簋 (grain offering tureens) were strictly correlated with their owners' specific rank in the Zhou aristocracy. The Son of Heaven should have nine *ding* and eight *gui*, the *zhuhou* 諸侯 (overlords) seven *ding* and six *gui*, the *qing* 卿 or *dafu* 大夫 (high ranking aristocratic) five *ding* and four *gui* and so forth, downscaling according to the aristocratic rank of the deceased. The passage of “*Shanfu* 膳夫” in the *Zhouli* 周禮, “王日一舉, 鼎十有二 the Son of Heaven shall use twelve tripods for sacrificial use,” Zheng Xuan interprets this as: “殺牲盛饌日舉 using cattle for feasting, 鼎十有二, 牢鼎九, 陪鼎三, the twelve tripods include nine *Lao* 牢 tripods, and three *Pei* 陪 tripods.” See *Zhouli Zhushu* 周禮注疏, 4. 81.

to the Western Han period.¹⁶⁵ Guo Baojun first defined a group of bronze tripods with identical designs and decreasing sizes as a regular ritual set termed as “*lie ding*” in his investigation on the Warring States cemetery at Liulige of Henan.¹⁶⁶ This theory was elaborated by scholars such as Yu Weichao and Gao Ming, who argued that the Zhou ritual regulation represented by the *lie ding*, was a material expression of five-grade ranking system.¹⁶⁷ Zhang Wenjie shared this view and directly linked the ritual sets in Warring States Chu tombs and Mawangdui Han tombs to the Zhou tradition.¹⁶⁸ Indeed, the ritual bronzes such as graded tripods and tureens have been used as status emblems in graves since the middle Western Zhou.¹⁶⁹ But the *lie ding* seems to have been abolished by the Han elites from the second century onward, as indicated by the absence of *gui*-tureen in burial assemblages.¹⁷⁰

Both the *guan guo* system and the *lie ding* regulation were thought to be tied to the five gradations of Zhou aristocracy. However, the epigraphic sources and excavated manuscripts discovered in Han tombs provide ample evidence for the twenty honorary ranks of Han society, showing little connection with the supposed

¹⁶⁵ Du Qiusong 1976: 17-19. Song Jian 1983: 72-79. Wang Shimin 1985: 163-166. Wang and Hu 1991: 477-487. Cheng Yongjian 2003: 31-40. Xie Yaoting 2011: 18-24.

¹⁶⁶ Guo Baojun 1959. Guo Baojun 1981.

¹⁶⁷ Although Yu Weichao and Gao Ming had different views on defining the *lie ding*, which were not confined to the standard set of bronze tripods proposed by Guo Baojun, they have identified three types of tripods such as the *huo* 鑊, *xiu* 羞 and *sheng* 甞 in the Mawangdui tomb 1. Yu and Gao 1978: 84-96.

¹⁶⁸ Zhang Wenjie 2010: 91-97. Zhang Wenjie 2012: 131-163.

¹⁶⁹ The ritual reform in the Middle Western Zhou, marked by the standard ritual set, including graded bronze tripods and tureens was first noticed by Rawson and then elaborated by Falkenhausen. Rawson 1990: 136-154. Rawson 1999c: 354-449. Falkenhausen 1999: 143-178. Falkenhausen 2006: 96-100. For the nature of this ritual system, Yuri Pines has convincingly argued that “the ritual reform strengthened hereditary divisions, effectively promulgating a society of graded lineages in which each aristocrat’s position was determined primarily by his rank and seniority within the lineage. This system thus both reflected and solidified the hereditary hierarchy, and it evidently became the most powerful means in the hands of aristocrats to reaffirm their exalted position.” Pines 2000: 1-41.

¹⁷⁰ A regular bronze assemblage in the high ranking Han tombs often includes tripods, *hu*-spherical flask, a round box and a ladle.

Zhou ranking system.¹⁷¹ When textual scholars have confidently labeled Han burials with archaic ranks such as “*dafu*” or “*shi*” in terms of *guan guo* regulation or *lie ding* system, few people have questioned why they ignored the existence of the Han ranking system. What is the difference between the Twenty Orders and the ancient Five Ranks? Thanks to recent archaeological finds in the mid-Yangzi region, we can gain a better understanding of the Han ranking system through the Twenty Orders and related regulations written on bamboo strips discovered from the Western Han tombs.

The second problem of current research is the uncritical use of textual sources. As some tombs, like Fenghuangshan tomb 168, included inscription evidence indicating a rank, such tombs were used as benchmarks to define other burials showing common architectural features.¹⁷² Archaeologists have sought to generalize standard criteria for ranking tombs. For instance, a larger wooden chamber tomb (around 14 square meters) containing three compartments and double coffins is often said to correspond to the rank of *wu dafu*.¹⁷³ In this way, two larger burials M2 and M5 at Gaotai are regarded as being of the highest grade, as both structures fit such a pattern. M6 with one coffin and one outer chamber (9.5 square meters) is ranked at the level between the *guan dafu* 官大夫 and the *wu dafu*. Again, the conclusive evidence is thought to be the tomb structure. Referring to another adjacent tomb with a written rank, discovered at Maojiayuan, Jingzhou, (dated to 168 B.C.), the Gaotai report states that the tomb size of M6 is bigger than Maojiayuan M1, the occupant of Gaotai M6 is supposed to hold a higher rank than the *guan dafu* indicated by a

¹⁷¹ For the discussion on the Twenty Orders see chapter 2.

¹⁷² Fenghuangshan Zhujian 2012: 91, 181.

¹⁷³ Chen Zhenyu 2003a: 246-257.

wooden tablet from Maojiayuan M1.¹⁷⁴

However, sometimes the written rank might be erroneous. Not all documents found in burial sites are kept in excellent condition.¹⁷⁵ In the Maojiayuan tablet, some characters were missing or hardly recognizable. Different sorts of reading and punctuation have engendered perhaps even more debate on the rank of the tomb owner. Maojiayuan M1 was excavated in the spring of 1985. The transcribed texts of wooden tablet were first published in *Zhongguo kaoguxue nianjian*, where it is stated that the rank of tomb owner was “*guannei hou guan dafu* Jing 關內侯官大夫精”.¹⁷⁶ The rank of *guan dafu* is a lower rank (the sixth grade) in the Twenty Orders system.¹⁷⁷ But in the catalogue of manuscripts published in 2007, such characters are transcribed as “*guannei hou gua da nü* Jing 關內侯寡大女精”, which means “the *guannei hou* widow elderly woman Jing”.¹⁷⁸ The *guannei hou* is a senior rank (the nineteenth grade) in the Twenty Orders. Scholars such as Liu Guosheng tended to refer to the new volume, but some characters and punctuation are slightly

¹⁷⁴ Gaotai 2000: 261.

¹⁷⁵ As Loewe points out, the survival of texts written on bamboo or wooden materials is subject to more serious hazards than those of inscriptions on bone, bronze and stone. Loewe 1997: 163. Amongst six examples of documents addressing to the underworld authority found in Hubei tombs, half of them are incomplete and fragmentary, including the Maojiayuan tablet.

¹⁷⁶ The old transcription of Maojiayuan tablet: “十二年八月壬寅朔己未,建鄉疇敬告地下主·泗陽關內侯官大夫精死自言以家屬臣牛從令牒書所具…….In the twelfth year, the eighth month in which the first day was *renyin*, on the *jiwei* day, the Chou of Jian township dares to tell the authority of underworld: the *guannei hou* of Siyang, Jing, died, he himself declares that he is transferred with family servants, horses and cattle. The current inventory document and slips recording what accompanied…….” Maojiayuan 1988: 204.

¹⁷⁷ For the hierarchical order of the Twenty Ranks, see the second chapter.

¹⁷⁸ The photo of the original wooden tablet from Maojiayuan M1 was published in 2007, with a different transcription: “In the twelfth year, the eighth month in which the first day was *renyin*, on the *jiwei* day, the Chou of Jian township dares to tell the authority of underworld: widow of *guannei hou* of [missing character] yang, elderly woman Jing died, she herself declares that she is transferred with family servants, horses and cattle. The current inventory document and 73 slips recording what accompanied her are transferred to [the underworld]. It is a command for officials [of underworld] to count and deal with affairs according to statutes and decrees, hereby dare to report to the Lord.十二年八月壬寅朔己未, 口鄉疇敬告地下主, 泗陽關內侯寡大女精死, 自言以家屬馬牛徙. 今牒書所具(?)徙者口牒移此, 家復不事. 可令史口路(?) 以從事, 它如律令. 敢告主.” Hubei Bowuguan 2007: 75.

different.¹⁷⁹ If we refer to another similar document from Gaotai M18, we can clearly see that the titles of the dead in both documents are written in a formulaic way: the name of the deceased comprises the name of her village, rank and personal name, although the sequence of “*da nü* 大女” and “*guannei hou gua* 關內侯寡” was different in the two texts.¹⁸⁰ It is unlikely that two different ranks would have been recorded in the same document. We can conclude that the original texts are wrongly transcribed. More relevant to our discussion are the key words “*guannei hou gua da nü* Jing 關內侯寡大女精”, indicating two possible statuses of the female occupant in Maojiayuan M1, based on different punctuations:

“關內侯，寡大女精， *guannei hou*, the old widow, Jing”;

“關內侯寡，大女精， the widow of *guannei hou*, elderly woman, Jing”.

Which one is correct? Did the owner of Maojiayuan M1 hold the rank of *guannei hou*, or was she a widow of the *guannei hou*? Can we get some clues from the burial evidence? I will save these questions for the discussion on women’s status in the fifth chapter. The inconsistency in reading the Maojiayuan tablet cautions us against the uncritical use of textual sources, in particular, the documents discovered at burial site need to be carefully treated.

Thirdly, discussions on social distinctions have only concentrated on

¹⁷⁹ There are a few differences in transcriptions and punctuation of Gaotai tablet, such as “自言以家屬、馬牛徙。今牒書所與徙者七十三牒移。此家複不事，” in Liu’s online publication. The full texts of Liu’s transcription: “In the twelfth year, the eighth month in which the first day was *renyin*, on the *jiwei* day, the Chou of Jian township dares to tell the authority of underworld: widow of *guannei hou* of [missing character] yang, elderly woman Jing died, she herself declares that she is transferred with family servants, horses and cattle. The current inventory document and 73 slips recording what accompanied her are transferred to [the underworld]. It is a command for officials [of underworld] to count and deal with affairs according to statutes and decrees, hereby dare to report to the Lord. 十二年八月壬寅朔己未，建鄉疇敢告地下主，口陽關內侯寡大女精死，自言以家屬、馬牛徙。今牒書所與徙者七十三牒移。此家複不事。可令吏受數以從事，它如律令。敢告主。” Liu Guosheng 2008.

¹⁸⁰ The title and name recorded in the Gaotai tablet : “Xin’an hu ren da nü Yan *guannei hou gua* 新安戶人大女燕關內侯寡”, Gaotai 2000.

architectural features, tomb size, numbers of compartments and coffins are considered as important indicators of higher rank, scholars have not taken the artifacts into account. In the archaeological report of Gaotai, forty four medium-size tombs are categorized into six grades based upon tomb structure, for instance, the highest grade is M28 containing one *guo* and two *guan*.¹⁸¹ At the Gaotai cemetery, we find wealth distributions, implied by tomb structures, differ greatly from those implied by grave goods. For instance, M5 has more extravagant timber structure than that of M6, but contains fewer artifacts. The outer chamber of M5 is 15.8 square meters, comprising four compartments and double coffins. Only 22 artifacts have been found in M5, while the number of grave goods in M6 is significantly higher. In particular, this burial yielded 107 valuable lacquer objects, many of them are finely decorated.¹⁸²

The fourth major problem of current studies is the uncritically assumed correlation between burial evidence and social structure, especially linking the variation of material wealth in tombs with a fixed hierarchy in written texts, that is, the grading of tombs is thought to reflect the economic power and political position of their owners in life. As the *Han shu* stated that the rank of *wu dafu* corresponded to the 600-*dan* official grade, the excavators of Gaotai cemetery, therefore, equate the honorary rank to the official grade, which is usually marked by the salary, varying from 10,000 down to 100 *dan* 石 (piculs). Judging from the tombs size and numbers of compartments, the excavators speculate that the occupants of tomb 2 and tomb 5 are honorary rank holders or officials who must hold a higher rank than the owner of Fenghuangshan M168. The owner of M28 is ranked between the *wu dafu* and the *Junshou* 郡守 (commandery governor) with 2000-*dan* grade. Such a misleading

¹⁸¹ Gaotai 2000:259-265.

¹⁸² Gaotai 2000: 22-28, 38-45.

correlation has muddled the honorary rank and the official rank.¹⁸³

Considering all the previous aspects, problems with these kinds of traditional study have restricted current archaeological enquires to text-reliant assumptions. The commonest view of such investigation has been to assume that the most obvious manifestations of a higher rank in burials are material wealth exhibited by the tomb structure and coffins. However, the accumulation of wealth in one's tomb, displayed by either extravagant structure or costly artifacts, can be material expressions of a privileged status which is not necessarily in accord with a high rank.

1.5.2 Social analysis of mortuary evidence

In traditional text-based studies, status was correlated to a strict hierarchical order derived from textual sources. Burial evidence was merely regarded as end product of established funerary regulations. Such a perspective privileges the concepts of hierarchy and neglects other potential social implications. By contrast, western scholars regard the mortuary records not only as status indicators, but also as intentional statements of the dead, associated with conceptual ideas about the afterlife and social relations, raising more broad issues with respect to dynamic changes in rituals and social values.

The new archaeology has interpreted the mortuary variability by directly linking them to social stratification. A general principle for distinguishing social distinction initially outlined by Binford and Saxe has been developed by other scholars.¹⁸⁴ Based on Saxe's role theory and quantitative measures of social analysis, Joseph Tainter proposed that the social status of individuals was correlated with the degree of

¹⁸³ For differences between official rank and honorary rank, see chapter 2.

¹⁸⁴ From processual archaeologists' perspective, there is a direct relationship between the social status of the deceased and the relative amount of grave goods, or energy expended in the individual's burial. Saxe 1970. Binford 1971: 6-29.

energy expenditure and the measurable communal efforts invested on the funeral rites of individuals.¹⁸⁵ The differences in burial treatment included the expense of grave preparation and a general burial pattern seen from the different disposal treatment can refer to principles of social differentiations in life.¹⁸⁶ Common mortuary variations directly reflected social reality, and tend to provide linking principles between the mortuary ritual and forms of social organization.¹⁸⁷

Within western European archaeological work, mortuary studies are firmly focused on the negotiation of status and social privilege, as well as the materialization of power. Post-processualists argue that the surviving material remains and the past social reality can never be identical.¹⁸⁸ For instance, Pearson has suggested that ostentatious funeral display and high expenditure would not have necessarily reflected the social rank and wealth in life.¹⁸⁹ Aubrey Cannon noted that the usage of grave stones in 19th century Cambridgeshire demonstrates that wealthy and high status social groups adopted modest burials to mark their difference.¹⁹⁰ This perspective brings our attention to the conceptual ideas underpinning the specific mortuary practice, which was closely related to contemporary social values and attitudes towards death. As Pearson has noted that the “dead do not bury themselves,” and mourners manipulated the deceased for the purposes of status display for the living.¹⁹¹ In some case, artifacts may reflect the concerns and strategies of the mourners, rather than the identity of the deceased. Similarly, some Han tombs can be considered not only as self representation of the deceased, but also of the living.

¹⁸⁵ Tainter 1978: 121.

¹⁸⁶ Peebles 1971: 69.

¹⁸⁷ Brown 1971: 92-112.

¹⁸⁸ Hodder 1991: 2. Härke 1997. Jensen and Nielsen 1997: 22.

¹⁸⁹ Pearson 1982: 112. Pearson 2009: 72-81.

¹⁹⁰ Cannon 1989: 437-458.

¹⁹¹ Pearson 1982: 112.

Taking this view does not mean we need not consider the contextual sphere in a Chinese framework. In ancient China, there was a consistent tradition that tombs were constructed with material provisions for the comfort of the afterlife. In Han burials, the architectural designs allowed each compartment to represent a separate space with specific functions. The burial furnishings and grave goods were consciously arranged. In this ideological framework, burial evidence is not a simplistic end product of social institution, but of a complexity of social relations and conceptual ideas about the afterlife.

The term “afterlife” in this thesis refers to the world after death as understood in the period before the introduction of Buddhism. The perception and representation of afterlife was extremely strong in ancient China burials, but it was not expressed in a single, coherent vision of the other world.¹⁹² Some scholars such as Michael Loewe and Albert E. Dien, suggest that from the Neolithic down to the modern day, the majority of Chinese tombs were constructed as the residence of the deceased, furnished with real objects and replicas, they reproduced the life of the occupants.¹⁹³ From an archaeological perspective, Michèle Pirazzoli-t'Serstevens regards the Han burials as cosmological systems.¹⁹⁴ Rawson argues that these burials not only tell us how their owners thought about death and the afterlife, but also “envisaged many

¹⁹² Guo Jue has summarized two existing models for perceiving the afterlife: tomb as a happy home for the dead to reside; or journey onward to another realm. Guo Jue 2011: 85-115. It is generally assumed that after death, the two kinds of souls, the *hun* 魂 and the *po* 魄 would separate, as Yu Ying-Shih suggested, the *hun* could ascend to heaven while the *po* could remain in the tomb. Yu's assumption was based on the related textual records in the *Zhou li*. Yu Ying-shih 1987: 381. Based on tomb stele inscriptions and medical texts, Brashier has argued that the *hun* and *po* were usually seen as existing together. The *shen* 神 (spirit) would fly away to Heaven and to which the descendants could make offerings. Brashier 1996: 125-158.

¹⁹³ Loewe 1982: 121-122. Dien 1987: 1-15.

¹⁹⁴ Discussions on the netherworld conceptual ideas of Han tombs see Pirazzoli-t'serstevens 2009: 949-1026; Loewe 1979; Loewe 1982; Seidel 1982; Rawson 1998; Rawson 1999a; Wu Hung 2009; Wu Hung 2010; Poo 2008; Poo 2011: 24-25; Guo Jue 2011.

aspects of the society of living.”¹⁹⁵ The widespread belief in afterlife during the Han period could be the primary driving force for enormous expenditure on tombs and funeral practice, I shall discuss this issue in the following chapters.

1.6 Theoretical Framework

This thesis is theoretically influenced by approaches to mortuary studies, considering the active roles of material culture to represent and construct identity and status in funeral context. My study is accordingly formulated within an analytical framework that focuses on general burial patterns, repetition of status symbols and case studies of concrete examples. This leads, in particular, to burial analysis looking for evidence of rank and status in mortuary records, envisaging the Han elites would have deployed specific strategies through meaningful use of material objects to signify different aspects of status.

The key approach here is the systematic comparison of tomb documents and material evidence. The reason for this is a methodological one, based on ideas of the German ethnographer Mühlmann and archaeologist Härke. In the study of an Iron Age cemetery in Germany, Härke proposed a methodological tool for mortuary analysis: a distinction between “intentional” and “functional” data. Such a distinction was developed in a historical approach proposed by the German school of history, which distinguished between two fundamental categories of sources: “remains” and “tradition”. “Remains” are related with direct evidence of past events, often left behind unintentionally, such as place names, administrative records, physical remains; “tradition” comprises the sources in which the information on past events has been

¹⁹⁵ Rawson 1999b: 20.

processed by an intermediary, usually with the intention of passing it on, as in biographies, genealogies, tribal histories and ritual texts. This approach suggests that “tradition” reflects thought and therefore contains intentional data, while “remains” are the result of action and, therefore, contain functional data.¹⁹⁶

The intentional nature of burial data has been noted by a few western archaeologists working on ancient China burials. Jessica Rawson suggests that when interpreting the burial objects, we should be aware that the objects are likely to “have been the essentials to provide for the ideal needs of the dead. They give us an idealized picture of their lives and may represent as much their hopes as a realistic picture of actual practice. In using these objects to look at the past we must be conscious of the reasons why they were buried, and read therein not a simple factual account of daily life but what is of greater importance, an idealized account of life, ritual, status, relationships, and history.”¹⁹⁷ Falkenhausen also pointed out the limitations of mortuary data, he has warned that the relation between expenditures on burials and hierarchies is by no means straightforward. Rather than indicating one’s social status directly, a tomb is “foremost a locus of ritual”.¹⁹⁸

Following this line of thought, burial data, including tomb scale, grave construction, numbers of coffins, the quantity, quality and distribution of artifacts and selected tomb documents are all intentional. By contrast, skeletal data like sex, health, age at death are clearly functional. Understanding the intentional nature of burial data

¹⁹⁶ The German ethnographer Wilhelm Mühlmann distinguished between two types of data: intentional data related to thought, and functional data related to action. Reinhard Wenskus pointed out such a distinction is highly relevant to the study of the past, he warned that that the contrast between intentional (thinking) and functional data (doing) data could distort our analysis. Mühlmann 1938. Wenskus, 1961. For the extensive research on the nature of data based on these works see Härke 1992: 31-39.

¹⁹⁷ Rawson 1999c: 371.

¹⁹⁸ Falkenhausen 2006: 75.

is a major objective of interpretation. Intentional data are essential in inferring past reality from burials, because “burials are the result of ritual; ritual reflects the ideal or imagined world (thought), and though produces intentional data.”¹⁹⁹ Both tomb documents and artifacts may offer idealized representations of roles and relationships in living society. As Pearson convincingly argues, burial would reflect not the realities of the lives of the people buried in them, but images of their lives and of their role in society in the minds of those arranging the burial and participating in the ritual.²⁰⁰

The nature of identity, from a material culture perspective, considers the “embodied realities of being in the world”.²⁰¹ From this view, the artifacts are not only used as rank and status indicators, but are actively manipulated in the negotiation of identities based on age, gender, and socioeconomic, cultural and ethnic factors.²⁰² In this thesis, I want to draw more attention to the meaningful use of material symbols in Han tombs, in particular lacquer vessels, which are closely related to the everyday life and rituals of Han elites.

In a broader sense, material symbols refer to various material forms that mediated gender, age, and status in the community. Official seals which explicitly reveal the individual’s rank are very rare in Han tombs. When such identity items are lacking, material status symbols, that is, recognizable visible signs of social prestige, can be an alternative way to identifying high rank or status. One way in which the ruling elites distinguished themselves from other social members was through the creation and communication of an ideology or an ascribed set of meanings about

¹⁹⁹ In the study of the post-Roman weapon burial rite in England, Härke argues that the skeletal data revealed that Anglo-Saxon weapon burials are not “warrior burials”, but the expression of social status differences between families along ethnic lines. For a more detailed discussion see Härke 1994: 31-39 and Härke 1997: 19-27.

²⁰⁰ Pearson 1982: 101.

²⁰¹ Meskell 2005: 81.

²⁰² Jones 1997: 2.

social, political and economic relations. The communication of such ideologies relies on the ability of elites to translate these ideas and values into material forms. This can be achieved through the manipulation of material symbols or specialized production.

Material symbols of status can be defined from extraneous factors, such as sources of material, and time and energy consumed to manufacture and acquire an object, and its social significance. The degree of effort expenditure is very useful to establish a standard by which to measure the prestige value of burial objects. The elaborate timber structure could serve as one of the material symbols. For instance, the large timber structures with multiple chambers, such as the tomb at Xin'an, built with 70.42 m³ timbers, would have required enormous labor investment and wood resources, indicating the wealth and power of their owners. As Tainter argued, the status of the deceased is precisely reflected in the measurable communal effort and energy expenditure invested in the funeral rite and tomb construction.²⁰³

Prestige goods, namely, objects made from precious materials like jade and gold, or artifacts manufactured with a large quantity of labor and complicated techniques, denote a privileged position within a social hierarchy.²⁰⁴ The displayed features of prestige objects were often associated with elite taste—elaborate decoration, fine craftsmanship, special designs or socially valued material.²⁰⁵

Using prestige goods as status symbols in ancient societies has been extensively discussed. Clarks has discussed the significant role of material symbols in displaying

²⁰³ Tainter 1975: 1-15.

²⁰⁴ From social anthropological perspectives, prestige items provide links between precious goods and social privilege. The displayed features of prestige objects are often associated with elite items—elaborate decoration, fine craftsmanship, special designs or socially valued material, as well as exotic goods. See Appadurai 1986: 38. As Clark argued, the display of artifacts made from costly materials, was one of the most conspicuous ways of demonstrating power. Clark 1986: 46.

²⁰⁵ Appadurai's distinction between necessities and luxuries is pertinent, as the latter are considered to be "goods whose principal use is rhetorical and social, goods that are simply incarnated signs. The necessity to which they respond is fundamentally political", see Appadurai 1986: 38.

status and social order, “on the one hand the rise of polities headed by rulers and functioning by means of hierarchies of administrative, priestly and military officials, in itself called for graded insignia to legitimize the exercise of power. On the other the advances in technology and the emergence of increasingly specialized craftsmen, which characterized the economies of such societies, itself facilitates the cration and refinement of the necessary material symbols. This in turn made its impact on the choice of precious substances and not least on the skill and inventiveness with which these mounted and displayed.”²⁰⁶

In his study of Early Bronze Age Denmark, Randsborg used the golden and bronze objects—made of imported and costly raw materials—to determine mortuary wealth to explore social stratification.²⁰⁷ In the Bronze Age cultures of Europe, ranging from Yorkshire in England to South Russia and Transcaucasia, four-wheeled carts were popular in burials of pastoral chieftains and their aristocracy. They served as prime status symbols, as if buried with one’s Rolls Royce.²⁰⁸ In his study on the princely graves of the Early Iron Age (seventh to fifth centuries B.C.) in the central Balkans, Babić identified the imported Hellenic silver and bronze objects as material symbols of newly acquired social and military power.²⁰⁹ In Imperial Rome, privileged status was normally displayed through conspicuous consumption of luxury dining vessels.²¹⁰

In studies of early Han society, Thorp and Pirazzoli-t’Serstevens made similar attempts to evaluate status using specific burial goods, linking social distinction to the deployment of prestige objects. They suggested that prestige items, such as fine

²⁰⁶ Clark 1986: 9-10.

²⁰⁷ Randsborg 1974: 38-61. Peebles 1977: 421-448.

²⁰⁸ Pigott 1965: 179-259.

²⁰⁹ Babić 2002: 70-88.

²¹⁰ Reinhold 1969: 300-304. Clark 1986: 61-63. Dunbabin 2003: 87-109.

lacquers and prestigious bronzes gifts from the imperial court not only marked the higher ranks, but also constituted an important part of upper class elite life.²¹¹ However, the active role of specific artifacts in creating and reinforcing an elevated status has been overlooked. From a material culture perspective, artifacts are not only used as rank and status indicators, but are actively manipulated in the negotiation of identities based on age, gender, socioeconomic, status, culture and ethnicity.²¹² Babić brings in the observation that in the early Iron Age of temperate Europe (seventh to fifth centuries B.C.), status symbols such as the bronze helmets of Greek origin often related to the ruling elites were manipulated by the less prestigious social group to negotiate status and power.²¹³

Furthermore, status symbols changed over time. In a given society, the social significance of artifacts probably changed with new social values and aesthetic tastes, leading to the instability of status indicators. The value ascribed depends on whether a society perceives an object as important, worthy and desirable. For instance, the earlier Shang and Western Zhou aristocratic traditions were continued with the preoccupation with burying status symbols, such as graded sets of bronze ritual vessels.²¹⁴ There was a decrease in the number of ritual vessels in Chu tombs during the Warring States, as Falkenhausen has observed. Social position was no longer solely defined by ritual privilege in the southern Chinese aristocracy, expression of status in funeral display was achieved mainly through tomb size and opulent

²¹¹ See Thorp 1991: 26-39. Pirazzoli-t'serstevens 1991: 422-423.

²¹² Material culture is central and active in the creation, negotiation, transmission and performance of identity. Jones 1997: 2. Barrett 1994: 35-36.

²¹³ Babić 2005: 80-81.

²¹⁴ The ritual paraphernalia were the prime material symbols of legitimacy. Falkenhausen 1999: 143-178.

non-ritual objects.²¹⁵ Studies by Rawson and Powers have demonstrated that fine lacquer objects for everyday use were becoming status indicators in Western Han society.²¹⁶ Building on these studies, this thesis explores the meaningful use of material symbols in constructing status and identity in the mortuary context.

1.7 Organization of the Work

The first chapter has defined main concepts such as rank and status. It outlines the physical features of the Western Han wooden chamber tombs and the historical background of the mid-Yangzi region, and also presents approaches to burial evidence and the theoretical framework of this thesis.

The second chapter discusses how the Han elites defined rank and status in historical context, and then seeks to identify a range of status indicators through the analysis of a set of institutions and sumptuary rules described in different types of written sources. The dynastic history of the Han period and the three ritual texts compiled by the classical historians reveal a strong notion of a fixed hierarchy in Han thought, in particular, many commentaries provided by the Eastern Han Confucian scholars; were projected with biased views and value-judgments. These texts are complemented by the textual evidence provided by the archaeologically recovered bamboo manuscripts from Zhangjiashan Han tomb. The analysis of the Zhangjiashan manuscripts not only modifies some traditional views, such as women's inferiority, but also provides a referential framework for mortuary analysis. Based on the

²¹⁵ Falkenhausen 2006: 391.

²¹⁶ Rawson has convincingly argued the transformation from bronze ritual vessels to everyday lacquer objects, indicates a general emphasis in using everyday items for rituals in the afterlife. Rawson 2002 a: 1-57. Martin Powers argues that artistic taste was tied to standards of social value and that standards were associated with the distribution of wealth. In the early Han society, the ownership of prestige artifacts was not limited to the nobility. See Powers 1986: 285-310.

observation that the twenty honorary ranks can be separated into four grades measured by material rewards,²¹⁷ the tombs can be roughly divided into two main groups: the privileged class, including kings and marquises; and lower ranking group from the *wu dafu* down to the *gongshi*.

The social analysis of burial evidence consists of three parts, and each part focuses on different aspects of social distinction: power, occupation, wealth and gender. The third chapter is centered on higher ranking nobles, followed by the case study associated with the rank of marquis. The fourth chapter is concerned with the general pattern of the lower ranking burials, including the rank of *wu dafu*. The fifth chapter focuses on the gender difference represented by the archaeological evidence related to women, which has been insufficiently studied in previous scholarship. The burial evidence of female tombs shows a close association between women and the domestic domain. They are plenty evidence to support the status distinction related to the social construction of female identity through gender specified artifacts found in tombs.

Each chapter provides a comparison between the archaeological record and related sumptuary rules, to see whether the written regulations were actually put into practice. The image I will present radically challenges a notion often taken for granted in traditional Chinese scholarship, that the mortuary variability of Han wooden chamber tombs is correlated with the fixed hierarchy regulated by sumptuary rules and specific regulations in written texts.

It may be worthwhile to add briefly what this thesis does not attempt to offer and

²¹⁷ The twenty ranks can be separated into four grades based on the amount of allocated land and houses, the rank of *wu dafu* seems to be a division between the higher grade and the lower one, see chapter 2.

why. It is not a general and comprehensive description of the Han ranking system, which is now available in Nishijima's *The Establishment Social Structure of ancient Chinese Empires, the Twenty Orders ranking System*.²¹⁸ Also, I will not go into the details of the official ranks and the bureaucracy, which have been well treated by Anthony Hulsewé and Michael Loewe in recent years. My special interest is archaeological manifestations of rank and status, in part because the concept of status and identity in the archaeological record of Han tombs has not been sufficiently studied in the past few years, and also because the richness of epigraphic evidence, and material records associated with different honorary ranks recently discovered in the mid-Yangzi region call for new attention and systematic research. This thesis hopes to combine these various source materials, to show at a regional scale how the Han elite men and women expressed and defined their statuses and identities in the burial context.

²¹⁸ Nishijima 2004.

Chapter 2 Perceiving Social Differentiation in Written Texts

2.1 Introduction

This chapter concerns social differentiation described in a range of texts. The first section discusses three forms of state hierarchy: honorary ranks, noble ranks and official ranks. The main focus of my discussion is on the honorary ranks, which were often described as the “Twenty Orders” in both transmitted literature and excavated manuscripts. The second section discusses sumptuary regulations relevant to kings, marquises and powerful officials, providing information on the kinds of privileges associated with these high ranking classes. A few sumptuary rules stated that official seals, clothing, carriages and coffins were used to mark differences between social groups. It is reasonable to define those categories as wealth and status indicators, and some of them can be recognized archaeologically in tombs. The third part discusses the material parameters of honorary ranks in light of the newly found manuscripts in the mid-Yangzi region. The legal documents from Zhangjiashan tomb 247 in Jiangling, describe different degrees of economic power and social privileges linked to graded honorary ranks. The analysis shows income and property may be taken as good indicators of available economic sources allocated to different rank holders. Based on this observation, the twenty honorary ranks can be separated into four grades. Such a hierarchical system provides a referential framework in the following chapters for social analysis of the tombs with given ranks.

2.2 The State Hierarchy of Han Society

The state hierarchy of Han society consists three forms of ranks: noble ranks, honorary ranks and official ranks. The Han Empire included both commanderies governed by officials, who were nominated by the emperor based on merit, and subordinate kingdoms ruled by the emperor's kinsmen on a hereditary basis.¹ The founder of early Han Empire, Emperor Gaozu, followed the Qin's footsteps by retaining the administrative division of the Empire into *jun* 郡 (commanderies) and *xian* 縣 (prefectures), partially governed by imperially appointed and replaceable officials.² At the apex of social hierarchy was the emperor, the Son of Heaven, a concept that was drawn from pre-imperial practice.³ The emperors conferred titles or ranks on many members of the elites, which involved legal privileges and obligations.⁴ Below the emperors was the aristocracy, composed of the imperial clan of the Liu, the victorious generals and highest dignitaries, and the families of the empresses. The middle level comprised ranked nobles, graded officials, wealthy merchants and landowners. At the bottom of the hierarchy were commoners, comprising soldiers, farmers, small merchants and artisans. Ranking below them were persons of debased

¹ Loewe illustrates the complex nature of Han ranking systems. On one hand, the hierarchy of the political authority was reflected in official ranks; on the other hand, the kinship system held the feudal structure together, "the two principles might well have come into conflict, the one of direct control imposed from the center and the other of reliance on family ties designed to ensure loyalties to the center." Loewe 2006: 43.

² The imperial territory of the Han Empire was divided into 36 commanderies, which were, in turn, subdivided into a number of prefectures. For the differences of *jun xian* 郡縣 system between the Qin and the Western Han, see Thomsen 1988: 29.

³ Yates suggested that ancient Chinese identified the "Empire" not in terms of the sovereignty of a ruling people, as did the Romans, but in terms of the person of the emperor and his lineage. Yates 2001: 353. The presence of an emperor was essential to maintain the legitimate continuity of a regime. Loewe 2005: 147-148.

⁴ The title "*huangdi* 皇帝(emperor)" was first adopted by Ying Zheng 嬴政, the king of Qin state to emphasize the superiority and authority over others. Although the Qin came to an end within 15 years, the title *huangdi* survived until 1910. Loewe 2006: 2. Lewis 2007: 52-63.

status, such as criminals convicted to hard labor, persons held in custody, slaves and servants.⁵

2.2.1 The honorary ranks

The chapters of *Bai guan gong qing biao* 百官公卿表 in the *Han shu*, lists the following twenty honorary ranks in ascending order of seniority:

- | | |
|-----------------------------|--------------------------------|
| 1. <i>Gongshi</i> 公士 | 11. <i>You shuzhang</i> 右庶長 |
| 2. <i>Shangzao</i> 上造 | 12. <i>Zuo geng</i> 左更 |
| 3. <i>Zanniao</i> 簪袅 | 13. <i>Zhong geng</i> 中更 |
| 4. <i>Bu geng</i> 不更 | 14. <i>You geng</i> 右更 |
| 5. <i>Da fu</i> 大夫 | 15. <i>Shao shangzao</i> 少上造 |
| 6. <i>Guan dafu</i> 官大夫 | 16. <i>Da shangzao</i> 大上造 |
| 7. <i>Gong dafu</i> 公大夫 | 17. <i>Si ju shuzhang</i> 駟車庶長 |
| 8. <i>Gongcheng</i> 公乘 | 18. <i>Da shuzhang</i> 大庶長 |
| 9. <i>Wu dafu</i> 五大夫 | 19. <i>Guannei hou</i> 關內侯 |
| 10. <i>Zuo shuzhang</i> 左庶長 | 20. <i>Chehou</i> 徹侯 |

The description of the Twenty Orders ranking system in the *Han shu* is very brief, merely documenting the existence of such a hierarchical order.⁶ No attempt is made to explain these titles and the ways in which they came to be ranked. Some scattered sources in the *Han shu* mention that, during the reign of Emperor Gaozu (202-195B.C.), the ranks above the *qi dafu* and the *gongcheng* or above were of a higher level than others.⁷ Loewe suggested that the higher twelve ranks of the

⁵ Loewe 2010 a: 300-301.

⁶ *Han shu*, 19. 739. The writing of different honorary ranks and the above table after Loewe 2010 a: 298.

⁷ *Han shu*, 1.54: “[The ranks] of *qi dafu* and *gongcheng* and above are all higher ranks 七大夫，公乘以上，皆高爵也”；“Let it be ordered that all those who have [the noble rank of] *qi dafu* and upward

Twenty Orders were bestowed on officials only, and “a bar prevented non-officials from rising higher than the eighth order.”⁸

The Twenty Orders system was pervasive in the early Western Han period. Frequent bestowals occurred during 205 B.C. and 25 B.C.⁹ According to Gao Min and Bu Xianqun, the institution was abolished during the usurpation of Wang Mang (A.D. 9-23), who revived the five-grade system and Zhou ritual norms. In the Eastern Han period, in A.D. 27, Emperor Guangwu at beginning of his reign, restored the Twenty Orders but there are fewer ranks recorded in the historical texts.¹⁰

It was the emperor who rewarded the ranks, “I have heard it said that the various ranks, monetary reward and fields belonged to Heaven; the ruler apportioned the ranks and rewards to people on behalf of Heaven.”¹¹ The highest rank of Twenty Orders was that of marquis, which was bestowed by imperial decree on the sons of the kings, or as a reward for meritorious services or as a mark of favor.¹²

For individuals, there were three ways to acquire a rank: with military achievement; by civil acts of merit; or by buying a rank with grain or cash. Apart from the marquis and the marquis of imperial domain, good birth or lineage played only a minor role in gaining other lower ranks within the Twenty Orders. Ranks brought with them social privileges or material gifts: “individuals of *dafu* or higher rank were promoted by one grade; estates were given to those of *qi dafu* and above; those with a rank lower than the *qi dafu* were exempted in person from state

are to be given the revenue of estates; all those below [the noble rank of] *qi dafu* will themselves be personally exempted [from public service] and their households will not be required to do public service. 其七大夫以上，皆令食邑，非七大夫以下，皆複其身及戶勿失事。”

⁸ Loewe 2005:57.

⁹ Loewe 1960: 138-139.

¹⁰ According to Gao Min's statistics, there were only twelve ranks and 30 records of bestowing ranks documented in the *Houhan shu*. Gao Min 1982: 33-57. Bu Xianqun 2000: 17-24.

¹¹ *Han shu*, 86. 3498: “臣聞爵祿土地，天之有也。王者代天爵人。”

¹² Loewe 2006: 49.

obligations and their households were freed from service.”¹³ On the other hand, a rank was forcibly stripped from a person who committed a crime to avoid punishment. Some disgraced officials forfeited their ranks and became members of “*shiwu* 士伍 (adult males who did not possess any rank or whose ranks were taken away, on account of corruption)” (T3).¹⁴ Even powerful imperial members were not excluded. In 187 B.C., the Marquis of Gengjie, Liu Xin who was Emperor Gaozu’s cousin, was accused of a crime and reduced to a lower rank, that of *guannei hou*.¹⁵

The imperial decrees recorded in the *Han shu* state that the bestowal of ranks during the reign of Emperor Gaozu served for two main purposes: first the honorary ranks were used as means of encouraging the performance of military duties in time of war. For instance, Fan Kuai 樊噲 and Cao Cen 曹參, who were successful in battle, were given the rank of *wu dafu*.¹⁶ After Liu Bang’s enthronement (202 B.C.), the system served to establish a new social order and reinforce imperial power. As the decree stated, “people displaced by wartime conditions can return to their homeland and restore their properties and ranks which were previously acquired in the Qin dynasty (T4).”¹⁷ Such measures can be seen as an effort by the new government to

¹³ *Han shu*, 1. 54: “As to the officers and soldiers in the army who have been pardoned, those who have been without crime, but are without any honorary rank, and those who have not attained [the rank of] *dafu*, We grant them all the noble rank of *dafu*. To all those who formerly [had the rank] of *dafu* and upward, we grant a noble rank one step [higher]. 故大夫以上, 賜爵各一級. 其七大夫以上, 皆令食邑. 非七大夫以下, 皆複其身及戶, 勿事.”

¹⁴ Liu Hainian 1978: 58-62.

¹⁵ In the *Wang zi hou biao* 王子侯表 of the *Han shu*, “Xin, the Marquis of Gengjie was entitled his rank in the seventh year (200 B.C.), he was found guilty in the thirteen year of Emperor Gaozu, also the first year of Gaohou (187 B.C.) and had been condemned to a decrease in rank, the *guannei hou*, 羹頡侯信, 七年中封, 十三年, 高後元年, 有罪, 削爵一級, 為關內侯.” *Han shu*, 15. 427-428. There was only one grade of rank between the *liehou* and the *guannei hou*, but the difference of status was huge. Wei Xuancheng 韋玄成 (died in 36 B.C.) who used to hold a rank of *liehou* felt extremely humiliated after he was reduced to a lower rank of *guannei hou*. In a poem, he used the term “glorious and supreme 赫赫顯爵” for the rank of *liehou* and “insignificant and subordinate 微微附庸” for the *guannei hou*. *Han shu*, 73.3112.

¹⁶ *Shiji*, 95. 2651. *Han shu*, 39. 2013.

¹⁷ Gao Min 1982: 33-56.

legitimize its power through obtaining support from former nobles. After Liu Bang's death, Empress Lü took over ruling for their weak son, Emperor Hui (r. 195-188 B.C.). In 195 B.C., Empress Lü established a decree in the name of Emperor Hui (r.194-188 B.C.): she attempted to ensure the power of her own family by appointing her relatives as marquises (T5).¹⁸ It was the first time the bestowals of honorary ranks were made to members of the population in general; in other words, such bestowals were no longer only associated with reward for military achievements.

After 141 B.C., the honorary ranks seemed to have been devalued as commoners were also allowed to purchase a rank to reduce punishment (T6-7).¹⁹ In 178 B.C., Chao Cuo 鼂錯 advocated that commoners who contributed grain to the treasury should be able to receive a rank (T8-9).²⁰ His proposition had been adopted by Emperor Wen (r.179-157 B.C.) to fill the empty treasury by means of the sale of honorary ranks (T10).²¹ In 147 B.C., the Ordinance concerning the sale of ranks was revived by Emperor Jing (r. 188-141 B.C.); it was reported that an honorary rank was promised to people who contributed grain or goods; associated with the rank would be privileges such as preferential treatment for appointments and temporary freedom from taxation, and that people who contributed money would be relieved from punishment (T11).²² Emperor Cheng attempted to sell ranks at 1,000 cash per degree in 18 B.C. (T12)²³

To maintain the hierarchical order of different ranks, Han rulers promulgated sumptuary rules, ranging from the houses, clothing, and carriages for everyday use to

¹⁸ *Han shu* 3. 95.

¹⁹ *Han shu*, 1. 54. *Han shu*, 24.1133.

²⁰ *Han shu*, 24.1133.

²¹ *Han shu*, 4. 1133-34.

²² *Han shu*, 24. 1133.

²³ *Han shu* 10. 318.

coffins and funeral furniture (T13).²⁴ For instance, an imperial decree established by Emperor Gaozu prohibited lower honorary rank holders and merchants from wearing luxury textiles and from travelling in carriages, it said “people with a rank lower than the *gongcheng* (the eighth level) shall not wear a *Liu shi* hat; merchants must not wear silk textiles, possess weapons and ride horses (T14).”²⁵ Related rules were also written on the bamboo strips found in Jiangling Han tombs. In the Zhangjiashan manuscripts, the *Ci lü* 賜律 (Statute on Bounties) describes how officials and honorary rank holders shall be provided with coffins and a variety of gifts in accord with the hierarchy order.²⁶

2.2.2 The noble ranks, marquises and kings

The nobilities comprised the imperial relatives, the consort families and powerful officials with the rank of marquis.²⁷ The *hou* 侯 (marquis) made up the highest of the twenty honorary ranks, and also formed the second of the two degrees of high nobles.²⁸ As Loewe has pointed out, *hou* had featured as the name of a noble rank in the institution of the pre-imperial age, but in the Han dynasty this term referred to specific rank.²⁹ By 195 B.C., nearly 150 marquises had been conferred on

²⁴ *Han shu*, 10. 324.

²⁵ *Han shu*, 1.64

²⁶ Full discussion of the Statute on Bounties see section 2.4 in this chapter and chapter 4.

²⁷ Here, my definition of “nobilities” is different from Tung-tsu Chu and Michael Loewe, it refers to the most prestigious group, focusing on kings and marquises, as the burial evidence under discussion are related to these two noble ranks. Tung-tsu Chu suggested that the nobilities in Han times included the imperial relatives, the consort family and the meritorious officials. But the meritorious officials were not necessarily prestige. The following section illustrates some officials were given the middle grade honorary rank such as the *wu dafu*, differing from the noble ranks. In Michael Loewe’s work, he used “nobles” or “nobilities” for marquises. Tung-tsu Chu 1972: 75-76. Loewe 2006: 49.

²⁸ In the Han times, the marquis was termed as “*chehou* 徹侯”; from time Emperor Wu (r. 140-87 B.C.) onwards, the character *lie* 列 and *tong* 通 were used in placed of *che* 徹 in order to avoid infringement of the taboo on Emperor Wu’s personal name Liu Che 劉徹. *Han shu*, 19. 740.

²⁹ The commanderies comprised a number of county-level appanages granted to individuals, called *hou*, which are defined by Loewe as “marquises” or nobilities. Loewe 1986: 124-126. The dependent officials of a marquis included the *jia cheng* 家臣, the *men dafu* 門大夫 and the *shu zi* 庶子.

those of Emperor Gaozu's supporters, who had been successful in battle or served in civil office. Only marquises could marry an imperial princess. A few records in the *Han shu* mentioned that marquises were stripped of their noble titles and estates for crimes. The entitlement was not limited to the Han Chinese. The *chanyu* 單于 (the leader of the Xiongnu), who surrendered to the Han court was also made a marquis in 61 B.C.³⁰ Counties from which full marquises received their income were called *guo* 國 (marquisate). Those from which the empresses dowager, and the 14 empresses, and princesses received their income were called *yi* 邑 (appanages).³¹ The marquises received both the land tax and the poll tax from their estates.

The texts did not say much about the hierarchical order of marquises and kings; some scholars, such as Li Hu, placed these two ranks in the same class (T15).³² But Zhu Shaoshou suggested two differences: the size of a kingdom was larger than that of a marquisate; the ritual privilege of *li she* 立社 (setting up a hamlet altar) was one of privileges limited to the kings.³³ Loewe states that under the Han, the kings enjoyed a higher degree of nobility than the marquises, but he has not provided detailed information.³⁴ The texts in the *Houhan shu* described specific funeral arrangements such as the use of *ticou* tombs and jade suits, that were restricted to the high nobles, including kings and marquises.

The *zhu hou wang* 諸侯王 (king) were first established by Emperor Gaozu when the Han dynasty was founded. He divided the more populous east and the Yangzi

³⁰ *Han shu*, 96. 3874.

³¹ *Han shu*, 18. 677-722. The table of *Waiqi enze hou biao* 外戚恩澤侯表.

³² *Han shu*, 5. 153. Li Hu 2007: 55-60.

³³ Zhu Shaohou 1987: 15-20. A Western Han marquisate was equated to a county in size. An and Xiong 1984: 268.

³⁴ Loewe 1960: 110.

valley into ten kingdoms so as to reward his leading relatives and followers (T16).³⁵ The seven largest fiefs were kingdoms governed by members of the Liu clan (Map 2-01), most of them were in eastern China. The smaller ones were allocated to the marquises.³⁶ In addition to the marquisates, there were *yi* 邑 (appanages) granted to the empresses and the princesses. In the early Western Han period, a kingdom normally controlled a more extensive area than the commanderies and an even larger portion of people.³⁷ Between 202 B.C. and 195 B.C., the regional kingdoms were weakened; all the kings, except Wu Rui 吳芮, who ruled the Changsha kingdom (modern Hunan), were eliminated, to be replaced by Liu Bang's own kinsmen.³⁸ The rank of king was superior to all nobles and officials save the emperor.³⁹ The kings exercised authority over their entire kingdom where the farmers were obliged to pay taxes to them. Most kings provided the court with military support and also created

³⁵ *Han shu*, 14. 393-394. My translation is based on Brashier's texts with modification. Brashier 2011: 116.

³⁶ Loewe 1986: 126. For the non-Liu clan kings see the table of *yixing zhuhouwang biao* 異姓諸侯王表, *Han shu*, 13. 366-389. The Liu-clan kings see the table of *zhuhouwang biao* 諸侯王表, *Han shu*, 14. 391-424. For the hereditary marquises see the table of *wangzihou* 王子侯表, *Han shu*, 14. 427-524. For the marquises bestowed by the emperors during 202 B.C. to 157 B.C., see the table of *Gao hui gaohou wen gongchen biao* 高惠高後文功臣表, *Han shu*, 16. 531-631. The table of *Jing wu zhao xuan yuan cheng gongchen biao* 景武昭宣元成功臣表, *Han shu*, 17. 635-675. The table of *Hanxing yilai zhuhouwang nianbiao* 漢興以來諸侯王年表, *Shiji*, 17. 801-875. The table of *Gaozu gongchen hou zhe nianbiao* 高祖功臣侯者年表, *Shiji*, 18. 877-976. The table of *Hui jing jian houzhe bianbiao* 惠景間侯者年表, *Shiji*, 19. 977-1025. The table of *Jianyuan yilai houzhe nianbiao* 建元以來侯者年表, *Shiji*, 20. 1027-1069. The table of *Jianyuan yilai wangzihou zhe nianbiao* 建元以來王子侯者年表, *Shiji*, 21. 1071-1117.

³⁷ Loewe 1986: 124.

³⁸ A further reduction of the kingdoms power for princes was to grant *hou guo* 侯國 (marquis fiefs) to their sons and relatives, which were politically subordinated to the commanderies to the emperor. Chao Cuo 鼂錯 (200B.C.-154B.C.), who was a high minister of the Western Han even suggested abolishing the kingdoms. This plan resulted in the rebellion of seven kingdoms in 154 B.C., Wu, Chu, Zhao, Jiadong, Jiaoxi, Zichuan and Jinan. The rebellion was suppressed by General Zhou Yafu. From then on, the kingdoms were not allowed to run their own administration with a chancery but were large land estates owned by the kings. For details on the suppression of regional power see Lewis 2007: 20-21.

³⁹ The imperial annals and biographies of three standard histories provide general information about the ruling group comprising nobles, and high ranking officials. For the establishment of kingdoms in Western Han period see *Han shu*, 1. 53, 58. For tables on the succession of kings and aristocracy of the early Han Empire, see *Han shu*, 14. 397-524.

civil offices on the same model as that of the central government.⁴⁰ They had officials, including a grand tutor, a commandant of the capital, a royal chancellor, and various high ministers.⁴¹

The Han government had enacted several rules to preserve social distinctions, and legislated frequently against usurpation of rank, privileges, and status insignia, the use of *ticou* burial and jade suits was one of them. The *Liyi zhi* 禮儀志 (Treatise on Rites and Ceremonies) in the *Houhan shu* summarizes the standard regulations of imperial funeral. After death, the emperor was dressed with a jade suit tied with golden wires and interred in a *huangchang ticou* burial. The imperial burial has a spectacular structure; literally, the term “*huangchang* 黃腸 (yellow intestine)” refers to fresh cores of cypress wood; “*ticou* 題湊” is a literally translated as “gathered heads”.⁴² The texts mentioned that the emperor would also give members of royal family and powerful officials such an extravagant burial, which even exceeded the proper status of the dead, in the cases of Huo Guang 霍光 (130-68 B.C.) and Dong Xian 董賢 (22 B.C.-A.D.1).⁴³ The *jiangzuo dajiang* 將作大匠 (grand court architect) was in charge of building the imperial palaces and ancestral shrines, imperial tombs and funeral parks. They also built tombs for high officials at imperial order (T17-18).⁴⁴ Their subordinate officials were the *dongyuan jiang* 東園匠 (artisans of

⁴⁰ *Han shu*, 14.394: “The regional kingdoms had similar administrative organizations as the central government of the capital 宮室百官同制京師.”

⁴¹ Dubs 1967.

⁴² According to the commentary of Su Lin 蘇林, an Eastern Han scholar, “the *ticou* surrounded the coffin was constructed with the timbers specially made of fresh cores of cypress wood. They were piled up so that the heads face inwards 以木累棺外，木頭皆內向，故曰題湊，” see *Shiji*, 126. 3200.

⁴³ The texts in the *Han shu* described that Huo Guang, who served as marshal of state, was treated to a burial of *Huangchang ticou* 黃腸題湊 equivalent to that of an emperor, including garments, cash, jade suits and coffins, see *Han shu*, 68. 2948.

⁴⁴ *Han shu*, 93. 3734. *Han shu*, 81. 3364.

the eastern enclosure), who made coffins and utensils within the imperial tombs.⁴⁵

The corpse had to be properly dressed and buried. The jade suits could be only used by imperial family members; sometimes they were also given as funeral gifts to high officials with imperial favor. The material used to stitch together jade suits was closely associated with noble rank, and strict rules governed the shrouds.⁴⁶ The imperial members, such as kings, marquises and princesses, were allocated black lacquer coffins decorated with red cloud patterns, and shrouded with jade suits tied with silver wire (T19-21).⁴⁷ Breaking the rules would be severely punished. A few accounts mention individuals who risked punishment in order to gain a jade suit. During the reign of Emperor Huan (r. A.D. 147-167) of the Eastern Han, an official in Jizhou, named Zhao Zhong, buried his deceased father in a “jade casket.” The magistrate Zhu Mu discovered this transgression and ordered his subordinate to investigate the case. “The clerks, afraid of Zhou’s rigor, unearthed the tomb and opened the coffin, exposing the body. The surviving family members were arrested (T22).”⁴⁸

As noted above, the written regulations represented a fixed hierarchical order in the usage of *ticou* burial and jade suits, they were limited to imperial members and political elites. Consequently, rules on *ticou* and jade suits were used as universal criteria by many modern Chinese archaeologists to define the highest rank of wooden chamber tombs. However, historical narrative in the documentary sources does not match the material evidence. The *Houhan shu* described the construction of the *ticou*

⁴⁵ *Han shu*, 19.733.

⁴⁶ Yang Hong 2004: 349-350.

⁴⁷ A jade suits is shaped as armour, it was made of around one thousand small jade plaques, each jade plaque was tied together with golden or silver wire, it is also termed as *yu xia* 玉匣. Only Han emperors can use the jade suits tied with gold wire. *Houhan shu*, 6. 3141. *Houhan shu*, 6. 3152. *Hanguan liuzhong*, 2. 105.

⁴⁸ *Houhan shu*, 43.1470.

tomb for Liu Yan 劉焉, who was the King of Zhongshan (d. A.D. 90), demanding thousands of laborers and vast amounts of timbers, coming from at least three commanderies (T23).⁴⁹ Interestingly, the actual tomb was found at Beizhuang 北莊 in Hebei province; the wooden barricade was replaced by four thousand stone slabs.⁵⁰ Liu Yan's tomb is not the only example, where we can see considerable disjunctions between archaeological evidence and written regulations.

Also, the specific funeral rules for using *ticou* and jade suits are recorded in the *Houhan shu*, which was compiled by the Southern dynasty scholar, Fan Ye 範曄, and others in the fifth century, we do not know whether these regulations were prescriptive or descriptive. Over 13 *ticou* tombs have been found throughout the Han Empire, but none of them was built in the Eastern Han period. Their prevalence in the Western Han dynasty does not mean the tomb construction of kings and marquises exactly followed written regulations. Contemporary textual sources are lacking. Only one fragmentary manuscript has been found in tomb 77 at Shuihudi, Yunmeng in 2006.⁵¹ It described specific rules for the funeral of a marquis which do not find its counterpart in the transmitted literature. The Shuihudi document will be discussed in the third chapter, with a comparison of archaeological record of high ranking tombs.

2.2.3 The official ranks

The official rank refers to a position in the government bureaucracy. Important studies on the Han bureaucracy have been done by Hans Bielenstein and Michael Loewe, whose works have focused on central administration.⁵² The transmitted

⁴⁹ *Houhan shu*, 42.1450.

⁵⁰ Dingxian 1964: 127-159.

⁵¹ Shuihudi 2008.

⁵² Bielenstein 1980. Loewe 2005: 38-53. Loewe 2006: 17-36.

literature includes short treatises, mainly compiled in Eastern Han times. For instance, the *Baiguan gongqin biao* 百官公卿表 (Table of Hundreds of Officials and Ministers) in the *Han shu*, stated that the hierarchy of officials varied according to their grades in bureaucratic institutions.⁵³ From the scattered textual sources, we learn of the complement of officials at central and local levels, their official titles, their duties and the reasons for their promotions.

The highest levels of the official ranks were the *san gong* 三公 (three excellencies), including *yushi dafu* 御史大夫 (the grand tutor), *chengxiang* 丞相 (the chancellor), and *taiwei* 太尉 (the grand commander), who were directly responsible for advising the emperor. They held the most senior posts in the civil service and imperial administration. Ranking below them were the *jiu qing* 九卿 (nine ministers), whose duties corresponded with defined branches of the administration. They were not directly subordinated to the members of the cabinet, but subject to their censorial supervision.⁵⁴ For the rest of officials, an imperial decree of 144 B.C. stated that the grades above 600 *dan* were the *zhangli* 長吏 (chief officials),⁵⁵ who had certain social privileges, such as exemption from criminal punishment.⁵⁶

Official grades were often indicated by the means of salaries measured in *dan* 石 (Chinese bushels, 200 liters), varying from the highest level *san gong* 三公 (the three highest ministers), who held a 10,000-*dan* rank, to the lower-level officials, with

⁵³ *Han shu*, 19. 721-857.

⁵⁴ *Han shu*, 19. 724-726. Loewe 1986: 120. An and Xiong 1984. Wang Yü-chüan 1949: 137-187. Bielenstein 1980: 17.

⁵⁵ *Han shu*, 5. 149. An imperial edict of 144 B.C. stated that “Officials ranking at 600-*dan* and above are all chief officials. 吏六百石以上，皆長吏也”

⁵⁶ *Han shu*, 2. 85. During the reign of Emperor Hui (194-188B.C.), “The *wu dafu* and 600-*dan* officials or above, who were known for their service at imperial court and were supposed to be fettered as criminals, can have their fetters removed. 爵五大夫，吏六百石以上及宦皇帝而知名者，有罪當盜械者，皆頌繫。”

around a 100-*dan* rank, which worked out to 350 *hu* 斛 (51.8 liters) per month to 16 *hu* per month.⁵⁷ The system of giving salaries for officials' services was an important method of social control. The Han officials enjoyed some social privileges: they frequently received material rewards from the emperor. These gifts included gold, cash, houses, land and servants. They held a higher status than the commoners, "officials are the leaders of the populace", an imperial edit of 144 B.C. stated, "and it is right and proper that the carriages they ride in and the robes that they wear should correspond to the degrees of their dignity."⁵⁸ There was a strict regulation on the use of seals. They varied in shape and decoration according to an official's position and salary.⁵⁹ The production of official seals was controlled by the clerks of the *Lantai* 蘭台 (the Orchid Tower), a tower in the imperial palace hall.⁶⁰ Recent discoveries of Han dynasty official seals demonstrate that some texts are misleading.⁶¹

⁵⁷ Actually the number of *dan* marking the ranks did not always correspond to their salary, which was paid partly in grain and partly in cash. According to the commentary by Yan Shigu, a Tang scholar, the salary for the highest-rank officials was 350 *hu* 斛 of grain monthly. *Han shu*, 19.724-743. A Han farming household owning 100 *mu* 畝 (approximately 600 square meters) of land had an annual income of 150 *dan* 石 of grain. *Han shu*, 24.1125. With the reference to bamboo strips on grain distribution regulation found in Qin and Han tombs, Huang Zhanyue calculated that a *dan* 石 is equivalent to 20 liters, see Huang Zhanyue 2008: 171. For a full discussion on the bureaucratic hierarchy of Han dynasty see Bielenstein 1980: 4-6. The English translation of official titles follows H. Dubs's "Official Titles of the Former Han Dynasty", Dubs 1967.

⁵⁸ *Han shu*, 5. 149.

⁵⁹ The official emblems varied in a series of golden, silver and bronze seals, decked with purple, blue, yellow or black ribbons. They correspond to the ranks. *Hanguan liuzhong*, 1. 21, 1.35-36. "The kings shall use seals with camel-shaped knob 諸侯王用駝鈕"; "The chancellors and generals were given golden seals with a tortoise knob 丞相、大將軍黃金印龜鈕"; "The marquises were given golden seals, decked with purple 列侯金印紫綬". *Han shu*, 19.725. "The chancellor...were given golden seal decked with purple 丞相...金印紫綬", "the golden seal decked with purple for the grand commander 太尉...金印紫綬"; "the silver seal decked with cerulean for the grand tutor 御史大夫...銀印青綬"; "The golden seal decked with purple for the grant tutor 太傅...金印紫綬"; *Han shu*, 19.743. "The 2000-*dan* officials and above were given silver seals decked with cerulean. The Imperial Court Grandee was not given an official seal. The 600-*dan* officials and above were given bronze seals decked with black, the Grandee, Erudite, Imperial Secretary, Internuncio, Gentleman were not given official seals...凡吏秩比二千石以上, 皆銀印青綬, 光祿大夫無。秩比六百石以上, 皆銅印黑綬, 大夫、博士、禦史、謁者、郎無..."

⁶⁰ Wang Guihai 1997: 82-92.

⁶¹ Tian Xiaojuan and Hou Xiaorong argued that the archaeological record did not match the written

At a local level, the *taishou* 太守 (governor) appointed by the central government were administrators of commanderies. A governor of a commandery would be responsible for local administration for as many as a million inhabitants. The *ling* 令 (prefects) and *zhang* 長 (chiefs) of counties ruled their counties. [Counties] with ten thousand households and more had prefects ranking from 1000 to 600 *dan*. [Counties] with less than ten thousand households had chiefs, ranking from 500 to 300 *dan*. All of them had assistants and commandants ranking from 400 to 200 *dan* (T24),⁶² including the *cheng* 丞 (assistant), who was in charge of administrative archives and criminal behavior. Below 100 *dan* were official grades of *doushi* 斗食 (officials whose salaries are received by *dou*) and *zuoshi* 佐史 (accessory clerks); they were junior clerks. Ten *li* 里 (villages) constituted one *ting* 亭 (canton); there were chiefs in charge of cantons. Ten cantons made up a *xiang* 鄉 (district).⁶³ There were *San lao* 三老, including *youzhi* 有秩 (an official with rank), *sefu* 嗇夫 (bailiff), and *youjiao* 遊徼 (patrol leader).⁶⁴ The precise functions of *sefu* have been discussed by many scholars. They had responsibilities for districts of less than 5,000 households.⁶⁵

regulations. There were two kinds of golden seals, the first kind of official seals with tortoise knobs was discovered in the tombs of kings, and those with camel knobs were often found in the burials belonged to non-Han tribe leaders who surrendered to the court. But the texts of *Han jiuyi* 漢舊儀 in the *Hanguan liuzhong* said that only kings use the seals with camel knobs. Tian and Hou 2004: 94-96.

⁶² *Han shu*, 19. 742.

⁶³ The *li* 里 in this thesis is translated as a ward and in the countryside as a hamlet, differing from the larger unit, *xiang* 鄉 (village). As Dubs has noted, the definition of a *li* varied in different documentary texts. The *Zhouli*, which was compiled in the early Han but which contains much pre-Han material, assigns 25 households to a *li*; Ying Shao, the Eastern Han scholar fixes the number of households for his time at 50, and the author of the *Houhan shu* Sima Piao assigns 100 households to a *li* of Eastern Han. Dubs 1967.

⁶⁴ The *San lao* were in charge of educating and morally influencing the people; the bailiff was in charge of hearing law-suits and of collecting tax; the patrol leader was in charge of preventing against thieving and robbing.

⁶⁵ Qiu Xigui 1981: 226-301.

These official titles and their hierarchical order are useful to identify people who were the high officials in the bureaucracy. In archaeological record, bureaucratic titles, indicated by epigraphic materials, provide direct evidence of official rank. For instance, a gilt seal discovered in the Mawangdui tomb 2 was inscribed with “*Changsha chengxiang* 長沙丞相 (The chancellor of principality of Changsha)”. We know that in the Han court, the *chengxiang*’s duty was to assist the emperor and aid him in directing the multifarious matters of the government. This office was also established in the courts of the kingdoms.⁶⁶

Little is known about the relationship between honorary ranks and official grades.⁶⁷ Only one commentary texts stated that a 600-*dan* official grade was equivalent to the rank of *dafu* 大夫, and no further information has been provided for the other grades.⁶⁸ Based on a few records of the bestowing ranks in the *Han shu*, Nishijima Sadao divided the twenty honorary ranks into two classes: the higher class is the *guan jue* 官爵 (an honorary rank which was bestowed on 600-*dan* officials or above), comprising the rank of *wu dafu* (the ninth grade of Twenty Orders) and above; the lower class, *min jue* 民爵 (honorary rank which was granted to non-officials), including eight ranks from the *gongcheng* down to the lowest level *gongshi*, the rank holders were merchants, landholders and other commoners.⁶⁹ Michael Loewe, An

⁶⁶ In 145 B.C., the title of *chengxiang* in the courts of kings was changed to the single word *xiang* 相 (chancellor). Dubs 1967.

⁶⁷ There is no equation between honorary rank and official grade. The only equation could be the different 14 grades of an emperor’s consorts were ranked in terms of official posts, the grades of official salaries, and the grades in the Twenty Orders. *Han shu*, 97. 3935. I would like to thank Professor Michael Loewe who brings me attention to the grades of imperial consorts described in the *Han shu*.

⁶⁸ The Tang dynasty scholar Yan Shigu 顏師古 (A.D.581-645), who is one of commentators on the *Han shu*, cited the interpretation by Zhang Yan 張儉: “*zhang* 長 means big, the official grade of 600 *dan* is ranked to the *dafu*. 長, 大也. 六百石, 位大夫.” *Han shu*, 5. 147.

⁶⁹ The recipient of the rank is the entire male population above the age of fifteen years. Nishijima

Zuozhang and Xiong Deji suggested that the receipt of honorary ranks may have carried with it the qualification of entry into bureaucratic office.⁷⁰ By contrast, Bu Xianqun and Yan Buke have argued that the honorary rank represented a privileged status legitimated by imperial power, but it was not a prerequisite to get a position in the bureaucracy.⁷¹ Regardless of this unsettled question, archaeologists have been inclined to treat honorary ranks and official grades in the same way, as both hierarchies were marked by income (*dan* 石).

