Steppe and Local Identities on the Frontier of the State and Empire of Qin during the 7th to 3rd Centuries BC

by

Wai Kwan Wong
St Cross College

A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements
for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy
University of Oxford
Hilary Term 2019

School of Archaeology
1 South Park Road
Oxford OX1 3TG

Acknowledgements

First and foremost, I owe my deepest gratitude to my supervisor Professor Dame Jessica Rawson. Professor Rawson helped shape my thinking with her unparalleled knowledge and poignant insights, but, more importantly, she has shown me what a scholar should be through her commitment to intellectual enquiry. It has been a privilege to study under her guidance, and I am grateful for all academic opportunities that she has given me.

I also express my deep gratitude to my second supervisor, Professor Anke Hein, from whom I have learnt much about archaeology and received so many academic opportunities. She has been a constant source of intellectual stimulation and spiritual support. I am particularly grateful for her care when circumstances kept me away from Oxford.

The examiners for my viva, Professor Helena Hamerow and Dr Frances Wood, and the examiner for my Transfer and Confirmation of Status, Professor Mark Pollard, also deserve acknowledgement, as their constructive comments greatly improved this thesis. I would also like to thank my college advisor, Mr Richard Briant, for checking up my welfare throughout my years in Oxford.

I would like to thank several academics from mainland China, particularly Dr Wang Hui, director of the Gansu Provincial Institute of Archaeology and Cultural Relics; Ms Huang Xiaojuan, assistant researcher in the Shaanxi Provincial Institute of Archaeology; and Professor Yang Junchang from Northwest Polytechnic University. These scholars greatly facilitated the research presented in this thesis by allowing me

access to the archaeological finds presented here, as well as providing much support during my fieldwork in China.

The Bei Shan Tang Foundation generously provided funding for both my studies at Oxford and fieldwork. I would like to thank the foundation's chairman, Mr Chien Lee, and director, Dr Carmen Yau, for being caring sponsors. Additionally, the foundation has contributed much to art education in Hong Kong, from which I have been benefited since my graduate studies at The Chinese University of Hong Kong (CUHK).

I owe a great debt of gratitude to professors Maggie Wan and Jenny So in the Department of Fine Arts (FAA), CUHK. They were the most supportive teachers I could have asked for, and they introduced me to the fascinating world of art and archaeology. Similarly, Professor Josh Yiu encouraged me to pursue my doctoral studies at Oxford, for which I am thankful. I would also like to extend my thanks to Mr Christopher Mok, Ms Betty Lo, and Mr Kenneth Chu, who have been great mentors for both my academic and career development.

My friends at Oxford and from home deserve special mention for the unconditional friendship they have given me throughout my life and during my doctoral studies, particularly Dominic, Robert, Karlson, Helene, João, Jean, Lincoln, Charles, Ting, Coco, Leon, Jacky Lee, Nelson, Jasper, Elena, Alexey, Angeliki, Helen, Chris, Calvin, Anthony, Moss, Elden, Howard, Sophia, Ahria, Eduardo, Priya, Tony, Xia-Kang, Limin, Richard, Christine, Michael, Jacky Wong, Fernando, Kenny, Hilton, Jazelina, Cynthia, Hina, Elise, Cindy, Hei, Kylie, Jasper, and those from the FAA and church. Special thanks go to Winne, Becka, Alice, and Dr Chris Foster, all of whom kindly read and commented on earlier versions of this thesis.

Last, but not least, I am very grateful to my family for their consistent love and support. This thesis is as much theirs as it is mine.

Thank you, Oxford, for this amazing four and a half years. I could neither have asked for better people to travel this journey with nor a more charming town to call my second home.

Steppe and Local Identities on the Frontier of the State and Empire of Qin during the 7th to 3rd Centuries BC

Wai Kwan Wong
St Cross College

A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy
University of Oxford

Abstract

This thesis studies group identities among inhabitants of the western frontiers of the State and Empire of Qin during the 7th to 3rd centuries BC. The inhabitants are known to us through the Chinese historical records and their tombs found in eastern Gansu Province and southern Ningxia Hui Autonomous Region, People's Republic of China. Based on descriptions in Chinese historical records, it has generally been believed that the inhabitants were conquered and assimilated by the Zhou (1045–221 BC) and Qin (221–206 BC) Dynasties, a process represented by, for example, the wheeled vehicles and ritual vessels found in their tombs. This thesis offers a new reading of the inhabitants' identities, arguing that they retained distinctive local identity that was closely related to others expressed by people living in the Eurasian steppe, as a way to cope with the difficult geopolitical situation. Meanwhile, the inhabitants served the Qin State and Empire as mercenaries rather than subjects. This is demonstrated through analysis of the Chinese historical sources and a contextual approach to archaeological remains. The textual analysis is used to highlight the usefulness of available historical texts in understanding the period. On this basis, similarities and variations between the material remains of the inhabitants of eastern Gansu, southern Ningxia, and the steppe people are established. The analysis also contextualises Zhou and Qin type weapons and ritual vessels that have been discovered in the tombs.

These artefacts reveal the role inhabitants of eastern Gansu and southern Ningxia played as Qin mercenaries. The discussion incorporates identification of steppe, Achaemenid, and Hellenistic traits in the material assemblage that are suggested to have been transmitted to Qin through this border region, showing reciprocal relationships between the two groups. In addition to presenting an alternative approach to understanding identities on the western frontier of Qin during the 7th to 3rd centuries BC, this thesis redraws the political map of the region.

Table of Contents

Volume One

Abstract iv

Table of Contents vi

List of Maps ix

List of Figures x

Chapter One: Historical and Theoretical Framework 1

1. Research question and historical background 1

2. Sources 8

    2.1 Classical Chinese texts 8

    2.2 Burials 9

3. Theory and method 11

    3.1 Theories of identity 11

    3.2 Contextual analysis 16

4. Literature review 19

5. Thesis structure 28

Chapter Two: Classical Chinese Texts 32

1. Introduction 32

2. Historical records in past studies 33

3. The Western Rong in *Records of the Grand Historian* 37

4. Analysis of the records 40

5. Excavated legal texts 52

6. Summary 54

Chapter Three: Material Cultures in the Eurasian Steppe, 2nd and 1st millennia BC 57

1. Introduction 57

2. Geography and lifeways in the Eurasian steppe 58

3. Material cultures in the Eurasian steppe, 2nd and 1st millennia BC 62

3.1 The Minusinsk Basin 63
3.2 Western and central Mongolia 66
3.3 Tuva 67
3.4 Steppe inhabitants' interactions with the Achaemenids 70
3.5 Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region 72
3.6 Altai 74
3.7 Steppe inhabitants' adaptions of Hellenistic elements 78
4. Summary 82

Chapter Four: Material Culture and Identities in Eastern Gansu and Southern Ningxia, 7th to 3rd Centuries BC 84
1. Introduction 84
2. Material cultures in eastern Gansu and southern Ningxia before the 7th century BC 85
3. Material culture, 7th to 3rd Centuries BC 87
3.1 Tomb dates 87
3.2 Ordinary tombs 88
3.3 Richer tombs 91
3.3.1 Burial practices, ornaments, weapons, and horse tack 92
3.3.1.1 The Majiayuan cemetery 92
3.3.1.2 The Wangwa cemetery 105
3.3.1.3 The Liuping cemetery 106
3.3.1.4 The Dunping cemetery 108
3.3.2 Wheeled vehicles 110
3.3.2.1 Wheeled vehicles at Majiayuan 110
3.3.2.1 Prototypes 112
3.3.2.3 Functions 114
3.3.2.4 Vehicles from other cemeteries 119
4. Summary: Steppe and local identities 122

Chapter Five: Relationship with Zhou and Qin 124
1. Introduction 124

2. Qin mercenaries 125
2.1 Zhou and Qin weapons 125
2.2 Steppe ornaments on Qin's military fortifications 127
2.3 Zhou and Qin ritual vessels 129
3. Intermediary between regions to the west and Qin 136
4. Summary 146

Chapter Six: Conclusions and Suggestions for Future Research 149
1. Thesis summary 149
2. Wider impact 153
3. Recommendations for future research 157

Bibliography 164

Volume Two
Maps 229

Figures 231
Figures for Chapter Three 231
Figures for Chapter Four 249
Figures for Chapter Five 293
Figures for Chapter Six 308

Appendixes 314
1. Tombs in eastern Gansu and southern Ningxia, 7th to 3rd centuries BC 314
2. Records of the Western Rong in *Records of the Grand Historian* and other classical Chinese texts 324
3. Description of gold chariots 343
4. Wheeled vehicles at the Majiayuan cemetery, 4th to 3rd centuries BC 344
5. Vessel assemblages at the Majiayuan cemetery, 4th to 3rd centuries BC 345
6. Records of the early Qin history 347

List of Maps

1.1 Map showing the Eurasian steppe and the major archaeological sites discussed in this thesis. (Made by Wai Kwan Wong)
1.2 Map showing Gansu Province and Ningxia Hui Autonomous Region and sites and Qin military fortifications discussed in Chapters Four and Five. (Made by Wai Kwan Wong)

List of Figures

3.1 Drawings of a Tagar culture pendant from the Minusinsk Basin, 7th–3rd centuries BC. Bronze, dimensions unknown (After Bokovenko 2006, 872, fig. 11.11)

3.2 Horse ornament in the shape of a coiled feline excavated from Arzhan 1, Tuva Republic, Russia, 9th century BC. Bronze, dimensions unknown (After Bunker 2002, 25, fig. 34)

3.3 Burial mound of Arzhan 2, Tuva Republic, Russia, late 7th century BC. Diameter *c*. 80 m (After Chugunov *et al.* 2010, 14, fig. 16)

3.4 Drawing of the outfit of the male from Arzhan 2, Tuva Republic, Russia, late 7th century BC (After Chugunov *et al.* 2010, 212, fig. 225)

3.5 Reconstruction of the belt with ornamental plaques with S-scroll designs from Arzhan 2, Tuva Republic, Russia, late 7th century BC. Gold, plaque: L 4 cm, W 1.8 cm (After Chugunov *et al.* 2010, col. pl. 52.6)

3.6 Ornamental plaques in the shape of recumbent horses with crest-like manes from Arzhan 2, Tuva Republic, Russia, late 7th century BC. Gold with turquoise inlay, dimensions unknown (After Chugunov *et al.* 2010, col. pl. 33.5)

3.7 Dagger with animal designs from Arzhan 2, Tuva Republic, Russia, late 7th century BC. Iron with gold embellishment, dimensions unknown (After Chugunov *et al.* 2010, col. pl. 40.1)

3.8 Rings for securing straps decorated with felines seizing the muzzles of mountain goats from Arzhan 2, Tuva Republic, Russia, late 7th century BC. Gold, L 1.2 cm, W1.1 cm, H 1.6 cm (After Chugunov *et al.* 2010, col. pl. 39.5)

3.9 Drawing of the outfit of the female from Arzhan 2, Tuva Republic, Russia, late 7th century BC. (After Chugunov *et al*. 2010, 214, fig. 226)

3.10 Pectoral with animal designs belonging to the female from Arzhan 2, Tuva Republic, Russia, late 7th century BC. Gold, dimensions unknown (After Chugunov *et al.* 2010, col. pl. 79.2)

3.11 Reconstruction of the outfit of the male from Issyk, Kazakhstan, 4th century BC. (Photograph by Wai Kwan Wong)

3.12 Kurgan 5 at Pazyryk, Altai Republic, Russia, 4th–3rd centuries BC. (After Korolkva 2017a, 261, fig. 147)

3.13 Reconstruction of the log coffin with animal appliqués excavated from Kurgan 1, Pazyryk, Altai Republic, Russia, 4th–3rd centuries BC. Wood with leather cut-outs, coffin: L 371 cm, W 65–78 cm, H 58–60; cut-outs: L 15.5–18.5 cm, W 12 cm (After Simpson and Pankova 2017, 271, fig. 183)

3.14a Details of the tattoos on the male's arm. (After Stepanova and Pankova 2017, 96, fig. 81)

3.14b Line drawing of the tattoos on the male's arm. (After Rudenko 1970, 111, fig. 53)

3.15 Line drawing of tattoos showing two tigers and a panther biting two elk on the female from Kurgan 5, Pazyryk, Altai Republic, Russia, 4th–3rd centuries BC. Dimensions unknown (After Stepanova and Pankova 2017, 97, fig. 84)

3.16 Drawing of coat section with sheep and raptor designs excavated from Kurgan 2, Altai Republic, Russia, 4th–3rd centuries BC. Leather, gold foil, and squirrel and sable fur, dimensions unknown (After Rudenko 1970, pl. 156)
3.17 One of a pair of boots belonging to the female from Kurgan 2, Pazyryk, Altai Republic, Russia, 4th–3rd centuries BC. Leather with glass beads and pyrite crystals, L 34 cm (After Simpson and Pankova 2017, 115, pl. 39)
3.18 One of a pair of shoes with leather openwork soles belonging to the female from Kurgan 2, Pazyryk, 4th–3rd centuries BC. Leather, dimensions unknown (After Rudenko 1970, col. pl. 152C)
3.19 Torque decorated with sculptural horned, winged felines excavated from Kurgan 2, Pazyryk, Altai Republic, Russia, 4th–3rd centuries BC. Gold, bronze, horn and wood, L 17.7 cm (After Simpson and Pankova, 110, pl. 34)
3.20 Part of a belt with palmette scroll designs excavated from Kurgan 2, Pazyryk, Altai Republic, Russia, 4th–3rd centuries BC. Probably leather with tin and gold embellishment, L 55 cm, W 4.5 cm (After Gryzanov 1969, pl. 126)
3.21a Part of a belt with plaques showing felines seizing the muzzles of mountain goats from Kurgan 2, Pazyryk, Altai Republic, Russia, 4th–3rd centuries BC. Leather and silver, belt: L 61 cm, W 3.5 cm (After Simpson and Pankova 2017, 132, pl. 58)
3.21b A silver belt plaque on the belt, L 4.6 cm, W 4.3 cm (After Stark 2012, 116, fig. 7-7)
3.22 Cauldron with pedestal and handles excavated from Kurgan 2, Pazyryk, Altai Republic, Russia, 4th–3rd centuries BC. Copper, dimensions unknown (After Rudenko 1970, 62B)
3.23 Wooden drinking cup and ring excavated from Kurgan 2, Pazyryk, Altai Republic, Russia, 4th–3rd centuries BC. Twisted strips of thick, undyed felt wrapped in fine red felt, cup: H 13.5 cm, Diameter 15.3 cm; ring: Diameter 19.5 cm (After Simpson and Pankova 2017, 176, pl. 102)
3.24 Bottle with cockerel appliqués excavated from Kurgan 2, Pazyryk, Altai Republic, Russia, 4th–3rd centuries BC. Ceramic with leather cut-outs covered by tin foil, bottle: H 50 cm (After Rudenko 1970, pl. 55B)
3.25 Flask with rhombus appliqués excavated from Kurgan 1, Pazyryk, Altai Republic, Russia, 4th–3rd centuries BC. Leather with yellow and blue fur, dimensions unknown (After Gryzanov 1969, pl. 64)
3.26 Appliqués on horse bridal straps excavated from Kurgan 1, Pazyryk, Altai Republic, 4th–3rd centuries BC. Leather, dimensions unkown (After Rudenko 1970, 145, fig. 73)
3.27 Horse bridle comprising a bit, a pair of S-shaped cheek pieces terminating in eared raptor heads, a pair of fork-shaped plaques with running scroll reliefs, and pendants in the shape of eared raptors excavated from Kurgan 1, Pazyryk, Altai Republic, Russia, 4th–3rd centuries BC. Bronze, wood, and leather, cheek pieces: L 21–25 cm, fork-shaped plaques: L 11.2–12.5 cm, H 10–10.5 cm (After Simpson and Pankova 2017, 239, pl. 160)
3.28 Cheek piece with raptor head terminals excavated from Kurgan 2, Pazyryk, Altai Republic, Russia, 4th–3rd centuries BC. Wood with leather, dimensions unknown (After Rudenko 1970, pl. 94B)

3.29 Appliqués on saddlecloth excavated from Kurgan 2, Pazyryk, Altai Republic, Russia, 4th–3rd centuries BC. Leather, with paint, dimensions unknown (After Rudenko 1970, 231, fig. 109)
3.30 Pectoral with lion-shaped finials excavated from Tolstaya Mogila, Ordzhonikidze, Ukraine, 4th century BC. Gold, Diameter 16.2 cm (After Parzinger 2007, 295, fig. 2)
3.31 One of a pair of pendants with suspending nets excavated from Tomb 2, Tillya Tepe, Afghanistan, 1st century AD. Gold with carnelian, turquoise, garnet, lapis lazuli, and pearls, L 12.5 cm, W 6.5 cm (After Bernard 2008, 246, pl. 61)
3.32 Greek hairnet with a roundel decorated with a bust of Artemis said to have come from Thessaly, Greece, 4th century BC. Gold with carnelian inlay, dimensions unknown (After Kaltsas 2007, 358)
4.1 Drawing of Tomb IIIM3, Mazhuang, Ningxia Hui Autonomous Region, China, *c*. 6th–5th centuries BC. L 2.38 m, W 1.41 m, H 0.39 m (After Ningxia Wenwu Kaogu Yanjiusuo and Ningxia Guyuan Bowuguan 1993, 25, fig. 13)
4.2 Swords excavated from Tomb PWM4, Wangdahu, Ningxia Hui Autonomous Region, China, 5th–3rd centuries BC. Bronze hilt with iron blade, L 57 cm (After Ningxia Wenwu Kaogu Yanjiusuo and Pengyang Xian Wenwu Guanlisuo 2016, col. pl. 2–85.3)
4.3 Belt plaques with S-shaped scroll designs excavated from Mazhuang, Ningxia Hui Autonomous Region, China, 4th–3rd centuries BC. Bronze, L 5–5.5 cm, W 3.2–3.4 cm (After Ningxia Guyuan Bowuguan 2004, 65, pl. 30)
4.4 Tagar culture plaque in the shape of two S-scrolls terminating in raptor heads joined by a boss, collectected by Museum für Völkerkunde, Hamburg, Germany, 5th–2nd centuries BC. Bronze, dimensions unknown (After Karl 1964, 79, pl. 13)
4.5 Ornamental plaque with a coiled feline and a protruding raptor head excavated from a tomb at Chenyangchuancun, Ningxia Hui Autonomous Region, China, 4th–3rd centuries BC. Bronze, L 7 cm, W 4.6 cm (After Ningxia Guyuan Bowuguan 2004, 59, pl. 24)
4.6 Drawing of the layout of the Majiayuan cemetery, Gansu Province, China, 4th–3rd centuries BC (After Gansu Sheng Wenwu Kaogu Yanjiusuo 2014, 12–13)
4.7 Drawing of Tomb 6, Majiayuan, Gansu Province, China, 4th–3rd centuries BC. Measurements of upper level: L 32.6–33.6 m, W 9.6–10.9 m, H 14.2–14.4 m (After Gansu Sheng Wenwu Kaogu Yanjiusuo 2014, 14, fig. 3)
4.8 Reconstruction of the tomb mound of the First Emperor of Qin, Lintong, Shaanxi Province, China, 3rd century BC. (After Duan 2011)
4.9 Elite tomb (Mound 20) excavated at Noyon Uul, Mongolia, 1st century AD. Measurements of upper level: L 18 m, W 16 m, H 18.35 m (After Polos' mak *et al*. 2008, 86, fig. 21)
4.10 Drawing of Tomb 14, Majiayuan, Gansu Province, China, 4th–3rd centuries BC. Bottom: L 5.1–5.21 m, W 3.33–3.61 m (After Gansu Sheng Wenwu Kaogu Yanjiusuo 2014, 17)
4.11 Line drawings of coffin decoration in the shape of walking animals and scrolls excavated from Tomb 14, Majiayuan, Gansu Province, China, 4th–3rd centuries BC. Silver, L 5.2–23.3 cm, W 1.4–4.6 cm (After Zaoqi Qin Wenhua Lianhe

Kaogudui and Zhangjiachuan Huizu Zizhixian Bowuguan 2009, 42, figs 48.1–3)
4.12 A group of 17 belt plaques with raptor motifs and animal combat scenes excavated from Tomb 14, Majiayuan, Gansu Province, China, 4th–3rd centuries BC. Gold with inlay of unknown materials, L 6.3–9.6 cm, W 4.2–6 cm (After Gansu Sheng Wenwu Kaogu Yanjiusuo 2014, 38–9)
4.13 Belt ring with confronting double-head animals excavated from Tomb 14, Majiayuan, Gansu Province, China, 4th–3rd centuries BC. Silver, L 3.7 cm, W 2.96 cm, WT 8.7g (After Gansu Sheng Wenwu Kaogu Yanjiusuo 2014, 66)
4.14 Belt hook with animal designs excavated from Tomb 14, Majiayuan, Gansu Province, China, 4th–3rd centuries BC. Gold, L 6.3 cm, W 3.47 cm, WT 37.5g (After Gansu Sheng Wenwu Kaogu Yanjiusuo 2014, 54)
4.15 Belt hook with animal designs excavated from Tomb 14, Majiayuan, Gansu Province, China, 4th–3rd centuries BC. Gold, L 9 cm, W 3.25 cm, H 1 cm, WT 33.3–37.5g (After Gansu Sheng Wenwu Kaogu Yanjiusuo 2014, 57)
4.16 Pendant with granules forming a triangle excavated from Tomb 14, Majiayuan Gansu Province, China, 4th–3rd centuries BC. Gold, L 0.9 cm (After Zaoqi Qin Wenhua Lianhe Kaogudui and Zhangjiachuan Huizu Zizhixian Bowuguan 2009, 46)
4.17 One of a pair of pendants excavated from Tomb 6, Taksai-I, Kazakhstan, 6th–5th centuries BC. Gold, L 11 cm, WT 89 g (After Simpson and Pankova 2017, 137, pl. 67)
4.18 Drawing of Tomb 16, Majiayuan, Gansu Province, China, 4th–3rd centuries BC. Measurements of upper level: L 12.6 m, W 6.7 m, H 7 m (After Gansu Sheng Wenwu Kaogu Yanjiusuo 2014, 15, fig. 4)
4.19a Coffin remains and personal ornaments from Tomb 16, Majiayuan, Gansu Province, China, 4th–3rd centuries BC. Wood, gold, silver and beads (After Gansu Sheng Wenwu Kaogu Yanjiusuo 2014, 58–59)
4.19b Details of remains of coffin. (After Gansu Sheng Wenwu Kaogu Yanjiusuo 2014, 58–9)
4.20 Belt plaque with a combat scene of two eared raptors and two snakes excavated from Tomb 16, Majiayuan, Gansu Province, China, 4th–3 centuries BC. Gold inlaid with carnelian and faience, L 6.4 cm, W 3.7 cm, WT 30.31g (After Gansu Sheng Wenwu Kaogu Yanjiusuo 2014, 40)
4.21 Belt plaques showing a snake coils around a feline from south Siberia, Russia, 3rd–2nd centuries BC. Gold with turquoise inlay, L 14 cm, H 8.5 cm (After Korolkova, 2017a, 39, fig. 30.)
4.22 Belt hook with a combat scene of two tigers and two ungulates excavated from Tomb 16, Majiayuan, Gansu Province, China, 4th–3rd centuries BC. Gold inlaid with carnelian and cinnabar, L 20 cm, W 7.2–7.6 cm, WT 228 g (After Gansu Sheng Wenwu Kaogu Yanjiusuo 2014, 61)
4.23 U-shaped pectorals excavated from Tomb 16, Majiayuan, Gansu Province, China, 4th–3rd centuries BC. Gold and silver, dimensions unknown (After Gansu Sheng Wenwu Kaogu Yanjiusuo 2014, 59)
4.24 Armlet with ribs, double-twisted wire, and inlay excavated from Tomb 16, Majiayuan, Gansu Province, China, 4th–3rd centuries BC. Gold inlaid with carnelian, turquoise, and faience, L 9.5 cm, Diameter 4.8–6.6 cm, WT 159 g (After Gansu Sheng Wenwu Kaogu Yanjiusuo 2014, 62)

4.25 Headdress ornament with animal combat designs and a torque with animal terminals. The torque is decorated in relief imitating twisted leather thongs. Excavated at Aluchaideng, Inner Mongolia, China, *c*. 3rd century BC. Gold inlaid with turquoise, headdress ornament: H 7.3 cm, WT 192 g; torque: Diameter 19.1 cm, WT 1202 g (After Bunker 2002, 28, fig. 38)
4.26 Armlets with ribs and broken lines imitating twisted wires excavated from the Minusinsk Basin, Russia, 11th–10th centuries BC. Bronze, Diameter 7 cm (After The State Hermitage Museum 2018, < http://www.hermitage.ru/wps/portal/hermitage/digital-collection/25.+archaeological+artifacts/3480436>, accessed 8th April 2018)
4.27 Armlet with openwork animal motifs and twisted wires excavated from Siberia, Russia, 4th century BC. Gold. L 8.4 cm, W 7 cm (After The State Hermitage Museum 2018, <http://www.hermitagmuseum.org/wps/portal/hermitage/digital collection/25.+Archaeological+Artifacts/879841/?lng=en>, accessed 8th April 2018)
4.28 Belt plaque with a combat scene between a yak, a tiger, and a raptor excavated from south Siberia. Gold inlaid with turquoise, L 15.1 cm, W 10 cm, WT 328.03 g (After Simpson and Pankova 2017, 60, pl. 18)
4.29 Headdress ornament with a beaked deer. The deer's antlers and tail morph into raptors. Excavated at Shenmu, Shaanxi Province, China, *c*. 3rd century BC. Gold, L 11 cm, H 11.5 cm, WT 250 g (Photograph by Wai Kwan Wong)
4.30 One of a pair of shoe soles excavated from Tomb 16, Majiayuan, Gansu Province, China, 4th–3rd centuries BC. Silver, L 21.5 cm, WT 9.9 g (After Gansu Sheng Wenwu Kaogu Yanjiusuo 2014, 68)
4.31a Ornaments in situ at Tomb 4, Majiayuan, Gansu Province, China, 4th–3rd centuries BC. Mainly gold, carnelian, and turquoise beads (After Gansu Sheng Wenwu Kaogu Yanjiusuo 2014, 37)
4.31b Drawing of pouches excavated from Tomb 4, Majiayuan, Gansu Province, China, 4th–3rd centuries BC. Faience beads with a gold pendant, dimensions unknown (After Huang *et al.* 2016, 156, fig. 8)
4.32 Necklace excavated from Tomb 12, Majiayuan, Gansu Province, China, 4th–3rd centuries BC. Bronze bosses, carnelian beads, and faience beads, dimensions unknown (After Zaoqi Qin Wenhua Lianhe Kaogudui and Zhangjiachuan Huizu Zizhixian Bowuguan 2009, 48, fig. 67)
4.33a Ornaments in situ at Tomb 18, Majiayuan, Gansu Province, China, 4th–3rd centuries BC. Mainly gold, bronze, and carnelian and turquoise beads (After Gansu Sheng Wenwu Kaogu Yanjiusuo 2014, 48–9)
4.33b Belt plaque with animal designs excavated from Tomb 18, Majiayuan, Gansu Province, China, 4th–3rd centuries BC. Gold inlaid with glass beads, L 9.2–9.6 cm, W 7.6 cm, WT 157 g (After Gansu Sheng Wenwu Kaogu Yanjiusuo 2014, 50)
4.34 Pendant with fish scale-shaped inlay excavated from Tomb 18, Majiayuan, Gansu Province, China, 4th–3rd centuries BC. Gold, carnelian, and faience, dimensions unknown (After Gansu Sheng Wenwu Kaogu Yanjiusuo 2014, 53)

4.35 Horse ornaments carved with fish scale patterns excavated from Kurgan 3, Pazyryk, Altai Republic, Russia, 4th–3rd centuries BC. Wood with red paint, dimensions unknown (After Rudenko 1970, pl. 96D)
4.36 Decoration of quiver excavated from Tomb 1, Majiayuan, Gansu Province, China, 4th–3rd centuries BC. Iron, with gold and silver cut-outs, L 74 cm, W 13.2 cm (After Gansu Sheng Wenwu Kaogu Yanjiusuo 2014, 210)
4.37 Cheek piece with raptor head terminals excavated from Tomb 1, Majiayuan, Gansu Province, China, 4th–3rd centuries BC. Iron with gold embellishment, L 25.3 cm, W 5 cm (After Gansu Sheng Wenwu Kaogu Yanjiusuo 2014, 208–9)
4.38 Belt plaque with sheep/goat heads with beards terminating in eared raptor heads excavated from Tomb 15, Majiayuan, Gansu Province, China, 4th–3rd centuries BC. Gold inlaid with carnelian and glass beads, L 4.7 cm, W 2.5 cm (After Zaoqi Qin Wenhua Lianhe Kaogudui and Zhangjiachuan Huizu Zizhixian Bowuguan 2009, 45, fig. 58)
4.39 Hairnet with an embossed design and a beaded net excavated from Tomb 4, Majiayuan, Gansu Province, China, 4th–3rd centuries BC. Gold with carnelian, turquoise, faience, and jet beads, dimensions unknown (After Huang *et al*. 2016, 155, fig. 5)
4.40 Multi-string necklace with feline head-shaped terminals excavated from Tomb 4, Majiayuan, Gansu Province, China, 4th–3rd centuries BC. Gold spacer beads and terminals, with carnelian and turquoise beads, dimensions unknown (After Huang *et al*. 2016, 155, fig. 6)
4.41 Figure of a person wearing a pair of trousers, belt, and pointed hat with ear flaps excavated from Tomb 3, Majiayuan, Gansu Province, China, 4th–3rd centuries BC. Lead, H 7.5 cm (After Gansu Sheng Wenwu Kaogu Yanjiusuo 2014, 214.)
4.42 Bosses and beads found on the feet of the occupant of Tomb 4, Majiayuan, Gansu Province, China, 4th–3rd centuries BC. Gold, silver, jet, faience, and carnelian, L *c*. 20 cm, W *c*. 10 cm (After Gansu Sheng Wenwu Kaogu Yanjiusuo and Shaanxi Sheng Kaogu Yanjiuyuan 2013, 32, fig. 10)
4.43 Drawing of Tomb 2, Wangwa, Gansu Province, China, 4th–3rd centuries BC. L 5.3 m, W 3.5 m, H 3.4 m (After Gansu Sheng Wenwu Kaogu Yanjiusuo 2012, 30, fig. 5)
4.44 U-shaped pectoral with bosses excavated from Tomb 2, Wangwa, Gansu Province, China, 4th–3rd centuries BC. Silver with bronze, inner diameter 13.6 cm, W 3.2–4.5 cm (After Gansu Sheng Wenwu Kaogu Yanjiusuo 2012, 36, fig. 22)
4.45 Dagger and scabbard with gingko leaf designs excavated from Tomb 2, Wangwa, Gansu Province, China, 4th–3rd centuries BC. Bronze hilt with iron blade, dagger: L 25.5 cm; scabbard: L 17 cm, W 2.5 cm (After Gansu Sheng Wenwu Kaogu Yanjiusuo 2012, 35, fig. 19)
4.46 S-shaped belt hook from Liuping, Gansu Province, China, 4th–3rd centuries BC. Bronze, possibly tinned, L 14.7 cm, W 7.2 cm (After Gansu Sheng Wenwu Kaogu Yanjiusuo and Qingshui Xian Bowuguan 2014, 188, pl. 126)
4.47 U-shaped pectoral with animal motifs from Liuping, Gansu Province, China, 4th–3rd centuries BC. Silver, inner diameter 16 cm, W 5.5 cm (After Gansu Sheng Wenwu Kaogu Yanjiusuo and Qingshui Xian Bowuguan 2014, 200, pl. 142)

4.48 One of a set of belt plaques showing a combat scene between an ungulate and a feline from Liuping, Gansu Province, China, 4th–3rd centuries BC. Gold, L 8.5 cm, W 4.5–5.5 cm (After Gansu Sheng Wenwu Kaogu Yanjiusuo and Qingshui Xian Bowuguan 2014, 164, pl. 114)
4.49 One of a set of belt plaques with elongated felines in combat from Liuping, Gansu Province, China, 4th–3rd centuries BC. Gold, L 5 cm, W 2.8 cm (After Gansu Sheng Wenwu Kaogu Yanjiusuo and Qingshui Xian Bowuguan 2014, 174, pl. 117)
4.50 Drawing of Tomb 21, Dunping, Gansu Province, China, *c*. 5th–4th centuries BC. Measurements of upper level: L 2.44 m, W 1.6 m, H 4.15 m (After Gansu Sheng Wenwu Kaogu Yanjiusuo 2017, 41, fig. 17)
4.51 Multi-string necklace excavated from Tomb 13, Dunping, Gansu Province, China, *c*. 6th–3rd centuries BC. Gold spacer beads, carnelian beads, and turquoise beads, dimensions unknown (After Gansu Sheng Wenwu Kaogu Yanjiusuo 2017, 48, fig. 41)
4.52 Drawing of a side panel from the passenger box of a wheeled vehicle excavated from Tomb 16, Majiayuan, Gansu Province, China, 4th–3rd centuries BC. Wood with an iron grid inlaid with gold, gilt bronze bosses, silver sheets with openwork scrolls, and gold and silver animal cut-outs, L 86 cm, W 60 cm (After Zhao 2010b, 86, fig. 2)
4.53 Drawing of a side panel on the passenger box of a wheeled vehicle excavated from Tomb 13, Majiayuan, Gansu Province, China, 4th–3rd centuries BC. Wood with bronze plaques with openwork scrolls, bronze bosses, and faience beads, L 130 cm, W 70 cm (After Zhao 2010b, 86, fig. 3)
4.54 Drawing of a side panel on the passenger box of a wheeled vehicle excavated from Tomb 16, Majiayuan, Gansu Province, China, 4th–3rd centuries BC. Wood with bronze plaques, L 110 cm, W 80 cm (After Zhao 2010b, 87, fig. 6)
4.55 Drawing of a wheel excavated from Tomb 3, Majiayuan, Gansu Province, China, 4th–3rd centuries BC. Wood with triangular silver plaques with openwork scrolls, and gold bird head cut-outs, Diameter 140 cm (After Zhao 2010b, 89, fig. 17)
4.56 Passenger box and wheel with ornamental plaques in situ excavated from Tomb 21, Majiayuan, Gansu Province, China, 4th–3rd centuries BC. Wood with bronze plaques, side panel: L 95 cm, W 42 cm; wheel: Diameter 110 cm (After Zaoqi Qin Wenhua Lianhe Kaogudui and Zhangjiachuan Huizu Zizhixian Bowuguan 2012, 19, fig. 44)
4.57 Reconstruction of a wheeled vehicle with openwork plaques and bird figures on the draught pole excavated from Majiayuan, Gansu Province, China, 4th–3rd centuries BC. Silver and iron with gold and silver embellishment, dimensions unknown (Photograph by Anthony Huan)
4.58 Finial with an animal head of the draught pole of a wheeled vehicle excavated from Tomb 14, Majiayuan, Gansu Province, China, 4th–3rd centuries BC. Iron with gold and silver embellishment, H 5 cm, Diameter 14 cm (After Gansu Sheng Wenwu Kaogu Yanjiusuo 2014, 197)
4.59 Relief of a royal carriage in Achaemenid Apadana, Persepolis, Iran, 6th–4th centuries BC. Limestone, dimensions unknown. Object location: Oriental Institute, The University of Chicago, P. 29464 (Reproduced courtesy of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago)

4.60 Part of a doorsill on Door C excavated from Room 2, North Palace, Kouyunjik (Nineveh), Iraq, 645 BC. Gypsum, L 305 cm, W 246 cm. Object location: British Museum, 185,0909.57 (Image © The Trustees of the British Museum)
4.61a Pile carpet excavated from Tomb 5, Pazyryk, Altai Republic, Russia, 4th–3rd centuries BC. Wool, L 200 cm, W 189 cm (After Rudenko 1970, col. pl. 174)
4.61b Detail of the pile carpet in Fig. 4.61a. (After Gryaznov 1969, 135)
4.62 Saddlecloth excavated from Tomb 5, Pazyryk, Altai Republic, Russia, 4th–3rd centuries BC. Felt, L 223 cm, W 66 cm (After Gryaznov 1969, 117)
4.63 Ornamental plaque in the shape of a lion excavated from Tomb 30, Alagou, Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region, China, 4th–3rd centuries BC. Gold, L 20.5 cm, H 11 cm (After Xinjiang Shehui Kexueyuan Kaogu Yanjiusuo, pl. 8.4)
4.64 Ornamental plaque in the shape of a feline head excavated from Tomb 30, Alagou, Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region, China, 4th–3rd centuries BC. Silver, L 8.6 cm, H 10 cm (After Xinjiang Shehui Kexueyuan Kaogu Yanjiusuo, pl. 8.2)
4.65a Part of the decoration on the passenger box of a wheeled vehicle excavated from Tomb 3, Majiayuan, Gansu Province, China, 4th–3rd centuries BC. Iron grid with gold inlay, gilt bronze bosses, and silver plaques, L 64 cm, W 30 cm (Photograph by Anthony Huan)
4.65b Details of square plaques with broken repoussé lines (Photograph by Anthony Huan)
4.66 Textile fragment excavated from a tomb at Sanpula, Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region, China, 2nd century BC–2nd century AD. Wool, with embroidered diagonal grid, circles, scrolls, and diamond designs, dimensions unknown (After Keller and Schorta, 2002, fig. 98)
4.67 Axle cap with pin shaped like a person wearing a hat excavated from Tomb 4, Majiayuan, Gansu Province, China, 4th–3rd centuries BC. Bronze, H 6.5 cm (After Gansu Sheng Wenwu Kaogu Yanjiusuo 2014, 148)
4.68 Spearhead with palemette motif excavated from Tomb 16, Majiayuan, Gansu Province, China, 4th–3rd centuries BC. Iron with gold and silver embellishment, L 26.5 cm, W 4.5 cm (After Gansu Sheng Wenwu Kaogu Yanjiusuo 2014, 211)
4.69 Dagger and scabbard with palemette motif recovered from south Siberia, Russia, Bronze or Iron Age. Bronze, dimensions unknown (After Gryaznov 1969, 28)
4.70 Wheeled vehicle with ornaments in situ excavated from Tomb 2, Wangwa, Gansu Province, China, 4th–3rd centuries BC. Wood with bronze bosses and fittings, passenger box: L 140 cm, W 130 cm, H 48 cm (After Gansu Sheng Wenwu Kaogu Yanjiusuo 2014, 33, fig. 9)
4.71a Fitting with zigzag motifs for a yoke excavated from Tomb 3, Wangwa, Gansu Province, China, 4th–3rd centuries BC. Bronze with gold embellishment, L 9.5 cm, Diameter 2.7 cm (After Gansu Sheng Wenwu Kaogu Yanjiusuo 2014, 36, fig. 24)
4.71b Fittings with zigzag motifs for a drawbar excavated from Tomb 3, Wangwa, Gansu Province, China, 4th–3rd centuries BC. Bronze with gold embellishment, L 12.3 cm, Diameter 5 cm (After Gansu Sheng Wenwu Kaogu Yanjiusuo 2014, 36, fig. 26)

4.71c Fittings with zigzag motifs for a drawbar excavated from Tomb 3, Wangwa, Gansu Province, China, 4th–3rd centuries BC. Bronze with gold embellishment, L 12.5 cm, W 1.1–1.5 cm, H 5.5 cm (After Gansu Sheng Wenwu Kaogu Yanjiusuo 2014, 36, fig. 25)
4.72 U-shaped pectoral with spiral scroll decoration excavated from Chenyangchuancun, Ningxia Hui Autonomous Region, China, *c*. 4th–3rd centuries BC. Silver, W 3.8–4.9 cm (After Ningxia Bowuguan 1978, 574, fig. 9.1)
5.1 Dagger-axe recovered from Liuping, Gansu Province, China, 4th–3rd centuries BC. Bronze, L 22.5 cm, W 11.5 cm (After Gansu Sheng Wenwu Kaogu Yanjiusuo and Qingshui Xian Bowuguan 2014, 62, pl. 17)
5.2 Dagger-axe excavated from Tomb 1, Mazhuang, Ningxia Hui Autonomous Region, 5th–4th centuries BC. Bronze, W 19.9 cm (After Ningxia Wenwu Kaogu Yanjiusuo and Ningxia Guyuan Bowuguan 1993, pl. 1.7)
5.3 Dagger-axe excavated from Tomb 17, Yujiazhuang, Ningxia Hui Autonomous Region, China, 4th–3rd centuries BC. Bronze, L 18.8 cm, W 11.1 cm (After Ningxia Wenwu Kaogu Yanjiusuo 1995, pl. 14.3)
5.4a Tiles from the Qin fortifications in Ningxia Hui Autonomous Region, China, *c*. 4th–3rd centuries BC. Ceramic, Diameter 15.5 cm (After Ningxia Huizu Zizhiqu Bowuguan and Guyuan Xian Wenwu Gongzuozhan 1981, 49, fig. 16.6)
5.4b Tiles from the Qin fortifications in Ningxia Hui Autonomous Region, China, *c*. 4th–3rd centuries BC. Ceramic, Diameter 15.5 cm (After Ningxia Huizu Zizhiqu Bowuguan and Guyuan Xian Wenwu Gongzuozhan 1981, 49, fig. 16.7)
5.4c Tiles from the Qin fortifications in Ningxia Hui Autonomous Region, China, *c*. 4th–3rd centuries BC. Ceramic, Diameter 15.5 cm (After Ningxia Huizu Zizhiqu Bowuguan and Guyuan Xian Wenwu Gongzuozhan 1981, 49, fig. 16.8)
5.5a Tiles from the Qin palaces at Xianyang, Shaanxi Province, China, 4th–3rd centuries BC. Ceramic, Diameter 15.3 cm (After Shaanxi Sheng Kaogu Yanjiusuo 2004, pl. 33.6)
5.5b Tiles from the Qin palaces at Xianyang, Shaanxi Province, China, 4th–3rd centuries BC. Ceramic, dimensions unknown (After Shaanxi Sheng Kaogu Yanjiusuo 2004, pl. 28.4)
5.6 Tiles excavated from the tomb complex of the First Emperor of Qin, Lintong, Shaanxi Province, China, 3rd century BC. Ceramic, dimensions unknown (Photograph by Wai Kwan Wong)
5.7 Eared cup excavated from Tomb 16, Majiayuan, Gansu Province, China, 4th–3rd centuries BC. Gold and silver openwork plaques with paint, H 17.8 cm, Diameter 16 cm (After Zaoqi Qin Wenhua Lianhe Kaogudui and Zhangjiachuan Huizu Zizhixian Bowuguan 2010, 23, figs 58 and 59)
5.8 *Dui*-tripod excavated from Tomb 18, Majiayuan, Gansu Province, China, 4th–3rd centuries BC. Bronze with copper and turquoise inlay, H 21.4 cm, Diameter 14.6 cm (After Gansu Sheng Wenwu Kaogu Yanjiusuo 2014, 134)
5.9 *Hu*-jar excavated Tomb 1, Majiayuan, Gansu Province, China, 4th–3rd centuries BC. Bronze, H 27.4 cm (After Gansu Sheng Wenwu Kaogu Yanjiusuo 2014, 118)

5.10a Cocoon-shaped bottle excavated from Tomb 3, Majiayuan, Gansu Province, China, 4th–3rd centuries BC. Bronze, H 25.6 cm (After Gansu Sheng Wenwu Kaogu Yanjiusuo 2014, 12, fig. 132)
5.10b The inscription *yang* 鞅 at the bottom of the cocoon-shaped bottle (After Gansu Sheng Wenwu Kaogu Yanjiusuo 2014, 12, fig. 132)
5.11a Illustration of the fragment of a dagger excavated from Tomb 98LDM2, Yuanding Mountain, Shaanxi Province, China, *c*. 7th–5th centuries BC. Bronze hilt, iron blade, and gold pommel and guard with animal designs, L 14.6 cm (After Gansu Sheng Wenwu Kaogu Yanjiusuo and Li Xian Bowuguan 2005, 18, fig. 20) (Author's note: the pommel is erroneously illustrated upside down.) (Left)
5.11b Drawing of the fragment of the dagger in 5.11a (After Gansu Sheng Wenwu Kaogu Yanjiusuo and Li Xian Bowuguan 2005, 13, fig. 10) (Author's note: the pommel is erroneously illustrated upside down.) (Right)
5.12 Drawing of a dagger excavated from a tomb at Houzhuangcun, Gansu Province, China, 7th–3rd centuries BC. Iron blade and bronze hilt with animal designs, probably tinned, dimensions unknown (After Linduff 1997, 45, fig. A42)
5.13 Ink rubbing of a floor tile excavated from Chengshan Palace, Shaanxi Province, China, 3rd–1st centuries BC. Ceramic with rhombus, scrolls, and circle designs, L 46 cm, W 33 cm (After Liu 2003, 4, fig. 5)
5.14 Floor tile excavated from the tomb complex of the First Emperor of Qin, Lintong, Shaanxi Province, China, 3rd century BC. Ceramic with diagonal grid, circles, scrolls, and quatrefoil designs, dimensions unknown (Photograph by Wai Kwan Wong)
5.15 Beaker excavated from the Qin palaces in Xianyang, Shaanxi Province, China, 3rd century BC. Jade with relief decoration, dimensions unknown (After Michaelson 2007, 103, fig. 108)
5.16 Beaker excavated from Tomb 19, Majiayuan, Gansu Province, China, 4th–3rd centuries BC. Glass or faience, with eye bead-like decoration, H 10 cm (After Zaoqi Qin Wenhua Lianhe Kaogudui and Zhangjiachuan Huizu Zizhixian Bowuguan 2012, 14, fig. 28)
5.17 Drawing of the front panel of a chariot showing a textile design on the obverse (upper) and reverse (lower) excavated from the tomb complex of the First Emperor of Qin, Lintong, Shaanxi Province, China, 3rd century BC. Bronze with painted silk, diagonal grid, scrolls, and octagonal designs, L 73.5 cm, W 21.5 cm (After Qin Shihuangdi Ling Bowuyuan 2012, 123, fig. 123)
5.18a Canopied carriage excavated from the tomb complex of the First Emperor of Qin, Lintong, Shaanxi Province, China, 3rd century BC. Bronze with painted cloud patterns arranged in a chequer-style layout within borders, L 328.4 cm, W 104.2 cm (Photograph by Wai Kwan Wong)
5.18b Interior of the carriage box (After Qin Shihuangdi Ling Bowuyuan 2015, 207, fig. 199)
5.19 Saddlecloth excavated from Kurgan 5, Pazyryk, Altai Republic, Russia, 4th–3rd centuries BC. Felt with cloud-like patterns arranged in a chequer-style layout within a scroll border, L 236 cm, W 70 cm (After Gryaznov 1969, 118)
5.20 Drawstring bag found inside the carriage excavated from the tomb complex of the First Emperor of Qin, Lintong, Shaanxi Province, China, 3rd century BC.

Bronze, H 16 cm (After Qin Shihuangdi Ling Bowuyuan 2015, 399, figs 473 and 474)
5.21 Bridle excavated with the carriage from the tomb complex of the First Emperor of Qin, Lintong, Shaanxi Province, China, 3rd century BC. Bronze bit and iron and gold frontlet with goat horn designs, and gold and silver tubular fittings, dimensions unknown (After Qin Shihuangdi Ling Bowuyuan 2012, 308, fig. 335)
5.22 Frontlet with paired goat designs excavated from Tomb 14, Majiayuan, Gansu Province, China, 4th–3rd centuries BC. Iron with silver and gold embellishment, L 13.8 cm, W 4.4–7.4 cm (After Gansu Sheng Wenwu Kaogu Yanjiusuo 2014, 206)
5.23 Tubular harness fittings found in Kurgan 3, Pazyryk, Altai Republic, Russia, 4th–3rd centuries BC. Wood with gold leaves and red pigment, dimensions unknown (After Rudenko 1970, pl. 101D)
5.24 Drawing of a catacomb tomb excavated at Huangjiaguo, Shaanxi Province, China, 4th–3rd centuries BC. Earthen pit with adobe bricks, jade disc, bronze belt hooks, pottery vessels, and animal bones (After Shaanxi Sheng Kaogu Yanjiusuo 2004, fig. 491)
6.1 Spoon-shaped implement excavated from Tomb 18, Daodunzi, Ningxia Hui Autonomous Region, 2nd–1st centuries BC. Bone, L 5.4 cm, Diameter 0.9 cm (After Wu'en Yuesitu 1988, pl. 20.5)
6.2 Twisted wire earring with a small loop at the end excavated from Tomb 13, Daodunzi, Ningxia Hui Autonomous Region, 2nd–1st centuries BC. Gold, Diameter 2 cm (After Wu'en Yuesitu 1988, pl. 20.2)
6.3 Belt plaque with recumbent horse designs excavated from Tomb 19, Daodunzi, Ningxia Hui Autonomous Region, 2nd–1st centuries BC. Bronze, L 10.6 cm, W 5.3 cm (After Wu'en Yuesitu 1988, pls. 20.12)
6.4 Belt plaque with equids and tree designs excavated from Tomb 13, Daodunzi, Ningxia Hui Autonomous Region, 2nd–1st centuries BC. Bronze, L 12.9 cm, W 5.7 cm (After Wu'en Yuesitu 1988, pl. 17.3)
6.5 Belt plaque with camel designs excavated from Tomb 1, Daodunzi, Ningxia Hui Autonomous Region, 2nd–1st centuries BC. Bronze, L 9.8 cm, W 4.9 cm (After Wu'en Yuesitu 1988, pl. 16.1)
6.6 Belt plaque with dragon designs excavated from Tomb 23, Daodunzi, Ningxia Hui Autonomous Region, 2nd–1st centuries BC. Bronze, L 10.2 cm, W 5.9 cm (After Wu'en Yuesitu 1988, pl. 16.4)
6.7 Belt plaque with six-ray design excavated from Tomb 23, Daodunzi, Ningxia Hui Autonomous Region, 2nd–1st centuries BC. Bronze, L 3.15 cm, W 2.9 cm (After Wu'en Yuesitu 1988, pl. 19.7)
6.8 Ring with openwork drop-shape designs from Tomb 13, Daodunzi, Ningxia Hui Autonomous Region, 2nd–1st centuries BC. Bronze, outer diameter 5.9 cm (After Wu'en Yuesitu 1988, pl. 18.6)
6.9 Drawing of Tomb 6, Daodunzi, Ningxia Hui Autonomous Region, 2nd–1st centuries BC. Iron fragments, bronze belt plaque, cowry shells, *wuzhu* coins, a bell pendant, and animal bones (After Wu'en Yuesitu 1988, 340, fig. 7, left)
6.10 Grave goods excavated from Tomb 102, Dyrestuy, Buryatia Republic, Russia, 2nd–1st centuries BC (After Brosseder 2011, 366–7, figs. 14 and 15)

Chapter One: Historical and Theoretical Framework

RESEARCH QUESTION AND HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

This thesis studies the collective group identities of the 7th to 3rd century BC inhabitants of modern-day eastern Gansu Province (*Gansu Sheng* 甘肅省) and southern Ningxia Hui Autonomous Region (*Ningxia Huizu Zizhiqu* 寧夏回族自治區) in China. Located in an area variously referred to as the "cultural frontier",[1] the "Northern Zone",[2] the "crescent-shaped cultural-communication belt",[3] the "Northern Frontier",[4] the "Arc",[5] or the "Inner Asian Frontier",[6] Gansu and Ningxia have

---

[1] William Watson describes the "cultural frontier" as, "the limits to which one can trace the existence and influence of individual components of material and artistic culture which are united in any society." Since societies are involved in a complex web of relationships, the distribution of their material remains will have fluctuated over time. Watson 1971, v.

[2] Lin 1986. Lin defines the "Northern Zone" as the region north of the distribution of Shang material culture distribution in the Central Plains of China. The two regions constitute two mutually independent systems that penetrated, enriched and promoted each other's development. He describes the steppe as a, "marvellous historical whirlpool" that "blended together elements of differing origins to form a unified and fairly stable composite." *Ibid*, 270.

[3] The "crescent-shaped cultural-communication belt" is an area distinguished from surrounding regions by its high altitude environments and the shared social, cultural, and economic features, such as uses of animals and pottery types. See Tong 1990.

[4] Wu'en Yuesitu (1981) uses the term "Northern Frontier" to refer to the region in modern China's northern border. According to him, the region was multi-centred, including the loess plateau in the northwest, the Ordos (*E'erduosi* 鄂爾多斯), and the northeast. Similarly, Emma Bunker and Katheryn Linduff divide the frontier into five zones based on burial practices and material remains. The first zone was in today's eastern Gansu and southern Ningxia; the second zone centred in the Ordos and the areas south of the Yellow River; the third zone centred in the area north of the Yellow River and south of the Yin Mountains in Inner Mongolia; the fourth zone centred in northern Hebei; and the last one in eastern Inner Mongolia and western Liaoning 遼寧 Province. These scholars' views are generally accepted and followed by scholars mentioned in this section. See Bunker 1990b and Linduff 1997, 33–73. Gideon Shelach defines the frontier as an interaction zone between sedentary, semi-sedentary, and pastoral peoples. During the 2nd and 1st millennia BC, the region's inhabitants expressed an identity distinctively different from that of the Zhou through material objects. See Shelach 2009.

[5] Jessica Rawson refers to the same area as the "Arc". Similarly, Rawson defines the area as a contact zone with multiple centres of interaction. The area appears to have been distinct from Dynastic China and the Eurasian steppe in the way that its people practised a mix of pastoral and agricultural subsistence strategies. Archaeological finds indicate there was widespread use of personal weapons, as in the steppe; however, bronze artefacts excavated in this area have similar alloy compositions to bronzes from Dynastic China. Meanwhile, ritual vessels from Dynastic China appear to have been used in local customs. See Rawson 2015.

attracted increasingly more attention in recent years—alongside the neighbouring regions of Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region (*Nei Mengu Zizhiqu* 內蒙古自治區), Shaanxi 陝西, Shanxi 山西, and Hebei 河北—due to new archaeological discoveries and growing scholarly interest in trans-Eurasian contacts.[7] For instance, bronze artefacts found in recent decades in Gansu have sparked scholarly discussions on the introduction of bronze technology to the area known today as China.[8] Based on archaeological finds, Jenny So and Emma Bunker have identified various forms of contact, such as trade and cultural exchange, that took place between the region's inhabitants and those of China's Central Plains prior to the 2nd century AD.[9] Recently, Jessica Rawson has discussed the introduction of personal weapons and gold from the steppe to Dynastic China through the Arc during the 2nd to 1st millennia BC, highlighting different attitudes towards both artefacts and materials between the three groups of people.[10] The emphasis in these studies on contacts and exchanges between people has prompted some researchers to question how the inhabitants of this so-called frontier perceived themselves and their relationships with their neighbours.[11] Based on archaeological and textual sources, Gideon Shelach suggests that a regional

---

[6] Similar to other researchers, Katheryn Linduff, Sun Yan, Cao Wei, and Liu Yuanqin define the area as a frontier between Dynastic China and the steppe, with multiple cores of interaction. See Linduff *et al*. 2017.

[7] For several summaries, see Christian 2000 and Shelach 2014. I refer to this region as a "frontier" in this thesis, as it marks both the cultural and political frontiers of two large regional powers discussed in the main text.

[8] See Linduff 2004 and 2009; and Mei 2009. A recent study of remains from the Eurasian steppe and sites such as Shimao in China by Jessica Rawson suggests that north-central China was one route through which bronze technology was introduced to what is today's China under the circumstance of climate change during the 3rd and 2nd millennia BC. See Rawson 2017b.

[9] So and Bunker 1995. The term "Central Plains" refers to the area on the lower reaches of the Yellow River. This term is also commonly used to refer to early Dynastic China.

[10] Rawson 2015 and 2018. See also Bunker 1993. I am using the term "China" to refer to the geographical area where we today call China for convenience without applying this political concept to the period in question. As for the term "people," it is used to refer to human actors who behave in a similar manner.

[11] Shelach 2009; Linduff *et al*. 2017; and Rawson 2018.

steppe identity took shape in the frontier during the 1st millennium BC.[12] Recently, publications by Jessica Rawson as well as Katheryn Linduff *et al*. have also drawn attention to the changing political environment and affiliations of Arc inhabitants.[13] Nevertheless, the group identities of inhabitants that lived in eastern Gansu and southern Ningxia during the Eastern Zhou (*Dong Zhou* 東周, 771–221 BC) and Qin 秦 (221–206 BC) has been little discussed, and largely remains the concern of a few scholars and archaeologists who have excavated there.[14] This thesis, therefore, contributes to filling a large gap in the archaeological literature concerning group identities of a frontier's inhabitants.

During the 1st millennium BC, the inhabitants of eastern Gansu and southern Ningxia were surrounded by different regional powers. Geographically, eastern Gansu refers to the area east of present-day Lanzhou 蘭州, comprising the cities of Dingxi 定西, Longnan 隴南, Tianshui 天水, Pingliang 平涼, and Qingyang 慶陽 (Maps 1.1 and 1.2). To the north is southern Ningxia, which comprises Zhongwei 中衛 and Guyuan 固原 cities. The whole area is bounded to the east by the Ziwu Mountains (*Ziwu Ling* 子午嶺) that straddle the border between Gansu and Shaanxi, and to the

---

[12] Shelach 2009, 145.

[13] On the basis of late 2nd and early 1st millennia BC tomb assemblages, Linduff *et al*. suggest that the frontier was an area where, "allegiances shift constantly and where self-identified units were generated, established and collapsed." See Linduff *et al*. 2017, 3. Rawson suggests that the Arc was "a meeting place of the traditions of the Central Plains and of the steppe" where the peoples, "made their own choices and added their local contributions." See Rawson 2018, 111.

[14] See Ningxia Bowuguan 1978; Luo 1983; Ningxia Huizu Zizhiqu Bowuguan Kaogudui 1987; Zhou 1989; Luo 1990; Ningxia Wenwu Kaogu Yanjiusuo 1991; Luo and Yan 1993; Ningxia Wenwu Kaogu Yanjiusuo and Ningxia Guyuan Bowuguan 1993; Ningxia Wenwu Kaogu Yanjiusuo and Xiji Xian Wenwu Guanlisuo 1994; Ningxia Wenwu Kaogu Yanjiusuo 1995; Zhong and Han 1985; Ningxia Huizu Zizhiqu Wenwu Kaogu Yanjiusuo and Pengyang Xian Wenwuzhan 2002; Gansu Sheng Wenwu Kaogu Yanjiusuo and Zhangjiachuan Huizu Zizhixian Bowuguan 2008; Wang 2009 and 2014; Zhao 2010a; Gansu Sheng Wenwu Kaogu Yanjiusuo 2012, 2014, and 2017; Zaoqi Qin Wenhua Lianhe Kaogudui and Zhangjiachuan Huizu Zizhixian Bowuguan 2012; Wu X 2013; Yang and Linduff 2013; Gansu Sheng Wenwu Kaogu Yanjiusuo and Qingshui Xian Bowuguan 2014; Yang and Mao 2015; and Ningxia Wenwu Kaogu Yanjiusuo and Pengyang Xian Wenwu Guanlisuo 2016.

south by the Qin Mountains (*Qin Ling* 秦嶺) that run through Dingxi City and south-central Shaanxi. The Yellow River (*Huang He* 黃河) enters eastern Gansu as it flows northeast from Lanzhou and runs east then north into northern Ningxia. There, the Helan Mountains (*Helan Shan* 賀蘭山) mark both the border between Ningxia and Inner Mongolia, as well as the southern boundary of the Gobi Desert (*Gebi Shamo* 戈壁沙漠). The area constitutes part of the Eurasian steppe, which in turn spans from China in Asia to Romania in Europe.

During the 1st millennium BC, the inhabitants of the steppe practised a variety of subsistence strategies, such as hunting, herding, and farming.[15] The inhabitants developed complex, large-scale networks, which are demonstrated by broadly similar material cultures.[16] Meanwhile, conflict-related trauma found on bioarchaeological remains, armour, and instances of tomb desecration suggest that conflict was endemic.[17] During the late 3rd century BC, according to the *Records of the Grand Historian* (*Shiji* 史記) compiled by the Han 漢 Dynasty (206 BC–AD 220) historian Sima Qian 司馬遷 (*c*. 145–86 BC), Maodun 冒頓 (r. 209–174 BC) of the Xiongnu 匈奴 founded an empire (209 BC–AD 150) in the eastern steppe, which enjoyed an

---

[15] Honeychurch and Amartuvshin 2007.

[16] "Material culture" is used in this thesis to denote the material remains left by past peoples. While it is still common in China to find artefacts classified by broadly similar styles, i.e. "archaeological culture", this concept, originally defined by Gordon Childe 1929, has been intensively critiqued in Western archaeology. Though the intricacies of the debate are too numerous to be treated in any depth here, suffice it to say that I use the term "material culture" to emphasise that my inferences are primarily based on patterns identified in the archaeological remains, whilst any further interpretation of what they indicate about human factors—including social, cultural, or political processes—will be explained in more detail where necessary.

[17] Hudiakov and Erdene-Ochir 2010; Eng and Zhang 2013, 238–39; and Honeychurch 2013, 295.

unpredictable relationship with first its Qin then Han neighbours.[18] Recent archaeological study has shown that the empire began to take shape by the 4th century BC, when archaeological evidence attesting to the exchange of goods begins to appear and similar funerary practices were apparently adopted by previously disparate groups.[19] The empire covered roughly an area extending to south Siberia in the north, the Altai Mountains and eastern Kazakhstan in the west, and northeast China in the east.[20] The location of the empire's southern border is controversial. Chinese archaeologists have tended to see the extant Great Wall as the empire's southern border, and several scholars have associated Han period remains in parts of Inner Mongolia, Ningxia, and Shaanxi with the Xiongnu.[21] William Honeychurch has, alternatively, argued that the remains did not belong to the Xiongnu, because the area lacks the same patterns of material remains as seen in Mongolia.[22] How Han historians understood the term "Xiongnu" is subject to debate; however, as I shall explore more thoroughly in the last chapter, the inhabitants of eastern Gansu and southern Ningxia were indeed confronted with the choice of whether to join the Xiongnu Empire or not.

To the southeast of eastern Gansu and southern Ningxia were the Zhou 周 (1045–221 BC) and one of its polities, the State of Qin (770–221 BC), which eventually conquered the other Zhou polities to found the Qin Empire.[23] Based on

---

[18] *Records of the Grand Historian*, 110/2879–920. For studies of the Xiongnu Empire and its relationship with the Han as seen through Chinese historical records, see Barfield 1989 and Di Cosmo 2002.
[19] Honeychurch 2013 and 2015.
[20] *Ibid*.
[21] Tian 1976; Tian and Guo 1986b; and Wu'en Yuesitu 1990.
[22] Honeychurch 2013, 296.
[23] The text *Ancient Bamboo Annals* (*Guben Zhushu Jinian* 古本竹書紀年) suggests that 1027 BC was the year when the Zhou conquered the Shang. However, the date 1045 BC is now generally accepted

textual and archaeological records, the western boundaries of Qin State and, by extension, the Zhou reached southeast Gansu.[24] The Zhou was established in 1045 BC and are commonly divided into the Western Zhou (1045–771 BC) and Eastern Zhou based on the move of the capital. According to Sima Qian, Zhou was invaded by an outside group called the Quan Rong 犬戎—literally the "dog" Rong—in the early 8th century BC. The Zhou King, Ping 平 (r. 770–720 BC), fled to the eastern secondary capital, and the western territory was left for Qin to recapture and defend. During the Eastern Zhou, the rulers of Zhou states became administratively and militarily autonomous. The states fought against each other, while the northern states also fought against the steppe people and built walls to defend their territories. By the Warring States (*Zhanguo* 戰國, 475–221 BC) period,[25] only seven major states had managed to survive. These were eventually conquered by Qin, whose ruler, Ying Zheng 嬴政 (r. 271–221 BC), founded the Qin Empire, becoming the First Emperor (r. 221–210 BC) of the Qin Dynasty. Material remains of Zhou elite families have been excavated in much of central Shaanxi along the Wei River (*Wei He* 渭河) valley, as

---

based on textual and astronomical evidence. See Shaughnessy 1991, 217–36. When the Zhou Dynasty was established, the Zhou king installed royal descendants and chiefs of allied clans as rulers in newly conquered areas in order to consolidate power. In early studies, the relationship between the Zhou kings and rulers of its polities was described as *fengjian* 封建, or feudal; hence, the Zhou polities were considered "feudal states". However, Li Feng points out that the relationship between the Zhou king and his rulers was not similar to that between lords and vassals in medieval Europe where the term originates. I, therefore, follow Li Feng and other recent studies in calling these territorial polities or, as is more common, states. The last Zhou king, Nan 赧 (r. 314–256 BC), was defeated by the Qin State in 256 BC; however, 221 BC, the year when Qin conquered the only remaining state, Qi 齊 (1045–221 BC), in modern Shandong 山東 Province, is generally considered to be the final year of Zhou in modern scholarship. For general overviews of Zhou history, see Lewis 1999a; Shaughnessy 1999; and Li 2003 and 2006.

[24] It should be emphasised that the boundaries are only fuzzy reconstructions based on textual and archaeological records.

[25] The period is named after the text *Intrigues of the Warring States* that records inter-state warfare during that period. For details of the book, see Tsien 1993 and Chapter Two of this thesis.

well as in centres such as Luoyang 洛陽 in Henan and Houma 侯馬 in Shanxi.[26] Such remains have also been found in Li 禮 County in southeast Gansu, close to this thesis' research area. Foundations of what is thought to be a walled city of the Western Zhou have been excavated in the Western Mountains (*Xi Shan* 西山), in addition to tombs with typical Zhou funerary assemblages comprising gradated sets of bronze ritual *ding*-tripods (*ding* 鼎) and *gui*-tureens (*gui* 簋), jade discs (*bi* 壁), and ceramic pouched, legged *li*-cauldrons (*li* 鬲).[27] Foundations of structures and tombs of Eastern Zhou elite have also been found in the same area, in addition to a Han imperial sacrificial site on Luanting Mountain (*Luanting Shan* 鸞亭山).[28] Moreover, Eastern Zhou structural foundations and more than 400 tombs, including those of Qin rulers of the Spring and Autumn (*Chunqiu* 春秋, 770–476 BC) period,[29] were excavated at Dabuzi Mountain (*Dabuzi Shan* 大堡子山) in the same county.[30] The textual and archaeological records show that the inhabitants of eastern Gansu and southern Ningxia were confronted with several regional powers. In order to survive, the inhabitants of eastern Gansu and southern Ningxai had to establish, maintain, and

---

[26] Rawson 1999b, 377.

[27] Zaoqi Qin Wenhua Lianhe Kaogudui and Cao 2008. For a summary of the finds in English, see Zhao 2014. A Western Zhou tomb was found in southern Ningxia. The tomb had a waist pit and yielded a bronze *ding*-tripod and a *gui*-tureen characteristic of Zhou tombs. However, this is an isolated example and the available information does not allow us to determine the political situation in southern Ningxia during the Western Zhou. For the archaeological report, see Ma 2004. For general overviews on Zhou archaeology, see Hsu 1999; Rawson 1999b; von Falkenhausen 1999; and Wu 1999.

[28] Zaoqi Qin Wenhua Lianhe Kaogudui 2005.

[29] The Spring and Autumn period is named after the official chronicle of the State of Lu 魯 (*c*. 1042–249 BC) that covers events that happened in Lu and other states between 772 and 481 BC. The book has traditionally been regarded as having been compiled by Confucius (*Kongzi* 孔子, 551–479 BC). See Cheng 1993.

[30] Zaoqi Qin Wenhua Lianhe Kaogudui 2008; Gansu Sheng Wenwu Kaogu Yanjiusuo and Li Xian Bowuguan 2002 and 2005. The identities of the Qin rulers are indicated by inscribed musical instruments found in sacrificial pits associated with the tombs.

negotiate relationships with these hostile neighbours. It is these intergroup relationships and group identities that this thesis is concerned with.

SOURCES

Classical Chinese texts

There are two different sources of information on the inhabitants of eastern Gansu and southern Ningxia. The first type are the historical texts written by the people in Dynastic China. These include received chronicles such as the *Records of the Grand Historian*, which is one of our major sources on the inhabitants of eastern Gansu and southern Ningxia, and excavated texts like the law codices excavated at Shuihudi 睡虎地 in Yumeng 雲夢 County, Hubei 湖北 Province.[31] The inhabitants of eastern Gansu and southern Ningxia likely belonged to groups that the *Records of the Grand Historian* summarily refers to as Western Rong (*Xi Rong* 西戎), as the texts describe them as having lived roughly in the eastern Gansu, southern Ningxia, and northern Shaanxi area.

To give a general overview, the Western Rong are mainly mentioned in two chapters of *Records of the Grand Historian*: the "Basic Annals of Qin" (*Qin Benji* 秦本紀) and "Account of the Xiongnu" (*Xiongnu Liezhuan* 匈奴列傳). The book states that the Western Rong had lived on the western frontier since the Shang 商 Dynasty (*c*. 1600–1046 BC), and they invaded Zhou, conquering some of its territory during the early half of the 8th century BC. During the 7th century BC, Duke Mu 穆 (r. 659–621 BC) of Qin conquered some of the Western Rong states and established his

---

[31] *Records of the Grand Historian* and Shuihudi Qin Mu Zhujian Zhengli Xiaozu 1978.

hegemony over them. Similarly, the Shuihudi laws portray the Western Rong as subjects to both the State and Empire of Qin. A critical analysis of the texts will be conducted in Chapter Two of this thesis. Here, it is sufficient to briefly comment on the limitations of the available texts: the texts only tell us how the authors and/or their potential audience understood the status of the Western Rong. Moreover, the available texts are problematic, as they are affected by issues such as unclear sources, biases, and discrepancies that severely limit their usefulness in our studies of the inhabitants of eastern Gansu and southern Ningxia.

Burials

Another source of information are archaeological excavations and surveys. Some information comes from the tombs of 7th to 3rd century BC inhabitants of eastern Gansu and southern Ningxia that have been excavated since the late 1970s.[32] To give

[32] Reports on excavations in eastern Gansu and southern Ningxia can be found primarily in the journals *Archaeology* (*Kaogu* 考古), *Cultural Relics* (*Wenwu* 文物), and *Acta Archaeologica Sinica* (*Kaogu Xuebao* 考古學報) published in China. No habitation sites associated with the tombs have been found to date. Material remains from northern Ningxia dating between the 7th and 3rd centuries BC have rarely been found and reported; therefore, I shall not focus on that area in this thesis. For the archaeological reports, see Ningxia Bowuguan 1978; Luo 1983; Zhong and Han 1985; Qin'an Xian Wenhuaguan 1986; Ningxia Huizu Zizhiqu Bowuguan Kaogudui 1987; Liu and Xu 1988; Qingyang Diqu Bowuguan and Qingyang Xian Bowuguan 1988; Zhou 1989; Luo and Han 1990; Ningxia Wenwu Kaogu Yanjiusuo 1991; Guyuan Bowuguan 1992; Yan and Li 1992; Luo and Yan 1993; Ningxia Wenwu Kaogu Yanjiusuo and Ningxia Guyuan Bowuguan 1993; Ningxia Wenwu Kaogu Yanjiusuo and Xiji Xian Wenwu Guanlisuo 1994; Yan 1994; Ningxia Wenwu Kaogu Yanjiusuo 1995; Longde Xian Wenguansuo and Wang 1996; Yang and Qi 1999; Gong 2001; Yao 2001; Ningxia Huizu Zizhiqu Wenwu Kaogu Yanjiusuo and Pengyang Xian Wenwuzhan 2002; Ningxia Wenwu Kaogu Yanjiusuo and Pengyang Xian Wenwu Guanlisuo 2016; Gansu Sheng Wenwu Kaogu Yanjiusuo and Zhangjiachuan Huizu Zizhixian Bowuguan 2008; Gansu Sheng Wenwu Kaogu Yanjiusuo 2012, 2014, and 2017; Gansu Sheng Wenwu Kaogu Yanjiusuo and Shaanxi Sheng Wenwu Kaogu Yanjiuyuan 2013; Gansu Sheng Wenwu Kaogu Yanjiusuo and Qingshui Xian Bowuguan 2014; Yang and Mao 2015; Zaoqi Qin Wenhua Lianhe Kaogudui and Zhangjiachuan Huizu Zizhixian Bowuguan 2009, 2010, 2012, and 2018. I do not include the Xigaoquan 西高泉 tombs (8th to 7th centuries BC) in Baoji City, Shaanxi, that Shi Dangshe associates with the Western Rong in my discussion. This is because the funerary assemblages found in the tombs, except for a dagger with animal designs, do not suggest any connection to the tombs in eastern Gansu and southern Ningxia. For Shi's article, see Shi 2009, 718 and 730. For the archaeological report on the Xigaoquan tombs, see Baoji Shi Bowuguan and Baoji Xian Bowuguan 1980.

an overview, the tombs of inhabitants bear close resemblance to each other in both structure and content. The majority of tombs are catacomb tombs with shaft pits and single main chambers opening to one side where the deceased was placed. The funerary assemblages comprise: heads and hooves of sheep, cattle, goats, and horses; beaded and metal ornaments with animals as the principle decorative subjects; personal weapons; everyday commodities, such as skinning knives; horse tack; wheeled vehicles or their fittings; a small number of ceramic vessels; and, in some cases, Zhou and Qin weapons and ritual vessels. Further information comes similarly from material remains found in Qin territory. The archaeological record allows us to form a perspective of relationships between people on the basis of their material remains.[33]

This thesis offers a new interpretation of regional history. Through an analysis of the historical texts and a contextual analysis of the material remains, I argue that the inhabitants of eastern Gansu and southern Ningxia did not become members of the Zhou or Qin. In fact, the inhabitants presented themselves as a group similar to those in the steppe, and these local and regional identities allowed them to survive and prosper in their location between two large regional powers. I argue that the inhabitants were hired as mercenaries by Qin to guard its northern frontier and unify

---

[33] It should be acknowledged that the archaeological data has its limitation, too. Most tombs are chance finds, and the utility of reports is influenced by the tombs' preservation conditions, as well as the excavator's skills, research interests, and how much space they are permitted to devote to the report. For instance, some of the tombs discussed in this thesis have been published as a one to two page journal article, while others are found in monographs. In addition, early reports pay little attention to artefacts other than bronzes, such as beads, which are only mentioned in passing. It was only with the discovery of the Majiayuan cemetery that archaeologists started to pay more attention to different kinds of artefacts, and various methods have been developed to provide detailed recordings of contexts. For example, the grave pit floor, including the deceased's skeleton and personal belongings, has sometimes been fixed with plaster, removed whole from the tomb, and moved to an archaeological laboratory, where remains can be photographed and excavated at a leisurely pace. This allows the excavators to record the location of every single bead.

the warring states. Through these events, the inhabitants acquired Zhou and Qin artefacts that they buried in their tombs, which have been treated as signs of their adopting Zhou and Qin identities in past studies. Before going into detail about my argument in the following chapters, I will first present how I approach the inhabitants' group identities. As will be explained in the section below, identities are changeable, and they can be constructed and expressed through artefacts. Since the functions and symbolic meanings of artefacts used to communicate ideas change with contexts, it is necessary to examine that contexts that the artefacts were employed in.[34] In the following, I will elaborate on the generally accepted concept of identity, and why and how we can understand identities through the study of burials.

THEORY AND METHOD

Theories of identity

The concept of identity originated in psychology. Popularised by the psychoanalytical theorist Erik H. Erikson, the concept describes a person's personality and moral character that is shaped by his or her time and place.[35] The term has been borrowed by anthropologists, who similarly recognise two types of identity—personal and group—though they emphasise the social dimensions of self, i.e. socialisation and cultural acquisition.[36] Personal identity is defined by characteristics that distinguish a person from others, while group identity is defined by memberships to various groups.[37] In

---

[34] A symbol is an instrument for communication of ideas, and it can take the forms of icons, ritual monuments, and written texts. Processual archaeology viewed symbols as representing the mental reality, while post-processual archaeology argues that symbols constitute reality. See Wobst 1977; DeMarrais *et al*. 1996; and Robb 1988.
[35] Erikson 1980.
[36] Luhrmann 2001 and Howard 2000, 369.
[37] Byron 1996.

the field of archaeology, post-processualist archaeology has advocated ideas of non-human and human agency. Post-processualist archaeology recognises that social structures shape human actions, while also emphasising the capacity of humans and non-humans to change the social structures.[38] Identities are no longer considered to be inherent and static but are changeable.[39] Although identities may appear stable in the long run, this stability is an illusion created by endless choices.[40] A person can have multiple group identities. Identities form due to different reasons, such as interactions within groups and/or threats external to one's group.[41] Humans tend to choose identities that are perceived as advantageous. This is because personal and social identities are interrelated, and humans are more likely to choose identities that contribute to rather than endanger their self-esteem.[42]

The idea that identities are changeable is fundamental to this study, which re-examines whether the inhabitants of eastern Gansu and southern Ningxia changed their group identities, as past studies have suggested. We might ask whether the concept of identity existed during the period under study. Based on two pieces of information, I think the concept did exist for two reasons. Firstly, other studies have demonstrated that explicit group identities were expressed and enacted in

---

[38] Processual and post-processual archaeology are theories that prevailed after War World II. Post-processual archaeology is a response to processual archaeology. Processual archaeology focuses on the adaptive nature of materials to environments and its primary interest is on identifying rules in archaeological assemblages. By contrast, post-processual archaeology emphasises the influence of humans and materials on building the archaeological record. See Hodder 2001 and Renfew and Bahn 2005. The idea that ongoing processes of structuration and transformation contribute to forming archaeology is shared by many. See, for example, Hodder 1986; Robb 1998, 332; Sökefeld 1999; Díaz-Andreu and Lucy 2005; Ekengren 2013, 176; and Gramsch 2013, 460–2. The idea took inspiration from Pierre Bourdieu's idea of "habitus" that explains mutually constitutive relationships between perceptions and practices on the one hand, and changes on the other. See Bourdieu 1977, 72–8.
[39] Butler 1990, 89.
[40] *Ibid*, 40–3.
[41] LeVine and Campbell 1972, 59.
[42] Howard 2000, 369 and Deaux 1993.

neighbouring Zhou and Qin, for example, through the gifting of chariots by Zhou kings.[43] On this basis, the existence of a Zhou identity must have compelled their immediate neighbours in eastern Gansu and southern Ningxia to reflect on their group identities when they interacted with the Zhou and Qin people.[44] Secondly, the consistency in material culture over several centuries suggests that the inhabitants were aware of the identities they were projecting through material culture and worked to maintain it. This process was likely informed by their relationships with each other and their neighbours. Having discussed what identity is in current archaeological thought and whether the concept existed during the 7th to 3rd centuries BC, the focus turns to how we can reveal identities from physical remains and why we should do so.

In order to communicate, humans transform ideas, such as identities, into physical materials—a process referred to as materialisation.[45] Burial is one of the arenas where communication of ideas take place. Andrew Jones calls a burial a performance or, "a drama of mortuary display," where people communicate identities through a singular or multi-stage events that involves dressing the deceased, constructing a tomb, and carrying out funerary rites.[46] Through burial remains, therefore, we can study the identities that the living wished to project using the deceased group member, as well as potentially some aspects of the deceased's own identities.[47] Identities are re-negotiated between and within different groups. At a

---

[43] Wu H 2013. Wu Hsiao-yun suggests that, "as shown by the inscription of the Mao Gong *ding*, giving golden chariots in the appointment ceremonies and then documenting them on bronzes played a prominent role in the maintenance of the relationship between the king and his subordinates in the Zhou political context. The institutional value of chariots as a component of material presentations of the Zhou collective identity can also be demonstrated by the regular practices of burying whole chariots and of burying chariot parts." See Wu H 2013, 62. See also Jaffe 2012 for Zhou identity.
[44] See Meskell 2002 for the formation of identity as a response to an external group.
[45] DeMarrais *et al*. 1996, 16; Robb 1998, 331; Howard 2000, 371; and Fowler 2013.
[46] Jones 2008.
[47] DeMarrais *et al*. 1996, 17.

practical level, members of the same group minimise their dissimilarities in relation to each other, while simultaneously emphasising differences when faced with another group.[48] High-status groups generate dependencies and pursue prestige by means such as manipulating and redistributing resources, as well as occupying central places in burials.[49] Past studies have shown that identities can be constructed and presented through body manipulation.[50] This can be done using clothes, ornaments, and tattoos that are perceived simultaneously and conceived of as extensions of human bodies.[51] Ethnographic studies have demonstrated the important role of clothes in the formation of identity in the contexts of local political and global economic changes in Bolivia.[52] According to Elayne Zorn, traditional clothes were worn by an Andean group called Sakaka to reinforce an indigenous identity under Spanish colonial rule.[53] Meanwhile, another group called the Taquile that live near Lake Titicaca present themselves in traditional clothes as, "part of their cultural strategy," to benefit from tourism.[54] Furthermore, Lesley Gill has found that elite households in La Paz favour traditional clothes made and decorated with expensive materials to distinguish the wearers from their servants, who come from the same cultural background.[55] In Zhou China, clothes also seem to have been an important identity marker. For example, Jenny So suggests that the Zhou elite in Shaanxi wore personal regalia made of coloured stones that were more popular in the borderlands and steppe to assert that they were either equal to or

---

[48] Hodder 1982, 119–22.
[49] Friedman and Rowlands 1978, 219; Pearson 1982; and Brumfield and Earle 1987; and DeMarrais *et al*. 1996, 18.
[50] Human bodies have three dimensions, namely the physical, social, and political, as is argued by Steven van Wolputte 2004.
[51] Howard 2000; Fisher and Loren 2003, 25; Hansen 2004; Entwistle 2000, 10; and Meskell 2000.
[52] For an overview of recent studies on this topic, see Hansen 2004, 373–74.
[53] Zorn 2004b.
[54] Zorn 2004a.
[55] Gill 1993.

more important than non-Zhou groups, particularly when such groups presented a threat or political marriages were arranged with them.[56] The role of personal ornaments as identity markers is demonstrated by the fact that the Zhou elite abandoned the foreign ornaments and returned to wearing traditional jade ornaments after they settled at the eastern capital in Luoyang.[57] According to similar sounding passages in the *Intrigues of the Warring States* (*Zhanguo Ce* 戰國策) and *Records of the Grand Historian*, King Wuling 武靈 (r. 325–299 BC) of Zhao 趙 State (430–222 BC) faced strong opposition when he began to wear *Hu* 胡 (a term used in the historical texts to refer to non-Zhou people in the north) clothes.[58] He further advised his soldiers to wear the same clothes and learn archery from horseback. Opposition stemmed from the royal family and officials, fearing that the reform would isolate the state from Zhou and lead to a loss of Zhou identity. If the records are true, we can infer that the idea of clothes as an identity marker was likely to have been shared by Zhao's immediate neighbours on the Zhou frontier. A group identity was also constructed and presented through common burial practices. According to Neil Coomber, a Zhou identity was created and manifested in the core Zhou area in Shaanxi and Henan 河南 through organised burial practices that involved the same burial structures, tomb furniture, division of spaces within graves, and similar burial assemblages that constituted mainly jade ornaments and gradated ritual vessels.[59] Lastly, studies also show that identities can also be manipulated by monuments,

---

[56] So, forthcoming.
[57] *Ibid*.
[58] *Records of the Grand Historian*, 43/1805–13.
[59] See Coomber's study of the burials of the Xing 邢 lineage and Guo 虢 State (1045–687 BC) in Shaanxi and Henan. Coomber 2011, 71–106.

which not only mark ownership of places, but they also strengthen perceptions of belonging.[60]

Contextual analysis

The functions and symbolic meanings of artefacts change with context; therefore, it necessary to study the artefacts within their physical contexts. Fredrik Ekegren has highlighted several important aspects necessary to consider when conducting contextual analysis. According to Ekegren, in order to identify changes and the intentions of the tomb's builders, researchers need to compare tombs and their contents with others from different periods and places.[61] The grave goods should not be studied in isolation, because their functions and symbolic meanings are related and may not be the same as when the artefacts are used outside the burials. Therefore, it is important to understand the relationship between different artefacts, as well as between artefacts and their contexts. Researchers should also pay attention to the physical properties of artefacts, because these can provide clues as to the artefacts' life histories. Physical properties, such as form, size, decoration, material, colour, and texture, may also indicate how the artefacts might have been perceived by their owners.[62] Only by considering all these aspects will we be able to understand the functions and symbolic meanings of material remains. Similarly, lists of different aspects that are important when conducting a contextual analysis have been proposed by other scholars. For instance, Elisabeth DeMarrais, Luis Castillo, and Timothy

---

[60] DeMarrais *et al*. 1996, 19.
[61] Ekengren 2013, 181–84.
[62] See Rawson 2011 for an insightful example of how the study of physical properties can determine the models, sources, and symbolic meanings of artefacts.