2.3 Textually Based Status Indicators and Sumptuary Rules

In both transmitted literature and excavated manuscripts, we know of a few examples of sumptuary rules in fragmentary texts. It is not clear how exactly specific sumptuary rules were actually practiced, but we can still gain some evidence on status symbols from them. Status indicators are socially valued objects, prestige ones but prohibitively priced goods, which are repeatedly mentioned in sumptuary regulations. Common social value places significant meanings on certain material objects and creates status symbols.⁷² Amongst several status labels, we can find two frequently recorded categories: (1) the carriage and horses; (2) coffins.

From the *Han shu*, we know that carriages and horses were used to mark official ranks. An imperial decree of the sixth year of Zhongyuan (144 B.C.), recorded in the *Han shu*, stated that, the officials' robes and carriages were in accordance with their grades: a middle level official with 2000-*dan* shall use a carriage with two red

2004: 86-89.

⁷⁰ Loewe 1960: 97-174. An and Xiong 1984: 436-444.

⁷¹ Bu Xianqun 2000: 17-24. Yan Buke 2002: 85-95.

⁷² According to Erving Goffman, a status symbol carries categorical significance, that is, to identify the social status of the person who makes it. Goffman 1951: 294-304.

lacquered “mud-defend” planks; the lower ranked officials, ranging from 600-*dan* to 1,000-*dan*, shall own carriages with one red lacquered mud-defend casket (T25).⁷³ Horses for travelling varied in their numbers, six for the emperor, four for the marquis, and three for the *dafu*, two for *shi* and one for commoners (T26).⁷⁴

There were different narratives in historical texts on using carriage and horse models in tombs. Two examples of prohibiting horse and carriages for funeral use were documented in the *Han shu*. During the reign of Emperor Zhao (r. 86-74 B.C.), Han Yanshou 韓延壽, the governor of Yingchuan 潁川 (modern Dengfeng city, Henan province) advocated ancient rituals for ceremonial use, such as weddings and funerals. The local people followed his example, the models of carriages and horses were abandoned with other funeral objects (T27).⁷⁵ The second example was that Emperor Cheng (r. 32-7 B.C.), who prohibited the burying of carriages and horses in tombs (T28).⁷⁶ These two cases imply that both actual carriages and horses and their models were forbidden for funeral use in the Western Han dynasty. But two other texts, the *Yantie lun* and the *Qianfu lun* described their popularity in extravagant tombs (T29-30).⁷⁷

The significant use of coffins in signifying the fixed hierarchy of Zhou period five-grade ranks was emphasized by classical scholars. The three Ritual Classics, and philosophical texts such as the *Zhuangzi*, stated that the hierarchical order of aristocratic ranks such as “*jun* 君 or *zhuhou* 諸侯”, “*dafu* 大夫” and “*shi* 士” was

⁷³ *Han shu*, 5. 149.

⁷⁴ *Houhan shu*, 29. 3644.

⁷⁵ *Han shu*, 76. 3210.

⁷⁶ *Han shu*, 10. 302.

⁷⁷ *Yantie lun jiaozhu* 鹽鐵論校注, 6. 353. *Qianfu lun jian jiaozheng* 潛夫論箋校正, 3. 134.

marked by different types of wood for making coffins in decreasing value;⁷⁸ and the numbers of coffins.⁷⁹ These texts have been used as primary sources by modern archaeologists to define the ranks of wooden chamber tombs in terms of *guan guo* regulation.⁸⁰ But archaeological evidence does not support such an approach.⁸¹ It is true that the nested coffins were continually used in early Han wooden chamber tombs, but we do not know whether the variations in size and number of coffins correlated with such rules; also, little is known about the connection between the five grades of Zhou aristocratic ranks and the Han ranks.

People in Han society, however, seem to have considered coffins as wealth and status symbols, rather than indicating aristocratic ranks. Han texts tell us that luxury coffins became available to people who were not born into the aristocracy or office-holding rank, but possessed great wealth (T31).⁸² The Eastern Han scholar, Wang Fu (A.D. 85-163), has provided us with detailed accounts of lavish burials. He suggested that a motivation behind the competitive display of funerary practice in the Han society was the desire of middle-income provincials to emulate the style of imperial relatives and nobles in the capital, represented by ostentatious coffins (T32).⁸³

Luxury is always related to wealth, and wealth is unquestionably influential in

⁷⁸ The passage “*Sang da ji* 喪大紀” in the *Liji* “The lord’s outer chamber was made of Pine, Cypress for the *dafu*, mixed wood for the *shi* 君松槨, 大夫柏槨, 士雜木槨. 孔疏: 君松槨者, 君, 諸侯也, 諸侯用松為槨材也。” The commentary by Kong Yingda interprets “*jun*” as marquis. *Liji zhengyi*, 45.1290. The social distinctions were marked by the thickness of *guan* and *guo*. *Liji zhengyi*, 17.548: “飭喪紀, 辨衣裳, 審棺槨之薄厚, 塋丘壟之大小、高卑、厚薄之度, 貴賤之等級。” *Huainanzi jishi*, 5. 423: “審棺槨衣衾之薄厚, 營邱壟之小大高痺, 使貴賤尊卑各有等級。”

⁷⁹ The numbers of coffins associated with the rank of marquis, described in the ritual texts such as the *Liji* differed from other two philosophical texts, see chapter 1.

⁸⁰ For the *guan guo* system and critiques on the text-based archaeological assumptions see chapter 1.

⁸¹ The discussion on the *guan guo* regulation see chapter 1.

⁸² *Yantie lun jiaozhu*, 6. 349.

⁸³ *Qianfu lun jian jiaozheng*, 3.134. The translation is based Barbieri-Low’s texts with some modification. Barbieri-Low 2005: 485-486.

establishing social status. From the documentary records, we can see that the Han government intended to enforce the hierarchical order by means of restrictive rules associated with the emperor, nobles, officials and honorary rank holders. The sumptuary regulations were proclaimed to maintain social privileges of the higher ranks and transgressions were to be punished. However, the Han literature often mentioned that people “*yuzhi* 逾制 (violated the rules)”; that is, the low status members would simply copy the upper class elites, universally subscribing to the same status symbols. “Emulation is the counterpart to distinction, the urge to maintain a social distance expressed in the material superiority of luxury.”⁸⁴ In other words, conspicuous consumption of luxury was a channel for climbing upwards in society and making claims for new status and identities.

When we look at textually based status indicators, it is helpful to know they present historical views on social distinction. But it is not wise to rely on the written texts. The narratives in different textual sources contradict each other, as people’s attitude about the value and relative importance of these items varied, and changed over time. With regard to the Han ranking system, neither the Han dynastic histories nor later commentaries have provided sufficient information on what kinds of material rewards were involved with the bestowal of honorary ranks in Han society, and how an individual’s rank was legitimated and secured. The following section will look at these basic questions through the analysis of specific statutes in the Zhangjiashan bamboo manuscripts.

⁸⁴ Wallace-Hadrill 2008: 370.

2.4 The Honorary Ranks in the Han Codes of Zhangjiashan Manuscripts

The legal documents in the Zhangjiashan manuscripts present the most important source for the Twenty Orders: an honorary rank was not an empty title; they show that such ranks were linked to certain social privileges and monetary rewards. This may explain why the identity as an honorary rank holder was so important to individuals, indicated by the tomb documents recording the rank and title of the deceased.⁸⁵

2.4.1 The legal status and household registration

Before looking at a variety of social privileges associated with different ranks, it is necessary to define several terminologies frequently mentioned in the legal documents. Three terms, *gongzu* 公卒, *shiwu* 士伍 and *shuren* 庶人, all refer to commoners, with subtle differences. *Gongzu* 公卒 refers to commoners including those who held the lower honorary ranks such as *shangzao* or *bu geng*;⁸⁶ *shuren* 庶人 (common people) denotes all free persons, of whatever rank or degree of wealth;⁸⁷ *shiwu* 士伍 describes “individuals who have been deprived of rank and made commoners as a punishment for a crime.”⁸⁸ *Gongzu* and *shiwu* are only applied to males, while the category of *shuren* 庶人 includes both men and women.⁸⁹ Below the commoners are slaves and convicts, including *sikou* 司寇 (two years’ hard labor) and *yinguan* 隱官 (those persons detained under official supervision).⁹⁰

In the Han period, a legal status is referred to as “the position or standing of

⁸⁵ The discussion on the identity of householder and honorary rank holder, see chapter 4 and 5.

⁸⁶ Cao Ji 2013: 44-48.

⁸⁷ Loewe 2010 a: 300

⁸⁸ Zhu Shaohou 2008a: 415-416.

⁸⁹ Cao Ji 2013: 44-48. Liu Hainian 1978: 58-62.

⁹⁰ Loewe 2010 a: 300.

individuals in relation to other individuals, groups or the state. It is manifested by prerogatives or limitations, rights or duties, enjoyed by or imposed upon individuals in correspondence to their membership in recognized social groups.”⁹¹ Such a conception is useful to differentiate a rank holder from other lower status members, including commoners and slaves. The legal status of an individual was ascribed to him or her automatically on account of his membership to these groups, or he or she could achieve certain types of status through special accomplishments or merits. For instance, servile status was ascribed. From legal documents found in Qin and Han tombs, we know the five degrees of hard labor were generally divided by sex from most to least severe: *Chengdan* 城旦 (wall builders) required four or five years hard labor; *guixin* 鬼薪 (gatherers of firewood for spirits) required three years; *lichen* 隸臣 (bond servants); women were *chong* 舂 (grain pounders), *baican* 白粲 (white rice sifters) and *liqie* 隸妾 (bond women).⁹² Each category was a type of legal status.

The early imperial laws regulated an individual’s privileges and obligations, subject to their legal status by means of household registration. The “*hu* 戶 (household)” was an administrative, taxable unit, where members lived together and engaged in some form of economically productive cooperation.⁹³ The size of a *xian* 縣 (prefecture), as a rule, was dependant on the number of households.⁹⁴ Each household was required to provide both statutory service and military service on a

⁹¹ Wilbur 1943: 140-141.

⁹² Hulsewé 1955: 14-15. Loewe 2010 a: 301-302. Robin Yates had a full discussion on the lower statuses non-commoners in Shuihudi Qin laws, including convict, slave and bondservants. He pointed out such individuals were entered on their master’s register as a part of his family property. Yates 1987: 197-237.

⁹³ Tung-tsu Chu 1972: 3-4. Loewe 2010 a: 196.

⁹⁴ The prefect of a prefecture that had more than 10,000 households was known as *ling* 令 prefecture while one for a prefecture with less than 10,000 household was a *chang* 長 chief, and his rank is lower. Tung-tsu Chu 1972: 3.

regular basis.⁹⁵ The enforcement of the taxation and corveé system was based on information provided by household registers. Within the institutional framework, household registration publicly recognized the rank and legal status of individual citizens, and it functioned to establish a relation of subordination (T33-34).⁹⁶ Han rulers sought to control their populace by enrolling every individual into a graded social hierarchy.

2.4.2 Material parameters of the twenty honorary ranks

First, the possession of land and houses was linked to an owner's honorary rank. The *Ci lü* 賜律 (Statute on Bounties) and the *Hu lü* 戶律 (Statute on Households) provide greater detail for some social privileges associated with individuals holding the rank of *guannei hou* and lower. The allocation of *hu tian* 戶田 (household land), the ownership of *zhai* 宅 (dwelling house) and servants, exemption from state obligations, and a reduction of tax and punishment, and general gift from the emperors were in accordance with different ranks.⁹⁷

Based on the amount of allocated land and houses, the twenty ranks can be divided into four grades: the highest level included the *guannei hou* 關內侯, while the lowest one ranged from the *gong dafu* 公大夫 down to the *gongshi* 公士. The quantity of land varied with the order of rank possessed: the allocation of land ranged

⁹⁵ The small, nuclear family became the basic unit of residence and labor in Western Han society. Under Han law, the whole population paid various taxes: children between 7 and 15 years of age were required to pay *kouqian* 口錢 poll tax—20 cash, and *suān fu* 算賦 poll tax—120 cash for all adults, slaves paid double amount. Merchants paid double poll-taxes, heavy market dues; artisans paid income taxes. Hulsewé 1955: 17.

⁹⁶ From the early Han statutes from Zhangjiashan, we find the following strict requirements for the writing up and storing of government records. ZJS strips no. 328. ZJS strips no. 331-336.

⁹⁷ The texts did not mention the land which was given to the *cheshou* (marquis), but it stated that 95 *qing* 頃 (182 hectares) of land for the *guannei hou* 關內侯九十五頃...150 houses for the *cheshou*, 95 houses for the *guannei hou*...徹侯受百五宅, 關內侯九十五宅. Zhangjiashan Zhujian 2006: 301-316.

from one to 95 *qing* 頃 to those of *guannei hou* 關內侯 rank and lower, and dwelling houses to the marquis and lower.⁹⁸ By contrast, smaller areas were made over for those of lower status, commoners, including *gongzu*, *shiwu* and *shuren* were allocated one *qing* of land and one house (T35-36).⁹⁹ The differences on legal status generated the variety of amounts in receiving land and houses.

Table 2-01 Four grades of twenty honorary ranks, allocation of land and houses

level	Honorary Ranks	Land (<i>qing</i> 頃)	Houses (<i>zhai</i> 宅)	Gift (<i>dan</i> 石)
1	<i>chehou</i> (20 th), <i>guannei hou</i> (19 th)	95	105--95	2,000
2	<i>da shuzhang</i> (18 th)— <i>zuo shuzhang</i> (10 th)	90-74	90-74	1,000
3	<i>wu dafu</i> (9 th), <i>gongcheng</i> (8 th)	25-20	25-20	800-600
4	<i>gong dafu</i> (7 th)— <i>gongshi</i> (1 st)	9-1.5	9-1.5	500-below100

Clearly, the highest grade comprises the marquis and the *guannei hou*, who are allocated the largest amount of land and of the numbers of houses. The second grade includes *da shuzhang* and lowers, the amount of allocated land declined gradually from 90 to 74 *qing*. The rank of *wu dafu* seems to separate higher ranks from lower ones (Table 2-01). There was a sharp decrease of land from the rank of *zuo shuzhang*

⁹⁸ In the Western Han dynasty, the *qing* of 500 *mu* was equivalent to 42.7 English acres. Li Junming 2007: 81-93. The rank of *wu dafu* drew the line between the nobles and the ordinary people. In the Statute on Households of Zhanjiashan manuscripts, it stated that “ranks lower than the *wu dafu* should be included in the *wu* 伍 (groups with shared responsibility for crime) based on the land 自五大夫以下·以地為伍。” In the *Jue zhi*: “The ranks of *li min* cannot surpass the *gongcheng* 吏民爵不得過公乘”; The commentary texts in the *Han shu bianyi* 漢書辨疑 by Qian Dazhao 錢大昭 stated that: “The ranks from *gongshi* up to *gongcheng* are generally bestowed to common people, as the position in life and posthumous title after death, consequently, those are called as ranks of common people. The ranks from *wu dafu* to *chehou* are awarded to officials. 自公士至公乘, 民之爵也, 生以為祿位, 死以為號諡, 凡言民爵, 即此. 自五大夫至徹侯, 則官之爵.” Gao Min 2002: 49-54. Based on these interpretations, Loewe argues that it was possible for members of the general public to advance up the scale of orders with successive general bestowals, but probably not beyond the *gongcheng* (the eighth level). Loewe 1960: 163.

⁹⁹ ZJS strips no. 310-313. ZJS strips no. 314-316.

downwards. A *wu dafu* only has 25 *qing* of land, almost one quarter of that allocated to a *zuo shuzhang*.¹⁰⁰

Secondly, the Statute on Bounties adds detailed information for the bestowal of different honors, carrying the provisions for clothing, coffins, food and drinking, and general gifts from the emperors in accordance with the rank of the order.¹⁰¹ These written regulations may help us understand how the material symbols such as coffins and clothing were used to mark distinction within the Twenty Orders. A full discussion on the material expression of honorary ranks ranging from the highest grade *cheshou* to the lowest *gongcheng* will be included in the following chapters.

2.4.3 Social privileges and the graded honorary ranks

Many of the Han codes set out to distinguish a hierarchy of different ranks, “Persons with a lower rank who beat up those with higher one shall be fined with four ounces gold 下爵毆上爵，罰金四兩。”¹⁰² We can see distinctions of privilege for rank holders or in the scales of punishment prescribed for certain crimes according to those distinctions. For instance, obligations are seen in the requirement of registration

¹⁰⁰ The grouping of the twenty honorary ranks in this thesis is slightly different from Zhu Shaohou who categorized these ranks into four classes: the *hou* 侯, including the *cheshou* and the *guannei hou*; the *qing* 卿, including nine ranks from the *zuo shuzhang* up to the *da shuzhang*; the *dafu* 大夫, including five ranks from the *dafu* up to the *wu dafu*; and *xiaojie* 小爵, including four ranks from the *gongshi* up to the *bu geng*. This idea is based on the texts of *Jue zhi* 爵制 (the institution of honorary ranks) in which Liu Shao 劉劭 (early 5th century A.D.) described the rank of *zuo shuzhang* up to the *da shuzhang* as *jiu qing* 九卿”. Zhu Shaohou 2007: 67-72. However, as Li Junming has noted, the amount of land allocated for the rank of *wu dafu* was obviously lesser than that of the *zuo shuzhang*, thus these two middle level ranks, that is, the *wu dafu* and the *gongcheng* should be categorized into the third grade. Li Junming 2007: 81-93. Liu Shao’s *Jue zhi* was preserved in the commentary texts by the Southern dynasty (A.D. 420-589) commentator Liu Zhao 劉昭 in the Treatise of The Hundred Officials of the *Houhan shu*, it stated that “Shang Jun established the Qin laws and set the eighteenth grades including the *guannei hou*, and the *liehou*, totally twenty orders of ranks 商君為政。備其法，品為十八級，合關內侯，列侯，凡二十等。” It said that Shang Yang of the Qin state, an important statesman (390-338B.C.) invented the twenty orders of ranks, in order to improve military prowess; ranks were granted to men who had taken the heads of a number of enemies.” *Houhan shu*, 28. 3631. For the details of *Jue zhi* see the following section.

¹⁰¹ ZJS strips no. 282-304.

¹⁰² ZJS strips no. 28.

and punishment. The *Fu lü* 傅律 (Statute on Registration) prescribes the different ages for adult males in registering for state obligations and military service. The son of the highest rank holders is allowed to register at the age of 24, four years older than those of lower ones (T37).¹⁰³ Individuals with rank were discharged four years earlier at 56, and with such a discharge their obligations to the state were completed (T38).¹⁰⁴ Some of the statutes gave people with rank of *shangzao* and above, their wives, and a group of relatives of imperial clan the privilege of having their punishments of hard labor automatically reduced by one degree (T39).¹⁰⁵ Persons with the rank of *gong dafu* or above can be exempted from state labor (T40),¹⁰⁶ those higher ranks equated with *qing* are allowed to pay fewer taxes (T41).¹⁰⁷

The fragmentary texts of *Jue lü* 爵律 (Statute on Honorary Ranks) and *Dao lü* 盜律 (Statute on Robbery) include information that sentenced criminals were disqualified from receiving a rank. For instance, the Statute on Robbery recorded that “if the wife has hurt or killed her husband, she cannot acquire husband’s rank 口殺傷其夫, 不得以夫爵論.”¹⁰⁸ Those who dare to engage in conspiracy or fraud shall be punished: individuals who faked a rank to get exemption from punishment in person or for others should be marked on their faces as criminals (T42-43);¹⁰⁹ those who forged the *chou*’s seal shall be punished with *qi shi* 棄市 (execution and exposure of the corpse in the marketplace).¹¹⁰ Public execution was a relatively severe punishment. The laws also mentioned the example of local officials who suffered

¹⁰³ ZJS strips no. 365.

¹⁰⁴ ZJS strips no. 356.

¹⁰⁵ ZJS strips no. 82. My translation is based on Zhang Zhaoyang’s texts with modification.

¹⁰⁶ ZJS strips no. 413.

¹⁰⁷ ZJS strips no. 255.

¹⁰⁸ ZJS strips no. 84.

¹⁰⁹ ZJS strips no.392-393. ZJS strips no.392-393.

¹¹⁰ ZJS strips no. 20.

execution for ordering the *wu dafu* to be beaten. “If a person beats a *youzhi* official or above, or a local official beats a *wu dafu* or above, both shall be *qing* 黥 (tabooed) as the wall builders or grain bounders. 所毆詈有秩以上, 及吏以縣官事毆詈五大夫以上, 皆黥為城旦舂 (T44-45).”¹¹¹ It seems that those harsh laws aimed to secure the privilege of rank holders.

In the *Zouyan shu* 奏讞書 (Cases Referred to Higher Authority), we find a number of examples concerning legal advantages for rank holders in certain judicial procedures. A rank holder could use the rank to redeem punishment. For instance, a case of forgery was associated with two convicts with the rank of *dafu* 大夫. Considering the entire case dubious, the investigators submitted it to their seniors for final adjudication: “The commandery administrator of Shu has submitted [this case] for review: Quan [with a rank] of *dafu* 大夫 travelled across the barrier on his private horse without an official pass; he plotted with Wu [with a rank] of *dafu* 大夫 and asked him to steal Xiong [with a rank of *shangzao* 上造]’s pass for his horse. [Wu] changed the records of the horse in the stolen pass for Quan; the fake document was discovered when [Quan] was travelling. Ting Wei (commandant of justice) said: Both Quan and Wu shall be judged for forgery. 蜀守讞: 大夫犬乘私馬一匹, 毋傳, 謀令大夫武爵 (偷) □上造熊馬傳, 箸 (著) 其馬職 (識) 物, 弗身更, 疑罪. 廷報: 犬與武共為偽書也.”¹¹² Why was such an honorary rank as the *dafu* particularly mentioned in the judicial records? It is very likely the rank holders would have been punished less severely than untitled commoners.

¹¹¹ ZJS strips no. 46. Tomiya 2006: 213.

¹¹² ZJS strip no. 59. ZJS strip no. 506: “People are prohibited from buying horses privately and traveling through the barrier...禁民毋得私買馬以出...關.”

2.5 Received Views on the Twenty Orders

The new discovery of the Zhangjiashan legal documents received immediate attention in Chinese scholarship. At least three full length books are devoted to the interpretations of Han codes and their historical value.¹¹³ Scholars such as Gao Min, Zhu Shaohou and Li Junmin have contributed specific works on the twenty ranks, land ownership and the administrative organization of the household.¹¹⁴ But their aim has been to confirm established ideas on the hierarchy underpinning the Zhou aristocratic ranks.

In order to understand whether there was a connection between the Han honorary ranks and the Zhou five grades, it is necessary to consider where the Twenty Orders came from. The *Han shu* merely mentioned that the Twenty Orders ranking system had been instituted by Qin to reward meritorious service. Accordingly a few historians have claimed that the founder of Han Empire entirely adhered to the Qin's Twenty Orders system (T46), which was thought to be invented by Shang Yang 商鞅 (385-338 B.C.).¹¹⁵ Following this opinion, some modern scholars assumed that the twenty ranks derived from pre-Han practice and such a ranking system was elaborated through Han times.¹¹⁶

The same system was also documented in the *Han jiu yi* 漢舊儀 (Old

¹¹³ Zhu Honglin 2005. Zhangjiashan 2007. Wang Yanhui 2010.

¹¹⁴ The social privileges associated with bestowing rank were the reduction of punishment, reduction of *fu* 傅 (state service) and exemption from the tax, Gao Min 2007: 60-66; Following Liu Zhao's interpretations in the *Jue zhi*, Zhu Shaohou classified the twenty ranks into four grades: the first grade includes the *chouhou* and the *guannei hou*; the *qing* 卿 (from the tenth degree to the eighteenth); the *dafu* 大夫 (from the fifth degree to the ninth) and the *xiaojue* 小爵, but he gave little explanation for such definitions. Zhou Shaohou 2008: 41-46. Li Junming had different opinion on the fourth grade, he termed it as the *shi* 士, Li Junming 2007: 81-93.

¹¹⁵ *Houhan shu*, 28. 3631.

¹¹⁶ Guo Moruo 1979: 14. Qian Mu 2005: 299. Liu Chunfan 1984: 120-134. Chun-shu Chang 2007: 130-131. Gao Min 1982: 1-32, 33-57. Zhao Ying 1997: 132-165. Yan Buke 2009: 70-75.

Ceremonies of the Han), which is generally ascribed to Wei Hong 衛宏, who lived during the first decades of the Eastern Han. He is said to have written the *Han jiu yi* in order to record the institutional practices of the Western Han period (T47).¹¹⁷ Two other early essays on this subject, the *Jue zhi* 爵制 of Liu Shao 劉劭 (early 5th century A.D.) and the *Jue lun* 爵論 of Wang Can 王粲 (A.D.177-217) included some later period interpretations on certain ranks.¹¹⁸

Unfortunately, such descriptions surviving in fragmentary form and some titles given in them differ from one another: two ranks, such as the *hou* and the *liehou* in the *Han jiu yi* are inconsistent with their counterparts in the *Han shu*, as well as those in the *Jue zhi*.¹¹⁹ It is worth noting that these three texts all emphasized a Qin origin, as Liu Shao claimed in the *Jue zhi*. In particular, the *Jue zhi* was intended to establish a connection with the *gu zhi* 古制 (ancient institution) by classifying the twenty orders into four grades such as the *shi* 士, the *dafu* 大夫, the *qing* 卿 and the *hou* 侯.¹²⁰ Classical authors such as Xunzi repeatedly emphasized that ritual, in the form of spectacle and sumptuary regulations, when supported by a hierarchy of those hereditary ranks, could unite subjects and rulers alike in an orderly and mutually profitable imagined community.¹²¹

In the *Jue zhi*, Liu Shao suggested that the twenty honorary ranks derived from

¹¹⁷ The fragmentary texts of the *Han jiu yi* 漢舊儀 are mostly assembled in the *Huanguan liuzhong* 漢官六種. *Huanguan liuzhong*, 2. 84-85.

¹¹⁸ The fragmentary texts of the *Jue lun* 爵論 by Wang Can was preserved in the *Tianping yulan*, 198. 954-955: “爵自一級轉登十級, 而為列侯, 譬猶秩自百石轉遷, 而至於公也. 而近世賞人者, 皆不由等級, 從無爵封列侯, 原其所以, 爵廢故也.” *Taiping Yulan* 太平禦覽 (Imperial digest) is a Song Dynasty encyclopedia compiled by a number of officers commissioned by the imperial court during A.D. 977 and 987.

¹¹⁹ The marquis was described as “*liehou*” in the *Jue lun* and the *Jue zhi*, different from the “*chehou*” in the *Han shu*.

¹²⁰ For the Zhou five gradations of aristocratic rank see chapter 1.

¹²¹ The ritual prescriptions according to hierarchical orders in the *Xunzi jijie* see chapter 1, section 1.1.

the five grades of Zhou aristocracy. The ritual system and sumptuary rules described in the three Ritual Classics under such a hierarchical system have been regarded as universal criteria for defining aristocratic ranks associated with ancient Chinese tombs.¹²² However, this theory has recently been challenged by modern scholars working on bronze inscriptions.¹²³ Li Feng has convincingly argued that the five-grade ranking system was not a Western Zhou institution. The establishment of this system actually occurred in the Spring and Autumn period. It was the Confucian school of the Warring States period that elaborated this system further by associating it with territory-distribution regulations and the ritual standards to construct a complex system of ranks. Such a system that was created with reference to Eastern Zhou social reality was then projected back into the Western Zhou state and made its way into the historical tradition. The archaeological record show that the *gong*, *hou*, *bo*, *zi*, *nan* co-existed with each other in time but not in geographical space. The five grade ranking system never appeared on the Western Zhou bronzes discovered in the royal domain in Shaanxi and other territories in Shanxi. Instead, such a new institution of status differentiation occurred in the Spring and Autumn period.¹²⁴

There are scattered references to some titles in the transmitted literature that tend to confirm that some ranks were used from the early Qin dynasty. In the biography of Emperor Shihuang in the *Shiji*, it is said that the general bestowal of ranks was distributed publicly to reward different people, including the commoners for donating grain (244 B.C.) in the time of plague; the soldiers for killing enemies at the outbreak of rebellion (237 B.C.), and the laborers for constructing the palace and roads (220

¹²² The Zhou feudal hierarchy was eventually institutionalized, as were aristocratic rituals which reinforced that ranking. See Creel 1970: 341-342. Hsu and Linduff 1988: 172.

¹²³ Guo Moruo 1954: 40-59. Wang Shimin 1983: 3-17.

¹²⁴ Li Feng 2008: 104-105.

B.C.), as well as the movement of population (211 B.C.).¹²⁵ Yet such information for the Qin system is extremely limited. Nothing is known about the degree to which the Han rulers might have borrowed from their predecessor. In fact, the passage *Jingnei* 境內 of the *Shang jun shu* 商君書 (The Book of Lord Shang), only mentioned twelve ranks bestowed for military merit (T48).¹²⁶ And there is no evidence which indicates that the Qin rulers strictly adhered to the Zhou system. As Gideon Shelach and Yuri Pines have argued, the overall transformation of the Qin social structure included the abolition of the hereditary aristocracy and the establishment of new meritocratic elites.¹²⁷ “Ranks were not hereditary, but if a man died heroically in battle, his descendants received the number of ranks he would have gained. The hierarchy of military merit established by these ranks was intended to be the only measure of honor and distinction in Qin society.”¹²⁸ Gao Min and Yates have argued that the Twenty Orders system was a means to incorporate all members of the

¹²⁵ *Shiji*, 6. 224: “In the fourth year of Shihuang (244 B.C.), the people who donated 1,000 *dan* grain would be rewarded with one order of honorary ranks. 天下疫, 百姓納粟千石, 拜爵一級.” *Shiji*, 6. 224: “In the Eighth year of Shihuang (237 B.C.), soldiers who cut off 100 enemy’s heads would be bestowed with rank; eunuchs who served in the battle would be rewarded with rank. 斬首數百, 皆拜爵, 及宦者皆在戰中, 亦拜爵一級.” *Shiji*, 6. 240: “In the 27th year of Shihuang (220 B.C.), Emperor Shihuang commanded people to build the front hall of Ganquan Palace and construct a road to the capital Xianyang. In the same year, the populace was rewarded with one order of honorary ranks 自極廟道通驪山, 作甘泉前殿. 築甬道. 自鹹陽屬之. 是歲, 賜爵一級. 治馳道.” *Shiji*, 6. 259: “In the 36th year of Shihuang (211 B.C.), Emperor Shihuang searched for the good fortune by divination, the divinatory texts was “*you xi ji* 游徙吉”, which means the movement of population is auspicious. So He rewarded one order of rank to 30,000 households for emigration to Hebei and Yuzhong. 始皇卜之, 卦得游徙吉. 遣河北榆中三萬家, 拜爵一級.”

¹²⁶ The *Shang jun shu* 商君書 (The Book of Lord Shang) was probably compiled sometime between 359 and 338 B.C. It was one of the two principal sources of Legalism (another was the Han Feizi 韓非子), a school of Chinese political thought. These seventeen ranks were *gongshi* 公士, *shangzao* 上造, *zanniao* 簪袅, *bu geng* 不更, *dafu* 大夫, *guan dafu* 官大夫, *gong dafu* 公大夫, *gongcheng* 公乘, *wu dafu* 五大夫, *shuzhang* 庶長, *zuo geng* 左更, *da liangzao* 大良造. For the discussion and translation of the Book of Lord Shang see Duyvendak 1928: 150-155. For the discussion on the Qin honorary ranks awarded for military merits see Kroll 1990: 63-78. The Qin ranking system proposed by Shang Yang consisted of eighteen grades, Gao Min 1998: 28-35. *Shang jun shu*, 19. 114-120.

¹²⁷ Shelach and Pines 2005: 202-230. The state had the exclusive right to determine the individual’s status, with its accompanying sumptuary and legal privileges, see Pines 2012: 106.

¹²⁸ Lewis 2007: 32-33

population into the state, and a strategy to break down the ascribed status system inherited from earlier times. “These grades of rank, which could be awarded for the arrest of fugitives as well as success in battle, were used as a negotiable commodity, being returned to the government in exchange for reduction of punishments or manumission from convict status.”¹²⁹

Other scholars have argued that the founder of the Han Empire retained some of the institutional features of the Qin, but at the same time Liu Bang also restored the system of hereditary entitlement, which had been abandoned in the Qin, by making members of the imperial family kings.¹³⁰ The new system combined the Twenty Orders of the Qin with the meritocratic bureaucracy.¹³¹ A third opinion is that, before the unification, the early Han rulers adopted Chu ranking system. Zhu Shaohou suggested that Liu Bang awarded his followers with Chu ranks, such as the *zhi bo* 執帛 and *zhi gui* 執珪, when defeating Xiang Yu, one of the chief rebels.¹³² Some titles and ranks were still maintained when Emperor Gaozu established the new ranking system.¹³³ Unfortunately, no textual evidence of the Chu ranking system survives in either the contemporary writings or later commentaries. The origin of Han Twenty Orders ranking system is one of difficult questions to answer with certainty.

¹²⁹ Gao Min 1979:71. Yates 1995: 331-365.

¹³⁰ Based on the legal texts discovered from Qin tombs at Yunmeng, Gao Min found some titles such as the *xian dafu* 顯大夫 and the *guan shi dafu* 官士大夫 in Qin manuscripts, but cannot find their counterparts in the twenty honorary ranks described in the *Han shu*, he argues that the Twenty Orders ranking system in Han dynasty were different from that of the Qin. Gao Min 1998: 28-35.

¹³¹ Hardy and Kinney 2005: 69-70.

¹³² Zhu Shaohou 1994: 64-67. Zhu Shaohou 1990. Zhu Shaohou 2008 b: 41-46.

¹³³ Tomonobu 1930. Li Kaiyuan made some tablets which listed the honorary ranks between 209 B.C. to 200 B.C., he claims that the Han leading group adopted the Chu ranks before 200 B.C. Li Kaiyuan 2000: 39.

2.6 Conclusion

Although the origin of the Twenty Orders is still debated, the differences between Han honorary ranks and the Zhou aristocratic ranks are apparent based on the descriptions in both historical records and excavated texts. The honorary ranks are negotiable: they were more like tokens of privilege that were awarded by the authority for various kinds of meritorious service, at the same time they could be both taken away in exchange for reduction of punishment. The bestowal of Han honorary ranks had been a necessary measure to consolidate a newly established regime. In this way, the Han government arrogated to itself the right to manipulate and control all members of the population. Just as Loewe has convincingly argued, social hierarchies in the Han society rested on the needs of government rather than on idealized kin relationships.¹³⁴

The honorary ranks were precisely defined in law, more closely linked to social privilege and material rewards. It is evident that the different honorary ranks entailed different rights and responsibilities: receiving an honorary rank often carried with its material merits, from allocation of land, houses, food, to garments and funeral gifts; the honorary rank also entitled a person to a series of social privileges, such as the reduction of punishment or exemption from state obligations. These specific privileges attached to the honorary ranks differentiated their holders from lower status commoners. The Zhangjiashan legal documents also provide valuable information about the household, if the head of household had an honorary rank, other members of this household could enjoy the same social privileges as the householder. This information is crucially important to understand why identity and honorary rank were emphasized in the documents found in Han tombs.

¹³⁴ Loewe 2012: 1-30.

Chapter 3 Archaeological Evidence of Large-scale Tombs

Power, Prestige and the High Ranking Families

3.1 Introduction

This chapter examines the burial pattern of large-scale wooden chamber tombs, focusing on the rank of marquis, the highest grade in the Twenty Orders. The burial analysis shows that variations in tomb sizes, structures and burial assemblages, indicate that there were no standard rules governing the construction of large-scale tombs. There was shared practice in the use of distinctive burial assemblages in the large-scale tombs: a luxury dining set for communal feasting; a ceremonial musical set for ceremonial banquets or offerings; and full-size chariot and horse assemblages, signifying political standing or military power, sometime accompanied by different sorts of weapons. These material signifiers were often used by high elites to negotiate status and power within the community, yet interestingly there is little information provided by literary sources to reveal their importance in marking social distinction. The case study associated with the rank of marquis shows competitive display amongst high ranking families. At the Mawangdui cemetery, different kinds of tomb arrangements suggest that several aspects of status such as age, wealth, occupation and political power are represented at the rank of marquis.

3.2 Identifying the Deceased

Epigraphic evidence, including seals and clay impressions of seals found in

tombs, have provided important clues to the rank and identity of the deceased. One large burial, contained two official seals, indicating that the owner of tomb 2 of Mawangdui was the Marquis Dai.¹ Nine private seals were found in eight other tombs, of two females and of five males.² At least six of these large tombs contained clay impressions of seals.³ In the Han dynasty, seals were often used to ensure postal security of official correspondence and archival material.⁴ Prior to some forms of proto-paper, which may have been in use before A.D.105, wooden or bamboo strips remained the primary medium for writing. Correspondence on bamboo strips or wooden tablets would have been folded and tied with strings, and then placed between two boards used as an envelope. The upper board, called “*jian* 檢”, had a small square mould or seal case with narrow openings at the sides. Both boards were tightly bound together with strings. Wet clay was pressed into the mould onto the strings.⁵

Most Han nobles, including kings, marquises, and princesses were listed in eight tables in the *Shiji* or the *Han shu*, as well as the appointment and abolishment.⁶ The kings and marquises built tombs within their own territories. The locations of some kingdoms and marquisates are mentioned in the Treatise on Geography 地理志 of the

¹ Mawangdui 1973.

² Nine private seals were found in six large wooden chamber tombs at Doubishan M1, Mawangdui M1, Huxishan M1, Yaoziling M1, Fangwanggang M1, Beishantou M1, and two seals in two medium-size tombs Fenghuangshan M1168 and Fenghuangshan M10, for the details see the summary of archaeological evidence of I.02, II.02, II.04-05, II.09-10 and III. 01, III.05 in Appendix 3-1.

³ For the details on the clay impressions of the dependent officials' seals see the summary of archaeological evidence of tombs I.02, I.06, II.01, 03, II.07-08 in Appendix3-1.

⁴ In Han times, seals were also used to identify the sender of a letter and the one who was responsible for closing it; another function was to legitimize the content of mail. Giele 2005: 353-387.

⁵ An earlier study on clay impressions of Han seals is the “Fengni kaolue 封泥考略” by the Qing dynasty antiquarians, Wu Shifen 吳式芬 (1796-1856) and Chen Jieqi 陳介祺 (1813-1884). It included 849 examples dated from the Warring States period to the Han. Wu and Chen 1904. Modern scholars such as Chen Zhi and Sun Weizu also give a full discussion, Chen Zhi 1988: 343-354. Sun Weizu 1994. Sun Weizu 1991: 184-213. For recent discoveries of Han dynasty clay impressions see Liu Hong 1992: 1-8.

⁶ For discussion on kings and marquises see section 2.2.2 in chapter 2.

Han shu.⁷ It is possible to identify the status of the tomb owner primarily by pedigree recorded in the tables. For instance, a jade seal inscribed with “Wu Yang 吳陽”, the name of the deceased, was found in the inner coffin of Huxishan tomb 1 at Yuanling, Hunan. According the table of *Gao hui gaohou wen gongchen biao* of the *Han shu*, we know that Wu Yang was appointed as the first Marquis of Yuanling 沅陵 in 187 B.C. and died in 162 B.C.⁸ This tomb was located in the kingdom of Yuanling, and built as a multiple-chambered wooden structure measuring 27 square meters. This large burial yielded 1,500 burial objects, including valuable jades, and luxury lacquer dining vessels bearing the inscription “yuan 沅”.⁹ Both the extravagant burial and epigraphic evidence demonstrate that the owner of Huxishan tomb 1 was Wu Yang, the Marquis of Yuanling.

Appendix 3-2: Table 3-01 shows twenty burials containing the following items of identity: four large tombs I.02, II.01-02, II. 04 revealed epigraphic materials, such as seals and inscribed objects which displayed the name and rank of the deceased.¹⁰ The owners of three large tombs, II.01, II.04 and II.07, were three marquises recorded in the *Han shu* and the *Shiji*.¹¹ Seven medium-size tombs included wooden tablets carrying the name and rank of the dead.¹²

⁷ For the changes in the territories of marquisates and kingdoms see Zhou Zhenghe 1987: 119-127.

⁸ *Han shu*, 16. 621. “The *Qing* Marquis of Yuanling ,Wu Yang was entitled as a marquis [to reward] the achievement of his father, the king of Changsha. He was appointed on the day *bingsheng* in the seventh month, and died in the twenty fifth year. 沅陵頃侯吳陽，以父長沙王功侯。七月丙申封，二十五年薨。”

⁹ Yuanling 2003.

¹⁰ For the details of inscriptions associated with the ownership see the summary of archaeological evidence of tombs I.04-06, II. 01, 03-04 and II. 07-08 in Appendix 3-1.

¹¹ For the appointment and death of the Marquis Dai, see *Han shu*, 16.618. *Shiji*, 19.978. For the Marquis of Yuanling see *Han shu*, 16. 621.

¹² The details of medium-size tombs see Appendix 3-1.

3.3 Ranking the Tombs

When defining tomb ranks without identity indicators, a major question arises as to which physical features are decisive. For example, what is the relative importance of the sizes of outer chambers, tomb structures, and the numbers of coffins and the wealth of burial objects. The size of the outer chamber is normally considered to be a universal criterion for the classification of tombs. The Han wooden chamber tombs have been traditionally classified into large, medium and small, that is, three scales in terms of the size of vertical pit or outer chamber.¹³ But we find a wide range of variety in tomb structures and grave goods in each category, and there are considerable inconsistencies between burial form and content. For instance, a smaller tomb, but richly furnished, does not indicate inferior status. It might be oversimplified to draw precise distinctions only based upon tomb sizes.

Tomb structure is another way used by archaeologists to infer social distinctions. Based on different timber structures, Huang Xiaofen has categorized Han dynasty wooden chamber tombs into three sub-types: casket, multi-chamber, and *ticou*. She described the first type as a simple outer chamber, the same shape as the casket. Such a structure was used in catacomb graves; the second comprises large-scale shaft graves with a timber structure and multiple chambers.¹⁴ However, Huang's typological classification was intended to demonstrate a lineal evolution of these burial types; it had little relevance to social differentiation. Another problem is that scholars working on classification derived from tomb structures have clearly overlooked the functions of various artifacts, in particular their roles in creating and

¹³ Wang Zhongshu 1984: 85-97. Zhao and Gao 2002. Chen Zhenyu 2003: 246-257.

¹⁴ Huang Xiaofen 1996: 49-69.

negotiating status and identities.¹⁵

The energy expenditure argument by Joseph Tainter, which presumes a correlation between differences in energy invested in the tombs and status distinction, may provide an alternative solution to Huang Xiaofen's typological classification.¹⁶ Following Tainter's observations, status distinction can be marked by different expenditures of effort and labor invested in tomb construction, grave goods and funeral arrangement. For instance, the higher social status of the deceased individual may correspond to a greater amount of labor expended in digging the vertical pit, constructing the timber structure, erecting the earthen mound, as well as the numbers and types of burial assemblages. In this thesis, the classification of burial evidence is not based on one data class, but on several archaeological material sets: the size of the outer chamber, the different timber structures and the numbers of compartments are important factors, as well as the quantity and quality of burials objects.

Based on the above physical features measured by recognizable differences in material wealth and expenditure of efforts, the wooden chamber tombs can be classified into three groups:

Group I is made up of nine large-scale *ticou* tombs, each with a massive wooden barricade.¹⁷ In addition to one burial at Shuangdun 雙墩 (Lu'an city, Anhui), five other *ticou* tombs are distributed along the Xianjia Lake near Changsha in Hunan. Although most of these burials were heavily robbed, they have yielded rich artifacts. Judging by the seals and inscriptions on the artifacts, the excavators argue that the

¹⁵ From the view of material culture studies, artifacts are not only used as rank and status indicators, but are actively manipulated in the negotiation of identities based on age, gender, socioeconomics, status, culture and ethnicity. Meskell 2005: 81. According to Hodder, material culture and society mutually constitute each other within historically and culturally specific sets of ideas, beliefs and meanings. Hodder and Hutson 2003: 3.

¹⁶ Tainter 1978: 105-141.

¹⁷ *Han shu*, 68.2948. For the definition of *ticou* see section 1.2 of chapter 1.

tomb occupants of I.01-05 were kings and their consorts of the Changsha kingdom (Appendix 3-2: Table 3-02 a).¹⁸ Three *ticou* tombs in the north and eastern areas are chosen for comparison. The tomb owner of I.07 was identified as Liu Qing 劉慶, King of Lu'an 六安 (d. 85 B.C.),¹⁹ and I.09 as Liu Fei 劉非, King of Jiangdu (d.127 B.C.).²⁰

Group II includes 12 large-scale tombs, each with an outer chamber of above 13 square meters and two catacomb burials in Xuzhou, Jiangsu for comparison. The wooden chamber tombs were widely distributed at Changsha, Yuanling and Yongzhou in Hunan, and Chaohu, Fuyang in Anhui, and Mianyang in Sichuan. These tombs contained elaborate timber structures with multi-layered coffins. Some were furnished with long passageways. A chief difference between groups I and II is that, only in group I was the massive wooden barricade used. The second group spans a period from the first century B.C. to the first century A.D. Apart from two graves at Mawangdui cemetery at Changsha, which were intact, half of them were reasonably well preserved. The tomb occupants of eight large graves (II.01-08) have been identified as marquis rank holders and their families (Appendix 3-2: Table 3-02 b).

Group III includes six large-size tombs and 19 medium-size burials, many of which comprise one inner coffin and one outer chamber, the area of which does not exceed 10 square meters (Appendix 3-2: Table 3-02 c). The burial analysis focuses on

¹⁸ *Han shu*, 14. 413: “[Liu] Fa, King Ding of Changsha [kingdom], who was the son of Emperor Jing. He was appointed in the third month, the day of Jiayin and died in the twenty eighth year. In the second year of Yuanshuo, the king of Dai [Liu] Yong succeed the title and died in the twenty seventh year. In the first year of Tianhan, King of Qing [Liu] Fuqu succeed the title and died in the seventeenth year. 長沙定王發，景帝子。三月甲寅立，二十八年薨。元朔二年，戴王庸嗣，二十七年薨。天漢元年，頃王附胸嗣，十七年薨。”

¹⁹ Shuangdun 2010: 107-123.

²⁰ Xuyi 2012: 53-66. *Han shu*, 14. 411: “The Jiangdu King [Liu] Fei...died in the twenty eighth year 江都易王非...二十八年薨。”

two cemeteries in the Hubei region: the Fenghuangshan cemetery is located in the old Chu city of Jinan, present-day Jingzhou, where more than 20 medium-sized burials have been excavated since 1973 (Map 2). Five tombs (III.01-05) remain intact. The inscribed tablets stated that the occupants of tomb 10 (dated to 153 B.C.) and tomb 168 (dated to 167 B.C.) held the rank of *wu dafu*. The Gaotai site lies towards the southeastern corner of the Jinan city, and comprises a total of 43 graves, including one large-scale burial and 24 medium-size tombs discovered from 1991 to 1992.

The purpose of examining the archaeological evidence is to see whether the hierarchical order and written regulations are manifested in Han tombs; is any pattern to be seen in the burials? The reason for the classification of tombs is to isolate a cluster of individual burials for such analysis. The higher effort expenditure category includes group I and group II. In order to interpret patterns of status, gender, age and social identity in the large-scale wooden chamber tombs within a wider, regional framework, I will refer to the burial evidence in other areas and of earlier periods. Quantitative methods have not been applied to the mortuary analysis due to the limited data of published materials. Instead, I shall use concrete examples to see how status and identities were expressed in Han burials. The burial analysis of high ranking burials in this chapter is centered on the large wooden chamber tombs of group II, associated with the rank of marquis. The interplay between local custom, conceptual ideas on death and the status of the dead will be considered case by case. My discussion will focus on three major categories: tomb structure, burial assemblages and tomb documents.

In the following analysis, I use different tables to present burial evidence of groups I, II and III. The full information of every individual tomb is included in

Appendix 3-1: *Summary of the archaeological record*. Each burial is provided with a tomb number, for instance, “I.01” refers to *ticou* tomb of Wangchengpo in group I. The data set of tomb structures and burial assemblages are covered in three tables of Appendix 3-2: Table 3-02 a: *Burial assemblages from large-scale Han tombs (group I)*; Table 3-02 b: *Burial assemblages from large-scale Han tombs (group II)*; and Table 3-02c: *Burial assemblages from medium-size Han tombs (group III)* in Appendix 3-2. Table 3-03 *Excavated Manuscripts from selected Han tombs in the mid-Yangzi region* provides key information concerning types and contents of tomb documents in selected tombs. The tomb number of each burial in these different tables is consistent with each other, I often use the tomb number when making a comparison.

3.4 General Observations

3.4.1 Tomb structures

There are no uniform tomb constructions in group I. Structural variations are apparent in two *ticou* burials, which were constructed in the same region and at approximately the same date. In the *ticou* tomb at Doubishan (dated from 201 B.C. to 157 B.C.), a timber cypress *ticou* wall surrounded a two-layer outer coffin. The tomb comprised a front chamber and an inverted U-shaped space, further divided into four compartments to accommodate burial goods (Fig.1-08 b).²¹ In addition to the defensive wall, the tomb plan shows little divergence from traditional large-scale wooden chamber tombs: no door was constructed to connect the inner chambers with the passageway. Another *ticou* tomb in Xiangbizui, Changsha, constructed around the

²¹ Doubishan 1979: 1-16.

same date, was equipped with two layered wooden walkways or corridors lined with planks that surround the nested coffins (Fig.1-08 a). The outer corridor is divided into 12 small compartments, while the inner one comprises seven rooms.²² As Huang Xiaofen has pointed out, there were several innovations in the structural designs of Xiangbizui burial: a flat wooden roof covers the ramp, distinguishing it as the “*xiandao* 羨道”, a covered passageway leading to the wooden chamber; also, a pair of doors in the *ticou* wall opens at the entrance; these changes indicate a connection between the subterranean palace and the world beyond.²³

Two recently excavated *ticou* burials at Changsha, Hunan, demonstrate a link between tomb construction and domestic dwellings. A tomb at Wangchengpo (dated from 179-157 B.C.) comprises a ramp (21.02 meters in length) and wooden chamber (42.18 square meters), divided into five small compartments (Fig.3-01 a-c). Three pairs of doors were installed in the front chamber. The doors leading to the northern and southern compartments were inscribed with “*Bei hu* 北戶 (the northern door) and “*Nan hu* 南戶 (the southern door)”.²⁴ Two wooden sculptures were placed in the corridor outside of the outer chamber (Fig.3-01 d). The tomb occupant has been identified as a queen of the Changsha kingdom.²⁵ Notably, the first timber in the northern wall of the wooden barricade was inscribed with the text “*Yuyang ticou*

²² Xiangbizui 1981: 111-130.

²³ I agree with Huang that the opening of the wooden chamber and the installment of door panels are part of a trend towards imitating aboveground building, but there is no archaeological evidence to indicate that the roofed ramp of Xiangbizui tomb was the textually based “*xiandao*”. Huang Xiaofen 2003: 75-78.

²⁴ The character “*hu* 戶” here refers to the door, as it was often inscribed on the miniature wooden door panels in the tomb. Three other small compartments of the front chamber were also connected by doors, two were inscribed with “*hu yi* 戶一 (the door no.1)” and “*hu er* 戶二 (the door no.2)”. Yuyang 2010: 4-38.

²⁵ In the Yuyang tomb (dated from 179 to 157 B.C.), the clay impression of a seal was inscribed with the characters of “*Changsha Hou fu* 長沙後府 the house of Changsha queen”, and some wooden tablets inscribed with the texts of “*Bixia* 陛下 your majesty” indicate that the tomb occupant was a queen of the Changsha kingdom (202B.C.-157B.C.). Yuyang 2010: 4-38.

guang yi chi 漁陽題湊廣一尺 (*Yuyang ticou* with a width of one foot)"(Fig.3-01 e).

This new evidence indicates that a tomb with such a wooden barricade is self identified as a *ticou* burial. Before this discovery, *ticou* was only one of several conceptual terms known from historical texts.²⁶ The three walls of the Yuyang wooden barricade were stacked with eight layers of timbers, and the rest with seven layers of timbers.

Another *ticou* tomb of Fengpengling in Changsha was built in a vertical rock pit (Fig.3-02 a, b), occupying 280 square meters.²⁷ The wooden barricade, consisting of 111 timbers, was placed between the earthen pit and the outer chamber. Unlike the Yuyang tomb, the defensive wall of *ticou* was not built in the same way; for instance, the northern wall used 12 timbers, 11 of which faced towards the north and one faced towards the west; the southern wall was stacked with eight timbers, seven faced towards the north, and one faced towards the west.²⁸ The outer chamber was separated into three parts, and each part was divided into three rooms, connected with miniature doors. Some timbers were inscribed with numbers and locations, such as “no.11 of the east 東十一”.²⁹ The inscribed numbers and positions on wooden planks indicate sophisticated skills in assembling timber structures.

²⁶ *Han shu*, 68. 2948. “After [Huo] Guang died, [The Emperor] bestowed gold and cash, a hundred sets of fine silks and coarse cotton, embroidered blankets, fifty cases of clothes, jade discs, pearls and precious stones, and jade suits.[Huo Guang] was also provided with an assemblage of coffins of catalpa, an inner compartment of *bian* wood, a protective wall of the yellow cores of cypress, with fifteen sets of containers for storage in the outer chamber, of pine. 光薨...賜金錢、繒絮、繡被百領，衣五十篋，璧珠璣玉衣；梓宮、便房、黃腸題湊各一具，椁木外臧槨十五具。” My translation is based on the texts of Aurelia Campbell with modification. Campbell 2010: 240.

²⁷ In the brief report, this tomb was dated to 118 B.C. according to the numismatic evidence such as the *wuzhu* coins (issued in 118 B.C.). A recent study by Li Shisheng, suggests that the inscriptions of “*Changsha yuannian* 長沙元年 the first year of Changsha” on the bronzes vessels are referred to 49 B.C. or 48 B.C. , accordingly, the date of Fengpengling Han tomb is no earlier than 48 B.C, see Li Shisheng 2009: 150-159. The brief report see Fengpengling 2007.

²⁸ Fengpengling 2007.

²⁹ Fengpengling 2007: 21-43.

The diversity of burial sizes and structures can be also seen from group II tombs. Mianyang tomb 1 had the largest outer chamber (162 square meters) while Beishantou tomb 1 at Chaohu had the smallest one (13.5 square meters). Some large Han wooden chamber graves borrowed architectural elements from Chu burials.³⁰ Two large early Han graves at the Mawangdui cemetery were both constructed as a rectangular casket at the base of the shaft. The wooden structure of both tomb 1 and tomb 3 consisted of five compartments: a central coffin chamber containing a nested coffin, with the head compartment in the north, two side compartments and a further one in the south (Fig.1-02 d, e). Such designs show little differences from the Warring States Chu tombs, such as Tianxingguan tomb 1 (dated to 340 B.C.) at Jiangling (Fig.3-03 a, b).³¹ The Han wooden chamber tombs seemed to have been more carefully constructed. The wooden parts in Mawangdui tomb 1 and tomb 3 were fitted and joined with great precision, bearing inscriptions of their locations in the timber construction, as they were to be assembled at the burial site.³² Another example is Beishantou tomb 1 at the Chaohu site (approximate date of 202-156 B.C.), comprising four compartments in a clockwise concentric pattern (Fig.3-04 a), showing a similar interior design with a fourth century B.C. Chu burial (Fig.3-04 b) at Jingmen in Hubei.³³

³⁰ A typical large-scale Chu period wooden chamber burial, such as Baoshan tomb 2 or Tianxingguan tomb 1 at Jiangling, Hubei, is characterized by immense stairs on the four sides of the vertical pit, a large wooden chamber and multiple nested caskets. Baoshan 1991. Tianxiangguan 1982: 71-115.

³¹ Tianxingguan 1982: 71-137.

³² The wood planks of outer chamber in Mawangdui tomb 3 were inscribed with “西 west,” “上二 the second upper,” “北首 the first of North”, Mawangdui 2004: 32-33.

³³ The Baoshan tomb 2 was excavated in 1986, 16 kilometers north of Jinan metropolis of the Chu state and was dated to 316 B.C. From the excavated manuscripts, the tomb occupant was identified as Shao Tuo, Zuoyin 左尹 a Minister on the Left. His tomb has a two layered outer chamber and three layered inner coffin. The outermost chamber is sized 32.8 square meters, partitioned into five parts: the central chamber contained a double coffin, and four side compartments were arranged in anti-clockwise order. Each of the four compartments served a different purpose, as indicated by its furnishings and excavated bamboo strips: the eastern compartment was called “*shishi* 食室 (dining room)” in the funerary inventory texts, intended for a “*tiao* 祧 (feasting ceremony)” associated with greeting ancestral spirits; the southern and western compartments held preparations for the journey--to

Strikingly, other large graves showed new designs in mortuary architectures. In Fangwanggang tomb 1, the structure of the outer chamber was nothing new, but the interior design was innovative. The front chamber is separated by a wall with two standing pillars and wooden planks, as well as two small shelves, displaying dining vessels and wooden figurines, standing on each side. The coffin chamber was installed behind the back chamber, creating a U-shape open space (Fig.3-05 a). At the front of the coffin chamber was a wooden screen. In the eastern corner of the back chamber, a small separate room was made to hold some cooking vessels (Fig.3-05 b, c).³⁴

Some large wooden chamber tombs seemed to adopt binary spatial division resembling the layout of Han palaces.³⁵ Tomb 1 of Yuanling (II.04, dated to 162 B.C.) comprises two separate outer chambers, connected with doors on a central axis, resembling a house (Fig. 3-06 a, b).³⁶ This grave has the longest passageway (37 meters) of group II. It was furnished with two small rooms on a horizontal axis (Fig.3-06 c). Its front chamber and back chamber are connected with two doors inscribed with “*Nan shan* 南扇 (southern door)” and “*Bei shan* 北扇 (northern door)” respectively. These inscriptions verify a link between the wooden chamber tombs and

send off the spirit of the deceased; the contents from the northern compartment included items that the bamboo strips recorded the deceased's public service as a Chu official. This tomb yielded 27 bamboo strips, they list ritual vessels, chariots, prepared food and other funerary objects. These strips were buried with corresponding artifacts in the four compartments surrounding the central chamber. For archaeological report see Baoshan 1991. For discussions on meaningful uses of the artifacts in different compartments, see Chen Wei 1994: 324-332 and Cook 2006.

³⁴ Chaohu Han tomb museum has been built on the original archaeological site. I noticed two discrepancies between the reconstructed tomb structure and the descriptions in the full archaeological report: (1) two side compartments described in the report are lacking in the reconstructed back chamber; (2) the coffin chamber was furnished with two doors in the reconstruction. Mr. Wu Weihong, who is the administrator of Anhui Archaeology Institute, told me that Fangwanggang tomb 1, as shown in the museum was reconstructed according to its original condition when it was unearthed, but I doubt the reliability of this reconstruction, as the presence of doors in the actual burial is confusing: there is no need to place two heavy doors behind a screen in the coffin chamber.

³⁵ The binary spatial division means that the halls are situated at the front of the central axis, while the halls axially aligned behind these were private sleeping quarters. Loewe 1992: 319.

³⁶ Yuanling 2003: 36-55.

aboveground architecture.

The tomb 2 at Mianyang (II.11, dated to 69 B.C.), also had a similar form, but its front chamber was more spacious. The size of the front chamber was 120 square meters, almost triple that of the back chamber, divided into three small compartments along the passageway. These two joined outer chambers, with different sizes, formed a T-shape structure, differing from the traditional rectangular casket.³⁷ There were miniature doors connecting the central chamber with the front chamber, as well as with the small compartments, but no front doors access to the entrance of the wooden chamber (Fig.3-07 a-d).

3.4.2 Burial assemblages

In higher ranking wooden chamber tombs, differences in burial assemblages are obvious and show distinctive categorization. On the grounds of different functional use, burial assemblages can be divided into six categories:

a. Personal adornment

The objects considered within this category are all items of personal adornment or use, including textiles, clothing or jade suits for body covering, as well as ornaments, such as jade pendants, discs, rings, crystal beads, bone hairpins and bronze mirrors. Such artifacts are normally found near the body, providing valuable information about personal identity. Personal adornment provides information associated with the deceased. For instance, precious ornaments such as jade pendants, elaborate earrings and necklaces displayed the wealth and status of their owners; silver or bronze seals, some carrying the names and titles of the tomb occupants, were found in the inner coffins; a stationary set was associated with official occupations

³⁷ Mianyang 2006.

and usually included writing brushes, ink stones and knives. These items have provided clues as to the identities of their owners.

It seems that elaborate silks and embroideries were used as material symbols of wealth and status in the Western Han wooden chamber tombs. The principal archaeological sites yielding finds of the Warring States and Han period textiles are concentrated in the mid-Yangzi region and the North West area.³⁸ During the Han period, large quantities of silk were produced for domestic consumption, trade and diplomatic gifts, but their owners were limited to the privileged and wealthy people. Fine silk was always a highly valued luxury in early China; the highest grade of brocades was sold at 20,000 Chinese copper coins per roll.³⁹

The personal paraphernalia in groups I and II were more numerous and of higher quality than those of group III. Fragments of jade suits were found in four *ticou* tombs (I.04, 07-09) and one large grave of II.11 (Fig. 3-08 a, b). Four of them have been identified as tombs belonging to imperial family members (Appendix 3-2: Table 3-02 a, b). A set of jade masks was unearthed from II.05. Textiles are perishable and rarely survive, yet two large tombs (II.01 and II.03) included astonishingly well-preserved shrouds or wrappings (Fig.3-09 a-c) made from fine textiles and embroideries for body covering, signifying privileged status or wealth.

b. Various vessel sets used for daily life and rituals

A “vessel set” indicates a regularly occurring group of different vessel types for specific functional use. In her investigation of Shang and Zhou bronze ritual vessels,

³⁸ The majority of textiles of Chinese origin were found from Xiongnu noble’s tombs (dated to the late Western Han) at the Noin-ula area of Mongolia, including monochrome and polychrome textiles and embroideries. According to Nunome Junro, most of the Noin-ula textiles are of southern origin. The embroidery with the motif of a bird saddling the wind from the Noin-ula site was similar as the Mawangdui find at Changsha, Hunan province. Lubo-Lesnichenko 1995: 62-69.

³⁹ A roll in the Han dynasty measures 40 Han-feet (9.24 m) by 2.2 feet (0.5m.), one Han-foot is 23.1 centimeters. Huang Nengfu 1990: 9.

Jessica Rawson suggests that social differentiation may be marked by variation between vessel sets at any one period: if we consider vessel sets, then we are “not merely focused on a single individual object, but its place in a sequence with other vessels and a range of movements with which it was carried in specific ritual acts.”⁴⁰ In large-scale Han wooden chamber tombs, various vessels made of different media, such as bronze, silver, lacquer and pottery, account for 73.5% of grave goods. For different functions, they can be classified into three sets: dining, cooking and washing:

Dining set: a set of food wares usually contained trays, *lian*-circular boxes 奩 (Fig.3-10 a), oval boxes, *yu*-vessels 盂, plates, dishes and spoons. The drinking vessels include flasks, *zun*-containers 樽, ladles, *zhi*-cups 卮 (Fig.3-10 b) and ear-cups. In some cases, the food and wine vessels also include some traditional bronze shapes such as *ding*-tripods 鼎, *hu*-flasks 壺, *fang*-square flasks 斝, round boxes and ladles, but were only wooden and pottery replicas, the graded bronze tripods dedicated to ancestral offerings lost their popularity in the Western Han tombs.

The various vessel types in tomb 1 and tomb 2 at Mawangdui were to meet different needs: a medium-size tray with a length ranging from 55 to 70 cm. was to hold and display food stuffs and serving vessels (Fig.3-10 c, d); flasks in spherical or square shapes were used to contain alcoholic drinks and other beverages (Fig.3-10 e, f); a large flat platter with a diameter of 72.5 cm. may have been used to display or distribute the food (Fig.3-10 g, h), and small dishes were for serving food (Fig.3-10 i); the *yu*-vessel (Fig.3-10 j), round boxes (Fig.10 k) and *lian*-circular boxes (Fig.3-10 l)

⁴⁰ Rawson 1986: 228.

were food containers; the ear-cups of various sizes had multiple functions: larger ear-cups often served as food containers, and the smallest ones were for drinking and eating (Fig.3-10 m, n). The wine-cup container was a clever design that outwardly seems to be a group of ear-cups, but it could serve as food package (Fig.10 o). In eight large graves (I.01, I.02, I.04, II.02-04, II.09, II.11), plates and ear-cups for serving seem to predominate amongst dining vessels.

Cooking vessels, such as *zeng* 甗 (steamer), *yan* 甗, *fu* 釜 (cauldron) and a miniature pottery stove were unearthed from ten tombs of groups I, II and from 22 burials of group III, including males and females (Appendix 3-2: Table 3-02 a, b). Their popularity may suggest that food preparation was essential to everyday life or the next world.

A *washing set*, including *yi*-pouurer 匜 (Fig. 3-11 a) and *xi*-basin 洗 (Fig.3-11 b), *pen*-basin 盆 or *xuan*-basin 鍤, was related to elite leisure life. Such sets were unearthed from five large graves of I.01, I.09 and II.04, II.09, II.10. A *yi*-pouurer was often found along with dining vessels, used for washing hands. The absence of a washing set in lower ranking tombs indicates that the washing and bathing set were an integral part in the life of Han elites.

c. Musical instruments

The musical set comprises *bian zhong*-bells 編鐘 (Fig. 3-12 a) and *qing*-chime stones 磬 (Fig.3-12 b, c) for ceremonies. These were found in the seven large graves of I.02-03, II.03-04, II.11, II.12 and II.14, while individual musical instruments such as the zither, were also found in four lower ranking burials, namely III.01, III.06-07,

III.09.⁴¹ These musical sets were often combined with dining sets and constituted a communal banqueting group. For instance, two entire sets of miniature *bian zhong* and *qing* chimes were found along with human figurines of dancers and singers in the northern compartment of tomb 3 at Mawangdui (Fig.3-12 d, e). The presence of ceremonial musical sets in large-scale graves may indicate that musical performance was essential to legitimate and reinforce the high rank of the deceased through ritual offerings.⁴²

d. Chariot and horse assemblages

Visual differences within the same type of burial assemblage probably marked social distinction. For instance, full-size chariot and horse assemblages were only excavated from three large-scale tombs, I.06 and I.08 (Appendix 3-2: Table 3-02 a). Their absence in tombs of groups II and III indicate they were related to high rank and claims of power, while miniature carriage and horses models were found in six large tombs of I.04, I.09, II.09, II.10-12, and 14 lower ranking tombs, including III.01-04, III.09-11, III.17-19, III.21, III.23-25 (Appendix 3-2: Table 3-02c).

The differences in chariot and horse assemblages between groups II and III may also indicate that wooden and lacquer replicas played different roles in defining elite

⁴¹ Susan Erickson also pointed out that the presence of musical instruments indicated high status. She suggested that the ceramic replicas were used as *mingqi*. However, as Rawson argued, the concept of *mingqi* itself is problematic. Such definitions do not help us to understand their functions and meanings in burial contexts. Erickson 2010: 64-65. Jessica Rawson has contributed complete discussions about the disparity between the concept of *mingqi* described in the surviving texts and material remains, see Rawson 2002 b: 123-154.