Earle emphasise the provenances, associations, and commercial values of artefacts;[63] John E. Robb presents a list of aspects that include: (a) iconic or presentation meaning; (b) structural and relational meanings of symbols; (c) phenomenological or experiential meaning of symbols; (d) grammar and variants of forms; (e) perceptual aspects of symbolic artefacts; (f) cross-artefacts styles and semantic associations; (g) social connections and associations of artefact and use wear; (h) technical analysis of techniques of manufactures and use wear; (i) economic aspects of artefacts manufacture and circulations; (j) knowledge and execution of artefact manufacture as cultural process; (k) artefact life histories from manufacture through deposition; (l) context, usage and interpretation; (m) knowledge differentials and layers of interpretation among users of artefacts, and (n) ambiguity, multiplicity of interpretations, misunderstandings, and irony.[64] Similar to the other studies, this list highlights the physical properties, life histories, inter-artefact relationships, and connections between artefacts and their contexts.

This thesis on the tombs in eastern Gansu and southern Ningxia will follow the contextual approach described above. Here, it is sufficient to take Tomb 8 at the Majiayuan 馬家塬 cemetery as an example to illustrate the importance of such an approach.[65] Tomb 8 yielded a Zhou iron dagger-axe (*ge* 戈) that has been interpreted as evidence of the occupant's subordination to the Zhou.[66] However, if we look at the burial goods contextually, we can see that the dagger-axe was buried alongside an

---

[63] DeMarrais *et al*. 1996, 18.
[64] Robb 1998, 341.
[65] For the archaeological report, see Zaoqi Qin Wenhua Lianhe Kaogudui and Zhangjiachuan Huizu Zizhixian Bowuguan 2010.
[66] Yang and Linduff 2013, 82.

iron dagger, like those commonly carried by steppe inhabitants.[67] The Zhou dagger-axe did not replace the steppe dagger, and their co-existence in the tomb demands a new interpretation of the tomb occupant's group identities. The likely Chu 楚 (*c.* 1030–223 BC) source of the dagger-axe also demands a more nuanced explanation of the tomb occupant's relationship with the various Zhou states, which has not been given in past studies.

The above sections cover the historical background of eastern Gansu and southern Ningxia, sources of information on their inhabitants, the concept of identity, and the contextual approach that will be used in this thesis. These elucidate why and how this thesis approaches the group identities of inhabitants of eastern Gansu and southern Ningxia. The following chapters argue that the inhabitants of eastern Gansu and southern Ningxia presented themselves like inhabitants in the steppe, since a steppe identity was best suited to cope with the difficult geopolitical situation.

This argument deviates from widely promulgated theories that assume that the inhabitants of eastern Gansu and southern Ningxia became members of the Zhou and Qin. The different conclusions stem from the fact that most previous studies have based their arguments on Chinese historical records and selective readings of archaeological remains, overlooking finds that are inconsistent with their views. This probably stems from the fact that historical texts are treated as broadly credible in China, and archaeologists often use them uncritically to validate or explain excavated materials, while the reverse is typically the case in Western archaeological practice. Before pursuing the argument in further detail, the following section reviews the text-

---

[67] For weapon types commonly used in the steppe and China during 2nd and 1st millennia BC, see Rawson 2015.

centric, selective approaches of past studies, while also exploring other problems, such as anachronisms and generalisations.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Archaeological finds dated from the 7th to 3rd centuries BC from eastern Gansu and southern Ningxia have been generally overlooked in scholarly work on trans-Eurasian contacts, and group identities in the region have predominantly remained the domain of local archaeological institutes and few others. Until the early 2000s, the general introductions found in the Chinese Academy of Science's encyclopedia *Chinese Archaeology* (*Zhongguo Kaoguxue* 中國考古學)[68] and publications by Jenny So, Emma Bunker, Katheryn Linduff, and Wu'en Yuesitu were almost the only syntheses on finds in the region.[69] One of the reasons why the finds have attracted little attention may be due to the lack of data published in English or other foreign languages such as Russian. Another reason may be that much attention given to the steppe has concentrated on finds in south Siberia, Mongolia, and the northern Black Sea littoral.[70] Neither have the finds received much attention from scholars working on China. For instance, they are barely mentioned in the symposium (published in 2014) of an international workshop on Qin history held at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem in 2008.[71] In a more recent symposium, *Beyond the First Emperor's Mausoleum: New Perspectives on Qin Art*, held by the Minneapolis Institute of Art in America in 2012, only two papers presented mentioned the tombs studied in this

---

[68] Zhongguo Shehui Kexueyuan Kaogu Yanjiusuo 2004.
[69] So and Bunker 1995; Linduff 1997, 40–4; Bunker 2002, 24–6; and Wu'en Yuesitu 2002, 444–45.
[70] For some of the recent studies, see Parzinger 2007 and Simpson and Pankova 2017.
[71] Pines *et al*. 2014. The Majiayuan cemetery was mentioned in passing in an article written by Zhao Huacheng. See Zhao 2014, 56–7.

thesis.[72] An explanation for this apparent lack of interest may be that the tombs are located in an area considered to be on "the periphery of Chinese civilisation" and, therefore, are considered less important and of less interest than those in the "core" area.[73] The concept of "Chinese civilisation" that pervades such attitudes is problematic, as what constitutes "civilisation" is contentious, and the concept is considerably influenced by political interests.[74] In the field of archaeology, the origin(s) and development of "Chinese civilisation" remain topics of heated debate.[75]

Some early studies of group identities in eastern Gansu and southern Ningxia are found in archaeological reports on tombs. In most archaeological reports, there is a section titled *Zu Shu* 族屬, which can be translated as "ethnic affiliation", where the excavators match tomb locations and dates with groups mentioned in Chinese historical records.[76] The deceased are often associated with the Western Rong and sometimes with one of the eight named Western Rong states said to have surrendered to the State of Qin. The studies are problematic, partly because they assume a shared origin and kin relations between the deceased that have not been proven, [77] and partly because they are based on selective readings of the textual and archaeological records.

---

[72] The two papers concerning tombs in eastern Gansu and southern Ningxia were presented by Wang Hui and Jenny So and will be discussed in the main text.
[73] Zaoqi Qin Wenhua Lianhe Kaogudui 2012, 106.
[74] Wang 1997.
[75] It was widely accepted that Chinese civilisation originated at the valley along the middle range of the Yellow River. This view has been contested by scholars such as one of leading figures in Chinese archaeology, Su Bingqi, who argued the Hongshan 紅山 culture (*c*. 3500 BC) in the northern region marked the dawn of Chinese civilisation. For the development of archaeological thoughts in China through the career of Su Bingqi, see Wang 1997 and Wong 2018.
[76] In China, reports in archaeological journals follow the format of first describing and mapping the locations of the tombs, then describing the structures of tombs, and then describing grave goods based on typologies of material and shape. Most of the time only a select group of grave goods are reported and illustrated. At the end of the reports, there is a section where the excavators briefly discuss the dating of the tombs and the ethnic affiliations and social statuses of the tomb occupants.
[77] For the same view, see Yu 1985, 181. For discussions of ethnic identity, see Levine 1999, 168 and Lucy 2005.

For instance, Luo Feng suggests that the Zhou dagger-axes found in tombs in southern Ningxia show that the inhabitants were, "strongly influenced by the Central Plains culture," however, he ignores how the dagger-axes were used in tombs, as well as how they came to be part of burial assemblages;[78] issues that will be explored in Chapter Five. The studies also suffer from anachronisms: Zhou Xinhua suggests that a motif on a bronze plaque from Langwozikeng 狼窩子坑 in southern Ningxia represents Nüwa 女媧, a mother goddess figure in Chinese mythology, and, consequently, the deceased belonged to the "Chinese ethnic group" (*Zhonghua minzu* 中華民族).[79] However, not only is the motif highly abstract, but "Chinese" as an ethnic affiliation is also a political invention of the 19th to 20th centuries; hence, it is anachronistic to look for people who identified themselves as such in the 1st millennium BC.[80]

Another problem with viewing the material remains from a Dynastic Chinese perspective is evident in recent studies of Majiayuan and other extremely rich cemeteries in eastern Gansu.[81] This is not entirely surprising, because the excavations were initiated with the aim of studying Qin history.[82] The cemeteries were excavated by the Collaborative Archaeological Team for Early Qin Culture (*Qin Wenhua Lianhe Kaogudui* 秦文化聯合考古隊),[83] jointly formed by the Gansu Provincial Institute of Archaeology, the National Museum of China, Shaanxi Provincial Institute of

---

[78] Luo 1990, 747.
[79] Zhou 1989, 979.
[80] Zhao 2006.
[81] Wang 2009 and 2014; Gansu Sheng Wenwu Kaogu Yanjiusuo 2012; Wu X 2013; and Yang and Linduff 2013.
[82] Mao *et al*. 2004; Gansu Sheng Wenwu Kaogu Yanjiusuo and Zhangjiachuan Huizu Zizhixian Bowuguan 2008; and Gansu Sheng Wenwu Kaogu Yanjiusuo and Zhongguo Guojia Bowuguan 2008.
[83] Renamed the Collaborative Archaeological Team for the Qin and Western Rong Cultures (*Qin Wenhua Yu Xirong Wenhua Lianhe Kaogudui* 秦文化與西戎文化聯合考古隊) in 2018.

Archaeology, and the schools of Archaeology and Museology of Northwestern University and Peking University in 2006. In 2012, the team went on a trip to Gansu, Ningxia, Shaanxi, and Inner Mongolia to survey archaeological sites and study collections held by museums and archaeological institutes. The trip resulted in reports describing the aims and methods employed in studying tombs in eastern Gansu and southern Ningxia.[84] According to the reports' introduction, the history and culture of the Western Rong are important because, without them, the study of Chinese history, in particular Zhou and Qin, are otherwise incomplete.[85] In terms of method, the scholars suggest that researchers should, "make clear the features, contents, locations, and dates of different archaeological cultures in the same area (transcending modern provincial borders) through studies of archaeological cultures. On this basis, [researchers] make use of textual records to study the people's ethnicity and their social histories."[86]

The dominance of a Dynastic Chinese perspective is conspicuous in the report written by the team members. One of the members, Wang Hui, states that Majiayuan would have been located on the periphery of "Chinese civilisation".[87] He further argues that, as the inhabitants were defeated by the Qin State, Qin culture constituted an increasingly major part of the inhabitants' culture, in addition to steppe culture. Wang Hui proposes that one of the important tasks for future studies is to examine the

---

[84] Zaoqi Qin Wenhua Lianhe Kaogudui 2012.
[85] The Chinese report reads: 在研究中國歷史的發展，尤其是在對周、秦歷史和周、秦文化的研究中，羌戎民族的歷史和文化的研究是不可避免要遇到的問題。See Zaoqi Qin Wenhua Lianhe Kaogudui 2012, 105. The same idea has been expressed earlier by Zhao Huacheng, who suggests that the study of the Rong was an important part of the study of ancient Chinese civilisation. See Zhao 1989, 175.
[86] The report reads: 以考古學文化的研究，將同一區域（打破現今的行政區域）的不同考古學文化特徵、內涵、分佈、年代廓清，在此基礎上結合文獻記載，分析其族屬，研究其社會歷史 See Zaoqi Qin Wenhua Lianhe Kaogudui 2012, 97.
[87] *Ibid,* 106.

"Sinicisation" (*Huaxiahua* 華夏化) of the inhabitants.[88] Wang's argument is problematic, not only because he bases it on the historical Chinese records, the usefulness of which is questionable, but also because he adopts a core-periphery framework. The idea of Chinese civilisation's radiating influence prevalent among Chinese scholars has been subject to critique, because it assumes that inhabitants of the so-called peripheries were passive recipients of Chinese influences.[89] The term "Sinicisation" that Wang Hui uses is also problematic because of its negative connotations. According to Li Feng, the word *hua* 華 was derived from Mount Hua (*Hua Shan* 華山), which is located between the Zhou capitals in the Wei River valley—Feng 豐 and Hao 鎬—and Luoyi 雒邑 in the east, while the word *xia* 夏 comes from the name of the first dynasty to which the Zhou rulers traced their ethnic origin.[90] Commonly used in Eastern Zhou texts, the compound term *Huaxia* 華夏 was used to denote a cultural identity that arose after large numbers of steppe people came into Zhou territory after the fall of the Western Zhou. According to Li, the term was, "a political ideology or strategy to unite the native Chinese [Zhou] states against their common enemies."[91] The newcomers, who were categorised as non-*Huaxia*, were perceived as inhumane and barbaric. This perception can be demonstrated by the conversation between a ruler and his minister from the Jin 晉 (1045–376 BC) State, recorded in the *Zuo Tradition* (*Zuo Zhuan* 左傳). The ruler states that the Rong,

---

[88] See Wang 2014 for an English article written by the same author that repeats most of the arguments. Mi Yumei and Zhao Huacheng call it a "process of civilisation". See Mi and Zhao 2015, 91.
[89] See, for example, Shelach 2002, 24.
[90] Li 2006, 287.
[91] *Ibid*, 285–93.

unlike the Hua people, were "birds and beasts" (*qinshou* 禽獸).[92] Similarly, the Rong are described in the *Discourses of the States* (*Guoyu* 國語) as non-*Huaxia*, because they were physically inferior.[93] By using the term Sinicisation, scholars are implicitly agreeing with these historical biases that are factually incorrect, whilst simultaneously assigning a culturally and genetically inferior position to steppe people.

Wang's text-centric approach is exacerbated by a non-contextual approach to the material remains. In an earlier article, Wang argues that the number of gradated steps leading into the tombs at Majiayuan was influenced by the graded hierarchy in Zhou,[94] where social ranks were represented by gradated sets of ritual vessels. Following the standardised format of Chinese archaeological reports, Wang categorises the finds at Majiayuan based on their materials and types. This precludes consideration of the ways the artefacts were used in the tombs and the real functions they served in the construction of identities, which I shall discuss in Chapters Four and Five.

Other scholars have also examined the tombs in eastern Gansu and southern Ningxia from a Dynastic Chinese perspective.[95] Wu Xiaolong describes relationship between the region and Qin as that of an empire with barbarians, as well as colonisers with the colonised. He continues, stating that the deceased at Majiayuan were part of Yiqu State (*Yiqu Guo* 義渠國) of the Western Rong, which was conquered and

---

[92] See the chapter "The Fourth Year of Duke Xiang" (*Xianggong Sinian* 襄公四年) in the *Zuo Tradition*. See *Zuo Tradition*, 14/817. In the chapter "The First Year of Duke Min" (*Mingong Yuannian* 閔公元年) in the same book, the Rong are condemned as "jackals and wolves" (*chailang* 豺狼). (*Zuo Tradition*, 4/214). The *Zuo Tradition* is attributed to Zuo Qiuming by historians such as Sima Qian. For the history of the *Zuo Tradition*, see Zhang *et al*. 1993 and Chapter Two of this thesis.

[93] It is said that the Rong's "*qi* and blood was not stable, like birds and beasts" (*Qixue buzhi, ruo qinshou yan* 氣血不治，若禽獸焉). See *Discourses of the States*, 2/62.

[94] Wang 2009, 72. See also Mi and Zhao 2015, 88.

[95] Wu X 2013 and Yang and Linduff 2013. The article by Yang Jianhua and Katheryn Linduff is modified from a Chinese article authored by Yang Jianhua and published in 2010.

subsequently enclosed within a border wall, by King Zhao 昭 (r. 306–251 BC) of Qin.[96] Wu suggests that the deceased belonged to the upper echelons of society in eastern Gansu and southern Ningxia and that they demonstrated their connections with the steppe and Qin through their possessions. Like Wang Hui, Wu Xiaolong bases his argument concerning the inhabitants' group identities on selected Chinese texts, assuming asymmetrical power relationships between the inhabitants and Qin that involved the former aiming to become equal with and resemble the latter. However, the analyses of textual and archaeological records presented in the following chapters do not support his argument.

Yang Jianhua and Katheryn Linduff share Wu Xiaolong's view. They suggest that the ceramic vessels, labelled as Western Rong by Zhao Huacheng and the excavators of Majiayuan, represent a "native identity."[97] Simultaneously, artefacts such as weapons, horse and vehicle fittings, and ritual vessels connect the deceased with Zhou authority, while what they call "exotic" steppe artefacts indicate that the deceased at Majiayuan had higher social status than others. The two scholars also suggest that the gold and silver animal plaques on wheeled vehicles and those on the clothes of a warrior buried at Issyk, Kazakhstan, show, "a direct link between Semirechye [a historical term referring to the southeast, mountainous part of Kazakhstan where the tomb is located] and the interior of Dynastic China."[98] The two scholars also suggest that the deceased buried in Tombs 1 and 3 were a married couple. They argue that the deceased in Tomb 1 is male, based on the weapons and

---

[96] I shall discuss my translation of the term *guo* 國 in the next chapter.
[97] Zhao Huacheng associates the ceramic *li*-cauldrons with pouched-legs and shovel-shaped toes found at Maojiaping 毛家坪 in Gangu 甘谷 County, Tianshui City, with the *Ji* 冀 Rong group and those with pointed toes with Qin. Zhao 1989, 17–24. For the excavators' opinion, see, for example, Gansu Sheng Wenwu Kaogu Yanjiusuo and Zhangjiachuan Huizu Zizhixian Bowuguan 2008, 27.
[98] Yang and Linduff 2013, 79.

horse bits among the grave goods, while the one in Tomb 3 is a female, as the steppe artefacts were her dowry and represented her natal identity. The above arguments are questionable, because Yang and Linduff divorce the artefacts from their contexts. Firstly, whether either tomb occupant was born in the area cannot be proven by material remains alone, not to mention by ceramic vessels. The ceramic *li*-cauldron believed to have represented a particular native identity have been found, not only in eastern Gansu and southern Ningxia, but also in Qin tombs at Doujitai 鬥雞台 in Baoji 寶雞 City, Shaanxi, and seems to have ultimately originated in Zhukaigou 朱開溝 in Junggar Banner (*Zhunge'er Qi* 準格爾旗), Inner Mongolia.[99] Considering that certain type of artefacts intersect different identity groups, the ceramic vessels alone cannot not be taken as evidence of a local identity.

The categorisation of steppe artefacts as exotica is also questionable, because it presupposes the inhabitant's origins and precludes a shared group identity among those buried at Majiayuan and in the steppe. Moreover, the argument that steppe artefacts at Majiayuan lent the deceased higher social status also overlooks the fact that people interred in so-called lesser tombs also have steppe parallels, which will be shown in Chapter Three. As for the link between Semirechye and Majiayuan, Yang and Linduff's argument does not fully clarify how the ornamental plaques on clothes at Issyk inspired the making of ornamental plaques for vehicles, and how three-dimensional animal figures on bronze mirrors found along the Tian Shan were able to transmit the idea of ornamental plaques. More importantly, the two scholars do not consider all ornaments on the vehicles within their contexts, which, if they had, would

[99] Su 1948 and Shelach 2009, 20.

have pointed them towards a different source for the vehicle designs that I will discuss in Chapter Three.[100] Lastly, the two scholars do not provide evidence for their claim of the marital relationship between the deceased in Tombs 1 and 3, whose skeletal remains are not preserved, and their sexes and ages can, thus, not be determined. Generalisations of sex and gender using certain kinds of artefacts have long been subject to critique in archaeology—as I shall show in Chapter Three, both the primary male and female occupants of Arzhan 2 were interred with personal weapons—and biological sex as expressed in the social sphere can be either emphasised or altered by artefacts.[101] In fact, gender-specific artefacts or funerary practices cannot be confidently identified based on published materials from the Majiayuan cemetery.

In addition to the above studies, there are studies that have emphasised the steppe connections of the finds at Majiayuan. For instance, both Jenny So and Jessica Rawson have pointed out similarities between the gold ornaments found at Majiayuan and the steppe.[102] More remarkably, So has highlighted the foreign influence on the Qin people in terms of object types, materials, and techniques. Based on personal weapons, Rawson also points out that the inhabitants of eastern Gansu, southern Ningxia, and the steppe valued the military prowess of individuals; something not evident in Dynastic China. Collectively, these studies point to the inhabitants of eastern Gansu and southern Ningxia as having identified closely with steppe cultures, while maintaining more complicated relationships with the State and Empire of Qin than past studies have assumed. Such arguments and their implications for

---

[100] The same holds for Wang Hui's study of the vehicles. See Wang 2009, 72.
[101] Sofaer and Sørensen 2013, 530–32 and 535.
[102] So 2014 and Rawson 2018.

understanding identities in the 1st millennium BC eastern steppe are yet to be fully appreciated.

As is highlighted above, most past studies of the inhabitants of eastern Gansu and southern Ningxia are strongly influenced by the Chinese historical texts and non-contextual approaches to material remains. The inhabitants have been considered to be less socially advanced than the Zhou and Qin, and they are believed to have been conquered and assimilated in the 1st millennium BC. However, as will be shown in this thesis, a critical analysis of the Chinese texts and contextual analysis of the material remains suggests a completely different picture: not only that the inhabitants do not seem to have been conquered at any point by Qin, but also that they retained reciprocal relationships with their Qin neighbours, while affiliating themselves with other groups in the steppe region.

THESIS STRUCTURE

Including this introductory chapter, this thesis comprises six chapters that explore the group identities of people living in eastern Gansu and southern Ningxia from the 7th to 3rd centuries BC. In Chapter Two, I analyse what the received and excavated Chinese texts can tell us about these identities and discuss whether we should rely on them. I argue that the usefulness of the texts is limited, because they were typically written much later than the events they describe and only reflect how court historians and their audiences understood the inhabitants of eastern Gansu and southern Ningxia. More importantly, the available texts are riddled with issues, such as unclear sources, probable political biases, and discrepancies within and between texts. Therefore, I

propose that studying of the inhabitants of eastern Gansu and southern Ningxia should not presume that they were subjects of Zhou and Qin, as previous studies have done.

The chapters following this deal with questions concerning the nature of group identities in this region, and why such identities were constructed and maintained. In Chapter Three, I describe theories relating to steppe inhabitants and their material cultures, with examples from the Sayan-Altai region. The chapter summarises steppe inhabitants' preferences for: burial mounds; domesticated animal sacrifices as represented by crania and hooves in burials; beaded and metal ornaments; personal weapons that were hung from belts; and animals as principal subjects in decoration. In the descriptions of the material remains, I draw attention to steppe inhabitants' interactions with the Achaemenid (550–330 BC) and Hellenistic (323–31 BC) worlds as well as the Asian campaigns of Alexander III of Macedon (r. 336–323 BC) that provide a necessary background against which the 7th to 3rd century BC material culture of eastern Gansu and southern Ningxia can be understood. In sum, Chapter Three builds a foundation for studying the material culture and group identities in the following two chapters.

Chapter Four reveals strong similarities between the 7th to 3rd century BC material remains excavated in eastern Gansu and southern Ningxia and those from other parts of the steppe. As explained above, the remains are analysed based on their archaeological contexts rather than their categories, because it is only through this approach that the artefacts' functions and symbolic meanings can be understood. The highly detailed descriptions of the artefacts may seem unnecessary to some; however, it is necessary because they make clear the features and functions of artefacts, many of which have either been misread or overlooked by past studies. A few examples

include: a belt hook excavated from Tomb 14 at Majiayuan with a design of two combating felines, which have been mistakenly interpreted as Chinese dragons; openwork silver plaques used to decorate vehicles at Majiayuan that have been ignored; overlooked techniques of decoration on the same silver plaques that indicate they were made to imitate fabrics; and a hairnet from Tomb 4 at Majiayuan that highlights a previously unknown connection with the Hellenistic world. As explained in the literature review, an item's physical properties are closely related to its symbolic meaning; therefore, it is important to describe the artefacts clearly and in detail.

Chapter Five focuses on Zhou and Qin weapons and ritual vessels found in tombs in eastern Gansu and southern Ningxia. As mentioned above, in most previous studies, the burial goods have been decontextusalised and viewed as evidence for the adoption of Zhou and Qin authority and identities in past studies. By analysing the artefacts in their archaeological and broader historical contexts, I argue that they were most likely war plunder and diplomatic gifts acquired while serving as mercenaries for the State and Empire of Qin, and that they served to enhance the prestige of the deceased. I take inspiration from Katheryn Linuff's study of the 8th to 5th century BC Yuhuangmiao 玉皇廟 cemetery in Yangqing 延慶 County, Beijing 北京, which has been associated with the Mountain Rong (*Shan Rong* 山戎).[103] According to Linduff, the cemetery was located within the Zhou borders, but the tombs' shapes and contents, including animal bones, belt plaques, and Tagar-type weapons, were different from what is commonly seen in the Zhou political centre. Drawing on Chinese historical records, Linduff suggests that the inhabitants might have been mounted mercenaries

[103] Linduff 2006, 366.

in the service of the Zhou military who fought against other non-Zhou groups. Although Linduff's mercenary theory is useful, I find the explanation simplistic, because the Chinese texts that the argument is based on are not cited. Nor is it explained how the steppe weapons show that the deceased were Yan 燕 (*c*. 1045–222 BC) mercenaries, while the fact that there are no Zhou artefacts in the tombs is highly problematic. In fact, randomly placed Zhou bronze ritual vessels were found in some of the tombs, as in the rich tombs in eastern Gansu.[104] In this thesis' discussion of how and why the inhabitants of eastern Gansu and southern Ningxia acquired and buried Zhou and Qin weapons and ritual vessels with their dead, I highlight much neglected archaeological evidence to argue that equal and reciprocal relationships existed between the two groups.

The final chapter summarises the arguments put forward in previous chapters and discusses their impacts on current understanding of this region's history. I also briefly discuss what happened to the inhabitants after the emergence of the Xiongnu Empire and raise questions for future study. In sum, I present a new interpretation of history in eastern Gansu and southern Ningxia by presenting a different perspective on the relationships between the inhabitants and their neighbours in the steppe and Dynastic China. I hope that the textual and contextual analyses will also be informative to future studies on this and other frontiers between the steppe and Dynastic China.

---

[104] See Beijing Shi Wenwu Yanjiusuo 2007, 164–200.

Chapter Two: Classical Chinese Texts on the Western Rong

INTRODUCTION

The 7th to 3rd century BC inhabitants of eastern Gansu and southern Ningxia did not leave any written records; however, they are mentioned in historical records written by the people in Dynastic China. This chapter discusses what the available texts tell us, and whether they can be used to understand the relationship between the inhabitants of eastern Gansu and southern Ningxia and the Zhou and Qin. As described in Chapter One, most past studies on the inhabitants of eastern Gansu and southern Ningxia have accepted what the historical records say, starting with the premise that the inhabitants were the Western Rong, who were defeated and became members of the State and Empire of Qin.[105] Some scholars have even associated the inhabitants with particular Western Rong states mentioned in historical records.[106] While I agree that the inhabitants were the Western Rong—a term used by the people in Dynastic China to vaguely refer to people who lived in the northwest frontier—or at least part of the Western Rong as they lived roughly in the same area, doubt remains concerning descriptions of Qin's hegemony over the Western Rong, due to discrepancies within and between the different texts discussed in this chapter. In other words, I accept that the inhabitants were recognised and discussed in the Dynastic Chinese texts, but I contest the identities depicted in them.

---

[105] Luo 1983; Wang 2009; Zhao 2010a; Wu X 2013; and Yang and Linduff 2013.
[106] In Chinese texts, such as *Records of the Grand Historian*, the Western Rong states are described as *guo* 國, the same character used to denote the Zhou "states". Therefore, I translate the Western Rong polities as "states", regardless of the historicity of the description.

HISTORICAL RECORDS IN PAST STUDIES

Previously, scholars have used a number of Chinese historical records to study the identities of the inhabitants of eastern Gansu and southern Ningxia. For example, in one of the earliest studies, Luo Feng cites the *Records of the Grand Historian* and suggests that those buried in southern Ningxia can be associated with the Yiqu, which was one of the Western Rong states said to have surrendered to the State of Qin (Appendix 2.7).[107] Following Luo Feng's view, Zhong Kan and Han Kongle provide more records from, for example, the *Remainder of Zhou Documents* (*Yi Zhou Shu* 逸周書) and the *Book of the Later Han* (*Hou Han Shu* 後漢書), suggesting that the Yiqu Rong lived in the area from as early as the late 2nd millennium BC.[108] Luo later revised his view, arguing that the inhabitants should be associated with the Wushi 烏氏, which was another Western Rong state recorded in the *Records of the Grand Historian* that was also said to have submitted to the Qin (Appendix 2.7).[109] The discovery of Majiayuan cemetery sparked further discussion of the identities of this area's inhabitants. Zhao Wucheng has suggested that the cemetery belonged to the Mianzhu 綿諸, yet another Western Rong state the *Records of the Grand Historian* describes as having surrendered to Qin.[110] Zhao references Xu Ruhui's study of the *Classic of Mountains and Seas* (*Shan Hai Jing* 山海經) to suggest that the Mianzhu

---

[107] Luo 1983, 131. When the tombs were first discovered in southern Ningxia in the late 1970s, Zhong Kan cited the *Records of the Grand Historian* and associated the deceased with the Xiongnu. See Zhong 1978, 88. This view was shared by Tian Guangjin and Guo Suxin (1980, 17), but it was later rejected by Zhong Kan himself.
[108] For the books, see *Remainder of Zhou Documents* and *Book of Later Han*.
[109] Luo 1990, 748–49. Luo bases his view partly on Gu Jiahang's historical geographical analysis of the *Records of the Grand Historian*, although Gu suggests that Wushi was located in Pingliang City, eastern Gansu. Gu 1963, 5. Gu's analysis of Qin geography is questionable, because it is based mainly on Han texts, and it ignores the Western Rong states that are not mentioned by name. Zhong Kan and Han Kongle suggest that the Wushi were located in southeast Ningxia. See Zhong and Han 1985.
[110] Zhao 2010a, 82–3.

Rong originated from modern Central Asia.[111] During the Eastern Zhou, the Mianzhu Rong settled at the foot of Mount Gui 邽, previously occupied by the Gui 邽 Rong,[112] and remained a key rival of Qin till their defeat in the early 4th century BC. Wu Xiaolong, meanwhile, suggests that the cemetery belonged to the Yiqu Rong.[113] He cites a modern gazette and argues that the cemetery was situated in Qin's Longxi 隴西 County, established after King Zhaoxiang 昭襄 (r. 307–250 BC) of Qin defeated the Yiqu Rong in the early half of the 3rd century BC.

There are two major problems with how previous studies have used the received historical records. The first is that they are over-reliant on the records. The historiographical nature of Chinese archaeology and its over-reliance on historical records has been noticed by many scholars.[114] According to Lothar von Falkenhausen, historical records have been regarded as authoritative in China because they were linked with the imperial court and bureaucracy. At the beginning of the 20th century, the reliability of historical records, including the *Records of the Grand Historian*, was seriously questioned by scholars who were collectively known as the Doubters of Antiquity (*Yigu Pai* 疑古派); however, historical records have regained their authority in academic circles, thanks to Wang Guowei demonstrating the accuracy of Sima Qian's presentation of the Shang royal genealogy through his oracle bones study.[115] Regarded as a sub-branch of history when it was first established as an academic discipline in China, archaeology has generally been treated as a source of

---

[111] For the book, see *Classic of Mountains and Seas*.
[112] The Gui Rong were said to have been defeated by Duke Mu of Qin in the early 7th century BC in the *Records of the Grand Historian* chapter "Basic Annals of Qin". See *Records of the Grand Historian*, 5/182.
[113] Wu X 2013, 133.
[114] Bagley 1992 and 1999; von Falkenhausen 1993; Allard 1998; Hardy 1999; and Keightley 2006.
[115] Wang 1959, 445–50.

evidence to supplement historical records. This attitude has been exacerbated by the reactionary political climate under the communist regime, where doubting antiquity has been treated as unpatriotic. The dependence on historical records that is still evident today, however, has posed serious problems to archaeology. This is not only because the historical records are Dynastic Chinese-centric and only represent the views of authors and their audience, but also because they influence "where to look" and "what to see".[116] Elizabeth DeMarrais *et al*. also note that writings are not neutral but political, because they are used to legitimise particular views.[117] Written records can be accurate, "exaggerated, misleading, or even false", and, therefore, they should be read critically.[118]

Another problem with how historical records have been used in past studies relates to selective reading. The above scholars generally do not explain why particular books or passages are chosen to support points of view. The historical records that have been cited are usually of later dates than the time period under study. For instance, the oft-cited *Records of the Grand Historian*, on which the Former Song (*Qian Song* 前宋, AD 420–479) *Book of Later Han* is based, is a Western Han compilation. When citing the *Records of the Grand Historian*, scholars have ignored Western Rong states that were also conquered by Qin State but are not mentioned by name. Scholars have also overlooked discrepancies between records of the same events in either the same or different books, which call into question the usefulness of the available records. In addition to the *Records of the Grand Historian*, the excerpts from the *Remainder of Zhou Documents* are of unknown dates, while the book itself is

---

[116] Bagley 1992, 229.
[117] DeMarrais *et al*. 1996, 19.
[118] *Ibid*.

an assimilation of different editions compiled during the Northern Song Dynasty (*Bei Song* 北宋, AD 960–1127).[119] The book *Classic of Mountains and Seas* is a compilation by different people over some 6–800 years starting from around the Eastern Zhou, and the book has been found to contain mythological geographical accounts; thus, it is not strictly historical.[120]

Textual analysis of the historical records in this chapter centres on our main source for the Western Rong, namely the *Records of the Grand Historian*. A historical method has been developed by historians for textual analysis, providing guidelines by which to evaluate the quality of textual records.[121] According to the method, the quality of a record is determined by its date, authorship, source, context of writing, and transmission. Each record has to be evaluated separately, because even authentic documents may contain false records. Records written by people who did not witness an event themselves should be treated as hearsay. Nevertheless, even records created by eyewitnesses should be treated with caution, because they may be biased, adapted for the intended audience, or incomplete, similar to those written by non-eyewitnesses.[122] Taking into account issues such as unclear sources, potential biases of the authors, discrepancies, and transmission histories, I argue it should not be assume that the inhabitants of eastern Gansu and southern Ningxia were defeated by and became subjects of the State of Qin, as is claimed by the texts. The interpretation of the material remains should begin based on this premise that the texts' authors had

---

[119] The *Remainder of Zhou Documents* is a compilation of 71 passages that are not included in the *Book of Documents*. The book formed through two major compilation events. The first of these was the compilation of 32 passages in the late 4th or early 3rd century BC, and the second was the addition of 39 passages in the early half of the 1st century BC. The text Zhong Kan and Han Kongle cite comes from a passage added during the second phase. On the history of the book, see Shaughnessy 1993, 229–33.
[120] Fracasso 1993, 356–67.
[121] For example, ses Garraghan 1946, 168 and Wood 1990, 83.
[122] Shafer 1974, 157–58.

particular agendas and thus the claims they make are not entirely reliable. We should approach the textual and archaeological sources separately.

THE WESTERN RONG IN *RECORDS OF THE GRAND HISTORIAN*

The *Records of the Grand Historian* is one of our major sources on the history of the Western Rong.[123] The book was written in the 1st century BC. Initiated by a court astronomer, Sima Tan 司馬談 (d. 100 BC), after his death, his son, Sima Qian, also an astronomer, took over and continued his work.[124] The book describes history from the time of the mythical Yellow Emperor (*Huang Di* 黃帝) to the early Han Dynasty. It has 130 chapters that are grouped into five categories: "Basic Annals" (*Benji* 本紀) that describe the rulers of successive dynasties; "Tables" (*Biao* 表), comprising chronological records of important events; "Documents" (*Shu* 書) on various subjects, such as ritual and music; "Hereditary Families" (*Shijia* 世家) that contain histories of, for example, major pre-imperial polities; and "Biographies" (*Liezhuan* 列傳) of prominent figures and people, such as the Western Rong and Xiongnu. Details of the same events sometimes occur in different chapters. Except for the discrepancies that I discuss below, the records of the Western Rong in the *Records of the Grand Historian* are basically the same as those in the *Book of Han* (*Han Shu* 漢書), the official history of the Eastern Han (*Dong Han* 東漢, AD 25–220) that adopted much of its content.[125]

---

[123] The edition used most-widely today was published by Zhonghua Book Company (*Zhonghua Shuju* 中華書局) in 1959. It was edited by Zhang Wenhu 張文虎 (AD 1808–1885) during the Qing 清 Dynasty (AD 1644–1911). On the history of the book, see Hulsewé 1993b, 407–9 and Nienhauser 2011.
[124] The extent of Sima Tan's contribution to the work is unknown, because it is not stated in the book.
[125] For records of the Western Rong in the *Book of Han*, see the chapter "Biography of the Xiongnu" (*Xiongnu Zhuan* 匈奴傳). On the history of the book, see Hulsewé 1993a, 129–36.

As the *Book of Han* is believed to have been subject to few changes, it is reasonable to treat the similar records on the Western Rong in the extant *Records of the Grand Historian* as a largely faithful copy of Sima Qian's original texts.

The records on the Western Rong can be found mainly in three chapters in the *Records of the Grand Historian*. The chapters are the "Basic Annals of Qin" and "Biography of the Xiongnu", as well as briefly in the "Basic Annals of the First Emperor of Qin" (*Qin Shihuang Benji* 秦始皇本紀). The records mostly concern military conflicts between the Western Rong and Qin State and the Qin conquest of the Western Rong states, expect for a passage in the chapter "Biography of Merchants" (*Huozhi Liezhuan* 貨殖列傳) describes a rare event where the First Emperor of Qin honoured a Western Rong (Appendix 2.1).[126] According to the "Basic Annals of Qin", the Western Rong lived alongside the Qin's ancestors on the western frontier of Shang territory (Appendix 2.2). During the early half of the 8th century BC, the Quan Rong group of the Western Rong invaded and conquered Zhou lands at Qi 岐 and Feng (Appendix 2.3). The later Duke Xiang 襄 (r. 777–766 BC) of Qin escorted King Ping of Zhou to his eastern capital at Luoyi. Afterwards, the Zhou king rewarded Duke Xiang by making him a ruler of a state and giving him the lands annexed by the Western Rong. The annals continue to describe several wars between Qin and the Western Rong, in addition to the visit and defection of the Rong envoy You Yu 由余 during the reign of Duke Mu (Appendix 2.4). You Yu was from an unnamed Rong state, and he was sent by his king to spy on the Qin. While in Qin, Duke Mu

[126] The passage says that a Wushi Rong merchant, Luo, was honoured by the First Emperor and allowed to join court meetings after he received a considerable number of cattle and horses from a Rong king.

questioned him about governance. Duke Mu was puzzled as to why the Zhou states were in chaos even though there were rites and laws, but the Rong appeared to govern without any of these. You Yu replied that the Rong king(s) rule by "non-action".[127] Duke Mu admired You Yu's talent; thus, he and his interior secretary concocted a plot to drive a wedge between You Yu and his king. The duke finally won You Yu over. He then questioned You Yu on how to go about attacking the Rong.

Before the "Basic Annals of Qin" continue to describe the oft-cited event of Duke Mu annexing 12 Western Rong states on following You Yu's advice, the annals describe a war between the states of Qin and Jin, after which Duke Mu made an oath commonly known as the "Oath of Qin" (*Qin Shi* 秦誓) (Appendix 2.5). The duke blamed himself for failing to heed the counsel of Jian Shu 蹇叔 and Baili Xi 百里奚, which led him to lose the battle with Jin at Yao 殽. The annals then describe Duke Mu's annexation of the 12 Western Rong states and the establishment of his hegemony over the Western Rong:

> 三十七年，秦用由余謀伐戎王，益國十二，開地千里，遂霸西戎。天子使召公過賀繆[穆]公以金鼓。
> In the thirty-seventh year, Qin took You Yu's advice to carry out an attack on the Rong kings, acquiring 12 states, extending their territory by 1000 *li*, and made himself an overlord of the Western Rong. The Son of Heaven dispatched Guo, the Duke of Shao, to congratulate Duke Mu and present him with a bronze drum (See also Appendix 2.6).

---

[127] The original text reads: "[T]he governing of the whole polity is like the ordering of a single individual. No one knows why order comes about." (*Yiguo zhi zheng you yishen zhi zhi, buzhi suoyi zhi* 一國之政猶一身之治，不知所以治). See Appendix 2.3. Nicola Di Cosmo has suggested that this idea is similar to the idea of *wu wei* 無為, which could be translated as "non-action", in Chinese philosophy. Di Cosmo 2002, 103.

The annals go on to describe the death of Duke Mu and the sacrificial burial of three of the duke's ministers to accompany him (Appendix 2.7). The annals include a speech by an exemplary person—or potentially several—who criticised the decision to sacrifice the three ministers. In the speech, the exemplary person mentions Duke Mu's hegemony over the Western Rong, stating that "Duke Mu of Qin broadened his territory and increased [the size of] his state, humbling the powerful Jin in the east, and making himself an overlord of the Rong and Yi in the west". Another frequently cited passage on the topic is found in the "Biography of the Xiongnu". The passage says that, after Duke Mu gained the services of You Yu, eight named Western Rong states surrendered to the Qin:

> 秦穆公得由余，西戎八國服於秦，故自隴以西有綿諸、緄戎、翟，獂之戎，岐、梁、涇、漆之北有義渠、大荔，烏氏、朐衍之戎。
> Duke Mu of Qin, having obtained the services of You Yu, succeeded in making eight Western Rong states submit to his authority. Thus, the Mianzhu, the Gun Rong, Di [this name is missing in Watson's translations], and Huan Rong lived at this time in the region west of Long, while north of Qin, Liang, Jing, and Qi were the Yiqu Rong, Daili, Wushi, and Quyan Rong (See also Appendix 2.8).

ANALYSIS OF THE RECORDS

The usefulness of the above records in understanding the relationship between the Western Rong and Qin is severely limited due to the unclear source of information included in the records. Some of the records were derived from the official history of Qin, as Sima Qian states that he read a text called the *Annals of the Qin* (*Qin Ji* 秦紀), which was probably written by Qin scribes.[128] This is likely, considering that many pre-imperial records were destroyed by the First Emperor at the suggestion of his

[128] *Records of the Grand Historian*, 6/293.

chancellor, Li Si 李斯 (280–208 BC) (Appendix 2.9). Under the order, all records other than those of Qin were to be burned. Ordinary people were not allowed to possess the *Book of Odes* (*Shi Jing* 詩經), the *Book of Documents* (*Shang Shu* 尚書), or the writings of the hundred schools of philosophy. People who ventured to discuss these works were reportedly executed in the marketplace. More books are believed to have been destroyed when the Qin palaces at Xianyang 咸陽 were burned down by rebels after the fall of the dynasty.[129] It is unknown to what extent the records of the Western Rong in the *Records of the Grand Historian* are based on the *Annals of the Qin*, as the latter have not been discovered and may no longer exist. In any case, it should be noted that the *Annals of Qin* might be a problematic source. The fact that the records on dukes Mu and Xiao 孝 (r. 384–362 BC) in the "Basic Annals of Qin" are much longer than those of every other Qin ruler has already led Yuri Pines to suggest that the Qin official history was altered by Shang Yang 商鞅 (d. 338 BC), chancellor to Duke Xiao, in order to aggrandise Duke Mu and belittle his successors, so as to justify Shang Yang's own radical reforms.[130] If Pines is correct, it would make the records on Duke Mu's hegemony over the Western Rong in the *Records of the Grand Historian* a highly biased source on which to understand the Qin and Western Rong relationship. Besides, Sima Qian himself complains that the *Book of Documents* available to him had no dates, and the information in it was sketchy and incomplete (Appendix 2.10).

The history of the Western Rong in the *Records of the Grand Historian* is likely a compilation of records by different authors at different times. These authors

---

[129] Bodde 1986, 84 and Lewis 1999a, 588.
[130] Pines 2005, 33.

were mostly likely not ethnographers and lacked a good set of criteria by which to establish the identities of the outsiders they were describing. The likely diversity sources also raises the question of whether it is possible to gain a cohesive understanding of the Western Rong from the *Records of the Grand Historian*. As has been pointed out by Nicola Di Cosmo, the meaning of the name "Western Rong" has changed over time and between contexts. The term "Western Rong" seems to have held the meaning of "enemy belligerents" during the Western Zhou,[131] while *rong* seems to have referred to a war chariot as both part of the phrase "to drive a war chariot" (*yu rong* 御戎) and the compound noun "war chariot" (*rongche* 戎車) in the Eastern Zhou *Zuo Tradition*.[132] In other words, the Western Rong mentioned in the *Records of Grand Historian* may denote various groups of people, including the "western warlike enemies", "western people who drive chariots", or simply "non-Shang or Zhou people".

The attempt to interpret undefined terms in ancient texts is challenging. In one study, Gu Jiegang raises the question of the meaning of the Western Rong state's name: Dangshe 蕩社 (Appendix 2.11).[133] He could not decide whether the character *dang* 蕩 was a variant of *tang* 湯 that may refer to Cheng Tang 成湯—the founder of Shang—which would imply he was a shared ancestor of both the Shang and Western Rong, or whether *dang* was simply a place name. The lack of definitions and details makes the *Records of the Grand Historian* a confusing source in understanding the history of the Western Rong.

---

[131] Shaughnessy 1999, 324.
[132] Di Cosmo 2002, 107–8.
[133] Gu 1963, 57–8.

When using the historical texts, scholars have tended to pay attention to the books and details that support their views. As has been mentioned, when associating the material remains with particular Western Rong states, most studies have only paid attention to the eight named Western Rong states (Appendix 2.8), while ignoring the 12 nameless states (Appendix 2.6). Scholars have also ignored discrepancies between the Western Rong records in different chapters of the *Records of the Grand Historian* and between different books. Earlier studies have already pointed out some discrepancies between the *Records of the Grand Historian* and other earlier texts, raising questions about the historicity of the *Records of the Grand Historian*. For instance, Li Feng suggests that the "beacon fire" in Bao Si's 褒姒 (b. 792 BC) record was fabricated by Sima Qian (Appendix 2.12).[134] Li attributes the reason for this to Sima Qian's personal interests, stating that, "[w]hile in the *Lüshi Chunqiu* [呂氏春秋, *Master Lü's Spring and Autumn Annals*] the story was merely used to show how reckless a ruler could be as to confuse his subjects, Sima Qian used it to show how evil and ill-willed Bao Si was to cause the fall of the Western Zhou Dynasty."[135] Li also notes two different accounts of the war leading to the collapse of the Western Zhou (Appendix 2.13). The *Discourses of the States* and *Current Bamboo Annals* (*Jinben Zhushu Jinian* 今本竹書紀年) record that it was the Zhou court that took the initiative to attack the rulers of Shen 申 and the Western Rong, while the *Records of the Grand Historian* claims that it was the rulers of Shen and the Western Rong who first waged war on the Zhou.[136] Li's study of various classic texts leads him to the

---

[134] Li 2006, 201.
[135] For the book, see *Lüshi Chunqiu*. On the history of the book, see Carson and Loewe 1993.
[136] Li 2006, 207. For the book, see *Discourses of the States* and *Current Bamboo Annals*.

conclusion that the records in the *Discourses of the States* and *Current Bamboo Annals* fit the historical fact, and that Sima Qian presents the fall of the Western Zhou in a way that fits his personal motivations. In addition to Li's study, Burton Watson has pointed out discrepancies between records of the Qin and Jin war in the *Book of Documents* and the *Records of the Grand Historian* (Appendix 2.5).[137] Watson notes that the "Oath of Qin" in the *Book of Documents* is much longer than that included in the *Records of the Grand Historian*, while the exemplary person's (or persons') speech in the *Book of Documents* does not mention Jian Shu or Bali Xi by name, compared to the *Records of the Grand Historian*. More importantly, the "Oath of Qin" in the *Book of Documents* is placed earlier in Duke Mu's career when his army returned from the battle at Yao rather than after his army defeated Jin at Wangguan 王官 and Jiao 鄗. All of these issues raise questions about the historicity of the records.

Parallels for some of the records cited at the beginning of this section can be found in earlier and later texts discussed below, and they call into question whether and how Duke Mu of Qin established his hegemony over the Western Rong. A parallel record describing Duke Mu's meeting with You Yu and the subsequent annexation of the 12 Western Rong states can be found in the *Hanfeizi* 韓非子 (Appendix 2.4). The book is believed to have been written by the political philosopher, Han Fei 韓非 (*c*. 280–233 BC), and subjected to few changes since it came into existence.[138] According to Sima Qian, Han Fei was an aristocrat of the Han 韓 State (403–230 BC). Ying Zheng, who later became the First Emperor, admired his talent,

---

[137] Watson 1993a, 17. For the book, see *Book of Documents*. On the history of the book, see Shaughnessy 1993.
[138] For the book, see *Hanfeizi*. On the history of the book, see Levi 1993, 116–17.

and threatened to invade Han to gain him. Eventually, the ruler of Han sent Han Fei to Qin, where he was framed by chancellor Li Si and put to death.[139] As can be seen from Appendix 2.4, the conversations between Duke Mu and You Yu in the *Hanfeizi* and *Records of the Grand Historian* are quite different, with the former focusing on ritual vessels and the latter on the rite. Moreover, the *Hanfeizi* mentions the mobile lifeways of the Western Rong, a detail not mentioned in the *Record of the Grand Historian*, which describes the Western Rong as sedentary and lived in walled cities (Appendix 2.4).[140] The version in the *Hanfeizi* is likely to be the original, not only because the book is earlier in date, but also because the idea of "non-action" in You Yu' answer is a core tenet of Han Fei's philosophy that is found throughout the *Hanfeizi*. However, the presentation of this idea by You Yu renders the historicity of the event questionable, since it is highly unlikely that a Rong envoy would have been familiar with the idea.

Parallel records on the Qin-Jin war and Duke Mu's burial can be found in the *Zuo Tradition* under the entries "The Third Year of Duke Wen" (*Wengong Sannian* 文公三年) (Appendix 2.5) and "The Sixth Year of Duke Wen" (*Wengong Liunian* 文公六年) (Appendix 2.7). The *Zuo Tradition* was attributed to Zuo Qiuming 左丘明 (d. 451 BC) by Sima Qian, who regarded it as the authoritative commentary on the *Spring and Autumn Annals*.[141] According to Stephen Durrant, one of Sima Qian's aims in compiling the *Records of the Grand Historian* was to emulate Confucius, who

---

[139] *Records of the Grand Historian*, 63/2155.
[140] For descriptions of the wall cities, see, for example, *Records of the Grand Historian*, 5/207.
[141] Durrant 1995, 47–9. For the books, see *Zuo Tradition*. The authorship of the *Zuo Tradition* remains controversial, but most scholars believe that it dates earlier than the *Records of the Grand Historian*. See Cheng 1993, 69–71.

allegedly compiled the *Spring and Autumn Annals*.[142] Discrepancies can be found between the speeches of the exemplary person(s) as recorded in the *Zuo Tradition* and *Records of the Grand Historian*. The speech in the *Zuo Tradition* does not mention Duke Mu's annexation of the 12 Western Rong states and his hegemony over the Western Rong, whereas that in the *Records of the Grand Historian* does (Appendix 2.7). The texts also credit different individuals with helping Duke Mu establish his hegemony over the Western Rong. The *Zuo Tradition* says that Meng Ming 孟明 was key to ensuring this victory, instead of the *Records of the Grand Historian's* You Yu (Appendix 2.5). Meanwhile, the "Biography of Lord Shang" (*Shang Jun Liezhuan* 商君列傳) in the *Records of the Grand Historian* says that it was because Duke Mu, "bestowed his virtue upon the Zhou states' rulers," that the eight Western Rong states submitted to Qin (Appendix 2.8). Only after hearing this did You Yu, "knock at the pass, requesting an interview" (Appendix 2.8). The same biography also describes the Wei 魏 (403–225 BC) guest Shang Yang requesting interviews with Duke Xiao three times before he became the duke's chancellor.[143] Thus, it is reasonably likely that the story of You Yu was written to parallel the story of Shang Yang. In either case, there are two completely different records of the same event in one book.

The whole situation is complicated further by the late 1st century BC book *Intrigues of the Warring States*, which contains records that Sima Qian relied heavily on.[144] This book states that Duke Mu attacked the Western Rong based on Bali Xi's

---

[142] Durrant 1995.
[143] *Records of the Grand Historian*, 66/2228.
[144] The book was compiled by Liu Xiang 劉向 (78–9 BC) around 26 to 8 BC. It contains theories by diplomats, as well as records of and historical romances set in various polities, dating from the end of the Spring and Autumn period to the rise of Chu and Han in 209 BC. See Tsien 1993.

advice rather than that of Meng Ming or You Yu (Appendix 2.6).[145] While these discrepancies cannot be resolved based on the available texts, they demonstrate that it is highly problematic to base our understanding of the relationship between the Qin and Western Rong on them.

The usefulness of the *Records of the Grand Historians* is further limited by Sima Qian's possible personal biases, as observed in the story of You Yu. Stephen Durrant has suggested that the major themes in the *Records of the Grand Historian* are unrecognised talents (e.g. Confucius), debts of loyalty to someone who knows and appreciates one's abilities, and how rejected figures comfort themselves at the moment of their deaths.[146] You Yu's story, in which he is rejected by his Rong king but valued highly by Duke Mu, fits well with the themes of the book. It is likely that Sima Qian purposely put the record on You Yu after that of the Qin-Jin war. This is because You Yu's ancestors were Jin people who fled to the Western Rong. Qin's victory over Jin, therefore, would theoretically bring consolation to this Jin descendant. If this analysis is correct, it means that Sima Qian has taken an unknown amount of artistic licence with You Yu's story to suit his personal interests. This is quite likely, considering also the fact that You Yu's Jin background is not mentioned in the *Hanfeizi*, which was likely Sima Qian's original source. The name of the Rong state where You Yu originated from is not specified in either the *Hanfeizi* or *Records of the Grand Historian*, which further supports this argument. It seems that Sima Qian lacked other sources to verify and supplement his story when writing about You Yu, as we know that he was fully aware that there were various Western Rong states

---

[145] It should be noted that the historicity of *Intrigues of the Warring States* remains controversial. For example, Derk Bodde suggests that much of the book is, "anecdotal and literary rather than historical." See Bodde 1986, 91.
[146] Durrant 1995, 83 and 106.

(Appendixes 2.6 and 2.8). In any case, the problems surrounding the story of You Yu show that the story is likely fictitious. Sima Qian's personal interests and the issue of historicity certainly pose risks to using the text to study Qin and Western Rong relationship.[147]

The depiction of the Western Rong as hostile neighbours, as seen in the *Records of the Grand Historian*, is probably biased and was likely influenced by contemporary Qin and Han politics. The account of the Western Rong was included in the same chapter as the Xiongnu, who are depicted as greedy and hostile neighbours that constantly harassed the Qin and Han. While the relationship between the Western Rong and the Xiongnu is not explained in the chapter, it would be only reasonable that an author would depict all steppe inhabitants as similarly greedy and hostile to maintain consistency. This literary technique is not surprising if the intended audience of the *Records of the Grand Historian* is considered. According to William Nienhauser's study, Sima Qian made two copies of his book: one of them was kept in the imperial library, and the other one in Sima Qian's home town.[148] Only under Sima Qian's grandson did the book begin to circulate among commoners. In other words, the book's intended audience was the imperial court. Taking this into account, it is not surprising that the Western Rong were portrayed in the same way as the Han's enemies, the Xiongnu, who were depicted as hostile enemies.

---

[147] The idea that Sima Qian's writing in the *Records of the Grand Historian* was heavily adapted to reflect his personal interests is also supported by the fact that many chancellors under Emperor Wu, towards whom Sima Qian bore some animosity, are excluded from the biographical section. See Nienhauser 2011, 465. How Sima Qian's opinions and feelings guided the composition of *Records of the Grand Historian* has been the topic of many studies. See, for example, Durrant 1995; Nylan 1998; Hardy 1999; and Lewis 1999b.

[148] Nienhauser 2011, 474.

Derk Bodde's study and some archaeological finds call into question the historicity of other details in the *Records of the Grand Historian*. Bodde notes that the length of the Qin Dynasty's defensive wall—commonly known as the "Great Wall" (*Changcheng* 長城) in modern scholarship—and the numbers of inter-state war casualties described in the *Records of the Grand Historian* are incredibly high and difficult to accept.[149] Bodde also questions Sima Qian's claim that the number six was significant to the Qin Dynasty, because the number correlates with the element "water", which the Qin were associated with.[150] Bodde found that the number six and its multiples were actually commonly used in texts both before and after the Qin Dynasty.

In fact, this argument is also supported by archaeological finds. According to the "Basic Annals of the First Emperor", the First Emperor introduced a reform requiring wheeled vehicles across the empire to be drawn by six horses (Appendix 2.14). However, both the chariots in his army and the emperor's personal vehicles found in his tomb complex in Lintong 臨潼 District, Xi'an 西安, Shaanxi, would have been pulled by four horses.[151] Both Bodde's study and the archaeological finds call into question Sima Qian's claim that "12" Western Rong states were annexed by Duke Mu. The number is likely empty rhetoric, and it further questions the reliability of the *Records of the Grand Historian* in understanding the social organisation of the Western Rong.[152]

---

[149] Bodde 1986, 62–3 and 99–100.
[150] *Ibid*. 96–7.
[151] For the archaeological reports and a study of the vehicles, see Qinyong Kaogudui 1983; Yuan 1990, 88; and Shaanxi Sheng Qinyong Kaogudui 1991.
[152] Anthony Barbieri-Low has pointed out discrepancies between Sima Qian's records of the First Emperor's tomb and the actual tomb. For example, while Sima Qian claimed that the tomb was covered with trees, no evidence of roots or root channels have been found on top of the burial mound

More discrepancies can be found between the *Records of the Grand Historian* and the Western Han's official history, the *Book of Han*. The *Book of Han* was predominantly written by Ban Gu 班固 (AD 32–92) and completed by Ban Zhao 班昭 (AD 45–120) during the Eastern Han, with contributions by their father.[153] It covers the history from the first emperor of the Han to the fall of Wang Mang 王莽 (r. 9–23 BC) of the Xin 新 Dynasty (AD 9–23), adopting much of the *Records of the Grand Historian*'s content. Discrepancies can be identified between records of the Western Rong's invasion of the Zhou capital in the early 8th century BC (Appendix 2.15), and those of the eight Western Rong states' surrender to Qin (Appendix 2.8). Regarding the Western Rong's invasion, the *Records of the Grand Historian* do not mention anything about King Xuan's 宣 (r. 827–782 BC) defeat of the Western Rong or his restoration. Moreover, the poems that the *Book of Han* uses to glorify King Xuan are dedicated to Prince Dai 帶, son of King Hui 惠 (r. 677–652 BC) of Zhou, in the *Records of the Grand Historian*. In other words, the *Records of the Grand Historian* and the *Book of Han* present two different versions of the relationship between the Zhou and the Western Rong.

---

during survey. Barbieri-Low concludes that, "…Sima Qian's account of the First Emperor's tomb was mostly based on legend, probably supplemented with some information drawn from official documents, such as those that might record the number of workers employed in the construction. But the rest of it likely sprang from his imagination, fuelled by popular legends and informed by his familiarity with Han imperial tombs of his own day." Barbieri-Low continues to say that, "in the absence of reliable documentary information on first-hand knowledge of the tomb, Sima Qian allowed his own interpretation of the First and Second Emperors of Qin as historical figures to shape his own imagination of the tomb. The underground realm he imagined for the First Emperor is a suitably magnificent final resting-place for the man portrayed in his biography, who considered himself to be the greatest ruler of the world had ever seen, and the microcosmo of the empire represented in the account is entirely in line with the Emperor's character as portrayed by Sima Qian." See Barbieri-Low 2014, 99–101. The opinion that Sima Qian's account is an untrue, retrospective projection that was shaped by his personal interests seems to hold true for Sima Qian's records of the Western Rong discussed in this chapter.

[153] See Hulsewé 1993.

In addition, the *Records of the Grand Historian* and *Book of Han* use one of the eight Western Rong states' names inconsistently: the Gun 緄 Rong of the *Records of the Grand Historian* are the Quan 畎 Rong in the *Book of Han* (Appendix 2.8). Wang Guowei has suggested that the words *quan* 犬 and *gun* 緄 are phonetically similar and, therefore, interchangeable.[154] However, it is odd to see the two words appear simultaneously in the same chapter in each book. Moreover, all mentions of *gun* in the *Records of the Grand Historian* are rendered *quan* in the *Book of Han*, while all uses of *quan* have been replaced with *gun*. It seems that the two sets of historians had totally different understandings of the words' meanings.

There is a debate about the primacy of the *Records of the Grand Historian* over the *Book of Han*. David Honey has suggested that the account of the Xiongnu in the *Book of Han* is truer to the original version than the extant version of the *Records of the Grand Historian*.[155] He bases his argument on the fact that records on the Xiongnu in the *Book of Han* were written in a more conservative style with a greater number of archaic characters than those in the extant *Records of the Grand Historian*, the latter having been considerably modernised and clarified over time. In addition, Tang Dynasty manuscripts of the *Records of the Grand Historian* preserved in Japan are more similar to the *Book of Han* than the extant *Records of the Grand Historian*. If we look at the records of the Western Rong in the same chapters of the two books, we can also find semantic patterns like those observed by Honey. For instance, the *Records of the Grand Historian* specifies Prince Dai's relationship with Queen Hui 惠

---

[154] Wang 1973, 592–93.
[155] Honey 1999. Honey's study does not cover the records of the Western Rong in the two Xiongnu accounts included in the *Records of the Grand Historian* and *Book of Han*.

(Appendix 2.15). Secondly, additional information ("to his throne") is given in the sentence, "restoring King Xiang in Lou," in the *Records of the Grand Historian* (Appendix 2.15). Thirdly, the simpler graph *quan* 犬 instead of *quan* 畎 for the name Quan Rong is used in the *Records of the Grand Historian*. These discrepancies seem to confirm that primacy should be given to the "Biography of the Xiongnu" in the *Book of Han*. That said, more evidence is needed to establish this. At this stage, the ambiguity surrounding the primacy of both texts' accounts of the Western Rong make them problematic sources to use in reconstructing the history of the Western Rong.

Textual analysis by Gu Jiegang highlights further differences between the passages concerning the Western Rong in the *Records of the Grand Historian* and *Book of Later Han*, the official history of the Eastern Han Dynasty.[156] Based on analysis, the *Book of Han* combines both the contents of the *Records of the Grand Historian* and the *Bamboo Annals*. Discrepancies can be found between, for instance, the years given for Qin's seizure of the 25 Yiqu walled towns. Additionally, there are events that are not mentioned in the *Records of the Grand Historian*, such as Yiqu's military victory over Qin at Luoyi (Appendix 2.16). We do not know what Fan Ye's 范曄 (AD 398–445) sources were; however, their exclusion from *Records of the Grand Historian* prompt the question of whether some events were purposely omitted by Sima Qian to project a subordinate image of the Western Rong to the Qin.

EXCAVATED LEGAL TEXTS

Archaeology has brought to light a Qin legal document that is directly relevant to the Western Rong. The document was written on bamboo strips found in the tomb of a

[156] Gu 1963, 61–2.

local magistrate called Xi 喜 (262–217 BC) at Shuihudi in Yumeng County, Hubei.[157] The document includes administrative and legal texts, as well as the "Annals" (*Biannian Ji* 編年紀) that are believed to have been copied in or shortly after 231 BC from some sort of "official" annals, with supplementary information on Xi's family added gradually by him.[158] A law concerning Rong rulers' privilege to earn remission of sentences is found in the chapter "Answering Questions about Statutes" (*Falu Dawen* 法律答問) that may have also been copied from Qin legal documents. The law reads:

> 可「贖鬼薪鋈足」？可謂「贖宮」？臣邦真戎君長，爵當上造以上，有罪當贖者，其為群盜，令贖鬼薪鋈足；其有府罪，贖宮。其它罪比群盜者亦如此。[159]
> What is meant by "[the hard labour punishment called] redemptive *guixin* with the feet shackled"? What is meant by "redemptive castration"? When genuine Rong rulers of subject states whose ranks correspond to [the Qin aristocratic ranks of] *shangzao* or higher commit crimes that are redeemable, [then] if it is a case of a group robbery, they are sentenced to redemptive *guixin* with the feet shackled; if they commit the crime of corruption, [they are sentenced to] redemptive castration. For other crimes comparable to group robbery, this rule is likewise to be followed.[160]

The law shows that the Western Rong were regarded as subjects of the Qin. The law is consistent with conventional views on the status of the Western Rong as presented in the historical records and past studies. However, it should be noted that the law most likely had a limited audience and primarily served to legitimise the Qin ruling class' perception of their relationship with the Western Rong, like the transmitted

---

[157] Shuihudi Qin Mu Zhujian Zhengli Xiaozu 1978, 3.
[158] Shaughnessy 2014, 118.
[159] Shuihudi Qin Mu Zhujian Zhengli Xiaozu 1978, 200.
[160] For a similar translation, see Hulsewé 1985, 152. The word *zhen* 真 (genuine) refers to children born of a subject state father and a mother from another state, as explained in another entry. See Shuihudi Qin Mu Zhujian Zhengli Xiaozu 1978, 227.

texts discussed above. This law could have been a political gesture by the Qin to establish themselves as politically and socially superior, but it perhaps had no legal significance to the Western Rong. As Anthony F. P. Hulsewé notes, there were discrepancies between the laws found at Shuihudi and actual practice: while Shang Yang propagated the idea that no distinction was to be made between high-born and low-born in criminal suits, the laws at Shuihudi show that social hierarchy continued to count in the legal system where aristocrats were punished less severely than ordinary people.[161] Additionally, Yuri Pines' study of two laws found in the chapter "Answering Questions about Statutes" also shows that Qin rulers promoted an identity that differentiated Qin people from those of the other Zhou states and the Rong,[162] which contradicts the general opinion that the Western Rong were fully integrated into the Zhou and Qin.

SUMMARY

The transmitted and excavated texts from Dynastic China give the overall impression that the Western Rong were subjects of both the State and Empire of Qin, despite some details suggesting that the Western Rong were less subordinate than generally described. By conducting a critical analysis, this chapter has brought attention to issues such as the unclear sources for the accounts of the Western Rong in the *Records of the Grand Historian*, which is one of our major sources on the history of the people. The likely sources of the records, each influenced by their own social

[161] Hulsewé 1985, 7–8.
[162] Pines 2004.

circumstances and their author's personal interests, make this compilation by Sima Qian a problematic basis on which to study the Western Rong's history and identities.

By comparing the *Records of the Grand Historian* with other textual and archaeological records, the analysis presented above has revealed that there are significant discrepancies between them, in addition to those pointed out in previous studies. There are significant inconsistencies in whether and how Duke Mu of Qin established his hegemony over the Western Rong. There are also noticeable discrepancies between accounts of You Yu and whether he assisted Duke Mu in establishing his hegemony over the Western Rong. Based on my analysis, the story of You Yu seems to be fictitious. All these factors call into question the usefulness of the available texts in reconstructing the relationship between the inhabitants of eastern Gansu and southern Ningxia with the Qin during the Eastern Zhou, as well as their group identities. The legal texts excavated from Shuihudi present a similar historical picture as the transmitted historical records; however, its Qin association and the inconsistency observed between some of the laws and social reality similarly cast doubts upon the usefulness of the texts. Taking into account all these issues, I suggest that study of material remains and identities in eastern Gansu and southern Ningxia should not rely on the contents of the known Chinese texts, as this courts the risk that the inhabitants will be painted, as in previous studies, as subjects of the Qin. Instead, we should approach the textual and archaeological records separately.

Once freed from the influence of the Chinese historical texts, the material remains show a completely different picture. As will be shown through contextual analysis of the remains in the following chapters, the inhabitants of eastern Gansu and southern Ningxia did not adopt Zhou and Qin customs and identities. They presented

themselves like the inhabitants of the steppe, and Zhou and Qin artefacts found in the tombs were most likely war plunder or diplomatic gifts. In the next chapter, I first examine material cultures from other parts of the steppe. The chapter will serve as a basis for detailed analysis of the material culture in eastern Gansu and southern Ningxia that follows.

Chapter Three: Material Cultures in the Eurasian Steppe, 2nd and 1st millennia BC

INTRODUCTION

The 7th to 3rd century BC material culture in eastern Gansu and southern Ningxia shares many characteristics with those in the Eurasian steppe. These characteristics include preferences for beaded and metal ornaments for the body; personal weapons that hang from belts; animals as principal forms of decoration; the use of gold and iron; burial of horse gear and wheeled vehicles; and burial of horses, sheep, cattle, and goats—sometimes just their heads and hooves—in tombs. Although many of these shared characteristics have been noted by other scholars, there are a lot of details that are yet to be discussed.[163] Such details, however, are important to our understanding of group identities in eastern Gansu and southern Ningxia. To provide a foundation for the discussion of identities presented in the following chapters, this chapter highlights the material culture elements shared by people throughout the steppe in the 2nd and 1st millennia BC.

To begin, I first outline the geography of the Eurasian steppe and describe its inhabitants' ways of life. Then, I describe the material cultures of inhabitants of the Sayan-Altai region, namely the area approximately comprising the Sayan and Altai mountains where modern Russia, Mongolia, Kazakhstan, and China meet. Particular attention is paid to material remains from Arzhan in the Tuva Republic and Pazyryk in the Altai Republic, Russia, to which the remains in eastern Gansu and southern

---

[163] See, in particular, Wang 2009; So 2014; Rawson 2015 and 2018; and Liu and Wang 2017.

Ningxia show striking similarities that are yet unappreciated.[164] I also draw the reader's attention to steppe inhabitants' interactions with the Achaemenids and Greeks and the Asian campaigns of Alexander III of Macedon, which help us reach a fuller understanding of the material culture in eastern Gansu and southern Ningxia.

GEOGRAPHY AND LIFEWAYS IN THE EURASIAN STEPPE

The Eurasian steppe as discussed in this chapter stretches across modern Russia (including south Siberia),[165] Mongolia, northern China, Kazakhstan, and Ukraine (Map 1.1). The region is situated between the forest zone (also known as the Taiga) in the north and agricultural lands in the south. The region constitutes grasslands, forests, and mountains, and it has been home to different groups of inhabitants throughout time. In modern scholarship, the Eurasian steppe is sometimes divided into the western and eastern steppes using the Yenisei River that flows through Mongolia and Russia. There are mountains, such as the Urals; however, these never acted as barriers to the movements of humans and goods.[166]

The primary subsistence strategy in the steppe during the period that concerns us was pastoralism, namely the breeding of livestock.[167] Steppe inhabitants adopted this subsistence strategy for various reasons, such as favourable local environments.[168] The most commonly herded animals were sheep, cattle, goats, horses, camels, and

---

[164] For a primilarly discussion of a connection between Majiayuan and Arzhan, see So 2014, 202.
[165] I follow Mikhail Gryaznov, using "south Siberia" to refer to the Sayan and Altai mountains, as well as the steppe to their immediate north. Gryaznov 1969, 9.
[166] Honeychurch 2015, 157–58.
[167] On the origins of Eurasian pastoralism, see Christian 1998, 71–117 and Frachetti 2012. Another theory, which is highly contentious, suggests that the earliest form of pastoralism was developed and spread from a single centre associated with the agricultural societies of the Bug-Dniester culture, which flourished in the western steppe during the 5th and 4th millennia BC. See Kuzmina 2003.
[168] Sheratt 2003, 620–22.

reindeer.[169] Steppe inhabitants did not, however, limit themselves to a single subsistence strategy; they also supplemented their diets with, for example, the products of hunting, gathering, fishing, and farming.[170]

Mobility is a key characteristic of pastoralists. The term "pastoralist" has been used interchangeably with the term "nomad"; however, the two terms are conceptually distinctive, because "pastoralist" refers to a subsistence strategy that relies on animal husbandry, while "nomad" refers to a type of movement. Pastoralists were not all nomads: they practised various types of movement ranging from semi-sedentism to full nomadism, from movement within a few square miles to hundred of square kilometres, and from movement at the individual level to an entire group.[171] Movement patterns were determined by various factors, such as ecological and climatic conditions, transportation, as well as political, social and economic relationships.[172]

Recent studies show that the eastern steppe became increasingly humid and cold from the 3rd millennium BC onwards.[173] The change is reflected by a sharp rise in the water levels of Uvs Nuur and Bayan Nuur located 100–200 km south from the Tuva Basin on the Russian and Mongolian borders. Pollen from a peat deposit show that the climate became wetter after the middle of the 1st millennium BC, which

---

[169] Barfield 2011, 160.
[170] Analysis of dental wear patterns among five groups in south Siberia and Mongolia from the 1st millennium BC have revealed that each group practised various forms of subsistence. See Machicek and Zubova 2012. See also Salzman 1972 for an ethnographical study of the multiresource economy of modern Iranian pastoralists.
[171] Sherratt 2003, 622. Steppe inhabitants lived variously in temporary tents, log houses, and walled cities. Representations of tents and log houses dating to the 1st millennium BC have been found in the Boyar petroglyphs in the Minusinsk Basin. See Bokovenko 1995b, 280–81. Walled cities associated with the Scythians have been discovered in the northern Black Sea littoral. See Melyukova and Crookenden 1990, 109.
[172] See also Sherratt 2003, 622.
[173] Kulkova 2003; Bokovenko 2004; and van Geel *et al*. 2004.

prompted a forest to flourish briefly around the lakes. Furthermore, sandy lake sediments were replaced with deposits that are mixes of organic substances from the lakes and dense vegetation from catchment run-off. One of the studies points out that the terraces of Lake Telmen in Mongolia show a higher moisture balance during the early 2nd to the late 1st millennia BC than evident today.[174] The more humid and cool climate, and the resultant increase in the steppe's pastoral vegetation, probably encouraged a move towards more mobile pastoral economies and the movement of people and goods.

Physical movement was probably facilitated by the invention of the chariot and adoption of horse riding. Spoked-wheeled vehicles have been excavated at Sintashta in Chelyabinsk Oblast, Russia, and dated to *c*. 2100 BC. The technology was later transmitted east through the Altai, where rock carvings of chariots were produced in the 2nd millennium BC.[175] During the late 2nd millennium BC, the technology reached China, where the Shang Dynasty's elite used and buried chariots in their tombs at Anyang 安陽 City, Henan Province.[176] In addition, fittings designed to look like humans also show that steppe inhabitants participated in chariot management during the Western Zhou. Horse riding was widely practised by steppe inhabitants during the 1st millennium BC, as indicated by remains of horse harnesses described below. Available archaeological finds show that horses were likely domesticated by the middle of the 4th millennium BC at Botai in Kazakhstan, where

---

[174] Van Geel *et al*. 2004, 1737.
[175] For the petroglyphs of wheeled vehicles found across the eastern steppe, see Kuzmina 2008, 57–8 and Frachetti 2008, 139–40 and 160.
[176] For the most up-to-date study of the spread of chariot technology, see Wu H 2013.

their bones constitute 99% of the faunal remains excavated.[177] The horses served not only as a source of meat and milk, but probably also as media for transportation, as their teeth show signs of wear seemingly caused by bits.[178]

Some scholars have suggested that steppe inhabitants had dependency relationships with agricultural polities.[179] For example, Nikolay Kradin suggests that pastoral nomads were dependent on agriculturalists because they had unstable economic foundations.[180] Similarly, Thomas Barfield suggests that steppe empires were "shadow empires" to agricultural polities, because they depended on wealth extracted from agricultural polities to sustain their hierarchical social systems.[181] Their views are open to criticism, because pastoral economies are not as fragile as is conventionally perceived. As described above, pastoralists supported themselves using different subsistence strategies. Moreover, pastoralists had connections with other groups in all directions, including the inhabitants of other parts of the steppe.[182] The relationship between pastoralists and agriculturalists was symbiotic rather than dependent: on the one hand, agriculturalists supplied domestic plants and various handcraft products to pastoralists. On the other hand, pastoralists supplied sedentary agriculturalists with animals, material goods, and even military services, as is discussed in further detail below.

Steppe inhabitants formed various types of social organisations in response to endogenous and exogenous factors, such as resource differentiation and strategies of

---

[177] Anthony and Brown 1991, 22–3. Discussion of the date(s) and origin(s) of horse domestication is ongoing. Various dates and places have been proposed by scholars based on different methods of identification, such as the apparent formation of a horse cult and tooth wear. See Kuzmina 2003.
[178] Outram *et al*. 2009, 1332. Victor Zaibert suggests that Botai was a hunting place where horses were domesticated and mounted to drive herds into traps. See Kuzmina 2003, 212.
[179] Khazanov 1994; Barfield 2001; and Kradin 2002.
[180] Kradin 2002, 380.
[181] Barfield 1989, 8.
[182] Honeychurch 2015.

contingency and opportunity.[183] Nicola Di Cosmo suggests that abrupt worsening of economic and political conditions in eastern steppe led to social disaggregation, while providing opportunities for capable individuals to rise to power.[184] These organisations ranged from tribes, confederations, and states to empires. Trans-local networks of interaction in the steppe also stimulated formations of complex social organisation in the 1st millennium BC, as demonstrated by the formation of the Xiongnu Empire.[185] Authority was not always centralised in the hands of a single leader. Sometimes, authority was decentralised between high-ranking individuals under whom the population was stratified and controlled. Nevertheless, the two systems could also coexist.[186]

In summary, steppe inhabitants can be characterised by, as summarised by J. Daniel Rogers, multi-resource economies with a reliance on herding, mobility, extra-local interactions, as well as both centralised and/or dispersed aristocratic hierarchies.[187] Against this background, we can now examine the material cultures of steppe inhabitants from the 2nd to 1st millennia BC.

MATERIAL CULTURES IN THE EURASIAN STEPPE, 2ND AND 1ST MILLENNIA BC

Various material cultures sharing broadly similar features and dating to the 2nd and 1st millennia BC have been found in the Sayan-Altai region. Culturally, the Sayan-Altai

[183] Rogers 2015.
[184] Di Cosmo 1999.
[185] Honeychurch 2013.
[186] Mann 1986, 1 and Rogers 2012, 213.
[187] Rogers 2012.

region can be divided into various zones, including the Minusinsk Basin, Tuva, the Altai, and western and central Mongolia:

The Minusinsk Basin

The Minusinsk Basin comprises the middle valley of the Yenisei River and the upper valley of the Chulym River. The area is connected to the Altai and Kazakhstan by a forest-steppe belt called the Tom-Chulym Corridor, and with Mongolia by the Yenisei River.[188] The basin has been inhabited by people practising pastoralist subsistence strategies since the 4th millennium BC, as indicated by remains associated with the Afanasevo culture (3700–2700 BC). The remains show that sheep and/or goats, cattle, and horses were herded, while hunting and fishing were also practised.[189] Mounds and stone enclosures were built for burials.[190] The culture marks the earliest phrase of the Bronze Age in the eastern steppe.[191] Arsenical bronze was used to make implements, while silver and gold were occasionally used to make personal adornments.[192]

During the 2nd millennium BC, the Andronovo culture or complex (*c*. 1800–1200 BC) emerged and appeared in the Minusinsk Basin in 1400 BC.[193] This culture or complex is defined by broadly similar pottery and bronzes, despite local variants in

---

[188] Gryaznov 1969, 11.
[189] Frachetti 2012, 10–7.
[190] Mallary 1989, 223–26.
[191] Scholars have proposed various date ranges for the Bronze Age based on different theories and regional differences. The date ranges for the eastern steppe Bronze Age are not well defined and are tentatively given as *c*. 3000–700 BC. Frohlich *et al*. 2010 and Kovalev and Erdenebaatar 2009.
[192] Gryaznov 1969, 46–51.
[193] The Andronovo culture refers to a group of similar Bronze Age cultures located between western Siberia and the Minusinsk Basin. See Mallory and Adams 1997, 20–1 and Svyatko *et al*. 2013. Some scholars have preferred to call it an archaeological complex or horizon. According to David W. Anthony, a horizon can be defined by "a single artefact type or cluster of artefact types that spreads suddenly over a very wide geographical area" and that the trait or traits imposed on diverse populations and cultures. For the definition, see Anthony 2007, 131–32.

type and regional sequence,[194] in addition to varying herd compositions and subsistence strategies based on local environments.[195] Settlements accommodated up to 200 people.[196] Funerary practices were broadly uniform, except for minor local variants. Tumulus burials known as kurgans in modern scholarship were built. The kurgans' chambers are made from stone slabs and are enclosed by circular or rectangular enclosures, also made from stone slabs. Funerary assemblages consist of: the heads and hooves of sheep and/or goats, cattle, and horses—other parts of the carcasses are richer in meat content and might have been consumed in a funerary banquet—personal ornaments like beads, bronze earrings, and plaques; implements, such as copper needles; and pottery vessels.[197] The practice of burying animal heads and hooves was widespread in the steppe. Such a practice is also evident in kurgan burials associated with the Srubnaya culture (*c*. 1800–1200 BC) in the western steppe.[198] Similar animal parts are also found in tombs of the Karasuk culture dating from about the 14th century BC.[199]

During the 1st millennium BC, the basin was characterised by the Tagar culture (*c*. 900–200 BC). Among Tagar burial assemblages were ornaments for the body, personal weapons, tools, and vessels. The ornaments include complex sets of beaded adornments in carnelian and glass, bronze pendants, and belts hung with small

---

[194] Kuzmina has discussed these similarities in some of her Russian articles. See Kuzmina 1986 and 1994. The information presented here can be found in English in Anthony 1998, 107 and 2007, 448–51.
[195] Legrand 2006, 844–46.
[196] *Ibid*, 867.
[197] Gryaznov 1969, 89–91. In an ethnographical study, Gryaznov suggests that these heads and hooves are likely remains from funerary banquets. Gryaznov's study describes how modern inhabitants of the Yenisei River valley held banquets two weeks after the death of a villager. During the banquet, horses were slaughtered and their meat consumed, while their heads and legs were hung on trees. *Ibid*, 90.
[198] Gryaznov 1969, 91. For an overview of the western steppe, see Koryakova and Epimakhov 2007.
[199] The similarities between the Andronovo and Karasuk cultures led Gryaznov to suggest that the transition did not result from the arrival of new people but was a process of internal transformation. Gryaznov 1969, 97.

bags containing toilet articles.[200] The personal weapons include battle-axes, daggers, and arrows, sometimes decorated with animal subjects. For instance, the polls of some battle-axes are decorated with raptor heads or sculptural animals, such as stags or goats.[201] Dagger pommels have been found in the form of a pair of confronting animals, mushrooms, or rings.[202] Knives are also found, sometimes decorated with patterns. On the handles are zoomorphic forms, rings, large holes, or small ones.[203] The vessels that have been found include bronze cauldrons with handles decorated with animals or mushroom-shaped protrusions.[204]

Horse riding became significantly more important among the Tagar culture than it had previously been in the Minusinsk Basin.[205] Horse fittings found in site assemblages include bronze bits with stirrup-shaped ends and additional holes, bits with single holes at each end, check pieces with raptor-head ends, and bronze pendants with sculptural raptor-head designs (Figure 3.1). The development of horse riding was an important factor that contributed to economic and social differentiation. Theoretically, horse riding increased the efficacy and, consequently, the scale and productivity of herding.[206] As herders needed to acquire more land to feed their growing herds, they came into conflict with each other. Horses also reduced the difficulty of raiding, making conflict more frequent. Together, such conflict prompted some individuals to seek status and separate groups to build alliances. Among the

---

[200] Bokovenko 2006, 866.
[201] Bokovenko 1995c, 302–3.
[202] *Ibid*, 302.
[203] *Ibid*, 303.
[204] See, for example, Bokovenko 2006, 873, fig. 12.
[205] For the Tagar culture, see Bokovenko 1995c, 305 and 2006.
[206] Anthony 2007, 222.