⁴² Sets of bells and chime stones had been part of the standard ritual paraphernalia for high ranking aristocrats as early as the Late Shang period. They became important during the Zhou dynasty as integral to ritual communication with the ancestors. Falkenhausen 1991: 95. Pottery or wooden replicas of functional musical instruments were very popular in high ranking Chu tombs. For instance, tomb 2 of Changtaiguan included a wooden musical set comprising 13 bells and 18 chime-stones. These musical set was symbolically used to fulfill the needs of the extravagant court life, as well as the new kinds of rituals that prevailed during the Eastern Zhou period. For the report of Changtaiguan tomb 2 see Xinyang 1986. For the texts-based study on the new kinds of rituals such as *xiang* 饗 (a ceremonial feast normally accompanied with music) in the Eastern Zhou period, see Yang Kuan 1965: 281-304.

status. For instance, in Shuangbaoshan tomb 2, mounted cavalry comprised 18 lacquer chariots, 96 horses and 82 human figurines (Fig.3-13 a-g) signifying the deceased's prestigious position and military power, while in a lower ranking tomb at Fenghuangshan, a tableau comprising two carriages driven by six horses, two riding figurines and some standing figures (Fig.3-14 a-e) was displayed in the front chamber.⁴³ The different functions and meanings of chariot horse assemblages in burials probably exhibited distinct social claims. This point will be elaborated in the following chapter on burial analysis of lower ranking burials.

e. *Weapons*

Weapons can be divided into two categories: the first comprises weaponry for practical use, such as bronze spears, swords, arrows, daggers and iron armor. The second category includes horn and wooden replicas to symbolize the power to command. Real weapons were found in nine large graves, including female graves I.02, I.04, II.08 and II.11 (Appendix 3-2: Table 3-02 a, b). Fewer weapons were found in group III; only two male tombs (III. 20, III.23) contained a bronze crossbow and a bronze sword. The second category was found in II.03 and two lower ranking tombs (III. 19, III 25); three swords and two spears were made of horn or wood. Clearly such weapons were not used for fighting. They were linked to a form of social representation associating power with protection or military roles.

f. *Human figurines*

A tomb figure is, by definition a funerary object designed to be buried with the dead. In large-scale Han period burials, human figurines with different costumes and poses suggest that they had different roles as attendants, servants, guards and

⁴³ Fenghuangshan 1993: 455-514.

performers. They were supposed to serve the deceased master in the underworld.⁴⁴ Human figurines were found in 13 large burials (I.01, I.06-07, II.01, II.03-04, II.07, II.09-11, II.12, III.01, III.06) and 18 medium-size graves (III.01-07, III.09-11, III.14-15, III.19-21, III. 23-25).

The quantity, quality and forms of human figurines vary case by case. In total, 268 wooden figurines were unearthed at the Mawangdui site. They were placed in different compartments. In the northern chamber of tomb 1, 26 figurines included five painted figurines of musicians (Fig.3-15 a), eight dancers and singers and 10 female servants (Fig.3-15 b). In the eastern chamber, there were 59 finely painted standing figurines (Fig.3-15 c) and one large-size male figurine with a headdress (Fig.3-15 d), along with many lacquer objects, earthenware and bamboo caskets. In the south chamber, 39 standing figurines and another large-size male figurine were found along with dining vessels. The figurines of the two standing males and ten female servants (Fig.3-15 e) were of large size (79 cm.) than others (42-51 cm.), and they all wore textile costumes with intricate designs. Such differences suggest that these well-dressed figurines may have had higher status than the painted ones. Tomb 3 had fewer figurines than tomb 1, and most of them were mainly found in the northern compartment.⁴⁵

In two large graves in Mianyang, Sichuan and Xin'an, Shaanxi, lacquer or terracotta soldiers predominate amongst human figurines, differing from those related to everyday life at Mawangdui. The variety of materials may be related to different craftsmanship traditions or local customs. The selection of these particular roles also

⁴⁴ Wu Hung 2005: 13-47. Some human figurines buried in the Chu and Western Han period tombs were thought to be related to purity and propriety rituals. Berger 1998: 46-53.

⁴⁵ The northern compartment is regarded as the "Front hall", see Mawangdui 2004.

reveals a specific construction of the afterlife for the tomb occupant, as “the afterlife was imagined differently in various regions and by people of different gender, occupation, and social class, tomb figurines representing different roles were created to constitute different images of the afterlife.”⁴⁶

3.4.3 Tomb documents

Tomb documents were found in nine large tombs (I.01, II.01, II.03-04, II.07-08, III.01, III.06, III.16), and in at least 12 medium-size burials of group III. Only one *ticou* tomb at Changsha yielded several wooden tablets inscribed with the list of textile clothing.⁴⁷ Despite the immense variety of the excavated texts, their content can be classified into four broad categories. The most frequent type found in 21 tombs was that of inventories listing burial objects and funeral gifts.

The quantity and contents of manuscripts varied in groups I and II. The rich finds were from Yuanling tomb 1 and the Mawangdui site. 1,336 bamboo strips were unearthed from the tomb of 吳陽 Wu Yang, the Marquis of Yuanling (187-162 B.C.), buried at Huxishan, Hunan. These mainly comprised administrative registers and recipes, entitled as “*Mei shi fang* 美食方 (recipe)”.⁴⁸ Tomb 1 of Lady Dai at Mawangdui held a funerary inventory on 312 bamboo strips while tomb 3 contained 50 kinds of manuscripts with diverse content: versions of the *Zhouyi* 周易, *Laozi* 老子, military and topographical maps, *Chunqiu Shiyu* 春秋事語, *Zhanguo Zongheng* 戰國縱橫家書, several kinds of astronomic texts and charts, medical,

⁴⁶ Wu Hung 2005: 20.

⁴⁷ The brief report of Yuyang Han tomb provided no information about the quantity of these wooden tablets. Only eight of them were reported; they were all funerary inventories. One was inscribed with “gifts from His Majesty including three green jade discs, eleven red thick textiles and nine dark color textiles 陛下所以贈物，青璧三、紺繒十一匹，薰繒九匹”，see Yuyang 2010.

⁴⁸ Yuanling 2003.

sexological and apotropaic prescriptions, funerary charts and paintings.⁴⁹ The tombs of the Marquis of Ruyin (d. 164 B.C.) and his wife, at Shuanggudui, Fuyang, yielded eleven types of bamboo manuscripts, including *Zhouyi* 周易, *Shijing* 詩經, *Zhuangzi* 莊子, *Chuci* 楚辭, *Cangjie pian* 倉頡篇, *Wanwu* 萬物, a text for assessing the qualities of dogs titled as *Xiang gou jing* 相狗經 and a physiological text referred to as *Xing qi* 行氣.⁵⁰

In group III, the most striking finds were official documents found at Yunmeng and Jiangling.⁵¹ The legal texts from Shuhudi tomb 77 at Yunmeng consist of nearly 40 administrative regulations, such as the *Jinbu lü* 金布律 (Statute on Currency), the *Hu lü* 戶律 (Statute on Household), the *Ci lü* 祠律 (Statute on Worship) and the *Zang lü* (Statute on Funeral) written on 850 bamboo strips. Other texts include mathematical texts and calendars with dates from 170 B.C. to 157 B.C. The length of bamboo slips ranges from 20 to 44 centimeters (Appendix 3-2: Table 3-03).⁵²

3.5 Discussion

3.5.1 The *ticou* structure

The *Huangchang ticou* 黃腸題湊 burial system has often been regarded as the highest level of mortuary practice for high ranking nobles, and it is understood as a part of official regulations.⁵³ Yet the archaeological evidence does not support this assumption. The *ticou* system was not employed universally. The rock-cut kingly tombs found in Xuzhou show a diversity of burial forms for high ranking royal

⁴⁹ Mawangdui 2004.

⁵⁰ Shuanggudui 1978.

⁵¹ Zhangjiashan 1985.

⁵² Shuihudi 2008.

⁵³ For the *Huangchang ticou* burial system see chapter 1.

members, often more elaborate than the *ticou* tombs. *Ticou* burials lost their popularity as the trend for using stones for mortuary architecture developed in the late Western Han period. Only one Eastern Han *ticou* example has been found at Dingxian, Hebei province: the defensive wall was preserved, but replaced by stone slabs, imitating the wooden barricades.⁵⁴ The *ticou* wall was one structural feature common to group I tombs, but the burial size, arrangement, quantity and quality of the *ticou* and its associated assemblage differed between them. The sizes of the outer chambers of group I varied from 42.18 to 189.8 square meters. The lengths of individual timbers also ranged from 80 to 170 centimeters, while the total number of timbers used ranged from 111 to 15,880 (Appendix 3-2: Table 3-02 a).

The *ticou* wall was thought to serve multiple functions: to protect the tombs from grave robbers;⁵⁵ to support the entire weight of the roof and burial mound;⁵⁶ and to have a symbolic meaning as a “city wall”.⁵⁷ Its social significance, however, has been overlooked. The textual sources are limited to the later period, they differ widely and all aspects of this interpretation cannot fully be reconciled. One feature of *ticou* burials is consistently noted is their expression of social superiority, emphasizing the right to use such a specific burial form, which was exclusively designated for imperial members and high ranking nobles.⁵⁸ The defensive wall was the only monumental form of imperial burial, enormous efforts must have been put into their construction. Their origin remains obscure, but they are varied in structure and form. The diversity in *ticou* tombs’ structures and considerable discrepancy

⁵⁴ Dingxian 1964.

⁵⁵ Loewe 1999: 5-72.

⁵⁶ Liu Dezeng 1987: 354. Thorp 1987: 17-37.

⁵⁷ Guo Qinghua 2004: 1-24.

⁵⁸ For the regulations of using *ticou* tomb and the jade suits see chapter 2.

between the instructions given in ritual texts and the burial evidence,⁵⁹ suggest that there was flexibility and individuals in fact had choices to make when building actual *ticou* burials.

3.5.2 The numbers of *guan* and *guo*

The numbers of *guan* and *guo* varied in groups I and II. Double coffins were more common in large wooden chamber tombs in the mid-Yangzi, while a simple coffin was often used in rock-cut or catacomb tombs at Xuzhou. It is evident that the *guan guo* system did not apply to all burial forms. In many cliff tombs and other brick or stone chamber tombs in the Central Plain and eastern area nested coffins were very rare, even in the most prestigious of burials.⁶⁰ Three-layered coffins were found in five large tombs (I.02, I.03, I.07 and II.03), but their numbers are not correlated with burial size. Only one large grave, tomb 1 of Mawangdui, had a four-layered coffins, three of them were elaborately decorated. Five large tombs were furnished with a double *guo* (outer chamber) each. These are I.01-03, I.06-07. Only three of them contained a three-layered coffin (I.02, I.03, I.07). The rest of the burials were all furnished with one *guo*, and the numbers of coffins varies (Appendix 3-2: Table 3-02a). The larger size and better quality of the coffin in tomb 1 at Fuyang may indicate the superior position of a male in the Marquis of Ruyin's family.⁶¹ However, such a pattern is not represented at the Mawangdui site, as tomb 2 of Marquis Dai

⁵⁹ Campbell has observed that the arrangements of the defensive wall in the *ticou* tomb at Fengpengling, did not follow the specific guidelines for construction described in the *Liji*: all timbers should face inwards towards the inner coffin, yet the individual timbers of Fengpengling *ticou* tomb were laid down haphazardly. Campbell 2010: 227-258.

⁶⁰ The Chu king's tomb at Beidongshan was excavated in 1986. Covering a total area of 350 square meters, this tomb comprises a long sloping pathway, a main structure and seven wall niches and 19 rooms. Two lacquer coffins inlaid with jade and gilt bronze discs were found in two rock-cut tombs at Xuzhou, Jiangsu province. Their owners have been identified as the Chu king and his consort. Xuzhou 2003.

⁶¹ Shuanggudui 1978.

contained only two coffins, while his wife, Lady Dai, buried in tomb 1, had four coffins.

3.5.3 The variability of burial assemblages

In groups I and II, the artifacts interred with the deceased are correlated with the tomb's size. Although some looted burials cannot provide sufficient information, it is evident that the large-scale graves often contained the fullest burial assemblages. The elaborate timber structures and various types of funeral assemblages demonstrate a link between the display of material wealth and a higher rank. The tombs of group III show a lower degree of wealth than those of groups I and II.

It appears that the items of personal adornment do not mark gender differences. Instead they were used to define and legitimate wealth and status. Jade discs, rings, pendants, hairpins and amber or gold ornaments were found in 12 large-scale burials, including five male tombs. However, two well-preserved large tombs at the Mawangdui site contained no jewelry or jade accessories. The disparity of personal adornment in high-ranking tombs was probably related to personal preference or exclusive access to high value goods, such as jades imported from Hetian 和闐 (the western region).⁶² Ritual jades such as discs, rings and pendants were mostly buried with higher class elites. Extravagant lacquer cosmetic boxes, containing wigs, bronze mirrors, and make-up accessories, were usually associate with upper class females, however they were also unearthed from four male tombs, such as II.03-04, II.09-10. These articles for toilet from elites' tombs not only served as props indicating the importance of the owners' appearance, but were also to be used as implements of

⁶² Composition analyses conducted on the jade ornaments from Shuangbaoshan tomb 2 at Mianyang and Beishantou tomb1 at Chaohu show that they were nephrite jades from Hetian. See Chaohu 2007.

identity to display in the afterlife.

The statistics show that lacquers predominate among burial objects, while traditional ritual bronzes seemingly declined in popularity. In the mid-Yangzi region, lacquer objects comprise 76% of artifacts unearthed from group II tombs, while bronze vessels only make up 13%. The bronze dining vessels from II.04, II.06, II.09, II.10 were badly cast or hammered. This decline in quantity and quality indicates that bronze vessels were no longer used as primary status symbols in large Han wooden chamber tombs.

There are substantial differences between the tombs in the quantities and types of vessel assemblages. In the lacquer-yielding graves of groups I and II, the high number of dining vessels indicate the overwhelming role of feasting in upper class society or the wish of mourners to provide comforts. For instance, a dining set in Mawangdui tomb 1 comprised 14 kinds of vessel types, illustrating the equal importance of eating and drinking activities.⁶³ In Mawangdui tomb 2, the vessel types were identical, but the numbers were substantially increased.

A regular dining set of *ding*, *hu*, *fang*, *zhong*, round boxes and ladles was fashionable in large-scale graves, but could be made in different materials, pottery, stone and lacquer. This type of dining set is the most abundant in large-scale burials, such as I.01, I.03, I.04, I.07 and II.01-06, II.09-11. The distribution of dining sets also

⁶³ From the inventories and inscriptions on artifacts, we can recognize various vessel types for drinking and eating. Sometimes, the numbers of objects described in the inventory do not match those actually buried in tombs, but the basic information about the functional use of various vessel types can be still be shown in the inventory texts. Amongst 184 lacquer vessels in Mawangdui tomb1, 149 items were inscribed with texts recording vessel capacity, category and function. Inscriptions on *zhi*-cups and ear-cups include “May you enjoy the wine 君幸酒” and “May you enjoy the food 君幸食”. Mawangdui tomb 1 bamboo slip no.188: “20 decorated lacquer platters with one foot and two inches in diameter 漆畫食般（盤）徑一尺二寸廿枚”；no. 186: “15 decorated lacquer wine cups 漆畫龕中幸酒杯十五，” no.191: “50 lacquer [missing character] cups for food 漆？幸食杯五十；” no.169: “two decorated lacquer lidded flasks containing rice wine 漆畫壺二皆有蓋盛米酒，” no. 172: “two decorated lacquer lidded square flasks containing white wine 漆畫鈔二有蓋盛白酒”. Mawangdui 1973.

varies in large tombs. In Shuangbaoshan tomb 2 at Mianyang, over 200 plates and 80 ear-cups were piled on the shelves in the eastern compartment, along with big pottery jars, which may have been used for food preparation. In the northern compartment of Mawangdui tomb 1, a dining set comprising an ear-cup, two *zhi*-cups, five small plates and a pair of chopsticks on a tray was displayed in front of an empty couch, and some of the lacquer utensils contained food stuffs. This dining set was also associated with some human figurines of musicians, singers and dancers, illustrating a feasting theme.

3.5.4 Tomb documents

It seems that burying manuscripts was a shared practice in the mid-Yangzi region. The practice of placing manuscripts in burials started in the Warring States, in the State of Chu. As for their purpose, Chu elites seem to have thought that the deceased would retain their status and official rank in the afterlife.⁶⁴ Falkenhausen's study of the relationship between social ranks and buried texts in Chu burials has brought to our attention the role that texts played in defining elite status.⁶⁵ Some scholars suggested that different physical features of bamboo manuscripts marked social distinction, as a part of Han regulations.⁶⁶ Yet, a link between manuscripts and rank is not evident, because the contents and media of texts varied in tombs. The manuscripts from two large-scale burials at Mawangdui and Shuanggudui comprise

⁶⁴ Giele defined the manuscripts unearthed from tombs as *mingqi* (spiritual articles). Yuri Pines claims that the manuscripts buried in the tombs were to demonstrate the deceased's prestige and textual expertise in the netherworld. According to Nylan, inventories, along with other tomb texts and ritual items, indicated the powerful connections of the deceased and possibly, in the case of males, were thought to guarantee the tomb occupant official rank in the world beyond. See Giele 2003: 409-438. Pines 2003: 118-20. Nylan 2005: 35.

⁶⁵ Falkenhausen explores the archaeological background of buried manuscripts. He claims that the majority of Chu tombs containing manuscripts were those of higher ranking individuals well above the level of the *shi* 士. Falkenhausen 2003: 440-519.

⁶⁶ Wang Guowei 2004: 14-18. Hu Pingsheng 2000.3: 66-74. Shi Hao 2000: 76-79.

over 40 texts on a variety of topics: military maps, diagrams, philosophical and medical texts. Most of the texts from Mawangdui tomb 3 were written on rolls of silk, while all of those discovered at Shuanggudui were written on slips of bamboo.⁶⁷

It is not clear that bamboo manuscripts served as status symbols, because they were also unearthed from some lower ranking tombs. In tomb 247 at Zhangjiashan, 1,236 bamboo slips were discovered, including the texts of *Statutes and an Ordinance of the Second Year* 二年律令, *Mai shu* 脈書, *Suanshu shu* 算數書, *He Lu* 蓋廬, *Yin shu* 引書 and a funerary inventory. The tomb occupant was a local official with moderate rank.⁶⁸ In five medium-size tombs at the Fenghuangshan cemetery, the manuscripts were mainly business contracts, tax payment records and funerary inventories.⁶⁹

It is worth noting that in male tombs the manuscript content shows greater variation, including mathematical, philosophical or medical texts and funerary inventories. In contrast, in the three females' tombs, all manuscripts were funerary inventories (Appendix 3-2: Table 3-03). From the historical records, we know that many elite women in early Han society were literate, but their social roles were restricted to within the household. Few women were allowed to take official positions.⁷⁰ The presence of specific documents, such as household registers, military texts and legal documents in some male tombs is probably related to the occupations of the deceased in their lifetime, providing specific knowledge and information

⁶⁷ Tomb 3 at Mawangdui contained twenty large silk sheets and more than 600 bamboo and wooden strips with texts and graphs. Mawangdui tomb 3 report 2004. Shuanggudui 1978.

⁶⁸ Zhangjiashan 1985.

⁶⁹ See Fenghuangshan 1974, 1976, 1993.

⁷⁰ The famous exception to this norm is Ban Zhao 班昭 (A.D. 45-117), a famous female scholar during the Eastern Han. She was the sister of Ban Gu, the author of the *Han shu*. Biographies of Women 女誡 written by Ban Zhao documented that there were many educated women active in early Han society. For instance, in 167 B.C., a woman named Ti Ying personally wrote a memorial to the throne requesting mercy for her father. For related research, see Hinsch 2011: 123-124.

needed for their work in another world.⁷¹

In summary, the archaeological manifestation of the privileged position can be clearly seen from the tremendous efforts invested in the burial construction which providing evidence of differential control of and access to material resources. High rank was indicated by the burial size, tomb structure and burial assemblages:

- The presence of elaborate timber structure, nested coffins;
- The extravagance of personal adornment and the opulence of jade or textile body coverings;
- The presence of musical instruments for ceremonies;
- The large numbers of everyday lacquer objects, in particular lavish dining sets.
- The presence of chariot and horse assemblages, along with weapons and mounted cavalry in some cases;
- A large number of wooden or terracotta human figurines for serving, guarding, and accompanying the deceased in the afterlife.

All of these features are present in the group I and II graves. It seems that using elaborate timber structures and burying the full range of assemblages (*a-f*) were shared practices of groups I and II. The consistent use of distinct material symbols in large-scale tombs reflects group affiliation. Differential access to certain objects confers political power and legitimizes prestige status. To further examine the archaeological manifestations of rank and status within the same social group, I shall present a case study on the rank of marquis. Statements regarding status that are based on the full range of evidence available will be more convincing than those

⁷¹ The discussion on specific burial objects related to occupation and gender see chapter 4 and chapter 5.

based on single features. In some cases, the effort expenditure on one data class, such as tomb structure, is not always representative of the overall content.

3.6 Case Study on the Rank of Marquis

The case study is dedicated to understanding how the higher ranking classes created and expressed their statuses and identities by using specific material symbols to maintain social distinction. I start my discussion by referring to the newly discovered manuscripts at Shuihudi. It is possible to make a comparison between archaeological record of group II and the written regulations relating to the rank of marquis, to see whether the rules were actually followed.

3.6.1 The rank of marquis and written regulations

The *cheshou* 徹侯 (marquis) is the highest rank of the Twenty Orders, it is also the second degree of noble ranks. The *Han shu* listed the year when a marquis was appointed or dismissed, as well as their genealogical relationships.⁷² The marquises were given particular areas of land, from which their titles usually derived. From these, they collected the taxes due to the government, and they were entitled to retain 200 cash from each household for their own benefit. Consequently, a marquis given 1,000 households would have an annual income of 200,000 cash.⁷³

It is important to know whether or not a written regulation existed that defined the kind of tomb a marquis was allowed to have. The Han dynastic histories, such as that given by the *Han shu*, emphasized that the funeral of a marquis should conform to Han rules, but there is nothing to reveal what specific rules were truly applied to

⁷² For discussion of the Han nobilities see Loewe 2006: 49-51.

⁷³ Tung-tsu Chu 1972: 90-91.

tomb constructions. The texts simply stated that in the second year of Zhongyuan (148 B.C.), Emperor Jing established the following rules: the funerals of marquises should be fulfilled properly under the supervision of the *Taizhong dafu* 太中大夫, an official who was sent by the emperor.⁷⁴ Another literary source, the *Qianfu lun* 潛夫論 of the Eastern Han period, described a serious penalty for violating rules: Wei Buhai 衛不害, the Marquis of Wuyuan, was accused of extravagant funerals and lost his title and state during the reign of Emperor Jing (156-141 B.C.).⁷⁵

In Shuihudi tomb 77 (after 157 B.C.) at Yunmeng, five bamboo strips were entitled “*Zang li* 葬律 (Statute on the Funerals)”.⁷⁶ They described the standard of funerals for the rank of *cheshou*, including burial size and coffins:

The coffin should be no more than three feet two inches (74 cm) wide, three feet one inch (71.6 cm) deep, one *zhang* one foot (254 cm) long, and seven inches (16.2 cm) thick. The *cheshou* (marquis) should have two outer chambers, the first chamber is one foot eight inches (41.6 cm) thick. A *zang guo* (the second chamber) is five inches thick (11.6 cm), charcoal can be used. [Characters missing, the ditch], door [characters missing], the passageway, the depth of the pit should be six *zhang* (13.8 m). The *fen* (burial mound) should be 13 *zhang* (30 square meters) in scale and three *zhang* (6.9 m) high. The graveyard should be 45 *zhang* from east to the

⁷⁴ *Han shu*, 5.145. “In the second month, spring of the second year of (Zhongyuan), after the Marquis died, the Emperor (Emperor Jing) sent the *Taizhong dafu* (General Counselor of the Palace) to supervise the mourning and funerals of the deceased, as well as to appoint their successor. For the Marquis’s funerals, the state can send people for mourning, digging and covering the burial mound. No more than 300 people should be employed to complete the tomb construction. (中元)二年春二月...列侯葬, 遣太中大夫弔祠, 視喪事, 因立嗣. 其葬, 國得發民輓喪·穿·複土, 治墳無過三百人畢事.”

⁷⁵ *Qianfu lun jiaozheng*, 6. 140.

⁷⁶ There is no connection between the written regulations and the actual burial discovered at Shuihudi. Both the small size and poor quality of the grave goods of the Shuihudi M77 reveal that the tomb occupant was a lower ranking official. Shuihudi 2008: 31-45.

west, 42 *zhang* from north to the south (totally 43,659 square meters), surrounded by double walls. The *ci* (shrine) house should have a ceiling which is six *zhang* (13.86 square meters). There is a door in the second wall, outside of it stands the *que* (tower), at the four corners are small houses.⁷⁷

“徹侯棺中之廣毋過三尺二寸深三尺一寸,表丈一尺,厚七寸.槨二,其一厚尺一八寸,臧槨一,厚五寸,得用炭。(壑),鬥,羨深淵上六丈,墳大方十三丈,高三丈.祭(塋)東西四十五丈,北南四十二丈,重園(?)垣之高丈.祠(?)舍蓋,蓋地方六丈.中垣為門,外為闕,垣四陬為不(罌)思(罌).”

The same manuscripts also mention some specific funeral rites for the rank of the marquis as follows:

The garments and shrouds that the marquis wears in the coffin should be tied with narrow sashes. The *huang* (coffin curtains) should use textiles inferior to the shrouds. The cattle for sacrificial use include one *te niu* (sacrificial meat offering with a single bullock) for *xiao lian* (dressing the body) rite, and one *tai lao* (sacrificial meat offering with bull, ram and boar) for the *guan* (placing the body into a coffin) and *kai* (carrying the coffin) rites, one *te niu* for *zu* (sacrificial offerings when the coffin was moved to the ancestral temple), one *tai lao* for *qian* (sacrificial offering on the roads when the coffin was sent to a burial where it will be buried).

“徹侯衣衾毋過盈棺,衣衾斂束。(荒)所用次也.其殺:小斂用一特牛,

⁷⁷ One Han foot is equivalent to 23.1 cm, four *zhang* is equivalent to 9.24 meters.

棺,開各一大(太)牢,祖一特牛,遣一大(太)牢。”

If we compare Shuihudi manuscripts with a commentary in the *Zhouli*, the size of the burial mound is slightly different. According to the Han legal codes cited by Zheng Xuan, the burial mound of the marquis should be “four *zhang* (9.24 meters) high.”⁷⁸ This size is 2.34 meters higher than its counterpart in Shuihudi manuscripts. Such differences may indicate that three or four *zhang* of height could have been a reasonable standard. As this point, one should also ask how the information given in the written regulations correlated with the actual tomb itself. We may wonder if the tomb construction of the marquis was regulated officially? Did the individuals follow the rules?

Two recent studies claim that some large burials, such as Mawangdui tomb 1, demonstrate that the tomb construction and funeral rituals of early Han nobles exactly followed the written regulations. Both studies were heavily reliant on the textual evidence and emphasized the continuance of Zhou rituals.⁷⁹ The ritual practices are difficult to trace archaeologically, not to mention that the ritual classics now available to the modern scholar’s hand were largely annotated, modified, recombined and

⁷⁸ *Zhouli zhushu*, 22. 567-568. The original text of the *Zhouli* is “The sizes of burial mounds and the numbers of trees were based on different ranks, 以爵等為丘封之度與其樹數。” Zheng Xuan interpreted this as: “To differentiate the privileged from the humble, the *qiu* for the kings and high nobles, and the *feng* for the officials. According to the Han legal codes: the burial mound of the *liehou* should be four *zhang* (9.24 meters) high, the tomb size ranging from the *guannei hou* to the commoners should be varied. 別尊卑也,王公曰丘,諸臣曰封漢律曰:列侯墳高四丈,關內侯以下及庶人各有差。” He did specify which Han codes were referred to.

⁷⁹ Peng Hao interpreted the five bamboo strips discovered at Shuihudi M77 by referring to the ritual texts of the *Liji* and the *Yili*. He argued that these strips described a few funeral regulations prescribed for the *chehou* (marquis) in the Western Han dynasty, and many of these came from traditional Zhou rituals. This assumption was elaborated by Gao Chongwen, who suggested that the funeral rites from dressing the body to the sacrificial rites exactly matched the descriptions in the *Liji* and the *Yili*. Gao claimed that the Marquis Dai family and the Marquis of Yuanling all used seven or nine tripods for the sacrificial rite of *tailao* drawn from the *Liji* and the *Yili*; he claims that archaeological evidence demonstrate that the funeral practice of Western Han nobles adhered to the Zhou tradition. However, such a ritual set did not occur consistently in these four burials. For the text-based assumptions concerning the graded tripods see chapter 1. Peng Hao 2009 a: 130-135. Gao Chongwen 2011: 80-86.

canonized by different scholars.⁸⁰ It is hard to reconstruct funeral rituals through very limited examples. Also, the manuscripts are too fragmentary. We only know a marquis would have two outer chambers, and the standard size of coffin would have been 2.54 by 0.74 meters, 0.71 meters in depth.

Using three-layer inner coffins was thought by some scholars, such as Yu Weichao, to be one of the standard funeral regulations prescribed for the rank of marquis.⁸¹ The nested coffins are very common in the large wooden chamber tombs in the mid-Yangzi region, but there is no regularity in the use of either *guan* or *guo* in group II, and none of them contained two outer chambers. The numbers of coffins also did not correlate with burial size (Appendix 3-2: Table 3-02 b). For instance, Mawangdui tomb 1 was equipped with one *guo* and four *guan*, while Yaoziling tomb 2 had a larger *guo*, but contained two *guan*. The sizes of coffins also varied ranging from two up to 4.35 square meters.

The Shuihudi regulation provided little information about the coffins. The coffin size could refer to the outmost or innermost coffin, but none of them in the actual burial fit such standard.⁸² For instance, the outermost coffin of Mawangdui tomb 1 was 2.95 meters long, 1.5 meters wide and 1.44 meters deep, differing from the coffin size described in Shuihudi manuscripts.⁸³ There is one thing we know for certain from the Shuihudi manuscripts, the burial size is of great importance for defining the rank of marquis. The burial data of group II shows that the builders aimed to

⁸⁰ For different types of textual sources and their pitfalls see chapter 1.

⁸¹ *Liji zhengyi*, 8.247. “three-layered coffins for the marquis 諸侯再重”.

⁸² In the Western Han dynasty, the Hubei and Hunan areas were peripheral to the power center (present-day Shaanxi), where comparable evidence is lacking. A recently discovered wooden chamber tomb at Xi'an, Shaanxi, demonstrates a gap between the written regulations and actual practice: the depth of the burial chamber of tomb 8 was 15 meters and the pit was 15 meters high, neither match the standard size. Fengqiyuan 2009.

⁸³ Mawangdui 1973.

construct more extravagant burials exceeding the standard size in written regulations.

3.6.2 Material symbols used for negotiating status and power

It appears that a high rank such as marquis could be manifested by the elaborate timber structure and nested coffins, the presence of musical sets, including bells and chime stones, luxury dining sets, as well as extravagant personal adornment. It is noteworthy that some indicators were borrowed by lower ranking social groups, but some were not. For instance, although the musical sets, comprising miniature bells and chime stones, were often symbolically used by high elites to display power and ritual privileges, their limited use amongst the high ranking class has been outlined by the analysis of group I and II.⁸⁴ Only if the social meanings attached to such categories were appreciated and recognized by the persons involved with associated activities, would they have become commonly accepted material symbols. Also, higher status could be created and negotiated through manipulation of material symbols. Sometime it was not necessarily correlated with the rank manifested by burial size and tomb structure. In what follows I want to discuss the active roles of prestige objects in constructing elite status and identities.

In Beishantou tomb 1, a dining set comprised two jade *zhi*-cups (Fig.3-16 a, b), an exotic silver box in Achaemenid style (Fig.3-16 c, d),⁸⁵ a silver plate inscribed with “*cheng yu* 乘輿 (for imperial use)”(Fig.3-16 e), along with two bronze tripods inscribed with “*tai guan* 太官 The imperial banquet office” and high quality lacquer table wares, including some inscribed lacquer vessels and a small jar inlaid with jade,

⁸⁴ For the details of ritual musical set found in higher ranking burials see Appendix 3-1 and Table 3-02a, b. An entire wooden musical set comprising ten bells and ten chime-stones was found along with figurines of musicians and dancers in the northern compartment of Mawangdui tomb 3. Mawangdui 2004.

⁸⁵ Treister 2010: 242.

crystal and gold ornaments (Fig.3-16 f), were unearthed from the northern compartment.⁸⁶ This burial had the smallest wooden chamber (13.5 square meters) in group II. It was furnished with one *guo* and two *guan*. Excavators therefore suggested that the tomb occupant was a local official with a rank lower than the *dafu*.⁸⁷

However, the privileged status exhibited by considerable numbers of prestige goods in this tomb contrasts with the lower rank implied by tomb size and structure. Beishantou tomb 1 yielded 13 valuable artifacts bearing inscriptions, inscribed with different dates and owners (Appendix 3-2: Table 3-04). A lacquer box, for example, was inscribed simultaneously with “the nineteenth year,” “The imperial banquet office“, “*zuo chehou* 左徹侯 (the left marquis)”, and “the imperial palace of Ganquan”. The differences between inscriptions reveal that they were used or given by different high profile nobles.

The title “*chehou* 徹侯 (marquis)” is the highest rank in the Twenty Orders, but there was no rank of the “the left marquis” during the Han dynasty. Perhaps this object was an heirloom from the pre-imperial age.⁸⁸ High rank-related emblems such as a ceremonial musical set and the chariot and horse assemblages were lacking in this burial.⁸⁹ Only a private seal of “*Qu yang jun, Yin* 曲陽君胤 (the lord of Quyang, Yin)” was found. It is possible that these inscribed artifacts may have been gifts or offerings from mourners. We do not how these valuable artifacts were circulated and

⁸⁶ The inscribed lacquers, include a lacquer platter with “*si guan* 私官 private workshop” and “*dong gong* 東宮 prince’s palace” and two lacquer boxes inscribed with “*tai guan*”. Chaohu 2007.

⁸⁷ The excavator claim that three coffins (one *guo* and two *guan*) indicated the rank of *dafu*, but four bronze tripods (five for the *dafu*) in the tomb suggested a rank of lower than the *dafu*. The rank of *dafu* here is referred to the lower grade in the Five Ranks of Zhou, instead of the Twenty Orders.

⁸⁸ Yang Yubin 2010: 96-98.

⁸⁹ Characteristic burial assemblages related to high rank see section 3.4 in this chapter.

eventually came into the hands of the tomb owner, but their presence suggests a privileged status represented by power grouping, even though the tomb owner might have held a relatively lower social rank.

3.6.3 Luxury lacquers used as material symbols

As previously stated, material symbols can be generally defined according to three distinctive factors: raw materials, the production mode and social significance.⁹⁰ High value for fine lacquers is directly related to the second factor, that is, the time and energy necessary to manufacture or acquire the object. In a ranked society, specialized production is a primary way of limiting access to status-signifying items. Powerful elites employ specialist artisans to produce what the elites require, to further differentiate themselves from the rest of society.⁹¹ The expertise required to make intricate lacquers was probably beyond the capabilities of the ordinary lacquer worker.⁹² Meanwhile the collaborative work and labor division in the manufacturing process also required specialized patronage and control of well-organized workshops.⁹³ Luxury lacquers became general indicators to display wealth and status among a wide range of social groups. This was not only mentioned in historical texts,⁹⁴ but also represented by the archaeological record. At this point, the following

⁹⁰ For the definition of material symbols see chapter 1.

⁹¹ Materials not only have unique properties of their own, they are given these properties by the social and cultural structures into which they enter. The act of production invokes its latent power. Taçon 1991: 196. As Wason noted, the use of exotic materials and increasingly specialized craftsmanship in artifacts production are regularly associated with differences in social status. Wason 1994: 125.

⁹² For specialized studies on the sophisticated techniques of Han period lacquer manufacture see Wang Zhongshu 1984: 43-53. Yu Weichao 1985 c: 146-151. Sun Ji 2004: 48-57.

⁹³ Barbieri-Low 2001: 163-171.

⁹⁴ *Han shu*, 91. 3687. “[People who had] thousands of lacquered wooden objects, [their wealth] was equated to the family with thousands of carriages 木器漆者千枚……亦比千乘之家。” *Yantie lun jiaozhu*, 6. 356: “One [lacquer] ear-cup cost great efforts of a hundred persons, one [lacquer] screen was completed by the achievements of ten thousands of people 一杯椀用百人之力，一屏風就萬人之功” *Yantie lun jiaozhu*, 6. 351. “The wealthy family used [lavish lacquer vessels decorated with] silver rims and gold ear-handles, the middle class family used fabric-core lacquers, and the gold inlaid

examples will outline how the high ranking family asserted, communicated and reinforced their status and power by using specific material symbols in a particular way.

In the Mawangdui cemetery, three large tombs have yielded over 600 lacquers making up over half of the burial goods.⁹⁵ Tomb 1 and tomb 3 include a large number of lacquer dining vessels with similar inscriptions; 441 lacquers were inscribed with the texts such as “family of the Marquis Dai 韋侯家”, “May you enjoy the food 君幸食”, “May you enjoy the wine 君幸酒”, “*dan* 石”, “two *dou* 二斗”, “六升半升 six and half *sheng*”, “one *sheng* 一升” and so forth, to indicate their ownership, function and capacity. Most of them had identical shapes and decoration.⁹⁶ The tripods, *fang*-square flasks, *hu*-spherical flasks, round boxes and big platters were painted with interlocking geometric patterns, including bird heads and spiral clouds, arranged along a diagonal frame. Such designs shared similarities with the embroidered textiles found in tomb 1 and tomb 3 of Mawangdui (Fig.3-17 a, b). The ear cups are painted with confronting dragons. The body and tail of each line-drawn dragon are decorated with scrolled floral patterns, resembling those found in the tomb of Changsha queen (Fig.3-17 c, d).⁹⁷

When discussing functions and meanings, previous studies have generally assumed that the lacquer dining sets were intended for feasting by the dead or as provision to receive sacrificial offerings in the afterlife.⁹⁸ We need to bear in mind

ear-cups [made by] the workshop of Shu commandery, one decorated [lacquer] ear cup was worth ten bronze cups. 今富者銀口黃耳, 金罍玉鍾. 中者野王紵器, 金錯蜀杯, 夫一文杯得銅杯十.”

⁹⁵ Mawangdui 1973, Mawangdui 2004.

⁹⁶ Mawangdui 1973, Mawangdui 2004.

⁹⁷ Doubishan 1979: 1-16.

⁹⁸ Michèle Pirazzoli-t'Serstevens noted the popularity of lacquer table ware and its ceramic copies in Han tombs, commenting that the intact arrangement of burial objects in the head chamber of

variations within the food category deserve further study than they have received: among dining sets, the collective/ceremonial feasting vessels should be differentiated from private/ordinary dining. Such a distinction may have an impact on the self image presented and the audience targeted.

The inscriptions of “the family of Marquis Dai 韋侯家” were limited to specific vessel types, such as trays, wine-cups, round plates, *yi*-pourers (Fig.3-18 a, b) and food containers in tomb 1 and tomb 3 at Mawangdui. In the northern chamber of Mawangdui tomb 1, its four walls were hung with silk banners, and its floor lined with bamboo mats, presenting a collective feasting theme. It was furnished with a bamboo fan, a lacquer screen, an embroidered pillow, shoes, lacquer food and wine vessels, cosmetic boxes, and wooden figurines of dancers and servants (Fig.3-19 a). Such a banqueting scenario was also represented in the northern compartment in Mawangdui tomb 3 (Fig.3-19 b).

In the eastern compartments of Mawangdui tomb 1 and tomb 3, a particular group, consisting of tripods, *hu*, *fang*, round boxes and ladles (Fig.3-19 c), stand out by imitating the traditional shapes of bronze vessels in dining sets.⁹⁹ The different numbers of tripods in tomb 1 and tomb 3 at Mawangdui were thought to be an expression of *lie ding* regulation,¹⁰⁰ but their lacquer replicas may have had different functions. Some vessels still had the remains of food in them when unearthed: slices of lotus root and chicken bones were discovered in tripods, food made of rice and

Mawangdui tomb 1 exemplified the way in which dining vessels were supposed to be served to provide food for the deceased. Pirazzoli-t'Serstevens 1991: 209-219. According to Hayashi Minao, lacquer dining sets were used for sacrificial offerings. He suggests that the sacrificial ritual was an aristocratic privilege. Hayashi 1993: 51-58.

⁹⁹ Such traditional shapes were only appeared in Mawangdui cemetery. For instance, at the sites of Mianyang, Yuanling and Fuyang, lacquer tripods and *fang* flasks are not represented. For details of burial assemblages in these tombs see Appendix 3-1.

¹⁰⁰ Zheng Shubin 1998. Zhang Wenjie 2010 : 91-97.

wheat, as well as beef spareribs, in boxes, beverages in the flasks, and chicken and fish on plates. The richness of the food remains suggest that these decorated lacquer dining vessels were instituted as a new feature of ritual practice.¹⁰¹ Such a dining set also appears in the T-shape silk banner of tomb 1 (Fig.3-19 d). The piled up ear-cups along with the tripods and flask on a tray may indicate food preparation instead of feasting.¹⁰² It is possible that the ear-cups and these lacquer replicas of traditional ritual bronzes played critical roles in the offerings for the deceased.

The mural paintings found in Western Han brick chamber tombs in Shaanxi and Henan, provide vivid examples for the use of lacquers in feasting. Their owners have been identified as powerful elite or high rank officials.¹⁰³ The visual evidence demonstrated lavish dining sets were strategically deployed to advertise power and prestige in communal feasting. The first group was four murals depicting banquet from a Western Han tomb at Luoyang. In a painting of serving food, chefs were chopping meat and cooking food, servants were holding trays and ear cups. Three other paintings represent different scenes of enjoyable banquets.¹⁰⁴ In every image, one or several *zun*-containers, occupied the central place (Fig.3-20). The standard *zun*-container has a circular body, a base with three feet. They could be more elaborate, other examples were finely decorated or inlaid with silver or gilt bronze metal mounts.

¹⁰¹ As Rawson has observed, the high quality drinking vessels, oval flasks, *zun*-containers, *zhi*-cups and ear-cups might have played the same role of status display as tripods. Rawson 2002 a: 1-57.

¹⁰² Pleasurable feasts were popular themes depicted in the mural paintings of Western Han tombs in Guanzhong area, and they prevailed in the Eastern Han stone carvings. An Zhimin 1973: 48. In the ancient Roman world, luxury banquets often appeared in the funerary monuments, they were considered as signifiers of status and prestige. See Dunbabin 2003: 108-109.

¹⁰³ The owners of these Western Han mural tombs have been defined as high nobles or political elites such as 2,000-*dan* officials. Yang Hong 2007 a: 233-254. Hou and Chen 2006: 18-26. Cheng and Zhang 2006: 47-57. Mo Zhanxiong 2013: 16-20. Zhuang Huizhi argued that the owners of mural tombs in Chang'an area had higher ranks—the marquis or above, and those in Luoyang area had lower social statuses. Zhuang Huizhi 2013: 123-162.

¹⁰⁴ Luoyang 1996: 127-136.

In Han society, a public banquet underscores the relationship between host and guests and provided a convenient setting to publicly confirm one's status. In collective dining, as we can see from the setting of Mawangdui, there were people dancing, playing games, the hosts and guests were enjoyed the feasting and entertaining. Feasts are "public ritual events of communal food and drink consumption."¹⁰⁵ The dead individuals in the banquet knew her or his place, declaring wealth and pleasure in public. "Coming together around a meal or a drink is not limited to the actual act of consumption, rather, the entire social act, from presentation of food or beverages to the seating and serving order, the utensil used, the setting, time of day, conversation, smells, sounds and tastes all contribute to the perpetuation of as well as changes in social constellations and political relations."¹⁰⁶

The emphasis on the ownership and variations of vessel types and sizes at the Mawangdui cemetery could represent a highly competitive display in communal banqueting.¹⁰⁷ Their collective pattern and recognizable style would have advertised and reinforced the high rank of the Marquis Dai family in the social group as distinct from other communities.¹⁰⁸ If we compare the decorative motifs and techniques of

¹⁰⁵ Dietler 2001: 69.

¹⁰⁶ Pollock 2012: 1-20.

¹⁰⁷ We can clearly see that the inscriptions of Han lacquers such as Mawangdui examples were different from those on bronze ritual vessels of Western Zhou aristocracy. Inscribed bronze vessels were artifacts of the Western Zhou ritual practice of ancestor worship; many recounted the glorious merit of lineage ancestors and dedications of vessels. For discussions on the Western Zhou bronze inscriptions see Falkenhausen 1993: 139-226 and Li Feng 2006: 8-11. The changes in the bronze inscriptions from the middle Western Zhou up to the Eastern Zhou period has been noted by Cook, who argues that in the early Western Zhou period, the bronze ritual vessels used for mortuary feast were normally dedicated to recently deceased male ancestral spirits of rank (*hou* 侯, *gong* 公, *bo* 伯 and *fu* 父 or *kao* 考) indicated by the bronze inscriptions, from the middle Western Zhou up through the Eastern Zhou period, the inscriptions showed a tendency to include prayers for good fortune and long life. Cook 1990: 162-211. The Han lacquers often bear inscriptions of provenance, capacity of the vessels, ownership and functions, with strong emphasis on the ownership and kinship, such as the "the Marquis Dai family" and "the ear-cup of the family of Changsha queen", typical examples see the summary of archaeological evidence of tombs I.04, II.01, II.03 in Appendix 3-1.

¹⁰⁸ In ranked society, competition for prestige and power often takes the form of feasting and its accompanying artifacts. Rosman and Rubel 1971: 163-164.

lacquer vessels discovered from the Marquis Dai family with the Marquis Yuanling family, the visual difference is apparent. The decoration of Huxishan lacquers was distinguished by the needle-incising technique,¹⁰⁹ with supernatural beasts and spiral clouds, contrasting with those items painted with birds and geometric patterns from Mawangdui.¹¹⁰ Also, the inscriptional evidence such as “the Marquis Dai family” in tomb 1 and tomb 3 of Mawangdui put strong emphasis on the kinship or the membership of family.

The material expression of the prestigious social standing of high ranking families may provide further illumination for Tung-tsu Chu’s definition of social class in the Han society. The existence of social class was manifested in terms of class consciousness, “persons of similar status thought of each other as equals belonging to the same group...Members of the same class had a similar style of life that was distinct from others. They were aware of such symbols of prestige and made an effort to cultivate and maintain them.”¹¹¹ At Mawangdui cemetery, we can see such communal ideologies were materially represented by luxury lacquers.¹¹²

In the Western Han society, there were two levels of lacquer production: governmental workshop and private workshop patronized by nobles.¹¹³ In group I, II and III, at least 88% of dining vessels bear inscriptions of provenance and

¹⁰⁹ A needle is used to engrave the lacquer objects. For the specialized study on the technique of incising see Fu Juyou 2007: 66-93.

¹¹⁰ Yuanling 2003: 36-55.

¹¹¹ Tung-tsu Chu 1972: 63-64.

¹¹² Ideologies are seen as systems of discursive knowledge, beliefs and values which legitimize the social status quo. According to Giddens and Bloch, they are the means by which individuals within interest groups acquire consciousness of their social position. Giddens 1979: 167-188. Bloch 1989: 106-136.

¹¹³ The lacquer plates, ear-cups, caskets and circular boxes found in Marquis of Ruiyin family were inscribed with the names of artisans and officials, such as “the flat plate of the Marquis of Ruiyin, [made of] fabric core, [produced by] the artisan Su, [supervised by] the official Hui. 女陰侯布平盤徑尺三寸七年吏諱工速造,” the brief report see Shuanggudui 1978: 12-31. For discussions on the private workshops patronized by local rulers and high nobles see Lu Zhaoyin 1974: 67-68. Song Zhimin 1982: 84-89. Hong Shi 2006: 87-92.

ownership.¹¹⁴ In the Mawangdui cemetery, 52 lacquer dining vessels were inscribed with the texts “made by the official workshops 市府造 (in Sichuan)”. Lacquer objects with similar inscriptions also appear in five lower ranking tombs. The inscriptions on lacquer objects indicate that they are products of Chengdu official workshops, in Sichuan province.¹¹⁵ Chengdu is located in the west of Sichuan basin, surrounded by three mountain ranges, most of which belong to the Tibetan plateau, Qin mountains and Yungui plateau. The road transportation from Sichuan to other metropolitan cities in the early Han period was extremely difficult. There is only limited access on rivers, by way of the Yangzi River, but this was a dangerous route because of the turbulent water and unpredictable flooding.¹¹⁶ The high cost of transportation inevitably added more value to the Chengdu lacquers.

It has been argued that the Han official lacquer factories in Chengdu employed mass production to meet enormous demands for luxury goods. Drawing on Ledderose’s modular system theory,¹¹⁷ Barbieri-Low suggested that the mass production of Han lacquers was characterized by standardized designs and elaborate labor divisions. He claimed that the use of the modular system in lacquer making enforced design uniformity, and facilitated productivity.¹¹⁸ I agree with him because the mass production was possibly necessitated by the conspicuous consumption in luxury goods for the purpose of exhibiting economic and social status in Western Han

¹¹⁴ Theoretically, craft production is central to structuring power relations in ancient society, Inomata outlines three principle reasons why elites patronize and control over craft production: (1) craft production generates income to finance other projects and activities; (2) through the monopolization of key resources, craft production promotes political economic control; (3) craft production facilitates the creation of the symbols used to legitimize power. Inomata 2001: 321-350.

¹¹⁵ Sun Ji 2004: 48-56. Zhang Feilong 2007: 45-53. Hong Shi 2005: 391-392. Song Zhimin 1982: 84-89.

¹¹⁶ The Yangzi River and its tributaries flow through the mountains of western Sichuan. Min River is the major tributary of the Yangzi with the Sichuan, which joins the Yangzi at Yibin.

¹¹⁷ Ledderose 2000.

¹¹⁸ Barbieri-Low 2001: 163-171. Barbieri-Low 2007: 76-83.

society.¹¹⁹ It is not surprising that fashionable designs of official products were widely copied by civil factories to satisfy the desire of lower status social group who sought to imitate the material symbols of high elites. This point will be well illustrated by examples of the lowering ranking tombs in the following chapter.

3.6.4 Multiple statuses of the Marquis of Dai family

The iconographic evidence found in the Mawangdui cemetery represents different personal identities of family members. Both tomb 1 and tomb 3 had a painted T-shape silk banner on the top of the coffin.¹²⁰ Li Ling has convincingly argued that the main figures depicted in the T-shape silk banners were portraits of the tomb occupants.¹²¹ The visual differences in pictorial evidence may elucidate the varied emphases on the status of the deceased. In the middle part of the tomb 1 banner, Lady Dai was depicted as a respectable figure with two kneeling male officials and three standing female servants (Fig. 3-21 a).The occupant of tomb 3 was depicted as a young male, accompanied by five or six standing servants, two holding an umbrella-like canopy (Fig.3-21 b).

The functions and religious meanings of those silk banners have been extensively studied,¹²² thus there is no need to repeat the entire discussion here. What is relevant to this study is whether the portraits defined different social roles of the deceased individual in life or an idealized social status viewed by the livings. Caswell suggested the middle part “human scenes” of the tomb 1 silk banner is an “extremely condensed pictorial biography of Lady Dai” and she was shown as an aged woman

¹¹⁹ For the text-based discussion on luxury goods as status symbols see chapter 2.

¹²⁰ Mawangdui 1973, Mawangdui 2004.

¹²¹ Li Ling 2009: 12-25.

¹²² Wu Hung 1992: 126. Loewe 1979: 17-50. Silbergeld 1982-1983: 82-83. Bulling 1974: 158-17. James 1979: 347-357. Eugene Wang 2009: 76-83.

“given full attention by her loyal male and female servants.”¹²³ I agree with Caswell that such a setting highlights the privileged status of Lady Dai, who appears as a respected figure in the portrait. However, her social standing was mainly based on her age, compounded by her playing a significant role in domestic life.

The visual settings in tomb 3 put greater emphasis on the deceased’s political power and military role. The portrait does not provide much information about the identity of the tomb occupant. Another silk painting covering the second coffin represents a funeral theme.¹²⁴ The central figure in the right part is the tomb occupant, a young man wearing a hat with a sword tied to his waist, accompanied by 15 officials, 30 armed soldiers and 40 attendants. Above them are six rows of horses and carriages (Fig. 3-22 a, b). There is a funeral procession in the left part: two rows of soldiers are depicted holding a coffin and are surrounded by male and female attendants (Fig. 3-22 c). Below them is a musical entertainment, featuring bells and drums. Clearly the image of horses and carriages is the dominant feature in the whole painting (Fig.3-22 d), and, interestingly, various kinds of carriages and horses were also recorded in the funeral inventory of tomb 3. However, there was no horse and carriage actually buried in this tomb.¹²⁵ The similar procession comprising armed soldiers can be also seen at the Yangjiawan site at Xianyang, Shaanxi (Fig. 3-23 a, b) where two marquises, General Zhou Bo and his son Zhou Yafu (died 143 B.C.), were discovered. Both received the title of Marquis Jiang, because of military

¹²³ Caswell concluded that Lady Dai was given a burial equivalent to that of her husband simply because of her noble status. Caswell 2002:14-23.

¹²⁴ The other two silk paintings on the eastern wall of the second coffin represented boating and riding. Liu Xiaolu suggested that they were used for *zhaohun* 招魂 (summoning the soul), and those painted human figures functioned as the *yong* 俑 tomb figurines, her study heavily relied on the *Chuci*. Liu Xiaolu 1995: 937-941.

¹²⁵ MWD strips no.60-61: “a small carriage driven by six horses 安車一乘, 駕六馬”; “a big carriage driven by six horses 大車一乘, 駕六馬”. Mawangdui 2004: 51-52.

achievements. General Zhou Bo assisted Emperor Gaozu in establishing the Han Empire, and his son commanded the imperial Han forces and suppressed the rebellion of seven kings against Emperor Jing (154 B.C.).¹²⁶

In tomb 3 of Mawangdui, the military role of the tomb occupant was further reinforced through the intended use of the interred artifacts. Thirty seven weapons, including arrows, bows, bone spear, wooden swords, cross bow and *ge*-spears, were found in the northern and southern compartments of tomb 3 (Fig. 3-24 a-d) and some were clearly intended for practical use.¹²⁷ Two silk maps found in the eastern compartment indicate the military status of the tomb occupant in tomb 3. It has been argued that the occupant was a high ranking official in charge of many of the south territories of the Changsha kingdom depicted in the military garrison map.¹²⁸ This argument is supported by the presence of a lacquered official hat (Fig. 3-24 e), and various kinds of tomb documents, including military manuscripts (Fig. 3-24 f).¹²⁹ It seems that comprehensive knowledge and tactical skill in using military forces were essential to maintaining the individual's position in the afterlife. In this light, it is interesting to note that there was a gender difference in the funeral arrangements at Mawangdui cemetery, especially in the diversification of textiles and clothing. Considering gender would serve as more commonly the base for social differences and

¹²⁶ The tomb was destroyed by fire, leaving no trace of the timber structure. More than 1,800 terracotta soldiers, along with chariot and horses were found in eighteen dependent pits. Yangjiawan 1977, Yangjiawan Qibingyong 1977. Yang Hong has argued that some soldiers with black armor in the Yangjiawan pit were the attendees for the funeral procession of the deceased. Yang Hong 2007 b: 141-142. For the appointment and death of the Marquis Jiang, see *Han shu*, 16. 545. For a general discussion on the armed force in the Western Han dynasty, see Loewe 2009: 65-89.

¹²⁷ Gao Zhixi 1994:193-20.3. Gao Zhixi 2000: 124-130.

¹²⁸ The topographical map in Mawangdui tomb 3 depicts regions of the real world, including 25 water bodies; the military garrison map depicted 99 civil installations such as villages and prefecture cities. Mawangdui 2004: 91-103. Liu Xiaolu suggested that the occupant of tomb 3 was not only a military officer, but also in charge of civil administration. It is likely he was the Chancellor of Principality of the Changsha kingdom. Liu Xiaolu 1994: 59-63.

¹²⁹ Mawangdui 2004: 238.

among the higher ranking nobles and lowering social groups. This issue will be discussed in the fifth chapter.

3.7 Conclusion

The archaeological evidence of large-scale timber structure graves in the mid-Yangzi region demonstrates that the material symbols of rank and status changed according to a society's need for self-expression and differentiation. It appears that demonstrating rank among the aristocracy by bronze ritual vessels or traditional *guan guo* regulation was no longer employed. Although a connection to Chu elite culture existed, the use of material symbols in the Western Han wooden chamber tombs is nonetheless very different, and given inextricable link to identity and personal achievement.

The burial studies focused on groups I and II also suggest that it was not burial regulation but shared practices that generated the similarities and differences in burial patterns. The larger size, elaborate timber structures and nested coffins may indicate high rank, but these factors were not determinants of a privileged status. The deposition of artifacts for everyday use, varying in quantity and quality, was means to express different aspects of status of powerful elites. By performing ceremonial feasting and other ritual activities, the high elites differentiated themselves from the lower social strata. Apart from the prestige objects employed, luxury lacquer objects were widely used as material symbols for social display, through the embodiment of value in the forms of labor-intensive production, fine craftsmanship and elaborate decoration. The patterns are important for establishing a link between individual status and group affiliation in this area, and their significance will be better appreciated through comparison with group III of medium-size burials in the mid-Yangzi region.

Chapter 4 Archaeological Evidence of Medium-size Tombs

Occupation, Wealth and Household

4.1 Introduction

This chapter concerns the material expression of status and identity in the medium-size Han tombs, focusing on the honorary ranks from the *guanwei hou* down to the *gongcheng*. The second section summarizes the burial evidence of tombs containing documents carrying the name and ranks of the deceased. The third part examines the burial pattern of the medium-size tombs. By contrast with the diversity of large-scale wooden chamber tombs, tombs of group III show considerable regularity in structural features: the wooden structure of many tombs contains a burial chamber and two side compartments; the interior design tends to resemble the living space of a household. Luxury dining lacquers and carriage horse models are two principal categories in burial goods. Such observation allows us to question whether this shared pattern was generated by rules or not.

The fourth section deploys a case study associated with the *wu dafu*, the middle rank of the Twenty Orders. Three individual tombs are chosen for comparison. The fifth section shows that identity formation of the dead individual could take a variety of forms. Different aspects of status distinction based on occupation, wealth and gender were manifested in the lower ranking tombs, especially with strong emphasis on the political and economic power of households. Here I also discuss the possibility of manipulating material symbols, and such a manipulation could have been driven by ideological concerns.

4.2 Identifying the Deceased

The wealth of epigraphic evidence found in tombs of group III provides an opportunity for comparison between individuals with various ranks. Five burials contain wooden tablets recording the names and honorary ranks of the deceased. In two male burials, M10, M168 of Fenghuangshan cemetery, the occupants were both self-identified as the *wu dafu*, a middle grade of the Twenty Orders.¹ In three female tombs, their owners were also associated with two different honorary ranks: the owner of Xiejiaqiao M1 was the mother of a *wu dafu* while the occupants of Maojiayuan M1 and Gaotai M18 were both self-identified as “the widow of *guannei hou* (Table 4-01)”.²

In four document-yielding tombs, their owners are known to us as lower ranking officials. The tomb occupants of Kongjiapo M 8 and Songbai M1 were both self-identified as *se fu* 嗇夫 (bailiff), a 100-*dan* official.³ Another two burials, Shuihudi M77 and Zhangjiashan M247 yielded numerous legal documents. Shuihudi M77 (157 B.C.) was recently discovered at Yunmeng, the tomb documents included 40 statutes written on 850 bamboo strips, 37 items shared titles with those of some the Zhangjiashan legal texts.⁴ These identifiable officials’ tombs serve as evidence

¹ Fenghuangshan 1974. Fenghuangshan 1993. For the two individual burials associated with the rank of *wu dafu* see Appendix 3-2 Table 3-01, III.01 and III.05.

² Maojiayuan 1988. Gaotai 2000. For the names and honorary ranks of these two burials, see Appendix 3-2 Table 3-01, III.16 and III. III.14.

³ For the discussion on official ranks including the bailiff, see chapter 2.

⁴ The legal documents discovered at Shuihudi M77 comprised two groups: the first group include 16 statutes written on 306 bamboo strips of 27-27.9 cm in length, including *Dao lü* 盜律 (Statute on Robbery), *Gao lü* 告律 (Statute on Denunciation), *Ju lü* 具律 (Statute for the Composition), *Bu lü* 捕律 (Statue on Arrest), *Wang lü* 亡律 (Statute on Flight, Desertion); the second group comprised 24 statutes written on 544 bamboo strips of 27.5 cm in length, including *Jinbu lü* 金布律 (Statute on Currency), *Hu lü* 戶律(Statute on Household), *Tian lü* 田律 (Statute on Agriculture), *Gong zuo ke* 工作課 (Statute on Statute labor), *Ci lü* 祠律(Statutes on Sacrifice), *Zang lü* 葬律 (Statute on Funerals). Apart from three statutes, 37 statutes. Shuihudi 2008.

for archaeological manifestation of occupation-based status.⁵ They will be viewed together with the archaeological record related to the above honorary ranks, to enrich our understanding of material expression of social differentiation.

4.3 General Observations

4.3.1 Tomb Structures

The medium-size tombs have revealed a remarkably degree of regularity in the tomb structure, differing from the diversity of high ranking ones. In group III, twenty one burials had one outer chamber and one coffin. The sizes of the outer chambers vary from 2.87 to 15.8 square meters. Wafenyuan tomb 4 (III.17) has the largest outer chamber, containing two individual coffins. Four tombs (III.1, III.7, III.8, III.12) are furnished with a double coffin (Appendix 3-2: Table 3-02 c), their outer chambers are more than eleven square meters in area.

Three larger burials, Gaotai M2, M33 and Wafenyuan M4, contain three side compartments. Two large tombs (III.06, 08) have the most elaborate timber structure. The outer chamber of Gaotai M5 is divided into five parts: the central coffin chamber is surrounded by four side compartments, connected by miniature doors and windows (Fig.4-01), and each compartment is set with different artifacts. Apart from doors and windows, such a design imitates the structures of two high ranking tombs at Mawangdui.

The most frequent internal design of group III tombs is a coffin chamber with two side compartments. At least 15 individual burials share the similarities in spatial

⁵ Here I am following Tung-tsu Chu and Michael Loewe, who have both considered occupation as one of major aspects of status distinction. Loewe has broadly divided the Han population into two categories: officials and non-officials. Loewe 2005: 54. Tung-tsu Chu 1972: 65-101.

designs and artifact disposal. In Fenghuangshan cemetery, the timber structures of M8, M10, M167 and M168 are built in a similar way (Fig. 4-02 a-c). The three compartments are structured by two transverse bars joined by three upright posts. There is a pair of functional doors connecting the central compartment, with a single coffin with the head compartment. The side compartment is installed with two pairs of doors and windows.

Such tombs with fixed architectural features, normally in the form of a three-compartment wooden chamber (Fig. 4-02 d), amazingly fit the description of the ordinary household as known from written records.⁶ It seems reasonable to consider them as physical manifestations of households, providing a microcosm of human interaction.⁷ As the basic unit of Han society, the household was a space where ritual and everyday practices take place. The construction of status and identity was maintained by individuals through interaction with other members; this point will be illustrated in section 4.4.

4.3.2 Burial Assemblages

Personal adornment seems less fashionable in medium-size tombs than the

⁶ The written records of the *Han shu* described the ordinary household of the Western Han as “*yi tang er nei* 一堂二内 (one main room and two private rooms)”. It probably referred to the internal design of houses, but unfortunately we do not have any surviving evidence of early Western Han settlement in this area for comparison. *Han shu*, 49. 2288: “At first the house should be built. Each household comprises a main room and two private room. The doors are closed to accommodate objects. If the people had a house to live in, they would do something more useful. 先為築室, 家有一堂二内, 門戶之閉, 置器物焉, 民至有所居, 作有所用.” The *Fengzhenshi* 封診式 (The Model Records for Correct Procedure) in Shuihudi manuscripts, discovered from the Qin tomb (dated to 217 B.C.) at Yunmeng, Hubei, has a detailed description of an ordinary household, “Jia 甲 (a general term refers to the individuals), a *shiwu* (commoner) in so-and-so ward, [his] household included his [legitimate] wife, sons and the secondary wife, clothing and objects, cattle and property, as well as servants. [The house] comprises one main room and two private rooms; each have doors; both the main rooms and the private rooms have tile coverings, and [the structure is] built with large wooden planks. 某里士五 (伍) 甲家室、妻、子、臣妾、衣器、畜產。甲室、人。一字二内, 各有戶, 内、室皆瓦蓋, 大木具.” Shuihudi Qinjian 1990: 249.

⁷ The household has been utilized as socially-recognizable unit for the study of kinship relations, ritual practices, gender relations and economic activities in the past. Alison 1999. Kent 1990.

large-scale burials. Bronze mirrors are common items, while prestige objects such as jades and gold ornaments are rare. Only two medium-sized burials at Gaotai included six jade discs (Appendix 3-2: Table 3-02c). Rich textile remains are found in Fenghuangshan M168, M167 and Xiejiaqiao M1. Most of the textiles are astonishingly well preserved.

Lacquer objects for everyday life are predominant among in the burial goods, and they vary in number and shapes. At Fenghuangshan cemetery, only 28 lacquers were found in M10, while M8, M9 and M167 contained over 100 items each. A dining set normally comprises a tray, ear cups, flasks, round boxes, circular boxes, oval boxes, *zhi*-cups, *yu*-vessels, plates and ladles (Fig.4-03 a-e). Such a set is found in all five tombs of Fenghuangshan, but M10 does not contain certain vessel types, such as *zhi*-cups and *hu*. M8 and M168 contained some lacquer vessels produced by Chengdu official lacquer factories (Fig.4-04 a-d).

A cooking set including stove, granary, cauldron, steamer made of pottery or bronze, is frequently found in 22 medium-size tombs, including those of males and females. A washing set, including *jian* 鑑, *xuan* 鍤, *xi* 洗 or *pen* 盆 basin, *yi* 匜 pourers made of different materials, is found in ten tombs, varying in numbers and vessel types. Traditional ritual bronzes, including tripods, spherical flasks and *lei* 罍 (liquid container), are only found in three tombs, M1 of Xiejiaqiao, M4 and M5 at Gaotai (Appendix 3-2: Table 3-02 c). Such variability of burial assemblages suggests that individuals or their family members could make different choices for the use of artifacts and tomb arrangement.

In addition to luxury lacquer dining sets, another peculiar burial assemblage in group III comprises lacquer horse and carriage models, often joined with wooden

human figurines; they are found in eight medium-size tombs. Fenghuangshan M168 includes the largest number of figurines and horses. Such a category has also been discovered in female tombs, such as Fenghuangshan M167 (dated from 179 B.C. to 141 B.C.), a medium-sized tomb sharing a similar structure with M168. It seems that the gender difference is not evident when compared with other male tombs such as M9 of Fenghuangshan, which contain fewer miniature horses and carriages.⁸

4.3.3 Tomb documents

In group III, fourteen tombs yielded numerous bamboo manuscripts and wooden tablets. Amongst these documents, a large number of administrative records are found in three individual burials, including Shuihudi M77 at Yunmeng, Fenghuangshan M10 and Zhangjiashan M247 at Jingzhou; the rest are mostly funerary inventories. There is no direct connection between the burial size and the quantity of manuscripts. Shuihudi M77 (dated to 157 B.C.), the smallest tomb, contains the largest number of manuscripts (Appendix 3-2: Table 3-02c). Over 2,137 bamboo strips and 128 wooden tablets were unearthed from a bamboo casket in the side compartment, comprising household register books, calendars, and twenty-four kinds of legal codes, including the specific funeral regulations for the rank of marquis.⁹

Gender differences indicated by different sorts of manuscripts in medium-size tombs show a similar pattern with those found in the higher ranking tombs. Male tombs contain a greater variety of administrative documents, contracts, household register records and legal texts, which are believed to reflect aspects of daily life of their owners and indicate that men were the primary actors in the public realm. For instance, in a bamboo casket from the side compartment in M 10 at Fenghuangshan,

⁸ Fenghuangshan 1974:41-61.

⁹ Shuihudi 2008.

six wooden tablets and eighty bamboo strips were found with a wooden ruler, a wooden dice and an ink slab.¹⁰ Six wooden tablets were written on sides, each measuring 23-23.5 cm long and 4.5-4.6 cm wide. Their content shows a wide range of variety: a funerary inventory and the announcement to the underworld; a list of donors; business contracts; the records of land taxes collected from three villages, including Zheng 鄭, Shiyang 市陽 and Dangli 當利 in the South Commandery.¹¹ The skeletal evidence shows that the M10 owner was a middle-aged man. Three other tombs interred with administrative documents, such as Zhangjiashan M247, Shuihudi M77, Kongjiapo M8, have been all identified as male burials (Appendix 3-2: Table 3-03). In M168 of Fenghuangshan, a set of writing tools including a brush, an ink slab, a bronze book knife and some ink fragments were uncovered with blank wooden tablets from a bamboo casket.¹²

Wooden or bamboo tablets recording the name and title of the dead individual were found in six tombs, five of which were related to honorary ranks. From Appendix 2 *Tomb documents*, we can see their contents were strikingly similar. The five documents all stated that the dead individual and the members of the household would be exempt from statutory service and tax.¹³ There is a variety of contents concerning self identification in these documents; I will discuss the differences in the following sections.

A funerary inventory was found in 14 burials of group III, including those of men and women. The practice of placing manuscripts in the tombs originated from

¹⁰ Fenghuangshan Zhujian 2012. Zhong Zhicheng 1975: 20-22.

¹¹ Fenghuangshan Zhujian 2012: 138.

¹² Fenghuangshan 1993.

¹³ Hu Pingsheng 2009. “此家複不事 (Maojiayuan M 1)”; “家優不算不徭 (Gaotai M18)”; “郎中五大夫昌母、家屬當複無有所與 (Xiejiaqiao M1)”, for the details see Appendix 2 Tomb documents.

the Chu state in since the Warring States period. Numerous examples were discovered from the Warring States Chu tombs in Tianxingguan, Baoshan and Wangshan at Jingzhou, Hubei province.¹⁴ It is thought that the inventory list in the forms of bamboo slips is often termed as a *qiance* 遣策 following the *Liji*. The other type, often written on the wooden tablets, has been defined as *fengfang* 贈方, that is, as a subset of the *qiance*, namely, a gift list of all items displayed during the funeral.¹⁵ However, such differentiations are more conceptual than archeologically recognizable. In some cases such as M10, M167, M168 and M169 of Fenghuangshan, only the *qiance* was found. Inventories found in these tombs, either in forms of wooden tablets or bamboo strips, included similar objects such as lacquer trays, food containers, ear cups and *yu*-vessels, but none of them mentioned whether they were gifts or not.¹⁶

It is evident that there is a shared pattern in the use of specific documents, the rich everyday lacquer objects, and the carriage and horse models in the tombs of group III. We may wonder if these similarities were generated by funeral regulations or not, and what identity and status of the individuals were expressed in the medium-size tombs. In answering this question, I will use a case study focusing on the rank of *wu dafu*, a middle grade in the Twenty Orders.

¹⁴ Tianxingguan 1982. Baoshan 1991. Wangshan 1996.

¹⁵ The “*qiance* 遣策” first appeared in the Song literature *Chongjiao San li tu* 重校三禮圖, compiled by Nei Congyi 聂崇义, a Song scholar in A.D.962, it stated that there were two categories of inventory lists: “*shu feng yu fang* 書贈于方” and “*shu qian yu ce* 書遣於策”. *Chongjiao San li tu*, 18.9. The most comprehensive study on the funerary inventory in terms of historical records and archaeological evidence is Yang Hua’s article “*Sui, Feng, Qian, Jiandu suojian chudi zhusang lizhi yanjiu* 綏·贈·遣, 簡牘所見楚地助喪禮制研究.” Yang Hua 2003: 49-60. Other discussions see Gao Dalun 1988: 106-108. Zheng Shubing 2005: 28-35.

¹⁶ In M10 of Fenghuangshan, object lists were written on one wooden tablet, while those in M167, M168, M169 were all written on bamboo strips. Fenghuangshan Zhujian 2012.

4.4 Case Study on the Rank of *wu dafu*

Two male tombs, M10 and M168, from the Fenghuangshan cemetery and one female tomb, M1 of Xiejiaqiao, have been chosen for a case study. Their tomb occupants were all associated with the rank of *wu dafu*, indicated by the wooden tablets.¹⁷ However, the burial sizes, tomb structures numbers and wealth of grave goods vary markedly. M168 has the largest outer chamber (14.6 square meters) in Fenghuangshan cemetery, almost fourfold the size of M10 (4.4 square meters). Tomb 168 of Fenghuangshan consists of one *guo* and two *guan*, the three compartments are filled with a total of more than 500 grave goods, including elaborate textiles and luxury lacquer vessels. Both Fenghuangshan M10 and Xiejiaqiao M1 contained one *guo* and one *guan*.¹⁸

4.4.1 Textually based social indicators in the written regulations

Following the same approach to the analysis of large-scale tombs, a comparison can be made between the burial evidence of medium-size tombs and sumptuary rules related to the rank of *wu dafu*.

Among the Zhangjiashan manuscripts, the *Ci liü* 賜律 (Statute on Bounties) describes specific regulations for bestowing clothing and coffins for the funerals of different honorary ranks including the *wu dafu* and the *gongcheng*. The texts are incomplete, but we can find two categories of status symbols described in the sumptuary rules below:

¹⁷ For the details of these tombs see III.05, III.01 and III.06 in Appendix3-1.

¹⁸ Fenghuangshan 1974. Fenghuangshan 1993. For the details of tomb structure and burial assemblage in M10, M168 of Fenghuangshan and Xiejiaqiao M1 see III.05, III.01 and III.06 in Appendix 3-2: Table 3-02 c.

ZJS strip no. 282-284

The bestowed garment should be six *zhang* and four *chi* (14.72 m) of cloth, five *chi* (115 cm) of edge, three *jin* (weight, 1.55 kg) of cotton padding. The coat should be two *zhang* and two *chi* (5.06 m) of cloth, and one *zhang* (230 cm) of edge with two *jin* (1.03 kg) of cotton padding. The trousers should be two *zhang* two *chi* (5.06 m) of cloth and 1.5 *jin* (0.77 kg) of cotton padding. The shroud (cloth used for wrapping the corpse) should be five *zhang* and two *chi* (11.96 m); the edge should be two *zhang* and six *chi* (5.98 m), 11 *jin* (5.68 kg) of cotton padding. People with the ranks higher than the *wu dafu* should use fine brocade cover. Those people whose ranks are lower than the *gongcheng* should use monochrome silk cloth; both of them should use silk lining. People with the rank lower than the *sikou* (minister of justice) should use cotton cover and lining.

The officials shall be bestowed with the garments and short robes during the second month and the eighth month, and no cloth lining and cotton padding shall be provided. The officials at the rank of 2000 *dan*, who have been on sick leave, should be bestowed with costumes, coats, coffins and official robes. The chief commandant should receive a garment, a coffin and an official robe. The officials with the ranks ranging from 1000 to 600 *dan* who have died shall be bestowed with coffins and official robes. The officials with the ranks lower than 500 *dan*, and those holding the titles of *cheng* and *wei* should be bestowed with coffins.

賜衣者六丈四尺、緣五尺、絮三斤，襦二丈二尺、緣丈、絮二斤，袴二丈一尺，絮一斤半，衾五丈二尺、緣二丈六尺、絮十一斤。五大夫以上錦表，公乘以下縵表，皆帛裡；司寇以下布表、裡。

二月盡八月賜衣、襦，勿予裡、絮。二千石吏不起病者，賜衣襦、棺及官衣常（裳）。都尉，賜衣、棺及官常（裳）。千石至六百石吏死官者，居縣賜棺及官衣。五百石以下至丞、尉死官者，居縣賜棺。

The first category was the garments used for dressing the dead, in terms of various textiles with different values. The historical texts stated that people's dress was regulated by sumptuary rules; this system helped establish the recognition of

rank within a social hierarchy: types, colors and fabrics of dress were defined by the social standing and status of their owners.¹⁹

The second category includes coffin and outer chamber. The same statute stated that the bestowed coffins with different values were in accord with the hierarchical order of honorary ranks. For instance, the *wu dafu* or below shall be given with a proper *guan* (coffin) or 600 coins of cash, and a *guo* (outer chamber) or 300 coins of cash. People without rank shall be given 300 coins of cash. The rules did not say how many coffins or outer chambers used for burial were prescribed for different ranks. We only know the cost of the inner coffin was double that of the outer chamber.

ZJS strip no.288

If a household has two dead people, the local county official shall provide them with one coffin or two coffins for three dead people.

一室二在堂，縣官給一棺；三在當（堂），給二棺。

ZJS strip no.289

For people who want to receive cash [as replacement for] a coffin, those with ranks higher than the *qing* shall be given 1000 coins of cash [as replacement for] the outer chamber, and 600 coins of cash for the inner coffin. The *wu dafu* and below shall be given 600 coins of cash for coffin and 300 coins of cash for outer chamber. Officials without any honorary rank shall be given 300 coins of cash for an inner coffin.

賜棺享（槨）而欲受齋者，卿以上予棺錢級千、享（槨）六百；五大夫以下棺錢級六百、享（槨）級三百；毋爵者棺錢三百。²⁰

¹⁹ Shelagh Vainker suggests that the restriction on silk use prevailed from the Western Zhou according to the descriptions in the *Zhou li*, by relating the types, colors of garment to social ranks. Vainker 2004:36-42. White 1994:13-29.

²⁰ What was a *qian* worth in the Han dynasty? From the *Han shu*, a Han farmer owning 100 mu (approximately 600 square meters) of land had an annual income of 150-*dan* grain, and 30-*dan* was equivalent to 1,350 *qian*. It is clear that the inner coffin is much more expensive than the outer chamber.

From the above texts, we can see that the bestowal of clothing and coffins for funerals varies across three grades: the highest level is the *wu dafu* and 2000 *dan* officials. The second is *du wei* (the minister of brigands) and 600-1,000 *dan* officials. The lowest is 500 *dan* officials to the *cheng* (the assistant magistrate) and the *wei* (commandant). Such detailed descriptions lead to several basic questions: can such regulations be illustrated by excavated examples? Can the status symbols such as garments and coffins described in sumptuary rules, really help us to define ranks?

4.4.2 The variability of tomb structures and burial assemblages

Perishable items survived remarkably well in Xiejiaqiao M1. At least two hundred textiles were found, including small embroidered silk bags and different types of clothing, some astonishingly well preserved. Thirty silk bags with fine embroidery, two carriage umbrellas, and one square flag with an intricate design were found inside the inner coffin, which was covered with four layers of *huangwei* 荒帷 (coffin covering).²¹ In M168, a set of clothing, comprising two *guan* 冠 (formal hats), two pairs of shoes, one coat, two skirts and a pair of socks, was unearthed from the side chamber. Apart from silk hats, all were made of hemp cloth. In the inner coffin, two pieces of cotton padding lay beside the male body. In addition to different levels of preservation, the different textile types may indicate different narratives of status and identity in body adornment.²² The accumulation of textiles in medium-size tombs marked wealth but the limited data is insufficient for a comparative study.

Only M168 includes two coffins. The outer coffin is 2.56 meters long and 97 cm

²¹ The full report of Xiejiaqiao M1 has been not published yet, the brief report published in 2009 *Wenwu* only provided five pictures of textiles excavated from this tomb, including a small silk bag and the coffin covering. Xiejiaqiao 2009.

²² For the discussion on various textiles for shrouding and gender based status distinction see chapter 5.

wide, similar to fourth century Chu examples, using six planks with, mortise and tenons connecting them to the sideboards, and a base, which is inset using tongue and groove construction. The connection between base and sideboards also uses tight fitting wood joinery technique. The edges between the cover and sideboards are sealed with hemp and lacquer. The outer coffin is tied with two hemp sashes, 11 rolls each, and both the cover and base are notched along the outer edges to secure the hemp ropes. The inner coffin is 2.23 meters long, 76 cm wide and 71 cm deep. The cover of two coffins from M168 is made of a large solid plank, and decorated with black lacquer. Their base and four sideboards have been done in the same way. The single coffin from Xiejiaqiao M1 is 2.48 meters long and 83 cm wide, with a similar size with the outer coffin of Fenghuangshan M168. M10 of Fenghuangshan includes the smallest coffin, measuring 1.98 meters long and 56 cm wide. According to Beckman's study, half-timber coffins from the Chu tombs were related to conspicuous consumption when wood become a very valuable commodity during the fifth century B.C.²³ Likewise, coffins consisting of flat thick planks in M168, demanded larger timbers, also represent the economic power of their owners.

It is not possible to establish a direct connection between burial data of group III and the sumptuary rules recorded in the Zhangjiashan manuscripts. The mortuary variability represented by the medium-size tombs demonstrates that the individuals, even those people holding the same rank, might express their statuses and identities in a variety of ways.

4.4.3 Discussion on the rank and identity at Fenghuangshan cemetery

Different theories have been proposed to interpret the variations in tomb

²³ Beckman 2006: 105.

structure and burial objects of M10 and M168 at Fenghuangshan cemetery. Based on the records of tax collection and business contracts discovered in M10, scholars such as Huang Shengzhang and Hong Yi, suggest that the M10 occupant was a land owner and merchant. They attribute his simple burial to a lack of official rank.²⁴ Yu Weichao and Chen Zhenyu argue that the M10 owner would have bought the rank of *wu dafu* by donating grain to the state treasury, while the M168 occupant was probably bestowed with this rank for meritorious service. It is generally accepted that the accumulation of wealth in M168 can be explained by the economic and political power attached to his official position.²⁵

No official status evidence has been found in these tombs: there were only two private seals inscribed with personal names found in M10 and M168 (Fig.4-05).²⁶ The surviving bamboo strips are a major source, allowing archaeologists to draw inferences about the identity of their owners. Fenghuangshan M10 contains rich administrative documents, including household registers, commercial contract, records of land tax.²⁷ These documents are believed to be related to the duty of the tomb owner and the daily activities in which the person may have been involved. Qiu Xigui has therefore argued that the M10 occupant was a *se fu* 嗇夫 (bailiff), a lower

²⁴ A wooden seal bearing the text “Zhang Yan 張偃” was found with a bronze belt hook at the waist of a skeleton in the coffin of M10, revealing that “Zhang Yan” was the name of the tomb owner. Huang defined it as a private seal, different from the examples of official seals found in the Eastern Han burials in Lelang Commandery (north Korea), which included two wooden seals, bearing such texts as an official title “*wu guan yuan* 五官掾 (the aides of governor)”. Fenghuangshan 1974: 41-46. Huang Shengzhang 1974: 66-78. Hong Yi 1974:78.

²⁵ Yu suggested the document addressed to the underground authority was written by the assistant magistrate of Jiangling, indicating a close relationship with the tomb owner of Fenghuangshan M168, who was probably the prefect of Jiangling. By contrast, the document in M10 is produced by the tomb owner. Yu Weichao 1975: 11. Chen suggested that the assistant magistrate of Jiangling was in charge of the funeral of the M 168 owner. Chen Zhenyu 2003 a: 246-247.

²⁶ In Fenghuangshan M168, a jade seal inscribed with “Sui 遂” was found in the mouth of the dead. Fenghuangshan 1993.

²⁷ Fenghuangshan 1974.

ranking local official in Xixiang 西鄉 (the west village).²⁸

The potential significance of tomb documents in identity formation has been insufficiently studied. The written regulations are silent on the practice of burying manuscripts with the deceased, but the greater variety and the larger number of documents found in group III indicate their importance. As to the functions of entombed texts, Donald Harper suggests that manuscripts containing useful knowledge would have been buried to show the deceased's versatility of knowledge, thereby establishing the spiritual prestige of the dead.²⁹ Yuri Pines tries to locate tomb documents within the contemporary ideas of the netherworld and afterlife, and suggested that the administrative documents buried in tombs were associated with the mundane career of the deceased and they are clearly connected to the owner's occupation.³⁰ In the study on the seventh century contracts discovered in the Astana graveyards of Turfan, Hansen suggests that the contract is designed to protect the claims of the dead to their graves by giving them title they can show to the underground bureaucracy.³¹ Both studies point out that the reason for burying these documents in the tombs was the belief that they would be similarly useful in the afterlife.

I would go further and suggest that the entombed documents were not merely

²⁸ The texts of "Xixiang Yan 西鄉偃 (Yan of the west village)" repeatedly appeared in the administrative documents of Fenghuangshan M10, Qiu suggests it is an abbreviation of "*Xixiang se fu Yan* 西鄉嗇夫偃 Yan , the bailiff of the west village". "Yan 偃" is also inscribed on the wooden seal of M10, it is the personal name of the tomb owner. Qiu Xigui 1981:252.

²⁹ Harper 1994: 13-21.

³⁰ Yuri Pines is very insightful in relating the entombed texts to the provision of afterlife, but his research only concerned very limited examples found in high ranking Han tombs at Mawangdui and Shuanggudui; the meaningful use of occupation related documents should be fully explored in a broader scope of material evidence. Pines 2003: 101-126.

³¹ Hansen points out the moneylender Zuo buried fifteen contracts in his tomb for the same reason. These documents were left over from unresolved disputes during his lifetime, he hoped to get them settled in the next world. Hansen 1995: 59-66.

used for a posthumous career or unsettled disputes in the afterlife, they functioned as artifacts that played equally important roles in constructing the identity and status of their owners. The meaningful use of different documents buried in the medium-size Han tombs should be examined case by case. In the case of Fenghuangshan M10, the rank of *wu dafu* recorded in the wooden tablet is taken for granted by archaeologists. Few scholars have questioned whether the rank and status recorded in the entombed documents can be considered as self identification or ideal expression. It is true that some entombed texts such as administrative documents and official archives are possibly connected with social roles and activities performed while alive, providing straightforward information for identifying the deceased. But we must be aware of the possibility of ideological manipulation, by asking why these documents were placed in tombs, and what identity was given to the deceased and by whom.

4.5 The Material Expressions of Status and Identity

4.5.1 Occupations

First, I will discuss a range of archival materials related to occupations, such as officials, merchants and landowners. From historical records, we know the intended use of entombed texts. In some cases, the documents were chosen by the dead individual before death. The *Houhan shu* stated that a devoted Confucian scholar, Zhou Pan 周磐, who asked his sons to prepare a copy of the “*Yao dian* 堯典 chapter of the *Shu jing* 書經 and to place it with a book knife and a writing brush in front of his coffin, to show he did not forget the way of the sages.³² This case tells us that the

³² *Houhan shu* 39.1311. “In the first year of Jianguang (A.D. 121), [Zhou Pan] was seventy three years old, he assembled his apprentices at the beginning of this year, and made speeches throughout the day,

documents were selectively buried, to represent the image by which the dead wished to be remembered.

Documents written on bamboo strips or wooden tablets are significantly used to create the identity and status of officials, represented by visual evidence and material records. Images of officials mainly survive in the stone carvings from the Eastern Han tombs in Shandong. In the stone carving of the Yinan Han tomb (A.D. 193), a kneeling official wears a belted robe and an official hat, a writing brush is placed underneath his official hat, and his hands are holding an extended book or report comprising five strips. A book knife is tied to his belt; it is to be used to erase characters on the bamboo strips if there was a written mistake (Fig.4-06 a, b).³³ Another stone carving from the second century Han tomb at Linyi in Shandong, represents a group of standing officials; each person holding a bamboo manuscript (Fig.4-06 c, d).³⁴ We can clearly see a bunch of bamboo strips tied with two rows of strings, showing similar physical features as excavated examples in the Hubei Han tombs (Fig.4-06 e, f). Clearly, the documents in the forms of bamboo strips and wooden tablets signified the status of officials.

It is noteworthy that not all documents found in tombs were related to officials.

Only the presence of archival materials, including household registers, and legal

[after that he] gave orders to his two sons and said: "I had a dream that my previous teacher Dong Li talked to me at the hall of *Yin Tang* 陰堂 (the place of the underworld)." He sighed: "Does my time come to end? When I am dead, [you should use] a wooden coffin [which is no larger than the right size] to accommodate [my] body, the outer chamber [which is no larger than the right size] to contain the coffin, [the outer chamber should be directly] placed into the grave, [buried with] clothing and head scarf. [You should make a copy of] the *Yao dian*, written on the bamboo strips with the length of two feet and four inches, [this manuscript should be] placed in the front of the coffin with a book knife and a writing brush, to show I did not forget the way of the sages. 建光元年, 年七十三, 歲朝會集諸生, 講論終日, 因令其二子曰: "吾日者夢見先師東里先生, 與我講於陰堂之奧。"既而長歎: "豈吾齒之盡乎! 若命終之日, 桐棺足以周身, 外槨足以周棺, 斂形懸封, 濯衣幅巾. 編二尺四寸簡, 寫《堯典》一篇, 並刀筆各一, 以置棺前, 示不忘聖道."

³³ A short knife (20 cm in length) with a ring handle is normally used as book knife. For different kinds of metal knives found in Han tombs see Lu Xixing 2013: 72-82.

³⁴ Hsing 2011:23-50. Ma Yi 2014.

documents manifest the administrative roles of their owners.³⁵ This assumption can be affirmed by the archaeological evidence of some identifiable official's tombs. In Kongjiapo M8 (dated to 142 B.C.) at Suizhou (Fig.4-07 a, b), over 778 bamboo strips were discovered in the northern compartment, including *rishu* 日書 (Almanac) and *lipu* 曆譜 (calendars). From the inscribed tablet, we know the tomb occupant is Pi 辟, a *ku se fu* 庫嗇夫 (the warehouse bailiff) in the marquisate of Marquis Tao 桃侯國 (present-day Suizhou, Hubei).³⁶ In Songbai M1 (dated to 133 B.C.), 340 meters away from the Fenghuangshan cemetery (Fig.4-07 c, d), sixty-three wooden tablets and 10 bamboo strips were found. Many of them are archival materials of the Southern commandery, including household registers, the records of statutory service and enrollment. The bibliographical texts said that the owner, Zhou Yan 周偃 held the position of “*youzhi se fu* 有秩嗇夫 (ranking official and bailiff)” in the first year of Yanyuan (140 B.C.), and he was promoted to *Nanping wei* 南平尉 (Commandant of Nanping) in the second year of Yuanguang (133 B.C.).³⁷ This person also held a lower honorary rank of *gongcheng* 公乘 (the eighth level of the Twenty Orders).³⁸

³⁵ We did not know whether these people were high ranking officials or political elites, or these people could be governmental scribes who were able to produce and keep copies

³⁶ For the dating of Kongjiapo M8, see Hu and Li 2004: 380-381, Zhang Changping 2004: 64-70, Kongjiapo Jiandu 2006:197. Qiu Xigui has some systematic research on the “bailiff” in the Qin and Han periods, based on the received texts and excavated manuscripts. He suggests that the bailiff is the lower level clerk ruling a prefecture, the grade is lower than 100 *dan*. The interpretation of “*youzhi se fu* 有秩嗇夫 *youzhi* bailiff” is debatable, Wang Guowei proposed that it referred to the lowest grade of officials with bounty, which is equivalent to 100 *dan* level. Gao Ming argues that *youzhi* and bailiff are two official positions. Qiu Xigui concluded that the Han dynasty bailiff includes *youzhi* 有秩 (100*dan*) and *doushi* 斗食 (below 100 *dan*) two types, and the main responsibility of bailiff of warehouse 庫嗇夫 is in charge of carriages and weapons, as well as the production of bronzes and lacquers. Wang Guowei 1934: 2, 10. Gao Min 1979: 71. Qiu Xigui 1981: 226-301. For the lower ranking official ranks see chapter 2.

³⁷ Peng Hao 2009 b.

³⁸ The manuscripts found in Songbai M1 include funerary inventory, administrative documents, chronicles, and legal codes (during the reign of Emperor Wen, 179-157 B.C.), calendars and the records of Zhou Yan's achievements and promotions during the reign of Emperor Jing (156-141 B.C.) and Emperor Wu (140-87 B.C.). The official archives mentioned that Zhou Yan is “*youzhi se fu* in West

In Zhangjiashan M247, a *lipu* which was found with the well-known Statutes and Ordinance of the Second Year, recorded a chronicle of major events in the life time of the tomb occupant, including “*xiang wei Han* 降為漢 (surrender to the Han)” and “*bing mian* 病免 (suspension for sickness)”. It said that the tomb owner was once a local official in Chu state, he surrendered to Han in 202 B.C. and worked as a civil official until he asked for sick leave in 194 B.C.³⁹

M10 of Fenghuangshan had a greater variety of administrative documents than other burials in the Jiangling area; this burial contained 172 bamboo strips, which can be categorized into five types: (1) the *Zhengli lin ji* 鄭里廩籍; (2) a list of donors; (3) records of statutory service; (4) household registers; (5) financial records of governmental incomes and expenses.⁴⁰ Amongst the six wooden tablets, tablet no. 2, entitled “*zhong fan gong shi yue* 中舩共侍約”, has been regarded as the earliest evidence of a business contract, and has attracted intensive attention.⁴¹ The content reveals that the owner of Fenghuangshan M10 was engaged in trading and transporting commodities.

The material objects, especially various tools found in the tombs of group III,

Village of Jiangling 江陵西鄉有秩畜夫”. Songbai 2008: 24-33. Tablets no. 47-53 were published in 2009, see Zhu Jiansong 2009: 209-212. Li Bingquan argued that the copies of certain confidential documents, such as the household register books of the South Commandery, suggest that Zhou Yan must have an important position in the local office during his lifetime. Li Bingquan 2010: 90-101.

³⁹ Zhangjiashan 1985.

⁴⁰ Fenghuangshan Zhujian 2012:138-140.

⁴¹ The interpretations on the character “*fan* 舩” in the inscriptions vary greatly. In the brief report published in 1974, the excavator read “舩” as “販” which means trading. The document of tablet no. 2 has been identified as a commercial contract, namely, seven people, including Zhang Bo 張伯 and Chen Bo 陳伯 were engaged in trading. Fenghuangshan 1974: 45. This idea is supported by Huang Shengzhang, who re-affirms his conclusion in two articles, which claim that the M10 occupant has multiple statuses: a lower level official in charge of village land tax, indicated by the tax records; he is also a merchant based on the contents of business contract and pricing list of goods. Huang Shengzhang 1991: 64-69. Hong Yi argues “*fan* 舩” can be written as “*ban* 般”, “*zhong fan* 中舩” means “official boat”, he suggests that Zhang Yan, the M10 occupant is also named as “Zhang Bo 張伯” in the contract, involved in the official business of shipping goods. Fenghuangshan Zhujian 2012.

indicate the different occupations of their owners. In M168 of Fenghuangshan, a scale was found with writing tools in a bamboo casket (Fig. 4-08 a, b). From the inscription such as “the balance was used for weighing coins for the Ying family in Siyang 正為市陽戶人嬰家稱錢衡”, we know that this scale was used to check coin weights when collecting tax.⁴² Another female burial, M167 of Fenghuangshan, contained a wooden tool to measure land area.⁴³ These tools probably belonged to landowners.⁴⁴ Writing tools, such as brush (Fig.4-08 c), ink slab and book knife, however, were not necessarily related to the officials. The ability to read and write was not common amongst the majority of the population in Han times;⁴⁵ literacy and the mastery of specific knowledge, manifested by writing tools and specific documents, undoubtedly represented elite status.

The above analysis shows that different occupations can be archaeologically distinguished in terms of documents and tools. The occupation-related documents were only found in male tombs (Appendix 3-2 Table 3-03); their absence in female

⁴² The scale in Fenghuangshan M168 was 29.2 cm long and one cm wide. Full inscriptions were written in three lines: “The scale which belonged to the registered householder Ying, was used to weigh coins. The [standard] weight was made with the official coins and engraved with *sizhu*” 正為市陽戶人嬰家稱錢衡. 以錢為累, 刻曰四銖”; “The two ends [of the scale] [missing characters] ten, person who dares to use other weight [which was] lighter or heavier [than this one] shall be reported and punished by ten day’s statutory service at the ward. 兩端口十, 敢擇輕重衡, 及弗用, 劾論罰徭, 里家十日”; “[made by] the Statute on Measurement 黃律” The *sizhu* 四銖 coin was issued during the reign of Emperor Wen in 175 B.C. A *sizhu* coin was around 2.4 cm in diameter and around 2.2 grams in weight. ” Fenghuangshan 1993. For different transcriptions see Huang Shengzhang 1977: 43-50. Hua and Zhong 1977: 40-42. My translation is based on Huang Shengzhang’s transcription. For the details on the different types of coins and weights issued during 296 B.C. and 113 B.C. see Chao Huashan 1977: 69-72.

⁴³ Fenghuangshan 1976.

⁴⁴ Huang Shengzhang suggested that the scale found in Fenghuangshan M168 was used by a big merchant family, who also owned a private workshop to cast coins for the local government. Huang Shengzhang 1977: 43-50. I agree with Huang that the scale was used by the tomb owner for checking coin weights. This meant he was probably involved in monetary transaction or collecting taxes, but there was no evidence to indicate whether his household was engaged in coin-casting.

⁴⁵ Yates’s study on the literacy of the lower social strata in the Qin and early Han suggests that scribes were probably trained in mathematics; they were required to keep accurate and detailed records of all the various accounts under their purview. Yates 2011: 339-369, also Kern 2010: 65-93. Giele 2005: 353-387.

tombs demonstrates that they were a means of separating the men from the women in the mortuary record. And interestingly, tools used for textile production only appeared in female tombs; they were more gender-specified artifacts than the occupation-related ones.⁴⁶

4.5.2 Householders

Here, I will focus on a group of tomb documents found in six individual tombs of group III. The *gao di shu* 告地書 (announcement to underworld authority), recorded the name and rank of the individuals in the form of wooden or bamboo tablets. Previous scholarship has simply considered these as direct textual source for defining honorary ranks of the deceased. Here, I will provide different views on such a category by relating them to the concepts of the household in light of newly discovered manuscripts. I will argue that the variables of mortuary evidence may represent the wealth and power of different households; this provides an alternative explanation for the identity of tomb occupants in M10 and M168 of Fenghuangshan. When discussing the roles of tomb documents and artifacts in identity formation, I will refer back to the statutes on the household and honorary ranks discussed in the second chapter.

(1) Identity of householder defined by tomb documents

The full texts of the six documents and their translations are provided in the Appendix 2 Tomb documents. One of the complete examples of the *gao di shu*, such as the bamboo tablet from Fenghuangshan M168 is written as follows:

⁴⁶ Full discussion on the gender-specified artifacts see chapter 5.

“In the thirteenth year, the fifth month, on the day of *gengcheng*, the assistant magistrate of Jiangling dares to declare to the assistant magistrate of the underworld that the *wu(da) fu* of Shiyang, Sui, makes an announcement that he is accompanied by senior servant Liang, female servant Yi and others, a total of twenty-eight persons...and two carriages, one cart, [missing characters] horses, two horses, four riding-horses. It is a command for officials to deal with the affairs [according to statutes and decrees], hereby dare to report to the underworld lord.”⁴⁷

These documents were all written in a formulaic way, often comprising five elements: (1) precise date; (2) name of the sender; (3) title or rank, name of the newly arriving dead; (4) provisions, including servants, carriages and horses; (5) intended recipient. The six tombs containing this genre of documents were distributed in Jiangling and Suizhou, Hubei region. Apart from the Kongjiapo tablet, five documents recorded the honorary rank and title of the individuals.⁴⁸

For their functions, different suggestions have been proposed by scholars: as simplified copies of official registry documents for announcing the arrival of the dead and giving the identity to the netherworld bureaucracy;⁴⁹ or as a form of *chuan* 傳, like a passport used to travel among different administrative areas, including the underworld administrations.⁵⁰ It is generally accepted that these documents dealt with the journey of the deceased to the underworld.⁵¹

⁴⁷ Fenghuangshan Zhujian 2012. For the full texts, see Appendix 2 G05.

⁴⁸ The wooden tablet from Kongjiapo M 8 described the official rank of the dead as *se fu* 齋夫 (the bailiff). Kongjiapo 2001.

⁴⁹ Chen Songchang observed that the *gao di shu* in the Han tombs are highly formulaic, showing considerable similarities with the administrative documents discovered in the Qin dynasty official post in Liye, Hunan. He argues that those texts imitated official documents. Chen Songchang 2008: 21-26. Similar ideas also see Liu Guosheng 2009: 120-123. Pirazzoli-t'Serstevan 2009: 970.

⁵⁰ Huang Shengzhang 1977: 46. Osamu Oba 2001: 247-250. Xi Wenqian 2011:1-6. Guo Jue 2011: 85-116.

⁵¹ Yu Ying-shih 1987: 363-395. Pioneering works by Anna Seidel and Donald Harper have paid

These assumptions are centered on one or two single documents, lacking overall examination of the full records. Also, the textual analysis overlooks a meaningful relation between the *gao di shu* and other burial objects, by divorcing the tomb documents from the funeral context. I will suggest a different approach, one that takes into account the material objects and their ritual use into account.⁵² In what follows I will show both material objects and documents point to the identity of the householder.

(2) Conceptual ideas of household

I will begin with the household registration of the early Empires based on recent archaeological discoveries. Before we look at the examples of household registers and the documents of *gao di shu*, it is necessary to understand the conceptual ideas of household and their connection with Han tombs.

The concept of “*hu* 户 (household)” should be distinguished from that of the “*jia* 家(family)”. Han society was based on agricultural production, and the household was a major tax-paying unit.⁵³ Each household is based on a nuclear family, but was often more inclusive. In the *Han shu*, the average size of a household is given as around

attention to the bureaucratic facets of the underworld. The Eastern Han texts reveal that the underworld deity known as the Yellow God or the lord of Mount Tai 泰山府君 who was to review the records of conduct of the dead, as well as control the registers of the living. Seidel 1987: 21-57. Harper 1994: 13-28. Kleeman 1984: 1-34. These earlier studies were mainly based on the grave quelling texts and protective talismans from the Eastern Han tombs. Little attention was paid to the Western Han tomb documents. The *gao di shu* from the Western Han tombs were all found in the south while the land contracts and grave quelling texts were mainly found in Eastern Han tombs of north China. The latest study by Guo Jue argues that the disappearance of announcement to the underworld at the end of the Western Han and the appearance of tomb quelling texts, different genres of tomb documents that were used beginning in the early Eastern Han, indicated evolving attitudes towards dead and the afterlife. Guo Jue 2011: 103.

⁵² For the discussion on the nature of tomb documents see chapter 1.

⁵³ In Han society, a household has to pay poll tax and local corvée annually. Tung-tsu Chu 1972: 90-91. Hsu 1980: 70-79. The *hu* was an administrative, taxable unit while the *jia* is a unit of kinship. Loewe 2010 a: 302-303.

five persons.⁵⁴ The samples of household registers in the archaeological record represent the extensive household, including slaves and servants.⁵⁵ The dependant members were not necessarily biologically related. Frequent references in Han texts said that household registration was a principal imperial institution for the purpose of social control.⁵⁶ The system survived into the Nationalist period. It was also adopted by the People's Republic of China.⁵⁷

Archaeologically excavated records demonstrate that household registration was established with the Qin state, and followed by Han. Over 37,000 bamboo strips were recovered from Liye 里耶, an ancient city on the border of the present-day Hunan and Sichuan provinces, in 2002. The registers, written on 28 bamboo strips (dated from 222 B.C. to 208 B.C.), carry such details on the address, rank, birth place, official position and name of the male householder, which are followed by male adult members in his family, female family members and children, close relatives living with the family, and then concubines and private slaves and maids. For instance, one household includes that a head, whose rank was *bu geng*, his son Chang, who also held the rank of *bu geng*, the wife, two little sons with the rank of *shangzao* and two little daughters.⁵⁸

Abundant evidence of Han period household registers was discovered at Juyan 居延, the key garrison town on the northwestern frontier of the Han Empire. The registers of soldiers, who were stationed at Juyan, included their names, duty

⁵⁴ A farming household consumed 11.4 *hu* of grain each month.

⁵⁵ One example from the Qin and early Han period household registers was found in the Liye well, Hunan province. It included the name of a maid and her children. Liye strip no. K4. Zhang Rongqiang 2008: 68-80. English introductory article on Liye documents, see Yates 2012-13: 291-329.

⁵⁶ The discussion on the household registration, see section 2.4.1 in chapter 2.

⁵⁷ Ikeda 1984: 60-77.

⁵⁸ K17: “南陽戶人荊不更黃口,子不更昌,妻曰不實,子小上造悍,子小上造,子小女規,子小女移。” Liye 2007. Liu Rui 2012: 69-74. Yates 2012-13: 292-329.

classification, military rank, place of birth and age. “Guardsmen Yu Di, of Guang du li, Zhangye Commandery, Juyan, rank of *dafu*, age thirty four. 戍卒張掖郡居延廣都里大夫虞地年卅四”.⁵⁹ The format of the household register did not change much in the Eastern Han period. One example discovered at Changsha, Hunan reads “The fourth year of Jianning (A.D. 171) the head [of household], Qi of Yicheng li, rank of *gongcheng*, age 39. 建寧四年益成里戶人公乘其[年]卅九...”⁶⁰ Clearly the name and honorary rank of the householder were highlighted in the documents. Recent discoveries of provincial census at Tianchang 天長, Donghai 東海, Xuanquan 懸泉 and Songbai 松柏 demonstrated that civil household registration was a standard practice of social control in almost all parts of the country.⁶¹

The examples of household registers surviving at the Liye and Juyan sites provide details for comparison. The sizes of *gao di shu* are uniform (around 23 cm. in length), but they are much smaller than the Qin household registers (46 cm in length) discovered in Liyu, Hunan.⁶² The *gao di su* give the name and title of the householder, followed by other family members and servants, imitating the aboveground bureaucratic system.⁶³ The example from Gaotai M18 comprised four tablets, folded and stamped with the seal of “*Jiangling cheng* 江陵丞 (The assistant

⁵⁹ For English translations of administrative documents uncovered from Juyan see Loewe 1967: 38. In Han times, within a county, ten *li* 里 wards formed a group or village, known as a *ting* 亭, ten *ting* formed a *xiang* 鄉 village. Loewe 2006: 47. For the original texts of Juyan manuscripts see Juyan Hanjian 1987.

⁶⁰ Changsha Hanjian 2006: 107, 162. Changsha Hanjian 2008: 168.

⁶¹ The provincial census was an overall assessment of the wealth and human resources of a given territory. Quanxuan Hanjian 2001. For the Lelang household register see Jung: 2010. Yinwan Hanjian 1997. Yuan Yansheng 2009: 114-119.

⁶² Liye 2006.

⁶³ For the full texts of *gao di shu* see Appendix 2 Tomb documents. The most comprehensive study on recent discoveries of household registers found in Liye and Juyan see Wang Yanhui 2013: 20-29. Scholars, such as Chen Songchang and Huang Shengzhang, have noted that the *gao di shu* found in Jiangling Han tombs imitated the Liye official archives. Chen Songchang 2008: 21-26. Huang Shengzhang 1994: 41-49.

of Jiangling) on the cover sheet, resembling the Liye official archives. Li Xueqin therefore defined it as a copy of an archival document.⁶⁴ But it is noteworthy that the *gao di shu* addressed their message to the underworld authority.⁶⁵

The Han notion of the afterlife was largely based on the daily practices of the living, evidenced by the tomb arrangement to satisfy all the basic needs for carrying on daily life after death.⁶⁶ Despite the varied narratives on the beliefs about the afterlife described in historical texts, it was apparent that the Han tombs were meant as analogues to the houses of living. As we can see from the archaeological evidence, the internal designs of burial chamber mimicked aboveground buildings, displaying different social economic statuses. Various kinds of objects were buried to meet different needs in the afterlife: dining vessels for feasting; clothes and textiles for clothing; musical instruments for entertaining.

The Han Chinese believed that life after death basically resembled life on earth; the dead had to bear burdens such as taxes, obligations and official harassment.⁶⁷ The *gao di shu* found in Jiangling tombs included principal information, such as the name and rank of the householder, members of the household, wealth and property, paralleling the actual documents of household registration.⁶⁸ Such parallels can be

⁶⁴ Li Xueqin 2003: 73-80.

⁶⁵ Amongst five *gaodi shu* found in Jiangling tombs, four were addressed to the “*dixia cheng* 地下丞 (the assistant of underworld)” or “*dixia zhu* 地下主 (the assistant of underworld)”. Only one document from Gaotai M18 was addressed to “Andu 安都”. Cao Lüning suggests that the “Andu 安都” has the same meaning with the “Youdu 幽都” in the Eastern Han stele, both refer to the underworld. Cao Lüning 2008. I agree with Cao Lüning “Andu” refers to the underworld, as there is no evidence indicates such a place existed in the South commandery from both the dynastic histories and the excavated texts.

⁶⁶ Discussion on the relations between tombs and household see chapter 1 and chapter 3.

⁶⁷ Poo 1998: 65, 170-171. Huang Shengzhang 1994: 41-49.

⁶⁸ Gao Min and Yu Haoliang summarized the basic information included in the household registers of early Empires found in Liye and Juyan: the name, status, age of the head, members of the household and property. Gao Min 1987: 75. The age of the householder was absent is the *gao di shu*, Wang Yanhui has pointed out age was not necessarily recorded in the household registers in the Western Han period. Wang Yanhui 2013: 20-21.

considered as generally responding to prevailing practice in life. Thus the documents of *gao di shu*, and tomb structures continued features of daily life into the afterlife.

Among the Zhangjiashan manuscripts, the Statute on Exemption from Statutory Duties stated that certain members of the household were obliged to provide service in official workshops. People with a rank above the *dafu* could be exempted such statutory service.⁶⁹ Notably two honorary ranks higher than the *dafu* were recorded in the five tomb documents, that is, the *wu dafu* and the *guannei hou* (Table 4-01). As I have discussed in the second chapter, if an individual held an honorary rank above the *wu dafu*, the social privileges such as exemption from statutory service and reduction of tax may extend to other members of the household.⁷⁰ This may explain why the deceased and their living families put so much emphasis on the honorary rank in the tomb documents. When a householder or any member of the household held an honorary rank, the members of household could enjoy the social privileges attached to this rank, such as exemption of statutory service and reduce of tax. It seems likely that the householders assumed that this privilege continued into the afterlife.

4.5.3 Material symbols of wealth and status

Clearly, the *gao di shu* served as certificates for legitimizing the honorary rank and the identity of householder, to ensure that a range of benefits and privileges could be sustained in the afterlife. In addition to these documents, artifacts could also contribute to expressing wealth and the identity of householder in tombs. The following analysis shows that two categories of artifacts were used as material symbols of wealth and status in medium-size tombs: (I) the luxury dining set; (II) the

⁶⁹ ZJS strip no. 281.

⁷⁰ Discussion on the social privileges of different honorary ranks see chapter 2.

horse and carriage models, normally accompanied by human figurines.

(I) Luxury dining lacquers

Luxury dining lacquers produced by official workshops were found in Fenghuangshan M168, Maojiayuan M1 and Xiejiaqiao M1. The largest number of official products were from Fenghuangshan M168, the round boxes and *zhi*-cups were stamped with “*chengshi zao* 成市草 (造) made in Chengdu official workshop” and “*chengshi bao* 成市飽 lacquer-coated by the Chengdu official workshop”. They were official products from the official lacquer factories in Chengdu, Sichuan.⁷¹ Vessels for drinking and eating include trays, flasks, oval boxes, *yu*-containers, wine-cup containers, round boxes, oval boxes, circular boxes, *zun*-containers, *zhi*-cups, plates, dishes, ladles and ear-cups.

Wealth was not only displayed by the quantity and quality of vessel types, some costly types were certainly related to superior status and economic power. For instance, a wine-cup container found in Fenghuangshan M168 is carved in an oval shape, and its lid and body are close-fitting. Another rich tomb, M33 at Gaohai had a similar wine-cup container, the smart design enables ten piled ear-cups to be packed into a container (Fig.4-09 a, b). It is convenient for carrying and for outdoor dining. Large flat platters (32.5-53cm) with intricate designs of cloud dragon patterns were buried in three rich burials, including Fenghuangshan M168, Maojiayuan M1, and Gaotai M2 (Fig.4-10 a-b). Their rarity in relatively poorly furnished burials demonstrates that only the prestigious elites could afford those valuable objects, normally demanding sophisticated craftsmanship and ostentatious labor.

Also, objects that were larger than average size only appeared in wealthy burials.

⁷¹ Yu Weichao 1985 c: 146-153.

Most *zhi*-cups are normally 8 cm in height (Fig.4-11 a, b). They were used for serving beverages. The mural painting in the Western Han tomb discovered at Xi'an, Shaanxi province, presents a female attendant who is holding a *zhi*-cup in her hands (Fig.4-11 c).⁷² In Maojiayuan M1, we find a *zhi*-cup is almost three times bigger than the average size (Fig.4-11 d). The oval flasks from Fenghuangshan M168, are extremely large (48 in height). Both are painted fantastic images, winged leopards and clouds (Fig.4-12 a, b).

The medium-size trays (around 70 cm in length) were very popular in rich tombs such as M8 and M168 of Fenghuangshan. The most elaborate design of a tray found in Fenghuangshan M168, was filled with cloud dragons and birds arranged along a diagonal frame in the central area (Fig.4-13 a). Identical ornaments are repeated in the second decorative region with red and brown colors. On the rim there are tiny bird heads in geometrical shape. Such design resembles other two similar examples from M1 and M3 Mawangdui (Fig.4-13 b). The examples of two frugal burials such as Fenghuangshan M10 and Songbai M1 had lower quality craftsmanship than that seen in rich graves.

As discussed, luxury lacquer objects for everyday use were widely deployed as material symbols for social display, through the embodiment of value in the forms of labor-intensive production, fine craftsmanship and elaborate decoration.⁷³ Feasting is an important way of social integration in elite life, the accumulation of costly lacquer dining vessels in these medium-size tombs represents a strong emphasis on wealth and prestige.

⁷² The servile status of this female figure was indicated by the inscription “*xiao bi* 小婢 (small female servant)”, Qujiang 2010.

⁷³ Discussion on the luxury lacquers and material symbols see chapter 3.

(II) Horse and carriage models

As stated in the second chapter, travelling with horses and carriages was an upper class' privilege in Han society. A strict order was proclaimed by the first Emperor, Gaozu (r. 206 -195 B.C.), forbidding merchants to ride on carriages or wear silk textiles. Emperor Jing (r.156-141 B.C.) also established rules to maintain the hierarchical order of official's carriages.⁷⁴ Textual scholars, therefore, consider carriages and horses as status symbols of officials.⁷⁵ But the archaeological evidence of Han wooden chamber tombs shows their presence also in non-official burials such as female tombs.

In Fenghuangshan M168, an intact tableau, consisting of four guards wearing swords, followed by four male guards riding horses, two sets of carriages driven by two male servants was unearthed in the head compartment. There were also 24 female servants, joined together with one cart (Fig.3-14 a-c). The horses are carved as three dimensional sculptures and also painted realistically.

It is noteworthy that the carriages and horses, accompanied by the servants were also mentioned in the funerary inventory: two bamboo strips recorded that “one small carriage, four horses, one umbrella, one driving servant (one adult servant),”⁷⁶ and “one small carriage, one umbrella, two horses, one driving servant (one adult servant).”⁷⁷ This inventory was placed, together with above bamboo tablet, in the side compartment.⁷⁸

⁷⁴ Details on the sumptuary rules in using carriages see Chapter 2.

⁷⁵ Hsing 2011: 154.

⁷⁶ FHS M168 strips no.1. “案(安)車一乘, 馬四匹, 有蓋, 禦一人, 大奴.”

⁷⁷ FHS M168 strips no.2. “軺車一乘, 蓋一, 馬二匹, 禦一人, 大奴.” *Yaoche* 軺車 (small carriage) was the most popular transport in Han times. It is normally pulled by one or two horses, with an umbrella against sun or rain. Li Junming 1996:105-113.

⁷⁸ In addition to those servants accompanied with carriages, the inventory also listed a further 31 male and female servants, who were assigned different domestic duties, such as cooking serving and

The complete inventory found in tomb 168 of Fenghuangshan tells us that various types of grave goods were prepared for the afterlife of the deceased: (a) carriage and horse assemblages, accompanied by servants; (b) objects for everyday use including lacquer dining vessels, storage jars and cooking stuff; (c) silk textiles for clothing and (d) food stuff.⁷⁹ Many of these were matched by the objects actually buried in this tomb. In the other four tombs including Fenghuangshan M10, Xiejiaqiao M1, Gaotai M18 and Kongjiapo M8, the inventory of funeral objects was similarly deposited with the *gao di shu* tablets in the burial chamber. Such physical connection indicates that they were used as a set of funeral documents.⁸⁰

The practice of burying a funerary inventory in tombs was probably generated from the Chu tombs.⁸¹ The passage *Ji xi li* 既夕禮 (Mourning procedures) in the *Yili* states that the inventory list is read aloud and verified by ritual administrators before the actual funerary procession, and this serves as an announcement to both the spirits and the living.⁸² The funerary inventories prevailing in the Western Han tombs in the

farming, FHS M168 strips no.1-10. For the details see Appendix 2 Tomb documents G05 type B.

⁷⁹ For the full texts see Appendix 2-G05 Type B.

⁸⁰ The physical connection between *gao di shu* and funerary inventory has been noted by Chen Songchang and Michael Friedrich, for instance, the funerary inventory and the *gao di shu* were contained in a textile bag in Xiejiaqiao M1; in Fenghuangshan M10, the *gao di shu* and funerary inventory were both written on the same tablet. Chen Songchang 2008: 21-25. Friedrich 2010: 7-15. Enno Giele suggested that the *gao di shu* could be used as cover sheet for the inventory list. Giele 2006: 113.

⁸¹ The earliest known instance came from a medium size Chu tomb at Changsha, Hunan, excavated in 1951. The Wulipai M406 at Changsha, Hunan contained 38 bamboo strips listing the number of items included in this tomb. Changsha 1957: 25-27. It should be noted that funerary inventories were only found in higher ranking Chu tombs such as Baoshan M2 and Leigudui M1 while the distribution of inventories in Han burials, clearly marks their popularity among a wide range of social groups, from the rank of marquis to the modest status officials and landowners. The well-preserved sample from Baoshan M 2 recorded detailed lists of funerary objects, including chariots horses, weapons, food, clothing and everyday items. Baoshan 1991. The funeral inventory of Leigudun tomb 1 also listed 43 chariots and the names of officials who provided horses for the chariots used in the funeral. Zeng Hou Yi 1989.

⁸² The passage of *Ji xi li* 既夕禮 (Mourning procedures) in the *Yili* stated that the inventory list was read aloud and verified by ritual administrators before the actual funerary procession, this serve as an announcement to both the spirits and the living. The *Yili zhushu* 儀禮注疏, 39. 755-756: “The scribe of the master of mourning asks for permission to read the funerary gift-lists. [An assistant] carrying the tallies follows [the scribe]. [They go to] the east of the coffin and take their stand level with the foremost tie-ropes, with their faces to the west [i.e. toward the coffin]. Then, without any command

Jiangling area can be considered as the remnant of Chu tradition. The marks on the inventory list discovered in Dafentou M1 indicate that it probably functioned as a checklist. Each item buried in the tomb was verified by a specific person as part of funeral ritual.⁸³ Likewise, the *gao di shu* would have been used for ritual communication along with the funerary inventory.⁸⁴

The carriage and horses, along with servants, were represented by both material forms and written records, clearly indicating their importance for funeral provision. As I have discussed, the householder in the Han times was obliged to register his or her own rank, the dependants and property of household in a local office. One of examples of household registers found at Juyan garrison, recorded the prices of servants, horses and carriages, indicating they were valuable properties.⁸⁵ Those

being issued for the stopping of wailing, the mourners stop one another, leaving only the master and his wife to continue. The lamp is then brought to the right side, and the bearer stands facing south. As the scribe reads the lists of gifts, the assistant sits and tallies the items. When this is finished, the scribe orders the mourners to resume their wailing. The lamp is extinguished, and [they, carrying] the gift-lists and tallies, withdraw in the reverse order of their entrance. Then the lord's scribe stands at the west side, facing east [i.e. toward the coffin]. The mourners are ordered to stop wailing, [this time], the master and his wife are not excepted. The scribe then reads the lists of grave goods. When this is finished, he orders the mourners to resume their wailing. The lamp is then extinguished, then he withdraws.主人之史請讀贈.執筭從,柩東,當前東,西面.不命毋哭,哭者相止也,唯主人,主婦哭.燭在右,南面.讀書,釋筭則坐.卒,命哭.滅燭.書與筭執之以逆出.公史自西方東面.命毋哭,主人、主婦皆不哭.讀遣.卒,命哭.滅燭,出.” My translation is based on Lai Guolong's texts with modification. Although such records were from transmitted texts which had authorship and editorial problems, from the material remains from the Western Han tombs, some ritual practice such as the sacrifice, food offering and mourning may partially correspond to the texts. Lai Guolong 2002: 56-57. I do not think such complicated procedures as described in the ritual texts would have been fully practiced in performing the funeral rituals, but it is very likely the inventory was used for ritual purpose. The considerable uniformity of *gao di shu* and funerary inventory found in Jingling tombs indicates that the specific funerary rituals could be stylized and constrained by local custom.

⁸³ The tomb 1 of Dafentou (dated to 206-87 B.C.) was excavated at Yunmeng, Hubei in 1972, this well-preserved small wooden chamber tomb contained 8 horse models, 10 human figurines and more than 80 lacquer dining vessels, as well as 18 bronze objects. Dafentou 1973: 23-37. Hu Pingsheng has noted that most of objects described in the inventory list from Dafentou M1 at Yunmeng, were correspondent to those items actually buried in the tomb, some objects marked as “wu 毋(無) none” in the list did not find their counterpart in the burial. Hu Pingsheng 2004: 326.

⁸⁴ Guo Jue 2011: 102-103.

⁸⁵ In Western Han society, a slave or servant was valued around 15,000 coins while the average cost for a horse is around 5,000 coins; 100 coins for one *mu* land; 3000-10,000 coins for one house. Discussion on the values of servants and horses see Wang Zhenya 1996:114-122. Juyan Hanjian 1987: 61: “Two small servants were 30,000 coin; 50,000 coins for five horses; 10,000 coins for a house; 20,000 for an adult

miniatures buried in tombs would have been symbolically used as substitutes for real servants and carriages horses for the life after death. The numbers of servants, carriage and horses, accordingly, manifested the wealth of the household.

Table 4-01 Comparison of ranks and status symbols in selected tombs

tomb and date	gender	rank/identity	size(outer chamber)	luxury dining set	horse and carriage models
Gaotai M18 (173 B.C.)	female	widow of the <i>guannei hou</i>	2.87 m ²	none	none
Maojiayuan M1 (168 B.C.)	female	widow of the <i>guannei hou</i>	14.5 m ² (vertical pit)	100+	carriages and horses, number unclear
Xiejiaqiao M1 (184 B.C.)	female	mother of the <i>wu dafu</i>	14.3 m ²	129	1 carriage , 7 horses
FHS M168 (167 B.C.)	male	the <i>wu dafu</i>	14.6 m ²	333	2 carriages, one cart, 10 horses
FHS M10 (153 B.C.)	male	the <i>wu dafu</i>	4.4 m ²	none	none
Kongjiapo M8 (142 B.C.)	male	the bailiff	4.8 m ²	21	1 carriage, 4 horses

Notably, the wealth differentiation expressed by material symbols in the six tombs containing *gao di shu*, does not necessarily correspond the hierarchical order of honorary ranks (Table 4-01). Fenghuangshan M168 contains the largest number of luxury lacquers and miniature carriage and horses, followed by two female tombs, Maojiayuan M1 and Xijiaqiao M1. Tomb 168 of Fenghuangshan also had a greater variety of vessel types, objects for drinking and eating include trays, flasks, oval

maid; 4,000 coins for two carts; 60,000 coins for two cattle. 小奴二人直三萬, 用馬五匹直二萬, 宅一區萬, 大婢一人二萬, 牛車二兩直四千, 田五頃五萬, 輶車二乘直萬, 服牛二六千。”

boxes, *yu*-containers, wine-cup containers, round boxes, oval boxes, circular boxes, *zun*-containers, *zhi*-cups, plates, dishes, ladles and ear-cups.⁸⁶ The owner of Fenghuangshan M168 had more material symbols of wealth and status than the occupants in Maojiayuan M1 and Gaotai M18, although he held a lower honorary rank, indicated by the wooden tablet. The same pattern is also noted for miniature horse and carriages. It is very likely that these material symbols are strong indications of wealth and power of different households.

4.6 The Manipulation of Status Symbols

It is clear that material symbols were lacking in Fenghuangshan M10. This tomb was poorly furnished; it had the smallest outer chamber amongst the three burials associated with the rank of *wu dafu*.⁸⁷ The owner of M10 worked as the bailiff in the west village of the South Commandery, indicated by the administrative documents.⁸⁸ Apart from other examples of *gao di shu*, in the tablet of Fenghuangshan M10, the sender was described as the dead himself, instead by the assistant of local office. More plausibly, the texts did not mention any household members, servants and horses accompanied with the dead.⁸⁹ It is very likely the *wu dafu* described in the *gao di shu* of Fenghuangshan M10 was an artificial rank, if referring to other two examples found in Hanjiang and Yunmeng.⁹⁰

⁸⁶ Fenghuangshan 1993: 455-514. For the discussion on the inscriptions of Chengdu lacquers see Yu Weichao 1985 c: 146-153.

⁸⁷ Fenghuangshan 1974.

⁸⁸ Discussion on the identity of M10 occupant see section 4.3.3.

⁸⁹ The tablet of Fenghuangshan M10 (153 B.C.) was well-preserved, but the full text is more brief than the earlier example of Xiejiaqiao M1 (184 B.C.), for the full texts, see Appendix 2.

⁹⁰ The first example is a group of two wooden tablets discovered in a Western Han joint-burial (dated to 71 B.C.) at Hanjiang in Jiangsu. It stated that the owner of Huchang M4 was released from the harsh punishment and he wished to be moved after death. For the full texts see Appendix 2: G 06. The skeletal evidence revealed that the male occupant and his wife were severely tortured. Huchang 1981. Based on a diary found with the *gao di shu*, Huang Shengzhang suggested that this document faked the legal status of the dead in order to escape punishments in the afterlife. According to the records of his diary, the owner of Huchang M4 actually died in prison before his punishment was done. Huang

Chengdu lacquers were absent in the other two burials belonging to bailiff, Kongjiapo M8 and Songbai M1.⁹¹ In tomb 1 at Songbai, some material symbols seemed to be borrowed by the modest-status official to express his desire for wealth and more decent status. The owner of Songbai M1 had a simple dining set, including three plates, seven ear cups, one oval *lian*-box and two *zhi*-cups. Strikingly, some decoration imitated that of luxury lacquers. A fragmentary *zhi*-cup copied the Chengdu lacquers found in Gaotai M2, using fluid brush strokes to show the movement of a bird (Fig. 4-14 a, b). The ear cup decorated with line-drawn dragons also shared similar designs with the most expensive examples of Chengdu lacquers discovered from two high ranking tombs at Mawangdui cemetery (Fig.4-14 c-d). Amongst these lacquers, a plate, incised with “Zhou 周 (the family name of tomb occupant),” emphasizes the ownership of valuable objects in this frugal burial. No inscription evidence indicates the Songbai lacquers were official products made by Chengdu workshop. They were probably produced by local factories and deemed as valuable items by their owners.⁹² Thus the tomb owner or his relatives tried to raise his status by means of the lacquers in the tomb.

The above examples illustrate the ideological manipulation of documents and artifacts in Han tombs, the Han perception of the afterlife, with its emphasis on the individual’s well-being in the netherworld, provoked enthusiasm for idealized status in another world.

Shengzhang 1996: 124-134. The second example is a wooden tablet found in a small Qin tomb at Yunmeng in Hubei, it stated that the occupant shall be registered as the commoner, instead of the wall-builder (hard labor) after death. However, the skeletal evidence showed that the feet of the body had been cut off for punishment. Evidently the Yunmeng tablet also imitated the actual documents of Qin judicial texts, but recorded an artificial identity for the dead. Longgang Qinjian 2001. Likewise, the owner of Fenghuangshan M 10 probably forged a higher honorary rank by the document.

⁹¹ Fenghuangshan M10, Songbai M1 and Kongjiapo M 8 had similar tomb structures, the outer chamber was divided into two parts each. The size of Kongjiapo M 8 (4.8 square meters) is much smaller than Songbai M1 (7.61 square meters). For the details of these tombs, see the summary of archaeological evidence of tombs III.05, III.20 and III.25 in Appendix 3-1.

⁹² Songbai 2008.

4.7 Conclusion

The burial analysis of medium-size tombs presents the popularity of two principal categories in grave goods: luxury dining lacquers and carriage horse models, were used as material symbols of wealth and status. Providing a happy afterlife for the deceased became the primary concern when the buriers and builders made funeral arrangements. The tomb construction of lower ranking classes deliberately evoked the dwelling of the living world; funeral arrangement allowed individuals to establish their status and position through meaningful use of artifacts and documents. The case study of the rank of *wu dafu* supports the argument that the variations of burial evidence were not solely determined by ranks and written regulations. Individuals at the same ranking class expressed status and identity in a variety of ways, with different emphasis on wealth, occupation and gender. The Zhangjiashan manuscripts provide valuable information for archaeological interpretation of burial evidence related to honorary ranks and householders. The identity of the householder was manifested and reinforced by the carriages and horses, as well as by a large number of servants. The document addressed to the underworld lord served as a certificate to transfer this status from this world to the hereafter, and expressed the hope to maintain the social privileges and material rewards attached to the honorary rank of the deceased and their family. The material objects related to occupations appeared to be connected with male sphere and public life. The richly varied forms of gender expression represented by material objects need to be fully explored. The following chapter will be devoted to the archaeological investigation of gender relationship, focusing on women's status in the household and society.

Chapter 5 Archaeological Evidence Related to Women

Female's Status in the Household and Society

5.1 Introduction

This chapter argues against traditional views that women were absent from honorary ranks and power described in the transmitted literature. Previous studies by Nishijima Sadao claimed that no women had held a rank in the Han period. His conclusion was built upon the notion that women were subordinate to men and male authority, as emphasized by Confucian historians.¹Hulsewé and Loewe also argued that beneficiaries of honorary ranks are a large proportion of the male members of the population.²In this chapter, I will look at the excavated legal documents and material evidence from the Western Han tombs in Jiangling, Hubei province, to see whether the new archaeological material can allow new conclusions on women's status in household and society.

On the basis of the *Zhihoulü* 置後律 (Statute on Heirs and Inheritance) of the Zhangjiashan legal documents, some historians, such as Liu Min and Zhu Shaohou, have recognized that some women in Han society obtained a rank seemingly equal to those of men, but provide little information about female's status.³ A recent study by Zhang Zhaoyang provides detailed interpretations on female's rights of inheritance of

¹ Nishijima2004: 435-439. For the biased views in the transmitted texts such as the *Han shu* and the *Bai hu tong* see section 1.4.2 of chapter 1.

² Hulsewé 1955: 215. Loewe 2010a: 298.

³ Liu Min 2009: 98-108. Zhu Shaohou 2009:108-114.

rank and household,⁴ and clarifies a mistaken conception proposed by Yin Zaishuo, who suggested that women only inherited properties from their fathers.⁵ But some key questions remain unanswered: can these legal documents tell us how women's status were defined and reinforced in law? Can the mortuary variability of male and female tombs reveal the general status of women?

In answering these questions, the first section explores the potential value of burial evidence in gender studies from the perspective of household. The second section examines the Zhangjiashan legal documents and draws some new conclusions on women's rank and status in Western Han society. The third section is a case study on female tombs, focusing on material expression of status and identity relating to women's roles and daily practice in the domestic domain.

5.2 Household as a Useful Perspective for Gender Study

The potential of mortuary analysis to contribute to gender studies has not been fully realized, Sarah Nelson describes gender as a “relatively new topic in Asian archaeology”.⁶ As discussed in the previous chapter, we interpret the individual burial as a residential space for housing the dead, with various artifacts and documents chosen to meet different needs for the afterlife.⁷ Thus the investigation of women's socially meaningful activities in a household setting will lead to richer understanding

⁴ Zhang Zhaoyang 2010: 46-48.

⁵ Yin Zaishuo 2003: 31-44.

⁶ Nelson 1993: 297-315. Nelson 1997. Linduff and Sun 2004. Bacus has critiqued the view in archaeological interpretations of burial data during the Neolithic period and the Bronze Age China. Bacus 2007: 39-72. For the social implications of literal depictions of men and women see Hinsch 2003 b: 170-202.

⁷ For the discussion on tomb and household see section 1.3-1.4 in chapter 1 and section 4.5.2 in chapter 4.

of status and identity.⁸Hendon has suggested that the household is a useful social formation and scale of analysis for the archaeological study of gender.⁹ Space can be used to maintain and reinforce gender ideology.¹⁰

In ancient Chinese society, many literary works and later commentaries were predominantly written by male scholars, representing a notion that women came to be generally related to inner spaces and men with the outer.¹¹Bret Hinsch has argued that the visual evidence of stone carvings showed men and women were not always physically separated, and has raised the question whether separating men and women was wishful thinking by Han writers or a reflection of common social practice.¹² Michael Nylan has also suggested that the notion that women were considered as social and intellectual inferiors in Han society was actually imbued with Confucian values in literary works.¹³But the visual evidence that they have used is the Eastern

⁸ On theoretical level of gender and power see Scott 1986: 1053-1075. It is argued that through material objects and their associated activities gender is constructed. For different approaches to gender negotiation and performance from the material culture studies perspective, see Butler 1990, Sørensen 2006:105-135 and Peterson 2007: 203-236.

⁹ Hendon argues for the study of gender in household context for four reasons: firstly, the household provides a regular base for the domestic group, through which people of different genders and ages interact each other; secondly, the household defines the dwelling area which provides an identifiable location; third, it is the unit of the social formation; fourthly, the existence of multiple households created differences in classes, status, wealth and ethnicity, and provides good example for comparison. Hendon 2006: 171-198.

¹⁰ Díaz-Andreu 2005: 13-42.

¹¹ Textual analysis on gendered space in Han times see Rosaldo and Lamphere 1974.

¹² Hinsch 2003a: 595-616.