Tagar culture sites, monumental kurgans with gold ornaments have been found.[207] Some of the largest kurgans are situated in the Bolshoy Salkbyksky Valley in the centre of the Minusinsk Basin. One of these is dated to the 4th century BC. It has a mound 11 metres high and a wall built of stone slabs weighing up to 50 tonnes. The tomb was badly plundered, but it yielded a bronze knife and fragments of gold.

Some Tagar kurgans were destroyed by newcomers associated with the Tes' culture (300 BC–AD 100).[208] The kurgans were dug up and dog heads deposited inside. We can infer from this that, among steppe inhabitants, kurgans were important arenas where identities were constructed and expressed, and social bonds were renewed and formed.[209] By destroying the physical monuments, the traditional rituals could no longer be performed, consequently it may have been assumed that social memories and identities would be lost over time.

Overall, the material cultures in the Minusinsk Basin display characteristics of varying forms of pastoralist societies. Their grave assemblages consistently include horse heads and hooves, as well as other domesticated animals, while artefacts indicate a preference for beaded and metal ornaments for the body, as well as personal weapons for hand-to-hand combat, animals as principal subjects of decoration, and the use of gold as a status marker.

Western and central Mongolia

---

[207] Bokovenko 2006, 867–68.
[208] Parzinger *et al*. 2007, 113–14.
[209] For the relations between social memory, identity and death, see Chesson 2001.

In the contiguous western and central Mongolia, there were monuments known as khirigsuurs that are dated to *c*. 1300 to 700 BC.[210] The monuments usually comprise a central structure (some of them can be confirmed as having served funerary purposes), one or more deer stones, a circular or square stone enclosure, satellite mounds, and associated burials built on nearby hill slopes. Animal bones were deposited around the khirigsuurs, as demonstrated by a large number of bones excavated from approximately 1100 stone circles, which were built over a period of 200 years around one of the largest khirigsuurs in the valley of the Khanuy River in central Mongolia.[211] The sheer size of some khirigsuurs exceeds the labour input of a family or extended kin group. Francies Allard and Diimaajav Erdenebaatar, therefore, suggest that they were used to aggrandise the statuses of their occupants and/or patrons, while also serving a socially integrative role in the region.[212] The deer stones are up to 2.5 m in height and have circles or human faces carved at the top, with belts from which personal weapons or implements similar to Andronovo and Karasuk types are centrally hung.[213] The upper and lower parts of the stelae separated by the belts are typically carved with stylised deer, for which the stelae are named. The representations of warriors are similar to what is seen in kurgans in the Tuva Republic in southern Siberia, to which we shall now turn our attention.[214]

Tuva

---

[210] On the khirigsuurs, see Allard and Edenebaatar 2005; Fitzhugh 2009; and Houle 2009.
[211] Allard and Erdenebaatar 2005, 561.
[212] *Ibid*, 561.
[213] Karasuk weapons and implements have been found in Mongolia. See Park *et al*. 2001, 814.
[214] Deer stones have also been found in Transbaikal, the republics of Tuva and Altai, Kazakhstan, and the Black Sea area. However, not all the deer stones are of the type described. See Bokovenko 1995b, 272 and Rolle 1989, 36–7.

The burials Arzhan 1 and Arzhan 2 dating to the early half of the 1st millennium BC in the Tuva Basin deserve particular attention.[215] This is because the burials represent a new development in the use of gold and iron as sumptuary materials, a characteristic also evident in eastern Gansu and southern Ningxia during the later half of the 1st millennium BC. Arzhan 1 was robbed in antiquity and excavated in the 1970s. Radiocarbon analysis and dendrochronology suggest that the kurgan was built between the 9th and early 8th centuries BC.[216] The kurgan comprises a monumental mound with 300 satellite mounds that contain the burnt remains of sheep, cattle, goat, and a considerable number of horse heads and hooves. Beneath the central mound is an underground structure built of logs with 70 chambers. Two primary occupants had been laid on their left sides in log coffins in the central chamber. The funerary assemblage includes ornaments, such as a pair of gold earrings with turquoise, a torque made from a narrow band of gold sheet, and bronze personal weapons such as battle-axes, daggers with animal- and mushroom-shaped pommels, and arrows. Also accompanying the dead were over a hundred horses with harness and ornaments in gold and bronze, such as a bronze plaque in the shape of a coiled feline (Figure 3.2).

Arzhan 2 shares many traits with Arzhan 1. This kurgan was excavated in the late 1990s and early 2000s. It has a slightly smaller yet equally monumental mound (Figure 3.3). Around the central mound are satellite mounds containing the bones of sheep, cattle, horses, and fragments of gold and bronze. The two primary occupants, a male and a female, were buried in a chamber in the kurgan's northwest corner, which

---

[215] For the archaeological report, see Chugunov *et al*. 2010. The description below is based on this report, unless otherwise specified, to reduce redundancy.
[216] Zaitseva *et al*. 2004.

had survived plunder. Among the burial assemblage were gold ornaments, iron personal weapons, and horses with elaborate harnesses.

According to an illustrated reconstruction by the excavators, the deceased man wore a riding outfit that consisted of a pair of trousers, a short jacket secured with a belt at the waist, a pair of boots, a hat, and a cape (Figure 3.4). The trousers, jacket, and boots would have been ornamented with the gold beads and plaques shaped like felines in profile that were found during excavation, which would have been sewn on, while the belt is decorated with gold plaques with openwork S-scroll patterns (Figure 3.5). The hat is decorated with a gold plaque shaped like a standing deer and four more plaques shaped like recumbent horses with crest-like manes (Figure 3.6). There is also a gold torque embellished with herbivore and carnivore subjects. The weapons comprise a battle-axe, a dagger, bow, and quiver with arrows. The weapons are all made from iron and wood, with gold embellishments in animal and abstract shapes (Figure 3.7). The dagger strap near the waist is threaded through some gold rings, each showing a feline seizing the muzzle of a mountain goat (Figure 3.8).

The drawing that reconstructs the dress and overall appearance of the female shows her wearing a dress and cape, also with gold beads and animal-shaped gold ornaments, a conical hat with ear flaps, and a gold pectoral with carnivore and herbivore designs, while carrying an iron dagger like the deceased man (Figures 3.9 and 3.10). In other chambers, there are harnessed horses and sacrificed humans, who were killed with sharp objects and buried with much less elaborate grave goods and gold ornaments. Some scholars have suggested that the tomb's main male occupant

was the ruler of a steppe confederation.[217] This view is based on strontium isotope analysis, which suggests that the female was not local to Arzhan; thus, she may have arrived in the area as the result of an exogamous marriage. Additionally, the varying harness systems of the horses suggest that they were mortuary gifts from a variety of regions, including the Minusinsk Basin, the Altai, Mongolia, and Kazakhstan.

In short, the burials at Arzhan display characteristics similar to those seen in the 1st millennium BC Minusinsk Basin assemblages, as well as western and central Mongolia. Simultaneously, however, the tombs reflect new ways of presenting status through gold ornaments and elaborate iron weapons. Many Arzhan type materials were also found in the burials at Pazyryk in the Altai, which are dated to the later half of the 1st millennium BC.

Steppe inhabitants' interactions with the Achaemenids

Before describing the material culture in the Altai, it is helpful to consider interactions between steppe inhabitants and the Achaemenids. Succeeding the Median Empire (r. 678–549 BC), the Achaemenid Empire was found by the Persian king, Cyrus the Great (r. 560–530 BC).[218] With its main capital in Babylon in modern Iraq, the empire stretched from eastern Europe to Uzbekistan and the Indus Valley at its peak, while sharing its borders with different groups of steppe inhabitants, with whom the empire had extensive interactions.

According to Achaemenid sources, such as inscriptions and reliefs carved by King Darius I (r. 522–486 BC) on the cliff of Mount Behistun in Kermanshah

---

[217] Jettmar 1981, 150 and Bokovenko 1995b, 267.
[218] The Achamenids traced their dynastic origins back to King Achaemenes (d. 675 BC), who ruled a vassal state of the Median Empire (678–549 BC). For an overview of the Achaemenid Empire, see Cook 1985.

Province, Iran, and cylinder seals of the 5th century BC excavated from one of the empire's centres at Persepolis in Fars Province, the Achaemenids fought against steppe inhabitants known as the Saka—a Persian equivalent to Scythians (see below)—who were defeated and became subjects of the Achaemenids.[219] The inscriptions are, more accurately, Darius I's autobiography, and they describe a series of rebellions resulting from the deaths of Cyrus the Great and his heir, as well as Darius I's triumph over the enemies. The reliefs illustrate Darius and the conquered people, in which a Saka leader is depicted wearing a riding costume and pointed hat. He is attached by a rope at his neck to the other subjugated people and his hands are bound.[220] The seals bear representations of warfare between the Achaemenids and steppe inhabitants, such as the Saka, with the latter shown being defeated. Wu Xin suggests that the seals were carved based on real historical events and used by the Achaemenid elite to commemorate their glorious personal history.[221] Meanwhile, Greek sources indicate more reciprocal relationships between the Achaemenids and steppe peoples, in which the two groups engaged in a wide range of activities including trade, military alliance, diplomacy, and gift exchange.[222] Based on the sources, the Saka likely fought as part of an alliance with Darius I, but not as his subjects. The Saka are likely to have traded horses with the Achaemenids at garrison towns that also served as trading posts within the empire.[223]

---

[219] "Saka" is the generic name for the different groups that inhabited the Achaemenid Empire's northern frontier between the Hungarian steppe and Caspian Sea, as well as those north of the Danube and Black Sea. The Achaemenids mention three groups especially, namely the Saka Haumavarga ("hauma-drinking Sakas"), Saka Tigrakhauda ("pointed-hat Sakas"), and Saka Tayai Paradraya ("Sakas beyond the sea"). See Cook 1985, 253–54.
[220] Farkas 1985.
[221] Wu 2005.
[222] Stark 2012.
[223] *Ibid*, 111–12.

Achaemenid elements can be found in the steppe, including in a 4th to 3rd century BC kurgan at Issyk in southeast Kazakhstan.[224] Among the burial assemblage is a riding outfit and pointed hat, both covered with gold animal-shaped ornaments, and iron personal weapons, like an iron dagger and a sword with animal designs and gold embellishments (Figure 3.11). The deceased and other inhabitants of this part of the steppe probably played a role in the transmission of Achaemenid elements to Pazyryk, as suggested by the incorporation of Achaemenid elements in the Issyk man's steppe outfit. For instance, one of the ornaments on the pointed hat is shaped like a pair of winged ibexes derived from Achaemenid iconography, while the gold plaques on the belt are shaped like a deer with a raptor-tipped mane found also in Pazyryk (*cf*. Figures 3.14a and 3.14b). Other evidence, as is pointed out by Wu Xin[225] and Sören Stark,[226] include: firstly, similar animal representations that have been found on columns at Persepolis, a bronze ring in southeast Kazakhstan, and on a felt saddlecloth in Kurgan 1 at Pazyryk; secondly, the stylised motif of an Achaemenid winged sun disc found on some leather saddle arch facings in Pazyryk;[227] and, thirdly, similar representations of seated figures and horse riders found on Achaemenid reliefs at Persepolis' Apadana, a bronze pedestalled vessel found in Almaty in southeast Kazakhstan, and a felt wall hanging in Kurgan 5 at Pazyryk.

Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region

---

[224] For the archaeological report, see Akishev 1978. For dating of the kurgan, see Jacobson 1993 and Hall 1997. See Akishev 2013 for elite and ordinary Saka tombs along the Ili River.
[225] Wu 2007.
[226] Stark 2012, 121.
[227] Razmjou 2005, 105–11. The motif was probably adopted since it was associated with royalty and divinity in the Achaemenid Empire.

The inhabitants of northern Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region (*Xinjiang Weiwu'er Zizhiqu* 新疆維吾爾自治區) in modern China probably also played a part in the transmission of Achaemenid artefacts to Pazyryk, while bringing steppe traits to northwest China. Xinjiang is in the eastern part of Central Asia. The area is characteristed by the Kunlun Mountains (*Kunlun Shan* 崑崙山), Tian Shan and Altai Mountains that separate the Dzungaria (*Zhunga'er* 準噶爾) and Tarim Basin (*Talimu Pendi* 塔里木盆地). Along the borders of the desert basin are oases inhabited by agriculturalist and agropastoralist communities.[228] The area's connection with the Sayan-Altai region is demonstrated by Andronovo pottery and bronzes found in pastoralist cemeteries, such as Xintala 新塔拉 in the oases along the northern foothills of the Tian Shan.[229] In addition, bronze trays and cauldrons commonly found in south Siberia and the so-called Saka tombs in southeast Kazakhstan have been found.[230]

The area's connection with northwest China can be demonstrated using the late 1st millennium BC cemetery at Alagou 阿拉溝 on the southern side of the Tian Shan.[231] Among the burial remains are lacquerware and silk from Dynastic China, in addition to steppe ornaments and weapons, such as gold plaques in the shape of

---

[228] See Festa 2017 for the most up-to-date overview of prehistoric cultures in Xinjiang.
[229] For the Andronovo influence in Xinjiang, see Kuzmina 1998; Peng 1998; Mei and Shell 1999; Mei 2000, 66–7; and Kohl 2007, 237–41. Andronovo artefacts are found as far as eastern Gansu, as seen in the material remains of the Qijia 齊家 culture (*c*. 2200–1600 BC). See Fitzgerald-Huber 1995, 40–52; Sun and Han 2000; and Mei 2003. The culture is named after the type-site at Qijiaping 齊家坪, Guanghe 廣河, Gansu, which was discovered by the Swedish scholar Johan Gunnar Andersson in 1923/4. Andersson 1925. Qijia culture sites have been found along the upper Wei River valley, the lower and middle Tao River (*Tao He* 洮河), and the lower and middle Huanshui River (*Huanshui* 湟水). Among the remains found were pure copper and bronze artefacts comparable to those of the Andronovo culture or complex, including ornamental plaques and personal weapons such as socketed axes and spearheads. Artefacts made of Hetian 和田 jade from present-day Xinjiang have been found at over a dozen sites. For an overview, see Liu and Chen 2012, 322–32. Isotope analysis points to a possibility of exogenous individuals in Qijia populations. See Dong *et al*. 2015.
[230] Mei 2002 and Wu 2007.
[231] For the archaeological report, see Xinjiang Shehui Kexueyuan Kaogu Yanjiusuo 1981.

felines with twisted hind legs that are also found on the Issyk headdress. What merits attention is a vehicle decorated with silver plaques and possibly approximately 100 gold plaques found near it. As will be discussed in detail in the next chapter, this vehicle provides a link between the type of vehicle found in Achaemenid sources and the tombs in eastern Gansu. Now we shall return to the burials at Pazyryk.

Altai

Pazyryk is located in the Sayan-Altai region. This section concerns the burials excavated in the 1920s and 1940s, which have been published in great detail in English (Figure 3.12).[232] Among 23 kurgans, 14 kurgans dating to between the 4th and 3rd centuries BC have been reported.[233] They are organised in clusters centring on five larger kurgans that stand out for their size and the wealth of their burial assemblages. The frozen conditions have preserved the bodies of the deceased and many organic materials, making the kurgans ideal examples of steppe material culture.

This thesis mainly uses Kurgan 2 (named "Barrow 2" in the archaeological report) as an example of one of the five largest kurgans, all of which have unfortunately been plundered. The two people buried in Kurgan 2 were laid in a log coffin within a wooden chamber. The log coffin is ornamented on its exterior walls with leather deer cut-outs. These are similar to those found in Kurgan 1, which are leather cut-outs of cockerels decorated with tin foil (Figure 3.13).

---

[232] The kurgans were excavated by Sergei I. Rudenko and the archaeological report was translated into English by M. W. Thompson. See Rudenko 1970. My examination of the kurgans is based on the translated report, unless otherwise specified. For an overview of archaeological finds of the 1st millennium BC in the Altai, see Bokovenko 1995a.

[233] The kurgans were dated to the 5th century BC by Rudenko. However, the Zhou bronze mirror and silk among the burial assemblages date to the 4th and 3rd centuries BC, indicating that the kurgan was more likely built around this time. See Bunker 1991, 21. The revised dates suggested by Bunker have been confirmed by radiocarbon dating. See Alekseev *et al*. 2001.

The bodies of Pazyryk's tomb occupants were mummified and preserved so well that animal tattoos on Kurgan 2 male's body were still visible at the time of excavation. As in other larger kurgans, he is relatively tall and well-built, suggesting that he acquired his status through physical strength and martial prowess, although not many weapons remain in his tomb. A wound to his scalp and imprints left on his skull by a battle-axe suggest that he died in a conflict.[234] The animal tattoos are found on the upper part of his torso and limbs (Figures 3.14a and 3.14b). On the right arm are six animals in profile, including a sheep or goat and a feline with a raptor-tipped mane comparable to those seen on the horses decorating the hat from Arzhan and the fantastic felines on the Issyk belt. It is likely that the tattoos were visible to other people, as the limbs might not be covered by clothes all the time. In fact, the male was buried unclothed. Similar tattoos were recently discovered on the bodies of a male and female in Kurgan 5.[235] The tattoos on the female from Kurgan 5 include two tigers and a panther biting the necks and bodies of two elk (Figure 3.15).

The burial assemblage includes both gold and iron ornaments and weapons.[236] The male was buried with shirts and a pointed hat,[237] while the deceased woman was buried with a coat, a headdress, and two pairs of boots (Figures 3.16–3.18).[238] The coat is made of fur and decorated with gilded leather sheep heads placed above raptors, also cut from leather.[239] The two pairs of boots are either studded with beads or decorated with openwork leather soles. Personal ornaments include carnelian and

---

[234] According to Herodotus, the Scythians removed the scalp from the head of an enemy as a trophy. See *The Histories* and Rudenko 1970, 221.
[235] Stepanova and Pankova 2017, 96.
[236] It is unclear whether the ornaments belonged to the male or female, since the kurgan was disturbed.
[237] Breeches were not found in the kurgans at Pazyryk, but they were found in a burial at Tuekta that is associated with the Pazyryk culture. See Rudenko 1970, 85.
[238] The apron described by Rudenko has been shown to be a coat in a recent publication. See Stepanova and Pankova 2017, 95, fig. 80.
[239] The patterns on the leather cut-outs are described as lotuses and ox horns by Rudenko.

glass beads, parts of at least three belts, a pair of repaired gold ear pendants with granulation and inlay, and a gilded torque with sculptural horned, winged felines commonly seen in Achaemenid art (Figure 3.19). Parts of the belts shows palmette scrolls introduced from Western and Central Asia that ultimately came from Egypt (Figure 3.20).[240] The motif is embroidered with threads wrapped in tin foil and accentuated with gold foil. Another part of a belt has the same kind of decoration and is attached with a set of silver belt plaques (Figures 3.21a and 3.21b). The plaques show mirrored images of an animal combat scene identical to that found on the Arzhan gold strap rings, except that the muscles of the animals are marked by dots and commas, as in Achaemenid art. The plaques have openings for pendant straps from which the iron mace (only the head survives), the knife, and either the iron mirror from western India or bronze mirror probably hung.[241]

The tomb also yielded various kinds of containers, some of which are portable. These comprise a copper cauldron, a wooden drinking cup with a felt ring, pottery vessels, and drawstring leather pouches (Figures 3.22–3.25). The drinking cup has a round base and sits on a ring made of straw secured by sheets or twisted strips of felt. One of the pottery bottles is decorated with leather cockerel appliqués covered with tin foil. A leather flask excavated from Kurgan 1 is embellished with blue and yellow fur rhombuses that, as will be examined in the next chapter, are paralleled by beaded collages on leather pouches found at Majiayuan. Central Asian coriander seeds were found in one of the pouches, which further indicating a connection between this area and Central Asia.

---

[240] On the transmission of the palmette motif, see Rawson 1984, 199–224.
[241] For the Indian origins of the iron mirror, see Marsadolov and Marshak 1997.

The spaces between the log chambers and shafts in the Pazyryk kurgans were reserved for horses and wheeled vehicles, including wooden carts and a wooden spoked-wheel carriage. The horses' leather straps are decorated with leather appliqués and ornaments showing a wide variety of themes, including scrolls, real and fantastic animals, and human faces (Figure 3.26). Figure 3.27 shows a well-preserved bridle from Kurgan 1. It consists of a bronze bit, a pair of wooden S-shaped cheek pieces with eared raptor ends—the ears of the raptor were made with leather, now deteriorated—and a number of wooden pendants in the form of sculptural raptors with ears, also found in Kurgan 2 (Figure 3.28). The horse gear is completed by felt and silk saddlecloths. One of the saddlecloths from Kurgan 2 is made of red felt and decorated with yellow painted leather appliqués of a feline attacking an elk (Figure 3.29).

Zhou artefacts have been excavated at Pazyrk and were used in local ways. Kurgan 6 is one of Kurgan 5's satellite kurgans. The occupants include an adult female and an adolescent. The burial goods comprise a small number of beads made from white marble, gold, carnelian, and glass. There are also cowry shells, gold leaves, an iron knife, two pottery bottles, three horses with saddle pendants made from horn, and red lacquer plates and a mirror believed to have been imported from the Zhou.[242] Although the Zhou artefacts constitute part of the funerary assemblage, they do not reflect an adoption of Zhou cultural behaviours and identity. If we look carefully, we can see that the mirror, probably from the State of Yan, was used in a

---

[242] Bunker 1991, 21. The lacquer plates have not been published and are only mentioned in the inventory provided by the archaeological report. It is hard to determine whether they are made of lacquer and imported from Zhou, as has been suggested, because black and red paints were also used on wooden artefacts, as, for example, on the arrow shafts at Pazyryk that were likely made locally. This list may not represent the original inventory, because the kurgan was plundered in antiquity.

way different from its counterparts in the Zhou. The mirror is broken and only half of it has survived. This also holds for mirrors found in the later Xiongnu tombs in Mongolia, as well as other parts of Russia, that were broken intentionally using knives or a process of rapid heating and cooling.[243] In a similar way, the woven and embroidered silk imported from the Zhou in Kurgan 5 was adapted for local tastes by being used to make a saddlecloth trimmed with local felt and gold and tin appliqués. As will be discussed in more depth in Chapter Five, the Zhou and Qin ritual vessels found in eastern Gansu were also used in a way unlike their parallels in the core Zhou and Qin territories; therefore, the vessels cannot be treated as evidence for the adoption of Zhou and Qin customs and identities.

Together, the burials in the Minusinsk Basin, as well as those at Issyk and Pazyryk, show that preferences for kurgans and animal sacrifices—including riding horses and domesticated animals—beaded and metal ornaments, personal weapons, animal subjects, and gold and iron as status markers continued to prevail in the eastern steppe during the later half of the 1st millennium BC. Based on the assumption that people sharing a similar group identity tend to minimise their differences in aspects such as clothes, possessions, and burial practices, it is reasonable to infer that the steppe inhabitants represented by the sites outlined above, while having local identities, also shared a supra-regional identity.

Steppe inhabitants' adaptations of Hellenistic elements

Steppe inhabitants borrowed some Hellenistic decorative elements during the 1st millennium BC. Two major interfaces of interaction between steppe and Hellenistic

---

[243] Lai 2006, 37, fig. 3 and Miniaev and Sakharovskaia 2007, 44–6.

styles can be spotted: one is in the northern Black Sea littoral, and the other in Central Asia. Along the Black Sea littoral, Greek colonies were established from the 6th century BC in Olbia, as well as on the Kerch and Taman peninsulas. During this time, Greek people had extensive contact with steppe inhabitants that they called "Scythians". According to Herodotus (*c*. 484–425 BC), who visited Olbia and wrote *The Histories* during the 5th century BC, there was a kingdom called Scythia in the steppe to the north of the Black Sea.[244] The kingdom was composed of a royal and slave class, as well as both nomads, and agriculturalists said to have called themselves Scoloti.

The Scythians claimed to be descendants of a king who lived in the region around the middle of the 2nd millennium BC. Another account, which Herodotus believed to be more reliable, says that the Scythians originally dwelt in Asia, from whence they crossed the Arasex and annexed the territory of the Cimmerians (*fl*. 1000–700 BC). The eastern border of the Scythian's territory was at Tanasi, on the River Don, but people in other areas also adopted Scythian dress, customs, and languages.

Up to the 1990s, about 20 kurgans dating to the 7th and 6th centuries BC, in addition to hundreds dating to the 4th and 3rd centuries BC, had been found in the northern Black Sea littoral and attributed to the Scythians; though, archaeologists still find it difficult to reconcile the archaeological finds with Herodotus' written accounts.[245] Archaeologists have synthesised three key elements of material culture,

---

[244] The accounts of the Scythians can be found in Book Four of Herodotus' *The Histories*.
[245] Melyukova and Crookenden 1990. For the most recent catalogues of the some of the finds, see Parzinger 2007 and Simpson and Pankova 2017.

sometimes called the "Scythian triad", a term first used by the Russians.[246] The triad includes weapons, horse harnesses, and animals as the principal form of decoration. Since the material culture shows a broad similarity to that found in the Sayan-Altai region, some scholars have, thus, suggested that the culture originated in the eastern steppe region. Such scholars have created and popularised the term "Scytho-Siberian culture".[247]

Among the funerary assemblage in the so-called Scythian tombs are Greek ornaments and vessels. A gold pectoral made by Greek craftspeople was found in the 4th century BC kurgan Tolstaya Mogila in Ordzhonikidze, Ukraine (Figure 3.30).[248] The kurgan comprises two monumental catacomb tombs with multiple chambers. The burial assemblage of the primary burial, a male, consists of typical gold steppe ornaments and personal weapons made of iron. The artefacts reflect the value of gold in the steppe, as gold deposits are not available in Ukraine; therefore, the elite would have needed to acquire the gold from sources in Transylvania, the Caucasus, or as far east as Kazakhstan and the Altai Mountains.[249] In the kurgan of the female thought to be the male's spouse, a vehicle with iron ferrules had been placed at the entrance of the main chamber. An infant had been buried holding a gold adult-sized armlet similar to that worn by the female. This shows that gold personal ornaments were distinctive to this steppe culture and likely served as markers of both local and regional group identities. Greek amphorae and faunal remains from horses and wild animals were

---

[246] Bashilov and Yablonsky 1995, XII.
[247] For an overview, see Mallory 1989, 51–3. The source(s) of the animal subjects is controversial. One opinion suggests that this art form spread west from the Altai, while others have argued that it originated in Central Asia. See Bashilov and Yablonsky 1995, XII–XIV.
[248] The pectoral is decorated with relief figures showing, for example, animal combat scenes including animals typical of steppe ornaments. For the Russian archaeological report on the tomb, see Mozolevsky 1972. See Piotrovsky 1975, 31 and Rolle 1989, 22–37 for English descriptions.
[249] Rolle 1989, 52–3.

also found interred around the mound. It is likely through these groups, and others, that Greek elements were transmitted to the eastern steppe.

Greek elements were also taken east by Alexander III of Macedon, more commonly known as Alexander the Great. Alexander III was the king of Macedon, previously an Achaemenid state in the later half of the 4th century BC during the reigns of Darius I and Xerxes (*c*. 486–465 BC).[250] During his reign, Alexander launched massive military campaigns to the east, conquering the Achaemenid Empire and creating an empire ruled by Greeks that reached as far east as Fergana in Uzbekistan.

After he died, Alexander's empire was carved up between his heirs and generals. However, Hellenistic culture continued to flourish in Asia for an extended period of time. A Greek town has been found at Ai Khanoum in Bactria in modern Afghanistan, Tajikistan, and Uzbekistan.[251] The town was probably established by Seleukos (r. 305–281 BC), an Achaemenid satrap, in about 300 BC, before it was destroyed by steppe groups in the 2nd century BC. Among the archaeological finds are remains of buildings, such as a palace with Corinthian column capitals, a gymnasium, sculptures of gods and heroes from Greek mythology, pebble mosaics, and inscriptions written in Greek.

In addition, Hellenistic elements can still be found in the 1st century AD kurgans at Tillya Tepe in Jowzjan Province, northern Afghanistan.[252] The burial contains six graves—one male and five females—under a burial mound surrounded

---

[250] For the history of the Hellenistic period, see Bosworth 1988 and Bernard 2008.
[251] Bernard 2008.
[252] For an overview of the site, see Hiebert and Cambon 2018. The deceased have been associated with the Saka, Yuezhi, and Kushan mentioned in Achaemenid, Greek, and Chinese historical records. See Francfort 2012; Boardman 2012; and Leidy 2012.

by deposits of horse skulls and hooves. The burial remains include gold ornaments and iron personal weapons.[253] A perfume bottle produced in the Mediterranean had been buried with a female in Tomb 4.[254] In addition, there is a pair of gold pendants decorated with nets similar to those on Hellenistic hairnets (Figures 3.31 and 3.32). The upper part of the each pendant is in the shape of a human flanked by two horned, winged horses with twisted hind legs, a posture typical of the animal decorative repertoire of the steppe.

Overall, the archaeology presented above shows that Hellenistic decorative elements were taken eastwards by Alexander III and his successors, and these were adopted by steppe inhabitants. This provides an avenue through which to explore how Hellenistic elements were incorporated into both the burial assemblages of the inhabitants of eastern Gansu and the First Emperor of Qin, as will be discussed in the following chapters.

SUMMARY

This chapter has summarised the broadly similar ways of life and the material cultures of steppe inhabitants in the 2nd and 1st millennia BC. The steppe inhabitants were primarily pastoralist and relied on animal herding. With the change from an arid to humid climate that prompted the growth of a greater variety of vegetation in the steppe and innovations in transportation, steppe inhabitants became more connected. This connectivity is demonstrated by similar chariots found in the tombs of high-

[253] Francfort 2012.
[254] For Hellenistic elements at the site, see Boardman 2012.

ranking elite at Sintashta in Russia and the Shang in China, in addition to petroglyphs documenting the use of chariots that are found between the two distant areas.

During the 1st millennium BC, broadly similar cultures emerged in the Minusinsk Basin, Tuva, and Altai in Russia, as well as western and central Mongolia. As the summary has shown, kurgans were the favoured type of tomb, with the bones of horses, sheep, cattle, and goats, sometimes just the heads and hooves, often included. There were preferences for beaded and metal ornaments on the body and personal weapons that were hung from belts. Animals were the principal subjects of decoration, which were also found on horse ornaments. Gold, silver, and iron served as status markers, as the remains at Arzhan and Pazyryk have shown. All these seem to reflect a shared regional identity of the steppe inhabitants.

Steppe inhabitants engaged with the polities south of the steppe, including the Achaemenid, the Zhou, and the Hellenistic Greece. Valuable goods from these polities were adopted; however, the artefacts were used in local ways. Most of the above characteristics are also found in contemporary eastern Gansu and southern Ningxia, where the burial practices and material remains show strong similarities to those in the steppe that are to be fully appreciated. The next chapter focuses on these similarities, as well as variants. On this basis, I argue that the inhabitants of eastern Gansu and southern Ningxia affiliated themselves with the inhabitants in the steppe rather than the Zhou or Qin, as past studies have suggested.

Chapter Four: Material Culture and Identities in Eastern Gansu and Southern Ningxia, 7th to 3rd Centuries BC

INTRODUCTION

Over the past decades, especially the last 10 years, a considerable number of tombs dated to the 7th to 3rd centuries BC and including a material culture similar those in the steppe have been found in eastern Gansu and southern Ningxia. As has been described in Chapters One and Two, our current understanding of this material culture is heavily influenced by classical Chinese texts and studies that focus on individual elements of tombs. The result is a biased view about the inhabitants' group identities.

In this chapter, I re-examine the material remains using a contextual approach. By contrast with past studies, I place equal emphasis on all remains excavated from each tomb. In what follows, the historical and cultural background of the area is first described, which allows characteristics of the material culture to be highlighted. Then, similarities and differences between the material cultures found in the steppe and that found in eastern Gansu and southern Ningxia are discussed, with particular emphasis on what they can show about the group identities of the latter. The discussion in this chapter focuses on burial practices, ornaments, personal weapons, horse harnesses, and wheeled vehicles. Zhou and Qin artefacts in the burial assemblages will be treated in more detail in Chapter Five. In this chapter, I argue that the material remains show the inhabitants of eastern Gansu and southern Ningxia presented themselves like the steppe groups described in the previous chapter. This steppe identity allowed them to survive in the increasingly hostile environment created by their neighbours of the 1st millennium BC.

MATERIAL CULTURES IN EASTERN GANSU AND SOUTHERN NINGXIA BEFORE THE 7TH CENTURY BC

Eastern Gansu and southern Ningxia witnessed an increased reliance on animal husbandry during the later half of the 2nd and early half of the 1st millennia BC. For the late 3rd to early 2nd millennia BC, faunal remains excavated in the region consist mostly of domestic pig mandibles, while the bones of sheep/goats and cattle constitute a small part of the remains.[255] However, throughout the late 2nd and early 1st millennia BC, sheep/goats, cattle, and horses come to make up the majority of faunal remains, indicating an increased reliance on animal husbandry.[256] This was probably due to climatic and environmental changes in the area during the 2nd and 1st millennia BC. Excavation of Dadiwan 大地灣 in Qin'an 秦安 County, eastern Gansu, found thick alluvial deposits, with low concentrations of organic matter and kaolinite in the soils from the early half of the 2nd millennium BC, indicating that the climate become colder and drier, and was therefore less favourable to agriculture.[257] In addition, the water levels of the Hulu River (*Hulu He* 葫蘆河), one of the tributaries of the Wei River that flows through Gansu and Shaanxi provinces, decreased after the late 3rd millennium BC.[258] This also suggests a decrease in both temperature and precipitation. Another study of the sequence of spore and pollen deposits from Maxian Mountain

---

[255] See, for example, the site at Dahezhuang 大何莊, in Yongjing 永靖 County near Lanzhou City, Gansu. For the archaeological report, see Zhongguo Shekui Kexueyuan Kaogu Yanjiusuo Gansu Gongzuodui 1974.

[256] See, for example, a site at Xujianian, Zhuanglang 莊浪 County, eastern Gansu. The remainder comprises the bones of pigs (8%) and carnivores. The percentages were calculated from well-preserved bones collected from 28 tombs. See Yuan and Yang 2006, 238–44.

[257] Li *et al*. 1993, 838.

[258] The Hulu River originates in Xiji 西吉 County in Ningxia, then runs southwards through Longde 隆德, Jingning 靜寧, Zhuanglang and Qin'an counties along the Liupan 六盤 and Long 隴 mountains, before it joins the Wei River at Tianshui, eastern Gansu.

(*Maxian Shan* 馬唧山) in Lintao 臨洮 County, central Gansu, found that tree coverage decreased at approximately a similar time, while grass and shrubs optimal for grazing animals grew to become the dominant types of plants.[259] These climatic and environmental changes probably contributed to the greater reliance on pastoralism.

The material culture that characterises the area immediately prior to the 7th century BC is the Siwa 寺窪 culture (*c*. 1100–700 BC). The Siwa culture is named after the type-site on Siwa Mountain in Lintao 臨洮 County, eastern Gansu, discovered by Johan Gunnar Andersson in 1924.[260] The tombs found in the area are primarily shaft tombs, a type of tomb common to this region where the tomb mouth is markedly narrower than the tomb floor.[261] The tombs are covered with earth and sometimes overlaid with a small number of stones. The deceased were predominantly buried in extended supine positions; however, secondary burials and cremations have also been found. In the Xujianian 徐家碾 and Jiuzhan 九站 cemeteries in Gansu, the deceased were buried supine with the heads raised significantly higher than the feet. Bronze finds are rare, but ceramic vessels are abundant, with some tombs containing over 70.[262] Some vessels have harness-shaped mouths, and some have surfaces decorated with what some scholars have interpreted as sheep/goat horns.[263] All these characteristics are not present in the material culture dating to 7th to 3rd centuries BC, to which we shall now turn our attention.

---

[259] Wang and Xu 1987.
[260] Andersson 1943. It has been suggested that the Siwa culture emerged from the Qijia culture, since pottery vessels from the Qijia site in Jonê (*Zhuoni* 卓尼) County, Gansu, show features characteristic of Siwa pottery. See Gannan Zangzu Zizhizhou Bowuguan 1994 and Fan 1994. For an overview of the Siwa culture, see Hu 1980 and Chang 1986, 384–85.
[261] For an overview of Siwa burial practices, see Zhongguo Shehui Kexueyuan Kaogu Yanjiusuo 2006, 148–66.
[262] An 1996, 316.
[263] Wu 1938, 107; Hu 1980, 120–22; and Zhongguo Shehui Kexueyuan Kaogu Yanjiusuo 2006, 162.

MATERIAL CULTURE, 7TH to 3RD CENTURIES BC

Tomb dates

The material assemblages from the 7th to 3rd centuries BC discussed in this chapter have been excavated from burials since the late 1970s. No settlement sites with similar material culture to that excavated from tombs have been found in the same area to date. Both absolute and relative dates are available for the tombs. Absolute dates have been produced by radio-carbon dating grains and calibrating these using dendrochronology.[264] This has produced dates ranging from the 4th to 3rd centuries BC for the tombs at Majiayuan. Relative dates have been suggested using Zhou and Qin artefacts, as well as parallel artefacts from the cemetery at Maoqinggou 毛慶溝 in Ulanqab (*Wulanchabu* 烏蘭察布) City, Inner Mongolia. The Maoqinggou cemetery has calibrated radio-carbon dates from carbonised grain remains, and a typological study has been conducted that supports a date range of 8th to 3rd centuries BC.[265] Chinese archaeologists have developed chronological sequences for some artefacts at Maoqinggou, which have been partly used in this thesis to date tombs in eastern Gansu and southern Ningxia, as listed in Appendix One.[266]

---

[264] Wang *et al*. 2013, 9–11.

[265] Radio-carbon dates calibrated using dendrochronology give dates of 740 and 345 BC. For the dates, see Nei Mengu Wenwu Gongzuodui 1986, 296–302. The inhabitants buried at Maoqinggou practised animal husbandry, as reflected by the heads and hooves of goats, cattle, and horses found in over half of the 79 tombs. However, the relatively advance ceramic techniques led the excavators to suggest that the inhabitants were semi-sedentary. See *ibid*, 303–4.

[266] For instance, according to the sequences, belt buckles change from oval to a round shape, while protruding tongues on the buckles' loops become less common during the 5th century BC. During the following century, knobs replace attachment loops. Pommels also change in form from a pair of confronting animals to double circles during the 5th and 4th centuries BC. See Nei Mengu Wenwu Gongzuodui 1986, 296–302.

Ordinary tombs

The tombs in eastern Gansu and southern Ningxia can be broadly represented by four cemeteries, namely Mazhuang 馬莊, Yujiazhuang 于家莊, Wangdahu 王大戶, and Jiulongshan 九龍山.[267] The tombs mainly have catacomb form, but also a small number of shaft tombs have been found (Figure 4.1).[268] The burial chambers in the catacomb tombs are cut into the shaft walls, while those in the shaft tombs are at the shaft bottom. The chambers in the catacomb tombs usually have sloped floors, and the occupants are placed in extended, supine positions, with their feet raised significantly higher than their heads. The positions are completely different to what is seen in the Siwa tombs described above.

Unlike the material culture represented by the Maoqinggou cemetery, where catacomb tombs are completely absent and vehicle fittings are rare, the burial assemblages in eastern Gansu and southern Ningxia consist mainly of bronze, bone and beaded ornaments for the body, personal weapons, as well as horses and wheeled vehicle fittings.[269] In addition, implements, like axes, adzes, and chisels that could be used for various tasks, such as cutting wood logs, splitting firewood, and building wheeled vehicles, have been found. The number of ceramic vessels is small comparing to Siwa tombs, and agricultural implements have not been found. There

---

[267] For the archaeological reports on the four cemeteries, see Ningxia Wenwu Kaogu Yanjiusuo 1991; Ningxia Wenwu Kaogu Yanjiusuo and Ningxia Guyuan Bowuguan 1993; and Ningxia Wenwu Kaogu Yanjiusuo and Pengyang Xian Wenwu Guanlisuo 2016. The details described below can be found mainly in the above reports and those mentioned in Chapter One. I shall not specify the sources of every detail in order to avoid redundancy. For the dating of the tombs, see Zhongguo Shehui Kexueyuan Kaogu Yanjiusuo 2004, 541–42. For an overview of some of the tombs, see Luo 1990 and Linduff 1997.

[268] All tombs inadvertently discovered by local residents are shaft tombs. The reasons for this may either be unequal reporting or that shaft tombs are typically shallower than catacomb tombs. Shaft tombs are said to have also been found in northern Ningxia. See Han 1994, 1028.

[269] See also Xu and Li 1993 for a comparison of the tombs in eastern Gansu, southern Ningxia and Maoqinggou.

are heads and hooves of sheep/goats, cattle, and horses, with sheep/goats constituting the majority.

The ornaments and personal weapons were all found close to the deceased, as if they were either worn or those conducting the burial ceremony wanted to emphasise the deceased's ownership of the items. Daggers and swords are always found near the waists, while dagger-axes discussed in more detail in the next chapter are usually found near the heads. Arrowheads are usually found near the knees, as if they were originally hung in quivers from belts. Horse and vehicle fittings and ceramic vessels are usually found mixed in with animal bones in the shafts, but they can also be found near the deceased.[270]

The burial practices and types of artefacts bear a close resemblance to those in the steppe described in the previous chapter. Although the catacomb structures of the tombs are distinctive from those in the adjacent steppe, the burial of domestic animals' heads and hooves follows the regional tradition described in Chapter Three.[271] The daggers and swords, like the examples from the steppe, often have winged-shaped guards and pommels shaped like confronting animals and mushrooms (*cf*. Figure 3.7).[272] Some swords are bimetallic, and their bronze hilts have four prongs that hold the iron blade (Figure 4.2). This type of sword, sometimes called a three-pronged sword—as only three prongs are visible from the side—is similar to a type of bronze

---

[270] The animal bones are generally placed randomly; although, sometimes the heads of the horses and cattle are placed facing the deceased. In the Maoqinggou cemetery, animal bones were usually found near the heads of the deceased or in niches near the their heads rather than at the feet, as in eastern Gansu and southern Ningxia.

[271] Liu Yuyang and Wang Hui have previously pointed out that this practice has been identified in south Siberia, Mongolia, and northeast China. See Liu and Wang 2017, 67.

[272] No chemical analyses have been conducted on the bronze artefacts. Nevertheless, the remains of an Eastern Zhou bronze foundry at Zhaobi Mountain (*Zhaobi Shan* 照壁山) in Zhongwei County, Ningxia, suggest that some of the bronzes are likely to have been produced locally. For a description of the foundry, see Ningxia Guyuan Bowuguan 2004, 59.

sword with a pronged hilt and separate blade unearthed from earlier contexts in the Minusinsk Basin and Xinjiang.[273] The polls of some battle-axes are decorated with animal motifs, like those in the steppe. Some ornamental belt plaques are decorated with S-scrolls, comparable to those at Arzhan 2, or eared raptors linked by ornamental bosses (Figure 4.3; *cf*. Figure 3.5). The latter is similar to Tagar ornaments, as, for example, one kept in the Museum of Völkerkunde in Germany (Figure 4.4).

Additionally, bronze mirrors decorated with animals in profile found in southern Ningxia are similar to a bronze example in the Altai, dated to the 8th to 7th centuries BC.[274] Meanwhile, horse fittings, including bits with stirrup-shaped or circular ends, and plaques in the form of coiled felines with protruding eared raptors, find their prototypes in Arzhan and the Minusinsk Basin (Figure 4.5; *cf*. Figures 3.1 and 3.2).[275] The same types of bronze axes were also made and used in the steppe.[276] Lastly, the vessels, such as ceramic scoops and bronze cauldrons with rectangular handles, also have parallels in Xinjiang, Central Asia, and south Siberia.[277] All the similarities in burial practices and material remains show that the inhabitants of eastern Gansu and southern Ningxia were outwardly presenting themselves in a similar way to other groups in the steppe, with whom they likely shared a regional group identity.[278]

---

[273] Yang 2010, 73. This sword type later appears in Sichuan and Yunnan provinces. Chiou-Peng Tzehuey (2014) suggests that this represents an independent development; however, the similarity between the Gansu-Ningxia and Sichuan-Yunnan examples suggests this is very unlikely.
[274] For the bronze example from the Altai, see Simpson and Pankova 2017, 135, pl. 64.
[275] Wu'en Yuesitu argues that the coiled feline motif is an independent creation in China. However, this view cannot be upheld by the earlier example found in Arzhan 1, whose 9th to 8th century BC date has been confirmed by radio-carbon dating. See Wu'en Yuesitu 2002.
[276] For steppe axes, see Bokovenko 1995c, 307, figs 8A–D.
[277] For wooden scoops from the steppe, see Bokovenko 1995b, 280, fig. 33. For cauldrons found in Xinjiang, see Mei 2002.
[278] This group does not include the people buried at Zhaitouhe 寨頭河 cemetery in Yan'an 延安, Shaanxi, dating to the 5th century BC, which has been associated with the Rong tombs in eastern Gansu

Richer tombs

Among the tombs in eastern Gansu and southern Ningxia, those in four cemeteries stand out for their size, structural complexity, and the wealth of their grave goods. The four cemeteries are Majiayuan, Wangwa 王窪, Liuping 劉坪, and Dunping 墩坪.[279] Among the tombs, Majiayuan in Zhangjiachuan Hui Autonomous Region (*Zhangjiachuan Huizu Zizhixian* 張家川回族自治縣) in Tianshui was named one of China's top 10 archaeological discoveries in 2006, while Wangwa in Qian'an 秦安 County was a nominee in 2008.[280] The four cemeteries in eastern Gansu have been known since 2006; however, we should not exclude the possibility that similar tombs exist in southern Ningxia and have simply not been discovered due to varying archaeological survey strategies.

In the following discussion, I focus on the Majiayuan cemetery, which is relatively well-published. The discussion highlights steppe parallels for the burial

---

by Chinese scholars. See the reports in Zaoqi Qin Wenhua Lianhe Kaogudui 2012. The burial assemblages from the two areas show significant differences. At Zhaitouhe, livestock heads were placed in the coffins or niches, instead of near the feet of the deceased as in eastern Gansu and southern Ningxia. In some of the tombs, there are scapulae of cattle and horses, which are absent in eastern Gansu and southern Ningxia. The types of personal ornaments also found in eastern Gansu and southern Ningxia only constitute a small proportion of the personal ornaments (less than 5% of all burial goods). Garment hooks, a type of device believed to be of Zhou origin, are common at Zhaitouhe and are always found near the shoulders of the deceased, instead of near the waists, as in eastern Gansu and southern Ningxia. A bronze sword found in one of the tombs is also typologically different from those in eastern Gansu and southern Ningxia, showing a clear resemblance to those found further east. For the archaeological report and preliminary study, see Shaanxi Sheng Kaogu Yanjiuyuan *et al*. 2012 and Sun *et al*. 2012.

[279] For archaeological reports and catalogues published by the archaeological institutes and museums involved in the excavations, see Li and Nan 2003; Wang 2007; Gansu Sheng Wenwu Kaogu Yanjiusuo and Zhangjiachuan Huizu Zizhixian Bowuguan 2008; Zaoqi Qin Wenhua Lianhe Kaogudui and Zhangjiachuan Huizu Zizhixian Bowuguan 2009, 2010, 2012, and 2018; Gansu Sheng Wenwu Kaogu Yanjiusuo 2012, 2014, and 2017; Gansu Sheng Wenwu Kaogu Yanjiusuo and Shaanxi Sheng Wenwu Kaogu Yanjiuyuan 2013; Gansu Sheng Wenwu Kaogu Yanjiusuo and Qingshui Xian Bowuguan 2014; Han *et al*. 2014; and Yang and Mao 2015. The details described in the main text can be found in the above reports. I shall not specify the sources for every detail in order to avoid redundancy.

[280] Guojia Wenwuju 2007, 2008, and 2011.

practices and material remains of a number of well-reported tombs.[281] I pay particular attention to the archaeological contexts of the grave goods, which are pertinent to their functions and symbolic meanings. I also discuss the other three rich cemeteries in some detail to examine how a local group identity was created through burial practices and artefacts.

Burial practices, ornaments, weapons, and horse tack

The Majiayuan cemetery

The tombs in the Majiayuan cemetery show a broad similarity to those discussed in Section 3.2 in this chapter. The tombs were built on top of a hill,[282] and 37 tombs have been detailed in preliminary reports.[283] The tombs are laid out in a semicircle centring on the largest tomb, similar to the organisation of contemporary steppe cemeteries (Figure 4.6). The majority of the graves are catacomb tombs, but they have smoothed walls and stairways leading to ground level set into the western walls. Some of the vaulted burial chambers also have complex structures of wooden posts, ceilings, and partitions near the entrances, indicative of larger labour investments than the ordinary tombs. Similar to the ordinary tombs described in Section 3.2, however, the chambers in Tombs 23 and 62 have sloped floors, and the chambers in the shaft tombs (Tombs 5, 6, and 7) are dug into the bottom of the shafts.

---

[281] A statistical comparison of tomb structures and contents that will contribute to our understanding of the inhabitants' social organisation is, however, impossible due to the dearth of published materials.

[282] Yangshao 仰韶 (*c*. 5000–3000 BC) and Qijia cultural remains were found in Zhangjiachuan County. See Cui 1991. During my visit to the cemetery at Majiayuan in September 2016, I was showed sherds of Yangshao pottery that had been found by archaeologists near the site, showing that this area was inhabited from an early period.

[283] According to the excavators, the cemetery appears to have more than 70 tombs. The tombs situated in the western section of the cemetery are generally smaller than those in the eastern section described in the main text. The excavators have hypothesised that some of the tombs in the western section belong to children.

An isolated pit with a significant number of sacrificed animals was located at the eastern end of the cemetery. Inside, the heads and hooves of about 300 animals had been arranged in four layers. The animals consist primarily of cattle (114), then horses (99) are the second most prevalent animal, followed by sheep/goats (91).[284] This ratio is different from those identified in the tombs discussed above, which are dominated by sheep/goats. The careful arrangement of the animal bones shows that they were offerings, similar to the satellite pits containing heads and hooves that have been found in the steppe.

Tomb 6 is the most central and largest tomb in the cemetery, and the tomb occupant was likely a leader in the group that created the cemetery (Figure 4.7). Requiring a large labour force to construct, the tomb is over 30 m long and 10 m wide at the top, and over 14 m deep. It is the only shaft tomb that has a ramp, flanked by two stairways with nine steps that descend to the upper edge of the burial chamber. This tomb is also one of a few tombs equipped with a complete set of draught horses.

The structure of the tomb initially resembles those of Zhou and Qin royal tombs.[285] A closer look, however, suggests a number of differences. Firstly, in the Zhou and Qin tombs, steps were cut into the walls of earthen terraces above ground level rather than the walls of underground burial chambers. Secondly, Zhou and Qin burials are sometimes marked by buildings constructed aboveground. Recent remote sensing of the tomb of the First Emperor of Qin has revealed that it comprises an underground burial chamber and aboveground stepped terrace, with tile fragments found on the upper steps (Figure 4.8).[286] Finally, Zhou and Qin royal tombs are

---

[284] Liu and Wang 2017, 63.
[285] For an overview of Zhou and Qin royal tombs, see Shi 2014.
[286] Shi 2014, 368–69. See also Duan 2011.

covered by tumuli, sometimes surmounted by offering halls. The structure of Tomb 6, instead, seem to be a prototype of elite Xiongnu tombs excavated in Mongolia that date to the 1st century AD,[287] as these have ramps leading to the upper levels of burial chambers (Figure 4.9).[288] However, steps are dug into the four sides of the underground chambers, including the side connecting the ramp. A major difference between Tomb 6 and the Xiongnu tombs, however, is that the latter are covered with earth and stone mounds.

Tomb 6 was badly looted, but what remains show a clear steppe connection. This is demonstrated by gold tubular beads among the remains.[289] The beads are formed from series of parallel tubes, which were used to link multiple strings of beads together to prevent them from bunching. As has been pointed out by Jenny So, such a technique was used in the Black Sea area from as early as the late 3rd millennium BC, and later examples are found at the 7th century BC Krasnoznamanskii tomb in the Caucasus, which is associated with the Scythians.[290] A connection to the steppe is also demonstrated by eight gold roundels featuring embossed human faces painted with eyebrows and moustaches. Similar ornaments for humans and horses are found across the steppe from as far as the 4th century BC tomb in Chertomlym, Ukraine, to Kurgan 1 at Pazyryk, to another contemporary tomb at Xinzhuangtou 辛莊頭 in Laishui 淶水 County, Hebei Province.[291] Unfortunately, the function of the roundels at Majiayuan cannot be determined, as the tomb was disturbed.

---

[287] The elite tombs are found in the cemeteries of Tsaram, Noyon Uul, God Mod 1 and 2, Duurling Nars, and Takhiltun Khotgor. See Honeychurch 2013, 287–300.
[288] Polos'mak *et al*. 2008.
[289] So 2014, 200–1.
[290] *Ibid*, 200.
[291] For a comparison between the Majiayuan and Xinzhuangtou ornaments, see Wu X 2013, 113–14. It is noteworthy that the human heads carved on the wooden pendants at Pazyryk have no moustaches,

Tomb 14 is one of the cemetery's most well-reported burials (Figure 4.10). Smaller than Tomb 6, the tomb comprises a niche dug into the north side of a shaft, with seven steps in the shaft's west wall. The deceased had been laid in an extended supine position inside a wooden coffin that had already decomposed on excavation. Some silver cut-outs of walking animals found with the coffin remains show that the coffin was likely decorated in the same way as the tree-trunk coffins at Pazyryk (Figure 4.11; *cf*. Figure 3.13).

The personal ornaments are comparable to those found in the steppe in both material and design. The most obvious are the gold belt plaques with raptor motifs and animal combat scenes, which each feature an ungulate and a feline with a raptor-tipped mane and tail. The feline is identical to the tattoo found in Kurgan 2 at Pazyryk, while the combat scenes are similar to those decorating the strap rings at Arzhan and silver belt plaques at Pazyryk, in which the felines' muscles are also represented with commas (Figure 4.12; *cf*. Figures 3.8, 3.14a, 3.14b, and 3.21b).[292] The silver belt rings found in the same tomb have two double-head animals (Figure 4.13). As pointed out by Rawson, this type of belt ring is comparable to penannular armlets worn by the Saka depicted on reliefs at Apadana,[293] while it is also similar to the bronze ring found in southeast Kazakhstan described in Chapter Three.

The two gold belt hooks held in the hands of the deceased deserve special attention (Figures 4.14 and 4.15). They have been mistakenly described as "Chinese"

---

only beards. It is possible that the moustaches were painted on as at Majiayuan. For the Pazyryk pendants, see Rudenko 1970, pls 92A–D.

[292] Emma C. Bunker was first to notice the south Siberian connection of this feline with a crest-like mane. See Bunker 1992, 101–2. A comparable belt plaque dated between the 5th and 3rd centuries BC was found in south Siberia, see Simpson and Pankova 2017, 59, pl. 17.

[293] This was highlighted in Rawson's lecture "The Empires of the Qin and Han Dynasty and their Contemporaries in Iran and the Mediterranean, 221 BC–AD 400", delivered at Peking University in May 2017.

and used to argue that the tomb occupants were members of the Zhou and Qin.[294] Each of the belt hooks has a pear-shaped body terminating in an animal head that scholars describe as that of a dragon (one of the hooks is partially damaged).[295] Likewise, the two animals cast on another of the belt hooks are thought to be a dragon and a tiger.[296] Careful study of the belt hooks, however, suggests that the animal at the end of the intact belt hook is actually a sheep/goat, while the two on the body are felines—each has a pair of round ears and elongated body—that are intertwined as if fighting.[297] Belt hooks like these were not commonly used in the Zhou and Qin; although, they might have been made by Zhou and Qin craftspeople who worked for the Zhou and Qin rulers or directly for the people in eastern Gansu.[298] In any case, the belt hooks were clearly made to match the other ornaments decorated with animals that accompanied the deceased.

Pendants and beads commonly found in the steppe are scattered over the body of the deceased. Some of the pendants are made of gold in a bud shape with granules forming either a triangle or a pyramid at the tip, while some are made in a tubular shape with granules arranged in groups to form triangles (Figure 4.16). These pendant types were common in the steppe.[299] Examples can be found on ear pendants from the 6th to 5th century BC tomb at Taksai-I in western Kazakhstan (Figure 4.17),[300] and the

---

[294] Wu X 2013, 128 and Gansu Sheng Wenwu Kaogu Yanjiusuo 2014, 55 and 57.
[295] Gansu Sheng Wenwu Kaogu Yanjiusuo 2014, 55 and 57.
[296] *Ibid*, 57.
[297] The motifs cast on another belt hook cannot be identified.
[298] For belt hooks represented on the terracotta warriors in the tomb complex of the First Emperor of Qin, see Yuan 2002, 266.
[299] It is suggested that the tubular ornament has its ultimate prototype in the 2nd millennium BC Middle East. See Wang *et al*. 2009, 83.
[300] Other grave goods found in the tomb include bangles with animal-shaped terminals and a comb showing a combat scene between a Scythian and an Achaemenid. See Simpson and Pankova 2017, figs 214 and 218.

4th century BC tomb at Fillippovka in the Orenburg region, Russia.[301] As mentioned in the previous chapter, earrings excavated at Pazyryk were also decorated with granules.

In addition to the use of gold pendants and beads, the abundant use of faience beads in eastern Gansu and southern Ningxia also follows steppe traditions. Faience beads were invented and commonly used in Egypt and the Middle East from the late 3rd millennium BC.[302] Although faience beads were used in the Zhou, they almost disappear from archaeological contexts in the 4th century BC.[303] Faience was also found outside Zhou territory in modern Sichuan 四川 Province,[304] but the number was far lower than those found in eastern Gansu and southern Ningxia. A recent chemical study of beads found in eastern Gansu and southern Ningxia has revealed that the materials and production techniques were different from earlier traditions in the same area, as well as further east in Shaanxi and Shanxi provinces.[305] Collectively, these factors suggest that the beads were probably made locally to create a material culture, and thus group identity, that distinguished the wearers from other groups in Zhou territory and Sichuan.

The third example that can be used to demonstrate steppe and local identities in eastern Gansu is Tomb 16 (Figure 4.18). The tomb has escaped plunder and is relatively well-published. The tomb is 7 m deep with nine steps set in the west wall. The deceased male was laid in a supine position inside a wooden coffin that also seems to have been decorated with silver cut-outs of walking ibexes (Figures 4.19a

---

[301] For a catalogue that features the finds from Fillippovka, see Aruz 2000.
[302] Rawson 2013, 63.
[303] Kwan 2001, 15.
[304] *Ibid*.
[305] Ningxia Wenwu Kaogu Yanjiusuo and Pengyang Xian Wenwu Guanlisuo 2016, 703–36.

and 4.16b; *cf*. Figure 3.13). He was buried with equally rich gold ornaments as the deceased found in Tomb 14. Around the deceased's waist were three sets of gold belt plaques. One set is a matching pair, with eight smaller plaques separated by gemstones and edged with gold bosses, like a set found in Tomb 4. The matched pair shows the common combat scene of an ibex and feline. The smaller plaques each show a mirror image of an eared raptor attacking a snake (Figure 4.20). The second combat scene is similar to that between a feline and snake on a pair of slightly later gold belt plaques from south Siberia and kept in the Siberian Collection of Peter the Great (r. AD 1721–1725) (Figure 4.21).[306] The gold bosses have parallels at the later site of Tillya Tepe, where the bosses were sewn onto clothes.[307]

A massive gold belt hook was placed near the second set of gold belt plaques, and it could also be mistaken as Zhou or Qin in origin (Figure 4.22).[308] The belt hooks show a combat scene between a tiger and ungulate. The scene is mirrored diagonally like the eared raptor motif found on the belt plaques mentioned above, and the tiger is biting the neck of the ungulate. The ungulate is lying down with a twisted body; its muscles are accentuated by carnelian and cinnabar inlays in comma shapes. The theme and colours (red against gold) bear a close resemblance to that of the tattoos, silver belt plaques, and red and yellow saddlecloth cover found in Kurgans 1, 2, and 5 at Pazyryk (*cf*. Figures 3.15, 3.21b, and 3.29).

---

[306] The Siberian Collection of Peter the Great consists of ancient jewellery collected from sites in and near the Altai that were brought to the tsar by local officials. The exact locations they were found in are unclear. For a study of the collection's history, see Korolkova 2017b.
[307] For an illustration of the gold bosses at Tillya Tepe, see Hiebert and Cambon 2008, 10–1.
[308] The belt hook is placed near the shoulder in Figure 4.19 photographed in the archaeological institute; however, a photograph taken at the site and published in the report shows that it was originally found near the second set of belt plaques.

A gold pectoral and a second silver one, in addition to a gold armlet with steppe prototypes were found on the deceased's torso (Figures 4.23 and 4.24). As has been pointed out by Rawson, similar U-shaped gold and bronze pectorals were used across the steppe.[309] A closer look reveals that the pectorals in eastern Gansu are slightly different from their steppe parallels in the way that they are of equal width throughout, and their upper edges curve slightly outwards. The pectorals are completely different from the neck ornaments found in two tombs at Aluchaideng 阿魯柴登 in Hanggin Banner (*Hangjin Qi* 杭錦旗), Inner Mongolia, which were probably used to construct and express another local group identity.[310] Two of three neck ornaments at Aluchaideng are in spiralling, coiled forms,[311] while the third is made from three gold bands (two of them forming a ring) secured by hinges and nails (Figure 4.25).[312] The bands are cast with patterns imitating twisted leather thongs and end in recumbent felines, sheep/goats, and horses.[313] The armlet from Tomb 16 at Majiayuan has ribs running over its surface, which are in turn separated by double-twisted wires, as well as carnelian, turquoise, and faience inlays. The armlet resembles an 11th to 10th century BC bronze armlet of the Karasuk culture found in the Minusinsk Basin, which is decorated with broken lines imitating twisted wires (Figure. 4.26).[314] While temporal connections between the Karasuk and Majiayuan

---

[309] Rawson 2018, 114.
[310] For the archaeological report, see Tian and Guo 1986b.
[311] For a description of one of the coiled torques, see *ibid*, 348.
[312] The torque was thought to be a headdress ornament. Katheryn Linduff was one of the first scholars to suggest that the ornament is a torque. Linduff 1997, 49–50.
[313] The torque is virtually identical to a contemporaneous gold torque kept in the Siberian Collection of Peter the Great. The latter is made of gold tubes with relief surfaces mimicking twisted wires joined by hinges and intervening spheres. The tube at the top, only forming half a circle, terminates in feline heads in Hellenistic style. See Simpson and Pankova 2017, 67, pl. 27.
[314] Similar armlets had been used in Europe from the 2nd millennium BC onwards. Examples include those found in a late Bronze Age (1200–500 BC) hoard in Ireland and a 6th century BC tomb in France. For the report on the Irish armlets and a description of the French ones, see Raftery 1961, 55–6;

armlets are tenuous, a 4th century BC gold armlet with rows of animals in combat separated by twisted wires in Peter the Great's Siberian Collection provides one possible link (Figure 4.27).

The type of gold roundel found near the head of the deceased is distinctive to the area. It is decorated with a triple spiral motif and similar to bone examples found in the tombs discussed in the last section.[315] The ornament stands in sharp contrast to headdresses found in Inner Mongolia and northern Shaanxi. The headdress found at Aluchaideng has a hemispherical base embossed with four motifs of a combative feline and ibex. Above the base is a moveable, three-dimensional raptor with its wings spread as if in flight, which makes it appear as if it is hunting the feline and ibex pairs below it (Figure 4.25). The theme is identical to those on belt plaques found in south Siberia, Inner Mongolia, and northern Shaanxi but not those in eastern Gansu and southern Ningxia (Figure 4.28).[316] The headdress found at Shenmu 神木 in Yulin 榆林, northern Shaanxi, resembles the Aluchaideng headdress, except for the fact that the sculptural animal is a beaked deer with a raptor-tipped tail and antlers (Figure 4.29), also not found in eastern Gansu and southern Ningxia.[317]

Near the feet of the deceased is a pair of silver shoe soles with regularly spaced perforations (Figure 4.30). The soles are comparable to those found in leather and silver in the contemporary tombs at Pazyryk and Shihuigou 石灰溝 in Yijinhuoluo 伊金霍洛, western Inner Mongolia (*cf.* Figure 3.18).[318] These soles worn

---

Wallace 2007, 17; and Musée Archeology Nationale 2018. These armlets are in turn similar to early Bronze Age (*c*. 2200–1900 BC) gold armlets used in Europe. For example, see Hughes 2000.

[315] See, for example, Ningxia Wenwu Kaogu Yanjiusuo and Ningxia Guyuan Bowuguan 1993, pl. 5.1.

[316] For drawings of belt plaques found in Inner Mongolia, see Tian and Guo 1986a, 95, figs 63.2–3.

[317] For the archaeological report, see Dai and Sun 1983.

[318] For the soles from Shihuigou, see Yikezhaomeng Wenwu Gongzuozhan 1992, 93, fig. 2.3.

by the individual at Majiayuan would be visible when he was on horseback or sat cross-legged on the floor, as his counterparts at Pazyryk.

A gold tubular ornament with granulation found with the deceased is similar to steppe ornaments in both material and design, as well as production technique.[319] Microscopic and chemical analyses have revealed that the granules were soldered onto the tube using gold-silver-copper alloys with no other metal added to lower the solder's melting point. This technique was also used to produce a gold granulated ornament found in the 8th to 7th century BC site in Shilikty in eastern Kazakhstan.[320]

Remains of pouches were found around the waist area and are decorated with blue and white beads arranged in diagonal patterns, like the beads on the pouches from Tomb 4 (Figures 4.31a and 4.31b).[321] Both the design and colours of the pouches resemble the Pazyryk leather flask described in the previous chapter (*cf*. Figure 3.25).

Like those interred in the steppe, the deceased in this tomb favoured hand-to-hand combat, as indicated by the personal weapons that accompany him.[322]

Not all the tombs in Majiayuan are as richly furnished as those described above.[323] For instance, Tomb 2 contains only a pair of silver earrings; a necklace made from few carnelian beads, faience beads, and bronze bosses; a bronze knife; several bronze arrowheads; and an iron dagger-axe (Figure 4.32). This suggests that

---

[319] Wang *et al*. 2009. The location where this ornament was found is not specified.
[320] So 2014, 202.
[321] For a reconstruction of the pouches from Tomb 4, see Gansu Sheng Kaogu Yanjiusuo and Shaanxi Sheng Kaogu Yanjiusuo 2013, 30–1 and Huang *et al*. 2016.
[322] The weapons have not been published. I am grateful to the researchers at the Shaanxi Provincial Institute of Archaeology and Cultural Relics for showing me the finds during my visit in August 2016. Two more swords, including a three-pronged sword, were found in Tombs 15 and 61. See Wang 2014, 224, figs 46 and 44.
[323] See also Ma 2017.

the occupant may have held lower social status than the individuals buried in the much wealthier tombs.

A few more ornaments from the same cemetery are worth elaborating upon, as they also show steppe connections that have previously been overlooked. The first one is a massive gold plaque found with a belt from Tomb 18 (Figure 4.33a and 4.33b). The plaque is erroneously illustrated upside down in the catalogue *Xirong Yizhen* 西戎遺珍, and the design has been interpreted as an animal mask composed of a dragon and an upside-down tiger face.[324] In fact, the design is of two crawling felines flanking a third one viewed from above.[325] On the back of the third feline is a pair of eared raptors positioned back to back, probably representing a single raptor. Together, the feline and the raptor allude to the fantastic feline seen on other belt plaques in the same cemetery (*cf*. Figure 4.12). Also noteworthy are two gold round pendants that are similar in design and originally hung from the same belt in Tomb 18 (Figure 4.34). The one on the right in Figure 4.34 is decorated with carnelian and faience inlays arranged in a fish scale pattern. The pendant is similar to a type of horse ornament used in the Sayan-Altai region and Kazakhstan, as can be exemplified by a wooden pendant at Pazyryk carved with fish scales that are alternatively painted red (Figure 4.35).

The iron quiver found in the looted burial chamber in Tomb 1 has been categorised as a Chinese artefact (Figure 4.36).[326] The quiver was made of organic materials, probably leather or wood that has not survived. Only the gold and silver

---

[324] For the original illustration, see Gansu Sheng Wenwu Kaogu Yanjiusuo 2014, 20.
[325] There are two snakes near the hind legs of the two crawling tigers. The theme is the same as that on the belt plaques from Peter the Great's Siberian Collection described above (*cf*. Figure 4.21).
[326] Yang and Linduff 2013, 79.

appliqués of felines and foliage that decorated the quiver remain, indicating a strong connection with the steppe, where a quiver decorated with animal figures has been found at Arzhan 2.[327] The horse ornaments found in the same tombs include a cheek piece with raptor head-shaped ends (Figure 4.37). This cheek piece is identical to those at Pazyryk as well as the Tagar sites mentioned in Chapter Three (*cf*. Figures 3.27 and 3.28).

Some of the personal ornaments show an integration of Hellenistic designs with typical steppe ornaments. One example is a group of gold belt plaques from Tomb 15, each showing two sheep heads with raptor-tipped beards in profile (Figure 4.38). The sheep's eyes were inlaid with a type of glass bead called "eye-beads". This technique originated in 2nd millennium BC Egypt, where beads representing eyes were first produced and inlaid on zoomorphic palettes and human sculptures.[328] The custom was later adopted by Greeks to make sculptures.[329] In the Zhou, eye-beads were rare and only possessed by the elite before the 4th century BC, after which they potentially continued to be viewed as exotica for some time.[330] The shape of the belt plaques is identical to the (gilded) leather appliqués on the coat of the female from Kurgan 2 at Pazyryk (*cf*. Figure 3.16), while it is also comparable to the ram tattoo on the male's body in the same tomb (*cf*. Figures 3.14a and 3.14b).

---

[327] For the Arzhan quiver, see Simpson and Pankova 2017, 211, pl. 123.
[328] Xia 2014, 81.
[329] James and Davis 1983 and Hemingway and Hemingway 2003.
[330] Eye-beads went out of fashion after the Zhou and were used mainly in the areas of Gansu, Sichuan, and Yunnan. The earliest eye-beads excavated in modern China are from Xinjiang, which was inhabited by non-Dynastic Chinese. Kwan 2001, 22–3.

Another example of an item incorporating Hellenistic elements is a gold hairnet from Tomb 4 at Majiayuan (Figure 4.39).[331] Hairnets were common in the Hellenistic world. An example said to have come from a hoard at Karpenissi, Thessaly, central Greece, now in the National Archaeological Museum of Athens, is shown in the previous chapter (*cf*. 3.32). It has a gold roundel with a bust of Artemis, framed by a row of plants. From the roundel is suspended a gold net embellished with discs, rosettes, and red semiprecious stones at the intersections. The hairnet found in Tomb 4 at Majiayuan has a virtually identical configuration, but the bust of the goddess has been replaced by an embossed steppe design.[332] The net is made of jet, carnelian, turquoise, and faience beads, similar to the materials commonly used for Majiayuan artefacts. The last to be mentioned is a multi-string beaded necklace from the same tomb (Figure 4.40). It has two gold feline head-shaped finials and a multi-string configuration, like the pectoral made by Greek craftsmen found at Tolstaya Mogila, but its body is made of multicoloured beads rather than gold wires (*cf*. Figure 3.30). From these, and the other examples above, we can see that foreign (i.e. Hellenistic, Zhou and Qin) elements were indeed adopted by inhabitants of eastern Gansu and southern Ningxia; however, they were most likely used only to enrich the local decorative repertoire.

The evidence for clothing found in the tombs at Majiayuan also suggests that the occupants wore similar styles to those buried in tombs in the steppe. Clothing and footwear were typically made of perishable materials and have not survived. Nevertheless, a lead statue of a person and a figure of a head wearing a hat have been

---

[331] I am grateful to Betty Lo and Kenneth Chu for pointing out the gold headdress from Majiayuan may have been inspired by Hellenistic hair ornaments.
[332] The steppe design is not shown in the published illustration. I am grateful to the researchers at the Shaanxi Provincial Institute of Archaeology and Cultural Relics for showing me the artefact.

found in Tomb 3 (Figure 4.41). In addition, a triangular mass of beads found near the head of the deceased in Tomb 57 show that some of those buried at Majiayuan may have worn trousers, jackets (secured with belts), boots, and, most significantly, pointed hats with ear flaps, like the deceased entombed at Arzhan, Pazyryk, and Issyk.[333] A mass of carefully arranged faience beads found on the occupant of Tomb 4's feet at Majiayuan shows that the boots were also decorated in the same manner as those found in Pazyryk (Figure 4.42; *cf*. Figure 3.17).

To summarise, the evidence available shows that the inhabitants at Majiayuan were presented in a similar way to the steppe elite when they were entombed. They were buried in monumental tombs with animal sacrifices, and the ornaments and personal weapons are strikingly similar to steppe ones. Local group identity was created and expressed through, for example, catacomb tombs and specific type of pectorals. Three subgroups sharing a local group identity can be identified at Wangwa, Liuping, and Dunping, where the incumbents were presented and buried in way similar to, but also slightly different from, those at Majiayuan.

The Wangwa cemetery

A subgroup of the eastern Gansu-southern Ningxia regional group identity is evident at the Wangwa cemetery. The cemetery is situated 20 km from Majiayuan as the crow flies, and it is built on a terrace on Laoye 老爺 Mountain close to Wangjiawacun 王家窪村, from which the cemetery received its name. The cemetery has 30 tombs, among

[333] An image of the deceased from Tomb 57 with her personal ornaments in situ was shown by Wang Hui at a scholarly workshop held in conjunction with the exhibition "Radiant Legacy: Ancient Chinese Gold from the Mengdiexuan Collection" at The Chinese University of Hong Kong in 2013. According to a recent study by Wang Hui, pointed hats were worn by Middle Eastern soldiers from as early as the 3rd millennium BC. They were also worn by kings and soldiers of the Assyrian Kingdom before becoming popular among steppe inhabitants during the 1st millennium BC. See Wang 2013.

which 26 have been looted, and three were excavated in 2009. They are all catacomb tombs with stairs; though, the stairs do not lead to the bottom of the shafts like those in the Majiayuan tombs. Among the burial assemblages, one gold and one silver plaque found in Tomb 1 show eared raptors joined by bosses like those at Majiayuan.

The occupant of Tomb 2 was placed in a coffin in a supine position (Figure 4.43). His or her funerary goods include a silver U-shaped pectoral, armlet, and an iron dagger (Figures 4.44 and 4.45). The U-shaped pectoral has an outward-curving upper edge, like those at Majiayuan; however, it is decorated with seven bronze bosses on its outer surface. The silver armlet is decorated with ribs, like the gold armlet from Tomb 16 at Majiayuan. The iron dagger has a bronze scabbard decorated with ginkgo leaf motifs also found at Majiayuan. Cowry shells were found around the waist of the deceased and may have decorated a belt, whereas colourful gemstones are more common at Majiayuan. The similarities and differences outlined above show that the inhabitants at Wangwa were closely affiliated with the inhabitants at Majiayuan, while also creating an independent subgroup identity. Two more subgroups can be identified at the Liuping and Dunping cemeteries.

The Liuping cemetery

The burial practices and material remains at the Liuping cemetery show a strong likeness to those at Majiayuan. The cemetery is situated on a hill slope near Liupingcun 劉坪村, Qingshui 清水 County, eastern Gansu. Along with about 10 small, looted tombs, the cemetery contains one tomb 6 m long, 3 m wide, and 15 m deep that probably belonged to a local leader.

Some of the burial goods have been retrieved and published, and these show a strong likeness to both Majiayuan and Wangwa. For example, some belt hooks are shaped like animals, such as a collared feline comparable to the belt hooks found in Tomb 14 at Majiayuan. Some belt fasteners are S-shape in profile (Figure 4.46). Such belt hooks are made of tinned bronze and incised with patterns imitating twisted wires, which is also comparable to an S-shaped iron belt hook and the gold armlet found at Majiayuan.[334] A U-shaped silver pectoral also has an outward-curving upper edge like those at Majiayuan and Wangwa, but it has been incised with predators and their prey, then covered with gold foil, reminiscent of the neck ornaments found at Arzhan and Pazyryk (Figure 4.47; *cf*. Figures 3.10 and 3.19). The patterns set the pectoral apart from similar artefacts in the other two cemeteries that are either plain or decorated with bronze bosses. Ornamental plaques with animal combat scenes between either an ungulate and feline, two elongated felines, or two raptors and two snakes link the deceased to those buried at Majiayuan and Wangwa (Figures 4.48 and 4.49). A slight difference is that the combat scene between the feline and ungulate is rendered in a slightly different way: the ungulate is disproportionally small, and its muzzle is not held in the jaws of the feline. The tail of the feline is covered with continuous V-shape lines and hangs down freely rather than curling up over its back; thus, it is

[334] The belt fastener at Majiayuan was displayed at the exhibition *Meihao Zhonghua: Jin Ershi Nian Kaogu Chengguo Zhan* 美好中華：近二十年考古成果展 (Splendour and Beauty: Archaeological Finds from China over the Past 20 years) held at the Capital Museum in Beijing in 2017. For the exhibition catalogue, see Shoudu Bowuguan 2017. S-shaped belt fasteners dating mainly to the 5th and 4th centuries BC have been found in Qin State. Jenny So suggests that the fasteners are likely to be foreign articles, while Yu Huanjin argues that they are of Qin origin. I am of the opinion that the fasteners were modelled on, or inspired by, foreign articles, as they are similar in decoration to the gold armlets found at Majiayuan and the steppe. So 1995a, 84; 1995b, 40–1; and Yu 2013.

similar to that the feline carved on a tree trunk coffin found in a 5th century BC tomb at Bash-Adar, Tajikistan, which is associated with the Pazyryk culture.[335]

The cemeteries at Majiayuan, Wangwa, and Liuping were also connected by a shared manufacturing technique for metal objects. X-ray fluorescence (XRF) analyses have revealed that a select group of gold and silver artefacts from the three cemeteries are all made of unrefined gold and silver.[336] Bronze artefacts were coated with tin using the hot tinning technique.[337] The coating process begins with polishing the surfaces of the bronze artefacts, then brushing on the tin coating and annealing, before finally polishing the coating to achieve a smooth surface. The thickness of the coating is approximately the same for all artefacts, whereas the coatings of items found at Maoqinggou all vary significantly in thickness.[338] This reflects a close tie between the inhabitants concerning metallurgical technologies, which attests to communication to transmit these manufacturing techniques.

The Dunping cemetery

The last subgroup of the eastern Gansu-southern Ningxia regional group is found at Dunping cemetery. The cemetery is located in Zhang 漳 County, Dingxi City. A rescue excavation was conducted in 2014, and 27 out of 150 tombs were excavated (including one from the Song 宋 Dynasty (AD 960–1279)). The cemetery is contemporary with or slightly earlier than the other three cemeteries.[339] Similar to the

---

[335] For the tomb at Bash-Adar, see Jacobson-Tepfer 2015, 283–85. For a drawing of the carving, see Rudenko 1970, 269, fig. 136.
[336] Gansu Sheng Bowuguan and Qingshui Xian Bowuguan 2014, 24–30.
[337] *Ibid*, 30–43.
[338] *Ibid*, 40–2 and Han and Bunker 1993, 96.
[339] The cemetery was dated to the 6th to 4th centuries BC by the excavators based on the types and decoration of select artefacts.

Majiayuan cemetery, Dunping consists of both shaft and catacomb tombs, but the burial chambers in the catacomb tombs have been positioned parallel to rather than forming right angles with the shafts (Figure 4.50).

The burial assemblages include iron daggers and/or swords, in addition to a beaded necklace made of gold spacer-beads similar to those seen at Majiayuan (Figure 4.51). Horse fittings are made of bronze and bone; some of them have designs, such as zigzag lines, also seen on horse fittings at Liuping.[340] Again, the similarities and differences show that the inhabitants buried at Dunping utilised burials and artefacts in such a way as to indicate proximity with those in Majiayuan, Wangwa, and Liuping.

Before discussing the vehicles and fittings found in tombs in eastern Gansu and southern Ningxia, it is useful to summarise what have been demonstrated so far. This thesis has so far shown that the inhabitants in eastern Gansu, southern Ningxia, and other parts of the steppe all adopted burial practices that involved offerings of sheep/goats, cattle, and horses. They preferred beaded and metal (i.e. bronze, gold, and iron) ornaments with which to adorn the body, with a preponderance of animal subjects used in decoration. Personal weapons were also favoured. Meanwhile, the inhabitants of eastern Gansu and southern Ningxia built catacomb tombs, instead of the kurgan burials common in the steppe, and many of their ornaments are unparalleled in steppe assemblages. Zhou, Qin, and Hellenistic ornaments were adopted; however, they were fully integrated into the local decorative tradition.

---

[340] See Gansu Sheng Wenwu Kaogu Yanjiusuo 2017, 43, fig. 19.3 and Gansu Sheng Wenwu Kaogu Yanjiusuo and Qingshui Xian Bowuguan 2014, 141, pl. 94.

These factors all indicate that the inhabitants in eastern Gansu and southern Ningxia were presenting themselves as a group affiliated with wider steppe traditions. This identity is also demonstrated by another component of their burial assemblages, namely complete vehicles and vehicle fittings found in the tombs. Through a contextual study of the vehicles and their ornaments, I argue that the vehicles were based on models from Western Asia, Central Asia, and the steppe rather than the Zhou or Qin, as is conventionally believed.

Wheeled vehicles

Wheeled vehicles at Majiayuan

A large number of vehicle fittings were buried in tombs in eastern Gansu and southern Ningxia, while complete vehicles are buried in eastern Gansu's rich tombs. Those at the Majiayuan cemetery are reported in detail, so I shall use them as examples to discuss overall designs at the time, as well as the group identities these vehicles served to construct and reinforce.[341] According to the archaeological reports and a reconstruction by Zhao Wucheng, the vehicles at Majiayuan are made of wood and leather, and they are usually decorated with pigment and ornaments made from gold, silver, bronze, tin, and faience.[342]

One type of vehicle (Type 1 in this thesis) has side panels on the passenger boxes decorated with plaques arranged in a grid layout with bosses at the grids'

---

[341] This section is based on my article published in *Orientations* and a presentation made at the conference "Scythians and Other Early Eurasian Nomads", held at the British Museum, 27–29 October, 2017. See Wong 2017. The conference symposium is expected to be published in 2019.