¹³ Nylan 2013: 182-183. In Nylan's study, she did not differentiate the *hu* 戶 (household) from the *jia* 家 (family). Both are defined as a nuclear family with around five members, which is different from mine. I have talked about the difference between *hu* and *jia* in chapter 4, but I want to add some points here. I have defined the household as the extended family, including some non-relatives such as servants for two reasons: firstly, in the Western Han society, servants were not merely considered as a part of the property of the householder. If there was no heir or heiress when the householder died, a servant could be entitled to inherit the household. In that case, the servant was actually regarded as a member of household. ZJS strips no.383: "If there was no heir or heiress [to inherit the household], when the householder died, the servant shall be given the status of commoners to inherit the land, household and other property of [the dead householder]. 死毋後而有奴婢者, 免奴婢以為庶人, 以庶人律之其主田, 宅及餘財." Secondly, the Han laws allowed the members of the household to divide the property at the death of householder. The members mentioned in this text include grandparents,

Han stone carvings which mainly came from male's tombs, therefore they may also represent men's views on gender and power relationship. We do not know how women themselves defined their status and female identities, or what kind of image they wished to be represented or to be remembered by the mourners and their living families. The following sections will discuss women's rank and status in household and society through analysis of the Zhangjiashan legal documents and burial evidence of female tombs in the mid-Yangzi region.

5.3 Women's Rank and Status in the Excavated Manuscripts

In the Zhangjiashan manuscripts, the Statute on Heirs and Inheritance specified certain principles regarding the establishment of heirs and inheritance of rank. It reveals that the Han legal system recognized women's rights of inheriting property. Women were entitled to inherit an honorary rank, even though they fell far behind their male counterparts in the line of succession.¹⁴

It is evident that a rank or respectable status of a woman was tied to her family's

sons, grandsons, and siblings. By contrast, the nuclear family only includes three generations. ZJS strips no. 337: "[When the householder dies], his grandparents, parents, sons, grandsons, siblings and their sons intend to divide servants, horses, cattle and other property [of the dead householder], it is permitted, and [everything] is to be written down and submitted household registers. 民大父母, 父母, 子, 孫, 同產, 同產子, 欲相分子奴婢、馬、牛、羊、它財物者, 皆許之, 輒為定籍."

¹⁴ ZJS strips no. 369-371. The Statute on Heirs and Inheritance: "A person is counted as dying on duty, if he dies while performing an official duty, or if he is wounded while performing an official duty and then dies within twenty days. Let his son inherit his honorary rank. If the person has no rank, his heir will be made a *gongshi*. If there is no son, let the daughter inherit the rank, and if there is no daughter, let the father inherit the rank, and if there is no father, let the mother inherit the rank, and if there is no mother, let the brother inherit the rank, and if there is no brother, let the sister inherit the rank, and if there is no sister, let the wife inherit the rank,. For those who die on duty and should establish heirs, if they have no parents, no wives or children, and no siblings, let their grandfathers become their heirs. If they have no grandfathers, let their grandmothers who reside in and are registered in the same households with them become their heirs. □□□□為縣官有為也, 以其故死若傷二旬中死, 皆為死事者, 令子男襲其爵. 毋爵者, 其後為公士. 毋子男與女, 毋女以父, 毋父以母, 毋母以男同產, 毋男同產以女同產, 毋女同產以妻. 諸死事當置後, 毋父母、妻子、同產者以大父、毋大父以大母與同居數者." Strip 387 置後律: "寡為戶, 予田宅, 比子為後者爵, 其不當為戶後, 而欲為戶, 以受殺田宅, 許以庶人予田宅." ZhangjiashanZhujuan2006: 59-61.

social class through her birth or marriage. As noted above, the Statute on Heirs and Inheritance stated that women could inherit rank and property from a deceased husband, but they were not considered as primary beneficiaries. In a case of illicit sex recorded in the *Zouyanshu* 奏讞書 (Reported Dispute Cases), an old statute was cited: “An old statute says: at the death of a husband, one takes the son as the heir. If there is no son, the man’s father or mother is taken as the heir. If there are no parents, then the wife is taken. If there is no wife, then one takes a daughter as the heir.”¹⁵

The same statute also defined the legal status of a widow. A remarried woman was not allowed to possess a household. “寡為戶後，予田宅。”¹⁶ “After the death of [the husband], if the widow carries a baby, the infant who must be identified as the descendant of [the deceased husband], then he will be established as the heir to receive rank and household according to the Statute [on Heirs and Inheritance]. 死，其寡有遺腹，須遺腹產，乃以律為置爵、戶後。” Interestingly, similar rules were also seen in the Laws of the Twelve Tables (455 B.C.) in ancient Rome. “A child born after ten months since the father's death will not be admitted into a legal inheritance.”¹⁷

Notably, the inheritance in early Han society distinguished between the inheritance of honorary rank and the inheritance of households. Li Junming has convincingly argued that the inheritance of rank was much more restricted and involved a much smaller pool of candidates than the inheritance of households. Persons who were entitled to inherit the rank of the deceased would naturally receive

¹⁵ ZJS strips no. 180. “故律曰：死夫以男為後，毋男以父母，毋父母以妻，毋妻以子女為後。”

¹⁶ ZJS strips no.140-142.

¹⁷ Thatcher 1901: 9-11. Long 1875: 688-690.

the estate.¹⁸ In the line of inheritance, the sons were entitled to be principal heirs of both rank and household, while the wife was in the fifth order for rank and the third order for the household. At the death of a rank holder without a son to succeed him, the rank would pass in order of preference to his father, mother, widow, daughter, grandson, great-grandson, grandparents and then the sons of a half-brother.¹⁹

A group of bamboo strips titled “*Xianquan lingshu* 先券令書 (will)” was found in a coffin of the deceased from M101(dated from A.D. 5) at Xupu in Yizheng, Jiangsu province. The document has been identified as the will of the male occupant, Zhu Ling 朱凌.²⁰ The document demonstrates that a widow could become a head of household and had the power to dispose of the estate by will. The central figure of the will is the aged widow, who was Zhu Ling’s mother and played a major role in distributing the household property among her children. After her first husband died, the aged widow returned to her natal household with her son. She married twice, but both her husbands died.²¹ Bret Hinsch speculated that the elderly woman’s family

¹⁸ Li Junming 2002: 26-32.

¹⁹ ZJS strips no. 379-381. “After the death [of the head of household], if there is no heir-son to inherit the household, let the father or mother inherit the household. If there is no father or mother, let the widow inherit it. If there is no widow, let the daughters inherit it. If there are no daughters, let the grandchildren inherit it. If there are no grandchildren, let the grandparents inherit it. If there are no grandparents, let the nephews inherit it. When nephews inherit the household, they must have co-habited in the household [with the deceased household head]. The sons of divorced wives are not allowed to compete with the sons of later legal wives. 死毋子男代戶，令父若母。毋父母令寡，毋寡令女，毋女令孫，毋孫令耳孫，毋耳孫令大父母，毋大父母令同產子代戶。同產子代戶，必同居數。棄妻子不得與後妻子爭後。”

²⁰ The brief report, see Xupu 1987: 1-19.

²¹ For the texts and interpretations see Chen and Wang 1987: 20-25, 102. Chen Yong 1988: 79-81. “On the tenth day of the ninth month of the fifth year of the Yuanshi [A.D.5], Zhu Ling of Gaodu village, who has lived in Xin’an village, is extremely close to death. Therefore he requests the Thrice Venerables of the county and district, the general district *youzhi* official, the *zuo* official the *lishi* official, Tian Tan, etc. to execute this will. [Zhu] Ling himself says, “There were three fathers as well as six sons and daughters of different fathers. I want to order each of them to be aware of his or her father and his or her place within the household. The sons and daughters are Yijun, Zizhen, Zifang, and Xianjun, whose father was Zhu Sun, my younger brother Gongwen, whose father was ShuaiJinjun of Wu; and my younger sister Ruojun, whose father was Bing Chnagbin of Qu’a.” The elderly woman

lacked a son. They brought in successive sons-in-law to oversee the household's assets. This situation would have given the woman significant authority in apportioning property among the members of the household: "the power exercised by the old women of the Xupu will is possibly explicable through the uxorilocal nature of her two final marriages. She was simply controlling the property of the natal household that she never left." Hinsch is insightful to argue that the Xupu document reveals that actual female power contradicts the patriarchal thought in the Confucian classics, he explained that age or generational hierarchy was superior to gender in determining status within the family.²²

A woman's status in the household had much to do with wealth. For a rich heiress, the opportunity of inheriting the parents' estate allowed a woman to obtain personal wealth to secure her position in the household, as well as to maintain the relationship with the husband. The law said that a daughter could receive her parents'

says, "At age fifteen Gongwen left home to go out under his own surname and never sent back a single cash to support us. I personally gave land to Zizhen and Zifang. The aforesaid daughters, Xianjun and Ruojun are poor and lack property. On the tenth day of the fourth month of the fifth year [of the Yuanshi reign period], I took one field of rice and two fields of mulberry and gave them to Ruojun, and I took one field of paddy and gave it to Xianjun until the twelfth month. Gongwen injured a person and was sentenced to penal servitude, and is poor and lacks property. On the eleventh day of the twelfth month Xianjun and Ruojun are each to return these fields to me, and I will cede them to Gongwen. When I receive the fields, I will take two fields of rice and two fields of mulberry and give them to Gongwen. The boundaries of the fields are to remain as they were before, and Gongwen may not transfer the fields in sale to anyone else." The currently serving officials and witness are the *lishi* official, people of the same five household unit, [Tian] Tan, etc., and the relatives Kong Ju, Tian Wen, and Man Zhen. The will is clear; its provisions can be followed. 元始五年九月壬辰朔辛醜，口高都里朱凌，凌廬居新安里，甚疾其死，故請縣鄉三老、都鄉有秩、佐、里師里譚等為先令券書。凌自言有三父，子男女六人皆不同父。欲令子各知其父家次子女：以君、子真、子方、仙君父為朱孫；弟公文父_衰近君；女弟弱君父曲阿病長實。嫗言公文年十五去家自出為姓，遂居外，未賞持一錢來歸。嫗予子真、子方自為產業。子女仙君、弱君等貧毋產業。五年四月十日嫗以稻田一處、桑田二處分予弱君。波田一處分予仙君。於至十二月公文傷人為徒，貧無產業。於至十二月十一日仙君、弱君各歸田於嫗，讓予公文。嫗即受田，以田分予公文，稻田二處、桑田二處，田界易如故，公文不得移賣田予他人。時任知者里師、伍人譚等及親屬孔聚、田文、滿真，先令券書，明白可以從事。” My translation follows Bret Hinsch's texts with modification. Hinsch 1998: 1-20.

²² Hinsch 1998: 1-20

estate. If the husband wanted to divorce her, the wife could remove her dowry.²³

With respect to the relationship between husband and wife, we can clearly see that gender inequality is apparent in various statements of the Zhangjiashan legal documents. By law a woman was often treated differently from her husband in the household. For instance, a married woman was not allowed to be an independent householder.²⁴ Wives of honorary rank holders were entitled to enjoy social privileges, which seemed equal to their husbands.²⁵ But such honor would be confiscated if the wife killed or hurt her husband.²⁶ We can see that in a household, wives ordinarily had lower status than their husbands, as wives were especially vulnerable to being punished.²⁷

My analysis of the Zhangjiashan manuscripts shows that women were eligible to inherit rank and household in the Han period; they enjoyed material rewards as wives, widows, and heiresses. This modifies the received views of excluding women from political and economic power. The scarcity of records in the dynastic histories implies that most women were excluded from honorary rank and administrative office in the Han period; such a theory fits into a pattern that Confucian historians have

²³ ZJS strips no. 384: “A woman who was the heiress of her parents and then wanted to marry someone, let the husband enrich his land and property with his wife’s. If their households were not adjacent, the husband shall not receive [his wife’s land and property]. If [the husband] divorced the wife, the wife shall regain [her property] to establish her household. Abandoning wife was giving up [her] property. 女子為父母後而出嫁者, 令夫以妻田宅盈其田宅. 宅不比, 弗得. 其棄妻, 及夫死, 妻得復取以為戶. 棄妻, 畀之其財.”

²⁴ ZJS strips no. 345: “A married woman cannot be a householder on her own [when her husband is still alive] 人妻者不得為戶.”

²⁵ ZJS strips no. 372: “女子比其夫爵.” ZJS strips no. 83 盜律: “公士、公士妻及□□行年七十以上, 若年不盈十七歲, 有罪當刑者, 皆完之.”

²⁶ ZJS strips no. 84: “If [a woman] has killed or hurt her husband, she shall not receive the husband’s rank □殺傷其夫, 不得以夫爵論.”

²⁷ ZJS strips no. 32-33: “If a husband beat his ferocious wife without using any weapons, he shall not be punished even the wife was hurt. If a wife beat her husband, she shall be condemned to hard labor. 妻悍而夫毆笞之, 非以兵刃也, 雖傷之, 毋罪. 妻毆夫, 耐為隸妾.”

emphasized again and again, that women were inferior to men.²⁸ Nevertheless, if we look at contemporary textual sources rather than the transmitted literature, we find that the legal status as a wife, mother, and head of household might be influential when females and their living family construct her public identity in funeral and ritual contexts. This point will be illustrated by concrete examples in the following section.

5.4 Case Study—Four Female Tombs in Jiangling

Four medium-size female tombs discovered in Jiangling, Hubei province are chosen for this case study. Three of these contained documents carrying the names and titles of dead individuals. M18 (173 B.C.) was a small-size burial in the Gaotai cemetery, which lay towards the south east corner of the old Chu Jinan metropolis, the 15.75 square kilometer walled city (present-day Jingzhou, Hubei province). This site comprised a total of 44 shaft graves of Qin and Han periods, which were discovered during 1991 to 1992.²⁹ Maojiayuan M1 (168 B.C.) was excavated in 1985, located 110 meters from the Fenghuangshan cemetery.³⁰ Xiejiaqiao M1 was a recent discovery at Jingzhou, 3.4 miles away from the Fenghuangshan cemetery. The fourth female tomb was M167 (dated from 179 B.C. to 141 B.C.) in the Fenghuangshan cemetery at Jiangling. Two male tombs in this site are chosen for comparison: tomb owners of M10 (153 B.C.) and M168 (167 B.C.) held the rank of *wu dafu*, indicated by the wooden tablets. To better examine gender difference and social distinction, my analysis also refers to Han tombs in other areas and of earlier periods.

²⁸ Guisso 1981: 47-61. Goldin 2000: 133-161.

²⁹ Gaotai 2000: 56-59, 222-229.

³⁰ Maojiayuan 1987: 204.

In three female tombs, Maojiayuan M1, Xiejiaqiao M1 and Gaotai M18, the name and status of the deceased are known to us from the tomb documents. An inscribed wooden tablet recorded that the name of tomb owner of Xiejiaqiao M1 was Hui 恚 (probably buried in 184B.C.), an elderly woman, whose four sons had different honorary ranks ranging from the *wu dafu* down to the *bu geng*.³¹ The owners of Maojiayuan M1 and Gaotai M18 were both described as “*guannei hou gua*, 關內侯寡 (the widow of marquis of the imperial domain)” in the texts written on the tablets. Significant differences exist among these tombs, including different burial size, structural variability, and distinctions of material wealth and status symbols.

5.4.1 Differences in tomb structure and burial assemblages

Each tomb contains one outer chamber and one coffin (Appendix 3-2: Table 3-02c). Xiejiaqiao M1 had the largest outer chamber, measuring 14.3 square meters. The outer chamber had similar interior design as M1 and M3 of Mawangdui, comprising five compartments, connected with miniature doors and windows (Fig.1-01 a). In the central compartment, an elderly female was buried in a single coffin covered by elaborate embroidery. The vertical pit of Maojiayuan M1 was 4.01 m. long and 2.96 m. wide. Gaotai M18 contained the smallest outer chamber (2.87 square meters), which was simply divided into two small compartments by a wooden plank (Fig.5-01 a-c).

The structure of Fenghuangshan M167 was the most common type among the

³¹ The brief report said that the tomb occupant of Xiejiaqiao Han tomb, had four sons and one daughter. Her four sons have the different ranks: Chang 昌 was the *wu dafu*, both Zhen 貞 and Shu 豎 were the 大夫 *dafu*, Yi 乙 was 不更 *bu geng*. Judging from elaborate timber structure and rich grave goods, the excavators of Xiejiaqiao M1 have identified the owner as a member of upper-class elite. Xiejiaqiao 2009:26-42.

Jiangling Han tombs: the outer chamber (12.5 square meters) consisted of one head compartment, one side compartment and one coffin chamber (Fig.4-02 a); M10 and M168 were built in the same way. The three compartments were structured by two transverse bars joined with three upright posts. There was a pair of functional doors connecting the central compartment which placing a single coffin within the head compartment.

Xiejiaqiao M1 is the richest find of material remains in Jingzhou area. This medium-sized tomb yielded 489 artifacts (Appendix 3-2: Table 3-02 c). Bronze vessels, including four *ding*-tripods, two square-flasks, one *jiaohu* 鑊壺, one ladle, one *xuan*-basin, one steamer, one garlic-head *hu* and two plates are found in the eastern compartment. Gaotai M18 was poorly furnished, 38 burial objects were placed in the side compartment, including lacquer dining vessels such as eight ear-cups, four round plates, one flask, and two human figurines.³² The archaeological material of Maojiayuan M1 has not been well published;³³ over 230 objects were found in the head and side compartments of Maojiayuan M1. The degree of wealth is less than that of Xiejiaqiao M1.³⁴

5.4.2 Material symbols of wealth and status

Two categories of status symbols were found in three female tombs, Maojiayuan M1, Xiejiaqiao M1, M167 and one male burial, M168 of Fenghuangshan. The first category is the luxury dining set, with lacquers occupying a large portion of the burial

³² Gaotai 2000: 58-59.

³³ A very brief introductory text see Maojiayuan 1988, no information was provided for the size of outer chamber, it is only reported that the vertical pit of Maojiayuan M1 was 14.5 square meters.

³⁴ The skeletal data showed that the tomb occupants of Xiejiaqiao M1, Maojiayuan M1 and Gaotai M18 were all elderly females.

objects. In Xiejiaqiao M1, eighty-four ear cups were piled up and tied with silk sashes; 10 items in each of six groups, and four items in the seventh group. They would have been regarded and kept as valuable property.³⁵ Other lacquer artifacts include 20 plates, three *zun*-containers, *hu*-flasks, *yu*-vessels, *zhi*-cups and ladles. Painted pottery vessels such as jars, *yu*-vessels, steamers, a granary, and an incense burner were discovered in the northern compartment.³⁶

Maojiayuan M1 contained more than 100 ear-cups, plates, flasks, *yu*-vessels, *lian*- circular boxes, round boxes, *zhi*-cups, wooden human figurines, carriage and horse models. The lacquer dining vessels were decorated with spiral clouds, triangle bird-heads and geometrical patterns, showing a uniform style, similar to the official products from Fenghuangshan M 167, M168 and Xiejiaqiao M1(Fig.5-02 a-f). Some of them were inscribed with “produced by official workshops 市府草(造)”. As noted in the previous chapter, feasting is an important way of social integration in elite life. The accumulation of costly lacquer dining vessels in these tombs represented a strong emphasis on wealth and prestige as richness in the consumption of food.

The second category comprising the carriage and horse models, found in M167, M168 of Fenghuangshan, Xiejiaqiao M1 and Maojiayuan M1. It seems that the gender difference is not evident, if compared with other male tombs. Fenghuangshan M168 includes the largest number of miniature horses. Examples from two female tombs such as Fenghuangshan M167 and Xiejiaqiao M1, exhibit similar shapes and craftsmanship. In two undisturbed burials, M 167 and M 168 of Fenghuangshan, we can see that carriage and horse models were carefully arranged, creating a procession

³⁵ Fenghuangshan 1976.

³⁶ Xiejiaqiao 2009: 26-42.

with human figurines. For instance, in the head compartment of Fenghuangshan M168, an intact tableau consisting of two guards wearing swords, followed by two male guards riding horses, two sets of carriages, female servants, joined with one carriage driven by an ox, followed by a boat was unearthed in the head compartment (Fig. 3-14 a-e).

Notably, status distinction represented by mortuary variability is not correlated with the hierarchical order of written ranks. As I have pointed out, larger burial size and elaborate timber structure represent considerable expenditure of effort and differential access to labor and resources. It is evident that the material parameters of wealth and status show a decreasing order from the highest degree of Xiejiaqiao M1 to the lowest at Gaotai M18, though their honorary ranks as inscribed are in reverse order (Table 4-01). The burial evidence of Gaotai M18, represents a sharp contrast between a lower degree of material wealth and a higher rank. In the Twenty Orders system, the *guannei hou* is the highest rank below the marquis, while the *wu dafu* is a middle range rank.³⁷

From a traditional point of view, tomb construction in Han times was strictly regulated by sumptuary rules according to hierarchical order.³⁸ Conventionally, a higher rank holder was supposed to have an extravagant burial, and the burial size, furnishings and grave goods must be qualified to hold such rank. However, the owner of Gaotai M18 had a frugal burial. Status symbols were also lacking in this tomb. Textual scholars have suggested that the owner of Gaotai M18 was a legitimate wife or a concubine of the *guannei hou*, but she did not inherit the rank of her dead

³⁷ Full discussion on the Twenty Orders see section 2.2.1 and 2.4 in chapter 2.

³⁸ Discussion on sumptuary rules and social hierarchy in Han times see chapter 2.

husband.³⁹

However, my analysis of the Zhangjiashan manuscripts shows that women were eligible to inherit rank and household in the Han period; they enjoyed material rewards as wives, widows, and heiresses. The Statute on Heirs and Inheritance specify certain principles regarding establishment of heirs and inheritance of rank. The legal system recognized women's rights to inherit property, women were entitled to inherit a rank, even though they fell far behind their male counterparts in the line of succession.

As noted in the previous chapter, the Han codes from Zhangjiashan represent contemporary views of the ways in which the Han Chinese defined their ranks and legal status through institutions, such as household registration.⁴⁰ By studying the manuscripts, we understand the conceptions and ideas of the household. As the basic social unit of Han society, a Han dynasty household normally included the householder, his or her consorts, sons and their wives, daughters and other dependent members, such as servants and slaves. The examples of *gao di shu* found in Jiangling tombs represent strong concerns with household and afterlife. One of the complete tablets found at the Maojiayuan tomb 1 (168 B.C.) stated that "In the twelfth year, the eighth month in which the first day was *renyin*, on the *jiwei* day, the Chou of Jian township dares to tell the authority of underworld: widow of *guannei hou* of [missing character] Yang, elder woman Jing died; she herself declares that she is transferred with family servants, horses and cattle. The current inventory document and 73 slips recording what accompanies her are transferred to [the underworld]. It is a command

³⁹ Huang Shengzhang 1994: 41-49. Gaotai 2000: 227. Zhang Junmin 2001: 290.

⁴⁰ For the details of household registration see section 2.4.1 in chapter 2 and section 4.5.2 in chapter 4.

for officials [of underworld] to count and deal with affairs according to statutes and decrees, hereby dare to report to the Lord.十二年八月壬寅朔己未,建鄉疇敢告地下主,口陽關內侯寡大女精死,自言以家屬,馬牛徙.今牒書所與徙者七十三牒移.此家复不事.可令吏受數以從事,它如律令.敢告主.”⁴¹It is noteworthy that the gender and marital status of the dead individual were emphasized in the documents discovered from female tombs. It begs the question of why such a concern should have arisen in the first place. As noted in the previous chapter, gender difference was indicated by different sorts of manuscripts found in 14 tombs of group III. Male tombs contain greater variety of administrative documents, contracts, household register records and legal texts, these documents were possibly connected with the male’s social roles and activities performed while alive.⁴²Here my discussion will focus on female tombs, to see what artifacts may have been employed to express the status and identity of elite women.

5.4.3 Gender specified artifacts in female tombs

Artifacts chosen to mark female identity are normally associated with women’s roles in domestic life. Tools used in textile production, such as spindle whorls (Fig.5-03 a), appear in two large-scale female graves at Shuangbaoshan and Yongzhou and none in male ones.⁴³In Fenghuangshan M168, a set of needles was packed into a textile bag, along with silk threads.⁴⁴A recent discovery at Laoguanshan, Chengdu unearthed four miniature looms (Fig.5-03 b-d) in a female burial, where 15

⁴¹ Hubei Bowuguan 2007: 75.Maojiayuan 1988.

⁴² For the discussion on the occupation-related documents in male tombs see chapter 4.

⁴³ Yongzhou 2001. Shuangbaoshan 2006. For the spindle whorls and other spinning tools found in Han tombs see Liu Xinglin 2008: 90-95.

⁴⁴ Fenghuangshan 1976. Similar needle bag was also found in tomb 1 of Mawangdui.

human figurines labeled with different duties of weavers were placed near these loom models.⁴⁵ The absence of these burial objects in male tombs clearly represents gender-specific activities involved in spinning, weaving and sewing. As a subject in women's poetry, weaving plays important role for valuing female's status in the household.⁴⁶ The Han didactic text, the *Nü Jie* 女誡 (Precepts for Women) compiled by Ban Zhao (A.D. 48-120), stated that women's work was the fourth canonical female virtue following morality, speech, and conduct.⁴⁷ In Han society, textiles and grain were used as household tax payments to the government;⁴⁸ even women in upper-class households would engage in the production and management of textile production.⁴⁹ It was not unusual for widows to be engaged in weaving to provide

⁴⁵ In tomb 2 of Laoguanshan, the largest loom is 50 cm high and 70 cm long, much smaller than the actual size of reconstructed Han looms. Feng Yongde 2013: 55-57. For the reconstruction of Han looms see Song and Li 1962:25-28. Liu Xinglin 2009: 27-37.

⁴⁶ For instance, a famous Han *Yuefu* 樂府 poem said that when a divorced wife asked her ex-husband about his new wife, he said the new wife was skillful at weaving *jian*-thick silk cloth; she made one bolt (9.24 meters in length) per day, while his ex-wife was good at making monochrome fabric and she produced five *zhang* (11.55 meters in length) per day. The new wife was no better than the old one, comparing silk productions and incomes. 新人工織縑，故人工織素。織縑日一匹，織素五丈餘。將縑來比素，新人不如故。 *Yutai xinyong jizhu*, 1, 1-2. The monochrome fabric (1,000 coins per roll) was more valuable than the *jian*-silk (550 coins per roll). Their prices are known from the bamboo strips found at Xupu and Yuyan. Jupu strip no. 1095: “and gave two bolts of *jian*-silks which were worth 1,100 cash [to the tomb owner] 又取縑二匹，直錢千一百於與”. Juyan strip no. 214. 26: “bought one *zhang* white fabric, it cost 250 cash 買白素一丈，直二百五十”，Xupu 1987: 1-19. JuyanHanjian 1987: 336. Lao Gan 2006: 313-317.

⁴⁷ Bao Zhao 班昭 (A.D.49-120) was a famous women scholar in the Eastern Han dynasty. She was author of the *Nü Jie*, a book of instructions for upper-class women; she also competed portions of dynastic history of Han period. Swann 2001: 86.

⁴⁸ Huang Jinyan 1988: 244.

⁴⁹ The sixth century work *Xijing zaji* 西京雜記 recorded that “The wife of Huo Guang, who was commander-in-chief in the early first century B.C. gave Chunyu Yan twenty-four bolts of silk brocade with a design of grapes, and twenty-five bolts of damask patterned with scattered flowers. The damask came from the household of Chen Baoguang, whose [wife] could teach the technique. So Huo Xian (Huo Guang's wife) invited her to come in, set up the loom and make the fabric. The loom used 120 patterning devices and it took sixty days to make a bolt worth ten thousand cash. 霍光妻遺淳于衍蒲桃錦二十四匹，散花綾二十五匹。綾出鉅鹿陳寶光家，寶光妻傳其法，霍顯召入其第，使作之。機用一百二十躡，六十日成一匹，匹直萬錢。” *Xijing zaji*, 1.33. *Han shu* 59. 2652: “[Zhang] Anshi was granted with the rank of marquis, he possessed an appanage of ten thousand households, but he wore black silk textiles and his wife worked with her own hands, managing a workforce of 700 servants and producing textiles for sale which contributed to the wealth of household, [The family of

subsistence income to support their children.⁵⁰ Gender-specific work, such as spinning and weaving, was often depicted in the pictorial art of Han tombs (Fig.5-03 e, f), and represents an important part of everyday practice for elite women.⁵¹ Embroidering and weaving were economic resources, and skilled women could add greatly to the wealth of a household, and also gain respect and power.⁵²

Silk fabrics were collected and stored as a symbol of wealth in both male and female tombs, as textiles were used as money and currency in Han times.⁵³ In the head compartment of Fenghuangshan M167, a bamboo casket contained 35 bolts of textiles, including damasks, thick silk textiles, gauzes, brocades and embroideries in different colors.⁵⁴ The rich textile remains from Xiejiaqiao M1 included coffin coverings (Fig. 5-03g, h), garments and clothes made of various kinds of fabrics, such as plain silk, gauze, damask, brocade, silk braid, cross-knitted cord and embroideries. The textile remains are probably related to preservation conditions, not solely a product of variable individual wealth or social standing. But they were definitely “show off” items in relation to the mortuary practice of shrouding; all the coverings were used to convey a representation of status and identity.

Zhang Anshi was] much richer than that of the general [Huo] Guang. 安世尊為公侯,食邑萬戶, 然身衣弋綈, 夫人自紡績, 家童七百人, 皆有手技作事, 內治產業, 累織纖微, 是以能殖其貨, 富於大將軍光。”

⁵⁰ *Han shu*, 84.3411: “When Fang Jin was twelve or thirteen years old, he lost his father and studied alone...[Fang Jin] wanted to go west to the capital to accept the Classics, his mother pitied his littleness and followed him to Chang’an, she wove shoes to support Fang Jin’s study. 方進年十二三, 失父孤學...欲西至京師受經. 母憐其幼, 隨之長安, 織屨以給方進讀.”

⁵¹ Chen Changhong 2014: 53-69. The silk painting found in the Western Han burial, Jinquanshan M9 at Linyi, Shantong represented a woman weaving in the middle register. *Jinquanshan* 1977: 24-27.

⁵² Hinsch 2003 b: 170-202. For the wider scope of women’s work in Han times see Peng Wei 2009: 80-103.

⁵³ Sheng 2013: 175-195.

⁵⁴ Mawangdui 1973. Mawangdui 2004.

5.4.4 The expression of gender in funeral display

The expression of gender in many societies was particularly articulated during funeral rituals.⁵⁵The brief reports of Fenghuangshan M167, M168 and Xiejiaqiao M1 stated that textile remains were found near the body inside coffins, unfortunately, it is very difficult to reconstruct the practice of shrouding from insufficient information. Two well-preserved female tombs found in Jiangling and Changsha have provided us with concrete examples for shrouding; in each tomb the body of the deceased has been treated as a carefully crafted artifact.

The first example is the lady of Mashan tomb 1 (340-278 B.C.) buried in a single coffin at Jiangling, Hubei. The face of the Mashan lady was covered with a trapezoidal piece of silk cloth with holes for the eyes and mouth. The body was tied and covered with twelve layers of shrouds and garments. The ends of a red sash were looped around her thumbs and then tied to the index fingers. The ends of a yellow sash were looped around her big toes in the same way. The two sashes were then knotted together at the front of the body, linking her thumbs and toes. A third silk sash was used to tie her arms in front of her body (Fig.5-04a). The garments and clothing for dressing were made of various kinds of fabrics, such as *juan* 絹 (plain silk), *sha* 紗 (gauze), *luo* 羅 (leno), *qi* 綺 (damask), *jin* 錦 (brocade), silk braid, cross-knitted cord and embroideries (Fig.5-04 b,c).⁵⁶Motifs included double dragons, usually arranged face to face, flowers, birds and opposite phoenixes, and geometric patterns.

The Lady Dai of Mawangdui tomb 1 was tied and shrouded in the same way. Her body was wrapped in seventeen layers of embroidered garments and three layers

⁵⁵ Sørensen 2004: 327-338.

⁵⁶ Mashan 1985.

of linen sheets, and silk shoes were placed on her feet. Her face was covered with two pieces of silk cloth for the eyes and nose, which was slightly different from the Mashan lady. The body was bound with nine ties. The dark red sash was used to tie her arms and knotted at her belly. Similarly, the ends of a blue sash were looped around her feet. The two sashes were then tied together at the front of the body. Once her body was bound and completely covered, it was then wrapped in eighteen layers of clothing (Fig.5-05 a).⁵⁷The clothes included a padded garment for wearing in winter, and summer garments, long dress, short jackets and skirts, many were embroidered with scrolling clouds (Fig.5-05 b-e).

Such body treatments, according to Beckman, can be read as part of the procedures of funeral rites, in particular the rite of *lian* 斂 (shrouding), described in the ritual texts. Beckman argues that those exquisite garments were not only deployed in the display of wealth and status in Chu noble's funerals, but also in the statement of the deceased's familial and political connections.⁵⁸The textual scholars such as Gao Chongwen and Fan Zhijun suggested that the shrouding of Mashan tomb 1 and Mawangdui M1 exactly followed the ritual prescriptions in the *Liji* and the *Yili*, the numbered layers and the quality of shrouding indicate a hierarchy of ranks. But the archaeological evidence does not support such an assumption.⁵⁹

Beckman tried to unpack the layers of the Chu tombs and to explore the

⁵⁷ Mashan 1985: 12-14. Mawangdui 1973: 28-31.

⁵⁸ The garments were thought to be used for the *lian* 斂 funeral rite, namely, the ritual shrouding of the body. The rites of dressing corpse took place on the second and third days of the funeral and was divided into two stages: *xiaolian* 小斂 (the smaller dressing) followed by *dalian* 大斂 (the great dressing). The practice of dressing the corps was a ritualized display. Both multi-layer coffins and shrouds indicated status. Beckman 2006: 70-74.

⁵⁹ A marquis like the owner of Mawangdui M1 shall be dressed in 12 layers of shrouding at death, but the archaeological evidence did not match the written regulations. Gao Chongwen 2006: 447-473. Fan Zhijun 2007: 123-130.

meanings of burial furnishings in funeral contexts.⁶⁰ However, her study also relied heavily on the transmitted ritual texts. The ritual texts such as the *Yili* only account for the *shi*, who according to Michael Nylan were the “knights” of the Warring States periods, and during the Han, men educated to work for the state.⁶¹ Also, we did not know whether these rules were also applied to women. It is not clear whether shrouding the body was one of the local customs of the Chu state, or whether such practices developed from the Zhou traditions. One of earlier examples was found in an early Western Zhou dynasty burial at Baoji, Shaanxi; in this burial, the bodies of a Yu lord and his concubine were both wrapped with multiple layered textiles and tied with sashes.⁶²

A comparison can be made between the above female tombs and the Mawangdui M3, in which ample evidence of textiles were found. The body of the male occupant in tomb 3 of Mawangdui was wrapped with eighteen layers of garments and clothing, but his arms and feet were not tied.⁶³ Differences in textile types, quantity and decorations for dressing the body can be clearly seen from Table 5-01. Firstly, Mashan M1 and Mawangdui M1 contain more varieties of fabrics, including high labor-intensity and skill required fabrics, such as brocade, damask and embroideries; these kinds of fabrics are more valuable than plain silks.⁶⁴ The decorative patterns of fabrics for female dressing are more diverse. Secondly, the Lady Dai of Mawangdui M1 had a larger number of textiles than the owner of M3, but the official hat was only

⁶⁰ Beckman 2006: 70-74.

⁶¹ Nylan 2001: 171.

⁶² Lu and Hu 1988: 274.

⁶³ Mawangdui 2004.

⁶⁴ The costumes made of exquisite polychrome damasks were probably used for ceremony. For different types of fabrics and weaving techniques see Zhao Feng 2005. Zhong and Hann 1989: 403-413. Sheng 1994-95: 61-65. Chen Weiji 1984: 41-43.

found in the male tomb.⁶⁵ The shared designs, including the diagonal pattern filled with symmetrically positioned birds, lozenges and scrolling clouds in M1 and M3 of Mawangdui, indicated they were probably made by the same official workshops (Fig.5-06a-d). As I have discussed in the previous chapter, the iconographical study of the T-shape silk banners in M1 and M3 of Mawangdui expressed different emphasis on personal identity. By contrast, the similar artistic style of costumes for dressing the body and identical designs of luxury dining lacquers for communal banquet were closely related to public display of family identity and the wealth of household.

Table 5-01 Varieties of Textiles for shrouding the body

Layer	Mashan M1	Mawangdui M1	Mawangdui M3
N1	a brocade shroud woven with patterns of animals and dancing people	a yellow damask shroud embroidered with clouds	a brown plain silk shroud embroidered with scrolling clouds
N2	a polychrome brocade shroud woven with patterns of phoenixes and birds	a yellow damask shroud embroidered with scrolling clouds	a leno garment
N3	a small silk fabric	a yellow plain silk shroud embroidered with scrolling clouds	a brown plain silk garment embroidered with scrolling clouds

⁶⁵ A hat made of plain silk was found with a embroidered garment in a small casket in Mashan M1, labeled “mourning garment”, Mashan 1985: 24.

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N4	a yellow plain silk shroud embroidered with opposite phoenixes and dragons	a polychrome gauze shroud with printed patterns	a leno garment
N5	a dark yellow plain silk garment	a damask garment embroidered with scrolling clouds	a yellow brown leno garment embroidered with scrolling clouds
N6	a leno <i>danyi</i> embroidered with dragons and birds	a plain silk <i>danyi</i> embroidered with scrolling clouds	a brown damask garment
N7	a light yellow plain silk garment embroidered with flowers and birds	a damask <i>danyi</i> embroidered with scrolling clouds	a brown plain silk shroud embroidered with scrolling clouds
N8	a fragmentary <i>danyi</i>	hemp shroud	a brown plain silk garment embroidered with scrolling clouds
N9	a purple red plain silk <i>danyi</i> embroidered with dragon and phoenix	a plain silk <i>danyi</i> embroidered with floral patterns	a dark brown plain silk garment embroidered with scrolling clouds
N10	a light yellow plain silk garment embroidered with paired dragon and phoenix	a plain silk <i>danyi</i> embroidered with geometric patterns	a brown plain silk garment embroidered with scrolling clouds
N11	a brocade garment decorated with small lozenges patterns	a plain silk <i>danyi</i> embroidered with scrolling clouds	a plain silk garment embroidered with scrolling clouds

N12	a brocade garment decorated with small lozenges patterns	a plain silk <i>danyi</i> woven with geometric patterns	a leno garment
N13	a dark brown plain silk skirt	a plain silk fragment embroidered with scrolling clouds	a yellow brown plain silk garment embroidered with scrolling clouds
N14	--	A plain silk fragment embroidered with scrolling clouds	a leno garment
N15	--	a leno garment embroidered with scrolling clouds	a monochrome plain silk garment
N16	--	a red leno garment	--
N17	--	a plain silk fragment embroidered with clouds	--
N18	--	a white hemp shroud	a yellow brown leno garment embroidered with scrolling clouds
N19	--	a fine hemp <i>danyi</i>	--
N20	--	a leno garment embroidered with scrolling clouds	--

The connection between costume and identity in stratified societies has been extensively discussed by archaeologists.⁶⁶In the study of Minoan representations of feminine bodies, Lee considered costumes as a medium for the communication of given social identities; she suggested that “dress functions as a primary means of


⁶⁶ Joyce 2005: 139-158.

non-verbal communication”, emitting “constant, complex social messages that would have been intended by the weaver and understandable by the viewer.”⁶⁷ Similarly, the visual difference of dress and personal ornaments in Han tombs may signify the wearer’s gender and identity. Beckman’s research on the pre-Han practice of shrouding suggested shroud and garment sets were linked to the process of death transition, which were focused on the display of wealth and social status.⁶⁸ In the case of the Jiangling Han tombs, it is very likely that the costumes and garments worn by the deceased were viewed by a wider public during the funeral rituals as part of a social statement by the dead individual and the household to which they belonged.

As an integral part of personal adornment placed in the tombs, the various kinds of silk fabrics for dressing might have been the property of the dead individual during life. Equally they may have been gifts presented by mourners to the deceased. In the burial chamber of the Changsha queen at Wangchengpo, at least eight small wooden tablets were used as labels of a range of burial objects, including textiles, lacquer ear-cups and foodstuffs. Two tablets listed gifted clothing and silk fabrics from the emperor and the Changsha king.⁶⁹ These items can be considered as a material

⁶⁷ Lee 2000: 111-123.

⁶⁸ Beckman 2006: 74.

⁶⁹ Yuyang tablet no.1: “The presents bestowed by the emperor: three green discs, 11 bolts of dark red silk cloth and nine bolts of black silk cloth. 陛下所以贈物: 青璧三、紺繒十一匹、薰繒九匹.” Yuyang tablet no.2: “The presents given by the king of Changsha kingdom included green silk summer garment, [missing characters] garment, plain silk summer garment, six white garments, one yellow black summer garment, four padded garments, totally 26 garments. 青緒禪衣□□, □衣, 絹緒禪衣, 白緒禪衣六, 繒禪衣一、相緒禪衣四□. 凡廿六衣. 王 .

” Yuyang 2010. For the interpretation on some terminology of textiles and colors, which are described in the Yuyang tablets, see Wu Yaoyao 2010. Song Shaohua suggested that the owner of Yuyang tomb was also a princess of Liu clan, who married to the family of Changsha king. I agree with him that the owner of Yuyang tomb was a high elite in the Changsha kingdom, evidenced by the *ticou* structure and the epigraphic evidence, such as clay impression of “the house of Changsha queen,” but we do not know whether she was a princess of the imperial family. The biographies of nobles in the *Han shu* only recorded a very few princesses and their titles; the Princess of Yuyang was not included. Song Shaohua 2010: 59-64.

expression of prestigious status and social relationship between the dead and the living.⁷⁰

We have to bear in mind the artifacts related to beauty and adornment, such as lacquer toiletry cases, are not necessarily related to female identity. Both male and female tombs, contained one or several lacquer cases, normally filled with a variety of cosmetic tools, including mirrors, combs, tweezers, hairpins, blush powder, powder puff, wigs and personal items.⁷¹ In the tomb 1 of Mawangdui, two cosmetic cases were buried with the Lady Dai. One consisted of two tiers. The top tier included a pair of embroidered gauze gloves, while nice small boxes in different shapes were placed into the lower tier (Fig.5-07 a, b). Another set, comprising five small boxes was wrapped with an embroidered textile covering. A bronze mirror, a wooden comb, a seal, a hair pin, tweezers and three book knives were placed into this case (Fig.5-08 a, b).⁷² Interestingly, identical tools for beautification were found in two toiletry cases in the tomb 3 of Mawangdui (Fig 5-09 a, b), where the owner was a male member of the Marquis Dai family.⁷³ In the use of cosmetic cases, the elite men showed similarly strong concerns with beautification and personal adornment. This cautions us against projecting current perspectives on defining gendered categories in ancient society.

⁷⁰ As Sørensen has pointed out, the study of how the external appearance of the person was constructed by textiles and ornaments, can be considered as a part of social dialogues about identity and membership. Sørensen 2006: 119.

⁷¹ For different kinds of cosmetics and their functions in the Han toiletry case see Liu Fangfang 2013: 24-30.

⁷² Mawangdui 1973.

⁷³ Mawangdui 2004. Cosmetic cases were very fashionable in the Western Han tombs. The archaeological finds are geographically concentrated in the mid-Yangzi region and the eastern area (present-day Shandong), and far south (present-day Guangxi and Guangdong). Chen Chunsheng 2001: 94-101. Zhang Xiaoya suggested the identical cosmetic substances found in both female and male tombs at Mawangdui indicated that elite men in Han times also used a range of cosmetics and took good care of their appearance. Zhang Xiaoya 2008: 48-53.

To further examine the gendered aspects of personal adornments, it is crucial to understand the different roles of the cosmetic items and personal objects in constructing identity and status. Lullo has compared two groups of toiletry cases in male and female tombs. She suggested that gender was more directly expressed by personal objects, rather than through cosmetic items. For instance, in the double tiered toiletry case of tomb 1 at Mawangdui, the silk gloves, needle bag and fragrant herbs were related to female identity, while the official hat found in the case of tomb 3 was worn only by men.⁷⁴In the field of gender archaeology, artifacts for personal adornment have been broadly considered as a means of constructing dialogues between the self and society. This leads to an associated question about how the elite men and women in the Western Han society perceived, defined and made distinctions on gendered practice.

Clearly, the mortuary data of Han tombs shows that general cosmetic items related to personal appearance did not separate women from men. They were probably involved in the performance of the body and social communication. The combs included in Anglo-Saxon burials served to construct a new identity for the deceased person; they were linked to the maintenance of the body's surface during the life and hence in the repeated construction of the self.⁷⁵In the case of Han society, as Lullo has argued, the toiletry cases found in Han tombs accompanying other burial objects, would have been selected and displayed throughout the funerary rites for the reconstruction of the identity of the deceased as ancestor.⁷⁶But there was little

⁷⁴ Lullo 2009: 54-55. In addition to the official hat, occupation related items, such as administrative documents, were rarely found in female tombs; see discussion in chapter 4.

⁷⁵ Williams 2003: 100.

⁷⁶ Lullo has discussed the significance of toiletry cases with relation to the corpse in funerary displays.

evidence to indicate the toiletry cases were directly related to funeral rituals; these extravagant artifacts appeared to have expressed more about wealth and elite status.

5.5 Negotiating Gender Relationship and Identity in the Household

A tomb functioning as a household, not only providing a stage for status display, it was also an intimate sphere to construct gender relationships, as well as to maintain the bonds between the dead individual and their living families.

5.5.1 Gender relationship represented by visual evidence

There is ample evidence of pictorial arts and material objects in Han tombs to suggest that meals and feast are key components of the household where general relationships were maintained and constructed at communal feasting and personal banqueting. Lukas Nickel has argued that the feasting theme either depicted in wall paintings or set by dining vessels with food remains, did not represent the lifetime banquet of the deceased, but instead provided comforts for the afterlife.⁷⁷ The following examples demonstrate that the banquet setting in the funeral context also represented gender relationships in the household that the dead desired and wished to be maintained after death.

The first example is a group of wall paintings found in a Western Han brick chamber tomb at Yanshi 偃師, Henan province, representing the pleasure and happiness of a household banquet. In the first painting, a young woman seems to be

The body treatment after death, including combing the hair, washing and binding the body, clipping the nails and disposing the bodily parings were specific ways for ensuring protection of the body or purification. The preparation of the physical body was the first part of the funeral rituals—the *bin* ceremony before coffining. The cosmetic items placed in tombs also highlighted desires to maintain favorable appearance in the afterlife. Lullo 2009: 94-95.

⁷⁷ Nickel 2000: 59-78.

drunk, and is supported by her two maids. Below one *zun*-container was a big jar which probably contained wine or an alcoholic beverage (Fig.5-10 a). On its left side, a kneeling maid was serving wine for a bald man, who is thought to be the male occupant as his image was repeated in other murals. There were other three guests seated on the right side, each guest had an ear-cup. In the second painting, the elderly bald man was vomiting and a female servant was holding his arm. Beside her, two men were drinking. Below, two men were playing *liubo* games (Fig.5-10 b).

Another wall painting in an Eastern Han brick chamber tomb at Luoyang, depicts a private feast. In the mural painting on the east wall, the central image is a couple, who have been thought to be the tomb occupant and his wife, sitting in front of a dining set. Five ear cups are placed in a large platter, accompanied by lacquer dishes and round boxes. The male occupant is holding an ear-cup in his left hand, he turns his head to look at his wife (Fig.5-10 c). To their right, a maid is serving food and wine; she is holding a long ladle to distribute food or soup from a large *zun*-container (Fig.5-10 d).⁷⁸ This painting clearly represents a private meal between husband and wife; there are no guests. The setting of curtain and screen seemed to highlight the intimate relationship and private space.

5.5.2 The constructed identity represented by tomb documents

The tomb documents surviving in three female tombs, in particular the *gao di shu* provide an opportunity to examine how different concerns of status and identity were represented through a variety of contents. The tombs under discussion, Xiejiaqiao M1, Gaotai M18 and Maojiayuan M1, each contained wooden tablets

⁷⁸ Luoyang 1996: 152-153.

carrying the name and title of the deceased.⁷⁹

(1) Xiejiaqiao M1 tablets

Tablet no.1: In the fifth year, the eleventh month, of which the first day was *guimao*, on the *gengwu* day, the assistant magistrate of Xi township dares to declare: Court Secretary, the [*wu*] *dafu*, Chang himself declared: [his] mother, elder woman *Hui* died, she is provided with clothing, grave furniture and attendants, including sons, their wives and concubines, servants accompanying with her, along with horses, cattle, objects and people one slip, [totally] 197 inventories. Chang's family should not pay taxes. This is the command for declaiming the assistant magistrate of the underworld to deal with affairs [according to statutes and decrees], hereby dare to report.

五年十一月癸卯朔庚午，西鄉辰敢言之：郎中[五]大夫昌自言：母大女子恚死，以衣器、葬具及從者子、婦、偏下妻、奴婢、馬、牛、物、人一牒，牒百九十七枚。昌家复毋有所與。有昭令，謁告地下丞以從事，敢言之。

Tablet no.2: In the eleventh year, the day of *gengwu*, the assistant magistrate of Jiangling transfers [the document] to the assistant magistrate of underground, it is a command for officials (of underworld) to deal with the affairs according to [this].Handled by Zang.

十一月庚午，江陵丞[missing character]虬移地下丞，可令吏以從事/臧手。

Tablet no.3: The mother of Court Secretary *wu dafu* Chang and relative should not be considered to pay taxes.

郎中五大夫昌母、家屬當复無有所與。

⁷⁹ Xiejiaqiao tablet is an exception, the lady was not provided with any title and rank, it only mentioned her eldest son held a rank of *wu dafu*. Xiejiaqiao 2009.

(2) Gaotai M18 tablets

Tablet no.1: Andu, seal of the assistant magistrate of Jiangling

安都, 江陵丞印

Tablet no.2 (Front): In the seventh year, the tenth month in which the first day was *bingzi*, on the [*gengzi*] day. Qi in Zhong township made an announcement: Xin'an elder woman Yan herself declares that she, accompanied by two senior servants Jia and Yi, along with maidservant Fang, wants to move to Andu, inform [underground assistant of] Andu to receive the names and the number [of items]. [When] the document arrives, report to [your superior].

七年十月丙子朔（庚子），中鄉起敢言之，新安大女燕自言：與大奴甲乙（大）婢妨徙安都謁告安都受[名]數書到為報，敢言之。

In the tenth month, on the *gengzi* day, the assistant magistrate of Jiangling, Long respectfully transfers [this document] to the assistant magistrate of Andu. Handled by Ting.

十月庚子江陵龍氏丞敬移安都丞/亭手

Tablet no.2 (Back) : Handled by Chan 產手

Tablet no.3 :

Xin'an registered resident, elder woman Yan, widow of the *guannei hou*

新安戶人大女燕關內侯寡

Senior servant Jia 大奴甲

Senior servant Yi 大奴乙

Senior maid Fang 大婢妨

The household [received] preference [and] should not be counted and [considered] lavish [to pay taxes]

家優不算不徭。⁸⁰

⁸⁰ “Zhongxiang Qi 中鄉起” is abbreviation of “Zhongxiang youzhi Qi 中鄉有秩起” or “Zhongxiang sefu Qi 中鄉嗇夫起”. Hsing 2006: 275-296. Liu Lexian 2007: 93-96.

(3) Maojiayuan M1 Tablet

In the twelfth year, the eighth month in which the first day was *renyin*, on the *jiwei* day, the Chou of Jian township dares to tell the authority of underworld: widow of *guannei hou* of Si yang, elder woman Jing died, she herself declares that she is transferred with family servants, horses and cattle. The current inventory document and 73 slips recording what accompanied her are transferred to [the underworld]. It is a command for officials [of underworld] to count and deal with affairs according to statutes and decrees, hereby dare to report to the lord.

十二年八月壬寅朔己未，建鄉疇敢告地下主，泗陽關內侯寡大女精死，自言以家屬、馬牛徙。今牒書所與徙者七十三牒移。此家復不事。可令吏受數以從事，它如律令。敢告主。⁸¹

If we closely examine above three documents, differences are apparent.⁸² Firstly, the marital status as legal wife, concubine and widow is explicitly recorded in the documents. Male occupants were provided with full name, while females only had a first name.⁸³ In the Xiejiaqiao tablet, the person who made the announcement was Chang, the son of the deceased, while both persons recorded in the tablets from Maojiayuan and Gaotai were the deceased herself (Table 5-02).

⁸¹ Liu Guosheng 2009.

⁸² Full texts and translations see G.01, G.02, G.04 in Appendix 2.

⁸³ Females in both Han dynasty household registers and *gao di shu* documents were only provided with personal names, differing from later periods, only family name added. For anthropological view on personal naming and gender difference in Chinese society, see Watson 1986: 619-631. The real beginning of the system of patrilineal surnames seems to be a product of the Qin's unification and its effort of household register. The surnames were considered as a sign of kinship connection. Ropp 1990: 201-202.

Table 5-02 Comparisons of five tomb documents

Tomb	The identity of the deceased	Person who declares	Provisions	Intended recipient
Xiejiaqiao M1	Hui, elderly woman, mother of Chang	Chang, the <i>wu dafu</i> , the oldest son of Hui	clothing, grave furniture and attendants	the assistant magistrate of the underworld
Maojiayuan M1	Jing, elderly woman, widow of the <i>Guannei hou</i>	Jing herself	servants, horses, cattle	the [underworld] lord
Gaotai M18	Xin'an elderly woman, Yan, widow of the <i>guannei hou</i>	Yan herself	servants	the assistant magistrate of Andu
FHS M168	Zhang Sui, the <i>wu dafu</i> of Siyang	Zhang Sui himself	servants, carriages, horses	the [underworld] lord
FHS M10	Zhang Yan, the <i>wu dafu</i> of Ping village	Zhang Yan himself	clothing, objects	unknown

As I have discussed in the previous chapter, the imperial rules regulated that registering family members and properties officially was the duty of the householder. The person who made the announcement in the underworld certificates must be the head of household. Also, the Han laws entitled a widow to inherit rank and household from the dead husband. It is very likely the owners of Maojiayuan M1 and Gaotai M18, who were both described as “widow of the *guannei hou*”, were female householders.⁸⁴

The mortuary variability between Gaotai M18 and Maojiayuan M1 may express

⁸⁴ For the legal status of widows described in Zhangjiashan manuscripts see the second section of this chapter.

distinctions of status and wealth in different households, instead of individual rank.⁸⁵ The wooden figurines and carriage horse models buried in these tombs symbolically represent their roles in accompanying, and serving the tomb owner in another world. Also, their presence expressed status and power of the deceased as the householder, which was legitimated and reinforced by the tomb documents, and wealth.

In the case of Xiejiaqiao M1, the tomb document stated that the household of the tomb occupant included the *wu dafu* Chang, who was the head of household and the oldest son of the deceased, and other three sons had different ranks. Both Zhen 貞 and Shu 豎 were the *dafu*, Yi 乙 was the *bu geng*. Differing from the self-representations in Maojiaoyuan M1 and Gaotai M18, the Xiejiaqiao tablet shows a strong emphasis on the relationship between mother and son. Filial piety was enforced by state laws and existed long before the Han dynasty. The Western Han literary texts described different attitudes towards mother and father: the mother was to be loved while the father was to be both loved and revered.⁸⁶ In her textual interpretation of the bonds between mothers and sons in elite mourning practice beginning in the late Western Han, Miranda Brown has argued that mourning the mother, instead of the father, became crucial for male descendants to build a public reputation.⁸⁷ The extravagant burial of Xiejiaqiao M1 seemed to serve the purpose of advertising the power and status of the living through conspicuous consumption of wealth in funerals.

⁸⁵ For the material expression of different economic power and status of households in the medium-size Han tombs see chapter 4.

⁸⁶ Confucianism paid primary attention to the father-son relationship in its discourse on filial piety, the bond between sons and their mothers had strong emotional appeal. Wolf 1972: 160-220.

⁸⁷ Brown 2007: 128-129. Also see Brown 2003: 137-169.

The documents of announcement to the underworld provide valuable evidence on who were involved in the taking care of the deceased, suggesting that the lower ranking Han elites attached great importance to family ties and the status of the householder. Taking care of the dead may have served as a proxy for family ties, because the Han Chinese believed that the souls of the deceased would find no rest if they were not properly buried and treated with decent feasting and offerings.⁸⁸ Burying the dead and making funeral arrangements seemed to be a moral obligation which fell upon the heirs of the household, and was also explicitly a legal duty.⁸⁹ The Han perception of the afterlife, with its emphasis on the individual's well-being in the netherworld, provoked enthusiasm for extravagant burials. The example of Xiejiaqiao M1 shows the bonds between mother and sons were dominant in the Han elite's conception of familial obligations and affection.

⁸⁸ With regard to the Han Chinese's attitudes towards ghosts, Poo Mu-Chou points out there was for an ideal life or life hereafter cannot be achieved without first settling the account with ghosts and spirits. In Han times, the *gui* 鬼 (spirit) had broader meanings, it is referred to the spirit of a deceased person, or one's own ancestor. Poo 2003: 295-308. In his recent work, Poo argues that the general tendency of imitating the house of the living was visible across different social groups and also prevalent in various tombs types, including the traditional wooden chamber tombs, or the newly developed brick tombs, or rock-cut tombs. Poo 2011:13-36.

⁸⁹The Statute on Heirs and Inheritance in the Zhangjiashan manuscripts, specified certain principles regarding establishment of heirs and inheritance of rank. It said most honorary ranks lower than the marquis could be transferred to close relatives; an heir to a man who held an honorary rank might received an order of a lower rank. ZJS strips no. 367-368: "To establish heirs for those who died of illness, the heir-son of a person with a rank of *chou* shall inherit [his father's] rank. If there are no sons born by the wife, let the sons born by concubines be heirs. The heir-son of a *guannei hou* becomes a *guannei hou*; the heir-son of a *qing* becomes a *gongcheng*; the heir-son of a *wu dafu* becomes a *gong dafu*; the heir-son of a *gong sheng* becomes a *guan dafu*; the heir-son of a *qongdafu* becomes a *dafu*; the heir-son of a *guan dafu* becomes a *bu sheng*; the heir-son of a *dafu* becomes a *zanniao*; the heir-son of a *bu geng* becomes a *shangzao*; the heir-son of a *zanniao* becomes a *gongshi*. If there are no sons born by the principle wife, let the sons born by the concubines become the heirs. 疾死置後者，徹侯後子為徹侯，其毋適(嫡)子，以孺子[子、良人]子，關內侯後子為關內侯，卿後子為公乘，[五大夫]後子為公大夫。公乘後子為官大夫，公大夫後子為大夫，官大夫後子為不更，大夫後子為簪褭，不更後子為上造，簪褭後子為公士，其毋適(嫡)子，以下妻子、偏妻子。”

5.6 Conclusion

The case study of female tombs in the middle-Yangzi region represents multiple dimensions of status and roles of the deceased to be desired in the afterlife, and further supports the argument that in analyzing mortuary variables, social hierarchy is not absolute; gender was one of the primary ways of signifying social differentiation. The separation of men and women is evidenced by gender-specified artifacts and manuscripts in Han tombs, it probably derived from different work and allocated social roles rooted in contemporary social value. In addition to material objects, tomb documents were textual presentation of social privilege and material wealth, ensuring the continuance in the afterlife of the status and wealth of the deceased person. The written words on the tablets are not only a source of information about the dead individual, the status and identity of the householder were emphasized by the deceased or their relatives to legitimize standing and status in another world. In meanwhile, some female members of the same rank gained higher status through wealth and a predominant role in the household.

Conclusion

東廚具肴膳，椎牛烹豬羊。
主人前進酒，彈瑟為清商。
投壺對彈棋，博奕並復興。
朱火颺煙霧，博山吐微香。
清樽發朱顏，四坐樂且康。
今日樂相樂，延年壽千霜。

The Eastern chef is preparing for meals,
Chopping beef and boiling pork and mutton.
The host of the feast hands round the wine,
The zither-players sound their clear chords.
The cups are pushed aside and we face each other at chess,
The rival pawns are marshaled rank against rank.
The fire glows and the smoke puffs and curls,
From the incense burner rises a delicate fragrance.
The pure wine had made our cheeks red,
Round the table joy and peace prevail.
May those who shared in this day's pleasure,
Through countless autumns enjoy like felicity.

The famous Han *yuefu* 樂府 poem vividly illustrates an enjoyable life that most Han elites wished to have in the world and in the hereafter. The repertoires of “a happy life” are not only depicted in the mural paintings and stone carvings of later period, but also represented by the Western Han wooden chamber tombs discussed in this thesis.

Two basic conceptions underlie the Han elites' beliefs and practices concerning the afterlife. The first is the continual survival of the deceased in another world. This explains why the Han elites felt necessary to make provision for the needs of posthumous existence, which were similar to those of life before death. A tomb functioned as a household, providing a home for the deceased, and objects for everyday use were buried. Food and drink were also provided to nourish the dead, who obtained their sustenance in the form of offerings. To some extent, the Han notion of the afterlife was based on the daily practices of the living, evidenced by the tomb arrangement to satisfy all the basic needs for carrying on a daily life after death. For many well-preserved tombs the architectural features and contents make clear representational intentions. As we can see from the archaeological evidence of the Han wooden chamber tombs in the mid-Yangzi region, the internal designs of burial chamber and funeral arrangements mimicked the world of living.

Secondly, a tomb was not only a dwelling place for the deceased, but also a place where the deceased could solidify status and identity. The official emblems and material symbols of prestige were buried with powerful nobilities and political elites. In the tombs of lower social strata, documents addressed to the underworld authority paralleled the actual official archives of household registers. The dead individuals had their names and ranks recorded, as well as attendants, wealth and property in the household. By means of household registration, the identity of the householder was legitimized and maintained in the world after death.

The views about the afterlife outlined above represent the way of looking at death, regarding it from the perspective of this world. On one side, the representation of identity and status of the deceased was connected with social roles and activities

performed while alive. For instance, the luxury dining lacquers, the models of horse and carriage, normally accompanied by attendants and servants, were used as material symbols to manifest the wealth and identity of householders; different tools, samples of administrative and legal documents were connected to the owner's occupations such as officials, merchants or landowners. On the other hand, the visual difference of self presentation in the individual burials may also have been motivated by personal interest and a hope of achieving a final destination in the netherworld. People of lower social strata could adopt status markers in grave goods which were largely denied them when alive, in order to enhance their social standing in the afterlife. Also, wealth and status display in an ostentatious funeral could be more relevant to the living, representing the care and concern of the mourners. These points are illustrated by the case studies in chapters 3, 4 and 5.

My study on archaeological manifestations of rank and status differs from traditional Chinese archaeological studies that generally use material evidence to support the records of the transmitted literature of the time. This thesis shows material culture offers more opportunity to understand the social differences than the transmitted literature. The historical texts give a very misleading impression of rigid stratification and hierarchy in Western Han society, in which tomb construction and burial practice were subject to funeral regulations and ritual norms. A comparison between burial evidence and written regulations demonstrates that the archaeological evidence from the large-scale and medium-size wooden chamber tombs sometimes conflicts with what is stated by literary source. At least in the time and region I have studied, the regulations seem not have been strictly observed and enforced.

This thesis provides a new analytical framework for archaeological interpretation of mortuary variability by systematic study of various sources, including epigraphic evidence, excavated manuscripts and burial evidence. The archaeologically recovered material tells us different stories from that derived from the transmitted literature. In traditional studies, the Han wooden chamber tombs are often given archaic rank by the excavators in terms of the *guan guo* system and the *lie ding* regulation; the Zhou legacy is overstated. The Zhangjiashan manuscripts throw new light on the Han ranking system—The Twenty Orders. The analysis of excavated documents from Zhangjiashan in the second and fourth chapters explains why the ranks mattered to the Han elites and what kind of social privileges and material rewards were attached to different honorary ranks. By studying the Zhangjiashan manuscripts, we know that the Han laws regulated the organization of households and the social privileges ascribed to honorary rank holders, and that the individuals defined their ranks and status through household registration. This valuable information helps us to understand the material expression of honorary ranks and the identity of householders manifested in the medium-size tombs.

Another finding is related to gender. The analysis of the Statute on Heirs and Inheritance suggests that women were eligible to inherit rank and household in Han times. This new idea modifies the traditional notion of excluding women from honorary ranks and power as described in transmitted historical texts. The archaeological investigation of gender in the fifth chapter shows that some grave goods, such as tools for textile production, normally represent female identity, while the administrative documents marked the male category. The analysis of women's

tombs demonstrates that some female householders could gain higher status through wealth and predominant roles in the domestic domain.

Material objects played active roles in negotiating status and identity, represented by concrete examples in this thesis. We see the power and privilege of an unknown noble exhibited by prestige artifacts; the rank and wealth of the modest official elevated by imitating the status emblems of their superiors; the femininity of elite men represented by delicate personal adornments. It happened in ancient society, also in modern life. In Han society, the carriages and the elaborate dining lacquers produced in Chengdu became fashionable material symbols of wealth and status. Nowadays we have BMW, Wedgwood, Chanel, Prada and Louis Vuitton. Luxury goods were not exclusive to the wealth and powerful. It is not surprising when we see a Hermes Birkin is carried by a junior female secretary or a Patek Philippe is worn by a taxi driver in many metropolitan cities of China, though they must have cost several years' savings for people of low incomes.

In south China, extravagant funerals are now arranged with objects that the deceased would need in the afterlife. Various models are sent for cremation, including lavish houses, posh cars and boats, Mahjong sets, iPhone, fashionable clothing and even passports for travelling; the deceased wish to have these luxuries in the afterlife though they could not afford them when alive. If you think these status symbols provide direct information for identifying their owners, you might be wrong. What you have seen, is what is intended to be seen, as John Moreland said, "the reality is that people in the past, as in the present, made and manipulated objects and texts as projections of their views about themselves and their place in the world. Products of human creativity and invention were not simply essentialist reflections of an inner

(given) reality. Rather, they were actively used in the production and transformation of identities; they were used in the projection of, and in resistance to, power; and they were used to create meaning in, and to structure, the routines of everyday life.”¹

¹ Moreland 2001: 80.

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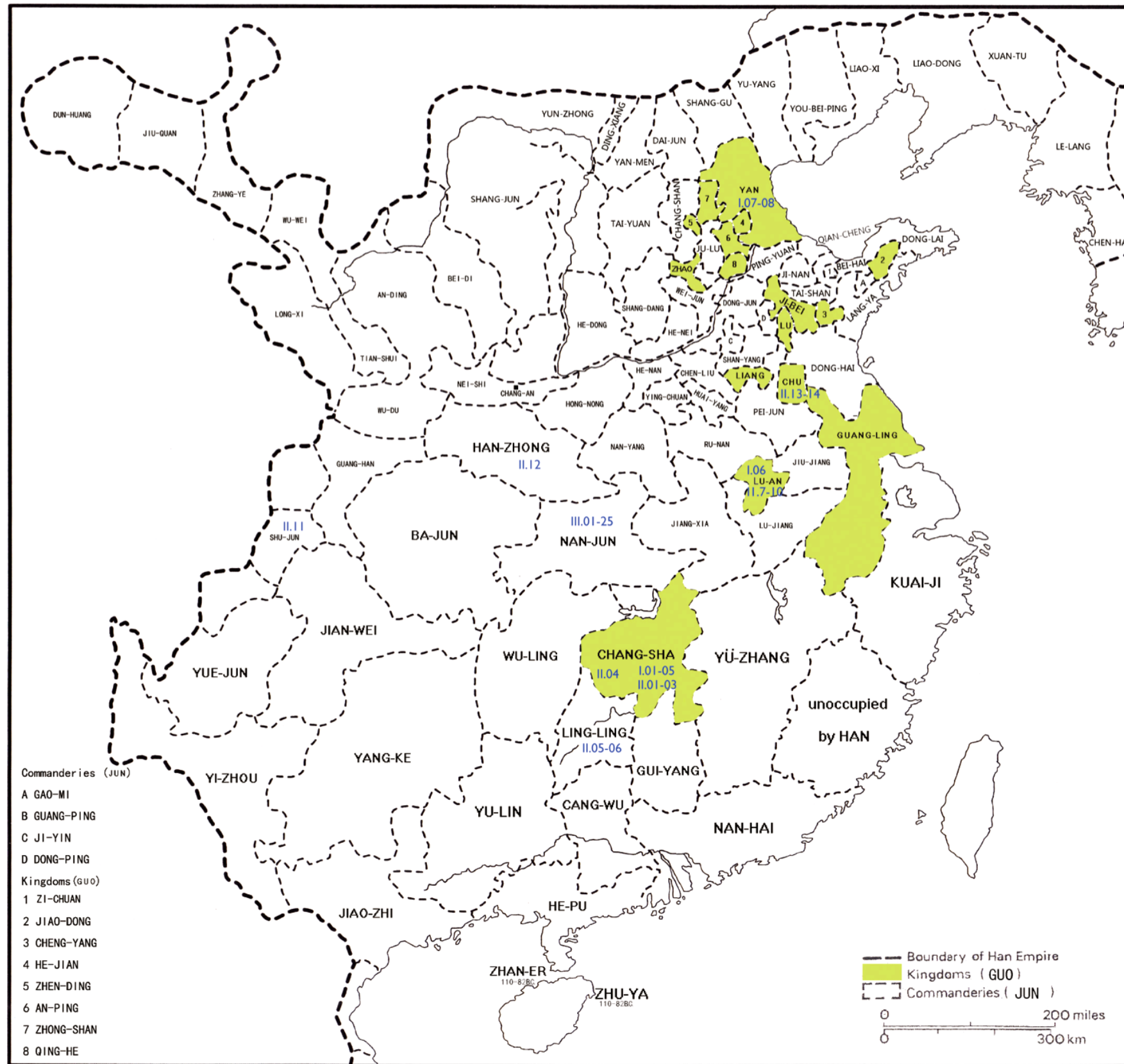
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Illustrations and photos

Map1 showing the geographical distributions of tomb types of Liu-clan kings.



Map2 showing the geographical distributions of wooden chamber tombs of group I-III in the early Han Empire



Map 3 showing the geographical distribution of the Han wooden chamber tombs



Illustrations and photos in Chapter 1, 3, 4, 5

<p>Fig.1-01a The timber structure of Xiejiaqiao tomb 1, Jingzhou. After Jingzhou 2008:189</p> <p>The figure originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA for copyright reasons.</p>	
<p>Fig.1-01b Garlic-head flask from Xiejiaqiao M1. After Jingzhou 2008:193.</p> <p>The figure originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA for copyright reasons.</p>	<p>Fig.1-01 c Ear-cups from Xiejiaqiao M1. After Jingzhou 2008:197.</p> <p>The figure originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA for copyright reasons.</p>
<p>Fig.1-01d Lacquer vessels in the head compartment of Xiejiaqiao M1. After Jingzhou 2008:197.</p> <p>The figure originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA for copyright reasons.</p>	

Fig. 1-01 e Carriage and horse models found in Xiejiaqiao M1, photo by the author in 2011.



Fig. 1-02 f Details of miniature horse in Xijiaqiao M1, photo by the author in 2011.



Fig.1-02g Human figurine from Xiejiaqiao M1. After Xiejiaqiao 2009: fig.12.

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Fig.1-01h A group of bamboo tablets from Xiejiaqiao M1. After Xiejiaqiao 2009: fig.22

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Fig.1-01 i A wooden tablet from Fenghuangshan M10. After Fenghuangshan Zhujian 2012.

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Fig. 1-02 a The vertical pits of M 1 and M 3 at Mawangdui; b The timber structure of Mawangdui M 1 at Changsha, Hunan. After Yang Xiaoneng 2004: fig. 80 a,b.

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Fig.1-02c Tomb structure of Mawangdui tomb 1, Changsha, 168 B.C. After Erickson 2010: fig.1.1.

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Fig. 1-02 d The outer chamber of Mawangdui tomb 1. After Mawangdui 1973: fig.8.

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Fig.1-02 e Tomb structure of Mawangdui tomb 3, Changsha, 168 B.C. After Mawangdui 2004: fig. pl.8; fig. 27.

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Fig. 1-02 f. g Mortise and tention joint of timber structure in Mawangdui tomb 1. After Mawangdui 1973: fig.7-8.

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<p align="center">The distribution of grave goods in the outer chamber of Mawangdui tomb 1</p>	
<p>Fig. 1-02 h Dining vessels in the northern compartment. After Mawangdui 1973: fig.11.</p> <p>The figure originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA for copyright reasons.</p>	<p>Fig. 1-02 i Human figurines in the northern compartment. After Mawangdui 1973: fig.10</p> <p>The figure originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA for copyright reasons.</p>
<p>The drawing originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA for copyright reasons.</p>	
<p>Fig. 1-02 j Bamboo caskets with food remains in the western compartment. After Mawangdui 1973: fig.21.</p> <p>The figure originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA for copyright reasons.</p>	<p>Fig. 1-02 k Dining lacquers in the eastern compartment. After Mawangdui 1973: fig.17.</p> <p>The figure originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA for copyright reasons.</p>

Fig.1-03 a The tomb structure of Fu Hao tomb, Anyang, Henan. After Yang Xiaoneng 2004: fig.51e.

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Fig. 1-03 b, c The bronze animal-shaped *zun* and square tripod in Fu Hao tomb. After Danielle and Elisseeff 1983: fig. 17, 18.

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Fig. 1-03 d The vertical pit of M1002, late Shang period, Yinxu, Anyang. After Yang Xiaoneng 2004: fig.51e

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<p>Fig.1-04 a The timber structure of M179 at Zhangjiapo, the Western Zhou. After Zhangjiapo 1999: pl.2.</p> <p>The figure originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA for copyright reasons.</p>	<p>Fig. 1-04 b The chariot and horse pit of M 157 at Zhangjiapo, the Western Zhou. After Zhangjiapo 1999: pl.1.</p> <p>The figure originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA for copyright reasons.</p>
<p>Fig. 1-04 c The bronze tripod inscribed with “<i>Jing shu</i>” in M 152 of Zhangjiapo. After Zhangjiapo 1999: pl.3</p> <p>The figure originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA for copyright reasons.</p>	<p>Fig. 1-04 d The bronze animal-shaped <i>zun</i> with inscriptions M 163 of Zhangjiapo. After Zhangjiapo 1999: pl.6.</p> <p>The figure originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA for copyright reasons.</p>

Fig. 1-05 a Plan of M 93 with charcoal an rock, Western Zhou, Tianma-Qucun, Shanxi. After Yang Xiaoneng 2004: fig.59a.

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Fig. 1-05 b The tomb structure of M 91 at cemetery of Jin state at Tianma-Qucun. After Liu Qingzhu 2009: 208

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Fig. 1-05 c Bronze *gui*-tureen found in the cemetery of Jin state at Tianma-Qucun, Shanxi. After Liu Qingzhu 2009: 209

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Fig. 1-05 d Bronze bells found in the cemetery of Jin state at Tianma-Qucun, Shanxi. After Liu Qingzhu 2009: 208

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Fig. 1-06 a The tomb structure of the Early Western Zhou tomb at Liulihe, Beijing. After Yang Xiaoneng 2004: fig. 58 d

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Fig.1-06 b The chariot and horse pit at Liulihe. After Yang Xiaoneng 2004: 58b.

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Fig. 1-06 c Bronze Bo Ju li vessel found in the cemetery of Yan state, Liulihe. After Yang Xiaoneng 2004: 58 e

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Fig.1-06 d Bronze ritual vessels in M 251 at Liulihe, Beijing. After Zhang Zhongpei 2005: 196.

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Fig.1-07a, b The multi-chambered timber structure of Tianxingguan tomb 1 at Jiangling, Chu state. After Tianxingguan 1989: fig.4.

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Fig.1-07 c The outer chamber of Tianxingguan M 1, painted with windows and doors. After Tianxingguan 1989: fig.7.

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Fig.1-07 d, e The brick chamber tomb at Jinlingzhen 金嶺鎮, Zibo 淄博, Shandong, Eastern Han dynasty. After Huang Xiaofen 2003: pl. 24, 25.

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Fig. 1-07 f The catacomb tomb of Qin state at Shanmenkou 山門口, Xi'an, Shaanxi. After Huang Xiaofen 2003: fig. 4.

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Fig.1-08 a Xiangbizui *ticou* tomb, Changsha, 201-157 B.C. After Campbell 2010: fig.9

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Fig.1-08 b Doubishan *ticou* tomb, Changsha, Hunan, 201-157 B.C. After Campbell 2010:fig.8

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Fig. 1-08 c The outer chamber of Gaotai tomb 33, the coffin chamber with three side compartments. After Gaotai 2000: fig.42.

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Fig.1- 08 d The outer chamber of Zhangjiashan M249 (the early Western Han), Jiingzhou. After Zhangjiashan 1985: fig.6.

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Fig. 1-08 e The outer chamber of Gaotai tomb 2, the same structure as Gaotai tomb 33 (the early Western Han). After Gaotai 2000: fig.3.

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Fig. 1-08 f The house-like timber structure of Guanghua M3. After Guanghua 1976: fig.4.

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Fig. 1-09 a The House-like timber structure of Leigudun tomb 1, the tomb of Marquis Yi of Zeng. After Zeng Hou Yi: 1989: pl.6, 10

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Fig. 1-09 b, c The inner coffin painted with doors and windows in Leigudun tomb 1

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Fig.1-09 d The outer chamber of Fenghuangshan tomb168 (167 B.C.). Photo by author in 2012.



Fig. 1-09 e The miniature door connected the coffin chamber with the head compartment. After Fenghuangshan 1993: fig.5.

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Fig. 1-09 f Miniature doors and windows connected with the side chamber and coffin chamber, Fenghuangshan tomb168 (167 B.C.). Photo by author in 2012.



D 1-D3: doors; W1-W6: windows

Fig.1-10 a Three decorated coffins from Mawangdui tomb1 (168 B.C.). After Qiqi quanji 1998: fig.105.

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Fig. 1-10 b The details of the second coffin in Mawangdui M 1, Changsha. After Mawangdui 1973: fig.29.

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Fig. 1-10 c The details of the third coffin in Mawangdui M 1, Changsha. After Mawangdui 1973: fig.34.

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Fig. 1-10 d, e, f The inner coffin of Baoshan tomb 2 and details of decoration. Zhang Zhengming1996: fig.206; fig.75-3, 75-4.

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Fig. 1-11 a The tombs structure of Wangdu Han tomb, Hebei. After Wangdu 1955: fig.2.
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Fig. 1-11 b The octagonal columns and bracketing in Yinan Han tomb in Shandong. After Yang Xiaoneng 2004: 91a.

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Fig 1-11 c The house-like structure of Tanghe tomb. After Wu and Xiao 1985:fig.1.

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Fig.1-11 d The rock-cut tomb at Shizishan, Jiangsu, After Yang Xiaoneng 2004: 81 b.

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Fig. 1-11 e The rock-cut tomb at Beidongshan, Jiangsu. After Beidongshan 2003: fig.4.

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<p>Fig. 1-12 a-c A bronze seal of “the seal of Marquis Dai 軫侯之印”(left); a jade seal of “Li Cang 利蒼”(middle); a bronze seal of “chancellor of Changsha 長沙丞相”(right) from Mawangdui tomb 2 (186 B.C.), Changsha, Hunan. After Mawangdui 2004: pl. III.</p>	
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<p>Fig.1-12 d, e Clay impression of seal inscribed with “<i>Daihou jiacheng</i> 軫侯家丞” from Mawangdui tomb 1 (168 B.C.). After Mawangdui 1973: fig.211.</p>	
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<p>Fig.1-12 f A <i>zhi</i>-cup inscribed with “<i>Ruyin hou zhi</i> 汝陰侯卮” (165 B.C.). After Shuanggudui 1973: fig.7.</p>	<p>Fig.1-12 g Clay impression of seal inscribed with “<i>Ruyin Jiacheng</i> 汝陰家丞 Household assistant of Marquis Ru Yin” from Shuanggudui tomb 1 (165 B.C.). After Shuanggudui 1973: fig.2.</p>
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Fig.1-12 h Bamboo strips from Zhangjiashan M247 (187-164 B.C.). After Jingzhou 2008: 202.
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Fig.1-12 i A group of wooden tablets from Gaotai tomb 18 (173 B.C.). After Jingzhou 2008: 186.
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Fig.3-01a,b Wangchengpo *ticou* tomb, Changsha, 179-157 B.C. After Yuyang 2010:fig.9, fig.4.
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Fig.3-01c Vertical pit casket tomb, type I, Sections of outer chamber and inner coffin.
Wangchengpo tomb, Changsha (179-141BC). After Yuang 2010: fig.4.
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<p>Fig.3-01d Two apotropaic sculptures, Wangchengpo <i>ticou</i> tomb. After Yuyang 2010: fig. 8.</p> <p>The figure originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA for copyright reasons.</p>	<p>Fig.3-01e <i>ticou</i> inscription. After Yuyang 2010: fig. 43.</p> <p>The figure originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA for copyright reasons.</p>
<p>Fig.3-02 a,b Fengpengling <i>ticou</i> tomb, Changsha, 49-48 B.C. After Fengpengling 2007: pl.3, fig.3.</p> <p>The figure originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA for copyright reasons.</p>	
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Fig.3-03 a, b Tianxingguan tomb 1, Jiangling, 340 B.C. After Tianxingguan 1982: fig.10.

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Fig.3-04 a Beishantou tomb 1, Chaohu in Anhui, early Western Han. After Chaohu 2007: p1.41.

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Fig. 3-04 b Baoshan tomb 2, Jiangling in Hubei, 318-298B.C. After Baoshan 1991: fig. 35.

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Fig.3-05 a Timber structure of Fangwanggang tomb 1, Chaohu, early Western Han. Photo by author in 2012.



Fig.3-05 b Small kitchen in Fangwanggang tomb 1. Photo by author in 2012.



Fig.3-05 c Interior design of Fangwanggang tomb 1. After Chaohu 2007:fig.4.

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Fig.3-06 a, b, c Timber structure of Yuanling tomb 1, Hunan, 162 B.C. After Yuanling 2003: fig.6; fig.9; fig.2.

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Fig.3-07 a, b Timber structure of Shuangbao shan tomb 2, Mianyang, early Western Han. After Mianyang 2006: pl.60; fig.34.

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Fig.3-07 c The eastern back compartment. After Mianyang 2006: fig. 68.

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Fig. 3-07 d The western front compartment. After Mianyang 2006: fig. 50.

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Burial assemblage: personal adornment

Fig.3-08a Fragments of jade suits from Shuangbaoshan tomb 2, Mianyang, early Western Han. After Mianyang 2006: pl.215.

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Fig.08 b A complete set of jade suits from the tomb of king Nanyue (died in 122 B.C.), Guangzhou. After Nanyue 1991: pl.3.

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Fig.3-09 a, b, c Textile shrouds from Mawangdui tomb 1, Changsha, 168B.C. After Mawangdui 1973:pl.79; 82;68.

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Burial assemblage: dining sets

Fig. 3-10 a The *lian* 奩 (circular box) in Mawangdui M1. After Qiqi quanji 1998: fig. 97.

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Fig. 3-10 b The *zhi* 卮 cup in Mawangdui M1. After Qiqi quanji 1998: fig. 63.

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Fig.3-10 c, d A large tray from Mawangdui tomb 1. After Qiqi quanji 1998: fig. 81.

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Fig.3-10 e, f The square flask and spherical flask from Mawangdui M 1. After Qiqi quanji 1998: fig.75, 77.

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Fig.3-10 g, h Large platter from Mawangdui M 1. After Qiqi quanji 1998: fig.101, 102.

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Fig. 3-10 i Small dish decorated with cats and cloud scrolls in Mawangdui M1. After Qiqi quanji 1998: 87.

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<p>Fig.3-10 j The <i>yu</i>-vessel in Mawangdui M1. After Qiqi quanji 1998: fig.88.</p> <p>The figure originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA for copyright reasons.</p>	<p>Fig. 3-10 k The round box in Mawangdui M1 . After Qiqi quanji 1998: fig.103.</p> <p>The figure originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA for copyright reasons.</p>
<p>Fig. 3-10 l The <i>lian</i>-box in Mawangdui M1. After Qiqi quanji 1998: fig. 95.</p> <p>The figure originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA for copyright reasons.</p>	
<p>Fig. 3-10 m Ear-cup in Mawangdui M1. After Qiqi quanji 1998: fig.84.</p> <p>The figure originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA for copyright reasons.</p>	<p>Fig. 3-10 n Ear-cup in Mawangdui M1. After Qiqi quanji 1998: fig.83.</p> <p>The figure originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA for copyright reasons.</p>

Fig. 3.10 o The wine-cup container from Mawangdui M1. After Qiqi quanji 1998: fig. 71.

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Fig.3-11 a *yi*-pouurer; b. *xi*-basin from Beishantou tomb 1 at Chaohu, early Western Han. After Chaohu 2007: pl. 45 (1); pl. 49 (1).

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Fig.3-12 a. *zhong*-bells from Shuangbaoshan tomb 2, Sichuan. After Mianyang 2006: pl. 169.

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<p>Fig.3-12 b Chime stones found in the back chamber of Shangbaoshan tomb 2, After Mianyang 2006: pl. 175.</p> <p>The figure originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA for copyright reasons.</p>	<p>Fig.3-12 c Chime stones found in the eastern back chamber of Shangbaoshan tomb 2, After Mianyang 2006: pl. 155.</p> <p>The figure originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA for copyright reasons.</p>
<p>Fig.3-12 d <i>zhong</i>-bells; e. <i>qing</i>-chime stones from Mawangdui M 3. After Mawangdui 2004: pl.80.</p> <p>The figure originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA for copyright reasons.</p>	
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<p>Fig.3-13 a-c Lacquer horses and figurines from Shuangbaoshan tomb 2 at Mianyang. After Mianyang 2006: pl.52; 105; 113.</p>		
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<p>Fig. 3-13 d A group of miniature horses in the western compartment of Shuangbaoshan tomb 2. After Mianyang 2006: pl. 91.</p> <p>The figure originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA for copyright reasons.</p>	<p>Fig.3-13 e, f The miniature horse and riding figurine. After Mianyang 2006: pl. 111, 116.</p> <p>The figure originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA for copyright reasons.</p>	
<p>Fig.3-13 g Lacquer horses and figurines from Shuangbaoshan tomb 2 at Mianyang. After Mianyang 2006: pl. 62.</p> <p>The figure originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA for copyright reasons.</p>		

Fig.3-14 a, b, c Carriage and horses in Fenghuangshan M 168, Jiangling, Jingzhou museum, photoed by author in 2012.



Fig. 3-14 d Human figurines in Fenghuangshan M 168.
After Chufeng Hanyu n 2011: 132.

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Fig. 3-14 e Boat model and human figurines in Fenghuangshan M168.
Photo by author in 2012.

Fig.3-15 a Five painted figurines of musicians in the northern chamber of Mawangdui tomb 1. After Mawangdui 1973: pl. 203.

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Fig. 3-15 b Eight female figurines of dancers and singers in the northern chamber of Mawangdui tomb 1. Mawangdui 1973: pl. 199.

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Fig.3-15 c Two painted male figurines in Mawangdui tomb 1. After Mawangdui 1973: pl. 202.

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Fig.3-15 d One standing figurine dressed in textile costumes in Mawangdui tomb 1. After Mawangdui 1973: pl. 201.

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Fig.3-15 e Standing female figurines wearing textiles in the northern chamber of Mawangdui tomb 1. After Mawangdui 1973: pl. 198.

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Fig.3-16 a, b Two jade zhi-cups from Beishantou tomb 1. After Chaohu 2006: pl.62-63.



Fig.3-16 c, d A silver box from Beishantou tomb 1. After Chaohu2006: pl. 48 (3,4).

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Fig.3-16 e A silver plate from Beishantou tomb 1. After Chaohu 2006: pl.48 (5).

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Fig.3-16 f A small lacquer jar in Beishantou M 1. After Chaohu 2006: pl. 52 (3).

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<p>Fig. 3-17 a Cloud patterns on the lacquer tripod of Mawangdui tomb 1. After Mawangdui 1973: pl. 154.</p> <p>The figure originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA for copyright reasons.</p>	<p>Fig. 3-17 b Embroidered textiles from Mawangdui M1. After Mawangdui 1973: pl. 121.</p> <p>The figure originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA for copyright reasons.</p>
<p>Fig.3-17 c A lacquer ear-cup from Doubishan <i>ticou</i> tomb. After Doubishan 1979: fig. 46.</p> <p>The figure originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA for copyright reasons.</p>	<p>Fig. 3- 17 d A lacquer ear-cup decorated with scrolled dragons from Mawangdui M1, M3. After Qiqi quanji 1998: fig.82.</p> <p>The figure originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA for copyright reasons.</p>
<p>Fig. 3-18 a, b <i>yi</i>-pourers with “the household of Marquis Dai”at Mawangdui. After Qiqi quanji 1998: fig. 100.</p>	
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Fig. 3-19 a The northern compartment in tomb 1 at Mawangdui. After Mawangdui 1973: pl.2.

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Fig. 3-19 b The northern compartment in tomb 3 at Mawangdui. After Mawangdui 2004: pl. 10.

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Fig.3-19 c A dining set (traditional shapes of bronze vessels) in the eastern compartment of tomb 1 and tomb 3 at Mawangdui. After Mawangdui 1973: pl. 157;158; 155; 165; 154.

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Fig.3-19 d The lower part of T-Shape silk banner from Mawangdui tomb 1.

After Mawangdui 1973: pl.77.

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Fig. 3-20 The feasting theme in the mural painting of the Western Han tomb at Yanshi, Henan.
After Yanshi 1992: fig. pl.1.

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Fig.3-21 a The middle part of T-Shape silk banner from Mawangdui tomb 1.

After Mawangdui 1973: pl.76.

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Fig.3-21b The middle part of T-Shape silk banner from Mawangdui tomb3.

After Mawangdui 2004: pl.21.

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Fig. 3-22 a, b The silk painting of Mawangdui tomb 3. After Mawangdui 2004: pl. 23; fig. 32.

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Fig. 3.22 c The details of the left corner, a funeral procession depicted in the silk painting of tomb 3. After Mawangdui 2004: pl. 26.

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Fig. 3.22 d The details of the right corner, chariots and carriages in the processon.
After Mawangdui 2004: pl. 24.

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Fig. 3-23 a The dependant pit of the tomb of Marquis Jiang at Yangjiawan, Xianyang.
After Yangjiawan Qibingyong 1977: fig.1.

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Fig. 3-23 b The terracotta armed force in the dependant pit of Yangyangwan Han tomb. Photo by author in 2013.



Fig. 3-24 a A wooden crossbow from Mawangdui tomb 3. After Mawangdui 2004: pl. 38 (3).

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Fig. 3-24 b A bone spear from Mawangdui tomb 3. After Mawangdui 2004: pl. 38 (1).

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<p>Fig. 3-24 c A wooden sword with a box from Mawangdui tomb 3. After Mawangdui 2004: pl. 37 (3).</p> <p>The figure originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA for copyright reasons.</p>	<p>Fig. 3-24 d A arrow lacquer box from Mawangdui tomb 3. After Mawangdui 2004: pl. 39 (1).</p> <p>The figure originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA for copyright reasons.</p>
<p>Fig. 3-24 e A lacquer hat from Mawangdui tomb 3. After Mawangdui 2004: pl. 43.</p> <p>The figure originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA for copyright reasons.</p>	<p>Fig. 3-24 f A topographical map from Mawangdui tomb 3. After Mawangdui 2004: pl. 18.</p> <p>The figure originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA for copyright reasons.</p>

Fig. 4-01 The outer chamber of Gaotai tomb 5 (the early Western Han), four side compartments.
After Gaotai 2000: fig.19.

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Fig. 4-02 a The outer chamber of Fenghuangshan tomb 167(179-141B.C.).
After Fenghuangshan 1976: fig.1.

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Fig. 4-02 b Fenghuangshan tomb 168 (167B.C.) . After Jingzhou 2008: p. 167.

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Fig. 4-02 c The outer chamber of Fenghuangshan tomb 8 (the early Western Han). After Fenghuangshan 1974: fig.6.

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Fig.4-02 d The outer chamber of Gaotai tomb 6 (the early Western Han). After Gaotai 2000: fig. 35.

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<p>Fig. 4-03 a-e Dining vessels in Fenghuangshan tomb 168 (167 B.C.)</p> <p>The figure originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA for copyright reasons.</p>	
<p>Lacquer <i>yu</i>-vessel. After Qiqi quanji 1998: fig. 125.</p> <p>The figure originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA for copyright reasons.</p>	<p>Ear-cup decorated with birds and clouds. After Qiqi quanji 1998: fig.126.</p> <p>The figure originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA for copyright reasons.</p>
<p>Round box. After Qiqi quanji 1998: fig. 120.</p> <p>The figure originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA for copyright reasons.</p>	<p><i>zhi</i>-cup decorated with geometric patterns. After Qiqi quanji 1998: fig.133.</p> <p>The figure originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA for copyright reasons.</p>
<p>A pair of ear-cups decorated with fish and floral patterns. After Qiqi quanji 1998: fig.139.</p> <p>The figure originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA for copyright reasons.</p>	

Fig. 4-04 a
Inscriptions of *Cheng*
shi zao



Fig. 4-04 b Spherical flask of Fenghuangshan M168. After Qiqi quanji 1998: 123; c. The *zhi*-cup decorated with geometric patterns. After Qiqi quanji 1998; fig.136; d. Food plate decorated with bird heads and clouds. After Qiqi quanji 1998: fig. 127.

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Fig. 4-05 A jade seal inscribed with “Sui 遂” from Fenghuangshan tomb 168 (167B.C.), photo by author in 2012.



Fig.4-06 a A kneeling official in the stone carving of Eastern Han tomb at Yinan. After Hsing 2011: fig.5.a.

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Fig. 4-06 b Two officials in the Eastern Han stone carving. After Hsing 2011: fig.7a.

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Fig.4-06 c A group of officials holding bamboo manuscripts depicted in the stone carvings in Linyi Eastern Han tomb. After Hsing 2011: fig.9a

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Fig. 4-06 e, f Bamboo strips from Shuihudi tomb 77, Yunmeng, Hubei. After Shuihudi 2008: pl. 12 (6); pl. 14 (1).

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Fig. 4-07 a, b The structure of the outer chamber , Kongjiapo tomb 8 (142 B.C.). After Kongjiapo Hanjian 2006: fig. 4; pl.1.

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Fig. 4-07 c, d Tomb structure of Songbai tomb 1 (the early Western Han).

After Songbai 2008: fig.2.

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Fig.4-08 a, b A scale for measuring weights of coin and brush in Fenghuangshan M 168.
After Chufeng Hanyun 2011: 151.

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Fig. 4-08 c Writing brush in Fenghuangshan M167. After Chufeng Hanyun 2011: 150.

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Fig.4-09 a, b A wine container with packed ear-cups from Gaotao M33. After Chufeng Hanyun 2011: 082, 083.

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Fig.4-10 a A large platter decorated with cloud dragons and birds from Fenghuangshan M168. After Changjiang 2002: fig. 145.

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Fig.4-10 b A larger platter from Maojiayuan M1, Hubei provincial Museum. Photo by author in 2012.



Fig.4-11a A *zhi*-cup from Gaotai M2. After Jiang 2012: fig.152.

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Fig. 4-11 b A flat *zhi*-cup from Gaotai M2. After Qiqi quanji 1998: fig.178.

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Fig.4-11 c A female attendant holding a small *zhi*-cup depicted in the mural painting of the Western Han brick chamber tomb at Qujiang, near Xi'an city, Shanxi. After Qujiang 2010:fig. 12.

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Fig. 4.11 d Two *zhi*-cups from Maojiayuan tomb 1 (the early Western Han), Hubei provincial museum. Photo by author in 2012.



Fig.4.12 a A big lacquer flask(48 cm. height) from Fenghuangshan tomb 168 (167 B.C.). After Qiqi quanji 1998: fig.128.

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Fig.4-12 b The illustration of leopard and cloud patterns of Fenghuangshan flask. After Fenghuangshan 1993: fig.16.

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Fig.4-13 a A medium size plate from Fenghuangshan M168.

After Fenghuangshan 1993: fig.11.

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Fig.4-13 b A lacquer plate from Mawangdui M3. After Mawangdui 2004: pl.32.3.

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<p>Fig.4-14 a A zhi-cup from Gaotai M28. After Changjiang 2002: fig.162, 163.</p> <p>The figure originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA for copyright reasons.</p>	<p>Fgi. 4-14 b A fragmentary <i>zhi</i>-cup from Songbai M1. After Songbai 2008:fig.10.</p> <p>The figure originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA for copyright reasons.</p>
<p>Fig.4-14 c A lacquer ear-cup from Songbai M1. After Songbai 2008: fig.9,10.</p> <p>The figure originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA for copyright reasons.</p>	<p>Fig. 4-14 d A lacquer ear-cup decorated with scrolled dragons from Mawangdui M1, M3. After Qiqi quanji 1998: fig.82.</p> <p>The figure originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA for copyright reasons.</p>

Fig. 5-01 a, b, c Gaotai M 18 at Jiangling, Hubei. After Gaotai: fig. 51, 53.

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Fig. 5-02 a Lacquer ear-cup in Maojiayuan M 1. Photo by author in 2012.



Fig.5-02 b Lacquer ear-cup in Fenghuangshan M 168. After Qiqi quanji 1998: fig. 126.

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Fig.5-02 c, d The laquer plates from Maojiayuan M 1 (left) and Fenghuangshan M 167 (right), Hubei provincial musuem. Photo by author in 2012.



Fig. 5-02 e, f Two laquer plates from Fenghuangshan M168. After Chufeng Hanyun 2011:100, 101.
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Fig.5-03 a Spindle whorles found in the female tomb at Shuangbaoshan. After Mianyang 2006: fig.39; Liu Xinglin 2004: fig.2.
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Fig.5-03 b, c The miniature loom found in a female tomb at Laoguanshan, Chengdu. After Feng Yongde 2013: 55. The details of miniature loom
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Fig.5-03 d The reconstructed Han loom (right).
After Liu Xinglin 2009: fig.5.
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Fig. 5-03 e,f Women spinning and weaving in the T-shape silk banner in Jinqushan M 9, Shandong and the stone carving of Eastern Han tomb. After Chen Changhong 2014: fig.1, 15.

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Fig.5-03 g , h The coffin covering with embroidery in Xiejiaqiao M1.
After Chufeng Hanyun 2011: 175.

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The details of embroidery

Fig. 5-04 a The tied body in Mashan M1, Jiangling, the late Chu. After Jingzhou 2008: 114.
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Fig.5-04 b The body treatment in Mashan tomb 1, the late Chu. After Mashan 1985: fig. 20.
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Fig. 5-04 c, d Silk garment from Mashan M 1 and the details of embroidery with interlaced pheonix. After Jingzhou 2011:115, 117.
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<p>Fig.5-05 a The body treatment in Mawangdui tomb 1 (186 B.C.). After Mawangdui 1973: fig.33.</p> <p>The drawing originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA for copyright reasons.</p>	<p>Fig.5-05 b,c Brocade garments of Mawangdui M1. After Mawangdui 1973: pl.16, 17.</p> <p>The figure originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA for copyright reasons.</p>
<p>Fig. 5-05 d, e Details of embroidery. After Mawangdui 1973: pl.23, 25.</p> <p>The figure originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA for copyright reasons.</p>	

<p>Fig.5-06 a damarsk decorated with opposite birds of Mawangdui M1. After Mawangdui 1973: fig. 40.</p> <p>The drawing originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA for copyright reasons.</p>	<p>Fig.5-06 b damraks decorated with opposite birds in Mawangdui M3. After Mawangdui 2004: fig.109.</p> <p>The drawing originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA for copyright reasons.</p>
<p>Fig.5-06 c Yellow damarsk emboidered with scrolling clouds in Mawangdui M1, After Mawangdui 1973: fig.131.</p> <p>The figure originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA for copyright reasons.</p>	<p>Fig.5-06 d emboibery decorated with scrolling clouds in Mawangdui M3. After Mawangdui 2004: fig. 107.</p> <p>The drawing originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA for copyright reasons.</p>

Fig. 5-07 a, b The double-tier toiletry case containing gloves, mirror and tools for beautificalton in the tomb 1 of Lady Dai at Mawangdui. After Qiqi quanji 1998: 96.

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Fig. 5-08 a, b The toiletry case in the tomb 1 of Lady Dai at Mawangdui. After Mawangdui 1973: pl. 176, 169.

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Fig. 5-09 a, b The toiletry case containing tools for beautification in the male tomb of Mawangdui M 3. After Mawangdui wenwu 1992: 63.

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Fig. 5-10 a, b The communal feasting in the mural painting of Western Han brick tomb at Yanshi, Henan province. After Luoyang 1996: 134, 129.

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Fig. 5-10 c, d Private dining in the mural painting of Eastern Han brick tomb at Luoyang. After Luoyang 1996: 152, 153.

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Appendix 1 Texts and translations

Rough equivalencies for the weights and measures of Han dynasty used in the thesis:

<i>cun</i> 寸	23.1 mm
<i>chi</i> 尺	23.1 cm
<i>bu</i> 步	1.38 m
<i>zhang</i> 丈	2.31 m
<i>jin</i> 斤	244 grams
<i>dan</i> 石	20 liters
<i>hu</i> 斛	2 liters
<i>mu</i> 畝	6 square meters
<i>qing</i> 頃	1.92 hectares
<i>pi</i> 匹	9.24 meters

T1 *Liji zhengyi*, 11. 330-331

According to the regulations of emolument and rank framed by the kings, there were the duke 公, the marquis 侯, the earl 伯, the count 子 and the 男 baron - in all, five grades (of rank). There were in the feudal states 諸侯, Great officers of the highest grade - the Ministers 大夫卿; and Great officers of the lowest grade 下大夫; officers of the highest 上士, the middle 中士, and the lowest grades 下士 - in all, five grades (of office). The territory of the Son of Heaven amounted to 1000 *li* square; that of a duke or marquis to 500 *li* square; that of an earl to 79 *li* square; and that of a count or baron to 50 *li* square. (Lords) who could not number 50 *li* square, were not admitted directly to (the audiences of) the Son of Heaven. Their territories were called 'attached,' being joined to those of one of the other princes. The territory assigned to each of the ducal ministers of the Son of Heaven was equal to that of a duke or marquis; that of each of his high ministers was equal to that of an earl; that of his Great officers to the territory of a count or baron; and that of his officers of the chief grade to an attached territory.

王者之制祿爵，公侯伯子男，凡五等。諸侯之上大夫卿，下大夫，上士，中士，下士，凡五等。天子之田方千裡，公侯田方百裡，伯七十裡，子男五十裡。不能五十裡者，不合於天子，附於諸侯曰附庸。天子之三公之田視公侯，天子之卿視伯，天子之大夫視子男，天子之元士視附庸。

T2 *Han shu*, 19. 3680.

The *jue* (honorary rank): the first (lowest) rank is the *gongshi*, the second is the

shangzao, the third is the *zanniao* the fourth is the *bu geng*, the fifth is the *dafu*, the sixth is the *guan dafu*, the seventh is the *gong dafu*, the eighth is the *gongcheng*, the ninth is the *wu da fu*, the tenth is the *zuo shuzhang*, the eleventh level is the *you shuzhang*, the twelve level is the *zuo geng*, the thirteenth is the *zhong geng*, the fourteenth is the *you geng*, the fifth is the *shao shangzao*, the sixteenth is the *da shangzao*, the seventeenth is the *ju che shuzhang*, the eighteenth is the *da shuzhang*, the nineteenth is the *guannei hou*, the twentieth (highest) level is the *chehou* (marquis). The orders had been instituted by the Qin to reward meritorious service.

爵：一級曰公士，二上造，三簪褭，四不更，五大夫，六官大夫，七公大夫，八公乘，九五大夫，十左庶長，十一右庶長，十二左更，十三中更，十四右更，十五少上造，十六大上造，十七駟車庶長，十八大庶長，十九關內侯，二十徹侯。皆秦制，以賞功勞。徹侯金印紫綬，避武帝諱，曰通侯，或曰列侯，改所食國令長名相，又有家丞、門大夫，庶子。

T3 *Han shu*, 5.140

When officials receive food or drink from those who are superintended or governed by them, dismissal [from their positions and honorary ranks is too] heavy [a punishment]; when they receive valuables and articles [from such persons], or when they purchase [things] cheaply and sell dearly, their sentences have been [too] light. [Let] the Commandant of Justice discuss [this matter] anew with the Lieutenant Chancellor [in order to establish] a statutory ordinance. Officials who had accepted gifts from former subordinates, let their rank be taken away and let them become member of “the responsibility group”, relieve them from further punishment. Let those who do not possess rank be fined two catties of gold. What they have accepted is to be confiscated. Those who are able to catch or to denounce them shall be given the illegal profit accepted.

吏及諸有秩受其官屬所監、所治、所行、所將，其與飲食計償費，勿論。它物，若買故賤，賣故貴，皆坐臧為盜，沒入臧縣官。吏遷徙免罷，受其故官屬所將監治送財物，奪爵為士伍，免之。無爵，罰金二斤，令沒入所受。有能捕告，畀其所受臧。

T4 *Han shu*, 1. 54

The members of the noble families in Guanzhong are exempted [from service and taxes] for twelve years; those who have already returned [home are exempted for] half [that period]. As to the people who formerly had collected to take refuge in the

mountains and marshes, whose names and numbers have not been registered---the world has now been pacified, [hence] We order that each return to his prefecture and resume his former rank, his fields, and his habitation. The officials, using civil laws, should teach and instruct [these people], let it be published abroad that there is to be no beating nor shaming [of them].

諸侯子在關中者，復之十二歲，其歸者半之。民前或相聚保山澤，不書名數，今天下已定，令各歸其縣，復故爵田宅，吏以文法教訓辨告，勿笞辱。

T5 *Han shu* 3. 95

In spring of the second year, an imperial edict said: “Emperor Gaozu reformed and ordered the world. All those who distinguished themselves received a share of its territory and were made marquises. All the people [are enjoying] great peace; not one but has received of his bountiful virtue. We have been thinking and reflecting [on this matter]. If, down to the distant future, their merits and names have not been made manifest, there will be nothing to honor their great conceptions and exhibit them [for the benefit of] later generations. Now [We] wish to classify and rank the merits of the marquises, so as to determine upon their positions in the court and preserve them in the Temple of Gaozu from the generation to generation without end, so that their heirs may each inherit their merits and positions. Let [this matter] be discussed with the marquises, settled, and memorialized [to us].” The Lieutenant Chancellor Chen Ping [says that] together with the Marquis of Jiang, [Zhou] Bo, the Marquis of Qu Zhou, [Li] Shang, the Marquis of Yingyin [Guan] Ying, the Marquis of Anguo [Wang] Ling, [I have] carefully discussed [this matter]. The marquises have been fortunate [enough] to obtain grants of money for food and to have been appointed to [the income of] towns. Your Majesty increases your favors to them by fixing their positions in the court in accordance with their merits. Your subjects beg that [this record] be stored in the Temple of Gaozu.” The memorial was allowed.

二年春，詔曰：“高皇帝匡飭天下，諸有功者皆受分弟為列侯，萬民大安，莫不受休德。朕思念至於久遠而功名不著，亡以尊大誼，施後世。今欲差次列侯功以定朝位，臧于高廟，世世勿絕，嗣子各襲其功位。其與列侯議定奏之。”丞相臣平言：“謹與絳侯臣勃、曲周侯臣商、潁陰侯臣嬰、安國侯臣陵等議：列侯幸得賜餐錢奉邑，陛下加惠，以功次定朝位，臣請臧高廟。”奏可。

T6 *Han shu*, 1. 54

The populace who sold themselves as servants because of famine restored their freemen status. The rank of *dafu* was given to those officials and soldiers whose crimes had been pardoned, and to those who possessed no ranks and were not convicted of crime. Individuals of *dafu* or higher rank were promoted by one order. Estates were given to those of *qi dafu* and above. Those with a rank lower than the *qi dafu* were exempted in person from state obligations, and their households were freed from service.” The decree also stated that “the *qi dafu*, the *gongcheng* and above are high ranks.

民以飢餓自賣為人奴婢者，皆免為庶人。軍吏卒會赦，其亡罪而亡爵及不滿大夫者，皆賜爵為大夫。故大夫以上賜爵各一級，其七大夫以上，皆令食邑，非七大夫以下，皆復其身及戶，勿事。又曰：七大夫，公乘以上，皆高爵也。

T7 *Han shu*, 24.1133

People who bought the rank of *wu dafu* and above with grain could get exemption of state obligation for one person of [their households], [such honor] was far less prominent than those recipients with horse-riding (military) achievements.

令民入粟受爵至五大夫以上，乃傅一人耳，此其與騎馬之功相去遠矣。

T8 *Han shu*, 24.1133

The honorary ranks are what your Majesty can use; they come from the mouth and are limitless; grain is grown by farmers, they come from earth and are numerous.

爵者，上之所擅，出於口而亡窮；粟者，民之所種，生於地而不乏。

T9 *Han shu*, 24.1133

Let common people [purchase a rank] with untreated grain: 600-*dan* grain for the rank of *shangzao*, then added to 4,000-*dan* grains for the *wu dafu*, 12,000 *dan* for the *da shuzhang*, different ranks were distinct from each other

令民入粟邊，六百石爵上造，稍增至四千石為五大夫，萬二千石為大庶長，各以多少級數為差。

T10 *Han shu*, 4. 1133-34

[In the summer, the fourth month (162 B.C.)], there was a great drought and locusts. The Emperor Wen ordered that the nobles should not pay tribute. He opened [to the common people] the mountains and marshes, reduced the [imperial] robes and the imperial officers, diminished the [regular] number of Gentlemen and officials, and opened the granaries in order to succor the people. The people were allowed to sell honorary ranks.

天下旱，蝗。令諸侯無入貢，弛山澤。減諸服禦狗馬，損郎吏員，發倉庾以振貧民，民得賣爵。

T 11 *Han shu*, 24. 1133

There was a drought in the west of Shang Commandery, [Emperor Jing] re-established a decree on selling ranks to reduce the trading expense and attract people.

上郡以西旱，複修賣爵令，而裁其賈，以招民。

T 12 *Han shu* 10. 318

In the summer, the fourth month of the third year, [Emperor Cheng] abolished the punishment of all members of population. Let officials and commoners buy honorary ranks at 1,000 cash per degree.

三年夏四月，赦天下。令吏民得買爵，賈級千錢。

T 13 *Han shu*, 10. 324

“The Sage kings set ritual systems and institutions to differentiate the privileged [ranks] from the humble ones, make different carriages and clothing to signify [people with] virtue, [those people] who processed wealth, but did not hold honorable status, shall not transgress the rules.

聖王明禮制以序尊卑，異車服以章有德，雖有其財，而無其尊，不得逾制。”

T 14 *Han shu*, 1.64

Those whose honorary rank was not above that of *gongcheng* shall not be allowed to wear the Hat of the House of Liu. Merchants are not to be permitted to wear brocade, embroidery, flowered silk, crape linen, fine linen, sackcloth, or wool, carry weapons, or ride a horse.

爵非公乘以上毋得冠劉氏冠。賈人毋得衣錦繡綺縠絺紵，操兵，乘騎馬。

T15 *Han shu*, 5. 153

Emperor Jing died (141B.C.) in the Weiyang Palace, in his testamentary edict, he granted to kings and marquises two teams of four horses each, to officials ranking at 2,000-*dan*, two catties of actual gold, and to the lower officials and the common people, a hundred cash to each household.

帝崩於未央宮，遺詔賜諸侯王列侯馬二駟，吏二千石黃金二斤，吏民戶百錢。

T 16 *Han shu*, 14. 393-394

When the Han first arose and all within in the seas was newly stabilized, the Liu-clan people [in the ruling group] were few in number. Correcting the mistake of the solitary stance made by the devastated Qin, Emperor Gaozu, divided the country into several territorial states and separated two degrees of rank. The meritorious ministers became feudal lords numbering more than a hundred. [Emperor Goazu] respectfully made kings of his sons and younger brothers, and he marked out nine sizable kingdoms. The Son of Heaven's territory covers Sanhe, Dongjun, Yingchuan, Nanyang, from the west of Jiangling to Ba and Shu, the northern area from Yunzhong to Longxi, along with fifteen commanderies and the capital, including the territorial areas belonged to princesses and marquises.

漢興之初，海內新定，同姓寡少，懲戒亡秦孤立之敗，於是剖裂疆土，立二等之爵。功臣侯者百有餘邑，尊王子弟，大啟九國。天子自有三河、東郡、潁川、南陽，自江陵以西至巴、蜀，北自雲中至隴西，與京師內史凡十五郡，公主、列侯頗邑其中。

T 17 *Han shu*, 93. 3734

[Emperor Ai] commanded the grand court architect to construct the burial for [Dong] Xian near to the necropolis of Yi. The internal part was the *bian* house with the *ticou* structure made of solid cypress timbers, the outer part included passageways. The area was several miles in scale; the entrance [of the tomb was furnished] with an extravagant tower and a screen.

又令將作為賢起塚塋義陵旁，內為便房，剛柏題湊，外為徼道，周垣數裡，門闕罽毼甚盛。

T 18 *Han shu*, 81. 3364

The grand court architect [supervised] 500 people from the armoured troops to excavate the earth. The tomb construction followed the standard of the great general Wang Feng, the posthumously awarded title was Marquis of Jianlie.

將作穿複土，可甲卒五百人，起墳如大將軍王鳳制度。諡曰簡烈侯。

T 19 *Houhan shu*, 6. 3141.

When [the emperor] ascended [to the heaven], the empress commanded the three highest ministers to organize the funeral arrangement...the palace governor or the special female commissioners of the artisans of eastern enclosure prepared for the yellow cloth, thick silks, the jade suits tied with gold wire.

登遐，皇后詔三公典喪事…守宮令兼東園匠將女執事，黃綿、緹繒、金縷玉柙如故事。

T 20 *Houhan shu*, 6. 3152

When kings, marquises, the emperor's secondary consorts who had firstly been entitled and princesses died, they were given seals and jade suits tied with silver wire. The emperor's first consorts and the eldest princess used the [jade suits tied with] bronze wire. The kings, the emperor's secondary consorts and the princesses, the *gong*, the generals and the *tejin* (specially advanced) were all given 24 official objects. The government also sent people to prepare for their funerals and to build the cypress chamber. The officials with varied ranks attend the funerals following the tradition. The kings, princesses and the emperor's secondary consorts can use camphor-wood coffins, decorated with red inside and painted with cloud patterns.

諸侯王、列侯、始封貴人、公主薨，皆令贈印璽，玉柙銀縷。大貴人、長公主銅縷。諸侯王、貴人、公主、公、將軍、特進，皆賜器、官中二十四物。使者治喪，穿作，柏槨，百官會送如故事。諸侯王、公主、貴人皆樟棺，洞朱，雲氣畫。

T 21 *Hanguan liuzhong*, 2.105

When kings and marquis were buried, [the body] below the waist was covered with a jade casket made of jade plaques with one [Han] foot long and two inches wide each, tied with gold wire.

王侯葬，腰以下玉為劄，長尺，廣二寸半，為匣，下至足，綴以黃金縷為之。

T 22 *Houhan shu*, 43.1470

There was an eunuch Zhao Zhong whose father died, he sent [the body of his father] to be buried in [the born place] Anping, [Zhao Zhong] violated the rules and used fine jades, jade suits and human figurines [for his father's funeral], [Zhu] Mu heard it, he commanded the subordinate governor to investigate, the local officials venerated him, unearthed the tomb and opened the coffin, exposing the body, [Zhao Zhong's] families were sent to the prison.

有宦者趙忠喪父，歸葬安平，僭為瓊璠、玉匣、偶人。穆聞之，下郡案驗。吏畏其嚴明，遂發墓剖棺，陳屍出之，而收其家屬。

T 23 *Houhan shu*, 42.1450

[The king of Zhongshan] requested the cypress timbers [for tomb construction] from the commanderies of Changshan, Julu and Zhuo, the three commanderies could not supply [enough timbers], then he requested the rest commanderies [to send], there were thousands of artisans and labors [involved with] preparing and transporting [the cypress timbers], six division and eighteen commanderies were included.

發常山、鉅鹿、涿郡柏黃腸雜木，三郡不能備，複調餘州郡，工徒及送致者數千人，凡徵發搖動六州十八郡。

T 24 *Han shu*, 19. 742

The *ling* 令 (prefects) and *zhang* 長 (chiefs) [of counties ruled their counties] were Qin official posts. [Counties] with ten thousand households and more had prefects ranking from 1000 to 600 *dan*. [Counties] with less than ten thousand households had chiefs, ranking from 500 to 300 *dan*. All of them had assistants and commandants ranking from 400 to 200 *dan*, including the *cheng* 丞 (assistant), who was in charge of administrative archives and criminal behavior. Below 100 *dan* were official grades of *doushi* 鬥食 (officials whose salaries are received by *dou*) and *zuoshi* 佐史 (accessory clerks); they were junior clerks. Ten *li* 裡 (villages) constituted one *ting* 亭 (canton); there were chiefs in charge of cantons. Ten cantons made up a *xiang* 鄉 (district). There were *San lao* 三老 including *youzhi* 有秩 (an official with rank), *sefu* 嗇夫 (bailiff), and *youjiao* 遊徼 (patrol leader).

縣令、長，皆秦官，掌治其縣。萬戶以上為令，秩千石至六百石。減萬戶為長，秩五百石至三百石。皆有丞、尉，秩四百石至二百石，是為長吏。百石以下有鬥食、佐史之秩，是為少吏。大率十裡一亭，亭有長；十亭一鄉，鄉有三老、有秩、嗇夫、遊徼。

T 25 *Han shu*, 5. 149.

In the fifth month, the sixth year of Zhongyuan (144 B.C.), an imperial edict said: now the officials are the teachers of the common people. Their carriages and official robes should be proportionate [to their status]. The officials at the grade of 600-*dan* and above are all chief officials. Persons ignoring the rules sometimes do not wear their official robes, so that when they go in and out of the village they appear no different from the common people. The officials at 2,000 *dan* should use a carriage with two red lacquered “mud-defend” planks, the lower ranked officials, ranging from 600-*dan* to 1,000-*dan*, shall own carriages with one red lacquered mud-defend casket.

中元六年五月，詔曰：夫吏者，民之師也。車駕、衣服宜稱。吏六百石以上，皆長吏也。亡度者、或不吏服出入閭裡，與民亡異。令長吏二千石車朱兩轡，千石至六百石朱左轡。

T 26 *Houhan shu*, 29. 3644

The imperial carriage was driven by six horses, four [horses] for [the carriage of] other [nobles]. In later period, [the imperial carriage was accompanied by] a dependant carriage. Six horses for the Son of Heaven, four for the marquis, three for the *dafu*, two for the *shi*, and one for the commoners.

御駕六，餘皆駕四，後從為副車。天子駕六馬，諸侯駕四，大夫三，士二，庶人一。

T 27 *Han shu*, 76. 3210

[Han Yanshou] suggested that wedding ceremonies, funeral rites and burial goods [used by the local people] should follow ancient rituals and not violate related rules. [Han] Yanshou then asked the literary officials and governmental scholars to wear ancient leather robes and hold the chopping board and *dou*-cups used for offering, to perform wedding and funeral ceremonies for the lower ranking officials and the general populace. The local people followed his example and sold the carriage horse models and other objects for the funeral use; many were abandoned on the road of market.

因與議定嫁娶、喪祭儀品，略依古禮，不得過法。延壽於是令文學校官諸生皮弁執俎豆，為吏民行喪嫁娶禮。百姓遵用其教，賣偶車馬下裡偽物者，棄之市道。

T 28 *Han shu*, 10.302

On the day of *Yiwei*, the official declared that the chariots for imperial use, cattle and horses were not appropriate for [funeral] rites, they shall not be buried [in tombs].
乙未, 有司言: 乘輿車、牛、馬、禽獸皆非禮, 不宜以葬。

T 29 The passage “*San bu zu* 散不足”, *Yantie lun jiaozhu* 鹽鐵論校注, 6. 353.

In ancient times the *mingqi* (funeral articles) were only made in tangible form but not for practical use, to show people they were not functional. Afterwards fish and meat were buried in the tomb, horse models and human figurines for sacrificial use. Nowadays, [people invest] great fortunes [on funerals] and the grave objects are abundant, [the provisions for the dead] imitate those for the living people, officials of commanderies and kingdoms used mulberry woods for making carriage models, the human figurines were dressed in textiles.

古者明器有形無實, 示民不用也. 及其後則有醯醢之藏, 桐馬偶人彌祭, 其物不備. 今厚資多藏, 器用如生人, 郡國繇吏素桑揉, 偶車櫓輪, 匹夫無貌領, 桐人衣紵綈.

T 30 The passage of “*Fu chi* 浮侈”, *Qianfu lun jian jiaozheng* 潛夫論箋校正, 3. 134.

Now, the noble relatives in the capital, and the wealthy families in the commanderies and counties, did not provide care for [their parents] when [they were] alive, but favored extravagant burial. Some [coffins] were decorated with gold and jades, or made of catalpa wood from the Yangzi area, camphor from the Jiangxi area and exotic southern linden and *nan* 楠 woods. Tombs were built in rich field, and covered with yellow earth. Many treasures, human figurines, horse and carriage models were often buried [in the tombs]. Some large tombs were constructed and planted with many cypress trees, also included dependant houses and shrines, these luxury burials considerably violated the rules.

今京師貴戚, 郡縣豪家, 生不極養, 死乃崇喪. 或至刻金鏤玉, 櫛梓榱楠. 良田造塋, 黃壤致藏. 多埋珍寶偶人車馬, 造起大冢, 廣種松柏, 廬舍祠堂, 崇侈上僭.

T 31 *Yantie lun jiaozhu*, 6. 349

[The social needs for] palaces, houses, carriages and horses, clothing and utensils, food for sacrificial and funeral use, music and colors for entertainment, could not

satisfy people's desires. Therefore the sages made rules to prevent transgression. Recently, the gentlemen were keen on [pursuing] privileges and power, and they ignored the ritual norms and rightfulness, thus the populace imitated their [luxury style], [their behavior] considerably broke the rules.

宮室輿馬，衣服器械，喪祭食飲，聲色玩好，人情之所不能已也。故聖人為之制度以防之。間者，士大夫務于權利，怠於禮義，故百姓仿效，頗逾制度。

T 32 *Qianfu lun jian jiaozheng*, 3. 134

Now, however, the noble relatives in the capital (Luoyang) all feel they must have catalpa wood from the Yangzi area, camphor from the Jiangxi area and exotic southern linden and *nan* 楠 woods for their coffins. Poor and distant areas of the empire compete to imitate their style. But these types of catalpa and camphor are produced in particularly distant places, and only grow in the deep valleys between high mountains. After many days of searching, one might only find these trees after traversing ranges of mountains, ascending peaks a thousand paces high, clinging to the sides of gorges a thousand feet wide, and following along inconvenient mountain paths. It then takes many months to cut the timber and a multitude of men to transport it. The logs are dragged down to the water by a line of oxen and then floated down the You River (which flows into the Yangzi). Then they are floated out to sea and send back inland by way of the Huai River and finally up to the Yellow River. They arrive in Luoyang after traveling several thousand *li*. Then it takes carpenters many days and months to plan and carve the wood. I calculate that one of these coffins requires thousands or even tens of thousands of man-days of labor to complete, and will weigh 10,000 *jin* (2,200 kg). Unless one employs a multitude of men, it cannot be lifted, and unless one has a mighty hearse, it cannot be moved. Yet from Lelang in the east to Dunhuang in the west, men in the intervening 10,000 *li* compete to use them.

其後京師貴戚，必欲江南檣梓豫章榿柟。邊遠下土，亦競相仿效。夫檣梓豫章，所出殊遠，又乃生於深山窮穀，經歷山岑，立千步之高，百丈之溪，傾倚險阻，崎嶇不便，求之連日然後見之，伐斫連月然後訖，會眾然後能動擔，牛列然後能致水，油漬入海，連淮逆河，行數千里，然後到雒。工匠雕治，積累日月，計一棺之成，功將千萬。夫既其終用，重且萬斤，非大眾不能舉，非大車不能挽。東至樂浪，西至敦煌，萬裡之中，相競用之。

T 33 The *Zhi hou lü* 置後律 (Statute on Heirs and Inheritance), ZJS strips no. 328

Generally in the eighth month [the government] will ask the *sefu* 官嗇夫 (bailiff), the *li* 吏 (official) and *lingshi* 令史 (magistrate's scribe) to investigate the household registers, the copies should be stored in the county court. For persons who want to move to [another place], the detailed registers of their households, ages and honorary ranks should be transferred to the place where they are relocated, and sealed.

恒以八月令鄉部嗇夫、吏、令史相禱案戶籍，副臧其廷。有移徙者，輒移戶及年籍爵細徙所，並封。

T34 The *Hu lü* 戶律 (Statute on Household), ZJS strips no. 331-336

As for the registers of the people's houses, gardens and households, the detailed registers of ages, the land registers with the neighboring fields, the registers of the names of the fields, and the registers of the field taxes, copies should be conscientiously forwarded up to the county court, and in every case should be held in the trunk or a coffer or an armoire and closed and sealed, using the seal of the *ling* 令 (magistrate), or the *cheng* 丞 (assistant), or the *guan sefu* 官嗇夫 (bailiff of the [relevant] office). They should be placed by themselves in a document repository and the door of the repository is to be sealed. When it is necessary to put some of them in order or create [new ones], the magistrate's scribe and the *lizhu* 吏主 (official in charge) should check to see if the seals are whole and to match (the impressions) with the seals of the magistrate or the assistant, and the bailiff should open (them). Then they should put them in order or create [new ones] together. When they have completed the matter, they should store and immediately close and seal [the container] once more and the storehouse is to be sealed. Those who do not obey the statutes are to be fined four *liang* of gold each. Should anyone make false and fraudulent (entries), either increasing or diminishing them and (the officials) are not able to catch them, (punish them with) redeemable shaving.

民宅園戶籍、年細籍、田比地籍、田合籍、田租籍，皆以田租籍，謹副上縣廷，皆以篋若匣匱盛，緘閉，以令若丞、官嗇夫印封，獨別為府，封府戶；節(即)有當治為者，令史、吏主者完封奏(湊)令若丞印，嗇夫發，即禱治為；其事(?)已輒復緘閉封臧(藏)，不從律者罰金各四兩。其或為詐偽，有增減也，而弗能得，贖耐。

T35 The Statute on Household, ZJS strips no. 310-313

The *guannei hou* [can be allocated with] 95 *qing* [of land], *da shuzhang* 90 *qing*, *siju shuzhang* 88 *qing*, *da shangzao* 86 *qing*, *shao shangzao* 84 *qing*, *you geng* 82 *qing*, *zhong geng* 80 *qing*, *zuo geng* 78 *qing*, *you shuzhang* 76 *qing*, *zuo shuzhang* 74 *qing*, *wu dafu* 25 *qing*, *gongcheng* 20 *qing*, *gong dafu* nine *qing*, *guan dafu* seven *qing*, *dafu* five *qing*, *bu geng* four *qing*, *zanniao* three *qing*, *shangzao* two *qing*, *gongshi* one and a half *qing*, *gongzu*, *shiwu*, *shuren* one *qing* each, and 50 *mou* for *shikou* and *yinguan*.

關內侯九十五頃，大庶長九十頃，駟車庶長八十八頃，大上造八十六頃少上造八十四頃，右更八十二頃，中更八十頃，左更七十八頃，右庶長七十六頃，左庶長七十四頃，五大夫廿五頃，公乘廿頃，公大夫九頃，官大夫七頃，大夫五頃，不更四頃，簪裊三頃，上造二頃，公士一頃半頃，公卒、士五、庶人各一頃，司寇、隱官各五十畝。

T36 The Statute on Household, ZJS strips no. 314-316

The area of one dwelling house is 30 square feet [in Han measure]. A marquis [shall be allocated] 150 houses, *guannei hou* 95 houses, *da shuzhang* 90 houses, *siju shuzhang* 88 houses, *da shangzao* 86 houses, *shao shangzao* 84 houses, *you geng* 82 houses, *zhong geng* 80 houses, *zuo geng* 78 houses, *you shuzhang* 76 houses, *zuo shuzhang* 74 houses, *wu dafu* 25 houses, *gongcheng* 20 houses, *gong dafu* nine houses, *guan dafu* seven houses, *dafu* five houses, *bu geng* four houses, *zanniao* three houses, *shangzao* two houses, *gongshi* one and a half, *gongzu*, *shiwu*, *shuren* [are allocated] with one house, and a half for *sikou* and *yinguan*.

宅之大方卅步，徹侯受百五宅，關內侯九十五宅，大庶長九十宅，駟車庶長八十八宅，大上造八十六宅，少上造八十四宅，右更八十二宅，中更八十宅，左更七十八宅，右庶長七十六宅，左庶長七十四宅，五大夫廿五宅，公乘廿宅，公大夫九宅，官大夫七宅，大夫五宅，不更四宅，簪裊三宅，上造二宅，公士一宅半宅，公卒、士五、庶人一宅，司寇隱官半宅。

T 37 The *Fu lü* 傅律 (Statute on Enrolment), ZJS strips no. 365

The son of *bu geng* and lowers should register at age of 20, [the son] of *dafu* up to *wu dafu* and those small rank holders from *bu geng* to *Shangzao* 22, [the son of] *qing* and above and small rank *dafu* and above 24.

不更以下子年廿歲，大夫以上至五大夫子及小爵不更以下至上造年廿二歲。卿以上子及小爵大夫以上年廿四歲，皆傅之。

T 38 The Statute on Enrolment, ZJS strips no. 356

People with the rank of *dafu* or above [will be discharged their obligation to state] at age of 58, the *bu geng* 62, the *zanniao* 63, the *shangzao* 64, the *gongshi* 65, the *gongzu* and lowers 66.

大夫以上年五十八, 不更六十二, 簪袅六十三, 上造六十四, 公士六十五, 公卒以下六十六, 皆為免老.

T 39 The *Ju lü* 具律 (Statute for the Composition [of Judgments]), ZJS strips no. 82 [Person with a rank of] Shangzao or above, and their wives, or a grandson or grand-grandson of the imperial clan, commits a crime, if one needs to be condemned to male wall builders or female grain pounders, reduce the punishment [of one degree] to *nai* 耐 (shaving off the beard and hair on the temples) and make him or her a male gather of firewood for spirits or female sifter of white rice.

上造、上造妻以上、及內公孫、外公孫、內耳玄孫有罪, 其當刑及當為城旦舂者, 耐以為鬼薪白粲.

T 40 The *Yao lü* 徭律 (Statute on Statutory Service), ZJS strips no. 413

[Persons] with the rank of *gong dafu* or above shall not be involved in state labor 自公大夫以上, 毋以為徭.

T 41 The *Tian lü* 田律 (Statute on Agriculture), ZJS strips no. 255

Persons with the rank of *qing* or lowers shall pay 16-*qian* tax per household in the fifth month and one-*dan* per household in the tenth month. The collected *chu* (food for feeding cattle) shall cover annual expenditure of each county, the extra amount shall be paid by cash.

卿以下, 五月戶出賦十六錢, 十月戶出芻一石, 足其縣用, 餘以入頃芻律入錢.

T 42 The *Jue lü* 爵律 (Statute on Honorary ranks) ZJS strip no. 394

For those people who are supposed to be awarded with a rank or gift, [when they] commit a crime and are punished as *nai* (shaving beard and hair), they shall not be rewarded. Those people who are supposed to receive rank and gift but [now they] are not eligible to be rewarded, give them 10,000 cash [as alternative reward].

當拜爵及賜，未拜而有罪耐者，勿拜賜。諸當賜受爵，而不當拜爵者，級予萬錢。

T 43 The Statute on Honorary ranks, ZJS strip no. 394

Those people who faked their own ranks, or were derived of rank shall be tattooed as male wall builders and female grain pounders. Officials who were aware of committing a crime but still did shall be punished in the same way.

諸詐偽自爵、爵免、免人者，皆黥為城旦舂。吏知而行者，與同罪。

T 44 The *Zei lǚ* 賊律 (Statute on Violence), ZJS strips no. 20

People who faked the seal of *chehou* shall condemned to public execution; those who forged official's seals shall be condemned to hard labor.

偽寫徹侯印，棄市；小官印，完為城旦舂。

T 45 The Statute on Violence, ZJS strips no.28

The lower rank holders who had beat up the higher ones shall be fined with four catties of gold if the victim was not wounded.

其毋傷也，下爵毆上爵，罰金四兩。

T 46 *Jue zhi* 爵制, *Houhan shu*, 28. 3631

The Qin (rulers) followed ancient institution; they bestowed different ranks to reward military achievement, and people who were led were all *geng zu*. Those people who had been given honors were military officials. The ranks from the first order to the fourth *bu geng* were *shi*; those ranging from *dafu* or above to the *wu dafu* were equivalent to *dafu*; the ninth grade was based on the nine *ming*, ranging from the *zuo shuzang* or above to *da shuzhang*, which means *jiu qing*; the *guannei hou* means *zi nan* within the defensive wall, the Qin rulers set the capital in the west of Xiao shan; they regarded *guannei* as king's territory; that is how it was called *guannei hou*; the *lie hou*, derived from the *zhu hou* of feudal states. However, the ranks lower than the *qing dafu* and *shi* all imitated the ancient system and changed the titles, that the uniqueness of military state.

秦依古制，其在軍賜爵為等級，其帥人皆更卒也。有功賜爵則在軍吏之列。自一爵以上至不更四等，皆士也；大夫以上至五大夫五等，比大夫也；九等依九命之義也。自左庶長以上至大庶長，九卿之義也；關內侯者，依古圻內子男之義也。秦都山西，以關內為王畿，故曰關內侯也；

列侯者，依古列國諸侯之義也。然則卿大夫士下之品，皆放古，比朝之制而異其名，亦所以殊軍國也。

T 47 *Jue lun* 爵論, *Hanguan liuzhong*, 2. 84-85

The Han rulers retained the twenty orders of Qin ranks and bestowed these ranks on the populace. The *gongshi* is the lowest order, which is given to people called *guojun lieshi*; the *shangzao* is the second order, people with the rank of *shangzao* can ride chariots with weapons; the third *zanniao*; the fourth *bu geng*, people with the rank of *bu geng* is allowed to have one carriage and four horses; the fifth *dafu*, can have one carriage and 36 accompanying servants; the sixth *guan dafu*, who is given carriage and horses; the seventh *gong dafu*, in charge of soldiers of *xing wu*; the eighth is *gongcheng*, who is allowed to ride carriage with the territorial lords; the ninth is *wu dafu*, people with the ranks above the *wu dafu* were official supervisors and military leaders. The Qin made the grading honorary ranks which were tokens of privileges in the life time and were posthumous honors after death; the tenth *zuo shuzhang*; the eleventh *you shuzhang*; the twelfth *zuo geng*; the thirteenth *zhong geng*; the fourteenth *you geng*; the fifteenth *shao shangzao*; the sixteenth *da shangzao*; the seventeenth *siju shuzhang*; the eighteenth *da shuzhang*; the nineteenth *hou*, the twentieth *lie hou*.