[342] For a study of relationships between the corrosion of silver on the vehicles and the burial environment, see Han 2012.

intersections (Figures 4.52–4).[343] The plaques, in turn, are decorated with openwork patterns of foliate scrolls and a square in the centre. The grids are surrounded by plaques shaped like felines and ibexes, both with either manes on their backs, faience beads, or painted borders combining raptors and foliate scrolls. In some cases, the animal plaques have been placed upside down, as if the designs are meant to be viewed flat on the ground.[344] Some passenger boxes are only decorated with a painted border.

In addition, the vehicles' wheels are decorated with similar openwork, as well as animal-shaped plaques (Figures 4.55 and 4.56). The draught poles are also decorated with similar plaques, in addition to sculptural iron eared-raptors and finials with feline head designs (Figures 4.57 and 4.58).[345]

This type of vehicle is believed to be the *jingen che* 金根車 or "gold chariots" described in Chinese historical texts, and their presence in the tombs has been viewed as a sign that the people who created Majiayuan had adopted Zhou and Qin customs and identities.[346] According to Zhao Wucheng, gold chariots had been in use since the Shang. If we take a closer look at the descriptions of "gold chariots" in the *Book of Later Han* that Zhao cites, we find that they do not simply have gold ornaments; their sidebars are also formed to look like dragons, while the horizontal drawbars and

---

[343] This type of vehicle is separated into two classifications (Types I and II) by Zhao Wucheng. Zhao 2010a, 81.
[344] For example, see Gansu Sheng Wenwu Kaogu Yanjiusuo 2014, 24, fig. 14.
[345] Scholars, including Wang Hui, Wu Xiaolong, Yang Jianhua, Katheryn Linduff, and Wu Hsiao-yun have studied specific ornaments on the vehicles. See Wang 2009; Yang 2010; Wu X 2013, 126–28; Yang and Linduff 2014; and Wu 2016.
[346] Zhao 2010a, 81; 2010b; and Yang and Linduff 2014, 82. As mentioned in Chapter One, during the Western Zhou period, chariots were employed on a large scale for war, while also being used by the Zhou kings as gifts to signify a Zhou identity when making political appointments. See also Shaughnessy 1988. The Qin people adopted this practice from as early as the 8th century BC. For instance, several chariots were found in accompanying pits to tombs of Qin rulers and officials in the Dabuzi Mountain in Li County, southeast Gansu. See Dai 2000 and Qin Wenhua Yu Xirong Wenhua Lianhe Kaogudui 2018.

yokes are decorated with tigers and dragon heads, respectively (Appendix Three). The vehicles found at Majiayuan are completely different from the "gold chariots". Instead, the design is derived from those of the steppe and ultimately from Western and Central Asia.

Prototypes

The Majiayuan vehicles can trace their ultimate origins to the Achaemenid royal carriages. Carriages were important status symbols in the Achaemenid Empire.[347] Royal carriages can be found among a procession of Susian guards and horse grooms depicted in reliefs that decorate the eastern stairway of Apadana at Persepolis (Figure 4.59). Among the reliefs is a representation of various envoys bringing gifts to Darius I. A Saka envoy is present; thus, it is possible that this steppe group were involved in bringing the design of Achaemenid carriages to the steppe.

The designs on the royal carriages seen at Apadana are distinctive and likely represent soft furnishings. As shown in Figure 4.58, one side panel of a passenger box is decorated with a diagonal grid formed of interlinking lines joined by circles. Striding lions are visible on three of the carriage's four sides, some of which look upwards as if the field of view presumes that the panel was laid flat on the ground. The design of the panel is similar to that on a slipcover that covers a throne at Persepolis and published by Heidemarie Koch.[348] The slipcover is decorated with square frames embellished with triangles and filled with floral motifs. The frames themselves are separated by circular frames with similar floral motifs, some of them

[347] Tallis 2005, 212–23.
[348] For a drawing of the slipcover, see Koch 2001, 68, fig. 108.

position at the intersections. Lions can be seen walking in different directions on three of the cover's four sides.

Prototypes for the two designs can be found on stone doorsills used in Assyrian (*c*. 2500–609 BC) royal residences dated to the 8th to 7th centuries BC. An example from the North Palace in present-day Iraq is decorated with square frames and octagonal plant motifs (Figure 4.60). The squares are surrounded by rosettes, some of which fall on the intersections of the square frames. The border is formed by rows of different types of plants, including arcaded lotus flowers and buds,[349] which are also found on a felt wall-hanging and carpet from Pazyryk's Kurgans 1 and 2.[350] Through these examples, we can see that the Achaemenid royal carriage is decorated with either a decorative representation of carpet or an actual carpet that is intended to be viewed while placed flat on the ground.

A polychrome pile carpet with a design similar to that on the Achaemenid carriage and slipcover has been found in one of the larger kurgans at Pazyryk, providing a clue as to how the carriage design reached Majiayuan (Figures 61a and 61b).[351] Based on its weaving technique, it is believed that the carpet from Kurgan 5 was made in an oasis city in Sogdia or Bactria in Central Asia.[352] The carpet was found in the same context as bridled horses and a wooden carriage for which it might have used to cover the floor. The carpet is decorated with square frames with stylised octagonal floral motifs, which are surrounded by riders on horseback, as well as real and fantastic animals. The square and larger frames are enhanced with colour dots

---

[349] The doorsill might be part of a pair that shared an identical design. In this case, there should also have been arcaded plants on all of the four sides.
[350] Rudenko 1970, pls 148B and 148C.
[351] Similarity in design between the carpet and the Assyrian doorsills has been pointed out by other scholars. See Albenda 1978, 3 and Rawson 1984, 210–12.
[352] Böhmer and Thompson 1991.

which parallel the triangles on the slipcover. The bridled horses wore saddlecloths with designs similar to those on the Achaemenid royal carriage. The saddlecloths are made from blankets and felt appliqués. One of the saddlecloths has a grid arranged in a diamond formation, and the intersection of each line is marked by a circle (Figure 62). Along the border are silhouettes of raptor heads in profile. The neck of each raptor stretches towards the one in front, recalling the arcaded plants on the Assyrian stone doorsill. The tassels of the saddlecloth are made in the form of lotus buds, found also on the doorsill.

While the spatial connections between Pazyryk and eastern Gansu are tenuous, the vehicle found at the Alagou site mentioned in the last chapter provides one possible connecting link. The published information does not allow the vehicle to be examined in detail; however, it is clear that the vehicle has silver foil on its axle and wheels, while the rest of the vehicle seems to have been decorated with gold animal-shaped plaques that were excavated nearby and found to have been attached to organic materials originally (as indicated by the carbonised materials on the reverse sides of the plaques). The gold plaques are in various shapes, including felines with crest-like manes like what we see in Arzhan and Pazyryk (Figure 4.63; *cf*. Figures 3.6, 3.14a, and 3.14b).[353] Gold and silver plaques shaped like animal heads, as well as floral shapes like the floral motif on the Pazyryk carpet, were also found at the site (Figure 4.64).[354]

Functions

---

[353] For similar plaques at Majiayuan, see Gansu Sheng Wenwu Kaogu Yanjiusuo 2014, 72, 176–77 and 197.
[354] For illustrations, see Xinjiang Shehui Kexueyuan Kaogu Yanjiusuo 1981, pls 8.1 and 8.2.

Based on the above description, it is clear that the overall design of vehicles at Majiayuan were derived from steppe vehicles and ultimately from Achaemenid royal carriages. The design of the central grid, as well as the animal and foliated borders, parallel those on the Pazyryk carpet and saddlecloth, while the faience bead borders match the coloured dot frames on the Pazyryk carpet. The animal plaques on the wheels also match the animal borders on the Pazyryk carpet.[355] The idea to decorate vehicles with metal appliqués might have been derived from Alagou. The idea to imitate stitches with broken, repoussé lines, as seen on the silver plaques, might also have been derived from Xinjiang, where woollen fragments showing the same textile design as seen on Majiayuan vehicles have been found in tombs at Shanpula 山普拉, which dates to slightly later than the Majiayuan cemetery at 2nd century BC to 2nd century AD (Figures 4.65a, 4.65b, and 4.66).[356] The designs of metal appliqués on the vehicles' draught poles and yokes parallel the leather appliqué and pendants on the Pazyryk bridles described in Chapter Three (*cf*. Figures 3.26 and 3.27).[357] The draught pole finials with feline head designs were likely inspired by the feline head-shaped plaques as seen in Alagou, which were in turn modelled on horse pendants found at Pazyryk.[358] Axle caps decorated with human figures wearing hats found at Majiayuan parallel the human-shaped axle caps on the Achaemenid royal carriage (Figure 4.67;

[355] When the vehicle was moving, the animals on the wheels would have appeared to be running.
[356] For a preliminary study of the Shanpula (also written Sanpula in Western literature) tombs, see Keller and Schorta 2001.
[357] For more examples from the Majiayuan cemetery, see Gansu Sheng Wenwu Kaogu Yanjiusuo 2014, 103–7.
[358] For the Pazyryk examples, see Rudenko 1970, pls 104D, 104F, and 104G.

cf. Figure 4.59). Despite the similar decorations, the number and sophistication of Majiayuan vehicles are unmatched by those found in the steppe.[359]

In addition to the decoration, the distinctive structure of the Majiayuan vehicles suggests that they were not produced in the Zhou or Qin. The draught poles of the vehicles are directly attached to the axles by tenon and mortise joints. Supplementary poles were attached to the frames to strengthen them and prevent them from breaking when the wheels turned.[360] This technology is not used on Zhou and Qin vehicles, for which draught poles and axles were joined indirectly using a shock absorber called *dangtu* 當兔.[361] Another structural feature that distinguishes the Majiayuan vehicles from the Zhou and Qin ones is that the wheels typically have as many as 40 spokes,[362] while Zhou and Qin vehicles usually have 30 or fewer.[363] The wheels were probably designed this way so as to allow the large number of ornaments to be attached.

The animals that pulled the vehicles were also slightly different from those in the gold chariots. Studies of the structure and tooth wear of faunal remains from the Wangdahu and Zhongzhuang 中莊 cemeteries demonstrates that the vehicles were likely drawn by cattle or horses, while the gold chariots are said to have been pulled

---

[359] The connections between Alagou and Majiayuan can be further demonstrated by eared cups executed in similar forms found at the two sites, although the cups were made in different materials. For the Alagou cups, see Xinjiang Shehui Kexueyuan Kaogu Yanjiusuo 1981, 21, figs 7.2 and 7.3.
[360] Zhao 2010a, 70–6. Unfortunately, Zhao did not specify which vehicles were made using this technology.
[361] Sun 1985, 33.
[362] For a statistical study of spoke numbers, see Zhao 2010b, 95, tab. 2.
[363] Shaughnessy 1988, 193 and Sun 1985, 32.

by only horses.[364] It was not until the Eastern Han that cattle were commonly employed as draught animals in Dynastic China.[365]

There are three more types of vehicles found at Majiayuan, each of which serve different functions. Zhao Wucheng suggests that the type of vehicle discussed above was used for war chariots, as such vehicles are usually found equipped with weapons.[366] However, the vehicles' lavish decorations suggests that they were more likely used for public display in processions and parades; although, they might also have been used as command platforms in battle. A spear found near one of the vehicles in Tomb 16 provides additional evidence for this argument (Figure 4.68). The spear has an iron head with gold and silver embellishment, and its wooden shaft is nearly 4 m long. There is no doubt that the spear would have been too precious and unwieldy to have been of any practical use in battle.[367] It is noteworthy that the spearhead's gold and silver embellishments are shaped like a palmette identical to that seen on a bronze scabbard from south Siberia (Figure 4.69).

Another type of vehicle (Type 2 in this thesis) was outfitted with wings or fenders, as well as an umbrella and it has been described as a "comfortable vehicle" (*an che* 安車).[368] Fragmented silver plaques found near the vehicles in Tomb 6 show that some Type 2 vehicles were decorated with metal plaques, similar to the first type

---

[364] Zhao 2018, 55–7. Ningxia Wenwu Kaogu Yanjiusuo and Pengyang Xian Wenwu Guanlisuo 2016, 235, 236 and 467.
[365] Zhao 2007, 73.
[366] Zhao 2010a, 81.
[367] The shaft was placed near the entrance of the burial chamber, as were a few other spears and wooden poles. It is possible that they were placed there to mimic the custom of leaning a long spear against a yurt common among the so-called Scythians. For details on this custom, see Rolle 1989, 116, fig. 88.
[368] The vehicles are classified as "Type III" vehicles in Zhao 2010a, 81.

of vehicle.[369] Its more restrained decoration, however, suggests that this type could have feasibly been used during a battle.

In addition to the ornate vehicles, there are two other types of wheeled vehicle (Types 3 and 4). One of these features a small passenger box and is thought to have been a hunting cart, as a vehicle with a similar structure is depicted as being used to hunt game in petroglyphs in the Yin Mountains (*Yin Shan* 陰山), Inner Mongolia.[370] However, considering that the passenger box is small, shallow, and without handrails, it would be extremely difficult for passengers to maintain their balance and stay in the box when the vehicle was moving at a high speed.[371] The vehicle is more likely to have been made for other purposes, which, unfortunately, cannot be determined based on the available data. The final vehicle type (Type 4) is represented by only one find.[372] It has an enclosed, undecorated passenger box and was probably used for the transportation of goods.

As shown in the table in Appendix Four, the first two types of vehicle are the most common at Majiayuan. When only one vehicle is found in a burial, it is most often a Type 1 vehicle. When there is more than one vehicle, Type 1 is always found at the front of the tomb or close to the deceased, followed by a Type 2 vehicle. The prominent numbers and positions show that Types 1 and 2 were the most important, and they can be treated as representing the favoured types of vehicle among those who constructed Majiayuan. Their functions as display items, potentially with some use in military situations, would also have guaranteed that they would be much seen.

---

[369] The reconstruction by Zhao Wucheng does not show any decoration, except for the paint.
[370] These are classified as "Type VI" vehicles in Zhao Wucheng's article.
[371] It is possible that the vehicles had wooden handrails that have decayed so severely that they have been overlooked by the excavators.
[372] This type is classified as "Type V" in Zhao Wucheng's article.

The analysis indicates that the regional and local group identities the inhabitants at Majiayuan were presenting were clearly neither Zhou nor Qin. It is unlikely that, by adopting vehicle Type 1 originating in the Achaemenid Empire, the inhabitants of eastern Gansu intended to affiliate themselves with the Achaemenids. This is because the design would have been filtered through many other steppe groups before it reached eastern Gansu; therefore, the Achaemenid association, though evident from a macroscopic perspective, may not have been palpable for those at Majiayuan, even if their origin was known.

Complete vehicles have only been found in rich cemeteries in eastern Gansu. Consequently, it seems that the vehicles served to construct and express the high statuses of the deceased and their kin, as did the vehicles and decorated horses excavated in the steppe. As has been detailed extensively by Stuart Piggott, chariot driving required an expensive techno-complex involving the acquisition of raw materials, employing workers to build and maintain the vehicles, hiring and training charioteers, and breeding and training horses.[373] Burying chariots and draught animals in tombs, a conspicuous display of wealth and the ability to waste it, served to, "[sterilise] their function as status symbols by removing them from circulation in reciprocal gift display and exchange." This act both established the status of the newly dead, and reinforced the statuses of the people who buried them.[374]

Vehicles from other cemeteries

---

[373] Piggott 1992, 42–8.
[374] *Ibid*, 110.

Vehicles from other cemeteries show a broad similarity to those at Majiayuan in terms of design, and they likely served similar functions in constructing and expressing local and regional identities. In the Wangwa cemetery, one of the published vehicles is decorated with a large number of bronze bosses, while the lateral side of the passenger box is decorated with fittings like those at Majiayuan (Figure 4.70). Bronze fittings found in the cemetery are decorated with zigzags rendered in gold inlay, which are stylised forms of foliated scrolls found on the fittings at Majiayuan (Figures 4.71a–c).[375] An elaborate set of fittings was also found alongside the remains of a pair of painted wheels and a passenger box in Tomb 26 at Dunping. Some of the fittings have dashed line patterns like those at Liuping. The fittings were excavated from the tomb shafts along with the heads and hooves of domesticated animals, a practice found also in other cemeteries.

The fittings found in other tombs in eastern Gansu and southern Ningxia have also been executed so as to have animal forms. For instance, one of the draught pole fittings from Mazhuang is made in the form of a sheep or goat, while some of the ornamental plaques are shaped like ungulates such as ibex. Interestingly, no predators are represented. It may be that predators were symbols associated with higher status individuals, and their pictorial representation was exclusive. Bone ornaments, such as cheek pieces, are numerous in the Mazhuang tombs, and these recall the bone ornaments used on the Majiayuan vehicles, as well as those found in other cemeteries.

---

[375] Some of the ornamental silver plaques are hammered with broken repoussé lines, like the silver plaques at the Majiayuan cemetery. See Gansu Sheng Wenwu Kaogu Yanjiusuo and Qingshui Liuping Bowuguan 2014, 91, pl. 41. Two L-shaped vehicle fittings identical to those buried in the richer tombs were found in Ningxia. The fittings are decorated with reliefs imitating twisted wires and bearing gilt inscriptions reading *she wei* 舍　. The meaning of the term is unknown. For illustrations of the fittings, see Li and Chen 2013, 59.

The distribution of the elaborate vehicles might have been one of the means through which firm relationships were created and secured between those buried in the rich and ordinary tombs. For instance, Tomb 1 at Samencun 撒門村 yielded over 500 bone beads and over 100 tinned bronze plaques that decorated a vehicle. The tinning gives the plaques a silvery appearance, which probably served as a substitute for the silver plaques in the rich cemeteries, where tinning was also common.[376] The grave assemblage from Tomb IIIM4 at Yujiazhuang includes a considerable number of ornamental plaques for vehicles and horses, in addition to a gold earring and iron spearhead. Similarly, Tomb 1 in the Yuanjia 袁家 cemetery was found to contain over 100 ornamental plaques for vehicles and over 500 bone beads. Additionally, a silver pectoral with spiral scroll decoration was found at Ya'ergou 鴉兒溝, along with a pair of silver earrings and about a dozen beads made from agate and bone (Figure 4.72). A tomb at Chenyangchuancun 陳陽川村 contains tinned bronze belt plaques with animal combat and raptor motifs, in addition to a bimetallic three-pronged sword.[377]

The rarity of the ornaments listed above that are found in ordinary tombs suggests that they were likely to have been presented by members of upper ranks—either people of status found buried in eastern Gansu or southern Ningxia whose cemeteries have yet been discovered—to create and secure firm group relationships. This challenges the aforementioned view that steppe people were dependent on wealth extracted from agricultural polities to sustain their hierarchical social system;

---

[376] The tinning was not described in the archaeological report. See Bunker 1990a; Han and Bunker 1993; and Gansu Sheng Wenwu Kaogu Yanjiusuo and Qingshui Xian Bowuguan 2014, 30–43. According to Han and Bunker, the number of tinned bronze artefacts decreased when gold and silver artefacts became more common after the 3rd century BC. Han and Bunker 1993, 82. Their observation further supports the idea that tinned bronze artefacts were substitutes for silver ones.

[377] Zhang Yin classifies the Chenyangchuancun tomb as the "Majiayuan type". Zhang 2013.

they were very capable of producing sufficient wealth and symbols to establish hierarchical societies.

In short, the vehicles in eastern Gansu and southern Ningxia are clearly not the "gold chariots" favoured by the Zhou and Qin. The construction techniques and methods of ornamenting the vehicles and horses resemble those seen in the steppe, as well as Western and Central Asia. Furthermore, the use of such vehicles served to construct and maintain both steppe and local identities. In fact, considering that archaeological finds indicate that burying vehicles and horses became less common within the Zhou towards the 4th century BC, it is questionable whether the practice of burying vehicles and horses with the dead at Majiayuan was influenced in any way by Zhou or Qin customs.[378]

SUMMARY: STEPPE AND LOCAL IDENTITIES

The above analysis of the tombs has shown that the 7th to 3rd century BC material culture in eastern Gansu and southern Ningxia show striking similarities to those in the steppe, while displaying some unique characteristics. Both cultural spheres are characterised by preferences for riding outfits that comprise pointed hats, beaded and metal ornaments—bronze for the lower ranks and gold and iron for the higher—personal weapons, daily commodities such as knives for skinning game, cauldrons, and portable bags, in addition to animal subjects for decoration. The decoration strategies for vehicles and horses are also similar. One major difference is found in

[378] To date, only about a dozen vehicle pits dating after the 4th century BC have been found within the Zhou realm, in addition to some clay models. See Zhao 2007, 54.

the types of tombs; however, the practice of burying the heads and hooves of livestock either in the tombs or nearby was shared.

These patterns demonstrate that the inhabitants of eastern Gansu and southern Ningxia were affiliating themselves with other steppe groups rather than the Zhou and Qin, as is conventionally believed. This supra-regional identity offered several benefits to the inhabitants. First, the regional identity allowed the group in eastern Gansu and southern Ningxia to solve conflicts with others through social networks and cultural practices, which might have included periodic social and political gatherings.[379] The connection with other groups in the steppe may also have provided the inhabitants of eastern Gansu and southern Ningxia a measure of security against the invasive Qin State, which waged aggressive wars against its neighbours. Such steppe connections also allowed the inhabitants to make a place for themselves in the State and Empire of Qin, where foreign cultural traits were adopted, a topic that will be treated in more detail in the following chapter.

Chapter Five examines the remainder of burial assemblages at Majiayuan and other cemeteries in eastern Gansu and southern Ningxia, namely weapons and ritual vessels excavated from the tombs that originated from the Zhou or Qin. Like the wheeled vehicles, the vessels and weapons have been viewed as signs of adopting Zhou and Qin authority and identities. As in this chapter, the weapons and vessels will be situated in their archaeological and broader historical contexts to explore what they can tell us about group identities in this region.

---

[379] See Rogers 2012, 211.

Chapter Five: Relationship with Zhou and Qin

INTRODUCTION

This chapter discusses Zhou and Qin weapons and ritual vessels that have been found in burial assemblages dated to 7th to 3rd centuries BC in eastern Gansu and southern Ningxia. As discussed in the previous chapters, these artefacts have been interpreted as evidence of the region's inhabitants having submitted to Zhou and Qin authority, and adopting their customs.[380] These arguments, however, are predominantly guided by transmitted historical texts. I would argue that the narrow and biased nature of the historical texts (see Chapter Two) that focus heavily on military affairs has prevented scholars from understanding the complex relationships between the area's inhabitants and their Zhou and Qin neighbours. Another reason for this is that any examination of material remains has removed them from their archaeological contexts. Additionally, the artefacts are frequently generalised as being Zhou or Qin, without consideration for variation between items produced within these two entities.

Taking inspiration from Linduff's study (see Section 1.5), I argue the archaeology indicates that the inhabitants of eastern Gansu and southern Ningxia served as mercenaries under the Qin. The argument is supported by the diverse sources of weapons and ritual vessels that have casually been referred to as either Zhou or Qin. The wide distribution of origins for the items indicates that they were likely war plunder or gifts. In this chapter, I first discuss the sources of Zhou and Qin weapons found in tombs in eastern Gansu and southern Ningxia, as well as the steppe ornaments that have been found on Qin military fortifications. The sources for Zhou

[380] Luo 1990, 747; Wang 2009, 74–5; Wu X 2013, 122; and Yang and Linduff 2013, 82.

and Qin ritual vessels found at Majiayuan and Wangwa are then discussed. Lastly, I elaborate on the equal, reciprocal relationship between the inhabitants of eastern Gansu, southern Ningxia, and the State and Empire of Qin by highlighting previously overlooked steppe and foreign cultural traits adopted by Qin.

Qin mercenaries

Zhou and Qin weapons

Before looking at the Zhou dagger-axes found in tombs in eastern Gansu and southern Ningxia, a brief comparison of burial practices between the study region and core Qin territory is useful to demonstrating their different group identities. Lothar von Falkenhausen has summarised 12 common features of Qin burials, including: universal use of shaft tombs without burial chambers either in the floors or walls; tomb occupants are predominantly arranged in flexed positions; grave goods comprise pointed stones, jade, and miniature pottery models of granaries; and secondary pits dug into the tomb floor that typically contain dogs, with the deceased positioned so that their waist roughly lay over the pit.[381] These practices were never adopted by the inhabitants of eastern Gansu and southern Ningxia, whose burial practices are far more akin to those in the steppe (see Chapter Four). It is, therefore, reasonable to conclude that the inhabitants of eastern Gansu and southern Ningxia were not attempting to associate themselves with the Qin State when burying their dead.

In addition to the typical steppe weapons discussed in the previous chapter, about 30 Zhou and Qin dagger-axes have been found in tombs in eastern Gansu and southern Ningxia. Dagger-axes are a type of weapon with a blade hafted

---

[381] Von Falkenhausen 2004.

perpendicular to a wooden shaft that serves as a handle. The weapon is not suited for use either by cavalry or warriors driving chariots. This is because the weapon's point is not aligned with the wooden poles, so it cannot be thrust. The soldier using it, therefore, needed room to swing the long shaft, which put greater demands on their balance: this would be difficult to do when driving a chariot or fighting from a horse. However, this weapon is one of the most popular types used by the Zhou and Qin, whose armies were characterised by huge numbers of infantry soldiers. The dagger-axe also occurs in various regional types within Zhou territory.[382] In Qin State, for instance, dagger-axes dating from before the 4th century BC have triangular blades and hafts. During the 4th century BC, dagger-axes with curved blades narrowing in the middle and upward-pointing hafts were adopted from other Zhou states and continued in use during the Qin Dynasty. Compared to dagger-axes used in other states, those in Qin are remarkably uniform.[383]

The dagger-axes found in tombs in eastern Gansu and southern Ningxia occur in various regional types, showing that they originated from different Zhou states.[384] Among the 25 dagger-axes published with drawings and photographs, only one from Heishui 黑水 Town, Haiyuan 海原 County, southern Ningxia, and another one from Liuping are of the type commonly used in Qin after the 4th century BC (Figure 5.1). Other than a few other dagger-axes of unprecedented types, the rest are similar to those used in other Zhou states.[385] For instance, some dagger-axes have curved blades of equal width throughout, resembling those found in a 5th century BC Jin tomb in

---

[382] For a study of pre-Qin dagger-axes, see Jin 2006.
[383] Chen 1987, 332.
[384] It should be noted that this assumption is based entirely on the types, as no analyses of production techniques have been conducted on the dagger-axes.
[385] For a study of some dagger-axes from tombs in eastern Gansu and southern Ningxia, see Jin 2006, 213–15.

Taiyuan 太原 County, Shanxi (Figure 5.2). Some dagger-axes have wide tangs with two perforations and are similar to those found in King Cuo's 厝 (r. 323–309 BC) tomb in Zhongshan 中山 State (*c.* 600–296 BC) (Figure 5.3). These dagger-axes unmistakably belong to Zhou states other than Qin, and their presence in the tombs suggests that the inhabitants may have acquired them as plunder during the war of unification, when they may have served as mercenaries for the Qin.

Steppe ornaments on Qin's military fortifications

Military fortifications found in eastern Gansu and southern Ningxia that were built during both the State and Empire of Qin further support the theory that the inhabitants were hired by Qin as mercenaries. Remains of the fortifications have been found in eastern Gansu and southern Ningxia across the sites discussed in Chapter Four (Map 1.2).[386] The remains consist of walls ranging 2 to 15 m in height. They are made of stamped earth and stone dug from the wall's outer side to form a defensive moat, so the ground level on the inner side is considerable higher. There are also the remains of ditches, forts, beacon towers, and what their excavators believe to be cities.

---

[386] Two sections of wall have been found in Yuanzhou 原州 District in Guyuan, southern Ningxia. The western section is 18 km long, beginning at Sunjiazhuang 孫家莊 and ending at Shiyangwa 石羊窪. The eastern section is 7 km long and runs from Diaobaoliang 碉堡梁 to Changchengliang 長城梁. Another two sections have been found in Huan 環 County in Qingyang 慶陽, eastern Gansu. One section is 2 km long and situated near Changtagua 常塌坵, whilst another is 30 km long and runs across the borders of Gansu and Shaanxi along the Ziwu Ridge from Mount Yingpan (*Yingpan Shan* 營盤山) to Chengqiangcun 城牆村 in Wuqi 吳旗 County, Yan'an 延安. See Shi 1981b, 62–3. Based on classical studies of the long walls, Shi Nianhai suggests that there was originally a wall running from either Lintao or Min 泯 County in Gansu, through Xiji County, Yuanzhou District, and Pengyang 彭陽 County in Ningxia, then through Qingyang City in eastern Gansu, before proceeding along Mount Heng (*Heng Shan* 橫山) and ending in Junggar Banner in Inner Mongolia. See Shi 1981b, 60–4. See also Han Chunsong 1981, and Ningxia Huizu Zizhiqu Bowuguan and Guyuan Xian Wenwu Gongzuozhan 1981. Remains of long walls have also been also found in the states of Zhao and Yan. For survey reports, see Gai and Lu 1981; Zheng 1981; Shi 1981a; and Buni'alin 1981 in Wenwu Bianji Weiyuanhui 1981.

What merits special attention are the ceramic tile ends found in the remains of these fortifications (Figures 5.4a–c). The published examples are roughly semicircular. Two of them have a small semicircle at the centre, from which three lines and spiral scrolls radiate outwards. The motif on another tile end is too obscure to be identified, but, according to the excavators, the motif is an imaginary beast.[387] All of these motifs are also found on tile ends excavated from a Qin workshop in Xianyang, other Qin palaces, and the First Emperor's tomb complex (Figures 5.5a, 5.5b, and 5.6).[388] The fortifications have been interpreted as structures built to encircle the inhabitants of eastern Gansu and southern Ningxia after their alleged subjugation by Qin.[389] This theory is difficult to uphold, however, when considered that the designs on the semicircular tile ends are exactly the same as those of the ornamental plaques on the vehicles in eastern Gansu, which were in turn derived from the steppe and Western and Central Asia (*cf*. Figure 4.53). It is hard to believe that the Qin rulers would extensively decorate their military fortifications, palaces, and mausoleum with motifs created by either their enemies or people subjugated through conflict. A more likely explanation is that the fortifications were guarded by the inhabitants of eastern Gansu and southern Ningxia, who were hired by the Qin for military services. These services included guarding the Qin border against invasion from the steppe, and fighting against other Zhou states, in particular neighbouring Zhao that was also starting to integrate cavalry into its army, as mentioned in Chapter One. This strategy is demonstrated by the terracotta warriors found in the First Emperor's tomb complex, among whom cavalrymen wearing hats with ear flaps like those at Majiayuan are

---

[387] Ningxia Huizu Zizhiqu Bowuguan and Guyuan Xian Wenwu Gongzuozhan 1981, 49.
[388] For excavation reports on the workshop and palaces, see Shaanxi Sheng Kaogu Yanjiusuo 2004.
[389] Wu X 2013, 22.

seen.[390] Like the garrison towns in the Achaemenid Empire, the wall's fortifications might have also served as strongholds where trading activities were conducted by the inhabitants of eastern Gansu and southern Ningxia.

Zhou and Qin ritual vessels

The Zhou and Qin ritual vessels found in tombs in eastern Gansu and southern Ningxia were not used in accordance with Zhou and Qin customs, and they came from sources as equally diverse as the dagger-axes. It is known that the Zhou and Qin buried bronze ritual vessels in their tombs for use in ancestral sacrifices.[391] The ritual vessels were used in sets consisting of wine, food, and washing vessels. The numbers and types of vessel to be used and buried were standardised and corresponded to the social ranks of their owners.[392] As a Zhou polity, the Qin also buried bronze ritual vessels in their tombs.[393] Ceramic copies of bronze vessels were also interred, sometimes replacing individual bronze vessels to ensure a complete set.[394] Alternatively, at other times, ceramic versions constituted complete sets on their own. From the 4th century BC, this ritual system was followed less rigidly in the Qin;[395]

---

[390] For a report on the outfits of the cavalry, see Yuan 2002, 287.
[391] For studies of ritual vessels of the Shang, Western and Eastern Zhou periods, see Bagley 1987; Rawson 1990b; and So 1995b.
[392] A ritual revolution or reform took place in the early half of the 9th century BC, when three changes were made to the ritual procedure and paraphernalia. The first change was that traditional vessel sets centring on wine vessels were replaced by food vessel sets in matching designs. The second was that new ritual vessels were made to be larger and were less intricately decorated. The third change is that bronze bells for ritual music were introduced as part of ritual paraphernalia. Lothar von Falkenhausen has suggested that the purpose of the reform was to restore the coherence of lineage relationships. See Rawson 1989 and von Falkenhausen 1997.
[393] For one of the earliest Qin tombs equipped with ritual vessels, see Wang 1979.
[394] Chen 1984, 71.
[395] Some scholars have suggested that the ritual system declined in the State of Qin in the 4th century BC, following Shang Yang's destruction of the hereditary aristocratic system and his reorganisation of the territory into "counties" (*xian* 縣). However, it is unlikely that the hereditary aristocratic system was completely abolished, as a study by Hsu Cho-yun shows that only half of the people named in Qin history came from obscure lineages, which shows that lineage pedigrees remained important to one's

however, ritual vessels continued to be used in sets, even if the types and numbers vary between places. For instance, vessel sets found in Gaozhuang 高莊 and the former Northwest Forestry Institute (*Xibei Lin Xueyuan* 西北林學院) often include *ding*-tripods, *fang*-wine containers (*fang* 鈁), and *yan*-steamers (*yan* 甗), while those found at Ta'erpo 塔兒坡, Xianyang, often consist of *ding*-tripods and *hu*-jars (*hu* 壺).[396]

Fifteen out of 27 tombs in the Majiayuan cemetery were reported to have contained bronze and ceramic ritual vessels dating to the Zhou and Qin periods.[397] Appendix Five combines data published in archaeological reports and the catalogue *Xirong Yizhen*. It should be noted that the publications are not statistically comprehensive; therefore, the table may not show the exact numbers of vessels found in each tomb. The reader should also note that some of the tombs were looted, and that the types and numbers of ritual vessels buried in the tombs might be due to unpredictable reasons beyond what can be validated by archaeology. Zhou ritual vessels have been reported as having also been excavated from the Wangwa cemetery, but the analysis below mainly uses the Majiayuan vessels as examples, because they are relatively well-published.

---

status. Secondly, the introduction of a new administrative system did not necessarily mean the demise of the previous system, as we know that old and new systems coexisted in Chu State when administrative units were assigned to ministerial houses to govern as their own domains. The fact that the Qin chancellor Lü Buwei was ennobled by King Zhuangxiang and received revenue from 100,000 households has similarly been highlighted as evidence that the old system of internal fiefs continued to coexist with the new administrative system of counties. See Hsu 1965, 38; Bodde 1986, 25–6; Shelach and Pines 2006, 212; and Teng 2014.

[396] For an inventory of the ritual vessels excavated from 626 tombs in the State and Empire of Qin, see Teng 2002, 162–211.

[397] For dating some of the vessels, see Wang 2009, 71.

If the ritual vessels are examined as part of the burial contexts they were found in and artistic traditions that they originated from, it seems clear that they were never used as part of the prescribed vessel sets. This is markedly different from contemporary Zhou and Qin practice. No patterns in the types of vessels interred at Majiayuan can be identified, and none of the vessel sets include similar combinations of vessels as those found in the neighbouring, core Qin area. The positions of the vessels in the tombs also lack uniformity. For instance, while the vessels in Tomb 18 are all located next to each other in the burial chamber, those in Tomb 16 had been placed separately in two niches alongside steppe household artefacts, including a painted, eared cup with gold and silver appliqués, which is comparable to the eared cups in Xinjiang and the ceramic bottle at Pazyryk (Figure 5.7; *cf*. Figure 3.24).[398] In these cases, the bronzes were placed with artefacts that were probably part of daily life rather than ritual. The vessels, therefore, were unlikely to have been used to perform ancestral sacrifices in the Zhou and Qin traditions, or to construct and convey people's acceptance of Zhou and Qin customs.

The features on the vessels at Majiayuan show that they were produced and, in some cases, used in the Zhou and Qin polities before being taken to eastern Gansu. For instance, the bronze *dui*-container (*dui* 敦) found in Tomb 18 has a spherical body with copper and turquoise inlays. This type of vessel is an exclusive product of Chu 楚 State situated in present-day Hunan 湖南, Hubei, Anhui 安徽, and southern Henan

[398] An eared cup sleeve made of gold and silver, in addition to an eared cup made of bronze, have been found in Tombs 1 and 21, respectively. The cup sleeve has a marked steppe characteristic: it has been sewn with fine gold thread, as if made of leather or thick fabric. See So 2013, 138. A lacquer basin found in Tomb 21 is embellished with silver appliqué, which distinguishes it from lacquer basins used in the Zhou and Qin.

provinces (Figure 5.8).[399] The two bronze *hu*-jars with tall necks and bulging bellies found in Tomb 16 were likely made in the Qin State, as they are a type commonly used there after the 4th century BC (Figure 5.9).[400] The bronze cocoon-shaped bottle cast with the Chinese character *yang* 鞅 in Tomb 3 at Majiayuan is likely of Qin origin, as no precedents are known from other Zhou states (Figures 5.10a and 5.10b). A bronze *yan*-steamer found in Tomb 18 had been repaired by riveting small bronze patches to its surface, while the bronze *hu*-jar found in Tomb 57 had also undergone repairs, but this time by pouring molten bronze over the damaged areas. Both techniques were commonly used on bronzes by the Zhou.[401]

Some of these vessels were likely acquired as war plunder, as were the dagger-axes, while others were probably diplomatic gifts or remunerations. Ritual vessels presumed to have been collected as plunder have been found in the territories of Qin and other Zhou states, such as a bronze *ding*-tripod in a 4th to 3rd century BC tombs at Gaozhuang. The inscription on the vessel states that it was produced in Zhongshan State.[402] An inscribed *hu*-jar found in one of the 3rd century BC tombs at Ta'erpo was originally owned by the city of Anyi 安邑, which was under the administration of the Wei 衛 (403–225 BC).[403] The vessel then passed to the Han 韓 (403–230 BC), where officials of the state's warehouse noticed a discrepancy between the vessel's stated and actual capacities, inscribing the vessel to record this. Another bronze *hu*-jar excavated at Xuyi 盱眙 in Jiangsu 江蘇 Province in Qi 齊 (1045–221 BC) territory

---

[399] For a study of this type of vessel, see So 1995b, 198.
[400] This type of *hu*-jar was already in use in other Zhou polities before they were adopted by the Qin. Chen 1984, 67.
[401] So 2014, 206.
[402] For the archaeological report, see Yongcheng Kaogu Gongzuodui 1980.
[403] For the archaeological report and a study of the inscription, see Xianyang Shi Bowuguan 1975 and Li Xueqin 2003, 321–27.

bears an inscription stating that it was, "acquired by Chen Zhang during the expedition against the Yan",[404] showing clearly that the vessel was obtained through plunder during an inter-state war between Qi and Yan.[405]

Ritual vessels that might have been acquired as plunder in eastern Gansu include the aforementioned Chu *dui*-container from Tomb 18 at Majiayuan and a Zhao or Han *hu*-jar from Tomb 1 at Wangwa. The latter has a decagonal cross-section and is embellished with abundant turquoise inlays. This type of vessel must have been valued by the people of Zhao and Han, as it was rare, ephemeral, and only made during the 4th century BC.[406] Other vessels, such as the two lidded *hu*-jars and inscribed cocoon-shaped *hu*-bottle were likely acquired from Qin as diplomatic gifts or remunerations. The cocoon-shaped *hu*-bottle was likely produced under the supervision of Qin chancellor Shang Yang, whose name is found on a dozen excavated bronze weapons.[407]

Two features of the *hu*-bottle's form suggest that it was likely custom-made for the inhabitants of eastern Gansu. Firstly, the vessel is decorated with deep grooves, like some vessels used in the steppe and Achaemenid Empire.[408] Secondly,

---

[404] *Chen Zhang fa Yan zhi huo* 陳璋伐匽之獲.
[405] For an illustration and description of the *hu*-jar, see Zhongguo Qingtongqi Bianweihui 1998, figs 122 and 123. A *fang*-wine container, now kept in the University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology in America, has an inscription describing the same expedition by Qi. See *ibid*, fig. 121.
[406] For a study of this type of vessel, see So 1995b, 261–62.
[407] For instance, a bronze finial found at Ta'erpo, Xianyang, Shaanxi, bears the inscription, "a *shu* made under the supervision of Daliangzao Shuchang Yang at Lizheng in the 19th year" (*Shijiunian Daliangzao Shuchang Yang zhizao shu Lizheng* 十九年大良造庶長鞅之造殳犛鄭). See Wang 1996. The inscription on the cocoon-shaped bottle is different from those on the weapons in the way that the former does not bear the full official title and name of Shang Yang. Long inscriptions might have been intentionally avoided, because there is no evidence to suggest that the inhabitants of eastern Gansu could read Chinese characters. The identification of the character *yang* is provided in the report.
[408] For example, see Simpson and Pankova 2017, 301, pl. 215 and fig. 168. Deep grooves were rarely used to decorate cocoon-shaped bottles. See Shaanxi Sheng Kaogu Yanjiusuo 2014, pls 8.6 and 9.1 for ceramic cocoon-shaped bottles excavated from a Qin workshop at Changling Station (*Changling Chezhan* 長陵車站) in Xianyang, Shaanxi.

unlike most cocoon-shaped bottles from Qin State, this vessel was cast with a twisted bronze ring, rather than a foot, which resembles the felt ring found in Kurgan 2 at Pazyryk described in Section 3.6 (*cf*. Figure 3.23). Therefore, it seems that the Qin made this metal vessel to look like ones used in the steppe, which were presumably preferred by the inhabitants of eastern Gansu.

The lack of interest among the people at Majiayuan in adopting the Zhou and Qin ritual systems can be demonstrated even more clearly using Zhongshan as an example. Zhongshan was situated on the Zhou frontier in Hebei.[409] The state is believed to have been founded by descendants of a pastoralist group called the Xianyu 鮮虞. The state was annexed by the Wei in the 5th century BC, after which a Wei prince was sent to rule the area, and, through him, Zhou ritual was introduced to the territory. After four decades, the Zhongshan kings regained power and ruled the state until they were defeated by the Zhao in the late 3rd century BC. King Cuo, who ruled Zhongshan during the late 4th century BC, embraced Zhou ritual. In his tomb at Sanji 三汲 in Pingshan 平山 County, nine bronze *ding*-tripods were found, vessels which only the Zhou kings were entitled to use. Many ritual vessels in the tomb are inscribed, following a practice that began in the Western Zhou period. For instance, one of the bronze *ding*-tripods is inscribed with a 400 character passage—the longest inscription on a single bronze ritual vessel known to date—comparing King Cuo with famous past rulers. A bronze *fang*-wine container is similarly inscribed with an equally long passage that praises the king's Confucian virtue.[410]

---

[409] So 1995b, 61–2.

[410] As Jenny So argues, "like the ritual vessels on which they were inscribed, the inscriptions reflect naively enthusiastic adoption of Chinese ways by a border people eager for acceptance." See So 1995b, 61–2. A set of bronze bells for ritual music has also been found in the tomb. For the archaeological

The above analysis makes it clear that the use of ritual vessels at Majiayuan did not conform to Zhou and Qin customs. Like the dagger-axes, their presence in the tombs likely served more simply to enhance the prestige of the deceased. This is further supported by the fact that the majority of the ritual vessels found at Majiayuan, in addition to Wangwa, were made of bronze. This suggests it was their political and monetary value, rather than their ritual qualities that were significant to the vessels' new owners in eastern Gansu.

To summarise, the analysis of tombs in eastern Gansu and southern Ningxia in both this chapter and Chapter Four shows that the inhabitants did not adopt Zhou and Qin customs or identities as previous studies have suggested. Instead, people in this region presented themselves like other steppe inhabitants throughout the 7th to 3rd centuries BC. The motivation behind this was likely to establish themselves as part of a powerful regional group. This argument closely follows that made by Linduff in her study of the Yuhuangmiao group reviewed in Chapter One.[411] As Linduff argues, although the Yuhuangmiao group lived in Yan territory, their material culture was markedly different from that of the Yan: they buried their deceased with the heads and hooves of livestock, in addition to belt plaques with animal decorations, swords, and horse gear.[412] The fact that burial structures and grave assemblages remained virtually

---

report, see Hebei Sheng Wenwu Yanjiusuo 1996. The king did not completely abandon his cultural heritage, which is demonstrated by, for example, a bronze stand in the form of a tiger devouring a stag or deer. For all artefacts mentioned, see *ibid*, col. pls 3, 7, and 32. For studies of the tomb, see Rawson 1990a, 48–9. Wu Xiaolong suggests that the adoption of Zhou ritual was crucial to the survival of Zhongshan, as it was a small state led by foreigners and surrounded by powerful Zhou polities. See Wu 2017.

[411] For a preliminary report, see Jin 1989. For the monograph, see Beijing Shi Wenwu Yanjiusuo 2007. For a review of Linduff's study, see Chapter One of this thesis.

[412] As in eastern Gansu, there are no overarching systems evident in the placement of ritual vessels within the tombs at Yuhuangmiao. For example, most of the time the bronze vessels are close to different parts of the deceased's body. Yan arranged the vessels in groups, as shown by the ritual vessels in Tomb 29 at Yan's lower capital (*Xiadu* 下都), 5th to 4th centuries BC, which were placed

constant over several centuries, led Linduff to suggest that, "the deceased saw themselves as a coherent unit of 'outsider', with an established, or even created, identity that could confirm their separateness, through which they made a place for themselves in the new dynastic organisation."[413] It is likely that this was also the case in eastern Gansu and southern Ningxia. The inhabitants presented themselves to their Qin neighbours as a member of a regional power in the steppe, who could serve as a buffer, an ally, and a source of foreign goods. The first two functions have been illustrated above, while the latter one can be demonstrated using foreign traits adopted by the Qin from eastern Gansu and southern Ningxia, many of which have so far gone unnoticed.[414]

IINTERMEDIARY BETWEEN REGIONS TO THE WEST AND QIN

Steppe traits are found in both the Qin State and Empire. For instance, gold plaques were stolen from a tomb in Dabuzi Mountain in southeast Gansu and sold in the early 1990s, before the government retrieved them.[415] The plaques are various shapes, such as birds and shields, and are decorated with repoussé, a technique that were commonly employed by steppe goldsmiths. Originally the gold plaques were attached to armour; a typical possession for steppe warriors who favoured close combat.[416] The plaques are made and decorated by cutting with stencils and chiselling by hand, rather

---

together in the space north of the deceased's head. See Beijing Shi Wenwu Yanjiusuo 2007, 165. For Yan burial practices as seen in the tombs at Yan's lower capital, see Hebei Sheng Wenhuaju Gongzuozhan 1965.

[413] Linduff 2006, 365–66. Similarly, Casper Meyer suggests that Greco-Scythians artefacts were made in the context of building and maintaining political allegiances and strategic networks. Meyer 2013, 299.

[414] Rawson has discussed some steppe cultural traits that were adopted and rejected by inhabitants in the Zhou states. See Rawson 2017a.

[415] For studies of the plaques, see Liu 2012, 28–31; So 2014, 195; and Rawson 2015, 64–5, and 2018.

[416] Rawson 2015, 63.

than casting, which was the technique favoured by Qin metalsmiths;[417] therefore, it seems that smiths either from the steppe or trained in steppe metallurgical techniques produced these plaques.

In addition to the gold plaques, daggers have been found in Qin elite tombs in the Yuanding 圓頂 and Dabuzi mountains alongside more typical Qin dagger-axes.[418] The daggers found in the 7th to 5th century BC tomb in the Yuanding Mountains resemble those found in eastern Gansu and southern Ningxia (Figures 5.11a and 5.11b). One of the daggers has a bronze hilt and gilded pommel decorated with a pair of confronting animals, like the one found at Yujiazhuang in southern Ningxia, as well as another in Houzhuangcun 後莊村 in eastern Gansu (Figure 5.12).[419] The presence of daggers in the tombs at Yuanding and Dabuzi mountains shows that the Qin elite valued individual military prowess similar to their neighbours in eastern Gansu and southern Ningxia.[420]

More daggers have been found in a late 6th century BC tomb in one of the Qin capitals at Yimencun 益門村 in Baoji, Shaanxi. This tomb is believed to have been built for a member of steppe elite.[421] The steppe connections are indicated by the

---

[417] So 2014, 194.
[418] For archaeological reports on the tombs in the Yuanding and Dabuzi mountains, see Gansu Sheng Wenwu Kaogu Yanjiusuo and Li Xian Bowuguan 2005 and Zaoqi Qin Wenhua Lianhe Kaogudui 2008. Among the tombs found at Dabuzi Mountain, two are believed to have belonged to Qin rulers. See Dai 2000.
[419] The pommel of the dagger found at Yuanding Mouontain seems to have been erroneously illustrated upside down in the report.
[420] In the Zhou, the elite generally relied on the number of soldiers that they controlled rather than being expected to physically fight themselves. See Keightley 1993 and Rawson 2015.
[421] For the archaeological report, see Baoji Shi Kaogu Gongzuodui 1993. The origin of the Qin people remains a controversy. Archaeologically, the debate centres on ceramics found at Maojiaping, Gangu County, Gansu, which is believed to be an early Qin settlement. Some scholars have suggested that mainstream Western Zhou vessels found at the settlement show that the Qin were originally Zhou. As has been pointed out by von Falkenhausen, however, this is problematic because the ceramics indicate no more than the presence of Zhou goods. Whether the deposition was a consequence of Zhou people migrating west or local inhabitants adopting Zhou culture cannot be determined based on the ceramics

tomb's burial assemblage, as it features no Qin ritual vessels but a considerable number of steppe artefacts, such as bimetallic daggers, a bronze belt hook in the shape of an eared raptor, bosses, and horse fittings made of gold weighing 3 kg—the largest amount of gold found in any one tomb at the time of excavation.[422] These artefacts are mixed with other, more typical, Qin items, including jade pendants incised with stylised dragons, attesting to interactions between the two groups of people.[423]

The other foreign traits to be examined relate to the First Emperor of Qin. As mentioned above, the First Emperor adopted steppe methods of combat by including cavalry in his army. The riding outfits of these cavalrymen, as depicted on the terracotta figures buried in the emperor's tomb complex, are similar to those worn by those interred at Majiayuan.[424]

In addition, many of the patterns used to decorate the structures and artefacts in the First Emperor's palace and tomb complex are very close to those found at Majiayuan. For instance, ceramic floor tiles are decorated with the textile designs found on Type 1 Majiayuan vehicles (Figures 5.13 and 5.14). One such floor tile was excavated from a site believed to be Chengshan 成山 Palace in Mei 眉 County, Baoji,

---

alone. For a summary of the debate, see von Falkenhausen 2006, 233–43; and von Falkenhausen and Shelach 2014, 40–1. A western origin for the Qin is implied in the *Records of the Grand Historian*, which states that the Qin's ancestors had mastered two skills: horse breeding and chariot riding. Both of these technologies originated in the Eurasian steppe. One of the Qin ancestors was reportedly called Da Ye 大業, and his son Da Fei 大費 is said to have helped the mythical emperor Shun 舜 tame animals and wild birds. Da Fei's grandchildren were reportedly skilled charioteers, and Sima Qian records that one branch of his descendants lived in the Central Kingdom (*Zhongguo* 中國), and another between the Yi 夷 and Di 狄—terms used to refer to non-Shang and non-Zhou. These descendants bred and rode horses for Shang and Western Zhou kings, one of whom bred horses for King Xiao 孝 (r. *c*. 891–886 BC) of Zhou and was bestowed a fief, which was raised to the level of state in the 8th century BC. For the original text and its English translation, see Appendix Six.

[422] For the tomb's steppe connections, see, for example, von Falkenhausen 2006, 224–39 and Teng 2002, 93–4. Chen Ping persuasively traces the origin of Qin daggers to the steppe, based on their forms and distribution. He even suggests that some daggers found within Qin territory were made in the steppe. See Chen 1995.

[423] Li 1993, 17–8.

[424] For a description of the riding outfits, see Yuan 2002, 125–26.

Shaanxi.[425] The tile has alternating circles and rhombuses with spiral scrolls, bordered by walking tigers depicted in profile. Another tile excavated from the First Emperor's tomb complex has intersecting lines around the motifs like those on tile ends excavated from the Qin military fortifications in eastern Gansu and southern Ningxia mentioned above. The intersecting lines are embellished with S-shaped scrolls, like the iron grids on the Majiayuan vehicles (*cf*. Figure 4.52).[426] Other tile designs that indicate a western origin include two deer flanking a tree-like plant, which is well-established as a Western Asian design.[427] Some daily commodities excavated from the palaces also have their prototypes in eastern Gansu. For instance, a textile fragment found in one of the palaces has a design like that of the Majiayuan vehicle boxes.[428] A beaker recovered from another palace, similarly, is shaped similar to faience or glass beakers in the tombs at Majiayuan (Figures 5.15 and 5.16).[429]

Having been mistakenly viewed as classic Zhou vehicles by other scholars, the First Emperor's personal vehicles also have their prototypes in Majiayuan and other parts of the steppe.[430] The half life-size bronze vehicles and eight horse figures were excavated from a pit originally covered by the burial mound covering the First

---

[425] For the archaeological report, see Liu and Yan 2003.
[426] Ceramic floor tiles with similar designs were also found in the Qin palace in Xianyang and Liaoning province. See Shaanxi Sheng Kaogu Yanjiusuo 2004, pls 27.3 and 42.1 and Liaoning Sheng Wenwu Kaogu Yanjiusuo 2010. The palaces themselves are Zhou type. According to reconstructions by the excavators, the palaces at Xianyang have tall stamped-earth cores and multiple stories, like palaces in other states within the Zhou realm. For an overview of palaces in Qin and other Zhou states, see Wu 1999 and Kinoshita 2007, 83–93.
[427] For an early example of the design in Western Asia, see Rawson 1984, 210, fig. 186. For ink rubbings that were taken of the tiles, see Shaanxi Sheng Kaogu Yanjiusuo 2004, 225, figs 205.2 and 205.4.
[428] For a drawing of the textile fragment, see *ibid*, 353, fig. 301.
[429] For a study of the spread of beakers throughout Asia, see Lam 2012.
[430] For instance, Sun Ji associates different parts of one of the vehicles with terms mentioned in transmitted Chinese texts. However, the texts Sun cites postdate the vehicle; therefore, the texts cannot necessarily be considered evidence of a model that predates the Majiayuan vehicles. Sun 1985, 26. For the archaeological reports on the First Emperor's vehicles, see Qinyong Kaogudui 1983 and Shaanxi Sheng Qinyong Kaogudui 1991. For two monographs with good illustrations, see Qin Shihuangdi Ling Bowuguan 2012 and 2015.

Emperor's tomb. One of the vehicles, a war chariot, has an open passenger box that was cast in bronze, then painted with a textile design. The pattern is formed of a white diagonal grid with red decoration at the intersections. Within each diamond-shaped space are scrolls and an octagonal motif, which is a slight variation on the motifs found on the Majiayuan vehicles and the carpet from Pazyryk (Figure 5.17; *cf.* Figures 4.52–4.54 and 4.61a). The framework includes geometric patterns like those commonly seen on contemporary silks.

The other vehicle surviving from the First Emperor's tomb complex is a carriage with an enclosed passenger box (Figures 5.18a and 5.18b). A decorative border is painted on the surface of the canopy, while the underside of the canopy and the walls are painted with red and blue cloud-like designs arranged in a chequered pattern set against a yellow background and bordered with triangular patterns. Eugene Wang focuses on these cloud-like and triangular patterns to suggest that they represent a transformation process, wherein the First Emperor's breath hardened into quintessential spiritual permanence, and the chariot's function was to collect his scattered breath so that he could be revived.[431] This is an over-interpretation, however, as the pattern is based on a textile design identical to one of the saddlecloths found at Pazyryk, and the canopied carriage itself is very similar to covered carts that were, and still are, used by mobile inhabitants of the steppe (Figure 5.19).[432] Steppe traits are also present in the form of two bronze containers inside the vehicles that were cast in the shapes of portable drawstring bags commonly used by mobile steppe inhabitants (Figure 5.20).

---

[431] Wang 2012, 211–17.
[432] For the covered carts used in the steppe, see Miller 2012, 29, figs 1 and 2.

Furthermore, the techniques used to manufacture the vehicles also show a connection with regions further west. The welding joints on the vehicles were reinforced with soldered bronze plates, which is a manufacturing technique unprecedented in both the Zhou and Qin but commonly found on Hellenistic sculptures.[433] Horse ornaments on the First Emperor's vehicles, including leaf-shaped frontlets with horn motifs in addition to gold and silver tubular strap ornaments, also have earlier parallels in Majiayuan and Pazyryk (Figures 5.21–5.23).

The First Emperor appears to have taken a liking to artistic representations that were unprecedented in the Zhou tradition, which likely arrived in Qin through the inhabitants of eastern Gansu and southern Ningxia. This is demonstrated by animal and human figures buried in his tomb complex. A study of life-size bronze models of water birds buried in the First Emperor's tomb complex shows that the figures were repaired using a technique called inlay patching, which involves setting square patches in the damaged areas and was commonly used on Hellenistic sculptures.[434] The human figures display an unprecedented interest in life-size, unclothed figures that was also characteristic of Hellenistic sculptures. This has led scholars to suggest that the figures in the First Emperor's tomb complex were inspired by Hellenistic sculptures, the concept for which became known to the Qin through the inhabitants of eastern Gansu and southern Ningxia, who had contacts with Central Asia.[435] While previous studies have neglected the fact that the human figures' baggy, skirt-like trousers are decorated with similar designs to those on the front panel of the First

---

[433] Shao *et al*. 2014, 103.
[434] For the archaeological report, see Shaanxi Sheng Kaogu Yanjiusuo and Qin Shihuang Bingmayong Bowuguan 2005. For the repair technique, see Shao *et al*. 2014.
[435] Barnhart 2004, 332; Nickel 2013; and So 2014, 206.

Emperor's war chariot,[436] this also supports the idea that these figures were introduced to Qin by the inhabitants of eastern Gansu and southern Ningxia, who had contacts with the steppe and Hellenistic world, as discussed in Chapter Four.

Another foreign technological feature in the First Emperor's tomb complex is found on the terracotta warriors, which have painted human faces like Hellenistic sculptures.[437] A chemical study of the pigments has revealed that the purple colour was made from a barium copper silicate ($BaCuSi_2O_6$), an artificial compound used abundantly in eastern Gansu and southern Ningxia in the production of faience beads.[438] It is thus possible that Qin craftspeople learnt of this pigment through their interactions with inhabitants in eastern Gansu and southern Ningxia.[439]

A Western Han passage in the *Records of the Grand Historian* suggests that the First Emperor may have presented himself as a warrior on horseback, like the inhabitants of eastern Gansu and southern Ningxia. Titled "Faults of Qin" (*Guo Qin Lun* 過秦論), the passage was written by the influential early Han statesman and thinker Jia Yi 賈誼 (*c*. 200–168 BC) not long after the First Emperor's death, and it is widely treated as the *locus classicus* for all studies on the First Emperor. The passage reads:

> 及至秦皇……振長策而御宇內……執棰拊以鞭笞天下，威振四海。[440]
> The First Emperor… cracked his long whip and rode the universe… grasping his whip, he scourged the world, and his might shook the four seas.[441]

---

[436] For a drawing of the designs on the skirt-like pants, see Yuan 2002, 191–92, figs 77–8.
[437] On the production of the terracotta warriors, see Yuan 2002, 259–70.
[438] For a study of the pigment, see Zhang *et al*. 2012.
[439] Richard Barnhart has drawn attention to the similarities between the tomb of King Mausolus (r. 377–353 BC), a satrap of the Achaemenid Empire and an admirer of Greek culture, and that of the tomb of the First Emperor of Qin. For possible Greek elements in the State and Empire of Qin, see Barnhart 2004, 337–42. See Brook 1998 and 1999 for similarities between Greek and Chinese texts.
[440] See *Records of the Grand Historian*, 48/1963.

In this passage, the First Emperor is represented as taming the world with a whip as a rider would a horse.[442] Unfortunately, we cannot discuss this supposition further, as no images of the First Emperor survive, and his tomb has not been excavated. It is unclear why the First Emperor adopted the foreign traits described above. One possible reason might have been to create a powerful image for himself through the knowledge and possession of foreign traits and goods, in a similar way to how the Achaemenid kings demonstrated their power through images on the walls of the Apadana showing their connections to different peoples.

A peaceful relationship between the inhabitants of eastern Gansu, southern Ningxia, and Qin, as opposed to the hostile relationship portrayed in previous studies, can be demonstrated by the gradual adoption of catacomb tombs by the Qin people. As mentioned above, shaft tombs were the dominant type in Qin from its establishment. During the 4th century BC, catacomb tombs like those in eastern Gansu and southern Ningxia began to appear, and they also became common in Qin State.[443]

---

[441] Watson 1993b, 78. I have slightly modified Burton Watson's translation by changing the word "drove" to "rode". It is because the word *yu* 御 also means "ride". See, for example, the phrase "*you fu yuma yan*" 猶夫御馬焉 (like a man rides a horse) in *Extended Reflections* (*Shenjian* 申鑒) by Xun Yue 荀悅, historian and politician of the Eastern Han. See *Extended Reflections* 1/440.

[442] This image of the emperor stands in sharp contrast to more common posthumous images where he is depicted wearing a winged crown and dragon robe, as seen in an 18th century Chinese volume *Emperors' Portraits throughout History* (*Lidai Diwang Xiang* 歷代帝王像), currently held in the British Library, London. For a reproduction of the image, see Liu 2012, 134.

[443] Catacomb tombs have been found in core Qin territory at Baqitun 八旗屯, Gaozhuang, Xicun 西村, Lijiaya 林家崖, Huangjiagou 黃家溝, Ta'erpo, Hongqingcun 洪慶村, Banpo 半坡, Xiehu 泄湖, Liuzhuang 劉莊, Lingkou 零口, Shangjiaocun 上焦村, Zhanbeilu 站北路, Chaoyi 朝邑, and in Yao 耀 County. For archaeological reports, see Shaanxi Sheng Wenguanhui 1955; Jin 1957; Ma 1959; Shaanxi Sheng Wenwu Guanli Weiyuanhui 1959; Qinyong Kaogudui 1980; Yongcheng Kaogu Gongzuodui 1980; Yongcheng Kaogudui *et al*. 1981; Qindu Xianyang Kaogudui 1982; He 1986; Shaanxi Sheng Yongcheng Kaogudui 1986; Shang and Zhao 1986; Yongcheng Kaogudui *et al*. 1986; Zhongguo Shehui Kexueyuan Kaogu Yanjiusuo Shaanxi Liudui 1988; Xianyang Shi Wenwu Kaogudui 1996; Xianyang Shi Wenwu Kaogu Yanjiusuo 1997; Cui and Wang 1998; Shaanxi Sheng Kaogu Yanjiusuo 1998; and Yue 1998.

Zhang Yang suggests that the tomb occupants were migrants from eastern Gansu, because the tomb assemblages include pottery vessels, like those seen in eastern Gansu.[444]

However, a contextual analysis of the tombs suggests that the tomb occupants are more likely to have been Qin people who adopted burial practices in eastern Gansu and southern Ningxia. I base this argument on two phenomena. Firstly, it was a gradual process whereby catacomb tombs replaced shaft tombs. For instance, there are 46 tombs in the Gaozhuang cemetery, which have been dated to five main successive phrases that cover a period of 400 years.[445] All of the tombs dating to the first two phrases (early 6th and early 5th centuries BC) are shaft tombs. Catacomb tombs gradually appear and dominate during the next three phrases (early 5th to late 3rd centuries BC). Rather than a total displacement of the local population by immigrants from eastern Gansu and southern Ningxia, an adoption of foreign burial practices by the Qin seems a more plausible explanation for the phenomenon.

The second phenomenon suggesting that the change in Qin burial practices was the result of local inhabitants adopting eastern Gansu-southern Ningxia practices is that the tombs have different structures and contents from those in eastern Gansu and southern Ningxia. As is pointed out in Chapter Four, the burial chambers in tombs found in eastern Gansu and southern Ningxia mainly form straight lines or right angles with the tomb shafts, and the chambers are either on the same floor level as the shafts or directly below them. Additionally, the niches are built into the wall near the heads of the deceased. By contrast, some catacomb tombs in southern Shaanxi feature

---

[444] Zhang 2014.
[445] Yongcheng Kaogudui *et al*. 1981, 34–5.

burial chambers positioned parallel to the shafts, and some even have higher floor levels.[446] Some of the tombs have entry ramps, while some are lined with bricks inscribed with the name of a Qin government department.[447] Niches are often found near the entrances of burial chambers and dug into the floors. The deceased are buried in ceramic jars or positioned flexed with their heads pointing towards the chamber entrances (Figure 5.24). The burial assemblages, consisting mainly of belt hooks and ceramic vessels, do not show a strong connection with the inhabitants in eastern Gansu and southern Ningxia.[448] In a few instances, there are seals and artefacts with the names of Qin government departments and individual.[449]

The adoption of catacomb tombs by the Qin should not be viewed simply as the diffusion of a foreign trait. Like making chariots, building catacomb tombs requires specific knowledge and techniques, in addition to taking a long period to complete. As an example, a study of modern cave dwellings in China describes how building underground caves, in addition to architectural understanding, requires knowledge of local geographic configurations, soils, climate patterns, and hydrological systems.[450] Similarly, building vault ceilings requires careful calculation, since angles are crucial to the stability of the structure. The architects of the Qin

---

[446] For a general overview of shaft tombs in Qin heartland, see Han Wei 1981. Some features, such as the higher floor levels of the burial chambers in Qin catacomb tombs might have derived from cave dwellings. Higher floor levels are present in modern cave dwellings to prevent rain from entering the caves. Nevertheless, no cave dwellings associated with the Qin or the inhabitants of eastern Gansu and southern Ningxia have been discovered. The connection between Qin catacomb tombs and cave dwellings was first suggested by von Falkenhausen. See von Falkenhausen 2004, 139–41. For a study of modern cave dwellings in China, see Golany 1992.

[447] Shaanxi Sheng Kaogu Yanjiusuo Qinling Gongzuozhan and Lintong Xian Wenwu Guanli Weiyuanhui 1989.

[448] The deceased in Tomb 62 at Majiayuan is buried with a belt hook and a pottery vessel, like the deceased in the Qin catacomb tombs outlined in this thesis. However, the belt hook was made in the shape of a coiled feline commonly seen on steppe ornaments.

[449] For instance, an artefact of unknown function is inscribed with the name of the Qin ministry *Shaofu* 少府, which was responsible for the emperor's daily activities. For archaeological reports on tombs with inscribed artefacts, see Qinyong Kaogudui 1980 and He 1986.

[450] Golany 1992.

catacomb tombs will have dealt with similar issues when designing the underground structures.

The local knowledge required to build the catacomb tombs demonstrates that their presence cannot be interpreted simply as the result of diffusion. Thus, it seems that the inhabitants of eastern Gansu, southern Ningxia, and the Qin had peaceful relationships at times, which allowed the transmission of customs and knowledge. A metal caster accompanied by both ceramic models for casting bronze ritual vessels and steppe ornaments from a 4th to 3rd century BC catacomb tomb in Xi'an also attests to vibrant interactions among the inhabitants of eastern Gansu, southern Ningxia, and the Qin.[451]

SUMMARY

This chapter has presented a new interpretation of the relationship between the Zhou and Qin and the inhabitants of eastern Gansu and southern Ningxia that differs strongly from past studies. It has been suggested above that the inhabitants of eastern Gansu and southern Ningxia served as mercenaries for the Qin, and the Zhou and Qin weapons and ritual vessels found in their tombs were included in the burial assemblages to enhance the statuses of their new owners. This argument is based partly on the fact the dagger-axes came from various Zhou states, most likely as the products of war plunder. The argument for the inhabitants' serving as mercenaries in the Qin military is further supported by ornaments found at Qin fortifications in eastern Gansu, southern Ningxia, and western Shaanxi, which were derived from the

[451] Linduff 2010 and Thote 2014, 20–3. The clay models are decorated with sheep motifs, as seen in Gansu, as well as raptors and beaked ungulates with raptor-tipped antlers, as seen on the gold crowns in northern Shaanxi and Inner Mongolia. For the archaeological report, see Shaanxi Sheng Kaogu Yanjiusuo 2003. For illustrations of the clay models, see *ibid* 2003, col. pls 1.2, 2.1, and 3.1.

decorative repertoires of eastern Gansu and southern Ningxia. In addition, a contextual analysis of the ritual vessels in the tombs shows that their combinations and placements lack the uniformity seen in the Zhou and Qin, indicating that the region had not been subjected to Zhou influence. The vessels were made of valuable materials, and they were used and came from places of production as diverse as they have been suggested for the weapons. Some of the vessels clearly came from Qin State, and one seems to have been a gift from the Qin chancellor Shang Yang to signify a peaceful relationship. Others came from other Zhou states. These aspects collectively show that the weapons and ritual vessels most likely arrived in this part of the steppe as either war plunder or remunerations for the military service that the inhabitants of eastern Gansu and southern Ningxia provided. The burials of Zhou and Qin artefacts served simply to enhance the status of the deceased, rather than to convey an adoption of Zhou or Qin customs and identities.

The preservation of a distinctive culture and group identities allowed the inhabitants of the region to make a place for themselves in the political and cultural arenas of the State and Empire of Qin. Politically, presenting themselves as connected with other steppe groups protected them to an extent from invasion by the Qin, to whom they provided military services and potentially protection from other hostile steppe groups. Culturally, the inhabitants of eastern Gansu and southern Ningxia served as a source of foreign goods, and the Qin adopted elements from them, such as personal weapons, the practice of hand-to-hand combat, fighting from horseback, residential designs, household objects, vehicles, as well as certain burial practices. The Qin elite seems also to have learnt about Hellenistic arts and bronze-working

techniques from the inhabitants of eastern Gansu and southern Ningxia, which they utilised in the preparation of the First Emperor's burial assemblage.

Although military and economic conflicts as yet undetected in the archaeological record may have occurred at times, the inhabitants in eastern Gansu, southern Ningxia, and the core Qin area did not have the hostile and imbalanced relationship presented by the Chinese historical texts and reiterated by past studies. Instead, the groups enjoyed a reciprocal relationship. Overall, the inhabitants of eastern Gansu and southern Ningxia should be understood as an independent and self-determining group as well as partner to the Zhou and Qin, in a way similar to how Katheryn Linduff *et al*. understand the groups active in the Northern Zone before the 8th century BC.[452] Moreover, both their group and individual identities, as the scholars have already noted, were linked to the historical context and opportunistically invoked.[453] Based on the materials presented in the previous chapters, the next chapter turns to discussion of the major arguments made in this thesis, outlining how they impact current understanding of group identities among the inhabitants of eastern Gansu and southern Ningxia, as well as the broader regional history. I also examine the archaeology to explore what happened to inhabitants of the region after the 3rd century BC, while presenting issues in the study of this region and period that require future research.

---

[452] Linduff *et al*. 2017, 219.
[453] *Ibid*.

Chapter Six: Conclusions and Suggestions for Future Research

THESIS SUMMARY

This thesis presents a new interpretation of group identities expressed and enacted by the inhabitants of eastern Gansu and southern Ningxia from the 7th to 3rd centuries BC. The interpretation is based on a re-examination of the historical background, Chinese historical records, and material remains from the steppe as well as eastern Gansu and southern Ningxia, and Dynastic China.

The first conclusion that can be drawn based on the analyses presented in this thesis is that the inhabitants of eastern Gansu and southern Ningxia lived in between various regional powers. In the steppe, military conflict was severe, and different groups seem to have entered into alliances, with interaction and exchange as a result of these ties reflected by their similar material cultures. During the later half of the 1st millennium BC, a regional confederation known as the Xiongnu took shape and became a major enemy of the Qin and Han empires. Conflict within the Zhou realm was also frequent. The State of Qin, situated in southeast Gansu and Shaanxi was particularly aggressive and eventually conquered all other Zhou states in 221 BC. Against this background, the inhabitants of eastern Gansu and southern Ningxia survived by pursuing and expressing their local identities, as well as broader group identities that affiliated them with the steppe.

Another conclusion has been that identities are fluid rather than set, and they can be communicated through physical materials. Since the functions and symbolic meanings of artefacts vary depending on their contexts, a contextual approach is crucial to revealing these qualities, as this thesis has demonstrated.

This thesis has, additionally, demonstrated that the reliability of the available classical Chinese texts in understanding the history of eastern Gansu and southern Ningxia is questionable. First of all, the sources for much of the information presented in the available texts are presently unknown, and some of them are only found in the *Records of the Grand Historian* complied by Sima Qian a century later than the period under study. The *Records of the Grand Historian* are most likely a compilation of accounts written by different authors at different times; therefore, they cannot be approached as a cohesive history of one group of people who inhabited the area from the 3rd millennium BC. The information presented in the *Records of the Grand Historian* might have been partly based on the lost *Qin Annals*, the content of which was likely influenced by internal politics in Qin. Similarly, the *Records of the Grand Historian* were influenced by contemporary politics and Sima Qian's personal interests in compiling the work. By comparing records on the Western Rong in different books, I show that records of the same events, such as whether and how Duke Mu of Qin established his hegemony over the Western Rong, vary significantly. The account of You Yu, who is said to have assisted in Duke Mu's conquest of the Western Rong in one account, was likely written in its present form to express Sima Qian's personal grievances rather than as a description of historical fact. There are also significant discrepancies between the dates and descriptions of events given in the *Records of the Grand Historian* and other books and official histories, such as the *Book of Han* and *Book of Later Han*. The legal documents excavated from Shuihudi supports the hypothesis that the relationship between the Qin and Western Rong were unequal, with the Qin the dominant party. However, the extent to which the laws reflect actual legal practices and relationships between the two groups remains

unclear, as it has been shown that other laws recorded in writing were not implemented in reality. Additionally, there are no other comparable sources. Taking these issues into account, I chose not to base my interpretation of the material remains on the available historical records at this stage of research.

The inhabitants of eastern Gansu and southern Ningxia presented themselves as a group like those in other parts of the steppe in burials. Contextual analysis of material remains in eastern Gansu and southern Ningxia shows that the inhabitants were reliant on animal husbandry. Like people in the steppe, those buried in eastern Gansu and southern Ningxia favoured beaded ornaments and metal ones made of bronze, gold, and silver, with animal decorations. Their utensils, such as skinning knives, woodworking tools, and cauldrons are also similar to those used in the Sayan-Altai region. The people adorned their horses and wheeled vehicles with ornaments paralleled across the steppe. They favoured hand-to-hand combat, and the personal weapons they used—pickaxes, daggers, swords, spears, and quivers—also resemble those used by other steppe inhabitants in the combinations they were arranged in for burial, as well as form and decoration. Indications of a local group identity exist, however, as inhabitants of the region favoured catacomb tombs not commonly seen in the adjacent steppe. Despite the different architecture, the inhabitants followed steppe practices by burying the heads and hooves of sheep, cattle, goats, and horses inside or near their tombs. Economic and social differentiation probably resulted partly from the accumulation of wealth and partly from trans-local interactions in addition to the military pressure from the region's neighbours. The presence of artefacts associated with the elite in a small number of ordinary tombs reflects that prestige goods were

distributed among society—a strategy commonly employed by steppe elite to secure loyalty—for the negotiation of status.[454]

Although past studies have attempted to depict the inhabitants of eastern Gansu and southern Ningxia as subjects of the Zhou and Qin, the findings of this thesis demonstrate that this situation is highly unlikely. The dagger-axes buried in the inhabitants' tombs came from different Zhou states, while the ornaments on the Qin military fortifications derived from eastern Gansu, southern Ningxia, and further west. Both pieces of evidence attest to well-developed networks of communication and exchange in which the inhabitants of eastern Gansu and southern Ningxia were at liberty to express their affiliation with a regional steppe identity. In addition, the contextual analysis reveals that the Zhou and Qin ritual vessels found in tombs were not part of sets stipulated by the ritual tradition in neighbouring Qin State. The analysis also shows that the vessels came from various Zhou states. The vessels were rare and lavishly inlaid, and they seem to have been collected for their monetary value. Other vessels came from Qin, and one seems to have been cast purposefully to resemble utensils used by mobile pastoralists. The evidence, thus, overwhelmingly suggests that the weapons and vessels were obtained by the inhabitants of eastern Gansu and southern Ningxia either as plunder or political gifts acquired through military service to the State and Empire of Qin. The artefacts were buried to elevate the status of the deceased, as well as those who built the tombs. Including these items in burials will have also highlighted their alliance with Qin to other rival groups in the steppe. Other material remains attest to the reciprocal nature of the relationship between Qin and the inhabitants of eastern Gansu and southern Ningxia. The golden

---

[454] Stark 2012 and Honeychurch 2015, 302–4.

belt hooks, possibly made for the Qin elite to gift to their counterparts from the region show that the two groups maintained networks of communication. In addition, steppe elements—including gold ornaments, personal weapons, tent-like vehicles, architectural decoration, and catacomb tombs—as well as the Hellenistic statues and bronze working techniques transmitted to the State and Empire of Qin through eastern Gansu and southern Ningxia show that the two groups enjoyed a mutually beneficial relationship in the cultural sphere.

Overall, the analyses of the tombs in eastern Gansu and southern Ningxia suggest that the inhabitants did not present themselves as Zhou or Qin people, as previous studies have suggested. Instead, they presented themselves as a group similar to those in other parts of the steppe, while also maintaining close ties with the State and Empire of Qin. The local and steppe identities allowed the inhabitants to make a place for themselves in a difficult political climate by balancing group identities that gained them protection from both the steppe and Dynastic China.

WIDER IMPACT

The conclusions summarised above challenge our current understanding of the history of eastern Gansu and southern Ningxia. Firstly, it shows that steppe communities were not limited to present-day south Siberia, Mongolia, and Inner Mongolia, but extended far south into Dynastic China, which has generally been excluded from mainstream narratives of steppe archaeology. Revealing close relationships between the region's inhabitants with other steppe groups through a detailed analysis of material remains, this thesis redraws the political map of the 1st millennium BC. It also answers frequently asked questions why Siberian artefacts have been excavated

within ancient Dynastic Chinese borders.[455] While on the one hand introducing Dynastic Chinese artefacts to the steppe, the inhabitants of eastern Gansu and southern Ningxia also supplied the Qin and Zhou with prestigious goods from the steppe and further west.

This thesis has significantly expanded current understanding of the Qin, both as a polity under the Zhou and as an empire in its own right. The material remains in eastern Gansu and southern Ningxia have not been usually studied alongside those in core Qin territory, but this thesis has firmly established the existence of relationships between the regions. In doing so, this thesis provides new information regarding the role played by people in Gansu and Ningxia in assisting the Qin to defend its territory and, more importantly, unifying China. The participation of cavalrymen from eastern Gansu and southern Ningxia in the Qin army had a great impact on Chinese military history, with the historical records noting that the king of Zhao State ordered his men to learn to shoot with bows while on horseback. The reform has been considered one of the important historical events in Warring States history.[456] What has previously been overlooked, however, is the remarkable detail that adopting mounted archery was a military strategy to counteract the Qin cavalry.[457] Consequently, this means that the incorporation of horses into the infantry-oriented armies of the Chinese states actually began with the Qin as a result of their interactions with the inhabitants of eastern Gansu and southern Ningxia.

Additionally, this thesis has demonstrated previously unrecognised steppe elements in Qin culture. As a result, this thesis questions the definition of Qin culture,

---

[455] Linduff 2006.
[456] Bunker 1990b, 299 and Di Cosmo 2002, 134.
[457] *Records of the Grand Historian*, 43/105–6.

which has been thought to have, "constitute[d] at most variant (or, more technically, a regional phase) of what, for want of a better term, we may call the archaeological culture of Zhou civilization."[458] This thesis has highlighted the need for a better definition of the term in future studies.[459]

In fact, steppe cultures had a wider impact, not only on the Qin, but also on their successors, the Han Dynasty. This can be illustrated by the textile designs discussed in Chapter Five.[460] For instance, floor tiles with similar designs to those found in Qin palaces can be found in Han palaces and 3rd to 2nd century BC tombs at Zhengzhou 鄭州 City in Henan province.[461] A diagonal pattern with a quatrefoil similar to that on a saddlecloth at Pazyryk was found on a brocade covering the innermost coffin of Xin Zhui 辛追 (*c*. 2nd century BC), wife of the Marquis of Changsha 長沙, at Mawangdui 馬王堆 in Hunan (*cf*. Figure 4.62).[462] One of the panels on the outermost coffin is painted with a scene of two stags flanking a tree-like cloud, like those on the Qin ceramic tile ends.[463] The chariot type excavated from the First Emperor of Qin's tomb complex also continued in used during the Han. A chariot inscribed with Chinese characters with a polychrome seat box painted with scrolls and sun-like motifs is reported at a 1st century BC Xiongnu tomb in central

---

[458] Von Falkenhausen and Shelach 2014, 39.
[459] Jenny So has previously raised questions about the definition of Qin culture. She highlights the need to consider how "native" and "foreign" were defined in Qin culture, and whether "Qin culture" refers to norms established by the ruling elite, their subjects, or both. See So 2014, 193. Similarly, Alain Thote has pointed out three features of Qin art: Western Zhou heritage, innovation, and influence from the west. See Thote 2014.
[460] For steppe trails in the Han Dynasty, see Rawson 1999a.
[461] For examples from Han palaces, see Chunhua Xian Wenhuaguan and Yao 1980. For the archaeological report of the Zhengzhou tombs, see Henan Wenwu Gongzuodui Diyidui 1955.
[462] The diagonal and quatrefoil are in turn surrounded by patterns commonly seen on Dynastic Chinese silk. See Hunan Sheng Bowuguan and Zhongguo Kexueyuan Kaogu Yanjiusuo 1973, 29, pl. 34.
[463] *Ibid*, 29, pl. 35.

Mongolia.[464] Additionally, an iron dagger decorated with gold scrolls similar to the gold palmette inlay on the Majiayuan iron spearhead is found in the tomb of the Western Han prince, Liu Sheng 劉勝, at Mancheng 滿城 in Baoding 寶定 City, Hebei.[465] The growing interest in Central Asian goods eventually led the Han emperors to send envoys, including the famous Zhang Qian 張騫 (d. 113 BC), to establish formal contact with groups in Central Asia.[466] The material culture of eastern Gansu and southern Ningxia thus contributed much to what have been considered Qin and Han cultures.

This thesis has also enriched our understanding of the Achaemenid Empire and Hellenisation of Asia. The identification of Achaemenid and Hellenistic elements at Majiayuan in Gansu and Aluchaideng in Shaanxi demonstrates that Achaemenid and Hellenistic cultural elements were brought by steppe inhabitants as far east as Dynastic China. This has provided one possible link that connects the Achaemenid and Hellenistic worlds with the Qin and Han empires, where public inscriptions, rock-cut graves, realistic life-size statues, and certain bronze working techniques more typical of the Achaemenid and Hellenistic worlds were adopted.[467] This thesis has thus built on this previous work to integrate the study of Dynastic China with that of the Achaemenid and Hellenistic worlds, and vice versa.

---

[464] For an illustration, see Miller 2012, 35, fig. 17.
[465] For Liu Sheng's dagger, see Zhongguo Shehui Kexueyuan Kaogu Yanjiusuo and Hebei Sheng Wenwu Guanlichu 1980, fig. 72.5. For shared features between this dagger and the dagger found in Arzhan 2, see Rawson 2018, 114.
[466] Christian 2000, 14.
[467] The Achaemenid elements, including public inscriptions, rock-cut tombs, and lobed decorations that have been found in the Qin and Han empires have been pointed out by Rawson in her lecture "The Qin Empire and the Eurasian Empires of Iran, the Steppe, and the Mediterranean", given at Peking University in May 2017.