漢承秦爵二十等，以賜天下。爵者，祿位也。公士，一爵。賜一級為公士，謂為國君列士也。上造，二爵。賜爵二級為上造，上造乘兵車也。簪裊，三爵。賜爵三級為簪裊。不更，四爵。賜爵四級為不更，不更主一車四馬。大夫，五爵。賜五級為大夫，大夫主一車，屬三十六人。官大夫，六爵。賜爵六級為官大夫，官大夫領車馬。公大夫，七爵。賜爵七級為公大夫，公大夫領行伍兵。公乘，八爵。賜爵八級為公乘，與國君同車。五大夫，九爵。賜爵九級為五大夫，以上次年德者為官長將率。秦制爵等，生以為祿位，死以為號謚。左庶長，十爵。右庶長，十一爵。左更，十二爵。中更，十三爵。右更，十四爵。少上造，十五爵。大上造，十六爵。駟車庶長，十七爵。大庶長，十八爵。侯，十九爵。列侯，二十爵。

T 48 The passage of *Jingnei* 境內(Internal Territory), *Shang jun shu* 商君書 (The Book of Lord Shang), 19. 114-120

If in attacking a city or besieging a town, they can capture 8,000 heads or more, it is accounted ample; if in a battle in the open field they take 2,000 heads, it is accounted ample. From the *cao* officers up to *xiao* officers, the great general fully reawards the officers by the rank. He who was formerly *gongshi* is promoted to *shangzao*; a

shangzao to *zanniao*; a *zanniao* to *bu geng*; a *bu geng* to great officer, *dafu*. When an officer is raised to the rank of a district commander, *xian wei*, then he is presented with six prisoner-slaves, and provided with 5,000 soldiers and an income of 600 piculs of grain; *dafu* are raised to the rank of *guo wei*; one who was formerly a *dafu* is promoted to *gong dafu*; a *gong dafu* to *gongcheng*; a *gongcheng* to *wu dafu*, and then receives a tax-paying city of 300 families. A former *wu dafu* is promoted to *shu zhang*; a *shu zhang* to a *zuo geng*; one of the three *geng* to a *da liangzao*. In all these cases there is presented a town of 300 families, or the taxes of three hundred families. Where there is a tax-paying town of six hundred families, an office of vice-chancellor is conferred. Those who ride in the company of the great general are all promoted three degrees. He who was formerly assistant chancellor, when he is accounted to have the full merit, is promoted to the actual chancellorship.

能攻城圍邑斬首八千已上，則盈論；野戰斬首二千，則盈論。吏自操及校以上大將，盡賞行間之吏也。故爵公士也，就為上造也。故爵上造，就為簪裳。故爵簪裳，就為不更。爵不更，就為大夫。爵吏而為縣尉，則賜虜，六加五千六百。爵大夫而為國尉，就為官大夫。故爵官大夫，就為公大夫。故爵公大夫，就為公乘。故爵公乘，就為五大夫，則稅邑三百家。故爵五大夫，就為庶長；故爵庶長，就為左更；故爵三更也，就為大良造；皆有賜邑三百家，有賜稅三百家。爵五大夫有稅邑六百家者，受客。大將禦參，皆賜爵三級。故客卿相論盈，就正卿。

Appendix 2 Tomb documents and translations

Type A — the *gao di shu* (the announcement to the underworld)

Type B — Funerary Inventory

G01. Xie Jiaqiao tomb 1 (184 B.C.), Jingzhou, Hubei

Type A

Tablet no.1:

五年十一月癸卯朔庚午，西鄉辰敢言之：郎中[五]大夫昌自言母大女子恚死，以衣器、葬具及從者子、婦、偏下妻、奴婢、馬、牛、物、人一牒，牒百九十七枚。昌家複毋有所與。有昭令，謁告地下丞以從事，敢言之。

In the fifth year, the eleventh month in which the first day was *guimao*, on the *gengwu* day, the assistant magistrate of the west village dared to declare: the court secretary, the [*wu*] *dafu*, Chang himself declared: [his] mother, elderly woman *Hui* died, she was provided with clothing, grave furniture and attendants including sons, their wives and concubines, servants accompanying with her, along with horses, cattle, objects and people one slip, [totally] 197 inventories. Chang's household should not pay taxes. This is the command for declaiming the assistant magistrate of the underworld to deal with affairs [according to statutes and decrees], hereby dare to report.

Tablet no.2:

十一月庚午，江陵丞陵丞虜移地下丞，可令吏以從事/臧手。

In the eleventh year, the day of *gengwu*, the assistant magistrate of Jiangling transfers [the document] to the assistant magistrate of underground, it is a command for officials (of underworld) to deal with the affairs according to [this]. Handled by Zang.

Tablet no.3:

郎中五大夫昌母、家屬當複無有所與。

The mother of court secretary *wu dafu* Chang and relative should not be considered to pay taxes and obligation

Type B

金鼎二有蓋，容各一升，two bronze tripods with lids, with one *sheng* capacity;

小卮二皆有蓋，two small *zhi*-cups with lids;

牡馬四匹倉駕完靡，右方奴婢馬牛十七牒，four male horses for driving the carriage, 17 servants and maids;

右方竹器十九牒，19 bamboo items;

紅錦荒-緣龍周緣，red brocade coffin curtain with dragon patterns;

棺中大豆三石, three-*dan* of soybeans in coffin;
瓦缶二有蓋容各四升, two four-*sheng* pottery jars with lids.
Source: Xiejiaqiao 2009.

G02. Gaotai tomb18 (173B.C.), Jingzhou, Hubei

Type A

M18:35-甲：安都, 江陵丞印

An Du, seal of the assistant magistrate of Jiangling

M18:35 乙：七年十月丙子朔（庚子），中鄉起敢言之新安大
女燕自言：與大奴甲乙（大）婢妨，徙安都謁告安都受
[名]數書到為報敢言之
十月庚子江陵龍氏丞敬移安都丞/亭手。

In the seventh year, the tenth month in which the first day was *bingzi*, on the [*gengzi*] day. Qi [the assistant magistrate] of Zhong village makes an announcement: Xin'an elderly woman Yan herself declares that she, accompanied by two senior servants Jia and Yi, along with female servant Fang, wants to move to Andu, inform [underground assistant of] Andu to receive the names and the numbers [of the household]. [When] the document arrives, report to [your superior].

In the tenth month, on the *gengzi* day, the assistant magistrate of Jiangling, Long, respectfully transfers [this document] to the assistant magistrate of Andu. Handled by Ting.

M18:35 乙 (the reserves side)：產手

Handled by Chan

M18:35 丙：新安戶人大女燕關內侯寡

大奴甲

大奴乙

大婢妨

左下：家優不算不徭

Xin'an registered householder, elderly woman Yan, widow of the *guannei hou*

Senior servant Jia

Senior servant Yi

Senior maidservant Fang

The household [received] preference [and] should not be counted for state obligation and considered to pay taxes.

Type B

M18: 35 丁：壺一雙	髹杯二雙一奇
盛一雙	鬲一雙
鉞一雙	俛雙
檢一合	五角囊一
卮一合	黃金囊一
畫杯三雙	脯一束
one pair of flasks	lacquered cups, two pairs and one odd
one pair of food container	one pair of large cups
one pair of ladles	two pairs of oval-shaped plates
one set of wrapper	one five-pointed bag
one <i>zhi</i> -cup	one gold bag
three pairs of painted cups	one bundle of dry meat

Source: Gaotai 2000.

G03. Mawangdui tomb 3 (168 B.C.), Changsha, Hunan

Type A

十二年，二月乙巳朔戊辰，家承（丞）奮，移主葬郎中，移葬物一編，書到先選（撰）具奏主葬君。

In the twelfth year, the second month in which the first day was *yisi*, on the *wuchen* day, the assistant of the family dispatches to the *Zhuzang langzhong* 主藏郎中 (assistant of the dead) a list of funerary objects, the list is written to present to the *Zhu zang jun* 主葬君 (lord of the grave).

Source: Mawangdui 2004.

G04. Maojiayuan tomb 1 (168 B.C.), Jingzhou, Hubei

Type A

十二年八月壬寅朔己未，建鄉疇敢告地下主，泗陽關內侯寡大女精死，自言以家屬，馬牛徙。今牒書所與徙者七十三牒移。此家復不事。可令吏受數以從事，它如律令。敢告主。

In the twelfth year, the eighth month in which the first day was *renyin*, on the *jiwei* day, Chou [the assistant magistrate] of Jian village dares to tell the authority of underworld: widow of *guannei hou* of Siyang, elderly woman Jing died, she herself declares that she is transferred with family servants, horses and cattle. The current inventory document and 73 slips recording what accompanied her are transferred to [the underworld]. Her household shall be exempt from state obligation. It is a command for officials [of underworld] to count and deal

with affairs according to statutes and decrees, hereby dare to report to the Lord.

Source: Hubeibowuguan 1987.

G05. Fenghuangshan tomb 168 (167 B.C.) , Jingzhou, Hubei

Type A

十三年五月庚辰，江陵丞敢告地下丞：市陽五（大）夫遂自言：與大奴良等廿八人、大婢益等廿八人，軺車二乘，牛車一兩，□馬四匹，馬卯馬二匹，騎馬四匹，可令吏以從事，敢告主。

In the thirteenth year, the fifth month, on the day of *gengchen*, the assistant magistrate of Jiangling dares to declare to the assistant magistrate of the underworld that the *wu(da) fu* of Shiyang, Sui, makes an announcement that he is accompanied by senior servant Liang, female servant Yi and others, a total of twenty-eight persons...and two carriages, one cart, [missing characters] horses, two horses, four riding-horses. It is a command for officials to deal with the affairs [according to statutes and decrees], hereby dare to report to the underworld lord.

Type B

Group A

FHS M168 strips no. 1: 案(安)車一乘，馬四匹，有蓋，禦一人，大奴

One small carriage, four horses, one umbrella, one driving servant (one adult servant)

FHS M168 strips no. 2: 軺車一乘，蓋一，馬二匹，禦一人，大奴

One small carriage, one umbrella, two horses, one driving servant (one adult servant)

FHS M168 strips no. 3: 從馬男子四人，大奴

Four males accompanied with the horses

FHS M168 strips no. 4: 令（？）史二人，大奴

Two *lingshi* (adult servants)

FHS M168 strips no. 5: (謁)者一人，大奴

One *yezhe* (adult servant)

FHS M168 strips no. 6: 美人女子十人，大婢

10 female servants (adult maids)

FHS M168 strips no. 7: 養女子四人，大婢

Four female cooks (adult maids)

FHS M168 strips no. 8: 田者男女各四人，大奴大婢各四人

Four female and four male farmers, four adult male servants and maids

FHS M168 strips no. 9: 牛車一兩（輛），豎一人，大奴

One ox-driving carriage, one driving servant (adult servant)

FHS M168 strips no. 10: 凡車二乘, 馬十匹, 人卅一, 船一艘

Two carriages, 10 horses, 31 people, one boat

Group B

FHS M168 strips no.11: 卵盛三合 Three food containers

FHS M168 strips no.12: 大盛三合 Three big containers (circular boxes)

FHS M168 strips no.13: 大脯檢 (奩) 一合 One big circular box

FHS M168 strips no.14: 鏡一, 有檢 (奩) One mirror with box

FHS M168 strips no.15: 小雞檢 (奩) 一合 One small box

FHS M168 strips no.16: 卵小檢 (奩) 一合 One oval box

FHS M168 strips no.17: 大車檢一合 One big box

FHS M168 strips no.18: 杓 (盂) 八枚 Eight *yu*-vessels

FHS M168 strips no.19: 方平盤一 One square flat plate

FHS M168 strips no.20: 小盛脯平盤 Small flat plate containing dried meat

FHS M168 strips no.21: 會卑虎一隻 One plate

FHS M168 strips no.22: 尺卑虎五隻 One plate

FHS M168 strips no.23: 八寸卑虎三隻 Three three-*cun* plates

FHS M168 strips no.24: 食大卑虎二隻 Two big food plates

FHS M168 strips no.25: 大鐘一 One big bell

FHS M168 strips no.26: 大壺一隻 One big *hu*-spherical flask

FHS M168 strips no.27: 小壺一隻 One small *hu*-spherical flask

FHS M168 strips no.28: 一鬥柙 One one-*dou* flask

FHS M168 strips no.29: 二鬥柙一 One two-*dou* flask

FHS M168 strips no.30: 大五鬥柙一 One big five-*dou* flask

FHS M168 strips no.31: 黑杯卅 30 black ear cups

FHS M168 strips no.32: 畫杯卅 30 decorated ear cups

FHS M168 strips no.33: 魚杯廿枚 20 fish cups

FHS M168 strips no.34: 欽柯四隻 20 big ear cups

FHS M168 strips no.35: 具器一合, 杯十枚, 有橐 One wine-cup container with 10 cups and bag

FHS M168 strips no.36: 二鬥卮二合 Two two-*dou zhi*-cups

FHS M168 strips no.37: 醬卮一合 One brown *zhi*-cup

FHS M168 strips no.38: 傅蘇後 (卮) 一合 One decorated *zhi*-cup

FHS M168 strips no.39: 角單 (觶) 一隻, 金足 One wine container with bronze feet

FHS M168 strips no.40: 杙 (匜) 一 One *yi*-pourer

FHS M168 strips no.41: □一合

FHS M168 strips no.42: 坐案一 One stand

FHS M168 strips no.43: 木杼 (梳) 一 One comb

FHS M168 strips no.44: 柷一，錦因各一 One musical instrument, one brocade mat

FHS M168 strips no.45: 右方籍卅四牒 Summary 34 inventories

Group C

FHS M168 strips no.46: 小繡囊八 Eight small embroidered bags

FHS M168 strips no.47: 旁囊一 One bag

FHS M168 strips no.48: 繡巾一 One embodied hair wrap

FHS M168 strips no.49: 大食囊二 Two big food bags

FHS M168 strips no.50: 大米囊七 Seven rice bags

FHS M168 strips no.51: 絲侵各一 Two silk threads

FHS M168 strips no.52: 履一兩 A pair of shoes

FHS M168 strips no.53: 冠二枚，在棺中 Two hats, in coffin

FHS M168 strips no.54: 杖一，在棺中 One stick, in coffin

FHS M168 strips no.55: 絲履一兩，在棺中 A pair of silk shoes, in coffin

FHS M168 strips no.56: 素履二兩，在棺中 A pair of shoes, in coffin

FHS M168 strips no.57: 扇二 Two fans

FHS M168 strips no.58: 延席一 One mat

FHS M168 strips no.59: 計=筭一合 One casket

FHS M168 strips no.60: 大筭一合 One big casket

FHS M168 strips no.61: 月(肉)=筭一合 One casket with meat

FHS M168 strips no.62: 十二枚 12 pieces

FHS M168 strips no.63: 脯六串筭 Six pieces of dried meat, bamboo basket

FHS M168 strips no.64: 食符瘐 One food container

FHS M168 strips no.65: 錢四貫 Four-guan coins

FHS M168 strips no.66: 薄土二 Two (bags) of soil"

Source: Fenghuangshan 1993.

G06. Fenghuangshan tomb10 (153 B.C.), Jingzhou, Hubei

Type A

四年後九月辛亥，平里五大夫偃(張)偃(敢)告地下主：偃衣器物，所以(已)(撰)具器物，可令吏以律令從事。

In the fourth year, the ninth month, the day of *Xinhai*, the *wu dafu* of Ping ward, Zhang Yan, declared to the authority of underworld, Yan [has been provided with] clothing and objects, it is a command for officials to deal with affairs according to statutes and decrees.

Type B

竹筭二，尺卑=一具，案一，脯二束

Two bamboo caskets, one plate, one tray, two slices of dried meat

望筭一，會卑=一具，布囊食一，豚二束

One casket, one plate, one fabric bag containing food, two slices of pork

困（？）一，食檢（奩）一具，縑囊米二，柯一具

One granary, one food container, two silk bags contained rice, one ear cup

大奴一人，櫝一具，布帷一長丈四二福（幅），赤杯三具

One adult servant, one coffin, a curtain with one *zang* and two *fu* long, three red ear cups

大婢二人，小於（盂）一具，瓦器凡十三物，黑杯五

Two adult maids, one small *yu*-vessel, 13 pottery items, five black ear cups

大食卑=一具.

One big plate

Source: Fenghuangshan 1974.

G07. Kongjiapo tomb 8 (142 B.C.), Suizhou, Hubei

Type A

二年正月壬子朔甲辰，都鄉燕、佐戎敢言之：庫嗇夫辟與奴宜馬、取、宜之、益眾、婢益夫、末眾，車乘，馬三匹。正月壬子，桃侯國丞萬移地下丞，受數毋報。定手

In the second year, the first month in which the first day was *renzi*, on the *jiachen* day, Yan [the assistant magistrate] and Rong [the accessory clerk] of Du village declared: the bailiff of warehouse, Pi and his servants (Yi Ma, Qu, Yi Zhi, Yi Zhong) and female servants (Yi Fu, Mo Zhong), carriages, three horses. In the first month, on the *renzi* day, the assistant of magistrate of Tao marquissate transferred [the records of the household of Pi] to the assistant magistrate of underworld, [the records] of numbers [and names] were to be accepted, and not report to [your superior]. Handled by Ding.

Source: Kongjiapo Hanjian 2006: 197.

G08. Huchang tomb 5 (71 B.C.), Hanjiang, Jiangsu

Type A

卅口年十二月丙子朔辛卯，廣陵宮司空張前、丞口敢告土主：廣陵石里男子王奉世有獄事，事已，複故郡鄉里，遣自致，移棺穴。卅八年獄計，承書從事如律令。

In the fortieth [missing character] year, the twelfth month in which the first day was *bingzi*, on the *xinmao* day, the master of official works of the palace of Guangling [Kingdom], Zhang Qian, and the assistant magistrate of [missing character] dare to tell the earth lord: the man of Shi ward of Guangling, Wang Fengshi was sent to prison, the punishment was done, he was exempted from the taxes [when] he is transferred to [his] home village and ward, the [grave] pit was moved. In the forty eighth year, the assistant in prison will deal with affairs according to the statutes and decrees.

Source: Huchang 1981.

Funerary inventory found in other four medium-size tombs

Fenghuangshan tomb 167 (179-141 B.C.)

Type B

Group A: 軺一乘，騮牡馬二匹齒六歲，禦者一人，紫蓋一，謁者二人

侍女子二人大婢，責侍女子二人繡衣大婢，養女子二人繡衣大婢，牛者一人，大奴一人，女子二人持疎枇繡大婢，牛車一乘，大奴四人，片刃大奴四人，積大婢四人，小奴一人持□□□，大奴一人持鍤，小奴二人持釘，大盛一盒。

1 small carriage, 2 six-year old male horses, 1 driving servant, 1 purple umbrella, 2 *yezhe*, 2 adult maids, 2 female servants wearing embroidered clothing, 2 adult maids for cooking, 1 servant for driving the cart, 1 adult male servant, 2 female servants holding combs, 1 cart, 4 adult servants, 4 male servants, 4 adult servants, 1 small servant holding [missing characters], 1 adult servant with [missing character], 1 adult servant with tools for ploughing, 2 small servant holding flasks, 1 food container.

Group B: 何二枚，醬杯？枚，盂四枚，炙卑？四枚，小盛二合，梃一枚，小脯檢一枚，大脯檢一枚，三鬥壺二枚，尺卑？六枚，墨杯廿枚，小卮一枚，醬？一枚，傷杯卅枚，大桺一枚，一鬥檢一枚，二鬥檢一枚，緒卑？一隻，食卑？一隻，膾卑？二枚，盆盂一枚，一石缶二枚，漿罌二枚，灶一枚，困一枚，酒罌二枚，釜一枚，甑一枚。

2 lacquer boxes, [missing character] brown ear-cups, 4 *yu*-vessels, 4 plates, 2 small circular boxes, 1 flask, 1 food container with dried fruits, 1 big food container, 3 flasks, 5 plates, 20 black ear-cups, 1 small *zhi*-cup, 1 brown [missing character], 30 ear-cups, 1 flask 1, 1 toiletry case, 2 toiletry cases, a pair of fabric-core dishes, a pair of food plates, 2 dishes, 1 basin, 2 stone vessels, 2 pottery jars, 1 stove, 1 granary, 2 wine containers, 1 cauldron, 1 steamer.

Source: Fenghuangshan 1976.

Gaotai tomb 6, Jingzhou, Hubei

Type B

□牡馬二匹，漆壺一，□二枚，五穀一，小卮一，卮一，牛車一，□二石，醬杯一，月（肉）盤一，□十一，□筭一，□□五枚。

2 male horses, 1 lacquer flask, 2 [missing characters], 1 five grain, 1 small *zhi*-cup, 1 *zhi*-cup, 1 cart, 2 *dan* [missing character], 1 brown ear-cup, 1 food plate, 1 [missing character] casket, 5 [missing characters].

Source: Gaotai 2000.

Dafentou tomb 1, Yunmeng, Hubei

Type B

金兵二，金小盂一，金□一，金□般一，金鬲甗各一，二鬥□一，一鬥□一，金鼎二，髹漆畫盂二，髹漆畫盛二合，髹漆木檢一合，髹漆畫小陪十，髹漆畫大陪十，髹漆畫小卑鹿二，髹漆畫(?)，髹漆(?)檢二其一小畫，具器一具，髹漆畫角傷二，髹漆卑四，金匕木匕各一，髹漆畫勺一，鐵(?)料金料各一，□檢一合，髹漆畫瓦甗一，木筭二，筭□，瓜□□，李一□，博一具，髹漆畫曲一，□一具，竹傷四，木壺一，缶五，竟檢一，紫巾一，緹()三，練()二，女子偶人四，男子七人，大車軺車各一有蓋，黑馬二，白馬五，黃馬一，金劍。□□合，□疎一具，□一毋，緹巾二，金盞一，竹筭大二，□豆一，□□毋，醬栝十，緒栝廿，髹漆栝十。

2 bronze weapons, 1 small bronze *yu*-vessel, 1 bronze [missing character] plate, 1 bronze *li*-vessel, 1 bronze *yan* each, 2 *dou* [missing character], 1 *dou* [missing character], 2 bronze tripods, 2 decorated lacquer *yu*-vessels, 2 decorated lacquer food containers, 1 lacquer box, 10 decorated lacquer ear-cups, 10 decorated lacquer ear-cups, 2 decorated lacquer dishes, 2 lacquer toiletry case, one is painted, 1 toiletry case with tools for beautification, 4 bamboo ear-cups, 1 lacquer flask, 5 jars, 1 mirror case, 1 purple cloth, 3 thick silk cloth, 2 light silk cloth, 4 female human figurines, 7 male servants, 1 big carriage and 1 small carriage with umbrellas, 2 black horse, 5 white horses, 1 yellow horses, 1 bronze sword. [missing characters], 1 comb, 1 [missing characters], 2 silk cloth, 1 bronze flask, 2 big wooden caskets, 1 [missing character] *dou*-cup, [missing characters], 10 brown ear-cups, 20 fabric-core ear-cups, 10 lacquer ear-cups.

Source: Dafentou 1973.

Xiaojia Caochang tomb 26, Jingzhou, Hubei

Type B

車一乘，馬一匹，禦者四人。盛一雙，柯一雙，小醬杯十，黑杯十，大書脯檢一，小脯檢一，一鬥檢一具，大卑鹿一具，小卑鹿一具，畫卮一，小醬卮一，食於(孟)一雙，沐器一枚，金鼎一雙，金□一具，金於(孟)一，金壺一，金鋌一，大瓦於(孟)一枚，大瓦罍一雙，小瓦罍一雙，瓦□一具，甗一具，漿器一枚，竹筭一合。

1 carriage, 1 horse, 4 people for pulling, 1 food container, 1 circular box, 10 small brown ear-cups, 10 black ear-cups, 10 decorated food container, 1 circular box containing dried fruits, 1 food container, 1 platter, 1 small platter, 1 decorated *zhi*-cup, 1 small brown *zhi*-cup, a pair of *yu*-vessels, 1 basin, a pair of bronze tripods, 1 bronze [missing character], 1 bronze *yu*-vessel, 1 bronze flask, 1 cauldron, 1 pottery *yu*-vessels, a pair of pottery jars, a pair of small jars, 1 pottery [missing character], 1 streamer, 1 bamboo casket

Source: Guanju 1999.

Appendix 3-1 Summary of the Archaeological Record

Group I: Large wooden chamber tombs with *ticou* structure

Ticou tombs in the mid-Yangzi region

I. 01 Wangchengpo 望城坡, Changsha, Hunan province

Condition: looted

Date: 179-157 B. C.

Tomb occupant: the queen of changcha kingdom

Identity items: clay impression of seal bearing the texts “*Changsha Hou fu* 長沙後府 The house of the queen of Changsha [kingdom]”, a wooden tablet inscribed with “*Bixia suo yi zeng wu* 陛下所以贈物 a gift from the emperor”

Size and structure:

11.6x9.76/113.2 m² (vertical pit), 7.4x5.7/42.18 m² (outer chamber), 1 ramp (21.02 meters long), three dependent pits, 2 outer chambers, 2 inner coffins

one wooden timber was inscribed with “*Yu Yang ticou guang yichi...guang* [missing character] *chi ba cun* 漁陽題湊廣一尺...廣□尺八[寸] (*Yuyang ticou* is one [Han] foot wide...[missing character] feet and eight [inches])”. The doors of the front chamber were inscribed with texts “*Nan hu* 南戶 (southern door)” and “*Bei hu* 北戶 (northern door)”.

Content: 3,308 objects

(a) Personal adornment: 33 gold beads, 23 jades: 2 rings, 1 disc, 2 cosmetic boxes

(b) Vessel sets

Dining set: 3 stands, 9 pottery *ding* tripods, 1 lacquer wine cup container, 1 rectangular box, 125 *yu*-vessels, 1 round box, 2500 lacquer ear-cup fragments (some incised with “*Yu Yang* 漁陽”), 180+ plates, 170+ *zhi*-cups; 30 pottery big jars

Washing set: 12 *yi*-containers, 9 *pen*-basins (7 potteries, 2 lacquers)

Other everyday use: 1 ink slab, 2 *liubo* gaming board

(c) Musical instruments: 4 lacquer *se*-zither, 3 *zhu*-musical instruments

(d) no chariot and horses:

(e) no weapon

(f) no human figurine, 28 terracotta cattle, 11 pottery sheep, 57 pigs

(g) Manuscripts: 100 wooden tablets, labels (funerary inventory of textiles and lacquers)

Source: Yuyang 2010: 4-38.

I.02 Doubishan 陡壁山, Changsha, Hunan

Condition: looted

Date: 179-157 B.C.

Tomb occupant: *Cao Xun* 曹巽, the consort of the Changsha King,

Identity items: 3 private seals, 2 with “*Cao Xun* 曹巽”, 1 with “*qie Xun* 妾巽”, clay impression with “*Changsha weichen* 長沙尉臣 Changsha minister of coachman”

Size and structure:

11.6x9.5/110.2 m² (bottom of vertical pit), 7.6x5.8/44 m² (outer chamber), a wooden-chamber grave in vertical rock-cut pit, U-shape gallery, 1 ramp (broken, 4 meters long), two doors; 2 outer chambers, 3 coffins

Content: 300+ objects

(a) 3 jade seals, 4 jade pendants, 15 jade rings, discs and *yuan*-discs, 3 mirrors

(b) Vessel sets

Dining set: fragments of lacquer stand, 55 lacquer plates, 52 ear-cups (identical dragon cloud patterns with Mawangdui lacquers), *lian*-box, flasks

Washing set: *yi*-vessels

(c) 2 sets of pottery bells (14 each), fragments of lacquer *se*-zither

(d) no chariot and horse

(e) 1 iron sword, 11 iron book knives tied with silver threads, 1 *mao*-spear

Source: Doubishan 1979: 1-16.

I.03 Xiangbizui 象鼻嘴, Changsha, Hunan

Condition: looted

Date: 179-157 B.C.

Tomb occupant: A high ranking noble of the Changsha kingdom

Size and structure: 17.35x15.7/272 m² (bottom of vertical pit), 11.1x10.3/114.3 m² (outer chamber), a wooden-chamber grave in vertical rock-cut pit, 1 ramp (18.75 meters long), the outer chamber was divided into 12 compartment; 2 outer chambers, 3 painted coffins

Content:

(a) 2 jade discs, 1 jade pendant, decayed textiles

(b) Vessel sets

Dining set: broken lacquer trays, 25 decorated pottery tripods, 17 decorated pottery boxes, 18 decorated pottery *hu*, 34 decorated pottery *fang*, 16 decorated pottery jars, 6 pottery tube-shape vessels, 9 pottery *yu*-vessels, 12 pottery cups, 1 decorated pottery ladle, 25 decorated pottery spoons, 2 *dou*-cups, decayed lacquer plates, *lian*-boxes, *zhi*-cups, ear-cups (no information)

1 pottery incense burner,

(c) 18 pottery bells

(d) no chariot and horse

(e) lacquer armors

Source: Xiangbizui 1981:111-130.

I.04 Fengpengling 風篷嶺 tomb 1, Wangcheng county, Changsha, Hunan

Condition: looted

Date: 49-48 B.C.

Tomb occupant: a high ranking noble of Changsha kingdom

Identity items: 4 lacquer ear-cups inscribed with “*Changsha Wanghou jia bei* 長沙王后家杯 (cup of the family of the queen of Changsha)”

Size and structure:

280 m² (vertical pit, broken), 16.5x11.5/189.8 m² (outer chamber), 1 ramp (11 meters long), 9 compartments; 1 outer chamber, 2 coffins

Content: 380+ objects

(a) 2 jade discs, 1 *gui* 圭, 32 jade fragments for jade suits, 1 mirror, 1 belt hook, 5 glass bead, 19 gold discs

(b) Vessel sets

Dining set: 2 bronze tripods, 3 bronze *zhong*, 2 bronze *hu**, 1 bronze *he* 盃, 9 pottery jars, 2 bronze bowls, 2 bronze plates, 2 bronze ladles*, 2 lacquer rectangular boxes, 1 lacquer oval box, 2 lacquer *dou*-cups, 1 bowl, 31 dishes, 18 ear-cups*

Cooking set: 1 bronze *zeng*

Washing set: 1 lacquer *pen*-basin

Other everyday use: 4 bronze lamp*

(c) no musical instrument

(d) 3 broken lacquer horse feet

(e) 1 crossbow

(f) no figurine

(g) no bamboo manuscript

Source: Fengpengling 2007: 21-44.

I.05 Fengpanling 風盤嶺 tomb 1, Changsha, Hunan province

Condition: looted

Date: around 118 B.C.

Tomb occupant: a high ranking noble of Changsha kingdom

Identity items: 1 bronze accessory inscribed with “*Zhongfu* 中府 (the central household)”

Size and structure:

73.7 m² (vertical pit, broken), timber structure decayed, 1 ramp (11 meters long, broken), multiple compartments;

Content: objects

(a) 1 bronze mirror, 1 jade *huang*-disc

(b) Vessel sets

Dining set: 1 lacquer *zhi*-cup, 9 pottery tripods, 3 pottery spherical flasks, 2 lids of *fang*-square flasks, 15 jars;

Other everyday use: 4 incense burners (3 pottery, 1 bronze), 10,000 clay coins, 1 bronze accessory inscribed with “*Zhongfu* 中府”

(c) 2 bronze *dou* 鐸 bells

(d) no chariot and horse

(e) 1 bronze fragment of crossbow, 1 iron sword, 2 farming tools

(f) no figurines

Source: Fengpanling 2013: 27-38.

I.06 Shuangdun tomb1, Lu'an 六安, Anhui

Condition: looted

Date: 85 B.C.

Tomb occupant: Liu Qing 劉慶, the King of Lu'an

Identity items: clay impression of “*Lu'an Yingchen* 六安飭丞 (The assistant of Lu'an in charge of catering)”, bronze *hu* with “*Gongfu di ba* 共府第八 No.8 of Gong household”

Size and structure:

17x12/204 m² (bottom of vertical pit), 9.1x7/63.7 m² (outer chamber), a large wooden-chamber grave in earthen vertical pit, 3 dependent burials, 1 chariot horse pit, 2 dependent pits, 2 ramps (the eastern ramp 20, the western ramp 8), the outer chamber was divided into 15 rooms

2 outer chambers, 2 coffins; the inner chamber was stone structure with two doors. Stone slabs were lacquered inside, and one was painted with cloud patterns.

Content: 500+ objects

(a) 21 mirrors, 1 stick handle inlaid with gold, silver and diamonds?, 1 jade seal without inscriptions, 6 jades including, 1 *huang*, 1 jade piece for jade suit

(b) Vessel sets

Dining set: fragmentary lacquer trays, 1 broken pottery *fang*, 1 cocoon flask, 1 garlic-head flask, 22 bronze *hu**; fragmentary lacquers *zhi*-cups, ear-cups, plates, some inlaid with silver and gold foil patterns;

Cooking set: 1 pottery stove

(c) no musical instrument

(d) 1 chariot for practical use, gilt bronze horse fittings; 1 set of carriage and horse models

(e) 17 wooden weapons, 1 bronze *ge*-spear and iron, 4 *ji*-spears, 12 lacquer bows, a bunch of leather armors, 2 jade accessories for sword

(f) wooden human figurines

Other: 1 pottery miniature house model inscribed with “*Si ren geng yi* 死人更衣 change clothing for the dead”

Source : Shuangdun 2010: 107-123.

Ticou tombs in the north and the eastern areas

I.07 Daobaotai tomb 1, suburb area of Beijing

Condition: looted

Date: 45 B.C.

Tomb occupant: Liu Jian, the King of Guang Yang

Size and Structure: 421 m² (outer chamber), a large-scale wooden chamber tomb with two U-shape galleries; 2 outer chambers, 3 coffins

Content: 850+ objects

(a) 3 jade discs, 2 *huang*-discs, 3 rings, 1 tortoise shaped (check your English) item, 2 fragments of jade casket, 2 pendants, 17 jade accessories, 2 jade fragments for jade suit; 7 bone ornaments; 12 textiles; 4 mirrors, 1 bronze belt hook, 2 hair pins, 25 amber beads, 1 bird-head stick; 1 bronze stick head inlaid with turquoise; 15 amber ornaments

(b) Vessel sets

Dining set: 1 stone tray, 1 lacquer tray, 1 plate, 1 ear-cup with bronze mounts, 1 circular box, 1 box incised with “*Yiguan, nian si nian wu yue bing chen chen gao* 宜官, 廿四年五月丙辰丞告 (Yiguan, the 24th year the fifth month the day of Bing Cheng declared....)”, 1 pottery *ding* tripod, 4 jars, 1 *fang*, 3 *hu* flasks, 6 plates, 11 ear-cups, food remains

Washing set: 2 *pen*-basins

Other: 1 bronze pillow fragment, 1 accessory for curtains, 1 bronze mat stand

(c) no musical instrument

(d) no chariot and horse fittings

(e) 6 bronze weapons; 10 iron weapons, 20 iron tools, 1 lacquer bow

(f) 240 pottery figurines

Source: Dabaotai 1989.

I.08 Dabaotai tomb 2

Condition: looted

Date: after 45 B.C.

Tomb occupant: female, the consort of King Guang Yang

Size and structure: 199 m² (vertical pit)

Content: 240+ objects

(a) 1 mirror, 2 jade discs, 8 jade ornaments, 19 jade fragments for jade suits, 1 amber ornament

(b) Vessel sets

Dining set: 1 stone tray, 2 pottery *fang*, 1 *hu*; 41 bronze ornaments for lacquer vessels, food stuff

Washing set: 1 *pen*-basin

Other everyday use: 3 bronze tiger-shape ornaments

(c) no musical instrument

(d) 3 chariots and 10 horses for practical use

Source: Dabaotai 1989.

I.09 Dayunshan tomb 1, Xuyi 盱眙, Jiangsu province

Condition: looted

Date: 127 B.C.

Tomb occupant: the King of Jiangdu, Liu Fei 劉非

Identity items: various titles for independent officials, clay impression of “*Jiangdu shi zhang* 江都食長 The head chief of Jiangdu (kingdom)”; bronze lamps with “*Jiangdu huanzhe rong yi sheng zhong san jin* 江都宦者容一升重三斤 Eunuch official of Jiangdu, Capacity one sheng weight san jin”, a silver plate inscribed with “*Jiangdu huanzhe mu pan shi qi nian shou di* 江都宦者沐盤十七年授邸 Plate of Eunuch official in charge of bathing, bestowed [to the House of Jiangdu] in the 17th year ”

Size and structure: 35.2x26/915.2 (vertical pit), 1 ramp (55.1 meters long), two coffins, front chamber, two-layer gallery, 4 outer chambers

Content: 8,000+ objects

(a) mirrors, jade suits

(b) Vessel sets

Dining set: silver plate with “*Jiangdu huanzhe* 江都宦者 Eunuch Official of Jiangdu”, bronze *fang*-flask, *zhong*-flask, 盞 *he*-flask, *hu*-flask, cup, ladle, *ding*-tripod, 100+ lacquer ear-cups with “*Nian er nian, nan gongguan* 廿二年, 南工官 the 22th year, the South official workshop”, “*Nian qi nian er yue, nan gongguan* 廿七年二月, 南工官 the 27th year the second month, the South official workshop”, “*Nian qi nian er yue, Nan gongguan, yannian, danu Gu zao* 廿七年二月, 南工官, 延年, 大奴固造 the 27th year the second month, the south official workshop, made by Yannian adult slave Gu ”

Cooking set: bronze *fu*-cauldron, *ding*-tripods, *zeng*-steamer

Washing set: *xi*-basin

Daily life: 5 lamps

(c) a set of chime stones, a set of bells, fragments of zither

(d) 20 miniature chariots with weapons

(e) weapons: spears, arrows, *ji*, armors, cross-bows

(f) figurines

Source: Xuyi 2012: 53-66.

Rock-cut tomb in the Eastern area

I.10 Shizishan 獅子山, Xuzhou, Jiangsu province

Condition: looted

Date: 154 B.C.

Tomb occupant: Liu Wu 劉戊, the King of Chu

Identity items: a seal of “*Pengcheng chen yin* 彭城丞印 the seal of assistant of Pengcheng”

Size and structure: 851m², a large-scale horizontal rock-cut tomb with 12 compartments, 1 dependent pit, 1 coffin inlaid with jades

Content: 2000+ objects

(a) seal of 彭城丞印; some jade ornaments; 200 bronze seals of dependent officials in the Chu state; 5 silver seals, 2 jade seals; 1 gold belt hook, 2 sets of gold belts; a set of jade suit, 1 jade pillow

(b) Vessel sets

Dining set: 1 jade *zhi*-cup, 1 jade high-feet cup, jade ear-cup; 1 silver pen-basin, bronze tripods, *zhong* flasks, fang, *yi*-vessels, flasks; pottery jars, fu cauldrons, *pen*-basins, steamers; 1 *xuan*-basin inscribed with the texts “Huanzhe shang yu mu 宦者尚浴沐 Eunuch official in charge of bathing...”

Other everyday use: Tiger-shape mat stand inscribed with “Shang wo 尚臥[Eunuch official] in charge of bedding...”

(c) no musical instrument

(d) no chariot and horse fittings

(e) 1 jade *ge*-spear; bronze weapons

Source: Shizishan 1998: 1-20.

Group II: Large wooden chamber tombs

II.01 Mawangdui tomb 1, Changsha, Hunan province

Condition: intact

Date: after 168 B.C.

Tomb occupant: Lady Dai

Identity items: 1 bronze seal inscribed with “*qie Xin Zhui* 妾辛追”, 12 clay impressions of seal inscribed with “*Daihou jiacheng* 軼侯家丞 (assistant of the Marquis Dai family)”

Size and structure: 347 m² (top of sloping pit), 51m² (bottom), 14.2 m² (outer chamber), 5 compartments; 1 ramp (8 meters long), 1 outer chamber, 4 coffins (two painted, one covered with textiles).

Content: 1,000+ objects

(a) 104 silk textiles (1 T-shape silk banner); 1 bronze mirror

(b) Vessel sets:

Dining set: 1 lacquer stand, 2 lacquer trays, 13 *ding* tripods (7 lacquer, 4 pottery, 2 decorated pottery), 6 *fang* flasks (4 lacquer, 2 decorated pottery), 6 *zhong* flasks (2 lacquer, 4 pottery), 4 pottery *hu*, 1 decorated pottery *jiaohu*, 24 jars (23 earthenware, 1 pottery), 1 wine cup container, 3 *lian* box, 10 round boxes (4 lacquer, 2 decorated pottery, 4 pottery), 6 *yu*-containers, 7 *zhi*-cups, 2 decorated pottery *dou*-cups, 32 plates, 90 ear-cups, 5 ladles, 2 spoons

Cooking set: 1 pottery *zeng*-steamer, 1 pottery *fu*-cauldron

Washing set: 2 lacquer *yi*-containers,

Other everyday use: 2 decorated pottery incense burners

(c) 3 musical instruments

(d) no chariots and horses

(e) no weapon

(f) 162 wooden figurines

(g) 312 bamboo slips: funeral inventories, recipes

Source: Mawangdui 1973.

II.02 Mawangdui tomb 2, Changsha, Hunan province

Condition: looted

Date: 186 B.C.

Tomb occupant: Marquis Dai

Identity items: 1 bronze seal of “*Changsha Chengxiang* 長沙丞相 The chancellor of principality of the Changsha (kingdom)”, 1 bronze seal of “*Daihou zhi yin* 軼侯之印 the seal of Marquis Dai”, 1 jade seal of “*Li Cang* 利蒼”

Size and structure: no information; 1 ramp (20 meters long), 1 outer chamber, 2 coffins

Content: 2,721 objects including 2,000 clay coins

(a) 6 jades, 2 bronze belt hooks, 2 bronze seals, 1 jade seal

(b) Vessel sets:

Dining set: 7 pottery tripods, 4 pottery *fang*, 4 lacquer *hu* flasks, 14 ear-cups, 1 *lian* box, 6 *zhi*-cups (4 lacquer, 2 bronze), 10 plates; 3 pottery spoons, 4 pottery ladles

Every day life set: 2 pottery incense burners

(c) no musical instrument

(d) no chariots and horses

(e) 1 bronze crossbow, 2 lacquer sword boxes, 13 lacquer arrow shafts

Source: Mawangdui 2004.

II.03 Mawangdui tomb 3, Changsha

Condition: intact

Date: 168 B.C.

Tomb occupant: a family member of the Marquis Dai

Identity items: lacquer dining vessels inscribed with “The family of the Marquis Dai 韋侯家”, 12 clay impressions of seal inscribed with “*Daihou jiacheng* 韋侯家丞 (assistant of the Marquis Dai family)”

Size and structure:

251.8 m² (top of sloping pit), 5.8x5.05/29.2 m² (bottom of sloping pit), 23.4 m² (outer chamber), 1 ramp, similar structure as tomb 1; 1 outer chamber, 3 coffins

Content: 1,684 objects.

(a) 23 well preserved textiles, 1 lacquer hat, 1 pair of hemp cloth shoes

(b) Vessel sets

Dining set: 1 screen, 3 lacquer trays, 1 stand, 6 *ding* tripods, 3 *fang* flasks, 2 *zhong* flasks, 6 *hu* flasks, 2 wine cup container, 15 *lian* boxes, 10 round boxes, 10 *yu*-containers, 68 plates, 29 *zhi*-cups, 148 ear-cups, 3 ladles

Washing set: 2 *yi*-pourers

Other everyday use: 1 pottery incense burner, 1 pottery lamp, 1 lacquer *liubo* gaming board,

(c) 1 lacquer *qin*-musical instrument, 1 *se*-zither, 1 *yu*-musical instrument, 1 *zhu* model, 10 wooden bells, 10 chime stones, 3 miniature *yu*-musical instrument, 3 miniature *se*-zithers

(d) no chariots and horses

(e) 12 wooden and lacquer weapons

(f) 106 wooden figurines

(g) 402 bamboo strips, 50 silk manuscripts

Source: Mawangdui 2004.

II.04 Huxishan 虎溪山 tomb 1, Yuanling, Hunan province

Condition: looted

Date: 162 B.C.

Tomb occupant: the Marquis of Yuanling

Identity items: 1 jade seal of “Wu Yang 吳陽”

Size and structure: 9.5x7.2/68.4 m² (vertical pit), 6.92x3.9/27 (outer chamber), a large-scale T-shape wooden chamber tomb in earthen pit. 1 ramp (37 meters long), the front chamber equipped with two doors, inscribed with “*Nan shan* 南扇(southern door)” and “*Bei shan* 北扇(northern door)”

1 outer chamber (threefold timbers of protecting wall), 2 coffins

Content: 1,500+ objects (278 lacquers)

(a) 1 jade disc, 1 bronze mirror, 1 jade seal

(b) Vessel sets

Dining set (372): 2 lacquer trays, 3 stand, 7 lacquered pottery *ding* tripods, 13 lacquered pottery *zhong* flasks, 35 jars, 32 lacquered pottery *hu* flasks, 20 lacquered pottery round boxes; 7 lacquered pottery *yu*-vessels, 7 *dou*-cups; 15 lacquer *lian* boxes, 7 lacquer *zhi*-cups, 101 lacquer ear-cups inscribed with texts such as “*Yuan bai yi shi wu* 沅百一十五 no.115 of (Marquis) Yuan (ling)”, 2 lacquered stone ear-cups, 56 lacquer platters, 60 lacquer dishes inscribed with “*Yuan si shi liu shang* 沅四十六上”, 5 lacquer ladles

Washing set (17): 2 lacquer *yi*-pourers, 14 *pen*-basins (7 lacquer, 7 lacquer pottery), 1 tiger shape vessel

Other everyday use: 2 *shi*-plates

(c) a set of 12 pottery *qing*-chime stones, inscribed with numbers

(d) no chariot and horse fittings

(e) 20 lacquer arrow shafts, 4 lacquer shields

(f) 56 wooden figurines

(g) 1336 bamboo slips: administrative documents, the *meishi fang* 美食方(recipes);

Source: Yuanling 2003: 36-55.

II.05 Yaoziling 鶴子嶺 tomb 1, Yongzhou, Hunan province

Condition: looted

Date: mid-Western Han

Tomb occupant: Liu Qiang, the Marquis of Quanling 泉陵

Identity items: a bronze seal of Liu Qiang 劉彊, clay impression of “*Chen Chang* 臣敞 (your servant Chang)”

Size and structure: 7.6x5.6/42.6 m² (vertical pit), a large-scale wooden chamber tomb in earthen vertical pit

Content: 286 objects

(a) 5 jade accessories for jade mask; 1 clay impression, 1 bronze seal, 3 bronze belt hooks, 2 mirrors

(b) Vessel sets

Dining set: 2 bronze *hu* with long neck, 2 bronze *hu* with chains, 1 bronze *hu*; 6 painted pottery tripods, 6 *fang* flasks, 24 *hu*, 3 *jiaohu* flask, 97 pottery jars 10 round

boxes, 5 bowls; lacquer fragments including trays, ear-cups, plates

Cooking: 2 painted pottery *zeng* (steamers)

Washing: 2 painted pottery *pen*-basins

Other everyday use: 1 bronze lamp, 2 bronze incense burners

(c) no musical instrument

(d) no chariots and horses

(e) 1 bronze knife, 1 sword, 2 crossbows, 1 iron sword, 1 iron knife

Source: Yongzhou 1990: 1002-1011.

II.06 Yaoziling 鶴子嶺 tomb 2, Yongzhou, Hunan province

Condition: looted

Date: no earlier than 2BC

Tomb occupant: the wife of Marquis Quanling

Size and structure: 10.3x9.2/94.76 m² (vertical pit), 8.52x6.72/57.3 m² (outer chamber), 1 ramp (broken), 1 outer chamber stacked with two layers of wooden planks, broken, 50 cm thick

Content:

(1) Personal adornment, 1 gold tortoise, 2 jade discs, 5 golden beads, 22 glass beads, 2 mirrors, 1 pottery spindle

(2) Vessel sets

Dining set: 1 lacquer tray, 3 bronze *hu*, 1 pottery tripods, 1 pottery *fang*, 1 pottery *hu*, 48 pottery jars; 3 *zun*-containers (1 bronze, 2 lacquer “For imperial use...the first year of Suihe (8 B.C.), [made by] the worker Zongshan of Kaogong (central governmental official workshop) 乘輿...綏和元年考工工宗繕”), 6 bronze bowls; 1 plate inscribed with “建平五年，廣漢郡工官造乘輿 the fifth year of Jianping (2 B.C.), made by official workshop of Guanghan Commandery (present day Chengdu), for imperial use...”; 4 ear-cups, one inscribed with “元延四年，廣漢郡工官造乘輿 the fourth year of Yuanyan (9 B.C.), made by Guanghan Commandery, for imperial use...” another “the third year of Yuanyan (10 B.C.), made by official workshop of Guanghan Commandery, for imperial use 元延三年，廣漢郡工官造乘輿...”; 2 *zhi*-cups, a lid was inscribed with “the first year of Sui He (8 B.C.), made by the worker Kao of gonggong (central governmental workshop) 綏和元年，供工考造”, the cup was inscribed with “The fifth year of Hongjia (16 B.C.), made by the worker Chang of gonggong (the central governmental workshop) 鴻嘉五年，供工工敞造...”

Cooking set: 1 bronze *fu*-cauldron

Washing set: 2 bronze *pen*-basins

Other everyday use set: 1 bronze 熨斗, 2 bronze incense burners

(c-g) no musical instrument, no weapon, manuscripts and human figurines

Source: Yongzhou 2001: 45-62.

II.07 Shuanggudui 雙古堆 tomb 1, Fuyuang, Anhui province

Condition: looted

Date: 165 B.C.

Tomb occupant: Xia Houzao 夏侯灶, Marquis of Ruyin 汝陰

Size and structure: 6.2x3.8/23.56 m² (outer chamber), a large-scale wooden chamber burial in earthen pit, 1 ramp (broken)

Content:

(a) 1 mirror, 6 bronze belt hooks, 1 fragment of inlaid gold silver belt, 1 lacquered hat, 1 silver hairpin

(b) Vessel sets

Dining set(81): 1 bronze *ding* tripod, 2 lacquer *hu*, 4 pottery jars; 2 lacquer *lian* boxes with silver mounts, 2 rectangular boxes with silver mounts, 1 box, 6 caskets*, 10 lacquer plates with silver mounts, 48 ear-cups (*some inscribed with “Ruyin hou bei 汝陰侯杯 cup of Marquis Ruyin...”), 1 dish, 1 *zhi*-cup with silver mounts, 3 ladles (2 bronze, 1 lacquer)

Washing: 4 *yi*-vessels (2 bronze, 2 lacquer)

Other: 3 *shi*-plates for entertaining, 1 lamp, 2 bronze splitting flasks *

(c) 1 *se*-zither, 1 set of pottery musical instruments: 9 bells, 5 *bo*-bells, 20 *qing*-chime stones

(d) none

(e) 3 lacquer bow, 1 lacquer arrow box; 2 bronze swords, 3 gilt bronze crossbows, 2 *ge*-spears, 1 *mao*-spear, 5 *zun*-spear, 6 fragments of bow, 26 *zu*-arrows; 2 iron swords, iron armors

(f) 3 wooden figurines

(g) bamboo manuscripts: literature writings 詩經，刑德，蒼頡

Source: Shuanggudui 1978: 12-31.

II.08 Shuanggudui tomb 2, Fuyuang, Anhui province

Condition: looted

Date: 169 B.C.

Tomb occupant: the consort of Marquis Ruyin

Identity items: 3 clay impressions of “*Ruyin jiacheng* 汝陰家丞 The assistant of family of Ruyin”

Size and structure: 5.35x3.3/17.6 m² (outer chamber), a large-scale wooden chamber burial in earthen pit, 1 ramp (23 meters long)

Content:

(a) 4 mirrors, 1 bird-head stick

(b) Vessel sets

Dining set: 6 lacquered pottery *ding* tripods, 7 round boxes, 2 *hu* flasks, 4 jars; 3 lacquer plates, 16 ear-cups, 4 *yu*-vessels, 1 *lian* box, 2 *zhi*-cups

(c) no musical instrument

(d) 12 terracotta horse heads

(e) 1 bronze *mao*-spear

Source: Shuanggudui1978: 12-31.

II.09 Fangwanggang tomb 1, Chaohu 巢湖 cemetery, Anhui province

Condition: outer chamber well preserved

Date: 118-74 B.C.

Tomb occupant: Lü Ke 呂柯

Identity items: a jade seal with “*Lü Ke zhi yin* 呂柯之印(the seal of Lü Ke)”

Size and structure: 60.4 m² (vertical pit), 43.6 m² (outer chamber), a large-scale wooden chamber tomb in rock-cut pit

2 outer chambers, 2 coffins decorated with cloud patterns

Content:

(a) 16 jades (jade discs, 1 pendant, 2 rings, 1 *huang*-disc, 1 *han*, 1 pair of earrings for a jade mask, 5 accessories), 1 carnelian bead, 1 carnelian 觸 *xi*, 1 crystal accessory; 4 mirrors; 3 belt hooks; 1 bird-head accessory; 3 sticks

(b) Vessel sets:

Dining set(385): 1 lacquer stand, 14 lacquer trays (9 medium-size, L 70+cm); 1 stone *ding* tripod, 5 bronze *fang* flasks, 6 *hu* flasks, 1 garlic-head flask, 1 *hu* with chains, 2 卣 *you*-containers, 1 盃 *he*-flasks, 2 earthenware jars, 2 *hu*; 2 lacquer *lian* boxes, 6 lacquer boxes with silver mounts, 2 *zun*-vessels, 17 stone bowls, 6 *zhi*-cups (2 lacquer, 4 stone), 267 ear-cups (some lacquers inscribed with 大呂 Da Lü, 12 stone ear-cups), 4 lacquer *dou*-cups, 46 plates, (24 lacquer, 22 stone), 1 lacquer ladle
Cooking set (23): 1 pottery *zao* (stove) ; 2 pottery *zu* 俎 chopping boards, 8 bronze *ding* tripods with smoke marks, 3 *fu* 釜-cauldrons, 2 *yan* 甗, 8 ladles;

Washing set(20): 6 *pen* (3 bronze, 3 lacquer), 10 *xi*-basins, 4 *xuan* 鍶-basins

Other everyday use(13): 2 incense burners, 2 lamps; 1 *liubo* gaming plate, 4 mat stands, 4 deer-shape vessels

(c) 1 *se*-zither

(d) 1 umbrella, 8 carriage wheels, 16 horse models; 58 lead horse fittings, 6 bronze horse fittings

(e) 2 bronze swords, 16 crossbows, 4 *xiao*-knives; 2,421 *zu* 鏃-arrows,; 3 iron weapons, 41 iron tools; 3 lacquer shields

(f) 144 wooden figurines

Source: Chaohu 2007.

II.10 Beishantou tomb 1, Chaohu 巢湖 cemetery, Anhui province

Condition: looted

Date: early Western Han

Tomb occupant: yin 胤, *Qu yang jun* 曲陽君

Identity items: an inscribed jade seal

Size and structure: 23.9 m² (vertical pit), 13.5 m² (outer chamber), a large-scale wooden chamber tomb in earthen pit containing pebble stones

1 outer chamber, 2 coffins

Content:

(a) 6 jade discs, 17 *huang*, 2 belt hooks, 2 rings, 1 *xi* 觶, 2 accessories, 2 pendants, 2 cowries, 1 seal; 3 mirrors, 1 jade cosmetic box

(b) Vessel sets

Dining set (78): 3 decorated pottery *ding* tripods, 10 *hu* (6 decorated pottery, 4 bronze), 1 bronze *hu* with chains, 2 *fang* flasks, 1 *he* flask 盃, 1 lacquer jar inlaid with jades, crystal rings, blue glass beads, silver and gold mounts; 1 round box, 1 silver exotic box with Achemenide style, inscribed with characters; 1 silver plate with “*chengyu* 乘輿 (for imperial use)”; 3 lacquer *lian* boxes, 4 round boxes, one inscribed with “Taiguan 大(太)官” and “十九年 the ninth year, the left *chehou* 左徹侯□□...”, 2 small round boxes with inscriptions, 1 bowl shape box decorated with galloping horses, steppe art), 1 bowl shape box inscribed with “大官”, 2 oval boxes (one inscribed with □□十九), 1 rectangular box, 4 decorated pottery boxes; 1 lacquer platter with “卅三年工師信宮茜私官四升半今? 巷今東宮”, 3 decorated pottery plates; 2 jade *zhi*-cups, 2 silver *yi*-shape cups with inscriptions “...私府...”, 18 ear-cups, 4 ladles (3 bronze, 1 lacquer), 6 decorated pottery cups, 3 decorated pottery *dou*-cups

Cooking set: 1 bronze *yan* 甗, 4 bronze *ding* tripods with smoke marks (some inscribed with “大(太)官...”)

Washing set: 1 silver *xi*-basin, 2 bronze *yi*-pourers

Other everyday use: 2 bronze incense burners, 2 lamps

(c) 10 small bells

(d) no chariots and horses

(e) no weapon

(f) 10 wooden figurines

Source: Chaohu 2007.

II.11 Shuangbaoshan 雙包山 tomb 2, Mianyang, Sichuan province

Condition: looted

Date: 69 B.C.

Tomb occupant: a high elite

Size and structure: 19.3x10.5/202.7 m² (vertical pit), 162 m² (outer chamber), 8 layered stones for sealing the entrance, a large-scale wooden chamber burial in earthen pit, 1 ramp (broken, 5.26 meters long), 1 outer chamber

Content: 1,007 objects

(a) 8 fragmentary items for jade suits, 1 jade disc, 6 bone ornaments, 1 seal, 5 pottery spindles

(b) Vessel sets

Dining set(338): 7 trays (medium size, 46-60cm), 4 wooden stand, 4 pottery *ding*

tripods, 32 pottery jar, 8 lacquer *zhong* flasks, 3 lacquer flasks, 2 pottery jars, 13 lacquer *lian* boxes, 7 round boxes 2 lacquer oval boxes, 3 lacquer rectangular boxes, 1 lacquer *yu*-vessel, 7 big bowls, 3 bowls (2 lacquer , 1 pottery), 207 plates (some inscribed with 平宮右?), 34 ear-cups, 1 bird-head ear-cup

Cooking set: 2 *zeng* (1 bronze, 1 pottery), 1 *fu* cauldron, 1 pottery stove

Washing set: 3 *pen*-basins (1 bronze, 2 lacquer)

(c) 7 pottery bells, 7 *qing*-chime stones

(d) 96 lacquer horses, 18 carriages, 8 bronze horse fittings

(e) 8 lacquer bows, 10 bronze and iron tools, 9 lacquer arrow boxes,

(f) 30 wooden cattle, 3 terracotta figurines, 82 figurines (some were unearthed with lacquer horses)

(g) no manuscripts

(h) Other: 1 miniature pottery house

Source: Shuangbaoshan 2006.

Tombs in the Central plain and other areas

II.12 Xin'an 新安, Shaanxi province

Condition: looted

Date: Western Han

Tomb occupant: a Marquis

Identity items: 1 clay impression of “*Licheng jiacheng* 利成家丞 The assistant of family of Licheng”

Size and structure: 152.5m² (dependent pit), 83.3m² (vertical pit), 9.9X7.2/71.3 m² (outer chamber), 1 ramp (30.5 meters long), 9 compartments

Content: 300+ objects

(a) 1 clay impression with “*Licheng jiacheng* 利成家丞”

(b) Vessel set:

Dining set: decayed lacquer plates, box and ear-cups; 6 pottery *ding* tripods with decoration, 4 *hu*, 3 glazed potteries, 3 jars (one inscribed with “Dong Yuan 東園 /imperial official in charge of funeral goods).”, 4 *fang*, 4 *fou*

Cooking set: 1 *fu*-cauldron, 2 *zeng*-steamers

(c) 2 sets, 10 pottery bells

(d) 110 horse fittings and accessories, 24 terracotta horses, carriages driven by cattle

(e) 40 iron weapons and tools

(f) 24 human figurines, 15 terracotta figurines including 8 naked; 8 terracotta cattle, 15 sheep, 2 pigs, 1 chicken, 2 birds

(g) none

Source: Xin'an 1990: 31-56.

II.13 Xiao gui shan 小龜山 Han tomb, Xuzhou, Jiangsu province

Condition: looted

Date: 118-69 B.C.

Tomb occupant: 丙長翁主 Princess Bing Zhang (from the report)?

Size and structure: 7.48 m² (vertical tunnel), a catacomb tomb in rock-cut pit, a lacquer coffin

Content:

(a) 1 gold belt hook, 4 bronze belt hooks, 2 gold discs, 8 jade discs, 5 rings, 3 jade belt hooks, 2 pendants, 9 jade accessories, 4 bronze mirrors

(b) Vessel sets

Dining set: 4 bronze *ding* tripods (one inscribed with “*Yu shiguan rong liu sheng* 饗食官容六升 the capacity of *liu sheng*, imperial official in charge of catering...”, “*Wen hou jiaguan* 文後家官 The official of the family of the queen of Wen”, “the official in charge of catering 食官”), 5 *hu* (2 pottery, 3 bronze, one inscribed with “*Bingzhang wengzhu hu* 丙長翁主壺 the flask of Princess Bing Zhang...”), 4 pottery *fang*, 8 jars, 1 ladle; 1 lacquer *lian* box, inlaid with silver pattern

Washing set: 1 inscribed bronze *pen*-basin, 1 *xi*-basin

Other everyday use: 2 lamps, 1 gilt incense burner, 1 *jiu* 臼, 1 inscribed measure 量

(c) no musical instrument

(d) no chariot and horse

(e) 2 iron swords, 16 iron tools

Source: Xiaoguishan 1973: 21-28.

II.14 Bojishan 簸箕山 Han tomb, Xuzhou, Jiangsu province

Condition: looted

Date: 154 B.C.

Tomb occupant: 劉執 Liu Yi, Marquis Wanqu

Identity items: 1 gold seal with “Yi, the Marquis of Wanqu 宛胸侯執”

Size and structure: 8.4 m²(vertical pit), a catacomb tomb in a rock-cut pit, 1 outer chamber, 1 inner coffin (decayed), on the ground level two dome space, a dependent pit of terracotta figurines (7.7 m²)

Content: 100+ objects

(a) 1 gold seal, a set of gold belt, 1 silver brush, 2 silver ornaments, 4 jades, 3 mirrors

(b) Vessel sets:

Dining set: 9 pottery *ding* tripods, 4 *fang* flasks, 19 jars, 9 round boxes, 4 *hu* flasks, 1 *jiaohu*, 1 big jar, bronze mounts for lacquer decoration;

Washing set: 2 pottery *pen*-basins

Other everyday use: 1 incense burner, 1 bronze lamp

(c) a set of pottery musical instruments comprising 9 *qing*-chime stones

(d) no chariot and horse

(e) 1 crossbow, 3 bronze weapons; 4 iron weapons

(f) 25 terracotta human figurines in dependent pit

Source: Xuzhou 1997.2: 4-25.

Group III: medium-size wooden chamber tombs

III.01 Fenghuangshan tomb 168, Jiangling, Hubei province

Condition: intact

Date: after 167 B.C.

Tomb occupant: Zhang Sui 張遂

Identity items: 1 jade seal of 遂 Sui, a bamboo tablet with texts “the *wu dafu* of Shiyang Sui...市陽五（大）夫遂...”, 1 writing brush, a set of balance and counterweights

Size and structure: 20.52 m² (vertical pit), 14.6 m² (outer chamber), 1 ramp (3.5 meters long); 1 outer chamber with 2 side compartments, 2 lacquer coffins

Content: 563 objects

(a) 1 jade seal, clothing, 2 pairs of shoes, 1 jade disc, 11 textiles, 2 lacquer hats, 1 bronze belt hook, 1 mirror

(b) Vessel sets

Dining set: 1 stand, 1 lacquer tray, 3 oval flasks, 8 *hu* (4 lacquer, 4 pottery), 1 ear-cup container, 1 *zun*-container, 3 *lian* boxes, 3 oval boxes, 6 lacquer round boxes, 10 *yu*-vessels (8 lacquer, 2 pottery), 26 round plates, 2 spoons, 2 *zhi*-cups, 200 ear-cups, 1 chopsticks box, 5 pottery jars, 1 pottery plate

Food storage: 5 bamboo caskets containing food, 8 tube-shape bamboo boxes contained food, 1 pottery granary 倉, bamboo caskets with food stuff

Washing set: 1 bronze *xuan*-basin, 1 lacquer *yi*-pourer, 1 pottery *pen*-basin

Other everyday use: 1 tiger head pillow, writing brush, balance

(c) 3 musical instruments

(d) 2 carriage models driven by horses, 1 carriage model driven by cattle, 10 horse models

(e) no weapon

(f) 46 wooden figurines

(g) bamboo slips: 1 bamboo tablet, 66 bamboo slips (funerary inventory)

Source: Fenghuangshan 1993: 455-514.

III.02 Fenghuangshan tomb 167, Jiangling, Hubei province

Condition: intact

Date: 179-141 B.C.

Tomb occupant: an elderly woman

Identity items: writing brush

Size and structure: 4.52x2.76/12.5m² (outer chamber), 1 outer chamber with 2 side compartments, 1 coffin

Content:

(a) 35 textiles including 3 pairs of silk shoes, 1 pair of hemp cloth shoes, 6 silk bags containing grain, a writing brush

(b) Vessel sets

Dining set: 2 *hu*-vessels, 1 oval flask, 2 *lian*-boxes, 2 oval boxes, 14 plates (13 lacquer, 1 pottery), 2 small boxes, 4 *yu*-vessels, 3 lacquer round boxes, 32 lacquer ear-cups, 2 *zhi*-cups, 4 pottery jars

Cooking set: 1 pottery stove, 1 granary 倉, 1 pottery cauldron, 1 pottery *zeng*

Washing set: 1 lacquer *yi*-pourer, 1 pottery *pen*-basin

Storage: 4 bamboo caskets with food stuff

(c) no musical instrument

(d) 1 lacquer carriage and 2 horse models, 1 umbrella, 1 driving figurine

(e) no weapon

(f) 24 human figurines

(g) 74 bamboo slips, funerary inventory

Source: Fenghuangshan 1976: 31-37.

III.03 Fenghuangshan tomb 8, Jiangling

Condition: intact

Date: early Western Han

Tomb occupant: a female

Identity items: none

Size and structure:

4.4x2.6/11.4 m² (vertical pit), 4.31x2.6/11.2 m² (outer chamber), 1 outer chamber, 1 coffin

Content:

(a) 1 mirror

(b) Vessel sets

Dining set: 1 lacquer tray, 2 round boxes, 3 oval boxes, 4 *lian*-boxes, 1 oval flask, 11 *hu* (4 lacquer 7 pottery), 6 lacquer *yu*-vessels, 6 pottery jars, 2 ladles, 84 lacquer ear-cups, 2 *zhi*-cups, 2 pottery *dou*-cups, 15 plates, 2 spoons

Cooking: 1 pottery granary, 1 stove, 2 pottery cauldrons, 2 *zeng*

Storage: 4 bamboo caskets with food stuff

Other everyday use: 1 *liubo* gaming board

(c) none

(d) 2 carriages, 4 horse models

(e) 4 lacquer shields

(f) 47 wooden figurines, 2 boat models, 2 dog models, 1 cattle model

(g) 175 bamboo slips

Source: Fenghuangshan: 41-61.

III.04 Fenghuangshan tomb 9, Jiangling

Condition: intact

Date: 163 B.C.

Tomb occupant: a man associated with the lower ranking official in An Lu

Identity items: three fragmentary wooden tablets for parts of a carriage, the tablets inscribed with “*Anlu shouchen Wan* 安陸守丞綰”

Size and structure: 4.92x2.62/12.9 m² (vertical pit), 4.1x2.38/9.6 m² (outer chamber), 1 outer chamber with 2 side compartments, 1 coffin

Content: 200+ objects

(a) 1 bronze belt hook

(b) Vessel sets

Dining set: 1 tray, 4 *hu* (2 lacquer, 2 pottery), 5 *lian* boxes, 1 oval box, 2 round boxes, 4 *yu*-vessels, 1 *zhi*-cup, 2 pottery jars, 16 plate (15 lacquer 1 pottery), 1 ladle, 70 ear-cups, 6 bamboo chopsticks

Cooking set: 1 granary, 1 stove, 2 pottery cauldrons, 1 *zeng*

Storage: 1 bamboo casket

Other everyday use: 1 pottery incense burner

(c) no musical instrument

(d) 1 wooden carriage, 2 horses

(e) no weapon

(f) 19 wooden figurines

(g) 80 bamboo slips (funerary inventory)

Source: Fenghuangshan 1974: 41-61.

III.05 Fenghuangshan tomb 10, Jiangling

Condition: intact

Date: 153 B.C.

Tomb occupant: Zhang Yan

Identity items: 1 wooden seal with “Zhang Bo 張伯” and “Zhang Yan 張偃”, a wooden tablet with texts “...Zhang Yan, the *wu da fu* of Ping village 平里五大夫張偃...”

Size and structure: 3x1.48/4.4 m² (vertical pit), 2.9x1.38/4 m² (outer chamber), 1 outer chamber, 1 coffin

Content: 22+ objects

(a) 1 wooden seal

(b) Vessel sets

Dining set: 1 lacquer tray, 1 big oval flask, 2 *lian*-boxes, 1 oval box, 4 pottery *hu*, 1 round box, 2 *yu*-vessels, 7 plates (6 lacquer, 1 pottery), 2 pottery jars,

Cooking: 1 granary, 1 stove, 1 pottery cauldrons, 1 *zeng*

(c) no musical instrument

(d) no chariot and horse models

(e) no weapon

(f) 3 human figurines

(g) 170 bamboo strips (contracts for trading horses, tax records)

Source: Fenghuangshan 1974: 41-61.

III.06 Xiejiaqiao tomb 1, Jingzhou, Hubei

Condition: well preserved

Date: 184 B.C.

Tomb occupant:

Size and structure: 5.16x3.2/16.5 m² (vertical pit), 4.64x3.08/14.3 m² (outer chamber), 1 ramp (broken, 7.5 meters), 1 outer chamber with 4 side compartments, 1 coffin

Content: 489 objects

(a) 1 mirror, textiles, 33 small silk bags

(b) Vessel sets

Dining set: 4 bronze tripods, 2 *fang*, 1 *jiaohu*, 2 garlic-head flasks, 9 pottery jars, 1 pottery *yu*-vessel, 2 plates, 1 ladle, 3 lacquer *zun*-containers, 20 lacquer plates, 84 lacquer ear-cups,

Cooking set: 1 pottery *zeng*, 1 bronze *yan*, 2 pottery cauldrons

Storage: 1 granary, 1 stove

Washing set: 1 *xuan*-basin

Other everyday use set: 2 cosmetic boxes

(c) 1 lacquer *se*-zither

(d) Carriage and horse models

(e) no weapon

(f) 38 human figurines

(g) 208 bamboo strips

Source: Xiejiaqiao 2009: 26-43.

III.07 Gaotai tomb 2, Jingzhou, Hubei

Condition: intact

Date: early Western Han

Tomb occupant: unknown

Size and structure: 17.3 m² (vertical pit), 11.9 m² (outer chamber), 1 outer chamber with 3 side compartments, 2 coffins

Content: 231 objects

(a) 1 stick

(b) Vessel sets

Dining set: 1 tray, 1 stand, 1 oval flask, 1 bronze *jiaohu*, 2 *hu*, 8 pottery jars, 5 round boxes, 3 *lian*-boxes, 2 oval *lian*-boxes, 2 *zun*-containers, 5 *yu*-vessels, 34 plates, 1 *zhi*-cup, 93 ear-cups, 2 ladles, 1 bronze spoon

Cooking set: 1 pottery *fu*-cauldron, 1 bronze *mou*-cauldron

Storage: 1 pottery granary

Washing: 1 bronze *pen*-basin

Other: 1 *liubo* gaming board, 1 pillow

(c) 1 wooden *se*-zither

- (d) 4 fragments of carriage, 12 horse models
- (e) no weapons
- (f) 28 human figurines
- (g) no manuscripts

Source: Gaotai 2000.

III.08 Gaotai tomb 5, Jingzhou, Hubei

Condition: intact

Date: early Western Han

Tomb occupant: unknown

Identity items: none

Size and structure: 21.14 m² (vertical pit), 15.8 m² (outer chamber), 1 outer chamber with 4 side compartments, 2 coffins

Content: 24 objects

- (a) No personal adornment
- (b) Vessel sets

Dining set: 2 bronze tripods, 2 bronze *fang*, 2 decorated pottery jars, 2 bronze garlic-head flasks, 1 bronze *jiaohu*, 1 lacquer *zun*-container, 1 lacquer oval flask, 1 bronze ladle

Cooking: 2 *yan* (1 bronze, 1 pottery), 1 pottery granary, 1 stove

Washing: 1 bronze *yi-pourer*, 1 bronze *pen*-basin

- (c) no musical instrument
- (d) no chariot and horse models
- (e) no figurine

Source: Gaotai 2000.

III.09 Gaotai tomb 28, Jingzhou

Condition: intact

Date: early Western Han

Tomb occupant: unknown

Size and structure: 24.7 m² (vertical pit), 11.8 m² (outer chamber), 1 outer chamber with 1 side compartment, 2 separate coffins for a couple, second burial

Content: 255 objects

- (a) 2 mirrors
- (b) Vessel sets:

Dining set: 5 trays (2 lacquer, 3 wood), 1 wood stand, 3 pottery jars, 6 *zun*-containers, 7 *yu*-vessels, 12 multi-shape boxes, 53 plates, 117 ear-cups, 6 *zhi*-cups, 2 spoons

- (c) 1 *se*-zither

(d) 2 horse models, fragments of carriage

(e) no weapon

(f) 25 wooden figurines

Source: Gaotai 2000.

III.10 Gaotai tomb 6, Jingzhou

Condition: intact

Date: early Western Han

Tomb occupant: unknown

Size and structure: 12.5m² (vertical pit), 9.9 m² (outer chamber)

1 outer chamber, 1 coffin

Content: 107 lacquers, 15 potteries

(a) 1 mirror

(b) Vessel sets

Dining set: 1 tray, 2 *hu* (1 lacquer 1 pottery), 1 oval flask, 2 pottery cocoon flaks, 5 *yu*-vessels (3 lacquer, 2 pottery), 4 *zun*-containers, 4 *lian*-boxes, 2 oval *lian*-boxes, 5 pottery jars, 4 round boxes, 16 plates, 48 ear-cups

Cooking set: 2 pottery cauldrons, 1 stove

(c) small bells

(d) 3 horses, fragments for carriage

(e) none

(f) 2 wooden human figurines

Source: Gaotai 2000.

III.11 Gaotai tomb 33, Jingzhou

Condition: intact

Date: early Western Han

Tomb occupant: unknown

Size and structure: 17.3 m² (vertical pit), 12.2 m² (outer chamber), one outer chamber with 3 side compartments, 1 coffin

Content: 83 objects: 65 lacquers, 14 potteries, 2 bronzes

(a) 2 jade discs, 1 mirror

(b) Vessel sets

Dining set: 1 *hu*, 1 *yu*-vessel, 1 ear-cup container, 9 pottery jars, 4 round boxes, 1 *lian*-box, 2 cosmetic boxes, 2 oval *lian*-boxes, 5 plates, 17 ear-cups

Cooking set: 1 pottery granary, 1 pottery stove

Washing set: 1 bronze *xuan*-basin

Other everyday use: 1 *liubo* gaming board

(c) no musical instrument

- (d) 5 horse models
 - (e) no weapon
 - (f) 23 human figurines
- Source: Gaotai 2000.

III.12 Gaotai tomb 4, Jingzhou

Condition: well preserved

Date: early Western Han

Tomb occupant: unknown

Size and structure: 18.6 m² (vertical pit), 9.54 m² (outer chamber), 1 outer chamber and 1 coffin

Content: 21 objects

(a) 1 mirror

(b) Vessel sets

Dining set: 1 wood stand, 1 lacquer tray, 2 bronze tripods, 2 bronze *hu*, 1 bronze *le i* 罍, 1 bronze *huo* 鑊, 1 bronze *jiaohu*, 1 round box, 2 *lian*-boxes, 1 *yu*-vessel, 2 *zhi*-cups, 1 pottery *dou*-cup

Cooking set: 1 bronze *zeng*

Washing set: 1 bronze *jian*-basin, 1 bronze *pen*-basin

(c-g) none

Source: Gaotai 2000.

III.13 Gaotai tomb 1, Jingzhou

Condition: well preserved

Date: early Western Han

Tomb occupant:

Size and structure: 9.7 m² (vertical pit), 2.87 (outer chamber) 1 outer chamber decayed, 1 coffin

Content: 38 objects

(a) 4 jade discs, 1 bronze seal, 1 belt hook, 1 mirror

(b) Vessel sets

Dining set: 6 pottery tripods, 1 bronze *fang*, 3 pottery *hu*, 1 lacquer oval flask, 1 jar, 3 pottery round boxes, 3 pottery cups, 5 *dou*-cups, 1 pottery spoon

Washing set: 1 bronze *pen*-basin

(c-g) no musical instrument, weapon, manuscripts and chariot and horse models

Source: Gaotai 2000.

III.14 Gaotai tomb 18, Jingzhou

Condition: well preserved

Date: 173 B.C.

Tomb occupant: Yan 燕, the widow of *guan nei hou* 關內侯

Identity items: an inscribed wooden tablet

Size and structure: 6.18 m² (vertical pit), 2.87 m² (outer chamber), 1 outer chamber, 1

coffin

Content: 38 objects

(a) none

(b) Vessel sets

Dining set: 1 lacquer oval flask, 2 pottery tripods, 2 pottery *hu*, 2 pottery round boxes, 1 lacquer *lian*-box, 2 pottery *dou*-cups, 2 pottery ladles, 2 pottery spoons, 2 pottery cups, 4 lacquer plates, 8 lacquer ear-cups, 2 pottery jars

Washing: 1 pottery *yi*-pourer

(c) no musical instrument

(d) no chariot and horse models

(e) no weapon

(f) 2 human figurines

(g) 4 wooden tablets

Source: Gaotai 2000.

III.15 Gaotai tomb 11, Jingzhou

Condition: well preserved

Date: early Western Han

Tomb occupant: unknown

Identity items: none

Size and structure: 10 m² (vertical pit), 5.6 m² (outer chamber), 1 outer chamber, 1 coffin

Content: 34 objects, 19 lacquers, 8 bronzes, 7 potteries

(a) 1 mirror

(b) Vessel sets

Dining set: 2 bronze tripods, 2 bronze *fang*, 1 *yu*-vessel, 5 pottery jars, 7 lacquer plates, 5 ear-cups, 1 bronze ladle

Cooking: 1 bronze *yan*, 2 *zeng* (1 bronze, 1 pottery), 1 pottery cauldron

(c) no musical instrument

(d) no chariot and horse models

(e) no weapon

(f) 2 human figurines

(g) 4 wooden tablets

Source: Gaotai 2000.

III.16 Maojiayuan 毛家園 tomb 1/MJY M1, Jingzhou

Condition: well preserved

Date: 168 B.C.

Tomb occupant: Jing 精, the widow of *the guannei hou*

Identity items:

Size and structure: 14.2 m² (outer chamber), 1 outer chamber with 2 side compartments, 1 coffin

Content: 230 objects

(a) no personal adornment

(b) Vessel sets

Dining set: lacquer plates, *lian*-box, *zhi*-cups, *yu*-vessel, flasks, round boxes, ear-cups, pottery jars

(c) no musical instrument

(d) Horse and carriage, no information

(e) no chariot and horse model

(f) no weapon

(g) 74 bamboo strips, 1 wooden tablet

Source: Maojiayuan 1987. pp. 204.

III.17 Jiangsha Wafenyuan 瓦墳園 tomb 4/WFY M4, Hubei

Condition: well preserved

Date: 73 B.C.- A.D. 9

Tomb occupant: unknown

Identity items: a wood plank in the coffin chamber inscribed with “Wang [missing characters] shi Ying jun [missing characters] official 王□□市鄧君□官”

Size and structure: 6.15x4.41/27 m² (vertical pit), 5.46x3.97/21.7 m² (outer chamber), 3 side compartments, 1 coffin chamber, 2 individual coffins

Content: 34+ objects

(a) no personal adornment

(b) Vessel sets

Dining set: 1 bronze *ding*-tripod, 2 *hu*-flasks (1 bronze, 1 pottery), 1 *fang*-flask, 1 *mou*-cauldron, 2 *fu*-cauldrons (1 bronze, 1 pottery), 1 bronze jar, 1 盃 *he* -flask, 1 lacquer tray, 1 wood stand, 8 ear-cups (7 lacquer, 1 bronze), 2 *yu*-vessels (1 bronze, 1 lacquer), 3 pottery jars

Cooking set: 1 bronze *yan*-cooker, 1 *zeng*-steamer, 1 pottery stove,

Washing set: 1 bronze *xi*-basin

Other: 1 bronze incense burner, 1 bronze lamp

(c) no musical instrument

(d) wooden carriage and horse model

(e) 1 iron sword, 1 bronze *xue*-knife; instruments: 1 iron *lian*-axe, 1 iron *fu*-axe

(f) no manuscript

Source: Wafenyuan 1995: 985-998.

III.18 Zhangjiashan tomb 249/ZJS M249, Jiangling, Hubei

Condition: well preserved

Date: early Western Han

Tomb occupant: a lower ranking official

Identity items: none

Size and structure: 6.1 m² (outer chamber), 1 outer chamber with 2 side compartments, 1 coffin

Content: 91 objects

(a) none

(b) Vessel sets:

Dining set: 3 bronze tripods, 2 oval flasks (1 bronze, 1 lacquer), garlic-head flask, 1 tiger-shaped vessel, 1 *jiaohu*, 1 plate, 23 small decorated pottery *hu*, 4 jars, 7 *yu*-vessels (2 bronze, 2 pottery, 3 lacquer), 24 lacquer ear-cups, 6 lacquer plates, 1 lacquer round box, 1 *lian*-box, 2 *zun*-containers, 2 bronze ladles, 1 bronze spoon

Cooking set: 1 bronze cauldron, 1 *lei*-vessel, 1 pottery *zeng*

Washing set: 1 bronze *xi*-basin

(c) no musical instrument

(d) 2 wooden horses, 1 wooden wheel, 1 carriage model

(e) no weapon

(f) 3 wooden figurines

(g) bamboo strips

Source: Zhangjiashan 1985: 1-25.

III.19 Zhangjiashan tomb 247, Jiangling, Hubei

Condition: well preserved

Date: 187-164 B.C.

Tomb occupant: a lower ranking official

Identity items: none

Size and structure: 5.5 m² (vertical pit), 4.6 m² (outer chamber), 1 outer chamber with 2 side compartments, 1 coffin

Content: 45+ objects

(a) 1 wooden bird-head stick

(b) Vessel sets

Dining set: 1 bronze garlic-head flask, 15 lacquer boxes, 2 ear-cups, 2 *lian*-boxes, 1 pottery *yu*-vessel, 2 oval boxes, 4 lacquer plates, 1 lacquer spoon, 1 bronze ladle

Cooking: 1 bronze cauldron, 3 pottery jars

(c) no musical instrument

(d) 1 wooden horse, 1 carriage wheel, 1 carriage model

(e) 1 wooden *mao*-spear, 1 wooden sword

(f) 7 wooden figurines

(g) bamboo slips: legal documents, medical texts, calendars, mathematic texts, funerary inventory

Source: Zhangjiashan 1985: 1-25.

III.20 Songbaicun tomb 1, Jingzhou, Hubei

Condition: well preserved

Date: early Western Han

Tomb occupant: male, Zhou Yan 周偃, “the *youzhi* bailiff of the West village, Jiangling 江陵西鄉有秩嗇夫”

Identity items: inscribed wooden tablet

Size and structure: 8.9 m² (vertical pit), 7.61 m² (outer chamber) with 2 side compartments, 1 coffin

Content: none

(a) no personal adornment

(b) Vessel sets

Dining set: 1 lacquer tray, 1 pottery tripod, 1 pottery *fang*, 3 ear-cups, 1 *zhi*-cup, 1 round plate

Storage: 5 pottery jars

Cooking set: 1 cauldron, 1 *zeng*, 1 granary, 1 stove

(c) no musical instrument

(d) no chariot and horse model

(e) 1 bronze crossbow

(g) 63 wooden tablets, 10 wooden slips: funerary inventory, household registration book

Source: Songbai 2008: 24-33.

III.21 Guanju 關沮 tomb 26, Hubei

Condition: well preserved

Date: early Western Han

Tomb occupant: male, age 40-45

Identity items: none

Size and structure: 4x2.1/8.2 m² (vertical pit), 3.38x1.64/5.5m² (outer chamber), 2 side compartments, connected with doors and windows, 1 coffin chamber, 1 *guan* 1 *guo*

Content: 107 objects (45 lacquers)

(a) A pair of shoes made of hemp cloth

(b) Vessel sets

Dining set: 2 lacquer round boxes, 2 *yu*-vessels, 2 spoons, 2 plates, 32 ear-cups, 2 *zhi*-cups, 1 *lian*-circular box, 2 oval boxes, 1 chopsticks box, most lacquers were inscribed with texts such as “*Shifu su* 市府素”, “*Zhong xiang* 中鄉”, “[missing character] *bao* □包”; 2 bronze tripods, 1 *fang*-flask, 1 bronze garlic-head flask, 1 bronze spoon, 1 bronze plate, 1 *yu*-vessel, 2 *hu*, 1 pottery plate

Cooking: 1 pottery *yan*, 4 pottery jars

(c) no musical instrument

(d) 1 horse model, 1 carriage

(e) no weapon

(f) 12 human figurines

(g) 35 bamboo strips: funerary inventory

Source: Guanju 1999: 33-47.

III.22 Shuihudi tomb 77, Yunmeng, Hubei

Condition: well preserved

Date: 157 B.C.

Tomb occupant: a lower ranking official

Identity items: 1 writing brush, 1 ink slab

Size and structure: 4.15 m² (vertical pit), 3.3 m² (outer chamber), 1 outer chamber with 2 side compartments, 1 coffin

Content:

(a) Decayed textiles, 2 wooden combs, 1 bronze mirror

(b) Vessel sets: 37 objects

Dining set: 2 decorated pottery tripods, 2 decorated pottery *fang*, 2 decorated round boxes, 3 lacquer round plates, 7 ear-cups, 2 *zhi*-cups, 2 *lian*-boxes, 1 oval *lian*-box, 2 fragmentary objects

Cooking: 1 pottery cauldron, 1 pottery *zeng*, 1 lead cauldron

(c-f) no musical instrument, no carriage horse model, no weapon

(g) 2,137 bamboo slips: calendars, literary works, legal codes; 128 tablets

Source: Shuihudi 2008: 31-45.

III.23 Dafentou tomb 1/DFT M1, Yunmeng, Hubei

Condition: well preserved

Date: early Western Han

Tomb occupant: unknown

Identity items: 1 jade seal with “?”

Size and structure: 3.5x1.82/6.4 m² (outer chamber), 2 side chambers, 1 coffin chamber, 1 *guan*, 1 *guo*

Content: 150+ objects

(a) none

(b) Vessel sets

Dining set: 2 bronze tripods, 2 bronze *fang*-flasks, 1 garlic-flask, 1 oval garlic head flask, 62 lacquer ear-cups, 2 plates, 1 ear-cup box, 2 round boxes, 1 *yu*-vessel, 1 *lian*-circular box, 1 oval box, 2 pottery jars

Cooking: 1 *yan*, 1 *mou*-cauldron

Everyday use: 1 *liubo* plate

(c) no musical instrument

(d) 8 horse models

(e) 1 bronze sword

(f) 10 wooden human figurines

(g) funerary inventory, household register, funerary inventory

Source: Dafentou 1973: 23-37.

III.24 Leigutai tomb1/LGT M1, Xiangyang, Hubei

Condition: well preserved

Date: early Western Han

Tomb occupant: unknown

Identity items: none

Size and structure: 4.07x2.66/10.8 m² (outer chamber), 2 side compartments, 2 *guan*, 1 *guo*

Content: 150+ objects (37 lacquers)

(a) 1 bronze mirror, textile remains in the coffin

(b) Vessel sets

Dining set: 10 plates, 22 ear-cups, 2 *yu*-vessels, 3 *lian*-circular boxes, 1 *lian* lid, 2 lacquered pottery tripods, 3 lacquered pottery boxes, 2 painted pottery *hu*, 2 small pottery *hu*, 1 pottery stove, 2 *fu*-cauldrons, 1 *zeng*-steamer

(c) no musical instrument

(d) 1 bronze sword

(e) 10 horse models

(f) 90 wooden human figurines

Source: Leigutai 1982: 147-154.

III. 25 Kongjiapo 孔家坡 tomb 8, Suizhou, Hubei

Condition: well preserved

Date: 142 B.C.

Tomb occupant: male, a local official

Identity items: none

Size and structure: 2.92x1.66/4.8 m² (outer chamber), 1 side chamber, 1 head chamber, 1 coffin chamber, 1 *guan* 1 *guo*

Content: 59 objects

(a) 1 bronze belt hook, 1 wooden disc

(b) Vessel sets

Dining set: 2 pottery tripods, 2 pottery boxes, 2 pottery *fang*-flasks, 2 pottery jars, 1 lacquer oval flask, 1 lacquer *lian*, 1 oval box, 1 *zhi*-cup, 13 ear-cups, 4 plates, 1 bronze *yu*-vessel, 2 wooden ladles

Cooking: 1 pottery stove, 1 iron *fu*-cauldron

Washing: 1 bronze *xuan*-basin

(c) no musical instrument

(d) 1 lacquer sword, 1 wooden spear

(e) 4 horse models, 1 carriage with an umbrella

(f) 6 wooden human figurines

(g) 703 bamboo slips 日書, 78 strips, calendar 曆譜, 4 wooden tablets

Source: Kongjiapo 2001: 22-35.

Appendix 3-2 Table 3-01 The examples of identity items in tombs group I-III

Tomb	location	date	Tomb occupant	Identity item		
				seals	clay impression of seal	inscribed objects
I.01	Changsha, Hunan	179-157 B.C.	The Changsha queen		clay impression of “Changsha Hou fu 長沙後府 The house of Changsha queen”	
I.02	Changsha, Hunan	201-157 B.C.	Cao Xun, the consort of Changsha King	3 private seals, 2 with “Cao Xun 曹巽”, 1 with “qie Xun 妾巽”	clay impression with “Changsha weichen 長沙尉臣 Changsha minister of coachman”	
I.04	Changsha, Hunan	49-48 B.C.	the consort of Changsha King			Changsha Wanghou jia bei 長沙王后家杯
I.05	Changsha, Hunan	118 B.C.	the consort of Changsha King			1 bronze accessory inscribed with “Zhongfu 中府 (the central household)”
I.06	Lu’an, Anhui	85 B.C.	Liu Qing 劉慶, the King of Lu’an		clay impression of “Lu’an Yingchen 六安飭丞 (The assistant of Lu’an in charge of catering)”	bronze spherical flask with “Gong fu di ba 共府第八 No.8 of Gong household”
II.01	Changsha, Hunan	168 B.C.	Lady Dai, the wife of Marquis Dai	1 bronze seal inscribed with “qie Xin Zhui 妾辛追”	12 clay impressions of seal inscribed with “Daihou jiacheng 軟侯家丞 (assistant of the Marquis Dai family)”	lacquer vessels inscribed with “the Marquis Dai family 軟侯家”

Tomb	location	date	Tomb occupant	Identity item		
				seals	clay impression of seal	inscribed objects
II.02	Changsha, Hunan	186 B.C.	Marquis Dai,	1 bronze seal of “ <i>Changsha Chengxiang</i> 長沙丞相 (The chancellor of principality of the Changsha kingdom)”, 1 bronze seal of “ <i>Daihou zhi yin</i> 軟侯之印 (the seal of Marquis Dai)”, 1 jade seal of “Li Cang 利蒼”		
II.03	Changsha	168 B.C.	a family member of Marquis Dai		12 clay impressions of seal inscribed with “ <i>Daihou jiacheng</i> 軟侯家丞 (assistant of the Marquis Dai family)”	lacquer dining vessels inscribed with “The family of the Marquis Dai 軟侯家”
II.04	Yuanling, Hunan	162 B.C.	Marquis of Yuanling	1 jade seal of “Wu Yang 吳陽”		lacquer dishes inscribed with “ <i>Yuan bai yi shi wu</i> 沅百一十五 no.115 of (Marquis) Yuan (ling)”
II. 05	Yongzhou, Hunan	mid-Western Han	Marquis of Quanling	a bronze seal of Liu Qiang 劉彊	clay impression of “ <i>Chen Chang</i> 臣敞 (your servant Chang)”	
II.06	Yongzhou	no earlier than 2 B.C.	the consort of Marquis of Quanling			

Tomb	location	date	Tomb occupant	Identity item		
				seals	clay impression of seal	inscribed objects
II.07	Fuyang, Anhui	165 B.C.	Marquis of Ruyin		clay impression of “ <i>Ruyin jiacheng</i> 汝陰家丞 (assistant of the Marquis Ruyin family)”	lacquer vessels inscribed with “ <i>Ruyin hou bei</i> 汝陰侯杯 cup of Marquis Ruyin...”
II.08	Fuyang, Anhui	169 B.C.	the consort of Marquis of Ruyin		the same as II.07	
III.01	Jingzhou, Hubei	167 B.C.	Zhang Sui, the <i>wu dafu</i>	1 jade seal of 遂 Sui		the bamboo tablet with texts “the <i>wu dafu</i> of Shiyang Sui...市陽五(大)夫遂...”
III.05	Jingzhou, Hubei	153 B.C.	Zhang Yan, the <i>wu dafu</i>	1 wooden seal with “Zhang Bo 張伯” and “Zhang Yan 張偃”		the wooden tablet with texts “...Zhang Yan, the <i>wu da fu</i> of Ping village 平里五大夫張偃...”
III.06	Jingzhou, Hubei	184 B.C.	Hui, the mother of the <i>wu dafu</i>			the wooden tablet
III.14	Jingzhou, Hubei	173 B.C.	Yan,” the widow of the <i>guannei hou</i> ”			the wooden tablet
III.16	Jingzhou, Hubei	168 B.C.	Jing, “the widow of the <i>guannei hou</i> ”			the wooden tablet
III.20	Jingzhou, Hubei	early Western Han	Zhou Yan, the <i>youzhi</i> bailiff of the west village			the wooden tablet
III.25	Suizhou, Hubei	142 B.C.	Pi, the bailiff of warehouse			the wooden tablet

Appendix 3-2 Summary of archaeological records

Table 3-02 a Group I: Burial assemblages from selected large-scale Han burials

Location	Changsha, Hunan	Changsha, Hunan	Changsha, Hunan	Changsha, Hunan	Changsha, Hunan	Lu 'an, Anhui	Dabaotai M1 Beijing	Dabaotai M2 Beijing	Xuyi, Jiangsu	Xuzhou, Jiangsu
Tomb	I.01	I.02	I.03	I.04	I.05	I.06	I.07	I.08	I.09	I.10
Date	179-157 B.C.	201-157 B.C.	201-157 B.C.	49-48 B.C.	118 B.C.	85 B.C.	45 B.C.	After 45 B.C.	127 B.C.	154 B.C.
Burial type	Wooden chamber	Wooden chamber	Wooden chamber	Wooden chamber	Wooden chamber	Wooden chamber	Wooden chamber	Wooden chamber	Wooden Chamber	Rock-cut
Size of vertical pit (square meters)	113.2	110.2	272	280	73.7	204	-	199	915.2	851
Size of outer chamber(square meters)	42.18	44	114.3	189.8	unknown	63.7	421	-	unknown	-
Ramp (length/meters)	21.02	4 (broken)	18.75	11 (broken)	11 (broken)	-	-	-	1	-
Numbers of timbers for <i>ticou</i> wall	601	179	908	111	unknown	922	15,880	-	8,000	-
Chariot horse pit	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	1	-
Dependent pit	3	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	2	1
Dependent burial	-	-	-	-	-	3	-	-	11	-
Numbers of <i>guo</i>	2	2	2	1	unknown	2	2	1	4	1
Numbers of <i>guan</i>	2	3	3	2	unknown	2	3	-	2	1
Tomb occupant	the Changsha queen	Cao Xun	high ranking noble	the Changsha queen	high ranking noble	Liu Qing, the king of Lu'an	Liu Jian	the consort of Liu Jian	Liu Fei, the king of Jiangdu	Liu Wu, the king of Chu

Location	Changsha, Hunan	Changsha, Hunan	Changsha, Hunan	Changsha, Hunan	Changsha, Hunan	Lu'an, Anhui	Dabaotai M1 Beijing	Dabaotai M2 Beijing	Xuyi, Jiangsu	Xuzhou, Jiangsu
Tomb	I.01	I.02	I.03	I.04	I.05	I.06	I.07	I.08	I.09	I.10
Date	179-157 B.C.	201-157 B.C.	201-157 B.C.	49-48 B.C.	118 B.C.	85 B.C.	45 B.C.	After 45 B.C.	127 B.C.	154 B.C.
Gender	female	female	unknown	female	unknown	male	male	female	male	male
Condition	looted	looted	looted	looted	looted	looted	looted	looted	looted	looted
a. Personal adornment	61	25	3	61	2	31	89	31		220+
seal	1	2				1				207
jade suits	0			1		1	1	1		1
b. Vessel sets	3044	114	175	78	36	38	40	48		30+
<i>Dining set</i>										
tray			+			+	1	1	+	
<i>ding</i> (tripod)	9		25	2	9		1		+	+
<i>fang</i> (square flask)			34		2 lids	1	1	2	+	+
<i>hu</i> (spherical flask)			18	2	3	22	3	1	+	
<i>zhong</i> (flask)				3						
round box	1		18							
ladle			1	2					+	
flask		+				2			+	
jar	30		16	9			4			
<i>lian</i> (circular box)		+	+				1		+	
wine cup container	1								+	
rectangular box	1			2					+	
oval box				1					+	

Location	Changsha, Hunan	Changsha, Hunan	Changsha, Hunan	Changsha, Hunan	Changsha, Hunan	Lu'an, Anhui	Dabaotai M1 Beijing	Dabaotai M2 Beijing	Xuyi, Jiangsu	Xuzhou, Jiangsu
Tomb	I.01	I.02	I.03	I.04	I.05	I.06	I.07	I.08	I.09	I.10
Date	179-157 B.C.	201-157 B.C.	201-157 B.C.	49-48 B.C.	118 B.C.	85 B.C.	45 B.C.	After 45 B.C.	127 B.C.	154 B.C.
<i>yu</i> -vessel	125		9						+	
plate	180+	55		33		+	1	+	+	+
bowl				2					+	
spoon			25						20+	
ear-cup	2500	52	+	18		+	11	+	+	+
<i>dou</i> -cup			2	2						
cup			12						+	1
<i>zhi</i> -cup	170+		+		1	+			+	1
<i>Cooking set</i>										
<i>zeng</i> (steamer)				1						
<i>fu</i> (cauldron)										+
stove						1				
<i>Washing set</i>										
<i>pen</i> -basin	9			1			2	1	+	+
<i>xuan</i> -basin									+	1
<i>yi</i> -pourer	12									+
<i>Other everyday use</i>										
ink slab	1									
pillow						1				
<i>liubo</i> gaming board	2									

Location	Changsha, Hunan	Changsha, Hunan	Changsha, Hunan	Changsha, Hunan	Changsha, Hunan	Lu'an, Anhui	Dabaotai M1 Beijing	Dabaotai M2 Beijing	Xuyi, Jiangsu	Xuzhou, Jiangsu
Tomb	I.01	I.02	I.03	I.04	I.05	I.06	I.07	I.08	I.09	I.10
Date	179-157 B.C.	201-157 B.C.	201-157 B.C.	49-48 B.C.	118 B.C.	85 B.C.	45 B.C.	After 45 B.C.	127 B.C.	154 B.C.
lamp				4						
c. Musical instruments	7	29	18	0	2	-	-	0		-
<i>bianzhong</i> -bell		14	18							
<i>se</i> -zither	4	1							1	
<i>zhu</i>	3									
d. Chariots and horses			1	3		3		13	20	
e. Weapons	0	13	0	1		36	37	-		1
f. Human figurines	96	0	0	0		240	240			
g. Manuscripts	100	0	0	0						
Total	3,308	300	197	143		500	406	92	8,000	251

(+ approximate numbers, - no information)

Table 3-02b Group II 01-08: Vessel assemblages from selected large-scale Han burials

Location	Changsha, Hunan	Changsha, Hunan	Changsha, Hunan	Yuanling, Hunan	Yongzhou, Hunan	Yongzhou, Hunan	Fuyang, Anhui	Fuyang, Anhui
Tomb	II.01	II.02	II.03	II.04	II.05	II.06	II.07	II.08
Date	168 B.C.	186 B.C.	168 B.C.	162 B.C.	mid-Western Han	after 2B.C.	165 B.C.	169 B.C.
Burial type	wooden chamber	wooden chamber	wooden chamber	wooden chamber	wooden chamber	wooden chamber	wooden chamber	wooden chamber
Size of vertical pit (square meters)	51	unknown	29.2	68.4	42.6	94.76	unknown	unknown
Size of outer chamber (square meters)	14.2	unknown	23.4	27	unknown	57.3	23.6 m ²	17.6
Ramp (length/meters)	8	20	broken	37	broken	broken	23	
Numbers of <i>guo</i>	1	1	1	1		1	1	1
Numbers of <i>guan</i>	4	2	3	2		2		
Tomb occupant	Lady Dai 戴	Marquis Dai	a family member of Marquis Dai	Wu Yang 吳陽, Marquis Yuanling	Liu Qiang 劉 彊, Marquis Quanling	The wife of Liu Qiang	Marquis Ruyin	The wife of Marquis Ruyin
Gender	female	male	male	male	male	female	male	female
Condition	intact	looted	intact	looted	looted	looted	looted	looted
a. Personal adornment	105	11	26	3	12	33	10	5
seal	1	3		1	2			3
jade suits						a set of jade mask		

Location	Changsha, Hunan	Changsha, Hunan	Changsha, Hunan	Yuanling, Hunan	Yongzhou, Hunan	Yongzhou, Hunan	Fuyang, Anhui	Fuyang, Anhui
Tomb	II.01	II.02	II.03	II.04	II.05	II.06	II.07	II.08
Date	168 B.C.	186 B.C.	168 B.C.	162 B.C.	mid-Western Han	after 2B.C.	165 B.C.	169 B.C.
textiles	104		23					
b. Vessel sets	235	74	312	391	166	77	91	45
<i>Dining set</i>								
tray	2		3	2	+	1	+	+
<i>ding</i> (tripod)	13	7	6	7	6	1	1	6
<i>fang</i> (square flask)	6	4	3	0	6	1		
<i>hu</i> (spherical flask)	4		6	32	25	4	2	2
<i>zhong</i> (flask)	6	4	2	13		0	0	
Round box	10	0	10	20	10	0	0	7
ladle	5	4	3	5		0	3	0
<i>jiaohu</i> (flask)	1				3	0	0	0
jar	24			35	97	48	4	4
<i>lian</i> (circular box)	3	1	15	15			2	0
wine cup container	1		2					0
rectangular box							2	0
oval box								
<i>yu</i> -vessel	6		10	7				4
<i>zun</i> -container						2		
bowl						6		
spoon	2	3						
plate	32	10	68	56	+	1	11	3

Location	Changsha, Hunan	Changsha, Hunan	Changsha, Hunan	Yuanling, Hunan	Yongzhou, Hunan	Yongzhou, Hunan	Fuyang, Anhui	Fuyang, Anhui
Tomb	II.01	II.02	II.03	II.04	II.05	II.06	II.07	II.08
Date	168 B.C.	186 B.C.	168 B.C.	162 B.C.	mid-Western Han	after 2B.C.	165 B.C.	169 B.C.
bowl						6		
<i>zhi</i> -cup	7	6	29	7		2	1	2
ear-cup	90	14	148	103	+	4	48	16
<i>dou</i> -cup	2			7				
<i>Cooking set</i>								
<i>zeng</i> (steamer)	1				2			
<i>fu</i> (cauldron)	1					1		
<i>Washing set</i>								
<i>pen</i> -basin				14	2	2		
<i>yi</i> -pourer	2		2	2			4	
<i>Other everyday use</i>								
<i>liubo</i> gaming board			1					
<i>shi</i> -plate				2			3	
Incense burner	2	2	1		2	2		
lamp			1		1		1	
c. Musical instruments	3		30	12			36	
<i>qin</i>			1					
<i>se</i> -zither	1		4				1	
<i>zhu</i>			1					
<i>yu</i>	1		3					
<i>bianzhong</i>			10	12			9	

Location	Changsha, Hunan	Changsha, Hunan	Changsha, Hunan	Yuanling, Hunan	Yongzhou, Hunan	Yongzhou, Hunan	Fuyang, Anhui	Fuyang, Anhui
Tomb	II.01	II.02	II.03	II.04	II.05	II.06	II.07	II.08
Date	168 B.C.	186 B.C.	168 B.C.	162 B.C.	mid-Western Han	after 2B.C.	165 B.C.	169 B.C.
<i>qing</i> -bell			10				20	
<i>flute</i>			2					
<i>bo</i> -bell							5	
d. Chariots and horses			7					12
e. Weapons		17	12	24	6		47	1
f. Human figurines	162		106	56			3	-
g. Manuscripts	312		452	1336			+	+
Total	1000+	2721(2000 coins)	1684	1500	190	110	187	63

Table 3-02b Group II 09-14: Vessel assemblages from selected large-scale Han burials

Location	Chaohu, Anhui	Chaohu, Anhui	Mianyang, Sichuan	Xin An, Shanxi	Xuzhou, Jiangsu	Xuzhou, Jiangsu
Tomb	II.09	II.10	II.11	II.12	II.13	II.14
Date	118-74 B.C.	Early Western Han	69 B.C.	Western Han	118-69 B.C.	
Burial type	wooden chamber	wooden chamber	wooden chamber	wooden chamber	catacomb tomb	catacomb tomb
Size of vertical pit (square meters)	60.4	23.9	202.7	152.5	7.48	8.4
Size of outer chamber (square meters)	43.6	13.5	162	71.3	-	-
Ramp (length/meters)			5.26, broken			
Numbers of <i>guo</i>	2	1	1	1	-	1
Numbers of <i>guan</i>	2	2	-	1	1	1
Tomb occupant	LüKe 呂柯	Yin 胤	unknown	unknown	-	Liu Yi 劉執, Marquis Wan Qu
Gender	male	male	female	male	female	male
Condition	well preserved	well preserved	looted	well preserved	looted	looted
a. Personal adornment	30	40	21	1	38	12
seal	1	1		1		
jade suits			1			
textiles						

Location	Chaohu, Anhui	Chaohu, Anhui	Mianyang,Si chuan	Xin An, Shanxi	Xuzhou, Jiangsu	Xuzhou, Jiangsu
Tomb	II.09	II.10	II.11	II.12	II.13	II.14
Date	118-74 B.C.	Early Western Han	69 B.C.	Western Han	118-69 B.C.	
b. Vessel sets	441	85	345	33	30	51
<i>Dining set</i>						
tray	14		7	0		
<i>ding</i> (tripod)	9	4	4	6	4	9
<i>fang</i> (square flask)	5	2		4	4	4
<i>hu</i> (spherical flask)	8	10		4	5	0
<i>zhong</i> (flask)			8			
Round box	6	5	7			9
ladle	1	4			1	
<i>jiaohu</i> (flask)						1
jar	2	1	34	3	8	20
<i>lian</i> (circular box)	2	3	13		1	
wine cup container						
rectangular box		1	3			
<i>yu</i> -vessel			1			
<i>zun</i> -container	2					
bowl	17		10			
plate	46	4	207	+		
<i>zhi</i> -cup	6			-		
ear-cup	267	18	34	+		
<i>dou</i> -cup	4	3				

Location	Chaohu, Anhui	Chaohu, Anhui	Mianyang,Si chuan	Xin An, Shanxi	Xuzhou, Jiangsu	Xuzhou, Jiangsu
Tomb	II.09	II.10	II.11	II.12	II.13	II.14
Date	118-74 B.C.	Early Western Han	69 B.C.	Western Han	118-69 B.C.	
<i>Cooking set</i>						
<i>zeng</i> (steamer)			2			
<i>fu</i> (cauldron)	3		1			
stove	1		1			
<i>yan</i> 甗	2	1				
<i>Washing set</i>						
<i>pen</i> -basin	6		3			2
<i>xi</i> -basin	10	1				
<i>xuan</i> -basin	4					
<i>yi</i> -pourer		2				
<i>Other everyday use</i>						
<i>liubo</i> gaming board	1					
Incense burner	2					1
lamp	2					1
c. Musical instruments	1	10	14	10	-	9
<i>se</i> -zither	1					
<i>bianzhong</i> -bell		10	7	10		
<i>qing</i> -bell			7			9
d. Chariots and horses	89	-	122	134	-	-
e. Weapons	2490	-	27	40	18	8

Location	Chaohu, Anhui	Chaohu, Anhui	Mianyang,Si chuan	Xin An, Shanxi	Xuzhou, Jiangsu	Xuzhou, Jiangsu
Tomb	II.09	II.10	II.11	II.12	II.13	II.14
Date	118-74 B.C.	Early Western Han	69 B.C.	Western Han	118-69 B.C.	
f. Human figurines	144	10	115	67	-	25
g. Manuscripts	0	0	0	0	-	-
Total	3195	145	1007	285	86	105

(+ approximate numbers, - no information)

Table 3-02c Group III 01-08: Vessel assemblages from selected medium-size Han burials

Location	Jiangling, Hubei	Jiangling, Hubei	Jiangling, Hubei	Jiangling, Hubei	Jiangling, Hubei	Jingzhou, Hubei	Jingzhou, Hubei	Jiangzhou, Hubei
Tomb	FHSM168	FHSM167	FHSM8	FHSM9	FHSM10	Xiejiaqiao M1	Gaotai M2	Gaotai M5
No.	III.01	III.02	III.03	III.04	III.05	III.06	III.07	III.08
Date (BC)	167 B.C.	179-141B.C.	Early Western Han	163B.C.	153 B.C.	184 B.C.	Early Western Han	Early Western Han
Burial type	wooden chamber	wooden chamber	wooden chamber	wooden chamber	wooden chamber	wooden chamber	wooden chamber	wooden chamber
Size of vertical pit (square meters)	20.52	-	11.4	12.9	4.4	16.5	17.3	21.14
Size of outer chamber (square meters)	14.6	12.5	11.2	9.6	4	14.3	11.9	15.8
Numbers of <i>guo</i>	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Numbers of <i>guan</i>	2	1	1	1	1	1	2	2
Side compartment	2	2	2	2	2	4	3	4
Tomb occupant	Zhang Sui 張遂	-	-	-	Zhang Yan 張偃	恚 Hui	-	-
Rank	the <i>wu dafu</i>	-	-	-	The <i>wu dafu</i>			
Gender	male	female	female	male	male	female		
Condition	intact	intact	intact	intact	intact	intact	intact	intact

Location	Jiangling, Hubei	Jiangling, Hubei	Jiangling, Hubei	Jiangling, Hubei	Jiangling, Hubei	Jingzhou, Hubei	Jingzhou, Hubei	Jiangzhou, Hubei
Tomb	FHSM168	FHSM167	FHSM8	FHSM9	FHSM10	Xiejiaqiao M1	Gaotai M2	Gaotai M5
No.	III.01	III.02	III.03	III.04	III.05	III.06	III.07	III.08
Date (BC)	167 B.C.	179-141B.C.	Early Western Han	163B.C.	153 B.C.	184 B.C.	Early Western Han	Early Western Han
a. Personal adornment	19	45	1	1	41	34	1	
seal	1				1			
textiles	11	35			40	33		
b. Vessel sets	288	74	151	114	25	138	168	18
<i>Dining set</i>								
stand	1							
tray	1		1	1	1			
<i>ding</i> (tripod)						4		
<i>fang</i> (square flask)						2		
<i>hu</i> (spherical flask)	8	2	11	4	4			
<i>jiaohu</i> (flask)						1		
<i>garlic flask</i>						2		
<i>zhong</i> (flask)								
round box	6	3	2	2	1			
ladle			2	1	1			
oval flask	3	1	1					
jar	5	4	6	2	2	9		
<i>lian</i> (circular box)	3	2	4	5	2			
wine cup container	1							

Location	Jiangling, Hubei	Jiangling, Hubei	Jiangling, Hubei	Jiangling, Hubei	Jiangling, Hubei	Jingzhou, Hubei	Jingzhou, Hubei	Jiangzhou, Hubei
Tomb	FHSM168	FHSM167	FHSM8	FHSM9	FHSM10	Xiejiaqiao M1	Gaotai M2	Gaotai M5
No.	III.01	III.02	III.03	III.04	III.05	III.06	III.07	III.08
Date (BC)	167 B.C.	179-141B.C.	Early Western Han	163B.C.	153 B.C.	184 B.C.	Early Western Han	Early Western Han
rectangular box								
oval box		2	3	1	1			
small box		2						
<i>zun</i> -container	1							
<i>yu</i> -vessel	10	4	6	4	2			
plate	27	14	15	16	7			
dish								
bowl								
spoon	2		2					
ear-cup	200	32	84	70				
<i>dou</i> -cup			2					
cup								
<i>zhi</i> -cup	2	2	2					
Cooking set								
<i>zeng</i> (steamer)				1	1			
<i>fu</i> (cauldron)			2	2	1			
stove			1	1	1			
Food storage								
granary			1	1	1			

Location	Jiangling, Hubei	Jiangling, Hubei	Jiangling, Hubei	Jiangling, Hubei	Jiangling, Hubei	Jingzhou, Hubei	Jingzhou, Hubei	Jiangzhou, Hubei
Tomb	FHSM168	FHSM167	FHSM8	FHSM9	FHSM10	Xiejiaqiao M1	Gaotai M2	Gaotai M5
No.	III.01	III.02	III.03	III.04	III.05	III.06	III.07	III.08
Date (BC)	167 B.C.	179-141B.C.	Early Western Han	163B.C.	153 B.C.	184 B.C.	Early Western Han	Early Western Han
<i>Washing set</i>								
<i>pen</i> -basin	1							
<i>yi</i> -pouler	1						1	
<i>xuan</i> -basin	1						13	
Other everyday use								
Ink slab							28	
pillow	1							
<i>liubo</i> gaming board			1					
Incense burner				1				
lamp							211	24
c. Musical instruments	3					1	1	
d. Carriage and horses	13	3	6	3		2+	13	
carriage	3	1	2	1				
horse	10	2	4	2				
e. Weapons			4		6			
f. Human figurines	46	24	47	19	3	38	28	
g. Manuscripts	66	74	176	80	172	208		
Total	500	234	384	217	245	421	211	24

Table 3-02c Group III 09-16: Vessel assemblages from selected medium-size Han burials

Location	Jingzhou, Hubei	Jingzhou, Hubei	Jingzhou, Hubei	Jingzhou, Hubei	Jingzhou, Hubei	Jingzhou, Hubei	Jingzhou, Hubei	Jingzhou, Hubei
Tomb	Gaotai M28	Gaotai M6	Gaotai M33	Gaotai M4	Gaotai M1	Gaotai M18	Gaotai M11	MJYM1
No.	III.09	III.10	III.11	III.12	III.13	III.14	III.15	III.16
Date (B.C.)	Early Western Han	Early Western Han	Early Western Han	Early Western Han	Early Western Han	173 B.C.	Early Western Han	168B.C.
Burial type	wooden chamber	wooden chamber	wooden chamber	wooden chamber	wooden chamber	wooden chamber	wooden chamber	wooden chamber
Size of vertical pit (square meters)	24.7	12.5	17.3	18.6	9.7	6.18	10	-
Size of outer chamber (square meters)	11.8	9.9	12.2	9.54	2.87	2.87	5.6	14.2
Numbers of <i>guo</i>	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Numbers of <i>guan</i> side compartment	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
side compartment	1	0	3	-	0	-	-	2
Tomb occupant	unknown	unknown	unknown	unknown	unknown	unknown	Yan 燕, the wife of the <i>guan neihou</i>	Jing 精, the widow of the <i>guannei hou</i>
Rank	-	-						
Gender						female		female
Condition	intact	intact	intact	intact	intact	intact	intact	intact
Burial objects	255	122	83	21	38	21	34	230

Location	Jingzhou, Hubei	Jingzhou, Hubei	Jingzhou, Hubei	Jingzhou, Hubei	Jingzhou, Hubei	Jingzhou, Hubei	Jingzhou, Hubei	Jingzhou, Hubei
Tomb	Gaotai M28	Gaotai M6	Gaotai M33	Gaotai M4	Gaotai M1	Gaotai M18	Gaotai M11	MJYM1
No.	III.09	III.10	III.11	III.12	III.13	III.14	III.15	III.16
Date (B.C.)	Early Western Han	Early Western Han	Early Western Han	Early Western Han	Early Western Han	173 B.C.	Early Western Han	Early Western Han
a. Personal adornment	2	1	3	1	7			
seal	-							
b. Vessel sets	212	97	47	19	25	31		
<i>Dining set</i>								
stand	1			1				
tray	5	1		1				
<i>ding</i> (tripod)				2	6	2	2	
<i>fang</i> (square flask)					1		2	
<i>hu</i> (spherical flask)		2	1	2	3	2		
<i>zhong</i> (flask)								
round box		4	4	1	3	2		+
<i>jaohu</i> -flask 鑊壺				1				
<i>lei</i> 罍				1				
<i>huo</i> 鑊				1				
ladle						2	1	
flask		3						+
jar	3	5	9		1	2	5	
<i>lian</i> (circular box)		4	3	2		1		+
wine cup container			1					
rectangular box								

Location	Jingzhou, Hubei	Jingzhou, Hubei	Jingzhou, Hubei	Jingzhou, Hubei	Jingzhou, Hubei	Jingzhou, Hubei	Jingzhou, Hubei	Jingzhou, Hubei
Tomb	Gaotai M28	Gaotai M6	Gaotai M33	Gaotai M4	Gaotai M1	Gaotai M18	Gaotai M11	MJY M1
No.	III.09	III.10	III.11	III.12	III.13	III.14	III.15	III.16
Date (B.C.)	Early Western Han	Early Western Han	Early Western Han	Early Western Han	Early Western Han	173 B.C.	Early Western Han	Early Western Han
box	12							
oval box		2	2		1	1		
yu-vessel	7	5	1	1			1	
zun-container	6	4						+
plate	53	16	5			4	7	+
dish								
bowl								
spoon					1	2		
ear-cup	117	48	17			8	5	+
dou-cup				1	5	2		
cup					3	2		
zhi-cup				2				+
Cooking set								
zeng (steamer)				1			2	
yan							1	
fu (cauldron)		2					1	
stove		1	1					
Washing set								
pen-basin				1				
xuan-basin			1	1				

Location	Jingzhou, Hubei	Jingzhou, Hubei	Jingzhou, Hubei	Jingzhou, Hubei	Jingzhou, Hubei	Jingzhou, Hubei	Jingzhou, Hubei	Jingzhou, Hubei
Tomb	Gaotai M28	Gaotai M6	Gaotai M33	Gaotai M4	Gaotai M1	Gaotai M18	Gaotai M11	MJY M1
No.	III.09	III.10	III.11	III.12	III.13	III.14	III.15	III.16
Date (B.C.)	Early Western Han	Early Western Han	Early Western Han	Early Western Han	Early Western Han	173 B.C.	Early Western Han	Early Western Han
<i>yi</i> -poures								
Other everyday use								
ink slab								
pillow								
<i>liubo</i> gaming board								
lamp								
c. Musical instruments	1	+						
<i>se</i> -zither								
d. Carriage and horse	3	4+	5					
carriage								
horse								
e. Weapons								
f. Human figurines	25	2	23			2	2	
g. Manuscripts		53				4		74
Total	255	104	68	20	38	38	34	9

(+ approximate numbers, - no information)

Table 3-02c Group III 17-25: Vessel assemblages from selected medium-size Han burials

Location	Jingzhou, Hubei	Jingzhou, Hubei	Jingzhou, Hubei	Jingzhou, Hubei	Jingzhou, Hubei	Yunmeng, Hubei	Yunmeng, Hubei	Xiangyang, Hubei	Suizhou, Hubei
Tomb	WFY M4	ZJS M249	ZJS M247	Songbai M1	Guanju M26	SHDM77	DFT M1	LGT M1	Kongjiapo M8
No.	III.17	III.18	III.19	III.20	III.21	III.22	III.23	III.24	III.25
Date (B.C.)	73B.C.- A.D.9	Early Western Han	187-164 B.C.	Early Western Han	Early Western Han	157 B.C.	173 B.C.	Early Western Han	142B.C.
Burial type	wooden chamber	wooden chamber	wooden chamber	wooden chamber	wooden chamber	wooden chamber	wooden chamber	wooden chamber	wooden chamber
Size of vertical pit (square meters)	27		5.5	8.9	8.2	4.15			
Size of outer chamber (square meters)	21.7	6.1	4.6	7.61	5.5	3.3	6.4	10.8	4.8
Numbers of <i>guo</i>	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Numbers of <i>guan</i> side compartment	2 individual	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	1
Tomb occupant	unknown			Zhou Yan		a local official			a local official
Rank	-	-							
Gender	unknown	male	male	male	male	male	unknown	unknown	male
Condition	well preserved	intact	intact	intact	intact	intact	intact	intact	intact

Location	Jingzhou, Hubei	Jingzhou, Hubei	Jingzhou, Hubei	Jingzhou, Hubei	Jingzhou, Hubei	Yunmeng, Hubei	Yunmeng, Hubei	Xiangyang, Hubei	Suizhou, Hubei
Tomb	WFY M4	ZJS M249	ZJS M247	Songbai M1	Guanju M26	SHDM77	DFT M1	LGT M1	Kongjiapo M8
No.	III.17	III.18	III.19	III.20	III.21	III.22	III.23	III.24	III.25
Date (B.C.)	73B.C.- A.D.9	Early Western Han	187-164 B.C.	Early Western Han	Early Western Han	157 B.C.	173 B.C.	Early Western Han	142B.C.
a. Personal adornment									
seal	1						1		
textiles								+	
b. Vessel sets									
<i>Dining set</i>									
stand	1								
tray	1			1					
<i>ding</i> (tripod)	1	3		1	2	2	2	2	2
<i>fāng</i> (square flask)	1			1	1	2	2		2
<i>hu</i> (spherical flask)	2	23			2			4	
<i>Jiaohu</i> (flask)	1	1							
<i>garlic</i> flask		1	1		1		1		
<i>zhong</i> (flask)									
<i>lei</i> (wine container)		1							
round box		1	15(multi)		2	2	2	3	
ladle		2	1						2
oval flask		2	2		2				1
jar									

Location	Jingzhou, Hubei	Jingzhou, Hubei	Jingzhou, Hubei	Jingzhou, Hubei	Jingzhou, Hubei	Yunmeng, Hubei	Yunmeng, Hubei	Xiangyang, Hubei	Suizhou, Hubei
Tomb	WFY M4	ZJS M249	ZJS M247	Songbai M1	Guanju M26	SHDM77	DFT M1	LGT M1	Kongjiapo M8
No.	III.17	III.18	III.19	III.20	III.21	III.22	III.23	III.24	III.25
Date (B.C.)	73B.C.- A.D.9	Early Western Han	187-164 B.C.	Early Western Han	Early Western Han	157 B.C.	173 B.C.	Early Western Han	142B.C.
<i>lian</i> (circular box)		1	2		1	2	1	3	1
wine cup container							1		
rectangular box									
box									
oval box						1	1		1
<i>yu</i> -vessel	2	7	1		3		1	2	1
<i>zun</i> -container		2							
plate		8	4	1	4	3	2	10	
dish									4
bowl									
spoon		1	1		3				
ear-cup	8	24		3	32	7	62	22	13
<i>dou</i> -cup									
<i>zhi</i> -cup				1	2	2			1
<i>Cooking set</i>									
<i>zeng</i> (steamer)	1	1		1		1		1	
<i>yan</i>	1				1		1		

Location	Jingzhou, Hubei	Jingzhou, Hubei	Jingzhou, Hubei	Jingzhou, Hubei	Jingzhou, Hubei	Yunmeng, Hubei	Yunmeng, Hubei	Xiangyang, Hubei	Suizhou, Hubei
Tomb	WFY M4	ZJS M249	ZJS M247	Songbai M1	Guanju M26	SHDM77	DFT M1	LGT M1	Kongjiapo M8
No.	III.17	III.18	III.19	III.20	III.21	III.22	III.23	III.24	III.25
Date (B.C.)	73B.C.- A.D.9	Early Western Han	187-164 B.C.	Early Western Han	Early Western Han	157 B.C.	173 B.C.	Early Western Han	142B.C.
<i>fu</i> (cauldron)	2	1	1	1		1	1	2	1
stove	1			1				1	1
<i>Washing set</i>									
<i>pen</i> -basin	1	1							1
Other everyday use									
ink slab									
incense burner	1								
pillow									
<i>liubo</i> gaming board	-						1		
lamp	1								
d. Carriage and horse									
carriage	+	1	1		1				1
horse	+	2	1		1		8	10	4
e. Weapons	1		2	3			1	1	2
f. Human figurines			7		12		10	90	6
g. Manuscripts		+	1,236	73	35	2,137			703
Total	34+	91	45+	94	107	37	150+	150+	59

(+ approximate numbers, - none or no information)

Appendix 3-2 Table 3-03 Excavated Manuscripts from selected Han tombs in the mid-Yangzi region

tomb	place	date	quantity	length/ cm	gender	type	contents	distribution
Five higher ranking tombs								
I.01	Changsha, Hunan	179-157 B.C.	unknown	5.9-9.8	female	Wooden tablets	Funerary inventory	The eastern and south compartments, coffin chamber
II.01	Changsha, Hunan	186 B.C.	312	27.6	female	Bamboo strips	Funerary inventory	Eastern compartment
II.02	Changsha, Hunan	168 B.C.	402	27.5x1	male	Bamboo strips	Funerary inventories, medical texts: 十問, 合陰陽方, 雜禁方, 天下至道談	Western compartment
			6	27.5x3.5		Wooden tablets	Announcement to the underworld 告地書: “十二年, 二月乙巳朔戊辰, 家承(丞)奮, 移主葬郎中, 移葬物一編, 書到先選(撰)具奏主葬君”	One from the Eastern compartment, others from the Western compartment
			52	98 x 78		Silk manuscripts	50 kinds of texts including 導引圖, Laozi 老子, Chunqiushiyu 春秋事語, Shushu 術數, Military texts 刑德, 地形圖, 駐軍圖	Eastern compartment
II.04	Yuanling, Hunan	162 B.C.	1336	14-46	male	Bamboo strips	administrative registers 黃簿, <i>rishu</i> 日書, recipes 美食方	The head, the northern compartment

tomb	place	date	quantity	length/ cm	gender	type	contents	distribution
II.07	Fuyang, Anhui	165 B.C.	-	unknown	male	Bamboo strips	11 kinds of bamboo manuscripts, including <i>Zhouyi</i> 周易, <i>Shijing</i> 詩經, <i>Zhuangzi</i> 莊子, <i>Chuci</i> 楚辭, <i>Changjiepian</i> 倉頡篇, <i>Wanwu</i> 萬物, a text for assessing the qualities of dogs entitled as <i>Xiang goujing</i> 相狗經	The eastern compartment
14 Lower ranking tombs								
III.01	Jiangling, Hubei (FHS 168)	167 B.C.	66	24.2-24.7	male	Bamboo strips	Funerary inventory	Side compartment
			1	23.2		Bamboo tablet	Announcement to the underworld 告地書	Side compartment
III.02	Jiangling, Hubei (FHS 167)	179-141 B.C.	74	23	male	Bamboo strips	Funerary inventory	Outer chamber
III.03	Jiangling, Hubei (FHS 8)	Early Western Han	175	23-37.3	male		Funerary inventory	Head compartment
III.04	Jiangling, Hubei (FHS 9)	163B.C.	80	23-37.3	-	Bamboo strips	Unreadable texts, perhaps funerary inventory	Head compartment
			3	16.5		Wooden tablets	Funerary inventory	Head compartment
III.05	Jiangling, Hubei (FHS 10)	153 B.C.	170	23-37.3	male	Bamboo strips	Tax records	Side compartment
			6	23-23.5		Wooden tablets	business contracts, funerary inventory	Side compartment

tomb	place	date	quantity	length/ cm	gender	type	contents	distribution
III.06	Jingzhou, Hubei	184 B.C.	208	23-23.6	female		Funerary inventory	Eastern compartment
			1	23.65		Bamboo tablet	Announcement to the underworld 告 地書	
III.10	Gaotao M6	Early Western Han	53	5-23	-	Bamboo strips	Funerary inventory	Head compartment
III.14	Gaotai M18	173 B.C.	4	14.8-23.2	female	Wooden tablets	Announcement to the underworld 告 地書, funerary inventory	Head compartment
III.16	MJY M1	Early Western Han	74	unknown	female	Bamboo strips	Funerary inventory	unknown
			1	unknown		wooden tablet	Announcement to the underworld 告 地書	
III.17	ZJS M247	186 B.C.	18	23	male	Bamboo strips	calendar	Head compartment
			526	31		Bamboo strips	Statutes and Ordinance of the Second Year	
			228	28.6-30.1		Bamboo strips	Zou yan shu	
			66	34.2-34.6		Bamboo strips	<i>mai shu</i> 脈書 (Writing on Mai Vessels)	
			190	29.6-30.2		Bamboo strips	Suanshu shu 算數書 (Mathematics)	
			55	30-30.5		Bamboo strips	<i>He Lu</i> 箠廬	
			112	30-30.5		Bamboo strips	<i>yin shu</i> 引書 (Callisthenics manual)	
			41			Bamboo strips	Funerary inventory	

tomb	place	date	quantity	length/ cm	gender	type	contents	distribution
III.20	Songbai M1	Early Western Han	63	22.7-23.3	male	Wooden tablets	Funerary inventory, household register, calendar, administrative archives	Side compartment
			10	19.7-22.8		Bamboo strips	Funerary inventory	
III.21	Guanju	Early Western Han	35		male	Bamboo strips	Funerary inventory	Side compartment
III.22	SHD M77	157 B.C.	2,137	26-31	male	Bamboo strips	Rishu, books, mathematics, legal documents	Side compartment
			128	22-44		Wooden tablets	Household register, administrative documents	
III.25	KJP M8	142 B.C.	700+	33.8	male	Bamboo strips	Rishu 日书	Head compartment
				23		Wooden tablet	Announcement to the underworld 告 地書	

Appendix 3-2 Table 3-04 Inscribed objects from the Beishantou tomb 1 at Chaohu, Anhui

vessel	No.	quality	size (cm)	inscription
silver box	BM1:22	1	D 11.2 , H 11.4	"13liang12 zhu 十三兩十二朱" ; "?liang12 zhu? two...ten liang?zhu□□兩(兩)十二朱二□十兩□朱?"
silver plate	BM1: 39	1	D 30.4, H 5.8	"for imperial use 乘輿"; "? sheng three sheng□升三升(?), 名戊左十, 今曹□□□"
yi-shape cup	BM1:64, 65	1	L 16,H 4.7	"一升半(?) 升十四兩十二朱(銖) ,名百卅二"
		1	L 15.8,H 6.6	"nan, □ jin one liang 20 zhu, five sheng 南, □斤一兩廿朱, 五升"; "mingshaosifu, five sheng one jin one liang20 zhu, nan 名少和(私) 府, 五升一斤一兩廿朱, 南"
lacquer round box	BM1:36	1	D 20.6, H 17.6	"tai guan 大(太) 官"; "the 19 th year, the left che hou, onedoutwodou, jinganquan you pan 十 九年, □□□左徹侯, 一鬥二鬥, 今甘泉有般□□□□"
small lacquer round box	BM1:56	1	D 12.6, H 11.8	"taiguan, two sheng (liter), one dan(Chinese bushels) 大(太) □官, 二升, 一石(?)"
small lacquer bowl-shape box	BM1:37	1	D 13.7, H 9.6	"tai guan 大(太) 官"

vessel	No.	quality	size (cm)	inscription
lacquer plate	BM1: 20	1	D 30.4, H 3.9	"the 33 rd year <i>gong shi (xin)? si guan</i> four and a half <i>sheng, jin ? xiang</i> prince's palace 卅三年工師？（信）宮茜（西多一橫）私官四升半今（田多一豎）巷今東宮"
Bronze tripod	BM1:46	1	D 15.6, H 16.6	" <i>tai guan</i> 泰官", " <i>zhuwu</i> 朱五", " <i>tai guan eight jin</i> 大官八斤"
	BM1:33	1	D 15.6, H 17.9	" <i>tai guan onedou, three jin</i> capacity? <i>Sheng, shang, you pan</i> 太官一鬥□，三斤容□升□，尚，右（有）般（盤）□□ "
	BM1:50	1	-	" <i>tai guan sixdou, six jin ten liang</i> 大（太）官六鬥，六斤十兩", " <i>capacity three sheng, one jin 13 liang, you pan, tai guan ganquanshang</i> 容三升，一斤十三（兩），右（有）般（盤），大（太）官甘泉尚，□□□"
	BM1:34	1	D 15.4, H 15.2	" <i>tai guan, two and a half jin, capacity two sheng</i> 大（太）官，二斤半，容二升", " <i>nine jin 15 liang, tai guan ganquanno. nine</i> 九斤十五□兩，大（太）官甘泉九 "
Bronze ladle	BM1:49	1	L 63	" <i>one jin six liang 12 zhu, da sheng ban</i> 一斤六兩十二朱，大半升 "

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silver plate	BM1: 39	1	D 30.4, H 5.8	"for imperial use 乘輿"; "? sheng three sheng□升三升(?), 名戊左十, 今曹□□□"
yi-shape cup	BM1:64, 65	1	L 16,H 4.7	"一升半(?) 升十四兩十二朱(銖) ,名百卅二"
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	BM1:33	1	D 15.6, H 17.9	" <i>tai guan onedou, three jin</i> capacity? <i>Sheng, shang, you pan</i> 太官一鬥□，三斤容□升□，尚，右（有）般（盤）□□ "
	BM1:50	1	-	" <i>tai guan sixdou, six jin ten liang</i> 大（太）官六鬥，六斤十兩", " <i>capacity three sheng, one jin 13 liang, you pan, tai guan ganquanshang</i> 容三升，一斤十三（兩），右（有）般（盤），大（太）官甘泉尚，□□□"
	BM1:34	1	D 15.4, H 15.2	" <i>tai guan, two and a half jin, capacity two sheng</i> 大（太）官，二斤半，容二升", " <i>nine jin 15 liang, tai guan ganquanno. nine</i> 九斤十五□兩，大（太）官甘泉九 "
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