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FUTURE STUDY

This thesis has presented a detailed exploration of the 7th to 3rd century BC inhabitants of eastern Gansu and southern Ningxia; however, there are a number of important questions that have not been sufficiently answered due to the dearth of published information. The first concerns the origin(s) of the inhabitants. The apparently abrupt emergence of this material culture in eastern Gansu and southern Ningxia around the 7th century BC raises the question of where the inhabitants came from. However, it is unclear from the available data whether they were locals who adopted foreign, steppe customs, originated in other parts of the steppe, or a combination of these. To answer this question, future analysis should make use of scientific techniques, such as stable isotope analysis of human and animal remains, to provide more direct data on the mobility of people.[468]

Answering questions about the origins of the people interred in eastern Gansu and southern Ningxia will also contribute to our understanding of the fall of the Western Zhou. As outlined in Chapters One and Two, Chinese historical records allege that the Quan Rong invaded the Zhou in 771 BC, after which the Zhou king moved to the eastern capital in present-day Henan, whilst the western territory was left for Qin to recapture and defend from the Quan Rong. The distribution of Zhou and Qin remains coincides roughly with the descriptions in the written records. Remains of palaces, workshops, city walls, and tombs from the Western Zhou have been found in present-day Qishan 歧山 and Fufeng 扶風 Counties in Baoji City, Shaanxi, close to eastern Gansu.[469] Alongside these are hoards containing Western

---

[468] For an introduction to stable isotope analysis, see Eriksson 2013.
[469] See Chapter One.

Zhou bronzes in this ritual centre, which are thought to have been buried by Zhou elite before they fled to the eastern capital.[470] Meanwhile, as mentioned briefly in Chapter One, tombs of early Qin rulers and elites have been found in Li County in Longnan City, southeast Gansu, not far from the tombs in eastern Gansu. A more systematic archaeological survey is required, however, to establish if it was indeed the inhabitants of eastern Gansu and southern Ningxia who prompted the fall of the Western Zhou.

Another open question concerns the social organisation of the inhabitants of eastern Gansu and southern Ningxia. Restricted by the available data, demographies, in addition to social organisations, cannot be reconstructed. Investigations of tomb occupants' skeletal remains, either observational analyses or scientific sampling for DNA, will allow demographic trends to be studied, in addition to potential kinship connections between those interred in cemeteries. Such information will improve our knowledge of the region's socio-economic structure. It will also augment knowledge of the processes leading to the development of complex societies in the steppe before the Xiongnu Empire, the rise of which has been the focus for most theoretical discussions on the formation of stratified society among mobile groups. Systemic archaeological survey and publication of the finds will also allow the development of a more fine-grained chronology and understanding of spatial variations, which will advance our understanding of changes in social behaviours and interpersonal relations. This will also allow us to determine which social tier(s) the rich tombs represent, which will enable us to test and verify Sima Qian's descriptions of the

---

[470] Rawson 1989, 88.

Western Rong community that he describes as being organised into states with walled cities.

The final issue for future research concerns the inhabitants of eastern Gansu and southern Ningxia after the establishment of the Han Dynasty. The general opinion is that the inhabitants were assimilated into the Han, a theory that is reviewed in Chapter One. Some old and recent archaeological finds allow us to discuss this issue here. Contrary to this opinion, I hold that the inhabitants are more likely to have integrated themselves into the Xiongnu Empire.[471] I base this argument on two cemeteries dating from the late 2nd to late 1st centuries BC at Daodunzi 倒墩子 and Lijiataozi 李家套子 in Tongxin 同心 County, southern Ningxia.[472] The Daodunzi cemetery comprises 27 tombs, 20 of which are shaft tombs, and the remainder includes one pebble-framed tomb and five catacomb tombs with shafts and chambers that are sometimes partitioned by wooden posts and planks. Some of the tombs have sloped floors, and the deceased were interred in wooden coffins in extended supine positions, with the feet raised so that they are higher than the head. Among the burial assemblages are beaded necklaces, belt plaques, buckles, cowry shells, *wuzhu* 五銖 coins, rings, bells, knives, spoon-shaped implements of unknown function, and gold earrings made from twisted wires (Figures 6.1 and 6.2). The bronze belt plaques from Daodunzi, sometimes embellished with gold, are rectangular and have designs of horses with raptor tipped tails and twisted hind legs, combating equids against a tree background, camels, confronting dragons, and patterns formed of six rays (Figure

---

[471] Any tombs dating to the early 2nd century BC are not published, and the author is not aware of any unpublished ones.

[472] For the archaeological reports, see Ningxia Wenwu Kaogu Yanjiusuo *et al*. 1988 and Ningxia Wenwu Kaogu Yanjiusuo and Tongxin Xian Wenguanhui 1988.

6.3–6.7). Some belt buckles are P-shaped. One is decorated with a recumbent horse, whilst another shows a mounted warrior and a canopied carriage. Some belt plaques are made of jet and bone. Some rings have openwork teardrop-shaped designs and are attached to beaded chains (Figure 6.8). Sometimes the cowry shells are found near the waists of the deceased in rows, and the *wuzhu* coins are found along with belt ornaments near the feet. Lacquer or ceramic vessels such as narrow-necked pots are placed on steps or in niches. In the catacomb tombs, the heads and hooves of cattle and sheep/goats are found in the shafts, sometimes with the ceramic vessels.

One tomb can be used to demonstrate broad patterns in the cemetery. Tomb 6 at Daodunzi is a catacomb tomb with an inset chamber. The deceased was found in a stretched, supine position when excavated, with *wuzhu* coins and iron fragments located near their waist.[473] Near the feet were a group of artefacts comprising a bronze belt plaque, cowry shells, *wuzhu* coins, and a bell pendant. In the shaft, the two cattle crania and one sheep/goat cranium was found (Figure 6.9).

Ursula Brosseder has pointed out that the types of belt plaque found at Daodunzi are also found in the steppe. For example, belt plaques showing combating equids have been found in Inner Mongolia, the Minusinsk Basin, and the Russian Transbaikal area north of central Mongolia.[474] Similarly, belt plaques with representations of confronting dragons are also found in Transbaikal and a number of places across the eastern steppe.[475] Brosseder's study has brought attention to contacts

---

[473] In other tombs, iron usually takes the forms of ornaments and implements, such as belt plaques, rings, and knives. It is possible that the iron fragments in this tomb were originally such artefacts.
[474] Brosseder 2011, 364–71.
[475] *Ibid*, 372–80. While the dragon motifs on these belt plaques may have been derived from Han iconography, the drop-shaped inlays have western origins. See *ibid*., 380. What she does not mention is that the belt plaque with a warrior motif at Daodunzi is comparable to those designated as "Parthian" in her study. See *ibid*., 388–90.

between people in the steppe and southern Ningxia, but the question of group identities of people in southern Ningxia remains to be answered. To answer this question, a contextual approach to the material remains is further needed to examine their relationship with those in the steppe.

The material culture seen at Daodunzi and Lijiataozi is strikingly similar to that found in the eastern steppe and referred to as Xiongnu. Xiongnu material culture can be exemplified by two recently excavated cemeteries at Ala-Tey and Terezin in Tuva at the gateway to the Minusinsk Basin, where some of the belt plaques studied by Brosseder were found. The cemeteries are dated from the late 2th to late 1st centuries BC,[476] and they comprise stone cists, as well as pits lined with stone and wood. Similar to the situation at Daodunzi, the dead lie supine among the remains indicative of wooden coffins. The burial assemblages also include ornaments with animal decorations, pendants, *wuzhu* coins, earrings, and beads.[477] For instance, the female in Tomb 21 at Ala-Tey has a belt and bronze buckle decorated with a representation of two confronting camels (*cf*. Figure 6.5). The deceased female in Tomb 29 similarly has a belt that is embellished with bronze imitations of cowry shells and *wuzhu* coins; the belt is fastened with a stone clasp (*cf*. Figure 6.9). Similarly, the cowry shells in Tombs 25 and 36 were found arranged in two lines near the waists of the deceased. The deceased in Tomb 23 has a belt with a bronze buckle showing a recumbent horse (*cf*. Figure 6.3). Rectangular plaques with patterns formed of six rays are numerous at both Ala-Tey and Terezin, while belt plaques made of jet

---

[476] The dating is based partly on AMS radio-carbon dates taken from samples extracted from human teeth at the two cemeteries, and partly on the dates of the *wuzhu* coins. See Kilunovskaya and Leus 2017.

[477] There are Western Han mirrors and their fragments in the tombs show a local way of using Han mirrors, as mentioned in Chapter Three. For a description of the mirror, see *ibid*.

were found in three tombs at Ala-Tey. Openwork rings like those at Daodunzi are also seen in several tombs in the two cemeteries, while chance finds of bronze bell pendants and a bronze spoon-shaped implement were unearthed at Terezin (*cf*. Figures 6.1 and 6.9). Apart from the belt ornaments and fasteners, gold earrings identical to those seen at Daodunzi were found in the tombs of two women at Ala-Tey (*cf*. Figure 6.2).[478] Stone, bone, and polychrome beads were also found at Ala-Tey and Terezin.

In the Lijiataozi cemetery, five tombs have been excavated and three have been published. The excavators suggest that the inhabitants were assimilated into the Han.[479] However, the burial assemblages, such as belt plaques with representations of ungulates and trees, bronze openwork rings with drop-shaped designs, cowry shells, and pottery pots with narrow necks, show that the inhabitants were presenting themselves as members of the Xiongnu Empire, as did the inhabitants of Daodunzi. The available information does not allow us to determine the genetic relationships between the people buried in the 7th to 3rd century BC tombs and those at Daodunzi and Lijiataozi; however, a number of elements—including catacomb tombs with inset chambers, the practice of deliberately raising the deceased's feet, and motifs including recumbent horses and horses with raptor-tipped tails—show that those who buried their dead at Daodunzi and Lijiataozi chose to associate themselves with others living in southern Ningxia about a century earlier.[480]

---

[478] The excavators suggest that the loops at the ends of the earrings were not random designs; instead, organic materials that have deteriorated were threaded through them. See Kilunovskaya and Leus 2017.
[479] Ningxia Wenwu Kaogu Yanjiusuo and Tongxin Xian Wenguanhui 1988, 20.
[480] A local identity was probably also presented through a distinctive type of belt plaques with the representation of a dragon combating two tortoises. Similar belt plaques are found in the eastern steppe; however, the dragons are shown combating one or several felines. For the latter plaques, see Brossseder 2011, 373, fig. 21 and 376, fig. 24.

These considerations cast doubt on the general belief that the 7th to 3rd century BC inhabitants of eastern Gansu and southern Ningxia and their descendants became subjects of Dynastic China. Instead, the cemeteries at Daodunzi and Lijiataozi show that they continued to present as a steppe group until at least the late 1st century BC, while retaining a local identity. A more extensive archaeological survey will provide information about the process through which the inhabitants of eastern Gansu and southern Ningxia integrated themselves into the Xiongnu Empire. It is hoped that, when more archaeological data become available, this study of the 7th to 3rd century BC inhabitants of eastern Gansu and southern Ningxia can offer a more nuanced picture of their origins and social structures, as well as what happened to them after the rise of the Xiongnu and Han. All these issues will enrich our understanding of, not only this area, but also the broader region as a whole.

In conclusion, this thesis has provided a new reading of the group identities of the inhabitants of eastern Gansu and southern Ningxia, as well as the region's history from the 7th to as late as the 1st century BC. The historical context is far more complex than past studies have acknowledged, and the inhabitants of eastern Gansu and southern Ningxia did not become members of the Zhou or Qin, as has been generally believed. The inhabitants retained their local and steppe identities throughout the Eastern Zhou and Qin Dynasties despite maintaining close ties with the Qin, because these identities brought the most benefits in the politically charged atmosphere of the Qin border. It is hoped that the value of the contextual approach in studying cross-cultural identities will serve as a basis for future research on local and regional histories.

Bibliography

PRIMARY SOURCES

(AD 1368–1644) *Jinben zhushu jinian* 今本竹書紀年 (Current bamboo annals). Shanghai, Shangwu Yinshuguan.

Ban Gu 班固 (AD 32–92) (1884) *Qian Han shu* 前漢書 (Book of Han). Shanghai, Tongwen Shuju.

Fan Ye 范曄 (AD 398–445) (1884) *Hou Han shu* 後漢書 (Book of the Later Han). Shanghai, Tongwen.

Guo Pu 郭璞 (AD 276–324) (1987) *Shan hai jing* 山海經 (Classic of mountains and seas). In *Siku quanshu* 四庫全書 (Complete library of the four treasuries) vol. 1042: 1–84. Shanghai, Shanghai Guji Chubanshe.

Han Fei 韓非 (*c*. 280–233 BC) (1987) *Hanfeizi* 韓非子. In *Siku quanshu* 四庫全書 (Complete library of the four treasuries) vol. 729: 597–794. Shanghai, Shanghai Guji Chubanshe.

Herodotus (*c*. 484–425 BC) (1998) *The histories*. Oxford, Oxford University Press.

Kong Chao 孔晁 (*c*. AD 300) (1987) *Yi Zhou shu* 逸周書 (Remainder of Zhou documents). In *Siku quanshu* 四庫全書 (Complete library of the four treasuries) vol. 370: 1–64. Shanghai, Shanghai Guji Chubanshe.

Kongzi 孔子 (551–479 BC) (1935) *Shang shu* 尚書 (Book of documents): 1–88. Shanghai, Shangwu Yinshuguan.

Liu Xiang 劉向 (77–6 BC) (1987) *Zhanguo ce* 戰國策 (Intrigues of the Warring States). In *Siku quanshu* 四庫全書 (Complete library of the four treasuries) vol. 406: 239–468. Shanghai, Shanghai Guji Chubanshe.

Lü Buwei 呂不韋 (291–235 BC) (1987) *Lüshi Chunqiu* 呂氏春秋 (Master Lü's spring and autumn annals). Shanghai, Guji Chubanshe.

Sima Qian 司馬遷 (145–87 BC) (1959) *Shiji* 史記 (Records of the Grand Historian). Beijing, Zhonghua Shuju.

Xun Yue 荀悅 (AD 148–209) *Shenjian* 申鑒 (Extended reflections). In *Siku quanshu* 四庫全書 (Complete library of the four treasuries) vol. 696: 433–64. Shanghai, Shanghai Guji Chubanshe.

Zuo Qiuming 左丘明 (556–451 BC) (1965) *Zuo zhuan* 左傳 (Zuo tradition). Taipei, Yiwen Chubanshe.

Zuo Qiuming 左丘明 (556–451 BC) (1988) *Guoyu* 國語 (Discourses of the states). Shanghai, Guji Chubanshe.

SECONDARY SOURCES

Akishev, K. (1978) *Kurgan Issyk*. Moscow, Iskusstvo.

Akishev, K. and Sun Wei (trans.) (2013) *Yili he liuyu Sairen he Wusun de gudai wenming* 伊犁河流域塞人和烏孫的古代文明 (Ancient civilisations of Saka and Wusun along the Ili River). Lanzhou, Lanzhou Daxue Chubanshe.

Albenda, P. (1978) Assyrian carpets in stone. *Journal of the Ancient Near Eastern Society of Columbia University* 10: 1–34.

Alekseev, A. Yu., Bokovenko, N. A., Boltrik, Yu., Chugunov, K. A., Cook, G., Dergachev, V. A., Kovalyukh, N., Possnert, G., Plicht, J. van der, Scott, E. M., Sementsov, A., Skripkin, V., Vasiliev, S. and Zaitseva, G. (2001) A chronology of the Scythian antiquities of Eurasia based on new archaeological and 14C data. *Radiocarbon* 43: 1085–107.

Allard, F. (1998) Stirrings at the periphery: history, archaeology, and the study of Dian. *International Journal of Historical Archaeology* 2.4: 321–42.

Allard, F. and Edenebaatar, D. (2005) Khirigsuurs, ritual and mobility in the Bronze Age of Mongolia. *Antiquity* 79: 547–63.

An, Zhimin (1996) The Bronze Age in eastern parts of Central Asia. In A. H. Dani and V. M. Masson (eds) *History of civilizations of Central Asia*: 315–17. Masson, UNESCO.

Andersson, J. G. (1925) Preliminary report on archaeological research in Kansu. *Dizhi zhuanbao jiazhong* 地質專報甲種 (Memoirs of the Geographical Survey of China, Series A) 5: 56–128.

Andersson, J. G. (1943) Research into the prehistory of the Chinese. *Bulletin of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities* 15: 179–85.

Anthony, D. W. (1998) The opening of the Eurasian steppe at 2000 BCE. In V. H. Mair (ed.) *The Bronze Age and early Iron Age peoples of eastern Central Asia* 1: 93–113. Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Museum.

Anthony, D. W. (2007) The Horse, the wheel, and language: How Bronze-Age riders from the Eurasian steppes shaped the modern world. Princeton, Princeton University Press.

Anthony, D. W. and Brown, D. R. (1991) The origin of horseback riding. *Antiquity* 65: 22–38.

Aruz, J. (2012) *Afghanistan: Forging civilizations along the Silk Road*. New Haven, The Metropolitan Museum of Art.

Bagley, R. W. (1987) *Shang ritual bronzes in the Arthur M. Sackler collections*. Washington, Arthur M. Sackler Foundation.

Bagley, R. W. (1992) Changjiang bronzes and Shang archaeology. In *Proceedings of the International Colloquium on Chinese Art History 1991: Antiquities, Part I*: 214–55. Taipei, National Palace Museum.

Bagley, R. W. (1999) Shang archaeology. In M. Loewe and E. L. Shaughnessy (eds) *The Cambridge history of ancient China*: 124–231. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

Baoji Shi Bowuguan 寶雞市博物館 and Baoji Xian Bowuguan 寶雞縣博物館 (1980) Baoji Xian Xigaoquancun Chunqiu Qin mu fajueji 寶雞縣西高泉村春秋秦墓發掘記 (Report on the excavation of the Qin tombs at Xigaoquancun, Baoji County, of the Spring and Autumn period). *Wenwu* 文物 (Cultural Relics) 9: 1–9.

Baoji Shi Kaogu Gongzuodui 寶雞市考古工作隊 (1993) Baoji Shi Yimencun erhao Chunqiu mu fajue jianbao 寶雞市益門村二號春秋墓發掘簡報 (Brief report on Tomb No. 2 at Yimencun in Baoji City, of the Spring and Autumn period). *Wenwu* 文物 (Cultural Relics) 10: 1–14.

Barbieri-Low, A. (2014) Imagining the tomb of the First Emperor of Qin. In Liu Yang (ed.) *Beyond the First Emperor's mausoleum: New perspectives on Qin art*: 96–111. Minneapolis, The Minneapolis Institute of Arts.

Barfield, T. J. (1989) *The perilous frontier: Nomadic empires and China, 221 BC–AD 1757*. Cambridge, Blackwell.

Barfield, T. J. (2001) The shadow empires: Imperial state formation along the Chinese-nomad frontier. In S. E. Alcock, T. N. D'Altroy, K. D. Morrison and C. M. Sinopoli (eds) *Empires: Perspectives from archaeology and history*: 10–41. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

Barfield, T. J. (2011) Nomadic pastoralism. In J. H. Bentley (ed.) *The Oxford handbook of world history*: 160–75. Oxford, Oxford University Press.

Barnhart, R. (2004) Alexander in China? Question for Chinese archaeology. In Yang Xiaoneng (ed.) *New perspectives on China's past: Chinese archaeology in the twentieth century*: 328–42. London, Yale University Press.

Bashilov, V. A. and Yablonsky, L. T. (1995) Introduction. In J. Davis-Kimball, V. A. Bashilov and L. T. Yablonsky (eds) *Nomads of the Eurasian steppes in the early Iron Age*: XI–XVI. Berkeley, Zinat Press.

Beijing Shi Wenwu Yanjiusuo 北京市文物研究所 (2007) *Jundu Shan mudi–Yuhuangmiao* 軍都山墓地──玉皇廟 (The Yuhuangmiao cemetery in the Jundu Mountains). Beijing, Wenwu Chubanshe.

Bernard, P. (2008) The Greek colony at Ai Khanoum and Hellenism in Central Asia. In F. Hiebert and P. Cambon (eds) *Afghanistan: Hidden treasures from the National Museum, Kabul*: 81–105. Washington, National Geographic Society.

Boardman, J. (2012) Tillya Tepe: Echoes of Greece and China. In J. Aruz and E. V. Fino (eds) *Afghanistan: Forging civilizations along the Silk Road*: 102–11. New Haven, The Metropolitan Museum of Art.

Bodde, D. (1986) The State and Empire of Ch'in. In D. Twitchett and M. Loewe (eds) *The Cambridge History of China*: 20–102. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

Böhmer, H. and Thompson, J. (1991) The Pazyryk carpet: A technical discussion. *Source: Notes in the History of Art* 10.4: 30–6.

Bokovenko, N. A. (1995a) Scythian culture in the Altai Mountains. In J. Davis-Kimball, V. A. Bashilov and L. T. Yablonsky (eds) *Nomads of the Eurasian steppes in the early Iron Age*: 285–95. Berkeley, Zinat Press.

Bokovenko, N. A. (1995b) Tuva during the Scythian period. In J. Davis-Kimball, V. A. Bashilov and L. T. Yablonsky (eds) *Nomads of the Eurasian steppes in the early Iron Age*: 265–84. Berkeley, Zinat Press.

Bokovenko, N. A. (1995c) The Tagar culture in the Minusinsk Basin. In J. Davis-Kimball, V. A. Bashilov and L. T. Yablonsky (eds) *Nomads of the Eurasian steppes in the early Iron Age*: 299–314. Berkeley, Zinat Press.

Bokovenko, N. A. (2004) Migrations of early nomads of the Eurasian steppe in a context of climate changes. In E. M. Scott, G. I. Zaitseva and A. Yu. Alekseev (eds) *Impact of the environment on human migration in Eurasia: Proceedings of the NATO Advanced Research Workshop,* held in St. Petersburg, 15–18 November 2003: 21–33. Dordrecht, Kluwer Academic Springer.

Bokovenko, N. A. (2006) The emergence of the Tagar culture. *Antiquity* 80: 860–79.

Bonsall, B. S. (trans.) (2005) *The Records of the Warring States*. Hong Kong, Hong Kong University Libraries.

Bosworth, A. B. (1988) *Conquest and empire: The reign of Alexander the Great*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

Bourdieu, P. (1977) *Outline of a theory of practice*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

Brooks, E. B. (1998) Textual evidence for 04C Sino-Bactrian contact. In V. H. Mair (ed.) *The Bronze Age and early Iron Age peoples of eastern Central Asia*: 716–26. Washington, Institute for the Study of Man.

Brooks, E. B. (1999) Alexandrian motifs in Chinese texts. *Sino-Platonic Papers* 96: 1–14.

Brosseder, U. (2011) Belt plaques as an indicator of East-West relations in the Eurasian steppe at the turn of the millennia. In U. Brosseder and B. K. Miller (eds) *Xiongnu archaeology: Multidisciplinary perspectives of the first steppe empire in Inner Asia*: 349–424. Bonn, Die Institut für Vor- und Frühgeschichtliche Archäologie.

Brumfield, E. M. and Earle, T. K. (1987) *Specialization, exchange, and complex societies*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

Buni'alin 布尼阿林 (1981) Hebei Sheng Weichang Xian Yan Qin changcheng diaocha baogao 河北省圍場縣燕秦長城調查報告 (Investigation of the Yan-Qin long walls in Weichang County, Hebei Province). In Wenwu Bianji Weiyuanhui 文物編輯委員會 (ed.) *Zhongguo Changcheng yizhi diaocha baogaoji* 中國長城遺址調查報告集 (Reports on the investigation of sites on the Great Wall of China). Beijing, Wenwu Chubanshe.

Bunker, E. C. (1990a) Ancient Ordos bronzes with tin-enriched surfaces. *Orientations* 21.1: 78–9.

Bunker, E. C. (1990b) Ancient Ordos bronzes. In *Ancient Chinese and Ordos bronzes*: 291–307. Hong Kong, Oriental Ceramic Society of Hong Kong

Bunker, E. C. (1991) *The Chinese artifacts among the Pazyryk finds*. *Source: Notes in the History of Art* 10.4: 20–4.

Bunker, E. C. (1992) Significant changes in iconography and technology among ancient China's northwestern pastoral neighbors from the fourth to the first century B.C. *Bulletin of the Asia Institute, New Series* 6: 99–115.

Bunker, E. C. (1993) Gold in the ancient Chinese world: A cultural puzzle. *Artibus Asiae* 53.1/2: 27–50.

Bunker, E. C. (2002) *Nomadic art of the eastern Eurasian steppes: The Eugene V. Thaw and other New York collections*. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, Yale University Press.

Butler, J. (1990) *Gender trouble*. London, Routledge.

Byron, R. (1996) Identity. In A. Barnard and J. Spencer (eds) *Encyclopaedia of social and cultural anthropology*: 292. London, Routledge.

Carson, M. and Loewe, M. (1993) *Lü shih ch'un ch'iu*. In M. Loewe (ed.) *Early Chinese texts: A bibliographical guide*: 324–30. Berkeley, Society for the Study of Early China and the Institute of East Asian Studies, University of California Press.

Chang Kwang-chih (1986) *The archaeology of ancient China.* New Haven, Yale University Press.

Chen Ping 陳平 (1984) Shilun Guanzhong Qin mu qingtong rongqi de fenqi wenti (xia) 試論關中秦墓青銅容器的分期問題（下）(Some notes on periodisation of bronzes form Qin tombs in the central Shaanxi plain (part 2)). *Kaogu Yu Wenwu* 考古與文物 (Archaeology and Cultural Relics) 4: 63–73.

Chen Ping 陳平 (1987) Shilun Zhanguoxing Qin bing de niandai ji youguan wenti 試論戰國型秦兵的年代及有關問題 (Discussion of the dates and related questions concerning Qin soldiers of the Warring States). In Zhongguo Kaoguxue Yanjiu Lunji Bianweihui 中國考古學研究論集編委會 (ed.) *Zhongguo kaoguxue yanjiu lunji—jinian Xia Nai xiansheng kaogu wushi zhounian* 中國考古學研究論集──紀念夏鼐先生考古五十週年 (Collected essays in the study of Chinese archaeology: In memory of Xia Nai on his 50th anniversary in archaeology). Xi'an, Sanqin Chubanshe.

Chen Ping 陳平 (1995) Shilun Baoji Yimen erhao mu duanjian ji youguan wenti 試論寶雞益門二號墓短劍及有關問題 (The short swords from Tomb No. 2 at Yimen in Baoji City and some related questions). *Kaogu* 考古 (Archaeology) 4: 361–75.

Cheng, A. (1993) Ch'un ch'iu, Ku liang and Tso chuan. In M. Loewe (ed.) *Early Chinese texts: A bibliographical guide*: 67–76. Berkeley, Society for the Study of Early China and Institute of East Asian Studies, University of California.

Chesson, M. S. (2001) Social memory, identity, and death: An introduction. In M. S. Chesson (ed.) *Social memory, identity, and death: Anthropological perspectives on mortuary rituals*: 1–10. Naperville, American Anthropological Association.

Childe, V. G. (1929). *The Danube in prehistory*. Oxford, Clarendon Press.

Christian, D. (1998) *A History of Russia, Central Asia and Mongolia*. Oxford, Blackwell.

Christian, D. (2000) Silk Roads or Steppe Roads? The Silk Roads in world history. *Journal of World History* 11.1: 1–26.

Chugunov, K. V., Parzinger, H. and Nagler, A. (2010) *Der skythenzeitliche Fürstenkurgan Aržan 2 in Tuva*. Mainz, Philipp von Zabern.

Chunhua Xian Wenhuaguan 淳化縣文化館 and Yao Shengmin 姚生民 (1980) Han Ganquangong yizhi kanchaji 漢甘泉宮遺址勘查記 (Survey of the site of Ganquan Palace of the Han Dynasty). *Kaogu Yu Wenwu* 考古與文物 (Archaeology and Cultural Relics) 2: 51–61.

Cook, J. M. (1985) The rise of the Achaemenids and establishment of their empire. In I. Gershevitch (ed.) *The Cambridge history of Iran*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

Coomber, N. (2011) *The performative construction of identity in the Shang and Zhou Dynasties*. DPhil diss., University of Oxford.

Cui Jingxian 崔景賢 and Wang Wenxue 王文學 (1998) Weinan Shiqu Zhanguo Han mu qingli jianbao 渭南市區戰國、漢墓清理簡報 (Brief reports on Warring States and Han tombs in Weinan City). *Kaogu Yu Wenwu* 考古與文物 (Archaeology and Cultural Relics) 2: 13–24.

Cui Junfeng 崔峻峰 (1991) Gansu Zhangjiachuan Xian yuanshi wenhua yizhi diaocha 甘肅張家川縣原始文化遺址調查 (Survey on the cultural remains in Zhangjiachuan County, Gansu). *Kaogu* 考古 (Archaeology) 12: 1057–70.

Dai Chunyang 戴春陽 (2000) Li Xian Dabuzishan Qingong mudi ji youguan wenti 禮縣大堡子山秦公墓地及有關問題 (The royal graveyard of the Qin state at Dabuzi, Li County, Gansu, and related questions). *Wenwu* 文物 (Cultural Relics) 5: 74–80.

Dai Yingxin 戴應新 and Sun Jiaxiang 孫嘉祥 (1983) Shaanxi Shenmu Xian chutu Xiongnu wenwu 陝西神木縣出土匈奴文物 (The Xiongnu artefacts unearthed in Shenmu County, Shaanxi). *Wenwu* 文物 (Cultural Relics) 2: 23–30.

Deaux, K. (1993) Reconstructing social identity. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin* 19.1: 4–12.

DeMarrais, E., Castillo, L. J. and Earle, T. (1996) Ideology, materialization, and power strategies. *Current Anthropology* 37.1: 15–31.

Di Cosmo, N. (1999) State formation and periodization in Inner Asian History. *Journal of World History* 10.1: 1–40.

Di Cosmo, N. (2002) *Ancient China and its enemies: The rise of nomadic power in East Asian history*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

Díaz-Andreu, M. and Lucy, S. (2005) Introduction. In M. Diaz-Andreu, S. Lucy, S. Babic and D. Edwards (eds) *The archaeology of identity: Approaches to gender, age, statue, ethnicity and religion*: 1–12. Oxford, Routledge.

Dong Guanghui, Chen Fahu, Wang Hui, Li Hu, Lightfoot, E., Jones, M. K., Ma Minmin and Liu Xinyi (2015) Stable isotope analysis of human and animal remains at the Qijiaping site in middle Gansu, China. *International Journal of Osteoarchaeology* 25.6: 923–34.

Duan Qingbo 段清波 (2011) Qin Shihuangdi lingyuan kaogu yanjiu 秦始皇帝陵園考古研究 (A study of the mausoleum of the First Emperor of Qin). Beijing, Beijing Daxue Chubanshe.

Durrant, S. W. (1995) *The cloudy mirror: Tension and conflict in the writing of Sima Qian*. Albany, State University of New York.

Ekengren, F. (2013) Contextualizing grave goods. In L. N. Stutz and S. Tarlow (eds) *The Oxford handbook of the archaeology of death and burial*: 173–92. Oxford, Oxford University Press.

Eng, J. and Zhang Quanchao (2013) Conflict and trauma among nomadic pastoralists on China's northern frontier. In K. Pechenkina and M. Oxenham (eds) *Bioarchaeology of East Asia: Movement, contact, health*: 213–45. Gainesville, University Press of Florida.

Entwistle, J. (2000) *The fashioned body: Fashion, dress, and modern social theory*. Cambridge, Polity.

Erikson, E. H. (1980) *Identity and the life cycle*. New York, W. W. Norton & Company.

Eriksson, G. (2013) Stable isotope analysis of humans. In L. N. Stutz and S. Tarlow (eds) *The Oxford handbook of the archaeology of death and burial*: 123–46. Oxford, Oxford University Press.

Fan Weihua 樊維華 (1994) Yi'er yizhi wenhua xingzhi chutan 芣兒遺址文化性質初探 (Preliminary study of the cultural characteristics of the Yi'er remains). *Kaogu* 考古 (Archaeology) 1: 14–22 and 97–99.

Farkas, A. (1985) The Behistun relief. In I. Gershevitch (ed.) *The Cambridge history of Iran*: 828–31. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

Festa, M. (2017) Prehistoric cultures in Xinjiang: Retrospect and prospect. *Athens Journal of History* 3.2: 137–70.

Fisher, G. and Loren D. D. (2003) Embodying identity in archaeology. *Cambridge Archaeological Journal* 13.2: 225–30.

Fitzgerald-Huber, L. (1995) Qijia and Erlitou: The question of contacts with distant cultures. *Early China* 20: 17–68.

Fitzhugh, W. W. (2009) Pre-Scythian khirigsuurs, deer stone art, and Bronze Age culture intensification in northern Mongolia. In B. K. Hanks and K. M. Linduff (eds) *Social complexity in prehistoric Eurasia: Monuments, metals and mobility*: 378–412. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

Fowler, C. (2013). Identities in transformation. In L. N. Stutz and S. Tarlow (eds) *The Oxford handbook of the archaeology of death and burial*: 511–26. Oxford, Oxford University Press.

Fracasso, R. (1993) *Shan hai ching*. In M. Loewe (ed.) *Early Chinese texts: A bibliographical guide*: 357–67. Berkeley, Society for the Study of Early China and Institute of East Asian Studies, University of California.

Frachetti, M. D. (2008) *Pastoralist landscape and social interaction in Bronze Age Eurasia*. Berkeley, University of California Press.

Frachetti, M. D. (2012) Multiregional emergence of mobile pastoralism and nonuniform institutional complexity across Eurasia. *Current Anthropology* 53.1: 2–38.

Francfort, H. (2012) Tillya Tepe and its connections with the Eurasian steppes. In J. Aruz and E. V. Fino (eds) *Afghanistan: Forging civilizations along the Silk Road*: 88–101. New Haven, The Metropolitan Museum of Art.

Friedman, J. and Rowlands, M. J. (ed) (1978) *The evolution of social systems*. London, Duckworth.

Frohlich, B., Amgalantugs, T., Littleton, J., Batchatar, E., Hunt, D., Nittler, E., Karstens, S., Frohlich, T. and Galdan, G. (2010) An overview of theories and hypothesis pertaining to Mongolian Bronze Age khirgisuurs in the Hovsgol Aimag, Mongolia. *Studia Archaeologica* 29: 123–43.

Gai Shanlin 蓋山林 and Lu Sixian 陸思賢 (1981) Yinshan nanlu de Zhao changcheng 陰山南麓的趙長城 (The Zhao walls in the southern foothills of the Yin Mountains). In Wenwu Bianji Weiyuanhui 文物編輯委員會 (ed.) *Zhongguo Changcheng yizhi diaocha baogaoji* 中國長城遺址調查報告集 (Reports on the investigation of sites on the Great Wall of China): 21–4. Beijing, Wenwu Chubanshe.

Gannan Zangzu Zizhizhou Bowuguan 甘南藏族自治州博物館 (1994) Gansu Zhouni Xian Naliang Xiang kaogu diaocha jianbao 甘肅卓尼縣納良鄉考古調查簡報 (Brief

report on the archaeological survey in Naling Township in Zhouni County, Gansu). *Kaogu* 考古 (Archaeology) 7: 587–99.

Gansu Sheng Wenwu Kaogu Yanjiusuo 甘肅省文物考古研究所 (2012) Gansu Qin'an Wangwa Zhanguo mudi 2009 nian fajue jianbao 甘肅秦安王窪戰國墓地 2009 年發掘簡報 (Brief report on the excavation of the Warring States Wangwa cemetery in Qin'an, Gansu, in 2009). *Wenwu* 文物 (Cultural Relics) 8: 27–37.

Gansu Sheng Wenwu Kaogu Yanjiusuo 甘肅省文物考古研究所 (2014) *Xirong Yizhen: Majiayuan Zhanguo mudi chutu wenwu* 西戎遺珍：馬家塬戰國墓地出土文物 (Treasures of the Xirong: Artefacts from Majiayuan cemetery of the Warring States period). Beijing, Wenwu Chubanshe.

Gansu Sheng Wenwu Kaogu Yanjiusuo 甘肅省文物考古研究所 and Li Xian Bowuguan 禮縣博物館 (2002) Li Xian Yuanding Shan Chunqiu Qin mu 禮縣圓頂山春秋秦墓 (Qin tomb in the Yuanding Mountains, Li County, of the Spring and Autumn period). *Wenwu* 文物 (Cultural Relics) 2: 4–30.

Gansu Sheng Wenwu Kaogu Yanjiusuo 甘肅省文物考古研究所 and Li Xian Bowuguan 禮縣博物館 (2005) Gansu Li Xian Yuanding Shan 98LDM2, 2000LDM4 Chunqiu Qin mu 甘肅禮縣圓頂山 98LDM2, 2000LDM4 春秋秦墓 (Qin tombs 98LDM2 and 2000LDM4 in the Yuanding Mountains, Li County, Gansu, of the Spring and Autumn period). *Wenwu* 文物 (Cultural Relics) 2: 4–27.

Gansu Sheng Wenwu Kaogu Yanjiusuo 甘肅省文物考古研究所 and Qingshui Xian Bowuguan 清水縣博物館 (2014) *Qingshui Liuping* 清水劉坪 (Liuping, Qingshui). Beijing, Wenwu Chubanshe.

Gansu Sheng Wenwu Kaogu Yanjiusuo 甘肅省文物考古研究所 and Shaanxi Sheng Wenwu Kaogu Yanjiuyuan 陝西省文物考古研究院 (2013) Gansu Zhangjiachuan

Xian Majiayuan Zhanguo mudi M4 muguan shiyanshi kaogu jianbao 甘肅張家川縣馬家塬戰國墓地 M4 木棺實驗室考古簡報 (Laboratory report on the Warring States wooden coffin from M4 from the Majiayuan cemetery in Zhangjiachuan County, Gansu). *Kaogu* 考古(Archaeology) 8: 25–35.

Gansu Sheng Wenwu Kaogu Yanjiusuo 甘肅省文物考古研究所 and Zhangjiachuan Huizu Zizhixian Bowuguan 張家川回族自治縣博物館 (2008) 2006 niandu Gansu Zhangjiachuan Huizu Zizhixian Majiayuan Zhanguo mudi fajue jianbao 2006 年度甘肅張家川回族自治縣馬家塬戰國墓地發掘簡報 (Brief report on the 2006 excavation of the Warring States Majiayuan cemetery in Zhangjiachuan Hui Autonomous County, Gansu). *Wenwu* 文物 (Cultural Relics) 9: 4–28.

Gansu Sheng Wenwu Kaogu Yanjiusuo 甘肅省文物考古研究所, Zhongguo Guojia Bowuguan 中國國家博物館 and Beijing Daxue Kaogu Wenbo Xueyuan 北京大學考古文博學院 (2008) *Xihanshui shangyou kaogu diaocha baogao* 西漢水上游考古調查報告 (Report on the archaeological survey conducted on the upper reaches of the Xihanshui River). Beijing, Wenwu Chubanshe.

Gansu Sheng Wenwu Kaogu Yanjiusuo 甘肅省文物考古研究所 (2017) Gansu Zhang Xian Dunping mudi 2014 nian fajue jianbao 甘肅漳縣墩坪墓地 2014 年發掘簡報 (Brief report on the 2014 excavation of Dunping cemetery in Zhang County, Gansu). *Kaogu* 考古 (Archaeology) 8: 34–51.

Garraghan, G. J. (1946) *A guide to historical method*. New York, Fordham University Press.

Gill, L. (1993) “Proper women” and city pleasures: Gender, class, and contested meanings in La Paz. *American Ethnologist* 20.1: 72–88.

Golany, G. (1992) *Chinese earth-sheltered dwellings: Indigenous lessons for modern urban design*. Honolulu, University of Hawaii Press.

Gong Wen 鞏文 (2001) Ningxia Guyuan chutu de tongfu 寧夏固原出土的銅鍑 (A bronze *fu*-food container unearthed in Guyuan, Ningxia). *Kaogu* 考古 (Archaeology) 11: 92–4.

Gramsch, A. (2013) Treating body. In L. N. Stutz and S. Tarlow (eds) *The Oxford handbook of the archaeology of death and burial*: 460–2. Oxford, Oxford University Press.

Gryaznov, M. P. (1969) *South Siberia*. London, Cresset Press.

Gu Jiegang 顧頡剛 (1963) Qin yu Xirong 秦與西戎 (Qin and the Western Rong). In *Shilin zashi: Chubian* 史林雜識：初編 (Preliminary collection of miscellaneous historical studies). Beijing, Zhonghua Shuju.

Guojia Wenwuju 國家文物局 (2007) *2006 Zhongguo zhongyao kaogu faxian* 2006 中國重要考古發現 (Major archaeological discoveries in China in 2006). Beijing, Wenwu Chubanshe.

Guojia Wenwuju 國家文物局 (2008) Quanguo shida kaogu xin faxian jiexiao 全國十大考古新發現揭曉 (Announcement of the top 10 new national archaeological discoveries). Retrieved September 24, 2018. Available at <http://www.sach.gov.cn/art/2008/4/2/art_722_111339.html>

Guojia Wenwuju 國家文物局 (2011) 2010 niandu quanguo shida kaogu xin faxian chuping houxuan xiangmu 2010 年度全國十大考古新發現初評候選項目 (Candidates from the preliminary selection of the top 10 new national archaeological discoveries in 2010). Retrieved September 24, 2018. Available at <http://www.sach.gov.cn/art/2011/4/6/art_722_109041.html>

Guyuan Bowuguan 固原博物館 (1992) Ningxia Guyuan Lupingcun faxian de yizuo Dong Zhou mu 寧夏固原呂坪村發現的一座東周墓 (An Eastern Zhou tomb discovered at Lupingcun in Guyuan, Ningxia). *Kaogu* 考古 (Archaeology) 5: 469–70.

Hall, M. E. (1997) Toward an absolute chronology for the Iron Age of Inner Asia. *Antiquity* 71: 863–74.

Han Chunsong 項春松 (1981) Zhaowudameng Yan changcheng yizhi diaocha baogao 昭烏達盟燕長城遺址調查報告 (Report on the investigation of remains of the Yan long wall in Zhaowuda League). In Wenwu Bianji Weiyuanhui 文物編輯委員會 (ed.) *Zhongguo Changcheng yizhi diaocha baogaoji* 中國長城遺址調查報告集 (Reports on the investigation of sites on the Great Wall of China): 6–21. Beijing, Wenwu Chubanshe.

Han Fei 韓飛, Wang Hui 王輝 and Ma Yanru 馬燕如 (2014) Gansu Zhangjiachuan Majiayuan chutu chexiang ceban de shiyanshi kaogu qingli 甘肅張家川馬家塬出土車廂側板的實驗室考古清理 (Laboratory excavation of the side panel from a chariot from Majiayuan in Zhangjiachuan, Gansu). *Wenwu* 文物 (Cultural Relics) 6: 39–43.

Han Rubin 韓汝玢 and Bunker, E. C. (*Aima bangke* 埃瑪邦克) (1993) Biaomian fuxi de E'erduosi qingtong shipin de yanjiu 表面富錫的鄂爾多斯青銅飾品的研究 (A study of Ordos bronzes with tin-enriched surfaces in China). *Wenwu* 文物 (Cultural Relics) 9: 80–96.

Han Wei 韓偉 (1981) Lüelun Shaanxi Chunqiu Zhanguo Qin mu 略論陝西春秋戰國秦墓 (Brief discussion of the Qin tombs in Shaanxi of the Spring and Autumn and Warring States periods). *Kaogu Yu Wenwu* 考古與文物 (Archaeology and Cultural Relics) 1: 83–93.

Han Xiaomang 韓小忙 (1994) Lüelun Ningxia faxian de dongshimu 略論寧夏發現的洞室墓 (Brief discussion of the catacombs discovered in Ningxia). *Kaogu* 考古 (Archaeology) 11: 1028–36 and 1021.

Han Ying 韓英 (2012) Yinqi de fushi tezheng yu maicang huanjing de guanxi 銀器的腐蝕特徵與埋藏環境的關係 (Connections between corrosion on silver and its burial environment). *Zhongguo Guojia Bowuguan Guankan* 中國國家博物館館刊 (Journal of the National Museum of China) 6: 125–32.

Hansen, K. T. (2004) The world in dress: anthropological perspectives on clothing, fashion, and culture. *Annual Review of Anthropology* 33: 369–92.

Hardy, G. (1999) *Worlds of bronze and bamboo: Sima Qian's conquest of history*. New York, Columbia University Press.

He Xinyun 何欣雲 (1986) Baoji Lijiaya Qinguo muzang qingli jianbao 寶雞李家崖秦國墓葬清理簡報 (Brief report on the excavation of Qin tombs at Lijiaya in Baoji). *Wenbo* 文博 (Relics and Museology) 4: 5–9.

Hebei Sheng Wenhuaju Gongzuozhan 河北省文化局工作站 (1965) 1964–1965 nian Yan Xiadu muzang fajue baogao 1964–1965 年燕下都墓葬發掘報告 (Report on the excavation of tombs at Yan's lower capital, 1964–1965). *Kaog*u 考古 (Archaeology) 11: 548–61 and 598.

Hebei Sheng Wenwu Yanjiusuo 河北省文物研究所 (1996) [*Ts'o] Mu: Zhanguo Zhongshanguo guowang zhi mu* [Ts'o] 墓：戰國中山國國王之墓 (Tomb of Ts'o: The tomb of the Zhongshan king of the Warring States period). Beijing, Wenwu Chubanshe.

Hemingway, C. and Hemingway, S. (2003) The technique of bronze statuary in ancient Greece. Retrieved November 5, 2018. Available at <https://www.metmuseum.org/toah/hd/grbr/hd_grbr.htm>

Henan Wenwu Gongzuodui Diyidui 河南文物工作隊第一隊 (1955) Zhengzhou Gangdu fujin gu muzang fajue jianbao 鄭州崗杜附近古墓葬發掘簡報 (Brief report on the excavation of ancient tombs at Gangdu in Zhengzhou). *Wenwu Cankao Ziliao* 文物參考資料 (Cultural Relics Reference Materials) 10: 3–24.

Hiebert, F. and Cambon, P. (2008) *Afghanistan: Hidden Treasures from the National Museum, Kabul*. Washington, National Geographic Society.

Hodder, I. (1982) *Symbols in action: Ethnoarchaeological studies of material culture*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

Hodder, I. (1986) *Reading the past: Current approaches to interpretation in archaeology*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

Hodder, I. (2001) *Archaeological theory today*. Cambridge, Polity Press.

Honey, D. B. (1999) The Han-shu, manuscript evidence, and textual criticism of the *Shih-chi*: The case of the "Hsiung-nu lieh-chuan". *Chinese Literature: Essay, Articles, Review* 21: 67–97.

Honeychurch, W. (2013) The nomad as state builder: Historical theory and material evidence from Mongolia. *Journal of World Prehistory* 26.4: 283–321.

Honeychurch, W. (2015) *Inner Asia and the spatial politics of empire: Archaeology, mobility and cultural contact*. New York, Springer.

Honeychurch, W. and Amartuvshin, Ch. (2007) Hinterlands, urban centers, and mobile settings: The "new" Old World archaeology from the Eurasian steppe. *Asian Perspectives* 46: 36–64.

Houle, J. (2009) Socially integrative facilities and the emergence of societal complexity on the Mongolian steppe. In B. K. Hanks and K. M. Linduff (eds) *Social complexity in prehistoric Eurasia: monuments, metals, and mobility*: 460–86. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

Howard, J. A. (2000) Social psychology of identity. *Annual Review of Sociology* 262.1: 367–93.

Hsu Cho-yun (1965) *Ancient China in transition: An analysis of social mobility, 722–222 B.C.* Stanford, Stanford University Press.

Hsu Cho-yun (1999) The Spring and Autumn period. In M. Loewe and E. L. Shaughnessy (eds) *The Cambridge history of ancient China*: 545–86. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

Hu Qianying 胡謙盈 (1980) Shilun Siwa wenhua 試論寺窪文化 (Preliminary discussion of the Siwa culture). *Wenwu Jikan* 文物集刊 (A Collection of Works on Cultural Relics) 2: 118–25.

Hu Zhihui (trans.) (1996) *Zuo's commentary*. Changsha, Hunan Chubanshe.

Huang Xiaojuan 黃曉娟, Wei Qing 韋清, Zhao Xichen 趙西晨 and Yan Jing 嚴靜 (2016) Gansu Majiayuan Zhanguo mudi M4 chutu shenti zhuangshijian de baohu xiufu ji fuyuan yanjiu 甘肅馬家塬戰國墓地 M4 出土身體裝飾件的保護修復及復原研究 (Conservation and restoration of body ornaments excavated from the Warring States tomb M4 at the Majiayuan cemetery in Gansu). *Zhongguo Guojia Bowuguan*

Guankan 中國國家博物館館刊 (Journal of the National Museum of China) 6: 148–56.

Hudiakov, Y. and Erdene-Ochir, N. (2010) Bronze helmet recently discovered in Mongolia. *Archaeology, Ethnology and Anthropology of Eurasia* 38: 53–60.

Hughes, G. (2000) *The Lockington gold hoard: An early Bronze Age barrow cemetery at Lockington, Leicestershire*. Oxford, Oxbow Books.

Hulsewé, A. F. P. (1985) *Remnants of Ch'in law: An annotated translation of the Ch'in legal and administrative rules of the 3rd century B.C., discovered in Yün-meng Prefecture, Hu-pei Province, in 1975*. Leiden, E. J. Brill.

Hulsewé, A. F. P. (1993a) *Han shu*. In M. Loewe (eds.) *Early Chinese texts: A bibliographical guide*: 129–36. Berkeley, Society for the Study of Early China and the Institute of East Asian Studies, University of California.

Hulsewé, A. F. P. (1993b) *Shih chi.* In M. Loewe (ed.) *Early Chinese texts: A bibliographical guide*: 405–14. Berkeley, Society for the Study of Early China and the Institute of East Asian Studies, University of California.

Hunan Sheng Bowuguan 湖南省博物館 and Zhongguo Kexueyuan Kaogu Yanjiusuo 中國科學院考古研究所 (1973) *Changsha Mawangdui yi hao Han mu* 長沙馬王堆一號漢墓 (Han Dynasty Tomb 1 at Mawangdui, Changsha). Beijing, Wenwu Chubanshe.

Jacobson-Tepfer, E. (1993) *The Deer-goddess of ancient Siberia: A study in the ecology of belief*. Leiden, E. J. Brill.

Jacobson-Tepfer, E. (2015) *The hunter, the stag, and the mother of all animals: Image, monument, and landscape in ancient north Asia*. Oxford, Oxford University Press.

Jaffe, Y. (2012) Materializing identity—A statistical analysis of the Western Zhou Liulihe cemetery. *Asian Perspective* 51.1: 47–67.

James, T. and Davis, W. (1983) *Egyptian sculpture*. London, British Museum Publications.

Jettmar, K. (1981) Cultures and ethnic groups west of China in the second and first millennia B.C. *Asian Perspectives* 24.2: 145–62.

Jin Fengyi 靳楓毅 (1989) Beijing Yanqing Jundu Shan Dong Zhou Shan Rong buluo mudi fajue jilüe 北京延慶軍都山東周山戎部落墓地發掘紀略 (Reports on the Eastern Zhou period Shan Rong cemetery in the Jundu Mountains, Yangqing, Beijing). *Wenwu* 文物 (Cultural Relics) 8: 17–35 and 43.

Jin Xueshan 金學山 (1957) Xi'an Banpo de Zhanguo muzang 西安半坡的戰國墓葬 (Warring States period tombs at Banpo in Xi'an). *Kaogu Xuebao* 考古學報 (Acta Archaeologica Sinica) 3: 63–92.

Jin Zhongwei 井中偉 (2006) Xian Qin shiqi qingtong ge ji yanjiu 先秦時期青銅戈・戟研究 (A study of bronze dagger-axes (*ge*) and *ji* of the pre-Qin period). PhD Diss., Jilin University.

Jones, A. (2008) How the dead live: Mortuary practices, memory and the ancestors in Neolithic and early Bronze Age Britain and Ireland. In J. Pollard (ed.) *Prehistoric Britain*: 177–202. Oxford, Blackwell.

Kaltsas, N. E. (2007) *The National Archaeological Museum*. Athens, EPG Eurobank Ergasias S.A./John S. Latsis Public Benefit Foundation.

Keightley, D. N. (1993) Clean hands and shining helmets: Heroic action in early China and Greek culture. In T. Siebers (ed.) *Religion and the authority of the past*. Ann Arbor, University of Michigan Press.

Keightley, D. N. (2006) Marks and labels: Early writing in Neolithic and Shang China. In M. T. Stark (ed.) *Archaeology of Asia*: 177–201. Malden, Blackwell.

Keller, D. and Schorta R. (2001) *Fabulous creatures from the desert sands: Central Asian woollen textiles from the second century BC to the second century AD*. Riggisberg, Abegg-Stiftung.

Khazanov, A. M. (1994) *Nomads and the outside world*, 2nd ed. Madison, University of Wisconsin Press.

Kilunovskaya, M. and Leus, P. (2017) Archaeological discoveries in Tuva: Excavations of the Ala-Tey and Terezin cemeteries of the Xiongnu period in 2015–2016. *Asian Archaeology* 1.1–2: 45–62.

Kinoshita, H. (2007) On palaces and architecture. In Jane Portal (ed.) *The First Emperor: China's terracotta* army: 83–93. London, British Museum Press.

Koch. H. (2001) *Persepolis: Glänzende Hauptstadt des Perserreichs*. Mainz, von Zabern.

Kohl, P. L. (2007) *The making of Bronze Age Eurasia*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

Korolkova, E. F. (2017a) Death and burial. In St. J. Simpson and E. Pankova (eds) *Scythians: Warriors of ancient Siberia*: 256–69. London, Thames & Hudson Ltd.

Korolkova, E. F. (2017b) The Siberian collection of Peter the Great. In St. J. Simpson and E. Pankova (eds) *Scythians: Warriors of ancient Siberia*: 34–41. London, Thames & Hudson Ltd.

Koryakova, L. and Epimakhov, A. (2007) *The Urals and western Siberia in the Bronze and Iron Ages*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

Kovalev, A. A. and Erdenebaatar, D. (2009) Discovery of new cultures of the Bronze Age in Mongolia according to the data obtained by the International Central Asian Archaeological Expedition. In J. Bemmann, H. Parzinger, E. Pohl and D. Tseveendorzh (eds) *Current archaeological research in Mongolia. Papers from The First International Conference on Archaeological Research in Mongolia*, held in Ulaanbaatar, 19–23 August 2007: 149–70. Bonn, Bonn University Press.

Kradin, N. N. (2002) Nomadism, evolution and world-system: Pastoral societies in theories of historical development. *Journal of World-Systems Research* 8.3: 368–88.

Kulkova, M. A. (2003) Applications of geochemistry to paleoenvironmental reconstruction in southern Siberia. In E. M. Scott, A. Yu. Alekseev and G. Zaitseva (eds) *Impact of the environment on human migration in Eurasia*: 255–74. Dordrecht, Kluwer Academic.

Kuzmina, E. E. (1986) *Drevneishie skotovody ot Urala do Tian-Shanya*. Frunze, Ilim.

Kuzmina, E. E. (1994) *Otkuda Prishli Indoarii?* Moskva, M.G.P. “Kalina” VINITI R.A.N.

Kuzmina, E. E. (1998) Cultural connections of the Tarim Basin people and pastoralists of Asian steppes in the Bronze Age. In V. H. Mair (ed.) *The Bronze Age and early Iron Age peoples of eastern Central Asia* 2: 63–93. Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Museum.

Kuzmina, E. E. (2003) Origins of pastoralism in the Eurasian steppes. In M. Levine, C. Renfrew and K. Boyle (eds) *Prehistoric steppe adoption and the horse*: 203–32. Cambridge, McDonald Institute.

Kuzmina, E. E. (2008) *The Prehistory of the Silk Road*. Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press.

Kwan Shan Ming 關善明 (2001) *Zhongguo gudai boli* 中國古代玻璃 (Early Chinese glass). Hong Kong, The Chinese University of Hong Kong.

Lai Guolong (2006) The date of the TLV mirrors from the Xiongnu tombs. *The Silk Road* 4.1: 37–44.

Lam, E. H. (2012) The possible origins of the jade stem beaker in China. *Arts Asiatiques* 67: 35–46.

Legge, J. (1971) *Shu ching: book of history. A modernized edition of the translations of James Legge*. Chicago, H. Regnery Co.

Legrand, S. (2006) The emergence of the Scythians: Bronze Age to Iron Age in south Siberia. *Antiquity* 80: 843–59.

Leidy, D. P. (2012) Links, missing and otherwise: Tillya Tepe and East Asia. In J. Aruz and E. V. Fino (eds) *Afghanistan: Forging civilizations along the Silk Road*. New Haven, The Metropolitan Museum of Art.

Levi, J. (1993) *Han fei tzu*. In M. Loewe (ed.) *Early Chinese texts: A bibliographical guide*: 115–24. Berkeley, Society for the Study of Early China and the Institute of East Asian Studies, University of California.

Levine, H. B. (1999) Reconstructing ethnicity. *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* 5.2: 165–80.

LeVine, R. A. and Campbell, D. T. (1972) *Ethnocentrism: Theories of conflict, ethnic attitudes, and group behavior*. New York, Wiley.

Lewis, M. E. (1999a) Warring States political history. In M. Loewe and E. L. Shaughnessy (eds) *The Cambridge history of ancient China*: 587–650. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

Lewis, M. E. (1999b) *Writing and authority in early China*. Albany, State University of New York.

Li Fei 李非, Li Shuicheng 李水城 and Shui Tao 水濤 (1993) Hulu He liuyu de gu wenhua yu gu huanjing 葫蘆河流域的古文化與古環境 (Ancient cultures and environment in the Hulu River valley). *Kaogu* 考古 (Archaeology) 9: 882–42.

Li Feng (2003) Feudalism and Western Zhou China: A criticism. *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 63.1: 115–44.

Li Feng (2006) *Landscape and power in early China: The crisis and fall of the Western Zhou, 1045–771 BC*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

Li Jinzeng 李進增 and Chen Yongyun 陳永耘 (2013) *Shuose zhangtian: Ningxia Bowuguan cang lishi wenwu jicui* 朔色長天：寧夏博物館藏歷史文物集萃 (Cultural relics in the Ningxia Museum). Beijing, Wenwu Chubanshe.

Li Xiaoqing 李曉青 and Nan Baosheng 南寶生 (2003) Gansu Qingshui Xian Liuping jinnian faxian de beifangxi qingtongqi ji jinshi 甘肅清水縣劉坪近年發現的北方系青銅器及金飾 (Northern style bronze and gold sheet ornaments discovered at Liuping in Qingshui County, Gansu, in recent years). *Wenwu* 文物 (Cultural Relics) 7: 4–17.

Li Xueqin 李學勤 (1993) Yimencun jin, yu qi wenshi yanjiu 益門村金、玉器紋飾研究 (A study of motifs on gold and jade artefacts at Yimencun). *Wenwu* 文物 (Cultural Relics) 10: 15–9.

Li Xueqin 李學勤 (2003) Xingyang shangguanmin yu Anyi xiaguanzhong 滎陽上官皿與安邑下官鍾 ("Shangguan" ware from Xingyang and Xiaguang *zhong*-bottle from Anyi). In *Xinchu qingtonqi yanjiu* 新出青銅器研究 (A study of newly unearthed bronzes). Beijing, Renmin Meishu Chubanshe.

Liaoning Sheng Wenwu Kaogu Yanjiusuo 遼寧省文物考古研究所 (2010) *Jiangnü shi: Qin xinggong yizhi fajue baogao* 姜女石──秦行宮遺址發掘報告 (Jiangnü shi: Archaeological report on remains of Qin palaces). Beijing, Wenwu Chubanshe.

Lin Yun (1986) A reexamination of the relationship between bronzes of the Shang culture and of the Northern Zone. In Chang Kwang-chih (ed.) *Studies of Shang Archaeology: Selected papers from the International Conference on Shang Civilization*: 237–73. New Haven, Yale University Press.

Linduff, K. M. (1997) An archaeological overview. In E. C. Bunker (ed.) *Ancient bronzes of the Eastern steppes: The Arthur M. Sackler collections*: 18–98. New York, Sackler/Freer Gallery and Smithsonian Institution.

Linduff, K. M. (2004) *Metallurgy in ancient eastern Eurasia from the Urals to the Yellow River*. Lewiston, Edwin Mellen Press.

Linduff, K. M. (2006) Why have Siberian artefacts been excavated within ancient Chinese dynastic borders? In D. L. Peterson, L. M. Popova and A. T. Smith (eds) *Beyond the steppe and the sown. Proceedings of the 2012 University of Chicago Conference on Eurasian Archaeology*: 350–70. Leiden, Brill.

Linduff, K. M. (2009) What's mine is yours: The transmission of metallurgical technology in eastern Eurasia and East Asia. In S. Srinivasan and S. Ranganathan (eds) *Materials and civilization: BUMA VII proceedings*: 8–14. Bangalore: National Institute of Advanced Studies.

Linduff, K. M. (2010) Production of signature artifacts for the nomad market in the State of Qin during the late Warring States period in China (4th–3rd century BCE). In Mei Jianjun and T. Rehren (eds) *Metallurgy and civilisation: Eurasia and beyond: Proceedings of the 6th International Conference on the Beginnings of the Use of Metals and Alloys*: 90–6. London, Archetype.

Linduff, K. M., Sun Yan, Cao Wei and Liu Yuanqing (2017) *Ancient China and its Eurasian neighbours: Artifacts, identity and death in the frontier, 3000–700 BCE*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

Liu Dezhen 劉德禎 and Xu Junchen 許俊臣 (1988) Gansu Qingyang Chunqiu Zhanguo muzang de qingli 甘肅慶陽春秋戰國墓葬的清理 (Excavation of the tombs in Qingyang, Gansu, of the Spring and Autumn and Warring States periods). *Kaogu* 考古 (Archaeology) 5: 413–24.

Liu Huaijun 劉懷君 and Yan Huichan 嚴惠嬋 (2003) Shaanxi Mei Xian Qin Han Chengshangong yizhi de xinfaxian 陝西眉縣秦漢成山宮遺址的新發現 (New discoveries at the remains of the Chengshan Palace in Mei County, Shaanxi), *Wenbo* 文博 (Relics and Museology) 1: 3–7 and 58.

Liu Li and Chen Xingcan (2012) *The archaeology of China: From the late Paleolithic to the early Bronze Age*. New York, Cambridge University Press.

Liu Yang (2012) *China's terracotta warriors: The First Emperor's legacy*. Minneapolis, Minneapolis Institute of Art.

Liu Yuyuang 劉羽陽 and Wang Hui 王輝 (2017) Xian Qin shiqi xibei youmu diqu dongwu maizang xisu—cong maizang touti de xianxiang tanqi 先秦時期西北遊牧地區動物埋葬習俗──從埋葬頭蹄的現象談起 (Animal sacrifices in the northwestern region during the pre-Qin period: Beginning with the phenomenon of buried heads and hooves). *Kaogu Yu Wenwu* 考古與文物 (Archaeology and Cultural Relics) 1: 62–9.

Longde Xian Wenguansuo 隆德縣文管所 and Wang Quanjia 王全甲 (1996) Longde Xian chutu de Xiongnu wenwu 隆德縣出土的匈奴文物 (Xiongnu artefacts unearthed in Longde County). *Kaogu Yu Wenwu* 考古與文物 (Archaeology and Cultural Relics) 2: 5–7.

Lucy, S. (2005) Ethnic and cultural identities. *The archaeology of identity: Approach to gender, age, status, ethnicity and religion*: 86–109. London and New York, Routledge.

Luhrmann, T. M. (2001) *Identity in anthropology*. In N. Smelser and N. P. Baltes (eds) *International encyclopaedia of the social and behavioral sciences*: 7154–9. Amsterdam, Elsevier.

Luo Feng 羅豐 (1983) Ningxia Guyuan Xian Shilacun faxian yizuo Zhanguo mu 寧夏固原縣石喇村發現一座戰國墓 (A tomb discovered at Shilacun in Guyuan County, Ningxia, of the Warring States period). *Kaoguxue Jikan* 考古學集刊 (Archaeological Bulletin) 3: 130–1 and 142.

Luo Feng 羅豐 (1990) Guyuan qingtong wenhua chulun 固原青銅文化初論 (Preliminary discussion of the bronze culture in Guyuan). *Kaogu* 考古 (Archaeology) 8: 743–50.

Luo Feng 羅豐 and Han Kongle 韓孔樂 (1990) Ningxia Guyuan jinnian faxian de beifangxi qingtongqi 寧夏固原近年發現的北方系青銅器 (Northern Zone-style bronzes discovered in Guyuan, Ningxia, in recent years). *Kaogu* 考古 (Archaeology) 5: 403–18.

Luo Feng 羅豐 and Yan Shizhong 延世忠 (1993) 1988 nian Guyuan chutu de Beifangxi qingtongqi 1988 年固原出土的北方系青銅器 (Northern Zone-style bronzes unearthed in Guyuan in 1988). *Kaogu Yu Wenwu* 考古與文物 (Archaeology and Cultural Relics) 4: 17–21.

Ma Fangfang 馬芳芳 (2017) Majiayuan mudi chutu fushi ji renti zhuangshipin fuyuan yanjiu 馬家塬墓地出土服飾及人體裝飾品復原研究 (Restoration and study of the clothes and personal ornaments unearthed at Majiayuan cemetery). *Tianshui Shifan Xueyuan Xuebao* 天水範學院學報 (Journal of Tianshui Normal University) 37.1: 55–9.

Ma Jianjun 馬建軍 (2004) Xi Zhou tongzhi shili ji wenhua boji de jianzheng 西周統治勢力及文化波及的見證 (Evidence of the political and culture influence of the Western Zhou). In Ningxia Guyuan Bowuguan 寧夏固原博物館 (ed.) *Guyuan lishi wenwu* 固原歷史文物 (Historical and cultural relics from Guyuan): 39–40. Beijing, Kexue Chubanshe.

Ma Jianxi 馬建熙 (1959) Shaanxi Yao Xian Zhanguo, Xi Han muzang qingli jianbao 陝西耀縣戰國、西漢墓葬清理簡報 (Brief report on the tombs in Yao County, Shaanxi, of the Warring States and Western Han periods). *Kaogu* 考古 (Archaeology) 3: 147–9.

Machicek, M. L. and Zubova, A. V. (2012) Dental wear patterns and subsistence activities in early nomadic pastoralist communities of the Central Asian steppes. *Archaeology, Ethnology, and Anthropology of Eurasia* 40.3: 149–57.

Mallory, J. P. (1989) *In search of the Indo-Europeans: Language, archaeology and myth*. London, Thames and Hudson.

Mallory, J. P. and Adams, D. Q. (1997) *Encyclopedia of Indo-European cultures*. London, Fitzroy Dearborn

Mann, M. (1986). *The source of social power: A history of power from the beginning to A.D. 1760*, vol. 1. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

Mao Ruilin 毛瑞林, Liang Yun 梁雲, Tian Youqian 田有前 and You Fuxiang 游富祥 (2004) Xihanshui shangyou Zhou dai yizhi kaogu diaocha jianbao 西漢水上游周代遺址考古調查簡報 (Brief report on the archaeological survey of Zhou Dynasty remains on the upper reaches of Xihanshui River). *Kaogu Yu Wenwu* 考古與文物 (Archaeology and Cultural Relics) 6: 13–20.

Marsadolov, L. S. and Marshak, B. I. (1997) Early Indian mirrors and the problem of the pre-Mauryan figurative Art. In M. Taddei and G. De Marco (eds) *Fourteenth International Conference of the European Association of South Asian Archaeologists*: 93–115. Rome, Istituto Italiano per l'Afraica e l'Oriente, Palazzo Brancaccio.

Mei Jianjun (2009) Early metallurgy and socio-cultural complexity: Archaeological discoveries in northwest China. In B. K. Hanks and K. M. Linduff (eds) *Social complexity in prehistoric Eurasia*: 215–32. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

Mei Jianjun and Shell, C. (1999) The existence of Andronovo cultural influence in Xinjiang during the 2nd Millennium B.C. *Antiquity* 73: 570–78.

Mei Jianjun 梅建軍 (2002) The metal cauldrons recovered in Xinjiang, northwest China. *Newsletter on Steppe Archaeology* 13.

Mei Jianjun 梅建軍 (2003) Qijia and Seima-Turbino: The question of early contacts between northwest China and the Eurasian steppe. *Bulletin of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities* 75: 31–54.

Mei Jianjun 梅建軍 (2000) *Copper and bronze metallurgy in later prehistoric Xinjiang: Its cultural context and relationship with neighbouring regions. BAR International Series* 865. Oxford, Archaeopress.

Melyukova, A. I. and Crookenden, J. (1990) The Scythians and Sarmatians. In D. Sinor (ed.) *The Cambridge history of early Inner Asia*: 97–117. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

Meskell, L. M. (2000) Writing the body in archaeology. In A. E. Rautman (ed.) *Reading the body: Representations and remains in the archaeological records*: 13–21. Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press.

Meskell, L. M. (2002) The intersections of identity and politics in archaeology. *Annual Review of Archaeology* 31: 279–301.

Meyer, C. (2013) *Greco-Scythian Art and the Birth of Eurasia*. Oxford, Oxford University Press.

Mi Yumei 米玉梅 and Zhao Wucheng 趙吳成 (2015) Cong Majiayuan Zhanguo mu guankui shanggu shiqi de Zhong-xi wenhua jiaoliu 從馬家塬戰國墓管窺上古時期的中西文化交流 (Cultural exchanges between China and the West as seen through the Majiayuan cemetery of the Warring States period). *Ludong Daxue Xuebao (Zhexue Shehui Kexue Ban)* 魯東大學學報(哲學社會科學版) (Ludong University Journal (Philosophy and Social Science Edition)) 32.6: 88–91.

Michaelson, C. (2007) Qin gold and jade. In J. Portal (ed.) *The First Emperor: China's terracotta army*: 94–103. London, British Museum Press.

Miller, B. K. (2012) Vehicles of the steppe elite: chariots and carts in Xiongnu tombs. *The Silk Road* 10: 29–38.

Miniaev, S. S. and Sakharovskaia, L. M. (2007) Investigation of a Xiongnu royal complex in the Tsaraam Valley. Part 2: The inventory of barrow No. 7 and the chronology of the site. *The Silk Road* 5.1: 44–56.

Mozolevsky, B. N. (1972) Tolstaya Mogila tumulus in the vicinity of Ordzhonikidze in Ukraine. *Soviet Archaeology* 3: 268–308.

Musée archéologie nationale (2018) Sépulture à char feminine – Sainte-Colombe-sur-Seine. Retrieved April 8 2018. Available at <http://musee-archeologienationale.fr/objet/sepulture-char-feminine>

Nei Mengu Wenwu Gongzuodui 內蒙古文物工作隊 (1986) *Maoqinggou mudi* 毛慶溝墓地 (Maoqingguo cemetery): 227–315. Beijing, Wenwu Chubanshe.

Nickel, L. (2013) The First Emperor and sculpture in China. *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 7.3: 413–47.

Nienhauser, W. H. (2001) Sima Qian and the *Shiji*. In A. Feldherr and G. Hardy (eds) *The Oxford history of historical writing: Volume 1: Beginnings to AD 600*: 463–84. Oxford, Oxford University Press.

Ningxia Bowuguan 寧夏博物館 (1978) Ningxia Guyuan Xian chutu wenwu 寧夏固原縣出土文物 (Artefacts unearthed in Guyuan County, Ningxia). *Wenwu* 文物 (Cultural Relics) 12: 86–90.

Ningxia Guyuan Bowuguan 寧夏固原博物館 (2004) *Guyuan lishi wenwu* 固原歷史文物 (Historical and cultural relics from Guyuan). Beijing, Kexue Chubanshe.

Ningxia Huizu Zizhiqu Bowuguan Kaogudui 寧夏回族自治區博物館考古隊 (1987) Ningxia Zhongning Xian qingtong duanjian mu qingli jianbao 寧夏中寧縣青銅短劍墓清理簡報 (Brief report on the excavation of tombs with bronze daggers in Zhongning County, Ningxia). *Kaogu* 考古 (Archaeology) 9: 773–7.

Ningxia Huizu Zizhiqu Bowuguan 寧夏回族自治區博物館 and Guyuan Xian Wenwu Gongzuozhan 固原縣文物工作站 (1981) Ningxia jingnei Zhanguo Qin Han Changcheng yizhi 寧夏境內戰國秦漢長城遺址 (Remains of the long walls in Ningxia Hui Autonomous Region of the Warring States, Qin, and Han periods). In Wenwu Bianji Weiyuanhui 文物編輯委員會(ed.) *Zhongguo Changcheng yizhi diaocha baogaoji* 中國長城遺址調查報告集 (Reports on the investigation of sites on the Great Wall of China): 45–51. Beijing, Wenwu Chubanshe.

Ningxia Huizu Zizhiqu Wenwu Kaogu Yanjiusuo 寧夏回族自治區文物考古研究所 and Pengyang Xian Wenwuzhan 彭陽縣文物站 (2002) Ningxia Pengyang Xian Zhangjiecun Chunqiu Zhanguo mudi 寧夏彭陽縣張街村春秋戰國墓地 (A cemetery at Zhangjiecun in Pengyang County, Ningxia, of the Spring and Autumn and Warring States periods). *Kaogu* 考古 (Archaeology) 8: 14–24.

Ningxia Wenwu Kaogu Yanjiiusuo 寧夏文物考古研究所 (1991) Ningxia Guyuan Yujiazhuang mudi fajue jianbao 寧夏固原于家莊墓地發掘簡報 (Brief report on the excavation of the Yujiazhuang cemetery in Guyuan, Ningxia). *Huaxia Kaogu* 華夏考古 (Huaxia Archaeology) 3: 55–63.

Ningxia Wenwu Kaogu Yanjiusuo 寧夏文物考古研究所 (1995) Ningxia Pengpu Yujiazhuang mudi 寧夏彭堡于家莊墓地 (The Yujiazhuang cemetery in Pengpu, Ningxia). *Kaogu Xuebao* 考古學報 (Acta Archeologica Sinica) 1: 79–107.

Ningxia Wenwu Kaogu Yanjiusuo 寧夏文物考古研究所 and Ningxia Guyuan Bowuguan 寧夏固原博物館 (1993) Ningxia Guyuan Yanglang qingtong wenhua mudi 寧夏固原楊郎青銅文化墓地 (The Bronze Age cemetery at Yanglang in Guyuan, Ningxia). *Kaogu Xuebao* 考古學報 (Acta Archaeologica Sinica) 1: 13–56.

Ningxia Wenwu Kaogu Yanjiusuo 寧夏文物考古研究所 and Pengyang Xian Wenwu Guanlisuo 彭陽縣文物管理所 (2016) *Wangdahu yu Jiulong Shan–Beifang qingtong wenhua mudi* 王大戶與九龍山──北方青銅文化墓地 (Wangdahu and Jiulongshan: cemeteries of the northern bronze culture). Beijing, Wenwu Chubanshe.

Ningxia Wenwu Kaogu Yanjiusuo 寧夏文物考古研究所 and Tongxin Xian Wenguansuo 同心縣文管所 (1988) Ningxia Tongxin Xian Lijiataozi Xiongnu mu qingli jianbao 寧夏同心縣李家套子匈奴墓清理簡報 (Brief report on the excavation of the Xiongnu tombs at Lijiataozi in Tongxin County, Ningxia). *Kaogu Yu Wenwu* 考古與文物 (Archaeology and Cultural Relics) 3: 17–20.

Ningxia Wenwu Kaogu Yanjiusuo 寧夏文物考古研究所 and Xiji Xian Wenwu Guanlisuo 西吉縣文物管理所 (1994) Xiji Xian Chenyangchuan mudi fajue jianbao 西吉縣陳陽川墓地發掘簡報 (Brief report on the excavation of Chengyanchuan cemetery in Xiji County). In Xu Cheng and Li Xiangshi (eds) *Ningxia kaogu wenji* 寧夏考古文集 (Collection of works on archaeology in Ningxia): 60–71. Yinchuan, Ningxia Renmin Chubanshe.

Ningxia Wenwu Kaogu Yanjiusuo 寧夏文物考古研究所, Zhongguo Shehui Kexueyuan Kaogusuo Ningxia Kaoguzu 中國社會科學院考古所寧夏考古組 and Tongxin Xian Wenwu Guanlisuo 同心縣文物管理所 (1988) Ningxia Tongxin Daodunzi Xiongnu mudi 寧夏同心倒墩子匈奴墓地 (The Xiongnu cemetery at Daodunzi in Tongxin County, Ningxia). *Kaogu Xuebao* 考古學報 (Acta Archaeologica Sinica) 3: 333–56.

Nylan, M. (1998) Sima Qian: A true historian? *Early China* 23/24: 203–46.

Outram, A. K., Stear, N. A., Bendrey, R., Olsen, S., Kasparov, A., Zaibert, V., Thorpe, N. and Evershed, R. P. (2009) The earliest horse harnessing and milking. *Science* 323: 1332–5.

Park, J., Honeychurch, W. and Chunag, A. (2001) Ancient bronze technology and nomadic communities of the middle Gobi Desert, Mongolia. *Journal of Archaeological Science* 38.4: 805–17.

Parzinger, H. (2007) *Im Zeichen des Goldenen Greifen: Königsgräber der Skythen*. Munich, Prestel.

Parzinger, H., Nagler, A. and Gotlib, A. (2007) Die Fürstengräber der Tagar-Kultur, In H. Parzinger (ed.) *Im Zeichen des Goldenen Greifen: Königsgräber der Skythen*. Munich, Prestel.

Pearson, M. P. (1982) Mortuary practices, society and ideology: An ethnoarchaeological study. In I. Hodder (ed.) *Symbolic and structural archaeology*: 99–113. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

Peng, Re (1998) The Andronovo bronze artifacts discovered in Gongliu County in Yili, Xinjiang. In V. H. Mair (ed.) *The Bronze Age and early Iron Age peoples of eastern Central Asia* 2: 573–80. Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Museum.

Piggott, S. (1992) *Wagon, chariot and carriage: symbol and status in the history of transport*. London, Thames & Hudson.

Pines, Y. (2004) The question of interpretation: Qin history in light of new epigraphic sources. *Early China* 29: 1–44.

Pines, Y. (2005) Biases and their sources: Qin history in the *Shiji*. *Oriens Extremus* 45: 10–34.

Pines, Y., Gideon, S., von Falkenhausen, L. and Yates, R. D. S. (eds) (2014) *Birth of an empire: The State of Qin revisited*. Berkeley, University of California.

Piotrovsky, B. (1975) *From the lands of the Scythians: Ancient treasures from the Museums of the U.S.S.R. 3000 B.C.–100 B.C.: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, the Los Angeles County Museum of Art*. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art and Los Angeles County Museum of Art.

Polos'mak, N., Bogdanov, E. S., Tseveendorj, D. and Erdene-Ochir, N. (2008) The burial construction of Noin Ula Mound 20, Mongolia. *Archaeology, Ethnology, and Anthropology of Eurasia* 34.2: 77–87.

Qin Shihuangdi Ling Bowuyuan 秦始皇陵博物館 (2012) *Qin Shihuangdi ling chutu yi hao qingtong mache* 秦始皇陵出土一號青銅馬車 (Bronze chariot no. 1 unearthed from the mausoleum of the First Emperor of Qin). Beijing, Wenwu Chubanshe.

Qin Shihuangdi Ling Bowuyuan 秦始皇陵博物館 (2015) *Qin Shihuangdi ling chutu er hao qingtong mache* 秦始皇陵出土二號青銅馬車 (Bronze chariot no. 2 unearthed from the mausoleum of the First Emperor of Qin). Beijing, Wenwu Chubanshe.

Qin Wenhua Yu Xirong Wenhua Lianhe Kaogudui 秦文化與西戎文化聯合考古隊 (2018) Gansu Li Xian Dabuzi Shan Qin mu ji fuzang chema keng fajue jianbao 甘肅禮縣大堡子山秦墓及附葬車馬坑發掘簡報 (Brief report on the excavation of the tombs and the attendant chariot-and-horse pit of the Qin State in the Dabuzi Mountain, Li County, Gansu). *Wenwu* 文物 (Cultural Relics) 1: 19–24.

Qin'an Xian Wenhuaguan 秦安縣文化館 (1986) Qin'an Xian linian chutu de beifang-xi qingtongqi 秦安縣歷年出土的北方系青銅器 (Bronzes of the Northern

Zone-style unearthed in Qin'an County over the years). *Wenwu* 文物 (Cultural Relics) 6: 40–3.

Qindou Xianyang Kaogudui 秦都咸陽考古隊 (1982) Xianyang Shi Huangjiagou Zhanguo mudi fajue jianbao 咸陽市黃家溝戰國墓地發掘簡報 (Brief report on the excavations of the tombs at Huangjiagou in Xianyang City, of the Warring States period). *Kaogu Yu Wenwu* 考古與文物 (Archaeology and Cultural Relics) 6: 6–15.

Qingyang Diqu Bowuguan 慶陽地區博物館 and Qingyang Xian Bowuguan 慶陽縣博物館 (1988) Gansu Qingyang Cheng bei faxian Zhanguo shiqi zangmakeng 甘肅慶陽城北發現戰國時期葬馬坑 (A Warring States period horse pit discovered in the northern suburb of Qingyang City in Gansu). *Kaogu* 考古 (Archaeology) 9: 852 and 860.

Qinyong Kaogudui 秦俑考古隊 (1980) Lintong Shangjiaocun Qin mu qingli jianbao 臨潼上焦村秦墓清理簡報 (Brief report on the Qin tombs unearthed at Shangjiacun in Lintong). *Kaogu Yu Wenwu* 考古與文物 (Archaeology and Cultural Relics) 2: 42–50 and 27.

Qinyong Kaogudui 秦俑考古隊 (1983) Qin Shihuang ling erhao tong chema qingli jianbao 秦始皇陵二號銅車馬清理簡報 (Brief report on the excavation of bronze chariot no. 2 unearthed from the mausoleum of the First Emperor of Qin). *Wenwu* 文物 (Cultural Relics) 7: 1–15.

Raftery, J. (1961) The Derrinboy Hoard, Co. Offaly. *The Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland* 91.1: 55–8.

Rawson, J. (1984) *Chinese ornament: The lotus and the dragon*. London, British Museum Publications.

Rawson, J. (1989) Statesmen or barbarians? The Western Zhou as seen through their bronzes. *Proceedings of the British Academy* 75: 71–95.

Rawson, J. (1990a) Changing values of ancient Chinese bronzes. In *Ancient Chinese and Ordos bronzes*: 16–62. Hong Kong, Oriental Ceramic Society of Hong Kong.

Rawson, J. (1990b) *Western Zhou ritual bronzes from the Arthur M. Sackler collections*. Washington, Arthur M. Sackler Foundation.

Rawson, J. (1999a) The eternal palace of the Western Han: A new view of the universe. *Artibus Asiae* 59.1/2: 5–58.

Rawson, J. (1999b) Western Zhou archaeology. In M. Loewe and E. L. Shaughnessy (eds) *The Cambridge history of ancient China*: 352–449. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

Rawson, J. (2011) Ornament and territory: The case of the bronzes from Hanzhong. In Cao Wei (ed.) *Hanzhong chutu Shangdai qingtongqi* 漢中出土商代青銅器 (Shang Dynasty bronzes unearthed from Hanzhong) 4: 341–61. Chengdu, Ba Shu Shushe.

Rawson, J. (2013) Ordering the exotic: Ritual practices in the late Western and early Eastern Zhou. *Artibus Asiae* 73.1: 5–76.

Rawson, J. (2015) Steppe weapons in ancient China and the role of hand-to-hand combat. *The National Palace Museum Research Quarterly* 33: 37–95.

Rawson, J. (2017a) China and the steppe: reception and resistance. *Antiquity* 91: 375–88.

Rawson, J. (2017b) Shimao and Erlitou: New perspective on the origins of the bronze industry in central China. *Antiquity* 91: 1–5.

Rawson, J. (2018) Gold, an exotic material in early China. In K. M. Linduff and K. S. Rubinson (eds) *How objects tell stories. Essays in honor of Emma C. Bunker*: 109–35. Turnhout, Brepols.

Razmjou, S. (2005) Religion and burial customs. In J. Curtis and N. Tallis (eds) *Forgotten empire: The world of ancient Persia*: 150–80. London, British Museum Press.

Renfew, C. and Bahn, P. (2005) *Archaeology: The key concepts*. London, Routledge.

Robb, J. E. (1998) The archaeology of symbols. *Annual Review on Anthropology* 27: 329–42.

Rogers, J. D. (2012) Inner Asian states and empires: Theories and synthesis. *Journal of Archaeological Research* 20.3: 205–56.

Rogers, J. D. (2015) Empire dynamics in Inner Asia. In J. Bemmann and M. Schmauder (eds) *Complexity of interaction along the Eurasian steppe zone in the first millennium CE*: 73–88. Bonn, Bonn University Press.

Rolle, R. (1989) *The world of the Scythians*. Berkeley, University of California Press.

Rudenko, S. I. (1970) *Frozen tombs of Siberia: The Pazyryk burials of Iron Age horsemen*. Berkeley, University of California Press.

Salzman, P. C. (1972) Multi-resource nomadism in Iranian Baluchistan. In W. Irons and N. Dyson-Hudson (eds) *Perspectives on nomadism*: 60–8. Leiden, Brill.

Shaanxi Sheng Kaogu Yanjiusuo Qinling Gongzuozhan 陝西省考古研究所秦陵工作站 and Lintong Xian Wenwu Guanli Weiyuanhui 臨潼縣文物管理委員會 (1989) Shaanxi Lintong Liuzhuang Zhanguo mudi diaocha qingli jianbao 陝西臨潼劉莊戰國墓地調查清理簡報 (Brief report on the excavation of the cemetery at Liuzhuang in

Lintong, Shaanxi, of the Warring States period). *Kaogu Yu Wenwu* 考古與文物 (Archaeology and Cultural Relics) 5: 9–13 and 86.

Shaanxi Sheng Kaogu Yanjiusuo 陝西省考古研究所 (1998) Shaanxi Lintong Lingkou Zhanguo muzang fajue jianbao 陝西臨潼零口戰國墓葬發掘簡報 (Brief report on the excavation of the tombs at Lingkou in Lintong, Shaanxi, of the Warring States period). *Kaogu Yu Wenwu* 考古與文物 (Archaeology and Cultural Relics) 3: 15–21.

Shaanxi Sheng Kaogu Yanjiusuo 陝西省考古研究所 (2003) Xi'an beijiao Zhanguo zhutong gongjiang mu fajue jianbao 西安北郊戰國鑄銅工匠墓發掘簡報 (Brief report on the excavation of a coppersmith's tomb in the northern suburbs of Xi'an). *Wenwu* 文物 (Cultural Relics) 9: 4–14.

Shaanxi Sheng Kaogu Yanjiusuo 陝西省考古研究所 (2004) *Qin du Xianyang kaogu baogao* 秦都咸陽考古報告 (Report on the excavation of the Qin capital of Xianyang). Beijing, Kexue Chubanshe.

Shaanxi Sheng Kaogu Yanjiusuo 陝西省考古研究所 and Qin Shihuang Bingmayong Bowuguan 秦始皇兵馬俑博物館 (2005) Qin Shihuang lingyuan K0007 peizangkeng fajue jianbao 秦始皇陵園 K0007 陪葬坑發掘簡報 (Brief report on the excavation of an accompanying burial pit at Qin Shihuang's mausoleum). *Wenwu* 文物 (Cultural Relics) 6: 16–38.

Shaanxi Sheng Kaogu Yanjiuyuan 陝西省考古研究院, Yan'an Shi Wenwu Yanjiusuo 延安市文物研究所 and Huangling Xian Luyou Wenwuju 黃陵縣旅遊文物局 (2012) Shaanxi Huangling Zhaitou He Zhanguo Rongren mudi fajue jianbao 陝西黃陵寨頭河戰國戎人墓地發掘簡報 (Brief report on the excavation of the Rong cemetery at Zhaitouhe in Huangling, Shaanxi, of the Warring States period). *Kaogu Yu Wenwu* 考古與文物 (Archaeology and Cultural Relics) 6: 3–10.

Shaanxi Sheng Qingyong Kaogudui 陝西省秦俑考古隊 (1991) Qin Shihuang ling yi hao tong chema qingli jianbao 秦始皇陵一號銅車馬清理簡報 (Brief report on the excavation of bronze chariot no. 1 from the mausoleum of the First Emperor of Qin). *Wenwu* 文物 (Cultural Relics): 1: 1–13.

Shaanxi Sheng Wenguanhui 陝西省文管會 (1955) Shaanxi Xingping faxian Zhanguo yilai muzangqun 陝西興平發現戰國以來墓葬群 (A group of tombs discovered at Xingping, Shaanxi, from the Warring States period). *Wenwu Cankao Ziliao* 文物參考資料 (Materials for the Study of Cultural Relics) 10: 121.

Shaanxi Sheng Wenwu Guanli Weiyuanhui 陝西省文物管理委員會 (1959) Shaanxi Chang'an Hongqingcun Qin Han mu di-er ci fajue jianji 陝西長安洪慶村秦漢墓第二次發掘簡記 (Brief report on the second excavation of the tombs at Hongqingcun in Chang'an, Shaanxi, of the Qin and Han periods). *Kaogu* 考古 (Archaeology) 12: 662–7.

Shaanxi Sheng Yongcheng Kaogudui 陝西省雍城考古隊 (1986) 1981 nian Fengxiang Baqitun mudi fajue jianbao 一九八一年鳳翔八旗屯墓地發掘簡報 (Brief report on the excavation of the cemetery at Baqitun in Fengxiang in 1981). *Kaogu Yu Wenwu* 考古與文物 (Archaeology and Cultural Relics) 5: 23–40.

Shafer, R. J. and Bennett, D. H. (1974) *A guide to historical method*, Rev. ed. Homewood, Dorsey Press; London, Irvin-Dorsey.

Shang Zhiru 尚志儒 and Zhao Congcang 趙從蒼 (1986) Shaanxi Fengxiang Baqitun Xigoudao Qin mu fajue jianbao 陝西鳳翔八旗屯西溝道秦墓發掘簡報 (Brief report on the excavation of the Qin tombs at Xigoudao, Baqitun in Fengxiang, Shaanxi). *Wenbo* 文博 (Relics and Museology) 3: 1–31.

Shao Anding 邵安定, Mei Jianjun 梅建軍, Yang Junchang 楊軍昌, Chen Kunlong 陳坤龍 and Sun Weigang 孫偉剛 (2014) Qin Shihuangdi lingyuan chutu qingtong shuiqin de buzhui gongyi ji xiangguan wenti chutan 秦始皇帝陵園出土青銅水禽的補綴工藝及相關問題初探 (Preliminary exploration of the patch-repairing technique on the bronze waterfowl from the mausoleum of the First Emperor of Qin). *Kaogu* 考古 (Archaeology) 7: 96–104.

Shaughnessy, E. L. (1988) Historical perspectives on the introduction of the chariot into China. *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 1: 189–237.

Shaughnessy, E. L. (1991) *Sources of Western Zhou history: Inscribed bronze vessels*. Berkeley, University of California Press.

Shaughnessy, E. L. (1993) *I Chou shu*. In M. Loewe (ed.) *Early Chinese texts: A bibliographical guide*: 223–33. Berkeley, Society for the Study of Early China and Institute of East Asian Studies, University of California.

Shaughnessy, E. L. (1999) Western Zhou history. In M. Loewe and E. L. Shaughnessy (eds) *The Cambridge history of ancient China*: 292–351. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

Shaughnessy, E. L. (2014) The *Qin Biannian Ji* and the beginning of historical writing in China. In Liu Yang (ed.) *Beyond the First Emperor's mausoleum: New perspective on Qin ar*t: 115–36. Minneapolis, The Minneapolis Institute of Arts.

Shelach, G. (2002) *Leadership strategies, economic activity, and interregional interaction: Social complexity in northeast China*. New York, Kluwer Academic Publishers.

Shelach, G. (2009) *Prehistoric societies on the northern frontiers of China: Archaeological perspective on identity formation and economic change during the first millennium BCE*. London, Equinox Publishing Ltd.

Shelach, G. (2014) Steppe land interactions and their effects on Chinese cultures during second and first millennia BC. In A. Reuven and M. Biran (eds) *Nomads as agents of cultural change: The Mongols and their Eurasian predecessors*: 10–31. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press.

Shelach, G. and Pines, Y. (2006) Secondary state formation and the development of local identity: Change and continuity in the State of Qin (770–221 B.C.). In M. T. Stark (ed.) *Archaeology of Asia*: 202–30. Malden, Blackwell.

Sherratt, A. (2003) Pastoralism. In N. A. Siberman (ed.) *The Oxford companion to archaeology,* 2nd ed.: 620–24. Oxford, Oxford University Press.

Shi Dangshe 史黨社 (2009) Cong Qin diyu nei chutu de Ouya Caoyuan “dongwu wen” kan Qin yu “Rong Di” wenhua de guanxi 從秦地域內出土的歐亞草原“動物紋”看秦與“戎狄”文化的關係 (The relationship between Qin and the Rong and Di, as seen through the Eurasian steppe “animal motifs” excavated within Qin territory). In *E’erduosi Qingtongqi Guoji Xueshu Yantaohui lunwenji* 鄂爾多斯青銅器國際學術研討會論文集 (Proceedings of the International Symposium on the Ordos Bronzes): 717–32. Beijing, Kexue Chubanshe.

Shi Jie (2014) Incorporating all for one: The First Emperor’s tomb mound. *Early China* 37: 359–91.

Shi Nianhai 史念海 (1981a) E’erduosi Gaoyuan dongbu Zhanguo shiqi Qin Changcheng yizhi tansuo ji 鄂爾多斯高原東部戰國時期秦長城遺址探索記 (Report on the investigation of remains of the Qin long wall in the eastern Ordos plain of the Warring States period). In Wenwu Bianji Weiyuanhui 文物編輯委員會 (ed.)

Zhongguo Changcheng yizhi diaocha baogaoji 中國長城遺址調查報告集 (Reports on the investigation of sites on the Great Wall of China): 68–76. Beijing, Wenwu Chubanshe.

Shi Nianhai 史念海 (1981b). Huang He zhongyou Zhanguo ji Qin shi zhu Changcheng yiji de tansuo 黃河中游戰國及秦時諸長城遺跡的探索 (Investigation of remains of the Warring States and Qin period long walls in the middle reaches of the Yellow River). In Wenwu Bianji Weiyuanhui 文物編輯委員會 (ed.) *Zhongguo Changcheng yizhi diaocha baogaoji* 中國長城遺址調查報告集 (Reports on the investigation of sites on the Great Wall of China): 52–67. Beijing, Wenwu Chubanshe.

Shoudu Bowuguan 首都博物館 (2017) *Meihao Zhonghua—Jin ershinian kaogu chenguo zhan* 美好中華──近二十年考古成果展 (Splendour and beauty: Archaeological finds from China over the past 20 years). Beijing, Wenwu Chubanshe.

Shuihudi Qin Mu Zhujian Zhengli Xiaozu 睡虎地秦墓竹簡整理小組 (1978) *Shuihudi Qin mu zhujian* 睡虎地秦墓竹簡 (Bamboo strips from the Qin tomb at Shuihudi). Beijing, Wenwu Chubanshe.

Simpson, St. J. and Pankova, S. (2017) *Scythians: Warriors of ancient Siberia*. London, Thames & Hudson Ltd.

So, J. F. (1995a) Belt ornaments and fasteners. In J. F. So and E. C. Bunker (eds) *Traders and raiders on China's northern frontier*: 77–85. Seattle, Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, Smithsonian Institute.

So, J. F. (1995b) Bronze weapons, harnesses and personal ornaments: Signs of Qin's contacts with the northwest. *Orientations* 11: 36–43.

So, J. F. (2013) *Radiant legacy: Ancient Chinese gold from the Mengdiexuan collection*, vol. 1. Hong Kong, Department of Fine Arts and Art Museum, Institute of Chinese Studies.

So, J. F. (2014) Foreign/Eurasian elements in pre-imperial Qin culture: materials, techniques and types. In Liu Yang (ed.) *Beyond the First Emperor's mausoleum: New perspectives on Qin art*: 192–211. Minneapolis, The Minneapolis Institute of Arts.

So, J. F. and Bunker, E. C. (1995) *Traders and raiders on China's northern frontier*. Seattle, Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, Smithsonian Institution.

So. J. F. (forthcoming) Connecting friend and foe: Western Zhou personal regalia in jade and colored stone. *Archaeological Research in Asia*.

Sofaer, J. and Sørensen, M. L. S. (2013) Death and gender. In L. N. Stutz and S. Tarlow (eds) *The Oxford handbook of the archaeology of death and burial*: 527–42. Oxford, Oxford University Press.

Sökefeld, M. (1999) Debating self, identity, and culture in anthropology. *Current Anthropology* 40.4: 417–48.

Stark, S. (2012) Nomads and network: Elites and their connections to the outside world. In S. Stark and K. S. Rubinson (eds) *Nomads and networks: The ancient art and culture of Kazakhstan*: 106–39. New York, Institute for the Study of the Ancient World and Princeton, Princeton University Press.

Stepanova, E. V. and Pankova, S. (2017) Personal ornament. In St. J. Simpson and S. Pankova (eds) *Scythians: Warriors of ancient Siberia*: 88–97. London, Thames & Hudson Ltd.

Su Bingqi 蘇秉琦 (1948) *Doujitai Goudong Qu muzang* 鬥雞臺溝東區墓葬 (Tombs in Goudong District, Doujitai). Beijing, Guoli Beiping Yanjiuyuan Shixue Yanjiusuo.

Sun Ji 孫機 (1985) Zhongguo gu duzhou mache de jiegou 中國古獨輈馬車的結構 (The structure of China's ancient chariot with a single shaft). *Wenwu* 文物 (Cultural Relics) 8: 25–40.

Sun Shuyun and Han Rubin (2000) A study of casting and manufacturing techniques of early copper and bronze artefacts found in Gansu. In K. M. Linduff, Han Rubin and Sun Shuyun (eds) *The beginning of metallurgy in China*: 175–93. Lewiston, The Edwin Mellen Press.

Sun Zhouyong 孫周勇, Sun Zhanwei 孫戰偉 and Shao Jing 邵晶 (2012) Huangling Zhaitou He Zhanguo mudi xiangguan wenti tantao 黃陵寨頭河戰國墓地相關問題探討 (Discussion of questions related to the cemetery at Zhaitouhe in Huangling, Shaanxi, of the Warring States period). *Kaogu Yu Wenwu* 考古與文物 (Archaeology and Cultural Relics) 6: 79–86.

Svyatko, S. V., Schulting, R. J, Mallory, J., Murphy, E. M., Reimer, P. J., Khartanovich V. I., Chistov, Y. K. and Sablin, M. V. (2013) Stable isotope dietary analysis of prehistoric populations from the Minusinsk Basin, Southern Siberia, Russia: A new chronological framework for the introduction of millet to the eastern Eurasian steppe. *Journal of Archaeological Science* 40.11: 3936–45.

Tallis, N. (2005) Transport and warfare. In J. Curtis and N. Tallis (eds) *Forgotten empire: The world of ancient Persia*: 210–7. London, British Museum Press.

Teng Mingyu (2014) From vassal state to empire: an archaeological examination of Qin culture. In Y. Pines, G. Shelach, L. von Falkenhausen and R. D. S. Yates (eds) *Birth of an empire: The State of Qin revisited*: 71–112. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Teng Mingyu 滕銘予 (2002) *Qin wenhua: Cong fengguo dao diguo de kaoguxue guancha* 秦文化：從封國到帝國的考古學觀察 (Qin culture in archaeological perspective: From vassal state to empire). Beijing, Xueyuan Chubanshe.

Thote, A. (2014) Defining Qin artistic traditions: Heritage, borrowing, and innovation. In Liu Yang (ed.) *Beyond the First Emperor's mausoleum: New perspectives on Qin art*: 13–29. Minneapolis, The Minneapolis Institute of Arts.

Tian Guangjin 田廣金 and Guo Suxin 郭素新 (1980) Xigoupan Xiongnu mu fanying de zhuwenti 西溝畔匈奴墓反映的諸問題 (Questions reflected in the Xiongnu tombs at Xigoupan). *Wenwu* 文物 (Cultural Relics) 7: 16–7.

Tian Guangjin 田廣金 (1976) Taohongbala de Xiongnu mu 桃紅巴拉的匈奴墓 (Xiongnu tombs at Taohongbala). *Kaogu Xuebao* 考古學報 (Acta Archaeologica Sinica) 1: 131–42.

Tian Guangjin 田廣金 and Guo Suxin 郭素新 (1986a) *E'erduosi shi qingtongqi yanjiu* 鄂爾多斯式青銅器研究 (A study of Ordos bronzes). In Nei Menggu Zizhiqu Wenwu Gongzuodui 內蒙古自治區文物工作隊, Tian Guangji 田廣金 and Guo Suxin 郭素新 (eds) *E'erduosi shi qingtongqi* 鄂爾多斯式青銅 (Ordos style bronzes): 3–197. Beijing, Wenwu Chubanshe.

Tian Guangjin 田廣金 and Guo Suxin 郭素新 (1986b) Aluchaideng faxian de jinyinqi 阿魯柴登發現的金銀器 (Gold and silver artefacts discovered at Ahluchaideng). In Nei Menggu Zizhiqu Wenwu Gongzuodui 內蒙古自治區文物工作隊, Tian Guangjin 田廣金 and Guo Suxin 郭素新 (eds) *E'erduosi shi qingtongqi* 鄂爾多斯式青銅器 (Ordos style bronzes): 342–50. Beijing, Wenwu Chubanshe.

Tong Enzheng 童恩正 (1990) Shilun woguo cong dongbei zhi xinan de Biandi Banyuexing Wenhua Chuanbodai 試論我國從東北至西南的邊地半月形文化傳播

帶. In *Zhongguo xinan minzu kaogu lunwenji* 中國西南民族考古論文集 (Collected papers on ethnoarchaeology in southwest China). Beijing, Wenwu Chubanshe.

Tsien Tsuen-hsuin (1993) *Chan kuo ts'e*. In M. Loewe (ed.) *Early Chinese texts: A bibliographical guide*: 1–11. Berkeley, Society for the Study of Early China and the Institute of East Asian Studies, University of California.

Tzehuey, Chiou-Peng (2014) Spiral handle and three-pronged guard: stylistic or technical traits? In Anke Hein (ed.) *The 'Crescent-Shaped Cultural-Communication Belt': Tong Enzheng's model in retrospect. An examination of methodological, theoretical and material concerns of long-distance interactions in East Asia*: 109–22. Oxford, Archaeopress.

Van Geel, B., Bokovenko, N. A., Burova, N. D., Chugunov, K. V., Dergachev, V. A., Dirksen, V. G., Kulkova, M., Nagler, A., Parzinger, H., van der Plicht, J., Vasiliev, S. S. and Zaitseva, G. I. (2004) Climate change and the expansion of the Scythian culture after 850 BC: A hypothesis. *Journal of Archaeological Science* 31: 1735–42.

Van Wolputte, S. (2004) Hang on to your self: Of bodies, embodiment, and selves. *Annual Review of Anthropology* 33: 251–69.

Von Falkenhausen, L. (1993) On the historiographical orientation of Chinese archaeology. *Antiquity* 67: 839–49.

Von Falkenhausen, L. (1997) Youguan Xi Zhou wenqi lizhi gaige ji Zhuangbai Weishi qingtongqi niandai de xian jiashe–cong shixi mingwen shuoqi 有關西周晚期禮制改革及莊白微氏青銅器年代的新假設──從世系銘文說起 (A new hypothesis for the ritual reform in the Western Zhou and the dating of the Wei family bronzes from Zhuangbai: Beginning from the genealogical inscription). In Zang Zhenhua 臧振華 (ed.) *Zhongguo kaoguxue yu lishixue zhi zhenghe yanjiu* 中國考古學與歷史學

之整合研究 (Integrated studies of Chinese archaeology and history): 651–75. Taipei, Academia Sinica.

Von Falkenhausen, L. (1999) The waning of the Bronze Age: Material culture and social development, 770–481 B.C. In M. Loewe and E. L. Shaughnessy (eds) *The Cambridge history of ancient China*: 450–44. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

Von Falkenhausen, L. (2004) Mortuary behaviors in pre-imperial Qin: a religious interpretation. In J. Lagerwey (ed.) *Religion and Chinese society, vol. 1: Ancient and medieval China*: 109–72. Hong Kong, The Chinese University Press and Paris, École française d'Extrême-Orient.

Von Falkenhausen, L. (2006) *Chinese society in the age of Confucius (1000–250 B.C.): The archaeological evidence*. Los Angeles, Cotsen Institute of Archaeology, University of California.

Von Falkenhausen, L. and Shelach, G. (2014) Introduction: Archaeological perspectives on the Qin "unification" of China. In Y. Pines, L. von Falkenhausen, G. Shelach and R. D. S. Yates (eds) *Birth of an empire: The State of Qin revisited*: 37–52. Berkeley, University of California Press.

Wallace, P. E. (2007) *A guide to the National Museum of Ireland*. Dublin, Town House.

Wang, E. (2012) What happened to the First Emperor's afterlife spirit? In Liu Yang (ed.) *China's terracotta warriors: the First Emperor's legacy*: 211–27. Minneapolis, Minneapolis Institute of Arts.

Wang Guangyong 王光永 (1979) Baoji Shi Weibin Qu Jiangchengbao Dong Zhou muzang 寶雞市渭濱區姜城堡東周墓葬 (Eastern Zhou tombs at Jiangchengbao in Weibin District, Baoji). *Kaogu* 考古 (Archaeology) 6: 563–4.

Wang Guowei 王國維 (1959) *Guantang jilin: Fu bieji* 觀堂林集：附別集 (Collected works of Wang Guantang). Beijing, Zhonghua Shuju.

Wang Guowei 王國維 (1973) Guifang, Kunyi, Xianyun kao 鬼方昆夷玁狁考 (Investigation of Guifang, Kunyi and Xianyun). In *Guantang linji* 觀堂林集 (Collected works of Wang Guantang). Beijing, Zhonghua Shuju.

Wang Hui (2014) Archaeological finds of the Majiayuan cemetery and Qin's interaction with steppe cultures. In Liu Yang (ed.) *Beyond the First Emperor's mausoleum: New perspectives on Qin art*: 213–36. Minneapolis, The Minneapolis Institute of Arts.

Wang Hui 王輝 (1996) Shijiu nian Daliangzao Yang sunzun kao 十九年大良造鞅殳鐏考 (A study of the *sunzun* made by Daliangzao Yan in the 19th year). *Kaogu Yu Wenwu* 考古與文物 (Archaeology and Cultural Relics) 5: 22–31.

Wang Hui 王輝 (2007) Faxian Xirong–Gansu Zhangjiachuan Majiayuan mudi 發現西戎──甘肅張家川馬家塬墓地 (Discovering the Western Rong—The Majiayuan cemetery in Zhangjiachuan, Gansu). *Zhongguo Wenhua Yichan* 中國文化遺產 (Chinese Cultural Relics) 6: 56–77.

Wang Hui 王輝 (2013) Gansu faxian de liang Zhou shiqi de huren xingxiang 甘肅發現的兩周時期的胡人形象 (Iconography of Hu barbarians discovered in Zhou Dynasty Gansu). *Kaogu Yu Wenwu* 考古與文物 (Archaeology and Cultural Relics) 6: 59–68.

Wang Hui 王輝 (2009) Zhangjiachuan Majiayuan mudi xiangguan wenti chutan 張家川馬家塬墓地相關問題初探 (A preliminary discussion of issues related to the Majiayuan cemetery in Zhangjiachuan). *Wenwu* 文物 (Cultural Relics) 10: 70–7.

Wang Shilan 汪世蘭 and Xu Qizhi 徐齊治 (1987) Maxian Shan diqu Quanxinshi baofen zuhe tezheng ji guzhibei de yanbian guilu 馬啣山地區全新世孢粉組合特徵及古植被的演變規律 (Characteristics of spore-pollen assemblages of the Holocene in the Maxian Mountain region and the change of palaeovegetation). *Lanzhou Daxue Xuebao* 蘭州大學學報 (Journal of Lanzhou University) 24.2: 113–21.

Wang Tao (1997) Establishing the Chinese archaeological school: Su Bingqi and contemporary Chinese archaeology. *Antiquity* 71: 31–6.

Wang Wei 黃維, Chen Jianli 陳建立, Wang Hui 王輝 and Wu Xiaohong 吳小紅 (2013) Zhangjiachuan Majiayuan mudi jinshu zhipin jishu yanjiu—jianlun Zhanguo shiqi xibei diqu wenhua jiaoliu 張家川馬家塬墓地金屬製品技術研究──兼論戰國時期西北地區文化交流 (Technological study of metal artefacts from the Majiayuan cemetery in Zhangjiachuan). Beijing, Beijing Daxue Chubanshe.

Wang Wei 黃維, Wu Xiaohong 吳小紅, Chen Jianli 陳建立 and Wang Hui 王輝 (2009) Zhangjiachuan Majiayuan mudi chutu jinguanshi de yanjiu 張家川馬家塬墓地出土金管飾的研究 (A study of the gold tubular ornament unearthed at Majiayuan cemetery in Zhangjiachuan). *Wenwu* 文物 (Cultural Relics) 10: 78–84 and 87.

Watson, B. (trans.) (1964) *Han Fei Tzu: Basic writings*. New York, Columbia University Press.

Watson, B. (trans.) (1993a) *Records of the Grand Historian: Qin dynasty*. Hong Kong, Columbia University Press.

Watson, B. (trans.) (1993b) *Records of the Grand Historian: Han Dynasty II*. Hong Kong, Columbia University Press.

Watson, W. (1971) *Cultural frontiers in Ancient East Asia*. Edinburgh, Edinburgh University Press.

Wenwu Bianji Weiyuanhui 文物編輯委員會 (1981) *Zhongguo Changcheng yizhi diaocha baogaoji* 中國長城遺址調查報告集 (Reports on the investigation of sites on the Great Wall of China). Beijing, Wenwu Chubanshe.

Wobst, H. (1977) Stylistic behavior and information exchange. In C. E. Cleland (ed.) *For the director: Research essays in honor of James B. Griffin*: 371–42. Ann Arbor, Museum of Anthropology, University of Michigan.

Wong, R. (2017) Carpets, chariots and the State of Qin. *Orientations* 48: 60–70.

Wong, R. (2018) *Su Bingqi*. In C. Smith (ed.) *Encyclopaedia of global archaeology*. New York, Springer New York.

Wood, W. (1990) Ethnohistory and historical method. *Archaeological Method and Theory* 2: 81–109.

Wu Chin-ting (1938) *Prehistoric pottery in China*. London, K. Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co., Ltd.

Wu Hung (1999) The art and architecture of the Warring States period. In M. Loewe and E. L. Shaughnessy (eds) *The Cambridge history of ancient China*: 651–744. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

Wu Hsiao-yun (2013) *Chariots in early China: Origins, cultural interaction, and identity*. Oxford, Archaeopress.

Wu Hsiao-yun 吳曉筠 (2016) Shandian shang de xionglu, menghu yu ye shanyang: Majiayuan mache caoyuan zhuangshi de laiyuan yu chuanbo tujing 山巔上的雄鹿、猛虎與野山羊：馬家塬馬車草原裝飾的來源與傳播途徑 (Stags, tigers and ibexes

in the mountains: The origins and transmission of steppe patterns seen on chariots found at Majiayuan in Zhangjiachuan, Gansu). *Gugong Xueshu Jikan* 故宮學術季刊 (The National Palace Museum Research Quarterly) 34.1: 1–51.

Wu Xin (2005) Enemies of empire: A historical reconstruction of political conflicts between Central Asians and the Persian Empire. In J. Curtis and St. J. Simpson (eds) *The world of Achaemenid Persia: History, art and society in Iran and the ancient Near East. Proceedings of a conference at the British Museum 29th September–1st October 2005*: 545–63. London, I. B. Tauris.

Wu Xin (2007) Persian and Central Asian contributions to the formation of social landscape of the early nomads in Pazyryk, southern Siberia: 120–50. In L. M. Popova, C. W. Hartley and A. T. Smith (eds) *Social orders and social landscape*. Newcastle, Cambridge Scholars Publishing.

Wu Xialong (2013) Cultural hybridity and social status: Elite tombs on China's northern frontier during the third century BC. *Antiquity* 87: 121–36.

Wu Xiaolong (2017) *Material culture, power, and identity in ancient China*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

Wu'en Yuesitu 烏恩岳斯圖 (1981) Woguo beifang gudai dongwu wenshi 我國北方古代動物紋飾 (Animal motifs on the northern frontier of ancient China). *Kaogu Xuebao* 考古學報 (Acta Archaeologica Sinica) 1: 45–61.

Wu'en Yuesitu 烏恩岳斯圖 (1990) Lun Xiongnu kaogu yanjiu zhong di jige wenti 論匈奴考古研究中的幾個問題 (Discussion of some questions in the archaeological study of the Xiongnu). *Kaogu Xuebao* 考古學報 (Acta Archaeologica Sinica) 4: 409–36.

Wu'en Yuesitu 烏恩岳斯圖 (2002) *Ouya Dalu Caoyuan zaoqi youmu wenhua de jidian sikao* 歐亞大陸草原早期遊牧文化的幾點思考 (Some thoughts on the early nomadic cultures in the Eurasian steppe). *Kaogu Xuebao* 考古學報 (Acta Archaeologica Sinica) 4: 437–70.

Xia Nai (2014) *Ancient Egyptian beads*. Heidelberg, Springer Verlag.

Xianyang Shi Bowuguan 咸陽縣博物館 (1975) Shaanxi Xianyang Ta'erpo chutu de tongqi 陝西咸陽塔兒坡出土的銅器 (Bronzes unearthed at Ta'erpo, Xiangyang, Shaanxi). *Wenwu* 文物 (Cultural Relics) 6: 69–75 and 99.

Xianyang Shi Wenwu Kaogu Yanjiusuo 咸陽市文物考古研究所 (1997) Xianyang Ta'erpo Zhanguo mu fajue jianbao 咸陽塔爾坡戰國墓發掘簡 (Brief report on the excavation of the tombs at Ta'erpo, Xianyang, of the Warring States period). *Wenbo* 文博 (Relics and Museology) 4: 3–7.

Xianyang Shi Wenwu Kaogudui 咸陽市文物考古隊 (1996) Xianyang Shiyougangguan Gangshengchang Qin mu qingli jianbao 咸陽石油鋼管鋼繩廠秦墓清理簡報 (Brief report on the excavation of Qin tombs at the Xianyang Steel Tube and Wire Rope Factory). *Kaogu Yu Wenwu* 考古與文物 (Archaeology and Cultural Relics) 5: 1–8.

Xinjiang Shehui Kexueyuan Kaogu Yanjiusuo 新疆社會科學院考古研究所 (1981) Xinjiang Alagou shuxue muguomu fajue jianbao 新疆阿拉溝豎穴木槨墓發掘簡報 (Brief report on the excavation of the wooden-chambered tomb at Alagou in Xinjiang). *Wenwu* 文物 (Cultural Relics) 1: 18–22.

Xu Cheng 許成 and Li Jinzeng 李進增 (1993) Dong Zhou shiqi de Rong Di qingtong wenhua 東周時期的戎狄青銅文化 (The bronze cultures of the Rong and Di of the Eastern Zhou period). *Kaogu Xuebao* 考古學報 (Acta Archaeologica Sinica) 1: 1–12.

Yan Shizhong 延世忠 (1994) Ningxia Guyuan chutu Zhanguo qingtongqi 寧夏固原出土戰國青銅器 (Bronzes unearthed in Guyuan, Ningxia, of the Warring States period). *Wenwu* 文物 (Cultural Relics) 9: 94–5.

Yan Shizhong 延世忠 and Li Huairen 李懷仁 (1992) Ningxia Xiji faxian yizuo qingtong shidai muzang 寧夏西吉發現一座青銅時代墓葬 (A newly discovered tomb in Xiji, Ningxia, of the Bronze Age). *Kaogu* 考古 (Archaeology) 6: 573–5.

Yang Jianhua and Linduff, K. M. (2013) A contextual explanation for "foreign" or "steppic" factors exhibited in burials at the Majiayuan cemetery and the opening of the Tianshan Mountain Corridor. *Asian Archaeology* 1: 73–84.

Yang Jianhua 楊建華 (2010) Sanchashi hushoujian yu Zhongguo xibu wenhua jiaoliu de guocheng 三叉式護手劍與中國西部文化交流的過程 (Three-pronged swords and process of cultural exchange in western China). *Kaogu* 考古 (Archaeology) 4: 71–8.

Yang Jianhua 楊建華 (2010) Zhangjiachuan muzang caoyuan yinsu xunzong–Tianshan tongdao de kaiqi 張家川墓葬草原因素尋蹤──天山通道的開啟 (Tracing elements of steppe culture from the Zhangjiachuan tombs—Opening the passageway through the Tianshan). *Xiyu Yanjiu* 西域研究 (The Western Region Studies) 4: 51–6.

Yang Ningguo 楊寧國 and Qi Yuezhang 祁悅章 (1999) Ningxia Pengyang Xian jinnian chutu de beifangxi qingtongqi 寧夏彭陽縣近年出土的北方系青銅器 (Bronzes of Northern Zone-style unearthed in Pengyang County, Ningxia, in recent years). *Kaogu* 考古 (Archaeology) 12: 28–37.

Yang Yueguang 楊月光 and Mao Ruilin 毛瑞林 (2015) Gansu Zhang Xian Dunping yizhi Dong Zhou mudi 甘肅漳縣墩坪遺址東周墓地 (The cemetery at Dunping in

Zhang County, Gansu, of the Eastern Zhou period). *Dazhong Kaogu* 大眾考古 (Popular Archaeology) 2: 123.

Yao Weiling 姚蔚玲 (2001) Ningxia Guyuan chutu de tongfu 寧夏固原出土的銅鍑 (A bronze *fu*-food container unearthed in Guyuan, Ningxia). *Kaogu* 考古 (Archaeology) 11: 92–4.

Yikezhaomeng Wenwu Gongzuozhan 伊克昭盟文物工作站 (1992) Yijinhouluo Qi Shihuigou faxian de E'erduosi shi wenwu 伊金霍洛旗石灰溝發現的鄂爾多斯式文物 (Ordos-style artefacts discovered at Shihuigou in Ejin Horo Banner). *Nei Menggu Wenwu Kaogu* 內蒙古文物考古 (Inner Mongolia Cultural Relics and Archaeology) 1/2: 91–6.

Yongcheng Kaogu Gongzuodui 雍城考古工作隊 (1980) Fengxiang Xian Gaozhuang Zhanguo Qin mu fajue jianbao 鳳翔縣高莊戰國秦墓發掘簡報 (Brief report on the excavation of the Qin tombs at Gaozhuang in Fengxiang County, of the Warring States period). *Wenwu* (Cultural Relics) 9: 10–4 and 31.

Yongcheng Kaogudui 雍城考古隊, Li Zizhi 李自智 and Shang Zhiru 尚志儒 (1986) Shaanxi Fengxiang Xicun Zhanguo Qin mu fajue jianbao 陝西鳳翔西村戰國秦墓發掘簡報 (Brief report on the excavation of Qin tombs at Xicun in Fengxiang, Shaanxi, of the Warring States period). *Kaogu Yu Wenwu* 考古與文物 (Archaeology and Cultural Relics) 1: 8–35.

Yongcheng Kaogudui 雍城考古隊, Wu Zhenfeng 吳鎮烽 and Shang Zhiru 尚志儒 (1981) Shaanxi Fengxiang Gaozhuang Qin mudi fajue jianbao 陝西鳳翔高莊秦墓地發掘簡報 (Brief report on the excavation of Qin cemetery at Gaozhuang in Fengxiang, Shaanxi). *Kaogu Yu Wenwu* 考古與文物 (Archaeology and Cultural Relics) 1: 12–35.

Yu Huanjin 于煥金 (2013) Qin mu zhong chutu de S-xingshi yanjiu 秦墓中出土的 S 形飾研究 (A study of the S-shaped ornaments unearthed from Qin tombs). *Kaogu Yu Wenwu* 考古與文物 (Archaeology and Cultural Relics) 5: 101–7.

Yu Weichao 俞偉超 (1985) Gudai "Xirong" he "Qiang", "Hu" kaoguxue wenhua guishu wenti de tantao 古代 "西戎"和"羌"、"胡"考古學文化歸屬問題的探討 (Investigation of affiliation of ancient "Western Rong", "Qiang", and "Hu" archaeological cultures). In *Xian Qin liang Han kaoguxue lunji* 先秦兩漢考古學論集 (Collection of papers on pre-Qin, Eastern Han, and Western Han archaeology): 180–92, Beijing, Wenwu Chubanshe.

Yuan Jing 袁靖 and Yang Mengfei 楊夢菲 (2006) Gansu Zhuanglang Xujianian Siwa wenhua muzang chutu dongwu guge yanjiu baogao 甘肅莊浪徐家碾寺窪文化墓葬出土動物骨骼研究報告 (A study of the animal bones excavated from Siwa culture tombs at Xujianian, Zhuanglang, Gansu). In Zhongguo Shehui Kexueyuan Kaogu Yanjiusuo 中國社會科學院考古研究所 (ed) *Xujianian Siwa wenhua mudi—1980 nian Gansu Zhuanglang Xujianian kaogu fajue baogao* 徐家碾寺窪文化墓地——1980 年甘肅莊浪徐家碾考古發掘報告 (The cemetery of the Siwa culture at Xujianian—Report on the 1980 excavation of the Xujianian cemetery in Zhunaglang, Gansu): 238–44. Beijing, Kexue Chubanshe.

Yuan Zhongyi 袁仲一 (1990) *Qin Shihuang ling bingmayong yanjiu* 秦始皇陵兵馬俑研究 (A study of the terracotta warriors and horses from the mausoleum of the First Emperor of Qin). Beijing, Wenwu Chubanshe.

Yuan Zhongyi 袁仲一 (2002) Qin Shihuang ling de kaogu faxian yu yanjiu 秦始皇陵的考古發現與研究 (Archaeological discovery and research on the mausoleum of the First Emperor of Qin). Xi'an, Shaanxi Renmin Chubanshe.

Yue Qi 岳起 (1998) Xianyang Ta'erpo Zhanguo Qin wengguanzang mu fajue jianbao 咸陽塔兒坡戰國秦瓮棺葬墓發掘簡報 (Brief report on the Qin urn burials at Ta'erpo, Xianyang, of the Warring States period). *Wenbo* 文博 (Relics and Museology) 1: 3–11.

Zaitseva, G. I., van Geel, B., Bokovenko, N. A., Chugunov, K. V., Dergachev, V. A., Dirksen, V. G., Koulkova, M. A., Nagler, A., Parzinger, G., Plicht, J., van der, Bourova, N. D. and Lebedeva, L. M. (2004) Chronology and possible links between climatic and cultural change during the first millennium BC in southern Siberia and central Asia. *Radiocarbon* 46.1: 259–76.

Zaoqi Qin Wenhua Lianhe Kaogudui 早期秦文化聯合考古隊 (2005) 2004 nian Gansu Li Xian Luanting Shan yizhi fajue de zhuyao shouhuo 2004 年甘肅禮縣鸞亭山遺址發掘的主要收獲 (Major finds from the excavation of the Luanting Mountain site in Li County, Gansu, in 2004). *Zhongguo Lishi Wenwu* 中國歷史文物 (Journal of Chinese History) 5: 4－14.

Zaoqi Qin Wenhua Lianhe Kaogudui 早期秦文化聯合考古隊 (2008) 2006 nian Gansu Li Xian Dabuzi Shan Dong Zhou muzang fajue jianbao 2006 年甘肅禮縣大堡子山東周墓葬發掘簡報 (Brief report on the excavation of the Eastern Zhou tombs at Dabuzi Mountain in Li County, Gansu, in 2006). *Wenwu* 文物 (Cultural Relics) 11: 30–49.

Zaoqi Qin Wenhua Lianhe Kaogudui 早期秦文化聯合考古隊 (2012) Rong Di zhi lu—Nei Meng, Shaan bei, Ningxia, Long dong kaogu kaocha bitan 戎狄之旅──内蒙、陝北、寧夏、隴東考古考察筆談 (Travels of the Rong and Di: Essays on archaeological surveys of Inner Mongolia, northern Shaanxi, Ningxia and eastern Gansu). *Kaogu Yu Wenwu* 考古與文物 (Archaeology and Cultural Relics) 1: 96–107.

Zaoqi Qin Wenhua Lianhe Kaogudui 早期秦文化聯合考古隊 and Cao Dazhi 曹大志 (2008) Gansu Li Xian sanzuo Zhou dai chengzhi diaocha baogao 甘肅禮縣三座周代城址調查報告 (Report on the survey of three walled sites in Li County, Gansu, of the Zhou Dynasty). *Gudai Wenming* 古代文明 (Ancient Civilisation) 7. Beijing: Wenwu Chubanshe.

Zaoqi Qin Wenhua Lianhe Kaogudui 早期秦文化聯合考古隊 and Zhangjiachuan Huizu Zizhixian Bowuguan 張家川回族自治縣博物館 (2009) Zhangjiachuan Majiayuan Zhanguo mudi 2007–2008 nian fajue jianbao 張家川馬家塬戰國墓地 2007–2008 年發掘簡報 (Brief report on the 2007–2008 excavation of the Majiayuan cemetery in Zhangjiachuan, of the Warring States period). *Wenwu* 文物 (Cultural Relics) 10: 25–51.

Zaoqi Qin Wenhua Lianhe Kaogudui 早期秦文化聯合考古隊 and Zhangjiachuan Huizu Zizhixian Bowuguan 張家川回族自治縣博物館 (2012) Zhangjiachuan Majiayuan Zhanguo mudi 2010–2011 nian fajue jianbao 張家川馬家塬戰國墓地 2010–2011 年發掘簡報 (Brief report on the 2010–2011 excavation of the Majiayuan cemetery in Zhangjiachuan, of the Warring States period). *Wenwu* 文物 (Cultural Relics) 8: 4–26.

Zaoqi Qin Wenhua Lianhe Kaogudui 早期秦文化聯合考古隊 and Zhangjiachuan Huizu Zizhixian Bowuguan 張家川回族自治縣博物館 (2010) Zhangjiachuan Majiayuan Zhanguo mudi 2008–2009 nian fajue jianbao 張家川馬家塬戰國墓地 2008–2009 年發掘簡報 (Brief report on the 2008–2009 excavation of the Majiayuan cemetery in Zhangjiachuan, of the Warring States period). *Wenwu* 文物 (Cultural Relics) 10: 4–26.

Zaoqi Qin Wenhua Lianhe Kaogudui 早期秦文化聯合考古隊 and Zhangjiachuan Huizu Zizhixian Bowuguan 張家川回族自治縣博物館 (2018) Zhangjiachuan

Majiayuan Zhanguo mudi 2008–2009 nian fajue jianbao 甘肅張家川馬家塬戰國墓地 2012–2014 年發掘簡報 (Brief report on the 2012–2014 excavation of the Majiayuan cemetery in Zhangjiachuan, of the Warring States period). *Wenwu* 文物 (Cultural Relics) 10: 4–25.

Zhang Yin 張寅 (2013) Dong Zhou Xi Rong kaoguxue wenhua de chubu yanjiu 東周西戎考古學文化的初步研究 (Preliminary study of the archaeological culture of the Western Rong of the Eastern Zhou period). *Qin Shihuangdi Ling Bowuyuan Yuankan* 秦始皇帝陵博物院院刊 (Journal of the Site Museum of Emperor Qishihuang's Mausoleum) 3.

Zhang Yin 張寅 (2014) Dong Zhou shiqi Guanzhong diqu Xirong yicun de chubu yanjiu 東周時期關中地區西戎遺存的初步研究 (Preliminary study of remains of the Western Rong in the Guanzhong region of the Eastern Zhou period). *Kaogu Yu Wenwu* 考古與文物 (Archaeology and Cultural Relics) 2: 46–53.

Zhang Yiren 張以仁, Boltz, W. G. and Loewe, M. (1993) *Guoyu*. In M. Loewe (ed.) *Early Chinese texts: A bibliographical guide*: 263–8. Berkeley, Society for the Study of Early China and the Institute of East Asian Studies, University of California.

Zhang Zhiguo 張治國, Ma Qinglin 馬清林, Mei Jianjun 梅建軍 and Haiyinsibeike 海因斯貝克 (2012) Zhongguo gudai renzao guisuantongbei yanliao moni zhibei yanjiu 中國古代人造硅酸銅鋇顏料模擬製備研究 (Simulation synthesis of ancient Chinese artificial barium copper silicate pigments). *Zhongguo Guojia Bowuguan Guankan* 中國國家博物館館刊 (Journal of the National Museum of China) 2: 128–40.

Zhao, Gang (2006) Reinventing China: Imperial Qing ideology and the rise of modern Chinese national identity in the early twentieth century. *Modern China* 32.1: 3–30.

Zhao Haizhou 趙海洲 (2007) *Dong Zhou Qin Han shiqi chema maizang yanjiu* 東周秦漢時期車馬埋葬研究 (A study of chariot and horse burials from the Eastern Zhou to Han Dynasties). PhD diss., Zhengzhou University.

Zhao Huacheng 趙化成 (1989) Gansu dongbu Qin he Qiang Rong wenhua de kaoguxue tansuo 甘肅東部秦和羌戎文化的考古學探索 (Archaeological exploration of Qin, Qiang, and Rong cultures in eastern Gansu). In Yu Weichao 俞偉超 (ed.) *Kaogu leixingxue de lilun yu shijian* 考古類型學的理論與實踐 (Theories and practice of typological studies in archaeology): 145–76. Beijing, Wenwu Chubanshe.

Zhao Huacheng 趙化成 (2014) New explorations of early Qin culture. In Y. Pines, L. von Falkenhausen, G. Shelach and R. D. S. Yates (eds) *Birth of an empire: The State of Qin revisited*: 53–70. Berkeley, University of California Press.

Zhao Wucheng 趙吳成 (2010a) Gansu Majiayuan Zhanguomu mache de fuyuan–jiantan zushu wenti 甘肅馬家川戰國墓馬車的復原──兼談族屬問題 (Reconstruction of the chariots from the tombs at Majiayuan, Gansu, of the Warring States period). *Wenwu* 文物 (Cultural Relics) 6: 75–93.

Zhao Wucheng 趙吳成 (2010b) Gansu Majiayuan Zhanguomu mache de fuyuan (xuyi) 甘肅馬家川戰國墓馬車的復原 (續一) (Reconstruction of the chariots from the tombs at Zhangjiachuan, Gansu, of the Warring States period, supplement 1). *Wenwu* 文物 (Cultural Relics) 11: 84–96.

Zhao Wucheng 趙吳成 (2018) Gansu Majiayuan Zhanguo mache de fuyuan (xu'er): mache de sheji zhizao jiqiao ji niuche de gaizhuang yu sheji sixiang 甘肅馬家塬戰國墓馬車的復原（續二）──馬車的設計製造技巧及牛車的改裝與設計思想 (Reconstruction of the chariots from the tombs at Majiayuan, Gansu, supplement 2. The manufacturing techniques of horse-drawn vehicles and the design and modification of ox-drawn vehicles). *Wenwu* 文物 (Cultural Relics) 6: 44–57.

Zheng Shaozong 鄭紹宗 (1981) Hebei Sheng Zhanguo Qin Han shiqi gu Changcheng he chengzhang yizhi 河北省戰國、秦、漢時期古長城和城障遺址 (Remains of ancient long walls of the Warring States, Qin, and Han periods in Hebei Province). In Wenwu Bianji Weiyuanhui 文物編輯委員會 (ed.) *Zhongguo Changcheng yizhi diaocha baogaoji* 中國長城遺址調查報告集 (Reports on the investigation of sites on the Great Wall of China): 34–9. Beijing, Wenwu Chubanshe.

Zhong Kan 鍾侃 (1978) Ningxia Guyuan Xian chutu wenwu 寧夏固原縣出土地文物 (Artefacts unearthed in Guyuan County, Ningxia). *Wenwu* 文物 (Cultural Relics) 12: 86–90.

Zhong Kan 鍾侃 and Han Kongle 韓孔樂 (1985) Ningxia nanbu Chunqiu Zhanguo shiqi de qingtong wenhua 寧夏南部春秋戰國時期的青銅文化 (A Bronze Age culture in southern Ningxia during the Spring and Autumn and the Warring States periods). In Zhongguo Kaogu Xuehui 中國考古學會 (ed.) *Zhongguo Kaogu Xuehui Di-si Ci Nianhui lunwenji* 中國考古學會第四次年會論文集 1983 (Proceedings of the Fourth Symposium on Chinese Archaeology in 1983): 203–13. Beijing, Wenwu Chubanshe.

Zhongguo Qingtongqi Bianweihui 中國青銅器編委會 (1998) *Zhongguo qingtongqi quanji* 中國青銅器全集 (Complete collection of bronze wares in China). Beijing, Wenwu Chubanshe.

Zhongguo Shehui Kexueyuan Kaogu Yanjiusuo Gansu Gongzuodui 中國社會科學院考古研究所甘肅工作隊 (1974) *Gansu Yongjing Dahezhuang yizhi fajue baogo* 甘肅永靖大何莊遺址發掘報告 (Report on the excavation of the remains at Dahezhuang in Yongching, Gansu). *Kaogu Xuebao* 考古學報 (Acta Archaeological Sinica) 2: 29–61.

Zhongguo Shehui Kexueyuan Kaogu Yanjiusuo Shaanxi Liudui 中國社會科學院考古研究所陝西六隊 (1988) Shaanxi Lantian Xiehu Zhanguo mu fajue jianbao 陝西藍田泄湖戰國墓發掘簡 (Brief report on the excavation of the tombs at Xiehu in Lantian, Shaanxi, of the Warring States period). *Kaogu* 考古 (Archaeology) 12: 1084–9.

Zhongguo Shehui Kexueyuan Kaogu Yanjiusuo 中國社會科學院考古研究所 (2004) (2004) *Zhongguo kaoguxue (liang Zhou chuan)* 中國考古學（兩周卷）(Chinese archaeology (Zhou Dynasty)): 541–47. Beijing, Zhongguo Shehui Kexue Chubanshe.

Zhongguo Shehui Kexueyuan Kaogu Yanjiusuo 中國社會科學院考古研究所 (2006) *Xujianian Siwa wenhua mudi—1980 nian Gansu Zhuanglang Xujianian kaogu fajue baogao* 徐家碾寺窪文化墓地──1980 年甘肅莊浪徐家碾考古發掘報告 (The Siwa cemetery at Xujianian–Report on the 1980 excavation at Xujianian in Zhuanglang, Gansu). Beijing, Kexue Chubanshe.

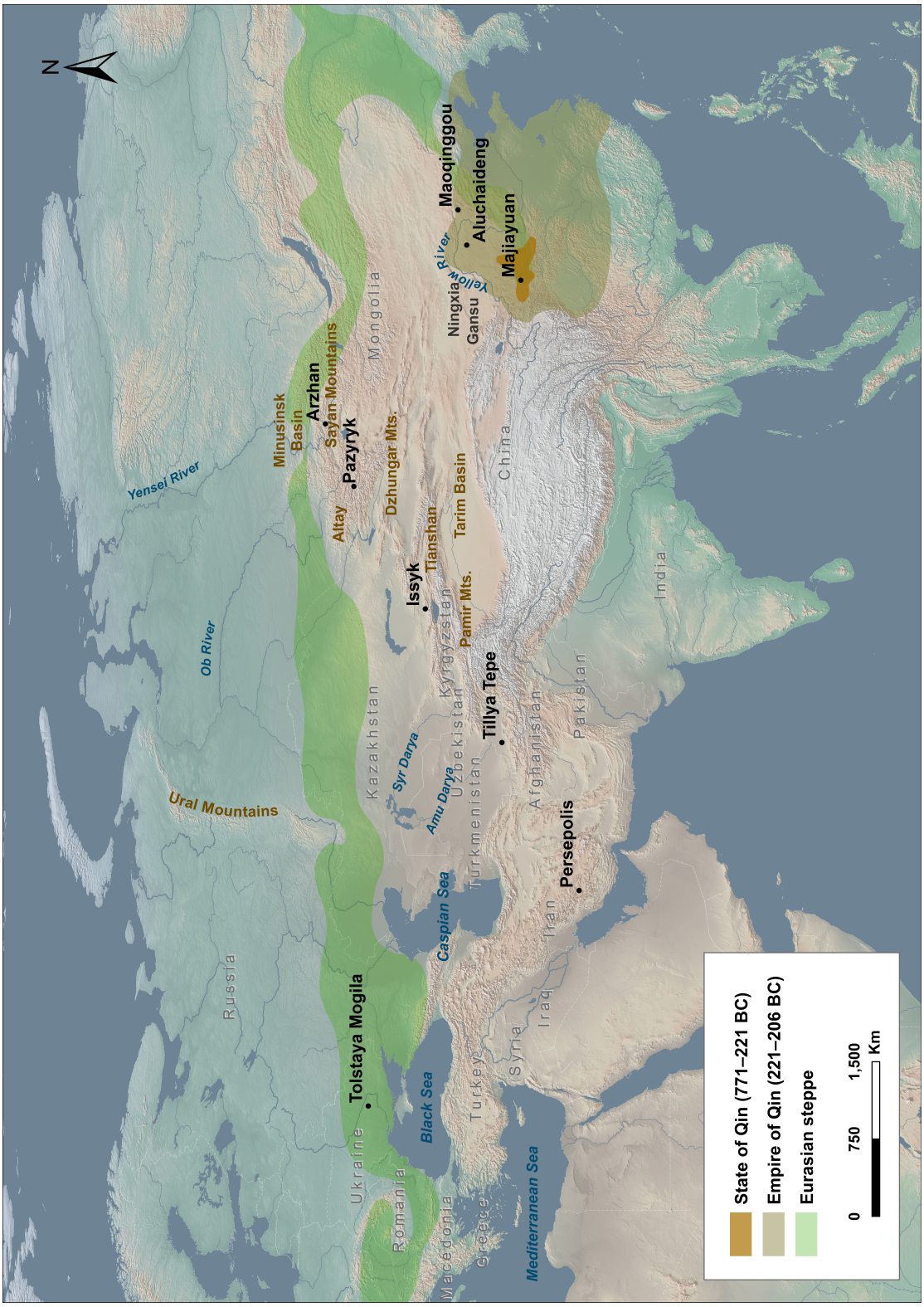
Zhongguo Shehui Kexueyuan Kaogu Yanjiusuo 中國社會科學院考古研究所 and Hebei Sheng Wenwu Guanlichu 河北省文物管理處 (1980) *Mancheng Han mu fajue baogao* 滿城漢墓發掘報告 (Report on the excavation of the Han Dynasty tomb at Mancheng). Beijing, Wenwu Chubanshe.

Zhou Xinghua 周興華 (1989) Ningxia Zhongwei Xian Langwozikeng de qingtong duanjian muqun 寧夏中衛縣狼窩子坑的青銅短劍墓群 (Tombs with bronze daggers at Langwozikeng in Zhongwei County, Ningxia). *Kaogu* 考古 (Archaeology) 11: 971–80.

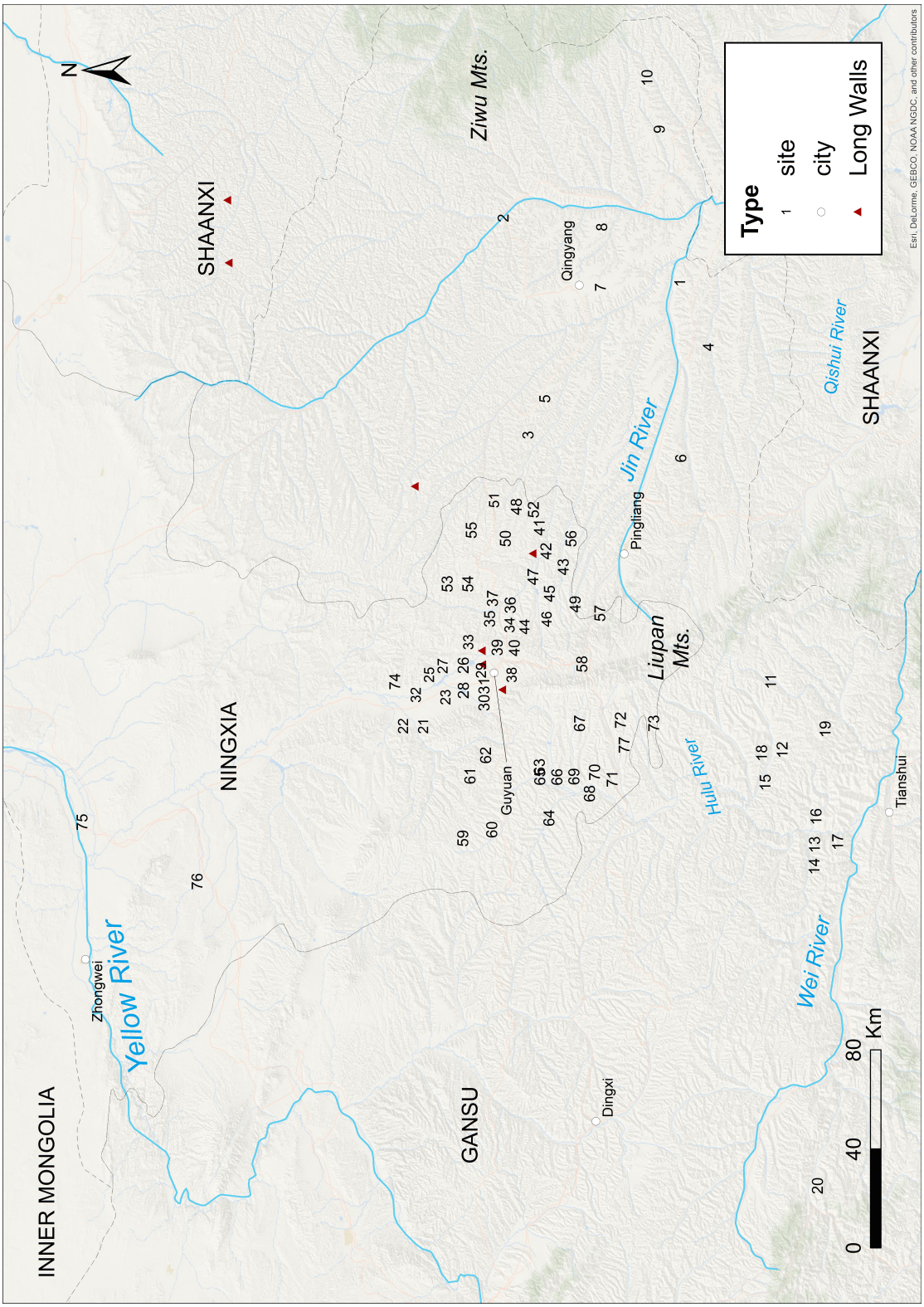
Zorn, E. (2004a). *Weaving a future: Tourism, cloth, and culture on an Andean Island*. Iowa, University of Iowa Press.

Zorn, E. (2004b) Dressed to kill: The embroidered fashion industry of the Ritual Battle Fighters in Highland Bolivia. In R. A. Root (ed.) *The Latin American fashion reader*: 114–41. Oxford, Berg.

Maps



1.1 Map showing the Eurasian steppe and the major archaeological sites discussed in this thesis. (Made by Wai Kwan Wong)



1.2 Map showing Gansu Province and Ningxia Hui Autonomous Region and sites and Qin military fortifications discussed in Chapters Four and Five. (Made by Wai Kwan Wong) (Author's note: for the sites that the numbers refer to, see Appendix One)

Figures for Chapter Three



3.1 Drawings of a Tagar culture pendant from the Minusinsk Basin, Russia, 7th–3rd centuries BC. Bronze, dimensions unknown (After Bokovenko 2006, 872, fig. 11.11)



3.2. Horse ornament in the shape of a coiled feline excavated from Arzhan 1, Tuva Republic, Russia, 9th–8th centuries BC. Bronze, dimensions unknown (After Bunker 2002, 25, fig. 34)



3.3 Burial mound of Arzhan 2, Tuva Republic, Russia, late 7th century BC. Diameter *c*. 80 m (After Chugunov *et al.* 2010, 14, fig. 16)



3.4 Drawing of the outfit of the male from Arzhan 2, Tuva Republic, Russia, late 7th century BC (After Chugunov *et al.* 2010, 212, fig. 225)



3.5 Reconstruction of the belt with ornamental plaques with S-scroll designs from Arzhan 2, Tuva Republic, Russia, late 7th century BC. Gold, plaque: L 4 cm, W 1.8 cm (After Chugunov *et al.* 2010, col. pl. 52.6)



3.6 Ornamental plaques in the shape of recumbent horses with crest-like manes from Arzhan 2, Tuva Republic, Russia, late 7th century BC. Gold with turquoise inlay, dimensions unknown (After Chugunov *et al.* 2010, col. pl. 33.5)



3.7 Dagger with animal designs from Arzhan 2, Tuva Republic, Russia, late 7th century BC. Iron with gold embellishments, dimensions unknown (After Chugunov *et al.* 2010, col. pl. 40.1)



3.8 Rings for securing straps decorated with felines seizing the muzzles of mountain goats from Arzhan 2, Tuva Republic, Russia, late 7th century BC. Gold, L 1.2 cm, W 1.1 cm, H 1.6 cm (After Chugunov *et al.* 2010, col. pl. 39.5)



3.9 Drawing of the outfit of the female from Arzhan 2, Tuva Republic, Russia, late 7th century BC. (After Chugunov *et al*. 2010, 214, fig. 226)



3.10 Pectoral with animal designs belonging to the female from Arzhan 2, Tuva Republic, Russia, late 7th century BC. Gold, dimensions unknown (After Chugunov *et al.* 2010, col. pl. 79.2)



3.11 Reconstruction of the outfit of the male from Issyk, Kazakhstan, 4th century BC (Photograph by Wai Kwan Wong)



3.12 Kurgan 5 at Pazyryk, Altai Republic, Russia, 4th–3rd centuries BC. (After Korolkva 2017a, 261, fig. 147)



3.13 Reconstruction of the log coffin with animal appliqués excavated from Kurgan 1, Pazyryk, Altai Republic, Russia, 4th–3rd centuries BC. Wood with leather cut-outs, coffin: L 371 cm, W 65–78 cm, H 58–60 cm; cut-outs: L 15.5–18.5 cm, W 12 cm (After Simpson and Pankova, 2017, 271, fig. 183)

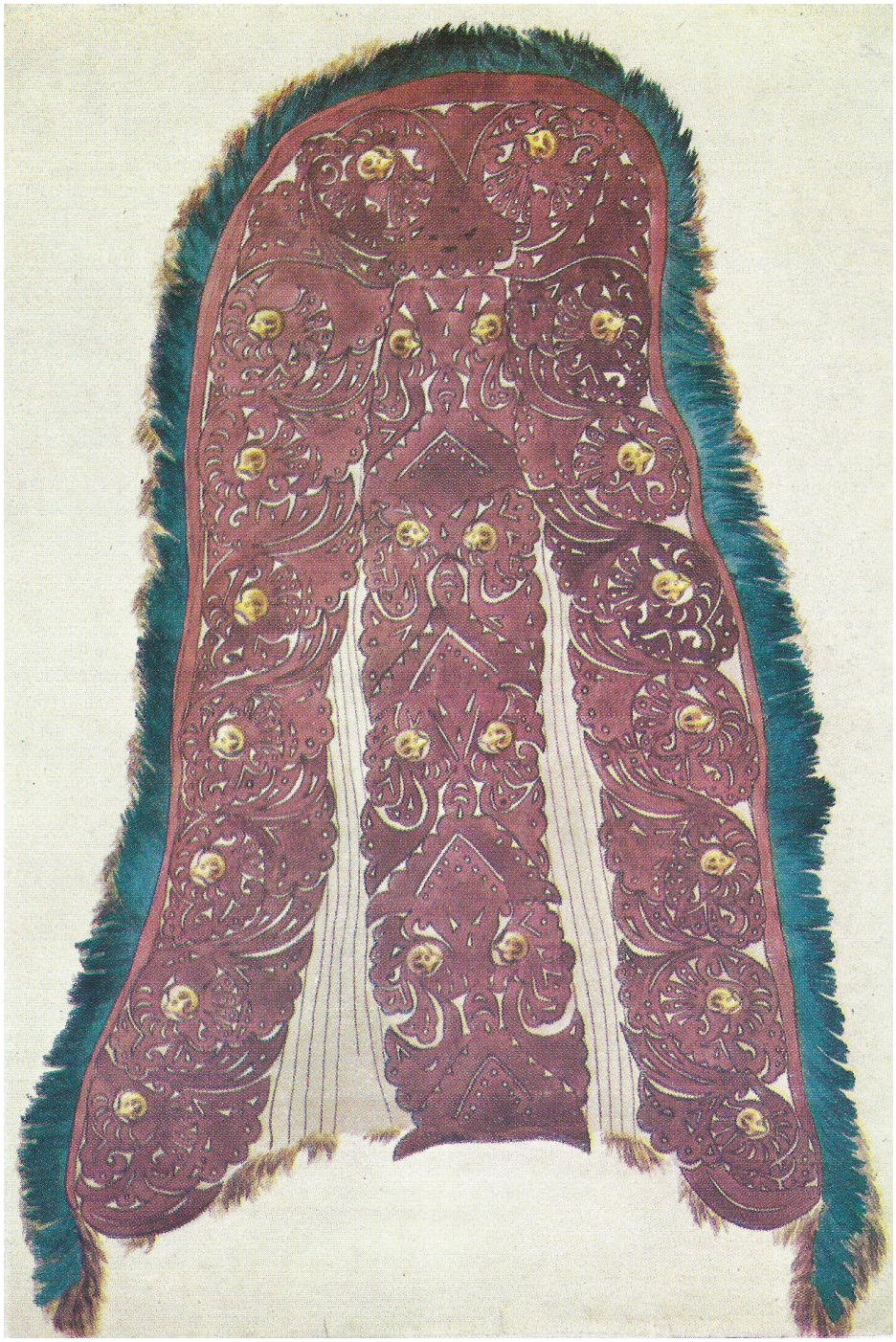


3.14a Details of the tattoos on the male's arm. (After Stepanova and Pankova 2017, 96, fig. 81) (Left)

3.14b Line drawing of the tattoos on the male's arm. (After Rudenko 1970, 111, fig. 53) (Right)



3.15 Line drawing of tattoos showing two tigers and a panther biting two elk on the female from Kurgan 5, Pazyryk, Altai Republic, Russia, 4th–3rd centuries BC. Dimensions unknown (After Stepanova and Pankova 2017, 97, fig. 84)



3.16 Drawing of coat section with sheep and raptor appliqués excavated from Kurgan 2, Altai Republic, Russia, 4th–3rd centuries BC. Leather, gold foil, and squirrel and sable fur, dimensions unknown (After Rudenko 1970, pl. 156)



3.17 One of a pair of boots belonging to the female from Kurgan 2, Pazyryk, Altai Republic, Russia, 4th–3rd centuries BC. Leather with glass beads and pyrite crystals, L 34 cm (After Simpson and Pankova 2017, 115, pl. 39)



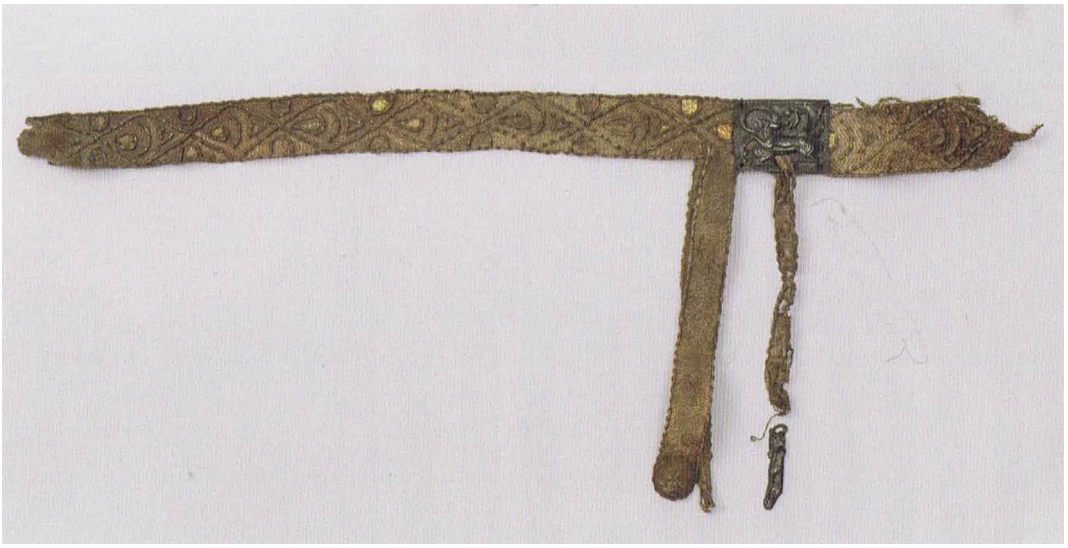
3.18 One of a pair of shoes with leather openwork soles belonging to the female from Kurgan 2, Pazyryk, 4th–3rd centuries BC. Leather, dimensions unknown (After Rudenko 1970, col. pl. 152C)



3.19 Torque decorated with sculptural horned, winged felines excavated from Kurgan 2, Pazyryk, Altai Republic, Russia, 4th–3rd centuries BC. Gold, bronze, horn and wood, L 17.7 cm (After Simpson and Pankova, 110, pl. 34)



3.20 Part of a belt with palmette scroll designs excavated from Kurgan 2, Pazyryk, Altai Republic, Russia, 4th–3rd centuries BC. Probably leather with tin and gold embellishment, L 55 cm, W 4.5 cm (After Gryaznov 1969, pl. 126)



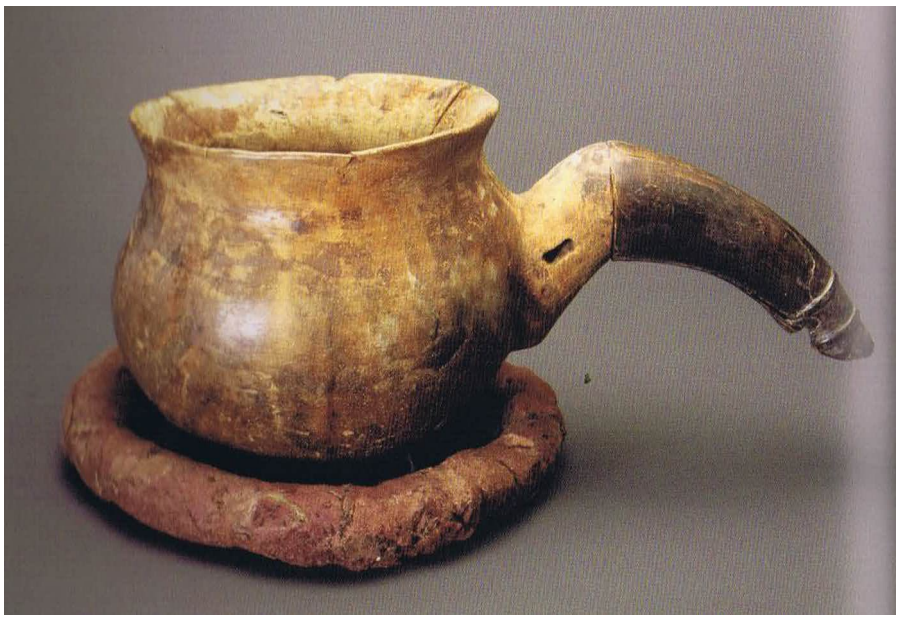
3.21a Part of a belt with plaques showing felines seizing the muzzles of mountain goats from Kurgan 2, Pazyryk, Altai Republic, Russia, 4th–3rd centuries BC. Leather and silver, belt: L 61 cm, W 3.5 cm (After Simpson and Pankova 2017, 132, pl. 58)



3.21b A silver belt plaques on the belt, L 4.6 cm, W 4.3 cm (After Stark 2012, 116, fig. 7-7)



3.22 Cauldron with pedestal and handles excavated from Kurgan 2, Pazyryk, Altai Republic, Russia, 4th–3rd centuries BC. Copper, dimensions unknown (After Rudenko 1970, 62B)



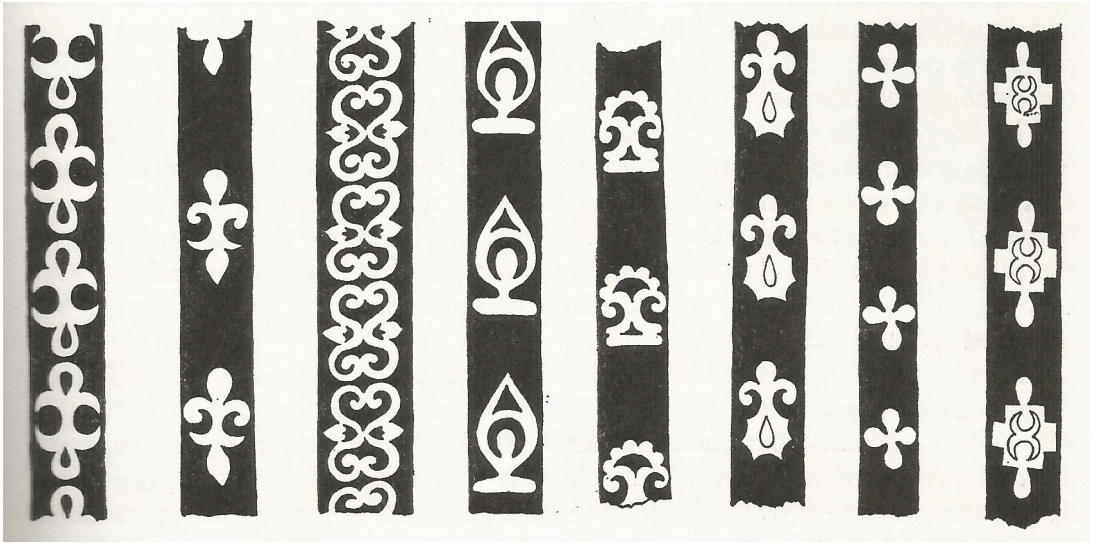
3.23 Wooden drinking cup and ring excavated from Kurgan 2, Pazyryk, Altai Republic, Russia, 4th–3rd centuries BC. Twisted strips of thick, undyed felt wrapped in fine red felt, cup: H 13.5 cm, Diameter 15.3 cm; ring: Diameter 19.5 cm (After Simpson and Pankova 2017, 176, pl. 102)



3.24 Bottle with cockerel appliqués excavated from Kurgan 2, Pazyryk, Altai Republic, Russia, 4th–3rd centuries BC. Ceramic with leather cut-outs covered by tin foil, H 50 cm (After Rudenko 1970, pl. 55B)



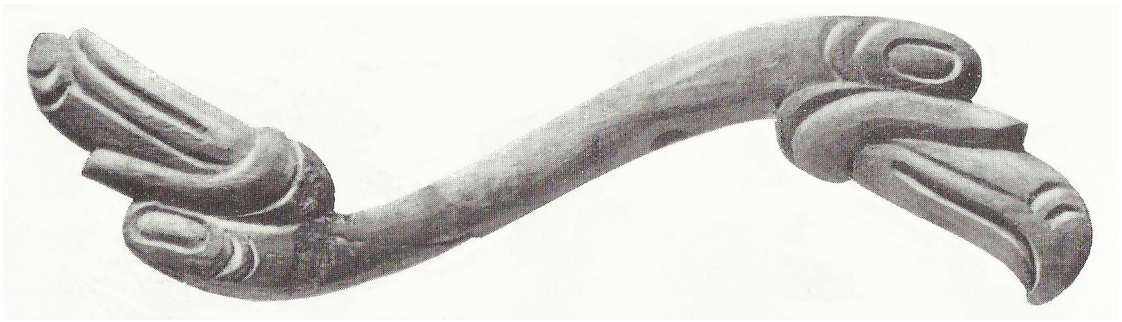
3.25 Flask with rhombus appliqués excavated from Kurgan 1, Pazyryk, Altai Republic, Russia, 4th–3rd centuries BC. Leather with yellow and blue fur, dimensions unknown (After Gryzanov 1969, pl. 64)



3.26 Appliqués on horse bridal straps excavated from Kurgan 1, Pazyryk, Altai Republic, 4th–3rd centuries BC. Leather, dimensions unknown (After Rudenko 1970, 145, fig. 73)



3.27 Horse bridle comprising a bit, a pair of S-shaped cheek pieces terminating in eared raptor heads, a pair of fork-shaped plaques with running scroll reliefs, and pendants in the shape of eared raptors excavated from Kurgan 1, Pazyryk, Altai Republic, Russia, 4th–3rd centuries BC. Bronze, wood, and leather, cheek pieces: L 21–25 cm; fork-shaped plaques: L. 11.2–12.5 cm, H 10–10.5 cm (After Simpson and Pankova 2017, 239, pl. 160)



3.28 Cheek piece with raptor head terminals excavated from Kurgan 2, Pazyryk, Altai Republic, Russia, 4th–3rd centuries BC. Wood with leather, dimensions unknown (After Rudenko 1970, pl. 94B)



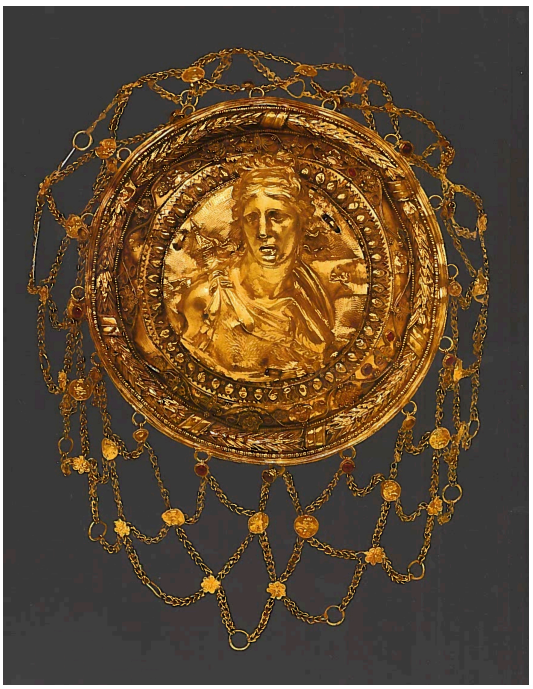
3.29 Appliqués on saddlecloth excavated from Kurgan 2, Pazyryk, Altai Republic, Russia, 4th–3rd centuries BC. Leather, with paint, dimensions unknown (After Rudenko 1970, 231, fig. 109)



3.30 Pectoral with lion-shaped finials excavated from Tolstaya Mogila, Ordzhonikidze, Ukraine, 4th century BC. Gold, Diameter 16.2 cm (After Parzinger 2007, 295, fig. 2)

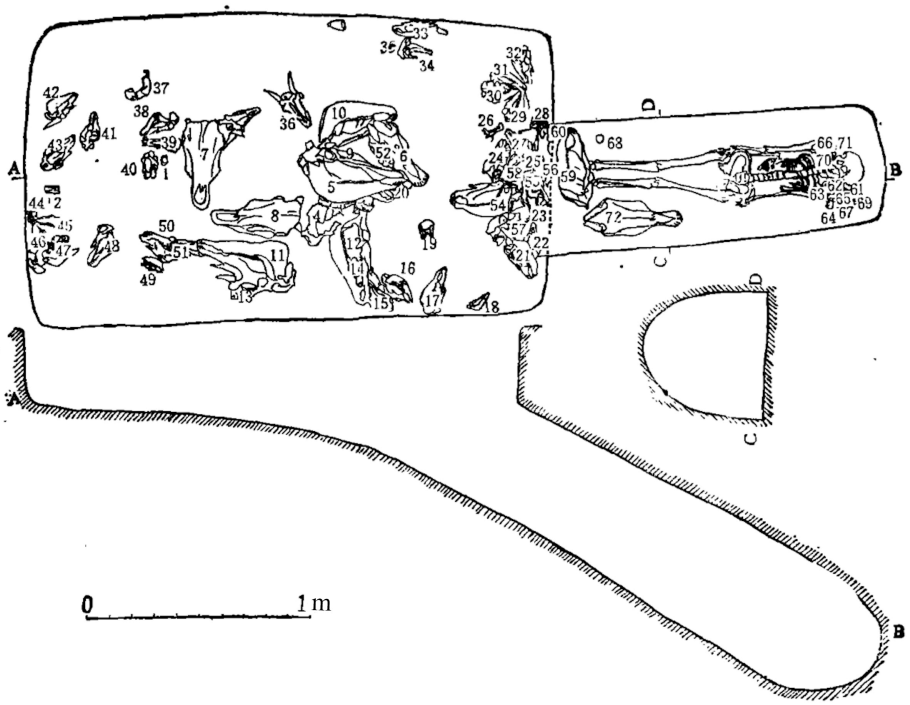


3.31 One of a pair of pendants with suspending nets excavated from Tomb 2, Tillya Tepe, Afghanistan, 1st century AD. Gold with carnelian, turquoise, garnet, lapis lazuli, and pearls, L 12.5 cm, W 6.5 cm (After Bernard 2008, 246, pl. 61)



3.32 Greek hairnet with a roundel decorated with a bust of Artemis said to have come from Thessaly, Greece, 4th century BC. Gold with carnelian inlay, dimensions unknown (After Kaltsas 2007, 358)

Figures for Chapter Four



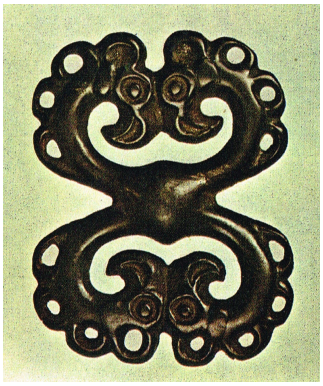
4.1 Drawing of Tomb IIIM3 at Mazhuang, Ningxia Hui Autonomous Region, China, *c*. 6th–5th centuries BC. L 2.38 m, W 1.41 m, H 0.39 m (After Ningxia Wenwu Kaogu Yanjiusuo and Ningxia Guyuan Bowuguan 1993, 25, fig. 13)



4.2 Swords excavated from Tomb PWM4 at Wangdahu, Ningxia Hui Autonomous Region, 5th–3rd centuries BC. Bronze hilt with iron blade, L 57 cm (After Ningxia Wenwu Kaogu Yanjiusuo and Pengyang Xian Wenwu Guanlisuo 2016, col. pl. 2–85.3)



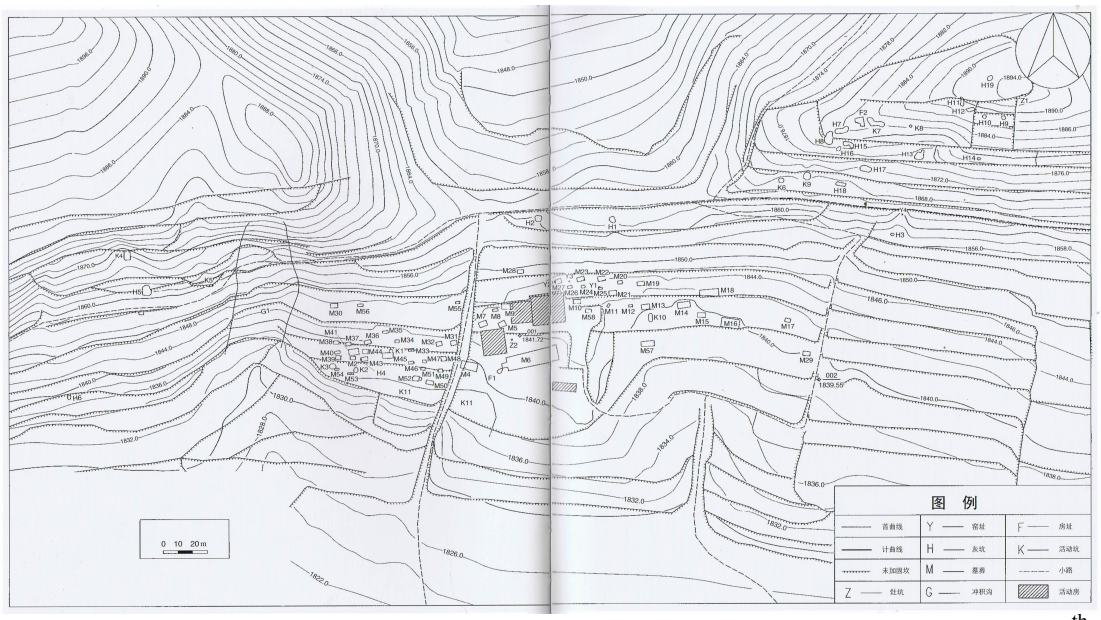
4.3 Belt plaques with abstract S-shaped scroll designs excavated from Mazhuang, Ningxia Hui Autonomous Region, China, 4th–3rd centuries BC. Bronze, L 5–5.5 cm, W 3.2–3.4 cm (After Ningxia Guyuan Bowuguan 2004, 65, pl. 30)



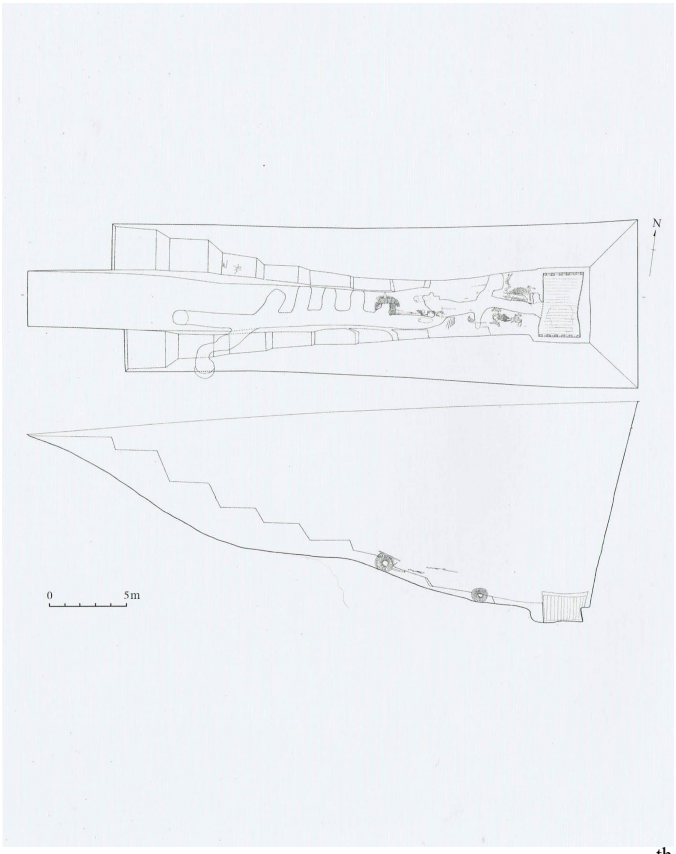
4.4 Tagar culture plaque in the shape of two S-scrolls terminating in raptor heads joined by a boss. Object location: Museum für Völkerkunde, Hamburg, Germany, 5th–2nd centuries BC. Bronze, dimensions unknown (After Karl 1964, 79, pl. 13)



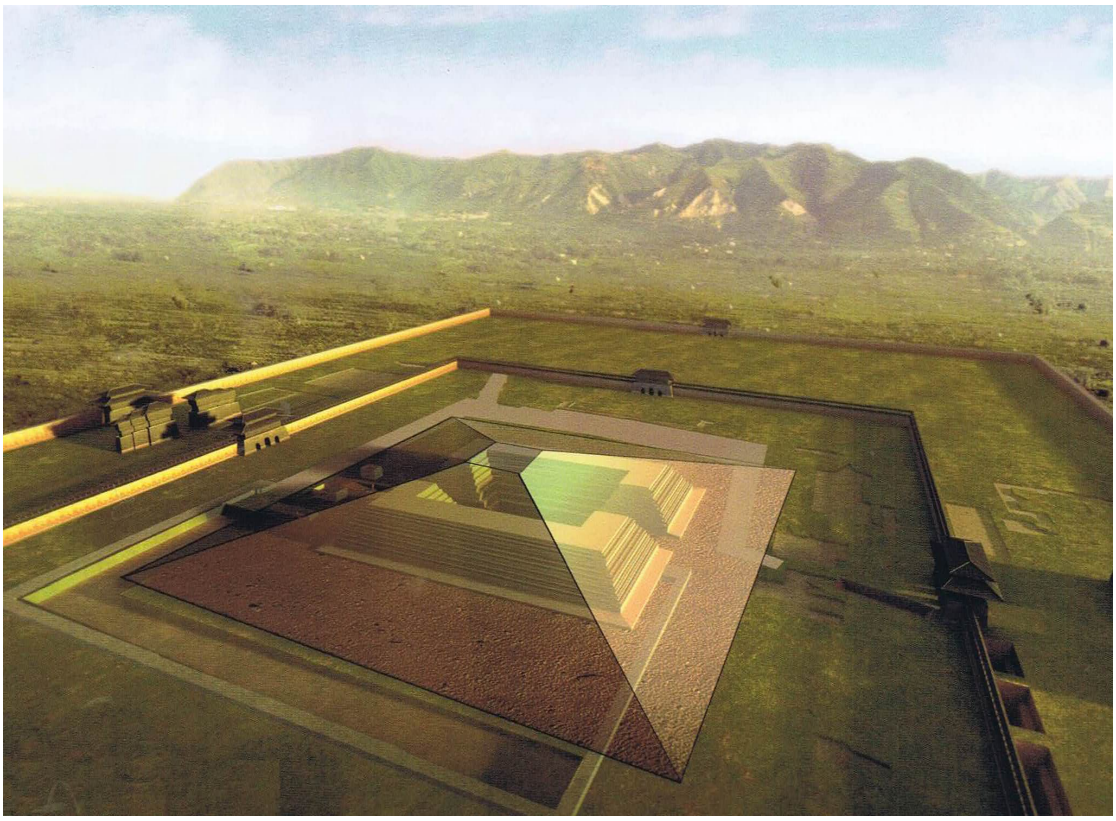
4.5 Ornamental plaque with a coiled feline and a protruding raptor head excavated from a tomb at Chenyangchuancun, Ningxia Hui Autonomous Region, China, 4th–3rd centuries BC. Bronze, L 7 cm, W 4.6 cm (After Ningxia Guyuan Bowuguan 2004, 59, pl. 24)



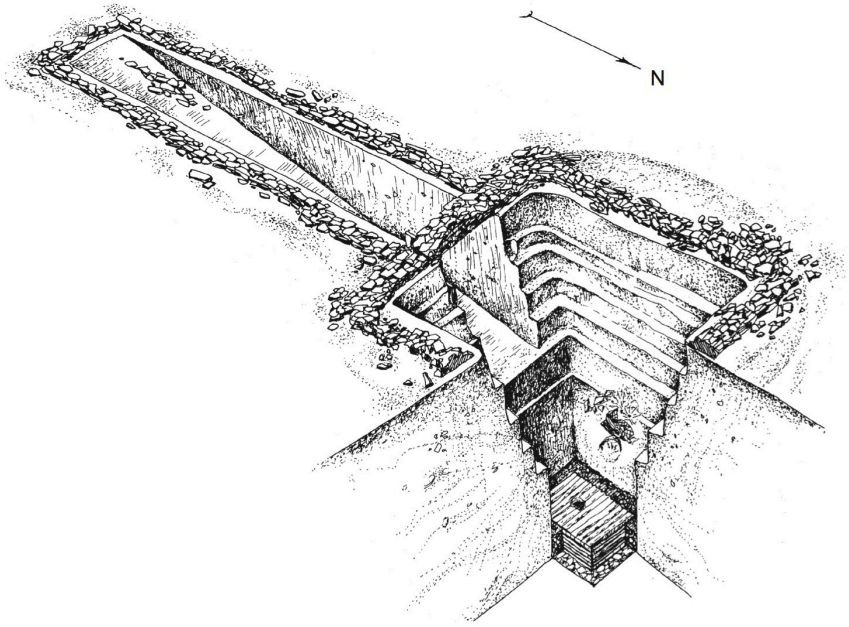
4.6 Drawing of the layout of the Majiayuan cemetery, Gansu Province, China, 4th–3rd centuries BC. (After Gansu Sheng Wenwu Kaogu Yanjiusuo 2014, 12–13)



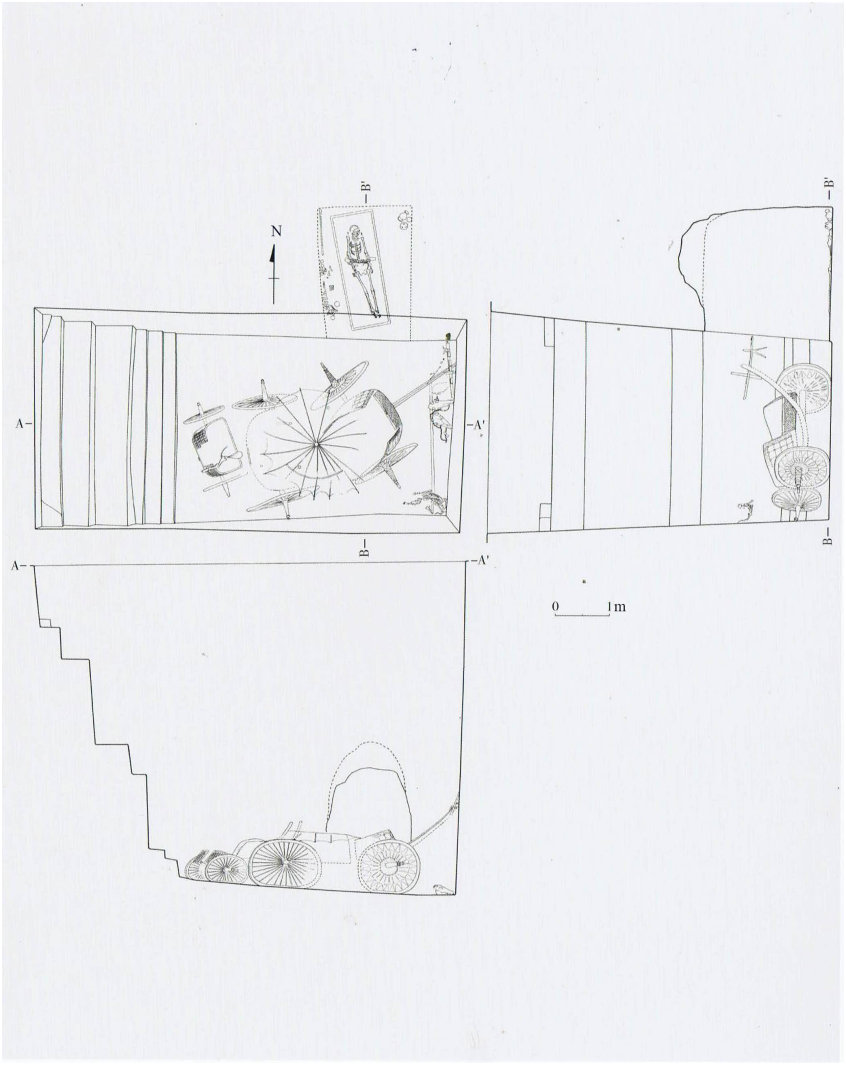
4.7 Drawing of Tomb 6 at Majiayuan, Gansu Province, China, 4th–3rd centuries BC. Measurements of upper level: L 32.6–33.6 m, W 9.6–10.9 m, H 14.2–14.4 m (After Gansu Sheng Wenwu Kaogu Yanjiusuo 2014, 14, fig. 3)



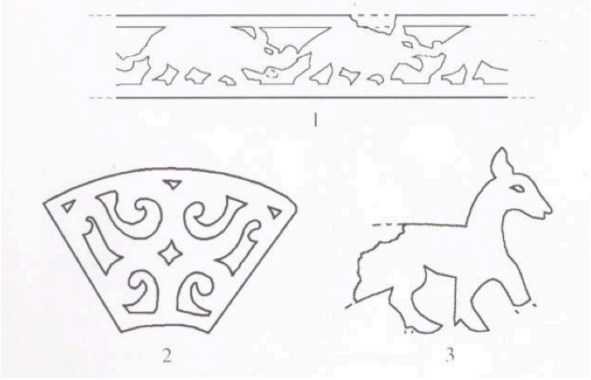
4.8 Reconstruction of the tomb mound of the First Emperor of Qin at Lintong, Shaanxi Province, China, 3rd century BC. (After Duan 2011)



4.9 Elite tomb (Mound 20) excavated at Noyon Uul, Mongolia, 1st century AD. Measurements of upper level: L 18 m, W 16 m, H 18.35 m (After Polos'mak *et al*. 2008, 86, fig. 21)



4.10 Drawing of Tomb 14, Majiayuan, Gansu Province, China, 4th–3rd centuries BC. Bottom: L 5.1–5.21 m, W 3.33–3.61 m (After Gansu Sheng Wenwu Kaogu Yanjiusuo 2014, 17)



4.11 Line drawings of coffin decoration in the shape of walking animals and scrolls excavated from Tomb 14, Majiayuan, Gansu Province, China, 4th–3rd centuries BC. Silver, L 5.2–23.3 cm, W 1.4–4.6 cm (After Zaoqi Qin Wenhua Lianhe Kaogudui and Zhangjiachuan Huizu Zizhixian Bowuguan 2009, 42, figs 48.1–3)



4.12 A group of 17 belt plaques with raptor motifs and animal combat scenes excavated from Tomb 14, Majiayuan, Gansu Province, China, 4th–3rd centuries BC. Gold with inlay of unknown materials, L 6.3–9.6 cm, W 4.2–6 cm (After Gansu Sheng Wenwu Kaogu Yanjiusuo 2014, 38–9)



4.13 Belt ring with confronting double-head animals excavated from Tomb 14, Majiayuan, Gansu Province, China, 4th–3rd centuries BC. Silver, L 3.7 cm, W 2.96 cm, WT 8.7g (After Gansu Sheng Wenwu Kaogu Yanjiusuo 2014, 66)



4.14 Belt hook with animal designs excavated from Tomb 14, Majiayuan, Gansu Province, China, 4th–3rd centuries BC. Gold, L 6.3 cm, W 3.47 cm, WT 37.5g (After Gansu Sheng Wenwu Kaogu Yanjiusuo 2014, 54)



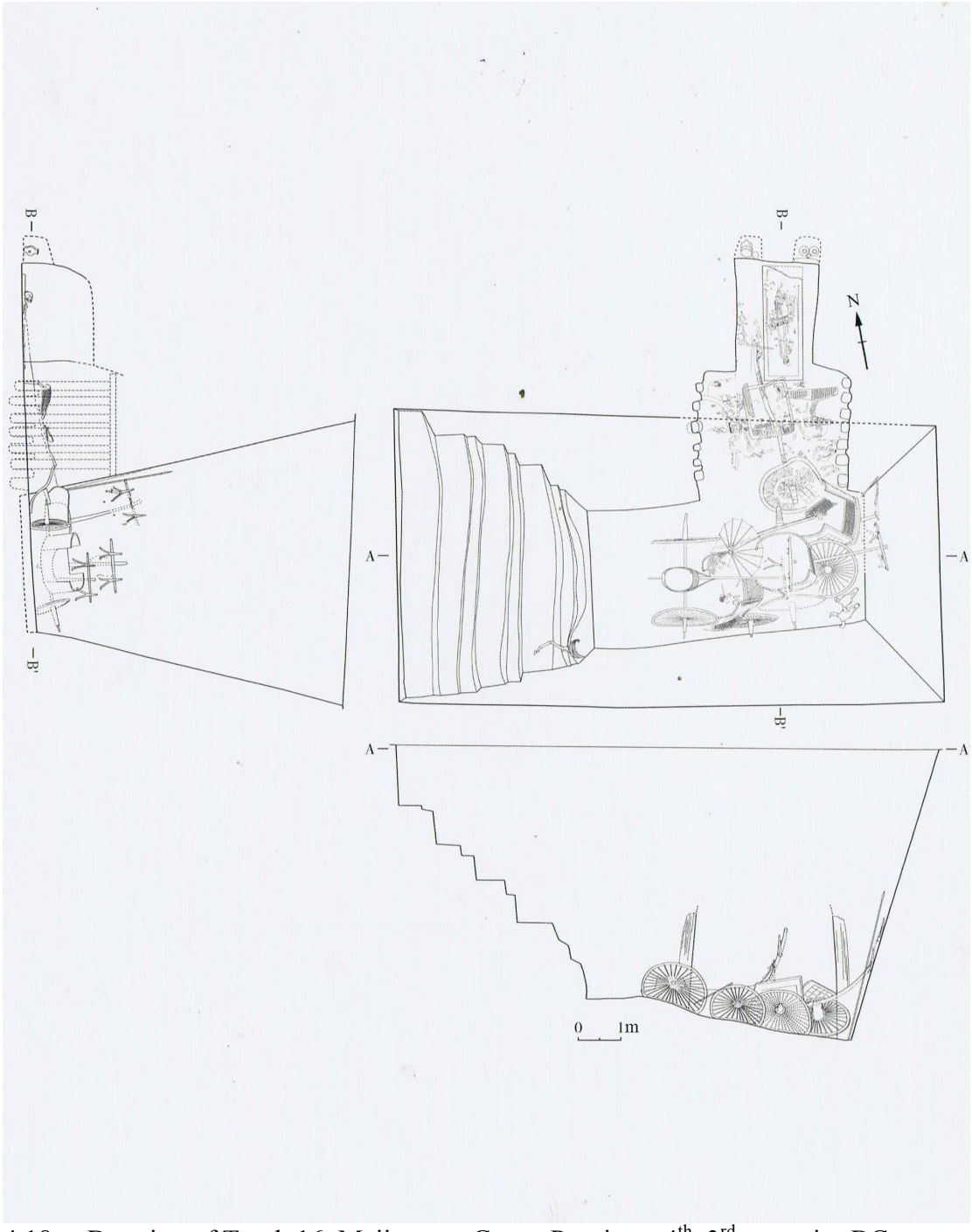
4.15 Belt hook with animal designs excavated from Tomb 14, Majiayuan, Gansu Province, China, 4th–3rd centuries BC. Gold, L 9 cm, W 3.25 cm, H 1 cm, WT 33.3–37.5g (After Gansu Sheng Wenwu Kaogu Yanjiusuo 2014, 57)



4.16 Pendant with granules forming a triangle excavated from Tomb 14, Majiayuan, Gansu Province, China, 4th–3rd centuries BC. Gold, L 0.9 cm (After Zaoqi Qin Wenhua Lianhe Kaogudui and Zhangjiachuan Huizu Zizhixian Bowuguan 2009, 46)



4.17 One of a pair of pendants excavated from Tomb 6, Taksai-I, Kazakhstan, 6th–5th centuries BC. Gold, L 11 cm, WT 89 g (After Simpson and Pankova 2017, 137, pl. 67)



4.18 Drawing of Tomb 16, Majiayuan, Gansu Province, 4th–3rd centuries BC. Measurements of upper level: L 12.6 m, W 6.7 m, H 7 m (After Gansu Sheng Wenwu Kaogu Yanjiusuo 2014, 15, fig. 4)



4.19a Coffin remains and personal ornaments from Tomb 16, Majiayuan, Gansu Province, China, 4th–3rd centuries BC. Wood, gold, silver and beads (After Gansu Sheng Wenwu Kaogu Yanjiusuo 2014, 58–59)



4.19b Details of remains of coffin. (After Gansu Sheng Wenwu Kaogu Yanjiusuo 2014, 58–9)



4.20 Belt plaque with a combat scene of two eared raptors and two snakes excavated from Tomb 16, Majiayuan, Gansu Province, China, 4th–3rd centuries BC. Gold inlaid with carnelian and faience, L 6.4 cm, W 3.7 cm, WT 30.31 g (After Gansu Sheng Wenwu Kaogu Yanjiusuo 2014, 40)



4.21 Belt plaques showing a snake coiled around a feline from south Siberia, 3rd–2nd centuries BC. Gold with turquoise inlay, L 14 cm, H 8.5 cm (After Korolkova, 2017a, 39, fig. 30)



4.22 Belt hook with a combat scene of two tigers and two ungulates excavated from Tomb 16, Majiayuan, Gansu Province, China, 4th–3rd centuries BC. Gold inlaid with carnelian and cinnabar, L 20 cm, W 7.2–7.6 cm, WT 228 g (After Gansu Sheng Wenwu Kaogu Yanjiusuo 2014, 61)



4.23 U-shaped pectorals excavated from Tomb 16, Majiayuan, Gansu Province, China, 4th–3rd centuries BC. Gold and silver, dimensions unknown (After Gansu Sheng Wenwu Kaogu Yanjiusuo 2014, 59)



4.24 Armlet with ribs, double-twisted wire, and inlay excavated from Tomb 16, Majiayuan, Gansu Province, China, 4th–3rd centuries BC. Gold inlaid with carnelian, turquoise, and faience, L 9.5 cm, Diameter 4.8–6.6 cm, WT 159 g (After Gansu Sheng Wenwu Kaogu Yanjiusuo 2014, 62)



4.25 Headdress ornament with animal combat designs and a torque with animal terminals. The torque is decorated in relief imitating twisted leather thongs. Excavated at Aluchaideng, Inner Mongolia, China, *c*. 3rd century BC. Gold inlaid with turquoise, headdress ornament: H 7.3 cm, WT 192 g; torque: Diameter 19.1 cm, WT 1202 g (After Bunker 2002, 28, fig. 38)



4.26 Armlets with ribs and broken lines imitating twisted wires excavated from the Minusinsk Basin, Russia, 11th–10th centuries BC. Bronze, Diameter 7 cm (After The State Hermitage Museum 2018, < http://www.hermitage.ru/wps/portal/hermitage/digital-collection/25.+archaeological+artifacts/3480436>, accessed 8th April 2018)



4.27 Armlet with openwork animal motifs and twisted wires excavated from Siberia, Russia, 4th century BC. Gold, L 8.4 cm, W 7 cm (After The State Hermitage Museum 2018, <http://www.hermitagemuseum.org/wps/portal/hermitage/digital collection/25.+Archaeological+Artifacts/879841/?lng=en>, accessed 8th April 2018)



4.28 Belt plaque with a combat scene between a yak, a tiger, and a raptor excavated from south Siberia. Gold inlaid with turquoise, L 15.1 cm, W 10 cm, WT 328.03 g (After Simpson and Pankova 2017, 60, pl. 18)



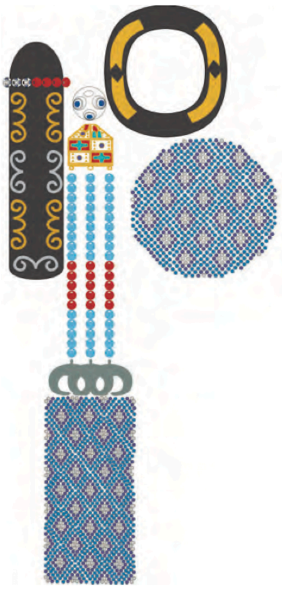
4.29 Headdress ornament with a beaked deer. The deer's antlers and tail morph into raptors. Excavated at Shenmu, Shaanxi Province, China, *c*. 3rd century BC. Gold, L 11 cm, H 11.5 cm, WT 250 g (Photograph by Wai Kwan Wong)



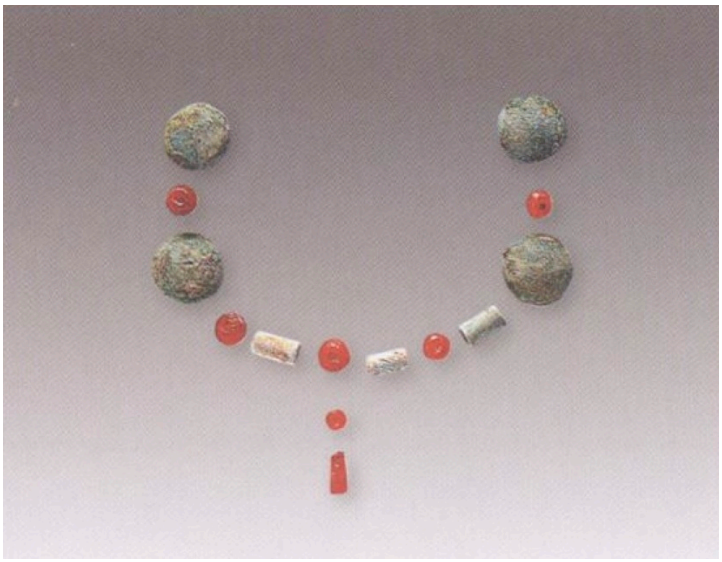
4.30 One of a pair of shoes soles excavated from Tomb 16, Majiayuan, Gansu Province, China, 4th–3rd centuries BC. Silver, L 21.5 cm, WT 9.9 g (After Gansu Sheng Wenwu Kaogu Yanjiusuo 2014, 68)



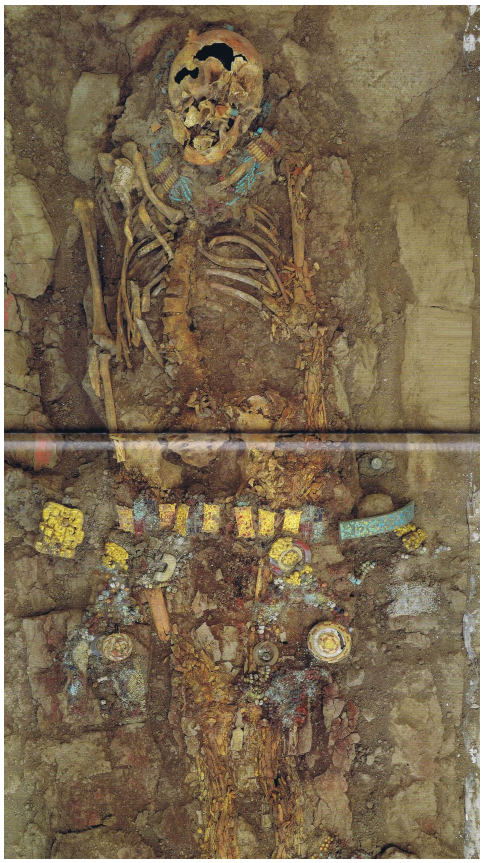
4.31a Ornaments in situ at Tomb 4, Majiayuan, Gansu Province, China, 4th–3rd centuries BC. Mainly gold, carnelian, and turquoise beads (After Gansu Sheng Wenwu Kaogu Yanjiusuo 2014, 37)



4.31b Drawing of pouches excavated from Tomb 4, Majiayuan, Gansu Province, China, 4th–3rd centuries BC. Faience beads with a gold pendant, dimensions unknown (After Huang *et al.* 2016, 156, fig. 8)



4.32 Necklace excavated from Tomb 12, Majiayuan, Gansu Province, China, 4th–3rd centuries BC. Bronze bosses, carnelian beads, and faience beads, dimensions unknown (After Zaoqi Qin Wenhua Lianhe Kaogudui and Zhangjiachuan Huizu Zizhixian Bowuguan 2009, 48, fig. 67)



4.33a Ornaments in situ at Tomb 18, Majiayuan, Gansu Province, China, 4th–3rd centuries BC. Mainly gold, bronze, and carnelian and turquoise beads (After Gansu Sheng Wenwu Kaogu Yanjiusuo 2014, 48–49)



4.33b Belt plaque with animal designs excavated from Tomb 18, Majiayuan, Gansu Province, China, 4th–3rd centuries BC. Gold inlaid with glass beads, L 9.2–9.6 cm, W 7.6 cm, WT 157 g (After Gansu Sheng Wenwu Kaogu Yanjiusuo 2014, 50) (Athor's note: I have turned the figure upside-down from the way it was shown in the publication.)



4.34 Pendant with fish scale-shaped inlay excavated from Tomb 18, Majiayuan, Gansu Province, China, 4th–3rd centuries BC. Gold, carnelian, and faience, dimensions unknown (After Gansu Sheng Wenwu Kaogu Yanjiusuo 2014, 53)



4.35 Horse ornaments carved with fish scale patterns excavated from Kurgan 3, Pazyryk, Altai Republic, Russia, 4th–3rd centuries BC. Wood with red paint, dimensions unknown (After Rudenko 1970, pl. 96D)



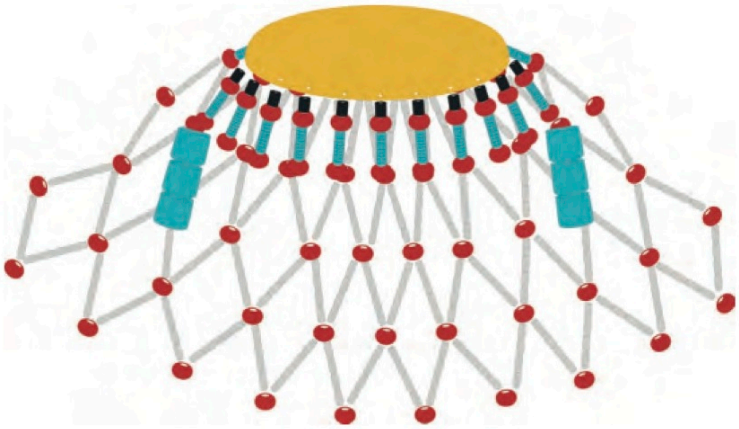
4.36 Decoration of quiver excavated from Tomb 1, Majiayuan, Gansu Province, China, 4th–3rd centuries BC. Iron, with gold and silver cut-outs, L 74 cm, W 13.2 cm (After Gansu Sheng Wenwu Kaogu Yanjiusuo 2014, 210)



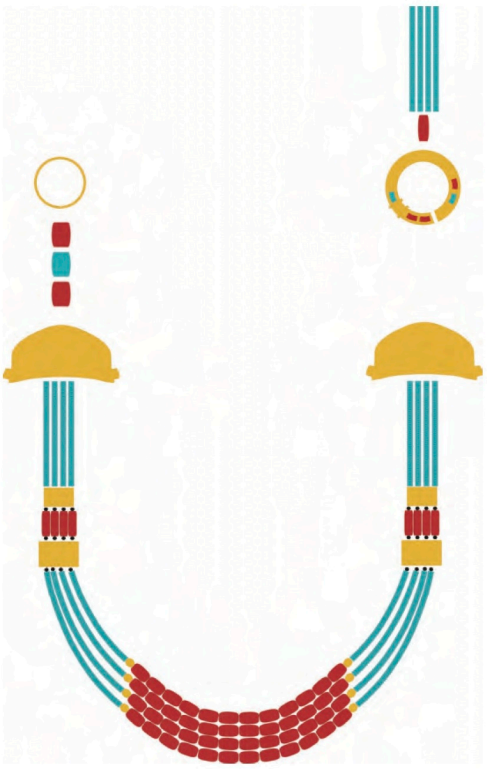
4.37 Cheek piece with raptor head terminals excavated from Tomb 1, Majiayuan, Gansu Province, China, 4th–3rd centuries BC. Iron with gold embellishment, L 25.3 cm, W 5 cm (After Gansu Sheng Wenwu Kaogu Yanjiusuo 2014, 208–9)



4.38 Belt plaque with sheep/goat heads with beards terminating in eared raptor heads excavated from Tomb 15, Majiayuan, Gansu Province, China, 4th–3rd centuries BC. Gold inlaid with carnelian and glass beads, L 4.7 cm, W 2.5 cm (After Zaoqi Qin Wenhua Lianhe Kaogudui and Zhangjiachuan Huizu Zizhixian Bowuguan 2009, 45, fig. 58)



4.39 Hairnet with an embossed design and a beaded net excavated from Tomb 4, Majiayuan, Gansu Province, China, 4th–3rd centuries BC. Gold with carnelian, turquoise, faience, and jet beads, dimensions unknown (After Huang *et al*. 2016, 155, fig. 5)



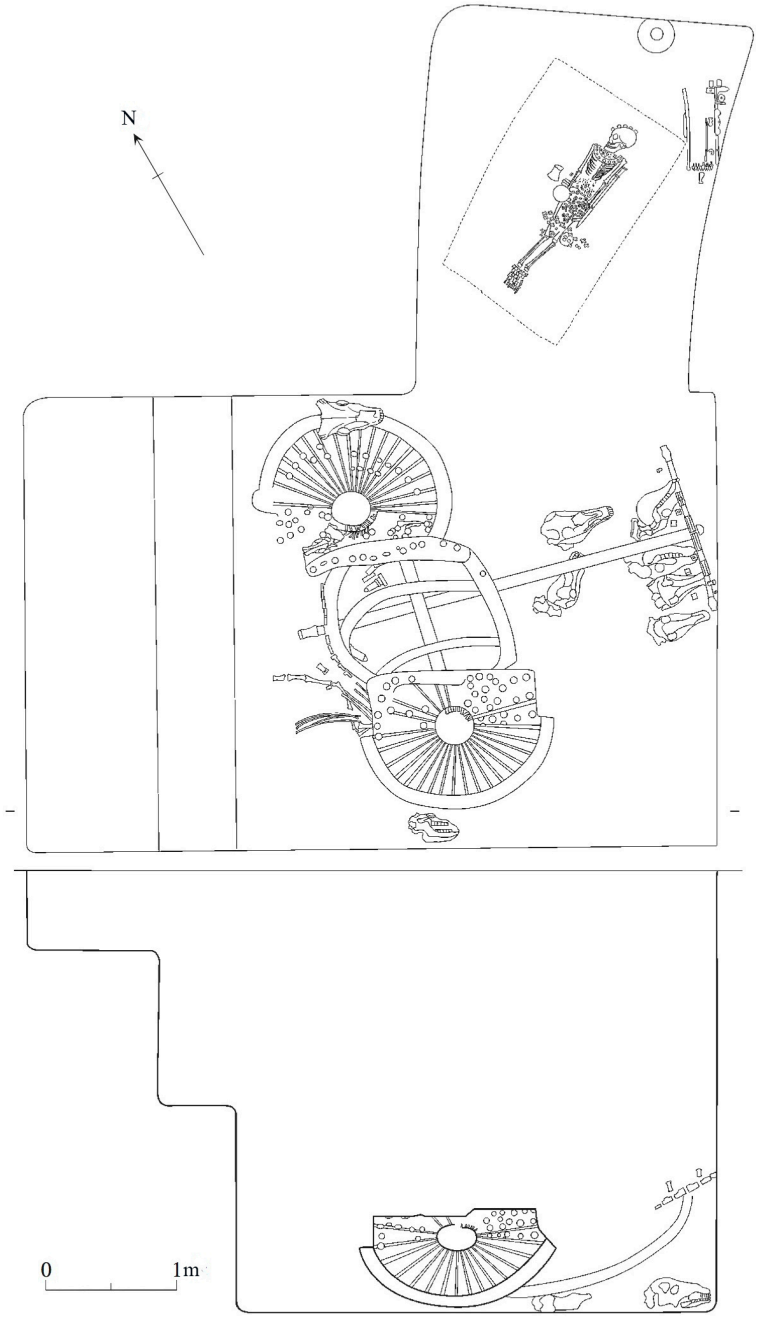
4.40 Multi-string necklace with feline head-shaped terminals excavated from Tomb 4, Majiayuan, Gansu Province, China, 4th–3rd centuries BC. Gold spacer beads and terminals, with carnelian and turquoise beads, dimensions unknown (After Huang *et al*. 2016, 155, fig. 6)



4.41 Figure of a person wearing a pair of trousers, belt, and pointed hat with ear flaps excavated from Tomb 3, Majiayuan, Gansu Province, China, 4th–3rd centuries BC. Lead, H 7.5 cm (After Gansu Sheng Wenwu Kaogu Yanjiusuo 2014, 214)



4.42 Bosses and beads found on the feet of the occupant of Tomb 4, Majiayuan, Gansu Province, 4th–3rd centuries BC. Gold, silver, jet, faience, and carnelian, L *c*. 20 cm, W *c*. 10 cm (After Gansu Sheng Wenwu Kaogu Yanjiusuo and Shaanxi Sheng Kaogu Yanjiuyuan 2013, 32, fig. 10)



4.43 Drawing of Tomb 2, Wangwa, Gansu Province, China, 4th–3rd centuries BC. L 5.3 m, W 3.5 m, D 3.4 m (After Gansu Sheng Wenwu Kaogu Yanjiusuo 2012, 30, fig. 5)



4.44 U-shaped pectoral with bosses excavated from Tomb 2, Wangwa, Gansu Province, China, 4th–3rd centuries BC. Silver with bronze, inner diameter 13.6 cm, W 3.2–4.5 cm (After Gansu Sheng Wenwu Kaogu Yanjiusuo 2012, 36, fig. 22)



4.45 Dagger and scabbard with gingko leaf designs excavated from Tomb 2, Wangwa, Gansu Province, China, 4th–3rd centuries BC. Bronze hilt with iron blade, dagger: L 25.5 cm; scabbard: L 17 cm, W 2.5 cm (After Gansu Sheng Wenwu Kaogu Yanjiusuo 2012, 35, fig. 19)



4.46 S-shaped belt hook from Liuping, Gansu Province, China, 4th–3rd centuries BC. Bronze, possibly tinned, L 14.7 cm, W 7.2 cm (After Gansu Sheng Wenwu Kaogu Yanjiusuo and Qingshui Xian Bowuguan 2014, 188, pl. 126)



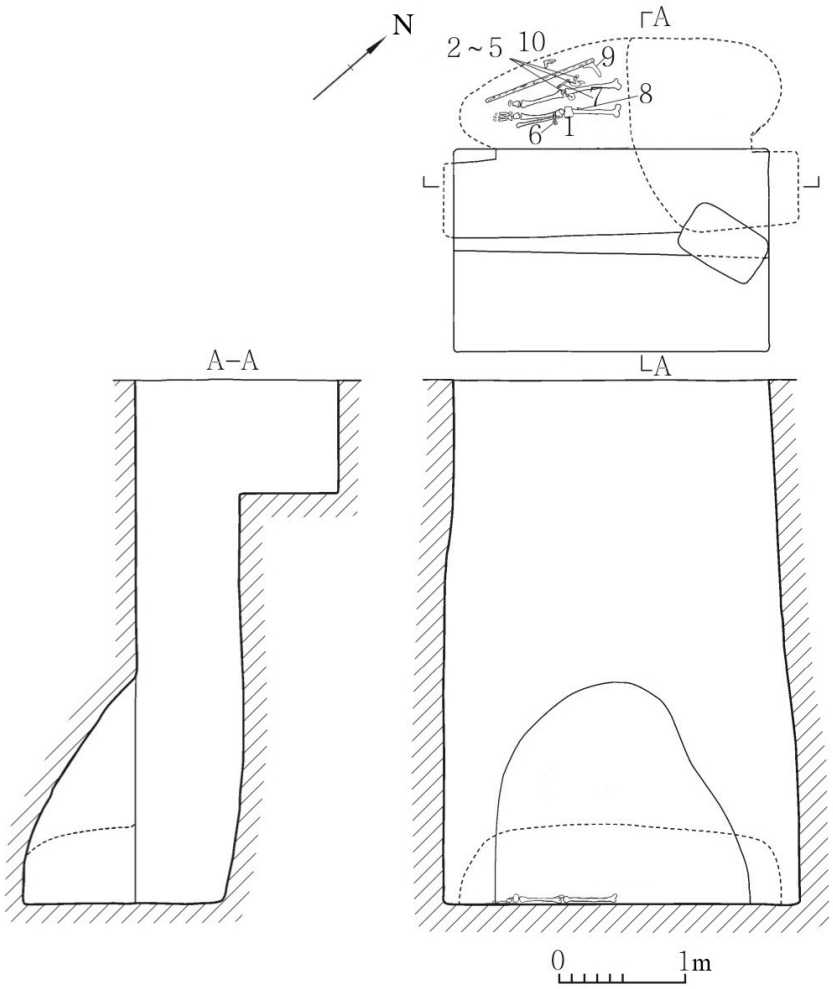
4.47 U-shaped pectoral with animal motifs from Liuping, Gansu Province, China, 4th–3rd centuries BC. Silver, inner diameter 16 cm, W 5.5 cm (After Gansu Sheng Wenwu Kaogu Yanjiusuo and Qingshui Xian Bowuguan 2014, 200, pl. 142)



4.48 One of a set of belt plaques showing a combat scene between an ungulate and a feline from Liuping, Gansu Province, China, 4th–3rd centuries BC. Gold, L 8.5 cm, W 4.5–5.5 cm (After Gansu Sheng Wenwu Kaogu Yanjiusuo and Qingshui Xian Bowuguan 2014, 164, pl. 114)



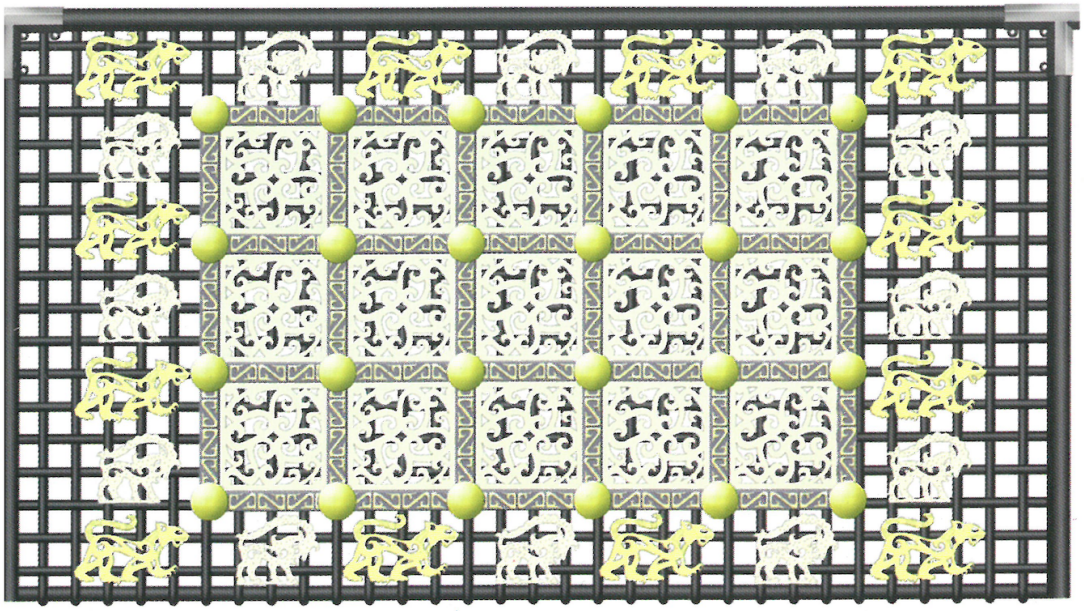
4.49 One of a set of belt plaques with elongated felines in combat from Liuping, Gansu Province, China, 4th–3rd centuries BC. Gold, L 5 cm, W 2.8 cm (After Gansu Sheng Wenwu Kaogu Yanjiusuo and Qingshui Xian Bowuguan 2014, 174, pl. 117)



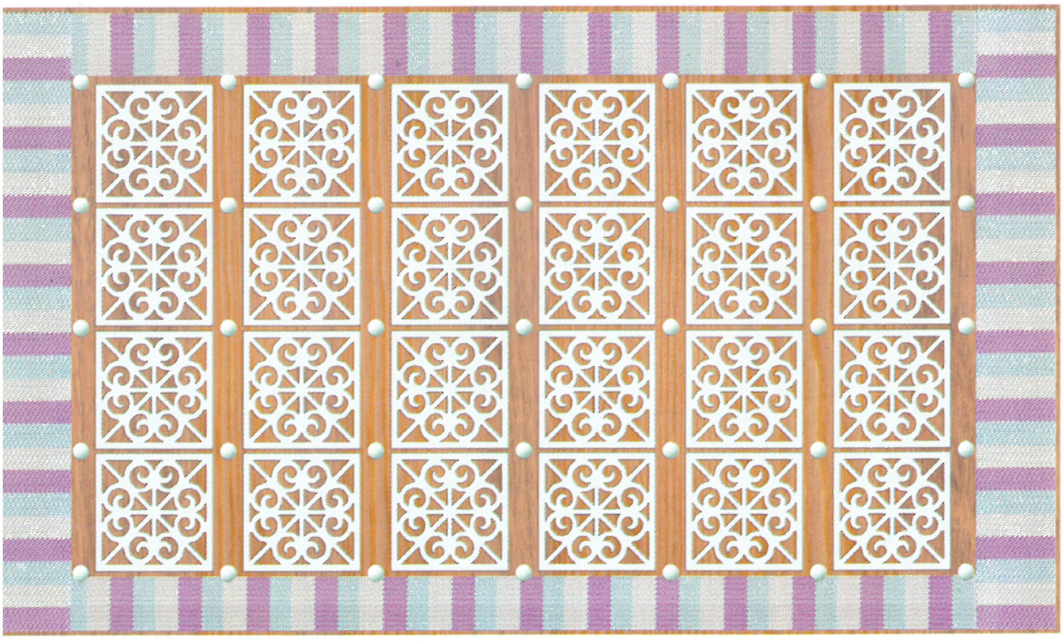
4.50 Drawing of Tomb 21, Dunping, Gansu Province, China, *c*. 5th–4th centuries BC. Measurements of upper level: L 2.44 m, W 1.6 m, H 4.15 m (After Gansu Sheng Wenwu Kaogu Yanjiusuo 2017, 41, fig. 17)



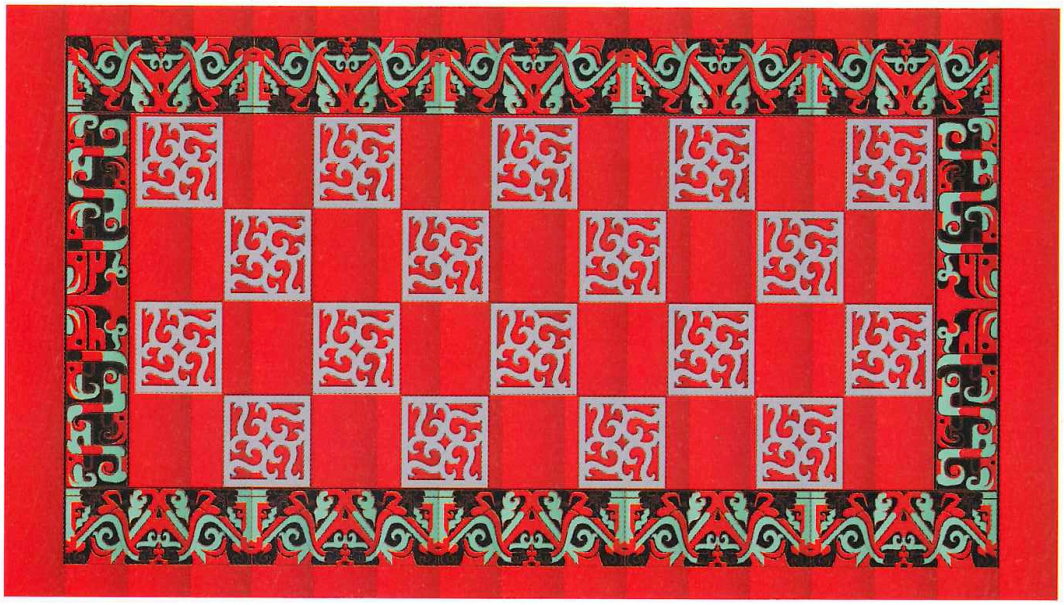
4.51 Multi-string necklace excavated from Tomb 13, Dunping, Gansu Province, China, *c*. 6th–3rd centuries BC. Gold spacer beads, carnelian beads, and turquoise beads, dimensions unknown (After Gansu Sheng Wenwu Kaogu Yanjiusuo 2017, 48, fig. 41)



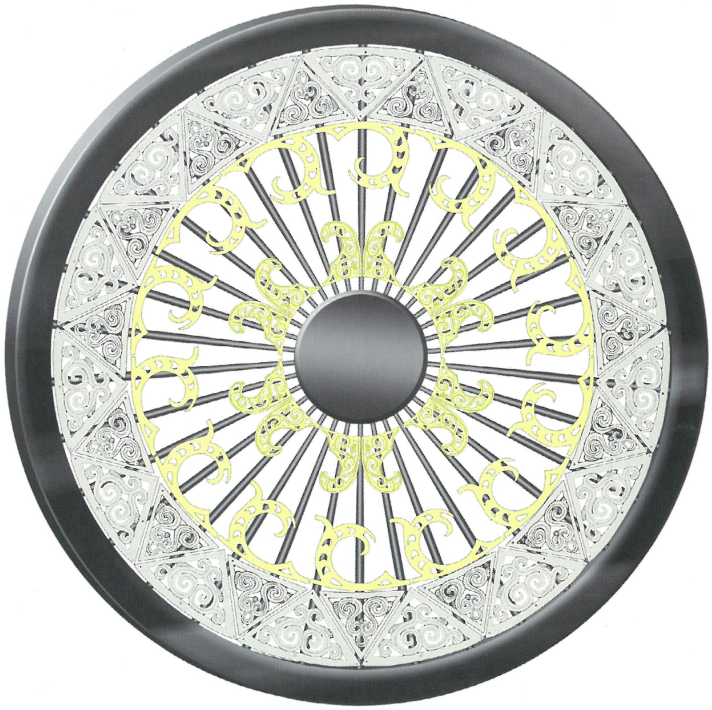
4.52 Drawing of a side panel from the passenger box of a wheeled vehicle excavated from Tomb 16, Majiayuan, Gansu Province, China, 4th–3rd centuries BC. Wood with an iron grid inlaid with gold, gilt bronze bosses, silver sheets with openwork scrolls, and gold and silver animal cut-outs, L 86 cm, W 60 cm (After Zhao 2010b, 86, fig. 2)



4.53 Drawing of a side panel on the passenger box of a wheeled vehicle excavated from Tomb 13, Majiayuan, Gansu Province, China, 4th–3rd centuries BC. Wood with bronze plaques with openwork scrolls, bronze bosses, and faience beads, L 130 cm, W 70 cm (After Zhao 2010b, 86, fig. 3)



4.54 Drawing of a side panel on the passenger box of a wheeled vehicle excavated from Tomb 16, Majiayuan, Gansu Province, China, 4th–3rd centuries BC. Wood, bronze plaques and paint, L 110 cm, W 80 cm (After Zhao 2010b, 87, fig. 6)



4.55 Drawing of a wheel excavated from Tomb 3, Majiayuan, Gansu Province, China, 4th–3rd centuries BC. Wood with triangular silver plaques with openwork scrolls, and gold bird head cut-outs, Diameter 140 cm (After Zhao 2010b, 89, fig. 17)



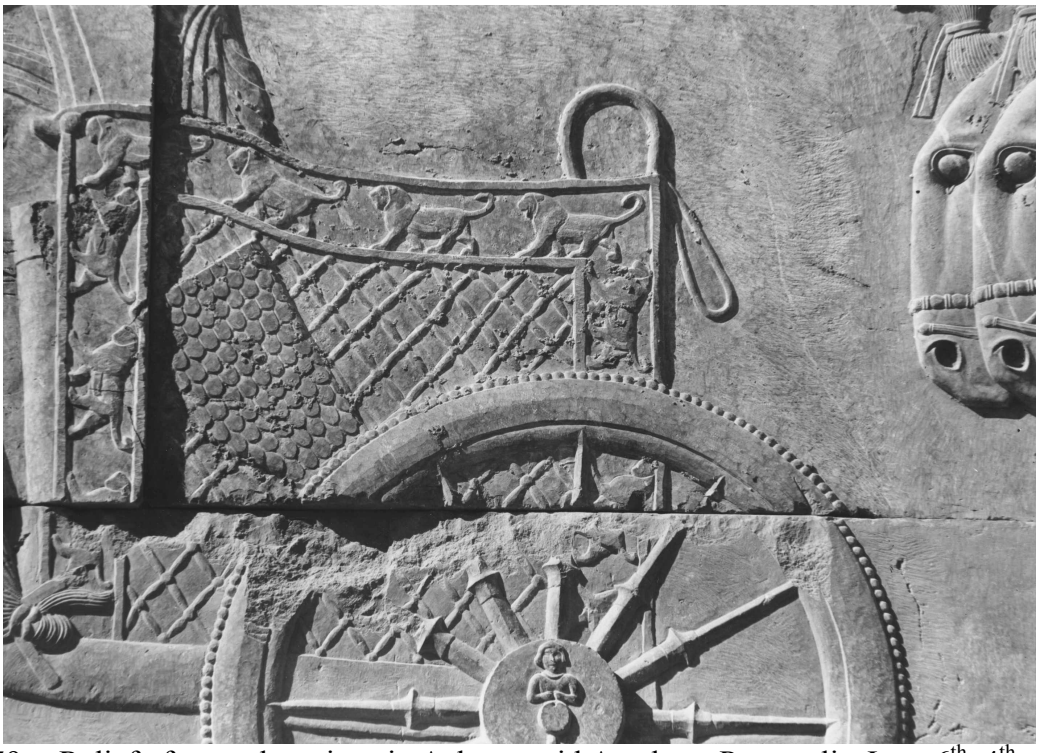
4.56 Passenger box and wheel with ornamental plaques in situ excavated from Tomb 21, Majiayuan, Gansu Province, China, 4th–3rd centuries BC. Wood with bronze plaques, side panel: L 95 cm, W 42 cm; wheel: Diameter 110 cm (After Zaoqi Qin Wenhua Lianhe Kaogudui and Zhangjiachuan Huizu Zizhixian Bowuguan 2012, 19, fig. 44)



4.57 Reconstruction of a wheeled vehicle with openwork plaques and bird figures on the draught pole excavated from Majiayuan, Gansu Province, China, 4th–3rd centuries BC. Silver and iron with gold and silver embellishment, dimensions unknown (Photograph by Anthony Huan)



4.58 Finial with an animal head on the draught pole of a wheeled vehicle excavated from Tomb 14, Majiayuan, Gansu Province, China, 4th–3rd centuries BC. Iron with gold and silver embellishment, H 5 cm, Diameter 14 cm (After Gansu Sheng Wenwu Kaogu Yanjiusuo 2014, 197)



4.59 Relief of a royal carriage in Achaemenid Apadana, Persepolis, Iran, 6th–4th centuries BC. Limestone, dimensions unknown. Object location: Oriental Institute, The University of Chicago, P. 29464 (Reproduced courtesy of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago)



4.60 Part of a doorsill on Door C excavated from Room 2, North Palace, Kouyunjik (Nineveh), Iraq, 645 BC. Gypsum, L 305 cm, W 246 cm. Object location: British Museum, 185,0909.57 (Image © The Trustees of the British Museum)



4.61a Pile carpet excavated from Kurgan 5, Pazyryk, Altai Republic, Russia, 4th–3rd centuries BC. Wool, L 200 cm, W 189 cm (After Rudenko 1970, col. pl. 174)



4.61b Detail of the pile carpet in Fig. 4.61a. (After Gryaznov 1969, 135)



4.62 Saddlecloth excavated from Kurgan 5, Pazyryk, Altai Republic, Russia, 4th–3rd centuries BC. Felt, L 223 cm, W 66 cm (After Gryaznov 1969, 117)



4.63 Ornamental plaque in the shape of a lion excavated from Tomb 30, Alagou, Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region, China, 4th–3rd centuries BC. Gold, L 20.5 cm, H 11 cm (After Xinjiang Shehui Kexueyuan Kaogu Yanjiusuo, pl. 8.4)



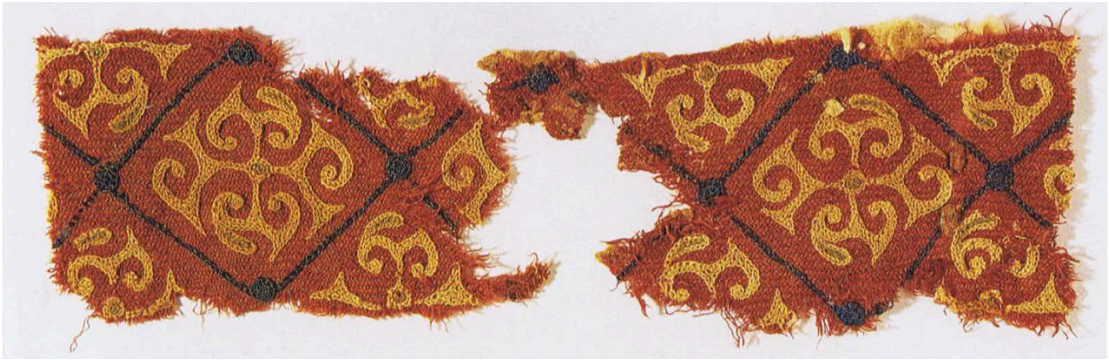
4.64 Ornamental plaque in the shape of a feline head excavated from Tomb 30, Alagou, Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region, China, 4th–3rd centuries BC. Silver, L 8.6 cm, H 10 cm (After Xinjiang Shehui Kexueyuan Kaogu Yanjiusuo, pl. 8.2)



4.65a Part of the decoration on the passenger box of a wheeled vehicle excavated from Tomb 3, Majiayuan, Gansu Province, China, 4th–3rd centuries BC. Iron grid with gold inlay, gilt bronze bosses, and silver plaques, L 64 cm, W 30 cm (Photograph by Anthony Huan)



4.65b Details of square plaques with broken repoussé lines (Photograph by Anthony Huan)



4.66 Textile fragment excavated from a tomb at Sanpula, Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region, China, 2nd century BC–2nd century AD. Wool, with embroidered diagonal grid, circles, scrolls, and diamond designs, dimensions unknown (After Keller and Schorta, 2002, fig. 98)



4.67 Axle cap with pin shaped like a person wearing a hat excavated from Tomb 4, Majiayuan, Gansu Province, China, 4th–3rd centuries BC. Bronze, H 6.5 cm (After Gansu Sheng Wenwu Kaogu Yanjiusuo 2014, 148)



4.68 Spearhead with palemette motif excavated from Tomb 16, Majiayuan, Gansu Province, China, 4th–3rd centuries BC. Iron with gold and silver embellishment, L 26.5 cm, W 4.5 cm (After Gansu Sheng Wenwu Kaogu Yanjiusuo 2014, 211)



4.69 Dagger and scabbard with palemette motif recovered from south Siberia, Russia, Bronze to Iron Age. Bronze, dimensions unknown (After Gryaznov 1969, 28)



4.70 Wheeled vehicle with ornaments in situ excavated from Tomb 2, Wangwa, Gansu Province, China, 4th–3rd centuries BC. Wood with bronze bosses and fittings, passenger box: L 140 cm, W 130 cm, H 48 cm (After Gansu Sheng Wenwu Kaogu Yanjiusuo 2014, 33, fig. 9)



4.71a Fitting with zigzag motifs for a yoke excavated from Tomb 3, Wangwa, Gansu Province, China, 4th–3rd centuries BC. Bronze with gold embellishment, L 9.5 cm, Diameter 2.7 cm (After Gansu Sheng Wenwu Kaogu Yanjiusuo 2014, 36, fig. 24)



4.71b Fittings with zigzag motifs for a drawbar excavated from Tomb 3 at Wangwa, Gansu Province, China, 4th–3rd centuries BC. Bronze with gold embellishment, L 12.3 cm, Diameter 5 cm (After Gansu Sheng Wenwu Kaogu Yanjiusuo 2014, 36, fig. 26)



4.71c Fittings with zigzag motifs for a drawbar excavated from Tomb 3, Wangwa, Gansu Province, China, 4th–3rd centuries BC. Bronze with gold embellishment, L 12.5 cm, W 1.1–1.5, H 5.5 cm (After Gansu Sheng Wenwu Kaogu Yanjiusuo 2014, 36, fig. 25)

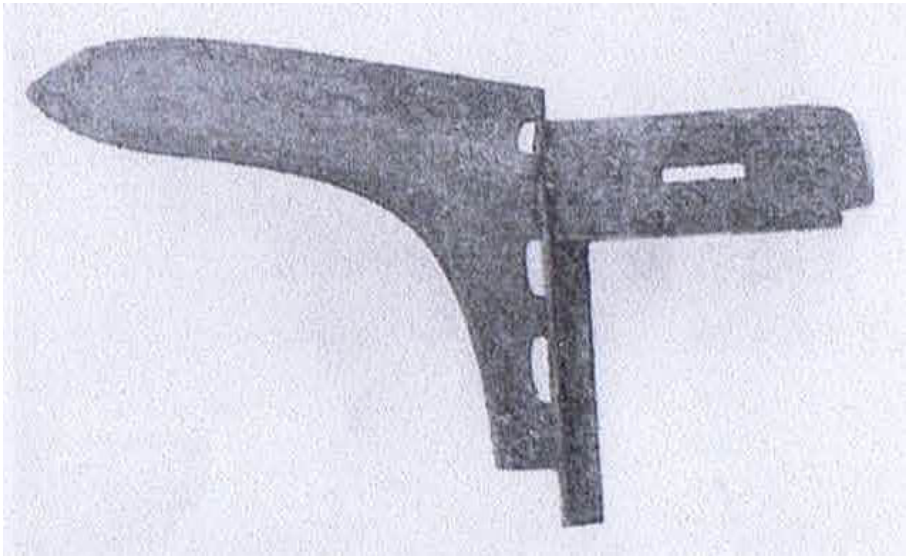


4.72 U-shaped pectoral with spiral scroll decoration excavated from Chenyangchuancun, Ningxia Hui Autonomous Region, China, *c*. 4th–3rd centuries BC. Silver, W 3.8–4.9 cm (After Ningxia Bowuguan 1978, 574, fig. 9.1)

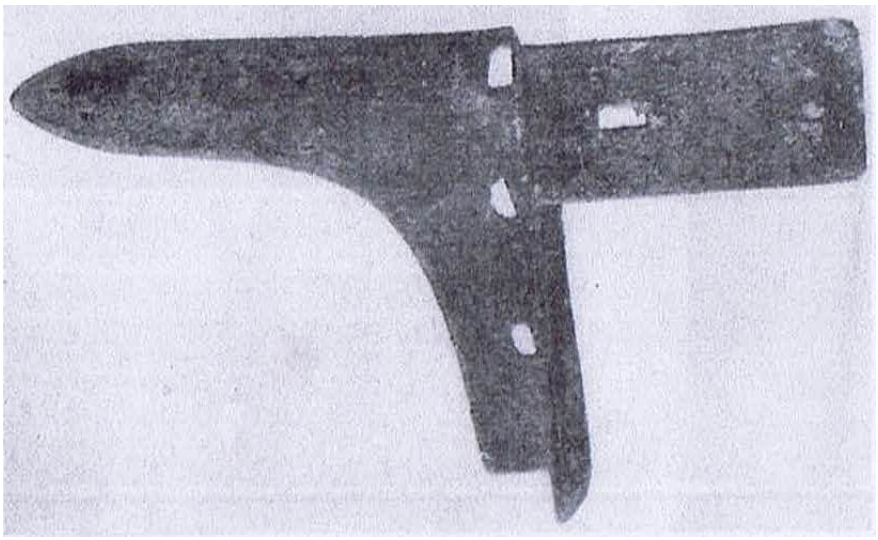
Figures for Chapter Five



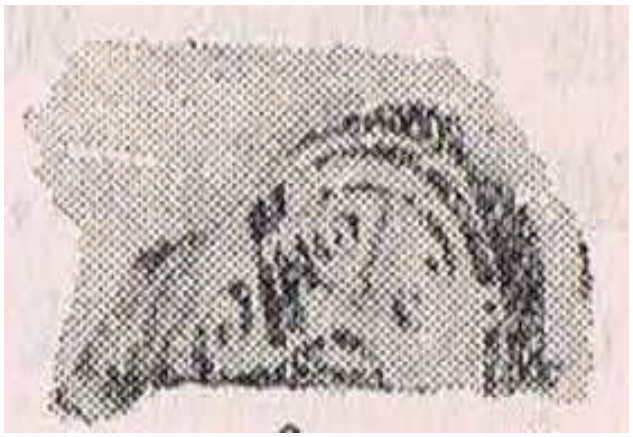
5.1 Dagger-axe recovered from Liuping, Gansu Province, China, 4th–3rd centuries BC. Bronze, L 22.5 cm, W 11.5 cm (After Gansu Sheng Wenwu Kaogu Yanjiusuo and Qingshui Xian Bowuguan 2014, 62, pl. 17)



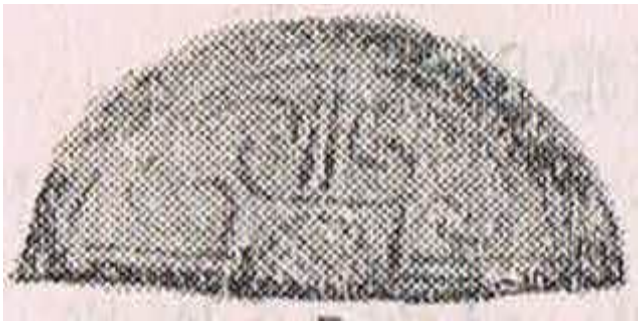
5.2 Dagger-axe excavated from Tomb M1, Mazhuang, Ningxia Hui Autonomous Region, China, 5th–4th centuries BC. Bronze, W 19.9 cm (After Ningxia Wenwu Kaogu Yanjiusuo and Ningxia Guyuan Bowuguan 1993, pl. 1.7)



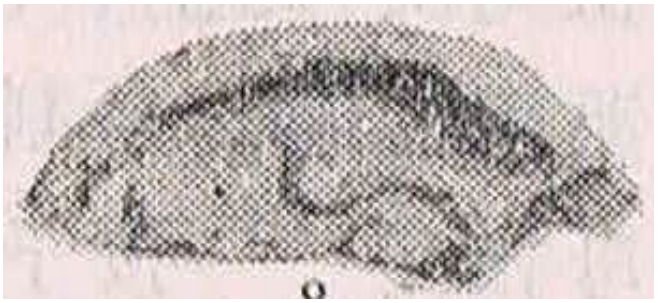
5.3 Dagger-axe excavated from Tomb 17, Yujiazhuang, Ningxia Hui Autonomous Region, China, 4th–3rd centuries BC. Bronze, L 18.8 cm, W 11.1 cm (After Ningxia Wenwu Yanjiusuo 1995, pl. 14.3)



5.4a Tile end from the Qin fortifications in Ningxia Hui Autonomous Region, *c*. 4th–3rd centuries BC. Ceramic, Diameter 15.5 cm (After Ningxia Huizu Zizhiqu Bowuguan and Guyuan Xian Wenwu Gongzuozhan 1981, 49, fig. 16.6)



5.4b Tile end from the Qin fortifications in Ningxia Hui Autonomous Region, China, *c*. 4th–3rd centuries BC. Ceramic, Diameter 15.5 cm (After Ningxia Huizu Zizhiqu Bowuguan and Guyuan Xian Wenwu Gongzuozhan 1981, 49, fig. 16.7)



5.4c Tile end from the Qin fortifications in Ningxia Hui Autonomous Region, China, *c*. 4th–3rd centuries BC. Ceramic, Diameter 15.5 cm (After Ningxia Huizu Zizhiqu Bowuguan and Guyuan Xian Wenwu Gongzuozhan 1981, 49, fig. 16.8)



5.5a Tile end from the Qin palaces, Xianyang, Shaanxi Province, 4th–3rd centuries BC. Ceramic, Diameter 15.3 cm (After Shaanxi Sheng Kaogu Yanjiusuo 2004, pl. 33.6)



5.5b Tile end from the Qin palaces, Xianyang, Shaanxi Province, China, 4th–3rd centuries BC. Ceramic, dimensions unknown (After Shaanxi Sheng Kaogu Yanjiusuo 2004, pl. 28.4)



5.6 Tile end excavated from the tomb complex of the First Emperor of Qin, Lintong, Shaanxi Province, China, 3rd century BC. Ceramic, dimensions unknown (Photograph by Wai Kwan Wong)



5.7 Eared cup excavated from Tomb 16, Majiayuan, Gansu Province, China, 4th–3rd centuries BC. Gold and silver openwork plaques with paint, H 17.8 cm, Diameter 16 cm (After Zaoqi Qin Wenhua Lianhe Kaogudui and Zhangjiachuan Huizu Zizhixian Bowuguan 2010, 23, figs 58 and 59)



5.8 *Dui*-tripod excavated from Tomb 18, Majiayuan, Gansu Province, China, 4th–3rd centuries BC. Bronze with copper and turquoise inlay, H 21.4 cm, Diameter 14.6 cm (After Gansu Sheng Wenwu Kaogu Yanjiusuo 2014, 134)



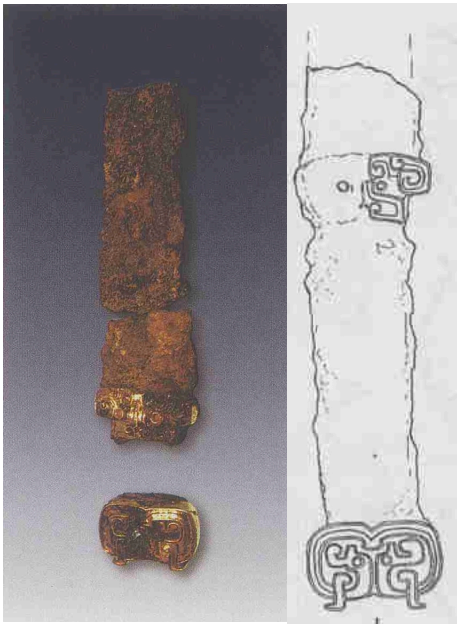
5.9 *Hu*-jar excavated Tomb 1, Majiayuan, Gansu Province, China, 4th–3rd centuries BC. Bronze, H 27.4 cm (After Gansu Sheng Wenwu Kaogu Yanjiusuo 2014, 118)



5.10a Cocoon-shaped bottle excavated from Tomb 3, Majiayuan, Gansu Province, China, 4th–3rd centuries BC. Bronze, H 25.6 cm (After Gansu Sheng Wenwu Kaogu Yanjiusuo 2014, 12, fig. 132)



5.10b The inscription *yang* 鞅 at the bottom of the bottle (After Gansu Sheng Wenwu Kaogu Yanjiusuo 2014, 12, fig. 132)

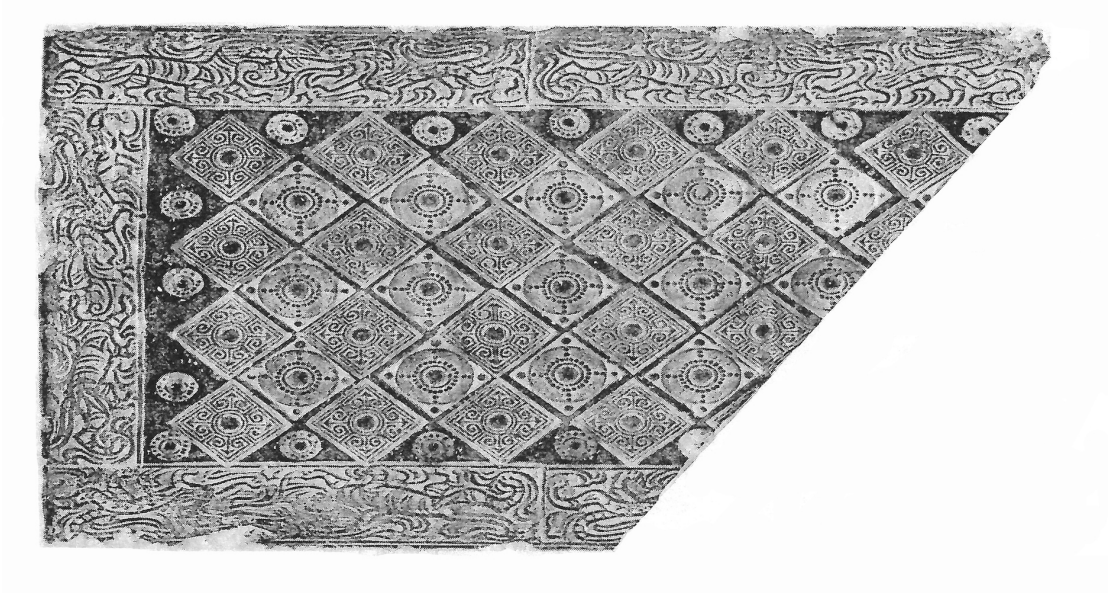


5.11a Illustration of the fragment of a dagger excavated from Tomb 98LDM2, Yuanding Mountain, Shaanxi Province, China, *c*. 7th–5th centuries BC. Bronze hilt, iron blade, and gold pommel and guard with animal designs, L 14.6 cm (After Gansu Sheng Wenwu Kaogu Yanjiusuo and Li Xian Bowuguan 2005, 18, fig. 20) (Author's note: the pommel is erroneously illustrated upside down.) (Left)

5.11b Drawing of the fragment of the dagger in 5.11a (After Gansu Sheng Wenwu Kaogu Yanjiusuo and Li Xian Bowuguan 2005, 13, fig. 10) (Author's note: the pommel is erroneously illustrated upside down.) (Right)



5.12 Drawing of a dagger excavated from a tomb at Houzhuangcun, Gansu Province, China, 7th–3rd centuries BC. Iron blade and bronze hilt with animal designs, probably tinned, dimensions unknown (After Linduff 1997, 45, fig. A42)



5.13 Ink rubbing of a floor tile excavated from Chengshan Palace, Shaanxi Province, China, 3rd–1st centuries BC. Ceramic with rhombus, scrolls, and circle designs, L 46 cm, W 33 cm (After Liu 2003, 4, fig. 5)



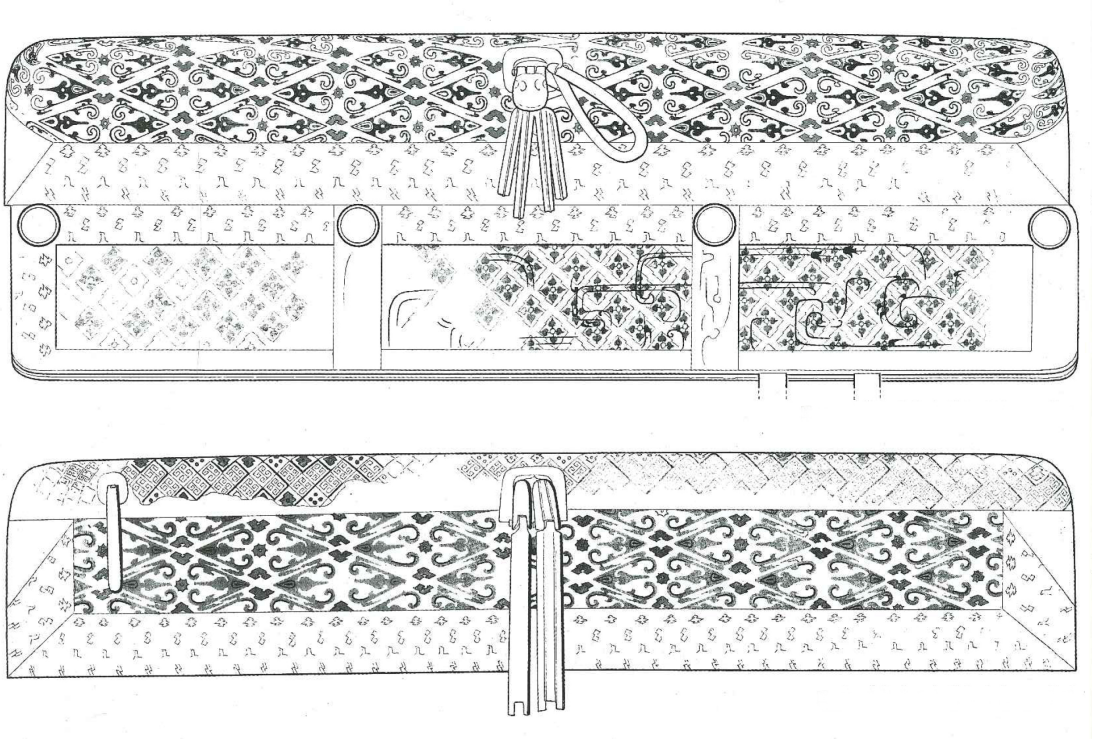
5.14 Floor tile excavated from the tomb complex of the First Emperor of Qin, Lintong, Shaanxi Province, China, 3rd century BC. Ceramic with diagonal grid, circles, scrolls, and quatrefoil designs, dimensions unknown (Photograph by Wai Kwan Wong)



5.15 Beaker excavated from the Qin palaces, Xianyang, Shaanxi Province, China, 3rd century BC. Jade with relief decoration, dimensions unknown (After Michaelson 2007, 103, fig. 108)



5.16 Beaker excavated from Tomb 19, Majiayuan, Gansu Province, China, 4th–3rd centuries BC. Glass or faience, with eye bead-like decoration, H 10 cm (After Zaoqi Qin Wenhua Lianhe Kaogudui and Zhangjiachuan Huizu Zizhixian Bowuguan 2012, 14, fig. 28)



5.17 Drawing of the front panel of a chariot showing a textile design on the obverse (upper) and reverse (lower) excavated from the tomb complex of the First Emperor of Qin, Lintong, Shaanxi Province, China, 3rd century BC. Bronze with painted silk, diagonal grid, scrolls, and octagonal designs, L 73.5 cm, W 21.5 cm (After Qin Shihuangdi Ling Bowuyuan 2012, 123, fig. 123)



5.18a Canopied carriage excavated from the tomb complex of the First Emperor of Qin, Lintong, Shaanxi Province, China, 3rd century BC. Bronze with painted cloud-like patterns arranged in a chequer-style layout within borders, L 328.4 cm, W 104.2 cm (Photograph by Wai Kwan Wong)



5.18b Interior of the carriage box (After Qin Shihuangdi Ling Bowuyuan 2015, 207, fig. 199)



5.19 Saddlecloth excavated from Kurgan 5, Pazyryk, Altai Republic, Russia, 4th–3rd centuries BC. Felt with cloud-like patterns in a chequer-style layout within a scroll border, L 236 cm, W 70 cm (After Gryaznov 1969, 118)



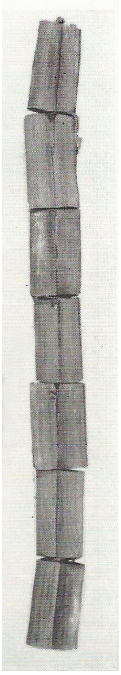
5.20 Drawstring bag found inside the carriage excavated from the tomb complex of the First Emperor of Qin, Lintong, Shaanxi Province, China, 3rd century BC. Bronze, H 16 cm (After Qin Shihuangdi Ling Bowuyuan 2015, 399, figs 473 and 474)



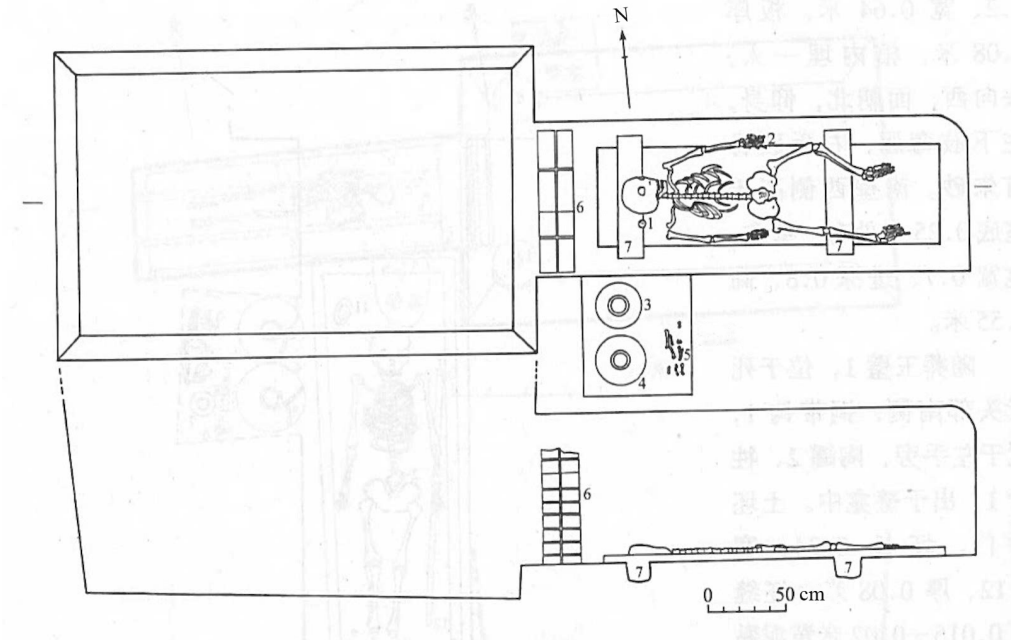
5.21 Bridle excavated with the carriage from the tomb complex of the First Emperor of Qin, Lintong, Shaanxi Province, China, 3rd century BC. Bronze bit and iron and gold frontlet with goat horn designs, and gold and silver tubular fittings, dimensions unknown (After Qin Shihuangdi Ling Bowuyuan 2012, 308, fig. 335)



5.22 Frontlet with paired goat designs excavated from Tomb 14, Majiayuan, Gansu Province, China, 4th–3rd centuries BC. Iron with silver and gold embellishment, L 13.8 cm, W 4.4–7.4 cm (After Gansu Sheng Wenwu Kaogu Yanjiusuo 2014, 206)



5.23 Tubular harness fittings found in Kurgan 3, Pazyryk, Altai Republic, Russia, 4th–3rd centuries BC. Wood with gold leaves and red pigment, dimensions unknown (After Rudenko 1970, pl. 101D)

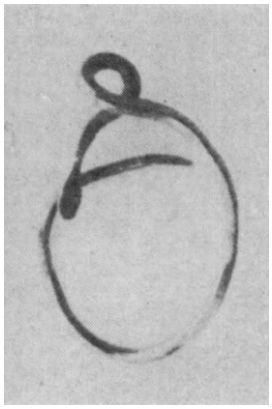


5.24 Drawing of a catacomb tomb excavated at Huangjiaguo, Shaanxi Province, China, 4th–3rd centuries BC. Earthen pit with adobe bricks, jade disc, bronze belt hooks, pottery vessels, and animal bones (After Shaanxi Sheng Kaogu Yanjiusuo 2004, fig. 491)

Figures for Chapter Six



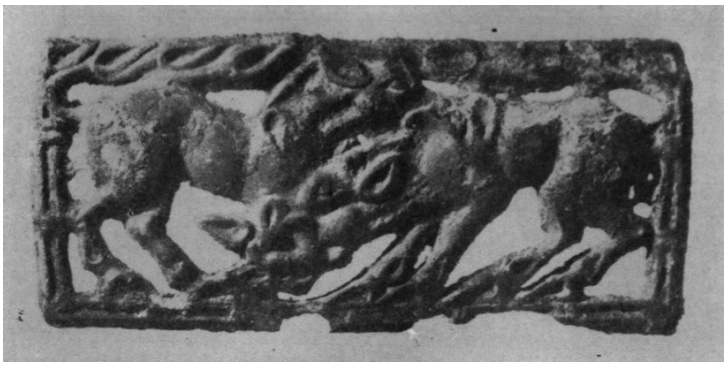
6.1 Spoon-shaped implement excavated from Tomb 18, Daodunzi, Ningxia Hui Autonomous Region, China, 2nd–1st centuries BC. Bone, L 5.4 cm, Diameter 0.9 cm (After Wu'en Yuesitu 1988, pl. 20.5)



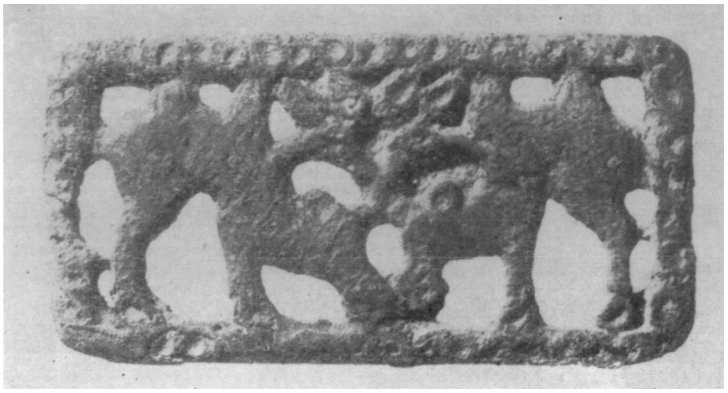
6.2 Twisted wire earring with a small loop at the end excavated from Tomb 13, Daodunzi, Ningxia Hui Autonomous Region, China, 2nd–1st centuries BC. Gold, Diameter 2 cm (After Wu'en Yuesitu 1988, pl. 20.2)



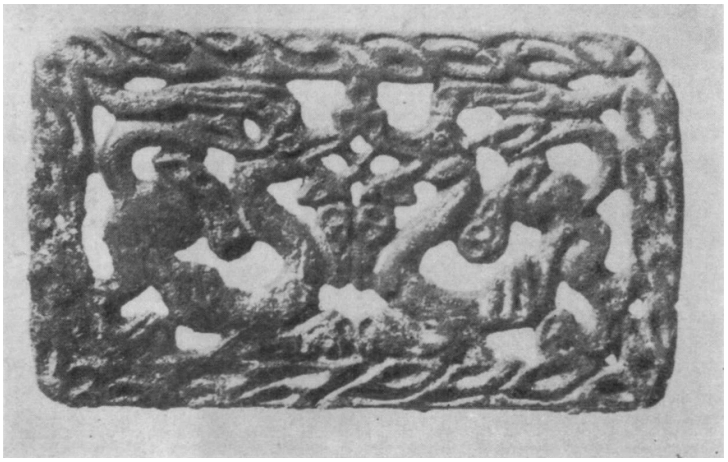
6.3 Belt plaques with recumbent horse designs excavated from Tomb 19, Daodunzi, Ningxia Hui Autonomous Region, China, 2nd–1st centuries BC. Bronze, L 10.6 cm, W 5.3 cm (After Wu'en Yuesitu 1988, pls. 20.12)



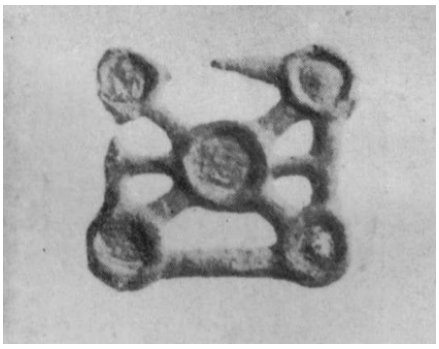
6.4 Belt plaques with equids and tree designs excavated from Tomb 13, Daodunzi, Ningxia Hui Autonomous Region, China, 2nd–1st centuries BC. Bronze, L 12.9 cm, W 5.7 cm (After Wu'en Yuesitu 1988, pl. 17.3)



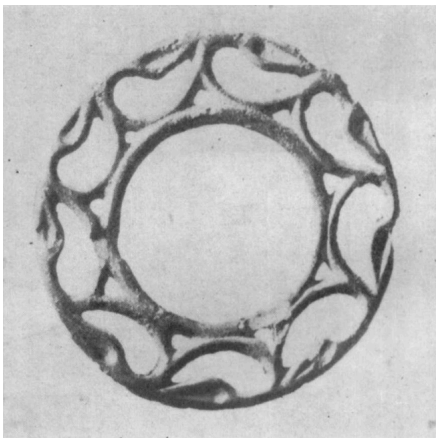
6.5 Belt plaques with camel designs excavated from Tomb 1, Daodunzi, Ningxia Hui Autonomous Region, China, 2nd–1st centuries BC. Bronze, L 9.8 cm, W 4.9 cm (After Wu'en Yuesitu 1988, pl. 16.1)



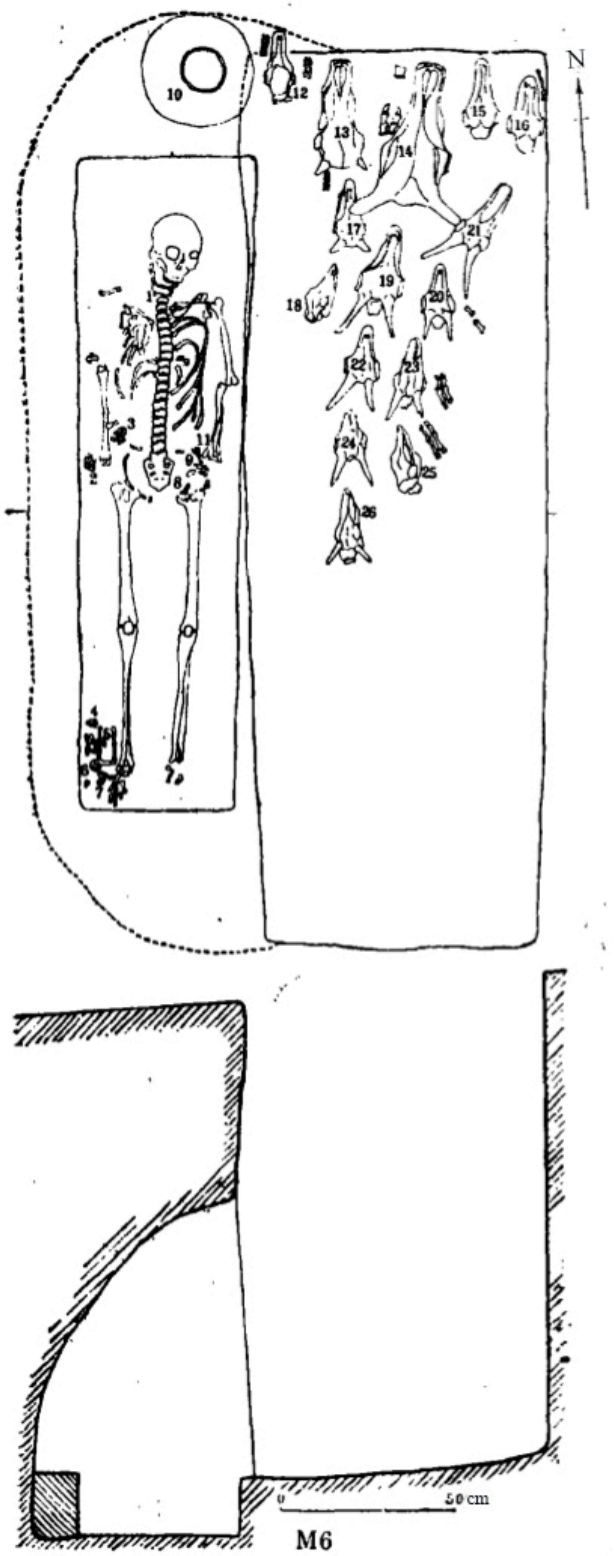
6.6 Belt plaques with dragon designs excavated from Tomb 23, Daodunzi, Ningxia Hui Autonomous Region, China, 2nd–1st centuries BC. Bronze, L 10.2 cm, W 5.9 cm (After Wu'en Yuesitu 1988, pl. 16.4)



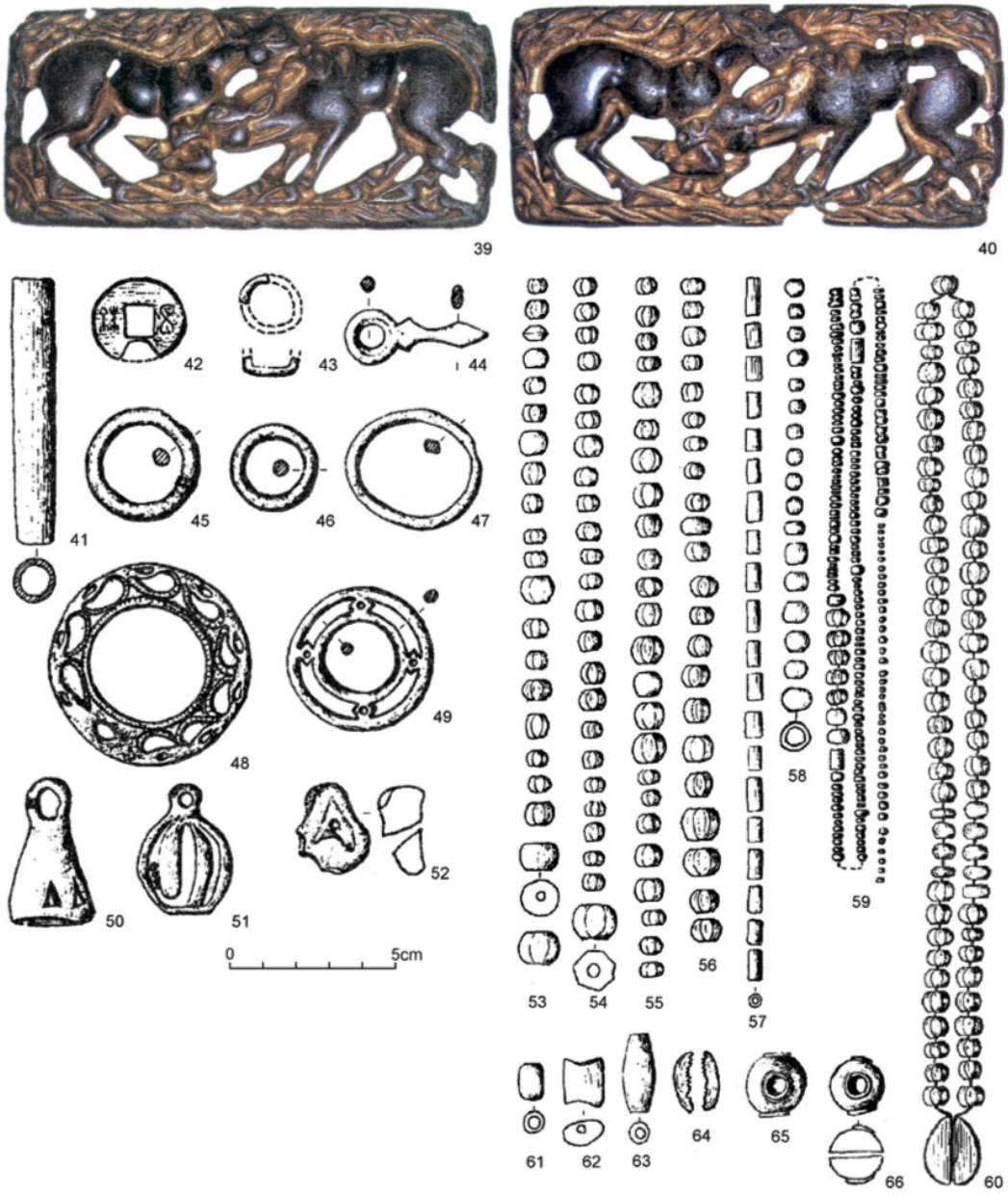
6.7 Belt plaques with six-ray designs excavated from Tomb 23, Daodunzi, Ningxia Hui Autonomous Region, China, 2nd–1st centuries BC. Bronze, L 3.15 cm, W 2.9 cm (After Wu'en Yuesitu 1988, pl. 19.7)

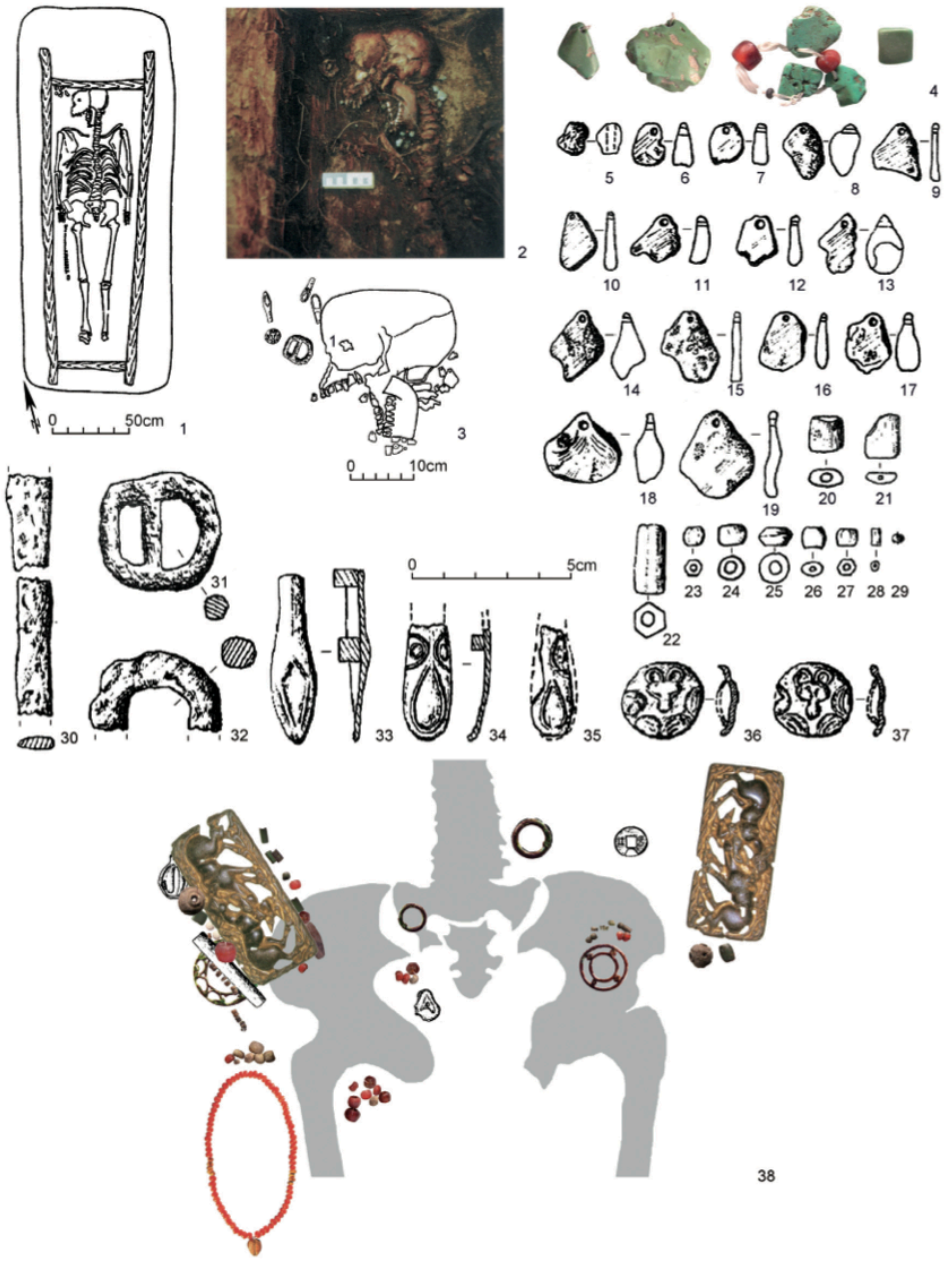


6.8 Ring with openwork drop-shaped designs from Tomb 13, Daodunzi, Ningxia Hui Autonomous Region, China, 2nd–1st centuries BC. Bronze, outer diameter 5.9 cm (After Wu'en Yuesitu 1988, pl. 18.6)



6.9 Drawing of Tomb 6, Daodunzi, Ningxia Hui Autonomous Region, China, 2nd–1st centuries BC. Iron fragments, bronze belt plaque, cowry shells, *wuzhu* coins, a bell pendant, and animal bones (After Wu'en Yuesitu 1988, 340, fig. 7, left)


39
40
41
42
43
44
45
46
47
48
49
50
51
52
0
5cm
53
54
55
56
57
58
59
60
61
62
63
64
65
66



6.10 Grave goods excavated from Tomb 102, Dyrestuy, Buryatia Republic, Russia, 2nd–1st centuries BC. (After Brosseder 2011, 366–7, figs 14 and 15)

Appendix One: Tombs in Eastern Gansu and Southern Ningxia, 7th to 3rd Centuries BC

(Tombs) /	Number unknown
>	More than

Numbers on map	Locations			Tomb(s) and/or horse burial	Dating (cent. BC)	References
	Provincial, prefectural, and county levels	Township level	Village level			
1	Qingcheng County, Qingyang City, Gansu Province *Gansu Sheng Qingyang Shi Qingcheng Xian* 甘肅省慶陽市慶城縣	Chicheng Township *Chicheng Xiang* 赤城鄉	Ligou 李溝	/	6th	Liu and Xu 1988
2		Qingcheng Township *Qingcheng Zhen* 慶城鎮	Beiwulipo 北五里坡	1 horse burial	5th	Qingyang Diqu Bowuguan and Qingyang Xian Bowuguan 1988
3	Zhenyuan County, Qingyang City, Gansu Province *Gansu Sheng Qingyang Shi Zhenyuan Xian* 甘肅省慶陽市鎮原縣	Miaoqu Township *Miaoqu Xiang* 廟渠鄉	Miaoqucun 廟渠村	1	5th	Liu and Xu 1988
4		Taiping Township *Taiping Xiang* 太平鄉	Hongyancun 紅岩村	1 tomb; 1 horse burial	5th or earlier	Liu and Xu 1988
5		Mengju Township *Mengju Xiang* 孟坦鄉	Wujiagouquan 吳家溝圈	/	7th–3rd	Liu and Xu 1988

6	Xifeng District, Qingyang City, Gansu Province *Gansu Sheng Qingyang Shi Xifeng Qu* 甘肅省慶陽市西峰區	Houguanzhai Township *Houguanzhai Xiang* 後官寨鄉	Mazhaicun 馬寨村	/	7th–3rd	Liu and Xu 1988
7		Dongzhi Township *Dongzhi Zhen* 董志鎮	Fengbaocun 馮堡村	/	7th–3rd	Liu and Xu 1988
8		Shishi Township *Shishi Xiang* 什社鄉	Tatoucun 塌頭村	/	3rd	Liu and Xu 1988
9	Ning County, Qingyang City Gansu Province *Gansu Sheng Qingyang Shi Ning Xian* 甘肅省慶陽市寧縣	Pingzi Township *Pingzi Zhen* 平子鎮	Yuanjiacun 袁家村	1 tomb; 1 horse burial	5th–3rd	Liu and Xu 1988
10	Zhengning County, Qingyang City Gansu Province *Gansu Sheng Qingyang Shi Zhengning Xian* 甘肅省慶陽市正寧縣	Shanhe Township *Shanhe Xiang* 山河鄉	Houzhuancun 後莊村	1 tomb; 1 horse burial	7th–3rd	Liu and Xu 1988
11	Zhangjiachuan Hui Autonomous County, Tianshui City Gansu Province *Gansu Sheng Tianshui Shi Zhangjiachuan Huizu Zizhixian* 甘肅省天水市張家川回族自治縣		Majiayuan 馬家塬	>60	4th–3rd	Wang 2007; Gansu Sheng Wenwu Kaogu Yanjiusuo and Zhangjiachuan Huizu Zizhixian Bowuguan 2008; Zaoqi Qin Wenhua Lianhe Kaogudui and Zhangjiachuan Huizu Zizhixian Bowuguan 2009, 2010, 2012, and 2018; Gansu Sheng Wenwu Kaogu Yanjiusuo 2012; Gansu Sheng Wenwu Kaogu Yanjiusuo and

						Shaanxi Sheng Wenwu Kaogu Yanjiuyuan 2013; and Huang *et al*. 2016
12	Qin'an County, Tianshui City Gansu Province *Gansu Sheng Tianshui Shi Qin'an Xian* 甘肅省天水市秦安縣	Wuying Township *Wuying Xiang* 五營鄉	Wangjiawacun 王家窪村	30	4th–3rd	Gansu Sheng Wenwu Kaogu Yanjiusuo 2012
13		Wangyao 王窯	Wangjia Mountain *Wangjia Shan* 王家山	/	7th–3rd	Qin'an Xian Wenhuaguan 1986
14		Guojia Township *Guojia Xiang* 郭家鄉	Sizuiping 寺嘴坪	/	4th–3rd	Qin'an Xian Wenhuaguan 1986
15		Lianhua Township *Lianhua Zhen* 蓮花鎮		/	7th–3rd	Qin'an Xian Wenhuaguan 1986
16		Chengguan 城關		/	7th–3rd	Qin'an Xian Wenhuaguan 1986
17		Qianhu Township *Qianhu Xiang* 千戶鄉		/	7th–3rd	Qin'an Xian Wenhuaguan 1986
18		Wuying Township *Wuying Xiang* 五營鄉	Shaodiancun 邵店村	/	7th–3rd	Qin'an Xian Wenhuaguan 1986
19	Qingshui County, Tianshui City Gansu Province *Gansu Sheng Tianshui Shi Qingshui Xian* 甘肅省天水市清水縣	Baituo Township *Baituo Zhen* 白駝鎮	Liupingcun 劉坪村	>10	4th–3rd	Li and Nan 2003 and Gansu Sheng Wenwu Kaogu Yanjiusuo and Qingshui Xian Bowuguan 2014

20	Zhang County, Dingxi City Gansu Province *Gansu Sheng Dingxi Shi Zhang Xian* 甘肅省定西市漳縣	Sancha Township *Sancha Zhen* 三岔鎮	Dunping 墩坪	>26	6th–3rd	Yang and Mao 2015 and Gansu Sheng Wenwu Kaogu Yanjiusuo 2017
21	Yuanzhou District, Guyuan City Ningxia Hui Autonomous Region *Ningxia Huizu Zizhiqu Guyuan Shi Yuanzhou Qu* 寧夏回族自治區固原市原州區	Sanying Township *Sanying Xiang* 三營鄉	Sanyingcun 三營村	/	7th–3rd	Luo 1990
22		Hongzhuang 紅莊		1	4th–3rd	Zhong and Han 1985
23		Yanglang Township *Yanglang Xiang* 楊郎鄉	Dabei Mountain *Dabei Shan* 大北山	1	7th–3rd	Zhong and Han 1985
24		Yanglang Township *Yanglang Xiang* 楊郎鄉	Mazhuang 馬莊	>49	6th–4th	Ningxia Wenwu Kaogu Yanjiusuo and Guyuan Bowuguan 1993
25		Yanglang Township *Yanglang Xiang* 楊郎鄉	Jianghecun 蔣河村	1	4th–3rd	Zhong 1978 and Zhong and Han 1985
26		Touying Township *Touying Zhen* 頭營鎮	Pinglecun 平樂村	1	7th–3rd	Zhong and Han 1985 and Luo 1990
27		Touying Township *Touying Zhen* 頭營鎮	Wangjiaping 王家坪	1	7th–3rd	Zhong and Han 1985 and Luo 1990
28		Pengpu Township *Pengpu Zhen* 彭堡鎮	Xiaohecun 硝河村	9	7th–3rd	Ningxia Wenwu Kaogu Yanjiusuo and Pengyang Xian Wenwu Guanlisuo 2016
29		Pengpu Township	Samencun	11	6th–4th	Luo and Yan 1988 and

		Pengpu Zhen 彭堡鎮	撒門村			Zhong and Han 1985
30		Pengpu Township *Pengpu Zhen* 彭堡鎮	Yujiazhuang 于家莊	>28	5th–4th	Ningxia Wenwu Kaogu Yanjiusuo 1991, 1995 and Yan 1994
31		Pengpu Township *Pengpu Zhen* 彭堡鎮	Houmocun 侯磨村	1	7th–3rd	Lou and Han 1990
32		Xijiao Township *Xijiao Xiang* 西郊鄉	Yaergoucun 鴉兒溝村	>1	4th–3rd	Zhong 1978 and Zhong and Han 1985
33		Hechuan Township *Hechuan Xiang* 河川鄉	Shilacun 石喇村	1	6th–3rd	Lou 1983
34		Hechuan Township *Hechuan Xiang* 河川鄉	Yangwa 陽窪	1	7th–3rd	Zhong and Han 1985
35		Hechuan Township *Hechuan Xiang* 河川鄉	Luzigou 蘆子溝	/	7th–3rd	Lou 1990
36		Hechuan Township *Hechuan Xiang* 河川鄉	Luzigouzui 蘆子溝嘴	/	7th–3rd	Lou 1990
37		Hechuan Township *Hechuan Xiang* 河川鄉	Lupingcun 呂坪村	1	5th	Guyuan Bowuguan 1992
38		Kaicheng Township *Kaicheng Zhen* 開城鎮	Jiulong Mountain Yangfangcun *Yangfangcun Jiulong Shan* 羊坊村九龍山	>18	7th–3rd	Ningxia Wenwu Kaogu Yanjiusuo and Pengyang Xian Wenwu Guanlisuo 2016

39		Nanjiao Township *Nanjiao Xiang* 南郊鄉	Tianwacun 田窪村	1	7th–3rd	Lou and Han 1990
40		Nanjiao Township *Nanjiao Xiang* 南郊鄉	Xiakoucun 峽口村	/	7th–3rd	Luo 1990
41	Pengyang County, Guyuan City Ningxia Hui Autonomous Region *Ningxia Huizu Zizhiqu Guyuan Shi Pengyang Xian* 寧夏回族自治區固原市彭陽縣	Baiyang Township *Baiyang Zhen* 白楊鎮	Baichacun 白岔村	/	5th	Zhong and Qi 1999
42		Guoko Township *Guoko Xiang* 溝口鄉	Yaohecun 姚河村	/	5th	Luo and Han 1990 and Yang and Qi 1999
43		Guoko Township *Guoko Xiang* 溝口鄉	Baicaowacun 白草洼村	/	7th–3rd	Yang and Qi 1999
44		Gucheng Township *Gucheng Zhen* 古城鎮	Wangdahucun 王大戶村	>8	7th–3rd	Ningxia Wenwu Kaogu Yanjiusuo and Pengyang Xian Wenwu Guanlisuo 2016
45		Gucheng Township *Gucheng Zhen* 古城鎮	Dianwacun 店窪村	/	7th–3rd	Yang and Qi 1999
46		Gucheng Township *Gucheng Zhen* 古城鎮	Guchengcun 古城村	/	4th–3rd	Yang and Qi 1999
47		Chuankou Township *Chuankou Xiang* 川口鄉	Zhengzhuangcun 鄭莊村	/	7th–3rd	Yang and Qi 1999
48		Chengyang Township	Liutaicun Zhongzhuang	2	7th–3rd	Ningxia Wenwu Kaogu Yanjiusuo and Pengyang Xian Wenwu

		Chengyang Zhen 城陽鎮	中莊柳台村			Guanlisuo 2016
49		Xinji Township *Xinji Xiang* 新集鄉	Baiyanglin 白楊林	1	4th–3rd	Zhong and Han 1985
50		Caomiao Township *Caomiao Xiang* 草廟鄉	Zhangjiecun 張街村	7 tombs; 1 horse burial	5th	Yang and Qi 1999 and Ningxia Wenwu Kaogu Yanjiusuo and Pengyang Xian Wenwuzhan 2002
51		Mengyuan Township *Mengyuan Xiang* 孟塬鄉		1	4th–3rd	Lou and Han 1990
52		Liuyuan Township *Liuyuan Xiang* 劉塬鄉	Miyuancun 米塬村	1	6th–5th	Luo and Han 1990 and Yang and Qi 1999
53		Jiaocha Township *Jiaocha Xiang* 交岔鄉	Guantaicun 官台村	1	7th–3rd	Luo and Yan 1993
54		Jiaocha Township *Jiaocha Xiang* 交岔鄉	Xianmacun 莧麻村	1	6th–5th	Yang and Qi 1999
55		Xiaocha Township *Xiaocha Xiang* 小岔鄉	Migoucun 米溝村	/	5th–4th	Ningxia Wenwu Kaogu Yanjiusuo and Pengyang Xian Wenwu Guanlisuo 2016
56		Honghe Township *Honghe Xiang* 紅河鄉		/	7th–3rd	Zhong and Han 1985
57	Jingyuan County, Guyuan City, Ningxia Hui Autonomous Region *Ningxia Huizu Zizhiqu Guyuan Shi Jingyuan Xian*	Haodian Township *Haodian Xiang* 蒿店鄉		/	7th–3rd	Lou and Han 1990

	寧夏回族自治區固原市涇源縣					
58		Dawan Township *Dawan Xiang* 大灣鄉	Luyuancun 綠塬村	/	7th–3rd	Lou and Han 1990
59	Xiji County, Guyuan City Ningxia Hui Autonomous Region *Ningxia Huizu Zizhiqu Guyuan Shi Xiji Xian* 寧夏回族自治區固原市西吉縣	Baicheng Township *Baicheng Xiang* 白城鄉		/	7th–3rd	Lou 1990
60		Xinying Township *Xinying Xiang* 新營鄉	Chenyangchuan-cun 陳陽川村	5	4th–3rd	Luo and Han 1990; Yan and Li 1992; and Ningxia Wenwu Kaogu Yanjiusuo and Xiji Xian Wenwu Guanlisuo 1994
61		Baiya Township *Baiya Xiang* 白崖鄉	Banzigoucun 半子溝村	/	7th–3rd	Lou and Han 1990
62			Chaigou 柴溝	/	7th–3rd	Lou and Han 1990
63		Xiaohe Township *Xiaohe Xiang* 硝河鄉	Shangdiancun 上店村	1	7th–3rd	Lou and Han 1990
64		Xingping Township *Xingping Xiang* 興坪鄉		/	7th–3rd	Lou and Han 1990
65		Jiangtai Township *Jiangtai Xiang* 將台鄉		/	7th–3rd	Lou 1990
66		Jiangtai Township *Jiangtai Xiang* 將台鄉	Maojiagoucun 毛家溝村	/	7th–3rd	Lou and Han 1990
67		Shizi Township		/	7th–3rd	Lou 1990

		Shizi Xiang 什字鄉				
68		Xinglong Township *Xinglong Zhen* 興隆鎮		/	7th–3rd	Lou 1990
69		Xinglong Township *Xinglong Zhen* 興隆鎮	Danmincun 單民村	/	7th–3rd	Lou 1990
70		Xinlong Township *Xinglong Zhen* 興隆鎮	Huaiwan Danbeicun *Danbeicun Huaiwan* 單北村槐灣	1	7th–3rd	Lou and Han 1990
71		Yuqiao Township *Yuqiao Xiang* 玉橋鄉	Yuqiaocun 玉橋村	/	7th–3rd	Lou and Han 1990
72	Longde County, Guyuan City Ningxia Hui Autonomous Region *Ningxia Huizu Zizhiqu Guyuan Shi Longde Xian* 寧夏回族自治區固原市隆德縣	Shatang Township *Shatang Xiang* 沙塘鄉	Brick Factory *Jizhuanchang* 機磚廠	1	4th–3rd	Lou and Han 1990 and Longde Xian Wenguansuo and Wang 1990
73		Wenbao Township *Wenbao Xiang* 溫堡鄉	Wugoucun 吳溝村	1	7th–3rd	Longde Xian Wenguansuo and Wang 1990
74	Haiyuan County, Zhongwei City Ningxia Hui Autonomous Region *Ningxia Huizu Zizhiqu Zhongwei Shi Haiyuan Xian* 寧夏回族自治區中衛市海原縣	Heicheng Township *Heicheng Zhen* 黑城鎮	Siying Reservoir Siyingcun *Siyingcun Siying Shuiku* 四營村四營水庫	1	4th–3rd	Lou and Han 1990
75	Zhongning County, Zhongwei City Ningxia Hui Autonomous Region	Shikong Township *Shikong Zhen*	Nidingcun 倪丁村	2	6th–5th	Ningxia Huizu Zizhiqu Bowuguan Kaogudui 1987

	Ningxia Huizu Zizhiqu *Zhongwei Shi Zhongning Xian* 寧夏回族自治區中衛市中寧縣	石空鎮				
76		Xitai Township *Xitai Xiang* 西台鄉	Langwozikeng 狼窩子坑	11	6^{th}–3^{rd}	Zhou 1989
77		Shenlin Township *Shenlin Xiang* 神林鄉		/	7^{th}–3^{rd}	Longde Xian Wenguansuo and Wang 1990

Appendix Two:
Records of the Western Rong in *Records of the Grand Historian* and Other Classical Chinese Texts

Quotations are given in the order that they appear in the main text of Chapter Two.

Number	*Records of the Grand Historian*	Other classical Chinese texts
2.1	烏氏倮牧，及眾，斥賣，求奇繒物，閒獻遺戎王，戎王倍其償，與之畜，畜至用谷量馬牛，秦始皇帝令倮比封君，以時與列臣朝請。(*Records of the Grand Historian*, 69/3260.) Wushi Luo raised domesticated animals, and when he had a large number, he sold them and bought rare silks and other articles, which he secretly sent as gifts to the Rong king. The Rong king repaid him 10 times the original cost and sent him domestic animals until Wushi Luo had so many herds of horses and cattle he could only estimate their number by valley. The First Emperor of Qin ordered that Wushi Luo be granted the same honour as a Lord and allowed him to join the minsters in seasonal audiences at court. (Watson 1993a, 440.)	
2.2	[中衍] 其玄孫曰中潘，在西戎，保西垂。(*Records of the Grand Historian*, 5/174) [Zhongyan's] great-great-grandson was Zhongjue. He lived among the Western Rong and guarded the western border. (Watson 1993a, 2.)	
2.3	[襄公]七年春，周幽王用褒姒廢太子，立褒姒子為適，數欺諸侯，諸侯叛之。西戎犬戎與申侯伐周，殺幽王酈山下。而秦襄公將兵救周，戰甚力，有功。周避犬戎難，東徙雒邑，襄公以兵送周平王。平王封襄公為諸侯，賜之岐以西之地。曰	

	：「戎無道，侵奪我岐、豐之地，秦能攻逐戎，即有其地。」與誓，封爵之。(*Records of the Grand Historian*, 5/179.) In the spring of [Duke Xiang's] seventh year, King You of the Zhou Dynasty, heeding the wishes of his favourite, Bao Si, removed his heir apparent and set Bao Si's son in his place, and several times deceived the local rulers. The local rulers revolted against him, and the Quan Rong of the Western Rong, joining forces with Marquis Shen, attacked Zhou and killed King You at the foot of Mount Li. Duke Xiang of Qin led his forces to the rescue of the Zhou, fighting bravely and winning merit. In order to avoid harassment from the Quan Rong, the Zhou dynasty moved its capital to the city of Luoyang. Duke Xiang led his troops to escort King Ping to the new capital. King Ping made Duke Xiang as one of the local rulers, bestowing on him the land from Mount Qi on west, saying, "the Rong have behaved in an unprincipled manner, invading and seizing our lands of Qi and Feng. But Qin has succeeded in attacking and driving out the Rong, and therefore he shall possess these lands." Thus the king swore an oath with Duke Xiang, bestowing a fief and title on him. (Watson 1993a, 5, with modifications. I have changed the word "feudal lords" to "local rulers" and "the Western Rong and Dog Rong peoples" to "the Quan Rong of the Western Rong".)	
2.4	戎王使由余於秦。由余，其先晉人也，亡入戎，能晉言。聞繆公賢，故使由余觀秦。秦繆公示以宮室、積聚。由余曰：「使鬼為之，則勞神矣。使人為之，亦苦民矣。」繆公怪之，問曰：「中國以詩書禮樂	奚謂耽於女樂？昔者戎王使由余聘於秦，穆公問之曰：「寡人嘗聞道而未得目見之也，願聞古之明主得國失國何常以？」由余對曰：「臣嘗得聞之矣，常以儉得之，以奢失之。」穆公曰：「寡

	法度為政，然尚時亂，今戎夷無此，何以為治，不亦難乎？」由余笑曰：「此乃中國所以亂也。夫自上聖黃帝作為禮樂法度，身以先之，僅以小治。及其後世，日以驕淫。阻法度之威，以責督於下，下罷極則以仁義怨望於上，上下交爭怨而相篡弒，至於滅宗，皆以此類也。夫戎夷不然。上含淳德以遇其下，下懷忠信以事其上，一國之政猶一身之治，不知所以治，此真聖人之治也。」於是繆公退而問內史廖曰：「孤聞鄰國有聖人，敵國之憂也。今由余賢，寡人之害，將奈之何？」內史廖曰：「戎王處辟匿，未聞中國之聲。君試遺其女樂，以奪其志；為由余請，以疏其閒；留而莫遣，以失其期。戎王怪之，必疑由余。君臣有閒，乃可虜也。且戎王好樂，必怠於政。」繆公曰：「善。」因與由余曲席而坐，傳器而食，問其地形與其兵勢盡察，而後令內史廖以女樂二八遺戎王。戎王受而說之，終年不還。於是秦乃歸由余。由余數諫不聽，繆公又數使人閒要由余，由余遂去降秦。繆公以客禮禮之，問伐戎之形。(*Records of the Grand Historian*, 5/192–3.) The king of the Rong sent You Yu to Qin. You Yu's forebears were people of Jin who had fled and gone to live among the Rong. You Yu could, therefore, speak the language of Jin. The Rong king had heard that Duke Mu was a worthy man, [and he] dispatched You Yu to observe the situation in Qin. Duke Mu of Qin showed You Yu his palaces and [where] many celebrations were held. You Yu said, "if these were made by ghosts, it must have exhausted the spirit world, and if	人不辱而問道於子，子以儉對寡人何也？」由余對曰：「臣聞昔者堯有天下，飯於土簋，飲於土鉶，其地南至交趾，北至幽都，東西至日月之所出入者，莫不賓服。堯禪天下，虞舜受之，作為食器，斬山木而財之，削鋸修之跡流漆墨其上，輸之於宮以為食器，諸侯以為益侈，國之不服者十三。舜禪天下而傳之於禹，禹作為祭器，墨染其外，而朱畫其內，縵帛為茵，蔣席頗緣，觴酌有采，而樽俎有飾，此彌侈矣，而國之不服者三十三。夏后氏沒，殷人受之，作為大路，而建九旒，食器雕琢，觴酌刻鏤，四壁堊墀，茵席雕文，此彌侈矣，而國之不服者五十三。君子皆知文章矣，而欲服者彌少，臣故曰儉其道也。」由余出，公乃召內史廖而告之，曰：「寡人聞鄰國有聖人，敵國之憂也。今由余，聖人也，寡人患之，吾將奈何？」內史廖曰：「臣聞戎王之居，僻陋而道遠，未聞中國之聲，君其遺之女樂，以亂其政，而後為由余請期，以疏其諫，彼君臣有間而後可圖也。」君曰：「諾。」乃使史廖以女樂二八遺戎王，因為由余請期，戎王許諾。見其女樂而說之，設酒張飲，日以聽樂，終歲不遷，牛馬半死。由余歸，因諫戎王，戎王弗聽，由余遂去之秦，秦穆公迎而拜之上卿，問其兵勢與其地形，既以得之，舉兵而伐之，兼國十二，開地千里。故曰：耽於女樂，不顧國政，亡國之禍也。(*Hanfeizi*, 10/626–7.) What do I mean by becoming infatuated with female musicians? Long ago, the king of the Rong

	they were made by human beings, it must have been bitter for the people!" Duke Mu was puzzled and questioned him, saying, "the Central Kingdom employs the *Books of Odes* and *Documents*, rites and music, law and regulations to govern the land, but even so there are times of chaos. Now the Rong and Yi have none of these, so how can they bring about order? Is it not difficult?" You Yu laughed and replied, "it is precisely because of these that the Central Kingdom is in chaos! In ancient times when the sage rulers such as the Yellow Emperor created rites and music, laws and regulations, they took the lead in observing and carrying them out, and a small measure of order was achieved. But the rulers of later ages grow more arrogant and licentious by the day, scrutinising and berating their subjects in the name of the law, while their subjects, utterly exhausted, use benevolence and righteousness to angrily reproach their superiors. Thus, superior and inferior wrangle and hate each other, usurping and murdering until whole clans are wiped out; all because of such things as rites and music, laws and regulations! The Rong and Yi are not like this. Superiors treat their inferiors with simplicity and thoughtfulness, while inferiors serve their superiors with loyalty and good faith, and the governing of the whole state is as ruling a single body. No one knows why order comes about—this is truly the governance of a sage." When Duke Mu retired from the interview, he questioned Interior Minister Liao, saying, "I have heard that a sage in a neighbouring state can be a source of concern to their rivals. This worthy man You Yu could now be a threat to me. What	sent You Yu on a state visit to Qin. Duke Mu of Qin questioned him, saying, "I have heard general discussions of the Way, but I have never come face to face with any concrete description of it. May I ask you what the constant principle by which the enlightened rulers of ancient times won or lost their states was?" You Yu replied, "I have heard it said that they always won their states by thrift and lost them through extravagance." Duke Mu said, "I did not consider it beneath my dignity to ask you about the Way, why do you now give me an answer like 'thrift'?" You Yu replied, "I have heard it said that in ancient times, when Yao ruled the world, he ate his food from an earthen bowl and drank from an earthen pitcher. Yet, within his territory, which extended as far as Jiaozhi in the south, Youdu in the north, and east and west to the places where the sun and moon rise and set; there was no one who did not acknowledge his sovereignty. Yao then relinquished the empire and it passed to Shun of Yu, who had new dishes made. He had wood cut in the hills, fashioned into vessels and then, after the traces of the axe and saw were smoothed away and the surfaces painted with black lacquer, he had them brought to the palace for use as tableware. But the other local rulers thought that he was becoming extravagant, and 13 states refused to pay him allegiance any longer. Later, Shun ceded the empire and passed it to Yu, who had sacrificial vessels made that were varnished black on the outside and painted vermilion inside. He had cushions of woven

	should I do?" Interior Minister Liao replied, "the Rong ruler lives hidden away in the borderlands and has never heard the music of the Central Kingdom. You could try sending him female musicians to occupy him. Meanwhile, you can make various requests of You Yu and detain him here when the date for his return comes. The Rong king will wonder at this and will surely begin to suspect You Yu. Once dissension is sown between ruler and subject, we can make You Yu our captive, and if the Rong king likes our music, he is bound to neglect affairs of government." Duke Mu approved this plan and accordingly seated You Yu on a mat at his side, pressed one dish after another on him, and questioned him about the topography of the Rong territory and strength of their armed forces till he had learned all about them. Then [the duke] ordered the interior minister to send two sets of eight women musicians each to the Rong king. The Rong king accepted the musicians, found them to his liking and by year-end had still not sent them back. Qin then sent You Yu back to his own state. You Yu repeatedly admonished the Rong king, but his advice went unheeded. Meanwhile, Duke Mu several times sent persons to speak to You Yu in secret. In the end, You Yu left the Rong king and came over to the side of Qin. Duke Mu treated him with the courtesy due a guest and questioned him on how to go about attacking the Rong. (Watson 1993a, 15–7.)	fabric, mats of water grass with decorated edges, embellished cups and flagons, and ornamented casks and platters. Having become increasingly extravagant in his ways, he found that 33 of the states refused to serve him. The Xia Dynasty founded by Yu in time fell and was replaced by the people of Yin, who built the great carriage of polity and decorated it with nine banners. They had carved and polished dishes, inlaid drinking vessels, whitewashed walls and plastered porches, and cushions and mats ornamented with designs. Having become even more extravagant than their predecessors, they found that 53 states would not obey them. The more attention the rulers paid to refinement and elegance, the fewer were those who wished to submit to them. Thus I say that thrift is the essence of the Way." When You Yu left the room, Duke Mu questioned Interior Minister Liao, saying, "I have heard that a sage in a neighbouring state can be a source of worry to that state's rivals. Now this worthy man You Yu could be a threat to me. What should I do? Interior Minister Liao replied, "the Rong ruler lives hidden away in the borderlands and has never heard the music of the Central Kingdom. You could try sending him several female musicians to throw his rule into disorder. Meanwhile, you could make various requests of You Yu in order to cause dissension between him and his ruler. Once dissension is sown between ruler and subject, we can make You Yu our captive." Duke Mu approved this plan. He then ordered the interior minister to send two sets

		of eight female musicians each to the Rong king and at the same time requested that You Yu's return be postponed. The Rong king granted the request. He found the musicians to his liking, ordered that wine be brought and a banquet prepared, and spent everyday listening to their music. By year-end he still had not moved, and half his cattle and horses had died. When You Yu returned, he repeatedly admonished the Rong king, but his advice went unheeded. In the end, You Yu left the Rong king and came over to the side of Qin. Duke Mu honoured him with the post of prime minster, and questioned him on how to go about attacking the Rong. Having obtained the information he needed, he summoned his troops and attacked the Rong, acquired 12 states and extending his territory over 1000 *li*. Hence, I say: to become infatuated with female musicians and disregard affairs of state invites the disaster of national destruction. (Watson 1964, 62–5, with modifications made using Watson 1993a, 15–7.)
2.5	三十六年，繆公復益厚孟明等，使將兵伐晉，渡河焚船，大敗晉人，取王官及鄗，以報殽之役。晉人皆城守不敢出。於是繆公乃自茅津渡河，封殽中尸，為發喪，哭之三日。乃誓於軍曰：「嗟士卒！聽無譁，余誓告汝。古之人謀黃髮番番，則無所過。以申思不用蹇叔、百里傒之謀，故作此誓，令後世以記余過。」君子聞之，皆為垂涕，曰：「嗟乎！秦繆公之與人周也，卒得孟明之慶。」(*Records of the Grand Historian*, 5/193–4.)	秦伯伐晉，濟河焚舟，取王官及郊，晉人不出，遂自茅津濟，封殽尸而還，遂霸西戎，用孟明也。 (*Zuo Tradition*, 17/305.) Duke Mu of Qin attacked the State of Jin, burning their boats behind them when they crossed the Yellow River. They seized the cities of Wangguan and Jiao. The people of Jin would not leave [their cities]. Then, Duke Mu crossed the Yellow River at Reed Ford in person, raised a grave mound for the dead who had fallen

	In his thirty-sixth year, Duke Mu once more bestowed favours on Meng Ming and the other commanders, and he sent them to lead troops in an attack on Jin. [The Qin troops] burnt [the Jin] boats behind them when they crossed the Yellow River. They inflicted a crushing defeat on Jin, seizing the cities of Wangguan and Jiao, thus repaying Jin for the battle of Yao. The people of Jin all remained in their cities and did not dare venture forth. Then, Duke Mu crossed the Yellow River in person at Reed Ford and raised a grave mound for the dead who had fallen in the battle of Yao. He proclaimed [a period of] mourning and carried out lamentations for three days. He then swore this oath with his army, "you, my officers and men, hearken and cease your clamour! I declare this oath to you. The men of old consulted with the grey-haired ones, the hoary-headed, and thus they were without error. But I keep recalling how I failed to heed the consul of Jian Shi and Baili Xi. Therefore, I take this oath so that ages hereafter may remember my error." When the exemplary persons heard of this, they all wept tears of admiration, saying, "ah, Duke Mu of Qin did right by others, so he eventually achieved a felicitous outcome through Meng Ming. (Watson 1993a, 17, with modifications. I have translated *junzi* as the more common "exemplary persons" instead of "gentleman".)	in the battle of Yao, and left. He then made himself overlord of the Western Rong, and this achievement came about because he had used Meng Ming. (My translation based on Watson 1993a, 17.) 秦穆公伐鄭，晉襄公帥師敗諸崤，還歸，作《秦誓》。公曰：「嗟！我士，聽無嘩！予誓告汝群言之首。古人有言曰：『民訖自若，是多盤。』責人斯無難，惟受責俾如流，是惟艱哉！我心之憂，日月逾邁，若弗雲來。惟古之謀人，則曰未就予忌；惟今之謀人，姑將以為親。雖則云然，尚猷詢茲黃髮，則罔所愆。」番番良士，旅力既愆，我尚有之；仡仡勇夫，射御不違，我尚不欲。截截善諞言，俾君子易辭，我皇多有之！昧昧我思之，如有一介臣，斷斷猗無他技，其心休休焉，其如有容。人之有技，若己有之。人之彥聖，其心好之，不啻若自其口出。是能容之，以保我子孫黎民，亦職有利哉！人之有技，冒疾以惡之；人之彥聖而違之，俾不達是不能容，以不能保我子孫黎民，亦曰殆哉！邦之杌隉，曰由一人；邦之榮懷，亦尚一人之慶。」(*Book of Documents*, 13/88) The duke said, "Ah! My officers, listen to me without noise. I solemnly announce to you the most important of all sayings. [It is this which] the ancients have said, "Thus it is with all people, they mostly love their ease. In reproving others there is no difficulty, but to receive reproof, and allow it to have free course, this is difficult." The sorrow of my

		heart is, that the days and months have passed away, and it is not likely they will come again, [so that I might pursue a different course.] There were my old counselors. I said, "they will not accommodate themselves to me," and I hated them. There were my new counselors, and I would for the time give my confidence to them. So indeed it was with me; but hereafter I will take advice from the men of yellow hair, and then I shall be free from error. That good old officer! – his strength is exhausted, but I would rather have him [as my counsellor]. That dashing brave officer! – his shooting and charioteering are faultless, but I would rather not wish to have him. As to men of quibbles, skillful at cunning words, and able to make the good man change his purposes, what have I to do to make much use of them? I have deeply thought and concluded. Let me have but one resolute minister, plain and sincere, without other ability, but having a straightforward mind, and possessed of generosity, regarding the talents of others as if he himself possessed them; and when he finds accomplished and sage men, loving them in his heart more than his mouth expresses, really showing himself able to bear them: such a minister would be able to preserve my descendants and people, and would indeed be a giver of benefits. But if [the minister], when he finds men of ability, be jealous and hates them; if, when he finds accomplished and sage men, he opposes them and does not allow their advancement, showing himself

		really not able to bear them: such a man will not be able to protect my descendants and people; and will he not be a dangerous man? The decline and fall of a state may arise from one man. The glory and tranquility of a state may also arise from the goodness of one man." (Legge 1971, 207–8.)
2.6	三十七年，秦用由余謀伐戎王，益國十二，開地千里，遂霸西戎。天子使召公過賀繆公以金鼓。 (*Records of the Grand Historian*, 5/194.) In his thirty-seventh year, Duke Mu [the original Chinese text reads "Qin"] employed You Yu's advice to carry out an attack on the Rong rulers, acquiring 12 states, extending his territory by 1000 *li*, and made himself overlord of the Western Rong. The Son of Heaven dispatched Guo, the Duke of Shao, to congratulate Duke Mu and present him with a golden drum. (Watson 1993a, 17. Author comments are made in brackets.)	百里奚，虞之乞人，傳賣以五羊之皮，穆公相之而朝西戎。 (*Intrigues of the Warring States*, 7/295.) Baili Xi was a beggar in Yu. He was redeemed at the price of five sheepskins. Duke Mu made him a chancellor and made the Rong pay homage to the court. (Bonsall 2005, 59.)
2.7	三十九年，繆公卒，葬雍。從死者百七十七人，秦之良臣子輿氏三人名曰奄息、仲行、鍼虎，亦在從死之中。秦人哀之，為作歌黃鳥之詩。君子曰：「秦繆公廣地益國，東服彊晉，西霸戎夷，然不為諸侯盟主，亦宜哉。死而棄民，收其良臣而從死。且先王崩，尚猶遺德垂法，況奪之善人良臣百姓所哀者乎？是以知秦不能復東征也。」 (*Records of the Grand Historian*, 5/194–5.) In his thirty-ninth year, Duke Mu died and was buried at Yong. He was accompanied in death by 177 persons. Three good ministers of the	秦伯任好卒，以子車氏之三子，奄息，仲行，鍼虎，為殉，皆秦之良也，國人哀之，為之賦黃鳥，君子曰：「秦穆之不為盟主也，宜哉，死而棄民，先王違世，猶詒之法，而況奪之善人乎，詩曰，人之云亡，邦國殄瘁，無善人之謂，若之何奪之，古之王者，知命之不長，是以並建聖哲，樹之風聲，分之采物，著之話言，為之律度，陳之藝極，引之表儀，予之法制，告之訓典，教之防利，委之常秩，道之以禮，則使毋失其土宜，眾隸賴之，而後即命，聖王同之，今縱無法以遺後嗣，而又收其良以死，難以在

	Ziyu clan, Yanxi, Zhonghang and Zhenhu were among those who followed him in death. The people of Qin grieved at this and composed the song in the *Book of Odes* known as "Yellow Birds" for them. The exemplary persons remarked, "Duke Mu of Qin broadened his territory and increased his state, in the east humbling the powerful Jin, in the west making himself overlord of the Rong and Yi [Yi was originally translated as "barbarians"]. But, he never became a leader of the alliance, which is only right. For when he died, he cast aside his people and instead enlisted good minsters to accompany him in death. When the kings of antiquity passed away, they left virtue and laws behind to be passed down. How could they snatch away their best men and good ministers, causing their people to grieve? So, we know that Qin will never again be able to march east in conquest. (Watson 1993a, 17–8. I have translated *junzi* as the more common "exemplary person" instead of "gentleman", and I have kept the Chinese word *yi* instead of translating it as "barbarians" to avoid confusion with *rong*—also often translated as "barbarians".)	上矣，君子是以知秦之不復東征也。」(*Zuo Tradition*, 18/313–5.) Duke Mu of Qin died. He was accompanied in death by three ministers of the Ziche clan: Yanxi, Zhonghang, and Zhenhu. The people of Qin grieved at this and composed the song "Yellow Birds" for them. The exemplary persons remarked, "Duke Mu never became a leader of the alliance, which is only right. This is because when he died, he cast aside his people. When the kings of antiquity passed away, they left laws to be passed down. How could they snatch away their best men? The *Book of Odes* says, "the death of talented men wearies and weakens the state.' Now, there are no able men left here. How could he do such a thing? The kings of antiquity knew that life was short; therefore, they sought high and low for men of ability. They established the proper conditions for them to work in, gave them banners and robes of office, and had advice and precepts that would benefit them written down. They also established norms and promulgated standards for them. They presented them with models they could follow and laws they could use. They taught the wise sayings of the founding emperors and how to avoid striving for private gain. They appointed these men of talent to specific posts and showed them the protocol for carrying out their duties. They made it so that everyone trusted them—only then did the founding emperors depart this life. This is the way the sage rulers and the ancient kings previously acted. Not only is there no set of laws

		left now to guide posterity, but good ministers are snatched away. This is a most fearsome thing." So the exemplary persons know that the Qin would never again be able to march east in conquest. (Watson 1993a, 17–8 and Hu 1996, 361 and 363.)
2.8	秦穆公得由余，西戎八國服於秦，故自隴以西有綿諸、緄戎、翟、獂之戎，岐、梁山、涇、漆之北有義渠、大荔、烏氏、朐衍之戎。而晉北有林胡、樓煩之戎，燕北有東胡、山戎。各分散居谿谷，自有君長，往往而聚者百有餘戎，然莫能相一。(*Records of the Grand Historian*, 50/2883.) Duke Mu of Qin, having obtained the services of You Yu, succeeded in having eight Western Rong states submit to his authority. Thus, at this time there lived the Mianzu, the Gu Rong, Di [this name is missing in Watson's translation]) and Huan Rong in the region west of Long. North of Qi, Liang, Jing, and Qi were the Yiqu, Dali, Wushi, and Quyan Rong. North of Jin there were the Linhu and Loufan Rong, while north of Yan lived the Donghu and Shan Rong. All of them were scattered about in their own [discrete] valleys, each with their own ruler. From time to time they would have gatherings of a hundred of more, but no one was capable of unifying the others under a single rule. (Watson 1961, 158, with modifications. I have replaced words such as "tribe" with "states" and "barbarians" with the original Chinese character *rong*, which is less derogatory than "barbarian".)	而秦穆公得由余，西戎八國服於秦。故隴以西有綿諸、畎戎、狄、獂之戎，在岐、梁、涇、漆之北有義渠、大荔、烏氏、朐衍之戎，而晉北有林胡、樓煩之戎，燕北有東胡、山戎。各分散谿谷，自有君長，往往而聚者百有餘戎，然莫能相壹。(*Book of Han*, 94/178.) Duke Mu of Qin, having obtained the services of You Yu, succeeded in getting eight Western Rong states to submit to his authority. Thus, at this time there lived the Mianzu, the Gu Rong, Di, and Huan Rong in the region west of Long. North of Qi, Liang, Jing, Qi were the Yiqu, Dali, Wushi, and Quyan Rong. North of Jin there were the Linhu and Loufan Rong, while north of Yan lived the Donghu and Shan Rong. All of them were scattered throughout their own discrete valleys, each with their own ruler. From time to time, they would have gatherings of a hundred of more, but no one was capable of unifying the others under a single rule. (Adapted from Watson 1961, 158, with modifications.) 施德諸侯，而八戎來服。由余聞之，款關請見。(*Records of the Grand Historian*, 68/2234) [Duke Mu] bestowed his virtue upon the local rulers and,

		therefore, eight Rong states came in submission. You Yu, hearing of him, knocked at the pass, requesting an interview. (Watson 1993a, 97, with modifications. I have changed the words "territorial lords" to the more common "local rulers" and "tribe" to "Rong states".)
2.9	丞相李斯曰：「五帝不相復，三代不相襲，各以治，非其相反，時變異也。今陛下創大業，建萬世之功，固非愚儒所知。且越言乃三代之事，何足法也？異時諸侯并爭，厚招游學。今天下已定，法令出一，百姓當家則力農工，士則學習法令辟禁。今諸生不師今而學古，以非當世，惑亂黔首。丞相臣斯昧死言：古者天下散亂，莫之能一，是以諸侯并作，語皆道古以害今，飾虛言以亂實，人善其所私學，以非上之所建立。今皇帝并有天下，別黑白而定一尊。私學而相與非法教，人聞令下，則各以其學議之，入則心非，出則巷議，誇主以為名，異取以為高，率群下以造謗。如此弗禁，則主勢降乎上，黨與成乎下。禁之便。臣請史官非秦記皆燒之。非博士官所職，天下敢有藏詩、書、百家語者，悉詣守、尉雜燒之。有敢偶語詩書者棄市。以古非今者族。吏見知不舉者與同罪。令下三十日不燒，黥為城旦。所不去者，醫藥卜筮種樹之書。若欲有學法令，以吏為師。」制曰：「可。」(*Records of the Grand Historian*, 6/230.) The First Emperor referred the matter to his ministers for discussion. The Chancellor, Li Si, said, "the Five Emperors did not imitate each other, the Three Dynasties did not carry on each other's ways, yet each was well	

	governed. It was not that they rejected one another, but that the times changed. Now your Majesty has initiated this great undertaking, establishing merit that will last 10,000 generations. This is not the sort of thing that a stupid Confucianist would understand! Yue has spoken of the Three Dynasties, but why should they be worth taking as a model? In other times the local rulers vied with one another to attract wandering scholars to their courts and treated them generously. But, all under heaven has been pacified now, and laws and ordinances proceed from a single source. The common people in their homes devote their efforts to agriculture and crafts, while gentlemen study the laws and ordinances, and practise how to avoid prohibitions. But, scholars nowadays, instead of looking to the present, study antiquity in order to criticise their own age, misleading and confusing the black-headed people. As chancellor, your servant Li Si must speak out on pain of death. In the past, the empire was fragmented and in confusion, and no one was able to unite it. Therefore, the local rulers rose up arm in arm, all of them declaiming against antiquity in order to disparage the present, parading empty words in order to confuse the facts. Men prided themselves on their private theories and criticised the measures adopted by their superiors. Now the First Emperor has unified all under heaven, distinguishing black from white and establishing a single source of authority. Yet, these adherents of private theories band together to criticise the laws and directives. Hearing that an order has been handed down, each one proceeds to discuss it in the light of	

	his theories. At court, they disapprove in their hearts; outside [of the palace], they debate it in the streets. They hold it as a mark of fame to defy the ruler, regarding it as lofty to take a dissenting stance, and they lead the lesser officials in fabricating slander. If behaviour such as this is not prohibited, then the authority of the ruler will be comprised in upper circles, and in lower ones cliques will form. Therefore, it should be prohibited. I, therefore, request that all records of the historians other than those of the State of Qin be burnt. With the exception of the academicians, whose duty it is to possess them, if there are persons anywhere in the empire who have in their possession copies of the *Odes*, the *Documents*, or the writings of the Hundred Schools of Thought, they shall in all cases deliver them to the governor or his commandant to be burnt. Anyone who ventures to discuss the *Odes* or *Documents* shall be executed in the marketplace. Anyone who uses antiquity to criticise the present shall be executed, along with his family. Any official who observes or knows of violations and fails to report them shall be equally guilty. Anyone who has failed to burn such books within three days of the promulgation of this order shall be tattooed and condemned to 'wall dawn' labour. The books that are to be exempted are those on medicine, divination, agriculture, and forestry. Anyone wishing to study the laws and ordinances should have a law official for his teacher." An imperial decree granted approval of the proposal. (Watson 1993a, 54–55.)	
2.10	至於序尚書則略，無年月；或頗有，然多闕，不可錄。 (*Records of the Grand Historian,*	

	13/487.) The *Book of Documents* is sketchy, without years and months. Even if there is a date, [the information] is usually incomplete and cannot be cited.	
2.11	寧公二年，公徙居平陽。遣兵伐蕩社。(*Records of the Grand Historian*, 5/181.) In Duke Ning's second year, the Duke moved his residence to Pingyang. He dispatched troops to attack Dangshe. (Watson 1993a, 6.)	
2.12	褒姒不好笑，幽王欲其笑萬方，故不笑。幽王為烽燧大鼓，有寇至則舉烽火。諸侯悉至，至而無寇，褒姒乃大笑。幽王說之，為數舉烽火。其後不信，諸侯益亦不至…申侯怒，與繒、西夷犬戎攻幽王。幽王舉烽火徵兵，兵莫至。遂殺幽王驪山下，虜褒姒，盡取周賂而去。(*Records of the Grand Historian*, 4/148–9.) Bao Si did not like to smile, and King You tried ten thousand ways to make her smile but still she did not smile. King You built a beacon-fire tower with a great drum on it and lit the beacon whenever there was an enemy presence. [Once] the many rulers all came, but there were no enemies, and Bao Si then burst out laughing. King You was pleased, so he repeatedly lit the beacon. After this, he lost the trust of the many rulers, who, increasingly, did not come [when the drum sounded]… The Ruler of Shen was enraged, so he, together with Zeng and the Quan Rong of the Western Rong, attacked King You. King You lit the beacon to summon the troops, but the troops did not come. [The enemies] then killed King You at the foot of Mount	周宅酆鎬近戎人，與諸侯約，為高葆禱於王路，置鼓其上，遠近相聞。即戎寇至，傳鼓相告，諸侯之兵皆至救天子。戎寇當至，幽王擊鼓，諸侯之兵皆至，褒姒大說，喜之。幽王欲褒姒之笑也，因數擊鼓，諸侯之兵數至而無寇。至於後戎寇真至，幽王擊鼓，諸侯兵不至。幽王之身，乃死於麗山之下，為天下笑。(*Lüshi Chunqiu*, 22/471.) The homes of the Zhou, Feng, and Hao, were near the Rong. [The king] agreed to build a high fortress with the many rulers and set up a drum that would inform the many rulers, whose troops would all come to rescue the Son of Heaven. Once, when the Rong came, King You beat the drum and the troops of the many rulers all rushed in, Bao Si was greatly amused by this. King You wanted Bao Si to smile, so [he] repeatedly beat the drum, and the troops of the many rulers repeatedly came, but there were no enemies. Later on, when the Rong really came, King You beat the drum, but the troops of the many rulers did not

	Li, captured Bao Si, and went away with all the treasures of Zhou. (Li 2006, 201. I have replaced "Western Rong Quanrong" with "Quan Rong of the Western Rong".)	come. King You thus died at the foot of Mount Li and was laughed at by all people under Heaven. (Li 2006, 201. I have replaced the word "barbarians" with the original Chinese character *rong* and enemies.)
2.13	申侯怒，與繒、西夷犬戎攻幽王。幽王舉烽火徵兵，兵莫至。遂殺幽王驪山下，虜褒姒，盡取周賂而去。(*Records of the Grand Historian*, 4/148–9.) The Ruler of Shen was enraged, so he, together with the Zeng and the Quan Rong of the Western Rong, attacked King You. King You lit the beacon to summon the troops, but the troops did not come. [The enemies] then killed King You at the foot of Li Mountain, captured Bao Si, and went away with all the treasures of Zhou. (Li 2006, 201. I have replaced "Western Rong Quanrong" with "Quan Rong of the Western Rong".)	（幽王十年）秋九月，桃杏實，王師伐申。 （幽王）十一年，春正月，日暈。申人，鄫人及犬戎入宗周，弒王及鄭桓公。犬戎殺王子伯服，執褒姒以歸。申侯、魯侯、徐男、鄭子立宜臼于申，虢公翰立王子余臣于攜。(*Current Bamboo Annals*, 2/17.) In [the tenth year of King You], autumn, ninth month, the peach and apricot trees bore fruits. The royal army attacked Shen. In the eleventh year [of King You], spring, first month, there was a corona on the sun. The people of Shen, the people of Zeng, and the Quan Rong killed Bo Fu, captured Bao Si, and left for home. The Ruler of Shen, the Ruler of Lu, the Ruler of Xu, and the Prince of Zheng established Yi Jiu at Shen, while the Duke of Guo, Han, established the title of Prince Yu Chen at Xie. (Li 2006, 219.)
2.14	數以六為紀，符、法冠皆六寸，而輿六尺，六尺為步，乘六馬。(*Records of the Grand Historian* 6/238.) Numerical [measurements] took six as the standard, so that both tallies and hats worn by officials were six inches, carriages were six feet, six feet were taken to make up one pace, and carriages were drawn by six horses. (Watson 1993a, 44.)	

2.15	穆王之後二百有餘年，周幽王用寵姬褒姒之故，與申侯有卻。申侯怒而與犬戎共攻殺周幽王于驪山之下，遂取周之焦穫，而居于涇渭之閒，侵暴中國。秦襄公救周，於是周平王去酆鄗而東徙雒邑。當是之時，秦襄公伐戎至岐，始列為諸侯。是後六十有五年，而山戎越燕而伐齊，齊釐公與戰于齊郊。其後四十四年，而山戎伐燕。燕告急于齊，齊桓公北伐山戎，山戎走。其後二十有餘年，而戎狄至洛邑，伐周襄王，襄王奔于鄭之氾邑。初，周襄王欲伐鄭，故娶戎狄女為后，與戎狄兵共伐鄭。已而黜狄后，狄后怨，而襄王後母曰惠后，有子子帶，欲立之，於是惠后與狄后、子帶為內應，開戎狄，戎狄以故得入，破逐周襄王，而立子帶為天子。於是戎狄或居于陸渾，東至於衛，侵盜暴虐中國。中國疾之，故詩人歌之曰「戎狄是應」，「薄伐獫狁，至於大原」，「出輿彭彭，城彼朔方」。周襄王既居外四年，乃使使告急于晉。晉文公初立，欲修霸業，乃興師伐逐戎翟，誅子帶，迎內周襄王，居于雒邑。(*Records of the Grand Historian*, 50/2881–2.) Some 200 years after the time of King Mu, King You of the Zhou, egged on by his beloved concubine, Bao Si, quarrelled with the Ruler of Shen. In anger, the Ruler of Shen joined forces with the Quan Rong and attacked then killed King You at the foot of Mount Li. Eventually the Rong seized the region of Jiaohuo from the Zhou, occupied the area between the Jing and Wei rivers, and invaded and plundered the ventral region of the Central Kingdom. Duke Xiang of Qin came to the rescue of the Zhou court, and King You's	至穆王之孫懿王時，王室遂衰，戎狄交侵，暴虐中國。中國被其苦，詩人始作，疾而歌之，曰：「靡室靡家，獫允之故」；「豈不日戒，獫允孔棘。」至懿王曾孫宣王，興師命將以征伐之，詩人美大其功，曰：「薄伐獫狁，至於太原；」「出車彭彭」，「城彼朔方。」是時四夷賓服，稱為中興。至于幽王，用寵姬褒姒之故，與申后有隙。申侯怒而與畎戎共攻殺幽王于麗山之下，遂取周之地，鹵獲而居于涇渭之間，侵暴中國。秦襄公救周，於是周平王去酆鎬而東徙于雒邑。當時秦襄公伐戎至廄，始列為諸侯……後二十餘年，而戎翟至雒邑，伐周襄王，襄王出奔于鄭之氾邑。初，襄王欲伐鄭，故取翟女為后，與翟共伐鄭。已而黜翟后，翟后怨，而襄王繼母曰惠后，有子帶，欲立之，於是惠后與翟后、子帶為內應，開戎翟，戎翟以故得入，破逐襄王，而立子帶為王。於是戎翟或居於陸渾，東至于衛，侵盜尤甚。周襄王既居外四年，乃使使告急於晉。晉文公初立，欲修霸業，乃興師伐戎翟，誅子帶，迎內襄王于洛邑。(*Book of Han*, 94/2–3.) During the reign of King Yi, grandson of King Mu, the power of the royal house declined. The Rong and Di plundered the Central Kingdom. The empire was deeply troubled; therefore, the poets in the *Book of Odes* wrote and sang with grief, "the court declined and families collapsed because of the Xianyun." "We must be on our guard each and every day, [as] we are attacked by the Xianyun." During the reign of King Xuan,

	successor King Ping abandoned the regions of Feng and Hao, moving his capital east to the city of Luo. At this time Duke Xiang of Qin attacked the Rong and advanced as far as Mount Qi; as a result, he was for the first time ranked among the local rulers of the Zhou Dynasty. Sixty-five years later the Shan Rong crossed the State of Yan and attacked Qi. Duke Li of Chi fought with them in the suburbs of his capital. Forty-four years later the Shan Rong attacked Yan, but Yan reported its plight to Duke Huan of Qi, who rode north and attacked the Shan Rong, driving them off. Some 20 years later, the Rong and Di rode as far as the capital city of Luo and attacked King Xiang of Zhou; King Xiang fled to the city of Fan in Zheng. Previously, King Xiang had wanted to attack the State of Zheng and accordingly married a daughter of the Rong and Di, whom he made his queen. Then, with the aid of the Rong and Di forces, he made his attack on Zheng. Having accomplished his purpose, however, he cast aside his Di queen, much to her resentment. King Xiang's stepmother, Queen Hui, had a son named Prince Dai, whom she wished to place on the throne; therefore Queen Hui, her son, and the Di queen agreed to cooperate with the Rong and Di attackers from within the capital by opening the city to them. Thus, the Rong and Di were able to enter, defeat, and drive out King Xiang, then establish Prince Dai as Son of Heaven [emperor] in his place. After this, the Rong and Di occupied the area of Luhun, roaming as far east as the State of Qi, ravaging and plundering the lands of the Central Kingdom with fearful cruelty. The kingdom was deeply troubled, thus the poets in the *Book*	the great-grandson of King Yi, the king raised an army and attacked the Xianyun. The poets praised his achievement, saying, "we struck the Xianyun and drove them to the Great Plain." "We sent forth chariots in majestic array and walled the northern regions." At that time, the four Yi submitted and it is known as the restoration. King You of Zhou, egged on by his beloved concubine Bao Si, quarrelled with the Ruler of Shen. In anger, the Ruler of Shen joined forces with the Quan Rong, attacking and killing King You at the foot of Mount Li. Eventually the Rong seized the region of Jiaohuo from the Zhou, occupied the area between the Jing and Wei rivers, and invaded and plundered the Central Kingdom. Duke Xiang of Qin came to the Zhou court's rescue, and King You's successor, King Ping, abandoned the regions of Feng and Hao, moving his capital east to the city of Luo. Previously, King Xiang had wanted to attack the State of Zheng and accordingly married a daughter of the Di, whom he made his queen. Then, with the aid of Di forces, he made his attack on Zheng. Having accomplished his purpose, however, he cast aside his Di queen, much to her resentment. King Xiang's stepmother, Queen Hui, had [a son named] Prince Dai, whom she wished to place on the throne; therefore, Queen Hui, Prince Dai, and the Di queen agreed to cooperate with the Rong and Di attackers from within the capital by opening the city to them. Thus, the Rong and Di were able to enter, defeat, and drive out King Xiang, and then establish Prince

	of Odes wrote, “we smote the Rong and Di. We struck the Xianyun and drove them to the Great Plain. We sent forth chariots in majestic array and walled the northern regions. After King Xiang had been driven from his throne and lived abroad for four years, he sent an envoy to the State of Jin to explain his plight. Duke Wen of Jin, having just come to power, wanted to make a name for himself as hegemon and protector of the royal house. He thus raised an army, attacking and driving out the Rong and Di, executing Prince Dai, and restoring King Xiang to his throne in Luo. (Watson 1993b, 130–1, with modifications. I have replaced the words “Dog Barbarians” to “Quan Rong” and “Zi Dai” to “Prince Dai”.)	Dai as Son of Heaven. After this, the Rong and Di occupied the area of Luhun, roaming as far east as the State of Qi, ravaging and plundering with fearful cruelty. After King Xiang had been driven from his throne and had lived abroad for four years, he sent an envoy to the State of Jin to explain his plight. Duke Wen of Jin, having just come to power, wanted to make a name for himself as hegemon and protector of the royal house. He raised an army, attacking and driving out the Rong and Di, executing Prince Dai and, restoring King Xiang to his throne in Luo. (My translation based on Watson 1993b, 130–1.)
2.16		後百許年，義渠敗秦師于洛。(*Book of the Later Han*, 117/669.) About a century later, the Yiqu defeated the Qin army in Luo.

Appendix Three: Description of Gold Chariots

秦并天下，閱三代之禮，或曰殷瑞山車，金根之色。漢承秦制，御為乘輿……乘輿，金根、安車、立車，輪皆朱班重牙，貳轂兩轄，金薄繆龍，為輿倚較，文虎伏軾，龍首銜軛，左右吉陽筩，鸞雀立衡，肤文畫輈，羽蓋華蚤，建大旂，十有二斿，畫日月升龍，駕六馬，象鑣鏤錫，金鋚方鈐，插翟尾，朱兼樊纓，赤罽易茸，金就十有二，左纛以氂牛尾為之，在左騑馬軛上，大如斗，是為德車。(*Book of Later Han*, 39/446.)

Qin unified all under the Heaven and read the rites of the Three Dynasties. [They made the gold chariots], alternatively called *Yinrui Shan che*, that were gold in colour. The Han follows the Qin system, and emperors travel in vehicles...The vehicles, namely the Gold Chariot, Comfort Chariot, and Standing Chariot, have wheels painted with cinnabar, multiple spokes, and a pair of wheel hubs and pins. Gold dragons form the chariots' sidebars; tigers lie on the crossbars; dragon heads cap the yokes with auspicious bells on the two sides; birds stand on the drawbar; [animal?] skin patterns paint the draught pole; and floral ornaments decorate the feather canopies. [There are] big flags with 12 tassels, all painted with the sun, the moon, and an ascending dragon. [The chariots are] pulled by six horses with ivory cheek-pieces inlaid with tin. Gold embellishes the square frontlets, where cockerel tail feathers have also been inserted. Cinnabar decorates the breast straps, and the red blankets used are soft and fluffy. [There are] 12 gold ornaments, with the vehicle decorations on the left comprising yak tails. To the left of the side horse is a yoke that is as big as a *dou*. The chariot is called the "virtuous chariot".

Appendix Four: Wheeled Vehicles at the Majiayuan Cemetery, 4th to 3rd Centuries BC

Tomb number	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	18	19	20	21	22	23	25	26	29	57	58	59	60	61	61	64	
Type 1	4		4	1	1		1		1	1			1	1	1	3	2			1	1					1					1		25
Type 2				1		2								1		1	1	1								1							8
Type 3	1		1											1		1																	4
Unknown type						1													1			1	1						1				5
Vehicle fittings (Y=Yes)		Y										Y		Y													Y						
Number of vehicles	5	0	5	2	1	3	1	0	1	1	0	0	1	3	1	5	3	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	0	2	0	0	1	0	1	0	42

Appendix Five: Vessel Assemblages at the Majiayuan Cemetery, 4th to 3rd Centuries BC

Tomb Number	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	12	13	14	15	16	18	19	20	21	22	23	25	26	29	59	60	61	62	64
Disturbed	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	N
Ritual vessels																											
Ding 鼎	X		X	X								1			1												
Yan 甗														2	1												
Zeng 甑		(X)											1	2													
Li 鬲		(X)						(1)			1			2		(1)					(1)						
Dui 敦								1						2													
Pan 盤														1					1								
Fu 釜	X																										
Hu 壺	X		X	X							1		2														
Yi 匜														1													
Eared cups 耳杯																	1L									1	
Cocoon-shaped *hu* 繭形壺			1																								
Household vessels																											
Guan 罐	(X) 1h	(X) 2h	X 2h	X				(1)	(1)	(1)				(1)	(1)	(1)	(1)	(1)		(1)	(1)		(1)	(1)	(1)		(1)
Ladles																	1I				1					1	
Cups/ cup sleeves	1S									2			1; 1L				1										
Beakers	1F														1F												

Y	Yes
N	No
X	Number unspecified
Not bracketed	Bronze
Bracketed	Ceramic
S	Silver
I	Iron
L	Lacquer
F	Faience/Glass
Number + h	Number of handle

Appendix Six: Records on the Early History of Qin

秦之先，帝顓頊之苗裔孫曰女修。女修織，玄鳥隕卵，女修吞之，生子大業。大業取少典之子，曰女華。女華生大費，與禹平水土。已成，帝錫玄圭。禹受曰：「非予能成，亦大費為輔。」帝舜曰：「咨爾費，贊禹功，其賜爾皁游。爾後嗣將大出。」乃妻之姚姓之玉女。大費拜受，佐舜調馴鳥獸，鳥獸多馴服，是為柏翳。舜賜姓嬴氏。大費生子二人：一曰大廉，實鳥俗氏；二曰若木，實費氏。其玄孫曰費昌，子孫或在中國，或在夷狄。費昌當夏桀之時，去夏歸商，為湯御，以敗桀於鳴條。大廉玄孫曰孟戲、中衍，鳥身人言。帝太戊聞而卜之使御，吉，遂致使御而妻之。自太戊以下，中衍之後，遂世有功，以佐殷國，故嬴姓多顯，遂為諸侯……非子居犬丘，好馬及畜，善養息之。犬丘人言之周孝王，孝王召使主馬于汧渭之閒，馬大蕃息。孝王欲以為大駱適嗣。申侯之女為大駱妻，生子成為適。申侯乃言孝王曰：「昔我先酈山之女，為戎胥軒妻，生中潏，以親故歸周，保西垂，西垂以其故和睦。今我復與大駱妻，生適子成。申駱重婚，西戎皆服，所以為王。王其圖之。」於是孝王曰：「昔伯翳為舜主畜，畜多息，故有土，賜姓嬴。今其後世亦為朕息馬，朕其分土為附庸。」邑之秦，使復續嬴氏祀，號曰秦嬴。亦不廢申侯之女子為駱適者，以和西戎。(*Records of the Grand Historian*, 4/173–7.)

The forebears of the Qin were descendants of Emperor Zhuan Xu. Zhuan Xu's granddaughter was named Nu Xiu. When Nu Xiu was weaving, a swallow happened to drop an egg. Nu Xiu swallowed the egg and gave birth to a son, Da Ye. Da Ye took as his wife a daughter of Shao Dian named Nu Hua, and Nu Hua gave birth to Da Fei. Da Fei joined the sage ruler Yu in pacifying the waters and the land, and, when the work was complete, Emperor Shun presented Yu with a black jade baton. When Yu accepted it, he said, "I could not have done this if Da Fei had not acted as my helper." Emperor Shun said, "Ah, Fei! You Yu in his task. You shall be given a black banner. Your descendants will hereafter prosper greatly." He also gave him a beautiful woman of the Yao clan as his wife. Da Fei, bowing and accepting these gifts, aided Shun in subduing and training the birds and beasts, and many became submissive, for which [Da Fei gained] the name Bo Yi. Shun bestowed on him the surname Ying. Dai Fei had two sons. One was called Da Lian and was the founder of the Niaosu [literally "bird custom"] clan. The other was called Ruo Mu and founded the Fei clan. His great-great-grandson was Fei Chang. Some of Fei Chang's descendants lived in the Central Kingdom and some lived among the Yi and Di. In the time of Jie, the last ruler of the Xia Dynasty, Fei Chang deserted the Xia and went over to the Shang. King Yang, founder of the Shang, made him his carriage driver when he defeated Jie at Mingtiao. Da Lian's great-great-grandsons were Meng Xi and Zhong Yan. Zhong Yan had the body of a bird but spoke like a human being. Emperor Taiwu, hearing of him, divined to see if he should employ him as his carriage driver. The response being favourable, he employed him as such, and also gave him a wife. From the time of Emperor Taiwu onwards, Zhong Yan's heirs won merit generation after generation by assisting the Shang; hence, many members of the Ying family gained prominence and in time became local rulers… Fei Zi lived at Quanqiu [literally "dog hill"]. He loved horses and domestic animals, and [he] was skilled at raising and breeding them. The people at Quanqiu mentioned him to King Xiao of Zhou, and the king summoned him,

ordering him to take the royal horses to pasture in the area between the Qian and Wei rivers. The horses greatly increased in number. King Xiao wanted to see Fei Zi designated as the heir Da Luo, but Marquis Shen had given his daughter to Da Luo as a wife and she had borne him a son named Cheng who had been designated as heir. Marquis Shen said to King Xiao, "long ago, an ancestor of mine, a woman of Mount Li, married a man of the Rong named Xu Xuan and bore a son named Zhong Jue. Because of his parentage Zhong Jue paid allegiance to the Zhou and guarded the western border for them. As a result, there was peace and harmony on the western border. Now, I have given my daughter to Da Luo and she has borne him a son, Cheng, who has been designated heir. The Shen and Da Luo family are, thus, doubly related, and all the Western Rong have submitted to you. That is why you are able to reign as a king. Your Majesty would do well to consider this. King Xiao replied, "long ago, Bo Yi supervised the raising of animals for Emperor Shun, and the animals multiplied greatly. Therefore, he was assigned a domain and presented with the surname Ying. Now, his descendant in later ages is raising horses for me. I, therefore, propose to set aside land for him so he may receive a dependent domain, assign him the town of Qin, and instruct him to carry out sacrifices to the Ying family." He gave Fei Zi the title Qin Ying and refrained from removing Da Luo's son by the daughter of Marquis Shen from the position of heir, in order to remain at peace with the Western Rong. (Watson 1993a, 1–4, with modification. I have replaced "feudal lords" with "local rulers".)